A Reference Grammar of Pashto.

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

Center for Applied Linguistics

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A Reference Grammar of Pashto

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

All components are available in microfiche or hard copy through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. For ordering information, please contact EDRS at 1-800-443-ERIC. For information on ERIC and the Pashto materials, please call the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics at 1-800-276-9034, or contact them through their web site at http://www.cal.org/ericcii. Further information on the Pashto materials can be found at the Center for Applied Linguistics’ web site at http://www.cal.org.

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To the Reader

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'student'</th>
<th>DS: [šāgōrd]</th>
<th>DP: [šāgōrdān]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>DS: [šāgōrd]</td>
<td>DP: [šāgōrdān]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

'gloss' [transcription] Pashto script

for example:

'Pashto' [pāxtō]

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

[transcription] word-for-word gloss 'idiomatic translation'

for example:

[pāxtō ǧāra pa zē pore zābe da.] پیشتو دېره په زره پورې زېبه 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:

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

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

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

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

Habibullah Teguy
Barbara Robson
یادونه

خوانه‌چ دی دین کتاب په انتوان کی د گرامر تر هنگه د "فرنس" یو هم راگلی دره، تو له دی امله په لینه سریزه کی، اول، باید یو نارنی تر گرامر مختلف دولو له لری. دی گرامر هغه د چه‌ه دره گرامر په نامه پادربه او خانه مفوم لری. دله دا اصطلال دمخه یوه مختصر گرامر په معا استعمال شوي چه د پیبتو زهی اینگلیسی و پینجی شاگردانه، د خیلو نورو درسی میادی د مهم په تویه استفاده تری وکری.

"دختربیچی زیبیوهی مترک" له کال 1989 چه رادی خوانه دهغو امریکا چی د پاره چه غواهی پیبتو زهی کری، د درسی کتابونو یوه سلسره ویک. په یوه د کتابونو کی د پیبتو زیبی د مرئو گرامری خصوص صوت په ابره کی هم لازم بحث شوی و. خو د "مرکز" په نظیر دا له گرامره توضیحات یا نه او دیه يه ضرورت لیدل کبده چه د پیبتو زیبی دعمه گرامری خصوصیاتو دیره يه زیاتره او منظم توضیح دبیاره یو له پیبتو گرامر هم ویکل شی او ددغو درسی میادی له سلسله یوه ملگری شی.

د گرامر دولکلو عده هدف له شاگردانه سره د هغو گرامری پوپنتو او مسایل دروجولو په پاره کی مرسه ده چه د "مرکز" ددرسی سلسلی د زهی کری په نهکی ور سره مخاصن کلی. خو له هنگه چه له درسی کتابونو نه د چه اسنادی په یو دیره اساسی شرط بره معلم دی، له گرامر نه هم په واره استفاده هله کبیدی شی، چه سری په معلم ولی.

هله ده چه دا گرامر به د پیبتو زیبی د تولو هغو شاگردانه د پاره گننر وی چه انتخابی مینه لوستلی شی.

- تری
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashtuns

A. The People Who Speak Pashto

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

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

The people who speak Pashto call themselves Pashtuns (pronounced [pashtúnz])\(^1\). In Pakistan and India, they are referred to as Pathans; (pronounced [patúnz]) 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

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

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

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


B. The Language

Its name. For a variety of reasons, the name of the Pashto language has been spelled in several ways. One reason is that the middle consonant (the [sh]) is a sound that differs from one dialect to the other. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, speakers of the 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 χ.

The second reason for the variety in rendering of the word Pashto is that there has never been a standardized transliteration1 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 Pashtu 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 Pukhto or Pukhto Language (the underlining is Bellew's), and Bellew spells the language as Pukhto throughout, with the kkh underlined, presumably to show that it is a multiple-letter rendition of a single sound, or maybe to show that it

---

1 The term transliteration refers to the writing of one alphabet in the characters of another, and is different from transcription, which refers to the representation of the sounds of a language by means of written symbols. Strictly speaking, the transliteration of the Pashto spelling of Pashto into roman characters would be something like pxtu (the alphabet does not spell out many of the vowels); the transcription of the word Pashto is, in the system used in this Grammar, [pəxtə].
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, Pashtu is distantly related to English, as can be seen in the following diagram, which includes the major branches of the family and one or two well-known languages belonging to each branch:

```
Indo-European Language Family

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

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

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

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

Pashto shares great numbers of words with Dari, not only because the languages are related, but also because Pashtuns and Dari speakers have been neighbors for centuries, and more recently have been citizens of the same country. Both Pashto and Dari also have numbers of words in common which have been borrowed from Arabic.
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Its social status. While Pashto is a national language of Afghanistan, it is second in social prestige to Dari, which as we mentioned above is a dialect of Persian. Before the Soviet occupation, there were attempts to "equalize" Pashto: Dari-speaking children were required to study Pashto in the public schools, and Dari-speaking government officials were required to take Pashto classes. These attempts did not result in much change, however; now, as before, any educated Pashtun in Afghanistan speaks Dari, but very few Dari speakers speak Pashto.

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

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

There are three major dialects of Pashto: the Kandahar or western dialect, the Kabul or central dialect, and the Ningrahar or eastern dialect. Speakers of the Kandahar dialect live mostly in southwest Afghanistan and in Baluchistan. The Khattak tribe living in Quhat - the tribe that effectively established the Pashto literary tradition - speaks Kandahari 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

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

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

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 solemnity 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
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 " rather than ʔ.

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
Chapter 1: Pashto and the Pashuns

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 14 (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 academics 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.

---

4 Part 2 was unfortunately never completed.
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Below are listed the most readily available or interesting general grammatical studies of Pashto in English. Most of the early British grammars have been reprinted, and are available in bookstores in Pakistan.


Chapter 2: Pronunciation

A. Introduction

In this chapter, we will describe the consonants and vowels of the central dialect, and the ways in which these sounds may combine to form words. We will also describe the ways that the Kendahar and Ningraher 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] 

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

B. Consonants

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

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

Consonants similar to English consonants
[b] as in boy, cub: 'other' [bēl] بیل, 'grandfather' [bābā] بابا
[dz] as in dogs, edge: 'self' [dzān] خان, 'place' [dzāy] دژ
[l] as in fire, if: 'break' [la] تلخ, 'pronunciation' [talafūz] تلفظ

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Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[g] as in go, jug: 'tall' [tadj], 'flower' [gwa]ل
[h] as in hat, behave: 'nine' [nasha], 'also' [ham]ه
[j] as in judge, edge: 'good' [jor], 'war' [jang]گ
[k] as in gar, cake: 'work' [kaw], 'house' [kor]ک
[m] as in mom, bump: 'mother' [mor], 'hello' [salam]سلام
[p] as in pie, apple: 'curtain' [pardah], 'left' [chap]چپ
[s] as in go, city: 'hand' [las], 'red' [sur]سور
[sh] as in show, push: 'six' [shap], 'twenty' [shai]شل
[ts] as in cute, gussy: 'how many' [tsa], 'how' [tsang]بخدای
[w] as in wait, kiwi: 'say' [wawa], 'open' [wa]وواه
[y] as in yes, boy: 'one' [yaw], 'God' [khwaid]خدای
[z] as in az, zero: 'son' [zoy], 'l lion' [zmarad]زمزی

Consonants somewhat different from English consonants
[t]: 'thank' [tashakur], تشکر, 'eight' [at]ا
[d]: 'this' [da], 'three' [dre]دروی
[l]: 'hand' [las], 'here' [dela]دلته
[n]: 'not' [na], 'field' [karwanda]کرونده

Consonants very different from English consonants
[gh]: 'Afghan' [afghan], أفغان
[r]: 'March-April' [ramal], حلب, 'dear' [rab]حب
[kh]: 'time' [wakht], وقت, 'God' [khwaid]خدای
[q]: 'trunk' [sanduq], صندوق, 'minute' [daqta]دقیقه
[r]: 'where' [chera], چرا, 'thank' [tashakur]تشکر
[x]: 'good' [xa], چه, 'Pashto' [paxto]پشتو
[z]: 'wisdom' [za], عقل, 'without study' [be jamala]بی عمل
Retrolflex consonants

\[ \text{[t]}: \text{car} \quad \text{[q]}: \text{very, bread, dājīr} \]

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.\(^1\) The chart is followed by a technical description of each consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Retrolflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ɿ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>NSDate</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh, x</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>ɿ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>ɿ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>ɿ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) For an explanation of the terms used here, see a general introduction to phonetics or phonology such as Peter Ladefoged's *A Course in Phonetics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

Technical descriptions:
(a): voiceless bilabial stop.
(b): voiced bilabial stop.
(t): voiceless dental stop.
(d): voiced dental stop.
(t̠): voiceless retroflex stop.
(ɹ): voiced retroflex stop.
(k): voiceless velar stop.
(g): voiced velar stop. Some Central dialect [g]'s - those spelled with the letter ɡ - are pronounced differently in other dialects.
[q]: voiced aspirated uvular stop, like [q] ‎ in Arabic. [q] influences the sound quality of vowels coming before or after it. [q] occurs only in borrowed words.
(ʔ): glottal stop.
(m): voiced bilabial nasal.
(n): voiced dental nasal.
(ŋ): voiced retroflex nasal. [ŋ] does not occur at the beginnings of words.
(ng): 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 ʒ - are pronounced differently in other Pashto dialects.
(sh): 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.
(r̠): voiceless pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.
(ʔ̠): voiced pharyngeal fricative, occurring in borrowed words only.
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educated, formal pronunciation:</th>
<th>Uneducated, informal pronunciation:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[f]: 'crop' فصل</td>
<td>[p:asel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Farsi' نارسی</td>
<td>[p:arasi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'difference' فرق</td>
<td>[farq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q]: 'unity' اتفاق</td>
<td>[litifq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'progress' تراقی</td>
<td>[taraq]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'demand' تقدضا</td>
<td>[taqdisa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]: 'even' حتی</td>
<td>[ntt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'government' حكومت</td>
<td>[hukumat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'slaughtered' حلالول</td>
<td>[halalaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[?] : 'public' عام</td>
<td>[?am]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Arab' عرب</td>
<td>[marab]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'modern' عصري</td>
<td>[asf]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'region' علاقة</td>
<td>[alaq]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

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:

\[
\text{road} \quad \text{dollar} \\
\text{male doctor} \quad \text{deputy}
\]

C. Vowels

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

[a] as in ask, gigs, or close to Midwestern English got, box: 'is' [i] ده

[b] as in awful, caught: 'hand' [laas] تااسي

[e] as in bed, yellow: 'this' [deel] دي

[i] as in sit, rift: 'repeat' [tikrari] تكرار

[o] as in beat, so: 'Pashto' [paxto] پښتو

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[u] as in boot, roof: 'street' [kutsi], 'hands' [laśuna]
[ʊ] as in put, zoom: please [littrən], quiet [cnuː]
[a] as in but, just: 'not' [na], 'tall' [jaː]

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

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

Technical descriptions:
- [i]: high front tense unrounded vowel.
- [ɪ]: high front lax unrounded vowel.
- [e]: mid front unrounded vowel.
- [a]: mid central lax unrounded vowel (the symbol is called 'schwa').
- [ə]: low central unrounded vowel.
- [â]: 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. [i], [o],
[e] and [u] do not occur at the beginnings of native Pashto words, but at the beginnings of
borrowed words only, for example ‘agency’ [eyjansay]

The vowel [a] is often pronounced as [a] in unstressed syllables.
In all dialects, but particularly the western dialect, [e] and [o] frequently become
[i] and [u] respectively if a following vowel is [i] or [u], for example ‘I do’ [kégam]
as opposed to ‘he does’ [kégil] or [kil]

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

[y]: as in English play, spelled with the letter

‘placket’ [grejwan]
‘peg’ [megh]
‘sigh’ [asweylay]

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

‘eye’ [zaay]
‘tay’ [lakay]
‘you all are’ [yestay]

[y]: like English bite, fly.

‘buyer’ [akhistunkay]
‘summer’ [wózay]
‘mirror’ [ayné]
‘success’ [baryáaytób]
‘plant’ [butay]

[y]: no English equivalent.

‘God’ [khwdáy]
‘place’ [dzáy]
D. Syllable Structure

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

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

As in all languages, there are restrictions as to which consonants and vowels can occur in various types of Pashto syllables. The consonant [h], for example, occurs only at the beginnings of syllables; retroflex [q], the diphthong [ay], and the sounds represented by the letter ۍ 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.
The most common of these consonant clusters are given below, in English alphabetical order.

- [br]: 'glory' [brəli], 'bride' [brɪd], 'seems' [brɪks]
- [bl]: 'quilt' [bkwɪlt], 'bustle' [bʌstl]
- [bl]: 'then' [ðɛn], 'tells' [tɛls], 'scissors' [səˈsiːəs]
- [dr]: 'right?' [rɛɪt?], 'wrest' [rɛst]

'deceived' [dɪˈsiːvəd], 'deceive' [dɪˈsiːv]

drowned [draʊn], do [dəʊ]

'declares' [dɪˈklɛrəz], 'declarations' [dɪˈklɛrəʃənz]

drifted [drɪftəd], 'winter' [ˈwɪntər]

'declare' [dɪˈklaɪər], 'declamation' [dɪˈklaɪəʃən]

drilled [drɪld], 'wire' [ˈwaɪr]
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[mp]: 'pepper' [mræʧ], 'help' [mr əl]
[mc]: 'faded' [mqəway], 'death' [mqɪnə]
[ng]: 'daughter-in-law' [ŋɔɡ], 'tongue' [ŋuksədəl]
[ng]: 'rolls up' [ŋəhɑɹ], 'burner' [ŋhɑʀˈal]
[nm]: 'the East' [nmar kʰɑt], 'grandson' [nmasɑd]
[ny]: 'grandmother' [nʌɡ], 'popular' [nəʒmən], 'intention' [nətʃən]
[pr]: 'rather' [prɑɹ], 'wide' [plɑɹ], 'bridges' [plůnə]
[pr]: 'except' [prɑkt], 'unfamiliar' [prədəl], 'lying (on)' [prot]
[pr]: 'tiger' [prəŋ], 'spread out' [prək], 'perahgo'
[py]: 'on foot' [pɔɹt], 'onion' [pɔɹt], 'cup' [pɔɹt], 'cup'
[tt]: 'went' [tɪt], 'billion' [bɪliən], 'anniversary' [tln]
[tr]: 'strong' [strəŋ], 'aunt' [trɔɹ], 'tiger' [trenθ], 'bitter' [trikh]
[sk]: 'charcoal' [skɔɹ], 'skor', 'pinch' [skʊŋ]
[skh]: 'light' [skhɑɹ], 'light'
[sp]: 'soldier' [spəɹ], 'soldier', 'insult' [spakəɹ], 'white' [spin]
[sr]: 'red (feminine)' [srə], 'red', 'glue' [sriˈ]
[st]: 'star' [stəɹ], 'tired' [stəɹ], 'great' [stəɹ]
[sw]: 'burns' [swəɹ], 'ride' [swəɹ], 'soup' [swəɹ]
[shk]: 'baskets' [shkəɹ], 'baskets', 'baskets', 'baskets'
[sh]: 'six' [ʃəɹ], 'night' [ʃəɹ], 'flute' [ʃepəɹ]
[sk]: 'down' [kəɹ], 'hunting' [kəɹ], 'appearance' [kəɹ]
[wl]: 'curls' [wləɹ], 'curls', 'worse' [wləɹ], 'worse'
[wr]: 'doors' [wəɹ], 'nephew' [wəɹ], 'wedding party' [wəɹ]
[wr]: 'ahead' [wəɹdəɹ], 'beforehand' [wəɹndəɹ]
[zg]: 'moan' [zɡəɹ], 'moan', 'zephyr' [zɡəɹ]
[zgh]: 'courage' [zɡəɹ], 'courage', 'courage'
[zml]: 'lion' [zməɹ], 'my' [zmə], 'faded' [zməɹ]
[zr]: 'brave' [zrawəɹ], 'heart' [zəɹ]
[zy]: 'much' [zyt], 'effort' [zyɹ], 'harm' [zyɹ]
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[zhm]: 'promise' [zhmána], 'comb' [zhmandz]
[zhw]: 'life' [zhwándón], 'life' [zhek]

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' [blérba]
[dyl]: 'thirteen' [dyarlas]
[khu]: 'handsome' [khyalli]
[m1]: 'waist' [m1], 'friend' [m1]
[nj]: 'girl' [njeláy]
[rgl]: 'rolls around' [rglárt]
[shkh]: 'dispute' [shkhora]
[shm]: 'number' [shmer]
[tw]: 'ability' [twar]
[tsk]: 'drinking' [tskak]
[tsw]: 'fourteen' [tswarlas]
[zb]: 'sucks' [zbeel]
[zd]: 'study' [zdá khr]
[zr]: 'mill' [zranda]
[zw]: 'life' [zwhand]

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

[khr]: 'slapping sound' [khrap]
[tc]: 'gunshot noise' [tcrap]

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 - [pax] - is also pronounced [paxa], with an epenthetic [a] breaking up the consonant cluster.
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Three-consonant Clusters. There are some three-consonant clusters at the beginnings of syllables. Like some of the two-consonant clusters, these appear in a handful of words at most.

[khw]: 'mouth' [khwā] خوله
[khwd]: 'God' [khwād] خدنای
[ndr]: 'sister-in-law' [ndor] ندرور
[skw]: 'shear' [skwāl] سکولل
[skhw]: 'bull' [skhwānd] سخوندر
[shkhw]: 'chewing' [shkhwānd] شخوند
[xkhw]: 'pretty' [xkwāl] پکلی، 'kisses' [xkwāl] پکلوی

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' [b xãk] پنک. The most common clusters appearing in native Pashto words are the following:

[knt]: 'fortune' [bakht] بختت، 'busy' [bokht] بختت، 'capital' [baytakht] پایختت
[nd]: 'blind person' [rund] درمند
[ng]: 'obvious' [tsargānd] شرگند
[ng]: 'round' [ghwang] گوند، 'short' [lang] لند
[rg]: 'death' [marg] مرگ، 'rooster' [charaq] چرگ
[rcn]: 'aspect' [arkh] ارگ
[sk]: 'smiling' [mask] مسک
[st]: 'right?' [dust?] دست؟، 'skin' [post] پوست، 'month' [myāst] میاشت
[kt]: 'age' [zarāxt] زریت، 'crop' [kaxt] کبیت، 'forty' [tsalwēxt] خلویت، 'generation' [puxt] پخت

Other clusters appearing in borrowed words are the following:

[bzl]: 'green' [sar sábz] سر سبز
[fz/wz]: 'promise' [lafz] لفظ
[ks]: 'picture' [aks] عکس
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

[khs]: ‘person’ [shakhs]

[mp]: ‘refugee camp’ [kamp]

[mz]: ‘secret’ [ramz]

[ndz]: ‘prayer’ [mumdz]

[n]: ‘middle’ [mandz]

[nj]: ‘corner’ [kwanj]

[nk]: ‘bank’ [bânk]

[ns]: ‘agency’ [ażhâns]

[nz]: ‘comb’ [gumânz]

[as]: ‘painting’ [naqsh]

[r]: ‘student’ [shâgârd]

[rgh]: ‘turkey’ [allmûrg]

[rm]: ‘farm’ [fârm]

[rn]: ‘century’ [qarn]

[rq]: ‘east’ [shârq]

[r]: ‘lesson’ [dars]

[rt]: ‘condition’ [shart]

[rz]: ‘petition’ [arz]

[sh]: ‘love’ [ishq]

[sht]: ‘destiny’ [sarnâfsht]

E. Stress and Intonation

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

Pashto similar English respect

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

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

'sick' (masculine form) [ranzúr] رنخور
'sick' (feminine form) [ranzúra] 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' [pextó] 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 [a] that have been borrowed from Persian are stressed on the last syllable as they are in Persian, for example:

'daddy' [abā] پاپ
'eighty' [atyā] اتیا
'bus stop' [istādgā] استادگاه
'friends' [əshnā] اشنا

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

'however' [ámā] آم
'monster' [bubālā] بوبلا
'even' [hātā] 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' [tiṅga] ټانګه  vs.  'cart' [tiṅgá] ټانګ
'mare' [espa] اسب  vs.  'spotted fever' [espá] اسپ
'book' [górā] ګڼه  vs.  'fair-skinned' [gorá] ګڼه
'dive' [ghúta] غروته  vs.  'knot' [ghúta] غروته
'pair' [jórá] ځوره  vs.  'well (feminine)' [jórā] ځوره
'he's sitting' [kénastá] کښنی  vs.  'he sat' [kénasta] کښنی
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

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

'invading' [yarghal] ېرغلونه 'invasive' [yarghaluna] يرغلونه
'song' [suruda] سروډ 'songs' [surudda] سرودوه
'charm' [afsununa] انفرنسونه 'charms' [afsununa] انفرنسونه
'pomegranate' [anar] انار 'pomegranates' [anaruna] انارونه
'neck' [ormeg] اورمږ 'necks' [ormeguna] اورمږونه

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

'I'm starting out' [rawanegam] روآنېږېم
'You're starting out' [rawanegay] روآنېږېي

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 [ná] ن، for example, always carries heavy stress in the sentence. For example:

'He's eating' [khwrí] خورې 'He's not eating' [ná khwrí] نه خورې

The perfective particle [wá] و also carries heavy stress, and when both [ná] ن and [wá] و occur, they both seem to receive heavy stress:

'I was standing' [daradámi] دېړدېم 'I wasn't standing' [nádaradámi] نه دېړدېم
'I stood' [wádaradámi] ونړدېم 'I didn't stand' [wánádaradámi] ونړدېم
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

Secondary stresses. Stress patterns in polysyllabic words and phrases have not been studied to any great extent, other than to note particles and affixes like [nâ] and [wâ], 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-] - ـ - has a heavier stress than the final syllable [-am] - ـ - , but not so heavy as the primary-stressed syllable [wâ] - ـ - .

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

Intonation. Intonation - the altering of the pitch at which vowels are pronounced - clearly plays an important 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 ̣ däktár da.] ـ .
Question: 'Is Patang a doctor?' [patáng ̣ däktár da] ـ ?

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

F. Major Dialectal Differences

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

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

Examples:

- 'moon' سپغمی [spogmأ] [spozhmأ] [spogmأ]
- 'shivers' رپچپهرب [regdegi] [rezhr'dézh'] [regdegi]
- 'Pashto' پیتو [pakt6] [pash't6] [pakht6]
- 'branch' جاح [kأkh] [sh'أkh] [khأkh]
- 'truth' ربتیا [rixtyi] [rish'tiyi] [rikhtyi]
- 'deep' ذؤر [zawأ] [zh'أwأ] [jawأ]
- 'wills' رؤرب [razegi] [razh'ézh'] [rajegi]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>long [a]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
<td>[ay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2: Pronunciation

G. Other Analyses

Penzl (1935) and other earlier descriptions group some of the vowels in pairs of short and long vowels, as follows:

Long:  [i]  [a]  [u]
Short:  [ɛ]  [a]  [u]

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

Mackenzie (1967) describes the Pashto sounds from a historical perspective, and includes notes on dialectal alternations. His list of sounds, and that of Shafeev (1964) do not differ significantly from the one given here.

Chapter 3: Pashto Words

A. Introduction

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

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

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

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

B. Pashto's Basic Word Stock and Persian Cognates

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

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C. Borrowings from and through Persian

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

When a word is borrowed from one language into another, its pronunciation may be restructured to fit the pronunciation patterns of the borrowing language. The Pashto word for car, [moṭār], 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 [t].

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

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


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:


Persian: 'bush' [butel] برتنی 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:
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' [اَللّٰهُ ﺗَعَالَیّ] (Allah `Alayhi)
- 'Peace be with you' [تَسَلَّمْ يَا عِلَيْكُم] (Salam `Alaykum)
- 'God knows' [وَاللّٰهُ أَعْلَم] (Wala al-`Alam)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto singular</th>
<th>Arabic plural used</th>
<th>Expected Pashto plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonus</td>
<td>[imtیAZ]</td>
<td>امتیازات</td>
<td>[imtیAZAN]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criticism</td>
<td>[intیaad]</td>
<td>انتقادات</td>
<td>[intیaadāNA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishment</td>
<td>[tashکیل]</td>
<td>تشکیلات</td>
<td>[tashکیلAHAN]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dignity,</td>
<td>[t زیم]</td>
<td>تعظیمات</td>
<td>[t زیمAHAN]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of an Arabic plural indicates that the speaker knows Arabic, a mark of education parallel to an English speaker's use of a Latin plural like fact, 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' [laray]  
English: *lorry*

**Pashto:** 'hospital' [aspaṭāl]  
English: *hospital*

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

**Pashto:** 'jeep' [jip]  
English: *jeep*

**Pashto:** vest [wāskat]  
English: *waistcoat*

**Pashto:** 'cassette' [kaset]  
English: *cassette*

**Pashto:** 'glove compartment' [ṭulbāks]  
English: *tool box*

**Pashto:** 'driver's apprentice' [kīlińer]  
English: *cleaner* (i.e. one whose job is to wash the car)
Chapter 3: Pashto Words

Pashto: 'videotape' [weđeγê] 
English: video

Pashto: kind of candy [mitāyî] 
Urdu: kind of candy [mitāyî]

Pashto: kind of sauce [chaknê] 
Urdu: 'chutney' [chaτnê]

Pashto: 'coriander' [danyâ] 
Urdu: 'coriander' [danyâ]

Pashto: 'fenca' [kaτārā] 
Urdu: 'gellery' [kaτhrâ]

**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' [kalishinkov] 
Russian: Kalishnikov (type of rifle)

Pashto: 'machine gun' [deshkê] 
Russian: Deshka (machine gun)

Pashto: [râshân] 
English: ration

Pashto: 'launcher' [rakzt lânchêr] 
English: rocket launcher

Pashto: 'missile' [stingår] 
English: Stinger (ground-to-air missile)
Chapter 3: Pashto Words

G. International Words in Pashto

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

'radio' [rādyā]
'television' [talwezyān]
'socialism' [sosyālizm]
'professor' [profaysār]
'police' [polis]
'pizza' [pīzā]
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 ٥٠٠٠٠ rather than ٠٠٠٥٠.
- There is no upper/lower case distinction among letters.
- Vowels other than [a], [u], [i] (and [o] in Pashto) are not represented in writing, and even those sounds are not consistently represented. (The system of diacritical marks, which is used to represent Arabic vowels in the Koran and for other purposes, is not used in Pashto.)

- The shape of an individual letter varies slightly depending on whether it is in the beginning, middle or final position in the word, and whether the letter preceding it is one that connects with following letters to the left. For example, the letter representing the sound [b] (ب) is one of the letters that connects with following letters. It has the following shapes:

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

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

  - when it occurs independently, or following a letter that does not connect to the left; and
  - when it follows a letter that connects to the left.
Chapter 4: The Writing System

Letters peculiar to Pashto. The difference between the Pashto and Arabic alphabets mainly involves the modification of existing Arabic letters to represent sounds which exist in Pashto but not Arabic. The Pashto alphabet includes letters from the Persian alphabet (representing sounds in that exist in Persian but not Arabic, for example [p] چ and [ch] خ) and additional letters representing sounds that exist in Pashto but not Persian or Arabic. These extra letters are:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{i}] & [\text{zh}] \\
[\text{ts}] & [\text{q}]
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[dz] & [\text{x}]
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[q] & [\text{o}]
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[r] & [\text{ay}] \text{ and } [\text{ai}]
\end{array}
\]

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 Khosrol 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Letter Name</th>
<th>Letter Forms</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ꪐ</td>
<td>[elar]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪑ</td>
<td>[be]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪒ</td>
<td>[pe]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[p]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪓ</td>
<td>[te]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪔ</td>
<td>[te]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪕ</td>
<td>[se]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꪖ</td>
<td>[jim]</td>
<td>ꪐ ꪐ ꪐ</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter Name</td>
<td>Letter Forms</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[chol]</td>
<td>ج، چ، چ</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[fel, he]</td>
<td>ح، ه، ه</td>
<td>[r], [h]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[khol]</td>
<td>خ، خ، خ</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tse]</td>
<td>خ، خ، خ</td>
<td>[ts]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dze]</td>
<td>خ، خ، خ</td>
<td>[dz]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gol]</td>
<td>د، د، د</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zal]</td>
<td>ذ، ذ، ذ</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>ر، ر</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>ر، ر</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>ز، ز</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td>ز، ژ، ژ</td>
<td>[zh], [z], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>ز، ژ، ژ</td>
<td>[zh], [z], [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>س، س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[shin]</td>
<td>ش، ش</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>ش، ش</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>ص، ص</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td>ض، ض</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>ض، ض</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>ت، ت</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zg]</td>
<td>ظ، ظ</td>
<td>zg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gh]</td>
<td>غ، غ</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>ف، ف</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>ق، ق</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>ك، ك</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>ك، ك</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>ل، ل</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>م، م</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>Letter Name</td>
<td>Letter Forms</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[nun]</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[qun]</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>[wāw]</td>
<td>و</td>
<td>[wl], [w], [n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>[he]</td>
<td>ه</td>
<td>[hl], [a] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ي</td>
<td>[ye], [marufa ye]</td>
<td>ي</td>
<td>[y], [i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>[mejhula ye]</td>
<td>ك</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>[de tanfs], [saqila ye]</td>
<td>د</td>
<td>[ay] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[de tazkir], [saqila ye]</td>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[ay] at ends of words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:
1. This symbol frequently occurs with additional diacritics in borrowed words:
   \( \mathbb{a} = [\mathbb{a}] \) in words borrowed from Persian.  
   آزادی [azadi] 'freedom', and many city names, e.g., [islamabad] آسلام آباد.
   
   \( \mathbb{a} = [\mathbb{a}] \) in words borrowed from Arabic.  
   عمو [amman] عموماً 'usually' or 'exactly' [ayn] عيناً.

2. Another letter of this same basic shape that occasionally occurs in educated Pashto writing is ٹ, 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 oh-oh), if it is pronounced at all.

3. These symbols represent sounds that exist in Arabic but not in Pashto. They are used in the spelling of words borrowed from Arabic, but are pronounced in informal speech with the closest Pashto equivalent of the Arabic sound.  As you can see in the chart, the result of this maintenance of Arabic spelling is that there are three letters representing the [s] sound, and four letters representing the [z] sound. Educated Pashtuns will in formal or careful speech pronounce the letters (especially mostly خ and ذ) as they are in Arabic, much the way that English speakers will pronounce French words in English with...
Chapter 4. The Writing System

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>[zh]</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>پ</td>
<td>retroflex [zhʃ]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>retroflex [shʃ]</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[kh]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

7 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 [ay] in nouns, adjectives and verbs. The names of the letters translate as follows:

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

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

ی [de tānīs saqīlā ye] 'heavy feminine y'

ی [de tazkīr saqīlā 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a] initially</td>
<td><code>ולה</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] finally</td>
<td><code>ه</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] medially</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] in all positions</td>
<td><code>ه</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e] initially</td>
<td><code>ای</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e] medially, finally</td>
<td><code>ی</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[и] initially</td>
<td><code>ای</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[и] medially, finally</td>
<td><code>ی</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] initially</td>
<td><code>ی</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] medially, finally</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] initially</td>
<td><code>اړ</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] finally</td>
<td><code>و</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] medially</td>
<td><code>و</code>, no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] medially, finally</td>
<td><code>و</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] in all positions</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ә] finally</td>
<td><code>ه</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ә] elsewhere</td>
<td>no symbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ә] finally (nouns, adjs)</td>
<td><code>ی</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ә] finally (verbs)</td>
<td><code>ئ</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pashto Consonants and Letter Representations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
<th>Consonant transcription</th>
<th>Pashto letter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[b] b</td>
<td>н</td>
<td>[n] n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ch] ch</td>
<td>ж</td>
<td>[ŋ] н</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[d] d</td>
<td>դ</td>
<td>[p] پ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g] g</td>
<td>گ</td>
<td>[q] چ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dz] dz</td>
<td>ژ</td>
<td>[r] ر</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[f] f</td>
<td>ف</td>
<td>[ɾ] ɾ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[g] g</td>
<td>گ</td>
<td>[s] س</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gh] gh</td>
<td>گ</td>
<td>[ʃ] ʃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h] h</td>
<td>ہ</td>
<td>[t] ت</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h] h</td>
<td>ہ</td>
<td>[t] ت</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[j] j</td>
<td>چ</td>
<td>[ts] چ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[k] k</td>
<td>ك</td>
<td>[w] و</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kh] kh</td>
<td>خ</td>
<td>[x] ش</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[l] l</td>
<td>ل</td>
<td>[y] ی</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[m] m</td>
<td>م</td>
<td>[z] ژ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔ] ئ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Nouns

A. Introduction

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

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

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

B. Masculine and Feminine Noun Classes

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

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Chapter 5: Nouns

The masculine and feminine classes are divided into sub-classes, called M1, M2, F1, F2, and so on. In this analysis, membership in a sub-class depends on the plural and oblique case endings that occur on the noun; all M2 nouns, for example, form their direct plurals by adding the suffix [-úna] -نون ٍ to the direct singular form, and their oblique plurals by adding the suffix [-úno] -نون ٍ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genders:</th>
<th>Numbers:</th>
<th>Cases:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M = masculine</td>
<td>S = singular</td>
<td>D = direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = feminine</td>
<td>P = plural</td>
<td>O = oblique</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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], 'go-between' [raybār], and 'male camel' [wux]. In addition, however, most masculine nouns refer to objects, qualities, and ideas that have no natural gender. Some examples: 'surprise' [fayrāt], 'blinking' [rap], and 'thorn' [khār].

M1 nouns. Nouns in the M1 class form their plurals by adding the suffix [-án] -ن َ 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] - to the direct plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'student'</th>
<th>DS: [shāgārd]</th>
<th>DP: [shāgārdān]</th>
<th>مسیح</th>
<th>شاگردان</th>
<th>چهار</th>
<th>مسیح</th>
<th>شاگردان</th>
<th>مسیح</th>
<th>مشهد</th>
<th>مسیح</th>
<th>مشهد</th>
<th>مسیح</th>
<th>مشهد</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>DS: [shāgārd]</td>
<td>DP: [shāgārdāno]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of M1 nouns are:

'sir' [sayz] صاحب | 'contractor' [ijāradār] | اجارة دار
'poet' [shāfīr] شاعر | 'historian' [tārikh pān] | تاريخ پوه
'day laborer' [ajīr] | 'fundamentalist' [skhwānāy] | اخوانی
'Uzbek' [uzbēk] | 'professor, barber' [ustād] | استاد
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

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

- 'thing' [shay] شی
- 'fingernail' [nuk] نوک
- 'mulberry tree' [tut] توت
- 'flower' [gwall] گل
- 'cloth' [tukár] تؤکر

There is also a group of animate nouns, not ending in consonants but ending in [-ā] 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] l- of the stem and the [ā] l- of the suffix. An example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M1</th>
<th>DS: [pächā]</th>
<th>OP: [pächāyān]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pacha'</td>
<td>پاچا</td>
<td>پاچاانو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

- 'friend, lover' [ashnā] اشنا
- 'mullah' [mulā] ملا
- 'prophet' [peshwā] پیشوا
- 'clerk' [mirzā] میرزا
- 'guide' [rahnamā] رهنما

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M1</th>
<th>DS: [khārej]</th>
<th>OP: [khārejān]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'foreigner'</td>
<td>خارجی</td>
<td>خارجیانو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

- 'hash smoker' [bang] بنگی
- 'rebel' [yāghl] یاغلی
- 'assassin' [khun] خونی
- 'parrot' [totl] طوطی
- 'drummer' [dotch] دولچی
- 'judge' [qāzl] قاضی
- 'cupbearer' [sāq] ساقی
- 'kebab seller' [kabābl] کبابی
- 'soldier' [spāyl] سپاپی
- 'antagonist' [modyl] مدعی

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'wolf'</th>
<th>DS: [lewatég]</th>
<th>DP: [lewâán]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>OS: [lewatég]</td>
<td>OP: [lewâño]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lewâno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More examples:
'bird' [merghé]  مرغه  [merghé]  
'heir' [wexté]  وبسه  [wexté]  
'crow' [kârghé]  کارغه  [kârghé]  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'pumpkin'</th>
<th>DS: [kadúdr]</th>
<th>DP: [kadwân]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>OS: [kadúdr]</td>
<td>OP: [kadwâno]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadwâno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:
'clay grain bin' [kandú]  كندو  [kandú]  
'piece of manure' [laqût]  لدو  [laqût]  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'stepfather'</th>
<th>DS: [plandár]</th>
<th>DP: [plandarân]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>OS: [plandár]</td>
<td>OP: [plandarâno]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plandarâno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:
'animal' [danawár]  خناوڕ  [danawár]  
'shrinekeeper' [mnjâwár]  منجرور  [mnjâwár]  

M2 nouns. M2 nouns are those masculine nouns that form their plurals by adding the suffix [-úno] - 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] - to the direct singular. For example:
Chapter 5: Nouns

Examples of other M2 nouns are:
- 'hospital' [roghtún] صنف
- 'dance' [atáŋ] اتن
- 'pomegranate' [anár] آثار
- 'classroom' [sznfl] اتکال
- 'guess' [atkál] اتکال
- 'dream' [khob] خواب

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 [-ó] to the direct stem, for example 'house', which has both [koról] and [koróno] as possible oblique plural forms.

Some animate nouns are M2 in form, for example:
- 'horse' [es] پلار
- 'father' [piár] پلار

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

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

Other examples:
- 'thigh' [wrun] لپه مون
- 'Afghan pants' [partúg] پرتوگ
- 'knee' [zangún] زنگون
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'office'</th>
<th>DS. [daftär]</th>
<th>دفتره</th>
<th>DP. [daftarúna]</th>
<th>دفترونه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>DS. [daftár]</td>
<td>دفتره</td>
<td>DP. [daftarúno]</td>
<td>دفترونه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'sea' [samandár] سندر | 'shroud' [kafén] کفن
'street' [sarák] سرک | 'country' [watán] وطن

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'husband'</th>
<th>DS. [merál]</th>
<th>میره</th>
<th>DP. [merúna]</th>
<th>میرونه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>DS. [merál]</td>
<td>میره</td>
<td>DP. [merúno]</td>
<td>میرونو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other nouns in this group:

'sheep' [pasól] پسول | 'heart' [zre] زره
'grandfather' [nikél] نیکل | 'uncle' [tra] تره
'wedding' [wádá] واده | (the [e] changes to [a] in the oblique forms)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'mountain'</th>
<th>DS. [ghar]</th>
<th>غر</th>
<th>DP. [ghrúna]</th>
<th>غرونن</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>DS. [ghar]</td>
<td>غر</td>
<td>DP. [ghrúno]</td>
<td>غرونو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nouns in this group include:

'door' [war] ور | 'unit of weight' [man] من
'rug' [zaghár] زغه | '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
Chapter 5: Nouns

An M3 noun is formed by replacing the [ay] of the direct singular with [o]. An M3 noun denotes both animate beings and inanimate objects, ideas or characteristics. Some M3 nouns are stressed on the next-to-final syllable:


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

- 'summer' [woryay] تيكي
- 'scabbard' [tekyay] تيكي
- 'elder' [spingray] سپین پیری |
- 'monument' [tselay] خلی

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

| 'turban' | DS: [paškay] | پتکی | DP: [pašk] |
| M3 | DS: [pašk] | پتکی | OP: [pašk] |

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

- 'man' [saryay] سری
- 'spring' [pesarlay] پسری
- 'calf' [khusay] خورسی
- 'Abdal' [abdaliay] ابدالی
- 'Afridi' [apriday] اپریدی
- 'planting bed' [patlay] پخلی
- 'cooking' [pakhlay] پخلی
- 'Ahmadzai' [ahmadzyay] احمدزای
- 'Achakzai' [atsakzyay] اشکزای

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 [-ən] and [-əno] -ان- and [-aya] -یو- plurals. For example:

| 'man' | DS: [saryay] سری | DP: [sary] سری / |
| M3 | DS: [sary] سری | OP: [saryən] سریان |
|     | OS: [sary] سری |     |
|     | OP: [saryo] سریو |

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Chapter 5: Nouns

M4 nouns. The direct singular form of an M4 noun ordinarily ends in [ə] or [ɐ]; 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 [-gán] - to the direct singular form, and the oblique plural is formed by adding the suffix [-o] - to the direct plural form.

| 'uncle' | M4 | 'Mamá' | M4
|---------|----|--------|----
| OS: [mámə] | OP: [mámáŋən]
| OS: [mámə] | OP: [mámáŋən]

Examples of other M4 nouns are:

- 'musician' [səzandé] بنده
- 'child' [bandé] نماینده
- 'representative' [namayindé] هزازه
- 'grandfather (title)' [bábá] پاپا

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

| 'scarf' | M4
|---------|----
| OS: [sālů] | OP: [sālugən]

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

- 'toy' [lαtů] لا تو
- 'sailor' [mápů] مانو
- 'knife' [ch₂gů] جاقو
- 'churn' [mandəŋů] مندانو
- 'weaving tool' [máků] ماکر
- 'sugar beet' [lablabů] لابلبو
- 'snake charmer' [pəɾəɾů] پاروړو
## D. Feminine Nouns

Words referring to all female animals and people are feminine, for example 'girl' (پیشلا) پیشنه, 'female nurse' (پرستاره) پرستاره, and 'women whose son has died' (بیره) بیره. Feminine nouns also denote objects, qualities and ideas that have no natural gender, for example 'shoe' (پاگل) پاگل, 'tear' (وکیکا) وکیکا, and 'thirst' (تنده) 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 [\(-\text{al}\) \(-\text{a}\)]ـ. The direct singular form can end in unstressed [-a]/[-a]ـ or [-a]ـ. The oblique plural is formed by replacing the final vowel of the direct singular form with the suffix [-a]ـ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'woman'</th>
<th>DS: [xádža] بَنَ xã</th>
<th>DP: [xádža] بَنَ xã</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>DS: [xádža] بَنَ xã</td>
<td>DP: [xádža] بَنَ xã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'friend'</td>
<td>DS: [malgárə] مَلْگَری</td>
<td>DP: [malgárə] مَلْگَری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>DS: [malgárə] مَلْگَری</td>
<td>DP: [malgárə] مَلْگَری</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of F1 nouns:
- 'nurse' (پرستاره) پرستاره
- 'council' (چارگی) چارگی
dormitory (لیلیه) لیلیه
- 'student (1)' (سناگارا) سناگارا
- 'rent' (لیارد) لیارد
- 'flag' (جاند) جاند

A subclass of F1 nouns appear to have dropped the final [-a]ـ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'day'</th>
<th>DS: [wrádža] وَرَخ</th>
<th>DP: [wrádža] وَرَخ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>DS: [wrádža] وَرَخ</td>
<td>DP: [wrádža] وَرَخ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:
- 'skirt' (لمن) لمن
- 'month' (میاشت) میاشت
- 'bosom' (غمه) غمه
- 'elbow' (تسنگال) لَمگَل
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

(m) nurse [parastār]  پرستار
(f) nurse [parastāra]

(m) student [shāgārd]  شاگرد
(f) student [shāgārda]

F2 nouns. The direct and oblique singular forms of ordinary F2 nouns end in [-ây] -ی-. Note that the letter ی is used only to represent the [-ây] ending. F2 nouns have alternative direct plural forms: the stem plus the suffix [-gāno], -گانو, the [-ay] of the stem changed to [y] and the suffix [-âne] -انه- added, or a form identical to the singular. The oblique plural form has similar alternative forms that end in [-o] -و-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DS: [koranây]</th>
<th>DP: [koranây]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kornaygâno]</td>
<td>[kornaygânî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kornayâne]</td>
<td>[kornayânî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kornayya]</td>
<td>[kornayano]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kornaygânô]</td>
<td>[kornaygânî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kornayâne]</td>
<td>[kornayânî]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of F2 nouns:

'skullcap' [khwâlây] خولی
'sandals' [tsâlây] چبلی
'chair' [tsâkây] چوکی
'cradle' [dzolây] خولی

There are a number of abstract F2 nouns, the direct singulars of which end in [-î] -ی- rather than, [-ây] -ی-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DS: [dostî]</th>
<th>DP: [dostây]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[dostîyo]</td>
<td>[dostéy]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other F2 nouns ending in [-î] -ی- are:

'trickiness' [châlîkî] چالاکی
'hurry' [châjîkî] چنگی
'act of ruling, governing' [wâkdârî] وکداری
'bad deed' [badî] بدی
'good deed' [nekî] نبگی
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS: [tankhá]</td>
<td>تنخا</td>
<td>DP: [tankháwo] تنخا Woody</td>
<td>Example B: [tankhagáno] تنخاگانی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other F3 nouns:

- Pashtun homeland [lexuntkhwá] پښتونخوا
- Cruelty [jafí] جفا
- May-June [jawzá] جوزا
- Dignity [híyá] حیا
- Mistake [khatá] خطأ
- Praise [sandá] ثنآ
- Beginning [shuró] شروع
- Topic [mawzó] موضوع
- Request [arzó] آرزو
- Enemy [dúxmaní] د خمی
- Prediction [peshbíní] پښبینی

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>اصول</td>
<td>[usúl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اصولو</td>
<td>[usúlo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>حيوان</td>
<td>[haywán]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حيوانات</td>
<td>[haywánat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حيواناتو</td>
<td>[haywánato]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A good many of the words ending in [اثت] -اثت- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ورنه</td>
<td>[wúrúna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ورنهو</td>
<td>[wúrúno]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اکاگان</td>
<td>[akágán]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اکاگانو</td>
<td>[akágánø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ترونه</td>
<td>[trúna]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ترونو</td>
<td>[trúno]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>DS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister's son (M3)</td>
<td>[khwrayály] خوریی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Pashtun'</th>
<th>OS: [paxtún]</th>
<th>DP: [paxtánā]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Irreg.</td>
<td>OS: [paxtánā]</td>
<td>DP: [paxtanó]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other example: 'ant, anthill' [mégatón]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ruler'</th>
<th>OS: [wākmán]</th>
<th>DP: [wākmán]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Irreg.</td>
<td>OS: [wākmán]</td>
<td>DP: [wākmán]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

'enemy' [dúxmán]  'sensitive one' [dardmán]

F. Regularization

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

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

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

b. Nouns ending in an unstressed vowel are F1.

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

An example of regularization can be seen in the word 'horse' [as], 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] and 'thing' [shay] which frequently occur with M2 endings.
Chapter 5: Nouns

Gender and class assignment of borrowed nouns. Nouns borrowed into Pashto from other languages are assigned a gender and a class: for example, a borrowing from English, which does not have gender and case among nouns, is converted into a masculine or feminine noun of the 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' [haywán] 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' [afisár], and 'doctor' [dákťár]. Inanimate nouns ending in consonants are usually assigned to the M2 class, for example 'address' [adrás], 'bicycle' [baęsikil], and 'branch (of a business, bank, etc.)' [bränch]. Nouns ending in unstressed vowels are usually assigned to the F1 class, for example 'Britain' [brijěngə], although 'America' has emerged in Pashto as the F3 [amrikā] another English borrowing ending in [i] has become an F2 noun: 'agency' [ejjanşāj]. And a borrowing from French ending in a stressed [o] has emerged as an F3: 'painting' [tablāj].

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--[partág]-- 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' [chaléw] جل و 'kebab' [kebāb] کباب
'pilaf' [paléw] پلو 'soup' [kurwá] بوروا
and some examples of always-plural mass nouns are:

- "flour" [wro] آوره
- "water" [wob6] آوره
- "wine" [shar6b] شراب
- "lentils" [ðæl] دال
- "food" [khwär6] خواره

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

- [woba khwär6 dle] أوه خواره دی. The water is sweet.
- [za khwär6 tskæm] زه خواره آوه دی. I’m drinking the sweet water.

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

- اکمالات [akhámälat] 'equipment'
- مناسبات [munāsabät] 'relationships'
- کاینات [käynät] 'universe'
- تاسیلات [tas-hilät] 'publications'
- نشرات [nashe-rät] 'conveniences'

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] ئ instead of the expected [-una] or [-ena]:

- "three houses" [dare kóra] دری کوره
- "five offices" [pindzé daftéra] پنجه دفتره
- "two streets" [dwa sarrak] دوه سرکه

H. Uses of the Cases

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

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

\[ \text{Pashtun in Kabul lives} \]

Pashtun in Kabul lives

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

\[ \text{Ahmad Pashtun sees} \]

Ahmad Pashtun sees

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

\[ \text{Pashtun's son lives in Kabul} \]

Pashtun's son lives 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):

\[ \text{Pashtun rifle brought} \]

Pashtun rifle brought

\[ \text{Pashtun rifle brought} \]

Pashtun rifle brought
These forms are also used as vocatives, for example:

\[ \text{ey ghwâl} \text{ (F3, OS)} \]
\[ \text{O cow} \]
\[ \text{ai gwa}! \]
\[ \text{You cow!} \]

\[ \text{ey nikâl} \text{ (M irreg, OS)} \]
\[ \text{O grandfather} \]
\[ \text{ai nîke}! \]
\[ \text{Grandfather!} \]

\[ \text{ey mâmâgânât} \text{ (M4, OP)} \]
\[ \text{O uncle(s)} \]
\[ \text{ai mâmâgânât}! \]
\[ \text{Uncles!} \]

\[ \text{ey xâdzol} \text{ (F1, OP)} \]
\[ \text{O women} \]
\[ \text{ai yêw}! \]
\[ \text{Women!} \]

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

\[ \text{boy}! \]
\[ \text{[âlêkal]} \text{ (M1)} \]
\[ \text{friend!} \]
\[ \text{[mèlgéryal]} \text{ (M3)} \]

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] - does not count as a consonant):

\[ \text{mother!} \]
\[ \text{[môrel]} \text{ (F irreg.)} \]
\[ \text{family!} \]
\[ \text{[kóranâyil]} \text{ (F3, OS form)} \]

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 [ay] (our M3 with final stress) and those ending in unstressed [ay] (our M3 with next-to-final-syllable stress); and three main feminine stem types: those ending with unstressed [-a] (our F1), those ending in stressed [-ay] (our F2), and those
Chapter 5: Nouns

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

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

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

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

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

A. Introduction

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

B. Weak Pronouns

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

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

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

Dropped in subject position in present tense sentences:

[ahmad gaqégi.]
Ahmad dances
'Ahmad is dancing.'

[gáqégi.]
dances
'He is dancing.'

[gáqégam.]
(l) dance
'I am dancing.'

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

[machawf me.]
kisses me
'He is kissing me.'

Dropped in subject position in past tense intransitive sentences:

[ahmad gáqadá.]
Ahmad danced
'Ahmad was dancing.'

[gáqadá.]
(he) danced
'He was dancing.'

[gáqadám.]
(l) danced
'I was dancing.'

Dropped in object position in past tense transitive sentences:

[ahmad kitáb lwast.]
Ahmad book read
'Ahmad was reading the book.'

[ahmad lwast.]
Ahmad read (l)
'Ahmad was reading it.'
Chapter 6: Pronouns

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

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

[machawálam ye.]  
kissed (me)  
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 machawí.]  
Ahmad me kisses  
'Ahmad is kissing me.'

[machawálam ye.]  
kissed (me)  
'He was kissing me.'

The direct forms are also used in possessive constructions:

[kitáb me]  
book my  
'my book'

[kitáb ye]  
book his  
'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  
'Asad is buying a horse for me.'

[layla war ta wówele.]  
Layla them to told  
'Layla told them.'
Chapter 6: Pronouns

[əmān nā war sāra dż.]
Aman not him with goes

[da dar póre khand.]  
she you at laughs

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

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

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

C. Strong Pronouns

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

[za ahmaq nā yam; dāy ahmaq da].
I stupid not am he stupid is

I'm not stupid; he is.

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

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

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

The strong pronoun forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular forms</th>
<th>1S. ('I, 'me')</th>
<th>2S. ('you')</th>
<th>3S. (in sight)</th>
<th>3S. (out of sight)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular forms</strong></td>
<td>[za]</td>
<td>[tə]</td>
<td>[day]</td>
<td>[aghá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S. (in sight)</strong></td>
<td>[má]</td>
<td>[fá]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S. (out of sight)</strong></td>
<td>[má]</td>
<td>[fá]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All positions</th>
<th>1P. ('we', 'us')</th>
<th>2P. ('you')</th>
<th>3P. (in sight) ('they', 'them')</th>
<th>3P. (out of sight) ('they', 'them')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural forms</strong></td>
<td>[mung]</td>
<td>[tásə]</td>
<td>[duy]</td>
<td>[aghúy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3P. (in sight)</strong></td>
<td>[aghá]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3P. (out of sight)</strong></td>
<td>[aghá]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>[da]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
### 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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Central pronunciation</th>
<th>Other pronunciation</th>
<th>Pashto spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[di mā]</td>
<td>[zmā]</td>
<td>زما</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[di tā]</td>
<td>[stā]</td>
<td>ستا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSM (in sight)</td>
<td>[di dē]</td>
<td>[di dē]</td>
<td>دده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSF (in sight)</td>
<td>[di dē]</td>
<td>[di dē]</td>
<td>ددي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S M (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de aghā]</td>
<td>[de aghā]</td>
<td>دهنه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J... (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de aghā]</td>
<td>[de aghā]</td>
<td>دههی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[di múŋ]</td>
<td>[zmung]</td>
<td>زمونه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[di tāse]</td>
<td>[stāse]</td>
<td>ستاسی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M &amp; F (in sight)</td>
<td>[de dúy]</td>
<td>[de dúy]</td>
<td>ددوئی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M &amp; F (out of sight)</td>
<td>[de aghúy]</td>
<td>[de aghúy]</td>
<td>دهموئی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Demonstrative Pronouns

### Masculine forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DS:</th>
<th>DP:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>[dā] دا</td>
<td>[dā] دا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('this/these')</td>
<td>[de] دی</td>
<td>[dāgha] دا/داغه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>[āgha] هننه</td>
<td>[āgha] هننه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('that/those')</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Feminine forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DS:</th>
<th>DP:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>[da] دا</td>
<td>[dā] دا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('this/these')</td>
<td>[de] دی</td>
<td>[dāgha] دا/داغه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>[āgha] هننه</td>
<td>[āgha] هننه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('that/those')</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
<td>[ūgha] هو غه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

- [āgha] هننه = 'this/that (M)'
- [āgha] هننه = 'this/that (F)'

**Strong pronouns**

- [āghē] هنده = 'he/she (out of sight)'
- [āghē] هنده = '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

[ághe ta góral] هنی ته گوره!
that at look 'Look at that (m)' (referring to a man, book, etc.)

for example, contrasts with

[ághe ta góral] هنی ته گوره!
that at look 'Look at that (f)' (referring to a woman, chair, etc.)

E. Other Pronouns

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

[tsók rághe?] شرک راغی؟
who came 'Who came?'

[chá ta wäye?] چا ته وايی؟
who to talk-2s 'Who are you talking to?'

[chá räwora?] چا راور؟
who brought it 'Who brought it?'

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

[tsé bë pesi?] خه بی پهسی؟
what will happen 'What will happen?'

[tsé wäye?] خه وايی؟
what say (you) 'What are you saying?'

[tsé de wëwële?] خه دی ویولی؟
what you said 'What did you say?'
Both [tsok] چا and [tsa] فه are used as indefinite pronouns parallel to English someone and something. Combined with the adjective 'every' [ar] یه they are parallel to everyone, everything. When used as indefinites, they are unstrressed.

[tsok râghay] چوک راغی
'someone came'

[artsok râghial] هر چوک راغیل
'everyone came'

[kitib châ ta wárka] کتاب چا ته ورکه
'Give the book to someone.'

[tsa me ná di kâr] خه می ندی کری
'i haven’t done anything (wrong).'

[ârtsa me kâr di] هر خه می کری دی
'i have done everything.'

[tsok] چوک and [tsa] فه are parallel to English whoever and whatever when combined with the clause marker [tsa] چه, as shown in Chapter 13. Some examples:

[tsok tsâ dzân ná pezâni khwây ná pezâni] خه چوک خان نه پژنی که دی یه نه پژنی
'Whoever does not know himself does not know God.'

[tsa tsâ dâ wâyi zaye menâm] خه چه دا وایی زه پی منم
'I accept whatever she says.'

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

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

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

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 [ma] مي, [di] دي, [mo] مو, and [ye] يي as pronominal particles, separates out [rā] ٍ, [dar] در, and [war] ور as prefixes with prepositional particles. He lists the strong pronouns, calling them pronouns, and while he mentions that they can drop when the verbal forms express person in their endings, he does not give the contexts in which they drop. He also mentions that the pronouns (our strong pronouns) and particles (our weak pronouns) alternate, but does not indicate that the alternation has anything to do with meaning.

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

A. Introduction

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

'hungry boy' [wagay alák]       'hungry girl' [wage péghla]
ويي هلك               وبي 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] to the same class, and grouping together all adjectives with [a] endings in the masculine forms, the number of classes is reduced from six to four, and the overall analysis is less redundant.

B. Adjective Classes

Adj 1. Adjectives in this class have forms that are somewhat parallel to the M2 and F1 noun class forms. The masculine direct singular form ends in a consonant; the masculine direct plural and oblique singular forms are the same as the direct singular; and the oblique plural ends in the usual [-0]٠٠٠٠. The feminine forms look exactly like F1 nouns: the direct singular is formed by adding [-a] to the masculine singular form; the direct plural and oblique singular end in [-e]٠٠٠٠ rather than [-a]٠٠٠٠; and the oblique plural ends in [-0]٠٠٠٠.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'scattered'</th>
<th>M: DS: [lit] تیت</th>
<th>DP: [lit] تیت</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 1</td>
<td>OS: [lit] تیت</td>
<td>DP: [litto] تیت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td>DS: [litla] تیته</td>
<td>DP: [litla] تیته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OS: [litla] تیته</td>
<td>DP: [litto] تیته</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 7: Adjectives

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'wide' [prákh] پرَخَ
- 'difficult' [sakht] سخت
- 'strong' [palwénd] پَلَوَند
- 'whole, entire' [jol] تَول
- 'narrow' [tag] تَنَگ
- 'toulsed' [jærj] جَرَج
- 'ready' [tayár] تِار
- 'quiet' [chúp] جُب

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

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

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

Other adjectives in this class include:

- 'thirsty' [tágy] تَجَ
- 'hungry' [wágy] وَجَ
- 'flaming' [sáwy] سَوَ
- 'quiet, careful' [ghógy] غَلَي
- 'complex' [pechágy] پِپَچَي
- 'beautiful' [kkwágy] يِبَكَلَي
- 'new' [néwy] نَوَي

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

- 'threatening' [dürawńkay] دَارَوْنَكَي from 'threaten' [düraw-] دَارَو
- 'scheduled' [tákay] تَأَكَي from 'determine' [ták-] تَأَك
Chapter 7: Adjectives

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 \[-\text{ñy}]\(^{-}\); the oblique singular and direct plural forms end in \[-\text{ñy}]\(^{-}\) or \[-\text{ñy}]\(^{-}\); the oblique plural ends in \[-\text{ñy}]\(^{-}\) or \[-\text{ñy}]\(^{-}\). The feminine forms have endings like those of F2 nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'thin'</th>
<th>M: DS: [narãy] نراي</th>
<th>DP: [narãy] نراي</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>DS: [nãry] ناري</td>
<td>OP: [nãry] ناري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj 2</td>
<td>DS: [narãy] نراي</td>
<td>OP: [narãy] نراي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this class include:
- 'patriarchal' [pãranãy] پرئینا | 'round' [gardãy] گرئیدی
- 'young' [tankãy] تنکی | 'primary' [lumranãy] لومرتینای
- 'mountainous' [gharanaãy] ګرارئینای | 'last' [wrustãy] وروستینای

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 \[-\text{i}]\(^{-}\); and the oblique plural ends in stressed \[-\text{i}]\(^{-}\). The feminine forms are like F1 nouns. There are a number of subclasses of Adj 3, the simplest of which appears to be the smallest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'rough'</th>
<th>M: DS: [zigã] زییه</th>
<th>DP: [zigã] زییه</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td>DS: [zigã] زییه</td>
<td>OP: [zigã] زییه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td>DS: [zigã] زییه</td>
<td>DP: [zigã] زییه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS: [zigã] زییه</td>
<td>OP: [zigã] زییه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives parallel to [zigã] زییه are
- 'long' [ugã] لوئید | 'settled' [mísht] میشت
- 'green, unripe' [umã] اووم
Chapter 7: Adjectives

An equally small subclass is composed of adjectives that end in [ə] -، of which یə is the commonest member:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td>OS: [xe] بنه</td>
<td>DP: [xo] بنه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td>DS: [xe] بنه</td>
<td>DP: [xe] بنه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OS: [xe] بنه</td>
<td>OP: [xo] بنه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

- 'asleep' [udə] اوده
- 'gray' [sperə] سپره
- 'sharp' [terə] تره
- 'sleepy' [wɪdə] ویده

A much larger subclass of the Adj 3's are adjectives ending in a consonant, with stem vowel [ə] or [u] -، (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] -، in the forms ending in [ə] -، and to [ə] in the other forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>M:</th>
<th>DS: [wəɾə] واره</th>
<th>DP: [wəɾə] واره</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj 3</td>
<td>OS: [wəɾə] واره</td>
<td>OP: [warə] واره</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F:</td>
<td>DS: [wəɾə] واره</td>
<td>OP: [warə] واره</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OS: [warə] واره</td>
<td>OP: [warə] واره</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other adjectives in this subclass include:

- 'prone, lying' [pəɾət] پررت
- 'blind' [rənd] روند
- 'soft' [pəɾst] پوست
- 'cooked, ripe' [pəɾk] پوک
- 'cold' [səɾ] سور
- 'old' [zəɾ] جوز
- 'full, satisfied' [μəɾ] مور
- 'curved' [kəɾ] کوئ
- 'deaf' [kəɾ] کون
- 'spread' [kʰpəɾ] خپور
- 'rotten' [wɾət] ورودت
- 'wet' [ləɾ] لوئد
- 'mounted, riding' [səɾ] سپور
- 'heavy' [dɾəɾ] درون
- 'bright' [ɾəɾ] رون

1 These particular stem changes occur elsewhere in the language as well. The generality appears to be that there is a tendency for stem vowels [ə], [u], and [ə] to change to [ə] if the following syllable contains a final [ə], and to change to or remain as [ə] if the following syllable contains any other vowel but [ə].
Chapter 7: Adjectives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>DS</th>
<th>Stem of other forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'red'</td>
<td>سور</td>
<td>[sr-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'green/blue'</td>
<td>شين</td>
<td>[shn-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sweet'</td>
<td>خوور</td>
<td>[khwâg-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'warm'</td>
<td>تود</td>
<td>[lawd-]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| 'pretty'    | M:  | DS: [xâysta]       |
|            |     | بایسته               |
|            |     | /                   |
|            |     | [xâystawo]          |
|            | F:  | DS: [xâysta]       |
|            |     | بایسته               |
|            |     | /                   |
|            |     | [xâystawo]          |

Other adjectives in this class include:

'社交' [îjtîmây]                'emergency' [izterâf]       اضطراري
'basics, essential' [asâsî]     'outstanding' [ālî]           اعمى
'Islamic' [islâmî]              'mythical' [efsânawî]         انساني
'real, original' [asîl]         'Afghan' [arğhânî]             اغناني

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] - for example...
Chapter 7: Adjectives

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

The only other irregular adjective is 'lively' [mastānā] مستانتان, 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] مستانتان - and the feminine forms are like Adj 1.

D. Numbers

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>٢</td>
<td>٣</td>
<td>٤</td>
<td>٥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>٦</td>
<td>٧</td>
<td>٨</td>
<td>٩</td>
<td>٠</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

15 = ١٥  471 = ٤٧١
20 = ٢٠  1,000 = ١٠٠٠

Numbers as adjectives. Pashto numbers are all adjectives, and except for 'one' [jow] یو, which as an Adj 1 has the alternate feminine form [jawé] یاوئ, 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 [i] in the equivalents of 'sixteen' and 'nineteen'.

80

93
Chapter 7: Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman number</th>
<th>Pashto number</th>
<th>Pashto word</th>
<th>Roman number</th>
<th>Pashto number</th>
<th>Pashto word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>[yaw]</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>[shpâras]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>[dwa]</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>[wêlas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[dre]</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>[stêlas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>[tsalór]</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>[nûnas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>[pindzâ]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>[shal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>[shpâg]</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>[gêwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>[wa]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>[dwêwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>[atê]</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>[dórwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>[nêh]</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>[tsalèrist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>[sîs]</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>[pindzêwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>[yawòlas]</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>[shpâgwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>[dôlas]</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>[wêwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>[dyârlas]</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>[atêwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>[tswârlas]</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>[nêhwist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>[pindzâlas]</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>[ders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>[yêw ders]</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>[shpêg ders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>[dû ders]</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>[wê ders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>[dric ders]</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>[atê ders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>[tsalór ders]</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>[nêha ders]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>[pindzê ders]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>٤٠</td>
<td>[tsalwéxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>٥٠</td>
<td>[pandzós]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>٦٠</td>
<td>[shpetá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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] rather than an [e]. Here are the seventies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>٧٠</td>
<td>[awyá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>٧١</td>
<td>[jéw awyá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>٧٢</td>
<td>[dwa awyá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>٧٣</td>
<td>[dri awyá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>٧٤</td>
<td>[tsalór awyá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>٨٠</td>
<td>[atyá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>٩٠</td>
<td>[naw1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word for 100 is [sål], which has the irregular plural [séwa] used in numbers involving more than one hundred. The word 'and' [aw] is usually inserted after [sål] or [séwa]; its pronunciation, however, is contracted to [s] or [séwa w]. For example:

236  [dwa sewa w shpág ders]  دوه سوه او شپچو ديرش

Numbers above one hundred are regularly formed. Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>555</td>
<td>٥٥٥</td>
<td>[pindzé sewa w pindzé pandzos]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td>٨٤٠</td>
<td>[até sewa w tsalwéxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>923</td>
<td>٩٢٣</td>
<td>[náha sewa w dárwist]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Chapter 7: Adjectives

The word for 1000 is [zar], with the alternate form [zára]. An 'and' [law] or اَن is sometimes added after the [zar], or [zára], and pronounced [zár o] or [zára wi]; most of the time, however, there is a pause after the [zar] or [zára]. Numbers over a thousand are written with no comma or period. Some examples:

3,683 ٣٦٨٣ دري زره شپه سوه او دري اتيا
[dré zara, shpág sewa w dré atiá]

24,561 ٢٤٥٦ خلييست زره پنه سوه او يوه پنثنه
[tsalérist zara, pindzá sewa w yáw shpeta]

320,987 ٣٢٠٩٨٧ دري سوه او شل زره نه سوه او اوه اتيا
[dré sewa w shál zara, náha sewa w wó atiá]

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

155 ١٥٥ يو سل او پنه پنخوس
[yáw saí o pindzá pandzos]

or

سل او پنه پنخوس
(sóí o pindzá pandzos)

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

1996 ١٩٩٦ يو زره نه سوه شپه نوي
[yáw zár - náha sewa - shpág nawi]

1347 ١٣٤٧ يو زره دري سوه اوه خلوهبت
[yáw zár - dré sewa - wó tsalwext]

Ordinal numbers. Ordinal numbers (corresponding to English 'fourth', 'twenty-third', etc.) are formed from the cardinal numbers described above by adding the suffix [-šm]/[-šm] 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: [tselorem]  دَلْوَرَم  DP: [tselorem]
  irreg.
  DS: [tselorem]  دَلْوَرَم  DP: [tselorem]
  adj.  F: DS: [tselorema]  دَلْوُرَمَا  DP: [tselorema]
          DS: [tselorema]  دَلْوُرَمَا  DP: [tselorema]

Other numbers which follow this pattern are

'sixth' [shagham]  شَهِم  'tenth' [tasam]  لَسَم
'hundredth' [salam]  سَلَم  'thousandth' [zaram]  زَرَم

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

'seventh'  M: DS: [wam]  أَوَم  DP: [wam]
  irreg.
  DS: [wam]  أَوَم  DP: [wama]
  adj.  F: DS: [wama]  أَوَمَا  DP: [wame]
          DS: [wama]  أَوَمَا  DP: [wama]

Other numbers which follow this pattern are:

'eight' [ata]  آَثَه  'nine' [naha]  نَهَا

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

'two' [dwa]  دَوَه  'second' [dniyam]  دُوْيَم
'three' [dre]  دَرَي  'third' [dreyam]  دِرَيْم

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

'one' [jaw]  يَوُر  'first' [awal]  أَوَل  (Adj 1)

There is no conventional way to represent ordinal numbers with number symbols; they are always written in words.
Chapter 7: Adjectives

E. Vocative Forms of Adjectives

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

'hungry boy'

\[\text{wągəy aləkəl}\]

'hungry boys'

\[\text{wągəy aləkəndə}\]

'hungry girl'

\[\text{wągə pęghələ}\]

'hungry girls'

\[\text{wągə pęghələdə}\]

'little one'

\[\text{wərəəl}\]

'little ones'

\[\text{wərəəl}\]

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:

\[\text{loy khăn}\]

bigM khan

\[\text{pındə xkwale pęghələ}\]

five prettyF girls

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

MDS: \[\text{təgəy alək wəbə ghwərəl}i\]

thirsty boy water want3S

'\text{The thirsty boy wants water.}'
Chapter 7: Adjectives

MDP: [tagl akān wobā ghwārī]

thirsty boys want 3P

'The thirsty boys want water.'

MOS: [de tagl ak khwā vāche wa]

of thirsty boy mouth dry was

'de tagl ak khwā vāche wāchē'

'Very thirsty boy's mouth was dry.'

MOP: [de tagl akānc khwā vāche wa]

of thirsty boys mouths dry were

'de tagl akānc khwā vāche wāchē'

'The thirsty boys' mouths were dry.'

FDS: [tage neghla wobā ghwārī]

thirsty girl want 3S

'tage neghla wobā ghwārī'

'The thirsty girl wants water.'

FDP: [tage neghla wobā ghwārī]

thirsty girls want 3P

'tage neghla wobā ghwārī'

'The thirsty girls want water.'

FOS: [de tagl neghla khwā vāche wa]

of thirsty girl mouth dry was

'de tagl neghla khwā vāche wāchē'

'The thirsty girl's mouth was dry.'

FOP: [de tagl neghla khwā vāche wa]

of thirsty girls mouths dry were

'de tagl neghla khwā vāche wāchē'

'The thirsty girls' mouths were dry.'

Adjectives also occur in predicates, as they do in English, with the Pashto equivalents of 'be' and with other predicates like 'become' (kandā) and 'seem' (kendar). 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' (khwārī) which is F1, and the adjective 'dry' (wāchē) which is Adj 1.

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

[zaхиmiyän roghtún ta rāghiyl] زخمیان روغتون ته راغلی. The injured ones came to the hospital.

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

[spor wādē ta rāghiyl.] سپور واده ته راغلی. The mounted ones (f) (i.e. horsewomen) came to the wedding.

A. Comparison of Adjectives

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

+1. 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' [xa] په (Adj 3) 'pretty/very' [kāystā] په (Adj 4)
'many/very' [qēr] دېر (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 gaçēgī ]
well(m) dances (m)
'He dances well.'

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

[dā peghīa kitabūne xē 1wēlī ]
that girl books (m) well(m) reads
'That girl reads books well.'

[dā peghīa kitabčē xē 1wēlī ]
that girl notebooks(f) well(f) reads
'That girl reads notebooks well.'

J. Other Analyses

Penzl (1955) devotes a chapter to adjectives, and posits five classes, defined on the basis of the feminine forms. Mackenzie (19d7) also posits five classes, but bases their membership on different characteristics. Shefeev (1964) posits seven classes. The classes of these analyses correlate with one another and with the one given above as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Here</th>
<th>Penzl's</th>
<th>Mackenzie's</th>
<th>Shefeev's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, final stress</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, nonfinal stress</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>additional</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C*, c/u stem v</td>
<td>some 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, C*, various stem</td>
<td>some 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (all forms same)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>additional</td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>class</td>
<td>class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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' [کدئیل] and 'make, do' [کوئل];
- 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-]، rather than the traditional infinitives, which are formed with the past imperfective plus the [-al] past tense marker, for example 'put' [kexodal] کهودل. 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 Intermediata Pashto and the accompanying glossary. In boxed models and examples below, however, we list the infinitive form in Pashto script (in parentheses) for the convenience of those accustomed to the traditional citation form.

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

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

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

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

S = singular
P = plural
M = masculine
F = feminine

pres = present
imp = imperfective
pst = past
perf = perfective
part = participle

B. Personal Endings

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[əml]ـمـ</td>
<td>'I'm dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[əl]ـيـ</td>
<td>'you're dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[ə-l]ـىـ</td>
<td>'he/she is dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[ə-u]ـرـ</td>
<td>'we're dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[ə-yə]ـىـ</td>
<td>'you-all are dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P:</td>
<td>[ə-1]ـىـ</td>
<td>'they're dancing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the second person plural ending is spelled with 'ت (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 [gaqâd-] -،کذب، and will be explained in the section on simple verbs below.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>[gaqâd-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[-am]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[-u]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[-a]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[-a]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[-u]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[-ay]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM.</td>
<td>[-a]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF.</td>
<td>[-a]</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Tense and Aspect

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

- Present Imperfective
- Present Perfective
- Past Imperfective
- Past Perfective

Verbs may be classified according to the way in which their 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

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1 The presence of the [-aI] -،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 (= perfected, or perfective) or not completed (= imperfective). This semantic distinction is not consistent, however (in the next chapter, for example, it will be shown that positive commands use the perfective, whereas the corresponding negative commands use the imperfective), and it seems best to consider the imperfective-perfective distinction as one of grammatical form only. Readers are cautioned that a parallel should not be made between the Pashto perfective and the English perfect tenses, i.e. the present perfect (I have gone), past perfect (I had gone) and future perfect (I will have gone).

D. The Verb be

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present imperfctive forms of be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:    'I am'  [yam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:    'you are' [ye]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[khalak dašta nāst wi.]} & \quad \text{خلک دلته ناست دی.} \\
\text{people here sitting bašS} & \quad '\text{People sit here. (We can use this table.')} \\
\text{[khalak dašta nāst di.]} & \quad \text{ الخلک دلته ناست دی.} \\
\text{people here sitting bašS} & \quad '\text{People are sitting here. (We can see them.')} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[pa kor ke woğa sta.]} & \quad \text{په کور کی اوره سته.} \\
\text{in house in flour there-is} & \quad '\text{There's flour in the house.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Sentences and questions with [sta] are commonly used over the telephone, for example:

\[
\frac{93}{106}
\]
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

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

[asad nésta]  
Asad not-there-is  "Asad isn't here."

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past imperfective forms of be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: 'I was' [swám]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: 'you were' [swá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM: 'he was' [swá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF: 'she was' [swá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfective forms of be</th>
<th>without [ácil - 1-]</th>
<th>with [ál-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: 'I was'</td>
<td>[swám]</td>
<td>[swálam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: 'you were'</td>
<td>[swá]</td>
<td>[swál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: 'he was'</td>
<td>[swá]</td>
<td>[swál]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she was' [swá]</td>
<td>[swál]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P: 'we were'</td>
<td>[swú]</td>
<td>[swálú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P: 'you all were'</td>
<td>[swái]</td>
<td>[swálay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF: 'they were'</td>
<td>[swál]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffix [-ál] -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 [-ál] -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, [keg-] کیدل 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 glasses out of the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present forms of the intransitive auxiliary [keg-] کیدل</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present imperfective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S: [kégam] کېګم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [kégel] کېڼئې</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [kégil] کېڼئې</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present perfective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S: [sam] شم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [sá] شئې</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [sá] شئې</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present imperfective 3rd person form [kégil] is always pronounced [kigil] 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.
### Past forms of the intransitive auxiliary (καω-1 كِوَ) (κοδ-1 كِدِ)

#### Past imperfective

| 1S: | [καδάμ] كِدَم | [καδάμ] كِدَم |
| 2S: | [καδέ] كِدِ | [καδέ] كِدِ |
| 3SM: | [καδέ] كِدَه | | |
| 3SF: | [καδέ] كِدِه | [καδέ] كِدَه |
| 1P: | [καδό] كِدُو | [καδό] كِدُو |
| 2P: | [καδέ] كِدِ | [καδέ] كِدِ |
| 3PM: | [καδό] كِدَل | [καδό] كِدَل |
| 3PF: | [καδέ] كِدِ | [καδέ] كِدِ |

#### Past perfective

| 1S: | [σωμ] شُوم | [σωμ] شُوم |
| 2S: | [σω] شُي | [σω] شُي |
| 3SM: | [σα] شَه | |
| 3SF: | [σω] شُه | [σω] شُه |
| 1P: | [σω] شُو | [σω] شُو |
| 2P: | [σω] شُو | [σω] شُو |
| 3PM: | [σω] شُو | [σω] شُو |
| 3PF: | [σω] شُو | [σω] شُو |

Again, the past tense suffix [σα] -σα- 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 -σ in past perfective forms is pronounced [ʃ] in reading and formal speech.

The transitive auxiliary. The transitive auxiliary is [καω-1 كِوَ] (κολ-1 كِلَ), which when used as a full verb has the meaning 'do' or 'maka'.
### Present forms of the transitive auxiliary (kaw-1 كوب)

#### Present imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1S:</th>
<th>1P:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kawáml كوب]</td>
<td>[kawúل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>2P:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kawéل كوب]</td>
<td>[kawéل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>3P:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kawíل كوب]</td>
<td>[kawíل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1S:</th>
<th>1P:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kam كوب]</td>
<td>[kuل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>2P:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[keل كوب]</td>
<td>[kayل]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>3P:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kiل كوب]</td>
<td>[kiل]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-1 كوب)

#### Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>without [l]</th>
<th>with [l]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S: [kawál] كوب</td>
<td>[kawál] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S: [kawále] كوب</td>
<td>[kawále] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [kawé] كوب</td>
<td>[kawé] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P: [kawál] كوب</td>
<td>[kawál] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P: [kawálay] كوب</td>
<td>[kawálay] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S: [kawé] كوب</td>
<td>[kawé] كوب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P: [kawé] كوب</td>
<td>[kawé] كوب</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Past forms of the transitive auxiliary (kaw-) كَوْ (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[kraːm] كَرَم</td>
<td>[kraːlam] كَرَلَم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[kraː] كَرِي</td>
<td>[kraːla] كَرْلَي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[kal], [kā] كَال، كَأ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[kraː] كَرُّ</td>
<td>[kraːla] كَرْلَٰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[kraː] كَرِ</td>
<td>[kraːla] كَرْلَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[kraːl] كَرْلِ</td>
<td>[kraːlay] كَرْلَلْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[kraː] كَرِ</td>
<td>[kraːla] كَرْلَٰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[kraː] كَرِ</td>
<td>[kraːla] كَرْلَٰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [a].

### F. Simple Verbs

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

**Ordinary simple verb formations.** Simple verbs form their perfective stems by adding the prefix [wā-] to the imperfective stem, and their past stems by adding the suffix [-l-] -ل-, for example:
### Simple verb formation: 'tie' [tar-] (تهیه)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. imp.</td>
<td>تر - 2</td>
<td>[taɾ-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
<td>وتر - 1</td>
<td>[wātaɾ-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
<td>ترل - 1</td>
<td>[tāral-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
<td>وترل - 1</td>
<td>[wātāral-]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present imperfective forms of 'tie' [tar-] (تهیه)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[taɾām]</td>
<td>تر فم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[taɾē]</td>
<td>تر فئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[taɾ]</td>
<td>تر فئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[taɾū]</td>
<td>تر و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[taɾāğ]</td>
<td>تر وئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[taɾl]</td>
<td>تر وئ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present perfective forms of 'tie' [tar-] (تهیه)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[wātaɾām]</td>
<td>وتر فم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[wātaɾe]</td>
<td>وتر وئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[wātaɾ]</td>
<td>وتر وئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[wātaɾū]</td>
<td>وتر و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[wātaɾāğ]</td>
<td>وتر وئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[wātāɾ]</td>
<td>وتر وئ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past imperfective forms of 'tie' [tar-] (تهیه)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[taɾām]</td>
<td>تر لام</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[taɾē]</td>
<td>تر لئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>[tāɾē]</td>
<td>تار لئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>[tāɾēl]</td>
<td>تار لئ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[taɾāl]</td>
<td>تر ل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[tāɾālāy]</td>
<td>تر لی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>[tāɾēl]</td>
<td>تار لی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>[tāɾēl]</td>
<td>تار لی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2. In this chart and elsewhere, a stress mark over a hyphen indicates that the stress occurs on the personal ending.
### Past perfective forms of 'tie' [t̲ar-²] (تَلَرُ -)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1S:</th>
<th>2S:</th>
<th>3S M:</th>
<th>3S F:</th>
<th>1P:</th>
<th>2P:</th>
<th>3PM:</th>
<th>3PF:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a̲l̲am̲]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a̲la]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
<td>[w̲áš̲ar̲a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>وترلما لمل</td>
<td>وترلما</td>
<td>ونار</td>
<td>ونار</td>
<td>ونار</td>
<td>ونار</td>
<td>ونار</td>
<td>ونار</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other simple verbs are:

- 'drink' [t̲sk-²] (شُكل) 'throw, toss' [š̲in̲d-²] (شند)
- 'have' [l̲ar̲-²] (لُك) 'write' [l̲ik̲-²] (ليك)
- 'consider' [g̲a̲n̲-²] (غِن) 'keep' [š̲a̲t̲-²] (سات)
- 'send' [l̲eg̲-²] (لَهْب) 'make, do' [k̲aw̲-²] (كو)

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

Note also the presence of [a] in the 3rd singular masculine forms in the past tenses in the paradigm of [t̲ar-²] (تُلَرُ) above. This is another exemplification of the rule that changes [a] to [a] when the following final syllable ends in [a]. The verbs above that have [a] as the vowel of the stem, also have [a] as stem vowel in the 3rd singular masculine forms.

Simple intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] (إغ). The present stems of all intransitive simple verbs end in the common intransitive marker [-eg-] (إغ) which is similar to the intransitive auxiliary described above. The past stems of these verbs predictably end in [-ed(āl)-] (إد). (Parentheses around an element indicate that the element is optional).
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

Simple verb formation: intransitives ending in [-eg-]

'dance' [gadjeg-]  

\( \text{Pres. Imp.} \) [gadjeg-]  
\( \text{Pres. perf.} \) [wé gadjeg-]  
\( \text{Pst. imp.} \) [gadjed(ál)-]  
\( \text{Pst. perf.} \) [wé gadjed(a1)-]

In a pattern that was seen in the auxiliary forms above, and will be seen throughout the description of verbs, the past tense marker [-ál-] -1- 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 [gadjeg-]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>without [-ál-]</th>
<th>with [-ál-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[gadjedém]</td>
<td>[gadjedám]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[gadjedé]</td>
<td>[gadjedéa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[gadjedó]</td>
<td>[gadjedóa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[gadjeda]</td>
<td>[gadjeda]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[gadjedú]</td>
<td>[gadjedúa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[gadjedúi]</td>
<td>[gadjedúi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[gadjedú]</td>
<td>[gadjedú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[gadjedu]</td>
<td>[gadjedu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

'stop' [darég-]  
'reach' [ráség-]  
'live' [wóség-]  
'walk' [gardzég-]  
'blow' [lagég-]  

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Simple verbs ending in [-aw-] -ر-. In parallel to the intransitive verbs ending in [-eg-] -ر- described just above, there are also a number of simple verbs that end in the common transitive or causative suffix [-aw-] -ر- which is similar to the transitive auxiliary. These are ordinary simple verbs whose forms are parallel to those of 'tie' [taq-] -ئ- 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' [rasaw-] -سل- 'pull, push' [chalaw-] -ل- -ل-
- 'play' [ghagaw-] -ل- -ل- 'throw' [ghordaw-] -ل-
- 'grind, knock' [jakaw-] -ل- -ل-

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

Simple irregular verb formation: 'roll around' [rghar]-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres. imp.</th>
<th>[rghar] -ر-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
<td>[wárghar] -ل-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>without</em> [al]-</td>
<td>[wárghar] -ل-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>with</em> [al]-</td>
<td>[wárghar] -ل-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
<td>[rghaxt]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
<td>[wárghaxt]-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following past tense imperfective forms of the verb 'roll around' [rghar]- ـ ر- are all correct:

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Past imperfective forms of 'roll around' [rgharb]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>without [rghx]-</th>
<th>with [rghx]-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[rghaxtám]</td>
<td>[rghaxtám]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[rghaxtú]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[rghaxtáy]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[rghaxtá]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>[ákhíl]-</td>
<td>[akhx]</td>
<td>[ákhxt]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wear'</td>
<td>[ághund]-</td>
<td>[ághust]-</td>
<td>[ághust]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'buzz'</td>
<td>[aluz]-</td>
<td>[alut]-</td>
<td>[alut]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pass'</td>
<td>[áwÉ]-</td>
<td>[awut]-</td>
<td>[awut]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[awut]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'roll'</td>
<td>[áwÉ]-</td>
<td>[awut]-</td>
<td>[awut]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pull out'</td>
<td>[bás]-</td>
<td>[byst]-</td>
<td>[byst]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'consider'</td>
<td>[ból]-</td>
<td>[bol]-</td>
<td>[bol]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'know'</td>
<td>[pÉzan]-</td>
<td>[pezan]-</td>
<td>[pezan]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'explode'</td>
<td>[chow]-</td>
<td>[chów]-</td>
<td>[chów]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'want'</td>
<td>[ghwá]-</td>
<td>[ghuí]-</td>
<td>[ghuí]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'suck'</td>
<td>[Réw]-</td>
<td>[réud]-</td>
<td>[réud]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'slit'</td>
<td>[kág]-</td>
<td>[káj]-</td>
<td>[káj]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'show'</td>
<td>[káy]-</td>
<td>[kód]-</td>
<td>[kód]-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>[gúr]-</td>
<td>[gúr]-</td>
<td>[gúr]-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four very common and very old simple irregular verbs listed below have idiosyncratic third person masculine singular and plural forms in the past tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>3SM in past forms</th>
<th>3PM in past forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'look'</td>
<td>[gór-] (كتل)</td>
<td>[kat(áli)-]</td>
<td>کوت [kót]</td>
<td>کانه [kánta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'get out'</td>
<td>[wáz-] (وتل)</td>
<td>[wat(áli)-]</td>
<td>ووت [wót]</td>
<td>واته [wátá]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td>[khédz-] (ختل)</td>
<td>[khat(áli)-]</td>
<td>خوت [khot]</td>
<td>خاته [khánta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>[khwr-] (خورل)</td>
<td>[khwar(áli)-]</td>
<td>خورل [khórál]</td>
<td>خواره [khórá]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>without [á]</th>
<th>with [á]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[watám] (واتلم)</td>
<td>[watám] (واتلم)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[waté] (واتی)</td>
<td>[waté] (واتی)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S M:</td>
<td>[wot] (وات)</td>
<td>[wot] (وات)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S F:</td>
<td>[waté] (واته)</td>
<td>[waté] (واته)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[watú] (واتو)</td>
<td>[watú] (واتو)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 P:</td>
<td>[watú] (واتی)</td>
<td>[watú] (واتی)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M:</td>
<td>[waté] (واته)</td>
<td>[waté] (واته)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P F:</td>
<td>[waté] (واتی)</td>
<td>[waté] (واتی)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Simple Verbs beginning with [a] - l. The perfective stems of simple verbs beginning with [a] - l, whether regular or irregular, follow the pattern shown below, in which the [wa-a-] is pronounced [wā-]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple verb beginning with [a] - l: 'throw' [achaw-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres. Imp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. perf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. imp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst. perf.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- 'buy' [ākni-]  (أخلي)  'fly' [āluz-]  (الوذ)  
- 'hear' [āwr-]  (اور)  'wear' [āghund-]  (اغوند)  
- 'turn over' [āraw-]  (اورو)  'roll around' [āwr-]  (اور)  
- 'send' [āstaw-]  (استو)  'climb over' [āwaxt-]  (أوبت)  

C. 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-]  (خرشەگ)  The transitive ones, on the other hand, tend to be causative, for example 'sell' (or 'cause to be sold') [khartsaw-]  (خرشەو)  

A derivative verb consists of a noun or adjective plus either the intransitive [kaw-]  (کو) or transitive [kaw-]  (کو) auxiliary. The personal endings are attached to the auxiliary. If the first component of the verb is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the subject or object in number and gender.
In the case of irregular adjectives, it is often the feminine form which is used in derivative verbs. For example (as will be explained in more detail below), the [k-] -50 the auxiliary drops when affixed to a word ending in a vowel):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Derivative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'warm'</td>
<td>[tod]</td>
<td>[tawda]</td>
<td>[tawdaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cold'</td>
<td>[sor]</td>
<td>[sara]</td>
<td>[saraw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'curved'</td>
<td>[kog]</td>
<td>[kaga]</td>
<td>[kagaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ripe, cooked'</td>
<td>[pokh]</td>
<td>[pakha]</td>
<td>[pakhaw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the auxiliary is a separate word, and has forms as listed in Section E above. The adjective 'pretty' [käystá], for example, becomes the intransitive derivative verb 'become pretty' [käysta kég-1]. We forms as follows:

```
become pretty' [käysta kég-1] شایسته کیپ

Present imperfective
1S: [käysta kégam]
2S: [käysta kéga]
3S: [käysta kégi]
1P: [käysta kégu]
2P: [käysta kégay]
3P: [käysta kégi]

Present perfective
1S: [käysta sam]
2S: [käysta sé]
3S: [käysta si]
1P: [käysta sul]
2P: [käysta sáy]
3P: [käysta si]
```
### Chapter 8: Verb Forms

**'become pretty' [xāysta kāg] (Haibeste Kähde) Haibeste Kähde**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past imperfective</th>
<th>without [al-]</th>
<th>with [al-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[xāysta kæðam]</td>
<td>[xāysta kæðalami]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædl]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædle]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædl]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
<td>[xāysta kædæ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfective</th>
<th>without [al-]</th>
<th>with [al-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[xāysta swam]</td>
<td>[xāysta swam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[xāysta sw]</td>
<td>[xāysta sw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[xāysta sw]</td>
<td>[xāysta sw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
<td>[xāysta swal]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäystä kawám]</td>
<td>بايست كوم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäystä kawél]</td>
<td>بايست كوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[xäystä kawí]</td>
<td>بايست كوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäystä kawú]</td>
<td>بايست كوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäystä kawáy]</td>
<td>بايست كوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[xäystä kawí]</td>
<td>بايست كوي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Present Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäystá kam]</td>
<td>بايست كرم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäystá ke]</td>
<td>بايست كري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>[xäystá kl]</td>
<td>بايست كري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäystá ku]</td>
<td>بايست كرو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäystá kay]</td>
<td>بايست كري</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>[xäystá kl]</td>
<td>بايست كري</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Past Imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[xäystä kawálam]</td>
<td>بايست كولم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[xäystä kawál]</td>
<td>بايست كولي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>[xäystä kawé]</td>
<td>بايست كاره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>[xäystä kawalá]</td>
<td>بايست كوله</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[xäystä kawálul]</td>
<td>بايست كولو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[xäystä kawálay]</td>
<td>بايست كولي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>[xäystä kawál]</td>
<td>بايست كول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>[xäystä kawál]</td>
<td>بايست كولي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Chapter 8: Verb Forms**

### Beautify, cause to be pretty (xäystä kaw-) (بایسته کوم)

#### Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>without [-al-1-]</th>
<th>with [-al-1-J-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[xäystä kram]</td>
<td>بایسته کوم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[xäystä kre]</td>
<td>بایسته ک وری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[xäystä ka]</td>
<td>بایسته کو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[xäystä kra]</td>
<td>بایسته کر ده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR:</td>
<td>[xäystä kru]</td>
<td>بایسته کر دو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[xäystä kray]</td>
<td>بایسته کر وی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[xäystä kra]</td>
<td>بایسته کر ده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[xäystä kra]</td>
<td>بایسته کر دی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfective forms of a derivative verb are slightly different when the noun or adjective ends with a consonant. The [k-] is dropped, and the rest of the auxiliary is added to the noun or adjective to form a single word. Note that the imperfective forms of these verbs are indistinguishable from the imperfective forms of simple verbs ending in [-eg-1-] or [-aw-1-].

All the forms for the transitive and intransitive verbs derived from the adjective 'injured' (zobal) (زوربل) has the feminine form (zóblä) (زوربله) 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.

### Injured (zobal-) (زوربل)

#### Present imperfective

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[zobilgam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[zobilge]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[zobilgir]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR:</td>
<td>[zobilgul]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[zobilgay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P:</td>
<td>[zobilgir]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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**Present perfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنَم</td>
<td>zóbal sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنِيِّ</td>
<td>zóbal se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنِهِ</td>
<td>zóbal si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنِيًا</td>
<td>zóbal su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنِيِّنَيْ</td>
<td>zóbal say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْنِهِنَّ</td>
<td>zóbal st</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past imperfective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Phonic</th>
<th>with [-tá-]</th>
<th>without [-tá-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدَم</td>
<td>zobledém</td>
<td>zobledám</td>
<td>zobledém</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدِيِّ</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدِهِ</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدِهِ</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدُ</td>
<td>zobledód</td>
<td>zobledód</td>
<td>zobledód</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدِيِّنَيْ</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
<td>zobledéy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>وَبِلْبِيْدِهِنَّ</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
<td>zobledéh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'be injured' [zoblég-] 

Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Without [-al-]</th>
<th>With [-al-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[zóbal swam]</td>
<td>[zóbal swalam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[zóbal swe]</td>
<td>[zóbal swale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM:</td>
<td>[zóbal sa]</td>
<td>[zóbal she]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF:</td>
<td>[zóblia swe]</td>
<td>[zóblia swale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P:</td>
<td>[zóbal su]</td>
<td>[zóbal sul]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P:</td>
<td>[zóbal sway]</td>
<td>[zóbal swale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM:</td>
<td>[zóbal swa]</td>
<td>[zóbal swale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF:</td>
<td>[zóblia swa]</td>
<td>[zóblia swale]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

'Injure, hurt' [zoblaw-]

Present imperfective

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[zoblawam]</td>
<td>[zoblawú]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[zoblawel]</td>
<td>[zoblawel]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[zoblaw]</td>
<td>[zoblaw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present perfective

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S:</td>
<td>[zóbal kam]</td>
<td>[zóbal ku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S:</td>
<td>[zóbal kel]</td>
<td>[zóbal kay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S:</td>
<td>[zóbal kil]</td>
<td>[zóbal kili]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3The [č] is pronounced in other dialects, and in reading and careful pronunciation.
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

### 'injure, hurt' [zobláwa]- (زوبليوأ) زوبليوأ- زوبليوأ-

#### Past imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[zobláwálam] زوبليوألأ</td>
<td>[zobláwálu] زوبليوألأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[zobláwála] زوبليوألأ</td>
<td>[zobláwálaj] زوبليوألأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>[zobláwá] زوبليوأ</td>
<td>[zobláwé] زوبليوأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>[zobláwála] زوبليوألأ</td>
<td>[zobláwé] زوبليوأ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Past perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Form without [-al-] -</th>
<th>Plural with [-al-] -</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>[zóbal kíj] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kíj] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>[zóbla kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbla kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PM</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbal kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PF</td>
<td>[zóbla kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
<td>[zóbla kí] زوبليوأ كيم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>DS</th>
<th>DP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>[lund] لوند</td>
<td>[ländé] لاندأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[landá] لاندة</td>
<td>[länddí] لانددي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>[landá] لاندة</td>
<td>[ländé] لاندأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[landdí] لانددي</td>
<td>[länddí] لانددي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned at the beginning of the section, the class of derivative verbs is open, in that almost any noun or adjective can be changed into a derivative verb by adding the appropriate auxiliary. Here is a sample:

**Derived from nouns:**
From 'change' [badal] (M1):
- 'become changed into' [badleg-]
- 'change into' [badlaw-]

From 'wind' [bād] (M1):
- 'be winnowed' [bādleg-]
- 'winnow' [bādaw-]

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

From 'blocked' [bend] (adj 1):
- 'be blocked' [bendleg-]
- 'block' [bendaw-]

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

From 'obligated' [ār] (adj 1):
- 'be in need' [ārleg-]
- 'force' [āraw-]
From 'long' [ugd] اَوْلِدَ (adj irreg.):
- 'become long' [ugdēg-] اوُلِدَ بِت -
- 'lengthen' [ugdaw-] اوُلِدَ الو

From 'free' [azād] آَزَادَ (adj 1):
- 'become free' [azādēg-] آَزَادَ بِت -
- 'set free' [azādaw-] آَزَادَ الو

H. Doubly Irregular Verbs

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

Pres imp: [byāy-] بَيَاْي -
Pst imp: [bōy(ēl)-] بُوَي -
Pres perf: [bāz-] بَوْز -
Pst perf: [bōz(ēl)-] بُوَز -

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-] كَشْهَنُو (which has the following forms):

Pres imp: [kenaw-] كَشْهَنُو -
Pst imp: [kenawēl-] كَشْهَنُو -
Pres perf: [kēnaw-] كَشْهَنُو -
Pst perf: [kēnawal-] كَشْهَنُو -

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

'deck-and' [dar+kawil] دِرْكَوْل
'give (to you)' [dar+kawil] دِرْكَوْل
'give (to me) ' [rā+kawil] رَأْكَوْل

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

'sit down' [κε+ν] كَبَبُدِل -
'put' [κε+ν] كَبَبُدِل -

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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.

**Less** [bāyīlōdāl]**

- Pres imp: [bāyīlōd] (ā)
- Pres perf: [bāyīlōd(a1)]
- Pst imp: [bāyīlōd(a1)]
- Pst perf: [bāyīlōd(a1)]

**Happen** [prawatāl]

- Pres imp: [prawat] (ā)
- Pres perf: [prawat(a1)]
- Pst imp: [prawat(a1)]
- Pst perf: [prawat(a1)]

3SM: [prawot] 3PM: [prawāta]

**Cut** [prakawāl]

- Pres imp: [prakaw] (ā)
- Pres perf: [prakaw(a1)]
- Pst imp: [prakaw(a1)]
- Pst perf: [prakaw(a1)]

**Give (to you)** [darzdawāl]**

- Pres imp: [darzdaw] (ā)
- Pres perf: [darzdaw] (ā)
- Pst imp: [darzdaw(a1)]
- Pst perf: [darzdaw(a1)]

**Wash** [prémindzāl]**

- Pres imp: [prémindz] (ā)
- Pres perf: [prémindz] (ā)
- Pst imp: [prémindz(a1)]
- Pst perf: [prémindz(a1)]

**Go** [ttīl]**

- Pres imp: [ttīl] (ā)
- Pres perf: [ttīl(a1)]
- Pst imp: [ttīl(a1)]
- Pst perf: [ttīl(a1)]
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

'come (to me)' [rāštāli]
Pres imp: [rā-ː] راشت-
Pres perf: [rāːs-] راش-
Pst imp: [rāštāli]-[1-] راشتلا-
Pst perf: [rāghil(aI)-] راغلل-
3SM: [rāghay]

'give (to me)' [rākawal]
Pres imp: [rākaw-] راکو-
Pres perf: [rāk-] راک-
Pst imp: [rākaw(aI)-] راکولا-
Pst perf: [rāk(aI)-] راکلا-

'bring (to me)' [rawrāli]
Pres imp: [rawr-] راور-
Pres perf: [rawr-] راور-
Pst imp: [rawr(aI)-] راورلا-
Pst perf: [rawr(aI)-] راورلا-

'go (to you)' [darštāli]
Pres imp: [dar-] درخ-
Pres perf: [dar-] درخ-
Pst imp: [dar(aI)-] درخلا-
Pst perf: [dar(aI)-] درخلا-
3SM: [daraghay]

'put' [kexodāli]
Pres imp: [k-] کد-
Pres perf: [k-] کد-
Pst imp: [kexod(aI)-] کخودلا-
Pst perf: [kexod(aI)-] کخودلا-

'allow' [prākodāli]
Pres imp: [preg-] پرپد-
Pres perf: [preg-] پرپد-
Pst imp: [prākod(aI)-] پرپودلا-
Pst perf: [prākod(aI)-] پرپودلا-

'take' [bowāli]
Pres imp: [byš-] بیش-
Pres perf: [byš-] بیش-
Pst imp: [bow(aI)-] وبللا-
Pst perf: [bow(aI)-] وبللا-

'transport here' [rawastāli]
Pres imp: [rawast-] راوست-
Pres perf: [rawast-] راوست-
Pst imp: [rawast(aI)-] راوستلا-
Pst perf: [rawast(aI)-] راوستلا-

'open' [prānastāli]
Pres imp: [prān-] پران-
Pres perf: [prān-] پران-
Pst imp: [prānast(aI)-] پرانستلا-
Pst perf: [prānast(aI)-] پرانستلا-

'get up' [pātsadāli]
Pres imp: [pāts-] پاگی-
Pres perf: [pāts-] پاگی-
Pst imp: [pāts(aI)-] پاگلا-
Pst perf: [pāts(aI)-] پاگلا-
Chapter 8: Verb Forms

'squeeze' [kekkadá]

Pres imp: [kekk-aą-
Pres perf: [këk-kã-
Pst imp: [kekkod(al)\-
Pst perf: [këk-kod(al)\-

'arrive enter' [nanawatá]

Pres imp: [nanawaz-
Pres perf: [nâna-waz-
Pst imp: [nanawat(al)\-
Pst perf: [nânawat(al)\-
3SM: [nanawol\-
3PM: [nanawal\-

'go (to him)' [wartá]

Pres imp: [wardz-
Pres perf: [wára-
Pst imp: [wart(al)\-
Pst perf: [wârg(a)-
3SM: [wâraghay\-

'give (to him)' [warkawá]

Pres imp: [warkawz-
Pres perf: [wárkâ-
Pst imp: [warkaw(al)\-
Pst perf: [wárk(a)-

'take (to him)' [warwál]

Pres imp: [warwa-
Pres perf: [wärwa-
Pst imp: [warwál-\-
Pst perf: [wärwa-
3SM: [wafwar\-

'take carry' [wral]

Pres imp: [wra-
Pres perf: [wës-
Pst imp: [wral-\-
Pst perf: [wëw-
3SM: [wëwar\-

'err' [khatáwata]

Pres imp: [khatáwat-
Pres perf: [khatáwaz-
Pst imp: [khatáwat(al)\-
Pst perf: [khatáwot\-
3SM: [khatáwatol\-
3PM: [khatáwata\-

'deceive' [khatáysta]

Pres imp: [khatáyst-
Pr perf: [khatábüs-
Pst imp: [khatáyst(al)\-
Pst perf: [khatáyst\-

J. Participles

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

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

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

| M: | OS: [t̪ilaːy] | DP: [t̪ilaː] |
|    | تلیلی | تلیلی |
|    | [t̪ilay] | [t̪ila] |
| F: | OS: [t̪ilaː] | DP: [t̪ilaː] |
|    | تلیلی | تلیلی |
|    | [t̪ilaː] | [t̪ilaː] |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>[gaqeg]-</td>
<td>[gaqedal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[gaqedal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'send'</td>
<td>[leg]-</td>
<td>[legal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[legal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivative:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be built'</td>
<td>[jorég]-</td>
<td>[joredal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[joredal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>[joraw]-</td>
<td>[jorawai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[jorawai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubly irregular:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>[ken]-</td>
<td>[kenastal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[kenastal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'plant'</td>
<td>[kenaw]-</td>
<td>[kenawal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[kenawal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>[dz]-</td>
<td>[tal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[tal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>[byây]-</td>
<td>[bowal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
<td>[bowal]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>[wagaqedal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'send'</td>
<td>[walegal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivative:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be built'</td>
<td>[joresaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build'</td>
<td>[jorawai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doubly irregular:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sit down'</td>
<td>[kenastal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'plant'</td>
<td>[kennawal]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The [-al-] -ı- 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] indicates that the form is past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جنیدی</td>
<td>جنیدی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gađedáy]</td>
<td>[gađedáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لیپی</td>
<td>لیپی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[legáy]</td>
<td>[legáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جریدی</td>
<td>جریدی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jođedáy]</td>
<td>[jođedáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جروئی</td>
<td>جروئی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jorawáy]</td>
<td>[jorawáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>کینستی</td>
<td>کینستی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kenastáy]</td>
<td>[kenastáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>کیننوی</td>
<td>کیننوی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kenawáy]</td>
<td>[kenawáy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تلی</td>
<td>تلی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tiţay]</td>
<td>[tiţay]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دروری</td>
<td>دروری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bowáy]</td>
<td>[bowáy]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective/imperfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>ج۰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'put'</td>
<td>پد</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participles for the auxiliaries are also idiosyncratic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Imperfective participle</th>
<th>Perfective participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>کدی</td>
<td>کسی /[sáway]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>کدی</td>
<td>کسی /[sáway]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>کو</td>
<td>کری /[kóray]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>کو</td>
<td>کری /[kóray]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
J. Other Analyses

Analyses of verb formation vary widely from writer to writer on Pashto grammar. Mackenzie (1967) posits a four-way system similar to the one given here, i.e. based on present/past, imperfective/perfective. He equates the doubly irregular verbs with the simple verbs, positing the first parts of the former as preverbs which preclude the [wš] 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 (1957) 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’ [gadég-] (گدیدگ) جور

Transitive: ‘send’ [lag-] (لکار) جور

Beginning with [a]: ‘buy’ [baght] (بخر) جور

Derivative verbs (derived from the class 1 adjective ‘healthy, constructed’ [jor] (جور)): "

Intransitive: ‘get better, be sewn, be built’ [jorég-] (جوربید) جور

Transitive: ‘build, make healthy, sew’ [jorégaw-] (جورول) جور

Doubly irregular verbs

Intransitive: ‘go’ [dz-] (تلل)

Pr. imp. [dz] ضرر

Pr. perf. [1ā خی 1-

Pst. imp. [1āţā 1-

Pst. perf. [1āţا 1-

Transitive: ‘take’ [byāy-] (پیا) بور

Pr. imp. [byāy] بور

Pr. perf. [boz-] بور

Pst. imp. [boz(3)] بور

Pst. perf. [bôt(3)] بور
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:

- [dukandar yam] دوکاندار یم. 'I am a shopkeeper.'
  shopkeeper be1S

- [wégay ye?] دوئی یه؟ 'Are you hungry?'
  hungry be2S

- [la mor sara násta da.] له مور سره ناسته ده. 'She's sitting with her mother.'
  with mother with sitting be3S

- [paxtáné yu.] پختانه یوه. 'We are Pashtuns.'
  Pashtuns be1P

- [táse muhtarám khálak yástay.] تاسی محترم خلک یاستی. 'You (all) are respected people.'
  you-all respected people be2P

- [dury aprídi dul.] دری اپریدی یه. 'They are Afridis.'
  they Afridi be3P

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I dance/am dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you dance/are dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he/she/it dances/is dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we dance/are dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you all dance/are dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they dance/are dancing'</td>
<td>ġadégl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of sentences using this tense are:

- **[saqil toọ pa melé ke ġadégi]**
  
  *Seri toon pë melodik ġadégi.*

  *The men all dance at picnics.*

- **[laiļa khpale koranỹ ta paẏe legli]**

  *Liļa Highly koronī te Peli Lari.*

  *Layla sends money to her family.*

- **[tsaqli pëpxawär ke jorėgli]**

  *Ḫelīb pë Ṣebhōr ġi Jorēri.*

  *Sandals are made in Peshawar.*

- **[mājät jorëwi]**

  *Maghe Jorēi.*

  *They are building a mosque.*

- **[pohantun ta dzu]**

  *Pohantoon te Xoo.*

  *We go to the university.*

- **[tēse asūna bāzēr ta byāyey]**

  *Tarī ġisūnë bāwarz te Bayāyey?*

  *Are you all are taking the horses to the market?*

---

**Negative present imperfective constructions.** The negative of the present Imperfective tense is formed by placing the negative particle [nā] before the verb. For example:
### Present imperfective negative of ḡadēg- (ğini)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>[nā ḡadēgam]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'm not dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه گد ہرےم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you're not dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه گدہرےکی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he/she/it isn't dancing/doesn't dance'</td>
<td>نه گدھرےکی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه گدھرےکو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you all aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه گدھرےکپی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they aren't dancing/don't dance'</td>
<td>نه گدھرےکپی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Present imperfective negative of ḍākhi- (♘ākh-)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>[nākhilam]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I'm not buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you're not buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےکی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he/she/it isn't buying/doesn't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےکی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےکو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you all aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےکپی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they aren't buying/don't buy'</td>
<td>ناخللےکپی</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples of the negative present imperfective are:

- [mung pa wādūno ke nā ḡadēgu.]  
  مونو پہ وڈنے کے نہ گدہرےکو.  
  'We don't dance at weddings.'

- [laylā pa dē myāst ke lik kā rānī legi.]  
  لیلہ پہ دی میاست کے لیک کور تے نہ لپرے.  
  'Layla isn't sending a letter home this month.'

- [wətən pa khesāro nā ḡeṣg.ji]  
  وٹن پہ خسرے نہ جگھرے.  
  'A country isn't built with words.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[za khpala jāme né jorawam.]  
I own clothes neg saw1S  
'He don't sew my own clothes.'

[mung wādā ta né dzu.]  
we wedding to neg go1P  
'We're not going to the wedding.'

[day khpala korān-y pākistān ta né byāy1i.]  
he own family pakistan to neg take3S  
'He isn't taking his family to Pakistan.'

[plār me bāgh nākhi.]  
father my orchard neg buy3S  
'My father isn't 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 [be] 3S. The third person form [wil] 3S is used in future contexts to express certainties: [wil] 3S is used to express possibilities. Some examples:

[tāsē ba zar tāgi say.]  
you fut soon thirsty be2P  
'You all might be thirsty soon.'

[day ba jēg wil.]  
he fut tall be3S  
'He will be tall.'
[asad che maktab khīs kī, maalām ba si.]
asad when school finishes teacher fut ba3S
\[\text{"Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school."}\]

[ba] with the Present Perfective Tense. Most future expressions are formed with the future particle [ba] ٤ and the present perfective tense, which combines the present perfective stem of the verb with the present personal endings. [ba] ٤ occurs, along with the weak pronouns and some other particles, in fixed order in sentences (see Chapter 11 for a description and examples); this characteristic has impact on the formation of negative future statements as can be seen below.

Some examples of future constructions with the present perfective are:

[ahmad ba pa wāda ke wāgadegī.]
Ahmad fut at wedding at dance3S, pres perf
\[\text{"Ahmad will dance at the wedding."}\]

[plār ba me paysē bāla hafta wālegī.]
father fut my money next week send3S, pres perf
\[\text{"My father will send money next week."}\]

[layiē ba jōra st.]
Layla fut improve aux3S, pres perf
\[\text{"Layla will get better."}\]

[asad ba dewāl jōr kī.]
Asad fut wall build aux3S, pres perf
\[\text{"Asad will build a wall."}\]

[tor ba lār st.]
tor fut go aux3S, pres perf
\[\text{"Tor will go."}\]

[tor ba ye bōzī.]
tor fut him take3S, pres perf
\[\text{"Tor will take him."}\]

Negative future expressions. Negative future expressions involve the negative particle [na] ٧, the future particle [ba] ٤, 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] + [wa] + [nā] - + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[ahmad ba wa nā gādegī.]

Ahmad fut perf neg dance3S

'Ahmad will not dance.'

**If there is both a subject and object:**

subject + [ba] + object + [wa] + [nā] - + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[asad ba lik wa nā legī.]

Asad fut letter perf neg send3S

'Asad will not send the letter.'

**If there is neither subject nor object:**

[wa] + [ba] + [nā] - + present verb stem + ending

Example:

[wa ba nā gādegī.]

perf fut neg dance3S

'He won't dance.'

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

[wa] + [nā] - + rest of the verb,

as in the following example with the verb 'buy' [akhlī] (الخلی):

[bāgh ba wā nākhlī.]

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 [nā] ن is inserted between the adjective or noun and the auxiliary, for example:

[laylī ba joṛa nā sīli]

Layla fut improve neg aux,3S, pres perf

'Watila won't get better.'

[asad ba dawāl joṛ nā kīli]

Asad fut wall build neg aux, 3S, pres perf

'Asad won't build a wall.'
Future negative constructions with doubly irregular verbs involve placement of the negative [né] نے between the first and second parts of the verb. For example:

\[
\text{Positive: 'sit' (kénam) كبسنے،} \\
\text{Negative: 'not sit' (ka ná nam) كبسنے نہ نم}
\]

\[
\text{Positive: 'take there' (wárwrí) ور وری،} \\
\text{Negative: 'not take' (war né wrió) ور نہ وری،}
\]

\[
\text{Positive: 'take' (bózu) پوزو،} \\
\text{Negative: 'not take' (bo né zul) پوزو نہ زو}
\]

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

\[\text{[as ba bázár ta bo né zil] اس به بازار نہ بر نہ زی، 'He won't take the horse to market.'}\]

\[\text{[pákistán ta ba láč né su] پاکستان نہ به لار نہ شو، 'We won't go to Pakistan.'}\]

\[\text{[asad ba amán ta moțár war nákri] اسد به امان نہ موٹر ور نکری، 'Asad will not give Amán the car.'}\]

Present Imperfective Tense with Future Time Phrases. Just as in English, the present imperfective tense described in the previous section may be used in future contexts, especially if a future marker like 'tomorrow' or 'next week' is present:

\[\text{[za ba ból zámay pa pákistán ke yam.] زه به بل زامی پہ پاکستان کی یم، 'I'm (to be) in Pakistan next winter.'}\]
Contrastive Future Expressions. As was described just above, ordinary future constructions are formed with the present perfective form of the verb preceded by the particle [ba] . The same construction with the imperfective stem, however, yields rough equivalents to the English future progressive (e.g. 'I will be writing letters'). In actual use, however, the construction implies contrast between one action and another, for example:

'[za ba dzém, ta ba pate kége.]
1 fut goS, pres imp you fut stay aux2S, pres imp
پاتي کره،
'You'll be going, you'll be staying.'

'[ta ba gadége, za ba darégam]
you fut dance2S, pres imp 1 fut stand1S, pres imp
تى به کدپري، زه
ب درپورم.
'You'll be dancing, I'll be standing.'

'[ta ba tsé kawe?]
you fut what do2S, pres imp
ته به خه کري؟
'What will you be doing?'

D. Commands

Commands with be. The present perfective forms of 2nd person be forms--[sa] and [say] --are used in commands, and are made negative by inserting the particle [ma] . Examples:

'[zrawár sa] .
brave be2S
زوره!
'Be brave.'

[sábár say] .
patient be2P
صابر شى!
'Be patient.'

[sáda má sa] .
naiye neg be2S
ساده مه شى!
'Don't be naïve.'
Another kind of command that translates roughly as English 'May you...' involves the use of [se] rather than [sa]. The familiar Pashto greetings are examples of this construction:

[stərəy má se] 
**tired neg be2S**
'May you not be tired.'

[khwär má se] 
**miserable neg be2S**
'May you not be miserable.'

[ẓrəwər sel] 
**brave be2S**
'May you be brave.'

**Positive Commands.** Ordinary positive commands are formed with the present perfective stem of the verb, plus the verb ending [-e] - (singular) or [-ay] - (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive command forms of 'dance' [gadg̪eq̪]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'dance' (to one person) [wágadg̪eq̪a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dance' (to more than one) [wágadg̪eq̪ay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive command forms of 'build (it/them)' [d̪ focuses on them]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To one person:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build (it M)'                                                   [jórek̪r̪]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build (it F)'                                                   [jórek̪a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build (them M)'                                                 [jórek̪r̪]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'build (them F)'                                                 [jórek̪a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Positive command forms of 'build' (it/them) (continued)

To more than one person:
- 'build (it M)'  
  جور کریئ  
  [jóć kay]  
- 'build (it F)'  
  جوره کریئ  
  [jórə kay]  
- 'build (them M)'  
  جوری کریئ  
  [jóć kay]  
- 'build (them F)'  
  جوری کریئ  
  [jórə kay]

# Positive command forms of 'go' (dz- ñá) (تالی)

- 'go' (to one person)  
  لئر شه  
  [lár sa]  
- 'go' (to more than one)  
  لئر شئ  
  [lár say]

# Positive command forms of 'take' (buay) (بول) (پیا)

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

**Additional examples of positive commands:**

- **[kor jóć ka.]**  
  house (M) build aux2S, pres perf  
  'Build the house.'

- **[tsawkay jórə ka.]**  
  chair (F) build aux2S, pres perf  
  'Build the chair.'

- **[bázar ta rā sara lár sa.]**  
  bazaar to me with go aux2S, pres perf  
  'Go to the bazaar with me.'

- **[wágañegay.]**  
  dance2P, pres perf  
  'Dance (everyone).'

- **[măshumăn dær sara bóza.]**  
  children you with take2S, pres perf  
  'Take the children with you.'
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Commands with [wardz-] راهد - and [rādż-] رئتل - These doubly irregular verbs are exceptional in that their positive commands are formed with the imperfective rather than the perfective stem (recall that these are doubly irregular verbs, and so imperfective forms carry stress on the final syllable). Examples:

[rādżá che dzu.] راهد چی خو. 
como2S, pres imp that we go 'C'mon, let's go.'

[wardzéy.] چرخئ. 
go2S, pres imp 'Go there.'

Negative Commands. Negative commands are formed with the particle [mé], the present imperfective stem of the verb (not the perfective as in positive commands), and the same 2nd person endings as positive commands—[-a]ه (singular) and [-ay]ئ (plural).

| Negative command forms of 'dance' [gaqég-] گیدل | Negative command forms of 'go' [dz-] گئن | Negative command forms of 'build' [gazgaz-] گئن
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'don't dance' (to one person)</td>
<td>مه گیدئه [mé gaqég]</td>
<td>'don't go' (to one person) مه خئه [mé dza]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'don't dance' (to more than one)</td>
<td>مه گیدئئی [mé gaqégay]</td>
<td>'don't go' (to more than one) مه خئئی [mé dzay]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of negative commands are:

[maktub was mé lega.] مکتوب اوس مه لپه. 
letter now neg send2S 'Don't send the letter now.'

[kor sarak ta nizde mé joqaway.] کور سرک ته نئدی مه جورئی. 
house road to close neg build2P 'Don't build the house so close to the road.'

[wos mé dza.] اوس مه خئ. 
now neg go2S 'Don't go now.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[layla kor ta má byāyay.]  
Layla house to neg take2P  
'Never take Layla home yet.'

[bāgh mákhnā.]  
orchard neg buy2S  
'Don’t buy the orchard.'

In this last example, it can be seen that the [a] of the negative particle, followed by the beginning [a] of the verb, again results in [a].

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:

[pātsēga tse gharq swell  
get up2S, pres imp that doomed you are  
'Get up before you're doomed!' (i.e., the snake is about to bite you)

The greater sense of urgency which the imperfective command carries can be seen in the following examples

[wākhwrā]  
eat2S, pres perf  
'Eat.' (normal invitation)

as opposed to

[khwrāl mā ta mégoral]  
eat2S, pres imp me to don't watch  
'Eat! Don't watch me!'

or

[khwrā ye che dzu.]  
eat2S, pres imp it that we-go  
'Finish eating it so we can go.'

or

[khwrā ye che saqegi]  
eat2S, pres imp it that get-cold  
'Eat it, it's getting cold.'

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Another contrast:

[ра спор са.]  
here mount2S, pres perf  'Get on (behind me on a horse)' (normal command)

as opposed to

[ра сеерэгөй]  
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:

[хар вакхт чэ зэ рэсам, дэргэгэ.]  
every time that I come  stand up2S, pres imp  
'Every time I come, stand up.'

and a contrastive example:

[та дээ; за дар  дзэм.]  
you go2S, pres imp  I there am-going  
'Keep going; I'll catch up.'

as opposed to

[та лац са; за бэ саба  дэрсам.]  
you go2S, pres perf  I fut. tomorrow go-there  
'Go; I'll go tomorrow.'

E. Past Time Expressions

Past Time Expressions with be. The past imperfective forms of be are used in ways parallel to English 'was' and 'were', for example:

[стэрэй вам.]  
tired  be1S, pst imp  'I was tired.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

[za khān wam.]
I khān be₁S, pst imp
'Zhe khān wum.'
'I was a khān.'

[duy khapé wa.]
they unhappy be₃P, pst imp
dae xē bo. 'They were unhappy.'

[laylā stāre nē wa?] Layla tired neg be₃SF, pst imp
'Li la stēri ne bo?'
'Wasn't Layla tired?'

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

[stāray swam.]
tired be₁S, pst perf
'stēri som.'
'I became tired.'

[za khān swam.]
I khān be₁S, pst perf
'Zhe khān som.'
'I became a khān.'

[duy khapé swa.]
they unhappy be₃P, pst perf
dae xē som. 'They became unhappy.'

[laylā stāre nē swa?]
Layla tired neg be₃SF, pst perf
'Li la stēri ne som?'
'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:

[sārī jol pē melē ke ḍeqedal.]
men all at picnic at dancepst imp₃P
'serī tol pē melē ke ɡedal."

translates best as 'The men were all dancing at the picnic' if the context is a description, say, of a social event that the speaker attended, and translates best as
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

'The men all used to dance at picnics', if the context is a discussion of Pashtun culture.

Utter examples are given below, with the most natural translations given the lack of context. Note that in the transitive sentences, the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject of the verb, and the subject is in the oblique case; this is the ergative construction which is described in detail in Chapter 11. In the examples below, the nouns the verbs agree with are shown with grammatical characteristics in the word-by-word glosses.

[laylā khpale kornay ta pasay legāle.] Layla own family to moneyFP send3FP, pst imp 'Layla was sending money to her family.'

[tsapay pa peshawar ke jore ḍale.] sandalsFP in Peshawar be made3FP, pst imp 'Sandals used to be made in Peshawar.'

[mājat ye jorawā] mosqueMS they build3MS, pst imp 'They were building a mosque.'

[pohantun ta tialu] university to go1P, pst imp 'We were going to the university.'

[lāse asuna bēzar ta bowāl?] you-all horsesMP bazaar to take3MP, pst imp 'Were you all taking the horses to the market?'

[mung pa wādūna ke nā gajedal] we1P at weddings at neg dance1P, pst imp 'We weren't dancing at weddings.'

[laylā pa de myāst ke lik tar nā lega] Layla in this month in letterMS home to neg send3MS, pst imp 'Layla wasn't sending a letter home this month.'

[mā khpale jāma nā jorawale] I own clothesFP neg sew3FP, pst imp 'I wasn't sewing my own clothes.'
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:

[Layla khpale koranay ta payse wélega.] Layla our family to moneyFP send3FP, pst perf
Layla sent money to her family.

[xadza jöre swe.] womenFP recover aux3FP, pst perf
The women recovered.

[majad ya jöre kë.] mosqueMS they build aux3MS, pst perf
They built a mosque.

[pohantún ta laçu.] university to go1P, pst perf
We went to the university.

[tëss aseuna bëzér ta bòltë?] you-all horsesMP bazaar to takeMP, pst perf
Did you all take the horses to the market?
Examples of negatives:

[ahmad wa nē gajdē.]  
Ahmad prf neg dance3MS, pst perf  
‘Ahmad didn’t dance.’

[asad lik wa nē legā.]  
Asad letterMS prf neg send3MS, pst perf  
‘Asad didn’t send the letter.’

[wa nē gajdē.]  
pnf neg dance3SM, pst perf  
‘He didn’t dance.’

[bāgh ya wā nē khista.]  
orchardMS he prf neg buy3SM, pst perf  
‘He didn’t buy the orchard.’

[de layla mor jora nē swa.]  
of Layla motherFS healthy neg aux3FS, pst perfLayla’s mother didn’t get better.’

[asad dēwāl joq nē kē.]  
Asad wallMS build neg aux3MS, pst perf  
‘Asad didn’t build a wall.’

[as ye bāzār ta bo nā ta.]  
horseMS he market to take neg-take3MS, pst perf  
‘He didn’t take the horse to market.’

[pākistān ta lēr nē swu.]  
Pakistan to go neg aux1P, pst perf  
‘We didn’t go to Pakistan.’

[asad amān ta moṭær war nē kā.]  
Asad Aman to carMS give neg give3SM, pst perf  
‘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

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derivative and doubly irregular verbs, and the imperfective forms of be. Below, a full paradigm of the present and past forms is given with a simple verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I have danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay yām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you have danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay ye]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he/she has danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay da]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we have danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli yu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you-all have danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli yāstāy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they have danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli dī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay wām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdālay wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'she had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāle wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli wū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you-all had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli way]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they (m) had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they (f) had danced'</td>
<td>[gadēdāli wī]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pashto equivalent of the English future perfect is rendered in a construction comprising the future particle [ba], the participle, and the present imperfective forms of be (with the 3rd person [wī] or [wē]):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I will have danced'</td>
<td>[za ba gadēdālay yām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you will have danced'</td>
<td>[ta ba gadēdālay ye]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he will have danced'</td>
<td>[day ba gadēdālay wī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we will have danced'</td>
<td>[mung ba gadēdāli yū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you-all will have danced'</td>
<td>[tāse ba gadēdāli yāstāy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they will have have danced'</td>
<td>[dūy ba gadēdāli wī]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following examples illustrate the "present perfect" and "past perfect" constructions. They also—by using a derivative verb formed from an adjective—show how the different elements of the participle construction agree with the object. ('house' {kor} is masculine; 'chair' {tsawkāy} 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., {jor}) and the participle (i.e., {kāray}) agree.

**Perfective participle - present tense be**

[tor kor jor kāray da.]
Tor houseMS buildMS part3MS be3S

TOR kōr jōr kāray dī.
Tor has built a house.

[tor koruna jor kāri di.]
Tor housesMP buildMP part3MP be3P

TOR kōruna jōr kāri dī.
Tor has built houses.

[tor tsawkay jorā kāre da.]
Tor chairFS buildFS part3FS be3S

TOR tsawkāy jorā kāre dē.
Tor has built a chair.

[tor tsawkay jorā kāri di.]
Tor chairsFP buildFP part3FP be3P

TOR tsawkāy jorā kāri dē.
Tor has built chairs.

**Perfective participle + past tense be**

[tor kor jor kāray wa.]
Tor houseMS buildMS part3MS be3S

TOR kōr jōr kāray wā.
Tor had built a house.

[tor koruna jor kāri wa.]
Tor housesMP buildMP part3MP be3P

TOR kōruna jōr kāri wā.
Tor had built houses.

[tor tsawkay jorā kāre wa.]
Tor chairFS buildFS part3FS be3S

TOR tsawkāy jorā kāre wē.
Tor had built a chair.

[tor tsawkay jorā kāri wa.]
Tor chairsFP buildFP part3FP be3P

TOR tsawkāy jorā kāri wē.
Tor had 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 chair neg be build aux, part 'Tor hasn’t built a chair.'

Asad me dwa wradze 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 [-šl] ل- to the past imperfective form of the verb, for example:

Verb: Infinitive:
'dance' [gagašl] گدبدل
'send' [legšl] لببل
'buy' [akhlšl] اخستل
'get better' [jorgšl] جوربدل
'build' [jorawšl] جوردل
'go' [dzšl] گدل
'take' [byššl] بیادل

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

Citation Forms. The infinitive is used as the citation form for verbs in traditional Pashto grammatical studies, and therefore the form used when Pashtuns talk about particular verbs. In the example below, the infinitive is glossed as the English infinitive with to.

[bowal ñer grân rfi dêy] — بهول دېر ګران فعال دی
To take very difficult verb is.
'bowal is a very difficult verb.'

Infinitives as Nouns. Another common use of infinitive constructions is as nouns, similarly to their use in English. In the examples below, the infinitives are again glossed as the English infinitive with to. Note how the verbs are plural in agreement with the subject infinitives.

[de gideñe niwäl grân di] — د ګیدرې نیول ګران دی
Of fox catchinf difficult be3P
'It is difficult to catch a fox.'

[de laylā katal saray wâzñi.] — د لیاې کتل سری وئښی
Of Layla lookinf man kill3P
'Layla's gaze kills a man.'

[tial me stârây kawî.] — تلل می ستري کوي.
goinf me tired aux3P.
'Traveling makes me tired.'

[wayal na ya mâgora, kawal na ya gorâ] — ویل مه یې مه ګوره،
talkinf to his don't look actinf to his look
'Ve don't look at his words, look at his actions.'

[wayal ná ghwârām, kawal ghwârâm.] — ویل نه غوارم، کول غوارم.
talkinf neg I want, doinf I want
'I don't want words, I want action.'
Passives. The infinitive is also used with the intransitive auxiliary [kag-] in constructions that translate almost perfectly as English passives. For example:

\[\text{day wazal kég}].\]
\[
\text{he killinf } aux3S, \text{ pres imp}
\]
\['He's going to be killed.'\]

\[\text{as malgérie ta baxal kég}].\]
\[
\text{horse friend to giveinf } aux3S, \text{ pres imp}
\]
\['One's horse is given [only] to friends.'\]

\[\text{pa pexawér ke njune têtawal kég}].\]
\[
\text{in Peshawar in girls kidnapinf aux3P, pres imp}
\]
\['Girls are kidnapped in Peshawar.'\]

\[\text{laami pa pesaril ke karal kég}].\]
\[
\text{wheat in spring in plantinf aux3S, pres imp}
\]
\['Wheat is planted in the spring.'\]

\[\text{saray pa baba wradz ke pezandal kég}].\]
\[
\text{man on bad day on knowinf aux3S, pres imp}
\]
\['A true man makes himself known in difficult times.' [a proverb]\]

Many traditional grammatical analyses of Pashto concluded that the past tense transitive sentences, in which the verb agrees with the object rather than the subject, are passives, and so the existence of an unequivocal passive construction provides evidence for considering the past tense transitive constructions as something other than passives.

### C. Expressions of Ability

'can/be able to'. One of the most common uses of the perfective and imperfective participles is in constructions with the present and past perfective forms of be. These constructions are parallel in meaning to English 'can/be able to', 'will be able to' and 'could/was able to'.

The tense of be determines its agreement in constructions with present tense be forms, the construction is considered to be in the present tense, so the be form agrees
with the subject. In the constructions with past tense be forms, the be form agrees with the object if there is one, following the usual pattern for past tense constructions.

Note that the participial form is unchanging: it does not agree with either subject or object, and in the case of derivative verbs derived from adjectives, the adjectival part does not agree either.

Statements expressing ability in the present tense consist of the imperfective participle, followed by the present perfective form of be. Some examples:

- [asad xa gą̞də̈lay si.] 'Asad can dance very well.'
- [laylə̈ wos lik leg̱lay si.] 'Layla can send the letter now.'
- [mʊŋŋ pə bā̞gh ke hár chera kenástə́lay su.] 'We can sit anywhere in the orchard.'
- [kor ta me bowálay se?] 'Can you take me home?'

In negative constructions, the participle must come at the end of the verb phrase.

Examples:

- [pohantun ta nā say tı̞lay.] 'You can't go to the university.'
- [bādrang la nawroz na pə khwa nē say karalay] 'You-all can't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'
- [kor alta nē se jorawalay.] 'You can't build a house there.'
Statements about future ability are formed with the future particle [ba] پاٰ، the perfective participle and the present perfective forms of be. Note the order of elements in the negative constructions. Some examples:

[asad ba xa wágádedelay si.]
Asad fut well dance part be3S
'Asad will be able to dance very well.'

[layla ba lik sabã ta wa nesi legelay.]
Layla fut letter tomorrow perf neg be7S send part
'And she won't be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[alta ba kor jo nã se karay.]
there fut house build neg be2S aux part
'You won't be able to build a house there.'

[mung ba pa bághe ke har dzãy kénºatelay su.]
we fut in orchard in any place sit part be1P
'We will be able to sit anywhere in the orchard.'

[tãse ba wrusta la navoraz ñalmi wa nã say karay.]
you-all fut after from Nawroz wheat neg be plant part
'They won't be able to plant wheat after Nawroz.'

[kor ta ba me bólelay se?]
house to fut me take part be2S
'Will you be able to take me home?'

Ordinary past tense 'could'/"was able to" constructions consist of the perfective participle plus the past perfective forms of be. These statements carry the implication that the action that could be carried out actually was carried out. Examples:

[de asad plãr pakhwã der xa wágádeday sa.]
of Asad father earlier very good dance part be3MS
'Asad's father was able to dance very well years ago.'
Layla could send the letter.

'We could sit anywhere in the orchard this morning, and did.'

'I couldn't dance.'

You-all couldn't go to the university.'

'You-all couldn't plant cucumbers before Nawroz.'

'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:

[layla ba lik sabata wilegalay si.] Layla fut letter tomorrow send, perf part be33s

ولبگلی گی. Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow.'

[layla ba lik sabata legelay si.] Layla fut letter tomorrow send, imp part be33s

لبنگل گی. Layla might be able to send the letter tomorrow (if the post office is open).

[mung tara hafta jwär wakarelay swa.] we last week corn plant perf part be33s

مونئ تبره هفتہ جوار وکرلی شوہ. We were able to plant the corn last week (and did).

[mung tara hafta jwär karelay swa.] we last week corn plant imp part be33s

مونئ تبره هفتہ جوار کرلی شوہ. We might have been able to plant the corn last week (if you had brought the seeds).

H. Expressions of Obligation

Constructions with 'must' [del. دي] دی. Expressions parallel to English expressions with 'must' are formed with the participle 'must' [del. دي], followed by the present imperfective tense of the verb. Some examples:

[asad de yawa baja rädzir.] Asad must one o'clock come be33s, pres imp

اسد دي یو جھڑ بائن. 'Asad must be here at one.'

[layla de korta nó dzir.] Layla must house to neg go be33s, pres imp

لیلا دي کور تھا نہ گی. 'Layla must not go home.'

[te de pà de pówa] you must about this know be33s, pres imp

تھئ پر پہ پوگئي. 'You must know this.'
Chapter 9: Verb Uses

Constructions with 'should' [bāyād] باید. The particle 'should' [bāyād] باید
followed by a verb in the present perfective tense combines in a construction parallel in
meaning to English 'should'. Note that [bāyād] باید carries the same ambiguity that
English 'should' does, e.g., 'You should [it's good for you] brush your teeth every day' as
opposed to 'Asad should [will probably] be here any minute.' Examples:

[asad bāyād yawa baja rāsī.]  
Asad should one o'clock come3S, pres perf  
'Asad should be here at one.'

[laylā bāyād kura lā'ce nā sl.]  
Layla should house to go neg go3S, pres perf  
'Layla shouldn't go home.'

[ta bāyād pe de po sā.]  
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/ I will 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.')

[ma] + 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 ('Gol!')

pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings

Repetitive action commands ('Keep going')

pres. imp. stem + 2S/2P command endings

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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.')</n>[ba] + pres. perf. stem + personal endings

'should' ('I should go')
[bayed] + 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 + [al] + pst. personal endings

Infinitives ('to go')
pst. imp. stem + [-al]

Passives ('It was built')
infinite + 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] ψ, 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, rephrensive, conditional-optative, and
conjunctural), 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

rephrensive: 'ba' + participle + past imperfective be, described in
(Chapter 13)

subjunctive: participle + perfective be forms

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

conjunctural: [ba] ψ + participle + imperfective be
Chapters 9: Verb Classes

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

(de asād) داسد
of Asad
'Asad's'

(de asaḍ pīlar) داسد پلار
of Asad father
'Asad's father'

(de asaḍ lās) داسد 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] ُد م. In the western dialect and others, ُد before pronouns is spelled and pronounced [zl], for example [zmā] زم.

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

[pa chārā] پ چاره
with knife 'with/by means of a knife'

[asad parāy pa chārā prókār] اسد پری پ چاره پری کر
Asad rope with knife cut 'Asad cut the rope with a knife.'

[pa] پ is also used with number as ‘at’ in time expressions:

[pa yawā bāja] پ یو بیج
at one o’clock 'at one o’clock'

Yet another meaning of [pa] پ is ‘at, on, in’, and is described below in the discussion of the pre-post-position [pa ... bānde] پ ... باندی.

C. Post-positions

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

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

[bāzār ta dzām.] بازار ت خم
market to I’m going 'I’m going to the market.'

D. Pre-post-positions

Most prepositions have two elements, with the noun object positioned between the elements. The first element of these pre-post-positions is one or the other of [pa] پ.
[la] ل، or [tar] تر. The second element of a pre-post-position is likely to be one of the following words:

[na] نا، لاندي پوری پسی [pasé] [pore] 
[tsákha] باندي سره سره [saré] [ka] 
[tsákha] باندي سره سره [saré] [ka] 
[tsákha] باندي سره سره [saré] [ka]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-post-position</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'in, at' پہ کابل کی</td>
<td>'in Kabul' پہ کابل کی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'after' پہ پسی</td>
<td>'after class' پہ دارس پسی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'on/to' پہ باندي</td>
<td>'on the bridge' پہ پلّ باندي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with' پہ سره ل اسد سره</td>
<td>'with Asad' په اسد سره</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from' ل ایلیا ل ایلیا نا</td>
<td>'from Layla' ل ایلیا نا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under' ل لاندي</td>
<td>'under the bridge' ل پلّ لاندي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under' ل لاندي</td>
<td>'under the bridge' ل پلّ لاندي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from' ل لکھہ سوگر</td>
<td>'from Logar' ل اولگار لکھہ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'up to' ل پوری</td>
<td>'until morning' ل ساہرا پوری</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deleted elements. One or the other element of a pre-post-position—most often the first—may be deleted. Phrases with [la ... na] ن ل، for example, can also appear with just [... na] ن ل:

[kitab me la asad na wakhista] کتاب می ل اسد نا وخطہ، 'I took the book from Asad.'

[kitab me asad na wakhista] کتاب می اسد نا وخطہ، 'I took the book from Asad.'

and phrases with [la ... sara] ل سر ... ل سر are also possible with just [... sara] ل سر ... ل سر:

[laylā la amān sara nāsta da] لیلہ ل امان سر ... ل سر بیتا دہ، 'Layla is sitting with Aman.'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[laylā amān sara nāsta de.] Layla Aman is sitting

Layla is sitting with Aman.

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

[kitāb pa méz bānda yīkay da.] 'The book is on the table.'

book on table on placed is

[kitāb pa mez yīkay da.] 'The book is on the table.'

book on table placed is

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 paxawār ta wār sara dzl.] Asad Peshawar to him with is going

Asad is going to Peshawar with him.

[kitāb me nār na wākhista.] 'I took the book from you.'

book I you from took

[kitāb war bānda [kay da.] 'The book is on it.'

book it on placed is

E. Special Cases

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

[kitāb me la asāda wākhista.] 'I took the book from Asad.'

book I from Asad from took.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

When the object of a pre-postposition whose first element is [tar] تر ends in a consonant, an [a] ا must be attached to that noun. (If the noun ends in a vowel, there is no attached [a] ا.) Here are examples with the pre-post-position ‘up to’, ‘until’ [tar ...-a] تر ...-ا and the object ‘morning’ [sahār] صار which ends in a consonant, and ‘tomorrow’ [sabā] ساب which ends in a vowel:

[...tar sahārā pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر صار را سره پاتی شه.
until morning until us with stay
'Stay with us until morning.'

[...tar sabā pore rā sara pāte sa.] تر ساب را سره پاتی 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 -- [kār] کر -- that may replace the entire prepositional phrase ‘to the house’ [kor tal] کر ته, but only if the possessor of the house is either understood from the context or overtly mentioned.

[...de laylā kara dzām.] د لیلئا کرئ اذام.
of Layla to-house I go
'i’m going to Layla’s house.'

Pre forms. Certain preposition + ‘him/her/it’ [ya] پئ combinations are always replaced with pre forms. Some examples: ‘with him/her/it’ [pa ya] پئ پئ never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form ‘with him/her/it’ [pa] پئ.

[...stargī ye pa tora kṛa.] ستارگئی پئ پئ تورئ کرئ.
eyes she with-it blackened
'She mascarade her eyes with it.'

and ‘from it/him/her’ [la ya tsakha] ل پئ خه also never occurs, but is always replaced by the pro form ‘from it/him/her’ [te] تئ or [tre] ترئ:

[...kitāb me tre wākhist.] کتاب مئ ترئ واحست.
book I from-him took
'I took the book from him.'
A third pro form is [pa ke] په کي کي which replaces the phrase [pa ye ke] په په کي کي 

[agha der lóy kor da, tsok pa ke wos!] هن دير لوي كور دى،
that very big house is who in-it live

خود په کي اوسي؟
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 1st noun 'bowl' [kásé] کاسي, in its oblique singular form [kásé] کاسي:

[pa kásé ke wobá sta] په کاسي کي اوه شته.
in bowlOS in water is

'There's water in the bowl.'

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

[pa kásé ke wobá sta] په کاسي کي اوه شته.
in bowlOS 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' [la ... na pakhwa] له ... نه پخوا

(= 'from' [la ... na] له ... نه + 'before' [pakhwa] پخوا)

[la tā na pakhwa rāghay] لته نه پخوا راغي.

from you from before he-came

'He got here before you.'
Chapter 10: Prepositions

'outside' [la ... na bahár] 
(= 'from' [la ... na] + 'outside' [bahár])
[la kalā na bahar wālar]  
from kala from outside standing was  
'He was standing outside the kala.'

'after' [wrusta la ... (na)]  
(... 'after' [wrusta] 'from' [la ... na])
[wrusta la mā na rāghay.]  
after from me from he came  
'He got here after me.'
or
[wrusta la mā rāghay.]  
after from me he came  
'He got here after me.'

'without' [be la ... na]  
(= 'without' [bel] + 'from' [la ... na])
[be la tā na me guzarā na kegl.]  
without from you from I can't get along.  
'I can't get along without you.'

'except for' [prāta la ... na]  
(= 'except' [prata] + 'from' [la ... na])
[prāta la tā na tsok nā pezanām.]  
except for you no one not I know  
'Except for you I don't know anyone.'

In the phrases below that start with the possessive phrase [de] 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.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

'd over/on top of' [de ... la pāsa]

("of' [de ...] + "from top' [la pāsa])

[marhag bāgh la pāsa tēr sa.]
bird of garden over passed
The bird passed over the garden.

[marhag ye la pāsa tēr sa.]
bird its over passed
The bird passed over it.

'about' [de ... pa bārā ke]

("of' [de ...] + "on subject' [pa bārā ke])

[de asad pa bārā ke ghagegam.] of Asad on subject on I'm talking
I'm talking about Asad.

[pa bārā ke ye ghagegam.] on subject on his I'm talking
I'm talking about him.

'about' [de ... pa bāb]

("of' [de ...] + "on subject' [pa bāb])

[de asad aw tērsā pa bāb tsē wave?] of Asad and Theresa on subject what you say
What do you think about Asad and Theresa?

'instead of' [de ... pa dzāy]

("of' [de ...] + "in place' [wa dzāy])

[amān de asad pa dzāy rāghāl day.] Aman of Asad in place has come
Aman has come instead of Asad.

'in front of' [de ... pa mákh ke]

("of' [de ...] + "in face' [pa mákh ke])

[de dukān pa mákh ke wār wa:] of shop in face in he was standing
He was standing in front of the shop.
Chapter 10: Prepositions

because of [de ... la amála]
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with cause' [la amála])
[di tā la amála né rādzi.]
of you with cause not he-comes
'He's not coming because of you.'

'like' [de ... pa shān]
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with fashion' [pa shān])
[yār me de gwāl pa shān day.]
love my of flower with fashion is.
'My love is like a flower.'

'towards' [de ... pa lór]
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with direction' [pa lór])
[de logār pa lór wākhwād.]
of Logar with direction he-started-out
'He started out towards Logar.'

'like' [de ... pa tsar]
(= 'of' [de ...] + 'with sort' [pa tsar])
[day di tā pa tsar day.] he of you with sort is
'He is like you.'

H. Uses of Prepositional Phrases

In Pashto, prepositions are used as modifiers of noun phrases, verb phrases and whole sentences. Below, we describe some cases where Pashto differs from English in using prepositional phrases where English uses some other construction.

Indirect objects. In Pashto, there is no difference between an indirect object parallel to 'John' in the English sentence 'I gave John the book' and a phrase with the preposition 'to', e.g., 'I gave the book to John.' All such phrases are rendered in Pashto with the preposition 'to' [ta] and the appropriate object. Examples:
Chapter 10: Prepositions

Comparatives. Comparative statements in Pashto parallel to English
comparatives like ‘Asad is taller than Aman’ are formed with the preposition ‘from’ [la ... na] LE. Unlike English, the relevant adjective has no special form, except for two
words borrowed from Persian—‘better’ [batár] BETR and ‘worse’ [batár] BÆTIR—which are
directly equivalent to their English translations and are the only words in the language
specific to comparisons. Some examples of comparisons:

[asad la amän na jág day.]
Asad from Aman from tall is

‘Asad is taller than Aman.’

[peshawar la káböl na loy day.]
Peshawar from Kabul from long is

‘Peshawar is bigger than Kabul.’

[la bekärli na kár xáda.]
from without-work from work good is

‘To work is better than to be idle.’

[ta la män na batár ay.] you from me from worse are

‘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’ [la ... na] LE, and
typically include the word ‘more’ [zyāt] ZIYAT or ‘less/few’ [lag] LE. Examples:

[de amän plær de asad la plær na lag bāghuna īarl.] of Aman father of Asad from father from few orchards has

‘Aman’s father has fewer orchards than Asad’s father.’
Chapter 10: Prepositions

[amān 1a asād na ḏer ziyāt kitābūna ḏkhil.] Aman from Asad from many many books buys

اَمَانُ الْعَسَدُ بِنَفْصِهِ كَتَابَاتُهُ عَلَى.

‘Aman buys a lot more books than Asad.’

Superlatives. There are three ways to make superlative statements parallel to English statements like ‘Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.’ The first possibility is a comparative statement with [la ... na] لَ ... نَ in which the object of the preposition is all-inclusive, for example:

[khoshāl pa sīnf ke 1a ẓol alakāno na jāg day.] Khoshal in class in from all boys from tall is

تَوْلُ الْكَلْتُوْنَ نَهَنِ چُکَ دَیِّ. ‘Khoshal is taller than all the boys in the class.’

[de tār as de ẓol kāli la asuno na chaṭāk day.] of Tor horse of whole village from horses from fast is

دَ تَوْرُ اَسُ دَ تَوْلُ كَلِیِّ لَهُ اسْوَنُو نَهَنِ چُکَ دَیِّ. ‘Tor’s horse is faster than all the horses in the village.’

[dī d ẓebhār 1a ẓol likwālāno na mashhūr day.] he of Peshawar from all writers from famous is

دَیِّ دَ تُوْلُ لَ توْلُ لِبِکْوَلَاوْنَو نَهَنِ مَشْهُوْرَ دَیِّ. ‘He is better known than all the writers in Peshawar.’

A second way to express superlatives is to include the adverb ‘very’ [ḏer] دَرَ before the adjective in question. Such sentences are ambiguous. For example:

[khoshāl pa sīnf ke ẓer jāg alāk day.] Khoshal in class in very tall boy is

كَحْشَالُ الْبَنِیِّ كَتَابَاتُهُ عَلَى. ‘Khoshal is a very tall boy in class.’ or

‘Khoshal is the tallest boy in class.’

[de tār as pa ẓol kāli ke ẓer chaṭāk әs day.] of Tor horse in village in very fast horse is

دَ تَوْرُ اَسُ دَ تُوْلُ كَلِیِّ نَهَنِ چُکَ دَیِّ. ‘Tor’s horse is the fastest horse in the village.’ or

‘Tor’s horse is a very fast horse in the village.’

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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 ل (la) and (ler) 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 (1967) does not discuss prepositions.
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

A. Introduction

This chapter describes the structure of simple sentences, i.e. sentences with only one verb. First, the order of major elements in sentences and questions is described, and the conditions under which some of these elements are deleted. Then, the structure of noun phrases is described, including nouns, pronouns, and adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers. Next, the order of verbs and their modifiers in positive and negative verb phrases is described, then the Pashto particles or clitics, along with their placement in sentences and their internal order. Then, the order of modifiers in sentences is shown, and the construction and use of time phrases. A summary of agreement rules is presented next, then a discussion of the Pashto ergative construction. The chapter concludes with a presentation of some unusual constructions.

B. Basic Word Order

SOV order. The basic word order of a Pashto sentence is subject - object - verb (SOV), as opposed to English, in which the basic order is subject - verb - object (SVO). Some examples are given below, with the basic elements identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pashto</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asad lik légi.</td>
<td>'Asad is sending the letter.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S O V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asad letter send</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plar mi yu loy bágh áxli.</th>
<th>'My father is buying a big orchard.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S O V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father my big orchard is buying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te kh kár koi?</th>
<th>'What work do you do?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S O V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you what work do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\text{[de amân koranay pa kâbîl ke woségi]} \quad \text{د امان کورنی په کابل کي اوسمهی.}
\]

\[
\quad \text{S} \quad \text{modifier} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{of Aman family in Kabul lives} \quad '\text{Aman's family lives in Kabul.'}
\]

\[
\text{[ahmad ba sabâ de logar pa lor wâkhwadzegi]} \quad \text{احمد به سیا د لوگر په لور وشو خو هرهی.}
\]

\[
\quad \text{S} \quad \text{modifiers} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{Ahmad fut tomorrow of Logar in direction starts} \quad '\text{Ahmad will start for Logar tomorrow.'}
\]

The verb is also the last element in sentences with be. As in all Indo-European languages, Pashto sentences with be verbs are intransitive. Phrases that follow the be verb are complements, not direct objects. (Complements are phrases that further define the subject, and can be noun phrases, adjectives or question words.) Some examples of be sentences, with the complements labelled:

\[
\text{[laylâ de amân xádza da]} \quad \text{لیلا د امان به ده.}
\]

\[
\quad \text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{Layla of Aman wife be3FS} \quad '\text{Layla is Aman's wife.'}
\]

\[
\text{[khoshâl der khápé day]} \quad \text{خوشحال ده خپه دی.}
\]

\[
\quad \text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{Khoshal very unhappy be3M3} \quad '\text{Khoshal is very unhappy.'}
\]

\[
\text{[mor me chéra da?]} \quad \text{مور می چهره ده؟}
\]

\[
\quad \text{S} \quad \text{complement} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{mother my where be3FS} \quad '\text{Where is my mother?'}
\]

Deletion of subjects and objects. Under predictable circumstances, subjects and objects are deleted. One of those circumstances is in imperative sentences - those whose verbs end in the imperative [-3a] or [-ay] - in imperative sentences, the predictable second person singular or plural 'you' subject is deleted, as it is in English.

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Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

Examples:

(wádaragayl)

V
wait pl

'Wait!'

(motar tar sabā pore mákhla.)

O modifiers V

car until tomorrow until don’t buy

'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 ákhla.]

O V
book buy1S

'I’m buying a book.'

[kor tæ dži].

modifier V
	house to go3S

'He’s going home.'

[tar sahāra pore wágāqadam.]

modifier V

until morning until danced1S

'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.

[ásad parun wákatalu]

S modifier V

Asad yesterday saw1P

'Asad saw us yesterday.'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[pæ bæzər ke mo wākhista]  په بازار کي مو واخته.
modifier  S  V
at market  at  we bought it

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 shāfī day.]  نام شاعر دي.
Aman poet  is

[amān shāfī day?]  امان شاعر دي؟
Aman poet  is?

Question-word questions (those with words parallel to English ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘whom’, ‘where’, ‘when’, ‘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' līsā
[asad kār kawī.]  اسد كار كوي.
Asad work  does

[asad līsā kawī?]  اسد که کوي؟
Asad what  does
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

'Who' [tsok] (direct) [chā] (oblique)
[laylā chalāw pakhawi] Layla rice cooks

[Layla is cooking the rice.]

[tsōk chalaw pakhawi?] who rice cooks
[āgha de laylā kitāb day.] that of Layla book is

[That’s Layla’s book.]

[āgha de chā kitāb day?] that of who book is

['Whose book is that?']

'Where' [chē'ra] (chē'ran) [chē'ran]
[bāzār ta day.] market to he goes

['He’s going to the market.’]

[chē'ra/chē'ran day?] where he goes

['Where is he going?’]

'Which' [kum] (Adj. 1)
[āgha moṭar akhi] that car he buys
[kūm moṭar akhi?] which car he buys

['He’s buying that car.’]

['Which car is he buying?’]

'When' [tsa wakht]
[māxām rāghay] aftermoon he arrived

['He arrived at dusk.’]

[tsā wakht rāghay?] what time he arrived

['When did he arrive?’]

'Which Time’ [tsā ha] (bejā) (bejā is an F1 noun)
[ghwenda pa yawā bejā shu ro kēgi] meeting at 8 clocks start

['The meeting starts at eight.’]
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[ghwanda pa bâ] bajo shuro kagi?
meeting at how many clocks start

'Shuro kagi?'

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' [moţar] with two modifiers: the prepositional phrase 'of Asad' [de asad] and the adjective 'new' [naway]:

[de asad naway moţar]
of Asad now car

'D asad nôi moţer
Asad's new car'

Adjective and prepositional phrase modifiers generally precede the noun they modify. As will be seen in Section E below, however, weak possessive pronouns may either precede or follow the nouns they modify, and their position is determined by rules which work on the entire sentence.)

Noun phrases function as subjects, complements, objects, or objects of prepositions:

As subject:
[de asad naway moţar qer gâne day]
of Asad new car very expensive is

'D asad nôi moţer der gâne di.'
Asad's new car is very expensive.'

As complement.
[agni spin moţar de asad naway moţar day] that white car of asad new car is

'Henge sêpin moţer d asad nôi moţer di.' That white car is Asad's new car.'

As direct object:
[layla de asad naway moţar râwust] Layla of Asad new car here brought

'Liâla d asad nôi moţer râwust.' Layla brought Asad's new car.'
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

As object of preposition:

[de asad pa nawi mator ke dzu]  
of Asad in new car in we go  
'Ve'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 le nowi motor ne]  
of Asad from car from  
'from Asad's new car'

[de asad pa charq]  
of Asad with knife  
'with Asad's knife'

[de asad tar baghga pore]  
of Asad up to garden up to  
'up to Asad's garden'

Order of modifiers in noun phrases. Ordinarily, any possessive phrase with [de] ْ د is the first element in a string of modifiers. The possessive phrase is followed by any demonstrative (e.g., 'that' اَنها, 'this' دا, etc.), then any quantifier (e.g., a number – including 'one' او, which frequently functions like the English indefinite article 'a' – or a word like 'some' هِبَّي or 'a few' ْبَلَع, then descriptive adjectives like 'big' ْكِلَّو or 'pretty' ْبَيَّضَة, then the noun. Adverbs that modify adjectives, e.g. 'very' ْبَلَع, occur immediately before the adjectives they modify. This order may be violated when the speaker wishes to focus on one or the other of the modifiers: the emphasized element tends to come first.

Here are some example phrases displaying modifier order:

[de asad agha pindza nor quer loy kitbuna]  
of Asad those five other very big books  
'those other five very big books of Asad's'

[de asad de pilar tefalor daqra xysta luga]  
of Asad of father four very pretty daughters  
'Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'

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[parun me la malgardo sara pa resturàn ke kabab wakhw.] yesterday I with friends with in restaurant in kabob ate
پرون می له ملگورو سره پ رستوران کی کباب و خوره.
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'

[parun me pa resturàn ke kabab war sara wakhw.] yesterday I in restaurant in kabob them with ate
پرون می پ رستوران کی کباب ور سره و خوره.
'I ate kebob at the restaurant with them yesterday'
Order in negative verb phrases. The order of negative elements in the verb phrase is described in detail Chapter 9. In summary, the negative particle [na] و occurs before the verb in the imperfective tenses. In perfective tenses it occurs with simple verbs between the perfective marker [wa] و and the verb stem; with derivative verbs just before the auxiliary; and with doubly irregular verbs between the first element and the rest of the verb. Some examples of negative perfectives:

\[
\begin{align*}
[za ba lik wa nālegam.] & \quad \text{ژه به لیک و نه لپرم.} \\
& \quad \text{I fut letter prf neg I send} \\
& \quad \text{'I won't send the letter.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[za ba chalaw pokh nā křam.] & \quad \text{ژه به چلو پوخت نه کرم.} \\
& \quad \text{I fut rice cook neg I'be} \\
& \quad \text{'I won't cook the rice.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[za ba deltā ke nānam.] & \quad \text{ژه به دلته کوبی نه نم.} \\
& \quad \text{I fut here sit neg I sit} \\
& \quad \text{'I won't sit here.'}
\end{align*}
\]

E. Particles

The particles. Next to the ergative construction, particles and their order are probably the most famous—or infamous—aspect of Pashto grammar. The particles, sometimes called clitics, are the following:

- 'but, well, then, at least, maybe' [kho] خو
- Future marker [ba] په
- Weak pronouns 'my/me' [ma] می، 'your/you' [da] ی، 'his/him/her, its/it' [ye] ی، 'our/us' [am], [mo] م
- 'must' [de] دی

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
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’ [plēr 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:
[khošal khan me plēr day.] خوشحال خان مي پلار دي. ‘Khoshal Khan is my father.’

[de plēr kalā me pa logār ke da.] د پلار کلا مي پا لوگر کي ده. ‘My father’s kala is in Logar.’

[asād me la plēr sara gori.] اسد مي له پلار سره گوري. ‘Asad is visiting with my father.’

Direct object as first stressed element:
[plēr me byāyam.] پلار مي بيايم. ‘I am bringing my father.’

[de plēr bāgh me ákhli.] د پلار باغ مي اخلي. ‘He is buying my father’s orchard.’

Prepositional phrase as first stressed element:
[la plēr sara me nāst yam.] ل پلار سره مي ناست يم. ‘I am sitting with my father.’

[wrusta la plēr na me rāghay.] وروسته  له پلار نه مي راغي. ‘He arrived after my father.’

Adverb as first stressed element:
[kāla kala me plēr amrikā ta rādzi.] کلا کلا مي پلار امريكا تا راغي. ‘Sometimes my father comes to America.’

[nān me matē ta byayā!] نن مي ماتي تا بيايي. ‘Today he’s taking me to a picnic.’
Chapter 11: Simple Sentence Structure

[не ма p̌̄n̄t̄.]  
not me he knows  
'He doesn't know me.'

Verb as first stressed element:
[r̂a̯l̠̄j̃e me.]  
sent it here they  
'Ve was sending it here.'

[s̃∫̔t̠̄ me.]  
kept it I  
'I was keeping it.'

Part of verb as first stressed element:
[w̃e me p̃̃z̞̃̄n̄d̠̄.]  
part I knew him  
'I recognized him.'

[∫̔ m̂̄ k̃h̃̄t̠̄.]  
I wore it  
'I wore it.'

[ba̯=-day me l̂̄d̠̄.]  
I lost it  
'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:

[k̃h̃̄o] + [be] + [ma] + [mo] + [de] + [ye] + خو

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

[pl̃̃r me de l̠̄ḡ̠.]  
father me/my? you/your? send  
'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] دی, which may be interpreted as either the particle 'must' or the weak pronoun 'your/you'). The following sentence is therefore ungrammatical:

*[плар me de de вёлег]*
father me/my must you/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:

[плар me de та вёлег]
father my must you send

'My father must send you.'

[ди та плар me de вёлег]
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:

[احمد سبیله لیلا لوگر تا بیاَیِ]

Ahmed tomorrow Layla Logar to takes

'Ahmed is taking Layla to Logar tomorrow.'
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If context requires that the time be focused on, it can be brought to the beginning of the sentence:

[sabāţa ahmad laylā logar ta byayi.] *[tomorrow Ahmad Layla Logar to takes]*

'Tomorrow, Ahmad is taking Layla to Logar.'

The movement of a modifier up to the beginning of a sentence for focus appears to be a common device among writers. The following illustrative sentences are taken from pieces of modern prose (the preposed modifiers are underlined in the transcription):

[amdāgha wakht za de yawāţe pa maţe pā shwam.] ¹

that time I of "alone" with meaning understood

هَمَدَغة وَخَت زَهَ دِ "يَوْاَشَ" پَ؛ مِنَا پَو۸ شُو۸مَ.

'At that time, I understood the meaning of "alone":'

[pā derā gano khālko ke ḫaŋ: saray dzān ta "yawāţe" wayšay shī.] ²

in very many people in also man self to 'alone' can say

پَه دِهو۸ گِنَر خِلَکو کِن هِم سِری خَان تَه "یَوْاَشَ" وَیلی شَی۸.

'In a great crowd of people, a man can say that he is "alone":'

[la nāẖrāy ye de noro nāqelino pa tsēr samīši dzmaka zhwāria kā.]

with desperation he of other settlers like immediately earth dug hole

له نَاچاری یِپ دِ نورو ناکِهالینو پِه خَبر سمَلَسِی خَمکه ؤوره کِرُه. ²

'In desperation, he like the other settlers immediately dug a hole in the earth:'

[pā ḫal-takif mo wux khālcs karzay shū.] ²

with much difficulty we camel have freed

پَه دِهو۸ تَکِف مِو اوُنب خِلَلْس کرِی شُو.

'With a lot of trouble, we freed the camel.'

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

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

²This sentence and the one above are from 'The Legs of the Camel' [de wux paka] an article by M. Pasenay that appeared in the November, 1955 issue of Spade, (op. 91-2).
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]
'Sunday'  [yakshambé]
'Monday'  [du shambé]
'Tuesday'  [se shambé]
'Wednesday'  [chār shambé]
'Thursday'  [panshambé]
'Friday'  [jumé]

The day words may occur alone, for example:

[mung shambé melé ta dzu.]  موني شنبی ميلي ته خرو.  ‘We’re going on a picnic Saturday.’

we  Saturday picnic to go

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

[mung de shambé pa wradz melé ta dzu.]  موني د شنبی په ورغ ميلي ته خرو.  ‘We’re going on a picnic Saturday.’

we  of Saturday on  day  picnic to go
Pashto has a series of words to refer to traditional times of day:

- 'morning' [sahār]
- 'late morning' [tsāxt/tṣāxt māhā] خابت-خابت مال
- 'noon' [ghārmā]
- 'afternoon' [māshāfín]
- 'late afternoon' [māzdīgār] مازدیگر
- 'dusk' [māxām] ماهام
- 'late evening' [māshkhatān] ماسختن
- 'midnight' [nīma shpa] نیمه شب

These words may occur as modifiers:

[mung māshāfín malē ta dzu]
we of Sunday 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 māshāfín malē ta dzu]
we of Saturday evening picnic to go
We're going on a picnic Sunday evening.

Pashto expresses Western time-telling with the prepositional phrase consisting of 'on/at' [pa], the word 'hour' or 'clock' [bajā], preceded by a number, and other word-and-number combinations to express 'before' and 'after.' Some examples that show the system are given below:

[pa tsaloro bajā] په خلورو بجو
at four hours 'at four o'clock'

[pa pāw bānde tsaloro bajā] په پانده بندی خلورو بجو
at five after four hours 'at five minutes after four'

[pa pāw bānde tsaloro bajā] په پانده بندی خلورو بجو
at quarter after four hours 'at quarter after four'
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[pasala rìmò bajo]  
at four half hours  
'at four thirty'

[paw kám pindzo bajo]  
at quarter lacking five hours  
'at quarter to five'

[paw pindza kám pindzo bajo]  
at five lacking five hours  
'at five minutes to five'

Some examples showing time phrases in complete sentences are:

[de layla malgàre pasala rìmò bajo ràdiz.]  
of Layla's friend at four half o'clock comes  
'LAYLA'S FRIEND IS COMING HERE AT FOUR THIRTY.'

[asad sàbà sahàr pa ato rìmò bajo maydàn tè dżi.]  
Asad tomorrow morning at eight half o'clock airport to goes  
'ASAD IS GOING TO THE AIRPORT TOMORROW MORNING AT EIGHT THIRTY.'

[kàñfànàs de jumé pasar wa ndò sahàr pa ného bajo pàyò kéji.]  
conference of Friday on day of morning at nine o'clock starts  
'THE CONFERENCE STARTS FRIDAY MORNING AT NINE.'

A. 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. 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.
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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:**

\[\text{saçay maña khwrió.} \]
\[\text{man appleF eats} \]
\[\text{vs.} \]
\[\text{saçí maña khwárála.} \]
\[\text{man apple was eating} \]

\[\text{xadza tilkray ákhli.} \]
\[\text{woman scarfM buys} \]
\[\text{vs.} \]
\[\text{xadze tilkray ákhísta.} \]
\[\text{woman scarf was buying} \]

**Weak pronoun subject, noun object:**

\[\text{maña khwím.} \]
\[\text{apple I eat} \]
\[\text{vs.} \]
\[\text{maña ma khwárála.} \]
\[\text{apple I was eating} \]

\[\text{saçay melma kawú.} \]
\[\text{man we invite} \]
\[\text{vs.} \]

"The man is eating the apple."

"The man was eating the apple."

"The woman is buying the scarf."

"The woman was buying the scarf."

"I'm eating the apple."

"I was eating the apple."

"We're inviting the man."
Noun subject, weak pronoun object:

[asad ye ákhilı.]

Asad iiM buys

vs.

[asad ákhista.]

Asad was buying

[zmaray ye ráwail]  

Zmaray itF brings

vs.

[zmarí ráwastèlea.]  

Zmaray was bringing

Weak pronoun subject, weak pronoun object:

[gațám ye.]  

I win itF

vs.

[gațái le ma.]  

win I

[khartsawû ye.]  

we sell iiF

vs.

[khartsawâla mo.]  

were selling we
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 rādzī]

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: In prepositional phrase with 'from' [la ... na] 
Agreement: verb is always third person plural. [bad] remains unchanged.

Examples:

[la gu'day na de rixtyā ham bād rādzī?]
from bread from your really bad go3p

'lä dūdī ne dī rāyṭā ḥum bād rāxā?'
'Do you really dislike bread?'

[de asad de kimyā la dars na bād rāghīal]
of Asad of chemistry from class from bad went 3PM

'dāsād dī kīmīā la dārs ne bād rāgli.'
'Asad didn't like his chemistry class.'

'like' [xa yīsī]

Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and 'good' [xa] agree with object

Examples:

[de har chā laylā xā yīsī]
of everyone Layla like3S

'dā hār ķa laxlā xā yīsī.'
'Everyone likes Layla.'

[de tālo khālīko laylā xā yēsedā]
of all people Layla like3SF

'dā tālō kīlāko laxlā xā-yēsedā.'
'All the people liked Layla.'
د تریسا تل افغانی دودی به ایسه‌دلی ده. ‘Theresa has always liked Afghan food.’

‘dislike’ [bad یس] به ایسه‌دلی یس
Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb and ‘bad’ [bad] یس agree with the object.

Examples:
[de layla me ra ye bad yisi.] د لیلا مهربه یی به ایسی.
of Layla husband his don't like یس
‘He doesn’t like Layla’s husband.’

[kimya me bada naye yiesa, de maliyim pa xabaro na pohidam.] کیمیا می بده نا ایسیده، د مالیم پا خهرو ن پوهیدم.
‘I didn’t dislike chemistry, I didn’t understand the teacher.’

‘like, enjoy’ [khwakag] خوش‌پیش
Subject: possessive phrase
Object: as usual
Agreement: verb agrees with the object.

Examples:
[di ma afghani doyey khwakagi.] زما افغانی دودی خوش‌پیش.
of me Afghan food enjoy یس
‘I enjoy Afghan food.’

[di ma afghani doyey khwaxa swa.] زما افغانی دودی خووه شوه.
of me Afghan food enjoy یس
‘I enjoyed Afghan food.’

[di da ze khwaxa swam.] د ده بره خوه شوم.
of him me liked یس
‘He liked me (f).’

[di da ze khwaxa swam] د ده بره خوه شوم.
of him me liked یس
‘He liked me (m).’
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'feel like' [za keg-1]

Subject: possessive with 'heart' [za]

Object: in prepositional phrase with 'to' [...ta] and there is no preposition

Agreement: verb agrees with [za]

Examples:

[palaw ta me za keg1] pilaf to my heart become3S 'I feel like [having some] pilaf.'

[da asad pa wadake natsa ta za keg1] of Asad at wedding at dancing to heart become3S 'Asad feels like dancing at weddings.'

[za me keg1 che k6r ta lar sam] heart my become3S that home to go1S 'I feel like going home.'

[za me kad6 che kandza warta waqam, kho tsa me wa ne wele] heart my become3S that curse to-him do1S but anything I not said heart my become3S that curse to-him do1S but anything I not said 'I felt like cursing him, but I kept quiet.'

'heat' [garm1] 'cold' [sara] and 'fever' [taba] 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' [garm1 keg-1]

Subject: possessive of 'heat' [garm1]

Object: none

Agreement: verb agrees with [garm1]

Examples:

[di ta garm1 keg1?] of you heat become3S 'Do you feel hot?'
[de khostal garmi kegi, dera manda ya wahela di.]  
of Khoshaal heat become3S very running he has beaten  

"Khoshaal feels hot because he has been running."

[de asad garmi keha, wobha ya wetskahe.]  
of Asad heat became3SF water he drank 

"Asad felt hot so he drank some water."

[de njalaye, wrusta la de che pa baagh ka ya wazangal. garmi waswaal.]  
of girls after from that that in orchard in they swung heat became  

"The girls felt hot after swinging in the orchard."

'feel cold' [sará kegi-]  
Subject: possessive of 'cold' [sará]  
Object: none  
Agreement: verb agrees with 'cold' [sará]  
Examples:  
[sará de ka kegi lungay me waghunda.]  
cold yourRl become3S shawl my put on  

"If you feel cold put on my shawl."

[sahar sabha sara me kegi]  
early morning cold my become  
rā bānde wāchawa lungay dwāra lāsūna.]  
me around put shawl both hands  

"Sar Saba Sarie Me Kehi.  
Ra bānade Jāchhe Lonke Dūrāe Lāsun.  
It's early morning and I'm cold  
Put your shawl and both arms around me." (landay)

'have a fever' [taba dal]  
Subject: possessive of 'fever' [taba]  
Object: none  
Agreement: verb agrees with 'fever' [taba]  

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Examples:

[tāba ya da.]
fever his la3SF
'The has a fever.'

[har wa...t ba ma che tāba swa, mor ba me pā kāt ke šchawalam.]
every time would my that fever was, mother would my in bed in put me
'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]- and 'neigh' [shishn]- that behave idiosyncratically in past tense sentences. They are called 'false transitives' or 'impersonal transitives', and include the following verbs:

'bray' [hang-] [nāx-]  'cry' [zār-]  'dance' [nāts-]
'bark' [ghāp-] [prīm-]  'sneeze' [prinj-]  'swing' [zāng-]
'whinny' [shishn-] [šīshd-]  'cough' [tukh-]  'swim' [lāmb-]
'laugh' [khānd-]  'jump' [dang-]

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

[khāndam.]
I am laughing
'I am laughing.'

[mā khandal/khandalā]
I (obl) laughed3PM
'ma khanda/l khandāl.  I was laughing.'

[khandal/khandalā ma]
laughed3PM
'khanda/l khandāl me.  I was laughing.'
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[khandoli me dli] خندلی می دی۔ 'I have laughed.'

laughpart be3P

[khandolay sam.] خندلی شم۔ 'I can laugh.'

swimpart be1S

[layla pa sind ke walamal] لیلا پہ سیند کی ولام۔ 'Layla swam in the river.'

layla in river in swim3PM

[bega shpa de ahmad spi der waghapat] بیگا شپہ د احمد سپی دېر واق۔ 'Ahmad’s dog barked a lot last night.'

last night of ahmad dog very barked3PM

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 Pashto (Afghan)’ which appeared in *Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penz!* 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.

Penz! (1955) notes the SDV 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:
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In past tense transitive sentences:
- Agent
- Goal
- Verb

In other transitive sentences:
- Subject
- Object
- Verb

The sketches of syntax in Mackenzie (1987) and Shafeev (1964) do not differ in basics from the analysis given here.
Chapter 12: Conjunction

A. Introduction

This chapter describes how words, phrases and sentences are conjoined by simple conjunctions like 'and' [aw], 'or' [ya], and 'but' [khol], and the more complex conjunctions like 'both ... and' [ham ... ham], 'neither ... nor' [na ... na]. The interaction of word and phrase conjunction and agreement is also described.

B. Conjoined Nouns and Noun Phrases

Nouns are conjoined in Pashto most simply by means of the conjunctions 'and' [aw], 'or' [ya]:

[āmān aw laylā]
Aman and Layla

[āmān yā laylā]
Aman or Layla

[āmān, laylā aw khoshāl]
Aman Layla and Khoshal

[āmān, laylā yā khoshāl]
Aman, Layla or Khoshal

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

[za aw laylā]
I and Layla

[tā, asād aw de asād plār]
you, Asad end of Asad father

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

[zkwale njele y aw xadza]
pretyFP girlFS and womanFS

[zkwale njele y xadza]
pretyFP girlFS or womanFS

[zrawar alak aw saray]
braveMP boyMS and manMS

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

[zrawara xadza aw zrawar saray]
braveFS womanFS and braveMS manMS

[zmawara xadza y zrawar saray]
braveFS womanFS or braveMS manMS

Agreement of verbs with conjoined subjects. Verbs in sentences with conjoined subjects (or objects, in the case of ergative constructions) connected with 'and' [aw] or [yā] 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:

[amn asad aw khoshal mel ta laral]
Aman, Asad and Khosai picnic to went 3MP

'man, Asad, and Khosai went on the picnic.'

[mung amn asad aw khoshal w'telal]
we Aman, Asad and Khosai saw 3MP

'We saw Aman, Asad and Khosai.'
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.

When one of the subjects or objects is a pronoun, the verb agrees with the combination, i.e., the verb in a sentence which includes 'I' [za] or 'we' [mung] as one of the subjects will be first person plural.

لايلا، رابيا او كوتره
Layla, Rabya and Kawtara picnic to went 3FP
'Layla, Rabya, and Kawtara went on the picnic.'

موني لايلا، رابيا او كوتره
We Layla, Rabya and Kawtara saw 3FP
'We saw Layla, Rabya, and Kawtara.'
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تازه، أسد أو ليلاً وليدود.
You me, Asad and Layla saw1P
'You saw Asad, Layla, and me.'

تأمن امان أو ليلاً به اي ليفت كي لاز شئ.
You Aman and Layla will of Asad in car in go2P
'The Aman or Layla go in Asad's car.'

موني ته، امان أو ليلاً وليدئ.
We you Aman and Layla saw2P
'We saw you, Aman, and Layla.'

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

امان يا ليلاً وگذه.
Aman or Layla danced3FS
'Vegan or Layla danced.'

ليلاً يا امان وگذه.
Layla or Aman danced3MS
'Vegan 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' [یا ... یا] يا ... يا, 'neither ... nor' [نه ... نه] ne ... ne, and 'both - and' [امان ... امانت] امان ... امانت. 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):

امان هم تاريخ پوه دي
Aman both historian and writer
'Aman is both a historian and a writer.'

امان هم نيو يارد ته خي ار هم شيكاغو ته
Aman both New York to goes and both Chicago to
'Aman is going both to New York and to Chicago.'
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:

\[ \text{xar tā ba lār sam (aw) mōţar ba wākhīm.} \]
\[ \text{city to fut go auxS (and) car fut I buy} \]

which follows the rules for the conjoining of sentences.

The major characteristic of sentence conjoining is that the conjunction 'and' [aw] is optional, and most of the time is dropped.
Chapter 12: Conjunction

[خَرَّ تَلَرَمَ (أو) مُوتَرَ مَيْعَهْ] برَّتُهُ لَآيِمَ (أو) مَوْرَتِي وَاحْضَتِ.
city to I-went (and) car I bought
‘I went to the city and bought a car.’

[لَضَرَّ تَلَرَمَ (أو) لَدَعَانِدَرَ سَارَا وَذَغَتَهُمَ] بَازَرُ تَلَرَمَ (أو) لَهُ دَوْكَا نِدَارَ سَرَهُ وَغَيْرَ بَدِمِ.
bazaar to I-went (and) with shopkeeper with I-talked
‘I went to the bazaar and talked to the shopkeeper.’

[دوُدَي مَيْ وَاحْضَتِهِ (أو) كُورُ تَلَرَمَ] دَوُدِي مَيْ وَاحْضَتِهِ (أو) كُورُ تَلَرَمَ.
bread I bought (and) house to I-went
‘I bought some bread and went home.’

[يَوْعُ تَسَا پَأْسَٰلَ مَيْ بَدَلِي كَرِي (أو) يُوْهُ قَأْلُهِ مَيْ وَاحْضَتِهِ.] يُوْعُ تَسَا پَأْسَٰلَ مَيْ بَدَلِي كَرِي (أو) يُوْهُ قَأْلُهِ مَيْ وَاحْضَتِهِ.
one some money I change aux (and) one rug I bought
‘I changed some money and bought a rug.’

‘أَمْ’ [أو] أَمْ may occur with ‘أَرْ’ [يَا] أَمْ (the equivalent of English ‘or’ is
أَمْ يَا أَمْ، or, with [أو] أَمْ dropped, just [يَا] يَا.

[دَيِّ بِهِ رَأْسِي (أو) يَا بَهِ رَأْنَهُ مَيْ.] دَيِّ بِهِ رَأْسِي (أو) يَا بَهِ رَأْنَهُ مَيْ.
have fut come-here (and) or fut here not come
‘Either he’ll get here or he won’t.’

As with conjoined nouns, a double [يَا ... يَا] يَا ... يَا renders the equivalent of ‘either... or’

[يُيَوْعُ تَسَا شَاي يَوْعَ حْيَلِهِ (أو) لَدَعَانِدَرَ نَا وَذَغَتَهُمَا] يُوْعُ تَسَا شَاي يَوْعَ حْيَلِهِ (أو) لَدَعَانِدَرَ نَا وَذَغَتَهُمَا.
either some thing buy (and) or from shop from leave
‘Either buy something or leave the shop.’

‘بَعْ’ [خُوْر] خُوْر does not occur with ‘أَمْ’ [أو] أَمْ, but functions as its English
counterpart does. Note that the conjunction [خُوْر] خُوْر is different from the particle
خُوْر.
[ahmad kór ta dži kho khqala xádzə ná qori.]
Ahmad house to goes but own wife not sees
'Ahmad goes home, but doesn’t see his wife.'

[stóray wam kho byá ham wágagedam]
tired I was but again also I danced
'Streyom khom bia ham wóghdém.
'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’ [byá], ‘with or without’ [aw] or ‘and’ [aw]. In the following examples of various combinations of sentences, the deletable ‘and’ [aw] is shown in parentheses.

[ahmad awal gágégi (aw) byá dójéy khwxrî]
Ahmad first dances (and) then bread eats
'Ahmad first dances and then eats.'

[ahmad pa báfgh ke wágardzad (aw) gwálán ye tóli kral.]
Ahmad in garden in walked (and) flowers he pick aux
‘Ahmad walked in the garden and picked flowers.’

[ahmad pa báfgh ke wágardzad (aw) byá xár ta tår.]
Ahmad in garden in walked (and) than city to he went
‘Ahmad walked in the garden and then went to the city.’

[laylá qér xa angur tayár kral, kho awal wó gágédu (aw) byá mo wókhwxrî.]
Layla very good pears fixed but first part danced 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] ji, 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] ځ. 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] چ. 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 raghile xé shwai] چې وقتی راغلی بې شول
that early you came good ba3p

'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] چ.) Both languages have a process by which such noun clause subjects are moved to the end of the sentence:

[xé shwai tse wákhta rághe] بې شول چې وقتی راغلی
good ba3p that early you came

'It was good that you arrived early.'

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

\[dā xe shwa tse wâkhtâ rághie\]  
that good be3FS that early you came  
'It was good that you arrived early.'

\[dā mahâma ja tse wâkhtâ râse\]  
that important be3SF that early you arrive  
'It's important that you get here early.'

\[dā râ ta melûma shwa che pa gero gano khaliko ke hâm sarây dzân ta "yawâza" \  
that me to known be3SF that in very many people in also man self to 'alone' \  
wayâlay shi.\]  
say be \  
'da râ ta mulemu shoa cheh peh der ro gino khaliko ki hâm serî xan \  
te "yowazi" wile shi.\]  
'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:

\[wâyl tse de asad plêr xe sarây day.\]  
say that of Asad Father good man is  
'Vey say that Asad's father is a good man.'

\[mâ katî che asad râghay.\]  
I saw3P that Asad came.  
'I saw that Asad had arrived.'

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[mung gānā] che laylā ba wādē kāray wi.] we thought that Layla was married. [We thought that Layla was probably married.]

[mung fikir kawu che laylā ba rāsl.] we idea do that Layla fut come. We think that Layla will come here.

[chā la mā na puxtēna wakṣa che te yowdže ye aw ka tsāk dar sara ahtō?] who from me from asked that you alone are or someone you with is. [Jā le ma še puxtēnā ḳe te yowdže ye bi or kā ḳewad dr ser ṣetē?] Someone asked me if I was alone or if someone was with me. (Uljaf)

The two examples just above are similar, in that their m-th verbs appear to be phrases with direct objects (question) [puxtēna] [puxtēnā] and (idea) [fikir] [fikir] built in. Note that the verb ending of the last example is feminine singular to agree with the feminine 'question' [puxtēna] [puxtēnā], which suggests that, strictly speaking, the [che] [che] clauses in both examples are not direct objects but some kind of appositives parallel to English 'The question, "Are you alone?", is a difficult one to answer.'

A final example involves the common way to express knowledge, with the verb 'know' [pohag-] [pohag-] which is intransitive. In sentences like 'I know the story', the 'known' fact is the object of the prepositional phrase 'with/by means of' [pā] [pā]:

[za pa qāsa pohagam.] I with story know. [Zeh pā Qeṣa pohagim.] I know the story.

but when what is known is expressed in a clause, the preposition can be present with a demonstrative pronoun:

[asad pa dé pohegi che te né wardze] Asad with this knows that you neg go. [Asad pā dé pohegi che te né wardze] Asad knows you're not going there.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

or the whole prepositional phrase can be dropped:

\[ \text{Asad pohegi che ta ne wardze.} \]
Asad knows that you \text{\textit{na} go}
\text{Asad know, you're not going there.}

with the resulting structure mimicking the structure of direct object \text{[che]} clause.

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:

\[ \text{Amān wāwayal tse bala myāst be pakistān ta īr sam.} \]
\text{Aman said3P that next month \text{\textit{fut} Pakistan to go \text{\textit{beiS}}} }
\text{Amān said that he would go to Pakistan next month.'}

In present tense sentences, 'say' \text{\textit{[way-]}} agrees with the subject: in past tense sentences, the verb is masculine plural. (The pronunciation of 'said' \text{\textit{[wāwayal}}} varies from dialect to dialect. \text{\textit{[wāwele}}} is a common pronunciation in the central dialect, but \text{\textit{[wāwe]}} is also heard.) More examples of reported speech:

\[ \text{Layla Aman te wāwele che maído ta be āshak wāsam.} \]
\text{Layla Aman to said3P that picnic to \text{\textit{fut aushak take}}} \text{F}
\text{Layla told Aman that she would take aushak to the picnic.'}

\[ \text{Amān Layla te wāwele che wror de sinemā ta dz1.} \]
\text{Aman Layla to said3P that brother your movie to goes}
\text{Amān told Layla that her brother was going to a movie.'}
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

The newspaper says that the Taliban have reached Kabul.

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-] and 'try' [koshīsh kaw-] 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:

Asad's father wants to buy a large orchard.

Asad's father wanted to buy a large orchard.

Asad's father has wanted to buy a large orchard.

Theresa tried to cook sushak.

I want to go too.

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Noun clauses as complements. Noun clauses can function as complements. Usually, the noun clause is positioned after the 'be' verb. Some examples are:

[omád dý che sýle bá rásti] امد دی چې سول به راشی
hope is that peace will come here 'The hope is that peace will come.'

[pa paxtanó ke dā zarur ná da che malma wáhalal si] پ بختونو کی دا ضرور نه ده چې ملما وبلل شی
in Pashtuns this necessity neg is that guest be invited 'Among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited.'

[sabá me nyát day che zhwándy yé xakhawám-a] سبا می نیت دی چې زوندی پی بخوهم.
tomorrow my intention is that alive him i bury '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:

[Imáná. ye dá da tse khor wró tárta wí] معنا یی دا ده چه خور
meaning its this is that sister brother to similar is 'Its meaning is this, that sisters are similar to brothers.'

Noun clauses as objects of prepositions. Noun clauses can also function as objects of prepositions in Pashtu (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 ... pā bāra ke] د په باره کی.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[mung di dé pa bărâ ke cheta kär râ sarâ wâkra wâghâdu.]
we of this on subject on that you work me with do we talked

مون‌ن د دى د باره کي چي ته کار را سره وکری وگیدو.
'We talked about your working with me.'

Other prepositions that frequently occur with noun clause objects are:

'instead of' [de ... pa dzâyl]
[dî dé pa dzâyl che la ahmad sarâ kär wâkra, mâ sarâ ye wâkra.] of this in place that with Ahmad with work you do, me with it do.

د دى په خوا له احمد سره کار وکری، ما سره چی وکری.
'Instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me.'

'before' [pa khwa la ...]
[mung pa khwâla de che kär sarâ wâkru yaw bal pézanda.] we in front from this that work together we did each other we knew.

مون‌ن په خوا له دی چه کار سره وکری پو بل پیزانده.
'We knew each other before we worked together.'

'after...' [wrusta la ... (na)]
[wrusta la dé che šdak mo wâkhaqal, wâqâqâdu.] after that that ashak we ate we danced

وروسته له دی په آهک مو وخورل وگیدو.
'After we ate the aushak, we danced.'

'because' [pa da ...]
[zar mâ rádza pa de che laylâ nâwâkhâta rádžl.] quick neg come with this that Layla late comes

زر مه راکه په دی چه لیلا تارخته راکه.
'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' [dzâka]. The following ordering is also possible:

[zar pa de che laylâ nâwâkhâta rádžl, mâ rádza.] quick with this that Layla late comes neg come

زر په دی چه لیلا تارخته راکه مه راکه.
'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 [tsə], 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:

\[
[\text{agha} \text{njal} \text{ay tse kamf} \text{as akhil de raby} \text{a kh} \text{or da}] \\
\text{that girl who dress buys of Rabya sister is}
\]

هغه نجلی چه کمیس اخلی د رابیا خور ده.

'The girl who is buying the dress is Rabya's sister.'

The relative clause 'who is buying the dress' [che kamf as akhil] modifies 'girl' [njalay], the subject of the main sentence. The relative clause has the following as its corresponding independent sentence:

\[
[njalay kamf as akhil] \\
\text{girl dress buys}
\]

نجلی کمیس اخلی

'The girl is buying the dress.'

In converting the sentence to a relative clause, the identical noun 'girl' [njalay] is changed to a weak pronoun, which is omitted because it is the subject of the sentence.

\[
[kamf as akhil] \\
\text{dress buys}
\]

کمیس اخلی

'she is buying the dress'.

The clause marker 'that' [che] is added:

\[
[tse kamf as akhil] \\
\text{that dress buys}
\]

چه کمیس اخلی

'who/that is buying the dress'
and the clause has been positioned after 'girl' [njalây] نجلی, the noun it modifies, and the modified noun is preceded by the demonstrative 'that' [agha] همه.

In the following examples, the main clause

[agha njalây de rábyâ khôr da.]

that girl of Rábyâ sister is

"The girl is Rábyâ's sister."

remains constant, while the subject 'girl' [njalây] نجلی, is modified by different relative clauses.

[agha njalây tse kamis ye wâkhîsta de rábyâ khôr da.]
that girl who dress she bought of Rábyâ sister is

"The girl who bought the dress is Rábyâ's sister."

[agha njalây tse melmâstîa ta râghâle wa de rábyâ khôr da.]
that girl that party to had come of Rábyâ sister is

"The girl who came to the party is Rábyâ's sister."

[agha njalây tse pa melmâstîa ke me wélîda de rábyâ khôr da.]
that girl who at party at I saw of Rábyâ sister is

"The girl that I saw at the party is Rábyâ's sister."

[agha njalây tse war sara nást waam de rábyâ khôr da.]
that girl that her with sitting I was of Rábyâ sister is

"The girl with whom I was sitting is Rábyâ's sister."

In the following example, the relative clause modifies the object of the preposition 'with' [lîa ... sara] سره ... لیا. Note how the clause 'that Layla doesn't know' [tse laylîa ye nê pezanî] لیلا پژنی is placed after the entire prepositional phrase, rather than directly after the noun that the relative clauses modifies.

[asad lîa aghe njalây sara tse laylîa ye nê pezanî, goâeglî]
Asad with that girl with Layla her not know dances

"Asad is dancing with a girl that Layla doesn't know."
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

When a noun and its relative clause appear at the end of a sentence (i.e., just before the verb in the main clause), the clause can be placed after the main verb. Western analysts speculate that the juxtaposition of verbs that results when the relative clause modifies the direct object of a sentence (the verb of the relative clause appears immediately before the verb in the main clause) is grammmatically 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 xadza nā pezāni tsa laylā sara ghagēgl.] Aman that woman not knows that Layla with talk

امان هته بخه نه پیئنی چه لیلا سره غیری.

'Amān doesn't know the woman who is talking with Laylā.'

[amān agha xadza tsa laylā sara ghagēgl nā pezāni.] Aman that woman that Layla with talks not knows

امان هته بخه چه لیلا سره غیری، نه پیئنی.

'Amān doesn't know the women who is talking with Laylā.'

Another example of a clause that has been moved to the end of the sentence is:

[dā de agha sari kitāb day che pa pohantūn ke dārs warkawi.] that of that man book is who at university at lesson give

دا د هته سره كتاب دی چه پوهنتون چی درس ورکړی.

'That is the book [authored by] the man who teaches at the university.'

English relative clauses with 'where', 'in which', 'to which', and 'whose' are relative clauses in Pashto as well, for example:

[agha kor tse koranay me паке wosədə, kharts səway day.] that house that family my in it lived has been sold

هته کور چه کورتی می پکه اوسیده، خرخ شوئ دی.

'The house in which/where my family was living has been sold.'
[kum bāgh ta che mung wardzū de asad de plār day]
some garden to which we go there of Asad of father is
کوم باغ ته چه مونی ورځو د اسد د پلار دی.
'The garden to which we're going belongs to Asad's father.'

[dā agha sarāy day che motār me ye wākhīst.]
that that man is who car l his bought
دی اهگه سری دی چه موتار می پی وکست.
'That's the man whose car I bought.'

(This last example is one of the sentences described in Chapter 11 in the discussion of
particles, which is ambiguous out of context. An alternative meaning is 'That's the man
who bought my car'.)

Two final types of relative clauses involve 'whenever' [har wakht] هر وقت and
'as much' [tsunmra] خوډره as t:he modified nouns:

[hār wakht che laylā mā wāwini rāta masēti.]
every time that Layla me sees me to smiles
هر وقت چه لیلا ما ووینی را ته مسپری.
'Whenever Layla sees me she smiles.'

[tsunmra che ghwāqi wār ye ka.] as much as he wants to him it give
خوډره چه غواړی ور یی کره.
'Give him as much as he wants.'

D. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are sentences that modify verb phrases or other sentences.
Pashto has several types of adverbial clauses, described below.

Time clauses. Among the most common adverbial clauses in both English and
Pashto are clauses that indicate when something has happened or will happen, e.g.
clauses that in English start with clause markers like 'when', 'until', 'while' and so on.
The Pashto equivalents of these clauses are straightforward, and involve such clause
markers as 'when' [kala che] کله چه, or sometimes simply [che] چه, 'until',
[ter tso che] تر هو چه and 'as soon as' [tsonga too] گاوتشو ته.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Applying these markers in Pashto parallel to English 'before' and 'after'. Pashto expresses such notions by means of noun clause objects of prepositions, examples of which are presented in Section B above.

Time clauses typically occur first in the sentence, and the clause marker (especially if it is [che], 'by itself') is frequently placed after the first stressed element in the clause.

[kala tse layla de asad pa aksident khabara swa samdasti roghtun ta lara.] 
when Layla of Asad with accident heard immediately hospital to went

کله چې لیلا د آساد په اکسیدنت خبره شوه سمدستي روغتون
ته لاره.

'When Layla heard about Asad's accident, she immediately went to the hospital.'

[tsonqa che kar ta lar se, war sara waghagega.] 
as soon as city to you go him with talk

ښي ور سره وځيږي،
'Talk to him as soon as you go to the city.'

[tar tso che asad naway moxhr wakhil, de aman moxhr gardawlay si.] 
until Asad new car buys of Aman car he can use

تر خو چې اسد نوي موټر اخلي د امان موټر ګرښولې شی.
'Until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman's.'

[layla tse raighla der wakht war sara kenastam] 
Layla when she came very time her with I sat

لیلا چې راغله ده وخت ور سره کښنامه.
'When Layla came I spent a lot of time with her.'

Consequence clauses. Some clauses that begin with the clause marker [che], 'report consequences. These clauses follow the verb in the main clause, and
frequently occur with adverbs like 'so' [dumra].
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[asad dumra stārāy wa tse la dārs na wrūsta dasti kor ta lā:]  
Asad so tired was that from class from after immediately house to he-went

‘Asad was so tired he went home immediately after class.’

[kala kala dumra zyāta wāwra worági che sarakunā bikhi bandégi:]  
sometimes so much heavy snow falls that streets completely block

‘Sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked.’

[dā dāse kitāb day che lwastal ye grān dī:]  
this such book is that to read it difficult are

‘This book is such that it is hard to read.’

Purpose clauses. Another group of clauses with [che]  дар conveys purpose;
these purpose clauses are always in the present perfective tense, and are parallel to
noun clauses with ‘want’ [ghwāṛ-ı] غوار-ı and ‘try’ [koshish kaw-ı]. described
above, both in their structure and in that they translate as infinitives in English.

[sabā ba asad wālegu che xa loy pasa wākhī:]  
tomorrow fut Asad we send  do that good big lamb  he buys

‘Tomorrow we’ll send Asad to buy a good, big lamb.’

[parun mo asad wālega che xa loy pasa wākhī:]  
yesterday we Asad sent  that good big lamb  he buys

‘Yesterday we sent Asad to buy a good, big lamb.’

[za dā kitāb khpal wrōr a warkwām che wāya lвали:]  
I this book own brother to give so that prf it he reads

‘I’m giving this book to my brother to read.’

[dā kitāb ma khpal wrōr ta wārkra che wāya lвали:]  
I this book own brother to gave so that prf it he reads

‘I gave this book to my brother to read.’
Causal clauses and [dzaka]. 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:

[Layla daila na ræzi, khapé da.] Layla here neg come upset is

'layla isn't coming here [because] she's upset.'

[Day bura na khwri, tawán warta kaw.] he sugar not eat, loss him to does

'He doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him.'

[De asad garmi keda, wobé ye watskale.] 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], 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 garmi keda no wobé ye watskale.] 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] or [dzaka che] 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] or [no dzaka]
- 'because': [dzaka che] or [dzaka]
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

The dropping of [holo] و چی or [che] چی has the result that [holo] و چی, by itself, can translate as either 'because' or its opposite 'therefore', which can lead to confusion on the part of the foreign reader/hearer if Pashto, if not native speakers.

Some examples from written Pashto are given below, with [dzaka] و چی and its translations double-underscored. The first three are from 'A True Story' [yawa rixtyaay qisa] by Ulfat, a speaker of the Ningrahar dialect, who seems consistently to use [dzaka] و چی to mean 'therefore' and [dzaka che] و چی to mean 'because'.

[di de ʃoʃak ʃer ñkwlây aw ñer bawarî wa, dzaka ye la châ na warâ na keda.] of him rifle very beautiful and very sure was therefore he from who from afraid not was

دهه تویک دیر بکلی او دیر باوری و چی له چی نه ویره

نه کیده.

'His rifle was very beautiful and trustworthy, so he was not afraid of anyone.'

[...pâmîn ke ye la noro kalî na nor khalaq râ wîwatal aw day pûn shu in face in his from other village from other people came and he understood

che ñwawâ jang nõshi kawalây, dzaka ye de yawa khwär pa ñhâra that two side fight he couldn't do therefore he of one creek at edge

yawa kalî ta panä war wra aw de dzân de hemwâyât ghuxtâna ye wakr.] one house to asylum took and of body of protection asked he did

په مخکپه یئ له تورو کلیو نه نور خلق را ورتل او دئ پوه شو چه دوه خوا جنگ نهشی کولی چیک چی دئ پوه خور په چاره په چاره کاله

ته پنئه ور ورهر او د خان د حمايت غربتنه له وکره.

'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.'

[lâsæ wos de ta tej zyân nêshtay rasawalay dzaka che day zmâ porawâray day aw you all now him to any harm neg can bring because that he my debtor is and

mâ ta ye panâñ râwri da.] me to the asylum brought

تاسي اوس ده ته چه زیان نه چی رسولی وکه چئ دئ زما پوروری

دئ او ما ته په پنئه راوی ده.

'None of you can harm him because he owes me and came to me for asylum.'
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Another example, from Ulfet's essay 'Of Hidden Words' [de pardé khábére]

[ter tsó che de xadzo makhuna páŋ wi khabáre ba ham pa pardé ke wi]
as long as of women faces covered be information fur also in curtain in be

dzaka che pa paxto ke khabára ham mu?anása da]
because in Pashtuns in information also feminine is

تر خو چه د بختو مخونه په وي خبری يه په پرده کي روي
خکه چه په پرده کي خبره يه مه مونتنه 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] from the essay 'Malala' [malála] by
Samandar de Badrasho:

[kho kála kala musulmánän dá sabaq hér kí, no dzaka pre wár]
but sometimes Moslems this lesson forget therefore them

khatáyi ghalábé wákči]
panic overcome

خو كله كله مسلمانان دا سبقي هېره کري يېخکه پري او اړخطالبی
غلبه وکري.

'But sometimes Moslems forget this lesson, so panic overcomes them.'

The [dzaka] is sometimes placed
in the phrase 'because' [dzaka che]
before the verb in the previous clause, as in the examples below from the short story
'The Grave' [qabar] by Mir Mihdi Shah Mihdi:

[dá tapus me dzáka wakra che naghba ba de qabar na der zyšt wareddó.]
this question I because did that he would from grave from very heavy fear

دا تپوس مي يېخکه اوکرو يېهنه يه د قبر هن ده زيات ويبودو.
'I asked this question because he was terrified of graves.'

[bala xadza za dzáka na kawam che byá ba me dá lúr wahi...]
another wife I because not I do that then will my this daughter beat...

بله په زه يېخکه چې كرم چې پي يه يه دا لور وهي
'I don't want another wife because she would beat this daughter of mine.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Clauses after idiomatic expressions. A final group of clauses with [che] چې
occurs with idiomatic expressions. Some examples:

"because [wa] le che [asad wa nā gāgāda wa] le tse nājora wa.
Asad prf not danced why that sick was.
أسد و نه گذیده ولی چه ناجوره ژ.
'Asad didn't dance because he was sick.'

'in short' [langa dā che] لنده دا چې
[langa dā che misāfār aw melmā fārq چې sara lārī]
short this that traveler and guest difference with have
 لنده دا چې مسافر او میلمه فرق سره لری.
'In short, there is a difference between guests and travelers.'

'it looks like' it seems to be the case that [lāka che]
[lāka che to nā ghwāre tse melmāstā چې ta lār se.]
like that you want that party to you go
 لکه چې ته نه غوړي چې میلمستیا ته لار شی.
'It looks like you don't want to go to the party.'

'It's possible that' [kāyi che]
[kāyi che kābal byā abād st.] possible that Kabul again prosperous is
بای چې کابل بيا اباد شي.
'It's possible that Kabul will be built again.'

C. Conditionals and Counterfactuals

Pashto, like many other Indo-European languages, has special tense and clause combinations to express conditionals—sentences like 'If it rains, we'll stay home' and counterfactuals—sentences like 'If you had asked, I would have told you.' Pashto employs participial constructions and different tenses to express these, along with the clause marker [ka] كه, which translates as 'if', and rationally the clause marker
'then' [no] نه.
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] ب. and the verb in the present perfective tense. Note, in the examples below, the same conditional sentence with different tenses in the 'if' [ka] که clause:

[ka dáy payádá kí, samdásti ba ye wólágawí.]
if he money finds immediately he spend

که دی پهسی پیدا کړی، سمدستی به په ولگوی.
'If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka dáy payádá kرش, samdásti ba ye wólágawí]
if he mone, found immediately he spend

که ده پهسی پیدا کړی، سمدستی به په ولگوی.
'If he finds some money, he will spend it immediately.'

[ka asad ráshei, za ba ye wégaram.] [ka asad rághay, za ba ye wégaram.]
if Asad come I fut him see

که اسد راشئ، زه به په ولگوی.
'If Asad comes, I will see him.'

که اسد راگې، زه به په ولگوی.
'If Asad comes, I will see him.'

[ka za bágh wákhi am de asad plár ba khoshála shi]
if I orchard buy of Asad father fut pleased is

که زه باغ ولگه، د اسد پلار به خوشحاله شی.
'If I buy the orchard, Asad's father will be pleased.'
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

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] ښ clauses and particular verb tenses. Such constructions comprise a clause starting with 'if' [ka] ښ, which describes a counter-to-fact situation, and a following clause that describes the result. The tenses of both the 'if' [ka] ښ clause and the result clause are expressed with various combinations of the imperfective participle and other tense markers.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

Present unreal conditionals. If the [ka] clause refers to an unreal condition in the present, its verb is an imperfective participle that does not agree with the subject/object. (If the verb is 'be', the form is [way] وی.) Some examples of such clauses are:

[ka mo dūmra ġer kār nē laralay.]  
if we so much work not have  
'If we didn't have so much work...'

[ka amān aw laylā kōr ta rātīlālay.]  
if Aman and Layla house to come  
'If Aman and Layla came to the house...'

[ka tārisā paktānā way..]  
if Theresa Pashtana were  
'If Theresa were a Pashtana...'

Present unreal condition, result in the present. If the result clause is in the present, its verb is in the past imperfective tense. If the verb is be (i.e., if it is parallel to English 'would be'), it comprises the particle [ba] په plus the verb [way] وی. Some examples:

[ka mo dumra ġer kār nē laralay, was kor ta āštā.]  
if we so much work not have now home to we were-going  
'If we didn't have so much work, we would go home now.'

[ka amān aw laylā kōr ta rātīlālay pasā mo aḵhīstā.]  
if Aman and Layla house to some lamb we were-buying  
'If Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb.'

[ka tārisā paktānā way wos ba wāḏā way.]  
if Theresa Pashtana were now fut married was  
'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 [da] چی, the imperfective participle, and be [way] ره. The participle agrees with the subject/object; [way] ره does not.

[ka mung dümra der kár ná larelay, tere hatha ba xár ta télí way.] 
if we so much work not have last week fut city to gone been

که مونی دومره دیر کار نه لرلی تبره هفته به بار ته تلی وی.
‘If we didn’t have so much work, we would have gone to the city last week.’

[ka amán aw laylā har wakht kor ta ráliálay kílí be me warkára way.] 
if Aman and Layla every time house to come key fut we would have given

که امان او لیلا هو وقت کور ته راتلی کیلی به مو ورکری وی.
‘If Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key.’

[ka tarsá paxtána way mor aw pír ba ye gur pakhwá merá ta warkára way.] 
if Theresa Pashtana were mother and father fut her very long-time husband to given been

که تریسا پخته وی مور او پلار به پی دیر پخوا مربه ت ورکری 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 ‘[ka] که, and contains an imperfective participle plus [way] ره. The participle agrees with the subject/object as usual, but the [way] ره does not change. These clauses are in the past tense, and so follow the rules for ergative constructions. Some examples of such ‘[ka] که clauses:

[ka mā dümra der kár ná way larelay..] 
if I so much work neg be have

که ما دومره دیر کار نه ره لرلی
‘If I hadn’t had so much work…’
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ka mung dumra qer kär né way laralay ...]
if we so much work neg be have

که مونی دومره دی پاره نه ونی لارلی
If we hadn't had so much work...

[ka amân aw laylā kor ta rāghōli way...]
if Aman and Layla house to come be

که امان او لیلا کور نه راغلی وی
If Aman and Layla had come to the house...

if the verb in the 'if' [ka] که clause is be (i.e., if it is parallel to English 'had been') there is no participle; the verb is just [way] دی. The distinction between present and past unreal condition therefore doesn't exist in Pashto when the verb in the clause is 'if' [ka]:

[ka sultān mahmūd paxtūn way...]
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun be

کہ سلطان محمود پختون وی
If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun... or
If Sultan Mahmud were a Pashtun...

Past unreal condition, present result. If the result is in the present time, the verb in the result clause is in the past imperfective tense.

[ka me dūmra qer kär né way laralay wos be dumra stāray né wam.]
if I so much work neg be had now tuf so tired neg I-was

که می دومره دی پاره نه ونی لارلی اووس به دومره ستری نه وم.
If I hadn't had so much work, I wouldn't be so tired now.

[ka za parūn nārōgha né way ran stīf ta tilmām.]
if I yesterday sick neg be today class to I-went

که زه پرون نارونه نه ون نن صنف ته تلم
If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would go to class today.
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[ka shorawyo no p̢ afg̢ histan yar̢ gal né way kar̢ ay p̢ a hew̢ ād ke ba wos der
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion not be done in country in fut now many

maktabūna way.]
schools be

که شورویانو چ افغانستان یرغل نه وي کری پ̢ هیواد کي به اوس دير مکتبون وي.

'If the Soviets had not invaded Afghanistan, there would be many schools in the country now.'


[ka t̢ ā w̢ éle way kanas̢ t̢ álam.]
if you asked be I-was-sitting

که تا وئلی وئی کشناستلی.

'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] چ، the imperfective participle, and be [way] وئی.
The participle agrees with the subject/object, but the [way] وئی is invariable.

[ka m̢ ā d̢ umra der k̢ ār né way k̢ ār̢ lay m̢ or be me lid̢ éle way.]
if I so much work neg be have mother fut see be

که ما دومره دپر گار نه وي لولی مور به مي لیدی وئی.

'If I hadn't had so much work, I would have visited my mother.'

[ka za parun n̢ ārogha né way sinf ta ba l̢ ālay way.]
if I yesterday sick neg be class to fut going been

که زه پرون ناروغه نه وي صنف ته به تلی وئی.

'If I hadn't been sick yesterday, I would have gone to class.'

[ka t̢ ā w̢ éle way kanas̢ t̢ álam be way.]
if you asked been sitting future be

که تا وئلی وئی کشناستلی وئی.

'If you had asked, I would have sat down.' (female speaker)
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

[ka sultan mahmud paktún way paxtanó ta ba ye der kár káray way]
if Sultan Mahmud Pashtun be Pashtuns to further much work do be

کُه سلطان محمود پختون وی پخپتو تہ بہ پی دیر
کار کری ہی.

'If Sultan Mahmud had been a Pashtun, he would have worked hard for the
Pashtuns.'

[ka shoraw ýąno pə afganistán yerghal ná way káray no dăkhili'jang ba ná way
if Soviets to Afghanistan invasion neg be do then civil war fut neg be
pex saway.)
happened

کُه شورویینو پ افغانستان یرغل تہ وی کری نو داخل
جنگ بہ تہ وی پہن 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 moţár wākhiļu no xèr ta zár zar tīštay su]
if we car buy then city to often go can

کُه مونی موئٹر وائخلو، نو ہار تہ رزر رزر تلی شو.

'If we buy a car, we can go to the city a lot.'

[ka mo moţár larşay, no xèr ta zár zar tīštay swu]
if we car had then city to often go could

کُه مو موئٹر لرلی، نو ہار تہ رزر رزر تلی شوو.

'If we had a car, we could go to the city a lot.'
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[ka mo moṭar akhīstay way no zār zar ba xār ta tīlāy swu.]  
if we can bought be often fut city to go could

क ह मॉटर एक्सेटी वि नो रू रर बे बार ते टेली शुरु।  
'If we had bought a car, we could have gone to the city a lot.'

In conversation, the 'can' or 'could' statements with the imperfective participle and the perfective be often occur by themselves, but nevertheless imply a conditional, i.e., the sentence below might imply a conditional like 'if he wanted to' or 'if he had his car'.

[asād kor ta bowelay swam.]  
Asad home to could take, imp  
'

اسद कॉर ते बुले शुम।  
'Asad could take me home.'

Such sentences contrast with their counterparts having perfective participles, in that the imperfective participle sentences make no statement as to whether the action was carried out or not, whereas the perfective participle sentences imply that the action was indeed completed. Contrast the sentence above with its counterpart with a perfective participle:

[asād kor ta bótlay swam.]  
Asad home to could take, perf  
'

اسد कॉर ते बुटले शुम।  
'Asad could take me home (and did).'  

Another example:

[asad ḡoḡay khwaṛalay swa.]  
Asad food eat(imp) be  
'

اسد डोढी खुरले शुह।  
'Asad could eat the food' (maybe he did, maybe he didn't)

[asad ḡoḡay wēkhwaṛalay swa.]  
Asad food eat(perf) be  
'

اسد डोढी वखुरले शुह।  
'Asad could eat the food' (and he did).

F. Other Analyses

Shafeev (1964) describes subordinate clauses according to the part they play with regard to main sentences (much like the analysis here), but further divides the adverbial clauses in terms of the meanings of the clause markers, e.g. temporal clauses.
Chapter 13: Subordinate Clauses

(with 'when', 'until', etc.), causal clauses (with 'because', 'since', etc.), purpose clauses (with 'for the purpose of' [la para che], etc.). He distinguishes [dzaka] خکه as 'therefore' from [dzaka che] خکه پچ as 'because'.

Mackenzie (1987) refers to complex structures only in passing, but discusses the placement of particles in sentences with relative clauses.

Penzl (1955) lists the adverbial clause markers, mentions the occurrence of perfectives in subordinate clauses, and gives a few examples of relative clauses. He discusses the formation of conditionals in his chapter on verb forms. He lists [dzaka che] خکه پچ as a conjunction meaning 'because'.
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