

Conceptual Metaphors in the Hazaragi Community's Institution of Marriage in Balochistan, Pakistan

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Abstract. Conceptual metaphor theory explains conceptual systems through cross-domain mappings. The mapping occurs on a conceptual level in a way that one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain. It also shows how target domain is perceived or understood through numerous source domains. Daily life experiences of people create patterns of understanding and conceptual metaphors are used to utilise these patterns in our utterances about issues in the world. In this research paper, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory and Grice's (1975) implicature theory are used as theoretical frameworks to identify, study and interpret conceptual metaphors for marriage in the Hazaragi community in Balochistan, Pakistan. This study focusses on the institution of marriage as this institution carries rich conceptual domains and has many conceptual mappings. Data collected from the book on Hazaragi idioms and two Hazaragi dramas were used to identify and analyse five general categories which include marriage as a food, marriage as an expensive commodity, marriage as a friendship, marriage as a slavery, and marriage as a journey or time. The paper also explores implied conceptual metaphors for marriage which do not indicate the concept of marriage directly. In short, this study discusses how conceptual metaphors in the institution of marriage depict Hazaragi culture and tradition.

Keyword: Balochistan, conceptual metaphor, Hazara, Hazaragi culture, marriage, Balochistan, Pakistan.

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1 Introduction

This study takes place against the backdrop of burgeoning research on critical metaphor and its application in different contexts [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [17]. Researchers have also applied and investigated conceptual metaphors focusing on different cultural settings [18], [19], [20]. In this research, conceptual metaphor is understood as a process of understanding one conceptual domain using another conceptual domain and locates the instances of conceptual metaphor used by the Hazaragi community in

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Quetta community to express their views of marriages. A number of researchers have also used the conceptual framework as a tool to investigate people's perceptions of marriage in different contexts [21] & [22].

The idea of conceptual metaphor was first discussed by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Eubanks (1999) stated that conceptual metaphors can be found in speech and writing. Conceptual metaphors are either pre-existing structures which need to be concretely instantiated or they are fundamental underpinnings of a culture [23].

In the context of this study, conceptual metaphor is understood as an act/process by which one conceptual domain is understood with the help of another conceptual domain. Thus, placing conceptual metaphor at the heart of this analysis, this study examines how different conceptual metaphors are used by the Hazaragi community in Pakistan's Baluchistan province to express their views about the institution of marriage [24].

In the following section, the Hazargi community is contextualised against the sociocultural landscape of Pakistan's Baluchistan province.

1.1 Contextualizing the Hazargi Community in Baluchistan's Social Fabric

The Hazara community have a rich and mysterious origin [25]. Pereltsvaig (2011) [25] presents three perspectives on the origin and history of Hazara ethnicity. The Hazara can be of Turko-Mongol ancestry, descendants of Genghis Khan's army left in Afghanistan in the 13th century. The second theory postulates that the Hazara have a similar facial structure to those in the Buddhist murals and statues in the region. The statues are in Bamiyan, Afghanistan which was a centre of Buddhist civilisation. A famous theory, now widely accepted, is that the Hazara are a mixed race. This theory postulated that the Hazara Mongoloid have Central Asian ancestry because certain Mongol tribes travelled to eastern Persia, (today Afghanistan), and integrated with the indigenous community [26]. Today, the Hazara live in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and India [27].

More than [6] 900,000 Hazara live in Pakistan (Facade,2019). Most of them live in Quetta, the capital of Balochistan in Pakistan. Quetta is home to roughly 0.5 to 0.6 million Hazaras [28] [29]. They live on two opposite sides of Quetta: Mariabad and Hazara Town Brewery (Kakar, 2019). The current socio-economic condition of the Hazara community is not favourable because of continuous attacks by militant terrorist groups since 1999 which have taken the lives of more than 30,000 Hazaras and left more than 4000 Hazaras injured [30]. The persecution of Hazaras is termed as Hazara genocide [31]. Consequently, many Hazaras have migrated to foreign countries. 40,000 Hazaras left Pakistan to settle in Europe [5], Australia, Canada, and the USA (NCHR, 2018). They were businessmen, government employees, students and common people who did not feel safe in Baluchistan.

1.2 *The Hazaragi Language*

The Hazara community speaks the Hazaragi language [27]. However, there is an ongoing debate on whether Hazaragi is a full-fledged language or a dialect. Pereltsvaig (2013) [25] presents three perspectives. The first is that Hazaragi is a dialect of Persian, the second implies that Hazaragi is a dialect of Dari, that is, a member of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family [25]. The third theory claims that Hazaragi is a separate language, and it contains a vast number of words from both the Turkish, and Mongolian languages [32]. This theory is endorsed by Keblagh Hazaragi (an academy working on the Hazaragi language in Quetta) who has developed new Hazaragi alphabets [33]. Ethnologue has considered Hazaragi as a language, and its status is developing (Ethnologue, 2019).

1.3 *The Institution of Marriage in the Hazara Community*

For the Hazara community marriage is a union of two persons, one male and one female [34]. The union is a legal, personal relationship for one's entire life. The word for marriage in the Hazaragi language is 'طوی' *Thoi* but people use 'عروسی' *Arusi* more frequently. This study uses both words. In the Hazara community, marriage is practiced according to Islamic laws [29]. Mostly, [12]the community practices endogamy (Owtadolajam, 2006). A close male relative has the first right to marry a widow. In rare cases, when they marry outsiders, it is male Hazaras who marry women of other tribes.

Different kinds of Hazaragi metaphoric expressions, phrases and idioms are used to discuss the concept of marriage. These expressions depict Hazara value systems. There are numerous customs, practices and beliefs in regard to marriages in Hazaragi culture (Owtadolajam, 2006). The formal event of sending a marriage proposal is known as *Khastghari* which means to ask for a match [35]. *Khastghari* occurs when the family asks the parents of a potential bride for permission to marry their son [35]. A marriageable man and his family play an active role as they first decide whom to choose as a life partner and they afterwards send a marriage proposal. On the other hand, a girl's role is passive as she waits until her family receives such a proposal. Some parents accept a marriage proposal without asking their daughter her opinion. In sharp contrast, the parents of a young man inform their son that they will be sending the proposal but he initially does not accompany his parents to the potential bride's house. In some Hazara families, parents of girls immediately accept a marriage proposal if the proposal comes from a rich family or the potential groom lives in Western countries. Patriarchal practices are commonly seen in the community as male members of a family decide on behalf of their women (Owtadolajam, 2006).

In Hazaragi culture, *Nikah* is a religious act of signing a contract wherein a religious scholar officially announces that the couple is married (Owtadolajam, 2006). This is followed by the *Shirni-Khori* (the eating of sweets). On *Takht-e-Khina* (just one day before the wedding ceremony, the hands of the bride and groom are painted with Henna and covered with

handkerchiefs). The *Arusi* (wedding ceremony) which consists of many sub-events, such as *Noveli* (sending invitations to attend the wedding ceremony), *Sar-e Takht* (standing on the wedding stage) *Rukhsati* (farewell), *Roi-Dedani* (face-seeing by removing the veil which encloses the bride's face), *Aina Masaf* (looking at each other through a mirror), *Walima* (the last wedding feasts served to women on the day following *Rukhsati* and the wedding ceremony). The Hazara society gives special importance to the variety and quality of food served at these ceremonies and a large number of guests are invited. These many ceremonial events and accompanying feasts tend to burden the poor [36].

2 Theoretical Framework

In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is a property of concepts ‘where one concept is used to understand another concept’ [37] [38]. Conceptual metaphor deals with two cross-domain mappings. These cross-domain mappings dictate one’s conceptual system. Mapping occurs in a way that a source domain is used to understand the target domain.

Three types of conceptual metaphors exist: ontological metaphor, structural metaphor and orientational metaphor [39]. Ontological metaphor means giving concrete meaning such as container, substance, object or person to an abstract concept which can be ideas, emotion or activity. ‘Life is empty for him’ is an example of ontological metaphor, whereas life as an abstract concept is defined in terms of an empty container which is a concrete object.

Secondly, structural metaphors enable readers/listeners to understand the target domain by means of the structure of the source domain while conventional metaphor is a common metaphor used in everyday life. Structural metaphor is used to understand a concept in terms of another concept. ‘They demolished our arguments’ is an instance of a structural metaphor, where a concept of destruction of an object or building means another concept which is refutation of the arguments.

Finally, in orientational metaphors, a concept relates to another concept spatially such as ‘up or down,’ ‘on or off,’ and ‘in or out.’ An example of ontological metaphor is ‘sad is down and happy is up;’ and ‘he is feeling up’ means feeling happy and ‘he is feeling down’ means feeling sad [37][14].

To date, a study on conceptual metaphors for expressions in the Hazaragi language do not exist, therefore, the current research intends to determine and interpret conceptual metaphors for marriage in the Hazaragi language and culture. This study uses the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) [37] as the main theoretical framework to analyse metaphors for marriage in Hazaragi. Moreover, Grice’s (1975) [40] theory of implicature also helps to examine conceptual metaphors which indirectly deal with the concept of marriage. Without knowledge of the Hazaragi culture it is difficult to interpret or understand these expressions.

Contextual knowledge of Hazaragi tradition helps to relate traditions to the institution of marriage. Therefore, Grice's particularised implicature is also used to analyse the conceptual metaphors for marriage in the Hazaragi language.

3 Research Questions

The research deals with following questions:

1. What are the common types of metaphors used for marriage in the Hazaragi language?
2. What are the source and target domains used in these metaphors?
3. How do source domains contribute to meaning making of the target domains?
4. How does the use of metaphors reflect Hazaragi culture?

4 Methodology

The research applies Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory in nexus with Grice's concept of implicature [38] & [40]. The mapping method is applied with source and target domains to discuss conceptual metaphors. We first, identify conceptual metaphors. Then, metaphorical expressions are categorised under specific conceptual source domain. After categorization, the metaphors are explained and discussed in both the source and target domains. We discuss how the source domain is used to convey the conceptual meaning of marriage in the target domain.

The data have been obtained from a number of sources. The main sources of textual data are two famous Hazaragi dramas and one book on Hazaragi idioms. Two Hazaragi dramas include *Haal Khatoo* by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) [26] and *Thoi* by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) [27]. *Haal Khatoo* is a famous Hazaragi drama which was performed on stage in 1989. '*Haal Khatoo*' or '*Al Khatoo*' الخاتون means 'wife' in Hazaragi. The drama deals with the tradition of sending a marriage proposal, the marital life of a couple and their divorce. The drama, written by Shaheed Hussain Ali Yousafi [26], is taken from three different YouTube channels, and its fame can be determined from the fact that it has received more than 23k views collectively (Yousafi, 2013). *Thoi* by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) [24] is another famous Hazaragi drama, dealing with the theme of marriage. The title of the drama *Thoi* طوی means marriage in Hazaragi. It shows how getting married is becoming difficult for present day youth. The drama has received 128k views to date. Moreover, idioms which deal with concept of marriage is taken from the book *Farhang-e-Adbiate Hazaragi Zarbulmisal wa Mahawarat* written by Shaheed Hussain Ali Yousafi (2010) [26]. The book is a compilation of Hazaragi idioms and proverbs. Yousafi is also the writer of *Hal Khatoo*. Hussain Ali Yousafi and Merza Hussain Hazara are famous writers whose work depicts Hazaragi culture.

The purpose of selecting the dramas and the book of Hazaragi idioms is their metaphoric language. The works contain famous Hazaragi idioms and expressions used in the context of

sending marriage proposals and used in relation to marriage or wedding ceremonies. These expressions are written in Hazaragi and have been translated into English. All Hazaragi metaphoric expressions and translations are shown in bold. Table 1 shows the sources from which Hazaragi metaphoric expressions have been taken.

| <i>Table 1 Hazaragi expression/idioms with sources</i> | | |
|--|---|--|
| No | Hazaragi expression/idioms | Source/obtained from |
| 01 | طوی چی تور تانا خوردی؟ <i>How could you eat the marriage alone?</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 02 | آو از جوی مورہ نان از طوی <i>Water flows from stream and food from marriage</i> | <i>Farhang-e-Adbiate Hazaragi Zarbulmisal wa Mahawarat</i> (Yousafi, 2010) |
| 03 | پیسه جم مونوم برای خوردنوشی عروسی <i>I save money for wedding feasts</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 04 | عروسی گیران شدہ <i>Marriage has got expensive</i> | <i>Haal Khatoo</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 05 | عروسی رہ گیران کد مردم <i>People turned marriage expensive</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 06 | نوربند بچے مہ دہ غلامی خو قبول کو <i>Accept my handsome son to your slavery</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 07 | عروسی کہ کدی زنجیر دہ پای آدم موشہ <i>When one marries, his/her feet are chained</i> | <i>Farhang-e-Adbiate Hazaragi Zarbulmisal wa Mahawarat</i> (Yousafi, 2010) |
| 08 | آدم وراي دندان خو دوستی کنہ <i>One must make friends according to his status</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 09 | کد خان دوستی نہ موکدی <i>You should not have befriended Khan</i> | <i>Haal Khatoo</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 10 | مو امدے کہ امی دوستی رہ محکم تر کنی <i>We have come to make this friendship stronger</i> | <i>Haal Khatoo</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 11 | عروسی تبالی دورہ <i>There is much time for marriage</i> | <i>Haal Khatoo</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 12 | عروسی نزدیک استہ | <i>Haal Khatoo</i> by Hussain Ali |

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| | <i>Marriage is near/close</i> | Yousafi (2013) |
| 13 | از عروسی پیش <i>Before the marriage</i> از عروسی بعد <i>After marriage</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 14 | تازه طوی بر توره شی مزگی مزگی به، د آخر عمر جگر جنگی و خون جگری به <i>Talking in fresh marriage is so enjoyable (pleasant), during the last part of marital life it is unpleasant</i> | <i>Farhang-e-Adbiate Hazaragi Zarbulmisal wa Mahawarat</i> (Yousafi, 2010) |
| 15 | روی از مو ده زمی نه ایشتی <i>You did not throw dust in my/our face</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 16 | بدنی کد لغت زوم ای نه فامید <i>I kicked badni (a small container of water used in the home) but they did not understand</i> | <i>Haal Khato</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 17 | سوموار لوون کدوم پر او ای نه فامید <i>I tipped the water container but they did not understand</i> | <i>Haal Khato</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 18 | دست امزی ده زمیں بند کو <i>Chain his hands to the earth</i> دست شی تائی سنگ کو <i>Put his hands under a stone</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 19 | خانه کدی خاتون کدی <i>Did you manage a home? Did you get a woman?</i> | <i>Haal Khato</i> by Hussain Ali Yousafi (2013) |
| 20 | باز مردما د ختر خو سودا مونا <i>Some people sell their daughter</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |
| 21 | ما برای تو خیشی کدو رئی استوم <i>I am going to arrange mother/father in law for you</i> | <i>Thoi</i> by Merza Hussain Hazara (2018) |

5 Textual Analysis

5.1 Conceptual Metaphors for Marriage in Hazaragi

Conceptual metaphors for marriage in the Hazaragi language and associated implicature are presented and analysed in the following sections.

5.1.1 'Marriage is a Food'

In the Hazara community, a conceptual meaning of marriage exists in the Hazargi syntactic item that is 'marriage is a food.' The source domain is 'food' and the target domain is 'marriage.' In the syntactic element, 'food' has been used as a source domain to conceptualise a target domain that is 'marriage.' It means people are more concerned about food rather than the marriage ceremony when they attend a wedding function.

In Hazaragi custom, the family of the groom organises the marriage banquet for the guests. The host is concerned with the quality and quantity of the food. For some ceremonies more food items are ordered than that required because even those who are not invited turn up for the meals. Their sole purpose in attending these functions is to enjoy the food served. Some people do not care whether food is sufficient for all the guests. They tend to eat voraciously. In other words, they are not worried about the honour and dignity of the groom's family as criticism is targeted at the groom's family and not the parents of the bride.

Other links between food and marriage are shown in the following syntactic items:

Metaphoric Linguistic Expression

آواز جوی مورہ نان از طوی

Water flows from stream and food from marriage

طوی چی تور تانا خوردی؟

How could you eat the marriage alone?

or

How did you attend the marriage alone?

In the above two examples, the source domain (food) has been used to refer to social institution of marriage. The examples show that the invitees are more concerned about the idea of eating food since they see marriage as an occasion of eating delicious, traditional food items. The use of such metaphors with respect to marriage ceremony shows how some people in the Hazara community driven by their voracity concretise cultural value and meaning of marriage, and see it as a source of eating much of different food items and more than satisfy their appetite. This also shows how the needs for food dominate and displace the values of propriety and social relations.

پیسہ جم مونوم برای خوردنوشی عروسی

I save money for food and drink (tea, coffee, or cola) of marriage

I save money for marriage/ I save money for wedding feasts

In the above example, marriage has been defined as an opportunity to demonstrate one's financial standing. Therefore, the family of a groom plans and saves sufficient money so that they can spend it on a range of food items for guests. Those families who offer good quality food during marriage feasts are socially admired, because in the Hazara community marriage is

seen successful only when the invitees are satisfied with the food items they are served. In other words, guests evaluate the success of such wedding ceremonies on the basis of the quality and quantity of the food served. Thus, both the rich and the poor celebrate marriages by festivities which include an array of different kinds of food and such expenditure is financially burdensome for those who can ill afford such expenses [36]. It is clear then that in the Hazara culture, the idea of marriage as food is seen from the point of view of the guests. At the same time, the father/guardian of the groom is concerned about the expenses incurred in ensuring both the quantity and quality of the food.

5.1.2 *Marriage is an Expensive Commodity*

In the Hazara community, one of the concepts of marriage is 'marriage is an expensive commodity or thing.' The metaphoric expressions listed below have common source domains and common target domains. The source domain is 'expensive' and the target domain is 'marriage.'

عروسی گیران شدہ

Marriage has got expensive

Marriage ceremony costs much money

Marriage costs money. In the above expression, marriage has been conceptualised as a social practice in which much money is spent. In Hazaragi culture, after the selection of a mate, the families of the groom and the bride have to decide the amount of gold, bride-price, dowry, the Nikah ceremony (signing of the marriage contract), the Shirni-Khori (the eating of sweets), Henna (used for dying fingernails and palms), Takht-e-Khina (during which the hands of the bride and groom are painted with Henna and covered with handkerchiefs) and Arusi (wedding ceremony) which consists of many sub-events, such as Noveli (sending invitations), Sar-e Takht (standing on the wedding stage) Rukhsati (farewell), Roi-Dedani (face-seeing), Aina Masaf (looking at each other in the mirror), Dalda (the last wedding feasts served to women on the day following Rukhsati and the wedding ceremony) [36]. Once the bride and her family accept the proposal, the groom/ his family has to fulfil the monetary expectations. These expenses can burden a groom as the groom and his family are responsible for almost all the expenses of marriage. 'The rich Hazaras have no financial problems in celebrating these events, however, the common Hazara peasants will borrow money'[36].

Today, among the many expenses of a marriage, a gold set of ornaments for the bride is the most expensive. The price of gold is more than one lakh Pakistani which is equal to 650 US dollars [40]. An average price of a golden bridal set (jewellery the bride wears for the marriage ceremony) is ten lakh rupees. In addition, a groom presents many expensive gifts to close relatives. *Be si chil hazar galla na mela; jama khoro kasi darga na mela*. It means, 'the bride money alone will be 30 or 40 thousands; and without presents of garments, the door will not be opened (when taking away the bride)'

(Owtadolajam, 2006, p. 201). The groom's family has also to buy clothes for the bride, her parents and her relatives (known as 'Khilati,'). Besides, gifts and presents, some brides would like to have a room which has been refurbished. Considering all these expenses, marriage is naturally viewed as an expensive affair in the Hazara community and this view is expressed metaphorically. See the following examples,

عروسی رہ گیران کد مردم

People turned marriage expensive

People turned marriage into an extravaganza

In general, this metaphoric expression is mostly used by the poor. The poor use this expression to address the rich and those who do not live in Baluchistan. Those who live in other countries spend a large amount of money on wedding ceremonies. Consequently, local Hazara brides demand the same type of expensive wedding ceremonies from the local, poor Hazara men who earn in Pakistani rupees and cannot compete with those who earn in US dollars. Thus, the addressees of the above expression are members of the Hazara community who have migrated, earned much and return to Baluchistan to marry a local bride.

5.1.3 Marriage is Slavery

In addition to 'marriage as an expense', the metaphorical expression 'marriage as slavery' is commonly used in the Hazara community. Below are some metaphoric expressions which show how marriage is seen as slavery in Hazaragi culture. They are structural metaphors. The structure of source domains helps to conceptualise the structure of target domains. In these expressions, the word طوی and عروسی marriage does not appear and it does not deal with the concept of marriage explicitly. . However, the expressions are used in the context of marriage. Grice's theory of implicature is used to analyse these utterances. These expressions are particularised conversational implicature because their interpretations require context-specific knowledge.

نوربند بچے مہ دہ غلامی خو قبول کو

Accept my handsome son to your slavery

The above expression does not contain the word marriage but it refers implicitly to asking for someone's hand in marriage. To interpret the utterance, one should have contextual and local knowledge of Hazaragi culture because it is an example of particularised conversational implicature. The conceptual metaphor is used for a marriage proposal in the context when parents ask for someone's daughter to be their daughter-in-law. In rare cases, a girl's parents can use the expression to offer their daughter to someone. Slavery is the source domain contributing to the implicit target meaning of marriage as slavery. It is a highly respectable and modest way of asking for a match. The metaphor implies that the couple, both male and female will be obedient to their in-laws. They respect their in-laws like their parents and literally use

Nanai (Mama) for mother-in-laws and Babai (Papa) for father-in-laws. In other words, in-laws are considered second parents to both the bride and the groom.

عروسی که کدی زنجیر ده پای آدم موشه

When one marries, his/her feet are chained

Marriage chains people

The above metaphoric utterance is a Hazaragi idiom. Marriage is seen as chains which again refers to lack of personal freedom. This idiomatic expression applies to both the bride and the groom. A groom has to be responsible to his bride and family. This means that he cannot freely go on a long trip, attend late night parties, meet friends, or spend time in recreational activities when he gets married. Girls in the Hazara community are relatively free before marriage. They can get higher education and have a career. However, most girls become housewives and take care of their children after marriage. In short, source domain 'feet are chained' refers to the busy life and lack of personal freedom of the couple once married.

5.1.4 CMT and implicature theory: Marriage is a Friend/Friendship

In this section, marriage as friendship metaphors are discussed. Both CMT and implicature theory are used to analyse the implied conceptual metaphors. The word عروسی or طوی marriage is not used in any of the following expressions, yet, each of these expressions implicitly suggests marriage. They are structural metaphors as the concept of friendship helps one to understand marital relationships.

آدم وراى دندان خو دوستى كنه

One must make friends according to his status

The above conceptual metaphor is used when a father asks, on behalf of his son, for the hand in marriage of a girl. In this case, both families have equal socio-economic status. Here, friendship or friend is the source domain which implicitly conceptualises the idea of marriage. Hence, friendship means the start of a new relationship between a boy and a girl brought about by the social contract of marriage.

كد خان دوستى نه موكدى

You should not have befriended Khan

The above metaphoric expression is used by the father of the bride in Yousfi's drama *Haal Khatoon* (2013) [41]. This means that the marriage between two families of unequal socioeconomic status, should not be arranged because it can result in divorce. This conceptual metaphor 'You should not have befriended Khan' is used by the bride's father to tell his son-in-law that if he could not fulfil the demands of his wife as a husband why had he married his daughter who was economically superior to him. It carries context specific intention of the

Hazargi speaker to show how friendship is pragmatically conceptualised as marriage. Thus, the source domain friendship is used to imply the target domain that is marriage.

مو امدے کہ امی دوستی رہ محکم تر کنی

We have come to turn this friendship stronger

The utterance is used when two families want their children to get married. The families are friends or relatives, and they desire a stronger bond of relationship. The parents of a boy want the daughter of their friend or relative to become their daughter in law. Thus, the known statement using friendship as implicature refers to marriage. The source domain 'make this friendship stronger' is used to conceptualise the direct domain which is a marriage contract between the two families. Such a marriage can be stabilised through mutual consultation.

5.1.5 Marriage is a Journey/Time

عروسی تبالی دورہ

Still, the marriage is far-flung

There is much time for marriage

This metaphoric expression is used by someone whose marriage is not expected soon. It also means that the respondent is not engaged yet. The metaphor implies that marriage is a journey or destination and it will take a long time before reaching the destination. The source domain is time or journey which conceptualises marriage as the target domain. Generally, this expression is sadly said.

عروسی نزدیک استہ

Marriage is near/close

Generally, this metaphoric expression is used by someone who is engaged and his/her marriage is expected soon. Therefore, the person is happy and has used the metaphor to imply that he will soon be married.

از عروسی پیش

Before the marriage

از عروسی بعد

After marriage

These expressions are used in Merza Hussain's drama *Thoi* (2018). These are used in the context where life before and after marriage is compared. These two expressions suggest that marriage is a journey that has a starting point. They are used to differentiate life before and after marriage. The source domain 'journey' suggests how marriage has been conceptualised as a phase of time in a person's life, and how such phases before and after the marriage are differentiated.

تازہ طوی ہر تورہ شی مزگی مزگی یہ، د آخر عمر جگر جنگی و خون جگری یہ

Talking in fresh marriage is so enjoyable (pleasant), at last part of life it is unpleasant

Marriage in the beginning, is pleasing, but at last, it is obnoxious

The above idiom is documented in the book *Farhang-e-Adbiate Hazaragi Zarbulmisaal wa Mahawarat* [26]. In the idiom, marriage is described as a journey. In the beginning, it is interesting, while towards the later phase of life as a married person, it becomes unpleasant. It is usually expressed by a man who has been married for some time. Like a journey, marriage has both a starting and an ending point. The marriage becomes unpleasant perhaps because in the end emotions of love and attraction of beauty fade. Thus, the source domain 'journey' conceptualises the target domain 'marriage.'

5.1.6 The Implicit Metaphor for Marriage

The metaphoric expressions presented below refer to marriage although they do not suggest the concept literally. These metaphors are understood when they are used in the context of sending marriage proposals. They depict how the Hazara community perceives the institution of marriage. Besides applying CMT, the study applies implicature theory for implicit metaphors for marriage because these implied metaphors do not indicate the concept of marriage explicitly.

روی از موده زمی نه ایشتی

You did not throw dust in my/our face

You did not reject our proposal

This line is expressed in Merza Hussain's drama *Thoi* [27]. In the Hazara community, parents of the boy use the above expression in response to the affirmation of their marriage proposal by a girl's family. This conceptual metaphor is an example of particularised implicature and additional local cultural knowledge helps to interpret its meaning. Literally, it refers to throwing dust in someone's face; however, in the context of a marriage proposal, it implies that parents of a bride have not rejected the marriage proposal. 'You did not throw dust in my/our eyes' is the source domain that refers to the target domain of the proposal being accepted. The source domain is humiliation in a brawl when one fighter pushes the face of the other in the mud. The target domain is the implied meaning which is acceptance of the proposal. This is both an orientational and structural metaphor. To put something down means negation. In the expression, the family of the girl did not put the face of the parents of the groom in the dust. They did not reject the proposal and in fact the proposal was accepted.

بدنی کد لغت زدوم ای نه فامید

I kicked badni (a small container of water used in the home) but they did not understand

سوموار لوون کدوم پر او ای نه فامید

I tipped the water container but they did not understand

These expressions are instances of particularised conversational implicatures because one should be familiar with Hazaragi-context specific information to understand the implied meaning of the utterances. In Hazaragi culture, boys use both these expressions to indirectly suggest that they seek to marry a girl they like. Boys do not say this openly due to cultural norms. In addition, the above conceptual metaphor is structural. ‘Dropping a container of water’ is source domain and ‘asking to find a match’ is target domain. Source domain implies that the boy wants to be married. The flow of water shows impatience and longing for a wife.

دست امزی ده زمیں بند کو

Chain his hands to the earth

دست شی تائی سنگ کو

Put his hands under a stone

In the Hazara community, parents or elders usually use the above metaphors for a young unmarried person. The expressions suggest to look for a life partner for their son. Literally, people who are not familiar with Hazaragi culture might not relate it to marriage because the words do not indicate this meaning; therefore, the concept of implicature helps to interpret the meaning, by using local and contextual knowledge. Here, ‘hand’ is used as a metonymy to refer to the person whom the speaker indicates. This structural metaphor takes one concept of ‘chain his hands to the earth’ as a source domain to point to the target domain. ‘Arranging marriage’ is the target domain. It depicts Hazaragi tradition where marriage is not discussed openly due to local cultural norms.

خانہ کدی خاتون کدی

Did you manage a home? Did you get a woman?

Did you marry? Did you get a wife?

The above question is generally asked from a boy to confirm if he is married. It is a structural metaphor. The word ‘خانہ’ means a house or a room. Source domain is ‘managing a room’ and target domain is ‘getting married.’ Therefore, managing a separate room or house signifies being married. The frequent use of the expression for a male or by a male suggests a patriarchal society as not all girls choose their own life partners. They wait until a boy sends a marriage proposal through his parents. She can accept and reject the proposal. However, she cannot send formal or open proposals. Therefore, ‘خانہ کدی’ is not used for females.

باز مردما د ختر خو سودا مونا

Some people sell their daughter

The above expression is used in a discussion on marriage where some families in Hazara are criticised who receive ‘Galla’ or ‘Walwar’ which is money paid by family of a groom to parents of the bride in exchange of their daughter. It is different from dowry. Dowry is the wealth, estate or gifts a woman brings to her husband’s home, ‘Galla’ or marriage money is given to parents

of the bride in exchange for their daughter. It is the practice of selling a woman. The above metaphor implies that marriage is a business. Literally, it might indicate slavery. Implicitly, it means the father of a girl asks for cash to agree to the proposal. It is considered business by people in the Hazara community. In the expression 'a girl is an object of sale' which is the source domain, the target domain is 'marriage in exchange.' Therefore, the word 'sell' is used.

ما برای تو خیشی کدو رنی استوم

I am going to arrange mother/father in laws for you

I am going to be a suitor on your behalf

In Hazaragi culture the above conceptual metaphor is used by the father of a young boy who is asking for a potential bride for his son. The word marriage is not used. In the above utterance mother/father in law is the source domain and target domain is sending a marriage proposal. It also depicts Hazaragi customs where only the boys' parents visit a girl's family and ask for a life partner for their son.

6 Discussion

Metaphors play an important role in describing the institution of marriage in Hazargi culture. They are conceptualisation of experience by members of a culture [38]. Conceptual metaphor reflects the culture of a community [38] [42] [13]. The conceptual metaphors used in this study reflect Hazaragi custom and culture. The Hazaras use highly metaphoric language to discuss the concept of marriage.

Metaphors for food imply that most participants of a marriage ceremony enjoy food. It is difficult for poor families to serve large and expensive meals to guests. In addition, marriage is an expensive affair and poor people cannot afford elaborate and expensive marriage ceremonies. In the Hazara community, there is a big gap between the lower socio-economic class, who cannot afford the expenses of a marriage, and the upper class who spend lavishly. The expression depicts the suffering of poor men who have to save a large amount of money for the expenses incurred in marriage ceremonies.

Next, marriage is a friendship metaphor and suggests the strong bond of love and friendship between two families. Marriage results in strong relationships and friendships between families.

Furthermore, marriage as slavery suggests that marriage is considered as a curtailment of freedom both for the bride and groom. However, slavery metaphors also suggest obedience, respect and care. Moreover, marriage in journey or time metaphors suggest that a married couple experience joy initially but the charm of marriage fades with the passage of time.

Conceptual metaphors such as *بدنی کد لغت زدوم ای نه فامید* I kicked *badni* (a small container of water used in the home) but they did not understand *سوموار لوون کدوم پر او ای نه فامید* I tipped the water container but they did not understand; *خانہ کدی خاتون کدی* Did you get married and wife?; *دختر خو سودا مونه او* He sells his daughter and *ما برای تو خیشی کدو رنی استوم* I am going to arrange

mother and father in law for you, depicts a patriarchal society. These metaphors are used by men and depict a male dominant society. It is the family of the groom who sends a marriage proposal. Girls in Hazara society wait until a boy's family sends a marriage proposal. Though marriage is a mutual bond between a boy and a girl, the boys usually play an active role in choosing a life partner and girls passively wait for marriage proposals. Moreover, in the Hazara community, some parents get benefits by taking money in exchange for their daughter which is obvious in the line دختر خو سودا مونه او He sells his daughter. Parents of a daughter may treat her as a commodity. It seems that consent of girls is not significant. It is their parents who decide whether to accept or reject a marriage proposal.

Some metaphors suggest shyness on the part of the boy. He cannot directly ask his parents to send a proposal to a specific girl. They indirectly communicate using metaphoric expressions. I kicked *badni* (a small container of water used in home) but they did not understand. بدنی کد لغت زدوم ای نه فامید I tipped the water container but they did not understand. سوموار لوو کنوم پر او ای نه فامید. Flow of water in these two conceptual metaphors suggest a boy's need to get married. However, to express his emotions he has to use such terminology.

7 Conclusion

Using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) [37] conceptual metaphor theory and Grice's (1975) [40] implicature theory, the study analyses conceptual metaphors for marriage in the Hazaragi language. The study examines source and target domains in identified conceptual metaphors. The textual analysis of conceptual metaphors reveals how the Hazara community perceives the institution of marriage. The metaphors mirror the norms of marriage in the community. Conceptual metaphors for marriage in this paper include: marriage as food, marriage as an expensive commodity, marriage as friendship, marriage as slavery, and marriage as a journey. This research was limited to the institution of marriage in Hazaragi culture and language. Conceptual metaphors in other domains in Hazari culture should be explored.

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