

EAT-EXPRESSIONS IN KASHMIRI

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Like other South Asian languages, especially those spoken in the northern region of the Subcontinent, Kashmiri has a number of expressions containing a verb meaning EAT (*khye-*) in which the verb EAT has proliferated into a wide range of senses. Some examples of these:

- (1) *bi oosus akh-akh Taas khye-vaan*
 I was one-one thrashing eat-PresPart
 'I used to get one thrashing after another...' (Pandit 2003: 126)
- (2) *sih vuch-yith khyeyi gury khrakh laakam tseTi-n ti tsol*
 lion see-CP ate horse.Erg fear bridle broke-Erg3sg and ran
 'Seeing a lion the horse spooked, broke the bridle and ran away.'
- (3) *yi koonun chu eeyinikyis daphaa Kunvuhas siity vaaTh khye-vaan*
 this law is constitution.Gen.Dat section XIX.Dat with joint eat-ing
 'This law is in agreement with Section Nineteen of the Constitution.' (KC II p.160)

The first of these examples represents a set of EAT-expressions in which the subject (the "eater") suffers a physical injury or psychological setback that originates from the outside. The second example is one of a number of expressions in which the subject experiences or exhibits an internal reaction or emotion. The third is less easily classified: Perhaps it should be thought of as belonging in a list of idiosyncratic idioms.

The presence of these expressions in impressive numbers raises the question of their source. Can they be thought of as being semantic extensions of one kind or another from the literal senses and sub-senses of the verb 'eat'? If so are those semantic extensions specific to Kashmiri? Or have Kashmiri's EAT-expressions been borrowed as it were "ready made" from some other language with which speakers of Kashmiri have been in contact?

At this point the best answer we can give to the question of the plausibility of an external source is to note that Urdu and Farsi, two languages with which speakers of Kashmiri are now (Urdu) or have been (Farsi²) in contact, have, each of them, considerably larger and richer repertoires of EAT-expressions than Kashmiri's. With one or two exceptions Kashmiri does not have any EAT-expressions that Urdu and Farsi do not also have. Furthermore, the Kashmiri exceptions do not involve novel extensions of the meaning of EAT but are rather idiomatic senses of VPs in which the verb *khye-* itself retains its normal meaning of consumption of an edible:

- (4) *Temy hoor cunaav ti su chu wmany hoonyen siity tul khye-vaan*
 he.Erg lost election and he is now dogs.Dat with mulberry eat-ing
 'He lost the election and no one bothers about him anymore.'

In (4) the meaning of 'eating mulberries with dogs' is idiomatic as an entire unit. But the sense of *khye-vis-à-vis tul* 'mulberries' in (4) is the basic one of consuming food.³ Thus, in view of the existence of richer repertoires of EAT-expressions in Urdu and Farsi and other Central Asian languages it seems likely that the stimulus for the development of non-consumptional senses of *khye-* came from outside Kashmir.

A general account of the evolution of the semantics of EAT then properly lies beyond the scope of this study⁴. Suffice it to say that the passive sense of EAT in which the subject of the clause is subject to an injury or setback from an external source (1) may have developed from the idea that one is formed (and transformed) by what one eats. Shifting the locus of such influences from outside to inside the subject leads to the emergence of the experiential and exhibitiv senses of EAT (2).

But paths are various and often hard to unambiguously disentangle. For instance, the EAT-expression *myets khye-* 'be jealous; show anger' (lit: 'eat clay') may owe the development of these senses to the observation that bulls when challenged or provoked dig their horns into the ground and throw up bits of earth to display their anger:

- (5) *aslam chu mye siity mukaabali heer-yith myets khye-vaan*
 Aslam is me.Dat with competition lose-CP clay eat-ing

² If there has been diffusion of EAT-expressions from Farsi to Kashmiri it is possible that the diffusion has occurred via the Southeast Iranian language Pashto. (Pathans ruled Kashmir from 1752 to 1819.)

³ For more on the distinction of V-idioms versus VP-idioms see Hook and Yamaguchi (forthcoming).

⁴ For some suggested paths of semantic development see the chart in Pardeshi et al. (2006, p. 305)

'On losing out to me in the contest Aslam is very resentful.'

One of the observable effects of the semantic evolution of *khye-* are differences in the set of co-occurrence relationships open to it. For example, in its literal sense of consuming edibles *khye-* can co-occur with the vector *nyi-* TAKE:

- (6) *aslam* *nyuv* *jalid.jalid* *bati* *khye-th* *ti* *draav*
Aslam.Erg TOOK quickly food eat-CP and went.out

'Aslam hurriedly ate his food and left.'

In the passive-like sense of 'suffer', however, *khye-* cannot occur with vector *nyi-*:

- (7) **aslam* *oos* *akh-akh* *Taas* *khye-th* *nyi.vaan*
Aslam was one-one thrashing EAT-CP TAKING

'Aslam used to get one thrashing after another...'

[cf. (1)]

Similarly (but not so strongly) the exhibitive sense of *khye-* resists the company of vector *nyi-*:

- (8) ? *sih* *vuch-yith* *nyiyi* *gury* *khrahk* *khye-th...*
lion see-CP TOOK horse.Erg fear EAT-CP

'Seeing a lion the horse spooked...'

[cf. (2)]

While the subject *gur* 'horse' in (8) is certainly not agentive it is less patientive than the subject of (7). For this reason, perhaps, there is a somewhat greater compatibility of *khye-* with vector *nyi-*. The low agentivity of the subject of patientive and experiential-exhibitivite *khye-* expressions affects the felicity of their use in the imperative mood and other environments:

- (9) *aslam*, *jalid.jalid* *khye* *bati*
Aslam quickly eat food

'Aslam, eat your food quickly!' (a normal imperative)

In the passive-like sense of 'suffer' *khye-* cannot occur - except in an ironic sense: 'Okay, just keep that up and you'll see!' (implied meaning 'I am going to give you a thrashing.');

- (10) *ironic aslam*, *Taas* *khye*
Aslam thrashing EAT

'Aslam, get a thrashing!'

In the exhibitivite sense of *khye-* the imperative is not possible:

- (11) **khrahk* *khye!*
fear EAT

'Take fright!'

Other test for subject-volitionality give parallel results:

- (12) *aslaman ker jalid.jalid bati khye-n-ic kuushish*
 Aslam.Erg made Quickly food eat-Inf-GenFsg effort
 'Aslam attempted to eat his food quickly.' (normal construction)

In the passive-like sense of 'suffer' *khye-* cannot occur - except in an ironic sense: 'Okay, just keep that up and you'll see!' (implied meaning 'I am going to give you a thrashing.');

- (13) ? *aslaman ker Taas khye-n-ic Kuushish*
 Aslam.Erg made thrashing EAT-Inf-GenFsg attempt
 'Aslam attempted to get a thrashing.' (illogical)

- (14) * *heebath⁵ khye-n-ic kar kuushish!*
 fear EAT-Inf-GenFsg make.Imper attempt
 'Try to take fright!'

Another difference in the morphosyntax of the basic verb *khye-* and its idiomatic or extended selves is that the former allows a step-up in transitivity while the latter do not:

- (15) *aslaman khyoov nyecuv jalid.jalid bati ti draav*
 Aslam.Erg eat.Trans.Pst son quickly food and went.out
 'Aslam hurriedly fed his son and left.'

- (16) * *aslam oos nyecivyis akh-akh Taas khyav-aan*
 Aslam was son.Dat one-one thrashing FEED-ing
 'Aslam used to administer one thrashing after another to his son.'

- (17) * *sih-an khyoov Gur khrakh*
 lion-Erg FED horse fear
 'The lion frightened the horse.'

However, passive and experiential-exhibitive senses of *khye-* do allow a double step-up in transitivity:

- (18) *aslaman khyav-inoovu-s b⁶ kuur Jalid.jalid batl...*
 Aslam.Erg feed-Caus.Pst-1sN I.Nom daughter.Nom quickly food.Nom

⁵ The expression *khrakh khye-* can only be used for non-human animate subjects.

⁶ Example (18) shows three nominatives because (unlike in other NIA languages) the recipients in situations of feeding, telling, showing, etc are direct objects and (again unlike in other NIA languages) in ergative tenses animate direct objects do not get the dative. See section 12 in our article on valency sets (Hook and Koul 2006: 62-4).

'Aslam had me hurriedly feed his daughter ...'

[cf. (15)]

(19) *aslam oos nyecivyis akh-akh Taas khyav-inaav-aan*
 Aslam was son.Dat one-one thrashing FEED-Caus-ing

'Aslam used to have one thrashing after another administered to his son.' [cf. (16)]

(20) *sih-an khyav-inoov gur khrakh*
 lion-Erg FED-Caus.Pst.Msg horse fear

'The lion caused the horse to take fright⁷.'

[cf. (17)]

The causative in (19) is canonical: The agent Aslam has someone deliver a thrashing to his son. Use of causative morphology in (20) has a different motivation. The verb *khyavinaav-* despite its morphology is not quadrivalent. There is no intermediary or causee - unless we allow experiencers of fear themselves to be considered causees, too!⁸

⁷ The meaning of (20) is that the lion frightened the horse non-volitionally (ie, by appearing before it) while the meaning of (2) is that the horse took fright on seeing the lion. The situations differ in point of view.

⁸ Perhaps a parallel is to be seen in this set of examples from Shina of Gilgit [(a) and (b) are from Hook and Zia]:

(a) *ma Caa b-ee mu-us*
 I.Nom cold be-CP die-Pst1sgM

(b) **ma Caa th-ee mar-ee-gi-n*
 I.Nom cold do-CP kill-Pst3sgF-Pres3sg

(c) *ma Caa th-ar-ee mar-ar-ee-gi-n*
 I.Nom cold do-Caus-CP kill-Caus-Pst3sgF-Pres3sg

There is evidence that Kashmiri's repertoire of *khye*-expressions is unstable. Grierson's Kashmiri-English dictionary gives many expressions that modern speakers do not accept (transcription ours):

- (21a) *bahaa khye*:- to eat steam, hence to go bad by becoming steamy (e.g. of stored grain heating, clothes becoming musty, or the like). (page 94)
- (21b) *barsaath khye*:- to eat the rains; hence, to suffer from the rotting, fermenting, or mustiness which occurs to articles in the rainy season. (page 127)
- (21c) *byiim khye*:- to experience fear, to be afraid, terrified, panic-stricken. (page 17)
- (21d) *baye khye*:- to be frightened at something, to experience a sensation of fear (page 148)
- (21e) *dam khye*:- to eat one's breath; to remain silent, to be beaten in abuse and left without reply; to be cooked over a slow fire (as a stew, etc.), to be braised. (page 216)
- (21f) *hindryer khye*:- to feel icy cold (K.Pr. 63). (page 338)
- (21g) *khUUt khye*:- to stumble, slip, trip; to be tripped up, to be cheated (p. 422)
- (21h) *laayun khye*:- to eat a beating, to suffer a beating, to be beaten (page 544)
- (21i) *lotsar khye*:- to experience abuse (= to be sworn at?) (page 54)
- (21j) *shor khye*:- to eat a roar, to be roared at (Rām. 178). (page 889)
- (21k) *shor khyaaw*:- to cause (a person) to experience, a roar, to roar at a person (Rām. 828).

According to one of us (Omkar Koul) these twelve items in Grierson's list of approximately 30 to 35 EAT-expressions in Kashmiri are not current in the contemporary language. Some of them (21f, 21j, 21k) Grierson collected from written sources that go back two centuries and more (for example, Prakash Ram's *Rāmāyana*, composed in the early years of the 19th century). Others, such as (21a-b, 21e) may have been current in the spoken Kashmiri of Grierson's time (early 20th century) but have since fallen into desuetude.

Example (a) is a matter-of-fact expression ('I am freezing to death.') while example (c) with its double step up in transitivity indicates a more intensely subjective expression of the speaker's perception ('I am f-f-freezing to death!'). As in the Kashmiri [compare example (17) with (b)] a single step up in transitivity is not permitted.

Of particular interest is (21k) which features the trivalent *khyaav*- 'FEED'. In contemporary Kashmiri idiomatic *khyaav*-expressions parallel to *khye*-expressions do not (or no longer?) exist. Their place is filled by GIVE-expressions or DO-expressions (*dya* = GIVE; *kar* = DO):

- (22) *Taas khye*- 'suffer a beating' => *Taas dya*- 'administer a beating' (**Taas khyaav*-)
peezaar khye- 'suffer a rebuke' => *peezaar dya*- 'administer a rebuke' (**peezaar khyaav*-)
heebath khye- 'experience fear' => *heebath kar*- 'frighten (someone)' (**heebath khyaav*-)

A comparison of Grierson's list with Appendix A (below) suggests a turn-over in the repertoire of EAT-expressions during the Twentieth Century approaching 50%. However, without doing parallel counts of, say, GIVE-expressions it is not immediately clear whether a 50% turn-over in lexical membership over the course of a century in a set of colorful idioms is exceptionally large or not.

References

- Grierson, George A., Pandit Ishvara Kaula and Pandit Mukundaram Shastri. 1985 (reprint). *A Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*. 4 vols. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp.
- Hook, Peter E., and Omkar N. Koul. 2006. Valency Sets in Kashmiri. Tsunoda and Kageyama, (eds.) *Voice and Grammatical Relations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Pp. 43-84.
- _____ and Amin Zia. 2005. Searching for the Goddess: A Study of Sensory & other Impersonal Causative Expressions in the Shina of Gilgit. *Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics 2005*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp 165-188.
- _____ and Toshiko Yamaguchi. Forthcoming. *Levels and Nodes in Idiom Formation*.
- KC = Kashmiri corpora (under preparation at Indian Institute of Language Studies, Delhi)
- Pandit, Makhan Lal. 2003. *girdaab* (Kashmiri Short Stories). Jammu: Nagrad Adbi Sangam.
- Pardeshi, Prashant, et al. 2006. Toward a Geotypology of EAT-Expressions in Languages of Asia. *Gengo Kenkyu* 130:89-108.

Appendix A: Kashmiri EAT-expressions

All examples are from O.N. Koul unless otherwise noted. Other sources include:

- GK = George Abraham Grierson and Pandit Ishvar Kaula's *A Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*. (as accessed at <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/grierson/>).
- KC = Kashmiri corpora (under preparation at Indian Institute of Language Studies, Delhi)
- Kemmu, Motilal. 1997. *nagar vwadeesy* (*Urban Sorrow*). Jammu: published by the author.
- Pandit, Makhan Lal. 2003. *girdaab* (collection of Kashmiri short stories). Jammu: Nagrad Adbi Sangam.

The sectioning derives from a Hindi-Urdu dataset. In Kashmiri not all sections are populated.

0. [CONSUME (edibles)]: 'EAT food', 'EAT medicine', etc.

ekyisiy lyeji khye (lit: one-only pot EAT) 'eat from the same pot'

raath taany eesy ekysis-iy lyeji khye-vaan
yesterday till were.Mpl one.Dat-Emph pot.Dat eat-ing

ti ak-iy naali phyeran kaD-aan
and one-Emph neck.Abl pheran take.out-PresPart

'Till yesterday they were eating from the same pot and sharing the same shirt.' (Pandit 2003: 20)

vyeh^(M) khye (lit: poison EAT) 'take poison' (often used hyperbolically)

caanyev vyentyiyav vaat-inoovu-s bi vyeh khye-n-as
your.Erg requests.Erg arrive-Val.Pst-1sN I.Nom poison eat-Inf-Dat

'Your "requests" have driven me to drink!' (Kemmu 1997:30)

[Lit: 'Your "requests" have delivered me to a state where I had to eat poison.']

hOotsh^(M) khye (lit: impurity EAT) 'become or be ceremonially impure'

su chu-ni kEEsyi.hindyi garyi hOotsh khye-vaan
he is-Neg anyone's house.Abl impurity eat-ing

'He doesn't eat impure things in any house.' (those houses in which a birth or death has occurred)

gwah^(M) khye (lit: shit EAT) 'be / become destitute'

su pyav gwah khye-n-as
he fell shit eat-Inf-Dat

'He lost everything!'

1. [CONSUME (VALUABLE INEDIBLES)]: 'EAT a bribe', 'EAT time', etc.

ryishvath^(M) khye, kotsh^(M) khye (lit: bribe EAT) 'take bribes'

aphsaran khyev ryishvath ti dyitsi-n temyis serTyiphyikyeeT
officer.Erg ate.Msg bribe and gave-3sgErg him/her certificate

'The officer took the bribe and issued a certificate to him/her.'

pEEsi khye (lit: money EAT) 'take / embezzle money'

mandruk pEEsi khyon chu huun kyen-as baraabar
temple.Gen money eat.Inf is dog eat.Inf-Dat equal

'To embezzle money from the temple is just like eating dog's flesh.'

vakh^(M) khye (lit: time EAT) 'take time'

<i>garyuk</i>	<i>soodaa.salph</i>	<i>an-un</i>	<i>mar-un</i>	<i>zyon</i>	<i>eeshnaavas</i>	<i>nish</i>
house.Gen	items	bring-Inf	die-Inf	be.born.Inf	relative.Dat	near
<i>vaat-un</i>	<i>kootah</i>	<i>vakh chu</i>	<i>khe-vaan</i>	(Pandit 2003: 17)		
arrive-Inf	how.much	time is	eat-ing			

'How much time would it take to bring things for home, to attend to exigencies of death and birth, (and) to visit relatives?'

1.5 [LIVE FROM, LIVE OFF]

pyuhmuth^(M) khye (lit: ground-up EAT) 'live on someone else's money'

<i>aslam</i>	<i>chu-ni</i>	<i>paani</i>	<i>keem</i>	<i>kar-aan</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>pyuh-mut-uy</i>	<i>khye-vaan</i>
aslam	is-Neg	self	work	do-PresPart	he	is	grind-PstPart-Emph	eat-PresPart

'Aslam does not work; he lives on the savings of others.'

byihyith khye (lit: sitting EAT) 'live off others'

<i>su</i>	<i>chu-ni</i>	<i>keem</i>	<i>kar-aan</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>byihyith-iy</i>	<i>khye-vaan</i>
he	is-Neg	work	do-PresPart	he	is	seated-Emph	eat-PresPart

'He does not work himself and lives on others' earnings.'

2. [UNDERGO or SUFFER]: 'EAT a blow', 'EAT bullets', 'EAT curses', etc.

Taas^(M) khye (lit: thrashing EAT) 'get a thrashing' (literally or figuratively)

<i>bi</i>	<i>oosu-s</i>	<i>akh-akh</i>	<i>Taas</i>	<i>khye-vaan</i>
I	was-1sg	one-one	thrashing	EAT-PresPart

'I used to get one thrashing after another...'

(Pandit 2003: 126)

maar^(M) khye (lit: beating EAT) 'get a beating'

<i>bi</i>	<i>oosus</i>	<i>maar</i>	<i>khye-th</i>	<i>pathar</i>	<i>byeh-aan</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>shaman</i>	<i>oosus-ni</i>	<i>kuni</i>
I	was	beating	ATE-CP	down	sit-PresPart	and	evening.Loc	was-Neg	anything

cOOTh laag-aan (Pandit 2003:123)
mouth touch-PresPart

'After being beaten, I used to sit down and would refuse to eat anything in the evening.'

shelakh^(M) khye (lit: beating EAT) 'get beaten up, take a shellacking'

temy khyev syeThaa shelakh too.tyi vanu-n-ni poz
 he.Erg ATE much punching still told-3Er-Neg truth

'He got a severe beating but still didn't reveal the truth.'

daki^(M) khye (lit: push EAT) 'get pushed; suffer a setback' (literally or figuratively)

temy khyev daki ti pyav pathar
 he.Erg ATE push and fell down

'He got pushed and fell down.'

brakh^(M) khye (lit: crushing / munching EAT) 'get crushed' (literally or figuratively)

kaar.baar-as manz khyev temy brakh
 business-Dat in ATE he.Erg loss

'In his business he took a loss.'

shikas^(M) khye (lit: defeat EAT) 'be ruined / destroyed' (literally or figuratively)

yath jangas manz khyeyi-ni kEEsyi shikas
 this war in ATE-Neg anyone.Erg defeat

'No-one lost in this war.'

Takar^(M/F) khye (lit: obstacle / collision EAT) 'be thwarted / frustrated; collide, run into'

saaykal.weely khyeyl kaaryi siity Takar
 cyclist.Erg ATE car with collision

'The cyclist ran into a car.'

peezaar^(F) khye- (lit: shoes EAT) 'get a shoe-beating'

tsuuran khyeyl pulyiisas athyi peezaar ti moonu-n panun jurum
 thief.Erg ate.Mpl police.Dat by shoes and accepted-3sgErg self's crime

'The thief was beaten up by the police and confessed to his crime.'

lyeki^(F) khye (lit: [verbal] abuse EAT) 'get sworn at'

galtyii nay kar-yl.hee lyeki kyaazyi khye-yi.hee
 mistake Neg.Emph eat-Cond abuses why eat-Cond

'Had he not committed a mistake, he wouldn't have been cussed out.'

vwahav^(M) khye (lit: scolding EAT) 'get a scolding'

su chu- panini akli keem karaan bely.kyi meelyiki- vwahav khye-
 ni sindy th

he is- self's.Abl mind.Abl work doing rather boss- scoldings EAT-
Neg Gen.Mpl CP

'He doesn't work on his own but only after getting scolding from his employer.'

dookhi^(M) khye (lit: deception EAT) 'get fooled, be deceived'

aasyi khyev dookhi temyis nyishi
we.Erg ATE deception him.Dat near.Abl

'We were deceived by him.'

3. [BE DAMAGED or SPOILED by X]: 'EAT mold', 'EAT dust', etc.

zangaari^(M) khye (lit: rust EAT) 'get rusty', *latsh khe-* (lit: dust EAT) 'gather dust' (but only as a Hindi-Kashmiri bilingual calques on Hindi-Urdu *zang khaa-* and *dhuul khaa-*). [However, GK lists two EAT-expressions that do fall in this category: *bahaa khye-* (lit: steam EAT) 'become musty, go bad' and *barsaath khye-* (lit: rains EAT) 'rot (from dampness of rainy season)'. See (21a-b).

4. [INVOLUNTARY ACTION]: 'EAT a bounce', 'EAT spins', etc. (often with inanimate subjects)

var^(M) khye (lit: twist EAT) 'twist, wind'

ath endy endy ees vath akyi Tarphi var khye-th
this.Dat around around was.Fsg road one.Abl side.Abl twist eat-CP

chamb-as hyor khas-aan
hillock.Dat upwards rise-PresPrt

'The road around it would twist and go uphill on one of its sides.' (Pandit 2003: 55)

vwali-gwaton^(M) khye (lit: roll EAT) 'roll around'

shury khyev nyendri-manz byeDas-pyeTh vwall.gwaton Ti pyev pathar
child.Erg ate.Msg sleep.Dat-in bed.Dat-on roll And fell floor

'The child rolled over in bed in his sleep and fell on the floor'.

dab^(M) khye (lit: fall EAT) 'take a fall'

shury khyev kulyi-pyeThi dab
child.Erg ate.Msg tree.Abl-from fall

'The child fell from the tree'.

5. [BOTHER or TORMENT]: 'EAT someone's head', 'EAT someone's brain', etc.

keeDy^(M) khye (lit: brains EAT) 'pester someone'

su chu daphtaras manz garic paryesheenyii ven-yith keeDy khye-vaan
he is office.Dat in home.Gen misery tell-CP brains eat-PresPart

'He bugs the hell out of me with his household problems.'

6. [PERFORM]: 'EAT an oath', 'EAT a tattle-tale', etc.

kasam^(M)/shepath^(M/F) khye (lit: oath EAT) 'take an oath, swear

temy khev kasam kyi su yiyi-ni dubaari zAAh dyilyi
he.Erg ate oath that he come.Fut-Neg again ever Delhi.Loc

'He swore that he would never again visit Delhi.'

7. [DISPLAY (EMOTION or ATTITUDE)]: 'EAT anger', 'EAT arrogance', etc.

kaarbaaras manz nwakhsaan getsh-yith khyev temy aphsuus
business.Dat in loss go-CP ate.Msg he.Erg Sorrow

'He was disconsolate after suffering business losses.'

khrahk^(F) khye, traas^(M) khye (lit: fear EAT) 'take fright'

sih vuch-yith khyeyi gury khrahk, laakam tseTi-n ti tsol
lion see-CP ate.Fsg horse.Erg fear bridle broke-Erg3sg and ran

'Seeing a lion the horse spooked, broke the bridle and ran away.'

X-Dat nish heebath^(F) khye (lit: X-near fright EAT) 'be afraid of X'

meely dyut aslamas sakh maar su chu tas nyish.i heebath khyevaan
father.Erg gave Aslam.Dat severe beating he is he.Dat near.Abl fright eating

'Aslam's father thrashed him very severely (so) he is afraid of him.'

myets^(F) khye (lit: clay EAT) 'show anger, become jealous'

aslaman hyok-ni mye siity mukaabali ker-yith. myets chu khye-vaan
Aslam.Erg could-Neg me.Dat with competition do-CP clay is eat-ing

'Aslam could not compete with me. He is very resentful.'

heerath^(M) khye (lit: astonishment EAT) 'be astonished, amazed'

aslaman khyev myaanyi kathyi pyeTh heerath.
Aslam.Erg ATE my.Abl story.Abl on astonishment

'Aslam was amazed by what I said.'

tot^(M) khye (lit: hot EAT) 'eat before food cools' => 'be impatient'

su chu-ni praaraan su chu hamyeshi tot khye-vaan
 he is-not waiting he is always hot EAT-ing

'He doesn't wait; he is always impatient.'

phyekh^(F) khye (lit: pinch [of some substance] EAT) 'feel irritated; be full of remorse'

temyi.sinz kuur tsej garyi temy khyeyi phyekh yi buuz-yith
 his daughter ran.away home.Abl he.Erg ATE.Fsg Pinch this hear-ing

'He was very disturbed to hear that his daughter had run away from home.'

8. [REFUSE to DISPLAY (EMOTION or ACTION)]: 'EAT anger', 'EAT words', etc.

kath^(F) khye (lit: topic [of conversation] EAT) 'avoid, drop a topic'

agar tas zanaanyi mutalakh prishav su chu kath khye-vaan
 if him.Dat wife about ask.Fut.1pl he is matter EAT-ing

'If we ask him about his wife, he avoids the topic.'

9. [ENJOY; LIVE or STAY (in a PLACE)]: 'EAT town air, the air of jail', etc.

saveery^(F) khye (lit: ride EAT) 'have a ride'

su chu guryis saveery khye-vaan
 he is horse.Dat ride eat-PresPart

'He is enjoying a horseback ride.'

X-uk hava^(M) khye (lit: X's air EAT) 'stay in X'

dwan ryetan jeeluk havaa khye- aayi temyis magiz hooshi
 two.Dat month.Dat prison.Gen air eat-CP came him- brains awareness.Loc
 Dat

'After spending a couple of months in jail he came to his senses.'

10. [ONE-OF-A-KIND IDIOMS]: 'I'll EAT my hat'; 'EAT the dog' (Ru.); 'EAT fragrance' (Ch.)

X-Dat siity vaaTh^(M) khye (lit: X with joint EAT) 'agree with X, be in accord with X'

yi koonuun chu eeyiinikyis daphaa kunvuhas Siity vaaTh khye-
 this law is constitution.Gen.Dat section nineteen.Dat With joint eat-
 PresPart

'This law is in agreement with Section Nineteen of the Constitution.' (KC II p.160)

asmaanas siity gaaD^(F) khye 'EAT fishes with the sky'

temy zyiiny vaariyaah pEesi kaarbaaras-manz tami.kiny chu asmaanas siity
 he.Erg earned lot money business.Dat-in therefore is sky.Dat with

gaaDi khye-vaan
 fish eat-PresPart

'He earned a lot of money in business therefore he thinks too much of himself.'

hoonyen siity tu^(M) khye 'EAT mulberries with dogs'

temy hoor cunaav ti su chu vwan hoonyen siity Tul khye-vaan
 he.Erg lost election and he is now dogs.Dat with mulberry eat-PresPart

'He lost the election and no one bothers about him anymore.'