

# muk<sup>h</sup> ‘face/mouth’ in Bangla: A Cognitive Semantic Analysis

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## ABSTRACT

The present chapter focuses on the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ in Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in India and Bangladesh. In addition to ‘face’, *muk<sup>h</sup>* is polysemous with ‘mouth’. Both meanings further extend to other related senses. ‘Face’ and ‘mouth’ are conceptualized beyond the domain of the human body encompassing the physical world, mental states, interpersonal relations, sociocultural settings, and more via metonymy. Additionally, ‘face’ is a part of metaphorical expressions. Moreover, their syntactic extensions like conjunct verbs, adverbial phrases, and morphological constructions help to understand how *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ can be represented in Bangla.

**Keywords**—*muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’, polysemy, synonymy, metonymy, metaphor, and Bangla.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Body parts are a fascinating semantic field in the literature concerning cognitive linguistics. The human body and its parts have physical realizations and personal realities since they are parts of actions performed daily by the human body; from waking up in the morning until going to bed at night. There are two fundamental principles: *segmentation* and *classification* which underlie the categorization of human body parts. *Segmentation* (partonomy) reveals how a particular part of a human body is segmented and *classification* (taxonomy) gives us the term to name it. In this chapter, the body part *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ is taken into consideration. Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language, has the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ which is occasionally polysemous with ‘mouth’, which, in turn, is conceptualized as a part of the whole ‘face’. In other words, it can be said that the two parts: ‘mouth’ (part of the face) and ‘face’ (part of the body) possess a common term in taxonomy in Bangla. The idea of a *face* in other languages is given in section 2; section 3 discusses the polysemous nature of *muk<sup>h</sup>* in Bangla; then section 4 deals with the theoretical perspective relating to metonymy and metaphor on which the data analysis is done; the metonymic extensions along with morpho-syntactic structures of two main senses of *muk<sup>h</sup>* are exemplified in section 5 and section 6 respectively; section 7 presents some metaphorical extensions of ‘face’; and finally, in conclusion, findings are summed up in section 8.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The physical reality of the human body irrespective of ethnicity, race, and geography is the same but the study shows that the body parts are not conceptualized in the same way across languages. Moravcsik (2013: 31) mentions that a single body part can be captured by alternative terminologies in different languages. Similar patterns are found in languages spoken around the world. Luiseño (Uto-Aztecan, California) designates the two body parts ‘eye’ and ‘face’ by a single term which indicates its polysemous nature (Brown and Witkowski 1983: 73). Swahili (Bantu, Africa) has the word *uso* meaning ‘face of a human being’ and also ‘of a baboon’ (Kraska-Szlenk 2014: 125). Tocharian (Indo-European) *akmal* (A) ‘face’ is a twin-composition, that is, it is made of two components: A *ak* (=B *ek*) ‘eye’ and A *\*mal* ‘nose’ (Kaczor 1992: 27). Therefore, various ways of the body part segmentation in languages belonging to different language families entail diverse and rich cognitive thought patterns of human beings. Cognitive semantics literature shows that body part terms are not always full-fledged words, as seen in Tarascan (language isolate, Mexico). For example, the verb root *p’ame* is added to the body part suffix *-narhi* ‘face’ and makes *p’ame-narhi-ni* ‘to feel pain in the face or eyes’ (Friedrich 1971; Mendoza 2007) as noted by Majid (2010: 61). Again, the word ‘face’ can be derived from two other body parts like ‘eye-nose’,

‘eye-mouth’, and ‘nose-mouth’ and others in some Finno-Ugric and Caucasian languages as presented in Table 1. Interestingly, the mentioned body parts belonging to the facial periphery are combined to make a ‘face’.

Language	Language Family	‘face’	Composition
Tocharian	Indo-European	<i>akmal</i> (A)	A <i>ak</i> (=B <i>ek</i> ) ‘eye’ and A * <i>mal</i> ‘nose’
Ossetic	Caucasian	<i>caes-gom</i>	<i>caest</i> ‘eye’ + <i>kom</i> ‘mouth’
Adyghe	Caucasian	<i>na-pe</i>	<i>ne</i> ‘eye’ + <i>pe</i> ‘nose’
Avar	Caucasian	<i>bér-kał</i>	‘eye-mouth’
Hungarian	Finno-Ugric	<i>arc</i> , formerly <i>arcz</i>	<i>orr</i> ‘nose’ + <i>száj</i> ‘mouth’
Ostyak	Finno-Ugric	<i>ńot-sēm</i>	‘nose-eye’
Estonian	Finno-Ugric	<i>sū-silmad</i>	‘mouth-eyes’

Table 1: Extracted from Kaczor (1992: 27 - 28)

In *Rig Veda*, *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ is mentioned as *caḥsurādīndriya* (*caḥsu* ‘eye’, *ādi* ‘PLU marker’, *indriya* ‘organs of sense’) signifying a collection of eyes and other sense organs (Bandyopadhyay 1966: 1796).

### 3. POLYSEMIOUS NATURE OF *MUK<sup>h</sup>* IN BANGLA

Evans and Green (2006: 329) defines polysemy as “the phenomenon whereby a lexical item is commonly associated with two or more meanings that appear to be related in some way”. Here entries of Bangla headword *muk<sup>h</sup>* in two dictionaries are mentioned. Murshid (2013: 2414) presents the headword *muk<sup>h</sup>* with ten different meanings in Bangla. They are *face*, *direction*, *mouth*, *estuary*, *starting*, *abuse*, *respect*, *medium*, *appearance* and *path*. These are accompanied by *entrance*, *front part*, *head*, *hole/opening* and *in front of* in Basu (1924: 468). Among the given meanings, two of them are related to two body parts of the human body. They are ‘face’ and ‘mouth’. Therefore, it is clear that *muk<sup>h</sup>* in Bangla is a polysemous word. Below ‘face’ and ‘mouth’ polysemy are exemplified.

- 1) *ami fɔkale* *ut<sup>he</sup>* *muk<sup>h</sup>* *ḍ<sup>hui</sup>*  
I morning-TEMP rise-CON face wash-IND.PRS.1P  
‘I wash my face after getting up in the morning.’
- 2) *ami k<sup>he</sup>je* *muk<sup>h</sup>* *ḍ<sup>obo</sup>*  
I eat-CON mouth wash-FUT.1P  
‘I will cleanse my mouth after having a meal.’

While example (1) exhibits the social practice (of the speaker) of washing one’s face after getting up in the morning, example (2) points to the cleansing of the body part ‘mouth’ only. Concerning this, instantly another word from Bangla comes to the speaker’s mind, that is, *muk<sup>h</sup>omāndol* ‘face’, which is a combination of two nouns *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ and *māndol* ‘periphery’. As a result, it becomes obvious that the body part term mentioned in (1) signifies the face along with the smaller body parts (including the mouth) pertaining to its periphery. Hence, it is evident that though *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ has the capacity of polysemy, native speakers of Bangla understand the intended meaning unerringly. “Visual discontinuities and other perceptual cues can help in segmentation of the body, but an individual has to learn the linguistic conventions of their community to be able to ascertain just which discontinuities are meaningful (i.e., are picked out by linguistic terms)”, as Enfield et al. (2006: 142) claim. But when a speaker faces a sentence like *pāncomuk<sup>he</sup> pāncomuk<sup>h</sup> kōhen umare* (Bandyopadhyay 1966: 1796), two possible events can be interpreted from this as found in (3) and (4).

- 3) *pāncomuk<sup>he</sup>* *pāncomuk<sup>h</sup>* *kōhen* *umare*  
five-mouth-INST five-faces say-IND.PRS.3P.HON Uma-ACC  
by five mouths five people say to Uma  
‘People speak harshly about Uma.’
- 4) *pāncomuk<sup>he</sup>* *pāncomuk<sup>h</sup>* *kōhen* *umare*  
five-mouth-INST five-faced say-IND.PRS.3P.HON Uma-ACC  
by five mouths Lord Shiva says to Uma  
‘Lord Shiva says to Uma by his five mouths.’

On the one hand, example (3) depicts an event where people speak severely about Uma who can be any woman in the Bangla community. Here the number *pāncō* does not literally mean ‘five’ but a group. Moreover, *muk<sup>h</sup>* in *pāncomuk<sup>h</sup>* ‘five faces’ represents common people talking harshly about Uma. On the other hand, according to Hindu tradition, Lord Shiva owns five faces. So, he is named *pāncomuk<sup>h</sup>* ‘five-faced’. He speaks to his wife Uma on *Veda*, *Purana*, *Tantrashastra* and others with his five mouths. This signifies His eloquent power

of wisdom as found in (4). On that account, it is not easy to grasp the intended meanings without the knowledge of either Hindu Mythology or the Bangla epic poem *MeghnadBadh Kavya* (1861) by Michael Madhusudan Dutta. Thus, this poetic line has more than one implied meaning which illustrates that *muk<sup>h</sup>* is a polysemous word in Bangla. This happens not only because of Bengal’s rich sociocultural milieu but also for its thriving linguistic background. Moreover, *muk<sup>h</sup>* in Bangla has several synonymous words such as *anon* ‘face’ (*pɔncanon/pɔncɔmuk<sup>h</sup>* ‘Lord Shiva’; literally ‘five-faced’), *bɔɔon* ‘face’ (*caɔbɔɔon/caɔmuk<sup>h</sup>* ‘moon-like face’; literally ‘moon-faced’), *affo* ‘face’ etc. Nevertheless, they all possess the meanings of both the body parts ‘face’ and ‘mouth’.

#### 4. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In cognitive semantics, metonymy is interpreted as a conceptual mechanism that is key to human thought processes and language patterns. It presents a conceptual relation where two entities (X and Y) of the same domain are connected by physical or causal associations. The X FOR Y relationship means that X (the vehicle) provides mental access to the conceptual entity Y (the target). Kövecses and Radden (2007) define metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model.” They describe the typology of metonymy-producing relationships using *cognitive principles of relative salience* and *communicative principles of relative salience* (Kövecses and Radden 1998). These principles determine the selection of the default vehicle which gives access to other conceptual entities either via cognitive basis or communicative value. The cognitive basis is moulded on three general determinants of conceptual organization: human experience, human perception, and cultural preferences. They provide three major cognitive principles: *Human experience*, *Perceptual selectivity*, and *Cultural preferences* respectively. The communicative principles are made up of *the principle of clarity* (the issue of accuracy is highlighted) and *the principle of relevance* (related to the situational context). Again, these are subdivided into sub-principles which are illustrated in the following sections 5 and 6 concerning the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ in Bangla. Though the classification of the principles is not clear-cut but sometimes overlapping, they are summed up below.

Cognitive Principles	Communicative Principles
<b>Human experience</b> HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT <b>Perceptual selectivity</b> IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT <b>Cultural preferences</b> TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL CENTRAL OVER PERIPHERAL	<b>The principle of clarity</b> CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR  <b>The principle of relevance</b> RELEVANT OVER IRRELEVANT

Table 2: Typology of Metonymy-Producing Relationships (Kövecses and Radden 1998)

As opposed to metonymy, in which the vehicle and the target both belong to the same and one conceptual domain, metaphor is the phenomenon where one conceptual domain is systematically structured in terms of another conceptual domain. It is formulated as A IS B or A AS B. Human body parts function as source domains to derive the metaphorical extensions and to understand the target domains. ‘Face’ is no exception as delineated in section 7. Again, dealing with the Bangla word *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’, two primary senses are understood with some secondary meanings. This is illustrated in the succeeding section.

#### 5. METONYMIC AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC EXTENSIONS OF SENSE 1 ‘FACE’

Body part terms are found to be the inescapable ingredients of day-to-day conversations in Bangla and *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ is no exception. This section elaborates on some semantic extensions relating to *muk<sup>h</sup>* based on the body part ‘face’. It also revolves around the syntactic extensions of *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ along with their morphological components discussed below. Bangla *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ is a monomorphemic word. Etymologically, it is a *tatsama* word borrowed from Sanskrit. As previously shown in examples (1) and (2) in section 3, it is clear that *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ belongs to the syntactic category noun. It can also combine with other syntactic categories (and affixes) and produce compound words. In addition, it can also appear in verbal constructions. Studies show that body part terms express bodily functions as well as emotional states, socio-cultural behaviour, spatial orientation and others. Thus, they reveal both their primary meanings and secondary meanings in varied syntactic structures. Likewise, there are multiple instances of conjunct verbs where *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ can appear in Bangla. Conjunct verbs are complex verbal constructions where a noun-verb, noun-adjective-verb, noun-expressive-verb and others are found. These diverse sentential constructions do not only exhibit syntactic extensions but also metonymic ones. Here the vehicle ‘face’ provides reference points to the given targets and it is expressed via FACE FOR Y relationship



Neha-GEN face load be-CON stay-PRS  
 ‘Neha’s face looks gloomy.’

11) *neha marmuk<sup>h</sup>i hoeje ac<sup>h</sup>e*  
 Neha aggressive be-CON stay-PRS  
 ‘Neha is enraged to strike.’

12) *apni amar upor bimuk<sup>h</sup> kaeno*  
 you-HON.SG my on-POSTP indifferent why  
 ‘Why are you indifferent to me?’

Thirdly, it is exhibited that BODILY OVER PERCEPTUAL can be characterised in several ways (see Table 8). They are as follows:

G. FACE FOR CHARACTER

Example (13) is compounded by the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ and a verbal noun *poṛa* ‘burnt’ to form an adjective. On one hand, *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ stands for respect which is lost through certain disparaging actions by the addressee. On the other hand, it specifies his condemnable character. The adjective *gomṛa* ‘po’ is added with the noun *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ followed by the suffix *-o* ‘possession’ in the case of (14). Here ‘face’ stands for the subjective nature of a person.

H. FACE FOR RESPECT

The *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’-verb combination as found in (15) expresses the addressee’s evil deeds which lower his esteem.

I. FACE FOR PERCEPTION

In (16) *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’-adjective-verb pattern stands for a causal relationship where the speaker takes pride in excellent jobs performed by the addressee.

J. FACE FOR FAVOUR

Here the speaker’s spiritual belief in god is expressed by asking for a favour utilizing ‘face’-verb pattern as seen in (17).

K. FACE FOR MANNER

In example (18), *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ in an adverbial phrase represents the manner of the given event.

L. FACE FOR DIRECTION

*muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ in example (19) is extended to direction.

M. FACE FOR LOCATION

Suppose a person confronts a bitter experience; next time, he will try not to repeat the same mistake. He requests the hearer not to interact with him. It exhibits that *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ can be used to denote spatial orientation (example 20).

13) *muk<sup>h</sup>poṛa*  
 face-burnt  
 ‘disgraceful person’

14) *gomṛa-muk<sup>h</sup>o*  
 po-face-SUF  
 ‘po-faced’

15) *ṭui nijer muk<sup>h</sup> puṛiec<sup>h</sup>is*  
 you-TRIV yourself face burn-PRF.PRS.2P.TRIV.  
 ‘You have lost your respect.’

16) *neha amaḍer muk<sup>h</sup> uyyol korec<sup>h</sup>e*  
 Neha our face bright do-PRF.PRS.3P  
 ‘Neha has glorified us.’

17) *t<sup>h</sup>akur, muk<sup>h</sup> ṭule cao*  
 God, face raise-CON look-IND.PRS.2P  
 ‘O, God! Do favour.’

18) *je kon muk<sup>h</sup> nije jabe*  
 he which face take-CON go-FUT-3P  
 ‘With which respect will he go?’

19) *ḍokk<sup>h</sup>inmuk<sup>h</sup>i*  
 south-facing  
 ‘facing the south’

20) *amar muk<sup>h</sup>er jamne ṭ<sup>h</sup>eko na*  
 my face-GEN in front of-POSTP stay-IND.PRS.2P NEG  
 ‘Do not stay in front of me.’

The principle of CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT can be seen in terms of VISIBLE OVER INVISIBLE. In the human world, concrete objects are visible but abstract entities are not tangible. Therefore, FACE FOR RESPECT can be seen in terms of VISIBLE OVER INVISIBLE principle as in example (15).

#### 5.1.1.3. INTERACTIONAL OVER NON-INTERACTIONAL

N. FACE FOR INTERACTION

Example (9) and example (21) show that ‘face’ is an important part of social communication by human beings. Our social interaction is built by speaking (which involves the body part ‘mouth’) and expressing personal feelings (which involves ‘face’) by individuals every so often. Both the persons as a whole are engaged in such cases though a social detachment is indicated. Hence, ‘face’ can stand for interaction.

O. FACE FOR SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

Again, an individual may change his mind and take an oath to avoid an unfeeling social incident as found in the example (22).

- 21) *muk<sup>h</sup>*                      *g<sup>h</sup>urije*                      *nilo*  
       face                        turn-CON                      take-IND.PST.3P  
       ‘He turned his face away.’
- 22) *oi muk<sup>h</sup>e*                      *jabo*                      *na*  
       that    face-LOC                      go-FUT.1P                      NEG  
       ‘I will not face/experience this again.’

#### 5.1.1.4. FUNCTIONAL OVER NON-FUNCTIONAL

As previously mentioned, body parts like ‘face’ take part in building communication in example (7), they are more functional for the entire human body. From this point, the FUNCTIONAL OVER NON-FUNCTIONAL principle can be postulated as found in (7) and (21) where the X FOR Y relation is the FACE FOR INTERACTION.

### 5.1.2. Perceptual Selectivity

Perceptual selectivity depends on human interaction with the things which are nearby about immediacy, occurrence, dominance, boundedness and the like in real life.

#### 5.1.2.1. IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE

This principle may apply as a cognitive principle to causal immediacy. The sub-principle EFFECT FOR CAUSE presents the body part ‘face’ as the vehicle to reach the target (here, a specific health condition) as found in (23).

◆ EFFECT FOR CAUSE

P. FACE FOR PHYSICAL CONDITION

- 23) *ɬar muk<sup>h</sup> tɔftɔf kor<sup>h</sup>e*  
       his    face    EXPR    do-PRG.PRS  
       ‘His face flushes (in fever).’

#### 5.1.2.2. OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT

This principle accounts for OCCURRENT REALITY OVER NON-OCCURRENT IRREALITY.

Q. FACE FOR DISPOSITION

Example (24) describes the behaviour of the referent in a given context but it does not imply that in reality, the person remains the same for the rest of the time as indicated.

- 24) *gomb<sup>h</sup>ir muk<sup>h</sup>*  
       serious                      face  
       ‘serious face’

### 5.1.3. Cultural Preferences

Lastly, cultural preferences are determined by specific cultural concepts where stereotypical gets prominence over non-stereotypical, typical or important things are prioritised over less typical or less important things.

#### 5.1.3.1. TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL

Typical elements are frequently used to describe a state or event. Thus, a health hazard can be shown by employing its symptom only. In example (23), it is clear that the body part ‘face’ can represent an unusual physical state. Thus, FACE FOR PHYSICAL CONDITION is posited. Here one’s (feverish) health condition is implied through *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’-expressive-verb structure.

## 5.2. Communicative principles

Not only cognitive principles but also communicative principles play important roles in determining the choice of a metonymic vehicle.

### 5.2.1. THE PRINCIPLE OF CLARITY

The principle of clarity states that language has to be accurate or clear for the sake of communication. Some instances are so natural to native speakers that the applications of body parts like ‘face’ as a metonymic vehicle to access the intended target are just spontaneous. Therefore, ‘face’ can stand for a person.

#### 5.2.1.1. CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR

◆ PART FOR WHOLE

R. FACE FOR PERSON

Example (25) demonstrates that ‘face’ can extend to a head person who represents a place or an institution.

25) gramer muk<sup>h</sup>  
village-GEN face  
‘the pride of a village’

At length, it can be noted that muk<sup>h</sup> ‘face’ can be interpreted in various metonymic ways of thinking and appear in different morpho-syntactic patterns which are familiar in Bangla as analysed above. The metonymic extensions for muk<sup>h</sup> ‘face’ are listed below.

X FOR Y	
FACE FOR FRONT PART OF INANIMATE OBJECT	Example 5
FACE FOR BEGINNING	Example 6
FACE FOR APPEARANCE	Example 7
FACE FOR ACTION	Example 8
FACE FOR SOCIAL EXCHANGE	Example 9
FACE FOR EMOTION	Examples 10, 11, 12
FACE FOR CHARACTER	Examples 13, 14
FACE FOR RESPECT	Example 15
FACE FOR PERCEPTION	Example 16
FACE FOR FAVOUR	Example 17
FACE FOR MANNER	Example 18
FACE FOR DIRECTION	Example 19
FACE FOR LOCATION	Example 20
FACE FOR INTERACTION	Examples 9, 21
FACE FOR SOCIAL EXPERIENCE	Example 22
FACE FOR PHYSICAL CONDITION	Example 23
FACE FOR DISPOSITION	Example 24
FACE FOR PERSON	Example 25

Table 3: Metonymic Extensions for ‘Face’

## 6. METONYMIC AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC EXTENSIONS OF SENSE 2 ‘MOUTH’

Cognitive studies on body part terms distinguish ‘face’ and ‘mouth’ based on their physical characteristics and functionality. The mouth is generally understood as a body part with an opening. Inevitably, it becomes an inescapable part of the subsequent semantic extensions as described below.

### 6.1. Human Experience

#### 6.1.1. HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN

The body part muk<sup>h</sup> ‘mouth’ can be described similarly as the ‘face’. The metonymic vehicle muk<sup>h</sup> ‘mouth’ gives reference points to access intended targets like a natural object, and opening of an inanimate object and skin abscess.

##### a. MOUTH FOR NATURAL OBJECT

The human body part term muk<sup>h</sup> ‘mouth’ can be used in relation to a natural object or a place naturally created where a river meets another water body like an ocean or lake (example 26).

##### b. MOUTH FOR OPENING OF INANIMATE OBJECT

Even in the case of non-human objects, the body part muk<sup>h</sup> ‘mouth’ can take precedence having analogy in structure (example 27).

##### c. MOUTH FOR OPENING

The human body part muk<sup>h</sup> ‘mouth’ is structurally an opening. So, it easily gives access to other objects like an opening of a skin abscess (example 28).

6.1.2. CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT

6.1.2.1. BODILY OVER ACTIONAL

d. MOUTH FOR ABUSE/SCOLD

‘Mouth’ is an indispensable body part for performing the act of speaking in a displeasing way. That is why scolding someone can be described as the cognitive principle of CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT (example 29).

- 26) *noḡir*                      *muk<sup>h</sup>*  
       river-GEN                mouth  
       ‘river-mouth’
- 27) *guhamuk<sup>h</sup>*  
       cave-entrance  
       ‘entrance of a cave’
- 28) *p<sup>h</sup>ḡṛar*                      *muk<sup>h</sup>*  
       abscess-GEN            opening  
       ‘opening of an abscess’
- 29) *o*    *k<sup>h</sup>ub*                      *muk<sup>h</sup>*                      *kore*  
       he        very        mouth        do-IND.PRS.3P  
       ‘He scolds too much.’

The metonymic formula X FOR Y for the body part *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘mouth’ is presented below.

X FOR Y	
MOUTH FOR NATURAL OBJECT	Example 26
MOUTH FOR OPENING OF INANIMATE OBJECT	Example 27
MOUTH FOR OPENING OF ABSCESS	Example 28
MOUTH FOR ABUSE/SCOLD	Example 29
<i>Table 4: Metonymic Extensions for ‘Mouth’</i>	

Hence, it is evident that *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ is a polysemous word in Bangla. The extended meanings which are derived from the two stated senses are closely and conceptually related. These meanings are determined by native speakers based on the context, the speaker’s intention and its recognition by the hearer. On one hand, their perception of the natural world and on the other hand, their interactions with peer community members in a certain socio-cultural setting in the physical world show how they see the world. Their experiences and perceptions get encoded in their rich linguistic repertoire. Diagram 1 shows the polysemy of Bangla *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ and also demonstrates its metonymic extensions.

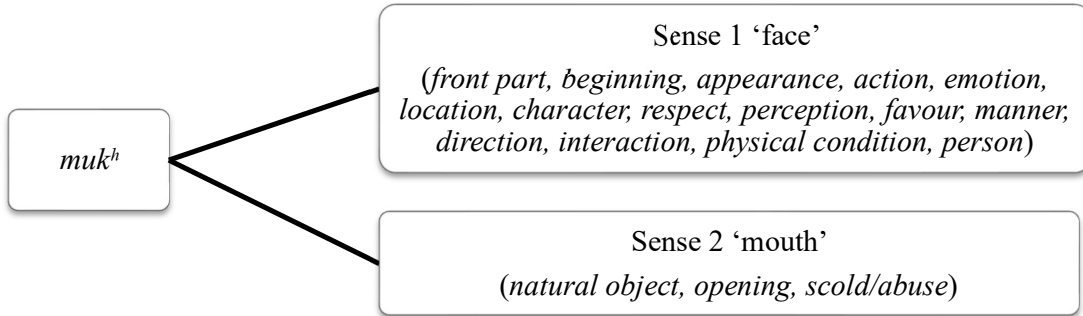


Diagram 1: Representation of Bangla *muk<sup>h</sup>* with Polysemy and Metonymy

7. METAPHORICAL EXTENSIONS OF ‘FACE’

Beyond metonymy, metaphor is another cognitive thought process expressed in language. Conversations in Bangla may apply metaphorical extensions of words as found in (30) to (32). When an individual meets someone in person, it is commonplace that they look at each other’s faces first. Subsequently, the conversation begins between them. Here, a popular saying from Bangla that a person’s mind can be read by seeing his/her face is mention-worthy (example 30). Here *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ is compared to a mirror. As one’s reflection is displayed in a mirror, his mental state is mirrored in his face. In example (31), a metaphorical meaning is indicated in which the beauty of ‘face’ is compared to the ethereal beauty of the moon. Two nouns *cāḡ* ‘the moon’ and *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’ are composited to make a compound noun. Additionally, in (32) the referent sky is a natural object which is compared to the human face. As feelings are depicted in one’s face, clouds are also accumulated in the sky before the rain.



Thus, the rainy weather situation is described. In consequence, the body part ‘face’ functions as the source domain to conceptualise the target domains: the mirror (physical object), the moon and the sky (natural objects).

- 30) muk<sup>h</sup> holo moner ajna  
 Face be-PST.3P mind-GEN mirror  
 ‘Face is the mirror of one’s mind’.
- 31) cãḍmuk<sup>h</sup>  
 moon-face  
 ‘moon-like face’
- 32) akaḥfer muk<sup>h</sup> b<sup>h</sup>ar hoeje ac<sup>h</sup>e  
 sky-GEN face load be-CON stay-PRS  
 ‘The sky is cloudy.’

Here, the source domain ‘face’ is shown with its target domains as mentioned above.

Source Domain	Target Domain	A IS B / A AS B	Example
Face	Mirror	FACE IS MIRROR	30
Face	the moon	FACE AS THE MOON	31
Face	the sky	FACE AS THE SKY	32

Table 5: Metaphoric Relations of ‘Face’

## 8. CONCLUSION

In this study, it is obvious that in Bangla *muk<sup>h</sup>* denotes ‘face/mouth’ polysemy. The richness of Bangla vocabulary is indicated by the synonyms of *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ as shown at the end of section 3. The meanings of both ‘face’ and ‘mouth’ are extended semantically as discussed in sections 5 (see Table 3) and section 6 (see Table 4) sequentially. Utilising the approach introduced by Kövecses and Radden (1998), the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* (vehicle) stands for multiple targets in a given discourse. In the present chapter, it is found that the body part term ‘face’ employs three general cognitive principles along with their sub-principles. In addition, only one communicative principle is seen to be applied to get the metonymic extensions of the body part ‘face’. Again, it is evident that some metonymic representations can be interpreted in more than one way as found in examples (7), (9), (15), (21) and (23). This is presented briefly in chart 1 below. On the other hand, *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘mouth’ can be conceptualised as a natural object, opening and action as seen in Table 4. It manifests a cognitive principle with two sub-principles: HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN and CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT. Additionally, human body metaphors include *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face’, projecting the concept of the human body part onto other concepts like physical or natural objects as presented in Table 6.

A IS B / A AS B		Example
BODY PART IS PHYSICAL OBJECT	FACE IS MIRROR	30
BODY PART AS NATURAL OBJECT	FACE AS THE MOON	31
	FACE AS THE SKY	32

Table 6: Metaphoric Relations of ‘Face’

Etymologically, *muk<sup>h</sup>* is a tatsama word and syntactically it is associated with the noun class by default as seen in (1). Still, then, it is clear that the body part term *muk<sup>h</sup>* in Bangla is a productive one and is also prone to changing the default grammatical class into another one such as an adjective (see (13) and (14)) or can occur in conjunct verb constructions like a noun–verb (7), noun – verb – verb (8), noun – noun – verb (10), noun – adjective – verb (16) and noun– expressive – verb (23). It can also appear in adverbial phrases implying manner and location as found in instances (18) and (20) respectively. It also makes compound nouns with metaphorical usage presented in example (31). Now, to conclude, it must be noted that further study of Bangla *muk<sup>h</sup>* ‘face/mouth’ may reveal additional metonymic-producing relationships as well as metaphorical extensions.

### 1. Cognitive principles

#### 1.1. Human experience

##### 1.1.1. HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN

###### 1.1.1.1. FACE FOR FRONT PART OF INANIMATE OBJECT (5)

###### 1.1.1.2. FACE FOR BEGINNING (6)

##### 1.1.2. CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT

###### 1.1.2.1. BODILY OVER ACTIONAL

###### 1.1.2.1.1. FACE FOR APPEARANCE (7)

###### 1.1.2.1.2. FACE FOR ACTION (8)

###### 1.1.2.1.3. FACE FOR SOCIAL EXCHANGE (9)

###### 1.1.2.2. BODILY OVER EMOTIONAL

- 1.1.2.2.1. FACE FOR EMOTION (10), (11) & (12)
- 1.1.2.3. BODILY OVER PERCEPTUAL
  - 1.1.2.3.1. FACE FOR CHARACTER (13) & (14)
  - 1.1.2.3.2. FACE FOR RESPECT (15)
  - 1.1.2.3.3. FACE FOR PERCEPTION (16)
  - 1.1.2.3.4. FACE FOR FAVOUR (17)
  - 1.1.2.3.5. FACE FOR MANNER (18)
  - 1.1.2.3.6. FACE FOR DIRECTION (19)
  - 1.1.2.3.7. FACE FOR LOCATION (19)
    - VISIBLE OVER INVISIBLE (15)
- 1.1.3. INTERACTIONAL OVER NON-INTERACTIONAL
  - 1.1.3.1. FACE FOR INTERACTION (9) & (21)
  - 1.1.3.2. FACE FOR SOCIAL EXPERIENCE (22)
- 1.1.4. FUNCTIONAL OVER NON-FUNCTIONAL (7) & (21)
- 1.2. PERCEPTUAL SELECTIVITY
  - 1.2.1. IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE
    - 1.2.1.1. EFFECT FOR CAUSE
      - 1.2.1.1.1. FACE FOR PHYSICAL CONDITION (23)
  - 1.2.2. OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT
    - 1.2.2.1. FACE FOR DISPOSITION (24)
- 1.3. CULTURAL PREFERENCES
  - 1.3.1. TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL
    - 1.3.1.1. FACE FOR PHYSICAL CONDITION (23)
- 2. Communicative principle
  - 2.1. THE PRINCIPLE OF CLARITY
    - 2.1.1. CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR
      - 2.1.1.1. PART FOR WHOLE
        - 2.1.1.1.1. FACE FOR PERSON (25)

*Chart 1: Metonymy-Producing Relationships for 'Face' in Bangla*

- 1. Cognitive principle
    - 1.1. Human experience
      - 1.1.1. HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN
        - 1.1.1.1. MOUTH FOR NATURAL OBJECT (26)
        - 1.1.1.2. MOUTH FOR OPENING OF INANIMATE OBJECT (27)
        - 1.1.1.3. MOUTH FOR OPENING OF ABSCESS (28)
      - 1.1.2. CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT
        - 1.1.2.1. BODILY OVER ACTIONAL
          - 1.1.2.1.1. MOUTH FOR ABUSE/ SCOLD (29)
- Chart 2: Metonymy-Producing Relationships for 'Mouth' in Bangla*  
(Examples are mentioned within parentheses for Chart 1 and Chart 2.)

### ABBREVIATIONS

1P = 1st Person, 2P = 2nd Person, 3P = 3rd Person, ACC= Accusative, AF= Affix, CLA = Classifier, CON = Conjunctive Participle, EXPR = Expressive, FUT = Future, GEN = Genitive, HON = Honorific, IND = Indefinite, INST = Instrumental, LOC = Locative, NEG = Negative, POSTP= Postposition, PRF = Perfect, PRG = Progressive, PRS = Present, PST = Past, REDUP = Reduplication, SG = Singular, SUF = Suffix, TEMP = Temporal, TRIV = Trivial.

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