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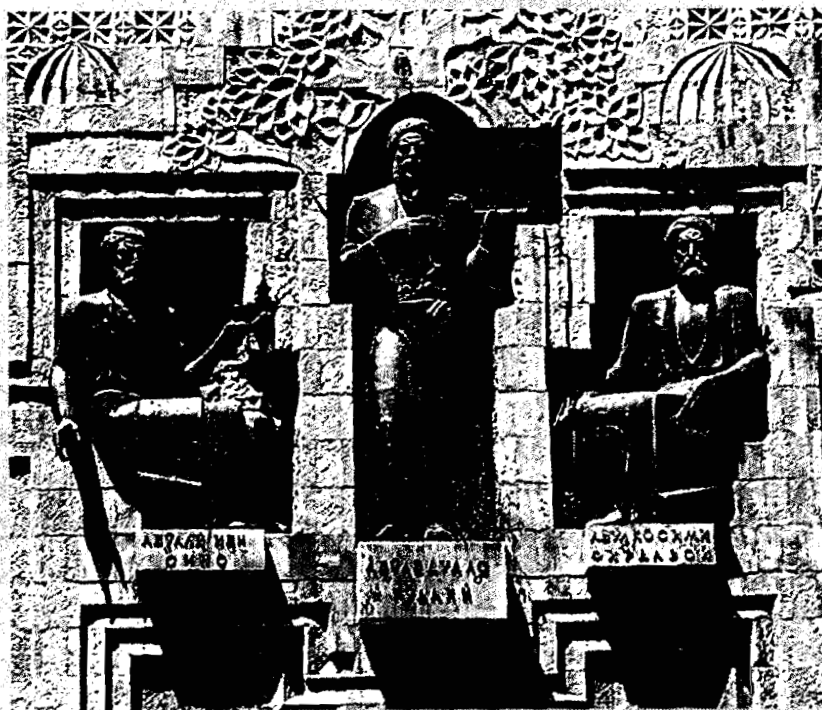


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**IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
OF CENTRAL ASIA**

FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT



TEXTES RÉUNIS PAR

MATTEO DE CHIARA ET EVELIN GRASSI

TIRÉ À PART

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THE PERSIAN DIALECT OF THE KANDAHARI-PASHTUNS IN AFGHANISTAN

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article porte sur le dialecte et sur le comportement linguistique de quelques groupes Pashtoun d'Afghanistan, connus sous le nom de Kandahari. De nos jours, les Pashtounes parlant persan se trouvent en différents endroits de l'Afghanistan septentrional. On croit qu'ils étaient établis auparavant dans le district de Kijran en Afghanistan central, et qu'ils se déplacèrent ensuite pour s'établir dans leurs implantations actuelles à la fin du XIXe siècle. L'étude est basée sur un travail de terrain parmi les Pashtounes Kandahari qui vivent dans le district de Sholgar de la province de Balkh. Elle s'appuie sur l'analyse de la situation sociolinguistique à Sholgar, qui accentue le rôle émergent du dari parlé standard, si on le compare avec ses variétés locales. Il en résulte que les aires linguistiques du persan Kandahari deviennent de plus en plus limitées. L'analyse de plusieurs traits phonologiques, morphologiques et lexicaux du Kandahari indique clairement que cette variété de persan peut être décrite comme partie d'un continuum dialectal géographique, qui s'étend de Sholgar jusqu'en Afghanistan central et à Herat, et inclut d'autres variétés linguistiques à l'ouest.

Mots-clés : Afghanistan, dari, dialectologie persane, ethnolinguistique, Pashtounes

ABSTRACT

This paper studies the dialect and the linguistic behavior of some Pashtun groups in Afghanistan that are known under the name Kandahari. Today Persian-speaking Kandahari Pashtuns can be found in various places in northern Afghanistan. It is believed that previously they had settled in Kijran district in central Afghanistan, and that they moved to their present-day places of settlement at the end of the 19th century. The study is based upon linguistic field work carried out among Kandahari Pashtuns who live in Sholgar district of Balkh province. The study is embedded in an analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in Sholgar that highlights the increasing

role of the colloquial standard of Dari compared to local varieties. As a result, the linguistic domains of Kandahari Persian are becoming increasingly limited. The analysis of several phonological, morphological and lexical features of Kandahari Persian makes clear that this variety can be described as forming part of a geographical dialect continuum that stretches from Sholgar over central Afghanistan up to Herat, and includes other linguistic varieties in the West.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Dari, Persian dialectology, ethno-linguistics, Pashtuns

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INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC BELONGING

Ethnic groups that hold a clearly defined position in the tribal system of the Pashtuns, but speak a variety of Persian, and not Pashto, as their first language, are not uncommon in Afghanistan. An example which first comes to mind are the numerous urban Pashtuns in Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif or Herat whose ancestors gave up the language of their fathers and forefathers and switched to the local variety of Dari-Persian which proved to be more dominant and more popular in the urban environment. A certain disparity between language and ethnic belonging is not solely an urban phenomenon in Afghanistan. In various rural locales one can find Pashtuns who speak a variety of Persian as their first language which, in contrast to most urban Pashtuns, is not always identical to that of their Persian-speaking neighbors. For example, in the southwestern parts of Nimroz province, Pashtuns of the Ghilzai tribe (local pronunciation: *ġelġi*) speak a Persian variety that can be clearly distinguished from the other local varieties of Persian to be found there. Since this variety of Persian is a special feature of these Ġelġi Pashtuns, it is also called Ġelġi. Thus the Ġelġi dialect of Persian can be seen as a distinctive feature of ethnic belonging for this particular group of Pashtuns. But in Nimroz not all Pashtuns use Ġelġi-Persian as their first language. Pashto-speaking Pashtuns have settled in the central part (around Ghurghuri) and in the northeast of the province (close to Delaram). A similar coexistence of Persian-speaking and Pashto-speaking Pashtuns can be observed in Herat province. Here Persian-speaking Pashtuns can be found not only in the city of Herat, as mentioned above, but in various rural districts as well. For example, in Ghoryan district, which is located in the West of Herat province, Persian-speaking Pashtuns have settled in the district center, but Pashtuns who live in the villages around it speak Pashto as a matter of preference. In Herat province all these Pashtun groups are known under the names *māldār* (stockmen) or *kuċi* (nomads) according to their way of life, but at a more

fundamental level all of them, irrespective of linguistic differences, are seen as *auyān*¹, i.e. Pashtuns. In the district of Surkhrod in Nangarhar province, one can find Persian-speaking groups that are usually described as *dari-zabānhā* (Dari-speaking); but it is always stressed that they are not Tajiks. They are regarded as Pashtuns and they know which Pashtun tribes they belong to. Intermarriages with Pashto-speaking Pashtuns from this and neighboring districts are common. There is much Pashto influence on their variety of Dari-Persian; in the vocabulary and sound system as well (e.g. pronunciation of retroflex sounds in words that are common for Dari and Pashto, e.g. *kaṭ* ‘bed’, *mōṭar* ‘car’).²

In Afghanistan ethnic belonging can be based upon a variety of mixtures of very different criteria. Language is a possible distinctive feature but it must not be applied necessarily in all cases. For many Pashtuns, belonging to a particular tribe and, ideally, observing the rules of the tribal code of honor are criteria of no less importance. Hence Persian-speaking Pashtuns can be regarded as ‘bad Pashtuns’ by others because they allegedly have given up their language, but neither their neighbors nor other Pashtuns would seriously raise concern about their being Pashtuns in general.³

KANDAHARIS, KHALILIS AND BALOCH

Other groups of Persian-speaking Pashtuns are known under the name Khalil or Khalili respectively.⁴ The linguistic behavior of Khalili Pashtuns who settled in Sholgar⁵ district of Balkh province will be described and analyzed in this paper.⁶

¹ The sign /ɣ/ is used here to denote a uvular consonant that is characteristic of the Persian dialect of Herat. It is more voiced than /q/ and less voiced than /ġ/ in general Dari. See Ioannesyan 1999, p. 32, but notice that Ioannesyan uses /ġ/ and /ɣ/ in a converse way. Other signs of transcription will be explained below.

² None of these or other Persian-speaking Pashtuns were mentioned by Kieffer 1985, p. 510, in his list of Persian-speaking ethnic groups in Afghanistan and their dialects. The information given here is based on material that the author of this paper collected during linguistic expeditions to Nimroz in 2002, 2005 and 2006, to Herat in 2011 and to Nangarhar in 2012.

³ For a broader discussion on the role of language in a rather dynamic concept of ethnic identities in Afghanistan see Orywal 1986.

⁴ Local forms of pronunciation: *xalil*, *xalili*. In a Pashto-dominated context the form *xalil* is preferred. The form with the final *-i* (*yā-ye nesbat*) is, evidently, preferred in a linguistic context that would be dominated by Persian.

⁵ This district is located in the Southwest of Balkh province. In some sources the name is given with a final *-a* as Sholgara (see for example *šōlgara* in *Qāmūs* 1389, p. 1136,

Khalili Pashtuns are said to be found in several regions of central and northern Afghanistan, particularly in Kijran district of Daykondi province, in Sholgar district of Balkh province, in Fayzabad district of Jowzjan province, in Sozma-Qala district of Sar-e Pol province and in Chardara district of Kunduz province.⁷ In written genealogies Khalili Pashtuns are introduced alongside Momand, Daudzi, Camkani and Zerani Pashtuns as sub-tribes of the Ghwaryakhel tribe, which in turn is affiliated with the larger division of Sarbun Pashtuns.⁸ As regards everyday knowledge, genealogical information is rather sketchy. Most Khalilis whom I met in Sholgar and Mazar-e Sharif mentioned some tribal closeness to Momand Pashtuns; some informants even claimed that the Khalilis were Momand by origin. But no details were given. Khalilis are divided into several sub-tribes or clans (*gām*).

Information on migration history is equally poor. Some people say that the Khalilis came to their modern places of settlement in Afghanistan from Eastern regions via Jalalabad;⁹ others say that they came from Iran in the West via Delaram. However, all informants agree that those Khalilis who live in various parts of northern Afghanistan today migrated to these places not so long ago, most probably during the reign of Amir Abdurrahman Khan (1880-1901). This puts these migrations close to the Pashtun colonization of northern Afghanistan under Amir Abdurrahman Khan, when Pashtun tribes from the south were given pastures and farmland in the north to increase Pashtun influence there.¹⁰ At that time Khalili Pashtuns were nomadic

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sholgara_District) but this form is not used by the inhabitants of this district. In Balkh province all people say Sholgar (*šōlgar*).

⁶ I take my material from interviews and observations carried out during an ethno-linguistic field study in Balkh province in April 2010. The field study was conducted under the aegis of the multidisciplinary research network Crossroads Asia that is financed by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). See www.crossroads-asia.de. I want to express special gratitude to Dr. Abdulghani Barzinmehr of Balkh University in Mazar-e Sharif who accompanied me on my expeditions and who assisted me on my research.

⁷ Information provided by Khalili-informants in Sholgar and Mazar-e Sharif in April 2010.

⁸ On the genealogy of the Ghwaryakhel tribe and its sub-tribes see Miyāxēl 1383, p. 212, and on the Khalilis in particular see Yādtālibī 1388, p. 121.

⁹ This information corresponds to historical narrations according to which the Khalili and Momand Pashtuns originally had settled in central Afghanistan but were driven out from there after the Mongol invasion in the 13th century, and migrated northeastwards to Kabul and then further eastwards to the Peshawar valley. See Tate 1911, p. 14. Groups of Khalilis still can be found there today close to Bara River. Later on some of them may have returned to Afghanistan.

¹⁰ For details see Tapper 1983.

pastoralists, and it is said that after their resettlement to Sholgar most Khalilis first refused to take over the fertile farmlands on the banks of the Sholgar River that were offered to them by the government, and instead maintained their nomadic way of life for decades. Other historical narrations say that tribal quarrels caused the Khalilis to leave their previous places of settlement in central Afghanistan. This may be true at least for some sub-tribes of the Khalilis.

Before their relocation to the north most Khalili Pashtuns had lived in Kijran, where some Khalilis are still living today. Today Kijran is a district in the south of Daykondi province, but previously it had belonged to Uruzgan province, and before that it was part of the historical province of Loy Kandahar (Great Kandahar). For that reason Khalili Pashtuns are also addressed as Kandaharis by outsiders, though they themselves prefer the name Khalili to denote their ethnic group. Khalilis in Kijran and northern Afghanistan maintain rather loose relations with each other, which include occasional visits to one another, bride exchange, etc.

In Sholgar the name Kandahari is also applied to another group of people who have close tribal and social ties with the Khalilis, but who call themselves Baloch. Khalilis use the rather pejorative term *kačal* (literally ‘limping’) to refer to these people, but the Baloch would never use this name when introducing themselves to others. Khalilis say that these people assumed the name Baloch because they felt uncomfortable with the name *kačal*, though they do not have much in common with Balochi-speaking Baloch in southwestern Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.¹¹ As with the Khalilis, these Baloch are said to have migrated to Sholgar from Kijran. Today Kandahari-Baloch can be found almost everywhere in northern Afghanistan where Khalili Pashtuns are living. Aside from their common place of origin, all Kandaharis have some linguistic and religious features in common. Khalilis and Baloch speak almost the same variety of Persian, and all of them are Shiites by confession.

Aside from these Persian-speaking and Shiite Kandaharis, Pashto-speaking Pashtuns and Pashto-speaking Baloch can also be found in Sholgar. In contrast to Persian-speaking Kandaharis these Pashto-speaking Pashtuns and Baloch are Sunnis. They are also said to have migrated there from Loy

¹¹ Persian-speaking Baloch are common in various regions of central and northern Afghanistan, and the question of how they can be related to Balochi-speaking Baloch in SW-Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran remains unclear. For a broader discussion on that question see Rzehak 2012.

Kandahar, and there are some linguistic proofs of that assertion (see below). Persian-speaking Shiite Kandaharis, on the one hand, and Pashto-speaking Sunnite Pashtuns and Baloch, on the other, are more or less endogamous groups. Tribal closeness notwithstanding, they do not intermarry, or at least they do not admit to such intermarriages when talking to outsiders.

Representatives of the local administration estimate the total number of Kandaharis (including Khalilis and Baloch) in Sholgar at 20,000 to 30,000 persons. They settle on both banks of Sholgar River close to the former district center, which is still called *okumati* (administration) or *woloswāli-ye sōxta* (burned down district center). They have a boys' school with twelve classes which is located close to the district center in a village named Qurbaqakhana and which is attended by Shiite Kandaharis and Sunnite Pashtuns and Baloch as well. Due to the difficult security situation during the last decades many groups have given up the traditional nomadic way of life and have started farming rice, some wheat, and practice horticulture to a limited extent. Nomadic pasturing is still done but on a seasonal basis only. Entire families move with the herds to mountainous pastures in the summer months between May-June (*ġauzā*) and August-September (*sombola*) where they live in black tents called *ġeždi*. These tents are covered with canopies of goat wool: the same type of nomadic tents as used by Pashtun and Baloch nomads in other parts of Afghanistan (Pashto: *kağdai*, Balochi: *gidān*). Only during the last decade have some Kandaharis started to find new sources of income as transport workers or traders. There is some migration in search of work to Mazar-e Sharif and to Iran as well.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN SHOLGAR

In Sholgar the dominant language is Dari-Persian. The colloquial standard of Dari is used in administration and it is promoted in school, where Dari is the language of instruction. School students are obliged to use the colloquial standard at school even outside of classes. Strictly speaking it is the urban dialect of Mazar-e Sharif (*mazāri*) that occupies this position. This dialect is very close to the colloquial standard of Dari as based on the old dialect of Kabul (*kāboli*)¹² but it has some distinctive features in its sound system. For example in some monosyllabic words and in unstressed syllables of some polysyllabic words, short /e/ is pronounced where short /a/ is

¹² For more information on the dialect of Kabul see Farxadi 1955, Paxalina 1964 and Kieffer 1985, pp. 505-510.

articulated in Kabuli, such as in *dest* vs. *dast* 'hand', *nerx* vs. *narx* 'price', *nezdik* vs. *nazdik* 'close' or *berādar* vs. *barādar* 'brother'. In contrast to local varieties of Persian, the colloquial standard is usually called *lawz-e šāri* 'urban language' or *lawz-e asri* 'modern language'. In a particular context the name *lawz-e adabi* 'literary language' can also be used.

In Sholgar several local varieties of Dari-Persian are distinguished from this colloquial standard. Chief among these is the variety spoken by the Kandaharis which is called *ġandahāri* or *ġandāri* by its speakers. In contrast to the colloquial standard it can also be referred to as *mohiti* 'local [language]', *watani* 'home language', *estelāhi* 'expressional [language]' or simply *lawz-e mā* 'our language'. Hence the term *lawz* is used indiscriminately to denote a language, dialect or any other linguistic variety. The word *lahġa* 'dialect' which one could also expect here is never used. Other distinguishable varieties of Persian are those spoken by local Arabs¹³ and by Hazaras. Arabs and Hazaras live far away from Sholgar River in remote areas of the district. With regard to the Hazaras it can be assumed that their language is a variety of Hazaragi.¹⁴ Furthermore Pashto and Uzbek must be mentioned among the languages of Sholgar. As mentioned above, Pashto is spoken by Sunnite Pashtuns and Baloch who live on the banks of Sholgar River in close proximity to the Kandaharis. They speak a variety of Pashto that can easily be assigned to the southern or Kandahari dialects of Pashto, which corroborates the assertion that they also came from Loy Kandahar originally. The most characteristic feature in this respect is the existence of the voiced retroflex fricative /ḡ/ and voiceless retroflex fricative /ḫ/ that are pronounced as voiceless palatal fricative /x/ and voiced plosive velar /g/ respectively in the northern dialects. Uzbek is spoken by Uzbeks who settle far away in remote areas of Sholgar district.

In Sholgar the common Lingua franca among speakers of different languages or language varieties is Dari-Persian. Depending on the educational level of a person and on his or her individual linguistic socialization, this is either the colloquial standard of Dari, one of the local varieties or, most likely, a mixture of all the above. Neither Pashto nor Uzbek is spoken as a second language by anyone in Sholgar if we leave out of consideration that

¹³ For the Arabs of northern Afghanistan and their language see Kieffer 1981.

¹⁴ I have no direct proof of this because I did not meet any Hazaras in Sholgar. However, this assumption is very likely to be true because Hazaras usually preserve their dialect as long as they live in rural areas and give it up only when they move to urban places. On the dialect of the Hazaras see Efimov 1965 and Dulling 1973.

Pashto is taught as a second language at school. The experience from other places in Afghanistan shows that language courses of Pashto as offered at school for Persian-speaking children seldom give rise to active language skills.¹⁵

All that which has been said so far applies to male speakers. Almost nothing is known in detail about the linguistic behavior of female speakers. For cultural reasons I could not meet female informants. However, it can be assumed that girls and women are closely attached to the variety of their particular speech community, and that in many cases they are the real preservers of these varieties. They have fewer chances to come into contact with speakers of other varieties, which would exert an influence on their linguistic behavior.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

Languages and linguistic varieties should ideally be studied in their natural environment. When I traveled to Sholgar in order to collect information on the dialect of the Kandaharis, I first went to the district school which is located in Qurbaqakhana. My experience from other expeditions in Afghanistan has taught me that the local school is always a good point of contact for finding informants. School teachers can better understand what a foreign investigator is after when he asks about a local dialect, and his interest in such a kind of speech is met with less surprise. Less educated people often respond that one would be better off studying the written language and the rich poetic tradition. This experience proved to be true for Qurbaqakhana as well. Here school teachers gave me some general information on the ethnic composition of the population of Sholgar as well as on the languages and linguistic varieties that are spoken there. This was done in the colloquial standard of Dari. When I had a separate talk with some Pashto speaking teachers in Pashto they gave me – more or less unconsciously – some good speech samples of their dialect, as this was evidently the only variety of Pashto they knew. But it turned out that in talks with Persian-speaking teachers it was rather difficult to get comparable speech samples of Kandahari-Persian from them. However, when I asked them to speak in the

¹⁵ On the knowledge of Pashto among Persian speakers in Afghanistan see Kieffer 1985, p. 504, who also points to some difficulties in the psychology of language learning by saying that “it is difficult to proceed from a less complex (more analytical) language such as Persian to a more complex (more synthetic) language such as Pašṭō” (Kieffer 1985, p. 504).

local dialect, they continued using a variety that was close to the colloquial standard of Dari. They were ready and able to provide examples of single words that they regarded as being typical of the local dialect, but they were unable or unwilling to produce longer utterances in the dialect. It was evident that both the place of our communication, i.e. the school and the school yard, and their social role as school teachers prevented them from speaking in any dialect. A school is by definition a place where the colloquial standard must be used.

Things developed almost the same when the teachers chose some pupils to act as language informants for me. Of course, they selected their best pupils; but being the best in the eyes of the teachers meant that these pupils also felt closely connected to the colloquial standard of Dari. When one of the pupils answered my questions a teacher who was standing nearby always interfered and said to him: "This is not how we say it. Say that word instead. Speak as you speak at home. Speak Kandahari!" The pupil corrected his utterance and continued talking until he was interrupted again by the teacher. This behavior shows that both the teacher and the pupil certainly knew the local dialect but they were unable or unwilling to speak in that dialect at school and, especially, when talking to a foreigner.

The best choice for me would have been to go to a nomadic camp far away from any school or district center. But this was impossible for reasons of security. Finally a teacher introduced to me a boy who was about 13 or 14 years old and the teacher said to me: "He is not a good pupil because he spends more time in the mountains pasturing animals than at school." As expected this nomad boy turned out to be the best informant, and I was able to make recordings of some longer utterances in the Kandahari dialect with him. This boy may have been a "bad pupil" in the eyes of his teachers, but precisely on these grounds he was less acquainted with the colloquial standard of Dari and with its social role. This turned him into a suitable informant for the Kandahari dialect and, besides all that, he was a very talented storyteller. It seems that his gift for entertaining story-telling is also a result of his preference for being with other nomads in the mountains instead of going to school.

These difficulties in finding appropriate informants demonstrate the high prestige that the colloquial standard of Dari holds even in many rural places of Afghanistan today.¹⁶ Furthermore they show us that the linguistic domains

¹⁶ Methodological problems of working with informants during linguistic fieldwork are discussed by Dimmendaal 2001 and Bower 2008, pp. 2-15.

of the Kandahari dialect are very limited. The Kandahari dialect is mainly used for communication within the speech community of the Kandaharis on questions of everyday life, economy, family relations, tribal affairs etc. For communication outside one's own speech community, and for communication on more official subjects, the colloquial standard of Dari is preferred – at least to the degree a speaker is familiar with it.

THE SOUND SYSTEM OF KANDAHARI PERSIAN

The vowel system of the Kandahari dialect is almost identical to that of the colloquial standard of Dari.¹⁷ In addition to this, a back vowel between /u/ and /ō/ can be distinguished that will be denoted by the sign /û/ here. It is more closed than /ō/ and more open than /u/ and it corresponds to the sound /û/ in some Hazaragi dialects.¹⁸ It appears mainly in the verbal prefix of some verbs, e.g. in *mûbarim*¹⁹ 'we take away'. In Hazaragi it also can stand for etymological /ō/ (*wāw-e maǧhul*) like in *kûr* 'blind',²⁰ but this is not the case in the Kandahari dialect. The vowel system can be summarized in the following way:

i	u
	û
ē	ō
e	o
a	ā

The vowels /i/, /ē/, /ā/, /u/, /ō/ and /û/ are etymologically long vowels but in Kandahari, as in the colloquial standard, the difference between etymologically long and short vowels is not so much a question of quantity (length) but rather of quality (timbre) and stability. Etymologically long vowels retain their character in unstressed open syllables, e.g. *ālsé* 'mill', *dilgá* 'other', 'else', whereas etymologically short vowels may change their

¹⁷ For the vowel system of the colloquial standard see Kiselova 1985, pp. 21-24, and Kieffer 1985, p. 507.

¹⁸ For /û/ in Hazaragi see Efimov 1965, p. 12.

¹⁹ If necessary the accent is marked by an apostrophe over the vowel of the accented syllable.

²⁰ See Efimov 1965, p. 12.

quantitative and qualitative features up to complete omission, e.g. *b^elra^r* 'brother', *l^alk^altāw* 'hanging', *q^oldóq* 'well'.

Long /ō/ (*wāw-e maǧhul*) and long /ē/ (*yā-ye maǧhul*) appear in most positions where these vowels can be expected etymologically, e.g. *dēg* 'pot', 'kettle', *mēx* 'nail', *zēr* 'underside', *čōpān* 'shepherd', *dōg* 'buttermilk', *rōz* 'day'. Sometimes long /ē/ appears (instead of /ū/) in the verbal prefix, e.g. *mēgom* 'I say', *mēgardim* '[we] wander', *mēbini* '[you] see', but this obviously happens under the influence of the colloquial standard. Furthermore /ē/ can appear in the verbal ending of the first person plural, e.g. *mārēm* 'we go', *múgēm* 'we say', *mēm* 'we come' and in some contractions (see below).

As in Hazaragi²¹, etymological long /ā/ can be shortened, and /a/ is pronounced, e.g. *darou* '[it] has' (cf. colloquial standard *dāra*), *paidaman* 'below' (cf. standard *pā-ye dāman*). In some words etymological /ā/ can be pronounced as /u/ in combination with nasals, but this feature is not as regular as in Iranian Persian, e.g. *šunzda* 'sixteen', *un* 'that'. The nasal that affects this sound shift can be omitted like in *mu* '(exactly) that' (cf. standard ^h*amān*). Long /ā/ can appear when /' / ('*ayn*) precedes an etymological short /a/ at the beginning of a word, e.g. *ārus* 'bride'.

As with standard Dari, the Kandahari dialect has retained the historical diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, e.g. in *ai mūkonim* '[we] drive (animals)', *xaibar-e* 'together with', *mābain* 'in between', *derau* 'mowing', *maulānā* 'Maulana (name of a person)'. The diphthong /ai/ also appears when the final /a/ of a word is followed by an *ezāfa*, e.g. *paidaman* 'below' (cf. *pā-ye dāman*). This diphthong also appears as the form of the copula for the third person singular (*ai*, negative form *níyai*). In some words where /au/ would be expected according to the etymology of a word long /ā/ is pronounced, e.g. in *gām* 'tribe', 'people' (cf. *qaum* in standard Dari). Alternatively /au/ can appear where /ō/ is pronounced in the colloquial standard. This is the case in syllables ending in /b/, e.g. *čaub* 'wood' (cf. *čōb* in standard Dari). Here final /b/ can be omitted and hence the form *čau* is also possible. Furthermore the Kandahari dialect has the diphthong /ou/ which appears as the verbal ending of the third person singular, e.g. *múšou* '[it] becomes', *darou* '[it] has', *bézanou* '[he] would/shall beat'.

The system of consonants is also almost identical to that of the colloquial standard, with the exception that the voiceless uvular plosive /q/ is most likely not supposed to be heard in the Kandahari dialect. In 'true' Kandahari, as is the case in Iranian Persian, the voiced uvular fricative /ǧ/ is pronounced

²¹ See Efimov 1965, pp. 11-12.

instead, e.g. *ġandāri* 'Kandahari', *ġāšug* 'spoon'. However, under the influence of the colloquial standard, /q/ can also be pronounced where it is expected for reasons of etymology, e.g. *raqam* 'kind', *qariya* 'village', and also *qandāri* 'Kandahari'. The consonant system can be summarized in the following way:

	Labial	Alveolar	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p b	t d			k g	(q)
Affricate			č ġ			
Fricative	f	s z	š ž		x ġ	
Nasal	m	n				
Approximant	w	l		y		
Tap		r				

As in many other varieties of colloquial Dari, numerous sound changes can be observed. At the beginning or at the end of a syllable etymological /b/ is pronounced as a bilabial /w/, e.g. *mūwāfa* '[he] weaves', *mūwarim* '[we] carry', *aw* 'water' (with a transformation of /ā/ to /a/), *šaw* 'evening', 'night', *tāwa* 'a big pan'.²² In some cases etymological /f/ can also be substituted by /w/, e.g. *lawz* 'language' (cf. standard *lafz* 'word', 'expression').

Most characteristic is the omission of some consonants in a particular position which in some cases effects an elongation of a neighboring vowel. As in the colloquial standard of Dari the consonant /h/ is usually omitted in initial and final position, cf. *ašt* 'eight'. In some cases the omission of /h/ effects an elongation of the neighboring vowel, e.g. *ār* 'every', *dā* 'ten'.²³ Accordingly the plural suffix *hā* is reduced to *ā* when it is added to a word ending in a consonant, e.g. *čōpānā* 'the shepherds'. In intervocalic position, /h/ can be substituted by /y/, e.g. *iyā* 'they' (< *i* 'this', cf. standard *inhā*). But /h/ is not omitted in the names of some months, e.g. *hamal* 'Aries', *hut* 'Pisces'. The consonants /r/, /l/ and /z/ can be omitted at the end of a word, e.g. *da* 'in' (cf. standard *dar*), *diga* 'other', 'else' (cf. standard *digar*), *mās* 'curdled milk', 'yoghurt' (cf. standard *māst*), *tax-ġami* 'reception in the groom's house after wedding' (cf. standard *taxt-ġam'i*), *a* 'from', 'of' (cf. standard *az*). The consonant /ġ/ is omitted after the nasal /n/ in words like *pan* 'five' (cf. standard *panġ*) and *berēn* 'rice' (cf. standard *bereng*), and this causes the

²² For a comparable sound shift in the colloquial standard see Kiseleva 1985, p. 26, and Farhadi 1955, p. 23.

²³ For this phenomenon in the colloquial standard of Dari see Kiseleva 1985, pp. 27-28, Farhadi 1955, pp. 19-22.

vowel /e/ in the second syllable to be pronounced as long /ē/. As in many languages of the region, /f/ can be substituted by /p/, e.g. *pakāhi* 'joke'. Furthermore /f/ is completely omitted in the form of the third person singular of *gereftan* 'take', and the preceding /e/ is pronounced as long /ē/ here: *gerēt* '[it] took' (cf. standard *gereft*). Final /n/ is omitted in the demonstratives *i* 'this' (cf. standard *in*), *u* 'that' (cf. standard *ān*), and in corresponding derivations like *mu* '(exactly) that' (cf. standard *hamān*). The consonant /d/ is omitted after /z/ in *mozur* 'laborer worker' (cf. standard *mazdur*), but no gemination of /z/ was observed, contrary to what one may have expected.

Quite characteristic of various varieties of colloquial Dari is the addition of /d/ after words ending in /n/ which is preceded by a vowel. Mostly these are monosyllabic words, e.g. *send* 'age' (cf. standard *senn*).²⁴ In some cases etymological voiced consonants are pronounced as voiceless consonants, e.g. *xortigakēn* 'a small one', 'a little one' (cf. *xord* 'small', 'little').

SOME MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF KANDAHARI PERSIAN

Forms that do not differ from the colloquial standard are not mentioned in detail here.

Pronouns

The personal pronouns differ only slightly from the colloquial standard:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>ma</i>	<i>mā</i>
2	<i>tu</i>	<i>šomā</i>
3	<i>ē, i, u</i>	<i>šā, iyā</i>

The personal pronoun for the first person singular occurs rarely. Mostly for reasons of modesty the first person plural is used instead and the verb also occurs in the form of the first person plural, e.g. *mā če maldār-im wō čōpāni kadim* 'I, what, I am a shepherd, yes, I worked as a shepherd'. Modesty can also be conveyed by placing only the verb or the personal pronoun in the plural and combining it with the corresponding singular form, e.g. *xod-e ma nafar pakāhi-im* 'I am a joker myself', *xod-e mā baluč astom* 'I am

²⁴ Other examples of colloquial Dari that, however, I did not observe in the Kandahari dialect are *qind* 'difficult', or the colloquial form of the verbal ending for the second person plural as in *āwardēnd* '[you] brought'. See also Farhadi 1955, p. 29.

a Baloch myself'. For the third person singular *ē* and *i* are used as a matter of preference, e.g. *yak waxt yak padšā buda ke ē šešta bud yak se nōkar dišta* 'once there was a king and he was living and he had three servants', *paise-ye az i ke az yād-eši mara wāsket az i da inḡā lakatāw buda da kōka* 'in order not to forget his money, his waistcoat was hanging there on a nail'. In the plural *šā* (cf. standard *ēšān*) and *iyā* (cf. standard *inhā*) are used for the third person. As in the colloquial standard they can stand for the third person singular as well for reasons of politeness, e.g. *dēg da šā mûbarim* 'we bring a kettle to him', *in dafa ami paise-ye az iyā az yād-eši mara* 'this time he forgets this money by himself (lit. the money of him goes out of his memory)'.

Enclitic pronouns are attested in my recordings only for the first person singular as *-me* and for the third person singular as *-(y)eš*, *-(y)eši*, *-še*, *-ši* and *-š*. This fact is reminiscent of colloquial Hazaragi, where only enclitic pronouns for the third person singular and plural are used (*-ši* and *-či* without distinction for singular and plural).²⁵ In Kandahari Persian enclitic pronouns have a wide range of use. They can appear as possessive and partitive pronouns, e.g. *bāz amu dāmād-a miārin ḡelou-e mardum ḡul-eš-a da bar-š mûkona* 'then you bring that groom in front of the people and they put his clothes on his body (i.e. dress him up)', *berār-e ma du tā-yeš irān a digarā-yeš hamingā asta* 'my brothers, two of them are in Iran, the others [of them] are here'. Enclitic pronouns can appear after prepositions, e.g. *az da dāna bara yak dāna bara da-ši mēdim* 'from ten lambs we give one lamb to him', *aft sad pang sad čār sad ar če ke bud da-š yak čōpān miḡira* 'seven hundred, five hundred, four hundred, how many [animals] it will be they [the sheep owners] take a shepherd for them', *yak čiz-i ḡeždi miga ... wān-amunḡā diga mardom zēr-še yak farš ḡerār gelim taipā-še gelim āwar mûkona* 'there is a thing called *ḡeždi* (tent) ... and people there, under it put a carpet, kilim, they stretch it in its types of a kilim'. Enclitic pronouns can denote a direct object without being attached to any host, e.g. *ma ši-ra bordom* 'I brought it away', *sagā ši-r pēš mûkona* 'the dogs prevent it' (cf. standard *saghā pēš-aš-rā mēgirand*). Finally enclitic pronouns can appear as demonstratives, e.g. *bāz u-r da dēg ke bār kad dēg-eš-a alāu mûkona* 'and then when he put this into a kettle he warms this kettle'.

The reflexive pronoun appears in the forms *xo*, *xe*, *xa*, *x* or like in standard Dari as *xod*. The latter form which ends in a consonant appears when the reflexive pronoun precedes the word it refers to by being combined with it by an *ezāfa*, e.g. in *bāz hamal ke gerēt xod-e mā mārīm* 'and when the month

²⁵ See Efimov 1965, p. 38.

of Aries has started we go ourselves'. When the word to which it relates precedes the reflexive pronoun it can be attached without an *ezāfa*, and is thus used as an enclitic, e.g. *da kōhestān ke bōrdim intur da čōpāna xe kan mikanim* 'when we brought them [the animals] to the mountains we dig a hole on our pasture grounds', *se māh mā gōsfand mičarānim mālā xo mičarānim* 'three months we graze the sheep, we graze our livestock', *langōta da sar-x ke mizani* 'the turban that you bind at your head', *māl du dāna buḡul dāra da ar du pā-ye pas xo* 'a sheep has two ankles on every one of its hind legs'. The same way of using the reflexive pronoun as an enclitic (without a preceding *ezāfa*) is possible in Hazaragi²⁶ but not in standard Dari. However, in Kandahari Persian it can also be used with *ezāfa* as in standard Dari, e.g. *mozur-mozur ham dārim da māl-e xo* 'we have a laborer worker for our livestock'.

The verb system

The personal endings are:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-om	-im, -ēm
2	-i	-in, -en
3	-(y)a, -(y)ou,	-(y)au

For the third person the same endings are used in singular and plural, with the obvious proviso that the singular ending is not deployed in the past tense.

The verbal prefix that is used to create the indicative in the present tense and the durative past is with most verbs *mū-*, e.g. *māmā māmā mūguyand* 'for uncle [as the mother's brother] they say *māmā*', *māl-a ai mūkonim* '[we] drive the livestock', *aw mūxōra az qodoq mābain* '[the animals] drink water from a well', *ami mā mūkoša šomā yak sail mūkonin dīga* 'this is killing me and you are only watching'. However, with *raftan* [*r*] 'go', the verbal prefix is regularly *ma-*, e.g. *bahāri mārēm* 'in spring we go', *waxt-i ke az xāna da bāzār māra* 'when he goes from the house to the bazaar'. Besides that, as in standard Dari, the prefix *mi-* / *me-* can also be used, e.g. *unḡā migarda dam-e kōh-e dīga* 'he is wandering there close to the mountains', *zēr-eš temāk mīzanīm ūta* 'under it we build up the central tent pole, this way'. The verbal prefix is accented if a verb is used as a main verb. If a verb is used as part of

²⁶ See Efimov 1965, pp. 43-44.

of Aries has started we go ourselves'. When the word to which it relates precedes the reflexive pronoun it can be attached without an *ezāfa*, and is thus used as an enclitic, e.g. *da kōhestān ke bōrdim intur da čōpāna xe kan mikanim* 'when we brought them [the animals] to the mountains we dig a hole on our pasture grounds', *se māh mā gōsfand mičarānim mālā xo mičarānim* 'three months we graze the sheep, we graze our livestock', *langōta da sar-x ke mizani* 'the turban that you bind at your head', *māl du dāna buğul dāra da ar du pā-ye pas xo* 'a sheep has two ankles on every one of its hind legs'. The same way of using the reflexive pronoun as an enclitic (without a preceding *ezāfa*) is possible in Hazaragi²⁶ but not in standard Dari. However, in Kandahari Persian it can also be used with *ezāfa* as in standard Dari, e.g. *mozur-mozur ham dārim da māl-e xo* 'we have a laborer worker for our livestock'.

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²⁶ See Efimov 1965, pp. 43-44.

a compound verb, the nominal part is accented, e.g. *dēg da šā múbārim* ‘we bring a kettle to him’ but *māl-a {ái múkōnim}* ‘we drive the livestock’. In the negative forms the accented prefix *na-* is added, e.g. *fāmil nāmara* ‘the family does not go’, *gorg ke béāya šaw meāya diga rōz xō āmada námitāna sag dārim* ‘if a wolf should come he comes at night, it cannot come by day, we have dogs’.

As in the colloquial standard, the past participle of a verb can be used without adding the copula to denote an action in the simple past, e.g. *behtar šoda diga besyār behtar šoda* ‘it became better, it became much better’, *dawā dāda xub ast taqriban* ‘he gave medicine and it is quite good [now]’.

In the forms of the past perfect, the past participle of a verb is combined with the past forms of *budan* ‘be’ as in the standard language, but usually both elements fuse with each other in such a way that the final *-a* of the past participle and the initial *b-* of *budan* get lost completely, e.g. *maktab raftúdom* ‘I had gone to school’, *če raqam dawā dādúđ* ‘what kind of medicine had [he] given?’, *mā ke az qandahār āmadúđim* ‘when we had come from Kandahar’, *mollā nasreddin āmadúda da xāna* ‘Mullah Nasreddin had come home’. Notice that the stress is always on *u*, which originates in *budan*.

The imperative can be formed both with the accented prefix *be-* and without it, e.g. *gandāri begin* ‘speak Kandahari’, but also *gapā-ye xānagi deh* ‘speak like at home’.

For some verbs special forms must be mentioned: The present stem of *kardan* [*kon*] ‘make’, ‘do’ can occur in the reduced form [*n*], e.g. in *da aft rōz ašt rōz yak xarman-a maida mūna* ‘in seven days, eight days he chops up the barn floor’. The present stem of *āmadan* [*ā*] gets lost completely in the indicative present forms after the prefix *me-* or *mi-*, e.g. *mā mēm* ‘we come’. The present stem of *šodan* ‘become’ can appear either as *š* or as *šaw*, the past stem takes the form *šed*, e.g. *bahār ke šed mäh-e hut amē māl-a ai múkōnim* ‘when it has become spring in the month of Pisces we drive this livestock away’, *waxt-ē maktabā-ye ma ke šoru šed pas miāyim da maktabā-ye xod* ‘when my classes have started I come back to my classes’. In Kandahari, as in Hazaragi,²⁷ the present stem of the verb *dāštan* ‘have’ can occur with short *a* as [*dar*] (cf. standard [*dār*]), e.g. *šunzda šangal darou* ‘[it] has sixteen tent poles’, *intu bāzi dara* ‘such a game exists’. The past stem regularly takes the form *dīšt* as in the dialect of Herat,²⁸ e.g. *du dāna sag dīšt*

²⁷ Own observations made in Bamian in 2012.

²⁸ For examples in the dialect of Herat see Ioannesyan 1999, pp. 71, 73.

'he had two dogs', *ami mardom ke dar hodud-e šāyad šast azār aftād azār nofus dišta bāša* 'the number of these people must probably have been about sixty thousand, seventy thousand'. As a result of a regular sound shift, the present stem of the verb *bordan* 'carry', 'take' can occur in the form *war*, e.g. *geždi mūwarim* 'we take a tent along'. The initial vowel *a* of *andāxtan* [*andāz*] 'throw' gets lost when this verb is preceded by a word ending in a vowel or when the verbal prefix *me-* / *mi-* is used. As a result of assimilation long *ē* may occur instead, e.g. after *ke* 'when', 'after all' in *yak čiz-a mašk mūgēm mā da amin mašk kēndāxtak šōr mida* 'there is a thing that is called *mašk* (goat skin) we put [milk] in this goat skin and shake it'. The past stem of this verb can occur in the reduced form (*a*)*nda*, e.g. *amu mās-a da mi šir kēndā u māya mūšou* 'when [she] has put this soured milk in that milk it becomes sour'. The verb with the standard form *dōšidan* [*dōš*] 'milk' occurs in the Kandahari dialect as *dōxtan* [*dōš*] and hence the infinitive and, correspondingly, the past forms are identical to *dōxtan* [*dōz*] 'sew', e.g. *māl ke zēr-e saboki waxt ke zēr-e xawāl āmad u-rā mā marim mūdōšim ke dōxtim miyārim u-r da mitu yak šāl yak čiz-i migirim-u sāf mikonim* 'when early in the morning the animals came under the sun shade [at the resting place] we milk them and when we have milked them we take the milk and put it in a towel, we take something, and clean it [the milk]'. Kandahari has retained the old verb *hištan* 'dismiss', 'leave', 'let fall or hang loose'²⁹ that occurs in the form *ēštan* [*ell*] with the meanings 'let', 'put', e.g. *bāl-e šāxa yak čiz-i mēella ke u-r mākam begira* 'he puts a thing over the fork to make it stable', *nāēšt me* 'he didn't let me', *bāz ke mardak i ēlak da ami zamin ēštā* 'and then this man put the sieve on that ground'.

Some adpositions

The preposition *da* (standard: *dar* 'in') has a very wide range of use in Kandahari. It can indicate the direction of an action in the meaning of 'to', e.g. *nesf-e mardom da irān rafta* 'half of the people have gone to Iran', *dēg da šā mūbarim* 'we bring him a kettle', *sālāna da u haq medim* 'yearly we give him a salary'. It can also be used to mean 'for', e.g. in *mozur-mozur ham dārim da māl-e xō* 'we have also laborer workers for our livestock'. The preposition *da* occurs even in fixed expressions where, in the standard language, *ba* is used, e.g. in *amu maska ke da woğud āmad diga un bāz mardom mūxora diga* 'when this butter is ready (lit. came into existence), then people eat it'. Furthermore the preposition *da* can be used to convey an

²⁹ See Steingass 1963, p. 1521.

instrumental meaning, e.g. *u-rā unġā da mēx basta mûkonim* 'we fix them there with tent pegs'.

The preposition *xaibar-e* is used as an equivalent of the standard prepositions *hamrāh-e* and *bā* in the meaning of 'with', 'together with', e.g. *in āli ke mā az maktab ēla šodim diga āna marēm xaibar-e mālā unġa māl-e mičarānim* 'and now when I got free from school so I go there with the livestock and I graze the livestock', *sāattēri-māatteri az u diga xaibar-e mālā a* 'his pastime is with the livestock'. This preposition can occur in the short form *xai*, e.g. *da u ġuġ basta mûkona čarmina xai nax* 'they fix a yoke to it the drawbar, with a cord'.

The preposition *un-e* (cf. standard *darun-e*) refers to a position inside of something, e.g. *nānsurxak un-e rōġan ke mēndāza* 'the toast that they put in the oil'. The preposition *min(-e)* stands for 'between', 'in the middle of' and corresponds to standard *miyān-e*, e.g. *dēg ke bār kad rōġan-a kēndāxt da min-ši kēndāxt poxta mišau* 'when he put the kettle [on fire] and when he poured oil, when he poured oil in the middle of it, it is cooked'.

As in the colloquial standard the word to which a preposition relates can be marked with an unaccented *-a* if it ends in a consonant, e.g. *tā hami send-a xaibar-e māl barin* 'I would go with the livestock up to this age', *tā hanuz-a xō itu rasmā niyai da bain-e mā* 'up to now such customs do not exist among us'. In the colloquial standard this feature occurs mostly with the preposition *tā* 'up', 'to' but in Kandahari it can occur after other prepositions as well, e.g. *dāxel-e šekam-a yak kam gušt pāra bud* 'inside of the stomach some meat got stuck', *da hamin yak čiz-a mašk mûġēm* 'in such a thing, we call it *mašk* (goat skin)'.

The postposition *rā* can occur in the reduced form *a* after a word ending in a consonant, as in colloquial Dari. In Kandahari Persian it also can occur in the reduced form *r* after a word ending in a vowel, e.g. *mā bā dāktar sāheb dar balx raftim ma ši-r da xānahā-ye maulānā bordom* 'I went with the doctor to Balkh, I brought him to the houses of Maulana', *ši-r ke zōr mēda u faġat dēwāl mizana* 'and as he gives power to himself he hits only the wall' (cf. standard *xod-aš-rā ke zōr mēdehad*).

Contractions

In Kandahari Persian frequently used sequences of words often occur in a shortened version where internal sounds are omitted. As shown above the initial vowel of *andāxtan* [*andāz*] 'throw' gets lost when this verb is preceded by a word ending in a vowel, e.g. *kēndāxt* (cf. *ke andāxt*). Other contractions of that kind often include a preposition. For example, *bālēš* is a contraction of the standard expression *bālā-yaš* 'over it', 'on it' with the

enclitic pronoun *-š*, e.g. *uštur bud ... bālēš ārus-a swār mūkad* ‘there was a camel ... he set the bride on it’. If the personal pronoun *u* ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’ is used the contracted form sounds like *bālēzu* or *abālēzu* (cf. [az] *bālā-ye az u*), e.g. *čau abālēzu ke ēštīm unamúnġā diga unġā čōpānā hamúnġā zendegi mikonad* ‘when we put wood over it there, then the shepherds live there’. The preposition *da* ‘in’, ‘to’ is part of the contraction *damunġā* (cf. *dar hamān ġā*) ‘exactly at that place, ‘exactly there’. Semantically close are the forms *unamúnġā* (cf. *ān hamān ġā*) ‘exactly there’ and *wānamúnġā* (cf. *wa hamān ġā*) ‘and exactly there’. In some cases a consonant liaison may occur in such contractions like in *undamú* (cf. *ān hamān*) ‘very exactly that’ where a word-final *d* is added to *un*.

VOCABULARY

The Kandahari dialect of Persian shows some special features in the vocabulary. Most of these features are special if compared to the colloquial standard of Dari.³⁰ If we take into consideration other local varieties of Dari, some striking parallels become apparent. Thus the Persian dialect of the Kandaharis exhibits various lexical isoglosses with the dialects of the Hazaras, usually referred to collectively as Hazaragi.³¹ For example, Kandahari and Hazaragi have some common or closely related lexemes in the field of kinship and related customs, e.g. *āya* ‘mother’, *bōla* ‘cousin (mother’s sister’s son)’, *galla* ‘bride price’. Other common lexemes can be established for Kandahari Persian and for the dialect of Herat (Herati), e.g. *bābu* ‘grandfather’ (the same in Herati), *berār* ‘brother’ (Herati: *borār*), *lakatāb* ‘hanging’ (Herati: *lakatou*) or the verb *ēštan* [*ell*] ‘put’, ‘let’ (the same in Herati). The verb *ēštan* [*ell*] is used with the same meanings in Hazaragi as well³² but it is unknown in standard Dari, Iranian Persian and in Tajik. On this basis lines of lexical isoglosses can be drawn that, apart from Kandahari, include various Persian varieties of central and Western Afghanistan such as Hazaragi and Herati. In some cases such lexical isoglosses even

³⁰ For the vocabulary of colloquial Dari see Afġānī-Nawīs 1365 and Anūša/Xodābandalū 1391.

³¹ This assessment is based upon own observations and on the material given in *Lahjahā-ye...*

³² Own observations made in Herat in 2011 and in Bamian in 2012.

reach as far as Balochi (cf. Balochi *lakatāb* 'hanging', *ištīn / illag* 'put', 'lay', 'leave', *langoṭa* 'turban').³³

At the same time it is quite remarkable that the Persian dialect of the Kandahari Pashtuns contains only very few lexemes for which any kind of special relation to Pashto could be established. Here we find mostly words that, on the one hand, also belong to the common vocabulary of Dari, or that, on the other hand, are used in other possible contact languages or contact varieties in central and Western Afghanistan. Hence these lexemes may have been copied or retained not directly from Pashto but from these other languages or linguistic varieties, e.g. *langoṭa* 'turban' (cf. Herati *langoṭa*, Balochi *langoṭa*, < Pashto *lungí*) or *rāz* 'kind', 'sort' (cf. Balochi *rāz* with the same meaning).

Below is a glossary of some words which, in the given form and meaning, can be regarded as being specific to Kandahari Persian.

- ana, ānā* grandmother
āsē mill
āw šodan win
āwar kardan spread, stretch
āya mother
bābu grandfather
basta complete, whole; all together
berār brother
bōla cousin (mother's sister's son)
čapar a mat for covering the grain on the barn floor
čarmina drawbar
čau(h) 'wood'
čōpāna shepherd's camp
galla bride-price
gérda all together
ğallag teasing (wool)
ğazār dowry
ğul clothes
ğareš palm (*unit of measurement*)
geždi tent (*covered with black canopies of goat wool*)

³³ The assessment of lexical isoglosses is based upon the material given in *Lahjahā-ye ...* Fekrat 1355, Ioannesyan 1999, pp. 101-107, Pahwal 2007, and on own observations of the author in the mentioned regions.

- hā* yes
īta this way, this kind
karkak solid, strong
kēpānak shepherd's cloak
katrōba a kind of curd cheese
laḡat kick (with the foot)
lakatāw hanging, *lakatāw budan hang (itr)*, *lakatāw kardan hang (tr)*
langota turban
māya kardan sour (milk)
meči whatchamacallit, whatsit (*indefinite substitution*)
nax string
paxšil sheep feces, droppings
pōš clothes and jewelry given to the bride by the groom's family after the engagement
qodoq well (*noun*)
qotān sleeping place for the sheep (*usually a sheltered place on the mountainside*)
rāz kind, sort
šangal side pole of a tent
sarčelli gift for the bride
šinga kardan clean (*milk*)
tāwa baking pan
tana warp (*weaving*)
temak central pole of a tent
toršak sweets, candy (*thrown over the groom at a wedding ceremony*)
xāsa towel, cloth
xaibar-e with, together with
xawāl stable (*an open place close to the tent*)
wār kardan build up, construct
wāragar assistant shepherd (*a villager who brings bread and water to the shepherd and who helps with grazing if necessary*)
wō yes
yāna that is

CONCLUSION

The Persian dialect of the Kandahari Pashtuns in Sholgar bears traces of their migration history. It is completely different from most other varieties of Persian that are spoken in Balkh province; but on all relevant levels of language, i.e. in the field of phonology, morphology and vocabulary, it shows striking similarities with the Persian dialects of central Afghanistan that are

usually known under the name Hazaragi. This corroborates historical narratives according to which the Kandahari Pashtuns had lived in Kijran, in today's Daykondi province in central Afghanistan, before they moved to Sholgar in Balkh province more than a century ago. This calls into question the thesis that the dialects commonly grouped together under the heading Hazaragi should be considered an ethnically defined variety, i.e. that they are spoken almost exclusively by members of the ethnic group of the Hazaras. This idea cannot be maintained if we acknowledge that even Pashtuns who had lived in central Afghanistan speak a variety close to so-called Hazaragi. It seems more appropriate therefore to base our understanding of the dialect division on spatial as well as ethnic criteria. This provides strong evidence for a geographical dialect continuum in central Afghanistan that, along with varieties spoken by Hazara groups, also includes varieties that are spoken by groups other than Hazara due to their place of settlement.³⁴ And if we accept the idea of a geographical dialect continuum, various phonological, morphological and lexical lines of isoglosses can be drawn; starting in the Persian dialect of the Kandahari Pashtuns in the southwest of Balkh province and running through Hazaragi and other Persian varieties in central Afghanistan like those spoken in southern Logar, up to Herati and other linguistic varieties in western Afghanistan, including, to a certain degree, even Balochi.

Some Khalili Pashtuns claim that in former times the members of their group used Pashto as their first language and switched to Persian only after settling in a Persian speaking environment. Now is not the occasion in which to decide whether or not this claim is true because we have no historic sources on that question. But the linguistic analyses of the speech variety and linguistic behavior of the Khalili Pashtuns revealed no hints of any Pashto substratum.

In addition to that this study of the linguistic behavior of the Kandahari Pashtuns gives evidence of the success story of the colloquial standard of Dari as based upon the old urban dialect of Kabul. Even in remote rural places like Sholgar this colloquial standard enjoys high prestige today. It is the dominant variety in administration, education and in communication between speakers of different languages. A proof of this prestige is the fact that the colloquial standard is usually referred to as *asri* 'modern'. At the same time the linguistic domains of Kandahari Persian and other local varieties are becoming more and more limited. The Kandahari dialect is mainly

³⁴ For the theory of geographical dialect continua see Chambers/Trudgill 2004, pp. 5-7.

used for communication within the speech community of the Kandaharis, primarily on questions of everyday life.

APPENDIX: TEXT SAMPLE

The text was recorded in the village of Qurbaqakhana in Sholgar district with a shepherd boy who was about 13 or 14 years old. Questions that were asked by the interviewer to guide the narration are omitted here. Pauses in the narration are marked by paragraphs or by a slash </>.

*bahāri mārēm / bahār ke šed māh-e hut
ámē māl-a ai mûkonim māl-a damunġā* At spring we go. When it has become
spring in the month of Pisces we drive
this livestock away, the livestock there.

*da unġā ke bórdim únġā da kōhestān ke
bórdim intur da čōpānā xe kan mikanim
/ bālēzu čau ke ěštim čau / čau a bālēzu
ke ěštim unamúnġā diga unġā čōpānā
hamúnġā zendegi mikonad* When we brought it there, there to the
mountains we dig a hole on our pasture
grounds. When we put wood over it,
wood, when we put wood there over it
then the herdsman live there.

*dēg da šā mûbarim kāsá ġāšúġ éne
namák rōġán berēn nān háma čiz digá
da u mûbarim únġā u de xá mē- poxtá
mukona múxora / unġā migarda dam-e
kōh-e diga* We bring a kettle to him [to the herds-
man], a bowl, spoon, salt, oil, rice,
bread, we bring everything to him. He
cooks there for himself and eats. He is
wandering there close to the mountains.

*bāz hamál ke gerēt xod-e mā mārīm
ġeždi múwarim yak čiz-e ġeždi miga
unġā wār mikonim* And when the month of Aries has
started we go ourselves. We bring a tent.
There is a thing called a tent, we build it
up there.

*yak saraki zēr-eš temák mizanim ita bāz
šangal dar u čār šangal da i sar čār
šangal da i sar čār ta ġelou čār ta pasá /
ašt-a / šunzda šangal darou* First under it we build up the central
tent pole, that way. Then side poles at,
four side poles at this side, four side
poles at this side, four at the front and
four at the back. Eight. It has sixteen
side poles.

*bāz undamu šangal da mu ġeždi nax
múduzim bāz u-rā unġā da mēx basta
mûkonim da mēx ke basta kadim ba
xāter-e az i ke šamāl bezanou čapa
našou* Then we fix these side poles with a cord
to the tent. And then we fix them there
with tent pegs. We fixed them with tent
pegs because - when the wind hits it
won't fall over.

wān-amunġā diga mardom zēr-še yak farš ġerār gelim taipā-še gelim āwar mûkona / gelim ke āwar kad hamunġā mišina zendegi-ye xod da sar mûbara dige

And people there under it put a carpet, kilim, they stretch it in its types of a kilim. When they spread the kilim they live there and spend their life there.

un amu māl-ā mûdōša šir garm mûkona šir-ā ke waxt-ē garm kad māya mûkona amu mās-a da mi šir kēndā u māya mûšou

They milk those animals, warm the milk. When they warmed the milk they sour it. They add curdled milk to that milk and it becomes sour.

u-rā diga sabā-ye diga waxt da hamin yak čiz-a mašk mûġēm mā da amin mašk kēndāxtak šōr mīda šōr mīda az u rōġan da woġud meāya maska

This one, early next morning into a thing we call it *mašk* (goat skin). They put it into this goat skin and shake it. Oil appears from it, butter.

amu maska ke da woġud āmad diga un bāz mardom mûxora diga

When that butter has appeared then people eat it.

az dōġ-ši / dōġ-ši ke gereft garm mûkona darun-e yak xalta zaxira mûkona ġam mûkona ġam mûkona bāz u-ra garm mûkona ke garm kad da bain-e yak xāsa mindāza ke amunġā dōġ-ši gir kona āu-ši / šinga kona tā bičaka

And from its buttermilk, when he took the buttermilk of it he warms it and keeps it in a bag. He collects it, collects it. Then he warms it. When he has warmed it he puts it in the middle of a towel so that the buttermilk is collected there. Its water is cleaned so that it drops.

bāz u-r da dēg ke bār kad dēg-eš-a alāu mûkona alāu mûkona u katrōba ġur mikona-še katrōba

Then when he added it into a kettle, he warms this kettle, he warms it and quark is produced from it, quark.

in ālē itu a / in ālē ke bahāri ke hasta bastā fāmil marau mādar berādar xāhar

It is that way. When it is spring the entire family goes [there], the mother, brother, sister.

yāna dā waxt-e tirmā ke asta da u gōsfand yak čōpān-ai yak wāragar / čōpān xai yak waraġa-ra / ya xar miġirim du ta kēpānāk / wa-namunġa marin xai kēpānak amunġā

But when it is autumn for these sheep there is one shepherd and one assistant. A shepherd with an assistant. We take a donkey and two shepherd's cloaks. And we go there with the cloaks.

diga māl xau mûkona yak šau yak ġa yak šau yak ġā māl amuntu mičarānim /

And the animals sleep there, one night at one place and one night we graze the

*ruzāna mēm au mûxōra az qodoq
mābain / unamunḡā dēr xow mûkonim
xaibar-e māl mēgardim / waxt-ē ke
maktabā šoru šed da ḡā-ye xō yā mozdur
miḡirim yā berādar-e mā mara yā
padar-e mā in amā-ra pošt-e māl mara*

*gorg ke bēāya šaw meāya diga ruz xō
āmada nāmitāna sag dārim da yak rama
du dāna sag / dārim / unā ke bēāya unā
šaw bāzi waxtā gorg mûxura bāzi waxtā
xōrda namitāna sagā ši-r pēš mûkona*

*kas-i dā ta gōsfand dā ta māl dāra kas-i
sad māl dāra kas-i dusad māl dāra kas-i
bist māl dāra kas-i čel māl dāra / gerd-e
mardom ḡam miša yak ḡāy / yak čōpān
yak rama mûkona / aft sad panḡ sad čār
sad ar če ke bud da-š yak čōpān migira*

*bāz sālāna da u mā haq mēdim az da
dāna bara yak dāna bara da-ši mēdim az
da dāna pōst be yak pōst-a da-ši mēdim*

*wazifē-š māl čarrāndan-ai diga čiz-i
namitāna / bāzi čōpānā tulak mixara
bāzi čupānā-yi tulak am nadāran
mičarrānan / az šaw ke az duwāzda haḡā
šaw ke ai mikona šeš baḡe-ye sōbaki aft
baḡe-ye sōbaki yak du sāat se sāat xāw
mukona / hāz če ai mûkona dā baḡe-ye
šau yā yāzda haḡe-ye šau bāz sar-e
qotān-e xo miāya / ā diga u diga sāattēri
māatterī az u diga xaibar-e mālā ai diga
māl-a tarbiya mukona mesl-i ke ostād
šāḡird-a tarbiya m- u am māl-a untu
mičarrāna*

zanā-ye māl dārān ēne goftom māl ke

animals that way. At daytime we come and drink water from a well. We sleep late. We wander with the livestock. When the classes have started we take either a laborer worker instead of me or my brother goes [there] or my father. All of them go after the livestock.

When a wolf comes it comes at night. Well, it cannot come by day. We have dogs. For one herd we have two dogs. When they come - at night. Sometimes a wolf eats [a sheep] but mostly he cannot eat. The dogs prevent that.

Someone has ten sheep, ten animals, someone has a hundred animals, someone has two hundred animals, someone has twenty animals, and someone has forty animals. All people come together at a place. They [take] one shepherd, make one herd. Seven hundred, five hundred, four hundred, however much it will be, they take a shepherd for it.

And then every year we give him a salary. From ten lambs we give him one lamb. From ten skins we give him one skin.

His job is to graze the livestock. He cannot [do] anything else. Some shepherds buy a flute. Some shepherds don't have a flute. They graze. At night from twelve o'clock he grazes. At six o'clock in the morning or at seven he sleeps two or three hours. Then he grazes. At ten in the evening or at eleven in the evening he comes to his well. That's it, his pastime is with the livestock. In other ways he trains the livestock like a teacher who trains his student. He grazes the livestock.

The women of the nomads, as I said,

zēr-e saboki waxt ke zēr-e xawāl āmad u-rā mā marim mudušim / ke dōxtim miyārim u-r da mitu yak šāl yak čiz-i migirim-u sāf mikonim ke amu čiz-i az u tēr našau mu-ye māl-u diğe-ye māl tā zēr tēr našau

when early in the morning the livestock came under the sun shade we go and milk them. When we milked them we bring it into a kind of towel, we take something and we clean it so that those things won't pass through [the towel], hair of the animals and other things of the animals so that it cannot pass it.

u-rā ke mā če kadim u ke ġur šod ya 'ni u-r migira garm mukona / garm ke kad māya mukona / az māya u da māst-a tabdīl ke šed

When we did that, when that was produced, then she takes it and warms it. When she has warmed it she makes it sour, from the soured milk it is changed into curdled milk.

māst ke kad u-r da mašk mindāza mašk / ke šōrad maska paidā mišau

When she has soured it she puts it in a goat skin. When she shakes it butter appears.

nān puxta mūkuna āu miāra in wazifē-š

They cook a meal and they bring water. This is their duty.

xawāl-a ġāru mukuna ba xāter-i ke ami paxšīl-e māl-a ke ġāru kad xāter-e nān puxta kadan / kālā mušuya

She gives the stable a sweep because of the droppings of the animals. When she swept it [the droppings are used] for cooking. She washes clothes.

tāwa dārim / midānin itur tāwa ai / u tāwa ke (...) da pā-ye az u alāw mukuna u ke garm āmad xamir unġā asta / unā-ra čapāt čapa mizanad čapāt mizana nāzūk mukuna / walē tāwa kenda tāwa sorx-a puxta mišau

She washes clothes. We have a baking pan. Do you know such a baking pan? A baking pan that she makes fire under it. When it became hot, there is dough. She rolls it from both sides, rolls it and makes it thin. And when she puts it into the baking pan the hot pan cooks it.

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