

EXPLORING THE MARRIAGE PATTERNS AMONG NOMADES: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH WAZIRISTAN



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CHAPTER NO. 1
INTRODUCTION

Marriage is a relationship that is established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of relationships and is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum. Further she says that marriage is a universal institution and it performs a similar set of functions in different societies (Gough 1959). Marriage is the legally or formally recognized union of two people as spouses in a much personal relationship. In general, it is a social and ritual recognition of normalizing sexual relationship among two members of opposite sex. Marriage is a universal social institution and has been historically found in all the societies and civilizations of the world from ancient date until now. Marriage is both a dynamic and a static phenomenon. It is dynamic in its patterns and customs and it is static with its existence. According to the (Gough 1959)'s definition marriage is universal in its existence but it does perform different ceremonies and customs in different societies at different periods of time. The researcher is interested in the exploration of the marriage patterns of the Bagrhi tribe which is one of the scheduled casts that resides in the Waziristan.

According to (Westermarck 1926), marriage is a relation of one or more men and women which is recognized by the custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union or the case of children born of it. Westermarck links the division of labor and the social recognition of two or more than two individual tied in the bond of marriage. He speaks of both rights and responsibilities of the spouses to one another and their children to them and the society both.

1.1 Tribal Marriage Pattern in Europe

In the Brazilian Savanna, dynamics of marriage patterns of Ge-Speaking Ramokakera and Apanyekra-Canela's were studied by (William 1984). Genealogical relationships were avoided and considered to be a shame and dishonor. Children's sexual life began at their early ages. For boys, it was 12- 14 and for girls it was 10-13. No marriage was conditioned after virginity of girl and boys were taught sexual relation by experienced women. The family of procreation is not supposed to live under a common roof until a child is born to them. During her childless married period, the girl is supposed to accompany a group of male for group sex which her husband has to allow and she is expected to please more men with sexual favors. This tradition, though practiced normally, is one of the major reasons for divorce among the couples. The girls' belt and body is painted with red color to restrict her from extramarital relationships. On the death of wife, the husband is married to one of the girls of his wife's family for the proper upbringing of children and if the husband dies, the wife has to stay at her husband's home for 6 month of mourning.

1.2 Tribal Marriage Patterns in the South Asia

The early Virginia Indian society's marriage pattern as investigated by (Rountree 2014) were that of patriarchal based where man had to search for a bride suitable for his household chores and when found the woman was still given an authority to decline the proposal. Parents were the sole authority to accept or reject proposal. Bride price was justified as a compensation for the loss of labor that girl performed for her parents. Polygamy was a normally practiced but conditioned with affordability. Besides the wife of the chief of

the tribe all woman could make extramarital relationships after permission from their husbands. The payment of bride price was followed by a ceremony and a feast where both brides' and grooms' hand were joined together by the bride's father. A long chain of shell bead was broken on their head to mark the final ceremony of marriage. The family of procreation was to take a new residence.

1.3 Tribal Marriage Patterns inPakistan

Tribal marriages in Pakistan were investigated by (Rehan and Kanwal 2017) for which they surveyed three provinces of Pakistan excluding KPK. *Swarawas* one of the marriage patterns which they explored. In *swara*, young girls of one community are forcibly married to a member of enemy community to compensate them for a crime committed against a member of their clan. *Vani is* also a type of forced marriage in which a girl from a community is forcibly married to a girl of opposing community to resolve the conflict or compensate the opposing tribe. This forced marriage can be stopped if girl's clan agrees to pay the blood money which is called *Diyat*. *WattaSattais* also a tribal custom of marriage in which two families exchange brides with one another. If a boy is married to a girl of next family the next family is also supposed to get a girl from this family. *PaitLikhaii or Chattiis* also a customary marriage pattern in which the betrothal of girl at birth is performed with a male member of the society. *Marriage with Quran* is also a type of customary marriage in which the girls in some areas of Pakistan are married to Quran and asked to surrender all rights of inheritance to family's material properties such as lands and houses.

The marriage pattern of Meghawal Tribe of Waziristan as investigated and studied by (Razzaq and Jamil 2014) in which *Manga* (middle-man) plays an important role for the *sagai*(betrothal). When it comes to find a better match for bride or groom, the family contacts the *Manga*. Grooms family arrange the ceremonies of *sagai*, they manage food for the guests and relatives. Friends and relatives give money to the groom as a token of love. A *lungi* is given to the boy from girl's side and one rupee is put in the hands of girl from boy's side as a token of final decision. Megwals do practice *wattasatta* and if there is no boy in girl's family they sign an agreement which will last for 20-50 years, in accordance with that agreement, whenever a boy is born to the girl's family they will be authorized to get a bride from boy's family. Child marriage is practiced, and the bride and the groom can neither meet nor talk to each other before marriage. When the date for marriage is fixed by *pandit* the bride and the groom cannot see any stranger. Before marriage *haldiis* applied on bride's skin. They do not let women to go with *baraat*. Bride's mother applies *tilak* on the forehead of groom and offers him a glass of milk. The family of bride shows dowry to the tribe. At the day of marriage, the fathers of both bride and groom practice *vrat* for the good of couple. Dowry is considered as a token of prestige for bride in groom's family. Divorce is strictly prohibited and is only possible in case of childlessness and death.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- To explore the patterns of marriage among the Kochi Nomads in South Waziristan.

- To analyze the spouse selection criteria Kochi Nomads of Waziristan.
- To study the distinct customs and practices of the process of marriages performed by the people belonging to Kochi Nomads of South Waziristan.

1.5 Significance of Study

Culture documentation is one of the most important jobs to keep secure the very culture of any society. The Kochi Nomads tribe is one of the nomadic tribes in Pakistan and due to a marginalized status; some of its cultural aspects are not documented or lost. The globalization and the advent of modern technology are altering the fundamental traits of most of the cultures. Culture is the subject matter of sociology and the documentation of culture is of the sociological significance. Therefore, the researcher investigated and documented the very aspect of marriage patterns of nomads of South Waziristan. It can be a major contribution to the sociological knowledge since it reflects an indigenous elaboration of marriage patterns of South Waziristan.

CHAPTER NO. 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Marriage Patterns

Razzaq and Jamil (2014) highlighted the marriage patterns of Megawal tribe. *Manga* (middle-man) plays an important role for the *sagai*. When it comes to find a better match for bride or groom, the family contacts the *Manga*. Grooms family arrange the ceremonies of *sagai*, they manage food for the guests and relatives. Friends and relatives give money to the groom as a token of love. A *lungi* is given to the boy from girl's side and one rupee is put in the hands of girl from boy's side as a token of final decision. Megwals do practice *wattasatta* and if there is no boy in girl's family they sign an agreement which will last for 20-50 years that whenever a boy is born in the girl's family they will be authorized to get a bride from boy's family. Child marriage is practiced, and the bride and the groom can neither meet nor talk to each other before marriage. When the date for marriage is fixed by *pandit* the bride and the groom cannot see any stranger. Before marriage *haldi*s applied on bride's skin. They do not let women to go with *baraat*. Bride's mother applies *tilak* on the forehead of groom and offers him a glass of milk. The family of bride shows dowry to the tribe. At the day of marriage, the fathers of both bride and groom practice *vrat* for the good of couple. Dowry is considered as a token of prestige for bride in groom's family. Divorce is strictly prohibited and is only possible in case of childlessness and death.

Rehan and Kanwal (2017) explored the tribal marriages in Pakistan. Their survey was conducted in three provinces of Pakistan excluding KPK. *Swar* was one of the marriage patterns which they explored, which denotes a child marriage custom in Pakistan. This custom is tied to blood feuds between different tribes. In *swar* young girls of one community are forcibly married to a member of enemy community to compensate them for a crime committed against a member of that clan. *Vani* is also a

type of forced marriage in which a girl from a community is forcibly married to a girl of opposing community to resolve the conflict or compensate the opposing tribe. This forced marriage can be stopped if girl's clan agree to pay the blood money which is called *Diyat*. *WattaSattais* also a tribal custom of marriage in which two families exchange brides with one another. If a boy is married to a girl of next family the next family is also supposed to get a girl from this family. *PaitLikhai*, *PaitLikhi* or *Chattiis* also a customary marriage pattern in which the betrothal of girl at birth is performed with a male member of the society. *Marriage with Quran* is also a type of customary marriage in which the girls in some areas of Pakistan are married to Quran and asked to surrender all rights of inheritance to family's material properties such as lands and houses.

Rountree (2014) studied the marriage patterns of the early Virginia Indian society. Man looked for the woman who would perform her duties in a proper way which the woman could decline and when agreed upon, her parents' consent was also needed for final approval. Men did pay ⁽¹⁾ bride-price to the parents of woman for the loss of her labor. The men could take as many wives as he could afford. It is stated that the chief of the *kuchian* had round off hundred wives. A woman could have extramarital affairs if she was not the wife of chief on the condition of her husband permission which was usually given but unsanctioned relations were severely punished. Beauty of woman was only considered when the proposal was of chief. When the bride-price was delivered by groom a formal ceremony took place mostly in bride's house where the bride's father joined the hands of couple together and break a long chain of shell bead over their heads after which the couple was supposed to take residence in a new home. Both polygamy and polyandry were practiced. In some places husbands offered their wives to guests as a token of hospitality.

William (1984) views the marriage patterns of Ge-speaking Ramkokamekra and Apanyekra-Canela tribes in Brazilian savanna. Genealogical relationships are avoided and are considered as a token of shame. According to this study two brothers cannot marry in the same family. Sexual relations begin at the age of 10-13 for the girls and 12-14 for the boys. Virginity is not conditioned for marriage and boys are initiated in sexual relations by experienced women in their late teens. If a couple involve in sexual relations and this makes girl lose virginity and the couple do not want to remain together, the boy's family have to pay fine for this which in most of the cases is a meat pie. After the marriage the couples do not live in the same house until a child is born to them. When the girl gives birth to child her belt and body is painted with red which restricts her from extra-marital relationships and leads her to female matrix of domestic life (Crocker 1984). During the childless age the girl is expected to accompany male group for group sex for which her husband is not supposed to be jealous. She must please most men with her sexual favors. If she fails to do so, a group of males teach her to be generous. This being a normal tradition is one of the main grounds for divorce among the couples. If the wife dies and has children, the family of the girl will marry a girl to husband for the good nourishment of children and if the husband dies the wife remains in her Mother-in-law's home for six months of mourning in which she will have no sexual relations, dancing and shall take no part in other social ceremonies. Sathar, and Farooqui (1986) investigated the delayed marriage with reference to women education, pre-marital employment, role of urbanization and low fertility in Pakistan. Women with paid employment find it difficult to get stuck with the stereotyped statuses of wife and mother which does play a role in the late marriages in which government does have its role since it encourage high age at marriage. The high age at marriage is linked with maturity which does

give conscience of birth control and spacing in the births which is certainly affecting the fertility rate of the country. The authors in this research article tend to observe the changes in the marriage patterns with a significant focus on the delayed marriages which is supposed to be a giant reason for the low fertility rate

Helen (1987) speaks of child marriage as a result of powerlessness and patriarchal construction whereas, Foreman-Peck (2011) observed the delayed marriages in the Hanjal's European marriages which was said to have been a result of Second World War and the modernization in which women developed interest in education than rearing children. However, Jejeebhoy and Ali (2005) studied the dynamics of marital age in the Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in which the delayed marriage was linked to education, dowry and socio-cultural settings. Moreover, (Sathar and Farooqui 1986) on the other hand speaks of women education, women employment rate and urbanization as driving forces behind delayed marriages. Australia Law Reform Commission (2018) surprisingly found child marriages in the aborigines of Australia where old men married young girls which is said to have been a worse kind of child marriage.

2.2 Post-Marital Residential pattern

Marital residence norms are important determinants of the kinship system and the movement of people does play a role in the shaping of patterns of genetic variation within or across the population. Therefore, comprehending of the norms of marital residence is important for the social sciences.

Li et al (2003) studied the marriage patterns and family division in three villages of China. The keen focus of his study was based on children's role in marriage patterns and the other factors that fostered neo-locality of newly wedded couples. The results

show that children with a brother in patrilocal marriages are more inclined than daughters with matrilocal marriages to form a neolocal family. Most of the neolocal families are set up after five years for sons and daughters. The strength of siblings also effects the separation of the family of procreation. The causes which are put forward for this purpose are demographic, cultural and socio-economic.

Little and Malina (2010) investigated the changes in marriage patterns with a focus on the postnuptial locality in a Zepotec-speaking community in the valley of Oaxaca southern Mexico. When a child entered the puberty age his/her parents started negotiations of his/her inheritance. In patrilocal discussion the son was supposed to stay at fathers' home and his wife was to be settled with him at her father-in-law's home, while in the matrilocal contract son-in-law was to be brought by get him married to a daughter. The son-in-law was supposed to work for the family of his wife. The matrilocal or the patrilocal residence decision was not of the son or the daughter but rather a negotiation that took place among the family members including close relatives and grand-parents.

Clemens (2006) studied the changes in post-marital residence rules, in the wake of national policies, in both rural and urban settings in contemporary China. Under the modern rules the patriarchal dominancy of the traditional china has been re-shaped. In the traditional family system post-marital locality was patrilocality and matrilocality which still does exist or even risen from 1950s onward in the rural settings. However, in the urban settings a strong preference for neolocality is found among the individuals. Greater opportunities of employments, access to personal income and the higher education have molded the couples in urban setting to stay in aloofness after marriage or in some cases with either of their parents. The reason to marry in the Chinese society is linked with the belief that the Chinese young adults cannot achieve

the status of adult until they are married. Therefore, residence choice is not only a post-nuptial practice but an impact on the decision of marriage.

Lie et al (2003) does emphasize the role of children in the decision making of the marital residence whereas, (Little and Malina 2010) explore a tradition of Zeopotec speaking community which denotes the kinship decisions of the locating the family of procreations. (Clemens 2006) however defines the national policies of China in deciding the marital residence of the newly wedded couples.

2.3 SpouseSelection

Cherlin (1988) investigated the changes in marriage patterns of central Thailand during 1978-79. The data were collected from three linked *tambol* such as rice-growing villages, established settlements and squatter settlements in Bangkok. Formal marriages with parent's consent and a ceremony, formal marriages without parent's consent with a ceremony and informal marriages without ceremony, such as elopement, live in etc. were found in these arenas. In the ceremonial marriages the boy approaches his parents concerning a girl he is interested in and if approved they hire the services of a go-between who discusses the proposal and also fixes the bride-price. At wedding ceremony bride-price is paid and a sacred string is tied round the wrists of couples and holy water will be poured on the heads of couple by the guests and family. The elopement takes place when the families cannot afford a ceremony. In this case the couple run -away to a village and returns after some days. After return the couple seeks forgiveness which is mostly accepted. A little ceremony is performed with a meagre bride-price.

Cherlin (1988) speaks of the varieties of spouse selection method in which he speaks of formal marriage in which the family consents and informal marriage in which the

couple elope and return to seek forgiveness which is always granted.

Cortilla and Domingo (2009) examined the patterns of spouse selection in the marriage and cohabitation. Since cohabitation is taken as a looser bond and marriage as a stronger so that spouse selection in cohabitation laid emphasis on education and achieved statuses like this but should not age, religion and race. 2% of US born women cohabited before marriage who were born between the years 1928-32 and 40% of the women cohabited who were born during 1958-

62. These statistics resembles the rise of cohabitation with the passing of time.

The average duration of cohabitation was noted to be 2 years. The end of cohabitation resulted in marriage but the unquestionable rise in cohabitation resulted in the decline of marriage.

Cortilla and Domingo (2009) speaks of spousal selection in marriage and cohabitation. In cohabitation the status and education were concentrated while in marriage age, religion and race were considered.

Bhutta and Ali (2015) examined the *Wattasatta* marriages in rural areas of Pakistan. It basically involves the exchanges of brides between two households. It takes place among two closely related couples from two families. In this form of marriages if the husband mistreats his wife can lead his sister to be mistreated by his brother-in-law. It also involves exchange of possessions and in most of the cases no dowry or bride price is given in the *wattasatta* marriages since both the families are equal to one another. In exchange marriages the women if abused by her husband returns to her guardians which is discouraged and let to ignore since both the families have lower economic statuses. The exchange marriages are often humiliating but long-lasting. The major factors leading to *watta-satta* marriages are poverty and illiteracy.

Munck (1996) investigated a comparison between the love and arranged marriages in a Muslim community of Sri Lanka for re-evaluating the marriage patterns of Dravadians and a shift in the practices of arranged marriages which was a long-lasting marriage trait in this community. He thus concluded that the Dravidian marriage patterns do not sufficiently account for the changes in the situations of arranged marriages in Sri Lanka. He holds responsible three issues for this variation. Among them is the normative model of marriage, the dichotomous conceptualization of marriage that divides it into love and arrange portions and the absence of romantic love for spouseselection.

Al-Nouri (1980) investigated the roles of traditional and modern views in concerning with spouse selection among the Tripolian married college students in Libya. On the traditional level the decision of spouse selection was mostly based on the consents made by the kin group of the both spouses. It was generally the parents of the spouses who decided the marriage since the marriage was less a bond between the individuals but a bond between the kin groups. Most of the marriages took place among the first cousins and to a greater extent the second cousins but surprisingly 72.5% of the students preferred love marriages rather than the arranged marriages decided by the kin group and also most of the students preferred exogamous marriages. The girls who endorsed love and exogamous marriages were in abundance. It thus can be concluded that the modern views have shockingly changed the nature of spouse selection among the students of colleges who belonged to traditional backgrounds.

2.4 Rules of Marriage (Endogamy andexogamy)

Haines (1996) highlights the cross-national marriages which has a great significance on both micro and macro level. At micro-level it provides understanding about adaptation in the situations of cultural conflicts but as macro level it does provide us a

sheer insight about understanding of marginality. In United States following the world war II a wave of brides occurred which increased the rate of marriageable brides increased which allowed cross-national marriages. Cross national marriages can be of two basic natures at the first level the couple live in the same city under a common citizenship at another level the couple settles in a third world as foreigners.

Cultural differences sometimes result in chaos, but the cross-national marriages do adapt to one another's culture and make a bicultural relationship.

Wong (1989) investigated inter-marriages among the Chinese in the United States, the data collected for this study are taken from the 1980 US public census. The results show that in the 1930s Chinese marriages were overall endogamous. However, presently over 30% of the Chinese marriages are intermarriages. the intermarriages were interestingly not interethnic marriages involving other Asian minorities but interracial marriages that involved whites. Chinese females were more inclined towards intermarriages than Chinese males. Focusing the marriage patterns, socio-economic status, general status and residence were brought in consideration.

Dugene and Bauduer (2012) explores the marriage patterns of Beost village of Ossau Valley western French Pyrenees during the late nineteenth century. Fifty seven percent of the marriages were endogamous. The family's entire inheritance was given to the first-born child (male/Female) who had to marry the youngest child of another family. Marriage was thought to be a contract fixed by the parents of spouses. This village has the highest endogamous ratio than rest of the villages.

Cortilla and Domingo (2008) reviewed the differences in marriage patterns and cohabitating among the foreign-born and Spain-born groups. British, Moroccans, Colombian and Ecuadorians groups were studied for the purpose of analysis.

Endogamy is preferred. An emphasis is laid on the cohabitation among foreign and born in Spain individual. The cohabitation is performed between the foreign-born Spanish and local Spanish which means that the exogamous unions are more found than the endogamous cohabitation. While in the cases of marriage the endogamous relations are preferred. Thus, it is to be said that the exogamy in cohabitation and endogamy in marriages is the known ways of having sexual relations.

Reniers (2001) analyzed a comparison between the consanguineous marriages in the Turkish and Moroccan communities in Belgium and analyzed an evolution on consanguineous marriages among migrants. Marriage patterns are less tended to be altered in a migratory situation, but an extent of adaptability is observed among the people. A relatively high number of consanguineous marriages were found among Turkish and Moroccan in Belgium than their respective countries. Consanguineous marriages in migratory countries do have economic and social causes altogether. In this article we found the kin relationship is widely observed when it comes to the upbringing of status in the society, avoiding heavy expenditures of marriages in those countries and also a rationale of traditional patterns is found for these consanguineous marriages.

Afzal and Hakim (1994) investigated the endogamous marriages in Pakistan. The keen focus of this study rests on consanguineous marriages in Pakistan. The age of marriage also differs for those women who married their first cousins than those who married outside of kin. Among the four provinces of Pakistan Punjab had the highest percentage 54.4% of first cousin marriages, Waziristan had the second highest percentage 53%, Waziristan had a percentage of 49.7% and KPK had the 38.8% which is least of all. While the ratio of marriages with second cousin and close relatives in Waziristan, Punjab, Waziristan and KPK are 67.9%, 65.3%, 61% and 52.2

respectively. The major reasons for the cousin marriages were found to be the absence of formal education.

Little and Malina (2010) also studied the endogamous marriages among the in a Zeopotec-speaking community in the valley of Oaxaca southern Mexico. The family of the both spouses made negotiations of the social preferences of the marriages in order to make the couple successfully reproductive. Among the Zeopotec-speaking community the marriages with the first cousins were said to have been incest and prohibited to marry the first cousins but when it came to marry the second cousins it was locally and socially recognized and accepted.

Barth (1954) studied the first cousin marriages (father's brother's daughters) in the Kurdistan. The first cousin marriage is widely accepted in the Islamic territories since it has religious implications. The Kurdish communities did practice the first cousin marriages extensively. With the advent of urbanization, the frequency of the first cousin marriages decreased yet the endogamous marriages were widely practiced. On the other hand, the tribal communities in the villages of Kurdistan do have a greater frequency of first cousin marriages. The author also found other reasons of first cousin marriages except for Islamic sharia which include the fear of losing property and lands if the marriage took place with an outsider. At some places the author found the people are less inclined to the koranic notions of endogamy but to the social and economic grounds.

Glenn (1982) investigated the inter-religious marriages in the United States of America. The data were collected by the six US national surveys from 1973- 1978 to study the inter-religious marriages and to compare them with that of 1957 survey. The interesting finding of this research revealed that the religious endogamy is not as

effective as it is said to be. The level of homogamy arose only because of the fact that many individuals brought a change in their religious preferences to accommodate with the preferences of their spouses when they are married. It is found that the marriage institution in the United States has been a more secular one since the religion has lost its influence on the spouse selection.

Zlotogoral, and Bargies (2002) investigated the endogamous marriages in a Muslim village of Israel. Consanguinity, cousin marriages and marital bonds with close relatives are common phenomenon in the Muslim societies for it does have its references from the Islam. The women born in the 1920s in Israel do have a higher tendency of cousin marriages which was said to have been the 75% of the total marriages. However, this marriage pattern is said to have been declined in the last couple of decades to 44%. The women born in the villages do have a tendency to marry in the joint family. However, a higher percentage of women born in the 1940s are found to be inclined to exogamous marriages and similarly the women born in the late 70s have the least tendency to marry with in the joint family and preferred exogamous marriages. So, it is to be said the as the time passed the level of endogamous marriages decreased nearly a half.

CHAPTER NO. 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Ritual Theory

The current chapter aims to describe the brief description of ritual, its significance and the relationship between ritual and meaning. According to (Bell, 1992, 15) rituals can be defined “as a category of human experience, coming to see it a more basic belief than beliefs and integral to the social dimensions of religion”. Ritual plays its role in tying society and culture together. Tribal societies are indigenous in nature and they do have certain types of rituals which do play a significant role for their society and these rituals are shared and understood in common. These rituals are continuously practiced in a way their ancestors did practice in their time. Modernization does have a role to play in metamorphosing and replacing the significant rituals by new ones that are products of interaction with other cultures in the process of globalization. Modern people have however changed some of the rituals in a different shape in tribal societies, yet these rituals have a significant role to play. Furthermore, these rituals have an obvious significance over the indigenous communities because these communities have unique cultural traits and traditions which are completely different from the communities that are dominant in that particular society.

When it comes to indigenous societies, rituals play a greater role in social cohesion and social order. According to (Paul 2009:82): “rituals are multi- layered transactions in which speech and behaviors are socially prescribed”. Rituals do help in social cohesion and solidarity among the people in a tribal indigenous community. Rituals reflect the obvious expressions of the deep- rooted cultural and societal norms that shape the way people think, feel and evaluate the social world. Rituals provide moral orders with social expressions

that people believe were defined by the forefathers. People also believe about the cultural heroes' initiatives of formulating the rituals to make the society more civilized. Every culture has its own unique rituals which are practiced by them in different social ceremonies. These rituals are also considered as derivative sources of the faiths they believe in, attitudes they follow, values they have adopted, perceptions they make on different things and feelings they feel on different occasions of the people of communities in which they are socialized and groomed.

As of the Paden's (1988) perception, rituals are taken as behaviors marked by the prescribed rules. It is almost certain to some extents that the rituals are derived from the prescribed rules that exist and are practiced in the societies since the immemorial time in several communities. Different types of behaviors, rituals, movements and traditions exist in different communities and these are derived of the rules which are prescribed. Each type of behavior, movement rite and sacrament have its own unique significance in the performance of rituals. "The language of ritual is action itself. Rituals do what words alone cannot". (Paden 1988). Rituals are performed through different ceremonies, feasts and carnivals. The implication of rituals is located in their performance. When it comes to feasts, marriages and carnivals rituals become obvious. The performance of rituals is however apparent and when they are practiced, the actions provide more clear meanings to the words. Every occasion of life contains some of the rituals. A birth of an infant has the rituals so is the death of a man or woman. It means a complete series of rituals is related and linked with all the events of the lives of the people in every community. These events include birth marriage and death etc.

3.2 Application of Theory

The main interest of researcher is on the marriage patterns of the Kochi Nomads of South Waziristan. Marriage is considered not only a union between the spouses but the families.

Paul (2009) on the other hand describes the rituals as multi-layered transactions and the behaviors in these rituals are socially prescribed. This statement is directly proportional to the names of the tradition and the behavior of people towards that particular ritual. Paul, in another place holds the rituals as derivative source of the faith, attitude, value, perceptions and feelings, which can be related to the Kochi Nomads of South Waziristan attitude towards different patterns in the marriage. In the process of marriage pattern among Kochi Nomads of South Waziristan tribe traditions that are practiced and the source of these traditions are the rituals inherited from theirforefathers.

3.3 Propositions

1. Traditional and ancient rituals are still practiced and appreciated in the tribal structures.
2. Rituals are source of social integration and cohesion in asociety.
3. Rituals are multi-faceted transactions and their behaviors are socially prescribed.

CHAPTER NO. 4
CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONALIZATION

4.1 Conceptualization of Marriage Patterns

Marriage has been differently defined by the anthropologists, sociologists and intellectuals belonging to different social disciplines. Every intellectual defines this term in accordance with the lenses he/she has been made to wear during his/her academic years. Generally, marriage is said to have been a social announcement of bonding two individuals from opposite sex in to a legal sexual relation. In the following lines the researcher would make an endeavor to quote some of the intellectual's definition on marriage.

According to the Royal Anthropological Institute (1951:111), "marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that the children born to them are recognized as legitimate offspring of both parents".

This definition has certain social and individual reflections and Hunter (1976) mentions two major aspects of marriage which are primary sexual rights and fulfillment of certain social functions, which might include division of labor, economy, children upbringing and so on.

This definition does portray a social perspective in which marriage has solely been defined for the purpose of legitimization of the children born to a couple.

However, according to Hunter (1976) "marriage is a publicly recognized and culturally sanctioned union between male and female which is intended to be enduring, to give primary sexual rights to each other and to fulfill further social functions".

Jamaland Nasir (1990) have their own version of the definition of marriage.

Marriage for them is "A contract lawfully concluded between a man and a

woman, the ends of which are inter-alliance. The formation of a family based on love cooperation and chastity of the two spouses and the preservation of legitimate lineage”.

Jamal and Nasir (1990) make certain limitations of marriage for they make it a social contract which is supposed to end up being a common alliance between a male and a female. Formation of family here is supposed to base on love and cooperation and saving the lineage

4.2 Operationalization of Marriage patterns

The operational definition of marriage patterns in this research work is directly proportional to the traits, traditions, practices, views, and the behaviors of people toward what we call marriage. The operational definition of marriage patterns is multifaceted as it includes the complete process of marriage patterns which starts from the bride’s search to the final marriage ceremony and whatever comes between the search for bride and final marriage ceremony after which a family of procreation is to be formed. It also includes the nature of spouse selection, age at marriage, post-nuptial locality, marriage practices and overall customs that are practiced during the process of marriage.

CHAPTER NO. 5
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative research which is exploratory in its nature. The source of the primary data is constructed on in-depth interviews while the source of secondary data was article from different journals and books. This research is the fundamental exploration and documentation of the marriage patterns of the Kochi Nomad in South Waziristan.

5.1 Universe

The universe of this research is South Waziristan somewhat. It was since noted that the respondents travel frequently to Waziristan therefore the researcher selected this area as his universe.

5.2 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis were male individuals belonging to Kochi Nomad in South Waziristan. Individual who was in adult age and both married and unmarried individuals were included in the unit of analysis.

5.3 Sampling Framework

The sampling framework was purposive sampling since the researcher wanted to collect data from the specific respondents.

5.3.1 Sample Size

A sample of 15 respondents were interviewed for data collection

5.4 Tools for Data Collection

The researcher used interview guide and recorded the interviews through a voice recorder.

5.5 Techniques for datacollection

The researcher used In-depth interviews as techniques for date collection.

5.6 Tools for dataanalysis

The researcher used interview recordings and manual coding as tools for data analysis

5.7 Techniques for Data Analysis

The researcher used manual coding for the analysis of the data and fictitious names were used during the analysis procedure.

5.8 Reliability and Validity

All the data collected through face to face in-depth interviews are valid and reliable to the best of my knowledge.

5.9 EthicalConcerns

All the respondents interviewed were taken in confidence before starting interview. No abusive language or gestures were used during the interview session.

5.10Limitations of theStudy

Every research work has its own limitations, likewise this study has certain amount of limitations, and the researcher also does not claim the fulfillment of all the objectives set for study. The main limitations of this study are as followings.

- Theresearcherhadlimitedamountoftimeandfieldworkexperience.
- Thus, there may be shortcoming in the data collection and analysis.
- The study is based on the on the Kochi Nomad in South Waziristan. it might not be equally applicable to other ethnic groups of social settings. and the researcher also does not claim that the study represents the whole nation as different ethnic groups have different marriagepatterns.

CHAPTER NO. 6
RESULTS

6.1 Social Organization of Nomads in South Waziristan

Social organization simply is the way through which people organize themselves in the society. As encyclopedia of anthropology outlines, it refers to the process that brings about the ordering of social activity as the result of ongoing decision making by the members of the society. (Taylor and Francis, 1998) Social organization, according to Elliot and Merrill 1961 was characterized by the harmonious operation of the different elements of a social system.

This chapter describes interaction patterns of *Kuchian* community living in the camps along with the institutional network which harmonizes their social system.

As social organization according to Selby 1975 had its possible beginning in “incest Taboo” which helps to differentiate marriageable and “taboo” kins, so the chapter focuses on the kinship, marriage and family among *Kuchian* community of the South Waziristan.

6.1.1 Family or *Kor*:

A family is “a married couple or other group of adult kinsfolk who cooperate economically and in the upbringing of children, and all or most of who share a common dwelling” (Barnard & Jonathan, 2002).

Among *Kuchian* the *family* consists of all those individuals related by blood or either marriage living in a single household termed *Kizdi*. Participation of any member of the *Kor* (Family) in any ceremony was considered the representation of the whole family.

Though *Khail* (Sub-tribe) among *Kuchian* community was of key importance in identification and representation but the significance of family (*Kor*) not only as the smallest and fundamental socio-economic unit but also as its changing structure and function due to continuous war in Afghanistan and changing routes of migration and

settlement in Pakistan, needs a thorough anthropological investigation.



To understand the structure and function of family among *Kuchian* community following four principle points must be considered which explain the descent, residence, marriage and authority patterns.

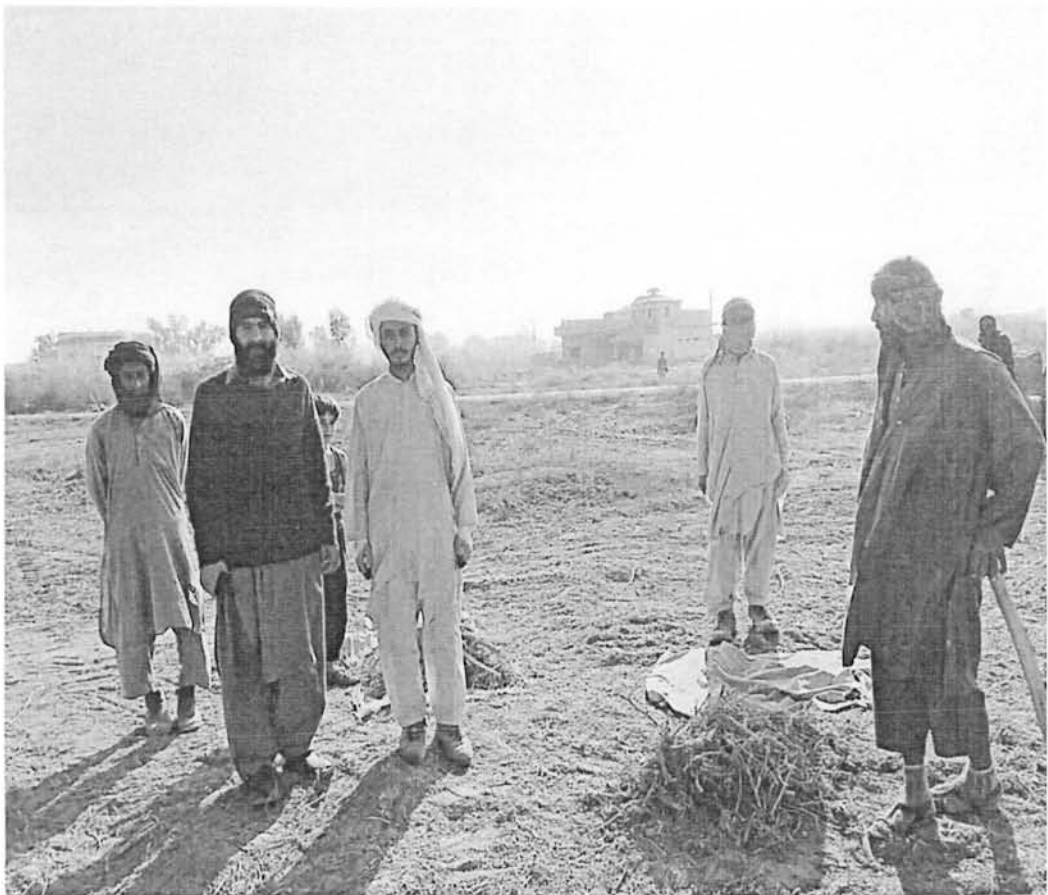
- *Kuchian* communities were patrilineal: principle by which lineal kin links were traced through male.
- *Kuchian* community practice polygamy: where a male was allowed to have more than one wife.
- *Kuchian* communities were patriarchal, i.e. administration of domestic political life by the male.

6.1.2 Family Structure:

The community dwells in *Kizdi* (a typical *Kuchi* household). In one household, the community prefers to live in an extended form i.e. married couple living with their

married children and their children.

Due to endemic war in Afghanistan, many males have lost their lives. Consequently, widows were married to the deceased husband's brothers or first parallel cousins. Extended polygamous families were also seen living in same household. In case of death of a male, her spouse and children become responsibility of the entire household.



6.1.3 Families of *Kuchianat* District South Waziristan listed:

There are total of nine families from the *Sulemankheil* tribe of the large Pashtun tribal system. The other *Kuchian* were from different other *Khails* of the Pashtun residing in long area of the Pakistan and Afghanistan.

As *Kuchians* society was patrilineal and patriarchal, so at all levels of kin grouping (*Qabila, Khail, Kor*) the respective groups were represented by the male. Women

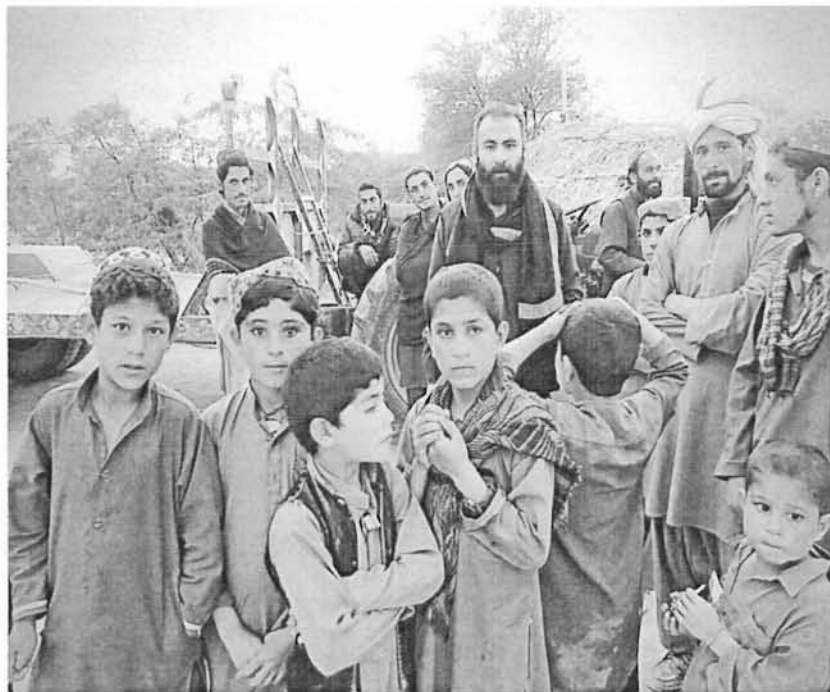
were totally confined to household and domestic chores.

6.1.4 *Khail*(Sub-tribe):

Every tribe was split into a number of sub-tribes or groups which locally were known as *Khail*. *Khail* was the unit of identification; this was why if someone asks a *Kuchi*

6.1.5 *Qabila*(tribe):

Qabila(tribe) was the largest Kin group and it was named after the mythical ancestor from who all others were supposed to have descended. It was not only the biggest social unit but also the political unit having *Jirga*-system, which plays an effective role in the socio-political life of all the sub-sections of the tribe.



6.1.6 Levels of Kinship Recognition:

By levels of Kinship recognition, we mean how they recognize and identify themselves or what kind of kin grouping prevails among the *Kuchian* community.

Patrilineal appears as the main, central concept to understand all the levels of kin grouping which are as follows:

➤ *Qabila*

➤ *Khail*

➤ *Kor*



6.1.7 Kinship:

Kinship literally means “relatedness” and according to Morgan 1870 it was based on the folk knowledge of biological consanguinity. Biological consanguinity, as outlined by Malinowski 1913, was the social acknowledgement and interpretation of the bond of common blood. All the kinship analyzing studies start with the investigation of kinship terms which according to Hoebel, 1958 was the set of names, applied to the various statuses in a kinship system.

Due to the animated role of kinship terminology in structuring the human social relationships, anthropologists were always interested in the analysis of kinship terms. On the following, I document all the kinship terms which *Kuchian* used to refer address in annexure with their kin terminologies.

6.2 MarriagePatterns:

No such society can be documented in the world which is devoid of publicly

recognized and culturally sanctioned union between a male and female. This legitimized union which promotes economic sharing and procreation is known as marriage. According to Haviland 1981 “It was a transaction and resulting contract in which a women and man establish a continuing claim to the right of sexual access to one another and in which the woman involved is eligible to bear children”.

Marriage among *Kuchian* community was a well-defined social institution which serves to perpetuate their society of tribal nature. Marriage, both as a relationship and as an event was considered to be the most conspicuous expensive and elaborate ritual in the life cycle of the *Kuchian* in the camp, marriage take place in very simple form, devoid of almost all the traditional and conventional ceremonies, which were considered essential before the winter migration to Pakistan.



The relation starts with the groom family male and female members 40-50 goes to the bride family where food meat and rice was cooked by bride side and then was served

to all the guests. In the meantime the bride was made ready and was taken to the groom's camp the *Kuchi* wedding dress of green color, and other ornamental items of bride are

Rules of marriage among *Kuchian* community center on the myth that woman was the property and honor of the *Khailso* she must remain in the *Khaile* either married or unmarried, this is why the ideal marriage pattern was endogamy, corresponding to a marriage rule in which one was expected to choose someone from same tribe. The ideal marriage partner (spouse) among the *Kuchian* community was patri-parallel cousin.

Among the *Kuchian* community exist in camp marriage takes place either in form of *Badal* (exchange marriage) or "*walwar*" (Bride price).

6.2.1 Badal Marriage (Exchange Marriage):

Badal literally means to exchange. In this type of marriage direct exchange of women takes place between the different *Kors* (families) of the same *Kheil* (Sub-tribe). This was traditional pattern of marriage is still very common even after the migration and settlement of the *Kuchian* community in different areas of migration route. This practice helps the families to retain the wealth within the family.

Anthropologically this type of marriage was known as direct exchange or symmetrical exchange marriage.

6.2.2 Badal Marriage or Direct Exchange Marriage:

Among the *Kuchian* community the ideal spouse is patri-parallel cousin, so usually two brothers, living in different families decide to exchange their daughters. In these way women, wealth and honor remains within the family.

6.2.3 Walwar Marriage (Bride Price):

Walwar means Bride Price, which was one of the rituals in *Kuchian* Community. All

marriage among *Kuchian* community was not “exchange marriage” so whenever exchange was impossible within *Kheil* a girl was to be married to another *Kheil*, marriages were *Walwar* Marriages. Bride price was the central aspect of *Walwar* marriage. It was, however, the special practice of the Pashtun local tribes as well. Bride price was practiced among most of the traditional tribal people scattered around the world. Evan Prichard 1940 writes about Nuler Central African tribes and Barth 1930 describing the Lori Baluch of Baluchistan point out the bride price for marriages.

However, the *Kuchian* community living in camp migrating at District South Waziristan had an argument of their own for the justification and goodness of *Walware*.g. if the girl was got on payment she was more respected; as the girl was honor, wealth of the family, so if she was married without exchange it results in the loss of girl donating family. Bride price was the compensation of the loss which the family had to suffer. Bride price though was decided by the girl’s parents but usually a go-between (*Maraka*⁶) negotiates with both sides to handle any difference or conflict in financial transaction. As the *Kuchian* community was living in a migrating life style so bride price was usually less as compared to the one which prevailed when the *Kuchilife* style were on better conditions in past decade.

As all *Kuchian* communities are Muslims and in Islam polygamy is allowed for male, so in the prevailing situation of war and *Jihad*, during which many males had been martyred, polygamy was practiced more frequently, so new kind of joint and extended families were emerging. According to *Kuchian* communities in the changed socio-political scenario, polygamy was very possible and helpful in insuring the security of their honor, wealth and women. Although my informant was sure that there was an increase in polygamous marriages, he could not tell the number of

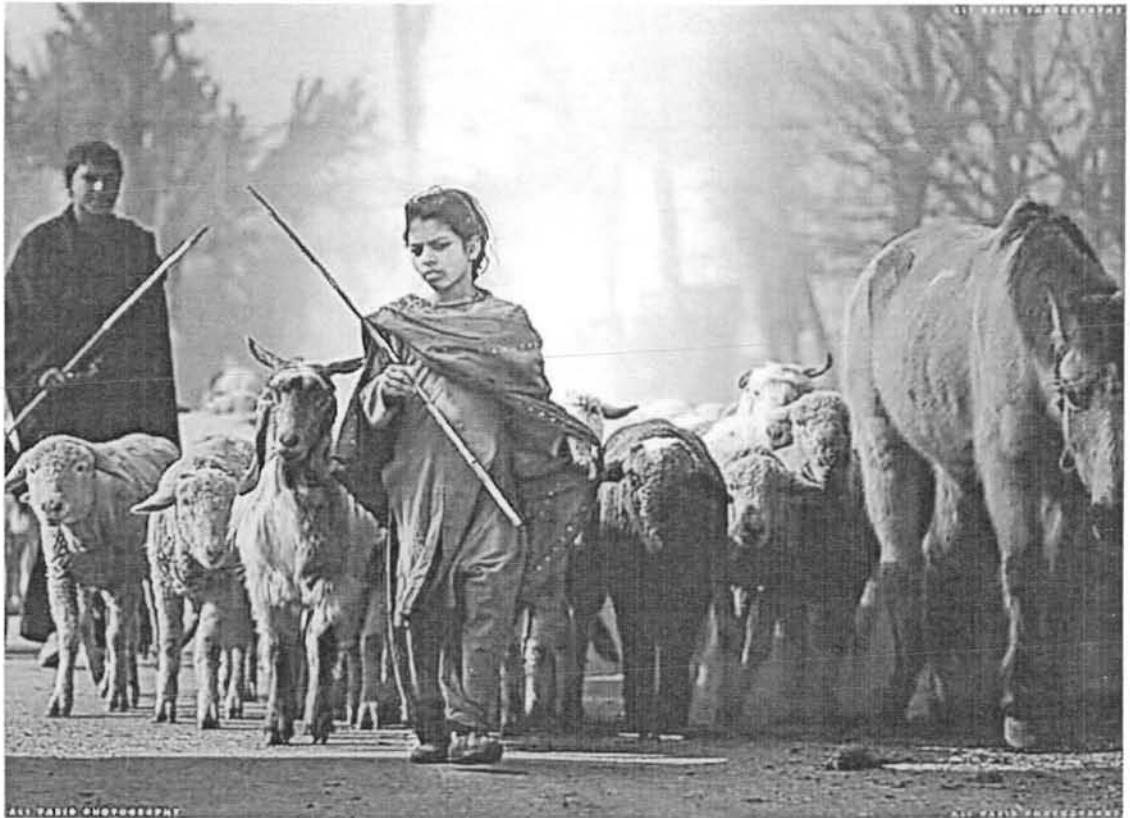
polygamous families in the migrating at present.

6.2. 4 Post marriage residence pattern:

After the marriage the bride move to the groom family, I would like to mention the comment of a *Kuchi* “a daughter and sister is of the other families” he would like to explain me that female is “a guest of father’s family one day she move to establish a family with her husband”.

6. 3 Economicsystem of Nomads in South Waziristan

The flexibility and strength at income generating activities which the *Kuchian* communities had acquired was not only exemplary but at the same time unbelievable. In order to make an in-depth study of the different economic activities of the *Kuchian* communities I had studied each and every economic activity and mode of income generation separately but before I do so I would like to emphasize the point which was of considerable importance in the establishment of different business by the settle *Kuchian* semi settle in Pakistan. The presence of favorable conditions in Pakistan had acted as a substance in generating different economic activates of *Kuchian* and stabilizing their economic condition.



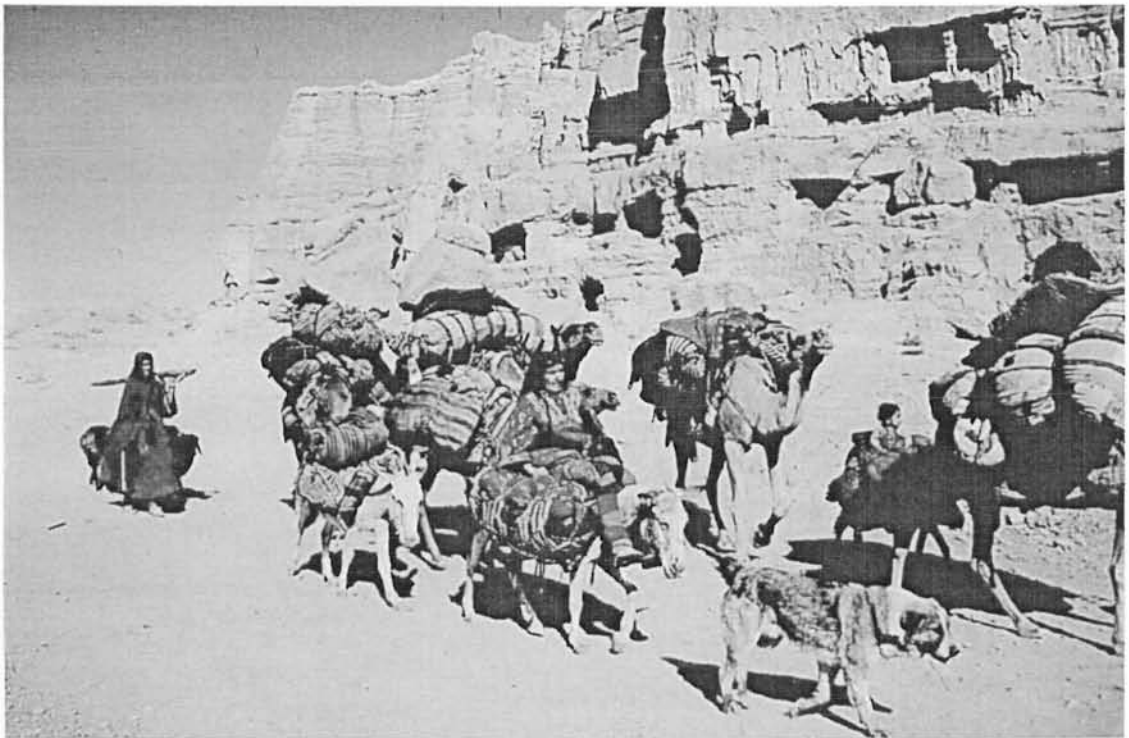
From last some decades many of the *Kuchians* settled the residing all over Pakistan and in my case the *Kuchian* of the pastoralist nomads living in camps were free to move about in the cities and towns of the both countries. They were not, as usually happens in such cases, confined within a boundary. They were free to move and mix with local people, which had given them a great opportunity to do and invest in all sorts of businesses all over Pakistan ranging from transportation to road-side and the *Gunj* (market of domesticated animals) take for example, most of the mini-buses running back and forth inside the city of Wana were owned by settled *Kuchian* has distinguish the modern life. This shows the diffusion which the *Kuchian* had made in businesses.

The pastoral nomads all across the globe due to various factors had settled or were in the process of settlement likewise, the pastoral *Kuchian* nomads of South Waziristan had also undergone sedentarization. This study assumes that sedentarization of *Kuchian* community had introduce the institutions among them. This new

phenomenon was a result of change in economic roles of the *Kuchian* community which had affected the status of the *Kuchian* too.

6.4 Gender and Income of Nomads in South Waziristan

In the past nomadic life, both male and female were engaged in income generating for the survival of their families. The females were more mobile and had interactions with the males outside their family, change in economic mode from nomadism to settled tribalism changed the status of *Kuchian*. Unlike the nomadic life, *Kuchian* after settlement were excluded from their contribution in economic wellbeing of the household. The females became economically dependent on males which later affected their status. The limitation of women in house restricted them to the private sphere which abridged their mobility and their interaction in the public sphere.



The average members 20-25 of family the work was equally divided among the males and the females in *Kuchian*. The males and the females both used to work together at the same place, it was the responsibility of the males and the females to collect firewood wherever they set their tents; whether it was on a mountain or on plain

region both males and females were responsible for taking care of their animals, while clipping the wool from the sheep and the goats, the females used to tie the animal's feet and hold them while the males used to shear the wool from the animals, Dian and Davis identified it as „in spring, males are busy in cutting the wool of sheep and goats or shear; this includes as catching, restraining, and tying up the animals and hold feet, the animals while the males shear the fleece... as the fleece is cut down, female collect the wool and prepare wool that it can be sold in markets“ (Diana K. Davis*, 1995), there was equal division of work and participation during the shearing of wool from the animals. „*Charghwaelba me kawal da naranosara, zamasara da damaherawo*(we did clipping wool of sheep; my husband was the master of clipping wool of animals)... the women had to hold the animals at the time of wool clipping or to tie the feet of the sheep while the clipping of the animals wool“.

The males and females both used to tie the animals beside the tent at the night and provided them with feedstuff, to mention the comment of a respondent, „some of the women did domestic work in *Kuchilife* and some had to prepare the fodder for the animals with males, before providing food we did to tie up the animals near to our tent“.

During migration, women had to collect all the belonging and the tents, the males and the females both did loading and offloading of luggage on the camels and donkeys while doing migration from one place to another place, as one of the respondent said, „women and men had to put goods on camels, while we did to start migrations... on the time of the installing the tents at another place the animals were again offloaded“ When they set their tent on some place during their migration it was the women who were responsible for installing the tent there, the tent was installed in such a place where the water resources were near, the women used to bring the water in the skin

water containers from the tube well, *Karez*, *Dana* and *Chenaa*, the women also used to wash the clothes in that place, to quote Daina and Davis, „the other common daily work of *Kuchifemale* are cleaning, cooking, baking bread, weaving, and collecting water and wood for the fire, and sewing and washing the family cloths, Pack up and reassemble the tents as well as the family“s belongings (Llewellyn, Davies, 1992). One of my respondent said, we had to bring *buti*⁷ water, and washed the clothes on the *Karez or tubewell*.

6.5 Dairy Products as Source of livelihood

In order to study clearly the income generating activities of the pastoralist nomad *Kuchian* of the *Sulemankheil* tribe that I had studied and every economic activity separately, according to Ker, “income from livestock products makes up the majority of *Kuchian* income” (Ker M. , 2010) produced their daily life“s needs, consumption and livelihood from their animals. Diana K. Davis explained about the main economic activity of the pastoralist *Kuchian* community as, “livestock which includes goats, fat-tailed sheep, camels, and some time chickens, donkeys and horses. They raised and sold the products of their animals in order to earn profit” (Diana K. Davis 1995).



The males usually managed the sale and purchase of the animals, and the females were responsible in rearing those animals. Ker notes *Kuchi*women and men contribution in the economy as, „the females of the *Kuchian*are responsible for most of the economic production, for instance, women are in charge of animals husbandry and in productions of the milk, cashmere, and wool. On the other hand, the males herd the flocks, and travel to markets for the selling and buying things’(Ker2010).

Women processed the milk into several of products, the butter, and the butter oil, to sell it in the market of villages, towns, and cities. To mention the comments of one respondent who was interviewed during the course of the fieldwork research, „we had animals as sheep, goats, and goods loading animals... in the past nomadic life we did not had such things as meat from shops, we had to slaughter our own animals for meat and had the milk from the cattle and camels from which we made the different products as the milk, butter, butter oil, *Kurat*, *Kurut-ghuari*, we had these things for our families consumptions, and the remaining was for the sale. Additionally, we also had to sell our animals“ the pastoral *Kuchi*women manufactured many things related to the animals. The *Kuchi*women used to milk the cattle in order to process different products like *Shaloomby*(buttermilk), *Mastay*(Yoghurt) and *Kurut*. To quote the comments of one *Kuchi*women, „ I remember well the days when we females had to milk the sheep and goats... we, women, had to make the *Kurut*, butter, butter oil, and *Shaloombayin* the *guday*leather watercontainers“.

6. 6 Handcrafts



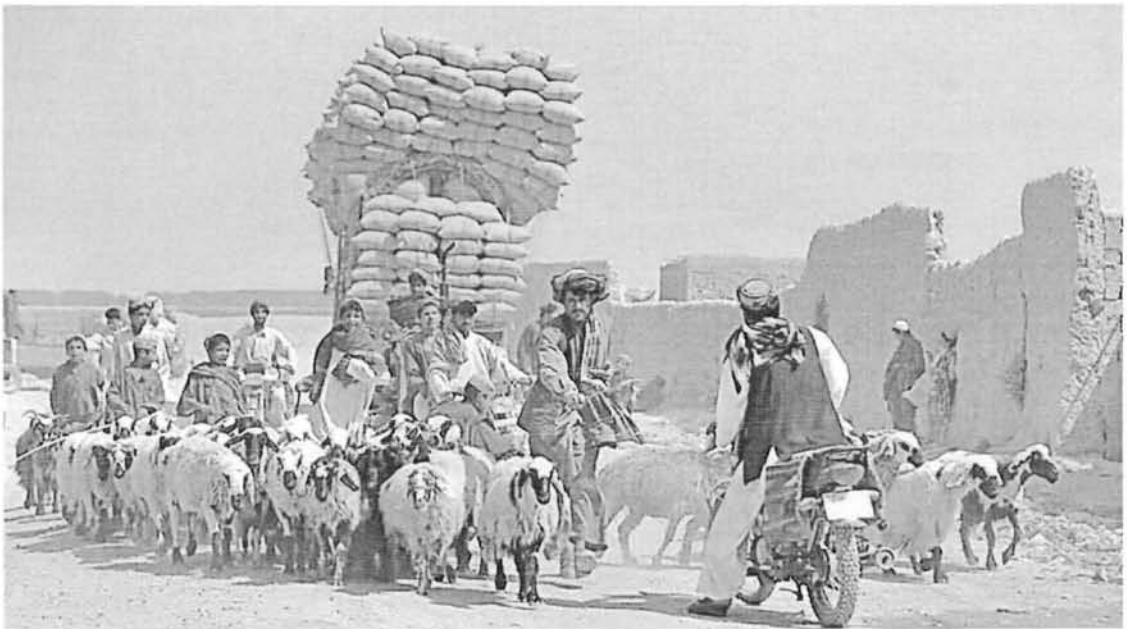
The *Kuchi*women had also the skill to make different things from the animals“ wool. They weaved the wool obtained from animals to make different things like their tents, wool

rugs, wool carpets, and the wool for blankets. As one of the *Kuchi* women explained about their engagement in the economic activity related to the wool related products in their own words as, „our tents were made of goat“s wool, we used to weave wool into tents. By *Sarkhi*(Weaving) wool the *Crasta*(wool carpets), *Darai*(Wool rugs),and the blankets were made“*Kuchi* women used to make the *Guduy*(skin water containers) from the skin of the goats and sheep. The skin of the goat and sheep were used as a container for water and also for the preparation of *lassi*. To quote the comments of one *Kochi* women, „we sewed the skin of the goats or sheep to make the *guduy*... we had to bring water from far places from the *Karez* or from the local people tube wells in the *guduy*... the water was filled in the *guduy*... we had to put them on our backs... these water containers had stings handle to carry it we held the springs on our forehead to bring the water“: The average capital of family was 700000-10 the income that was earned from the sale of the animals by the male related products prepared by the women were kept in the *Sanduk*(Truck) to quote the comments of one *Kuchi* women „ we had sold our handmade things as the *Zigar or ghari*(*Kuchi* dress) and milked related products... it was our hold not of males, but we had to share it with males because it was used on the family needs... if females, whenever there was a need of money for anything the money was taken out of the *Sanduk*.

6.7 Trading

The *Kuchian* interacted with the settled populations on their routes of migrations to sell their animals, or to purchase animals from the settled population. The *Kuchians* sold handmade products like embroidered handicraft, processed dairy products, and wool products in the settled village markets, in mobile shops on the bicycles.

The *Kuchian* did barter with the settled villagers in return of the vegetables, dry fruits, tea, sugar, cooking oil, and different daily life needs as well as in return of money, furthermore, Diana and Davis mentioned that , „when the *Kuchian* community moves on migrations, the females often have to meet village females at the movement the *Kuchian* females take the advantage of these time to socialize and sell and exchange products which they had made, such as embroidery work, milk products, and carpets“ (Llewellyn, 1992).



In the similar way all respondents said that their pastoral nomadic life had such kind of interaction with settled populations as one of the respondent said, „we had to exchange things as we had to give them (sedentary people), for example, *Kurat*, *lasighuwari*(butter oil) they had to give in return, *tooth* and the villagers who had money we had to take money from them too... sometimes we had to visit the villages and sometimes the villagers had to come to our camps, and we mainly had to sell the sheep and other things as *Lasighuwari* and *Kuchian* dress to them“.

Another respondent said, we at that time visited the villages of different tribes and sold the *Kurat*, *lasighwari*, wool and *Kuchian* dress to the women and sometimes in the

villages *Minjari*⁸ were there to whom we also sold the things... *Manjari* purchased the things on high prices comparatively to the local village people". In such selling and barter process the women developed the communication skill due to which they negotiated with the villagers in proper manner.

The money and other assets which were earned in return for selling the animals and their products belonged to all the family members. The money was used only for the fulfillment of the family needs it was not permitted to use the money for individual purposes. The money was kept by the older member of the family; they were given the authority to take the financial decisions. The consent of the older man was considered necessary for using the money. To quote the comments of one *Kuchi* money was spent for animals needs and for purchasing the subsistence goods necessary for home like cooking oil, tea, sugar, and flour... male used to keep money, but neither we nor other from the family were authorized to spend money for individual purposes, the money was kept with old head member of the family who must be the elder, whenever it was required by the family then it was spent, the money was earned in one year from the sale of the animals was kept by the elder member. Another *Kuchi* mentioned his experience in the following words, „first, we did not required money, but if it was required then the permission to use the money was taken from the whole family, we purchased same things for everyone to keep equality, for example, if we purchased clothes it was of the same material and color for everyone... without permission nobody in the family was allowed to take the money, the money was taken only for the fulfillment of the home and the animals related needs“.

CHAPTER NO. 7
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

While going through the literature, the researcher found some of the commonalities and differences between the marriage practices of Nomads and tribes cited in the literature. Some of the marriage practices of Zeopotec speaking community of the valley Oaxaca south Mexico as investigated by (Little and Malina 2010) were coinciding and some practices were simultaneously colliding with that of nomads of South Waziristan. Endogamy was a common factor found between the nomads of South Waziristan and Zeopotec speaking community. In the contemporary China as studied by (Clemens 2006), the locating process of the family of procreation is based on the national housing policy which means the state decides where the couple would reside after their marriage.

The researcher went through an extensive study of the institutional historical background of the nomads of South Waziristan and also came to know about the source of the name of the tribe, geographical origin and historical origin. The researcher also created an understanding about the factors nomads of South Waziristan are marginalized in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The spouses themselves had the meager role in the process of spouse selection. Among the spouse's girl had no interferences in the spouse selection, yet the boy had some roles in the spouse selection but the sole decision making authority rested in the hands of parents. While exploring the patterns of marriage the researcher found several rituals and customs being practiced among the nomads of South Waziristan in the process of marriage ceremonies.

The decision-making process, in which the role of parents, spouses and *elders* are found to be important, lie in the pre-wedding ceremonies. The girl had no say in the

proposal and formations of relationship but the boy had some authority to accept or reject. The sole authority for the decision making of marriage, dowry and other chores of marriage rests in the hands of parents of spouse and elders. Marriage proposal was usually made at the home of male spouse from where the marriage proposal is taken to the bride's home.

The marriage patterns in nomads are quietly different from other communities because of multiple reasons like they are always in search of sessional migration, socio-economic status. Marriage is important for fertility, especially where birth control is almost unknown. The men and women is first marry and forms and martial union, the prevalence of polygamy, divorce and separation. The frequency of divorce and widow survive after the death of her husband is different in nomads. Nomads are not giving or accepting their relationship with other communities. They mostly marry in their own caste and creed. They are mostly Sunni and practicing Muslims. The nomads in South Waziristan (WANA) mostly live near GomalZam Dam. The marriage pattern in the nomads, when a boy selects the partner (girl) they will send the family to turn the friendship with relationship. If the family of girls accepting the marriage proposal they agree to turn their friendship into relationship. On next day th "Speen-Geeri" (White-beard) sent to the family of girls for the engagement. The dowry was fixed by the elders and they pray for the new life ahead. Sometimes when the girl family are accepting the marriage proposal then the Malik in nomads were sending to the girls family. The girl's families agree with the boy's family proposal. Firstly, if the boy select the partner means (Love marriage), the "Speen-Gheeri" (White-beard) men, are send a message with a humble way that why not our friendship turned to relationship. If the girl's family accept the proposal on next day all the family members' men and aged women are going to decide Dowry in the

Hujra (tent) of girl's house. The girl's family start shopping for girls and the boy family sent money (Dowry) for the arrangements of wedding ceremony.

Women sing the folk songs and beating the drums. The boys serve the guest and provide quality food especially meat are preferred more. Widows in nomads have great respect and honor. Widows have almost good life after her husband's death. Brother-in-law treat her with respect and gives her rights for survive. The marriage pattern of nomads is change with the other Pashtuns marriage system. Due to sessional migration they don't have a permanent home. After marriage the separate tent for both the partner anchored. The nomad's parents prefer marriage for their sons and daughter in younger age. High age the girls mostly work at home and serving brothers and parents.

7.2 Conclusion

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ANNEXURE

INTERVIEW NO. 01:

Burki: Hello

Peace be upon you

Question: Who is your brother and where are you from?

Answer: What about Ahmadzai and Salman Khel in Ahmadzai?

Question: Kochi?

Answer: I am a nomad.

Q: You are a nomad and now you are here in Wana

N is your night in the woods?

Answer: No, go and come to Afghanistan and Punjab.

Q: Well, how long will you be in Wana now?

Here it means five nights, two nights and three nights

How about with the weather?

Answer: Looking at the weather in Wana, five months have passed

We also spend four and a half months.

Go there

Question: Good weather where it is equal

Where the answer is equal

Q: Well, I didn't know how to get married

It is customary for a boy or a girl to get married.

A: Our boy and girl get married first

I want to get engaged there. I want an example for myself now

There.

My father is the one who is betrothed to me now

Hold the third person in the middle and then the person goes to Jenny's house

Jenny defeated me

This

You are the one who pleases the boy's father

Want to

Q: Is that what you call a boy's father?

Answer: Yes, the boy's father tells him it doesn't happen on its own

The third person wants to tell them to go.

Question: I mean your relatives who are related to you

Be the man closest to him?

Answer: If there is a man nearby, then go and ask for a girl

Does

Thousands did the same. Not if it was heartbreaking

I'm a better house than that

Good man, I don't want to waste time on Flankey

Day will join us and I will consult at home

Then he stays at home for four or five days

Let this third person go again. This is the rebar of the boy's father

He would tell her to get engaged

Ask a friend and the boy's father

And to be a thousand and do the same yes

Collect with a base or a market or a shop

Then there are a few more relatives

Ask him to sit down with you. Just say goodbye and after that whoever has money will give him something in advance. Fifty.

Or pay a few thousand rupees in advance and if there was a change, pay not available.

Q: A good return also increases you mean a girl

One house and another house means both families to each other

Gives Jenny?

A: Yes, it changes.

Q: What's so significant about a goat's head? "

Sit down

Dream: Yes.

He asked the question in return

Answer: Now it's my sister. It's my wife's brother

He is sitting and his sister is in another house

This example is also found in many foods

The two-course meal is dark.

Question: What is the role of the leader of the area?

Are you married

A: Yes, the role of food is his.

Question: Whoever is the leader, for example, a girl, says ten lakhs

We give you money to send the leader to you

Reduces or not?

Sitting

Ready here too

Be ready

Answer: Absolutely reduces it.

Question: Is this tradition more or less?

Answer: No, it's low, it's not high.

Question: Which one of you will get married after Jenny?

Can this girl move to another house?

A: No, no, it just made a house for him and so on

The food and everything with him is empty

The boy changes his sleeping position and feeds

Be with

There are also questions about getting married

Elsewhere, he has built a tent

The same thing applies with ezines

Burki: Q: No, no, I will sit in third place. When is the third time to pray? A: Yeah, sitting in third place, Jenny doesn't go home. Q: Does this mean that the boy's house is still in the third place and Jenny is taking care of the housekeepers and elders? A: Yes, place the elders in it and then pray for them. many thanks

INTERVIEW NO. 02:

Burki: Peace be upon you and peace be upon you. Question: Who are you? Answer: I am second. Question: Kochi Yi? A: Yes, I am. Question: Who are you? Answer: Dawatano Ki Portkhel. Q: Where are you going? A: Let's go to Waziristan. Q: Come to Waziristan, come on! Are you in Gomla today? A: Yes, I am in Gomla today. Q: Are you married? A: No, I am not married. Question: Go! But now that she is fifteen or twenty years old, is she old enough to get married? A: I really want to get married. Q: So why not? A: Marriage is the best thing that can happen. Question: Go! So how do you get married? He

Burki: And will they laugh? A: Marriage is like finding a girl or someone. Question: It has happened that the girl in the village is not happy? A: If he doesn't pay, then what will he do? It's just a matter of moving. Q: Is there transportation? A: There is

a solution. Question: If Jenny likes you, she will go. Answer: If Jenny likes you, she will go with you. Q: If Jenny doesn't like it, can she be taken away by force? A: No, not by force, but by life. Question: When you get married, your father asks you, "What do you do for a living?" A: Yes, he does not. Q: Jenny asks? A: No one asks Jenny. Q: Has it happened that the boy doesn't like it and must marry her? A: Yes, it is possible. Question: What is your wedding tradition? of the

Burki: Answer: If the girl likes, then go and pray and then after some time we will get married and the mullah will come and close the marriage. Question: Is it possible for a boy to go to Jenny's house and meet her between marriage and betrothal? A: Yes, there is still a tradition among the nomads to see Jenny in her house. Q: After the wedding, do you put up another tent for Jenny and stay in this joint house? A: Yes, when he gets married, then give him another tent and then he makes his home. Question: When you remarry, ask the first lady and accept her word? A: Yes, we ask if she likes it and if she doesn't, we get married again. Question: Is it possible for a woman to want to remarry? Answer: No, a woman cannot remarry. Question: Why can't a woman have another husband and a man can? Answer: Enough power belongs to man, whether by force or by consent But a woman cannot remarry. Q: Your bride is not too much? A: Yes, the bride price is high but when we take the leaders with us and reduce them for their sake. Q: What do you do with the ten lakh rupees you buy? A: On this, her father buys the goods for Jenny and takes the rest of the house. Question: When a man remarries, does the woman leave the man and marry another man? Answer: No, it is not possible for her to go with her husband and still go and bring him when her husband wants. Question: Is there a divorce in which a husband leaves his wife and divorces her? A: No, there is no such thing as a husband leaving his wife. Question: Is it possible to pray and then not marry Jenny?

Answer: No, it is not possible to marry the same boy once the prayer is over.

INTERVIEW NO. 03:

Burki: But a woman cannot remarry. Q: Your bride is not too much? A: Yes, the bride price is high but when we take the leaders with us and reduce them for their sake. Q: What do you do with the ten lakh rupees you buy? A: On this, her father buys the goods for Jenny and takes the rest of the house. Question: When a man remarries, does the woman leave the man and marry another man? Answer: No, it is not possible for her to go with her husband and still go and bring him when her husband wants. Question: Is there a divorce in which a husband leaves his wife and divorces her? A: No, there is no such thing as a husband leaving his wife. Question: Is it possible to pray and then not marry Jenny? Answer: No, it is not possible to marry the same boy once the prayer is over.

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And will they laugh? A: Marriage is like finding a girl or someone. Question: It has happened that the girl in the village is not happy? A: If he doesn't pay, then what will he do? It's just a matter of moving. Q: Is there transportation? A: There is a solution. Question: If Jenny likes you, she will go. Answer: If Jenny likes you, she will go with

you. Q: If Jenny doesn't like it, can she be taken away by force? A: No, not by force, but by life. Question: When you get married, your father asks you, "What do you do for a living?" A: Yes, he does not. Q: Jenny asks? A: No one asks Jenny. Q: Has it happened that the boy doesn't like it and must marry her? A: Yes, it is possible. Question: What is your wedding tradition?

Answer: If the girl likes, then go and pray and then after some time we will get married and the mullah will come and close the marriage. Question: Is it possible for a boy to go to Jenny's house and meet her between marriage and betrothal? A: Yes, there is still a tradition among the nomads to see Jenny in her house. Q: After the wedding, do you put up another tent for Jenny and stay in this joint house? A: Yes, when he gets married, then give him another tent and then he makes his home. Question: When you remarry, ask the first lady and accept her word? A: Yes, we ask if she likes it and if she doesn't, we get married again. Question: Is it possible for a woman to want to remarry? Answer: No, a woman cannot remarry. Question: Why can't a woman have another husband and a man can? Answer: Enough power belongs to man, whether by force or by consent.

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prayer is over.

Q: I will sit in third place. When is the third time to pray? A: Yeah, sitting in third place, Jenny doesn't go home. Q: Does this mean that the boy's house is still in the third place and Jenny is taking care of the housekeepers and elders? A: Yes, place the elders in it and then pray for them. **Many Thanks**

INTERVIEW NO. 04:

کمی السلام

AsalamuAlikum

کمال السلام و رحمتہ اللہ و برکاتہی وعل

Walikum Salam

؟ی هکوخ او بییی اخره د کوم سوال: ورو

Question: Brother From where you belong and what are you doing?

،مییی اخ هسر هدرمله د هغه من لو خپا هعلاقه ————— ده د وای مانخی جواب: ز هخو د سل

،ورر کی دلته ت یو، پنج ————— ابتهژ مپی راوتل ی دلته اوس کار و بار پس

شور ته لای علاق ی او اوس خپل یو بگت و ی سی پ

Ans: I am basically from Suleiman khel village located near wana (South Waziristan).

I am here for business purpose, We spend winter here in Punjab and earn a little bit then move back to our own area.

رویی؟ یژوندت ی انو غوندی سوال: مطلب تاسو کوچ

Question: This means that you people live here like nomads.

رووی ژوندت ی انو غوندی جواب: هو کوچ

Ans: Yes, Just like nomads.

؟ی دری کی ستاسو وادونه، واده دی هچر پو هکی پدی سوال: تهم

Quwstion: Please tell me, Are you married?

ریکی نہدی جواب: نه، وادهم

Ans: No, I am not married.

؟ یرهدو ش سوال: ستا عمر

Question: How old are you?

می کالہتر اوسہخوس کولوا 16-15 ی جواب: تقر

Ans: Almost 15-16 years, I am still studying at School.

سہوی؟ یرہکن ش سوال: ستا سود و دونو

Question: Tell me about you marriage system?

سہ؟ یرہ د و دونو کن ش جواب: لکہ

Ans: I didn't got your point about marriage, please elaborate?

ہ؟ یرہ اتھو وای ولہ طرت، قہوی یرہ طرخ وادہ، یرہ ش ہکوی، رواجونہ موکن ش سوال: رواجونہ مو، وادہ

Question: Like traditions and festivals of marriage, What is the pattern of your marriage system, tell me about the pattern?

، یرہ کنہر اکوی لورر اکوی تہدی ہزماز وکن پش چ پلار تہ د ہلکپ لارور ش ین یولبہ د ج جواب: ا
ک

ہر ادبلر اسر ہوکی وی نوور تہو وای بی او کہز و پبی ش یخودر کو بن خوی بی او ہلکی نہوی زوری س
، سموی یرہ ش بن خوی ہ. کہہا کر ستالور ہمدہز مالور ہمدہنو بدلر اسر ہوک ،

را شہی اور تہو وای نہو بنوب یون یل

Ans: First The boy's parents ask the girl's parents about their daughter's hand for their son. If the boy is well mannered and they like him then they yes. If they are not satisfied with the boy then they give the condition that we both have daughters why not, we should have exchange marriage, I will give you my daughter's hand and your will give yours daughter. If they both agree, then Further proceeds.

نہپسد عاوشہی؟ یرہ سوال: ہغ

Question: Then a collective prayer for their blessed life?

، یر صلہو کی بس کالیمالیف ، یو خورری نہپسمشر انورششی ، می جواب: ہنغ
 ہوی در کلہکور تہر اشھی ، در زہدروز ہجوی دوی اچی یی ، برواودستمالور کی رومالورتہوارمو
 ، یخکیپہکور غورنڈ ژ ییدانجون خغور ، یہلکپہکورک
 ادو ہوروستہی اتوختکالی یخوزروروستہوادہور کی اشتی اوہمراشپی اشتشیکالشھی یامیب
 وی

Ans: Then elders of boy's family go to girl's home, have a dinner together, decide about jewellery, give her romal (handkerchief as a traditional tool). After that when they come back they arrange traditional dancing parties as well as traditional food for the people coming their home for celebration on fixing the wedding.

ہوی؟ گرن خشی ، دایدی لاوی سرہمینی ہلک دج خچہدامن: سوال

Question: During this time, engaged boy and girl can meet?

، یی دہیریری یو اخیراخ انونونلر اتلہخو اوس ————— خلکنہی ہلککوچ یچی جواب: مخک
 ی. دخواسنہور

، یدی لاوی اخونہشیمیشولب یکیری والاپہدی کن اوژی دیہکن کور مثلاپہ — واینی ج
 یخیرایخ اندی ہوکوچ

Ans: Before when people were monads, they were able to meet but with the time it declined because of long distances among the families, For example the boy is living in Wana and girl is in Dera Ismail Khan then it is not possible.

ہو شی؟ خونوروادہمووکی شیچی اداسی سوال: ب

Question: Then what happens after engagement?

شی رانپخپلہ — لار لای جواب: کوچ

Ans: Nomads move on their own way.

ی؟ یبر لاوی ہسر ہمکن خاتاسوی سوال: ب

Question: Then How you people meet?

، لویبرورولریسی بہدی لورابطہ دہ ، مخکی ج — جواب: بساوس دموب —

مىارى ورا اوله بسز هت خى كهتھرا ، پىر وتدى كى اخ پهلانكى پىرىسى چو ريبه حال در كرس
يخ بسور ابو

Ans: Now everyone have mobile phones, Before man were responsible to find them
and talk to them about final marriage arrangements.

هژوندوي؟ گن پختاسو كد پنبه خى سوال: د كون

Question: How widow survive in monads families?

هور سر هكوي پىر دى ورونه اوداى شي، لره پىر مپى كله ي هويچ پىر دى باى خوتقر دى جواب: د كون

Ans: Widows have almost good life after her husband's death. Brother in law treat her
with respect and gives her all facilities available there.

پى ۳۵ هموياو عمر پىي وزوبى پچر هوكير هم پىن پهلخوي پچر پىر پى سوال: كوروالا
كاله هموي؟

Question: is she allowed to get married, if she has a son and her age is 35?

د سر هكوي پى اى اورى وكى ورسره ي د لرواد هوكى جواب: هغه خوكور ك
نهكوي پى پهلخاسر

Ans: Almost widows in such get married to their brother in law or she don't want to
get married.

هوي؟ گن پخفوننه پى، تكل پىر رى هت گن پخ سوال: ژوند پىر

Question: How she spend her life, does she face any difficulties?

ورى كا كلى والاي فدومر هنهوي، كهكور والاظلمور سر هكوي نوبى جواب: تكل

Ans: No, Not at all but if she faces any difficulty from her home side then the village
elders interfere, and tell them to treat her with respect.

پى ظلمور سر هشو ويوى رته شو ويچ پى سوال: داس

Question: Have you seen any case wherever she faced any difficulty?

ج، واب: د كوروالا

كاره نى پداخو پىر اخو ظلمهر چا سر هكى بى كوي رپدى اخ بر دى دو مر هخو كهچ يور لخوا ظلمنه وىل

هوي بن رور سر هدي باي خبر هده خوتقر

If she violates the rules and regulations of the family then she faces difficulties. otherwise she is always treated well.

و خورئ؟ تي ندغ هكور ته، رور راوي نني نهبع دج و ادهوش يهغ ي سوال: چ

Question: During the marriage ceremony, do you people serve any type of food etc?

ولهات هور يدي تود، وشي ي نني هكـ وركي را مخو د جگ جواب: دا پرو

Ans: Everyone is served with traditional food in girl's home.

ي؟ خ اكله د پلار كور ته ي نني سوال: ج

Question: when the girl returns to her parents home after marriage?

ي خ اشـ تبعدى ام ي بعدى ننخو 15 شپى جواب: ج

Ans: After 15 days or 1 month

ي؟ خ وشـ پوته خ: سوال

Question: How many days she spend in parents home?

اراشي ي مرضيد هب يدي كول خي السورى ي رر هكي اشـ تتى ام ي هشي ر جواب: لا

Ans: she moves for a month or 10 days.

شي، د و ادهنهو وسته؟ ي نكور تهو ر تلـ ي نهو و سته هك د ج ي سوال: هغ

After marriage is the boy allowed to visit girl's home.

، اداور شي ي، بخروسر هور كخو د مل، ي جواب: نه، تنهانشـ يور تل

، يوي، سامانو نهويلكه عطر ونهوي، صـ ابونونهو ري جويوي، ددهلپار هجامر رامجو كددهلپار هپرو

وي ري ورت هكي رسامانو نهدي وينورى لپخ، شامپويوي

Ans: he can't go alone. He goes there friends. They give him different types of gifts which is the traditional act and also manage special dinner for him. Gifts includes Perfumes etc and other traditional food items.

؟ يورولي ي كه د كور نور خلكي وورولي ي بنودا هلك خكله د پلار كور تهو ري نني سوال: دا ج

Yes, some people but almost father of the boy goes with her wife when she visits to

home.

یورولیی اخسری یاو خپلارورین ی جواب: د ج

Yes, some people but almost father of the boy goes with her wife when she visits to

home

نهشیوروس تلی؟ یی هیر سوال: م.

Question: what about husband?

نشیوروس تلی یی هیر جواب: نهم

Ans: No husband is not allowed.

؟ ی سوال: ول

Why

ی خال د شرمنه، نه ی جواب: داز مایهخ

Ans: I Think it is because of feeling shy

؟ ی هکردارویپهکخ سوال: د ملا

What is the mola role ?

درتهوبولسه ی جواب: ملاخونهوی، ملاخوصرف د نکاحپهوختک

Ans: Mola only play role in Nikkaj.

؟ ی نشتهپهکیه خ سوال: نور

Anything other else ?

ی نشتهپهکیه خ سوال: نه نور

Ans: No , Nothing else

رهمنه یی رهدی

INTERVIEW NO. 05:

السلامعلیکم

Asslam-u-Alaikum

؟ ی ی کوچ، بر ی اوسی ی هکن او اوس دلتپهپهوا ی ی خ سوال: وروره د کو

Brother, Are you nomad from Wana South Waziristan?

بیم‌ی جواب: هو، کوچ

Yes, I'm nomad.

؟یوکی پخ سوال: په کوچیانوک

What is your sub-tribe in Nomad?

بیم‌اندی جواب: په کوچیانوک

I belong from Andran tribe in Nomad.

؟یو کورونه شی، یو کسان شی، تاسو یو یرکمر اغل بدخوید غه علاقه بان در سوال: دا اند

Andran tribe are less settled here, how many houses?

پراته یو یه کنوا، ییو، دلتهوزیرستان کدی و کن شی جواب: بسمو

Yeah, we are some people of Andran Tribe settled here in South Waziristan.

دی؟ یوشپ شی دلته مو: سوال

How many nights you people stay here?

وی هیالسه شپ شی جواب: دلته بیهموین

We stay here for ten to fifteen days.

ی؟ شی هکوی، پنجابته به شی سوال: بیابه

Then, you people go to Punjab Province?

و شی پنجابته به شی و میلبان دگو، په شی سوکسه سوکهر وانیوی جواب: داس

Yes, we migrate via GomalZam way to Punjab Province gradually.

؟ی در ی کی سوال: وادهد

Are you married?

ری کی نه دی جواب: وادهم

No, I'm not married (he answer me with a shy and smile on his face).

هرواجونه دی؟ کن شی سوال: د وادهمو

What is the traditional marriage pattern in Nomad?

، هشي بن خوي موجين يكي اخ كوم ي جواب: د واده مدار و اجونهديج

كوم مشران، پلار مووي، تر همووي ويوي اخيلچر هغه ته پور هـ برورولي

ي پرايمور كخي ت وورخي، بيار هغه هلت هخبر هور سر هوک

در کووی هده، جين بن خورز موي چر کسر اولي نه پيس دوي هغ

و اوور شور و لکت مشران را ي بان دخي وري بيا هغ

Firstly, if the boy select the partner means (Love marriage), the “Speen-Gheeri”

(White-beard) men, are send a message with a humble way that why not our

friendship turned to relationship. If the girl’s family accept the proposal on next day

all the family members’ men and aged women are going to decide Dowry in the Hujra

(tent) of girl’s house.

و کمشرانوي؟ ش: سوال

What is the role of Elders?

پرکي ديولور هغه کم ي پيس ي كوم ي دوي بيا چي ملکورولي وي چي جواب: يونيمداس

Sometimes if the family of girls is not accepting the proposal then we sent a Malik of

our community.

ي؟ خ ديولکور ته هـ وري نه پيس هـ لکا و جين ي دعاوشي، هغ ي نه پيس چي سوال: هغ

When you sent Malik (Sardar) then they accept the marriage proposal?

تقریباً چي نه وورخي، پهدير و قومونو کي داسي شته چي هغو يورخي، ز مورکي نه وورخي: جواب

Yes, almost the girl’s family accepts the proposal.

؟ ي سوال: اوس پهلایه زیات و که کم و داش

Still this tradition is follow in the nomad marriage system?

ي دي اوس کم شو، ي جواب: پهلایه زیات و داش

Not at all, the tradition is change with time.

؟ ي دي اوس کم شوي هوجهد هچ ش: سوال

What is the reason behind this?

هو جهده پخچ کجواب: پتههل

Don't know the reason.

سوال: رواجونه موبدلشويدي؟

Traditions are change?

يرزيانتدجواب: هو، رواجونه موبدلشويدي

Yes, traditions are quietly changed.

ي؟ خيراخ دعاوشـي، داکليوالايوبلتهـوي نهپسـچي سوال: هغ

After engagement what you people is doing?

ي خيراخ وتهرهاو بددوانس، ي خيراخ جواب: هو

Both the families are sending gift to each other.

هرواجونهوي؟ خيراخيو بلتهـي چي ک خوشوه، د وادهپهمنـي سوال: داد عاج

Repeatedly, what is the marriage pattern in Nomads?

هوي خداهريـياو د وسمطابقباندرورليـري د چاوسوي، داکپـي شتهچي جواب: اوداس

The "Speen-Gheeri" (White-beard) men are sent a message with a humble way that why not our friendship turned to relationship. If the girl's family accept the proposal on next day all the family members' men and aged women are going to decide Dowry in the Hujra (tent) of girl's house.

? هرواجونهدي خشو، د وادهيـدر نهپسـوا دهرانـي سوال: هغ

What are the wedding ceremony traditions in nomad?

هلتـه ديـپهـکور کي شـينو د جـينـيـدر انـي جواب: وادهچ

ياو درلوانويهـر او غوامر هـخپـخيـاو هـلکوالار بندوبسـتوکـديـود

بيا هلتـه ديـوالا خوويهـلتهـپهـکور کي جـين

يويدا درکومبندوبسـتکي چـدي و د شـياو دار و خور يـيـالاتـيـياو هـلتهـر و ر بندوبسـتوکـتـيـرو

يـپهـکور کي هـلک د کور نهويـخووي د جـين

The girl's family start shopping for girls and the boy family sent money (Dowry) for

the arrangements of wedding ceremony. Women sing the folk songs and biting the drums. The boys serve the guest and provide quality food especially meat are preferred more.

ناس تهوي؟ ځي وور پڅپه کور کي واده وشي چين سوال: چ

After engagement can the boy visit the girl's family?

، وکلي ته هور و لي ر موي يا و چين ر بار کي دي اگ جواب: هغه

زياتو ختپ ات ر موي ويچ داس ي زور سر هميلاوش يا و کچه چير ي وچ ر خپلمور او پلار ته و ر و ل ي
، و پرک

و بهار ا ر و ر و ل ي ي ي تلي ځي لسور ځونولس پ ن ر و ر و ل ي ت ه ل ي ر ل ي ي و ي و ه ن ي م ه م ي ا ش ت ت و ب ي ا چ ي ن
ي م ه ب ا ن د

Yes, the boy can visit to the girl's house. This was the time when both families are visit on different occasion like attending wedding ceremony, funerals and other activities.

شي؟ واده وشي ي نو هلک د کور و الاتهور تل ل ي سوال: چ

After engagement can the boy visit the girl's family?

ي ځيا و ر ا خ جواب: هو

Yes, they can visit.

و ر و ل ي ؟ ي که د ا ن و ر ک و ر و ا ل ا ي ي و ر و ل ي ي ن و د ا ه ل ک ي ځ ک ل ه د پ ل ا ر ک و ر ت ه ي چ ي چ ي ن : س و ا ل

After marriage who can go with the girl when she visit to own home?

جواب:

و ر و ل ي و ي ه غ ه ي ي و ي ي ا پ ل ا ر ي ي ک و م و ر و ر ي ي و ر و ل ي چ ي و ر و ل ي ا و ک و ر و ا ل ا ي ي ه ل ک ي ي ب ع ض

Yes, some people but almost father of the boy goes with her wife when she visits to home.

وي؟ ر م ي ه ي ر ه ش ي م ي د ک و ن ي چ ، ي ه ژ و ن د و ي پ ه ت ا س و ک گ ن د پ ن ب ځ ي څ سوال: د کون

How widow survive in the nomad families?

جواب: د

پخپلک وې هلته به يې کي اخل بل شي بلو ادهنه شـ يکولار مې هي رمي ويو چي خوداس دېنځي کون
کوي يې بهي کومز امنويويهغه هوي د هغه چي کوي د خپلليور سره، وروري يې رک
يې نه هودي يې کي اخل لر.

Widows have almost good life after her husband's death. Brother-in-law treat her with respect and gives her rights for survive.

پر همهر باني ډيره ډ

Thank you so much.

