

# A Description of Derivational Affixes in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin

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## Abstract

Sarhaddi Balochi dialect, a language variety of Western (Rakhshani) Balochi, employs derivation through affixation as one of its word formation processes. The purpose of this article is to present a synchronic description of different way(s) derivational affixes function in making complex words in Sarhaddi Balochi as spoken in Granchin<sup>1</sup> district located about 35Kms to the southeast of Khash in Sistan and Baluchestan Province of The Islamic Republic of Iran. The linguistic corpus was gathered through fieldwork. The data were collected from the free speech of 10 uneducated native speakers including 5 males and 5 females with an age range of around 50-80 years living in Granchin with various social backgrounds. The findings of the research signify that complex words of this dialect are derived via derivational prefixes, infixes and suffixes, among which derivational suffixes are more active or productive. The research also shows that the main derivatives of this dialect are derived nouns, derived verbs, derived adjectives, and derived adverbs.

**Keywords:** Affixation, Derivation, Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes

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<sup>1</sup> - In what follows by Sarhaddi Balochi, we mean Sarhaddi Balochi spoken in Granchin district.

## **1. Introduction**

Inflectional morphology of a few Balochi dialects have been described for the most part; for example, Jahani (2003) studied the case system in Iranian Balochi. Baranzehi (2003) in his fieldwork on Sarawani Balochi described the phonological, nominal and verbal systems of this dialect. Mahmoodi Bakhtiari (2003) compared the tense systems in Balochi and Standard Persian. Axenov (2006) provided a linguistic description of phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of Balochi of Turkmenistan but not its word formation. Ahangar (2007) provided a synchronic description of the verbal system of Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin. Korn (2008) studied the nominal systems of Balochi to see whether it is possible to present a nominal system for all Balochi dialects. Korn (2009) presenting data from different Balochi dialects including Eastern, Southern and Western Balochi tried to update, complete and in some points, correct previous descriptions of the ergative system of Balochi. Jahani and Korn (2009) investigated the phonology, morphology and syntax of different Balochi dialects with a brief part about word formation including just nominal and verbal word formations. Ahangar, Mahmoodzahi and Jamalzahi (2013) presented a description of compound and compound-complex words in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin. They (2014) also investigated the inflectional structure of verb in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin.

However, what makes the present study different from those mentioned is the fact that the derivational morphology of Iranian Balochi dialects, especially the Iranian Sarhaddi Balochi, has not been exclusively studied in the way applied here. This research is just devoted to the extraction of the most productive derivational affixes and derivatives observed in the linguistic corpus under investigation, which can offer some fruitful data for other researchers interested to study different related subjects of derivational morphology of

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Balochi in general. As many dialects are highly under the influence of standard languages, the Iranian Sarhaddi Balochi as one of the main dialects of Balochi (an Iranian language) with just an oral representation needs to be investigated and documented as well.

The Sarhaddi Balochi is a subdivision of Western Balochi spoken in Eastern Iran, in pockets in Khorasan and Golestan, then further south in Sistan and in the northern parts of Balochistan around Zahedan and Khash (Jahani & Korn, 2009).

In Sarhaddi Balochi, based on isolatability of words to their elements, they can be classified into two major classes of simple and non-simple words.

Simple words consist of just one free morpheme of different lexical and/or grammatical categories such as:

(1). a. noun: /haʃʃ/ “quern”, /asp/ “horse”, tʃangol/ “finger”, /ʃakk/ “comb”.

b. verb: /wart-/ past stem of “to eat”, /dzat-/ past stem of “to hit”, /dist-/ past stem of “to see”, /ʃoʃt-/ past stem of “to wash”.

c. adjective: /tahl/ “bitter”, /lahm/ “soft”, /sakk/ “hard”, /grɑn/ “heavy” or “expensive”.

d. adverb: /zi/ “yesterday”, /bɑ:z/ “much”, /gorɑ(n)/ “then”, /zabr/ “well”.

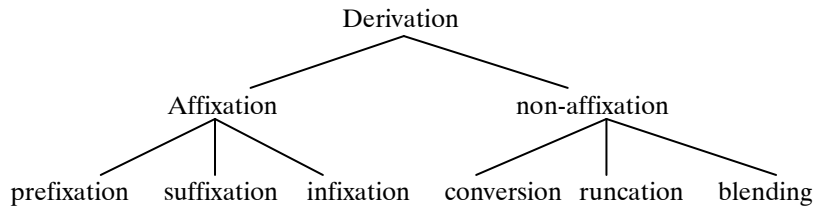
e. particle: /pa(r)/ “for”, /ʃa/ “from”, /guə/ “with”, /ke/ “that”.

Non-simple words, on the other hand, consist of at least two roots or a root and a bound morpheme called affix. Non-simple words are the result of different word-formation processes including derivation, compounding and reduplication. Therefore, they can be found as complex, compound, compound-complex and reduplicated forms such as:

(2). a. Complex words: /dast-ag/ “handle” (noun), /sar-kapt-en/ “to go up” (infinitive), /war-uək/ “gluttonous” (adjective), /balad-i/ “upwards” (adverb)

- b. Compound words: /ruə neʃt/ “sunset” (noun), /del trakk/ “scared” (adjective), /pa tʃiə/ “why” (adverb), /bəl kort-en/ “to fly” (infinitive).
- c. Compound - complex words: /tʃar tʃap-i/ “a kind of dancing” (noun), /dʒopp-ok dʒat-en/ “to jump up and down” (infinitive), /hwab gin-ak/ “sleepy”(adjective), /sar torr-ak/ “dizzy”(adjective).
- d. Reduplicated words: /moʃ moʃ/ “fist fist” (adverb), /bor bor/ “cut cut” (adjective/adverb), /gapp gapp/ “barking” (onomatopoeia), /kapp kapp/ “half half” (adjective/adverb), /zahg mahg/ “child and the like” (noun).

As Plag (2003, p. 17) in his classification of derivational morphology represents, one way of derivation of complex words is through affixation which is in the forms of prefixation, suffixation and infixation:



The same classification can be observed in Sarhaddi Balochi affixation process of word formation, where various kinds of derivational affixes are employed to build new words. The present research aims at providing a synchronic description of a variety of main derivational affixes of Sarhaddi Balochi dialect in three sections. Apart from introduction, section two is devoted to derivation through affixation including two subsections of (a) verbal affixes and (b) nominal, adjectival and adverbial affixes. The last three kinds of complex words are grouped together because of multi functional affixes used in the derivation of new lexemes. In this section, each complex word is presented

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under its componential structure based on its derivation through prefixation, infixation or suffixation as well. The last section is the conclusion.

## 2. Derivational Affixes

“Derivation involves the creation of one lexeme from another” (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011, p. 47). The process of derivation makes new lexemes through two ways of affixation and without affixation. “Affixes are bound forms and never occur unless attached, directly or indirectly, to a root. Affixes attach only to specific classes of root- for instance, only to noun roots” (Spencer 2006, p. 107). In a more recent view, “sometimes an affix may attach to stems of more than one category” (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011, p. 118). According to their position with regard to the root, affixes can be classified as prefixes, suffixes, and infixes in Sarhaddi Balochi. The main derivatives of this dialect are complex verbs, complex nouns, complex adjectives, and complex adverbs. In Sarhaddi Balochi, with the exception of complex verbs, you’ll see some affixes (just prefixes and suffixes) which are used in the structure of complex nouns, adjectives and adverbs. This is because of the fact that in Sarhaddi Balochi, some adjectives can function as nouns as well. These adjectives can be declined in nominal inflectional morphology. For instance, an adjective like /*gwanḁ-ok*/ ‘small’ can be pluralized as a noun /*gwanḁ-ok-an*/ ‘the small’ or take nominal case markers as in:

- (3) /*gwanḁ-ok-a*    *b-zu*/  
small-SUFF-ACC IMP-take.PRES.2SG  
‘Take the small one’.

They can also take indefinite marker /-iə/ as nouns:

- (4) /*man war-uək-iə*    *na-hon*/  
I eat.PRES-PRP-INDEF NEG-COP.PRES.1SG  
‘I’m not a gluttonous.’

On the other hand, some nouns or adjectives can function as adverbs with no differences in form. In Sarhaddi Balochi, adjectives are used in attributive (Adj + inflectional attributive suffix /-iən/) or predicative form. As an example, the word /tonna-ka/ is used as an adjective or adverb of manner successively in the following sentences:

- (5) /ham-crag            **ton-aka-** w-at-an/  
Emph- like that    thirsty-SUFF-HI-COP.PAST-3PL  
'They were thirsty like that '
- (6) /**ton-aka**            mort-a/  
thirsty-SUFF        die. PAST-PP.3SG  
'He/she died thirsty'.

These multi-functional affixes are extracted from the given data and presented in table 2. Because of this, some affixes used in the structure of complex nouns, adjectives and adverbs are grouped under one heading but in three subsections of nominal, adjectival and adverbial prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

## 2.1. Verbal Affixes

The derivation of complex verbs in Sarhaddi Balochi is performed through the addition of three prefixes, namely, /ber-/, /dar-/, and /sar-/.

### 2.1.1. /ber-/

It adds its meaning of 'being up or over something' to verbal derivatives.

**/ber-/ + V → PreV**

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- (7) a. /ber kort-en/ 'to put food on the fire'      b. /ber tʃet-en/ 'to pull up'  
c. /ber gept-en/ 'to measure the size of the clothes'  
d. /ber kaʃet-en/ 'to pull up'  
e. /ber gaʃt-en/ 'to come back'  
f. /ber but-en/ 'to load'

**2.1.2. /dar-/**

It has the meaning of 'moving outwards' and combines with some verbs to make preverbal verbs with this added meaning.

**/dar- + V → PreV**

- (8) a. /dar kort-en/ 'to drive out'      b. /dar (j)aht-en/ 'to style, to grow'  
c. /dar but-en/ 'to come out'      d. /dar reht-en/ 'to pour out'  
e. /dar kapt-en/ 'to come out'      f. /dar rapt-en/ 'to escape'

**2.1.3. /sar- + V → PreV**

Unlike two previous prefixes, /sar-/ has different meanings of 'beginning, moving upwards or more'.

- (9) a. /sar gept-en/ 'to begin to go'      b. /sar kapt-en/ 'to go up'  
c. /sar dot-en/ 'to pay additional money'  
d. /sar kort-en/ 'to put on the head, to know'

**2.2. Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Affixes**

Complex nouns of Sarhaddi Balochi are denominal, deverbal, and deadjectival nouns which are created through prefixation and suffixation processes. Complex adjectives are derived through prefixation, infixation and suffixation. Denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial adverbs of Sarhaddi Balochi are derived through prefixation and suffixation. All the affixes found in the

structure of words as nouns, adjectives or adverbs with multi functional ones in bold are presented in table 1.

**Table 1. Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Affixes of Sarhaddi Balochi**

Derivatives	Affixes	
Noun	Prefix	<b>/ham-/</b>
	Suffix	/-a(g)/, /-ak/, /-a(n)/, /-ad/, <b>/ak/</b> , /-ar/, /-ask/, /-ek/, /-dan/, /-gar/, /-ger/, /-i/, /-iən/, /-ink/, /-ok/, /-pag/, /-pan/, /-tʃak/, /-uə/, /-uə(n)k/
Adjective	Prefix	/ba-/, <b>/biə-/</b> , /na-/, /na-/, <b>/ham-/</b>
	Infix	/-a-/
	Suffix	/-aki/, /-a/, /-ak/, /-anag/, /-ask/, /-gar/, /-i/, /-nak/, /-ok/, /-uə/, /-uək/, /-war/
Adverb	Prefix	<b>/biə-/</b> , <b>/ham-/</b>
	Suffix	/-aka/, /-i/, /-iəna/, /-manand/

As you see, there are some common affixes in different derivatives which show that a single affix can be found in derivatives of different word categories. As follows, these affixes together with different derivatives are presented.

### 2.2.1. Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Prefixes

A limited number of prefixes found in the provided data include as the following:

#### 2.2.1.1. /ba-/

/ba-/ meaning ‘with or possess’ attaches to nouns and makes derivatives functioning as nouns or adjectives:



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**/ba-/ + N → N / Adj**

- (10) a. /ba-hoda/ ‘Godly’, ‘faithful’      b. /ba-haja/ ‘modest’  
c. /ba-iman/ ‘believer’                      d. /ba-habar/<sup>1</sup> ‘informed’  
e. /ba-sawat/ ‘literate’

**2.2.1.2. /biə-/**

This prefix has a negative meaning of ‘without or less’ and is productive. It attaches to nouns and adds this negative meaning to derived words:

**/biə-/ + N → Adj**

- (11) a. /biə-tam/      ‘tasteless’                      b. /biə-del/      ‘timid’  
c. /biə-muətʃ/      ‘soundless’                      d. /biə-tawar/ ‘noiseless’  
e. /biə-wahond/ ‘with no lord’                      f. /biə-ruəz/      ‘poor’  
g. /biə-ʃam/      ‘poor, someone who has  
not eaten dinner’                      h. /biə-hajal/ ‘forget’  
i. /biə-was/      ‘helpless, poor’                      j. /biə-sar/      ‘comatose’  
k. /biə-baht/      ‘with no fortune’                      l. /biə-kas/      ‘helpless’  
m. /biə-buə/      ‘with no smell’                      n. /biə-rang/      ‘colorless’  
o. /biə-andʒɑd/ ‘with no elegance’

Some of the derived words (11.c & d) can function as adverbs, too.

**2.2.1.3. /ham-/**

This prefix attaches to nouns and makes nouns that express family relations, partnership, and companionship:

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<sup>1</sup>- /ba-habar/ “informed” and /ba-sawat/ “literate, educated” are made under the influence of Persian words/ ba-xabar/and /ba-savad/, respectively. /sahi/ is the Balochi equivalent for/ba-habar/.

**/ham-/ + N → N**

- (12) a. /ham-zolp/ ‘husband of wife’s sister’  
b. /ham-sahag/ ‘neighbor’  
c. /ham-habar/ ‘companion’  
d. /ham-rah/ ‘companion’  
e. /ham-dʒerat/ ‘wife of husband’s brother’

The prefix /ham-/ also expresses similarity and unity. It adjoins nouns to make denominal adjectives:

**/ham-/ + N → Adj**

- (13) a. /ham-sar-uə (k) / ‘of the same age’  
b. /ham-firk<sup>1</sup>/ ‘two babies born by the same mother one after another in a short period of time i.e., the feeding (milking) period of the first one not being finished yet, the next one is born.’  
c. /ham-ball/ ‘twin, very similar’  
d. /ham-kuəpag/ ‘of the same height’  
e. /ham-sar/ ‘of the same size’

An adverb of manner or an adjective can also be derived by adding this prefix to a noun:

**/ham-/ + N → Adv/Adj**

- (14) /ham-həl/ ‘of the same situation’

#### **2.2.1.4. /na-/**

This prefix attaches to present or past stem of some verbs and makes adjectives with negative meaning of ‘not or less’:

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<sup>1</sup> /firk/ is a form of the word /fir/ ‘milk’

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**na-/ + present stem → Adj**

- (15) a. /na-dar/ ‘poor, have nothing’      b. /na-suəz/<sup>1</sup> ‘fire proof’  
c. /na-tors/ ~ /na tros/ ‘fearless’

**/na-/ + past stem → Adj**

- (16) /na-zat/ ‘childless’

**2.2.1.5. /nɑ-/**

By adding this prefix to a noun, adjective, quantifier or present stem, adjectives with negative meaning of ‘not’ are made:

**/nɑ-/ + N/Adj → Adj**

- (17) a. /nɑ-w<sup>2</sup>-umiət/ ‘disappointed’      b. /nɑ-towan/ ‘unable, sickly’  
c. /nɑ-mard/ ‘coward’      d. /nɑ-balad/ ‘unskilled’  
e. /nɑ-bud/ ‘not strong, weak’

**/nɑ-/ + Adj/ Quant → Adj**

- (18) a. /nɑ-sahi/ ‘unaware’      b. /nɑ-pahk/ ‘unclean’  
c. /nɑ-hetʃtʃ/ ‘for nothing’      d. /nɑ-sarpad/ ‘not justified’  
e. /nɑ-sarhal/ ‘unwary’

**/nɑ-/ + present stem → Adj**

- (19) a. /nɑ-fuəd/ ‘unwashed’      b. /nɑ-hwan/<sup>3</sup> ‘illiterate’  
c. /nɑ-duətʃ/ ‘not sewn’      d. /nɑ-dan/ ‘untaught’  
e. /nɑ-ras/<sup>4</sup> ‘unripe, green’

<sup>1</sup> - This word is made under the influence of Persian word /na-su:z/. The Balochi form is /nɑ-suətʃ/

<sup>2</sup> - /w/ is a hiatus which occurs between two vowels.

<sup>3</sup> The present stems /hwan/ and /dan/ are taken from Persian words /xand-an/ ‘to read’ and /dānest-an/ ‘to know’. Only the second one has a Balochi equivalent that is /zant-en/.

<sup>4</sup> - Besides, this word is also used in Persian, /kark/ with the same meaning is used in Sarhaddi Balochi.

## **2.2.2. Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Infixes**

### **2.2.2.1. /-a-/**

In a group of words observed in the data, this infix is used in reduplicated forms in which the base is an adjective or a noun, The derived word is an adjective with an intensive meaning:

**Adj / N + /-a-/ + Adj / N → Adj**

- (20) a. /tuh-a-tuh / ‘so big’  
b. /sohr-a- sohr/ ‘much red’  
c. /porr-a-porr/ ‘so fat’  
d. /nark-a-nark/ ‘so straight that cannot be easily bent’  
e. /ga33-a-ga33/ ‘so moody’

**Adj / N + /-a-/ + Adj / N → Adj**

- (20) a. /tuh-a-tuh / ‘so big’  
b. /sohr-a- sohr/ ‘much red’  
c. /porr-a-porr/ ‘so fat’  
d. /nark-a-nark/ ‘so straight that cannot be easily bent’  
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- (20) a. /tuh-a-tuh / ‘so big’  
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c. /porr-a-porr/ ‘so fat’  
d. /nark-a-nark/ ‘so straight that cannot be easily bent’  
e. /ga33-a-ga33/ ‘so moody’

## **2.2.3. Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Suffixes**

Spencer (2006, p. 115) states that “it has often been noted that languages show a stronger preference for suffixing than for prefixing.” In this regard, you find more suffixes than prefixes in Sarhaddi Balochi, too.

### 2.2.3.1. /-ag/

This suffix attaches to nouns, numbers, adjectives or verbal stems to derive new nouns. It should be mentioned that attaching this suffix to the present form of some verbs makes a form of infinitive used in Sarhaddi Balochi.<sup>1</sup> So, it also functions as an inflectional suffix. Appending to nouns indicating instruments or body parts, this suffix makes derivatives similar to roots in meaning:

**N + /-ag/ → N**

- (21) a. /dast-ag/ ‘handle’                      b. /fir-ag/ ‘juice, distillate(of date)’  
c. /tʃamm-ag/ ‘Spring’

The suffix /-ag/ attaches to some numbers and creates nouns indicating a particular period of time:

**Num + /-ag/ → N**

- (22) a. /ʃaf-ag/ ‘The sixth day of a newborn’s birth’                      b. /hapt-ag/ ‘week’  
c. /tʃell-ag/ ‘a period of forty day time’

It is also added to adjectives to make nouns similar to their roots in shape, direction, quality or color:

**Adj + /-ag/ → N**

- (23) a. /gerd-ag/ ‘A kind of bread with a round shape’                      b. /səp-ag/ ‘flat place’  
c. /borz-ag/ ‘upper place’    d. /dʒohl-ag/ ‘hollow place’  
e. /dʒahl-ag/ ‘low place’    f. /spiət-ag/ ‘egg white’

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<sup>1</sup> There are two forms of infinitive in Sarhaddi Balochi. The second form is expressed through attaching the suffix /-en/ to past stem such as /wart-en/ ‘to eat’.

By attaching this suffix to the present stem of verb, a noun indicating an instrument can be made:

**Present stem + /-a(g)/ → N**

- (24) a. /māl-a(g)<sup>2</sup>/ ‘trowel’    b. /gir-a(g)<sup>3</sup>/ ‘clip’

Attaching to present stem, it makes a noun or infinitive.

**Present stem + /-ag/ → N / Inf**

- (25) a. /ʃar-ag/ ‘food / to eat’    b. /tʃar-ag/ ‘look / to look’  
c. /gwar-ag/ ‘rainfall / to rain’    d. /ħariən-ag/ ‘to itch’  
e. /tʃar-ag/ ‘to grass’    f. /hand-ag/ ‘laugh / to laugh’  
g. /griəw-ag/ ‘cry / to cry’

Apart from its noun making function, it is added to adjectives to make adjectives similar to their roots in meaning:

**Adj + /-ag/ → Adj**

- (26) a. /sabz-ag/ ‘dark colored’    b. /rast-ag/ ‘smooth, flat’

#### 2.2.3.2. /- ak/

Attaching to nouns, it makes diminutives.

**N + /-ak/ → N**

- (27) a. /mard-ak/ ‘the humble man’    b. /dʒan-ak/ ‘the humble woman’

#### 2.2.3.3. /-akɑ/

This suffix is added to nouns or adjectives to make adverbs indicating directions or states. They can also function as predicative adjectives:

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**N + /-akɑ/ → Adv / Adj**

- (28) a. /del-akɑ/ 'prone'                                      b. /gwar-akɑ/ 'sidelong'  
c. /sar-akɑ/ 'headfirst'                                      d. /diəm-akɑ/ 'ahead'  
e. /poʃt-akɑ/ 'backward'

**Adj +/-akɑ/ → Adv / Adj**

- (29) a. /lotʃtʃ-akɑ/ 'hobble'                                      b. /tʃuət-akɑ/ 'sidelong'  
c. /sohr-akɑ/ 'hot'    d. /tahl-akɑ/ 'bitter'  
e. /kark-akɑ/ 'green'    f. /huər-k-akɑ/ 'empty handed'  
g. /kuər-akɑ/ 'blind'

**2.2.3.4. /-aki /**

This suffix attaches to an adjective or past stem of verb to make adjectives similar to the root in meaning.

**Adj +/-aki / → Adj**

- (30) /pir-aki / 'very old'

**/-aki / + past stem → Adj**

- (31) /soht-aki / 'burnt'

**2.2.3.5. /-ɑ/**

A deadjectival adjective or adverb is made by attaching the suffix /-ɑ/ to adjectives:

**/Adj + /-ɑ/ → Adj**

- (32) a. /ruəʃen-ɑ/ 'bright'                                      b. /dur-ɑ/ 'separate, apart'

**2.2.3.6. /-ad/**

It is added to adjectives or adverbs to make nouns with the same meaning as the root:

**Adj / Adv+ /-ad/ → N**

(33) a. /dʒahl-ad/ <sup>1</sup> ‘downside’

### 2.2.3.7. /-ak/

This suffix is added to a present stem and makes deverbal nouns indicating an agent or instrument as the following examples represent them respectively:

**Present stem + /-ak/ → N**

(34) a. /ger-ak/ ‘buyer’                      b. /puəf-ak/ ‘clothing’  
          c. /(h)war-ak/ ‘food’

It also makes adjective from noun or adjective or adverb from noun or present stem:

**N + /-ak/ → Adj**

(35) /zuər-ak/                      ‘powerful’

**Present stem + /-ak/ → Adj / Adv**

(36) /suətʃ-ak/ ‘hot (for food flavor)’

### 2.2.3.8. /-a (n)/

This suffix attaches to adjectives to make nouns:

**Adj + /-a (n) / → N**

(37) a. /garm-a(n)/                      ‘summer’  
          b. /pir-an/                      ‘male name’

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<sup>1</sup>- There are also words like /balad/ “height, up” which end in /-ad/, but unlike /dʒahl-ad/ which is separable to /dʒahl/ “down” and the suffix /-ad/, / balad/ is used as a simple word. /pahnad/ “beside, width” is also used as a simple word.



### 2.2.3.9. /-anag/

It is added to nouns to make adjectives:

**N + /-anag/ → Adj**

(38) a. /diəw-anag/ ‘mad’    b. /nur - anag/ ‘fortunate, lucky’

### 2.2.3.10. /-ar/

By attaching /-ar/ to some past or present stems, nouns are made:

**Past stem + /-ar<sup>1</sup>/ → N**

- (39) a. /gopt-ar/ ‘speech’                      b. /kerd-ar/ ‘act’  
      c. /rapt-ar/ ‘behavior’                     d. /diəd-ar/ ‘meeting’  
      e. /koft-ar/ ‘massacre’                    e. /hwast-ar/<sup>2</sup> ‘suitor’

The suffix /-ar/ appended to some other past stems results in nouns with passive meaning.

(40) /mord-ar/ ‘carrion’

**Present stem + /-ar/ → N**

(41) a. /kof-ar/ ‘massacre’                      b. /kef-ar/ ‘farm’

### 2.2.3.11. /-ask/

An adjective is derived by attaching this suffix to present stem:

**Present stem + /-ask/ → Adj**

(42) /griə-w-ask/ ‘someone who cries easily or most of the time’

---

<sup>1</sup>- This suffix is the same as the suffix /-ar/ in Persian words as /goft-ar/ “speech”, /raft-ar/ “behavior” In other words, this suffix has been observed in borrowed words from Persian.

### 2.2.3.12. /-ek/

Denominals are made through attaching this suffix to nouns:

**N + /-ek/ → N**

- (43) a. /puətʃ-ek/ ‘hull, skin’                      b. /puəst-ek/ ‘peel’  
c. /band-ek/ ‘swaddling clothes’

### 2.2.3.13. /-dan/

Attaching /-dan/ to some nouns, it produces derivatives which indicate containers for storing nouns used in the roots:

**N + /-dan/ → N**

- (44) a. /seng~ segen-dan/ ‘gizzard’                      b. /kah-dan/ ‘barn’  
c. /zahg-dan/ ‘womb’                      d. /kan-dan/ ‘sugar pot’  
e. /surumag-dan/ ‘collyrium box’                      f. /tʃiəl-dan/ ‘gizzard’

### 2.2.3.14. /-gar/ ~ /-ger/

It is added to a present stem or a noun to make nouns indicating doer of an action. In some derivatives, the suffix /-gar/ may change to /-ger/ either. However, in some words only /-ger/ is used.

**Present stem + /-gar/ → N**

- (45) a. /duətʃ-gar/ ~ /duətʃ-ger/ ‘needle worker’

**N + /-gar/ → N**

- (46) a. /sehr-gar/~sehr-ger/ ‘conjurer’                      b. /dro-gar/ ‘harvester’  
c. /baz-gar ‘farmer’s sharer’                      d. /soda-gar/~soda-ger/ ‘tradesman’  
e. /məməla-gar/~məməla-ger/                      f. /penđu-gar/~penđu-ger/ ‘beggar’  
‘businessman’

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By attaching /-gar/ to nouns used for objects, derivatives indicating job or profession are made:

- (47) a. /zar-gar/ 'jeweler'                      b. /kef-ar -gar/-ger/ 'farmer'

**2.2.3.15. /-gar/**

Attaching to present or past verb stems, it makes adjectives:

**Stem + /-gar/ → Adj**

- (48) a. /saz-gar/ 'agreeable'                      b. /mand-gar/ 'settler'

**2.2.3.16. /-i/**

This is a productive suffix with the following usages:

A. Attaching to nouns or adjectives to make abstract nouns expressing relationship, quality or state:

**N + /-i/ → N**

- (49) a. /bras-i/ 'brotherhood'                      b. /gohar-i/ 'sisterhood'  
c. /zahg-i/ 'childhood'

**Adj + /-i/ → N**

- (50) a. /tuh-i/ 'bigness, magnitude'                      b. /gwand-i/ 'smallness, exiguity'  
c. /pir-i/ 'senility'                      d. /s(ij)ah-i/ 'blackness'  
e. /hamag-i/ 'rawness'                      f. /dradz-i/ 'length'  
g. /niək-i/ 'beneficence'

B. Attaching to some nouns to make proper male or female names:

**N + /-i/ → N**

- (51) a. /rah-i/ 'male name'                      b. /gazz-i/ 'male name'  
c. /gandz-i/ 'female name'                      d. /gam-i/ 'male name'  
e. /merad-i/ 'female name'                      f. /saht-i/ 'female name'  
g. /dorr-i/ 'female name'

C. Attaching to some nouns to make nouns indicating jobs or professions:

**N + /-i/ → N**

- (52) a. /ʃwɑnɑg-i/ 'sheepherding'                      b. /keʃɑwɑrʒ-i/ 'agriculture'  
          d. /dɑʃpɑn-i/ 'farm keeping'

D. Attaching to numbers to make nouns for units of bill:

**Num + /-i/ → N**

- (53) a. /hɑzɑr-i/ 'one thousand tomans'            b. /sɑd-i/ 'one hundred tomans'  
          c. /dɑh-i/ 'ten tomans'

E. Attaching to infinitives (just present stem + -ag form) to make adjectives:

**Inf + /-i/ → Adj**

- (54) a. /(h)wɑr-ɑg-i/ 'edible'                              b. /kɔʃ-ɑg-i/ 'ready to kill'  
          c. /pɔdʒdʒ-ɑg-i/ 'controllable'                      d. /sɔr-ɑg-i/ 'movable'  
          e. /mɛr-ɑg-i/ 'dying'                                      f. /rɑw-ɑg-i/ 'ready to go'

F. Attaching to simple or derived nouns to derive adjectives:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (55) a. /gɛs-i/ 'married, ready to marry'            b. /tʃɔnd-i/ 'beggar'  
          c. /dʊt-i/ 'addict'    d. /tʃɛll-i/ 'dirty'  
          e. /hɑk-i/ 'dusty'    f. /dʒɑwɑk-i/ 'a kind of sewing'  
          g. /zɑlɑk-i/ 'suitable for old women'

G. Appending to some nouns, it makes adjectives describing someone who has a characteristic related to what is mentioned in the root:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (56) a. /kɑr-i/ 'active'    b. /ɑkl-i/ 'wise'  
          c. /dʒɑŋg-i/ 'militant'                                      d. /gʷɑt-i/ 'neurotic'  
          e. /dʒɛnn-i/ 'jinni'

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H. Attaching to nouns indicating materials and making adjectives expressing quality of ‘made of the same material’:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (57) a. /laʈt-i/ ‘wooden’                                    b. /mud-i/ ‘hairy’  
c. /kont-i/ ‘made from palm trunk’                    d. /gel-i/ ‘muddy’

I. Attaching to nouns indicating materials and making adjectives with the meaning of being tainted with materials mentioned in the root:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (58) a. /huən-i/ ‘bloody’                                    b. /ruəgen-i/ ‘oily’  
c. /napt-i/ ‘oily’    d. /hək-i/ ‘dusty’  
e. /dut-i/ ‘smoky’

J. Attaching to the names of places, kinfolks and nationalities to make adjectives indicating geographical, cultural and linguistic origins:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (59) a. /ogən-i/ ‘from Afghanistan’                    b. /jiəran-i/ ‘from Iran’  
c. /hwaʃ-i/ ‘from Khash’                                    d. /baluətʃ-i/ ‘Balochi language’  
e. /jirendegan-i/ ‘from Irandedgan’

K. Attaching to some nouns to make adjectives describing people addicted to something mentioned in the root:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (60) a. /tarjak-i/ ‘opium addicted’                        b. /herun-i/ ‘heroin addicted’  
c. /firag-i/ ‘junkie’    d. /amal-i/ ‘addict to fixes’

L. Attaching to instruments, it makes adjectives containing the instrument used in the root:

**N + /i/ → Adj**

- (61) a. /tʃark-i/ ‘cyclist’  
b. /long-i/ ‘someone who wears a shawl on his head or shoulders’  
c. /paq-i/ ‘someone who wears a turban’

M. It is added to some derived adverbs to make new adverbs expressing manner or direction:

**Adv + /i/ → Adv**

- (62) a. /del-akα-j-i/ ‘flatwise, with the flat side down’  
b. /gwar-akα-j-i/ ‘sidelong’  
c. /sar-akα-j-i/ ‘headfirst’  
d. /diəm-akα-j-i/ ‘ahead’  
e. /poft-akα-j-i/ ‘backward’  
f. /tʃuət-akα-j-i/ ‘indirectly’  
g. /kerr-akα-j-i/ ‘sidelong’  
h. /borz-akα-j-i/ ‘upwards’

N. /-i/ is added to different categories to make adverbs of measure:

**N + /-i/ → Adv**

- (63) a. /metr-i/ ‘metric’  
b. /moʃt-i/ ‘fistic’  
c. /schat-i/ ‘hourly’

O. Appending to derived adjectives, adverbs of time can be made to indicate a particular period of time:

**Adj + /-i/ → Adv**

- (64) a. /gwanɔ-ɔk-i/ ‘childhood’  
b. /nend-uək-i/ ‘the time when a child starts sitting’  
c. /tʃalɔng-uək-i/ ‘the time when a child is screaming’

P. Attaching to nouns expressing time, adverbs of time are made:

**N + /-i/ → Adv**

- (65) a. /ʃap-i/ ‘tonight’  
b. /sohb-i/ ‘this morning’  
c. /zohr-i/ ‘this noon’  
d. /haptag-i/ ‘weekly’

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**2.2.3.17. /-iən/<sup>1</sup>**

This suffix attaches to nouns and adjectives to make proper nouns with a meaning similar to their roots. e.g., /gorg-iən/ as a ‘male name’ is a man similar to /gork/ ‘wolf’ in some manners:

**N + /-iən/ → N**

- (66) a. /gorg<sup>2</sup>-iən/ ‘male name’                      b. /zarr-iən/ ‘female name’  
      c. /səz-iən/ ‘female name’                      d. /ruəd-iən/ ‘male name’  
      e. /lɒl<sup>3</sup>-iən/ ‘male name’                      f. /dorr-iən/ ‘female name’

**2.2.3.18. /-iəna/**

This suffix attaches to nouns and makes adverbs of time meaning at the time of root:

**N + /-iəna/ → Adv**

- (67) a. /ʃap-iəna/ ‘at night’                      b. /sohb-iəna/ ‘in the morning’  
      c. /zohr-iəna/ ‘at noon’                      d. /biəgəh-iəna/ ‘in the afternoon’

**2.2.3.19. /-ink/**

/-ink/ attaches to some nouns to make denominal nouns:

**N + /-ink/ → N**

- (68) a. /ruət-ink/ ‘intestine’                      b. /muər-ink/ ‘termite’

<sup>1</sup> - The inflectional attributive suffix in Sarhaddi Balochi is also /-iən/ as in /tuh-iən ges/ ‘big house’

<sup>2</sup> - This word is made under the influence of Persian word /gorg/ ‘wolf’. In Balochi /gork/ is used.

<sup>3</sup> - Taken from the name of /lɒl ʃahbaz/ a famous theosophist buried in Pakistan.

### 2.2.3.20. /-mānand<sup>1</sup>/

It is added to nouns to derive adverbs expressing similarity to the root:

**N + /-mānand/ → Adv**

- (69) a. /hofk-mānand/ ‘seems to be dry’    b. /sohr-mānand/ ‘reddish’  
      c. /buær-mānand/ ‘brownish’

### 2.2.3.21. /-nāk/

It attaches to present stem or noun to make adjectives or adverbs with the meaning of having the quality of the root:

**Present stem +/-nāk/ → Adj / Adv**

- (70) a. /suəz-nāk/ ‘pungent’                      b. /riəs-nāk/<sup>2</sup> ‘tensile’

**N +/-nāk/ → Adj / Adv**

- (71) a. /bad-nāk/ ‘severe cough’                b. /buəd-nāk/ ‘smelly’  
      c. /tors-nāk/ ‘terrific’                      d. /gru<sup>3</sup>-nāk/ ‘proud’

### 2.2.3.22. /-ok/

It affixes to nouns or adjectives and makes three kinds of diminutive nouns:

A.1. Neutral diminutive nouns: This kind of derivative is similar in meaning to the root but smaller in size:

---

<sup>1</sup>- These derivations have been made under the influence of Persian words such as /sorx-mānand/ “reddish” in which /-mānand/ is also added to nouns to derive adverbs similar to their roots in color or quality.

<sup>2</sup>- In Makkorni Balochi, it is pronounced as /liəs-nāk/.

<sup>3</sup>- /gru/ is not used alone as a word. But there are some other forms of this word as /grur/ and /grud/ as well.



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**N + /-ok/ → N**

- (72) a. /kall-ok/ 'small pit'                      b. /falwar-ok/ 'small trousers of a child'  
c. /sonṭ-ok/ 'small beak'                      d. /sorr-ok/ 'small claw'  
e. /dast-ok/ 'small hand, small wooden beams around the tent'  
f. /dʒaɖ-ok/ 'camel calf'  
g. /keʃk-ok/ 'scrabble, small lines'                      h. /poṭṭ-ok/ 'a kind of fig'  
i. /kaʃf-ok/ 'a design in needling like small lines'                      j. /poll-ok/ 'a kind of small jewel that women put on the nose'

A.2. Love diminutive nouns: It describes a man or an animal:

**N + /-ok/ → N**

- (73) a. /zahg-ok/ 'a little child'                      b. /ʃanek-ok/ 'yeaoling'  
c. /dohtar-ok/ 'a little girl'                      d. /batʃak-ok/ 'a little boy'  
e. /dʒuəɭa-ok/ 'spider'

**Adj + /-ok/ → N / Adj**

- (74) a. /gwanṭ-ok/ 'small child'                      b. /pir-ok/ 'grandfather'

A.3. Diminution nouns: These derivatives are formed by attaching the diminutive suffix /-ok/ to some adjectives in order to call down someone who has such an adjective:

**Adj + /-ok/ → N / Adj**

- (75) a. /tʃall-ok/ 'wrinkled'                      b. /tʃuəṭ-ok/ 'zigzag'  
c. /paṭak-ok/ 'Lilliputian'

There are also some other derivatives derived in the following ways:

B. By attaching /-ok/ to some adjectives or nouns, nouns with the same taste of the root are made:

**Adj / N + /-ok/ → N**

(76) a. /dahl-ok/ ‘a kind of mountain plant’    b. /trobf-ok/ ‘a kind of plant with sour taste’

c. /lemp-ok/ ‘a kind of mountain plant’

C. /-ok/ also attaches to nouns indicating some parts of body to make derivatives expressing particular gestures made with the help of the root:

**N + /-ok/ → N<sup>1</sup>**

(77) a. /sar-ok/ ‘look’

b. /tʃamm-ok/ ‘blink’

c. /dast-ok/ ‘pointing with the hand’    d. /zwān-ok/ ‘putting out the tongue’

e. /lonʃ-ok/ ‘sobbing’

D. This suffix joins to adjectives especially those expressing shapes and derives adjectives similar to roots in shape but smaller in size:

**Adj +/-ok/ → Adj**

(78) a. /gerd-ok/ ‘round, female name’

b. /sutʃk-ok/ ‘taper’

c. /glerr~gledq-ok/ ‘round’

d. /luənd-ok/ ‘oval’

e. narm-ok/ ‘sneaky’

**2.2.3.23. /-pag/**

Appending to a denominal noun, it makes a noun. As you see in this derivative, two affixes are attached to the adjectival root to derive two nouns of /garm-ɑ(n)/ and /garm-ɑ-pag/, respectively:

**N + /-pag/ → N**

(79) /garm-ɑ-pag/ ‘summer pimples’

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<sup>1</sup>- All these derivatives (except for tʃamm-ok/ which combines with /dʒaten/) are always used with the verb/korten/ and make compound verbs. In such combinations these derivatives are used as nominal elements of such compound verbs.

**2.2.3.24. /-pan/**

This suffix is added to a noun indicating an object to make a derivative meaning keeper of the object in root:

**N + /-pan/ → N**

- (80) a. /dar-pan/ ‘door keeper’                      b. /daʃ-pan/ ‘farm keeper’

**2.2.3.25. /-tʃak/**

Appending to nouns, it makes denominal nouns:

**N + /-tʃak/ → N**

- (81) /pa(n)-tʃak/ ‘trouser leg’

**2.2.3.26. /-war/**

Attaching to nouns, it makes adjectives:

**N + /-war/ → Adj**

- (82) a. /wumiət-war/ ‘hopeful’                      b. /moʒda-war/ ‘wont’  
c. /nadr-war/ ‘debtor’                              d. /mennat-war/ ‘debtor’  
e. /goh-war/ ‘trespasser’

**2.2.3.27. /-uə/**

This suffix is added to nouns or adjectives to make proper names of people or places:

**N + /-uə/ → N**

- (83) a. /sang-uə/ ‘a place’                      b. /sadr-uə/ ‘a female name’  
c. /ʃah-uə/ ‘a male name’                      d. /lɒl-uə/ ‘a male name’

**Adj + /-uə/ → N**

(84) a. /sijəh-uə/ 'a male name'

/-uə/ is also added to present stem to derive noun:

**Present stem + /-uə/ → N**

(85) /tʃorr-uə/ 'urine'

/-uə/ can derive adjectives from adjectives meaning someone or something that seems to be like or to have the characteristics of the root:

**Adj + /-uə/ → Adj**

- (86) a. /luənd-uə/ 'like an oval'                      b. /tʃuət-uə/ 'seems to be bent'  
c. /ganuək-uə/ 'seems to be mad'                      d. /baləh-uə/ 'seems to be clever'  
e. /poz-uə/ 'seems to parade'                      g. /bəhwat-uə/ 'wacky'

It also derives adjectives with exaggerative meanings from nouns:

**N + /-uə/ → Adj**

- (87) a. /lap-uə/ 'greedy'                      b. /adam-uə/ 'similar to man'  
c. /kuəmp-uə/ 'crookback'                      d. /baruət-uə/ 'having thick mustache'

**2.2.3.28. /-uə(n)k/**

This suffix is used in several ways:

Some derivatives are made through attaching this suffix to an adjective:

**Adj + /-uə(n)k/ → N**

(88) a. /səh-uə(n)k/ 'soot'

An adjective is made through attaching this suffix to a number:

**Num + /-uək/ → Adj**

(89) a. /həpt-uək/ 'premature baby, a human newborn born after seven months of pregnancy'

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By attaching it to present stem of some verbs, present participles are made and used as nouns or adjectives. Jahani and Korn (2009) have called this form an “agent noun”:

#### **Present stem + /-uək/ → N/ Adj**

- |                             |                                      |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (90) a. /bar-uək/ ‘carrier’ | b. /duətʃ- uək/ ‘seamstress, thread’ |
| c. /da-w- uək/ ‘giver’      | d. /koʃ- uək/ ‘killer’               |
| e. /ra-w- uək/ ‘goer’       | f. /war- uək/ ‘eater’                |
| g. /dʒan-uək/ ‘beater’      | h. /ger-uək/ ‘invader’               |
| i. /latʃtʃ-uək/ ‘gummy’     | j. /torr-uək/ ‘pinwheel’             |

This suffix also attaches to some present stems or nouns to make denominal nouns indicating objects:

#### **Present stem + /-uək/ → N**

- (91) /karr-uək/ ‘the toasted food remained at the bottom of the pot’

/-uək/ attaches to adjective or noun to make adjectives with the quality or state of the root.

#### **Adj +/-uək/→Adj**

- (92) a. /lamoʃ-uək/ ‘slippery’                      b. /tahl-uək/ ‘bitter’

#### **N+/-uək/→ Adj**

- (93) a. /zahr-uək/ ‘someone who huffs a lot’    b. /kerm-uək/ ‘grubby’  
c. /tross-uək/ ‘coward’                              d. /rih-uək/ ‘coward’

### **3. Conclusion**

As the study of word structure of complex words in Sarhaddi Balochi dialect showed, the affixation process of word formation is manifested in terms of prefixation, infixation and suffixation. The main derivatives of this dialect are complex verbs, complex nouns, complex adjectives, and complex adverbs

among which you can find the influence of Persian and other Balochi dialects spoken in this region. Derivation of verbs in this dialect is just through prefixation. Complex nouns of Sarhaddi Balochi are in the form of denominal, deverbal, and deadjectival nouns which are created through prefixation and suffixation processes. Adjectives can be derived through prefixation, infixation and suffixation. Adjectives can take nominal inflectional markers and function as nouns as well. Adverbs are formed by prefixation and suffixation. In many cases there is no difference between adjective and adverb forms, that is, only context determines whether a given word is an adjective or adverb. In general, it can be said that among three kinds of affixes employed in the dialect under investigation, except for derivation of verbs which happens just through prefixation, suffixes are more active in the process of word derivation. The investigation of complex nouns, adjectives and adverbs represents the multi function of some prefixes and suffixes in the derivation of denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial derivatives. All the affixes used in the derivation of words of different categories are extracted from the linguistic corpus under the study and presented in table 2:

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**Table 2. Verbal, Nominal, Adjectival and Adverbial Affixes of Sarhaddi Balochi**

	Affix	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Verb
Prefix	/ber-/				+
	/dar-/				+
	/sar-/				+
	/bɑ-/	+	+		
	/biə-/	+	+	+	
	/ham-/	+	+	+	
	/na-/			+	
Infix	/ɑ-/		+		
Suffix	/-ag/	+	+		
	/-ak/	+			
	/-akɑ/		+	+	
	/-aki/		+		
	/-ɑ /		+		
	/-ad/	+			
	/-ak/	+	+	+	
	/-ɑ(n)/	+	+		
	/-ɑnag/		+		
	/-ɑr/	+			
	/-ɑsk/	+	+		
	/-dɑn/	+			
	/-ek/	+			
	/-gar/ /-ger/	+			
	/-gɑr/		+		
	/-i/	+	+	+	
	/-iən/	+			
	/-iəna/				+
	/-ink/	+			
	/-mɑnand/				+
	/-nɑk/			+	+
	/-ok/	+	+		
	/-pag/	+			
	/-pɑn/	+			
	/-tʃak/	+			
	/-wɑr/			+	
	/-uə/	+	+		
	/-uə(n)k/	+	+		

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ACC	Accusative case
Adj	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
COP	Copula
EMPH	Emphatic
HI	Hiatus
INDEF	Indefinite
IMP	Imperative
Inf	Infinitive
NEG	Negative
N	Noun
NUM	Number
PAST	Past
PL	Plural
PP	Past Participle
PRES	Present
Pre V	Pre verb
Quant	Quantifier
SG	Singular
SUFF	Suffix
V	Verb