

WOJCIECH SKALMOWSKI

# THE „ERGATIVE CONSTRUCTION“ IN PASHTO

0.1. The so-called „ergative“ or „passive“ construction of a sentence with the transitive verb in Pashto and other Iranian languages<sup>1</sup> has drawn the attention of linguists for a long time<sup>2</sup>. It has been concluded that the essential features of this construction are: 1) the subject of a sentence with the transitive verb in one of the present-tenses is expressed by an oblique case in the same sentence with the verb in one of the past tenses; 2) the transitive verb in one of the past tenses agrees in Person, Number and Gender with the object of the underlying present sentence.

Pashto with its richness of verbal forms and the elaborated system of nominal inflection offers a promising field for the study of this construction and actually several separate studies have been devoted to this subject<sup>3</sup>. The existing studies being centered rather on morphological than syntactical problems the aim of present paper is to review in a broader context the problem of the entire verbal system of Pashto, and — by introducing

<sup>1</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *Neu-Iranische Sprachen*; Handbuch d. Orientalistik IV, 1 (Leiden—Köln 1958), especially p. 166 and 172 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. Geiger, *Die Passivkonstruktion des Präteritums transitiver Verba im Iranischen*; Festgruss an R. von Roth (Stuttgart 1893), p. 1—5.

<sup>3</sup> W. Geiger, *Das afghānische Präteritum (Zur Morphologie des afghānischen Verbums)*; IF, III (1894), p. 111—119; N. A. Dvoriankov, *O glavnyx členax predloženiia s ergativnoj konstrukciej v pašto*; „Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie“ 1958, No. 5, p. 103—108; A. G. Ganiev, *Ergativnaja konstrukcija predloženiia i stradalnyj zalog v sovremennom literaturnom jazykie puštu*; Taškentskij gosudarstvennyj universitet (...), Naučnye Trudy, vyp. 229 (Taškent 1964), p. 5—17.

notions worked out by the structural linguistics and the generative grammar — to provide a framework, which could serve as a basis for further, more detailed study of this construction in texts from different epochs and different dialects and for comparison of this construction with its counterparts in other Iranian languages.

The present study is based on the so-called Standard Pashto, i. e. on the present literary language of Afghanistan<sup>4</sup>. This language is a compromise form between the western branch of Pashto — centered around Kandahar — and its eastern branch with centers in Jalalabad and Peshawar. The admissible dialect differences within the Standard Pashto are mainly of phonetical and morphological order and do not affect the syntactic level, which is of primary interest for this study.

The transcription of Pashto applied in this paper is based on the transcription of the English version of D. A. Shafeev's grammatical outline of Pashto<sup>5</sup> with the following differences: prepalatal affricates *dz*, *ts* are rendered here by *z*, *c*, the uvular fricative *g* by *γ* and the bilabial fricative as *w*, instead of *v*. Pashto examples taken over from other authors are given in this unified transcription, except for cases, where they form part of quotations.

0.2. The following description of Pashto verbal system is limited to the scheme of uncompound, simple sentence, though also those modes are considered, which are used in hypotactical clauses. Such a form of presentation is possible, because no essential differences between the use of „ergative construction“ in simple and complex sentences exists, except for word-order, use of tenses

<sup>4</sup> D. N. MacKenzie, *A Standard Pashto*, BSOAS XXII (1959), p. 231—235; cf. also H. Penzl, *Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb*; JAOS 71 No. 2 (1951), p. 97—111.

<sup>5</sup> D. A. Šafeev, *Kratkij grammatičeskij očerk afganskogo jazyka* (in) P. B. Zudin, *Russko-afganskij slovar* (Moskva 1955). English version: *A short grammatical outline of Pashto*. By D. A. Shafeev, translated and edited by Herbert H. Paper. (International Journal of American Linguistics 30:3, part 3; Indiana University Research Center for Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, publication 33). Bloomington: Indiana University; The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964. See also: H. Penzl, Review (...), *Language* 41, No. 3 Part 1 (July-September 1965), p. 529—534.

and modes, etc.<sup>6</sup> The scheme of simple sentence may be considered as a neutral means of description of this construction; in terms of the generative grammar the use of this construction in complex sentences and phrases would only require additional rules of „embedding“, word order and tense-agreement. As these rules do not affect the over-all pattern of dependencies between the main members of the sentence with transitive verb, they are not considered here for reasons of simplicity of presentation.

0.3. The following description presents the essential linguistic facts relevant for the scheme of sentence on three different levels: morphological, syntactic and semantic. The hierarchy of levels is assumed, the semantic level being regarded as the highest one. The elements of particular levels are regarded as means for the construction of structured objects of their own level and of those on higher levels. The position of an element in the structured object of a given level will be called its *function* on that level; thus the functions are differentiated into syntactic and semantic. A set of elements of one of the subordinated levels having a defined, unchangeable syntactic and/or semantic function will be called a *grammatical category*. Sets of elements, characterized by the same choice of categories will be called *paradigms*<sup>7</sup>.

Under a *primary function* of a set of marked elements or of a category a function is understood, which is regularly characterized by this category. If the same category serves as an exponent of another function or functions, or if it co-occurs simultaneously with other exponents of those function, or if it occurs as their exponent under special conditions only, these other functions of this category are its *secondary functions*<sup>8</sup>. An illustration of this differentiation may show the variety of uses of the category of case in Pashto.

<sup>6</sup> Z. M. Kalinina, *Složnopolčinnnye predloženiya v sovremennom literaturnom puštu*, Moskva 1966.

<sup>7</sup> H. Seiler, *On paradigmatic and syntagmatic similarity*; *Lingua* 18 (Amsterdam 1967), p. 35—79.

<sup>8</sup> On the notion of the primary and secondary function, introduced by J. Kuryłowicz s. his *Dérivation lexicale et dérivation syntaxique*; BSL, XXXVII, 1936, p. 79—92 (= *Esquisses linguistiques*, Wrocław—Kraków 1960, p. 41—50); cf. also J. Kuryłowicz, *Le problème du classement des cas*, BPTJ IX, 1949, p. 20—43 (= *Esquisses*, p. 131—150).

## 1. Morphological level.

1.1. The *Verb* is regarded as a member of two paradigms:

- a) of the *narrower* paradigm characterized by three categories: Person, Number and Gender. These categories are variables of  
 b) the *broadier* paradigm of Tense, Aspect and Mood.

1.1.1. The narrower paradigm is a set of verbal forms, characterized for one of the 3 Persons, 2 Numbers and 2 Genders, by the choice of one of two stems, internal flexion and the verbal endings.

Apart from the Imperative endings, which are of no relevance to the study of the „ergative construction“, two different sets of endings are used in Pashto: Present and Preterite endings.

| Present endings            |  |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
| Sg.                        |  | Pl.                        |  |
| 1. -əm (< *-ami)           |  | 1. -u (< *-āmah)           |  |
| 2. -e (< *-ahi or *-ayahi) |  | { -ast (< *-(a)sta)        |  |
|                            |  | 2. { -əy (-*awe < *-adwai) |  |
| 3. -i (< *-ayati)          |  | 3. -i (*-ayanti)           |  |

The 1st and 2d Person endings of both Numbers in *Preterite* are identical with the respective endings of the Present. The 3d Person is different and it inflects for Gender:

|    | Sg.                 | Pl.            |
|----|---------------------|----------------|
| M. | {<br>∅<br>-ə<br>-əy | {<br>-əl<br>-ə |
| F. | -a                  | -e             |

The 3d Person endings are Nominal endings, the Preterite being the old Past Participle in *-ta-*, *-taka-*. The choice of the alternative endings depends on the Preterite stem, which is either identical with the Infinitive in *-əl*, or has its own form. The identification of the Preterite stem with the Infinitive is an innovation, and — as it seems — it is still productive in various dialects, cf. *lwedəl* „to fall“: according to Morgenstierne<sup>9</sup>, *Archaisms*.. and further literature mentioned there (*Esquisses*, p. 136). Cf. also A. Heinz, *System przypadkowy języka polskiego*, Kraków 1965, p. 15 ff.

<sup>9</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *Archaisms and Innovations in Pashto Morphology*; NTS XII (Oslo 1942), p. 88—114.

its Preterite stem is *lwed-*, according to Dvoriankov, *Jazyk puštu*<sup>10</sup>, it is *lwedəl*. Some verbs use both forms of Preterite stem, cf. *lidəl* „to see“; 3 Sg. M. *lidə*, 3 Sg. F. *lidəla*, 3 Pl. M. *lidəl*, 3 Pl. F. *lidəle*.

No clear picture of the development of the Preterite forms can be reconstructed, the existing forms being to a great extent *Analogiebildungen*, cf. Geiger GIPH, I. 2. p. 211 f. and IF III, p. 111—119. Also the connection between the Infinitive and the Past Participle is not clear; Benveniste sees the origin of the Infinitiv ending *-əl* in *\*-atai* (*Les infinitifs avestiques*, p. 109), Morgenstierne in *\*-ti* (*Archaisms*, § 26). Probably in verbs, where the Participle ending *-ta-* developed into *-(ə)l* a contamination with the Infinitive took place giving rise to the generalization of *-əl* both as an element of the Preterite stem and as the Preterite ending. The Preterite stem, ending in *-əl*, functions also as Pl. M. of Nomen deverbale in the nominal paradigm. This treatment is probably due to the generalization of the collective sense of old Neutrum forms of the Past Participle (cf. OP *krtam*) as Plural; its treatment as Masculine may be explained as the effect of its being the unmarked member of the opposition Masculine : Feminine, the latter member being regularly marked by the adjectival ending *-e*.

The other Preterite endings — and, probably, the internal flexion are derived from several distinct flexional patterns of Adjective, though no regularity can be found in this derivation, cf.:

I. Adjective: *sur* „red“Verb: *kṛəl* „to do“

|    | Sg. | Pl.   |     | Sg. | Pl.    |
|----|-----|-------|-----|-----|--------|
| M. | sur | (srə) | 3M. | kər | (kṛəl) |
| F. | sra | sre   | 3F. | kṛa | kṛe    |

II. Adjective: *zor* „old“Verb: *χatəl* „to rise“

|    | Sg.  | Pl.    |     | Sg.    | Pl.             |
|----|------|--------|-----|--------|-----------------|
| M. | zor  | zārə   | 3M. | χot    | { χatəl<br>χātə |
| F. | zará | (zarə) | 3F. | χatəla | (χatəle)        |

<sup>10</sup> N. A. Dvoriankov, *Jazyk puštu*, Moskva 1960; cf. p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> M. G. Aslanov, *Afgansko-russkij slovar (puštu)*, Moskva 1966.

According to Aslanov, Slovar (cf. e. g. *katâl*, s. v.) in case of double forms of 3Pl. M. the forms of the type *χātā* are used in objectless „ergative constructions“ (s. below, sec. 2.2.1.).

These constructions seem to be neutralizations of the opposition within the category of Number making the shift of Plural forms into Singular possible, cf. Shafeev, p. 42, where some verbs (*kawâl*, *tarâl*) are described as having Singular forms of the type *χātā*, whereas according to Rištin, *Lārşod*<sup>12</sup>, Tab. V, all forms of this type are Singular forms of Masculine.

1.1.2. The broader paradigm is a set of narrower paradigms, additionally characterized by the categories of Tense, Aspect and Mood. These three categories marking the verb express and modify its syntactic and semantic functions. Their formal exponents in Pashto are interrelated with one another and form a complicated system, which will be treated here as a single Tense-Aspect-Mood Paradigm of forms, describable in terms of four oppositions:

- 1) Present stem : Preterite stem
- 2) Simple forms : complex forms
- 3) Unmarked forms : Forms with preverb *wú-* (Aspect<sub>1</sub>: Imperfectivity vs. Perfectivity)
- 4) Unmarked forms: Forms with the preverb *bə* (Aspect<sub>2</sub>: the functions of the preverbal particle *bə* depend on the forms with which it occurs. Penzl, *Review*<sup>13</sup>, p. 533: „The Pashto verbal system can be described as containing imperfective and perfective present tenses, past tenses, perfect phrases and a past perfect phrase. The modal particle *bə* modifies the meaning of these forms semantically by implying futurity with present tenses and the perfective perfect phrase, repetition and continuation with past tense forms, emphasis or doubt with the past perfect phrase“).

Complex forms are formed from the Past Participle in *-(əl)ay* (old *-taka-*) with the Present or Preterite forms of the Copula:

<sup>12</sup> S. Rištin, *Də pašto masdaruno lārşod*; (*A manual of Pashto verbs*), Kabul 1344 h. š.

<sup>13</sup> S. fn. 5.

## Present

|    | Sg.           | Pl.         |
|----|---------------|-------------|
| 1. | <i>yəm</i>    | <i>yu</i>   |
| 2. | <i>ye</i>     | <i>yast</i> |
| 3. | M. <i>dəy</i> | <i>di</i>   |
|    | F. <i>da</i>  |             |

## Preterite

|    | Sg.            | Pl.                        |
|----|----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | <i>wəm</i>     | <i>wu</i>                  |
| 2. | <i>we</i>      | <i>wāst</i> ( <i>wəy</i> ) |
| 3. | { M. <i>wu</i> | { M. <i>wu</i>             |
|    | { F. <i>wa</i> | { F. <i>we</i>             |

As an example a „regular“ verb *daredəl* „to stand, to stop“ is given (other means of expression of the four oppositions are dealt with below). Present stem: *darež-*, Preterite stem: *dared-*.

$$A \quad B = (wú- + A) \quad C = (bə + A) \quad D = (wú + C)$$

| Simple forms | 1 | Present stem         | <i>darežəm</i>   | <i>wú-dare-žəm</i>   | <i>bə-darežəm</i> | <i>wú-bə-darežəm</i>    |
|--------------|---|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
|              | 2 |                      | <i>dareža</i>    | <i>wú-dareža</i>     | —                 | —                       |
|              | 3 | Pret. stem + endings | <i>daredəm</i>   | <i>wú-dare-dəm</i>   | <i>bə-daredəm</i> | <i>wú-bə-daredəm</i>    |
|              | 4 | Cond.-Optativ        | <i>daredəlāy</i> | <i>wú-dare-dəlāy</i> | —                 | —                       |
| Complex form | 5 | Part. Perf.          | Comp. Pres.      | <i>daredəlay yəm</i> | —                 | <i>bə daredəlay yəm</i> |
|              | 6 |                      | Comp. Pret.      | <i>daredəlay wəm</i> | —                 | <i>bə daredəlay wəm</i> |
|              | 7 |                      | Comp. Cond.-Opt. | <i>daredəlay wāy</i> | —                 | —                       |
|              | 8 |                      |                  | <i>daredəlay wi</i>  | —                 | <i>bə daredəlay wi</i>  |

Neither a unified terminology is used in the existing Pashto descriptions for all these forms, nor the problem of their differentiation into Tenses and Moods has found a satisfying solution. Because dealing with this problem would lead beyond the scope of the present paper, Morgenstierne's terminology will be used. For better orientation a table of three different terminologies is given below: that of Morgenstierne (*Archaisms*, § 25), Shafeev, p. 16 ff, and Rištin *Žabšodəna*<sup>14</sup>, p. 46 ff.

| Position in paradigm | Morgenstierne         | Shafeev                    | Rištin                                                                  |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1A                   | Present               | Present                    | <i>istimrāri hāl</i> (present continuous)                               |
| 1B                   | Aorist                | Subjunctive M.             | <i>mutlaq hāl</i> (present definite)                                    |
| 1C                   | Present Future        | Future imperfective        | <i>istimrāri mustaqbal</i> (future continuous)                          |
| 1D                   | Aorist Future         | Future perfective          | <i>mutlaq mustaqbal</i> (future definite)                               |
| 2A                   | Present Imperative    | Imperative M. (imperative) | <i>istimrāri 'amr</i> (imperative continuous)                           |
| 2B                   | Aorist Imperative     | Imperative M. (perfective) | <i>mutlaq 'amr</i> (imperative continuous)                              |
| 3A                   | Imperfect             | Simple Past (imperfective) | <i>istimrāri māzi</i> (past continuous)                                 |
| 3B                   | Preterite             | Simple Past (perfective)   | <i>mutlaqa māzi</i> (past definite)                                     |
| 3C                   | Habitual Imperfect    | Past Durative              | no special term                                                         |
| 3D                   | Habitual Preterite    | —                          |                                                                         |
| 4A                   | Imperfect Conditional | Conditional-Optative M.    | <i>fi'li siḡat</i> (verbal adjective); cf. Penzl, <i>Verb.</i> p. 106—7 |
| 4B                   | Preterite Conditional | —                          |                                                                         |

<sup>14</sup> S. Rištin, *Žabšodəna* (A Grammar), Kabul 1344 h. š.

| Position in paradigm | Morgenstierne                  | Shafeev                              | Rištin                                      |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 5A                   | Perfect                        | Past Resultative                     | <i>nəždə māzi</i> (proximate past)          |
| 5C                   | Perfect Subjunctive            | Conjectural M.                       | <i>ihitimāli māzi</i> (past of probability) |
| 6A                   | Pluperfect                     | Remote Past                          | <i>līre māzi</i> (remote past)              |
| 6C                   | Pluperfect Subjunctive         | Reprehen-sive M.                     | <i>tā'kidi māzi</i> (confirmative past)     |
| 7A                   | Pluperfect Conditional         | Conditional-Optative M. (perfective) | <i>tamanāyi māzi</i> (past optative)        |
| 8A                   | Perfect Conditional (3 Sg.)    | —                                    | <i>šakiya māzi</i> (dubious past)           |
| 8C                   | Perfectum necessitatis (3 Sg.) | included into 5C                     |                                             |

The verb used above as an illustration may be called *simple* in contradistinction to the *derivative* verbs of three kinds:

1) prefixed verbs with prefixes *rā-*, *dər-*, *wər-*, *pre-*, *kṣe-*, *pori-*, *nəna-*;

2) denominative verbs (from Nouns and Adjectives) with the suffix *-edəl* for intransitives and *-awəl* for transitives.

These verbs are treated as „shortened compounds“ of the type (3) and in forms marked by the category „perfective aspect“ break into nominal and verbal parts;

3) „real compounds“ formed from Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs by adding auxiliary verbs: *kedəl* „to become“ for intransitives and *kawəl* „to do“ for transitives.

The denominative verbs do not mark the perfective aspect by means of the prefix *wú-*, but: (a) the prefixed verbs transfer the stress on the prefix, e. g. *nənawət* „he entered“ (3A) vs. *nəna-wot* (3B); (b) the compounds replace the auxiliary verbs by their twin-forms with the perfective meaning: *šwəl* for *kedəl*, *kṛəl* for

*kawól*; cf. *ǰoredál* „to be built; to convalesce“ (from *ǰor* „ready; sound“), Aorist (1B): *zə ǰor šəm* „(that) I convalesce“.

There is also a group of simple verbs with suppletive perfective stems, cf. *wǰəl* „to carry off“; Present stem: *wǰ-*, Preterite stem: *wǰəl-* e. g. Imperfect (3A) *wǰələm*, but Aorist: *yosəm* (from Av. *ā-yā-* „to bring“ Present *yāsa-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *Archaisms*, § 30).

In contradistinction to the preverb *wu-*, the preverb *bə* is not closely connected with the verb and its position in a sentence depends on stylistic reasons, cf. *māšám bə də bāššá darwāzé ta ǰayr ǰušto də pāra ráǰay* „In the evening he used to come (*bə* ... *ráǰay* = Habitual Preterite 3A) at the king's door to beg charity“.

This word-order freedom of an element, which has a distinct morphological function in the verb-paradigm may be regarded as an argument in favour of the assumption made in this paper, that the *verb-* paradigm in Pashto is equivalent to the *sentence-* paradigm.

This assumption is strengthened by the existence of the „ergative construction“, i. e. by the use of syntactical means for marking certain characteristics of transitive verbs, which are expressed by morphological means only in parallel intransitive verbs. For that reason the Tense-Aspect-Mood paradigm is regarded as hierarchically superior to the Person-Number-Gender paradigm — because in spite of the use of morphological elements for the construction of its objects (choice of stems, prefixes etc.) in fact it belongs in the domain of syntax.

1.1.3. The opposition Transitivity: Intransitivity has no morphological exponent (though most verbs with the Infinitive ending *-awəl* are transitives and most of those with *-edəl* intransitives). The lack of Direct Object is not a sign of intransitivity: there exists a group of verbs, which do not take the Direct Object, but they form the „ergative construction“ in preterital tenses (e. g. *ǰapəl* „to bark“ etc.). It seems, that the ultimate distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs lies on the semantic level; this assumption is corroborated by the fact, that there is no fixed border-line between objectless transitives and the intransitives, cf. *lunedəl* „to become dissipated, dispersed“: according to Dvo-

riankov, JP p. 71 it is an objectless transitive verb, and according to Aslanov, *Slovar*, s. v. it is intransitive.

#### 1.1.4. The Passive is formed:

a) from transitive verbs with the Infinitive ending *-awəl* by replacing it with *-edəl*, e. g. *ǰorawəl* „to build“, *ǰoredəl* „to be built“;

b) from other verbs it is formed with the help of auxiliary verb *kedəl* „to become“; the main verb occurs in the Infinitive or the Infinitive extended by *-ay* (i. e. in the generalized Past Participle in *-taka-*), the latter form being inflected for Gender and Number: Sg. M. *-(əl)ay*, Sg. F. *-(əl)e*, Pl. MF *-(əl)i*; e. g. (1A) Present: *zə tarələy kéžəm* „I become tied“; (6A) Pluperfect; (3 Pl. F.): *duy terəli šəwi we* „They (F.) had been tied“.

1.1.5. The *Potential formation*<sup>15</sup> is a neutral formation in respect to the opposition Transitivity: Intransitivity; Potential forms retain the transitivity or intransitivity of the underlying verbs. These forms express the possibility or capability of performing the action, expressed by the underlying verb. The Potential „Infinitive“ (i. e. the basic form of the potential formation) is formed from the verb Infinitive extended by a stressed ending *-āy*, and the auxiliary verb *šwəl* is added; the basic form remains uninflected, whereas the auxiliary verb inflects for Person, Number and Gender and is used in the following forms of the broader paradigm: Present (1A), Future (1C), Imperfect (3A), Preterite (3B), e. g.:

Present (active): *zə ǰorawələy šəm* „I can build; I can cure“  
Present (passive): *zə ǰoredələy šəm* „I can be built; I can convalesce“.

An impersonal form, probably analogical to the Conditional (7A) is used in contemporary Pashto in several functions: as Conditional, Perfectum indicativi and even Present; cf.

*ka lmar na wāy... sari bə hic šay na šwāy lidələy* (lidəl „to see“) „if there were no sun... one could not see anything“

<sup>15</sup> N. A. Dvoriankov, *Vyraženie vozmožnosti soveršeniya dejstviya v jazykie pašto i ego mesto v glagolnoj sistemie*; JSINA 67 (Moskva 1963), p. 87—94.

*hic ye na šwāy wār-ta wayəlāy*

„he could not tell him anything“ (wayəl „to tell“)

*žarəm magar úški mi našwāy kawəlāy*

„I weep but I cannot shed tears“

The origin of the Potential formation is unknown. Some grammarians regard the *-āy* — form as identical with the Past Participle (Raverty)<sup>16</sup> — others as different (Trumpp)<sup>17</sup>. Morgenstierne (Archaisms, p. 107): „Modern Afghan grammarians write *lwedəlāi* (*šēm*). I do not know whether this is merely an orthographical device in order to differentiate the potential infinitive from the perf. ptc., or is based on an actual difference of pronunciation in some dialects. *lwedəlāi* appears to be an ancient inflected form of the infinitive *lwedəl*. ... Possibly *-(e)l < -ti-*, and *-(ə)lai < -tayāi?*“.

The second element: *šwəl* is treated by most grammarians as identical with the perfective auxiliary „to become, to get“; only Trumpp (61f) writes „*šēm* hat nichts mit dem Hilfszeitwort gemeinsam“.

1.2.1. *Nominal elements* relevant for the description of the „ergative construction“ are Noun, Pronoun, Adjective.

Apart from the inflection for Number and Gender (and for Person in case of Pronouns) all these elements inflect for Case.

The category of case is treated in the present paper as distinct from them and hierarchically superior, the remaining categories being regarded as variables within that category.

There are two main Cases in Pashto: Direct and Oblique. Their respective primary functions are: the Direct Case marks the Subject of the sentence with intransitive verb in all forms of the broader paradigm and also the Subject of the sentence with transitive verb in presential forms; the Oblique Case marks the Nominal Phrase of a sentence with transitive verb in one of the preterital forms, which is the Subject of the same sentence in Present (semantically: Agens).

<sup>16</sup> H. G. Raverty, *A Grammar of the Puk'hto, Pus'tho, or Language of the Afghans*, London—Calcutta 1867; cf. § 391.

<sup>17</sup> E. Trumpp, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse des Paštō (...)*; II. Theil: *Das Verbum*; ZDMG 23 (Leipzig 1869), p. 1—113; cf. p. 64 f. and p. 105 f.

Secondary functions of these cases are:

1) Direct Case marks (a) the Direct Object of the sentence with transitive verb in presential forms (except when) the Nominal Phrase being the Direct Object is the 1st or 2d Person Sg. of the Personal Pronoun, (b) it marks the „formal subject“ in sentences with the transitive verb in one of the preterital forms (semantically: Patiens);

2) Oblique Case marks (a) the Direct Object of the sentence with the verb in presential forms, if the Direct Object is the 1st and 2d Person of the Personal Pronoun; (b) it marks Nominal Phrases in certain prepositional and postpositional clauses, having various syntactical and semantical functions (Attribute, Indirect Object, Adverbials, etc.).

In the present paper all these functions are regarded as syntactical, the general terms: Direct Object, Adverbial etc., being grammatical symbols, used in the description of well-formed sentences; for that reason the primary functions of Direct and Oblique Cases are regarded as syntactical means of expression of relations between objects on the semantic level, which do not undergo any changes, directly connected with the changes on the syntactic level.

The declension of Nouns and Adjectives, comprising the Direct and the Oblique cases reveals several different patterns and is realized by means of endings, internal flexion and shift of stress (ch. Shafiev p. 11 ff.). The origins of these declension patterns cannot be reconstructed unequivocally, because the endings may go back to several different Old Iranian case-endings, cf. *ās < aspah* or *aspam*; *plār < pitaram*, but *mor < mādrah* etc. cf. Morgenstierne, *Archaisms*, § 14.

There exist in Pashto some other means of marking syntactical functions and dependences, but it is questionable, if they can be regarded as cases. Thus certain prepositions (*tar*, *lə*), which in most cases require an Oblique, with certain nouns require a special form (ending *-a*), in its function comparable to an Ablative, cf. *lə āsa* „from the horse“. Penzl, Review, p. 532 calls this form an „Oblique-II“.

Personal Pronoun has a kind of Genitive for the 1st and 2d Persons of both Numbers, which functions simultaneously as the

Possessive Pronoun: *zmā* „of me; my“; *stā* „of you; your (Sg.)“; *zmā* „of us; our“; *stāsi* „of you; yours (Pl.)“; but the same functions for the 3d Person are expressed by means of the prepositional phrase: *də* + Pers. Pr. in Oblique case: *də də* „of him; his“; *də de* „of her“; *də duy* „of them; their“ (PIMF).

Oblique cases of the Personal Pronoun are used for marking the Direct Object in sentences with the transitive verb in one of the presential tenses: *mā* „me“, *tā* „you“, but only for the 1st and 2d Person Sg.; other Pronouns (and Nominal Phrases in general) occur in the Direct Case in the same function. Thus, apart from the Direct : Oblique case opposition, the problem of a wider system of nominal declension in Pashto is still open<sup>18</sup>.

In this paper a restricted system is considered — comprising the Direct and the Oblique cases only.

Personal Pronoun appears in three forms:

1) independent Pers. Pr.:

|    | Sg.                             |                        | Pl.                         |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
|    | Dir. C.                         | Obl. C.                | Dir. C. = Obl. C.           |
| 1. | <i>zə</i>                       | <i>mā</i>              | <i>muž</i>                  |
| 2. | <i>tə</i>                       | <i>tā</i>              | <i>tāsi</i> ( <i>tāsu</i> ) |
| 3. | { M. <i>day</i><br>F. <i>dā</i> | <i>də</i><br><i>de</i> | <i>duy</i>                  |

2) enclitic pronouns (according to Penzl's terminology<sup>19</sup>: pronominal particles)

|    | Sg.       | Pl.       |
|----|-----------|-----------|
| 1. | <i>mi</i> | <i>mu</i> |
| 2. | <i>di</i> | <i>mu</i> |
| 3. | <i>ye</i> | <i>ye</i> |

These pronouns do not inflect for Gender and Case and function as objects in the sentences with the transitive verb in presential tenses, as (quasi-)subjects in the sentences with the „ergative construction“ and also as possessive pronouns.

<sup>18</sup> H. Penzl, *On the Cases of Afghan (Pashto) Noun*; Word 6 No. 1 (1950), p. 70—73.

<sup>19</sup> H. Penzl, *A grammar of Pashto: A descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan*. Washington 1955. Cf. also *Review*, p. 532.

In their sentence-syntactical function they are equivalent to the Direct Case (*tə day wine* „you see him“ = *tə ye wine*) and the Oblique Case (*mā day wú-lid* „I saw him“ (erg. constr.) = *day mi wú-lid*). Because the Pers. Pr. (3d Person of both numbers) is represented by this form of pronoun (both as Direct Object and as quasi-subject) in the „ergative construction“, the primary function of the enclitic pronoun is the Oblique case of the Personal Pronoun.

3) directive pronouns (according to Penzl's terminology: pronominal prefixes)

Sg. and Pl.

1. *rā*
2. *dər*
3. *wər*

These pronouns combine with various postpositions, which mark the Indirect Object (*rā-ta* „to me; to us“) and several Adverbials, e.g. *dər-cəxa* „at your (place)“, etc.

2. Syntactic level.

This section uses the terminology of the generative grammar in the sense of Chomsky<sup>20</sup>, though no detailed generative description of the Pashto syntax is intended. The aim is to describe the basic sentence patterns under the assumption, that the verbal paradigm comprises some syntactical means for marking the functions of verbal forms. Because these means (the „ergative construction“) are used in a parallel way with morphological means in the intransitive paradigm, they are treated as part of the transitive paradigm; on the other hand, because of their similarity with purely syntactical devices (passive paraphrase) they are dealt with in this section.

The conceptual apparatus of the generative grammar serves as means of defining a) the objects of the syntactical level, b) the relations between these objects.

The objects are categories („grammatical symbols“ in Chomsky's terminology) and rules, defining all and only those strings of categories, which form the hierarchically most superior

<sup>20</sup> N. Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, The Hague 1957.

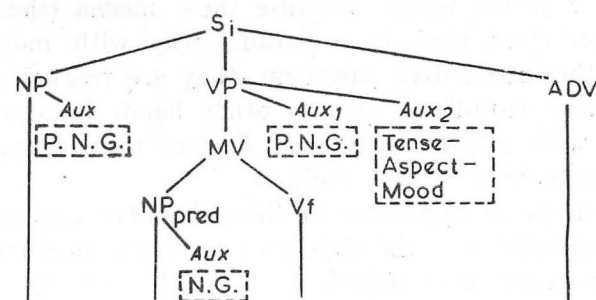
syntactical category of well-formed sentence (S). Two different kinds of rules are used in the generative grammar: the so-called phrase structure rules and transformational rules. The present description does not follow the latest development of the generative grammar, as described e.g. by Chomsky in „Aspects of the Theory of Syntax“<sup>21</sup>, i.e. no distinction between „deep structures“ and „surface structures“ is made. All the same the structures studied here might be regarded as deep structures, i.e. the most general underlying sentence-schemes, which undergo in the actual speech-performance further additional transformations (reordering, ellipsis, etc.).

The underlying scheme of a sentence is thought of as a tree-structure generated by phrase structure rules; the internal dependencies within this scheme (agreement) and the relations between different trees (e.g. between the active and passive sentences) are thought of in terms of transformational rules, defined for some of these trees.

Two kinds of different tree-structures, serving as bases for two different verb-paradigms (transitive and intransitive) in Pashto are assumed: sentence with the intransitive verb ( $S_i$ ) and sentence with the transitive verb ( $S_t$ ).

The most simple scheme of  $S_i$  is a nominal sentence (Fig. 1); this structure serves as a model for the other ones.

Fig. 1



The symbols denote: NP — Nominal Phrase; VP — Verbal Phrase. These symbols are general names for the subordinated

categories or structures of categories and they are equivalent to the notions: Subject and Predicate. These latter notions are syntactical, relational terms, describing the relations „NP of S“ (i.e. the relation of domination of symbol S over the symbol NP) and „VP of S“. The terms being relational, both members of the relation should be strictly defined; i.e. also the term S. The present paper assumes the existence of two different S-symbols in Pashto syntax:  $S_i$  and  $S_t$ . In the case of  $S_t$  the notion Predicate denotes the relation „MV (Main Verb) of VP“ within the transitive sentence scheme; the relation „NP' of VP“ in  $S_t$  will be called the Direct Object of the sentence  $S_t$  (s. Fig. 5).

The subordinated categories, realizing the symbols NP, VP and ADV (Sentence Adverbial) may have their own structures, but for reasons of simplicity in the present paper only the most simple of them, mostly simple categories will be considered. NP will be thought of as realized by Noun and Personal Pronoun only.

VP is realized by the following categories and their structures  
A) In  $S_i$ :

a) MV — realized by:

I. Verbum finitum (Vf); under this category only simple verb forms will be understood, including the Copula and the auxiliary verbs *kedəl||šwal*. Uninflected simple verb form is treated as an uninflected Vf., e.g. Conditional *wāy*;

II. Predicative Nominal Phrase (NP<sub>pred</sub>) + Vf.

NP<sub>pred</sub> is realized by:

- 1) Noun
- 2) Adjective
- 3) The following nomina deverbalia:
  - i) PPerf. in *-əl* (uninflected);
  - ii) PPerf. in *-(əl)ay* (inflected for N. and G.);
  - iii) uninflected potential form in *-āy*.

B) In  $S_t$ :

a) Direct Object Phrase (NP') + MV.

NP' is realized as Noun and as Personal Pronoun. If the 1st or 2d P. Sg. of the Pers. Pr. is chosen, it occurs in the

<sup>21</sup> MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Oblique Case. All the other NP' realizations are in the Direct Case. MV is realized as in  $S_i$ ; auxiliary verbs *kawél||kəʔəl* are considered as Vf.

b) MV (in case of objectless transitives).

Sentence adverbial ADV is realized as: (Preposition) + NP + (Postposition). The choice of preposition and/or postposition and case form for NP depends on the kind of the Sentence Adverbial. The present description considers only one kind of ADV, viz.  $ADV_{instr}$ , which is used in passive sentences. Its realizations are:  $də + NP_{(obl)} + lə \begin{Bmatrix} xwā \\ tarafa \end{Bmatrix}$  for animated Agens and  $də + NP_{(obl)} + \begin{Bmatrix} sará \\ wāsita \end{Bmatrix}$  for unanimated Agens. (It means „from...“ „from the part of...“ and „by...“, „by means of...“).

The symbols *Aux* — Auxiliary — denote sets of morphological exponents of categories, characterizing NP and VP: such as Number, Person, etc. Verbal  $Aux_1$  defines forms of the narrower paradigm,  $Aux_2$  — of the broader paradigm. For certain forms of transitives (preterital tenses)  $Aux_2$  specifies certain transformations, which lead to the „ergative construction“.

Apart from the tree-structure, regarded as the effect of application of the phrase structure rules to the primitive symbol S, any sentence scheme is provided with a set of agreement rules, operating on tree-structures and defined in terms of *Aux* of the main members of the sentence. These rules may be viewed as lists of permissible co-occurrence relations between sets of morphological exponents of grammatical categories.

For reasons of simplicity it will be assumed in consequence that such lists exist (actually all the relevant informations of this kind are usually given in the morphological descriptions of language). The information about the agreement relations in this presentation will be given in a summarized fashion in form of diagrams with lines connecting those parts of the sentence, which are taking part in the transformations.

The principle of structural hierarchy within the sentence combined with the notion of agreement changes the character of

agreement-rules. They become oriented — from the superior member toward the subordinated one — and thus they become *determination* rules. In the diagrams this orientation will be marked by an arrow pointing toward the determined member.

The central attention in this paper is focussed on the verb, and the sentence scheme is regarded as an indispensable means of expression of certain forms of the broader paradigm; for this reason — and for more general reasons, too<sup>22</sup> — a basic determination of NP by VP is assumed. All remaining determination relations are regarded as derivative from this basic one. The change of determinative orientation in the „ergative construction“ is regarded as a transformation of the determination pattern of the underlying sentence.

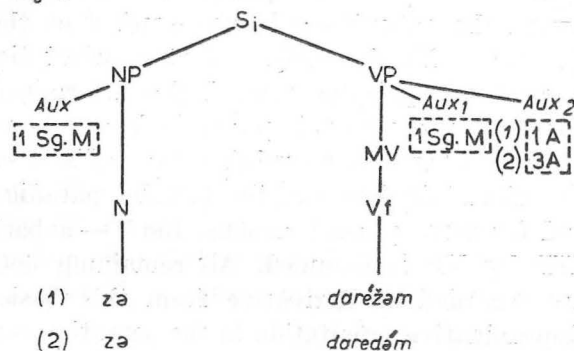
2.1. The difference between the two basic sentence schemes  $S_i$  and  $S_t$  lies primarily in the difference of realizations of the preterital forms of the broader paradigm. The intransitive scheme does not involve additional transformations and thus it may be regarded as more „regular“. The „ergative construction“ in  $S_t$  breaks down the parallelism of means of realization of the broader paradigm, which is observed in the case of presential forms. In contradistinction to this construction the passive paraphrase of transitive sentence is strictly parallel to all forms of the intransitive scheme — in fact, passive paraphrase is realized in this scheme, the passive transformation consisting in transferring the transitive sentence into  $S_i$  scheme.

The diathesis Active : Passive on the syntactical level means only, that the verb belongs to one of the two sentence schemes  $S_i$  or  $S_t$ , whereas the „ergative construction“ is a part of the  $S_t$  scheme.

The change of  $Aux_2$  from presential to preterital tenses does not involve any structural changes within the scheme, cf. Fig. 2.

<sup>22</sup> S. J. Kuryłowicz, *Les structures fondamentales de la langue: groupe et proposition*; Studia Philosophica III (Warszawa 1948), p. 203—209 (= *Esquisses*, p. 34—40).

Fig 2



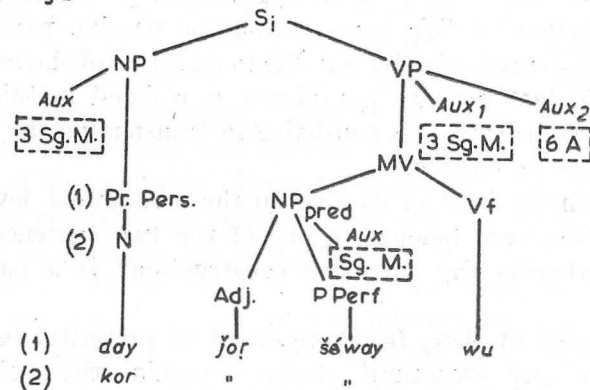
(1) „I make a stop“

(2) „I made a stop“

Determination: NP      Vf

The only influence of the change of *Aux*<sub>2</sub> on the determination pattern may be observed in case of complex forms, i.e. in case of expansion of MV into type II (cf. sec. 2), as in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3.



(1) „He had convalesced“

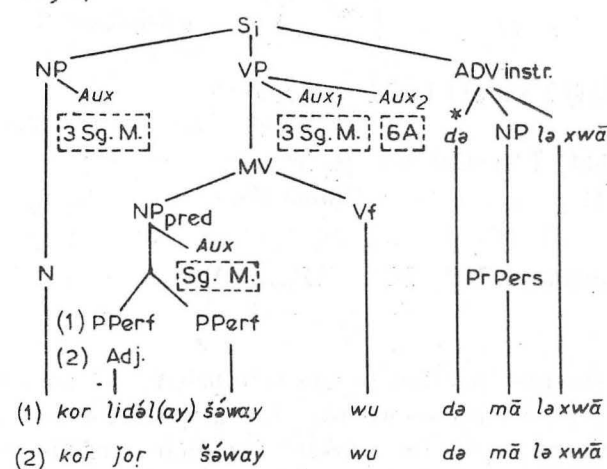
(2) „The house had been built“

Determination: NP      NP<sub>pred</sub>      Vf

The second type of determination (NP<sub>pred</sub> determined by NP) is superimposed on the primary one; this second type is nominal in character, essentially the same as in the nominal sentence in Fig. 1 (with the Adjective as NP<sub>pred</sub>). It is to be stressed, that the same verb *žordəl* is either a „regular“ intransitive (in the sense: „to convalesce“) or a passive form of the verb *žorewəl* „to build“. The form *žoredəl* may be regarded as an obligatory transformation of non-existing *\*žorawəl(ay) kedəl*, after the general scheme of Passive formation (cf. sec. 1.1.4.).

The passive forms with the explicit use of the auxiliary verb *kedəl* have the same pattern of determination, cf. Fig. 4.

Fig. 4



1) „The house had been seen by me“

2) „The house had been built by me“

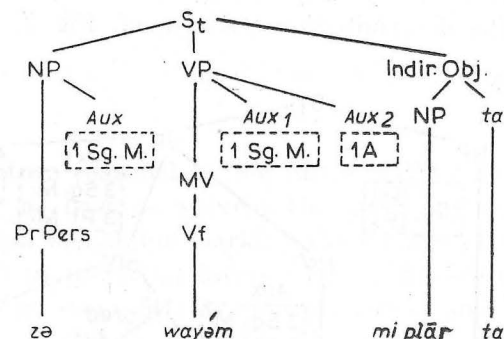
2.2.1. The transitive verb with presential forms of the broader paradigm (*Aux*<sub>2</sub> = 1A—2B) has the following structure:



2.2.1. *Objectless transitive verbs* are a subgroup of the transitives. Most verbs of this kind do not take the Direct Object for semantic reasons, but there are also objectless verbs, which do take an object in certain phrases, cf. *wayəl* „to tell, to say“ — regarded by the Afghan grammarians as objectless — in the example of sec. 1.1.5.: *hic ye na šwāy wər-ta wayəldāy*, where the Indefinite Pronoun *hic* „nothing“ takes the place of the Direct Object.

The objectless transitives form passive sentences with the sense of impersonal locutions, cf. *wayəl keži* „one says“, but these forms may be also regarded as simple intransitive sentences, the Nomen deverbale *wayəl* being their Subject. These verbs in the active voice belong to the transitive sentence scheme, i.e. they form „ergative construction“ in preterital forms; the verb occurs in this construction in the 3 Pl. M. No determination between NP and Vf. exists. Cf. Fig. 8 and 9 for example of the objectless transitive in one of the presential tenses (Fig. 8) and two of the preterital ones (Fig. 9).

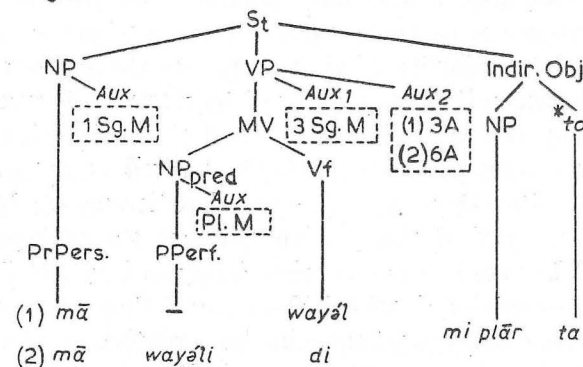
Fig. 8.



„I tell to my father“

Determination: NP Vf.  
↑

Fig. 9.



(1) „I told my father“

(2) „I had told my father“

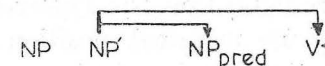
2.2.3. As it has already been stated the passive transformation of a sentence consists in transferring this sentence from the  $S_t$  to the  $S_i$  scheme. The essential steps are:

1) The transitive verb becomes replaced by its intransitive counterpart;

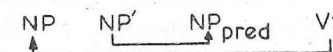
2) The NP' (Object) of the underlying transitive sentence takes the place of the Subject in the intransitive scheme;

3) The Subject-NP of the underlying sentence is put into the ADV<sub>instr</sub> of the intransitive sentence.

The example of Fig. 4 (Passive) has the following pattern of determination:



This pattern is regarded as a transformation of the underlying sentence „I had seen (built) the house“ (cf. Fig. 5 with the verb in presential tense) with the following determination pattern:



But cf. Fig. 7 („ergative construction“) with the determination pattern, strongly resembling that of the Passive (NP is beyond the determination relations).

At first sight the relations within the passive sentence and in a sentence with the „ergative construction“ seem similar. This superficial similarity — giving rise to the opinion of close connection between these two kinds of structure — is strengthened still further by the fact, that the NP of the underlying sentence (semantically: Agens) occurs in both derived structures in the Oblique Case. But there is a functional difference in both these occurrences: in ADV of the passive sentence the Oblique Case of the Nominal Phrase is a co-occurring feature of an Attribute (formed by the preposition *də* with NP<sub>(obl)</sub>), and thus it is a secondary function of this category, whereas in the „ergative construction“ — as is the case with Agens — it appears in its primary function.

Actually, despite the superficial resemblance, due to the use of the same morphological elements (but of different syntactical functions) the Passive and the „ergative construction“ are two different transformations of the same underlying sentence. In most cases it is impossible to form an „ergative construction“, i.e. an active sentence with the verb in one of the preterital tenses, directly from a passive paraphrase of the same sentence, since the passive sentence usually omits the NP (Subject) of this sentence. The ADV<sub>instr</sub> is a facultative member of the intransitive sentence scheme, e.g. *kor lidəl keži* „the house is seen“, whereas the same NP is an obligatory member of the „ergative construction“, cf. *mā lidə* „I saw (him)“ with a possible ellision of NP'.

The „ergative construction“ belongs in fact to the transitive verb paradigm (active voice), whereas the passive is a facultative paraphrase of this paradigm; thus the Passive — as a syntactical category — takes a more marginal position in Pashto verbal system than the „ergative construction“.

2.2.4. The Potential formation, derived from the „Potential infinitive“: Preterital stem + *-dy* and auxiliary *šwəl*, e.g. *lidəylā šwəl* „to be able to see“, is in most descriptions regarded as Mood<sup>23</sup>. This treatment is unjustified insofar, as the Potential forms themselves differ as to their modality, cf. *lidəlay šəm* „I can see“ (Indicative) vs. *lidəlay šwāy* (Conditional). The Potential for-

<sup>23</sup> So e.g. Shafeev and Dvoriankov (cf. fn. 15).

mation may be regarded as a grammaticalized word-formation category of an *Aktionsart* type. This assumption is strengthened by the fact, that Potential is neutral as regards the opposition Imperfectivity : Perfectivity. Potential forms of verbs with double Infinitives (perfective and imperfective) are formed from both, cf. *kawəlay šay če də ʔolo šdro tamāšā wū-kray* „You can see all the towns“ (*kaw-*: imperfective); *də χind rājāgdno wū-na-kray šwəl* „the Indian rajas (Obl.) did not succeed“ (*kr-*: perfective).

Potential is also neutral as regards the opposition Transitive : Intransitive, the Potential forms being transitive or intransitive, according to the transitivity resp. intransitivity of the underlying verb, cf.: (intr.) *zə ʔoredəlay šwəm* „I could convalesce“ (Imperfect, 3A) (trans.) *zə ye ʔorawəlay šwəm* „He could cure me“ (Imperfect, 3A, erg. constr.); cf. also the Imperfect of the Potential of an objectless transitive: *mā wayəlay šwəl* „I could say“.

The conjugation of the Potential formation shows, that the division of verbs into transitives and intransitives in Pashto reaches the semantic level. It also shows, that the primary trait of transitivity is its ability to form the „ergative construction“. The primary trait of this construction, in its turn, is the particular treatment of the NP of the underlying sentence (semantically: Agens), other features of this construction (determination) being an additional trait. This conclusion is corroborated by the existence of impersonal forms of Potential (cf. examples in sec. 1.1.5.). The growing use of these constructions seems to be connected with the possibility of avoiding the „ergative“ pattern of determination. Dvoriankov supposes<sup>24</sup>, that this is a sign of a tendency to weaken and — perhaps — to remove the „ergative construction“ in Pashto. Till now it is the only symptom of such a tendency — other Modern Iranian languages went already further in this direction.

2.2.5. The origin of the „ergative construction“ in Pashto cannot be traced back in all its details, but the syntactical use of construction: Nomen in Casus obliquus *plus* Passive Participle for the expression of temporal relations (precedence in time or

<sup>24</sup> Cf. fn. 15.

conclusion of an action) has been observed in several languages; in Iranian it can be traced back to the Middle Iranian and — less certainly — to the Old Iranian Period.

The functional parallelism between constructions of the type *habeo factum* and *mihi factum est* in Indo-European languages has been studied by J. Kuryłowicz<sup>25</sup>, who pointed out, that the use of Oblique Case in Old Iranian (OP *awayā krtam*: Gen.-Dat.) and its later continuations are functionally identical with the Latin construction: Dative + *esse* + Nominative. The same author has stressed the difference between the etymological origin and the actual function of such constructions: „Le persan *vay kard* continue au point de vue formel le tout v. perse. Mais le sens de la forme persane est purement actif: 'il a fait' (cf. le roman *habet factum*)“<sup>26</sup>.

The same explanation — with an extension on similar constructions in Armenian — is offered by E. Benveniste<sup>27</sup>. Traces of this construction may be also found in Avesta, cf. *yezica hē anya aya šyaodna nōiṣ fravaršta*, which is translated by Reichelt<sup>28</sup> (§ 461) as a passive sentence: „und wenn von ihm andere schlimme Taten nicht begangen worden waren“. Cf. *ibid.* other examples for the use of Dative for Agens. The Avestan material is not unequivocal, because also Genetiv and Instrumental are occasionally used in this function<sup>29</sup>, but it strengthens the OP evidence.

Although no historically attested older forms of this construction in Pashto are known, a tentative reconstruction might be attempted on the assumption, that also in this language an intermediate possessive nominal construction existed, and was later included into the verb paradigm. The decisive step in this

<sup>25</sup> *Les temps composés du roman*; *Prace Filologiczne* XV, 2 (Warszawa 1931) p. 448—453 (= *Esquisses*, p. 104—108).

<sup>26</sup> *Esquisses linguistiques*, p. 108.

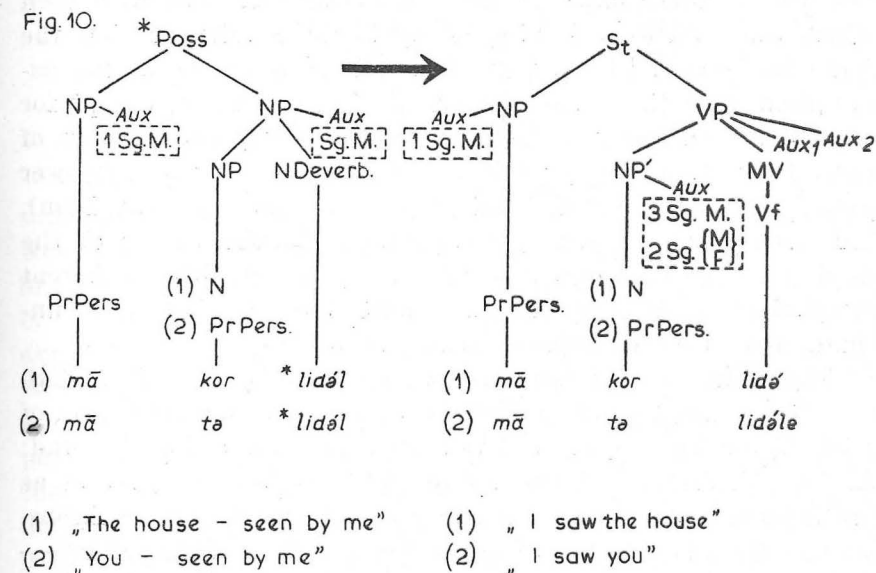
<sup>27</sup> *La construction passive du parfait transitif*, BSL XLVIII, 1 (1952), p. 52—62; cf. K. H. Schmidt, *Zum umschriebenen Perfekt in indogermanischen Sprachen*, IF. LXVII, 3 (1962), p. 225—236 and *id.* *Zum Agens beim Passiv*, IF. LXVIII, 1 (1963), p. 1—12.

<sup>28</sup> H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* § 450 ff. Cf. also T. Pobożniak, *The Instrumental in Gatha*, FO VII (Kraków 1965 [1966]), p. 119—171.

process must have been the identification of the Past Participle forms with the 3 Person forms of *Verbum finitum*, followed by an extension of the agreement rules between the verb and the NP' on the category of Person. In cases when NP' was realized by the Personal Pronoun of the 1st and 2d Person of both Numbers, personal endings of the verb were attached to the stem of — originally — *Nomen deverbale*; this hypothetical development explains the lack of difference between the 1st and 2d Person endings in Present and Imperfect.

The hypothetical development of a possessive nominal construction into the „ergative construction“ is illustrated in Fig. 10.



The pattern of relations, constituting the „ergative construction“ in the Imperfect was later generalized for all further developments of the paradigm of transitive verb, i.e. the periphrastic forms and the Potential formation, cf. the „formal“ — in contradistinction to the etymological value of *-əl-* forms — use of the categories Person, Number and Gender in the preterital forms of objectless transitives, e.g. *mā xandál* „I laughed“ (Imperfect — 3A), *mā xandəli di* „I had laughed“ (Pluperfect — 6A), with the generalized „ending“ of 3 Pl. M. Cf. also the generalized

use of Plural in complex uninflected forms, e.g. Pluperfect Conditional (7A): *ka mā-ta di wayōli wāy* „If you would have told me“.

### 3. Semantic level.

Very little is known about the structure of the semantic level of language. Nevertheless it seems permissible to assume the existence of certain objects on this level, which have their counterparts on the syntactic level. In this paper three such objects are assumed: Agens, Patiens and Actio, being the counterparts of the syntactic notions: Subject, Direct Object and Predicate of the active sentence with the present-stem verb. It is also assumed, that the semantic objects remain in certain relations with each other, these relations having its syntactic counterparts on the syntactic level<sup>30</sup>. The notion of paradigm is based on the assumption, that the semantic relations do not change, except for some strictly defined modifications connected with the change of variables within the paradigm (e.g. Gender in the narrower paradigm, temporal-modal category in the broader paradigm). This *ceteris paribus* principle constitutes the foundation of the similarity between different members of paradigm, being different morphological and syntactical expressions of basically unchangeable relations between semantic objects.

The difference between the two sentence schemes  $S_1$  and  $S_t$  may be regarded as the difference between two different sets of relations on the semantic level: Patiens — Actio (for  $S_1$ ) and: Agens — (Patiens) — Actio (for  $S_t$ ). The Subject of  $S_1$  serves as the exponent of Patiens, whereas the Subject of  $S_t$  — of Agens. Both — the passive paraphrase and the „ergative construction“ — are connected with the second set of semantic relations, but they are different in character: the passive paraphrase being a facultative means of expression of these semantic relations, the „ergative construction“ an obligatory one. The difference between

them in respect to their semantic functions is illustrated in the following diagram. The first line in the diagram lists the syntactic objects, the second — the semantic ones. Continuous lines show the obligatory relations between the two levels, dotted lines — the facultative ones.

|                  | Presential forms                                                   | Preterital forms                                                                    |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Active sentence  | Subj.   Obj.   Pred.<br>                   <br>Agens Patiens Actio | Subj.   NP <sub>(obj)</sub> Pred.<br>/        \         <br>A.        P        Act. |
| Passive sentence | Subj.   ADV   Pred<br>/         <br>A.        P        Act.        | unchanged                                                                           |

Inclusion of presential and preterital forms into one and the same paradigm of transitive sentence explains the fact, why the Nominal Phrase in the Oblique Case is an indispensable member of the ergative construction: in a sentence with the presential form of verb the Direct Object may be lacking, but the Subject must be expressed and this condition is retained in the „ergative construction“, especially so because the Subject cannot be expressed by means of the verbal ending. On the contrary, the passive paraphrase — essentially an intransitive sentence must express the Patiens — and the Agens only facultatively. This difference between the passive sentence and the „ergative construction“ is in agreement with the basic assumption, made in this paper, that Pashto verbal system consists of two different basic sentence-schemes: intransitive and transitive, passive being a subgroup of the former and the „ergative construction“ the proper member of the latter.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Kuryłowicz, *Ergativnost' i stadialnost' v jazykie*, Izv. An SSSR V, 1946, p. 387—393 (= *Esquisses*, p. 95—103; French transtranlation: *La construction ergative et le développement „stadial“ du langage*; Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, vo. XVIII, fasc. I—II); cf. also Z. Gołąb, *Problem podmiotu*, BPTJ XVII (1958), p. 19—66.