Pashto demonstrative and deictoid pronouns: Anaphora, deixis and pleonasm

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Abstract. This article deals with certain classes of pronouns, in particular demonstratives and directionals or deictoids, in Pashto. After a theoretical introduction, I present each of the two categories, first providing a complete inventory of their uses and forms in Pashto, then hypotheses of etymological derivation, and finally a discussion of their functions and semantics, using numerous examples taken from various sources, above all from collections of oral texts. Pashto has two sets of demonstratives, one for proximal — *dā* 'this' and derived forms, and one for distal — (*h*)*ā* 'that' and derived forms. It also has three deictoids, one for each of the three persons: *rā* 'I, we', *dar* 'you', and *war* 'he/she, they'. Demonstratives and deictoids are especially linked to the expression of anaphora and deixis. In particular, the following functions are emphasised for demonstratives: exophoric use, anaphoric use, discourse deictic use and recognitional use. I also identify various functions for deictoids: pronominal, directional and discursive. The latter is particularly illuminating and allows drawing more general conclusions. Specifically, I attribute pleonastic function to the phrase *če kəm day*, literally 'which is which': its use is fully comparable to that of the discursive deictoid *rā*. This pleonastic use is mainly oral and limited to certain formulae; pleonasm appears to be essentially an oral phenomenon, including in Pashto.

Keywords: demonstrative pronouns, deictoids, anaphora, deixis, pleonasm, Pashto

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Указательные и дейктоидные местоимения: анафора, дейксис и плеоназм

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются некоторые классы местоимений, в частности указательные и направительные, или дейктоидные, в языке пушту. Эти две группы анализируются в диахроническом и типологическом аспектах с целью рассмотрения их функций. Указательные и дейктоидные местоимения в особенности связаны с выражением анафоры и дейксиса: в статье приводятся примеры их плеонастического употребления в пушту, главным образом из устной речи.

Ключевые слова: указательные местоимения, дейктоидные местоимения, анафора, дейксис, плеоназм, пушту

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1. Introduction

In this article, I focus on some of the ways to express deixis and anaphora in Pashto and on pleonastic expressions linked to pronouns. In particular, I will examine demonstrative and directional or "deictoid" pronouns, presenting all their forms and uses from both the diachronic and typological points of view.

I will leave aside personal and other types of pronouns, given the distinction between personal pronouns and the so-called "proforms", which, according to Bhat's terminology, include demonstrative, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns [Bhat 2004: 9–11]:

> There is, thus, an important functional distinction between personal pronouns and proforms. The former are used for denoting speech roles and for indicating their involvement in the events or states that the sentences in which they occur describe, whereas the latter are used for locating the participants of events, or the events themselves with reference to the speech context, or for indicating the scope of questions, negations, etc. ⟨...⟩ Languages tend to dissociate personal pronouns from any of the identifying characteristics of their referents. ⟨...⟩ There is no comparable restriction concerning the association of proforms with information regarding their referents.

More specifically, in his view, the proforms would be:

"Two-element expressions that indicate a general concept and a function such as (i) locating an entity, (ii) denoting one's lack of knowledge about an entity, (iii) obtaining information about an entity, (iv) identifying an entity as the same as the one denoted by some other expression, (v) relating an entity with some other entity in which that general concept is employed" [Ibid.: 273].

In other words, it is about "terms that are used for carrying out different functions like (i) identifying the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants (or indicating the location, time, manner, etc. of the event itself in a similar fashion), (ii) referring back (or forward) to other expressions that occur in the utterance or in previous utterances, or (iii) indicating the scope of a question, negation, or exclamation" [Ibid.: 6–7].

As for anaphora[1] and deixis, these are two fairly well-known and well-studied procedures. Already in 1933, in an article titled "L'anaphorique prussien *din* et le système des démonstratifs indo-européens", É. Benveniste provided a clear and detailed characterization of them, in particular by stating that while deixis refers to an external object, anaphora is a process of internal recall within the discourse. "[T]he anaphoric is to the demonstrative what the demonstrative is to the object shown: it does not refer to the thing, but to the previously formulated notion of this thing. It is the sign of a sign"[2] [Benveniste 1933: 125].[3]

[1] See also [Huang 2000].

[2] "L'anaphorique est au démonstratif ce que le démonstratif est à l'objet montré : il ne renvoie pas à la chose, mais à la notion antérieurement formulée de cette chose. Il est le signe d'un signe." All translations from other languages in the text are mine.

[3] Cf. also [Benveniste 1956] and the interesting remarks by [Laczkó 2010].

Benveniste analytically contrasted anaphorics and deictics (see [Ibid.: 124]) and went on to conclude that the difference between deixis and anaphora "is not one of degree or in the greater or lesser emphasis given to the indication. Each of the two processes denotes a distinct conception of deictic determination"[4] [Ibid.: 125].

2. Demonstrative pronouns

2.1. Inventory of Pashto demonstrative pronouns

As a general characterization of the demonstratives,[5] necessary before moving on to analyze the Pashto data, it is important to note that among the proforms, "[d]emonstrative proforms are primarily used for locating an entity in the speech context. They have extended anaphoric uses in most languages, but many languages have special sets of proforms for carrying out this function" [Bhat 2004: 198].

According to Diessel's laconic statement, "demonstratives are deictics" [Diessel 1999: 35]. However, "[i]n addition to deictic information, demonstratives usually provide some qualitative information about the referent" that fall into six categories: "(i) ontology, (ii) animacy, (iii) humanness, (iv) sex, (v) number, and (vi) boundedness" [Ibid.: 47].[6]

From a syntactic point of view, demonstratives, according to [Ibid.: 57], are used in four different contexts: demonstrative **pronouns**, if used as "independent pronouns in argument positions of verbs and adpositions";[7] demonstrative **determiners**, if "they occur together with a noun in a noun phrase"; demonstrative **adverbs**, if "they may function as locational adverbs modifying a co-occurring verb"; and demonstrative **identifiers**, if "they are used in copular and nonverbal clauses". This seems to be the best systematization, and I will also stick to it for Pashto.

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[4] "[L]a différence n'est pas de degré ni dans l'insistance plus ou moins forte apportée à l'indication. Chacun des deux procédés dénote une conception distincte de la détermination déictique."

[5] On demonstratives, also see [Dixon 2003, Plungian 2011], in particular [Ibid.: 238], and [Levinson 2018].

[6] Also see [Diessel 2013].

[7] See also [Bhat 2005].

Moreover, Diessel [1999: 113–114][8] distinguishes four pragmatic uses of demonstratives in discourse and face-to-face conversations: exophoric,[9] anaphoric,[10] discourse deictic,[11] and recognitional[12] uses.

The topic of Pashto demonstrative pronouns is not particularly problematic. Pashto demonstrative and deictoid pronouns have been treated quite comprehensively in Boyle David's grammar [2014], who makes an important point by devoting a long chapter (28 pages) to the topic, without, however, going beyond a general presentation.[13]

As is often the case, A. L. Gryunberg's Pashto grammar [1987] deals with the subject concisely but comprehensively, adding some details, which are not mentioned elsewhere. One of these is the statement in [Ibid.: 80] that "demonstrative pronouns may precede a possessive pronoun in a chain of attributes if the possessive pronoun does not carry an emphasized logical emphasis".[14] Cf.:

(1) *os* ***hamāγa*** *ʒmā xabara riχtiyā-šwa.*
now those my word became_correct
'Now those very words of mine turned out to be correct.' [Gryunberg 1987: 80][15]

[8] See also [Feuillet 2006: 256–265].

[9] "Exophoric demonstratives are primarily used to orient the hearer in the speech situation. They focus his or her attention on entities in the world outside of discourse and they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture."

[10] "Anaphoric demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse; they keep track of discourse participants that are contrastive, emphatic and somewhat unexpected."

[11] "Discourse deictic demonstratives do not track continuing topics; rather, they express an overt link between two propositions or speech acts."

[12] "Recognitional demonstratives activate private hearer's old knowledge. They mark new discourse referents that speaker and hearer know from common experience in the past."

[13] V. A. Livshits's dissertation from 1952 has not been widely circulated, and the same goes for his two articles from 1956 and 1959, which were drawn from the dissertations, cf. [Livshits 1952; 1956; 1959]: although they represented useful and interesting systematizations at the time, it will now suffice to refer to the works of Gryunberg and Boyle David.

[14] "...указательные местоимения могут предшествовать притяжательному местоимению в определительной цепи, если притяжательное местоимение не несет на себе подчеркнутого логического акцента."

[15] I adapted the transcription to my own: see [De Chiara 2022].

However, “the demonstrative pronoun, as a general rule, takes place after the possessive”:[16]

(2) *də zmā* ***dā*** *ǰumle wāwrede.*
he my this sentence heard
‘He heard these sentence of mine.’ [Gryunberg 1987: 94]

As in most Indo-European languages, in Pashto there are two basic demonstrative pronouns, *dā* (oblique *de*) and (*h*)*ā*, proximal and distal respectively, with *dā* also playing the role of a neutral demonstrative pronoun. Through addition of particles, suffixes and prefixes, these two pronouns, in which the essential elements are represented by *d-* for the proximal and *h-* for the distal, give rise to two series of deictics, one always proximal and the other distal:[17]

dā ‘this’	*dáɣa* ‘this, he’	*daɣuy* ‘they’
(*h*)*ā* ‘that’	*háɣa* ‘that, he’	*haɣuy* ‘they’

daɣase ‘that kind of’	*hamdaɣa* ‘this very one’	*hamdaɣase* ‘this same’
haɣase ‘thus, in that way’	*hamaɣa* ‘that very one’	*hamaɣase* ‘that same’

dumra ‘so much’	*dāse* ‘such, thus’	*dəlta* ‘here’	etc.
humra ‘so much’	*hāse* ‘such, thus’	*halta* ‘there’	etc.

As the anonymous reviewer remarks, Boyle David [2014: 172–176], among others, mentions three series of Pashto demonstratives: *daɣə* (proximal), *haɣə* (medial) and *huɣə*/*hāɣə* (distal). I have, however, found no evidence among speakers or in the literature of the distinction between the medial and distal forms mentioned in that grammar, and the author herself does not provide any. J. I. Edelman [1990: 220–221] offers a more detailed overview and assumes that *háɣa*/*háɣe* “indicate distance”,[18] while *húɣa*/*hóɣa* “point to a distant object that is difficult to see and unknown; rarely used in literary language”.[19] J. I. Edelman’s presentation is more precise and could actually show the diachronic

[16] “...указательное местоимение по общему правилу занимает место после притяжательного.”

[17] See [Aslanov 1966; Pashtoon 2009].

[18] “...обозначают удаленность.”

[19] “...указывают на далекий, трудноразличимый, неизвестный предмет; малоупотребительны в литературном языке.”

evolution of the medial and distal pronoun system. However, I believe that this opposition, even if it existed in the past, is a purely artificial speculation nowadays.

The demonstrative adjective-pronouns *dayа*, *hayа* decline and have a masculine and a feminine, a direct and an oblique forms:

Table 1. Declension of *dayа* and *hayа*

	M	F	M	F
dir	*dayа*	*dayа*	*hayа*	*hayа*
obl	*dayə*	*daye*	*hayə*	*haye*

Lane [1961: 469–470] explains clearly the productivity of this mechanism: "It is well known that by use a demonstrative tends to become weaker and weaker in its deictic force, and is therefore continually reinforced by being compounded with itself or with other demonstratives or with adverbs. These compounds furnish the needed emphasis for a time, but they in turn likewise become weakened and the process must be repeated". This process is more or less always the same [Ibid.: 470]: "[A]n inflected form, or at least a petrified inflected form, is added to another originally inflected form, with eventual transfer of inflection to the final element and with retention of the petrified inflectional form as the stem".

In fact, since *h* in Pashto tends to never be pronounced, except in "elegant"[20] contexts, the pronominal stem disappears, so that the addition of further elements becomes indispensable. The distal *ā* is found very rarely: essentially, we can say that it is confined to the expression *ā xwā de xwā* 'everywhere', lit. 'that side, this side'.

The quote from Lane also explains well the use of new formations, for now limited to oral use, consisting in adding expressions such as *če kəm day*, literally 'which is that', even more literally 'which is which' (see below) to the basic demonstrative. This expedient is analogous, for example, to that of the French *ceci*, *celui-ci*, *cela*, *celui-là*, etc.

[20] These phonemes "quel que soit le dialecte, ne sont réalisés que dans un registre soutenu (sous l'influence du persan ou de l'ourdou et de l'arabe)" ["regardless of the dialect, are only pronounced in formal speech (under the influence of Persian or Urdu and Arabic)"] ([De Chiara, Septfonds 2019: 13], following a convention initiated by [Penzl 1955]).

2.2. Etymology of Pashto demonstrative pronouns

The etymology of these two pronouns, *dā* and (*h*)*ā*, is known: they go back respectively to Ir. **aita-* [EP: 8; EVP: 20–21; Edelman 1986: 165; NEVP: 22; De Chiara forthcoming a] and to Av. *ha-*, Skt. *sa-* [EP: 10; EVP: 30; NEVP: 35].[21] Some doubts remain about the rendering of **-t-*, because in intervocalic position it tends to pass to Pashto *-l-*: however, since all examples showing this outcome are represented by pronouns, it must be inferred that they must have undergone special phonetic treatment [De Chiara forthcoming a].

Clearly, the two pronouns date back to IE. **í-* 'the said, the mentioned; this' and **só-* 'the said, the already mentioned; he, she'. The first is deictic and anaphoric [Dunkel 2014, 2: 363–374], used with various extensions, as in the case of **aita-* with **tó-* (**eį-Ø tó-*); it is found in IIr. **aįtá-* 'this (known here)', Arm. *ayd* 'the one with you' and, may be, also in Lit. *ìtas* 'this very same' and eastern Lett. *itis* 'this', both derived from IE. **i-Ø to-*. In Av. it is represented by *aēta-*, *aētā-* 'this', in Ved., by *etá-*, *etā́-*, nominative M *aēša*, F *aēša*, N *aētaṯ* [Beekes 1988: 139–140; Hoffmann, Forssman 2004: 165–169; Martínez, de Vaan 2014: 72–75], in OPrs. by *aita-* 'this' [Brandenstein, Mayrhofer 1964: 67–68; Brust 2018: 65–67; Benvenuto, Pompeo 2022: 83–87].

The second pronoun is equally an anaphoric [Dunkel 2014, 2: 732–745], found in IIr. **sá*, but also in Germ. **sa* 'this', in Gr. *ó*, anaphoric pronoun and article, in Celt. **so-* 'this', etc. It is represented in Av. by *ha-*, *ta-* 'this', corresponding to Skt. *sá*, *sā́*, *tád*, nominative M *hā*, F *hā*, and N *taṯ*, while in OPrs. it is *a-* 'this'.

As for the suffix *-γ-* found in demonstratives, it can also be used in third-person personal pronouns, singular (*daγa-haγa*) or plural (*dayuy-haγuy*); see Morgenstierne [EVP: 30; NEVP: 35], cf. also [EP: 51]. It is comparable with the emphatic particle Skt. *ghā* in *sa ghā* 'he indeed', in Gr. γε, derived, according to [Dunkel 2014, 2: 285], from IE. **g^{h}o-h$_1$*, from **-g^{h}o*, and it is also found in Lat. **hō-* 'here', etc.[22]

[21] Edelman [1990: 220–221] derives (*h*)*ā* (series II) from **a-* with prothetic *h-* and *hu* (series III) from **aų̯a-*, with *h-* on the analogy with series II, or from **hau-* (**hāu*), following [Livshits 1956].

[22] As the anonymous reviewer remarks, for the Iranian parallels, cf. also the Yazghulami emphatic particle *ɣa* [Morgenstierne 1974: 35].

In the diachronic perspective that I adopt here, after having traced the etymological origins of the current demonstrative pronouns of Pashto, I propose a reverse analysis to establish what became of the ancient Indo-European (and then Iranian) demonstratives in Pashto, whether they managed to survive and in what form.

Indeed, not all demonstratives existing in the ancient Iranian languages, Avestan and Old Persian, as well as in Indo-European, find correspondences in the Pashto system of demonstrative pronouns. In fact, in Avestan we find, in addition to the pronouns addressed above, also the following pronouns representing, though, secondary formations of the abovementioned *ha-*, *ta-* 'this':

- *hau-*, *auua-*, absent in Ved., nominative M *huuō*, F *hāu*, N *auuaṯ*, where *hau-* may be derived from "**sa*, **sā* + *u*, or perhaps **au* with an added *s-* taken from *sa*" [Beekes 1988: 139], while *ava-* would be derived from **h*$_2$*eu*;
- *a-*, *i-* with *ima-* and *anā* 'this here', Ved. *a-*, *i-*, *imá-*, nominative M *aiiəm*/*aēm*, F *īm*, N *imaṯ*;
- *hī*, derived from IE. **Hih*$_2$; and
- *hai*, corresponding to OPrs. *šaiy* and continuation of IE. **soi*.

The two Avestan pronouns, *auua-* and *a-*, and their equivalents can be found in the Pashto deictoids (see below).

In Old Persian, a similar composition of the demonstrative system can be found with the following pronouns:[23] *ana-* 'this'; *hauv*/*hauvam*, *hauv*, *ava*/*avaščiy* 'that'; *iyam*, *iyam*, *ima* 'this'.

For the Indo-European period, in addition to the two already mentioned pronouns, we can also reconstruct the following demonstrative pronouns as listed in [Dunkel 2014]:[24]

[23] The numeral *aiva-* 'one, the one, a certain' can be used sometimes as an indefinite article; see [Benvenuto, Pompeo 2022: 94].

[24] The list of Iranian demonstrative pronouns and their Indo-European antecedents provided by Edelman [1990: 55–56] is much longer. She lists (m, f): 1) **a-*, **ā-* < IE. **o-*, **ā-*; 2) **ai-*: *i-*, *ī-* < IE. **ei*/*oi*; 3) **ha-*, **hā-* < IE. **so*/*se-*, **sā-*; 4) **ta-*, **tā-* < IE. **to-*, **tā-*; 5) **aṷa-*, **aṷā-* < IE. **oṷo-*, **oṷā-*; 6) **hṷ-*, **hṷā-* < IE. **sṷo-*, **sṷā-*; 7) **ima-*, **iṷa-*, **aṷa-*; 8) **ai-ša-*, **ai-sā-* < IE. **ei*/*oi-* + *so-*, *sā-*; 9) **ai-ta-*, **ai-tā-* < IE. **ei*/*oi-* + *to-*, *tā-*; 10) **ai-ṷa-*, **ai-ṷā-* < IE. **ei*/*oi-* + *ṷo-*, *ṷā-*; 11) **ana-*, **anā-* < IE. **o-* + *no-*, *nā-*; 12) **ai-na-*, **ai-nā-* < IE. **ei*/*oi-* + *no-*, *nā-*; 13) **hau-*, **hāu-* < IE.

- **áno-* ‘that’, maybe in Ved. *áraṇa-* ‘far’ from IE. **ól ano-* (?);
- **au̯ó-* ‘that’, Ved. *avóṣ*, GEN.DU ‘of these two’, Ir. **au̯a-* ‘that’, Av. *auuat̰*, OPrs. *ava*;
- **é* ‘as said’, anaphoric, Ved. *áha* ‘then’;
- **e-* ‘the said’, Ved. *asáu* ‘that’, Av. *ə̄* ‘he’;
- **í-* ‘this’, Ved. *ená-* ‘he’ (?);
- **ḱe*, **ḱi* ‘this, here’;
- **ḱó-*, **ḱí-* ‘this’;
- **s(i)i̯ó-* ‘this’, Ved. *syá*, *siá*, OPrs. *haya*;
- **tó-* ‘aforementioned’, pronoun and anaphoric, Ved. *tám*, *té*, *tád*, Av. *tə̄m*, *tōi*, *tat*.

As to the functions of the demonstratives, it may be useful to cite [Benvenuto, Pompeo 2022: 84] for Old Persian: “The forms cited are used both as determiners of nouns ⟨...⟩ and as pronouns ⟨...⟩ agreeing in gender and number with the name of the referent that they identify in the act of enunciation. ⟨...⟩ Within the nominal syntagm, if other elements are needed with it, the demonstrative occupies, with very rare exceptions, the first position of the sequence”.[25]

Benvenuto and Pompeo [2022: 84–86] continue:

> The referent of a demonstrative used as a deictic can be (see Filippone 2005):
>
> a. an element of the co-text (**endophoric or textual deixis**): the reference can be to what has already been previously introduced in the text and in this case we speak of an **anaphoric function**, expressed in Old Persian by *aiti̯a* (see Repanšek 2017) and above all by the demonstrative of distance used both as a pronoun ⟨...⟩ and as a determiner of a noun ⟨...⟩. ⟨...⟩ If instead the reference is to something that follows in the text, the demonstrative of proximity is used in a cataphoric and proleptic function with respect to a nominal syntagm or an entire sentence ⟨...⟩

**so-*, **sā-* + *u*; 14) **amu-*; 15) **hiu̯a-*, **hiu̯ā-*; **tiu̯a-*, **tiu̯ā-*; 16) **ś(i)i̯a-*, **ś(i)i̯ā-* < IE. **ḱ(i)i̯o-*, **ḱ(i)i̯ā-*.

[25] “Le forme citate sono usate sia come determinanti di nomi ⟨...⟩, sia come pronomi ⟨...⟩ accordandosi in genere e numero con il nome del referente che esse individuano nell’atto di enunciazione. ⟨...⟩ All’interno del sintagma nominale, se con esso occorrono altri elementi, il dimostrativo occupa, salvo rarissime eccezioni, la prima posizione della sequenza.”

b. an element of the shared space, such as the region (*dahyu-* 'country/people', ...) or an element of the particular situational context relating to the deictic space determined by the writing support (**exophoric or situational deixis**), sometimes accompanied by bas-reliefs and iconographic elements ⟨...⟩. In this case we find the 'proximal' demonstrative. ⟨...⟩ The pronoun *i-*/*ima-* is often used **in identifying structures** in which the referent of the subject noun phrase is identified with the referent indicated by the demonstrative ⟨...⟩ The demonstrative of distance is often used as the resumption pronoun in topicalizations, that is, in those constructions in which the element in topical position (that is, on the left periphery of the sentence or utterance) is independent and autonomous from a syntactic point of view with respect to the sentence structure that follows.[26]

Filippone [2005: 388–389] explains the pragmatic functions of demonstratives: "As deictic elements, demonstratives have on the one hand the function of making linguistic expressions adhere to the enunciative situation and on the other that of guaranteeing internal cohesion to the statement, referring to referents that belong to the external or internal context of the text. Depending on where the referent to which it refers is located,

[26] "Il referente di un dimostrativo usato come deittico può essere (cfr. Filippone 2005):

a. un elemento del co-testo (**deissi endoforica o testuale**): il riferimento può essere a quanto già precedentem ente introdotto nel testo e in questo caso si parla di **funzione anaforica**, espressa in antico persiano da *aiṭa* (cfr. Repanšek 2017) e soprattutto dal dimostrativo di lontananza usato sia come pronome ⟨...⟩ sia come determinante di nome ⟨...⟩. ⟨...⟩ Se invece il riferimento è a qualcosa che segue nel testo si usa il dimostrativo di vicinanza in funzione cataforica e prolettica rispetto a un sintagma nominale o a un'intera frase ⟨...⟩

b. un elemento dello spazio condiviso, come può essere la regione (*dahyu-* 'paese/popolo', ...) o un elemento del particolare contesto situazionale relativo allo spazio deittico determinato dal supporto scrittorio (**deissi esoforica o situazionale**), talvolta accompagnato da bassi rilievi ed elementi iconografici ⟨...⟩. In questo caso troviamo il dimostrativo 'prossimale'. ⟨...⟩ Il pronome *i-*/*ima-* è spesso usato **in strutture di tipo identificativo** nelle quali il referente del sintagma nominale soggetto viene identificato con il referente indicato dal dimostrativo ⟨...⟩ Il dimostrativo di lontananza è spesso usato come il pronome di ripresa nelle topicalizzazioni, ovvero in quelle costruzioni in cui l'elemento in posizione topicale (ovvero nella periferia sinistra della frase o dell'enunciato) è indipendente e autonomo da un punto di vista sintattico rispetto alla struttura frastica che segue." Bold of the authors.

the function performed by demonstratives is differentiated into exophoric (situational deixis) or endophoric (textual deixis)".[27]

Furthermore, "[i]n the organization of the flow of information, demonstratives can assume different functions; in particular, they can have anaphoric use ⟨...⟩, evocative use ⟨...⟩ or function as deictics of discourse"[28] [Ibid.: 398].

2.3. Uses of Pashto demonstrative pronouns

The Pashto system has thus been greatly simplified by returning to the two proximal and distal demonstratives, *dā* and (*h*)*ā*, which fulfil all the uses indicated above for Old Persian.

Demonstratives are also used as third-person pronouns, as shown in the following examples:[29]

(3) *zə* ***haɣa*** *baləm.*
I that_one call
'I call him (lit.: that one).' (example SWAT)

(4) *zə nə ɣwāṛəm če* ***haɣa*** *zmā lās wə-mroṛi.*
I not want that that_one my arm twist
'I do not want him to twist my arm.' (example QAND)

---

[27] "In quanto elementi deittici, i Dim[ostrativi] hanno da una parte la funzione di far aderire le espressioni linguistiche alla situazione enunciativa e dall'altra quella di garantire la coesione interna all'enunciato, rinviando a referenti che appartengono alla contestualità esterna o interna al testo. A seconda di dove si trovi il referente a cui si rinvia, la funzione svolta dai Dim[ostrativi] si differenzia in esoforica (deissi situazionale) o endoforica (deissi testuale)."

[28] "Nell'organizzazione del flusso delle informazioni, i Dim[ostrativi] possono assumere diverse funzioni; in particolare possono avere uso anaforico ⟨...⟩, uso rievocativo ⟨...⟩ o fungere da deittici del discorso."

[29] In the examples, I do not indicate grammatical coding as irrelevant for this article. Most of the examples are taken from [De Chiara, Septfonds 2022] and are based on field investigations by the two authors. The transcription used seeks to reflect the exact pronunciation. Some examples are taken from fable collections such as "Milli Hendāra" [Nūrī 1939–1940] or "Ganǰ-i Puxto" [Hughes 1893; Plowden 1895]. Some other examples were taken from the recordings of two Pashtun folk tales or legends: "Khorshid Begəm" and "Yusuf Khan aw Sherbano" made in Swat in the 1980s by Daniel Septfonds.

In the following sections, I give examples for each of the different forms of pronouns, proximal and distal, simple or derived, to show that these formal differences have no impact on their uses.

This is the typical and very common grammaticalisation path for demonstratives (see, among others, [Kuteva et al. 2019: 142–144]), which I will not dwell on further.

As for the other uses of Pashto demonstratives, a few examples may provide evidence, starting from Diessel's types given above.

Exophoric use:

(5) *mexa da kə saṇda dɛ? mexa da.*
female_buffalo is or male_buffalo is female_buffalo is
dā *ɣolānzɛ̲ nə ine!*
these udders not see
'"Is that a female buffalo or a male buffalo?" ⟨...⟩ "It's a female buffalo. Can't you see her udders (lit.: these udders)!"' (example BKR)

(6) ***daɣa*** *mərɣəy agəy war ačawi, duy ye xarcawi*
this bird eggs lays they them sell
'This bird lays eggs [for them], they sell them.' (example MH)

(7) ***haɣa*** *koruna də čā di?*
these houses of whom are?
'"Who do these houses belong to?"' (example STD)[30]

[30] While I was reworking the article following the anonymous reviewer's suggestions, I realized that, apart from examples that are more or less artificially constructed, i.e., not taken from spontaneous texts, or found in speeches by foreigners or children, as in this example (7), the demonstrative *haɣa* is practically never used in exophoric use. The only example I could find in my corpus is the following:

(i) ***dā*** ***haɣa*** *wəne ta nəna-wata, pə kəma wəna ke*
this that tree to enter in which tree
če ba de xpəla stoga kawəla
that(rel) usually you your residence made
'Enter this tree and make it your home.' (example KB)

Here, the demonstrative *haɣa* is accompanied by *dā*, as if the former were no longer sufficient to perform its exophoric function. Furthermore, the context is that of relative clauses where *dā* acts as the antecedent. In a sense, it is as if the language were moving from a tripartite system (see fn. 14 above) to a single-element system. I will leave these two elements aside for now, but both the question of relative clauses and that of the simplification of the demonstrative system will be explored further.

Anaphoric use:[31]

(8) *xwdɛ wə la yaw zwi wár-kə... **dā** zwi ye wə ta*
God to him one son gave this son his to him
pə de sina mane ryəxtə, ryəxtə
on his chest was rolling, rolling
'God gave him a son... his son there, he was rolling, rolling on his chest.'
(example SWAT)

(9) *bəl sabā bɛ̲ bəl wror bo-zi*
the day after tomorrow will.him other brother drive
*aw pə dreəma wraz bɛ̲ **dā** bəl bo-zi*
and on the third day will.him this other drive
dā kəšər
this younger
'The day after tomorrow, the other brother will drive him and on the third day it will be the other, the younger one.' (example BKR)

(10) *xat e pə špeləy ke manḍəlɛ. špeləy də kawtare*
letter he in a reed hid reed of the dove
*xpe pore banda kəṛə-da **dā** kawtare xoše kəre-da.*
to the foot fastened this dove he released
'He hid the letter in a reed. He fastened the reed to the legs [to the foot] of the dove. He released the dove.' (example BKR)

(11) ***daɣa** wazir tɛ̲ u-wɛl če: "wazira, balā de*
this vizier to he said that vizier misfortune your
wā-xləma!"
may I take
"He [then] said to the vizier: 'Vizier, may your misfortunes be mine! (lit.: may I take [your] misfortunes!)'" (example BKR)

(12) *zməka me kindəla če **haɣa** saṛay rāɣay*
earth I was digging when that man came
'I was digging the earth when this man came.' (example WARD)

(13) *kə də **haɣe** wəne mewa cok wə-xori,*
if of that tree fruit someone would eat
*no **haɣa** saṛay ba nə zoṛ-ši aw*
then that man will not grow old and

[31] For anaphoric uses in Pashto, see also [Ali et al. 2008; 2009].

nə ba məṛ-ši.
not will die
'If any one eats the fruit of that tree, he will never grow old or die.' (example GP)

(14) ***haɣa*** *bādšāh aw* ***haɣa*** *asbāb aw* ***haɣa*** *nor*
that king and that property and that other
zālemān pə yaw sāt ke zməke wə-nyaṛdəl.
tyrants in a moment of time earth swallowed
'It came to pass that the earth swallowed up the king, the property, and the other tyrants in a moment of time.' (example GP)

Discourse deictic use:

(15) *gəṇḍkapone we ta we če: wrandyargəy! čere*
crooks her to said that brother's wife where
ce? we če hec cok nə lārə, žoṛə, xə matlab
do you go said=she that no one not had I cry but problem
dā *day jəka če cok me nə šta na!*
this is because someone I not is not
'The crooks said to her: Sister [brother's wife]! Where are you going? She said: "I had no one, I am crying. **That** is what it is, I am [alone] with no one!"' (example WAZ)

(16) *bhāi,* ***dā*** *də xoršed* ***daɣa*** *di, zṛə aw ina di*
brother this of Khorshid this is heart and blood are
'Brother, these are those of Khorshid, her heart and blood.' (example KB)

In example (16), there are two demonstratives (*dā* and *daɣa*) used with deictic functions, but referring to different arguments.

(17) ***daɣa*** *wə-nisa*
this take
'Take this.' (example SWAT)

(18) *də* ***haɣe*** *zṛə aw ina,* ***haɣa*** *ba mā la rā-wṛe*
of her heart and blood those will to me bring
če haɣa zə w(ə)-inəm.
so that those I see
'And you will bring me those, her heart and blood, so that I may see them.' (example KB)

(19) ***dā*** *stā bačɛ dɛ aw tə də bači sara* ***dā***
this your kid is and you with a kid this

namuna ***daɣa*** *kɛ,*[32] ***dā*** *rawiya tā extyār-kṛa?*
way make this this conduct you choose
'This is your kid and you behave like this with a kid, did you choose this conduct?' (example KB)

This last example (19) is particularly interesting, as we find several demonstratives (*dā*) with different uses: the first has a discourse deictic use (***dā*** *stā bačɛ*), while the second (***dā*** *namuna*) and the third (***dā*** *rawiya*) have a recognitional use (see below). The most peculiar use is that of the demonstrative in a compound verb (***daɣa*** *kɛ*).

Recognitional use (see fn. 12 above):

(20) *yara! wəs zə* ***dā*** *xoršed pə sə tariqa, yā*
friend now I this Khorshid somehow or
pə sə čal bānde, zə ***dā****, zān tarap ta rā wā-ṛoma.*
with some trickery I this on my side DEIC have to get
'Friend! Now I have to get Khorshid on my side somehow or with some trickery.' (example SWAT)

(21) *haɣe o-lwasto. waxt pə* ***de*** *ke teredo*
she studied. time on this passed
'She studied. Time passed on this.' (example KB)

(22) *sawdāgər pre-da, wəs, pə xpəl* ***daɣa*** *bānde*
merchant let now to his this
'Let us now leave the merchant to his business.' (example KB)

In (21)–(22), the demonstrative has a recognitional use.

(23) *mā* ***haɣa*** *waxt ke nə peǰando*
I that at time not did know
'At that time, I did not know him.' (example PEX)

(24) ***haɣə*** *pə jāy də kəli* ***haɣa*** *lār də hindustān wə-niwa.*
he instead of the village that road of India took
'Instead of the village he took the road to India.' (example YK)

I quoted all these examples with *dā*, *daɣa* and *haɣa* in order to show how these can easily be employed for the uses indicated by Diessel. How-

[32] In this case, the demonstrative is even incorporated into the compound verb (for compound verbs and light verb constructions, see [De Chiara forthcoming b]).

ever, Pashto also has other means to express deixis or anaphora — among others, an insistent repetition of demonstratives or the use of expressions such as *če kəm day*, lit. 'which is that', or similar collocations, e.g., used in conjunction with a demonstrative, particularly the distal demonstrative *haɣa* — mainly found in oral speech. Indeed, comparing the different versions of "Yusuf Khān aw Sher Bāno",[33] one can see that these means are used exclusively in the oral version (YK), and not in the literary ones.[34] Consider the following four examples (25)–(28):

(25) [*banḍəy wəwe če*] *hara wraj zə* ***dā*** *wror la,*
Bandəy said that every day I this brother to
če ***kəm*** ***dɛ,*** *zə* ***dā*** *ḍoḍəy wṛəma, də māspəxin,*
that(REL) which is I this meal bring at lunchtime
ɣər ta aw ***haɣa*** ***če*** ***kəm*** ***waxte*** ***dā***
to the mountain and that one that(REL) which time this
roṭəy wəxwri byā tre zə wāpas rājəma.
meal eats then from him I back come
xayr, haɣe war ta uwe če ɔ́a, ***haɣa*** *dwa spi če*
well she to her said that well he two dogs that(REL)
war sara di, ***haɣa*** *xo nə day?*
with him are that one but not is
'[Banḍəy said:] "Every day at lunchtime, I take food to my brother (lit.: this food to this brother, who is this) to the mountain, and he eats the meal, then (lit.: at that moment) I go back." "Well," she said to her: "Well, the one who has two dogs, is not that the one?" (lit.: the one with him there are two dogs, is not that it?)' (example YK)

(26) ***kəm*** ***waxte*** ***če*** *ba* ***haɣa*** *ɔ́kār la tə* ***haɣa***
which time that(REL) usually he to hunt went that
spi ba də ***haɣə*** *sara wu aw haɣa spo ta* ***haɣa***
dogs usually with him were and that one on the dogs those

[33] This is one of the best-known and long-lived Pashto legends, mostly widespread among the Yusufzais: the action takes place in the Kharamar Hills, not far from Mardan, in the present-day Khyber Pukhtun-Khwa, Pakistan, during the reign of the Mughal king Akbar (1542–1605). There are both literary and folk versions of the story, as well as numerous recordings, many of which can be found in Islamabad at Lok Virsa. This rich evidence allows us to compare literary versions, in both poetry and prose, with oral/narrative versions.

[34] Various poetic versions and an English translation by Wilma Heston, Mumtaz Nasir, "Yusuf Khan and Sher Banu" can be found in [Heston, Mumtaz Nasir 1987].

gingəṛi ačawəli wu, ***haɣa*** *gingəṛi* ***če*** ***kəm*** ***di***
bells had put those bells that(REL) which are
haɣa *ba pə lāra bānde ḍer šaṇedəl aw* ***kəm*** ***waxte***
those usually in the street a lot were ringing and which time
če *ba* ***dā*** *šaṇāre šerbāno wāwreda...*
that(REL) usually this ringing Sherbano heard
'When (lit. 'at that time when') that one went hunting, the dogs were with him and he had put bells on the dogs; the bells (lit. 'those bells that are those') were ringing a lot in the street and when (lit. 'at that time when') Sherbano heard that ringing...' (example YK)

(27) ***de*** *jāy na* ***če*** ***kəm*** ***dɛ***
from that place that(REL) which is
'from that place (lit.: from that place which is that)' (example YK)

(28) *tabib* ***če*** ***kəm*** ***dɛ***
doctor that(REL) which is
'that doctor (i.e., the aforementioned doctor)' (example YK)

This last example (28) is particularly interesting, because the expression *če kəm dɛ* is used without a preceding demonstrative, which seems to represent a case of grammaticalisation comparable, for example, to that found in negation in French, where, among other things, we see the process *ne ... → ne ... pas → ... pas.*[35] Pashto appears to show a similar process: *haɣa ... → haɣa ... če kəm day → ... če kəm day.*[36]

For a summary and interpretation of this procedure, see the conclusion below.

3. Deictoid pronouns

Pashto has a series of "directionals", which Boyle David [2014: 169] aptly calls "deictoids", as "these forms can be either person-deictic or spatial-deictic".[37] Unfortunately, while defining them as "deictic morphemes" at the beginning of her presentation, she later erroneously

[35] The bibliography on grammaticalisation processes and negation in particular is endless. See, among others, [van der Auwera 2009].

[36] Another, not at all secondary, question arises at this point: why can't we omit *dā* and *daɣa* in the same context? I leave the question open for further research.

[37] See also [Jazab, Rzehak 2013], dealing with the deictoids in the Karlaṇi dialect.

describes them as clitics, although they can carry independent stress when, e.g., used as preverbs or pronouns.

Deictoids with directional functions make a peculiar feature of Pashto, only sporadically found among other Iranian languages.[38] They represent three sets of deictic morphemes: *rā-* for the first person (singular or plural), *dar-* for the second person (singular or plural), and *war-* for the third person (singular or plural).

In Pashto, deictoids may have manifold functions: pronominal, directional and discursive. Boyle David [2014] calls them, respectively, oblique pronominal clitics, deictic prefixes and directional verbal clitics.[39]

The function we are especially interested in here is the third, the discursive one, which also remains the most difficult to evaluate and analyse. I will focus on this after giving a few examples of the first two functions, without, however, aiming to account for all the semantic and formal nuances. At the end of this section, I will draw some conclusions on the correctness of this distinction of functions.

Deictoids have three forms: *rā*, used for the first person, *dar* for the second person, and *war* for the third person. Their phonetic, mostly vowel, variation found in different dialects mainly reflects the differences in function. The best characterisation of deictoids, slightly corrected here, has been proposed in [De Chiara, Septfonds 2019: 70]:

> In standard Pashto, these deictoids have three different functions that can be characterised by the degree of closeness they have to the verb.
>
> a. pronominal: 'weak' forms of oblique pronouns.[40]
> b. discursive: varying degrees of coalescence depending on the person and the semantics of the verb. As a result, certain "deictoid adverbs + verb" sequences are perceived as a semantic whole ('acquire', 'gather', etc.) and appear in dictionaries as verbs with preverb. Statistically, deictoid adverbs 'orient' both intransitive and transitive verbs and select a class of verbs, the most common of which are: 'to go out', 'to jump', 'to arrive', 'to leave', 'to enter', 'to get up (to begin)', 'to run', 'to fall', 'to climb', 'to touch (on)', but also: 'to chase', 'to push', 'to throw', 'to direct',

[38] Cf., for instance, Ormuri *a*/*er*, *dar*, *al* [IIFL, I: 349; Hawbaker, Baart 2018] and Khotanese *vā*, *ttā*, *hā* [De Chiara 2014: 24].

[39] See also [Septfonds 1994: 192–200].

[40] In Pashto, we can distinguish between 'strong' and 'weak' pronouns, i.e., between stressed and clitic pronouns.

'to overturn', 'to activate', 'to show', 'to move aside', 'to thank', 'to bless', 'to seize', 'to want', 'to heal', 'to take', 'to lead away', 'to attack'.
It is through this series that (1) the speaker's engagement and (2) the identification of the process in relation to it can be expressed most freely. In addition to the simple 'spatialisation' of the process, it offers a possibility widely exploited by the speaker to show empathy with what they are saying, whether they are the actor themselves or not.

c. directional: the orientation provided by directional preverbs is lexicalised (CVP proper) and, as such, relatively fixed.

Unlike standard Pashto,[41] dialects tend to diversify paradigms. One key area of differentiation is the opposition between pronouns (nominal arguments) and adverbs + directionals (verbal groups). Examples:

	Pronouns			**Adverbs**			**Directionals**		
	STD	**BKR**	**JAD**	**STD**	**BKR**	**JAD**	**STD**	**BKR**	**JAD**
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.

The literature describes the origins of the deictoid pronouns as follows: *rā* < Ir. **a-* + *-θra* [De Chiara forthcoming a; Darmesteter 1888–1890: 82; Morgenstierne 1926: 35; 1942: 113; EVP: 63; Gryunberg, Edelman 1987: 35; NEVP: 69]: cf. Av. *aθrā́* and *iθra* 'here'. The suffix **θra*, found in all three deictoids, is an adverbial ending derived from IE. **-tró* [Dunkel 2014, 1: 194–198].

[41] Cf. [MacKenzie 1959: 231]: "The morphological differences between the most extreme north-eastern and south-western dialects are comparatively few and unimportant. The criteria of dialect differentiation in Pashto are primarily phonological. With the use of an alphabet which disguises these phonological differences the language has, therefore, been a literary vehicle, widely understood, for at least four centuries. This literary language has long been referred to in the West as 'common' or 'standard' Pashto without, seemingly, any real attempt to define it."

Possibly, *dar* derives not from the personal pronoun of 2nd person, but from the proximal demonstrative pronoun **aita-* + *-θra* [De Chiara forthcoming a].[42]

war derives from the distal demonstrative pronoun **awa-* combined with the same element *-θra* [De Chiara forthcoming a; Darmesteter 1888–1890: 82; Morgenstierne 1926: 35; 1942: 113; EVP: 88; IIFL, II: 214–215; DKS: 124; Skjærvø 1989: 398; IESOYa, IV: 95–96; NEVP: 89], while [ESIYa I: 277–278] proposes its origin from **awa-ra* or **awa-θra*.

3.1. Pronominal function

It will be useful to provide here a summary table of all personal forms in Pashto:

Table 2. Personal forms in Pashto

	Pronouns					**Verbs**		
	STR			**ENCL**	**DEIC**	**Verbal endings**		
	DIR	**OBL**	**POSS**			**PRS**	**PST**	**IMP**
1SG	*zə*	*mā*	*zəmā*	*me*	*rā*	*-əm*		
2	*tə*	*tā*	*stā*	*de*	*dar*	*-e*		*-a*
3M	*day*	*də*	*də də*	*ye*	*war*	*-i*	*-ə/-o/ ø*	
3F	*dā*	*de*	*də de*				*-a*	
1PL	*munǧ*	*munǧ*	*zmunǧ*	*mo*	*rā*	*-u*		
2	*tāse/ tāso*	*tāse/ tāso*	*stāse/ stāso*	*mo*	*dar*	*-əy*		*-əy*
3M	*duy*	*duy*	*də duy*	*ye*	*war*	*-i*	*-əl/ø*	
3F							*-e*	

Table 3 below highlights the syntactic uses of all the pronouns, with "X" indicating their use and "–", nonuse in the respective function:

[42] Darmesteter [1888–1890: 82] proposes derivation from **twaθra*, and [Morgenstierne 1926: 35] from **taθra* (also followed by [EVP 21–22; Morgenstierne 1942: 113; Livshits 1952: 327–329; Edelman 1986: 165; NEVP: 22]).

Table 3. Syntactic uses of Pashto personal pronouns

	S	A	ERG	O 1/2	O 3	ERG	POSS	PREP	POSTP	PRB	ADV
STR DIR	X	X	–	–	X	X	–	–	–	–	–
STR OBL	–	–	X	X	–	–	X	X	X	–	–
ENCL	–	–	X	X	X	–	X	–	–	–	–
DEIC	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	X	X	X

Table 3 demonstrates that, in pronominal functions, deictoids cannot occur as subjects or direct objects of verbs and can only occur with postpositions, but never with prepositions, as shown by the following examples:

(29) *ketāb me lwāstə če plār žaɣ* ***rā ta*** *wə-kəṛ.*
book I read when father voice to me made
'I was reading when my father called me.' (example MH)

(30) *ḍera moda me* ***dar ta*** *nākām o-ko*[43]
much time I to you unsuccessful made
'For long time I did not succeed with you.' (example KB)

(31) *haɣe* ***war ta*** *qorān učat-ko aw* ***war ta*** *ye we če...*
she to him Quran raised and to him she said that
'She raised the Quran towards him and said.' (example KB)

(32) ***dā*** *wəs bɛ* ***rā*** *ta wə-tale no berta bɛ* ***rā*** *na*
this now will it to me weigh then back will it from me
wā-xle
take/buy
'Now, you're going to weigh it for me, and then you'll take it/buy it from me.' (example BKR)

Example (32), where we find *rā na*, shows that deictoids in pronominal function can be employed with any type of postposition: *ta* 'to', *na* 'from', *ke* 'in', etc.

3.2. Directional function

In this function, deictoids can modify the semantics of verbs by adding direction of movement (hence their designation as "directionals") to the 1st,

[43] Here *o-* is the dialectal form of the perfective prefix *wə-*, see [De Chiara 2025] for further details.

2nd or 3rd person. Four verbs, in particular, have complete paradigms with deictoids:[44] *tləl* 'to go', *wṛəl* 'to bring', *kawəl* 'to make' and *wastəl* 'to lead'. The first two, *tləl* and *wṛəl*, are mixed verbs, i.e., they behave as simple verbs in imperfective forms and as compound verbs in perfective forms [De Chiara, Septfonds 2019: 75–76]. They signal a neutral orientation and three spatial orientations in line with the prefixed deictoids, as shown by Tables 4 and 5 below for the verbs *tləl* and *wṛəl*:[45]

Table 4. The three spatial orientations of *tləl*

		tləl	'to go'
Orientation 1st person	***rā***	***rā****tləl*	'to come to me'
Orientation 2nd person	***dar***	***dar****tləl*	'to come to you'
Orientation 3rd person	***war***	***war****tləl*	'to come to him/her/them'

Table 5. The three spatial orientations of *wṛəl*

		wṛəl	'to bring'
Orientation 1st person	***rā***	***rā****wṛəl*	'to bring to me'
Orientation 2nd person	***dar***	***dar****wṛəl*	'to bring to you'
Orientation 3rd person	***war***	***war****wṛəl*	'to bring to him/her/them'

The third verb, *kawəl*, is one of the two verbalisers used to create transitive compound verbs [De Chiara, Septfonds 2019: 61–64]. As a simple verb it means 'to make', but with deictoids it acquires the meaning 'to give' with a specific direction of movement:

Table 6. The three spatial orientations of *kawəl*

		kawəl	'to give'
Orientation 1st person	***rā***	***rā****kawəl*	'to give to me'
Orientation 2nd person	***dar***	***dar****kawəl*	'to give to you'
Orientation 3rd person	***war***	***war****kawəl*	'to give to him/her/them'

[44] For more details, see [De Chiara, Septfonds 2019: 69–73].

[45] For further information on the use of personal-directional markers with the Pashto verbs for 'come' and 'go', see [Pate 2016; Septfonds 1994; Hawbaker, Baart 2018].

The last verb, °*wastəl*, ‘to lead’, does not exist as a simple verb, but only occurs together with deictoids.

Table 7. The three spatial orientations of °*wastəl*

		°***wastəl***	‘to lead’
Orientation 1st person	***rā***	***rā****wastəl*	‘to lead to me’
Orientation 2nd person	***dar***	***dar****wastəl*	‘to lead to you’
Orientation 3rd person	***war***	***war****wastəl*	‘to lead to him/her/them’

Following Pate [2016], Hawbaker and Baart [2018: 298] deal with the use of directional deictoids in Logar Ormuri:

> Generally, the choice of directional marker depends on the *goal location* at event time as well as who will be present. The first person directional marker *rā* is used when the theme is moving towards the location of the *speaker*. This might be the location where the speaker is at utterance time or where the speaker is at event time. Additionally, *rā* is also used when the speaker’s home-base is the goal. The second person directional marker *dər* is generally used if the theme is moving towards the *addressee’s* location. That is, it is used if the addressee is present at the goal at event time or if the goal is the addressee’s home-base. The third person directional marker *wər* is generally used if the theme is moving toward the location of a *third person discourse-salient entity*. This can be the location where the third person entity is at event time or it can be that third person entity’s home-base.
>
> Pate also states that, instead of ‘come’, ‘go’ is used if no discourse participant is at the goal at either utterance or event time or if the movement of the theme from the source is in focus.

Many verbs can be prefixed with deictoids, thus specifying the direction of movement:

(33) *de noro* *tɛ* *kāli* ***warkawəl,*** *aɣuy* *pər alute*
to these others he clothes gave to him they by flying
amdəse *tle.*
thus went
‘He gave the others clothes and they flew away.’ (example BKR)

(34) *ja lāṛ-ša*[46] *γwā* ***rā-wala*** *zə ba dəlta walāṛ yəm.*
go go cow bring to me I will here in waiting am
'Go on, off you go! Bring your cow, I'll wait here.' (example PT)

(35) *zmari ta ye ǰərga* ***war wā-stawəla***
to the lion he delegation sent to him
'They sent a delegation to the lion.' (example BKR)

(36) *kə čerta də xwle nɛ̱ wə-nə-xiǰi če mā*
if somewhere of his mouth don't goes out that I
də la ***darkəṛe-da***
to you gave to you
'Don't let it get out of his mouth that I gave her to you [for a wife].' (example BKR)

3.3. Discursive function

This is the most controversial and difficult function to interpret: neither the contexts of its use nor its semantics are clear. First of all, it must be pointed out that in this function the first person deictoid *rā* is used almost exclusively (at least, according to the most popular Pate's Person Hierarchy, 1 > 2 > 3 [Pate 2016: 118]).

Septfonds [1994: 195–196] has proposed an interesting evidence. Consider the following three examples from this article, translated by him from the Jadrani dialect:

(37) *daṛa ye pse* ***r*** *pere-kṛa*
door he behind DEIC closed
'He closed the door behind him.' (example JAD) [Septfonds 1994: 194]

(38) *psə ye* ***r*** *wə-niw*
sheep he DEIC seized
'He seized a sheep.' (example JAD) [Ibid: 194]

(39) *če mlo we ta* ***r*** *natəlay-day*
when mullah to him DEIC entered
'When the mullah came in (to me) to see him.' (example JAD) [Ibid.: 195]

Septfonds correctly notes that the "directional adverbs which can only be interpreted in an enunciative framework and can be combined with

[46] In this idiomatic expression, the imperfective and perfective forms of the verb 'to go' follow one another to give urgency to the imperative meaning.

directional pronouns[,] are ‘optional’ indices allowing the spatialization of the process ⟨...⟩ – but not only to spatialize it” [Septfonds 1994: 195].[47]

I disagree, however, with his analysis where Septfonds [Ibid.: 195–196], referring to examples (39)–(41) [=13*a*–*b*, 14*a* and 16 in the cited work], comments:

> In (13*a*–*b*) [= 39], the directional adverb /**r**/ has not been translated. This accurately reflects the difficulty we encounter with these statements: /**r**/ would indicate – from a spatial perspective – that when the agent closed the door, he closed it on/towards me. However, even if the verb “close” indicates movement, it is not in the same way as verbs such as “arrive”, “send” or even “push”: the door does not come towards me, it is simply closed. The /**r**/ here is simply an indication of the subject of the utterance (the speaker, the narrator), who thus takes part (imaginatively) in the process he is describing. And here, we expect a continuation ⟨...⟩
>
> This is even clearer in (14*a*) [= 40]: it is not certain that the agent (“he”) brought the sheep to me, but what is certain is that, on the one hand, I was interested in it, that I felt (and that I tell myself, /**r**/) concerned. On the other hand, he did not take it for nothing, but to do something I was expecting, which turned out to be roasting it – the sheep.
>
> In both (13*a*–14*a*) [= 39–40] and (16) [= 41], there are two “persons” involved: the subject of the utterance [1SG] and the subject of the statement (3SG) ⟨...⟩ and this is what matters here: that (16) [= 41] is more complex in terms of the internal orientation of the utterance (DIR[ectional] PR[onoun] third person /**we ta**/) does not change the game allowed by this double reference (utterance + “argument”).[48]

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[47] “[D]irectionnels adverbes qui ne peuvent s’interpréter que dans un cadre énonciatif et peuvent se cumuler avec les directionnels pronoms [,] sont des indices ‘optionnels’ permettant de spatialiser le procès ⟨...⟩ – mais pas uniquement de le spatialiser.”

[48] “Dans (13*a*–*b*) [= 39] le directionnel adverbe /**r**/ n’a pas été traduit. Ce qui justement traduit l’embarras dans lequel on se trouve en face de ces énoncés: /**r**/ indiquerait – dans une perspective spatiale – que lorsque l’agent a fermé la porte, il l’a fermée sur/vers moi. Or, même si le verbe ‘fermer’ indique un déplacement, ce n’est pas à la façon de verbes du type ‘arriver’, ‘envoyer’ ou même ‘pousser’: la porte ne vient pas vers moi, elle se contente d’être refermée. Le /**r**/ est ici un simple indice du sujet de l’énonciation (du locuteur, du narrateur) qui ainsi prend part (imaginairement) au procès qu’il décrit. Et là, on attend une suite... ⟨...⟩.

Ce qui est encore plus net dans (14*a*) [= 40]: il n’est pas certain que l’agent (‘il’) ait pris le mouton vers moi, mais ce qui est sûr c’est que d’une part, ça m’intéressait, que je me sentais (et que je me dis, /**r**/) concerné. Que d’autre part, il ne l’avait pas pris pour rien, mais pour en faire quelque chose que j’attendais et qui se trouve être qu’il l’a fait rôtir – ce mouton.

Septfonds [1994: 200] concludes that "the interest shown by the speaker in the process he is describing is of another order which goes from (imaginary) participation to testimony. Order of 'distance', here in its degree of proximity which is only materialized through the use of the directional first person adverbial".[49]

In my opinion, a clear distinction must be made between the spatial function and most of the functions given in examples (39)–(41), as they are not at all the same. Consider the following example with a 3rd-person deictoid provided by Septfonds:

(40) *če de nemayi ta* ***wer*** *rsedəlay-day*
when to this half DEIC has arrived
'When he arrived halfway to them.' (example JAD) [Septfonds 1994: 197, example (18b)]

Here, there is no doubt that the 3rd-person deictoid *war* (cf. JAD *wer*) has a purely spatial value.

In the following example, however, we find the deictoid *rā*. The text is a story from the GP, set in the past, in which the narrator recounts how the slanderer, the protagonist of the story, invites the king to summon his victim, so that the latter, by putting his hand in front of his mouth, will prove his guilt with respect to the false accusation of the envious slanderer:

(41) *bādšāh de ye jān ta* ***rā*** *wə-boli no če*
king INJ he to himself DEIC called then when
day bādšāh ta nízde-ši no dā ye naźa da če
he to the king approaches then this his sign is that
pə xpəla xwəla ba lās ke-ğdi.
on his mouth will hand put
'Let the king call him before him: once he has approached, then putting his hand over his mouth will be a demonstration of this.' (example GP)

Aussi bien dans (13*a*–14*a*) [= 39–40] que dans (16) [= 41], il y a deux 'personnes' intéressées: le sujet de l'énonciation [1SG] et le sujet de l'énoncé (3SG) ⟨...⟩ et c'est ce qui importe ici: que (16) [= 41] soit plus complexe au niveau de l'orientation interne de l'énoncé (DIR[ectional] PR[onoun] de troisième personne /**we ta**/) ne change rien au jeu que permet cette double référence (énonciative + 'argumentale')."

[49] "[L]'intérêt porté par le locuteur au procès qu'il énonce est d'un autre ordre qui va de la participation (imaginaire) au témoignage. Ordre de la 'distance', ici sous son degré de proximité qui ne se matérialise qu'à travers l'emploi du directionnel adverbe de première personne."

In the main clause, we find a perfective injunctive *wə-boli* ‘called’ which emphasizes completion of the action: it is not a matter of politeness or otherwise high register (the speaker is addressing the king). What is important here is the presence of the deictoid *rā*, which is somewhat redundant as we already have *jān ta*. Its use could imply presence of the informer, or the narrator’s participation as hypothesized by Septfonds, but this, in my opinion, is not entirely convincing.

Finally, consider another example from [Septfonds 1994: 197, example 19*b*]:

(42) ***rā*** *ǰeg-šo*
DEIC got up
‘He got up.’ (example JAD)[50]

Now, let us compare the last three examples (40)–(42). They differ for two main reasons.

The first difference lies in the deictoids’ spatial function. Example (40) has a purely spatial value; in (41), the spatial meaning is only marginal, yet the example could still be semantically comparable to (40); (42) no longer has any spatial value, unless one wants to interpret the movement of getting up as direction towards the narrator, which is quite unlikely.

The second difference lies in the distribution of deictoid use by person. Thus example (40), where the 3rd-person deictoid is used, could also use the 1st- or 2nd-person deictoids depending on the context. Examples (41) and (42), however, where the 1st-person deictoid occurs, could never replace it by a deictoid of the other two persons under **any** circumstances. This can be further confirmed by (43):

(43) *xɛr, xoršed wə-lageda aw* ***haγa*** *dawāi=ye*
anyway Khorshid got to it and that drug=she
rā *wā-γɛstəla aw pə gilās ke ye wā-čawəla, qāzi°sɛɛb ta*
DEIC grabbed and into the glass she poured for the Qadi
‘Anyway, Khorshid got to it: she grabbed the drug and then poured it into the glass, for the Qadi.’ (example SWAT)

[50] While Septfonds provides no context, the text comes from a folk tale, where the sitting protagonist gets up to go on with his adventure.

These observations suggest a definite correlation between the spatial function and the use of deictoids, meaning that in the **absence** of a spatial function, **only** the 1st-person deictoid can be used.[51]

Although more examples can be adduced to show this situation more extensively, I do not think this is necessary: we can now draw some general conclusions, which can also be extended to the last examples of deixis (25)–(28) given in the previous paragraph.

4. Conclusion

The functions of deictoids identified above and followed in our presentation are three: pronominal, directional and discursive.

The third function is (trivially) a form of pleonasm. In fact, it is only found in narrative texts, transcriptions of oral narratives or colloquial register texts, and not in literary or in high register texts. In these cases, the deictoid used is only that of the 1st person, and this is another reason why this function must be clearly distinguished from the other two.

Regarding pleonasm, Grevisse, for example, in the French grammar speaks of "mot explétif" [Grevisse, Goosse 2008: §§ 375, 672]: "An expletive is a word that does not perform the function it appears to perform; logically, it is useless, although it cannot always be removed in certain fixed expressions"[52] [Ibid.: 467]. Examples cited include: *Goûtez-MOI ce vin-là*, *Allez-MOI mettre votre blouse*, *Regardez-MOI cette misère*,[53] etc.

According to [Bussmann 1998: 911],[54] "[t]he addition of a superfluous expression which is already included in that which is said, e.g. *three a.m. in the morning* (solecism). As any figure of speech, pleonasm can serve to strengthen a statement, e.g. *I saw it myself, with my own eyes*."

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[51] The anonymous reviewer goes even further, rightly stating that: "[T]his would also probably mean that the 1st-person deictoid is grammaticalized as an allative marker, so it indicates a movement towards (somewhere) disregard[ing] the spatial deictic function (similarly as *če kəm dɛ* without a preceding demonstrative is a grammaticalized construction, as author fairly mentions)."

[52] "Le mot explétif est un terme qui ne joue pas le rôle qu'il a l'air de jouer; il est, logiquement, inutile, quoiqu'on ne puisse pas toujours le supprimer dans certains emplois figés."

[53] "Taste this wine, put on your smock, look at this misery".

[54] See also [Crystal 2008: 371].

But perhaps the best definition of expletive/pleonastic[55] is the one provided by Beccaria [1994: 300] for Italian, that can be extended to all contexts:

> Traditionally it is defined as *expletive* — which is equivalent to filler (being a learned voice from the Lat. *explēre* 'to fill in, to complete') or *pleonastic* — a linguistic element that in certain contexts has no other function than that, often dictated by the mere need for rhythm, of contributing to the illocutionary force of the utterance; frequent in the more informal registers of speech, expletive elements often appear in Italian in the form of idiosyncratic variables loosely woven into the various regional substandards.[56]

In this perspective, we can also associate the locution *če kəm day*, seen at the end of the section on demonstratives, which has a use totally comparable to that of the discursive *rā*: a pleonastic use, mainly oral and limited to certain formulae.

In conclusion, the main objective of this article was to identify some pleonastic expressions in Pashto starting from a presentation of demonstrative pronouns and deictoids, which are the main areas in which pleonasm can occur (by the way, in the expression *če kəm day*, *če* is a relative pronoun, whereas *kəm* is an indefinite/interrogative pronoun). As it turns out, pleonasm is an essentially oral phenomenon, and Pashto is no exception. I plan to return to this topic, focusing on other pronouns (such as *kəm*) and other expedients for the expression of pleonasm in Pashto, and broadening the perspective to pleonastic studies from a theoretical and comparative point of view, thus hoping to contribute to the study of oral linguistic expression.

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[55] Arseniy Vydrin (personal communication) kindly informs me of the presence in Ossetic of something similar — the 2nd person singular enclitic *dən* which is frequently used in oral texts and sounds pleonastic.

[56] "Si definisce tradizionalmente come *espletivo* – che equivale a *riempitivo* (trattandosi di voce dotta dal lat. *explēre* 'riempire, completare') o *pleonastico* – un elemento linguistico che in certi contesti non ha altra funzione se non quella, spesso dettata da mere esigenze di ritmo, di contribuire alla forza illocutoria dell'enunciato; frequenti nei registri più informali del parlato, gli elementi espletivi si presentano spesso in italiano sotto forma di variabili idiosincratiche relate ai diversi substandard regionali."

Abbreviations

A — agent; ADV — adverb; DEIC — deictoid; DIR — direct case; ENCL — enclitic pronoun; ERG — ergative; F — feminine; GEN.DU — genitive dual; IMP — imperative mood; INJ — injunctive mood; M — masculine; N — neuter; O — object; OBL — oblique case; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; POSTP — post-position; PRB — preverb; PREP — preposition; PRS — present tense; PST — past tense; REL — relative pronoun; S — subject; SG — singular; STR — strong pronoun.

Arm. — Armenian; Av. — Avestan; Celt. — Celtic; Germ. — Germanic; Gr. — Greek; IE. — Indo-European; IIr. — Indo-Iranian; Ir. — Iranian; Lat. — Latin; Lett. — Letton; Lit. — Lithuanian; OPrs. — Old Persian; Skt. — Sanskrit; Ved. — Vedic.

BKR — Bar Kunar; GP — Ganǰ-e Pəx́to (see [Hughes 1893] and [Plowden 1895]); JAD — Jadrāni; KB — Khorshid Begəm; MH — Milli Hendāra (see [Nūrī 1939–1940]); PEX — Pex́awar; PT — Pakistani textbooks; QAND — Qandahar; STD — Standard Pašto (see [Septfonds, Kabir 2013]); SWAT — Swāt district; WARD — Wardaki; WAZ — Waziri; YK — Yusuf Khan aw Sherbano (Septfonds, field data).

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