Code-Copying in the Balochi Language of Sistan

Lutz Rzehak

Berlin Humboldt University, Germany

lutz.rzehak@gmx.de

Abstract

This empirical study deals with language contact phenomena in Sistan. Code-copying is viewed as a strategy of linguistic behavior when a dominated language acquires new elements in lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatic organization, etc., which can be interpreted as copies of a dominating language. In this framework Persian is regarded as the model code which provides elements for being copied into Balochi as the basic code. It is argued here that code-copying affects most readily the lexicon, whereas more structured subsystems like morphology and syntax hardly admit to copying. Instead lexical copies serve as an intermediary for copying phonic and morphological-syntactical features of the model code. Copies of the Persian model code which become established linguistic features of Balochi are distinguished from ephemeral linguistic switches which are studied within the context of communication situation variables and other linguistic or extra-linguistic factors. The study is based upon audio recordings of colloquial Balochi speech made by the author in Sistan during the last six years.

Introduction

In multilingual societies a structural functional distribution of the languages or varieties involved can be observed. In Sistan the schools, media, administration, etc., are dominated by Persian. Balochi is limited to being used exclusively as a spoken language within the speech community. The weight of pressure falls in

line with the importance the linguistic domains of Persian hold within the community. Asymmetric settings of that kind encompass several linguistic phenomena including intensive code-copying. The dominated language may acquire new elements in lexicon, in phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatic organization, etc., which can be interpreted as copies of the dominating language. Copies from Persian shape the Balochi language decisively and Persian can be regarded the most important model code for Balochi speakers in the wider region of Sistan. Especially in the northern parts of Sistan both standard Persian of Iran and standard Persian of Afghanistan (Dari) may provide model codes.

Balochi has been studied in a contact linguistic perspective before, and most attention was paid to elements of grammatical structure[1]. The object of this empirical study is *parole* rather than *langue* and code-copying is viewed as a strategy of linguistic behavior. Instead of metaphors like "borrowing", "import" or "transfer", I use the framework of "code-copying" as developed and proposed by Lars Johanson: "The central concept of the framework is that copies of lexical, phonic or grammatical elements of a Model Code are inserted into clauses of a Basic Code. Copies can be more or less habitualized and conventionalized, thus ranging from ephemeral insertional switches to established linguistic changes" (Johanson 2002: 262).

This paper is aimed to analyze how code-copying works in modern Balochi of Sistan[2]. I will show that code-copying affects most readily the lexicon being

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[1] For Iranian Balochi see Jahani (1994), Jahani (1999), Jahani (2003), Baranzehi (2003), Mahmoodi Bakhtiari (2003), Mahmoodzahi (2003). Some features of the Balochi language of Afghanistan were studied in a contact linguistic perspective by Rzehak (2003). Some notes on the *iẓāfa*-construction in various Balochi dialects were made by Buddruss (1988: 49), Spooner (1967: 57) and Elfenbein (1989: 357).

[2] The sociolinguistic impact of code-copying cannot be discussed here. The role of code-copying in language endangerment is discussed by Johanson (2002), Brenzinger (1997), and Craig (1997).

an unstructured repository of lexical items[3]. Persian "loanwords" in Balochi are evident, but copying of lexical elements serves as an intermediary for the copying of other elements as well. Phonic and even some grammatical features of modern Persian are copied, i.e. imitated and adapted to Balochi, being conveyed and channeled by lexical copies. Only in rare cases more structured subsystems like morphology and syntax admit to copying as well.

I take my material from audio-recordings which I made in Sistan between 2002 and 2008. These recordings include texts about everyday life which were created for my study purposes especially, as well as habitual conversations between (male) Balochi speakers. The spectrum of informants ranges from illiterate persons up to speakers who are well acquainted with the writing tradition of Persian. All informants are bilingual, and for all of them Balochi is the language which they learned first, the primary language or the "mother tongue", the language of the home. Persian was acquired as a second system through schooling, mass media or communication outside of the home. No written uses of Balochi exist, except for some dialect poetry. Literature is all in Persian.

The language examples given below demonstrate an emerging trend in the linguistic behavior of Balochi speakers in Sistan. These examples are representative not statistically, but for the reason that they go with an evident trend. Besides short sequences of free speech which are embedded in the text, a longer narration about wedding traditions is given at the end of this paper for a better demonstration of code-copying. For cross references to this narration the number of the corresponding paragraph is added in brackets.

1. Lexical Copies

In habitual communication it is primarily denotations of technical innovations which are copied from Persian without noteworthy phonic or grammatical

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[3] See King (2000) for a discussion of structural attempts to explain why lexical aspects of a language might be more affected by linguistic contact than others.

adaptation, e.g. *gūš'ī*[4] 'cell phone', *māš'īn* 'car', *yaxč'āl* 'refrigerator', *telewīzy'ōn* 'TV', *kūndīzy'ōn* 'air conditioner', *fīlmbardār'ī* 'film shooting', *dūrb'īn* 'camera' etc[5]. The Baloch in Sistan do not create neologisms for the denotation of technical innovations. On the contrary, some traditional Balochi denotations are given up and copies of Persian lexemes are used instead. For instance, since the distant past Baloch nomads produced a drink made of buttermilk and water which was called *sut* traditionally. Nowadays most Baloch have given up the nomadic way of life and they don't produce *sut* anymore. They buy the industrially-produced drink at the bazaar where it is sold under the Persian name *dūǵ*. Today the same word is used instead of *sut* by most urban Baloch. As long as Baloch nomads knotted carpets they called them *čērg'ēǧ*. Modern Baloch who do not produce carpets but buy them at the bazaar prefer the Persian name *farš*.

The fondness for Persian lexemes falls in line with fundamental changes in the Balochi way of life in the past few decades. In the sample narration one can find numerous lexical copies of Persian nouns used instead of traditional Balochi lexemes due to a changed way of life which is more and more dominated by Persian terms, e.g. *xānawād'a* / *xānewād'a* (instead of *xānaw'ār*, *kah'ōl*) 'family', 'relatives' (1, 2, 3, 6, 25 et al.), *ezdew'āǧ* (instead of *gis-u ār'ōs*) 'marriage' (1), *xāstagār'ī* (instead of *kāsid'ī*) 'courtship', 'wooing' (2, 7), *šīrbah'ā* (instead of *šīrbēl'ī*) 'gift to a bride's mother (for having nursed her)' (4), *pūl* (instead of *zar*, *pays'ag*) 'money' (5), *šīrīnīxor'ī* (instead of *waššīxor'ī*) 'engagement', 'betrothal' (7), *leb'ās* (instead of *pučč*) 'clothing' (12, 17), *nah'ār* (instead of *nān*) 'lunch' (17, 21). Copies of Persian nouns are widely used as components of compound verbs mostly with *kurt'in* / *kan'ag* as the light verb. In the sample narration the following examples can be cited: *pard'āxt* 'payment' in *bāy'ad pard'āxt kant* '[he] has to pay' (5), *ezdew'āǧ* 'marriage' in *lōṭ'īt …*

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[4] Dynamic word stress is marked by ′ before the stressed vowel in polysyllabic words.

[5] Some of these lexemes are used in the sample narration (6, 17).

ezdew'āǧ kant '[who] wants … to marry' (1), *filmbardār'ī* 'film shooting' in *mūd būt'a … filmbardār'ī-a kanant* 'it has come into fashion … to shoot a film' (17).

Adjectives which are copied from Persian model codes can be used both as attribute and as predicate. When used as attribute the Balochi ending *-ēn* is added, e.g. *xast'a* 'exhausted' and *xatarn'āk* 'dangerous', 'thrilling' in the following sequences:

[1]   *ēš am **xast'a** int bēčār'a xulās'a gis'ay payd'ā kurt'a* – 'He was so exhausted, this poor man; well he found the house.'

[2]   *ē bāz **xatarn'ākēn** film int* – 'This is a very thrilling film.'

Lexical copies of Persian model codes are numerous in Balochi, but their usage can still be regarded as differing from some standard pattern. A widespread strategy of linguistic self-correction is lexical doubling when a speaker uses both the lexical copy of a Persian model code and the original Balochi lexeme with the same meaning one after another. In the following sample sequences this applies to *ann'ūn* (Bal.) and *fēl'an* (< Pers.) 'now' and to *izdiw'āǧ kū* (< Pers.) and *gis kū* (Bal.) '[he] married':

[3]   *senf-e duwāzd'a ham al'ās k'urtun-u **ann'ūn fēl'an** n'ištun bēk'ār-un* – 'I finished the 12th class, and now I am sitting here, I am jobless.'

[4]   *ā gēštir'kī bi kišāwarz'īā **ann'ūn** ki **fēl'an** xušksāl'ī int-u ēč ēč k'ārēa n'akanant bīk'ār n'ištant* – 'They [are] mostly in agriculture, but now there is a drought and they are not working at all, they are sitting jobless.'

[5]   *bād'an ē mard'ak āt-u ham'idā masal'an kār-u bār kurt-u **izdiw'āǧ ku gis ku*** – 'Then this man came here, did some business and married.'

2. Phonic Copies

In modern Balochi of Sistan Persian phonemes appear in lexical units which were copied from Persian recently and in some lexical units which traditionally belong to the common lexicon of Persian and Balochi. In words which had been copied from or via Persian a long time ago, unknown or at least uncommon

phonemes traditionally were adapted to the phonic habits of Balochi. Today such lexemes of the common lexicon can be pronounced by following the Persian model code if a word is associated with those fields of communication which are regarded as the linguistic domain of Persian rather than of Balochi within the structural functional distribution of languages.

1.1 Consonants

Originally the local dialect of Balochi did not have the uvular plosive /q/; words with an etymological /q/ were adapted to the linguistic habits of Balochi by pronouncing /k/ or (seldom) /x/ instead, cf. *kawm* (< *qawm*) 'tribe', 'clan', *kudr'at* (< *qudr'at*) 'power', 'strength', *waxt / wakt* (< *waqt*) 'time'. Today one can hear the uvular plosive /q/ as well, but not in all corresponding words. In the following sequence /q/ is pronounced only in the word *qudr'at* and its derivatives, but not in *kawm.*

[6]   *ham'ē say kawm xūb ant pa qudr'atā-u dig'ar kawm ant kawm ant zabr'ēn*
       ṭūy'ēn qudratm'andēn kawm ant – 'These three tribes are good with
       regard to power, and there are other tribes, good and big tribes; there
       are powerful tribes.'

Obviously, in words which are common to Balochi and Persian, /k/ is preserved in words like *kawm* which are regarded as genuine Balochi words; *kawm* describes a central unit in the social structure of the Baloch. The pronunciation with the etymological allophone /q/ is preferred in words which are more or less intensively associated with the linguistic domain of Persian and which can be regarded as lexical copies of a Persian model code. The same applies to *raf'īq* 'friend' in the sample narration (15).

In the colloquial standard of Iran the uvular plosive /q/ is mostly replaced by the fricative /ġ/. In today's linguistic behavior of Balochi speakers this way of pronunciation can also be found; but /ġ/ is pronounced particularly in such lexical items which were copied as complete lexical units from a Persian model code or which are associated with the linguistic domain of Persian rather than

of Balochi. In the following sequences such lexical items are *ġad'īmā* 'formerly', *mantaġ'a* 'region', *taġrīb'an* 'approximately', *mawġi'a* 'occasion', 'time', and *mulāġ'āt* 'meeting'. The original phonic adaptation of etymological /q/ to the linguistic habits of Balochi by pronouncing /k/ has also been preserved in *kawm* 'tribe', 'clan':

[7] *ġadīm'ā masal'an ki būt'a id'ā 'ātan bi kang'ā b'ūtan amm'ay ğā mantaġ'a amm'ay kang int* – 'Formerly we came here, we were in Kang. Our place, our homeland is Kang.'

[8] *man taġrīb'an ša w'axt-ē ki man šut'a-un bi makt'abā zānt'a-un či kawm-un* – 'Approximately from the time when I went to school I knew which tribe I belonged to.'

[9] *zindag'ī pēšraft'a n'awat ā mawġi'a* – 'Life was not progressive at that time.'

[10] *man āt'a-un čē am'ē wāt'ī ğin'ikkayā ki wat'ī ğin'ikkā mulāġ'āt kan'īn-u bg'indīn-ī* – 'I came to, to my daughter's place, to meet my daughter and to see her.'

In the sample narration lexical copies of Persian model codes with an unmodified pronunciation of /ġ/ are: *mowġ'e* 'occasion' (5, 25), *aġd* 'engagement', 'wedding' (9, 10, 18, 19), *tawāf'oġ* 'agreement' (8, 10, 25), *tebġ-e* 'according to' (9), *āġ'ā* 'Mister' (13), *mantaġ'a* 'region' (19), *taġrīb'an* 'approximately' (24).

In the Balochi dialect of Sistan initial /h/ is instable, cf. *(h)am* 'also', *(h)ar* 'every', *(h)aft* 'seven'[6]. However, in certain situations initial /h/ is pronounced regularly following the Iranian Persian model code. This happens particularly with year specifications which are associated rather with the linguistic domain of Persian than of Balochi. A case in point is the repeated articulation of initial /h/ in *haft* 'seven' in the following sequence:

[11] *man sāl-e az'ār-u sē sad-u panğ'āh-u haft-e mīlād'ī mīlād'īay bīt yā īr'ānay mīlād'īā payd'ā būt'a-un māh-e dah-e yek-e panğ'āh-u haft yān'ī*

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[6] Cf. Buddruss (1989: 44).

bahm'an-māh-e panǧ'āh-u če panǧ'āh-u ḥ'aftā payd'ā būt'a-un – 'I was born in the Gregorian year 1357. Shall I say the Gregorian [year] or the Iranian? In [1357] of the Gregorian calendar, on the 1st of the tenth month of [13] 57, i.e. in the month of *Bahman* of fifty-, fifty seven I was born.'[7]

The numerals *(h)aft* 'seven' as well as *(h)ašt* 'eight' are often pronounced without initial /h/ as *aft* and *ašt* when used not for year specification but in another context, for instance, when describing a period of time:

[12]   *yak šaš aft sāl dars w'āntan* – 'Six or seven years I went to school.'[8]

[13]   *aft māh ašt māh dēm'ā būta ašt māh dēm'ā* – '[This] was seven or eight months ago, eight months ago.'

In the sample narration a distinguished pronunciation of initial /h/ can be interpreted as copy of a Persian lexical model code in *ḥamdīg'ar* 'each other' (5), *ḥam'ā* 'this' (16, 17), and *ḥam'ām* 'bath' (17).

1.2 Diphthongs

Originally, Balochi had only two diphthongs: /aw/ and /ay/; cf. *kawm* "tribe", *kay* "who".[9] In presentday Iranian Persian historical /aw/ has been transformed into /ow/ (or even /ō/) and /ay/ into /ey/. Correspondingly, today in Balochi along with /aw/ and /ay/ one can hear the Iranian Persian pronunciation /ey/ and /ow/ in lexemes which have been copied from Persian like *xeylī* 'very' and *mowǧe* 'occasion', 'time' in the following sample sequences. The original Balochi pronunciation /aw/ and /ay/ is preserved in *am'ē rāz'ay* 'such' and *awǧ'ān* 'Pashtun'.

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[7] The speaker, obviously, confused the calendar systems with each other. Besides that, *Bahman* is the 11th month of the Iranian solar year.

[8] The 1st person plural ending in *w'āntan* can be explained as *pluralis modestiae*.

[9] Cf. Buddruss (1988: 49).

[14] *bāz bi pākist'ānā balōčist'ānā x'eylī kam ast ē rāz'ay ki trā guš'ant čī*
      kaum'ī int – 'But in Pakistan, in Balochistan it is very seldom [that way]
      that they tell you which tribe one belongs to.'

[15] *yak mowġ'eī yak bal'ōčē watī ġin'ikkā dāt bi awg'ānēā* – 'Once a Baloch
      married his daughter to a Pashtun.'

In the sample text the pronunication /ow/ of a Persian model code was
preserved in *mowġ'e* 'occasion', 'time' (5, 25) and in *mowlaw'ī* 'Mullah' (9).

1.3 Vowels

In traditional Balochi three short vowels can be distinguished: /a/, /i/ and /u/. In
modern Persian the corresponding short vowels are pronounced as /a/, /e/ and
/o/. Today some speakers of Balochi follow the Persian model code precisely, at
least in particular cases, by pronouncing /e/ and /o/, although the opposition
between /e/ and /i/ or between /o/ and /u/ has no phonemic relevance in Balochi.
The Persian vowels /e/ and /o/ are preferred as allophones of /i/ and /u/ in words
or expressions which are associated rather with the linguistic domain of Persian
than of Balochi. In the sample text numerous examples can be found both for
the articulation of /e/, cf. *extel'āf* 'dispute' (5), *ġehziy'e* (< *ġehīziy'e*) 'dowry'
(6), *wasā'el* 'means' (6), *telewizy'ōn* 'TV set' (6), *marās'em* 'ceremony' (8, 29),
leb'ās (12, 17), *es'āb* (< *hes'āb*) 'account', 'reckoning', *esl'ā* (< *esl'āh*)
'correction' (17), *xānewād'a* 'family' (25), and of /o/, cf. *sonn'at* 'tradition' (9),
koll 'all' (15, 24). The Persian *ezāfe* is also pronounced as /e/ rather than as /i/.

Iranian Persian has given up the long vowels /ō/ (*wāw-e maġhūl*) and /ē/ (*yā-
ye maġhūl*); /ū/ and /ī/ are pronounced instead. Some Balochi speakers follow
this tendency occasionally by articulating /ū/ instead of /ō/ in words which
belong to the common lexicon of Persian and Balochi. As a case in point the
Balochi lexeme *pōst* 'skin' can be pronounced as *pūst* when it occurs in a
compound word like *siyāhp'ūst* 'black-skinned' which was copied as a lexical
unit from Persian.

[16] *siyāhp'ūstānī dīn-u amm'ay dīn isl'ām int* – 'The belief of the black-skinned and our belief is Islam.'

In the sample narration lexemes of the common lexicon in which /ū/ was pronounced instead of traditional /ō/ by following the Persian model code are *arūs'ī* 'wedding' (11, 13, 15, 23, and 29), *dūst* 'friend' (15), *gūšt* 'meat' (17).

Some speakers of Balochi pronounce long /ī/ instead of etymological /ē/ in constructions with *yā-ye ešāre* like *kas-ī ke* 'the person who', or in constructions with *yā-ye wahdat* like *yak-ī* 'one [of them]'. In these cases all the constructions with *yā-ye ešāre* or *yā-ye wahdat* must be regarded as copies of a Persian model code which were generated without further phonic modification. Examples in the sample narration are *čīz-ī ke* 'a thing which' (5), *pūl-ī ke* 'the money which' (6), *yek-ī* 'one [of them]' (4), and *har mowġ'e-ī ke* 'whenever' (5). The lexeme *mowġ'e* 'occasion', 'time' is a buzzword in modern Balochi of Sistan, and the pronunciation of long /ī/ in constructions like *mowġ'e-ī ke* 'when' or *har mowġ'e-ī ke* 'whenever' can be regarded as an established language switch.

However, in lexical items which belong to the common lexicon of Persian and Balochi not all phonic features of a Persian model code must necessarily be copied in the Balochi basic code. In corresponding words the phonetic systems of Persian and Balochi are often mixed. In the following sequences the pronunciation *ġayč'īn* 'scissors' and *awġānist'ān* 'Afghanistan' follows the Persian model codes *ġeyč'ī* and *afġānest'ān* by articulating /ġ/, but the original Balochi pronunciation /ay/ and /aw/ and the Balochi short vowel /i/ were preserved[10].

[17] *māld'ār n'awant gōk-u pas n'adārant-u šamš'ēr ğōṛ-a kan'ant kārd ğōṛ-a kan'ant ġayč'īn ğōṛ-a[11] am'ē rāz'ay čīz ğōṛ-a kan'ant* – '[They] are no herdsmen, they have no cows or sheep, they make swords, knives and scissors, they make such things.'

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[10] Cf. *mawġi'a* with a combined pronunciation of /ġ/ and /aw/ in sample sequence [4].

[11] The flow of words was disrupted here.

[18]   *senf-e yāzd'a al'ās k'urtun īr'ānay tā bād šā'ī āt'a-un **awġānist'ān**ā* – 'I finished the 11th class in Iran, after that I went to Afghanistan.'

Similarly, in *xānewād'a* 'family' as pronounced in the sample narration (25) the Persian final /e/ (*hā-ye ġeyr-e malfūz*) was copied precisely in the first component of this compound (*xāne*) whereas in the second component (*wāda*) the pronunciation of *hā-ye ġeyr-e malfūz* was adapted to the linguistic habits of Balochi and articulated as /a/. Such irregularities demonstrate that phonic copies of a Persian model code are ephemeral insertional switches rather than established speech patterns.

3. Morphological-Syntactical Copies

In the sample narration the Persian plural ending *-hā* was used in *b'āzē mouġe-h'ā* 'sometimes' (25). It is evident that this phrase was copied from Persian en bloc. As far as my material shows in modern Balochi the Persian plural ending *-hā* is never used in a productive way for creating plural forms. The same applies to other morphological and syntactical features of colloquial Balochi which can be interpreted as copies of a Persian model code. Only a few of them are used in a productive way.

3.1 Prepositions

In colloquial speech one often can hear Persian prepositions like *bā* 'with' or *dar* 'in'. However, when used in Balochi they are not productive as prepositions, but copied within more complex lexical units. The Persian preposition *bā* can be used as part of the collocations *bā ham* 'together' or *bā wasl* 'with connections', but it is not used as a direct replacement of the Balochi preposition *gō(n)* 'with':

[19]   *šaš aft brās-an amm'ā y'akǧā **bā ham** zindag'ī-a kanan* – 'We are six, seven brothers, we live together.'

[20]   *mard'um rū bi kār b'ūtant-u ē mard'um-ē ki **bā wasl** at-u **ġar'īb** at-u č'īz-ē n'adāšt ēš ham 'ātant ham'idā ǧā g'iptant-u xulās'a xūb zindag'ī-iš pak'aš*

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būt – 'People turned to the work; and those people who had connections and [those who] were poor, who had nothing, they also came here, took their place. Anyway, well, life was good.'

In the latter sequence the preposition *bi* must also be regarded as a copy of the Persian preposition *be* 'to' which was reproduced with slight phonic modification (/e/ > /i/) within the lexical unit *rū be/bi kār* 'turning to the work'. Similarly the Persian preposition *dar* can be copied within complex lexical units such as *nesf dar nesf, nīm dar nīm* [both:] 'half and half' or *dar hāl-e* 'in the state of'. Outside of such units constructions with the meaning 'in' are generated the traditional way as with the postposition *tā*:

[21] *muhāğ'ir dig'a ē rāz guš'īn ki **nesf dar nesf nīm dar nīm** muhāğ'ir būtant īr'ānay tā-u pākist'ānay tā* – 'Migrants, I would say that half and half became migrants in Iran and Pakistan.'

[22] *lūṛ'ī ant dig'a amīš'a **dar hāl-e** kūč ant* – 'The Luri are, they are always in the state of wandering.'

Similarly in the sample narration the Persian preposition *dar* was used within the phrase *dar zamān-e pīr'ī* 'at the old age' (27) which was also copied from Persian en bloc.

In Balochi only some compound prepositions which are generated by copying a Persian model code can really be used as prepositions, but some lexical adaptation is necessary. Thus the lexemes *az* and *be* of the Persian model code *be ġeyr az* 'without' are replaced by their Balochi equivalents *ša* and *pa* when the compound preposition *pa ġeyr ša* is generated in Balochi. As a whole it can be regarded as a copy of the Persian model code and it is used instead of traditional constructions meaning 'without' such as *čap ša*. The Persian model code *bedūn az* with the same meaning can be copied in a very similar way by replacing *az* by *ša*. The fact that *pa ġeyr ša* and *bidūn ša* are used as prepositions in a productive way reveals itself by the usage of the prepositional case ending *-ā* with *āp* 'water' and *kišāwarz'ī* 'agriculture' in the following sequences:

[23] *ē rāz at ki mard'umānī zindag'i kull'an gō āp'ā at **pa ġayr ša bidūn ša** āp'ā ābād'ī-a n'abīt gō āp'ā ābād'ī-a bīt* – 'It was that way that the life of the people depended upon water completely. Without water there is no prosperity. With water there is prosperity.'

[24] ***pa ġayr ša** kišāwarz'īā am dig'ar k'ār-ē nēst* – 'Except for agriculture there is no other work.'

A copy of the Persian compound preposition *baᶜd az* 'after' can be generated similarly by replacing *az* by *ša* and by a slight phonic adaptation (*baᶜd > bād*); the copy *bād ša* 'after' also requires the prepositional case as in *ēš-'ān* in the following sequence:

[25] *gēšt'irēn bal'ōčānā nīmr'ūzī welāy'atay tā tāyip'a-e šīrz'ī ant tašk'īl-a day'ant **bād ša** ēš'ān gōrg'ēǧ ham h'astant wa raxšān'ī ham h'astant* – 'The majority of the Baloch in the province of Nimroz holds the tribe of the Shirzi; after them there are also Gurgej and Rakhshani.'

In the sample narration the prepositional case is used in combination with *bād ša* in *bād ša ezdew'āǧā* 'after the marriage' (5), *bād ša say rōč'ā* 'after three days' (20).

More probably than not in all these compound prepositions it is the final position of the Balochi preposition *ša* 'from' which provokes the prepositional case. By contrast, the prepositional case does not appear after copies of compound prepositions with final *ezāfe* such as *ša nazar-e* 'regarding' which can be interpreted as a copy of the Persian construction *az nazar-e*:

[26] *ē pa mard'umānī dēm'ā **ša nazar-e** aqīd'a yak šaxs-e mazhabī-u buzurgw'ār-ē at* – 'With regard to belief he was a godly and great person for the people.'

In the sample narration similar copies of Persian compound prepositions with final *ezāfe* are *tāt-e* (< *taht-e*) 'under' (1) and *tebǧ-e* 'according to' (9). No prepositional case appears after them.

3.2 The ezāfe-construction

Collocations with *ezāfe* are numerous in the modern Balochi language of Sistan. However in most cases the *ezāfe* is copied as an element of more complex lexical units such as in the sample narration *belfarz-e mes'āl* 'for example' (2, 15), *wābastag'ī-e xānawādag'ī* 'family ties' (25), *kārt-e da⁽w'at* 'invitation card' (15), or *marās'em-e arūs'ī* 'marriage ceremony' (15, 23, 29). Collocations with *ezāfe* which are copied into Balochi without further modification are usually fixed terms. Some of them contain numerical data such as *senf-e yāzd'a* 'the 11th class', others are names of languages such as *fārs'ī-e īr'ān* 'the Persian language of Iran' or names of person groups such as *ahl-e tasann'un* 'Sunnites'.

[27]   *dig'a taġrīb'an tā **senf-e yāzd'a**ā dars wānt'a-un* –'Then I went to school approximately till the 11th class.'

[28]   *lūṛ'ī gid'ān dār'ant gēšt'ir čō bal'ōč 'astant dig'a bal'ōč ant w'alē ā āw'ānā guš'ant ki lūṛ'ī*[12] *ki fārs'īā guš'ant-iš čall'ī **fārs'ī-e īr'ān**ā gīt čall'ī taw'ār-iš-a kanant* – 'The Luri have tents. Mostly they are like Baloch. Actually they are Baloch, but they are called Luri. In Persian they are called Challi, if one takes Iranian Persian they are called Challi.'

[29]   ***ahl-e tasann'un** čār mazh'ab dār'īt w'alē ē*[13] *amm'ā anaf'ī an ē mantaq'a arčī ast'ant anaf'ī ant* – 'The Sunnites have four confessions, but we are Hanafi. Everyone in this region is Hanafi.'

The fact that case markers can be added to collocations of that kind shows that in these and similar cases the *ezāfe* is copied as an element of more complex lexical units. In the following sequences this applies to the endings *-ay* in *ahl-e tasann'unay* and *-ā* in *tār'īx-e tawal'odā* 'date of birth':

[30]   *sunn'ī hastant tasann'un ant **ahl-e tasann'unay** tā anaf'ī ant* – 'They are Sunnites, Sunni people. Among the Sunnites they are Hanafi.'

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[12] The flow of words was disrupted here.

[13] The flow of words was disrupted here.

[31]   *tār'īx-e tawal'odā* n'azānīn amm'ā bal'ōč an n'azānan čunt sāl int payd'ā
        b'ūtan n'abūtan – 'I don't know the date of my birth. We are Baloch. We
        don't know how many years ago we were born or so.'

In Persian the direct object of some compound verbs such as *taškīl dādan*
'to form', 'to establish' can be combined by *ezāfe* with the nominal component
of the verb in the form of *taškīl-e čīz-ī dādan* 'to establish something'.
Sometimes this pattern is copied in Balochi as in the sample narration *lōṭ'īt
tašk'īl-e xānawād'a dant* '[a person] wants to start a family' (1). Here the *ezāfe*
was copied within the Persian compound verb, which as a whole must be
regarded as the primary model code.

Another popular pattern of *ezāfe* constructions copied in Balochi are
paraphrasing collocations such as *ba nām-e* or *ba unwān-e*, both meaning
'named', as used in the sample narration (5, 6, and 8), or *dar hāl-e* 'in the state
of'.

[32]   *lūṛ'ī … čak'uš-u sind'ān-u š-ēš'ān dār'ant-u hamēš'a **dar hāl-e** kūč ant š-ē
        mantaġ'a bi ā mantaġ'a raw'ant* — 'The Luri … have hammers and anvils
        and such tings and they are always [in the state of] wandering, they go
        from this region to that region.'

Here a creation of attributive collocations with the help of *ezāfe* can be
assumed. However, it is revealed that the Persian model codes *ba nām-e*, *ba
ᶜonwān-e* or *dar hāl-e* were copied as complex lexical units by the fact that the
lexical compounds *ba* and *dar* were preserved in the original Persian form[14].

The *ezāfe* has become an established feature of modern Balochi in
combination with *dig'a(r)* when being used as a trailing attribute in the meaning
of 'other', 'more', or 'further'.

[33]   *xūb **yak du rōč-e** dig'a tēr būt'a ša s'aray* – 'Well, one or two more days
        passed by for him.'

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[14] The pronunciation variant *ba* is a copy of the Dari preposition *ba* "to".

[34]   *dig'a amm'ā panǧ brās an y'akk-ē tī sang'att int wa amm'ā* **čār brās-e**
dig'ar *am'idā* – 'We are five brothers. One [of them] is your friend and
we four other brothers [are] here.'

In other cases a productive usage of the *ezāfe* is quite uncommon, but not
unimaginable in modern Balochi of Sistan. In the sample narration the
attributive collocation *marās'em-e gwanḍ'ē n-ē* 'a small celebration' (7) was
created by combining the adjective *gwanḍ* 'small' (with the Balochi attributive
ending *-ēn*) by *ezāfa* with the noun *marās'em* 'ceremony'. For 'household
belongings' the nouns *wasā'il* 'belongings' and *gis* 'house' were combined with
each other by *ezāfe* in the form *wasā'el-e gis* in the sample narration (6), but the
same speaker used the Balochi genitive marker *-ay* as well, c.f. *gis-'ay wasā'il*
(10). Instead of the Balochi possessive pronoun *wat'ī* 'own' which usually
precedes the word it refers to, the usage pattern of the Persian reflexive
pronoun *xod* can be copied by combining its Balochi equivalent *wat* by *ezāfe*
with the word it refers to:

[35]   *ā* **bihišt-e wat** *ǧūṛ kurt* – 'He built up his own paradise.'

If a speaker uses the *ezāfe* in a productive way he sometimes realizes that
this differs from some standard speech pattern. In such cases doubling is again
a popular strategy of self-correction. As a result the genitive can be marked
twice – both by *ezāfe* and by the Balochi genitive case marker *-ay* as it happened
with *ǧāmi'a* 'society' in the following sequence.

[36]   *ē* **xusūsiy'at-ē** *int* **am'ē ǧāmi'aay xusūsiy'at-e am'ē ǧāmi'a** *int'a* – 'This is a
special feature of this society, a feature of this society.'

If there is a productive usage of the *ezāfe* at all, in free speech the *ezāfe* can
be seen as a morphological-syntactical feature of modern Balochi in nascent
state.

Fixed phrases are a special case. The wide field of pragmatics cannot be
discussed here but phrases of the Persian *ta'ārof* are often inserted directly and
without further adaptation in Balochi conversation, e.g. *ǧorb'ān-e šom'ā* '[let
me be] your sacrifice' or *ǧāb'el-ī n'adāre* 'not worth mentioning'. Other Persian

phrases of civility are copied in the Balochi basic code by translating every single lexical element into Balochi. Some of these copies substitute traditional Balochi phrases such as *xayr ginday* 'thank you' or *čōn ay* 'how are you?':

[37] *dast tī dard m'akant* – 'Thank you!' (Cf. Persian: *dast-e šomā dard n'akon-ad*, literally 'May your hand not hurt!')

[38] *hāl tī čōn int* – 'How are you?' (Cf. Persian: *hāl-e šom'ā čet'owr ast*, literally 'How is your state [of condition]')

[39] *sā'at tī tēr bīt* – 'Are you well entertained?' (Cf. Dari: *sāᶜat-e šom'ā tēr mēšawad*, literally 'Are your hours passing by?')

What is remarkable here is that in all these phrases the word order differs from the established syntactical pattern. In Balochi the possessive pronoun *tī* 'your' usually precedes the word it refers to, c.f. *tī dast* 'your hand', *tī hāl* 'your state [of condition]', *tī sā'at* 'your hours'. In Persian the *ezāfe* is used as possessive determiner and the pronoun follows the word it refers to, c.f. *dast-e šom'ā* 'your hand', *hāl-e šom'ā* 'your state [of condition]' or *sāᶜat-e šom'ā* 'your hours'. In these phrases of civility the Persian *ezāfe* was copied in the Balochi basic code not directly, but in an indirect way by provoking a changed word order. Furthermore in these phrases the possessive pronoun is always unstressed like in Persian and it adheres to the word it refers to like an enclitic. Beyond fixed phrases of that kind similar changes do not appear in free speech.

3.3 Verb System

In the verb system copies of a Persian model code can be seen in the way the modal meaning of 'can', 'to be able to' is expressed. In traditional Balochi this is expressed in a more or less descriptive way by using different expressions with the noun *was* 'ability' such as in *ša mnī was'ā bīt ki biy'āīn* or *was dārīn ki biy'āīn*, both meaning literally 'I have the ability to come'. Besides that, analytical constructions are used such as *man āt'agā kanīn* 'I can come'. In modern Balochi the new verb *tawānt'in / tawān'ag* was generated by copying the Persian verb *tawānestan*. The pattern of how this verb is used in Balochi follows the

Persian model code exactly. Usually the main verb appears in the subjunctive form and follows the modal verb; sometimes it precedes the modal verb and appears in the form of a past participle as in colloquial Dari.

[40] *ar ka māš'īnā **tawānt'a** pa wat **bzīn'īt** kār-a kant 'īngur 'āngur wall'ā dig'ar k'ār-ē n'aint* – 'Everyone who could buy a car for himself is working here and there, but there is no other work.'

[41] *bi b'āzē č'ēā ziyār'atānā bi ēš'ānā aqīd'a bāz dār'ant wa 'ānčō tasaww'ur-a kan'ant ki alb'atta ziyārat-a **tawān'īt** ki yak kār-ē-rā **iǧr'ā kant*** – '[They] have strong beliefs in what, in some shrines; and they believe that a shrine, of course, can do something.'

[42] *kas-ē **zīt'a** n'atawānīt* – 'Nobody can buy [it].'

Similarly the Iranian Persian gerund with *dāštan* can be copied in Balochi by using the lexical equivalent of the basic code *dāšt'in / dār'ag* literally meaning 'to own', 'to have', or 'to hold':

[43] *kam kam **d'ārant ǧōṛ-a kanant*** – 'They are building up [the city] little by little.'

Even a future tense can be generated by copying the Persian pattern which consists of a finite form of *xāstan* and the so-called reduced infinitive, but this can hardly be regarded a productive construction in Balochi. More probably than not in the following sequence the expression *qab'ūl … n'axāhēm dāšt* was copied as a complete lexical unit which reveals itself by the fact that the personal ending *-ēm / -īm* of the Persian model code was preserved in Balochi:

[44] *amm'ā qab'ūl n'adāran wa **n'axāhēm dāšt*** – 'We do not accept [this] and we never will do so.'

In Persian the so-called *yā-ye eltezāmī* can be added to the infinitive of a verb in order to expresses that something is worth doing, e.g. *ǧā-ye dīdan'ī* 'a place worth seeing', i.e. 'place of interest', 'tourist attraction'. In Balochi a similar characterization is traditionally expressed by combining the infinitive of a verb with the word it refers to using the genitive suffix *-ay,* such as *ǧistin* 'to flee' and *ǧā* 'place' in the following sequence:

[45]   *'ādā **ğist'inay ğā** n'aint* – 'There is no place to flee to.'

Correspondingly, for 'place of interest', 'tourist attraction' one would expect an expression with the verb *dīst'in* 'to see', such as *dīst'inay ğā* 'worth seeing'. However, in modern Balochi the Persian *yā-ye eltezāmī* can be used instead:

[46]   *zāhid'ān **dīstin'ī** int* – 'Zahedan is worth seeing.'

A copy of the Persian *yā-ye eltezāmī* with an attributive meaning can be seen in the expression *warag'īyēn āp* 'drinking water'. Constructions with *yā-ye eltezāmī* can be used to express a predicative meaning as well as to express the intention of doing something:

[47]   *amm'ā am 'ādā **šutin'ī**-an* – 'We also will go there.'

4. Conclusions

For the majority of Balochi speakers who can be assigned to the group of co-ordinate bilinguals code-copying affects most readily the lexicon. In their speech phonic and even morphological-syntactical features of Persian are copied mainly as elements of lexical copies. Such features are only copied habitually depending on various factors like communication situation, subject of conversation, linguistic knowledge and background of a speaker, primary and secondary communicative intentions etc.

There is a sequence in the sample narration where the speaker interrupted himself to make sure that I had understood what he was talking about (paragraph 4). Before and after this break the speaker pronounced the word with the meaning 'marriage portion payable after marriage' with final *-e* as *mehriye.* When addressing me directly he pronounced the same word with final *-a* as *mehriya.* In lexical items which are common both for Persian and for Balochi the so-called *hā-ye ġeyr-e malfūz* is usually pronounced as *-e* in Iranian Persian, and as *-a* in Balochi. When asked to tell me something about the marriage ceremony of the Baloch this speaker, obviously, felt like a lecturing teacher. He followed the Persian model code by pronouncing final *-e* within his lecture because this communication situation belongs to the linguistic domain

of Persian. He switched to colloquial speech when he addressed me directly and used the original Balochi pronunciation with final *-a,* because colloquial communication belongs to the linguistic domain of Balochi.

Linguistic behavior depends much on surrounding conditions, and code-copying is not a matter of pure chance. It must be studied within the context of communication situation variables in order to distinguish those copies which became established linguistic features of modern Balochi from ephemeral insertional switches, and in order to reveal the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors by which such linguistic slips or insertional switches are caused.

Appendix: Sample Narration

The text given below is a phonological transcription of a narration about the wedding traditions of the Baloch which was recorded in April 2002. The speaker lives in the village of Zahak close to Zabol in the Iranian Province of Sistan and Balochistan. He is a Baloch male who works as a taxi driver and was about 40 years old when the text was recorded.

In this transcription of free speech no punctuation marks are used. Instead asterisks (*) indicate prosodic breaks which are accompanied by a pause and last approximately up to half a second. Longer pauses are indicated by two asterisks (**). This can help to separate the prosodic units produced by the informant.

The dynamic word stress is marked by ′ before the stressed vowel in polysyllabic words, e.g. *naf′ar.* In verbal phrases polysyllabic light verbs do not always have a stress accent of their own; one syllable of the whole phrase can be stressed instead. Verbal phrases of that kind are marked by curly brackets in order to show that the marked stress accent affects the whole phrase, e.g. *{d′ōst dār-īn}.*

Significant changes in intonation are marked by arrows; up arrows (↑) indicate rising intonation, down arrows (↓) indicate falling intonation. Significant changes in speech speed are also marked by arrows. A sequence

which is set between facing arrows (→ … ←) was spoken with relatively higher speed whereas the speed of speech was reduced significantly in sequences which are set between arrows turning away from each other (← … →).

Numbering and paragraphs mark no separation of speech sequences which necessarily would have been intended by the informant. They were added by the author of this paper for easier orientation in the text and in its translation. In most cases this technical separation of the text corresponds to the usage of conjunctive adverbs like *g'uṛān* 'then' which, nevertheless, can be interpreted as starting markers of new units of speech.

Transcript	*Translation*
[1] *yak naf'ar-ē * ke * lōṭ'īt * tašk'īl-e xānawād'a dant * yān'ē ezdew'āǧ kant↑ ** bilāxir'a * yak k'as-ē-rā entex'āb-a↓ kant * tāt-e naz'ar-a gīt * {x'ōš-a kant} **	When a person wants to start a family, i.e. [wants] to marry, [then he] finally chooses somebody, considers somebody, [and] likes somebody.
[2] *g'uṛān * wat'ī * xānawād'aā↑ ** dēm-a dant xāstagār'ī↓ * bi 'ā * b-estelā * ǧin'ēnzāgay * xānawād'aay gis'ā ** guš'īt man↑ belf'arz-e mes'āl filān'ī ǧin'ikā {d'ōst dārīn} * braw'īt pamm'an * {xāstagār'ī↓ kanīt} **	Then he sends his family for matchmaking to this, so to speak, to the house of the girl's family. He says that, for example, 'I love this girl. Go and woo for me.'
[3] *ēš'āna raw'ant↑ ** bač'akkay * mard'ēnzāgay xānawād'a {rawant 'ōdā} ** 'ōda * wat'ī ab'arānā day'ant↑ **	They go. The family of the boy, of the [young] man goes there; there they say their matter.
[4] *g'uṛān * 'idā * du↓ čīz hast * y'ek-ī * {mehriy'e inta} * mehriy'a z'ānay č'ī-ē *↑z'ānay yā na * — [Me:] z'ānīn — [Informant:] y'ek-ī	Then there are two things. One is *mehriye*. Do you know what *mehriya* is, do you know it or not? — [Me:] Yes, I know. — [Informant:] One

{mehriy'e inta} * y'ek-ī {šīrbah'ā↓ inta} *

thing is *mehriye*, and the other thing is *šīrbahā*.

[5] xō * m'ehriye↑ yek č'īz-ī ke * yak mabl'aġ-e pūl {tā'īn-a kanant} * ke * ā hast↑ * har mouġ'e-ī ke *→ē dōk'ēnānī mānğ'inā yak mouġ'e-ē extel'āf-ē↑ kapt * bād ša ezdew'āğā extel'āf-ē↑ kapt-u ēš'ān lōṭit'ant ša hamdīg'arā ğud'ā bay'ant↑← * ā mabl'aġ-ē ke ba unw'ān-e mehriy'e int→'annūn har č'īnka hast↑← * ē mard'ēnzāg bāy'ad pard'āxt kant bi ğin'ēnzāgā↓ ** ā hast *

Well, *mehriye* is a thing when they define an amount of money. This exists. Whenever between these both persons occurs a dispute sometimes, [when] after the marriage a dispute occurs and they want to separate of each other, this amount which is called *mehriye*, however much it is, the man must pay [it] back to the woman. This exists.

[6] y'ak-ē↑ ba unwān-e šīrbah'ā↓ 'inta * š'īrbahā↑ yak pūl-ī ke ** š'īrbahā↑ yak p'ul-ī ke * ē * mard'ēnzāg ā'īrā dant * bi ğin'ikkay * xānawād'aā↑ * ki p-ā'ī * ğehziy'e {tā'īn-a↓ kanant} * {ğ'ūṛ-a kanant} y'ānē čē am'ē wasā'el-e gis'ā↓ * farš-u yaxč'āl-u telewizy'ōn-u ēš'ān *

The other is named *šīrbahā*. *Šīrbahā* is money which; *šīrbahā* is money which this man gives to the woman's family so that they can define the dowry for her, prepare [the dowry], i.e. these household belongings, carpets, refrigerator, TV set, and these things.

[7] ē * aww'al ke raw'ant xāstagār'ī-ē↑ * tawāf'oġ {ās'il-a kanant} * g'uṛān yak marās'em-ē gīr'ant * be nām-e šīrīnīxor'ī↓ * yek marās'em-e gwanḍ'ēn-ē gīr'ant↑ * am'ē fām'īlā ğamm-a kan'ant * nind'ant * wa ab'arānā day'ant * yak š'ām-ē {ğ'ūṛ-a kanant} * nind'ant šām'ā war'ant *

First they go for matchmaking and when they obtain approval then they make a ceremony named *šīrīnīxūrī*. They make a small ceremony. They gather this family, sit down and have a conversation. They prepare dinner, sit down and have dinner.

[8] g'uṛān * tebġ-e↑ * b-estel'ā amm'ay

Then according to our tradition,

*sonn'at-u * tebġ-e dīn * ēš'ānī aġd'ā am'ā rūhān'ī * yā am'ā moulaw'ī * ēš'ānī aġd'ā band'īt↓ *

according to religion, their marriage, this clergyman or this Mullah marries them.

[9] *aġd↑ bast'ag-a bīt tam'ām↓ * ē yak mudd'at-ē mān'ant↑ * yā šiš mā yā yak sāl yā gēšt'ir yā kamt'ar↑ →ar či ki wat tawāf'oġ dār'ant↓← * ke ē↑ gis'ay wasā'il {ǧ'ūṛ↓ būt-ant} *

The engagement is consummated. End of story. Then they wait for a while, six months or one year, or more or less, as long as they agree with each other, until these household belongings were prepared.

[10] *g'uṛān bač'ak-a↑ kayt guš'īt man {arūs'ī-a↓ kanīn} * wat'ī * b-estel'ā xān'omay xānawād'a-ā↑ guš'īt man-a lōṭ'īn {arūs'ī↓ kanīn} *

Then this boy comes and says that he will marry. He says to, so to speak, to his wife's family that he wants to marry.

[11] *pa ēš'ān * leb'ās gīr'ant nōk'ēn↑ * am pa ǧin'ikkā am pa bač'akkā leb'ās nōk'ēn-a gīr'ant *

They buy new clothes for them; both for the girl and for the boy they buy new clothes.

[12] *g'uṛān yak r'ōč-ē-rā {tā'īn-a↓ kanant} * ke āǧ'ā fil'ān rōč'ā * tī↑ * {arūs'ī↓ inta} *

Then they fix a day [and say:] Mister, this day will be your wedding.

[13] *g'uṛān ēš'ān xō {fām'īl↑ dārant} * am bač'akkay * xānawād'a {fām'īl dārīt} * am ǧin'ikkay xānawād'a {fām'īl↓ dārīt} *

Then they have relatives, of course. Both the family of the boy has relatives and the family of the girl has relatives.

[14] *ēš'ānā es'āb-a↑ kanant →belfarz-e mes'āl ē māšm'ay marās'em-e arūs'īay tā čunt↓ naf'ar-a kayt← * sad↑ naf'ar-a kayt * dwīst naf'ar-a kayt * sē-s'ad naf'ar-a kayt↑ * ēš'ānā {kārt-a↑ dayant} * kārt-e {da'w'at-*

They count them. For example, how many persons will come to our wedding ceremony? Hundred persons, two hundred persons, three hundred persons will come. They give them cards, they give them

a↓ *dayant}* * *dwīst sē-s'ad naf'ar* * | invitation cards; to two or three
koll-e wat'ī dūst-u raf'īq-u āšn'ā-u | hundred persons, to all their friends,
fām'īlānā↑ * *har naf'ar-ē-rā yak* | comrades, acquaintances, and
{k'ārt-ē↓ dayant} * | relatives, to every person they give an
| invitation card.

[15] *yak r'ōč-ē-rā*↑ *ham {tār'īx-a ǧanant}* | They fix one day [and say:] this day
ke ham'ā fal'ān rōč'ā * *amm'ā* * | we will give a lunch.
{nah'ār-a↓ dayan} *

[16] *ham'ā rōč'ā*↑ *bač'ak* * *ber'enǧ-u* * | This day this boy brings rice and
gūšt-u * *taškīl'ātā kār'īt* * *yak* | meat and all objects. They prepare
nah'ār-ē {ǧ'ūṛ-a kanant} * *ē* * | lunch. They serve this lunch, and
nah'ārā day'ant *u g'uṛān šap'īnā*↑ * | then in the evening, when it becomes
ke {š'ap-a bīt} * *dig'a ēš'ānā bar'ant-* | night, they bring them away; they
u * *bač'akā bar'ant-u ham'ām*↑ *-u* | bring the boy away, bath him, dress
sar-u sūr'atā {esl'ā-a kanant}-u * | his hear and shave him, [they dress
leb'ās nōk'ēn-u * →*dig'ar ann'ūn* | him up in] new clothes and … Now,
mūd↑ *būt'a ǧadīd'an fīlmbardār'ī-a* | recently it has come into fashion to
kan'ant-u ēš'ānī marās'emā← ** | shoot a film of their ceremony.

[17] *g'uṛān šap'īnā ēš'ānī aġd'ā↓* | Then in the evening they get
band'ant * | married.

[18] *aġd'ā ki band'ant*↑ (… … …)[15] * | When they make the marriage, in our
say↑ *rōč* * *amm'ay mantaġ'a rasm* | region it is a custom of the Baloch
int bal'ōčānī * *say rōč ē bač'ak* | that this boy remains in the house of
mān'īt am'ē ǧin'ikkay piss'ay↓ * *gis'ā* | the father of this girl three days.
*

[19] *bād ša say*↑ *rōč'ā* * *bač'akkay piss-a* | After three days this boy's father
kayt * *wat'ī zāg'ā* * *daᶜw'at-a kant* | comes and invites his son to his
wat'ī gis'ā↓ ** *š-'idā zūr'īt*↑ *-u* * *ā'īrā-* | house. He takes him away from
u ā'ī xān'umā * *zūr'īt-u bārt bi wat'ī* | there; he takes him and his wife away

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[15] A sequence of about three syllables cannot be understood due to ambient noises.

gis'ā↓ *

and brings them to his house.

[20] *'ōdā bārt-ī↑ * p-ēš'ān yak * n'azr-ē * yak p'as-ē * ēš'ānī dēm'ā kuš'īt * p-ēš'ān nah'ār-ē ǧūṛ-a kant ēš'ānā dant ***

He brought them there, [makes] an oblation for them; he butchers a sheep in front of them, prepares a lunch for them and gives it to them.

[21] *g'uṛān * am'ī fām'īl↑ *←brās-u gwār-u nāk'ō-u nākōz'āk-u trūz'āk-u ēš'ān→ * har š'ap-ē *→ēš'ānā da⁽w'at-a kant wat'ī gis'ā↓←*

Then their relatives, brothers, sisters, uncles, cousins, etc., every night they invite them to their houses.

[22] *masal'an tī brās↑ int * šap'ī ta {da⁽w'at-a kanay} b'āndā man {da⁽w'at-a kanīn} pōš'ī ā da⁽w'at-a kant * ē * marās'em-e arūs'ī↓ int **

For example there is your brother, one night you invite, tomorrow night I invite, the day after tomorrow he invites. This is the wedding ceremony.

[23] *tā taġrīb'an↑ koll-e fām'īl ēš'ānā {da⁽w'at-a kanant} wat'ī gis'ā * ke marās'em ēš'ānī * dig'a tam'ām↓ bīt **

Until approximately all relatives invite them to their houses, the wedding ceremony gets finished.

[24] *g'uṛān↑ īh'ā * 'aga bač'ak * waziy'at * zāg * waziy'at-e māl'ī-e xūb būt ** {bastag'ī dārīt} * b'āzē mouġeh'ā gō wat'ī xānewād'aā {zindag'ī-a kanant} {tawāf'oġ-a kanant} *b'āzē mouġeh'ā ǧit'ā {zindag'ī-a↓ kanant} **

Then they, when the boy, the situation, when the boy's financial situation is good – it depends – sometimes they live with their relatives, they agree [to do so], and sometimes they live apart.

[25] *xō b'alōčān↑ * gēšt'ir yakk-ē * wābastag'ī-e xānawādag'ī dār'ant * yān'in wat'ī pis-u m'āsānā ** wayl-a n'akan-ant↓*

The Baloch mostly have close family ties, e.g. they do not give up their parents.

[26] [Me:] *{č'ē↑ nakanant}* [Informant:]

[Me:] What don't they do?

* wayl-iš-a n'akanant ke b'erawant [Informant:] They don't give them
{ǧit'ā bayant} * ǧit'ā↑ n'abayant * up; don't go away to part [from
pis-u m'āsānā w'at-a sāt'ant↓ * them]. They don't part from them.

[27] *pis {p'īr-a↑ bīt} mās {p'īr-a bīt}* They take care of their parents.
ēš'ānā * {w'at-a sātant} →čūn When the father becomes old, when
bal'ōčān gēšt'ir← * dar zam'ān-e the mother becomes old, they take
pīr'ī ham muht'āǧ ant-u * pa zāg'ān care for them themselves; because
{muht'āǧ-a↓ kanant} * zam'ān-ē pīr the Baloch mostly are needy at the
bay'ant↑ pa zāg'ān {muht'āǧ-a↓ old age, they need their sons. When
kanant} * dig'a↑ zāg wat-r'ā s'ātant↓ they become old they need their
* sons. And the son takes care [for
them].

[28] *ē↑ marās'em-e arūs'ī↓ -iš * xō * dig'a* These are those marriage customs.
čē lōṭit'ay z'ānay↑ What else did you want to know?

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