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Chronicle

Zdzisław Jan KAPERA, Professor Tadeusz Lewicki Receives an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Wrocław 373

ARTICLES

Jadwiga PSTRUSIŃSKA

THE INFLUENCE OF LINGUISTIC SUBSTRATUM ON THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES IN PASHTO LANGUAGE

1. INTRODUCTION

Pashto (Pashtu, Pushtu, Afghan language)¹ belongs to the north-east Iranian² group of languages. It is spoken, above all, on the territories of Afghanistan and Pakistan³. In the west, the expansion boundary of the Pashto language starts from the mouth of the Rud-e Jam river up to the Harirud river, in the south, along the Afghanistan-Iranian border, at times cutting into the territory of Iran, up to the estuary of the Helmand river, from where it runs east in the direction of Kandahar, with many branch offs to the south and south-west along the valleys of the Hari-rud, Farahrud, Khashrud and Helmand rivers. South of Kandahar this boundary passes by the Registan desert in the east and having crossed over the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, turns in the direction of Quetta, and then runs east towards the Indus river. Beginning with the more or less seventieth degree longitude in the east, the expansion range of the Pashto language rises towards the north running mostly along the right bank of the Indus river and in certain areas (Attock and Hazara east of Peshavar) it crosses over to the left bank. North of the place where the Kabul river joins the Indus this boundary encircles the provinces Bunir, Swat, Dir and Bajaur, from the north and the east (the basin of the river Swat and its tributary Panjkor) and south of Chitral it crosses over the Pakistan-Afghanistan

border, approaching Kabul. West of Kabul, the northern boundary line of the Pashto language passes by the Hazarajat plateau, the Kuh-e Baba mountain-range, the upper regions of the Harirud river together with its tributaries and west of Herat it approaches the border between Afghanistan and Iran. Besides, the Pashto language is also spoken, although to a smaller extent, in other regions of Afghanistan: in the northern part, between the northern slopes of Hindu Kush and the left bank of Amu Darya, in the valleys of the Kokcha, Tolokan, Kunduz and Sar-e Pul rivers, as well as in the Herat province. On the territory of Pakistan, the Pashto speaking population inhabits also Baluchistan, and to a small extent also the valley of Ashret near Chitral, as well as a small part of the Gilgit district (the so called "tribal territory") situated to the north-west of the town called Chilas in Kashmir. A small number of Pashto speaking people inhabit also Sinkiang, although we do not have any data concerning their language. Several thousand Pashtuns are also mentioned in the Ceylonian statistics⁴, and moreover considerable numbers of them emigrated at one time to India and to the territories of the present-day Soviet Union.

In the north, north-west and west the Pashto language borders with Persian dialects⁵, in the south with the Baluchi language and in the east with the Indian dialects belonging to the Lahnda language. In the north-east extremities of its territory the Pashto language borders with the Nuristani and Dardic⁶ languages of Nuristan and Chitral.

According to Kalinina⁷ the Pashto language is used by 18 to 20 million people, out of which about 10 million live in Afghanistan and about 8 or 9 million in Pakistan. However, this data seems to be exaggerated. For example, according to Oranskij⁸, the Pashto speaking population does not exceed 11-12 million, out of which 5,5 million live in Pakistan and about 50 thousand in Iran. It is also estimated that the number of Pashto speakers resident in Afghanistan amounts to 50-60% of the entire populat-

ion⁹. The exaggerated data is, above all, the result of the policy of the subsequent Afghan governments.

From the morphological point of view, the Pashto language belongs to the flectional type of languages; the various grammatical forms are arrived at by changing the endings, or else by means of internal inflection¹⁰. Pashto possesses the most archaic inflectional system of names among the new Iranian languages which similarly as in the old Iranian languages, comprises all nouns¹¹. On the other hand, however, one observes an ever growing tendency towards the development of analytical means which could substitute the inflectional methods¹².

As regards the dialectal differences, the view that Pashto is not one language with a great variety of dialects but a group of languages, each of which possessing its own dialects¹³, is becoming more and more widespread. The views put forward by the Soviet orientalis¹⁴ and the government circles of Afghanistan¹⁵ according to which Pashto was supposed to form a general Afghan language norm or at least a literary norm - cannot be confirmed either. The so far infrequent pronouncements of Afghan scholars presenting the view about a complete lack of norm and the existence of an immense dialectal variety of the Pashto language were instantly hushed up and exposed their authors to criticism for their apparent denying of national unity¹⁶. The view about a division of Pashto into 2 main groups of dialects: the Kandahar and the Peshavar has not survived either.

At present, at least 3 groups of dialects are being differentiated - introducing the concept of a middle group¹⁷. It does not mean of course that further groups will not be distinguished and it is still an open question whether they are groups of dialects or languages. All these problems require profound and complex research of the terrain in Afghanistan and Pakistan, yet the sheer impossibility of unhampered travel throughout Afghanistan in recent times, does not seem to indicate that these problems will be solved in the near future. We may rather expect further poli-

tical injunctions of the Afghan government as to the official nature of these scientifically unestablished matters.

Thus a scholar dealing with any of the problems of the Pashto language structure is confronted with the dilemma: Pashto, but which one? This is so regardless of whether he postulates that Pashto is a group of dialects or even languages. In the aforementioned division the existence of only two or three groups was alluded to. The problem is further complicated by a lack of ethnographic maps, numerous migrations of settled down population and almost two million nomads covering great distances and even crossing the country's borders.

Very little is known about the range of use of a given language or Pashto dialect¹⁸, and even their number is not exactly specified. In Afghanistan one comes across views that there exist between several and several dozen dialects¹⁹.

Out of necessity, one has to ask oneself a question concerning the subject-matter of this paper: the influence of the linguistic substratum on the comparison of adjectives in Pashto. But which Pashto? The answer is Pashto in general, treated as a whole. On what basis can one make such a generalization? The data collected in the course of preparing this dissertation, does not contradict, as it turned out, the view expressed during the International Seminar of International Centre for Pashto Studies²⁰, namely, the view that practically all the dialects have the same syntactic structure²¹. Bearing in mind that the paper concerns the comparisons of the analytical type - this is a fundamental assumption which allows us to consider the problem without discussing dialectal differences.

Although it was established long ago that Pashto language is not to be linked with Caucasian, Semitic languages or for instance, with the Albanian language²²; that it is not an Indian language but an east-Iranian language, yet not everything in its phonological, morphological or lexical system can be explained in terms of Iranian or even Aryan languages.

The comparison of adjectives in Pashto is a phenomenon which, in my opinion, requires analysis on the basis of linguistic substratum and ethnogenesis of Pashtun tribes. The purpose of this paper is to consider the influence of linguistic substratum on the ways of comparing adjectives in Pashto in order to prove that this process was, above all the result of the impact of the Dravidian substratum and, to a much smaller extent, the "Asianic" substratum. The evidence for the validity of the above thesis will be provided on the basis of an analysis of adjectival comparison in the oldest extant Pashto text, the analysis of the process of the gradual expansion of Pashtu tribes and their ethnogenesis, the analysis of the Pashto substrata and adstrata and the comparison of adjectives in other Iranian languages.

The data necessary for the completion of this research, concerning the comparison of adjectives in the Pashto language, was gathered by me, mostly during a three year research scholarship in Afghanistan and during a few later trips across those areas of Pakistan which were inhabited by Pashto speaking population. For reasons independent of me I have less data concerning the various areas of Pakistan than the terrain within Afghanistan and I was completely unable to obtain any information concerning the comparison of adjectives in Pashto among the relatively small Pashto groups inhabiting some parts of Iran, Soviet Union, China, Ceylon and India. However, there is no reason to suppose that the comparison of adjectives in these enclaves might differ in any significant way.

I owe the possibility to conduct a few indispensable questionnaires and interviews within Kabul, to the employees of the Pashto Academy (Pashto Tolana) and the Kabul University. The work within the remaining areas was conducted just by myself, without recouring to the help of the local authorities or institutions.

2. TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription used in this paper is based on the principles established by the International Centre for Pashto Studies²³ with the following changes: ʒ in place of ʃ, ɣ in place of ʒ, k in place of q. These changes were made in order to reach full uniformity with the international Iranian transcription²⁴. It was decided that ɣ will remain unmarked as this phoneme occurs only in the original transcription of Arabic borrowings although it is never pronounced²⁵.

ا	a, i, u, o	ش	ʃ
آ	ā	س	s
ب	b	ص	s
پ	p	ض	z
ت	t	ط	t
ټ	t̪	ظ	z
ث	s	ع	ʕ
ج	j	غ	ɣ
چ	č	ف	f
ځ	ɟ	ق	k
څ	c	ک	k
ح	h	گ	g
خ	x	ل	l
د	d	م	m
ډ	d̪	ن	n
ز	z	ڼ	ɳ
ر	r	و	u, o, w
ړ	r̥	ه	h, a, ə
ز	z	ی	i, y
ژ	ʒ	ې	e
ږ	ʒ̪	ای	ay
س	s		

3. CATEGORY OF DEGREE

The category of degree is characteristic of adjectives and adverbs. Its aim is to define the intensity of occurrence of a given feature. In order to define intensity one has to juxtapose two objects possessing the same feature and then compare them. One may compare objects with respect of a single element or a whole group of elements possessing the same feature. If the comparison does not show up any difference in intensity of a given feature, we are dealing with a level degree (positivus), whereas in the case of pronounced difference between the compared objects - we are dealing with a comparative degree (comparativus). There are languages which differentiate only these two possibilities and therefore have a two-class system of comparison and two formal exponents of the category in question. In many languages, there occurs a distinct division within the second stage, depending on whether the comparison is between two or more elements. If each of the afore-mentioned possibilities possesses a distinct exponent, in a given language system, then we are dealing with three classes within the category of degree. These three, in the Latin grammar system, are called: positivus, comparativus and superlativus.

The category of degree is connected with a comparison. At times, this comparison is not explicit; it may be implied or perfected in the past. If the degree of a given feature is expressed (comparative or superlative degree) without denoting the action of comparison, we are dealing with absolute comparison, contrary to the so called relative comparison, requiring the function of comparison. Elativus is the absolute phrase. The simplest way of expressing it is through the repetition of the adjective. Elativus may also be expressed with the use of such auxiliary words as: very, much, immensely and the like. In languages which have all three classes it is also possible to use the superlative form for this purpose.

Comparison is based on adding either an inflectional or a formative affix, or else on forming analytical expressions. In the

latter of the afore-mentioned cases, it is the so called descriptive comparison²⁶.

4. COMPARISON IN PASHTO

In his *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* Geiger wrote that the Iranian inflectional comparison²⁷ system has not been preserved in Pashto. Has nothing really survived of this system and if so what has taken its place? The existing grammar textbooks of Pashto merely state that the comparative and superlative degrees are expressed in a descriptive way; the comparative degree by means of a meaningful pre-position (possibly an appropriate post-position) such as "from", "with", placed before the object with which we compare; whereas in the case of the superlative degree, the object is substituted with a word meaning "everyone", "everything". Sometimes one comes across information that the superlative degree may be formed by using the compared adjective in the oblique case in the plural, in place of the object to which we compare²⁸. Moreover, Kalinina mentions in her outline of Pashto lexicology²⁹, published in 1972 that a repetition of an adjective points out to the maximum intensity of a given feature. It may be represented by means of the following patterns:

comparative: A big than B;

- superlative: a) A big than everyone,
b) A big than big ones,
c) big - big.

In fact these are the most frequently used although not the only analytical means of comparing adjectives in the Afghan language. Taking into consideration the time when each of the types of adjectival comparison appeared in Pashto, one may put them in the following order:

I. relicts in the form of lexicalized adjectives in the comparative degree, formed at one time with the use of a synthetic method by adding a special suffix;

II. various ways of analytical comparison (also not fully grammatical, remaining on the verge of stylistic correctness);

III. borrowings from Persian and Arabic.

I. Relicts in the form of lexicalized adjective forms in the comparative degree.

Two lexemes: kešer - "younger" and mešer - "older" are remnant of the old synthetic comparison system (their meanings refer to both age and social position). Their lexicalization is confirmed by the fact that they constitute derivative root for other words. Both lexemes are used solely with reference to people. They have been preserved probably thanks to the fact that they were closely linked with the basic vocabulary (son, brother and the like). In the old days, their use was not limited only to people. In the Avestan one reads: masvayā afš (great water) and kasyanham apam (of small waters)³⁰. In the Baluchi one comes across the following form even today kasnei gweta - "small finger".

Morgenstierne³¹ gives the etymology of the Afghan mešer and kešer deriving the final -r (with a question mark) from -tar-:

-r < *-ṭr < -tar-.

Abajew³² confirms this:

*kasyatara- > *kašṭr > kešer.

As these lexical morphemes can be encountered both in the Avestan and old Persian (maṇišta)³³ it has already been confirmed that they were used during the time of the Iranian community which began to crumble already before the turn of I millennium B. C.³⁴. However, one may go back even further to the

Indo-Iranian or even Indo-European. Bailey³⁵ writes in his paper about the language of Khotan Sakas that although in Greek one has the word μακρός - "big, long, tall", in old-Indian, one does not come across the root mas-. Yet, we have the word kāsūtari - "short spear, javelin"³⁶, testifying to the existence of the root kas- and making it possible to surmise that at one time there must have been an antonym of the word. Bartholomae³⁷ associated the old-Iranian kasav - "small, tiny" with the Greek κακός - "worthless, poor, ugly, plebeian"; and the old-Iranian masyah - "bigger" with the Greek μακρόν - "longer"³⁸. It is worth noting that in the Avestan language positivus from masyah - also had the basic meaning of "long"³⁹. Maybe one should also note the Lithuanian kašėti - "to get thinner" and compare it with the modern Persian kāstan - "to get smaller", and the Ossetic k'asxur - "thin, slim"⁴⁰ and the Sogdian *kas-tan - "having a thin body"⁴¹.

The above examples indicate that the stems contained in mašar and kašar are very old.

The comparative suffix -tara- which gave rise to the final -r, is equally old and occurs parallelly in Iranian and Indian languages⁴². It is derived from the pre-Indo-European secondary suffix *-tero- expressing an opposition between two concepts. It is due to this very meaning that *-tero- has become a suffix of comparative forms in Greek and Indo-Iranian⁴³ group of languages.

II. Different Ways of Making Analytical Comparisons.

The research carried out by me revealed the recurrence of the following constructions with numerous lexical and word order variations in the Pashto language⁴⁴:

A. COMPARATIVE DEGREE:

1. "A is big".

Amin loy day.

2. "A from B is big".

Amin tar Babrak loy day.

VARIATIONS:

"From B A is big".

Tar Babrak Amin loy day.

"A from B is a lot big".

Amin tar Babrak zyāt loy day.

"From B a whole lot A big is".

De Babrak cəxa xwarā der zyāt Amin loy day.

"From B A still big is".

Tar Babrak Amin lā loy day.

"A it from B big is".

Amin ye de Babrak na loy day.

"From B big it A is".

De Babrak na loy ye Amin day.

"From B (to) him A big is".

De Babrak na war ta Amin loy day.

"From B also A big is".

Le Babrak na ham Amin loy day.

"A from B him a whole lot big is".

De Babrak cəxa Amin ye xwarā der zyāt loy day.

"From B big and bigger A is".

De Babrak na loy au mašar Amin day.

"From B A still a lot big is".

Tar Babrak Amin lā der loy day.

"From B quite big A is".

Tar Babrak bexi loy Amin day.

"From B again A big is".

Tar Babrak byā Amin loy day.

"From B a lot big A is".

Tar Babrak der loy Amin day.

"From B a bit big he A is".

Lə Babrak na ləž cə loy ye Amin dəy.

"From B it big A is".

Də Babrak na ye loy Amin dəy.

"From B very very big A is".

Tər Babrak qər qər loy Amin dəy.

"From B A much bigness has".

Lə Babrak na Amin qər loywāli ləri.

"A from B he big is".

Amin tər Babrak ye loy dəy.

"B big is but A from him big is".

Babrak loy dəy magar Amin lə də loy dəy.

B. SUPERLATIVE DEGREE:

1. "A big is".

Amin loy dəy.

VARIATIONS:

"Big A big is".

Loy Amin loy dəy.

"Big A very big is".

Loy Amin qər loy dəy.

"A very very big is".

Amin qər qər loy dəy.

"A very big is".

Amin qər loy dəy.

"A quite big is".

Amin tək loy dəy.

"A a lot big is".

Amin zyāt loy dəy.

"A very much big is".

Amin zəfi qər loy dəy.

"A big he is".

Amin loy ye dəy.

"A a lot big is".

Amin qər zyāt loy dəy.

"Very big it A is".

Qər loy ye Amin dəy.

"Very big A is".

Qər loy Amin dəy.

2. "A big-big is".

Amin loy loy dəy.

VARIATION:

"Big big A is"

Loy loy Amin dəy.

3. "A from all big is".

Amin tər tolo loy dəy.

VARIATIONS:

"From all big A is".

Tər tolo loy Amin dəy.

"A from each big is".

Amin də hər çā na loy dəy.

4. "Among big ones big A is".

Loyo ki loy Amin dəy.

VARIATIONS:

"Among big ones A big is".

Pə loyo ki Amin loy dəy.

"Big among big ones A is".

Loy pə loyo ki Amin dəy.

5. "A big of big ones is".

Amin loy də loyo dəy.

VARIATIONS:

"A of big ones big is".

Amin də loyo loy dəy.

"Big of big ones A is".

Loy də loyo Amin dəy.

"Very of big ones big A is".

Der loy də loyo Amin dəy.

Quite often there appear comparative phrases which may be considered a combination of the above presented comparative and superlative constructions:

"Big of big ones from B A is".

Loy də loyo lə Babrak cəxa Amin dəy.

"Big-big from B A is".

Loy-loy lə Babrak cəxa Amin dəy.

"A very big and from all big is".

Amin der loy au də tolo na loy dəy.

The analysis of the above examples makes one wonder whether Pashto has a three-class comparison system, or whether we are dealing with merely two degrees. At times, the category of degree cannot be pinned down, for example when both the comparative and superlative degrees are expressed with the same phrase as the level (positive) degree: "A big is". One has to stress however, that the two-class system is more frequent, whereas the appearance of an equivocal construction is so rare that it may be treated as an exception. Most probably it is a tendency to eliminate inflectional forms which is not coupled with the simultaneous filling in of the language gap.

III. Borrowings from Persian and Arabic.

The borrowing of the -tar- suffix from the Persian language in order to form the comparative degree, and the -tarin- suffix to form the superlative: Acak kučnaytar dəy - Acak is smaller (younger). Muhammad šetarin dəy - Muhammad is the best.

The use of Persian suffixes often leads to redundancy as independently of their use the phrase has the structure of the comparative or analytical superlative: Də Ali na makbultar Muhammad dəy - from Ali more beautiful is Muhammad. While it would suffice completely: Də Ali na makbul Muhammad dəy. Also in place of: Badtara də jilkəyo zma lur da - the worst girl is my daughter, one can merely say: Zma lur də jilk yo bada da, or else using the -tarin suffix: Badtarina lur zma lur da.

It may happen that the superlative or comparative function of a given suffix is not clearly distinguishable and the suffixes are used interchangeably regardless of the degree in question:

superlative:

Badtara də jilk yo zma lur da -

↑
comparative suffix

the worst girl is my daughter (literally: worse from the girls is my daughter).

comparative:

Də Ali na makbultarin Muhammad dəy -

↑
superlative suffix

from Ali more beautiful is Muhammad (literally: from Ali the most beautiful is Muhammad).

Some Persian adjectives with the suffix -tar or -tarin appear in Pashto as complete lexemes transferred from one language to the other, while their comparative function is not always explicit. They very often are the derivative basis for other words.

In Afghan poetry it happens that the analytical and synthetic comparison systems become confused, solely for purposes of a given poem:

Čə behtar tər saltanat dəy

tər daulat iā čə izzat dəy.

What could be better than royal power,

Fame is better than ruling (literally: Than ruling still good is fame).

The way Persian borrowings found their way to the Pashto language does not require explanation, taking into account the role Persian language played and still plays in Afghanistan, where most Pashtuns know it. The borrowings from Persian permitted absolute freedom, depending on the particular need.

Borrowings from Arabic are less frequent. The Arabic elativus formed according to the aff'alu pattern is used for the comparative degree, similarly as lexemes kəšər and məšər. For example Arabic aršad - "older" may be used instead of məšər when speaking about rank or position. They found their way into Pashto due to the influence of Persian, but not only. More immediate Arabic-Pashto links are indicated among others, by the fact that although Persian contains about 40% Arabic words, Pashto has more than 50%⁴⁵. Apart from the possibility of personal contacts, this situation is the result of Koran studies as well as acquaintance with Arabic literature. Contemporary Pashto poetry also takes frequent recourse to Persian borrowings which are considered to be more expressive, despite the parallel purist tendencies. It is not always, however, that one may state with absolute certainty, whether one is dealing with the transfer of a Persian Adjective in the comparative or superlative degree or with a conscious use of the -tar, -tarin suffix by the poet who has excellent command of Persian language.

5. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES IN THE OLDEST EXTANT PASHTO TEXT

For the sake of the present research it is absolutely vital to establish the time when the analytical comparison system supplanted the inflectional one in the Pashto language. It will allow us to specify the time of the examined change and thanks to it better identify the substratum which caused the appearance of the change, by distinguishing it from other numerous substrata which had influenced the structure of the Pashto language during hundreds of years long process of the expansion of Pashtun tribes.

The analysis of the oldest known Pashto text⁴⁶ proved to be very important here. The text is considered to be the oldest one, despite the fact that it was found in a considerably later anthology, discovered in Afghanistan only in 1944⁴⁷. The discovery of this text changed the views, often still propagated, concerning the dating of the oldest Pashto texts.

The oldest Pashto text is a poem by emir Kror Wyārəna də amir Kror jahān pahlawān (The Boasting of emir Kror, the hero of the world) to be found in Muhammad Hotak ben Daud anthology published in the year 1729 in Kandahar and entitled Pəta Xazāna (The Hidden Treasure)⁴⁸. Assuming the correctness of the dating of this poem as stated by Muhammad Hotak and universally recognized in Afghanistan, one must assume that it originated in the 2nd Hegira century (Kror is believed to have become emir in the year 139H.), that means in the 8th century A. C. We do not know anything about the existence of earlier texts. As to the date of origin of the first literary works in the Pashto language, preserved in the original, there are controversies too. The Anthology of Afghan Saints by Suleiman Maku of 13 century, is usually quoted as the first such text.

One may consider it a lucky coincidence that this self-praising panegyric of Kror's contains a resurgent comparative phrase - lə ma atəl nəsta - there is no braver than me (literally: from

me brave is none)⁴⁹. It is, as we can see, a typical analytical comparison; comparative degree whose structure was mentioned on page 15 under point 2 of this paper.

The statement that Pashto had an analytical comparison system already in 8th century leads to important conclusions. It allows one, above all, to narrow down the time-span in the search for the substrata in question and analyze only those which could have influenced Pashto before this period.

Of course, in later texts one observes analytical type of comparisons as well.

6. ETHNOGENESIS AND THE EXPANSION OF PASHTUN TRIBES

There are a number of opinions among scholars as to the areas inhabited by Indo-Iranian tribes before they divided as well as to when and along what routes they were displaced from the territories occupied by their ancestors⁵⁰.

The most widespread opinion among historians and scholars of Iranian culture and language is the hypothesis which holds that the ancestors of various Indo-Iranian tribes inhabited Central Asia and the neighbouring territories from where one group marched across to India, and another to Asia Minor where one finds traces of their language and culture dating back to II millennium B. C. Later on those ancestors of the Medes, Persians and other Iranian peoples moved in the direction of the present-day Iran⁵¹.

There are also opinions according to which Iranian tribes reached Iran not from the east, Central Asia, but from the north from across the Caucasus mountain-range. But also in this case, nobody denies that part of these tribes inhabited Central Asia and the neighbouring northern territories, whereas the ancestors of Indo-Aryans came from Central Asia⁵².

One may also mention the view according to which Iranian tribes came from the territories of south-east Europe which they reached before the first millennium B. C.⁵³.

There were also grounds to suppose that the ancestors of Indo-Aryans lived together with the ancestors of Iranian tribes within the boundaries of their ancient motherland until the beginning of the II millennium B. C. or even until its middle and the march of the Aryan tribes to the south was usually thought to have begun around this period⁵⁴. Yet attempts to decipher the writings from the Indus valley, in the year 1979 move this dating considerably into the past, to the times science knows very little about⁵⁵. None the less, a number of findings concerning the later period have not lost their validity.

The archeological research carried out on the territories of present-day Afghanistan and north-west Indian subcontinent has uncovered considerable historical changes in the second quarter century of II millennium B. C. The old centres are destroyed which is often coupled with the appearance of new tribes Aryan (or Indo-European), ethnically speaking⁵⁶, from Central Asia. However, the displacement of tribes from Central Asia in the direction of the south took place even later at a time when the ancestors of Indo-Aryans were already most surely inhabiting India⁵⁷.

On the eastern fringes of Central Asia, in Pamir, the south-bound transfer of tribes representing the steppe population from Fergana and the neighbouring areas, was also observed. Tribes representing such background appear in Pamir already in the Bronze Age, at the end of the II and at the beginning of the I millennium B. C. Since 7th century B. C. one can already quite safely speak about the tribes from Scythian-Saka group, which is confirmed by the archeological excavations from the territory of Pamir. The archeological findings confirm that these also wandered across in the direction of Indian borders.

These conclusions find immediate confirmation in the written sources and linguistic research which indicate, independently of

archeological research that in the 7-6 century B. C. on the territories lying south of Pamir right up to the northern borders of India, and the territories of eastern Afghanistan there arrived and settled down Iranian tribes belonging to the Saka group or related to them, and among them there were probably the ancestors of present-day Afghans and Munjis⁵⁸. There is very little information about the Saka language of the middle of the I millennium B. C., apart from a few personal names, names of tribes and toponymical words and from a later period, a few words found on coins, and several texts written in the kharoshti and brahmi alphabet; taken altogether this evidence permits one to think that the Saka language belonged to the east-Iranian group⁵⁹. The arrival of the tribes belonging to the east-Iranian group from the north on the territory of Central Asia, does not arouse any doubts⁶⁰.

Most likely, at the beginning of the I millennium B. C. the Iranians did not constitute a unity and the process of the disintegration of the east-Iranian community took place not later than 9th century B. C., maybe earlier. In any case, the Scyth group which began to steer towards the west around the 8th century B. C., spoke with a uniform east-Iranian dialect⁶¹. It is considered moreover that among east-Iranian tribes occupying the territory of Pamir right up to north-west India were not only the ancestors of Afghans and Munjis and that already at this time the Afghan tribes differed in their speech from their kin tribes of Yidga and Munji⁶². They settled down west of the Indus valley and the majority of scholars consider the inhabitants of the Soleiman Mountains to be the most aboriginal Pashtuns.

The natural boundary line between tribes and nations speaking Indo-Aryan and east-Iranian languages at about the middle of the I millennium B. C., was most likely the Soleiman mountain-range, and the river Hab flowing into the Arab Sea about 50 kilometers west of the present-day Karachi, constituted a natural boundary-line on the south-west.

In the north-west, in the valley of the river Kabul and its tributaries, the majority of the population was probably of Indo-Aryan origin. This territory was also penetrated by east-Iranian tribes. The Paktyes who settled down the river Kabul could have been one of these tribes. As is supposed there existed a confederacy of east-Iranian tribes reaching up to Kabul and Ghazni, and sometimes as far as Kandahar⁶³. The east-Iranian tribes also tried very early to move east of the Indus river. There is evidence that this was happening in the middle of the I millennium B. C.; it is known for a fact that Iranian population inhabited Taxila although probably the Iranian tribes which were moving east of the Indus river were rapidly assimilated by the local Indo-Aryan population⁶⁴.

The ethnogenesis of Pashtuns is undoubtedly linked with east-Iranian tribes inhabiting the territory of the Soleiman Mountains situated west of the Indus river. When these tribes appeared on this territory is still a matter of discussion. It is possible that they appeared there only at the turn of the 2nd century B. C. in connection with the fall of the Greek-Bactrian state, as a result of the invasion of Sako-Massagets. However, it is difficult to pin down with absolute certainty any of the confederacies of east-Iranian tribes as the immediate ancestor of the present-day Pashtuns.

Probably already at a very early period in the Pashtuns ethnogenesis took part Indo-Aryan and Nuristani⁶⁵ elements and we also have unquestionable linguistic evidence concerning the absorption of the Dravidian⁶⁶ substratum.

According to Gankowskij⁶⁷ the formation of the union of east-Iranian tribes which gave immediate rise to the Pashtuns falls on the middle of the I millennium A. C. and is connected with the disintegration of Heftalits' confederacy. It is well known that between Turkmen and Uzbeks the ethnic name Abdal was used (the ethnonim of one of the unions of Heftalits' tribes) which later on was used to refer to Pashtuns. It is thought that

on losing their privileged status some Heftalits took shelter in the Suleiman Mountains and participated in the ethnogenesis of Pashtuns. It is characteristic that the ethnonim of the biggest Pashtuns unions was Abdali and only in the year 1747 was changed by the name Durrani. Siah-push Kafir people who still inhabited the Hindu Kush at the beginning of 19th century referred to all Pashtuns by the common name Abdali⁶⁸.

It is not impossible that the Kushano-Tokharian people also took part in the ethnogenesis of Pashtuns. It is worth noting that among the Ormuri people, Pashtuns are known, above all, under the ethnic name of Kash⁶⁹.

Until the second millenium A. C. the Pashtuns lived between the Kunar valley in the north and the Gomul valley in the south, that is exactly where the Moslem authors considered them to be. Describing the north-west border territories of India the author *Hubud-al-Alam* pointed to a place called Sawal or Saul situated in the mountains on the way from Gardiz (north-east of Ghazni) to the Indus valley⁷⁰. Al-Biruni also thought that the Pashtun country are the mountains situated west of the Indus valley. The Suleiman Mountains between Kurram and Gomul were known in the early Middle Ages among Pashtuns as Pasht⁷¹. Although in the early Middle Ages the term Afghanistan referred only to the area of the Suleiman Mountains, it does not mean that there were no Pashtuns beyond this area. Numerous colonies inhabited also the territories lying beyond these mountains.

On the basis of the evidence so far available to researchers one may assume that the ultimately formed ethno-linguistic Pashtun commonwealth existed already at the turn of the II millenium A. C. Although the history of the Pashto language is still very little known, it is generally recognized that it was formed between the middle of the I millenium B. C. and the 1st centuries A. C. from the languages and dialects of east-Iranian tribes inhabiting the territories between the Indus river and Hindu Kush. Oranskij⁷² thinks that Pashto together with Yidga, Munji and other

Pamir languages is a continuation of ancient Saka dialects. Morgenstierne suggests that Pashto may derive from another branch of east-Iranian dialects. Maybe they were dialects from the territory of the present-day Afghanistan and Central Asia which existed there between 4 century B. C. and 7-8 century A. C.⁷³.

Later on more and more Pashtuns moved from the Suleiman Mountains to the territories situated nearer. Initially (in the 13th and 14th centuries) they settled down on the Ghazni plateau, in parts of the Peshawar plain, Kohat and Bannu and certain areas around Kabul, then, at the turn of 14th century, they reached Kandahar, and in the latter half of 15th century and in 16th century they extended to Swat, Kurram and Panjkor. In the 15th century the Pashto tribes marched also in the direction of Zhob, Loralai and Quetta⁷⁴, and in the subsequent centuries they were spreading to the areas situated even further. According to Kudriavcev already in 10-11th century the Afghan tribes had spread from the Indus valley to Chorasan and from Hindu Kush as far as the Beluchistan desert⁷⁵.

For us however, the most important data concerns the Pashtun abodes only up to about 8th century A. C., that is the times when we are definitely dealing with the analytical adjective comparison system in the Pashto language.

7. SUBSTRATA AND ADSTRATA IN THE PASHTO LANGUAGE

In their march towards the Indian subcontinent the Afghan tribes stratified themselves on several substrata, each of which played a significant role in the development and formation of their language.

The Dravidian substratum is connected most of all with the Brahui language which exists up till now in a small enclave in Pakistan (districts: Kalat, Khairpur, Haidarabad and Karachi) and in the nearby districts of Afghanistan (from Shorowak up to

Chahansur) and Iran (from Sabzewar to Bampur). About 400 thousand people still use the Brahui language in Pakistan and - according to various sources - about 25 up to 100 thousand in Afghanistan and Iran⁷⁶. In the past centuries groups using the Dravidian languages were more numerous on these territories. In the course of many centuries they were gradually assimilated by the Indo-Aryan and Iranian⁷⁷ tribes and peoples. From the point of view of genetic links the Brahui language is considered to belong to the north-west Dravidian group of languages which was the first to separate from the rest, at the turn of 4th century B. C.⁷⁸. Judging, among other things by this westernmost enclave, one may suppose that the Dravidian languages took up at one time a considerably bigger territory⁷⁹.

Until quite recently the old culture of the Indus valley known, above all, from the excavations in Harappa and Mohenjodaro which existed between the year 2500 and 1500 B. C., was also considered as Dravidian. Although this view was seriously undermined by a new attempt to decipher the writings⁸⁰ from the Indus valley in the year 1979 and the recognition of the Indus valley language as an early form of Old Indo-Aryan language (Vedic language), yet it is thought that the population using this language though dominant on these territories, was not the only one⁸¹. Most probably this area was inhabited by a mixed population among whom a considerable part consisted of Dravidian people. Although in the inscriptions alone (at present the materials at our disposal are relatively scanty) only a few words of Dravidian origin were found, yet the archeological materials seem to confirm the presence of Dravidian elements⁸² in this culture. In its most blooming period (2500-1900 B. C.) the civilization of the Indus valley spread from the borders of present-day Afghanistan in the west as far as Uttar Pradesh in the east and from Jammu in the north up to Gujarat in the south, whereas the Dravidian languages spread beyond the territory of contemporary Brahui, also in the north-west⁸³ direction. On

the territory of present-day Pakistan, there were many isolated regions occupied by the old population, still about the middle of the first millenium A. C. One of these regions, in north-east Baluchistan was inhabited by the Parata or Parada tribe (the country of Paradene in Ptolomy) which is related to the ancestors of contemporary Brahui⁸⁴. Taking into consideration the old boundaries of Dravidian languages and the culture of the Indus valley one may suppose that the Dravidian languages constituted a substratum on which the Pashto languages were stratified. There exists convincing linguistic evidence to prove this thesis. It is often a problem however to establish which phenomena in the Pashto language are the result of a direct contact with the Dravidian substratum and which appeared as a consequence of contacts with the Indo-Aryan substratum and adstratum (the Indo-Aryan was itself earlier influenced by the Dravidian). The information contained in the works of Arabic and Persian writers and travellers of 10th-11th century seems to suggest that already at the very beginning of Arabic expansion in northern India, that is in the first quarter of the 8th century, the Pashtun tribes belonging to the Gurgusht group inhabited the south-west regions of the Soleiman Mountains together with the Brahui⁸⁵ tribes. Since when the Pashtuns were there - we do not know.

The presence of retroflex consonants (t, d, r, n, ʃ, ʒ), in the Pashto language unknown to most Iranian languages and unfamiliar to the language system(s) which shaped the Pashto language, would seem to point to the Dravidian ethnic substratum⁸⁶. Some east-Iranian, Dardic, Nuristani⁸⁷ and some Indo-Aryan⁸⁸ languages contain strings of retroflex consonants. It may be the result of the influence of a similar substratum, although it is worth noting that Pashto is much richer with respect to retroflex consonants than Indian languages. In most Pashto dialects there occurs a full array of retroflex consonants but it is very interesting that in one dialect in the neighbourhood of Kandahar (Bareči) the opposition non-retroflex - retroflex obliterated and only a string of retroflex consonants has remained.

One cannot interpret the above-mentioned phenomenon as the result of the influence of Indo-Aryan languages. According to Morgenstierne the retroflex consonants appear in Pashto not only in words borrowed from Indian languages but also in words of - as he wrote - unknown origin.⁸⁹

One of the symptoms of the influence of Brahui on the Afghan language, connected in some way with the impact of the substratum in question, is the principle of forming the so called echoword. It is formed in Brahui by the change of the initial consonant into m- consonant or by attaching the m- consonant to a word beginning with a vowel. For example, the echo-word from urā - "house" will be mura, from ullī - "horse" - mulī. Echo-words never occur by themselves but always with words from which they were formed. One says therefore: urā-murā, ullī-mulī. It is a certain type of repetition.⁹⁰ In Pashto echo-words are formed almost solely in this way.⁹¹ For example - čāy-māy - "tea", dars-mars - "lesson".

Analyzing the adstrata and substrata which used to influence, and still influence Pashto, one should devote a lot of attention to Pashto-Indian influences. They were pronounced at the very beginning of the history of the Pashto language, at the time of the fall of the Indo-Iranian community, but most of the data concerns the period of the last millenium, after the Pashtun tribes had formed a separate nation. Historically speaking, a certain number of common characteristic in the language system of Pashto, Sanskrit, Vedic and then Prakrits is quite evident. As regards the modern Indian languages an undoubtful influence was exerted, above all, by Urdu, Panjabi and Lahnda.⁹² In consequence of this long and widespread process there took place a certain convergence of Pashto dialects and those Indian languages which exerted influence on them. Among the Pashtuns, there were many bilingual and multilingual people. Of course various Pashto dialects were influenced by Indian languages to a different degree. According to Morgenstierne, Pashto and especially the Peshawar dialects is strongly Indianized in its phonetic system.⁹³

An undoubtful symptom of such Indianization is, according to Morgenstierne the nasalization of consonants. It is characteristic that this phenomenon is more widespread nearer the Indian subcontinent and the other way round - it is rarer some distance away from these territories.⁹⁴

The situation with aspiration is analogous. In words containing an aspirated consonant which originated on the Indian territory, the aspiration disappears on the Pashtun territory although it is still retained in Lahnda: būqhā - "old man" (Urdu), būqhā - "old" (Lahnda), budai - "old man" (Pashto).⁹⁵

The Indian lexical system in Pashto refers most of all to such walks of life as crafts, city life, trade - testifying to long-lasting contacts between Pashto and Indian languages. Some borrowings were taken over from Indian (or some Nuristani) languages at a very early stage in the development of these languages. Undoubtedly, the word sur meaning not only "red" but also "sun" preserved in Pashto dialects, is one of them. In Panjabi there are two separate forms for each meaning: surakh - "red" and sūrai - "sun", probably derived from the Vedic sūrya(?)⁹⁶.

Concerning the problem which of the Indian languages and dialects gave the biggest number of borrowings - Hindustani or Lahnda - there is a difference of opinion between Darmsteter and Morgenstierne. Morgenstierne gives priority to the Lahnda language.

Deciding the issue seems very problematic at present. Everything depends on the dialect and the speaker. The number of borrowings will always oscillate. The proximity of the source of the borrowing makes it additionally difficult to solve this problem.

To the borrowed lexical items belong also words comprising basic vocabulary and, with a few exceptions, they occur in all Pashto dialects. To such vocabulary items belong, for instance:

Indian:

lag-nā

touch

čal-nā

go, move

gin-nā

think, be of opinion

likh-nā

write

Pashto:

lag-edəlčal-edəlgaŋ-ellik-el (in

western Pashto

dialects: nawištakawəl)⁹⁷.

The process of Indianization of Pashto is very deep and complex. It can be noticed not only within the phonological and lexical systems but seems to pervade the entire language⁹⁸.

Active Indian suffixes, such as, for example, -wāl and wālā are used for obtaining derivatives also from the purely Afghan derivative base. For example: šār-wāl - "town mayor" (from šār - "town"). The Indianization has also spread on the Pashtun preposition and post-position systems. The preposition par - "on", in many collocations concerning time and place is, for instance analogous to the postposition par, occurring in the Urdu language:

Pashto:

par sarak

"on the road"

Urdu:

sarak par

Also the Pashto postposition lara has its counterparts in modern Indo-Aryan⁹⁹ languages.

It is assumed that a number of grammatical categories disappearing from Iranian languages and those that have already disappeared (for instance the category of gender in nouns and verbs or the ergative construction) have survived in Pashto, due to contacts with the Indo-Aryan languages¹⁰⁰ possessing analogous grammatical categories. Although the grammatical system is undoubtedly the most resistant one to the pervasive influence of borrowings, yet in the case of languages possessing similar typological features, integration within various grammatical categories¹⁰¹ is possible. There is a view that the linguistic integration of Pashto with Indo-Aryan languages is visible not only

in the phonological and lexical systems but also within grammatical categories¹⁰².

However, the comparison of adjectives in Pashto cannot be considered to belong to such grammatical categories although in most modern Indo-Aryan languages one can find constructions which are basically identical as in Pashto. For instance, the comparative mentioned under point A. 2. on page 15 and the construction in the Hindi language: Syām Rām se lambā hai - Syam is taller than Ram (literally: Syam from Ram tall is); and the superlative on page 18, point B. 3. and on page 19, point B. 4. compared with the following constructions: Syām sab se lambā hai - Syam is the tallest (literally: Syam from everybody tall is); In laṛkom mem Syām lambā hai - among boys Syam is the tallest (literally: among boys Syam tall is)¹⁰³.

Despite analogies between the structure of the comparative phrases in the Pashto and modern Indo-Aryan languages it is very unlikely that the Indo-Aryan adstratum or substratum could influence the system of adjectival comparisons in Pashto in a significant way because at the time when the Pashtun tribes were settling down on the territories bordering with the Indo-Aryan tribes, the modern Indo-Aryan languages were not yet formed. In Middle-Indian languages, on the other hand, there occurred to a smaller or bigger extent suffixes characteristic of the old Indian era and later the two systems¹⁰⁴ probably existed side by side for a long time, although there is no confirmation of this fact in the preserved texts. The Sanskrit suffixes -tara, -tama, -i/vas, -iṣṭha functioning in the old-Indian era and the Middle Indian -vara, -dara, -ara, -yama, -dama, -ama slowly went out of use and can be encountered in modern Indian languages solely as Sanskrit words, the so called tatsama, frequently used in Bengali, or in certain authors¹⁰⁵. Thus, the influence of the Indian adstratum cannot be considered as a decisive factor, if we realize that modern Indian languages were finally formed about 10th century A. C., that is, the time when Pashto did not differ very

much from its present-day form, and in any case it undoubtedly already possessed the analytical adjectival comparison system. Judging by the date of emir Kror's poem we can say that the analytical comparison system in Pashto existed before the final formation of such a system in Indian languages. Thus, despite the fact that a lot is being said about the Indianization of Pashto, we cannot look upon the modern Indian languages as an adstratum or in some cases, substratum causing a change in the comparison system of Pashto. The later proximity of languages possessing the same system could only be conducive to strengthening and preserving this model in Pashto. The Indian languages of earlier epochs could not have constituted the sought after substratum, as they themselves had the inflectional comparison system.

The appearance in modern Indian languages of the analytical adjective comparison system may be associated with the influence of the Dravidian substratum. These types of constructions were used in Dravidian languages from times immemorial¹⁰⁶. The supposition that the absorbed substratum which played a part in shaping the analytical adjectival comparison systems in Pashto - was Dravidian, is based mainly on the fact that Dravidian languages have no suffixes attached to the adjectives that would express the comparative or superlative degree but form syntactic constructions, generally speaking, of identical type as in Pashto. The object to which we compare, occurs in the oblique case (ablative or locative) and is preceded with a preposition, whereas the adjective being compared is in the level degree. Superlative degree is expressed in a similar way, but the object to which we compare is a name of the whole group or a word meaning "everything, everyone". Another way of expressing the superlative is by a repetition of the adjective. All these types of comparative constructions can also be encountered in the Pashto language, and also - of course, in modern Indian languages. Compare, for instance in the Dravidian language Telugu: yena kuduregi nina

kudure malle - your horse is bigger than my horse (literally: Your horse from my horse big is); and in the Kurru language: nin enganfi sannī talday - you are smaller than me (literally: You from me small are)¹⁰⁷.

The suffix -tir occurs only in Brahui, although it was borrowed relatively recently¹⁰⁸ from the Baluchi¹⁰⁹ language (for example: iwāntir - "better")¹¹⁰. The old analytical comparison systems have also been preserved (the construction with the ablative case or the repetition of the adjective). Similarly as in the Pashto language, the construction: kanā hulli iwān e - may mean: 1. my horse is good, 2. my horse is better, 3. my horse is the best¹¹¹. Compare page 15, point A. 1. and page 17, point B. 1., also page 18, point B. 3. - the construction: kanā hulli kullān iwān e - my horse is the best (literally: my horse from all good is)¹¹².

The proportion between the frequency of occurrence of inflectional and analytical comparison systems is different in the compared languages. In the present-day Pashto the analytical comparison system is used much more frequently, lexemes borrowed from Persian or lexemes which are relicts of inflectional comparison system are used more rarely. In Brahui there is at present a preponderance of the inflectional comparison system with the use of the -tir suffix borrowed from the Baluchi language.

W. S. Diesiatowskij thinks that there was no other substratum besides the Dravidian on which other Indo-Aryan languages were stratified at an early stage in their development¹¹³. One may speculate whether this was really the case and whether the same applies also to east-Indian languages, and especially to Pashto.

Among the partially or wholly assimilated tribes which at one time lived in the Sakian country, Ptolemy mentions Bītae. This name is usually associated with the present-day Baluchistan¹¹⁴, a country lying a little further to the east, at a point where Hin-

du Kush and Karakorum meet. This region is inhabited until the present-day, although not exclusively, by Nuristani tribes¹¹⁵ and by Burushaski who use a mysterious, genetically unidentified language - maybe a relic of the so called "Asianic" league or family of languages. According to A. M. Mandelshtam¹¹⁶, probably due to a clash between the approaching Indo-Iranian tribes and the native population, a certain part of this native community moved to the inaccessible, wooded mountainous parts, whereas the rest were subjugated by the newcomers¹¹⁷. G. A. Klimov and D. I. Edelman think that the Burusho are a remnant of the old population of the northern part of the Indian subcontinent and it is only now that their living quarters are limited to the upper regions of the Hunza and Werchikwar rivers¹¹⁸. G. A. Grierson expressed a view that the Burusho at one time populated the whole territory now inhabited by the population of Nuristan, Chitral, Baltistan and Kashmir¹¹⁹. Today, the Burushaski language (buruša - ski), also known as the Kanjuti or Werchikwar is used only in the Pakistan province of Gilgit, in the neighbourhood of the old princedoms of Hunza, Nagir and Jasin. It is used by about 40 thousand people¹²⁰.

A number of attempts have been made to define the genetic links between Burushaski and other languages. It was associated among others, with the Elamite, Basque or the Caucasian languages¹²¹. Maybe all of them go back to the one time "Asianic" family or language league whose range spread over considerable territories of Europe and Asia. If one assumed that these links were probable, then they must have been broken off several thousand years ago¹²², which does not allow for any clear proofs of any relationship between them. One should also mention the attempts to link Elamite not with Burushaski but with Dravidian languages whose general morphological system is not incompatible with that of the Elamite language. There exist hypotheses that Elamite represents a very early offshoot of the Dravidian family¹²³.

However for us it is important first of all how the Burushaski language solved the problem of adjectival comparisons. Generally speaking we find here constructions which are identical as in Pashto (and in some other east-Iranian languages), Dravidian, modern-Indian, Nuristani languages¹²⁴. Let us compare the Burushaski: ja haḡur ine haḡur-cum šua bi - my horse is better than his horse (literally: my horse from his horse good is); or: uyōn-cum šua haḡur - the best horse (literally: from all good horse)¹²⁵.

The Burushaski language is also known for the repetition of the adjective in order to emphasize the intensity of a given feature. However, we have no proof that the Burushaski language has always used this system of adjectival comparison. It seems very likely that the present-day system of adjectival comparison in Burushaski is owed to the adstrata and the process of contamination. The influence of Nuristani and modern Indo-Aryan on Burushaski¹²⁶ is well documented. There exist for example numerous and significant morphological parallels between Burushaski and the Shina¹²⁷. One cannot also deny the existence of the Burushaski - Dravidian relation in the past. Due to an absolute lack of literature we unfortunately do not possess any information concerning the Burushaski language in the more distant epochs and we cannot diachronically trace the phenomenon of adjectival comparison.

We still have not discovered the substratum which would explain the appearance of such a superlative construction in Pashto in which the object that we compare to, occurs in genitive plural:

A big of big ones is (page 18, point B. 5.).
genitive pl.

This model could survive just in Pashto (but not only) thanks to the "Asianic" substratum although it disappeared in the Burushaski language itself. For these types of constructions can

be encountered in the frequently associated with Burushaski, Basque or Elamite language.

A construction of this type, borrowed from Elamite is familiar to us, above all from old Persian texts (and also from Avestian)¹²⁸ as a title used by rulers: xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānam - king of kings¹²⁹. It has survived until today in the Persian title šāhān-šāh¹³⁰. The same construction can be encountered in Turkish language but there it is also a foreign element¹³¹. Its trace has remained until today in the way the superlative degree is formed in the Basque language. The polysemic superlative suffix -en is also used in genitive plural. Hence: gazten'a - the youngest (literally: [young] of young ones)¹³². The likelihood that this type of superlative form had arisen in Pashto as a result of the impact of the "Asiatic" substratum is increased by the fact that this is not the only phenomenon in the Pashto language explained by the influence of the "Asiatic" substratum¹³³. A system of counting by the score has been preserved in a number of languages in the neighbourhood of Hindu Kush until nowadays (among others in east-Iranian, the Burushaski, Nuristani and Dardic languages). This system is also not unfamiliar to Caucasian and Basque languages¹³⁴.

Among the adstrata and substrata which could have influenced Pashto before the end of the I millennium A. C. one should also mention the Nuristani (Kafiri) languages, some time ago classified together with the north-west Indo-Aryan languages as belonging to the group of the so called Dardic languages. Today, only the north-west Indo-Aryan languages are considered to belong to the Dardic group, whereas the Nuristani languages received the status of a separate branch within the Indo-Aryan languages¹³⁵. The number of people speaking Nuristani languages estimated at about 60 thousand¹³⁶. According to Morgens-tierne's hypothesis the Nuristani languages constitute an offshoot from the Indo-Iranian group which branched off shortly before their division or else from the Indian family shortly after the di-

vision but earlier than the Vedic epoch¹³⁷. Eventually, four or five languages were classified, relatively recently as belonging to the Nuristani family: Aškūn, Kalāša-alā, Kati, Tregāmī (?) and Wasi-weri¹³⁸. The local tradition seems to point to the upper regions of the Pich river in eastern Afghanistan as the seat of the Nuristanis at a certain stage of their history.

The Nuristani languages are relatively little known¹³⁹. Learning more about them is made more difficult by an absolute lack of literature among the Nuristanis about their own languages and also by considerable inaccessibility of the territory on which the Nuristani live, especially within Afghanistan itself. Of course, we not only have no historical and comparative grammars but not even descriptive ones nor dictionaries. Most of the published data is fragmentary and incomplete. Frequently the materials were gathered quite randomly¹⁴⁰.

An analysis of the influence of the Nuristani substratum and adstratum on the Pashto language in this situation, is almost impossible. One may expect that the Nuristani languages, having separated from Indo-Iranian had similar comparative and superlative suffixes to the Sanskrit ones. At present, the same patterns as in Pashto, are used by modern Indian, Dravidian and the Burushaski. Probably they also changed their systems of adjective comparison in the course of time, having changed their locality. One cannot rule out the possibility that to some extent (rather insignificant one in comparison with the immediate impact of the Dravidian substratum) these languages were conducive to the formation of this particular model of adjectives comparison in Pashto. It seems likely however that the Nuristani languages could have played the role of one of the mediators, although not the main one, which could have influenced Pashto with what they themselves took over from the Dravidian and "Asiatic" substrata.

8. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVE IN OTHER IRANIAN LANGUAGES

The genesis of the comparison of adjectives in Pashto may be explained analytically on the basis of the analysis of comparative systems in other Iranian languages, also a diachronic analysis - of course, in those cases where it is possible. Very little is known about the ancestors of the Pashto language, especially with regard to the Middle Iranian era. The data from the old Iranian period is also incomplete and does not explain exhaustively how the ancient Pashto speakers compared the adjectives in those days. In order to clarify the present analysis I enclose a table explaining the genetic links between Pashto and other Iranian languages¹⁴¹. The pattern presented on page 49 clearly points out that we have no data concerning the Pashto language from the Middle Iranian era, whereas we may speak about some data from the old Iranian period, although even here the data does not concern the direct ancestors of the Pashto language.

The Saka language is one of such ancestors. In the broad meaning of the term, the Saka language is the language of the numerous tribes living during the period of two millennia (first millennium B. C. - first millennium A. C.) on the territory between the Black Sea and the borders of China. In the 2nd century B. C. a group of Sakian tribes invaded Bactria, Drangiana and Arachosia and later the north-west India. Traces of one of the Saka dialects from this period have been preserved in the relicts recorded in the first centuries A. C. in the Kharoshti and Brahmi dialects. The term - Saka language, has also been reserved for texts from 5th-10th century A. C. and discovered in Chinese Turkestan on the territory of the Khotan oasis and others. From the place where these texts were discovered, they are often referred to as Saka-Khotanese or Khotanese. The Khotanese language disappeared around the year 1000 A. C. under the onset of the Turkish peoples¹⁴².

From the preserved texts we can learn how adjectives were compared in the Saka-Khotanese language. These texts point out undoubtedly that the Pashto ancestors had an inflectional comparison system with the comparative degree suffix *-ara* (with varieties: *-atara*, *-vera*, *-era*, *-ira*, *-ara*) and the superlative suffix *-tama*:

māsta - big,

māstara - bigger,

māstama - the biggest¹⁴³.

The material from the Bactrian language (also known in some papers as Etheo-Tokharian, Kushan or Kushano-Bactrian)¹⁴⁴. H. Humbach considers Bactrian to be an old Iranian language and uses the name Kushan believing that the Kushan people did not adapt the local language for their own use but had their own ancient language. It is of course possible that later on they took over a certain number of local Bactrian elements but their language preserved their own old-Iranian character¹⁴⁵. Others regarded Bactrian as a language possessing the characteristics of the early development stage in the Middle-Iranian languages. Henning and Maricq place Bactrian between Pashto and Yidga-Munji on the one hand, and Sogdian, Khorasmian and Parthian languages, on the other¹⁴⁶. All research on the Bactrian language is based almost exclusively on a short text discovered in the year 1957 during excavations on the site of the temple of fire from the era of the Kushan dynasty (I-III century A. C.) in Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan). Unfortunately, this short text not only does not contain any comparative or superlative form but it does have any unquestionably adjectival forms¹⁴⁷.

The languages of the Old and Middle-Iranian eras, which are more distantly related to Pashto, also represent an inflectional type of comparison.

The comparison of adjectives in the Avestan language was carried out with the comparative suffixes *-tara* or *-ara* (old-

-Indian -tara) and -yas or -yās (old-Indian -yas, -yāms, Latin -ior). The superlative suffix was -iēta (old-Indian -iṣṭha) and -tama or -ama. The suffixes -tara, -tama were added to the theme, whereas -yas, -iṣṭha to the root¹⁴⁸.

In the Ossetic language which was the first one to be cut off from the north-east Iranian language community, the comparative suffix -dār or -tār has been retained until today, despite the considerable isolation of the language. The superlative is formed either in a descriptive way or by repeating the same suffix twice¹⁴⁹. This statement is important in so far, writers H. W. Bailey - as it stresses, that the ancestors of contemporary Ossetic people spoke a language so close vocabulary, syntax and morphology wise and even with respect to certain significant innovations to the Khorasmian, Sogdian, Khotanese and contemporary Pashto that one has to assume close affinity of these peoples with the Ossetic population¹⁵⁰.

If the very separation from the motherland does not have to influence the system of comparison and cause the loss of the formal exponents of this category which is proved by the case of the Ossetic language, then one should undoubtedly consider what factor, apart from the very distance, exerted influence on the east Iranian languages and whether it is not by any chance the impact of the substrata or adstrata encountered during the march of these tribes. The change of the comparison system is the more interesting in this case as the east-Iranian languages are characterized by a relatively well preserved inflectional system¹⁵¹.

This view may also be supported by the fact that Persian, although considered to be an west-Iranian language, especially on the eastern most territories of its expansion range, particularly in Afghanistan (recently referred to as Dari¹⁵²) also began to show tendencies to substitute suffixes -tar, -tarin with constructions of the analytical type¹⁵³: kalān-e tu - bigger than you (literally: big [from] you), xub az-i - better than this (literally:

good from this), besyār kalān az tu - a lot bigger than you (literally: very big from you), az kull-eš xub - the best (literally: from everything good), az mobayn-e in bačehā xub as - he is the best of these boys (literally: from among these boys good is), kambaxal-e kambaxal/h/ā - the poorest (literally: poor of the poor), kalan-kalan-e šomā - the biggest of you (literally: big-big [from] you).

As we can see, these are analytical constructions built in a similar way as in Pashto. Taking into consideration the geographical position, as well as the former and the present social status of the Dari language in Afghanistan, we can say that it was and still is one of the most significant adstrata in the Pashto language, however not only did it not cause the preservation of the inflectional comparison system in Pashto, but it was transformed itself in a similar way. Although this tendency is smaller in Dari and one still equally frequently uses the suffixes as formal exponents of the comparative and the superlative¹⁵⁴.

It is also worth noting how adjectives are compared in the remaining east-Iranian languages which are spoken at present in Central Asia.

The Yaghnobi language which constitutes the continuation of the Sogdian has survived on the territory of the high mountain valley of the river Yaghnob and in several settlement of the Warzob Valley north of Dushanbe. Until recently it used the Iranian inflectional comparison system, with the suffix -star (Sogdian -st), whereas now it uses the analytical comparison system, copying Tajik forms, in most cases without using the Tajik comparative and superlative suffixes¹⁵⁵.

The Ormuri language (Baraki, Bargista) belonging to the south-eastern group of Iranian languages is the language of a small ethnic group. It occurs in two dialects: the dialect of Logar Ormuris (south of Kabul) and the dialect of Kaniguram Ormuris (in Pakistan, north-west of the Dera Ismail Khan city). The latter dialect is regarded as the more archaic one. At one

time, the Ormuri was much more widespread and as late as the 19th century it occurred also on the territories situated north and west of Kabul. Later on, the Ormuris began switch over to Persian or partly to Pashto and already in the year 1924 G. Morgenstierne found it difficult to come across people speaking Ormuri¹⁵⁶. The Ormuri language possesses an analytical model of adjective comparison, generally speaking identical to Pashto.

COMPARATIVE:

Ho dī i-^a lāst^a plan hā - this one is broader than that one (literally: this from that broad is).

SUPERLATIVE:

I-harr^a lāst^a dī sir hā - he is the best (literally: we from everyone good is).

Hā giyōy ai i-harr^a inar ghwat^a hā - this cow is the fattest (literally: this cow among all fat is)¹⁵⁷.

The related Parachi language shows numerous morphological analogies with the Ormuri language. It has been preserved only in a few villages along the Shutul river (north of Kabul) and in the Nijrau (also north of Kabul). In the twenties it occurred also in the Panjshir valley. At present, the whole Parachi speaking population (about 6-8 thousand) also speak Dari.

On the north-western most territory of Afghanistan there occur Pamir languages belonging to the north-east group of Iranian languages. These languages include:

1. the Shughni-Roshani language group consisting of: Shughni dialect with the Bajuwi sub-dialect, the Roshani dialect with the sub-dialect Khufi (occurs in the Pianj valley along both its sides and in the Khuf valley), dialects Bartangi and Oroshori (in the valley of the river Bartang - the right tributary of the Pianj river), the Sarikoli dialect (in Sinkiang, in the valleys of the river Tashkurgan and its tributaries Wach and Tizneg as well as in the valleys of the Tagarma and Burunsol rivers);

2. the Yazghulami language (the valley of the Yazghulam river, the right tributary of the Pianj river);

3. the Wakhi language (in the upper part of the Pianj river along both its banks, in the upper regions of the Yarkhun river in Pakistan, also in the valley of the Hunza river and in Sinkiang, in the valley of the Tashkurgan river below the Sarikol abodes);

4. Ishkashmi (in the Pianj valley along both its sides, moreover in the area of Sanglich);

5. Munji (the valley of the Munjan river in Afghanistan and also on the nearby territories of Pakistan);

6. Wanji; there is information that such a language existed until recently in the Wanj valley, the right tributary of the Pianj;

7. Sarighulami; we have information about the existence of such a language (the upper regions of the Sarighulam river, east of the Afghan Faizabad), yet as at now, no details are available¹⁵⁸.

None of the Pamir languages possess any literature. According to Pachalina, all Pamir languages form the comparative degree of the adjective by adding the following suffixes:

Wakhi	<u>-tér</u>	Sarikoli	, <u>-der</u>
Shughni	<u>-di</u>	Yazghulami	<u>-dūr</u>
Roshani	<u>-di</u>	Ishkashmi	<u>-tar</u>
Bartangi	<u>-dōr</u>	Munji	<u>-dér</u> < <u>*-tara</u>

as in the examples: Wakh. varztér, Shugh. vō/ūyādi, Yazgh. vəzdūr, Ishk. vozdūktar, Munj. vanēder - "longer"¹⁵⁹.

Morgenstierne however, writes about the Yidga language and about Munji which is genetically closest to Pashto, that although Grierson side by side with numerous examples of analytical constructions makes of the form "kemder" - "younger", he himself had not come across this form and the suffix -der may be a borrowing from Persian¹⁶⁰. It seems more reasonable to regard the suffix -der as a still appearing from time relic of the inflectional comparison system.

If we take a map of Central Asia and mark arbitrarily with crosses the Iranian languages and dialects using the analytical comparison system and with circles the dialects using the inflectional system, then looking from the north to the south we shall see a horizontal row of circles denoting the following languages: Yaghnobi, Tajik, Wakhi, Shughni, Yazghulami, Sarighulami, Bartangi, Sarikoli, Oroshori, Roshani. Then there will be a mixed strip of languages which had partly lost the inflectional comparison system: Sanglichi, Dari, Yidga, Ishkashmi, Munji. The loss of the inflectional system is variously advanced. In most cases the comparative suffix has remained and the superlative degree is formed syntactically. Sometimes, the use of the suffix is optional. The superlative suffix has not survived in any single case. There is a general tendency that the exponents of the superlative degree disappear first as the ones which are used more rarely and are easily substituted. For, the superlative degree may be expressed simply with the form of a comparative degree by saying: A is bigger than the others.

In the third and widest strip situated nearest to the Indian subcontinent we shall find crosses, almost exclusively, denoting languages using the analytical comparison system: Pashto, Ormuri, Parachi, partly Baluchi, the Nuristani languages which are in between the Iranian and the Indian group, and the north-west Indian, the so called Dardic.

As a rule, there are no exceptions to these rules, and if there are occasional ones, they can be explained. For example, the Baluchi language lies in the lowest zone and still occasionally uses the inflectional forms, although, it possesses already dialects with analytical comparison forms and the use of suffixes is optional. Yet, it is obvious that it is a west Iranian language and the first Baluchis reached the borders of Sind only in 13th century¹⁶¹. The Dari language is a special case for: in spite of the fact that it has preserved the productive comparative and superlative suffixes, it also uses the analytical comparison system,

although Persian which belongs to the west-Iranian group had reached these territories a dozen or so centuries after the east-Iranian languages and it could have constituted an exception. Baluchi and Dari underline how strong is the tendency to switch from the inflectional to the analytical comparison system on these territories.

A diachronic glimpse at the map and delineating the boundaries of the Avestan, Khwarezmian or Saka languages leads to interesting results. It turns out that these languages do not break the rules of a given zone. So not only time played a significant role, for as we can see, the change of the comparison model was taking place relatively quickly, but also the fact of approaching the Indian Peninsula. Besides, if one takes into consideration that modern Indian languages existing side by side with Afghan tribes also produced an analytical comparison model, one may suppose that the stimulus which caused the substitution of the syntetic comparison system with a new model, is connected with the area of Punjab and not with the influence of the Turkish or Mongolian peoples with whom the east Iranians also came into contact and which possess very similar syntactic comparison methods. In any case, the Turkish and Mongolian languages could not have been the principal factor although they could have supported this process slightly, as they did not interfere with it, the more so that for practical and prestigious reasons, almost all peoples of Central Asia whose languages constituted or still constitute an adstratum for Pashto learnt the Persian language whose comparison model was syntetic and which had gradually undergone the same tendency as Pashto, on the eastern most territories of its range. For instance, the Mongoloid Hazaras had almost entirely lost their ancient language in Afghanistan substituting in with Persian¹⁶². Besides, the Turkish and Mongolian peoples had appeared side by side the Pashtuns rather too late when Pashto had its new comparison model already fully shaped.

We have no proofs either that any factor could have operated still before east Iranians had settled down in Central Asia. On the other hand, if we took into consideration the possibility of the influence of the Altaic adstratum, then it should have had impact, first of all, on the northernmost zone, while it was just the other way round, and the syntetic comparison system was preserved just there.

One should assume therefore the existence of some factor which caused the same tendencies and the same effects on a vast area in the Nuristani Indo-Aryan and also those Iranian languages which occurred closest to the Indian subcontinent.

9. SUMMING UP

An almost total lack of data about Pashto from the old and Middle Iranian period makes it extremely difficult to trace and describe the changes which took place in its structure before the modern Iranian period.

The data provided in the previous chapters suggests that the change in the comparison model in Pashto took place before the modern Iranian period, as Emir Krör's poem containing the oldest known Pashto comparative phrase, formed in an analytical way, goes back to 8th century A. C. The process of the gradual disappearance of the inflectional comparison system and the formation of a new model must also have taken place before this date and most likely was completed in the Middle Iranian era (3 century B. C. - 7 century A. C.). One cannot also exclude the possibility that this process was initiated towards the end of the old Iranian period but there is no way of establishing it precisely. All that is known is the fact that the change of the comparison model is linked with the period after the arrival of the main ancestors of contemporary Pashtuns (around 7-6 century B. C.), that is, Iranian tribes belonging to the Saka group or tribes related to them, on the territories lying south of

Pamir and west of the Indus river, and encompassing the present-day east Afghanistan. Before this march the Pashtun ancestors used the inflectional comparison system. This is testified by the still-preserved Pashto lexemes which at one time were comparative forms analogous to the ones occurring in the Avestan, old Persian, Sanskrit, or even pre-Indo-European. These preserved lexemes, inflectional comparative forms convince us that Pashto at one time really did possess an inflectional comparison system and only later changed this model. This total change is surprising in so far as the east Iranian languages show a tendency to a relatively good preservation of the inflectional system and Pashto in certain respects even surpasses other languages in this issue. It is unlikely that the natural tendency to substitute inflectional forms with analytical ones could operate so forcibly solely within this one category, leaving only slight traces within other categories.

It is characteristic that basically all languages from the Indo-Iranian group, had lost the inflectional comparison model on reaching the north-west territories of the Indian subcontinent and had formed an analytical system, regardless of how advanced they were in the analytical tendencies. This phenomenon cannot be explained otherwise than by the influence of the substratum on the superstratum which had been superimposed on it, especially if the other changes can also be explained by the influence of the same substratum. In the case of the Pashto language, one should point here to the sequence of the retroflex consonants in its phonological system, a number of words of unknown origin containing these retroflex consonants, counting by the score, forming echo-words, and maybe also the presence of the ergative construction and the monophthongization of diphthongs.

The ancestors of the Pashtun tribes, marching in the direction of the Indian subcontinent were superimposed on two, at that time most probably adjacent substrata. These were the Dravidian substratum, and the so-called "Asianic" substratum, about which we have very little information. The latter one is responsible,

for instance for the counting by the score in the Hindu Kush area and the territory south of Pamir.

As far as the comparison of adjectives is concerned, both substrata have identical comparison models as the ones formed in Pashto, comparative constructions of the type:

A. COMPARATIVE

1. A big is,
2. A from B big is,

B. SUPERLATIVE

1. A big is,
2. A big-big is,
3. A from all big is,
4. Among big A big is,
5. A big big ones is,

do not occur in all their variations in both substrata. Models A1, A2, B1, B2, B3, B4 are characteristic of the Dravidian substratum. The "Asianic" substratum on the other hand, although it does not possess the construction A1 and B4, it did possess the comparative model B5.

On certain territories the Indo-Aryan and Nuristani languages acted as a substratum for Pashto. The Indo-Aryan languages could not have acted as a stimulus leading to a change of the comparison model as they formed the analytical comparison system consistent with the Dravidian substratum model, later than Pashto. We do not have any information concerning the influence of the Nuristani substratum on the comparison of adjectives in Pashto. All that is known, is that the Nuristani languages in this area had themselves lost the inflectional comparison system and formed the analytical constructions. Their alleged influence on the comparison system in Pashto would have to have had a very limited range.

At the present stage of research we cannot unfortunately define more precisely the Dravidian and "Asianic" substrata which had influenced the comparison system in Pashto. The two substrata are known only fragmentarily in the form of the Dravidian language Brahui and the "Asianic" Burushaski.

Cracow 1981

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NOTES

¹ Different variations of the name of this language are being used. The 1964 Afghan constitution mentions Pashto, as one of the official languages. The name Pushtu or Pashtu which is frequently encountered in literature is a contaminated transliteration of the English form Pushtu. See: I. M. Oranskij, 1960, p. 304; M. A. Miran, 1977, p. 126.

² B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 49; M. A. Zyar, 1974, p. 9; Ch. Kieffer, 1975, p. 11. Whereas, according to other Iranian scholars it is a south-east Iranian language. See: I. M. Oranskij, 1963, p. 175.

³ I. M. Oranskij, 1963, p. 122; 1960, pp. 304-305.

⁴ W. W. Vychucholev, 1968, p. 82.

⁵ Called Dari on this territory.

⁶ The terms: Nuristani and Dardic languages, see: C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, 1977, p. 265; R. Strand, 1973, pp. 297-305; Ch. Kieffer, 1975, p. 11; A. L. Griunberg, 1971, p. 265. Also pages 38-39 of the present paper.

⁷ Z. M. Kalinina, 1977, p. 210.

⁸ I. M. Oranskij, 1960, p. 306.

⁹ M. Lorenz, 1979, p. 15.

¹⁰ D. A. Šafeev, 1955, p. 1049.

¹¹ W. S. Rastorgueva, 1975, v.2, p. 51; M. A. Zyar, 1974, p. 9.

¹² W. S. Rastorgueva, 1975, v. 1, p. 163.

¹³ G. Morgenstierne, paper delivered during the International Seminar of Pashto Studies, Kabul, 1975.

¹⁴ For instance I. M. Oranskij, 1963, pp. 123-124; N. A. Dvorjankov, 1963, pp. 1, 3; M. G. Gerasimov, 1968, p. 3; K. Lebedev, 1973, p. 7.

¹⁵ It is still not known how these problems will be treated by the present government.

¹⁶ M. A. Ziyar, 1975, pp. 1-2; M. A. Miran, 1977, pp. 123, 126.

¹⁷ M. A. Ziyar, 1975, p. 3; Ch. Kieffer, 1975, p. 3; G. Morgenstierne, 1932, p. 17.

¹⁸ M. A. Ziyar, 1975, pp. 1-2; M. A. Miran, 1977, p. 125.

¹⁹ Data collected in the Department of Literature and Anthropology of the Kabul University and in the Pashto Academy in Kabul.

²⁰ International Seminar of International Centre for Pashto Studies, Kabul, Nov. 1975.

²¹ M. A. Ziyar, 1975, p. 6.

²² N. A. Dvorjankov, 1968, p. 409. W. Geiger and H. Hübschmann are responsible for the ultimate classification of Pashto as a Iranian language. see: W. Livšic, I. M. Oranskij, 1949, pp. 179-183.

²³ A. H. Helali, M. R. Elham, 1978, pp. 117-127.

²⁴ A. W. Rastorgueva, 1975, v. 1, p. 11.

²⁵ D. A. Šafeev, 1955, p. 1041.

²⁶ J. Lyons, 1976, p. 506; Z. Gołab, A. Heinz, K. Polański, 1968, pp. 101, 102, 535, 546; T. Milewski, 1965, p. 107, T. Pobożniak, 1969, p. 235.

²⁷ W. Geiger, 1898-1901, v. 2, p. 216.

²⁸ D. A. Šafeev, 1955, p. 1078; K. A. Lebedev, 1956, pp. 61-62; R. Khan, 1966, p. 40.

²⁹ Z. M. Kalinina, 1972, p. 94.

³⁰ Vendidat 5, 24; Ch. Barthlomeae, 1961, p. 460; A. Debrunner, 1954, p. 444.

³¹ G. Morgenstierne, 1927.

³² W. I. Abaev, 1958, p. 589.

³³ Vendidat 6, 14; Ch. Barthlomeae, 1961, p. 1155.

³⁴ E. A. Grantovskij, 1970, pp. 354-358.

³⁵ H. W. Bailey, 1971, p. 16.

³⁶ A. Debrunner, 1954, p. 603.

³⁷ Ch. Barthlomeae, 1961, p. 459.

³⁸ Ch. Barthlomeae, 1961, p. 1155.

³⁹ Ch. Barthlomeae, 1961, p. 1154.

⁴⁰ V. I. Abaev, 1958, p. 630.

⁴¹ V. I. Abaev, 1958, p. 630.

⁴² A. Meillet, 1958, pp. 230-231.

⁴³ A. Meillet, 1958, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁴ Some of them are not fully grammaticalized and remain on the border-line of style.

- 45 W. Skalmowski, 1966, p. 314.
- 46 A. Habibi, 1960, p. alef; H. Rafi, 1971, p. 47.
- 47 A. Habibi, 1960, p. alef; P. H. Nowin, 1354 h., p. alef.
- 48 M. Hotak, 1960, pp. 34-35.
- 49 M. Hotak, 1960, pp. 34-35.
- 50 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 39.
- 51 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 40; T. Barrou, p. 30.
- 52 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 40.
- 53 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, s. 43.
- 54 A. B. Gafurov, p. 47, 1978.
- 55 S. R. Rao, 1979, pp. 13-18.
- 56 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 47; G. Stagul, 1969, pp. 56-57, 86.
- 57 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 49.
- 58 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 49; B. A. Litwinski, 1967, pp. 127-133.
- 59 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 67.
- 60 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 49.
- 61 E. A. Grantovskij, 1970, pp. 354-358.
- 62 E. A. Grantovskij, 1963, p. 29.
- 63 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, pp. 63-65.
- 64 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 65.
- 65 The term "Nuristani languages" - pp. 38-39 of the present paper.
- 66 B. A. Abaev, 1956, pp. 63-64; D. I. Edelman, 1963, p. 74; B. M. Masson, B. A. Romodin, 1964, p. 19; J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 126.
- 67 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 126.
- 68 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 127.
- 69 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 127.
- 70 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 128.
- 71 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 129.
- 72 J. M. Oranski, 1963, p. 342.
- 73 G. Morgenstierne, 1926, pp. 38-39.
- 74 G. Morgenstierne, 1926, p. 130.

- 75 M. K. Kudriavcev, 1972, p. 176.
- 76 A. B. Gafurov, 1978, p. 41.
- 77 M. K. Kudriavcev, 1972, p. 176.
- 78 M. S. Andronov, 1978, pp. 8-9.
- 79 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, pp. 33-67; I. M. Diakonov, 1967, p. 112; B. C. Vorobev-Diesiatovskij, 1956, p. 112.
- 80 S. R. Rao, 1979, pp. 13-18.
- 81 S. R. Rao, 1979, p. 17.
- 82 S. R. Rao, 1979, p. 17.
- 83 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 33; A. Parpola, 1970, p. 99; I. Mahadevan, 1970, p. 240.
- 84 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 67.
- 85 M. K. Kudriavcev, 1972, p. 117.
- 86 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 126.
- 87 The terms: "Dardic", "Nuristani" - pp. of the present paper.
- 88 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, pp. 411-412.
- 89 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, pp. 411-412.
- 90 M. S. Andronov, 1971, p. 53; J. Pstrusińska, 1974, p. 176.
- 91 J. Pstrusińska, 1974, s. 176.
- 92 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, pp. 410-411; G. Grierson, 1921, p. 63 included Afghan short-story about Pashtuns using Pashto and "Hindki", that is Lahnda.
- 93 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 411.
- 94 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 411.
- 95 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 411.
- 96 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 412.
- 97 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 413.
- 98 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 413.
- 99 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 415.
- 100 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 415.
- 101 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, pp. 415-416.
- 102 N. A. Dvoriankov, 1968, p. 416.
- 103 M. Gatzlaff-Hälsing, 1978, pp. 63-64.

- 104 T. Pobożniak, 1969, pp. 236-237.
- 105 M. Gatzlaff-Hälsig, 1978, p. 64.
- 106 R. Caldwell, 1913, pp. 316-318.
- 107 M. S. Andronov, 1978, p. 288.
- 108 D. De S. Bray, 1909, p. 68.
- 109 M. S. Andronov, 1978, p. 288.
- 110 D. De S. Bray, 1909, p. 68.
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- 113 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 35.
- 114 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 67.
- 115 The terms: "Nuristani", "Dardic languages" pp. 38-39 of the present paper.
- 116 A. M. Mandelstam, 1957, p. 73.
- 117 J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 46.
- 118 G. A. Klimov, D. I. Edelman, 1970, p. 9.
- 119 G. Grierson, 196-27, v. 1, 1, p. 108, v. 8, 2, p. 551; J. W. Gankovskij, 1971, p. 46.
- 120 G. A. Klimov, D. I. Edelman, 1970, p. 9.
- 121 G. A. Klimov, D. I. Edelman, 1970, pp. 11, 17; J. Jusifov, 1968, p. 38; Trombett'i, 1966, pp. 12, 156.
- 122 G. Morgenstierne, 1935, pp. 289-331.
- 123 I. M. Diakonov, 1967, pp. 21, 108.
- 124 G. A. Klimov, D. I. Edelman, 1970, pp. 45, 46; H. Berger, 1974, p. 22.
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- 126 G. Morgenstierne, 1935, pp. 289-331.
- 127 G. Morgenstierne, 1935, pp. 289-331.
- 128 R. G. Kent, 1953, p. 80.
- 129 R. G. Kent, 1953, p. 80.
- 130 F. Steingass, 1970, p. 728; P. Horn, 1893, p. 170.
- 131 A. von Gabain, 1941, p. 172.
- 132 H. Schuchardt, 1923, p. 4.
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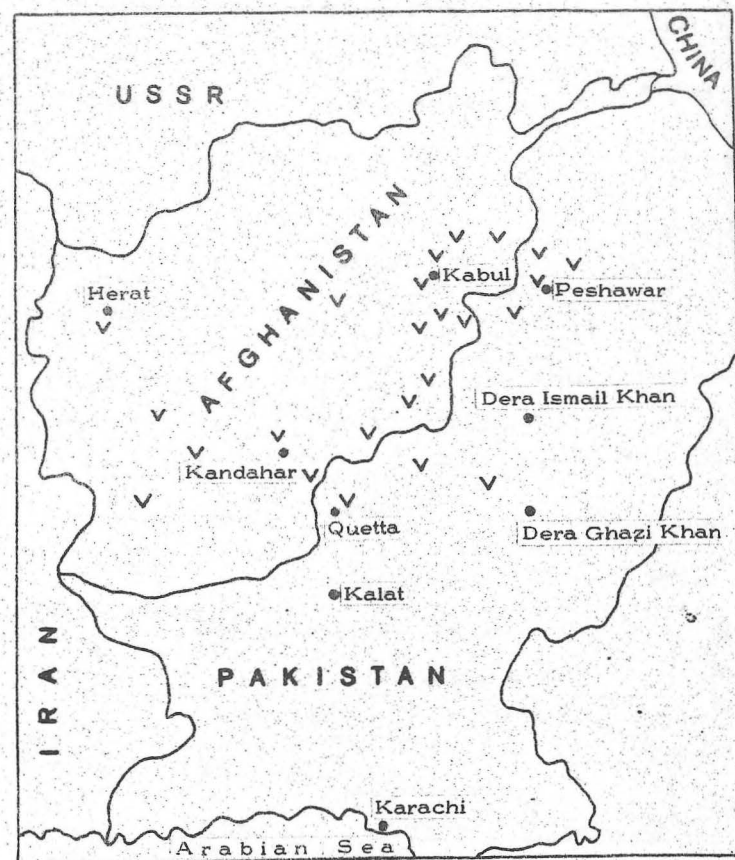
- 135 See: Sources specified in footnote No 6 and D. I. Edelman, 1965, pp. 7-13.
- 136 L. Duprée, 1976, p. 7. The estimation was carried out before December 1979.
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- 138 R. Strand, 1973.
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- 141 Compiled following closely the paradigm prepared by D. N. Mac Kenzie during the International Seminar of International Centre for Pashto Studies in Kabul, Nov. 1975.
- 142 I. M. Oranskij, 1963, pp. 90-92.
- 143 S. Konov, 1941, p. 46.
- 144 B. Mękarska, 1974, p. 150.
- 145 B. Mękarska, 1974, p. 150.
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- 147 B. Mękarska, 1974, pp. 152-158.
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- 149 W. Miller, 1962, pp. 83-84; W. I. Abaev, 1964, p. 19.
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- 151 W. S. Rastorgueva, 1975, v. 2, p. 151.
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- 155 A. L. Chromov, 1972, pp. 20-21; M. S. Andreev, E. M. Peščereva, 1957, p. 323.
- 156 I. M. Oranskij, 1963, p. 168; M. Dost, 1975, p. 168.
- 157 G. Grierson, 1921, vol. X, p. 140.
- 158 T. N. Pachalina, 1975, p. 222.
- 159 T. N. Pachalina, 1975, pp. 234-235.
- 160 G. Morgenstierne, 1938, p. 343.
- 161 B. M. Masson, B. A. Romodin, 1964.
- 162 L. Ligeti, 1955, pp. 99-100; W. A. Efimov, 1965, p. 8.



PL. 1. THE RANGE OF PASHTO LANGUAGE

■ Territories inhabited by the Pashto speaking population

Compiled on the basis of I. M. Oranskij, 1963.



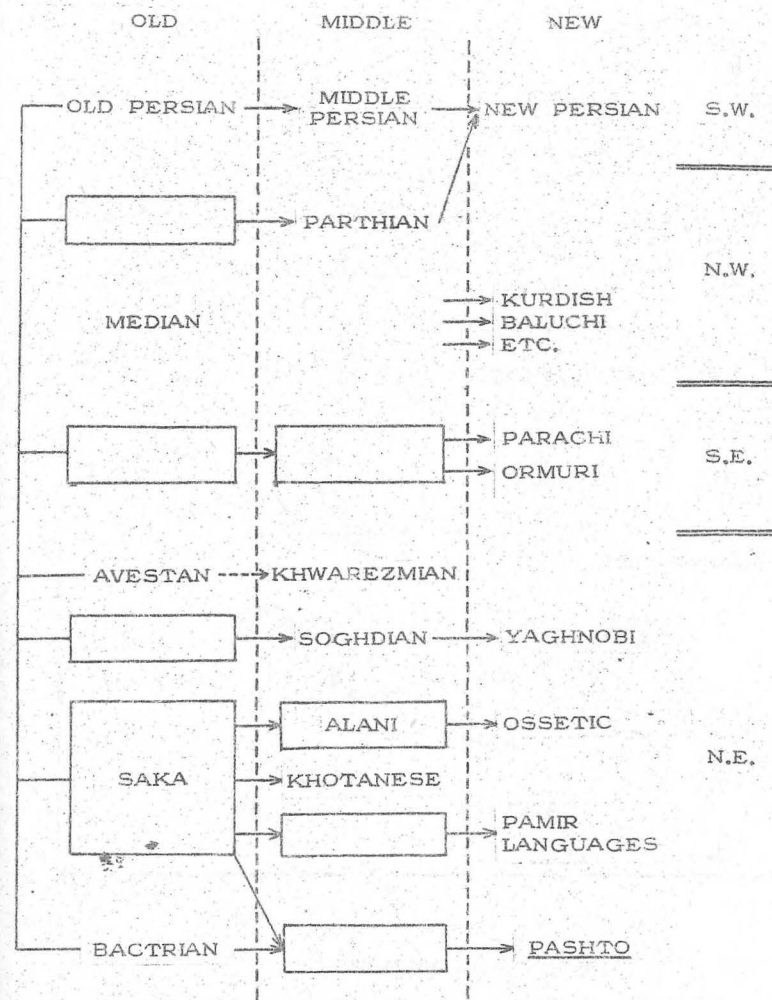
PL. 2. TERRITORIAL RESEARCH

V Places where territorial research was conducted



PL. 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES:

Brahui,
Burushaski,
Dardic,
Nuristani

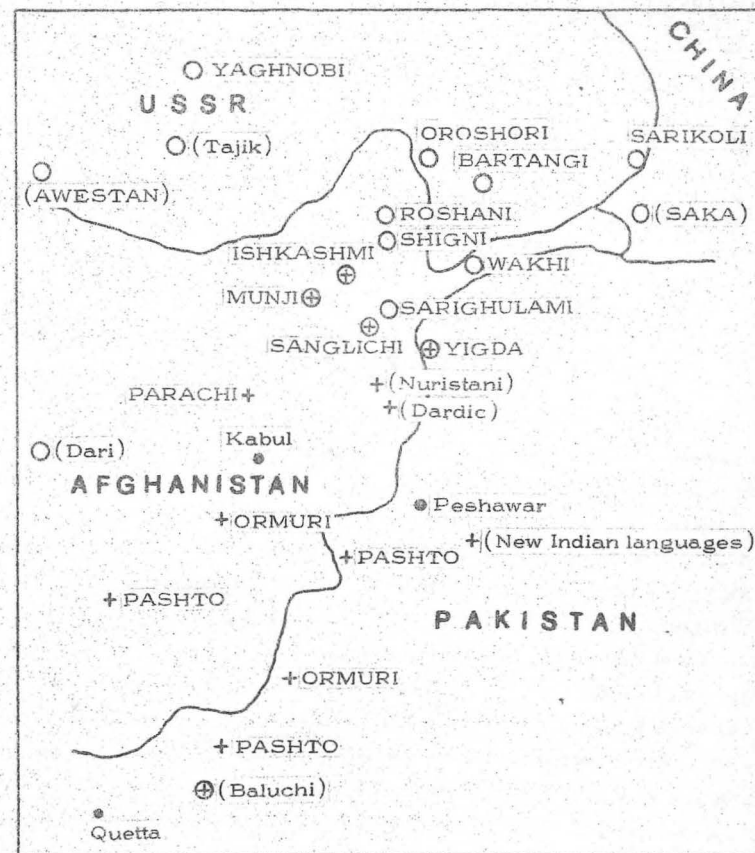


PL. 4. IRANIAN LANGUAGES - DIACHRONIC DIVISION



PL. 5. THE DISTRIBUTION
OF THE MODERN EAST-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

The names of the west-Iranian languages are given in brackets.



PL. 6. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES
ON THE EAST-IRANIAN LANGUAGE TERRITORIES

- + Languages using the analitical comparison system
- Languages using the inflectional comparison system
- ⊕ Languages using a mixed comparison model