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ARTICLE

Pashto preverbs, III. Compound verbs with preverb

Matteo de Chiara

INALCO (National Institute for Eastern Language and Civilisation – Eurasie), Paris, France
Email: matteo.dechiara@inalco.fr

Abstract

This article, the third in a series, focuses on the "living" preverbs used in the verbal system of contemporary Pashto. The verbs treated here belong to the "compound verbs with preverb" class or to the "mixed verbs with preverb" class: verbs that replace the *wə́-* of the simple verbs with another preverb. This class of verbs represents a closed set, and a complete list of these verbs can be investigated systematically and exhaustively. This subject is as yet unexamined and its implications for the interpretation of contemporary Pashto verbal morphology are particularly stimulating.

Keywords: Pashto; Preverbs; Historical linguistics; Verbal system; Iranian languages

Introduction

This is the third article dealing with Pashto preverbs. The first two articles focused on all simple verbs containing a preverb of Iranian origin.[1] Generally, these preverbs are fully assimilated and have left just slight traces of their presence. A simple verb is a verb that, in its perfective forms, prefixes *wə́-* which always bears the stress.

The list of preverbs treated here begins with XIV: indeed, this article is intended as a continuation of the previous two. The first of this series dealt solely with verbs formed with the preverb **ā-*, while the second dealt with all verbs formed with the other 12 preverbs, from II to XIII.

In this article I will treat all members of the "compound verbs with preverb" class. Compound verbs with preverbs are a closed set, defined in De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 166) as "Verbe Composé formé sur un préverbe (directionnel ou relateur) + un autre Verbe Simple". Compound verbs are verbs whose perfective forms never prefix *wə́-*, but rather move the stress onto the nominal base or, in our case, onto the preverb.[2]

Only seven preverbs, plus the three directional pronouns, are used to form the compound verbs with preverb: XIV. *byā-*; XV. *cə-*; XVI. *kxə̌-*; XVII. *nəna-*; XVIII. *prā-*; XIX. *pre-*; XX. *pore-*; XXI. directional pronouns: *rā-*, *dar-*, *war-*.[3]

For the most part, these preverbs are still in use in contemporary Pashto as adverbs and preverbs, in particular: *byā* "again", *kxə̌* "in", *(də)nəna* "inside", *pore* "till" and *pre* "on".

[1] De Chiara (2022a [2023] and 2022b [2023]).
[2] For all details on the Pashto verbal system and on the usages of *wə́-*, see De Chiara and Septfonds (2019).
[3] Cf. De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 66–73).

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The etymologies proposed in this article (a in the preceding two) are sometimes uncertain, such as that of *prānistə́l*: this does not invalidate the thesis contained in this research.[4]

XIV. PIr. **apy-ā-* > Pšt. *byā-*

= Skt. *apy-ā-* (see De Chiara 2022a [2023] and 2022b [2023]). In Pšt. there is a *byā* "again, anew; after that, then; back", which is also considered to be a preverb "re-", "indicating renewal or repetition of an action" by Aslanov (1966) (see Pashtoon 2009), also quoting two verbs: بیاموندل "a. to find again; b. to acquire, gain; c. to return; d. to restore" and بیاتنظیمول "to reorganize".

Apparently, Morgenstierne changed his mind on the etymology of *byā*. Indeed, while in EVP (p. 16) he derives it from Av. *apaya* "again, later on", in NEVP (p. 16) he considers it a loanword from IA, and compares Panj. Lhd. *biā* "again" (cf. T6680 *dvitīya* "second": Tor. *bī* "again"; Lhd. *bī*, *biā* "second, another", adv. "again").

The etymology originally proposed by EVP seems to me more fitting: however, this does not change the point of the question. Indeed, in the usage of *byā-* as a perfective preverb, which occurs only with the verb *mində́l/mundə́l*, there is no difference at all in the semantics between the imperfective and the perfective forms.

Aslanov (1966) (in Pashtoon's English translation) translates the simple verb *mində́l/mundə́l* "to find, reveal, discover; to obtain; acquire, gain, win; to procure, get; attain". He also mentions a verb *byāmində́l/byāmundə́l*, translated "to find again; 2 to return; 3 to acquire, obtain; 4 to restore (e.g. independence)".

The notion of "re-, again" added to the verb *byāmundə́l* is obvious, but this verb does not exist: indeed, the notion of "again" is here implied by the adverb and not by the preverb. Aslanov (1966) also adds an example: ورپسې ډېر وګر ځېدم، لاکن بیا مې نه موند [*wərpse ḍer wə́gərjedəm, lākin byā́=me=nə-mund*] "I looked for him a long time, but again I didn't find him." The translation "again" in this example is certainly wrong: *byā-* here is simply a preverb without any semantic value and not the adverb *byā* "again", which can be used with every verb.

This preverb *byā́-*, not to be confused with the adverb *byā*, could simply be the result of the fusion of the two preverbs **api* and **ā*. As we saw in "Pashto preverbs, I and II" (see De Chiara 2022a [2023] and 2022b [2023]), **ā-* is always stressed. This combination is already attested in Skt.: cf. *apyāhṛ-* (Potential *ápy á haret*) "to take or assume in addition", where the meaning of the preverb is "in addition".[5]

mində́l/mundə́l: mími/múmi موندل \ میندل tr. "to find, reveal, discover; to obtain; acquire, gain, win; to procure, get; attain" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "trouver" (Akbar 2015)
   "to find, find out, get, meet with, fall upon, trace, get at, stumble upon, detect" (Raverty 1860)
   "کتل، موندل، پیدا کول، تر لاسه کول" (PP)
2. This verb, IRR., is used in all Pšt. dialects. In De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 66–7) it is classified as a "mixed verb" ("6 verbes qui partagent des traits avec les verbes

[4] All lexicographic information is taken from Achakzai, Akbar (2015), Aslanov (1966) (and its English translation by Pashtoon 2009), Bellew (1867), Daryāb (1994), KA, PP and Raverty (1860).

[5] One of the anonymous reviewers rightly suggests that "the etymology of *byā* < **api-ā-* reminds me of Modern Greek *ksana-* 're-' < *eks-* 'out' + *ana-* '(up)on'", concluding that "I strongly suspect that crosslinguistically adverbs and preverbs meaning 'again' often arise from the combination of two adverbs/preverbs." This remark is very pertinent and I warmly thank them for that.

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Table 1. Former paradigm of *mindəl/mundəl*.

	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	*mí/úm-*	*byā́-mi/um-*
Past	*mi/und-*	*byā́-mi/und-*

Table 2. Regularized paradigm of *mindəl/mundəl*.

	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	*mí/úm-*	***wə́-mi/um-***
Past	*mi/und-*	***wə́-mi/und-***

simples à l'imperfectif et des traits avec les verbes composés au perfectif. On distingue deux catégories de VM : 3 Verbes Mixtes Dénominatifs et 3 Verbes Mixtes à Préverbe": De Chiara and Septfonds 2019: 166), as the perfective forms of this simple verb (in the imperfective forms) were formed with the preverb *byā́-*, instead of with *wə́-*, with the resulting paradigm seen in Table 1.

The verb behaves normally, with the usual separability between the preverb and the rest of the verb (*byā́=ye-mund*) under certain conditions. However, nowadays, in the majority of dialects, the verb has been regularized and the perfective forms are regularly formed with the preverb *wə́-*, with the resulting paradigm seen in Table 2.

The semantics of the perfective forms formed with *byā́-* do not change the meaning of the verb. The alternation between *-nd-*: *-m-* in the past/present stem is isolated.

3. Etymology: ***< *ham-wán-ta-: *ham-áf-nau-?*** This hypothesis is quite uncertain. Four roots, all prefixed by the preverb **ham-*, seem to fit here: a) ***am-* "to take"; b) **waid-* "to find"; c) **wan-* "to win"; d) **ap-* "to reach, attain".
   a) ***am-* "to take": according to Morgenstierne's proposal (EVP 44–5), we could imagine a ***ham-am-ta-: **ham-am-*. But this root is attested only in Skt. *sam-am-* (Ā. *-amate*) "to ask eagerly, solicit, win over; fix or settle firmly; ally or connect one's self with" (Monier-Williams 1899: 1156): even if the meaning and form seem to fit well, the root is apparently not attested elsewhere (with the possible exception of Lat. *emō*: cf. *infra*) and in Skt. itself a root **AM-* does not exist (indeed **am-* and *sam-am-* are absent in KEWA and EWAia). No attestations exist in other Iranian languages.

   Another point of incongruity is the vocalism in Pšt. with *-u-* (the vocalism with *-i-* can be considered a dialectal peculiarity of the Middle zone), which remains unexplained by this root. Indeed, Pšt. *-u-* can only be derived from **-u-* (cf. ***lur*** لور "daughter" < PIr. **duxθr-*; ***sur*** سور "red" < PIr. **suxra-*; ***gúta*** گوته "finger" < PIr. **anguštā-*), **-ū-* (***γul*** غل"excrement" < PIr. **gūta-*; ***lu*** لو, ***lugáy*** لوګی "smoke" < PIr. **dūta-*) and **-aw-N-* (***γúna*** غونه "hair (of the body), pore, colour (of the skin)" < PIr. **gauna-*; ***γúnde*** غندی "alike, similar" < PIr. **gauna-tā-* "like-ness").[6]

[6] It can also be derived from **-ā-N-* (cf. ***lúma*** لومه "noose, snare" < PIr. **dāmā-*; ***num*** نوم "name" < PIr. **nāma-*; ***wrun*** وړون, ***run*** رون "thigh" < PIr. **°rāna-*), a particular case of PIr. **-ā-* > Pšt. *-o-*.

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The comparison with Lat. *emō* "to take, buy" proposed by EVP does not appear very convincing. According to de Vaan (2008: 188), it would derive from IE. *$*h_1$em-e/o-* "to take", pf. *$*h_1$e-*$*h_1$m-*, with the following cognates: Umbrian *emantur*, *emantu*; Oscan *emmens* "to buy, take"; Old Irish *ar·foim* "to receive, allow" < **ari-wo-em*; Old Prussian *īmt*, Lith. *iñti*; Latvian *jemt* "to take"; OCS *jęti*; Russian *jat'* (dialectal) "to take, begin".

b) **waid-* "to find". This root, which is the most fitting in terms of meaning, is found in many IIr. languages (cf. Cheung 2007: 409–10 *waid-*[2] "to find"): Av. *vaēd-* "to find", pres. 3pl. *viṇdəṇti*, perf. pass. *vista-*; MPrs. *w(y)nd-* "to find, obtain, gain", pres. *nwny(y)d*, part. perf. pass. *w(y)nd'd*, Prth. *w(y)nd-* "to find" (Ghilain 1939: 83); Par. *γun-: γunt-* "to find"; Skt. *ved-* "to find, discover"; Skt. *vid-* "to find, discover, obtain, get, acquire", pres. *vindáti*, Skt. *saṃ-vid-* "to find, obtain, acquire" (Monier-Williams 1899; KEWA III 214; EWAia II 579–81). Cf. also Darmesteter (1888–90: XLVI n. 2) < **nvūndəl* < Av. *vid-*, *vindaiti* (cf. also EP 153).

However, this etymology should be rejected, as the paradigm would be ***ham-wista-: ***ham-vid-* > Pšt. ***mu/istəl: ***mu/il-*: neither of the two proposed stems would fit Pšt. *mundəl: mum-*.

c) **wan-* "to win". This root is widely attested in all IE. languages: among the IIr. languages (cf. Cheung 2007: 417–18), cf. in particular Oss. I. *awwandyn*, D. *awwandun* "to (en)trust, believe" (+ **ham-*). Cf. also Skt. *van-* "to win, conquer". From the formal point of view, this root can easily explain the past stem (**ham-wan-ta-* > Pšt. *mundəl*), but not the present stem.

d) **ap-* "to reach, attain", according to the new proposal of Morgenstierne (NEVP 50). The root **Hap/f-* (cf. Cheung 2007: 161–3) has many IE. cognates and, among the Ir. comparisons, we find Orm. *waw-/wōk* "to obtain, find" = *wa-wók* "to find". Cheung (2007: 163) adds that "The long vowel in many Ir. forms points to an old perf. Formation." Cf. also Skt. *sam-āp-* (pres. *āpnoti*[7]) "to acquire or obtain completely, gain; accomplish, fulfil; reach; etc.".

The starting point for the present in Pšt. would be **ham-af-nau-*. The problem here derives from the last *-m-*: **-fn-* > Pšt. *-m-*? This would be confirmed by the derivation of Pšt. ***šúma*** شومه "the watch between midnight and daylight, food taken at that hour" from PIr. **xšafna-*. On this matter, cf. EVP 74:

> *šūma* "the watch between midnight and daylight, food taken at that hour", Waz. *šīma*, Khl. *šūma* – Horn (768) considers *šūma* to be borr. from Prs. *šām* < Av. *xšāfnya-* "supper". If *dūna* < **hantafnā-* (...), *šūma* must be borr., but this derivation of *dūna* is not certain. *fn* becomes *m* in Minj. *xšēma* "supper". Psht. *-ūm-* might be derived from **-afn-*, but scarcely from **-afny-*. If borr., *ū* proves it to be an ancient lw. In most lw.s *š* is represented through *ş̌*, in recent ones through *š*. *šūma* must eventually have been borr. from an early Phl. form **xšām*, cf. Turk. *axšam*, Georg. *vaxšami* – Shgh. *ş̌ūm* "evening" also is prob. borr., in spite of its vowel (in more recent lw.s *ā̆n*, *ā̆m*), on account of the *m*, as **fn* becomes **vn* > *ðm* in *xūðm* "sleep".

And NEVP 79:

> *šúma* f. *ARS*, Bellew "the watch between midnight and daybreak; food taken at that time, supper" – Most likely an early LW < Prs *šām* rather than direct from Av. *xšāfniia-* "supper" with Horn no. 768. Thus also Sh. *x̌ům* "evening" (*EVShG* 102, s.v. *x̌ēm*), but Turki *axšam*, Georgian *vaxšami* are LWs < earlier Ir forms with *xš-*.

[7] But cf. Av. pres. *-aya-*: cf. Kellens (1995: 11–12) *āp-* "atteindre", pres. *apaiia-*.

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Obviously, Morgenstierne's statement that "*ū* proves it to be an ancient lw" is inconsistent, *ū* being a simple transliteration just indicating the presence of و in the Pashto script and has nothing to do with a presumed opposition of length between *u* and *ū*. A contrary case to *šuma*, however, is possibly represented by ***dúna*** دونه "bonfire", according to EVP 80 derived < PIr. **hantafnā-*, while according to NEVP 22, it is a loanword from IA.

4. NEVP 50: < **ham-af-nau-* (with secondary past), cf. Skt. *sam-āpnoti* "acquires". EVP 44–5 < **ham-am-*, cf. Skt. *sam-am-* "to ask eagerly, to win over", Lat. *emo*. Darmesteter: "? < **nwūndəl* < Av. *vaēd-*, *vindaiti*". EP 153 has only "?". This verb is absent in Cheung (2007).

XV. PIr. *hačā-? > Pšt. *cə-*

= Skt. ***sacā*** "near, at hand, along, together, in presence of, before, in, at, by"; = Av. *hačā*. In Pšt., we have only one instance of this preverb: *camlāstəl*. As expected, **ha-* was lost in Pšt., while **-č-* regularly > *-c-*. = Mnj. *žə*, Yd. *že*, *žo*, *žə*, Yzg. *ž(ə)-/s(ə)-*, Sogd. *"č, č"*.

In Pšt. this preverb appears in the verb *cə·mlāstəl : cə·mli* "to lie down", INTR IRR, and its corresponding transitive *cə·mlawəl : cə·mlawi*.

camlāstə́l: cám(ə́)li څملاستل intr. "to lie down for a bit, have a nap" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "se coucher" (Akbar 2015), cf. also *mlāst* "couché, allongé" (Pashtoon 2009)
"to lie down, recline, repose, be recumbent" (Raverty 1860)
پرېوتل، غزېدل، خوږېدل، (۲) مغلوبېدل، ماتي خوړل،" (PP); "۱ ویده کېدل، بیده کېدل، ۲ اوده کېدل- غزېدل، ۳ مغلوبېدل" "(۳) لټ کېدل، نارامه کېدل، لټېدل
(Daryāb 1994)
2. This verb, IRR, is used in all Pšt. dialects. In De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 66–7) it is classified as a "compound verb with prefix" ("Verbe Composé formé sur un préverbe [directionnel ou relateur] + un autre Verbe Simple": De Chiara and Septfonds 2019: 166). Its verbal element, **ml(āst)əl*, does not exist elsewhere (but cf. also *pre·mištəl*).[8] However, according to Aslanov (1966) there exists a VSS *mledəl* (not attested elsewhere), which would be regularized as *cə·mledəl : cə·mli*. The place of stress in the present stem is established by Dybo (1989: 116).[9]

   The transitive *cə·mlawəl : cə·mlawi*, "1 to lie down in bed, lie down and go to sleep 2 to throw down; to roll on the ground (in a fight)", is a regular secondary formation on the IRR *cə·mlāstəl*: according to Aslanov (1966), the perfective past of this secondary formation would be *wá=ye-camlāwə*, with the perfectivizing preverb *wá-* as for the simple verbs.

   Conversely, in *camlāstəl* the perfectivizing sf. *wá-* is not used: according to PP the future (= +2E) is به ملي څه, with *cá-* in the perfective, while in Aslanov (1966) no information on the perfective is provided.

   The dictionary of Akbar 2015 also quotes a verb *nmāstəl*, with the meaning "se coucher" (in Daryāb it is considered identical to لماستل, with the same meaning): it is obviously analysed as a secondary derivation from *camlāstəl*.

[8] Raverty (1860) mentions a verb *pre·mištə́l* "to dwell, reside, inhabit, sojourn, stay, rest", not attested in any other dictionary, with reference to *mištə kawə́l*. Cf. also Akbar (2015) *premə́l* "résider, habiter".

[9] Double stresses in the Pashto forms indicate variation in the position of the stress according to the position of the verb in the sentence, i.e. when at the beginning of the sentence and followed by enclitic particles *vs.* in final position. Double stresses in the reconstructed forms indicate the possible position of the stress in PIr., according to Pashto sound changes.

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3. Etymology: **< **hačă̆-ni-pásta-: *hačă̆-ni-pad-?**, according to Morgenstierne's hypothesis of an evolution **nipáδati* > **nvaδt*^{j} > **mla* (Morgenstierne 1923a: 274–5, 1923b: 206–7, EVP 17, NEVP 49). Morgenstierne (1923a: 274–5) also acknowledged the presence of the preverb **hačā-* in this verb: "Though we do not meet with other cases in Psh. where derivatives of *hača* are used as preverbs,[10] I think this is the most satisfactory explanation. [...] In *camlāstəl ca-* would be used in a weakened, general sense 'away, down'".[11]

   After careful analysis, this proposal[12] proves to be the most plausible, if unsatisfying. Many points remain unexplained, in particular the presence of *-l-* in the past stem and the hypothetical outcome **-n(V)p-* > *-m-*: according to Morgenstierne's proposal, **-n(V)p-* weakens to **-nv-* and finally becomes Pšt. *-m-*, but no other instances of this outcome are found in Pashto.

   The main argument in favour of this etymology is the comparison with Ormuṛi. Morgenstierne quotes this comparison with Orm. K *nwastak* "to lie down" (Kan. *nwastak* "to lie down, go to sleep" < **ni-pad-*, IIFL I 403), and we can add Munj. *nəliv-/nuvōst-* "to lie down" and Yi. *nuwōstiy* "lying down" (cf. Cheung 2007: 287). Cf. Efimov (2011: 293): Kan. **nw-** "to lie down (to sleep)" (4th conj.) < PIr. **ni-padyá-* or **ni-paθyá-* (class IV) from **pad-*, *paθ-* "to fall", **ni-* (movement downwards), cf. Av. *pad-*, *paθ-* id.; Kan. **nwástak** "to lie down (to sleep)" < PIr. **nĭ̄-pastá-* + **-ka* from PIr. **pad-* < IE **pĕ̆d-*, **pŏ̆d-* (Pokorny 1959: 790–1), cf. Av. *pad-* "to fall", with preverb *nī-* "to lie down", Parth. *'mbd /am-baδ-/* "to fall down" (Ghilain 1939: 53) and Khot. *nuvad-* "to lie down" < **ni-pada-* < **ni-pad-* (SGS 58).

   Concerning the root **pad-* "to fall, be stuck in" (Cheung 2007: 287–8[13]), we can quote Av. *paδ/θ-* "to fall, be stuck in", and in particular the same root + **ni-* "to lie, lay down (esp. to have sexual intercourse)", exactly corresponding to Skt. *ni-pad* "id." (Cheung 2007: 287).

   The strongest argument for this hypothesis is its explanation of Pšt. *-st-*, which remains unclear under other proposals. Indeed, a "suffix" *-(ā)st-* is attested only in two CVP, *camlāstəl* and *kxĕnāstəl* (and we could add also *prānistəl*), while the other simple verbs in which this *-st-* is present have a different origin.[14]

   However, this same ending *-āst-*, found only in the past stem of *camlāstəl* and *kxĕnāstəl*, is very interesting: might it be the remnant of an ancient suffix? It should be noted that the two verbs have similar meanings and formal structure: the former means "to lie down for a bit, have a nap", the latter "to sit down, take a seat", both displaying the "suffixes" *-āst-* exclusively in the past stem. The meaning "down" would be provided by the preverb **ni-*. In Table 3, I tentatively place the two verbs in parallel.

[10] In the footnote, the author added, "Except possibly in *skoxtəl*, *skaṇī* 'to clip', if this verb is related to Av. *kərət-*". See *skaxtál*, s.v. V. PIr. **us-* > Pšt. *s-*, in De Chiara (2022b [2023]).

[11] More uncertain is NEVP 49: "The origin of *ca-* is obscure: *hača-* (with *EVP* [p. 17]), with early loss of the first syllable, seems formally more likely than **patišā-* (as in *SGS* 231, for Khot. *tca-*)."

[12] Accepted for the most part by the following publications: Bailey (1945: 7–8 = Bailey 1981, II: 229–30); SGS 231; DKS 189; Èdel'man (1986: 158); Grjunberg and Èdel'man (1987: 29, 31); Dybo (1989: 116–17).

[13] Cheung (2007: 288) states: "The formally and semantically similar roots **pad* and ***pat** probably show mutual interference: the original meaning of **pad* may have been preserved in ***pazd**^{2}**.**" Indeed, he quotes the Orm. comparison s.v. **pat-* "to fly, rise; (?) fall" (Cheung 2007: 299–301).

[14] Many simple verbs show this same "suffix" *-st-*, but in most cases its origin can be derived (see De Chiara 2022a [2023] and 2022b [2023]): 1) from **-d-t-*: *axistəl* < **ā-xid-*, *ayustəl* < **ā́-gaud-*, *jyastəl* < **zgad-*, *lwastəl* < **ní-wad-*, *skustəl* < **ska(n)d-?*, *°wastəl* < **Hwad-*; 2) from **-s-t-*: *istəl* < **yás-?*; 3) verbs with doubtful or unknown etymology, not compatible with *camlāstəl* or *kxĕnāstəl*: *lustəl* (**dwan-?*), *lostəl* (a secondary semantic derivation from *lustəl?*), *amistəl*, *amustəl*. However, two verbs, even if recent formations, seem to indicate the presence of a suffix *-st-*: *daryastəl* ("to cheat" from *daroγ?*) and *waryastəl* ("to chop", cf. *waržəl* "to chop, mince"?).

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Table 3. Paradigms of *camlāstəl* and *kxĕnāstəl*.

camlāstəl	°mlāst-:	°ml-	<	**°**<u>**măst**</u>-:	*°ml-	<	*ni-p<u>**ast**</u>-:	*ni-pad-
kxĕnāstəl	°nāst-:	°n-	<	*°nă̱st-:	**°<u>**nal**</u>-	<	*ni-h<u>a</u>st-:	*ni-ha<u>d</u>-

I put in bold and underlined the elements without explanation. In both cases, the comparison with Orm. seems enlightening: indeed, we find there:

Orm. *nwástak: nw-* "to lay down (to sleep)" Orm. *nastak: n(ay)-* "to sit down"

We could imagine a secondary past, on the basis of the present stem in *camlāstəl* (< **camastəl*), with a simplification of the present stem in *kxĕnāstəl* (**kxĕnəli* > *kxĕni*): the second point would be proved by the pres. stem in Orm.: *n-/nay-*, where the form *nay-* is regularly derived from **n(i)-(h)ad-*, but with a tendency to further simplification. In Orm. this phenomenon is also regular in the first case: we could imagine that the present stem could have been *nw-/nway-*, with the same derivation of the second form from **n(i)-pad-*, with a further development to *nw-*. In Pashto, however, not only do we find an intrusive *-l-* in the past stem of *camlāstəl*, but in the past stem of both verbs we find an unexpected lengthening of the radical vowel: *-ā-* instead of the expected *-a-*.

Even more tentatively, we could compare the verbs with sf. *-ed-* (= Prs. *-id-*), as *rasedəl*, *garjedəl*, *osedəl* and so on: in these verbs, the sf. *-ed-* is used, as in Persian, only in the past stem, while in the present stem it is absent. Indeed, we find *rasedəl: ras-*, *garjedəl: garj-*, *osedəl: os-* etc.[15] Could we compare, at least typologically, also *kxĕnāstəl: kxĕn-* and *camlāstəl: caml-*? On this basis we could imagine an initial influence from *rasedəl: ras-*, followed by a reciprocal influence between the two verbs, motivated by a certain similarity of meaning, with the resulting two phases shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Evolution of *camlāstəl* and *kxĕnāstəl* on the basis of the model of *rasedəl*.

i.	*rasedəl: ras-*	*kxĕnāstəl: *kxĕnəl-*	**camāstəl: caml-*
ii.	*rasedəl: ras-*	> *kxĕnāstəl: kxĕn-*	> *camlāstəl: caml-*

The model *rasedəl: ras-* influenced **kxĕnāstəl: *kxĕnəl-* in the direction of the suppression of the presumed sf. in the present stem. Even if *-l-* is regularly derived from **-d-* (if the derivation from root **hasta-: *had-* is correct), **-āst-* could have been analysed successively as a sf. and not simply as the regular evolution of root **ni-had-* in the past stem, also on the basis of comparison with the semantically quite close *camlāstəl*. Phonetic reasons may also have played a role: while *-ml-* in *camlāstəl* is quite easy to pronounce, unlike **-nl-*, this may have contributed to the suppression of **-l-*. The parallel with *ras-* could have encouraged this change (cf. once again Orm. *n-*). Finally, if the verb *kxĕnāstəl: kxĕn-* was perceived as a regular verb with a sf. *-āst-* in the past stem, on the model of *rasedəl: ras-*, where in the past stem we find the sf. *-ed-*, should **camāstəl*, also similar in meaning, not show a similar process? Thus, we propose the subsequent reanalysis of the present stem *caml-* as a regular present without the past sf. *-āst-* and the substitution of **camāstəl* with the "regular"

[15] This class of verbs will be studied in a future article.

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camlāstəl. Indirect support for this reconstruction could come from the variant of *camlāstəl* provided by Aslanov (1966) and quoted above: *camledəl* can be considered either a secondary formation on the transitive *camlawəl* or, even better, a proof of the equivalence between this "suffix" *-āst-* and the real sf. *-ed-*.

As a final remark, we can note that both verbs, *kxĕnāstəl* and *camlāstəl*, are perceived to include the preverbs *kxĕ-* and *ca-*, but the other preverb **ni-* has been obscured and merged totally with the radical.

4. Morgenstierne (1942b: 264) derives the verb *mledəl* < **miθa(ya)-*; Cheung (2007: 260 s.v. **maiθH-*[1] "to dwell") quotes a Pšt. verb *məl-* "to stay, dwell" and Pšt. *mēšt* "settled, residing", and in the same entry he quotes Av. *miθ-* "to rest, dwell" and the form (with "?") and YAv. *mitaiiatu* ("The inclusion of YAv. *mitaiiatu* is uncertain, it may go back to (pre)IIr. **mitn̥Hi̯a °* > Ir. **mitāi̯a °* >Av. *mitaiia°* (shortening of *ā* in front of **i̯*)", Cheung (2007: 259): cf. Kellens (1995: 45) *mit-* "demeurer", pres. *mitaiia-*, 2nd pres. *miθnā-*. The verb *məl-*, cited by Cheung above, is the Suffixed Verb (nowadays no longer used) *mledə̀l: mli* "to live, settle, sojourn" (Pashtoon 2009).

Cheung (2007) also provides a comparison with OCS *mě̀sto* "place", Ru. *mesto*, etc. Derksen (2008: 313) states that "As observed by Fraenkel (I: 460), the problem with the connection with Lith. *mìsti* 'feed, live, stay' is that the acute tone of the root of **mě̀što* is left unexplained. The same holds for the etymology advocating a *t*-enlargement of Skt. *may-* 'fix, build', *mitá-* 'built, established'. To my knowledge, there are no satisfactory alternatives."

Most probably, the two verbs *camlāstəl* and *mledəl* should be kept separate and attributed to different origins, while the substantive *mlāst* "prone, lying down" would be a secondary derivative from *camlāstəl* on the model of *nāst*, in any case with awareness of the different nature of the preverb *ca-*, which indeed behaves as a preverb in the perfective forms, with consequent separability and stress. The main weakness of this proposal is the unexplained origin of *-st-* and the simultaneous presence of *-l-* and *-st-* in the past stem.[16]

XVI. PIr. **kašai-* > Pšt. *kxĕ-*

The preverb *kxĕ-*, is, according to Morgenstierne (NEVP 41) "1. adv. (*pa kxĕ* 'inside'); 2. postp. (usually with prep. *pa*) 'in'; 3. preverb".

In the Pšt. dialects *kxĕ-* is very often pronounced *ke-*: "In most dialects, even in the 'soft' ones, pronounced *kē*, e. g. ordinary Waz. *kē*, but Ms. *kšē*" (EVP 34); "in most dialects *ke*, Kak *ke*, *kī*, Ban *še*, Wan *če*" (NEVP 41). Morgenstierne (NEVP 41) also adds that "Waz. *gžē* (*pa gžē mi wēlē kasē?* 'why do you look askance *at* me?') may be the same word, **kẓ̌ē* (< **kaẓ̌ē* < **kašē*) becoming either *kṣ̌ē* or *gẓ̌ē*. Cf. Waz. *gžē* 'that can be used in plough (of bullock)', Orm. K. lw., *gaẓ̌ōī*, < **kṛšya-*".

Geiger (EP 72) proposed a derivation < **kašē*, and compared Skt. *kakṣa-* "armpit" and Av. *kaša-* "shoulder", citing Si. *khē*, according to Morgenstierne (EVP 34) "used in a similar sense". NEVP 41 specifies the etymology as "< **kašai* (locative)", while quoting the same comparisons found in EP and EVP. On Si. *khē* cf. Parmanand Mewaram (1910: 404).

This etymology seems to be reliable, on the basis of comparison with the IA languages. Cf. in particular Chatterji (1926: 760): "'-k-ē' is an inflected form, the final '-ē' being really the locative affix [...]" and may be "the OIA. 'kakṣa' which has been suggested by Beames [1872–79: 252–9] and Hoernle [1880: 224], and accepted by Kellogg [1893: 130]". "[I]n

[16] The roots **manθH-*, **maiθH-*, **sraθH-*, **snaθH-*, **graθH-*, proposed in Cheung (2007), do not provide satisfying solutions.

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favour of a derivation from 'kakṣa', are the forms 'kakhu' in OB. [...], 'kāhū, kāhu' with '-ā-' in Eastern Hindī, and 'kahū' as in Western Hindī", where "Skt. 'kakṣa' seems to have been adopted in Late MIA. as a post-positional, and from 'kakkha' a weak form '*kakha' can very well be assumed. This in the transitional stage between Late MIA. and NIA. seems to have become 'kaha, kāha'. [...] The normal NIA. form of 'kakṣa', with '-kh-', is certainly preserved in the Sindhī 'khē' for the dative [...]" (Chatterji 1926: 760). Cf. also Strand (2012: 61–2), dealing with "The postposition of the locative -kai (the so-called inflected genitive of possession)".

According to EWAia I 288, there exists also a variant *kacchā-* of Skt. *kakṣa-* and this latter can be compared with Av. *kaša-* "armpit", Prs. *kaš*, Sogd. Buddh. *'p-kš-* "side": cf. DKS 56 and KEWA III 659, quoting *api-kakṣá-* m., "die Seite des Brustkastens unter (bzw. an) der Achselhöhle". Mehendale (1959: 143) arrives at the same conclusion as Benveniste (1959: 125) that the origin of Sogd. *'pkš-* "side" should be an OIr. **api-kaša-* (= Skt. *api-kakṣá-* "region of the arm-pits") instead of **upa-kaša-*.

This last Sogdian form is particularly interesting from a comparative point of view as Pšt. *kxĕ* is, as said above, principally used as postposition, in connection with the preposition *pə*, and in the adverbial locution *pəkxĕ*. *pə* is rightly derived by Morgenstierne (EVP 55 and NEVP 61) < Av. *paiti* (while the preposition *pər* is derived < Av. *pairi*), rather than Av. *upa* (cf. EP 155) or Av. *api* (see also De Chiara 2022b [2023]).

Doubtful, according to NEVP (61), is the connection proposed by EVP (55) with *kṣata*, *šḳata* "below", derived by the first Morgenstierne from **kaša-šta*.

This preverb is used to form different verbs, in particular three CVP (*kxĕistəl*, *kxĕnāstəl*, *kxĕwatəl*) and one mixed verb, *ixodəl*, as perfectivizing prefix.[17] The use of *kxĕnāstəl* is different from that of *kxĕwatəl* and *kxĕistəl*, as will be shown by the analysis below.

ixo(d)əl: ğdəm, ***iğdəm***, ایښو ودل "1 to put, place; stand, install; locate; 2 to put in; 3 to plant (i.e. trees); 4 to put aside (for a reserve); 5 to create, develop; 6 to lay or place upon someone (i.e. responsibility); 7 to invest (capital); 8 to pay in (money); 9 to lay, build (i.e. a road)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "mettre, poser, placer, planter" (Akbar 2015)
   "to place, put, set, lay, arrange, dispose, settle" (Raverty 1860)
   کښېښول، اږدول (عاميانه)، (۲) له يوه خايه بل خائي ته منتقل کول، (۳) مقرر ول، (٤) " ايښوول، کښېښودل، کښودل" (PP); "ساتل، محفوظول، (٥) خائي ته رسول، خای ورکول (Daryāb 1994)
2. This verb belongs to the category of the so-called "mixed verbs"; see above s.v. XIV. PIr. **apy-ā-* > Pšt. *byā-*. Table 5 shows the paradigm of verb *ixo(d)əl* (cf. De Chiara and Septfonds 2019: 76).
   Accordingly, the preverb *kxĕ-* appears only in the perfective forms and always bears the stress.
3. Etymology: < ***haršt-: *harz-***, according to Morgenstierne's proposal (EVP 77, Morgenstierne 1942a: 114, NEVP 29[18]). The root **harz-*, meaning "to let go, release",

[17] The different dictionaries include other verbs, which can be considered innovations with preverb + SBV: *kxĕxatal* "1 to feel ashamed, be ashamed; 2 to press, put pressure on" (Pashtoon 2009), "1. avoir honte; 2. essorer" (Akbar 2015); *kxĕkxəl* "1 to press, crush, squeeze; press in 2 to give a massage, massage, rub" (Pashtoon 2009), "comprimer" (Akbar 2015) ; *kxĕmaṇdəl* "comprimer" (Akbar 2015); in Aslanov (1966) it is considered a variant of *kxĕkxəl*. It is probably a variant (with *-ḍ-* instead of *-d-*) of Waz. *kxĕmandəl*, quoted in EVP 45 and NEVP 50 and considered by Morgenstierne a lw. ← IA: "The specialized sense renders it prob. that the Psht. and Pamir words have been influenced by Ind., cf. Si. *manaṇ^{u}* 'to shampoo', but *mathaṇ^{u}* 'to churn', Lhd. *mandhaṇ* 'to knead' etc. In mod. Ind. *manth-* and *mard-* have been largely mixed up."

[18] Cf. also Grjunberg and Èdel'man (1987: 34) and Skjærvø (1989: 404).

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Table 5. Paradigm of *iẍo(d)əl.*

to put	Imperfective	Perfective
present	ږد ğd-	کښې ږد **kx̌é-ğd-**
past	ایښود iẍod-	کښې ښود **kx̌é-ẍod-**

has many uses and is often found in connection with a preverb: cf., for instance, Av. *harəz-* "to release (esp. water, liquid)", found in connection with the preverbs **awa-*: "to decline, reject", **upa-*: "to drop on, let (it) lie", **pari-*: "to filter" and **fra-*: "to ejaculate" (see Cheung 2007: 132–3).

4. Cf. also MMP *hyl-* "to leave, abandon; remit (of sins); establish, appoint; let, allow" (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 196), Prth. *hyrz-* (Ghilain 1939: 49), Bactr. ʋιρζ- (Sims-Williams 2000: 228), Prs. *hištan/hil-*, etc. (see Cheung 2007: 132–3).

k(ǰ)e·istə́l: k(ǰ)e·bə̌si کښېستل tr. "1 to insert; put in; put into (operation, service), introduce 2 to pull in, drag in 3 to subject to something" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "impliquer, engager" (Akbar 2015)
"to insert, introduce, implant, thrust in, stick in, deposit, locate, wedge in, fix in, make enter, etc." (Raverty 1860)
(PP) ۱ کښېستل ۲ اخته کول، مبتلا کول، ګیرول ۳ په غم او جنجال اړول ۴ ننه ایستل، داخلول ۵ راښکته کول، راکښته کول" "(۱) اخته کول، ؛ښرول، (۲) پهٔ غم اړول، (۲) ننه ایستل، (٤) راښکته کول، راغُرځو ل" (Daryāb 1994)
2. A CVP not prefixing *wə́-* in the perfective forms. The basic meaning is the result of those of the two components, *k(ǰ)e* and *istə́l*. The verb *istə́l* can be also prefixed by *nəna-*, *pre-* and *pore-*: see below.
3. Etymology: ***kx̌ĕ- + istə́l***. For the latter (**< *yásta-: *apá-ás-sa-?**), see De Chiara (2022b [2023]).

k(ǰ)e·nāstə́l: k(ǰ)é·ni کښېستل intr. "1 to sit down, take a seat; sit 2 to live, dwell, inhabit 3 to make a landing, land" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "s'asseoir, se tasser, s'affaisser" (Akbar 2015), cf. aussi *nāst* "assis, affaissé" (Akbar 2015)
"to sit, sit down, loll, recline" (Raverty 1860)
۱ کښېستل کښلستل ۲ د زنګـنو نه بشپړ کټول او کوناټو ځمکې سره تماس ورکول ۳ کښته کېدل، ښکته کېدل ۴ ټل ته " رسېدل، په مایع کې بیخ ته کښېناستل (د کوم درونـد شي)؛ ۵ له خوبه یا ځایه (پستر) ر اپاڅېدل ۶ د نارو غه یا کوچني کونستی پهٔ زمکه دَ پښو پهٔ سر"; (PP) " کېدل؛ د ماشوم پر کونه کښلستل ۷ رفع حاجت کول (Daryāb 1994) (دکوچني) ، درونـد رګ وهل (د کوچني) "کناتی لګـول

2. As in all the CVP, in the perfective forms this verb does not prefix *wə́-*, but simply shifts the stress onto the initial syllable, in this case *kx̌é-*. The verb *k(ǰ)e·nawəl: k(ǰ)e·nawi* "1 to seat 2 to settle (in a new place) 3 to plant (plants) 4 to place, locate, put 5 to set up, assemble (equipment) 6 to put (in, into), install, insert (e.g., window panes, etc.) 7 to set down, land 8 to arrest", the transitive counterpart of *kxĕnāstəl*, is regularly formed on the radical of the present of *kxĕnāstəl*, i.e. *kxĕni*.

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3. Etymology: **< *°ni-hast-: *°ni-had-**, according to Morgenstierne (EVP 53,[19] NEVP 59[20]),[21] from the root **had-* "to sit, be seated" (Cheung 2007: 125–6), cf. Skt. *sad-* "to sit" (KEWA III 472–4, EWAia II 692–3). The past stem fits well, but the present stem does not: indeed, we would expect Pšt. **°nāl-* (cf. *axistəl*, etc.). Once again (as for *camlāstəl*), the correct evolution is provided by Orm.: Log. *nustuk: n-*, Kan. *nastak: n-* "to sit down" < **ni-had-* (IIFL I 401), Log. *ney-*, Kan. *nay-* pres. stem "to sit down" (Efimov 2011: 292). For the discussion, see above *camlāstəl*, s.v. XV. PIr. **hačā-*? > Pšt. *cə-*.
4. For other comparisons with Ir. languages of this root + preverb **ni-* cf. Cheung (2007): Av. *had-* "to be seated, to sit down" (Kellens 1995: 71), OPrs. *ni-šād-* "to establish" < **ni-* (Kent 1953[2]: 212), Parth. *nšyd (nišiδ-)*, Khot. *näd-* "to sit down" (SGS 53–4). Comparison with Av. was already proposed by Geiger (EP 141), cf. also Darmesteter (1888–90: XCVI). Khwar. *nyθ-* "to sit; to be, become" (Samadi 1986: 127), MMP *nšyy-* "to sit down, settle oneself" (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 245), *nšyd-* "to sit (down), settle oneself" (Ghilain 1939: 50), BSogd. *nyδ*, CSogd. *nyd*, MSogd. *nyδ* "to sit down"; Bactr. νιϸαλμο "seat (of the gods), throne, dwelling" (Sims-Williams 2000: 208); Sh. *niθ-/nūst*, Rosh. *niθ-/nōst*, Bart. *niθ-/nost*, Yzgh. *niθ-/nəyůst*, Sangl. *nīδ-*, Yi. *niẋ-/niāst-*, M. *niẋ-/niōst-*, Yghn. *nīd-*, Wa. *nʉızd-*, *nəzd-/nəyn-* "to sit down" (IIFL II 234; EVShG 47, 50, 106; Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 244). The variation between the past and present radicals, *kxĕnāstəl: kxĕni* is also present in many other modern Western Ir. languages: cf. Prs. *nišastan: nišīn-*, Bal. *ništ: nind-*, Zaz. *ro-ništiš: ro-šen-*, Tt. (Esh.) *anšešt: anšin*, Gil. (Rsht.) *ništoen: nišin-*, Gur. (Kand.) *nīšt-/-nīšān-* (Cheung 2007: 126).

   On the nasal in the present stem, Horn (1893: 231) observes that "Der Nasal der Wurzelsilbe in np. *nišīn-em* ist auffällig (er findet sich auch in bel. *nindag*, ksl. *sędą* (*sĕsti*), apr. *sindāts*, ist also wohl alt), ebenso das lange *ī*. Vergl. Bartholomae, Studien II, 97, 98, der eine Erklärung für die iranischen Formen allein versucht". Cf. also Bartholomae (1891, II: 97–8): "das neup. *nišīnad* ‚sitzt' [geht] auf ein ar. *nisindn°* zurück, wogegen das avesta *nišhiδaiti* aus idg. **ni-sədeti* bietet [...] Den auffälligen nasal in der wurzelsilbe – s. aber das ksl. *sędą* – zeigt auch das bal. *nindag*, welches aus **nišnd°*, **nišind°* hervorgegangen sein wird; *š* vor *n*, *m* schwindet allgemein". Mayrhofer also comments on the *-n-*: "Ein *-n-*haltiges **se-n-d-* wird in aksl. *sędǫ* ‚setze mich' und in mehreren arischen Formen (...), darunter *āsaṇḍī*, gesucht" (KEWA III 474), "Ablehnend zu idg. **se-n-d°* in ved. *āsaṇḍī* s.o. I 183" (EWAia II 693).

k(ž)e·watəl: k(ž)e·wuzí تل کښېو intr. "1 to get (somewhere), be found, find oneself, come to be 2 to be lowered, descend, come down 3 to burst into, penetrate" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "1. s'engager, être impliqué, 2. descendre" (Akbar 2015)
   "to fall into, drop into (as birds in a net), slip or slide into, go down into, plump into, sprawl into, etc." (Raverty 1860)
   "اخته" (PP); "۱ اخته کېدل، کېږېدل ږدل، مبتلا کېدل ۲ په غم او جنجال اخته کېدل ۳ کوزېدل، راکښته کېدل ۴ بوختېدل، لګيا کېدل" "کېدل، لاندې وتل، بوخت کېدل (Daryāb 1994)

[19] "*nāstəl* 'to sit down', *kē-nāstəl*. G[eiger] compares Av. *had-*, *nišhiδaiti*, Prs. *nišastan* etc. – *nāst* 'sitting' < **ni-hasta-*, 3 s. *(kē-)nī* < **ni-hidati* (v. AO. I, 275 [Morgenstierne 1923a]). Regarding **h*, not **š* after *i* v. BSL XXIV, 205 sqq. [Morgenstierne 1923b]" (EVP 53).

[20] "The *n-* forms < **nhaδt(i)* < **ni-hádati* (Morgenstierne 1923a: 274–5) (or by assimilation < **nl-*? [MK])" (NEVP 59).

[21] Cf. also Darmesteter (1888–90: XCVI); EP 141; Morgenstierne (1923a: 274–5; 1923b: 205ff.); DKS 186; Èdel'man (1986: 164); Grjunberg and Èdel'man (1987: 31).

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2. A CVP not prefixing *wə-* in the perfective forms. The basic meaning is the result of those of the two components, *k(ǩ)e* and *watə́l*. The verb *watə́l* can be also prefixed by *nəna-*, *pre-* and *pore-*: see below. With *jār°* the meaning of the CV is "to return".
3. Etymology: ***kxĕ- + watə́l***. The latter is derived **< **wašt-: *waz-***:[22] cf. Av. *vaz-* "to move, carry, drive (a chariot)", **āuuaz-* "to drive to" < **ā-*, etc. (Kellens 1995: 52), Skt. *vah-* "to ride, to drive, transport" (KEWA III 177–9; EWAia II 535–7).
4. This etymology, proposed by Darmesteter (1888–90: XXXII), has been accepted by all scholars: cf., among others, EP 265; EVP 94; IIFL II 420; Morgenstierne (1942a: 106); Bailey (1946: 203 = Bailey 1981, II: 262); Bailey 1952: 429 (= Bailey 1981, II: 548); DKS 270; Èdel'man (1986: 112); Steblin-Kamenskij (1999: 303–4, 388); NEVP 94; Cheung (2007: 429–32).

   Other comparisons: Sogd. *βrwz-* "to fly" (EVShG 70), Khwar. *wz-* "to swim, fly"?, *bwz-* "to dissolve" < **apa-*, etc. (Samadi 1986: 30, 200, 210, 225), Khot. *bays- (baṣ-)* "to go quickly", *oys-* "to be angry, to anger" < **ā-*, *hauś-* "to carry off" < **fra-vāzaya-* < **fra-vaz-*, etc. (SGS 20, 32, 59, 74, 93, 155–6), MPrs. *prwz-* "*fliegen" (Henning 1933: 170 = Henning 1977, I: 77), Prth. *wz-* "to blow (of the wind); to move, go, fly", *prw'z-* "faire voler" (Ghilain 1939: 52, 70), Bactr. οαζ- "to use, employ" (Sims-Williams 2000: 209); Bal. *gwazag* "to pass" (EB 144) < **wi-wāzaka-*, air. **waz-* "to be in movement", also "to take away" (Rossi 1998: N. 95), Šγ. Bart. Oro. *wāz-: wĭx̌t*, Xu. roš. *wāx̌t*, etc. "to swim" < **waza-; *wāzaya-* (EVShG 95), Kurd. *bazīn/baz-* Kurm. "to run, quickly pass (by)", Sor. "to be conquered" (Cabolov 2001: 136, 150), Oss. *awazyn: azwæzt/awazun: auzt* "to dam a river" < **ā-* (IESOJ I 85–6), Wa. *waz-: waṣ̌t-* "to fall down" < **vaz-: *vašta-*, *rəw(ə)z-*, *rāw(ā)z-: rəwəzd-* "to jump, hop, fly, fall" < **fra-*, *nəw(ə)z-*, *nəw(ə)z-: nyəṣ̌t-* "to leave" < **ni-* (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 253, 303–4, 388), etc. Cf. Cheung (2007: 29–432) for complete comparisons.

XVII. Plr. **ni-na-* > Pšt. *nəna-*

The preverb *nəna-* means "in, inside", according to Pashtoon (2009) (Aslanov 1966) "[a] *separable verb prefix expressing movement into something (stressed in the perfective aspect)*", and possibly originates < **ni-na*, in turn < IE **en-enō*, according to Morgenstierne (1942b: 264: in NEVP 57 the hypothetical origin is IE **eni-nō*). It is also used in connection with prep. *də* as *dənəna* "in, into, inside" and as a preverb it is found only in two CVP: *nənaistə́l* and *nənawatə́l*.

An interesting parallel can be represented by Khot. *näna-* "inner" < **ni-na-*, "as pointed out to us by Skjærvø; cf. also Sogd. *nnšky* 'palm of the hand' (Yoshida, *Studia Iranica* 13, 1984, 146–7), Khot. *nänārra-*. S[ims-]W[illiams]" (NEVP 57: this preverb is not included in EVP). Cf. also Gothic *inna* (Morgenstierne 1942b: 264).

nəna·istə́l: nəna·bā́si ننه ایستل tr. "to lodge, accomodate, put into something" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "faire entrer, enfoncer" (Akbar 2015)
   "to insert, introduce, make or cause to enter, lead or bring in, conduct and make known, import, insinuate, etc." (Raverty 1860)
   "دننه کول، ایسته کول، ننه ایستل، منډل، ورمنډ ل" (PP); ننه باسل، ابننه کول، ننه ایستل، منډل، ورمنډل "ننه باسل (Daryāb 1994)

[22] On the irregular paradigm **-šṭ-: *-z-* and on the evolution **-z-t-* > **-šṭ-* > Pšt. *-t-*, see the verb *alwutə́l: alwúzi* "to fly", treated in De Chiara (2022a [2023]): there I derive the verb *alwutə́l* "to fly", interpreted by Morgenstierne (1942a: 106, EVP 94, NEVP 94) as < **adi-watə*, from **ā-dwášta-: *ā-dwáz-*.

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2. Verb commonly used in all Pashto dialects.
3. Etymology: ***nəna*** + + ***istə́l***. For the latter (**< **yásta-: *apá-ás-sa-?***) see De Chiara (2022b [2023]).

nəna·watə́l: nəna·wuzí ننوتل intr. "to enter, go in" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "entrer" (Akbar 2015)
   "1 to enter, go in, come into, introduce one's-self, find one's way into; 2 to take refuge with a person, throw one's-self on the protection of another" (Raverty 1860)
   "داخلېدل، دننه تلل" (PP); "داخلېدل، دننه تلل، ډُخول" (Daryāb 1994)
2. Verb commonly used in all Pashto dialects.
3. Etymology: ***nəna*** + ***watə́l***: see *k(x̌)e·watə́l*, above.

XVIII. PIr. **parā-* > Pšt. *prā-*

= Skt. *párā* "away, off, aside, along, on", without equivalent in Av; cf. also = Skt. *pára* "far, distant, remote (in space), opposite, ulterior" + *ā*; = Av. *para*, OPrs. *parā-*. It becomes, in the only documented instance of a Pšt. verb, *pro-*. = Šγ.-Roš. *par-*, Yd.-Mnj. *p(ə)-*, Khot. *parā-*, Khwar. *pr'-*, Sogd. *pr'-*.[23]

This preverb has been treated in De Chiara (2022b [2023]) (s.v. X. PIr. **parā-* > Pšt. *pro-*): the verb quoted in that work, *prolə́l* "to sell, market", is a radical simple verb in which the preverb completely merged with the verbal root (for the explanation of the different vocalism between *prolə* and *prānistə*, see *infra*, point 3 of *prānistə*). Here, on the other hand, the unique attested verb, *prā·nistə : prā·niji*, behaves like a CVP and consequently does not prefix *wə́-* in the perfective forms. The ancient preverb is still perceived as distinct from the verbal root.

prānistə́l: prāníji پرانیستل tr. "1 to open 2 to open (i.e., to found or establish, e.g. a school or other establishment) 3 to untie, loosen (i.e., a knot) 4 to unfold, unroll 5 untwist, unreel 6 *figurative* to explain" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "ouvrir, inaugurer, dénouer" (Akbar 2015)
   "to open, unclose, unbar, unlock, remove any fastening and set open, unfold separate parts that are closed, cut through, split, divide, break, clear or open (a street), spread, expand, unstop, reveal, unclose, explain" (Raverty 1860)
   "پرانتل، خلاصول، سپېرل، ځر کـندول، ، " ۱ خلاصول، بېرته کول، پرانیستل، پرانسټل، پرانتل ۲ افتتاح کول" (PP); "پرانیځل پرانیستل" (Daryāb 1994)
2. This verb is commonly used and shows many variants: *prā·nəstə*, *prā·natə*, *prā·netə*, etc.: *prā·naji*, *prā·nizi*, etc. The place of the stress is provided by Dybo (1989: 116). While Aslanov (1966) indicates that in the perfective forms the verbal prefix may separate from the root, the past پرائي نیت [*prə́=ye-nit*, with the usual shift of stress], this lacking *wə́-*, PP indicates a form with *wə́-* for the perfective future: وبه پر انیځي [*wə́=ba-prāniji*]. But cf. the form of perfective future provided by Raverty (1860) پرا به نځي *prā bah nadzī*: we should then attribute the form with *wə́-* of PP to recent regularization.
3. Etymology: **< **parā-ni-yā́stá-: *parā-ni-yā́zá-?*** This etymology is very uncertain and there is not yet a fully satisfying proposal. Cheung (2007: 220) mentions the root **i̯ās-* "to yawn, open the mouth", an "exclusively Iranian" root. This root is coherent with the meaning of the Pšt. verb, but from a formal point of view at least two problems remain unexplained. 1) *-a-* < **-ā-*; 2) pres. *-j/z-*.

[23] See EP 177, EVP 57, NEVP 64.

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1) *-a-* < **-ā-*. Apparently, the instances of shortening of **-ā-* are linked to the position of the stress: cf. *dalə́y* دلئ "heap of corn or straw" < PIr. **han-dāti-ka-*; *lamə́n* لمن "border, hem" < PIr. **dāman-*; *an/láng* اننگ "pomegranate" < PIr. **ha-dānaka-*: indeed, **ā́* > *ó* > *o'*, but **ā'* > *ā́* > *á* (cf. De Chiara forthcoming b).[24]
2) pres. *-j/z-*. Pšt. *-j-* is only derived < PIr. **-č-*, but this can hardly be compatible with the past stem in *-st-*.[25] Instead, Pšt. *-z-*, except in loanwords, apparently can only be derived < PIr. **z* (< IE. **ǵ(h)*): cf., for instance, *k(x̌)e·watə́l* above, s.v. XVI. Assimilation in a voiced context is hardly possible and is not attested elsewhere. This, however, seems to be the only possible solution. Cheung (2007: 220) quotes the comparison with Yd. *niáskë*, Mnj. *niezγe* "yawn" (IIFL II 233–4): here the *z* reappears due to sandhi effects.

   At any rate, according to this hypothesis, the original form of the present stem would be *prānizi*, while *prāniji* would be secondary (this is not unlikely).

   Another difficulty presented by this root is that it is apparently used only with the preverb **wi-*: Khot. *biyāśś-* "to open" (SGS 97), Sogd. *wy's/š-* "to open (the mouth)" < **wi-yāsa-ka-* (Gharib 1995: 417), Khwar. *m/wy's-* "to yawn" (Samadi 1986: 224).

4. Neither proposal of Morgenstierne (in EVP and NEVP) is particularly likely. Indeed, he proposes either a contamination of the two roots **nad-* and **nak-*, or only **nad-* (while excluding other hypotheses): "Prob. contamination of two roots. *°nistəl* < **nad-* < **nedh-* 'to tie' (cf. Skt. *nah-*, Lat. *nōdus* etc.). *°natəl*, *° najəm* < **nak-* < **neq^{w}-*? If *j* is correct, not < **naz-* < **neĝh-* (Cf. Lat. *necto*?)" (EVP 59). "< **parā* + ? Neither ***na/ič-* nor ***na/iz-* is a very likely form [Bailey's connexion (*DKS* 179) with Khot. *nāju* '*grasping' and Sogd M *n'j-* 'to turn' (not 'shrink together') is quite unlikely, while Wan *neci* 'takes' is certainly unrelated, v. s.v. *nis-*. M[ac]K[enzie]] – *-nist-* may perhaps be explained from a √**nad*, cf. Skt. √*nah* 'to bind' < **nedh*" (NEVP 64).

   The proposal of derivation < **nad-* can be discarded, as it does not explain the present stem, but only the past stem, and does not fit in meaning.[26]

   The root **hHai-* "to chain, bind" (Cheung 2007: 135–6) should be also excluded, as the meaning is exactly opposite to that of *prānistəl* and the preverb **ni-* does not account for this semantic change, instead provided by the preverb **wi-*, which, however, cannot be found here.[27]

[24] The root **i̯ās-* could be tentatively connected with **i̯am-* "to hold; to stretch, reach out" (Cheung 2007: 211–12): here, for instance, we find an example of Av. *yam- (yå̆s-)* "to hold, keep", + preverb **ni-* in the meaning "to keep, hold down". This root is possibly already attested in Pšt. *niwə̂l: nísi* < **ni-yáfta-* [< **ni-yábta-* < **ni-yámta-*]: **ni-yása-*? and Pšt. *istə̂l: bə́si* < **yásta-: *apá-ás-sa-*? (see De Chiara 2022b [2023]), but with a different meaning from that of *prānistə̂l*. The semantic difference and the fact that the present in *-z-* remains unexplained render a possible connection with this root unlikely.

[25] Except in the case of suppletive themes; however, I could not find another verb that worked as a comparandum. See below the remarks of Morgenstierne in EVP and NEPV.

[26] The root **Haz-* "to drive, lead", whose phonological development would fit formally (***parā-ni-Hazta-* > ***parā-ni-Hasta-* > Pšt. *prānistə̂l*: ***parā-ni-Haza-* > Pšt. *prānízi*), cannot be considered, mainly due to its semantics.

[27] Cf., among other Iranian comparisons of this root, with **wi-*: MMP *wyš-*, BMP *wyš'-* /*wišā-*/ "to release, open" (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 359), Prth. *wyš'h-* "to let go, release, open" (Ghilain 1939: 88) and possibly the same Pšt. *wit* "wide, open, ajar".

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XIX. PIr. **parai-* > Pšt. *pre-*

The preverb *pre-* < **parai*,[28] cf. Gk. παροί (EVP 57),[29] "in *pre-məl-* 'to dwell', *pre-* is from *par*, q.v. M[ac]K[enzie]" (NEVP 64), is used to form many CVP: *pre·istál*, *pre·kedál*, *pre·kawál*, *pre·wlál*, *pre·watál* and *pre·xodál*. In one case, *m/winjál*, the preverb *pre-* is used as perfective prefix (nowadays normalized and replaced by *wə-*): it will be mentioned in the last article in this series on the preverbs (De Chiara forthcoming a). Skt. *pára* has temporal and spatial meaning (see also De Chiara 2022b [2023], s.v. X. PIr. **parā-* > Pšt. *pro-*).

m/winjál: m/wínjí مینځل tr. "to wash" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "laver, délaver" (Akbar 2015)
   "to wash, cleanse, purify, clean, lave, absterge" (Raverty 1860)
   "وینځل، پاکول" (PP); "پۀ اُبو اچه کول، پاکول، صفا کول" (Daryāb 1994)
2. This verb, IRR., is used in all Pšt. dialects. In De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 68) it is classified as a Mixed Verb (see above s.v. *mindál/mundál*): "**(pre)·m/winjəl : (pre)-m/winji** « laver », TR REG, uniquement aux formes perfectives, et de manière résiduelle, car souvent on trouve /wə/ (dès lors VSN) à la place de /pre/, aux formes perfectives".
3. Etymology: ***minjál*: secondary formation with pres. stem*: *wínčá-***; ***minjál* < *ham-wínčá-**, to the root **waič-* "to sift, select, elect, sort out, separate" (Cheung 2007: 407–8): cf. Skt. *vic-*, 7th class, pres. *vinákti*, past *vikta-* "to sift, separate" (Monier-Williams 1899). While derivation of the present stem from **waič-* with the nasal infix is regular,[30] the past stem remains unexpected. The Wanetsi dialect shows the regular derivation from this root: indeed, Wan. *wa* "washed" is derived from **wixta-*, with the nasal infix regularly restricted to the present, *winzánī* (Morgenstierne 1930: 167 = ID 198[31]).

   The meaning of the IIr. verb is also somewhat problematic for Pashto *winjál*.[32] Mayrhofer (KEWA III 212–23 and EWAia II 576–7) suggests comparison with Lat. *uictima* "Opfertier", Got. *weihs* "heilig" and Hit. *ḫu-e-ik-mi* "schlachte" (see Eichner 1982: 18), and this renders the reconstruction even more difficult. Cheung (2007: 408) rightly writes: "This IIr. root has no certain IE cognates. The comparison to the 'consecration' forms, Hitt. *ḫu-e-ik-mi* 'I slaughter', Goth. *weihan*, OHG *wīhen* 'to dedicate', Lat. *victima* 'sacrificial animal' is semantically not compelling. The IIr. root has no particular religious significance and it is highly unlikely that only IIr. would have retained the presumably older (more profane) meaning of 'to separate (from the rest), single out, etc.'."

   Apart from the root **waič-*, we find another PIr. root, perfectly fitting in meaning, **naiǰ-* "to wash (out)", to IE. **neig*^{w}- "to wash (out)" (Cheung 2007: 279): among the Ir. languages, this verb is attested only in Av. *niž-* "effacer" (Kellens 1995: 41), "to wash (out)" according to Cheung (2007). The root is also attested in Skt. *nij-* "to wash, cleanse" (Monier-Williams EWAia 54), a verb showing the nasal infix in the pres. *niṅkte*, past *nikta*. Striking is the similarity of conjugation between the two roots

[28] Mauro Maggi (personal communication) suggests, on the basis of the semantics of the verbs, a nominal form in composition.

[29] Gk. παροί is a poetic form of παρα: "πάρα, παρά: dans l'épopée aussi παροί (attesté dans des inscr. dial. par l'anthroponyme Παραιδάτᾱς)" (Chantraine 1968: 856).

[30] See De Chiara (2022b [2023]: "**-č-* > *-j-* (cf., for instance, *bojál* بوځل 'stone wall' < PIr. **upā-č-*, and *swəl: swají* سول 'to burn' (intrans.) < PIr. **sauča-*)".

[31] "Wan *wunz-in-*: *wu* m., *way* f. [...] *wu* < **wixta-*" (NEVP 88).

[32] Geiger (EP 271) considers the original meaning of the Pashto verb "to winnow, sift grain": "Ursprünglich vom Reinigen, Worfeln des Getreides" (quoted also by EVP 87).

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*waič- and *naiǰ-, but, while the latter is apparently only residual, the former is, on the contrary, widely attested among the Iranian languages.[33]

In conclusion, we can hypothesize, for Pashto *winjə́l*, two distinct facts: 1) from the semantic point of view, a merger of the two roots **waič-* and **naiǰ-*, due to the similarity between their conjugations; 2) from the morphological point of view, the extension of the nasalized form to the past stem. This latter process may have been caused precisely by the nasal infix in both roots.

The form *minjə́l* should be derived from the same root **waič-* with preverb **ham-*.

4. EVP (87–8) compares Prs. *bēxtan*, Kurd. *"dasnwaizh"*, *"das-mīzh"* "ablutions", Zaza *wīženg* "sieve". We can also compare Bal. *gējag*, see Elfenbein (1985: 230–1):

> 44. *gējag* (bijs- [sic] 280) *geǰ-*, *getka* (GE 113 [EB.]) "to swing, hit, knock about; miscarry". This word belongs among the other descendants of Av *vaēg-* (*vaēǰ-*, OIr. *waiǰ-*) as Bailey notes, and is distinct from *geč-*, *getka* (GE 112) "to sift" (< OIr *waič-*) in Bal, a language which keeps OIr *č* and *ǰ* apart. But the two words have still got partly mixed, in meaning at least, in Bal., probably through their common p.p. *getka*. [...] In this connection it seems better to take Psht *wīnjə́l* "to cleanse, wash" < *wainǰ-* (with nasal infix), rather than < *waič-* (EVP, 87). Psht *pēzna* "sieve" (EVP 63) seems to be a Northern dialect form of std. *pējna* (< *pati- waičana-* acc. to EVP); if that is so, it provides a parallel to Bal. *gečin* "sieve" (< *waičana-*, with *-in* > *-an*, cf. Bal vbl. noun in *-tin*, NP *-tan*, etc.; *ge-* < *wai-* cf. Bal *get* "willow"), EHB *gešin*, as expected. Bal *gičen* (EHB *gišen*) "chosen, selected" seems to be a contamination of *gičin-* "to select, elect" (p.p. *gičinta*) (< *vi-čin-*) and the "sieve" word, through a **gečen(t)* "sieved" (as if < **geč-*).

See also Bactr. ζιμο-οηζγο "sieve for earth" (Sims-Williams 2000: 192).

pre·istə́l: pre·bā̆si پرېپستل tr. "1 to throw down, drop, throw off 2 to fling, hurl, throw; throw away 3 to shoot, fire 4 to compel to lie down, put lying (an animal) 5 to topple, overturn 6 to abandon, desert (a wife); divorce, grant a divorce (to a woman)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "coucher, allonger, terrasser" (Akbar 2015)
   "to throw, propel, fling, dart, cast, project, discharge, hurl, chuck, etc." (Raverty 1860, also mentioning the variant *pre·wastə́l*)

   (۱) پرېباسل، غزول، اوده کول، (۲)" (PP); "۱ پرېباسل، غزول، ویده کول ۲ راښکته کول، راکوزول، راغورځه ول، را اچول" "راښکته کول، راغرځه ول، رااچول، په زمکه ځملول، (۳) دورول، ورول (Daryāb 1994)
2. A CVP, whose preverb is separable from the root in the perfective forms, as attested by Aslanov (1966) (perfective past پرې يې يست) and PP (perfective future پرې به باسي).
3. Etymology: **< **parai- + istə́l***. For the latter (**< **yásta-: *apá-ás-sa-?***), see De Chiara (2022b [2023]).

pre·kedə́l: pre·kéğ̌i پرېکېدل intr. "1 to be cut, cut off 2 to be cut off, be severed 3 to be clipped (nails) 4 to be cut down 5 to be broken off (of diplomatic relations) 6 to be paid up, be paid off (of a debt) 7 to be answered, be solved (of a question, problem)" (Pashtoon 2009)

[33] Pšt. *winjə́l* cannot be derived from **naiǰ-*, as PIr. **-ǰ-* > Pšt. *-ž-* (as in *ważə́l* "to kill" < **awá-ǰata-* or *bžə́l* "to tear" < **api-ǰá-*: see De Chiara 2022b [2023]).

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1. "1. être coupé, être tranché, être sectionné 2. subir" (Akbar 2015)
   Missing in Raverty (1860)

   (۱) غځېدل، **قطع** کېدل، (۲)" ;(PP) "۱ غوغځېدل، **قطع** کېدل ۲ شلېدل، فیصله کېدل ۳ ختمېدل، فیصله کېد ل ۴ کیندل، کنستل" " شلېدل، ځیر لی کېدل، (۳) فیصله کېدل، ختمېدل، (٤) کنستل، کیندل (Daryāb 1994)
2. This CVP is formed with the preverb *pre-* + *kedə́l*, which is one of the two verbalizers, together with *kawə́l* (see below): "Les deux verbes « faire » et « devenir », comme tout verbe simple, préfixent **/wə́-/** (critère définitoire des VS) au perfectif mais, de plus, présentent une alternance du radical selon l'axe perfectif imperfectif. Formulé autrement : **T + 1 ≠ T + 2 & T−1 ≠ T−2**" (De Chiara-Septfonds 2019: 62). The paradigm of *kedə́l/šwəl* is in Table 6.

Table 6. Paradigm of *kedəl*.

to become	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	keğ	wə́-š
Past	ked	wə́-šw

3. Etymology: **< **parai- + kedə́l/šwəl***. The etymology of the two verbalizers, *kedə́l/šwəl* and *kawə́l/kṛəl*, cannot be discussed here and will be treated elsewhere. The verb *šwəl* can be compared with Prs. *šudan: šaw-* and belongs, according to Morgenstierne (EVP 77, NEVP 78) and Cheung (2007: 40–2) to PIr. **čiau-* "to move, go".[34]

   The verb *kedə́l* is more complicated and has few comparisons. According to Morgenstierne (EVP 34 s.v. *kṛəl*), "*kēdəl*, *kawul* are, as G[eiger] remarks, secondary formations, the *-w-* is prob. of Ind. origin. But *ž* in *kēžəm* etc. remains unexplained, *ž* can scarcely represent Si. *j* in *kijaṇ*^{u} (pass. of *karaṇ*^{u}). – But with the Psht. intr. in *-ēdəl*, *-ēžəm*, cf. the Shina intr. and pass. in *-īž-* (fut. stem), *-īd-*, *-ēd-* (preter. stem)". And NEVP 40: "The elements *-eğ-: -ed-* in *k-eğ-: k-ed-* 'to become' and many other Pš intransitives are prob. of IA origin, cf. esp. Shina intr. and passive stems in *-īž-: -ī/ēd-*, but the precise origin of the Pš forms (poss. from a 'South Dardic' language?) and the phonetic development are still unclear."

pre·kawə́l: pre·kawí پرېکول tr. "1 to cut; cut off; sever 2 to clip (the nails) 3 to interrupt (e.g., a speech) 4 to cut down, fell 5 to break off (e.g., diplomatic relations) 6 to pay, pay off (a debt) 7 to solve, answer (e.g., a question, a problem)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "1. couper, trancher, réséquer, amputer, sectionner 2. exécuter à l'aide de" (Akbar 2015)
   "to cut, sever, divide, sub-divide, cut off" (Raverty 1860)

   (۱) شلول، ځیر ي کول، بڑه کول ۲ غوڅول ۳ ختمول، فیصله کول: د میرزا د ارزاني دعوای به پرې کا - قدردان د شاعرانو" (۱) ځیر ي کول، شلول، غڅول، (۲) ادا کول، (د قرض)، (۳) فیصله کول " ; (PP) " رحمن راغی (ر. ب.) ۴ کیندل، کښل ختمول" (٤) کښل، کیندل (Daryāb 1994)

[34] This Pashto verb is quoted in many works, among others: EP 224; EVP 77; IESOJ I 308; Èdel'man (1986: 160); Grjunberg and Èdel'man (1987: 33); Skjærvø (1989: 402); Steblin-Kamenskij (1999: 139); NEVP 78; Cheung (2007: 41).

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2. According to Aslanov (1966), the perfective past is پرې يې کړ. See above *pre·kedə́l* for the structure of this verb, which is parallel to *pre- + kawə́l*. The paradigm of *kawə́l/kṛ́ə* is seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Paradigm of *kawə*.

to do	Imperfective	Perfective
Present	kaw	wə́-k(ṛ)
Past	kaw	wə́-kṛ

The verb *kawə́l/kṛ́ə* is regular regarding the opposition between the two stems of present and past, while the irregularity concerns only the opposition between imperfective and perfective stem.

3. Etymology: **< **parai- + kawə́l***. As with the preceding verb, we will not treat the etymology of *kawə́l/kṛ́ə* here. Briefly, we can say that *kṛ́ə* can be compared with Prs. *kardan* and dates back to PIr. **kar-* "to do, make" (Cheung 2007: 236–8).[35]

   As for *kawə́l*, the suffix *-aw-* is "as G[eiger] remarks [...] prob. of Ind. origin" (EVP 34). According to Geiger (EVP 34), both *kawə́l* and *kedə́l* are secondary formations.

4. On the suffix *-aw-*, see also Schwartz (1969: 447): "Emmerick, [SGS] p. 187, has suggested that in words of Iranian origin the Khot. causative-denominative suffix *-ev-*, as well as Parachi *-ēw-*, Pashto, Ormuri *-aw-*, Munji *-ōv-*, Yidgha *-iw-*, Waxi *-üw-* (which he aptly compares with the Khot.) are not, as had been generally thought, of Indic origin (< *-āpaya-*), but represent a genuine Iranian feature. Now, the Iranian phones which would reconcile the above suffixes would be **-āvaya-*; Khwarezmian, which is blessedly free of Indic influence, decisively attests the required reflex, *-ʾwy-*: E.g., *rʾnjʾwyd-* 'he troubled', Pers. *beranǰānīd* 306[6]; < *rnǰ* 'trouble'; *šʾžʾwyd-* 'he treated roughly' 328[3]; 398[7] < *šž* 'harsh'; *kʾnbʾwyd-* 'he diminished' 128[7]; 135[7]; 438[1], passive *kʾnbwd* 'became diminished' 438[1] < *knb* 'less', etc."

pre·wlə́l: pre·wlí پرېولل tr. "1 to wash; wash thoroughly 2 to launder 3 to clean, brush (the teeth)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "laver, blanchir, débarbouiller" (Akbar 2015)
   Missing in Raverty (1860)
   "پرېمينځل" (PP, Daryāb 1994)
2. The simple verb *wlə́l* "to wash, wash (clothes), launder", perfective past و يې وله, is not used in contemporary Pashto; on the contrary, the CVP with *pre-* is attested in Dzadrani as *pri·lwə́l*: cf. Septfonds (1994a: 110–11). The perfective past is attested by Aslanov (1966) as پرې يې وله.
3. Etymology: **< **parai-dawáta-: *parai-dawá-*, with metathesis**, according to the latest proposal by Morgenstierne (NEVP 87). Even if this etymology implies a certain degree of uncertainty, it is the most reliable compared to the other two hypotheses by Geiger and Morgenstierne (see below). This root is found in Cheung (2007: 68–9) as **dauH-*[2] "to smear, rub (on)", and is attested in other Ir. languages: cf. Av. *(frā-)δauua-* "to cleanse" (NEVP 87), to root *°du-* "diluer" (Kellens 1995: 31), Khwar. *δ'w-* "einreiben, beschmieren" (Benzing 1983: 253; Samadi 1986: 63–4), Sogd. *δ'w-* "smear" (MacKenzie 1976, II: 98), Oss. *dāwyn: dawd* "гладить, тереть,

[35] See also, among others, EP 70; EVP 34; NEVP 40.

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полировать" (IÈSOJ I 349–50). Cf. also Skt. *dhāv-* "to rinse, cleanse, wash, purify, polish" (Monier-Williams 1899). The metathesis does not represent a problem, being quite common in Pashto: cf., for instance, ***salwāγá*** سلواغه, ***sawlāγá*** سولاغه "bucket" < PIr. **usa-daugā-* "well-drawer".

4. Two other etymological proposals exist. Geiger (EP 274) proposes a derivation < Av. *frav-* "to swim, fly". According to Morgenstierne (EVP 86), "G[eiger]'s derivation is phonetically and semasiologically unsatisfactory." However, we should instead compare PIr. **frau-*[2] "to flow" (see Cheung 2007: 90–1), "attested (most clearly) in some modern East Ir. languages only" (Cheung 2007): cf. Sγ. *firā̆w-*, Rosh. *firēw-/firēwt*, Yzγ. *fəraw-/fərawd* "to wash, rinse" (EVShG 34), etc. Cf. also Skt. *plu-* "to float, swim, bathe" (Monier-Williams, KEWA II 383–4, EWAia II 194); PIE **pleu-* "to flow, float, wash, swim" (LIV 487–8; Pokorny 1959: 835–6) and comparisons quoted here and in Cheung (2007), including Engl. *to flow*. This proposal fits well in terms of semantics and is quite convincing in the light of the comparanda, but there is one difficulty: no other instances exist of PIr. **fr-* > Pšt. *wl-*. This is not completely impossible, but to me less probable than the etymology given above in 3.

   Morgenstierne, in EVP 86, proposes a derivation < PIr. **wad-* and compares Skt. *ud-* "to wet, bathe" and Engl. *wash*, while admitting that the etymology is uncertain. The semantics are convincing, and so too is the formal regular derivation of the present stem: indeed, PIr. **wad-* regularly > Pšt. *wl-*. However, this proposal is not compatible for the past stem, where we should have Pšt. **wast-* (cf. *axistól*, etc.), unless we propose a secondary derivation of the past stem from the present stem. Ultimately, Morgenstierne discards this hypothesis in NEVP 87.

   However, it could be the case that there is a link between the two roots PIr. **daw-* and **wad-* (then at the PIr. stage), distinct only by a metathesis but containing the same consonants and radical structure.

pre·watól: pre·wuzí پرېوتل intr. "1 to fall, drop 2 to lie down (to sleep) 3 to flow into (of a river) 4 to set, go down (of the sun) 5 to be perpetrated (of a raid)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "se coucher, s'allonger" (Akbar 2015)
   "to fall, come down, drop, drop down, dismount, alight, tumble, light on, come by chance, come (as fortune or calamity), fall in (as an ambuscade), etc." (Raverty 1860)
   ۱ غځېدل، ویده کېدل ۲ غورځملاستل، پر تاوېدل، راګوزارېدل، ارتاوېدل، نسکورېدل، لوېدل :
   چې په زړه کې يې هوس" ستا د ذقن و - هوادار يې دېره د خانه پرېوتل (مصري خان) ۳ دوبېدل، پناکېدل ۴ دېره کېدل، مېشته کېدل ۵ ناڅاپه حمله کول، يرغل کول ۶ رژېدل، پانې تويېدل ۷ نرېدل، ږنګېدل ۸ په سوداګرۍ کې نقصان او تاوان ۹ ناکامېدل، پاتې کېدل ۱۰ ر نځورېدل، (۱) غرزېدل، سملاستل، (۲) غزېدل، پرتاوېدل، راګـوزارېدل، ارتاوېدل، لوېدل، "بيمارېدل، ناروغېدل، ناروغه کېدل (PP)؛ "نسکورېدل، (۳) پرېښل دوبېدل، (٤) مېشته کېدل، دېره کېدل، (٥) ناڅاپه حمله کول، يرغل کول، (٦) پانې تويېدل، رژېدل، (۷) " ږنګېدل، نرېدل، (۸) په سوداګرۍ کې تاوان نقصان کېدل، (۹) ناکامېدل، پاتې کېدل، (۱۰) بيمارېدل، رنځورېدل، ناروغه کېدل (Daryāb 1994)
2. The CVP is well attested in Pashto. Aslanov (1966) quotes the imperfective past (پرېووت) and present (پرېوزي). No additional grammatical information is provided by the monolingual dictionaries. According to the Pashto speakers, the perfective future is پرې به وزي.
3. Etymology: < ****parai- + watól***: see *k(ŭ)e·watól*, above.

pre·ŭodól: pre·ğdí پرېښودل tr. "1 to leave, abandon 2 to let pass; let go; admit, allow 3 to release (e.g., on bail) 4 to curtail, call a halt to 5 to allow, authorize 6 to desert, leave (a wife); give a divorce (to a wife) 7 to give up (a place)" (Pashtoon 2009)

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1. "1. laisser, abandonner, quitter, divorcer 2. permettre" (Akbar 2015)
   "to discontinue, cease, desist, leave off, give over, relinquish, forsake, abandon, renounce, forswear, etc." (Raverty 1860)
   ١ پرپردل، پرېښوول، پرېښو ول، پرېښل ٢ خلاصول، خوشي کول، آزادول ٣ روستو پاتي کول، شاته پرېښوول ۴ ترک کول، لاس"(١) پرېښوول، پرپردل، (٢) خلاصول، خشي کول، ازادول، لاس تري نه اخستل، (٣)"اخيستل ٥ طلاقول، خوشي کول "وروستو پاتي کول، شا ته پرېښوول، (٤) طلاقول (PP); (Daryāb 1994)
2. The CVP is well attested in Pashto. Aslanov (1966) does not provide perfective forms, only the imperfective (past پرې ښود, present پرپردي). PP gives the perfective future پرې به ږدي .
3. Etymology: < ***parai- + ǩodə́l***

XX. Plr. **pārya-* > Pšt. *pore-*

According to Aslanov (1966) (Pashtoon 2009), the preverb *pore-* means "trans-". As adverb or adjective, it indicates "1 abutting, bordering something 2 closed, covered 3 affixed to something, presented along with something 4 connected with, depending upon something 5 located on the other shore, on the other side"; as postposition, in combination with *pə* (*pə … pore*) it means "1 without it (indicates that an action is directed at someone or something to) 2 by (indicates the person or object which one is touching) 3 at (indicates the direction of an action with reference to someone)"; in combination with *tər* (*tər … pore*) "1 to, up to (indicates the limit or boundary of something in space) 2 until, before (indicates a time limit) 3 through (used in combination with the particle را *rā* which is used as a verb prefix having a directional sense) 4 to him, to us, to them".

As to the etymology, Geiger (EP 182) proposes a derivation < Av. *pāire*, locative of *pāra-* = Skt. *pāra-* "the further bank of a river". Morgenstierne (EVP 58) states that "Av. *pāire* is not traceable". NEVP 64 only compares Skt. and Av. *pāra-*, both meaning "opposite bank, border, end". See Bartholomae (1904: 889) and Monier-Williams (1899).

In Skt. we find *pārya-* "being on the opposite side or bank", according to Mayrhofer (KEWA II 258) *pār(i)ya-* "hindurchdringend, hindurchführend, helfend, erfolgreich, wirksam u.a.": this form seems more reliable as the source of Pšt. *pore*, due to its final *-e*.

Mayrhofer (EWAia II 122) compares with the Skt. form Mprs. Prs. *bār* "Gestade, Ufer" and Khot. *pāra-* "Grenze" (see DKS 230–1, where Pšt. *pore* is also quoted as comparison). Cf. also Oss. *far-ast*, *falæ*.

This preverb is used in many CVP: *pore·istə́l*, *pore·kedə́l*, *pore·kawə́l*, *pore·wahə́l* and *pore·watə́l*.

pore·istə́l: pre·bā́si پورېښتل tr. "to proceed across something" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "faire franchir" (Akbar 2015)
   "1 to ferry, carry or transport over a river, brook, etc. 2 to lend, advance, accommodate with money" (Raverty 1860)
   "د سيند نهر وغيره بلي غاړي ته رسول، بلي غاړي ته اړول، پورېباسل، پورې وېستل" (Daryāb 1994)
2. The CVP is well attested in Pashto. The form of the perfective past is provided by Aslanov (1966): پورې يې يوست.
3. Etymology: ***pore- + istə́l***. For the latter (**< **yásta-: *apá-ás-sa-?***) see De Chiara (2022b [2023]).

***pore·kedə́l: pre·kéğ*i** پورېکېدل intr. "1 to be closed, be closed down 2 to be affixed, be placed against 3 to be moved up to 4 to be sewn on to 5 to be attributed to someone (a piece of writing); to cast (aspersions)" (Pashtoon 2009)

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1. Missing in Akbar (2015) and Raverty (1860)
"(۱) بلي غاړې ته پورې وتل، (۲) لګېدل(د اور) ورته کېدل، (۳) د دروازی وغیره) بندېدل، (٤) تپلی کېدل" (Daryāb 1994)
2. According to Aslanov (1966), the perfective past of this CVP is پوري شو.
3. Etymology: ***pore- + kedə́l***: see *pre·kedə́l*, above.

pore·kawə́l: pre·kawí پورېکول tr. "1 to close; close down 2 to affix 3 to place against; move up to 4 to sew onto 5 to glue, affix, stick onto 6 to attribute (a writing) to someone 7 to crumble (make crumbs) 8 to lubricate, anoint (with grease, ointment)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "fermer, mettre en contact" (Akbar 2015)
"to apply, close, attach, join, lay, put, place, plant, set, shut, connect, fasten, spread, plaster, employ, engage, use, impute, report anything, such as malice or scandal" (Raverty 1860)
(۱) پورېباسل، پورېښتل، لګول، کېښودل، ږدل،" (PP); "۱ " خلاصول، ښرته کول، پرانیستل، پرانستل، پرانتل ۲ افتتاح کول" "(۲) بندول، (۳) شروع کول، (٤) بلول، (٥) تپل، (٦) مښل، (۷) د لګول لې یا بل کوم داسې څیز سره رنګولې خوړل (Daryāb 1994)
2. According to Aslanov (1966), the perfective past of this CVP is پوري يې کړ.
3. Etymology: ***pore- + kawə́l***: see *pre·kawə́l*, above.

pore·wahə́l: pre·wahí پورېوهل tr. "1 to push, nudge 2 to bring up to something" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "pousser" (Akbar 2015)
"to push, impel, thrust, drive away, force" (Raverty 1860)
"۱ دیکه ورکول، ټپله ورکول، ډکه ورکول، تنبول ۲ له چا سره په څه کار کې مرسته کول ۳ غورځول، نسکورول ۴ منډل" (۱) ټپله ورکول، دیکه ورکول، تنبول، (۲) نسکورول، غرپرېښوول، (۳) منډل، (٤) مرسته کول، (٥) غوول، (٦) په زور" (PP); "وهل، (د ډولکی د پاره) (Daryāb 1994)
2. According to Aslanov (1966), the perfective past of this CVP is پوري يې واهه.
3. Etymology: ← **IA**, with Morgenstierne (EVP 86, NEVP 87), "despite the lack of clear examples from modern IA". (NEVP 87): cf. Skt. **vadhati* "kills, strikes", Pkt. *vahaï, vahēi* (T11249).
Mayrhofer (KEWA III 135–6; EWAia II 496) compares Av. *vada-* m. "Keil zum Spalten des Holzes", *vadar-* n. "Mordwaffe", *vādāy°* "zurückstossen, zurückdrängen". Indeed, in Ir. this root is attested as **u̯adH-* "to slay" (see Cheung 2007: 404–5), also found in Sar. *weδ-*, Wa. *waδ-* "handle (of axe, etc.)" (EVShG 88). However, Pšt. *wahəl* cannot be derived directly < PIr., as PIr. **d* > Pšt. *l*, but may be borrowed directly ← IA. (the Pkt. form is cogent). Interestingly, this is the first "radical simple verb" borrowed from a nearby language that we have encountered.
4. According to Bailey (DKS 257), Pšt. *wahəl* should be compared with Khot. *pvah-* "strike", from **pa(ti)-vah-* "strike upon"; to IE Pok. 1172 *u̯es-* "to pierce", OInd. *nivāsita-* "killed" (DKS 257)

pore·watə́l: pre·wuzí پورېوتل intr. "to cross, traverse (rivers, etc.)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "franchir une rivière" (Akbar 2015)
"to pass over, or cross a river, ferry" (Raverty 1860)
(۱) عبور کېدل، د سیند یا نهر وغیره بلي" (PP); "پورې غاړې ته تللو د سیند بلي غاړې ته تلل، (۲) په مشکله کامیابۍ ته رسېدل" "د سرک بلي غاړې ته تلل" (Daryāb 1994)
2. Aslanov (1966) attests the past (پورې وزي) and present (پورې ووت) forms of this CVP.
3. Etymology: ***pore- + watə́l***: see *k(ŭ)e·watə́l*, above.

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XXI. Directional pronouns

The three directionals, *rā*, *dar* and *war*, are a specific feature of Pashto morphology, found in few other Iranian languages. For instance, Ormuṛi has a similar set of directionals: 1st person K *hir*, *rī*, L *ēr*, *ar*; 2nd person K *dal*, L *dar*; 3rd person K *hal*, L *al*. From a syntactic point of view, we can quote the three Khotanese directional particles *vā(ṣṭa)*, towards the speaker, *ttā(ṣṭa)*, towards the person addressed and *hā(ṣṭa)*, towards a distant person (see De Chiara 2014: 24 and references).

The directionals[36] can perform three main functions, as explained in De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 70–1):

> a. Pronouns: "weak" forms of oblique pronouns.
> b. Adverbs: various degrees of coalescence depending on the person and on the semantics of the verb. As a result, some DIR ADV + V sequences are felt as a semantic set ("to acquire", "to gather", etc.) and appear in dictionaries as verbs with preverb. It is important not to confuse: statistically, the "oriented" DIR ADV[...] with both intransitive and transitive verbs and select a class of verbs, the most usual of which are: "to go out, to jump, to arrive, to leave, to enter, to get up (start), to run, to fall, to go up, to touch (on)", but also: "to chase, to push, to throw, to direct, to overturn, to actuate, to show, to dismiss, to thank, to bless, to seize, to want, to cure, to take, to take away, to attack".
>
> It is through this series that can be most freely expressed: (1) the speaker's commitment and (2) the identification of the process in relation to it. In addition to the simple "spatialization" of the process, it offers a possibility widely exploited by the speaker to mark his empathy with what he is saying, whether he is the actor or not. To be underlined in this way: a cleavage between the 1st person (/rā/) *vs.* the 2nd person; the 3rd (non)-person on the other hand. [...]
> c. Preverbs: the orientation operated by directionals is lexicalized (CVP proper) and therefore relatively fixed.

Dialects, unlike STD, tend to diversify paradigms. A privileged axis of differentiation is that of the opposition pronoun (nominal actant) *vs.* adverb + preverb (verbal group). Examples are in Table 8.

The difference between the latter two functions (verbal group: adverb *vs.* preverb) is clearly shown by the use of the /wə́-/ of perfective in forms 2 (DIR ADV + SV) or not (CVP with P = DIR).[37]

[36] What Septfonds (1994b: 192–195) calls "série 3" of the personal forms of standard Pashto.

[37] "a. Pronoms : formes « faibles » des pronoms obliques.

b. Adverbes : divers degrés de coalescence selon la personne et selon le sémantisme du verbe. Il s'ensuit que certaines suites DIR ADV + V sont ressenties comme un ensemble sémantique (« acquérir », « (se) rassembler », etc.) et apparaissent dans les dictionnaires comme des verbes à préverbes. Il importe de ne pas confondre : statistiquement les DIR ADV « orientent »[...] aussi bien des verbes intransitifs que transitifs et sélectionnent une classe de verbes dont les plus usuels sont : « sortir, sauter, arriver, partir, entrer, se lever (commencer), courir, tomber, monter, toucher (sur) », mais aussi : « chasser, pousser, jeter, diriger, renverser, actionner, montrer, écarter, remercier, bénir, saisir, vouloir, guérir, prendre, emmener, attaquer ».

C'est à travers cette série, que peuvent se manifester le plus librement (1) l'engagement du locuteur et (2) le repérage du procès par rapport à celui-ci. Outre la simple « spatialisation » du procès, elle offre une possibilité largement exploitée par le locuteur, de marquer son empathie avec ce qu'il énonce : qu'il en soit lui-même l'acteur ou non. De souligner de la sorte, un clivage entre 1ère personne (/rā/) *vs* 2ème personne ; 3ème (non)-personne d'autre part. [...]

c. Préverbes : l'orientation opérée par les directionnels est lexicalisée (VCP proprement dit) et, dès lors, relativement figée.

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Table 8. Functions and forms of the directional pronouns.

pronouns				adverbs			preverbs		
	STD	BKR	DZA	**STD**	BKR	DZA	**STD**	BKR	DZA
1SG/PL	rā-	rā-	r-	rā	rā	r	rā	rā	r· ró-*
2SG/PL	dar-	də-	de(r)	dar	dər	der	dar	dər	der
3SG/PL	war-	wə-	we(r)	war	wər	wer	war	wər	wer

* /r·/ imperfective, /ró-/ perfective.

As an example of this, consider the two sentences: *Homāyun xpəl daftar ta* ***rā ú-ɣoxtələm*** [= *rā wə-ɣuxtələm*] "Homayun called me to his office" and *aɣə wɛl: na na sanḍa = de* ***rā·kə́ṛɛ*** [= *rā·kəṛe*] "He said, 'No, no! You gave me a buffalo'" (examples from De Chiara and Septfonds 2022).

The following origins have been proposed for the directionals:

rā: Darmesteter (1888–90: LXXXII) proposed a derivation < Av. *aθra*. Morgenstierne accepts this derivation (1926: 35; EVP 63; 1942a: 113; NEVP 69), adding that the difference between *rā* < **aθrā́* and *ər* < **áθra* could depend on the sentence stress (EVP 63). NEVP 69 adds that "Av. *iθra* 'here' is also a possible etymon".

dar: Darmesteter (1888–90: LXXXII) proposed a derivation < **tvaθra-*, but Morgenstierne (1926: 35; EVP 21–2; 1942a: 113; NEVP 22 [**ta-θra*]) prefers < **taθra*.

war: Darmesteter (1888–90: LXXXII) proposed a derivation < **awaθrā*, also accepted by Morgenstierne (1926: 35; EVP 88; 1942a: 113), even if in NEVP 89 he proposes < **awáθra*, adding "Wan. *ór(ə)* "there", in compounds *orə-pas*, *orə-vapas* "then, thereupon"; *(h)or-ta*, *(h)or-čī* "there, in that place" < **áwaθra*". Cf. Khot. *vara* "there", according to Bailey < **avaθrā* (DKS 376), Šγ. *ϵwd* "here" < ***awatā* (EVShG 16), Yd. *hurŏ*, *ūra*, etc. "there" (IIFL II 214–15), etc.

As to the Pamir languages, Morgenstierne notes (EVShG 105) that "W[a.] agrees with Š[γ.] in having, e.g., *tr-ā* there (remote); *tr-ϵt* there (middle distance); *tr-ϵm* here (= Š[γ.] *tar-ů(d)*, *tar-ēd*, *tar-am*)."

The verbs most frequently used with prefixed directionals are in particular *kawə́l* "to do", *tlə́l* "to go", *wṛə́l* "to bring" and *°wastə́l* "to lead".[38] As a result, each verb shows three orientations and a "neutral" form (this is most evident for *tlə́l*).[39] These verbs are

Les dialectes, à la différence du std, tendent à diversifier les paradigmes. Un axe privilégié de différenciation est celui de l'opposition pronom (actant nominal) vs adverbe + préverbe (groupe verbal). Exemples :

[...]

* /r·/ imperfectif, /ró-/ perfectif.

La différence entre ces deux dernières fonctions (groupe verbal : adverbe vs préverbe) est clairement manifestée par l'utilisation du /wə́-/ de perfectif aux formes 2 (DIR ADV + VS) ou non (VCP avec P=DIR)."

[38] Many other verbs can prefix the directionals, as *rā·ɣuxtə́l* 1" راغوښتل to order, reserve; subscribe 2 to summon; invite" or *rā·kx̌ə́l* 1" راکښل to take out, extract 2 to procure 3 to draw, pull something in 4 to drag 5 to gather, assemble (e.g., troops) 6 to draw, illustrate 7 to draw, delineate, illustrate". Moreover, *rā* can be prefixed to any other verb: see Septfonds (1994b), Pate (2016) and Hawbaker and Baart (2018) (this last work is on Ormuri) for further analysis.

[39] Cf. De Chiara and Septfonds (2019: 69): "Chercher une correspondance univoque pashto-français serait illusoire. On serait bien en peine de trouver un équivalent français valable pour tous les contextes. Là où en français on a des oppositions de type « aller » (qui serait neutre), « venir » (qui serait orienté première personne) le

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among the most used verbs in common conversation and are part of the fundamental[40] Pashto lexicon.

rā·kawə́l: rā·kawí راکول tr. "to give to me/us; to sell to me/us" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "to give (*Lit.* To do or make to me)" (Raverty 1860)
"رااخیستل، له مقابل طرف نه د یو شي تر لاسه کول، د ورکول ضد" (PP, Daryāb 1994)
2. The form of the perfective past is provided by Aslanov (1966): را يي کړ. The other orientations are: *dar·kawə́l* « to give to you » and *war·kawə́l* « to give to him/her/them ».
3. Etymology: **rā/dar/*war* + kawə́l**: see pre·kawə́l.

rā·tlə́l: rā·jí راتلل intr. "1 to arrive; come running up to (animals), come flying (birds) 2 to approach (of a time) 3 to eventuate, happen 4 to undergo, experience something 5 to fall under (the influence) 6 to occur, be used (of words, expressions) 7 to come through, arrive (documents)" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "venir" (Akbar 2015)
"to come, reach, attain, go to, get to, arrive" (Raverty 1860)
"راتګ کول، د تلل مقابل، له بله ځایه دېخوا راتګ کول" (PP, Daryāb 1994)
2. This is probably the most irregular verb in Pashto, comprising four different stems. The simple verb is *tlə*, a mixed verb with a nominal base (see *ixodə́l* above). The verb *rātlə* in Table 9 shows its paradigm (see De Chiara and Septfonds 2019: 71).[41]

Table 9. Paradigm of *rā·tlə*.

Oriented 1/I	« TO COME »	راتلل / rā·tlə
Present	rā·j-	rā-š-
Past	rā·t(l)-*	rā-γ(l)-*
	imperfective	perfective

The other orientations are *dar·tlə́l* "to go to you" and *war·tlə́l* "to go to him/her/it/them", and show a similar paradigm, with just a change in the preverb.

3. Etymology: ***rā/dar/war* + *tlə***. The etymology of this latter component is not clear and will be treated in detail elsewhere. According to Morgenstierne, the origin is PIr. ****tač-*** "to flow, run, walk" (Cheung 2007: 372–4), but many problems remain. The first problem is represented by the initial *t-*, as PIr. **t* > Pšt. *l*. The imperfective present *j-* is also of problematic interpretation. We can compare here the two verbs Khot. *ttajs-* "to run, flow" and *jsā-* "to go", the former derived < PIr. **tač-* "to flow, run, walk" (SGS 38 and Cheung 2007: 373) and the latter < PIr. **gaH-*[1] "to go, move"

pashto possède trois orientations systématiques d'une notion de base que par convention on a qualifié de neutre." The anonymous reviewer very pertinently completes this analysis: "I fully agree that there are no close equivalents in French (or other Romance languages), but above one could perhaps refer to German *her* vs. *hin*, *heraus* vs. *hinaus*, *herein* vs. *hinein*, etc. Among the major West European languages likely to be familiar to the reader, this is probably the best (if still very imprecise) parallel. One could also mention the directional preverbs of Ossetic, to which the Pashto directionals are unrelated, though the latter do suggest that the Ossetic preverbs did not necessarily evolve (entirely) under the influence of neighboring Caucasian languages."

[40] See De Mauro (1980: 117) and De Mauro et al. (1993).

[41] The paradigm of *tlə* is: imperfective present *j-*, imperfective past *tl-*, perfective present *lā̆ṛ-š-*, perfective past *lā̆-ṛ-*.

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(SGS 37 and Cheung 2007: 93–4). These two comparisons are certainly cogent: however, the etymological details require in-depth analyses.

4. Morgenstierne (EVP 80) states that: "Imperf. 3 sg. m. *tə*, Waz. *tã*, might be derived from **taxta-* [...] In that case we must assume that *tə* is the original form, that the forms with *l* (*tlo*, 1 sg. *tləm* etc.) have been influenced by perf. part. *təlai*, and that the infin. *tləl* is due to a tendency to avoid a very short form like **təl.*" He then suggests a possible derivation from a Dardic source: "Cf. however Dard forms like Torw. *til-*, Gauro *till-* 'to go' (Dhātup. *til-*), from which *tləl* might have been borr."[42] He concludes with a hypothesis on the imperfective present *j-*: "If we derive *tə* < **taxta-*, it is poss. to explain the pres. *jəm*, *cəm* etc. as a contamination of **cwam* < **čiyaw-* (...) and **tcam* < **tač-*", quoting the comparison with some Pamir languages, Wa. *tukan*, pres. *cauam*, Sar. *tīdao*, *tejam*, Shgh. *tīzd*, and asserting that "This explanation has the advantage of connecting the Psht. forms of this verb with the Pamir ones" (EVP 80–1).

   In NEVP 81 all his proposals were confirmed, with the exception of the Dardic borrowing.[43]

   Skjærvø (1989: 402) writes that: "rather than < **ǰā-*, in view of the dial. forms in *c-* perhaps < **ati-ǰā-*".

   Among the many comparisons of the IIr. root **tač-*, it will be sufficient to quote here Av. *tak-*, pres. *tača-* (Kellens 1995: 24) and Skt. *tak-* (Monier-Williams 1899).

rā·wṛ́l: rā·wṛ́ راوړل tr. "1 to bring, deliver, convey 2 to obtain, extract 3 to bring in, mention 4 to give birth to 5 to effect, accomplish" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "apporter, mentionner" (Akbar 2015)
   "to bring, fetch, bear, convey, carry, etc. (applied only to things inanimate)" (Raverty 1860)
   (۱) و "۱ یو شی له یوه ځای ځخه بل ځای ته را انتقالول ۲ زېږول، بچی زېږول؛ اولاد زېږول؛" (PP); زوی يې راوړی دی" "شی له یو ځاې نه بل ځاې ته راانتقالول، (۲) زېږول، بچی زېږول، اولاد زېږول (Daryāb 1994)
2. PP provides the forms of the imperfective present, راوړي, of the perfective future, را به وړي and of the perfective past, را يې وړ. The other orientations are: *dar·wṛ́l* « to bring to you » and *war·wṛ́l* « to bring to him/her/them ». The simple verb is *wṛ́l*, a mixed verb (see *ixódə́l* above), whose paradigm is: present/past imperfective *wṛ-*, present perfective *yó-s-*, past perfective *yó-wṛ-*.
3. Etymology: ***rā/dar/war + wṛ́l***. This latter **< *bartá-: *barán-, with secondary present from the past stem**, according to Geiger's proposal (EP 283), followed also by Morgenstierne (EVP 92, NEVP 92).[44] In origin, then, we should imagine that the verb was *wṛ-: *wr-*, like *xwaṛ-: xor-* "to eat" (with *ṛ* < **rt*), with the opposition between the past and the present stem displaying *ṛ vs. r*.
4. The root **bar-* "to bring, carry" is well known and has many parallels, from Av. *bar-*, to Skt. *bhar-*, and so on: see Cheung (2007: 6–10) for all comparisons.

[42] On the Dardic forms, see also Fussman (1972, II: 53–5).

[43] "Imperf. 3 sg. m. *tə* prob. < **taxta-*, cf. Sh *tūyd-* (*EVShG* 82, s.v. *ti(y)-*), Ishk *tōyd* 'went', etc. But *l* has been introduced from the other pret. forms, and we find in many dialects also a 3 sg. m. *tl(əl)o*, etc. A borrowing from Dardic (Torwali, etc. *til-* 'to go', cf. Skt. *til-*, T 5856 *tillati* 'id.') is unlikely. Pres. *j-* (but Afr., Waz., etc. *c-*) < **t-j-* < **tač-*" (NEVP 81).

[44] See also DKS 271; Grjunberg and Èdel'man (1987: 30); Cheung (2007: 9); ÈSIJ II 84–7.

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rā·wastə́l: rā·wáli راوستل tr. "1 to bring, deliver someone 2 to obtain, extract 3 to force 4 to bring water to, irrigate 5 to bring about (e.g., revolution) 6 to advance arguments" (Pashtoon 2009)

1. "amener" (Akbar 2015)
   "to bring, lead along, convey, etc. (applied to objects animate)" (Raverty 1860)
   "رالیږدولی، راوستل شوی، یو ساه لرونکی یا بې ساه (لکه کوم ارابه لرونکی) شی خپلې خواته را (PP); انتقال شوی" رالیږدول، یو سالرونکی (انسان، حیوان) په خپلو پښو یا یو بې سا (د څه وسیلې په واسطه) خپلې خوا ته رانقلول، د بوتلل/بیول" "ضد (Daryāb 1994)
2. Aslanov (1966) provides the different themes: present: راولي *rā́vali*, past: را يې وست *rā=ye-wəst*, را يې ووست *rā́=ye-wəst*. The other orientations are: *dar·wastə́l* « to lead to you » and *war·wastə́l* « to lead to him/her/them ». The verb *°wastə́l* does not exist as a "radical simple verb"; rather, it is only attested prefixed with directionals.
3. Etymology: ***rā/dar/war + °wastəl***. This latter **< *wásta-: *wáda-**, to the root *Hu̯ad- "to carry, lead (away); to marry (a wife)" (see Cheung 2007: 200–01). Missing in EVP, the etymology of this verb is acknowledged in Morgenstierne's personal notes[45] and in NEVP 87.
4. Cf. Av. *vad-* "emmener" (Kellens 1995: 49), etc.: see Cheung (2007: 200–01) for full comparisons.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the behaviour of the preverbs analysed in this article is similar to and replaces that of the perfectivizing preverb *wə́-*. In simple verbs the perfective aspect is marked by preverbation of the stressed and (under certain conditions) separable *wə́-*. Similarly, in the compound verbs with preverb, the preverb assumes the same functions of the *wə́-* in simple verbs: it draws the stress and is separable in certain conditions. In a future article (De Chiara forthcoming a) I will draw some diachronic and morphosyntactic conclusions in this regard.

All the preverbs entering into the formation of these CVP, with the exception of *cə-*, fulfil other functions, such as that of adverbs, postpositions or even personal pronouns (the directionals). Their other functions are not taken into account here, but without doubt deserve further investigation.

The path of this research turns now towards the perfective aspect, which will be treated in the next article, with the aim of improving our understanding of the origin and the dynamics at play in the formation of the Pashto verbal system.

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Abbreviations

ADV	Adverb
Av.	Avestan
B.	Buddhist
Bactr.	Bactrian
Bal.	Balochi
Bart.	Bartangi
Chr.	Christian
CV	Compound verb
CVP	Compound verb with preverb

[45] A photocopy of EVP with notes by G. Morgenstierne, sent by him to J. de Menasce and kept in the former J. Darmesteter of Paris III, actually in the BULAC of Paris.

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DIR	Directional
IA.	Indo-Aryan
IE.	Indo-European
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
Ir.	Iranian
IRR.	Irregular
Išk.	Iškašmi
Khot.	Khotanese
Khwar.	Khwarezmian
Kurd.	Kurdish
Lhd.	Lahndi
Man.	Manichaean
Mnj.	Munǰi
MPrs.	Middle Persian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OPrs.	Old Persian
Orm.	Ormuri
Oro.	Orošori
Oss.	Ossetian
P	Preverb
Pa.	Pāli
Par.	Paračі
PIr.	Proto-Iranian
Prs.	Persian
Prth.	Parthian
Pšt.	Pašto
REG.	Regular
Roš.	Rošani
Sar.	Sariqoli
Sgl.	Sangleči
Si.	Sindhi
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
SV	Simple verb
Šγ.	Šuγni
Ved.	Vedic
Wa.	Wakhi
Waṇ.	Waṇeci
Waz.	Waziri
Xu.	Xufi
Yd.	Yidγa
Yγn.	Yaγnobi
Yzg.	Yazgulami

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