

## Personal suffixes of Baniswola (Ba.), Wazirwola (Wa.), Khatakwola (Kh.) and Marwatwala (Ma.)

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### *Abstract:*

Personal suffixes follow verbal stems. In this research paper, Pashto personal suffixes are studied with reference to the varieties of Baniswola (Ba.), Wazirwola (Wa.), Khatakwola (Kh.) and Marwatwala (Ma.). These suffixes are bound morphemes and cannot maintain their existence alone. The question to be answered is whether or not these suffixes are different from Marwatwala (Ma.) and Peshawari variety (PP). Are these differences the result of phonological or morphological developments? This paper sheds light on such questions and their answers. Data were collected for some Karlanri varieties, i.e. Baniswola (Ba.), Wazirwola (Wa.), Khattakwola (Kh.) of the districts Bannu, Karak and FR Bannu. A Non-karlanri variety, Marwatwala (Ma.), has been kept under consideration for the purpose of comparison because this variety is spoken in the same region.

### **1: Introduction:**

Personal suffixes exhibit two separate features: they present information on the person, and they are suffixes. The former refers to persons, i.e. 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, whereas the latter refers to the process of suffixation, a type of affixation that is “a morphological process that adds phonological material to a word in order to change its meaning, syntactic properties, or both.” (1) An addition to this, these morphemes cannot stand alone, and therefore, they can be classified as bound morphemes. Trask defines affixes as follows: “A grammatical element which cannot form a word by itself. Affixes are bound morphemes, in the sense that they are meaningful units (morphemes) which cannot exist independently of another morpheme to which they must be attached.”(2) Simply, we can say that an addition to the stem or root is called affixation, and suffix is the type of affixation in which addition is made to the end of the stem or base. Correspondingly, a personal suffix is the grammatical element that is attached to the stem of a verb at the end. These have been called “*pewast šaxsī zamīrūna*” ‘connected personal pronouns’ and “*felī zamīrūna*” ‘verbal pronouns’ in Pashto. (3) Penzl treats these suffixes under the title “verbal endings”. (4) However, Boyle terms them as verbal suffixes. (5)

In this paper, such kinds of suffixes are studied with special reference to Baniswola (Ba.), Wazirwola (Wa.), Khatakwola (Kh.) and Marwatwala (Ma.). The first three are Karlanri varieties whereas the last one is a non-Karlanri variety.

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## 2: Transliteration:

The following transliteration table shows the correspondence between the phonemes of the varieties under study and the letters of the Pashto-Arabic script.

Phoneme	Name of the letters	Grapheme	Phoneme	Name of the letters	Grapheme
a	zabər		x	xin	ځ
ā	alif	ا	'	ayn	ع
b	be	ب	ġ	ġayn	غ
p	pe	پ	f	fe	ف
t	te	ت	k	kāf	ک
ṭ	ṭe	ټ	g	gāf	گ
ġ	ġim	ج	l	lām	ل
ž	žim	ځ	m	mim	م
č	če	چ	n	nun	ن
c	tsim	څ	ñ	nun ġuna	ں
h	he	ح	ṛ	nuṛ	ږ
x	xe	خ	ō	maġhul wāw	و
d	dāl	د	ū	marūf wāw	و
ḍ	ḍāl	ډ	h	he	ه
r	re	ر	ə	zwarakay	ه
ṛ	ṛe	ړ	ay	prata ye	ے
z	ze	ز	ī	marūfa ye	ي
ž	že	ژ	ē	maġhula ye	ې
g	ge	ږ	əy	muanasa ye	ی
s	sin	س	əy	fely ye	ئ
š	šin	ش			

### 3: Personal suffixes for Karlanri varieties:

Personal suffixes for Baniswola:

Persons	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	-əñ	-ī
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-e	wósta/-īye
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present M		-ī/-o
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present F		
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past M	-ə/-ay	-əl
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past F	-(əl)a	-(əl)e

Table: 1

Table 1 shows that */-əñ/* as in most Karlanri varieties is the allomorph of */-ə́m[a]/* of Peshawari Pashto. The 1<sup>st</sup> person plural morpheme */-u/* of PP that has its form here as */-ī/*, is the result of the general phonological sound shift from */-u/* → */-ī/* e.g. *līr* ‘daughter’, *tīra* ‘sword’, *sīr* ‘red’, [c.f. *lūr*, *tūra*, *sūr* of GP respectively] etc. This development can also be seen in Wa. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural suffix */-ī/* is similar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person suffix, the verbal stem with this suffix alone would not be sufficient to show the person, but rather the context defines the relevant person e.g. *mīž x̄arī* ‘We are eating’ and *day x̄arī* ‘He is eating’.

Baniswola is the only variety where the morpheme *wósta* is present. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural two morphemes exist which are */-īye/* and */wosta/* c.f. */yāst/* in the western dialects of General Pashto. Remember that */yāst/* of GP has its past */wāst/* but in Ba., only the above mentioned form is used as the examples below exhibit. According to Ziyar, the suppletive stem */-ast/*, the counterpart of two other suppletive stems [*/y-/* and */w-/*], is related to *astəl/stəl/astedəl* c.f. *hast* of Persian. (3) These units have agreement with */-əy/* of the Peshawari variety. The important morpheme *wósta* becomes a part of colloquial speech by replacing */īye/* c.f. *yəy*, when it is in isolation. In other words, the aforementioned mentioned allomorph does not combine with the stem of the verb i.e. copula as in *tóse šə xalk wósta* [You are good people]. But if */īye/* is not in isolation and constitutes a part of the verbal stem then a slight change in verbs occurs for example, a Banisay would greet another by saying: *pə xēr rōglīye* [Welcome i.e. may you have arrived well] and having replaced the allomorph with *wósta* the utterance will be: *pə xēr rōgəl wósta*. For its usage in the past, we say: *parīn tóse rōgəli wósta* [Yesterday, you had come?] but it is never used in imperative sense and it has very limited usage as compared to its other variant */īye/*.

The table indicates that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person M and F and plural in present has */-o/* morpheme as well. In this connection, Ba. and Wa. are on the same page. More discussion about the morpheme follows below in table 2.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine, in the past tense, contrary to PP and Wa., there is no zero morpheme as is the case in Peshawari Pashto. Two allomorphs, i.e. /-ə/ and /-ay/, are used here.

Personal suffixes for Wazirwola:

Persons	Singular		Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	Present	Past	-ī
	-ə (M./Bk./J.) /-əñ (Kk./Sa./Et.)	Ø(M./Bk./J.) /-əñ (Kk./Sa./Et.)	
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-e		-əy (Kk./Sa./Et.) /-e (M./Bk./J.)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present M	-ī/-o		
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present F			
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past M	Ø/-ə/-ay		-əl
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past F	-(əl)a		-(əl)e

Table: 2

The above table shows that the 1<sup>st</sup> person SG. suffix has two allomorphs /-ə/ and /-əñ/ following the distinction of Waziri tribes into upper and lower tribes. In this classification, upper tribes encompass Mamenkhel (M.), Bakakhel (Bk.) and Zonikhel or Janikhel (J.). The lower tribes consist of Sperki, Sarkikhel and Ethikhel. The former drop nasalization and utter the morpheme /-ə/ in present tense but in past tense they drop the whole morpheme. For example an informant, Gohar, from Bakakhel tribe, says: *zə de bakaxēl kabīlē sara tālūk larə* [I belong to the Bakakhel tribe]. Shaker Wazir of Zonikhel omits the nasalization such as in: *ağə skūl čārəğ mō samból kəray day ağə čalawə* [I have got charge of that school and I am running it]. And Hamid Wisal from Mamankhel drops it in the present aorist aspect when he says: *de xpəle elaké pə hawalé sara we zə xabəra wəkə* [I will speak with special reference to my own area].

Unfortunately, I was unable to find any example in my interviews of the total drop of the allomorph /-əñ/ in past continuous or aorist aspects, but during my second period of field-work, I confirmed the omission from my informants when I gave them model sentences i.e. *zə hāra rēz skūl ta tləl* [I was going to school every day]; *zə wes māštər ūwāləl* [Just now, the school-master beat me]. In such a situation, the verb conjugation for the 1<sup>st</sup> person, in past continuous and aorist aspects as described above, is identical with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person PL. in the past tense. For further explanation, consider the two examples: *zə wes māštər ūwāləl* [Just now, the school-master beat me] and *dəy/dē wes māštər ūwāləl* [Just now, the school-master beat them].

The table also shows that the forms for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person M and F in present has /-o/ morpheme side by side with /-ī/ morpheme. The former is not in accordance with Peshawari variety of Pashto but it is limited to the verbalizer *kedəl* of the denominal verb in present tense in aorist aspect; for instance, *dā zikáy pə nə lāka na kām kēday*

*šī sēk karnāl nə kō wēr* [One, may be, would not agree to sell this place at less than 9 lakh per kanal to someone].

Zero morpheme,  $\emptyset$ , was also observed i.e. *bačyóne wo xwarók zəne ġəšt* [Children would need food]; *dā tarmús yīš tay* [This thermos is placed here] and *de manz na dāga de šəle tasawər ūwet* [In the meantime, the concept of score disappeared].

Personal suffixes for Khattakwola

Persons	Singular		Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	Present	Past	-ī(Ta.)
	-əñ	$\emptyset$ (Ta.) /-əñ	/-ū (Kh./Te.)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-e		-ey(Ta.) /-o[y](Kh.) /-əy(Te.)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present M	-ī		
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present F			
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past M	$\emptyset$ /-ay/-ə (Ta.) /-al (Kh.) /-e/-o (Te.)	-əl	
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past F	-(əl)a	-(əl)e	

Table: 3

Table 3 sheds light on the fact that like Wa. and contrary to the Peshawari variety, Khattakwola, at least for the Nasrati variety (Ta.), behaves differently in the 1<sup>st</sup> person present and past tenses. All sub-varieties of Kh. utter allomorph */-əñ/* in present tense, but in the past the allomorph is dropped in Ta. Of course, the Nasrati area is attached to the Thal area where Waziri people reside but in this lower part the allomorph is pronounced, unlike in the upper Waziri, in aorist and continuous aspects of the present tense.

The */-ī/* plural allomorph of Ta. is in agreement with Ba. and Wa., which is a phonological process discussed above. But its other variant */-ū/*, articulated in Kh. and Te., shows agreement with the Peshawari variety of Pashto. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural morpheme has three variants here and only Te. is identical to GP. The other two allomorphs, i.e. */-ey/* and */-o[y]/*, are specific to Ta. and Kh. respectively.

For the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine, in past tense, there are six allomorphs. GP has three morphemes, i.e. */-∅/*, */-ay/* and */-ə/*, in this regard as is the case in Ta. While Peshawari variety has only two morphemes i.e. */-o/* and */-e/* that can also be seen in Te. of Khatakwola. However, Kh. has its own distinct allomorph for all cases that is */-al/*. For example, the conjugations of verbs could be seen below.

Personal suffixes for Marwatwala:

Persons	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	-əñ	-ū
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-e	-ō
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present M	-ī	
3 <sup>rd</sup> Present F		
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past M	-ə/-ay/-Ø	-əl
3 <sup>rd</sup> Past F	-(əl)a	-(əl)e

Table: 4

The allomorph */-əñ/* [c.f. */-ə́m[a]/* of PP] is present in Ma. although as discussed above this is a non-Karlanri variety of Pashto. The unique allomorph */-o/* [c.f. */-əy/* of Peshawari variety] for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural exists in Ma. which in some cases is identical to the main Khattakwola allomorph */-oy/* if we assume that the */-y/* segment of the allomorph is dropped. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine morphemes, for the past tense, are in concordance with Kandahar variety.

The tables of personal suffixes for Baniswola (Ba.), Wazirwola (Wa.), Khattakwola (Kh.) and Marwatwala (Ma.) presented above that throw light on variation in person, number and gender. The tables also show that these personal suffixes differ between present and past tenses only for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person whereas for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person they remain the same. However, in Wa., they also change, as discussed above.

Note that the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular suffix */-əñ/*, a nasalization of *ə*, for Ba., Wa. and for Kh. is a prominent feature of all Karlanri varieties which are studied here. No other variety of Pashto manifests this characteristic, but we can observe that Ma., a Non-karlanri variety, behaves similarly as table 4, above shows. So, it seems that this is an influence of Karlanri varieties, i.e. Ba. and Wa., that share boundaries with it. It is worth mentioning that another variety, i.e. Bettani that traditionally belongs to Ma., also exhibits this feature. Therefore, we can safely conclude that in this respect the classification is not tribal but regional in nature.

While writing note 1 on Waziri and Dzadrani, Boyle remarks about this morpheme: “The Waziri and Dzadrani first person singular suffixes */-əm/* and */-əma/* are in free variation. They occur in both poetic and non-poetic contexts, in contrast with GP dialects, where the suffix */-əma/* occurs more often in poetry. As in GP, meter determines which form is used in the poetic contexts, but Septfonds (1994: 81) speculates that even in non-poetic speech, ‘the melody of discourse’ can play a role in which form is used.”(4)

But contrary to the above description, the evidence of my interviews with ten informants does not indicate the */-ə́m[a]/* suffix in these varieties. Possibly, Boyle bases the conclusion on her own fieldwork. She could have encountered Waziri speakers from Afghanistan or from somewhere else although she makes no mention of this. Nonetheless, Boyle, with reference to Lorimer, has given */-ā/* for the personal



suffix for Wa.(5). Lorimer's /-ã/ clearly indicates a nasalized /-a/ although it must be a nasalized /-ə/ if we take into consideration the present-day phonological theory.

Regarding the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular suffix, all these varieties act alike, but for the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural suffix Karlanri and non-Karlanri varieties differ, as in Ma. and Kh.,[main and Te.] /-u/ is used instead of /-ī/. Khattak of Ta., under the influence of Wa. pronounce this morpheme similarly. Here, Ma. and Kh. [main and Te.] are in accordance with GP. Another important difference lies in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural personal suffix where only Wa. and Te. of Khattakwola are identical to PP and others behave differently. But it must be mentioned here that according to my recordings, Sperki, Ethikhel and Sarkikhel tribes pronounce /-əy/, while other tribes, for instance Mamenkhel, Bakakhel and Zonikhel, pronounce the suffix as /-e/ as table 2 shows above. In Kh. [main and Ta.] and Ma., the suffixes are /-oy/ and /-ō/ respectively, whereas in Ba., the diphthong has become triphthongized, e.g. /-īye/.

As far as Lorimer's /-ay/ is concerned, Boyle has rightly concluded:

“Lorimer (1902: 18ff.) reports the Waziri second person plural suffix as /-ay/ (/ai/ in his Romanization), but it does not occur in any of our field data. This discrepancy could be due to the vowel /a/ having changed to /ə/ over the past hundred years or to Lorimer's transcription methods, which predate phonological theory.”(5)

### 3: Conclusion:

This study reveals some phonological and morphological developments regarding the personal suffixes. The phonological process involves /ū/ → /ī/ in 1<sup>st</sup> person plural in Ba. and Wa.; /əy/ → /īye/ in 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural in Ba.; /əy/ → /ē/ in 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural in Wa. [upper Wazir]. However, the morphological study of the topic indicates the presence of: morpheme *əñ* [c.f. əm[a] of PP] in 1<sup>st</sup> SG for all varieties; 2<sup>nd</sup> PL *wōsta* morpheme in Ba.; 3<sup>rd</sup> person /-o/ morpheme in the verbalizer of denominal verbs in Ba. and Wa., in some varieties of Wa., 1<sup>st</sup> SG distinguishes present and past tenses contrary to PP and other Karlanri varieties; zero morpheme in past in Wa. and in Ma.; in 1<sup>st</sup> SG difference between present and past tenses resulting Ø in past tense in Ta. contrary to PP; 3<sup>rd</sup> M /-al/ morpheme in Kh.; /-o[y]/ morpheme in 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural in Kh.; 2<sup>nd</sup> PL /-o/ morpheme in Ma. To have a complete understanding of the topic, the conjugation of different verb classes should be taken into consideration.

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