

EAT-EXPRESSIONS: CASES FROM BANGLA AND ORIYA

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ABSTRACT: *Many of the Asian languages have a lot of expressions in which a verb meaning 'EAT' exhibits a number of metaphorical extensions along with the actual meaning of consuming per os and idiomatic expressions while used with different words. Eat-expression in Bangla and Oriya offers the scope for investigation as it is still a less-studied area, so this paper attempts to investigate how 'eat' expression manifests different shades of meanings in Bangla and Oriya when used with different words. The study will be based on collected data from Bangla and Oriya native speakers.*

KEY WORDS: Synonymy, Cohyponymy, Ambiguity, Reduplication.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Eat-expressions are used in our daily speech in a variety of ways. Including the meaning of consuming something, it develops many idiomatic expressions as well as metaphorical meaning while combined with different nominal words. We have found 67 of such expressions from Bangla, whereas in Oriya there are only 38 examples of such expressions. As Bangla and Oriya descended from the same Indo-Aryan family and share a lot of similarities we will examine here whether in this case they share similarities or not regarding semantic relations and metaphorical meanings. In Bangla we use such expressions almost in every sphere that's why it is sometimes said that Bengalees eat everything. And it is often spoken humorously. But it is connected with our everyday life and is inseparable. Whatever

we use in our daily speech with such expressions Eat exhibits broadly two types of meanings either the EATER as the agent or the EATER as the theme, patient, experiencer or exhibitor.

Hook and Pardeshi studied the Hindi-Urdu, Marathi eat-expressions from different aspects and also judged the semantic evolution of such expressions. According to them (2009a:3)“the Persian origin of these expressions is indicated by the survival in Urdu and Hindi that contain Persian formants –*xor* ‘EATer’ and –*xorii* ‘EATing’: *namak-xor* ‘servant; dependent’; *ġam-xor* ‘patiently suffering, meek’; *cuġal-xorii* ‘tattling;slander’ etc.”. In Bangla and Oriya we find such expressions giving the similar meaning as in (1) and (2):

1. *jar nun kheYechi tar khoti korte parbo na.*
 from whom salt eat-pres.perf.1st.Sg. his/ her loss do-inf can neg
 'I can't ditch the person whom I got help from.'

2. *jaharo nOmOk khaichi taro khYOti koriparibini.*
 from whom salt eat-pres.perf his/ her loss do-modal.fut.neg.
 'I can't ditch the person whom I got help from.'

Again according to them (2009a: 2) “we must acknowledge that much of the radiation in the meanings and functions of the predicate EAT occurred outside of South Asia, possibly in Central Asia but more likely in West Asia, and was imported into South Asia already in a highly evolved and proliferate state over the past thousand or so years of India's intense cultural and political contact with Persia and Persian”.

2. VARIOUS USAGES OF EAT-EXPRESSIONS

In our everyday life we use a lot of EAT expressions. Such expressions are created when we use another noun before /*kha-/* ‘eat’ to make a complex predicate in which /*kha-/* ‘eat’ becomes the operator and the noun is a contained noun or degenerate noun. These expressions exhibit the following continuum: A) Consuming *per os* (via the mouth), B) Non-*per os* extensions, C) Idiomatic expressions.

A) Consuming *per os*: This includes other subtypes such as,

i) In case of Eating: In Bangla we find the following examples,

1. *o bhat kheYeche.*
s/he rice eat-pres.perf.3p.
'He has eaten rice.'
2. *Se mach khete bhalobaSe.*
s/he fish eat-inf like-pres.3p.
'He likes fish.'

In Oriya we also have such examples,

3. *se bhatO khaibO.*
s/he rice eat-fut
'He will eat rice.'
- ii) In case of drinking: Both Bangla and Oriya colloquially use /*kha-*/ 'eat' to express the function of drinking something. Though Oriya has another form /*pibo-*/ for drinking. In Bangla,
4. *ar kOto jOl khabi?*
how much water eat-fut.2nd.
'How much will you drink water?'

Following examples are from Oriya,

5. *se ca khaibO.*
s/he tea eat-fut
'She will take tea.'
6. *se mOdO khaichi.*
s/he alcohol eat-pst
'He drank alcohol.'

iii) In case of smoking: Bangla and Oriya use /*kha-*/ to indicate the function of smoking. Bangla examples are:

7. *tumi sigareT khabē na.*
 you cigarette eat-fut. neg.
 'Do not smoke.'

In Oriya,

8. *se biRi khaYe.*
 s/he cigarette eat-pres.hab.
 'He smokes.'

iv) In case of chewing: Though it is different from consuming something but Oriya and Bangla express this function with the /kha-/ 'eat' verb. Bangla expressions,

9. *uni pan khaWa chere diyechen.*
 s/he betel eat-inf give up-pres.pref.3rd.Sg.hon.
 'He has given up taking betel.'

We have the following example from Oriya,

10. *se pan khaibO.*
 s/he betel eat-fut
 'He will eat betel.'

Though in English there are four different terms eat, drink, smoke, chew for the above four functions Bangla and Oriya use only one variety /kha-/ 'eat' to express all these.

B) Non-*per os* expressions: Except consuming *per os* and idiomatic expressions Bangla and Oriya possess other Eat-expressions which have some extended meanings which are not related to the actual meaning of consuming something. For examples,

Bangla examples:

11. *ghuS khaWa Samajik Oporadh.*
 bribe eat-non-fin. social crime
 'Taking bribe is social crime.'

12. *Taka kheYe ar kOtodin calabe?*
 money eat-non-fin. how long spend.fut.2nd.non-hon.

'How long will you take bribe?'

13. Ekbar gali khele jodi or Sikkha hOY.
once abuse eat-non-fin. if his/ her lesson be-pres.3rd
'He will learn only when he is abused.'

14. tuy ki SObar kache mukh khaWar jonno toyri thakiS?
you what everyone from face eat-inf.gen for ready remain.pres.2nd.Sg.non-hon.
'Are you always ready to get scolded?'

15. Eto lathi-jhaMTa khaWar pOreW o or kache jabey.
so much kick-broom eat-inf.gen after even his/ her near go-fut
'He will go to him even after getting so much insulted by him.'

16. kOTa ghuSi kheli?
how many punch eat-pst.2nd.Sg.non-hon
'How many punches you got?'

17. laThir baRi kheYechiS?
with stick hit eat-pres.perf.2nd.non-hon
'Have you got hit with a stick?'

18. aj tuy nirghat jhaR khabi.
today you definitely beat eat-fut.2nd.Sg.non-hon.
'Today you will surely get beaten.'

19. or buddhio aj mar khelo tor buddhir kache.
his/ her intelligence today beat eat-pst.3rd. your intelligence near
'Even his intelligence is nothing in front of yours.'

20. gaRiTā palTi khacche!
the car flip eat-pres.prog.
'The car is flipping over.'

21. *tini Ekhon palTi khacchen!*
s/he now change eat-pres.prog.hon.
'Now he is changing his opinion.'
22. *gali khete khete or din jaY.*
abuse eat-inf. eat-inf. his/her day go-pres.hab.
'He gets abused all the time.'
23. *SObar mukh kheYe kheYe or monTay biSie gEche.*
of all face eat-non-fin. eat-non-fin. his/her the mind by poison go-pst.
'He gets so much abused that he became cruel.'
24. *mar kheYe kheYe or obbheS hoYe gEche.*
beat eat-non-fin. eat-non-fin. his/her habit be-non-fin. go-pst.
'He is habituated with getting beaten.'
25. *gaRiTā abar signal kheYeche.*
the car again signal eat-pres.perf.3rd.Sg
'The car is again stuck in signal.'
26. *boITa khub bauns khacche.*
the ball very bounce eat-pres.prog.3rd.
'The ball is bouncing too much.'
27. *EkTa kaje Eto Taim khaWale colbe?*
one in work so much time eat-non-fin. run-fut.
'Don't spend so much time in a single work.'
28. *tuy SObetey kes khaS.*
you in everything case eat-pres.hab.2nd.Sg.non-hon.
'You always do blunders.'
29. *o Eto SOrol je bar bar dhoka khaY.*
s/he so innocent that again and again ditch eat-pres.3rd

'He is so simple that everybody ditches him.'

30. *tuy abar daga kheYechis?*

you again ditch eat-pres.perf.2nd.Sg.non-hon

'Are you again ditched?'

31. *kal o khub jhar kheYeche.*

yesterday s/he very rebuke eat-pres.perf.3rd.Sg.

'He has been abused yesterday.'

32. *Onek bhaW kheYechis, ebar cOl.*

much value eat-pres.perf.2nd.Sg.non-hon now let's go

'Now stop glorifying yourself.'

33. *baR khaWaS na ar.*

increase feed.pres.2nd.non-hon neg no more

'Don't flatter anymore.'

34. *beSi kOtha bolte giye baMS kheli to?*

excessive talking about to say bamboo eat-pst.2nd.non-hon.

'You got snubbed for talking so much nuisances.'

35. *r kOto cOR khabi tuy?*

how much slap eat-fut.2nd.Sg.non-hon. you

'How many times will you get slapped?'

36. *gaTTa khabi kintu ebar.*

blow on head eat-fut.2nd.non-hon. but this time

'Now you will get a blow on your head.'

37. *o majh theke Sud khacche.*

s/he middle from interest eat-pres.prog.3rd.

'He is getting profit.'

38. o kintu puro gOlpoTay kheYeche.
 s/he but whole that story eat-pres.perf.3rd.Sg
 'He has believed the whole story.'
39. oy EkTa lok SObai ke ghol khaWacche.
 that one person all to buttermilk eat-pres.prog.3rd.Sg.
 'He makes fool of everyone.'
40. ma baccaTake cumu khetei tar kanna bOndho holo.
 mother to the child kiss eat-non-fin. his/ her cry stop-pst.
 'The child stop crying as soon as his mother kissed him.'
41. Onek ador kheYechiS. Ebar oTh.
 much pamper eat-pst.perf.2nd.Sg.non-hon. now get up
 'You are getting to much pampered, no more.'
42. o preme dhakka kheyechi.
 s/he in love push eat-pres.perf.3rd.Sg.
 'He got ditched in love.'
43. dhakka kheYe bEtha peli naki?
 push eat-non-fin. pain get ques.
 'You got pain by the thrust?'
44. r kOtodin haWa kheYe bERabi?
 How much time air eat-non-fin. roam-fut.2nd.non-hon.
 'How long will you roam freely?'
45. ekTu bairer haWa kheYe aSi.
 a little of outside air eat-non-fin. come-pres.1st
 'Let us go for a walk.'

46. bOka kheYe kheYe or aS meTe na.
 rebuke eat-non-fin. eat-non-fin. his/her wish fulfil-pres.hab. neg.
'He gets rebuked repeatedly.'

47. cabuk kheYe or piTher camRa SOKto hoYe gEche.
 whip eat-non-fin. his/her of back skin hard be-non-fin. go-pst.
'He is accustomed with being whipped.'

48. oy bhOYTay oke kure khacche.
 that fear him to scrape eat-pres.prog.3rd.Sg.
'That fear is killing him.'

49. tuy Sobetey thOtomOto khaS.
 you in everything puzzle eat-pres.hab.2nd.non-hon.
'Always you get confused.'

50. ey jamaTar sathe ey jutoTa mil khacche.
 this dress with this shoe similarity eat-pres.prog.3rd.
'The shoe goes with this dress very well.'

Oriya examples are following:

51. se maNkOThu gali khauchi.
 s/he from mother rebuke eat-pres.prog
'His mother is scolding him.'

52. se maNkOThu bOka khauchi.
 s/he from mother rebuke eat-pres.prog.
'His mother is scolding him.'

53. se lattO khaibO.

s/he kick eat-fut.

'He will get a kick.'

54. *se cabuk khaibO.*

s/he whip eat-fut.

'He will be whipped.'

55. *se jabDa khaibO.*

s/he slap eat-fut.

'He will be slapped.'

56. *se maRO khaibO.*

s/he beat eat-fut.

'He will be beaten.'

57. *se sigareT khaYe.*

s/he cigarette eat-pres.hab.

'He smokes.'

58. *taku bhOYO khaijawchi.*

him fear eat-pres.prog.

'Fear is destroying him.'

59. *taku rogO khaijawchi.*

him disease eat-pres.prog.

'Disease is destroying him.'

60. *se capkura khaibO.*

s/he slap eat-fut.

'He will be slapped.'

61. *taku bhutO khaijibO.*

him evil spirit eat-fut.pass.

'Evil spirit will destroy him.'

62. *taku Dahani khajibO.*
him witch eat-fut.pass.
'Witch will destroy him.'

63. *se lancO khaila.*
s/he bribe eat-pres.perf.
'He has taken bribe.'

64. *se TONka khaila.*
s/he money eat-pres.perf.
'He has taken money illegally'

65. *bOrsa maROre pattOrOTa khaijaichi.*
due to heavy rain the stone eat-pres.pass.
'Due to heavy rain the stone is being destroyed.'

66. *mu raNO khauchi je mu e biSOYre kahaku kohibini*
I promise eat-pres.prog. that I this in matter to anyone tell-fut.neg.
'I promise, 'I would not tell this matter to anyone'.'

67. *se duy saNgONkO bhitOre bOhutO kichi meLo khaYe.*
these two friends between many similarities eat-pres.hab.
'These two friends share a lot of similarities.'

C) Idiomatic expressions: Eat-expressions are used as set expressions that include idioms and proverbs in Bangla and Oriya. Some such expressions from Bangla are following:

68. *o Saper galeW cumu khaY bENer galeW cumu khaY.*
s/he of snake cheek kiss eat-pres.3rd of frog cheek kiss eat-pres.3rd.
'He kisses both the angel and the satan.'

69. *ma chele ke bollen “matha kha, na kheYe jabi na”*
mother son to tell-pst head eat-pres.2nd. neg eat-non-fin. go.fut.2nd.Sg. neg
'Mom said to the boy take your food before you go out.'

70. *dOya kore ar matha khaS na.*
mercy do-non-fin. no more head eat-pres.2nd.non-hon. neg.
'Please don't irritate.'

71. *akaS poR khaWa chele.*
Akash burn eat-non-fin. boy
'Akash is an expert guy.'

72. *Se jonmey tar bap-make kheYeche.*
s/he after birth his/ her to father-mother eat-pres.perf.
'He has killed his parents.'

Oriya examples:

73. *se OIOksOni jhiOTa ta bapo-maNku khaigOla.*
she ill-fated girl her father-mother eat-pst.
'She killed her parents.'

74. *se mo munDO khauchi.*
s/he my head eat-pres.prog.
'He is irritating me.'

3. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

When we examine the Eat-expressions we find that the operator verb /kha-/ 'eat' shares the element of meaning with the various senses of Eat in one or another set of Eat-expressions. The use of Eat as the operator verb is extended not on the basis of its fundamental meaning of

consuming *per os* (via the mouth) but on the basis of its meaning in combination with various contained nouns. As the non-*per os* expressions are more interesting than other categories such as consuming *per os* and idiomatic expressions we will concentrate here only on the non-*per os* category.

3.1. Existing literature often mentioned these expressions as complex predicate but in Bangla and Oriya we can't explain these expressions as complex predicate because complex predicate involves both the combination of verb + verb and noun/ adjective + verb whereas in these two languages these expressions are consists of noun + verb. In Bangla we use compound verbs to explain those expressions which mean consuming *per os*,

/bhat kheYe ne/

rice eat-inf. take-pres

'Take your rice.' But such use of compound verbs is not found in case of non-*per os* expressions, like

**/bOka kheYe ne/*

scolding eat-inf. take.pres

'eat and take scolding'

we find an example of compound verbs where we get the meaning of *per os* but not the meaning of non-*per os*, as in */dhoka kheYe ne/* we have the meaning of consuming the */dhoka/* 'type of oil-cake' *per os* but when it is used in the sense of non-*per os* expression it would not give any explanation.

Here collocation plays a crucial function in these expressions as the contained nouns can't be used with any other verb to make such expressions. For example we can't say

**/dhoka neWa/*

ditch take-inf.

'to take ditch'

**/bOka paWa/*

rebukeget-inf.

'to get rebuke'

**/thOtomOto jaWa/*

puzzle go-inf.

'to go puzzle'

Thus there are collocational restrictions in these combinations.

3.2. While analyzing these we find that here some semantic relations are performing important role in these expressions.

3.2.1. *Synonymy*: This sense relation is one of the obvious ways in which the extensions of Eat-expressions occur. In example (11) and (12) /ghuS/ and /Taka/ are synonymous in Bangla as they both mean ‘bribe’ as well as in (51) and (52) /gali/ and /bOka/ are synonymous in Oriya as they both mean the same sense of ‘rebuke’. But it is not always the case as synonymy does not play this role everywhere. We can explain this with the help of the following examples. Bangla exhibits the synonymous expressions /gali khele/ and /mukh khaWa/ ‘to be abused’ in the examples (13) and (14) respectively, but does not possess the combinations like

*/coTpaT khaWa/

rebuke eat-inf.

‘to eat rebuke’

*/obhiSap khaWa/

curse eat-inf.

‘to eat curse’

though these are also nearly synonymous with the above forms.

3.2.2. *Cohyponymy*: Sometimes it is seen that some words which are cohyponyms of each other they are used to give rise to such expressions. As in Bangla we have examples like /lathi-jhaMTa/ ‘kick-broom’, /ghuSi/ ‘punch’ and /laThir baRi/ ‘hit with a stick’ in (15), (16) and (17) respectively. These are all hyponyms as they come under the same umbrella term /mar/ ‘beat’ in (24) which is also used in such expressions as hypernym. The hyponyms under a single hypernym are known as cohyponyms of each other. Thus here 3 types of sense relations are found namely hyponymy, hypernymy and cohyponymy. In Oriya we find these similar relations. Here in the examples (53), (54) and (55) *lattO* ‘kick’, *cabuk* ‘whip’ and *jabDa* ‘slap’ are cohyponyms of each other as they come under a broad umbrella term *maRO* ‘beat’ used in (56).

3.2.3. *Higher level cohyponymy*: Here the contained nouns in the combination may not behave like cohyponyms but may share the functional similarity in a higher level, i.e., somehow they exhibit the almost similar abstract meaning. In example (18) and (19) the Bangla words /jhaR/ and /mar/ when incorporated with /kha-/ ‘eat’ give the meaning of ‘will be beaten’ and ‘defeated’ respectively. Here it will be hard to find out the hypernym of these two words in this metaphorical extension. But it is clear that undesirability is the common component of meaning in both cases.

3.2.4. *Ambiguity*: We have the Bangla examples (20) and (21) where we find the use of Eat-expressions /palTi khaWa/ with two different meanings. But if this expression is used context independently then it may create ambiguity as it will not be possible to understand the actual meaning. Only context dependent use can prove it disambiguous.

3.2.5. *Reduplication of Eat word*: Sometimes in Bangla we find the recursive use of Eat word in such expressions which suggest the meaning of continuity as found in (22), (23) and (24).

3.3. *Living process*: Both in Bangla and Oriya such expressions with borrowed words from other languages are found and this is increasing day by day as borrowing words from other sources is itself a living process. In Bangla we find such expressions in the examples (25), (26), (27) and (28). Oriya also presents such expressions as in (57). Though in this case no clear explanations can be given for why we use these borrowed words with the /kha-/ ‘eat’ expressions.

4. CONCLUSION

When we analyze Bangla and Oriya Eat-expressions we find that there are collocational restrictions in such expressions. And we are not claiming them as complex predicates as complex predicate offer a vast range which these expressions of Bangla and Oriya do not cover. Our analysis also points out that there are some semantic relationships which play important role to explain the Eat-expressions. Oriya expressions do not exhibit all the

semantic relations which Bangla can explain by these expressions. There is also a living process by which Eat-expressions are increasing as borrowed words are also used in such combinations. But the reason of using the borrowed words in combination with /kha-/ may not have clear cut semantic explanations in all respects. In spite of being the language of the same family Bangla offers a vast field than Oriya. In Bangla we do not use the term /pan kOra/ 'to drink' colloquially but in Oriya /pibo/ 'I will drink' is used as well as /khaibo/ 'I will eat' colloquially. For this the basic lexical meaning of /khaWa/ 'to eat' is narrower in Oriya than Bangla. This might be one reason that Oriya exhibits fewer Eat-expressions than Bangla. Thus this can also be suggested that it is less possible in Oriya to give rise to new Eat-expressions than Bangla. In other words Bangla presents a vast range of possibilities to extend different metaphorical extensions than Oriya. Thus we can conclude that Bangla lexicon is rich than Oriya in the findings of Eat-expressions.

5. FURTHER RESEARCH

This study is open to further research because it is based on a small number of data collected from a very few informants. But such a research with small amount of data might not sufficiently represent all the different shades of meaning that 'eat' expression manifests in Bangla and Oriya when used with different words. Further research is needed in this field.

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NOTE:

Transcription convention: Transcription is done following Punya Sloka Ray.

ABBREVIATIONS:

1 st	1 st person
2 nd	2 nd person
3 rd	3 rd person
Sg.....	singular
pres.....	present tense
pst.....	past tense
fut.....	future
perf.....	perfect
prog.....	progress
pass.....	passive
hab.....	habitual
non-hon.....	non-honorific
hon.....	honorific
inf.....	infinitive
non-fin.....	non-finite
ques.....	interrogative
neg.....	negative

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