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COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS OF
URDU MARRIAGE TERMS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is an investigation, using componential Analysis, of the terminology related to the realm of marriage in Pakistani culture. The language investigated is Urdu, native language of the writer. The thesis consists a brief account of what componential analysis is. There is a corpus of data supplied through introspection of the writer and inquiry and verification by other native speakers. This is followed by a description and discussion of the terminology.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Brief History of Componential Analysis¹

Componential Analysis is a particular kind of semantic investigation that attempts to apply the methods of distinctive feature analysis to a specified set of terms drawn from a natural language.

Before explaining this method of analysis, I will give a brief outline of the history of Componential Analysis - how the method began and what developments and changes it has undergone. The idea of "component" or "factor" as a general analytical device has had a long history and its use has been wide spread in biology, mathematics, sociology and psychology. However, the development of formal semantic analysis has largely taken place within descriptive linguistics under the influence of methods and techniques first developed for use in phonological investigations. This method of analysis grew out of a deep interest in the relationships between language and other aspects of culture, particularly preception and cognition. Wilhelm von Humboldt suggested such a connection as long ago as

¹E.A. Hammel. "Introduction" American Anthropologist Special Publications, LXVII No. 5 pt. 2, 1965, p. 2-4

1836, and Boas, (1911) suggested that the proper entree into folk psychology was an appreciation of the internal form of language. Sapir (1921, Whorf (1941), and Lee (1943) have also put forward the thought that perception and cognition are strongly influenced by the extant language.

With Bloomfield's insistence 1933 on the use of meaning only as a constant, in order to determine the variety of linguistic form and the nature of phonological and morphological redundancy, there was an obstruction of the analysis of meaning. Three kinds of developments stimulated removal of the obstruction. First, out of the pioneering work of Jakobson in distinctive feature analysis (1928), with Karceoski and Trubetzkoy (1931) of Hockett's concept of the portnanteau morph (1947) (1955) of Harris' analysis of a Hebrew paradigm (1948) and of Hjelmslev's hints at stratification (1943) there grew the employment of a hierarchy of superordinate and interesting analytic levels, populated by hypothetical constructs, and among which was a sememic stratum. Second, the notion of "syntactic control was expanded from the simple utterance matching procedures used in specifying minimal pairs in phonology to include taxonomic specification of relationships of contrast and inclusion (Goodenough 1956, Conklin (1962) Frake (1961) and eventually to include a wide range of social and cultural criteria (Gumperz 1958, Hymes 1962,

Tyler n.d.). The third factor in the evolution of formal semantic analysis was simply a reversal, but not a discard, of Bloomfield's dictum about meaning. Rather than holding a referential meaning constant and determining which linguistic forms go with it, we now hold a linguistic form constant and determine which elements of referential meaning may occur with it.

The interweaving of linguistic developments with anthropological ones is complex. Until the early 1950s anthropological emphasis remained with "external" analysis, while further methodological progress was made in linguistics itself. By that time, the influence of linguistic development made itself felt in Goodenough's monograph on Truk (1951), his paper on Componential Analysis (1956) and Lounsbury's on the Pawnee kinship system (1956).

What Componential Analysis is?

Componential Analysis is one of the methods of semantic analysis which aims to reach the underlying structure of meaning. The purpose of this particular analysis is to discover those features or attributes i.e. the emics of meaning, that are so critical and necessary as components of a particular term that they guarantee the native speaker's use of that particular term in a particular context. These critical

components are not the probabilities or possibilities of meaning that represent an individual speaker's connotations but are instead the predictable and definitive components shared by all native speakers. When a native speaker uses a term to refer to an object or event, the term has a specific meaning for him and it has essentially the same meaning for his hearer, if he is also a native speaker of that language. A language thus represents the cognitive world shared by the native speakers, and Componential Analysis wants to bring to the surface these cognitions of the speaker - those intentional meanings which are sufficient to justify and even necessitate the use of a particular term by the speaker or necessary for the listener to infer from its use. The speaker has acquired these meanings by belonging to the particular culture which the language represents. They have become inherent in his thinking and he utilizes them automatically and unconsciously, better still intuitively. He cannot give a clear and correct verbal statement of his own rules of semantic procedures and the rules must therefore be inferred and their validity tested. This is the task of the Componential analyst: probing for the intuitions that are unconsciously utilized by the native speaker in choosing one term over another.

Methods of Componential Analysis

Because the intuitions of the native speakers are not available for immediate scrutiny, linguists and anthropologists have adopted the method of Componential Analysis to deal with the problem. Componential Analysis follows three essential procedures:

1. Delimitation of the Corpus² - The first task consists of collecting the data from native speakers and then selecting it on the basis of their reference to a particular, well defined domain of the culture. This selection is achieved by using some rule of inclusion or exclusion to define the corpus and thus establish limits for the choice of terms to be considered in the analysis.

2. Selection of the Language of Description and Analysis³- Once a given set of terms has been selected, the next step is to list all the "denotata" or elements of meaning that are found to be included in each term. These might be considered the "etics" of meaning since they include both significant and non-significant elements.

3. Selection of Components - The third step is to isolate the elements that are exclusive to this term; and/or

²Ibid., p.5

³Ibid.

shared by a number of terms and further, are included as necessary and obligatory elements of meaning by all native speakers for the particular term being considered.

The method by which the items in a set are distinguished from each other is the selection of a set of rules which relates the non-linguistic data to the linguistic data. By recognizing semantic distinctions (components) in a set of terms belonging to a particular domain, we classify the terms of the set into contrasting sub-sets, such that every item is distinguished from every other item by at least one component. Sub-sets can be arrived at in many alternate ways. If the set consists of only one item there is no problem of partitioning. If there are two items, they can be distinguished only in one way. If there are three items, the possibilities become more complex.

A component which is significant over the entire set is called a "primary component"⁴ and one which is significant for less than the total number of items of the set, which acts after the sub-set has been set off and distinguished by one of the primary components is called a "secondary component"⁵. By combining the primary components

⁴Robbins Burling. "Cognition and Componential Analysis: God's Truth or Hocus Pocus" American Anthropologist LXVI, 1964, p. 23

⁵Ibid.

in various ways, we can produce "discrete" but "non-redundant" solutions to the set - we have an analysis in which each item is distinguished from every pair of items by at least one component and no component can be eliminated without breaking down the distinction between at least one pair of items. Statement of and classification by these components constitutes Componential Analysis.

To illustrate the method of Componential Analysis, let's take a small set of terms and see how with the help of certain essential features we can distinguish these terms.

Thus, if we have the following set of terms - horse, mare, foal, filly, stallion and gelding taking certain features - horse, male, female, adult, young and castrated - we can explain each of these terms.

The result could be diagrammed in the following matrix which clearly brings out the essential features of every term and those that distinguish one from the other.

	Mare	Foal	Filly	Stallion	Gelding
Horse	+	+	+	+	+
Male		+		+	
Female	+		+		
Adult	+			+	+
Young		+	+		
Castrated				-	+

This analysis makes apparent that:

[+ horse + female]	→	Mare
[+ horse + male + young]	→	Foal
[+ horse + female + young]	→	Filly
[+ horse + male + adult - castrated]	→	Stallion
[+ horse + male + adult + castrated]	→	Gelding

Pros and Cons of Componential Analysis

Componential Analysis has been chiefly characterized because of its subjectivity. Heavy reliance is based upon empirical judgements by informants, if not by the observer himself, to isolate components that are relevant for the organization of the domain under consideration. The rules which the analyst applies to bring to the front the order or pattern which he discovers in the particular domain may merely be "a reflection of the order that exists in his

mind rather than in the outer world."⁶ The analyst is the only person who has any command over the basic data in terms of extracting the various factors or components. The analyst knows how his analysis fits the data but the possibility remains that another analyst might elicit more or different data that might allow a very different organization and analysis.

Some critics of the method feel that information which reflects intuitive knowledge held by a native speaker is rather limited in its usefulness or importance to the uninitiated non-native speaker and they raise the question of the "Great So What!"⁷

The attraction of Componential Analysis is its neatness and sufficiency and the increase of formal precision that it has brought to such hallowed anthropological topics as kinship terminology. The method leads to a deeper understanding of the meaning of a set of terms and the way the speaker uses them.

The method of Componential Analysis also overcomes

⁶I.C. Gardin. "On a Possible Interpretation of the Componential Analysis in Archeology," American Anthropologist LXVII No. 5, 1965, p.11.

⁷David M. Schneider. "American Kin Terms and Terms for Kinsmen: A Critique of Goodenough's Componential Analysis of Yankee Kinship Terminology," American Anthropologist LXVII No. 5, 1965, p.288.

the dangers faced in dictionary writing or glossaries.

The two hazards are:

1. The non-native speaker often cannot distinguish connotative meaning and denotative meaning.

2. The native speaker is so familiar with his connotations he assumes they are shared by other native speakers.

This method attempts to separate these two types of meaning by eliminating the individually held connotative meaning and isolating the generally held denotative meaning.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

I will attempt to apply the method of Componential Analysis to discover the possible underlying structures of meanings of Urdu marriage terms. I aim to investigate the complex internal structures that compose the meanings of words and to arrive at the essential features which constitute its meaning and determines the usage of that particular word.

The meanings of most words can usually be easily understood if it occurs in a sentence context, even if the word is unfamiliar to the reader or hearer, he can infer the meaning of the word from its context, but a preliminary step to this sentence meaning is an ordered set of features that apply (or do not apply) to that particular word's usage. These are not apparent in the word itself and are brought to the front by a Componential Analysis.

Marriage is a highly elaborated facet of the Pakistani culture and hence has a lengthy set of terms that reflects this elaboration. I want to discover whether or not this set of terms constitute a system or a series of sub-systems, whether there are any internal patterns of meaning, any order in the body of data.

I will investigate whether the minimal specification of necessarily associated characteristics on some descriptive grid constitutes the meaning of the items of the data analyzed.

I will attempt to define the terms selected componentially, to specify these distinctive features of the distribution of items into sets labeled by native terms. I will also attempt to specify the rules according to which members of sets classified by the terminology are, in fact, identical and to reduce these members to a kind of archetype or root which is also the simplest member of the set.

By Componential Analysis I will try to explicate the fundamental cultural categories, their conceptual organization and discrimination, to discover how the native categories relate to each other and to define the cultural categories in terms of which the natives think.

Procedure

To carry out the investigation, the first step would comprise collecting a corpus of terms related to the marriage ceremony. This I have done using myself as an informant. I am a native speaker of Urdu and was born

and brought up in the Pakistani culture so that these terms are the ones with which I grew up and continue to use. I have also collected terms by questioning other native speakers of Urdu. Thus I set up my corpus.

The next step was to determine the denotation of the term and to arrive at the essential bundles of features which constitute the meaning of the terms. The procedure adopted here was the "eliciting technique", I would ask questions of myself and the other informants as to when and in what situations the term was unacceptable. This unacceptability was a clue to the restrictions of the term and determined the exact limits, beyond which, it would constitute another related term.

I also utilized a contrastive method of taking a set of two or more related terms which seemed to be synonymous and then questioning myself or asking the informant what those critical features were, those conditions which determined whether one term was to be used or the other. The native speaker has and uses this criteria intuitively to decide on the usage of a term, and by the above mentioned technique I want to make explicit what is intuitively known to the speaker.

To determine the validity of my data, I asked the same questions of other native speakers. After comparison, I selected those items and features on which all the speakers agreed and recorded these as the distinctive features which determine the meaning and hence the usage of that particular term. These are the components of the terms, the features judged "essential" for the use of that particular term.

In this way I converted the subjective and intuitive processes within native speakers into objectivized analytical operations and it was highly productive.

Through this procedure, I will attempt to undercover the underlying features which distinguish subtleties of meanings for the native speakers, the aspects of meaning - the most critical, perhaps, to give an area of terms some integrity - that is some reason for grouping them as set - that are usually unconscious and as a result are never verbalized. This results in a whole realm of knowledge about the language and the culture that is hidden from those learning the language as a second language. This investigation will uncover what the native speaker knows and doesn't know he knows. Once the investigation is complete and the sets of terms have been

matched against a number of analytic features, it will be established whether the sets constitute a system or not. But this question must remain open until the analysis is complete.

History of Urdu

Urdu etymologically means "camp", being derived from a Turkish word with this meaning, and it is a language which has developed by the influence of several languages. Urdu evolved in an army consisting of soldiers of different nationalities - Indians, Persians, Turks, Arabs, Afghans, and numerous others. To communicate with each other and to exchange ideas they tried to use each other's vocabulary and with the passage of time cultivated a new language. Thus Urdu came into existence and established itself as a separate language during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan in the 17th century. As a result of its origin, Urdu consists of largely Persian, Hindi, Arabic, and Turkish words. As it was cultivated by the Muslims, Urdu, in the course of time depended more and more on Persian as a source of new vocabulary and idiom. It is, therefore, an Indian language written in Persian script with a partly Persian vocabulary and grammar. As contrasted with Hindi which drew its inspiration from Sanskrit and Hindi culture, Urdu looked to Persian literature for motifs and forms and to

the Islamic faith for its inspirations. But it is a very adaptable language and is continuously absorbing new words and constructions. Now, with the popularity of Western education, Urdu has incorporated many English words, technical terms and ideas and the language is continually developing and changing.

Symbols Used

The following transcription has been used to provide an economic and sufficient notational scheme for meaningful speech utterances in Urdu.

Also included are their orthographic representation in Urdu and a description of these sounds:

Consonants:

< پ >	/p/	-	voiceless,	unaspirated,	bilabial stop
< پھ >	/p ^h /	-	voiceless,	aspirated,	bilabial stop
< ب >	/b/	-	voiced,	unaspirated,	bilabial stop
< بھ >	/b ^h /	-	voiced,	aspirated,	bilabial stop
< ت >	/t/	-	voiceless,	unaspirated,	dental stop
< تھ >	/t ^h /	-	voiceless,	aspirated,	dental stop
< ٹ >	/t̪/	-	voiceless,	unaspirated,	retroflex stop
< ٹھ >	/t̪ ^h /	-	voiceless,	aspirated,	retroflex stop
< س >	/ʔ/	-	voiceless,	unaspirated,	glottal stop
< ڈ >	/d̪/	-	voiceless,	unaspirated,	retroflex stop
< ڈھ >	/d̪ ^h /	-	voiceless,	aspirated,	retroflex stop

Consonants:

< ک >	/k/	- voiceless, unaspirated, velar stop
< کھ >	/k ^h /	- voiceless, aspirated, velar stop
< گ >	/g/	- voiced, unaspirated, velar stop
< گھ >	/g ^h /	- voiced, aspirated, velar stop
< ق >	/q/	- voiceless, unaspirated, glottal stop
< ف >	/f/	- voiceless, unaspirated, labiodental fricative
< و >	/v/	- voiced, unaspirated, labiodental fricative
< د >	/ð/	- voiced, unaspirated, dental fricative
< دھ >	/ð ^h /	- voiced, aspirated, dental fricative
< س / ص >	/s/	- voiceless, alveolar, grooved fricative
< ش >	/ʃ/	- voiceless, alveopalatal, grooved fricative
< ذ / ز / ض / ظ >	/z/	- voiced, alveolar, grooved fricative
< ژ >	/ʒ/	- voiced, alveopalatal, grooved fricative
< ع >	/ʁ/	- voiceless, pharyngeal, fricative
< غ >	/ɣ/	- voiced, velar, fricative
< ح >	/h/	- voiceless, pharyngeal, fricative
< خ >	/x/	- voiceless, aspirated, velar fricative
< ج >	/dʒ/	- voiced, unaspirated, palatal affricate
< چ >	/dʒ ^h /	- voiced, aspirated, palatal affricate
< چھ >	/tʃ/	- voiceless, unaspirated, palatal affricate
< چھھ >	/tʃ ^h /	- voiceless, aspirated, palatal affricate
< ٹ >	/l ^h /	- voiced, aspirated, alveolar lateral
< ل >	/l/	- voiced, unaspirated, alveolar lateral

Consonants:

- < ڙ > /r̥/ - voiced, unaspirated, alveolar flap
 < ڙھ > /r̥ʰ/ - voiced, aspirated, alveolar flap
 < ڙٺ > /r̥ʰ/ - voiced, unaspirated, retroflex flap
 < ڙھٺ > /r̥ʰ/ - voiced, aspirated, retroflex flap
 < م > /m/ - voiced, bilabial, nasal
 < ن > /n/ - voiced, alveolar, nasal
 < ڱ > /ŋ/ - voiced, velar, nasal

Vowels:

Some vowel phonemes are not represented by letters of the alphabet but simply by diacritical marks. When a vowel is represented as a letter, the letters are always retained, but the diacritical representations are often omitted in writing. When reading the reader using contextual environment of the word supplies the appropriate vowels

The main vowels of Urdu are the following:

- < ٲ > /i/ - high, front, unrounded, tense vowel
 < ٲھ > /I/ - high, front, unrounded, lax vowel
 < ٲٲ > /e/ - mid, front, unrounded, tense vowel
 < ٲٲھ > /ɛ/ - mid, front, unrounded, lax vowel
 < ٲٲٲ > /ɛ/ - low, front, unrounded, vowel
 < ٲٲٲھ > /ʌ/ - mid, central, unrounded, vowel
 < ٲٲٲٲ > /a/ - low, central, unrounded, long vowel

- <ɔ> /ɔ/ - mid, back, rounded, tense vowel
- <ɔ̃> /ɔ̃/ - mid, back, rounded, lax vowel
- <u> /u/ - high, back, rounded tense vowel
- <ũ> /ũ/ - high, back, rounded, lax vowel.

There is another set of corresponding nasal vowels, which are not allophones of the above but constitute separate

phonemes

< ١ >	/i/
< ٢ >	/ī/
< ٣ >	/ē/
< ٤ >	/ē/
< ٥ >	/ē/
< ٦ >	/ā/
< ٧ >	/ā/
< ٨ >	/ō/
< ٩ >	/ō/
< ١٠ >	/ū/
< ١١ >	/ū/

The diphthongs are the following:

< ١٢ >	/aj/
< ١٣ >	/ay/
< ١٤ >	/aw/
< ١٥ >	/əy/
< ١٦ >	/ia/
< ١٧ >	/ɛa/
< ١٨ >	/ua/

Symbols for:

Nasalization	-	~
Retroflexion	-	.
Aspiration	-	h
Length	-	:
Dental	-	ɾ

Consonants

	Bilabial		Labio Dental		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Pharyngeal		Glottal		
	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	
<u>STOPS</u> Unaspirated	p	b			t								k	g					
Aspirated	p ^h	b ^h			t ^h					t̪			k ^h	g ^h					p
<u>FRICATIVES</u> Unaspirated						s	z												
Aspirated			f	v		s ^h	z ^h												
<u>AFRICATES</u> Unaspirated																			
Aspirated																			
<u>NASAL</u>	n	m						ɳ											
<u>LATERAL</u> Unaspirated																			
Aspirated								l											
<u>FLAP</u> Unaspirated								ɾ											
Aspirated								ɾ ^h											

Vowels

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
		Nasalized		Nasalized		Nasalized
<u>High</u>						
Tense	i	ĩ			u	ũ
Lax	ɪ	ɪ̃			ʊ	ʊ̃
<u>Mid</u>						
Tense	e	ẽ	ʌ	ʌ̃	o	õ
Lax	ɛ	ɛ̃			ɔ	ɔ̃
<u>Low</u>						
Lax	ɶ	ɶ̃			a	ã

Nasalization ~
 Flap ˘
 Retroflex ˙
 Dental ɹ
 Aspiration ʰ

CHAPTER III

BODY OF DATA - ANALYSIS

Corpus

"Dictionary" organized by Semantic Domain

General Domain: Marriage

Before presenting the corpus I will briefly explain what the general headings mean. "Category" is one specific area of the whole domain of marriage. "Meaning" is the dictionary meaning of the term as it would be understood by an English speaker. The "Restrictive features" are those aspects which are the essential characteristics of the term, the components or those conditions which determine for the native speaker the use of that particular term.

Category:

I. Engagement

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< منگنی >	/məɳni/	Engagement Arrangement and public announcement of a couple selected for one another	1. before wedding 2. exchange of ring 3. public announcement 4. may be broken
< رشتہ آنا >	/riʃtə a:na/	Receive an offer of marriage	Must be from the boy's family
< رشتہ طے ہونا >	/riʃtə t̪ hona/	Finalizing the decision for choice of mate	Agreement on both sides
< بات پکی ہونا >	/ba:t̪ p̪k̪ki hony/	Search for a mate	For the girl
< برکی تلاش >	/b̪r̪ ki t̪ʌla:ʃ/	Parents: they search for a mate for both the boy & girl, decide in favour of one & arrange the marriage	Must have children
< دارپی >	/va:l̪ʌn/	Relatives: they may also suggest or bring a proposal if they consider the person suitable for a mate	Blood relationship however distant.
< رشتہ دار >	/r̪iʃt̪eʒa:r/	Barber: the go-between for the girl's and boy's family. He suggests the proposal & carries messages to & fro amongst the men.	not merely barber, hereditary profession, respectable
< نائی >	/na:y/		

Meaning

< نا یڻ /na:yən/

Barber's wife, performs the same role amongst the ladies - sees the girl, the family, the house & provides information

Restrictive Features

wife of/na: y/ not /həjʃa:im/ (only cuts hair)

II. Financial Arrangements

< دین مہار /dɪn məhɑr/

Bride price, arranged between the father of the boy & girl, payable to the bride after marriage even in case of divorce given by the boy

1. announced at time of wedding
2. payable to bride after death of husband.
3. may be waived by bride during her lifetime

< جہیز /jəhez/

Dowry, items given to the girl by the parents. Sometimes the boy's parents may insist that such and such items must be included in the dowry. Exhibited on the wedding day at the girl's house

given to the girl by the girl's parents or relatives.

< بری /bəri/

Items of clothing & jewelery given to the girl by the boy's family

given to the girl by the boy's family

III. Names of Various Statuses

< کونواری /kūwa:ri/

Term for girl before any thought of marriage, the term is applicable at any age, it can be used for an old maid too.

Restriction Unmarried -female

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< گنوار >	Term for a man before any thought of marriage	Unmarried, male
< ميگيتر >	Fiancée, term used in relation to the person engaged to, the girl is a /mangetar/ of the boy and vice versa	applicable once the /magni/ is performed
< دهن >	Bride, once a girl is married the in-laws call her by this name all her life. But everyone in general calls her by this name only while she is newly married, say a month or two.	term is applicable to girl once the wedding ceremonies begin.
< ددها >	bridegroom	term applicable to boy once the wedding ceremonies begin.
< بوي >	Wife, in relation to the husband	term used by anyone & everyone to refer to a wife - an informal term.
< ميا >	Husband, in relation to the wife	Same restriction as /bivi/
< ايليه >	Wife	Term used only for a respected person's wife & used by educated people in formal conversations.

Meaning

Restrictive Features

شوهر <	/šahr/	Husband	same restriction as /xhliā/
زوجه <	/zōjā/	Wife	very rarely used and only by educated people with knowledge of ARABIC
سہاگن <	/svh a: gnn/	Married woman	husband is alive
بیابہنا <	/bia: hta/	Married Woman	a woman who has been married, husband may be dead (more inclusive than /svhagan/
عورت <	/v t/		
منگہ <	/ša:disvā/	Married	man or woman who has been married - spouse may be dead
منگہ <	/mankuha/	Whose /nika:h/is performed	officially declared as wife - term applicable to girl only. Legal document use
بیوہ <	/beva/	Widow	husband is dead
رانہ <	/rā:d/		
طلاق شدہ <	/tala:švā/	Divorced	applicable to man or woman
لڑکی <	/lāḱi/	Girl	term applicable only before marriage and to a young girl. After 30, even if not married term is not applicable.
لڑکا <	/lāḱa/	Boy	same restriction
عورت <	/orāt/	Woman	term applicable after marriage or for elderly person
مرد <	/mard/	Man	same restriction

All these terms in this category are related to the various statuses of a man or woman before marriage, during marriage and after marriage.

Nearly all these terms are in connection with the state of marriage. They indicate the different states as alternating with the married state i.e. before any thought of marriage, when the mate's been selected, when the wedding starts and then the stages after - married, divorced or widowed.

These are the general stages for which terms would exist in any language in English, e.g. we have spinster, fiancée, bride, widow etc. We could have exact correspondence in Urdu, but we notice they are not exactly the same. The term /šulhān/ meaning bride e.g. is applicable to the girl not only at the time of the wedding but she may be called by that name throughout her life by her in-laws while people in general would call her by that name for only a short period, while she is newly married.

There are two terms which describe the state before any thought of marriage for both the boy and girl - /k̄wā:ri/ /k̄wā:ra/ and /l̄r̄ki/ /l̄r̄ka/. What distinguishes one term from the other is that the latter refers more to the age limit this term is applicable from adolescence to adulthood.

Before that they are children and after that stage man or woman /mər̥/ or /ɔrət/. But marriage affects the terms and after marriage even if its an early age the term is not applicable. The former terms are directly related to the state of marriage, age is not taken into consideration - they signify the unmarried state.

For husband and wife we have three pairs of terms - /mr̥ā:/bivi/ /šəhar/ /əhliā/ and/xa:vin̥/ /zəjā/. There is no distinction in meaning. All of them refer to the relation existing between man and woman once they have been married. They are relative terms, understood only in reference to the other. The distinction that obtains between the three pairs is a class distinction and one of usage. The first pair are informal terms used by anyone and everyone to refer to husband or wife, it is used by members of all social classes. The second set is used only for a respected person's husband or wife and used by educated persons of the middle or upper class. A middle class woman when referring to the husband of a woman of low class will not use the term / šəhar/ only / mr̥ā:/. However when referring to the husband of a woman of equal status she may use

either. The last set is very formal and very rarely used. Again it is used only by the high class and for the high class.

The terms for married woman are classified according to whether the husband is dead or alive. /śa:ī śvā/ or /brā:htā/ are general terms referring to a woman who has been married irrespective of whether her husband is alive or dead, even a widow may be the above. /svha: g n/ refers to one whose husband is alive and /beva/ or /rā:d/ for a widow, one whose husband is dead. / tāla: śvā/ is for one who is divorced, husband may be alive or dead.

IV. Items of Clothing

Restrictive Features

Meaning

شیردانی >	/ʃerwa:ni/	Tight fitting, long coat, worn by bridegroom and also by others	1. long, about the knees 2. tight fitting especially at waist 3. high neckline Chinese collar. 4. male
کوت >	/kot/	Coat	1. short 2. with collar 3. male
پاجامہ >	/pa:ja:ma/	Trousers	tied at waist by string male and female
آڈا پاجامہ >	/a:ɽapa:ʃa:ma/	Tight fitting trousers, worn by the bridegroom & others, also by girls	1. tight fitting 2. special cutting - on the bias 3. crinkles at the ankles 4. male and female
ڈھلا پاجامہ >	/ɽilapa:ʃa:ma/	Loose trousers	1. looseness 2. equal breadth from top to bottom 3. male.
شلوار >	/ʃalva:r/	Loose trousers worn by men and women	1. narrow at the bottom 2. stiff padding at lower end 3. male and female
غزاردہ >	/ʃara:ra/	Type of skirt worn by women. It is typical of the bride in red colour with heavy gold work. Worn by other girls & women too.	1. straight though loose till knees 2. two wide skirts below the knees 3. plaited at the knees 4. female

Restrictive Features

1. one piece
 2. umbrella cut
 3. very wide at lower end
 4. female
1. very huge, the 2 skirts are so wide that each must be held by ladies in waiting
 2. worn by nobility or bride (women)
1. plaits at waist
 2. 2 skirts
 3. no division at knees
 4. female
1. one piece
 2. plaited at waist
 3. female
1. not very wide
 2. worn under the saree
 3. female
1. loose
 2. long sleeves
 3. small round neckline, opening in front
 4. has /kali/ - 4 pieces of about 3 inches wide cloth attached on either side from below the arms.
 5. male and female

Meaning

< شراہ >	/šra:ra/	Very loose skirt reaching the ankles
< ذری غراہ >	/fəršigra:ra/	Type of skirt like /šra:ra/
< پاپے کا پاپس >	/bərəpā:ýce ka pa:ja:ma/	Type of skirt like /šra:ra/
< اپنگا >	/lāṅga:/	Type of skirt
< پپی کوٹ >	/peṭi koṭ/	Type of skirt
< کورتا >	/kvr̥ṭa/	Loose shirt worn by men & women over the trousers

Meaning

Restrictive Features

كَمِيْسَة > /qamis/

Shirt worn by men & women

1. one piece, no piece attached to the side
2. for men with collar & cuffs
3. for girls - tight fitting
4. male & female

فْرَاك > /frok/

Frock, dress worn by girls

1. plaits at the waist
2. 2 pieces joined at the waist
3. female

بِلَاوِز > /bia:uz/

Blouse

1. only till the waist
2. worn with saree
3. female

كُوْتِي > /koṭi/

Sort of waistcoat worn by girls

1. sleeveless
2. till the waist
3. worn over skirt or frock
4. female

پِيْشْوَاَز > /pešva:z/

Long frock worn by girls with tight fitting trousers

1. very long, much below the knee but above ankles
2. full, tight sleeves
3. open in front
4. female

سَاَرِي > /sa:ri/

A long piece of cloth worn by wrapping round the waist and then over shoulders worn by women

1. very long - 5-7 yds.
2. not thick material
3. worn with blouse and petticoat
4. female

Restrictive Features

- 1. length - 2 yds.
- 2. not thick material
- 3. worn with shirt or kurta or frock or /pešwa:z/
- 4. female

- 1. open from front with slits for sleeves
- 2. made of rich, fine material
- 3. worn by the bridegroom.

- 1. long piece of cloth wound round the head
- 2. male

Meaning

A huge scarf worn over the head or across the shoulders by women

Loose overcoat

Headwear

Headwear
headwear

< دد پشه > /dopəʃtə/

< عبا > /ʔəbɑ:/

< پگړی > /pəgri/

< صافه > /sa:fa/

< عمامه > /ʔima:ma/

All the terms in this category are names of the different items of clothing worn by men and women in Pakistan. They are classified according to who wears them - men or women. We find that a number of terms like /pa:ʃa:ma/, /ʃalva:r/, /kurta/ apply both to men and women's apparel. The name is the same because in general appearance they are similar. What distinguishes man's dress from the woman's is colour and material. The women usually have colourful, bright dresses, though this is not a necessary feature. They may wear sober dull colours and even white. The women use printed texture of the material with a variety of design and motifs in all colours while the men have plain dresses. Again the material differs - women use finer and richer material silk and satin while the men's apparel is restricted to cotton. However, an exception is the bridegroom's dress which is of fine rich material. The bride's dress differs from that of other women in being very rich and heavy always red in colour and decorated with plenty of gold work. The dress typical for the bride is the /ʃara:ra/ but it differs from province to province. Thus, in Bengal it is the /sa:ri/ in the frontier it is the /ʃalvar/.

Another distinguishing feature of the bride's dress is that her face is covered by pulling the /*ḍopḍṭṭa*/ or the /*ā:ḍal*/ (edge across the shoulder) over it.

All the terms in this category can be classified into four major groups - types of trousers worn by men and women 2. types of skirts worn by women 3. types of dresses for the top part of the body worn by men and women 4. types of headwear.

In the first group, the common features of the items are that they are like trousers, covering for each leg extending waist downward to the ankles. What distinguishes one item from another is the tightness and shape of the trousers, the /*dilapa:ḡa:ma*/ is loose and straight, equal breadth from top to bottom, the /*śalva:r*/ is rather baggy but narrows at the ankles with thick padding and the other is the tight fitting trousers. The last mentioned has three different names and each name describes one of the distinctive features of this particular trouser /*ṭṭṭṭṭa: ḡa:ma*/ - /*ṭṭṭṭṭ*/ literally means tight and the name implies this quality. 2 /*a:ṣa pa:ḡa:ma*/ - /*a:ṣa*/ means oblique. This /*pa:ḡa:ma*/ is made by not cutting the cloth straight, but by first joining the opposite corners and then cutting so that

it is cut on the bias. 3./čurīḡa:r /pa:ḡa:ma/ - /čurī/ literally means bangles. When this /pa:ḡa:ma/ is worn, because the legs are long and tight it forms a number of wrinkles at the ankles and this feature is brought out by the above mentioned term.

The second group has the skirt-like feature in common. All of them are worn only by women. They extend from the waist to the ankles and all, except the /peṡikoṡ/ which is worn under the /sa:ri/ are worn with short /ḡami:s/, tight fitting and the /ḡopaṡṡa/. Another common feature is that they are worn on formal occasions - functions and parties and weddings, not as daily wear.

The features that set apart one item from the other are whether there are two skirts, one for each leg or only one, secondly whether it has plaits or not and if it does where are they gathered, at the waist or at the knees, lastly how wide the skirt or skirts are.

Thus taking these characteristics as different features we could describe each item as follows in the matrix -

Types of Skirts Worn by Women

	One Skirt	Two Skirts	Pleated at knee	Pleated Waist	No Pleats	Wide	Very Wide	Extremely Wide
/vara:ra/		+	+				+	
/šara:ra/	+				+		+	
/farši vara:ra/		+						+
/baře pá:řče ka		+		+		+		
pa:řama/								
/lšga:/	+			+			+	
/petikot	+			+		+		

The third group includes the top garments worn over the trousers by men and over the trousers or skirts by women. Two of the terms are common for men or women's top garment - /kvr̥ṭa/ and /q̥amis/. The former has the same shape and design for both men and women, only the men's /kvr̥ṭa/ is always white either absolutely plain or with some embroidery at the shoulders and neck. On the other hand the women have them in all possible colours, prints and variety of designs. The /q̥amis/, though the name is common is quite different for the two sexes. For the men there is one established design - loose shirt with collar and full sleeves with cuffs or half sleeves, usually made of cotton or sometimes silk but plain. The girls' /q̥amis/ may be of various designs and are in no way like those of the men. They may have different lengths of sleeves or even sleeveless, with any shape of the neckline preferred - low cut or high - round, V, square etc. with slits on the sides or without it, tight fitting or loose at the waist, high or low. There is no restriction whatsoever. The distinctive feature of this garment is that it is a one-piece dress extending below the waist, no /k̥ali/ is attached to the sides as in the /kvr̥ṭa/ and there is no division

at the waist as in frocks or /pešva:z/. The last two are sufficiently described in the dictionary.

Two other top garments worn by women are the /bla:uz/ and /koṭi/. Both these extend only till the waist. They may be higher but not lower. The former is worn with the /sa:ri/, the /sa:ri/ being wrapped over it, the latter is worn over other top garments - /ḥamis/ /frak/ or /pešva:z/. The /koṭi/ is always sleeveless, the /bla:uz/ may or may not be so.

The /šerva:ni/ and /koṭ/ worn by men and the /ḥaba/ worn by the bridegroom will also be included in this group. The /šerva:ni/ as described in the dictionary is a type of long coat which is worn with the /pa:ḥa:ma/ or /šalva:r/, while the coat is worn with pantaloons. The /ḥaba/ typical of the bridegroom is like an overall worn over the /šerva:ni/. Because of its fine quality, colour and gold work it gives the bridegroom a decorative appearance.

The last group includes the headwear. The /ḥopaṭṭa/ is used by the women. It is a long scarf worn over the head by elderly women, and even by girls in the presence of their elders or on religious ceremonies. Otherwise, the girls usually have it draped over the shoulders. When the bride wears the /ḥopaṭṭa/ it covers her head and also her face.

The turban or the cap is worn by men.

V. Footwear

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< جوتا >	/juta/	Shoes	closed in front & back and sides male or female
< شاپي >	/šahi/	Pointed slippers of a special shape, worn by women	closed in front, open in back, female
< سيليم شاپي >	/salimša:hi/	Pointed slippers of a special shape	closed in front & back slightly pointed front, male or female
< پاپل >	/šappal/	Slippers	1. open in front & back 2. flat, no heels 3. held with straps
< سيندل >	/sandal/	Sandals, may have straps worn only by women	open in front and back with heels. female
< كھراڏن >	/kharan/	Slippers	1. wooden 2. open in front & back 3. one strap across the top 4. no heels. male or female

Among the footwear none of the items is restricted only for men's use, though two of them are restricted to women only / ša:hi/ and /sandil/. The last item /k^haṛān/ is identical for both men and women, the same /k^haṛon/ can be used by either men or women.

• The other three /juṭa/, /salim, ša:hi/ and /čappal/ are used by both men and women. But those in the use of women are distinguished by their shape delicacy, beauty and colour from those of the men. The men's footwear is always black, brown, white or beige whether they are shoes or slippers. Only the /salim ša:hi/ sometimes has tiny motifs embroidered in coloured or gold thread, but the background is still white or black. By contrast, the women's footwear are in all colours even silver and golden with buckles and bows and embedded stones and flowers, decorated in all manners.

The different footwear is distinguished by two main features - the openness and the closeness and 2 the presence or absence of heels. Taking these features, we can describe the different footwear as follows:

	Open in front	Open in back	Closed from front	Closed from back	Heels	No Heels	Men's Wear	Women's Wear
/j ^h u ^h ta/			+	+	+	+	+	+
/š ^h a:hi/		+	+			+		+
/s ^h alim š ^h a:hi/ (special shape pointed)			+	+		+	+	
/s ^h andil/	+	+			+			+
/č ^h appal/	+	+				+	+	+
/k ^h ařon/ (wooden)	+	+				+	+	+

VI. Jewellery

A. Necklaces

	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Restrictive Features</u>
< نجر > /na:r/	Necklace	1. worn around the neck
< گلڈونڈ > /glubanḏ/	Necklace	1. worn on the throat clasped close. 2. strap like padded with cloth.
< ہنسی > /h̄sli/	Necklace	1. worn close to the throat 2. round like a ring
< نولکھا نجر > /nɔlɔk̄h̄a na:r/	Long necklace made originally of a worth of 9 lacs of rupees as the name implies	
< ہچیا کلی > /ḥ̄mpa kali/	A necklace which looks like buds of jasmine strung together	1. oblong beads
< ست لڑا > /sət̄ lɔɾa/	A necklace	1. seven strings
< پنج لڑا > /pəḥ̄ lɔɾa/	A necklace	1. five strings
< مالا > /ma:la/	A long necklace	1. long, reaching the waist 2. round beads

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< دُولِنَا >	/dōlna/	A long necklace with flat chains from which hangs a locket	1. drum shaped locket
< تَعْوِيز >	/taʿvīz/	A square locket on a chain in which one keeps a verse from the holy Quran	1. square shaped locket
< بَرْدَنَان >	/bardnān/	Bangles made of gold or of glass of various colours. Glass bangles are a sign of married state, a widow cannot wear them but unmarried girls can.	not broad
< كَنگِي >	/kangni/	A high bracelet worn at the wrist flat, tapering at the top	1. high, tapering at top.
< كَنگِي >	/kangni/	Same but smaller	
< بِيچِي >	/pīcī/	A type of bracelet	1. broad - about 2 ins. 2. flat.
< كَرَا >	/kara/	A type of bracelet	1. broad and 2. round
< بَارْدَنِي >	/ba: zubanā/	A bracelet worn on the arm tied with thread	worn on the arm
< بوشن >	/bošān/	Small, round, oblong pieces $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter put together into a bracelet worn on the arm	oblong pieces of metal no embedded stones
< نَنگَا >	/nānga/	A bracelet of 9 square stones set in a row worn on the arm	square piece of stones

C. Ear-rings

	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Restrictive Features</u>
بندہ > /bndə/	Ear-ring	
بھنگا > /bʰŋka/	A Type of ear-ring	1. bell shaped
کرن پھول > /karn pʰul/	A golden flower worn on the ear-tip, embedded with stones or not	1. flower shaped
بجلی > /bɟli/	A type of ear-ring	1. crescent shaped
بالی > /ba:li/	Rings worn on the ear-tip	1. round shaped 2. thin
بھلی > /mɔ̃ʰli/	Ear-rings in the shape of a fish	1. fish-shaped
انگوٹھی > /aŋgʊʰi/	Ring, worn on the fingers	Stones set in
چھلے > /ʧʰlle/	Thin, plain rings worn on fingers & toes	plain, round
آرسی > /a:rsi/	A ring worn on the thumb which has a piece of glass in it	1. on thumb 2. large 3. glass piece on top
دست بندہ > /dɔ̃st bndə/	A jewelery for the hand extending from the wrist to all the fingers	covering the hand
چھے > /ʧʰe/	Chain worn on the ankles	
پانزب > /pa:zeb/	Broad chain worn on the ankles	

Restrictive FeaturesMeaning

< تیکا > /tīka/

1. worn only by the bride
Round flat locket on chain worn at the centre of the forehead

< جھومر > /j^humar/

1. worn only by the bride

< نیوہ > /nā^h/

worn only by the bride on the wedding day.

< بونگ >

/boṅg/

A huge ring worn on the nose with 3 pearls, one big white one in the centre & two red beads on either side

< بيسر >

/bisar/

Small tops worn on the nose

very tiny, worn by /subhagari/

< کامر کی پٹی >

/kamar ki peṭi/

Broad gold belt worn on the waist with the sari

All the jewelery listed in the data may be made of metal - gold or silver or out of flowers. They may even be imitation jewelery. The names of all the items are the same, irrespective of what they are made of because the classification is based on other criteria - place of adornment, shape, size etc. For the wedding the jewelery is made either of gold or silver - gold for the rich and silver for the poor.

The items listed in the category of jewelery are divided into five broad groups according to where they are worn - around the neck, on the arm, on the hand, on the ear. Thus we have types of necklaces, types of bracelets, types of rings and types of ear-rings. The fifth group includes other miscellaneous items including those worn on the head, forehead, nose, waist and ankles.

Taking the first group of necklaces, we see that a number of them have some features in common and therefore we again classify them into three groups: (1) those that are worn close to the neck; (2) those which consist of small pieces either beads or other shapes threaded together; and (3) lockets on chains.

The first group consists of two items /glubanǵ/ and *hansli*/. What distinguishes these two from each other is the shape, one is flat and broad, the other hollow and round like a ring.

In the second group all the items hang below the neck, on the breast or lower down till the waist. The number of rows and the shapes of the beads or other pieces distinguish these ornaments from each other.

The last group are all lockets on chains, the shape of the locket is the distinctive feature here which may be either drum shaped, square or round.

Secondly we have the variety of bracelets. They are classified according to whether they are worn at the wrist or on the arm. The first four belong to the first class and the next three to the second. Again it's the shape of the ornaments which distinguishes one from the other, whether the bracelet is broad or not, which separates the /čurǵiǵ/ from the others which are all broad. But with breadth it is the roundness, flatness or height which will determine whether a bracelet is a /kangon/ pšči/ or kara/.

Among the bracelets worn on the arm it is the shape of the pieces put together, whether they are oblong

or square and whether they are embedded with stones or not.

The third group consists of ear-rings. The principle of classification here is very apparent, it is the specific shape of the ear-ring. The ear-rings are named according to whether they are bell shaped, flower shaped, crescent shaped, round-shaped or fish-shaped. All ear-rings are assigned to one of these groups and if they do not fall in any of these categories, then they are called by the general term /bʋnḍa/.

The rings are classified on two principles - whether they are worn on the fingers or thumb or both, and again whether they are plain or embedded with precious stones or with mirror. The /ʃʌst̩ bʌnḍ/ is unique in that it extends to all the fingers and thumb at the same time and also covers the top of the hand. The plain, thin rings are /čʰalle/, those embedded with stones /ʌᵛgvt̩/ and that with mirror and worn on the thumb - /a:rsi/.

The last group includes various items. Three of these /tika/, /jumar/, /nʌt̩/ are worn only by the bride. They adorn the face being worn on the forehead, the side of the head till the forehead and the nose respectively. One of the wedding ceremonies consists in showing the bride's face to all the gathering and therefore it must be especially adorned. The /besar/ or /lɔŋ/

is worn after marriage and is a symbol of the married state. The /lacce^{vvh}/ and /pa:zeb/ are chains worn on the ankles.

VII. Foods

Meaning

Restrictive Features

<p>< لبريانى > /brvriani/</p>	<p>Rice cooked with plenty of meat, spices and ghee</p>	<p>Yellow colour (formal dinners)</p>
<p>< پلاؤ > /pɻleo/</p>	<p>Same as above</p>	<p>White colour (formal dinners)</p>
<p>< قورمە > /qo:rma/</p>	<p>Meat cooked with certain spices in a particular way - with gravy (mutton or chicken)</p>	<p>No vegetables has all spices</p>
<p>< قلىە > /qɻliə/</p>	<p>Meat (mutton) in gravy with no potatoes or other vegetables cooked slightly differently from /q orma/</p>	<p>1. has turmeric powder 2. has some vegetables with meat.</p>
<p>< مەرىغ مەسلىم > /mɻrɻmɻsɻllɻm/</p>	<p>A whole roasted chicken stuffed with eggs & dried fruits</p>	<p>1. whole chicken 2. stuffed with eggs.</p>
<p>< شەئە كىباب > /ʃa:mikɻbaib/</p>	<p>Cutlets of minced meat, cooked ground & filled with chopped onions & a green chillies</p>	<p>1. filled with chopped onions and green chillies</p>
<p>< گور كىباب > /gular kɻba:b/</p>	<p>Round cutlets like small balls filled with raisins</p>	<p>1. filled with raisins</p>
<p>< سەئە كىباب > /sɻx kɻba:b/</p>	<p>Meat with spices grilled over coals</p>	<p>1. pieces of meat 2. grilled</p>
<p>< جەئەلى كىباب > /mɻʃli ka kɻba:b/</p>	<p>Pieces of fish with spices grilled over coals</p>	<p>1. pieces of fish 2. grilled.</p>
<p>< شەئە مەل > /ʃɻr ma:l/</p>	<p>A special type of bread, slightly sweet. Plenty of ghee is used in preparing it.</p>	<p>flat, not very thick. Cuts on top.</p>

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< نان >	/na:n/	Raised bread like a bun but larger in size	raised, thick
< باقر خواتی >	/ba:qarxa:ni/	Bread specially prepared so that its like wafers	not very thick, wafers.
< متجن >	/mutʃʃʌn/	A special dish made of rice which is sweet as well as salt with meat and dried fruits	sweet and salt at the same time. 2. sweet dish with pieces of meat.
< شاهى مکرے >	/ʃa:hi tʊkre/	A sweet dish prepared with fried bread and milk	pieces of bread covered with sweetened almost dried milk
< زردہ >	/zarʃa/	A sweet dish made of rice with dried fruits, yellow in colour	yellow colour plus sweetness of rice
< فیرنی >	/firni/	A sort of custard prepared with rice powder and plenty of milk	powdered rice
< کبیر >	/kir/	A sort of custard prepared with whole rice and plenty of milk	whole rice

The varieties of food listed are those offered on formal occasions like the wedding or other large scale functions and parties. They are very elaborately cooked by experts in large utensils in the open not on stoves. In the preparation of all these dishes plenty of ghee, meat spices and dried fruits are used. They add richness and flavour to the food. They may be prepared even in the kitchen on a smaller scale for a smaller party but they are not generally eaten daily.

The varieties of food may be classified according to whether they are dishes of rice, of gravy, kabab, bread or sweet dishes.

Two types of cooked rice dishes have been described. The apparent difference is in the colour by which they may be classified - /bɪriani/ - yellow and /pɪrlao/ white. The method of cooking for the two also differs. These two dishes are distinguished from the other salty dishes of rice prepared in having meat and spices.

Dishes which have gravy are the /qʌlia/ and /qorma/. What distinguishes these two is the presence or absence of vegetables and secondly the difference in the spices used, /qʌlia/ contains vegetables and mutton or beef; turmeric powder must be present. In /qorma/ there are no vegetables. It may be cooked of mutton or chicken, it must contain all the spices except turmeric powder.

The varieties of /kaba:b/ are divided into two groups - those which are fried and those which are grilled. Another basis of division which corresponds to the two classes is whether it is prepared from minced meat-boiled and ground or just pieces of meat. The former is fried, the latter grilled. Those falling in the first class are /ša:mi kaba:b/ and /gular kaba:b/. The stuffing and the shape distinguishes the two. The former is stuffed with sliced onions green chillies and mint and are round and flat in shape. The latter are stuffed with raisins and are round, ball like in shape. The second class has /six kaba:b/ and /mač^hli ka kaba:b/. The former consists of pieces of beef, the latter of fish which are put on rods and grilled over coals.

Three types of bread have been described. They are specialities for parties and dinners especially the /šir ma:l/. They are made from white flour with plenty of ghee and through a strenuous procedure. The three are distinguished by their thickness, /na:n/ is the thickest then /ba:qar xa:ni/ which also has wafers and lastly /širma:l/ which is slightly sweet.

Of the sweet dishes the two prepared from rice

/mυ^hanjan/ and /zar^ha/ are distinguished by the presence of meat in the former only and the saltiness too for the former is both sweet and salt while the latter is only sweet. The /kir/ and /firni/ are distinguished by the form of rice, in the former it is whole, in the latter powdered.

VIII. Gift Exchanges

Meaning

Restrictive Features

<p>جہیز > /jəhez/</p>	<p>Dowry, items given by the bride's parents or relatives on the wedding day, including clothing, jewellery, furniture and everything a couple will need in new home. Displayed at the bride's house on the wedding day.</p>	<p>given to the girl given by the girl's parents or relatives</p>
<p>بري > /bəri/</p>	<p>Items given by the bride-groom to the bride on the wedding day, including clothes, jewellery, dry fruits, sweets, displayed at bride's house.</p>	<p>given by the bridegroom's family. Clothes and jewellery for bride, rest to be distributed among friends.</p>
<p>ڈالا > /də:la/</p>	<p>It includes the items brought by the groom on the wedding to be used by the bride for dressing up on that day.</p>	<p>brought by the groom brought for the bride</p>
<p>نڈانہ > /nəḍā:na/</p>	<p>Dresses given to the bridegroom's sisters by the bride's parents.</p>	<p>given to groom's sisters given by bride's parents</p>
<p>سمری کا بوڈا > /səmə'ri kəjoṛə/</p>	<p>Dress for the /səmə'ri/ i.e. the groom's brother, father brother-in-law etc.</p>	<p>given by bride's parents given to groom's family - male members</p>

Meaning

> سہمراں کا
< جوڑا > /səməʾān/
kajōʾa/

Restrictive Features
given to groom's family
given by bride's parents
female members.

> ددھا کا
< جوڑا > /d̪h̪a/
kajōʾa/

given by bride's parents
given to groom

> تکفہ تھائف
< > /t̪h̪f̪a/
t̪h̪aif/

given to the bride & groom
given by relatives and
friends

The groom's dress given
by the bride's parents
which he wears on the
wedding day

Presents given by relatives,
friends and other guests
at the wedding to the bride
and groom. Value of the
present depends on close-
ness of terms & relationship
and the financial status
of the person.

> سلا می
< > /s̪la:mi/

given when salutations
are offered.
given to bride and groom

Money given to the bride and
groom by relatives and
guests present, when the
couple offer salutations

> جوڑا چھپائی
< > /j̪uʾa/
t̪ʰp̪ai/

given to bride's sisters
given by the groom
given on recovery of shoes

Money given to bride's
sisters by the groom for
recovering his shoes
hidden by them.

Meaning

وڤڤڤڤ > /d̪arva:za
<ڤڤڤڤ/ cikai/

Money given to groom's sisters by the groom when they block the bride's entrance to the room at the groom's house.

Restrictive Features

Given to groom's sisters
Given by groom

<ڤڤڤڤ > /mũ'k̪ai/

Gift given by the groom and money given by guests when they see bride's face which is kept covered.

given by groom and guests
given for seeing bride's face.

All the gift exchanges take place on the wedding day. There is the exchange of gifts between the bride's and groom's families and gifts are given to the couple by friends and relatives.

Mostly the gifts are in the form of clothes and money and secondarily jewelery and other presents.

The girl's parents give most of the gifts. Firstly they give the /*Yahz*/ to the bride which is most elaborate and includes almost everything needed for a new home. Then they give dresses for the groom, his sisters and the male and female members of the groom's family. They must also give money for the /*sala:ni*/ when the groom offers salutations.

Most of the presents are received by the bride from her own parents and from the groom's parents, plus those given by other relatives and friends.

A small sum is received by the bride's sisters for hiding the shoes and by the grooms sisters for blocking the door. Both are given by the groom.

The gifts are classified according to whom they are given and by whom. On the receiver's side are the bride, the groom, the bride's sister, the groom's sisters the male members of the groom's family, the female members of the groom's family. On the giver's side are the bride's

parents, the groom's parents, the groom and other relatives and friends. The various gift exchanges could be diagrammed in terms of these two as follows:

Giver	Receiver					
	Bride	Groom	Groom's Sisters	Bride's Sisters	Male Members of Girl's Family	Female Members of Girl's Family
Bride's parents	1	7,9	3		5	6
Groom's parents	2,9					
Groom	4,12		11	10		
Relatives & friends	6,9,12	6,9				

Gifts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. /j ^h hez/ | 7. /ʒv ^h a kaʒoʒa/ |
| 2. /b ^h i/ | 8. /t ^h fa t ^h haif/ |
| 3. /nan ^h a:na/ | 9. /sala:mi/ |
| 4. /ða:la | 10. /ʒu ^h a č ^h pai/ |
| 5. /samb ^h i kaʒoʒa/ | 11. /ʒ ^h rva:začikai/ |
| 6. /samb ^h an kaʒoʒa/ | 12. /mū ^h ikai/ |

IX. Festivities & Ceremonies

< ما بچھا > /mā: jā/
 < ما بچھا > /mā: yū/
 < ما بچھا > /vbtān/

Ceremony couples of days before the wedding /vbtān/ a sweet smelling powder with turmeric powder is applied to the bride clad in yellow & the groom /vbtān/, flowers and sweets are exchanged. There is much rejoicing.

< مہندی > /mēhđi/

One night before the wedding /mēhđi/ (green powder that leaves red stain) with flowers & sweets is exchanged & applied to bride's hands & feet & groom's small finger

1. night before the wedding
 2. application of /mēhđi/

< بارات آنا > /ba:ra:t/a:na/

Coming of groom with friends & relatives in elaborate procession to bride's house to wed her. Reception of /ba:ra:t/ by garlanding them, offering drinks and giving good seats

1. coming of groom and relatives
 2. coming to bride's house

Restrictive Features

1. before the wedding
 2. seclusion of bride after the ceremony
 3. application of /vbtān/

< شربت پلائی > /šarbat̪ p̪l̪ai/

Meaning

GRoom is taken in to the ladies where he is given a sweet drink. He offers salutations to the gathering. 7 /srhagan/ throw some rice over the groom & bend his head

Restrictive Features

1. Groom drinks sweet drink offered by bride's mother
2. 7/svha:ga/ throw rice.

< نکاح > /nrka:h/

Official declaration of bride and groom in front of all gathering as man and wife in return of a sum promised to the bride by the groom. Performed by /qa:zi/ & 2 witnesses. Followed by elaborate dinner.

1. official declaration
2. in return of a sum payable to the bride

< سہرا بڑھائی > /sehra b̪r̪h̪ai/

Tying the / sah̪ra/ strings of sweet smelling flowers hanging from belt tied to groom's forehead on wedding day. Followed by loud recital of poem /sehra/ in which groom's father and relatives are congratulated and joy expressed.

1. tying of /sehra/
2. recital of /sehra/

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< سہاگ پڑا پینا > /suhə:ɒpɪə pi:na/	7/svha:egam/Grind the things in the /svna:g puf:a/and collect it in a silver bowl	1. GRINDING 2. done by seven /svha:gan/
< ہال جانا > /ba:l ja:na/	bride's hair is oiled & combed in front of all guests. Accompanied by singing in praise of bride's hair	1. combing of hair
< آرسی مٹھن > /a:rsi masha:f/	After dinner bride & groom brought together & seated with the holy Quran and mirror placed in between. The groom recites a verse from the Quran and sees the bride's face in the mirror.	1. seeing the bride's face in the mirror 2. reciting from the holy Quran.
< منہ دکھائی > /mʊˈkʰai/	After the bride is dressed up, her face is shown to the gathering and money is given to her.	1. showing the bride's face.
< ہوتا چھپائی > /ju:ʈə ɕʰpai/	Hiding of groom's shoes by bride's sisters and returned on receiving some money.	1. hiding groom's shoes.
< مانگ بھرنہ > /ma:ŋ bʰrna/	Groom holds a ring with thumb and small finger, dips it in the ground paste and applies it in the central parting of bride's hair	application of paste in bride's parting by the groom

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< نوبت پنهان > /nɔbɑ:t̪ ɕvna/

1. picking of sugar cubes

Betel leaf with sugar cube is placed on bride's right and left hands and shoulders and groom must pick it up with his mouth

< با تمام ضامن با ندهنا > /ɪma:m za:min/ ba:nɔh'na/

tying of /ɪma:m
za:min.

Tying of a piece of cloth in which there is a coin to groom's arm to give him in the protection of a holy saint. Money is later given to the poor.

< زخمی پر ضنا > /ruxt̪i pɔɪ'na/

reading of /rux sɔt̪i/

Reading of a poem composed by bride's relatives to express their grievance at her departure. Accompanied with weeping by everyone present

< زخمی > /ruxs ɔt̪i/

Departure of bride to groom's house accompanied with much weeping by all especially the bride

< دلیم > /valima/

Dinner given on 4th day of wedding at the groom's house. Bride's dressed in golden

dinner by the groom

< چو پنی > /ɕt̪h'i/

Small playful fight & bride's family after /valima/ in which sweets, fruits and vegetables are thrown at each other

playful fight between groom and bride's family.

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< کھیر چٹائی > /kʰir čʰətai/

Sweet custard to be placed on bride's hand to be eaten by groom & vice versa. performed at groom's house.

Licking of custard.

< چائے > /ča:le/

Dinners given by the groom's relatives to the couple and close relatives for 9 days.

dinner by groom's relatives.

< چال چلائی > /ča:l čʰla:i/

Bride is made to walk slowly, supported by two ladies on the 4th day of the wedding

1. walking slowly by bride

< آنکھ کھلائی > /ā:kʰ kʰlvai/

On 4th day the bride opens her eyes and is taken to the kitchen where she touches all the utensils

opening of bride's eyes.

< گدائی > /gʰvva:li/

Group singing by professionals to the accompaniment of harmonium and clapping in a special rhythm. Performed at the wedding /valima/

group singing

< جمرا > /mʌʃ ra/

Dance presented by a dancing girl in front of a gathering to the accompaniment of song sung by her or a singing girl.

dance

All these ceremonies are the highlights of the wedding. They may be performed on the wedding day, before it or on the 4th day after the wedding or even later. Most of these festivities are accompanied by songs especially composed for each ceremony and sung by the /mīra:sʌn/ a group of professional singers. In songs the /mīra:sʌn/ jokingly abuses and makes fun of the groom's relatives especially his sisters, brothers, father, mother, uncles and aunts. There is much gaiety and rejoicing through all the festivities except when the /nīka:h is being performed - the bride and the relatives and friends weep a lot before she accepts and again at the / rʌxsʌti/ when the bride is leaving her parent's home. All the ceremonies are performed on the couple and each is quite distinct from the other so that we cannot sub-classify or divide them into further groups. Each term is self explanatory and needs no further clarification.

X. New Residence

Meaning

Restrictive Features

< سسرال > /svsra:l/

groom's parents' home
for the bride

< ميکه > /maka/

bride's previous home

< گمر > /gar/

bride's new home

The home of the groom's
parents or relatives where
the bride goes after
marriage

Bride's parents home after
her marriage. Before
marriage it was her home
/gar/ Bride's /maka/
is /s sra:l/ for the groom

If the couple stay
separately it will be the
bride's /gar/ her home, not
/svsra:l/

After the wedding has taken place, the residences acquire new names in relation to the bride and groom. Thus the terms are classified according to whose home is it and in relation to whom are we speaking about it. Thus for the bride, the groom's parents or relatives is called the /sʊsra:l/ and for the groom, the bride's parents and relatives' homes is /sʊsral/. The bride's previous home, her parents' home which was called /gʰar/-home before marriage is called /mʌka/ after marriage. If the couple live in a new or separate house it will be /gʰar/ for both of them. But, if the bride continues to live with the groom's parents the residence will be /gʰar/ for the groom but /sʊsra:l/ for the bride - the home of her /sa:s/ and /sʌsʊr/ mother-in-law and father-in-law respectively.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

Broad Generalizations

Linguistic In recording the data I noticed that a number of terms were not absolute terms describing the event, fact or object they referred to. They were not specialized terms restricted to the field of marriage only. On the contrary, very common and high frequency words were merely put together with slight morphological changes so that they now referred only to the various aspects of the marriage ceremony. This is especially apparent in words related to the wedding ceremony and festivities in category IX.

/juṭa c̣v̄pai/ - /juṭa/ + /c̣v̄pana/
/šarva:za č̣h̄ikai/ - /šarva:za/ + /č̣h̄ekna/
/šarbaṭ pilai/ - /šar baṭ/ + /pila:na/
/ma:ŋ b̄h̄rai/ - /ma:ŋ/ + /b̄h̄rna/
/k̄ir č̣aṭai/ - /k̄ir/ + /č̣a:ṭna/
/ā:k̄ k̄vlvai - /ā:k̄/ + /k̄olna/

All these words are formed from participial phrases by changing /na/ to /ai/. Thus /juṭa c̣v̄pa:na/

is a participial phrase meaning the act of hiding the shoes, anyone could perform the act -- a baby or even a dog, or a cat or the person himself could hide his shoes from others. But, when the ending /na/ is changed to /ai/, it becomes a compound noun which has a special meaning. If we take the changed form by itself /c̣pai/ it is still a verb, only now in the feminine gender referring to a feminine noun, e.g. /kiṭa:b/ - book, but /ju:ṭa/ is masculine. So we have the combining of a masculine noun with a feminine verb. This is true for the first 4 items. But the last three /ma:ṇ/, /ḳir/ and /ā:ḳ/ are themselves feminine nouns put with feminine verbs. These could be used in speech to refer to the act but in that case the noun will be functioning as a noun, the verb as a verb. But when referring to the marriage ceremony the two words are used as one compound noun functioning as a noun.

This new compound noun may have two meanings even in the field of marriage. Thus it may refer to the act or it may refer to the sum of money payable after the ceremony, e.g. /juṭa c̣pai/ or /mụ̃ṛkai/ could refer to both. This will be clearer if I give the words

in a sentence context which brings out the two meanings. Thus /kia mū^h žik^h ai/ho g^{ai}/ it could be translated as Has the /mū^hžik^h ai/ been done? /mū^hžik^h ai/kⁱṭ^hni mⁱli/- How much /mū^hžik^h ai/ did she get?

This method of noun formation does not always apply. Two terms /svha:g puṛa piṣna/ and /ruxs^hṭi paṛ^hna/ retain the infinitive form. If the infinitive was changed by replacing /na/ with /ai/, we would get /piṣai and /paṛ^hai/ which are in themselves nouns of high frequency and therefore we would be putting two nouns together which is not possible. However, in both these terms, the nouns /svha:g puṛa/ and /ruxs^hṭi/ are restricted to the marriage ceremony and hence the phrase causes no confusion.

Another method of word-formation so that they become restricted terms with special use is adding the ending /i/ to noun forms. Thus /sala:m/ meaning salutations and /rux s^hṭi/ departure are changed to /sala:mi/ and /ruxs^hṭi/ the former meaning the money given to the couple for offering salutations and the latter, the poem recited when the bride is leaving her parent's home.

Other words are also formed by adding /i/ to nouns. Thus we have /koṭi/ from /koṭ/ and /kaṛṇi/ from /kaṛṇan/. Both these terms have one thing in

common. They specify smallness of the form they are derived from. Thus /koṭi/ is a small /koṭ/ and /kaṇṇi/ is a small /kaṇṇa/.

All words formed by this procedure have one aspect in common, with the addition of /i/ they acquire a feminine form while previously they were masculine.

In terms which have the same stem, the gender is known by the ending /i/ for feminine and /a/ for masculine.

Thus /laṭki/ - girl, /laṭka/ - boy, /kūva:ri/- unmarried girl, /kūva:ra/ - unmarried boy.

Another way of forming the feminine is by adding /an/ to the feminine form. Thus we have /ṣul^ha/ groom, /ṣulhan/ bride, /nai/ barber, /nain/ barber's wife.

There are also some related terms in the data, where the meaning has some common aspect and one form seems to have been derived from the other. Thus we have

/maṇṇi/ - engagement and /maṇṇeṭar/ - fiancée.

/nika:h/ -official declaration in marriage	/mankuna/ - girl whose nikah has been performed.
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/svha:g/ - state of marriagehood	/svha:gan/ one whose husband is alive.
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All these are related terms and the second is derived from the first as is clear by the meaning, the

second names are given only when they have undergone the first set. Thus, a boy or girl will become the /mʌŋgetʌv/ when the /mʌŋni/ is performed, a girl is /mʌŋkuha/ when her /nikah/ is performed and she can be /svhagʌn/ only when she has once acquired her /svha:g/.

Reference to common meaning also determines the terms used e.g. we have three terms -- /vɪʃte ɖa:r/ - relatives, /riʃta a:na/ - to get a proposal, /riʃta tɛ hona/ - finalizing the decision for choice of mate.

All three of them have one term in common /riʃta/, which means relationship. It is used for relatives because there is a relationship with them, it is used for getting a proposal because the proposal is to enter into relationship with someone else and the last term shows that there is decision that such a relationship will be established.

Some terms and names of objects are derived from the names of objects they actually resemble in shape. This is largely seen in the items of jewellery where the name signifies its shape.

/mʌɕli/ is the name for fish and we have the same name for the ear-ring which is fish shaped.

/d^hol/ literally means drum and a locket which is drum shaped is called /d^holna/.

/lɔŋg/ is the name for clove and also for the small tops worn on the nose which has exactly the same shape, a short, slender rod with an embedded stone at its head.

/ba;l/ means hair and /ba:li/ is a thin round ear-ring, the name implies its thin, hair like quality.

/čampa kali/ are two words together and literally mean buds of jasmine. This is also the name for the gold necklace where the beads look like buds of jasmine threaded together.

/kařa/ literally means stiff and it is also used for a bracelet which is round and hollow and it has a stiff appearance as compared to other bracelets like /čuři/ which are very delicate.

/kavan p^hul/. This is the name of ear-rings which are like flowers worn on the ear-tip. The flower like quality is clear by the second word /p^hul/ which literally means flower. The first word /kavan/ has two possible explanations -- either it is derived from /kivan/ meaning rays for the petals of the flower is like rays or from /ka:n/ meaning ear because it is worn on the ear-tip.

/j^hum / and /j^humka/ seem to be related to the word /j^hum/ meaning to whirl for with the movement of the head they continually shake too because of their shape.

Looking at the items under jewellery, we also find that there are a number of terms which show their special characteristics by their name. These are all compound words.

We have / pačlařa/- This is derived from /pa:č/ meaning five and / laři/ meaning rows. Thus /pačlařa/ is a necklace of five rows. / saṭ lařa/ is similarly derived, /sa:ṭ/ means seven and we have a necklace of seven rows.

/glu banḍ/, is a necklace clasped close to the throat /gala/ means throat and / banḍ/ means close. Thus it is a necklace which closes round the throat.

/bazu banḍ/- /ba:zv/ means arm, hence it is the name for the bracelet clasped on the arm.

/no naga/- / no/ means nine and /nag/ means embedded stone. This is the bracelet which is made up of nine small, square pieces embedded with stone set in a row.

/kamar ki peṭi/ is a broad gold belt worn on the waist and it literally means belt for the waist --/kamar/ -- waist /peṭi/ -- belt and /ki/ indicates possession.

The above mentioned consisted of two words each having separate meanings unrelated to each other. However, sometimes by maintaining the name of the object but adding an adjective before it, results in the name of a new object. We have the word /pa:ja:ma/ meaning trousers. We add the adjective /a:řa/ - oblique or /tʰʌŋ/ - tight, before it and we get the name for a special variety of /pa:ja:ma/ - /tʰʌŋ pa:ja:ma/ or /a:řa pa:ja:ma/ which are tight trousers. Similarly we have /ʒʌřa:řa/ the name for a special type of skirt which are actually two skirts one for each leg plaited at the knee. And we have another variety /fʌřši ʒʌřa:řa/ which has all the essential features of the /ʒʌřa:řa/ only the skirts are extremely wide / fʌřš/means floor and/ fʌřši ʒʌřa:řa/ is one which because of its extreme width rests on the floor.

In the category of food, some words by their names suggest how they are prepared. We have the term /mʌ rʒ mʌsʌllʌm/- /mʌ rʒ/ means chicken and /mʌsʌllʌm/ means whole and that is what the dish is, a chicken roasted whole stuffed with eggs.

/sɪx kʌbʌ:b/ - /sɪx/ means rod and this is the /kʌbʌ:b/ prepared by putting pieces of meat on to a rod and grilling it over coals.

Some words indicate how they first originated. Thus we have /sʌlim ša:hi/ for a type of footwear. This footwear got its name because it was the special kind worn by Prince Salim (later Mogul Emperor Jehangir). Again /nɔlʌkʰa ha:r/ is a long necklace which was originally made of a worth of nine lakhs of rupees and the name has persisted for the necklace of the same shape and design.

There are also a few terms which are relative, i.e. one would not have any meaning without the presence of the other. These are the various terms for husband and wife /miā:/ /bivi/, /šɔhʌr/ /xhliʌ/ and /xavinǝ/ /zɔʃa/

Cultural

The culture of any people, I think, reflects not only their mode of living but also their manner of thinking, and their value system and language is a true reflection of all these. The most important aspect of marriage in the Pakistani culture seems to be the formal ceremonies, especially the /nɪka:h/ the actual marriage ceremony, proclaiming the couple as husband and wife according to the rules of Islam. This is a moment of much rejoicing for the groom, his family and friends but a cause of great

grief for the bride, her parents, relatives and friends, because the proclamation breaks old ties and establishes new ones. The girl now belongs to someone else and they possess more right and authority over her. Another important aspect is the departure of the bride which is again a moment of distress for all present friends and strangers. The girl leaves her home and her people to start a new life in a new home amidst strangers. The language and the terms used, e.g. /nikah/ and /ruxsʌtɪ/ bring out these aspects of the ceremonies, the latter literally means bidding farewell and the very use of the term suggests the connotations it holds for the speakers.

Perhaps these two aspects constitute an important phase because they are both depictions of an important "rite of passage" in the life of the individual. It marks the beginning of the girl's important, new status which bring new privileges and freedom in both personal and public life. The terms /sha:ɡʌn/ and /ʃa:ðiʃvʒa/ both point to the married status and imply the connotations which go along with this state. Thus the married woman has more liberty to dress elaborately in more decorative clothing; wear more jewellery, wear make-up, perfume and whatever other personal enhancements she chooses.

These are the privileges denied to her before marriage when her life was one of simplicity and innocence. She now will enjoy more social life and mingle more with people than she did previously when she led a secluded life in her parent's home. Her rights as a family member increase in importance. She can express her opinions in all matters and her opinion carries weight. She is regarded as a person who can think and reason and give proper advice.

I might point out that the customs and mannerisms of the Pakistani culture differ extensively from those prevailing in the European and English speaking societies and this is essentially a reflection of a difference in world view and value system which culminates in the cultural patterns and behavior of the group.

In western culture where a girl must look for her own husband, she dresses as attractively as possible before marriage and after marriage there is sometimes a change in the opposite direction as compared to the Pakistani girl -- she becomes more casual and less concerned with her appearance than she formerly was. On the other hand, the Pakistani girl has no contact with the opposite sex before marriage, her partner in life is selected for her and it is only after this selection that she dresses up and adorns herself to appear pleasing and charm her husband.

The language with its detailed set of terms for the clothes and the jewellery worn by the married woman, the new privileges she enjoys, and the complete change in her status clearly reflects the cultural emphasis in this particular realm of this particular society.

CONCLUSION

The relevance of componential analysis is entirely dependent upon one's objectives in conducting a semantic analysis. Analysts may have two objectives, one to discriminate which term should be used to denote an object and second a more ambitious goal of trying to discover the way in which people construe their world.¹

In the first case the analyst searches for a set of rules by which he can decide whether a certain term could be used to indicate an object or not. A native speaker uses a particular term only when certain specific conditions occur and the analyst must discover these underlying features or prerequisites which determine that some object is to be called by a given term. The justification of the analysis lies in the success with

¹Burling, op.cit p. 24

which it can predict the meaning of the term.

The second objective is to discover the scheme by which the native speakers themselves decide what term to use for a particular item. Goodenough, Wallace and Frake advocate this view. Goodenough says: "the semantic analyst aims to find the conceptual units out of which the meanings of linguistic utterances are built...."². Wallace points out the same: "The problem is to define the taxonomic system itself -- that is, to explicate the rules by which uses of the terms group various social and geneological characteristics into concepts."³

Frake also described the analysis as containing: "some suggestions toward the formulation of an operationally-explicit methodology for discovering how people construe their world of experience from the way they talk about it."⁴

The first objective is realistic and attainable while the second is more idealistic and difficult to acquire.

²Ward H. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning," *Lanugage* XXXII, 32, (1956), p.196

³Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Culture and Cognition ", *Science* CXXXV, (1962), p. 352

⁴Charles O.Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," *Anthropology and Human Behavior*, (192), p.74

Acquisition of the first alternative - predicting the meaning - does not necessarily show that the speaker of the language uses the same criteria. This is a great leap and before taking it, the analyst must overcome the various shortcomings which his method is subject to. Before presenting the analysis with absolute certainty, he must provide a complete analysis of all the terms that are found in the cultural realm being considered and not limit himself to examples which illustrate the problems he is considering or it leaves the reader wondering about problems of indeterminacy. Before claiming to represent the cognitive organization of the people, as Burling says: "One must explain how to eliminate the great majority of logical possibilities and narrow the choice to the one or few that are constant and psychologically real."⁵ Connotations are not considered since they represent only possibilities and can vary with the speaker.

Language patterns exist in all languages and their variation from language to language suggests varying patterns of thought in different cultures. Anthropologists, psychologists and linguists have all tried to establish the relationship, to predict the

⁵Burling, op.cit. p. 74

cognitive organization through knowledge of the language structural semantics attempts to relate language use and events in the non-linguistic world but the correspondence can be shown only through intuition and the understanding of the cognitive system of the speaker and is far from certain.

In conducting the analysis to achieve the ambitious goal of representing the cognitive organization of the people, I faced the same difficulties as presented above. As a result, I have limited my analysis to the objective of showing how marriage terms in Urdu are applied to events and objects in the world. Although some patterns (shape, size, presence or absence of sugar etc.) are discernible, there is not a great number of these nor is there one overall pattern that can be established on the basis of a relationship of the linguistic terminology. Perhaps this can be accounted for partly (or perhaps even wholly) by considering the history of the marriage ceremony in Pakistani culture together with the linguistic development greatly affected by borrowings from various sources.

Firstly, the Pakistani culture is essentially a Moslem culture and as such the traditions and modes are the Islamic ways of life. These are depicted in several

of the marriage ceremonies, and language depicting the culture of its people shows the influence too. A number of the terms, to cite two examples /nikah/ and /tala:q/, and various other words derived from these two roots are essentially Arabic.

The Pakistani culture is not one which came into existence with the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. But it is a continuation of the Muslim culture which existed in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent before partition. The culture developing in this land was naturally the way of life of its people who were not only Muslims but Hindus as well. The Hindu culture greatly affected the ultimate shape of the Muslim culture. The Urdu language too, originated and developed on the sub-continent from one of the regional dialects of Northern India and as a result contained many terms which owe their origin to Sanskrit, or its later modified forms, e.g. /ḍul^ha/, /kaṛṣa/ etc.

The culture of a country is greatly influenced by its rulers and this especially if they introduce a foreign language as in the case of this particular culture. India, for centuries, was ruled by the Mughal Kings whose native language was Persian. During their rule, Persian was the official language of the state and

continued to maintain its status even during the British rule over India. As such Urdu, which originated during the reign of Shah Jaha, a Mughal Emperor, was primarily influenced by Persian. It borrowed many vocabulary structures and idioms from Persian and looked to it for inspiration. A large number of vocabulary items listed in the dictionary are originally Persian like /ša:š̄i /, /bewa/ etc.

Considering the strong influences of various languages and cultures in the development of the Pakistani culture and the Urdu language, we can see that the marriage ceremonies and the terminology related to them have various sources, as in the case of /ša:š̄i š̄v̄ā̄ ɔv̄ɔt/ and /baht̄a ɔv̄ɔt/. Both of them have the same meaning and same restrictive features. They can be used alternately. The existence of two terms for the state is explained by the etymology of the words. The former is of Persian origin, the latter of proto Hindi. Therefore, the language represents not only the cognitions of present-day Urdu speakers, but also the cultural orientations of those who in the past have contributed its course of development.

Perhaps this analysis failed as a true componential analysis because of the inexperience of the investigator who failed to ask enough of the right questions of herself and her informants, and perhaps also because of the great diversity of borrowings that have gone into Urdu, and perhaps also because in comparison to other Indo-European languages it is still a relatively young language and complete assimilation and investigation have not yet occurred.

This attempt of a componential analysis of Urdu Marriage Terms, in failing to discover an overall pattern to the cognitive system of Urdu speakers, does not imply that it is useless. It has been able to specify precisely what terms "mean", to the native speaker. A precise statement of the objects to which terms are applied will prove a help to someone wishing to use the terms as a native speaker would. It answers Goodenough's question, "What do I have to know to use the appropriate terms in this realm as a native speaker would?" It has helped to specify relationship between terms and events and situations in our extra linguistic experience, to formulate rules which will predict the use of terms. As Burling puts the situation,

by the analysis I have not been able to discover "some psychological reality which speakers are presumed to have, "but have succeeded in some cases in "simply working out a set of rules which somehow take account of the observed phenomena"⁶

In other words, I have not succeeded in discovering "God's truth" but in establishing to some extent the "Hocus Pocus". The attainment of this objective is of some value for according to Burling "the field of structural semantics has had a surfeit of programmatic articles, glowing with promise of a new ethnography. (Conklin(1962); Frake (1961); (1962); Wallace and Atkins (1960), and a dearth of substantive descriptions of whole systems or definable sub-systems."⁷ Perhaps this is a small contribution to the latter!

⁶Ibid., p.26

⁷Ibid., p.27

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