ED 107 162   FL 006 943

AUTHOR   Miran, Mohammad Alam
TITLE   Major Problems of Dari Speakers in Mastering Pashto
                Morphology.
PUB DATE   Aug 69
NOTE   75p.; Master's Thesis, University of Texas at
                Austin

EDRS PRICE   MF-$0.76 HC-$3.32 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS   Case (Grammar); *Contrastive Linguistics; Descriptive
                Linguistics; Error Patterns; Form Classes
                (Languages); Grammar; Indo European Languages;
                *Interference (Language Learning); Language
                Instruction; Language Patterns; *Morphology
                (Languages); *Pashto; Persian; Phonology; *Second
                Language Learning; Structural Analysis; Syntax;
                Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS   *Dari

ABSTRACT
                This is a contrastive analysis of Dari and Pashto,
both official languages of Afghanistan, with a view toward outlining
the difficult_es faced by speakers of Dari learning Pashto as a
second language. The main focus is on morphological structures,
although phonology is also briefly dealt with. The brief phonological
comparison, with emphasis on a Dari speaker's difficulties in
learning Pashto phonology, is followed by chapters describing Pashto
and Dari morphology. A detailed analysis is made of difficulties
encountered by the Dari speaker in learning Pashto morphology. The
major difficulties are divided into the following areas: (1) number,
gender, and case in parts of speech other than the verb; (2) the
verbal system; (3) agreement, involving number, gender, case, and the
verbal system; (4) order, only as it affects phrase constructions;
and (5) the noun. (Author/AM)

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF DARI SPEAKERS IN MASTERING PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

by

MOHAMMAD ALAM MIRAN, B.A.

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

August, 1969

FL006985

ABSTRACT

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF DAR1 SPEAKERS IN MASTERING PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

Afghanistan is a multi-lingual country. More than thirty different
languages are spoken in the country. Pashto and Dari (Afghan Standard
Persian, mainly Kabuli dialect) are the two official languages. Pashto
is spoken by more than fifty percent of the population, and Dari is
spoken by about thirty-seven percent of the total population. Dari
is functioning as a <u>lingua franca</u>--that is, more than eighty percent
of the total population are speaking Dari as a native, second, or third
language. Dari and Pashto are both Indo-European languages; however
their close historical relationship goes too far back in time to make
either language intelligible to the speaker of the other. The overall
similarities, however, are helpful to the speakers of Dari learning
Pashto or vice-versa. The similarities may be phonological, morphological,
and syntactical.

Pashto has been a required subject for Dari-speaking children in
Afghan schools since 1936. Since then, Pashto textbooks have been
prepared for use in the schools. No systematic attempt has been made
to identify the problems of Dari learners of Pashto; nor has there been any
preparation of teaching materials with particular attention to an emphasis
on solutions of these problems (Burhan 1972).

It was felt that there is a need for a contrastive study of these
two languages. This is such a study, concentrating primarily on
morphology, thogh phonology is also discussed in a sketchy manner.

This study consists of four chapters. Chapter One is the description
of both Pashto and Dari phonology. The last portion of this chapter is
devoted to the difficulties that Dari speakers face in mastering Pashto
phonology. Chapters Two and Three are the descriptions of Pashto and
Dari morphology. Chapter Four is the final analysis of morphological

difficulties facing Dari speakers learning Pashto.

It is hoped that in the future further investigation will continue the work here started, covering areas not adequately discussed.

SOURCES:

Burhan, Mohammad Esmael. "Bilingual Education for Afghanistan". Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, August 1972.

Lado, Robert. Linguistics Across Cultures. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1964.

Pengl, Herbert. A Grammar of Pashto. American Council of Learned Societies, 1955.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to my advisors: Professor Mohammad Ali Jazayery, the chairman of my committee, and Professor John G. Bordie, the other member of the committee, whose patience and helpfulness were invaluable at every stage of the research and writing.

I would like to thank Miss Mildred Rose Meili for her great encouragement and proofreading, and Dr. M. Ehsan Entezar for his concern and valuable points of view.

The University of Texas at Austin

June 15, 1969 .

5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Pashto and Dari (Afghan Persian) are the two official languages
in Afghanistan. Pashto is spoken by more than thirteen million people,
including more than half of the population of Afghanistan and the seven
million people of Pashtoonistan.

There are two main dialects of Pashto, the "Northeastern" and
the "Southwestern." The former is spoken in Paktia, Jalalabad, Laghman,
Kabul, Logar, Maidan, Wardak, and the northern provinces of Afghani-
stan. The latter is spoken in Kandahar, Greshk, and Fara, and is
considered as the "standard" dialect. The Kandahar version of this
dialect is in use among the educated people. Because its phonemic sys-
tem corresponds to the prevailing orthography, the Kandahar dialect has
great prestige among the Afghan educated people. (See Penzl, sec. 4.4.)

Dari is spoken in most parts of Afghanistan, both in rural
areas and by a majority of the population of the towns. Kabul, the
capital, is almost entirely Dari-speaking. The Kabuli dialect is
spoken by the educated people and is considered the "standard" dialect.

Although Pashto and Dari are both Indo-Iranian languages,
their close historical relationship goes too far back in time to make
either language intelligible to the speaker of the other. The overall
similarities, however, are helpful to the speakers of Dari learning
Pashto.

1

Pashto has been a required subject for Dari-speaking children in Afghan schools since 1936. Since then, Pashto textbooks have been prepared for use in schools. To the best of my knowledge, however, no systematic attempt has been made to identify the problems of Dari learners of Pashto and to prepare teaching materials with particular attention to and emphasis on solutions for these problems. A first-- and major--step in identifying the problems likely to be encountered by the learner of a foreign language is a contrastive study of the foreign language and the native language. Such studies have become more and more common in recent years (mostly in situations where one of the two languages is English), but none has appeared in print on Pashto and Dari. For this reason, it was felt that there is a need for a contrastive study of these two languages. This thesis is one part of such a study, concentrating primarily on morphology, though phonology is also discussed in a sketchy manner. It is to be hoped that other investigators will continue the work here started, covering areas not adequately discussed.

It should be noted that the purpose here is not to provide a detailed description of the two languages, which can be found in the works to which reference will be made. The purpose is to compare and contrast the two languages in certain areas of their structure. A detailed listing of all forms and items would serve little useful purpose and would merely repeat the work of previous investigators.

Therefore, this study provides only an outline of the structure of each language together with a limited number of examples.

The descriptive statements on phonological and morphological systems of Pashto are largely based on A Grammar of Pashto, a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, 1955, by Herbert Penzl. The descriptive statements on phonology and morphology of Dari are largely based on Abdul Ghafur Farhadi, Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, Paris, 1955. The heaviest debt is to Professor Penzl's work, which has been freely drawn on, in most instances summarizing his analysis, with few changes here and there.

Chapter I presents the principal differences between the sound systems of Pashto and Dari and identifies the major difficulties which confront the Dari-speakers in mastering the phonology of Pashto. Chapters II and III will deal with the morphology of Pashto and Dari, respectively. Chapter IV mentions briefly some of the differences between the morphological structures of the two languages.

CHAPTER I

THE PHONOLOGY OF PASHTO AND DARI

Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, the phonemes of Pashto and Dari will be listed, and the major phonotactic facts presented. In the second part, the chief differences between the two phonological systems will be discussed briefly. The treatment of all of these subjects, however, will be in outline form, and quite brief, since the central concern of this thesis is the morphology of the two languages. The information on phonology will be given as background only. More detailed descriptions will be found in the works listed in the bibliography. Only a few of the allophonic differences will be noted.

4

Table 1. Pashto and Dari Consonants

		Bilabial		Labiodental		Dental		Alveolar		Prepalatal		Velar		Postvelar		Glottal	
		P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D
Stops	Voiceless	F	P			t	t			ṭ		K	K		q		
	Voiced	b	b			d	d			ḍ		g	g				
Affricates	Voiceless							ć		c	c						
	Voiced							ǰ		j	j						
Fricatives	Voiceless				f	s	s	š	š	ṣ				x	x	h	
	Voiced					z	z	ž	ž	ẓ				ğ	ğ		
Nasals		m	m			n	n			ṇ							
Liquids	Lateral							l	l								
	Trill							r	r	ṛ							
Semivowels		w	w							y	y						

P = Pashto   D = Dari

A dot under a letter indicates a retroflex articulation.

Table 2. Pashto and Dari Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
	P	D	P	D	P	D
High	i	i			u	u
Mid	e	e	ə		o	o
Low	æ	æ			a	a

The Phonology of Pashto

Pashto shows considerable dialectal variation. The following description is based on the (southwestern) Kandahar dialect, which is generally considered the "standard" dialect.

1. Pashto Consonants[1]

There are some consonants in Pashto which do not occur in the speech of monolingual speakers, but only in the formal speech of the educated people, who are bilingual in Pashto and Dari. These are considered "elegant" phonemes, and consist of /f/ (ف) voiceless labiodendal fricative; /q/ (ق) voiceless velar stops; /ʔ/ (ع) glottal stop; /h/ pharyngeal. They are not part of the spoken Pashto of Kandahar, and so will not appear in the following description of Pashto phonemes.

a. Stops

/p/,/b/ voiceless and voiced bilabial stops: [p'] and [b].

/t/,/d/ voiceless and voiced dental stops: [t'], [d].

/ṭ/,/ḍ/ voiceless and voiced retroflex prepalatal stops: [ṭ'], [ḍ].

/k/,/g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops: [kʸ], [gʸ] before the front vowels, [k'], [g] elsewhere.

b. Affricates

/c/,/ȷ/ voiceless and voiced alveolar affricates: [ts], [dz].

/c/,/ǰ/ voiceless and voiced prepalatal affricates: [tš],
[dž].

  c. <u>Fricatives</u>

   /s/,/z/ voiceless and voiced dental fricatives: [s], [z].

   /š/,/ž] voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives: [š], [ž].

   /ṣ/,/ẓ/ voiceless and voiced retroflex prepalatal fricatives:
[ṣ],[ẓ].

   /x/,/ǧ/ voiceless and voiced post-velar fricatives: [x],[ǧ].

   /h/ voiceless glottal fricative: [h].

  d. <u>Nasals</u>

   /m/ bilabial nasal: [m].

   /n/ dental nasal [n]

   /ṇ/ retroflex prepalatal nasal: [ṇ].

  e. <u>Liquids</u>

   /l/ alveolar lateral: [l].

   /r/ alveolar trill: [r].

   /ṛ/ retroflex prepalatal trill: [ṛ].

  f. <u>Semivowels</u>

   /w/ bilabial high back rounded semivowel: [w].

   /y/ prepalatal high front semivowel: [y].

2. Pashto Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters in general occur in all positions. Initial clusters are very common, a fact which is of special interest to us because of the absence of such clusters in Dari. For a list of the initial consonant clusters, see Penzl, p. 16.

3. Pashto Vowels[2]

a. Front Vowels (all unrounded)

/i/ high front: [i].

/e/ mid front: [e] occurs in medial and final positions, but not initially.

/æ/ low front: [æ].

b. Central Vowel: /ə/

[ə] occurs in medial and final positions, but not initially.

c. Back Vowels

/u/ high back rounded: [u].

/o/ mid back rounded: [o].

/a/ low back unrounded: [a].

4. Pashto Diphthongs

In Pashto, /æ, e, ə, u, a/ combine with /y/, and /æ, ə, o, a/ combine with /w/, to form the following diphthongs: / æy, ey, əy, uy, ay, æw, əw, ow, aw/.

5. Pashto Suprasegmental Phonemes

   a. Stress

   There are three phonemes of stress: primary /'/, secondary /ˋ/ and weak /ˊ/, the latter usually left unmarked in transcription. Each word in isolation has one primary stress, but the place of stress is not predictable in polysyllabic words.

   b. Pitch

   There are four pitches: extra high /4/, high /3/, medium /2/, and low /1/. /4/ occurs very rarely. The high pitch /3/ generally occurs on the last primary stress within the phonological phrase.

   c. Juncture

   Pauses result in several types of junctures: close /./, internal open /+/, sustain /|/, rise /||/, and fall /#/. In phonemic transcription, /+/ is represented by space, and close juncture by the absence of space between two segmental phonemes.

The Phonology of Dari

   There are dialectal variations in Dari too. The present description is based on the Kabuli dialect, which is considered the "standard" dialect. The two glottal phonemes /ʔ,h/ will not appear in the following description of Dari phonemes because they do not occur in the speech of the Dari speakers in Kabul. They are only

represented in the written form of Dari, and most such cases (especially in the case of /ʔ/ʕ) represent Arabic borrowings.

1. Dari Consonants

 a. Stops

  /p/,/b/ voiceless and voiced bilabial stops: [p'], [b].

  /t/,/d/ voiceless and voiced dental stops: [t'], [d].

  /k/,/g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops: [kʸ], [gʸ] before front vowels; [k'], [g] elsewhere.

  /q/ voiceless post-velar stop: [q]

  This phoneme does not have a voiced counterpart.

 b. Affricates

  /c/,/j/ voiceless and voiced prepalatal affricates: [tš], [dž].

 c. Fricatives

  /f/ voiceless labiodental fricative: [f].

  It does not have a voiced counterpart.

  /s/,/z/ voiceless and voiced dental fricatives: [s], [z].

  /š/,/ž/ voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives: [š], [ž].

  /x/,/ǧ/ voiceless and voiced postvelar fricatives: [x],[ǧ].

 d. Nasals

  /m/ bilabial nasal: [M] (voiceless) after voiceless phonemes and before /-l/; [m] elsewhere.

/n/ dental nasal: [N] (voiceless) before /k, g, q̇/; [n] elsewhere.

e. <u>Liquids</u>

/l/ alveolar lateral: [ḷ] ("dark l") in syllable final position; [L] (voiceless) before /t, k, g/; [l] elsewhere.

/r/ alveolar trill: [ř] (lateral) in intervocalic position; [R] (voiceless) in syllable final position; [r] elsewhere.

f. <u>Semivowels</u>

/w/ bilabial high back semivowel: [w].

/y/ prepalatal high front semivowel: [y].

2. <u>Dari Consonant Clusters</u>

Dari does not have initial consonant clusters. There are, however, numerous hetro-syllabic clusters of two consonants each in the medial and final positions.

3. <u>Dari Vowels</u>

a. <u>Front Vowels</u> (all unrounded)

/i/ high front: [i]

/e/ mid front: [e]

/æ/ low front: [æ].

b. <u>Back vowels</u>

/u/ high back rounded: [u].

/o/ mid back rounded: [o].

/a/ low back somewhat front unrounded: [a].

4. Dari Diphthongs

/æ, e, u, a/ combine with /y/ and /æ, o/ combine with /w/ to form the following diphthongs: / æy, ey, uy, ay, æw, ow/.[3]

1.10 Dari Suprasegmental Phonemes

a. Stress

There are three phonemes of stress: primary /'/, secondary /ˇ/ and weak /ˆ/, the latter usually left unmarked. The primary stress usually regularly falls on the last syllable of a noun, adjective, and pronoun.

b. Pitch

There are four pitches: extra high /4/, high /3/, medium /2/, and low /1/. /4/ occurs very rarely. The high pitch /3/ generally falls on the last primary stress in the phonological phrase.

c. Juncture

There are five junctures: close /./, internal-open /+/, sustain /|/, rise /|||/ and fall /#/. /+/ is generally indicated by space in phonemic transcription; and close juncture by the absence of space between two symbols representing segmental phonemes.

Major Differences Between the
Phonological Systems of Pashto and Dari

A comparison of the phonological systems of the two languages, as outlined in the preceding sections, indicates some of the major differences between the two systems, and thus some of the problems a speaker of Dari is likely to encounter in pronouncing Pashto. In the following paragraphs, the letter P indicates Pashto, and D stands for Dari.

1. Problems Involving Individual Phonemes

(1) There are two Pashto phonemes for which there are no corresponding phonemes in the corresponding points in the Dari system. These are P/ə/ and P/h/. Dari speakers usually substitute /e/, /æ/ or /o/ for P/ə/. The choice of one or the other of these substitutes is not predictable. Thus, P/towpə́k/ 'gun' is reproduced as /towpǽk/: /źə́m/ 'I go' as /zóm/; /źə́kæ/ 'because' as /zékæ/. P/h/ usually disappears in the pronunciation of the Dari speaker, e.g., P/hælík/ 'boy' is reproduced as /ælík/, P/'pówh/ 'school' as /pów/

(2) In a number of instances, a Pashto phoneme with no counterpart in Dari is merged with one which does have a counterpart in the Dari system:

(a) The prepalatal retroflex P/ṭ ḍ ṇ/ merge with their nonretroflex dental counterparts /t d n/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to reproduce

/tówl/ 'all,' /d̪éyr/ 'much,' /mæn̪ɛ́/ 'apple' as /tówl/, /d̪éyr/,
/mæn̪ɛ́/, respectively.

(b) The prepalatal retroflex P/s̱ ẕ/ are merged with alveolar
/š ž/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to mispronounce /s̱ár/ 'city,'
/kéyẕi/ 'be done' as /šár/ and /kéyži/ respectively.

(c) The alveolar affricates P/c̱ j̱/ are merged with prepalatal
affricates /č j/. A Dari speaker will tend to replace /c̱ad̪ɛ́r/ 'scarf,'
and /wríj̱/ 'rice' with /cad̪ɛ́r/ and /wríj/; respectively.

The pattern of substitutions in the above cases has two fea-
tures in common: (a) The manner of articulation remains the same in
each case, while the place of articulation changes. (b) In each case
the Pashto phoneme with no counterpart in Dari is merged with a phoneme
that does have a Dari counterpart and is in the nearest column (i.e.,
having the nearest place of articulation). This is always the nearest
column to the left. This pattern is quite obvious in the substitution
of /š ž/, rather than the expected /s,z/, for P/s̱,ẕ/.

(3) In one case, there are two alternate substitutes for a Pashto
phoneme. The retroflex P/ṛ/ is replaced either with /r/ or, most often,
with /l/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to say /lúnd ∿ rúnd/ for
P/ṛúnd/ 'blind.' Again, here we can see that the place of articula-
tion changes. As to the manner of articulation, it remains basically
the same, in that both /r/ and /l/ are "liquids" (or "linguals"),
though they belong to two sub-categories within the broad "liquid"

category. It is interesting, however, that the lateral /l/ is used in
place of /ṛ/ more often than the apparently "closer" trill /r/. This
confusion is apparently due to the close phonetic features of /r ṛ l/,
as Penzl has indicated. (See Penzl, p. 25.)

(4) The alveolar affricate pair P/c̣ j̣/ presents a combination of
the features present in (2) and (3). Sometimes, they are merged with
/c j/, which are the only other affricates in Pashto (and Dari), that
is, the only other phonemes with the same manner of articulation.
Thus, a Dari speaker tends to say /cá/, and /jáy/ for P/c̣á/ 'well'
and /j̣áy/ 'place' respectively. In these examples, the substitution
follows the pattern under (2), with the minor difference that these
phonemes merge with the closest phonemes to their right. This is not
surprising, however, because there are no phonemes to their left.

At other times, however, the alveolar affricates /c̣ j̣/ are
replaced with the dental fricatives /s z/, as in P/c̣arændúy/ 'boy
scout' and P/wrój̣/ 'day' which will be pronounced as /sarændúy/
and /wróz/, respectively. In these and similar cases, both the
place and the manner of articulation are changed. This is partially
similar to the situation described in (3). The difference is that in
that situation the manner of articulation remained basically the same.
Once again, the change in the manner of articulation could not be
exactly the same as in the case of those under (2), since there are no
affricates to the left of /c̣ j̣/, so that /s z/ are the "closest"

phonemes to them in this respect. It seems that the manner of articulation has priority in sound substitution.

2. Problems Involving the Distribution of Phonemes

(1) P stressed and unstressed /əy/ containing the vowel /ə/, which has no equivalent in Dari, are difficult for Dari speakers. Thus, /məlgə́rəy/ 'friend' is reproduced as /mǽlgǽrǽy/, and P/spə́y/ 'bitch' as /sepǽy/. These substitutions actually represent two problems: (a) The vowel /ə/ is not familiar to the speaker of Dari. (b) The Dari speaker is accustomed to maintaining the vowel distinctions of Dari in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

(2) The major problem in the area of the distribution of phonemes is caused by the presence of initial consonant clusters in Pashto, and their absence in Dari. These are very difficult for the speaker of Dari, who mispronounces them according to the following patterns:

    1. P./Cw/>/Cow/: /ǵwǽ/ 'cow'>/ǵowǽ/

    2. P/CC/>/eC~CeC/: /špǽ/ 'night'>/ešpǽ ~ šepǽ/.

(3) The stress usually occurs in the final position in Dari substantives but its place is unpredictable in Pashto; and this causes difficulty for Dari-speaking students.

(4) Certain sequences of Pashto phonemes are difficult for Dari speakers because of a combination of factors. Perhaps the most

important of these are initial consonant clusters containing the retro-
flex P/ṛ/. Such clusters are difficult both because initial consonant
clusters do not exist in Dari, and because Dari does not have retro-
flex phonemes. Thus, P/Cṛ/>/CVl/; e.g., /tṛəl/ 'going'> / tálél/.
Note that this example contains a third difficulty in the phoneme
P/ə/, for which /e/ is substituted here.

NOTES FOR PART I

[1]Although generally I follow Penzl's analysis, some of my symbols differ from his. I use the symbol for the retroflex phonemes /ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ ṇ ṛ/ while Penzl uses /tt dd ss zz nn rr/ respectively. I use /c ǰ/ for his /tsh dzh/. In his later book, A Reader of Pashto 1965, he uses the same symbols for all the consonants as I do, except that he uses /č/ for my /c/. Other differences between my symbols and his are in the affricate /ȼ,ʒ/, which he analyzes as clusters: /ts,dz/ respectively.

[2] In the case of the vowels, Penzl has a set of short vowels /i a e u/ and a set of long ones (ee oo aa). In my analysis, length is not distinctive, and the vowels are /i e æ/ (front), /ə/ (central), and /u o ɑ/ (back). What Penzl considers as long vowels /ee/ and /oo/, are here analyzed as diphtongs: /ey/ and /ow/.

[3] Sometimes in informal spoken language, /w/ and /y/ form initial clusters with a preceding voiceless stop, fricative or /l/; e.g., /pyáz / 'onion;' /syá / 'black;' /lwáb/ 'inspissated juice.' Such forms alternate with /piyáz/, /siyá/, and /lowáb/.

CHAPTER II

PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Pashto morphology will be discussed in terms of "parts of
speech." Parts of speech, as here defined, are grammatical categories
consisting of "free" morphemes, or combinations of free morphemes and
derivational affixes, which form lexical units, and to each of which cat-
egories, with a few exceptions, specific inflectional bound morphemes
indicating gender, case, etc., can or must be added. The main parts
of speech are determined on the basis of a combination of syntactic
and morphological (inflectional) criteria. The following description
is based primarily on H. Penzl's A Grammar of Pashto with modifications
by the present writer based on his own knowledge of the language. Other
sources will be identified when used, as well as in the bibliography.

The Pashto parts of speech can be subdivided into two broad
groups according to whether or not they are inflected. The uninflected
group will be discussed first.

2.1 Particles

The uninflected parts of speech in Pashto have been collectively
called "Particles," and consist of the following four classes:

19

a. Interjections

Interjections often constitute brief independent utterances, e.g., /yǽ/ 'No!'; /hów/ 'Yes!.' Many of them express various emotions and exclamations; e.g., /wáx/ 'Ouch!'; /æpsóws/ 'unfortunately!'; /šábas/ (term of admiration).

b. Prepositions

Prepositions express relations between nouns or noun phrases: /dǝ́/ 'of, from, for'; /pǝ́/ 'in, at, on, by'; /pǝ́r/ 'on'; /tǝ́r/ 'upto,' /lǝ́/ 'from'; /béy/ 'without.' Examples are: /dǝ gwénkṛy kówr/ 'the house of the teacher'; /pǝ kælǽm/ 'with a pen'; /pǝ́r méyz ki dǝ́y/ 'It is on the table'; /tǝr kówræ/ 'upto the house'; /lǝ kówræ/ 'from the house'; /bey kówræ/ 'without a house.'

c. Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur between or within phrases or sentences. /ǽw/ 'and'; /yǝ́/ 'or'; /kǝ́/ 'or' (in questions); /ya . . . ya/ 'either . . . or'; etc. Examples are: /dǝ kærím æw æhmǽd plǝ́r ragǽlæy dǝ́y/ 'Karim's father and Ahmad's father have come'; /Kærím æw dǝ hǽǧæ plǝ́r rǝgǽlæy wu/ 'Karim and his father had come'; /ya pǝ pinsǝ́l wǝ́likæ ya pǝ kælǽm/ 'Use either a pencil or a pen'; /hǽǧæ bæraẓ́i kænǽ/ 'will he come or not?'

Subordinating conjunctions include /ḉí/ 'when, that'; /cí/ 'when'; /ẓ́ǝkæci/ 'because'; e.g., /dǝ́y ci wǝ́ræseydǝl míẓ

bæ láṛsu/ 'when they arrive, we'll go.'; /ṭə̂kæci æwá ḍéyræ

sæṛə̃ dæ tə báyæd láṛsi/ 'Because it is very cold, you should go.'

d. Adverbs

Adverbs are uninflected forms of adjectives functioning ad-
verbially in a sentence, and indicating manner, time, place, degree;
e.g., /žə́r/ 'quickly'; /ṭə́ngæ/ 'how' etc.: /žə́r bæráši/   'He
will come soon.'; /ṭə́ngæ ráǧley/ 'How did you come?'; /pærún/
'yesterday'; /nə́n/ 'today' etc: /pærún ráǧəy/ 'He came yesterday';
/nə́n æwá tæwdə̃ dæ/ 'Today, it is hot'; /béyrtæ/ 'back'; /pówrtæ/
'over, above'; /ə́ltæ/ 'there'; e.g., /béyrtæ raṭə̃/ 'come back';
/pówrtæ kéyẓdæ/ 'Put it over there'; /zíṣt/ 'much,' /líẓ/ 'few' etc;
e.g.,   /nə́n æwá zíṣtæ tæwdə̃ dæ/ 'Today, it is very hot.'

2.2 Nouns

The remaining parts of speech, which are inflected, are sub-
stantives and verbs. The substantives are, in turn, subdivided into
nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, and are inflected for gender, case,
and number. The noun is the center of the substantival phrase, deter-
mining the case and gender of the related adjectives and pronouns.
The noun, therefore, will be described first.

2.3 Gender

There are two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine.
In the case of animate beings, the formal distinction in gender

corresponds to the meaning; thus /lalá/ 'elder brother' and /mamá/ 'maternal uncle' are both masculine; and /lúr/ 'daughter,' /yówr/ 'sister-in-law,' /méyz̧/ 'ewe' are feminine.

As far as inanimate beings and objects are concerned, the final phoneme in each case indicates the gender of the noun. Thus, with few exceptions, nouns ending in a consonant or in /-æy, -u, -əy/ are masculine; e.g., /kówr/ 'house,' /lærgǽy/ 'wood,' /cakú/ 'knife,' /kə́ləy/ 'village.' Nouns ending in /-ey, -i, -æ , -a, -ow/ and stressed /-əy/ (zwarakay) are feminine; e.g., /šæmbéy/ 'Satur-day';/šǽdi/ 'happiness,' /mźəkæ/ 'earth,' /wæyná/ 'speech' /pəštow/ 'Pashto,' /kar̞kə́y/ 'window.' /əy/ is always stressed, but not the other endings.

Feminine nouns can be derived from the masculine nouns, but the reverse is rarely the case:

a. Masculine nouns derived from feminine:

Feminine		Masculine
/g̃wá/ 'cow'	:	/g̃wayǽy/ 'ox'
/xówr/ 'sister'	:	/xowræyǽy/ 'sister's son'

b. Feminine nouns derived from the masculine:

Masculine		Feminine
/ændiwál/ 'male friend'	:	/ændiwálæ/ 'female friend'
/mǽl/ 'male companion'	:	/mlǽ/ 'female companion'
/špún/ 'shepherd'	:	/špænǽ/ 'shepherdess'

2.4 Case

Pashto nouns are inflected for direct (nominative), oblique (I, II), and vocative cases.

a. The Direct Case

The direct (nominative) is the unmarked case, both in the singular and in the plural. It has two functions: (1) as subject when used with (a) the transitive verb forms in the present tense; and with (b) the intransitive verb forms in all tenses; e.g., /ælík njəlí winí/ 'The boy sees the girl'; /zə́ wáyəm/ 'I say!'; (2) as object when used with (a) transitive forms in the past and the perfect, and with (b) all passive phrases; e.g., /njəlǽy ælík wúlidəlæ/ 'The boy was seen by the girl,' /ælík lidə́l kéyʐi/ 'The boy is seen'; /ælik lidə́ləy su/ 'The boy was seen.'

b. The Oblique Case

The oblique case is the case of the agent, used with transitive verbs in past and perfect forms, and has a passive meaning; e.g., /særi ṣə́ẓə wúlidəlæ/ 'The woman was seen by the man,' or /ælikánu njúṇi wúlidəley/ 'The girls were seen by the boys.'

The oblique case can be found with the inflectional ending /-æ/ or /-i/ (oblique II) or without inflectional ending (oblique I). The occurrence of oblique II is limited by sytactic environment. It occurs after particles /lə́, tə́r, béy/ and before particle /pówri/ in the sequence /tər . . . pówri/; e.g., /bey æhmǽdæ/ 'without Ahmad'; /tər kówræ pówri/ 'as far as the house.'

The oblique plural morpheme endings are /-ów/ or /-u/. The oblique plural morphemes are added to the direct plural stems of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns as in /kówrow/ 'house' /laru/ 'road.' The plural formation in the direct case will be discussed in 2.5 and 2.6.

c. The Vocative Case

The vocative case is formed only on nouns designating living beings. The endings are /-æ/ or /-ə/ in the singular form of masculine nouns. In the feminine, only feminine human beings form vocative, by the suffix /-i/. Examples of the vocative case are: /ælíkæ/ 'boy!'; /mówri/ 'mother!'; /xrə́/ 'ass!'

2.5 Number

There are two numbers in Pashto nouns: singular and plural. The plural is in each case derived from the singular. The formation of the plural in the oblique case was discussed in 2.4. The formation of the plural of the direct case is discussed in this section. Masculine nouns form their plurals in one of the following ways:

a. Suffixation, as in the following:

/dówst/ 'friend' + /-an/   :   /dowstán/

/ǧáṣ/ 'tooth' + /-unæ/   :   /ǧaṣúnæ/

/niké/ 'ancestor' + /-gan/ :   /nikəgán/

/malém/ 'teacher' + /-in/ :   /malemín/

/muškél/ 'difficulty' + /.-at/ :   /muškelát/

The last two suffixes, of Arabic origin, are added only to the Arabic
borrowings. None of the suffixes are predictable.

b. Deletion of the medial /-æ-/ from the stem and adding /-ə/
at the end of the stem; e.g., /ǧǽr/ 'mountain'/: /ǧrə́/; /mǽl/
'companion': /mḷə́/.

c.1. Substitution of /-i/ for the ending /-ǽy/ or /-əy/; e.g.,
/særǽy/ 'man'/: /særí/; məlgə́rəy/ 'friend': /məlgə́ri/.

c.2. Substitution of /-anə/ for the final syllable /-un/; e.g.,
/špún/ 'shepherd': /španə́/; /pæṣtún/ 'Pashtoón, Afghan': /pæṣtanə́/.

d. Internal vowel alternation; e.g.: /towpǽk/ 'gun': /towpə́k/;
/duṣmǽn/ 'enemy': /duṣmə́n/.

e. Broken plurals (in Arabic loan words) (as in Dari); e.g.,
/kísm/ 'type'/: /æksam/. These plurals alternate with native plurals;
e.g., /kismúnæ/; etc.

f. Irregular formation: /zúy/ 'son': /zamə́n/.

2.6 Feminine nouns form plurals in the following ways:

a. Suffixation, as in:

    /ǧwá/ 'cow' + /-wi/   : /ǧwáwi/

    /maṇə́y/ 'palace' + /-gani/ : /maṇəygáni/

    /bizów/ 'monkey' + /-gani/ : /bizowgáni/

    /gaḍə́y/ 'buggy' + /-ani/   : /gaḍəyáni/

The plural morpheme /-wi/ is more common in Kandahar than is /-gani/.
Generally, the plural suffixes are not predictable.

b.1. Substitution of /-əy/ for the final /-i/; e.g., /najowṛí/
'sickness': /najowṛə́y/; /dowstí/ 'friendship': /dowstə́y/.

b.2. Substitution of /-ṇi/ for the final /-r/; e.g., /lúr/
'daughter': /lúṇi/; /yówr/ 'brothers' wive' /yowṇi/.

b.3. Substitution of /-ey/ for the final vowel; e.g., /špə́/
'night:' /špéy/.

b.4. Substitution of /-(w)ændi/ for the last syllable /-owr/;
e.g., /mówr/ 'mother': /mǽndi/ / xówr/ 'sister': /xwǽndi/.

b.5. Substitution of /-i/ for the final unstressed vowel /-æ /
or the diphthongs /-əy, -æy/; e.g., /ṣə́ǰæ/ 'woman':/ṣ ə ǰi/;
/náwey/ 'bride': /náwi/; /njólæy/ 'girl': /njíli/.

c. No change: /dowdə́y/ 'food:' /dowdə́y/; /hiləy/ 'duck:'
/hiləy/.

d. Broken plurals of Arabic loan words (as in Dari). These
occur along with the native plurals; e.g., /muzakirǽ/ 'conversation':
/muzakiréy ~ muzakirét/.

2.7 Adjectives

In general, adjectives agree completely with nouns in gender, case, and number. Feminine adjectives are derived from the masculine in several ways shown in Table 3. They precede the nouns to make phrases such as /owšyár ælík/'clever boy'. Pashto adjectives have no comparative or superlative forms. For further information on adjectives see Penzl, sec. 68. pp. 71-72.

The following table shows the inflectional forms of the adjectives:

Table 3. Pashto Adjectives

| Direct Cases | | | | Oblique Cases | | | Vocative Case | Meaning |
| Singular | | Plural | | Singular | | Plural | Singular | |
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine			
ǧáṭ	ǧáṭæ	ǧáṭ	ǧáṭi	ǧáṭ	ǧáṭi	ǧáṭu	`ǧáṭæ	'fat, big'
úẓd	uẓdá	uẓdá	uẓdéy	uẓdá	uẓdéy	uẓdów		'long'
kucnáy	kucnéy	kucní	kucnáy	kucní	kucnáy	kucnáyu	kucnæyæ	'small, little'
náwæy	náwey	náwi	-	-	-	náwu	-	'new'
howsá	-	-	-	-	-	howsáwu	-	'comfortable'

Only singular adjectives can be used in the vocative case;
and the vocative case can only refer to human beings.

2.8 Numerals

A subclass of adjectives consists of numerals, which occur in
substantival phrases in the following order:

numeral + (counting morpheme) + (adjective) + noun:

/dréy	téenæ	ælikán/
'three	[counting morpheme]	boys'

/dréy	téenæ	sə ælikán/
'three	[counting morpheme]	good boys'

The cardinal numbers do not inflect for gender, except /yáw/ 'one'
and /dwǽ/ 'two'; thus we have: /yǽw ælík/ 'one boy'; /dwéy njilí/
'two girls'; /yæwǽ njiléy æw dwǽ ælikán/ 'one girl and two boys.'

The cardinal numbers take the ending /-ow/ in the oblique
case. /ȼælówrow bæjów/ 'four o'clock.'

Only these numbers form plurals: /lǽs/ 'ten'; /šǽl/ 'twenty';
/sǽl/ 'hundred'; /zǽr/ 'thousand'; /læk/ '100,000'; e.g., /səlúnæ/
'hundreds'; /zərgúnæ/ 'thousands.'

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding /-ǽm/ to the cardinal
number, except for /æwǽl, lumṛéy/ 'first'; e.g., /dwǽm/ 'second';
/ȼælowrǽm/ 'fourth'; etc.

2.9 Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns: (a) Personal pronouns,
which inflect only for number and case (but not for the vocative case),

except that the third person singular personal pronoun inflects also for gender. Related to the personal pronouns, there are two groups of morphemes, pronominal particles and pronominal prefixes, as well as possessive pronouns (See Penzl, sec 77); (b) Indefinite interrogatives, which do not inflect for gender, but often are inflected for case. (c) Demonstrative pronouns, which, with one exception, inflect for gender, case and number.

a. <u>Personal Pronouns</u>

(1) <u>The oblique case forms of the personal pronoun</u> function as direct objects with transitive verbs in present and future tenses, and as agents in the past; e.g., /tə́ má wíney/ 'You see me'; /zə́ tá wáwinəm/ 'I'll see you'; /tá zə́ wálidəm/ 'You saw me.'

(2) <u>Pronominal particles</u> syntactically function without any inflectional endings as personal pronouns; they occur either as the subject or the object of a sentence. They function as subjects with transitive verbs in the past, as in /dǽy mi wálid/ 'I saw him.' In other situations, however, they function as direct objects or as possessives; e.g., /zə́ yéy nə́xrom/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketab di círi dǽy/ 'Where is your book.'

(3) <u>The pronominal prefixes</u> that often take the place of personal pronouns, functioning as possessive or object markers in phrases, occur in close juncture with particles /tə/; /særæ/, etc., as in /rátə/ 'to me,' /də́rtæ/ 'to you,' /wə́rtæ/ 'to him, her,' /rásæræ/ 'with me,' etc.

(4) <u>The personal pronouns in the oblique case</u> can function as possessive pronouns. In this function, /z-/ is prefixed to the first person singular and plural and /s-/ is prefixed to the second person singular and plural. In the third person singular and plural the preposition /də/ is prefixed: /zmá/ 'my'; /stá/ 'your'; and /də dey/ 'her'. The following table lists the personal pronouns:

Table 4. Pashto Personal Pronouns

| | Personal Pronouns | | | | Pronominal Forms | | | Possessive | |
| | Direct Case | | Oblique Case | | Particles | | Prefixes | Pronouns | |
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
1.	zə́	múẓ	máẓ	mú	mi	mu	ra-	zmá	zmúẓ.
2.	tə́	tási, tásu	tá	tási, tásu	di	mu	dər-	stá	stási
3.	dǽy(m) də́(f)	dúy dúy	də́ déy	dúy dúy	yey	yey	wər-	dədé dədéy	dədúy dədúy

b. <u>The Indefinite Interrogative Pronouns</u>

The indefinite interrogative pronouns are: /ʦówk/ 'who'; /ʦə́/ 'what'; /cá/ 'anybody, somebody'; e.g., /ʦówk ʾci ǧwári wadə́ ki . . ./ 'Anybody who wants to get married . . .'; /ʦə́ ci wə́wayi hág̃ə bæwúki/ 'He does whatever he says he will'. /ʦówk/ with transitive verbs in the past tense is used as direct object and /cá/ is used as the subject. Examples are: /tá ʦówk wə́lid/ 'whom did you see?'; /tə́ cá wə́lidey/ 'who saw you?'.

c. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, as clearly indicated inflect for gen-
der, number and case, except for /da/ 'this, these' which inflects for
case only.

Direct Case			Oblique Case		
			Singular		Plural
Singular	Plural		Masc.	Fem.	
/dá/	/dé/	'this, these'	/déy/	/déy/	/déy/
/hágə/	/hágə/	'that, those'	/hægæ/	/hágey/	/hágu/
/dágæ/	/dágæ/	'this, that'	/dágæ/	/dágey/	/dágu/

/dá/ is used as a demonstrative pronoun as well as a personal pronoun
(third person singular). When used as a demonstrative pronoun, it is
interchangeable with /dágæ/.

2.10 Verbs

The verbal system in Pashto indicates the categories of mood,
aspect, tense, gender, person, number, and voice. Mood is closely re-
lated to aspect and tense. The three moods are: the indicative, the
imperative, and the subjunctive. There are two aspects: perfective
and imperfective. There are two simple tenses: present and past.
The combination of these major categories has led to the terms Present
I, Past I, Perfect. I, Imperative I, and Passive Participle I, all of
which are imperfective, and Present II, Past II, Perfect II, Imperative
II, and Passive Participle II, al of which are perfective (See Penzl, sec.

81.4). Gender distinction (masculine and feminine) is made only in
the third person singular and plural in the past tense, and the third
person singular of the auxiliary /yə́m/ 'am.' Most verbal forms in
Pashto inflect for person (first, second, and third) and number (singu-
lar and plural). There are two voices, active and passive.

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix /-əl/ to the
stem; e.g., /ræseydə́l/ 'to arrive,' /tæṛə́l/ 'to tie,' etc. The past
participle is formed from the infinitive by adding the following end-
ings: (1) /-əy/ for masculine singular as in /æcæwə́lay/ 'thrown,'
(2) /-ey/ for feminine singular as in /æcæwə́ley/ 'thrown (fem.),'
(3) /-i/ for masculine and feminine plural as in /æcæwəli/ 'thrown.'

2.11 A Pashto verb form consists of a stem, which carries the lexical
meaning, and the affixes, which indicate person, number, mood and as-
pect. Some verb forms include, in addition to these, an auxiliary.
The maximum number of stems for each verb is two.

a. The verbal endings are as follows:

		Singular	Plural
1.	Present:	/-əm(æ)/	/-u/
	Past:	/-ə/	/-u/
2.	Present:	/-ey/	/-əy/
	Past:	/-ey/	/-ast/
3.	Present:	/-i/	/-i/
	Past: Masc.	/-əy̌ ~ -ə-/	/-əl -ə/
	Fem.	/-æ ~ -ə/	/-ə ey/

As the list shows, the endings are basically alike in the present and
past, but they are different in the present and past of the auxiliary
/yəm/ 'am' in the third person, as the following paradigm will show:

			Singular	Plural
1.	Present:		/yə́m/	/yû/
	Past:		/wə́m/	/wû/
2.	Present:		/yéy/	/yə́y/
	Past:		/wéy/	/wást/
3.	Present:	Masc.	/də́y/	/di/
		Fem.	/də́/	/di/
	Past:	Masc.	/wû/	/wə́(ə)/
		Fem.	/wə́/	/wéy/

b. Pashto verbs take two prefixes: (1) The prefix /wə-/ indicates
the perfective action; e.g., /tərə́/ 'keep on tying' vs. /wə́tərə/ 'Tie!'.
(2) The prefix /mə-/ indicates negation; e.g., /mə́ẓə/ 'Don't go!'.

c. There are two other markers which Penzl calls "modal particles "
(1) /bə/ which indicates futurity; e.g., /xə́t bəlíkəm/ 'I'll write a
letter.' /bə/ occurs in close juncture with verb if there is no noun
or pronouns between them; e.g., /zə̂ bəlár sə́m/ 'I'll be going' vs.
/zə̂ bəpəẓmán tə lár səm/ 'I'll be going to Paghman.'

d. There is a small group of words functioning as auxiliaries
such as /yə́m/ 'am,' /kéyẓəm/ 'I become,' /kəwə́m/ 'I do' (See Penzl
§3.4).

2.12 Most Pashto simple verbs have two stems, present and past. The relationship between the two stems is the basis for a morphological classification of verbs (See Penzl, sec. 84).

Class I comprises those verbs which have the same stem in both present and past; e.g., /tærə́m/ 'I tie'; /wə́tærəm/ 'if I may tie'; /tæṛǽ/ 'keep on tying'; /wə́tærǽ/ 'tie up'; /tærə́ləm/ 'I was tying.'

Class II consists of those verbs whose past form can be derived from the present stem by morphophonemic alternation; thus from the present stem /ræséyẓ/ 'reach' is derived the past stem /ræséyd/; e.g., /ræséyẓəm/ 'I reach, arrive' vs. /ræseydə́ləm/ 'I was reaching.' Verbs in this class can be subdivided into various subclasses according to the types of differences between the two stems (See Penzl, sec. 85).

Class III consists of verbs whose two stems are completely different; e.g.,

Present	Past
/wínəm/	/lidə́ləm/ 'I saw'
/gówrəm/	/kætə́ləm/ 'I looked at'
/básəm/	/istə́ləm/ 'I took off'
/lærə́m/	/dərlowdə́m/ 'I had, owned'

Class IV consists of verbs which, on the basis of the relationship between their present and past stems, would belong to one or another of the three classes already described. They are grouped

into a separate class, however, because they form their aspects according to rules different from those used in the other three classes. For further information see Penzl sec. 87. Class IV includes the following verbs only:

Present			Past		Meaning
Imperfect		Perfect	Imperfect	Perfect	in Present
/kæwə́m/	:	/wə́kəm/ —	/kæwə́ləm/	:	/wə́kṛəm/	'I do'
/wṛə́m/	:	/yówsəm/ —	/wṛə́m/	:	/yə́wṛəm/	'I carry'
/kéyzəm/	:	/wə́səm/ —	/keydə́ləm/	:	/wə́səm/	'I become'
/bláyəm/	:	/bówzəm/ ··	/biwə́ləm/	:	/bówtləm/	'I take it away'
/t�axə́m/	:	/wlár səm/ —	/tlə́m/	:	/wə́lárəm/	'I go'
/iẓdə́m/	:	/kṣéyẓdəm/ —	/iṣowə́ləm/	:	/kseysuwə́ləm/	'I put'
/ratxə́m/	:	/rásəm/ —	/ratlə́m/	:	/ráğləm/	'I come'

There is a large number of compound verbs formed by combining nouns or adjectives with the auxiliary /kæwə́m/ 'I do,' /kéyzəm/ 'I become,' as in /šurú kæwə́m/ 'I begin,' /kár šurú kéyẓi/ 'The work is begun.' The two auxiliaries function as the main verbs of Class IV; in fact, Penzl considers these formations as a sub-Class IV A.

2.13 Aspect

As earlier mentioned, the imperfective and perfective in the present are distinguished by /wə-/ in Classes I-III, and by different

stems in Class IV. The perfective forms can be derived from their corresponding imperfective forms by (1) prefixation of /wə-/ as in /tærə́m/ 'I tie' vs. /wə́tærəm/ 'that I tie'; (2) shifting the stress to the initial syllable as in /kṣeynæwə́m/ 'I plant' vs. /kṣéynæwəm/ 'that I plant'; (3) suppletion as in /raẓə́m/ 'I came' vs. /rásəm/ 'that I come.'

The imperfective and perfective in the past tense are derived from the past stems. The distinction between them is made in one of three ways: (1) In Classes I-III, the prefix /wə-/ is added, and the primary stress shifted to that prefix. (2) In Class IV, either the stress shifts to the initial syllable or they take the prefix /wə-/ in the perfective. (3) By suppletion: Examples are:

Imperfective	Perfective
/tærə́ləm/ 'I was being tied'	/wə́tærələm/ 'I was tied'
/kæwə́ləm/ 'I was doing'	/wə́krəm/ 'I did'
/kṣeynæwə́ləm/ 'I was being placed'	/kṣéynæwələm/ 'I was placed'
/tlə́m/ 'I was going'	/wlarəm/ 'I went'

The perfective aspect in the past tense may also be formed by combining the past participle with auxiliary /yə́m/ 'am,' as in /raẓə́læy yə́m/ 'I have come'; /tilə́læy dǽy/ 'He has gone.'

2.14 Tense

The verbal system in Pashto shows contrasting indicative forms in the present and past tenses; e.g., /tærə́m/ 'I tie'; /wə́tærəm/ 'If

I may tie' vs. /tærə́ləm/ 'I was being tied,' /wə́tærələm/ 'I was
tied.'

The prefix /bə-/ indicates the future either with imperfec-
tive or with perfective, as in /zə́ beyéy wæhə́m/ 'I'll be beating him
now and then' vs. /zə́ bəyéy wə́wæhəm/ 'I'll beat him.'

2.15 Mood

Mood is closely related to tense and aspect. There are three
moods: indicative, imperative and subjunctive. The subjunctive end-
ing is /-ay/ and is added to the past stem. The subjunctive comes
after a particle such as /káški/, /šáyæd/, /báyæd/. It may refer to
the present or past tense. The ending /-ay/ is added to the past stem
to indicate the subjunctive of a past verb; e.g., /káški pæ̌gmán tæ
tələ́lay way/ 'I wish we had gone to Paghman.' If the action refers to
the future (or present), no special subjunctive form is used, and the
verb form is put in the future; e.g., /káški pæ̌gmán tæ bælárru/ 'I
wish we were going to Paghman.' The combination of the subjunctive
and the auxiliary /sə́m/ results in a potential phrase; e.g., /kætə́lay
sə́m/ 'I can see,' /kætə́lay wə́m/ 'I was able to see.'

The imperative mood is restricted to the second person
(singular, plural) in the present: /wəlársæy/ 'Stand up! (plural)';
/wə́dæreyʒæ/ 'Stop! (singular)'. There are two imperative forms,
usually formed by adding the suffix /-æ/ to the imperfective and per-
fectiv in the present tense respectively. They show a clear distinction

as to aspect: Imperative I indicates continuation, duration, and
repetition; imperative II indicates completion of the action; e.g.,
/tæṛə́/ 'keep on tying' vs. /wə́tæṛæ/ 'tie!' /mə-/ is always followed
by an imperative I and indicates negation; e.g., /dá mə́kæwæ/ 'Don't
do it.'

/di/, which denotes an emphatic command, is used with first
and third persons. /di/ occurs before the verb, unless there is a
noun or a pronoun before the verb, in which case /di/ appears before
the noun or pronoun; e.g., /dǽy dilár̥si/ 'He must go'; /dǽydi pæ̌gmán
tæ lár̥si/ 'He must go to Paghman.'

2.16 Syntactically, all verbs are divided into two main categories:
transitive and intransitive. Transitive verb forms have a passive
meaning in past tense; e.g., /zə́ yéy wə́wæhələm/ 'I was beaten by him.'
The agent (subject) and the verb agree in person, number, and gender.
In the present tense, they form passive phrases usually consisting of
the passive participles and the auxiliary /kéyẓ/; e.g., /zə́ ǧwṛəwə́l
kéyẓəm/ 'I am being deceived.'

The intransitive verbal forms have active meanings in all
tenses. Examples are:

Future: /zə́ bə wəź́əm/ 'I'll get out.'

Present: /zə́ /zə́m/ 'I go.'

Past: /wə́wætələm/ 'I went out.'
           /tələlə́y yə́m/ 'I have gone.'

2.17 Pashto verbal forms consist of active and passive voices. The transitive verbs form a passive phrase consisting of the passive participles and auxiliary /kéyẓ/ 'to become, to get'; e.g., /tæṛól kéyẓi/ 'It is being tied.' The actor is expressed by nominal phrases, such as /də mudír lə xwá bælól kéyẓi/ 'He was called by the director.' For agreement, the feminine subject takes /-æ/ in the singular, and the plural subject takes /-ey/ as a suffix; e.g., /da bælɔ́læ kéyẓi/ 'She was called,' /múẓ bælɔ́ley kéyẓu/ 'We were called.'

CHAPTER III

DARI MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

As in the case of Pashto, Dari morphology will be discussed
in terms of "parts of speech," a broad working definition of which was
provided in the preceding chapter. The following description is based
primarily on Ferhadi, Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, and J. Wei,
"Dailectal Differences Between Three Standard Varieties of Persian:
Tehran, Kabul, and Tajik." The Dari parts of speech can be subdivided
into two broad groups according to whether or not they are inflected.
The uninflected ones are discussed first.

3.1 Uninflected Parts of Speech

The uninflected parts of speech, corresponding to the Pashto
"Particles," consist of the following:

a. Interjections

Interjections often constitute brief independent sentences,
expressing various emotions and exclamation; e.g., /bǽley/ 'Yes!';
/néy/ 'No!'; /wáx/ 'Ouch!' etc.

b. Prepositions

Prepositions precede the nouns which they govern. /dǽ/ 'in,
into'; /bǽ/ 'to, with, by'; /sǽr/ 'on, on top of'; /ǽz/ 'of, from'; etc.

40

c. Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur between or within phrases or sentences. /ó/ 'and'; /yá/ 'or'; /ǽgæ/ 'if, whether'; etc.

d. Adverbs

Adverbs, which end in /-æn/, as in /kamélæn/ 'completely'; /tæqríbæn/ 'approximately'; /fǽwræn/ 'immediately'; etc. In addition to these, members of some other parts of speech may function syntactically as adverbs; e.g., /téyz/ 'quick; quickly'; /ræwán/ 'fluent; fluently'; /šǽw/ 'night; tonight'; /wǽxt/ 'time; early', as in /téyz méyræ/ 'He walks quickly'; /ræwán xandǽ méytanæ/ 'He can read fluently.'

3.2 Inflected Parts of Speech--Substantives

The inflected parts of speech are substantives and verbs. Substantives show several features: (1) they form plurals; (2) they enter connective /-e/ ("ezafat") constructions; (3) and they take the object marker /-ræ/. The subclasses of substantives are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and prenouns.

a. Nouns

Nouns form their plurals by suffixation, or, in the case of Arabic loanwords, by internal change, resulting in "broken" plurals.

(1) Suffixation; e.g., /ketáb/ + /-a/:/ketabá/ 'books'; /moškél/ + /-at/:/moškelát/ 'difficulties'; /malém/ + /-in/:/malemín/ 'teachers.' /-in/ and /-at/ are mostly used in Arabic borrowings.

(2) Broken plurals are exemplified by /šǽxs/ 'person':
/æšxás/ 'people'; /féyl/ 'action': /æfál/ 'actions.'

b. Adjectives

The morphological feature distinguishing adjectives from
other substantives is the comparative suffix /-tær/; e.g., /tæmbǽl/
'lazy': /tæmbæltǽr/ 'lazier.' Adjectives follow the noun in connective
/-e/ constructions, as in /šǽxse layéq/ 'a studious man.' They may,
however, precede the nouns without the connective /-e/ (for emphasis):
/layéq adǽm/. Sometimes adjectives function as nouns, forming plurals
and/or taking the object marker /-ræ/; e.g., /bozórg/ 'great, big':
/bozorgá/ 'the great or the big ones'; /xórdæ bég:/ 'take the small
one.' Suportative adjectives are formed by the addition of the suffix
/-in/ to the comparative form; e.g., /bozorgtǽr/:/bozorgtærín/ 'the
greatest or biggest.' These forms, however, precede the nouns they
modify; e.g., /bozorgtærín adǽm/ 'the greatest man'; /layeqtærín adǽm
kár-æs/ 'A more capable man is needed.'

c. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns they modify, as in /séy qælǽm/ or
/séy danǽ qælǽm/ 'three (pieces of) pens.' Only those numerals considered
as groups use the plural constructions, such as /dæá/ 'tens'; /sædá/
'hundreds'; /æzará/ 'thousands'; etc.

Ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the suffix /-óm/; e.g., /caróm/ 'fourth'; /šæšóm/ 'sixth;' as in /šæšóm næfǽr/ 'the sixth person.'

Numerals take the object marker /-(r)æ/ as in /pénjæ geréft/ 'He took the 5'; /pænjómæ geréft/ 'He took the fifth one.' They fall in connective constructions too, as in /ketábe pénj/ 'Book Five'; /ketábe pænjóm/ 'the fifth book.' Sometimes the ordinals take the suffix /-in/, such as /šæšomín/ 'the sixth one,' in which case they precede the noun they modify; e.g., /šæšomín næfǽr/ 'the sixth person.'

d. Pronouns

There are two sets of personal pronouns: The first set is called "independent pronouns" and the second, a group of bound morphemes, "suffixed pronouns." The two sets are not completely interchangeable. The suffixed pronouns are used only to indicate the possessive, as in /ketábem/ 'my book,' and, when added to verbs, to indicate the object /góftomeš/ 'I told him'; /dídomeš/ 'I saw him.'

(1) The independent pronouns have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1.	/mǽ/	/má/
2.	/tú/	/šomá/
3.	/ú/	/uná/

The independent pronouns, as all substantives, can take the object-marker /-ræ/; e.g., /šomáræ góftom/ 'I told you.'

(2) The suffixed pronouns have the following forms after consonants:

	Singular	Plural
1.	/-em/	/-emɛ/
2.	/-et/	/-etan/
3.	/-eš/	/-ešan/

e. Prenouns

Prenouns are of two types.

(1) One group can function either as nouns or as modifiers of nouns which they precede. The two forms /i/ 'this' and /u/ 'that' which function as demonstrative pronouns as in /i ketáb/ 'this book'; /u ketáb/ 'that book,' take the plural morpheme /-a/; e.g., /iya~ina/ 'these'; /uwa~una/ 'those'; and the object suffix /-ræ/; e.g., /íræ/ 'this one';/úræ/ 'that one.' They may be the second (or later) member of connective /-e/ constructions following nouns; e.g., /ránge i/ 'the color of this'; /ketábe u/ 'his book'; etc.

(2) The other group of prenouns which function as interrogative pronouns, are /cænd/ 'some'; /cí/ 'what';/kodám/ 'which.' The following illustrations show the prenouns as subject and object: /kodám amæd/ 'which one came'; /kodámæ geréft/ 'which one did he take '; /ci góft/ 'what did he say?'; /círæ góft/ 'what did he talk about?' They may modify nouns, in which case they precede them; e.g., /i ketáb/

'this book'; /kodám ketáb/ 'which book'; etc., /cǽnd/ also takes the

ordinal suffix /-om/, as in /cændóm/ 'in which grade.'

3.3 Structures of Modification

An important point in connection with the Dari substantives

concerns the two major structures of modification. The first, and far

more common, is one in which the already referred to connective /-e/

connects the modifier with the modified, the latter preceding the /-e/.

In the other, the order is reverse, with no connective /-e/ used.

Examples of each follow:

    a. With the connective /-e/

        (1) Adjective as modifier /ketábe xúb/ 'a good book'

        (2) Noun as modifier /ketábe æsǽn/ 'Hasan's book'

        (3) Pronoun as modifier /ketábe mǽ/ 'my book'

        (4) Prenoun as modifier /ketábe í/ 'his book'

    b. Without the connective /-e/

        (1) Cardinal number as modifier /dó ketáb/ 'two books'

        (2) Adjective as modifier /kælán adǽm/ 'an elder man'

        (3) Prenoun as modifier /ú ketáb/ 'that book'

The substantives, in addition to the connective /-e/ construc-

tion, take the object marker /-ræ/ which functions as the direct object

marker as in /dærwazéy kælánæ bæstǽ méykonem / 'I am going to close the

gate'; /ketábe englisíræ ræwán kǽd/ 'He sent the English book';

/dærwazǽræ bæstǽ konéyn/ 'Shut the door'; /bozorgáræ dídom/ 'I met the

oldest ones'; etc.

3.4 Inflected Parts of Speech--Verbs

A simple verb form consists of a stem, one or two prefixes indicating aspect and mood, and suffixes indicating person and number. There is also voice (active, passive, and causitive). Periphrastic verbs also are used in various functions.

a. Verb Stems

Each simple verb has two stems, "present" and "past." (1) In some cases the past stem is formed by the addition of /-id/:/-pǽr-/: /-pæríd-/ 'fly'; /-dǽw-/:/-dæwid-/ 'run.' These verbs have been called "regular." (2) In some others, the past stem is formed by the addition of /-t/∿/-d/ to the present stem; e.g., /-yáf-/:/-yáft-/ 'find'; /-xán-/:/-xánd-/ 'read.' (3) In still others, the relation between the two stems is governed by a set of morphophonemic rules involving alternations of various kinds; e.g., /-dówz-/:/-dówxt-/ 'sew'; /-xéyz-/: /-xéyst-/ 'get up'; (4) Suppletion, e.g., /-bín-/:/-díd-/ 'see'; etc. For further information on verb stem alternation see J. Wei pp. 29-30, and Farhadi, sec. 141.

b. Participle

The past participle is made by the addition of the suffix /-æ/ to the past stem, as in /ræft-/ 'went':/ræftǽ/ 'gone'; /xówrd-/ 'ate': /xowrdǽ/ 'eaten'; etc.

c. Verb Endings and Prefixes

Verb endings are identical after both stems, except in the
second person singular of the imperative and the third person singular
of the past and imperfective.

	Singular	Plural
1.	/-om/	/-eym/
2.	/-i/	/-eyn/
3.	/-æ/	/-æn/

Verbs take three prefixes: (1.) The prefix /mey-/ precedes a
present or past stem to indicate recurrence o r duration; e.g.,
/méyxanæ/ 'He is reading'; /méyxand/ 'He used to read;' /mey-/ with the
present stem sometimes expresses futurity; e.g., /sæbá méynewisæ/ 'He
will write tomorrow.' (2) /næ-/ expresses negation; e.g., /námeyrom/
'I don't go'; /nákow/ 'Don't do it.' /næ-/ precedes /mey-/; e.g.,
/námeyrom/ 'I won't go.' (3) /be-/ expresses the imperative or the
subjunctive mood; e.g., /besyár dærs bóxan/ 'Study hard'; /ágæ bóxanæ
bæd námeyšæ/ 'It won't be bad if he studies.' /be-/ does not combine
with the other two prefixes. In the negative, /be-/ is simply replaced
with /næ-/, e.g.,/bayæd dærs bétæ/ 'He should teach,' vs. /bayæd dærs
nátæ/ 'He shouldn't teach'; /ágæ náxanæ bæd méšæ/ 'It will be bad if
he doesn't study.'

d. Auxiliaries

The auxiliaries are /budǽn/ 'to be'; /rǽftǽn/ 'to go'; and /šodǽn/ 'to become.' All of these verbs are also used as main verbs, as in /mæríz búdom/ 'I was sick'; /mæríz šódom/ 'I became sick'; /mæktáb rǽftom/ 'I went to school.' Their use as auxiliaries is illustrated by /xanǽ budǽ bášæ/ 'He might be at home'; /xordǽ ræwán-æs/ 'He is eating now'; /poxtǽ šodǽ/ 'It has been cooked.'

e. Aspects

There are four aspects in the Dari verbal system: "simple," "completive," "incompletive," and "habitual."

(1) The simple aspect consists of the simple stems plus the verb endings and, where relevant, the negative prefix /næ-/; e.g., /xordom/ 'I ate'; /nǽxordom/ 'I didn't eat.'

(2) The completive aspect expresses the completion of an action, and it is formed by the past participle with the auxiliary /búdæn/ 'to be'; e.g., /xordǽ búdom/ 'I had eaten'; /péyš æzínke šomá béræseyn ma nan xordǽ budéym/ 'Before you arrived, we had had our meal.' /ta šomá béyayen nan xordǽ méybašom/ 'By the time you arrive, I'll have eaten my meal.'

(3) The incompletive aspect expresses an uncompleted action. It is formed by the past participle of a verb with the relevant simple tenses of the auxiliary 'ræftan' 'to go on'; e.g., /xardǽ (ræftǽ) méyrom/ 'I keep eating'; /xordǽ méyræftom/ 'I kept eating.'

(4) The habitual aspect denotes a repeated action, or one taking (or taken) place over a period of time. There are two ways of expressing this aspect. One is by the addition of the prefix /mey-/ to the stem, although the /mey-/ form has other functions as well (See Section 3.4d). The common form of the habitual action is formed by the past participle of the main verb followed by the past participle of the auxiliary /ræftǽn/ 'to go on,' followed by the /mey-/ form of /budǽn/ 'to be'; e.g., /xandǽ ræftǽ méybudom/ 'I had kept reading,' as in /ærówz ke be mæktǽb méyræftom, ú dǽrs xandǽ ræftǽ méybud/ 'Every day, when I went to school, he was studying'; /ærówz ke bemæktǽb méyrom u dǽrs xandǽræftǽ méybaǯæ/ 'Every day, when I go to school, he is (will be) studying.' More detailed information on the Dari aspects will be found in J. Wei, pp. 32-35.

f. Mood

There are four moods in Dari: "indicative," "imperative," "subjunctive," and "dubitative." The imperative form occurs in the second person only. It is formed by the addition of the prefix /be-/ to the present stem, with no ending when in the singular; e.g., /bóxowreyn/ 'Eat! (pl.)' /bóxow/ 'Eat! (sing.)' In the periphrastic form, it is formed by the past participle (of the main verb) with /bǽǯ/ or /bórow/ (the imperative forms of the auxiliaries /budǽn/ and /ræftǽn/); e.g., /xordǽ borów/ or /xordǽ bǽǯ/ 'keep on eating.'

The subjunctive mood occurs with all persons, while the imperative occurs only with the second person (sing., pl.); e.g., /xordǽ báŠæ/ 'He might have eaten'; /xordǽ (ræftǽ) bóræ/ 'He might (should) keep eating.' The dubitative is distinguished only by e model /xát/ 'might' from subjunctive; e.g., /xordǽ xát bóræ/ 'He might continue eating' (J. Wei, pp. 36).

g. Tense

There are two tenses in Dari, "present" and "past." Each stem with one or more affixes expresses an action in the present or past tense. There is no future tense as such, at least formally, but the prefix /mey-/, added to a present stem. sometimes indicates futurity. Examples are:

Present:	/felǽn nán méyxorom/ ' :'m eating now'
Future:	/pæstǽr nán méyxorom/ 'I'll eat later on'
Past:	/nán xórdom/ 'I ate my meal.' '

h. Voice

The passive voice is formed by adding the auxiliary /Šodǽn/ 'to become' to the past participle; e.g., /ketáb xandǽ méyŠæ/ 'The book is going to be read'; /ketáb xandǽ Šod/ 'The book was read.' The addition of the affix /-an-/ to the present stem of verbs results in the causative present stem. The further addition of /-d/ to the latter results in the past stem; e.g., /-xór-/ 'eating (ste..)':/méyxowranom/ 'I make him eat':/méyxowrandom/ 'I made him eat.'

PROBLEMS IN PASHTO MORPHOLOGY FOR SPEAKERS OF DARI

Introduction

Pashto and Dari are, as cognate languages, similar in some
ways. But they are also different in many ways, and this fact causes
difficulties for speakers of Dari learning Pashto. Our purpose in this
chapter, which is based partly on a contrastive analysis of the two
languages and partly on the writer's observations both as a student
and as a teacher of Pashto, is to examine some of the difficulties in
the area of morphology.

Broadly considered, the problems faced by the Dari speaker
may he said to fall within two general types. Some involve phenomena
which are present in both languages. Thus, the same major parts of
speech, or similar ones, exist in both; they both distinguish between
singular and plural in substantives and verbs; both have a three-way
person distinction in pronouns and verbs; and so on. On the other
hand, Pashto has certain grammatical categories with no formal paral-
lels in Dari; e.g., case and gender. The Dari speaker faces problems
not only in the latter type of categories, but also in those of the
first type, where--even though the general norions are familiar to him
from his native Dari--he will have difficulties in mastering, besides
the Pashto forms, the distribution and function of each form. As a

matter of fact, as will become clear from the following discussions
and examples, there is hardly a Pashto utterance which does not pre-
sent problems of both types. Thus, a noun usually appears in a case
and gender form, so that the mere recognition of the word as a noun
(a familiar concept) will not make it easy, because the total form
requires the formal indication of the unfamiliar and obligatory cate-
gories of case and gender.

In what follows, we shall describe the problems in the fol-
lowing order:

(1) Those involving number, gender, and case in parts of
speech other than the verb. These categories are all indicated by in-
flectional affixes.

(2) Those involving the verbal system. These include inflec-
tional as well as other problems (auxiliaries, meanings of verb forms,
etc.).

(3) Problems of agreement. These involve the entire Pashto
system, cutting across (1) and (2).

(4) Problems of order, though these will be treated only
very briefly and selectively--only as they affect phrasal construc-
tions.

In Part II.1-3, description will focus on the noun.
Adjectives and several other parts of speech do inflect for number,

gender, and case, but since they usually agree in these categories
with the nouns with which they are related, the major problem is that
of agreement and will, therefore, be taken up in the section on agree-
ment. Any special features of number, gender, and case in substan-
tives other than the noun will be noted at the end of relevant sec-
tions.

1. Number

In both languages, substantives are inflected for number,
generally having distinctive forms for the singular and the plural.
The problems in this area are of three types:

(1) There is a larger array of plural forms in Pashto than
there is in Dari, especially in nouns and adjectives. This results in
the necessity for remembering not only a larger number of plural de-
vices, but also their correct distribution in relation to the stems
to which they are added.

(2) In Pashto, each group of nouns or adjectives forms its
plural according to a certain rule, and the rules are
obligatory. In Dari, however, there does exist a single standard rule
which can apply to all nouns and adjectives, side by side with a set
of rules (mostly for broken plurals) which have limited and specified
distributions, each applying to a different group of nouns and ad-
jectives. For example:

D /ketáb/ 'book'; kotób/   /ketabá/

. D /fékr/ 'thought'; /æfkár/   /fekrá/

This arrangement in Dari makes the learning of Dari plural formation comparatively easy for the Pashto speaker, for, even when he cannot remember the various rules of plural formation, of which two are seen in the above examples (the first plural in each case), he can use the general plural suffix /-a/.

(3) One of the Pashto plural suffixes is /-an/, as in /ælikán/ 'boys'; /bæzgærán/ 'farmers': -tc. As it happens, Dari has a plural morpheme phonologically identical with this, though D /-an/ is used only in writing. The identical phonological form of /-an/ in Dari and Pashto often misleads Dari learners to using it in Pashto in wrong places; e.g., they say /sæɣæyán/ instead of /sæṛí/ 'men'; /mowrán/ instead of /mǽndi/ 'mothers.'

2. Gender

Several facts should be noted concerning gender: (a) There is no grammatical gender in Dari. (b) In Pashto words denoting animate beings, gender generally follows natural sex; so these words cause no major difficulty except remembering the forms. (c) Feminine forms are usually identified by their final phonemes; so the problem is primarily a matter of remembering the feminine endings. In this respect, the

Pashto gender is easier than gender is in some languages in which one cannot tell the gender by phonological criteria. (d) Adjectives, like nouns, inflect for gender, but since they completely agree with related nouns in their gender, the major problem is one of agreement, which, therefore, will be taken up in the section on agreement. (e) The numerals in Pashto do not inflect for gender, except /yǽw/ 'one' and /dwǽ/ 'two.'

3. Case

Pashto has a case system in the substantives while Dari has only the suffix /-ræ/, which to some extent functions as a case marker, but which lacks features of genuine full fledged case suffixes. Besides, the Pashto case system is closely related to the prepositions. The distribution of the various cases will be discussed here:

(1) The direct case is unmarked. It functions in two ways: (a) With all intransitive verbs and with the present tense of transitive verbs, it functions as subject; e.g., /særǽy ṣ̌ǽẓa wíni/ 'The man sees the woman'; /særǽy wlǻṛ/ 'The man went.' (b) It functions as object (the goal of action) with transitive verbs in the past tense; e.g.: /ma ṣ̌ǽẓa wálidalæ/ 'The woman was seen by me'.

(2) The oblique case functions in two ways: (a) With all transitive past forms, the noun in the oblique case expresses the agent; e.g., /zǽ spí xwalǽley yəm/ 'I have been bitten by the dog'.

(/spí/ obl. sing.). (b) In all other situations, it expresses the
goal of action; e.g., /zэ́ ḍowḍэ́y xrэ́m/ 'I eat my meal (/ḍowdэ́y/ obl.
fem. sing.). The lack of oblique case in Dari may cause two types of
problems: (a) The use of the correct case ending (oblique II) with
certain prepositions and (b) the function of the oblique case in spe-
cific instances; that is to say, whether a given noun in the oblique
case is the agent or the goal of action. The students tend to say:
/ɛlimэ́ tɛ wэ́rkɛ/ instead of /ɛlimэ́y tɛ wэ́rkɛ/ 'Give it to Halima';
/tɘr kówr pówri lár̥sɘm/ instead of /tɘr kówrɛ pówri lár̥sɘm/ 'I need to
go as far as to the house.' In these examples, the students omit the
case ending in /ɛlimэ́y/ and /kówrɛ/ (obl. sing.). (b) is a problem of
agreement and will be discussed later.

(3) The vocative case endings, whose use is restricted to
words designating human beings, are often omitted by Dari learners.
The endings are /-ɛ/, /-ey/, /-i/. E.g., they tend to say /éy ɛlík/
instead of /éy ɛlíkɛ/ 'Hey, boy!'; /mɘlgэ́r/ instead of /mɘlgэ́rey/
'friend!';/mówr/instead of /mówri/ 'Mother!' The vocative in Dari
is expressed by using the interjections /ów/ 'Oh!' and /éy/ 'Hey!' as
/éy bɛcɛ́/ 'Hey, boy!' and /ów rɛfíq/ 'Oh, friend!' It should be noted
that in addition to the obligatory vocative endings, Pashto may also
use the interjections /ey/ or /ow/, but that the latter are optional.
Furthermore, these interjections are phonologically identical with
the morphemes used to indicate the vocative in Dari, a fact which no
doubt compounds the problem.

4. Verbal System

The verbal systems of Pashto and Dari are both characterized by mood-aspect-tense distinctions; the existence of two stems for most Dari verbs is parallel to the situation in Pashto; and both languages use prefixes and suffixes in their verbal systems. A great deal of difficulty, however, is caused by the differences between the languages in the forms, functions, and distribution of various verbal elements or combinations of elements. Some problems are caused by (a) irregular morphonemic relationships; (b) others by the over- or under differentiation of distinctions and/or forms in one or the other language; and (c) still others by the meaning of certain verb forms.

a. Stem Forms

There exists a large number of stem forms which the student has to memorize: /zə́m/ 'I go' vs. /lárəm/ 'I went'; /gówrəm/ 'I see' vs. /kǽtəeləm/ 'I looked at'; etc.

b. Over- or Underdifferentiation

The problems of this type involve the over- or underdifferentiation of forms and/or functions and/or meanings in Pashto as compared with Dari:

(1) In Dari, the prefix /mey-/ always forms the imperfective aspect, as in /méyræwom/ 'I am going' or 'I will go' and /méyræftom/ 'I was going,' while in Pashto the prefix /wə-/ makes the imperfective

aspect in the present and the perfective aspect in the past. This results in confusion for the student. For example, P /zǽ spǽy tærə́m/ 'I tie the dog' vs. /zə́ spǽy wə́tærəm/ 'Shall I tie the dog?'; /mǽ spǽy tǽrəl/ 'I was tying the dog' vs. /mǽ spǽy wə́tærəl/ 'I tied the dog.'

(2) The prefix /bə-/, which indicates futurity as in P /wə́bǝ́gowru/ 'We will see' is often omitted by Dari students, presumably because in Dari there is no specific future maker as such, although the prefix /mey-/ in some contexts indicates futurity, as in /méybineym/ 'We'll seȩ.'

(3) Pashto makes an aspect distinction between perfective and imperfective in the imperative as in /ţǽṛǽ/ 'Keep tying!' and /wə́tæṛǽ/ 'Tie!,' while Dari does not make such a formal distinction, having a single form, as in /bóbænd/ 'Tie!'

(4) In the present tense, Pashto makes no distinction between singular and plural, as in P /cǽy ϸkí/ 'He (she or they) drink(s) tea,' while in Dari there are two forms (sing. and pl.), as in /cǽy méyxoræ/ 'He or she drinks tea'; /cǽy méyxoræn/ 'They drink tea.'

(5) Conversely, Pashto has two interchangeable second person plural past forms apparently with no difference in meaning, as in /xwǽṛə́ləy/ and /xwǽṛə́last/ 'You (pl.) had your meal.' In Dari there is only the one form /xórdeyn/ 'You ate.'

(6) In the third person singular and plural, the Pashto verb shows gender distinction between masculine and feminine in the past tense.

Dari does not. Consequently, sentences like the following are diffi-
cult to master: /tærᵊl/ 'He was being tied'; /tær͗ᵊlæ/ 'She was being
tied'; /tær͗ᵊlə/ 'They (fem.) were being tied.' The first pair of
these sentences are both rendered as /méybæst/ 'He (she) was tying'
in Dari, and the last one as /bæstᵊ méyšodæn/ 'They were being tied.' In
other words, there is overdifferentiation in Pashto as compared with
Dari.

c. Transitive Verb Forms

In the past stem transitive verb forms carry an automatically
passive meaning; in the sentence /zᵊ spí wᵊxwərələm/ 'I was bitten
by the dog,' this feature is difficult for the Dari speaker to get
used to because in Dari the unmarked verb is in the active voice, and
the passive is formed by the past participle of the main verb and the
relevant form of the auxiliary verb /šodæn/; e.g., /xordᵊ šód/ 'It
was eaten'; /kærím didᵊ šod/ 'Karim was seen.'

d. Pronominal Forms

Pashto has a set of pronominal forms, /mi, di, yey, mu/ (1 sg.,
2 sg., 3 sg. and pl., 1 and 2 pl., respectively, which function as sub-
jects when used with a transitive verb in the past tense, as in /dæymi
wᵊlid/ 'I saw him,' and as objects or possessive markers elsewhere,
as in /zᵊ yey nᵊxrem/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketᵊb mi rᵊkæ/ 'Give me my
book.' In Dari, there is a set of pronominal suffixes ("suffix

pronouns"), /-em, -et, -eš, -ema, -etan, ešan/ (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.

1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) which function as possessive markers when attached

to substantives, as in /ketábem góm šód/ 'My book was lost,' and as

object marker when added to transitive verbs. The Dari forms are op-

tional, being interchangeable with independent pronouns when used as

possessives, and with a combination of a noun or a pronoun and the

object-market /-ræ/, or a combination of a preposition and a noun or a

pronoun when used as object markers. Not so with the Pashto pronominal

forms. To add to the confusion, there is a slight phonological simi-

larity in the first person singular in the two languages: /mi/ in

Pashto and /-em/ in Dari. Because of this somewhat complex situation,

the Dari speaker is likely either to omit the Pashto pronominals alto-

gether, or to substitute the Dari forms. Thus, he may say /zé néxrom/

instead of /zé yey néxrom/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketábem círi dǽy/ instead

of /ketáb mi círi dǽy/ 'Where is my book?'

5. Agreement

There are three major sets of problems of agreement: (a) those

related to the government of prepositions over case; (b) those related

to agreement between modifier and head; and (c) those related to agree-

ment between the verb and its subject and in certain cases also its

object.

(a) <u>Government of Prepositions over Case</u>

It is a special characteristic of Pashto morphology that the noun is usually governed by a preposition; i.e., all prepositions require the accompanying nouns to be in the oblique case, e.g., /tər yækšæmbéy/ 'until Sunday.' The noun may at the same time be followed as well as preceded by a preposition as in /pə yæwǽ bəjá/ 'at one o'clock'; /tər pæǧmǽnæ pówri/ 'as far as Paghman'; /tər špéy pówri/ 'until night.' This distributional feature is absent in Dari, where prepositions can only precede the substantives, as in /ta xanǽ/ 'as far as to the house'; /bæ dowstán/ 'to the friends'; etc., and where there are no postpositions of the type found in Pashto.

(b) <u>The Agreement between Modifier and Its Head</u>

Difficulties are also presented by the agreement between the modifier and its head (noun): (1) An adjective modifying a noun must agree in number, case, and gender; e.g., /ǧǽti sæṛí/ 'big men'; /ǧǽtæ ṣǽźæ/ 'a big woman.' (2) A numeral agrees in case with its noun; e.g., /pə špǽźow bæjów/ 'at six o'clock.' (3) A demonstrative pronoun and a noun agree in number, case, and gender, e.g., /də húǧu ṣǽźu/ 'for those women.'

There is no agreement in Dari in any of these instances. Thus in /dærǽxte kælán/ 'a big tree,' the noun and the adjective are both singular, and in /dæræxtáye kælán/ 'big trees,' the noun is plural,

but the adjective is in the singular. Dari students often fail to observe these rules of agreement, coming up with sentences such as the following, in which sometimes the inflectional endings are omitted from both the head and the modifier:

		instead of		
i	/ǧæṭ ketabúnæ/		/ǧǽṭi ketabúnæ/	'big books'
ii	/də ǧǽṭ ketabúnæ/	"	/də ǧǽṭu ketabúnu/	'from the big books'
iii	/ǧǽṭ wə́næ/	"	/ǧǽṭæ wə́næ/	'a big tree'
iv	/də ǧǽṭ wə́næ/	"	/də ǧǽṭi wə́ni/	'from the big tree'
v	/də ǧǽṭ wə́ni/	"	/də ǧæṭu wə́nu/	'from the big trees'
vi	/pə ʦælówr bæjǽ/	"	/pə ʦælówru bæjú/	'at four o'clock'
vii	/pə špǽʐ ǧǽt ketabúnæ/	"	/pə špǽʐu ǧǽtu ketabúnu/	'on the five big books'
viii	/pə húǧæ ʂǽʐu/	"	/pə húǧu sǽʐu/	'to those women'

In examples i and v, the adjective (/ǧǽṭ/) must agree with the head in number (pl.), and in case (/də ǧǽṭu/), direct and oblique, respectively. In examples ii and vi, the modifiers, an adjective (/ǧǽṭ/) and a numeral (/ʦælowr/), respectively, must agree with their heads (/ketabúnæ, bæjǽ/) in the oblique plural. In example iii, the modifying adjective and the noun must agree in the feminine gender. In example vii, the agreement is between the head word (/ketabúnæ/) and

the two modifiers (/špéž/) and the adjective (/ǧǽt/). In example viii,
case agreement is required between the demonstrative pronoun /húǧæ/
and the noun /ṣéžæ/ in the oblique plural form.

    c. <u>Agreement Involving the Verb</u>

    There are several types of problems of agreement involving the
verb:

    (1) There is person and number agreement between the verb and
the subject in all intransitive verbs and in the present tense of the
transitive verbs; e.g., /zə žém/ 'I go'; /zé yey wæhém/ 'I beat him.'

    (2) Wherever gender distinction is made in the verb (which is
in the 3 sg. present of the verb 'to be,' and in the 3 sg. past of all
the other verbs), it agrees with the subject in gender; e.g., /dá
məṇé sré dæ/'This apple (fem.) is red'; /da ketab sur dæy/ 'This book
(m.) is red; /hælímæ wéræǧlæ/ 'Halima(fem.) went (fem.).'

    (3) In the past forms of the transitive verbs, there is person,
number, and gender agreement between the verb and its object, but not
with its subject, e.g., /má ḍowḍéy wéxwæræ/ 'I eat (fem.) my meal (fem.)';
/kærím spéy wéwæhəlæ/ 'Karim hit (fem.) the bitch (fem.)'; /ma xré
biwél/ 'I led (m.pl.) the donkeys (masc.pl.).'

    (4) There is also agreement between the transitive past forms
of verbs and the case of either the subject or the object, in the fol-
lowing way: If the grammatical subject is in the direct case, the
object will have to be in the oblique case, and the verb will agree

with the grammatical subject (in person, number, and gender); e.g.,
/zə́ spí wə́xwærəm/ 'I was bitten ' ⸜ the dog,' where /zə/ 'I' is in the
direct case and agrees with the verb in every respect, and where /spí/
is in the oblique case. If the grammatical subject is in the oblique
case, the grammatical object will have to be in the direct case, and
the verb agrees with the grammatical object; e.g., /dúy dowḍə́y
wə́xwæṛæ/ 'They ate (fem.) their meal (fem.).'

4.6 Problems of Order

Problems of order strictly speaking belong in the syntax,
with which this thesis is not concerned. However, a few problems in-
volving order in phrases will be mentioned here.

(1) In some Pashto noun phrases, adjectives precede the nouns
they modify, as in P/jíg sæṛə́y/ 'a tall man.' An adverb also may pre-
cede a noun, as in /pówrtæ sæṛə́y/ 'the man above.' In Dari, modifying
nouns and adverbs follow the noun they modify in a connective /-e/ con-
struction, as in /adǽme belǽnd/ ' a tall man'; and /næfǽre balǽ/ 'the
man above.' Dari students of Pashto tend to transfer their own struc-
ture (without the connective /-e/) to Pashto, thus saying /sæṛə́y jíg/
instead of /jíg sæṛə́y/; /sæṛə́y pówrtæ/ instead of /pówrtæ sæṛə́y/.

(2) In Pashto noun phrases, the noun (1) may precede the
preposition, as in /ælík tæ/ 'to the boy'; (2) may follow the
preposition, as in /lə kówræ/ 'from the house':, or (3) may be

followed as well as preceded by prepositions, as in /tər kówræ pówri/
'as far as the house,' while in Dari no preposition follows the noun,
as in /æz xatére šagærdá/ 'for the sake of students.' The students
usually tend to drop the preposition after the nouns as in /də
šagərdánu/ instead of /də šagerdánu dəpáræ/ 'for the sake of students';
/də náwey/ instead of /də náwey dəpáræ/ 'for the bride'; etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. General

Agard, Frederick B. and Robert J. D. Pietro. The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian. Chicago, 1965.

Gleason, H. A., Jr. An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics. New York, 1955.

Lodo, Robert. Language Teaching. New York, 1964.

_____. Linguistics Across Culture. Ann Arbor, 1957.

Moulton, William G. The Sounds of English and German. Chicago, 1966.

Stockwell, Robert P. and J. Dold Bowen. The Sounds of English and Spanish. Chicago, 1965.

Stockwell, Robert, and others. The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish. Chicago, 1965.

II. Pashto

Bellew, Henry Walter. A Grammar of the Pukkhto or Pukshto Language. Lohore, 1901.

Lorimer, J. G. Grammar and Vocabulary of Waziri Pashto. Culkuta [sic.], 1902.

Morgenstierne, George. "Report on a Linguistic Mission on Northwestern India," Instituteet to Sammenlignende Kullurforskning Publikation. Oslo, 1932.

Penzl, Herbert. A Grammar of Pasto; A Descriptive Study of the Dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan. Washington, D. C., 1955.

_____. A Reader of Pashto. Ann Arbor, 1965.

66

_____. "Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 71, April-June, 1951.

Shafeev, D. A. A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto. Trans. and ed. by Herbert Paper. Indiana University, 1964. (Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics)

III. Dari

Bogdanov. L. "Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. 26, Calcutta, 1930.

Boyle, John Andrew. Grammar of Modern Persian. Wiesbaden, Germany, 1960.

Elwell-Sutton, L. P. Elementary Persian Grammar. Cambridge, 1963.

Entezar, M. Ehsan, and David J. Burns. Farsi Reference Manual Basic Course. Putney, Vermont, 1964.

Faroughy, A. A Concise Persian Grammar. New York, 1944.

Hawker, M. A. Simple Colloquial Persian. London, 1941

Lambton, Ann K. S. Persian Grammar. Cambridge, 1963.

Obolensky, Serge, and others. Persian Basic Course, 1-12. Washington, D. C., 1963.

Phillott, D. C. Higher Persian Grammar. Calcutta, 1919.

Poindexter, Mary Ann. "The Problems of Persian Speakers in Learning English," Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1965.

Rastorgueva, V. A. A Short Sketch of Tajik Grammar. Trans. and ed. by Herbert Paper. Indiana University, 1963. (Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics)

Stokes, Donal Slater. "The Problems of Persian Speakers in Pronouncing English." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1965.

Tisdal, W. St. Clair. <u>Modern Persian Conversation Grammar</u>. New York, 1959.

Wei, Jacqueline. "Dialectal Differences Between Three Standard Varieties of Persian: Tehran, Kabul, and Tajik," Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, 1962.

VITA

Mohammad Alam Miran was born in Khoja Mesafer, Paghman,

Afghanistan, on August 15, 1939, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Said Alam.

After completing his work at the Ibn-e-Seena High School, Kabul,

Afghanistan, in 1958, he taught Pashto in Baghlam for one year.

Returning to Kabul, he taught English as a foreign language in two

high schools, Ibn-e-Seena and Afghan Institute of Technology. In

1963 he entered the Faculty of Education at the University of Kabul.

He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of

Kabul in January, 1966. During the following year he was employed

as the departmental chairman of the English language program at

Darul Mo' Alemin (Teacher Training School) and as a Persian language

instructor at the Faculty of Education, University of Kabul. He

was employed as Persian instructor for three Peace Corps Training

Programs, where he also developed supplementary language materials.

In September, 1967, he entered the Graduate School of the University

of Texas at Austin.

Permanent address: Department of Dari
                   Faculty of Education
                   University of Kabul
                   Kabul, Afghanistan