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Morphology of Pashto Adverbs: Word and Paradigm Approach



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Abstract

This study investigates the morphological properties of adverbs in the Banochi dialect of Pashto as spoken across various regions of Pakistan, employing the Word-and-Paradigm (WP) framework as articulated by Haspelmath and Sims (2010). The WP model is particularly effective for analyzing languages with intricate morphological systems. Data were collected through field recordings conducted in multiple villages within District Bannu, located in southern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). Eight elderly native speakers voluntarily participated in the audio data collection. The analysis reveals that Banochi adverbs exhibit several morphosyntactic features that align with those found in other Indo-Aryan languages, such as Rangri. These features include grammatical gender, number, and case marking—traits not commonly associated with adverbial structures in many languages. Adverbs in Banochi are categorized into base, phrasal, reduplicated, and particle forms. Notably, particles often combine with adverbs to enhance emphasis. A distinctive feature observed is the inflection of adverbs for gender when they modify adjectives or other adverbs, a characteristic that sets Pashto apart from many typologically related languages. Furthermore, adverbs frequently function as intensifiers. The WP approach proves well-suited for capturing the complexities of Pashto morphology, including cumulative, extended, and zero exponents. Additionally, analogical patterns play a role in predicting novel adverbial forms. Nevertheless, the WP model's descriptive flexibility may also be a limitation, as noted by Haspelmath and Sims (2010), due to its relatively low restrictiveness.

Keywords: Morphology; Banochi Pashto; Word-and-Paradigm; WP Approach; Adverbs; Gender Inflection.

INTRODUCTION

The word and paradigm (WP) approach to morphology treats words as the fundamental units of linguistic analysis, rather than the smaller sub-word units like morphemes that are central to other models. In the WP view, words are seen as the most stable and psychologically realistic elements of language, as they are the units that language users primarily recognize and manipulate.

This paper applies the word and paradigm approach to analyze the morphological structure of adverbs in the Banuchi language. Banuchi is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the district Bannu of KPK, Pakistan. Like many other languages in this family, Banuchi exhibits a mix of agglutinative and fusional morphological processes in its word formation.

The goal of this study is to describe the inflectional and derivational paradigms that govern the morphological structure of Banuchi adverbs. By adopting a WP perspective, the analysis will focus on identifying the systematic patterns in how these word classes are constructed, rather than attempting to decompose them into smaller morphemic units.

Pashto, in combination with Dari, serves as both the official and national language of linguistically diverse Afghanistan and additionally holds regional significance in Pakistan, notably within the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. According to Ethnologue, a reported 53,555,200 individuals are speakers of Pashto. On the matter of

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its origin, historians and philologists adopt divergent perspectives. One school of thought traces the genesis of Pashto to the Aryans, while an opposing faction associates its roots with the Semitics. Garcia and Maria (2015) highlight two primary arguments that underscore the ambiguous evolutionary trajectory of the Pashto language. Firstly, scholars have not uncovered definitive documentation substantiating the developmental course of Pashto. Secondly, opinions are discordant among historians and philologists regarding the competing theories, supported by varying sets of data and empirical evidence, thereby engendering two distinct schools of thought. One faction postulates that the Pashtuns are descendants of a lost Israelite tribe, whereas an alternative viewpoint posits them as successors to the Aryans (Gracia & Munir, 2016).

Trumpp's (1873) dismissal of any link between Pashto and West-Iranian languages asserts its Indo-Aryan lineage. Professor Abdul Hai Habibi, an eminent scholar of Pashto language and literature, contends that Pashto shares affinities with Aryan languages, grounded in the linguistic proximity between Pashto and Sanskrit. He asserts that numerous original expressions in Pashto bear semblance to Sanskrit, further bolstering the argument for its Aryan derivation. Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, a historian and philologist, posits that Arik was the original language spoken by the Aryans, from which various dialects emerged as they dispersed across different regions. Consequently, he categorizes Pashto as part of the Indo-European Aryan language family (Kakakhel, 1981). Many historians and philologists contend that Pashto's structural features and its assimilation of Arabic, Sanskrit, Avestan (Zend), and Persian influences align it more closely with the Aryan linguistic tradition rather than affiliating it with the Semitic group.

The diversity of opinions and the scarcity of documentation present challenges in pinpointing a precise period for the origin of Pashto. Various scholars propose different hypotheses regarding its beginnings, yet it is evident that Pashto exhibits clear similarities with Sanskrit and, to a certain extent, Iranian languages. This is largely because the Semitic theory lacks robust scientific validation.

Pashto is spoken across multiple countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan, and others, necessitating a systematic classification of its dialectal variations. Dinakhel (2003) suggests that Pashto dialects can be categorized into two, three, four, or five groups, with some researchers focusing on specific varieties in either Pakistan or Afghanistan. Notably, Dinakhel and Henderson (1983) have differentiated between various Pashto varieties, primarily based on phonological distinctions. Henderson (1983) delineates four main varieties: Pasto in Kandahar, Pagto in Quetta, 'P;cqto' in the northeastern Pashto region, and 'Paxto' in Peshawar, predicated on the second consonant pronunciation in each region's dialect.

While no comprehensive study has thoroughly examined Pashto dialects, extant research highlights several distinct varieties including Afridi, Bangash, Banuchi, Dawarwola, and others (Dinakhel, 2016). This study attempts to answer; how adverbs in Pashto inflect for gender, and how they perform the function of intensifiers by increasing or decreasing the intensity of adjectives or other adverbs. It also tries to answer the question; In what way can we examine the morphological structures of Pashto adverbs using the WP method.

Morphologically, most Indo-Aryan languages exhibit extensive inflectional characteristics, combining features of both agglutinative and fusional languages (Saad, 2014; Abbi, 2001; Mangrio, 2016). These languages share notable resemblances in their morphological structures, including grammatical gender, agreement, case, and

causatives (Bhat, 2003). Gender marking is a prevalent feature in many Indo-Aryan languages, serving as both a syntactic and morphological category. Typically, these languages feature two genders, masculine and feminine, with neuter genders often marked as masculine. According to Abbi (2001), gender assignment influences agreement within a sentence, leading modifiers to inflect for gender. Masica (1991) notes that in New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, gender is an inherent property of nouns and a variable or inflectional property of other word classes. In most Indo-Aryan languages, the masculine gender is often marked by "-a" and the feminine by "-i", with unmarked nouns predominating.

In many Indo-Aryan (IA) languages, certain elements, despite being referred to as "little words" (Anderson, 2003: 326), contain enough morpho-syntactic information to deserve special attention when discussing IA language features. Zwicky and Pullum (1983) identify two types of bound morphemes close to words in some languages—clitics and affixes. Clitics are challenging to differentiate from other classes as they lack independent morphosyntactic status like affixes or words (Zwicky, 1977; Din & Bukhari, 2017). According to Anderson (2003), clitics are "accent-less words (or particles) which lean accentually on an adjacent accented word, forming a prosodic unit together with it" (p. 326). Umar-ud-Din and Bukhari (2017) suggest that the formatives following Urdu pronouns are clitics instead of inflectional affixes, serving as case markers or postpositions.

De Hoop and Narasimhan (2005) identify two chief purposes of case indicators in languages. Firstly, case markers aid in argument disambiguation in sentences with multiple arguments, distinguishing between the agent and patient based on the different case markers they carry. Secondly, case markers help identify or index function, conveying thematic information about sentence arguments. There are two primary patterns of case marking: nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive. The former treats the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs equally, while the latter distinguishes treatment between the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs (Butt & King, 2004). Most New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages fall into the latter category, where the nominative or absolutive case is usually unmarked, thus considered a case of no case (De Hoop & Narasimhan, 2005). In most IA languages, case markers not only designate verb arguments but also mark adjuncts and adverbials (Ahmad, 2007), often in a postpositional manner (Bhatt, 2003).

Objectives

This study tries to:

1. Investigate the morphological structures of Pashto adverbs using the WP method.
2. Assess how well the WP Model describes the derivational patterns of Pashto adverbs.

Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative methodology for investigation. In order to acquire their intention, the researchers accrued 8 speech samples from elderly people who no longer have proper training and lived within the rural regions of District Bannu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The samples were acquired with the use of a handy purposive sampling technique. Afterward, three raters with numerous professional backgrounds in equal locations cautiously reviewed the amassed facts to ensure their accuracy and reliability.

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After verification, six samples have been transcribed. After studying the transcriptions, a concise series of 207 specific adjectives and adverbs changed into a diagnosis. This collection served as the inspiration for similar records analysis. This bankruptcy outlines the techniques used for data collection, verification, and transcription.

The number one data for this studies were predominantly gathered from the agricultural regions of district Bannu, that's domestic to the largest population of speakers of the Banuchi dialect of Pashto, the vital recognition of this examine. Situated in the southern part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), this district is subdivided into 5 tehsils: Bannu, Bakakhel, Miryan, Domel, and Kakki. Comprising small villages, every tehsil is domestic to populations numbering inside the few thousands. The majority of the statistics were received from numerous villages which include Akhundun, Dheri Shah Kot, Pir Khel, Multan Kakki, Dawer Kla, kakki Khas, Baindkhel, and others.

The examine applied a convenient purposive sampling technique to interact members and key inter-raters for records series and verification. Participants contributed primary data through recorded interviews, while inter-raters were tasked with confirming the participants' language proficiency, specifically in Pashto versus other languages like Urdu or English. Participant selection partially adhered to criteria outlined by Chambers and Trudgill (1998) for dialectological studies, though not strictly. The established criteria for participant selection included:

1. Being uneducated,
2. Aged over 60,
3. Having predominantly resided in rural areas,
4. and abstaining from social media use.

Data comprised unstructured interviews covering various topics of interest to participants, yielding linguistically rich natural dialogue. While most interactions were one-on-one interviews, some involved multiple participants, with the most prominent or active individual considered the primary participant in such instances. Following are the details of the main participants of the interactions.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, we're using the Word and Paradigm model as a theoretical framework for analysis. Among word-based approaches to morphology, this model is the oldest and most commonly used. Belvins (2013a) suggests that this approach has roots dating back to Aristotelian times and is influenced by the ancient Greek and Latin language teaching methods.

In this model, complex words aren't broken into parts with rules of combination; instead, word schemas are formulated to represent common features among related words. These models focus on analyzing words in connection with paradigms or sets of related forms. In the word-based tradition, morphology deals with the forms of words in various contexts, and paradigms are clusters of closely related surface forms, with one being basic and others derived from it. A paradigm, as described by Carlson (2005), is a table showing inflectional forms of a word, indexed by grammatical tags, with the forms derived from the lexeme by applying processes. Other word forms are reached through analogy. Blevins (2015b) suggests that paradigms offer consistent predictability because they're defined within a uniform feature system. Matthews (1991) further explains:

The central idea here is that one form of inflection often anticipates or influences

another. This concept holds significance across various models of linguistic analysis. Traditional approaches, such as the use of exemplary paradigms, rely on this principle. Rather than treating every alternation in isolation, it is extra efficient to apprehend entire paradigms as cohesive devices.

Anderson (1992) explains that a word's paradigm encompasses all its feasible surface paperwork, derived from its stem set through the language's inflectional rules. Malouf (2016) gives a angle that emphasizes the discriminative nature of paradigms. Instead of merely focusing on morphemes, paradigms serve to distinguish between different word patterns, akin to identifying unique puzzle pieces in a complex picture.

Contrastingly, Wurzel (1989) perspectives inflectional paradigms as interconnected via implications. In simpler terms, these paradigms follow certain implied rules beyond individual words, forming a cohesive structure. This perspective is echoed by Ackerman and Malouf (2016), who assert that these patterns represent structural regularities rather than mere generative regularities, akin to the interconnected framework of a complex architectural design.

Morphological Inflections of Pashto Adverbs

Adverbs can typically be categorized into the traditional semantic classes of time, place, manner, and degree. They can occur in various positions within a clause, typically preceding the verb. In Pashto, like in many other languages, certain adverbs are multifunctional: adverbs of degree can also function as nominal quantifiers (e.g., لږ /ləg/ 'a little'); adverbs of place or time may also take complements and, under those circumstances, are classified as adpositions (e.g., وروسته /wrusta/ 'after, later').

Adverbs provide circumstantial information about actions or events. They may also perform the function of intensifiers by increasing or decreasing the intensity of adjectives or other adverbs. Taking clues from Koul (2008) who classified Hindi adverbs, the current study also tries to categorize Pashto adverbs into two broad categories. They can be classified either by form or by function. According to form, the Pashto adverbs can be divided into four types: underived or basic adverbs, reduplicated adverbs, phrasal adverbs and particles. According to function, the adverbs can be subdivided into adverbs of time/duration, place/direction, purpose, manner, frequency and degree. Since the present study involves a formal analysis, the greater emphasis will be laid on describing the formal properties of adverbs; however, a cursory look at the functional classification of adverbs is present below.

Adverbs of Time and Duration

These adverbs generally refer to either time events or to the duration of time. They generally locate the verbs in time or specify their duration. Adverbs of time encompass both adverbs that denote specific points in time and quantifier-like items. Following are the Pashto adverbs of time and duration.

1. Zə təl ketobina gorə
I-M.DIR **always** books-M.PL read-PRES.HAB
I **always** read books.

Table 1 Adverbs of Time and Duration

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>təl</i>	Duration	Always/بمیشه

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<i>Hameša</i>	Duration	Any time/کسی بھی وقت
<i>har kala</i>	Duration	Whenever/جب بھی
<i>Kala</i>	Duration	Sometimes/کبھی کبھی
<i>Es</i>	Time	Now/ابھی
<i>nən</i>	Time	Today/آج
<i>Parin</i>	Time	Yesterday/کل
<i>Sabo</i>	Time	Tomorrow/کل
<i>Waxti</i>	Time	Early/جلد
<i>Wrusta</i>	Time	After/بعد
<i>məxše</i>	Time	Before/پہلے
<i>Liā</i>	Time	Yet/ابھی تک
<i>Bad</i>	Time	Later, then/بعد میں

The above table shows that the adverbs of time and duration can also function as adverbs of frequency, as frequency is also a temporal function. The adverb *Kala* (sometimes) in Table 1 is an example of how an adverb of time can be used as an adverb of frequency. The adverbs of time can also reduplicate both partially and fully as in *nən~Sabo* (these days) and *kala~kala* (sometimes) respectively.

Adverbs of Place and Direction

The adverbs of place refer to the location of the action and those of direction specify the direction in which an action is performed. The following table shows some of the adverbs of place and direction in Pashto.

Table 2 Pashto Adverbs of Place and Direction

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>Dale</i>	Place	Here/یہاں
<i>Pos</i>	Place	Above/اوپر
<i>nəna</i>	Place/direction	Inside/اندر
<i>Bhar</i>	Place/direction	Outside/باہر
<i>Bonde</i>	Place	On top/سب سے اوپر

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<i>Londe</i>	Place	Down/نیچے
<i>nəžde</i>	Place	Near/قریب
<i>Sanga</i>	Place	Around/ارد گرد
<i>Lare</i>	Place	Far/دور
<i>Kiza</i>	Place	Below/نیچے
<i>chere-na</i>	Place	Nowhere/کہیں نہیں
<i>Erey</i>	Place	There/وہاں

The adverbs *nəna* “inside” and *bhar* “outside” perform both locative and directional functions. They perform directional functions when they refer to movement, and locative functions when referring to the location of objects. The following sentences show how they can be used for different functions.

2. *nəna* *loṭ-sha,* *bhar* *barom* *da*
Inside Go outside rain-M.DIR be-PRES
Go inside, it’s raining outside.

3. *Shahid* *chapel* *bhar* *treye*
Shahid-M.SG *shoes-M.PL* outside throw-PRES
Shahid throws the shoes outside.

In the above example, the word *bhar* “outside” has been used as a locative adverb in (3) and as a directional in (2). While most of the adverbs are derived from other word classes, the adverbs of place and direction are the basic adverbs.

Adverbs of Purpose

The adverbs of purpose are used for determining the purpose of an action. These adverbs fall into two categories: basic or pure adverbs, and infinitive forms of verb along with a postposition of purpose i.e. *ta* “for” or *de pora* “for the purpose of”. The most famous adverb of this type is the interrogative adverb *Wele* “why”. However, there are other adverbs of this category which are represented in the table below.

Table 3 Pashto Adverbs of Purpose

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>Wele</i>	Basic	Why/کیوں
<i>təshi ta</i>	Basic	For what purpose/کس مقصد کے لئے
<i>Assay</i>	Basic	For no reason/بغیر کسی وجہ کے
<i>Xeb ta</i>	Basic	For sleeping/سونے کے لیے
<i>xwəṛəle ta</i>	Basic	For eating/کھانے کے لیے

The above table shows that the derived adverbs are not found in Pashto, mostly they are basic or pure, and most of the adverbial function of explaining the purpose of an action is performed by the infinitive form of verb and a postposition.

Adverbs of Manner

Table 4 presents a list of some common Pashto adverbs of manner. In examples (4) and subsequent ones, their usage in sentences is examined.

Table 4 Pashto Adverbs of Manner

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>Žer</i>	Manner	Quickly/جلدی سے
<i>Wre</i>	Manner	Slowly/آہستہ آہستہ
<i>njom-de-tsopa</i>	Manner	Suddenly/اچانک
<i>dā rang</i>	Manner	In this manner/اس انداز میں
<i>sāra</i>	Manner	Together/ایک ساتھ
<i>Ja</i>	Manner	Also/بھی

4. mæfer-on ʃe noʃt v wre wre xabəre kawa
Elders when sitting be-PRES slow slow talks do
Talk softly, when there are elders present.

5. wəta uwja ʃe tɛza roʃi:
To tell when quick come
Tell her to come quickly!

It can be noticed in the example (5) that the derived adverb of manner *tez* (masculine) “quickly” inflects for gender and number as *tɛza* (feminine), and *tɛze* (F.PL), respectively.

Adverbs of Degree and Intensity

The adverbs of degree mark the intensity of the verbs, adverbs or adjectives. Adverbs of degree in Pashto frequently modify adjectives or verbs to indicate intensity or emphasis, and they typically precede the element they modify. The following table shows some of the adverbs of degree.

Table 5 Pashto Adverbs of Degree

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>ləʃki</i>	Degree	A little/تھوڑا سا
<i>der</i>	Degree	Very/بہت
<i>χalɪ</i>	Intensifier	Only/صرف

bexi

Degree

مکمل طور پر/ Completely

The above table shows that most of the adverbs of degree can also be used as adjectives, while the intensifiers are core adverbs. The following examples show how the adverbs of degree are used to increase or decrease the intensity of the verbs, adjectives and other adverbs.

6. Shahid *χa|i* *ʃpe* *sabak* *vjei*
 Shahid-M.SG Only Night Study be-PRES
 Shahid only study at night.
7. *ða* *am* *dɛr* *χweʒ* *ða*
 This-M.DIR Mango much sweet be-PRES
 This mango is very sweet.
8. *ðo* *dera* *pə ɣur* *χərezi*
 She-F.SG very loud snores-PRES
 She snores very loudly.
9. *tə* *ya* *u|omba*
 You Also swim
 You should also swim.

In example (7) the adverb *derr* “much” modifies the adjective *χweʒ* “sweet” whereas the same adverb modifies another adverb *ɣur* “loudly” in example (8), and in sentence (6) the intensifier *χa|i* “only” modifies the verb *sabak* “study”.

Formally, Pashto adverbs are categorized into underived or base adverbs, reduplicated adverbs, phrasal adverbs and particles. This section will describe these adverbs in detail.

Base Adverbs

Base adverbs are pure or underived adverbs which can be used either independently or with an adverbial postposition *ya* with nouns and adjectives. The following table shows the base adverbs which are used independently.

Table 6 Pashto Base Adverbs

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>da e</i>	Base	Here/پهان
<i>eʃ</i>	Base	Now/ابھی
<i>tʃere</i>	Base	Where/کہاں
<i>da-rane</i>	Base	In this manner/اس انداز میں

The above table shows the underived adverbs which functionally belong to different categories, but formally they are not derived from other word classes. These adverbs are used without attaching any postpositions with them. The following examples show

how these underived adverbs are used in sentences.

10. eʃ u|ambede tə?
Now swim-PERF you
Now have you swim?
11. dɔ we dale səma|j
She-F.SG be here Sleep
She will sleep here.
12. tɔ urer tʃere səm|estə
Your-GEN Brother-M.SG Where Sleep
Where did your brother sleep?

As used in the example sentence (12), the adverb *tʃere* “where” is always used interrogatively. Similarly, a number of base adverbs are used invariably interrogatively. The following table shows the list of the adverbs which are used interrogatively.

Table 7 Inherently Interrogative Adverbs

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>tʃere</i>	Locative	Where/کہاں
<i>k a</i>	Temporal	When/کب
<i>we e</i>	Reason	Why/کیوں
<i>kim-zoi</i>	Directional	Which way/جس راہ
<i>səraŋe</i>	Manner	How/کیسے

The above table shows the list of inherently interrogative adverbs. These adverbs fall into different functional categories, but they all perform the same interrogative function.

Phrasal Adverbs

Phrasal adverbs are usually nouns used as adverbs with the help of the postposition *na*. This postposition can be added with both base adverbs and nouns. The following examples show how the base adverbs are used in conjunction with the postposition *na*.

13. tɔ uʃina kime-na arauon dʒi
You-GEN Brothers-M.PL Which Side-LOC Come be-PRES
Which side are your brothers coming from?
14. dɔ eye-na roy|a
She-F.SG there-LOC come-PERF
She came from there.

15. *tə* *kəla-na* cricket *laɣou*
 You-M.DIR when cricket play-PROG
 Since when were you playing cricket?

The postposition *na* adds the meaning of “from” when it comes with locative (13) or directional (14) adverbs, and “since” when it follows the temporal adverbs (15). The phrasal adverb *kime-na* means “from which side” as opposed to only *kim-taraf* “which side”, and the phrasal adverb *kəla-na* means “since when” instead of just *kəla* “when”. Some phrasal adverbs can be made by adding the adverbial postposition with the nouns. Such postpositional phrases are not adverbs proper, but are used adverbially. The following sentences show how nouns can be used as phrasal adverbs.

16. *zə* *dwe* *ureze-na* *χeβ* *kau*
 I-M.1SG Two Days-TEMP Sleep be-M.1SG.PRES
 I have been sleeping for two days.
17. *ɖə* *saboməl-na* *tʃar* *kavi*
 She-F.3SG Morning-TEMP Work-S.IMPERF be-F.SG.PRES
 She has been working since morning.

In the above examples, the nouns *ureze* (days) and *saboməl* (morning) have been used adverbially with the help of the postposition *na*.

Reduplicated Adverbs

Adverbs can be reduplicated in order to show intensity. Such adverbs are usually the basic adverbs reduplicated for emphasis. These adverbs are reduplicated either fully or partially. The following examples show how these adverbs are reduplicated in Pashto sentences.

18. *Shahid* *γəla-γəla* *tərapezi*
 Shahid-M3SG Slowly-REDUP Run-PROG
 Shahid is running very slowly.
19. *Sadaf* *zer-zer* *si:*
 Sadaf-F.3SG Quickly-REDUP be-PROG
 Sadaf is walking very quickly.

The sentences (18) and (19) carry a fully reduplicated but totally non-compositional adverb. Although both the adverbs in the above example sentences are adverbs of manner, the other types of adverbs can also be reduplicated. The following table carries a list of reduplicated Pashto adverbs.

Table 8 Reduplicated Adverbs

Adverb	Type	Gloss
<i>nəzde-nəzde</i>	Locative	Close by/ قریب سے

<i>dafar-dafar</i>	Directional	This way- that way/اس طرح
<i>eş-eş</i>	Temporal	Right now/ابھی
<i>da e-dıre</i>	Manner	Here- there/یہاں وہاں
<i>zar-zar</i>	Manner	Quickly- quickly/جلدی جلدی

The above table shows that the adverbs of different categories can be reduplicated. Some are partially reduplicated while others are fully.

Some temporal and locative adverbs can have a negative marker between them while reduplicating, not to show negation, but to show the finality of the action. The following sentences show how such reduplication takes place in Pashto sentences.

20. kə|ɑ-na-kə|ɑ χo we urjeze ro ya
 ʃi:
 After all-REDUP PART PART Clouds-F.PL Come PART
 be-FUT

The clouds will come after all. (ultimately)

21. Shahid we tʃere-na-tʃere χo tə|ɑ ya
 vi:
 Shahid-M.1SG PART Somewhere PART Go-M.SG PART
 be-PERF

Shahid must have gone somewhere.

The above examples show that the adverbs reduplicated with a negative marker do not carry negation in them. They rather intensify the action. The above examples also show that some reduplicated adverbs with negative markers between them also carry an intensifying particle *ya* with them in order to emphasize the finality of the action. The following section deals with the adverbial particles in the Pashto language.

Emphatic Particles

Particles are not fully lexical items as root words or base words like base adverbs, but they are instead used with certain adverbs for the purpose of intensifying, emphasizing or contrasting an action. When these particles are used with other words, they convey a wide range of morphosemantic properties. Following are some of the uses of these adverbial/emphatic particles.

ya

ya is one of the most widely used adverbial particles in Pashto. It is used to show emphasis and inclusion. It has the semantic properties equivalent to the English word “also”. It is used with nouns in their nominative and oblique cases. In the nominative case, it comes directly after the noun and in the oblique case, it follows the postposition or the case marker. The following examples show how *ya* is used in Pashto sentences.

22. to ja stər ʊrer ʃta
 You-M.2SG PART Elder-M.SG Brother Be-PRES
 Do you also have an elder brother?

23. mo χer-na ja |aptop da

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My-GEN Sister-ERG PART Laptop Be-PRES
My sister also has a laptop.

In sentence (22), the particle comes immediately after the noun *to* “you” and in (23), it comes immediately after the ergative marker *na*. When two or more nouns are used in a sentence, it emphasizes the noun that it immediately follows. Look, for example, at the sentences below.

24. *do* *o* *de-de* *χer* *ja* *pass* *ʃle*
She-F.SG and Her-GEN Sister PART Pass be-PL.PST
She and her sister also passed.

25. *tə* *ja* *χarbiza* *υχra*
You-M.2SG PART Melon-F.SG Eat-PRES
You may also eat melon.

The above sentences show that the particle *ja* follows the nouns that it modifies. The particle *ja* can also be used to modify adjectives. If there are both a noun and adjective, the position of the particle determines which word it qualifies. The following examples show how the particle *ja* modifies the adjectives and nouns.

26. *to-σl* *ker* *kʃoʎa* *ja* *da*
Your-GEN Home Beautiful PART be
Your home is beautiful also.

27. *to-σl* *ker* *ja* *kʃoʎa* *da*
Your-GEN Home PART Beautiful be
Your home is also beautiful.

In sentence (26), the particle modifies the adjective *kʃoʎa* (beautiful) whereas, in sentence (27), it modifies the noun *ker* (home). It also proves that the particle modifies the word that it immediately follows.

χpla , χali

While *ya* is an emphatic and inclusive marker, *χpla* and *χali* are an emphatic and exclusive marker. It can be used with both nouns and pronouns in both direct and oblique cases. When it comes with pronouns, it can either have an emphatic meaning: equivalent to English emphatic pronoun combination such as “I-myself” and “you-yourself” or it may add the meaning of exclusiveness like “only”. The following examples show how the particle *hi* performs these two different functions.

28. *tə* *χpla* *trapeza*
You PART Run
You yourself should run.

29. *χali* *tə* *σtrapede*
PART You Run
Have only you run?

χali can also be used to warn someone or something from doing something. The following sentence illustrates this example.

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30. tə χα|i mai|əs-ʈa |or ʃa
You PART Concert-OBL Go be-PRES
You should not go the concert.

χο

The particle *χο* denotes emphasis and contrast. It is generally used with nouns to show emphasis on an action. The following example shows how it adds emphasis to a verb.

31. tə ro χο ʃa
You Come PART come
Do come here.
32. tʃapə| χο pə-pʃe ka
Shoes PART Wear be
Please at least wear shoes.

In sentence (31), the particle modifies the verb *ro* “come” whereas, in sentence (32), it modifies the noun *tʃapə|* “shoes”. The particle *χο* is also used for showing disapproval of an action as the following example shows.

33. də χarbiza χwaʈ|je χο ndə
He Melon eat PART not
I hope he has not eaten a melon.

In sentence (33), the particle *χο* marks the disapproval of the act of something’s eating. The following section discusses how more than one particle can merge in the Pashto language to show greater polarity.

Conclusion

The analysis of the data indicates that Pashto is a morphologically complex language. Similar to other Indo-Aryan languages, Pashto exhibits extensive morphological variation in both its inflectional and derivational properties. Pashto possesses characteristics of both agglutinative and fusional languages. It is considered agglutinative because its words are composed of smaller elements that often have distinct meanings and can be separated from the roots. However, not all morphemes in Pashto are distinct and separable, which is characteristic of a fusional language. This makes it challenging to categorize Pashto within a specific typological framework, complicating the use of a morpheme-based approach for analysis. Consequently, the Word-and-Paradigm approach is utilized instead.

Pashto adverbs, though not as rich in their morphological distribution as adjectives, are, nevertheless important part of the language. They can be classified functionally and formally. From a functional perspective, the Pashto adverbs fall into the categories of adverbs of place, time, manner, and purpose, and formally, they are classified into basic adverbs, derived adverbials, phrasal adverbs, and adverbial particles. The adverbs of time, place and manner form the largest category of adverbs and some of them merge with the particles to form new words carrying greater emphasis. The adverbs of time and manner also reduplicated for emphasis. The phrasal adverbs carry postpositions with them and perform adjunctive functions in the sentences. The particles carry rich semantic content. They can add emphasis or exclusiveness or inclusiveness with the

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verbs that they modify. Overall, the adverbs form a large group of words and perform diverse functions some of which were considered out of the purview of this thesis, hence left undiscussed.

Pashto adverbs are classified both formally and functionally. Formally, they are divided into several categories: basic adverbs, which are underived and proper adverbs; phrasal adverbs, which consist of adverbs combined with other elements like postpositions or particles; reduplicated adverbs, which involve full or partial repetition; and adverbial particles, which fulfill various adverbial roles in sentences. Functionally, Pashto adverbs are categorized into adverbs of time and duration, adverbs of location and direction, adverbs of frequency, adverbs of purpose, and adverbs of manner.

Pashto adverbs showcase a wide range of distribution and serve a couple of features within sentences, from supplying fundamental adverbial data to emphasizing or de-emphasizing certain elements of sentences. Particles and reduplicated adverbs are specially essential for including emphasis to unique phrases and sections of a sentence. Overall, adverbs are a morphologically rich factor of the Pashto language.

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