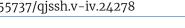
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Case Marking in Pashto Nouns: Word and Paradigm Approach

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Abstract: The present study investigates the case marking of nouns in the Marwat dialect of the Pashto language, spoken in many regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan by using the Word-and Paradigm (WP) approach of Haspelmath & Sims (2010). The study attempts to analyze and describe morphological processes of case marking of nouns in the Pashto language. The data was collected from different villages of district Lakki Marwat, located in the south of KPK, in the form of audio recordings of eight willing and preferably old uneducated rural participants. The analysis of the data showed that Pashto nouns shared a number of morphological features with other IA (Indo-Aryan) languages like Rangri vis-à-vis the presence of grammatical gender marking. The data also shows that Pashto nouns are morphologically rich. Nouns carry these case inflections i.e. ergative, nominative, accusative, oblique, and vocative. The study finds the WP approach suitable for the analysis of the morphologically complex Pashto language due to its ability to deal with cumulative, extended, and zero exponents.

Key Words: Case Marking, Pashto Nouns, Marwat Dialect, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Rangri, Language

Introduction

According to Maria, there are two main arguments that show the ambiguous evolvement process of the Pashto language (Garcia & Munir, 2016). First, historians and philologists do not find any justifiable documents that testify to the evolutionary process of the Pashto language. Second, they have contrary opinions regarding the competing theories, assisted by the data and facts. Consequently, there came two distinct schools of thought. One group considers the Pathans, in fact, a lost Israel tribe. Contemporaneously, the other school of thought manifests that Pathans are the successors of the Aryans (Garcia & Munir, 2016).

Trump, (1873), negating the relation of the Pashto language with West-Iranian languages, claims that Pashto origin traces back to Indo- the Aryan languages group (Trump, 1873). Historian of Pashto language and Literature Professor Abdul Hai Habibi argues that Pashto is the offshoot of Aryan languages, because of the fact that, Sanskrit belongs to the Aryan nations, and there is a closer resemblance in Pashto and Sanskrit and, till now, many original expressions have remained in the Pashto language. Additionally, he also opines that many words are derived from Sanskrit. Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, a historian and Philologist, investigates that Arik was the language spoken by the Aryans and they started speaking different languages, resembling the original language Arik when they resided in the different parts of the world. As a result, he claims Pashto to be part of the Indo-European Aryan languages. Origin of the Pashto language, by many historians and Philologists, due to its structural features and influence of Arabic, Sanskrit, Avesta (Zend), and Persians traces back to the Aryan languages rather than considering it as the part of Semitic group.

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As Pashto is spoken in diverse geographical locations, it is necessary to pen down the different varieties of the Pashto language. According to Dinakhel, experts have divided the Pashto dialects into two, three, four, and five groups. Some are studying the varieties of Pashto in Pakistan; some are investigating the different varieties of Pashto language in Afghanistan (Dinakhel, 2020). However, many researchers have studied the different variations of the Pashto language in both countries. There are differences among the different varieties of Pashto primarily because of phonological variations. Henderson (1983) establishes four varieties: Pasto, spoken around Kandahar; Pagto, spoken around Quetta; Pcqto, spoken in the northeast part of the Pashto area; and Paxto, spoken around Peshawar, of Pashto language on the basis of the second consonant pronunciation in the name of the language (Henderson, 1983). Although no comprehensive study has been done on the Pashto dialects, the available research has mentioned the following varieties of Pashto: Afridi, Bangash, Banuchi, Dawarwola, Durrani, Ghilzai, Kakar, Kandahar, Khattak, Khogyani, Khosti, Marwat-Betani, Masidwola, Sherani, Taniwola, Wardak, Wazirwola, Yusufzai, Zadran (Dinakhel, 2020). The present study, therefore, is unique in the sense that it provides a more comprehensive analysis of the morphological component of a Pakistani language, in general, and, particularly, the Pashto Marwat dialect. Most of the research, except for that of Bukhari (2009), which deals with serial verb construction in the Gojri language, has been conducted on already well-documented languages like Urdu (Butt, 1993; Mangrio, 2016), Punjabi (Iqbal, 2016) and Pashto (Khan, 2011 & Khan & Zuhra, 2007). The present study, therefore, provides a comprehensive analysis of the morphology of case marking of the Marwat dialect of the Pashto language. The study, therefore, has the purpose of providing a descriptive analysis of an Indo-European language, particularly Pashto Language. The objectives of the study are to analyze the morphological patterns of Pashto nouns' case marking using the word and paradigm approach and to test the descriptive adequacy of the WP model in analyzing the inflectional and derivational structure of Pashto nouns.

Since there is little work on the morphology of the regional languages and hardly any work on the Marwat dialect of the Pashto language, therefore, this study fills the gap by morphologically analyzing case marking of the Marwat dialect of the Pashto language. It tries to answer; How the case markings of nouns in the Marwat Dialect of the Pashto Language be analyzed using the WP approach? Moreover, it intends to add to the general body of knowledge by morphologically describing and analyzing Pashto language. It provides, to those working on morphology, the dataset from a so far unknown Marwat dialect of the Pashto language and checks the descriptive adequacy of the WP model in analyzing the morphology of the Indo-European language family in general and the Pashto language in particular. It, therefore, opens avenues for future research on other aspects of this dialect.

Furthermore, the specification of morphological properties of the word forms in the WP analysis helps in tagging a language for developing machine-based applications (Carlson, 2005; Jayan et Al., 2011; Ramaswamy, 2011). This research is, therefore, helpful for future research by providing the dataset necessary for constructing machine-based applications like corpora and translations.

Morphologically, most of the Indo-Aryan languages are highly inflectional and carry properties of both agglutinative and fusional languages (Saad, 2014; Abbi, 2001; Mangrio. 2016). Most of these languages show remarkable similarities in their morphological structure. These similarities include grammatical gender, agreement, case, causatives, etc. Case marking is the most common feature among the majority of the IA languages. It is both a syntactic and morphological category. In most IA languages, there are three different cases, Direct, oblique, and vocative. According to Abbi (2001) "gender assignment of a noun [in Indo-Aryan languages] controls the agreement feature in the rest of the sentence, resulting in each modifier inflecting for gender" (p. 26). According to Masica, (1991), in the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, "gender is an inherent and classificatory property of one class of words (nouns) and a variable or inflectional property of others (adjectives, certain verbal forms, sometimes pronouns and adverbs, and one extremely important postposition)" (p. 219).

In most of the IA languages, there are some elements that despite being called "little words" (Anderson, 2003) carry sufficient morpho-syntactic information to warrant special mention while discussing the features of the IA languages. According to Zwicky & Pullum, (1983), two types of bound morphemes are attached to words in some languages—clitics and affixes. Clitics are hard to distinguish from other classes as they have not been assigned independent morphosyntactic status like affixes or

words. Anderson (2003) defines clitics as "accent-less words (or particles) which depend accentually (or 'lean': hence the name, from Greek kli: no 'lean') on an adjacent accented word, and form a prosodic unit together with it" (p. 326). Umar-ud-Din & Bukhari, (2017) have tried to argue that the formatives that follow the Urdu pronouns are clitics instead of inflectional affixes. They believe that some of them also function as case markers and others as postpositions.

According to De Hoop & Narasimhan, (2005), there are two main functions of case markers in the languages. Firstly, the case markers are used for argument disambiguation in sentences where there is more than one argument. In this way, the agent can be distinguished from the patient due to the different case markers they carry. Secondly, the case markers are used for identifying or indexing functions. They express certain specific thematic information about different arguments in a sentence. There are two major patterns of case marking: nominative-accusative case system and ergative-absolutive case system. The former refers to a pattern in which the subject of a transitive verb and that of an intransitive verb receive the same treatment, and the object of a transitive verb receives a different treatment; whereas, the latter refers to a pattern in which the subject of a transitive verb receives different treatment from the subject of an intransitive verb (Butt & King, 2004). Most of the NIA languages fall into the second category. Since the nominative or absolutive case in these languages is usually unmarked due to the absence of any case markers, it is generally treated as an instance of no case (De Hoop & Narasimhan, 2005). In most of the IA languages, case markers not only mark the arguments of a verb but also mark adjuncts and adverbials (Ahmad, 2007). Among most of these languages, the case marking is postpositional (Bhatt, 2003). Within case marking, ergativity is an important characteristic of the NIA language. It is the most common feature among most of the NIA languages like Urdu, Hindi Punjabi, etc. Ergative case marking performs the function of either identifying agentivity or marking the first argument of a transitive clause to create a distinction between the two arguments (De Hoop & Narasimhan, 2005). According to Butt & King (2004), Hindi and Urdu are split ergative languages which partially show the characteristics of ergativity. The subject receives an ergative case when the verb is transitive and the aspect is perfective (Bhatt, 2003).

Objectives

The present study aims to:

1. Analyze the case marking of nouns in the Marwat dialect of the Pashto language.

Methodology

This study follows a qualitative approach. For this purpose, eight speech samples, through a convenient purposive sampling technique, of elderly uneducated folk from the rural areas of district Lakki Marwat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are taken as the data for the present research. From the same area, three key interraters from different occupations verify the collected data. The verified data consisting of six samples is then transcribed and a mini corpus of 278 different nouns is developed which is used for data analysis. The participants of the study have been selected partially according to the criteria developed by Chambers & Trudgill, (1998) for their studies in dialectology; however, this criterion was not strictly followed because of certain reasons. First, a complete adherence to this criterion would have left women which would have resulted in the loss of precious linguistic data and language-related information. Second, since the truly non-mobile males are difficult to find, those who have spent some time at other locations are also selected for the present study. Overall, the following criteria have been developed for the selection of participants:

- Uneducated
- 2. Should be more than 60 years of age
- 3. Must have lived in the rural area for the majority of their life
- 4. Do not use social media

The data consists of unstructured interviews with the participants consisting of general discussions on the topics of their interest. This provides the researcher with linguistically rich natural data. Although most of the interactions are one-to-one interview type, some interactions involve more than a single participant. In such conversations, the most dominant or the most active participant is considered the main participant.



All participants in the study are given a detailed briefing about the aims and benefits of this study and how their cooperation could improve it. Informed consent of the participants is obtained to record them and to use their recordings for the purpose of research. They are also assured that the data is to be used only for research purposes and it will have no negative bearing on their life at any time in the future. They are also given assurance about their privacy and the safety of their data. All participants willingly participate in the study and no one is coerced in any way to be a part of the present study.

For interlinear translation, Leipzig Glossing Rules, (2015) are partially followed. Since the study is a word-based morphological analysis of Pashto, Rule 2 of the rules, which requires morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence is not followed everywhere. The rest of the guidelines, along with the standard abbreviations are followed.

Theoretical Framework

Word and paradigm model is used in this study as a theoretical model for analysis. For morphological analysis and description, within the word-based morphology, the word and paradigm model is the oldest and the most widely used approach. Belvins says that this approach dates back to Aristotelian times and is based on the Greco-Roman tradition of teaching ancient Greek and Latin languages (Blevins, 2013a). Under this model, "the relationship between complex words is captured not by splitting them up into parts and positing a rule of concatenation, but by formulating word-schemas that represent the features common to morphologically related words" (Haspelmath & Sims, 2010, p. 46). These models "project morphological analysis primarily upwards from the word, and treat the association of words with paradigms or other sets of forms as the most fundamental morphological task" (Blevins, 2013a, p. 375). The word-based tradition considers morphology as the "branch of linguistics which is concerned with the forms of words in different uses and constructions" (Matthews 1991, p.3) and "paradigms consist of clusters of closely related surface forms, one of which is basic and others are derived from it" (Bybee, 1985, p. 49-50). According to Carlson (2005), a paradigm is a table of inflectional forms of an example word, representing a given inflectional class. The table is indexed by grammatical tags; the items in the table cells are inflected forms. The word form is derived from the lexeme by applying a number of processes, and the properties of the word form other than the lexeme specify which processes have been applied (Bauer, 2003). The other words- forms are reached through analogy. Blevins (2015b) believes that the paradigms offer the most consistent pattern of inter-predictability because they are defined in a closed and uniform feature system. Matthews (1991) posits:

The most general insight is that one inflection tends to predict another. This insight can be incorporated into any model. Traditionally, it is the basis for the method of exemplary paradigms. If the alternations were independent, these would have to be numerous, but since they are interdependent, their number can be very small. It is more attractive to learn paradigms as wholes than each alternation separately (p. 197f).

Case Marking of Pashto Nouns

Case is usually defined as the specification of the types of relationships that nouns have with other constituents in a sentence (Blake, 2001). Different languages have different ways of expressing cases. In Sanskrit, for example, the case is inflectional, and in English case is positional (Ahmad, 2007). New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) like Urdu, Punjabi, and Rangri, mark cases in three ways: through inflection of the nouns, through clitics, and through postpositions (Butt & King, 2004). Since clitics and postpositional case markers cannot be handled at the morphological level, they are treated as syntactic categories. The nominal inflections for the case, however, are a morphological phenomenon and will be dealt with in this section.

Pashto nouns have three case forms i.e. direct, oblique, and vocative. The direct or nominative case is phonologically null and is the default case for Pashto nouns. The forms of nouns that receive postpositional case markers, clitic case markers, or temporal or locative postpositions are called oblique forms, whereas, the forms of nouns used as address terms fall under the category of vocative. The three types of case forms are discussed in the following section.

Nominative Case

The nominative or direct case is used for subject and object nouns and pronouns which are not followed by any postposition—case markers or otherwise (David et al., 2009). The Pashto nominative case is the unmarked direct case which is why may be called a bear case like Gojri (Bukhari, 2009). Rahman, (2011) comments that the nominative case, in Pashto, functions as a subject in the non-past and plays the role of object in the past, making nominative-accusative, nominative-nominative, dative-nominative, ergative absolutive, and nominative-dative constructions in Pashto. Following are the examples to show the nominative cases in Pashto.

1. za majəy ywrm

1.SG.NOM SG.NOM eat.PRES.IMP

I am eating bread.

2. nav:d Sarkel tjelay

3. SG.NOM cycle.SG.NOM drive.PRES.IMP

Naveed is driving a bicycle.

3. nav:d ta wai

SG.NOM 2.SG.ACC beat.PRES.IMP

Naveed beats you.

4. kamra saji safa: kawela room.SG.F.NOM man.SG.ERG clean.F.NOM do.F.IMP

The man was cleaning the room.

In Pashto, the above-mentioned sentences depict that nominative cases can be used both in the past and non-past. It shows that only if the subject is ergative in the past, then the object appear in the nominative (absolutive form). Data shows that the nominative case has two functions. First, It works as a subject when used with transitive verb forms in the present tense and, in all tenses, when used with intransitive verb forms. Second, the nominative case performs the function of the object when used with transitive forms in past and perfect and with all passive phrases. Following are the examples

5. zį̃key dʒinkey gori

boy.3.M.SG.NOM girl.F.SG. See.PRES.IMP.TR

The boy sees a girl

6. navi:d wai:

Naveed.3.M.SG.NOM say.PRES.IMP.INT

7. zį̃key lidel kæzi

boy.3.M.SG.NOM see PRES.IMP.P

The boy is seen.

8. zįksy lidəl kædəy boy.3.M.SG.NOM see PAST.IMP.P

The boy was seen

The case is also dependent on the aspect of the sentence, as the sentences with an imperfective aspect have a morphologically null nominative subject, whereas, the sentences with a perfective aspect may have an ergative case marker attached to the subject. A comparison of the following sentences shows the difference.



9. Sajey kamra safa: kavi

man.M.SG.NOM room.F.SG.NOM clean.F.NOM do.PRES.IMP

Man is cleaning the room.

10. saji kamra safa: kja

man.M.SG.ERG room.F.SG.NOM clean.F.NOM do.PRES.PERF

The sentence in (8) carries a direct (nominative) subject with present imperfective tense, whereas, in a sentence (9), because the aspect is present perfective, the subject takes an ergative marker -i with it. Since the nominative case is the default form of the Pashto nouns, no word schema or realizational rules are required to describe it.

Oblique Case

Many languages like Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, and Pashto carry syntactic case markers more than morphological case markers, the nouns in these languages generally inflect for oblique forms in order to attach the syntactic case markers. In Pashto, the oblique form of nouns is generally found either with an inflectional ending /-æ/ or /-i/ (oblique II) or without an inflectional ending (oblique I). However, the syntactic environment limits the occurrence of the oblique II because it takes particles like l₉, tor, bay, and pory after and before it, in a certain sequence. Following are the examples of the Oblique II form

11. bay navi:dæ without Naveed

12. ter sarkelæ pory as far as the cycle

Having a passive meaning, the oblique case is used in the past and perfect with transitive verb forms, performing the function of an agent. Singular oblique forms have /-æ/ or /-i/ as oblique case markers; however, oblique plural nouns have different markers /-ów/ and /-u/ at their ending. These morphemes attach directly to the plural stem of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, showing a property of cumulative experience, i.e. ko:ronow "houses" and Asonow "horses". Following are the examples to elaborate on the phenomenon.

13. saţi dʒinkəv ówlidəla man.M.SG.OBL girl.F.SG see.PAST.P

The girl was seen by the man

14. ælskænu dʒinkəy ówlidslay boy.M.PL.OBL girl.F.PL see.PAST.P

The girls were seen by the boys

The following figure shows the word schema of the oblique forms of the Pashto nouns:

Figure 1

Word-Schema of Oblique Nominal Forms

- a) Words: saley, ∫d3a
- b) Lexical entries for the words

/ sati /N / satiow /N ʃd͡ʒay ʃd͡ʒow 'woman'

c. Word Schema

Xi/N-M-SG
Oblique of XXow/N-M-PL
Oblique of XXay/N-F-SG
Oblique of XXow/N-F-PL
Oblique of X

The above schema shows that the vocative forms in general and inflectional forms, in particular, carry more morpho-semantic information than the derivational forms. Since there are separate forms for masculine and feminine, every form needs to have a separate word schema in order to represent the morpho-semantic information that each form carries.

Vocative Case

The vocative case is used when a person or an object is being addressed. The names of the relations and address terms usually take the vocative case marking. In Hindi-Urdu, it performs a discourse function (Spencer, 2005). The vocative case is formed only on nouns designating living biengs. In Pashto, singular masculine nouns take $/-\alpha$ / sound and singular feminine nouns take $/-\alpha$ y/ sound at the end. However, both masculine and feminine nouns take the same vocative marker $/-\delta$ w/ in plural form. The following examples show how the vocative case is marked in the Pashto language.

15. zį̃kovæ boy.M.SG.VOC Boy, where are (you) going?	ItJairay where go	lαĮ-ay be-SG.PROG
16. zį̃k∍yów boy.M.PL.VOC Boys, where are (you) going?	ItJairay Where go	la _L -ow be-PL-PROG
17. ∫d͡ʒɑy woman,F-SG-VOC Woman, where are (you) going?	ItJairay Where go	laլ-ay be-SG-PROG
18. Jd͡ʒów women-F-PL-VOC Women, where are (you) going?	ItJairay Where go	laլ-ow be-PL-PROG

The above data clarifies that the same marker /-ów/ and /-ay/ are used for plural and singular feminine nouns, respectively in the oblique and vocative cases. This property is called commutative experience, where one formative expresses more than one morpho-syntactic property. However, both oblique and vocative cases have different makers for their masculine singular nouns, which are /-i/ and /-æ/ sounds, respectively. Since the inanimate nouns can not have a vocative form, it is limited to only animate nouns. The following figure shows the word schema of vocative forms.

Figure 2

Word-Schema of Vocative Nominal Forms

c. Word Schema

a. Words: zjkay, sda

```
egin{array}{c} X 	ilde{\omega}/N-M-SG \ Vocative of X \ \end{array} egin{array}{c} X 	ilde{\omega}/N-F-SG \ Vocative of X \ \end{array} egin{array}{c} X 	ilde{\omega}/N-F-SG \ Vocative of X \ \end{array} \end{array} egin{array}{c} X 	ilde{\omega}/N-F-PL \ Vocative of X \ \end{array}
```

Interestingly, since $-\alpha$ and $-\alpha$ are the most common vocative endings in Pashto, there are specialized informal non-honorific oblique address terms namely $-\alpha$ or $-\alpha$ for both males and females. The following examples show how they are used in conversation.



19. O zįkeyæ
OBL boy.M-SG.OBL
O boy\
20. O ʃd͡ʒay
OBL woman.F.SG.OBL

These address terms are often used in informal settings and show a close relationship between the addresser and the addressee.

Realization of Pashto Nominal Case Form Paradigms

The paradigms of the basic case forms of Pashto nouns can be realized through the specification of the realizational rules and the spell-out mechanism.

Figure 3

Realization Rules for Pashto Oblique Nominal Forms

A.
$$\begin{bmatrix} M-SG \\ OBL X \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow X+i$$
B.
$$\begin{bmatrix} M-PL \\ OBL X \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow X+ow$$
C.
$$\begin{bmatrix} F-SG \\ OBL X \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow X+ay$$
D.
$$\begin{bmatrix} F-PL \\ OBL X \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow X+ow$$

Figure 4

Realization Rules for Pashto Oblique Nominal Forms

The realization rules for vocative forms are as follows.

E.
$$\begin{bmatrix} M-SG \\ VOC X \end{bmatrix}$$
 $X + \infty$

F. $\begin{bmatrix} M-PL \\ VOC X \end{bmatrix}$ $X + ow$

G. $\begin{bmatrix} F-SG \\ VOC X \end{bmatrix}$ $X + ay$

H. $\begin{bmatrix} F-PL \\ VOC X \end{bmatrix}$ $X + ow$

From the above realization rules, the case forms can be spelled out. Below is the procedure of spell-out of different examples.

Table 1Spell-Out of Pashto Nominal Case Forms

	SG Vocative	SG Oblique	PL Vocative	PL Oblique
Stem A	ye d j.Z	yeAj̃.Z	yeAj̃.Z	yeAj̃.Z
Block A	svekj <u>î</u> z	z.į̃ki	WOyeMj̃.Z	WOyeMj̃.Z
Stem B	∫d√a	∫d͡ʒa	∫d√a	∫d√a
Block B	∫d√ay	∫d₹ay	∫d₹ow	∫d₹ow

Spell-Out of Pashto Nominal Case Forms

The overall paradigm of the case forms of Pashto nouns can be constructed by integrating the forms that the nouns take when used in nominative, oblique, and vocative cases. The following table shows the case paradigm of nouns.

Table 2Paradigms of Pashto Cases

Case	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
Nominative	yedj.̃Z	z <u>ĩ</u> ki	∫d3a	∫d√ay
Oblique	zį̃ki	WOyeAj̃.Z	∫d₹ay	∫d₃ow
Vocative	æ _Y edjīz	WOyeÅj̃S	∫d₹ay	∫d₃ow

The above table shows that the nominal case forms are related to each other. There is a considerable amount of experience in the case forms, for example, the feminine plural in the nominative case is similar to feminine singular oblique forms but also to the vocative feminine singular form. This is an example of cumulative experience. Most of the animate nouns carry all the case forms, but inanimate nouns may not have the vocative form because they are never addressed. This forms a defective paradigm that offers a greater insight into the structure of the language as to what constitutes a real word from what does not constitute a real word. This is another advantage of the WP analysis as it establishes the distinction between a real and a hypothetical and conjectural word which may not be a part of a language.

Conclusion

Pashto nouns exhibit a complex morphological structure. Pashto Nouns inflect for different cases. They carry three cases, direct, oblique, and vocative. Other cases are represented by specialized case markers. The direct or nominative case is unmarked, whereas, the oblique and vocative are marked. In Pashto, data shows that the nominative case has two functions. First, It works as a subject when used with transitive verb forms in the present tense and, in all tenses, when used with intransitive verb forms. Second, the nominative case performs the function of the object when used with transitive forms in past and perfect and with all passive phrases. The oblique form shows cumulative experience. The vocative form is used for addressing people. There is a considerable amount of experience in the case forms, for example, the feminine plural in the nominative case is similar to feminine singular oblique forms but also to the vocative feminine singular form. The most commonly used case marking formatives for oblique forms are —i for masculine singular, and —ow for masculine plurals. Similarly, —ow is used for the feminine plural, —ay for feminine singular, and feminine singular as vocative markers. The case forms also show cumulative exponence because the oblique and vocative forms, except oblique masculine singular, are represented by the same formative.

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