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WESTERN LOANWORDS IN MODERN PASHTO

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ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING lexical problems in the modern languages of Asia is the influence of western culture and modern technology on the vocabulary. Pashto is the language spoken mostly in the east, south, and southwest of Afghanistan, the northwest of West Pakistan and in the border area between the two countries; it is beside Persian the official language of Afghanistan, but only a regional language in Pakistan, which favors Urdu. A major part of the learned and scientific vocabulary of Pashto has been derived from the Persian-Arabic tradition, and the number and status of these loans troubled lexicographers in the past (e.g., H. W. Bellow; cf. his *Dictionary of the Pukkhito Language*, preface, p. vii). This study will deal with the loanwords from English, French, and German found in the modern literary language and in the educated speech of Afghanistan. It is based in the main on the investigation of the usage of the Kabul dailies *Hēwād* and, particularly, *Islāh* from June, 1958, to May, 1959, as well as on work with educated speakers of Pashto.¹ We will deal with the following aspects of the loanword problem: the fields of meaning represented in the corpus (§1); the phonemics of the loanwords and their sources (§2); their morphological features (§3); the morphemic variation among loanwords (§4).

1: THE CORPUS OF WESTERN LOANWORDS

The words from Western sources that we find in the Pashto lexicon reveal the areas in which Western ways, cultures, and technology have influenced the country: the familiar "Wörter und Sachen"

¹ Mohammad Rahim Elham and others in Kabul in 1959; Abdul Ghafoor (from Kohdaman near Kabul) and Noor Ahmad Shaker (from Kandahar) in Ann Arbor, 1960. The work in Kabul was assisted by a grant from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan; the work in Ann Arbor is linked to the Research Project in Near and Middle Eastern Languages, which includes a Pashto-English dictionary project. The varying usage of the native speakers is, if pertinent, marked by E (Elham), Gh (Ghafoor), Sh (Shaker), respectively. The contexts of the *Hēwād* and *Islāh* occurrences are never, their dates only rarely, given.

correlation remains valid. The names of many foreign countries (§1.1), of Western measures, weights, and months (§1.2) are loanwords. We find among them terms for European clothing, food, objects (§1.3); political, commercial, and administrative terms (§1.4); scientific and technological vocabulary (§1.5), particularly in the field of motor transport (§1.6); terms in medicine and education (§1.7), culture and sport (§1.8). We cannot quote the entire loanword corpus, but shall try to include the most representative examples, which are usually listed alphabetically in each group.

1.1. Geographical Terms

Most of the names of foreign countries and nationalities are derived from English, some of them from French.² Examples are: *amrikā*, *amrika* 'America,' *āstariyā*, *ōtriš* 'Austria' (French *Autriche*), *čākōsālūwākiya* (Sh), *čikōsalwākiyā* (E) 'Czechoslovakia,' *ḍanmārk* 'Denmark,' *fārāns*, *fārānsa* 'France' (F *France*) *hālēnd* (Sh), *hālind*, *hālānd*, *hālind* (E), *hālaynd* (Gh) 'Holland,' *inglisī*, *angrēzī* 'English' (F *anglais*), *jārmāni* (Sh), *jarman*, *almān* (E)³ 'Germany' (F *Allemagne*), *kānādā* 'Canada,' *nārūwē* 'Norway,' *nāway zilānd*, *niwzilēnd* 'New Zealand,' *pōlēnd* (Sh) 'Poland,' *sawīḍān* (Sh), *siwīḍān* (E), *sawēḍān* (Gh) 'Sweden' (German *Schweden*), *silun* 'Ceylon,' *switẓerlēnd*, *sawīs*, *swēzarlaynd* (Gh) 'Switzerland' (F *Suisse*), *tāylind* (E) 'Thailand,' *yugōsālūwīya* (Sh), *yugōsalāwīyā* (E) 'Yugoslavia.'

² The following transcription symbols are used in this article for the Pashto words:

vowels: *a ā ē i ī ō u ū* (see §2.1, 2.2 below)

resonants: *w y l r ɾ n m ŋ* (§2.3c)

stops and spirants: *b p d t ɖ ʈ g k q f h x* (voiceless velar spirant) *g* (voiced velar spirant)

sibilants: *s z š ʒ* retroflexed (in Kandahar): *ʂ ʝ*

Nonfinal stress is indicated: e.g., 'ēpril

This transcription differs from the one used in my *Grammar of Pashto: A Descriptive Study of the Dialect of Kandahar, Afghanistan* (Washington, D.C.: ACLS, 1955), quoted below as *Grammar of Pashto*.

³ Cf. L. Bogdanow, "Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," *Journal Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, XXVI (1930), p. 81.

1.2. Measures, Months

Among names of Western measures derived from Western languages, we find: *inč* 'inch,' *gēlan* 'gallon,' *kilōgarām*, *kilōgirām*, *kēlō* 'kg' (F *kilogramme*, G *Kilogramm*), *mitar*, *mitr* 'meter,' *milyūn* 'million' (F *million*, G *Million*), *milyārd*, *milyār*, *bilyun* 'billion' (F *milliard*, G *Milliarde*), *nambar*, *lambar* 'number,' *sānti* 'centimeter' (F *centimetre*), *sāntigrēt*, *sāntigrād* (E) 'centigrade' (F *centigrade*), *tan* 'ton.'

The names of the Western solar months are mostly derived from English: *jinwari* (Sh), *janwari* 'January,' *firwari*, *fibrwari*, coll. *farwari* 'February,' *mārč*, *mārs* (E) 'March' (F *mars*), *aprēl*, (*ēpril*) 'April' (G *April*), *may* 'May' (G *Mai*), *jūn*, *jōn* (Sh) 'June,' *jūlay*, *jūlai*, *jōlayi* (Sh) 'July,' *āgist*, *agast* 'August,' *sētambar*, *sitimbar*, *sitambar*, *siptimbar* 'September' (F *septembre*, G *September*), *aktubar*, *āktōbar* 'October,' *nawimbar*, *nawimbar*, *nuwambar* 'November' (F *novembre*), *dasimbar*, *disimbar*, *disambar*, *disāambar* 'December' (F *décembre*).

1.3. Clothing, Objects, Food

Western articles of clothing are represented by Western terms: *buṭ*, *bōṭ* 'boot,' *ḍabal* 'strong, thick' (Engl. *double*),⁴ *fēšan* 'toilet, dressing up' (Engl. *fashion*), *kālar* 'collar,' *kōṭ* 'coat, overcoat,' *lākit* 'locket,' *midāl* (E), *madāl* (Gh), *mādāl* (Sh) 'medal' (F *médaille*), *nikṭāyi*, *nikṭāyī*, *tāi* (in Peshawar) 'necktie,' *patlun*, *pātlun* (Sh) 'pants, trousers' (F *pantalon*), *waskaṭ*, *wāskaṭ* 'waistcoat, vest.'

Some terms for objects and household items that have come in from the West are loanwords: *baks*, 'bakas, also *baksa*, 'bakas in Peshawar 'box,' *bandal* 'bundle,' *bōtal* 'bottle' (F *bouteille*), *gēlās*, *gilās* 'glass,' *jag* '(water)-jug,' *kārk*, *kāk* 'cork,' *nōṭ*, *lōṭ* 'note, bill,' *pākat* 'packet,' *pārsal* 'parcel,' *pīnsal*, *pīnsil*, *pīnsin* 'pencil,' *puskāt* 'postcard,' *sālun* 'reception-room, parlor' (F *salon*), *štōp*, *ištōp* '(cooking)-stove,' *ṭim* 'tin-can.'

A few loanwords refer to food and connected items: *āmlit* 'omelette,' *jeli* 'jelly,' *kāfi*, *kāpi* 'coffee,' *kēk* 'cake,' *mārkēt* 'market, (modern) chainstore,' *pōdar*, *pōḍar* 'powder' (F *poudre*, G *Puder*), *pūḍin*, *pūḍin* 'pudding,' *paṭāṭē* 'potatoes,' *sigrīt*, *sigrēt* 'cigarette,' *sṛābāri* 'strawberry.'

⁴ Cf. James Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-1890), pp. 275 f.: "Words Borrowed from English."

1.4. Administrative and Political Terms

Many administrative, commercial, and political terms are loanwords from Western languages: *asāmbila* 'meeting, assembly' (F *assemblée*), *aṭāša* 'attaché' (F *attaché*), *āžāns* '(news) agency' (F *agence*), *bānk* 'bank,' *blāk* 'block,' *budija*, *bōdija* 'budget' (F *budget*), *čāns* 'chance,' *diktāturi* 'dictatorship; dictatorial,' *dimōkrāsī*, *dimōkērasi* (Gh) 'democracy,' *fašisti* 'fascism,' *grūp* 'group,' *impriyālisti* 'imperialistic,' *kābina* 'cabinet' (F *cabinet*), *kampani* 'company,' *kantrōl*, *kanṭrōl* 'control,' *kōmiṭa*, *kumiṭa* 'committee' (F *comité*), *kumisyūn*, *kamisyun* 'commission, committee' (F *comission*, G *Kommission*), *kāndidawam*, *kāndidawam* 'I run (somebody) as candidate,' *kāmōnizām* 'communism,' *kāmōnist* (Sh) 'communist,' *list* 'list' (F *liste*, G *Liste*), *nōrmāl*, *nurmāl*, *nārmal* 'normal' (F *normal*, G *normal*), *pālisī* 'policy,' *pārelmān*, *pārlamān* (Gh) 'parliament' (F *parlement*), *plān* 'plan' (F *plan*, G *Plan*), *prōza*, *pārōza* 'project' (F *projet*), *pulis*, *pōlis*, coll. *pālus* 'police' (F *police*), *prōgrām*, *pārōgarām* 'program' (F *programme*, G *Programm*), *prōṭist* 'protest,' *prōtōkōl* 'protocol' (F *protocole*, G *Protokoll*), *rapōṭ*, *rāpōṭ*, *rāpōrt*, *rāpōr* (Gh) 'report' (F *rapport*), *ražim*, *ražim* 'regime' (F *régime*), *rifərāndum* 'referendum,' *rōl* 'role' (F *rôle*), *sistum*, *sisṭam* 'system,' *sōsyālizm* 'socialism' (F *socialisme*), *sōsyālist*, *sōsyālist* 'socialist' (F *socialiste*), *yuniṭ* 'unit,' *žurnālist* 'journalist' (F *journaliste*).

Some military terms are loanwords: *afsar*, *awsar* 'officer,' *gārd*, *gārd* 'guard' (F *garde*), *jīnrāl* 'general' (newly established rank), *mārš*, *marč* 'march' (F *marche*, G *Marsch*), *pālṭan*, *pālṭan* (Engl. *battalion*), *qumāndān*, *kōmāndān* 'commander' (F *commandant*, G *Kommandant*), *žāndārm* 'gendarme' (F *gendarme*).

1.5. Scientific and Technical Vocabulary

Some scientific terms are Western loanwords: *atum*, *ātum*, *aṭam* 'atom' (F *atome*, G *Atom*), *fārmul*, *fōrmul* 'formula' (F *formule*), *iskilēt*, *skilēt* 'skeleton' (G *Skelett*, F *squelette*), *kēmyā*, (*kimistri*) 'chemistry' (G *Chemie*), *pizik*, (*fiziks*) 'physics' (G *Physik*, F *physique*), *sarwē* 'survey,' 'sāyins, siyāns 'science' (F *science*).

A large number of technological terms have been borrowed: *bagay* 'tonga,' *bam*, *bam* 'bomb,' *bāysikal*, *bāysikēl* 'bicycle,' *bitūn* 'concrete' (F *béton*, G *Beton*), *bōṭ* 'bolt,' *fābrika*, *pābrika* 'factory'

(G *Fabrik*), *fiyūz* 'fuse,' *girāmfūn* 'record-player, gramophone' (F *gramophone*, G *Grammophon*), '*jita alwatāka* 'jet plane,' *kāmra*, *kamra* 'camera' (G *Kamera*), *kānāl* 'canal' (F *Canal*, G *Kanal*), *kalīša* 'plate, block (typogr.)' (F *cliché*), *kānkrēt*, *kānkrēt* 'concrete,' *kēbal*, *kēbal* ' (telephone-) exchange' (Engl. *cable*), *layn* 'line,' *māšin*, *māšin* 'machine, engine' (F *machine*, G *Maschine*), *māšingan*, *māšingan* (Sh) 'machine gun,' *mikrō-fūn*, *māykrōfun* 'microphone' (F *microphone*, G *Mikrophon*), *mikrōskōb*, *māykrōskōp* 'microscope' (F *microscope*, G *Mikroskop*), *mizānik* 'mechanic' (G. *Mechaniker*), *mōtōr* 'engine' (G *Motor*), *pamp* 'pump,' *parāšūt*, *pārāšūt* 'parachute' (F *parachute*), *rākiṭ*, *rākit* 'rocket,' *sākiṭ* 'socket' or *wālsākiṭ* (Engl. *wall socket*), *siminṭ*, *simiṭ*, *simēt* 'cement,' *taznik* 'technique' (G *Technik*), *tazniki* 'technical' (G *technisch*), *talwēzyūn* 'television' (F *télévision*), *ṭayp* 'typewriter,' *tēlafun*, *tilifūn*, *ṭalipun* 'telephone' (G *Telephon*, F *téléphone*), *tēlafunī*, *ṭalipunī*, also *laynmayn* (Gh) 'telephone repairman,' *tēlēgrām*, *tiligrām*, *tēlēgrām* 'telegram' (G *Telegramm*, F *télégramme*), *ṭēp* 'tape,' *ṭēprikārdār* 'tape-recorder,' *tōnal*, *ṭōnal* 'tunnel' (G *Tunnel*, F *tunnel*), *wayr* 'wire.'

1.6. Motor Transport and Maintenance Terms

Almost all the terms that concern motor transport, parts of the motor-car and its maintenance have been borrowed from English: *aksal* 'axle,' *andāl* 'handle, *bādī*, *bādāy* 'body,' *bānaṭ* 'hood' (Engl. *bonnet*), *birik*, in Peshawar also *barēk* 'brake,' *bēlar* 'big can, barrel' (Engl. *boiler*), *biṭri*, *baṭray* 'battery,' *ēn* 'chain,' *daynamō* 'dynamo,' *gēr*, *gir* 'gear,' *giris*, *garis* 'grease,' *iksīlētār*, *aksīlētār* 'gas pedal' (Engl. *accelerator*), *injin* or *māšin* 'engine,' *istēšān*, *stēšān*, in Peshawar *tēsan* 'station,' *ištiring*, *ištēring*, *štiring* 'steering-wheel,' *jak*, *jēk*, *jayk* 'jack,' *kalač*, *klač* 'clutch,' *kārānkis* 'crankcase,' *kārbētār*, *kārburētār* 'carburetor,' *kilinar*, *klinar*, *kālēnār* (Sh), in Peshawar *kālindār* 'driver's assistant' (Engl. *cleaner*), *lāri*, *lārāy* 'lorry, truck,' *lēsans*, *laysans*, *lēsans* 'licence' (F *licence*), *mōblāyl*, *mublayl*, *mōblayn*, *məblayn* 'oil' (Engl. *Mobiloil*), *mōṭār* 'motor-car,' *mōtarsāykal*, *mōtarsikēl*, *mōṭarsikēl* 'motorcycle' (F *motocyclette*), *naṭ* 'nut,' *palak*, *plag* 'plug,' *palās* 'pliers,' *pāyḍal* 'pedal,' *pampār* 'bumper,' *pančār* 'punctured,' *pančārēdāl* 'become punctured,' *pančārī* 'puncture,' *pētrōl*, *piṭrōl* 'gasoline' (Engl. *petrol*), *pištum* 'piston,' *rābar*,

(*rābar*), *lābar* (Sh) 'rubber,' *rēdētār*, coll. *lālētār* 'radiator,' *rinj*, *rēnč* 'wrench,' *sarwēs*, *sərwēs* 'busline, bus' (F *service*, Engl. *service*), *sīt*, *sīt* 'seat,' *ṭayr*, *ṭayr*, 'ṭayār (Sh) 'tire,' *ṭikis*, *ṭakis* 'ticket,' *ṭrāfik*, *ṭarāfik* 'traffic' (F *trafic*), *ṭrāns-pōrt*, *ṭranspōrt* 'transport, transportation,' *ṭulbaks*, *ṭulbaks* 'tool-box,' *ṭup*, *ṭup* 'tube,' *wāl* 'valve,' *wōlding* 'welding.'

1.7. Educational and Medical Terms

In the field of higher education we find a number of loanwords, mostly from French: *dāktār*, *dāktār*, *duktūr* 'doctor' (F *docteur*, G *Doktor*), *dāktūra*, *dāktəri* 'doctorate' (F *doctorat*), *fākōlta*, coll. *pākōlta* 'faculty, college' (F *faculté*, G *Fakultät*), *filōšip*, *fēlōšip* 'fellowship,' *kanfērāns* 'lecture' (F *conférence*), *kurs*, *kōrs* 'course' (G *Kurs*, F *cours*), *lābrātwar* 'laboratory' (F *laboratoire*), *lēsa*, *lisa* 'high-school' (F *lycée*), *lisāns* 'bachelor's degree' (F *licence*), *lisānsa* 'holder of bachelor's degree' (F *licencié*), *sēmīnār* 'seminar' (G *Seminar*), *skālaršip* 'scholarship.'

The following loanwords occur in the field of medicine: *iksārīz*, *iksrēz* 'X-rays,' *influinzā* 'influenza' (F *influenza*, G *Influenza*), *malāriyā*, *malārya* 'malaria' (G *Malaria*), *sanātōriyum*, *sanātōriyām* 'sanatorium' (G *Sanatorium*), *wāk-sin* 'vaccine,' *wāksināsiūn*, *wāksinēšan* 'vaccination' (F *vaccination*), *wirūs* 'virus.'

1.8. Cultural, Social, Sport Terms

Cultural and social activities have contributed more loanwords: *ārtist*, *artēšt* 'artist' (F *artiste*), *brōḍkāst*, *brādkāst* 'broadcast,' *ḍrāma*, *ḍarāma*, *ḍrām* 'play' (Engl. *drama*, G *Drama*, F *drame*), *film*, 'filēm' 'film,' *huṭal* 'hotel,' *muzyam*, *mōzyam*, *muza*, *mōza* 'museum' (F *musée*, G *Museum*), *muzik*, *mōzik* 'band, orchestra' (Engl. *music*, F *musique*, G *Musik*), *kāfi*, *kāpi* 'café' (F *café*), *kānsart*, *kānsart* 'concert,' *klub*, *klup*, *klab* 'club' (G *Klub*), *kultūr*, *kaltur*, *kalčār* 'culture' (G *Kultur*), *kaltōri* 'cultural,' *rādiyō* 'radio' (G *Radio*), *rikārd*, *rikāt* 'record,' *stēj* 'stage,' *sinēmā* 'cinema, movie theatre' (F *cinéma*), *tablō*, *tāblō* 'painting' (F *tableau*).

Western sports have brought their terminology into Pashto: *čēlinj* 'challenge,' *fuṭbāl*, *fōṭbāl* 'football,' *hākī* 'hockey,' *spōt*, *spōrt*, *səpōrt* 'sport, athletics,' *stāḍiyum*, *stūḍiyam*, *stēḍiyam* 'stadium' (G *Stadion*), *ṭēnis* 'tennis,' *ṭim* 'team,' *wālībāl* 'volleyball.'

2. THE RENDERING OF FOREIGN PHONEMES IN PASHTO

2.1. Pashto Short Vowels

Pashto has the following short vowels which are used to render phonemes in loanwords: /i/ (allophones: lower high front and higher mid front), /a/ (low central or low back unrounded), /ə/ (mid central and higher mid central), /u/ (allophones: lower high back and higher mid back rounded).

Pashto /i/ reflects the vowels of English *bit* and *bet* in *inglisī*, *'jita*, *filōšip*, *sitimbar*, *simint*, *siwič*, *ṭikis*; weak-stressed German and French *i* in *mikrōfūn*, *mikrōškōb*. /i/ alternates with /ī/: *māšin*, *māšin* (§ 4.3b below).

Pashto /a/ renders the vowel of English *but* in *dabal*, *jag*, *palak*, *pamp*, *ṭan*; the vowel of English *bat* in *aksal*, *jak*, *janwari*; the vowel of English *pot* in *afsar*, *bam*, *baks*, *kansarṭ*; French and German *a* sounds in *pakt* 'pact', *sanātōriyum*, *tablō*; with /r/ the medial phoneme in English *hurt*: *jarmanī*, *sarwē*. Loud-stressed /a/ is common before *r l n*, where English shows an unstressed glide or a syllabic resonant: *aksal*, *āktubar*, *mōṭar*, *pārsal*, *pōḍar*, *siwīdan*. /a/ often alternates with /ā/: *tāblō*.

Pashto /ə/ renders vowels in unstressed syllables of English words and appears in personal or regional variation with /a/: *jermanī* (§ 4.3c below), *arjantāyn* 'Argentine', *jālī*, *ārtasṭ*, *ražim*.

Pashto /u/ renders the loud-stressed vowels of English *boot*, *foot*, *beauty* in *buṭ*, *fuṭbāl*, *tup*, short German *u* in *klup*, *kultūr*, *muzik*; German and French weak-stressed *o* in *duktūr*, *kumisyūn*, *pulis*. /u/ frequently alternates with /ū/: *tēlāfun*, *tilifūn* (§ 4.3b below).

2.2. Pashto Long Vowels and Diphthongs

Pashto has in all dialects the following long vowels which are used to render foreign phonemes in loanwords: /ē/ (mid front with raised allophones), /ā/ (low central unrounded or low back rounded), /ō/ (mid back rounded with raised allophones). /ī/ (high front) and /ū/ (high back rounded) occur in some Pashto dialects mainly when rendering phonemes in Persian loanwords (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 5.3, 6.3). Two diphthongs /ay/ and /āy/ occur frequently.

Pashto /ē/, written as the so-called 'majhula yē', renders the diphthong in English *bait*: *īksilētar*, *kēk*, *ṭēp*, *sarwē*; the medial phoneme in English *beat* in *gēr* (beside *gīr*), the vowel of English

bat in *fēšan*, *jēk*, *pōlēnd*; French and German *i* and *e* sounds in *aprēl*, *sarwēs*, *lēsa* (also *lisa*), *sēminār*.

Pashto /ā/, which resembles in Pashto dialects either the vowel of English *father* or of *law*, renders both of them in loanwords, some of them with a British English pronunciation base: *brōḍkāṣṭ*, *čāns*, *gilās*, *kārk*, *rikārḍ*, *wālibāl*. It reflects the vowel of English *pot* in *hāki*, *lāri*, *pālisī*; German and French *a* sounds in *ātum* (besides *atum*), *fābrika*, *kānāl*, *malāriyā*, *plān*, *rāḍiyō*; French nasalized *a* in *āžāns*, *disāambar*, *pārālmān*, *sāntigrād*, *žāndārm*; *a* before French palatalized sounds in *almān*, *midāl*. Unusual is the rendering in *rābar* 'rubber', *palās* 'pliers'.

Pashto /ō/ reflects the diphthong in English *boat*: *bōlt*, *kōṭ*, *mōṭar*, *štōp*. /ō/ renders English *or* in *rāpōrt* (also *rāpōṭ*), *spōrt*, *ṭrānsport*. It alternates with /ū/ and /u/ in *jōn*, *mōza*, *mōzik*. It renders German and French long *o* in *rāḍiyō*, *sanātōriyum*, *sōsyālist*, *tablō*, *mōtōr*. /ō/ in *brōḍkāṣṭ* may be partly a spelling pronunciation, in *bōtal*, *pōḍar*, *ṭōnal* reflect the values of F *bouteille*, *poudre*, G *Tunnel*.

Pashto /ī/, written as the so-called 'ma'rufa yē', reflects (in some dialects only in a formal pronunciation) the vowel in English *beat*: *kilinar*, *pālisī*, also German and French long *i* sounds: *fābrika*, *māšin*, *muzik*, *taxnik*.

Pashto /ū/ reflects the loud-stressed vowels of English *boot* and *beauty* in *parāšūt*, *jūn*, also German and French long *u* sounds: e.g., *kultūr*, *grūp*; *o* sounds, particularly the nasalized French *o* sound: *duktūr*, *bitūn*, *kumisyūn*, *mikrōfūn*, *milyūn*, *sālūn*, *tilifūn*.

Pashto /ay/ and /āy/ render the diphthong in English *bite*: *layn*, *ṭayr*, *ṭayp*, *wayr*, and *bāysikāl*, *sāyins*. /ay/ renders sometimes the vowel in English *bat*: *hālaynd*, *laynmayn* (Gh), *jayk* (Sh).

2.3. Pashto Consonants

(a) The Pashto stops /b p g k/, resonants /r l m n/, sibilants /s š z ž/, the affricates /j č/, the spirant /f/ render the corresponding foreign phonemes in loanwords: *baks*, *filōšip*, *jag*, *pamp*, *pārk*, *ražim*. /q/ occurs in *qumāndān* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 39). In some words final voiceless stops render foreign voiced stops: *rikāṭ* (besides *rikārḍ*), *sāntigreṭ* 'centigrade' (French, English).

The Pashto voiceless velar fricative /x/ renders the German voiceless fricative spelled 'ch' in *taxnik*, *taxnikī*, *mixānik*.

(b) The fortis prepalatal retroflexed stops /d/ and /t/ rather than the dentals /d/ and /t/ render the English alveolar stops *d* and *t*: *bōlt*, *ḍabal*, *ḍrāma*, *fuṭbāl*, *kānādā*, *ṭep* (*Grammar of Pashto* §§ 24, 25). Pashto /d/ and /t/ seem to render the French and Persian dentals: *hōtal*, *dimōkrāsī*, *tēlafun* (see § 4.4 below).

In prevocalic position the Pashto semivowel /y/ often, usually alternating with /iy/, renders foreign syllabic *i* sounds: *rāḍyō*, *rāḍiyō*; *malāryā*, *malāriyā*.

Pashto /w/, i.e., nonsyllabic *u*, renders both English *w* and *v*, French *v* and nonsyllabic *u*: *sarwē*, *sarwēs*, *siwič*, *wayr*, *sawīs*.

(c) /f/ is a phoneme borrowed from Persian into Pashto. Pashto /p/ instead of /f/ appears colloquially in Persian and in Western loanwords: *kāpi* and *kāfi*, *pābrika* and *fābrika* (*Grammar of Pashto* §§ 20.3, 38).

/l/ instead of /n/ in *lambar* (besides *nambar*), *lōt* (besides *nōt*); and /n/ instead of /l/ in *mōblayn* (besides *mōblayl*), *pinsin* (besides *pinsil*) show unusual representations which reveal partly a tendency toward dissimilation. Unusual are the reflexes in *rābər*, *lābər* (besides *rābar*), where the retroflex lateral flap /ɾ/ appears; in *māšingan* (besides *māšingan*), where we find the nasalized retroflexed lateral flap /ɳ/ (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 15, 19).

(d) Some initial English clusters are rendered in Pashto with an intrusive or prothetic vowel, which indicates the influence of a parallel Afghan Persian form: *birik*, *iskilēt*, *istēšan*, *istiring*, *gilās*, *gēlās*, *kilōgirām*, *siwič*, *siwiḍan*. This vowel has often the quality of the vowel following the cluster: *kalač*, *palak*, *siwič*, sometimes *kulup* 'club.'

Pashto /št/ renders English /st/ in *istiring*, *štōp*, 'stove' (/p/ for English final *v*). There does not seem to be any connection with the Pashto dialectal variation between /š/ and /s/ (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 30.2). In Peshawar the cluster is frequently rendered by a simple consonant: *ṭēšan* 'station,' *ṭēsən* (*Islāh*, September 17, 1958, in a Karachi dispatch), *ṭul* 'stool,' *tōs*, *tōš* 'toast.'⁵

Irregularities in cluster representation show *budiḍa* with an intrusive vowel, *pančari* 'puncture'

(without /k/). Final /s/ in *ṭikis* 'ticket' may reflect the plural form 'tickets.'

2.4. Phonemic Substitution in Pashto

(a) The examples given above show that, on the whole, Pashto phonemes render foreign phonemes according to phonetic similarity. The words have usually final stress in Pashto even if the corresponding foreign forms do not: *āgist* 'August,' *ḍabal* 'double,' *stēšan* 'station' (but *'hālēnd*, *'nārwe*, *'ēpril*). It is usually possible to derive the foreign base-form from the phonemic shape of the loanword in Pashto. Differences in the underlying English types have to be considered: e.g., *mārč*, *rikārd*, *rāpōrt* reflect the type where postvocalic *r* is pronounced, *rikāt*, *rāpōt* the type where it is not.

(b) Also Pashto dialects vary in their phonetic structure. /a/ in *jak* 'jack' suggests a more palatal vowel in the originally borrowing Pashto dialect; /a/ in *afsar*, *baks*, on the other hand, a velar quality (see § 2.1 above). In some Pashto dialects /ā/ differs from /a/ only in its quantity, in others it is more velar and rounded. Thus different values in different borrowing dialects can render with perfect regularity of substitution English *or* and *ar* and the vowels in English *father*, *law*, *pot*: *kārk* 'cork,' *pārk* 'park,' etc.

(c) The presence of Afghan Persian loanword forms and their influence on Pashto explains some reflexes (see § 2.3b, d): *sistum* with /t/, *dimōkērāsī* with /d/, *siwič* with intrusive /i/, etc.

(d) In some words of general Western currency, it seems difficult to pinpoint the decisive influence of any particular language: e.g., *māšin*, *list*. Obviously several foreign base-forms have contributed to the phonemic shape of a few words: *mizānik*, *sāntigrēt*.

(e) Although most of the loans must have originally come in in their spoken form, the influence of the foreign orthography makes itself felt too. It seems to favor a pronunciation of postvocalic *r*, broad *a* values for 'a' (particularly before any *n*), a "Latin" value for 'u,' etc.: e.g., *mārč*, *plān*, *may* 'May,' *sanātōryum*, *switzerlēnd*, *hālānd*.

(f) Some exceptional substitutions seem to be due to factors of internal distribution and association: e.g., *n* in *-gaṇ*, /ē/ in *gēlās* (homonymous with *gēlās* 'cherry'), *āy* in *pāyḍal* 'pedal' (Per-

⁵ Cf. also Qazi Rahimullah Khan, *The Modern Pushtu Instructor*, Vol. II (Peshawar, 1943), pp. 173 ff.: "Classified Vocabulary."

sian *pāy* 'foot'), /ā/ in *rāpōrt* (*rā-*, a common Pashto prefix).

3: MORPHEMIC FEATURES OF LOANWORDS

3.1. Parts of Speech among Loanwords

The great majority of Western loanwords in Pashto are substantives. Adjectives can be freely formed from them (see § 3.4b below), but few have been borrowed: *ḍabal*, *nōrmāl*, *pančar* 'punctured,' *singəl* 'single' (infrequent). No simple verbs appear among the loanwords. Some nominal forms combine with forms of *kawəl* 'to do,' *kēḍəl* 'to become': e.g., *brōḍkāṣṭ kawəm* 'I broadcast'; *sarwē kēṣi* '(it) is surveyed.' Very few loanwords appear as parts of compound verbs in *-awəl*, *-ēḍəl* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 88: class IV-A): *dzān nā kandiḍawī* (*Islāh*, December 13, 1958) 'he does not run' (*kāndid* (*kāṇḍiḍ*) 'candidate'); *ṭup pančārēṣi* 'The tube is punctured.'⁶

3.2. Gender

The substantives that are Western loanwords are masculine or feminine according to the same conditions as native words. Any substantive designating a male living being or ending in a consonant (including *y* and *w*) is a masculine, and any substantive designating a female living being or ending in a vowel or stressed *ay* is a feminine. Pronouns, adjectives, certain verbal forms occurring with them in positions calling for agreement in gender take masculine or feminine endings. Thus *akṣal*, *julāy*, *may*, *lisānsa*, *sāyins*, *sawidān* are masculines and *biṭri*, *fākōlta*, *julāi*, *malārya*, *nārwē*, *lisa*, *rāḍiyō*, in some dialects also exceptionally *pəltən*, are feminines.⁷

3.3. Case and Plural Endings

(a) Arabic loanwords often retain their plural forms; e.g., *makātib* besides *maktabuna*, pl. of *maktab* 'school'; *mutaxasisin* besides *mutaxasisān*, pl. of *mutaxasis* 'expert'; *tartībāt* besides *tartībuna*, pl. of *tartīb* 'preparation' (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 56). The substantives borrowed from Western languages, however, form their plural and case-forms like native Pashto substantives. Masculine

line substantives ending in a consonant form their plural by adding the morpheme *-una* (*'unə*); those designating living male beings add *-ān*: *tayruna*, *plānuna* but *mixānikān*, *žurnālistān*; *skālaršipuna* 'scholarships,' *skālaršipān* (E) holders of scholarships.' *-ān* occurs also, sometimes besides *-una*, as plural suffix in a number of words that designate inanimate objects: *ṭikisuna* and *ṭikisān*, *ṭupuna* and *ṭupān* 'tubes,' *sarwēsuna* and *sarwēsān* 'busses' (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 52.2b).

Feminine substantives take the same endings as native substantives with a corresponding shape (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 49.2b): *fābrika*, pl. (and oblique sing.) *fābrikē*; *lāri* (or *lārəy*), pl. *lārəy*; *tablō*, pl. *tablōgānē*.

In some Pashto dialects the oblique singular case differs from the direct singular case in some words by a change of *a* to *ə* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 55.2): *ḍāktar*, obl. *ḍāktər*; *mōṭar*, obl. *mōṭər*; *pōḍar*, obl. *pōḍər*.

(b) Foreign nouns that designate some substance or material occur like native nouns only in the plural: e.g., *rābar* (*rābər*) 'rubber,' oblique case *rābārō*; *piṭrōl* 'gasoline,' obl. *piṭrōlō*; *simiṭ*, *simiṭ* 'cement,' obl. *simiṭō*, *simiṭō* (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 63.3a, 5).

After numerals and some indefinite pronouns a plural form ending in weak-stressed *-a* occurs also with loanwords: e.g., *pindza* 'ṭana '5 tons,' *yaw tsō bōtāla* 'a few bottles' (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 63.1).

(c) A common substantive type contains loud-stressed *a* as the direct singular case morpheme, which is replaced by the suffix *-ē* in the oblique singular case and direct plural forms. Many loanwords were reshaped to conform to this type: *fābrika*, *farānsa* (besides *farāns*) 'France,' *amrika* (and *amrikā*) and many French loanwords ending in final /ē/: *asāmbila* (F 'assemblée'), *aṭāša* (F 'attaché'), *kābina* (F 'cabinet'), *kališa* (F 'cliché'), *kōmīṭa* (F 'comité'), *lēsa* (F 'lycée'), *lisānsa* (F 'licensé'), *prōṣa* (F 'projet').

The loud-stressed suffix *ay* appears also in the direct singular case: *lārəy* (besides *lāri*), *bagəy*.

3.4. Word-formation

(a) Compounded words are rare in Pashto; they are usually loans from Persian (*Grammar of Pashto*, § 67.1). Some Western substantives are compounded: *māšingən*, *mōṭarsaykal*. *pōstaxāna* 'post-office' is a rare hybrid formation; in Pesh-

⁶ Cf. Herbert Penzl, "Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb," *JAOS*, LXXI (1951), 101 (§ 2.3).

⁷ *Grammar of Pashto*, § 50; also Herbert Penzl, "Die Substantive des Paschto nach afghanischen Grammatiken," *ZDMG*, CII (1952), 54 f. ("Grammatisches Geschlecht").

war *jēlxāna* 'jail' is used. '*jita alwatāka* 'jet plane' (*Islāh*, November 27, 1958) is constructed like a phrase.

(b) The loud-stressed suffix *-i* freely forms adjectives from Western loanwords: *e.g.*, *malāriāyī*, *kilōgrāmī*, *kaltōrī* 'cultural,' *talwēzyunī*, *ṭrāfikī*, *taxnikī* 'technical,' *fēšānī* 'fashionable,' the compounded *tsalōrtanī* 'of 4 tons' (*Islāh*, December 22, 1958).

A homonymous substantival suffix *-i* (*i*) forms actor and abstract substantives: *tilifūnī* (*təlipunī*) 'lineman,' *parāšutī* 'parachutist' and *fašistī* 'fascism,' *kāmōnistī* 'communism.'

4: MORPHEMIC VARIATION AMONG LOANWORDS

4.1. Causes and Types of Morphemic Variation

The amount of variation in the shape of Western loanwords is a striking feature that can be observed in speech and even in writing, between various idiolects and within one idiolect. We quoted above (§1) only some samples of the recorded variation among educated speakers (E, Sh, Gh).

This variation may with a certain regularity concern some particular phonemes or clusters of phonemes, *e.g.*, *t* and *t*: *ṭayr*, *tayr*; *ī* and *i*: *māšin*, *māšin*; *kil-* and *kl-* in *kūlinar* and *klinar*. The alternation may involve the entire morpheme: *sētambar*, *sitambar*, *siptimbar*; an extreme case is '*sāyins*, *siyāns*. Sometimes the competing forms show a suppletive variation with little or no formal resemblance: *āstariyā*, *ōtriš*.

The reasons for this variation can be found in dialectal differences of Pashto itself, perhaps supported by the interdialectal character of the standard orthography (§4.3), in the different foreign language models or different foreign pronunciation bases for the Pashto loans (§4.2), in the varying influence of the parallel loanword forms in Afghan Persian (§4.4), in the degrees and stages of adaptation after the adoption of the loanword (§4.5). Occasionally there is some influence from the foreign orthography (§2.4e above). These various factors, often a combination of several, can account for all of the variations found.

4.2. The Differing Foreign Models

(a) The contact of the Afghan intellectuals and elite with Western languages has been a decisive factor in the adoption of loanwords into Pashto. Prolonged stay in French-, English-, and German-speaking countries as well as foreign

language instruction in Afghanistan itself has brought upperclass and educated Afghans in effective contact with Western languages. At the present time English is the main foreign language in the secondary schools of Kabul and the provinces, French is taught at Esteqlal High School, German at Nijat High School in Kabul. English is the most important foreign language at Afghanistan's only university, the University of Kabul, even though some French and German professors teach there with the help of interpreters. In Pakistan, where English is a compulsory subject in secondary schools and the language of administration and partly instruction in higher education, its influence on Pashto remains unchallenged.

It is clear that the contact and familiarity with one or more of the three Western languages known in Afghanistan has influenced speakers in their choice of loanword forms. The speakers who know English prefer the form based on English; speakers who know French or German, the forms based on French or German, etc. Different foreign model forms account for such variation as: *jərmāni* (Engl. *Germany*) and *almān* (French *Allemagne*); *switzərlēnd* (Engl. *Switzerland*) and *sawis* (French *Suisse*); *inglisī* (Engl. *English*) and *angrēzi* (French *anglais*); *aprēl* (German *April*) and, rarely, *'ēpril* (English *April*); *disāmbar* (French *décembre*) and *disimbar* (Engl. *December*); '*sāyins* (Engl. *science*) and *siāns* (French *science*); *mikrōfūn* (German *Mikrophon*, French *microphone*) and *māykrōfun* (Engl. *microphone*); *mōtarsāykal* (Engl. *motorcycle*) and *mōtarsikēl* (French *motocyclette*); *dāktar* (Engl. *doctor*) and, more elegantly, *duktūr* (French *docteur*, German *Doktor*); *muzyam* (Engl. *museum*, German *Museum*) and *muza*, *mōza* (French *musée*); *kultūr* (German *Kultur*) and, less frequently, *kalčar* (English *culture*).

(b) Sometimes the alternations seem to suggest different English pronunciation types as bases; *e.g.*, both the type with and the type without postvocalic *r*: *rāpōt*, *rāpōṭ* (*rāpōr* is from French *rapport*); *rikārd*, *rikāt* 'record' (noun), *spōt*, *spōṭ* 'sport, athletics,' *kārk* (E) and *kāk* (Sh) 'cork.' For the variation between *gēr*, *gīr* see §4.3b below.

4.3. Dialectal Variation and Loanwords

The variation due to multiple borrowing and found in idiolects of speakers of the same region

and class must not be confused with genuine dialectal differences. Western loanwords like other parts of the vocabulary show the phonemic pattern of the respective dialects.

(a) In the variation between the /p/ and the originally borrowed /f/ (§ 2.3c above), /f/ is preferred in a more formal style of speech and in writing: *afsar* and *awsar*, *fākōlta* and *pākōlta*, *təlifun* and *təlipun*.

(b) In those dialects of Pashto where /ī/ and /ū/ are mainly or only found in loanwords from Persian also Western loanwords show only /i/ and /u/ in colloquial speech: *māšin* and *māšin*, *grūp* and *grup*. Lower allophones in some foreign pronunciation types may be responsible for an occasional rendering of English long high vowels by long Pashto mid vowels: *gīr* and *gēr*, *klinar*, *kālənər* (Sh), *jūn* and *jōn*. The alternation between Pashto /ō/ and /u/ and /ē/ and /i/ respectively (for not fully stressed vowels) in loanwords in turn may partly correspond to a morpho-phonemic alternation between these vowels in some Pashto dialects, e.g., in Kandahar (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 5.2, 6.2): *budiya* and *bōdiya*, *kumiṭa* and *kōmiṭa*, *tələfun* and *tilifun*.

(c) Because of the distribution of the phonemes /ə/ and /a/ in their dialect, speakers of the Kandahar dialect often have /ə/ when others pronounce /a/: *səwīḍən* (Sh), *səwēḍən* (Gh); *pətlun* (Sh), *patlun* (E); *pōḍər* (Sh), *pōḍar* (E, Gh); *bəm* (Sh), *bam* (E).

Different allophonic variation of /ə/ and /i/ and different phonetic characteristics of /ā/ and /a/ in various Pashto dialects explain the variation in rendering foreign phonemes, particularly outside of the main stress: *giris* and *gəris*; *lisāns* and *ləsāns*; *pārāšut*, *parāšūt*; *ātum*, *atum*; *kāmra*, *kamra*; *āgist*, *agast*, *tāblō*, *tablō* (cf. § 2.4b above).

One reason why this interdialectal variation continues is the absence of a standard of pronunciation in Pashto and the character of the standard orthography, which cannot give status to one form in preference to another, since it does not express most of the distinctions involved with any consistency: /ə/ and /a/ are not written at all (*bəm*, *bam*); /i/ and /u/ can be written like /ī/ and /ū/ (*māšin*, *māšin*); /ō/ is written like /u/ or /ū/ (*bōdiya*, *budiya*); /ē/ is not necessarily differentiated from /ī/ (*gēr*, *gīr*).⁸

⁸ Cf. Herbert Penzl, "Orthography and Phonemes in Pashto (Afghan)," *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 74 f.

4.4. The Influence of Afghan Persian

A frequent type of variation is that between a form influenced by the Afghan Persian shape of the same Western loanword and one not, or less, influenced by it. It is not surprising to find that features of the speech of the Persian-speaking elite of Kabul have become models also for speakers of Pashto. Afghan Persian shows essentially the same loanwords as Pashto.⁹

(a) Afghan Persian, unlike Pashto, lacks most of the consonant clusters found in foreign words; thus it substitutes intrusive and prothetic vowels (§ 2.3d). The foreign base-form supports a rendering closer to Pashto phonemes: *baks*, *'bakəs*; *qrāma*, *qərāma*; *iskilēt*, *skilēt*; *prōgrām*, *pərōgrām*, *prōgirām*; *prōza*, *pərōza*; *spōrt*, *səpōrt*; *štōp*, *istōp*.

(b) Pashto usually renders English /d/ and /t/ by /d/ and /t/ respectively (§ 2.3b above). The Persian forms with /d/ and /t/ for the foreign sound often appear as variants which some speakers actually prefer in writing: *ātum* (E), *āṭum* (Gh); *gārd* (E, Sh), *gārḍ* (Gh); *niktāyi*, *niktāyi*; *puḍin*, *puḍin*; *rākit*, *rākiṭ*; *sīt*, *siṭ*; *tōnal*, *tōnal*.

4.5. Adaptation and Readaptation of Loanwords

The process of adoption of new Western loanwords is continuing, and we can observe its correlation to the advance of technology and the spreading of new scientific information in Afghanistan. At first speakers who speak the Western language involved preserve in the adopted form more or less the phonemic shape of the foreign base-form. The adaptation to the phonemic pattern of Pashto follows after some colloquial use. The later morphemic shape may be influenced by the presence or absence of corresponding morphemes in Pashto (§§ 2.4, 3.3c). Then, however, speakers familiar with the foreign base-form and its meaning may tend to readapt any strong deviations from the foreign model to the source again. This "puristic" tendency may thus result in a variation between adapted and readapted (or recently adopted?) forms of loanwords. Examples are: *ikṣariz* and

⁹ The news stories in *Islāh* written in Persian and corresponding to Pashto items in the same issues reveal this. Cf. also Bogdanow, pp. 1-123 (see footnote 3 above); J. Christy Wilson, Jr., *An Introduction to Colloquial Kabul Persian* (Monterey, Calif.: Army Language School, n.d.).

iksrēz 'X-rays'; *farwarī* and *fibrōari*, *fibrwarī* 'February'; *sitimbar* and *siptimbar* 'September'; *māšingan* and *māšingan* (Sh); *kalač* and *klač* (Gh) 'clutch'; *ištiring* and *štiring* 'steering-wheel'; *palak* and *plag* 'plus'; *studiyam* (influenced by *studiyō* 'studio') and *stādiyum*, *sṭēdyam* (German *Stadion*, Engl. *stadium*).

5: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOANWORDS (SUMMARY)

5.1. Foreign Bases of Loanwords

We have established that Western loanwords have their original base-forms mostly in English, which predominates strikingly, *e.g.*, in the field of technology, particularly in its automotive branch (§ 1.6 above). Some of the vocabulary obviously came from British English: *banəṭ* 'hood,' *piṭrōl* 'gasoline,' *lārī* 'truck, lorry'; the pronunciation shows the same: *čāns* 'chance.' French terms in the fields of administration, politics (*pārālmān*), education (*lisa*), cultural achievements (*tablō*) are frequent and reflect also the fact that most members of the Afghan royal family have had more contracts with France than with other Western countries. German-based terms are mostly technological: *fābrika*, *mizānīk*, *taznīk*, but also *kultūr* (§ 1 above).

(b) Pashto loanwords are almost exclusively based on the spoken foreign forms; there are really no purely literary loans in Pashto. This does not mean that in some instances the foreign orthography does not eventually exercise some influence on the specific shape of the borrowing (*e.g.*, *brōḍkāṣṭ*, *riṣṭarəndum*). (§ 2.4e above)

The foreign phonemes are represented by their closest equivalents among the Pashto phonemes, but the nonfinal position of the foreign word-stress is usually not imitated (§ 2.4a). Multiple rendering results from varying pronunciation types in the foreign language, particularly in English (§ 4.2b), and from phonetic and phonemic differences in the borrowing Pashto dialects (§ 4.3 above).

Occasionally the straight phonemic representation is combined with some grammatical remodeling (*kābina*, § 3.3c) or some unpredictable morphemic contamination (*māšingan*, § 2.4f). Sometimes base-forms from several languages seem to be combined in the Pashto reflex: *e.g.*, *mizānīk*,

mōtarsikēl, *pōḍar*, *rāpōṛṭ*, *sāntigrēṭ*, *stādiyum*, *ṭōnal*.

Some Pashto forms reflect only the first part of a foreign compound: *ištiring* 'steering-wheel,' *ṭayp* 'typewriter,' *mōṭar* 'motor-car' (see also § 3.4a), *ṭim* 'tin-can' (Engl. *tin*).

(c) There is often a semantic difference in denotation or range between the loanwords and their foreign base-forms: *e.g.*, *klinar* 'driver's assistant,' *fēṣān* 'dressing up,' *kēbal* 'telephone-exchange,' *ṭikis* 'ticket, postage stamp.' *sīṭ* 'seat,' *čēn* 'chain' refer only to motor-transport. *gilās* means only 'drinking-vessel.'

(d) It is obvious that the borrowing of foreign forms is always direct. There is no tendency to resort to loan-translation. Most of the foreign material cannot easily be imitated by native formations. In a few instances western loanwords compete with other Pashto forms: *bagay* and *gāḍay* 'tonga'; *kālar* besides *gāra* 'collar,' *kōṭ* and *bālā-pōṣ* or *kurtay* 'coat, overcoat'; *kēbāl* and *markaz* 'exchange.' *afsar* 'officer' has been replaced by *mansabdār* in Afghanistan.

The comparatively still small number of Western loanwords has kept them from puristic pressure, which Persian-Arabic loans have not completely escaped: *e.g.*, the official *ṣōwundzay* 'school' for *maktab*.

5.2. Phonemic and Morphemic Features of Loanwords

We have found that the Western loanwords in Pashto show no phonemic, morphemic, and syntactic characteristics that make them different from native words. The only phonemic feature not found in native words are the frequent clusters with /t/ and /d/ in English loans: /d/ in *ḍrāma*, /tw/ in *ṭwāl* 'towel,' /st/ in *sṭēj* 'stage' (*Grammar of Pashto*, §§ 24, 25).

Almost all Western loanwords are substantives (§ 3.1). Their morphology, *i.e.*, their case and plural formation, is like that of native words (§ 3.3 above). As to syntax, their gender classification (§ 3.2 above) and agreement in phrases and sentences offer no exceptional features. Formation of adjectives from nouns by means of the suffix -ī is frequent among loanwords (§ 3.4b).

5.3. Variation among Loanwords

Alternant forms differing in their morphemic shape in varying degrees are much more frequent

among loanwords than among the native vocabulary. This variation is only rarely to be called just regional and dialectical, *i. e.*, to be explained by the phonemic patterns of various Pashto dialects: *e. g.*, *māšīn*, *māšīn*; *afsar*, *awsar*; *pəlṭān* (Sh), *paltān* (Gh). Most of the variation is a feature of idiolects and not regionally or socially determined. It may occur within the same idiolect as an alternation between a more formal and a more colloquial form, one preferred in writing, one in conversation. The basic reason for the alternations is not the different rendering of foreign phonemes in various dialects with different pho-

nemic patterns, but four kinds of multiple borrowing: (1) from different foreign base-forms (*'sāyīns* and *siyāns*, § 4.2a above); (2) from different spoken forms (dialect variants) of a foreign language (*spōṭ* and *spōrt*, § 4.2b); (3) also from parallel Afghan Persian loanword forms (*kilīnar* and *klīnar*, § 4.4); (4) from the source language at different times to readapt the loanword to its source (*sitīmbar* and *siptīmbar*, § 4.5). The influence of the foreign orthography may make itself also felt in the second and the fourth types of multiple borrowing.



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[Footnotes]

⁶ **Afghan Descriptions of the Afghan (Pashto) Verb**

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⁸ **Orthography and Phonemes in Pashto (Afghan)**

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