

# 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. Further more, 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<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> and *tləl*, respectively)<sup>3</sup>, 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

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<sup>1</sup> GO and COME in all capital letters refer to the verbs that relate roughly to the cross-linguistic concepts closest to *go* and *come* in English. However, they do not align directly with the English verbs *go* and *come*.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Verbs are cited in prose using the infinitive form which takes an *-əl* ending.

person marker in its use. That is, a first (*rā*), second (*dār*), or third person (*wār*) 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 *tā* ‘2SG’. The directional marker on COME is first person *rā* ‘1’.

- (1)    *zə*                *tā*                *tə*    *rā-γəl-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*].’<sup>4</sup>

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., *rā-tləh*) 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

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<sup>4</sup> 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

*spozmāi rā = sarə nāst-ə də*  
 Spozhmei OC.1= from seated-FSG be.3FSG  
 ‘Spozhmei is seated with me/us.’

- b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

*spozmāi zmūz sarə nāst-ə də*  
 Spozhmei from +1PL.OBL from seated-FSG be.3FSG  
 ‘Spozhmei is seated with us.’

- (3) a. Clitic as object of adpositional phrase

*zə dər = tsəxə liri y-əm*  
 1SG.NOM OC.2= from far be-1SG  
 ‘I am far from you (sg/pl).’

- b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

*zə stā tsəxə liri y-əm*  
 1SG.NOM from +2SG.OBL from far be-1SG  
 ‘I am far from you(sg).’

- (4) a. Clitic as object of adpositional phrase

*husen wər = tə wāy-i*  
 Hussein OC.3= to say.PRS-3  
 ‘Hussein is telling him/her/them.’

- b. Free pronoun as object of adpositional phrase

*husen haya tə 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup> In (5), the verbal directive clitics appear on the verb *lezəl* ‘send’ which takes a theme as its object, in this case *yəw xat* ‘one letter’.

- (5) a. *habib mā tə 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 tə 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*].’

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> Similar pronominal 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 pronominal clitics (Efimov 2011:160-161).

- c. *habib tor tə 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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-tləl* ‘come’, *rā-kəwəl* ‘give’, *rā-wṛəl* ‘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-tləl* and *tləl*

### 2.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I outline how the verbs COME (*rā-tləl*) and GO (*tləl*) are used in Pashto.<sup>7</sup> 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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<sup>7</sup> 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 *rā-tləl / dər-tləl / wər-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 *tə* ‘to’ phrase. In (6)(a), the theme is the first person subject *zə*, 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 *tə* ‘to’ phrase, as in (6)(c). Other adpositional phrases can also be used, such as the circumposition *pə...pse* in (6)(d).

- (6) a. *zə*            *bə*            *dar-s-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT        2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will come [*to where you are*].’
- b. *zə*            *bə*            *afyānistān*    *tə*            *dar-s-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT        Afghanistan   to        2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will come to Afghanistan [*which is where you are*].’
- c. *zə*            *bə*            *tā*            *tə*            *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. *zə*            *pə*            *tā*            *pse*            *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) *Imundz 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.IPFV-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.IPFV-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  $P_r$  at event time, the theme  $x \neq$  speaker, and  $x$  moves to  $P_r$ , then  $r\bar{a}-tl\partial/$  is used.

- (13) *byertə* *bə* *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-ə.* *bo* *mi* *z-ə*  
 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.<sup>8</sup>

- (15) *tə bə də ɣrə pər puza*  
 2SG.NOM FUT GEN mountain.OBL on promontory  
*rā= wə ɣərdz-e. ā xwā tə bə rā-s-e*  
 VC.1 PFV move.PRS.PFV-2SG that way to FUT 1-go.PRS.PFV-2SG  
 ‘You will come around the promontory of the mountain. You will come that direction [*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) *muz bə tər wəni lāndi nāst y-u*  
 1PL.NOM FUT under tree.OBL under seated be-1PL  
*kələ tʃi ahmad wəni tə rā-s-i,*  
 when COMP Ahmad tree.OBL to 1-go.PRS.PFV-3  
*hamla bə pər wə k-u*  
 attack FUT on.3 PFV do.PRS.PFV-1PL  
 ‘We will sit under the tree. When Ahmad comes to the tree [*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.

<sup>8</sup> The use of *rā=* with *ɣərdzedəl* ‘move’ is another example of the same principle.

(17) **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  $r\bar{a}-t\bar{l}\bar{o}l$  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  
 'Has Dawud come [*to my home-base*]?'<sup>9</sup>

(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 tə rā-yəl-ei d-əi*  
 Dawud guesthouse to 1-go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG  
 'Dawud has come to the guest house.'<sup>10</sup>

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  $r\bar{a}-t\bar{l}\bar{o}l$ .<sup>11</sup> 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— $t\bar{l}\bar{o}l$  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  $r\bar{a}-t\bar{l}\bar{o}l$  cannot be used. In (20), both the speaker—Ahmad—and the addressee—Hussein—are in the bazaar. The movement of

<sup>9</sup> Example (18) is 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.

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

<sup>11</sup> In example (18), the use of  $d\bar{a}r-t\bar{l}\bar{o}l$  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:)

*zmā kor tə wlāɽ s-ə / \*rā-s-ə.*  
 GEN+1SG.ABS house to go / 1-go.IMPV.PFV-SG

*ɽelefun rā-wɽ-ə*  
 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

*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

*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):)  
*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 *dər-tləl*: Addressee-oriented movement

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

The second person directional marker *dər* is used with COME in two cases. The first and primary case in which *dər-tləl* 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 *dər-tləl* is used.

(24) *zə*                      *nə*                      *dər-dz-əm*  
 1SG.NOM    NEG    2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 'I'm not going to come [*to the place where you are.*]'  
 (taken from the story of *The Merchant's Three Sons* from *Mili Hindara*)

(25) *zə*                      *bə*                      *dar-s-əm*  
 1SG.NOM    FUT    2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 'I will come [*to where you will be.*].'

The sentence in (24) occurs in the story of *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, and 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 *dər-tləl* 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 *dər-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 *dər-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) *zə nən ʃpə hamdayə pārk tə \*dər-dz-əm / dz-əm*  
 1SG.NOM today night this.very park to 2-go / go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 'I am \*coming / going to the park.'<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, note that the conditions in (23) require that  $P_u \neq P_r$ . That is, for *dər-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

<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

- (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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<sup>13</sup> 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*.



- (28) **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-tləl* 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:)
- |              |                   |           |                    |             |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>dawud</i> | <i>mehmānxāne</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>dər-ayəl-ei</i> | <i>d-əi</i> |
| Dawud        | guest house       | to        | 2-go.PTCP-MSG      | be-3MSG     |
- 'Dawud has come to the guest house.'

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 *dər-tləl*. 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—*tləl* could be used.

### 2.3.3.3 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for *dər-tləl* 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-tlək*: 3<sup>rd</sup> party-oriented movement

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

As seen with Case 2 of *rā-tləl* and Case 1 of *dər-tləl*, 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 *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<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>rd</sup> person entity at event time is the same as the goal location, then *wər-tləl* 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 *wər-tləl* is used.

(31) *dā yəw gəɽei takiya k-ə tʃi*  
 this one moment lean do.IMPV.PFV-SG COMP  
  
*zə war-s-əm, dayə ʃədzi dilāsā k-əm*  
 1SG.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) *yā, zə wər-dz-əm*  
 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<sup>rd</sup> 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 *wər-tləl* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *wər-tləl* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity, then (33)(b) is appropriate, and (33)(a) would no longer be appropriate. This 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity.

- (33) a. *zə*            *pārk*        *tə*                    *dz-əm*  
           1SG.NOM park        to                    go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I am going to the park.’
- b. *zə*            *pārk*        *tə*                    *wər dz-əm*  
           1SG.NOM park        to                    3-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I am going to the park [where some 3<sup>rd</sup> party will be].’

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

As with *rā-tləl* and *dər-tləl*, *wər-tləl* also has a home-base condition. *Wər-tləl* can be used when the discourse-salient 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity’s home-base then.

- (34) **Case 2:** If  $P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a$ , the 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity is not present at  $P_r$  at event time, but  $P_r$  is that 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's home-base, and  $x$  moves to  $P_r$ , then *wər-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:)
- |              |                   |           |                    |             |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>dawud</i> | <i>mehmānxāne</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>wər-āyəl-ei</i> | <i>d-əi</i> |
| 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *wər-tləl*. If the goal location moved to some other location not connected intrinsically to Ahmad (e.g., a park or restaurant) then COME—*wər-tləl* could not be used. Only GO—*tləl* could not be used.

#### 2.3.4.3 Conclusion

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

#### 2.3.5 *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 *tləl* is used. Note that for the COME verb (for all forms *rā-tləl*, *dər-tləl*, and *wər-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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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) *muz*            *bāy*        *tə*    *wlāt-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) *muz*            *bāyad*    *dāsi*    *dzāi*    *tə*    *wlāt s-u*  
 1SG.NOM   should   such   place   to    go.PRS.PFV-1PL  
  
*tʃi*            *maxluq*   *ye*            *beitifāqə*    *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 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity be located at the goal location at event time. These conditions are subsumed in Cases 1 and 2 of *rā-tləl* (cf., §2.3.2.1 and §2.3.2.2), Case 1 of *dər-tləl* (cf., §2.3.3.1), and Case 1 of *wər-tləl* (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 *rā-tləl*, and Cases 2 of *dər-tləl* and *wər-tləl*). 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 mehmānxāne tə rā-yəl-ei / tləl-ei d-əi*  
 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 mehmānxāne tə dər-ayəl-ei / tləl-ei d-əi*  
 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 mehmānxāne tə wər-ayəl-ei / tləl-ei d-əi*  
 Dawud guest house to 3-go / go.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG  
 'Dawud has gone<sub>COME</sub> / gone<sub>GO</sub> 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) **Case 1:** If the speaker, addressee, or a discourse-salient 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity is not present at event time, then *tləl* can be used.

This case is further exemplified in example (44).

- (44) (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 də husen melməstiā 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 determines 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 Case 2: Movement away from the source

- (45) **Case 2:** If the theme *x* moves away from a location, then *tləl* 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.



- (46) *ṣādi wlāṭ-əi. wrək s-u.*  
 Shadi go.PST.PFV-3MSG lost become.PST.PFV-3MSG  
 ‘Shadi went away. He disappeared.’  
 (taken from the story of *Shadi and Bibo* from *Mili Hindara*)
- (47) *tə bə nə dz-e*  
 2SG.NOM FUT NEG go.PRS.IPFV-2SG  
 ‘You will not go away.’  
 (taken from the story of *Musa Jan and Wali Jan* from *Mili Hindara*)

### 2.3.5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, *tlə/* 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 *tlə/* 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 *wər* ‘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 *wər* simply state that they represent movement towards a 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> person’ and *wər* is ‘to 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> person *tā* and the verbal directional pronoun is 3<sup>rd</sup> person *wər*.

- (48) \**zə tā tə 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. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad rā = tə rā dz-i*  
 Ahmad OC.1 to 1-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is coming [*to where I am*] to me.’
- b. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad dər = tə dər dz-i*  
 Ahmad OC.2 to 2-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is coming [*to where you are*] to you.’
- c. (3<sup>rd</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad wər = tə wər dz-i*  
 Ahmad OC.3 to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is coming [*to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is*] to a 3<sup>rd</sup> party.’

Babrackzai (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<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person argument. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person directional markers *rā* and *dər* can still be used, however, as in (50).

- (50) a. *zə                    bə            wādə            tə    dər-dz-əm*  
           1SG.NOM    FUT   wedding   to   2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I’ll come [*to where you are*] to the wedding.’  
           (taken from the story of *Adam Khan and Darkhanei* from *Mili Hindara*)
- b. *nāwaxtə   kor            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 *Hets*)<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *location* of the discourse participant (whether 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
           *byā    bə            bəl-ə            wrədz            dər = 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 *The Weeping Pomegranate Tree and the Laughing Apple Tree* from *Mili Hindara*)

<sup>14</sup> Accessed online January 10, 2013 at <http://www.benawa.com/pashto/print.php?id=8145>.

- b. (3<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*yəw-ə onəi wrustə bə byertə wər= tə rā-dz-əm*  
 one-FSG week later FUT back OC.3 to 1-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I will come back [*to the place where I am speaking now*] to it in a week.’  
 (taken from *De Kabul Tag*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter)<sup>15</sup>
- c. (3<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
 (Hussein and Ahmad are together. I call Hussein and inform him:)  
*zmā wror bə ahmad tə dar-s-i*  
 GEN+1SG brother FUT Ahmad to 2-go.PRS.PFV-3  
 ‘My brother will come [*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<sup>nd</sup> person oblique clitic *dər=*. However, the directional marker is 1<sup>st</sup> person *rā* because the old woman is present at the goal of motion at utterance time. Thus, Case 1 of *rā-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<sup>rd</sup> person oblique clitic *wər=* and it refers to his job. However, since his utterance is made at the destination location, 1<sup>st</sup> person *rā-tləl* is used instead of 3<sup>rd</sup> person *wər-tləl*. Once again Case 1 of *rā-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<sup>nd</sup> person directional marker *dər* is used on the verb. That is, Case 1 of *dər-tləl* (cf., §2.3.3.1) is in effect.

<sup>15</sup> 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. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
           \**ahmad rā = tə dər-dz-i*  
           Ahmad OC.1 to 2-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
           ‘Ahmad is coming [to where you are] to me.’
- b. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
           \**ahmad rā = tə wər-dz-i*  
           Ahmad OC.1 to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
           ‘Ahmad is coming [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is] to me.’
- c. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
           \**ahmad dər = tə wər-dz-i*  
           Ahmad OC.2 to 3-go.PRS.IPFV-3  
           ‘Ahmad is coming [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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

		Verbal Directive Pronoun		
		<i>rā</i> '1'	<i>dər</i> '2'	<i>wər</i> '3'
Dative argument	1 <sup>st</sup> person	x		
	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	x	x	
	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	x	x	x

The combinations summarized in

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

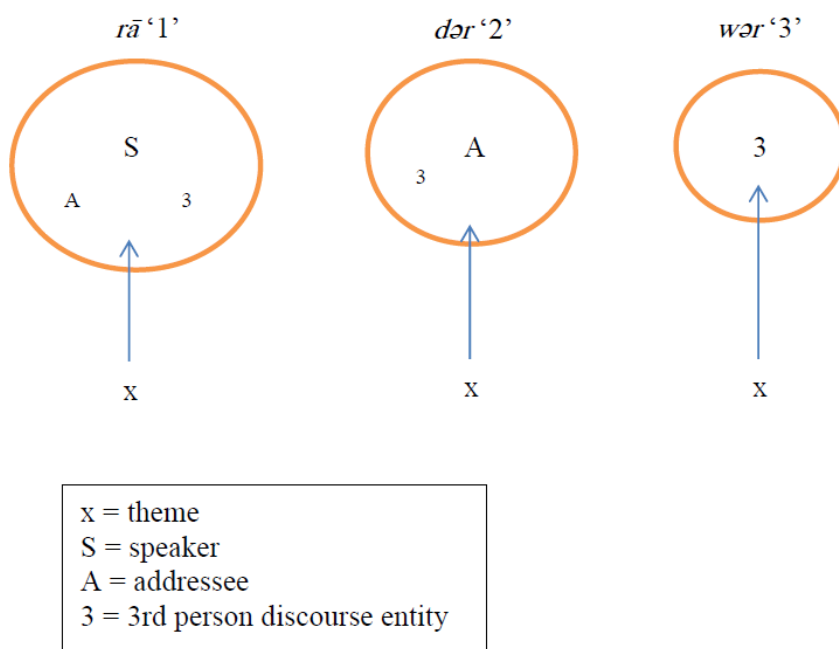


Figure 1: Spatial Diagram of Verbal Directive Pronouns

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 *dār* ‘2’ is used. Then the only possible people in the addressee’s location are the addressee himself and a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity as present at the goal location, then *wār* ‘3’ is used, and the only possible participant in the goal location is a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> 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>I need a drink.</i><br>pl: <i>We are the champions! (in unison)</i> |
| (b) speaker(s) + other(s)                                       | <i>We want you to come to dinner.</i>                                      |
| (c) speaker(s) + addressee(s)                                   | <i>Shall we go?</i>  |
| (d) speaker(s) + addressee(s) + other(s)<br>(Wechsler 2010:333) | <i>Can't we all get along?</i>   |

## (54) English Second Person

(a) addressee(s)

sg: *You should behave yourself.*  
 pl: *You should behave yourselves.*

(b) addressee(s) + other(s)

*How do you guys handle yourselves  
 over in Philosophy?*

(Wechsler 2010:334)

The Pashto 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> nominative pronouns are listed in Table 2.

Table 2: Pashto 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Nominative Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<i>zə</i>	<i>muZ<sub>l</sub></i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>tə</i>	<i>tāsi</i>

The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person categories in Pashto are in alignment with those in English.

Any group which includes the speaker is still a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural *muZ<sub>l</sub>* idea. Any group without the speaker, but with the addressee is a 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural *tāsi* idea.

## (55) Pashto First Person

(a) speaker(s)

sg: *zə*pl: *muZ<sub>l</sub>*

(b) speaker(s) + other(s)

(*zə əw ahmad*), (*muZ<sub>l</sub> əw dui*) = *muZ<sub>l</sub>*

(I and Ahmad), (we and they)

(c) speaker(s) + addressee(s)

(*zə əw tə*), (*zə əw tāsi*), (*muZ<sub>l</sub> əw tāsi*) = *muZ<sub>l</sub>*

(I and you(sg)) (I and you(pl)) (We and you(pl))

(d) speaker(s)+addressee(s)+other(s)

(*zə əw tə əw ahmad*), (*muZ<sub>l</sub> əw tāsi əw dui*) = *muZ<sub>l</sub>*

(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 əw ahmad),*

(you(sg) and Ahmad),

*(tāsi əw dui)*

(you(pl) and they)

*= tāsi*

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

What is relevant in this description of person in Pashto is that for a first person *muZ* group, both 2<sup>nd</sup> person and 3<sup>rd</sup> person entities can be included. For a 2<sup>nd</sup> person *tāsi* group, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity can be included. However, a 1<sup>st</sup> person entity cannot. Finally for a 3<sup>rd</sup> person group, neither a 1<sup>st</sup> nor a 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-tləl* is used), the speaker can cognitively frame a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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., *dər-tləl* is used), the speaker can cognitively frame a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>st</sup> person, *dər* ‘2’) is impossible. The verbal directive marker can encode the movement to the addressee’s group, and the dative argument can point to 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity but not a 1<sup>st</sup> person entity. Finally, if the action is oriented to a 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity, (i.e., *wər-tləl* is used), then the speaker can no longer cognitively put himself or the addressee into the 3<sup>rd</sup> party’s group. Thus, in column three of

Table 1, only the bottom rectangle is possible. The two upper combinations—(1<sup>st</sup> person, *wər* ‘3’) and (2<sup>nd</sup> 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:

(58) **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 *tə* 'to'. Then  $A \geq B$  on the Person Hierarchy.

So, as listed in

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

(59) **Possible Ordered Pairs**

$A = B$  : (1<sup>st</sup> person, *rā* '1'), (2<sup>nd</sup> person, *dər* '2'), (3<sup>rd</sup> person, *wər* '3')

$A > B$  : (2<sup>nd</sup> person, *rā* '1'), (3<sup>rd</sup> person, *rā* '1'), (3<sup>rd</sup> person, *dər* '2')

**Impossible Ordered Pairs**

$A < B$  : (1<sup>st</sup> person, *dər* '2'), (1<sup>st</sup> person, *wər* '3'), (2<sup>nd</sup> person, *wər* '3')

## 2.5 Deictic projection in narrative discourse

As detailed in §2.3, *rā-tləl* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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:ˆ;*  
 ‘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 *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 *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 *dər-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 *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 use of 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 *comes* to his daughter himself, and *rā-tləl* is appropriate.

(62) *bātfā qēr xwufhālə s-u.*  
king very happy become.PST.PFV-3MSG

*pəxpələ lur tə rā-γ-əi*  
himself daughter to 1-go.PRS.PFV-3MSG

*lur ye xlās-ə kɿ-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 *Upright and Scoundrel* from *Mili Hindara*)

Note that in the example above, if the narrator had not deictically projected himself into princess' room, then the third person *wər-tləl* would have been used in place of *rā-tləl*.

Some other examples of deictic projection in narrative are in (63) through (65).

- (63) *sperkwəndə rā-yl-ə* *fil* *tə*.  
 crested lark 1-go.PST.PFV-3FSG elephant to  
 ‘The crested lark came to the elephant.’  
 (taken from the story of *The Crested Lark and the Elephant* from *Mili Hindara*)
- (64) *də xwāja-gān-o tsəxə pə zor rā= ter s-u*.  
 from eunuch-PL-OBL from with force VC.1 pass become.PST.PFV-3MSG  
  
*rā-γ-əi* *barābar də sədzo xeme 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 *Musa Jan and Wali Jan* from *Mili Hindara*)
- (65) *dei tʃi wər= tə rā-γ-əi, kə gor-i,*  
 he COMP OC.3 to 1-go.PST.PFV-3MSG if look.PRS.IPFV-3  
  
*yəw bātʃā mər d-əi*  
 one king dead be-3MSG  
 ‘When he came to them, he saw that a king is dead.’  
 (taken from the story of *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 *rā-tləl* 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, *rā-tləl* is used.<sup>16</sup> 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 *wər=* which refers to the townspeople.) The narrator thus takes the perspective of being among the townspeople. So in the first clause, *rā-tləl* is used.

<sup>16</sup> The use of *rā=* with *teredəl* ‘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.<sup>17</sup> For each of these examples, the dative argument is 3<sup>rd</sup> person while the verbal directional marker is 1<sup>st</sup> 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<sup>rd</sup> 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 (*tləḥ*). 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).<sup>18</sup> This Pashto BRING verb, like the COME verb, requires a verbal directional marker.

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<sup>17</sup> In (64), the dative argument is a place, and not a discourse participant. Thus I do not include it in the list of “mismatches.”

<sup>18</sup> The other BRING/TAKE (things that can move on their own) pairing, (i.e., *rā wistəl / bewəl*) corresponds completely in function to BRING/TAKE (things that cannot move on their own), (i.e., *rā wṛəl / wṛəl*).

### 3.1 BRING/TAKE (things that cannot move on their own)

The Pashto TAKE (things that cannot move on their own) verb is *wɛɛl*. BRING then is formed by adding the verbal directional clitics, (i.e., *rā-wɛɛl*, *dər-wɛɛl*, and *wər-wɛɛl*). 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-wɛɛl*: 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-wɛɛl* is used.

(67) *səm-ə d-ə. rā bə ye wɛɛl-əm*  
 well-FSG be-FSG 1 FUT 3 take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘Very well. I will bring them [to the place where I am now.]’  
 (taken from the film *Da Lastuni Mar*)

(68) *zə ʃāperiān-o də zāngo tsəxə də mor əw*  
 1SG.ABS fairies-ERG from cradle from from mother and

*plār tsəxə rā-wɛɛl-e y-əm*  
 father from 1-take.PTCP-FSG be-1SG  
 ‘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 tell 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-wɿəl* is appropriate.

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

The second case in which *rā-wɿəl* 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  $x \neq$  speaker, and  $x$  moves to  $P_r$ , then *rā-wɿəl* is used.

- (70) *byā kəm dzāi tʃi zə wər = tə ʃəy-əm*  
 then which place COMP 1SG.NOM OC.3= to show.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
  
*pese bə haltə rā-wɿ-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*)<sup>19</sup>

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-wɿəl*.

<sup>19</sup> Accessed online at <http://lawang.blogfa.com/post-232.aspx>, on February 2, 2013.

### 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  $rā-wṭəl$  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:)

*dawud mehmānxāne tə yəw kitāb rā-wṭəl-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 1<sup>st</sup> person  $rā-wṭəl$  as in (72).

### 3.1.1.4 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for  $rā-wṭəl$  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 $dər-wṭəl$ : 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,  $P_a = P_r$ , and  $x$  moves to  $P_r$ , then  $dər-wṭəl$  is used.

(74) *dər-wṭəl-əm 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 *dər-wɾəl* is appropriate.

As with *dər-tləl*, *dər-wɾəl* 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 *dər-wɾəl*, even though Hussein's location at utterance time is at the park. Instead, Ahmad must use a form of TAKE—*wɾəl*, as shown in (75).

- (75) *nən ʃpə hamdayə pārk tə kitāb \*dər-wɾ-əm / wɾ-əm*  
 today night this.very park to book 2-take / take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 'I am \*bringing / taking the book to the park.'<sup>20</sup>

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

As with *rā-wɾəl*, *dər-wɾəl* also has a home-base condition. *Dər-wɾəl* 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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-wɛɛl* 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:)
- |              |                   |           |            |              |                    |             |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>dawud</i> | <i>mehmānxāne</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>yəw</i> | <i>kitāb</i> | <i>dər-wɛɛl-ei</i> | <i>d-əi</i> |
| 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 2<sup>nd</sup> person *dər-wɛɛl* is used.

### 3.1.2.3 Conclusion

In non-narrative discourse, for *dər-wɛɛl* 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 *wər-wɛl*: 3<sup>rd</sup> party-oriented movement

#### 3.1.3.1 Case 1: Movement towards the location of a discourse-salient 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *wər-tləl* is used.

(79) *tfi zə dɔdɔi wər-wɛl-əm*,  
COMP 1SG.NOM bread 3-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG

*dei ets zəɣ nə kəw-i*  
he no sound NEG do.PRS.IPFV-3

‘When I take him food, he doesn’t make a sound.’

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

(80) (Husband):

*zə bə dā xat yos-əm*,  
1SG.NOM FUT this letter take.PRS.PFV-1SG

*pə yəw chā bə 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.’

(Wife):

*səm-ə d-ə. war ye wɛl-ə*  
well-FSG be-FSG 3 ACC.3 take.IMPV.PFV-SG

‘Very well. Take it [*to where he is*].’

(take from the film *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 *wər-wɛl* 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 *wɛl* 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-wɛl*. 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's home-base at event time

As with *rā-wɛl* and *dər-wɛl*, *wər-wɛl* also has a home-base condition. *Wər-wɛl* can be used when the discourse-salient 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity is not at the goal location at event time, but the goal location is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's home-base then.

(81) **Case 2:** If  $P_u \neq P_r \neq P_a$ , the 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity is not present at  $P_r$  at event time, but  $P_r$  is that 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's home-base, and  $x$  moves to  $P_r$ , then *wər-wɛl* 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-wɛl-ei d-əi*  
 Dawud guesthouse to one book 3-take.PTCP-MSG be-3MSG  
 '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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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-wɛl* to be used, one of two cases must be met. Either (1) a 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity must be expected to be present at the goal at event time, or (2) the goal is that 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's home-base. So for *wər-wɛl*, the theme must move toward a discourse-salient 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity's location at event time.

### 3.1.4 *Wɛl*—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—*wɛl* 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person entity is not present at event time, then *wɛl* can be used.

(84) *zə              bə        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 *wɛl* 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 *wɛl* is used.

(86) *zmā                      şədzi        duşman    yoɫ-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 *wɫə/* is used, because the women have moved away from the source location.

### 3.1.4.3 Conclusion

In the same manner that GO—*tə/* is the unmarked form of motion in contrast to the three forms of COME, TAKE—*wɫə/* 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 *wɫə/* 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. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad yəw kitāb rā = tə rā-wɫ-i*  
 Ahmad one book OC.1 to 1-take.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is bringing [*to where I am*] me a book.’
- b. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad yəw kitāb dər = tə dər-wɫ-i*  
 Ahmad one book OC.2 to 2-take.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is bringing [*to where you are*] you a book.’
- c. (3<sup>rd</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*ahmad yəw kitāb wər = tə wər-wɫ-i*  
 Ahmad one book OC.3 to 3-take.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is taking [*to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is*] a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*obə dər = tə rā-wɾ-əm*  
 water OC.2 to 1-take.SBJV-1SG  
 ‘Should I bring [*to where I am now speaking*] you water?’  
 (taken from the film *Da Lastuni Mar*)
- b. (3<sup>rd</sup> person dative argument; 1<sup>st</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
*lə kor-ə bə chāi wər = tə rā-wɾ-əm*  
 GEN house FUT tea OC.3 to 1-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring [*to the place where I am speaking now*] tea to him.’  
 (taken from the story *Nek Wagari*)<sup>21</sup>
- c. (3<sup>rd</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
 (Hussein and Ahmad are together. I call Hussein and inform him:)  
*zmā wror bə yəw kitāb ahmad tə dar-wɾ-i*  
 GEN+1SG brother FUT one book Ahmad to 2-take.PRS.PFV-3  
 ‘My brother will bring [*to the place where you are*] a book to Ahmad.’

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. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 2<sup>nd</sup> person verbal directional marker)  
 \**ahmad yəw kitāb rā = tə dər-wɾ-i*  
 Ahmad one book OC.1 to 2-take.PRS.IPFV-3  
 ‘Ahmad is bringing [*to where you are*] me a book.’

<sup>21</sup> Accessed online February 2, 2013 at <http://www.rohi.af/print.php?id=9234&tab=articles>.

- b. (1<sup>st</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)

\**ahmad yəw kitāb rā = tə wər-wɫ-i*

Ahmad one book OC.1 to 3-take.PRS.IPFV-3

‘Ahmad is bring [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is] me a book.’

- c. (2<sup>nd</sup> person dative argument; 3<sup>rd</sup> person verbal directional marker)

\**ahmad yəw kitāb dər = tə wər-wɫ-i*

Ahmad one book OC.2 to 3-take.PRS.IPFV-3

‘Ahmad is bringing [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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-wɫəl* form.

- (90) *mor ye dɔdɔi obə wər = tə rā-wɫ-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) *bātḡā tə ye dā zmərei rā-wɫ-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 Shamailla* 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-wɫəl* 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-wɫəl* 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’, *dār* ‘2’, and *wār* ‘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-wṛəl* is used just as the first person *rā-tləl* 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 *lezəl* ‘send’. The reason the sentence is ungrammatical is because the dative argument is first person, and the verbal directional marker is 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>22</sup> (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.

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<sup>22</sup> 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<sub>1</sub>, non-SAP<sub>2</sub>}  
 b. {addressee}, {speaker, non-SAP<sub>1</sub>}, {non-SAP<sub>1</sub>}  
 (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. GO<sub>1</sub>: No RP member is at the goal at the utterance time.  
 GO<sub>2</sub>: No RP member is at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time.  
 GO<sub>3</sub>: 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. COME<sub>1</sub>: Some RP member is at the goal at the utterance time.  
 COME<sub>2</sub>: Some RP member is at the goal at the utterance time or at the event time.  
 COME<sub>3</sub>: 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 GO <sub>$m$</sub>  and COME <sub>$n$</sub> , when  $m < n$ , then GO and COME can be used under the same RP. English would fall as a GO<sub>1</sub>-COME<sub>3</sub> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse-salient entity at the goal location are what allows COME *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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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<sub>1</sub>-COME<sub>3</sub> 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<sub>1</sub>-COME<sub>3</sub> 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<sub>3</sub> 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: *rā-tləl*, *dər-tləl*, and *wər-tləl*. The third person COME— *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-tləl*. The third person *wər-tləl* 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 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> 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
<u>x</u>	x is a 2 <sup>nd</sup> position clitic
ˈx	x is stressed
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolute
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 <sup>rd</sup> 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

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### 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-wṛəl* ‘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 *lezəl* ‘send’ in example (5). Such verbs as *lezəl* 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*    *səṛi*            *pse*            *wə*            *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 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person markers *dər* and *wər* change in vowel quality when stressed to *dár* and *wár*.<sup>23</sup>

(102) COME

- a. *zə*                      *dər-dz-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   2-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am coming [*to the place where you are.*.]’
- b. *zə*                      *bə*                      *dár-s-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT        2-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will come [*to the place where you are.*.]’
- c. *zə*                      *wər-dz-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   3-go.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am coming [*to the place where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is.*.]’<sup>24</sup>
- d. *zə*                      *bə*                      *wár-s-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT        3-go.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will come [*to the place where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is.*.]’

(103) GIVE

- a. *zə*                      *kitāb*                      *dər-kəw-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   book        2-do.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am giving you a book’
- b. *zə*                      *bə*                      *kitāb*                      *dár-k-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT        book                      2-do.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will give you the book.’
- c. *zə*                      *kitāb*                      *wər-kəw-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   book        3-do.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am giving the book to a 3<sup>rd</sup> party.’

<sup>23</sup> Although the same stress shift happens with the first person marker *rā*, examples of *rā* are not included because the vowel quality does not change and for brevity’s sake.

<sup>24</sup> 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 *wər-tləl* as ‘come’.

- d. *zə            bə        kitāb        wār-k-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT   book        3-do.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will give the book to a 3<sup>rd</sup> party.’

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

- a. *zə            kitāb        dər-wɫ-ém*  
 1SG.NOM   book        2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am bringing the book [to where you are].’
- b. *zə            bə        kitāb        dār-wɫ-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT   book        2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring the book [to where you are].’
- c. *zə            kitāb        wər-wɫ-ém*  
 1SG.NOM   book        3-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am bringing the book [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is].’
- d. *zə            bə        kitāb        wār-wɫ-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT   book        3-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring the book [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is].’

(105) BRING (things that can move on their own)

- a. *zə            ahmad        dər-wəl-ém*  
 1SG.NOM   Ahmad        2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am bringing Ahmad [to where you are].’
- b. *zə            bə        ahmad        dār-wəl-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT   book        2-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring Ahmad [to where you are].’
- c. *zə            ahmad        wərwəl-ém*  
 1SG.NOM   Ahmad        3-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am bringing Ahmad [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> party is].’
- d. *zə            bə        ahmad        wār-wəl-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   FUT   book        3-take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring Ahmad [to where a 3<sup>rd</sup> 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) *ṣāyi tḥi qer 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  
  
*xāməxā bə mḥə 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—*poh 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).<sup>25</sup>

- (110) a. *zə*            *ahmad*    *poh*            *kəw-əm*  
           1SG.NOM   Ahmad   knowledgable   do.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I am explaining [it] to Ahmad.’
- b. *zə*            *bə*            *ahmad*    *póh*            *k-əm*  
           1SG.NOM   FUT     Ahmad   knowledgable   do.PRS.PFV-1SG  
           ‘I will explain [it] to Ahmad.’
- c. *zə*            *ye*            *nə*            *kɛ-əm*            *poh*  
           1SG.ABS   ERG.3   NEG   do.PST.PFV-1SG   knowledgable  
           ‘He didn’t explain [it] to me.’
- d. *zə*            *nə*            *sw-əm*            *poh*  
           1SG.ABS   NEG   become.PST.PFV-1SG   knowledgable  
           ‘I did not understand.’

The two special BRING verbs—*rā-wɛl* 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

<sup>25</sup> 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<sup>nd</sup> 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 *preṣodəl* ‘leave’ is composed of two historical morphemes *pre* and *ṣd*. 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<sup>nd</sup> position clitics *bə* and *ye* intervene between the two halves of the verb.

- (111) a. *zə*            *ye*            *preṣd-əm*  
           1SG.NOM    ACC.3    leave.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I am leaving it.’
- b. *zə*            *bə*            *ye*            *preṣd-əm*  
           1SG.NOM    FUT            ACC.3    leave.PRS.PFV-1SG  
           ‘I will leave it.’
- c. *pre*            *bə*            *ye*            *ṣd-əm*  
           leave    FUT            ACC.3    leave.PRS.PFV-1SG  
           ‘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<sup>nd</sup> 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. *zə*            *kitāb*            *dər-wɛ-əm*  
           1SG.NOM    book            2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
           ‘I am bringing the book [to where you are].’

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

c. *dār*            *bə*            *ye*            *wɪ-əm*  
 2            FUT   ACC.3   take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring it [*to where you are*].’

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

a. *zə*            *ahmad dər-wəl-əm*  
 1SG.NOM   Ahmad   2-take.PRS.IPFV-1SG  
 ‘I am bringing Ahmad [*to where you are*].’

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

c. *dār*            *bə*            *ye*            *wəl-əm*  
 2            FUT   ACC.3   take.PRS.PFV-1SG  
 ‘I will bring him [*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.