Deictic Motion Verbs in Pashto: To Whom Shall We Come?

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Abstract

This paper investigates the uses of the deictic motion verbs in Pashto. First, the paper focuses on the Pashto verbs COME and GO. The Pashto COME verb is unique in that it requires a directional person marker. These person markers are used in specific situations, which are outlined in this paper. Furthermore, the person marker and the dative argument of the motion verb can differ in person. Such person “clashes” are explained in terms of ascendance on the Person hierarchy and of a semantic understanding of person. Second, this paper shows that the phenomenon of directional person markers extends to all Pashto motion verbs. Finally, the paper briefly discusses how Pashto COME and GO do not align with cross-linguistic analyses of COME and GO verbs in other languages. This misalignment is credited to the unique three-way deictic split of COME.

1. Introduction

Verbs representing the concepts of GO and COME\(^1\) are fundamental to the languages of the world. Each language describes motion in a particular way that includes means of explicating the direction and goal of the movement. While analyses of GO and COME have been described extensively for English (Fillmore 1971, 1997, Lyons 1977, Oshima 2012) and other languages, a thorough description of verbs of motion in Pashto has not been done. Pashto has an unusual system of deictic motion verbs; while it has two main verbs for COME and GO (\(rā-tləl\) and \(tləl\), respectively)\(^3\), there are greater complexities and intricacies with the Pashto COME verb than are found in COME in English and other languages. The Pashto COME verb \(rā-tləl\) demands an obligatory

\(^1\)GO and COME in all capital letters refer to the verbs that relate roughly to the cross-linguistic concepts closest to \textit{go} and \textit{come} in English. However, they do not align directly with the English verbs \textit{go} and \textit{come}.

\(^2\)Directional markers on the verbs COME and BRING are marked in this paper with a hyphen. However, this does not signify that they are prefixes. For these verbs, the directional markers do not function as clitics (cf., Appendix). Instead, the hyphen is used to show a morpheme boundary.

\(^3\)Verbs are cited in prose using the infinitive form which takes an \(-ə/\)ending.
person marker in its use. That is, a first (rå), second (də), or third person (wə)
directional marker is intrinsic to the verb. Without the directional marker, the verb is
another verb with its own meaning.

The function of the mandatory person markers used with COME in Pashto has
been described as movement toward the locative goal of the action (Babrakzai 1999:33,
Tegei 1977:34, 105). While in one respect this is correct, the actual situation can be quite
complicated. It so happens that the goal marked by a dative adposition in the clause can
often not match the person of the verbal directional marker, as in (1). In this example, the
goal marked by the postposition tə ‘to’ is tə ‘2SG’. The directional marker on COME is
first person rə ‘1’.

(1) zə tə tə rə-yəl-ei y-əm
1SG.ABS 2SG.OBL to 1-come.PTCP-MSG be.PRS-1SG
‘I have come to you [to the place where the speaker is now].’

Such person mismatches of the goal marked by the adposition tə ‘to’ and the
directional markers on the verb create questions. What defines the locative goal of the
action? For if in (1) the goal is ‘2SG’ as marked by the adposition tə ‘to’, then why is the
first person form of COME (i.e., rə-tlə) used? Since person markers are essential to
COME, how is the use of such verbal directional markers determined?

This paper attempts to answer these questions and to describe the appropriate uses
of COME and GO in Pashto. The choice of person marker is determined by the speaker’s
location in relation to the location of the addressee or a third party. COME and GO by
nature take a semantic theme as an argument. A theme is “an entity which undergoes a

4 All of the examples in this paper which are unmarked for source were developed through field research in
Afghanistan with mother-tongue Pashto speakers. The examples represent the pronunciation of the
Kandahari Pashto dialect. Many examples are taken from the collection of Pashtun folktales *Mili Hindara*
and are so noted.
change of location or possession, or whose location is being specified” (Kroeger 2005:54). So for COME and GO, the theme is the entity which is coming or going. For COME, then, the person marker describes the movement of the theme in relation to the speaker’s point of view and his environment. Further intricacies arise when COME is used in discourse, especially narrative discourse.

In §2, I describe the various uses of Pashto COME and GO, and how the verbal directive markers are appropriately used with COME. In §3, I show how the use of verbal directional markers is a wider phenomenon in Pashto. In particular, I outline how these markers are used with BRING. Finally, in §4, I include a short discussion on various models that have been laid forth for COME and GO in the world’s languages. Oshima’s (2012) reference point set approach asserts different types of COME and GO verbs that are feasible in the world’s languages. Pashto COME and GO seem to correspond well with the idea of reference point sets, but still do not agree in terms of the three-way person split for COME and its interesting uses in narrative discourse.

In conclusion, I assert that deictic motion in Pashto presents a new system of how a language encodes motion. While COME and GO do align with some cross-linguistic tendencies, their unique properties present a system which offers new insights on motion in language.

2. COME and GO: rā tl-əl and tl-əl

2.1 Oblique clitic pronouns

Essential to the examination of Pashto COME and GO are the three person markers rā ‘1’, dər ‘2’, and wər ‘3’. These markers are most often proclitics in Pashto and do not distinguish gender or number. They can cliticize to two different classes of
words—postpositions and verbs. When the clitics occur with postpositions, they function as the object of the postposition. Per Tegey (1977:34), I call these types of clitics “oblique clitic pronouns.” Oblique clitic pronouns are part of the system of weak pronouns in Pashto which are used for topic continuity in Pashto discourse (Tegey 1977:12, Pate 2012:13-24). In (2) through (4), the (a) examples contain oblique clitic pronouns, while the (b) examples contain free pronouns.

(2) a. Clitic as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{spożməi} \quad rā = \quad \text{sərə} \quad \text{nāst-ə} \quad \text{də}
\]

Spożhməi OC.1= from seated-FSG be.3FSG

‘Spożhməi is seated with me/us.’

b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{spožməi} \quad \text{zmuz} \quad \text{sərə} \quad \text{nāst-ə} \quad \text{də}
\]

Spożhməi from +1PLOBL from seated-FSG be.3FSG

‘Spożhməi is seated with us.’

(3) a. Clitic as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{zə} \quad \text{dər} = \quad \text{tsəξə} \quad \text{lirī} \quad \text{y-oəm}
\]

1SG.NOM OC.2= from far be-1SG

‘I am far from you (sg/pl).’

b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{zə} \quad \text{stā} \quad \text{tsəξə} \quad \text{lirī} \quad \text{y-oəm}
\]

1SG.NOM from +2SG.OBL from far be-1SG

‘I am far from you(sg).’

(4) a. Clitic as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{husən} \quad \text{wər} = \quad \text{tə} \quad \text{wāy-i}
\]

Hussein OC.3= to say.PRS-3

‘Hussein is telling him/her/them.’

b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

\[
\text{husən} \quad \text{haya} \quad \text{tə} \quad \text{wāy-i}
\]

Hussein 3MSG to say.PRS-3

‘Hussein is telling him.’

(taken from Pate 2012:17-18)
As shown in these examples, the oblique clitic pronoun has no real directional function. Instead, it simply replaces an oblique NP as the object of the adposition. The oblique clitic pronoun must match its referent in person only.

2.2 Verbal directional clitics

2.2.1 Introduction to verbal directional clitics

The second major use of person markers involves the verb. When these clitics attach to a motion predicate (i.e., a verb which takes a theme argument), they encode the direction of the action. Tegey (1977:44) labels these clitics as “deictic preverbs.” While identical in form to the oblique clitic pronouns, they play quite a different role, as will be shown later in this section. Per Babrakzai (1999) and Pate (2012), I call these clitics “verbal directive pronouns” or “verbal directive clitics.” In (5), the verbal directive clitics appear on the verb leʐəl ‘send’ which takes a theme as its object, in this case yəw xat ‘one letter’.

(5) a. habib mā to yəw xat rā = wə lez-əi
   Habib 1SG.OBL to one letter VC.1= PFV send.PST-3MSG
   ‘Habib sent me a letter [to where I am].’

   b. habib tā to yəw xat dər = wə lez-əi
   Habib 2SG.OBL to one letter VC.2= PFV send.PST-3MSG
   ‘Habib sent you a letter [to where you are].’

5 The person clitics have one more function with non-motion verbs (i.e., verbs which do not take a semantic theme argument). The clitics can also refer to an NP that will receive a benefit or be affected by the predicate. For the purposes of this paper, this use of the person clitics will not be examined further.

6 Similar pronomial directional markers occur in Ormuri, a small Indo-Iranian language of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Ormuri directional markers appear with the verb and are closely related to the Pashto pronomial clitics (Efimov 2011:160-161).
c. *habib tor to yəw xat wər = wə lez-əi*

Habib Tor to one letter VC.3= PFV send.PST-3MSG

‘Habib sent Tor a letter [to where a 3rd party is].’
(taken from Pate 2012:20)

For four verbs in Pashto, the verbal directive pronouns have become lexicalized into the verb so that they have lost their status as true clitics. These four verbs are *rā- Głəl* ‘come’, *rā- כעתl* ‘give’, *rā- wəɾəl* ‘bring (things which cannot move on their own)’, and *rā- wistəl* ‘bring (things which can move on their own)’. For each of these verbs, the use of a verbal directive marker is mandatory, and without such a marker, each of these verbs’ meaning would change. A more detailed explanation of the non-clitic properties of the verbal directive pronouns in these verbs can be found in the Appendix.

2.3 COME and GO: *rā- Głəl* and * Głəl*

2.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I outline how the verbs COME (*rā- Głəl*) and GO (* Głəl*) are used in Pashto.7 These verbs are some of the most common of all verbs in Pashto. Both the speaker’s location at utterance time and the goal at event time are important factors in not only determining which verb is used (that is, COME versus GO), but also which directional marker for COME. Generally, when a discourse-salient entity is present (or intended to be present in the speaker’s mind) at the goal either at utterance time or event time, then a form of COME is used in place of GO. Otherwise, GO is used. When COME is appropriate, a person directional marker—either *rā ‘1’, dər ‘2’, or wər ‘3’—must be chosen. A general principle that governs the choice of the person directional marker is to

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7 This section only focuses on non-narrative direct speech in Pashto. Narrative discourse can present certain skewing of the normal function of directional markers. This skewing is analyzed in §2.5. Thus, all examples taken from the stories of *Mili Hindara* in this section are taken from the direct speech of the characters and not from the storyteller’s narration.
which person the theme is moving. That is, is the theme moving to the location of the speaker, the addressee, or a discourse-salient third party? While this seems simple enough, there are certain situations that add complexity to the issue.

The COME verb ṭā-tləl/ ṭār-tləl/ wār-tləl takes two semantic arguments. First, it takes a theme, i.e. an argument that is moving from one location to another. So for COME (as well as GO), the semantic theme is the grammatical subject of the sentence. The second argument is the goal. The goal is the location to which the theme is moving. This goal does not have to be expressed, but can be expressed by the object of an adpositional to ‘to’ phrase. In (6)(a), the theme is the first person subject zo, and the goal is not expressed by a grammatical argument. The argument is overt in (6)(b).

Furthermore, an entity which is at the locative goal of motion can also occur as the object of the adpositional to ‘to’ phrase, as in (6)(c). Other adpositional phrases can also be used, such as the circumposition pə…pə in (6)(d).

(6)  

a. zo bə dar-s-əm  
1SG.NOM FUT 2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will come [to where you are].’

b. zo bə afyānistān to dar-s-əm  
1SG.NOM FUT Afghanistan to 2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will come to Afghanistan [which is where you are].’

c. zo bə tā to dar-s-əm  
1SG.NOM FUT 2SG.OBL to 2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will come to you [which is where you are].’

d. zo pə tā pəse dər-dz-əm  
1SG.NOM after 2SG.OBL after 2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
‘I am coming after you [which is where you are].’
2.3.2  **rā-tləl**: Speaker-oriented movement

2.3.2.1  **Case 1**: Movement of the theme towards the location of the speaker at utterance time

The first case in which rā-tləl is used involves the goal of the action as the location of the speaker at utterance time. Let \( x \) = theme of the motion verb, and let \( P_u = \) speaker’s location at utterance time and \( P_r = \) place of reference, i.e., the destination of the theme.

\[(7)\]  **Case 1**: If \( P_u = P_r \), and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then rā-tləl is used.

\[(8)\]  lmundz bə wə k-əm.  byā bə ʒər rā-s-əm
     prayer  FUT PFV do.PRS.PFV-1SG then FUT quick 1-go.PRS.PFV-1SG
     ‘I will do my prayers. Then I will quickly come back [to the place where I am now.]’
     (taken from the story of Shadi and Bibo from Mili Hindara)

\[(9)\]  byertə rā-dz-əm
     back  1-go.PRS.IPVF-1SG
     ‘I’m coming back [to the place where I am now.]’

In example (8), the main character Shadi tells a girl with whom he is seated at the moment that he will go do his prayers and then come right back. Since he himself is the theme, and his goal is the same place at which he is present when he utters the sentence, then the only appropriate motion verb is rā-tləl. This type of sentence, as in (9), is used quite often in daily life whenever someone steps away from someone and tells him that he will return momentarily.

While (8) and (9) are future concepts, (10) contains a past tense verb. This example occurs in a story in which Gul Bashra (a girl) has heard reports that her lover Talib Jan, who is studying at the mosque, has become upset with her. So she goes to him and explains the bad reports she has heard. Then she utters the sentence in (10) and then
continues to say she wants to reconcile with him. Her utterance in (10) occurs in Talib Jan’s room, which was also the goal of her movement. She herself is the theme, and \( P_u = P_r \). Thus only \( rā-tləl \) is appropriate.

(10) \( no zə rā-yl-əm \)
so 1SG.ABS 1-go.PST.PFV-1SG
‘So I came \([to the place where I am now.]\)’
(taken from the story of Talib Jan and Gul Bashra from Mili Hindara)

Note that in (8) through (10), the theme is the speaker. The speaker cannot move towards himself or herself, but rather moves towards the place at which he or she is making his or her utterance. Another person can also be the theme, as in (11). The theme in the second clause of (11) is Ahmad. He will be moving to the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., \( P_u \)). So \( rā-tləl \) is appropriate even though the speaker will not be present at the time of Ahmad’s arrival.

(11) \( zə os dz-əm. ahmad bə pindzə daqiqe bādə \)
1SG.NOM now go.PRS.IPVF-1SG Ahmad FUT five minutes later
\( rā-s-i tʃi stā sarə wə win-i \)
1-go.PRS.PFV-3 COMP with+2SG.OBL with PFV see.SBJV-3
‘I am going now. Ahmad will come in five minutes \([to the place where I am now]\) to meet with you.’

2.3.2.2 Case 2: Movement of the theme towards the speaker at event time

The second case in which \( rā-tləl \) is appropriate is when the speaker is present at the goal at event time.
(12) **Case 2**: If the speaker is present at $P$, at event time, the theme $x \neq$ speaker, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then $rā-tɒlo$ is used.

(13) $byertos \ bo \ rā \ s-i$

back FUT 1-go.PRS.PFV-3

‘He will come back [to where I am]’

(taken from the story of *Talib Jan* from *Mili Hindara*)

(14) $rā-s-ɔ. \ bo \ mi \ z-ɔ$

1-go.IMPV.PFV-SG take ACC.1SG take.IMPV.PFV-SG

‘Come [to where I am]. Take me.’

(taken from the story of *Musa Jan and Wali Jan* from *Mili Hindara*)

In both (13) and (14), the situation falls under both Case 1 and Case 2, because the speaker’s location at utterance time is the same as the speaker’s location at event time. I include these examples here under Case 2 because the emphasis of these sentences is on movement towards the speaker. In (13), Talib Jan’s departure has left Gul Bashra forlorn, so her mother comforts her by uttering this example. So, Talib Jan is the theme and will move towards the speaker’s location. In (14), the heroine Gulmakei is calling out to the king to come to her and take her. So the king is the theme and is called on to move towards the speaker’s location.

However, the speaker’s location at utterance time and the speaker’s location at event time can be different. In (15), a group of hunters are giving order to their servant Shatar Hasan. They tell him that they will climb over the mountain and that he must take their dogs and belongings around the mountain to them. So they expect to be on the other side of the mountain before Shatar Hasan. Thus, for the second clause, the location of the utterance is on this side of the mountain. However, they plan to be present at the goal—
that is, on the other side of the mountain—at the event time—that is, when Shatar Hasan comes. Thus rā-tləl is appropriate.\(^8\)

\[(15)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{tə} & \text{bo} & \text{də} & \text{yrə} & \text{por} & \text{puza} \\
\text{2SG.NOM} & \text{FUT} & \text{GEN} & \text{mountain.OBL} & \text{on} & \text{promontory}
\end{array}
\]

\[rā = \text{wə gərdz-e.} \quad ā \text{ xwā to bo rā-s-e} \]

VC.1 PFV move.PR.SVF-2SG that way to FUT 1-go.PR.SVF-2SG

‘You will come around the promontory of the mountain. You will come that direction \[\text{to where we will be}]\.’

(taken from the story of Shatar Hasan from Mili Hindara)

Another similar example is found in (16). The speaker is not at the tree at the time of utterance, but plans to be at there at event time, that is, the time when the theme Ahmad arrives at the tree. So one again rā-tləl is appropriate.

\[(16)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{muz} & \text{bo} & \text{tər} & \text{wəni} & \text{lándi} & \text{nāst} & \text{y-u} \\
\text{1PL.NOM} & \text{FUT} & \text{under tree.OBL} & \text{under sat} & \text{be-1PL}
\end{array}
\]

\[kölo \text{ tfi Ahmad wəni to rā-s-i,} \]

when COMP Ahmad tree.OBL to 1-go.PR.SVF-2SG

\[\text{hamla bo por wə k-u} \]

attack FUT on.3 PFV do.PR.SVF-1PL

‘We will sit under the tree. When Ahmad comes to the tree [\text{where we will be}], we will attack him.’

2.3.2.3 Case 3: Movement towards speaker’s home-base at event time

A final use of rā-tləl occurs when the speaker is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the speaker’s home-base then. First described by Fillmore (1971), the home-base is any entity to which a party feels intrinsically tied.

\(^8\) The use of rā= with gərdzedol ‘move’ is another example of the same principle.
(17) **Case 3**: If the speaker is not present at $P$, at event time, but $P$ is the speaker’s home-base, and $x$ moves to $P$, then $rā-tləl$ is used.

(18) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad and Hussein English. Ahmad phones Hussein and asks the following:)

```
dawud rā-yəl-ei d-əi
Dawud 1-go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG
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‘Has Dawud come [to my home-base]?’

(19) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Ahmad tells his father, who is also at home, that he is leaving. He states the following reason for his leaving:)

```
dawud mehmānxāne to rā-yəl-ei d-əi
Dawud guesthouse to 1-go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG
```

‘Dawud has come to the guest house.’

In example (18), the speaker—Ahmad—is not at the guest house. And Ahmad was also not present at the time of Dawud’s coming. However, since the guest house belongs to Ahmad, i.e., the guest house is a home-base for the speaker, he can use $rā-tləl$. Example (19) is another instance of the same home-base condition. If in either (18) or (19), the goal location moved to some other location not connected intrinsically to Ahmad (e.g., a park or a restaurant) then COME could not be used. Only GO—$tləl$ could be used.

The home-base case, though, does seem limited, in the fact that if the movement of the theme is away from the speaker, then $rā-tləl$ cannot be used. In (20), both the speaker—Ahmad—and the addressee—Hussein—are in the bazaar. The movement of

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9 Example (18) is a from a real-life situation that happened to the author. In Afghanistan, some wealthy people have both a house compound and a separate guest house compound to entertain guests.

10 Examples (19), (29), and (35) have been developed with conversations with Pashtuns based on the example in (18).

11 In example (18), the use of $dar-tləl$ would also be appropriate, since the movement is towards the place the addressee—Hussein—is. These conditions are laid out in (23) in §2.3.3.1.
the theme—Hussein—is away from the speaker—Ahmad. So Ahmad cannot use rā-tləl in his command for Ahmad to go to his house. Instead a form of tləl ‘go’ must be used. Note that the first person directional marker is used on the verb BRING in the second clause, instead.

(20) (Ahmad and Hussein are in the bazaar. Ahmad left his telephone at home. Ahmad says to Hussein:)

\[
\text{zmā} \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{tə} \quad \text{wlāf} \quad \text{s-ə} / \text{*rā-s-ə.}
\]

\text{GEN+1SG.ABS \ house \ to \ go \ / \ 1-go.IMPV.PFV-SG}

\[
\text{təlefən} \quad \text{rā-whel-ə}
\]

\text{telephone \ 1-take.IMPV.PFV-SG}

‘Go / *come to my house. Bring the telephone [to where I am now].’

This breaking of the home-base condition is the same as in Spanish and German (Lewandowski 2007:25), as in (21), in which the COME verb is impossible, and only the GO verb is appropriate. Furthermore, English follows the same pattern, as in (22).

(21) a. Spanish

\text{Juan *viene / va ahora mismo a mi casa, pero yo me quedo aquí.}

‘Juan is *coming / going now to my house, but I will stay here.’

b. German

\text{Juan *kommt / geht jetzt zu mir nach Hause, aber ich bleibe hier.}

‘Juan is *coming / going now to my house, but I will stay here.’

(Lewandowski 2007:25)

(22) English

(Given the same context as in the Pashto example (20):)

\text{Go / *come to my house. Bring me my phone.}

(judgment of author)

2.3.2.4 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for rā-tləl to be used, one of three cases must be met. Either (1) the movement of theme must be towards the speaker’s location at utterance
time, (2) the speaker must be present at the goal at event time, or (3) the goal is the speaker’s home-base. In general, there is a pattern of moving toward the speaker’s location.

2.3.3  

\textit{dar-tlo}: Addressee-oriented movement

2.3.3.1  

Case 1: Movement towards the location of the addressee at event time

The second person directional marker \textit{dar} is used with COME in two cases. The first and primary case in which \textit{dar-tlo} is used involves the goal of the action as the location of the addressee at event time. Let $P_a =$ location of the addressee at event time.

(23) Case 1: If $P_u \neq P_r$, the speaker is not present at $P_r$ at event time, $P_a = P_r$, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then \textit{dar-tlo} is used.

(24) \begin{tabular}{l}
1SG.NOM & \textit{n}o & \textit{dar-dz-\text{-}om} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘I’m not going to come [to the place where you are.]’} \\
\text{(taken from the story of The Merchant’s Three Sons from Mili Hindara)}
\end{tabular}

(25) \begin{tabular}{l}
1SG.NOM & \textit{b}o & \textit{dar-s-\text{-}om} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{‘I will come [to where you will be].’} \\
\end{tabular}

The sentence in (24) occurs in the story of \textit{The Merchant’s Three Sons} when the king has summoned a merchant’s wife to come to his palace to be his lover. The merchant’s wife, who is at her house, sends a reply to the king, an in her reply, she utters (24). So the goal location at the event time is the king’s palace, and the merchant’s wife, who is at her own home at utterance time, expects the king to be at the palace at event time. So \textit{dar-tlo} is used. Similarly, she could have uttered (25). Sentences like (24) and (25) are used a lot in daily life. For example, when someone telephones someone and
tells that person that he will come to him (or not come), then (24) and (25) are the types of sentences that can be used.

For rā-tləl, Case 2 focused on the movement of the theme to the location of the speaker at event time. Similarly, Case 1 for ḍor-tləl focuses on the movement of the theme to the location of the addressee at event time. The uses of rā-tləl also include Case 1 in which the goal of motion is the speaker’s location at utterance. However, there is no provision for the addressee’s location at utterance time. For example, suppose Hussein is at the park. Ahmad calls him from home and asks where he is. Hussein tells Ahmad that he is currently at the park, but that he will leave the park momentarily to go home. If Ahmad, thinking that Hussein will not be at the park later that night, informs Hussein that he plans to go to the same park that very night, he cannot use ḍor-tləl, even though Hussein’s location at utterance time is at the park. Instead, Ahmad must use a form of GO—tləl, as shown in (26).

\[(26) \quad \text{zə nən fə hamdayə pārκ tə *ḍor-ḍz-əm / ḏz-əm}
\]
\[\text{1SG.NOM today night this.very park to 2-go / go.PRS.IPFV-1SG}
\]
\[\text{‘I am *coming / going to the park.’}^{12}\]

Furthermore, note that the conditions in (23) require that \( P_u \neq P_r \). That is, for ḍor-tləl to be appropriate, the location of the speaker at utterance time cannot be the same as the goal location of motion. If the two are equal, then Case 1 of rā-tləl would take effect (cf., §2.3.2.1). In examples (8) through (10), the expected location of the addressee at utterance time is the same as the speaker’s location at utterance time. That is, \( P_u = P_r = P_a \). The issues are the same in each of these three examples, so I will focus only on (9). If Ahmad and Hussein are in a meeting, and Ahmad simply steps out for a moment, he can

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\(^{12}\) The ungrammaticality of this sentence is under the conditions set forth. Under other conditions, namely if the addressee is expected to be at the park at event time, then (26) is perfectly grammatical.
only use rā-tləl in his utterance. The use of dər-tləl is not ungrammatical, but the meaning would be that he thinks Hussein will be in a different location other than the one in which they were meeting.13

(27)  byertə rā-dz-əm / *dər-dz-əm
      back  1-go       / 2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG
      ‘I’m coming back.’

So, the above-mentioned stipulation that $P_u \neq P_r$ is extremely important. Even when the speaker plans to move towards the addressee, the second person directional marker is not used; i.e., rā-tləl must be used. In this way, the conditions of Case 1 of rā-tləl, namely that the speaker is present at utterance time at the goal location, trump the concept of movement towards the addressee, and dər-tləl cannot be used.

Note however that under the conditions in (23), it is possible to use dər-tləl when the addressee is present at utterance time as long as the goal destination is not the same as the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., $P_u \neq P_r$). So if Ahmad and Hussein are together at the office, and Ahmad wants to inform Hussein that he will come to Hussein’s house later that night, he can utter (25).

2.3.3.2 Case 2: Movement towards addressee’s home-base at event time

As with rā-tləl, dər-tləl also has a home-base condition. Dər-tləl can be used when the addressee is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the addressee’s home-base then.

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13 The use of dər-dz-əm in this sentence is grammatical under different circumstances. For example, if Ahmad calls Hussein from somewhere else to tell him he is coming back, then second person dər-dz-əm would have to be used instead of first person rā-dz-əm.
Case 2: If $P_u \neq P_r$, the addressee is not present at $P_r$ at event time, but $P_r$ is the addressee’s home-base, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then $d\omega-t\omega$ is used.

(29) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Hussein is at his own home and knows that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. He calls Ahmad to inform Ahmad that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. He says to Ahmad:

\begin{align*}
\text{dawud} & \quad \text{mehmānxāne} \quad \text{tə} \quad d\omega-\text{ayəl-ei} \quad d\omega i \\
\text{Dawud} & \quad \text{guest house} \quad \text{to} \quad 2\text{-go}.\text{PTCP-MSG} \quad \text{be-3MSG} \\
\text{‘Dawud has come to the guest house.’}
\end{align*}

In (29), the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., Hussein’s house) is not the same as the goal location (i.e., Ahmad’s guest house). The addressee—Ahmad—is not at the goal location—the guest house, but the guest house is his and thus belonging to his home-base. So even though the addressee is not at the goal location at event time, Hussein can use $d\omega-t\omega$. If the goal location moved to some other location not connected intrinsically to Ahmad (e.g., a park or restaurant) then COME could not be used. Only GO—$t\omega$ could be used.

2.3.3.3 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for $d\omega-t\omega$ to be used, one of two cases must be met. Either (1) the addressee must be expected to be present at the goal at event time, or (2) the goal is the addressee’s home-base. In general, there is a pattern of moving towards the addressee’s location.

2.3.4 $wər-t\omega$: 3rd party-oriented movement

2.3.4.1 Case 1: Movement towards the location of a discourse-salient 3rd person entity at event time

As seen with Case 2 of $rā-t\omega$ and Case 1 of $d\omega-t\omega$, the directional markers point to the location of first and second persons at event time, respectively. For movement
towards the location of a third person entity at event time, the third person directional marker \( \text{wər} \) is used. The third person entity can be an actual person, a thing, or an event, but it must be salient in the discourse. Let \( P_3 \) = location of 3\(^{rd} \) person entity at event time.

If (i) the speaker’s location at utterance time is not the same as the goal location of the motion, (ii) the addressee is not present at the goal location at event time, and (iii) the location of the 3\(^{rd} \) person entity at event time is the same as the goal location, then \( \text{wər-tələl} \) is used.

(30) **Case 1:** If \( P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a \), \( P_3 = P_r \) and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then \( \text{wər-tələl} \) is used.

(31) \[ \text{dā yəw gərei takiya k-ə tfi} \]
\[ \text{this one moment lean do.IMPV.PFV-SG COMP} \]
\[ \text{zə war-s-əm, dayə ʂədzi diləsə k-əm} \]
\[ 1\text{SG.ABS 3-go.SBJV-1SG these women comforted do.SBJV-1SG} \]
‘Lean this back for a moment so that I can go [to where the women are] and comfort the women.’
(taken from the story of *Musa Jan and Wali Jan* from *Mili Hindara*)

(32) \[ \text{yā, zə wər-dz-əm} \]
\[ \text{no 1SG.NOM 3-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG} \]
‘No! I am going to go [to the place where the king is.]’
(taken from the story of *Fateh Khan Bretsay* from *Mili Hindara*)

The context of the utterance in (31) involves the warriors Musa Jan and Wali Jan leaving home. Their departure has left the women of their house worried and upset. The two men have ridden out to the street, and Wali Jan says the sentence in (31) to Musa Jan. So, the discourse-salient 3\(^{rd} \) person entity is the women who are back inside the house.

Wali Jan is the theme and moves back toward the house where the women are. Thus \( \text{wər-tələl} \) is appropriate. The utterance in (32) is spoken by the warrior Fateh Khan. His enemy King Shamsuddin has summoned him to make peace, but Fateh Khan’s trusted companion Karam Khan tells him not to go because he thinks it is a trap. Fateh Khan
protests, and utters the sentence in (32). In this example, the discourse-salient 3rd person entity is King Shamsuddin. The goal of location is the place King Shamsuddin is staying, and Fateh Khan, the theme, plans to move towards that place. So  Cơ-tło is appropriate.

Now the stipulation that the third party be discourse-salient is important. Suppose Ahmad and Hussein are talking, and Ahmad wants to tell Hussein he is going to the park. Then (33)(a) would be appropriate. However, if a 3rd person entity is present in the conversation, and Ahmad wants to point out that his purpose in going to the park is to see that 3rd person entity, then (33)(b) is appropriate, and (33)(a) would no longer be appropriate. This 3rd person entity could be a person or persons, an event such as a concert, or a thing in the park such as a statue or tree. In short, any nominal that is activated in the discourse can serve as the 3rd person entity.

(33)  a.  Cơ  pārk  to  Cơ-tło
      1SG.NOM  park  to  ġo.PRS.IPFL-1SG
      ‘I am going to the park.’

        b.  Cơ  pārk  to  Cơ-tło
      1SG.NOM  park  to  Cơ-go.PRS.IPFL-1SG
      ‘I am going to the park [where some 3rd party will be].’

2.3.4.2  Case 2: Movement towards discourse-salient 3rd person entity’s home-base at event time

As with Ṣah-tło and  Cọ-tļọ,  Cơ-tļọ also has a home-base condition.  Cơ-tļọ can be used when the discourse-salient 3rd person entity is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the 3rd person entity’s home-base then.
(34) **Case 2:** If $P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a$, the 3rd person discourse-salient entity is not present at $P_r$ at event time, but $P_r$ is that 3rd person entity’s home-base, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then \textit{wə-tləl} is used.

(35) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Hussein is at his own home and knows that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. Hussein tells his wife, who is sitting beside him:)

\textit{dawud mehmānxāne to wə-āyəl-əi d-əi}

Dawud guest house to 3-go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG

‘Dawud has gone to the guest house [to Ahmad’s home-base].’

In (35), the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., Hussein’s house) is not the same as the goal location (i.e., Ahmad’s guest house). The addressee (i.e., Hussein’s wife) is present with Hussein. The discourse-salient 3rd person entity—Ahmad—is not at the goal location—the guest house, but the guest house is Ahmad’s and thus belonging to his home-base. So even though Ahmad is not at the goal location at event time, Hussein can use \textit{wə-tləl}. If the goal location moved to some other location not connected intrinsically to Ahmad (e.g., a park or restaurant) then COME—\textit{wə-tləl} could not be used. Only GO—\textit{tləl} could not be used.

### 2.3.4.3 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for \textit{wə-tləl} to be used, one of two cases must be met. Either (1) a 3rd person discourse-salient entity must be expected to be present at the goal at event time, or (2) the goal is that 3rd person entity’s home-base. So for \textit{wə-tləl}, the theme must move toward a discourse-salient 3rd person entity’s location at event time.

### 2.3.5 \textit{tləl}—GO: movement away from the deictic center

In §2.3.2 to §2.3.4, the uses of the COME verb in Pashto were described. When none of the conditions for the COME verb are specified, then the GO verb \textit{tləl} is used. Note that for the COME verb (for all forms \textit{rā-tləl}, \textit{dər-tləl}, and \textit{wə-tləl}), the destination
or goal of the motion is in focus. GO, on the other hand, has no focus on the goal of motion, but rather on the source of motion and the motion itself.

Persian is one of Pashto’s Indo-Iranian cousin languages. By using *Pear stories*, Feiz Zarrin Ghalam (2007) compares the use of GO and COME in Persian, namely, *raftan* and *aamadan*, respectively. There are two primary uses of GO—*raftan*—in Persian: “1) to mark translational motion, and 2) to mark the departure of the Figure from a particular location” (Feiz Zarrin Ghalam 2007:160). Translational motion describes the movement of the theme from one place to another. For GO, translational motion does not specify a manner of motion. The second main use of *raftan* is similar to the English *go away* or *leave* (as in an entity to leave a place); that is, the theme is departing its current location. These two main uses of GO—*raftan* in Persian are also the main uses of GO—*tləl* in Pashto.

2.3.5.1 Case 1: Movement in which no discourse participant specified at the goal location at utterance time or event time.

First, *tləl* marks translational motion without specifying the manner. Furthermore, there is no focus on the goal of the motion. The verb is unmarked in terms of destination. In both (36) and (37), the movement expressed by *tləl* is translational. That is, the theme is moving from one location to another. However, there is no focus on an entity at the goal location. That is, the speaker is not at the goal location at utterance time, and the theme is not moving towards the speaker, the addressee, or a 3rd party discourse-salient entity. In (36), a maid tells her mistress that she and two others went to a garden, but there was no special 3rd party there they went to see. The utterance takes place in the palace, so the utterance location is different than the goal location. Also, the addressee (i.e., the maid’s mistress) was not at the garden at event time. In (37), the motion is to a place, but the speaker is not focusing on any specific 3rd party at the destination.
Although the people of the intended locale are mentioned in the relative clause, they are not in focus as the reason for going to such a place.

(36) $muζ$ $bäγ$ $tɔ$ $wλʁ-u$
1SG.NOM garden to go.PST.PFV-1PL
‘We went to the garden.’
(taken from the story of Talib Jan and Gul Bashra from Mili Hindara)

(37) $muζ$ $bäyard$ $däsi$ $dzäi$ $tɔ$ $wλʁ$ $s-u$
1SG.NOM should such place to go.PRS.PFV-1PL

tʃi $mäxlʊq$ $ve$ $bɛitiʃaγ$ $w-i$
COMP people GEN.3 disunited be.SBJV-3
‘We should go to such a place where the people are disunited.’
(taken from the story of Fateh Khan Bretsay from Mili Hindara)

Pashto COME requires that either the speaker be at the goal location at utterance time, or that either the speaker, the addressee, or a discourse-salient 3rd person entity be located at the goal location at event time. These conditions are subsumed in Cases 1 and 2 of $rä-tlɔl$ (cf., §2.3.2.1 and §2.3.2.2), Case 1 of $dɔɾ-tlɔl$ (cf., §2.3.3.1), and Case 1 of $wɔr-tlɔl$ (cf., §2.3.4.1). If none of these conditions are satisfied, GO is used. However, that leaves the home-base cases (Case 3 of $rä-tlɔl$, and Cases 2 of $dɔɾ-tlɔl$ and $wɔr-tlɔl$).

What we find is that for the home-base case examples in (19), (29), and (35), in which none of the discourse participants are present at the goal location at event time, either COME or GO can be used. These examples (19), (29), and (35) are repeated with both verbal options below as (38), (39), (40). However, there is a slight difference between the use of COME and the use of GO in these examples. GO can only be used if the speaker views the theme’s—Dawud’s—motion as away from Ahmad’s present location at his home. So for example, if Dawud was supposed to teach Ahmad at his house, but contrary to expectation, Dawud went to the guest house instead, then GO is preferred, since the
speaker views Dawud moving away from Ahmad’s home. If the speaker does not view the theme as moving away from Ahmad’s house, then COME is used.

(38)  (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Ahmad tells his father, who is also at home, that he is leaving. He states the following reason for his leaving:

dawud mehmānxâne to rā-yol-ei / tāl-ei d-ū
Dawud guest house to 1-go / go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG
‘Dawud has come / gone to the guest house.’

(39)  (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Hussein is at his own home and knows that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. He calls Ahmad to inform Ahmad that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. He says to Ahmad:)

dawud mehmânxâne to dār-ayol-ei / tāl-ei d-ū
Dawud guest house to 2-go / go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG
‘Dawud has come / gone to the guest house.’

(40)  (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, to teach Ahmad English. Hussein is at his own home and knows that Dawud has arrived at the guest house. Hussein tells his wife, who is sitting beside him:)

dawud mehmânxâne to wâr-ayol-ei / tāl-ei d-ū
Dawud guest house to 3-go / go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG
‘Dawud has goneCOME / goneGO to the guest house.’

This same type of optionality between COME and GO also occurs in Spanish (Lewandowski 2007:25) and English (Oshima 2012:3).

(41)  Spanish
Yo no estaré, pero espero que vengas / vayas a mi casa mañana.
‘I will not be, but I hope you will come / go to my house tomorrow.’
(Lewandowski 2007:25)

(42)  English
John {went / came} to my office [=speaker’s “home base”] last week, but I was out of town.
(Oshima 2012:3)
So the first general case for GO is:

\[(43) \textbf{Case 1}: \text{If the speaker, addressee, or a discourse-salient 3rd person entity is not present at event time, then } tləl \text{ can be used.}\]

This case is further exemplified in example (44).

\[(44) \text{(Ahmad is at his own home, and Dawud is at his own home. Ahmad plans to go to Hussein’s party that night. The party will be at Hussein’s house. Ahmad calls Dawud and asks him:)}\]

\[tə həm do husen melməstia tə rā-dz-e / dz-e 2SG.NOM also GEN Hussein party to 1-go / go.PRS.IPFV-2SG ‘Are you coming / going to Ahmad’s party?’\]

Both verbs COME and GO are permissible in (44). However, the use of one over the other has a slightly different meaning. The speaker’s own mental picture of the situation determineds which word he uses. If COME is used, then Ahmad pictures himself being at Hussein’s party before Dawud arrives. Thus Case 2 of \(rā-tləl\) is in effect. However, if Ahmad does not have any picture in his mind of arrival, i.e., his presence at the time of Dawud’s coming is not in focus, then he can just use GO.

\[2.3.5.2 \textbf{Case 2: Movement away from the source}\]

\[(45) \textbf{Case 2}: \text{If the theme } x \text{ moves away from a location, then } tləl \text{ is used.}\]

Just like Persian raftan, Pashto tləl is used by itself to mark the departure of the theme from a location. This use of Pashto tləl is similar to Spanish irse, French s’en aller, and English go away. In (46) and (47), the verb tləl is used to mark such departure from the source location. In (46), the queen is telling the king that Shadi has gone away. There is no goal of action specified. All that matters in this utterance is that Shadi has left the palace. In (47), Wali Jan tells his friend Musa Jan that he cannot go away. Again, there is no destination in focus. Only the act of departure is important.
2.3.5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, *tləl* is the unmarked form of motion, in contrast to the three forms of COME. In general, it marks movement away from the deictic center. If (1) no discourse participant is at the goal at either utterance or event time, or if (2) the movement of the theme from the source is in focus, then GO *tləl* can be used.

2.4 Mismatches in dative goal and person marker on COME

As described above, COME has three different person markers—*rā* ‘1’, *dər* ‘2’, and *war* ‘3’—one of which must be chosen when using the verb. COME also takes a semantic goal as an argument. This goal can be unexpressed or overt. When overt, the goal appears as the dative object of the adposition *tə* ‘to’. This goal is often a place, as in (6)(b). However, the dative goal can also be a person, as in (6)(c).

Some descriptions of *rā*, *dər*, and *war* simply state that they represent movement towards a 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person, respectively. Babrakzai (1999:33) states, “The directive pronouns are used as prefixes with verbs, denoting the direction of the movement of the subject with intransitive verbs, and that of the direct object with transitive verbs.” He then gives examples of certain verbs, stating that *rā* is ‘toward speaker’, *dər* is ‘to 2nd person’ and *war* is ‘to 3rd person’ (34). He further labels these directive pronouns as “dative agreement” (82) and states, “Since the agreement is between the indirect object phrase
and the directional pronoun, any mismatch between them results in an ungrammatical sentence” (83). He presents one ungrammatical example (here as (48)) in which the dative argument is 2nd person tā and the verbal directional pronoun is 3rd person wər.

(48) *zə tā to yəw kitāb wər = lez-əm
1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL to one book VC.3 send.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am sending a book to you.’
(transcription modified from Babrakzai 1999:83)

Roberts (2000:105) also asserts that clitic doubling takes place in Pashto and that “verbal pronominal clitics correspond to NPs that would be marked dative, or as other sorts of indirect arguments.” This matching of dative argument with verbal directive pronoun is shown below in (49).

(49) a. (1st person dative argument; 1st person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ahmad} & \text{ rā = tə rā dz-i} \\
\text{Ahmad OC.1} & \text{ to 1-go.PRS.IPFV-3} \\
\text{‘Ahmad is coming [to where I am] to me.’}
\end{align*}
\]

b. (2nd person dative argument; 2nd person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ahmad} & \text{ dər = tə dər dz-i} \\
\text{Ahmad OC.2} & \text{ to 2-go.PRS.IPFV-3} \\
\text{‘Ahmad is coming [to where you are] to you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

c. (3rd person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ahmad} & \text{ wər = tə wər dz-i} \\
\text{Ahmad OC.3} & \text{ to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3} \\
\text{‘Ahmad is coming [to where a 3rd party is] to a 3rd party.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Babrakzai (1999) and Roberts’ (2000) analyses of these verbal markers is not quite accurate, however. Under these analyses, the verbal directional markers rā, dər, and wər must always align with the dative argument in person, as shown in (49). However, this is not always the case. The verbal directional markers do not always align with the dative argument in person, as exemplified in (1). First of all, when the dative argument is
a place, then clearly there is no dative 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} person argument. 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person directional markers \(\textit{rā}\) and \(\textit{dār}\) can still be used, however, as in (50).

(50) a. \(\textit{zə bə wādə tə dār-dz-əm}\)  
1SG.NOM FUT wedding to 2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I’ll come [to where you are] to the wedding.’  
(taken from the story of \textit{Adam Khan and Darkhanei} from \textit{Mili Hindara})

b. \(\textit{nāwaxtə kər tə rā-s-ə}\)  
late house to 1-go.IMPV.PFV-SG  
‘Come [to the place where I am speaking now] home late!’  
(taken from the story of \textit{Hets}\textsuperscript{14})

Furthermore, what is missing in Babrakzai (1999) and Roberts’ (2000) analyses is that the verbal directional markers do not mark the movement towards a 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person, but rather they point to the person’s location. In the cases enumerated in §2.3.2, 2.3.3, and 2.3.4, the \textit{location} of the discourse participant (whether 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person) is the focus of the movement as opposed to the discourse participant himself. When a discourse participant appears as the dative argument, then mismatches of dative argument and verbal directional pronoun can occur.

(51) a. \(\textit{bə bəl-ə wrədz dār = tə rā-s-əm}\)  
again FUT another-FSG day OC.2 to 1-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I’ll come to you again [to where I am now speaking] another day.’  
(taken from the story of \textit{The Weeping Pomegranate Tree and the Laughing Apple Tree} from \textit{Mili Hindara})

b. (3\textsuperscript{rd} person dative argument; 1\textsuperscript{st} person verbal directional marker)
\begin{align*}
yəw-ə & \text{ onəi wrustə } \text{ bo } \text{ hyerto } wər = t \text{ rə-dz-əm} \\
\text{one-FSG} & \text{ week later } \text{ FUT back OC.3} \text{ to 1-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG}
\end{align*}
‘I will come back \textit{[to the place where I am speaking now]} to it in a week.’
(taken from \textit{De Kabul Tag}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Chapter)\textsuperscript{15}

c. (3\textsuperscript{rd} person dative argument; 2\textsuperscript{nd} person verbal directional marker)
(Hussein and Ahmad are together. I call Hussein and inform him:)
\begin{align*}
zmā & \text{ wror } \text{ bo } ahmad \text{ to } \text{ dar-s-i} \\
\text{GEN+1SG brother} & \text{ FUT Ahmad to 2-go.PRS.PFV-3}
\end{align*}
‘My brother will come \textit{[to the place where you are]} to Ahmad.’

In (51)(a), the context involves an old woman taking her leave of a young girl.
The dative argument is the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person oblique clitic \textit{dər=}. However, the directional marker is 1\textsuperscript{st} person \textit{rə} because the old woman is present at the goal of motion at utterance time. Thus, Case 1 of \textit{rə-tləl} (cf., §2.3.2.1) takes effect, and the two pronominals do not agree in person. In (51)(b), the speaker is talking to himself about his plans to leave his job in the city, and then possibly come back to the job a week later. The dative argument is the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person oblique clitic \textit{wər=} and it refers to his job. However, since his utterance is made at the destination location, 1\textsuperscript{st} person \textit{rə-tləl} is used instead of 3\textsuperscript{rd} person \textit{wər-tləl}. Once again Case 1 of \textit{rə-tləl} is in effect. In (51)(c), the speaker is not at the goal location at utterance time. The theme is the speaker’s brother, and it is intended to reach Ahmad, who is the overt dative argument. However, since the speakers thinks Ahmad and Hussein are together in one location, and since the addressee—Hussein—is present at the goal location, the 2\textsuperscript{nd} person directional marker \textit{dər} is used on the verb. That is, Case 1 of \textit{dər-tləl} (cf., §2.3.3.1) is in effect.

\textsuperscript{15} Accessed online January 10, 2013 at http://www.taand.com/news/id-22760/rp-0/act-print/rf-1/%DA%86%D8%A7%D9%BE.html.
While the three “non-matching” combinations of dative marker and verbal directive pronoun in (51) are possible, other “non-matching” combinations are not possible. The examples in (52) show the three combinations which are never possible.

(52) a. (1st person dative argument; 2nd person verbal directional marker)
   *ahmad ṭā = ṭo ḏər-dz-i
   Ahmad OC.1 to 2-go.PRS.IPFV-3
   ‘Ahmad is coming [to where you are] to me.’

b. (1st person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)
   *ahmad ṭā = ṭo Ṽər-dz-i
   Ahmad OC.1 to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3
   ‘Ahmad is coming [to where a 3rd party is] to me.’

c. (2nd person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)
   *ahmad ḏər = ṭo Ṽər-dz-i
   Ahmad OC.2 to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3
   ‘Ahmad is coming [to where a 3rd party is] to you.’

In short, there are a total possibility of nine combinations of dative argument and verbal directive pronoun (i.e., \{3 choices for the dative pronoun\} x \{3 choices for the verbal directive pronoun\} = \{9 combinations\}). The possible combinations are shown in Table 1. (An x marks a grammatical combination in Pashto). The examples in (49) correspond to the diagonal of the table, and the examples in (51) correspond to the three x’s below the diagonal. The impossible combinations in (52) correspond to the white above the diagonal.
Table 1: Possible combinations of dative argument and verbal directive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dative argument</th>
<th>Verbal Directive Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$rā$ ‘1’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combinations summarized in Table 1 can also be depicted in the following spatial diagram.

Figure 1: Spatial Diagram of Verbal Directive Pronouns

$x =$ theme
$S =$ speaker
$A =$ addressee
$3 =$ 3rd person discourse entity
When a Pashto speaker uses the COME verb, he cognitively determines his location and those who are with him in that location. If the speaker views his own location the same as the goal location either at utterance time or event time, then rā ‘1’ is used. However, the motion could be designated for anyone in the left circle; i.e., the dative argument could be S, A, or 3 for rā ‘1’. If the speaker does not view himself at the goal location either at utterance time or event time, and if he does view the addressee at the goal location at event time, then dər ‘2’ is used. Then the only possible people in the addressee’s location are the addressee himself and a 3rd person entity, as depicted in the middle circle. So the dative argument could be A or 3. If the speaker does not view himself or the addressee as present at the goal location, but if he views a 3rd person discourse-salient entity as present at the goal location, then wər ‘3’ is used, and the only possible participant in the goal location is a 3rd person entity. So the dative marker can only be 3.

The inclusion of entities in the circles in Figure 1 is tied to the fundamental concepts of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person in Pashto. Pashto is similar in English to its categorization of person. In English, the first and second persons can refer to the following:

(53) English First Person
(a) speaker(s)                           sg: *I need a drink.
pl: *We are the champions! (in unison)
(b) speaker(s) + other(s)               *We want you to come to dinner.
(c) speaker(s) + addressee(s)          *Shall we go?
(d) speaker(s) + addressee(s) + other(s)  *Can't we all get along? (Wechsler 2010:333)
(54) English Second Person
(a) addressee(s)  
\[\text{sg: You should behave yourself.} \]
\[\text{pl: You should behave yourselves.}\]

(b) addressee(s) + other(s)  
\[\text{How do you guys handle yourselves over in Philosophy?}\]

(Wechsler 2010:334)

The Pashto 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} nominative pronouns are listed in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} person</td>
<td>(zə)</td>
<td>(muz)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} person</td>
<td>(tə)</td>
<td>(tāsi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} person categories in Pashto are in alignment with those in English. Any group which includes the speaker is still a 1\textsuperscript{st} person plural \(muz\) idea. Any group without the speaker, but with the addressee is a 2\textsuperscript{nd} person plural \(tāsi\) idea.

(55) Pashto First Person
(a) speaker(s)  
\[\text{sg: } zə\]
\[\text{pl: } muz\]

(b) speaker(s) + other(s)  
\[\text{(}zə\text{ with ahmad), (}muz\text{ with dui)}\]
\[\text{(I and Ahmad), (we and they)}\]

(c) speaker(s) + addressee(s)  
\[\text{(}zə\text{ with (you(sg))), (}zə\text{ with (you(pl))), (}muz\text{ with (you(pl)))}\]
\[\text{(I and you(sg)), (I and you(pl)), (We and you(pl))}\]

(d) speaker(s)+addressee(s)+other(s)  
\[\text{(}zə\text{ with you(sg) and ahmad), (}muz\text{ with tāsi with dui)}\]
\[\text{(I and you(sg) and Ahmad), (We and you(pl) and they)}\]
(56) Pashto Second Person
(a) addressee(s)
    sg: tə
    pl: tāsi

(b) addressee(s) + other(s)
    (tə ow ahmad), (tāsi ow dui) = tāsi
    (you(sg) and Ahmad), (you(pl) and they)

Any person or group of which the speaker(s) or addressee(s) are not a part is 3rd person.

What is relevant in this description of person in Pashto is that for a first person muz group, both 2nd person and 3rd person entities can be included. For a 2nd person tāsi group, a 3rd person entity can be included. However, a 1st person entity cannot. Finally for a 3rd person group, neither a 1st nor a 2nd person entity can be included.
Because of the nature of persons in Pashto, the seeming “mismatches” between the dative argument and the verbal directive pronoun are possible. When the action is speaker-oriented (i.e., rā-tlo is used), the speaker can cognitively frame a 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity as part of his surrounding. Thus, the verbal directive marker can encode the movement to the speaker’s group, but the dative argument can mark some other 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity inside that group. Hence, in these circumstances, the first column of

Table 1 and the left circle of Figure 1 are possible. When the action is addressee-oriented, (i.e., də-tlo is used), the speaker can cognitively frame a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity as part of the addressee’s surrounding. But the speaker is no longer able to put himself together with the addressee. So in the middle column of

Table 1, the combination of (1\textsuperscript{st} person, də ‘2’) is impossible. The verbal directive marker can encode the movement to the addressee’s group, and the dative argument can point to 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity but not a 1\textsuperscript{st} person entity. Finally, if the action is oriented to a 3\textsuperscript{rd} person discourse-salient entity, (i.e., wər-tlo is used), then the speaker can no longer cognitively put himself or the addressee into the 3\textsuperscript{rd} party’s group. Thus, in column three of

Table 1, only the bottom rectangle is possible. The two upper combinations—(1\textsuperscript{st} person, wər ‘3’) and (2\textsuperscript{nd} person, wər ‘3’)—are not possible.

Thus we find a rule involving the person hierarchy in (57).

(57) **Person Hierarchy:** \( 1 > 2 > 3 \)

The verbal directional marker must outrank the dative argument on the Person Hierarchy. That is:
Rule of verbal directional markers and dative arguments:

Let A = the person of the verbal directional marker, and let B = the person of the dative argument marked by to ‘to’. Then A ≥ B on the Person Hierarchy.

So, as listed in Table 1, the following possibilities are possible for ordered pairs (A,B):

Possible Ordered Pairs
A = B : (1st person, 1), (2nd person, 2), (3rd person, 3)
A > B : (2nd person, 1), (3rd person, 1), (3rd person, 2)

Impossible Ordered Pairs
A < B : (1st person, 2), (1st person, 3), (2nd person, 3)

2.5 Deictic projection in narrative discourse

As detailed in §2.3, rā-ṭləl is used for motion towards the speaker’s location either at utterance time or event time. In all the examples presented, the speaker was directly involved in the motion. In 3rd person narrative discourse, however, the speaker is the narrator. As the narrator, he is not a part of the events taking place; i.e., he is not a character in the story. Thus, the question arises as to what constitutes the deictic center, and where the narrator stands in direction to that center.

In many languages, deictic projection occurs in narrative discourse. Deictic projection refers to the speaker projecting the deictic center onto a participant other than himself (Lyons 1977:579, Fillmore 1971). Deictic projection is prevalent in narrative discourse. The narrator can adopt a point of view inside the story setting.

Fillmore (1971:227) presents the following example in English narrative.
In (60)(a), the verb come is used deictically. The narrator is not a character in the story,
and neither is the addressee. Thus, in normal direct speech English situations, *come* would not be appropriate. However, the narrator has projected the deictic center to a new place—the mentioned bedroom. The use of *come* “indicates that the point-of-view is the location or the person inside the mentioned bedroom” (Fillmore 1971:227). In (60)(b), the verb *enter* is not deictic; i.e., it is not interpreted by the immediate context. Thus, in contrast to (a), the (b) sentence does not mark anything about the narrator’s perspective from within the bedroom.

(60)  

a. The men came into her bedroom.  
b. The men entered her bedroom.  

(Fillmore 1971:227)

Feiz Zarrin Ghalam (2007:149-150) also points out examples of deictic projection in Persian. In example (61), a man appears in the story with a goat and is moving towards a tree where another man is picking fruit. The narrator used the COME verb *aamadan* (here the past form *oomad*) to signal the man’s arrival at the scene instead of the GO verb *raftan*. Thus the narrator has projected the deictic center to the location under the tree, and thus the narrator uses COME.

(61)  

Persian  

ye` aa`ghaai oomad baa bo`zesh ra`d shodo:`;  
‘A guy came passed by with a goat.’  

(Feiz Zarrin Ghalam 2007:150)

In Pashto, deictic projection also occurs in narrative discourse. In both English and Persian, only two verbs COME and GO are in contrast with each other. In a case of deictic projection, COME is used in place of GO. However, in Pashto, COME has three forms (*rā-tləl*, *dər-tləl*, and *wər-tləl*). Which form then is used in cases of deictic projection?
It turns out that for cases of deictic projection in narrative, only \textit{rā-tləl} is used. In other words, action towards a projected deictic center in a narrative is seen as action towards a first person participant’s location. In this way, the narrator projects himself into a location, and movement that occurs towards his location is encoded with \textit{rā-tləl}. As the narrator does not interact with the characters in the story however, there is never an addressee within the story. So there is never an addressee upon which the deictic center can be projected, and thus \textit{dær-tləl} is not used with deictic projection. Movement to a third person discourse-salient entity away from the narrator’s point of view is encoded with \textit{wər-tləl}.

In (62), word has just come to the king that the princess, who is in her chambers, has been healed of her madness, for which they had bound her in chains. The narrator’s used of \textit{COME—rā-tləl} in the second clause is a use of deictic projection. The narrator is not a part of the story, yet he has projected himself into the princess’s room. Thus the king \textit{comes} to his daughter himself, and \textit{rā-tləl} is appropriate.

(62) \textit{bātīā dər xušhālə s-u.}  
king very happy become.PST.PFV-3MSG

\textit{pəxələ lur tə rā-y-əi}  
himself daughter to 1-go.PRS.PFV-3MSG

\textit{lur ye xlās-ə kə-ə}  
daughter ERG.3 free-FSG do.PST.PFV-3FSG

‘The king became very happy. He himself came to his daughter. He freed his daughter.’

(taken from the story of \textit{Upright and Scoundrel} from \textit{Mili Hindara})

Note that in the example above, if the narrator had not deictically projected himself into princess’ room, then the third person \textit{wər-tləl} would have been used in place of \textit{rā-tləl}. 
Some other examples of deictic projection in narrative are in (63) through (65).

(63) \textit{sperkwəndə rā-ył-ə} \textit{fil tə.}  
crested lark 1-go.PST.PFV-3FSG elephant to  
‘The crested lark came to the elephant.’  
(taken from the story of \textit{The Crested Lark and the Elephant} from Mili Hindara)

(64) \textit{də xwāja-gān-o təsəxə pə zor rā= tər s-u.}  
from eunuch-PL-OBL from with force VC.1 pass become.PST.PFV-3MSG  
rā-y-əi \textit{barābar də şədzo xəme tə.}  
1-go.PRS.PFV-3MSG directly GEN women.OBL tent.OBL to  
‘He passed through the eunuchs by force. He came right up to the women’s tent.’  
(taken from the story of \textit{Musa Jan and Wali Jan} from Mili Hindara)

(65) \textit{dei tʃi wər= tə rā-y-əi, kə gor-i,}  
he COMP OC.3 to 1-go.PST.PFV-3MSG if look.PRS.IPFV-3  
yəw bātfā məɾ d-əi  
one king dead be-3MSG  
‘When he came to them, he saw that a king is dead.’  
(taken from the story of \textit{Jalat Khan and Shamaila} from Mili Hindara)

In (63), the crested lark arrives at a field where an elephant is laying. The narrator adopts the perspective of being in the field. Thus \textit{rā-tələ} is used. In (64), the king’s harem has set up camp for a picnic. Eunuchs are guarding the camp. Wali Jan passes through the eunuchs by force and arrives at the women’s tent. The narrator takes the perspective as being inside the camp at the women’s tent. Thus, \textit{rā-tələ} is used.\textsuperscript{16} In (65), a man named Muslim sees a commotion among some people in the town. So he goes to them to find out what is happening. (The oblique dative marker is the clitic \textit{wər=} which refers to the townspeople.) The narrator thus takes the perspective of being among the townspeople. So in the first clause, \textit{rā-tələ} is used.

\textsuperscript{16} The use of \textit{rā=} with \textit{terədəl} ‘pass’ is also a use of deictic projection.
Note that in examples (62), (63), and (65), the dative argument and the verbal directional marker do not agree in person.\(^{17}\) For each of these examples, the dative argument is 3\(^{rd}\) person while the verbal directional marker is 1\(^{st}\) person. Thus, deictic projection introduces more examples of the seeming “mismatches” of dative marker and verbal directive marker outlined in §2.4. Namely they are (3\(^{rd}\) person, rā’1’) combinations.

The instances of deictic projection in narrative discourse are numerous. From the stories of *Mili Hindara* alone, hundreds of examples could be presented. Understanding the use of deictic projection is important for the understanding of the craft of Pashto narrative.

3. The wider use of verbal directional markers

So far, the discussion in this paper has focused on the verbs COME and GO. However, as stated in the introduction, any motion verb which takes a theme argument can take the verbal directional markers. These verbal directional markers perform the same functions as they do on the COME verb. When no verbal directional marker is used on the verb, then the verb’s usage parallels the usage of GO (*tlə*). In this section, I outline how other Pashto verbs are used with directional markers. For brevity’s sake, I only outline one verb pattern. The verb pattern I outline is the pairing BRING vs. TAKE (things which cannot move on their own).\(^{18}\) This Pashto BRING verb, like the COME verb, requires a verbal directional marker.

\(^{17}\) In (64), the dative argument is a place, and not a discourse participant. Thus I do not include it in the list of “mismatches.”

\(^{18}\) The other BRING/TAKE (things that can move on their own) pairing, (i.e., rā *wistol* / bewəl) corresponds completely in function to BRING/TAKE (things that cannot move on their own), (i.e., rā *wəl* / wəl).
3.1 BRING/TAKE (things that cannot move on their own)

The Pashto TAKE (things that cannot move on their own) verb is \( wɽəl \). BRING then is formed by adding the verbal directional clitics, (i.e., \( rā-wɽəl \), \( dər-wɽəl \), and \( \omega r-wɽəl \)). The theme argument is the grammatical object of the clause (i.e., the thing being taken). In the discussion that follows, the cases outlined in §2.3 for COME/GO are shown to hold for BRING/TAKE.

3.1.1 \( rā-wɽəl \): Speaker-oriented movement

3.1.1.1 Case 1: Movement of the theme towards the location of the theme at utterance time

(66) **Case 1**: If \( P_u = P_r \), and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then \( rā-wɽəl \) is used.

(67) \[ \text{som-ə \ d-ə. \ rā \ bə \ ye \ wɽ-əm} \]

\quad well-FSG \ be-FSG \ 1 \ FUT \ 3 \ take.PRS.PFV-1SG

\quad ‘Very well. I will bring them [to the place where I am now].’

(taken from the film *Da Lastuni Mar*)

(68) \[ \text{zə \ fāperiān-ə \ də \ zāngo \ tsəxə \ də \ mor} \ \text{əw} \]

\quad 1SG.ABS \ fairies-ERG \ from \ cradle \ from \ mother \ and

\quad \[ plār \ \text{tsəxə \ rā-wər-ə} \ \text{y-əm} \]

\quad father \ from \ 1-take.PTCP-FSG \ be-1SG

\quad ‘The fairies have brought me [to the place where I am now] from the cradle, from my mother and father.’

(taken from the story of *The Fairy Zabzabana* from *Mili Hindara*)

In example (67), a man is sitting at home with his wife, who has told him what she needs from the market. The husband responds with the sentence in (71). Thus, although, he is bringing the things to the addressee (i.e., his wife), since the goal location of the groceries is his place of utterance, he must use the first person directional marker.

In (68), the hero of the story arrives at the fairy kingdom where he finds an old woman.
She tells him how she arrived at the fairy kingdom by uttering the sentence in (68). Since the goal location (i.e., the fairy kingdom) is the same as the woman’s place of utterance, first person *rā-wṱəl* is appropriate.

### 3.1.1.2 Case 2: Movement of the theme towards the speaker at event time

The second case in which *rā-wṱəl* is appropriate is when the speaker is present at the goal at event time.

(69) **Case 2**: If the speaker is present at *P r* at event time, the theme *x ≠ speaker*, and *x* moves to *P r*, then *rā-wṱəl* is used.

(70) *byā kəm dzāi tfī za wər = to șəy-əṃ*
then which place COMP 1SG.NOM OC.3= to show.PRS.IPFV-1SG

*pese bə haltə rā-wṱ-i*
money FUT there 1-take.PRS.PFV-3

‘Then the place that I show him, he will bring the money there [to the place where I will be].’

(taken from the story *Nawi Jaame*)

In (70), the speaker refers to selecting a place for someone to bring him money.

So the speaker currently is not at that location, but will be when the person brings him the money. So he uses the first person *rā-wṱəl*.

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3.1.1.3 Case 3: Movement towards speaker’s home-base at event time

(71) **Case 3**: If the speaker is not present at \( P_r \) at event time, but \( P_r \) is the speaker’s home-base, and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then \( rā-wəɾl \) is used.

(72) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, and has brought Ahmad a book. Ahmad tells his father, who is also at home:)

\[
\text{dawud mehmānxāne tō yəw kitāb rā-wəɾ-ei d-əi}
\]

Dawud guesthouse to one book 1-take.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG

‘Dawud has brought a book to the guesthouse.’

If the speaker is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is his home-base, then he can use 1st person \( rā-wəɾl \) as in (72).

3.1.1.4 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for \( rā-wəɾl \) to be used, one of three cases must be met. Either (1) the movement of theme must be towards the speaker’s location at utterance time, (2) the speaker must be present at the goal at event time, or (3) the goal is the speaker’s home-base. In general, there is a pattern of moving toward the speaker’s location.

3.1.2 *dər-wəɾl*: Addressee-oriented movement

3.1.2.1 Case 1: Movement towards the location of the addressee at event time

(73) **Case 1**: If \( P_u \neq P_r \), the speaker is not present at \( P_r \) at event time, \( P_u = P_r \), and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then \( dər-wəɾl \) is used.

(74) \( dər-wəɾ-e m \text{ ye} \)

2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG ACC.3

‘I’m going to bring it [to the place where you are].’

(taken from the film *Jabri Wada*)
The context for sentence (74) involves a servant washing a car near the gate of a compound. He looked to the porch of the house and sees another servant drinking a drink. He looks at the drink with thirst. The servant on the porch shouts the sentence in (74) to the man at the car. So the theme is the drink, and it will move from the porch to where the addressee (i.e., the servant at the car) is. Thus ḏə-wɽəl is appropriate.

As with ḏə-tləl, ḏə-wɽəl can only be used when the addressee is present at the goal time. Hussein tells Ahmad that he is currently at the park, but that he will leave the park momentarily to go home. If Ahmad, thinking that Hussein will not be at the park later that night, informs Hussein that he plans to take a book to the same park that very night, he cannot use ḏə-wɽəl, even though Hussein’s location at utterance time is at the park. Instead, Ahmad must use a form of TAKE—wɽəl, as shown in (75).

(75) ṅən ʃə ḥamdəyə ṭər kítəb ḏər-wɽ-əm / wɽ-əm
    today night this.very park to book 2-take / take.PRS.IPFV-1SG
    ‘I am *bringing / taking the book to the park.’

3.1.2.2 Case 2: Movement towards addressee’s home-base at event time

As with ṛa-wɽəl, ḏər-wɽəl also has a home-base condition. ḏər-wɽəl can be used when the addressee is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the addressee’s home-base then.

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20 The ungrammaticality of this sentence is under the conditions set forth. Under other conditions, namely if the addressee is expected to be at the park at event time, then (75) is perfectly grammatical.
(76) **Case 2:** If $P_u \neq P_r$, the addressee is not present at $P_r$ at event time, but $P_r$ is the addressee’s home-base, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then $dər-wəl$ is used.

(77) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, and has brought Ahmad a book. Hussein who is at his own home calls Ahmad to inform him that Dawud has brought a book to the guest house. He states:)

\[
\text{dawud mehmānxāne tə yəw kitāb dər-wərei d-əi}
\]

Dawud guesthouse to one book 2-take.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG ‘Dawud has brought a book to the guesthouse.’

In (77), the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., Hussein’s house) is not the same as the goal location (i.e., Ahmad’s guest house). The addressee—Ahmad—is not at the goal location—the guest house, but the guest house is his and thus belonging to his home-base. So 2nd person $dər-wəl$ is used.

**3.1.2.3 Conclusion**

In non-narrative discourse, for $dər-wəl$ to be used, one of two cases must be met. Either (1) the addressee must be expected to be present at the goal at event time, or (2) the goal is the addressee’s home-base. In general, there is a pattern of moving towards the addressee’s location.
3.1.3  \textit{wər-wəl}: 3\textsuperscript{rd} party-oriented movement

3.1.3.1  Case 1: Movement towards the location of a discourse-salient 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity at event time

(78)  Case 1: If $P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a$, $P_3 = P_r$, and $x$ moves to $P_r$, then \textit{wər-tələ} is used.

(79)  \begin{verbatim}
COMP  1SG.NOM  bread  3-take.PRS.IPVF-1SG

dei  ets  zəy  no  kəw-i
he  no  sound  NEG  do.PRS.IPVF-3
‘When I take him food, he doesn’t make a sound.’
\end{verbatim}
(taken from the story of \textit{Talib Jan and Gul Bashra} from \textit{Mili Hindara})

(80)  (Husband):
\begin{verbatim}
1SG.NOM  FUT  this  letter  take.PRS.PFV-1SG

po  yəw  chə  bo  ye  wə  gor-əm...
by  one  someone  FUT  ACC.3  PFV  look.PRS-1SG
‘I will take this letter. I will get someone to help me look at it.’
\end{verbatim}

(Wife):
\begin{verbatim}
well-FSG  be-FSG  3  ACC.3  take.IMPV.PFV-SG

‘Very well. Take it \textit{to where he is}.’
\end{verbatim}
(take from the film \textit{Da Lastuni Mar})

In (79), a maid is telling her mistress what happens when she takes Talib Jan—her mistress’s lover—food. Because Talib Jan is already salient in the discourse, the third person \textit{wər-wəl} is used. Example (80) involves an interchange between a husband and wife while they are sitting together at home. A letter has arrived for the man, but he is illiterate. Needing someone to read to him what the letter says, he utters the sentences in (80). Then his wife utters the last sentence in (80). Note that the husband uses a form of the TAKE verb \textit{wəl} without any verbal directional marker. This is because there is no
entity salient in the discourse at this point to which he is going to take the letter. In his second sentence, he makes known to his wife that he will have someone read the letter to him. Then, in his wife’s response, she uses the imperative form of the BRING verb ʷər-wəɽə. This verb is appropriate because the reader of the letter was activated in the discourse by the husband’s second sentence.

3.1.3.2 Case 2: Movement towards discourse-salient 3rd person entity’s home-base at event time

As with ṭā-wəɽə and ḍər-wəɽə, ʷər-wəɽə also has a home-base condition. ʷər-wəɽə can be used when the discourse-salient 3rd person entity is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the 3rd person entity’s home-base then.

(81) **Case 2**: If \( P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a \), the 3rd person discourse-salient entity is not present at \( P_r \) at event time, but \( P_r \) is that 3rd person entity’s home-base, and \( x \) moves to \( P_r \), then ʷər-wəɽə is used.

(82) (Ahmad is at his home. Dawud has come to Ahmad’s guest house, which is separate from Ahmad’s home, and has brought Ahmad a book. Hussein is at home with his wife. He tells her:)

\[
dawud mehmānxāne tə yəw kitāb ʷər-wər-ei d-əi
\]

‘Dawud has brought a book to the guesthouse.’

In (82), the speaker’s location at utterance time (i.e., Hussein’s house) is not the same as the goal location (i.e., Ahmad’s guest house). The addressee (i.e., Hussein’s wife) is present with Hussein. The discourse-salient 3rd person entity—Ahmad—is not at the goal location—the guest house, but the guest house is Ahmad’s and thus belonging to his home-base.
3.1.3.3 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for *wər-wɽəl* to be used, one of two cases must be met. Either (1) a 3rd person discourse-salient entity must be expected to be present at the goal at event time, or (2) the goal is that 3rd person entity’s home-base. So for *wər-wɽəl*, the theme must move toward a discourse-salient 3rd person entity’s location at event time.

3.1.4 *Wɽəl*—BRING: movement away from the deictic center

3.1.4.1 Case 1: Movement in which no discourse participant specified at the goal location at utterance time or event time.

As with GO—*tləl*, BRING—*wɽəl* marks translational motion without specifying the manner. Furthermore, there is no focus on the goal of the motion. The verb is unmarked in terms of destination.

(83) Case 1: If the speaker, addressee, or a discourse-salient 3rd person entity is not present at event time, then *wɽəl* can be used.

(84) *zə*  
    *be*  
    *dā*  
    *xat*  
    *yos-əm*  
    1SG.NOM  
    FUT  
    this  
    letter  
    take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
    ‘I will take this letter.’

In (84), (previously shown as part of (80)), the destination of the letter is not in focus. The focus is on the motion of taking the letter. So *wɽəl* is used.

3.1.4.2 Case 2: Movement away from the source

(85) Case 2: If the theme *x* moves away from a location, then *wɽəl* is used.

(86) *zmā*  
    *şədzī*  
    *düşman*  
    *yor-e*  
    GEN+1SG.OBL  
    women  
    enemy  
    take.PST.PFV-3FPL  
    ‘The enemy took my women away!’

(taken from the story of Musa Jan and Wali Jan from Mili Hindara)
In example (86), the TAKE verb $wəl$ is used, because the women have moved away from the source location.

3.1.4.3 Conclusion

In the same manner that GO—$tləl$ is the unmarked form of motion in contrast to the three forms of COME, TAKE—$wəl$ is the unmarked form of motion in contrast to the three forms of BRING. In general, it marks movement away from the deictic center. If (1) no discourse participant is at the goal at either utterance or event time or if (2) the movement of the theme from the source is in focus, then TAKE $wəl$ can be used.

3.1.5 Mismatches in dative goal and person marker on BRING

The person of the dative goal marked by the adposition $tə$ ‘to’ and the verbal directional marker can be the same, as exemplified in (87).

(87)  a. (1st person dative argument; 1st person verbal directional marker)
      
      $ahmad$ yəw kitāb rā=$tə$ rā-$wəl$-i
      
      Ahmad one book OC.1 to 1-take.PRS.IPFV-3
      ‘Ahmad is bringing [to where I am] me a book.’

b. (2nd person dative argument; 2nd person verbal directional marker)

      $ahmad$ yəw kitāb dor=$tə$ dor-$wəl$-i
      
      Ahmad one book OC.2 to 2-take.PRS.IPFV-3
      ‘Ahmad is bringing [to where you are] you a book.’

c. (3rd person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)

      $ahmad$ yəw kitāb war=$tə$ war-$wəl$-i
      
      Ahmad one book OC.3 to 3-take.PRS.IPFV-3
      ‘Ahmad is taking [to where a 3rd party is] a 3rd party a book.’

However, the same person “mismatches” between the dative goal and the verbal directional marker that occurred for COME also occur with BRING (cf., (51)).
(88) a. (2nd person dative argument; 1st person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
o\text{ob} & \quad \text{d} & \quad \text{ar} & = & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{r} & \quad \text{a-} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{m} \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{OC.2} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{1-take.SBJV-1SG} \\
\text{‘Should I bring [to where I am now speaking] you water?’} \\
\text{(taken from the film Da Lastuni Mar)}
\end{align*}
\]

b. (3rd person dative argument; 1st person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{l}= & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{kor-} & \quad \text{b}= & \quad \text{chäi} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{r}= & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{r} & \quad \text{a-w} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{m} \\
\text{GEN house FUT tea OC.3 to 1-take.PRS.PFV-1SG} \\
\text{‘I will bring [to the place where I am speaking now] tea to him.’} \\
\text{(taken from the story Nek Wagari)}^{21}
\end{align*}
\]

c. (3rd person dative argument; 2nd person verbal directional marker)

(Hussein and Ahmad are together. I call Hussein and inform him:)

\[
\begin{align*}
z= & \quad \text{zmä} & \quad \text{w} & \quad \text{ror} & \quad \text{b}= & \quad \text{yw} & \quad \text{kitäb} & \quad \text{ahmad} & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{d}= & \quad \text{ar-w} & \quad \text{g}- & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{GEN+1SG brother FUT one book Ahmad to 2-take.PRS.PFV-3} \\
\text{‘My brother will bring [to the place where you are] a book to Ahmad.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (88)(a), a girl is sitting together with her mother, and she asks whether she should bring her mother some water. So the dative goal is second person. The directional marker, however, is first person since the goal location of the water is the same as the place of utterance. In (88)(b), a boy is thinking to himself. At utterance time, the boy is seated with the man to whom he will bring tea, so the verbal directional marker is first person. However, the dative goal (i.e., the man) is third person. In (88)(c), Hussein is the addressee but is present with Ahmad at the goal location. So Ahmad is the dative goal, but a second person directional marker is used on the verb.

Furthermore, the impossible combinations of person of the dative goal and person of the verbal directional marker for COME are also impossible for BRING (cf., (52)).

(89) a. (1st person dative argument; 2nd person verbal directional marker)

\[
\begin{align*}
\*
\text{ahmad} & \quad \text{yw} & \quad \text{kitäb} & \quad \text{r}= & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{dar-w} & \quad \text{g}- & \quad \text{i} \\
\text{Ahmad one book OC.1 to 2-take.PRS.IPFV-3} \\
\text{‘Ahmad is bringing [to where you are] me a book.’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

b. (1st person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)

*ahmad yəw kitāb rā= tə wər-wər-i
Ahmad one book OC.1 to 3-take.PRS.PFV-3
‘Ahmad is bringing [to where a 3rd party is] me a book.’

c. (2nd person dative argument; 3rd person verbal directional marker)

*ahmad yəw kitāb dər= tə wər-wər-i
Ahmad one book OC.2 to 3-take.PRS.PFV-3
‘Ahmad is bringing [to where a 3rd party is] you a book.’

Thus,

Table 1 also applies to BRING. Furthermore, the Rule of verbal directional clitics an dative arguments in (58) applies to BRING as well, and the possible ordered pairs listed in (59) apply to BRING.

3.1.6 Deictic Projection

As with COME, instances of deictic projection with BRING also involve the first person rā-wər form.

(90) mor ye dəqəsi obə wər= tə rā-wər-e
mother GEN.3 bread water OC.3 to 1-take.PST.PFV-3FPL
‘Her mother brought her food and water.’
(taken from the story of Talib Jan and Gul Bashra from Mili Hindara)

(91) bātʃə tə ye dā zmərej rā-wər-əi
king to ERG.3 this lion 1-take.PST.PFV-3MSG
‘He brought the king this lion.’
(taken from the story of Jalat Khan and Shamaila from Mili Hindara)

In (90), the food and water is brought to Gul Bashra’s room. The narrator has projected himself into her room, thus the theme moves towards the narrator and the first person rā-wər is used. Similarly, in (91), the king’s court is the goal location. The narrator projects himself into the king’s court, thus first person rā-wər is used.
3.1.7 Conclusion

In this section, I have shown that the properties of the BRING/TAKE pairing parallel the usages of COME/GO described in §2. The uses of the verbal directional markers rā ‘1’, də ‘2’, and wə ‘3’ are the same for both verbs. Furthermore, the same kinds of person “mismatches” between the dative argument and the verbal directional marker are present with BRING. For instances of deictic projection with BRING, the first person rā-wə is used just as the first person rā-tələ is used in such instances with COME.

The verbal directional markers on motion verbs, as seen here with two examples (i.e., COME/GO and BRING/TAKE) is a wide phenomenon in Pashto. Many more examples could be given. However, for brevity’s sake, no more verbs are described in this paper. It is important to note, however, that in example (48) of §2.4, the verb is leząl ‘send’. The reason the sentence is ungrammatical is because the dative argument is first person, and the verbal directional marker is 3rd person. As seen in (58) and (59), this combination is impermissible.

4. Pashto deictic motion in cross-linguistic comparisons

4.1 Theoretical background

The cross-linguistic comparisons of deictic motion verbs presented in this section lean highly on Oshima’s (2012) reference point set analysis. In this analysis, he points out certain lackings in previous models and presents a new cross-linguistic approach to describing COME and GO.

Classical analyses of deictic motion say that GO describes motion away from the deictic center, and COME motion towards the deictic center. However, as Oshima (2012) points out, in English these kinds of analyses are lacking because they cannot answer the
asymmetries found between GO and COME, and they offer no explanation for situations with multiple reference points. In (92)(a), the shifting of the deictic center from the default speaker to the addressee is preferred. However, in (92)(b), shifting of the deictic center from the speaker to the addressee is blocked.

(92)  a.  Can I {a. ??go / b. come} visit you?  
b.  Will you {a. *go / b. come} visit me?

In (93), there is no one deictic center, and the classical model cannot clearly explain the use of the deictic verbs here.

(93)  At least two students {a. went / b. came} to talk to three professors.

Fillmore (1997) describes English go and come in the following manner:

(94)  a.  Come indicates motion towards {the location at the utterance time, the location at the event time, or the “home base”} of {the speaker or the addressee}  
b.  Go indicates motion towards a location distinct from the speaker’s at the utterance time.

Oshima states that while Fillmore’s analysis explains many things, his analysis predicts come and go are equally acceptable in cases where the speaker is the theme and the addressee is at the goal location (either at utterance time or event time), as in (95). However, come is clearly the preferred, if not only choice in these sentences.

(95)  a.  (on the phone) Is it hot there? I hope it will be cooler by the time I {come / *go}.  
b.  (on a street) Should I {come / *go} help you tomorrow?  
(Nakazawa 1990:103)

Furthermore, Fillmore’s analysis does not handle cases of deictic projection as in (60)(a). Thus, cases of deictic projection in 3rd person narrative must be dealt with as a special case.
Oshima (2012) offers a new model which views deictic verbs as referring to discourse-salient reference points. Such a set of reference points is abbreviated RP.

(96) **Pragmatic meanings of go and come in English**

a. *Go* requires that no member of the RP be at the goal at the utterance time.
b. *Come* requires that (i) there be some member of the RP at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time, or (ii) the goal be the home base of a member of the RP (at the event time).

(Oshima 2012:4)

(97) **Constraints on the RP in English**

a. The speaker is always a member of the RP.
b. It is preferred for the addressee to be a member of the RP as well. The degree of preference is affected by various factors…; under certain conditions, the inclusion of the addressee in the RP is almost obligatory.
c. A non-SAP\(^{22}\) (third person) entity can be chosen as a member of the RP if it is discourse-salient. Inclusion of a non-SAP entity is marginal, however, when the speaker or the addressee is the theme…or a member thereof.

(Oshima 2012:4-5)

This approach establishes a new group—the RP (the set of reference points). As long as a member of the RP is at the goal at utterance time or event time, then COME can be used. And if no member is at the goal at utterance time, then GO is used. Under this analysis, all of the problematic examples (92), (93), and (95) are no longer problematic.

Oshima then makes predictions cross-linguistically concerning deictic verbs based on his reference point model.

---

\(^{22}\) Speech-act participant.
(98) (I) The person hierarchy for RP inclusion
Inclusion of X in the RP (i) implies inclusion of Y, and (ii) sometimes further requires that Y be not the theme (or a member thereof), where X outranks Y in the hierarchy of person: $1^{st} < 2^{nd} < 3^{rd}$.

(II) The relevance hierarchy for deictic predicates
A given deictic verb refers to some portion or the totality of the following hierarchy: an RP member’s location at the utterance time < an RP member’s location at the event time < an RP member’s “home base” (at the event time).

(Oshima 2012:6)

From (98)(I), it follows that the possible RPs for a given language are those in (99)(a). The sets in (99)(b) are impossible.

(99) a. \{speaker\}, \{speaker, addressee\}, \{speaker, addressee, non-SAP\textsubscript{1}, non-SAP\textsubscript{2}\}
b. \{addressee\}, \{speaker, non-SAP\textsubscript{1}\}, \{ non-SAP\textsubscript{1}\}
(Oshima 2012:6)

From (98)(II), it follows that there are three possible kinds of GO and three possible kinds of COME in the world’s languages.

(100) a. \textbf{GO\textsubscript{1}}: No RP member is at the goal at the utterance time.
\textbf{GO\textsubscript{2}}: No RP member is at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time.
\textbf{GO\textsubscript{3}}: No RP member is at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time, and the goal is not an RP member’s home base (at the event time)

b. \textbf{COME\textsubscript{1}}: Some RP member is at the goal at the utterance time.
\textbf{COME\textsubscript{2}}: Some RP member is at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time.
\textbf{COME\textsubscript{3}}: Some RP member is at the goal point at the utterance time or at the event time, or the goal point is an RP member’s home base (at the event time).

(Oshima 2012:6)

Let $m$ be the index of GO and $n$ be the index of COME, as in (100). This model predicts that when a language has \textbf{GO\textsubscript{m}} and \textbf{COME\textsubscript{n}}, when $m < n$, then GO and COME can be used under the same RP. English would fall as a \textbf{GO\textsubscript{1}}-\textbf{COME\textsubscript{3}} language. If $m = n$, then GO and COME would be in complementary distribution. And if $m > n$, then there
would be situations that could be described neither by COME nor GO. Furthermore, it is predicted that no language exists in which \( m > n \).

4.2 Pashto COME and GO and a reference point model

Oshima’s reference point model actually corresponds well in some ways to Pashto COME and GO. However, there are peculiarities of Pashto deictic verbs that do not fit with the reference point model.

First of all, the idea of reference points serves Pashto well. In Pashto, the presence of the speaker, addressee, and 3rd person discourse-salient entity at the goal location are what allows COME \( \text{rā-} tləl / dər- tləl / wər- tləl \) to be used instead of GO \( tləl \). So, in Pashto, when one of these discourse participants is at the goal (either the speaker at utterance time or event time, or the addressee or 3rd party at event time), then a form of COME can be used. If no discourse participant is at the goal at utterance time, then GO can be used.

In this way, Pashto largely patterns after English in being a GO\(_1\)-COME\(_3\) verb. As Oshima predicts, under this system, home base scenarios can optionally use GO or COME. This seems to hold true for Pashto as well, as shown in examples (38) through (40). However, Pashto does not fully comply with a GO\(_1\)-COME\(_3\) system. For example, as in (26), the addressee can be at the goal at utterance time but not event time, and COME cannot be used. Instead, only GO can be used. This situation contradicts the COME\(_3\) description.

The most striking difference between Pashto deictic verbs and other languages’ deictic verbs is the fact that Pashto’s COME has three forms. Many world languages that have been analyzed, including English, Japanese, Turkish, German, Spanish, French, etc., have two deictic verbs COME and GO. Pashto COME however is three-fold: \( \text{rā-} tləl \), \( \text{dər-} tləl \), and \( \text{wər-} tləl \). The third person COME—\( \text{wər-} tləl \) also poses problems, because it is
used in situations normally described by GO in most other languages. Thus how does a concept of reference points fully fit with this three-fold distinction?

Furthermore, one of Oshima’s motivations for a reference point model was the fact that for English, Fillmore’s analysis has to create a special case for deictic projection. Under Oshima’s model, the projected deictic center becomes a part of the RP, and thus come can be used in these situations. As shown in §2.5, deictic projection also occurs in Pashto, but the form of COME used in these situations is the first person rā-ṭələl. The third person wər-ṭələl is used for other purposes. So in cases of deictic projection, the reference point model does not sufficiently account for the choice of first person over third or even second person.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the Pashto deictic motion verbs have unique qualities not present in other languages. The COME verb has a three-fold nature based on person. One of three verbal directive markers must be chosen when using Pashto COME. Previous analyses have not fully addressed the intricacies of the role of Pashto verbal directive markers. Through this analysis of COME, it is clear that the verbal directive markers rā ‘1’, dər ‘2’, and wər ‘3’ point to the location of the discourse participant (either 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person) instead of the participant itself. Because of this, the dative argument marked by the adposition tə ‘to’ can disagree with the verbal directive clitic in person. However, there are limits to this disagreement. The person of the verbal directive marker must outrank the person of the dative argument on the Person Hierarchy.

Analyses of deictic verbs presented for other languages have been based on a two-way verb distinction—COME versus GO. Pashto, while having this two-fold distinction, also has the further three-fold distinction within COME. Thus, Pashto presents a new
system for deictic motion that does not correspond well with other patterns of COME in other languages.
List of abbreviations and symbols

* ungrammatical
(x) x is optional
(*x) ungrammatical if x is present
*(x) ungrammatical if x is not present
x x is a 2\textsuperscript{nd} position clitic
ẍ x is stressed
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
ABS absolutive
ACC accusative
COMP complementizer
ERG ergative
F feminine
FUT future
GEN genitive
IMP imperative
INF infinitive
IPFV imperfective aspect
M masculine
NEG negative
NOM nominative
OBL oblique
OC  oblique clitic

\( P_a \)  location of addressee at event time

\( P_r \)  place of reference; destination of the theme

\( P_u \)  location of speaker at utterance time

\( P_3 \)  location of 3\textsuperscript{rd} person entity at event time

PFV  perfective aspect

PL  plural

PRS  present tense

PST  past tense

PTCP  participle

RP  set of reference points, per Oshima (2012)

SAP  Speech-act participant

SBJV  subjunctive

SG  singular

VC  verbal clitic

\( x \)  theme of motion verb
References


Appendix A: Lexicalized verbal directive clitics

Verbal directive clitic pronouns are used to great extent in Pashto. As stated earlier, any motion predicate can take a verbal directive clitic. For four thematic verbs in Pashto, these verbal directive pronouns have become part of the verb itself. The four verbs are rā-tləl ‘come’, rā-kəwəl ‘give’, rā-wɽəl ‘bring (things which cannot move on their own)’, rā-wistəl ‘bring (things which can move on their own)’. The concepts of COME, GIVE, and BRING are some of the most fundamental and widely used verbs used in Pashto. Thus, the verbal clitic pronouns have become intrinsic to the verb. That is, for each of these four verbs, the speaker must choose one of the three person markers each time he uses the verb. If he does not use a person marker, the verb is another verb with its own meaning.

The lexicalization of verbal directive pronouns in these four verbs contrasts with other motion verbs, such as leʐəl ‘send’ in example (5). Such verbs as leʐəl can appear without the verbal directive pronouns with no change to the inherent meaning of the verb, as exemplified in (101). In this example, there is no directional clitic on the verb, yet it still retains the same concept of ‘send’.

(101) dasti ye fa o xwā sərī pse wo lez-ələ
immediately ERG.3 around men after.3 PFV send.PST-3MSG
‘Immediately, he sent men around after him.’
(taken from the story of Musa Jan and Wali Jan from Mili Hindara)

There is another feature which distinguishes the four verbs mentioned above in which the verbal directive pronouns are mandatory. For these verbs, the directive markers are not clitics. First of all, for these four verbs, the directional marker can receive stress, whereas verbal directive clitics as in (5) (and clitics in general cross-linguistically) do not receive stress. As shown in (102) through (105), for these four Pashto verbs, the
imperfective forms receive stress on the verbal component and perfective forms receive stress on the directional component. The 2nd and 3rd person markers ḏər and ḡər change in vowel quality when stressed to ḏar and ḡar.\(^{23}\)

(102) COME

a. \(zə\) ḏər-dz-əm
1SG.NOM 2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am coming [to the place where you are.]’

b. \(zə\) ḡə dār-s-əm
1SG.NOM FUT 2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will come [to the place where you are.]’

c. \(zə\) ḡər-dz-əm
1SG.NOM 3-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am coming [to the place where a 3rd party is.]’\(^{24}\)

d. \(zə\) ḡə wār-s-əm
1SG.NOM FUT 3-go.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will come [to the place where a 3rd party is.]’

(103) GIVE

a. \(zə\) kitāb ḏər-kəw-əm
1SG.NOM book 2-do.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am giving you a book’

b. \(zə\) ḡə kitāb dār-k-əm
1SG.NOM FUT book 2-do.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will give you the book.’

c. \(zə\) kitāb ḡər-kəw-əm
1SG.NOM book 3-do.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am giving the book to a 3rd party.’

\(^{23}\) Although the same stress shift happens with the first person marker ṣā, examples of ṣā are not included because the vowel quality does not change and for brevity’s sake.

\(^{24}\) The gloss of ‘come’ in these sentences does not really make sense in English. One does not use ‘come’ when neither the speaker nor the hearer is present at the goal, either at utterance time or event time. However, for the sake of distinguishing COME and GO in Pashto, I gloss uses of ḡər-təbl as ‘come’.
d.  zab  bə  kitāb  wār-k-əm  
1SG.NOM  FUT  book  3-do.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will give the book to a 3rd party.’

(104)  BRING (things that cannot move on their own)  
a.  zab  kitāb  dār-wq-əm  
1SG.NOM  book  2-take.PRS.IPFW-1SG  
‘I am bringing the book [to where you are].’

b.  zab  bə  kitāb  dār-wq-əm  
1SG.NOM  FUT  book  2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will bring the book [to where you are].’

c.  zab  kitāb  wār-wq-əm  
1SG.NOM  book  3-take.PRS.IPFW-1SG  
‘I am bringing the book [to where a 3rd party is].’

d.  zab  bə  kitāb  wār-wq-əm  
1SG.NOM  FUT  book  3-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will bring the book [to where a 3rd party is].’

(105)  BRING (things that can move on their own)  
a.  zab  ahmad  dār-wəl-əm  
1SG.NOM  Ah|mad  2-take.PRS.IPFW-1SG  
‘I am bringing Ah|mad [to where you are].’

b.  zab  bə  ahmad  dār-wəl-əm  
1SG.NOM  FUT  book  2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will bring Ah|mad [to where you are].’

c.  zab  ahmad  wərwəl-əm  
1SG.NOM  Ah|mad  3-take.PRS.IPFW-1SG  
‘I am bringing Ah|mad [to where a 3rd party is].’

d.  zab  bə  ahmad  wərwəl-əm  
1SG.NOM  FUT  book  3-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
‘I will bring Ah|mad [to where a 3rd party is].’

A second piece of evidence that points to the directional markers in COME and GIVE as not being clitics is the fact that the directional portion of the verb can appear
after the verbal portion, something proclitics cannot do. When the present perfective verb is in the negative, it is possible for the directional marker to occur after the verbal portion, as exemplified in (106) and (107).

(106) sāyi tfī ḍer əmr nə s-əm rā
  maybe COMP much time NEG go.PRS.PFV-1SG 1
  ‘Maybe I will not come for a long time [to the place where I am now.]’
  (taken from the story of The Merchant’s Three Sons from Mili Hindara)

(107) kə tə nə s-e war,
  if 2SG.NOM NEG go.PRS.PFV-2SG 3

xāmərā ｂə mər s-i
  assuredly FUT dead.FSG become.PRS.PFV-3
  ‘If you don’t come [to where she is], she will most assuredly die.’
  (taken from the story of Shadi and Bibo from Mili Hindara)

As seen in (108) and (109), similar behavior is found with GIVE.

(108) nə bə ye k-i rā
  NEG FUT ACC.3 do.PRS.PFV-3MSG 1
  ‘He won’t give it to me.’

(109) nə mi k-əi dar
  NEG ERG.1SG do.PST.PFV-3MSG 2
  ‘I didn’t give it to you.’

In fact, Pashto COME and GIVE pattern after the complex predicates found in the language. This class of Pashto verbs constitutes Tegey’s Class III verbs (1977:94), which contain an initial lexical component—either an adjective, a noun, or an adverb—and a light verb—most often kəwəl ‘do’ or kedəl ‘become’. Both the stress shift between imperfective and perfective tense and the non-verbal directional marker’s occurrence after the verbal component mimic the behavior of other complex predicates. In example (110), there is a compound predicate—pōh kəwəl ‘explain, inform’. It is formed by the
adjective *poh* ‘knowledgable’ and the verb *kəwəl* ‘do’. In (a) the verb is in the present imperfective, and the stress is on the final syllable of the verb, just as in (a) examples of (102) through (105). In (110)(b), the verb is in the present perfective, and thus the stress shifts to the adjective *poh*, just as the stress shifts to the directional marker in the (b) examples of (102) through (105). Finally, in (110)(c) and (d), the adjectival portion of the compound predicate (namely, *poh*) occurs after the perfective verbal component when the verb is negated, similar to the placement of the directional markers in (106) through (109).  

(110) a.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{zə} & \text{ahmad} & \text{poh} & \text{kəw-əm} \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & \text{Ahmad} & \text{knowledgable} & \text{do.PRS.IPFV-1SG} \\
& & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I am explaining [it] to Ahmad.’

b.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{zə} & \text{bə} & \text{ahmad} & \text{póh} & \text{k-əm} \\
\text{1SG.NOM} & \text{FUT} & \text{Ahmad} & \text{knowledgable} & \text{do.PRS.PFV-1SG} \\
& & & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I will explain [it] to Ahmad.’

c.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{zə} & \text{ye} & \text{nə} & \text{kt-əm} & \text{poh} \\
\text{1SG.ABS} & \text{ERG.3 NEG} & \text{do.PST.PFV-1SG} & \text{knowledgable} \\
& & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He didn’t explain [it] to me.’

d.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{zə} & \text{nə} & \text{sw-əm} & \text{poh} \\
\text{1SG.ABS} & \text{NEG} & \text{become.PST.PFV-1SG} & \text{knowledgable} \\
& & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I did not understand.’

The two special BRING verbs—*rā-wəl* and *rā-wistəl*—do not function as compound predicates like COME and GIVE. While the stress shift is present between imperfective and perfective forms, the directional markers never occur after the verb. Instead, these two BRING verbs function like Tegey’s Class II verbs (1977:91-92). Each

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25 The placement of the non-verbal component after the verbal component in perfective negated clauses occurs when in the discourse the content of the verb is already salient. The unmarked placement, for example, would be *poh* NEG *kəwəl*. 
verb in this class is composed of two historical morphemes, and the imperfective and perfective aspects are distinguished solely by stress. Furthermore, 2\textsuperscript{nd} position clitics can intervene between the two morphemes of the verb. An example of such a Class II verb is found in (111). The present tense stem of the verb \textit{preshod}‘leave’ is composed of two historical morphemes \textit{pre} and \textit{zd}. In (a), the verb is in the imperfective aspect, and thus stress appears on the final syllable. In (b), the verb is in the perfective aspect, and thus stress appears on the first syllable. In (c), the verb is in the perfective aspect and appears clause-initially. Notice that the subject is pro-dropped. Thus the two 2\textsuperscript{nd} position clitics \textit{bo} and \textit{ye} intervene between the two halves of the verb.

(111) a. \textit{zə ye prezd-əm}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & ACC.3 & leave.PRS.IPFV-1SG \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{‘I am leaving it.’}

b. \textit{zə bo ye pręzd-əm}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & FUT & ACC.3 & leave.PRS.PFV-1SG \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{‘I will leave it.’}

c. \textit{prę bo ye zd-əm}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
leave & FUT & ACC.3 & leave.PRS.PFV-1SG \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{‘I will leave it.’}

The two BRING verbs exhibit the same behavior. The stress shift between imperfective and perfect aspects, as in (111)(a) and (b), is the same as in (112) and (113)(a) and (b). Furthermore, the examples of 2\textsuperscript{nd} position clitic placement in (112) and (113)(c) are identical to that of (111)(c).

(112) BRING (things that cannot move on their own)

a. \textit{zə kitāb dər-wə-əm}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
1SG.NOM & book & 2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG \\
\end{tabular}
\textit{‘I am bringing the book [to where you are.’}
b. \( \text{z}a \text{b} \text{i}t\text{āb} \text{dār-wr-əm} \)
1SG.NOM FUT book 2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will bring the book \([\text{to where you are}]\).’

c. \( \text{dār} \text{b} \text{e} \text{wr-əm} \)
2 FUT ACC.3 take.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will bring it \([\text{to where you are}]\).’

(113) BRING (things that cannot move on their own)

a. \( \text{z}a \text{hmad dēr-wəl-əm} \)
1SG.NOM Ahmad 2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG
‘I am bringing Ahmad \([\text{to where you are}]\).’

b. \( \text{z}a \text{b} \text{ahmad dār-wəl-əm} \)
1SG.NOM FUT book 2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will bring Ahmad \([\text{to where you are}]\).’

c. \( \text{dār} \text{b} \text{e} \text{wəl-əm} \)
2 FUT ACC.3 take.PRS.PFV-1SG
‘I will bring him \([\text{to where you are}]\).’

In conclusion, COME, GIVE, and the two BRINGs are unique in that the verbal
directional pronoun is intrinsic to them. The properties of cliticization are not present in
the directional markers with these verbs. Instead, the markers have become lexicalized
into the verb itself. COME and GIVE pattern as complex predicates, and the two
BRINGs as compound Class II verbs.