Cultural Models Affecting Indian-English 'Matrimonials' and British-English Contact Advertisements with a View to Marriage: A Corpus-based Analysis

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Dedicated to my husband and to my parents

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

€	Euro
4	for
24-pgs (n)	North 24 Parganas district
A & O Level	Advanced and Ordinary level
A'bad	Allahabad
ABB	Asea Bown Boveri
ACA	all calls answered
AD	Adhiyan
ADCA	Advanced Diploma in Certified Accountancy
ADG	additional director general
advt	advertising/advertisement
AE	assistant/application engineer
AFP	Agence France Presse
Agg	Aggarwal
AGM	assistant general manager
Alld	Allahabad
AMIE	Associate Member of Indian Engineers
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
AP	Andhra Pradesh
asst, *also* astt	assistant
attr	attractive
Aug	August
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BAMS	Bachelor of Ayurvedic Medicine and Surgery
Baroda Pioneer MF	Baroda Pioneer Mutual Fund
B Arch	Bachelor of Architecture
B/B	Bank of Baroda
BBA	Bachelor of Business Administration
BCA	Bachelor of Computer Applications
BCET	Bengal College of Engineering and Technology
bckgrnd, *also* b-ground	background
B Com	Bachelor of Commerce
B Comn	Bachelor of Communication
BD	biodata
BDS	Bachelor of Dental Surgery
BE	Bachelor of Engineering
B Ed	Bachelor of Education
Beds	Bedfordshire
Berks	Berkshire
BFA	Bachelor of Fine Arts
bfl, *also* b'ful	beautiful
BHMS	Bachelor of Homoeopathic Medicine and Surgery
BHP	biodata, horoscope, picture
Bhr	Bihar
Bio Tech	Biotechnology
BIT	Bangalore Institute of Technology
BITS	Birla Institute of Technology and Science
B Lib	Bachelor of Library Science
B'lore	Bangalore
b'men	businessmen
B Music	Bachelor of Music
b'ness, *also* busi, buss	business
b'nessman	businessman
Bnglor	Bangalore
bot	botany
BP	biodata, picture
B Pharma	Bachelor of Pharmacy
Br, *also* Brh, Brm	Brahmin
bro	brother
brothrs	brothers
B Sc	Bachelor of Science
bsd, *also* b'sd	based
BSNL	Bharat Sanchar Nigam, Limited
B Tech	Bachelor of Technology
Bucks	Buckinghamshire
BUMS	Bachelor of Unani Medicine and Surgery
BVA	Bachelor of Visual Arts
BW	'Brides Wanted'
C	Christian/central
CA	chartered accountant

Cambs	Cambridgeshire	**DCM**	Doctor of Chiropractic Medicine
Cal	Calcutta		
CBE	Coimbatore	**Dec**	December
CCPA	Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs	**Del**	Delhi
		deptt	department
CFA	chartered financial analyst	**Derbs.**	Derbyshire
CG	central government	**desgn**	design
Ch	Chennai	**d'ghtr,** *also* **dghtr**	daughter
CHD	Centre for Human Development		
		DGO	Diploma in Gynecology and Obstetrics
Chem	chemistry		
Chesh	Cheshire	**dip**	diploma
cl	clinical	**dir**	director
cl-I, *also* **cl-1**	class one	**dist**	district
		div	divorcee
cltd, *also* **cltrd, cultrd**	cultured	**divn**	division
		DM	Doctor of Management
		DME	Diploma in Metallurgy Engineering/Detroit Mold Engineering
cm	centimetre		
CMC	Computer Maintenance Corporation		
		DNB	Diplomate of the National Board of Medical Examiners
cms	centimetres		
CMU	Carnegie Mellon University		
CNB	caste no bar	**DOB**	date of birth
cntrl	central	**DOC**	doctor
co	country	**DOI**	Department of Insurance
co, *also* **comp**	company	**D Phil**	Doctor of Philosophy
		DTP	desktop publishing
comm	communication	**DU**	Delhi University
comp	computer	**dy**	deputy
cont, *also* **ct**	contact	**E,** *also* **Em**	e-mail
conv	convent	**E Anglia**	East Anglia
corp	corporation	**E B**	East Bengal
CS	company secretary/computer science	**EC**	Engineering Centre
		eco	economics
CSE	Centre for Science and Environment	**eDAST**	electronic Diploma in Advanced Software Technology
CSI	Church of South India		
CTS	Cognizant Technology Solutions	**edctd,** *also* **edcted, edt, edu, edutd**	educated
CU	Calcutta University		
CV	Curriculum Vitae		
DCA	Diploma Programme in Computer Science and Application	**ECE**	Electronics and Communication Engineering
		elec	electricity
d'cent	decent	**ELI**	English lexical item(s)
DCH	Doctor of Clinical Hypnotherapy	**Em**	e-mail

empl, *also* **emply**	employee	**GGN**	Gurgaon
empl	employed	**GIS & RS**	Geospatial Information System and Remote Sensing
endo	endodontics		
Eng	English	**Glos**	Gloucestershire
engg, *also* **engr**	engineer/engineering	**Gr/gr**	Gaur/Greater
		gno	gynecology
engg	engineering	**govt**	government
EPC	engineering, procurement and construction	**grad**	graduate
		GSO	good sense of
e'rly	early	**GSOH**	good sense of humour
ERP	engineering ressource planning	**GW**	'Grooms Wanted'
		H	*The Hindu*
estb, *also* **estd**	established	**(h)**	honours
		h.	high
etc	et cetera	**H1**	H 1 visa
exe, *also* **exec**	executive	**Hamps**	Hampshire
		HDFC Bank	Housing Development Financial Bank, Limited
f, *also* **fathr, f'ther, fthr**	father		
		Herts	Hertfordshire
		hly	highly
		hmly, *also* **homly**	homely
FA	foreign agent		
FC	forward caste/class	**hospt**	hospital
FCA	fellow chartered accountant	**H Sc**	higher science
FCCS	Faculty of Creative and Critical Studies	**HSC**	Higher School Certificate
		HR	human resources
FDA	Food and Drug Administration	**hs**	honours
		HS	high school
Feb	February	**h'som,** *also* **h'some, h.some**	handsome
fig	figure		
fin	finance		
flu	fluent		
fly, *also* **f'mly, fmly**	family	**HSS**	higher secondary school
		I	India
		IAS	Indian Administrative Service
FMS	Faculty of Management Studies	**IBM**	International Business Machines Corporation
frm	from	**IDBI**	Industrial Development Bank of India
ft	feet		
G, *also* **gd**	good	**IDG**	indigenous
gal, *also* **grl**	girl	**IFS**	Indian Foreign Service
		IIFT	Indian Institute of Foreign Trade
Gar	Garhwali		
GATE	Graduate Aptitude Test in Engineering	**IILM**	Institute for Integrated Learning in Management
GB	Gaur Brahmin	**IIM**	Indian Institute of Management
GBP	Great Britain Pound		
gen	general	**i'less**	issueless

ILI	Indian lexical item(s)	**LT GD**	long-term general duty
IISc	Indian Institute of Science	**LTR**	long-term relationship
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology	**m**	million
		M	match/mother/merchant/ month/monthly
inc	incorporation		
Indn	Indian	**MA**	Master of Arts
info	information	**Mancs**	Manchester
INR	Indian Rupee	**math.**	mathematics
ins	inch	**mb,** *also*	mobile
inst	institute	**mob**	
int	international	**MBA**	Master of Business Administration
invt.	investment		
IPS	Indian Police Service	**MBBS**	Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery
ISO	International Organisation for Standardisation		
		MCA	Master of Computer Applications
ISRO	Indian Space Research Organisation		
		M Ch	Master of Chirurgical
IT	information technology	**M Com**	Master of Commerce
iti	information technology integration	**MD**	Doctor of Medicine
		MDS	Master of Dental Surgery
j	judiciary	**mech**	mechanical
jan	January	**med**	medical/medico
JEE	Joint Entrance Examination	**MF**	Mutual Fund
jr	junior	**MG**	*The Milli Gazette*/Magister
JRF	junior research fellowship	**Mglk,** *also*	mangalik
JU	Jadavpur University	**mnglk,**	
k	kilo = 1000	**M'lik**	
KSA	Kwality, Service, Assurance & Co., Ltd	**mgmt,** *also* **mgt,** **mngt**	management
Kay	Kayastha		
KK	Klaignar Karunanidhi	**mgr,** *also*	manager
KKB	Kanyakubj Brahmin	**mngr**	
kmc	key management centre	**MHRM**	Master of Human Resources Management
KV	Kendriya Vidyalaya		
l	lakh = 100,000	**Mids**	Midlands/Midshire
Lancs	Lancashire	**min**	minimum
Ldn	London	**MLLB**	Master of Laws
lect.	lecturer	**M Music**	Master of Music
Leics	Leicestershire	**MNC**	Multinational company
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation of India	**MO**	medical officer
		M Pharma	Master of Pharmacy
lkg, *also*	looking		
l'king, **lkng**		**MRCGP**	Member of the Royal College of General Practitioners
Lko	Lucknow	**MRCS**	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
LLB	Bachelor of Laws		
LLM	Master of Laws	**mrg**	marriage
LPA	lakh per annum	**MS**	Master of Science/Microsoft
ltd	limited	**M Sc**	Master of Science

M'side	Moorside	**Oxon**	Oxonian
MSW	Master of Social Work	**p**	professionally/picture
M Tech	Master of Technology	**pa**	per annum
Mum	Mumbai	**PB**	Punjabi Brahmin
n	option 'neutral' of author-ship/number	**pcs**	permanent change of station
		PCS, *also* **phy**	physics
n.	non		
N, *also* **nrth**	North	**perks**	perquisite
		pers	persuing [sic]
NCFM	National Stock Exchange's Certification in Financial Markets (India)	**p/f**	option 'parents/family' of authorship
		PG	postgraduate
NCR	National Capital Place	**PGDEC**	Post Graduate Diploma in Electronic Commerce
NE	North East		
NET	National Eligibility Test	**PGDM**	Post Graduate Diploma in Management
NIFD	National Institute of Fashion Designing		
		ph	phone
NIIT	National Institute of Infor-mation Technology	**PhD**	Philosphiae Doctor/Doctor of Philosophy
nm	non mangalik	**pics**	pictures
NPTT	Nursery and Primary Tea-cher's Training	**plz**	please
		pm	per month
NRI	non-resident Indian	**PMIR,** *also* **PM & IR**	Personnel Management and Industrial Relations
n/s	non smoker		
NSE	national stock exchange		
NTW	no time wasters	**PNB**	Punjab National Bank
nvr	never	**Pnjbi**	Punjabi
NW	North West	**PQ**	professionally qualified
OBC	Other Backward Class	**PQM**	professionally qualified match
Oct	October		
OED	Oxford English Dictionary	**PQSM**	professionally qualified sui-table match
ofer, *also* **off, offcr, offic'r, off'r, offr, ofr**	officer		
		PR	protestant
		pref	preference
		pref, *also* **preff**	preferred
OHAC	own house and car	**pref,** *also* **prefbly, preff, prefly**	preferably
opth	opthalmology		
ortho	orthopaedics		
Oxon	Oxonian		
p	professionally/picture	**prefs**	preferences
pa	per annum		
PB	Punjabi Brahmin	**prf,** *also* **pro, prof, profnal, profnl, profsnl**	professional(ly)
pcs	permanent change of station		
PCS, *also* **phy**	physics		
OHAC	own house and car	**principl**	principal
opth	opthalmology	**prnts**	parents
ortho	orthopaedics		

pro, *also* **proj**	project	**setld,** *also* **settld, stld**	settled
prof	professor	**sg**	state government
proff, *also* **profnls**	professionals	**Shrops**	Shropshire
		sks	seeks
prsng	pursuing	**SLET**	State Level Eligibility Test
PSU	Public Sector Undertaking	**slry**	salary
pvt	private	**SM**	Sunni Muslim (when used in self-denotation)
Q, *also* **qfd, qlf, qlfd, qulfd**	qualified	**SM**	suitable match (when used in partner-denotation)
QM	qualified match	**SM4**	suitable match for
Raj	Rajasthan/Rajput	**s/o**	security officer
RBU	Rabindra Bharati University	**SPA**	School of Planning and Architecture
RC	Roman Catholic		
RDO	Regional Director of Operations	**SPBL**	Seshasayee Paper & Boards, Limited
relg, *also* **relgious, relgs**	religious	**spk**	speaker
		spkg	speaking
		sq	square
rep, *also* **reptd, rptd**	reputed	**sr**	senior
		Sri, *also* **Sriv**	Srivastava
req	requires	**St**	Saint
req, *also* **reqd, reqrd**	required	**ST**	*The Statesman*/Scheduled Tribe
resp	respected	**Staffs**	Staffordshire
retd.	retired	**stat**	statistics
Rjpt, *also* **R'put**	Rajput	**STL**	settlers
		sts	status
rly	railway	**s/w**	software
RM	resources manager	**SW**	software/South West
Rs	rupees	**SWD**	software development
rspctble	respectable	**Syd**	Sayed
rsptd	respected	**TCE**	Tata Consulting Engineers, Ltd.
s	option 'self' of authorship		
S, *also* **SK, skh**	Sheikh	**TCR**	Tuticorin
		TCS	Tata Consultancy Services
s	Sunni	**teachr**	teacher
S	South	**tech**	technology
sal	salary	**tele**	telecommunication
Sax	Saxena	**tgt**	trained graduate teacher
SBI	State Bank of India	**t/m,** *also* **TM**	Tamil Muslim
SC	science/Scheduled Caste		
Scot	Scotland	**Tml**	Tamil
SE	South East	**TOI**	*The Times of India*
ser	service	**tour**	tourism
Sept	September	**TTA**	telecom technical assistant
		TV	Tamil Vellalar/television

TVM	Tiruvannamalai
txt	text
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UG	undergraduate
UK	United Kingdom
unmrd, *also* **unmrrd**	unmarried
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
UST	United States Technology Resources
v	very
val's	values
veg	vegetarian
VISCOM	visual communication
VP	vice president
w	well
W	West(ern)
W B	West Bengal
WBCS	West Bengal Civil Service
Wilts	Wiltshire
WIPRO	Western India Vegetable Products, Ltd.
WLTM	would like to meet
Worcs	Worcestershire
wkg, *also* **wking, wkng, wrg, wrk, wrkg, wrkng**	working
y, *also* **yrs**	years
yds	yards
Yorks	Yorkshire
yr	year

1 Introduction

The first function that comes to mind when one is contemplating human language is that of communication. Language is used to convey information and to facilitate interaction. However, when language is examined more closely, one finds that there is much more to it. It reveals many things about the speaker, the addressee and the speech situation merely by the way it is used. Furthermore, its cognitive effect must not be underestimated. Language use shows how things and ideas are conceptualised and, thus, reveals differences between people and their conceptualisations. This raises the question why people conceptualise things and use language differently.

One major force that contributes to our conceptualisation is culture. Recently, more and more scholars from different academic fields have pointed out its enormous influence on how we perceive the world and act in it. A keyword here is 'cultural knowledge', which is supposed to be "what one needs to know in order to behave as a functioning member of one's society" (Goodenough 1957: 67). Cultural knowledge as a whole is structured into specific notions about certain things – so-called 'cultural models' (Dirven/Wolf/Polzenhagen 2007: 1204). They play an important role with respect to abstract entities such as values and social institutions. Unlike tangible objects, "institutions such as marriage […] and customs such as dating happen at all because the members of a society presume them to be" (Holland/Quinn 1987: 3), i.e. these institutions do not simply exist as such but are, and mean, different things to people from different cultures. Cultural models thus "have normative properties" (D'Andrade 1992: 34), influence people from childhood on (Quinn 1992: 121) and shape people's wants (Strauss 1992b: 197).

Not only social institutions but also emotions are highly prone to influences from their respective cultures (Dion/Dion 2006: 298). Whereas scholars from the life sciences point at the universality of emotions and their not being dependent on factors such as "age, gender, sexual orientation, or ethnic group" (Fisher 2006: 89), alternative views see emotions such as love as socially constructed (Schmitt 2006: 252) and demand that scholars include the social context when examining them (Dion/Dion 2006: 298). When one assumes that culture has an impact on how emotions are perceived (Hendrick/Hendrick 2006: 158; Lieberman/Hatfield 2006: 275), cultural models can be used to account for people's behaviour and attitudes. Furthermore, they "promise to provide an explanatory basis of linguistic usage" (Dirven/Wolf/Polzenhagen 2007: 1204) since language is one way of expressing emotions. Thus, it is especially profitable to include cultural models into sociolinguistic analyses in order to be able to assess why language is used the way it is.

One area especially prone to influence by cultural models is that of human relationships and marriages. They are not objects equally present in every culture but because of cultural models, different notions and expectations are attached to them. On the one hand, they involve emotions; on the other, they largely depend on the way marriage is construed as a social institution in the respective culture. That cultural models shape not only notions of relationships but also their expression in language becomes especially evident when one compares and contrasts contact advertisements[1] from two different cultures. An in-depth analysis will be especially insightful when two very different cultures are considered that, despite all differences, express themselves in the same language. Thus, problems of translatability are avoided and there is a common data basis. The cultures to be compared use that same language with a certain proficiency – either in a native or at least in a (near-)nativised way. These preconditions are found in the cultures of India and Great Britain, where human relationships can be expected to play a different role in society and are thus conceptualised differently. In how far this becomes evident in the text type in question is the focus of the present thesis.

1.1 Aims and Scope

The main source consists of two linguistic corpora of matrimonials drawn from English-language newspapers – an Indian corpus and a British one. The thesis has two central research tasks – a sociolinguistic analysis of the information given in the matrimonials – i.e. the information about selves, their future partners and the relationship they aim at. The results will then be interpreted, and inferences will be drawn with respect to the cultural models triggering the language use. Gaining a comprehensive picture of the cultural model(s) behind the linguistic data necessitates commenting on differences between genders and generations that probably show in the advertisements as well. Not only ethnicity and nationality determine a culture, but women and men have also been claimed to be members of different (sub)cultures (Maltz/Borker 1998). Since especially in India, gender roles tend to be fixes, marriages are often arranged by the family and thus, several generations are involved in relationships/marriages, this factor must not be neglected.

Apart from detecting differences in language use that are due to different cultural conceptualisations, the present thesis contributes to research on New Englishes since it examines Indian English, which can be seen as a representative of the various postcolonial varieties of English since it has

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[1] Since all contact advertisements analysed for the present thesis contain a view to marriage, they will be labelled 'matrimonials' hereafter.

the highest number of (non-creole) English speakers in the world after the US and UK and, in addition, there are around a further 200 million Indians with some degree of knowledge of English (Jenkins 2003: 132).

Indian English is used as a tool of communication in daily life and has a literary tradition of its own as well. Some writers, such as Salman Rushdie, are famous all over the world. Davies (2005: 53) states that

[w]hat all these 'postcolonial' or 'new' English literatures have in common is that they have appropriated English confidently for their own ends and given it a new and unmistakable distinctiveness.

Indian English can be considered "indigenised lexically and immediately recognisable as a distinctive variety" (2005: 54). Apart from the variety itself being distinctive, there are several text types which are peculiar to Indian English or adopt a special meaning in the Indian context as a result of their cultural background; matrimonials are one example. However, the present thesis does not claim to find *the* Indian and *the* British cultural models of marriage but rather aim at *a* cultural model each to be inferred from the advertisements selected. The theoretical framework for the interpretation is provided by Quinn's 'Cultural Model of American Marriage' (1987).

1.2 Methods and Sources

The main method used is that of a classic sociolinguistic analysis whose results will be interpreted by means of cultural cognitive linguistics. The primary source – the two corpora – consists of 750 advertisements in total, i.e. Indian English-language newspapers – *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*. 150 advertisements were drawn from each newspaper – 75 per gender, i.e. 75 in which a bride is wanted and 75 in which a groom is looked for.

The newspapers chosen differ in terms of history, content and readership and thus, provide a picture of the Indian society that is as coherent as possible. However, it has to be kept in mind that even a near-representation of a society as complex and heterogeneous as the Indian one can never be claimed. While the former two newspapers were founded by British citizens, the latter were founded by Indians. While *The Times of India* is a 'colourful' newspaper that has its focus on lifestyle and entertainment, *The Statesman* is a very serious newspaper with news on politics as its main content. The difference between *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* lies in the religious background of the readers. While *The Hindu* probably has a high percentage of Hindu readers, *The Milli Gazette* calls itself a Muslim newspaper. The political and religious background of the newspapers will be commented on but is not of central importance for the interpretation of the results.

The main focus of the thesis lies on the Indian corpus. The British one is to serve as a basis for comparison and contrast. Thus, and since Indian advertisements are generally shorter than the British ones, the British corpus will be compiled of 150 advertisements from *The Times* (London) – 75 per gender. Drawing on two sets of data from one language is especially profitable because "speaking the same language does not mean using it in the same way" (Larina/Suryanarayan 2010: 1). Since English has expanded all over the globe and is used by people from very different backgrounds, "different cultural models [are now to be found] in one [and the same] language" (Dirven/Wolf/Polzenhagen 2007: 1213). Thus, an analysis of matrimonials from two different varieties of English will not only shed light on different models of relationships and marriages that influence language use but will also provide clues on the role of English in India and the way Indians make use of this formerly colonial and foreign language by now using it for a very culture-specific purpose in a near-nativised way.

Collecting data from newspapers has advantages and disadvantages (cf. e.g. Mukherjee/Hoffmann 2006: 167; Vreede-De Stuers 1969: 103). The advantages are obvious: Matrimonials present authentic language use since they are not as 'artificial' as data gained via questionnaires. Another important advantage is that the writers' backgrounds are not completely unknown despite their remaining anonymous – matrimonials are a mutual exchange of describing oneself and the desired qualities of the partner-to-be. At the same time, this can be problematic since there is no guarantee that all the statements made are correct (Vreede-De Stuers 1969: 103) and that the advertisements are meant seriously. Furthermore, there is the risk that one and the same person publishes several advertisements with varying content. However, these disadvantages may also occur in other types of data and do not prevail over the main advantage, i.e. the one of authentic language use (Bruthiaux 1996: viii).

For the thesis, Quinn's 'Cultural Model of American Marriage' (1987), which will be described in more detail below, is of vital importance. Quinn used data gained from interviews to make inferences about a cultural model of marriage prevalent among Americans. In her study as well as in the present one, conceptual metaphor theory, as pioneered by Lakoff/Johnson (1980), plays an important role. Quinn's model elicited discussions about the interdependence of metaphors and cultural models. Here, the work of Kövecses (2006), Gibbs (1994) and further research by Quinn (Strauss/Quinn 1997, Quinn 1996, 1992, 1991, 1982) is of importance.

1.3 Chapter Outline

After this introductory chapter, matrimonials as a text type will be dealt with in chapter 2. They will be defined and classified linguistically, and their function and structure will be elucidated. Chapter 3 presents the data to be analysed. The first part will give information on English in India – including a short draft of its historical background, its linguistic situation and its contemporary role. The question whether there is one entity to be called 'Indian English' will be dealt with. Furthermore, a short overview of Indian English lexis will be given. Subsequently, the two corpora will be presented. This includes background information on the newspapers the data are drawn from.

Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical framework. After an overview of how linguistic variation can be accounted for and an introduction to conceptual metaphor theory, Quinn's 'Cultural Model of American Marriage' (1987) will be described and explained. Some of the controversies it elicited will be pointed out, e.g. the interdependency of conceptual metaphors and cultural models. Subsequently, the premises for applying Quinn's model will be presented.

Chapter 5 provides the sociolinguistic analysis of the two corpora. After analysing, comparing and contrasting 'length' and 'authorship' of the advertisements, the denotations of self and partner will be analysed. In the Indian corpus, a special focus will be on the question whether the denotations used are Indian lexical items or English ones.[2]

This is followed by an in-depth analysis of the features used in the description of 'self' as well as in that of 'partner'. These include AGE/DATE OF BIRTH (DOB), APPEARANCE, ATTRIBUTES, COMMUNITY, ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION, EDUCATION/PROFESSION, FAMILY BACKGROUND, HABITS, HEIGHT, HOBBIES/INTERESTS, HOROSCOPE, INCOME, LANGUAGE, LOCATION, MARITAL STATUS, NATIONALITY, PETS, PHYSICAL CONDITION, POSSESSIONS, PROFESSION and SKILLS. Subsequently, it will be analysed whether and how REJECTIONS are made, as well as how the REQUEST FOR CONTACT and the search itself are expressed and how THE RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT is described.

Chapter 6 summarises the results of the sociolinguistic analysis by making inferences about the cultural models triggering the particular language use. Furthermore, there will be inferences on how the divergent cultural models can be accounted for. Chapter 7 is the conclusion.

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[2] Chapters 1–3, 5.1–5.6 and 7 have been partly adapted from the author's unpublished Magister thesis *Indian-English Contact Advertisements: A Corpus-based Analysis* (2011).

1.4 Previous Scholarship

Since the project touches on different academic fields, there is considerable literature to be reviewed. However, most of it is only partly relevant. The main topics are World Englishes in general and Indian English in particular, the sociolinguistic analysis of matrimonials, cultural model research and cognitive sociolinguistics.

The massive amount of scholarship on Indian English is only partly profitable for the study of Indian English matrimonials. At the same time, many of the studies on contact advertisements are conducted in a cultural background so different from the present one that their results go into a direction very different from that aimed at here. Owing to the range of the topics and the extensive wealth of previous scholarship, it is not possible to give a complete overview. Nevertheless, attempts will be made by naming and shortly describing some representative works.

Apart from the vast literature on the history of English in India, on the Indian press and on the linguistic situation in India, much of the work on Indian English focuses on its peculiarities. Some of the literature is purely descriptive, e.g. pointing out the differences between Indian and Standard English (Sridhar 1985: 44), especially in the areas of phonology and syntax (e.g. Bhatt 2008, Gargesh 2008). This is often the case in works on World Englishes, where different varieties are described and compared. Many studies have been conducted – either among Indian subjects or with the help of corpora – in order to investigate how certain linguistic features are realised in Indian English, e.g. Y. Kachru (1998), Tinkham (1993) and Valentine (1991). Several studies deal with the subvarieties of Indian English, e.g. Hosali (2005) on Butler English and Coelho (1997) on Anglo-Indian English. Furthermore, work has been done on teaching English and education in India, e.g. by Baral (2006), Chandran (2006) and Mehrotra (2000). Other works elaborate on the role of English in India and the domains in which English is used, e.g. Sridhar (1982) and Parasher (1980). Another field that has attracted some attention is the influence of English on Indian languages; most research has been done on its influence on Hindi, e.g. by Snell (1990) and Chandola (1963). The importance English has gained worldwide is investigated by Nihalani (2008), Gilsdorf (2002), Görlach (1998) and Davies (1989). The so-called 'New Englishes' have also been discussed extensively. One of the most famous contributors is B. Kachru, who published not only on his circle model (1988) but also on theories on the attitudes native speakers have towards those of non-native varieties (1976). Berns (1990) discusses English in non-native contexts by revisiting models of New Englishes. Singh et al. (1995: 283) discuss terms and labelling "regarding the […] 'new/non-native' varieties of English". Another

well-known model is Schneider's 'dynamic model for the description of New Englishes' (2003), which has been applied to India by Mukherjee (2007) and Schilk (2006).

Most of the analyses on contact advertisements focus on the way gender roles are expressed and the features important in partner selection. This is done by Riemann (1999), Gottburgsen (1995), Gern (1992), Koestner/Wheeler (1988), Bolig/Stein/Mckenry (1984), Lynn/Shurgot (1984), Stolt (1976) and Kaupp (1968), who also gives an overview of existing studies, among others, about analyses of Indian advertisements. Berghaus (1987) focuses on the background of the authors of contact advertisements.

Studies that comment on Indian matrimonials from a non-linguistic perspective are Vreede-De Stuers (1969) and Gist (1953/1954). Vreede-De Stuers emphasises the importance of who published the respective advertisement and what qualities are sought. Gist analyses the influence of the changes in mass communication on partner selection and points out the special role of matrimonials. Titzmann (2014) analyses the mediatisation of the Indian online match-making market and the concepts of femininity that these portals convey.

Apart from these studies, the language of matrimonials in India has been investigated by several scholars. Pathak (2005) analyses 100 matrimonials from *The Hindustan Times*, *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* for their distinctive linguistic features, e.g. the use of passives and semantic shifts. Dubey (1991) focuses on lexical peculiarities in Indian English newspapers. He discusses constraints which occur when English is used to convey certain things that are exclusive to Indian culture and analyses different registers in newspapers, among others, matrimonials, in which he measures the frequency of loans. Nair (1992) investigates the grammatical features recurring in matrimonials as well as their content. B. Kachru (1982a) examines certain text types that are of great cultural importance in the New Englishes, e.g. matrimonials and obituaries. He states that in these texts, a considerable deviation from Standard English can be observed. However, according to him, this is justified since English has to be acculturated and nativised in order to be able to express culture-specific objects and ideas. Mehrotra (1975) investigates the registral features peculiar to Indian English matrimonials.

What all these studies lack, however, is an interpretation of their results by means of cultural cognitive linguistics, a field which offers a huge amount of scholarship as well, e.g. Pennycook (2008), who explores the relationship between different varieties of English and transcultural flows. Dirven/Wolf/Polzenhagen (2007) provide an overview of how cognitive linguistics and cultural studies are interrelated. In the anthology *Culture and Cognition* (Holland/Quinn 1987), several studies on cultural knowledge and its

cognitive consequences are collected. Quinn (Strauss/Quinn 1997, Quinn 1996, 1992, 1991, 1987, 1982) as a researcher herself is to be mentioned in particular since her work provides the theoretical framework for the present thesis. Furthermore, the work of G. Lakoff (2006), Kövecses (2006, 1988), Lakoff/Kövecses (1987) and Lakoff/Johnson (1980) is important.

All these studies are similar to the present one and contribute to it in a certain way. However, to date no work has been done combining all these different approaches. Nearest to it is Larina/Suryanarayan (2010), who analyse 'Address Forms in British and Indian English as Reflection of Culture and Cognition', and the study by Dickel Dunn (2004), who applies Quinn's method in a cross-linguistic study of Japanese and American cultural models of marriage.

2 Matrimonials as a Text Type

2.1 Definition and Classification

In the present chapter, matrimonials will be defined linguistically. They are advertisements inserted into media, usually by private individuals – in India either the persons concerned or their parents/families, in other backgrounds usually the people concerned themselves – for the purpose of finding one or several hitherto unknown persons in order to arrange a contact/marriage (Riemann 1999: 38).

Such advertisements have a history of more than 300 years (Riemann 1999: 38), the first advertisements having been published in England on July 19, 1695 by John Houghton (Riemann 1999: 39; Kaupp 1968: 9). In the beginning, people were quite suspicious of these advertisements (Kaupp 1968: 9) but since the late 18th century, matrimonials have been published in several large European newspapers (Gottburgsen 1995: 262). In India, "[m]arriage advertisements appeared in newspapers and periodicals in large numbers and on a regular basis from the early years of the twentieth century" (Majumdar 2009: 25). Only in the 20th century did contact advertisements emerge in which other forms of relationships were looked for (Riemann 1999: 38). In India, this stage has not been reached yet, at least not in the newspapers examined in the present thesis.

Matrimonials are usually published within the category of classified advertisements. Vestergaard and Schrøder (1995: 3) summarise the characteristics of such advertisements by stating that they "will be read only by readers with special interest […] [and] the advertiser is normally […] [a] private individual who will have drafted it himself [sic]". Raevskij (1997: 26) finds that classified advertisements are texts that demand a certain action and a certain behaviour from the readers. Furthermore, matrimonials are monologic, written and not spontaneous (1997: 26).

When these advertisements are part of a linguistic analysis, the question arises how they should be classified and whether they can be labelled a particular text type. Scholars' opinions diverge on this question. According to Raevskij (1997: 23/24), all classified advertisements should be treated as one text type, with further specifications being necessary since classified advertisements are characterised by their vast heterogeneity. Suter (1993: 3) introduces the notion of 'traditional' text types, which are

> conventional linguistic text formats that are recognised, accepted and often given names as integral elements of ordinary language behaviour in a given speech community. They are used as standardised models of text production and reception for specific, recurrent communicative purposes.

According to this definition, a matrimonial advertisement can be seen as belonging to this traditional text type. Ljung (2000: 131/132) notes that matrimonials and other categories

> are often referred to as 'genres'. Just what constitutes a genre is unclear, but there seems to exist an intuitive definition to the effect that genres are groupings of texts which display some kind of similarity, be it linguistic, functional, or other.

Others, like Gottburgsen (1995), call matrimonials an individual text type (i.e. 'Textsorte') as well. Nair (1992) ranks them as a subgenre of *newspaper/magazine*. In the present thesis, the former point of view will be upheld, and matrimonials will be treated as one separate text type. The focus is neither on the whole branch of newspaper language nor on classified advertisements but only on matrimonials. Moreover, in view of their social importance, especially in India, and their linguistic peculiarities it would not do justice to regard these advertisements as a mere subtype.

2.2 Function

Stolt (1976: 27) defines the function of a matrimonial as a text that is not to render information in the first place but to create a personal contact. Gottburgsen (1995: 266) also states that all information, e.g. description of self and partner, support the appeal function and thus, the content plays a minor role only. In India, this appeal function is accompanied by a certain urgency. In many cases, marriages are neither a voluntary nor an individual issue. The pressure to find an acceptable partner and get married within a short period of time is high and imposed by the family and by society.

While Western contact advertisements often do not aim at marriage at all, the advertisements chosen for the present thesis all contain a view to marriage. However, the British advertisements can probably be considered successful if the person placing the advertisement finds a promising partner. In the Indian context, nothing but marriage is acceptable as an outcome of the advertisement. The emotional expectation may not be as high as in the Western context since love is not necessarily a precondition for marriage but factors such as community, ethnicity, language, status and family background play a far more important role than elsewhere.

Stolt (1976: 27) mentions the importance that (1) the 'right' reader reads the text – which is preconditioned in the choice of the newspaper the advertisement is placed in, (2) that the reader feels attracted and (3) that there is an answer. With regard to the Indian newspapers investigated, the fact that the advertisements are written in English already narrows the range of possible partners. They often do not only aim at reaching one person, preferably one's soulmate, as may often be the ideal behind Western contact advertisements, but the idea is that as many partners as possible respond out of whom

the most suitable one will be chosen. This is shown by the fact that many Indian advertisers use the plural form when referring to the partner, e.g.

SBW3[3] E.B. KAYASTHA, 30+ /5'-6", Kashyap, Diploma in Mechanical Engineering, ERP professional, working in Merino Service Ltd., Rs. 4 lakh (P.A.), mother present, handsome. Fair, beautiful, Brahmin / Baidya / Kayastha within 26 yrs. brides required. Ph.: █████████████

Furthermore, the verbs *to apply* and *to prefer*, which are normally used in the register of profession, appear in several advertisements, e.g.

HBW39 SINGAPORE TAMIL Muslim, Handsome/ Tall/ 28/B.Com, Own Business seeks bride Graduate/ Tall/ Fair/ Beautiful girl age 22-25 from very decent Tamil Muslim family preferably Chennai/ Overseas resident. Apply with Photo preferred. E-Mail: █████████████

and

HBW28 EZHAVA BOY 34, 155, IT Field seeks alliance. Those who learned Classical Music preffered [sic][4]. Ph████████

The British advertisements mostly address one person only, as in

GBMSW31
●**Tall, slim, active male,** 43, enjoys the arts and has many interests, seeks lovely, witty, sophisticated lady, for LTR. W Mids/ anywhere. Call ████████Voicebox ████Txt Available   .

Sometimes, the reader is addressed directly with a second person pronoun as in

GBWSM46
●**Looking out for love as the song goes!** Reliable, 51, hoping that I'll finally find my Lancelot after years of searching, I'm sure he's out there, we just keep missing each other. Could it be you? Ldn. Call ██████ ████ Voicebox ████   .

Stolt (1976: 27) distinguishes between a primary and a secondary meaning. She gives the example of someone telling that she/he likes to read books by sophisticated authors,

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[3] The names of the advertisements indicate the newspaper they were taken from as well as the gender of the partner sought (GB = *The Times* (London), H = *The Hindu*, MG = *The Milli Gazette*, S = *The Statesman*, TOI = *The Times of India*; BW = 'Brides Wanted', GW = 'Grooms Wanted', MSW = 'Men Seeking Women', WSM = 'Women Seeking Men').

[4] All advertisements are rendered in the original form. Thus, any mistakes are taken over and *[sic]* will only be used to indicate spelling mistakes in reference works and not in the advertisements.

which may have the secondary meaning of showing that she/he is intelligent (1976: 27). This is partly true for the advertisements concerned. Most of the statements, especially those concerning the description of the future partner in the Indian corpus, are meant the way they are written, e.g. *except SC/ST* as in

SGW19 W.B., TILI, 24+ / 5'-4", MBBS (now Internee), fair, chandrarishi, father (Doctor), parents present, only child, well-to-do, well-established grooms required within 28 - 30 yrs. P.G. Dr. / pursuing P.G. Dr. Ph.: ███████████████ Except SC / ST. ████

This literally means that people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes[5] will not be taken into consideration as partners-to-be. Some secondary meanings can be found in the self-descriptions. On the one hand, the authors of the Indian matrimonials try to present themselves in a favourable way by giving certain pieces of information about themselves, e.g. about their professional background as in

HBW3 NON RELIGIOUS Keralite Engineer, 40, B-Tech, MBA, willing to relocate, religion / language no bar. █████████████

and

HBW57 RC VANNIYAR 32/174 fair B.Sc,MCA, 6LPA,Coimbatore Seeks any Graduate Fair,Slim 26-29yrs Bride.██████████

This is to attract possible partners and to show that money is not a problem as the income is comparably high (*6 LPA*[6]). In some advertisements, people are very direct and do not bother to hide something behind a secondary meaning as the following example shows

MGBW52

KHAN well settled M.S.W 30/5'8" fair own showroom & big house edu status family seeks homely 24-28 yrs girl. Pref Lucknow for Early marriage. Call: ████████

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[5] *Scheduled caste/tribe* (SC/ST) is a term officially used to designate the castes formerly known as depressed. Most of them are found in Hinduism and are called *untouchables*. They are also found among Christians (cf. *RC Christian SC*). The term was coined by the government; it implies that the castes are recorded on a list. In the public service and in education all those mentioned on the list of scheduled castes and tribes profit from reservation quota that were introduced in order to guarantee access to education and job opportunities to improve their economic situation (*OED Online*. September 2013. Oxford University Press. 14 October 2013, *s.v.* 'scheduled, *adj.*').

[6] 'Six lakh per annum'. A *lakh* is an Indian measuring unit, meaning 100,000 (*OED Online*. September 2013. Oxford University Press. 14 October 2013, *s.v.* 'lakh, n.')

This groom points out his 'advantages', e.g. *big house* and *edu status family*. On the other hand, some information given may also serve the function of narrowing the range of possible respondents. By giving one's background, e.g. community or place, one implies that the future partner is to have a similar background, as the following advertisement shows:

HGW53 NADAR GIRL, 23/161cms, Very Fair, BE{ECE}, Bank Officer " SBI ". Contact : ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

This advertisement is completely devoid of any information about the partner. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the groom is to be a Nadar[7] and that he should have a similar educational (*BE*) and professional (*Bank Officer*) background.

The man seeking a woman in GBMSW1 gives much information about himself; the advertisement contains primary as well as secondary meanings.

GBMSW1

Geologist, courteous, passionate, faithful, 57, blue eyes, fair hair, 5'11, rugged, D.Phil, loves adventure, history, laughing, seeks exceptional lady, 48-57, slim, 5'5+, to adore permanently. SW. Call ▮▮▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

The fact that he is a *geologist* conveys his PROFESSION as a primary meaning. At the same time it implies that he is an academic, which is further emphasised by *D.Phil*, and probably that he is, as a secondary meaning, earning well. By telling that he *loves adventure,* […] *laughing*, he says what he likes to do in his leisure time and he also presents himself as an interesting person with a sense of humour.

2.3 Structure

According to Stolt (1976: 28), the basic structure of a matrimonial advertisement is as follows

(1) (a) self-denotation
    (b) self-description
(2) view to marriage
(3) (a) partner-denotation
    (b) partner-description.

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[7] A Hindu community.

This scheme fits the advertisements chosen for the present thesis very well. (1) is mentioned in all advertisements, with varying degrees of information given for (1b). (2) is often not mentioned at all, especially in the Indian corpus, as in

TOIBW71

SUNNI MNC Engr boy fair 23/5'10" MNC Delhi based Status family. Seeks b'ful fair English speaking cultrd girl from status family ▮▮▮▮▮ .

This is due to the fact that all advertisements are published under the heading 'Matrimonials', which clarifies the intentions behind them in advance. British contact advertisements do not always include marriage as the goal. For the present thesis, however, only advertisements in which a view to marriage is evident were chosen, e.g.

GBWSM14

⬤A beautiful, cultured, vivacious, early 50s, stylish, intelligent, adores foreign films, theatre, classical music and travel, WLTM thoughtful, kind, solvent professional male, with similar eclectic tastes, for committed LTR. Ldn. Call ▮▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮ .

In GBWSM14, the key words indicating a view to marriage are *committed* and *LTR* ('long-term relationship'). Thus, all advertisements in the British corpus contain (2). (3) is not mentioned in every advertisement, as exemplified by HGW53 above, (3b) being omitted more often than (3a). This is most frequently the case in those advertisements in which brides are looking for grooms. Thus, women like to be 'found' by men rather than vice versa. However, since the background of Indian match-making does not usually end to be 'romantic', the information given for (1b) may serve to narrow the range of possible partners sufficiently, and no further space is needed. The variation within these three points is very little.

charactertistic	example	characteristic	example
AGE/DOB	*25*	HOROSCOPE	*Manglik*
APPEARANCE	*fair*	INCOME	*6 LPA*
ATTRIBUTES	*romantic*	LANGUAGE	*Urdu speaking*
COMMUNITY	*Brahmin*	LOCATION	*Sussex*
ECONOMIC STATUS	*well settled*	MARITAL STATUS	*divorced*
EDUCATION	*MBA*	NATIONALITY	*Englishman*
EDUCATION/PROFESSION	*engineer*	PETS	*dog owner*
FAMILY BACKGROUND	*parents deceased*	PHYSICAL CONDITION	*healthy*
HABITS	*teetotaller*	POSSESSIONS	*own flat*
HEIGHT	*5'10''*	PROFESSION	*businessman*
HOBBIES/INTERESTS	*likes reading*	SKILLS	*knows stitching*

Figure 1: Features used in self- and partner-denotation

(1b) and (3b) can be narrowed down to the features above (cf. Figure 1). Further points that may be mentioned in matrimonials but are not part of the basic structure are (1976: 29/30):

- EXPLICIT APPEAL, e.g. *wanted* or *needed* as in

SGW31 GROOM wanted Sunni Muslim Doctor, MD, MS, working in India or abroad, max. age 31 yrs. must be from cultured family, bride fair, very nice, good-looking, MBBS from Vinayaka Mission Medical College, Pondicherry, 26 yrs. / 5'-2". Contact very soon. Ph.: ▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆

and

GBMSW17

- REJECTION, e.g. *except SC/ST* or *NTW* ('no time wasters') as in

SBW27 W.B., TILI, 28 / 5'-7", M.Sc. in Physics, MBA in marketing 'A' topper throughout the academic career, working in UBI as Asst. Manager, Rs. 25,000, Shandi-lyo, father working, parents present, own house well to do. Min. honours graduate, dev / devarigon (except SC / ST) bride wanted. Caste no bar. Ph.: ▆▆▆▆▆▆▆▆

or

GBWSM45

True companion, 40s, law lecturer, curvy, classy, very warm and bubbly, loves meeting people, travel, theatre, movies and music, especially Motown, WLTM nice, white gentleman for LTR. NTW please. N Ldn. Call ███████ Voicebox ███ .

- REQUEST FOR CONTACT, e.g. *send B/P* or *please get in touch* as in

MGBW24

SUNNI Ansari highly reputed West UP based family seeks fair, beautiful, religious, convent educated homely girl for their only Son 24/5'3" BBA from USA, well settled running own export business. Send B/P to ████████████

or

GBMSW28

Are you a slim, petite and fun woman? If you are looking for an active, outdoors, educated, generous, professional man, mid 60s, for a caring, loving and considerate LTR, please get in touch. Ldn. Call ████ ██████ Voicebox ████ .

Matrimonials from India differ from other matrimonials in their complete lack of individuality and personal style. Stolt (1976: 3) defines this as deviating from the style common in these advertisements. In the Western context, publishing an advertisement can be assumed to be the decision of the person concerned; this is not the case in India. Thus, any form of personal style, e.g. irony and wit, are risky since they might not be understood the way they are meant. Therefore, nobody dares to experiment with form and style, e.g. by using pseudonyms to denote onself and the partner like in the following British example:

GBWSM8

Aphrodite awaiting Adonis, stunning, unique, faithful, genuine single black female, seeking a respectable, sincere and trustworthy white male, 40-49, for socialising and friendship, leading to LTR. Ldn area only. Call ████████ Voicebox ███

Unlike GBWSM8, the Indian advertisements all look quite alike, as HBW15 and HBW16 show

HBW15 MADHWA KANNADA Bharadwaja 28 MCA Thiruvonam MNC USA seeks employed girl. Ct: ████████████████

HBW16 MADHWA KANNADA Aaruvelu Maham Kashyapa handsome issueless Widower June 1971/172 London seeks graduate 31 Plus from Madhwa Kannada & De-sistha only. Biodata/ Horoscope: Box ███████████████████████

This similarity holds not only for their print image but also for the linguistic features made use of. As investigated in the literature, the advertisements share certain registral features, e.g. deletion of prepositions (Mehrotra 1975: 10) and omission of third person singular *–s*. Furthermore, there is variation in the spelling of Indian lexical items. The abbreviations used are always the same ones as well, a statement which also holds for the British corpus. Thus, finding a partner with the help of matrimonials seems to be a 'game' whose rules everyone in the respective society knows.

3 The Data

3.1 Background Information on English in India

3.1.1 The History of English in India

English has had a long and complex history in India, with many different events and processes leading up to the present situation. Scholars argue about what date to determine as the birth of Indian English. Ferguson (1996: 31) mentions 31 December 1600 when Queen Elizabeth I. granted a trading monopoly to London merchants in India who "formed the East India Company" (Mesthrie 2008: 24). However, his view has been criticised. Lange (2008: 117–118) warns that one has to be careful when conflating the beginnings of British trading in India with the beginnings of Indian English. She points out that in the beginning, there were only few English merchants in India; moreover, they often died of tropical diseases. Thus, their impact cannot have been large. In her opinion, the establishment of English was achieved with the consolidation of British colonial rule (2008: 117–118), which followed only later. The establishment of missionaries in order to convert Indians to the Christian belief (Ebeling 2006: 58), occurring simultaneously with the extension of trading, was another important factor. Thus, as well as for reasons related to trade (Mukherjee 2007: 164), the interaction of the British with the indigenous people grew. In 1773, the Regulating Act transformed the East India Company "into a British administrative body [with the East India Bill of 1784 passing] the control of the East India Company from the British Parliament to Her Majesty's government" (2007: 164).

This interaction increased even more when Indians, especially Sikhs, began to join the British army (2007: 162). The increasing language contact of the two strands, as Schneider (2003) calls them[8], became evident in the lexis first. The British had to borrow words for objects and ideas that were unfamiliar to them, e.g. *bamboo* and *curry*. However, this did not imply a transformation of English as a whole. Mukherjee (2007: 165) emphasises that "despite the influx of Indianisms in the English language in India, the standards and norms of the English language in general […] remained British". In the early 19th century, a debate between the so-called 'Anglicists' and 'Orientalists' emerged on how to organise education in India. While the former considered English as more valuable and superior to the local languages, the latter preferred native languages as a medium of education. The Anglicists with their spokesman Thomas Macaulay prevailed (Sedlatschek 2009: 13; Mukherjee 2007: 165). Macaulay's famous *Minute on*

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[8] In his dynamic model, Schneider (2003: 242) proposes to label the speech community of the colonisers the strand of the settlers and the one of the colonised the strand of the indigenous people.

Indian Education, launched on 02 Feburary 1835, is widely regarded as one of the most important factors contributing to the establishment of English in India (Ferguson 1996: 31). He claimed the supremacy of English over indigenous Indian languages in education. Macaulay assumed that Western culture was superior to the Indian one and therefore there was no alternative to English education. These reasons remain controversial to this very day, especially his statement that "I have never found one […] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (Macaulay cited in Thirumalai 2003[9]). His demands were fulfilled and an "English-medium school system was established" (Mukherjee 2007: 165). Besides, in 1857, the first universities were founded in Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai, which marked "an important milestone towards the implementation of English" (Ebeling 2006: 58). From the middle of the 19th century onwards, more upper-class Indians started to learn English. Mukherjee (2007: 167) points out:

> It is in this period that the English language in India […] began to change slowly but gradually toward a variety in its own right, marked not only by heavy lexical borrowing but also by phraseological and grammatical innovations […] and phonological changes […]: thus, the late nineteenth century marks the beginning of the evolution of "educated" Indian English.

Finally, in 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed "Empress of India" (2007: 166), which tied India to Britain even more strongly, especially on a symbolical level. Around that time, several works containing lists of Anglo-Indian words, e.g *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (1886) and Whitworth's *Anlgo-Indian Dictionary* (1865) were first published.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Mahatma Gandhi entered the political scene. Not only did he oppose English as a medium of education, he also attacked the imitation of a British system (Gandhi Vol. 24, 1921: 155[10]). However, when the former colony gained independence on 15 August 1947 and emerged as the Republic of India, this did not end the influence of English. The speech that Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, delivered was in English (Great Speeches of the 20th Century[11]) and so was the Constitution (India Code Legislative Department)[12], which attaches a high symbolic value to English.

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[9] Thirumalai, M. S. 2003. "Lord Macaulay: The Man who Started it all, and his Minute". *Language in India*, Vol. 3. 2003. 10 October 2010.
<http://www.languageinindia.com/april2003/macaulay.html>.
[10] *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. 1884–1948, 100 Vols*. Gandhi Serve Foundation, Mahatma Gandhi Research and Media Service. 08 October 2010. <http://www.gandhiserve.org/cwmg/cwmg.htm>.
[11] Great Speeches of the 20th Century: Jawaharlal Nehru, A Tryst with Destiny. *The Guardian*.
14 January 2014. <www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/may/01/greatspeeches>.
[12] India Code Legislative Department. 2008. *Constitution of India*. 11 October 2010.
<http://lawmin.nic.in/coi/coiason29july08.pdf>.

Since then, many political slogans and speeches have been delivered in English. This might be due to the fact that India had never been a united country before the advent of the British. Prior to the British Raj, India consisted of several autonomous states with different languages; only the colonisers transformed it into one state. Despite the unifying nature of English, several attempts were made to replace it with an Indian language. In 1950, a 15-year-time-limit in which to replace English with Hindi was set up in the Constitution. However, various protests emerged, especially in the South, where people with native languages other than Hindi feared to have a disadvantage. Furthermore, in South India, languages of the Dravidian family dominated as compared to the Indo-Aryan languages of the North. In 1963, the government realised that Hindi could not be the only national language. Therefore, 15 languages – meanwhile the number has grown to 22 – were recognised constitutionally as official languages[13], while English has remained the co-official language. The role and popularity of English is controversial, and feelings towards it are mixed. Ebeling (2006: 58/59) summarises the present situation as follows:

> [English has become] India's *other tongue* [italics in the original], a language used for quite different purposes. From time to time, hostility towards English has been demonstrated from the Hindi-dominated north of the Union. In the south, however, the role and the importance of English have been increasingly recognised and supported. Today, English is even regarded as an important unifying factor between the Indo-European North and the Dravidian South […].

3.1.2 The Linguistic Situation and the Contemporary Role of English in India

The present-day linguistic situation in India is very complex. Four major language families can be identified: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burmese and Austro-Asiatic (Amritavalli/Jayaseelan 2005: 57). The precise number of languages is controversial because it is unclear what can be labelled a 'proper' language and what remains a mere dialect. The Census of 2001[14] mentions "122 languages and 234 mother tongues". In order to gain control over the large variety of languages, the *Three Language Formula* was adopted by the Conference of State Chief Ministers in 1961; it states that all schoolchildren should learn their mother tongue, English and Hindi. If Hindi is their mother tongue, another major Indian language should be learnt (2005: 76). This formula and the fact that India has not succeeded in abolishing English and replacing it with an Indian language is responsible for multilingualism. In 1991[15], 19.44% of the population were bilingual (2005: 79), a figure that is likely to have increased. There is no single

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[13] These languages have more than one million native speakers each.
[14] Government of India. 2001. *Census of India*. 20 September 2010.
  <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement1.htm>.
  At the point of research, newer figures were not available.
[15] At the point of research, newer figures were not available.

linguistically homogeneous place in India. This makes English especially important since – after independence – it is a 'neutral' language and does not have the problem that all Indian languages face. It is a foreign language to everyone, brought to India by foreigners from abroad. Thus, it does not have the cultural connotations of the native languages. It is not associated with a particular ethnic group, religion, location or caste, but used as a lingua franca (Ramanathan 2008: 113) for pan-Indian and cross-linguistic communication as well as in "national and state-level administration, in the mass media, and in inter-regional trade, commerce, higher education, academic exchange, tourism and other activities" (Sridhar 1989: 16). In Indian bilingualism, English plays a major role. Furthermore, the Census of 2001 lists 226,449 people who claimed to have English as their mother tongue (Census of India 2001).

3.1.3 What is 'Indian English'?

Mehrotra (1998: 15) defines Indian English as "a non-native variety of English used in India". However, this definition is not as unproblematic as it may seem. Already B. Kachru (1983: 60) states that a term like 'Indian English' never implies complete homogeneity as there are differences in the use of language, the proficiency of its speakers, the substrate influences and so on. This is further complicated by the fact that the Indian society is extremely heterogeneous.

The view expressed in Mehrotra's definition is that Indian English is a variety of its own. According to Matthews (2005: 426), a variety is defined as

> [a]ny form of a language seen as systematically distinct from others: thus the dialect of a specific place […], any more general form distinguished as a whole by speakers (e.g. American English or British English), a social dialect, one of the forms distinguished in diglossia, a dialect used in a specific genre of literature, and so on.

This definition holds for Indian English.

Since the academic interest in World and postcolonial Englishes has been growing, discussions have emerged on how to label varieties like Indian English (e.g. Singh et al. 1995). Often they are distinguished on the basis of whether they are native or non-native. This, however, might pose problems, as D'Souza (2001: 242) illustrates:

> The problem arises from the fact that it is not easy to say what exactly the term 'non-native' means. Does it mean that English is 'non-native' to India? If so, then strictly speaking English is not 'native' to America or to Australia either, yet English in these contexts is not looked on as non-native. […] Do we instead mean that English is not the native language of the speakers of English in the NVE [New Varieties of English] contexts? But English is the native language of a small (but growing) section of the population and there are a considerably larger number of people who learn English along with another language right from childhood. We have therefore to ask ourselves what exactly we mean by a 'native speaker' of English?

In the Indian context, a distinction between native and non-native speakers can only be made on the individual level. The variety as a whole cannot be labelled on that basis. There are many people who are bi-, or even multilingual since they acquired more than one language simultaneously. Some people grow up with only one mother tongue but move to another place and therefore have to learn another language. Furthermore, there are people who grow up with one mother tongue but become proficient in another language and use it so often, e.g. at work, that they find it convenient to use in almost all domains. This is often the case with English, one reason being the Latin script, which is more widely read than, e.g., Devanagari, in which Hindi is written[16]. A clear-cut distinction between people who have English as their mother tongue and those who use it as an additional language does not exist anymore. In order to rank varieties like Indian English better, Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006) have introduced the concepts 'range' and 'depth'. Range "refers to all functions which English has in a given community context […]. [It] also comprises the shifting of varieties across or within a speech event", while depth "refers to the uses of English that are available to people with varying degrees of education who are at different socio-economic levels, with different jobs and professions" (2006: 29). These concepts allow a more flexible perspective without strict boundaries between either complete proficiency in all domains or none at all.

A question often raised, especially by native speakers of English from the so-called inner circle, is whether Indian English is still English. English in India often does not rely on the rules of 'Standard English' anymore. Indians, however, do not seem to consider this a problem. They may recognise that their English is different from the English spoken and written in Great Britain but they do not seem to care. Rather, one could ask why they should even take a foreign standard for granted and adopt it and who defines the standard. D'Souza (2001: 244) states that

> [w]hen the 'standard of English' is talked about it is taken for granted that the standard is that of British English. But why should this be so? English in India is acquired by Indians from other Indians, the teachers are Indian, and the textbooks are Indian. The language is not a foreign language, so how can the question of a foreign standard arise in the first place?

Among other varieties of English, Indian English is called a New Variety of English. What all varieties labelled thus have in common is their colonial past and the fact that English has remained in their respective countries

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[16] Devanagari is used in few other South Asian languages, e.g. Sanskrit and Nepali (*OED Online*. September 2013. Oxford UniversityPress. 14 October 2013, *s.v.* 'Devanagari, *n.* and *adj.*")

to become more than a second language though not really a first (at least not for the majority of the population). English in these ex-colonial contexts took on certain characteristics that seem to justify the study of these varieties as phenomena different from those in all other contexts in which English is spoken (2001: 241).

A term that cannot be neglected in this context is 'nativisation'. Recently, this concept

has attracted particular attention because it is a concept that bridges the gap between the norm-producing inner circle and the norm-developing outer circle and because it has helped to establish New Englishes as full-fledged varieties besides the native varieties of English in the British Isles, North America, South Africa, and the Pacific Rim (Mukherjee 2007: 160).

One of the preconditions that facilitated the nativisation of English in India is that almost all originally native speakers, i.e. British colonisers, left India in 1947 (Mehrotra 1998: 17), which was not the case equally drastically in other former colonies such as the United States of America. Furthermore, Labru (1984: 11) points out that other Englishes, such as Australian English, eclipsed the languages of the indigenous people whereas "Indian English has not spread at the cost of other Indian languages. [It] […] exemplifies what may be called a complementary second language".

Matthews (2005: 258) defines a nativised language as one "that has become native in a community". This definition again draws upon the native-non-native dichotomy. One may bypass this labelling by stating that the process of nativisation in India is a two-way-road: On the one hand, English is 'indianised' whereas on the other it 'englishises' the Indian languages (B. Kachru 1978: 13). Nativisation manifests itself in all parts of language, i.e. sound system, rhythmic patterns, vocabulary, sentence structure and use, conventions of speaking and writing (Y. Kachru/Nelson 2006: 31). It can be traced most obviously in the lexis (Platt 1989: 400). A discussion of the nativisation of English in India often comes up in an analysis of literary genres, e.g. it has been debated whether Indian authors such as Arundhati Roy should write in English or an Indian language. However, non-literary texts are not often regarded as nativised (Bhatia 1996: 158) or rather the research has not been sufficient yet.

The process of nativisation can be examined very well in the matrimonial (Y. Kachru/Nelson 2006: 32). The striking point is that the context is very indigenous, i.e. specific to Indian culture whereas, at the same time, English is used as a (formerly) foreign language.

For many Indians, this does not seem to be a contradiction. The 'foreignness' of English in relation to the cultural background is overcome by introducing loan lexical items from Indian languages or semantic shifts (Sridhar 1985: 50). The reasons for people to use English instead of an Indian language can be manifold: Perhaps the writers of the advertisements have English as their mother tongue or they are more comfortable in

English than in an Indian language. Furthermore, the knowledge of English is often a desirable characteristic of a future partner. Thus, by advertising in English, only respondents speaking English are apt to reply. Moreover, English stands for a modern way of life, and people may use it to represent themselves as modern people. B. Kachru (2005: 25) sees English "as a nativized medium for articulating local identities within and across Asia", which is part of the functional nativeness English has acquired there.

To conclude this section, there is no such notion as *one* 'Indian English'. Proficiency and usage vary from speaker to speaker. However, it is to be regarded as a distinct variety that – because of its nativisation – is used like an Indian language expressing Indian identities.

3.1.4 Indian English Lexis

The lexis of a New English variety like Indian English in general and the lexis of Indian English matrimonials in particular is noteworthy. Lexis is the part of language most important in an anylsis of condensed text types like advertisements. Nair (1992: 245) points out that

> [m]uch of the vocabulary in an Indian matrimonial column is highly specialized and distinguishes the genre as an independent discourse type, designed to perpetuate a particular format for gender descriptions.

Apart from again highlighting the importance of matrimonials as a special text type, this quotation draws attention to the peculiar nature of the Indian English vocabulary. Beside those lexical items that are used in other varieties of English as well, it is especially recognised for "those items that have not made it into" other varieties (Sailaja 2009: 72), i.e. not only all those lexical items originating in Indian languages, most often Hindi, but also English lexical items that are used with a peculiar meaning or in a peculiar way (B. Kachru 1983: 180).

3.1.4.1 English Lexical Items

To begin with, the English lexical items whose meaning or form is distinct in Indian English shall be considered. B. Kachru identifies four types. First, there are lexical items whose meanings have undergone either a semantic restriction or extension. An example of the former is the noun *congress* as it is the name of the leading Indian political party. When a text says *the Congress*, usually the 'Indian National Congress Party' is meant, and it is clear that no other form of congress or – as in the case of the US – one house of Parliament is referred to. This type can also be found among the Indian lexical items. An example is *satyagraha* ('sticking to truth'), which is mainly used in

political contexts and associated with Gandhi and his movement. The original form in Hindi (derived from a Sanskrit word), however, was not restricted to any particular context (Kachru 1983: 181).

The second type is register shift, i.e. English lexical items are used "in typically nativized registers" (1983: 182) and thus undergo a "'contextual redefinition' in the […] context of India" (1983: 83). Examples are *intermarriage* and *interdine* (1983: 83), which relate to the regulations of the community-system and imply that these boundaries are overcome. Thus, they signify marriage and dining between communities. It is often challenging to identify this type at first glance since the boundaries between a common core usage compared to one with a highly cultural connotation are rarely clear-cut. However, this type is most prevalent in Indian matrimonials. The third type, archaism, consists of lexical items that have not survived in other varieties of English but have been preserved in Indian English (1983: 83).

Kachru's last type consists of non-native innovations, e.g. loan-shifts or loan-blends, such as *cousin-sister* 'female cousin' (1983: 182). Hickey (2004: 546) furthermore identifies other lexical items that originate in English but derive from morphological processes and whose use is distinctly Indian English. Examples are *unemployee* 'unemployed person', derived from *employee*, and *baggages* as the plural of *baggage* (2004: 546).

3.1.4.2 Indian Lexical Items

The Indian lexical items can also be divided further. First there are 'single items', which B. Kachru (1983: 152) defines as the mere "transfer of South Asian lexical items into South Asian English". There are two types: those lexical "items which have become part of the lexical stock of the English language and are used both in British and American English" and those "which have not necessarily been included in the lexicons of the native varieties of English, but have high frequency in various registers of South Asian English" (1983: 152). The former type prevails among food items such as *tikka masala*, referring to a dish with cooked spices (OED, *s.v.* 'tikka masala') whereas lexical items referring specifically to Indian culture and its practices, such as *sati* 'burning of widows' are often unknown in other varieties.

Besides single items, there are 'hybridised items', i.e. "lexical item[s] which comprise […] two or more elements, at least one of which is from a South Asian language and one from English" (1983: 153). There are four subtypes. Firstly, there are hybrid collocations which are composed of at least two languages, e.g. *satyagraha movement* 'Gandhi's movement of peaceful opposition'. Secondly, there are hybrid lexical sets which

consist of lexical items that occur only in a special context in Indian English, while this was not the case in their original language. An example is *Mahatma* 'the enlightened', now mainly associated with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The third type consists of hybrid ordered series of lexical items. Its members belong to one or more registers and share at least one element, e.g. the names of days in Hindi that always carry the element *var* 'day'. The last type is hybrid reduplication, which implies that two lexical items from different languages but with identical meanings co-occur, e.g. *lathi-stick* 'stick'. In the hybrid form, the Indian lexical item can either take the position of the head, as in *British sarkar* 'British government' or of the modifier, as in *ghee fried* 'fried in butter' (Kachru 1983: 154–158).

An analysis of which types of lexial items – English or Indian – are used more often in the Indian advertisements promises to be insightful, especially with respect to which type is used for what kind of information. However, a complete anylsis of the whole Indian corpus entirely focusing on this dichotomy would go beyond the scope of the present thesis. Thus, it will only play a role in the analysis of the self- and partner-denotations.

3.2 The Indian Corpus

3.2.1 Composition
There are many ways of searching and finding a possible partner. Advertisements in newspapers can be published directly or via agencies, e.g. Bharat Matrimony[17]. The authors of the advertisements in newspapers probably consider it helpful to publish print advertisements since the people who see, and respond to, their advertisements most certainly read the respective newspaper.

As referred to above, the Indian corpus comprises 600 matrimonials drawn from four English-language newspapers, i.e. *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*. From each newspaper, 150 matrimonials were selected – 75 in which a bride is looked for and 75 aiming at finding a groom. These four newspapers were selected in view of representing different spheres of the English-speaking Indian society. They vary in their history and readership. On the one hand, there is the distinction between British-founded and Indian-founded. Nair (1992: 233) claims that the British founded newspapers still show an "association with the elite colonial tongue" English. They differ in style and content. While *The Times of India* is focused more strongly on lifestyle and entertainment, *The Statesman* is a very 'serious' paper. The two Indian-

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[17] *Bharatmatrimony*. 30 August 2010. <http://www.bharatmatrimony.com/newspaper-classifieds/newspaper-classifieds.php>.

founded newspapers – *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* – differ in their readership, which becomes evident in the title already: While *The Hindu* probably has a large readership among Hindus, *The Milli Gazette* describes itself as "Indian Muslims' […] newspaper" (*self portrayal*[18]). The spectrum of content and readership covered by these four newspapers is very wide.

3.2.2 *The Times of India*

Initially, *The Times of India* was British-owned. It was founded on 03 November 1838 in Mumbai by "a British syndicate of 11 firms, two barristers, a doctor" and a "Parsi merchant Prince"; its former name was *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* (Televisionpoint.com[19]). In the beginning, it was published bi-weekly, and its readership were "the British residents of western India" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Times of India'). From 1851 onwards (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Times of India') it was published daily and named *The Times of India* ten years later; in 1946, it passed "into Indian hands", a change which affected the editorial policy, which became "openly nationalist" (Televisionpoint.com).

At present, the newspaper is "published in Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Delhi" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Times of India'), its circulation amounting to 3,146,000 copies daily (Auswärtiges Amt[20]). This makes it "the largest English daily broadsheet worldwide" (Televisionpoint.com). Its current chief editor is Jaideep Bose (*self portrayal*) and it is published by the media group *Bennett, Coleman und Co. Ltd.* (Ausw. Amt), which was founded in 1892 (Televisionpoint.com). *The Times of India* is rated as politically conservative (Worldpress[21]). The Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Times of India', describes the newspaper as relying "on accuracy […], avoidance of sensationalism and […] coverage of international news". Despite the fact that the focus has shifted towards entertainment and lifestyle, the newspaper cannot be classified as a tabloid. Still, it is described as "one of India's most influential papers" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Times of India'). Its first matrimonials appeared in 1949 (Televisionpoint.com).

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[18] "Self Portrayal. About Us". *The Milli Gazette*. 12 April 2010.
  <http://www.milligazette.com/pages/about-us>.
[19] Televisionpoint.com Correspondent. "The Times of India Turns the Times of Colour". *Televisionpoint*. 26 April 2006. 03 August 2010.
  <http://www.televisionpoint.com/news2006/newsfullstory.php?id=1146042260>.
[20] *"Indien* – Kultur- und Bildungspolitik, Medien." *Auswärtiges Amt. 24 October 2010.*
  <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/de/Laenderinformationen/Indien/Kultur-UndBildungs politik.html#t2%29>.
[21] "India: Newspapers and Magazines Online". *Worldpress*. 05 June 2010.
  <http://www.worldpress.org/newspapers/ASIA/India.cfm>.

The advertisements for the corpus are taken from the e-paper of 09 May 2010, which has the same content and layout as the print edition. The heading is 'Matrimonials', with the subdivisions 'Wanted Grooms' and 'Wanted Brides', comprising 1043 and 981 advertisements, respectively. The matrimonial column in *The Times of India* is by far the most complex one since for each gender further subcategories exist (59 for 'Wanted Grooms' and 58 for 'Wanted Brides'). The advertisements for the analysis were chosen proportionally from all subcategories in order to achieve a representative sample. The subcategories are named 'preferred classification'[22]. This convention does not make clear whether the 'preferred classification' relates to the author of the advertisement or to the person sought. However, since marriages are usually arranged between partners of the same background, this does not make an impact. An average advertisement is three to eight lines long, and the first few letters or words are printed in bold. Most of the advertisements are printed in black. There are some exceptional ones that have a colourful background or a striking graphic design. Some are also printed in a different font or are significantly longer than average as the following example shows:

For the analysis, only 'average' looking advertisements were selected in order to secure a common basis. A typical advertisement in *The Times of India* looks as follows:

TOIGW9

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[22] *Ads2book*. 08 August 2010. <http://www.ads2book.com/ads2book/composeAd.html>.

3.2.3 *The Statesman*

The Statesman was founded in Kolkata in 1875 by Sir Robert Knight (Barns 1940: 274). It "directly descended" (self portrayal[23]) from the newspaper *The Friend of India*, which had been founded in 1818. In 1934, *The Statesman* and *The Englishman*, which had been founded in 1821, merged (self portrayal). Despite being British, Sir Robert Knight was not an opponent of the Indian people but rather "a radical and a Free Trader and therefore held liberal views on matters relating to the administration of public affairs" (Barns 1940: 296). Furthermore, he was among the founders and supporters of the Indian National Congress (1940: 296). In 1939, *The Statesman* founded the *Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society*, which co-operated with the *All-India Newspaper Editors Conference* for the protection of Indian newspapers in World War II (Bhargava 2005: 27). When India became independent, many British owners of newspapers decided to pass them on into Indian hands (2005: 24). Thus, *The Statesman* became owned by the industrial clan Tata. The current editor is Ravindra Kumar. Its headquarters are still located in Kolkata, and the circulation of the Sunday edition amounts to 180,000 copies (self portrayal). Politically, *The Statesman* is (liberally-) independent. It is "regarded as one of the most influential" newspapers in India (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Statesman'/Worldpress[24]).

The advertisements from *The Statesman* were drawn from its online edition. Matrimonials can be booked for the print edition, which appears in Kolkata, Delhi, Siliguri and Bhubaneshwar. Without extra charge, they automatically appear in the online edition as well; they are published under the heading 'Matrimonials' and were accessed between 26 April and 15 August 2010. They are subdivided into 'Brides Wanted' and 'Grooms Wanted' without further subdivisions. All advertisements have roughly the same size of three to four lines and are printed in the same colour and shape. Most of them start with *E.B.* or *W.B.*, the abbreviations for 'East Bengal' and 'West Bengal'. These locations can be assumed to relate to the writers of the advertisements since they are often immediately followed by a caste designation. The first two or three words of each advertisement are printed in capitals. A typical advertisement from *The Statesman* looks as follows:

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[23] "Self Portrayal. About Us". *The Statesman*. 14 May 2010.
   <http://www.thestatesman.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=59>.
[24] "India: Newspapers and Magazines Online". *Worldpress*. 05 June 2010.
   <http://www.worldpress.org/newspapers/ASIA/India.cfm>.

SGW16 W.B. KAYASTHA, M.Sc., 1st Class, Sevice ISO Certification Body, Rs. 15,000, 29 / 4'-10", parents present, own house, Soukalin, beautiful, teacher, fair, well-established, W.B. grooms required within 34 yrs., Kayastha, handsome fair, Doctor, Engg., CA, M.Tech., B.Tech., Govt. Officer. Ph.: ███████████████████

3.2.4 *The Hindu*

The Hindu was first published on 20 September 1878 in Chennai (Barns 1940: 293) by G. Subrahmaniya Iyer and five other young men (Bhargava 2005: 14). During its first five years, it appeared weekly (Barns 1940: 294). From 1883 onwards, it was released three times a week, and in 1889 it became a daily (Ninan 2007: 39). From the very beginning, *The Hindu* "spoke out for independence" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Hindu') and was very successful, not only because it had a well-balanced content but also because it was well-managed (Bhargava 2005: 19). *The Hindu* was among the founders of the *All-India Newspaper Editors Conference*, which was a mouthpiece for Indian publications (Bhargava 2005: 47). The newspaper always "expressed the Indian point of view" (Barns 1940: 320) and supported the *Indian National Congress* (1940: 386/427). The current editor is Malini Parthasarathy (Ram 2013[25]). The newspaper is published from 14 sites while the headquarters have remained in Chennai. Since its foundation, the circulation has steadily increased and amounts to 1,466,304 copies today (*self portrayal*[26]). Politically, *The Hindu* is rated as "left-leaning, independent" (Worldpress[27]). The Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Hindu', labels *The Hindu*, together with *The Statesman* and *The Times of India*, "one of India's most influential dailies". It "is distinguished for its comprehensive coverage of national and international political news and for its emphasis on accuracy and balanced coverage" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'The Hindu').

The advertisements from *The Hindu* were all accessed from the online version on 26 April 2010. They appeared in the same way in the print edition and are subdivided into 'Bridegrooms Wanted' and 'Brides Wanted'. All advertisements have roughly the same size of one to three lines. The first (few) words are printed in capitals. A typical advertisement looks as follows:

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[25] Ram, N. "Changes at the Helm: Editorial and Business". *The Hindu*. 1 November 2013. 20 March 2014. <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/changes-at-the-helm-editorial-and-business/article5257829.ece>.

[26] "Self Portrayal. About Us". *The Hindu*. 25 March 2010. <http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/hindu.htm>.

[27] "India: Newspapers and Magazines Online". *Worldpress*. 05 June 2010. <http://www.worldpress.org/newspapers/ASIA/India.cfm>.

HBW13 MADHWA KANNADA Fair handsome 31/180 Empld UK seeks suitable alliance from decent family background slim girl willing to go to UK send BHP Box ▮

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

3.2.5 *The Milli Gazette*

The Milli Gazette was founded in 1999. Its current editor is Zafarul-Islam Khan (*self portrayal*[28]); its headquarters are in Delhi; it is published fortnightly (Kashif-ul-Huda 2010[29]) and declares itself as "Indian Muslims' leading English newspaper" (*self portrayal*) with much of its content being "devoted to news of national importance concerning Muslims"; it is sometimes criticised for being "anti-Israel and anti-US" (Kashif-ul-Huda 2010).

The matrimonials for the analysis are from e-papers from between December 2009 and April 2010. They all appeared in the print edition under the heading 'Matrimonials', with the subtitles 'Grooms Wanted' and 'Brides Wanted' without further subdivisions. Since the newspaper aims at Muslims, no further subdivisions according to religion may be necessary. The advertisements all have roughly the same shape and length of about three to five lines. In some of them, several partners are sought at the same time for several people. They have not been taken into consideration. Some advertisements are printed in bold. For the analysis, however, all advertisements are treated equally; a typical one looks as follows:

MGBW12

Sunni divorcee middle age Physician NRI setting in Aligarh needs a decent tall, slim wife upto 40 yrs, caste no bar. Cont:

▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

To sum up, the advertisements from *The Times of India* and *The Milli Gazette* were taken from e-papers, those from *The Statesman* and *The Hindu* from their online editions. However, all advertisements selected for the analysis appeared in a print edition of the respective newspapers. The number of advertisements published varies considerably between the newspapers. Thus, in order to collect 150 advertisements each, different numbers of editions had to be consulted. While in *The Times of India*, more than 2.000 advertisements are published in only one paper, *The Milli Gazette* has only about 20 per

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[28] "Self Portrayal. Our Team". *The Milli Gazette*. 14 April 2010.
    <http://www.milligazette.com/mgteam.htm>.
[29] Kashif-ul-Huda. "Milli Gazette: Ten Years of a Community Newspaper". *TwoCircles.net.* 03 February 2010. 02 August 2010.
    <http://www.twocircles.net/2010feb02/milli_gazette_ten_years_community_newspaper.html>.

edition. Furthermore, the publishing cycles are different. Since the present analysis aims at a comparison of the language of the advertisements and not one between the newspapers and their publishing habits, this fact was neglected, and equal numbers of advertisements from each newspaper have been chosen for each gender.

3.3 The British Corpus

The British corpus serves as a basis for comparison and contrast and is thus smaller than the Indian one. It is composed of 150 advertisements taken from *The Times* (London) of the print editions of between 4 March and 15 July 2011. This newspaper was selected in order to serve as a basis for comparison. In style, content and readership, it is similar to *The Times of India*.

The Times was founded in 1785 by John Walter, its initial name being *The Daily Universal Register*. Initially, it was launched to popularise logography, a new and faster method of typesetting. It was named *The Times* in 1788 with an simultaneous change of content towards a more gossip-like style and aiming at a larger audience. From a pro-governmental attitude, it changed to a politically independent newspaper at the beginning of the 19th century and towards reformism in the 1830s (Simkin[30]). Nowadays, it is rated as politically conservative (Worldpress)[31]. Over the years, *The Times* was edited by famous people, among them John Jacob Astor (Simkim). Its headquarters have remained in London, where it is now edited by John Witherow (Webster 2013[32]) and "owned by the News Corporation, the international media conglomerate controlled by Rupert Murdoch" (Pfanner 2006[33]). It is published daily. In summer 2011, it had an average circulation of 394,002 copies of the main edition (Audit Bureau of Circulation[34]).

For each gender, 75 advertisements were selected. Unlike the Indian advertisements, the British ones do not have marriage as their direct aim, i.e. neither are they labelled 'Matrimonials' in the first place, not are they structured into 'Brides Wanted' and 'Grooms Wanted' or the like. Rather, their heading is 'Encounters' and they are divided into the sections 'Men Seeking Women', 'Women Seeking Men', 'Men Seeking Men' and

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[30] Simkin, J. "The Times". *Spartacus Educational*. 08 November 2011.
   <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/PRtimes.htm>.
[31] "United Kingdom/England: Newspapers and Magazines Online". *Worldpress*. 08 November 2011.
   <http://www.worldpress.org/newspapers/EUROPE/United_KingdomfsEngland.cfm>.
[32] Webster, Ben. 2013. "John Witherow appointed as Acting Editor of The Times". *The Times*. 18 January
   2013. 20 March 2014. <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/medianews/article3661997.ece>.
[33] Pfanner, E. 2006. "Times of London to Print Daily U.S. Edition". *The New York Times*. 27 May 2006.
   08 November 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/27/business/media/27paper.html>.
[34] *"Circulation Certificate September 2011. The Times". Audit Bureau of Circulation. 2011. 08 November 2011.* <http://www.abc.org.uk/Certificates/17263146.pdf>.

'Women Seeking Women'. The 'Encounters' appear every Friday, many advertisements reappearing several weeks in a row. To guarantee a comparable background, only those advertisements were selected in which cross-gender relationships are aimed at and in which a view to marriage is evident. In some advertisements *marriage* is explicity mentioned as in

GBWSM9

> Praising, praying, promise keeper. Attractive, youthful, physically fit Christian woman, 52, who desires to meet a man, best friend and companion with a view to marriage. Mids. Call [redacted] Voicebox [redacted] .

Sometimes, the future partner is labelled *husband* as the following example shows:

GBWSM26

> Gorgeous, sexy lady seeking my future husband. 52 year old lady looking for a very special man, 45-63. Call me now on [redacted] Voicebox [redacted] .

Other advertisements are more subtle when it comes to the relationship aimed at. Most commonly, *LTR* is taken as an indicator of a view to marriage, as in

GBMSW2

> Boyish Englishman, public school/ Oxbridge type, traditionally cultured, well-spoken, youthful 50, seeks assertive, educated, feminine, retro-glamorous lady to adore in luxurious LTR. Ldn/SW. Call [redacted] Voicebox [redacted] .

Other indicators that a marriage may be aimed at include the phrasings *to settle down with* and *to share life*, e.g.

GBMSW11

⬤Professional, well educated, sincere, romantic, generous man, 37, WLTM lady, 28-38, to settle down with. Scot. Call ■■ ■■■■■■ Voicebox ■■■■ Txt Available

GBMSW13

⬤Creative, easy going photographer, 57, enjoys travelling, tennis, cycling, cooking, world music/cinema and good conversation, WLTM friendly and like-minded woman, to share life with. N Ldn. Call■■■ ■■■■■■ Voicebox■■■ .

4 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Accounting for Linguistic Variation

There are various ways of dealing with, and accounting for, linguistic variation. One aspect worth looking at is the social background of the language users. Factors such as age, class, gender and ethnicity are often taken into consideration in order to account for variation in language use, as has been shown by a large number of scholars, e.g. R. T. Lakoff (2004), Chambers (2003), Milroy/Milroy (2003), Trudgill (2000), Labov (1991) and Tajfel (1981), to mention just a few.

The social background becomes especially noteworthy when language users come from different countries and are thus members of wholly different cultures and societies with different ideas and values influencing their thinking and acting. This is the case in World English, where people use a common language but differ in far more than just one social factor. Although in the two sets collected and in many other cases, different speakers use one and the same language – English –, they use it in different ways. As Wolf (2008: 353) puts it,

> essential components of the [sociocultural] conceptualisations formerly expressed in the in-
> digenous languages are now becoming associated with the symbolisations available in the
> structure of World Englishes.

Thus, World Englishes are an

> ideal testing ground for the programmatic extension of CL [Cognitive Linguistics], because
> variation can be studied among different varieties of one language, which still share a
> common core. […] CL can contribute to a better understanding of cultural variation ex-
> pressed in these varieties (2008: 365).

There are various approaches. One of them is the "'hybridizationist' approach [, which points to the] pluricentricity of English and […] creativity in second language contexts" (2008: 353). The

> key figure and founding father [of this approach] is Braj Kachru […]. Arguably, it is the
> one that is theoretically […] closest to a cognitive sociolinguistic approach to WE [World
> Englishes]. Culture is of central concern in this paradigm (2008: 362).

Recently, scholars have pointed to the interdependency of cognitive linguistics, socio-linguistics and cultural anthropology. Many of them demand an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language, e.g. Wolf, who claims that "Cognitive Linguistics has as one of its assignments the empirical study of World Englishes" (2008: 353).

There are different ways of defining culture, e.g. as a cognitive system, a structural system or a symbolic system (e.g. in the work of Keesing 1974). One definition of culture given by Goodenough (1961: 522) states that

> culture […] consists of standards for deciding what is, […] what can be, […] what one feels about it, […] what to do about it, and […] how to go about doing it.

In short, a "society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members" (Goodenough 1957: 67). Sharedness is one central element for knowledge to be acknowledged as cultural. In this tradition, Eisenhart (1990: 22) defines culture as "those collective interpretations of social and material experience that are more or less shared by members of a group and available to be acquired by individuals who interact in the group". Keesing (1979: 15) holds that culture is "a composite of the cognitive systems more or less shared by members of a society. […] Linguistic knowledge is thus *part of* [italics in the original], and on the same epistemological plane as, cultural knowledge".

Cultural knowledge as a whole is structured into specific notions about certain things, the so-called 'cultural models' (Dirven/Wolf/Polzenhagen 2007: 1204). These models, or frames, as they are labelled as well, are "structured mental representation[s] of […] conceptual categor[ies]" (Kövecses 2006: 64). Since "many frames are shared across people [, they are] cultural products" (2006: 69/70). All frames, or cultural models, share their "referential transparency" (Hutchins 1980: 12). They are "what one sees with, but seldom what one sees" (1980: 12). However, people are "very likely to recognize certain knowledge or conceptualization to be characteristic of the culture they belong […] to" (Sharifian 2008: 114) and as members of the same group, they share a "'collective' cognition" (2008: 113). What cultural models further have in common "is that, often, what [they define] does not actually exist in the world [, which] makes them open to cross-cultural variation" (Kövecses 2006: 65). They play a special role when it comes to abstract entities such as values and social institutions. Unlike tangible objects like stones, "institutions such as marriage […] and customs such as dating happen at all because the members of a society presume them to be" (Holland/Quinn 1987: 3). Thus, these institutions do not simply exist as such but are and mean different things to people from different cultures. This assumption is important for interpreting linguistic variation. Thus, the propositions for, and expectations towards, marriage differ between people from different cultures. However, one has to bear in mind that cultural identities are not static (Strauss 1992a: 1) but rather "hybrid, complex, and often contradictory, and the media play a crucial role in their reconfiguration" (Piller 2001: 155).

4.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Considerable research on marriage and its rootedness in culture has been done by Quinn (e.g. 1996, 1991, 1987, 1982). In 1987, she introduced a 'Cultural Model of American Marriage', which has found considerable attention. Before this model will be described, it is necessary to clarify some theoretical concepts. Since metaphors play an important role in her work, a theoretical background to this concept will be given in the following.

The idea of conceptual metaphors was extensively dealt with and described by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live by* (1980). A central claim of their work is that, contrary to the common view of metaphor, it

> is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980: 3).

This view is shared among several cognitive linguists (e.g. Kokot et al. 1982: 342) and is evident in gestures and pictures (Grady 2007: 189). Since cognitive linguistics sees culture as a central cognitive force (Palmer 2007: 1046), this conceptual dimension of metaphor makes it prone to cultural influence. In particular, this holds for

> emotional concepts, which are not clearly delineated in our experience in any direct fashion and therefore must be comprehended primarily indirectly, via metaphor (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 85).

A conceptual metaphor is generated by a mapping of aspects from a conceptual source domain to a conceptual target domain (Grady 2007: 190; Lakoff 2006: 190). "The source domain of a metaphor […] supplies the language and imagery which are used to refer to the domain which is actually at issue in the discourse (the 'target' domain)" (Grady 2007: 190).

In the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR,[35] the source domain is *war*, the target domain *argument*. This conceptual metaphor shows itself in various expressions, e.g. "'Your claims are *indefensible*' or 'He *shot down* all of my arguments' [italics in the origial]" (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 4). The fact that all aspects from the conceptual source domain are not transferred to the conceptual target domain is called metaphorical highlighting (1980: 10).

Opinions vary on whether the general conceptual mappings or the specific metaphorical uses are more important. Some scholars (e.g. Keysar/Glucksberg 1992) hold that the general conceptual metaphor is of minor importance only, distinguishing between structural metaphors and idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions. The latter, e.g. *leg of a ta-*

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[35] In the present thesis, the conventional spelling of conceptual metaphors, proposition schemas and image schemas in small capital letters will be applied.

ble or *foot of a mountain*, stand alone as part of the metaphor A TABLE/A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON. However, such expressions are isolated, i.e. the metaphor does not generate further metaphorical expressions (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 54).

According to Gibbs (2005: 127), image schemas underlie conceptual metaphors. These images are rooted in bodily, and thus concrete, experience. The image schema underlying the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE JOURNEYS is that of SOURCE-PATH-GOAL (2005: 127). Unlike conceptual metaphors, "[i]mage schemas are *directly meaningful* [and] *preconceptual* [italics in the original]" (Hampe 2005: 1).

4.3 The 'Cultural Model of American Marriage' (Quinn 1987)

In 1987, Quinn published her paper 'Convergent Evidence for a Cultural Model of American Marriage'. She had interviewed husbands and wives in eleven marriages and analysed their statements. The metaphors used by the interviewees were:

> MARRIAGE IS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT.
> MARRIAGE IS AN ONGOING JOURNEY.
> MARRIAGE IS A DURABLE BOND BETWEEN TWO PEOPLE.
> A SPOUSE IS A FITTING PART.
> MARRIAGE IS AN INVESTMENT. (Quinn 1987: 174–176).

Along with non-metaphorical statements about marriage, the five metaphors can be grouped into the following eight classes; they constitute general expectations about marriage and they are proposition schemas:

> MARRIAGE IS ENDURING.
> MARRIAGE IS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL.
> MARRIAGE IS UNKNOWN AT THE OUTSET.
> MARRIAGE IS DIFFICULT.
> MARRIAGE IS EFFORTFUL.
> MARRIAGE IS JOINT.
> MARRIAGE MAY SUCCEED OR FAIL.
> MARRIAGE IS RISKY. (1987: 174–180).

Each metaphor can be seen as belonging to one of these expectations. Thus, the metaphors MARRIAGE IS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT and MARRIAGE IS A JOURNEY belong to the proposition schema MARRIAGE IS ENDURING (1987: 174). Quinn's eight classes of expectations are interrelated in a complex way. The fact that marriage should be beneficial leads to the fact that it is effortful, and the fact that it is effortful makes it enduring and so on (1987: 186).

4.4 The Interdependency of Conceptual Metaphors and Cultural Models

Quinn's model has not gone undisputed. It was highly challenged by other scholars, especially Lakoff (2006) and Kövecses (2006). Apart from eliciting a debate on general questions of the relationship between metaphors and cultural models, Quinn's way of

doing research and evaluating her data was criticised. Gibbs (1994: 205) mentions that Quinn's data cannot be considered representative since her interviews were conducted "with relatively young couples with happy or successful marriages" only. Furthermore, Quinn is criticised for claiming that she found *the* cultural model of marriage. Unlike her proposition of *the* model, Gibbs (2004: 205) rather suggests "that there are several overlapping cognitive models for American marriage" and that they are not static since "people's understandings of their marriages are complex and change over time".

Besides these rather minor issues, Quinn's model and other scholars' reactions to it elicited a debate on the cognitive role and interdependency of metaphors and cultural models. The main question in this debate is whether metaphors *constitute* or *reflect* cultural models. Quinn (1991: 65) claims that "metaphors simply *reflect* [italics in the original] cultural models" whereas Kövecses (2006: 195) assumes "that metaphors largely *constitute* [italics in the original] the cultural model". Quinn (1991: 65) attacks Lakoff and Johnson for their "missing level [...] of culture". Strauss/Quinn (1997: 158) account for Quinn's claim by stating that there are several classes of metaphors for one and the same topic, e.g. in particular 'marriage', and that people switch between them. In their opinion, "speaker and listener intersubjectively share an exemplar [of which both know] what it exemplifies" (1997: 145). They then use metaphors to clarify (1997: 144) what they want to get across. What the people communicating share is not the metaphors (1997: 143) but the cultural scenario (Hill/Mannheim 1992: 394). Some metaphors gain so much popularity that people use them every time they talk about a certain scenario (Strauss/Quinn 1997: 149), and thus, new analogies are sometimes made (1997: 151). Although Strauss/Quinn admit that this "is not to say that the kind of thinking involved in metaphor usage can never lead to new understandings" (1997: 151), their main statement is that metaphors merely "reinforce existing understandings by clarifying them" (1997: 151). In summary, in their view, the cognitive effect is embodied in the cultural model and not in metaphors.

In the discussion between Lakoff/Johnson/Kövecses and Quinn, Gibbs (1994: 205f.) takes an intermediary position by claiming that people's concepts of marriage are neither completely nonmetaphorical nor totally metaphorical. He states that "[t]he fact that people's verbal metaphors in talking about marriages are so limited" (1994: 205) is remarkable and that

> [i]f people really had a completely nonmetaphorical cultural model of marriage and used verbal metaphors only to highlight different parts of the model, we would expect people to use a tremendous variety of verbal metaphors (1994: 205).

Furthermore, he remarks that

> [n]one of this means that people's conceptual understandings of marriages are totally meta-phorical. Some of our understandings of love, marriage, anger and other abstract concepts may be nonmetaphorical, but a great many of these abstract concepts appear to be constituted by metaphor (1994: 206).

In conclusion, he states that "much of our cultural understanding of marriage is *motivated by* [emphasis added] metaphor" (1994: 206).

4.5 Applying Quinn's Method to the Present Data

The theoretical basis provided by Quinn will be used in interpreting the present data. Neither does the thesis confirm the working hypothesis nor does it try to disprove it. Which view – the one defended by Quinn and Strauss/Quinn, by Lakoff/Johnson/Kövecses or any other – is true can neither be solved, nor shall this question be discussed in the present thesis.

Quinn's model has been selected as a theoretical background for several reasons. First-ly, it deals with human relationships/marriages, which is also the case in the present thesis. Secondly, culture is of central concern in Quinn's approach, which is not equally the case in other scholars' approaches – a fact criticised by Quinn (1991: 65) herself. Dealing with the question which part the one with the cognitive function is – the cultu-ral scenario or the metaphors – however, is not part of the present thesis.

The procedure conducted in the following resembles the one chosen by Dickel Dunn (2004), who uses speeches given at Japanese wedding receptions to make inferences about a Japanese cultural model of marriage. She draws "on the techniques pioneered by Quinn" (2004: 350) while, at the same time, admitting that Quinn's "model is an ideal-ized, conventionalized model that may not be isomorphic with the actual lived experi-ence of marriage" (2004: 350). Dickel Dunn (2004) scans her data for master metaphors and associated sub-metaphors.

metaphor	number of speakers	number of occurences
MARRIAGE IS A JOINT CREATION		
making/building a home	15	20
other uses of make/build	4	4
joint artistic creation	4	4
MARRIAGE IS A UNION		
couple tied together	4	5
union of heart/mind	2	2
couple as organism ("birth")	3	3
union of complementary parts	3	3
MARRIAGE IS A JOURNEY		
departure on a journey	5	6
walking a path	3	5
ocean voyage	3	4

Figure 2: Marriage metaphors found in speeches at five Japanese wedding receptions (adapted from Dickel Dunn 2004: 357)

They can be seen in Figure 2 above. From these metaphors as well as from nonmetaphorical statements made by her informants, she draws four central themes:

1. A wedding represents a new beginning for the couple.
2. Marriage is difficult and requires joint effort and cooperation.
3. Marriage is an enduring union.
4. There is an emotional relationship between bride and groom (2004: 360–362).

MARRIAGE IS A NEW LIFE STAGE.
MARRIAGE IS SOMETHING JOINTLY CREATED BY THE SPOUSES.
MARRIAGE IS DIFFICULT.
MARRIAGE REQUIRES JOINT EFFORT AND COOPERATION.
MARRIAGE IS A UNION OF COMPLEMENTARY PARTS.
MARRIAGE IS LASTING.
MARRIAGE INVOLVES LOVE, TRUST, AND EMOTIONAL UNITY.

Figure 3: Propositions within a Japanese cultural model of marriage (adapted from Dickel Dunn 2004: 362)

Thus, a Japanese cultural model of marriage involves the above propositions (cf. Figure 3). After presenting a Japanese cultural model of marriage, Dickel Dunn (2004) contrasts the Japanese cultural model with the American one, as evident in Quinn (1991). She emphasises "the potential of cross-linguistic research on metaphors as a way to discover both similarities and subtle differences in cultural concepts" (Dickel Dunn 2004: 350).

Unlike in Dickel Dunn's analysis, the data for the present thesis were not gathered via speeches. Dickel Dunn (2004: 350) claims that little "attention has been paid to how speakers use metaphors in other forms of discourse outside of the interview context". Thus, corpora compiled of newspaper advertisements are a new source for applying Quinn's technique.

The fact that the advertisements selected for the Indian corpus are *matrimonials* whereas those belonging to the British corpus are *contact* advertisements – with a view to mar-

riage though – might be seen as problematic. It is argued, however, that it is not. Firstly, the selection represents natural conditions prevalent in the respective countries: In British newspapers, matrimonials are hardly – if at all – to be found. Secondly, the British corpus is of minor importance only. The British cultural model of human relationships/marriage to be inferred in the present thesis is expected to be similar to the American one by Quinn (1991). The British corpus, together with the American cultural model, merely serves as a basis of comparison and contrast in relation to the Indian corpus. The main task of the present thesis is to make inferences about an Indian cultural model of marriage as evident in the advertisements. Finally, the fact that the Indian corpus contains matrimonials while the British corpus is made up of contact advertisements already points to a cultural difference: In India, marriages start 'from zero' and can be tied between people unfamiliar to each other whereas the British cultural model sees marriage as a journey from getting to know each other via committing oneself in a longterm relationship to marriage. This fact will be elaborated on below.

Unlike both Quinn's (1991) and Dickel Dunn's (2004) data, the ones for the present thesis do not contain discourse *on* marriage. Advertisements show little syntactical coherence – especially the advertisements from the Indian corpus, in which pieces of information are strung together – and thus, at first sight, do not contain many metaphors. The metaphors can rather be inferred from the information displayed and the way the advertisers present themselves, their future partners and the relationships they aim at. The advertisements mirror the expectational structure of the cultural model well. While the data collected by Quinn (1991) may also reflect what marriage is like, matrimonials show what people *expect* marriage to be like. This and the assumption that many of the advertisers – especially the Indian ones – have never been married before, leads to the fact that the cultural models to be inferred do not correspond to the experience of marriage actually lived. However, this is neither aimed at nor considered a disadvantage. Furthermore, that the advertisers did not know that their data would be analysed makes them more authentic.

5 Analysis

5.1 Preliminaries and Methodology

When reading an Indian English matrimonial advertisement for the first time, one can easily become confused by the typeface. The advertisements often look rather like an "eye chart than a matrimonial advertisement" (Agence France Presse (AFP 2009)[36]) as the following example shows:

TOIBW63

SM 4 28/5'10"/MBA
boy. 15LPA. BHP to

\# ███████████

There are many abbreviations used, e.g. *SM 4* or *15 LPA*. At first glance, it is often unclear what they mean, and one can easily be overwhelmed (cf. AFP 2009 above). Several abbreviations can mean different things in different contexts. *SM* is usually short for 'suitable match' as in the example above. In a Muslim context, however, *SM* may also stand for 'Sunni Muslim', especially when used for self-denotation. MGBW8 exemplifies this:

MGBW8

UP based SM 30/5'6", 15 LPA Manager
wrkg in MNC Delhi seeks educated girl
cste no bar eml: ████████████

Another challenge exists especially for a Western observer. As pointed out by various scholars (Pathak 2005; Dubey 1991), religion, caste and community play a major role in Indian match-making. Therefore, the authors mention their religious backgrounds and the ones their partners should have. Since castes do not exist in other cultures, English lacks the lexical items to express them appropriately. This difficulty is mostly overcome with the help of loan lexical items, e.g. *Kayastha* (i.e. a Hindu caste). For a Western scholar, however, it is often difficult to rate these terms appropriately. While the caste names are usually easy to identify, various subcastes, *gotras* 'clans', ethnic groups etc. exist into which a Western observer can hardly gain complete insight. The boundaries

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[36] Agence France Presse. "SM 4 U: Decoding India's Matchmaking Lingo." *Bangkokpost*. 26 June 2009. 22 August 2010. <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/asia/150180/sm-4-u-decoding-india-match-making-lingo>.

between caste/religion/tribe and ethnic group are often fuzzy, i.e. the question arises whether e.g. *Gujar* is to be rated as a caste or as a tribe/ethnic group.

Furthermore, one lexical item often denotes several things. The noun *Bengali* may refer to the language spoken in Bengal, but also to *a Bengali*, i.e. a person who speaks Bengali or hails from Bengal. The same applies to lexical items such as *Tamil*. The Indian caste system is very complex since a Brahmin is not simply a Brahmin everywhere; a Bengali Brahmin may not accept a Tamil Brahmin as equal. Therefore, combinations of lexical items, like an adjective of location, e.g. *Tamil*, together with a noun for a community, e.g. *Brahmin*, play a major role in the denotation of the self and that of the partner. Since they are very common, they can be classified as "relation[s] within a syntactic unit between individual lexical elements […,] [u]sed especially where words specifically or habitually go together" (Matthews 2005: 63).

For reasons of simplification, decisions of ranking the lexical items into certain categories have to be made which do not affect the study of language. Thus, lexial items like *Brahmin* or *Rajput* are ranked into the heading COMMUNITY. It cannot be guaranteed and is not claimed, however, that this is always done correctly in anthropological terms.

5.2 Length of the Advertisements
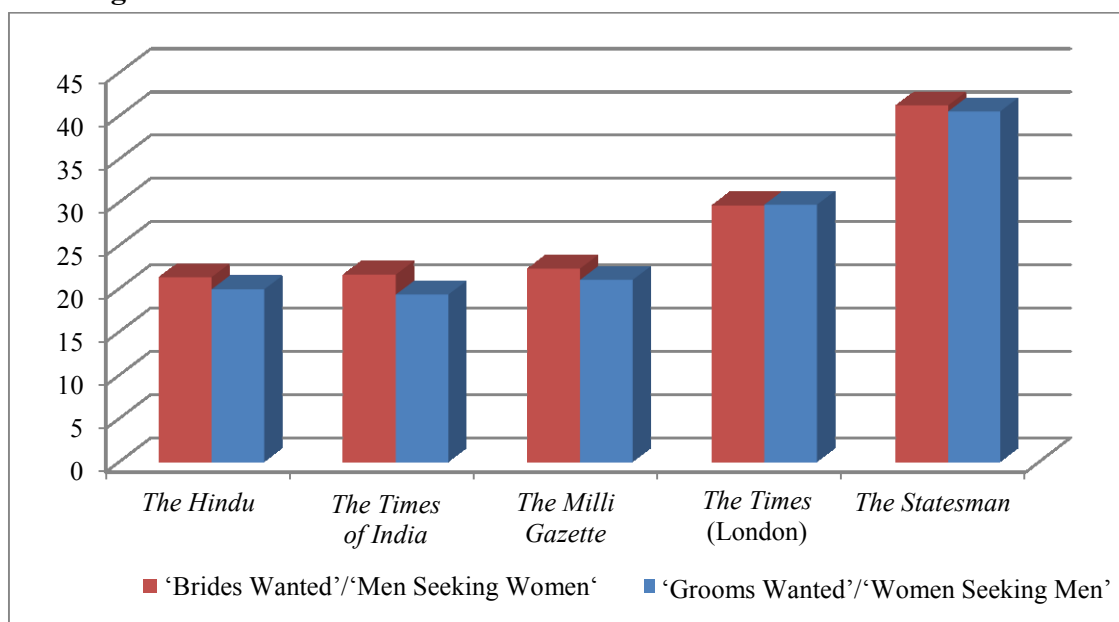
Figure 4: Average length of advertisements according to newspaper

Figure 4 shows that the numbers in *The Hindu*, *The Times of India* and *The Milli Gazette* are very similar, all slightly above 20 words for 'Brides Wanted'. In all these three newspapers, the advertisements 'Grooms Wanted' are shorter (21.3 vs. 19.9; 21.6 vs. 19.3; 22.3 vs. 21.0 words).

On average, the British advertisements are almost ten words longer than the ones from the three Indian newspapers mentioned. This is due to the fact that the texts are usually syntactically more coherent and the British advertisers present themselves more individually. The British advertisements in which men are sought are only slightly longer (29.7 vs. 29.6 words). The advertisements in *The Statesman* are an exception (around 40 words). One reason lies in the fact that the community differences in Bengal – where the main readership is from – are more important than elsewhere. This needs to be clarified. Again, those in which women are sought are slightly longer (41.2 as against 40.5 words).

The length of the Indian advertisements can be seen as a continuum. Since the differences between the genders are not as high as between *The Statesman* and the other three newspapers, it can be assumed that certain styles have developed for each newspaper, which are followed by the advertisers. In *The Times of India* and *The Hindu*, there are flat prices for a certain length of the advertisements: In *The Times of India*, an advertisement up to five lines costs 3,400 INR[37]. An advertisement of three lines costs 1,300 INR in *The Hindu*[38]. Extra lines are charged extra. Almost all advertisements in *The Times of India* have five lines and in *The Hindu* three, which amounts to an average of 20 words in both newspapers. In *The Statesman* there is a flat rate of 460 INR for 16 words; additional words are charged with 25 INR per word[39]. In *The Milli Gazette*, every word is charged with 25 INR[40]. The fact that *The Statesman* resembles *The Times* (London) more than the other three newspapers is not only valid for the length of the advertisements but also for other features used, which is, however, probably also related to the respective lengths. For *The Times* (London), information on advertising costs were not available.

5.3 Authorship

As Vreede-De Stuers (1969: 105) points out, it is important to pay attention to the question who inserts the matrimonials. In most countries, the advertiser is probably the person interested in a contact, which is the case in the advertisements of the British corpus. In the Indian context, however, a marriage is an issue of a whole family. By analysing the authorship, one can draw conclusions as to "whether the contents of the ads express

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[37] *Release My Ad.* 03 November 2014.
   <http://www.releasemyad.com/ad_step2.php?news=1&new_locat_news=62&cat1=9&ad_ty=rol>.
[38] *Release My Ad.* 03 November 2014.
   <http://www.releasemyad.com/ad_step2.php?cat1=9&ad_ty=rol&news=14&take_offer=627>.
[39] *Release My Ad.* 03 November 2014.
   <http://www.releasemyad.com/ad_step2.php?news=35&new_locat_news=237&cat1=9&ad_ty=rol>.
[40] "Advert". *The Milli Gazette*. 03 November 2014. <http://www.milligazette.com/Advert.htm>.

the views and anticipations of the generation of the brides- and bridegrooms-to-be, or of the generation of their parents" (Vreede-De Stuers 1969: 105). One example where it is obvious that the parents are placing the advertisement is

HGW2 PARENTS OF KERALA R/C wheatish[41] girl 25/160 M.Sc B.Ed b/b vizag seek professionals. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, Ph:▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Another example where the family inserted the advertisement for their daughter is MGGW44:

MGGW44

WELL Educated SM Businessman family seeks alliance for their Doctor girl-MBBS.MD   28/5'4"   Em: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Mob: ▮▮▮

Since even the notion of what a family is (whether just parents or the whole clan) is different, parents and family are subsumed into one option. In TOIGW26, the bride herself is looking for a groom.

TOIGW26

SM 4 Vishwakarma working Girl 1982, 5'1" M.A. Lucknow based Delhi settled seeks status family Delhi. Vishwkarma ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ .

In SBW52, the groom himself can be assumed to be the author of the advertisement

SBW52 35, 5'-7½", BRAHMIN Bharadwaj, O+, Government service, seeks bride from reputed business family, only child, willing to stay at brides home. Caste no bar. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Interestingly, in none of the 600 Indian advertisements is there a direct pronominal reference to the bride/groom and the desired partner, i.e. the brides/grooms never talk of themselves in the first person, and the partner is never addressed in the second person. Thus, the two examples above show the typical way of how the brides and grooms refer to themselves, i.e. in the third person. The fact that the people about to get married never talk of themselves in the first person already hints at how marriage is conceptualised. Not pointing to oneself is an indicator of collectivism. While in the Western individualist view, which will be elaborated on below, the self is often seen as the centre of

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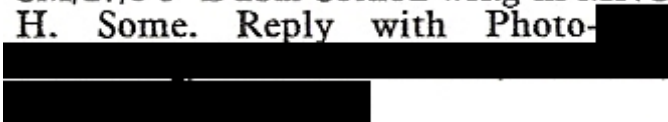
[41] In this context, *wheatish* is used to indicate skin colour.

attention, in Asian societies, people are very much aware of the fact that they are part of a group and interrelated with others in many ways, i.e. with members of their families, of their religious communities, their fellow nationals etc. In a county like India, divided along so many cleavages – religion, ethnicity and language, to name just a few –, the identification with one's group is high.

The fact that the partners[42] do not talk about their future spouses in the second person points towards the same direction. The spouse is not conceptualised as an individual but rather as a member and representative of one or several groups. The fact that the spouse is not addressed directly also points to the fact that a marriage is not only a collectivist rather than an individual issue but also that an emotional attachment is not required and not common – at least not before a marriage is tied. The belief in true love is either not prevalent at all or marriage and love do not necessarily go together. As confirmed by several studies (e.g. Schmitt 2006: 252), people in India are more likely to marry without being in love. The spouse is not a particular person and soulmate one has to look for, but interchangeable. The fact that the self and the partner are not directly addressed also points to a certain decency and shyness. Furthermore, the partners probably do not dare to seek a spouse actively since they know that they do not have a say in determining their future partner. Sometimes, it is not clear who inserted the respective advertisement as the texts are often inconclusive (Vreede-De Stuers 1969: 105). One example is MGBW54:

MGBW54

SM/27/5'8" Dubai Settled wrkg in MNC
H. Some. Reply with Photo-

To sum up, three options of authorship emerge:

1. The parents/family of the bride/groom insert the advertisement. This will be labelled 'option parents/family' in the present analysis.
2. A neutral-option where the author cannot be identified, labelled 'option neutral'.
3. The bride/groom her-/himself inserts the advertisement, labelled 'option self'.

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[42] The people about to get married will be labelled 'partners' hereafter.
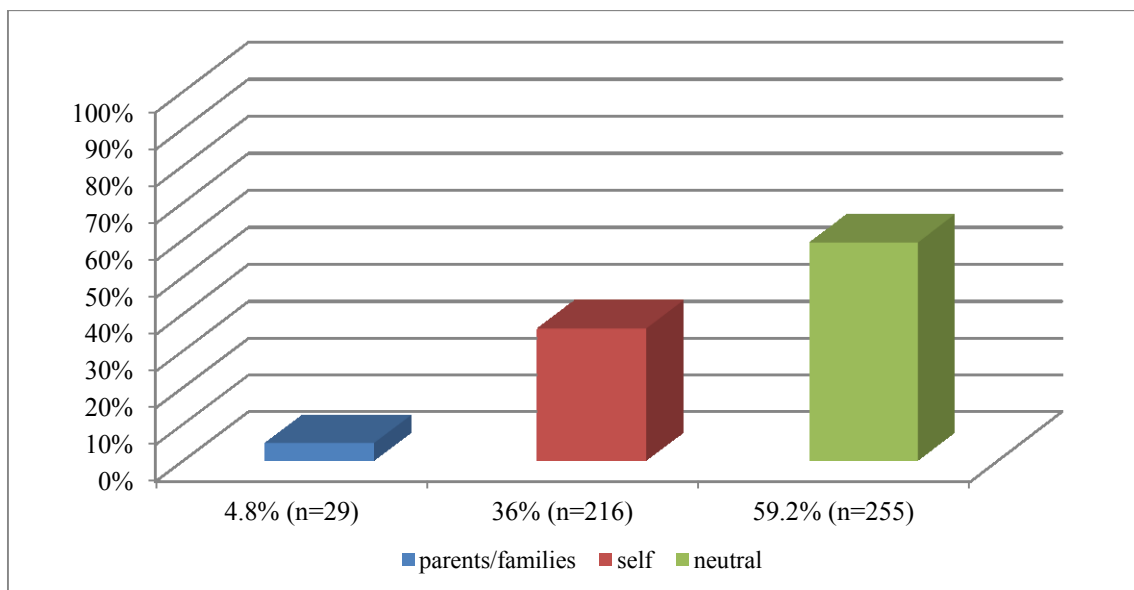
Figure 5: Authorship of Indian advertisements – overview of the three options in percentages (n=600)

The option 'neutral' is the one used most often (cf. Figure 5[43]). More than half of the advertisements (59.2%) are inserted by an unidentifiable person, as against roughly one third (36%) by the person concerned. The option 'parents/family' applies to only 4.8% of the total. This largely corresponds to the findings of Vreede-De Stuers, who states that the option 'neutral' is "by far the largest" (1969: 106). This huge number has to be kept in mind during the analysis of the denotation of the self and the partner following below. Thus, it is not possible to state whether the information given in these advertisements expresses the views of the parents/families or the brides/grooms themselves. The problem of such an analysis is that one cannot even be sure that the advertisements classified as 'self' are really inserted by the brides/grooms themselves and not by the parents/families. The brides or grooms may want to hide their views behind their parents/families, or it is the parents/families who advertise but they want to present their children as modern and self-determined and thus do not want to reveal themselves as the authors. However, this possibility can be estimated rather low since the option 'neutral' exists and is common. If the author does not want to reveal his or her identity, the option 'neutral' can be used, and the need to mislead the readers does not emerge in the first place.

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[43] All figures in this paper were rounded to one position after the decimal point.
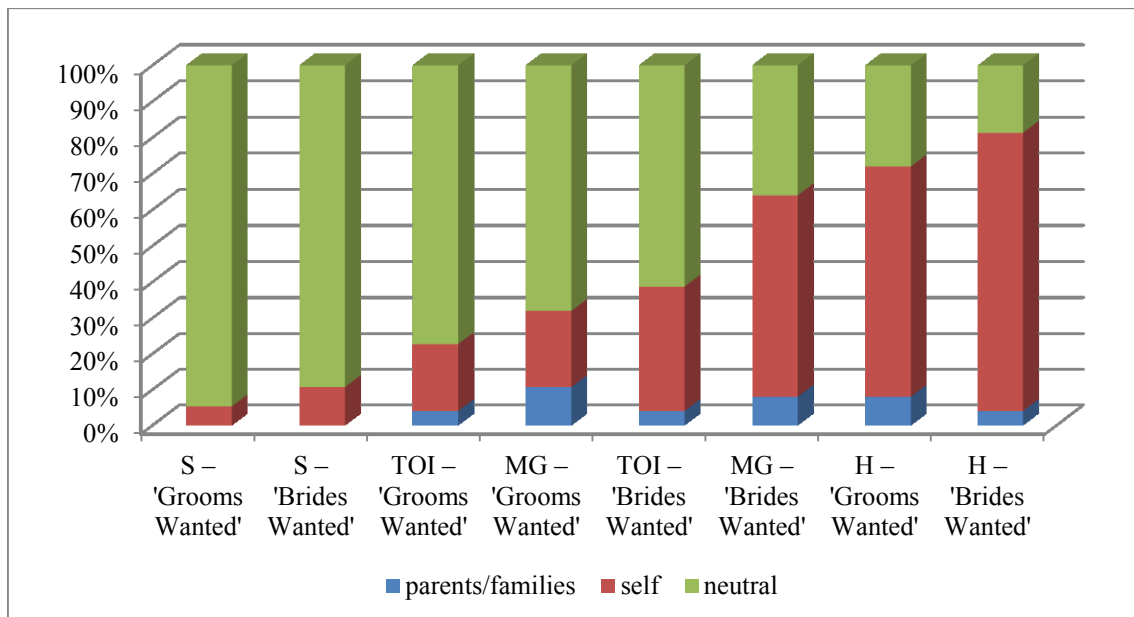
Figure 6: Authorship of Indian advertisements – overview of all options for newspapers and genders in percentages; S = *The Statesman*, TOI = *The Times of India*, MG = *The Milli Gazette*, H = *The Hindu*, p/f = parents/families, n = neutral, s = self

Figure 6 shows the frequencies of all three options for the four newspapers and for the two genders. In general, for women, 'neutral' plays a larger role than for men. This holds for all newspapers and decreases the 'selves'. 'Neutral' plays a large role for both genders in *The Statesman*. It becomes less important in *The Times of India*, *The Milli Gazette* and *The Hindu*, which leads to a larger share of 'selves'. In *The Milli Gazette*, women tend to be less self-confident than men. This may be accounted for by a more conservative role of women among Muslims.

In general, 'parents/families' is not important. It is strongest in *The Milli Gazette* and not used at all in *The Statesman*. This leads to the conclusion that *The Statesman* is the most progressive newspaper since, at first sight, parents/families do not seem to be involved in the match-making process. This can be accounted for by its political stance. People reading *The Statesman* are interested in politics and less so in entertainment. Thus, they are more strongly engaged in the public sphere and do not need their parents/families to arrange a marriage for them. However, the force of the option 'neutral' is not to be underestimated, especially in *The Statesman*. Neglecting the balanced numbers in *The Times of India*, one can conclude that parents/families want to marry daughters more often than sons.

In all four newspapers, the frequencies for 'self' are higher for the grooms. Whether they really insert themselves more often is not clear. This also corresponds to Vreede-De Stuers' (1969: 106) findings that a tendency towards self-insertion exists among the grooms. This conforms to the picture a Westerner has of Indian society – the man has

the more active role and can look for a bride himself while the bride has to consider her family. However, the figures cannot be considered representative of the Indian society as a whole since the newspapers chosen mirror only the English-speaking section. Nevertheless, they show a trend which probably pervades other layers of the Indian society as well. The subjects in consideration are all part of an 'elite' – they are literate, readers of English language newspapers and can afford to place an advertisement. Thus, they have access to 'modern' and Western views and lifestyles. If even they submit to the traditional role expectations, those parts of the Indian society who behave more traditionally in the first place – by having the match-making done by a *pandit* (a religious savant) and conducting the process in an Indian language – probably follow that path in the same or an even more drastic manner.

5.4 Self-Denotation of the Advertisers

For a context different from the Indian one, the underlying question could be: How do brides and grooms refer to themselves and their partners-to-be? For reasons of brevity and simplification, the terms used as headings to the present and the following sections are 'self- and partner-denotation' and later, 'self- and partner-description'. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that 'self-denotation' may also imply the way in which parents/families refer to their daughters or sons.

5.4.1 The Indian Corpus

Since the brides and grooms never talk of themselves by using first person pronouns, nouns or word classes substituting nouns are used in all advertisements, e.g. the adjective *wheatish* in TOIGW23

TOIGW23

SM4 Wheatish 27/5' pursuing MBA, working as H.R., Lucknow. Em: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Contact: ▮▮▮▮▮▮

Sometimes, several lexical items are used to refer to the bride/groom. For the analysis, the lexical item that does not have any function other than referring to the bride/groom is selected. Most often this noun is *boy*/*girl* or *groom*/*bride*. Thus, in MGBW1, *boy* is counted as the lexical item denoting the groom and *bride* as the one referring to the desired partner.

MGBW1
Wanted an educated beautiful bride for an Hons. Graduate well placed Delhi-based Quraishi boy 27/6' Contact █████████
████████████████

In this example, there are several lexical items denoting the groom: *Hons. Graduate*, *well placed*, *Delhi-based*, *Quraishi* (referring to a community) and *boy*. Except *boy*, however, all these items contain further information about the background of the groom – EDUCATION, ECONOMIC STATUS, LOCATION and COMMUNITY –, while *boy* only serves to denote him.

The same holds true for *bride* in HGW6. *Christian CNB*, *38*, *158*, *B.Sc*, *Good Looking* and *from a Well Settled Family in Chennai* all refer to this woman but only *Bride* is counted.

HGW6 CHRISTIAN CNB Language No Bar 38/158 B.Sc Good Looking Bride from a Well Settled Family in Chennai Seeks Suitable Groom █████████

In cases where more than one noun referring to the bride/groom does not convey further information, as is the case in SGW8, the one occurring first is examined.

SGW8 WANTED established qualified and cultured groom (48 – 50) for Bengali Christian spinister, fair, good-looking, MA, B.Ed., working bride, caste no bar. Ph.: ████████ (6 p.m. – 10-30 p.m.). ███████

Here, *spinister* [sic], and *bride* both denote her. Since none of them conveys any further information about her background, *spinister* is selected because it occurs first. *Spinster* and *bachelor* merely reveal that the person concerned is not married, which is a precondition in order to be able to get married. *Divorcee*, however, as in SBW32

SBW32 E.B. KAYASTHA, Sinha, Graduation (incomplete), interest in photography, travelling, music, own established business, salary Rs. 8 (L) p.a., 32+ yrs./5'-10", divorcee, handsome, established. Both E.B. / W.B., within 28 yrs., homely, H.S. passed or above, good family background brides wanted. Ph.: ███████████████████ Caste no bar. ██████

reveals that the person has been married before and is therefore not considered. Instead, *E.B. Kayastha* (*E.B.* stands for the region East Bengal, and *Kayastha* refers to a community) is selected for the analysis since it is the first lexical item referring to the groom.

The present analysis has two dimensions. The first one is the division of lexical items into Indian and English ones. The other dimension is the distinction between the different authorships, i.e. whether – and if applicable how – the choice of lexical items to depict bride/groom differs depending on whether the brides/grooms themselves wrote the advertisements or their parents/families did so. This (cf. Vreede-De Stuers 1969: 105) may shed light on the notions of an ideal bride/groom from the point of view of the generation concerned as compared to the generation of their parents/families.

With the background of the authors of the advertisements in mind, i.e. that they are *Indian* people looking for *Indian* partners and posting a query in *English*, it will be interesting to analyse which stock the lexical items used belong to. Thus, those denoting the 'self' are structured into the categories Indian lexical items vs. English lexical items (ILI vs. ELI; these labellings will be used hereafter for singular and plural). Within these two categories, subcategories on the basis of semantic fields (cf. Gottburgsen 1995[44]) are formulated to which all lexical items are assigned. Thus, the lexical item *jewellery designer* as in TOIGW30

TOIGW30

SM for 79/5'-7" Slim, Smart
attractive, convent educated
jewellery designer from a re-
puted Jain family. Send BHP
to

is a member of the subcategory PROFESSION (along with e.g. *bank officer* and *scientist*). The mother node is ELI.

Interestingly, the subcategories can be allocated to the major categories ILI and ELI easily. In almost no case is there a blurring of the two major categories with respect to one subcategory. The subcategory PROFESSION, e.g., belongs exclusively to ELI, i.e. no ILI is used. The only subcategories present in both ILI and ELI are LOCATION and COMMUNITY, which are more complex than the other subcategories. The various designations naming castes and groups within Hinduism, e.g. *Srivastava*, *Brahmin Koundiya* and *Kshatriya* are assigned to the ILI-category since the religion originates in India.[45] That a Hindu Brahmin does not have anything to do with India at all is very unlikely. The same applies to Sikhism and Jainism. The question how to deal with other religious

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[44] Gottburgsen (1995: 272) uses semantic content-related subgroups such as appearance, education and profession in order to structure the ways people in contact advertisements describe themselves and their future partners.

[45] Religions, castes and religious subgroups of all kinds are subsumed under the mother node COMMUNITY.

designations arises, e.g. Muslim, and whether they are to be counted as ILI or ELI. On the one hand, one can argue for it to be an ILI following the same line of argumentation as above. However, there is one important difference: Islam is not as confined to India as Hinduism, Sikhism or Jainism. When one talks about a Muslim, the connection to South Asia is not obligatory while for conservative Hinduism it is – in spite of a considerable diaspora. Furthermore, a person of any ethnic and religious origin can convert to Islam, while for Hinduism, one has to be born a Hindu (*BBC*[46]). This is rooted in the fact that Hinduism is a religion for which no scriptures are claimed to be the word of god (*BBC*). Moreover, Hinduism lacks the organised character of other creeds. Neither is there a single person as the head of the religion, nor does an initiation ceremony integrate people into the religion, like christening, which makes a person a member of the Christian church (*BBC*). Consequently, it was decided to classify the lexical item *Muslim* as an ELI. Another important argument in favour of this decision is the fact that in several Indian languages, the lexical item *Muslim* itself does not exist as such. Hindi *musulmān* is similar to but yet different from *Muslim*. Further specifications like *Sunni Syed*, however, are counted as ILI. This decision might be seen as problematic since the origin of *Sunni Syed* is probably Arabic. However, lexical items concerning Islam, such as *Sunni*, are also present in Indian languages, e.g. in Urdu.

The same approach was used for Buddhism and Christianity, in which the lexical items *CSI* (Church of South India), *CSI-Indian Christian*, *CSI-Christian*, *Christian*, *RC* (Roman Catholic) and *Srilankan Roman Catholic* are counted as ELI. In combination with further specifications which are clearly of Indian origin lexically and culturally, such as *Christian CSI Devendrakula Vellalar*, they are counted as ILI. This conforms with the classification of Indian lexical items, which ranks them as hybrid collocations.

To a Western scholar, placing ILIs into subcategories is a challenge. Ambiguous items such as *Bengali* are difficult to classify. The problem was solved by sorting them into the subcategory LOCATION since Bengali-speaking people are regionally confined to the state of Bengal. However, in cultural terms, the label LOCATION implies far more than just a place to live. Since India is so heterogeneous in many ways – culturally, linguistically, in terms of religion/ethnicity, etc. – a difference in LOCATION goes hand in hand with many more differences.

Furthermore, it is sometimes challenging to determine the boundaries of lexical items as TOIBW23 shows

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[46] Religions: Hinduism. At a Glance. *BBC*. 14 January 2015.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/hinduism/ataglance/glance.shtml>.

TOIBW23

SM for Manglik Sriv. 27/5'7"
MBA MNC Settled in Delhi
Seeks Prof. Qlfd Wrkg girl
Mob: ██████████████
Email: ████████████   .

The question is whether *Manglik* and *Sriv* usually come as a collocation or should be treated as two separate lexical items[47]. Here, it was decided to count *Manglik* as the lexical item denoting the groom and thereby separating it from *Sriv* as the lexical items belong to two different semantic subcategories, *Manglik* reflecting a horoscope, and *Sriv* referring to a community. Apart from LOCATION + X, as shown in SBW28, the same procedure is applied throughout the thesis.

SBW28 WB BRAHMIN, Bengali, only son, M.Tech., GATE, pursuing Ph.D., 6', 38 yrs., Mechanical Engineering Professor in Delhi, own house Kolkata and Burdwan, mutual divorced, never stay together. Educated, very fair, 29 – 34 yrs. bride desirable.
████████████████

LOCATION and COMMUNITY often co-occur without any punctuation mark dividing them as the example above shows. In this case, LOCATION (*WB*) and COMMUNITY (*Brahmin*) are meant as a collocation since the possibility to separate them by punctuation exists. This is done in SBW16

SBW16 E.B., KAYASTHA, 32 / 5'-4", Madhyamik, Arts & Handcraft, working in First Flight Courier, parents deceased, handsome, good income, bride required within 25 yrs., homely or service holder, Kayastha, Brahmin, Baidya. Ph.: ████████ (groom willing to stay in brides house). ██████

Here, *E.B.* (East Bengal) indicates a LOCATION, while *Kayastha* denotes a COMMUNITY. If several nouns from the same semantic subcategory co-occur, they are always regarded as a collocation as is the case in SBW52

SBW52 35, 5'-7½", BRAHMIN Bharadwaj, O+, Government service, seeks bride from reputed business family, only child, willing to stay at brides home. Caste no bar. Ph.:
███████████████████████████
███████████████████

Here, *Brahmin Bharadwaj* is subsumed as denoting the groom within the subcategory COMMUNITY.

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[47] The question is whether *Manglik* should be treated as the premodification for *Sriv* and whether this means that he is a *Manglik* from the community *Sriv* or a *Sriv* who is a *Manglik*.

5.4.1.1 Grooms

5.4.1.1.1 Indian Lexical Items

subcategory	denotation
COMMUNITY (112)	*SM (8)/Brahmin (7)/Kayastha (6)/Khan (4)/Mahishya (4)/Sunni (4)/Nair (3)/RC Nadar (3)/SM Ansari (3)/Sunni Khan (3)/Tili (3)/Ansari (2)/Sadgope (2)/Barujibi (2)/CSI Nadar (2)/SM Syed (2)/ Tantubaya (2)/Baisya Saha/Brahmin Bharadwaj/Brahmin Koundi-ya/Chakraborty/Christian CSI Devendrakula Vellalar/ Dey/Ezhava Malayali/Gandhabanik/Hindu AD/Hindu Nadar/Kannada Devanga Chettiar Kanjilakuduthar/Kannada Madhwa Kashyapa Kritika/Kar-makar/Madhwa Kannada/Madhwa Kannada Aaruvelu Maham Kashyapa/Madhwa Kannada Bharadwaja/Mahisya/Maithil Brah-min/Marwari/Mudhaliar RC/Mukherjee/Nadar/Napit/Oswal/Pathan/ Paundra Kshatriya/Protestant Vanniar Christian/Rudraj Brahmin/ Sayed/SC/[oblique in the specification] AD PR/Shekh Sidiqi/Shunni Muslim/Singhal/Smartha Desastha/SM Pathan/Sriv/Srivastava/Su-barnabanik/Sunni Mughal/Sunni Muslim/Sunni Pathan/Sunni S Sidd-iqi/Sunni Syed/Swathi/RC Kallar/RC Vanniyar/RC Vellala/Thiyya/TV Mudalir/Ugra Kshatriya/Viswakarma (C)/Vokkaliga Gowda Arudra*
HOROSCOPE (4)	*Manglik (2)/non Manglik/Sadhayam*
LOCATION (2)	*Delhite/Keralite*
LOCATION + COMMUNITY (35)	*W.B. Brahmin (7)/E.B. Kayastha (6)/Tamil Muslim (6)/Bengali Ka-yastha (2)/E.B. Baishyasaha/E.B. Sadgope/Singapore Tamil Mus-lim/Tamil Muslim Sunnath Jamath/Tamil Muthuraja/W.B. Gan-dhabanik/W.B. Jadav/ W.B. Kayastha/W.B. Mahishya/W.B. Sadgope/ W.B. Shatchashi/W.B. Subarnabanik/W.B. Tantubaya/W.B. Ugra-khatriya*
LOCATION + HOROSCOPE (1)	*W.B. Mangalik*

Figure 7: Self-denotation Indian grooms (ILI)

The subcategories that are identified within ILI concerning the self-denotation of the grooms can be seen in Figure 7[48]. Once more the various designations and collocations referring to COMMUNITY show the complexity of the Indian caste system (Nair 1992: 249). Not only are there far more than just the four designations for Hindu castes one commonly hears about – *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* – but there are also many further specifications given on other religions, e.g. for Roman Catholics and Mus-lims. Christianity did not originate in India; however, Indians nativised it in a way simi-lar to what they did with English. This can be seen in the fact that in Indian Christianity, castes are present. Even the so-called 'scheduled castes' exist, which is exemplified in the lexical item *SC/AD PR*.

The lexical items denoting COMMUNITY are mostly double items, e.g. *Paundra Kshatri-ya*, or multiple. Within this category, the items which have *Muslim*, *SC/PR*, *CSI*, *Chris-tian CSI*, *RC* or *Protestant* as one part and an ILI as the other one can be classified as hybrid collocations. While in some, e.g. *SC AD/PR*, there are more English lexical items

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[48] A list of abbreviations is given above. The denotations are listed in implicational order. If one denota-tion is used in more than one advertisement, the number is given in brackets. This procedure will be followed throughout the present thesis.

than Indian ones, others such as *RC Vanniyar* show a balance of English and Indian– if *RC* is counted as one lexical item. The remaining ones are made up exclusively of ILI. Among all these, some are known in other varieties of English as well, e.g. *Brahmin Hindu*. The question whether they are already a part of the lexical stock of English is not easy to answer. Here, it is argued that these lexical items are not necessarily a part of English since, as mentioned above, they are unlikely to be used in a context completely detached from India.

While COMMUNITY is used in all four newspapers, LOCATION + COMMUNITY occurs only in *The Statesman* and *The Hindu*. *The Statesman* was founded, and still has its headquarters, in Kolkata, the capital of West Bengal (cf. 3.2.3 above). In the collocations used in *The Statesman* in the subcategory LOCATION + COMMUNITY, the LOCATION is either *E.B.* or *W.B.*, cf. the following examples

SBW43 E.B. KAYASTHA, Paul, Graduate (B.Sc.), knows computer typing, service in KMC, salary Rs.14,500+, 33 yrs. / 5'-7", handsome, parents present, own house, only child; within 28 yrs, E.B., fair complexion, Graduate, good-looking, Kayastha brides wanted. Ph. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. Totally demand less[49]. ▮▮▮▮

SBW7 W.B. GANDHABANIK, 21 / 5'-2", BA 2nd year, Computer Diploma, wheatish complexion, Modhgulya, father working, one brother, one sister, own house, well to do, established, educated brides required within 25-26 yrs., both EB / WB. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮, except SC / ST. ▮▮▮▮

The discrepancy between the various communites in East Bengal and West Bengal must be crucial. Since Kolkata is the capital of West Bengal, people obviously want to clarify either that they are really W.B., or if they are not W.B., they state as much. The same applies to *The Hindu*, which is published in Chennai, the capital of Tamil Nadu. Like all major cities, Chennai accommodates people from various origins and backgrounds, the major group being Tamils. Therefore *Tamil + X* is the most common denomination within the subcategory LOCATION+ X. The regional background in combination with COMMUNITY plays an important role not only in Hinduism but also in Islam, as HBW38 exemplifies:

HBW38 TAMIL MUSLIM 27/170 Fair MBBS,MS(Ortho),MRCS(UK) seeks good-looking, pious,professional bride.▮▮▮▮▮ (after 5pm) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Beside *Tamil*, there are other regional denominations, e.g. *Bengali Kayastha*:

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[49] *Totally demand less* indicates that the advertiser does not expect dowry.

HBW10 Bengali Kayastha 33/172 successful Knowledge Management consultant settled in Pondicherry own house brought up in Sri Aurobindo Ashram seeks educated slim girl. ███████████████████████

This groom states that he is *settled in Pondicherry*, which might lead to the conclusion that he is of Tamil or other South Indian origin. By stating that he is a *Bengali Kayastha*, however, he makes it clear that he comes from Bengal. As a Bengali Kayastha, he does not want to be mistaken for a Tamil or any other Kayastha.

The importance of horoscope matching was mentioned above. For some people, it seems to be of additional interest. They make specifications on their horoscopes but not in their self-denotation, as HBW32 shows

HBW32 NAIR, ASWATHI, 30/172cm, B.E, Working as IT Analyst with TCS, Chennai Seeking Alliance from Educated Girls with Good Family Send BHP Box ██████████ ████████████████████████

This groom mentions *Aswathi* as his HOROSCOPE but only after denoting himself as *Nair*. For others, the horoscope is obviously more important since they use it as their self-denotation. Collocations with location also play a role here, e.g. *W.B. Manglik*. The designations *Keralite* and *Delhite* for location are examples of the lexical creativity of Indian English. The suffix *–ite* can be added to any location and denotes its inhabitants.

All subcategories within ILI are related to Indian culture. This is plausible since the language of the matrimonials is English, and only those things and ideas that cannot be expressed in English are given in a language in which lexical items for them exist. When lexical items of Indian origin find their ways into a variety of English, this is a case of borrowing or code-mixing. Bussmann (1990: 55) defines borrowing as

> [a]doption of a linguistic expression from one language into another language, usually when no term exists for the new object, concept or state of affairs. Among the causes of such cross-linguistic influence may be various […] cultural developments.

Code mixing, on the contrary,

> refers to the transition from using linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) of one language to using those of another within a single sentence. […] CM [code mixing] is also different from borrowing in many ways (1) the mixed elements do not necessarily 'fill lexical gaps' in the host language; (2) the mixed elements are often sequences longer than single words; (3) the mixed elements are not restricted to a more or less limited set accepted by the speech community of the host language – on the contrary, the entire second language system is at the disposal of the code mixer; (4) the mixed elements are not necessarily assimilated into the host language by regular phonological and morphological processes; and finally […], (5) the two terms make totally different claims about the competence of the individual speaker: borrowing can occur in monolingual speech, while code mixing is necessarily a product of bilingual competence (Sridhar 1989: 76f.).

According to these definitions, the instances above can be regarded as examples of borrowing since they all relate to Indian culture and therefore fill lexical gaps in English. Furthermore, they are integrated grammatically. However, the transition from borrowing to code-mixing is rather a continuum than a clear-cut division (Swann 1996: 320). Furthermore, one cannot make claims about the linguistic competence of the writers of the advertisements. While they are probably at least bilingual, they might also be only fluent in English.

Görlach (1998: 7f.) remarks:

> Speakers may speak more than one language […], and may choose to use two or more languages in a specific speech event […]. The topic is a minefield of uncertainties since an umambiguous analysis depends on:
> 1. the speakers' ability or individual willingness to keep distinct the languages used, and their motivation for doing so;
> 2. the attitudes of the speech community to such mixing; the degree to which mixes have become conventional;
> 3. the structural proximity or distance of the languages involved;
> 4. the awareness of the speakers that they are using language X with additions from Y, or their intention to do so;
> 5. the possibility of distinguishing between code-mixing and borrowing.

All these factors have to be considered when borrowing and code-mixing are discussed in the Indian context. The people using Indian English do not consider it a vaeriety deviant from Standard English; they seem to regard the peculiar Indian lexical items as an integral part of their English. Thus, the question whether they are aware that they are borrowing arises. One could also ask why this process should be labelled borrowing since the Indian cultural background differs from the one of Great Britain and in consequence, additional lexical items are needed. For a Hindu, the lexical item 'Protestant' may seem as strange as the lexical item 'Ugrakshatriya' for an English Protestant. As long as English is considered a foreign language to India, all those lexical items expressing typical Indian concepts can easily be labelled 'Indian' or 'borrowed'. However, the boundaries become fuzzy and more questions arise when English is considered an Indian language or at least a nativised one. One has to ask whether it is a case of borrowing, then, if lexical items expressing cultural content are used in the respective country itself. This again touches on the question of what is regarded as the standard model of English. Since the outer circle (B. Kachru 1988: 5), to which India belongs, has long outnumbered the inner one, i.e. the 'native' speakers, and the ratio is likely to increase in the future, one may ask if it is not the members of the inner circle who have to shift their position. This cannot be discussed in detail here. However, no language can ever be examined as totally detached from its culture. Since English obviously did not origi-

nate in India, the notion applied here will be the distinction between English and Indian lexical items with the Indian ones being ranked as examples of borrowing.

	The Statesman	The Hindu	The Milli Gazette	The Times of India
■ ILI	86.7%	58.7%	48%	12%
■ ELI	13.3%	41.3%	52%	88%
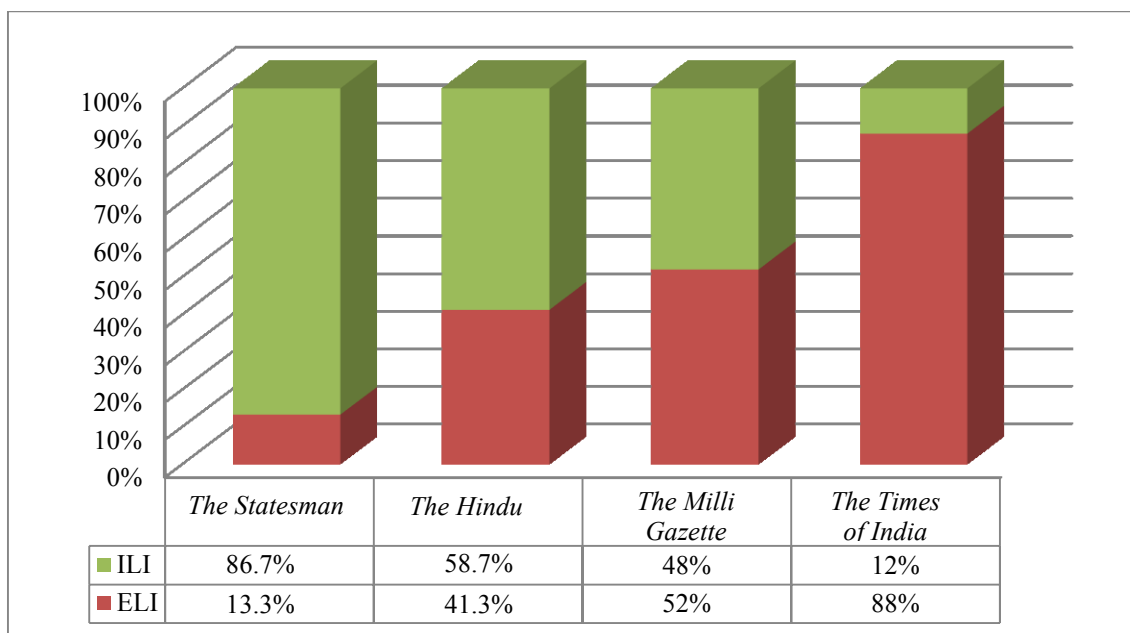
Figure 8: Self-denotation Indian grooms – frequency of ILI and ELI in percentages (n=75)

As Figure 8 shows, the frequency of ILI varies greatly in the four newspapers. While *The Statesman* has the highest frequency of ILI (65 items, i.e. 86.7%), *The Times of India* has the lowest rate (only nine items, i.e. 12%). This low figure can be accounted for by the fact that in *The Times of India*, the advertisements appear under specialised classifications which limit the group of respondents by already indicating a caste, location, etc. In the other newspapers, this is not the case and thus, the self-denotation is the first place to handle this. Again, as for the question of authorship, the discrepancy is highest between the two British-founded newspapers. The gap between the two Indian-founded ones only amounts to eight items, *The Hindu* having 44 ILI (58.7%) and *The Milli Gazette* 36 items (48%).
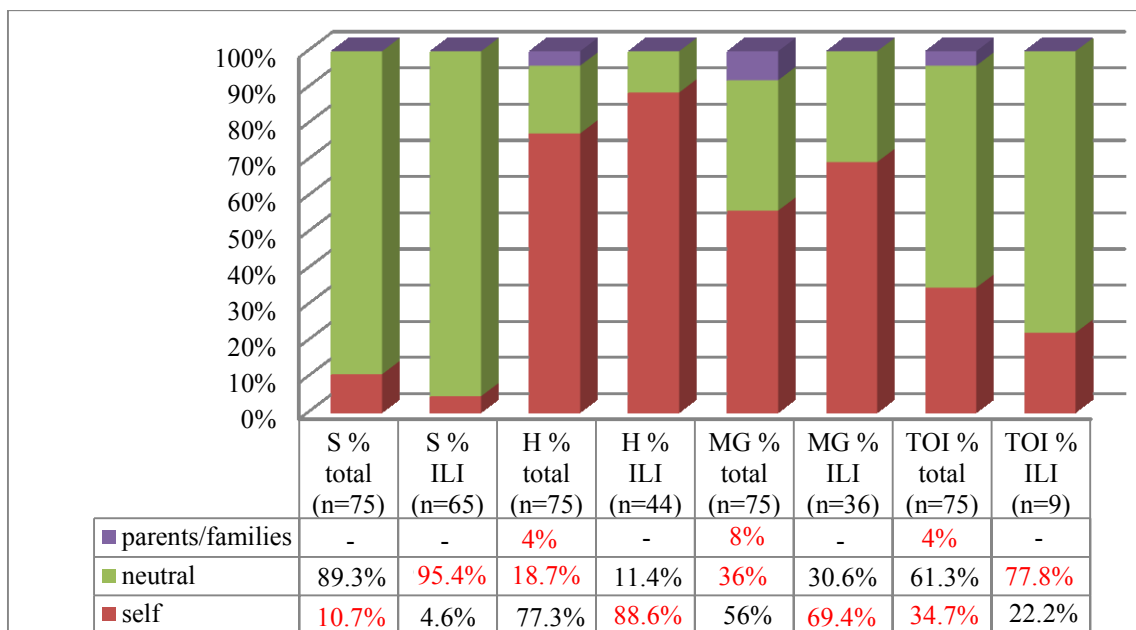
Figure 9: 'Brides Wanted': percentages of ILI compared to percentages of matrimonials according to newspaper in the self-denotation of grooms; S = *The Statesman*, H = *The Hindu*, MG = *The Milli Gazette*, TOI = *The Times of India* (red = higher percentage)

Figure 9 shows who uses the ILI. In *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* among parents/families, ILI are represented disproportionally low (0 vs. 4% and 0 vs 8%) to the advantage of self (88.6% vs. 77.3% and 69.4% vs. 56%). In *The Times of India*, the numbers are more balanced. In *The Statesman*, the relatively small number of selves need a relatively high number of ELI (to the disadvantage of neutrals).

This means that, in the Indian-founded newspaper, parents/families and neutrals tend to show off their knowledge of English. In *The Times of India*, the ILI and ELI are even. In *The Statesman*, the relatively small number of selves want to show off their English as well. Surprisingly, none of the ILI is used by the parents/families.

5.4.1.1.2 English Lexical Items

subcategory	denotation
MALE DESIGNATION (114)	*boy* (101)/*son* (7)/*groom* (4)/*bachelor/male*
COMMUNITY (12)	*CSI* (3)/*CSI-Christian* (2)/*Muslim* (2)/*Christian/CSI-Indian Christian/RC/RC Christian SC/Srilankan Roman Catholic*
EDUCATION (8)	*BE/BE-MBA/B.Sc./B.Tech./MBA/MBA-IIM/MCA/ M.Tech.*
PROFESSION (5)	*army officer/bank officer/engr/industrialist/scientist*
FAMILY BACKGROUND (3)	*only son* (2)/*Saifi Suni son*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (2)	*single person/youngster*
AGE/DOB (1)	*85 born*
LOCATION (1)	*NRI*

Figure 10: Self-denotation Indian grooms (ELI)

The subcategories found within ELI are shown in Figure 10. There are several lexical items that are ranked into the subcategory MALE DESIGNATION. They all reveal different perspectives. *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*, *s.v.* 'boy, n.1 and int.') defines *boy* as

a male child or youth. Also: a son, irrespective of age (chiefly as referred to by members of the immediate family). Sometimes restricted to male children below the age of puberty, or below the school-leaving age.

Since all of the so-called *boys* are in their twenties or older, one can speak of a semantic extension of *boy* in Indian English. *Bachelor*, according to *OED*, *s.v.* 'bachelor, *n.*', refers to "an unmarried man (of marriageable age)", while *groom* is "short for bridegroom (Rare except in context with *bride*)" (*OED*, *s.v.* 'groom, *n.[1]*'), which signifies "a man about to be married, or very recently married". While *bachelor* focuses on the fact that the man is not yet married, *groom* gives the impression that he is already in the starting blocks for a marriage and again emphasises the intention behind the advertisement.

The subcategory COMMUNITY shows an overlap between ELI and ILI. Interestingly, all religious terms within ELI apart from *Muslim* are related to Christianity. Thus, the only non-indigenous Indian religions by which the grooms are denoted are Islam and Christianity. The usage of *SC* in matrimonials is a euphemism. The untouchables still suffer from oppression and poor social reputation in spite of the introduction of quota, which has attached a certain economic recognition to them. The fact can also be seen as a semantic restriction to those castes entered in the government list and not merely – as the term *scheduled* implies – appearing in *any* list.

The importance of status is mirrored in the designations for EDUCATION and PROFESSION. The latter (perhaps apart from the vague *industrialist*) all require a university degree, which are given expressis verbis in the subcategory EDUCATION. The lowest degree mentioned is a bachelor. None of the advertisers is content with mentioning a school certificate or an apprenticeship. Furthermore, the *IIM* (Indian Institute of Management) appears to enjoy a high reputation since it is explicitly mentioned as the institution that awarded an MBA.

The two designations indicating FAMILY BACKGROUND are *only son* and *Saifi Suni son*. While the latter probably refers to the father of the respective groom, the former contains the information that the groom does not have any male siblings. This implies far more than the mere absence of brothers; it also means that he is the only heir of his parents. This increases the pressure that he himself needs to have a son in order to continue the lineage. At the same time it promises the inheritance of family possessions and reputation.

Single person and *youngster* are the only lexical items in this subcategory that reveal neither the gender of the person concerned nor any additional information. *Youngster* might arguably be classified into the subcategory AGE/DOB (date of birth) as well. However, since *young* is a relative term, it was decided not to do so. *85 born is* a construc-

tion of the type *X + past participle*. It is not only typical of Indian English itself (Carls 1999: 143) but also used frequently in several kinds of classified advertisements since it is "highly creative" (Bruthiaux 1996: 71).

NRI, ranked into the subcategory LOCATION, is short for 'non-resident Indian', implying that the man concerned is of Indian origin but now lives somewhere else. This often evokes favourable feelings since it might suggest a higher income and a better lifestyle.

5.4.1.1.3 Comparison Parents/Families – Self

The range of lexical items used by parents/families is very small. The two highest frequencies are reached by *boy* and *son*. The range of items used by the grooms themselves is much wider (since there are more specifications in general). However, *boy* is also one of the favourite items used.

5.4.1.2 Brides

5.4.1.2.1 Indian Lexical Items

The subcategories identified among ILI are the following (cf. Figure 11). All of them relate directly to Indian culture. They are almost the same as those among the grooms. The only difference is that for the grooms, LOCATION + HOROSCOPE is present additionally, and the subcategory COMMUNITY + LOCATION, present for the brides, does not exist for the grooms.

subcategory	denotation
LOCATION + COMMUNITY (52)	*E.B. Kayastha (9)/W.B. Brahmin (7)/E.B. Brahmin (6)/E.B. Baidya (4)/W.B. Kayastha (3)/W.B. Subarnabanik (3)/Tamil Muslim (2)/W.B. Mahishya (2)/Bengali Kayastha/Bengali Sunni Muslim/E.B. Baishya-saha/E.B. Baishya Saha/E.B. Barujibi/E.B. Jadav/E.B. Mahishya/E.B. Malo/E.B. Poundra/Tml Iyer/W.B. Baishya/W.B. Jadav Ghosh/W.B. Sadgope/W.B. Sathchasi/W.B. Tili/W.B. Ugrakshatriya*
COMMUNITY (49)	*Tili (7)/Kayastha (3)/Nair (3)/Baidya (2)/Ezhava (2)/Mahishya (2)/AD PR/Agarwal/all Kayasthu/Baishya Saha/Brm/Christian AD/CSI AD SC/CSI KK Nadar/Gaurbana/Gaur Br./Gour Brahmin/Gupta/Kay/ Kayastha Sen/RC Malayalee/RC Nadar/Saha/Sax/Senguntha Mudaliar CSI/Shaikh/SM Sheikh Syed/Sriv/Sunni Ansari/Sunni Khan/ Sunni Muslim/Sunni Pathan/Sunni Sheikh/Sunni Syed/Viswakarma/Yadav*
HOROSCOPE (2)	*Makam/Manglik*
LOCATION (2)	*Delhite/Punjabi*
COMMUNITY + LOCATION (1)	*Thowheed Tamil*

Figure 11: Self-denotation Indian brides (ILI)

The difference between COMMUNITY + LOCATION and LOCATION + COMMUNITY lies in the focus although the content is the same. Whereas in the latter, the LOCATION-part functions as an attribute specifying the COMMUNITY, the focus of COMMUNITY + LOCATION is on the LOCATION. The bride is identified as a *Tamil* who has the community *Thowheed* and not a *Thowheed* who is a *Tamil*.

Again, the lexical items within COMMUNITY are often compounds. Those ranked into LOCATION, i.e. *Delhite* and *Punjabi*, refer to a local person as opposed to the *NRI-groom*. This can be regarded as representative of Indian attitude in general. For men, it is positive to make money abroad; this does not apply to women. While the denotation of the groom refers to a life abroad with an ELI, the brides are referred to with their connection to India with an ILI.

	The Statesman	The Hindu	The Milli Gazette	The Times of India
■ ILI	86.7%	28%	13.3%	13.3%
■ ELI	13.3%	72%	86.7%	86.7%
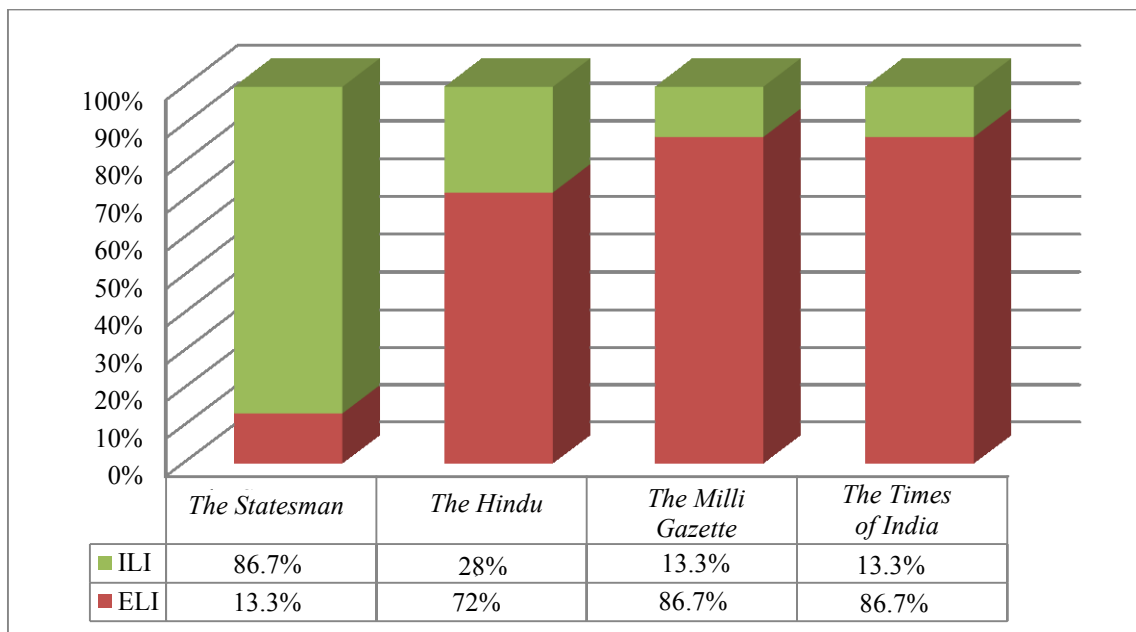
Figure 12: Self-denotation Indian brides – frequency of ILI in percentages (n=75)

Figure 12 shows the frequency of ILI and ELI in the four newspapers: *The Statesman* has again the highest percentage of ILI (86.7%), and at only 13.3% each, *The Times of India* and *The Milli Gazette* have the lowest ones. At 28% *The Hindu* has also quite a low frequency. The gap is widest between the British-founded *Statesman* and *The Times of India*/*The Milli Gazette*, the latter not only being Indian-founded but also having a religiously homogeneous readership. Thus, the readers of *The Statesman* are not expected to refer to themselves in terms of Indian culture as much as those of an Indian-founded newspaper. The homogeneity of the readership of *The Milli Gazette*, however, can account for this. Since the readers are assumed to have the same religious background, they do not need to mention it as explicitly as in *The Statesman*, where the readership is so diverse that the identification with Indian culture is necessary to create a certain pre-selection regarding the responses to the advertisement. The low figure of *The Times of India* can be accounted for in the same way as with the grooms. This pre-selection takes place before the advertisements are even read.

	S % total (n=75)	S % ILI (n=65)	H % total (n=75)	H % ILI (n=44)	MG % total (n=75)	MG % ILI (n=36)	TOI % total (n=75)	TOI % ILI (n=9)
■ parents/families	-	-	8%	-	10.7%	-	4%	-
■ neutral	94.7%	98.5%	28%	19.1%	68%	50%	77.3%	80%
■ self	5.3%	1.5%	64%	81%	21.3%	50%	18.7%	20%
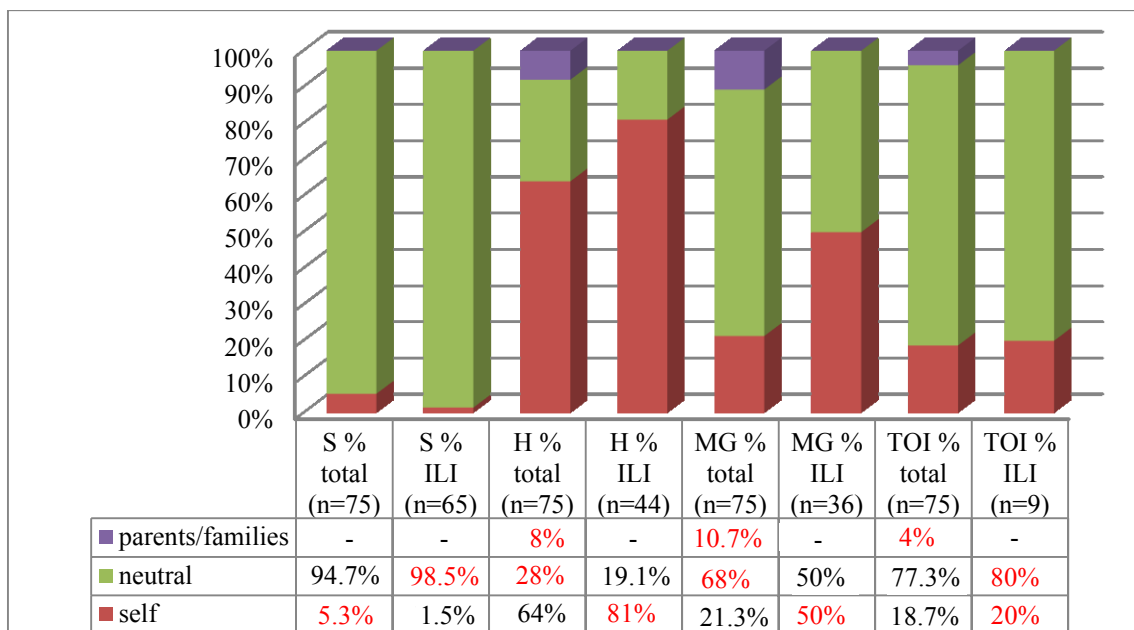
Figure 13: 'Grooms Wanted': percentages of ILI compared to percentages of matrimonials according to newspaper in the self-denotation of brides; S = *The Statesman*, H = *The Hindu*, MG = *The Milli Gazette*, TOI = *The Times of India* (red = higher percentage)

Figure 13 shows who uses the ILI. In *The Times of India,* neutrals and selves use ILI more often (80% and 20% vs. 77.3% and 18.7%), in *The Statesman* neutrals use ILI (98.5% and 94.7%) and selves use ELI more often. In *The Hindu*, parents/families use more ELI than ILI. In *The Milli Gazette*, selves use ILI disproportionally often (50% vs. 21.3%), i.e. in the Indian-founded newspapers, selves are conservative. Remarkably, there are no parents/families using ILI when denoting the brides. Thus, it is rather the brides who assign themselves traditional roles by referring to themselves with Indian terms.

5.4.1.2.2 English Lexical Items

The subcategories within ELI can be seen in Figure 14.

subcategory	denotation
FEMALE DESIGNATION (173)	*gal/girl/grl* (together 156)/*daughter/dghtr/d'ghtr* (together 9)/ *bride* (6)/*lady/spinister* [sic]
EDUCATION (8)	*B.Tech*. (2)/*graduate* (2)/*BE/B.Tech. (Cs)/MBA/MSc*
COMMUNITY (5)	*Buddhist/CSI SC/*[oblique in the specification]*PR/RC/ RC Anglo-Indian/SC*
AGE/DOB (2)	*31/26*
APPEARANCE (1)	*wheatish*
FAMILY BACKGROUND (1)	*retd. defence offr's daughter*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (1)	*unmrd*
MARITAL STATUS (1)	*divorce* [sic]
PROFESSION (1)	*jewellery designer*
LOCATION + COMMUNITY (1)	*W.B. SC* [=West Bengal Scheduled Caste]

Figure 14: Self-denotation Indian brides (ELI)

With the brides, all subcategories present for the grooms exist as well. Additionally, brides are referred to in terms of APPEARANCE, LOCATION + COMMUNITY and MARITAL STATUS. The subcategories COMMUNITY and LOCATION + COMMUNITY are present in ILI and ELI, similarly to the grooms.

OED, *s.v.* 'girl, *n.*', provides several definitions of *girl* that might be appropriate in the present context:

1. A young or relatively young woman.
2. A woman of any age. Attested earlier in (often *derogatory*) reference to women with respect to their occupation or social status […]
3. A female child. The counterpart of *boy*.
    Freq. also with prefixed defining adjectives *baby*, *little*, *young*, etc.
4. Used as a form of address to a girl or woman. […]
    Often (esp. in later use) in informal contexts, implying intimacy or friendship between the speaker and the person addressed.
5. *colloq.* A sweetheart, a girlfriend; a wife. […]

The age range lies between 21 and 42, the majority of the brides being in their twenties (cf. Figure 129 below). Therefore, the usage in the sense of the first meaning is appropriate. However, one could also think of *girl* being used in a derogatory sense, especially regarding the cultural background that disadvantages women. Thus, the brides perhaps denote themselves as *girls* in order to state implicitly that they conform to this tradition. R. T. Lakoff (2004: 56) claims (for America) that the use of *girl* stresses "the idea of immaturity". Furthermore she remarks that "one seldom hears a man past the age of adolescence referred to as boy" (2004: 56). This, however, does not hold for the Indian data considered. By denoting themselves as *girls* as in meaning 5, the brides might imply intimacy and emotional feelings in order to attract the readers, which perhaps is more valid in a culture different from the Indian one, where emotions do not play a major role in marriages. However, all these are mere speculations and since the number of the grooms denoting themselves as *boys* is also quite high, meaning 4 is probably the one prevailing here. An explanation for both *boy* and *girl* reaching high frequencies is that parents/families are often involved in the match-making process. Therefore, the brides- and grooms-to-be are always 'the children' for whom a match needs to be made. Since marriage is something everyone is to aim at, preferably before reaching the age of thirty, unmarried people are often referred to as girls and boys. Only when people are married are they regarded as fully fledged and respectable members of society and referred to as women and men.

Spinster is used to denote a bride as *bachelor* is used to denote a groom. *OED*, *s.v.* 'spinster, *n.*', defines *spinster* as

2. **a.** Appended to names of women, originally in order to denote their occupation, but subsequently (from the 17th century) as the proper legal designation of one still unmarried.

   b. A woman still unmarried; *esp.* one beyond the usual age for marriage, an old maid.

While the first definition is neutral in value judgement, the crucial word in the second one, i.e. *still*, implies a certain accusation and evokes a sense of abnormality. Like *boy* and *girl* and *groom* and *bride, bachelor* and *spinster* form a pair and thus, the first meaning is probably meant here. While men enjoy more freedom in general, marriage is more or less binding for both genders and thus, it cannot be definitely assumed that *spinster* is meant in a derogatory way.

Bride, according to *OED, s.v.* 'bride, *n.*', designates "a woman at her marriage; a woman just about to be married or very recently married." Like *groom,* this reinforces the intention behind the advertisement and makes clear that nothing but a marriage is aimed at.

A *Lady* is

   1. a. The female head of a household; a woman who has authority over servants, attendants, or slaves (now chiefly arch. or hist.) […]
   b. A woman who rules over subjects, a queen; a woman to whom obedience or feudal homage is due. Now rare except in lady of the manor n. […]
   d. A woman who is the object of (esp. chivalrous) love or devotion. Cf. lady-love n. 1. Now chiefly hist. or poet (*OED, s.v.* 'lady, *n.*').

Nihalani et al. (2005, *s.v.* 'lady'). mention that in Indian English, *lady* is often used instead of British English woman The stereotypical denotation also becomes visible in the references to FAMILY BACKGROUND. The bride is denoted in terms of her father's former profession *Defence off'r.* This military position implies a high reputation. The additional attribute *Retd.*, however, allows conclusions concerning the financial background of this bride's family since a retired person does not earn as much money as a person in service. Furthermore, *Retd.* hints at the age of the bride's father. The fact that he is probably over 60 implies that he was older than average when his daughter was born. While for a groom this would be respectable – a father carrying the burden of raising a child at an advanced age simply because he has been waiting for a boy for a very long time – this might be seen as negative for a bride.

Wheatish and *divorcee* are stereotypical as well when examined in more detail, even though the women use them themselves. *Wheatish* refers to a medium skin colour. *OED, s.v.* 'wheatish, *adj.*', ranks it as Indian English:

   [o]f the complexion, etc.: that is (or is held to be) of the pale golden colour of ripe wheat; light brown, pale-skinned. Characteristically found in Indian newspaper advertisements describing prospective brides.

The term exemplifies a semantic shift, i.e. restriction (Dubey 1991: 28), since everyone in India has a precise idea of what *wheatish* looks like, i.e. lighter than the average skin colour. Characterising a bride by her APPEARANCE shows the importance of her beauty (Dubey 1991: 28). Referring to a bride by giving her MARITAL STATUS is equally sexist since it is not given as a denotation for any of the grooms. However, this does not mean that none of the grooms has been married before since the MARITAL STATUS of men *is* mentioned in several advertisements, as HBW2 exemplifies:

HBW2 NAIR 49 well educated employed in PSU legally divorced without any encumbrance seeks alliance with horoscope. No demands. Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

This groom is denoted as *Nair*, and only later is his MARITAL STATUS mentioned. Rather, if a man has been married before, this does not seem important enough to mention. The bride who is referred to as *divorce* [sic], however, is stigmatised in advance. She is presented in an unfavourable way, especially since *issueless* – which, in combination with divorcee, is a common collocation in Indian English – is missing and therefore exposing her as not being a virgin anymore. Unfortunately, it cannot be identified who inserted those three rather stereotypical designations which reveal more about the attitudes of the authors towards gender expectations as the authors might be aware of.

Horoscope matching and the X + -ite-construction was already commented on; it does not differ significantly between brides and grooms. Among those lexical items related to Christianity, *Anglo-Indian* is noteworthy. Anglo-Indians are people

> whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only (Art. 366 (2) ConstInd).

Like *SC*, it is a euphemism. In terms of professional reputation, literacy and their constitutionally acknowledged status, Anglo-Indians enjoy a favourable reputation. However, the fact that they emerge from a mixed marriage – in the worst case even from an illegitimate relationship – is fatal in a traditional and value-bound society. Either none of the grooms is Anglo-Indian or this is not seen as worth mentioning.

Apart from lexical items related to Christianity (*RC Anglo-Indian*, *RC*, *CSI SC/PR*), there are the lexical items *Buddhist*, *SC* and *W.B. SC*. *SC* and *W.B. SC* classified as ELI although they probably relate to Hinduism. However, purely English lexical items are used for them, and in the Indian languages the terms are different.

Again, almost all lexical items referring to EDUCATION relate to university degrees. An exception is the PROFESSION *jewellery designer*. This is stereotypical of a woman rather than of a man; in the Indian context, even more strongly so since working women are not the norm and a PROFESSION like jewellery designer can be done from home without holding a university degree.

5.4.1.2.3 Comparison Parents/Families – Self

Like for the grooms, the range of items used by parents/families is, of course, quite small. The most frequent denotations are *daughter* and *girl.* In two cases, the brides' AGE/DOB are given. The reasons for this might be that in both instances, the age is above the average of 23.5 years (Census of India 2001). Probably, the parents/families think that the comparatively advanced age of their daughters might be a criterion for exclusion for many possible respondents and therefore give it in the first place to attract serious suitors only. Like for the grooms, the range of lexical items used by the option 'self' is obviously much wider. However, the range for the brides (nine lexical items/subcategories) is smaller than that for the grooms (14 lexical items/subcategories).

While grooms denote themselves in terms of PROFESSION, this is missing for the brides. However, self-denotation in terms of EDUCATION exists and is used excessively in *The Statesman* (75%). This can be accounted for by the seriousness and sophistication of this newspaper, which shows that such notions also apply to women.

5.4.2 The British Corpus

5.4.2.1 Men

subcategory	denotation
MALE DESIGNATION (43)	*man* (15)/*male* (13)/*gent(leman)* (11)/*guy* (3)/*one man and his dog*
PROFESSION (14)	*businessman* (4)/*carpenter/doctor/farmer/fire fighter/geologist/ lawyer/photographer/professional/property developer/teacher*
MARITAL STATUS (5)	*widower* (5)
ATTRIBUTES (4)	*considerate/discerning/romantic hedonist/yoga man*
APPEARANCE (3)	*attractive/slim/well preserved*
NATIONALITY (2)	*Englishman* (2)
PSEUDONYM (2)	*Howard Hughes/Jeffrey De Vere*
AGE/DOB (1)	*54 year old*
PRONOUN (1)	*I*

Figure 15: Self-denotation British men

British men denote themselves with the help of the follwing subcategories (cf. Figure 15). According to *OED, s.v.* 'gentleman, *n.*', this lexical item is commonly used to designate "a man of gentle birth, or having the same heraldic status as those of gentle birth; properly, one who is entitled to bear arms, though not ranking among the nobility […]". Nowadays, the usage as "a man in whom gentle birth is accompanied by appropriate qualities and behaviour; hence, in general a man of chivalrous instincts and fine feelings" (*OED, s.v.* 'gentleman, *n.*') or

> a man of superior position in society, or having the habits of life indicative of this; often, one whose means enable him to live in easy circumstances without engaging in trade, a man of money and leisure. In recent use often employed […] as a more courteous synonym for 'man', without regard to the social rank of the person referred to (*OED, s.v.* 'gentleman, *n.*').

are most common and probably the ones aimed at in the advertisements.

Male is defined as "[a] male person; a boy or man. Chiefly in expressed or implied antithesis with *female*, but also (esp. in *Med.*) simply as a synonym for *man*" (*OED, s.v.* 'male, *adj. and n.[1]*'). A *man* is "an adult male human being. […] Without explicit contrast in terms of sex or age" or "with special reference to age: a male person who has reached adulthood (*spec.* the age of majority); a male person who shows maturity" (*OED, s.v.* 'man, *n.[1] (and int.)*'). *Guy* is another word for "a man, fellow. orig. *U.S.*" (*OED, s.v.* 'guy, *n. [2]*').

Comparing the subcategory PROFESSION of the Indian and the British corpora, it is noticeable that the Indian subcategory contains exclusively overtly prestigious professions for which an academic degree is needed. Especially *photographer*, *fire fighter*, *carpenter* and *farmer* are not known as intellectually challenging occupations whereas *professional* remains undefined. *Photographer* is probably used to evoke a sense of glamour and creativity. *Fire fighter*, *carpenter* and *farmer* require a certain physical constitution and thus suggest manliness. *Fire fighter* additionally adds a heroic connotation to the

one engaged in this profession, while *carpenters* and *farmers* are close to nature and evoke ecological and 'back-to-the-roots'-feelings. *Geologist*, *property developer*, *teacher*, *lawyer* and *doctor* are commonly known as reputable professions and promise a stable and high income.

Considerate is defined as "having or showing consideration; thoughtful, deliberate, prudent. […] showing consideration for the circumstances, feelings, well being, etc. of others; thoughtful for others. Now the chief sense" by *OED*, *s.v.* 'considerate, *adj.*'. The last meaning in particular sheds a positive light on the *considerate* man.

The *yoga man* presents himself as creative and also calm whereas the focus of the *romantic hedonist* lies on passion and enjoying life since *romantic* is defined as

> (a) Demonstrating feelings of love and tenderness; given to (impulsive) acts of romanticism and affection; amorous, loving, affectionate. […]
> (b) Desirous of or wanting love and romance. Later also: in the mood for sexual intercourse; sexually aroused; 'turned on'. Chiefly in to feel   (also get) romantic (*OED*, *s.v.* 'romantic, *adj. and n.*').

A *hedonist* is someone "who maintains the doctrine of hedonism; one who regards pleasure as the chief good" (*OED*, *s.v.* 'hedonist, *n.*'). One has to bear in mind, however, that the advertisers do not necessarily have a profound knowledge of the designation's meaning. The items within MALE DESIGNATION show no peculiarities apart from *one man and his dog*, which might be used to evoke sympathy.

All lexical items listed under APPEARANCE describe the men positively. *Discerning* is defined by *OED*, *s.v.* 'discern, adj.', as "[t]hat discerns [...]; distinguishing, discriminating, perceiving."

The label *Englishman* within the subcategory NATIONALITY may either be used by a person who wants to clarify that he is not a foreigner or because of the positive connotations of the noun that someone is loyal and has good manners.

The man denoting himself as *Howard Hughes* probably wants to evoke a sense of adventure since Hughes was an aviator, but he was also shy and had an "aversion to publicity" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'Howard Hughes'). *Jeffrey de Vere* was a member of the de Vere family who "held the hereditary office of Lord Great Chamberlain from 1133 to 1779 and the earldom of Oxford from 1142 to 1703" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, *s.v.* 'Vere Family').

5.4.2.2 Women

subcategory	denotation
FEMALE DESIGNATION (45)	*lady* (22)/*woman* (13)/*female* (9)/*girl*
APPEARANCE (15)	*blonde* (5)/*brunette* (5)/*beautiful* (2)/*beauty/ red head/slim*
MARITAL STATUS (3)	*widow* (3)
ATTRIBUTES (2)	*romantic/warm-hearted*
no specification (2)	
PROFESSION (2)	*doctor/ lawyer*
PRONOUN (2)	*I/me*
PSEUDONYM (2)	*Aphrodite/a rare diamond*
EDUCATION (1)	*graduate*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (1)	*companion*

Figure 16: Self-denotation British women

The British female advertisers use the following lexical items to denote themselves (cf. Figure 16). Unlike the Indian female advertisers, British women call themselves *female* and *woman*. *Girl* and *lady* are used by the Indian advertisers as well. Unlike the lexical items in APPEARANCE in the self-denotation of the British men, those used by the women more often indicate their hair colour whereas the self-denoting items in the Indian corpus relate to skin colour. Both ATTRIBUTES emphasise the sensitive and romantic nature of the women they denote. Within EDUCATION the item *graduate* is rather vague compared to the precise degree designations mentioned by the Indian women. The gender-neutral designation *companion* points to the quality of the respective woman as a good partner. *Doctor* and *lawyer* are again very prestigious professions, like those given by the British men. Interestingly, British women use PRONOUN and PSEUDONYM, two categories not occurring with Indian women at all.
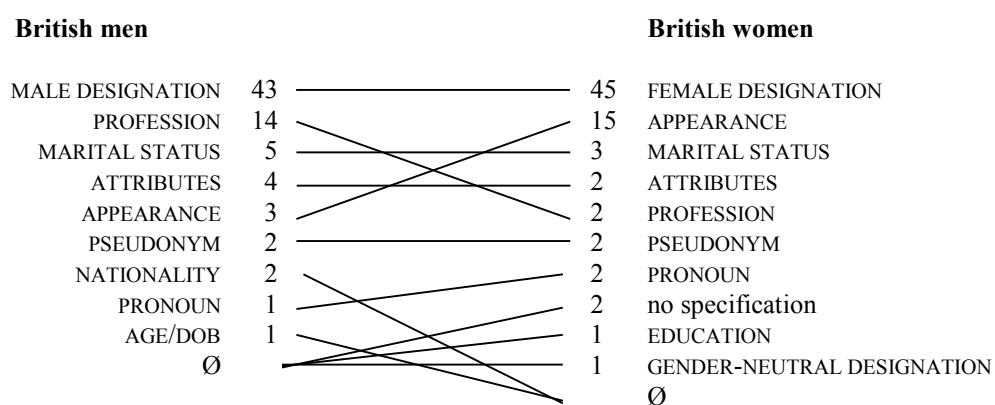
Figure 17[50]: Self-denotation British advertisers

Strikingly, only one man refers to himself with a personal pronoun (cf. Figure 17), i.e. first-person singular; all others speak of themselves in the third person as if talking about someone else. The reason might be that it is easier to describe oneself not 'wasting' the self-denoting item by using a pronoun or it might be due to the fact that many

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[50] Since for the Indian corpus, Indian and English lexical items in self-denotation were analysed separately, there is no equivalent to this figure for th Indian corpus.

people find it strange talking too much of themselves and consider it easier to pretend talking about someone else. The items used for self-denotation not only reveal information about the men using them but also about the relationship aimed at. Especially those men who use attributes or pseudonyms aim at a very individual relationship.

FEMALE DESIGNATION is used by far most often (45 instances) by the British women. Furthermore, APPEARANCE (15 instances) seems to be a popular female way to denote oneself. All other subcategories are of minor frequency only and used in less than 3% of the advertisements in which women are looking for men. Men as well as women use the subcategory GENDER DESIGNATION most frequently (43 for men and 45 for women). However, there is a stereotypical difference between the two genders: Men use PROFESSION (14 instances) women APPEARANCE relatively often. The other subcategories show no huge differences between the genders.

5.5 Partner-Denotation

5.5.1 The Indian Corpus

5.5.1.1 Brides

5.5.1.1.1 Indian and English Lexical Items
In the denotation of brides as partners, hardly any ILI are present. The only four are *Nair*, *RC Mukkulathore Vellalar* (COMMUNITY), *Delhite* (LOCATION) and *Syed/Skh/Siddq* (obliques within the specification; COMMUNITY), the former two being from *The Hindu*, the latter from *The Milli Gazette*. The respective frequencies for *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* are 2.7% of the total. Apart from *Nair*, which is used by the groom himself, all are used in neutral advertisements. This low frequency of ILI is very striking considering the traditional Indian society and its role-expectations, especially those regarding women. Although various traditional features are expressed as required for the future brides, none of them seems important enough to make it the lexical item which denotes the bride. Apart from several instances in which the brides are not denoted at all (six in *The Times of India*, one in *The Statesman*, eleven in *The Hindu*, and eight in *The Milli Gazette*, i.e. an overall frequency of 8.7% of all advertisements in which a bride is wanted), all other instances of denoting the bride are accomplished with the help of ELI.

subcategory	denotation
FEMALE DESIGNATION (227)	*girl/grl* (together 112)/*bride* (56)/*brides* (52)/ *girls* (5)/ *wife* (2)
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (38)	*SM* (22)/*match* (8)/*PQM* (2)/*suitable match* (2)/*M/ partner/ QM/suitable alliance*
EDUCATION (3)	*graduate* (2)/*graduates*
AGE/DOB (1)	*within 25 yrs*
APPEARANCE (1)	*fair*

Figure 18: Partner-denotation Indian brides (ELI)

The subcategories found are shown in Figure 18). *Wife*, according to *OED*, *s.v.* 'wife, *n.*', designates

> 2. a. A woman joined to a man by marriage; a married woman. Correlative of HUSBAND n. 2.
>   (The ordinary current sense.) […]
> 3. The mistress of a household

While *bride* reduces the woman to her role at the wedding itself, *wife* focuses more on the time after the marriage ceremony. This implies more expectations and functions – whether her responsibility of the household (meaning 2.a.) or anything else.

Among the GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATIONS, *match* is the lexical item used mostly. According to *OED*, *s.v.* 'match, *n.[1]*', its meanings are

> 3. An equal in age, rank, position, etc.; a fellow, a companion. Obs.
> 4. A person who or thing which equals another (in some quality or capacity).
> 5. Something which exactly corresponds to or complements another; something forming one of a matching pair.

Since marriages are preferably arranged between people of the same background, *match* is probably a simple way of expressing exactly this idea without having to elaborate on what criteria are wanted. These are then given in the description of the groom.

One common collocation in combination with match is *suitable*, either abbreviated, i.e. *SM* or not, i.e. *suitable match. Suitable*, according to *OED*, *s.v.* 'suitable, *adj.*', means

> 3. That is fitted for, adapted or appropriate to a person's character, condition, needs, etc., a purpose, object, occasion, or the like. Const. to, for.

In the Indian context, *suitable* evokes different associations. While in Europe, in the context of contact advertisements, it would probably refer to character and emotions, the Indian tradition prescribes certain factors that have to match in a marriage, such as caste, economic status, family background, reputation and horoscope. Following this, *suitable* can be seen as a semantic restriction referring to cultural constraints. However, s*uitable* is not only used in order to refer to one's future partner but also to the whole marriage, especially in the collocation *suitable alliance*, as in:

HBW23 NAIR BOY Karthika 30/167 MBA Employed in HDFC Bank Seeks Suitable Alliance Ph.███████████ Mb: ██████████

Alliance, according to Nair (1992: 245) refers to a "marriage by family arrangement". Another collocation common with *match* is *professionally qualified*, or *PQM*. Economic status and reputation are important preconditions for a marriage. While *suitable* does not focus on one particular feature, *professionally qualified* emphasises economic status.

Interestingly, one future bride is denoted as *partner*, which *OED, s.v.* 'partner, *n.¹*', defines as

> 1. A person with a joint share in or use of something; a person who is party to something. In early use: a sharer or partaker (in or of something).
> 2. A person who takes part with another or others in doing something; an associate, companion, or accomplice; a participant (obs.). […]
> 7. a. A person who is linked by marriage to another, a spouse; a member of a couple who live together or are habitual companions; a lover. Now increasingly used in legal and contractual contexts to refer to a member of a couple in a long-standing relationship of any kind, so as to give equal recognition to marriage, cohabitation, same-sex relationships, etc.
> b. A participant in sexual activity with another.

Meaning 7.b. can probably be excluded since the stated aim of a matrimonial advertisement is marriage only. Meanings 1. and 2. add a recognition of an equally active role in a marriage to the bride since they emphasise marriage as co-operation. Meaning 7.a. is probably the one aimed at here.

All items within GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION can be seen as examples of register shift. They may be used in other contexts as well but they have acquired a fixed place in the register of Indian English matrimonials. The use of plural was already pointed out. People do not just secretly hope that several people will respond but they state it explicitly in the advertisements. *Within 25 yrs* shows the expectation towards women – that they should not be too old since this would probably increase the chance that they have already had a relationship or lower the chance that they can deliver healthy children. *Fair*, like *wheatish*, refers to skin colour. In Indian English, this is restricted to the skin and means "a bit light in colour; dark nevertheless" (Dubey 1991: 28). Just like in the self-denotation of the brides, APPEARANCE plays an important part. Interestingly, the primary physical feature is not figure but skin colour. This is rooted in the fact that in India, this seems to conform to the beauty ideal (Rajesh 2013[51]). *Graduate*(*s*) as a term pointing towards education can be seen as an expression of a progressive attitude –

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[51] Rajesh, Monisha. "India's unfair obsession with lighter skin". *The Guardian*. 14 August 2013. 13 January 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/shortcuts/2013/aug/14/indias-dark-obsession-fair-skin>.

brides with a university degree are looked for, which implies that they might have a position as well. This, however, is not stated explicitly.

	The Statesman	*The Times of India*	*The Milli Gazette*	*The Hindu*
■ ELI	98.7%	92%	86.7%	81.3%
■ ILI	-	-	2.7%	2.7%
■ no specification	1.3%	8%	10.6%	16%
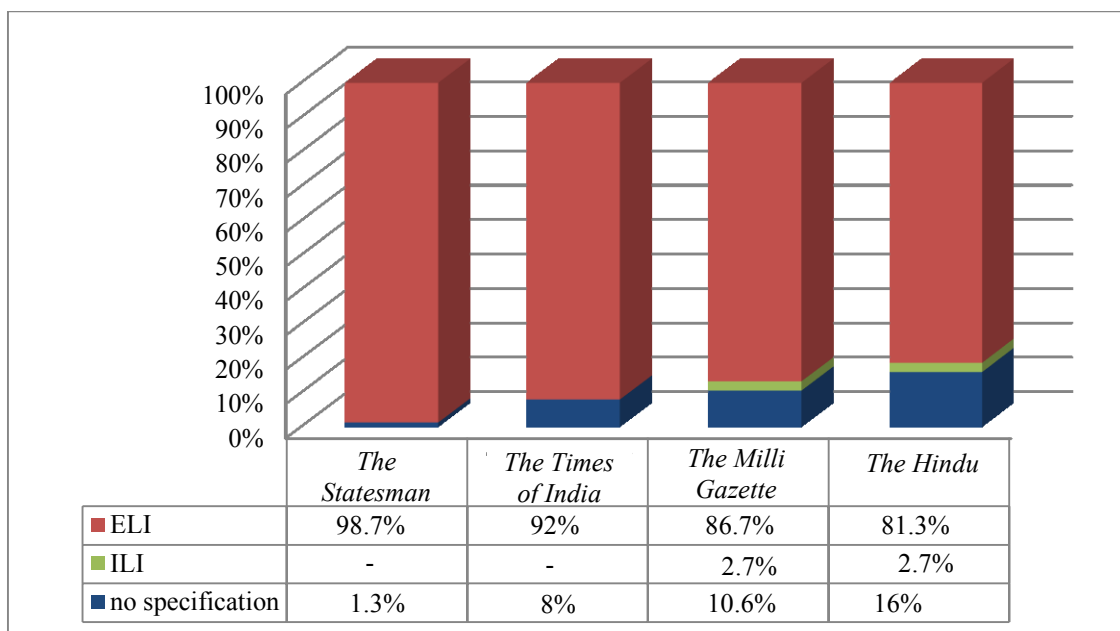
Figure 19: Partner-denotation Indian brides – frequency of ELI in percentages (n=75)

Figure 19 gives the frequencies of the English lexical items in the four newspapers. All figures and percentages are very high. In every newspaper, more than 80% of all denotations for the brides are in English. As expected *The Statesman* and *The Times of India* have the highest frequencies (98.7% and 92%), while the two Indian-founded ones both feature less than 90% (*The Milli Gazette*: 86.7%; *The Hindu*: 81.3%).

	S % total (n=75)	S % ELI (n=74)	TOI % total (n=75)	TOI % ELI (n=69)	MG % total (n=75)	MG % ELI (n=65)	H % total (n=75)	H % ELI (n=61)
■ parents/families	-	-	4%	4.4%	8%	9.2%	4%	4.9%
■ neutral	89,3%	89.2%	61.3%	58%	36%	26.2%	18,7%	8.2%
■ self	10.7%	10.8%	34.7%	37.7%	56%	64.6%	77.3%	86.9%
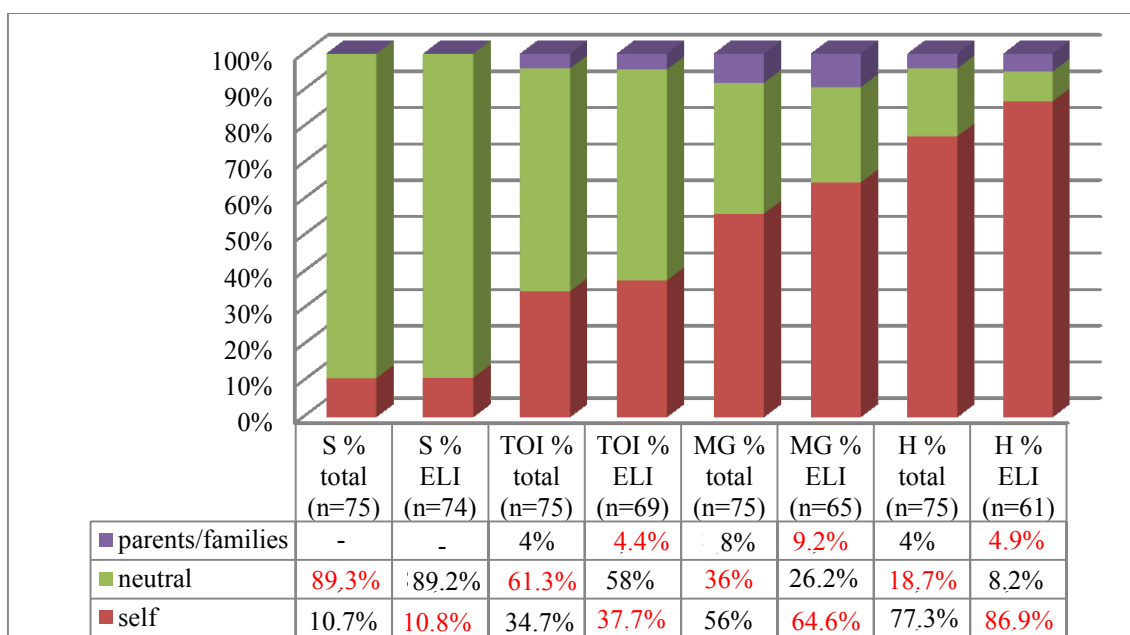
Figure 20: 'Brides Wanted': percentages of ELI compared to percentages of matrimonials according to newspaper in the partner-denotation of brides; S = *The Statesman*, TOI = *The Times of India*, MG = *The Milli Gazette*, H = *The Hindu* (red = higher percentage)

Figure 20 gives the frequencies of the three authorships among ELI. In 89.3% of the advertisements 'Brides Wanted' in *The Statesman*, neutral advertisers are looking for the brides. They use 89.2% of the ELI. The allocation of advertisements inserted by the grooms themselves and the usage of ELI is almost even as well: 10.7% of the grooms use 10.8% of the ELI. In *The Times of India*, 4.4% of the ELI in partner-denotation 'Brides Wanted' are used by parents/families. 61.3% of the advertisements are inserted by neutral advertisers; they contain only 58% of the ELI. In 34.7% of the advertisements, grooms are looking for brides themselves; they use 37.7% of the ELI. Thus, parents/families and the grooms themselves use ELI slightly more often. In *The Milli Gazette*, 8% of the advertisements used in denoting the brides are inserted by parents/families. They contain 9.2% of the ELI. The 36% used by neutral advertisers contain only 26.2%. Grooms themselves are looking for brides in 56% of the advertisements and use 64.6% of the ELI. In *The Hindu*, 4.9% of the ELI for partner-denotation of the brides are used by parents/families. This group of advertisers makes up 4% of the total. 18.7% are inserted by neutral advertisers, who use a mere 8.2% of the ELI. 77.3% are placed by the grooms themselves; they use 86.9% of the ELI. Altogether, parents/families (except in *The Statesman*) and the grooms themselves use a proportionally slightly higher percentage of ELI in the denotation of brides. Interestingly, in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* these are relatively high among the young generation. The grooms identify their future wives in terms of English items not related directly to Indian culture. This allows the inference that the grooms show off their English.

5.5.1.1.2 Comparison Parents/Families – Self

The lexical items used by the parents/families denoting brides as partners cover a very narrow range. Neither *bride*, *girl* or *match* indicates anything about the bride's background. Either the parents/families are not interested in the characteristics of their future daughters-in-law – which is not likely – or they do not want to put too much emphasis on one feature to increase their choice.

Like for the self-denotations of both genders, the range of lexical items used to denote the partner is much wider in the option 'self' than in parents/families. Interestingly, no bride is denoted in terms of her PROFESSION; moreover, the denotations in terms of EDUCATION are quite vague, which shows that the view of women is conservative: They are defined in terms of their societal role rather than in terms of what they have achieved.

5.5.1.2 Grooms

5.5.1.2.1 Indian and English Lexical Items

In the partner-denotations of the grooms, only three lexical items are Indian: *Kayastha Shakya*, used in *The Times of India*, *Agarwal*, in *The Statesman* and *Sunni Ansari* in *The Milli Gazette*. They all belong to COMMUNITY and are used with the option 'neutral'. Two advertisers make no specification (both option 'neutral') in *The Times of India*; there are 15 in *The Hindu* (one 'parents/family', eleven 'neutral', three 'self') and 17 in *The Milli Gazette* (two 'parents/families', 14 'neutral', one 'self').

subcategory	denotation
MALE DESIGNATION (146)	*grooms* (60)/*groom* (44)/*boy* (34)/*boys* (6)/ *bachelors/ bridegroom*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (94)	*SM* (53)/*PQM* (14)/*match* (13)/*suitable match* (8)/*M* (2)/ *matches/person/PQSM/youth*
PROFESSION (15)	*professionals* (2)/*doctor/doctor professionals/doctors SW engineers/engineer/govt. employee/govt servant/higher rank govt. job/only service holders, professor/Lecturer/Engr./ govt. service* [three previous obliques in the specification]/*professional/professionals/b'men* [previous oblique in the specification]/*profnals/business/prof qlfd* [two previous obliques in the specification]/*software engineer*
EDUCATION (3)	*MBA/MS/MD/IIT/CA* [four previous obliques in the specification]/*MD/MS CA/B.Tech.* [two previous obliques in the specification]/*min. honours graduate*
EDUCATION/PROFESSION (3)	*any Prof/UG/PG/Govt service* [three previous obliques in the specification]/*engr./CA/CS/MBA/doctor* [four previous obliques in the specification]/*engr MBA/MCA/govt. ofer* [two previous obliques in the specification]
COMMUNITY (1)	*Muslim*
LOCATION (1)	*resident of Delhi or Kolkata*

Figure 21: Partner-denotation Indian grooms (ELI)

All other groom-as-partner denotations are accomplished with the help of ELI, which can be sorted into the above subcategories (cf. Figure 21). Lakoff (2004: 64) stresses the fact that in language, feminine forms are mostly marked as "linguistic evidence of a social disparity" (while it cannot be denied that *bridegroom* is the marked form of *bride*). This can also be seen as symptomatic of the fact that women *need* to get married, while men do not (Lakoff 2004: 62). In India, the pressure on women is probably higher, especially regarding the fact that they are to bear children soon in a marriage. However, the social pressure on men to get married must not be underestimated.

The plural form is used for grooms as well as for brides. Thus, the brides and their parents/families reserve their right to invite as many responses as possible and then select the most suitable groom from among them. The whole business of arranging a marriage is not only initiated by men as can be seen in the fact that roughly equal numbers of advertisements are inserted for each gender. The motivations behind them – whether the brides' parents/families insert the advertisements in order to 'marry off' their daughters

or whether this is entirely pressure-free, however, remain unknown in a merely linguistic analysis.

One gender-neutral designation not used for the brides as partners is *person*, which refers to

> 2. a. An individual human being; a man, woman, or child.
>   b. A man or woman of high rank, distinction, or importance; a personage. Usually (and now only) with modifying word or phrase.
>   c. In emphatic use: a human being, as distinguished from an animal, thing, etc. In later use also: an individual regarded as having human rights, dignity, or worth. Cf. sense 5.
>   d. An individual considered to be of low rank, status, or worth.
>   e. Esp. in recruitment advertisements, etc.: an individual of either sex regarded as a potential employee.
> 3. a. The self, being, or individual personality of a man or woman, esp. as distinct from his or her occupation, works, etc. […] (*OED*, *s.v.* 'person, *n.*').

While some of these definitions are positive or neutral in value judgement (2.a., 2.b., 3.a.), 2.d. and 2.e. are expressions of a negative or an indifferent attitude. Among them, 2.e. is most likely to apply since lexical items used in the register of profession are common in Indian matrimonials.

A subcategory missing in the denotation of brides as partners was PROFESSION. Some lexical items within this subcategory for 'Grooms Wanted' are not very specific, e.g. *prof qlfd*, while others, such as *software engineer*, are very precise. The trend towards preferring grooms with posts in the government sector is confirmed here: *Govt Employee, only service holders, Professor/Lecturer/Engr./Govt. service, Govt Servant*. Doctors seem to enjoy a high reputation in India as well, which is shown by the denotation of the future groom as *doctor professionals*, *Doctors SW Engineers* and *doctor*.

The denotations concerning the future grooms' EDUCATION are much more specific than those referring to the brides. Furthermore, the combinatory subcategory EDUCATION/PROFESSION has been introduced, which again confirms the positive attitude towards doctors and government officials. Moreover, grooms are indentified as *bachelors*, *Muslim* and *youth*.

	The Statesman	The Times of India	The Hindu	The Milli Gazette
■ ELI	98.7%	96%	80%	76%
■ ILI	1.3%	1.3%	-	1.3%
■ no specification	-	2.7%	20%	22.7%
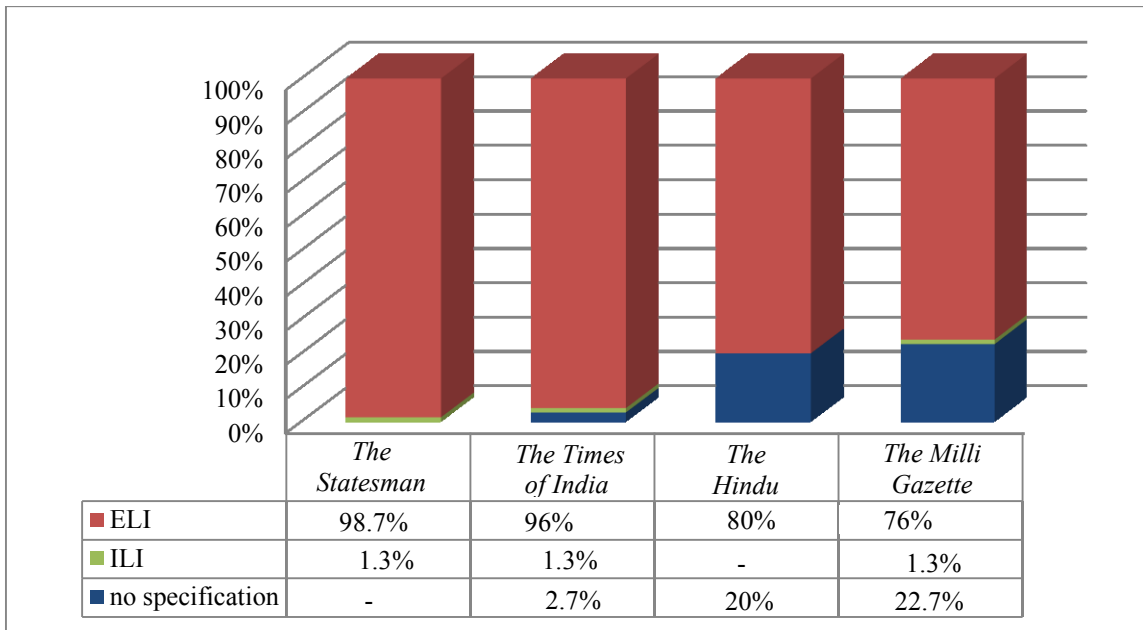
Figure 22: Partner-denotation Indian grooms – frequency of ELI in percentages (n=75)

Figure 22 shows the allocation of ELI in the respective newspapers. With 80% for *The Hindu* and 76% for *The Milli Gazette*, the two Indian-founded newspapers show the lowest frequencies of ELI. This conforms to the expected pattern that ELI are less often used in the Indian-founded newspapers than in the British-founded ones. However, since all figures exceed 75%, it can be assumed that a modern and not exclusively traditionally Indian way of regarding one's partner exists.

	S % total (n=75)	S % ELI (n=74)	TOI % total (n=75)	TOI % ELI (n=72)	MG % total (n=75)	MG % ELI (n=57)	H % total (n=75)	H % ELI (n=60)
■ parents/families	-	-	4%	4.2%	10.7%	10.5%	8%	8.3%
■ neutral	94.7%	94.6%	77.3%	76.4%	86%	63.2%	28%	13.3%
■ self	5.3%	5.4%	18.7%	19.4%	21.3%	26.3%	64%	78.3%
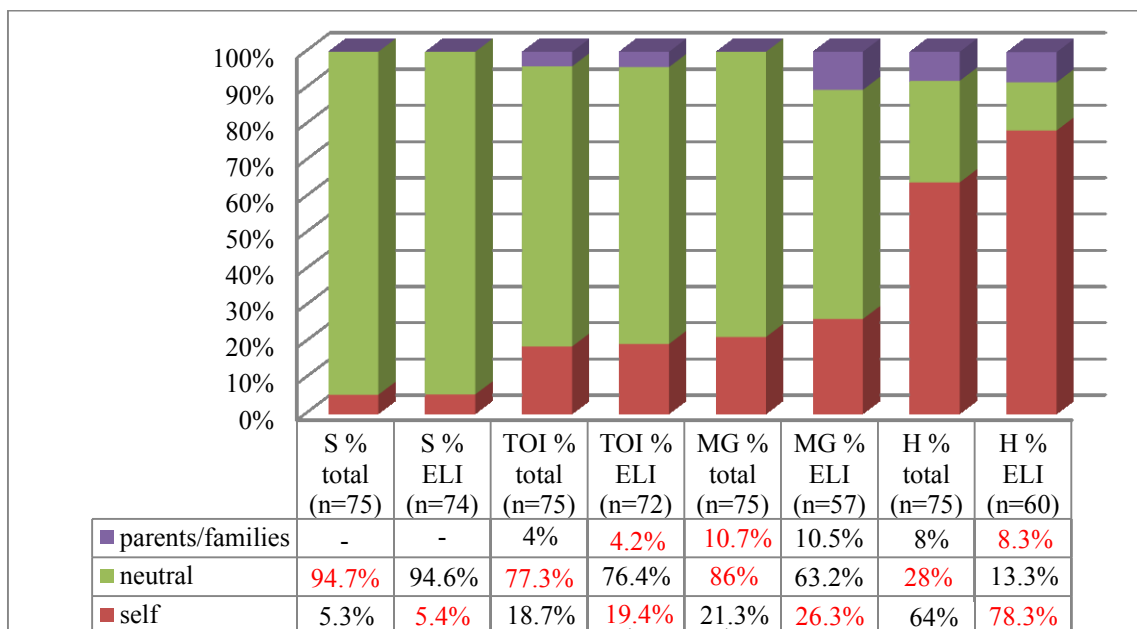
Figure 23: 'Grooms Wanted': percentages of ELI compared to percentages of matrimonials according to newspaper in the partner-denotation of grooms; S = *The Statesman,* TOI = *The Times of India*, H = *The Hindu*, MG = *The Milli Gazette* (red = higher percentage)

Figure 23 shows who uses ELI. Apart from the neutrals in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*, the differences are very small. In *The Statesman*, the 94.7% of advertisements by neutral advertisers contain 94.6% of the ELI. 5.3% are inserted by the brides themselves. They contain 5.4% of the ELI. The 4% of the advertisements 'Grooms Wanted' in *The Times of India* inserted by parents/families include 4.2% of the ELI used in the partner-denotation of grooms. The 77.3% of the advertisements by neutral advertisers contain 76.4%. 18.7% are inserted by the brides themselves. They use 19.4% of the ELI for denoting the grooms. Thus, both parents/families and the brides themselves use ELI slightly more often.

In *The Hindu*, 8.3% of the ELI used for partner-denotation 'Grooms Wanted' are used by parents/families. This category constitutes 8% of the total. The 28% by neutral advertisers contain 13.3% of the ELI. The 64% inserted by the brides themselves contain 78.3% of the ELI. Thus, parents/families overuse ELI slightly while the brides themselves use a relatively large percentage of ELI. In *The Milli Gazette*, 10.7% of the advertisements 'Grooms Wanted' are inserted by parents/families, who use 10.5% of the ELI. The 86% of the advertisements by neutral advertisers contain 63.2% of the ELI used for partner-denotation of the grooms. 26.3% of the ELI are used by the brides themselves. They make up 21.3% of the total 75 advertisements.

In all four newspapers, the brides themselves use ELI disproportionally often. Thus, brides use English to present themselves as modern, progressive and educated women. On the one hand, they show that they do not confirm to entirely conservative roles since they are well educated. On the other hand, their English skills are also an advantage in their competition for a good match.

5.5.1.2.2 Comparison Parents/Families – Self

Compared to the denotation of their daughters, the parents/families show greater creativity in denoting their sons-in-law. Despite this, all denotations are objective and neutral and do not show any emotions. The specification *MBA/MS/MD/IIT/CA* shows that to these parents/families, an academic degree and a good post are extremely important.

The 82 matrimonials mean that the range of lexical items used by the brides themselves in order to denote their future grooms is much wider than the one used by parents/families. However, the highest percentages concentrate on two items: *boy(s)* and *groom(s)*.

5.5.2 The British Corpus

5.5.2.1 Women

subcategory	denotation
FEMALE DESIGNATION (63)	*lady* (40)/*woman* (11)/*female* (6)/*lady soulmate* (2)/*femme*/*girl-friend*/*Miss Right*/*women*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (7)	*soulmate* (3)/*partner* (2)/*companion and soulmate*/ *human companion*
PRONOUN (2)	*someone*/*someone very special*
PROFESSION (1)	*business lady*
PSEUDONYM (1)	*Audrey Fforbes-Hamilton* [sic]
no specification (1)	

Figure 24: Partner-denotation British women

The British women looked for are denoted by the following lexical items (cf. Figure 24). Some of the items listed under FEMALE DESIGNATION do not just give information about the women that are sought but also about the future relationship. Especially *lady soulmate* and *Miss Right* show that the advertiser holds the attitude that there is *the one* woman out there for him that fits perfectly. This contrasts massively with the application-like style of the Indian advertisements. The items belonging to the GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION and *someone very special* point in the same direction.

5.5.2.2 Men

subcategory	denotation
MALE DESIGNATION (63)	*gent(leman)* (24)/*man* (18)/*male* (16)/*guy*/*husband*/*man, best friend and companion*/*man of action*/*Renaissance man*
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION (4)	*equal*/*match*/*soulmate*/*special person*
PRONOUN (4)	*someone* (2)/*you* (2)
PSEUDONYM (2)	*Adonis*/*Lancelot*
APPEARANCE (1)	*6'+*
no specification (1)	

Figure 25: Partner-denotation British men

The British women do not use lexical items merely denoting their future partners either but also convey information about the relationship they aim at (cf. Figure 25). *Gent(leman)*; *man, best friend and companion*; *man of action*; *Renaissance man*; *Adonis* and *Lancelot* imply qualities required. Furthermore, *husband* points to a view to marriage. *Soulmate* and *special person* address the uniqueness of the partner, which again allows the inference that the belief in one true love exists (Kövecses 1988: 23). For both genders, the gender designations do not merely relate to the gender of the respective person but to certain favourable attributes associated with it. Thus, *femme* points to the passion of a woman, *man of action* to the fact that this man cares and works for his wife.

	British women			British men
FEMALE DESIGNATION	63	——	63	MALE DESIGNATION
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION	7	——	4	GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION
PRONOUN	2	——	4	PRONOUN
no specification	1		2	PSEUDONYM
PROFESSION	1		1	APPEARANCE
PSEUDONYM	1		1	no specification
	Ø		Ø	

Figure 26: Partner-denotation British advertisers

There are no huge differences between the genders. GENDER DESIGNATION is used in 84% (cf. Figure 26). Thus, the people searching are gender-conscious and point at the (fe)maleness of their future partners. GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGATION is used by British men in 9.3% of the advertisements. All other categories amount to less than 3% of the total. GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION and PRONOUN occur in 5.3% of the British women sought. All other subcategories are used in less than 3% of the advertisements in which women are looking for men only.

5.6 Comparison and Matching of the Self- and Partner-Denotations

5.6.1 The Indian Corpus

5.6.1.1 Comparison

The use of Indian vs. English lexical items differs significantly between brides and grooms – at least concerning self-denotation (cf. Figure 27).

	Grooms Self	Brides Self	Grooms Partner	Brides Partner
■ no specification	-	-	11.3%	9%
■ ILI	51.3%	35.3%	1%	1.3%
■ ELI	48.7%	64.7%	87.7%	89.7%
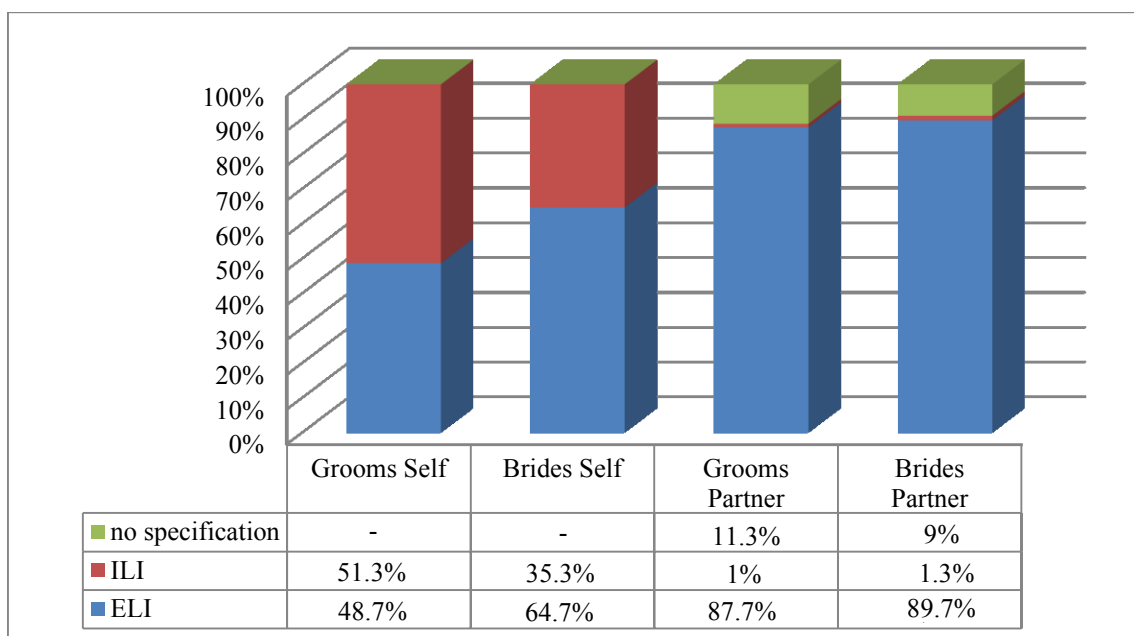
Figure 27: Frequencies of ILI and ELI and missing specifications in the self- and partner-denotations of Indian grooms and brides in percentages (n=300**)**

To refer to themselves, the grooms use more ILI (51.3%) than ELI (48.7%). While the difference between the two categories amounts to 2.6% only, it is higher for brides.

Here, ILI are used in 35.3% of the advertisements compared to 64.7% ELI, which shows that English is fashionable. This observation is particularly interesting since the preference of the brides is not only much more evident – ELI are used in almost 30% more advertisements than are ILI – but the tendency is also inverse to that of the grooms. While the latter rather present themselves using ILI, the brides prefer ELI. This is contrary to the pattern expected with regard to a cultural background in which women are often confined to more traditional roles than men. As discussed above, all ILI relate to Indian culture while ELI do not necessarily do so. The present use assesses that the women do not want to be reduced to their traditional roles but rather see themselves as educated. The slight preference of ILI compared to ELI by the grooms could be accounted for by the fact that they want to stress their Indian values and thus imply that their future brides should have them as well or that do not have to show off their education, which shows the power-distribution

The pattern used in partner-denotation is strikingly different: Both brides and grooms are referred to with ELI in more than 87% of the advertisements – brides with 89.7%, grooms with 87.7%. Thus, the identification with the partner in terms of Indian culture is very low – 1.3% for the brides, compared to 1% for the grooms. This does not necessarily imply that all brides and grooms using ELI are looking for 'Westernised' partners since the ELI do not always carry a 'Western' content; the high frequencies of GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION and GENDER DESIGNATION, such as *match*, account for this. Furthermore, since partners that have a similar background are usually looked for, there is often no need to use ILI.

subcategory	self-denotation in %		partner-denotation in %	
	grooms	brides	grooms	brides
GENDER DESIGNATION	**37**	**57.3**	**48.7**	**75.7**
COMMUNITY	**41**	**18**	1	1
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION	1.3	0.7	**31.3**	**12.3**
LOCATION + COMMUNITY	**12**	**17.7**	-	-
no specification	-	-	**11.3**	**9**
EDUCATION	2.7	2.7	1	1
PROFESSION	1.7	0.3	5.3	-
LOCATION	1	0.7	0.3	0.3
HOROSCOPE	1.3	0.7	-	-
FAMILY BACKGROUND	1.3	0.3	-	-
AGE/DOB	0.3	0.7	-	0.3
EDUCATION/PROFESSION	-	-	1	-
APPEARANCE	-	0.3	-	0.3
COMMUNITY + LOCATION	-	0.3	-	-
MARITAL STATUS	-	0.3	-	-
LOCATION + HOROSCOPE	0.3	-	-	-
total	99.9	100	99.9	99.9
three categories used most frequently	90	93	91.3	97
categories not made use of	5	3	8	8

Figure 28: Frequencies of all subcategories for both genders in self- and partner-denotation in Indian advertisements in percentages (n=150; **bold red** = three subcategories used most frequently)

Figure 28 shows the frequencies of all subcategories for both genders in self- and partner-denotation. Brides are denoted with more variety, and the partner-denotations are less varied than the self-denotations. The major subcategories are the same for both genders. However, stereotypically, APPEARANCE and MARITAL STATUS are only used by women. In self-denotation, COMMUNITY, LOCATION + COMMUNITY and GENDER DESIGNATION occur most frequently whereas in the partner-denotation, GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION and GENDER DESIGNATION are the most frequent subcategories whenever a specification is made.

For grooms as well as for brides, the subcategory used most often for self-denotation is GENDER DESIGNATION (37% among the grooms, 57.3% among the brides). Thus, these persons do not align themselves with any specific feature but rather stay neutral. By choosing any lexical item that carries information about oneself, one immediately reveals something about one's value judgements and preferences. This is the case for the two other major subcategories COMMUNITY and LOCATION + COMMUNITY. The people referring to themselves with lexical items of these two subcategories imply that (LOCATION +) COMMUNITY is more important to them than any other information. Since the Indian society is divided along religious lines, it is not surprising that this is mirrored in the self-denotations. While LOCATION + COMMUNITY reaches similar frequencies for both genders (12% of the grooms and 17.7% of the brides), COMMUNITY obviously differs in importance depending on gender. While 41% of the grooms are denoted in such terms, this only holds for 18% of the brides, which allows the conclusion that COMMU-

NITY retains its importance for both genders (since it *is* mentioned in almost all advertisements), but that the brides do not identify with it as strongly. They rather do so with their gender, e.g. as a *girl* or a *bride*. When the role allocation of Indian traditional society is taken into consideration, this can be regarded as a sign of gender-consciousness and -confidence.

Just like for self-denotation, three subcategories emerge as the most popular ones in partner-denotation. The partner is not specified in 11.3% advertisements in which a groom and 9% in which a bride is looked for. The common factor among all three subcategories is that they do not carry any information about the partner. This is striking considering the high importance of (LOCATION +) COMMUNITY in the self-denotation: Although people refer to *themselves* with religious terms, they do not denote their future partners in the same manner since they probably just expect them partner to have the same location and community as theirs.

GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION, which is used in 31.3% of the advertisements to denote a groom and in 12.3% of the instances in which a bride is looked for, does not explicitly state the gender of the person looked for. However, since the advertisements are all grouped into 'Brides Wanted' and 'Grooms Wanted', this information would be redundant. GENDER DESIGNATION is used to denote 48.7% of the grooms and 75.7% of the brides. The strikingly high percentage in the denotation of brides is probably a sign that men prefer women to just matches, i.e. their focus is rather on the sex of their future partners than on any special designation.

In summary, differences between the genders and the newspapers exist but they are often not as clear-cut as could have been expected. They sometimes reflect a deficit approach regarding the gender differences, e.g. women are not presented in terms of their PROFESSION as often as men are; sometimes, they might not even have one. The most clear-cut difference is the one between ILI and ELI, where the grouping of semantic subcategories into either stock – Indian or English – works better than the dichotomy brides – grooms. What is very evident in all denotations, however, is the reflection of the Indian context – on the one hand in terms of content, i.e. what is said and on the other hand in terms of language use, i.e. *how* these facts are uttered since not only Indian but also English lexical items are used in a way peculiar to the text type of Indian matrimonials.

5.6.1.2 Matching
Different measurements can be applied in analysing the use of congruent vocabulary. Every individual self-denotation could be compared with its respective partner-

denotation, so that every slight mismatch, e.g. a *Muslim* looking for a *Tamil Muslim*, would be detected. When applying this strict procedure, only one out of the 600 Indian advertisements is found to be matching, i.e. MGBW16, in which self- and partner-denotation, i.e. *Delhite*, both refer to LOCATION and are exactly the same.

MGBW16

Hly Edu Delhite Shaikh Bihar Fmly LLB
Advocate High Court in Delhi 27/5'11"
5LPA. Pref Delhite upper caste edu prof
girl. Ph:███████

However, this does not imply that all other advertisements show a complete discord. There are several possibilities of realising the matching (cf. Figures 29 and 30).
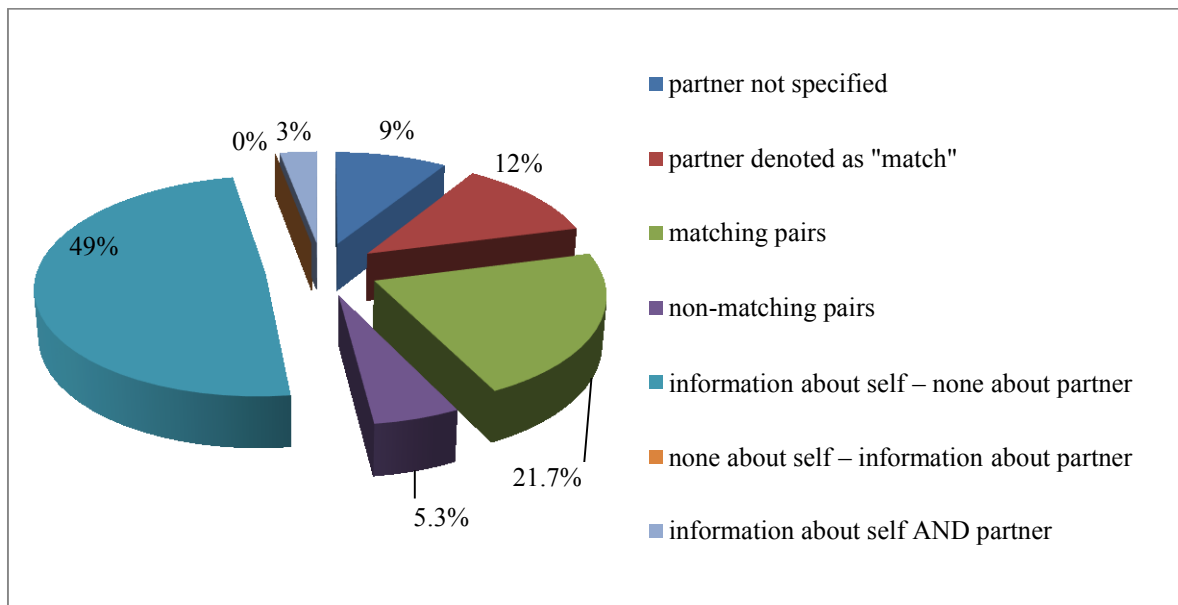
Figure 29: Matching of self- and partner-denotation in Indian advertisements 'Brides Wanted' in percentages (n=300)

Firstly, there are examples in which one of the partners is not specified at all. This is only the case in partner-denotation. In 27 advertisements (9%) in which a bride is looked for she is not specified. This holds when the groom is denoted as *boy* in 13 instances, in terms of his COMMUNITY in eight instances, in terms of his EDUCATION in two, and in terms of *groom*/LOCATION/FAMILY BACKGROUND/HOROSCOPE in one instance each. Thus, the bride is mostly not referred to when the groom is denoted as *boy*.
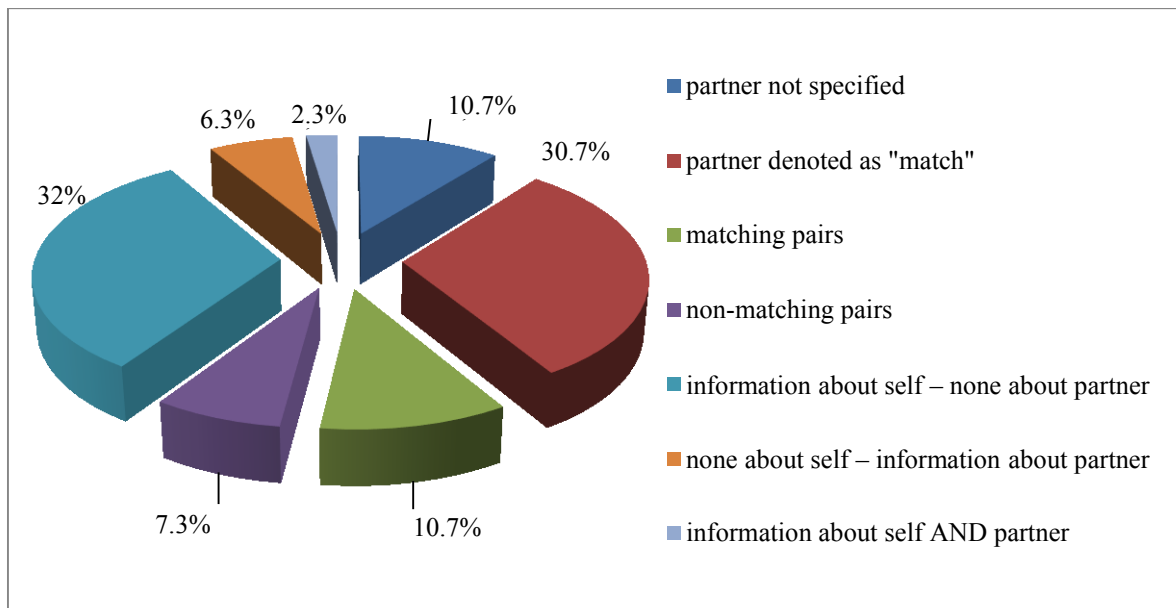
Figure 30: Matching of self- and partner-denotation in Indian advertisements 'Grooms Wanted' in percentages (n=300)

In 32 advertisements – 10.7% of all those in which a groom is wanted – he is not referred to. This holds for 25 instances where the respective bride is a *girl*, four in which she is denoted in terms of her COMMUNITY, one in which COMMUNITY is further specified by her LOCATION and two in which she is referred to as *daughter*. This reveals neither striking differences between the genders nor is the whole option of not denoting one's partner at all prevalent.

Secondly, there is the possibility of simply denoting one's future partner as *match*, sometimes with the ATTRIBUTES *suitable* or *professionally qualified*. A total of 36 of all brides (12%) are denoted as *SM*, *match*, *matches*, *suitable match*, *QM* or *PQM*. This practice is most common with the respective groom denoted as *boy* (21 advertisements). Furthermore, *match* occurs six times when the groom is referred to in terms of his COMMUNITY, in one instance this is further specified by his LOCATION. It also applies when he is denoted in terms of his PROFESSION in three, in terms of HOROSCOPE and EDUCATION in two and in terms of his AGE/DOB in one advertisement. Interestingly, the largest contributor compared to the other ones, *boy* does not reveal any information about the groom concerned. However, *match* implies that the bride should somehow have features similar to those of the respective groom. More grooms than brides are denoted as *match*, i.e. 92 (30.7%), with 71 of them occurring with the respective bride being denoted as *girl*, ten times in terms of her COMMUNITY, three times as *daughter*, twice in terms of EDUCATION and in one instance each in terms of HOROSCOPE, APPEARANCE, PROFESSION, FAMILY BACKGROUND, LOCATION and as a *divorcee*. Most obviously in harmony are self- and partner-denotation in those advertisements that use pairs, such as *bride – groom* or *boy – girl*. Where a bride is looked for, they amount to 65 (21.7%),

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with 62 instances of *boy – girl(s)* and three instances of *groom – bride*(*s*). In three out of these 65, the plural form is used for the bride.

Where a groom is looked for, matching pairs amount to 32 (10.7%), of which the pair is realised as *girl – boy(s)* 26 times and as *bride – groom* six times. Here, the plural form *boys* is used five times. This is done more often by the grooms and their parents/families; they want brides who match up to the grooms. Furthermore, the higher proportion of plural-usage among the brides shows their wish to have a choice among different applicants.

Furthermore, there are instances where both partners are denoted with a designation containing no further information or a gender-neutral one without them forming common pairs, e.g. *bachelor – bride* or *son – girl*. There are 16 such instances where a bride is looked for. In combination with *bride*, *boy* is used five times, *son* twice and *bachelor* and *male* once each. In combination with *girl*, *son* occurs five times and *single person* and *youngster* do so once each. Where a groom is looked for, there are 22 uneven pairs. The most prevalent one is *girl – groom*(*s*) occurring 15 times. Furthermore, *groom* is combined with *daughter*, *unmarried* and *spinster* once each. Further pairs are *girl – bridegroom*, *daughter – boy*, *girl – bachelors* and *girl – youth* (one each). Thus, for both genders, the most common way to denote oneself is as *boy*/*girl* and look for a *bride*/*groom*.

A partner denoted with a designation without further information or gender-neutrally and the other one by a certain semantic subcategory is also a possibility. Thus, there is further information either about self or about the partner. Among the advertisements in which a bride is wanted, 147 such instances (49%) are present. Interestingly, they all lack information about the bride but reveal information about the groom. The most prevalent patterns are COMMUNITY – *girl* (37 instances), COMMUNITY – *bride* (32 instances), COMMUNITY – *brides* (28 instances), LOCATION + COMMUNITY – *brides* (22 instances) and LOCATION + COMMUNITY – *bride* (15 instances).

Among the advertisements in which a groom is looked for, there are 115 instances (38.3%) without information either about self or the partner. In 96 instances information about the groom is missing, LOCATION + COMMUNITY – *grooms* being the pattern most frequently used. Furthermore, COMMUNITY – *groom* and COMMUNITY – *grooms* occur frequently. Unlike the grooms, the brides use a pattern in which they characterise their future partner but omit any information about themselves. This is the case in 19 advertisements, the most frequent pair being *girl* – PROFESSION (ten instances).

The last pattern to be observed is both self- and partner-denotations belonging to any of the semantic subcategories mentioned above, i.e. revealing information about the person concerned. Among the advertisements inserted by grooms, nine of those patterns are found (3%). In three instances, the self- and partner-denotations belong to the same subcategories (two instances that can be allocated to COMMUNITY and one with both parts being referred to in terms of LOCATION). Furthermore, there are two instances of COMMUNITY − EDUCATION and one each of COMMUNITY − AGE/DOB, COMMUNITY − APPEARANCE, EDUCATION − COMMUNITY and LOCATION + COMMUNITY − EDUCATION. The advertisements in which a groom is looked for contain seven examples of this type (2.3%). In all of them, self- and partner-denotations belong to different subcategories. The distribution is as follows: two instances of COMMUNITY − PROFESSION and one each for COMMUNITY − EDUCATION, COMMUNITY − EDUCATION/PROFESSION, LOCATION + COMMUNITY − LOCATION, LOCATION + COMMUNITY − PROFESSION and LOCATION + COMMUNITY − EDUCATION/PROFESSION.

In summary, the gender-differences are again minimal. *Girl*, *boy*, *bride* and *groom* are used most often and combined in different ways. The only pattern allowing conclusions about a 'minor' position of women is 'no information about self' − 'information about partner', which only occurs with grooms looked for.

5.6.2 The British Corpus

5.6.2.1 Comparison

Figure 31 shows the frequencies of all subcategories used by and for both genders in self- and partner-denotation in the British corpus in percentage.

subcategory	self-denotation in %		partner-denotation in %	
	men	**women**	**men**	**women**
GENDER DESIGNATION	**57.3**	**60**	**84**	**84**
APPEARANCE	4	**20**	1.3	-
PROFESSION	**18.7**	2.7	-	1.3
GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION	-	1.3	**5.3**	**9.3**
MARITAL STATUS	**6.7**	**4**	-	-
PRONOUN	1.3	2.7	**5.3**	**2.7**
PSEUDONYM	2.7	2.7	2.7	1.3
ATTRIBUTES	5.3	2.7	-	-
no specification	-	2.7	1.3	1.3
NATIONALITY	2.7	-	-	-
AGE/DOB	1.3	-	-	-
EDUCATION	-	1.3	-	-
total	100	100	100	100
three categories used most frequently	82.7	84	94.6	96
categories not made use of	3	2	6	6

Figure 31: Frequencies of all subcategories for both genders in self- and partner-denotation in British advertisements in percentages (n=75; **bold red** = three subcategories used most frequently)

The major subcategories are the same for both genders – MALE DESIGNATION for men and FEMALE DESIGNATION for women (57.3% and 60% used in self- and 84% each in partner-denotation). This shows that when it comes to relationships, the identification with one's own gender is high. Interestingly, women do not use AGE/DOB and NATIONALITY for self-denotation, men do not use EDUCATION. They use PROFESSION as a self-denotation in 18.7% of all advertisements and MARITAL STATUS in 6.7%. Women state APPEARANCE in 20% and MARITAL STATUS in 4%. This is gender-stereotypical, men identifying with their PROFESSION, women rather with their APPEARANCE.

Men as partners are denoted with GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION and PRONOUN in 5.3% each and with PSEUDONYM in 2.7%, women with GENDER-NEUTRAL DESIGNATION in 9.3% and with PRONOUN in 2.7%. Apart from the fact that PSEUDONYM is used less frequently to denote women as partners, there are no notable differences between the genders. In general, there is less variation in partner-denotation than in self-denotation, the three categories used most frequently making up almost 100% in the former.

5.6.2.2 Matching
Figures 32 and 33 show how the self- and partner-denotations match in the British corpus.
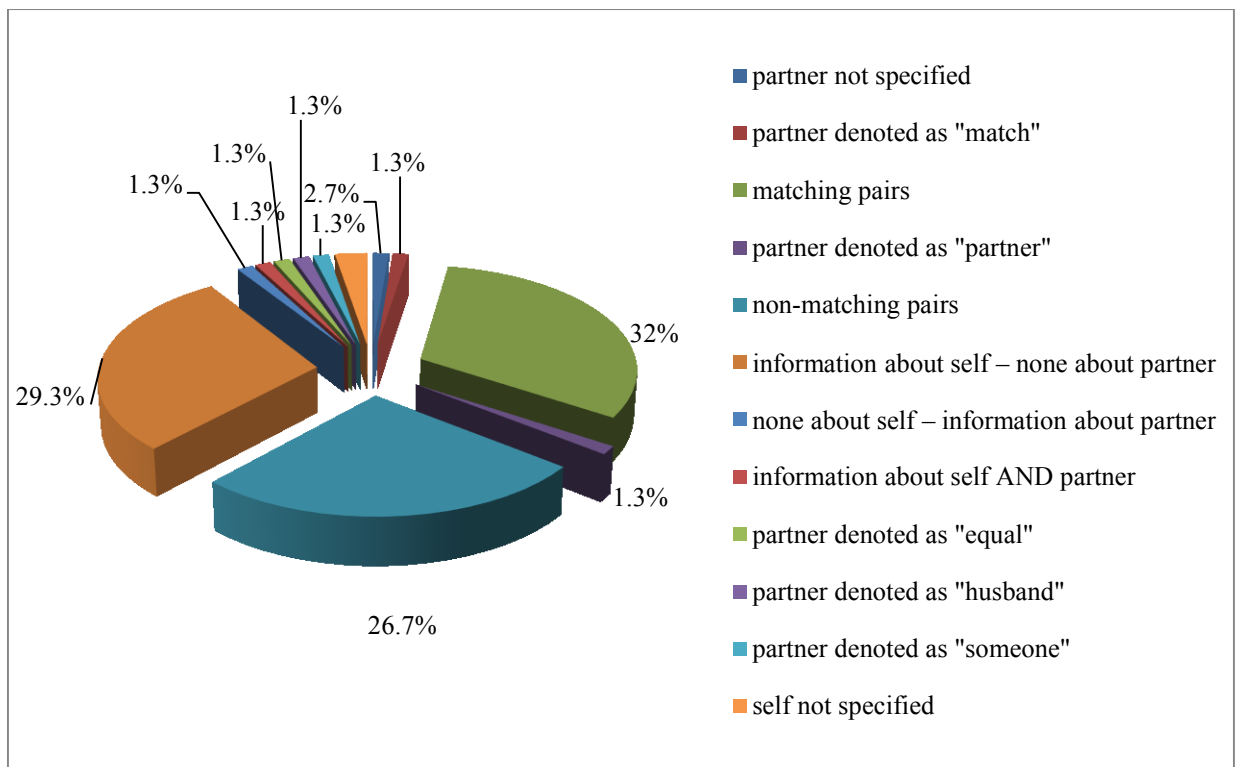
Figure 32: Matching of self- and partner-denotation in advertisements 'Women Seeking Men' in percentages (n=75)
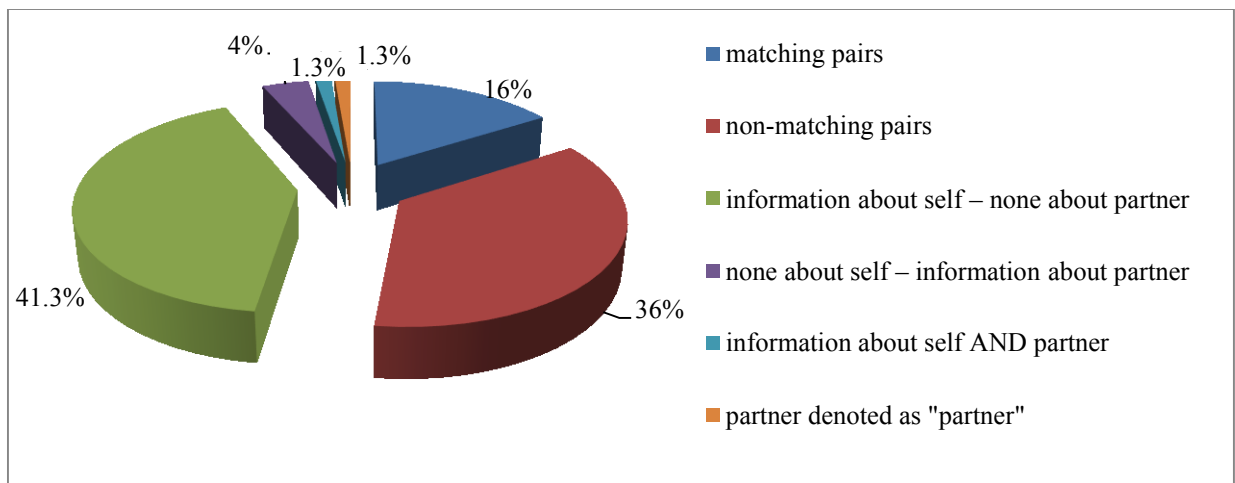
Figure 33: Matching of self- and partner-denotation in advertisements 'Men Seeking Women' in percentages (n=75)

In the British advertisements in which women are seeking men, the partner is not specified in one advertisement. The women denote their future partner as *equal*, *husband*, *match*, *partner* and *someone* once each. The self-and partner-denotations form matching pairs in 32% of the advertisements and non-matching ones in 26.7%. 29.3% of the advertisements give information about self and none about the partner in the denoting

item. In only one advertisement is no information about the partner given while infor-mation about self is extant. In one advertisement the denotations give information about self and partner. Self is not specified in two advertisements, the partner in one 'Men Seeking Women'. The self-and partner-denotations match in 16% of the advertisements in which men are sought. 36% of these contain non-matching pairs. There is infor-mation about self and none about the partner in 41.3%. No information about self and some about the partner occur in 4% and there is information about self and partner in one instance. In both corpora, congruent pairs are used more often by men than by women, which points towards power structures: Men orientate 'downwards' while women do not look 'upwards' yet.

5.7 Features Used in Self-Description

In order to be able to make inferences about the cultural models of marriage prevalent in the advertisements, it is important to determine the criteria which are crucial in finding a suitable partner. First, those that the advertisers characterise themselves with will be analysed. Subsequently, the same procedure will be followed for the specifications made about the future partner. The British corpus will then be analysed similarly fol-lowed by a contrastive comparison. By analysing all advertisements, the following list of criteria emerges (cf. Figure 34). EDUCATION/PROFESSION is missing in the attributes used for self-description and so is PETS for partner-description[52].

AGE/DOB	EDUCATION/PROFESSION	INCOME	LOCATION
APPEARANCE	FAMILY BACKGROUND	LANGUAGE	POSSESSIONS
ATTRIBUTES	HABITS	MARITAL STATUS	PROFESSION
COMMUNITY	HEIGHT	NATIONALITY	SKILLS
ECONOMIC STATUS	HOBBIES/INTERESTS	PETS	
EDUCATION	HOROSCOPE	PHYSICAL CONDITION	

Figure 34: Features used in self-description and partner-description

The analysis will be conducted as follows: Chapter 5.7 is devoted to the features used in self-description. Chapter 5.8 analyses those present in partner-description. Within each chapter, the features prevalent in the Indian corpus will be analysed first (5.7.1 and 5.8.1), followed by an analysis of those occurring in the British corpus (5.7.2 and 5.8.2). The features are ordered implicationally. However, features that are interrelated will be presented consecutively (e.g. APPEARANCE and HEIGHT; INCOME and ECONOMIC STATUS; EDUCATION and EDUCATION/PROFESSION). Chapter 5.9 analyses the specifications made on the relationship and the search itself. 5.10 summarises the results.

The beginning of each subchapter devoted to one feature contains a table that shows the respective specifications according to genders, newspapers and authorship. Afterwards,

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[52] PETS is not analysed in more detail later on since it is only mentioned in neutral advertisements.

all specifications will be presented, ordered by their information content. The number of specifications often exceeds the number of advertisements the respective feature is mentioned in. If there are too many different specifications, only the superordinate category will be mentioned.

Within the Indian corpus, the specifications are structured according to newspaper, gender and authorship. In the British corpus the specifications will be given separately for the two genders. Within each group, the specifications are structured according to the information they convey. Each set of information then contains the specifications made with that information. The different sets are structured according to frequency. Within each set, and if several sets are used equally often, the specifications are ordered alphabetically. In all instances concerning the Indian corpus, the specifications of the option 'neutral' will be omitted since any such interpretation can only be based on assumptions. This argumentation is to be exemplified with APPEARANCE.

		'Brides Wanted'			'Grooms Wanted'		
		p/f	n	s	p/f	n	s
The Times of India	authorship	4	61.3	34.7	4	77.3	18.7
	advertisements	-	**66.7**	33.3	3.3	75.4	**21.3**
The Statesman	authorship	-	89.3	10.7	-	94.7	5.3
	advertisements	-	**93.2**	6.8	-	92.4	**7.6**
The Hindu	authorship	4	18.7	77.3	8	28	64
	advertisements	-	10	**90**	**9.8**	**31.7**	58.5
The Milli Gazette	authorship	8	36	56	10.7	68	21.3
	advertisements	3.7	29.6	**66.7**	7.4	**72.2**	20.4
total	authorship	4	51.3	44.7	5.7	67	27.3
	advertisements	0.7	**62.6**	36.7	4.5	**71.6**	23.9

Figure 35: Allocation of advertisements to different authorships in percentages (specifications on APPEARANCE, advertisements containing specifications on APPEARANCE; **bold red** = percentage of advertisements higher than percentage of authorship; black = percentage of advertisements lower than percentage of authorship; p/f = parents/families; n = neutral; s = self)

Figure 35 shows the percentages of APPEARANCE as used in self-description in the Indian corpus. The first row for each newspaper shows the origin of the advertisements according to authorship in general (i.e. not only valid for APPEARANCE). For example, in *The Times of India*, 4% of all advertisements 'Brides Wanted' are inserted by parents/families, 61.3% by neutral advertisers and 34.7% by the grooms themselves. Each second row shows how the advertisements containing specifications on appearance relate to authorship. In *The Statesman*, for example, 92.4% of all advertisements containing specifications on APPEARANCE in 'Grooms Wanted' are inserted by neutral advertisers, 7.6% by the brides themselves.

The table shows that, e.g. in *The Hindu* 10% of the advertisements 'Brides Wanted' containing information on APPEARANCE are inserted by neutral advertisers as against 90% inserted by the grooms themselves. Percentages highlighted in red show that those of APPEARANCE are higher than those of authorship. Thus, the black percentages imply that there is less interest in APPEARANCE than one might expect on the basis of the overall authorship.

Although the numbers vary slightly, the tendencies are the same for all features: If most advertisements are inserted by 'neutral', for example as in *The Statesman* 'Brides Wanted', also most specifications on appearance are inserted by 'neutral' and most advertisements containing specifications on appearance are present in neutral advertisements. Among the advertisements 'Brides Wanted', parents/families give information on the grooms' APPEARANCE in clearly lower percentages than the average percentages of the authorship would suggest. The same thing holds for information on the brides' APPEARANCE in the advertisements in which a groom is wanted. *The Hindu* is an exception; parents/families and neutral are represented disproportionally often.

As parents/families of potential grooms tend to dismiss appearance, the black figures among 'neutral' in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* might allow suspicions that there are parents/families involved. The same holds for the black figures among 'neutral' in *The Times of India*. There might even be parents/families hidden in 'neutral' in *The Statesman*. One cannot conclude who 'hides' behind neutral advertisements and whether neutral advertisers are in fact likely to be parents/families. As all this is purely speculative and varies among the newspapers as well as among the features, it appears wise to forego the neutral advertisements hereafter.

informati-on	information given	'Brides Wanted'			'Grooms Wanted'			total
		p/f	n	s	p/f	n	s	
skin colour	*fair* (43)/*v. fair* (4)/ *very fair (3)/ fair complex/fair complexion*	-	3	5	2	29	13	**52**
	wheatish (4)	-	1	-	-	3	-	**4**
								total: 56
general	*b'ful* (23)/*beautiful* (6)/*v. b'ful* (4)	-	-	-	1	24	8	33
	h'some (24)/*handsome* (3)	-	19	8	-	-	-	27
	goodlooking (4)	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
	pretty (3)	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
	attractive (2)	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
								total: 69
shape	*slim* (22)	-	1	-	-	15	6	**22**
total		-	24	13	3	79	28	147

Figure 36: Information on APPEARANCE (self) according to different authorships in *The Times of India*

Figure 36 shows all specifications given on APPEARANCE according to authorship in *The Times of India* – the specifications made by neutral advertisements are included. The number of specifications in this table (147) is higher than the number of advertisements containing information on APPEARANCE (94). This means that sometimes, there are several specifications (e.g. *fair and slim*) in one advertisement. For 'Brides Wanted' no specifications are made by parents/families, 24 specifications are extant from neutral advertisers (in 22 advertisements) and 13 from the grooms themselves (in 11 advertisements). For 'Grooms Wanted', three specifications are made by parents/families (in two advertisements), 79 by neutral advertisers (in 46 advertisements) and 28 by the brides themselves (in 13 advertisements).

information	information given	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
skin colour	*fair* (17)/*v. fair* (2)/*fair complex*	-	5	2	13	**20**
general	*b'ful* (7)/*beautiful/ v. b'ful*	-	-	1	8	9
	h'some (8)	-	8	-	-	8
	goodlooking	-	-	-	1	1
						total: 18
shape	*slim* (6)	-	-	-	6	**6**
total		**-**	**13**	**3**	**28**	**44**

Figure 37: Information on APPEARANCE (self) according to different authorships in *The Times of India*

Figure 37 shows the same information without the specifications made by neutral advertisers. As can be seen from comparing the two figures, the argument that the range of specifications is narrowed by omitting the neutral specifications does not hold. All Indian advertisements are stereotypical rather than individual. *Fair* ist still the most frequent attribute for skin colour, used still mainly by the brides themselves, and the same thing is true for *beautiful*, and in 'Brides Wanted', for *handsome* and *slim*.

5.7.1 The Indian Corpus

5.7.1.1 AGE/DOB

593 advertisements (98.9%) contain information on AGE/DOB. The respective frequencies of the specifications sorted according to newspapers, genders and authorship can be seen in Figure 38.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	46	61.3	58	77.3	**104**	**69.3**
	s	26	34.7	14	18.7	**40**	**26.7**
	total	**75**	**100**	**75**	**100**	**150**	**100**
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	6	8.1	**9**	**6**
	n	14	18.7	21	28	**35**	**23.3**
	s	58	77.3	47	62.7	**105**	**70**
	total	**75**	**100**	**74**	**98.8[53]**	**149**	**99.3**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	7	9.3	**13**	**8.7**
	n	26	34.7	51	68	**77**	**51.3**
	s	42	56	16	21.3	**57**	**38**
	total	**74**	**98.7**	**74**	**98.6**	**147**	**98**
The States-man	n	65	86.7	68	90.7	**133**	**88.7**
	s	8	10.7	5	6.7	**13**	**8.7**
	total	**73**	**97.4**	**73**	**97.4**	**146**	**97.4**
total	p/f	12	4	16	5.3	**28**	**4.7**
	n	151	50.3	198	66	**349**	**58.2**
	s	134	44.7	82	27.3	**216**	**36**
	total	**297**	**99**	**296**	**98.6**	**593**	**98.9**

Figure 38: Specifications on AGE/DOB (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

AGE/DOB is specified between 146 (*The Statesman*) and 150 times (*The Times of India*) per newspaper, roughly speaking, equally often for brides and grooms (297 times for grooms, 296 times for brides). Obviously, it is commented on most frequently in neutral advertisements (349 instances in total) and only in 28 advertisements in by parents/families. In the three advertisements in which a bride is looked for and the groom's AGE/DOB is not given, the future bride's age is mentioned, i.e. between 26 and 30 years. In all those instances, an *early marriage* is wanted. Thus, one may conclude that the grooms are probably older. In the three instances in which no AGE/DOB for the bride (as self) is given, she may probably be older as well. In one of these instances, the groom's age (*48–50*) is mentioned, and the bride refers to herself as *spinister* [sic], which supports this assumption. In one instance, the parents/family are looking for a *boy within 30* for their daughter. This bride may be below 30.

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[53] Totals below 100% indicate that in the missing cases, no specifactions were made on the respective feature.

newspaper	brides	grooms	total
The Hindu	27.5	32.1	**29.8**
The Milli Gazette	27.7	28.9	**28.3**
The Times of India	28.6	29.5	**29.1**
The Statesman	30.3	31	**30.7**
total	**28.5**	**30.4**	**29.5**

authorship	brides	grooms	total
parents/families	26.4	29.4	**27.9**
neutral	28	30.7	**29.4**
self	30.1	30.6	**30.4**

Figure 39: Average age in years (self) in the Indian corpus according to newspaper, authorship and gender

The average age of advertisers per newspaper ranges from 27.5 (brides in *The Hindu*) to 32.1 years (grooms in *The Hindu*), cf. Figure 39. Since the traditional age at marriage tends to be lower, this shows a change in the Indian society, which shows itself at least in the urban middle class analysed in the present thesis. In *The Hindu*, the discrepancy between the genders is highest (brides: 27.5 vs. grooms: 32.1); in *The Statesman*, it is lowest (brides: 30.3, grooms: 31 years). Thus, in orthodox Hindu communities, the age difference between women and men appears to be highest, and men tend to be older than women when they get married. This holds for *The Milli Gazette* as well.

At 26.4 years, the average age of brides for whom parents/families seek a partner is lowest among all options of authorship. The average of grooms in neutral advertisements looking for a partner is highest (30.7 years). In general, the age of those for whom parents/families seek a partner is lowest (27.9 years on average). Thus, those who are more active in seeking a partner tend to be older since the men themselves may have refused to get married by their families, and they also refuse to get married at a very young age. Various formats are used for AGE/DOB. This includes the age in years (e.g. *25*), month/year of birth (e.g. *Oct 77*), time (e.g. *9:55 pm*), year (e.g. *1982*), place (e.g. *Delhi 1982*) and vague specifications (e.g. *middle age*). In the following (cf. Figures 40–47), the advertisers' age will be shown by means of figures indicating the age on the horizontal axis and the frequency on the vertical.

	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	37	38	39	46	53
■ parents/families (n = 3)	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
■ self (n = 26)	1	0	1	1	3	6	6	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
■ neutral (n = 46)	0	1	1	2	4	9	4	4	6	2	2	2	3	2	0	2	1	1
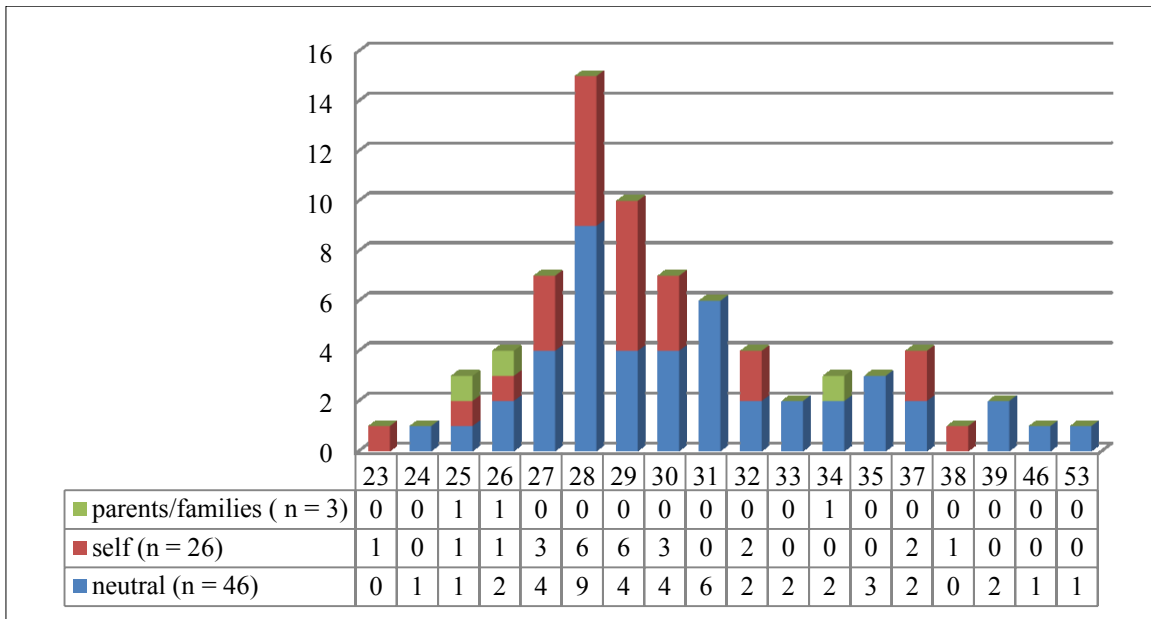
Figure 40: Information on AGE/DOB (grooms self) according to different authorships in *The Times of India*

In two advertisements by parents/families looking for brides in *The Times of India* (cf. Figure 40) the groom's age is given in years (e.g. *34*); one advertisement mentions the year of birth (*85*). Among the advertisements by neutral advertisers this is done in 37 instances. Four advertisers state month and year (e.g. *Sep 80*), three the exact DOB (e.g. *14.10.1982*) and two the year of birth only. Two advertisers additionally mention the time of birth (e.g. *7:15 am*). In one advertisement the place of birth (*Delhi*) is mentioned additionally. The grooms mention their age in years in 21 advertisements. Three grooms give the year of their birth, and two mention month and year. The bars show that specifications made in neutral advertiserments and the grooms themselves each reach their peaks in the late twenties (28/29), with a second peak for neutrals in the early thirties (31). Only very few AGE/DOB specifications are higher.

	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	42
■ parents/families (n=3)	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
■ self (n=14)	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	3	0	1	2	0	1	0
■ neutral (n=58)	1	7	9	12	8	4	6	3	3	2	0	1	1	0	1
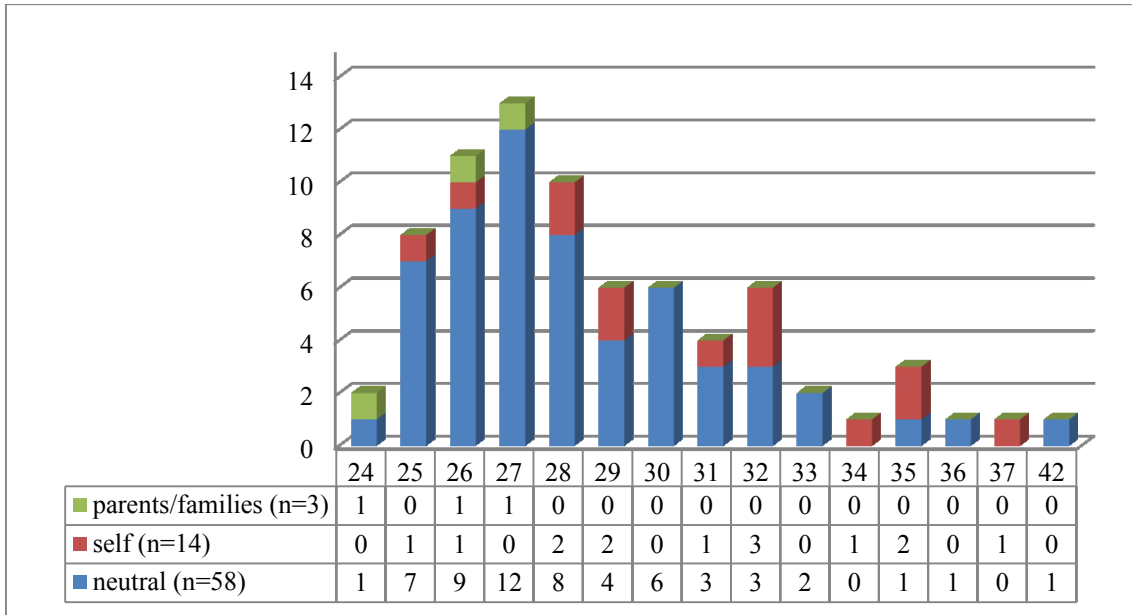
Figure 41: Information on AGE/DOB (brides self) according to different authorships in *The Times of India*

Two parents/families mention the bride's age in years (cf. Figure 41). In one instance, it is the year of her birth only. 38 neutral advertisements give the bride's age in years, eight mention month and year, seven the year and five the exact DOB. Five neutral advertisements each also inlcude time and place of the bride's birth. Eleven brides mention their age in years; two the month and year of their birth, and one bride gives the year of her birth only. The most obvious peak can be observed among the neutral advertisers in the mid-late twenties (25–28).

	21	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
■ self (n = 8)	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
■ neutral (n = 65)	1	2	2	1	8	8	8	2	8	3	3	4	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
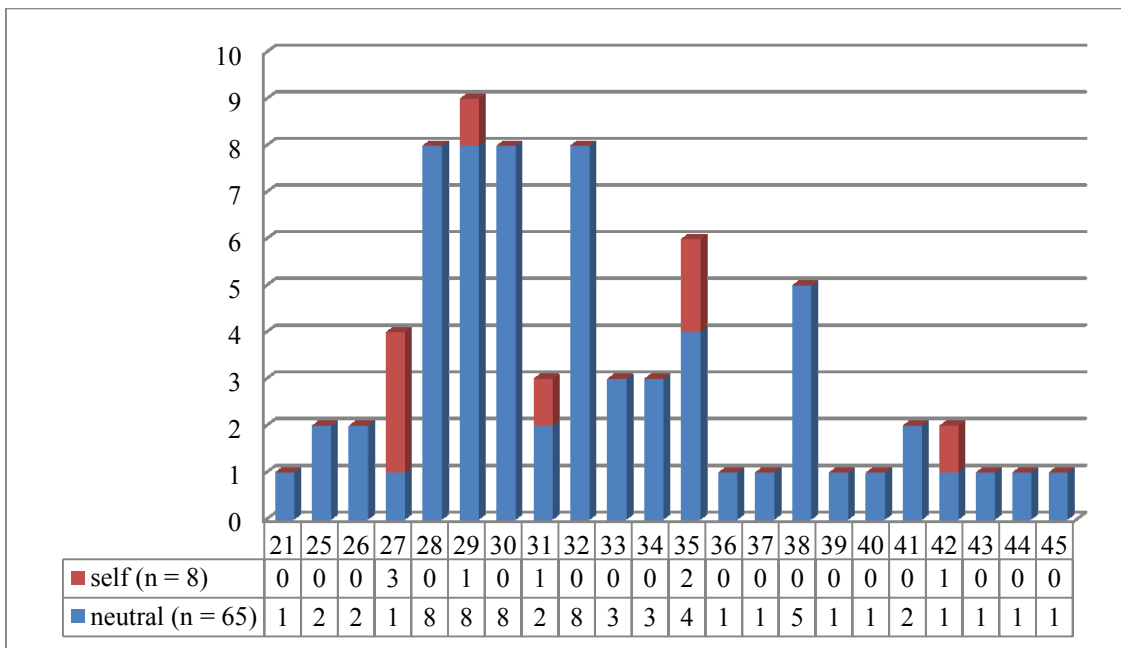
Figure 42: Information on AGE/DOB (grooms self) according to different authorships in *The Statesman*

In *The Statesman*, the age is given in years in all instances. The neutral advertisers show two major peaks: one in the late twenties (28–30), the other in the early thirties (32), cf. Figure 42.
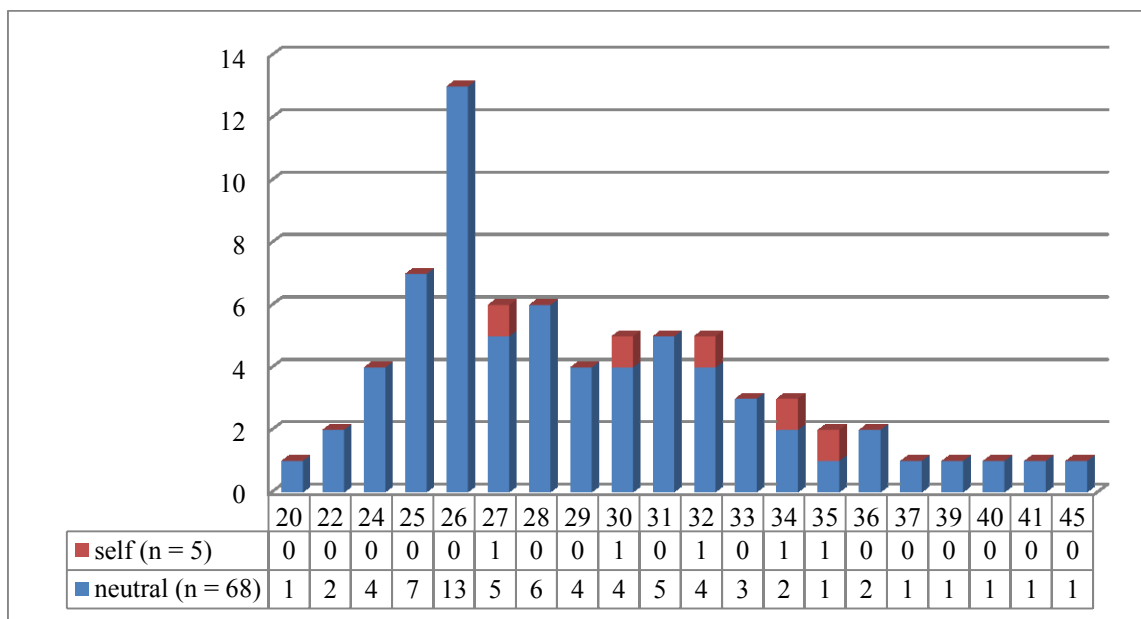
Figure 43: Information on AGE/DOB (brides self) according to different authorships in *The Statesman*

One neutral advertisement includes the year of the bride's birth. In all others, the bride's age is given in years. A striking peak can be observed in the mid twenties (26) among the neutral advertisements (cf. Figure 43).
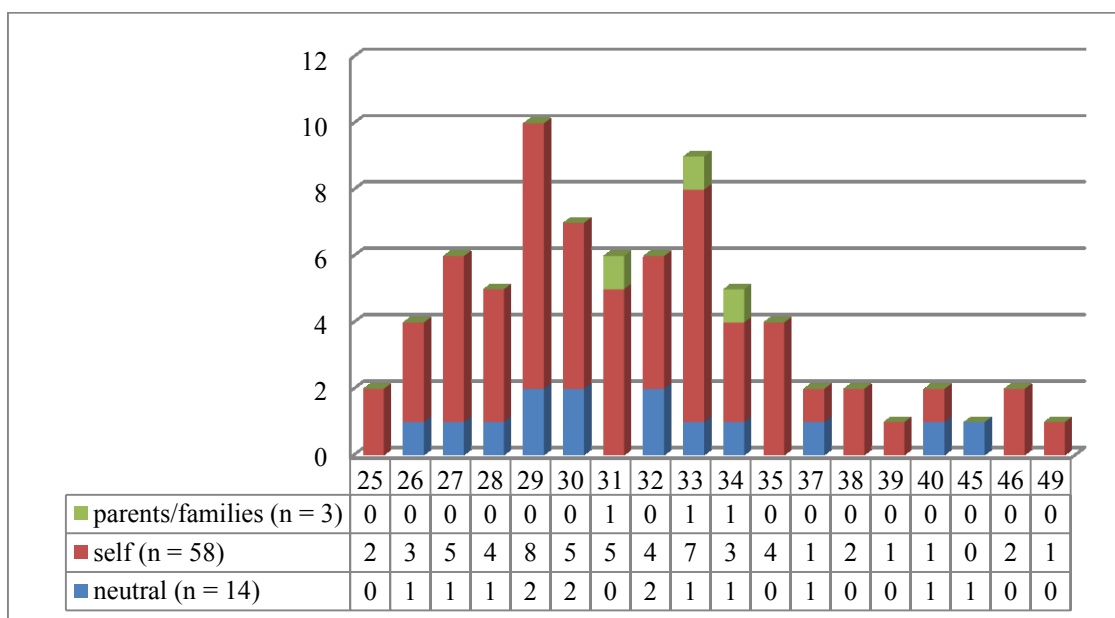
Figure 44: Information on AGE/DOB (grooms self) according to different authorships in *The Hindu*

In *The Hindu*, all parents/families, 13 neutral advertisers and 56 grooms themselves mention the groom's age in years (cf. Figure 44). One neutral advertiser and one groom

mention the exact DOB. Another groom mentions the month and year of his birth. There is a peak in the late twenties (29) and one in the early-mid thirties (33).

	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
parents/families (n = 6)	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
self (n = 47)	2	3	5	3	6	8	2	6	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
neutral (n = 21)	0	1	3	1	3	2	2	1	2	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
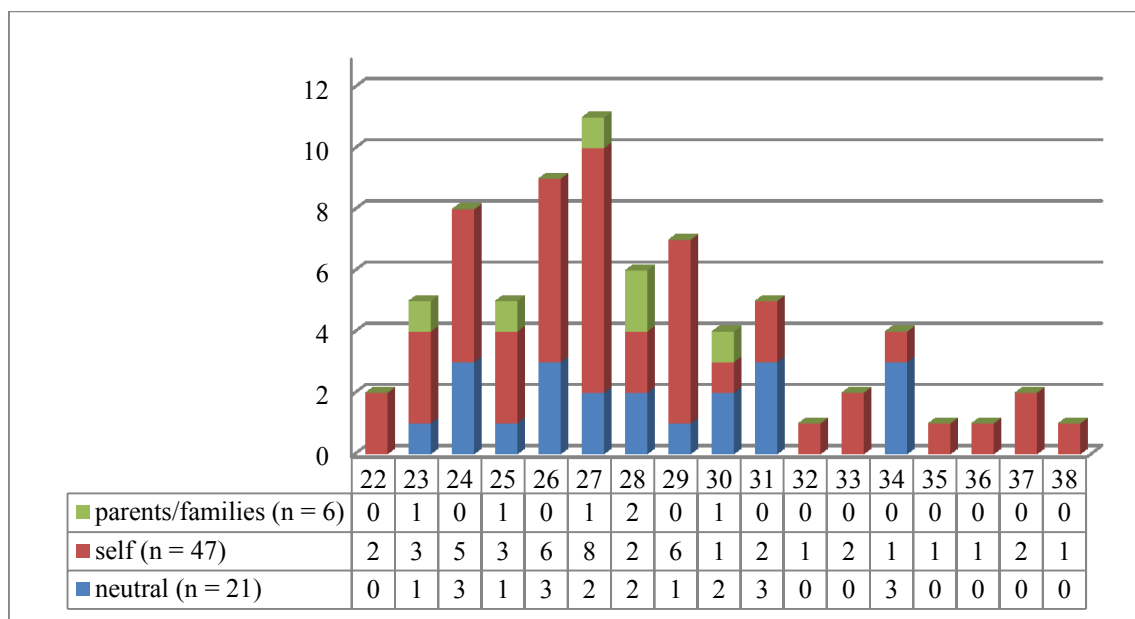
Figure 45: Information on AGE/DOB (brides self) according to different authorships in *The Hindu*

All parents/families, 20 neutral advertisements and 44 brides mention the bride's age in years (cf. Figure 45). One neutral advertisement gives the exact DOB. Two brides mention the year and one bride the month and year of her birth. The clearest peak is reached in the mid-late twenties (27).

	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	46	51
parents/families (n = 6)	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
self (n = 41)	0	0	4	6	8	6	5	4	3	1	1	2	0	1	0
neutral (n = 26)	0	1	2	6	3	4	4	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
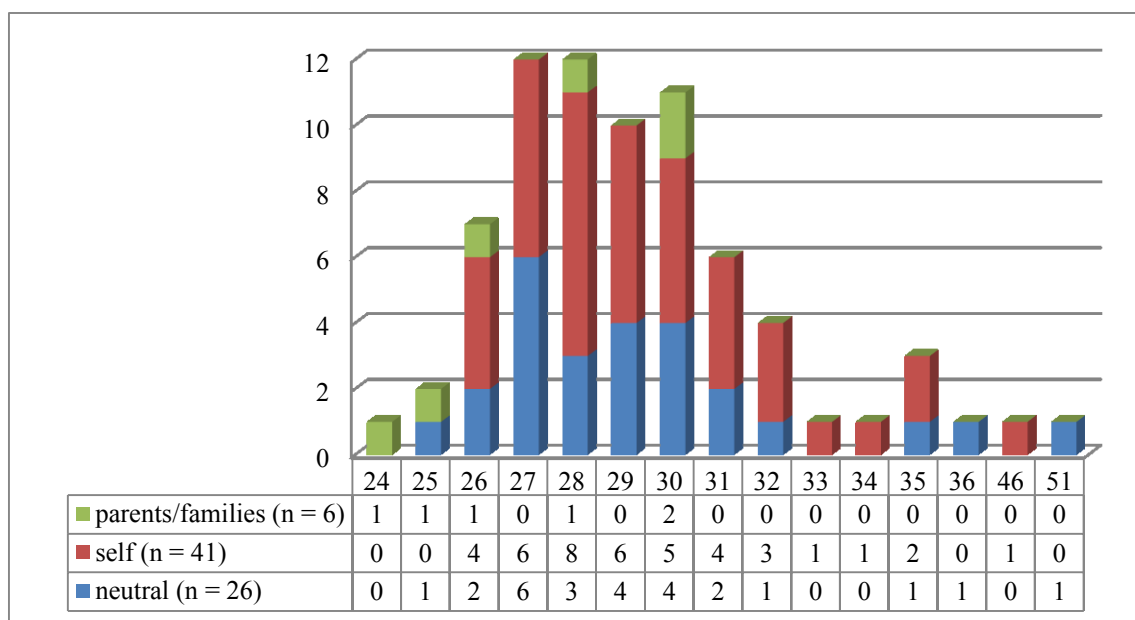
Figure 46: Information on AGE/DOB (grooms self) according to different authorships in *The Milli Gazette*

In *The Milli Gazette* (cf. Figure 46), all parents/families, 25 neutral advertisements and 40 grooms give the age in years. 26 grooms mention the month and year of their birth as well. Their peak is in the late twenties. One neutral advertiser and one groom each men-

tion the year of birth. One groom makes a vague specification about his age only (*middle age*). 27–30 year-olds reach higher frequencies than the rest.

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	34	35	36
parents/families (n = 7)	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
self (n = 16)	0	1	0	1	4	2	1	0	2	2	0	3	0	0	0
neutral (n = 51)	1	1	1	3	6	6	4	8	8	6	1	3	1	1	1
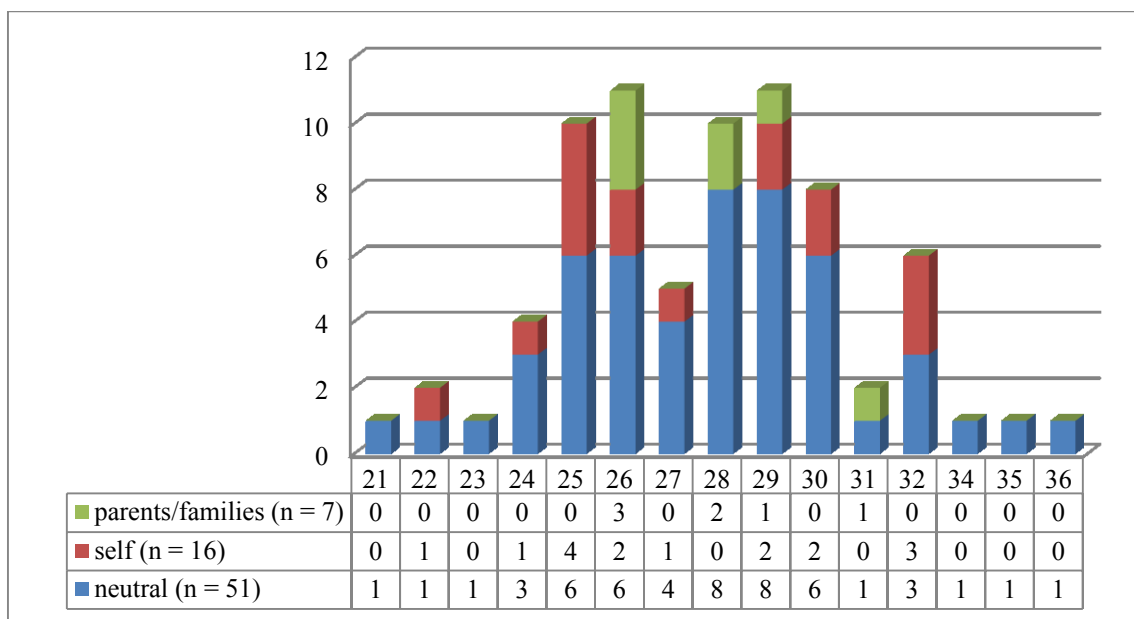
Figure 47: Information on AGE/DOB (brides self) according to different authorships in *The Milli Gazette*

All parents/families, 49 neutral advertisements and 15 brides give the bride's age in years (cf. Figure 47). Two neutral ones mention the bride's year of birth. One bride states the month and year of her birth. There is one peak in the mid twenties (25/26) and another one in the late twenties (28–29).

5.7.1.2 APPEARANCE

The APPEARANCE of the person for whom a partner is sought is specified in 361 Indian advertisements (60.2%). APPEARANCE is commented on in between 61 (*The Hindu)* and 125 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 48). Mostly, it is elaborated on in relation to women (specifications in 222 vs. 139 advertisements). APPEARANCE is commented on in only eleven advertisements (of 29) by parents/families and most often in neutral advertisements (246 of 255 altogether). *The Hindu* is the only newspaper where the advertisers themselves elaborate on APPEARANCE more often than the neutral advertisers (42 vs. 15 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	55	73.3	61	81.3	**116**	**77.3**
	s	4	5.3	5	6.7	**9**	**6**
	total	**59**	**78.6**	**66**	**88**	**125**	**83.3**
The Times of India	p/f	-	-	2	2.7	**2**	**1.3**
	n	22	29.3	46	61.3	**68**	**45.3**
	s	11	14.7	13	17.3	**24**	**16**
	total	**33**	**44**	**61**	**81.3**	**94**	**62.6**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	4	5.3	**5**	**3.3**
	n	8	10.7	39	52	**47**	**31.3**
	s	18	24	11	14.7	**29**	**20**
	total	**27**	**36**	**54**	**72**	**81**	**54.6**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	4	5.3	**4**	**2.7**
	n	2	2.7	13	17.3	**15**	**10**
	s	18	24	24	32	**42**	**26.7**
	total	**20**	**26.7**	**41**	**54.6**	**61**	**39.4**
total	p/f	1	0.3	10	3.3	**11**	**1.8**
	n	87	29	159	53	**246**	**41**
	s	51	17	53	17.7	**104**	**17.3**
	total	**139**	**46.3**	**222**	**74**	**361**	**60.1**

Figure 48: Specifications on APPEARANCE (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	information given	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
general	b'ful (7)/beautiful/v. b'ful	-	-	1	8	**9**
	h'some	-	8	-	-	**8**
	goodlooking	-	-	-	1	**1**
skin colour	fair (17)/v. fair (2)/ fair complex	-	5	2	13	**20**
shape	slim	-	-	-	6	**6**
total		**-**	**13**	**3**	**28**	**44**
The Statesman						
general	handsome	-	3	-	-	**3**
	pretty	-	-	-	1	**1**
	beautiful	-	-	-	1	**1**
skin colour	extremely fair/fair	-	1	-	1	**2**
	medium complexion/wheatish complexion	-	1	-	1	**2**
shape	slim	-	-	-	3	**3**
total		**-**	**5**	**-**	**7**	**12**
The Hindu						
general	good looking (8)/ goodlooking (2)/very good looking	-	2	-	9	**11**
	handsome	-	5	-	-	**5**
	beautiful	-	-	1	1	**2**
	attr./attractive	-	-	-	2	**2**
	pretty	-	-	-	1	**1**
	young looking	-	1	-	-	**1**
skin colour	fair (22)/fair looking/ v.fair	-	10	1	13	**24**
	wheatish (3)/whitish	-	1	2	1	**4**
shape	slim	-	-	1	4	**5**
total		**-**	**19**	**5**	**31**	**55**
The Milli Gazette						
general	h'some (8)/handsome (4)/ h'som (3)/very h'some	1	15	-	-	**16**
	b'ful	-	-	2	6	**8**
	pleasant feature	-	-	-	1	**1**
skin colour	fair (13)/v. fair	1	6	3	4	**14**
	wheatish/wheatish colour with white spot on neck	-	1	-	1	**2**
shape	slim (2)/slim throughout	-	-	-	3	**3**
	67	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**2**	**23**	**5**	**15**	**45**
total		**2**	**60**	**13**	**81**	**156**

Figure 49: Information on APPEARANCE (self) according to different authorships

Parents/families and brides/grooms themselves make 156 specifications in 115 advertisements (cf. Figure 49). Thus, in several advertisements, more than one specification is used. Usually, general appearance is mentioned together with more precise information, e.g. skin colour or shape. The single feature pointed out most often altogether is

skin colour; i.e. 68 times in total: 28 specifications in *The Hindu*, 20 in *The Times of India*, 16 in *The Milli Gazette* and four in *The Statesman*. It is elaborated on more often by women: 30 specifications by brides themselves vs. 24 specifications by grooms themselves. A discrepancy exists but it is not very wide. Thus, beauty seems to be required for grooms as well, and they use it to attract potential brides. In Bengal, light skin does not seem to be as important a part of the beauty ideal as in other regions. Interestingly, only light skin is mentioned, which leads to the conclusion that a light skin colour is the Indian beauty ideal. *The Hindu* is the only newspaper containing *young looking* among general information on APPEARANCE. The explicit mention of youth in terms of APPEARANCE allows the assumption that this groom is older than average. *The Milli Gazette* only contains a probably negative piece of information: […] *with white spot on neck*. This feature is probably seen as a huge disadvantage in the match-making process and, thus, it is mentioned in advance in order to prevent negative surprises. All information does not point at individual features but rather at stereotypes.

5.7.1.3 HEIGHT

Since it is mentioned in so many advertisements – 553 (i.e. 92.1%) –, the HEIGHT of the advertiser seems to be an important factor in mate selection. Thus, it will be analysed separately from other lexical items manifesting as APPEARANCE. HEIGHT is commented on in between 124 (*The Hindu*) and 144 advertisements (*The Times of India* and *The Statesman*), cf. Figure 50. Thus, there are no huge differences. Those between the genders are only minor as well: 275 advertisements 'Brides Wanted' vs. 278 'Grooms Wanted'. The numbers vary considerably between the different authorships, however. In all newspapers except *The Hindu*, HEIGHT is mostly specified by neutral advertisers (332 advertisements altogether) whereas in *The Hindu*, this is mostly done by the brides and grooms themselves (89 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	3	4	6	4
	n	43	57.3	55	73.3	98	65.3
	s	26	34.7	14	18.7	40	26.7
	total	72	96	72	96	144	96
The States-man	p/f	-	-	-	-	-	-
	n	65	86.7	67	89.3	132	88
	s	7	9.3	5	6.7	12	8
	total	72	96	72	96	144	96
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	7	9.3	13	8.7
	n	26	34.7	48	64	74	49.3
	s	38	50.7	16	21.3	54	36
	total	70	93.4	71	94.6	141	94
The Hindu	p/f	2	2.7	5	6.7	7	4.7
	n	10	13.3	18	24	28	18.7
	s	49	65.3	40	53.5	89	59.3
	total	61	81.3	63	84.2	124	82.7
total	p/f	11	3.7	15	5	26	4.3
	n	144	48	188	62.7	332	55.3
	s	120	40	75	25	195	32.5
	total	275	91.7	278	92.7	553	92.1

Figure 50: Specifications on HEIGHT (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

In all newspapers, there is much more exact information than abstract one (cf. Figure 51). The abstract information is always *tall*. Mere facts obviously count more than individual impressions. Grooms themselves comment on their HEIGHT more often than do brides (120 vs. 68 specifications altogether). Thus, HEIGHT must be more important in self-perception of men than of women.

In *The Times of India*, one groom giving abstract *tall* also uses *5'11''*. Three brides using *tall* also give the information *5'4''*, *5'6''* and *166*. In one advertisement from *The Hindu*, *tall* is used along with *188*. This shows that the ideas of what is seen as *tall* differ.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
inch	3	25	2	13	43
cm	-	1	1	1	3
abstract	-	-	-	3	3
total	**3**	**26**	**3**	**17**	**49**
The Statesman					
inch	-	7	-	5	12
The Hindu					
inch	-	-	-	1	1
cm	2	48	6	39	95
abstract	-	1	-	-	1
total	**2**	**49**	**6**	**40**	**97**
The Milli Gazette					
inch	6	36	7	4	53
cm	-	2	-	2	4
total	**6**	**38**	**7**	**6**	**57**[54]
total	**11**	**120**	**16**	**68**	**215**

Figure 51: Information on HEIGHT (self) according to different authorships

5.7.1.4 COMMUNITY

539 advertisements (cf. Figure 52) contain specifications on the seekers' COMMUNITY, i.e. 89.8%. COMMUNITY is mentioned in between 115 (*The Times of India*) and 145 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper; specified slightly more often relating to grooms than to brides (273 vs. 266 advertisements). In all newspapers except *The Hindu*, it is specified in neutral advertisements most often (317 times in total). Altogether, it is mentioned in 25 (of 29) advertisements inserted by parents/families, of which more than half (14) are present in *The Milli Gazette*.

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[54] Since there are many different specifications on HEIGHT, only the subcategories are mentioned instead of all single features. This procedure will be followed throughout the thesis for all features for which a huge variety of specifications is given.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	67	89.3	69	92	136	90.7
	s	6	8	3	4	9	6
	total	73	97.3	72	96	145	96.7
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	8	10.7	14	9.3
	n	24	32	47	62.7	71	47.3
	s	42	56	16	21.3	58	38.7
	total	72	96	71	94.7	143	95.3
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	4	5.3	7	4.7
	n	12	16	18	24	30	20
	s	55	73.3	44	58.7	99	66
	total	70	93.3	66	88	136	90.7
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	1	1.3	4	2.7
	n	34	45.3	46	61.3	80	53.3
	s	21	28	10	13.3	31	20.7
	total	58	77.3	57	75.9	115	76.7
total	p/f	12	4	13	4.3	25	4.2
	n	137	45.7	180	60	317	52.8
	s	124	41.3	73	24.3	197	32.8
	total	273	91	266	88.6	539	89.8

Figure 52: Specifications on COMMUNITY (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
community	-	18	-	9	**27**
location + community	2	3	1	1	**7**
creed	1	-	-	-	**1**
total	**3**	**21**	**1**	**10**	**35**
The Statesman					
community	-	4	-	1	**5**
location + community	-	2	-	2	**4**
total	**-**	**6**	**-**	**3**	**9**
The Hindu					
community	1	34	3	34	**72**
location + community	1	20	1	8	**30**
creed	1	1	-	2	**4**
specification on religiousness	1	1	-	-	**2**
total	**4**	**56**	**4**	**44**	**108**
The Milli Gazette					
community	6	41	7	15	**69**
location + community	-	-	-	1	**1**
creed	-	1	1	1	**3**
specification on religiousness	-	-	1	-	**1**
total	**6**	**42**	**9**	**17**	**74**
total	**13**	**125**	**14**	**74**	**226**

Figure 53: Information on COMMUNITY (self) according to different authorships

The specifications contain information on community (e.g. *Brahmin*), location + community (e.g. *Punjabi Khatri*), creed (e.g. *Hindu*) and on religiousness (e.g. *committed*), cf. Figure 53. Parents/families make 27 specifications in 25 advertisements; brides/grooms themselves do so 199 times in 197 advertisements. This only minor deviation shows that there is basically no need to mention COMMUNITY in several variations in the same advertisement. In all newspapers, the focus lies clearly on the community itself. It is mentioned 173 times altogether; most often in *The Hindu* (72 specifications) and *The Milli Gazette* (69 specifications): The readership of these newspapers pays special attention to COMMUNITY. In *The Statesman*, location + community is almost equally important as community (five vs. four specifications) – probably as a result of the differences between East and West Bengal as mentioned above. Especially in *The Milli Gazette*, the gap between specifications on community and other specifications is wide (69 specifications vs. three or fewer). For Muslims, the location does not seem to be as important in defining COMMUNITY as it is for Hindus.

5.7.1.5 EDUCATION

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	65	86.7	69	92	**134**	**89.3**
	s	7	9.3	5	6.7	**12**	**8**
	total	**72**	**96**	**74**	**98.7**	**146**	**97.3**
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	5	6.7	**6**	**4**
	n	7	9.3	18	24	**25**	**16.7**
	s	47	62.7	43	57.3	**90**	**60**
	total	**55**	**73.3**	**66**	**88**	**121**	**80.7**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	5	6.7	8	10.7	**13**	**8.7**
	n	17	22.7	42	56	**59**	**39.3**
	s	28	37.3	13	17.3	**41**	**27.3**
	total	**50**	**66.7**	**63**	**84**	**113**	**75.3**
The Times of India	p/f	-	-	3	4	**3**	**2**
	n	31	41.3	50	66.7	**81**	**54**
	s	17	22.7	10	13.3	**27**	**18**
	total	**48**	**64**	**63**	**84**	**111**	**74**
total	p/f	6	2	16	5.3	**22**	**3.7**
	n	120	40	179	59.7	**299**	**49.8**
	s	99	33	71	23.7	**170**	**28.3**
	total	**225**	**75**	**266**	**88.7**	**491**	**81.8**

Figure 54: Specifications on EDUCATION (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The EDUCATION of the person for whom a partner is sought is specified in 491 advertisements (81.8%), i.e. in between 111 (*The Times of India*) and 146 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper; more of the respective advertisements relate to brides than to grooms (266 vs. 225), cf. Figure 54. In *The Hindu*, EDUCATION is commented on

mostly by the advertisers themselves (90 advertisements) whereas in all other newspapers, it is mentioned most frequently in neutral advertisements (299 advertisements including those from *The Hindu*).

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
academic education	-	17	3	10	30
school education	-	-	1	1	2
total	-	17	4	11	32
The Statesman					
academic education	-	7	-	5	12
school education	-	-	-	1	1
total	-	7	-	6	13
The Hindu					
academic education	1	45	5	43	94
school education	-	2	-	-	2
general education	-	1	-	-	1
total	1	48	5	43	97
The Milli Gazette					
academic education	5	26	7	12	50
school education	-	1	1	2	4
general education	-	3	1	1	5
total	5	30	9	15	59
total	6	102	18	75	201

Figure 55: Information on EDUCATION (self) according to different authorships

The specifications contain information on academic education (e.g. *B.Tech MBA*), general education (e.g. *educated*) and school education (e.g. *convent educated*), cf. Figure 55. Parents/families make 24 specifications in 22 advertisements; brides/grooms themselves always only one at a time. Grooms themselves specify their EDUCATION more often (102 vs. 75 specifications). Probably brides do not want to evoke the impression of being haughty. All newspapers contain very precise information with school and university degress. The advertisers must feel the need to show what they have achieved. The high frequency of specifications in *The Hindu* (48 by grooms and 43 by brides themselves) shows that its readership considers a good EDUCATION important – for both genders. In *The Milli Gazette*, the gap between the sexes is highest (30 specifications by grooms themselves vs. 15 specifications by brides themselves).

5.7.1.6 PROFESSION

The PROFESSION of the person seeking a partner is specified in 472 advertisements (78.6%). PROFESSION is mentioned in between 107 (*The Milli Gazette*) and 127 advertisements (*The Times of India*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 56). In all four newspapers it is specified more often for grooms (261 vs. 211 advertisements). Altogether, it is speci-

fied in 20 advertisements (of 29) by parents/families. In *The Hindu*, brides and grooms themselves mention their PROFESSION most often (81 advertisements) whereas in the other newspapers, neutral advertises are most prevalent (282 advertisements in total, including those from *The Hindu*). Since parents/families are usually more attentive in pointing out their children's status, the relatively high number of specifications on PROFESSION among the brides/grooms themselves leads to the conclusion that they identify with their PROFESSION – especially the men.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The Times of India	p/f	2	2.7	2	2.7	**4**	**2.7**
	n	41	54.7	45	60	**86**	**57.3**
	s	25	33.3	12	16	**37**	**24.7**
	total	**68**	**90.7**	**59**	**78.7**	**127**	**84.7**
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	4	5.3	**7**	**4.7**
	n	14	18.7	19	25.3	**33**	**22**
	s	45	60	36	48	**81**	**54**
	total	**62**	**82.7**	**59**	**78.6**	**121**	**80.7**
The States-man	n	64	85.3	45	60	**109**	**72.7**
	s	5	6.7	3	4	**8**	**5.3**
	total	**69**	**92**	**48**	**64**	**117**	**78**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	3	4	**9**	**6**
	n	22	29.3	32	42.7	**54**	**36**
	s	34	45.3	10	13.3	**44**	**29.3**
	total	**62**	**82.6**	**45**	**60**	**107**	**71.3**
total	p/f	11	3.7	9	3	**20**	**3.3**
	n	141	47	141	47	**282**	**47**
	s	109	36.3	61	20.3	**170**	**28.3**
	total	**261**	**87**	**211**	**70.3**	**472**	**78.6**

Figure 56: Specifications on PROFESSION (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
position	1	9	1	4	15
field of profession	1	21	1	4	27
workplace	1	11	-	3	15
company	-	1	1	1	3
general profession	1	-	-	4	5
total	**4**	**42**	**3**	**16**	**65**
The Statesman					
position	-	-	-	1	1
field of profession	-	3	-	2	5
workplace	-	2	-	-	2
company	-	-	-	1	1
total	**-**	**5**	**-**	**4**	**9**
The Hindu					
position	3	24	1	22	50
field of profession	-	15	3	11	29
workplace	-	17	3	15	35
company	2	7	1	6	16
general profession	-	-	-	3	3
total	**5**	**63**	**8**	**57**	**133**
The Milli Gazette					
position	-	22	2	4	28
field of profession	4	20	-	4	28
workplace	4	12	-	3	19
company	-	7	-	1	8
general profession	-	-	1	4	5
total	**8**	**61**	**3**	**16**	**88**
total	**17**	**171**	**14**	**93**	**295**

Figure 57: Information on PROFESSION (self) according to different authorships

The specifications on PROFESSION (cf. Figure 57) contain general information (e.g. *professional*) and information on the company (e.g. *working in ISRO*), field (e.g. *govt employee*), workplace (e.g. in *Delhi*) and position (e.g. *CA*). Parents/families make 31 specifications in 20 advertisements while brides and grooms themselves do so 264 times in 170 advertisements. Thus, they are more verbose than the older generation. In general, the specifications show great variety without striking differences between the genders – at least among parents/families (17 specifications 'Brides Wanted' vs. 14 specifications 'Grooms Wanted'). The grooms themselves mention their PROFESSION 109 times, the brides only 61 times (cf. Figure 56). That the advertisers elaborate on their precise positions and the company they work for is to enhance their prestige and to present them as authentic. This might be due to the fact that they are so young and their profession is one of the most important things that they have achieved so far, which they are proud of and feel part of. In *The Times of India* and *The Statesman*, par-

ents/families and the advertisers themselves mention the field of profession more often than the precise position by 27 vs. 15 and five vs. one specification.

5.7.1.7 LOCATION

The seeking person's LOCATION is specified in 410 advertisements (68.3%). Figure 58 shows that *The Statesman* contains most such advertisements (139). In the other news-papers, it is mentioned in between 78 (*The Milli Gazette*) and 102 advertisements (*The Hindu*). In *The Hindu*, LOCATION is specified equally often for brides and grooms (51 advertisements each) whereas in the other newspapers, it is present more often for grooms (218 vs. 192 advertisements in total, including those from *The Hindu*). Brides are probably willing to relocate more often since commonly the bride moves in with her husband and his family and not vice versa. Altogether, LOCATION is mentioned in 20 advertisements (of 29) by parents/families. In *The Hindu*, it is specified most often by the brides and grooms themselves (68 advertisements) while altogether neutral advertis-ers prevail (258 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	64	85.3	65	86.7	129	86
	s	7	9.3	3	4	10	6.7
	total	71	94.6	68	90.7	139	92.7
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	5	6.7	8	5.3
	n	9	12	17	22.7	26	17.3
	s	39	52	29	38.7	68	45.3
	total	51	68	51	68.1	102	67.9
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	1	1.2	4	2.7
	n	31	41.3	31	41.3	62	41.3
	s	19	25.3	6	8	25	16.7
	total	53	70.6	38	50.5	91	60.7
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	2	2.7	8	5.3
	n	16	21.3	25	33.3	41	27.3
	s	21	28	8	10.7	29	19.3
	total	43	57.3	35	46.7	78	51.9
total	p/f	12	4	8	2.7	20	3.3
	n	120	40	138	46	258	43
	s	86	28.7	46	15.3	132	22
	total	218	72.7	192	64	410	68.3

Figure 58: Specifications on LOCATION (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications on LOCATION contain information on the current place of residence (e.g. *Rajasthan based*), the general location (e.g. *Pune*) and the place of birth (e.g. *7.12.82/Jaipur*), community (e.g. *Punjabi Khatri*), place of education (e.g. *BE MBA US*), location o family (e.g. *South Delhi placed family*), origin (e.g. *Erode-CBE origin*), and workplace (e.g. *wkng in Delhi*).

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
workplace	1	11	-	3	**15**
place of community	2	3	1	1	**7**
current place of residence	-	3	-	2	**5**
location of family	2	2	1	-	**5**
general location	-	2	-	-	**2**
place of education	-	-	-	1	**1**
total	**5**	**21**	**2**	**7**	**35**
The Statesman					
workplace	-	2	-	-	**2**
place of community	-	2	-	2	**4**
current place of residence	-	2	-	-	**2**
location of family	-	3	-	-	**3**
general location	-	4	-	1	**5**
total	**-**	**13**	**-**	**3**	**16**
The Hindu					
workplace	1	17	3	15	**36**
place of community	1	20	1	8	**30**
current place of residence	-	6	-	7	**13**
location of family	1	2	2	2	**7**
general location	1	10	-	2	**13**
place of education	-	3	1	1	**5**
place of origin	-	1	1	-	**2**
total	**4**	**59**	**8**	**35**	**106**
The Milli Gazette					
workplace	4	12	-	3	**19**
place of community	-	-	-	1	**1**
current place of residence	-	8	-	2	**10**
location of family	5	2	2	-	**9**
general location	-	1	-	1	**2**
place of education	1	1	1	1	**4**
place of origin	-	1	-	-	**1**
total	**10**	**25**	**3**	**8**	**46**
total	**19**	**118**	**13**	**53**	**203**

Figure 59: Information on LOCATION (self) according to different authorships

Parents/families make 32 specifications in 20 advertisements; brides/grooms themselves 171 in 132 advertisements (cf. Figure 59).

Parents/families of brides are most verbose (13 specifications in eight advertisements). The specifications on LOCATION show great variety in all newspapers. They convey much more than just where someone works, etc. The place of origin is not the same as the place of residence and the workplace. Since it is mentioned so explicitly, the place of origin (specified by two grooms themselves and in one advertisement 'Grooms Wanted' by parents/families) is very important, and it is unlikely that someone ever has a real new 'home' somewhere he was not born apart from the brides, who traditionally move in with their husbands after the wedding. Surprisingly, *The Statesman* contains

the fewest specifications made by self (only 16). The figures for the neutrals (258 altogether) diconfirm the picture. In all newspapers, grooms themselves specify LOCATION more often than do brides (118 vs. 53). In *The Hindu*, twice as many parents/families elaborate on LOCATION for brides than for grooms (eight vs. four specifications). These parents/families seem to point at their daughters' LOCATION so explicitly since they do not want them to move away and, thus, search for a groom from not too far away.

5.7.1.8 FAMILY BACKGROUND

In 254 advertisements, the FAMILY BACKGROUND of the advertisers is specified (42.3%). FAMILY BACKGROUND is commented on in 26 advertisements at the minimum (*The Hindu*), cf. Figure 60.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	58	77.3	63	84	**121**	**80.7**
	s	6	8	1	1.3	**7**	**4.7**
	total	**64**	**85.3**	**64**	**85.3**	**128**	**85.4**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	8	10.7	**14**	**9.3**
	n	11	14.7	22	29.3	**33**	**22**
	s	12	16	5	6.7	**17**	**11.3**
	total	**29**	**38.7**	**35**	**46.7**	**64**	**42.6**
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	9	12	16	21.3	**25**	**16.7**
	s	4	5.3	1	1.3	**5**	**3.3**
	total	**16**	**21.3**	**20**	**26.6**	**36**	**24**
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	1	1.3	2	2.7	**3**	**2**
	s	7	9.3	10	13.3	**17**	**11.3**
	total	**11**	**14.6**	**15**	**20**	**26**	**17.3**
total	p/f	12	4	14	4.7	**26**	**4.3**
	n	79	26.3	103	34.3	**182**	**30.3**
	s	29	9.7	17	5.7	**46**	**7.7**
	total	**120**	**40**	**134**	**44.7**	**254**	**42.3**

Figure 60: Specifications on FAMILY BACKGROUND (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

At 128 in total, *The Statesman* shows the largest number of advertisements – more than twice as many as any of the other three newspapers. Here, FAMILY BACKGROUND is specified equally often for brides and for grooms (64 advertisements each) whereas on average, it is mentioned more often for brides (134 vs. 120 advertisements in total). In *The Milli Gazette* FAMILY BACKGROUND is commented on least often by parents/families (14 advertisements) and most often by neutral advertisers (33 advertisements). In *The Times of India*, the advertisers themselves specify it least often (five advertisements), and most often it is specified by neutral advertisers (25 advertisements) whereas in *The Hindu,* most specifications on FAMILY BACKGROUND are made by the brides/grooms

themselves (17 advertisements) and least so by neutral advertisers (three advertisements).

	‘Brides Wanted‘		‘Grooms Wanted‘		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
community	3	-	1	-	**4**
location	2	2	1	-	**5**
general status	1	1	2	-	**4**
general profession	1	-	2	-	**3**
economic status	1	1	-	-	**2**
profession of father	-	-		1	**1**
education	-	1	-	-	**1**
cultural/intellectual background	-	-	1	-	**1**
total	**8**	**5**	**7**	**1**	**21**
The Statesman					
location	-	3	-	-	**3**
general status	-	1	-	-	**1**
general profession	-	1	-	-	**1**
economic status	-	1	-	-	**1**
presence of family members	-	1	-	1	**2**
education	-	1	-	-	**1**
total	**-**	**8**	**-**	**1**	**9**
The Hindu					
community	3	2	1	3	**9**
location	1	2	2	2	**7**
general status	-	1	2	1	**4**
general profession	-	1	2	1	**4**
economic status	-	2	1	3	**6**
profession of father	-	1	-	1	**2**
presence of family members	-	1	1	1	**3**
cultural/intellectual background	-	-	-	1	**1**
total	**4**	**10**	**9**	**13**	**36**
The Milli Gazette					
community	6	1	8	-	**15**
location	5	2	2	-	**9**
general status	2	7	1	2	**12**
general profession	1	-	3	-	**4**
economic status	-	1	-	-	**1**
profession of father	1	-	1	3	**5**
presence of family members	1	1	-	-	**2**
education	-	2	2	-	**4**
total	**16**	**14**	**17**	**5**	**52**
total	**28**	**37**	**33**	**20**	**118**

Figure 61: Information on FAMILY BACKGROUND (self) according to different authorships

The specifications on FAMILY BACKGROUND contain information on attributes (e.g. _decent family_), community (e.g. _Jain family_), cultural/intellectual background (e.g. _highly cltd fmly_), economic status (e.g. _well settled family_), education (e.g. _well edu family_), general profession (e.g. _business family_), general status (e.g. _high status family_) and location (e.g. _South Delhi placed family_), the father's education (e.g. _father high educa-_

tion) and profession (e.g. *army officer's son*), the presence of family members (e.g. *1 sister, 1 brother*), the marital status of siblings (e.g. *1 sister married*) and education/profession of siblings (e.g. *1 sister student*), cf. Figure 61. A reason for the importance of family can be found in the fact that the Indian advertisers are much younger and thus more dependent. Furthermore, the frequent mentioning of the number of family members – mentioned in all newspapers except *The Times of India* – point at dowry issues. Parents/families make 61 specifications in 26 advertisements (thus, they use 2.3 specifications per advertisement on average) whereas brides/grooms themselves make 57 specifications in 46 advertisements. They are not as verbose as parents/families. The father's profession is mentioned in several advertisements, most of them in *The Milli Gazette*. Thus, for their own prestige, women are more strongly dependant on that of a male relative. The mother's profession is given in none of the advertisements. In *The Statesman*, the family background is very unimportant for brides (only one specification), which is not true for *The Hindu* (nine specifications by parents/families; 13 by brides) and *The Milli Gazette* (17 specifications by parents/families, five by brides). Strangely, *Hindu* brides emphasise the family background whereas in *The Milli Gazette*, it is mentioned more often relating to grooms (16 specifications by parents/families, 14 by grooms) and most often by parents/families.

5.7.1.9 INCOME

The seekers' INCOME is mentioned in 178 advertisements (29.7%), i.e. in between 25 (*The Milli Gazette*) and 85 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 62). The most striking difference in frequency exists between *The Statesman* and *The Milli Gazette* – a sign that INCOME is not that important for traditional Muslims but matters for traditional Bengali Hindus. Altogether, it is commented on far more often in relation to grooms than to brides (126 vs. 52 advertisements). In all newspapers apart from *The Hindu* (where it is mostly elaborated on by the brides and grooms themselves in 23 advertisements) and *The Statesman* (where there are no parents/families advertising), it is specified least often by parents/families (four advertisements of 29 altogether) and most often by neutral advertisers (129 advertisements in total).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted' n	%	'Grooms Wanted' n	%	total n	%
The States-man	n	59	78.7	25	33.3	**84**	**56**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**60**	**80**	**25**	**33.3**	**85**	**56.7**
The Times of India	p/f	1	1.3	1	1.3	**2**	**1.3**
	n	15	20	11	14.7	**26**	**17.3**
	s	9	12	1	1.3	**10**	**6.7**
	total	**25**	**33.3**	**13**	**17.3**	**38**	**25.3**
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	2	2.7	4	5.3	**6**	**4**
	s	19	25.3	4	5.3	**23**	**15.3**
	total	**22**	**29.3**	**8**	**10.6**	**30**	**20**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	9	12	4	5.3	**13**	**8.7**
	s	9	12	2	2.7	**11**	**7.3**
	total	**19**	**25.3**	**6**	**8**	**25**	**16.7**
total	p/f	3	1	1	0.3	**4**	**0.7**
	n	85	28.3	44	14.7	**129**	**21.5**
	s	38	12.7	7	2.3	**45**	**7.5**
	total	**126**	**42**	**52**	**17.3**	**178**	**29.7**

Figure 62: Specifications on INCOME (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The INCOME is given per annum (e.g. *11 LPA*), per month (e.g. *31 000 pm*), specified vaguely (e.g. *good income*) or the amount of money is given without specification (e.g. *5L*). Parents/families as well as brides themselves use only one specification at a time, while grooms make use of 44 specifications in 38 advertisements.

	'Brides Wanted' parents/families	self	'Grooms Wanted' parents/families	self	total
The Times of India					
per annum	-	8	1	1	**10**
without specification	1	1	-	-	**2**
total	**1**	**9**	**1**	**1**	**12**
The Statesman					
per month	-	7	-	-	**7**
The Hindu					
per annum	1	6	-	1	**8**
per month	-	8	-	3	**11**
without specification	-	4	-	-	**4**
vague specification	-	1	-	-	**1**
total	**1**	**19**	**-**	**4**	**24**
The Milli Gazette					
per annum	1	5	-	2	**8**
per month	-	2	-	-	**2**
without specification	-	2	-	-	**2**
total	**1**	**9**	**-**	**2**	**12**
total	**3**	**44**	**1**	**7**	**55**

Figure 63: Information on INCOME (self) according to different authorships

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All information on income is given more often by men than by women: 44 vs. seven specifications, cf. Figure 63. This can be due to the fact that either the women earn less than the men and thus, elaborating on it when trying to attract a man would seem inappropriate. The same probably holds for women earning well – they do not use it as a status symbol since this would make them unfeminine. Grooms themselves specifiying their INCOME have the highest income.

The specifications mentioned give an overall average monthly income of grooms of 164,051 INR, which corresponds to 2,786 €[55]. This is very high regarding the average Indian income of 818 € (Auswärtiges Amt)[56]. At 288,000 INR (= 4,890 €) the highest average monthly income is mentioned by grooms in *The Milli Gazette*. The figures for the neutrals give lower numbers on average: 61,246 INR = 1040 €/month. Here as well, *The Milli Gazette* shows the highest income (of grooms: 95,370 INR = 1,619 €).

The average income of brides mentioned by themselves amounts to 721 € only; the figures given in neutral advertisements result in an average of 1,584€, which is striking since one could ask why brides earning so well do not search for a partner personally. Probably they do not want to give the impression of being too active.

5.7.1.10 ECONOMIC STATUS

The ECONOMIC STATUS of the person seeking a partner is given in 83 advertisements (13.9%). It is specified in between five (*The Times of India*) and 54 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper and more often relating to grooms (61 advertisements in total) than to brides (22 advertisements in total), cf. Figure 64. In all newspapers except *The Statesman*, it is mentioned by the advertisers themselves most often (21 advertisements altogether). Since so many specifications are made in *The Statesman* (54 advertisements), however, the overwhelming majority is made by neutral advertisers (only one groom as against 53 neutrals; i.e. 36 grooms and 17 brides).

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[55] The foreign currency translations of amounts of INR, GBP or USD into Euro are based on the exchange rates that were valid at the time the respective advertisements were published. 58.89 INR corresponded to one Euro in May 2010, 0.87 GBP or 1.32 USD to one Euro in May 2011 ("EUR-GBP". *Devisen Charts 2011*. 17 December 2011. <http://www.devisen-charts.de/EUR-GBP_chart_euro-britisches-pfund.htm>; "EUR-INR". *Devisen Charts 2011*. 17 December 2011. <http://www.devisen-charts.de/EUR-INR_chart_euro-indische-rupie.htm>; "EUR-USD". *Devisen Charts 2011*. 17 December 2011. <http://www.devisen-charts.de/EUR-USD_chart_euro-us-dollar.htm>).

[56] "*Indien*". *Auswärtiges Amt*. 08 May 2014. <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/ Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes_Uebersichtsseiten/Indien_node.html>.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	36	48	17	22.7	**53**	**35.3**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**37**	**49.3**	**17**	**22.7**	**54**	**36**
The Hindu	n	-	-	2	2.7	**2**	**1.3**
	s	9	12	2	2.7	**11**	**7.3**
	total	**9**	**12**	**4**	**5.4**	**13**	**8.6**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	3	4	1	1.3	**4**	**2.7**
	s	6	8	-	-	**6**	**4**
	total	**10**	**13.3**	**1**	**1.3**	**11**	**7.4**
The Times of India	n	2	2.7	-	-	**2**	**1.3**
	s	3	4	-	-	**3**	**2**
	total	**5**	**6.7**	**-**	**-**	**5**	**3.3**
total	p/f	1	0.3	-	-	**1**	**0.2**
	n	41	13.7	20	6.7	**61**	**10.2**
	s	19	6.3	2	0.7	**21**	**3.5**
	total	**61**	**20.3**	**22**	**7.4**	**83**	**13.9**

Figure 64: Specifications on ECONOMIC STATUS (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

All specifications signal that the respective advertisers are well-off. Thus, they want to create a positive image of themselves not because of their general economic status but because of what they have achieved. They all use only one specification per advertisement.

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	**s**	**p/f**	**s**	
The Times of India						
general	*well settled/well stld*	-	2	-	-	**2**
family	*well settled family*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**3**	**-**	**-**	**3**
The Hindu						
general	*well-settled*	-	4	-	1	**5**
	well-to-do	-	2	-	-	**2**
financial situation	*affluent*	-	1	-	-	**1**
	financially independent	-	-	-	1	**1**
	financially sound	-	1	-	-	**1**
	without any encumbrance	-	1	-	-	**1**
business	*successful*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**10**	**-**	**2**	**12**
The Milli Gazette						
general	*well settled*	1	5	-	-	**6**
financial siuation	*millionaire*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**1**	**6**	**-**	**-**	**7**
total		**1**	**19**	**-**	**2**	**22**

Figure 65: Information on ECONOMIC STATUS (self) according to different authorships

As Figure 65 shows, *well settled* is the item used most often although it does not contain much information. Thus, it appears to be a common 'keyword' used when presenting oneself favourably in match-making. Parents/families do not mention the economic status that often (only one specification in *The Milli Gazette* 'Brides Wanted' among a total of 22 specifications), which is probably due to the fact that they mention the economic status in terms of family background. With general information as well as information on the financial situation and business, the specifications in *The Hindu* show the greatest variety

5.7.1.11 POSSESSIONS

The seekers' POSSESSIONS are specified in 116 advertisements (19.3%). Figure 66 shows that the overwhelming majority of such advertisements is present in *The Statesman* (102 instances). In the other newspapers, POSSESSIONS are specified in between one (*The Times of India)* and nine advertisements (*The Milli Gazette*) only. POSSESSIONS relating to grooms are specified more often than to brides (65 vs. 51 advertisements). Only in one advertisement 'Brides Wanted' do parents/family stress the possessions of the groom-to-be. In *The Statesman* and *The Milli Gazette*, most advertisements are inserted by 'neutral' (100 and five advertisements). The differences in frequency between the newspapers are more striking than those between the genders or authors. In Bengal – the clientele of *The Statesman* – POSSESSIONS must be very important.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	52	69.3	48	64	100	66.7
	s	1	1.3	1	1.3	2	1.3
	total	53	70.6	49	65.3	102	68
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.7
	n	3	4	2	2.7	5	3.3
	s	3	4	-	-	3	2
	total	7	9.3	2	2.7	9	6
The Hindu	n	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.7
	s	3	4	-	-	3	2
	total	4	5.3	-	-	4	2.7
The Times of India	n	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.7
	total	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.7
total	p/f	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.2
	n	57	19	50	16.7	107	17.8
	s	7	2.3	1	0.3	8	1.3
	total	65	21.6	51	17	116	19.3

Figure 66: Specifications on POSSESSIONS (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

All advertisers use only one specification per advertisement. All information relates to real estate or business (cf. Figure 67), which sheds a positive light on the advertisers and

conveys prestige. Since the advertisers are so young, they must have rich families. The specifications on real estate in *The Statesman* imply that the advertisers in question probably do not live with their families, which is rather uncommon. The fact that one bride mentions it probably implies that she is not willing to move in with her husband but wants to stay in her house.

		information given	BW		GW		total
			p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Statesman							
real estate	*own [sic] house/own house and flat*		-	1	-	1	2
The Hindu							
business	*own business*		-	2	-	-	2
The Milli Gazette							
business	*girl having her own marketing business in Dubai/having own business/own buss*		1	2	-		3
	own showroom		-	1	-	-	1
real estate	*own house*		-	1	-	-	1
total			1	4	-	-	5
total			1	7	-	1	9

Figure 67: Information on POSSESSIONS (self) according to different authorships

5.7.1.12 ATTRIBUTES

91 advertisements (cf. Figure 68) contain information on ATTRIBUTES (15.2%).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	18	24	17	22.7	35	5.8
	s	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.2
	total	19	25.3	17	22.7	36	6
The Milli Gazette	p/f	-	-	2	2.7	2	1.3
	n	3	4	13	17.3	16	10.7
	s	8	10.7	2	2.7	10	6.7
	total	11	14.7	17	22.7	28	18.7
The Times of India	n	9	12	12	16	21	14
	s	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.7
	total	9	12	13	17.3	22	14.7
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.7
	s	2	2.7	2	2.7	4	2.7
	total	3	4	2	2.7	5	3.4
total	p/f	1	0.3	2	0.7	3	0.5
	n	30	10	42	14	72	12
	s	11	3.7	5	1.7	16	2.7
	total	42	14	49	16.4	91	15.2

Figure 68: Specifications on ATTRIBUTES (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

ATTRIBUTES are commented on in between five and 36 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper – by far least so in *The Hindu* (five instances). 49 advertisements relate to brides and 42 to grooms. In *The Milli Gazette* and *The Times of India*, ATTRIBUTES commented on are least often by parents/families (three advertisements of 29) and most often by neutral advertisers (72 advertisements altogether). In *The Milli Gazette* brides and grooms specify ATTRIBUTES in ten advertisements, in *The Hindu* in four.

ATTRIBUTES (cf. Figure 69) contain information on emotional attributes (e.g. *kind*), general attributes (e.g. *smart*), intellect-related ones (e.g. *intelligent*) and manners/moral/values (e.g. *well-behaved*).

In *The Times of India*, one bride mentions ATTRIBUTES. *The Statesman* shows greater variety. However, except one specification made by a groom, all other information is given by neutral advertiserts. The five specifications in *The Hindu* show little variation. General attributes are mentioned four times (one advertisement 'Brides Wanted' by parents/families, one by a groom, two by brides themselves in 'Grooms Wanted'). One groom wanting a bride elaborates on his lifestyle.

information	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
general	-	6	1	1	8
emotional	-	1	-	1	2
manners/moral/values	-	1	1	-	2
intellect-related	-	1	-	-	1
total	-	9	2	2	13

Figure 69: Information on ATTRIBUTES (self) according to different authorships in *The Milli Gazette*

The specifications in *The Milli Gazette* show more variety than those in the other newspapers (cf. Figure 69). This newspaper is the only one containing emotional attributes (used once by each gender). Thus, these two advertisers present themselves in an individual manner.

5.7.1.13 HOROSCOPE

HOROSCOPE is specified in 62 advertisements (10.3%). Figure 70 shows that HOROSCOPE does not occur at all in *The Milli Gazette*, very rarely in *The Statesman* (two specifications), in 25 advertisements in *The Times of India* and in 35 in *The Hindu*. It is mentioned only in two advertisements by parents/families (one in *The Hindu*, one in *The Times of India*). In *The Hindu*, it is mostly mentioned by the advertisers themselves (21 advertisements), in *The Times of India*, by neutral advertisers (also 21 advertisements). That HOROSCOPE is not mentioned at all in *The Milli Gazette* may point at the fact that horoscope matching is not important in Muslim marriages. HOROSCOPE is more often

mentioned for brides (37 vs. 25 advertisements) – an indicator that for men, other factors count more.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	n	6	8	7	9.3	**13**	**8.7**
	s	4	5.3	17	22.7	**21**	**14**
	total	**10**	**13.3**	**25**	**33.3**	**35**	**23.4**
The Times of India	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	9	12	12	16	**21**	**14**
	s	3	4	-	-	**3**	**2**
	total	**13**	**17.3**	**12**	**16**	**25**	**16.7**
The States-man	n	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**2**	**2.6**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**1.4**
total	p/f	1	0.3	1	0.3	**2**	**0.3**
	n	16	5.3	19	6.3	**35**	**5.8**
	s	8	2.7	17	5.7	**25**	**4.2**
	total	**25**	**8.3**	**37**	**12.3**	**62**	**10.3**

Figure 70: Specifications on HOROSCOPE (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications on HOROSCOPE all contain specified information (e.g. *non Manglik*). The readers from *The Statesman* are probably more divided among the line between East and West Bengal than between different horscopes and thus, horoscope is less important to them.

5.7.1.14 MARITAL STATUS

59 advertisements contain information on MARITAL STATUS (9.8%). Thus, MARITAL STATUS is not mentioned very often. The reason is probably that in India, most people advertised have not been married before and thus, there is no need to mention the MARITAL STATUS explicitly. MARITAL STATUS is specified in between 13 (*The Times of India*) and 17 advertisements (*The Milli Gazette*) per newspaper, which is shown in Figure 71. In all newspapers, it is elaborated on more often relating to grooms than to brides (34 vs. 25 advertisements), which shows that men are more likely to have been married before. In *The Hindu*, it is commented on mostly by the brides and grooms themselves (13 advertisements). It is not mentioned at all by parents/families. Most probably the people for whom parents/families are seeking a partner have never been married before, and parents/families do not even consider that something like a divorce could be associated with their children, which thus does not need to be mentioned. Furthermore, if someone wants to get remarried, parents/families will probably not arrange this marriage.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The Milli Gazette	n	4	5.3	6	8	**10**	**6.7**
	s	5	6.7	2	2.7	**7**	**4.7**
	total	**9**	**12**	**8**	**10.7**	**17**	**11.4**
The Hindu	n	3	4	-	-	**3**	**2**
	s	7	9.3	6	8	**13**	**8.7**
	total	**10**	**13.3**	**6**	**8**	**16**	**10.7**
The Times of India	n	5	6.7	7	9.3	**12**	**8**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**6**	**8**	**7**	**9.3**	**13**	**8.7**
The Statesman	n	9	12	4	5.3	**13**	**8.7**
	total	**9**	**12**	**4**	**5.3**	**13**	**8.7**
total	n	21	7	17	5.7	**38**	**6.3**
	s	13	4.3	8	2.7	**21**	**3.5**
	total	**34**	**11.3**	**25**	**8.4**	**59**	**9.8**

Figure 71: Specifications on MARITAL STATUS (self) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
divorce	*divorcee*	-	**1**	-	-	**1**
The Hindu						
divorce	*divorcee (4)/divorced (3)/divorcee khula/ divorsees/legally divorced/legally divorced (1 month)/divorced (within a week)*	-	6	-	6	**12**
issuelessness	*issueless/no issues*	-	1	-	1	**2**
	innocent	-	-	-	1	**1**
children	*7 yr old daughter studying in UAE/son 7 yrs*	-	-	-	2	**2**
financial ties	*without any encumbrance/without encumbrance*	-	2	-	-	**2**
widowship	*widower*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**10**	**-**	**10**	**20**
The Milli Gazette						
divorce	*div/divorcee/divorcee; marriage lasted only six days/divoricee (short time marriage)/divorced from a short lived marriage/in 1 month divorcee*	-	4	-	2	**6**
issuelessness	*i'less/issueless*	-	1	-	1	**2**
children	*2 kids (14 & 18)*	-	1	-	-	**1**
widowship	*widowed*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**7**	**-**	**3**	**10**
total		**-**	**18**	**-**	**13**	**31**

Figure 72: Information on MARITAL STATUS (self) according to different authorships

Grooms themselves specify their MARITAL STATUS 18 times in 13 advertisements; brides do so by using 13 specifications in eight advertisements. In general, there are no striking differences between the genders (cf. Figure 72) in spite of what might have been expected. When divorce is mentioned, details that account for the circumstances are given

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in many instances. For children, details are mentioned as well, especially their education since this sheds a positive light on the parents and helps to 'make up for them'. Issuelessness is an important factor, interestingly for both genders. Fewest details are given in *The Times of India* where only one *divorcee* is mentioned.

5.7.1.15 SKILLS

26 advertisements contain information on the seekers' SKILLS (4.3%). In 25 instances the information is given in *The Statesman* and in one case in *The Milli Gazette*. In 20 advertisements the information relates to brides (6.7% of 'Grooms Wanted'; 19 advertisements from *The Statesman* and the advertisement from *The Milli Gazette*) and six times to grooms (2% of 'Brides Wanted'). Especially women from Bengal consider it important to mention their SKILLS. All information is given by neutral advertisers. The information under SKILLS differs from that under HOBBIES/INTERESTS by an introducing lexical item (e.g. *knows*) that makes clear that the information that follows concerns skills and not hobbies/interests. The specifications on skills contain information related to art (e.g. *drawing*), computer (e.g. *computer typing*), handicraft (e.g. *stitching*), household activities (e.g. *cooking*), languages (e.g. *flu eng spk*), music (e.g. *tabla*) and sports (e.g. *motor driving*). The information conveyed is intended to demonstrate the 'advantages' of the advertisers.

5.7.1.16 HOBBIES/INTERESTS

20 advertisements contain information on the seekers' HOBBIES/INTERESTS (3.3%). All specifications are present in *The Statesman*. 12 neutral advertisers mention the grooms' HOBBIES/INTERESTS (4% of 'Brides Wanted') and eight those of the brides (2.7% of 'Grooms Wanted'). The specifications contain introducing lexical items (e.g. *loves*) and informations on art/culture/intellect/music (e.g. *art & music*), games/outdoor activities/sports (e.g. *cricket*), household activities (e.g. *cooking*) and places/travel (e.g. *travelling*). Apart from the fact that only men claim to like games/outdoor activities/sports, there are no striking differences between the genders. This feature helps to individualise the advertisement, present the advertisers as authentic and show something of their personality apart from the facts listed in the other features. Only a small minority of advertisers make use of this chance.

5.7.1.17 PHYSICAL CONDITION

Four advertisements (0.7%) contain information on the seekers' PHYSICAL CONDITION. It is specified in *The Statesman* – 'Brides Wanted', one neutral, one self (both *0+*) – and in *The Hindu* – both self, 'Brides Wanted' (*has a birth defect of infertility can have happy married life* and *healthy; having diabetes*). The latter two are negative attributes.

They could be points for exclusion and are thus mentioned in advance. Interestingly, all specifications on PHYSICAL CONDITION are made by men – probably a compensation for the women's higher use of APPEARANCE.

5.7.1.18 HABITS

Four advertisements contain specifications on the seekers' HABITS (0.7%). HABITS are only specified in *The Hindu* – two selves, 'Brides Wanted' (*clean habits*; *teetotaller* – and *The Times of India* – self, 'Brides Wanted' (*with sober habits*); neutral, 'Grooms Wanted'.

5.7.1.19 LANGUAGE

The LANGUAGE of the person for whom a partner is sought is only mentioned in one advertisement (0.2%). The specifications on COMMUNITY and LOCATION already include the LANGUAGE, which is why it is not mentioned often. This one advertisement is placed into *The Statesman* by a neutral advertiser looking for brides and states that the groom *speaks Hindi*.

5.7.2 The British Corpus

5.7.2.1 AGE/DOB

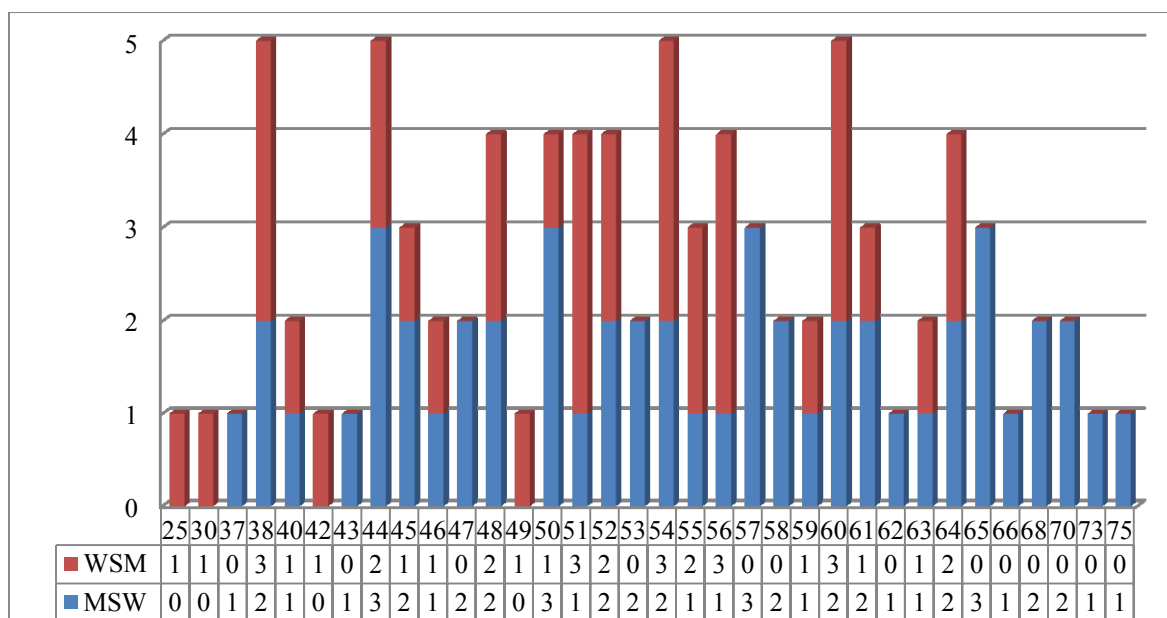121 advertisements contain information on AGE/DOB (80.7%), i.e. 62 men (82.7%) and 59 women (78.7%).

	25	30	37	38	40	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	68	70	73	75
■WSM	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	3	2	0	3	2	3	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
■MSW	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	3	2	1	2	2	0	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	1

Figure 73: Information on AGE/DOB (self) in *The Times* (London) (WSM: n = 36; MSW: n = 51)

51 men and 36 women give their age in years (cf. Figure 73). Among them, the age of ten advertisers (six women and four men) is between 25 and 40; 41 advertisers (19 women and 22 men) are between 41 and 55 years old, and 36 advertisers (eleven wom-

en and 25 men) are older than 55. The middle-aged group is the strongest in total. However, most men are 56 years old or older. This shows that newspapers as a medium for finding a partner are more attractive for middle-aged people and elderly men.

Eight additional men and women each mention attributes (e.g. *youthful 61*) which, in all instances, relate to youthfulness. 11 men and 23 women make only vague specifications about their age (e.g. *late 40s*). The specifications result in an average age of 52.8 years (55.1 for men and 50.4 for women). The youngest age mentioned is 25 (by a woman), the oldest 75 (by a man). This wide span of 50 years shows that seeking a partner for a long-term relationship is socially acceptable irrespective of age. Most advertisers are in their late forties and early fifties. Thus, seeking a partner in a newspaper advertisement is most common for those who have probably been married before.

5.7.2.2 ATTRIBUTES

119 advertisements contain information on ATTRIBUTES (79.3%), i.e. 61 by men (81.3%) and 58 by women (77.3%). Not only are the personal attributes of the people seeking a partner mentioned very frequently, but the content is very diversified. They emphasise the individuality of the men and women in question. By reading them, a possible partner can sketch the character and personality of the writer quite well. There are specifications on emotional attributes (e.g. *caring, romantic, tactile*), intellect-related attributes/manners (e.g. *cultured*), general specifications (e.g. *smart*), specifications on humour (e.g. *GSOH*), on lifestyle (e.g. *very active*) and on manners/moral/values (e.g. *well behaved*). Women are slightly more verbose than men (on average 1.7 vs. 1.5 specifications per advertisement).

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
emotional	46	46	92
intellect-related/manners	15	26	41
general	12	11	23
humour	8	9	17
lifestyle	9	6	15
manners/moral/values	4	-	4
total	94	98	192

Figure 74: Information on ATTRIBUTES (self) in *The Times* (London)

Whereas manners/moral/values play a very minor role and general attributes are relatively rare, the main focus lies clearly on emotional ones (cf. Figure 74). Within this subcategory, the variation is considerable, which again shows that the British advertisers focus on their individuality. Women mention intellect-related attributes more often; men rather tend to focus on manners/moral/values. This means that good manners are especially favourable for men whereas intellectuality is seen as positive in women. Con-

sidering the average age of the advertisers, this can also be seen as an authentic representation of the ideal man and the ideal woman.

5.7.2.3 APPEARANCE

The APPEARANCE of the person seeking a partner is specified in 99 advertisements (66%). The trend of women more often commenting on their APPEARANCE than men holds true as well: 63 women (84%) give information about their APPEARANCE whereas only 36 men (48%) do so. Women use more than two specifications per advertisement (2.3 on average vs. 1.5 'MSW').

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
shape	*slim* (44)/*slim built/slimmish built*	17	29	**46**
	athletic (3)/*athletic built*	4	-	**4**
	average build (2)/*medium built* (2)	1	3	**4**
	curvy (2)/*with sensational curves*	-	3	**3**
	petite	-	3	**3**
	long legged	-	1	**1**
	size 8-10	-	1	**1**
				total: 62
general	*attractive* (37)/*very attractive*	11	27	**38**
	beautiful	-	8	**8**
	good looking (3)/*good looks/told goodlooking*	4	1	**5**
	handsome (2)/*h'some*	3	-	**3**
	young looking/young looks	1	1	**2**
	easy on the eye	-	1	**1**
	pleasant looking	1	-	**1**
	pretty	-	1	**1**
	smart appearance	1	-	**1**
				total: 60
hair	*blonde* (11)/*dark blonde/long blonde hair*	-	13	**13**
	brunette (9)/*shoulder length brunette hair*	-	10	**10**
	fair hair (3)/*fair*	2	2	**4**
	dark haired (2)/*dark hair*	2	1	**3**
	full hair	1		**1**
	shapely red head	-	1	**1**
				total: 32
charisma/elegance	*lovely smile*	-	11	**11**
	stylish	-	5	**5**
	elegant	-	4	**4**
	glamorous	-	1	**1**
				total: 21
eyes	*blue-eyed* (5)/*blue eyes* (3)/*sparkling blue eyes/striking bluey green eyes*	3	7	**10**
	green eyed (2)/*green eyes*	-	3	**3**
	grey eyed	-	1	**1**
				total: 14
skin colour	*black*	1	5	**6**
	dark/dark skinned	1	1	**2**
	white	2	-	**2**
				total: 10
total		**55**	**144**	**199**

Figure 75: Information on APPEARANCE (self) in *The Times* (London)

The specifications show much more variation than those in the Indian advertisements (cf. Figure 75). This shows that the advertisers each have a very individual idea of what they think is beautiful and favourable. While skin colour is a very important feature in the Indian corpus, the British advertisers rather emphasise shape (62 specifications in total; 22 by men and 40 by women) – women emphasise slimness, men athleticity. Hair (specified 32 times altogether) and eyes (specified 14 times in total) also play an important role. This is probably due to the presence of more variety among the advertisers' APPEARANCE regarding these two features whereas in India, most advertisers are probably dark-haired and -eyed. As a subcategory of APPEARANCE, charisma/elegance (mentioned in 21 instances) is only present in the British corpus. It is a feature that cannot be pinned down easily by a description of mere facts but rather needs to be 'felt'. This does not play a role for the Indian advertisers. Charisma/elegance is also something that distinguishes people from each other and gives a touch of individuality to the respective person – something that is obviously not important in the Indian corpus.

5.7.2.4 HEIGHT

53 advertisements contain specifications on the seekers' HEIGHT (34.7%). 34 (45.3%) are inserted by men, 18 (24%) by women.

information	'Men Seeking Women'	'Women Seeking Men'	total
inch	17	12	29
abstract	18	6	24
total	35	18	53

Figure 76: Information on HEIGHT (self) in *The Times* (London)

One *tall* man claims to be *6'*. The other advertisers use only one specification each (cf. Figure 76). They specify their HEIGHT either only by giving the exact number of inches or only in abstract terms. Compared to the specifications in the Indian corpus analysed above, those in the British corpus are much more abstract. Almost all such specifications are *tall*.

5.7.2.5 HOBBIES/INTERESTS

78 advertisements contain information on the seekers' HOBBIES/INTERESTS (52%), i.e. 40 men (53.3%) and 38 women (50.7%). The specifications contain introducing lexical items (e.g. *likes*) and information on art/culture/intellect-related/music (e.g. *a bit of culture*), places/travel (e.g. *weekends away*), games/outdoor activities/sports (e.g. *cycling*), cuisine (e.g. *wine bars*), social activities (e.g. *good conversation*), general information (e.g. *many interests*), information on household activities (e.g. *gardening*), animals (e.g. *animal lover*) and other activities (e.g. *shopping!*).

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women Seeking Men'	total
introducing lexical item	31	33	64
art/culture/intellect-related/music	21	32	53
places/travel	20	23	43
games/outdoor activities/sports	25	15	40
cuisine	14	14	28
social activities	9	14	23
general information	8	4	12
household activities	4	2	6
animals	3	1	4
other activities	2	1	3
total	137	139	276

Figure 77: Information on HOBBIES/INTERESTS (self) in *The Times (*London)

On average, more than three specifications are used per advertisement (cf. Figure 77). While men are more into games/outdoor activities/sports, general interests and household activities – this hobby is probably mentioned more often by men since it cannot be taken for granted that they like it –, women have more art/culture/intellect-related/music-related and social interests.

5.7.2.6 PROFESSION

The seekers' PROFESSION is mentioned in 42 advertisements (28%). Men specify their PROFESSION (28 advertisements, 37.3%) twice as often as women (14 advertisements, 18.7%). The specifications contain general information (e.g. *professional*) and information on the position (e.g. *lawyer*) and field of profession (e.g. *works in film industry*), cf. Figure 78. One woman makes two specifications (*semi-retired* and *professional*). The men obviously identify more with their PROFESSION – or they also hold the traditional view that the man has to provide for the family/his wife and thus explicitly mention their PROFESSION in order to show that they are able to do so.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
general information	12	9	21
position	16	5	21
field of profession	-	1	1
total	28	15	43

Figure 78: Information on PROFESSION (self) in *The Times* (London)

The absence of company names points to the fact that companies either do not enhance the status of their employees *per se*, that the British advertisers do not identify very much with the company they work for or they want to protect their sphere of privacy. Furthermore, since they are middle-aged, they have probably worked for more than one company and thus, do not feel as committed to their work environment.

5.7.2.7 EDUCATION

The seekers' EDUCATION (cf. Figure 79) is specified in 26 advertisements (17.3%) – 16 by men (21.3%) and ten by women (13.3%). There is general information (e.g. *erudite*)

as well as specifications on academic education (e.g. *graduate*), school education (e.g. *ex public schoolboy*) as well as school/academic education (e.g. *public school/Oxbridge type*).

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
general information	11	6	17
academic education	2	4	6
school education	2	-	2
school/academic education	1	-	1
total	16	10	26

Figure 79: Information on EDUCATION (self) in *The Times* (London)

General information is mentioned more often than academic education. One reason could be the age of the advertisers, who are, thus, probably already settled in their professional lives. This is why mentioning the academic background is used for reasons of prestige rather than pointing out actual advantages in the professional market.

5.7.2.8 MARITAL STATUS

In 20 advertisements (13.3%) the MARITAL STATUS of the person seeking is specified. Men mention it in more advertisements than women: 13 (17.3%) vs. seven (9.3%) advertisements with 15 vs. eight specifications (cf. Figure 80).

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
widowship	*widower* (6)/*widow* (3)/*new widower*	7	3	10
	bereaved	1	-	1
financial ties	*independent/independent; no ties/wildly independent; to ties*	-	3	3
	no ties (2)/*with no ties*	2	1	3
	no baggage	-	1	1
divorce	*divorced*	3	-	3
absence of past marriages	*never married*	1	-	1
children	*no kids*	1	-	1
total		15	8	23

Figure 80: Information on MARITAL STATUS (self) in *The Times* (London)

The British corpus does not contain specifications on issuelessness. Mostly the specifications do not convey any information about children. Either most advertisers do not have any, or, which is more plausible, they do but since they have a certain age (and so may their children), this does not seem very important to them. Second marriages as a result of death of the spouse or divorce are common. In many instances, the mentioning conveys more than just the mere information. The specifications *bereaved* and *new widower* carry an emotional content and show that the advertiser is probably emotionally sensitive. *No baggage* shows that the advertiser considers children as baggage and thus, might not like to have a partner who has children. *Never married* probably implies that this man has not found his soulmate yet.

5.7.2.9 LOCATION

The seeking person's LOCATION is specified in 17 advertisements (11.3%) – 12 'Men Seeking Women' (16%) and five 'Women Seeking Men' (6.7%), cf. Figure 81. The specifications elaborate on the current place of residence (e.g. *lives in Bucks*), give general information (e.g. *London*) and information on the identification with a place (e.g. *London lady*) and the workplace (e.g. *work in London*).

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
current place of residence	6	1	7
general information	5	1	6
identification with place	-	3	3
workplace	1	-	1
total	12	5	17

Figure 81: Information on LOCATION (self) in *The Times* (London)

The specifications show little variety, which can be accounted for by the fact that in compensation, the advertisers specify their future partner's place very often.

5.7.2.10 ECONOMIC STATUS

The ECONOMIC STATUS of the person seeking a partner is given in 15 advertisements (10%); 13 by men (17.3%; 14 specifications) and two by women (2.7%), cf. Figure 82.

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
financial situation	*solvent*	8	-	8
	affluent	1	-	1
business	*successful*	3	2	5
lifestyle	*excellent lifestyle/good lifestyle*	2	-	2
total		14	2	16

Figure 82: Information on ECONOMIC STATUS (self) in *The Times* (London)

Most of the information relates to the financial situation. Apart from two specifications on business, all information is given by men.

5.7.2.11 PHYSICAL CONDITION

The seekers' PHYSICAL CONDITION is mentioned in ten advertisements (6.7%), i.e. eight by men (10.7%), two by women (2.7%).

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
fitness	*fit* (6)/*physically fit/very fit*	6	2	8
health	*healthy*	2	-	2
total		8	2	10

Figure 83: Information on PHYSICAL CONDITION (self) in *The Times* (London)

The specifications all shed a positive light on the respective advertiser (cf. Figure 83). For men, fitness is obviously more important than for women.

5.7.2.12 HABITS

Nine advertisements (6%) contain specifications on the seekers' HABITS (containning ten specifications, cf. Figure 84). Out of these, seven (9.3%) are inserted by men and two (2.7%) by women (three specifications).

information	information given	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
smoking	*n/s*	6	2	8
	smoker	1	-	1
eating	*vegetarian*	-	1	1
total		7	3	10

Figure 84: Information on HABITS (self) in *The Times* (London)

Interestingly, that the seeker does not smoke is stated much more often than the opposite (eight vs. one specification). This could either mean that non-smoking is more exceptional and thus, needs to be mentioned or, more plausibly, persons that do not smoke want non-smoking partners as well and thus mention it as an attribute of their future partner.

5.7.2.13 NATIONALITY

The seekers' NATIONALITY is specified in only four advertisements (2.7%), three by men (4%) and one by a woman (1.3%). The specifications contain information on continent (*European*), specified by one woman, and state (*English; Englishman*), specified by three men. The two specifications containing *English* are probably not meant as indicators of the respective nationality but rather point at the qualities commonly associated with being *English*.

5.7.2.14 COMMUNITY

Only two advertisements contain information on the seekers' COMMUNITY (1.3%). Both advertisements (2.7%) are inserted by men and relate to the creed (*Christian*) without further specifications. Since creed is mentioned in so few advertisements, one can conclude that for these two advertisers, religion is especially important and plays a major role in their lives.

5.7.2.15 POSSESSIONS

The seekers' POSSESSIONS are specified in two advertisements (1.3%), both inserted by men. One of them specifies real estate (*lovely South Dartmoor home*), the other real estate/cars (*OHAC*). These two specifications imply more than just mere information on possessions. [L]*ovely South Dartmoor home* conveys the fact that this man probably likes to stay at home and feels happy there. *OHAC* (short for 'own house and car') implies a certain independence that the advertiser wants to emphasise. Especially mentio-

ning his car seems redundant since probably many advertisers have a car of their own. This man probably likes to keep his house and car during a relationship.

5.7.2.16 SKILLS

Two advertisements contain information on the seekers' SKILLS (1.3%), both inserted by men. One advertisement points to art-related skills, the other to language-related ones. Since probably all other advertisers have various skills as well, these two men seem to be especially proud of theirs.

5.8 Features Used in Partner-Description

5.8.1 The Indian Corpus

5.8.1.1 COMMUNITY

The partner's COMMUNITY is mentioned in 238 advertisements (39.6%), i.e. not as frequently as the COMMUNITY of the self. One can assume that the partner should come from the same community as the self. Thus, when the latter is mentioned, there is no need to mention the partner's COMMUNITY – which accounts for the relatively low frequency. The partner's COMMUNITY is mentioned in between 41 (*The Milli Gazette*) and 88 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 85). It is specified more often for brides as partners than for grooms as partners (140 vs. 98 advertisements). Thus, grooms appear to be less tolerant than brides when it comes to COMMUNITY. Altogether, COMMUNITY is commented on 14 times by parents/families. In *The Statesman* and *The Times of India*, it is mentioned by neutral advertisers most often (82 and 30 advertisements) whereas in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*, brides and grooms themselves specify the COMMUNITY their partner should come from most often (46 and 21 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	44	58.7	38	50.7	**82**	**54.7**
	s	4	5.3	2	2.7	**6**	**4**
	total	**48**	**64**	**40**	**53.4**	**88**	**58.7**
The Hindu	p/f	2	2.7	3	4	**5**	**3.3**
	n	7	9.3	4	5.3	**11**	**7.3**
	s	28	37.3	18	24	**46**	**30.7**
	total	**37**	**49.3**	**25**	**33.3**	**62**	**41.3**
The Times of India	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	n	14	18.7	16	21.3	**30**	**20**
	s	10	13.3	4	5.3	**14**	**9.3**
	total	**26**	**34.7**	**21**	**27.9**	**47**	**31.3**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	9	12	5	6.7	**14**	**9.3**
	s	17	22.7	4	5.3	**21**	**14**
	total	**29**	**38.7**	**12**	**16**	**41**	**27.3**
total	p/f	7	2.3	7	2.3	**14**	**2.3**
	n	74	24.7	63	21	**137**	**22.8**
	s	59	19.7	28	9.3	**87**	**14.5**
	total	**140**	**46.7**	**98**	**32.6**	**238**	**39.6**

Figure 85: Specifications on COMMUNITY (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	‘Brides Wanted‘		‘Grooms Wanted‘		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
absence of bars	1	5	1	1	**8**
community	-	4	-	2	**6**
location + community	-	1	-	1	**2**
creed	1	-	-	-	**1**
total	**2**	**10**	**1**	**4**	**17**
The Statesman					
absence of bars	-	3	-	-	**3**
community	-	-	-	2	**2**
location + community	-	1	-	-	**1**
total	**-**	**4**	**-**	**2**	**6**
The Hindu					
absence of bars	-	8	-	9	**17**
community	-	8	2	7	**17**
specification on religiousness	2	8	-	1	**11**
location + community	-	3	1	-	**4**
creed	1	4	-	1	**6**
total	**3**	**31**	**3**	**18**	**55**
The Milli Gazette					
absence of bars	1	5	2	1	**9**
community	1	5	-	2	**8**
specification on religiousness	2	8	-	1	**11**
location + community	-	-	1	-	**1**
creed	-	-	-	1	**1**
total	**4**	**18**	**3**	**5**	**30**
total	**9**	**63**	**7**	**29**	**108**

Figure 86: Information on COMMUNITY (partner) according to different authorships

The specifications on COMMUNITY contain information on the absence of bars (e.g. *caste no bar*), community (e.g. *Jat*), creed (e.g. *Jain*), location + community (e.g. *Bengali Brahmin*) and specifications on religiousness (e.g. *atheist*), cf. Figure 86. Parents/families make 16 specifications in 14 advertisements; brides/grooms do so 92 times in 87 advertisements. The relatively high number of specifications on absence of bars (37) suggests that the respective seekers are either very tolerant people or that they will not be able to find someone in their own community and, thus, need to be open to people from other groups as well. The vast majority is made by brides/grooms in *The Hindu* (17 specifications). The fact that tolerance of all castes needs to be mentioned points to the fact that other readers of the respective newspapers are not tolerant at all when it comes to community, and tolerance cannot be taken for granted. The advertisers in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette* mention religiousness (eleven times per newspaper), which shows that they do not only pay attention to religion/community itself but that they want partners who live their religion.

5.8.1.2 PROFESSION

The partner's PROFESSION is mentioned in 213 advertisements (35.5%), which confirms the view that status and material factors are important in marriages. It is mentioned in between 36 (*The Milli Gazette*) and 72 advertisements (*The Statesman)* per newspaper (cf. Figure 87). In all newspapers except *The Times of India*, there are more specifications on the grooms' PROFESSION than vice versa. It is commented on nine times by parents/families. In *The Hindu*, most specifications are made by the brides and grooms themselves (36 advertisements), in the other three newspapers by neutral advertisers (119 in total). The frequencies confirm the traditional attitude towards gender roles: PROFESSION is more important for men than for women. This view is upheld by the brides themselves, especially in Bengal since in *The Statesman*, the difference between the genders is most crucial (23 'Brides Wanted' vs. 49 'Grooms Wanted').

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	19	25.3	46	61.3	65	43.3
	s	4	5.3	3	4	7	4.7
	total	**23**	**30.6**	**49**	**65.3**	**72**	**48**
The Times of India	p/f	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	n	11	14.7	18	24	**29**	**19.3**
	s	21	28	6	8	**27**	**18**
	total	**32**	**42.7**	**25**	**33.3**	**57**	**38**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	5	6.7	**5**	**3.3**
	n	4	5.3	3	4	**7**	**4.7**
	s	15	20	21	28	**36**	**24**
	total	**19**	**25.3**	**29**	**38.7**	**48**	**32**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	n	5	6.7	13	17.3	**18**	**12**
	s	10	13.3	5	6.7	**15**	**10**
	total	**17**	**22.7**	**19**	**25.3**	**36**	**24**
total	p/f	2	0.7	7	2.3	**9**	**1.5**
	n	39	13	80	26.7	**119**	**19.8**
	s	50	16.7	35	11.7	**85**	**14.2**
	total	**91**	**30.4**	**122**	**40.7**	**213**	**35.5**

Figure 87: Specifications on PROFESSION (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications contain information on the company (e.g. *SPBC),* general information (e.g. *working*), information on the field (e.g. *Hotel Management*), on the workplace (e.g. *Chennai employed*) and the position (e.g. *engg*), cf. Figure 88. They confirm the view that public sector posts enjoy a high reputation. Furthermore, the frequent mentioning of *homely* (among general information) in connection with women allows the inference that women are expected either not to work or if they do, to be homely at the same time and, thus, not too independent.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
general	-	19	1	4	24
position	-	2	-	1	3
field	-	-	-	1	1
total	**-**	**21**	**1**	**6**	**28**
The Statesman					
general	-	4	-	-	4
field	-	-	-	3	3
total	**-**	**4**	**-**	**3**	**7**
The Hindu					
general	-	13	4	21	38
position	-	1	-	3	4
field	-	3	1	-	4
workplace	-	-	1	1	2
company	-	-	-	1	1
total	**-**	**17**	**6**	**26**	**49**
The Milli Gazette					
general	1	7	1	4	13
position	-	3	-	2	5
field	1	-	-	-	1
total	**2**	**10**	**1**	**6**	**19**
total	**2**	**52**	**8**	**41**	**103**

Figure 88: Information on PROFESSION (partner) according to different authorships

Parents/families make ten specifications in nine advertisements; brides and grooms do so 93 times in 85 advertisements. *The Hindu* is the only newspaper containing more specifications related to grooms than to brides (32 vs. 17). Since parents/families are involved, one can conclude that this newspaper is conservative in terms of gender roles. Some parents/families still want sons-in-law who earn well and can take care of their daughters. The specifications in *The Hindu* are also most detailed. The advertisers have precise ideas of their partners' PROFESSION.

5.8.1.3 EDUCATION

The partner's EDUCATION is commented on in 172 advertisements (28.7%) – 116 'Brides Wanted' and 56 'Grooms Wanted'. Figure 89 shows that it is specified in between 14 (*The Times of India*) and 85 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper. Altogether, ten parents/families specify EDUCATION. In *The Statesman* and *The Times of India*, neutral advertisers mention it most often (82 and eight advertisements) whereas in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*, it is the brides/grooms themselves who are commenting on their partner's EDUCATION most frequently (36 and 18 advertisements). Thus, intellectual achievements of their future partners are more important to men than to women.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	46	61.3	36	48	**82**	**54.7**
	s	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	total	**48**	**64**	**37**	**49.3**	**85**	**56.7**
The Hindu	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	n	1	1.3	2	2.7	**3**	**2**
	s	27	36	9	12	**36**	**24**
	total	**30**	**40**	**12**	**16**	**42**	**28**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	6	8	1	1.3	**7**	**4.7**
	s	17	22.7	1	1.3	**18**	**12**
	total	**26**	**34.7**	**5**	**6.6**	**31**	**20.7**
The Times of India	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	8	10.7	-	-	**8**	**5.3**
	s	3	4	2	2.7	**5**	**3.3**
	total	**12**	**16**	**2**	**2.7**	**14**	**9.3**
total	p/f	6	2	4	1.3	**10**	**1.7**
	n	61	20.3	39	13	**100**	**16.7**
	s	49	16.3	13	4.3	**62**	**10.3**
	total	**116**	**38.6**	**56**	**18.6**	**172**	**28.7**

Figure 89: Specifications on EDUCATION (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	**self**	**parents/families**	**self**	
The Times of India					
general	1	2	-	1	**4**
academic education	-	1	-	1	**2**
total	**1**	**3**	**-**	**2**	**6**
The Statesman					
academic education	-	2	-	-	**2**
school education	-	-	-	1	**1**
total	**-**	**2**	**-**	**1**	**3**
The Hindu					
general	1	13	-	3	**17**
academic education	1	14	1	6	**22**
total	**2**	**27**	**1**	**9**	**39**
The Milli Gazette					
general	-	16	1	1	**18**
academic education	-	1	2	-	**3**
school education	3	-	-	-	**3**
total	**3**	**17**	**3**	**1**	**24**
total	**6**	**49**	**4**	**13**	**72**

Figure 90: Information on EDUCATION (partner) according to different authorships

The specifications (cf. Figure 90) contain information on academic education (e.g. *MBA*), general education (e.g. *educated*) and school education (e.g. *convent educated*). As in the specifications given on EDUCATION of the advertiser him-/herself, the focus is on academic background and is specified very precisely. All adver-

tisers use only one specification per advertisement. The high number of grooms (27) mentioning their future bride's EDUCATION in *The Hindu* is striking. They emphasise the intellectual background and, thus, probably tolerate that their future wives work. In *The Milli Gazette*, grooms pay considerably more attention to general education than to academic background (16 vs. one specification). Since the latter often goes hand in hand with a relatively well-paid profession, these grooms probably rather want brides with a good general knowledge instead of a specified knowledge and a good job.

5.8.1.4 EDUCATION/PROFESSION

The future partner's EDUCATION/PROFESSION is commented on in 28 advertisements (4.6%); the category is obviously not very important, which can be accounted for by the fact that EDUCATION and PROFESSION both exist as separate categories as well. Thus, the low frequencies do not mean that education and/or profession are of minor importance. EDUCATION/PROFESSION is mentioned in between three (*The Times of India*) and 15 advertisements (*The Statesman*), cf. Figure 91.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	3	4	12	16	**15**	**10**
	total	**3**	**4**	**12**	**16**	**15**	**10**
The Milli Gazette	n	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	s	2	2.7	4	5.3	**6**	**4**
	total	**3**	**4**	**4**	**5.3**	**7**	**4.7**
The Times of India	p/f	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	n	1	1.3	1	1.3	**2**	**1.3**
	total	**1**	**1.3**	**2**	**2.6**	**3**	**2**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	s	-	-	2	2.7	**2**	**1.3**
	total	**-**	**-**	**3**	**4**	**3**	**2**
total	p/f	-	-	2	0.7	**2**	**0.3**
	n	5	1.7	13	4.3	**18**	**3**
	s	2	0.7	6	2	**8**	**1.3**
	total	**7**	**2.4**	**21**	**7**	**28**	**4.6**

Figure 91: Specifications on EDUCATION/PROFESSION (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

In all newspapers, the grooms' EDUCATION/PROFESSION is mentioned in more advertisements than that of the brides (21 vs. seven advertisements). In *The Milli Gazette*, it is not specified at all by parents/families. In *The Statesman*, it is only mentioned in 15 neutral advertisements, in *The Milli Gazette*, most often by brides/grooms themselves (six advertisements). In *The Times of India*, EDUCATION/PROFESSION is not specified at all by the advertisers themselves and twice by neutral advertisers. In *The Hindu*, it is not mentioned by neutral advertisers but twice by the people about to get married them-

selves. However, since all frequencies are very low, these differences do not mean much.

The specifications on EDUCATION/PROFESSION contain general information (e.g. *working/studying*) as well as specified one (e.g. *science/eng (h)/MBA*), cf. Figure 92. Apart from one advertisement placed by parents/families containing two specifications, all advertisers use only one at a time. Since the overall numbers are so low, conclusions cannot be drawn. However, for those advertisers mentioning EDUCATION/PROFESSION, a good profession can obviously replace a good education and vice versa. This shows most strongly in *The Statesman* and least so in *The Hindu* – another hint that the latter is more conservative than the former.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
specified	-	-	1	-	1
The Hindu					
specified	-	-	1	1	2
general	-	-	-	1	1
total	-	-	1	2	3
The Milli Gazette					
specified	-	2	4	-	6
total	-	2	6	2	10

Figure 92: Information on EDUCATION/PROFESSION (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.5 AGE/DOB

The partner's AGE/DOB is mentioned in only 160 advertisements (26.6%). This is probably the consequence of mentioning one's own AGE/DOB, which already narrows down the future partner's age span and the people about to get married are all very young in the first place.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	62	82.7	63	84	**125**	**83.3**
	s	2	2.7	2	2.7	**4**	**2.7**
	total	**64**	**85.4**	**65**	**86.7**	**129**	**86**
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	1	1.3	**2**	**1.3**
	n	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	s	10	13.3	2	2.7	**12**	**8**
	total	**13**	**17.3**	**4**	**5.3**	**17**	**11.3**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	**3**	**2**
	n	2	2.7	2	2.7	**4**	**2.7**
	s	5	6.7	2	2.7	**7**	**4.7**
	total	**9**	**12.1**	**5**	**6.7**	**14**	**9.4**
total	p/f	3	1	2	0.7	**5**	**0.8**
	n	66	22	66	22	**132**	**22**
	s	17	5.7	6	2	**23**	**3.8**
	total	**86**	**28.7**	**74**	**24.7**	**160**	**26.6**

Figure 93: Specifications on AGE/DOB (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

129 of the advertisements mentioning the partner's AGE/DOB are published in *The Statesman*, 17 in *The Hindu* and 14 in *The Milli Gazette* (cf. Figure 93). In *The Times of India*, the partner's AGE/DOB is not commented on at all. Altogether, the specifications on AGE/DOB relate to brides more often than to grooms (86 vs. 74 advertisements). In *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*, it is specified most often by the advertisers themselves (12 and seven advertisements), while in *The Statesman*, it is more often commented on by neutral advertisers (125 advertisements). The Bengal advertisers seem to have the strongest ideas of the age their partner should have, and they express it. The difference between the two English-founded newspapers is striking and shows that in *The Statesman*, the advertisers are not very tolerant whereas in *The Times of India*, they do not prescribe their partners' age at all.

newspaper	brides	grooms	total
The Milli Gazette	21.3	30.5	**25.9**
The Hindu	23.8	27.3	**25.6**
The Statesman	25.2	34.8	**30**
The Times of India	-	-	**-**
total	**23.4**	**30.9**	**27.2**

authorship	brides	grooms	total
parents/families	21	24	**22.5**
self	24.3	26.5	**25.4**
neutral	22.4	33.6	**28**

Figure 94: Average minimum age in years (partner) in the Indian corpus according to newspaper, authorship and gender

The average minimum age of partners in the four newspapers is lowest in *The Milli Gazette* (brides: 21.3 years) and highest in *The Statesman* (grooms: 34.8 years), cf. Figure 94. Muslim advertisers prefer young brides, and among Bengali Hindus in *The Statesman*, a higher age at marriage is acceptable. The discrepancy between the genders is highest in *The Statesman*, with 9.6 years separating the average age of brides and grooms (25.2 vs. 34.8 years).

At 21 years the minimum age of brides sought by parents/families is lowest, and at 33.6 years that of grooms looked for by neutral advertisers is highest. The difference is lowest between those looked for by the advertisers themselves (brides: 24.3 years, grooms: 26.5 years).

newspaper	brides	grooms	total
The Milli Gazette	26	29.7	**27.9**
The Hindu	27.2	30.5	**28.9**
The Statesman	28.7	36.7	**32.7**
The Times of India	-	-	**-**
	27.3	**32.3**	**29.8**

authorship	brides	grooms	total
neutral	26.1	33.3	**29.7**
parents/families	27.5	28	**27.8**
self	27.9	32.7	**30.3**

Figure 95: Average maximum age in years (partner) in the Indian corpus according to newspaper, authorship and gender

At 26 years the average maximum age of brides in *The Milli Gazette* is lowest (cf. Figure 95). At 36.7 years the grooms' age is highest in *The Statesman*, which also holds for the difference between the genders. Thus, in *The Statesman* traditional gender roles are most prevalent but nevertheless, women are 'allowed' to be older when they get married.

The maximum age of brides looked for by neutral advertisers is lowest at 26.1 years and that of the grooms highest at 33.3 years. The maximum age of those looked for by the advertisers themselves is higher than that looked for by parents/families.

newspaper	brides	grooms	total
The Statesman	3.2	1.9	**2.6**
The Hindu	2.9	4.3	**3.6**
The Milli Gazette	4	4	**4**
The Times of India	-	-	**-**
total	**3.4**	**3.4**	**3.4**
authorship	brides	grooms	total
self	2.9	5.5	**4.2**
neutral	3.4	3.3	**3.4**
parents/families	5	2	**3.5**

Figure 96: Average age span in years (partner) in the Indian corpus according to newspaper, authorship and gender

The advertisers in *The Statesman* are least tolerant when it comes to grooms (1.9 years), those in *The Milli Gazette* are most tolerant (4 years for both genders), cf. Figure 96. The advertisers themselves allow the smallest span for brides (2.9 years) and the largest one for grooms (5.5 years). Thus, they are inversely tolerant to parents/families, who allow a span of 5 years for brides and 2 years for grooms. The AGE/DOB is either given with an age span (e.g. *29–34 yrs*), exactly (e.g. *27 yrs*), the minimum age (e.g. *31 plus*) or maximum (e.g. *within 37*).

	20	21	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	37	38
■ self (n = 2)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
■ neutral (n = 54)	1	1	9	10	6	1	6	1	7	1	3	1	1	3	2	1
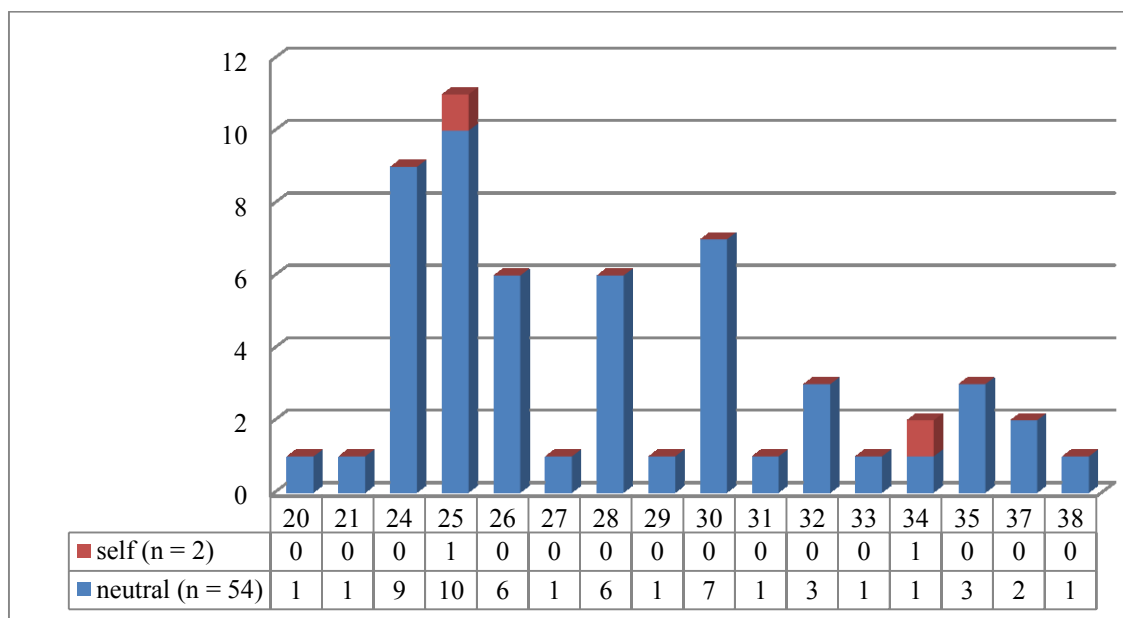
Figure 97: Information on AGE/DOB (maximum age of brides as partners) according to different authorships in *The Statesman*

Among the neutral advertisers (cf. Figure 97) there is one major peak in the mid twenties (24–25), and there are several minor peaks (between 26 and 30 and between 32 and

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35). Considering that the peaks show the maximum age and that the average age span amounts to 3.2 years in *The Statesman*, this means that most advertisers want their brides to be in the early twenties but 'accept' an age in the mid-twenties as well.

	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	42	45	46	50	53
■ self (n = 2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
■ neutral (n = 62)	2	5	4	5	5	5	10	5	2	3	3	5	3	2	1	1	1
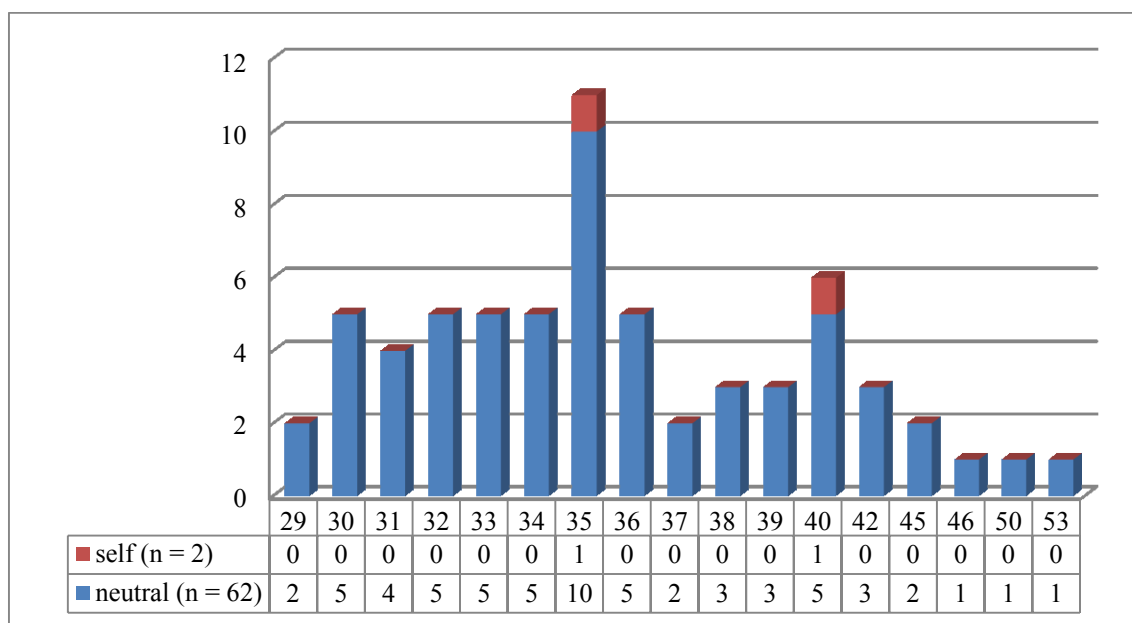
Figure 98: Information on AGE/DOB (maximum age of grooms as partners) according to different authorships in *The Statesman*

Interestingly, 53 is the highest maximum age 'tolerated' (*The Statesman),* cf. Figure 98. 'Neutral' shows several peaks: one major one in the mid thirties (35) and smaller ones at 30–34, 36 and 40. This shows that brides are more tolerant when it comes to their future grooms' age. A maximum age of 53 leads to the assumption that the bride for whom a groom is sought is probably in her late forties as well but 'hides' behind a 'neutral' authorship. The range of specifications of maximum age starting at only 29 (compared to 20 for brides as partners) can probably be accounted for by the fact that traditionally, grooms are slightly older than brides.

In *The Milli Gazette*, *23* (one specification by a groom himself, one by 'neutral'), *24* (once by each option of authorship), *25* (by groom himself), *26* (by parents/families), *28* and *40* (both by 'self') are mentioned as the bride's maximum age. Thus, the range is widest for brides (covering almost 20 years). This means that either the advertisers are more tolerant or, which is more likely, that only the groom mentioning *40* is older himself, which is also confirmed by his looking for a bride on his own without the help of parents/families.

As the groom's maximum age, *20* (by 'neutral'), *28* (by a bride herself), *30* (one specification by parents/families, one by a bride herself) and *40* (by 'neutral') are mentioned. Here, the age span is also very wide. The bride mentioning *40* is probably elderly as well but 'hides' behind a neutral authorship.

5.8.1.6 APPEARANCE

The partner's APPEARANCE is commented on in 156 advertisements (26%), i.e. in between 29 (*The Hindu*) and 49 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 99). Altogether, seven advertisements by parents/families are concerned with the prospective partners' APPEARANCE. In *The Statesman*, APPEARANCE is specified most often in neutral advertisements (44 advertisements) whereas in the other newspapers, brides/grooms themselves specify it in most instances (31 advertisements in *The Milli Gazette*, 26 in *The Hindu* and 19 in *The Times of India*). As expected, the APPEARANCE of women is specified in more advertisements (144 vs. 12). The stereotype that to men, the physical APPEARANCE of women is more important than vice versa is also confirmed by other scholars' studies (e.g. Margolin/White 1987: 21; Nevid 1984: 402). Especially those grooms looking for brides themselves want brides with a certain APPEARANCE (78 advertisements 'Brides Wanted' by 'self').

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	37	49.3	7	9.3	**44**	**29.3**
	s	5	6.7	-	-	**5**	**3.3**
	total	**42**	**56**	**7**	**9.3**	**49**	**32.6**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	4	5.3	1	1.3	**5**	**3.3**
	n	9	12	1	1.3	**10**	**6.7**
	s	31	41.3	-	-	**31**	**20.7**
	total	**44**	**58.6**	**2**	**2.6**	**46**	**30.7**
The Times of India	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	12	16	-	-	**12**	**8**
	s	18	24	1	1.3	**19**	**12.7**
	total	**31**	**41.3**	**1**	**1.3**	**32**	**21.4**
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	2	2.7	-	-	**2**	**1.3**
	s	24	32	2	2.7	**26**	**17.3**
	total	**27**	**36**	**2**	**2.7**	**29**	**19.3**
total	p/f	6	2	1	0.3	**7**	**1.2**
	n	60	20	8	2.7	**68**	**11.3**
	s	78	26	3	1	**81**	**13.5**
	total	**144**	**48**	**12**	**4**	**156**	**26**

Figure 99: Specifications on APPEARANCE (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The advertisements 'Grooms Wanted' always contain only one specification whereas in 'Brides Wanted', 116 specifications are made in 78 advertisements (113 by 'self', three by parents/families), cf. Figure 100. The frequent use of the lexical item *very* in connection with *beautiful* and *fair* shows that the respective advertisers pay special attention to their partner's APPEARANCE and that they are not satisfied with 'ordinary' beauty. In all newspapers, the three subcategories general information, skin colour and shape are present. None contains an additional subcategory, which suggests that the obligatory Indian

beauty ideal consists of these three components. The specification *not slim* made by a bride in *The Hindu* is the only exception. She is probably not slim either or she likes non-slim people – contrary to the beauty ideal.

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
general	*b'ful* (15)/*beautiful* (3)	1	17	-	-	**18**
	h'some	-	-	-	1	**1**
skin colour	*fair* (5)/*very fair/v.fair*	-	7	-	-	**7**
shape	*slim*	-	3	-	-	**3**
total		**1**	**27**	**-**	**1**	**29**
The Statesman						
general	*beautiful*	-	3	-	-	**3**
	good looking	-	1	-	-	**1**
skin colour	*fair/fair complexion/very fair*	-	3	-	-	**3**
shape	*slim*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**8**	**-**	**-**	**8**
The Hindu						
general	*good looking*	-	14	-	-	**14**
	beautiful	-	4	-	-	**4**
	pretty	-	1	-	-	**1**
skin colour	*fair* (12)/*v. fair*	-	13		-	**13**
	wheatish complex	-	-	-	1	**1**
shape	*slim*	1	6	-	-	**7**
	not slim	-	-	-	1	**1**
total		**1**	**38**	**-**	**2**	**41**
The Milli Gazette						
general	*b'ful* (20)/*beautiful* (3)/*bfl/pretty; naturally beautiful/v. b'ful/very beautiful/very b'ful*	4	24	-	-	**28**
	gd looking/g. looking	-	2	-	-	**2**
	handsome	-	-	1	-	**1**
skin colour	*fair* (8)/*v. fair* (2)	2	8	-	-	**10**
shape	*slim*	-	6	-	-	**6**
total		**6**	**40**	**1**	**-**	**47**
total		**8**	**113**	**1**	**3**	**125**

Figure 100: Information on APPEARANCE (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.7 HEIGHT

The partner's HEIGHT is specified in 36 advertisements (6%), i.e. in between seven (*The Hindu*) and eleven (*The Statesman*) per newspaper, as shown in Figure 101. It is given for brides as partners much more often than for men as partners (28 vs. eight advertisements). The difference between the genders is striking. Thus, men obviously more often want a partner of a certain HEIGHT than women. Altogether, it is mentioned in only three advertisements by parents/families. In *The Statesman*, neutral advertisers comment on HEIGHT most often (ten advertisements) whereas in *The Milli Gazette* and *The Times of*

India, 'neutral' and 'self' mention it in equal numbers (four advertisements each). In *The Hindu*, brides/grooms themselves do so most often (in five advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	6	8	4	5.3	**10**	**6.7**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**7**	**9.3**	**4**	**5.3**	**11**	**7.4**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	1	1.3	**2**	**1.3**
	n	3	4	1	1.3	**4**	**2.7**
	s	4	5.3	-	-	**4**	**2.7**
	total	**8**	**10.6**	**2**	**2.6**	**10**	**6.7**
The Times of India	n	4	5.3	-	-	**4**	**2.7**
	s	3	4	1	1.3	**4**	**2.7**
	total	**7**	**9.3**	**1**	**1.3**	**8**	**5.4**
The Hindu	p/f	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	n	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	s	4	5.3	1	1.3	**5**	**3.3**
	total	**6**	**7.9**	**1**	**1.3**	**7**	**4.7**
total	p/f	2	0.7	1	0.3	**3**	**0.5**
	n	14	4.7	5	1.7	**19**	**3.2**
	s	12	4	2	0.7	**14**	**2.3**
	total	**28**	**9.4**	**8**	**2.7**	**36**	**6**

Figure 101: Specifications on HEIGHT (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications (cf. Figure 102) contain abstract information (always *tall*), information on the exact height (e.g. *5'3''*), on height spans (e.g. *5'1''–5'4''*), on maximum height (e.g. *should not be more than 5'2''*) and on minimum height (e.g. *above 160 cms*). In all cases, only one specification is made per advertisement. Most of them, except those made in *The Hindu*, are given in inches. The specifications in *The Hindu* show the widest variety, especially among grooms themselves. In one case, parents/families mention a maximum height their daughter-in-law should not exceed. They probably do not want her to be taller than their son.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
abstract	-	3	-	1	4
The Statesman					
abstract	-	1	-	-	1
The Hindu					
abstract	-	2	-	-	2
minimum height	-	1	-	1	2
exact height	-	1	-	-	1
maximum height	1	-	-	-	1
total	1	4	-	1	6
The Milli Gazette					
abstract	1	4	1	-	6
total	2	12	1	2	17

Figure 102: Information on HEIGHT (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.8 LOCATION

The partner's LOCATION is mentioned in 143 advertisements (23.9%). Figure 103 shows that it is mentioned in between eleven (*The Times of India*) and 87 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper. In all newspapers apart from *The Times of India*, more of the respective advertisements relate to grooms than to brides (78 vs. 65 advertisements in total). Altogether, LOCATION is specified least often or not at all by parents/families (only seven advertisements in total). In *The Statesman*, it is elaborated on most often in neutral advertisements (83 advertisements). As could be observed in the self-descriptions, there is obviously a deep cleavage between East and West Bengal. Thus, it is important to know where exactly a person concerned lives.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	36	48	47	62.7	**83**	**55.3**
	s	3	4	1	1.3	**4**	**2.7**
	total	**39**	**52**	**48**	**64**	**87**	**58**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	3	4	**3**	**2**
	n	4	5.3	6	8	**10**	**6.7**
	s	7	9.3	5	6.7	**12**	**8**
	total	**11**	**14.6**	**14**	**18.7**	**25**	**16.7**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	3	4	**4**	**2.7**
	n	4	5.3	4	5.3	**8**	**5.3**
	s	4	5.3	4	5.3	**8**	**5.3**
	total	**9**	**11.9**	**11**	**14.6**	**20**	**13.3**
The Times of India	n	2	2.7	2	2.7	**4**	**2.7**
	s	4	5.3	3	4	**7**	**4.7**
	total	**6**	**8**	**5**	**6.7**	**11**	**7.4**
total	p/f	1	0.3	6	2	**7**	**1.2**
	n	46	15.3	59	19.7	**105**	**17.5**
	s	18	6	13	4.3	**31**	**5.2**
	total	**65**	**21.6**	**78**	**26**	**143**	**23.9**

Figure 103: Specifications on LOCATION (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications (cf. Figure 104) contain information on current place of residence (e.g. *pref settled Mum/Pune*), future place of residence (e.g. *willing to go to Chennai*), general location (e.g. *WB*), place of community (e.g. *Bengali Brahmin*), place of education/profession (*working in USA or doing MS. PhD, PG medicine, MBA in USA*), location of family (e.g. *from Del/NCR fmly*) and workplace (e.g. *job pref Bnglor*). Parents/families use eight specifications in seven advertisements; brides and grooms do so 33 times in 31 advertisements.

In *The Times of India*, the same number of brides and grooms specify their future partners' LOCATION (four specifcations each). In *The Statesman*, there are more specifications in 'Brides Wanted' (four vs. one) while in *The Hindu* and *The Milli Gazette*, more specifications are made in relation to grooms (nine vs. seven and seven vs. five). In these two newspapers, parents/families specify LOCATION almost as often as do the brides. These parents/families seem to try to predetermine where their daughters will live in the futures by selecting grooms from certain places only.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
general location	-	1	-	1	**2**
place of community	-	1	-	1	**2**
current place of residence	-	-	-	1	**1**
future place of residence	-	1	-	-	**1**
location of family	-	-	-	1	**1**
workplace	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**4**	**-**	**4**	**8**
The Statesman					
general location	-	2	-	1	**3**
place of community	-	1	-	-	**1**
future place of residence	-	1	-	-	**1**
total	**-**	**4**	**-**	**1**	**5**
The Hindu					
general location	-	2	1	2	**5**
place of community	-	2	1	-	**3**
current place of residence	-	2	-	2	**4**
future place of residence	-	1	-	-	**1**
workplace	-	-	1	1	**2**
place of education/profession	-	-	1	-	**1**
total	**-**	**7**	**4**	**5**	**16**
The Milli Gazette					
general location	1	2	2	2	**7**
place of community	-	-	1	-	**1**
current place of residence	-	-	-	1	**1**
future place of residence	-	1	-	-	**1**
location of family	-	1	-	1	**2**
total	**1**	**4**	**3**	**4**	**12**
total	**1**	**19**	**7**	**14**	**41**

Figure 104: Information on LOCATION (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.9 ATTRIBUTES

The partner's ATTRIBUTES are mentioned in 139 advertisements (23.1%), cf. Figure 105. The frequencies mirror those on the ATTRIBUTES of the self. The partner's ATTRIBUTES are mentioned in between 25 (*The Times of India*) and 44 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper. In all newspapers apart from *The Hindu*, the references relate to brides more often than to grooms (98 vs. 41 advertisements in total). Altogether, parents/families mention the partner's ATTRIBUTES in eleven advertisements. In *The Statesman*, neutral advertisers specify it most often (42 advertisements). In *The Hindu*, *The Milli Gazette* and *The Times of India*, it is the brides and grooms themselves who refer to their future partners' ATTRIBUTES most frequently (29, 22 and 15 advertisements). Mostly, men seeking brides themselves mention ATTRIBUTES their future partner should have. This can either mean that women are too shy and modest to dare to utter preferences or that they are content with anything. Parents/families do not comment on the partner's ATTRIBUTES very often since to them, personal and 'inner' factors obvious-

ly do not matter much. They do not have to live with the new spouse and do not need to develop a strong emotional relationship to her/him. Furthermore, it is questionable if they consider this kind of emotional attachment and inner factors important at all – since it is they and not the brides/grooms themselves who are arranging the marriage.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	36	48	6	8	42	28
	s	2	2.7	-	-	2	1.3
	total	38	50.7	6	8	44	29.3
The Hindu	p/f	2	2.7	2	2.7	4	2.7
	n	1	1.3	1	1.3	2	1.3
	s	13	17.3	16	21.3	29	19.3
	total	16	21.3	19	25.3	35	23.3
The Milli Gazette	p/f	1	1.3	2	2.7	3	2
	n	6	8	4	5.3	10	6.7
	s	18	24	4	5.3	22	14.7
	total	25	33.3	10	13.3	35	23.4
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	1	1.3	4	2.7
	n	5	6.7	1	1.3	6	4
	s	11	14.7	4	5.3	15	10
	total	19	25.4	6	7.9	25	16.7
total	p/f	6	2	5	1.7	11	1.8
	n	48	16	12	4	60	10
	s	44	14.7	24	8	68	11.3
	total	98	32.7	41	13.7	139	23.1

Figure 105: Specifications on ATTRIBUTES (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications contain general information (e.g. *smart*), information on emotions (e.g. *kind-hearted*) and intellect-related attributes (e.g. *cultrd*) and information on lifestyle (e.g. *homely*[57]) and manners/moral/values (e.g. *well behaved*) and other attributes (e.g. *bride should have passport*), cf. Figure 106. Parents/families always use only one specification per advertisement; grooms mention 47 in 44 advertisements, and brides do so 25 times in 24 advertisements. Most information inserted by parents/families or self is general in nature (58 advertisements in total). Lifestyle is only mentioned in 'Brides Wanted' (in *The Times of India* twice by 'parents/families', once by 'self'). Emotional attributes are not commented on by parents/families at all. Manners/moral/values are specified in relation to brides more often (five vs. one advertisement), a sign that societal expectations towards brides are higher. Exceptional attributes (e.g. those relevant for the future marriage and those categorised as 'other') are only mentioned by neutral advertisers. Thus, these advertisers hide behind 'neutral' when they make demands.

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[57] *Homely* occurs in several combinations with other lexical items. From these, several inferences can be made. Either, *homely* can be classified as being an ATTRIBUTE, which is done when it occurs separately, or it can be classified as PROFESSION when occurring in collocations like *service holder/homely*.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
general	-	9	1	4	14
lifestyle	2	1	-	-	3
intellect-related	-	1	-	-	1
manners/moral/values	1	-	-	-	1
total	**3**	**11**	**1**	**4**	**19**
The Statesman					
general	-	1	-	-	1
lifestyle	-	1	-	-	1
total	**-**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**2**
The Hindu					
general	2	9	2	15	28
lifestyle	-	3	-	-	3
manners/moral/values	-	2	-	-	2
intellect-related	-	1	-	1	2
emotional	-	-	-	1	1
total	**2**	**15**	**2**	**17**	**36**
The Milli Gazette					
general	-	10	2	3	15
lifestyle	1	6	-	-	7
manners/moral/values	-	2	-	1	3
emotional	-	1	-	-	1
total	**1**	**19**	**2**	**4**	**26**
total	**6**	**47**	**5**	**25**	**83**

Figure 106: Information on ATTRIBUTES (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.10 FAMILY BACKGROUND

There are 81 advertisements containing specifications on the partner's FAMILY BACK-GROUND (13.5%). It is commented on in between eight (*The Times of India*) and 31 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 107). In all newspapers except *The Times of India*, this is specified more often for brides than for grooms (51 vs. 22 advertisements in total). Altogether, parents/families mention it in seven advertisements. In *The Statesman*, neutral advertisersrefer to it most often (27 advertisements) while in the other newspapers, the advertisers themselves do so (35 advertisements in total). In summary, mostly brides sought in *The Statesman* by grooms themselves are described with their FAMILY BACKGROUND. Thus, women are more strongly perceived as part of and dependent on a family than men.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The States-man	n	19	25.3	8	10.7	**27**	**18**
	s	3	4	1	1.3	**4**	**2.7**
	total	**22**	**29.3**	**9**	**12**	**31**	**20.7**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	2	2.7	3	4	**5**	**3.3**
	s	10	13.3	2	2.7	**12**	**8**
	total	**15**	**20**	**8**	**10.7**	**23**	**15.3**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	n	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	s	13	17.3	4	5.3	**17**	**11.3**
	total	**14**	**18.6**	**5**	**6.6**	**19**	**12.7**
The Times of India	n	1	1.3	1	1.3	**2**	**1.3**
	s	2	2.7	4	5.3	**6**	**4**
	total	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6.6**	**8**	**5.3**
total	p/f	3	1	4	1.3	**7**	**1.2**
	n	23	7.7	12	4	**35**	**5.8**
	s	28	9.3	11	3.7	**39**	**6.5**
	total	**54**	**18**	**27**	**9**	**81**	**13.5**

Figure 107: Specifications on FAMILY BACKGROUND (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The specifications (cf. Figure 108) contain general information (e.g. *family main consideration*) and information on economic status (e.g. *from rich family*), education (e.g. *cultured family*), general profession (e.g. *from reputed business family*), general status (e.g. *from status family*), language (e.g. *from Urdu spkg family*), location (e.g. *from Del/NCR fmly*) and the presence of family members (e.g. *small family*). Parents/families use nine specifications in seven advertisements; brides and grooms do so 47 times in 39 advertisements. In *The Times of India* and *The Hindu*, no parents/families mention FAMILY BACKGROUND in 'Brides Wanted' and in *The Times of India*, no parents/families are present in 'Grooms Wanted', which shows the conservativeness of these two newspapers. Parents/families emphasise their own importance and thus, justify the fact that they conduct the search. In the other newspapers, brides and grooms search themselves but emphasise the value family has for them. The reference to family members points to dowry issues.

	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total
	parents/families	self	parents/families	self	
The Times of India					
general	-	1	-	3	4
general status	-	1	-	1	2
location	-	-	-	1	1
total	-	2	-	5	7
The Statesman					
general	-	1	-	-	1
general status	-	3	-	1	4
general profession	-	1	-	-	1
presence of family members	-	1	-	-	1
total	-	6	-	1	7
The Hindu					
general	-	8	-	2	10
general status	-	3	1	-	4
economic status	-	3	1	-	4
education	-	-	-	2	2
community	-	2	-		2
general profession	-	-	-	1	1
total	-	16	2	5	23
The Milli Gazette					
general	-	3	2	1	6
general status	2	4	1	-	7
economic status	1	-		-	1
education	1	1	-	1	3
community	-	1	-	-	1
language	-	1	-	-	1
total	4	10	3	2	19
total	4	34	5	13	56

Figure 108: Information on FAMILY BACKGROUND (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.11 ECONOMIC STATUS

The partner's ECONOMIC STATUS is mentioned in 68 advertisements (11.4 %). It is speci-fied in between four (*The Hindu*) and 40 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper (cf. Figure 109) and always relates to men as partners – a very traditional view also con-firmed by other scholars (e.g. Stevens/Schoen 1988: 277). In 43 advertisements the in-formation is given by neutral advertisers, in 22 by the brides themselves and in three by parents/families, the exact pattern varying between the newspapers. It is not only the elder generation that maintains this model. Interestingly, this traditional understanding is most prevalent in Bengal since *The Statesman* has most advertisements containing specifications on ECONOMIC STATUS.

newspaper	authorship	'Grooms Wanted'		total %
		n	**%**	
The Statesman	n	39	52	**26**
	s	1	1.3	**0.7**
	total	**40**	**53.3**	**26.7**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	2	2.7	**1.3**
	n	4	5.3	**2.7**
	s	10	13.3	**6.7**
	total	**16**	**21.3**	**10.7**
The Times of India	p/f	1	1.3	**0.7**
	s	7	9.3	**4.7**
	total	**8**	**10.6**	**5.4**
The Hindu	s	4	5.3	**2.7**
	total	**4**	**5.3**	**2.7**
total	p/f	3	1	**0.5**
	n	43	14.3	**7.2**
	s	22	7.3	**3.7**
	total	**68**	**22.6**	**11.4**

Figure 109: Specifications on ECONOMIC STATUS (partner) according to newspaper, gender and authorship

In summary, for the Indian advertisers it is important that their future partners are *settled* and *established* (cf. Figure 110). Since the partners are expected to be very young, this is a legitimate expectation and needs to be mentioned; it cannot be taken for granted. In all cases, only one specification is made per advertisement.

	information given	GW		total
		p/f	**s**	
The Times of India				
general	*well settled* (3)/*settled* (2)/*well stld*	1	5	**6**
	estd/well estd	-	2	**2**
total		**1**	**7**	**8**
The Statesman				
general	*established*	-	**1**	**1**
The Hindu				
general	*well settled* (2)/*well stld*	-	3	**3**
	well placed	-	1	**1**
total		**-**	**4**	**4**
The Milli Gazette				
general	*settled* (4)/*well settled* (4)/*well stld*	1	8	**9**
	well estb (2)/*well established*	1	2	**3**
total		**2**	**10**	**12**
total		**3**	**22**	**25**

Figure 110: Information on ECONOMIC STATUS (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.12 INCOME

The partner's INCOME is specified in six advertisements (1%). All of these are published in *The Statesman*, all relate to grooms as partners (2% of 'Grooms Wanted') and all are inserted by neutral advertisers. Thus, Bengali brides pay special attention to their future partner's INCOME but nevertheless hide behind 'neutral'. The specifications contain information on the income per annum (e.g. *income not less than 3 (L) PA*), vague specifications (e.g. *high income*) and information without specifications on the time period (e.g. *rs 14,000 salary*).

5.8.1.13 MARITAL STATUS

The partner's MARITAL STATUS is commented on in 14 advertisements (2.3%); 12 of them are drawn from *The Statesman* (four neutral, 'Brides Wanted'; 8 neutral, 'Grooms Wanted') and only two from *The Hindu* (one neutral, 'Brides Wanted'; one self, 'Grooms Wanted'). Thus, in nine advertisements the groom's MARITAL STATUS is specified (3% of 'Grooms Wanted') and in five that of the bride (1.7% of 'Brides Wanted'). 13 advertisements are inserted by neutral advertisers, and one is that of a bride herself. The specifications on MARITAL STATUS contain information on children (e.g. *without child*), divorce (e.g. *divorcee*), issuelessness (e.g. *issueless*) and widowship (e.g. *young widows can also apply*). Especially those stating that the partner is 'allowed' to be divorced or widowed do not shed too positive a light on the seekers since it means that they 'need' to accept people who have been married before. One specification by a bride in *The Hindu* states that the groom needs to be *issueless* – an adjective more often associated with brides otherwise.

5.8.1.14 HOROSCOPE

The partner's HOROSCOPE is specified in six advertisements only (1%). The low frequency is surprising considering the mass of societal rules and regulations that have to be considered when a marriage is arranged. However, HOROSCOPE might not be mentioned that often in partner-description since it is sufficient to refer to it in self-description. The partner's HOROSCOPE is extant in four advertisements from *The Hindu* – one self, 'Brides Wanted' (*with horoscope*); two neutral, 'Grooms Wanted', one self, 'Grooms Wanted' (*7ᵗʰ Chowa is must*) – and two from *The Statesman* – one neutral and one self, 'Grooms Wanted' (*Mangalik*). In *The Times of India* and *The Milli Gazette*, the HOROSCOPE of the partner is not commented on at all. In five instances, the HOROSCOPE is required for men (1.7%) and in one case for a bride as partners (0.3%). The information on the partner's HOROSCOPE is given by neutral advertisers and by persons seeking a partner themselves in three instances each.

5.8.1.15 LANGUAGE

The partner's LANGUAGE is specified in five advertisements only (0.8%), i.e. between one and three times per newspaper. Altogether, it is specified more often for brides than for grooms. In four instances the information is given by the persons seeking a partner themselves and in one case, by a neutral advertiser ('Brides Wanted' in *The Hindu*). The partner's LANGUAGE is not mentioned by parents/families at all.

The specifications contain general vs. precise information (e.g. *language no bar* as against *Hindi speaking*), cf. Figure 111. In two advertisements, the LANGUAGE of the future partner does not play a role. It is remarkable that only in one case English is mentioned as a LANGUAGE. The fact that all advertisements are in English could mean that the advertisers and readers are fluent in English but obviously, this is not always the case. Otherwise, speaking English would not have to be mentioned. Other specifications mention Hindi and Urdu. The question arises why these advertisers do not advertise in Hindi or Urdu newspapers. Probably they use English since it is connected to a certain status.

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
precise	*English speaking*	-	**1**	-	-	**1**
The Hindu						
general	*language no bar*	-	-	-	1	1
precise	*Hindi speaking*	-	1	-	-	1
total		**-**	**1**	**-**	**1**	**2**
The Milli Gazette						
precise	*from d'cent Urdu spkg fmly*	-	**1**	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**3**	**-**	**1**	**4**

Figure 111: Information on LANGUAGE (partner) according to different authorships

5.8.1.16 HABITS

The partner's HABITS are specified in only two advertisements (0.3%). Thus, HABITS are of little importance in the Indian corpus – another hint that Indian advertisers are not very much interested in the personality of their future partners and the way they live. One advertisement each is published in *The Times of India* (self, 'Grooms Wanted', *vegetarian*) and *The Hindu* (self, 'Brides Wanted, *teetotaller*).

5.8.1.17 POSSESSIONS

The partner's POSSESSIONS are mentioned in two advertisements only (0.3%). Both state that the partners should have their *own house* (both neutral, one 'Brides Wanted', one 'Grooms Wanted). Since living in a house of one's own as a young person is not very common, these two advertisements hide behind the option 'neutral'. However, this is

probably the bride/groom searching since it is not very likely that they have their marriage arranged by their family while at the same time planning to live without their families (in law).

5.8.1.18 SKILLS

The partner's SKILLS are required in two advertisements (0.3%). Both are published in *The Hindu*; both relate to brides and are inserted by the persons seeking a partner themselves. Once a partner *with artistic talent* is looked for; the other advertisement states: *those who learned classical music preferred*.

5.8.2 The British Corpus

5.8.2.1 LOCATION

The partner's LOCATION is mentioned in 147 advertisements (98%), i.e. 74 by men (98.7%), 73 by women (97.3%), cf. Figure 112. This high frequency is striking. It shows that British advertisers are not flexible when it comes to location. They probably do not want to change their lives too much and, thus, try to determine in advance where their future partner should live. However, almost all advertisers mention LOCATION, they remain quite general in their specifications.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
general information	74	72	146
current place of residence	-	1	1
total	74	73	147

Figure 112: Information on LOCATION (partner) in *The Times* (London)

The specifications made in *The Times* (London) contain general information (e.g. *Surrey*) and information on the current place of residence (e.g. *London based*). The British corpus shows many specifications; advertisers name the locations their partners should live since probably they do not expect them to move. The readiness to move is limited, especially at a certain age.

5.8.2.2 ATTRIBUTES

The partner's ATTRIBUTES are mentioned in 114 advertisements (76%), i.e. by 52 male advertisers (69.3%) and 62 female ones (82.7%). Women are more verbose: They make 99 specifications in 62 advertisements; men do so 63 times in 52 advertisements. The advertisements contain information on emotional attributes (e.g. *kind, caring, genuine*), general ones (e.g. *nice*), humour (e.g. *funny*), intellect-related attributes (e.g. *open-minded*), manners/moral/values (e.g. *good manners*) and lifestyle (e.g. *urbane*), cf. Figure 113.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
emotional	33	47	80
general	15	17	32
humour	9	11	20
intellect-related	6	14	20
manners/moral/values	-	7	7
lifestyle	-	3	3
total	63	99	162

Figure 113: Information on ATTRIBUTES (partner) in *The Times* (London)

The advertisers focus strongly on emotional attributes. Furthermore, humour is important to them. The attributes mentioned mirror those used for self-description. The British advertisers seem to have quite a precise picture of their future partners' personalities.

5.8.2.3 AGE/DOB

The partner's AGE/DOB is mentioned in 69 advertisements (46%), i.e. by 31 men (41.3%) and 38 women (50.7%). The British women express the age their future partner should have more often than do the men. The partner's AGE/DOB is given either by an age span (e.g. *25–35*), with an attribute (e.g. *younger; 25-30*), vaguely (e.g. *late 50s*) – these instances are not displayed in Figure 114 below –, either the minimum (e.g. *60+*) or the maximum age (e.g. *38 or below*) is mentioned.

	30	35	38	40	45	47	48	49	50	52	54	55	56	57	58	60	62	63	64	65	68	69	70	75
WSM (n=31)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	4	4	1	2	4
MSW (n=26)	1	1	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	0
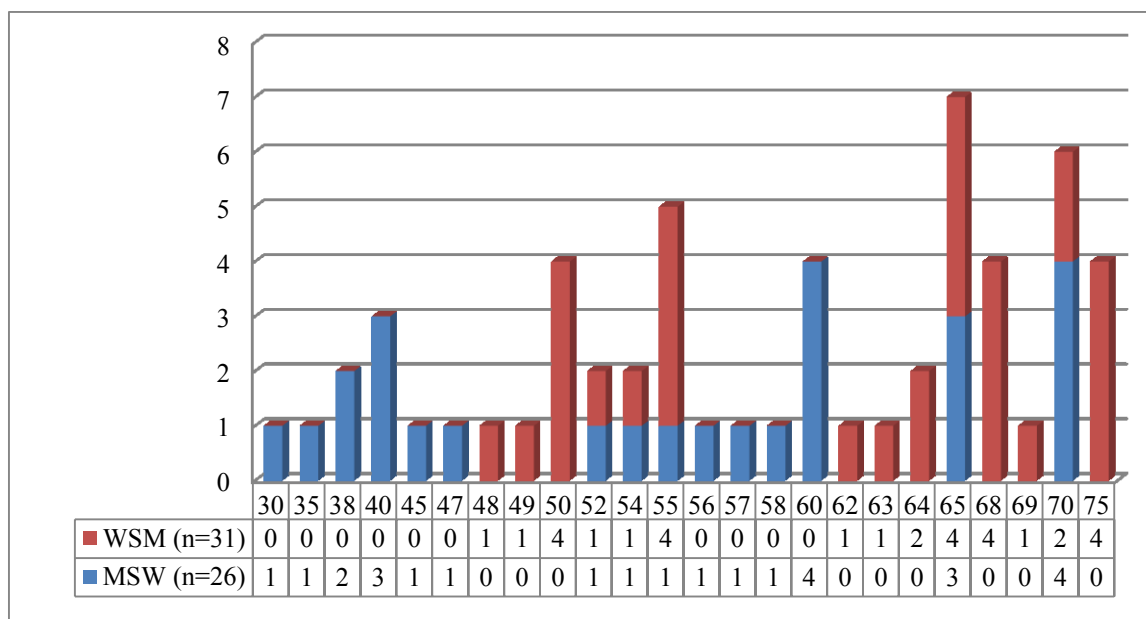
Figure 114: Information on AGE/DOB (maximum age of partner) in *The Times* (London)

Out of all specifications, in 31/26 cases, a maximum age of the partner (men/women) can be deduced, i.e. when the maximum age is given as such or by taking the upper value of an age span (cf. Figure 114). The range the maximum age covers is very wide since the age span of the advertisers is very wide as well. The British advertisers want partners from 30 to 70 years of age. The specifications made by women show peaks at

50, 55, 65, 68 and 70, those by men at 60 and 70. Thus, the men's preferred maximum age is located roughly ten years later, which seems uncommon since traditionally, in relationships, men tend to be slightly older. However, this can be accounted for by the searching men themselves being older than the women (cf. Figure 73).

5.8.2.4 APPEARANCE

The partner's APPEARANCE is commented on in 50 advertisements (33.3%) – 35 MSW (46.7%) and 15 WSM (20%). Men are more verbose with respect to this particular item: They use 53 specifications while women make 17.

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
general	*attractive*	17	5	22
	pretty	3	-	3
	handsome	-	2	2
	good looking	-	1	1
	young looking	-	1	1
				total: 29
shape	*slim* (20)/*slim curvy shape*	20	1	21
	curvy	1	-	1
	leggy	1	-	1
	petite	1	-	1
	slender	1	-	1
				total: 25
charisma/elegance	*elegant*	2	-	2
	classy	1	-	1
	exotic	1	-	1
	fashionable	1	-	1
	retro-glamorous	1	-	1
	sexy	1	-	1
	trim	-	1	1
				total: 8
skin colour	*white*	-	6	6
	black	2	-	2
				total: 8
total		**53**	**17**	**70**

Figure 115: Information on APPEARANCE (partner) in *The Times* (London)

The specifications show considerable variety and individuality (cf. Figure 115). The British advertisers seem to have a precise picture of what their partners should be and look like. They want a special partner, not just anybody. This is also evident in the specifications within each subcategory, which are diverse, e.g. six women prefer *white* skin while two men like *black* skin, which is a random example of the different beauty ideals of the advertisers.

5.8.2.5 HEIGHT

The partner's HEIGHT is specified in 16 advertisements (10.7%) – two 'Men Seeking Women' (2.7%) and 14 'Women Seeking Men' (18.7%). Interestingly, the partner's HEIGHT is quite important to British advertisers. The specifications contain abstract in-

formation (e.g. *tall*), information on the minimum height (e.g. *minimum 5'6*) or the exact height (e.g. *5'5''*). The respective frequencies can be seen in Figure 116.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
abstract	-	12	12
minimum height	1	3	4
exact height	1	-	1
total	2	15	17

Figure 116: Information on HEIGHT (partner) in *The Times* (London)

Women pay more attention to their partner's height than do men (cf. Figure 116). This can be seen as a compensation of men commenting more frequently on women's appearance (53 vs. 17 specifications), especially on shape (24 vs. one) and charisma/elegance (seven vs. one).

5.8.2.6 ECONOMIC STATUS
The partner's ECONOMIC STATUS is mentioned in 16 advertisements (10.7%; 18 specifications, cf. Figure 117). In all advertisements, it is the woman who specifies it (21.3%). This shows one the one hand that a traditional role model is quite independent of the respective culture it occurs in. However, one must also keep in mind the age of the British women: Since they are mostly middle-aged and probably have responsibilities like children from past relationships and certain standards of living, they want to make sure that a partner does not imply a financial charge to them. The considerable number of specifications on the financial situation can be seen as a compensation of the lack of specifcations on INCOME.

information	information given	'Women seeking Men'
general	*successful*	7
	established/well established	2
	high achieving	1
financial situation	*solvent*	5
	financially stable/financially very secure	2
	affluent	1
total		18

Figure 117: Information on ECONOMIC STATUS (partner) in *The Times* (London)

5.8.2.7 PROFESSION
The partner's PROFESSION is mentioned in 16 advertisements (10.7%), cf. Figure 118. Men specify it in four (5.3%), women in 12 advertisements (16%). The five/13 specifications contain general information (e.g. *professional*) and information on the position (e.g. *lawyer accountant or similar* – counted as one specification) or field (e.g. *military*). The relatively small number of specifications on field (only one) and position (two) show that the advertisers (especially women) pay more attention to the fact that their partner is working than to the details. Considering the higher age of some advertisers, this can also serve to exclude people who are already retired.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
general	3	12	15
position	2	-	2
field	-	1	1
total	5	13	18

Figure 118: Information on PROFESSION (partner) in *The Times* (London)

5.8.2.8 HABITS

The partner's HABITS are specified in 12 advertisements (8%). They are placed by four men (5.3%) and eight women (10.7%), which could be an indication that women want a man with certain HABITS more often. In all instances, non-smokers are wanted.

5.8.2.9 EDUCATION

The partner's EDUCATION is mentioned in seven advertisements (4.7%). The one of women is more often commented on (six advertisements, i.e. 8%) than that of men (only one advertisement, i.e. 1.3%). All information is general in nature (e.g. *educated*). The fact that there are fewer specifications on the partner's EDUCATION can be accounted for by the relatively higher age of the advertisers and possible partners. Most of them enjoyed their school/academic education decades ago, and thus, it is not important enough anymore.

5.8.2.10 HOBBIES/INTERESTS

Seven advertisements contain information on the partner's HOBBIES/INTERESTS (4.7%), cf. Figure 119. Interestingly, women state what HOBBIES/INTERESTS their future partners should have more often – six (8%) compared to one advertisement (1.3%). This can either mean that the advertisers are more interested in what their partners like or that they want to determine more openly what their partners' HOBBIES/INTERESTS should be. The specifications contain introducing lexical items (e.g. *appreciation of*), general information (e.g. *similar interests*), information on places/travel (e.g. *France*), animals (e.g. *dog loving*), arts/culture/intellect-related/music (e.g. *music*), cuisine (e.g. *good food*), games/outdoor activities/sports (e.g. *motoring*) and household activities (e.g. *gardening*). Interestingly, one man makes five specifications while women together use 15; the number of specifications amounts to three times the number of advertisements. This can be a sign that the advertisers are tolerant and accept partners with several HOBBIES/INTERESTS and that they pay much attention to leisure time activities in general.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
introducing lexical item	1	6	7
general	-	3	3
places/travel	1	2	3
animals	-	2	2
arts/culture/intellect-related/music	1	1	2
cuisine	1	-	1
games/outdoor activities/sports	1	-	1
household activities	-	1	1
total	5	15	20

Figure 119: Information on HOBBIES/INTERESTS (partner) in *The Times* (London)

5.8.2.11 PHYSICAL CONDITION

Specifications on the partner's PHYSICAL CONDITION are made in four advertisements (2.7%), all by women (5.3%); they contain information on fitness (three times *fit*) and health (*healthy* in one advertisement). The advertisers are probably too 'polite' and consider specifications on the partner's PHYSICAL CONDITION too private or they know what they want. Regarding the age of the advertisers, the reference to the PHYSICAL CONDITION is to ensure that the partners are not too old and weak.

5.8.2.12 NATIONALITY

The partner's NATIONALITY is specified in two advertisements (1.3%). Both specifications (2.7%) are made by men and contain general information (*nationality unimportant*; *of any nationality*). This shows that these men are tolerant and flexible.

5.9 Specifications on the Relationship

5.9.1 The Indian Corpus

5.9.1.1 LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH

538 advertisements contain (a) LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH for a partner (89.7%), cf. Figure 120. They are present in between 123 (*The Hindu*) and 146 advertisements (*The Statesman*) per newspaper without huge differences between the genders (275 vs. 263 advertisements). Altogether, they are mentioned by parents/families in 29 advertisements but used most often by neutral advertisers in *The Statesman* and *The Times of India* (133 and 96 advertisements) and by the brides and grooms themselves in *The Milli Gazette* and *The Hindu* (58 and 103 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The States-man	n	66	88	67	89.3	**133**	**88.7**
	s	8	10.7	5	6.7	**13**	**8.7**
	total	**74**	**98.7**	**72**	**96**	**146**	**97.4**
The Times of India	p/f	3	4	3	4	**6**	**4**
	n	42	56	54	72	**96**	**64**
	s	26	34.7	14	18.7	**40**	**26.7**
	total	**71**	**94.7**	**71**	**94.7**	**142**	**94.7**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	6	8	8	10.7	**14**	**9.3**
	n	19	25.3	36	48	**55**	**36.7**
	s	42	56	16	21.3	**58**	**38.7**
	total	**67**	**89.3**	**60**	**80**	**127**	**84.7**
The Hindu	p/f	3	4	6	8	**9**	**6**
	n	5	6.7	6	8	**11**	**7.3**
	s	55	73.3	48	64	**103**	**68.7**
	total	**63**	**84**	**60**	**80**	**123**	**82**
total	p/f	12	4	17	5.7	**29**	**4.8**
	n	132	44	163	54.3	**295**	**49.2**
	s	131	43.7	83	27.7	**214**	**35.7**
	total	**275**	**91.7**	**263**	**87.7**	**538**	**89.7**

Figure 120: LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH according to newspaper, gender and authorship

Often, more than one lexical item expresses the search for a partner as the examples below show.

SBW12 ALLIANCE invited for a Bengali Hindu Brahmin boy, extremely fair, unmarried, master (Bengal Engineering College, Shibpur), MBA (USA), working as Senior Manager at Google in USA, age: 40, height: 5'-7". Looking for unmarried Brahmin girl. Phone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮ (USA ISD Code:1), ▮▮▮▮▮▮ (India). Write with biodata and photo to E-mail: ▮▮▮▮▮▮

TOIGW71

SM for sunni 34/5.4 tall fair good looking working girl seeks alliance.Send details ▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮

In instances like these, the lexical item(s) occurring first or those not belonging to another category are taken into consideration. Thus, in SBW12, *alliance invited for* expresses the search. In TOIGW71, *seeks alliance* is counted since *SM* is the partner denotation.

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
preposition	*for* (9)/*4* (7)	-	12	-	4	**16**
active expression	*seeks* (34)/*seek* (5)/*is seeking*	2	25	2	11	**40**
impersonal expression	*req*	-	1	-	2	**3**
	seeking	1	-	1	-	**2**
	looking for	-	-	-	1	**1**
total		**3**	**38**	**3**	**18**	**62**
The Statesman						
active expression	*seeks*	-	6	-	1	**7**
	wants	-	1	-	3	**4**
impersonal expression	*looking for*	-	1	-	-	**1**
	required	-	-	-	1	**1**
total		**-**	**8**	**-**	**5**	**13**
The Hindu						
active expression	*seeks* (89)/*seek* (13)/*sks*	2	51	6	44	**103**
	invite/invites	1	-	-	1	**2**
	expects	-	-	-	1	**1**
	wants	-	1	-	-	**1**
impersonal expression	*interested in*	-	1	-	-	**1**
	looking for	-	1	-	-	**1**
	seekng alliance	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**3**	**55**	**6**	**46**	**110**
The Milli Gazette						
active expression	*seeks* (54)/*seek* (8)	5	37	4	16	**62**
	invite/invites	1	-	1	-	**2**
	are looking 4	-	-	1	-	**1**
	needs	-	1	-	-	**1**
preposition	*4*(6)/*for*	-	3		4	**7**
impersonal expression	*looking 4* (2)/*looking for*	-	3	-	-	**3**
	alliance invited/alliance invited for	-	1	1	-	**2**
	req	-	-	1	-	**1**
total		**6**	**45**	**8**	**20**	**79**
total		**12**	**146**	**17**	**89**	**264**

Figure 121: LEXICAL ITEMS EXPRESSING THE SEARCH according to different authorships

Parents/families use only one specification at a time (cf. Figure 121) whereas brides and grooms are more verbose: They make 235 specifications in 214 advertisements (146 in 'Brides Wanted' and 89 in 'Grooms Wanted'). *For/4* is used frequently (23 specifications), which underlines the advertisement-like style. The use of the verbs *to seek* (215 specifications) and *to look for* (seven instances) when referring to a spouse is an example of the metaphor LOVE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT, THE SPOUSE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT respectively, elaborated on by Kövecses (1988: 60), and KNOWING IS SEEING. According to him, "[t]he main object of the hidden-object metaphor is that love is not something that comes along, but it is something that we must go and find" (1988: 61). Especially in the British context, where the belief in the existence of one true love only (1988: 23) is often prevalent, this metaphor is valid. In this context, it rather shows the urgency that a

partper must be found. The verb *to prefer* (used frequently by people hiding behind 'neutral'), however, indicates that the advertiser may choose among several candidates. The lexical items *req*(*uire*) (used five times), *want* (five specifications) and *need* (one specification) can be seen as expressions of the LOVE-AS-UNITY metaphor (1988: 23). According to Kövecses (1988: 23), "[t]he view of love as a need arises from the metaphor because if I think of love as a unity of two complementary parts, then one part alone will be viewed as dysfunctional". In the Indian context, the importance of community and family as a whole serves to explain why a woman/man *needs*, *requires*, *wants* a spouse. The completion/unity of two partners is rather a societal rule than an emotional desire and is not restricted to the two partners but extends to their whole families/communities.

5.9.1.2 REQUEST FOR CONTACT

A REQUEST FOR CONTACT (cf. Figure 122) is expressed in 128 advertisements (21.3%), i.e. in between 23 (*The Hindu*) and 47 advertisements (*The Times of India*) per newspaper, more often in advertisements in which brides are wanted (71 vs. 57 advertisements).

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
The Times of India	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	3	2
	n	18	24	14	18.7	32	21.3
	s	7	9.3	5	6.7	12	8
	total	27	36	20	26.7	47	31.3
The Milli Gazette	p/f	4	5.3	3	4	7	4.7
	n	2	2.7	8	10.7	10	6.7
	s	10	13.3	3	4	13	8.7
	total	16	21.3	14	18.7	30	20.1
The States-man	n	13	17.3	13	17.3	26	17.3
	s	2	2.7	-	-	2	1.3
	total	15	20	13	17.3	28	18.6
The Hindu	p/f	2	2.7	1	1.3	3	2
	n	-	-	4	5.3	4	2.7
	s	11	14.7	5	6.7	16	10.7
	total	13	17.4	10	13.3	23	15.4
total	p/f	8	2.7	5	1.7	13	2.2
	n	33	11	39	13	72	12
	s	30	10	13	4.3	43	7.2
	total	71	23.7	57	19	128	21.4

Figure 122: REQUESTS FOR CONTACT according to newspaper, gender and authorship

Altogether, parents/families use requests in 13 advertisements (cf. Figure 122). In *The Times of India* and *The Statesman*, they are expressed by neutral advertisers most often (32 and 26 advertisements), in *The Milli Gazette* and *The Hindu* by the brides and

grooms themselves (13 and 16 advertisements). REQUESTS FOR CONTACT are not made in every advertisement, which underlines the advertisement-like style in the very sense of the word. A good example is

SBW10 W.B. TANTUBAYA, 28+ / 5'-6", BE (Mechanical) from Shibpur BE College, working in MNC (Project Division), Rs. 37,000, Aryarishi Gotra, father rtd., own house, well-to-do, handsome, only child. Only Tantubaya, min. Honours Graduate within 23 –-24 yrs. brides required. Ph.: ███████████████

Especially the advertisements which merely contain a description of the material that should be sent with the application seem to be quite rude and impersonal and, again, read more like offers or advertisements than personal messages in which a lifetime partner is sought. Examples are HBW56 and MGGW72:

HBW56 CSI NADAR Parents invite Proposals for their son Manager System/Engineer Nokia US citizen smart committed Christian 34/169 from committed Christian girl BE/MCA slim/smart below 30/160 photo/biodata Box ████████████████ ██████████

MGGW72
SHEIKH 1985 born 165 cms. BE (CS) slim B'fui girl, father PCS, required H'some tall IIT IIM S'tus F'ly boy, photo must. Email: ██████████████████

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
general	*contact (4)/cont (2)/contact or send email*	1	4	-	2	**7**
sending of enclosures	*mail BHP/send BHP/send BHP to email/send biodata at first instance*	1	1	1	1	**4**
	send details	-	1	-	1	**2**
enclosures	*BHP/BHP; photo must*	-	1	-	1	**2**
total		**2**	**7**	**1**	**5**	**15**
The Statesman						
general	*contact*	-	1	-	-	**1**
sending of enclosures	*please forward full details along with photo, birth date, time, place for Kundli matching*	-	1	-	-	**1**
total		**-**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**2**
The Hindu						
sending of enclosures	*send bhp (6)/send bd, photo*	-	6	1	-	**7**
	apply with photo preferred/may respond with photo/detailed bio-data/send BH/send biodata and photo (returnable)	-	2	-	3	**5**
	invites marriage proposals with horoscope/send details with ho-roscope	-	-	1	1	**2**
	mail details with casual photos/ please send details	1	1	-	-	**2**
	reply with photos	-	1	-	-	**1**
enclosures	*photo*	1	-	-		**1**
	biodata/horoscope	-	1	-	-	**1**
	photograph is must	-	-	-	1	**1**
total		**2**	**11**	**2**	**5**	**20**
The Milli Gazette						
sending of enclosures	*send BHP (5)/send B/P (3)/send BP (2)/please send biodata with pics first/send BD/reply with B/P*	3	9	-	1	**13**
	plz mail details with photograph			1		**1**
	send details	-	-	1	-	**1**
	send CV/photo	1	-	-	-	**1**
enclosures	*BHP (2)/BP*	-	-	1	2	**3**
general	*call*		1			**1**
	interested families may send their proposals			1		**1**
total		**4**	**10**	**4**	**3**	**21**
total		**8**	**30**	**7**	**13**	**58**

Figure 123: Information on REQUEST FOR CONTACT according to different authorships

Apart from two parents/families, each placing two specifications in one advertisement 'Grooms Wanted', all advertisers use only one specification at a time. In *The Times of India, at first instance* (cf. Figure 123) again points to a pre-selection process that will be conducted with the help of the biodata. Ten advertisers make a general request for contact and two advertisements only mention the material that should be sent. The addi-

tion *must* makes this bride seem impolite. However, it has to be borne in mind that, as the information given in several advertisements has shown, the advertisements are only the first step in a hard application and competition-like process. One can assume that there are several respondents contacting each advertiser. If in this case respondents do not send a photo along with their 'application', they will not be considered further.

The request *apply*, mentioned in *The Hindu*, implies that candidates find themselves in a competition similar to a job application process. The addition *returnable* again highlights the application-like nature of the process. It presupposes that a respondent may not get the 'position' as the groom and probably wants his documents back in order to 'apply' elsewhere. The noun *proposals* also emphasises the application-like nature of the match-making process. One bride only mentions the material that should be sent. By adding *is must* she implicitly states that respondents who do not send a photo will not be considered any further. The addition *with casual photos* allows the inference that *casual* photos are commonly not the kind of photos that are expected to be sent with such an application. This again emphasises the formality of the whole process.

The addition of *first* in *The Milli Gazette* in combination with the mentioning of material that should be sent allows the inference that the biodata and picture serve as strong factors in a pre-selection process. Only if the advertisers are content with what they get to know via the biodata and pictures will they eventually contact and meet the possible partners. The lexical item *proposals* is an indicator that it requires effort – in this case the effort of compiling a proposal – in order to be considered as a possible future partner and that this effort is made by the whole family.

The lexical items used for making a REQUEST FOR CONTACT show that finding a suitable partner is conceptualised as an application process; i.e. the following metaphors are used: FINDING A PARTNER IS APPLYING, PARTNER SELECTION IS AN APPLICATION PROCESS, ANSWERING A MATRIMONIAL IS APPLYING and A MATRIMONIAL IS A JOB OFFER. This application imagery shows that for the Indian advertisers tying a marriage is similar to entering a contract. Of course, a marriage is a legal contract even in the West. However, the extension of the contract character to the whole background of the marriage is unique to the Indian corpus. The central metaphor A MARRIAGE IS A CONTRACT has several mappings, such as THE FAMILIES OF THE SPOUSES ARE THE CONTRACTUAL PARTIES, ARRANGING A MARRIAGE IS CONTRACT NEGOTIATION and THE FEATURES LOOKED FOR ARE THE CONTRACT CONDITIONS/PREREQUISITES. These preconditions – especially in *The Statesman* – are possessions, profession and economic status.

5.9.1.3 RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT

65 advertisements specify the RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT (10.8%). This low frequency can be accounted for by the fact that the advertisements are *matrimonials*; i.e. the ultimate aim – marriage – is already clear in advance.

newspaper	author-ship	'Brides Wanted'		'Grooms Wanted'		total	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
The Milli Gazette	p/f	2	2.7	3	4	**5**	**3.3**
	n	3	4	7	9.3	**10**	**6.7**
	s	8	10.7	1	1.3	**9**	**6**
	total	**13**	**17.3**	**11**	**14.6**	**24**	**16**
The Hindu	p/f	-	-	2	2.7	**2**	**1.3**
	n	1	1.3	3	4	**4**	**2.7**
	s	8	10.7	8	10.7	**16**	**10.7**
	total	**9**	**12**	**13**	**17.4**	**22**	**14.7**
The States-man	n	7	9.3	5	6.7	**12**	**8**
	s	1	1.3	-	-	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**8**	**10.6**	**5**	**6.7**	**13**	**8.7**
The Times of India	n	3	4	2	2.7	**5**	**3.3**
	s	-	-	1	1.3	**1**	**0.7**
	total	**3**	**4**	**3**	**4**	**6**	**4**
total	p/f	2	0.7	5	1.7	**7**	**1.2**
	n	14	4.7	17	5.7	**31**	**5.2**
	s	17	5.7	10	3.3	**27**	**4.5**
	total	**33**	**11.1**	**32**	**10.7**	**65**	**10.9**

Figure 124: RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT according to newspaper, gender and authorship

The RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT is specified in between six (*The Times of India*) and 24 advertisements (*The Milli Gazette*) per newspaper, as shown in Figure 124. In *The Milli Gazette* and *The Statesman*, it is expressed more often in 'Brides Wanted' (13 vs. eleven and eight vs. five advertisements). It is mentioned by parents/families seven times and most often by neutral advertisers (31 advertisements in total), except in *The Hindu* (only four advertisements vs. 16 advertisements by 'self'). This is plausible since to parents/families, the main aim is to get their children married, while the future brides and grooms further elaborate on what exactly they want. The RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT is either not introduced by (a) lexical item(s), as in MGBW37

MGBW37

KHAN 31/6'2" Engr. wrkg. in Saudia slry 6 digit, seeks prof./n-prof. bfl girl early marriage. Dowry less ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

or by a simple *for*, as in

MGBW44

SM4 B.Tech 30/5'8" Sunni Boy Fair, H'some well settled 6 fig M. income, seeks b'ful Girl from Decent Family, for early marrage.   M: ███████   Email: ███████

	information given	BW		GW		total
		p/f	s	p/f	s	
The Times of India						
general	*alliance*	-	-	-	1	1
The Statesman						
general	*alliance*	-	1	-	-	1
The Hindu						
general	*alliance* (17)/*marriage alliance*	-	8	2	8	18
The Milli Gazette						
general	*alliance*	2	3	3	-	8
	marriage (5)/*mrge*	-	5	-	1	6
timing	*early marriage* (5)/*e'rly mrge*	-	5	-	1	6
total		2	13	3	2	20
total		2	22	5	11	40

Figure 125: Information on RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT according to different authorships

Parents/families make only one specification at a time; brides and grooms use 33 specifications in 27 advertisements (cf. Figure 125). The variety within the specifications on the RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT is very low. The only two nouns used are *alliance* (28 instances) and *marriage* (12 specifications). These two lexical items are not very metaphorical and do not allow many detailed inferences. *Alliance* again points to the CONTRACT metaphor. Furthermore, the fact that nothing but marriage is looked for shows that in the Indian context, 'marriage' refers to the event as such (i.e. tying a marriage). The metaphor a RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY implies that in India, the marriage is seen as the starting point, i.e. MARRIAGE IS DEPARTURE.

5.9.1.4 REJECTIONS

In 22 advertisements REJECTIONS are made (3.7%). 20 are published in *The Statesman* (all neutral, nine 'Brides Wanted', eleven 'Grooms Wanted'), two in *The Hindu* (one neutral, one self, both 'Brides Wanted'). Thus, Bengal advertisers have the highest claims. Equal numbers of specifications (eleven each) relate to brides and grooms. In 21 instances the REJECTIONS are made by neutral advertisers, in one instance by the person seeking a partner himself. *The Statesman* is the only newspaper whose readers reject possible partners as a result of their community (in all instances, done by neutral adver-

tisers), which leads to the assumption that its readers are conservative and hide. In *The Hindu*, a bride with *non-IT* background is wanted by a groom himself.

5.9.2 The British Corpus

5.9.2.1 REQUEST FOR CONTACT

All advertisers explicitly state that they want to be contacted – a request that, one could argue, is redundant since the text type is the *contact* advertisement. However, this shows that the British advertisers are active in their search for a partner.

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
general	*call* (147)/*call; aca/call me now*	75	74	**149**
	please get in touch	-	1	**1**
total		**75**	**75**	**150**

Figure 126: Information on REQUEST FOR CONTACT in *The Times* (London)

The addition *aca* (cf. Figure 126) points to the fact that this woman is as polite as to call all respondents back and allows the inference that she takes her time for every contact to consider him as a possible partner. The addition *me* shows that the respective woman is active in her search. This points to her individuality since she asks the reader to call *her* and not anybody.

5.9.2.2 LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH

149 advertisements contain (a) LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH for a partner (99.3%), i.e. 74 men (98.7%) and 75 women mention it. Three women each use two specifications per advertisement.

information	information given	MSW	WSM	total
active expression	*WLTM*	29	27	**56**
	seeks	28	25	**53**
	Are you [...]?	1	-	**1**
	Could it be you?	-	1	**1**
	desires	-	1	**1**
	loves	-	1	**1**
	needs	1	-	**1**
	requires	1	-	**1**
	wishes	-	1	**1**
				total: 116
impersonal expression	*looking for* (15)/*looking to*	4	12	**16**
	seeking	5	7	**12**
	needed/needing	2	-	**2**
	hoping	-	1	**1**
	Me: [...] You: [...] Us:[...]	-	1	**1**
	required	-	1	**1**
	searching	1	-	**1**
	sought	1	-	**1**
	very interested in	1	-	**1**
				total: 36
total		**74**	**78**	**152**

Figure 127: LEXICAL ITEMS EXPRESSING THE SEARCH in *The Times* (London)

The fact that in the British cultural model the belief in one true love exists is emphasised by the question *Could it be you?* (cf. Figure 127). This woman is searching her counterpart and believes that only one person can fulfill this role. The lexical items *desire*, *love*, *wishes*, *WLTM* (56 specifications) and *hoping*, however, imply that it is not easy to find this one partner and that everyone will not find their true love eventually.

5.9.2.3 RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT

147 advertisements contain specifications on the RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT (98%) – 73 made by men (97.3%) and 74 by women (98.7%). Men are more verbose: They make 123 specifications; women use 114.

Often, *for* is used, as in

GBWSM42

⬤**Attractive, blue-eyed brunette,** loves London life, eating out, galleries, fashion, theatre, with a tall, masculine man, who will enhance my life, for LTR. Ldn. Call ██████████ Voicebox ████

In other instances, however, the RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT is introduced in a more creative way, e.g. with the lexical items *to adore in*, as in GBMSW2

GBMSW2

⬤Boyish Englishman, public school/ Oxbridge type, traditionally cultured, well-spoken, youthful 50, seeks assertive, educated, feminine, retro-glamorous lady to adore in luxurious LTR. Ldn/SW. Call ██████████ Voicebox ██

The specifications contain information on timing (e.g. *a long term partner*), attributes (e.g. *loving*), aims besides the relationship (e.g. *for fun*), introducing lexical items (e.g. *to enjoy*). Furthermore, the specifications are located in the semantic fields PROCESS (e.g. *to land again*), SHARING (e.g. *to share life with*) and LIFE (e.g. *to spend my life with*), which sometimes overlap.

information	'Men seeking Women'	'Women seeking Men'	total
timing	61	56	**117**
semantic field PROCESS	17	14	**31**
semantic field SHARING	12	13	**25**
attribute	12	7	**19**
semantic field LIFE	7	10	**17**
aim besides relationship	8	8	**16**
introducing lexical item	6	6	**12**
total	**123**	**114**	**237**

Figure 128: Information on RELATIONSHIP AIMED AT in *The Times* (London)

The specifications in the British corpus allow many inferences as to the underlying metaphors (cf. Figure 128). Apart from the semantic fields into which the expressions are already grouped and which constitute the metaphors A RELATIONSHIP IS MEANT TO BE PERMANENT, A RELATIONSHIP NEEDS TO DEVELOP/IS A PROCESS, A RELATIONSHIP IS SHARING, A RELATIONSHIP IS LIFE, the specifications make use of several other metaphors, which will be listed in the following. Kövecses (1988: 12) considers it fruitful to investigate linguistic expressions in order to gain insight into conceptual models of love. He claims that "metaphors play a very significant role in the conceptual model of love" (1988: 13). Several of the metaphors to be found in the linguistic data collected for the present thesis were described by Lakoff/Johnson (1980) and/or Kövecses (1988).

A RELATIONSHIP IS A CONTAINER (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 32):
to adore in

A RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY (1980: 44):
to embark on
friendship, leading to LTR
companion
to tread life's path
soulmate

A RELATIONSHIP IS A SENSUAL EXPERIENCE:
to enjoy
to share life's pleasures
to pluck her heartstrings

A RELATIONSHIP IS A PHYSICAL FORCE:
stimulating

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT (Kövecses 1988: 33):
to adore
to cherish

A RELATIONSHIP IS PERMANENT:
permanent relationship
lasting relationship
to adore permanently

A RELATIONSHIP IS ROMANCE:
romance
romantic life

A RELATIONSHIP IS AN ENCOUNTER:
none too brief encounter
endless banter

A RELATIONSHIP IS A SEASONAL CYCLE:
woman for all seasons

TRUE LOVE EXISTS (1988: 23):
for a romantic relationship, hoping for LTR
for friendship and possible LTR
soulmate

LOVE IS FIRE (1988: 44):
if the spark is there

A RELATIONSHIP INVOLVES MAGIC (1988: 52)/MYSTERY:
maybe more
charmed
amazing

A RELATIONSHIP IS TIME SPENT TOGETHER:
for wonderful times

COMMITMENT IS LANDING:
to land again

COMMITMENT IS SETTLING:
to settle down with
to settle

A RELATIONSHIP IS BUILT ON UNITY (1988: 18)/THE PARTNERS ARE A UNION:
to share
to join
to be part of a couple

A RELATIONSHIP IS A NATURAL FORCE (1988: 49):
whirlwind

A RELATIONSHIP IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE/AN INVESTMENT (1988: 58):
to spend my life

A RELATIONSHIP INVOLVES GROWING OLD TOGETHER:
to grow old disgracefully with

A RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVES PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (1988: 36):
intimacy

Apart from these metaphors directly connected to relationships, the specifications contain various other metaphors which are also used in other contexts, e.g.

FUTURE IS HORIZON
to share happy new horizons

LIFE IS A PATH /A MARRIAGE OR A RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY
to tread life's path

In contrast to the conceptualisations in the Indian corpus, the path does not begin with the marriage as an event. This event is merely one event along the path. 'Marriage' in the British corpus is rather understood as the state of being married than as the wedding as such.

GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 15)
to share life's ups and downs

A RELATIONSHIP IS A HIDDEN OBJECT (Kövecses 1988: 60)/KNOWING IS SEEING
looking to
with a view to marriage

5.9.2.4 REJECTIONS

Only in one advertisement is a REJECTION made (0.7%). *NTW* ['no time wasters'] *please* – is like an insurance to the woman that she does not need to suffer when people contact her who do not have serious intentions.

5.10 Synopsis and Comparison

Figures 133 and 134 summarise the findings. First of all, the different numbers are noticeable: Indian advertisers use more features in order to describe themselves (18 vs. 16 in total for both genders) and their future partners (18 vs. 12 in total for both genders) than the British authors. Both Indian and British advertisers specify more features relating to themselves than to their partners.

For all advertisers except the British women, AGE/DOB is the single feature most important in self-description. However, the specifications in the British corpus differ from those in the Indian one in their being more vague – for both genders. All attributes given in the British corpus relate to youthfulness. Thus, for the British advertisers age is important but not so much the exact age but rather the gist of it. British advertisers are older but like to present themselves as youthful.

gender/corpus	Indian corpus	British corpus
grooms/men	30.3	55.1
brides/women	28.3	50.4
average (corpus)	**29.3**	**52.8**

Figure 129: Average age in years (self) per corpus and gender

The average age of the persons seeking a partner in the Indian corpus is 29.3 years, i.e. 30.3 years for grooms and 28.3 years for brides (cf. Figure 129). The average age in the British corpus is 52.8 years (men 55.1 years and women 50.4 years). The difference in age between the two corpora is crucial. Thus, in the Indian culture, a marriage is something to be tied at a young age. Moreover, marriages in India appear to last a lifetime – which is obviously not the case in Britain, where many middle-aged and elderly people are looking for a partner. In both corpora, women are younger when they get married.

For both genders, there are more features in the Indian corpus that are not present in the British one ('Brides Wanted': four features; 'Grooms Wanted': six features) than vice versa ('Men Seeking Women'/'Women Seeking Men': two features each). The features exclusively present in the British corpus are the same for both genders: HABITS (9.3% in 'Men Seeking Women' and 2.7% in 'Women Seeking Men') and NATIONALITY (4% in 'Men Seeking Women' and 1.3% in 'Women Seeking Men'). In the Indian corpus, the features differ between the genders: While grooms describe themselves by mentioning INCOME (42%), FAMILY BACKGROUND (40%), HOROSCOPE (8.3%) and LANGUAGE (0.3%), Indian women elaborate on COMMUNITY (88.7%), FAMILY BACKGROUND (44.7%), INCOME (17.3%), POSSESSIONS (17%), HOROSCOPE (12.3%) and SKILLS (6.7%).

The British advertisements contain more information on AGE/DOB and HOBBIES/INTERESTS when partner-description is concerned. The partner's AGE/DOB is mentioned in 46% of the British advertisements (41.3% of 'Men Seeking Women' and 50.7% of 'Women Seeking Men') and 26.7% of the Indian advertisements (28.7% of 'Brides Wanted' and 24.7% of 'Grooms Wanted'). Unlike the Indian women, the British women express the age their future partner should have more often.

gender/corpus	Indian corpus	British corpus
brides/women	22.8	42
grooms/men	29.6	49.4
average (corpus)	**26.2**	**45.7**

Figure 130: Average minimum age in years (partner) per corpus and gender

Figure 130 shows the average minimum age per gender and corpus. That of partners in the Indian corpus amounts to 26.2 years. Brides must be no younger than 22.8 years and grooms no more so than 29.6 years. The average minimum age of partners in the British corpus amounts to 45.7 years. Women must be at least 42 years old and men at least 49.4 years.

gender/corpus	Indian corpus	British corpus
brides/women	27.1	53.9
grooms/men	31.7	62
average (corpus)	**29.4**	**58**

Figure 131: Average maximum age in years (partner) per corpus and gender

Figure 131 shows that the average maximum age that partners sought for in the Indian corpus are allowed to have is 29.4 years. The average maximum age of partners in the British corpus amounts to 58 years. In both corpora, the women's maximum age is lower than that of the men (27.1 vs. 31.7 and 53.9 vs. 62 years).

gender/corpus	Indian corpus	British corpus
brides/women	3.5	13.4
grooms/men	3.8	11.9
average (corpus)	**3.7**	**12.7**

Figure 132: Average age span in years (partner) per corpus and gender

The average age span given for partners in the Indian corpus amounts to 3.7 years, that in the British corpus is 12.7 years (cf. Figure 132). Interestingly, the British are more tolerant when it comes to women (13.4 vs. 11.9).

gender self	The States-man		The Times of India		The Hindu		The Milli Gazette		The Times (London)	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
AGE/DOB	73	73	75	75	75	74	74	74	62	59
HEIGHT	72	72	72	72	61	63	70	71	34	18
COMMUNITY	73	72	58	57	70	66	72	71	2	-
EDUCATION	72	74	48	63	55	66	50	63	16	10
PROFESSION	69	48	68	59	62	59	62	45	28	14
LOCATION	71	68	53	38	51	51	43	35	12	5
APPEARANCE	59	66	33	61	20	41	27	54	36	63
FAMILY BACKGROUND	64	64	16	20	11	15	29	35	-	-
INCOME	60	25	25	13	22	8	19	6	-	-
POSSESSIONS	53	49	1	-	4	-	7	2	2	-
ATTRIBUTES	19	17	9	13	3	2	11	17	61	58
ECONOMIC STATUS	37	17	5	-	9	4	10	1	13	2
HOROSCOPE	2	-	13	12	10	25	-	-	-	-
MARITAL STATUS	9	4	6	7	10	6	9	8	13	7
SKILLS	6	19	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
HOBBIES/INTERESTS	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	38
HABITS	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	7	2
PHYSICAL CONDITION	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	8	2
LANGUAGE	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NATIONALITY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1
total	754	676	483	491	467	480	483	483	339	279

Figure 133: Features used in self-desctiption

Figures 133 and 134 list all features used in self- and partner-description. To sum up, *The Statesman* rather resembles *The Times* (London) than the other Indian newspapers. The grooms in *The Statesman* – like the British men – mention more features than the brides, whose advertisements are slightly shorter. The advertisements in *The Times* (London) show least specifications although they are, on average, longer than most Indian advertisements. Thus, they can rather be seen as a coherent text than a mere listing of facts. In *The Statesman*, the numbers for both genders are twice as high as in the British corpus. The three features named most often in the Indian corpus are AGE/DOB, HEIGHT and COMMUNITY, followed by EDUCATION, PROFESSION, LOCATION, APPEAR-

ANCE and FAMILY BACKGROUND, which shows the extent that Indian advertisers point to groups. EDUCATION and APPEARANCE are mentioned more often in 'Grooms Wanted', PROFESSION more often relates to grooms, just as expected. *The Statesman* shows many specifications on FAMILY BACKGROUND, INCOME, POSSESSIONS and ECONOMIC STATUS – all 'male' domains. Thus, one can conclude that in Bengal, gender roles are especially conservative, and men are expected to provide for wife and family. In the British corpus, COMMUNITY, LOCATION, FAMILY BACKGROUND, INCOME, POSSESSIONS and HOROSCOPE are either missing or play only a minor role, which shows that the advertisers do not pay much attention to the groups a person belongs to. They emphasise independence rather than interdependence. Furthermore, the missing of FAMILY BACKGROUND is probably due to the advanced age of the advertisers. The British advertisers mention ATTRIBUTES and HOBBIES/INTERESTS and thus, point to their individuality. In the Indian corpus the latter are only mentioned in *The Statesman*. The Indian corpus in itself is very heterogeneous: In *The Milli Gazette*, HOROSCOPE is obviously not important while FAMILY BACKGROUND is, which shows that different communities emphasise different features and that among Muslims, family and interdependence play a major role. The mentioning of SKILLS by Indian brides for self-descrption shows that it is obviously common among Indian brides to show their abilities and what they have – contrary to a traditional view of gender roles. However, it largely contributes to the APPLICATION-imagery: Brides must point out their advantages and thus, assert their position on the match-making market, which is why they mention their EDUCATION and their PROFESSION more often than their family background. Interestingly, British advertisers do not mention their own LOCATION. A reason could be that instead of mentioning it, they rather state where their future partner should live – which is probably their own location or the place they want to live in the future.

gender partner	The States-man		The Times of India		The Hindu		The Milli Gazette		The Times (London)	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
COMMUNITY	40	48	21	26	25	37	12	29	-	-
PROFESSION	49	23	25	32	29	19	19	17	12	4
EDUCATION	37	48	2	12	12	30	5	26	1	6
AGE/DOB	65	64	-	-	4	13	5	9	38	31
APPEARANCE	7	42	1	31	2	27	2	44	15	35
LOCATION	48	39	5	6	14	11	11	9	73	74
ATTRIBUTES	6	38	6	19	19	16	10	25	62	52
ECONOMIC STATUS	40	-	8	-	4	-	16	-	18	-
FAMILY BACKGROUND	9	22	5	3	5	14	8	15	-	-
HEIGHT	4	7	1	7	1	6	2	8	14	2
EDUCATION/PROFESSION	12	3	2	1	3	-	4	3	-	-
MARITAL STATUS	4	8	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
INCOME	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HOROSCOPE	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-
LANGUAGE	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-
SKILLS	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
POSSESSIONS	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HABITS	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	8	4
HOBBIES/INTERESTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
PHYSICAL CONDITION	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
NATIONALITY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
total	330	343	77	138	123	180	94	186	246	216

Figure 134: Features used in partner-description

In partner-description, the advertisers are much less verbose, especially in the Indian corpus (cf. Figure 134). The numbers are less than half as high as for self-description. In the Indian corpus, this is due to the fact that the descriptions of self and partner are listings of external features and one's belonging to certain groups, e.g. community and status. Since these groups are expected to be the same for both partners, there is no need to mention them again in partner-description. In the British corpus, the belief in true love is prevalent: Advertisers want to find their soulmates. They describe themselves and leave it open to the prospective readers to decide whether they see themselves as their possible soulmates and answer the advertisement. The British advertisers believe in love as a precondition for a relationship and conceptualise A RELATIONSHIP AS A JOURNEY which develops from the first encounter. Thus, a description of their future partners in terms of a mere listing of external features is not so important. To them, love and personal appreciation are crucial. Whether they fit together can thus only be seen after their first personal meeting. Thus, the advertisement is merely a kick-off. Apart from the advertisements in *The Statesman*, men have more precise ideas of their future partners. *The Times* (London) is exceptional since there, the difference between the numbers for self- and partner-description is not as marked as in the Indian corpus. Furthermore, women are more concrete than men.

In India, COMMUNITY, PROFESSION, EDUCATION, AGE/DOB, LOCATION, ATTRIBUTES and PROFESSION are most important. The high numbers are mostly due to the amount of specifications in *The Statesman*. ATTRIBUTES and APPEARANCE are most often mentioned relating to women. In the British corpus, however, more women than men ask for certain ATTRIBUTES. The British advertisers consider the partner's LOCATION the most important feature to point out. Thus, they want to determine where to live since they are probably not very flexible. This is certainly due partly to their age: Since they are middle-aged or elderly, they are probably already settled in their professional lives and often have children from past relationships. Thus, they cannot leave everything behind and move away easily. Furthermore, the British advertisers point to their individuality and independence as often as they can. The location where one lives is also a part of one's individuality and character – especially since the British advertisers are rather elderly and thus, one can assume that they do not necessarily live where they were born – as the young Indian advertisers probably do. They are probably not willing to give this up for a partner. The partner's EDUCATION is mentioned more often in the Indian corpus than in the British one. This leads to the assumption that the partner's EDUCATION is obviously much more important to the Indian advertisers than to the British ones – another hint that the Indian advertisements are conceptualised as job offers and the matchmaking process as an application. Together with the lack of specifications given on internal attributes, this shows that sober facts and intellectual values count more in India than in Britain. Interestingly, in both corpora, men emphasise their future female partner's EDUCATION more strongly than vice versa. A REQUEST FOR CONTACT is mentioned less often in the Indian corpus. It is not necessary as such since the advertisements are *contact* advertisements anyway. However, explicitly addressing the reader shows activity and politeness, which the British advertisers emphasise.

6 Models of Marriage

Based on the prior analysis, an Indian and a British model shall be sketched. One has to be clear, however, that these models are neither static nor monolithic, which is especially valid for the Indian one, which can rather be seen as a continuum between traditional Indian views and modern Western understandings of relationships. It has to be clarified in advance that the Indian and British advertisers have a different understanding of the word 'marriage'. While in the British corpus, marriage is seen as a long-term relationship, Indians rather see the event as such (the wedding) as a marriage, e.g. when asking for an *early marriage* (see also Nihalani/Tongue/Hosali/Crowther 2005, *s.v.* 'marriage). The CONTRACT metaphors associated with the Indian marriage makes this evident as well. To ensure a common basis for comparison, henceforth marriage is meant as the relationship, e.g. the state of being married. The two models sketched in the following involve several propositions and thus, represent what the advertisers expect from marriage, which is not necessarily the same as reality. Quinn's (1987) American model of marriage was taken as an example and metaphorical as well as non-metaphorical statements were grouped together, and propositions were sketched. Since, in contrast to the data gained by Quinn (1987), the data for the present analysis are not the result of interviews and especially the Indian advertisements are rather listings than coherent texts, it was often necessary to read between the lines and interpret the utterances.

6.1 Indian

An Indian cultural model of marriage[58] involves the following propositions:

MARRIAGE IS NOT SOMETHING THAT DEVELOPS AND IS UNKNOWN FROM THE OUTSET.

The single most evident proposition is the fact that marriage as a relationship is something that does not need time to develop and is thus unknown from the outset. Already the fact that the advertisements are called *matrimonials* and that the people searching and to be sought are labelled *brides* and *grooms* confirms this proposition. The aim of the advertisements is marriage and not a mere relationship. If two people find together with the help of a matrimonial advertisement like the ones compiled for the present thesis, they will get married within a short period of time. This is evident in several advertisements in which an *early marriage* (cf. Figure 125) is aimed at. The fact that bride and groom do not know each other well before they get married leads to the proposition that MARRIAGE IS UNKNOWN FROM THE OUTSET, a metaphor Quinn (1987) finds in her

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[58] Sometimes the expression '*the* Indian/British cultural model' is used in the thesis. This does not imply that the models presented are the only ones possible. They are based on the data collected for the present thesis only, and no claims are made that they are valid for the whole Indian/British cultures.

data as well. However, her data imply a conceptualisation of marriage as a journey of which it is unknown where it leads to and what will happen on the way – just like in any kind of relationship, not only restricted to marriage. In the Indian context, *unknown* implies far more, namely that the spouses hardly know each other and have not engaged in any kind of relationship before they get married. Rather, marriage as an event, i.e. the wedding, marks the beginning of their relationship/journey.

MARRIAGE IS A COLLECTIVIST ISSUE.

Indian marriages are not only the business of only those directly involved in it, whether marriage is understood as the event or the relationship. The first indicator that many more people are involved into the match-making than just the partners is that several advertisements are inserted by the parents/families of those getting married (cf. Figure 5). Not only are parents/families consulted but they actively search a spouse in many instances. The frequent mentioning of COMMUNITY and LOCATION (cf. Figures 133–134) in general and the use of these lexical items especially for self-denotation (cf. Figures 7 and 11) show that self and partner do not act as individuals but as members and representatives of larger groups. This is also evident in their pointing very rarely to features characterising them as individuals, e.g. hobbies/interests or internal attributes. The features they use to describe self and partner hold for many people.

On a smaller scale, people are largely dependent on their families. In many advertisements the FAMILY BACKGROUND is mentioned (cf. Figures 60 and 108). On the one hand, people act as members of a group and present themselves as such. On the other, the mentioning of the precise number of family members probably points to dowry issues.

Furthermore, the mentioning of COMMUNITY and FAMILY BACKGROUND aims at pointing to one's status. This is also achieved by the presentation of factors such as EDUCATION, INCOME, POSSESSIONS, PROFESSION and STATUS. STATUS does not only enhance people's chances in the competition of finding a suitable partner; it also locates them and their families within society. The advertisement-like style of the data and the lack of individuality in form and content emphasise this point as well. However, as mentioned above, the Indian model is neither static nor monolithic. It is rather a dynamic bargaining between the old traditional ideas and the new Western ones which, of course, rather emphasise individualism. Thus, one can speak of two submodels – one based on collectivism, the other on individualism. These two submodels are also evident in the existing of different options of authorship. The advertisers seeking a partner themselves can be assumed to put more emphasis on their individualism. Directly linked to the collectivist

nature of marriage is the following proposition: PEOPLE ARE NOT VERY ACTIVE IN SEEK-ING A PARTNER. This can be seen as a sub-proposition causally linked to collectiveness. Even if the people who are to get married do not get 'matched' by their parents/families, they do not seem very active. The quest for a partner is more of an application process than a search for a person. In many instances the advertisements do not allow inferences as to who inserted them (cf. chapter 5.3 and Figure 5). Even if the seeker her-/himself is searching, the future partner and the self are not directly addressed by pronouns. The LEXICAL ITEM(S) EXPRESSING THE SEARCH (cf. Figure 121) and the REQUEST FOR CON-TACT (cf. Figure 123) do not show much activity either. Furthermore, the lack of display of emotions makes the quest seem very business-like.

MARRIAGE IS OBLIGATORY AND ENDURING.

The fact that the people about to marry are all very young (cf. Figure 129), that marriage can be tied among people unfamiliar to each other and that the advertisements are a mere rendering of information allows the inference that marriage is not something tied if a long-term relationship works well and a person finds his or her soulmate but that marriage is obligatory. That for Indians it is not voluntary to get married can also be seen in the lexical items used to express the search of a partner. They often use *require* and *need* (cf. Figure 121), which points to an urge. Divorce is not socially acceptable. Thus, marriage is expected to last.

LOVE IS NOT A PRECONDITION FOR MARRIAGE.

Since the facts mentioned in the advertisements are of a very material nature and do not point at any private things or emotional character traits, one can assume that emotions are not the basis of an arranged marriage, which is not to say that the partners matched by an advertisement do not eventually fall in love with each other.

A SPOUSE IS A FITTING PART.

This proposition which Quinn (1987) claims to be true for American marriage is also prevalent in Indian marriages. Whereas Quinn (1987) sees this metaphor as belonging to the proposition that marriage is beneficial (1987: 176), in the Indian model, the fitting-ness of the partner is so important that it should be considered a proposition of its own. While Quinn argues that in the American model, the benefits come from the partners fulfilling each other's emotional needs since the ideal of love is mapped onto marriage (Strauss/Quinn 1997: 67), this is not the case for the Indian model. The fittingness of the partners hails from external factors constrained by society. Their being beneficial to each other is only a consequence of their fitting by belonging to the same groups (e.g. profession, community, status). A marriage is beneficial since it enhances the spouses'

reputation in society – or rather, the spouses are not socially banned since they are not married. The obligatoriness of marriage has been elaborated on above. That the spouse should be a fitting part is also true for the British model. However, the notion of 'fitting' differs between different models. What all advertisers in both corpora agree on is simply that *any* partner is not suitable but that certain attributes make him/her 'fitting'. While in the Indian context, these attributes are often of a material nature, those in the British corpus rather show an emotional and internal character. This is especially evident in the frequent use of the lexical item *match* (cf. Figures 18 and 21). Spouses are carefully selected with the help of advertisements. In the Indian context, not only the partner must fit but also the two families must do so.

The mentioning of exclusions – especially relating to communities with low prestige – shows the parts that do *not* fit. The listing of demands what the future partner should be like, draws a precise picture of what the Indian advertisers mean by 'fitting'. The most important factors are: AGE (preferably young), APPEARANCE (preferably light skin and tall height), COMMUNITY, ECONOMIC STATUS, EDUCATION (preferably academic), FAMILY BACKGROUND, HOROSCOPE and INCOME (cf. Figure 134).

6.2 British

A British cultural model of marriage/relationships contains the following propositions:

MARRIAGE DEVELOPS FROM A RELATIONSHIP.

The fact that the British advertisements are *contact* advertisements and not *matrimonials* shows that the advertisers think that the decision to get married must develop. Relationships are conceptualised as a path on which marriage is one stage but not the beginning.

The common path is friendship, followed by a relationship which turns into a long-term relationship, and only then is marriage an option. This is shown by expressions such as *relationship, hoping for LTR*, *friendship leading to LTR* (cf. chapter 5.9.2.3) and so on. It can be observed in the semantic field PROCESS. Furthermore, RELATIONSHIPS ARE JOURNEYS, c.f. the lexical item *to embark on*, describes the beginning of a relationship. The frequent use of *hoping* shows that friendship developing into love is not taken for granted.

MARRIAGE IS AN INDIVIDUAL ISSUE, AND PEOPLE SEEK PARTNERS ACTIVELY.

In Britain, marriage is obviously much more individual than in India. All advertisers evidently write and insert the advertisements on their own. FAMILY BACKGROUND and COMMUNITY are hardly or not at all mentioned (cf. Figures 130 and 131), and in order to

denote themselves and their future partners people more often use a lexical item relating to their gender instead of one relating to their community (cf. Figures 15 and 16).

Furthermore, British advertisers often use pronouns to speak of themselves (cf. Figures 15 and 16) and their partners (cf. Figures 24 and 25). They also express the SEARCH, the RELATIONSHIP they aim at and the REQUEST FOR CONTACT more strongly (cf. Figures 137 and 138). The information they give about themselves and their partners points to individuality more strongly as well as that named in the Indian corpus (cf. Figures 130–133). Material factors play a much smaller role. In contrast, social factors and humour are very important for the British advertisers. They often mention internal attributes and hobbies/interests.

The fact that HOBBIES/INTERESTS (cf. Figure 77) and the LOCATION (cf. Figure 112) where the future partner should live are mentioned frequently leads to the assumption that the British advertisers do not want to change their lives completely and give up their personality when they commit themselves to a relationship. Rather, they want to share their lives with their partner – which is evident in the frequent use of lexical items from the semantic field SHARING (e.g. *to share live with; to share happy new horizons with*).

MARRIAGE IS VOLUNTARY AND RISKY.

On average, the British advertisers are much older than the Indian ones. This allows the inference that marriage is voluntary and need not be tied as soon as possible. Furthermore, the fact that a long-term relationship/marriage develops shows that marriage is only one possible ultimate aim but not the starting point of a life with a partner. People *hope* to find their partners/soulmates, which implies that everybody does not automatically find a partner who fits.

LOVE IS A PRECONDITION FOR MARRIAGE.

The British advertisements stress the emotional factor in relationships very much. This can be seen in metaphors such as *to pluck her heartstrings*, *spark*, *loving* and *cherish* (cf. chapter 5.9.2.3), whereas in India, spouses are most probably bound together emotionally as well after marriage, the British model sees love as a precondition for marriage. Furthermore, a marriage is only tied after the partners have tested their fitting together by living in an extended relationship before they get married.

MARRIAGE IS JOINT.

More than the Indian advertisers, the British ones state that a relationship is a union of two parts. This involves metaphors from the semantic field of sharing and expressions

such as *together* and *part of a couple*. Furthermore, all the listings of hobbies/interests and social activities imply that the partners want to spend time together and enjoy each others' presence. This is also evident in expressions such as *friendship leading to LTR*.

MARRIAGE IS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL.

The British cultural model sees a spouse/partner as a fitting part. Certain factors have to match. Unlike in the Indian corpus, these factors are much less material in nature. Rather, internal ones are more important, and only the two individuals must fit together, not necessarily their families. The fact that people frequently express that they *hope* for partners and sometimes call them *soulmates* (cf. Figures 24 and 25) shows that to them, any partner does not fit and that a mere matching of external factors does not guarantee that a love-based relationship evolves. By their fitting together, the marriage becomes emotionally beneficial for them.

MARRIAGE IS ENDURING.

In the British corpus, duration of relationships/marriages is expressed frequently, especially in the expressions *long term*, *forever* and *rest of our lives*. Furthermore, the metaphor RELATIONSHIP IS LIFE is evident in expressions such as *to share life*, *to tread life's path together*, *romantic life* and *spend my life* (cf. chapter 5.9.2.3). *Spending one's life* is also an example of the metaphor MARRIAGE IS AN INVESTMENT. One has to keep in mind that especially the enduringness of marriage is merely a proposition and an ideal rather than reality. Many British advertisers are divorced or elderly, which leads to the conclusion that they had lived in marriages/long term relationships before that did not last.

6.3 Differences

After gaining insight into the cultural models of marriage prevalent in India and Great Britain, a next step is to ask why the models are the way they are. Since the focus of the present thesis is on the linguistic aspects of cultural models – in what way the models become evident in actual language use –, no complete account of the respective cultures can be given. However, leaving things completely uncommented would not do justice to the work that has been done. Thus, the cultural background in which the respective models occur will be sketched briefly.

One major difference between India and Great Britain is the way in which the individual and the self are conceptualised. As has been pointed out in the literature from various academic fields, a paradigm prominent in the West is 'individualism', while in most Asian cultures, 'collectivism' or an 'interdependent' view is prevalent (Hof-

stede/Hofstede 2005: 74; Scollon/Scollon 2001: 144; Seymour 1999: 269; Markus/Kitayama 1991: 225).

In the latter paradigm, "people are [and see themselves as] connected to each other" (Scollon/Scollon 2001: 143). This leads to the fact that "any individual is acutely aware of his or her obligations and responsibilities to those who have come before as well as to those who come after" (2001: 143). This interconnectedness relates to groups such as families and communities. It is very evident in the Indian corpus: In almost none of the advertisements COMMUNITY or FAMILY BACKGROUND is omitted. Hofstede/Hofstede (2005: 90) point out that as a result of the importance of family "in a collectivist society, selection of marriage partners is a crucial event, not only for the partners but also for both their families". Thus, parents/families are often not merely marginally involved but they are the ones actively searching the partner and determining the criteria she/he has to fulfil. Since the "complex network of existing family relationships" (Dion/Dion 1993: 470) must not be disrupted, marriages are often arranged and can be seen as "a contract between families rather than between individuals" (Hofstede/Hofstede 2005: 91).

The fact that India is more collectivist than Great Britain also accounts for the difference in the conceptualisation of love (Dion/Dion 1988: 286) and the criteria that are important "for selecting a potential marriage partner […]. In collectivistic countries, men prefer future brides to be younger, and they put more stress on brides being wealthy, industrious and chaste" (Hofstede/Hofstede 2005: 90–91). This can be observed in the Indian corpus very well.

In a collectivist culture, "some emotions […] may be less prevalent" (Markus/Kitayama 1991: 225); individual character traits "are understood as situation specific, and thus as sometimes elusive and unreliable" (1991: 227). This is also very evident in the linguistic data. The Indian advertisements very rarely show internal features such as personal character traits and never point to emotions such as love of friendship but rather material factors. Furthermore, love does not seem to be an important premise for marriage, which has been shown in chapter 6.1 above. However, Indians do not consider this lack of love problematic. Rather, people are often satisfied with arranged marriages (Hofstede/Hofstede 2005: 91). Furthermore, "people are motivated to find a way to fit in with relevant others" (Markus/Kitayama 1991: 226) – exactly what they do with the matrimonials.

The independent paradigm, in contrast, focuses much more "on the internal attributes of the self" (1991: 226). This view sees "the individual as an independent, self-contained

autonomous entity" (1991: 224) and points to egalitarianism (Scollon/Scollon 2001: 144). This is very evident in the advertisements. The British advertisers point to internal characteristics such as emotional attributes and try to present themselves as individuals and as original as possible by writing the advertisements with creativity and pointing to humour. In individualist societies, the prevalent style of love/relationships is noncommital (Dion/Dion 1991: 17), and individuals are often "less positive in their attitude toward marriage and less opposed to divorce" (1991: 31), which is why the British advertisers do not look for *brides* and *grooms* and *early marriages* as in the Indian corpus but rather for a partner with whom a friendship is possible which might lead to a relationship followed by marriage. According to Quinn (Strauss/Quinn 1997: 67), the concept of love is mapped onto the idea of marriage in the Western ideal. Quinn claims

> that the ideals of marital sharedness, lastingness, and fulfilment form a complex schema rooted in the early experiences of contemporary US Americans. […] married love, and hence marriage as Americans know it, is a 'refinding'. […] The expectations Americans have that marriage is to be shared, lasting, and fulfilling match their understandings that people who love each other should be together, stay with each other always, and fill each other's needs. These ideas about love, in turn, revert to the infant's earliest anxieties about being one with the caretaker, not being abandoned and being cared for (1997: 190).

Unlike the Indian view, "[t]o US Americans", and probably to the British advertisers as well "love and marriage go together" (1997: 193), which is evident in the Western conceptualisation of A RELATIONSHIP AS A JOURNEY, of which marriage represents one stage but not the beginning.

Apart from the difference between collectivism and individualism, the special role of marriage, match-making and the text type of matrimonials in the Indian society have to be conscious of. Matrimonials in India are not a random form of advertisement, but rather expressions of a value system very different from the one known in the West. Indian culture considers marriage a sacred institution. Although India is very heterogeneous regarding religions and ethnicities, marriage plays a major role in all groups (Sharma 2005a: vi). In some Indian religions, e.g. Hinduism, this high evaluation of marriage means that unmarried people are considered lower in reputation and status (Kogata 2009: 23). Since marriage is important and family is of high relevance, marriage is not merely a relationship between "bride and groom but between their families as well" (Nanda 2000: 199). According to Pathak (2005: 3) "[t]he traditional concept of marriage held that marriage was not meant mainly for individual gratification or fulfillment of individual interests and aspirations but had a higher purpose in the society". Marriages are a "permanent union" (Pandey 2005: 7) and not just contracted out of a momentary emotion. Since the whole family is involved, most marriages are arranged to this very

day, even among the educated upper classes (Nanda 2000: 196/203). Some young people only accept this practice since it is the will of their parents. However, many of them actively prefer to have their marriage arranged as they consider themselves too inexperienced to take a decision as important as choosing their future partners themselves (2000: 197). In Western understanding, people are also aware that finding a suitable partner is difficult and that relationships are risky and not to be taken for granted, which was elaborated on above. However, they still consider it important to choose their partner themselves since he/she is to be the personal soulmate. Formerly, the searching in India was often done by a *pandit*, by parents or by other relatives (Kogata 2009: 23). Nowadays, the printing press and the internet have become a major source for matchmaking as well as "matrimonial agencies which have sprung everywhere" (2009: 23).

The search for a suitable match neither works randomly nor are emotions the leading factor. Instead, the future partner has to fulfil a list of criteria. According to Motwani (2005: 2), a bride should show a "fidelity that knows no change or shadow of turning, a courage that holds against all odds, a love that does not falter under any strain, a strength that never wavers, no matter how great the difficulty", while "the husband's duty is to give unfailing kindness, tenderness, power and protection, determination to guide, unfaltering trust and fidelity" (2005: 2). Apart from this rather romantic view, in real life "consanguinity, sibling position, horoscope matching" (Chandra 2007: 1) as well as socio-economic status and reputation (Nanda 2000: 198) are important. These features are very prominent in the Indian corpus. Marriages are arranged between partners of the "same caste and general social class" with only few exceptions (2000: 198). Thus, certain communities are often excluded, e.g. *except SC/ST*. In the recent past, a trend has developed to prefer a groom with a position in the government sector because this guarantees a regular income (Chandra 2007: 24). While in general the prerequisites for a future groom are mostly economic in nature, the demands for a bride are often higher and more rigorous since "she is being judged as a prospective daughter-in-law as much as a prospective bride" (Nanda 2000: 199). Her looks – evident in the high numbers of brides' APPEARANCE – as well as her character (2000: 199) – often called *homely* – are important, and in orthodox Muslim communities the prerequisites are even stricter as Sharif (2005: 182) explains:

> Special regard is paid to birth, position, and individual eligibility. Widows are to be avoided, and four points are to be sought: her stature should be less than that of her husband; she should be younger; possess less property; be inferior in rank and station. The best complexion is dark with black hair, indicating modesty and virtue.

The bride's situation after marriage is more difficult than the one of her husband since traditionally, she has to move in with her groom and his family, which in extreme cases

can lead to harassment and oppression by her family-in-law (Nanda 2000: 203). Dubois (2005: 14) sums up the negative preconditions for women:

> The opinion is firmly established throughout the whole of India, that women were only created for the propagation of the species, and to satisfy men's desires. All women therefore are obliged to marry, and marriages are carefully arranged before they arrive at a marriageable age.

However, scholars (e.g. Pathak 2005; Seymour 1999; Vreede-De Stuers 1969) point at a recent trend showing that the old static social structures are slowly beginning to soften. In the Indian corpus, the average age of brides and grooms is rather high, with most of them being in their mid-late twenties – an age at which long term relationships and marriages are often entered in the West as well. Especially in urban areas where literacy rates are high and people have access to mass media, society changes. In practice, this implies the emergence of an alternative to the existing kind of arranged marriage: The parents and family keep their important role by preselecting the partner, while bride- and groom-to-be are allowed to meet and take the final decision of whether the marriage will take place themselves (Pathak 2005: 3). Another option is that the brides and grooms themselves seek their partners, e.g. via an advertisement, with the criteria compiled by or together with their parents.

Matrimonials in newspapers play an important role in this process. They help to extend the range of possible partners, which was quite narrow in the traditional Indian society (Kaupp 1968: 18). However, their importance for the Indian society as a whole should not be overestimated since only a small part of India's population lives in urban centres and is literate and fluent enough in English to draft and read English advertisements (Kaupp 1968: 20).

7 Conclusion

As pointed out in the introduction, communication is the most 'obvious' function of language. The data dealt with in the present thesis were originally meant to fulfil exactly this task: to serve as a transmitter of information and thus, to create a personal contact between two people – the writer and the reader of the respective advertisement – willing to get married. However, there is much more to the language used in these text types than just the mere rendering of information. The analysis of *the way* and *the kind* of information that is given facilitates deep insights into what is behind these text types and what triggers the people to use their language the way they do.

Even small and at first sight 'unremarkable' text types like matrimonials are prone to the influence of cultural and social factors. Thus, the information given in the advertisements and the special language that is used in the text types teaches much about the cognitive role of language. Since the advertisements from the Indian corpus are all very much alike and the data from the British corpus all go into one direction while at the same time differing much from the Indian advertisements, the language use can be accounted for by the knowledge the people from these cultures share. The smaller units of this common cultural knowledge – the so-called cultural models – shape the way people conceptualise things and ideas and also the way they talk about it. This is especially valid when it comes to institutions and abstract ideas like marriage. The role marriage plays and the expectations people have towards it differ between different cultures and thus, people from these cultures talk about it in different ways.

Within cultural models, conceptual metaphors play an important role. The expectations and conceptualisations people have in mind are often expressed via metaphors. The question of whether the metaphors induce the models or vice versa is highly discussed in the academic literature (e.g. Lakoff 2006 and Kövecses 2006, Strauss/Quinn 1997, Gibbs 1994, Quinn 1991).

The two cultures examined in the present thesis are not only very different from each other but the very language they use is interesting. Both groups make use of the same language – English. However, while to the British, it is a native language, it is a (formerly) non-native variety to India.

Especially the investigation of the Indian data and the Indian cultural model of marriage was fruitful since it opened up insights about a New Variety of English – Indian English. The particular language use by the Indian informants has shown that English has been adapted to an Indian context to express its cultural knowledge. It has been nativised. At the same time, the use of the various Indian lexical items, the mixing of Indian

and English conventions and the peculiar use of English lexical items and syntax in the Indian context raise questions about the role of English in India in general and especially in the process of match-making. In particular, it illustrates that there are no clear-cut answers to questions like whether English should be ranked as foreign or native, what kind of standard should be applied and how 'Indian English' can be seen in this context. What the present thesis is able to show is that English as a formerly foreign language to India now works perfectly well for conveying highly culture-specific contents. By making use of the lexical resources of Indian English and implementing them into the peculiar text type of matrimonials, Indians show what nativised English in India is like. The study showed that matrimonials are an excellent basis for a linguistic analysis and that English is not only used for administrative and impersonal purposes but has been embedded into Indian culture and is used by individuals from different backgrounds.

As Quinn's model showed, this analysis and the cultural models that emerged as a result display the expectations people have towards marriage and relationship a priori, i.e. the ideas people have about marriage in theory before the marriage is tied. While in short, in India, 'hard' facts are important, the British cultural model shows the importance of emotional and 'inner' factors in the establishment of a personal contact and a marriage. The propositions involved in the two cultural models mirror the society's characteristics well. In India, this is the importance of the family, passivity/lack of individuality, strict and obligatory societal rules and the absence and the pettiness of emotions. In the British cultural model, it became evident that individuality, individual pursuit of happiness and the individual right to do what one wants and carrying the risks of it are important values and thus, factors in the cultural model. Since these propositions mirror the characteristics of the whole culture, they will probably be found in many other cultural models as well and are not restricted to the sphere of relationships and marriages.

Thus, further research can complete the complex picture of the two societies and can further contribute to the extension of the academic field of cognitive sociolinguistics and its blending with the study of World Englishes.

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Appendix

The Indian Corpus

The following list gives an overview of where the Indian advertisements were drawn from.

The Times of India

All advertisements were drawn from the epaper of 09 May, 2010.

The Statesman

'Brides Wanted':
- from the online edition accessed on 26 April 2010: 1–11
- from the online edition accessed on 19 May 2010: 12–28 (except 24)
- from the online edition o accessed on 14 June 2010: 29–39
- from the online edition accessed on 30 June 2010: 40–62 (except 41/42/44/50/56)
- from the online edition accessed on 28 July 2010: 64–74
- from the online edition accessed on 15 August 2010: 24/41/42/44/50/56/63/75

'Grooms Wanted':
- from the online edition accessed on 26 April 2010: 1–8
- from the online edition accessed on 19 May 2010: 9–21
- from the online edition accessed on 14 June 2010: 22–25
- from the online edition accessed on 30 June 2010: 36–62 (expect 37/49/50)
- from the online edition accessed on 28 July 2010: 63–74
- from the online edition accessed on 15 August 2010: 37/49/50/75

The Hindu

All advertisements were drawn from the online edition accessed on 26 April 2010.

The Milli Gazette

'Brides Wanted':
- from the epaper of 1–15 April 2010: 1-9 (except 3)
- from the epaper of 16–31 March 2010: 10-19 (except 13/14)
- from the epaper of 1–15 March 2010: 3/ 20-23
- from the epaper of 16–28 February 2010: 25-32 (except 30)
- from the epaper of 1–15 February 2010: 33-45 (except 39/43)
- from the epaper of 16–31 January 2010: 46-70 (except 47/54/63/65/67)
- from the epaper of 1–15 January 2010: 14/24/30/39/43/73–75
- from the epaper of 16–31 December 2009: 13/47/54/63/65/67/71/72

'Grooms Wanted':
- from the epaper of 1–15 April 2010: 1–10
- from the epaper of 16–31 March 2010: 11–18 (except 12/16)
- from the epaper of 1–15 March 2010: 19–25
- from the epaper of 16–28 February 2010: 26–35 (except 29)
- from the epaper of 1–15 February 2010: 40–67 (except 51/59/60/66)
- from the epaper of 16–31 January 2010: 12/29/36/37/38/39/51/59/60/68–75 (except 70/72/74)
- from the epaper of 1–15 January 2010: 16/66/70/72/74

TOIBW1

SM for Aggarwal H'some Boy 27.10.75(9:55pm) Delhi/5'4" wrkg MNC GGN. Well Edu wrkg Girl. Call: ███████
E: ███████████████

TOIBW2

SM 4 H'some Engr. MBA 28 / 5'7" Wrkg MNC Mumbai Fther Exe Dir. MNC Sts F'mly.
████████████████████
██████████

TOIBW3

PQM slim b'ful girl for h'some Jain boy May75 180/ 25LPA/MBA wrkg in MNC in Delhi. Caste no bar. # █████
███████ E: █████████

TOIBW4

MATCH for Gaur Brahmin 34/5'8" h'some Non Mnglk boy Charted Accountant in Delhi seeks B'ful Qlfd girl Cont: ████████ ████████

TOIBW5

TALL, fair & beautiful bride for divorced army officer 37.
Send bio-data with pics at ████████████████

TOIBW6

PQM working girl for Sanadya Brahmin H'some boy from Reptd. family of Lucknow MBA working MNC Noida 29/5'7"/ Madhya Nadi . Mob: ██████████, █████████ E. Mail- ████████

TOIBW7

SM4 Bank Officer Widower 53/5'4" Two sons Bank Asstt & Engenering student.Caste No bar.Mob: ██████████ Write Box.No ██████████ Times of India,████

TOIBW8

LOOKING for fair,Smart,Extremely beautiful well educated Gaur/Sandilya Brahmin Girl from Status family for Tall Handsome Gaur Brahmin Boy 28/5'11"MBA(IILM)Topper well placed in Top MNC in Delhi belonging to a prominent landlord/business famly.████████
███████████████

TOIBW9

SM4 smart, slim, fair Brahmin boy 31/5'8" Prof qlfd (M.Tech) working as Sr. Scientist in ISRO, from well settled UP family. Ph: ████████
████████ ████████

TOIBW10

SOUTH Delhi based well settled Kumauni Brahmin family seeks homely match for professional Boy 34 yrs 5'8"+5 L wkng for National Co. in Delhi. Send BP to ████████████████

TOIBW11

MAITHIL Brahmin 32/5'11" MCA S/W Engr wrkg at Noida, E: ████████
████████
████████

TOIBW12

SM4 32/6'1" Scientist in MNC seeks b'ful pref employed send details at Box.No ███████ Times of India, ███████

TOIBW13

WANTED Bengali Brahmin b'ful, fair, slim homly girl for 28/5'7"/LT. Gd. Govt. Teacher h'some boy. Contact: ███████

TOIBW14

SUITABLE match for KKB boy,jan'77/5'5",MBBS,pursuing DNB(opth).contact : ███████,email: ███████

TOIBW15

B'FUL tall, prof qlfd, wkg girl 4 Rajasthan based Sanadhya Brahmin boy CA/30/5'8"/11Lpa wkg MNC Gurgaon#███████ BHP E:███████

TOIBW16

BRAHMIN boy 27/5'5"/8Lpa, B.Tech (Elec. & Tele.), S/W Engr, wkg in B'lore, lkng 4 a b'ful, edu girl. Contact @ ███████ E:███████

TOIBW17

SM4 Garhwali Rajput boy 72 5'7" Dip. Engg. with MNC Gurgaon 7lpa seeks Gar.Raj. b'ful smart PQ girl.M: ███████

TOIBW18

ALLIANCE Invited For H'some well Edu. Pb Khatri boy 76 born/5'7" Wrkg Abroad in research field Caste no Bar Ph:███████

TOIBW19

27/5'10" BCA MBA UP Khatri Boy Wkg MNC Lko, Well Edu. Family seeks Qlfd Wkg Girl. M:███████ Eml:███████

TOIBW20

SM4 Kumaoni Raj. Boy 31yr/5'8" BE working Central PSU. Email at: ███████ Mobile:███████

TOIBW21

SM 4 Kurmi Patel boy Sept. 80/5'9" Fair smart h'some B.Tech MBA U.K. working in U.K. on 2 Yrs work Permit. Good Package. #███████

TOIBW22

SM for Bengali Kayastha (Mazumdar) 39 /5'7.5" / Net select Govt. Lecturer in Raj. Early marriage Email: ███████

TOIBW23

SM for Manglik Sriv. 27/5'7" MBA MNC Settled in Delhi Seeks Prof. Qlfd Wrkg girl Mob:███████ Email: ███████

TOIBW24

H'SOME Sri Boy 29/5'9" 14LPA wrkg with Rptd Law Firm Delhi seeks B'ful Prof Girl. No Dowry. #███████ E:███████

TOIBW25

SRIVASTAVA 29/5'6"/BE 4.5 Lac / MNC Gurgaon seek Fair Prof. Qlfd. B'ful Slim Girl. Contact: Mobile: ███████

227

TOIBW26

SM for boy 28/5'4" /4LPA fair complex Wkg in MNC as R.M.. Seeks Prof. Qulfd. girl family main consideration Caste no bar Cont: ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW27

FAIR Prof qlfd girl for H'some Sriv. B.E MBA 31/6'/6Lpa Wkg. with Tata concern, Mumbai. Send BHP. (M)▮▮▮▮ email ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW28

SRIV boy 81/5'10" 16 Lpa IIT, IIM wrkg in MNC Delhi seeks beautiful very fair tall slim prof. Qlfd. girl Mob: ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW29

SRIV boy B.Pharma, MBA 28/5'5" 6 Lpa., MNC Delhi. Seeks b'ful, gori prof. qlfd. wkg girl. Cont: ▮▮▮▮ , ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW30

82 Born 5'11"/Sri./Engg Boy ITMNC, Posted at London Req. Qualified wkg Kay-Girl Mob: ▮▮▮▮ Mail BHP at ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW31

SAXENA H'some boy Team Leader in reputed IT Co. 28/5'11"/29Lpa seeks B'ful, Tall P.Q. Kayastha girl. Contact: ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW32

SRIV boy 28/5'9" wkg Merchant Navy seeks b'ful slim prof qlfd working girl. Ph-▮▮▮▮ E-Mail: ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW33

SM 4 Gurgaon based h'some boy Oct'85/ 6', B.Tech (CSE) wkg in MNC seeks PQ tall girl Email: ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW34

SM4 Jatav B.Tech boy 30/5'10" working MNC Gurgaon seeks professional qualified. Girl prefer working. M : ▮▮▮▮ Email : ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW35

QM4 Well Settled H'Some Boy 27/169 B.E, M.B.A. WKG in Rep . IT MNC, Pune. Caste No Bar. ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW36

SM-FOR Handsome Oswal 31/5'8" Issueless Divorcee, Working in MNC, Pune. Contact :-▮▮▮▮ or Send Email : ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW37

JAIN Family in Canada seeking a beautiful, educated Jain match with good family values for a 26/5"6 CA Boy who is Non-Manglik. email:▮▮▮▮

TOIBW38

SM4 Br. Banerji Norgan boy MBA wkg in MNC,Bnglor Aug 81/ 5'7" seeks b'ful v.fair girl job pref Bnglor. ▮▮▮▮

TOIBW39

SM4 Delhi based qlfd Mukherjee boy 31/5'10" Sr. Visualizer working in advt. comp. #▮▮▮▮ or E:▮▮▮▮

TOIBW40

SM 4 Punjabi Khatri Boy 29/5'10"/3 LPA Handsome, smart Executive in Telecom Co. Decent and Status family. Ph. ▇

TOIBW41

PUNJABI Anshik Manglik h'some boy 26/5'9" CA)17LPA Contact tall slim b'ful only teachr/lecturer prof qlf wkg girl. # ▇

TOIBW42

SM4 PB Boy 27/5'10" B.Tech MBA CHD Wkg MNC. Send BHP. Email: ▇ Caste No Bar.

TOIBW43

SM for Non Manglik smart Govt employee 23/09/77, 7:15 am Delhi 5'5" 31000 pm Delhi based Contact: ▇ ,

TOIBW44

HIGH Status Punjabi Khatri Business Family is seeking a Suitable Match/Homely Girl for their Son, 6'.2"/85, Caste no bar. Contact: ▇

TOIBW45

M4 Punjabi Boy 14-10-82/ 5'9" /MBA Engg. wkg. Gurgaon MNC reqd. MBA, Engg. Prof wkg.b'ful girl # ▇ Em: ▇

TOIBW46

PQ Wrkg girl 4 Manglik boy BE(Comp) 28/5'-9" wrkg in MNC Gurgoan. ▇ No Dowry, Send BHP to ▇

TOIBW47

MD/MS match for MD(SR) Non-Manglik Swarnkar boy age 29 Caste no bar Email: ▇ Phone: ▇

TOIBW48

MEDICO Tall B'ful Jat Girl for 25/6' h'some Jat boy Pursuing MS (Gen. Surgery) 2nd year. Ph:-▇ Em: ▇

TOIBW49

SM4 Smart Educated Intelligent 35 / 5ft 6ins MBA Pune Hindu Software Pro Issueless Divorcee. Caste No Bar. Mail: ▇

TOIBW50

SM for MBA-IIM, MS-USA software professional working USA likely 2 relocate to India. 31, 165 very fair, UP Khatri. ▇ Caste No Bar.

TOIBW51

PQ sm4 Vaish boy 30/5'8" wkng in leading Hindi News channel as Correspondent Caste no bar. # ▇ Em: ▇

TOIBW52

SM4 Rajput Manglik Boy B.Tech. MBA Working MNC 28/5'8"/6.5 Lpa # ▇ seeks B'ful, Educated girl. Mail: ▇

TOIBW53

EDU. Prof. Match 4 Delhi Based Dhobi boy B.Arch (SPA) 31/170 Sr. Architect MNC 8 LPA + Perks, status family, Caste no bar. Call ▇ Email: ▇

TOIBW54

SM4 Jatav H'some Boy BE, (CS) 37/169/12Lpa wkg MNC Noida seeks Qlfd, b'ful Girl Engr. Lect. pref. ████████ ████████

TOIBW55

32/5'6" B.Com Single person working with MNC UP Divorce seeks fair Qualified working girl Caste No bar ████████

TOIBW56

SM 4 27/5'11"/B.Tech (IIT), MBA (IIM) boy. Working investment bank.15LPA. BHP to ████████ # ████████

TOIBW57

SM for Goyal 26/5'4" wheatish 10+2 boy own business own house preference educated homely girl. Contact: ████████

TOIBW58

SM for Singhal 28/5'9" well Settled Business / Reputed Family in Faridabad. Mob.: ████████ Em: ████████

TOIBW59

SM for h'some Garg boy MBA 78'born/5'8"having well Setld good income B'ness based in Delhi.# ████████

TOIBW60

H'SOME Goyal Boy 24/5'8" BE (E.C.) Wrkg in reputed Ltd Co. at A'bad. M: ████████ Email: ████████

TOIBW61

SM for NM Grad. Bansal Boy 29/ 6ft/ 3.5LPA working MNC Gurgaon. Pref Homely Girl Call: ████████ BHP: ████████

TOIBW62

SM for Boy 29/Mglk/Fair/-5'7"/6LPA/MNC Well Settled Family in Delhi. Seeks Edu. Homely Girl. Prefer Delhi/-NCR. Phone:-████████

TOIBW63

SM 4 28/5'10"/MBA boy. 15LPA. BHP to ████████ # ████████

TOIBW64

SM4 Rajput Boy 29/5'7" MBA wkg HDFC Bank B'lore Seeks b'ful wrk girl Pref MBA Caste no bar M: ████████ HP E: ████████

TOIBW65

RAJPUT boy 29/5'8" IIT+ IIM wkg S/o Sr Mgt PSU seeks b'ful prof qlfd girl. Mob: ████████ Email id : ████████

TOIBW66

WELL stld h'some Rajput boy 30/5'10" MS Engr US seeks prof qlfd, fair, b'ful bride stld or willing to settle in US, Caste no bar. # ████████ ████████

TOIBW67

SM4 h'some Mglk Rjpt. boy 27/ 5'5" MA, B.Ed wkg Cntrl Govt Fmly stld in Delhi seeks Qlfd b'ful girl. # ████████ E: ████████

TOIBW68

WANTED B'ful, unmarried, Highly Educated, Working / Studying Girl in USA / Europe. For Unmarried, H'some, Clean Shaven, Ph.D, 37 / 5'5", Sikh Boy. Contact: ███
Email: ███

TOIBW69

PQM 4 Never Married Manglik MBA(UK) 39/5'6"/6 Fig. Wkg. MNC Kuwait Early Marriage ███

TOIBW70

MUMBAI, Tamil RC, 5.5"/37 bachelor with sober habits, Manager, seeks suitable bride, caste no bar. Call: ███
Email: ███

TOIBW71

SUNNI MNC Engr boy fair 23/5'10" MNC Delhi based Status family. Seeks b'ful fair English speaking cultrd girl from status family ███

TOIBW72

SM 4 H'some fair Ansari Boy 28/5'10" wkg with Real Estate as Astt. Mgr. seeks B'ful q'lfd wkg. girl # ███
Em: ███

TOIBW73

SUNNI Syed Fair Handsome Boy 30/5'10" M.Com / B.Ed. well settled seeks Eng. Med. Edu. Beautiful Fair Syed Match following Quran and Sunnah Mob: ███

TOIBW74

BE-MBA, Jat Sikh, Clean Shaven. Oct 82, Height: 5'7.5. Working in MNC Bank -9 LPA. Army Officer's son. Email: ███

TOIBW75

SM4 MBBS MD(Skin), 30/172 H'some, Smart boy, reputed Gupta Fmly of Lucknow Caste No Bar. M: ███
E: ███

The Times of India GW 1–75

TOIGW1

V'FAIR beautiful slim B.Tech(CS) 26/5'1" wrkng IT Noida seeks h'some prof. qlfd boy. BHP to E: ███ (Photo Must).

TOIGW2

PQM 4 Fair, B'ful Agg. Girl, 35/165 cm, MBA, M.Tech Working Delhi. Caste no bar. Highly Educated Family Email: ███

TOIGW3

PQM4 Mittal, Fair girl, M'lik 26,5'.2" S/W. TCS, MUM. Contact: ███ Email: ███

TOIGW4

SM for Govt. Job, MA, MBA, B'ful Slim Smart Gr. Br. Antya Mglk Girl '79/5'3"/6Lpa.# ███ Em: ███

TOIGW5

SM4 Gaur Br. b'ful, slim, fair MBA 79'July/5'4" wkg in MNC, Delhi, seeks well qlfd, settled match from decent family. Contact –█████

TOIGW6

BR, Tall, fair, V. B'ful, 32/166/ IFS girl seek IAS/ Allied/well settled teetotaler boy. #█████ Send BHP-█████

TOIGW7

SM4 28/170 B'ful homely girl MS(IT) from USA wkg. in US on H1 visa in top company. #█████ Em:█████

TOIGW8

MUM. based 25Yrs 5'7" Fair Brahmin Girl BE wrkg MNC Seek BE/MBA/MTech Boy. Contact:█████ Email id: █████

TOIGW9

SM for Gaur Brahmin beautiful fair M.A. B.Ed wkg girl DOB 1980/152cms Send BHP to Email: █████

TOIGW10

SM for b'ful fair slim 25/5'3" Br. Manglik Adi Girl Infosys Engr. Highly Edu. family. Contact #█████ Em:█████

TOIGW11

V.BFUL smart convt. edu. Brm cultrd fmly Army Ofr 32"/ 160 Planning Civil job. Email:█████ M:█████

TOIGW12

PQM 4 GB Veg Girl 83 Born/5'2" MS (US) working as Senior Lecturer (Pvt. Inst.) Delhi #█████ Em:█████

TOIGW13

GOUR Brahmin 32/5'0" fair MBA wrkg as Sr Associate @ Noida 4-5Lpa req prof qlfd well settled Brahmin groom. e-mail:█████

TOIGW14

PQM for MCA/Wkg UP Khatri girl 14.12.79/12:07AM, Meerut. Contact█████ caste no bar.E:up

TOIGW15

PQM 4 27/5'2"/MBA girl. Wrkng MNC 5.5LPA.BHP to █████ #█████

TOIGW16

SM4 Kumaoni Raj girl 25/5' working 5 Star Delhi B.Sc Hotel Management. Email at: █████ Contact:

TOIGW17

BHADAURIA Girl 27/5'4" B.Sc., MA, B.Ed, Govt. TGT V. Fair, Govt. Employee pref. at █████ Mb█████

TOIGW18

HIGHLY cltd fmly seeks MBA/MS/MD/IIT/CA for Fair,B'ful Convent Edt Btech&MBA 27/160 daughter Wrg MNC mail BHP to █████ (caste no bar)

TOIGW19
SM4 Manglik Smart Executive MNC Mumbai Born Oct.80 13LPA Respected family.
Mob: ███████ E: ███████

TOIGW20
SM4 beautiful fair Mathur girl Feb'84/5'4" MBA working in MNC Email: ███████ Mobile: ███████

TOIGW21
SRIV Non Manglik, 28/165 B'ful, Slim, Hghly Qlfd Exec. Foreign Bank. Email BHP at: ███████
M: ███████ Caste No Bar

TOIGW22
PQM4 Sax 27/5'2", BTech, MBA ISRO Scientist. Parents Proff. Prefd Govt/PSU/MNC Cl-I boy. Cont: ███████
Em: ███████

TOIGW23
SM4 Wheatish 27/5' pursuing MBA, working as H.R. Lucknow. Em: ███████
Contact: ███████

TOIGW24
SM4 cultured mglk wheatish girl BE,ME/May78/155 SW Engr,10 LPA Top MNC B'lore # ███████

TOIGW25
SAXENA girl 28 Grad/ Dip. S/w Engr Wkg 1.62LPA Delhi Pref. Kayastha, Shakya.
Cont:- ███████
E: ███████

TOIGW26
SM 4 Vishwakarma working Girl 1982, 5'1" M.A. Lucknow based Delhi settled seeks status family Delhi. Vishwkarma ███████

TOIGW27
SM4 Yadav Fair, MBA 5+Lac 26/157"Assistant Manager in Nationalised Bank. Status Family. Mob: ███████
Eml: ███████

TOIGW28
M 4 MCA 28/5'1" slim b'ful fair Jatav girl wking pvt firm pref prof qlfd. Caste no bar. Early mrg. Cont: ███████
Em: ███████

TOIGW29
SM4 b'ful/slim/homely/fair 25/5'5" M.A. (Eng) pers. MBA Vaish girl Em: ███████ Box. ███████

TOIGW30
SM for 79/5'-7" Slim, Smart attractive, convent educated jewellery designer from a reputed Jain family. Send BHP to ███████

TOIGW31
PQM 4 B'ful slim homely I'less Widow Bengali Brh girl 42/ 5'3"/MA status family # ███████
Email: ███████

TOIGW32
SM for Br Girl V.Fair B'ful 34/5'1" Convented BA B.Ed Eng Teacher Seeks well Qlfd. Estd. boy.
Ph: ███████

233

TOIGW33

SM4 G.Noida based Retd. Defence Offr's Daughter 27/5'10" wrkg in MNC. Caste no bar.
M: █████████
Em: █████████

TOIGW34

KAY 4/74, 160cm BA Dip of 3 Subjects, Fair, Good looking Delhi boy pref. Caste no bar.
Box █████████

TOIGW35

REPUTED PB B'ness Fmly seeks Well Settled PQ/B'ness Match for MBA Girl. 26/5'1" Astt. Manager IDBI 6LPA.
Contact: █████████

TOIGW36

HIGH Status Punjabi Business Fly seeking match for their daughter from similar status. 5`4"/ 86/ fair/ MBA. █████████

TOIGW37

MATCH for Pretty Arora Sikh Girl from well established business family. 24, 5'-5", convent educated. Email: █████████

TOIGW38

SM4 beautiful NM very fair 5'5"/ 7.12.82/02.05 AM/Jaipur Punjabi Arora MBA girl wkng pvt. Bank 4.50 LPA █████████

TOIGW39

SM4 fair b'ful Punjabi girl wkg Bank 27/5' MSc(IT) Preference cast Punjabi service class. Em: █████████

TOIGW40

B`FUL, tall, slim, fair, girl 29/5'6"/B.E./Sr Engr with IT giant.Seek tall PB Engr Boys pref settled Mum/Pune
Email: █████████

TOIGW41

MBA 5'4"/14.10.83/12.15am Delhi MNC 4.5LPA. Service boy preferred Ph:- 9811751234
Email:- █████████

TOIGW42

SM4 smart fair attractive Sindhi girl 26/5'3" Comp Engr working in MNC at Mumbai. Send BHP Contact Email: █████████

TOIGW43

PQM for tall slim pretty doctor Rajput girl 83/5'5" doing MD in Dermatology. Send Biodata at first instance. █████████

TOIGW44

ALLIANCE Invited from MD/MS CA/B.Tech for saini Girl 5'2" 80 born doing PG Radiotherapy Caste No Bar █████████

TOIGW45

SM 4 fair slim Arora girl 26/165 pursuing MDS (Endo). Cont:09896300766;09896433421
Em: █████████

TOIGW46

SM for Manglik fair, good Looking Oct.80/ 157cm girl Sr. Manager MNC Ggn
Mobile No: █████████
E: █████████

TOIGW47

PQM for Oct 78 born 5'4" fair UP Rajput girl Nvr. Married, BE wrkng IT co. Mum. Fathr retd Navy Offcr settld Mum.Caste no bar Email:

TOIGW48

SM4 US based issueless divorcee Konkani girl, 33/165/ wheatish / PhD. Caste no bar. Contact with photo on email:

TOIGW49

UNMRD fair 37+ yrs/5' 3.5", wrkg, lkng for well edu good fmly bckgrnd well estd groom Caste no bar. Eml:

TOIGW50

SM for good looking, smart fair, educated (Post Graduate DU)working Delhite girl 25/157cm. Caste no bar.

TOIGW51

SM4 Slim, Charming, Kayastha girl B.E., MBA 5'1"/29/ 14LPA, working MNC Noida. Caste no bar. # Eml:

TOIGW52

SUITABLE Match for Fair Beautiful, Punjabi Brahmin Girl Manglik 30/162, Graduate Placement Consultant. Caste no Bar. Ph:

TOIGW53

MATCH For Slim & B'ful Addharmi girl 1984/5'6" Consultant, B-Tech, MBA (FMS) working in MNC #

TOIGW54

CHAMAR Dec'75/5'1" Ph.D, MA Edu, slim, B'ful, fair girl seeks Qlfd. working boy. # Em-

TOIGW55

SM for Beautiful manglik Chamar well educated girl 25/5'3" B.com/MBA wkg in MNC Ggn seeks well match decent family #

TOIGW56

PQM For Gupta Girl 29 Years Issueless Divorced 5'2" Fair MCA working caste no bar

service class prefd

TOIGW57

SM4 Gupta v.b'ful/i'less Widow 31/5'4" M.Phil Ph.D Lecturer (ready ti relocate) status family E:

TOIGW58

PQM For Slim, Fair Agarwal Girl 28/153/MBA from Business/Service Back round family. Send BHP to Email:

TOIGW59

PQM 4 MBA Garg girl 27/5'3" MNC Banglore 7.00 LPA. Contact

TOIGW60

SUITABLE match for slim fair Goyal girl 26/5'4" MA. Early decent marriage. Em:

Box

TOIGW61

SM4 Agarwal Girl Issueless Divorcee 28/5'3" MBA M.Phill A & O Level Computer Course pursuing Ph.D working as Lecturer. Phone: ██████

TOIGW62

PQM for Agarwal Nvr Married, Oct 77 /5'5" V.Fair, B'Ful, MBA-HR wrkg MNC Pune frm Rsptd Business fmly of Pune. BHP : ██████

TOIGW63

PQM for Fair, Slim N/M Agarwal Girl 25/5'5" B.Tech. working in MNC. Email: . ██████ Mobile: ██████

TOIGW64

SM 4 Jat b'ful wkg girl 8/81, 5'5", B.Lib MBA FIN. & HR., father Cl-I Off. rptd. status fmly. , M: ██████ E: ██████

TOIGW65

SM for beautiful slim fair Rajput girl 27/5'6" PG in Rural Development. Email: ██████ Ph: ██████

TOIGW66

SM for very fair b'ful girl 06.03.82/5'4"/4am Allahabad B.Tech in Computer Sc. Lecturer in Engineering college pursuing M.Tech. ██████

TOIGW67

SM4 fair Bful 26/5'6" BE S/w Engr R'put wkg MNC, Pune, sal 5 lacs+ send BHP ██████

TOIGW68

SM for Tall B'ful Fair Rajput Girl 15.3.81 (2:25AM Delhi)/ 5'9"/B.Pharma, M.Pharma Lecturer in College. Ph ██████ BHP Eml: ██████

TOIGW69

NRI Punjabi match (asia) for b`ful, fair complexion, non-mglk NRI girl 30 / 5`5". Tel : ██████ Email: ██████

TOIGW70

HINDU Nai B'ful Fair Slim girl 28/ 5'6" Grad. wrkg as Pvt. Teacher Father in Ministry of Health Seek a Well Stld boy Ph:- ██████

TOIGW71

SM for sunni 34/5.4 tall fair good looking working girl seeks alliance.Send details ██████

TOIGW72

SM 4 religious Khan girl b'ful 25/5'3" MSc in Bio Tech + B.Ed (Pursuing) Father AE in Delhi Jal Board # ██████ Email: ██████

TOIGW73

SM4 Sunni Muslim B'ful, fair, smart, Namazi grl 26/5'1" BSc & PG Dip. Clinical Pathology.# ██████ Caste no bar.E: ██████

TOIGW74

KHAN 32 year 5'3" Post Graduate Slim Fair B'ful Girl seeks well Qualified & settled match. Mob: ██████ Eml: ██████

TOIGW75

FAIR Qlfd Gurusikh Punjabi Khatri Wrkg Girl 35,5'5" req prof. qlfd frm decent Pnjbi fly ████████████████

The Statesman **BW 1–75**

SBW1 E.B. BAISHYASAHA, BE, PGDM (MBA), 30+ / 5'-7", Alimman, service Imperial Auto Industries (Faridabad), salary Rs. 25,000, parents present, only child; Brides required within 24 yrs. MA / M.Sc. / MBA / M.Com. / B.Sc.(H), service holder preferred. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW2 E.B. KAYASTHA, 26 / 5'-6", Saukalin, handsome, BE 1st Class 1st, Gold Medallist, working in Cognigent Technology Solution as Software Engg., Rs. 40,000, parents present. Kayastha brides required within 24 yrs. Graduate / Honours preferable, within Kolkata. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW3 E.B. KAYASTHA, 30+ /5'-6", Kashyap, Diploma in Mechanical Engineering, ERP professional, working in Merino Service Ltd., Rs. 4 lakh (P.A.), mother present, handsome. Fair, beautiful, Brahmin / Baidya / Kayastha within 26 yrs. brides required. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW4 W.B. BRAHMIN, 32+ / 5'-11", BE (Mechanical Engg.), Sr. Engg., working in a reputed firm in Chennai, high income, fair, handsome, established, Bharadwaj, own house, parents present, divorcee. Brahmin brides required within 30 years, homely, min. Graduate, willing to go Chennai, divorcee or unmarried. Ph.: ████████████████ Contact immediately. █████████

SBW5 W.B. BRAHMIN, 36+ / 5'-4", B.Sc., DCA Computer, Govt. employee, Rs. 25,000, fair, handsome, Bharadwaj, own house, well-to-do, father rtd. C.G. employee. Brahmin brides required within 24 yrs., homely, Adebari, Graduate, well behaved. Ph.: ██████ (after 8 p.m.). ██████

SBW6 W.B. BRAHMIN, 43/5'-6", BA (Pass), Physiotherapist (from Alternative Medicine), professional Astrologer, interested in sports, ex-National Champ in Body Building, Rs. 15,000+, wheatish complexion, handsome, Bharadwaj, own house, well to do, established, has one 14 yrs. old daughter with divorcee mother, within 29-33 yrs., unmarried, without child, divorcee, atheist, kind-hearted, min. H.S., Brahmin brides wanted. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW7 W.B. GANDHABANIK, 21 / 5'-2", BA 2nd year, Computer Diploma, wheatish complexion, Modhgulya, father working, one brother, one sister, own house, well to do, established, educated brides required within 25-26 yrs., both EB / WB. Ph.: ██████████, except SC / ST. ██████

SBW8 W.B. MAHISHYA, 31 / 5'-8", B.Com. (H), CA, working in LIC, Rs. 20,000, knows motor driving, Guitar, Mouth Organ, drawing, fair, handsome, own house, well-to-do, only child, parents present, father rtd. A.D.G. of D.O.-I/BSNL; Mahishya, homely, fair, beautiful within 28 yrs. brides required. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW9 W.B. SUBARNABANIK, 25 / 5'-4", B.Com. (H), Diploma in Computer packages, fair, handsome, Shandilyo, father rtd. Govt. employee, two sisters, one married, own house, well to do, within 28-30 yrs., Kolkata or nearby, Govt., Pvt., established Kayastha, Subarnabanik brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW10 W.B. TANTUBAYA, 28+ / 5'-6", BE (Mechanical) from Shibpur BE College, working in MNC (Project Division), Rs. 37,000, Aryarishi Gotra, father rtd., own house, well-to-do, handsome, only child. Only Tantubaya, min. Honours Graduate within 23 –-24 yrs. brides required. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW11 W.B. UGRAKHATRIYA, B.Com., working in Rahee Industries Limited (Bhilai), Rs. 1,87,500 (P.A.), 33 yrs., 5'-9", Bharadwaj, parents present, handsome. Brides required within 24 yrs. HS/Graduate, homely or service holder. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW12 ALLIANCE invited for a Bengali Hindu Brahmin boy, extremely fair, unmarried, master (Bengal Engineering College, Shibpur), MBA (USA), working as Senior Manager at Google in USA, age: 40, height: 5'-7". Looking for unmarried Brahmin girl. Phone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ (USA ISD Code:1), ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ (India). Write with biodata and photo to E-mail: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW13 E.B., B.SC., established business, Rs. 20,000, Aliman, 35 / 5'-8", parents deceased only child, own house, handsome, (within 28 yrs.), small family own house min. H.S. or graduate both EB / WB brides wnated. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Caste no bar. ▮▮▮▮

SBW14 E.B., BRAHMIN, 29 / 5'-9", B.Com., MBA, FCA (Computer), own business, Director, Rs. 1(L) p.m., fair, handsome, father businessman, 3 sisters married, 1 brother, own house, well to do, Kashyap (within 25 yrs.), good looking, fair, homely, minimum Graduate, 5'-3", East Bengal, Brahmin bride wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW15 E.B., GANDHABANIK, 34 / 5'-3½", B.Com. (H), Govt. Service, Rs. 18,000, posting in Balurghat, fair, handsome, urabrishi, father retired govt. employee (Pest Control), 1 sister married, 1 brother, wanted bride (within 24 – 26 yrs.), homely, fair, beautiful, Graduate, except SC / ST, West Bengal, 1 brother or 1 sister (must). Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW16 E.B., KAYASTHA, 32 / 5'-4", Madhyamik, Arts & Handcraft, working in First Flight Courier, parents deceased, handsome, good income, bride required within 25 yrs., homely or service holder, Kayastha, Brahmin, Baidya. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ (groom willing to stay in brides house). ▮▮▮▮▮

SBW17 E.B., KAYASTHA, B.Tech. (Electrical) A.B.B. Ltd., Manager, posting in Bangalore, Rs. 35,000, 29 / 5'-10", parents present, own house at Baidyabati, Aliman, good looking, Brahmin, Kayastha, Graduate, non-service holder, E.B., fair, educated, homely bride within 24 yrs. for educated handsome groom. ███████

SBW18 E.B., KAYASTHA, Class X, own CA firm, Rs. 7,500, 25 / 5'-6", parents present, own house, handsome, Saupayan, homely, fair, good-looking (18 – 20 yrs.), brides wanted. Ph.: ██████ both EB / WB, caste no bar. ██████

SBW19 E.B., MAHISHYA, 28+ / 5'-7", BE (Computers), working in MNC at Salt Lake, Rs. 27,000, modhgolya, fair, handsome, father Doctor (private practitioner), 1 sister student, parents present own house, well to do. (Bride within 25 yrs.) minimum Graduate, homely / working, cultured family, W.B. Mahishya wanted. Ph.: ██████

SBW20 E.B., MAHISHYA, 35 / 5'-8", B.Sc. BHMS, proficient in personal computer, medical practitioner, Rs. 9,000, Ulbaria practitioner, Modhgulya, 2 brothers, 1 sister, own house, well-to-do, parents deceased, wanted bride (within 27 yrs.), minimum Graduate, fair, beautiful, from the cultured family, no demand. Contact immediately. Ph.: ██████

SBW21 E.B., TANTUBAYA, 26+ / 5'-3", B.Tech (Mechanical), Govt. Service, working in Bharat Heavy Electronics Ltd., Rs. 30,000, Shandilya, father retired service holder, only child, own house, well to do, wanted (within 21 yrs.) fair, beautiful, homely, educated, caste no bar, West Bengal bride. Ph.: ██████

SBW22 NRI BENGALI Kayastha from educated family, 29/5-6", working in Canada, 2 yrs. Post-graduate Diploma in Management (Finance & Marketing), seeks suitable bride willing to settled in Canada. Box ██████

SBW23 W.B. SADGOPE, B.Sc., MBA, Dip. in Electronic and Telecom Service & Business, Rs. 20,000, 30 / 5'-10", Parashwar, own house, parents present, educated, handsome, min. Graduate within 26 yrs., smart, good-looking, fair, nuclear family preferred, brides wanted. Ph.: ██████

SBW24 E.B., BAISYA Saha, M.Com., PGDBM, interested in Photography, and Tabla, working in HDFC Bank as an Asst. Manager, parents present, own house, smart, handsome, 30 yrs. / 6', established. Within 27 yrs., slim, caring, should respect family, working / homely, beautiful, minimum Hons. Graduate, both EB / WB brides wanted. Contact immediately, early marriage. Ph.: ██████ Caste no bar. ██████

SBW25 W.B., BARUJIBI, 35 / 5'-6", B.Com. (pass) wheatish complexion handsome, working in Pvt. firm, Rs. 10,000+, Aliman, father working in high post, parents present, 3 brothers, 2 married & working, bride (within 30-32 yrs.) 60th EB / WB within HS or graduate, fair except SC / ST wanted. Ph.: ██████

SBW26 W.B., KARMAKAR, education DOC in Management, Prof. & Director in MBA Deptt. in J.U., Rs. 50,000, 44 / 5'-6", mother present, own house, handsome, eduated, very pretty, fair, hindi spealing any professional bride (Doctor, Engineer, Teacher) within 38 yrs. brides wanted. Ph.: ███████ Caste no bar. ██████

SBW27 W.B., TILI, 28 / 5'-7", M.Sc. in Physics, MBA in marketing 'A' topper throughout the academic career, working in UBI as Asst. Manager, Rs. 25,000, Shandilyo, father working, parents present, own house well to do. Min. honours graduate, dev / devarigon (except SC / ST) bride wanted. Caste no bar. Ph.: ████████

SBW28 WB BRAHMIN, Bengali, only son, M.Tech., GATE, pursuing Ph.D., 6', 38 yrs., Mechanical Engineering Professor in Delhi, own house Kolkata and Burdwan, mutual divorced, never stay together. Educated, very fair, 29 – 34 yrs. bride desirable. ████████████

SBW29 BRAHMIN, well placed in abroad and come from a very high family and B.Tech., M.Tech., handsome, fair boy, 27 years looking for beautiful girl from good family. Ph.: ███████ Contact: 7 to 9 a.m. & 8 to 10 p.m. ██████

SBW30 E.B. KAYASTHA, B.Sc., B.C.A., M.B.A., service in MNC, posting – U.S.A., Rs. 75,000+, 32 yrs./5'-11", Batsya Gotra, parents present, own house, handsome, smart & well-established. Within 27 yrs., W.B. / E.B., professional qualified, fair, slim, middle class family brides wanted. Ph.: ████████ Caste no bar. ██████

SBW31 E.B. KAYASTHA, divorcee, B.Com., Computer Diploma, interested in cultural activities, Govt. service, Rs. 10,000+, 38 yrs./5'-8½", Krishnatreya Gotra, parents present, own house, smart, handsome. Brides wanted both E.B. / W.B., within 31 yrs., minimum Graduate, honest, good family background, no dowry required, financial position does not matter. Ph.: ███████ (after 8 p.m.). Caste no bar. █████

SBW32 E.B. KAYASTHA, Sinha, Graduation (incomplete), interest in photography, travelling, music, own established business, salary Rs. 8 (L) p.a., 32+ yrs./5'-10", divorcee, handsome, established. Both E.B. / W.B., within 28 yrs., homely, H.S. passed or above, good family background brides wanted. Ph.: ████████████████. Caste no bar. ██████

SBW33 E.B. SADGOPE, B.Sc., A.D.C.A. in Computer, MNC (Orissa), Rs. 20,000, 37 yrs./5'-4", own house, father present, handsome, established. Within 32 yrs., homely / service holder, educated brides wanted. Ph.: ██████████

SBW34 M.TECH., 42 yrs., Andhrite, 5'-7", forward caste from long well-established industrial family of Hyderabad, seeks alliance, Graduate, fair, slim, girl up to 34 yrs. Please forward full details along with photo, birth date, time, place for Kundli matching. Ph.: ████████████ E-mail: █████████████

SBW35 GROOM EB Basu, 39, 5'-8", Central Govt. Officer (Rs. 38,000 p.m.), own house in South Kolkata. Ph.: ██████████

SBW36 MARWARI, Dugar, fair, handsome, smart, educated, B.Com., knows computer, established businessman, high income, 28 yrs./5'-6", cloth merchant. Within 25 yrs., familier, homely, Agarwal / Maheshwari / Oswal brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW37 W.B. BRAHMIN, 29+/5'-8", BE (Mechanical Engg.), interested in Art-Handcraft, Painting, working as Sr. Consultant in CAP Gemini, Rs. 83,000, fair, handsome, Kashyap, own house, well-to-do, parents present, father Engr., 2 sisters, 2 brothers, one married, Engr. Within 37, fair, pretty, M.Tech. / BE / MBBS / equivalent, both EB / WB brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Caste no bar. ▮▮▮▮

SBW38 W.B. BRAHMIN, 32+/5'-11", First Class BE (Mechanical Engg.), painting, photography, travelling, working in Technip India Ltd. (Chennai), Rs. 70,000, fair, handsome, Bharadwaj, father retired Manager, own house, well-to-do, one sister married, one brother, divorcee. Within 30 yrs., homely, well-to-do, educated, willing to go to Chennai with husband, good family background, Brahmin brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW39 W.B. BRAHMIN, 38/5'-11", Madhyamik, established, businessman, Rs. 25,000, Bharadwaj, mother present, one brother, one sister, own house, well-to-do. Within 32 yrs., fair, W.B. Brahmin, pretty, homely brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮

SBW40 31, 5'-4", South Indian boy, medium-complexion, MBA, working in Leather Industry, wants Graduate, homely, beautiful, working bride from reputed family. Caste no bar. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW41 E.B., KAYASTHA, M.Tech. (Computer Science), interested in photography, games, software engg., working in Cognizant Tech. Solution, high income, 30+ yrs. / 5'-5", smart, handsome, mother present, only child. Within 25 yrs. both EB / WB, extremely beautiful, fair, slim, minimum Graduate, homely, liberal minded brides wanted. Interested in early marriage. Contact immediately, Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Caste no bar. ▮▮▮

SBW42 SADGOPE, Ghosh, Modhgulyo Gothra, handsome, W.B., H.S. pass, own jewellery shop, high income, own house. Within 30 yrs., homely, W.B. except E.B. brides wanted, demandless, contact immediately, early marriage. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮ Caste no bar. ▮▮▮

SBW43 E.B. KAYASTHA, Paul, Graduate (B.Sc.), knows computer typing, service in KMC, salary Rs.14,500+, 33 yrs. / 5'-7", handsome, parents present, own house, only child; within 28 yrs, E.B., fair complexion, Graduate, good-looking, Kayastha brides wanted. Ph. ▮▮▮▮▮▮ Totally demand less. ▮▮▮▮

SBW44 W.B., BRAHMIN, 32+ yrs. / 5'-7", B.Com., Hotel Mgt., Catering Technology and Nutrition, Computer knowledge of 5 States, fair, handsome, working in Pearl Residence (Dubai) as Manager, Rs. 72,000 p.m., Bharadwaj, father retired WBCS Officer, one sister (College Lecturer), one brother, parents present, own house, well-to-do. Within 26 – 27 yrs. Graduate / professional qualification, pretty, cultured family, Brahmin brides wanted. Ph.: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

SBW45 SHUNNI Muslim, 29 / 5'-10", fair, handsome, B.Com., well-established, businessman (Rs. 20,000), Mutual divorcee, demandless. Within 25 yrs., any low middle class family, any qualification, very fair, beautiful, unmarried brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW46 W.B., BRAHMIN, 28 yrs. / 5'-11", B.Tech., MBA, fair, handsome, established, businessman, Rs. 20,000, Bharadwaj Gothra, parents present, father's own business, only child. Within 24 yrs., W.B., fair, pretty, within 5'-3" – 5'-5", minimum Graduate, Kolkata or nearby Brahmin brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW47 W.B., MAHISHYA, 29+/5'-4", B.Sc. Pure Science, Mechanical Engg. (AMIE), wheatish complexion, handsome, working in Ichapur Ordnance Factory (C.G.), own house, parents present, father retired, 2 brothers, working in C.G. (Airforce), married. Within 20 – 25 yrs., 5'-2", W.B., Kayastha, Mahishya, fair, pretty brides wanted. Should have brothers / sister. Ph.:

SBW48 W.B., MUKHERJEE, (35), (5'-10"), Xaverian, B.Com. (Hons.), Pvt. Co., Rs. 10,000 p.m., only child, own house, south Kolkata, seeks W.B. Bengali Brahmin bride (working).

SBW49 W.B., SUBARNABANIK, 28 yrs. / 5'-5", wheatish complexion, handsome, H.S., well-established, businessman (Rs. 20,000), no demand, own house and flat, brothers (one married), parents present, father businessman, small family. Within 27 yrs., only W.B., homely, brides required. Ph.:   Immediately contact, early marriage. Caste no bar.

SBW50 W.B., KAYASTHA, Diploma in Electrical Engg., interested in Art & Music, Govt. Service (Power Grid Corp. of India Ltd.), high income, 41 yrs. / 5'-4", mother present, own house, fair, smart, slim, established. Within 35 yrs. both EB / WB, fair, good-looking, slim, minimum Graduate, with good family background, should not be more than 5'-2" brides wanted. Contact immediately, Ph.:   (after 6 p.m.). Caste no bar.

SBW51 WELL-TO-DO family, Brahmin, Post-Graduate, Doctor, high income, 29 yrs. / 5'-9½", convent educated, fair, beautiful, educated, Brahmin brides wanted. Bride should have passport. Groom has seasonal skin problem. Interested persons contact   (8 p.m. – 11 p.m.).

SBW52 35, 5'-7½", BRAHMIN Bharadwaj, O+, Government service, seeks bride from reputed business family, only child, willing to stay at brides home. Caste no bar. Ph.:

SBW53 CHAKRABORTY, 30 / 5'-11", BE (Mech.) distribution MBA (International Business) from IIFT (Indian Institute of Foreign Trade) Delhi, Sr. Consultant, MNC, Rs. 50,000, fair, handsome, bathshob, father ex-group A Officer of Indian Railway, one sister, own house, well to do, parents present, cultured, educated family, within 27 yrs., fair, Engg. / Ph.D. / permanent Lecturer (except Bengali and Sanskrit), convent educated, well to do, established, cultural family, Brahmin, both EB / WB brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW54 E.B., BRAHMIN, 28 years / 5'-10", B.Tech. (Software Engg.), working in a renowned company in Pune, Rs. 39,000, fair, handsome, Shandilya, father retired IT Inspector, only child, parents present, own house, well to do, within 20-24 yrs. without spects., fair, pretty, Brahmin, both E.B. / W.B. brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW55 W.B., BRAHMIN, 29 years / 5'-9", B.Com., M.B.A., FCA (Computer), interested in cricket, own established business in Howrah, high income, handsome, fair, father businessman, own house, well to do, 3-sister, one married, one brother, within 25 yrs., fair, pretty, minimum Graduate, homely, Brahmin, W.B., brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW56 W.B., MAHISYA, 34 yrs. / 5'-11", CA, working in Common Wealth Bank in Australia, Rs. 1,50,000 p.m., Shandilya, fair, handsome, father businessman, own house, well-to-do, two brothers (one married). Within 30 yrs., W.B., except SC / ST, Graduate, convent-educated, service holder / homely, within Kolkata, Hotel Management brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW57 E.B., RUDRAJ Brahmin, Bachelor of Engineering, working in IBM (Rajarhat), 6 (L) p.a., 30 yrs. / 5'-7", Shib Gotra, parents present, own house, handsome, smart, established within 25 yrs., respectable family, fair, smart, beautiful, well educated, sober, homely or service holder allowed. Ph.:

SBW58 E.B., NAPIT, B.Com. (back), established businessman, 35 yrs., 5'-8", Kashyap Gotra, parents present, own house, handsome, established within 28 yrs., minimum H.S. / Graduate, homely, brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW59 TILI, E.B., 33 years / 5'-1", B.Sc., special BA in English, knows tabla, computer, working in Co-Op. Bank (Balurghat), Rs. 15,000 (W.B. Govt.), fair, handsome, Modhgulya Gotra, father W.B. Govt. serviceholder, parents present, own house, well to do, two brothers, one student, within 22-26 years, fair, Graduate, homely, tili, 24-Pgs.(N), Howrah / Hooghly brides wanted. Ph.:

SBW60 W.B., PAUNDRA Kshatriya, 30 yrs. / 5'-6", B.Sc. (Physics Hons.), C.U., B.Tech. (Instrumentation & Electronics Engg.), fair, handsome, EPC company manager, 7.75 (L) p.a., mother present, father was businessman, own house, two brothers, one married, one sister, school teacher, within 27 yrs., Science / Eng. (H) / MBA, pretty, 5'-1" - 5'-4", both EB / WB brides wanted except IT service. Ph.: (9 p.m. - 10 p.m.). Caste no bar. Contact immediately.

SBW61 W.B., SADGOPE, B.Sc., DME, AMIE (Mechanical), Diploma in Computer, own established business, Rs. 25,000, 38 years, 5'-10", Kashyap Gotra, divorcee, handsome, smart, own house, parents present, within 28 years, both EB / WB, fair, Madhyamik / above education, respectable family, unmarried bride wanted. Ph.: ███████ ████████

SBW62 W.B., TILI, 27 years / 6', B.Com., Computer trainer, working in Tata Capital Ltd., Rs. 10,000+, other benefit, fair, handsome, Nandi Rishi, father Rtd. Bank Mgr., two brothers, one married, parents present, own house, well to do, within 24 yrs., except SC / ST, working, teacher / equivalent, both WB / EB brides wanted. Ph.: ████████ ████████

SBW63 DEY, HANDSOME, smart, intelligent, B.Sc., MBA in Human Resources, working in Jata Teleservice as Manager, Rs. 35,000 p.m., own house in Kolkata. W.B. Ghosh / Bose / Guha, cultured family, Kayastha, beautiful, service holder / homely, within 26 yrs. brides wanted. Interested in early marriage. Contact Ph.: ████ ████████

SBW64 E.B., BARUJIBI, 45 / 5'-5", MBBS, MD (GNO.), Obstetrics, Sonologist, established, good income, Modhgulyo, handsome, fair, three sisters (married), two brothers (married), widower, a son (13), studing in the Heritage. Within 30 - 37 yrs. caring, intelligent, soft-hearted, educated brides wanted. Homely brides (1st prefs.). Ph.: ████████ (8 p.m. – 10 p.m.) ████████ ██████

SBW65 E.B., BRAHMIN, 34 yrs. / 5'-8", MBA, working in Pune as Regional Manager in Medicare TPA, Rs. 6,00,000 p.a., fair, handsome, Rathitara, father retired C.G., parents present, own house, well-to-do, one sister (married), two brothers (one married). Within 27 - 30 yrs. M.A. / M.Sc. / M.Com. / MG+ / BBA / MBA, Service holder / interested in service, Brahmin / Kayastha / Baidya brides wanted. Ph.: ████████ ████████ (after 3 p.m.). ██████

SBW66 HANDSOME Punjabi (Mother Bengali), Manglik, B.Tech. (IIT) 27 / 6' boy, seeks beautiful, tall, fair, professionally qualified girl, caste no bar, parents in Jaipur. Contact: ████████████████████

SBW67 UGRA Kshatriya, Dutta, W.B., handsome, M.A. (English), B.Ed., loves music, mutual divorcee, no liability, 31 yrs. / 5'-8", own house, school teacher, monthly income Rs. 25,000. Maximum 28 yrs. presentable, medium height, fair complexion, minimum Graduate, divorcee or unmarried brides wanted. Ph.: ████████ ████████

SBW68 W.B. JADAV, Diploma in Mechanical Engineering, interested in sports, working in Toster Wheeler (I) Pvt. Ltd., Salary: Rs. 40,000, 32 yrs. / 5'-9½, own house, parents present, smart, handsome, goodlooking. Within 29 yrs. fair, soft spoken, educated and without proudness, working, small family, good looking, adjustable, School Teacher Preff. brides wanted. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████ ████████

SBW69 W.B. KAYASTHA, 27+ / 5'-10", handsome, B.E., working in Chennai, parents settled in Kolkata, seeks professionally qualified, good-looking, fair, working bride (preferably at Chennai) below 25 yrs. Contact No.: ███████, E-mail: ███████████████████████████

SBW70 W.B. SHATCHASHI, H.S. Pass, working in Central Govt., high income, parents present, 32 yrs. / 5'-6", own house, smart established. Within 27 yrs., minimum HS Pass / Graduate, homely / service holder brides wanted. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW71 W.B., BRAHMIN, 38+ / 5'-4", B.Sc., Multimedia (Brainware), preparing for CA (Exam.), working in Ambuja Cement, Rs. 11,000, fair, handsome, Baradwaj, parents deceased, one sister (married). Within 27 - 30 yrs. Graduate, fair, small family, both EB / WB, Brahmin brides wanted. Ph.: ██████████████████████

SBW72 E.B., KAYASTHA, B.Com., own established business, high income, 42 yrs. / 5'-6", own house, mother present, smart, established. Within 35 yrs., minimum H.S. Pass, Graduate, homely brides wanted. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████████

SBW73 W.B., MAHISHYA, 28 / 5'-9", B.Com (H), wheatish complexion, smart, only child, own house, working in Tata Capital, Rs. 10,000+, parents present. Minimum Graduate, homely, beautiful brides wanted. Ph.: ████████ Caste no bar. Demandless. ██████

SBW74 W.B., TANTUBAYA, 41+ / 5'-11", BV A (Bachelor of Visual Arts), R.B.U., 5 yrs. course, Artist, own Art School, Shandilya, mother presents, father businessman (deceased), two brothers (one married). Within 35 yrs., except SC / ST, school teacher / service holder, fair, beautiful, issueless / divorcee / ummarried brides wanted. Ph.: ████████████████████

SBW75 E.B., KAYASTHA, B.Sc. (STAT), MBA / PGDM, working in Hindware (Gurgaon), high income, parents present, only child, 29 yrs. / 6', own house, smart, handsome, established. Within 25 yrs., good complexion, good health, minimum Graduate, brides wanted, early marriage. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████████

The Statesman GW 1–75

SGW1 E.B. BAISHYA SAHA, H.S. Pass, NIIT Career, Edge, Programming, Graphic Designing, 3D Max, 26+ yrs. / 5'-4", fair, beautiful, Alimman, parents present, own house, educated, established, Govt. service or any type of service (Bank, Engg.), within 35 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: █████████████████████

SGW2 E.B. BRAHMIN, 26+ / 5'-2", B.Sc. (H) Economics (Axis Bank Service), Posting in Mumbai, Rs. 25,000, fair, pretty Kashyap, father Govt. Employee, own house, well-to-do, one brother, one sister, within 32 yrs. Brahmin, Baidya, Kayastha, Engg. MBA, equal status officer, C.G. officer grooms required, Mumbai preff. Ph: ████████████████████

SGW3 E.B. BRAHMIN, 31/5', B.Sc. (H) Economics, Govt. service, Rs. 17,000, service in higher post, posting is Kolkata, fair, pretty, Shandilyo, father rtd. Govt. employee, parents present, own house, well-to-do, only child, cullured family established educated grooms wanted divorcee or unmarried within 36-37 yrs. Brahmin, Kayastha, Baidya, well behaved HS (Teacher), Lecturer. Ph:

SGW4 E.B. BRAHMIN, 37/5'-4", M. A. in Journalism (C.U.), recitation (M.A.), casual announcer at all India Radio, father rtd. Govt. service, two sister, one married divorced within two months, educated, established grooms required divorcee or unnarried, within 42-45 yrs. Kayastha, Brahmin, Baidya. Ph:

SGW5 E.B. BRAHMIN, M.Com., B.Ed. school teacher (convent), 26+ / 5'-5½", Krishnatreya, fair, pretty, father rtd., parents present, own house, well-to-do, two sisters, one married, within 33 yrs., Doctor, Engg., IT Sector or equivalent grooms required. Ph.:

SGW6 E.B., BAISHYA SAHA, B.Sc., BCA, MCA, knows dancing, table tennis, 33+ / 5'-5", fair, beautiful, well-behaved, Alimman, parents present, well-educated, established min. Honours Graduate, min height 5'-5". No matter if divorced or widower (having issue) within 38 – 40 yrs. of age. Ph.:

SGW7 W.B. SATHCHASI, M.Sc., Primary Teacher's training, M.B.A., Service Techno-India (Teacher), Rs. 12,000, age 28+ / 5'-2", Kashyap, beautiful, teacher, well-behaved, parens present, only child, school teacher, Engg., Doc., CA or equivalent within 36 yrs. grooms required. Ph.:

SGW8 WANTED established qualified and cultured groom (48 – 50) for Bengali Christian spinister, fair, good-looking, MA, B.Ed., working bride, caste no bar. Ph.: (6 p.m. – 10-30 p.m.).

SGW9 B.TECH., MBA, Sr. Exec., MNC, Bengali Kayastha, 34/5'-4", slim, pretty; seeks Mangalik groom. M.:

SGW10 E.B. BAIDYA, Divorcee, B.A., 45 yrs., 5'-5", parents deceased, own house, beautiful, educated, well behaved, service in Central Govt., Rs. 32,000, within 53 yrs. divorcee, Govt. Service, Teacher, Bank, MNC, Engg, tall, widower grooms required. Ph. 9 p.m. – 11p.m.

SGW11 E.B. KAYASTHA, BA (Diploma in Computer Science), Fine Arts 7th year, mother present, own house, 32 / 5'-4", Otriyo, beautiful, wheatish complexion. Established Kayastha grooms required within 40 yrs., service holder, Govt. / MNC, both EB / WB. Ph.:

SGW12 E.B., TILI, 25/5'-5", MA, teacher training, knows computer basic, knows music, Aliman, father businessman, own house, only child, educated, established service holder or businessman grooms required, within 32 yrs., both EB/WB, within India or NRI. Contact immediately. Ph.:

SGW13 SAHA, WB, 31 / 5'-7", LL.B., LL.M., WBCS(J), Civil Judge (Jr. Divn.), beautiful, homely. Father retired from MNC. Both WB / EB, Hindu groom, educated, handsome, well-settled, belonging from cultured family required. (M): ▓▓▓▓▓▓ E-mail: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW14 W.B. KAYASTHA, B.A. 36/5'-0", mother present, own house, homely, beautiful. Established businessman or service holder grooms required within 42 yrs. (willing to stay in bride's residence). Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW15 W.B. KAYASTHA, B.A. studing M.A. (1st yr.), Diploma in Computer, 24 yrs. / 5'-11", parents present, own house, Aliman, beautiful, fair, educated grooms required within 31 yrs. both EB/WB, Service Holder, Govt. MNC, Reputed Firms. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW16 W.B. KAYASTHA, M.Sc., 1st Class, Sevice ISO Certification Body, Rs. 15,000, 29 / 4'-10", parents present, own house, Soukalin, beautiful, teacher, fair, well-established, W.B. grooms required within 34 yrs., Kayastha, handsome fair, Doctor, Engg., CA, M.Tech., B.Tech., Govt. Officer. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓ ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW17 W.B. SUBARNABANIK, 30/5'-1", BA. completed, computer certificate course from St. Xavier's, very fair, parents present, father businessman, one brother student, one sister. Educated, established both EB/WB grooms required within 34 yrs. high-income, own house. Ph. ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW18 W.B. SUBARNABANIK, 31/5'-2", H.S., fair, pretty, Shandilya, father businessman, mother present, one brother, one sister, brother businessman, own house. W.B. or within India, established businessman or service holder within 39 - 40 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW19 W.B., TILI, 24+ / 5'-4", MBBS (now Internee), fair, chandrarishi, father (Doctor), parents present, only child, well-to-do, well-established grooms required within 28 - 30 yrs. P.G. Dr. / pursuing P.G. Dr. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓. Except SC / ST. ▓▓▓

SGW20 W.B., TILI, 26 + / 5'-2", MA (Beng.), B.Ed., fair, pretty, Kashyap, father rtd. service holder, own house, well-to-do, two sisters. Within 32 yrs. min., mainly W.B., P.G. School teacher, Proff., Govt., established service holder / MNC grooms required. Except SC / ST. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW21 W.B., TILI, 34/5'-1", B.Sc. (Pass), completed diploma course, pursuing MCA, teaching in H.Sc. School, Rs. 6,000, pretty, Shandilya, wheatish complexion, father S.G. Rtd. employee, own house, one brother, one sister. Qualified Graduate service holder or businessman, both EB/WB grooms wanted, within 38 - 39 yrs. Ph.: ▓▓▓▓ ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ Except SC/ST. ▓▓▓▓

SGW22 27 YEARS, 5'-3", slim, fair, working in private sector, East Bengal, Mahishya, B.Tech., Naragon, wants suitable match. Contact: ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ ▓▓▓▓▓▓

SGW23 AGARWAL Girl, P.G., homely, smart, slim, 5'-4", convent-educated, required good-looking, Agarwal, IAS, IPS. Please write with biodata. Box █████████████████████

SGW24 E.B. JADAV, Ghosh, beautiful, M.Sc. (Bot.), working in the White Lotus Hospital (Kolkata), Rs. 6,000, 26+ yrs. / 5'-6", Alimman, own house, parents present, only child; grooms wanted, educated, established within 33 yrs., Govt. service holder / Pvt. / MNC / B.Tech. / M.Tech. / good family background both EB / WB. Ph.: ██████████ Caste no bar. ██████

SGW25 E.B. KAYASTHA, B.A., Education Honours, Pre-teachers training, software, MS-Office, DTP, FA, 30 yrs. / 5'-2", Saukalin, parents present, only child, beautiful, homely, established & educated within 36 yrs. both EB / WB or Non-Bengali grooms required. Ph.: ████████████████████ Caste no bar. ████████

SGW26 E.B. KAYASTHA, beautiful, B.A. (Hindi), ITI Electronics, Batik, Butik trained, working in a private concern, Rs. 5,000, 33 yrs. / 5'-4", Modgulya, father present, own house, educated, established businessman both EB / WB within 40 yrs. Kolkata or nearby grooms required. Ph.: ████████████ Caste no bar. ██████

SGW27 KAYASTHA, beautiful, divorcee, M.A., B.Ed., working as a Teacher in a reputed school in Kolkata, 32 yrs. / 5'-1", fair, Parashar, parents present, own house, well-establihsed qualified both EB / WB within 38 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ██████████ Caste no bar. ████████

SGW28 E.B. MAHISHYA, 25 / 5'-2", B.Sc. (Math. / Electronic / Phy.) MCA (H), working in IT Sector, one sister, own house, well to do, MBA / IT Engg. or equivalent both EB / WB within India within 28 – 29 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ██████████ Except SC / ST. ████████

SGW29 E.B. MALO, 30 / 5'-1", M.Sc. (Geography), C.U. SLET, NET qualified, working permanently as Lecturer, Rs. 28,000, fair, pretty, Gautam, own house, parents present, father Railway employee, two brothers, Dr. / Teacher, one sister, both EB / WB Dr. / Engg. / Bank Officer / S.G. / C.G. / or equivalent within 35 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ███████████████ Caste no bar. ████████

SGW30 E.B. POUNDRA, 27 / 5'-1", B.Tech. (Infotech), pursuing MBA from EIILM, music lover, fair, pretty, Kashyap, father rtd. Sub-Divisional Engg. (BSNL) E.B. own house, only child, established MBBS Doctor / ITT Engg. / MBA (IIM) or equivalent, both EB / WB, good hearted grooms required, contact immediately. Ph.: ██████████ █████████████████

SGW31 GROOM wanted Sunni Muslim Doctor, MD, MS, working in India or abroad, max. age 31 yrs. must be from cultured family, bride fair, very nice, good-looking, MBBS from Vinayaka Mission Medical College, Pondicherry, 26 yrs. / 5'-2". Contact very soon. Ph.: █████████████████

SGW32 MAHISHYA, 27 / 5'-4", B.Tech. (Electronic Instrumentation on Central System), own business, fair, pretty, Modhgulya, father businessman, two sisters, one married, one brother Doctor; grooms required BE / MBA / M.Tech. / B.Tech. / Bank Officer, well settled Rs. 5 (L) or above within 30 – 32 yrs. Ph.: ███████ Except SC / ST. ██████

SGW33 W.B. BAISHYA, Tili, beautiful, B.A., Computer, 28 yrs. / 5'-6", service in News Channel, TV Reporter, Rs. 2,500, own house, parents present, Kashyap, homely, established grooms required within Kolkata service holder within 36 yrs. both EB / WB. Ph.: ████████████████. Caste no bar. ██████

SGW34 W.B. MAHISHYA, 25+ / 5'-2", M.Tech. (Electronics) embedded system Lecturer Engg. College, Rs. 24,000, wheatish complexion, pretty, Modhgulya, father Madhyamik School Teacher, parents present, one brother, businessman, married, one sister, Dr. / Engg. / Prof. or equivalent within 31 yrs. Mahishya grooms required. ████████████████████

SGW35 W.B. MAHISHYA, 26+ / Rs. 22,000, M.A., M.Phil. (Education) Teacher in H.S. School, Rs. 22,000, fair, pretty, Kashyap, father consulting engg., parents present, one brother, one sister, own house, well-established, educated Govt. service, Bank Officer / Engg. / Doc. / Prof. within 34 yrs. grooms wanted within Howrah-Kharagpur. Ph.: ████████████████ Except SC / ST.

SGW36 35 YEARS, 5'-3", Graduate, knowledge in 'A' Level, slim, wants Brahmin, Baidya, Kayastha groom preferably service holder or businessman. Contact: ████████ ████████████

SGW37 B98564EB, KAYASTHA, Graduate (Mass Communication), knows Computer, 22 yrs. / 5'-3", working in Sector V, high income, parents present, own house, beautiful, educated, established. Within 29 yrs., both EB / WB, Kayastha, Engg. / Govt. Service, established, educated grooms wanted. Ph.: ████████████████

SGW38 E.B. BAISHYASAHA, M.Sc (Chemistry), convent educated, working in SBI, Rs. 24,000, 28/4'-11", parents present, own house, smart, beautiful, established grooms required within 36 yrs. PSU officer / C.G. officer / Professor / Doctor / Engr. or equivalent. Ph: ████████████████ Caste no bar. Mangalik are also preferred. ████████

SGW39 E.B. BRAHMIN 27 / 5'-5", Diploma in Bharat Natyam from Chennai, wheatish complexion, teacher, Rs. 20,000, posting in Noida, Bharadwaj, mother present, four sisters three married. Alliance invited from aristocrat family within 35 yrs. resident of Delhi or Kolkata, Engr or equiva-lent except businessman, brahmin / kayastha. Ph: ████████████████

SGW40 E.B. BRAHMIN, 25 / 5', MA (final year), knows computer, fair, pretty, kashyap, father was a teacher, mother present well to do, own house, one sister, one brother working. Established, educated within 32 yrs., service holder grooms required, except businessman and naragon. Ph.: ████████████████

SGW41 E.B. KAYASTHA, B.Com. with Accounts Hons., knows Computer, Tally & Stitching, does tuition, 31 + / 5'-0", parents present, own house, beautiful educated. Grooms required within 38 yrs., W.B. or outside, Govt. Service / Private / Bank / Established businessman, income not less than Rs. 3 (L) PA. Ph.: ███████
███████████████

SGW42 E.B., BAIDYA, B.Com., Dip. in Computer Application, working as Teacher in a Pvt. School, Rs. 40,000, 32+ / 4'-10", parents present, own house, only child, beautiful. Grooms required within 40 years, living in W.B. or Residence in Kolkata or anywhere in India. Both WB / EB, Brahmin, Kayastha, Baidya, Govt or semi Govt. / Pvt. / MNC. Ph.: ████████████████████

SGW43 E.B., BAIDYA, MA in History, Diploma in Computer, knows Classical and Rabindra Dance (M. Music / B. Music), service in IIT Project, 26 / 5'-2", educated, well-behaved parents present / own house, liberal minded, cultured groom working in Midnapore, Kharagpur, Kolkata preff. in Teaching Profession within 34 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ████████████████

SGW44 W.B. BRAHMIN, 26 / 5'-3", B. Tech. & Tele Communication, music & recitation, working in Tech. Mahindra, Rs. 33,000, kashyap, father working, mother present, only child. Brahmin, kayastha / baidya within 32 yrs., 5'-8", educated, established, handsome, Govt. / Pvt. / MNC / PSU Kolkata or nearby, both EB / WB grooms required. Ph.: ████████████████

SGW45 W.B. BRAHMIN, 28 / 5'-2", B.A. (Arts), P.G Dip. in Mass Communication, knows painting & boutique, working, Rs. 5,000, kashyap, fair, pretty, only child, own house. Established, well-educated, handsome both EB / WB within 32-37 yrs. brahmin grooms required. Ph.: ███████████████████. Bride is devarigon and makar rashi. ██████

SGW46 W.B. BRAHMIN, 28+ / 5'-2", B.A. II yr., convent educated, BCA, pursuing CMC-Edast, interested in cooking, fair, pretty, shandilyo, father businessman, two sisters, own house. Educated, established within 35 yrs. kayastha / brahmin / baidya grooms required. Ph.: ████████████████

SGW47 W.B. BRAHMIN, 31+ / 5'-1", B.Com., Divorcee, knows graphic designing, working in reputed firm, fair, pretty, batshya, parents present, only child, liberal minded, well behaved, belonging from honest family background. Brahmin / kayastha / baidya, Kolkata or nearby within 35 - 36 years unmarried or divorcee grooms required. Ph.: ██████████ except SC / ST. ██████████

SGW48 W.B. JADAV Ghosh, BE, knows dancing, high income, 25+ /5'-0", parents present, own house, beautiful. Established Businessman, Engineer / MNC, working place preferably Bangalore / Pune / Kolkata, within 30 yrs, both EB / WB grooms required. Ph: ██████████. Caste no bar. ██████████

SGW49 SUITABLE match for WB Pal, General Caste, 1980, 159 cm., fair, slim, CA girl working Kolkata, relocable. ████████████████████
██████████████████

SGW50 WB, KAYASTHA, B.A., LL.B., knows Dance, Music (Gitabitan), 32 yrs. / 5', mother present, own house, beautiful, educated, homely. Within 39 yrs., both EB / WB, Kayastha / Brahmin / Baidya, educated, established, Govt. Service / established Businessman, good family background grooms wanted. Interested in early marriage. Contact immediately. Ph.: ███████████████

SGW51 E.B. BAIDYA, B.Pharma., Hospital Management, knows singing, working in a Pvt. concern, B.C.E.T., 41+yrs., mother present, own house, beautiful, only child. Established Engg. / MBA / MCA or highly qualified both EB/WB within 46 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ███████████████

SGW52 E.B. BAIDYA, Masters in Computer & Information Science, Interested in Music & Photography, service in CTS, Kolkata, Rs. 35,000, 29 yrs. / 5'-4", Shakti Gotra, beautiful, established, own house, only child, grooms required within 35 yrs. both EB/WB Kayastha / Baidya / Brahmin / Handsome / Engg. / Doctor / CA / Management / Professor working in any place in India preff. or Kolkata. Ph.: █████████ ██████████████████

SGW53 E.B. BARUJIBI, 35+ / 5'-2", M.A. B.Ed., H.S. School Teacher, Rs. 22,000 wheatish complexion, pretty, father Ex-serviceman, own house, parents present, two sisters, one married, one brother Graduate / P.G. School Teacher / Pvt. Service or equivalent both EB/WB Barujibi within 42 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ██████████████

SGW54 E.B. KAYASTHA, B.A. (Political Science), LL.B., Sr. Diploma in Rabindra sangeet, 36 yrs. / 5'-4", Biswamitra, beautiful, own house, only child; educated, established Professor / Engg. / C.A. Service holder within 42 yrs. grooms required. Ph.: ████████████

SGW55 E.B. KAYASTHA, Madhyamik pass, Computer, 26+/5'-3", parents present, own house, beautiful, homely, well-behaved; Educated established grooms required within 35 yrs. both EB/WB, Service holder, Businessman, divorcee with good family background. Ph.: █████████████████

SGW56 GROOM wanted in IT Sector, Hardware or Software Engg. / established business, educated Govt. services, good-looking, height above, 5'-7" - 6', upper middle class family, divorcee or unmarried allowed, income minimum Rs. 25,000, residence must be in Kolkata or near Kolkata, age maximum 34; bride fair, very nice, M.A. in Bengali, singing, dancing, Anchoring etc. attached to TV channel, bride divorcee, only 7 days staying after marriage, age 26+/5'-4", Baidya, Gotra-Sakti, caste no bar. Contact: ██████████████

SGW57 W.B. BRAHMIN, 40/5'-1", B.Com., mother present, three brothers, two sisters, Brahmin; grooms required within 45 yrs. businessman or service holder; divorcee / widower are also welcome. Contact soon. Ph.: █████████ (8 – 10 p.m.). ████████

SGW58 SC, W.B., 33 yrs. / 5'-3", B.Tech. in Electronics Telecommunication, working in PNB, Rs. 25,000, wheatish complexion, pretty, Kashyap, father retd. C.G. employee, one brother BE, one sister, own house, parents present; educated, established both EB/WB within 39 yrs. BE / ME / Doctor / MCA or equivalent grooms required. Ph.: ███████. Caste no bar. ██████

SGW59 W.B. SADGOPE, Ghosh, Ph.D., continuing Diploma in Rabindra Sangeet, knows cooking, music, Art, Research Scholar, 28 yrs. / 5'-4", Shandilya, beautiful, educated. Educated, established Doctor / Engg. / Professor / Central Govt. / Rail / both EB/WB grooms required within 35 yrs. Ph.: ████████████ Caste no bar. ██████

SGW60 W.B. SC, 27 yrs. / 5'-2", B.Sc., wheatish complexion, father retd. (Govt. Employee), Kashyap, own house, one brother married; teacher (Central or W.B. Govt. employee) / MNC (Engg.) or equivalent established grooms required. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████

SGW61 W.B. SUBARNABANIK, 34 yrs., 5'-5", B.A. (C.U.), knows Typing, Shorthand, Computer, Drawing, fair, pretty, Modgulya, father rtd. pensioner, own house, parents present, two sisters, one married. Educated, established within 38-40 yrs. Brahmin, Kayastha, Banik, Baidya, Rs. 14,000 salary, Kolkata or nearby or outside WB grooms required. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████

SGW62 W.B. TILI, 20 yrs./5'-5", B.Sc. (1st year), Interior Designer, Certificate in hair and skin care, drawing (4th yrs.), fair, pretty, Shandilya, parents present, father established businessman, only child. Educated, established businessman or service holder within 28 – 30 yrs. both EB/WB, Kayastha / Tili, min. Graduate grooms required. Ph.: ████████████

SGW63 30 YEARS, 4'-11", fair, Graduate, working in Genpact wants convent-educated person from reputed family within the age of 35 yrs. Preferable corporate sector. Contact: ████████████

SGW64 E.B. KAYASTHA, B.A. (studing MA 1st year), Computer Diploma, 24 yrs. / 5'-1", very fair, parents present, own house, beautiful, educated. Within 31 yrs., both EB / WB, educated, established, Govt. service / MMC in reputed firm, grooms wanted. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████

SGW65 E.B. BAIDYA, B.A. M.B.A. SAP certified, certificate in French language, interested in music, working in Kolkata, 29 yrs. / 5'-2", parents present, own house, beautiful, established. Within 35 yrs., both EB / WB, educated, established, with good family background, Engr. / CA / CS / MBA / Doctor working in reputed MNC preff. Contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████

SGW66 SUNNI Bengali, B.E./ Doctor / Professor / Teacher / Officer Rank / Govt. Service / Scientist, within 35 yrs. grooms required. Gaurbarna, beautiful, BA (Hons.), MA (English), 25 yrs. / 5'-3", father highly educated, early mariage, contact immediately. Ph.: ████████████

SGW67 E.B. KAYASTHA, M.Sc. Computer literate, interested in Music, Art, Craft, School Teacher, high income, 29 yrs. / 5'-1", parents present, own house, beautiful, educated, established. Within 35 yrs, both WB / EB, well-educated, CA / MBA, Doctor / Govt. service. / reputed M.N.C. / Engg. preff., working in Kolkata grooms wanted, Early marriage, contact immediately. Ph.: ███████████

SGW68 EB, TILI, 24 yrs. / 5'-1", M.Sc. (Geography) from C.U., 1st class, GIC & RS persuing from JU, knows Computer, interested in singing and painting, fair, pretty, only child, own house, well-to-do, father retired (Govt.), presently involved in legal profession. Within 30 yrs., except SC / ST, Doctor / Proff. / Bank / ME / M.Tech / Officer or equivalent, minimum Rs. 35,000 income grooms wanted. Ph.: ██████ (7-00 p.m. – 10-00 p.m.). ████

SGW69 W.B. UGRAKSHYATRIYA, MA (Philosophy), B.Ed. interested in singing, travelling, Govt. service, high income, 39 yrs. / 5'-2", own house, parents present, beautiful, educated, established. Within 45 yrs., established, educated, only service holders, Professor / Lecturer / Engr. / Govt. service preferably Burdwan. Contact immediately. Ph.: █████████████

SGW70 W.B. BRAHMIN, 26 yrs. / 5', H.S. / now studying BCA, 4th yrs., from CMC, knows painting, shwabarna, fair, pretty, father businessman, two sisters, parents present, own house, debgan, Mithunrashi. Within 32 - 33 yrs., established serviceholder / businessman, Brahmin grooms wanted. Ph.: █████████████

SGW71 KAYASTHA Sen, 22, 5'-3", B.Tech. (Engr.), smart, charming, wanted a suitable match. Contact: ████████████ (8 p.m. — 10 p.m.). ████

SGW72 WB, TILI, 27 yrs. / 5'-2", B. Tech. (Comp. Science), working in renowned company in Salt Lake, high income, pretty, wheatish complexion, Shandilya, only child, father service holder, own house, well-to-do. Within 33 yrs., except, SC / ST, Dr / Engr. / Officer / CA / equivalent, both WB / EB grooms wanted. Ph.: ████████ ████████

SGW73 W.B. BRAHMIN, 26 yrs. / 5', MA (Education), 1 yr. Certificate, Course CCPA, 2004-05, fair, pretty, shandilya, father retired PSU, parents present, own house, well-to-do, only child, Karkat Rashi, Debgan. Within 32 - 33 yrs., nearby Kolkata, Govt. / Private / MNC, educated, established, WB, Brahmin grooms wanted. Ph. █████████

SGW74 WB, TILI, 32 yrs. / 5'-3½", MBBS (Cal), MS, M.Ch. (Plastic Surgery), working as doctor in renowned Hospital in Bangalore, Kashyap, father present (United Nations Officer), two sisters (one married). Within 35 - 38 yrs., Doctor / Engr. / equivalent, educated, working in Bargalore, grooms wanted. Ph.: ████████. Caste no bar. ████

SGW75 E.B. KAYASTHA, BA (Hons.), Political Sc., knows Computer, DTP., Multimedia, 25 yrs. / 5'-4", own house, parents present, cultured family, beautiful, educated, homely. Within 30 yrs. both EB / WB, established, educated, Lecturer / Bank / LIC / Engg. grooms wanted. Early marriage, contact immediately. Ph.: ████████ ████████ Caste no bar.

HBW1 PARENTS DOCTORS Kanada Brahmin boy 32/172 fair Interior Designer seeks fair beautiful homely Hindi speaking with artistic talent bride with family values. Ct: █████████████████

HBW2 NAIR 49 well educated employed in PSU legally divorced without any encumbrance seeks alliance with horoscope. No demands. Box █████████████ ███████████

HBW3 NON RELIGIOUS Keralite Engineer, 40, B-Tech, MBA, willing to relocate, religion / language no bar. █████████████

HBW4 TAMIL MUTHURAJA 33/165, Son of Retd. Army Officer, working in MNC 26.5L PA, looking for educated Bride. Con: █████████████

HBW5 BRAHMIN KOUNDINYA, 40, Government Rs. 19000/-, M.A. Divorcee without encumbrance, seeks vegetarian girl. No bar. █████████████

HBW6 TV MUDALIR 34 Associate VP(Fin.) WIPRO B'Lore seeks cultured educated Hindu bride. Contact: ██████████

HBW7 IYER MUDALIAR 38 PG 178 30K healthy young looking very active and well settled boy having diabates seeks good looking girl. Young widows can also apply. caste no bar. █████████████████████. Box ████████████████████ ██████████

HBW8 MOTHER TELUGU Hindu Father Tamil Christian Only Son 28/177 BITS Pilani Graduate Associate Vice President-HR Mumbai seeks working bride with Cosmopolitan/rational values.Caste no bar. ██████████████

HBW9 BE, 45, Business, Nadar, Widower, Caste no bar. ████████████████ █████████████

HBW10 Bengali Kayastha 33/172 successful Knowledge Management consultant settled in Pondicherry own house brought up in Sri Aurobindo Ashram seeks educated slim girl. █████████████

HBW11 W.B MANGALIK 31/166 AMIE, 6L PA seeks below 27yrs good looking slim girl. █████████████

HBW12 KANNADA DEVANGA Chettiar Kanjilakuduthar 32/170cm BE Civil Chitirai Kanni project Mgr Chennai 40k pm seeks graduate ████████████

HBW13 MADHWA KANNADA Fair handsome 31/180 Empld UK seeks suitable alliance from decent family background slim girl willing to go to UK send BHP Box ██ █████████████

HBW14 VOKKALIGA GOWDA Arudra 31 years/170 cm B.Tech MBA Fabric Manager 30000 pm seeks suitable bride same caste Box ████████████████ ███████

HBW15 MADHWA KANNADA Bharadwaja 28 MCA Thiruvonam MNC USA seeks employed girl. Ct: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW16 MADHWA KANNADA Aaruvelu Maham Kashyapa handsome issueless Widower June 1971/172 London seeks graduate 31 Plus from Madhwa Kannada & Desistha only. Biodata/ Horoscope: Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW17 KANNADA MADHWA Kashyapa Kritika fair 27/178 MS H1B good salary from well-to-do family seeks Madhwa/Smartha slim goodlooking bride above 160cms. Mail details with casual photos to: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW18 SM FOR Kashmiri Pandit boy tall, h'some 21-6-83 born, 188, Comp Engr, presently wrkg in Google India MNC Co. Girl should be highly Cltrd. Kashmiri Pandit. Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW19 MUSLIM DIVORCED 33/169, BTech, employed in MNC, Trivandrum seeks suitable bride. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW20 CHRISTIAN BOY, 28/178cms, BE {CS}, MBA {IIM}, Project Manager, " TCS ". Contact : ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW21 PALKAT NAIR Girl below 26 fair goodlook Chennai job MNC/Bank for MCA/MNC Menon 30/175 Visakam ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW22 NAIR DOCTOR 38/180 Aswathi Well settled at Chennai seeks alliance from fair goodlooking well educated Nair Bride. Apply with BHP to Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW23 NAIR BOY Karthika 30/167 MBA Employed in HDFC Bank Seeks Suitable Alliance Ph.▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Mb: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW24 HANDSOME NAIR Boy, 29, BTECH,MS,MBA (USA), Architect in USA. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW25 PROPOSALS INVITED from professionally qualified girls for Hindu Ambalavasi boy SWE, Thiruvathira, Sudham, 33/173, issueless divorcee contact Box ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW26 EZHAVA MALAYALI aged 34, 170 cm business, Coimbatore. 2nd marriage. Community no bar. Ph:▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW27 HYDERABAD SETTLED Viswakarma(C) M.Sc.CS Systems Engineer 31/165 Maheeram seeks qlfd bride.Cont:▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW28 EZHAVA BOY 34, 155, IT Field seeks alliance. Those who learned Classical Music preffered Ph-▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW29 40 Y 168cm Trissur Nair Youngster Handsome, BE, MS, Computer Engineer in reputed MNC well settled in USA, Uthram, Sudhajathakam, Divorcee without encumbrances seeks Smart Good looking Nair/Menon/Nambiar girl with outside exposure. For details contact ███████████████████ or Email: ██████████████

HBW30 NAIR BOY 32/178 Chennai Asst Mgr BarodaPioneer MF Sudhajadagam Barani.████████████████████

HBW31 CHENNAI SETTLED F-Thiyya, M-Tamil, 32/168,DME,Sadhayam, 30000 PM. Working in Pune. Ct:█████████ Box ████████████████████ ██████

HBW32 NAIR, ASWATHI, 30/172cm, B.E, Working as IT Analyst with TCS, Chennai Seeking Alliance from Educated Girls with Good Family Send BHP Box ██████████ ████████████████

HBW33 CHENNAI SETTLED Thyya Boy 33/162, +2 seeks alliance. Contact Phone: █████████████

HBW34 SWATHI.CA 46/175 affluent,divorcee seeks educated relgious aristocratic nair-North Malabar prfbly Box ████████████████████

HBW35 THIYYA 30/170, Chothi, VISCOM Media Profl. settled in Chennai. Ct:███████████████████

HBW36 MATCH FOR Thrissur Iyer boy/29/178/Telecom Executive Pooradam Haritham Sudhajathakam in Delhi,own flat. Contact:████████████████

HBW37 SMARTHA DESASTHA 29/178 Rohini M.Com Central Govtjob ████ ███████████████████████████████ seeks Graduate Girl

HBW38 TAMIL MUSLIM 27/170 Fair MBBS,MS(Ortho),MRCS(UK) seeks goodlooking, pious,professional bride.████████████ (after 5pm) ████████████████

HBW39 SINGAPORE TAMIL Muslim, Handsome/ Tall/ 28/B.Com, Own Business seeks bride Graduate/ Tall/ Fair/ Beautiful girl age 22-25 from very decent Tamil Muslim family preferably Chennai/ Overseas resident. Apply with Photo preferred. E-Mail: █████████████

HBW40 TAMIL MUSLIM Sunnath Jamath 30/165 Graduate Own Business seeks Religious Graduate bride from respectable family. Box ████████████████████ █████████

HBW41 TAMIL MUSLIM MBA/30 MNC at Chennai seeks Graduate fair unemployed Bride from good family. Ct:█████████

HBW42 TAMIL MUSLIM B.Com/33 Pvt., seeks Graduate Bride fair unemployed from middle family. Ct:██████████

HBW43 T.M.BCA Groom 35yrs, Empld in Chennai 13,000/- Seeks Tamil Muslim Educated,Religious, Homely Bride. Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW44 TAMIL MUSLIM USA parents seek smart educated girl for attorney son 31. Contact: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW45 TAMIL MUSLIM 29/180 BE MS working USA seeks professionally qualified Non-IT, Bride. Ct: ▮▮▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ or Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW46 TAMIL MUSLIM Doctor, M.S. (Gen.Surgery), 28/176 fair seeks MBBS/PG/Medicine graduates.Ct: ▮▮▮▮▮

HBW47 TAMIL MUSLIM, 25/175, Software Engineer London, Rich/Religious family Chennai seeks educated beautiful V.fair Bride from religious rich decent family. Ct: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW48 SC/AD PR 35/169 Lecturer in University 30000pm seeks Good Looking working/PG fair girl, Christian girl prefered. Ct ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW49 CSI-INDIAN Christian Erode-Cbe origin BE MBA NCFM doing CFA. Banking Invt. Manager PSU in Chennai. 27/175 goodlooking clean habits. Seeks god fearing goodlooking homely smart girl 23-26. Lecturer/Bank/Govt Ser/Business etc. hails from decent family. Telu gu, kannada Christians also invited. Send BP to Box ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW50 CSI NADAR 32/168/MCA SWE(Pondicherry)20,000 Pm, Fair, Seeks Employed Bride CT.▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW51 CSI NADAR B.Tech. MBA 27 yr/ 174 cm Salary 7 Lakhs/yr in MNC from a respectable family. Interested in fair good looking UG/PG Graduate Bride from a Affluent Family. Contact: ▮▮▮▮▮. Email:▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW52 CSI B.E. M.B.A 27/175 smart fair looking, 2.5LPA, seeks alliance equally qualified, employed bride below 25, decent family. CNB. Mail-ID: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW53 CHRISTIAN CSI Devendrakula Vellalar 26/175 BE,MBA Asst. Manager IDBI Bank Teetotaller Seeks BE/PG.God Fearing Bride C.N.B Cell:▮▮▮▮▮ Box▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW54 CSI CHRISTIAN 29/177 BE 23000/pm Coimbatore seeks God fearing girl Email BP: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW55 CSI CHRISTIAN parents seek a God fearing bride for their son 33/170, Manager-Projects in Hewlett-Packard London, earning GBP 45,000 p.a., BE & studying MBA in General Management. Please send details: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮/ Ph: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

HBW56 CSI NADAR Parents invite Proposals for their son Manager System/Engineer Nokia US citizen smart committed Christian 34/169 from committed Christian girl BE/MCA slim/smart below 30/160 photo/biodata Box No: ████████████████ ███████

HBW57 RC VANNIYAR 32/174 fair B.Sc,MCA, 6LPA,Coimbatore Seeks any Graduate Fair,Slim 26-29yrs Bride. ███████

HBW58 CSI, NADAR, 25/Jan 85/183, B.Tech, SWE Infosys Bangalore now in USA. Seeks Fair, Slim, Good looking Christian Girl age below 21. Ct: ████████ ██████ Email: ████████

HBW59 R.C. NADAR 29/165 MCA working in UK seeks educated suitable bride from same caste. Cont: Box ████████████

HBW60 RC KALLAR 26 BE 185 TCE Chennai 4 Lak pa RC Mukkulathore Vellalar BE PG 22-25/165 goodlooking Professional Lecturer Chennai. Box ██████ ███████

HBW61 HANDSOME MUDHALIAR RC 35/183cms Post Graduate Sr.Manager has a birth defect of infertility can have happy married life seeks unmarried bride with same issue.Caste no bar.Box █████████

HBW62 RC VELLALA 29/172 MBA/45Kpm Seeks Fair,Good Looking,Gradute Emp Bride Chennai.Send BD,Photo ████████████

HBW63 R.C. NADAR 26years 175cm B.E. Software Engineer in UST,Trivandrum. Salary 45Kpm seeks Tall,Fair,Qualified girl. Cont: ████████

HBW64 RC NADAR MBA-33/175cm, well-to-do, working in Singapore-wants Educated, Beautiful Bride from same RC Nadar. Contact: ██████

HBW65 RC CHRISTIAN SC 29/150cm DME 28000Pm seeks god fearing girl ████████████

HBW66 31YRS BELIEVING Christian Divorced, SW Profsnl Seeks suitable girl ████████████

HBW67 PROTESTANT VANNIAR Christian 29/175 wheatish BE MNC Chennai seeks God Fearing, Prof. Bride. ███████

HBW68 CSI,MCA 34 Bangalore based Software Engineer. Mother Malayalee, Father Tamilian seeks educated Bride from a good family. Contact: ████████ or ██████

HBW69 ALLIANCE INVITED for a RC boy, well employed, PG Engr 30, from RC girls respectable family Chennai employed preferrably in Banking Pvt Public sectors (software need not apply) post Box ████████████

HBW70 RC 33 MCA,(MBA) 180cm fair 15L financially sound seeks fair 27yrs/165cms well settled. █████████

HBW71 CSI CHRISTIAN 26/168 BE MBA (IISc) Financial Analyst- Equities- Working in Leading Investment Bank in Wall Street, New York, H1B Visa holder. Caste No Bar- Seeks professionally qualified bride from affluent family. Reply with photos: ███

HBW72 SRILANKAN ROMAN Catholic 37/178, Fair, B.Sc Engg in Computer Working in UK, Seeks Hindu/Christian Pretty Fair Good Looking 27-29Yrs Girl. Ct:Vasugi Tel: ███ Email: ███

HBW73 NADAR 30/175 M.Com Working in Pvt Comp 5000/- well settled in Chennai. Sks good looking educated working partner, 24-27yrs Ct: ███

HBW74 HINDU NADAR 35/173 B.E Software Engr in Bangalore 5Lak pa seeks educated suitable bride. Send BHP Box ███

HBW75 HINDU AD 29/165 BE MBA US goodlooking seeks BE B.Tech/MBA SWE goodlooking girl CNB send BHP to Box ███

The Hindu GW 1–75

HGW1 VISWAKARMA 33 MCA MBA SWE 1Lac/PM Attractive girl seek prof.groom Box ███

HGW2 PARENTS OF KERALA R/C wheatish girl 25/160 M.Sc B.Ed b/b vizag seek professionals. ███

HGW3 CAST NO Bar 28 MSc PhD Lecturer Intercast Attr. Girl seek any Boy. Box ███

HGW4 VERY FAIR, slim, beautiful girl, 165cm, age 26, B.E. (CSE), MS from US, Earning US$80K P.A. in USA. Well settled NRI (USA) Professional bachelors preferred. Pl. mail to ███

HGW5 TML IYER, 32yrs Snr Govt Official in UAE, Financially Independent, very good looking, Divorcee with 7yr old daughter studying in UAE seeks UAE settled professionally qualified understanding broadminded loving groom. Caste No Bar. ███

HGW6 CHRISTIAN CNB Language No Bar 38/158 B.Sc Good Looking Bride from a Well Settled Family in Chennai Seeks Suitable Groom ███

HGW7 HINDU VANNIYAR CNB 23/155 Bachelors Good Looking Bride from a Well Cultured Family Seeks Suitable Groom ███

HGW8 HINDU THEVAR CNB 27/155 Bachelors Fair and Good Looking Bride from a Well Established Family in Chennai Seeks Suitable Groom ███

HGW9 CHENNAI SETTLED F- Karkarthar Pillai M - Ezhava 28/150 Punarpoosam MBA, Pretty seeks well settled Tamil / Keralite Groom. ███

HGW10 BENGALI KAYASTHA 1977 5.5ft Fair Good Looking B.Com graduate Employed in Abudhabi as Executive. Seeks alliance from Hindu Professionally qualified groom Contact: ███████████████

HGW11 WANTED GROOM for Bengali girl 24/161 B.Tech fair working in NIIT Chennai ███████████████

HGW12 ALL KAYASTHU 23/165 BSc(MBA)Fair&Slim in TCS- Chennai.Seeks Suitable Edu Groom.From 5'10ft.Ct:███████████

HGW13 GROOM for Rajasthani OBC Nai Girl 26/168,Fair,MBA,Working in Vizag.██████████,Email:███████████████

HGW14 KURUMBA 27/153 BE S/W Good Looking Girl Seeks Suitable well Quld Groom Ct:████████████████████

HGW15 R.C.GIRL 26/162 Post Graduate Professional,seeks 27 to 35 well stld groom, Contact:█████████

HGW16 CSI Malayalam Syrian Christian girl hailing from Central Travancore 31/152/fair, B.Tech Software Engineer working in Singapore. May respond with photo/detailed Bio-data to Email : █████████████████

HGW17 RC MALAYALEE 37/160, fair B.A., PM & IR employed, Legally divorced (1month) seeks good alliance. Box ████████████████████████

HGW18 WELL EMPLOYED Nair girl 24/163 Atham Chova 8; Preferable:Ch/Bang settled boy; Ct:████████████

HGW19 KANNUR BASED Hyderabad settled Theeya Girl 34/153 Aayilyam B.Tech. SW Engr. seeks marriage alliance. Cell: ██████████████████

HGW20 FATHER NAIR Mother Ezhava 27/155 Makam M.Sc RDO in Bank settled in A.P seeks Educated Boy.Ph:███████████

HGW21 NAIR BE, MBA Manager in MNC, fair smart expects any graduate smart groom for details ████████████████

HGW22 MDS DOCTOR Ezhava alliance invited for girl 28/169 fair Uthradam, Bangalore settled, from parents of Ezhava boys MDS MD MS MTech BTech + MBA. Call ██████████████████

HGW23 ALLIANCE INVITED from professionally qualified Software Engineer preferably working in Bangalore/USA, Match for Hindu/Nair girl /Avittam/30/155/software consultant working in WIPRO Bangalore, Currently working in USA. Contact ████████████ Email: █████████████████

HGW24 PARENTS OF Nair girl, slim and beautiful,23/166,only daughter of SR. engineers in Govt.of India dept in Trivandrum,BTech(CSE) from IIT,Madras,doing MS-PHD at CMU USA,hailing from an aristocratic family from Central Travancore,seek alliance from parents o f Nair boys,smart professionals from IIT/IIM/reputed medical colleges,working in USA or doing MS.PHD,PG medicine,MBA in USA. Age between 24 & 26.Send details with horoscope to ████████████████████

HGW25 NAIR GIRL B.Tech 22/165 Chitra Chova Dosham (Chova 7th house) Infosys seeks professionally qualified groom below 28. ██████████████████████ Box ██ ████████████████████████

HGW26 B. Tech 28 SW Engr MNC B'lore Now in US Affluent Educated Family From Similar Background Boys. Caste No Bar ████████████████████████████ ███████████

HGW27 VISHWAKARMA (GS), MBBS girl, 26/171, Chithira seeks MBBS/MD groom from cultured family. Call: ████████████████

HGW28 NAIR GIRL PG 28/156 Chitra-1 Papam Native TVM working MNC Chennai parents seek qualified Nair Boys working Chennai/Bangalore Ct: ████████████ ██████████ Mail ████████████████

HGW29 VISWAKARMA LADY Ph.D from IIT lecturer Govt. Engineering College Divorsee No issues 36/160 Avittom fair seeks suitable alliance from qualified professionals cast no bar. Box████████████████████

HGW30 RC ANGLO-Indian 35/167 fair nurse Saudi seeks employed groom Abroad prefered Contact: ██████████████████

HGW31 EZHAVA GIRL, Moolam, 25/152, Alappuzha, BTech S/W Engg MNC. Ph: ██████████Email: ██████████████

HGW32 TRICHUR NAIR girl divorced (within a week) 29/165 Chothi PG(Microbiology/PMIR) employed in Chennai seeks well quaified/employed boy ██████████████████████████████████

HGW33 COIMBATORE SETTLED Hindu Thiya girl age 22 doing house Surgency in Cbe height 164 cms seek professionally qualified groom ct:████████████ Box ██ ████████████████████

HGW34 PG PHD Hindu boy 31-35 settled abroad 4 PG Nair gal 31 working @ Dubai with parents ████████████████

HGW35 TCR NAIR Girl fair Uthram BE 27/155 seeks Nair Boy BE Employed ███ ██████████████████

HGW36 MENON GIRL 24 Yrs/165 Cm MBA, Vishakam working in MNC, Chennai. Those working in Chennai preferred. Contact: ██████████████████████ , Mob - ████████████

HGW37 BEAUTIFUL MENON girl MBA 27/168 Makam working as Business Manager in an IT firm in Bangalore seeks alliance from parents of suitable Nair boys. ████████

HGW38 PALAKKAD BASED Ezhuva girl 27/151 Chathayam B.Com PGDEC MHRM Railway service seeking alliance from qualified employed grooms ████████

HGW39 SALIYA GIRL, MBBS, 24 years, Pooyam, 150 cms, fair, sound family, Kannur. Invites marriage proposals with horoscope from parents of Doctor Professionals having good family background. E-Mail: ████████

HGW40 KERALITE GIRL, SC, 34/162, beautiful, better salary dignified job. Central Govt. Mumbai. Caste no bar. ████████

HGW41 HINDU NAIR girl, Uthram, 7th Chowa, Jan 86/155 M.Sc M.Phil,Pvt College Lecturer at Chennai seeks Chennai settled Nair/Pillai groom (7th Chowa is must) preferable belong to Kannur/ Kasaragod Dist. Ph: ████████

HGW42 PALAKAD NAIR Thiruvathira MNC MBA 27/150 seeks professional Ct:████████

HGW43 NAIR GIRL Fair PG well settled Ch.employed 12-4-81/150 Pooyam Sudham or Light Dosham Matches ████████

HGW44 NAIR GIRL 31/157 fair Karthika MBA. Contact: ████████

HGW45 BEAUTIFUL EZHAVA Girl, 26 / 160 BE, Infosys , working in USA. ████████

HGW46 CHENNAI SETTLED Palakkad Nair Girl 34/Vishakham Fair Well Educated Employed.Dosha Jathagam.Ph:████████

HGW47 ALLIANCE INVITED for Nair girl settled outside Kerala 27/155cm wheatish MBBS DCM working (pursuing DNB) in leading Hospital Delhi (Noida). Avittam Sudha Jathakam (slight-Dosham). Doctors SW Engineers working/ settled outside Kerala preferred. Contact Ph. ████████

HGW48 PALAKAD NAIR Girl, 24,M.Sc, Maham,1/2 Dosham,TCS Chennai. Seeks Suitable Groom :████████

HGW49 EZHAVA TRICHUR Chennai settled MSc PhD Lecturer 29/154 Avittam seeks professional/ PG employed groom. Ct:████████

HGW50 VISWAKARMA GIRL Thiruvonam 1981/152 fair BBA MBA working seek well placed alliance.████

HGW51 THIYYA GIRL 31/150 BSc MCA Moolam HSS Teacher Chennai seeks qualified well emplyd groom. Send BH: Box ████████

HGW52 NAIR GIRL 34/171 B.Tech SWE Proj Mgr, MNC CBE Chithira dosha Jathakam. Ph:█████████████████████████

HGW53 NADAR GIRL , 23/161cms, Very Fair, BE{ECE}, Bank Officer " SBI ". Contact : █████████

HGW54 NAIR 37,Visakham Sr.Exec innocent divorcee seeks good issueless boy.Box ██████████████████████

HGW55 BUDDHIST, 30/155cms, LLM Pune University, NET, Salary 6 Lac PA seeks professionally qualified groom from good family. █████████████████

HGW56 MADHWA DESASTHA Viswamitra 26/171 Makha 4th B.Tech. SWE girl seeks a suitable not slim bridegroom SWE/Banks/C.A. Contact: ████████████ ████████

HGW57 PUNJABI ONLY Daughter 24/152 Delhi based parents Govt. Servants. Slim,smart,degree in path/ Dr. in Naturpath/MSc. C.L.Microbio pursuing seeks Prof. qlfd. SPBL match boy. Photograph is must. Caste no bar. Box No.HB-674,C/o The Hindu,Chennai-600002. E-mail : █████████████████ Mobile: ████████████

HGW58 AFFLUENT CHENNAI Based V/High Rich Rowather Bness Family seeks for his graduate daughter v.fair 23/165 from Profnals/Business Abroad/India T/M very high rich family.████████████████████████

HGW59 TAMIL MUSLIM professionally qualified businessman daughter 24/160 fair & slim require groom ██████████

HGW60 THOWHEED TAMIL, well settled 29/153 Divorcee Khula, Son 7yrs, graduate seeks Thowheed educated Chennai empld Groom. Reply with BP to Box ████████████████████████

HGW61 TAMIL MUSLIM 27/164 M.Tech CSE, seeks Professionally qualified Groom. Send Bio-data to: █████████████████ /Ph: ██████████.

HGW62 PARENTS SEEK Well Profnly Settled Groom for Daughter 28/156 Whitsh SWE MNC:██████████████████

HGW63 R.C. A.D Parents Seek Alliance for their daughter B.E Civil Engg 27/154cm Working in Professional Consultancies Chennai. Box ███████████████████ █████████

HGW64 RC 31/150 FC/AD M.Sc, M.Phil(Physics), Lecturer, Bangalore seeks groom. Caste no bar. Cell: █████████

HGW65 RC NADAR 23yrs BDS good looking girl, respectable family seeks MDS/BDS RC Nadar groom. Call: █████████

HGW66 SENGUNTHA MUDALIAR CSI 26/162 MBBS Govt. Asst Surgeon seeks any Prof/UG/PG/Govt Service. Caste No Bar. Contact █████████

HGW67 CSI KK Nadar BE 25/167 Sr SWE Blore 52000 PM fair slim goodlooking seeks groom from Prof Qlfd educated family. Dowry seekers excuse.
██████████████████████

HGW68 CHRISTIAN AD 33/155 Wheatish MCA M.phil Infosys 45000/- PM seeks any Degree Groom. Ph : ████████████████████ / Email:
████████████

HGW69 CSI SC/PR 24/157 BE, (MBA) TTA BSNL seeks well employed Born- Again boy. Ph: ████████████

HGW70 CSI NADAR bride 25/169 BE(ECE) working in TCS Bangalore seek BE/MCA employed groom. Wheatish complex. Contact: ████████████████
████████████

HGW71 CSI ILLATHUPILLAI 26/168 M.Tech Lecturer fair goodlooking girl seek godfearing qualified groom ████████

HGW72 AD PR 29/167 M.S.I.T. working in Chennai as software engineer seeks engineer IT field RC Christian preferred Ph: ████████████████

HGW73 CSI CHRISTIAN AD Girl 29 Dip Teacher Training working in Chennai. Seeks alliance from well settled groom. Contact: ████████████████ email:
████████████

HGW74 CSI AD SC, 27/168 ME Design Engg 25,000pm Chennai,well settled,████
████████████

HGW75 RC NADAR, 30 BE(CS)SWE Aspire System 40000/- month,fair,good looking,162cm, Mother Retired Teacher send biodata and photo(returnable)to Box ████
████████████████

The Milli Gazette **BW 1–75**

MGBW1
Wanted an educated beautiful bride for an Hons. Graduate well placed Delhi-based Quraishi boy 27/6' Contact ████████
████████

MGBW2
SUNNI SYED boy MBBS, MRCGP, 27/5'11", UK Stld seeks B'ful Edu Religious girl #████████,
████████████████

MGBW3
SUNNI KHAN B. Tech 26/5'6" H'some wrkg in Air India (Mum) seeks B'ful girl below 23 yrs M:████████send BD /
p:████████████

MGBW4
SM 4 Ansari boy H'some 28/5'10" only son Navigational Off 16lpa. Prnts Govt. empl. Own house. No dowry #████████ E:
████████

MGBW5
SM for Sunni 32/5'10" BAMS Medical offic'r UP Govt seeks b'ful Medico/ Teacher/ Govt. job transferable UP. Caste no bar. #████████████

MGBW6
QLFD M4 Sunni Muslim boy 29/5'7" / MBA Wrkg Dy Mgr in Bank. Father CL-I Offier. Caste no bar. M: ████████
████████████

MGBW7

Khan 28 , 5'6", 12LPA S/W Engineer as Team seeks Fair, V. B'gul, Slim, Convented PQ Wkg Girl. Send BP. To ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW8

UP based SM 30/5'6", 15 LPA Manager wrkg in MNC Delhi seeks educated girl cste no bar eml: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW9

Sunni (Mansoori Boy) 27/5'6" BE/MBA Working in MNC in Delhi 17LPA. M: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW10

SUNNI_SYED 32/ 5'9" Fair, H'some, Graduate, Well Settled Business in south Delhi. Seeks Fair, Slim, Edu. & Homely Girl from Middle Class Family. Call: ▮▮▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW11

SM Ansari fair h'som BTech, Math Faculty, IIT-JEE 31/5'7" seeks slim v.fail b'ful qlfd Dini girl. #▮▮▮▮▮ cm: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW12

Sunni divorcee middle age Physician NRI setting in Aligarh needs a decent tall, slim wife upto 40 yrs, caste no bar. Cont: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW13

SM4 30/5'10" Syed Sunni Graduate Wheatish Boy frm sound fmly having own business seeks b'ful fair well qlfd frm status fmly. #▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW14

A Renowned very well Distinguished Industrialist Pathan Family based in Western U.P. seeks Alliance (Pretty Girl) from Cultured and Established Family, Naturally Beautiful, Convent Educated below 24yrs for 25yrs 5'10"/ 40 LPA Business boy. Send B/P to: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW15

ANSARI h'som boy 28/5'10" B.Tech from reputd fmly East UP wkg MNC. Seeks fair b'ful P/Q edu girl. Mob: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW16

Hly Edu Delhite Shaikh Bihar Fmly LLB Advocate High Court in Delhi 27/5'11" 5LPA. Pref Delhite upper caste edu prof girl. Ph:▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW17

SUNNI Syed boy 28/5'4" Engr wkg in KSA seek alliance from well educated girl. ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW18

ALLIANCE invited from Skh/Syed/Pathan fmly for Sunni 28, 5'8, h'some boy, 6Lpa, wrkg at Delhi. Fmly root in Bhr.Contact-▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW19

SUNNI Muslim parent only son, 184 cm, 32, mechanical engineer, currently working as senior executive with a top notch multinational, extremely handsome from a very affluent buisness family, divorced from a short lived marriage Email: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW20

Delhi based Pathan, Feb-84, 5'8" wkg reputed TV Channel, 3.6LPA, seek B'Ful, PRF QLFD, WKG Girl. #▮▮▮▮▮ email:▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW21

26Y/6' SM Dr. raised in Dubai seeks V.Fair, B'ful, soft Spoken, Homely, Deeni Girl Aged<23. ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW22

SM for Ansari MBA smart Boy 27/5'8" well stld. In B'ness exclusive Garment Show Room in posh area in Alld. Pref. for homely fail tall b'ful Girl of U.P. ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW23

Ansari Scientist IIT M.Tech smart boy 27/5'6" seeks very b'ful religious Medico/M.Tech/BE/PhD girl. M: ▮▮▮▮▮

MGBW24

SUNNI Ansari highly reputed West UP based family seeks fair, beautiful, religious, convent educated homely girl for their only Son 24/5'3" BBA from USA, well settled running own export business. Send B/P to ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW25

SAIFI Suni son BE+MBA/27/6' fair/wkg.MNC/Delhi-Dehradun bsd fmly seek prof, qlfd. b'ful tall girl #▇▇▇▇▇ E: ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW26

SM Doctor 31 5'4" MD doing super specialisation, Educated, status family seeks qualified girl. Email: ▇▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW27

SM MBBS, DCH 30/57" MO in Del Govt Hospt. 7LPA frm Edu fmly L'kng 4 B'ful Medico / Prof Match Ph: ▇▇▇▇▇ E: ▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW28

SUNNI Mallick Patna bsd fmly invite Mallick / Syed alliance for 30/5'4"MBA boy Mngr MNC Delhi. Girl from status fmly bful relgs empld MNC pref Delhi. No Dowry. ▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW29

SM for 85 Born/5'7" Text Desgn Garment Hotel Busi H. Status family. Reqd same. Caste no bar. ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW30

SUNNI Pathan Handsome 29/5'6" B. Tech. CL-I Officer seeks Beautiful Educated Girl. Mob: ▇▇▇▇▇ Email: ▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW31

SM Ansari 29/170 Engr. H'som Del Govt. emply + own b'ness seeks v fair, edu, religious girl. Teacher/Wkg pref. from Del/ NCR fmly. Caste No Bar. E: ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW32

SUNNI S Siddiqi 35/5'7" M.A B.F.A Issueless divorcee B'nessman seeks edu religious girl.C▇▇▇▇▇
E: ▇▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW33

SM Exceptionally Welbehaved Handsome 26/5-6" BDS Interested MDS Seeks For Namazi Gd Looking BDS MBBS Bride ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW34

SM Syed only boy 26/5'10" h'some, Grad. Dip. Tour. wkg MNC seeks Qlfd, Religious girl. ▇▇▇▇▇ Send BHP: ▇▇▇▇▇ ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW35

SM Syed 28/5'7" Captain M Navy, MNC 5 Lacs Monthly Reptd family seeks b'ful Edu. family girl Send BP Email: ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW36

KHAN 28/6' H'some wrkg Pro mgr MNC, frm resp. fly. Seeks smart, B'ful Engineer/ Grad/PGgirl. Ph: ▇▇▇▇▇ E: ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW37

KHAN 31/6'2" Engr. wrkg. in Saudia slry 6 digit, seeks prof./n-prof. bfl girl early marriage. Dowry less ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW38

SUNNI 27/67 Engr MBA h'some Dist Mngr MNC seeks Prof. Qlfd tall fair b'ful girl 22-24yrs good fmly #▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW39

WELL Settled very h'some & loving Syed Sunni boy 5'11", 30yrs, looking for Beautiful tall Sunni Muslim girl. Please send bio-data with pics first on Email Id: ▇▇▇▇▇ No Dowry.

MGBW40

SM 4 Khan.Deendar 26+/ 5'7" MBA Lecturer boy, father Cl-I Deendar, pardadar, b'ful, edu., homely girl Lko. pfd. M: ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW41

ALL. 4 H'som Shekh Sidiqi, I'less Div., M.com, 51/5'9" own House. E: ▇▇▇▇▇

MGBW42

ALLIANCE 4 reputed Jaipur based SM Pathan 30/510" MBBS FCCS from PQFD girls Phone: ▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮

MGBW43

SUNNI 29, 5'8" M. Tech-CS wkg MNC Delhi S. WD. Eng. seeks b'ful edctd girl. Send bd/p: ▮▮▮

MGBW44

SM4 B.Tech 30/5'8" Sunni Boy Fair, H'some well settled 6 fig M. income, seeks b'ful Girl from Decent Family, for early marrage. M: ▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮

MGBW45

SM Boy 29/5'8" Smart Handsome B.Tech working in UK Well Educated family seeks Educated Bride below 25 yrs from status family, Early marriage. Send BHP to Email: ▮▮▮ Ph: ▮▮▮

MGBW46

SUNNI boy 29+/5'6" Pilot with Jet Airways seeks converted b'ful, slim, homely girl from reputed family. Cont: ▮▮▮

MGBW47

PUNE based Sunni Muslim boy 28/5'7" educated smart, cultured, well settled family business seek fair smart edu girl frm cultd family. #▮▮▮ E: ▮▮▮

MGBW48

DELHI based Shk/Syd Parents of Patna seeks Suitable Bride of status family for son 28/57" Post Doc. Research Scholer in USA. Father Sr. Cl-I Officer Retd. Send BHP Email: ▮▮▮ Ph: ▮▮▮

MGBW49

ALLIANCE Invited for Mum. Based Sunni Muslim Dr. DNB (ortho) 29/5'.7" from Qlfd Girls Dr/ Engg/ MBA. ▮▮▮

MGBW50

DUBAI Based Sunni Boy 36/5'7" W.stld wrkg as an Exe. Engg MNC divorcee. Cont: M: ▮▮▮

MGBW51

SKH Siddiqi smart Engr boy 29/5'7" wkg seeks alliance of edu b'ful hmly girl from SKH/Syed family. E-mail: ▮▮▮ Mob: ▮▮▮

MGBW52

KHAN well settled M.S.W 30/5'8" fair own showroom & big house edu status family seeks homely 24-28 yrs girl. Pref Lucknow for Early marriage. Call: ▮▮▮

MGBW53

SM Boy 27/ 5'7" MBA highly smart highly placed in Dubai seeks suitable match. Call ▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮

MGBW54

SM/27/5'8" Dubai Settled wrkg in MNC H. Some. Reply with Photo-▮▮▮ ▮▮▮

MGBW55

ANSARI 30/5'7" frm Bhr Hotel Mngt Master Tour Mngt wrk Terminal Mngr Mum Int Airport. Girl profnl qlfd. Job prefly in Mum. M: ▮▮▮ E: ▮▮▮

MGBW56

PQM4 Muslim boy 29/ 6'0"/MBA/ 18Lpa. Looking 4 B'ful Girl (M) ▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮

MGBW57

SUNNI Sheikh 28/5'9" Boy wkg as Area Mgr in MNC Inc in 5 fig.seeks upper cast qlfd b'ful grl ▮▮▮ early marriage. ▮▮▮

MGBW58

ALLIANCE Invited for SM 33yr/MBASunni/Sheikh boy from Bihar wrkg for MNC As Sales Mgr. in DUBAI (UAE) seeks Prof, qlfd, b'ful girlfrom D'cent Urdu Spkg. fmly. Send BHP Email: ▮▮▮ # ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮

MGBW59

SM Ansari 28/5'3"/8LPA/B.Tech (IIT)/MBA (UK) Wkg. Dy. Mgr. MNC Gurgaon status family Lucknow Based. Seeks B'ful S Match #▮▮▮ Em: ▮▮▮

267

MGBW60

USA sttled S.M smart h'some 79/5'10 MS S/W Engg, Divoricee (short time marriage) seeks g.look ing edu. girl. Em: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW61

SM BOY 35/175, B.E MBA, MGR. IN MNC IN DUBAI, SEEK SMART SLIM GIRL. SEND B/P: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW62

SUNNI Yusufzai Khan 30/6' H'some Boy Wkg Bank Sharjah Asst. Mgr. 24 LPA fair tall girl good fmly background. No dowry. Mob: ▮▮▮▮ E: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW63

SM for Delhi based boy MBA 31/5'8" 6LPA. Brothers in IPS, state civil service. Girl should be proff. qlfd. (M) ▮▮▮▮ E-mail: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW64

B'FUL PQM 4 Del Based Sunni Khan 35/5'4" Div I'Less PG wkg Leading Bank In UAE (No Dowry) Mob: ▮▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW65

WELL settled, USA-based Muslim, 46yrs/5"8", widowed, 2 kids (14&18), lkng 4 educated, religious, righteous, caring wife, email: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW66

ANSARI B.Tech 27/5'7" H'somc Fair running family Textile Business V.Reputed family seeks b'ful edu homely girl. Prefbly Lko & arround. Caste no bar. Ph: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW67

SUNNI Khan 28/5'8" B. Tech working in Shri Ram Group Salary 6 LPA UP based family. Mobile: ▮▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW68

SYED/SKH/SIDDQ only for Handsome B.Tech 30/5'10" Manager MNC, Email: BHP at ▮▮▮▮ Mobile: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW69

4SM Pathan Boy Space Eng. Ph. D 31/5'8" V. Fair H'some Edu. U.P. W. Fmly Reqrd Fair B'ful Edutd. Girl No Dowry E: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW70

SM4 Sunni Sayyed Boy 27/5'10" MBA settled own buss. preferred edu. G. LKG Girl 20/24yrs 5'5"(Max). # ▮▮▮▮

MGBW71

SUNNI Muslim Male 5'6" 34 yrs, HSC divorcee, Million aire seeks highly qlfd, smart suitable bride, ▮▮▮▮

MGBW72

SUNNI Mughal 27/165 smart only boy sales Manager in Pharma earns 5 Lac PA. Caste no bar. Em: ▮▮▮▮ M: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW73

SAYED 29, 5'9" religious, MS wrkng in UK. L'king for well edcted girl with Islamic val's ▮▮▮▮ Mb: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW74

SM Pathan Family of Industrialist 30/ 6'2" Handsome fair AMU Edu Ceramic Technologist Director of Ceramic Manufacturing Plant in NCR seeks very Beautiful tall fair convt, educated girl 21-26. Caste no bar. Cont. ▮▮▮▮ Email: ▮▮▮▮

MGBW75

LUCKNOW Based Syed family seeks Prof. Qlfd. girl for B. Tech/MBA Son 26/5'8" Wkg. Delhi MNC. Send CV/Photo to Email: ▮▮▮▮

MGGW1

S.M. beautiful divorcee Ansari girl con-vented 28/5'-3" issueless. Marriage lasted only six days, pursuing Ph.D., Contact

MGGW2

Alliance invited for a well educated Sunni North Indian girl twenty-six Years, based in Oman (Muscat), Contact:

MGGW3

SM Doctor Parents are looking 4 a H'some tall MD/MS boy within 30 from respectable family for their daughter 5'5" B'ful MBBS & preparing for specialization. Plz mail details with Photograph to E: M:

MGGW4

SM 4 Shia Muslim girl 25/5'4" b'ful M.Sc./B.Ed. Lecturer Jaipur. Early mar-riage. Call:
Em:

MGGW5

SM for Sunni Shk MBBS PG Dr. girl fair b'ful 27 yrs. Email:

MGGW6

Sunni Syed seeks well established Groom for 25 yr/ 5'5" Patna b'sd, M.Sc Biotech final Islamically Inclined, plesant feature, caring. # Email:

MGGW7

Sunni shekh Siddiqi girl 24 yrs. 5'4" wheatish Technical Support Engr. working with Multinational Co. Delhi. Send BHP Email:

MGGW8

SM4 Sunni Muslim 28'5'4" slim smart wheatish colour M.Com B.Ed D. Comp. & Urdu working girl. Contact:

MGGW9

Sunni Muslim Khan wrkg girl, 29 yrs/ 5'2" B Sc. Early Marriage. No Dowry. Send brief detail with recent photo at

MGGW10

Suitable Match for a Sunni Muslim Siddiqui girl, 31, MBA, belonging to a reputed business family of Delhi. Girl hav-ing her own marketing business in Dubai.

MGGW11

PQM for SM 26/5'4" B.Tech Convent edu-cated b'ful working girl. Mobile:
Email:

MGGW12

FOR SM Sheikh 32/5'4" b'ful lawyer girl seeking groom from high values, respectable Sunni profnls India/abroad # Eml:

MGGW13

SM for Sheikh Siddiqui Girl 22/5'4" stud-ied Allsaints Nainital persuing PGDM Amity Noida from high status reputed family seeks settled boy from good family background preferred PCS, CA, IIT, IIM. Mob:

MGGW14

Mumbai-based Khan family from North 29/5'2" Msc, beautiful V. fair assisting fam-ily shipping business, wanted well settled match in Mumbai. Email

MGGW15

SM4 b'ful/slim 32/5'2" sunni, well educat-ed, wkg girl, seeks qlfd, well settled boy from all over India/abroad

MGGW16

SUNNI Khan 26/5'3" slim very Beautiful smart MBA educated, U.P. based family. Mobile: Email:

MGGW17

FOR MUSLIM SUNNI GIRL 29/5'4", POOR FAMILY, 9TH PASSED, CONTACT: ███████

MGGW18

SHEIKH 25/5'4" CONVT. EDU., M.SC, SMRT GIRL FATHER PROF., SEEKS WELL QLFD & STLD BOY ███████ EMAIL: ███████

MGGW19

SM4 Sunni Muslim Sheikh fair B'ful girl 30/ 5'1" /MCA working MNC Gurgaon. Cont: ███████ Em: BP at ███████

MGGW20

Alliance invited for Sunnii Sheikh Muslim, Very B'ful elegant girl. Only child. 27/ 5'3". BIT MBA working in NCR 14LPA from Prof. Qlfd. Well educated practicing Muslim Family. Email: ███████

MGGW21

SUNNY Syed girl 32+ /5'4", MA Urdu, Dip Mass. Comm. Nikah held but not Ruksati. Boy up to 40 Yrs reply. M: ███████ EM: ███████

MGGW22

SM4 Sheikh/ Sayed fair homely 82/5'4" MBA Girl of highly edutd fmly. Early Decent marriage. M: ███████ E: ███████

MGGW23

Suitable match for Sunni Wheatish girl 26/5'3" MA B.Ed Aligarh, M.Phil (Eco) Ph: ███████

MGGW24

SM bful girl 30/5'4" architect Higher Rank Govt. job from high status decent b-ground cont: ███████ Eml: musli- ███████

MGGW25

SM4 b;'ful fair Ansari grl 30/5'3 wkg MNC. Fthr pri\ncipl in KV, brothrs engg. M: ███████

MGGW26

ALLIANCE invited from Professionals/B'men for 28/5'7" Good looking, Decent & Cultured girl pursuing MBA. Sayyed Business family of Delhi. Please Email: ███████

MGGW27

SM 4 SK Siddiq Girl 22/5'3" fair, slim through out Conv. Edu. Flu. Eng. spk M. Sc Bio Tech. Oct 09 Down 2 Earth strong Moral fibre U.P. based edu Fly Father Army Officer Army Officer preferred M: ███████

MGGW28

SM fmly seek well Estb. Match for their Dghtr 26/5'3" fair well edctd (B.Com/NPTT/Prsng MBA) prfrbly from Delhi/NCR. Caste no bar. ███████ Email: ███████

MGGW29

SM 4 Sunni Muslim 25/5'1"+slim & V.attr Conv M.Tech wrkg MNC Delhi from Relg Highly Edu fmly of W/UP Ph: ███████

MGGW30

SUNNI Sheikh Prof, ftlfd MBA, MSW 32/5'4" gori slim Father Ex. Class-I Officer seeks qlfd. settled boy. Early marriage. Mobile: ███████

MGGW31

SUNNI Ansari for BDS 30½/5'1" wheatish girl. No dowry. Father Consumer Forum President send photo data to ███████

MGGW32

SM Girl beautiful, slim, fair 25/5'2 IT graduate. Boy should be qualified well settled & from respectable family. Reply with B/P at ███████

MGGW33

DUBAI based NRI Syed fmly seeks alliance for their d'ghtr 28 yrs/5'2" conv edu. Only serious Nrth Indn Sunni Muslim respond.Em: ███████

MGGW34

SHAIKH 27/5'3", Fair, MA, B.Ed, Govt. teacher, seeks edu. well estb., boy from educated cultered family from Delhi/ NCR. Email: ███████

MGGW35

WUP based Sunni M.S fair b'ful girl 30/5'3"/2.5LPA wkg Govt. Teacher seeks Pref. Upper Caste Well Settled boy from WUP/NCR # ▮ Em: ▮

MGGW36

SUNNI Sheikh Girl 24 5'4" fair B'ful MBA B.Com UP based family. Father CI-I officer. # ▮ Eml: ▮

MGGW37

SM Sheikh girl 23/5'5" B'ful fair Convent Edu MBA Amity wkg IIPM as Manager HR educated family. Father Exporter Kota. Raj # ▮ Email: ▮

MGGW38

SM4 UP based Sunni Pathan b'ful fair 29/57" Supervisor Air Hostess in Qatar Airways Doha IILpa, Father retd Engr e'rly decent mrge. ▮

MGGW39

HYDERABADI SM Girl 24 5 ft. BE seeks practicing Muslim Professional, rich family value, age 25-28. Ph: ▮ Em: ▮

MGGW40

SM Sheikh Sayed 29/5'6" Scientist in US FDA Deptt. Seeks Medico/Prof. Qlfd. match, eml: ▮ or Contact: ▮

MGGW41

SM for Skh/Sidd 35/5'3" Cultered Div girl No Issue wkg as Lecturer M.A, B.Ed, pers MBA Email: ▮

MGGW42

SM4 Sunni Syed Girl 30/5'-2" Wkg in K.V. 22000 P.M. Only Govt. Servant need apply. Mobile: ▮ email: ▮

MGGW43

BENGALI Sunni Muslim 26 years, 160 cms, Wheatish, M.E (Electronics). Assistant Professor in University seeks 27-30 years Engineer/Professor/Doctor Groom. Jeevansathi.com profile ID- ▮ Contact: ▮ Email: ▮

MGGW44

WELL Educated SM Businessman family seeks alliance for their Doctor girl-MBBS.MD 28/5'4" Em: ▮ Mob: ▮

MGGW45

PQ well settled match for SM Ansari girl 28/5'3" Law Grad doing MBA. Send details Em: ▮ Ph: ▮

MGGW46

SM4 Pathan b'ful girl 32/5'3" M.A. seeks Prof Qlfd, well settled match Pref Lko based. Mobile: ▮ E-mail: ▮

MGGW47

ANSARI 34/5'5" Dr BHMS fair homely girl doing Practice in UAE Hosp. Parents setled UP. Brother's working Singapore. Mob: ▮

MGGW48

UP based Sunni Siddiqui Muslim Dr. Girl MBBS doing DGO -26/5'3" fair, b'ful, slim smart belong to reptd. family. Prefer Doctor M: ▮ Email: sh.sid-▮

MGGW49

SM Family seeks proposal for 31/5'.4" B'ful, fair & Religious BUMS working. Caste No Bar, Preferred Delhi NCR qualified settled boy. Contact ▮

MGGW50

MATCH for Divorce Syed 36/5'4" M.Sc MBA Lecturer IT College (Prefer Public Sector job) Email: ▮

MGGW51

B'FUL Prof Qlfd Convtd Fair Cltrd Pathan Girl 27/5'4" frm Rspctble zamindar Fmly of UP now bsd at Delhi Fthr & Bro CL-1 Offr. Ph: ▮ E: ▮

271

MGGW52

SM/ Shk 26/5'5" PhD (Chem) working slim girl Regsresp. family seek well stld shk syed boy Cont at. ████████ Email: ████████

MGGW53

ANSARI 30/ 5'4" B.Tech work in Delhi. Div. Issuless Girl seek prof. qlfd. Boy. Contact ████████ Caste no bar.

MGGW54

SM Khan girl 29/150 /4 LPA b.ful Pqlfd wkng spratd in 1 month divorcee seeks match from Engr MBA / MCA/ Govt. Ofcr. Send BP to ████████ # ████████

MGGW55

SM4 b'ful slim Sunni Ansari girl 29/5'4" M.Sc Chem Govt. Teacher qlfd fmly ████████

MGGW56

SM4 b'ful fair, convt edu BTech Sunni Khan girl 5'2" Oct '85, wkg MNC Singapore seeks well settled Dr/Eng/MBA/Civil Servant. BHP to Em: ████████ Mobile:

MGGW57

DEL based sunni parents invites match for their Teacher daughter 26/5'3" MA, B.Ed Aligarh. M.Phil # ████████ BP to: ████████

MGGW58

SM4 29 yrs old 5'2", v.fair B'ful Upper Caste Sheikh Sididiqui Girl Phd currently wrking Cont: # ████████ Em: ████████

MGGW59

SM 4 B'ful Sunni Syed 28/5'3" Hly Qlfd wkg. Girl, invite Sunni Muslim Delhi/NCR based Reputed B'ness/Service class # ████████ Email: ████████

MGGW60

SM 4 Sheikh 29/5'3" B.Com Dip. NIFD. MBA Slim Fair B'ful Homely Girl. Father Cl-I Rly. Lko. Mobile: ████████ Eml: ████████

MGGW61

SUNNI Muslim Delhi Based Well Settled Broad Minded Match for 29/5'2" Smart Working Girl B.COM, M.L.L.B. Caste No Bar Early Marriage Contact: ████████

MGGW62

SM Sheikh Upite Girl 28/5'3" Fair Relgs Decent MBA Working In Corporate Hospital. Phone: ████████

MGGW63

SUNNI Muslim Religious Convt Edu 25/ 5'2" B.Comn LLB Fair Mansuri girl Fthr Retd Engr. E: ████████ Phone: ████████

MGGW64

21/5'4" V. fair, V.B'ful girl Muslim Sunni working in Airlines Grad. Pilot or Boy from same Prof Pref. Ph: ████████

MGGW65

SM_PATHAN B'ful, fair 32/51", Convent Edu, MBA Girl Wkg in Govt. Mission. Seeks 35-40 yr, Prof Qlfd, Unmrrd match ████████

MGGW66

SM4 Sunni Ansari 24/5'2" M. Sc. Biotech pursuing Ph. D. working JRF very fair convent educated, # ████████ Em: ████████

MGGW67

V fair B'ful Pathan girl 25/5'2"/B.Sc. B.Pharma doing BUMS seeks Dr. Er. MBA, Govt. Off. boy. Father Dr. send BP. E.M. ████████

MGGW68

Alliance invited for an Islamic minded, observant duteous and respectful PhD Chemistry girl (29 years, 5'2") of a respectable and good learned Siddiqui family from an educated, employed youth with good family background. Girl's father is a professor. Interested families may send their proposals or contact on ████████ email: ████████

MGGW69

SUITABLE match for Ansari b'ful, fair. Divorcee & Issueless Girl. 27/51" M.A. Contact # ███████ send details to: ███████

MGGW70

PQSM for Delhite 30/5' Issuless Div. Owner of 300 sq. yds Plot in Gr. Noida Staff Nurse in Delhi Govt. 5 LPA # ███████ Email: ███████ ███████

MGGW71

SM for Sheikh Siddiqui girl 25/5'4" M.Sc. (Bio Chem) Father AGM in Nationalized Bank. Contacts #: ███████ e-mail: ███████

MGGW72

SHEIKH 1985 born 165 cms. BE (CS) slim B'ful girl, father PCS, required H'some tall IIT IIM S'tus F'ly boy, photo must. Email: ███████

MGGW73

SM Dr. parents running Pvt. Hospital Req./DM, MCH, MD, MS boy decent F'mly for 26 fair, smart doing DGO. Em: ███████

MGGW74

M4 Sunni/Syed Girl 28/5'4" Graduate & Comp. Account Diploma wheatish with white spot on neck from UP. Khan, Syed & Sid. Prfd. # ███████

MGGW75

SM4 Sheik Sidiqi 26/5'3" M.Com, pursuing MBA, V.fair, B'ful Namazi Girl. Lectr in Mgmt College. Roorkee. Mo: ███████ email: ███████

The British Corpus

The British advertisements were drawn from the following editions of *The Times* (London):

'Men seeking Women':
- from the print edition of 4 March, 2011: 1–13
- from the print edition of 11 March, 2011: 14–16
- from the print edition of 18 March, 2011: 17–23
- from the print edition of 25 March, 2011: 24–27
- from the print edition of 1 April, 2011: 28–35
- from the print edition of 8 April, 2011: 36–40
- from the print edition of 15 April, 2011: 41–43
- from the print edition of 22 April, 2011: 44–45
- from the print edition of 6 May, 2011: 46–47
- from the print edition of 13 May, 2011: 48–50
- from the print edition of 20 May, 2011: 51–53
- from the print edition of 27 May, 2011: 54–64
- from the print edition of 3 June, 2011: 65–68
- from the print edition of 10 June, 2011: 69
- from the print edition of 17 June, 2011: 70–72
- from the print edition of 24 June, 2011: 73–75

'Women seeking Men':
- from the print edition of 4 March, 2011: 1–13
- from the print edition of 11 March, 2011: 14–18
- from the print edition of 18 March, 2011: 19
- from the print edition of 25 March, 2011: 20–26
- from the print edition of 1 April, 2011: 27–28
- from the print edition of 8 April, 2011: 29–36
- from the print edition of 15 April, 2011: 37
- from the print edition of 22 April, 2011: 38–39
- from the print edition of 6 May, 2011: 40–43
- from the print edition of 13 May, 2011: 44–45
- from the print edition of 20 May, 2011: 46–47
- from the print edition of 27 May, 2011: 48–50
- from the print edition of 3 June, 2011: 51–56
- from the print edition of 10 June, 2011: 57–62
- from the print edition of 17 June, 2011: 63–65
- from the print edition of 24 June, 2011: 66–67
- from the print edition of 1 July, 2011: 68–71
- from the print edition of 15 July, 2011: 72–75

GBMSW1

Geologist, courteous, passionate, faithful, 57, blue eyes, fair hair, 5'11, rugged, D.Phil, loves adventure, history, laughing, seeks exceptional lady, 48-57, slim, 5'5+, to adore permanently. SW. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW2

Boyish Englishman, public school/ Oxbridge type, traditionally cultured, well-spoken, youthful 50, seeks assertive, educated, feminine, retro-glamorous lady to adore in luxurious LTR. Ldn/SW. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW3

Professional, slim, pleasant looking, educated gentleman, 68, excellent lifestyle, romantic, affectionate GSOH, seeks slim, feminine, educated lady for a romantic relationship, hoping for LTR. Yorks. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW4

Active, personable, young 75 male, full hair, good lifestyle, seeks happy, curvy, loving lady soulmate, 50-65, for romantic life together. Surrey. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW5

Kind, generous man, 45, keen on the finer things in life. Warm, fun-loving and equally giving women sought to join my charmed path in life! Ldn. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW6

Attentive, loyal, charismatic, active, well spoken, polite, romantic man, 54, GSOH, enjoys sailing, being outdoors, pubs, restaurants, dancing, cooking, wine and loves shopping! WLTM woman who is as easy-going as I am, for LTR. Hants. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW7

Successful, London based property developer, 47, many interests, WLTM a slim, attractive female, 40-52, who has a passion for life and wants a LTR. Ldn/ anywhere. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW8

Great catch. London based man, 48, handsome, charismatic, well educated, seeks interesting, attractive lady to em- bark on a whirlwind long term romance. SE. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW9

This isn't the easiest thing to do, but why not give it a go?! Professional man, 47, fit and attractive, loyal, happy, looking for a similar, n/s Miss Right, without ties, to enjoy the rest of life. Mancs. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW10

Co. Kerry guy, 44, loves cycling, camping, cooking, travel, seeks intelligent, funny, bright woman, any age, someone with passion, beliefs, views and politics, even if we disagree, for friendship, travel and LTR if the spark is there. Leeds/any- where. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓

GBMSW11
●Professional, well educated, sincere, romantic, generous man, 37, WLTM lady, 28-38, to settle down with. Scot. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW12
●Attractive black man, 5'10, young-looking 43, GSOH, down-to-earth, honest, caring and loyal, likes wine bars, concerts, music, walks in the park, weekends away, WLTM slim, caring, genuine, honest lady for LTR. Ldn/SE. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW13
●Creative, easy going photographer, 57, enjoys travelling, tennis, cycling, cooking, world music/cinema and good conversation, WLTM friendly and like-minded woman, to share life with. N Ldn. Call ▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW14
●Country loving gentleman, 61, 5'10, loyal, kind, romantic, tactile, affluent, loves the country, animals, cooking etc, seeks like-minded female, with similar qualities, for wonderful times, hopefully LTR. Sussex. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW15
●Attractive, athletic, romantic, tall, dark and h'some gentleman, 30s, likes travel, theatre, enjoying life and keeping fit, WLTM a warm, liberated lady for friendship and loving LTR. Ldn. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW16
●Confident, friendly man, 46, GSOH, loves sport, theatre, arts and dining out, WLTM attractive female, to enjoy her company, have good times with and LTR. Kent. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW17
●Lovely, attractive lady needed, 50-56, slim, n/s, for easy going, nice man, 60, who likes travel, nice food and wine, and very good company, for LTR, maybe more, nationality unimportant. Ldn Call ▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW18
●Tall, athletic, young-looking 54 year old, told good-looking, with GSOH, seeks a pretty woman, with a winning SOH and a slim curvy shape, for LTR. Ldn. Call ▓▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW19
●Romantic, solvent, energetic, sporty, white male, 50, seeks attractive, genuine, fun loving female with GSOH, for a lasting relationship. Surrey/Sussex. Call ▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW20
●Caring Berkshire male, 53, 5'10, feels 23, likes reading, walks, sports, music, WLTM woman, 40-60, for LTR, fun, conversation and walks in the rain. Berks. Call ▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW21
●Kind, warm-hearted, 6'2, very well travelled, compassionate, romantic man 40s, seeks loving, passionate, romantic lady for friendship, love and LTR. S England. Call ▓ Voicebox ▓

GBMSW22
●Dark-haired, blue-eyed fire fighter, enjoys cooking, countryside, eating out and log fires with a glass of wine, WLTM attractive, professional lady, 25-40, for LTR. Southern England/anywhere. Call ▓ Voicebox ▓ Txt Available

GBMSW23
●**Successful, solvent, adventurous,** articulate, London businessman, 65, seeks an open-minded, vivacious, intelligent lady, of any nationality, for LTR. Ldn/Home Counties. Call ████████████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW24
●**Professional white male,** 5'8, medium build, smart appearance, likes the cinema, travelling, restaurants, motor cars, WLTM an exotic black lady for friendship, leading to a LTR. Mids. Call me now on ██████ ████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW25
●**Keen to step out again.** 52 year old healthy, athletic, country guy, well travelled, seeking classy, feminine, positive woman to be my soulmate and maybe more. Yorks. Call me now on ████ ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW26
●**Tall, energetic professional male,** 56, GSOH, romantic and sensual, loves gardening, walks on the beach and cooking, WLTM exciting lady, 45-55, to share life's ups and downs. Chester/NW. Call me now on ████████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW27
●**Attractive businessman, 55,** divorced, London based, WLTM slim, attractive, business lady, 35-40, for LTR. Ldn/SE. Call me now on ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW28
●**Are you a slim, petite and fun woman?** If you are looking for an active, outdoors, educated, generous, professional man, mid 60s, for a caring, loving and considerate LTR, please get in touch. Ldn. Call ████ ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW29
●**Active, solvent male,** 60s, 5'10, slimmish build, n/s, loves travel, history, current affairs, enjoys life, seeking similar lady for LTR, to make 2011 a year to remember. Cambs/Essex/Suffolk or near. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW30
●**Too well travelled,** intelligent 60 year old man - the ideal partner (tactile, talkative, cooks et al) but needing to land again with a slim, open-minded lady. Jersey. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW31
●**Tall, slim, active male,** 43, enjoys the arts and has many interests, seeks lovely, witty, sophisticated lady, for LTR. W Mids/anywhere. Call ████████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW32
●**Semi-retired teacher, 66,** seeks warm, sensual female, 45-65, for daytime trips and LTR. SE. Call ████████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW33
●**Caring, reliable guy,** 50, 5'11, athletic build, likes music, theatre, travel, WLTM nice, genuine lady, 33-47, to share good times, and LTR. Worcs. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW34
●**Cheshire businessman** WLTM slim, petite, genuine lady, 30-40, to enjoy the good things in life, travel, nice restaurants, hopefully leading to a more permanent relationship. Chesh. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW35
●**Tall, attractive, fit male,** 50s, WLTM slim, petite, seductive, soft and gentle lady for fun and LTR. Hassle free. Ldn. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW36

●**Attractive gentleman, intelligent,** educated, honest, healthy, new widower, enjoys fun and laughter, walking, gardening, theatre, Radio 4 and foreign travel, needs slim, warm, 60+ lady, for happy LTR, OHAC. Chester/N Wales. Call ███████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW37

●**Gentleman, 50s,** who believes in old fashioned values WLTM someone very special to enjoy a wonderful, romantic and exciting future together. Mids. Call ████ ██████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW38

●**Kind, considerate male,** early 60s, with many interests including theatre, the arts, cycling, National Trust buildings, travel, good food and wine, looking for a companion and soulmate. Dorset. Call ██████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW39

●**Been extremely lucky in life** and have a deep passion for it. Attractive, handsome male, 45, WLTM lady, 28-45, for LTR. Glos. Call ███████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW40

●**Educated, tall, slim,** fit, good-looking man, 62, enjoys outdoor pursuits and warm. climates, WLTM attractive, elegant, audacious lady for fun and hopefully LTR. Oxon/Glos. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW41

●**Warm, caring, professional male,** 48, 6'1, fair hair, blue eyes, loyal, honest, intelligent, articulate and solvent, enjoys sport, travel and socialising, seeking slim, loyal lady for LTR. Herts. Call ██████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW42

●**Professional man, 44,** live in Bucks, work in London, educated, fluent in French, wide varieties, looking for a long term partner late 30s-40s. Ldn/SE. Call ████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW43

●**South Kensington,** tall, slim, attractive Englishman, architect/designer, seeks slim, black girlfriend for one to one LTR, lawyer accountant or similar, professional. Ldn/SW. Call ██████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW44

●**Discerning, amicable, romantic,** tactile, assertive, generous and fun, young 53, seeks feminine, adventurous, leggy, educated, fashionable and sensuous woman for all seasons. SE/anywhere. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW45

●**There's many a fine tune played** on an old fiddle. Kind, sincere, n/s widower, 65, seeking slim lady for LTR to pluck her heartstrings. Ldn/SE. Call ████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW46

●**Sensitive man,** kind, caring, young 63, interested the arts walking and gardening, seeks, n/s woman for LTR. Yorks/anywhere. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GBMSW47

●**Attractive, professional, tall,** slim, fit, educated, solvent, tactile, sensual, passionate, well travelled, many interests, GSOH, 64, seeks slim, attractive, elegant, sexy lady 45-65, for LTR. Bucks. Call ████ ████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GBMSW48

⚫Kind, warm hearted, n/s, widower, 64, 5'9, animal lover, enjoys socialising, days out, theatre etc, seeking sophisticated lady for LTR, to share quality times together. Ldn/SE. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW49

⚫No man is an Island. Caring widower, graduate, seeks educated female, 60-70, for LTR. Easy-going with no ties. N Ldn. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW50

⚫Well preserved, tall, slim, 60, quiet, active, educated and good-looking, loves days out, reading, music and football, seeks slim, attractive; quiet lady, 45-60, for LTR. Chesh/NW. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW51

⚫Presentable, professional male, honourable and kind, many interests, seeks interesting, attractive lady for LTR. 50 miles radius of Tunbridge Wells. Ldn/SE. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW52

⚫Happy, smiling gentleman, youthful 61, slim, 6'2, widower, solvent, honest, artistic, many interests, loves life and always smiling, WLTM lady, 40-60, for LTR. E Anglia. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW53

⚫Caring, professional gentleman, 60s, tall, n/s, well-educated, easy-going, genuine, honest and solvent, WLTM sincere, intelligent, fun-loving lady, late 50s, to share convivial times and LTR. C Mids. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW54

⚫One man and his dog searching for an intelligent and up together soulmate for frolics in the sun leading to a LTR. Oxon. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW55

⚫Happy and contented carpenter, enjoys walking, cycling, motorbikes, gardening, pub meals, entertaining, looking for a lady, 40-65, to spend my life with. Northampton area. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW56

⚫Professional, 65, 6'2, easy-going, warm, caring, cultured, WLTM kind, caring, genuine woman for friendship leading to LTR. Ldn. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW57

⚫Attractive, tall, slim, happy, successful, divorced gentleman, 50s, lovely south Dartmoor home, seeks happy, successful, special lady soulmate to share happy new horizons together. Exeter/Plymouth/SW. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW58

⚫Affectionate, kind widower, 70, easy-going, enjoys discussion and most music, animal lover, WLTM human companion, 48-70, to share life together. Spain/UK. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓

GBMSW59

⚫Howard Hughes seeks soulmate. Tall, charming, affable gent with traditional values, 58, seeks attractive, easy-going, country lady, 40-60, for friendship initially and possible LTR. Suffolk/anywhere. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW60

⚫Lawyer 4 love, 59. In good nick, outgoing, very sociable with subversive SOH, loves indoor/outdoor games, seeks slim, tactile femme, 42-54, for none too brief encounter. Yorks/Lancs/NE. Call ▓▓▓▓▓ Voicebox ▓▓▓ Txt Available

GBMSW61

⬤**Early 60s but looks much younger,** has an active lifestyle, I play golf, cycle and ski, and enjoy a bit of culture, very interested in meeting someone for a serious LTR. Oxon. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW62

⬤**Slim built man,** 38, 6'2, enjoys travel, the arts, music, dining in/out, seeing friends and family, weekends away, WLTM his soulmate. Ldn/Essex. Call 0905 675 ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮ Txt Available

GBMSW63

⬤**Considerate, sincere, 73,** very young-at-heart, tall, slim, fit, dark hair, n/s, solvent, bereaved, WLTM caring, special lady, of any mature age, for LTR. Norfolk. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW64

⬤**Foxhunter, English gentleman,** ex public schoolboy, divorced, 59, 5'10, slim, countryside interests, dog owner, caring, romantic, tactile, seeks slim, attractive lady, to share love, laughter and possibly life. Wilts/Dorset. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW65

⬤**Hippie, small landlord,** art dealer, yoga man, 57, tall, slim, chilled, smoker, privately educated, well travelled, seeks vibrant, relaxed, fun loving woman for LTR. S Ldn. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW66

⬤**Doctor, good looks,** sincere, never married, no kids, genuine, 5'9, 52, young looks, likes keeping fit, theatre, cinema, travel, WLTM attractive lady, 38 or below, for LTR. Ldn/surrounds. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮ Txt Available

GBMSW67

⬤**Charming, romantic hedonist,** 40, attractive, warm, tall (6'), fit, loves walks on the beach, laughter and much more, seeks feminine, attractive, educated, slender lady, 25-35, n/s, for LTR. Ldn/Essex. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW68

⬤**Younger partner required** by Berkshire based businessman, late 40s, requires younger partner, 25-30, minimum 5'6, for LTR. Serious request, aca. Berks. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮ Txt Available

GBMSW69

⬤Friendly, sociable male, 70, tall, slim, enjoys music, theatre, keeping fit and bridge, WLTM genuine lady for friendship and possible LTR. Wirral. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW70

⬤**Jeffrey De Vere** seeks Audrey Fforbes-Hamilton. Tall, traditional, debonair gent, 58, seeks classy, country lady for LTR, interests include countryside, walking and historic places. Suffolk/anywhere. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW71

⬤**Farmer, businessman, 51,** tall, slim, kind, caring, sensitive, WLTM loving, kind, intelligent, feminine lady, 45-58, for LTR. Norfolk/E Anglia. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW72

⬤**Traditional gentleman, 69,** presentable, n/s, 6', slim, sociable, no ties, seeks slim, attractive lady, 60-70, for sharing, caring and loving LTR. Beds/Herts/N Hants/Cambs/Bucks Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮▮

GBMSW73

●Mature, sincere, friendly gentleman, country lover but equally fond of London, WLTM sincere, professional lady for LTR and possible family. Berks. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GBMSW74

●Widower, mid 70s, WLTM a very special, attractive, sophisticated, educated lady, 65-70+, with GSOH and appreciation of good food, France, motoring and music, looking for genuine love, care and LTR. E Dorset. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GBMSW75

●Slim, 68, thinker/erudite, sails/walks/ skies, bakewell/Rome, LTR. Derbs. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮ Txt Available

'Women seeking Men' 1–75

GMWSM1

●Beautiful, Intelligent and sophisticated lady, looking for a man to match, up to 65. Very late 40s, youthful, 5'10, genuine LTR only please. Mids. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM2

●Warm-hearted, young looking 50, GSOH, enjoys birding/nature, walking, travel, art, films, books, dining out, seeks like-minded male to share life, laughs and future. Hants. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM3

●Blonde, young 60, feminine, confident, elegant, slim, Jewish background, seeks London based gentleman, 60-75, financially very secure, honest and caring, for a loving, committed relationship. Ldn. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM4

●Sorted, sensual, sane woman, 54, WLTM sensual, warm, confident man, for LTR and an amazing relationship. Mids. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM5

●Charming, sweet and gentle hearted woman, slim, long legged, curvy, creative, intelligent, balanced, loving and warm, wltm a successful, warm, bright man, to enjoy a LTR with. Ldn. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM6

●WLTM an intelligent man, 60-69, with GSOH, who likes travelling, theatre, arts, jazz, gardening, for sharing life's journey. Surrey/Kent. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM7

●Dark skinned beauty, 40, easy on the eye, with favourable attributes, seeks well established, affluent gentleman, for life long partner. Ldn. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM8

●Aphrodite awaiting Adonis, stunning, unique, faithful, genuine single black female, seeking a respectable, sincere and trustworthy white male, 40-49, for socialis- ing and friendship, leading to LTR. Ldn area only. Call ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM9

⊚**Praising, praying, promise keeper.**
Attractive, youthful, physically fit Christian woman, 52, who desires to meet a man, best friend and companion with a view to marriage. Mids. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM10

⊚**Pretty, graceful, very feminine,** sophisticated, interesting lady, 46, interests include theatre, art, opera, reading and travel, WLTM successful, dynamic, intelligent gentleman, for LTR. Ldn. Call ███████ ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM11

⊚**Me: brunette, happy,** intelligent, serious, cheekily youthful 51, slim and feminine. You: charismatic, generous, healthy, successful and honest, 50+. Us: enjoy good life and LTR. Ldn/SE. Call ███████ ███████ Voicebox ███ Txt Available

GMWSM12

⊚**Smart, spirited, socially** conscious, Female, 38, seeks Male, 30-52 with depth, humanity and wit, for endless banter/LTR. Ldn/Herts. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM13

⊚**This active widow** who believes life is not meant for living alone, seeks similar gentleman 65-75, to enjoy the rest of our lives together. SE/anywhere. Call ███████ ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM14

⊚**A beautiful, cultured, vivacious,** early 50s, stylish, intelligent, adores foreign films, theatre, classical music and travel, WLTM thoughtful, kind, solvent professional male, with similar eclectic tastes, for committed LTR. Ldn. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM15

⊚**Attractive, fair, intelligent, slim lady,** 50s, WLTM kind, sincere, solvent, amusing, professional man, 56-62, for possible LTR. Derby/Leics/Notts. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM16

⊚**Attractive, young looking** doctor, early 50s, WLTM genuine man, to share fun times together, hopefully leading to a LTR. Ldn. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM17

⊚**Beautiful, glamorous, sexy,** charming, elegant lady, educated, GSOH, enjoys theatre, fine restaurants, WLTM gentleman, successful, caring, kind, thoughtful, generous, 55+, for LTR. Ldn. Call ███████ ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM18

⊚**Romantic, attractive, feminine,** fun, intelligent, slim, 5'7, mid 60s, wide range of interests, looking for a LTR with sincere, n/s gentleman. NW. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM19

⊚**Slim, stylish, stunning,** tall brunette, early 50s, loves music, theatre, walking, the countryside and good conversation, seeks tall, attractive, genuine, interesting man, 53-65, for romance and LTR. NW. Call ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM20

⊚**Attractive, professional, grey eyed,** slim, blonde, 38, London girl, loves the country and animals, torn between two places, WLTM tall, understanding, like-minded man for possible long term commitment. SW/Ldn. Call me now on ███████ Voicebox ███

GMWSM21
●**Good-looking woman, 59,** seeks LTR with an established, urbane man, with a wide range of interests. I appreciate humour, a generous nature, tolerance and good manners. Ldn/anywhere. Call me now on ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM22
●**A beautiful, sensual,** charming, intelligent, feminine brunette, with sensational curves, early 40s, passionate about travel, music, languages and theatre, WLTM an educated, tall, professional gentleman, to share life's pleasures in a LTR full of intimacy. Anywhere. Call me now on ▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM23
●**Elegant, stylish, attractive,** cultured, honest, 60s female, loves the arts, royal opera house in particular, dining, travel, looking for someone kind, solvent, successful, leading to LTR. Ldn/Herts. Call me now on ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮ Txt Available

GMWSM24
●**Kind, caring black female,** easy-going, 5'8, medium build, enjoys the outdoors, long walks, music, dancing, looking for LTR with a white male, 50-65. Ldn. Call me now on ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM25
●**Striking bluey green eyes,** slim, long blonde hair, 5'9, stylish, 30s, professional, sporty, VGSOH, into design, dining, outdoors, travel, seeks 6'+, white, GSOH, 35-48, handsome, young looking, professional for LTR. Ldn/Herts. Call me now on ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM26
●**Gorgeous, sexy lady** seeking my future husband. 52 year old lady looking for a very special man, 45-63. Call me now on ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM27
●**Joie de vivre.** Attractive, semi retired, professional lady, loves the arts, music, opera, travelling and good food, WLTM professional man, 65-68, n/s, charismatic, generous spirit, GSOH, to share interests and LTR. C Ldn. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮ Txt Available

GMWSM28
●**Beautiful, oxford educated,** well travelled, European lady, 30s, looking to settle and enjoy the finer things in life, with a financially stable, sophisticated gentleman. Bristol/Bath. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM29
●**Attractive, slim female,** vegetarian, photo graduate, n/s, enjoys the arts, wild places, walking, travel, seeks slim, fit, n/s male for LTR. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM30
●**Feminine, warm, friendly female,** 30, seeks chivalrous gentleman, 35-50 for lovely times, hopefully leading to a traditional family life in the future. Bucks/anywhere. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM31
●**Attractive, professional lady,** 60s, slim and feminine, 5'4, well-travelled, seeks sincere, intelligent, generous, unattached, professional gentleman, 63-70, to share life. Berks/Surrey/Hants. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮ Txt Available

GMWSM32

●**Blue eyed, blonde, attractive woman,** 64, slim, 5'4, GSOH, caring and educated, enjoys reading, conversation, arts, travel and cooking, wishes to grow old disgracefully with a man, 58-68, with similar background and interests. Leics/Mids. Call ▮▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM33

●**Feminine, slim, attractive woman,** very youthful 44, warm and fun-loving, enjoys theatre, cinema, country walks, WLTM sincere, attractive, professional male, 45-55, for LTR. S Ldn/Surrey. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM34

●**Attractive, slim blonde,** young 54, well-educated, cultured, creative, works in film industry, seeks kind, gallant, high-achieving renaissance man, 40-64, for stimulating loving LTR. C Ldn. Call ▮ ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM35

●**Cultured, slim, attractive,** vivacious, blonde widow, young 64, 5'7, medic, retired, no ties, enjoys the arts, travel, country, city, seeks professional gentleman, 60-75, for LTR. Oxon/Ldn/anywhere. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM36

●**Classy, cultured, petite,** attractive London lady, 61, seeks emotionally evolved guy, 60s, to share good times and bad. Limited baggage accepted! Ldn. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM37

●**Ex-Essex lady!** Very attractive, feminine, intelligent, slim, 5'7, mid 60s, wide range of interests, looking for LTR with sincere gentleman, n/s. NW/anywhere. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM38

●**A gorgeous, sensual,** shapely red head awaits you. Ultra feminine, 55, lovely smile, sexy voice, sparkling blue eyes, with 'It' factor, seeks masculine, sporty, professional/military male, 45-55, for LTR. Oxon/Thames Valley. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM39

●**Beautiful, slim, feminine lady,** mid 60s, intelligent, with wide interests, seeking LTR with sincere, n/s gentleman. NW/anywhere. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM40

●**Gorgeous black female,** 38, 5'8, company lawyer, enjoys good conversation, reading, eating out, WLTM clever, kind male for LTR. Ldn. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM41

●**Bubbly, attractive, blonde woman,** 56, WLTM man of action. I enjoy socialising, holidays, keeping fit and being happy, seeking n/s man, GSOH, for LTR. W Sussex. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮ Txt Available

GMWSM42

●**Attractive, blue-eyed brunette,** loves London life, eating out, galleries, fashion, theatre, with a tall, masculine man, who will enhance my life, for LTR. Ldn. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM43

●**Pre-Raphaelite woman, 48,** tall, slim, feminine, engaging, arts educated, interested in Victorians, heritage, good conversation, seeks intelligent, romantic, cultured, handsome, solvent gentleman for LTR. Hamps. Call ▮▮▮ Voicebox ▮▮

GMWSM44
●**Attractive, petit, Yorkshire lawyer,** 45, seeks tall, intelligent, successful male, 44-54, for LTR, sense of fun, romantic disposition, and youthful positive outlook essential. Yorks/Mancs/Newcastle. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM45
●**True companion, 40s,** law lecturer, curvy, classy, very warm and bubbly, loves meeting people, travel, theatre, movies and music, especially Motown, WLTM nice, white gentleman for LTR. NTW please. N Ldn. Call███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM46
●**Looking out for love as the song goes!** Reliable, 51, hoping that I'll finally find my Lancelot after years of searching, I'm sure he's out there, we just keep missing each other. Could it be you? Ldn. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM47
●**Happy, positive, bubbly,** thoughtful, intelligent lady, very fit, energetic, young looking 60, slim, artistic and creative, seeks honest, articulate, n/s, dog loving gent to cherish forever. Norfolk/E Anglia. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM48
●**Female, late 50s,** 5'6, slim, shoulder length brunette hair, likes reading, meals out, cosy evenings in, cinema; theatre, looking for tall man, 5'11+, with similar interests, for LTR. M'side. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM49
●**Very attractive, slim,** successful, professional lady, active (ski, sail, ceroc, gym) loyal and honest, no baggage, seeks successful, fun loving male, 45-60, for LTR. Ldn. Call ███ Voicebox ███ Txt Available

GMWSM50
●**Attractive, dark haired,** green eyed female, 44, honest, generous, seeks sensitive, caring male, 44-50, who loves nature and animals for LTR. Devon. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM51
●**Slim, attractive, London based lady,** 60s, interested in the visual arts, cooking, gardening and painting, GSO fun, WLTM traditional male, 65-70, who is curious about life, love and sharing it. Ldn/anywhere. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM52
●**Wildly independent lady,** 51, no ties, average height and build, bright and articulate, seeks genuine, intelligent, tall man for committed LTR. SE Wales. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM53
●**Beautiful, brunette, mid 60s,** slim, 5'7, intelligent, adventurous, GSOH and very feminine, interests include cooking, wine, antiques and travel. Looking for LTR with sincere gentleman. NW/anywhere. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM54
●**Attractive, 56, blonde,** blue-eyed lady, GSOH, caring, honest and romantic, WLTM like-minded, tall gentleman to share life with. NE. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM55
●**Striking, tall, slim,** stylish brunette, 50s, loves music, theatre, walking, the countryside and good conversation, seeks tall, attractive, genuine, interesting man, 53-65, for romance and LTR. NW. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM56

●**Dark blonde, green eyes,** size 8-10, 42, interested in art, cinema, the gym and going out for cosy drinks, WLTM intelligent, kind, talkative male, to enjoy a committed relationship. NW. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM57

●Feminine, feisty and fun woman, 55, WLTM someone who is fit, good company and might share my dream of growing old disgracefully! Surrey. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM58

●Lively independent lady, 51, no ties, average height and build, bright and articulate, seeks genuine, intelligent, tall man for committed LTR. SE Wales. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM59

●Woman, 63, looking to begin a friendship which may lead to something more, and then to be part of a couple again. Life's better when shared. Cardiff. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM60

●Slim, feminine, blonde lady, 54, full of joie de vivre, enjoys walking, skiing, gardens, cooking and laughter, WLTM quietly confident, professional man, 50-65, 5'10+, to share this wonderful life. Mids. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM61

●Youthful, slim, caring, loyal lady, enjoys travel, reading, walking, socialising and yachting, seeking a soulmate with similar interests, to tread life's path together. Ldn/Home Counties. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM62

●Very attractive blonde, well educated, 48, 5'8, GSOH, energetic, sporty, honest, articulate, seeks equal, 40-55, to share life, love and laughter. Shrops/Shrewsbury. Call ███ Voicebox ███ Txt Available

GMWSM63

●Intelligent, independent, well-travelled lady, 40s, enjoys the arts, the outdoors, good conversation, humour, WLTM emotionally intelligent, witty, caring, easy-going man, hopefully for LTR. Ldn. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM64

●**Life can be even better when shared** with that special person, could it be you? Young 50s, green-eyed brunette. Shrops/Staffs/Chesh. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM65

●**Tall, slim, attractive brunette,** 25, WLTM her match. Intelligent, successful, international woman, enjoys skiing trips and trips to the theatre, WLTM man for LTR. Ldn. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM66

●**Attractive, professional elegant** blonde, late 40s, enjoys travel, Italy, the sea, arts, fine dining, looking for romantic LTR with warm, attractive, tall, professional gentleman, 42-55. SW/Ldn. Call ███ Voicebox ███

GMWSM67

●**Slim, attractive, petite lady,** loves art, music, theatre, the outdoors and travel WLTM genuine, attractive, professional gentleman, with old fashioned values for LTR. W Mids. Call ███ Voicebox ███ Txt Available

GMWSM68

●Widow, 61, professional, educated, slim, attractive, n/s, enjoys the outdoors, socialising, travel and the gym, seeking a good-looking, fit, active, kind, caring, solvent gentleman, 60s, for friendship and LTR. Brighton. Call me now on █████ ████ Voicebox ████ Txt Available

GMWSM69

●Intelligent, slim, lovely woman, young 60, blue eyes, fair hair, likes walking by the sea, days out, music, seeks reliable, kind, n/s, tall gent, 55-65, to share good times and possible LTR. Devon/SW. Call me now on ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM70

●Affectionate, warm, very attractive, educated young black lady, WLTM a nice polite white gentleman, 30-50, for LTR. Ldn. Call me now on ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM71

●Common sense male, up to 75 years old only, required by warm smart, intelligent, attractive woman, are you my counterpart? Aca. NW. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM72

●Slim, attractive, funny brunette, 5'6, young 50s, enjoys dining out, theatre, country walks and music, WLTM warm, funny, intelligent, trim male, 48-68, for friendship or ltr. NW. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM73

●Are you looking for a female who is a good companion and soulmate, 49, WLTM sincere gentleman with old-fashioned values, 58-68, for friendship and LTR. Anywhere. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM74

●A rare diamond, stunning, unique, faithful, genuine single black female, seeking a respectable, sincere and trustworthy white male, 41-50, for socialising and friendship, leading to LTR. Ldn area only. Call ████████ Voicebox ████

GMWSM75

●Professional blue-eyed graduate, 56, loves the countryside, travel, and The Arts, WLTM similar gentleman, 55-64, for LTR. Central England. Call ████████ Voicebox ████