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## EAT Expressions in Manipuri

N. Pramodini, Ph.D.

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### Abstract

The consumption verb ca- 'eat' in Manipuri is a rich source of metaphorical extensions into a variety of cognate semantic domains. Prototypical ca- 'eat' metaphors encode overcoming/control of a patient or theme by an animate/inanimate agent (and part experiencer) functioning as subject, e.g., əy cey care 'I got beating ( I ate a stick)', epəl tin care 'Insect bit the apple'(Insect ate the apple), 'ma sen yamnə cay 'He takes a lot of bribe (He eats a lot of money)'. manə əygi kōksi care 'He harasses me a lot (He eats my head)', əygi unsa ca-thetle 'My skin is lacerated (My skin has been eaten)'.

Thus, the metaphorical overcome and undergo outputs are often maximally distinct in meaning, and these correlations are directly inherited from their differing physical/ontological properties. The highly multifaceted nature of 'eat' event gives rise to interesting clausal properties of these predicates. Thus this verb is a source for a large number of figurative uses in Manipuri with meanings associated with such as consumption of non-edible items, torment, alignment, as well as participating in idiomatic expressions which can be quite opaque semantically. This work is important in that it looks at fine details of structure and conceptualization in Manipuri not often covered in the study of grammars.

### Introduction

This paper explores the conceptualizations of basic and other activities of eating and the effects they have on Manipuri and how they are coded, and what sorts of metaphorically-based grammaticalizations develop from the forms used to code these

activities. This work looks at fine details of structure and conceptualization Manipuri not often covered in standard grammars.

Basic verbs often have multiple usages in a given language. The EAT verb in Manipuri is such a verb. The study done by Pardeshi, et al. (2006) on the verb EAT discusses its several extension with various meanings, including a semantic network diagram that tries to capture the correlations and development pathways. The paper by Pardeshi, et al. focuses on a typological overview of the distribution of the extended usages and semantic range that covers by the verb EAT. The languages discussed in the study are selected from Euro-asia: Persia, Tajik, Turkish, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kashmiri, Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Sinhale, Mongolia, Korean, Japanese, Thai, Veitnamese, Khmer and Mandarin.

However, Kiryu (2008) argues that their study does not contain any languages from another linguistic group, the Tibeto-Burman family in Asia which may be the single linguistic group that stretches from the Far East in China to the Middle East in Pakistan. This group covers a wide variety of languages sub-groups that are worth studying from typological point of view. Kiryu (ibid) made an extensive study of the EAT expressions in Kathmandu Newar, which surely is an important welcome addition to enrich pardeshi et al.'s work from a typological perspective. In line with the study already carried out in other languages, the aim of this paper is to study the multiple usages of the verb EAT cabə by examining examples from Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Manipuri valley. Before we go to the analysis of the EAT expressions in Manipuri, a brief overview of the analysis of typological distribution of the extended usage and the semantic range that the expression EAT covers is in order.

### **A Geotypology of EAT-expressions in Languages of Euro-Asia**

Pardeshi, et al.(2006) recognize nine categories to classify both the basic and extended uses of EAT in terms of the grammatical roles and their features under three parameters related to animacy, agency and concreteness, as in Table 1.

The parameters for subject distinguish two types of subject in terms of macro roles, actor and undergoer. The subject in Categories A through D bears the role of actor, while that in the rest bears the role of undergoer, which is theme, patient or experiencer.

Some typical subjects and objects for each category except Category I are listed in Table 2, based on the schematic illustrations in Pardesh, et al.(2006: 93). Pardeshi et al. argue that the variety of extended meanings of EAT results from a semantic complexity of verb. They present the main aspects of EAT as the following nine properties.

- (i) making an item decrease as it is consumed.
- (ii) making it disappear.
- (iii) incorporating one thing in another.
- (iv) absorbing the properties of the item eaten.
- (v) reacting to the properties of the eaten item.

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- (vi) outward display or reflection of the properties of the item eaten.
- (vii) coming in intimate bodily contact with something.
- (viii) use of the mouth.
- (ix) living or depending on the items that are eaten.

These basic aspects of the action of eating service as sources for semantic extension.

**Table 1: EAT Categories**

Category A : [+animate, +agentive] Subject, [+edible] Object  
 Category B : [+animate, +agentive] Subject, [-edible] Object  
 Category C : [-animate, -patientive] Subject, [-abstract] Object  
 Category D : [-animate, -patientive] Subject, [+abstract] Object  
 Category E : [+animate, -agentive] Subject, [-abstract] Object  
 Category F : [+animate, -agentive] Subject, [+abstract] Object  
 Category G : [-animate, +patientive] Subject, [-abstract] Object  
 Category H : [-animate, +patientive] Subject, [+abstract] Object  
 Category I : isolated, one-of-a-kind idioms

(Pardeshi et al. 2006: 93)

**Table 2: Typical arguments for each category**

SUBJECT	OBJECT	SENSE
Category A men, women, etc.	bread, water, cigarettes, betel leaf, etc.	basic sense of ‘to eat’
Category B men, women, etc.	money, bribe, profit, rent, etc.	‘to bribe’
Category C cars, computers, jobs, etc	fuel, time, electricity, etc.	‘to consume’
Category D balls, kites, boats, rope, etc.	a bounce, swing, kink, etc.	inanimate agent’s per-forming an action
Category E humans	whip, bullets, sword, cudgel, curses, etc.	Subjects affected by an instrument
Category F humans action	deception, defeat, eviction; anger, fear, sorrow, etc.	Subjects undergo or emotion
Category G books, grain, affected knives, etc.	rust, ants, dust, etc.	inanimate subjects by entities.
Category H crops, clothes, etc. affected	heat, cold, dampness, etc	inanimate subjects by forces.

**EAT expressions in Manipuri**

Where do the various semantic extensions of Manipuri originate is yet to be ascertained. Focusing on this question, we would now concentrate on the various usages of Manipuri EAT.

Among South Asian languages, the directness and intensity of language contact with Persian seems to play an important role in the repertoire of EAT expression. Hindi-

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Urdu which had a longer and more extensive contact with Persian abounds in EAT expression (Pardeshi et al 2006). It is now pertinent to raise a question how did the multiple expressions of EAT come to be shared with other languages.

Manipuri, though, did not have direct contact with it but it has direct contact with Hindi and Bengali, hence it may be within the Hindi- Urdu fall in terms of their inventories of EAT expression.

It appears that sets of expressions such as *həwa* ‘air’ *cabə* ‘eat’ which frequently occurs in Manipuri made inroads in the lexicon of Manipuri as loan translations from Bengali or Hindi. This may well be the case as Manipuri possesses EAT expression in fairly sizable numbers. The abundance of EAT expression in Hindi-Urdu might have kept the seeds alive which give rise the emergence of EAT expression in Manipuri. However, this is by no means the only plausible explanation of the fact that EAT verb exists in Manipuri in common with other Indian languages.

On the other hand it may not be necessarily the result of language contact, as one may like to argue that the EAT expression in Manipuri, are attested in old Manipuri as idiomatic expressions – like *həy-raŋ lonja cabə* which means to have illicit relationship between a girl and a boy, which specifically refers to girls. As a large number of EAT expressions as is found as a part of a contemporary native speaker’s lexicon, we would argue that Manipuri lexicon has gained considerable number of borrowings over a period of 300 years since the advent of Hinduism in Manipuri through Bengali Vaishnavism.

While I argue that language contact has definitely played and continues to play a significant role, it is proposed here that there is also the independent operation of a radial network of semantic extensions as a possible complementary factor in the proliferation and convergence of EAT expressions. This is evident in the abundant use of EAT expressions given in the word list provided towards the end of this paper. If this hypothesis is valid, the abundant use of EAT verb in Manipuri may qualify as an aerial linguistic feature that has currency across a number of Asian and central Asian languages.

In this section, I shall discuss the Manipuri, EAT *cabə* and its extended meanings in the context of categories presented by Pardeshi et al. The data were collected from daialies, and speakers of Manipuri based on the list of EAT expression categories provided by Pardeshi et al (2006). In addition, some of the data were also taken from story books and novels and my database.

### **Category A**

The category A gives the basic meaning of the verb. In some languages for example, Bengali, there is no restriction that the verb can take only solid substances as it can as well take liquid substances. In Manipuri, however, the food that can be eaten is limited to solid substances. Liquid substances such as water soup or any other things which appear watery cannot appear as object of *ca-*. Instead, the *thəkpə* ‘to drink’ should be used for all liquid substances. The same verb is also used for smoking. With regard to medicines, if it is liquid, the verb *thəkpə* must be used, whereas, if it is in the

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form of tablets, capsules or powder, the verb *cabə* is used. However, it is to be noted that, the verb *thəkpə* to drink for water is not used if the water is extremely used for other purposes such as washing, cleaning etc, then the verb *cabə* is used.

For example,

(*nəkhoy*) *isin kədaydəgi ca - y*  
 you water where from EAT ASP  
 ‘From where do you use water’

If one specifically refers to the purpose of drinking then the verb *thəkpə* is to be used. This is seen in a discourse when a friend asks his/her friend in a water scarce season, from where she/he uses water. The other friend replies from the pond. The next question which immediately comes to the mind of the first speaker is ‘what about drinking(water)’; here, the word *thəkpə* ‘to drink’ is used in the discourse-

1<sup>st</sup> speaker – *isin kəday də-gi ca - y*  
 water where GEN EAT- ASP  
 2<sup>nd</sup> speaker – *pukhri- də - gi ca – y*  
 Pond LOC GEN EAT-ASP

1<sup>st</sup> speaker - *thəknə bə di*  
 drink NOM PART  
 ‘What about drinking’

2<sup>nd</sup> speaker – *thəknə - bə - di ləy*  
 drink NOM PART buy  
 (we) buy for drinking (water)

2<sup>nd</sup> speaker – *isin canə - bə thəknə - bə əmətə ləi - tre*  
 – water EAT REC NOM drink – NOM one LOC have- NEG-  
 ASP  
 – ‘There is no water for eating and drinking’

From the above dialogue it is clearly seen that the water consumption, for washing, cleaning etc, the speakers use the verb *cabə* and if the purpose is specifically meant for drinking then the verb *thəkpə* is obligatorily used.

## Category B

In category B, we find that, it takes an actor subject, which is animate and agentive, and takes non-edible items as the object. There are various meanings associated with the extended meanings with the properties of this category i) to take illegal benefit, ii) to make a living by eating

To take illegal benefit  
*ma pəisa cabə or sen cabə pami*  
 he money EAT money EAT like  
 ‘He likes taking bribe’ (literally ‘to eat money’)

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To make a living  
 bhara cabə  
 ‘to live on rent’  
 əy bhara - nə ca - y  
 I rent INST EAT ASP  
 ‘I make a living out of rent’ (‘I eat rent’)  
 əy thəbək təw - rə - gə cabə mi- ni  
 I work do ASSOC EAT man COP  
 ‘I make a living by working’ (‘I am a man who eat by working’).

isagi irən - nə cabə--ni  
 myself property INST EAT COP  
 ‘I live on my own property’  
 (literally I eat my own property)

What is interesting in the examples – ‘rent’ and property appears in the instrumental case, not in the absolutive case. Here as, in the case of Newari (Kiryu 2008), it is possible to consider the verb cabə in an intransitive verb and the literal translation would be ‘to eat by rent’. However, it could be considered that it is still the object even though it is in the instrumental case. In Manipuri case does not always reflect the grammatical roles such as subject and object. In Manipuri subjects and objects are optionally deleted if they are understood from the context.

To eat someone’s head/brain  
 məsi nupa -si - nə əy-gi kok - si ca-re  
 This man DET ERG I GEN head DET EAT  
 ‘This man torments me’. (‘This man has eaten my head’.)

məsi - gi thəbək - si - nə kok ca-re

This GEN work DET INST head EAT - ASP

‘ This work gives me a lot of trouble’ (‘This work has eaten my brain’)

In Manipuri eating someone’s head indicates that, the subject either animate or inanimate annoys or troubles someone. This category assumes an animate and inanimate subject

To enjoy life:

A sense of enjoying life is expressed by the verb cabə  
 ma həwa cabə cətchi  
 he air EAT go ASP  
 ‘He has gone for a walk’. (‘He has gone to eat air’).  
 ma həwa ca - ri  
 He air EAT - ASP  
 ‘He is relaxing ( probably by sitting in the open air)’

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( 'He is eating air')

### Category C

Expressing referring to the category C is – animate/-patient and the object is –abstract. The major sense in this category listed in Pardeshi et al. (2006) is consumption such as to consume fuel, to take time, to use electricity, to cost money.

- 1) məsi gari – si thaw yamnə ca-y  
This vehicle DET oil much EAT – ASP  
'This vehicle eats lots of oil'
- 2) phriz əmənbə - si møy yamnə ca – y  
fridge old DET electricity much EAT - ASP  
'This old fridge consumes a lot of electricity'
- 3) məsigi thəbək – si pəisa yamnə ca- y  
This work DET money much EAT – ASP  
'This work is very expensive'(This work eats a lot of money),

In case of engines consuming too much oil, the verb drink thəkpə is sometimes used to indicate the extent of the unusual consumption of oil by the particular engine, otherwise the verb is EAT is used.

Another type of expressions in this category are such that the subject physically affects the object.

thaŋ kotlhiŋ (nə) ca – re  
knife rust ERG EAT - ASP  
The rust ate the knife (The knife got rusted)

yumsi sum(nə) ca – re  
House DET moth EAT – ASP\  
The moths ate the house

lai – riksi tin(nə) ca – re  
book – DET insect INST EAT – ASP  
Insects ate the books

epəl – si tin - nə ca – re  
apple DET insect INST EAT-ASP  
Insects ate the apple

It is seen from the above examples that the affected entities are placed before the affecting entities which appears that this is the usual order. If we change the order and place the affecting entities before the affected ones, the order seems quite unnatural.

Interestingly we find that the marker – na which instrumental marker in these sentences have become optional and use almost without it resulting to a fixed word

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order of the type given in the examples that if the word order is reversed, it sounds unnatural. In this, we can see a development of an idiom chunk of the agent and verb that they are not separated. The question is whether the ergative NPs are still regarded as subjects and the absolutive NPs as objects. An important clue contains to the question in the following examples where the meaning is not idiomatic but literal.

tin - nə epəl    ca – re  
 insect ERG    apple    EAT – ASP  
 ‘The insect ate the apple’

Notice that in this sentence the ergative marker cannot be optionally used. If it is dropped the sentence becomes unnatural. The difference between this sentence and above sentences is the case form that ‘insect’ takes. The absolutive form of insect in Manipuri is ‘tin’. This fact suggests that the ergative NP when the ergative marker is dropped, the NP with the verb EAT forms an idiomatic chunks. Thus, the entire clause may be regarded as an intransitive clause.

### Category – D

The category D takes – animate/-patientive subject and +abstract object. Manipuri does not have expressions with assumed clause pattern to express meaning presented in Pardeshi et al.(2006).

### Category E

Category E consists of expressions with an animate subject and a concrete object. Here, the subject is the patient and is affected by eating the object which expresses a kind of Pseudo-passive sense. Manipuri has many examples which use body parts to express a pseudo-passive sense.

- (1)    ma    noŋməy            məru    care  
       he    gun                    bullet    EAT-ASP  
       ‘He was shot’.(‘ He ate a bullet’).
  
- (2)    ma    cəy    ca-re  
       he    stick    EAT-ASP  
       ‘He was beaten with a stick’ ( ‘He ate stick’).
  
- (3)    ma    khupak            ca-re  
       he    palm                EAT-ASP  
       ‘He ate a palm (he was stroked with a palm)’
  
- (4)    ma    khutum            ca-re  
       he    first                eat-ASP  
       ‘He ate a fist (he was punched)’

Manipuri also uses sharp edges cutting tools such as spade, knife/sword etc to have more expressions of this kind.

(5) ma yotpak ca-re  
 he spade eat-ASP  
 ‘He was struck by a spade’ (‘He ate spade.’)

(6) ma thaŋ ca-re  
 he knife eat-ASP  
 ‘He was struck by a knife’. (‘He ate knife’)

Although the examples above have been discussed in the bare form, they can also be used in the causative construction in which the verb ca – ‘eat’ takes the causative suffix - hən –

Another type of expression that falls in this category is the verbal effect on the subject, such as scolding rebuking etc.

əy micəy ca-re  
 I scold eat-ASP  
 ‘I have been scolded’. (‘I ate scolding’).

### Category F

Here, in the category F the subject is also affected in that it is similar to the category E but the object in this category is an abstract entity. In this category, the subject is affected by the action related to the object and the expression appears like a pseudo-passive.

unsa caphət-le  
 Skin lacerate - ASP  
 ‘The skin is lacerated. (‘The skin is being eaten’).

unsa ca-thət-le  
 skin lacerate – ASP  
 ‘The skin is lacerated’. (‘The skin is being eaten’).

Here, in the above two sentences we can see the presence of two vector verbs namely, phət (<pat ‘to get boil’) and thət (<tət ‘break’) which gives added meaning to the main verb ca- ‘eat’

### Category G

Category G consists of expressions with inanimate subject affected by the object such as dust, smoke. Manipuri has the following examples:

1a) phəklaŋ-si møykhu -nə ca-re  
 wall DET smoke INST EAT- ASP  
 ‘The wall is damaged by smoke’. (‘This wall is eaten by smoke’)

b) phəklaŋ-si møykhu ca-re  
 wall DET smoke EAT ASP  
 ‘The wall is damaged by smoke’. (‘This wall is eating smoke’)

- 2a) lay rik-si uphun-nə ca-re  
 book DET dust INST EAT- ASP  
 ‘The book is spoilt by dust’. (This book is eaten by dust.’).
- b) lay rik-si uphun ca-re  
 book DET dust EAT- ASP  
 ‘The book is spoilt by dust’. (This book is eating dust.’).
- 3a) komputər-si uphun -nə ca-re  
 computer DET dust INST EAT-ASP  
 ‘This computer is damaged by dust’. (Dust is eating this computer’).
- b) komputər-si uphun ca-re  
 computer DET dust EAT-ASP  
 This computer is damaged by dust’ (This computer is eating dust’).

In the above a) sentences, the wall, book and computer are the subjects and agents as well which do the eating of smoke and dust while, in the b) sentences the subject ‘smoke’ dust are the agents which do the eating. The b) sentences are usually used when the wall, book and computer are thickened with smoke and dust when their appearances look almost destroyed by smoke and dust. It is a matter where one thinks the focus lies in internalization or destruction.

This category also contains expressions with inanimate and animate subject affected by the object such as sunlight, cow dung.

phi du nuṣa ca - hən - li  
 cloth DET sunlight eat CAU ASP  
 ‘The cloth is being exposed in the sunlight’ (The cloth is made to eat sunlight’).

phi du sənthi ca - hən - lu  
 cloth DET cow dung EAT CAU IMP  
 ‘Let the cloth be soaked in the cow dung’. (‘Let the cloth eat cow dung’).

This metaphorical extension is based on the internalization of food that is the cloth being exposed in the sunlight (the cloth eating the sunlight) and the cloth being soaked in the cow dung paste (cloth eating the cow dung). This process is usually done when the cloth is to be made much whiter. Here the subject is the patient of the sentence.

### Category H

Expressions in category H take – animate/+patientive subjects affected by constant handling particularly by hand.

1. laydhibi – du khutnaṅ ca – re

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doll DET dirt EAT ASP

2. ‘The doll has become dirty and worn out (literally the doll has eaten dirt from hands due to constant handling)’

layrik – tu khutnaṅ ca – re  
book DET dirt EAT – ASP

‘The book has become dirty and worn out (due to constant handling)’

3. hui – du khutnaṅ ca – re  
dog DET dirt EAT – ASP

‘The dog has not grown (because of dirt of constant handling)’

Usually the clause pattern is used with inanimate object but in the example 3 we have an animate object which is expressed in the same clause pattern, probably because dogs, cats etc are considered like toys where children can handle them easily. Hence the sentence is a perfectly acceptable sentence.

### Category I

In the typology given by Pardeshi et al. (2006) the category I contains expression that do not fall in the other categories, but the expression is idiomatic. In this category we find one case of idiomatic usage in Manipuri as the example below illustrates.

həyran lonja - cabə həwnə - de  
fruit secretly eat proper NEG

‘Its not proper to have illicit relationship (literally one should not eat fruit secretly)’

This expression, however, when asked to younger age group they do not seem to know the meaning of this idiomatic expression as its usage is restricted to the study of old literature and old plays etc.

### Conclusion

I have tried to examine the Manipuri EAT expressions in accordance with the categories proposed by Pardeshi et al. (2006).

Manipuri has expressions pertaining to Categories A, B, C, E, F, G, H and I, while lacking only expression pertaining to category D. Categories A, and B take animate subjects which serve as agents of the expressions. However, the difference in category A takes edible substances as objects, while the Category B takes non-edible items as objects.

Unlike the first two categories, in the expressions in Category C, the subjects are all inanimate which take inanimate objects such as fuel, electricity, etc.

E to H take an undergoer subjects and express a pseudo passive sense like in Newari (Kiryu 2008). In Manipuri such a pseudo passive sense is allowed only with animate

subjects, i.e., in categories E and F, while it is not allowed with inanimate subjects in categories G and H. This is to be explained in terms of animacy and empathy.

Animate objects are interpreted as empathetic. They are, therefore, easier to encode as patient. In Manipuri, subjects are generally animate, unless it is the case of cause-effect with natural force that is interpreted as a source of energy categories G and H.

The expressions in categories G and H which take affecting entities and forces in the object position contradict this tendency and it is more natural to have the affecting entities in the subject position as they are the source of affect on the semantic patient. Therefore, just like in Newar (ibid) similar meanings are found in category C in Manipuri. The use of idiomatic expression in the category I, I found only one example in Manipuri.

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### List of Manipuri words with EAT expression

1)	yotcabi	-	‘magnet (the one which eats iron)’
2)	noṅjabi	-	‘cloud in reddish colour (the one which eat rain)’
3)	mukcabi	-	‘bloating paper (the one which eats ink)’
4)	səmjabi	-	‘the one which eats hair’
5)	natoncabi	-	rose muscata (the one which eats nose)’
6)	hiṅcabi	-	‘monstress/Vampire (the one who eats raw)’
7)	khutcabi	-	‘right hand person’
8)	ə-on-ə-on cabə	-	‘fence sitter’
9)	məphəm cabə	-	‘right place’
10)	məpaṅ cabə	-	‘compatible companion’
11)	mətaṅ cabə	-	‘appropriate time and place’
12)	khudoṅ cabə	-	‘to take opportunity’
13)	mətəm cabə	-	‘right time’
14)	minəm cabə	-	‘to take the smel’l
15)	mərən cabə	-	‘to live on other’s property’
16)	micəy cabə	-	‘to get scolding (to eat abuses)’
17)	noṅməy cabə	-	‘to be shot (to eat bullet)’
18)	thaṅ cabə	-	‘to stab (to eat knife)’
19)	ətoṅ cabə	-	‘to get profit (to eat profit)’
20)	yotpak cabə	-	‘by spade (to eat)’
21)	məcən cabə	-	‘proportionate’
22)	uphun cabə	-	‘covered with dust (to eat dust)’
23)	uphəm cabə	-	‘compatible frames’
24)	wanom sen cabə	-	‘broker/lout (to eat bribe)’
25)	senja-thumja (-sen ca-thumcha)	-	‘bribe’
26)	thao- cabə	-	‘to consume oil’
27)	unsa cathətpə	-	‘lacerate’
28)	unsa chaphəpə	-	‘lacerate’
29)	neglek cabə	-	‘neglecting things (to eat neglect)’

30)	smart cabə	-	‘acting smart/showing smartness (to eat smart)’
31)	mi cabə	-	‘to torture/harass (to eat human)’
32)	kok cabə	-	‘to torture (to eat head)’
33)	pat cabə	-	‘to own a lake (to eat a lake)’
34)	bhara cabə	-	‘to live on rent (to eat rent)’
35)	phəmja cabə	-	‘idler (to eat by sitting)’
36)	cak-ca yuthək	-	‘style of eating and drinking/manner of eating’
37)	layray cabə	-	‘crumbled bank (to eat river or pond bank)’
38)	həyran lonja cabə	-	‘adulterous relationship (to eat fruit secretly)’
39)	nuṅsa- cabə	-	‘putting out at the sunlight (to eat sunlight)’
40)	məy khu cabə	-	‘absorbing smoke (to eat smoke)’
41)	sənthi cabə	-	‘washing with cowdung (to eat cowdung)’
42)	thi cabə	-	‘to rebuke someone (to eat dung)’
43)	məcəṅ cabə	-	‘to take the best one (to eat best grains)’
44)	nap cabə	-	‘reasonable/right fitting’
45)	məy cabə	-	‘consuming power/electric (to eat power (fire))’
46)	həwə cabə	-	‘breathing fresh air (to eat air)’
47)	cəy cabə	-	‘beating with stick (to eat stick)’
48)	tin cabə	-	‘spoil/rotten (eaten by insect)’
49)	khupak cabə	-	‘beating with hand (to eat palm stroke)’
50)	kin cabə	-	‘to knock someone finger (to eat)’
51)	khutum cabə	-	to beat with fist (to eat fist)
52)	khuniṅ cabə	-	‘to beat with elbow (to eat elbow)’
53)	khonpak cabə	-	‘to kick with foot (to eat foot)’
54)	ləytum cabə	-	‘to throw clod (to eat clod)’
55)	nuṅ cabə	-	‘to beat with stone (to eat stones)’
57)	Khonup cabə	-	‘beating by shoe (to eat shoes)’
58)	Sandal cabə	-	‘beating by slipper (to eat slipper)’
59)	məhəy cabə	-	‘fruitful (to eat fruits/effort)’
60)	məhəy cabə	-	‘to eat fruit’
61)	khutnaṅ cabə	-	‘to spoil a thing by a repeated touch (to eat dirt from hand)’
62)	ce cabə	-	‘to polish with paper (to eat paper)’
63)	sum cabə	-	‘mite eaten (to eat mite)’
64)	kotlhing cabə	-	‘rusted/corroded (to eat rust)’
65)	ləysəw cabə	-	‘eaten by termite (to eat termite)’
66)	mitcanəbə	-	‘to look at each other eye to eye’
67)	khənjənəbə	-	‘apprehensive’
68)	ṅəkcanəbə	-	‘to get astonished’
69)	thakchanaba	-	‘to get astonished’
70)	məpa cabə	-	‘well-suited/right time’
71)	leṅga cabə	-	‘peer group’
72)	mətik məpa cabə	-	‘compatibility in status’
73)	nət cabə	-	‘to fix a screw (to eat a screw)’
74)	mot cannəbə	-	‘compatibility in views and ideas’
75)	wakhən cannəbə	-	‘compatibility in views of thoughts’
76)	naori cabə	-	‘to hit by catapult (to eat catapult)’

77)	saiəoŋ cabə	-	‘to hit by catapult (to eat catapult)’
78)	cəphu cabə	-	‘recognition (to eat cooking food)’
79)	cəphu canəbə	-	‘recognition (to eat each others cooking food)’
80)	mənəm cabə	-	‘to take the smell (to eat smell)’
81)	khenəm cabə	-	‘to get scolding (to eat abuses)’
82)	cakoy cabə	-	‘loafer (person who eats everywhere)’
83)	natəy cabə	-	‘reasonable/ suitable’
84)	thək cannəbə	-	‘unsteady’
85)	cun phiran cabə	-	‘symmetrical, proportionate’
86)	khut cabə	-	‘recognition (to eat food cooked by a person)’
87)	məcum-cabə	-	‘to depend on (to eat somebody property)’
88)	mətik cabə	-	‘qualified’
89)	mərəm cabə	-	‘reasonable’
90)	mə-oŋ cabə	-	‘proportionate (in shape, size)’
91)	məthoy cabə	-	‘person who take interest (the one who eats interest)’
92)	lemja cabə	-	‘loafer’
93)	cəp cabə	-	‘proportionate’
94)	phirep cabə	-	‘stable’
95)	məya cabə	-	‘to sharpen teeth(implements)’
96)	khutthaŋ cabə	-	‘to obtain/profit by passing through different people’
97)	məthoŋ cabə	-	‘suitable’
98)	cak cannabə	-	‘feast (to eat food together)’
99)	khonthi cabə	-	‘to get scolding (to eat abuses)’
100)	məpu cabə	-	‘to torment master (to eat master)’
101)	likhun cabə	-	‘proper route (to eat right track)’
102)	sajəy cabə	-	‘to get beating with stick (to eat stick)’
103)	sen cabə	-	‘to take bribe (to eat money)’
104)	pəysə cabə	-	‘to take bribe (to eat money)’
105)	cək-lem cabə	-	‘loafer (to eat one’s left over)’
106)	isiŋ cabə	-	‘to use water (to eat water)’

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Abbreviations used:

ASP	Aspect
ASSOC	Associative
COP	Copula
DET	Determinar
ERG	Ergative
INST	Instrumental
GEN	Genitive
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative

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