
Beyond Language: Cultural Core Values, Dress, Ancestry and the Symbolic Construction of Baloch Ethnicity

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Abstract

The paper investigates which cultural elements function as core values in the construction and maintenance of Baloch ethnic identity. The analysis is guided by Smolicz's Cultural Core Value framework and Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory, which helps explain how groups select symbols that distinguish an in-group from relevant out-groups. The study data reveal that language alone cannot be treated as the universal core value because the group includes speakers of four different languages. Instead, traditional dress, common ancestry, shared history, tribal affiliation and cultural practices repeatedly appear as cross-linguistic resources of identity. Questionnaire findings are especially revealing: language was selected as central by 40% of Balochi-speaking and 62% of Brahvi-speaking respondents, but only 13.3% of Saraiki-speaking and 20% of Sindhi-speaking respondents. Common ancestry was selected by 73.3% of Saraiki-speaking and 40% of Sindhi-speaking respondents. Ethnographic observations further suggest that traditional dress gained heightened symbolic visibility during periods when ethnic identity became more salient. The paper concludes that Baloch ethnicity is sustained through a repertoire of cultural resources rather than through a single indispensable marker.

Keywords: Baloch, Ethnic Identity, Core Value

Introduction

Smolicz's Cultural/Ethnic Core Value Theory and Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory, further developed in work with Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), form the theoretical and analytical framework of this study. Using this framework, I have tried to identify the cultural

core value of my selected group for this study, i.e., the Baloch. The theory of Cultural Core Value is based on the premise that every ethnic group has a certain core value element in its culture that not only distinguishes it from surrounding ethnic groups but is also essential for the existence and maintenance of its ethnic identity. The Baloch have a deeply rooted history, and the members of the group enjoy a perceivably distinct identity among other indigenous groups of Pakistan. The theory is applied to determine whether language is the cultural/ethnic core value of the selected group and, if so, to what extent; if language is not the core value, the study examines what other related cultural elements define the ethnolinguistic boundaries of the group and give its members a single identity that unites them as a distinct ethnic group.

The history of Baloch, is a cohesive force among Baloch besides a common homeland Balochistan. The Baloch community feels proud to have defended their culture and successfully sustained their ethnic identity against many foreign invasions in history. They never let their language, culture and identity to get assimilated with the dominant group for centuries. Balochi as an ethnic language acts as a great binding force for the group members and acts a base for their identity. It is not only a means of communication between group members but also a central resource for transmitting their history, culture, and literary tradition (Hosseini, 2000). This is found in the large bulk of ballads and epics which are passed down from generation to generation.

Different researchers have emphasized different aspects of culture as primary criteria in defining ethnicity and ethnic group. These can be language, descent, history etc. The definition can change with the changing socio-political factors like Yinger (1985) sees ethnic group as a part of a bigger multi ethnic society, whose members share a common origin and other important segments of culture. They think themselves and are also thought by others to belong to one group because of common culture and origin.

De Vos (1982, as cited in Jones, 1997) defines an ethnic group as consisting of people who are self-consciously united around a common ancestry, tradition, territory, and language, although none of these is a necessary criterion. In other words, ethnic identity is a highly subjective concept that makes use of symbolic aspects of culture to differentiate one group from another. These emblematic aspects do not remain constant but continue to change.

Over the years Baloch could not assert themselves as a very strong ethnic group that may appear as a nation, due to internal disunity, lack of sociopolitical solidarity but they describe and claim themselves as a self-differentiating and self-defining ethno cultural group with a long history (Foreign Policy Centre, 2006).

A rigorous research is going on in different fields of social sciences like Sociology, Anthropology, Linguistics and Political Science to get to the core of the much too problematized notion of ethnicity and its relation with other social variables like language, religion, culture, shared history etc.

A group with clear boundaries in terms of culture and territory can also be termed as Ethnicity. The members forming such an ethnic group can share language, religion, culture or

other social aspects. Ethnicity can also be defined by the extent of the sense of belonging to an ethnic group, which varies even within the members of the same group.

Gumperz (1982, as cited in Sallabank, 2006) distinguishes between old and new definitions of ethnicity. Old ethnicity was based on common geographical boundaries, culture, regional background, and social networks that tied people together, whereas the newer version focuses not on commonality but on differences from other groups in culture, language, geographical proximity, and other features. This newer version is consistent with Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory, which emphasizes the accentuation of ethnicity through increased comparison and differentiation from another group. However, ethnicity is an essential part of social identity (Beswick, 2007; Isaacs, 1974).

Children are born in a monolingual and a monoculture surrounding where the socialization process begins. At this stage of socialization, they come across a single language spoken by everyone around and see one culture that is being followed by all people. Mother tongue has a definite role in this early stage of socialization. Mother tongue thus forms the first sense of identity for a child.

The Baloch who today live outside Balochistan in Sindh and Punjab and speak Sindhi and Siraiki are an extension of Baloch by colonization through conquest. Their language has changed over generations due to their being under the influence of their Indian neighbor (Dames, 1904). Along with the language there are cultural and attitudinal changes as well among this set of Baloch. But still they are Baloch because of the common ancestry and because they call themselves Baloch and have marriages in Balochi and Brahvi speaking Baloch. These differences and similarities will be discussed more in detail in data analysis and interpretation.

The purpose is to isolate one dimension of the larger language–ethnicity problem and interpret the same ethnographic evidence through a narrower analytical lens. This is particularly important in the Baloch case because linguistic diversity exists inside a shared ethnic category. The study therefore asks not simply whether language matters, but when it matters, for whom it matters, and what alternative identity resources become available when linguistic commonality is absent.

Literature Review

All of us are carriers of at least two identities. Tajfel (1978) distinguishes between personal and group identities. His Social Identity Theory recognizes the display of these identities in different contexts and situations. In situations where personal identity becomes salient, individual behavior and aspects of personality gain importance. On the other hand, people tend to accentuate similarities and uniformities within their group when group identity is manifested. This is done through language, the way a person talks, and many other similar characteristics while identifying with a group. Tajfel's Social Identity Theory holds that when a contrast is made between groups, the behavior of group members may accentuate differences between the groups. Another important function of this differentiation is to give

people a sense of ‘us,’ which requires a ‘them’ for its existence. Categorizing ‘others’ ethnically contributes to in-group unity (Tajfel, 1978).

The analytical framework of this research is Smolicz’s ‘Core Value Theory’, adopted from humanistic psychology. Cultural/Ethnic Core Value theory is constructed on the notion that every ethnic group has certain traits which are essential for its existence and maintenance of its identity. The theory examines these building blocks which are called as core value by Smolicz. Smolicz (1981) believes that language is a core value for most of the ethnic group, so much so that without their ethnic language, the group’s ethnic identity remains incomplete and sometimes become vulnerable when the language is not maintained over the generations. But Smolicz concedes that for many ethnic groups language does not become the ‘core value’ for ethnic identity, such groups rely on cultural aspects other than language for the purpose of identification. The other elements that can form the core value of identity can be family structure, religion, descent, racial affiliation, and cultural aspects such as dress, food, social and cultural norms. The cultural core values are used not only for reinforcing the group’s identity but also to resist outside pressures of assimilation in a dominant multiethnic context.

Language is not just the chief marker of ethnicity but there have been cases where it became the sole marker of ethnic identity (Dorian, 1980). For instance, language in Vaupes, especially the Bara language distinguishes its speaker from Indians, speaking other languages, where otherwise rest of the aspects of the culture are quite similar. In other cases, in a multilingual setting language becomes one of the several markers of ethnicity along with dress, food, geographical boundaries, and ways of worshipping etc. and therefore acts as a negotiated construct. Two dimensions come into play here, one is what the natives take as the marker of ethnicity and what the outsider think, assume and consider the index of ethnic identity for a particular group.

Suleiman (2006) observes that naming practices also act as marker of identity. He notes that there had been a rise in Persian names and a fall in Islamic names during Iran Iraq war in the 1980s. Iranian national identity was the need of the time, it therefore came to the fore, and religious identity went to the background as religion was not the differentiating identity between Iran and Iraq at that time.

Language is often deemed as an aspect of political aspiration of a minority ethnic group but according to cultural core value theory, language is not necessarily the marker and a drive for a group’s identity in all situations.

Noonan (2006) has coined the term ‘ethnic consciousness’ that refers to the rising phenomenon of politicizing ethnicity. Ethnic consciousness refers to the more assertion of one’s group identity and his membership in a group by highlighting the differences from other groups through language, dress, religion and history. These aspects become defining features for the group. Language plays a vital role in developing ‘ethnic consciousness. Noonan believes that each ethnic group should have a language of its own along with language rights.

Considering language as a salient marker of ethnicity and its role in the formation, maintenance and assertion of ethnic identity, Giles and Byrne (1982) developed an ethnolinguistic identity theory which they derived from Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory that emphasizes on the salience of language as identity marker of ethnicity. The researcher worked on factors that contribute to the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group. They demonstrated that those groups have a high ethnolinguistic vitality whose members have a strong in-group bonding and identification and less permeable group boundaries. On the other hand, ethnolinguistic vitality decreases with permeable boundaries and weak in group bonds. Such groups easily assimilate into a majority culture and learn the foreign language quickly in comparison to, the members with higher ethnolinguistic vitality.

The relation between language and ethnicity starts very early in our lives through the initial socialization at home. The link between the two becomes complex with the realization that language is one of the many constituents of ethnicity along with other aspects of culture and common ancestry. The relationship gains political undertones when ethnic identity takes the shape of national identity, and the ethnic group acquires ethnolinguistic awareness. The strength of the connection between language and ethnic identity varies from one group to another, as it depends on a number of social, cultural, psychological and political factors.

This qualitative ethnographic study is conducted in Quetta. Quetta is the capital of Balochistan which is by area the largest province of Pakistan. The study comprises of those members of the indigenous Baloch population who live in Quetta. They hail from almost all the adjoining areas and usually maintain their language, culture and identity. Nonrandom purposive sampling is done for this study and the selected participants are young educated Baloch who are well aware of the current situation of Balochistan as well as issues of ethnic identity among different ethnic groups in the area. Participant observation is the basic strategy used for data collection which is supplemented by semi structured interviews and mixed questionnaires. Further, Smolicz's 'Core Value Theory' and Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory are adopted as a theoretical and analytical framework for data analysis.

The study is an ethnographic, done in the qualitative research paradigm, though qualitative study and qualitative method of data collection can in no way be declared better than the quantitative one (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000). In my study I did not look at how often my research participants performed a certain act or activity to express their cultural core value, and for that matter I have not suggested any scale or parameter that would determine if their language in some way is a core value of their culture or the frequency of a certain characteristic of the group gives strength to the in group ethnic identity. Instead, I have found out the ways and means through which the group manifests its uniting features as an ethnic group. My data collection, presentation and analysis in the form of words rather than in numbers make my research qualitative as it is 'words' that make the qualitative data, (Given, 2008) so I trusted whatever my participants said while answering my questions in interviews and questionnaire.

Tajfel (1978), a Polish Jewish psychologist working in England, developed Social Identity Theory in the 1970s. The emphasis of the theory is on intra and intergroup relationships based on internalization of certain attributes as members of a group on which others are differentiated, within a society.

Social identity theory initially focuses on the discrimination between groups which strengthens the in-group bonding due to the presence of an out-group. In other words, in-group identity is enhanced by the out-group. This differentiation gets flared up in a specific social context, which comes into play to highlight the differences between the groups. Moreover, it's the perception of persons to make themselves a member of a certain group on the basis of decided commonalities deciding 'us' among the group members and differences from the members of the other group. The ground for groups' comparison is provided by an existing social context, and dimensions created for differentiation.

Two important components of Social Identity Theory, in Social Identity Theory, are the following:

Across this literature, ethnicity emerges as relational, contextual and multidimensional. Language can index belonging, transmit culture, organize solidarity and distinguish an in-group from an out-group, but it is not necessarily the indispensable foundation of ethnic membership. The Baloch case provides an especially useful test of this proposition because several linguistic identities coexist within one ethnic category. The relevant theoretical implication is that ethnic identity should be approached as a repertoire of resources whose salience changes with context, interaction, political circumstance and the speaker's position within the group.

Methodology

To further and better answer my research questions and fulfill the objectives of this study, I administered questionnaires among the members of Baloch community. A larger sample of population can be accessed through questionnaires which is not possible through any kind of interviews. Almost same questions were included as in the interviews but the answers varied as these were filled out by individual minds, which was not the case during the interviews that I conducted. In semi structured interviews, the type that I selected as my first research strategy, I would sometimes add to the answers of my respondents for the sake of clarification and would often confirm from them if it was what they meant. So in interviews it was co construction of reality that I did along with the participants during which many dimensions evolved in these in depth interviews. In administering of questionnaires it is true that I and my participants were seldom face to face for explanations, clarifications, and counter questioning but during the analysis of these questionnaires I noticed that my respondents were more open and perhaps truer while expressing themselves as they filled out the questionnaires. I perceived hiding of information during the conduction of semi structured interviews. Sometimes the participants would explicitly say that they do not want to answer the question and sometimes they would become silent, and all my interviewing skills could

not make them answer those few questions. For example, when during my interviews I asked my participants if they would identify themselves first as Baloch or Pakistani, many boldly said that they would prefer a Baloch identity over a Pakistani one, few smilingly refused to answer this question but in the questionnaire I rarely found anyone leaving it blank and they wrote what they believed to be true.

I made the questionnaires, keeping all the above parameters, I then administered them. There are a number of ways for administering a questionnaire; the best one is face to face which is almost like an interview. As already mentioned that questionnaire is used in cases where data is gathered from potentially large number of people. Face to face administering of all the questionnaire therefore becomes next to impossible. Other methods of administering the questionnaire are to send it through postal mails and email, but this way the chances of getting them back decreases. As I have done an ethnographic study so I did not feel the need to send the questionnaire to a distant place. I personally distributed them among the people, and give some to my research participants to get the questionnaires filled in by their friend and relatives who fulfilled my sample criteria. Before distributing my questionnaire, I was well aware that I would not get the entire set of questionnaires back perhaps because of an absence of research culture, I distributed 150 and received 110 out of these 100 were somehow completely filled in.

As a qualitative ethnographic researcher I went directly to the natural setting which in my case is Quetta city, where I found the Baloch community, who made my research participants for this study. The site was not alien to me. I was born and brought up in Quetta, got my education from its institutions. I live with Baloch, they are my friends, my colleagues, my teachers and my students. It was not difficult for me to gain entry to my research site. With ease I became a participant observer, sometimes an active one as in interviews and at other times passive observer. The observation being unstructured I needed to make field notes after every few days. No observation is complete without field notes so I made sure I make proper narrations out of my notes. My case as an ethnographic researcher is different in the sense that I am familiar with most part of the Baloch culture. Secondly the participants were not unfamiliar to me nor were I a stranger to them. The comfort level as a participant observer remained high, except for the little strain I felt during the interview when few of my questions were social in nature and took political undertones, but I dealt with those quite tactfully, with a desire deep rooted in my heart not to hurt the ethnical feelings of my cooperative participants.

The numerical results are descriptive percentages; interviews and observations are used to interpret their social meaning. The original purposive sampling and Quetta-based delimitation mean that the findings are contextual and ethnographic. The ethical procedures of consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation and protection of participant identity are retained as the ethical basis of this analysis.

Data Analysis

The next question about the name of the tribe/caste was really informative for me as a researcher. I have spent my whole life in Balochistan but never knew about the existence of so many castes/tribe having these names. The Baloch from Turbat and Makran were found to write only 'Baloch' and did not mention their specific caste. My participants who filled in the questionnaire had the following caste/tribes:

Mentioning of name along with caste is so much common all over Pakistan and Balochistan is no exception. Most of the participants in this study said that they do mention their caste or the name of their tribe with their first name. The trend is seen among all the speakers of four languages of Baloch. The main reason is the prevalence of a tribal society. People here are known by their tribes. The trend of mentioning of specific caste is least among the Balochi speaking Baloch as compared to the other linguistic groups. Baloch specifically from areas like Makran, Turbat and Gawadar prefer using only 'Baloch' as suffix to their name. These areas do not have a strict caste bound society and are gradually moving away from Sardaree Nizam or tribal system. They do have tribes and tribal leaders but not in the same way as found in north western races like Bugti, Marri, Magsi etc. These people who mention only Baloch also feel that the name of their caste and tribe seems like dividing the Baloch nation, on the other hand only putting Baloch with the name can portray an image of people who are united by the name of a common ethnic group.

In this particular instance the native speakers of Balochi and Brahvi identify themselves through language, whereas Sindhi and Saraiki speakers' identification marker is flexible and common ancestry becomes a marker of ethnic identity for them. A good number of respondents also believe that the traditional dress among Baloch is unique and it is more common among all tribes and clans of Baloch than any single language. So it is a commonly shared tradition among them and therefore central to their identity. As a matter of observation I recognized and identified many of my respondents through their dress and approached them for an interview. My more important observation is the rise in the trend of wearing of this traditional dress, since the Baloch issue is highlighted in the area. Even non Baloch are seen to be wearing this dress more often along with Baloch. Many of my respondents testified to my observation during interview sessions and declared it as a result of increased awareness of identity among Baloch, especially in the last few years and a way of asserting Baloch ethnic identity.

I really appreciate the participation from such diversity of caste/tribes from one single Ethnic group of Baloch. To find the characteristic feature of all these caste and tribes is out of the scope of this research, otherwise it could make another interesting study.

So many minds from such a diverse geographical background have certainly added positively to the data of this study. It is important to mention here that few of the places mentioned above are not in Balochistan like, Hyderabad and Kheirpur are in Sind and Dera Ghazi Khan is in Southern Punjab. Some of my Saraiki and Sindhi speaking respondents belong to these parts which can be the reason of change in their language from Balochi to Sindhi, and Saraiki

over a long period of generations. I include them in my research for the reason that they classify themselves as Baloch and secondly their caste that is Khosa and Malghani are well known among Baloch caste, thirdly they are residing in Balochistan for a long period of time and are well aware of the happenings events and problems of the province.

The desire to be identified by the name of caste/tribe can be seen highly prevalent among Sindhi speaking Baloch, and mentioning of caste is to distinguish themselves from the non-Baloch, Sindhi speaking people, in their areas which either border Sind like Jafferabad or inside Sind like Hyderabad and Kheirpur.

The trend of mentioning caste with one's name is evident among the Saraiki speaking Baloch but they really do not give such a ritual much importance, perhaps because of their integration with Punjab and distance from Balochistan. Moreover, rise in literacy and losing ties with tribal system has added to this behavior. But still majority of Saraiki speaking Baloch living in Balochistan do tag their caste with their name. Identification as a Baloch has gained immense significance in the area during the last few years.

My next question was related to the above one in which I inquired about the reason for mentioning or not mentioning their tribe and got varied answers. Most of the respondents who have written and who do write their caste give the basic reason of being identified with the Baloch, through the name of the Baloch tribe. I got replies such as 'I am proud to be a Baloch', 'It's my identity and proud of it', 'My name does not only indicate that I am a Baloch but my specific clan that is Khosa is my true identity'. Few respondents also believe that it is the culture of Baloch to specify the name of the tribe along with the names, which is not something new that they have started doing it now but since centuries they have been doing it. It is recognition for them in a multiethnic society.

As already mentioned that Baloch, from Makran and Turbat only mention Baloch and do not specify the tribe or clan, these people call Baloch as a nation under which there is an existence of a number of tribes and clans. The reason that they gave for not mentioning their specific caste is, as this respondent wrote 'I believe all Baloch nation as one nation and I want to unite them'. For them being a Baloch is more important than specifying of a caste which are so numerous. The word Baloch is enough for their ethnic identification.

More than half of the total respondents' views are consistent with Tajfel's (1978) theory of social identity, which states that the presence of out-group enhances the identity of in-group and strengthens the bonding among its members. Majority of the respondents believed the presence of other groups as forging Baloch identity. Even the liberal Sindhi speaking Baloch think that the presence of other groups is needed to make demarcation between different ethnic groups clear. Balochi and Saraiki speaking Baloch are equally split on the question. I got clearer answers to this question during my semi structured interviews where the first thought popped up in the minds of my respondents with the other or out group were non locals or settlers who are taken as a group that symbolizes establishment and therefore an enemy, whose presence on the Baloch land definitely enhances Baloch identity. Despite

being linguistically diverse, they present themselves united against one enemy and a single goal. Many Balochi speaking and most Brahvi speaking respondent are still of the view that Baloch identity is not effected by the presence or absence of any group. If there is a noticeable rise in the manifestation of their ethnic identity today, it is more to do with the long sense of deprivation and an increased awareness about it and their rights. They might be against few ethnic groups whom they think responsible for the present detrimental conditions.

After getting the basic information of their names, qualification, gender, the first question of the questionnaire was ‘do you classify yourself as a Baloch?’ An affirmative answer to this question got them entered to this study and they became my reverent research participants. Anyone answering in the negative became ineligible for not only becoming a participant in this study but also unable to attempt any further question in the questionnaire because all the questions in one or the other way were related to Baloch community. Whosoever is not the member of this community would have difficulty in rightly interpreting the questions. I instructed all my helpers in the data collection to go only to Baloch, but due to the diversity in the languages spoken by Baloch, it so happened though rarely, that Sindhi speakers who were not Baloch by caste were give questionnaire that were either left blank or filling in of them suggested openly that it was not filled in by the right person. There were hardly two or three such cases and these questionnaires were therefore excluded for analysis and interpretation.

After obtaining their basic ethno linguistic profile through the above mentioned questions, I moved onto the basic identity question. The first one being ‘Do you attach your caste/tribe along with your name?’ The following tables and charts represent the responses among the speakers of four languages.

Table 1: What respondents considered central to Baloch identity.

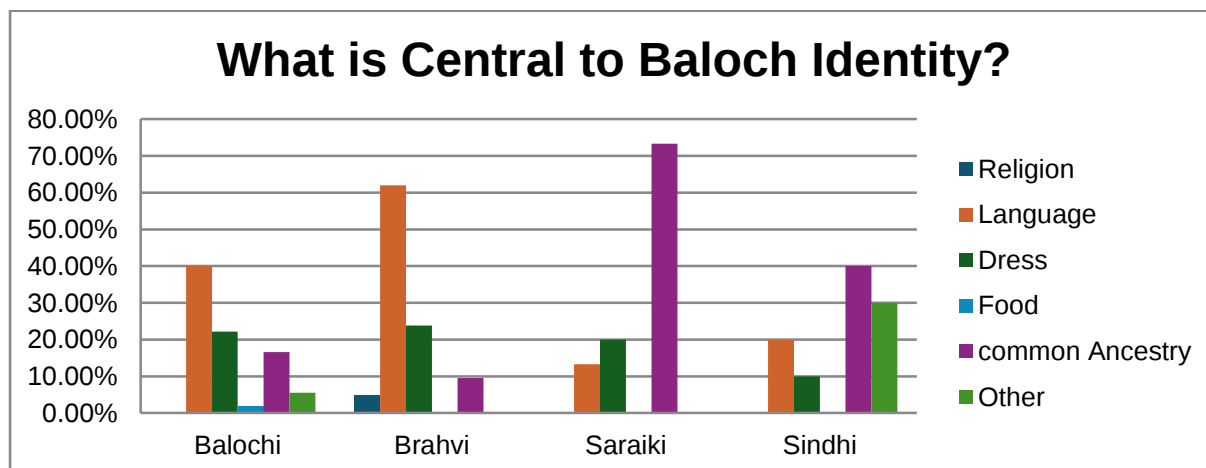
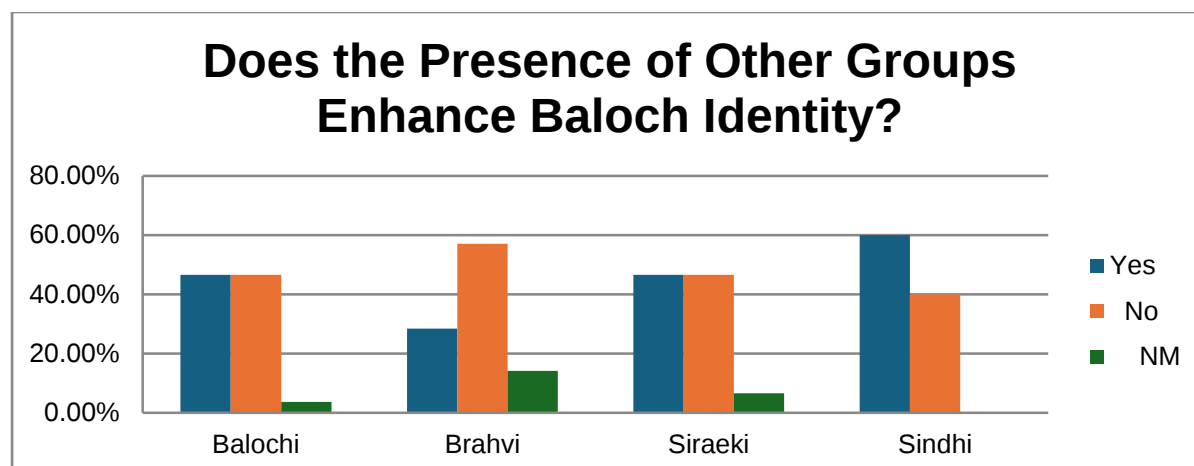


Table 2: Whether the presence of other groups enhances Baloch identity.



The analytical significance of these figures lies in comparison rather than in isolated percentages. Convergence across the four groups indicates a shared ethnic norm, whereas divergence reveals how linguistic background, geography and social networks condition the salience of identity markers. The overall pattern is clear: linguistic difference does not map neatly onto ethnic difference. Respondents move between language, tribe, ancestry, culture and the broader ethnic category of Baloch depending on the question and the interactional context.

Findings

The relation between language and ethnicity has emerged as a unique phenomenon in Baloch as an Ethnic Group. Ethnicity in this specific case can be defined differently with less emphasis on language as an essential marker of ethnic identity. Therefore, the relation between language and ethnicity in this particular instance is a negotiated construct and a fluid notion. Some of the members in this ethnic group do emphasize language as their ethnicity marker but most of them are of the view that focusing on other commonly shared indices of identity in this linguistically diverse group will be more appropriate for the representation of Baloch Ethnicity. For that matter common history, shared ancestry and wearing of common traditional dresses gain more importance than language/s as indicator of ethnicity as already mentioned.

Through my data analysis I have come to the conclusion that language is not the cultural/ethnic core value of Baloch in absolute terms. It was not found out to be central to Baloch identity because it is not common among all Baloch. Multiplicity of languages within a small ethnic group can seldom make the language a binding force and a core value element for ethnic identity of a group. A common history and ancestry, shared customs and traditions are larger and better contributors to the ethnic identity of Baloch today. However, it stays a fact that all Baloch give importance to Balochi language and suggest it to be part of

educational system of Balochistan, with the prediction that no Baloch, whether speaking Balochi, Brahvi, Sindhi and Saraiki would go against the decision.

The evidence challenges a language-only interpretation of Baloch ethnicity. Language is frequently named as central by Balochi and Brahvi respondents, but Saraiki and Sindhi respondents give greater weight to common ancestry and other shared resources. Traditional dress is especially significant because it is visible, shared across linguistic boundaries and available for public identity display. The data therefore support a repertoire of cultural core values rather than one universally indispensable marker.

Conclusion

The evidence supports a relational interpretation of language and ethnicity. Language matters, but its meaning is produced through social relationships and is distributed unevenly across the community. The multilingual composition of the Baloch group makes a universal linguistic definition of Balochness impossible, while the symbolic value of Balochi prevents language from being dismissed as irrelevant. Ethnic identity is therefore sustained through an interconnected repertoire that includes language, ancestry, history, cultural practice, tribal affiliation, dress, territory and perceptions of social difference.

The paper also recognizes limitations arising from purposive sampling, researcher subjectivity and the concentration of the study in Quetta. These limitations should remain visible in any publication based on the dataset. The findings should not be generalized to every Baloch community across Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. Future research should extend the analysis to rural populations, different generations, gendered experiences, other Baloch-speaking regions and longitudinal patterns of language transmission.

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