



A Century of Efforts in Standardizing Pashto

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Abstract

Pashto standardization initiatives did not begin long ago, nonetheless. The military designations were changed to Pashto in the 19th century, during the second reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan, but in the last century, efforts to make Pashto the official language have moved ahead. In the last 100 years, during the time of His Highness Amanullah Khan, *māraka də paštō* was established and published dictionaries and two books called "*jawāzināi paštō*" and "*paštō pšwoja*". The dictionaries have been destroyed, but the last two books remain. The names of Pashto months and other things came from these books, and they created new words for politicians and courtiers. We do not use most of the *māraka də paštō* words now, but instead we use other words because these words are not easy and are not clear in terms of meaning. After the *mārakə də paštō*, the Kandahar Literary Association worked in the field of creating new words. Later, the *paštō ʔoləna* (Pashto community) held several meetings on orthography, the first of which was held in 1321 and the others in 1327 and 1337. *paštō ʔoləna* has done a lot of work on orthography instead of creating new words (neologism). After the *paštō ʔoləna*, Peshawar Pashto Academy has also done commendable work in the field of orthography. In 1992, they held the Bara Gully seminar and many meetings after that. As individuals, Wazir Mohammad Gul Khan Momand, Habibi, Hussain Kawsar Ghoryakhil, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, Zyar, and others did the work, which involved both neologism and orthography. These works do have issues with the standardization of Pashto, but the benefits and good things outweigh the negatives. The plan for language enrichment and standardization has gained importance recently. Any language that does not have this strategy is gradually losing its structure. It is anticipated that institutions of higher learning and individuals will take note of this.

Keywords: *Language Plan; Standardization; Neologism; Orthography; Māraka Də Paštō; Paštō ʔoləna; Pashto Academy*

Introduction

According to Garvin and Mathieu, the standard form of a language is a written and established form that is accepted and used by a significant part of a community as a model and has relatively certain characteristics (Garvin, 1973: 25). These characteristics are a collection of features, functions, and practices that can be divided into linguistic (or structural) and non-linguistic (or functions and practices). According to Garvin and Mathieu, standard form has the following characteristics:

The Linguistic Variable: includes two structural characteristics: one is flexible stability, and the other is intellectualization. This means that the standard language must have stability on the one hand, and different structures should be determined and stable; on the other hand, it should be flexible against cultural changes so that it does not remain in one place. Also, the standard language should have the ability to create new names and scientific and accurate writing.

Non-Linguistic Variable: It includes four functions and three practices. There are four functions: the unifying function, the separatist function, the prestige function, which has a symbolic form, and the frame of reference function, which has an objective aspect. The standard language creates a kind of unity and connection between the speakers of the regional and social forms and, at the same time, separates a language from the surrounding and related languages; the standard language provides social credibility to its speakers and provides a standard for right and wrong speech and literary creativity.

These functions reveal three practices of loyalty, pride, and being aware of the norms in a linguistic community. The practice of loyalty comes from the unifying and separatist functions; the practice of pride is a result of the prestige and credibility functions; and the practice of being aware of the norms is a result of the frame of reference function. (Sadeqi, 1963: 45–55; Garvin, 1964: 521–523, and Garvin, 1973: 24–33)

According to Garvin and Mathieu, these linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics exist in some form in other linguistic varieties; therefore, standardization is a relative measure, and achieving complete and ideal standardization is exceedingly challenging in practice.

Language standardization is a process in which a particular linguistic variety attains the status of a standard, and its pronunciation, orthography, and grammatical norms are regarded as superior to other social and regional variants, gaining widespread acceptance (Ansara, 1974: 370.)

The standardization process involves two key aspects: selection and development. Roy (1963: 70) outlines two stages in standardization: first, the selection of a linguistic form, and second, the reinforcement and development of this form to establish its dominance over other variants. In the initial stage, a form is designated as the standard language, and in the subsequent stage, this form is fortified through the creation of grammar, pronunciation, and orthography rules. In this manner, its usage broadens, and its reliability increases.

Consequently, the process begins with the selection of a linguistically and socially dominant form of a language, which is subsequently transformed into a stable form by producing vocabularies, grammar guides, and pronunciation and orthography resources.

The chosen linguistic form should be versatile, capable of fulfilling various functions in administrative, governmental, educational, literary, and other domains. It should possess a broad range of structural possibilities and continually evolve in terms of style and vocabulary, incorporating new terms and words. Following these stages of development, a linguistic form can earn the distinction of being called a standard language.

In the context of discussing the standard language, it's worth noting Habibi's perspective when he wrote about the title of his book "**jawazinai pashto**" to "Tolo-e-Afghan" in 1313. He eloquently expressed the essence of language richness and excellence in the following manner: "... the excellence and breadth of every language is shown by the fact that the language itself is so rich that very long speeches can be written in this language without borrowing from foreign languages! Any language that has been extensively cultivated and has endured over time possesses the ability to accomplish such feats..." (Habibi, 1313: first page). Habibi effectively illustrated the methods for enriching the language in his article titled "Establishment of Pashto Scientific Terms or New Words," which included word collection and dictionary compilation, the search for pure Pashto terminology, word formation, and the principles governing this process in Pashto (Rafi, 1397: 123). It's noteworthy that Habibi's plan aligns closely with the contemporary approach to language standardization.

The social credibility of standard language is not always the same; it changes, because social, cultural and other factors affect it positively or negatively. If effect is positive, its social position will be strengthened and if the effect is negative, its social credibility will decrease.

Standardization is inherently prescriptive. When crafting a standard form from elements of various dialects, specific principles are chosen as standard while others are discarded. For example, in the case of Pashto, which has multiple suffixes for forming plural forms, the standard form selects certain suffixes for simplicity and consistent regularity. Rules are then established for their usage. For instance, the "wonah" suffix might be prescribed exclusively for living things, while the "ān" suffix is reserved for non-living things. However, in Pashto, both "wonah" and "ān" suffixes are sometimes used interchangeably for both living and non-living things. There are numerous such possibilities within a language, but language designers make selective choices based on specific criteria. As this standard language is created, its influence spreads to other dialects, and over time, these prescribed forms become integral parts of the language, giving it a coherent and unified character.

In the early 20th century, the wave of nationalism reached the East, where having a national language became essential for a nation's identity. In the Afghan context, Pashto played a crucial role in shaping national identity. As the language of the majority, it served to differentiate Afghanistan's identity from that of Central Asia and Iran, providing Afghans with a unique identity. "**Māraka dā pashto**" was instrumental in standardizing Pashto, publishing "**jawazinai pashto**" in 1301. This book emphasizes the importance of Pashto, stating, "It is clear to everyone that a nation's language gains freedom from reliance on other languages and achieves greatness and perfection when that nation expresses itself in its own language." According to Rafi, this book underscores the belief that the leaders of a nation play a crucial role in shaping the nation's language. Among other responsibilities, national leaders should be at the forefront of nurturing their nation's language. It is written in this book:

"Today is the first time that the Pashtuns are rulers; Amanullah Khan, the leader of the Pashtuns, understood the secret of building his country and progressing his nation: that the sword does not work without a pen, and we must get rid of the need for others. The bravery of one's people cannot be spread in the language of others. Therefore, he paid attention to the language of his people so that it should be perfected, and only this language should be used in power and politics. The scholars of the whole world understand the benefit and value of this order."

During that era, Mahmood Tarzi recognized the pivotal role that Pashto could play in shaping Afghanistan's unique identity. His belief in Pashto's potential to provide Afghanistan with a distinct identity led him to actively promote it as a national and official language in Siraj-ul-Akhbar Afghani. Through both direct and indirect means, he encouraged the government and the youth to champion Pashto.

In the ninth issue of the second year, he penned a comprehensive article titled "**æfyɑ:ni: ædʒda:d zæba:n'ha: ɪst**" in the "The Discussion of Language" column. In this article, he delved into the originality and antiquity of the Pashto language. On page 11 of the same issue, he compiled a comparative table featuring words for "father, mother, sister, brother, and daughter" in Pashto, Persian, Sanskrit, Kurdish, Armenian, Latin, German, English, and French languages. Through this comparison, he asserted that "Afghani language is the ancestor of the languages, and the Afghan nation is the ancestor of the nations" (Karzai, 2013: 115). While we now understand that this assertion doesn't align with historical linguistic research, it exemplifies the fervor of nationalism that permeated his words. Tarzi's motivation was to pave the way for Pashto's ascension as Afghanistan's national language.

After achieving independence, plans were devised for comprehensive national development and transformation, which entailed the establishment of institutions and the enactment of laws. Among these changes, there arose a need to formally develop and standardize the Pashto national language. His Highness Amanullah Khan, the ruler of the time, personally displayed keen interest in Pashto. Despite his own ability to speak the language, he sought to revive this historical language of the country, recognizing that a nation's vitality hinges on the existence of a national language. Consequently, "**Məraka də paštə**" was established under the purview of the Ministry of Education, and its members embarked on the task of nurturing and formalizing Pashto (Rafi, 1397: 145).

1- History of Standardization of Pashto

If we delve into the extensive history of Pashto standardization efforts, we find that they trace their origins back to the times of Pir Roshan and Khushal Khan. However, the modern concept of standardization, which was influenced by Western practices, is relatively recent. The initial signs of modern Pashto standardization emerged during the second reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan, particularly with the introduction of military designations in Pashto.

Nonetheless, our primary focus is on the century-long journey of Pashto standardization, commencing with the era of Amanullah Khan and the establishment of "**Məraka də paštə**," a journey that extends to the present day. Over this extensive period, numerous governmental and non-governmental initiatives have been undertaken to standardize Pashto. These initiatives have been led by various societies, academies, and individuals and they can be categorized based on their approaches to standardization. As we explore these efforts, "**Məraka də paštə**" stands as a central institution in this endeavor.

1- Məraka Də Paštə

"**Məraka də paštə**" was established during the early stages of the Amani era, where it played a pivotal role in the formation of the era's educational institutions. It was created as a dedicated department, distinct from the three existing departments within the Ministry of Education. Subsequently, "**Məraka də paštə**" was overseen by two directors known as the first director and the second director. Mr. Maulvi Abdul Wasi Khan served as the first director, while Mr. Abdul Rahman Khan Ludin assumed the role of the second director (Rafi, 1397: 146-147.)

"In order to determine the laws for Pashto and to translate textbooks into Pashto language, Məraka də paštə will be organizing and this Məraka will be related to the Ministry of Education." (Nizamnamah: 31)

The tasks of this **Məraka** include making rules for Pashto and translating and transcribing textbooks:

"Məraka də pašto" consisted of twelve members, including two directors, who hailed from various Pashto dialects. Among their notable achievements were the creation of four publications. Two of these were dictionaries, which unfortunately have been lost to history, while the remaining two are "**jawazinai pašto**" and "**pašto pšwoja**".

"**jawazinai pašto**" was published in 1301 and comprised 152 pages. This publication was a remarkable work as it was exclusively in Pashto. The members of the team behind the book diligently sought Pashto equivalents for every Arabic or Dari word. If they couldn't find a Pashto equivalent among the people, they would create a term that accurately conveyed the intended meaning. The book is divided into two parts. The first part, authored by Abdul Wahab Kami, focuses on single words, while the second part, authored by Muhammad Zaman, contains dialogues (Rafi', 1397: 152).

In the first part of the book, the letters of the special sounds of Pashto are shown, in which only "خ" is different, and there are on top and bottom of the letter "ح". It encompasses a wide array of topics, including times, days, solar and lunar months, body parts, names of individuals with disabilities, clothing names, tools for writing and reading, color names, Afghan currency and measurement tools, fruit names, tree and flower names, types of grains, names of farming tools, names of artisans, items required by artisans, family member names, food names, titles of royalty and military officials, names of halal and haram animals, insect and bird names, as well as everyday conversational phrases.

In this book, "چې and کې" are in the present form and "یې" in the form of "په". Short "ی" in its present form and long "ی" was once written like Urdu "ے". Some letters are given Arabic movements and the structure of the additional combination is similar to Dari (Rafi', 1397: 156-157).

"**Pašto pšwoja**" was published in 1302 by the Ministry of Education's press and spans 144 pages. This work serves as a comprehensive guide to Pashto morphology and syntax, covering both Sarf (morphology) and Nahwa (syntax). It is structured into two distinct sections: the first section outlines the rules governing morphology and syntax, while the second section comprises a comprehensive list of Pashto infinitives.

2- Pashto Literary Association

Founded in Kandahar in 1311, led by Wazir Mohammad Gul Khan Momand, this association aimed to develop and enrich Pashto. Their tasks included publishing a Pashto magazine, collecting vocabulary, preserving literary works, translating books, and creating a national library. They also worked on fostering a national consciousness about Pashto.

With diverse members, the association effectively enriched and standardized Pashto. Notably, they published a Pashto magazine covering historical, socio-scientific, economic, and folkloric topics, including a "Pashto morphology and syntax" section. They also initiated Pashto word interpretation using the alphabet.

The Pashto Literary Association published language learning books (**ma:lem də pašto, pašto xabəre, pašto šuwonkai**) and organized poetry gatherings.

3- Pašto Toləna (Pashto Community)

In 1316, a Pashto community emerged by uniting the Kandahar Pashto Literary Association and the Kabul Association. As described by Habibullah Rafi, their mission encompassed editing Afghanistan's history, collecting folk resources for language and literature development, modernizing Pashto, and bolstering language and literature through the Kabul magazine.

In 1333, the Pashto community embarked on a new phase, seeking input from writers on language development, modernization, and scientification. A meeting yielded 56 articles outlining the community's goals, which covered various aspects of Pashto development, including language editing, rule establishment, and the creation of new words. However, their primary focus remained on collecting folklore, republishing old books, and orthography.

Initially, the Pashto community operated with departments dedicated to compilation and translation, literature, publishing, Pashto vocabulary, morphology and syntax. They were active in publishing Kabul magazine, an annual magazine, books, Zerai newspaper, encyclopedias, and Hewad newspaper. Additionally, they organized poetry gatherings and seminars.

Kabul magazine, a publication of the Pashto community, featured numerous scientific articles covering a wide range of social topics, including the antiquity, evolution, dialects, grammar, and literary heritage of the Pashto language.

Furthermore, the Pashto community contributed to linguistic studies with publications on Pashto rules, lexical research, grammar, derivations, combinations, orthography, and composition. They actively engaged with Pashtuns in both Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan to promote unified Pashto orthography.

In addition to these efforts, the Pashto community has created dictionaries for Pashto dialects and published numerous other dictionaries, including the Pashto-Pashto descriptive dictionary, enriching the linguistic resources available in Pashto.

4- Pashto Academy

The Pashto Academy (Peshawar) was founded in 1955, led by Maulana Abdul Qadir. It had a twenty-seven article plan, mostly aligned with the Pashto community's agenda—to reprint old Pashto books and gather folklore. While initially competing, the Pashto Academy's focus included Pashto standardization. This involved:

Pashto Dialect Dictionary: A multi-volume dictionary of Pashto dialects was planned.

Unified Pashto Orthography: A collaborative meeting in 1992 aimed to standardize Pashto orthography.

Neologism: The academy intended to coin new words, similar to Damascus, Egypt, Iran, and Pashto community efforts. However, it made limited progress in this area.

5-Individuals

In general, scientific centers typically lead the effort, formulating and implementing comprehensive plans. Surprisingly, in Pashto standardization, individuals have played a more prominent role than academic institutions. Mojawer Ahmed Zyar stands out among them.

In the 20th century, Wazir Muhammad Gul Khan Momand created new words for Pashto before others. The second man is Abdul Hai Habibi. According to Rafi, the steps taken by Habibi for completing Pashto are vital and we must be thankful of his efforts.

In Pakhtunkhwa, several individuals have made modest yet valuable contributions to Pashto neologism. This group includes Muhammad Tofan, Latif Wahmi, Nasrullah Khan Nasr, Mahmood Sanjari, Hussain Kawsar Ghoryakhil, Muhammad Shah Khyaal, Hamza Shinwari, Fazlul Haq Shaida, Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, and Qalandar Momand.

Abdul Samad Khan in his book (paṣṭo ʒəba aw li:kdod/Pashto language and writing style) refers to three principles in this regard. One is not to use foreign words; second is to create new words and the third is to write foreign words according to our own pronunciation; for example Abdul Haq as (əbdəl hək) and Abdul Samad as (əbdəl saməd) and etc. (Rafi', 1397: 128)

As individuals, Mojawer Ahmad Ziar has done the most work, and he has faced many disagreements; But Zyar calls it not a personal thing but a movement. He says:

With the beginnings of our movement (1972) at Kabul University, a practical-technical neologism was established. Thousands of words and terms were created throughout the course of this 40-year span in a variety of scientific and cultural sectors, the most of which have since achieved common usage. (paṣṭo waiipohəna aw wiiraḅ əwəna, 1393: 140)

Zyar has many books on literature and linguistics. In addition to grammar and semantics, he has done useful work in morphology (1393), (li:klə:rʂo:d) orthography (1386) synonym glossary (1373). Zyar has talked a lot about orthography and creating new words in his book (li:klə:rʂo:d), such as writing together and writing separately, or distinguishing between the correct and incorrect forms of words, and the important part is the new words.

2- The Nature of Standardization of Pashto (شماره ی این تایتل ایراد دارد (قبلی 5 بود)

Language standardization is a component of a nation's linguistic strategy to formalize or establish a language as its national norm. This process is a subject of study within the field of Sociology of Language, which examines language as a social phenomenon, shedding light on its societal significance. Beyond linguistic planning, the sociology of language delves into various social aspects, including gender, age, and other related topics.

Focusing on the standardization of the Pashto language, we will explore this specific context. Standardizing a language goes beyond just establishing orthography conventions; it also involves the neologism.

1- Neologism (شماره ی این تایتل ایراد دارد)

Neologism, an integral part of language standardization, involves the creation of new words to accommodate emerging concepts. This process can be initiated either by government research centers like academies or by individuals.

Words differ from other linguistic elements in that they remain independent and evolve with the introduction of novel ideas and phenomena into a community. The creation of new words in a language can occur through two primary avenues:

Natural Neologism: This occurs when new phenomena emerge due to cultural changes within the community itself, prompting the creation of new words to describe these developments.

Loanwords and Neologism: In this case, cultural changes and phenomena from another community are introduced. The receiving community faces two options: adopting certain names for these newly arrived phenomena as loanwords or creating their own terminology, a process known as neologism. Examples include technical terms like "telephone," "car," "computer," and other scientific names.

However, there is a potential risk associated with excessive neologism. If language purification and the introduction of new words are pursued too aggressively, the language may become unfamiliar and isolated to its speakers. Nonetheless, language, like any social phenomenon, undergoes continuous change. Failure to adapt to new phenomena and conditions can lead to the language's decline. Therefore,

to maintain linguistic richness and independence, languages should periodically incorporate new words. This practice not only reduces the need for borrowing from other languages but also ensures the language remains relevant and sustainable. Neglecting this practice and relying solely on loanwords can result in the gradual erosion of the language.

In the past century, Məraka də paštō took the pioneering step into the realm of neologism. This institution coined numerous terms across various domains, primarily focusing on political terminology and translating novel concepts into Pashto. Some of these terms underwent shifts in meaning over time. For instance, the word "xabərjə:l," originally denoting a newspaper, is now used to refer to a journalist. Many of these words have since fallen into disuse and remain unfamiliar to contemporary speakers, such as "kəšai" for pen, "li:kai" for book, "li:kəy" for notebook, and so forth.

Among these creations are "tə:pəndzai" for new printing items like printing presses, and "tə:p" for printing itself. The reasons for the disappearance of these Məraka də paštō words are multifaceted, encompassing social, political, and linguistic factors. The language's architects adhered to three guiding principles for neologism: ease of memorization, clarity of meaning, and alignment with community sentiment and tradition. (Hagan, 1966: 61-64)

Regrettably, many of the words introduced by Məraka də paštō faced challenges in adhering to these principles. Some met the first criterion but lacked clarity in meaning, while others satisfied the second requirement but fell short in preserving community tradition.

Following Məraka də paštō, the issue of neologism in Pashto persisted with these inherent difficulties. One contributing factor is that a significant portion of these neologisms resulted from individual efforts, rather than collective endeavors within academic institutions.

Habibullah Rafi has taken the words of the Məraka də paštō in his book (Zəbərələna). It contains the names of days, which we do not use now, such as təfə wraj (Saturday), dwayəma wraj, wərpəse wraj, lās pore wraj, ʒa wraj, and tōləy wraj (Friday). Also, the lunar and solar months have been Pashtu, which we have kept mostly. The names of the seasons are also included and the word "baškələy" was used for the auspicious year, which we do not use now.

Məraka də paštō have also given names to the things of writing and reading: kəšai (pen), məfwə:ŋəy (ink) (dodəy (ink) (ʒkəlai (paper) (paʒəy (board) kəšai dzai (penner) (kəʒəi (ruler) (kəʒə pa:ŋə (məx (page) (likai (book) (likəy (notebook) (likaixuna (library) (wəʃ kəšai (pencil) (laʒtəi (table) (lwəʒtəndzai (school) (lwəʒtənjəy (religious school) (ʒowunkai (zdakʒai (student) (kaʒə:wlik (exercise) (kaʒə:wlikai (exerciser) (la:slik (signature) (kamraka (cabinet) (wandʒ (desk) (wondʒtəy (small desk) (peʒəy (frame) (wandʒtəʒai (tablecloth) (a:ndzor (table drawing tools) (tə:p (pring) (tə:pəndzə:i (printing press) (xabəryə:l (news) (kaʒida (map) (sirun (umbrella) (lerlidai (binocular) (wʒəŋgai (magnifier).

We still use the word la:slik (signature) and Zyar uses some other words.

Names of the royal family and military officials: lwaʒ dərʒal (His Highness), tōlwək (Sultan), paśwal (King), wawiwal (Emir), paśwalzai (Prince), paśwalzəy (princess), pləzmenai (Saheb/owner), uləs (Nation), paśəlai (the ruled peopl), ʒabar (tribe), wazirtun (Ministry), wazir (Minister), loywazir (Prime Minister), ʒ aza wazir (Minister of War), də bəndinai wazir, də mene wazir (Minister of Interior), pohane wazir, plorai wazir (Minister of Trade), karəl wazir, məx wazir (Minister Huzur), max bahandai (Shah Ghasi), lwaʒ mərake məʒər (Chairman of the Majlis Shura), mrəstai (Assistant), salə ʒowunai (Consultant), angəʒ məʒər (Qila Begi), məxlik məʒər (chief secretary Huzor), gaŋun məʒər (book manager), bahəndai (director), paʒ bahəndai (office), bahəndai mrəstai (deputy manager), paʒwal (officer), likwal (writer, editor), bahəndzai (Management, Administration), gaʒ bahəndai (Customs Manager), gaŋun bahəndai (Accounting Manager), paʒwal bahəndai (Officer Manager), paŋə bahəndai

(Documents Manager), lik bahandai (Editorial Manager), fjarlaw bahandai (Engineering Manager), lezun bahandai (Post Office Manager), xabaryal bahandai (Newspaper Manager), saɽun bahandai (Population Manager), axist bahandai (Educational Director), lar bahandai (Director of Roads), piodel bahandai (Director of Organizations), palaɽunkai (Inspector), axistwal (Tehsildar), ɽoltun (Majlis), kelai mæfær (head of the village), woɽastwulai (Ambassador), woɽastultun (Embassy), astawulai (Consul General), astultun (Consul General), woɽ astawulai (Consul), ɽəbpoħan (interpreters), wakwal (lawyer), plor wakwal (Trade lawyer), barbarai (flag), loinabdzai (State, Vice-Government) (118-121).

In Pashto, we observe that in contemporary times, individuals have undertaken the task of neologism, rather than government institutions. This phenomenon has garnered criticism for several reasons. Firstly, it raises issues of authority, as allowing everyone to create new words may lead to language confusion. Secondly, the work of official centers is typically more systematic and scientific, involving experts from various fields who scrutinize new words from multiple perspectives. Unfortunately, the responsibility for neologism has largely fallen on individuals, particularly Mojawer Ahmad Zyar. While some of his efforts may be subject to criticism, many deserve commendation for contributing to the independence and self-sufficiency of Pashto.

However, these individual efforts are insufficient, as individuals can only do as much as their ability is. Therefore, the role of scientific institutions, particularly the Academy of Sciences, remains crucial. With the advent of new phenomena and technologies, each field of study introduces its own terminology. If all these terms were to enter the Pashto language, it would pose a significant challenge. Hence, it is essential to grant the academy the authority to actively respond to new scientific and technical developments by coining appropriate terms for them.

For example, consider the field of linguistics. When a researcher delves into a specialized area like cognitive linguistics, they encounter a plethora of terms. Having to invent new words themselves becomes a burdensome task, potentially hindering their research. However, if academic institutions have already compiled dictionaries in advance, this would not only enrich the language but also alleviate scientific challenges for researchers and readers alike.

Some examples from Habibi, according to Rafi (1397): lerlik (Telegraph), bašarlik (Photograph), zaɽlik (Phonograph), mjæklik (Topography), dɽwændlik (Biography), ɽabarɽapu (Lithograph), aoblan (Liquid), ɽabarin (fossil), lmarinai (solar), paŋgaman (capitalist), lerlid (telescope), ɽarma šowunkai (thermometer), brešnəšowunkai (electrometer), hadpoahəna (otology), woɽlid (microscope), yawtob, yawulai (federation), zaɽpoħəna (phonology), saɽi poħəna (anthropology), arwəpoħəna (psychology), woɽmakəɽai (microbe), ɽwoɽkatunkai (otoscope), obɽoɽwunkai (audiometer), rozəna, pałəna (pedagogy), ɽaksam (microphone), zoɽpoħəna (Teleology) (123-125).

We continue to use the terms coined by Habibi, and this can be attributed to linguistic factors. These terms possess qualities such as easy pronunciation, clear meaning, and a strong connection to the people, which are lacking in the words created by Məraķa də pašto.

The late Abdul Samad Khan made some new words, among them are the words of miyandɽigari for the court, wuləswaki for the republic, ɽwak for the culture, xpəlɽarai for the selfishness and ɽəɽan for the avenger.

Different ways are considered for neologism; one way is to translate the name of another language, for example, in Pashto, we have (dɽa:l) for internet and (we:b 'paɽa) for website, or the word (hawə'ji 'ɽaqər) for airport. If the name is compound, sometimes one part and sometimes all of it is translated. Linguists do not consider this type of neologism good, because the structure and influence of the foreign language remain in it, which has a bad effect on the language over time (Najafi, 1361: 4-15).

The words created in Məraḳa də paštō have this feature and this is because these were the first steps and they translated the words as they are.

The second method is to look at the function or characteristics of a phenomenon and then create a word for it, like the word (alwatəka) for Airplane in Pashto. The third way is that the meaning of the existing words in the language expands and takes on a new meaning with the old meaning, such as the word (fūr'laka) for helicopter for helicopter or the word (Phoneme) for sound or the word (tsaŋ'ga) for department and profession. It is necessary to involve the experts, who are aware of the functions and meanings of the words. Zyar's neologism in Pashto have this feature except for the small part. Most of Zyar's neologism in his li:klarxō:d are derivative and compositional, but some of them are also taken from old texts.

Abbreviations are also used (Tali, 1974: 61-60). That is, if the name is long, its abbreviation is used. Wazir Muhammad Gul Khan Momind used the term " hatsob " to culture, which is an abbreviation of "thinks that separates nations".

All these methods have been used in the history of Pashto neologism, but the method of abbreviation have been rarely used. The late Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai also ordered the creation of new words in his book "Pashto language and writing style" and writing some of them in their own linguistic system.

As individuals, Ziar has done the most work in the field of neologism and that is why he has aroused some sensitivities. One criticism on him is that he talks about reviving dialects and old words in the context of neologism (morphology: p. 23); But he focus too much on innovations and pay less attention to dialects and archaisms (Hotak, 2007: 65). Another criticism is that he is accused of purification the language, especially extreme purification, and says that he wants to remove the loanwords from Pashto, which people have accepted. Rohi (1356: 51-52), who was the head of the Pashto community, said: "Many people think that these new words are created by the Pashto community... Some people criticize us and say that we do not understand radio news. Why do you create new words every day? The community asked the responsible authorities that if they publish new words and terms, they should seek the advice of the Pashto community... My personal opinion is that extreme purification of Pashto will alienate the language from its speakers. Extreme purification seems neither necessary nor possible".

This criticism of the shows that his work had reached the media. According to Zyar, the current language of the media is the blessing of the Kara Pashto Movement, which has gradually placed Pashto and words have become common. Zyar's language is also criticized because of the new created words, which are not easy to understand, but if we look, the Zyar's style problem is not in new words, but in the long sentences.

Neologism has two purposes, one is the purification of the language and the other is to update and expand it. Some scholars want the purification of language according to political, religious, ethnic and other reasons and remove the words that do not have a good history for them. In Pashto, the military dialect and the names of government ministries have been changed from time to time. Neologism is done with the aim of taking the language out of the old limited state and finding a place for new terms and names. With this, the language becomes rich and expands. Zyar is also accused of purification, but we can see that this series of purification in Pashto is not very successful, but the purpose of expanding the language is strong. Here are some words from Zyar's book, li:klarxod (1386) as an example; plarwaki, morwaki, dzməkwaki (feudalism), mi.rzajiwala, dzaḡamari, azmeyxtəzai and ... (140-141).

2- Correction the Writing شماره ی این تایتل ایراد دارد

Language is always changing, with the passage of time there is a change in the spoken language; because of conservatism, writing is left behind and the gap between spoken and written language causes problems in writing. This type of writing should change from time to time. The designers of the language use the deletion, addition and simplification of signs to make the writing accurate (Madrasi, 1396: 331).

The Pashto community is proud of the unity of writing (orthography) in the standardization of Pashto in the past hundred years. Speaking about these decisions, Ulfat says:

Pashto writing, whether seen in old books or in the works of current writers, there are some differences in the writing of one and the other, which has damaged the unity of the script (Ulfat, 1339: 9).

The first meeting of the Pashto community regarding the unification of Pashto orthography was held in 1321, in which 25 scholars from Afghanistan were gathered and decided that the (Junḡe, kxenəst, ʈol ɣalək, ʈole ɣabəre, pate, kə rəɣəlai wai, loya, toya, meɾənai, luts, wəfo, ʃəwai, ʃta, ʃi, waləɾ, munɣ)... are the correct forms after this (Ulfat, 1339: 10).

Language designers believe that when a language has numerous dialects, two distinct approaches to standardization can be observed. First, standardization may involve selecting a particular dialect or form due to cultural, historical, or literary significance, as exemplified by the choice of the Tehrani dialect for standardization in Iran. In the second approach, rather than creating a single standardized form, a standard dialect is constructed by combining elements from various dialects. For instance, the standard form of Shana in Zimbabwe is derived from a blend of the Karanga and Kora Kora dialects. An analogous example is contemporary standard Norwegian, which comprises elements from different dialects. This second method, involving the amalgamation of various dialects into a standard form, often helps mitigate bias and resistance among speakers of different dialects toward the standardized version.

In the context of the Pashto community, we can observe the choice of dialects playing a significant role in historical disagreements. During the era of *Mərakā də paštō*, the South-West dialect held sway in standardization, effectively becoming the chosen standard. However, as the Pashto community evolved, the approach to Pashto standardization underwent a transformation, with the notion of a single dialect as the standard giving way to the second approach—creating a standard form by amalgamating elements from diverse dialects. In the 1321 Pashto community meeting, diverse dialect examples were set as the standard, reflecting a shift away from strict linguistic criteria towards considerations of ethnic unity. Zyar's account supports this shift, as he explained, "In the past, within the Pashto community or *Mərakā də paštō*, decisions were made by a show of hands. If the Kandaharis' had more raised hands, the decision would favor them; similarly, if the Nangarharis' had the majority, it would be in favor of the Nangarharis. However, we departed from this approach. The distinction between our Pashto *ʈoləna* and the esteemed Muhammad Gul Khan was that they initially sought to establish a standardized written form through votes and referendums. Muhammad Gul Khan, in particular, focused on correcting the language as spoken by the people. This previous approach was no longer tenable" (Hotak, 2007: 33.)

In 1337, marking a significant moment in the quest for Pashto standardization, a third decision was reached. This decision was a collaborative effort between scholars from Pakhtunkhwa and members of the Pashto community, and it coincided with the celebration of Independence Day. During this momentous gathering, various linguistic elements were discussed and standardized.

One noteworthy aspect of this decision was the adoption of "Pate" in place of "Pata" and "luts" in place of "ləts." Interestingly, both forms of "muɣ," "munɣ," "laɽ," and "wlaɽ" were recognized as standards. This inclusion of dual forms, while aimed at fostering inclusivity, also introduced a degree of complexity to the standardization process as it now encompassed two variants instead of one.

In 1327, the Pashto community embarked on a significant initiative by extending the idea of standardization beyond the Durand Line, inviting scholars from Pakhtunkhwa to participate in unifying Pashto writing conventions. Despite the relatively small number of participants, several crucial decisions were made, particularly concerning phonetics and vocabulary. These decisions played a pivotal role in aligning the orthography of Pashto in both Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan. The groundwork for the unity we observe today was laid during this time.

In this collaborative effort, it was agreed to use "ن" instead of "نر" and recognize other sounds (خ، ځ، ښ، ږ، څ) as standard, distinct from (ش، گ، څ). Furthermore, it was determined that the current form of "tələ" should be written with "خ" and "wayəl" should not be spelled as "we." Importantly, the use of Urdu "ع" was discouraged in favor of "ي." Notably, an anomaly existed as the Pashto community spelled "adabi dɟarge".

This decision was in favor of Afghanistan, with the scholars from Pakhtunkhwa accepting the input of Pashto community. The decision was endorsed by prominent figures such as Maulana Abdul Qadir, Syed Rasool Rasa, Hamza Saheb, and others representing Pakhtunkhwa, as well as the late Shams Al Majroh, Khadim Saheb, Ulfat Saheb, Arsalan Salimi, and more from Afghanistan.

However, it's important to note that this third decision did introduce certain complexities. While some elements like "dzməka," "zmarai," "ʒəba," and "ʒaɽ" were agreed upon, there were numerous additional forms, such as "lmar," "nmar," "lmasai," "nmasai," "kandɛəl," "xkandɛəl," "ləmda," "ləndə," "dɟinəy," "ndɟələy," and others, proposed as standards. This proliferation of standards indicated some weaknesses in the decision-making process, as it introduced a degree of inconsistency into the standardization efforts (adabi dɟarga, 1327: 71-73).

We still disagree with Pakhtunkhwa on orthography, but this disagreement is not only on the level of orthography, but also on the level of words. They use Urdu, Urduized Arabic and English names in the research writing and we use our Pashto new created words, Persian or Arabic; so, even if the orthography problem is solved, there will be problems at the level of neologism and until this second problem with orthography is not solved, the possibility of unity of the writing is less. This problem is not only in the new created words, but different forms of common Pashto words are also used (such as: skarwaɽa, ɽarwaka, ndɟələy, dɟinəy, etc.). It is necessary to accept one form as a standard, because words are meaning units and their unity creates intellectual unity.

The standard language gradually influences other dialects and brings about pronunciation, morphological and grammatical changes in them. This change sometimes becomes so widespread that the standard form eats more dialects. Today, when the electronic media sends one thing to another place in seconds, this effect is very fast (Madrasi, 1396: 288). Although the Pashtuns are far from each other, they have little contact with each other and do not have kinship with others except their own tribes; for this reason, there are more dialect differences between them. If we look at their educated people, the impact of the curriculum and the media, especially the social media, has helped the unity of Pashto. What this, a standard dialect of Pashto is gaining strength, and this effect will increase if the level of literacy rises and there is more movement between tribes.

In 1992, a significant decision regarding the Pashto writing style in Bara Gully was reached. This pivotal decision was the result of collaborative efforts involving refugee writers from Afghanistan and

Pakhtunkhwa. The catalyst for this seminar was the deepening social and cultural ties that had emerged following the mass migration of Afghans to Pakistan in the wake of the Sawr disaster in Afghanistan.

During this seminar, a revision of certain aspects of the previous writing style was undertaken, largely in alignment with the writing conventions followed in Afghanistan, as noted by Rafi. It is worth noting that some scholars who were not in attendance at the seminar held differing views from those who participated. The Qalandar Momand, a renowned writer from Peshawar, was an outspoken critic of the seminar from its inception due to his preference for a distinct writing style he had developed for himself.

Zyar, another respected scholar, expressed critical perspectives on the Bara Gully decision, highlighting how certain established and commonly accepted standards were revisited during the seminar (Hotak, 2007: 33-34).

Among the key decisions made in Bara Gully was the determination that Arabic words whose meanings remained unchanged would be retained in their original form, while those with altered meanings would be adapted into the Pashto version. For instance, "qamis" and "qisa" would remain as they are, while "māfūm" and "tapos" would undergo Pashto adaptations. Additionally, the letter "ځ" would remain unchanged, and the stress on words ending with stress would not be removed.

Moreover, the character "ی" would be used in Pakhtunkhwa, adhering to Urdu conventions. The character "ی" would be placed in the middle of words, and "ی" would be written as "ی" in the middle as well. Bara Gully also saw the adoption of several other decisions and modifications (Spede, 1369: 27-38).

The Pashto Academy held other meetings after this meeting and held another meeting in recent years in Bara Gully.

If we come to individuals, Zyar in his works, especially in his book (liklarxod), has spoken about orthography at the level of morphemes and words, such as "ma ta" instead of "wə ma ta" and also mazīgar, 'masyotan, 'mana, məryaləra, maryumai and maywai (for other examples, see: liklarxod) are called correct; But these forms are not drawn according to any system, but different.

Conclusion

The greatest challenge encountered in previous attempts by the Pashto community to unify orthography lies in their reliance on isolated instances. It's crucial to acknowledge the existence of a systematic framework that governs language and writing. Instead of isolated decisions, which not only fail to address numerous issues but may also face linguistic challenges when new examples emerge, a more effective approach involves embracing the language's characteristics and establishing general principles and rules. Rather than focusing on solitary examples, we should adopt a holistic understanding of the language system. When learning a new language, we adhere to its rules rather than memorizing isolated instances. Consequently, achieving orthography unity requires identifying and analyzing problems, examining examples, proposing general rules, and categorizing instances. This approach would provide the advantage of pre-existing solutions for new examples, allowing journalists and curriculum developers to adhere to established rules when dealing with new words.

Centuries of efforts to standardize Pashto have yielded two primary outcomes: advancements in writing style and neologism. While Məraka də paštə emphasized neologism, the Pashto community and Pashto academy prioritized orthography improvements. In his individual contributions, Zyar dedicated considerable attention to neologism but also worked towards enhancing writing style.

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