

# Affixes in Hazaragi Persian

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**DOI: 10.47760/cognizance.2024.v04i08.018**

**Abstract** - This paper aims at introducing affixes in Hazaragi, a variety of Persian spoken by the Hazaras (an ethnic group) mostly living in Afghanistan. It categorizes Hazaragi affixes into inflectional and derivational. Then, it generalizes that, in Hazaragi, affixes are only of two types: prefixes and suffixes. This study finds out that there are fourteen prefixes and forty-eight suffixes in Hazaragi. The prefixes are mostly shared with Persian, whereas of the suffixes, twenty-three of them are shared with Persian. Of course, Persian affixes are not at issue here. The approach used in carrying out this paper is descriptive analytic where Hazaragi affixes are described in the respective dialect, and the conclusion is drawn.

**Keywords** - Hazaragi, Persian, affixes, prefixes, suffixes

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates affixes in Hazaragi. Hazaragi is one of the principal varieties of Persian, spoken by the Hazaras, most of them living in Afghanistan. Hazaras are considered as one of the main ethnic groups in Afghanistan [9]; however, a significant number of them have also migrated to some neighboring countries like Central Asia, Iran and Pakistan [10].

Affix as an umbrella term covers both prefixes and suffixes, and are necessarily bound morphemes—having only grammatical function [3]. They do not have precise denotations as content words do. Lieber (2009) states “in some cases, affixes seem not to have much meaning at all [8]”. Although most of the affixes add few things to the meaning and only change the category of the base, there are also certain affixes having semantic weight. According to [8], affixes like *-(a)tion*, *-ment*, *-al*, *-ity*, *-ness* in English, are called transpositional affixes—primarily changing the category of their bases without any additional semantic modification. However, some of them are more semantically loaded such as *-ee* that indicates a person undergoing an action; or *-less* that means something ‘without’. In general, the meaning of affixes is not as clear as the meaning of roots, however, according to Stockwell & Minkova (2001) “many of them are almost completely meaningless [13]”.

This study is important since, first, it inspects Hazaragi affixes more exhaustively—to my knowledge no such comprehensive study is carried out so far; second, it discriminates between exclusive Hazaragi and shared affixes with Persian; and third, it identifies the specific number of Hazaragi affixes and categorizes them into inflectional and derivational.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Although it is a very old and rich variety, there has been few works on it. The earliest work on Hazaragi dialect goes back to 1982 by Shahrstani. In the second chapter of *Qamus e Lahja Hazaragi Dari* (1982) he has a brief look at the suffixes in Hazaragi, and discusses only nine suffixes. Sahar (2016) also includes the topic, but he mostly lists affixes of the standard Persian. He also claims there to be infix in Hazaragi, but again gives examples of the standard Persian. My work, here, is relatively different and comprehensive in comparison with them. Shahrstani's work does not include prefixes, but my work does. I have described thirty-seven pure Hazaragi suffixes along with eleven suffixes shared between Hazaragi and the standard Persian. I have also categorized them into inflectional and derivational suffixes. Moreover, I concentrated on affixes which are exclusively used in Hazaragi rather than those which are spoken by urban Hazaras who speak a mixture of Hazaragi and other varieties.

## III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The approach for this study is descriptive analytic. Having a close look at the native speakers' speech paradigms with an aim to describe and distinguish the addressed variety focused mainly on affixes, is in a complete accord with the descriptive analytic approach. Therefore, I worked on the purest possible Hazaragi data. Likewise, productivity and recurrence of the items matter for me whether to consider them as affixes. After all, as a speaker of this variety with the background of teaching languages, I have applied my own observations and analyses too.

## IV. METHOD

The data for this study are partly gathered in a fieldwork. The sources of data are sound-records and interviews. Besides, I have also used a couple of books as primary collections of Hazaragi words and a couple of books as collections of Hazaragi folk poems and proverbs as well as some Hazaragi plays and songs on YouTube channel.

## V. HAZARAGI PREFIXES

A prefix is defined as “a bound morpheme that is added to the beginning of a free morpheme to form a new composite word of either a similar or different word class [6]”. In Hazaragi there are totally fourteen prefixes most of which are used in standard Persian as well. Since inflection and derivation seem somehow important in discussing affixes, I preferred to add another column to the table to mark inflection and derivation. “Inflection refers to word formation that does not change category and does not create new lexemes, but rather changes the form of lexemes so that they fit into different grammatical contexts [8]”. According to [3], inflected forms of words are the kind of variations that words exhibit on the basis of their grammatical context, “while the basic function of derivational processes is to enable language users to form new lexemes [2]. Table (1) below exhibits Hazaragi prefixes.

PREFIXES USED IN HAZARAGI: TABLE (1)

Prefix	inf/ der	function/meaning	Example
<i>baa-</i> /bɑː/	der	having	<i>baaadab</i> ‘polite’, <i>baawiqaar</i> ‘self-respected’
<i>bad-</i> /bæd/	der	bad, ill, imperfect	<i>badbeya</i> ‘short’, <i>basrad</i> ‘ugly’, <i>badzibo</i> ‘curser’
<i>be-</i> /be/	der	lacking, without	<i>beadab</i> ‘impolite’, <i>besharm</i> ‘brash’, <i>besar</i> ‘naughty’
<i>be-</i> /be/ <i>bi-</i> /biː/ <i>bo-</i> /bo/ <i>bu-</i> /buː/	inf	imperative marker	<i>bekho</i> ‘read’, <i>bekhar</i> ‘buy’, <i>bekhai</i> ‘chew’ <i>bishi</i> ‘sit down’, <i>biya</i> ‘come’, <i>bizo</i> ‘hit’ <i>boro</i> ‘go’, <i>bokhor</i> ‘eat’, <i>boposh</i> ‘wear’ <i>buguy</i> ‘say’, <i>bumur</i> ‘die’, <i>bubur</i> ‘take’
<i>dar-</i> /dær/	inf	inside, entering	<i>darmad</i> ‘entered’, <i>darmand</i> ‘become helpless’
<i>am-</i> /am/	der	shared, in common	<i>amshi/amcaya</i> ‘neighbor’, <i>amdars</i> ‘classmate’

<i>im-</i> /im/	der	current, this	<i>imroz</i> ‘today’, <i>imsaal</i> ‘this year’, <i>imshaaw</i> ‘tonight’
<i>khosh-</i> /xɔʃ/	der	easy to handle	<i>khoshwas</i> ‘easy to open’, <i>khoshkaar</i> ‘easy to handle’
<i>me-</i> /me/ <i>mi-</i> /mi:/ <i>mo-</i> /mɔ/ <i>mu-</i> /mu:/	inf	Non-Past marker	<i>meya</i> ‘comes’, <i>mefa</i> ‘finds’, <i>mekhara</i> ‘buys’ <i>mishina</i> ‘sits down’, <i>mirasa</i> ‘reaches’, <i>midiya</i> ‘gives’ <i>mora</i> ‘goes’, <i>moposha</i> ‘wears’, <i>mokhora</i> ‘eats’ <i>muga</i> ‘says’, <i>mubura</i> ‘takes’ <i>mukuna</i> ‘does’
<i>naa-</i> /nɔ:/	der	ill, not, imperfect	<i>naajor</i> ‘not healthy’, <i>naado</i> ‘unwise’, <i>naarawa</i> ‘tricky’
<i>na-</i> /næ/	inf	negative marker	<i>naro</i> ‘don’t go’, <i>namora</i> ‘didn’t go’, <i>namad</i> ‘didn’t come’
<i>pur-</i> /pu:r/	der	full of	<i>purbaad</i> ‘full of air’, <i>puraaw</i> ‘full of water’
<i>sar-</i> /sar/	der	towards	<i>sarchapa</i> ‘upside down’, <i>sarshewa</i> ‘downwards’
<i>shakh-</i> /ʃæx/	der	hard to handle	<i>shakhwaas</i> ‘hard to open’, <i>shakhpesh</i> ‘hard to close’

## VI. HAZARAGI SUFFIXES

A suffix according to Greenbaum & Nelson (2002) is “an ending to a word that produces another word; for example, the suffix *ful* is added to *help* to produce *helpful* [5]”. Hazaragi suffixes are better to be classified as pure Hazaragi suffixes and shared ones with Persian.

## VII. PURE HAZARAGI SUFFIXES

More than half of the suffixes in Hazaragi are dialect specific. It means that most of them are not used in Persian. Pure Hazaragi suffixes are shown in table (2).

HAZARAGI SUFFIXES: TABLE (2)

Suffix	inf/ der	Function/Meaning	Example
-alji /ældʒi:/ -dalji /dʌldʒi:/	inf	causative maker	<i>gashtalji</i> ‘to make walk’ (V + alji =V) <i>qaardalji</i> ‘to make angry’ (N + dalji = V)
-andug /ændu:g/	der	agent maker	<i>shaakhandug</i> ‘horning animal’, <i>laghandug</i> ‘kiking one’
-ass /æs/	inf	certain sounds	<i>sharrass</i> ‘sound of water or rain’
-bala /bælæ/	der	upper direction	<i>qolbala</i> ‘upwards the valley’, <i>banbala</i> ‘upwards the hill’
-chalo /tʃælɒ/ -chilo /tʃilɒ/	der	like	<i>memochalo</i> ‘like guests’, <i>siyaalchilo</i> ‘like a rival’
-da /dæ/	der	changing	<i>khubda</i> ‘getting better’, <i>badda</i> ‘getting worse’
-ghu /yu:/	der	capable of making	<i>peroghu</i> ‘a piece of cloth for making clothes’
-jai /dʒɔ:i/	der	place of something	<i>khaarajai</i> ‘storage’, <i>boljajai</i> ‘place of appointment’
-kanai /kənai/ -kalai /kəlai/	der	mutual action	<i>mazaaqkanai</i> ‘cracking jokes with each other’ <i>taashakanai</i> ‘playing <i>hide and find</i> ’ (in positive context)
-kari /kəri:/	der	mutual action	<i>mushtkari</i> ‘punching each other’ (in negative context)
-khana /xænæ/	der	place of something, part of the house	<i>awkhana</i> ‘river’, <i>gawkhana</i> ‘stable’, <i>balkhana</i> ‘roof’ <i>paskhana</i> ‘corridor’
-ki /ki:/	der	adverb making	<i>rasaki</i> ‘from right to left’ <i>chabaki</i> ‘from left to right’
-khsɒ /xsɒ/	der	looking like	<i>mandakhso</i> ‘looking tired’ <i>takhtakhso</i> ‘sure, friendly’
-la /læ/	der	pretending as	<i>mardagla</i> ‘acting like a man’, <i>saamtula</i> ‘horrifying’
-lo /lɒ/	der	shows place or time	<i>bollo</i> ‘upper position’, <i>shawlo</i> ‘during the night’
-manid /mæni:d/	der	shows similarity	<i>yetimmanid</i> ‘like an orphan’, <i>aatamanid</i> ‘like his father’
-nadam /nædæm/	der	approximation to	<i>siyanadam</i> ‘nearly black’, <i>zardnadam</i> ‘yellowish’
-shew /ʃew/	der	downwards	<i>banshew</i> ‘downwards the hill’
-soy /soi/	der	approximation to	<i>safidsoy</i> ‘nearly white’, <i>swoozsoy</i> ‘greenish’
-sughud	der	approximation to	<i>yeftsughud</i> ‘nearly dry’, <i>tarsughud</i> ‘humidly’

/suyu:q̌/			
-tala /ťælæ/	der	adverb of manner	wolghtala_ ‘suddenly’
-tu /ťu:/	der	having the quality	mastu ‘tasty’, bartu ‘wide’, koshishtu ‘hard worker’
-um /u:m/	Inf	1SG.agr	raftum ‘I went’, morum ‘I will go’
-ug /u:g/	der	agent marker	khaidanug ‘biter’, zadanug ‘beater’, koshtanug ‘killer’
-ung /u:ŋ/	der	agent marker	khaawung ‘sleep lover’, teezung ‘one who farts a lot’

References [4] and [12] have listed **-qo** and **-sha**, as in *qab-qo* ‘trap’, *chap-qo* ‘storm’, *qash-qo* ‘care’, and *kak-sha* ‘looking proud’, *bad-sha* ‘badmouthing somebody’. Looking at the instances in the lexicon and the recurrences, I am of the opinion that **-qo** is not a suffix. The reason is when we omit it from *chapqo*, we get the word *chap* which means left and has nothing to do with the wind or storm. The same way, if we omit the second syllable – *qo* - from *qashqo*, the first syllable – *qash-* means nothing, and is not recurrent at all; same thing is the case with *kaksha*. Regarding *qabqo*, if we omit the second syllable – *qo-*, the remaining part – *qab-* means ‘to snatch’ in Kabuli Persian, but it is not current in Hazaragi. So, if we assume that **-qo**, means a device, it does not match other examples. Coming to the word *badsha*, bad means bad, and if we suppose that **-sha** means saying or doing in a particular way, we don’t find other examples to approve the hypothesis. Another example is “**-ji**” in words such as *ghol-ji* ‘to abandon’ *qar-ji* ‘to see’ [12], *kul-ji* ‘to wrap up’, *ghon-ji* ‘firstly mother cow’, *don-ji* ‘secondly mother cow’, *qan-ji* ‘to drink enough water’ *sun-ji* ‘stretch’, *wul-ji* ‘the voice of a wolf when roaring’. The second syllable of these words are thought to be a suffix, but since the first part which is thought to be roots without the so-called suffix mean nothing, and are not recurrent which again does not fulfill the criterion for being a suffix. For me, it seems to be part of those words that merely rhyme one another. *man-ji* ‘to send a message’ is another word that rhymes that set of words, but is clearly a short form of “*miyanji*” a standard Persian word that means to mediate. In these examples, except for *ghonji* and *donji*, which are nouns, others are verbs. I think they merely rhyme one another, that is all.

## VIII. SHARED SUFFIXES BETWEEN HAZARAGI AND STANDARD PERSIAN

TABLE (3)

Suffix	Inf/der	Function/meaning	Example
-aa /ɔ:/	inf	plural marker	<i>dirakhtaa</i> ‘trees’, <i>sewaa</i> ‘apples’, <i>qalamaa</i> ‘pens’
-a /ə/ -a /æ/	inf	3SG. AGR marker PastP. Marker	<i>`rafta</i> ‘has gone’, <i>`murda</i> ‘had died’ (1 <sup>st</sup> syl stressed) <i>raf ta</i> ‘gone’ <i>mur`da</i> ‘dead’ (last syl stressed)
-baaz /ba:z/	der	skill, hobby	<i>chalbaaz</i> ‘tricky’, <i>qimaarbaaz</i> ‘gambler’
-cha /tʃæ/	der	diminutive marker	<i>astincha</i> ‘single sleeve’, <i>kamancha</i> ‘small bow’
-haa /hɔ:/	inf	PL. M. (formal Persian & vowel ending Hazaragi)	<i>dargahaa</i> ‘doors’, <i>pasnahaa</i> ‘followers’
-id /i:d/	inf	2PL. AGR	<i>shumo raftid</i> ‘you went’
-inda /inɔæ/	der	agent marker	<i>rawinda</i> ‘leaver’, <i>burinda</i> ‘sharp’
-gar /gær/	der	agent marker	<i>kaargar</i> ‘worker’, <i>gashtgar</i> ‘beggar’
-i /i:/ -yi /ji:/ -gi /gi:/	der	attributive/genitive marker	<i>Irani</i> , <i>Iraqi</i> , <i>Rusi</i> <i>Keralaayi</i> , <i>Malizyaayi</i> , <i>Amrikaayi</i> <i>Hazaragi</i> , <i>Quitagi</i> , <i>aaghilgi</i> ‘villagers’
-tar /tær/	der	comparative marker	<i>behtar</i> ‘better’, <i>badtar</i> ‘worse’, <i>kamtar</i> ‘lesser’
-tarin /tæri:n/	der	superlative marker	<i>behtarin</i> ‘the best’, <i>badtarin</i> ‘the worst’
-um /u:m/	der	ordinal number	<i>chaarum</i> ‘forth’, <i>chandum</i> ‘which number’
-zaar /zɔ:r/	der	place where certain plants fully grow’	<i>khaarzaar</i> ‘a place where teasel grows’, <i>jawzaar</i> (jaw ‘barley’)

There is another set of shared suffixes between Hazaragi and Persian which are used with a slight phonological or semantic difference. For example, the coda of *-ag/-gag* in standard Persian is unvoiced in all phonological environments as *-ak/-gak*, *-chi* in standard Persian is used to show profession, *-wory* in Persian is *-waar* [7], and *-daani* in standard Persian is *-daan* [1].

TABLE (4)

Suffix	Inf/ der	Function/Meaning	Example
-ag /æɡ/ -gag /gæɡ/	der	diminutive marker (-ak/gak in Persian)	<i>botalag</i> ‘a small bottle’ <i>kotagag</i> ‘short person’ (/g/ is inserted intervocalic)
-and /ænd/	inf	causative marker (-aand in Persian)	<i>khurand</i> ‘made it eat’ <i>joshaand</i> ‘made it boil’
-chi /tʃi/	der	participant in a gathering (profession in Persian)	<i>toychi</i> ‘participant in a wedding party’, <i>aashaarchi</i> ‘participant in a teamwork for another’s help’ <i>aabdaarchi</i> ‘waterman’
-daani /d̪a:ni:/	der	pot for something (-daan in Persian)	<i>qandaani</i> ‘jar for sugar’, <i>namagdaani</i> ‘jar for salt’
-go /gʊ/	inf	PL.M. (-gaan in Persian)	<i>berigo</i> ‘brides’, <i>aajago</i> ‘ladies’ <i>buzghalago</i> ‘kids’ <i>waazhagaan</i> ‘lexicon’, <i>bardagaan</i> ‘slaves’
-i /i:/	inf	1PL/2SG.AGR (only 2SG in Persian)	<i>mo/tu rafti</i> ‘we/you went’
-na /næ/	der	adverb of time/place (-aana only adverb of time in Persian)	<i>rozna</i> ‘during the day’, <i>pasna</i> ‘the following one’, <i>shabaana</i> ‘during the night’
-o /ʊ/	inf	PL.M. (-aan in Persian)	<i>buzo</i> ‘goats’, <i>mardako</i> ‘men’, <i>aso</i> ‘horses’ <i>aspaan</i> ‘horses’
-wo /wʊ/	der	manager (-baan in Persian)	<i>baaghwo</i> ‘gardener’, <i>motarwo</i> ‘driver’ <i>grouhbaan</i> ‘team leader’
-wory /wʊri:/	der	showing similarity (-waar in Persian)	<i>sagwory</i> ‘like a dog’, <i>golwory</i> ‘like a flower’ <i>bozorgwaar</i> ‘like a great person’

## IX. CONCLUSION

This study was centered on affixes in Hazaragi (a variety of Persian in Afghanistan). This study concludes that there are two types of affixes in Hazaragi: prefixes and suffixes. Generally, there are two prefixes and twenty-five suffixes exclusively used in Hazaragi.



Moreover, there are twelve prefixes and twenty-three suffixes shared with standard Persian. Certain affixes commonly used in Hazaragi and standard Persian have the same phonetic forms, with semantically different indications such as *-chi* which means attending a gathering in Hazaragi, but in standard Persian it means profession. Similarly, *-gi* in Hazaragi means the population of a place, togetherness and attributive, but in standard Persian it is attributive only. This study, as a primary and introductory work, may pave the way for further discussions on productivity of the affixes and categorizing them as noun-forming, verb-forming, adjective-forming and adverb-forming.

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