



AFGHANISTAN VI. PAŠTŌ

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vi. Paštō

A. Geographical distribution. B. Phonemic system. C. Phonetical development. D. Morphology. E. Vocabulary. F. Waṇecī. G. Position of Paštō within Iranic.

A. Geographical distribution, name, and dialects. (1) Paštō (Pa/əx̄t'ō; for x̄ see below) is an Iranic language spoken in south and southeastern Afghanistan, by recent settlers in northern Afghanistan, in Pakistan (North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan), and on the eastern border of Iran. According to the latest estimates, it is spoken by some eight million people in Afghanistan, six million in Pakistan, and about 50,000 in Iran. Paštō is thus the second in importance among the Iranic languages and in Afghanistan the official language, beside Dari.

(2) Although the name Afghan has been recorded much earlier than Paštō, the latter is undoubtedly the original, native name. The earlier, common derivation from Herodotus' tribal name Páktues is phonetically untenable. Neither Greek *u* nor *kt* could possibly render the sounds of the Iranic name of the 5th century B.C. The *ū* of Paxt'ūn (masc. plur. Paxtān'ə) "a member of the Paštūn nation" would at that time have been *-a(n)-* and *xt* probably something like **rs(t)*. The modern "hard" pronunciation of *x̄t* as *xt* is restricted to the northeastern dialects and evidently of recent origin, as shown inter alia by the orthography. Indo-Aryan Paṭhān must have been adopted from Paštō **Paštan-*.



(3) The most plausible derivation of Paḡt'o, as already suggested by Markwart (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1896-1905, II, p. 177; cf. Morg[enstierne]⁴, par. 40b), is from *Parsuwā, and of Paḡt'ūn from *Parswāna-, with the basic stem *Parsū-; cf. Skt. (Pāṇini) Parśu- “a (northwestern) warrior tribe.” Tedesco, in a letter, compares Pārsa- (from a *vṛddhi* from *Pārswa-). We know how certain tribal names can spread over widely separated regions; cf., e.g., Veneti and Saxons (Morg.^{4,5}).

(4) Paḡt'o denotes not only the Paštūn language, but also the national code of honor: *Paḡtūn haya na day či Paḡto wāyi, lekin haya či Paḡto ləri* “a Paštūn is not he who (only) speaks Paštō, but he who has Paštō.” This expression symbolizes the strong feeling of Paštun national unity—unique among Iranic ethnic groups—in spite of the numerous tribes, subtribes, clans, and continuous inter-tribal fighting.

(5) Although there are numerous different dialects, Paštō is essentially one language (as regards the one possible exception, Waṇecī, see below, F). Due to overlaps among various isoglosses, it is difficult to establish a satisfactory classification of Paštō dialects (but see *supra*, p. 505). Thus the dialects presenting a further development of common Paštō vocalism may belong either to the “soft” or the “hard” group. Nor are the results of palatalization, metathesis, etc., confined to definitive areas. It may therefore be practical to deal with the dialect features in connection with the description of phonemic and morphological development.

B. Phonemic system. (6) According to the orthography of “classical” Paštō recorded since the 10th/16th century, there were thirty-one consonants, including *q, f* (only in loan words and largely pronounced as *k* and *p*) and *ʿayn* (only in Arabic words and belonging to a learned type of pronunciation). Arabic *ṭ*, is pronounced as *t, ṭ* and *ṣ* as *s*, and *ḏ, ḏ̣*, and *ḏ̣̣* as *z*. Retroflex *ṭ*, and *ḏ̣̣* are restricted to loanwords from Indo-Aryan, but a large number of these are of ancient date and no more felt as foreign than, e.g., “church,” “cellar,” or “wine” in English. The remaining twenty-six consonants occur in words of genuine Paštō origin, i.e., *k, g, γ; t, d, n; p, b, m; ṇ; č, j; c, j; s, š, x; z, ž, ġ; r, ʀ, l; y, w*, and *h* (rare in original Paštō words). Regarding *x̣* and *ğ̣*, see below, 21.

(7) The vowels are *a, i, u, ə* (*zwargʿay*); *ā, ī, ū, ē*, and *ō*. *A* and *a* overlap in some dialects and *ī* and *ū* have been abbreviated in most of them. *Ē* and *ō* (for standard Paštō) will be written *e* and *o*, since there is no opposition between long and short *e* and *o* (except in the cases where *i* may be pronounced as



short *e*). Diphthongs are *āy*, *āw*, and final *-əy*. Characteristic of Paštō is the role played by mobile stress; cf. below, 39.

C. *Phonetical development*. a. *Vowels*. (8) Stressed Iranian *a* normally > *o*, before a nasal > *u* (e.g., *mor* “mother,” *nūm* “name,” *lūna* “abscess”). *A* in many cases > *ā* (e.g., *plār* “father,” *lās* “hand,” < **dasta-*, but *las* “ten”). In many dialects in the mountain regions of Pakistan and adjoining parts of Afghanistan, from Afr(īdī) to Waz(īrī), *o* changes further into *ó*, *ō*, *ε* (Waz. *mō/ēr*), and *ā* to rounded *â*, *ǎ*, *ō(plâ/ǎ/r)*. In Afr., etc., *lās* “ten” fills up the gap left by *lās* “hand,” and so on. More or less in the same area we also find, for unknown reasons, *ē* for *a* (e.g., *špēǰ* “six,” *wrēj* “day,” *wēr-* “to him,” etc.), while *ē*, e.g., in *wlēšt*, etc., “span” < Av. *vītasti-* is common also in other dialects and is due to palatalization. (9) In Waz., etc., *ū* > *ī* (e.g., *līr* “daughter”). No intermediate state *ũ*, well known from Persian dialects, has been recorded. This change to *ī* must have taken place before the loss of phonemic quantity of Paštō *ī* and *ū*. Note the isolated “Waz.” vocalism in Kāk(aṛī) of Šāhrīg (Bal.) *līr*, *mēr*, *calēr* “four,” etc. (10) In many cases Paštō *ū* and *ī* are due to lengthening before an original cluster. Thus *spīn* “white” < **spiθna-*, *ūx* “camel” < **ušθra-*, *g’uta* “finger” < **anguštā*. But *šk* has been assimilated (see below, 19) too early to cause lengthening. (11) Iranian *ī/ī* and *vū* generally > *ə*, as also in various other Northeastern Iranian languages, and, as a tendency, already in Avestan. Thus, *bəl* “second,” *m’anay* “autumn,” *sp’əǰa* “louse,” *x’əj-a* “woman” (< **strī-čī + -a*), *ləm* “tail,” *m’əǰa* “rat,” *p’ə ča* “dung.” But note, e.g., *wriže* “rice,” *wr’ūja* “eyebrow.” Iranian **r* > *ər* (e.g., *kər*, “made,” *mər* “died,” *yəǰ* “bear”). Iranian *ai* > *e* (e.g., *lew’ə* “wolf,” *lew’ar* “husband’s brother”) and **au* > **ō* > *wa* (e.g., *ɣwaǰ* “ear,” *rwaj* “day”). But the breaking of **ō* has affected also some loanwords from Indo-Aryan: *Kwaṭa* “Quetta” < *kōt*; *twal* “of equal weight,” but in a more recent loan, *tol* “weight.” (12) Loss of initial or medial short vowels is common. Thus *bən* “co-wife,” *ǰdən* “millet,” *gūta* “finger,” *zyar* “yellow,” *ɣwa* “cow,” *mlā* (Bangaš dialect *maly’ā*) “waist,” *psə* “goat” or “sheep.” All Iranian final vowels are dropped, with the exception of *-ā* (see below, 31, 33). (13) But **-ayah* probably resulted in *-e* in the fem. plur. (cf. 38), transferred from stems in *-i* as a distinguishing feature of the fem. also to stems in *-ā*, in *’aspe* “mares,” etc. Note that for the monosyllabic *dre* “three” < **θrayah* several dialects from Afr. to Kak. have *drēy*, etc. Iranian **-iyah* and **-uvah* result in *-’ə*, e.g., in *trə* “paternal uncle” < **p(i)trwiyah* (but, e.g., *bəl* “other” < **dwiθya-h*, *čīrg* “cock” < **kṛkya-h*), and *psə* “small cattle” (from a collective plural). Iranian **-u/awā* > *-’o*, in *Paχ’t’o* fem. (if < **Parsuwā*), *wurs’o* fem. “pasture” < **fra-šyawā* (Av. *fra-šiyaw-* “go forward,” cf. the semantically parallel development of *car-*), *waṛɣδo*



fem., plur. –*owe* “plain, steppe” (cf. Pahl. *gawā* [= Pahl. *dašt*] “plain,” given as the translation of Av. *gava-* “land, district”). (14) The problems connected with the varying results of umlaut and epenthesis before *i/y* would need a much more detailed analysis and discussion than can be given here, and must also be viewed in connection with the palatalization of consonants (see below, 18). A few characteristic examples are *meṛ’ə* “husband (< **martiya-*), *wle/as/št* “span” (Av. *vītašti-*), *wrer’a* “brother’s daughter” (but *wrār’ə* “brother’s son”), *mair’a* “stepmother,” *er’a* “ashes,” *myāšt*, etc., “month” (< **māsti-*), *l(y)ār* fem. “road,” *wyāl’ə*, etc., “irrigation channel,” *zyar* “yellow,” *bən* “co-wife” (Av. *hapaθnī-*), *xpəl* “own” (< **hwapaθya-*). The only known example of *u*-epenthesis is *ž’āwla* “resin, gum” (Skt. *jatu-*).

b. Consonants. (15) Iranian *y-* is retained, e.g., in *yor* “husband’s sister,” but may be dropped before *i*, e.g., in *y’ina*, dial. *’ina* “liver” (< **yaxn-*). *W* is retained, e.g., in *w’ala* “willow,” *wlēšt*, etc., “span,” *w’ina*, dial. (y)*ī*° “blood.” Paštō is the only Iranian language in which *w* and *b-* have completely merged. But we also find secondary *w-/y-*, e.g., in *or*, dial. *w-/y-/hor* “fire,” *wuč* “dry.” *W-* is dropped before *o*, e.g., in *xor* “sister” (but pl. *xwainde*), *calor* (but dial. –*lw-*) “four.” (16) In some southern dialects *w* and *y* are “hardened” into *b* and *g* before *i/y*. Thus *by’ešta* “hair,” *bid’ə* “asleep,” *grəwgi* (*gr’ewa*, dial. *grəwye*) “collar-bone,” (*arw-*) *ed’əlgi* (from –*əlē*) “were heard.” (17) Paštō, like all other Northeastern Iranian languages (a few secondary regressions excepted), opens up Iranian *b*, *d*, *g*, and *ǰ* into fricatives. Thus *wand* “dam, dike,” *raw-* “to suck,” *las* “ten” (< **δ* as in Munǰī), *mlā* “waist,” *γar* “mountain,” *ṇywaǰ-* “to hear,” *žəy* “bow-string,” *wa-žn-* “to kill.” We find voiced stops only in secondarily initial positions, e.g., *gūta* “finger,” *bən* “co-wife,” *dā* “this (< **[a]jita-*). (18) *T-* and *p-* remain, as does *k*, except when secondarily palatalized, e.g., in *čār’ə* “knife,” *čā* obl. “who” (< *kaḥya*). Iranian *č* > dental *c* (*cal’or* “four”). Intervocalic –*p-*, –*t-*, –*k-*, –*č-* > *b*, *l*, *g*, *j*. Thus *ob’ə* “water,” *səl* “one hundred” (but loss of –*t-*, e.g., in *wo* “wind”), *š’əga* “sand,” *rwaj* “day.” But early elision of vowel takes place: *špa* “night,” –*wēšt* “-twenty,” *škūṇ* “porcupine,” *stən* “needle” (< **sc-* < **suč-*). *X* remains, but *θ* > *l* in *lew’ar* “husband’s brother” (several Iranian languages point to **θ-*, not **d-*), *plan* “wide.” *F-* > *xw-* in *xway* “wooden shovel” (Shugh. *fay*, etc.), but –*f-* > *w* in *swa* “hoof.”

c. Clusters. (19) *St* remains (*nāst* “sitting”), when not palatalized (*myāš/st* “month”). *Št* > *t* (*tun* “place,” *at’ə* “eight;” cf. Wākī *hat*), probably through **ht*, before the introduction of *ṭ* from Indo-Aryan. Cf. *šk* > *h’k’* > *č* (*wuč* “dry,” etc.), and *sč* > *c* (*ac’a* “thigh-bone;” Av. *asču-*, *ācaṇ-* “to sew together” < **ā-sčar(t)n-*,



Skt. *kr̥ṇtat-*, *cṛta-*). *Ft* > (*w*) *d* (*tō[w]d*, fem. *tawd'a* “hot,” *ūd'a*, etc., “asleep,” but *ow'a* “seven”). *Xt* > zero (*səw-ay* “burnt,” *tə* “went” (if < **taxta-*), *tər-l'a* “uncle’s daughter.” *Wrīt* “roasted” to Pers. *birišta* rather than to Bal. *brihta*, *brētkā*. (20) As generally in modern Northeastern Iranian, *-(x) š-* has become voiced (e.g., *špağ* “six,” *ɣwağ* “ear,” *sağ-kāl* “this year” < **saxša-*) but *xš-*, *fš-* > *š-* (*špa-* “night,” *šin* “blue,” *špūn* “shepherd”).

(21) The transliteration of *š* and *ž* by *x* and *ğ* veils the most obvious if not the most important, division of Paštō dialects. In the southwestern “soft” group they remain sibilants, usually retroflex *š* and *ž*, but merging in some restricted areas with more palatal *š* and *ž*. In the “hard” northwestern dialects they merge completely with *x* and *g*. But in an intermediate area, mainly Gilzay, we find transitional types, or mixings, e.g., *š/š/x/xəja* “woman,” *špaž/z/ ɣ/g* “six.”

(22) Before *n*, but not before *m*, there is assimilation of *θ*, (*x*) *š* (for *ršn*, see below, 24). Thus, *spīn* “white,” *rūn* “bright,” *sūn* “sniff, snort” (< **sušna-*), but *melm'a* “guest,” *wağm* “steam, vapor” (< **waxšma-*). *Hw* > *x(w)* as generally in Iranian, and **(x)šw-* > *šp-* (*špağ* “six”). *θw* > *lw* (*cal[w]or* “four,” *calwəxt* “forty”). But *dw-* develops differently in *war* “door,” *dwa* “two,” *bəl* “other” (cf. Morg.¹, s.v. *dwa*). (23) Before *r* initial *x-* is retained in *xriy-* “to shave,” while *θ-*, *f-* become voiced in *dre* “three” (**r* could not be tolerated), *wr'ağā* “flea” (and probably in the prefix *war* < *fra-*). Also *fr-*, *-wr-* (*wāwra* “snow”), but complete assimilation of *-θ/xr-* (*or* “fire,” *sūr* “red,” however, with metathesis, *trīx*, fem. *tərx'a* “bitter”). *Br* > *wr* in *wror* “brother,” *o(w)r'a* “cloud,” and *dr-* in *dray'al* “liar,” *drəm'ənd* “threshing” (if < **dru-*). *Gr-* apparently in *gr'ewa*, etc., “collarbone;” but note also *ɣrδəbay* “buckle, clasp” (< **grab/p-*?). (24) Iranian *rt/d* merges into *r* (*kər* “made,” *zrə* “heart”). Such merging also takes place in Örmürī, Parāčī, and Sanglēčī. Iranian *r(š)n* > *n* (*aṇ-* “to grind,” *zāna* “crane,” *war-yaṇay* “rubbing [an infant],” Skt. *ghṛṣ-* “to rub,” *ɣēn* “penis”). But *ršn* + *t* seems to have been dentalized in *tanda* “thirst” < **tršnatā* (?), *kāndi* (poetical) “they make” < **kaṇ-ndi* < **kṛnantai* (?; Morg.³). (25) The most convenient way of listing the development of other clusters containing *r* and a sibilant is to start from the resulting Paštō sound: Pšt. *x* < **ršt* (*kxəl* “to pull”), **sr* (*oṣa* “tear”), **str* (*wāx* “rope”), **štr* (*ūx* “camel”). Pšt. *ğ* < **rž* (*xoğ* “sweat”), **rš* (*ɣəğ* “bear”), **zr* (*ğo* “by God!” < **zruwā*). Pšt. *x*t < **rs(t)* (*wəxt'a* “hair,” *ɣaxtel* “to twist”). Pšt. *ğd* < **rz* (*ğdən* “millet,” *[w]ūğd* “long”) (Morg.⁴). (26) The palatalization of *k*, *st*, and vowels has been mentioned above (see 18, 19, 14). We also find *š* < *sy* (*m'ašar* “elder,” *maš'ay* “fish,” *təš* “empty”), epenthesis of *y* (*lyār*, dial. for *lār* “road;” *myāšt*, etc., “month”), and the various dialect plural



forms of *mor* “mother” and other words denoting female relationships (*mainde*, *m[ʏ]ande*, *m[ʏ]andye*), all probably pointing to an early, preliterate system with suprasegmented palatalization throughout the word (**m’an’d’e*).

(27) There is a strong tendency toward various kinds of assimilation, dissimilation, and metathesis. Thus *mālga* “salt” (< **nm-*), *nwas’ay* “grandson” (dial. *nm-*, *lm-*), *nwar* “sun” (*nwar*, *nmar*, *lmer*, etc.), *ǧmānj* “comb” (*mangəz*; Waz. *wžənz*). Cf. also (*w*)*šəl* “twenty,” (*w*) *lār* “went.” Note also the change of *r-l* to *l-r* (*lār* “road,” *-lara* “to,” *lwarən* “madder”). (28) These various sound changes have led in many cases to a more or less complete severance of the phonetical connection between related words. Thus *plār* “father:” *trə* “paternal uncle,” *sxar* “father-in-law,” *xwāxə* “mother-in-law;” Qalīl dial. *ul-*, pret. *wišt* “to throw, shoot,” etc. (29) On the subject of phonetical development it is worth noting that in the northeastern dialects most exposed to Indo-Aryan influence, and especially in the Peshawar region, Paštō has rid itself of five un-Indo-Aryan phonemes through the change of *x̣ > x*, *ǧ > g*, *c > s*, *j > z*, but *ž > ǰ*; it has retained only *x* and *z*, both of which have also gained a kind of admission into the Northeastern Indo-Aryan languages.

D. *Morphology*. a. Nouns. Gender. (30) The preservation of a final *-a* (*-ə*) < *-ā* has, as also in other Iranian dialects, supported the retention of a separate fem. gender. The category of gender pervades all nominal forms, including the past part. and the verbal forms based upon it, and has also penetrated into the auxiliary 3rd sing. pres. Only the demonstrative nom. sing. *haya* “he/she/that” is an exception. Thus, *də hay’ə zoṛ ās mər š’əway day/də hay’e zaṛa* ‘*aspa mṛa š’əwe da* “his/her old horse/mare has died.” Iranian neuter nouns have been transferred to the masculine (*pal* “footstep, trace,” *nūm* “name”) or to the feminine (*l’ūma* “snare,” but also *lam’an* “hem” < nt. plur. **dāmani*). (31) Many masculine nouns in *-a-* end in Paštō consonants (*kor* “house,” “family” < *kāra-*); but *yar* “mountain” < **gari-* (cf. Khot. *ggara-*). Ancient stems in *-u* have been treated in various ways, e.g., *psə* “goats and sheep” < collective plur. **pasuwoh*; *os’ay* “gazelle” < **āsu-* + *ka-*; *oṣa* fem. “tear” < **asru* + *ā-*. Stems in *-n-* can be traced e.g., in *melm’ə*, plur. *-ān’ə* “guest.” Stems in *-r-* denoting kinship may either go back to Iranian accusative (*plār* “father”), or to some oblique case (*mor* “mother”). (32) Nouns in stressed or unstressed masculine *-ay* < **-aka-* are common. Thus, *nwas’ay* “grandson,” *malg’əray* “comrade,” with the corresponding feminine forms in *-’əy*, *-e* < **-aki* (*nwas’əy*, *malg’əres*). (33) Most feminine nouns end in stressed or unstressed *-a* (rarely *ə*). Thus, *’aspa* “mare,” *asp’a* “nettle-rash, asthma,” *maṇ’a* “apple,” *ṣoban’a* fem. “cowherd,” *xwlə/a*



“mouth.” Note the types *wrer’a* “brother’s daughter,” *čār’ə* “knife,” Waz, etc. *gutyē* “finger-ring” < **anguštyā*– (but all dialects have *-a* in *g’uta*, etc. “finger”), *y’əwe* “plough,” Waz. *yəwyē*. All of these go back to *-(i)yā*, but the distribution between original forms in *-yā* and *-iyā* is not clear. It is at any rate impossible, with Kuryłowicz (*Metrik und Sprachgeschichte*, p. 102) to consider all feminines in *-’a* as having been taken over from such in *-’iyā*. (34) In contracted monosyllables we find *-ā*. Thus *ɣwā* “cow,” Waz. *-o*; *xwā* “side,” Waz. *-o*; *mlā* “waist” (= Waz.), Bangaš *maly’a*; *plā* “journey” = Waz. (probably < **paθyā*; *ɣla* “theft” = Waz. (probably < **gadyā*). But note also *ɣla* (fem. of *ɣal* “thief,” *špa* “night,” *swa* “hoof,” *χna* “hip.” It is difficult to explain the relations between such bisyllables in *-wā* with those in *-’o*, which have been derived from *-a/uwā* mentioned above. (35) A restricted, nonproductive group of feminines ending in a consonant go back to **-(č)ī*. Thus *bən* “cowife,” *wlešt* “span,” *ǧmənǧ* “comb” (< **fšan-čī*), *χəj-a* “woman” (< **stri-čī*), and, in some dialects *lyār-a* “road.” In *təštyā* “emptiness” < **-tāti*– the *t* has been retained as if initial, cf. Khot. *tuśśātātā* and Av. *yawē-ča-tāite*.

Number. (36) No New or Middle Iranian language presents a corresponding variety of plural endings, and only a selection of the historically most important can be given here. (37) Masc. 1. *-(y/g)ān* (mostly animates): *ūχ’ān* “camels,” *mullāy’ān* “mullahs.” 2. *-’ūna*: *lās’ūna* “hands,” *zr’ūna* “hearts,” but also as *’ūna* (and *as’ān*) “horses,” *plar’ūna* “fathers.” 3. *-’ə*: *špān’ə* “shepherds” (*špūn*, *špə*), *xrə* “asses” (*xar*), *spār’ə* “horsemen” (*spor*, etc.); probably also *sxrə* “rocks” < **sxrə* (*sxar*). 4. *-ān’a*: *ɣobān’ə* “cowherds” (*ɣob-’ə/’ūn*). 5. *-ī*: *k’əlī* “villages” (*-ay*), *sar’ī* “men” (*-’ay*), *spī(ān)* “dogs” (*spag*). 6. Irregular are, e.g., *wr’ūna* “brothers” (*wror*), *zām’an* “sons” (*zoy*). Note *-a* after numerals: *dre k’ora* “three houses” (probably < **-āh*). (38) Fem. 1. *-e*: *w’əne* “trees,” *maṇ’e* “apples,” *l’āre* “roads,” *Pəxtan’e* “Pathan women,” *rw’aje* “days” (probably < **-ayah* transferred from *i*-stems, in order to distinguish between the plur. of stems in *-a-* and *-ā-*). 2. From feminines in *-ā*, e.g., *mlā-we* “waists.” 3. *(y/g)āne*: *nyāg’āne* “grandmothers,” *tror(y)āne* (or *trainde*, *trore*) “paternal aunts.” 4. Plur. = sing.: *rūp’əy* “rupee(s),” but animate *spəy*, *spī’āne* “she-dogs.” 5. Irregular: *l’ūna* (*lūre*) “daughters,” *mainde*, etc. “mothers” (*mor*), and similarly other terms in *-or* denoting female kinship. (39) Note the compound *mor-plār* “parents” (cf. Skt. *mātā-pitarah*), and also *lās* (*aw*) *pχe* “hands and feet,” *špa aw rwaje* “nights and days.”

Case. (40) The obl. is frequently identical with the nom. (e.g., *lās* “hand,” *spəy* “she-dog”). But the masc. has *-’ə* (e.g., in *ɣrə* “hill,” *Pəxtan’ə* “Pashtun”), and



masc. *-ay* has *-ī* (e.g., *saṛ'ī* “man,” *k'ālī* “village” = nt. plur.). The obl. fem. can have *-e* = nt. plur. (e.g., *'lāre* “road,” *'ūḫe* “she-camel”). Some nouns have a separate prepositional, in some cases identical with the nom., but like the vocative usually formed by adding *-a* to the nom. Thus, *'ūḫa* masc./fem. “camel,” *sp'aya* “dog,” *Pəḫt'ūna* “Pashtun.” (41) Obl. plur., masc. and fem., has *-o* (from nouns in *-ay* also *-io*), thus agreeing, as also in Khot. with the vocative plur. The older literary texts and the more archaic dialects have *-o*, not *-ūno*, e.g., in *'aso* “horses.” This shows that *-ūna* cannot be based upon an *-ūno*, derived from **-ānām*, but must rather go back to **-ānhāh* (Av. *-āṇho*), and that *-o* is probably rather < instrumental **-ābiš*, cf. also Khot. instrumental abl. plur. *-yau*.

b. Prepositions and postpositions. (42) The most common prepositions are: *da* (dial. *e*) “of” (gen., etc.), *la* “from,” *pa* “at, on,” *tar* “till,” etc. Postpositions are: *bānde* “on,” *cəxa* “from,” *kḫe* “in,” *la* “towards,” *lānde* “under,” *lara* “for,” *na* “from,” *pore* “up to,” *sara* “with,” *ta* “to.” Combinations of pre- and postpositions are common: *pa kor kḫe* “in the house,” *dayrə na* “from the hill,” *la ḫəje sara* “with the woman.”

c. Article. (43) *Yaw* “one” and *haya* “that” may often be translated by Engl. a(n), the. As far as is known, only in some Ġilzay dialects is abbreviated and unstressed *a(y)* on the way to becoming a real article. Thus, *a saṛ'ī ta* “to the man,” *a sp'ay* “the dog,” *p'a mulk kḫe* “in the country.” Cf. Orm. of Lōgar *saṛ'ay* “the man,” but *'a saṛay* “that man,” probably through Paštō influence.

d. Adjectives. (44) Comparison is not inflexional, but expressed by *tar* (*ṭolo*) “from, than (all).” Some adjectives ending in a vowel are inflexible. Others form fem. in *-a*, *-əy*, or *-e*. But a group of important adjectives have retained a more archaic inflexion. The pattern is, with minor variations, that of *to(w)d* “hot,” masc. obl. sing. and nom. plur. *tāwd'ə*: fem. nom. sing. *tawd'a*, obl. sing. and nom. pl. *-e*, masc./fem. obl. plur. *-'o*. (45) Dybo (quoted by Morg.⁷) has proposed that this change may go back to a Vedic accent. This has been denied by Kuryłowicz (*Metrik*), but his objections do not take into account or quote correctly all relevant Paštō facts.

e. Numerals. (46) “1” *yaw*, fem. *yəw'a* (dial. *ew'a*). “2” *dwa*, fem. *dwe*; *d(w)olas* “12.” “3” *dre* (dial. *drey*, etc.; cf. diphthong in Bal. and Pamir dial.), *dyārlas* “13,” *dərwəšt* “23” (< **θri-*), *derš* “30” (Khot. *dārsä*). “4” *cal'or* (Afr., Waz., etc., *-lw-*), *cwārlas* “14,” *caler(w)išt* “24” (< **caθwāri-* ?), *calw'əxt* “40.” “5” *pinj'ə* (Jaḫi *pēṇ'*), note final *-ə*; *panj'os* “50.” “6” *špaḡ* (dial. *e*), *šp'āras* “16” (cf. **-rd* in Oss., etc.),



špet’ə “60.” “7” ow’ə (etc.), awy’a “70.” “8” at’ə (dial. [w]otə etc.), aty’ā “80.” “9” nəh, etc., nul/nas “19,” naw’e “90.” “10” las. “20” (w)šəl, but yaw-wišt “21,” etc. Note archaic and Waṇ. *ter-cūr-pūn-sū* “3/4/500” (Morg.²). (47) In some dialects (Khaṭṭak, etc.) a vigesimal system is used (alternatively, with *kam* “less,” *nīm* “half,” *dəp’āsa* “added”: *Pinj’e kam dre š’əla/špet’ə* = *pinj’ə panj’os* “55,” *dre nīm š’əla* = *panjos* (cf. Danish *halv-tre-sinds-tyve* “half 3 times 20,” i.e., fifty), *cal’or nīm š’əla/las dəp’āsa dre š’əla/awyē*, etc.

f. Pronouns. (48) Personal: *Zə* “I” (cf. Munjī *zo/a*) < **az’ā* (Greek *egō*, etc.?). Gen. *j-mā* “my,” *s-tā* “thy” (dial. *e-*), etc. < **hača*, as in some Northwestern Iranian dialects. *Mū(n)ğ* “we” < **ahmāša*– < **čya* (cf. Waṇecī, but Kūkī *Ḳēl*, Afr. *dyū* < ? *t’āsu/e* “you” (< **-saya* “likeness, shadow;” cf. *dā-se* “thus,” Shugh., etc. *di/as* < *(*a*)*ita-sā*; but Waz. *tus* “you” probably < Indo-Aryan. (49) The demonstratives are: *haya* “that,” *daya*, *dā*, *day* “this.” In archaic and dialectic Paštō also *hā/oṃa* “that very, that over there.” Interrogatives: *cok* “who” (Av. *čiš* + *-ok*); obl. *čā* (Av. *kahyā*); *cə* “what;” *kūm* “which,” rather < **kāma*– than **katāma*–. Enclitics: *me* 1st per. sing., *de* 2nd per. sing., (*y*)*e* 3rd per. sing./plur., *mū(mo)* 1st and 2nd per. plur. Directive pronouns or particles: *rā* (Afr. *ər*) 1st per. “to me, hither,” *dar* (dial. *-e-*) 2nd per., *war* (dial. *-e-*) 3rd per. (cf. Morg.³, s.vv.).

g. Verbs. (50) The verbal system is, as in other New Iranian languages, based on the opposition between the present and the past stems. A simplified classification of the types of pres. stems is: 1. Simple stems (*wīn-* “see,” *xwaj-* “be moving, creep,” e.g., in *mār xwajī* “a snake creeps” [habitually]). 2. Intransitives with added *-eğ-* (Kāk. *-āž-*) (*gora*, *mār xwajeğī* “look, a snake is creeping” [just now]). 3. Denominatives in *-eğ-* (*joṛ-eğ-* “get restored”). 4. Causatives with added *-aw-* (*joṛ-aw-* “restore”). 5. Double stems (*kaw-*: subj. *kṛ-* “do,” *wo-*: *š-* “become;” *wr-*: *y’os-* “take away;” *bi’āy-*: *b’oz-* “lead away;” *prew’əz-*: *pr’ewəz-* “fall”).

(51) The personal endings are: 1st sing. *-əm*; 2nd sing. *-ī*; 1st plur. *-u*; 2nd plur. *-əy* (dial. *-o*, *-ast*); 3rd per. *-ī* (cf. the loss of a separate 3rd plur. in Davānī in Fārs; NTS 19, p. 129). The distribution of stress on stem or suffix (e.g., *w’īnəm* “I see,” but *lar’əm* “I have”) would need investigation beyond the scope of this article. Only in the auxiliary are 3rd sing. and plur. distinguished: *yəm* “I am,” *ye* “thou art,” *yū* “we are,” *yəy* (*yo*, *yast*) “you are,” *day* “he is,” *da* “she is,” *dī* “they are” (with *d-* of pronominal origin); also *šta* “it exists.” Archaic forms are 2nd plur. *kānəy* (< **kṛna-*); 3rd plur. *kānde* (< **kṛnantai*). Imperative has 2nd sing. *-a*; 2nd plur. *-əy*. There is a 3rd per. subj. *wī*, and a 3rd per. opt./cond. *wāy-*, transferred also to preterites *ka haya rātl-ay* “if he had come.” (52) The



particle *wə* denotes the subj., and can be combined with *ba*, the marker of the fut. (with the past stem of the durative). (53) Many verbs contain separable, lexical prefixes, beside *rā*, *dar*, *war* (e.g., *ǰār-*, *kǰe-*, *nāna-*, *prā-*, *pre-*, *pore-*). The prefixes may be separated from the stem by inserted particles. Thus, *pre-ba ye-nə-kawəm* “I shall not be cutting it,” *pre-ba-de-ǰdəm* “I shall leave you.” This principle may be extended also to the original prefix *ā-* (*rā-w-a-b(a)-exləm* “I shall take it with me”), and even to verbs where *ā-* belongs to the root, e.g., from *ā/ǰrw-* “to hear,” *w-ā-ba-e-rwəm* “I shall hear it.” Corresponding structures are also to be found in the past tenses (cf. Morg.³, p. 106).

(54) The past stem of many verbs is formed, as in other Iranian languages, from the root and the ancient past part. *-ta-*; e.g., *āxist*: *’āxl-* “take;” *āyust*: *āyund* “put on;” *wīšt*: *w’əl-* “throw;” *kat*: *k’as-* “look at;” *bot*: *boz-* “lead away;” *xot*: *x’ež-* “rise;” *ṇyut*: *ṇywaǰ* “listen to;” *m(ə)r*: *mṛ-* “die;” *yoxt*: *ǰw’ār-* “want;” *skaxt*: *skan-* “cut out;” *kǰ*: *k’āǰ-* “pull;” *od*: *’ow-* “weave;” *sw*: *swaj-* “burn;” *waž(l)*: *w’ažn-* “kill.” Suppletive pasts are, e.g., *līd*: *w’īn-* “see;” *rāyl*: *r’āš* “come.” (55) In many verbs (e.g., *taṛ’əl* “bound”) we find an element *-əl* (probably < **-ita*), which may also be added to past stems already characterized as such by other means. Past stems in *-ed-* (cf. Pers. *-īd-*) are common, and not exclusively from presents in *-eǰ-*. (56) The personal endings 1st and 2nd sing. and plur. are the same as in the pres. The common 2nd sing. fem. form is *-’əla*, with 2nd plur. *-’əle*; we also find 3rd plur. masc. *-’əl* (with variants). 3rd sing. masc. can have a shorter form with *ā*, *o* < *a* (*taṛ’ə* “bound,” *xot* “rose”), but we also find insertion of *l*.

(57) Perfect and pluperfect are, as in Persian, etc., based on a participle in **taka-* < Paštō *’-ay*, here, of course, inflected for gender and number. Thus, *š’əway/e yəm/wum* “I (masc./fem.) have/had become;” 3rd plur *š’əw-i/e dī*. (58) Many other tenses and moods that cannot be dealt with in detail here are formed with various forms of auxiliaries, the addition of *ba* and *we*, or combinations of both. Thus, a perfect conditional *ba rased’əlay wu* “(then) he would have arrived,” past conditional *w’ə ba rased’əm*, etc. (59) The structure of past intransitives conforms with that of other New Iranian languages; but in the past transitives the agentive formation has been carried through more strictly than elsewhere. Thus, *zə tā wahəm* “I strike you,” *tə mā wahe* “you strike me,” but *tā/mā zə/tə wahəl-əm/e* “you/I struck me/you,” *xəja ās/aspa wahī* “the woman strikes the horse/mare,” *xəje ās/aspa wāh’ə/wah’əla* “the woman struck the horse/mare.” (60) This use of the agentive tr. past conforms exactly with what we find in adjoining Indo-Aryan languages; it seems likely that the



Paštō constructions, though based on inherited Iranic tendencies, have been supported and reinforced by the contact with Indo-Aryan. In this connection it is instructive to confront the two Paštō texts from Kohat given in the *Linguistic Survey of India* with the same texts from Kohat Lahndi. There is a nearly complete identity of grammatical forms, prepositions and postpositions, and word order in the two versions, a parallelism which becomes all the more striking if we contrast them with the *Linguistic Survey of India* specimens from, e.g., Badaḵšī Persian or Balūčī.

(61) Verbal nouns. The infinitive is a plur. noun, formed from the past stem *-’əl* (= past 3rd per. plur. masc.), and with obl. in *-o*. There are several other verbal nouns, in *-’ūn*, *-’ə*, *-’əna*, etc.

E. Vocabulary. (62) Although to a large extent the native elements of the Paštō vocabulary are related to the vocabularies of other Iranic languages, a remarkably large number of words is special to Paštō. To take a few examples from the names of parts of the body: *st’ərga* “eye,” *xwlə* “mouth,” *yāx* “tooth,” *’oḡa* “shoulder,” *pḡa* “foot,” *p’ūnda* “heel” (cf. Morg.¹, *passim*).

F. *Waṇecī*. (63) Except for a few details, Paštō dialects can be derived from a prototype not essentially different from the classical 10th/16th century literary language; they do not to any significant extent help us to reconstruct a more archaic form of Paštō. There is only one dialect which stands decidedly apart, i.e., *Waṇ(ecī)* (or *Tarīno*) spoken in northeast Baluchistan between Harnai and Loralai, and now being more and more influenced by and pushed back by ordinary Paštō. Descriptions have been given by Morg.^{2,6} and by Elfenbein; here it is only possible to draw attention to a few essential points. (64) Phonology. Ir. *-d-* > *-l-* as in Paštō (*mlā* “waist,” *xwala* “sweat”) but *-t-* > *y/0* (*sī* “one hundred,” *šwī* < **wšī* “twenty,” *piyār* “father,” left as relicts in *Kāk*. *pyār* and *plyār*). In this respect *Waṇ*. agrees with *Munji*, but not with *Pšt*. Before *ž* Ir. *r* is retained (*yirž* “bear,” *tərža* “thirsty”). *Šk* > *k* (*pukē* “sheep’s dung,” *Pšt*. *puča*). *Ft* > *w* (*tōw*, fem. *taw’a* “hot,” *Pšt*. *to[w]d*). Retention of *nd* in *yandəm*, *Pšt*. *yanəm*. Lack of palatalization (*māst* “month,” *at’ā* “eighty”). Note *wžənj* “comb” < **fšəncī*, *Pšt*. *ḡumənj*, etc.; *sunzən* “needle,” *Pšt*. *stən*; *brəstəṇ* “quilt,” *Pšt*. *brastən*. (65) Morphology. Gen. *da* is rare, and probably borrowed from *Pšt*., but there is a predicative gen. *-(a) ya*. *Mōš* “we” < **ahmāšša-*, without nasalization as in *Pšt*. *mū(n)ḡ*, and with **šš* < **čy-* not joining *-š-* > *-ḡ-*. This points to an early separation from *Pšt*. There is a demonstrative *ay* “this (very).” (66) Personal endings: *kī* “I make,” *ke*, *kə*, *kū*, *kō* (imper, 2nd sing. *ka*), and a separate 3rd plur. *kīn*. *Kī* (< **kī*) and *kīn* from a stem in *-aya-*, but *kə*



from a stem in *-a-*, quite the reverse of the situation in Pšt. Note the extreme economy shown in expressing all personal endings (except the 3rd per. plur.) by means of the available final vowels. The pres. frequently has an infixed *-’en-* (*murš’enī* “I rub,” *wīnz’enī* “I wash,” *wrēš’enī* “I spin,” etc.). (67) Words not recorded from Pšt. are e.g. *γoz-*: *γot* “drink,” *kəž’ə* fem. “(big) fish,” *mīt* “fist,” *wūn* “naked,” *zūng* “knee.” (68) Examples of sentences showing the difference from Pšt. are: *Indī waguṛī cī mōš piyār γa caṭ lēždī wī* (Pšt. **pa de kālī kxe zmūng da plār der γwayī wū*) “in this village our father had many bulls;” *šamze o xwāržə šwe mī de γōzīn* (Pšt. *šlombe aw xwāğə šawda hām cχī*) “they also drink buttermilk and sweet milk.”

Some of Waṇ.’s particularities (e.g. *šwī* “twenty,” *mōš* “we,” *[a]γa* “of;” the pres. endings; retention of *rž*; loss of *-t-*) prove that it must have split off from Pšt. at an early Mid. Iranian stage, considerably before the constitution of a standard Pšt. They can scarcely have developed after the arrival of the Waṇ. speakers in their present home, which is in no way topographically cut off from the rest of Pšt. territory. These speakers must rather represent the forerunners of the main Paštūn movement towards the east, but when and where they split off is at present impossible to say.

G. *The position of Paštō within Iranian.* (69) Paštō undoubtedly belongs to the Northeastern Iranian branch. It shares with Munjī the change of **δ > l*, but this tendency extends also to Sogdian. The Waṇ. dialect shares with Munjī the change of *-t- > -y-/0*. If we want to assume that this agreement points to some special connection, and not to a secondary, parallel development, we should have to admit that one branch of pre-Paštō had already, before the splitting off of Waṇ., retained some special connection with Munjī, an assumption unsupported by any other facts. Apart from *l < *δ* the only agreement between Paštō and Munjī appears to be Pšt. *zə*; Munjī *zo/a* “I.” Note also Pšt. *l* but Munjī *x’ < θ* (Pšt. *plan* “wide,” *cal(w)or* “four,” but Munjī *paχəy, čfūr, Yidğa čšīr < *čəxfūr*). Paštō has *dr-*, *wr-* < **θr-*, **fr-* like Khotanese Saka (see above 23). An isolated, but important, agreement with Sangl. is the remarkable change of **rs/z > Pšt. χt/ğd*; Sangl. *št/zđ* (*obəχta* “juniper;” Sangl. *wəšt; (w)ūğd* “long;” *vəždük*) (see above 25). But we find similar development also in Shugh. *ambəχc, vūγj*. The most plausible explanation seems to be that **rs* (with unvoiced *r*) became **šš* and, with differentiation **šč*, and **rz*, through **žž > žj* (from which Shugh. *χc, γj*). Pšt. and Sangl. then shared a further differentiation into *št, zđ* (> Pšt. *χt, ġd*).

(70) There appear to be no other special agreements between Paštō and any



Pamir languages, whether in phonology, morphology, or vocabulary. It is, however, possible that the original home of Paštō may have been in Badakšān, somewhere between Munjī and Sangl. and Shugh., with some contact with a Saka dialect akin to Khotanese. But it seems that the Old Iranian ancestor dialect of Paštō must have been close to that of the Gathas. (71) It is important to keep in mind the early and profound influence of Indo-Aryan on Paštō as well as Paštō's remarkable preservation of many Iranian morphological features, in which respect only Ossetic can compete with or even surpass it.

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