



HAL
open science

Lexical semantics in language shift

Maïa Ponsonnet

► **To cite this version:**

Maïa Ponsonnet. Lexical semantics in language shift: Comparing emotion lexica in Dalabon and Barunga Kriol (northern Australia). *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 2018, 33 (1), pp.92-135. 10.1075/jpcl.00003.pon . hal-03807392

HAL Id: hal-03807392

<https://hal.science/hal-03807392>

Submitted on 31 Oct 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Copyright

Lexical semantics in language shift.
Comparing emotion lexica
in Dalabon and Barunga Kriol (northern Australia)

Maïa Ponsonnet – ORCID 0000-0002-8879-9798

The University of Western Australia

The University of Sydney, Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of
Language, and Australian National University

Abstract

This article analyzes some of the lexical semantic features of Barunga Kriol, an Australian creole language (Northern Territory, Australia), in comparison with Dalabon, one of the Australian Aboriginal languages replaced by Barunga Kriol. Focusing on the semantic domain of emotions, this study offers insights into how creole languages select and organize semantic meanings, and to what extent this results in lexical loss or retention. I spell out the exact nature of the lexical resemblances between the two languages, and highlight major differences as well. The conclusions of the study are two-fold. Firstly, I show that the Barunga Kriol emotion lexicon shares a great many properties with the Dalabon emotion lexicon. As a result, speakers in Barunga Kriol and Dalabon respectively are often able to package meaning in very similar ways: the two languages offer comparable means of describing events in the world. From that point of view, language shift can be considered to have a lesser impact. Secondly, I show that the lexical resemblances between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon are not limited to simple cases where the lexemes in each language share the same forms and/or meanings. Instead, lexical resemblances relate to a number of other properties in semantics and combinatorics, and I devise a preliminary typology of these lexical resemblances. Beyond the comparison between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon, this typology may tentatively serve as a grid to evaluate lexical resemblances between languages more generally.

Keywords: creole, lexical resemblance, lexical typology, substrate influence

1. Introduction

This article analyzes some of the lexical semantic features of Barunga Kriol, an Australian creole language (Northern Territory, Australia). More specifically, I compare the emotion lexicon in this creole with the emotion lexicon in Dalabon, one of the Australian Aboriginal languages being replaced by Barunga Kriol. This study offers insights into how creole languages select and organize semantic meanings, and to what extent this results in lexical loss or retention.

Measuring the semantic proximity/distance between languages is an intricate question (see for instance Youn et al. (2015) for a quantitative answer) and may not make sense in all contexts. One context in which it *does* make sense is that of language contact. Discussing the resemblance of a language with languages it is/has been in contact with tells us something about degrees of influence. In such contexts, the distance between two languages is not absolute, but relative: is language x closer to language y or to language z? In the case at hand, the resemblance between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon is measured (explicitly or implicitly) against the resemblance between Barunga Kriol and English.¹

Comparing the lexical properties of a creole and that of a potential substrate fills in a gap in the literature on creoles. Publications on the lexical semantics of creole languages are scarce. Studies on creole lexica most systematically question the etymology of creole lexemes, concentrating on substrate etyma (see for instance Dickson (2015), Holm (2000), Mühlhäusler (2011), and

¹ The discussions of English etymologies are based on my own intuitions as a speaker of English. These discussions remain limited to very simple and relatively uncontroversial observations.

Farquharson (2012)). The semantics of the lexemes with substrate etyma is usually not in focus in these works. Calqued expressions are occasionally briefly documented (Holm 1988:86; Lefebvre 2004:183–185, 205), but authors tend to list calqued forms without dedicating much attention to their meanings. Overall, few studies consider the semantics of *all* creole lexemes including lexemes etymologically derived from superstrate languages – i.e., most creole lexemes. In spite of Holm’s (1988) early observation that “while the number of actual words in the creole lexicons that can be traced to [substrate] African languages is relatively small, the influence of these languages is much more extensive in the semantic range of creole words”, I have not been able to identify studies that consider the semantics of creole lexemes in detail.

Semantics as such is certainly at the core of many descriptions and studies of creole languages, but most of the research in this direction concerns grammatical words, i.e. items that belong to closed word classes. In fact, theories labelled ‘relexification’ theories (Lefebvre 1986; Muysken 1981) usually concern closed classes of words and morphemes: they deal with grammatical functions rather than with the ‘lexicon’. In addition, ‘relexification’ theories claim that creoles borrow forms from the lexifier, and ‘copy’ *all* other properties from substrate languages (semantics, syntax, subcategorization, selectional properties, see Muysken (1981:61) for instance). The analyses in the present article demonstrate that this simple pattern cannot account for the diverse and polymorphous ways in which Barunga Kriol lexemes resemble Dalabon lexemes.

1.1 Emotions

In order to appropriately circumscribe the study, I focus on one semantic domain: the emotion lexicon. Emotions are defined here as internal, psychological states. I consider them distinct from sensations on the one hand

(pain, hunger...), and from purely ‘intellectual’ judgements (knowing, believing...) on the other hand (see Ponsonnet (2014a:9–17) for more extensive discussion of this definition). Because emotions are closely associated with their physical expressions, the lexemes considered in this study often describe behaviors, facial expressions or postures as well as the related emotions.

Targeting this single semantic domain is appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, it is necessary to focus on a smaller number of lexemes, as a sample for the rest of the lexicon. Secondly, emotions are a culturally significant, socially oriented domain displaying an adequate degree of complexity. Emotion lexemes are not as evidently referential as some other semantic domains: their denotata are not always immediately observable. Emotion lexica can contain lexemes of all word classes, and emotion predicates are likely to subcategorize for several (often animate) participants, resulting in rich syntactic patterns. In addition, many emotion lexemes are non-specialized lexemes and belong to unmarked, everyday registers. For all these reasons, the emotion domain is likely to reveal a broader wealth of phenomena than descriptive domains such as body-parts, or specialized domains such as ethnobiological vocabularies (Mühlhäusler 2011). In this paper, I will discuss a selection of emotional lexical items that illustrate various types of lexical resemblances observed between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon.

1.2 A typology of lexical resemblances

Pre-analytically, the Barunga Kriol and Dalabon emotion lexica convey an impression of ‘family resemblance’ – perhaps a common impression with creole languages and (potential) substrates. In this paper, I test whether this impression is grounded by systematically analyzing resemblances between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon lexemes in the domain of emotions. The examination of all the documented emotion terms in Barunga Kriol, and their systematic comparison

with Dalabon emotion lexica, reveals (a) that this impression of resemblance is indeed grounded in a significant number of shared properties, and (b) that these properties do not concern solely the form and/or the meanings of the lexemes, but a number of other cases of resemblances that can be grouped into types.

In total, excluding purely formal resemblances where a Kriol word has an Aboriginal Australian etymology, 21 Barunga Kriol emotion lexemes (often relatively common ones) display a clearly identifiable resemblance with Dalabon lexemes. This represents about a third of the 60+ common lexemes documented for the emotion lexicon in Barunga Kriol, hence a significant resemblance between the creole and the Australian language.

One of the theoretical contributions of this article is to suggest a grouping of these resemblances into types, distinguishing for instance the most apparent similarities from relatively ‘covert’ ones – ‘covert’ meaning that they are only revealed in specific contexts, rather than being apparent at all times. Resemblances in form are the most immediately perceptible. By contrast, plain semantic resemblances (where two lexemes share meanings) are less visible because they are not flagged by a common form. Furthermore, some semantic resemblances can be subtle: for instance, semantic overlaps between lexemes that otherwise encapsulate relatively different meanings. Finally, the most covert resemblances concern the combinatorics of the lexemes: that is, the way they combine with other lexemes and behave syntactically. Resemblances in combinatorics are neither flagged by an unusual noticeable form, nor encapsulated within just one form (like semantic resemblances), and for these reasons they are more likely to remain unnoticed.

Thus, resemblances in form, i.e. substrate etymologies – which are immediately perceptible and have attracted the most attention over the years – only represent one specific type of lexical resemblance. In the case of the Barunga Kriol

emotion lexicon, such substrate etymologies are amply outnumbered by resemblances in semantics and combinatorics – i.e. covert, less immediately apparent resemblances. Beyond creole studies, there exist few published works on resemblances in lexical semantics between languages, and the authors who have commented on this have usually focused on plain semantic equivalence (see for instance Enfield (2015:151–154) on Lao and Kri, and Weinreich (1953:47–53) on early typology of contact-induced lexical resemblances). Studies on language contact tend to say little about lexical *semantics*. For instance, Thomason and Kaufmann (1988:74–75) more or less equate ‘lexical’ borrowings with what Sakel (2007) and Matras (2009) calls *matter* replication, or replication of forms, and leave out lexical semantics. Matras (2009) does have a section on lexical semantics where he discusses replicated polysemy, if briefly. However, he does not consider replications in lexical combinatorics. In his framework, the properties I will consider under this category would mostly fall under what he calls clause-level replication (Matras 2009), but in these categories, he mostly considers grammatical function rather than lexical semantics. Based on the comparison between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon in the domain of emotions, this article offers a tentative typology of lexical resemblances across languages that takes into account a broader array of properties, including more covert resemblances.

1.3 Lexical resemblances and language shift

This comparison between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon sheds light upon the consequences of language shift to a creole in terms of discourse and communication practices (Woodbury 1998; Hoffmann 2012; Nicholls 2013). Language provides tools to carry out conversation, and as pointed out by Simpson (2002:190), the availability of certain tools – grammatical and lexical – favors the occurrence of conversational content. Therefore, if a significant proportion of lexical tools are preserved when a community shifts to a creole,

speakers will be able to elaborate comparable messages and achieve comparable linguistic communication in the new creole as in the language previously in use. Indeed, the data considered in this study suggests that the lexical resemblance between the two languages under investigation results in a great deal of ‘functional commensurability’ between them. While a dedicated quantitative study would be needed to confirm this observation, several pairs of examples analyzed below suggest that the lexical tools of Barunga Kriol and Dalabon do channel comparable discourse contents.

Such shared lexical tools tend to prevent lexical ‘gaps’ (Matras 2009), where ‘gaps’ are words that exist in one language but do not find an adequate translation in the other (see for instance Wierzbicka (1999:26–31) or Besemeres (2006:40)). In some cases, the properties that Barunga Kriol lexemes share with Dalabon allow speakers to produce very similar descriptions of the world’s events in both languages. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate just this: several years apart, two speakers who rarely talked to each other offered very similar descriptions of two very comparable visual stimuli, one in Barunga Kriol and one in Dalabon. Both speakers described someone sulking and for this reason sitting apart from a group (Fig. 1a and 1b respectively), and in both languages lexemes describing the posture convey emotional connotations (4.2.4).

(BKriol) 20140327c_001_LB*_ND* 09 (LB*) [Stim]²

[Describing the characters on Fig. 1a, two of them laughing together and a third one sitting apart.]

(1)	<i>Im</i>	<i>salki-wan</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tubala</i>
	3sg	sulky-SHIFT	EMPH	3du ³

² Data types: [ContEl]: contextualized elicitation; [El]: standard elicitation; [Film]: comment on movie; [Narr]: narratives; [Stim]: response to elicitation stimuli.

³ Abbreviations not listed in the Leipzig rules: APPR: apprehensive; approb: approbation; BEN: benefactive; CONJ: conjunction; CONT: continuous aspect; crry: contrariety; DIM: diminutive; DIS: disharmonic pronouns; EMPH: emphasis; exclm: exclamative; FILL: morphological filler; h: high(er) on scale of animacy; HAB: habitual aspect; HESIT: hesitation;

yuluk mami im jukdan darrei miself [...].

look mother 3sg bend.over there alone

‘She’s sulking at the other two, look mummy, she’s bending down there on her own.’

(Dal) 20110523b_005_MT 035 [Stim]

[Describing the characters on Fig. 1b, where the author is sitting apart from a group of characters sitting and laughing together.]

(2) *Nunda njing dja-h-dja-djud-kurlkurlka-n kardu narra-h-du-rru-ninj*
DEM 2sg 2sg-R-FOC-neck-bend-PRS maybe 2du-R-scold-RR-PPFV
wanjh dja-h-yolh-weh-mu-n.

CONJ 2sg-R-feelings-bad-INCH-PRS

‘And you, you are bending down, you two might have been arguing and that’s why you are sad.’



Figure 1a and 1b. Pictures used in elicitation.

Note that the characters’ bending is not particularly marked on either of the pictures. A more salient feature is that they’re sitting apart from the group. However, both the Kriol and the Dalabon speakers described them as bending down. This correlates with the fact that in each language, a lexeme is available for speakers to produce descriptions of emotions that invite comparable interpretations of emotions in terms of salient accompanying body postures. With the tools, comparable messages can easily be expressed in both languages.

IMPOSS: modal marker of impossibility; INCH: inchoative; INTJ: interjection; NECESS: modal marker of necessity; PIPFV: past imperfective; PPFV: past perfective; R: realis mood; REDUP: reduplication; RR: reflexive/reciprocal; SEQ: sequential; SHIFT: nominal shifter; SUB: subordinate marker; VBLZR: verbalizer. Capitalized glosses mean that the sense is valid etymologically but not in synchrony.

Therefore, the impact of language shift on which messages get articulated is more limited. This article shows that given the resemblances between the lexical tools available to talk about emotions in Barunga Kriol and in Dalabon, language shift has a limited impact in terms of packaging information and shaping up content in discourse in this semantic domain.

However, the comparison also shows that language shift has a more significant impact in other respects. Indeed, there are also differences between the Barunga Kriol and the Dalabon emotion lexica, and the most significant ones bear upon figurative representations of emotions (as analyzed in detail by Ponsonnet (2017)). Thus, in the case under consideration, language shift has a stronger impact upon figurative descriptions of emotions than upon their literal descriptions.

In Section 2, I present Barunga Kriol, Dalabon and the language ecology of the region where they are spoken. Section 3 outlines the main features of the emotion lexicon in Dalabon, with a view to comparing it with Barunga Kriol. Section 4 discusses resemblances between the Barunga Kriol and the Dalabon emotion lexica, from the most apparent ones to the most covert ones. This section spells out a typology of lexical resemblances, discussing and illustrating one type per subsection. Finally, differences between the two lexica – and their consequences on figurative representations in particular – are considered in Section 5.

2. The languages and their ecology

Barunga Kriol is a variety of Kriol, an English-based creole spoken by up to 30,000 Indigenous people (Lee & Obata 2010) across a vast portion of central northern Australia (Fig. 2). Kriol varieties emerged in the 20th century, based on pidgins that appeared in the Sydney region in the 19th century (Troy 1990; Troy 1994). These pidgins travelled as settlers progressed towards the north of

the continent via several routes (Fig. 2), picking up influences from various Australian Aboriginal languages along the way (Koch 2000; Simpson 2000; Mühlhäusler 2008). It has not yet been demonstrated that the varieties of Kriol spoken throughout central northern Australia result from one and the same creole language having diffused throughout the Kriol areas. As pointed out by Meakins (2014:377), distinct varieties of Kriol may have resulted from multiple creolization processes, in which case the particular Australian Aboriginal languages spoken in the vicinity of each Kriol variety represent potential local substrate languages for each variety. In any case, all creole varieties must have received some influence from a selection of Australian languages along the routes followed by the pidgins.

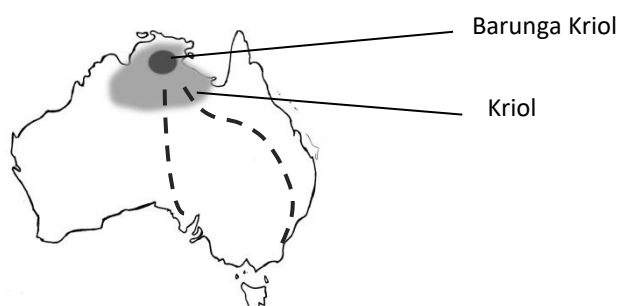


Figure 2. The routes of expansion of the original pidgin(s) across the continent.

Sandefur (1979) offers a preliminary grammatical analysis of the varieties of Kriol spoken in Barunga and Ngukurr (see also Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo (2013) for a more recent overview). Documentation and analyses of the Kriol lexicon can be found Lee's (2004) dictionary, as well as in Ponsonnet (2009; 2012) and Dickson (2015).

The Barunga variety, which arose just after the Second World War (Sandefur 1986:21), is spoken by a few thousand speakers in Barunga and nearby Aboriginal 'remote communities', an hour's drive or more to the east of the town of Katherine in the Northern Territory. These remote communities are equipped with basic facilities such as schools, simple health services, small supermarkets etc., many of them staffed by main-stream Australians who

usually interact with the local population in English. However, apart from these contexts and television, Barunga Kriol is the main daily language of all inhabitants in these communities. Exposure to traditional Australian Aboriginal languages is limited. In spite of early discrimination against the creole language (Rhydwen 1995), Barunga Kriol speakers are now proud of their language, and regard it as a marker of identity (Ponsonnet 2011a).

Prior to colonization, at least four languages were spoken in the Barunga region: Bininj Gun-wok (dialect chain, Evans 2003); Dalabon (Evans & Merlan 2003; Evans, Brown & Corbett 2001; Evans, Merlan & Tukumba 2004; Cutfield 2011; Ponsonnet 2014a); Jawoyn (Merlan & Jacq 2005); and Rembarrnga (McKay 1975; Saulwick 2003a; Saulwick 2003b) (Fig. 3). All of these are head-marking, highly polysynthetic languages of the Gunwinyguan family (non-Pama-Nyungan). These languages are potential local substrates for the Barunga creole variety.



Figure 3. Australian languages of the Barunga Region.

In pre-colonial times, each of these languages must have numbered a couple of hundred speakers. In recent times, Jawoyn has been considered nearly extinct, and both Dalabon and Rembarrnga are critically endangered: their speakers' descendants have shifted to Barunga Kriol. Bininj Gun-wok, on the other hand, enjoys better vitality, with probably around 1,500 speakers across dialects (Evans 2003). However, while Bininj Gun-wok dialects are the daily language of interaction in some communities to the north, they are more rarely used in

the Barunga region. Most older Barunga Kriol speakers, from the age of sixty and above, have some mastery of one or several Australian Aboriginal languages. Middle age speakers often have some passive knowledge of these languages, but speakers under the age of 35 hardly know more than a few words.

Thus, Kriol is still in contact with some Australian Aboriginal languages that are its potential local substrate languages – understood here in the narrow sense as the four main languages previously spoken by the speakers who have adopted Barunga Kriol. A comparison between Barunga Kriol and a single potential substrate (Dalabon) cannot demonstrate the substrate influence of Dalabon, and this is not what I seek to demonstrate in this study. It has often been pointed out in the debates on creole genesis that opposed universalists (e.g. Bickerton 1981; 1984), superstratists (e.g. Chaudenson 2001; Mufwene 2001) and substratists (e.g. Migge 2003; Lefebvre 2004) that resemblances between a creole and one single potential substrate are not evidence of substrate influence. Instead, Siegel (2008) has devised a much finer grained framework to explain and predict such influence. To identify substrate influence upon Barunga Kriol, one should take all local substrates into account – as Munro (2004) did when she applied Siegel’s (2008) approach for Roper Kriol, another variety of Australian Kriol. More detailed accounts of other Australian languages spoken in the Barunga region (see Section 2), as well as some knowledge about emotion lexica in other Australian languages, is needed before the exact mechanisms of influence and selection into Kriol can be disentangled. Subsequently, the lexical properties discussed in the rest of the article should be construed as *resemblances* – not *influences* – between Dalabon and Barunga Kriol. That is, the article primarily identifies *synchronic* shared properties between the two languages – and the implications of these shared properties with respect to language shift (1.3).

On the other hand, the lexical resemblances discussed in this article are often good indications of the influence of *some* Australian Aboriginal languages

(possibly others than the most local substrates such as Dalabon) upon Barunga Kriol. Indeed, I only examine lexical properties that are not shared with English, which rules out superstrate influence; and most of these properties are not typologically common, which rules out universal tendencies. On the other hand, a number of features of the emotion lexicon in Dalabon also occur in other Aboriginal languages across the continent. Therefore, the most plausible explanation for the lexical resemblances I identify is Australian Aboriginal influence broadly speaking – although they are by no means evidence of the substrate influence of Dalabon itself, and the exact paths of influence are not in focus here.

Dalabon is a good point of comparison for Barunga Kriol with respect to the emotion lexicon because there exist extensive descriptions of the linguistic encoding of emotions in Dalabon. With both languages, my lexical analyses are based on extensive first-hand audio and video corpora. Data collection relied on a range of stimuli designed to target the emotion domain and to elicit quasi-spontaneous emotional speech (Ponsonnet 2014b). The Dalabon data was collected between 2007 and 2012, mostly with four elderly female Dalabon speakers. The analyses have largely been published elsewhere (Ponsonnet 2014a) and will only be summarized here (Section 3) for the purpose of the comparison with Barunga Kriol. The Barunga Kriol corpus comprises ~20 hours collected in the communities of Barunga, Beswick/Wugularr, Bulman and Weemol, in 2014 and 2015, with about twenty female speakers between 13 and 80 years old. About half of them have significant mastery of either Dalabon and/or another Gunwinyguan languages, to the extent that some of them may be considered bilingual (Pavlenko 2006; 2014). In this article, examples by these speakers are flagged by an asterisk following their initials. All the speakers involved in the study are fluent in English. Among the speakers cited in this article, MT is the one with the lesser mastery of English (this is flagged in the examples by a second asterisk after her initials).

3. The Dalabon emotion lexicon

The Dalabon emotion lexicon has been described in detail by Ponsonnet (2014a), which includes an emotion glossary,⁴ and this section is only a summary. Emotions are an extensive lexical domain in Dalabon, with more than 160 lexemes documented so far. Across word classes, some of the most richly lexicalized emotions are interpersonal or ‘other-oriented’ emotions such as ‘shame’ (i.e. the fear of other people or ‘social fear’, see 4.2.1), compassion, emotions related to mourning, as well as anger and jealousy. Other well-lexicalized emotions are ‘self-oriented’ (i.e. not oriented towards others, see 5.2), for instance fear, surprise, motivation and boredom. The vast majority of Dalabon emotion lexemes are verbs and adjectives. In other words, emotions are described using predicates – most frequently intransitive predicates where the sole argument is the experiencer. Remarkably, there are only two full-fledged emotion nouns (Ponsonnet 2014a; 2016a): *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ and *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ (see 5.1.1).

Another notable feature is that Dalabon closely associates emotions with the body. A large proportion of the emotion verbs and adjectives are compound predicates that involve a body-part, and often yield body-based metaphors. For instance, the compound *kangu-yowyow(mu)*, literally ‘belly’+‘flow:REDUP’, has an emotional meaning ‘feel good, be nice’:

(Dal) 20120706b_005_MT 095 [ContE]

- (3) *Delegram* *buka-h-marnu-burlh-miyan*,
message 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-come.out-FUT

⁴ Also available at:

https://www.academia.edu/7615237/Dalabon_Emotion_Glossary_June_2014_

are regarded. Nevertheless, the miscellaneous lexical semantic resemblances discussed here can be grouped into nine distinct types, which can in turn be grouped into three categories. The category of formal (etymological) resemblances is discussed in 4.1. Here I will mostly discuss a particular type of formal resemblance, namely calques. In 4.2, I consider the category of purely semantic resemblances, i.e. similarities in the meanings of lexemes. Finally, 4.3 discusses the third category, resemblances in the combinatorics of the lexemes, and more specifically in syntactic behavior.

The types of resemblance described below apply to just a few lexemes in the Barunga Kriol emotion lexicon (sometimes just one). Nevertheless, the patterns of resemblance probably recur in other semantic domains in Barunga Kriol, and they may also be used as guidelines when comparing other pairs of languages. As such, this tentative typology describes a number of patterns that one can look for when assessing lexical resemblances between languages.

4.1 Lexical forms

The most overt – i.e. the most easily identifiable – category of lexical resemblance observed between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon are formal resemblances, i.e. when a Barunga Kriol lexical form relates etymologically to a Dalabon lexical form. I will not discuss cases of plain etymological sourcing in detail here, firstly because this is marginal in the case under consideration (see 4.2.1), and secondly because this question has been studied in detail by Dickson (2015) for Roper Kriol, a neighboring variety of Kriol.

Beyond pure etymological sourcing, another type of resemblance within the category of resemblances in forms is ‘calquing’. Holm (1988) defines calquing as “a process whereby words or idioms in one language are translated word-for-word (or even morpheme-by-morpheme) into another” (see also Crowley &

Bowern 2010:267)). In addition, the meaning assigned to the compound expression is also copied. This is a well-identified language contact phenomenon (considered in Weinreich’s (1953) typology of lexical influences) and although it has attracted less attention than direct substrate influence, calquing from substrate languages has been reported for several creole languages (Lefebvre 1998:334–348; Lefebvre 2004:183–185, 205; Ameka 2015; Holm 1988).

Table 1 lists five Barunga Kriol emotional expressions with Dalabon equivalents. Note that, as mentioned earlier (Section 2), these expressions may have originally been inspired by other Australian languages where comparable expressions occur. This explains why some of them differ slightly in structure or meaning compared to the Dalabon expressions (see Ponsonnet (2017) for further discussion of the origins of some of the expressions). All five Barunga Kriol expressions listed in Table 1 involve a body-part. Given the extent of the linguistic association between the body and emotions in Dalabon (and other Australian languages), it is not surprising to find equivalent expressions in Barunga Kriol.

language	collocation	literal sense	meaning	etymology
BKriol	<i>big as</i> , adj.	‘big’+‘arse’	selfish, greedy	<i>big, arse</i>
Dalabon	<i>dedj-boyenj</i> , adj.	‘tail, bum’+‘big’	selfish, greedy	
BKriol	<i>gud/nogud binji</i> , adj.	‘good’/‘bad’+‘belly’	feel good/bad, be happy/unhappy, be in a good/bad mood	<i>good, no Sydney language bindhi</i> (Troy 1994)
Dalabon	<i>kangu-mon, kangu-weh-mun</i> , adj.	‘belly’+‘good’/‘bad’	feel fine/bad, be good-tempered/angry	

BKriol	<i>hatkrek</i> , v.i.	‘heart’+‘crack’	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock	<i>heart</i> , <i>crack</i>
Dalabon	<i>kangu- barrh(mu)</i> , v.i.	‘belly’+‘crack’	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock	
BKriol	<i>jelop nos</i> , ?adj.	‘swell’+‘nose’	be snobbish, cold to someone	<i>swell up</i> , <i>nose</i>
Dalabon	<i>dje- bruh(mu)</i> , v.i.	‘nose/nostrils/face’+ ‘blow, SWELL’	be sulky, be sad/put on a sad face, a rictus	

Table 1. Barunga Kriol emotional expressions with Dalabon equivalents.

Several of the above collocations instantiate body-based emotion tropes that are widespread in Dalabon: mostly representations of the belly as a seat of emotions (e.g. *gud binji* ‘good’+‘belly’, ‘feel good, happy/be in a good mood’), and of the heart as a seat of emotions (*hatkrek* ‘heart’+‘crack’, ‘be surprised, undergo emotional shock’) (see Section 3). Encapsulated in the form of lexicalized expressions, these resemblances with Dalabon are easily noticeable. Conformingly, Barunga Kriol speakers treat *gud binji* ‘good’+‘belly’, ‘feel good, happy, be in a good mood’ and *nogud binji* as ‘linguistic tokens’ that they consider ‘typical’ of their language (see Ponsonnet (2017)). However, as also discussed in detail by Ponsonnet (2017), the linguistic association between the body and emotions is much more widespread in Dalabon than in Barunga Kriol. Barunga Kriol body-based collocations are much fewer – five vs. several dozens in Dalabon –, and for most of them, quite rare in spontaneous speech. Therefore, the most noticeable lexical resemblances are possibly not very deeply entrenched linguistically.

4.2 Semantics

Measuring semantic resemblances between lexemes is a notoriously delicate problem (see for instance Cruse (1986:265ff)), which possibly becomes even more delicate when comparing across languages rather than within a single language. The semantic analyses presented below reflect more extensive analyses based on the occurrences of each lexeme in my corpora (see Section 2) as well as, in some cases, elicited semantic tests. Given space limitations, it is not possible to present the entire analysis in each case, but only the results and the clearest examples.

The simplest type of semantic resemblance is plain semantic identity, i.e. when a Barunga Kriol lexeme denotes the same events and occurs in the same contexts as a Dalabon lexeme (4.2.1). Other types of semantic resemblances are shared patterns of colexification (4.2.2), more limited semantic overlap (4.2.3), and emotional connotations of the lexemes (4.2.4), as well as shared lexical gaps (4.2.5). Some of these types are very apparent and easy to detect, while some are more covert, when the resemblance is only revealed by certain contexts. The order of presentation roughly reflects these differences, from the most apparent to the least apparent cases.

4.2.1 *Plain semantic resemblance*

The simplest type of semantic resemblance is of course when a Barunga Kriol lexeme shares the same meaning as a Dalabon lexeme. Eight clear cases are listed in Table 2. These lexemes do not share the same meaning as English lexemes.⁵

⁵ More cases may be added, depending on how strict one wants to be when assessing differences with English. Note that while some of the lexemes in question may reflect cross-linguistically common lexical categories (e.g. the colexification of ‘like’ and ‘love’), the majority clearly does not. Therefore, many of the resemblances listed here strongly suggest Australian Aboriginal influence.

BKriol	p.o.s	etymology	Dalabon	p.o.s.	shared meaning
<i>gede shok</i>	coll. v.i.	<i>get a shock</i>	<i>kangu-barrh(mu)</i>	v.i.	be surprised (can be positive or neutral); undergo emotional shock
<i>gula</i>	n.	Sydney language <i>gulara</i>	<i>yirru</i>	n.	trouble, conflict, anger, aggression
<i>heit</i>	v.t.	<i>hate</i>	<i>ngurrng-dung, njirrhmiwon, kangu-dinjirr(mu)</i>	v.t.	have resentment, have negative feeling for someone (contextual)
<i>laik</i>	v.t.	<i>like</i> (v.t.)	<i>djare</i>	adj.	like (food, people, to do something...); love (friendship, romantic, sexually oriented)
<i>sheim</i>	adj.	<i>shame, ashamed</i>	<i>yer(mu)</i>	v.i.	avoid interactions for fear of others
<i>sheim mijelp</i>	v.i.	<i>shame, ashamed, myself</i>	<i>yer(mu)</i>	v.i.	avoid interactions for fear of others
<i>sori</i>	v.t.	<i>sorry</i>	<i>marrbun</i>	v.dt.	indulge someone with something out of compassion
<i>tjiki</i>	adj.	<i>cheeky</i>	<i>yirru-mon</i>	adj.	likely to cause harm: aggressive, harmful, dangerous, poisonous

Table 2. Barunga Kriol emotion lexemes displaying plain semantic resemblance with Dalabon emotion lexemes. *Sori* and *marrbun* ‘indulge someone with something out of compassion’ are discussed in 4.3.1.

The most complete resemblance is probably well illustrated by the Barunga Kriol lexemes *sheim* (adj.) and *sheim mijelp* (v.i.)⁶ on the one hand, and Dalabon *yer(mu)* (v.i.) ‘avoid interactions with others because of fear’ on the other hand.

⁶ *Sheim mijelp* is a lexicalized middle construction, the meaning of which is very close to that of the bare adjective *sheim*. See Ponsonnet (2016b) for an account of the differences between the two.

These lexemes denote avoidance behavior (not speak to others, avoid being seen by others, etc.) caused by the fear of others (feeling uncomfortable, shy etc.) or by respect for others.⁷ The avoidance and the fear components are illustrated in (4) and (5) for Barunga Kriol and in (6) and (7) for Dalabon.

(BKriol) 20150817b_004_BB_TM_JBe 37 (JBe) [ContEI]

[Feeling uncomfortable about own behavior while drunk.]

- (4) [...] *Kaja bala aim sheim na*
 INTJ.ctrry INTJ.comp 1sg>adj ashamed/shy EMPH
ai kan wokeraun.
 1sg IMPOSS walk.around
 ‘[...] Too bad poor me I’m ashamed now I can’t walk around
 [in the community because I couldn’t stand people looking at me].’

(BKriol) 20140326A_005_MJ*_QB* 059 (MJ*) [Narr]

[When meeting a malevolent spirit at night in the bush.]

- (5) *If yumob luk blakbala, yu goda abtu*
 If 2pl look revenge.being 2pl FUT NECESS
 [...] *yu cof en im sheim mijelb den.*
 2sg cough and 3sg shy.away RR then
 ‘If you see a revenge being, you’ll have to... you cough and he runs away from
 you [because your coughing scares him].’

(Dal) 20120709b_000_MT 013 [ContEI]

[About the speaker’s granddaughter talking to the receptionist at a hotel in Katherine.]

⁷ Many Australian Aboriginal groups have a concept covering social fear and respect, resembling Barunga Kriol *sheim (mijelp)* and Dalabon *yer(mu)*. This family of concepts has been identified as culturally specific and distinct from *shame* in English (see for instance Hiatt 1978; Myers 1979; 1986; Harkins 1990). However, the terms covering these concepts in other Australian Aboriginal languages are not necessarily semantically identical to the Dalabon *yer(mu)*. The Dalabon lexeme may be a relatively local form of the concept, of which the Barunga Kriol *sheim (mijelp)* is a very precise equivalent.

- (6) *Ka-h-yer-minj malung, bah ka-h-dja-yenjdju.*
 3sg-R-shy.away-PPFV before but 3sg-R-FOC-talk:PPFV
 ‘To start with she was ashamed and not willing to talk, but then she spoke.’

(Dal) 20110518b_004_LB_ND 60 (ND) [Stim]

[Commenting on the picture of a simplified face with a distorted mouth, looking emotionally uncomfortable.]

- (7) *Nunda ka-h-yer-mu. Bula-h-bu-yan kardu.*
 DEM 3sg-R-shy.away-PRS 3pl>3-R-hit-FUT maybe
 ‘This one is feeling uncomfortable with respect to other people [afraid of others]. They might hit him.’

There is some semantic overlap with the English etymologies, *shame* (n. or v.i.) and *ashamed* (adj.), which would be acceptable translations in (4) and (6). However, (5) and (7) clearly highlight the semantic discrepancy between both Aboriginal Australian lexemes and the English etymology: *ashamed* would not be an acceptable translation in either case.

As is evident from the list of lexemes in Table 2, semantic resemblances are relatively independent of whether a lexeme has an Aboriginal Australian etymology or an English one. Indeed, the only word with an Australian etymology is the noun *gula*, which originated in the Sydney language (*gulara*, Troy 1994:Appendix 21).⁸

⁸ Nouns with very comparable senses are remarkably common across Australian Aboriginal languages (Ponsonnet 2016a). Note that the semantic equivalence between the form *gula* in Barunga Kriol and *yirru* in Dalabon is only complete when *gula* is a noun. *Gula* can also be an intransitive verb ‘argue’, and in this case its sense does not coincide with the sense of the Dalabon intransitive verb *yirru-mun*.

4.2.2 *Patterns of colexification*

Common colexifications concern pairs of lexemes that encapsulate the same set of senses. The term colexification refers to the fact that a lexeme covers two or more distinct denotations, independent of whether it is a case of polysemy or monosemy (François 2008). This applies to the Barunga Kriol verbal collocation *laikim mijelp* ‘feel good/show off, parade around/seduce, flirt’, the meaning of which differs slightly from its Dalabon homologue, but displays a very comparable three-fold colexification.

Barunga Kriol *laikim mijelp* (lit. ‘like oneself’, <Eng. *like* + *myself*) and Dalabon *kol(mu)* both colexify an emotional sense of feeling good, along with two behavioral senses with emotional connotations: attitudes of seduction, and showing off (a comparable colexification is also attested in Rembarrnga: *gol*, see Saulwick (2003a:102), and see Musharbash (2010:280) on Aboriginal English in the Warlpiri region). Each pair of meanings clearly compares across the two languages, although there are nuances for each pair. With the emotional meaning, Barunga Kriol *laikim mijelp* means ‘have a good time, enjoy oneself, be happy’ (8) while *kol(mu)* means ‘feel cheerful, laugh’ (9).

(BKriol) 20140325a_000_QB* 386 [Narr]

[Some time out bush.]

(8) *Mibala bin idim-bat bigibigi en den...* [...]

1pl.excl PST eat-CONT wild.pig and then

Wi bin jis... laik-im-bat mijelb yuno, oh...

1pl PST just like-TR-CONT RR CONJ INTJ.exclm

‘We ate some wild pig and then...’

We were just having a good time you know, oh...’

(Dal) 20110523a_000_MT 059 [EI]

(9) *Mak ka-kakku-yolh-burrama.*

NEG 3sg-really-feelings-good

Ka-h-dje-kol-mu, bah buyirrhwalungh
 3sg-R-cheerful-PRS but inside
mak ka-kakku-dje-kol-mu kahke.
 NEG 3sg-really-nose/face-cheerful-PRS NEG
 ‘She’s not really feeling good. She looks cheerful, but deep inside she’s not really cheerful.’

With the seduction sense, both *laikim mijelp* and *kol(mu)* can mean to flirt, as in (10) and (11), but *laikim mijelp* refers more specifically to ‘parading around’. Indeed, the first sense cited by speakers in direct elicitation is the (canonically disapproved) behavior of young women who dress up and walk around the community, presumably to attract men. In Dalabon, *kol(mu)* means ‘pretend, seduce’ more generally, but the ‘parade around’ sense is latent. As illustrated in (11), *kol(mu)* can be used with respect to young people walking the streets flirting with each other.

(BKriol) 20140326b_002_IA 077 [ContEI]

[When attracted by a boy.]

- (10) *Ai goda laik-im mijelb beddam.*
 1sg FUT like-TR RR first
Ai goda laik-im mijelb brabli-wei
 1sg FUT like-TR RR properly-ADV
blanga dat men ba ask-im im banga abe deit.
 DAT DET man DAT ask-TR 3sg DAT have date
 ‘I’ll make myself look good first. I’ll really chat that man up to ask him for a date.’

(Dal) 20120714b_005_MT 140 [ContEI]

- (11) *Yawurrinj biyi, kirdikird-wurd yawk-no,*
 young.man man woman-DIM young.woman-FILL
bale-bobo-n bala-h-wawa-rru-n.
 3pl:SUB-go:REDUP-PRS 3pl-R-follow:REDUP-RR-PRS

Nunh kanh bala-h-dje-kol-mu.
 DEM DEM 3pl-R-nose/face-pretend-PRS
 flirt

Bala-h-marnu-dje-kol-murru-n.
 3pl-R-BEN-nose/face-pretend-RR-PRS
 flirt

Kardu mararradj wubulu-yidjnja-n.
 maybe lover APPR:3pl>3-have-PRS

‘Young men, men, young women, teenage girls, when they go around and follow each other. That’s when they’re flirting. They try and seduce each other. They might end up with a lover.’

Finally, *laikim mijelp* can be used to mean ‘parade around’ independent of flirtation, as in (12). The example is a comment on a scene of the movie *Samson and Delilah* (Thornton 2009), where the hero walks along the streets of the community carrying a kangaroo he has just killed on his shoulders (Fig. 4). This sense was not instantiated with Dalabon *kol(mu)*, but it was mentioned in metalinguistic comments,⁹ for instance about a child ‘showing off’ when they make themselves entertaining in order to remain a focus of attention.

(BKriol) 20140409a_001_TM_LB* 097 (LB*) [Film]

(12) *Im rili hapi na im-in kil-im keingguru.*
 3sg really feel.good EMPH 3sg-PST hit/kill-TR kangaroo

Im laik-im mijelb.

3sg like-TR RR

‘He’s really happy indeed he’s killed a kangaroo.

He’s parading around, showing off.’



⁹ Entirely independent of elicit

Figure 4. Picture extracted from the movie *Samson and Delilah* and used in elicitation.

©ScarlettPictures Pty Ltd

Thus, the Barunga Kriol verb *laikim mijelp* does not offer a full semantic match with Dalabon *kol(mu)*, but the pair displays very similar patterns of colexification. Both items combine a ‘feel good’ sense with a ‘seduction’ sense and a ‘showing off’ sense – a pattern of colexification absent in English.

4.2.3 Partial semantic overlap

Further down along the scale of overtness, we find a case of partial semantic overlap between a Barunga Kriol and a Dalabon lexeme. The Dalabon lexeme in question, *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’, colexifies negative emotions with hesitation and confusion, especially in emotionally tinted states of obsession (Ponsonnet 2011b). As illustrated in (13), *njirrk(mu)* often describes people who brood over remorse when they feel guilty about something and/or cannot come to terms with a situation.

(Dal) 2008/30005/8’ (LB) [EI]

- (13) *Kardu* *bunu* *burra-h-marnu-bun-inj*, *be-burrng*,
 maybe 3du 3du>3-R-BEN-hit-PIPFV male’s.child-3du.POSS
o *kanh* *eksiden-kun* *bala-h-eksiden-hm-inj...*
 or DEM accident-GEN 3pl-R-accident-VBLZR-PRS
Bala-h-dja-njirrk-mu *yelek*.
 3pl-R-SEQ-brood.over-PRS wait
 ‘Perhaps they (two) bashed their son, or about an accident, they had an
 accident. They keep brooding over it still.’

There is no clear equivalent for *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’ in English, and no Barunga Kriol lexeme captures exactly and only this

meaning. However, there are several typical ways to express the same meaning in Barunga Kriol, albeit with words that have other primary senses (for instance the expression *kan get oba* ‘can’t get over’ used in contexts of mourning, see Table 4, 4.4.1). A very frequent equivalent of *njirrk(mu)* is *jinggebat*,¹⁰ the semi-lexicalized continuous forms of *think* ‘think’: ‘think’+ continuous suffix *-bat*.¹¹ The semantic resemblance between Barunga Kriol *think* ‘think’ and Dalabon *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’ is far from complete. As I will now show, the two lexemes only display a very partial semantic overlap, limited to some inflected forms of *think*, in some contexts. However, this overlap represents an important resemblance, because it provides Barunga Kriol speakers with a functional equivalent to the Dalabon-specific lexical category *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’. Speakers can use *jinggebat* in contexts where *njirrk(mu)* would have been used in Dalabon, thus expressing the same semantic content as with *njirrk(mu)* by means of just one word, as opposed to a paraphrase. In other words, the specialization of the continuous forms of *think* ‘think’ that I will now present fills in a lexical gap and brings the Barunga Kriol lexicon closer to the Dalabon lexicon in terms of its capacities to communicate contents.

Like its base form *think* (<Eng. *think*), *jinggebat* often denotes intellectual processes of thought.¹² This is usually true if the content of thought is specified: when *jinggebat* is used to introduce reported speech (‘he was thinking: ‘...’), or when one thinks ‘about something’. When the object is a person, there are

¹⁰ Also the less frequent *thinking*, an alternative continuous form.

¹¹ The form is lexicalized to the extent that the first consonant is stabilized as **[j]** (vs. a predominant **[d]** for the base form). In addition, the epenthetic vowel between the verb root and the continuous suffix *-bat* is also very stable. Its presence is unsurprising given that it breaks an infelicitous consonant cluster [kb]. Voicing ([k] > [g]) is expected in word-internal position.

¹² The following account of *jinggebat* is broadly valid for *thinking* as well.

usually negative connotations – because thinking about someone often coincides pragmatically with worrying or feeling sad about someone. In such cases, the verb *jinggebat* translates better in English as ‘feel sad/concerned about’ than as ‘think about’.

When the content of thought remains unspecified (no object, or vague object such as *samthing* ‘something’), *jinggebat* has the same sense as *njirrk(mu)* in Dalabon. In such cases, *jinggebat* denotes an enduring meditative activity. In a vast majority of cases there are strong negative connotations of feeling worried, or preoccupied. In (14), this involves remorse, regrets and confusion. The example was a comment on Fig. 5, one of the vignettes of a story presented under the form of drawings for the purpose of elicitation.¹³ Both the message and the context in (14) bear obvious resemblances with the use of Dalabon *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’ in (13).

(BKriol) 20140326A_001_MJ*_QB*100 (MJ*) [Stim]

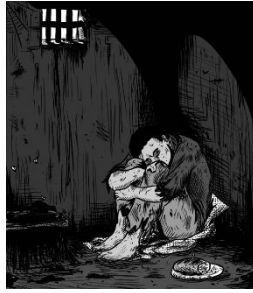
[About a man bitterly reflecting upon his past with his ex-wife.]

(14) *Im-in teik-id-ewei im kids tu*
 3sg-PST take-TR-away 3sg.POSS children too
en laik im jingge-bat yuno.
 and CONJ 3sg think-CONT CONJ
So im-in insaid nanga dat sal
 CONJ 3sg-PST inside LOC DET cell
think-ing rili had bobala.
 think-CONT really hard INTJ.comp

‘She [his ex-wife] took away his kids too and like he’s thinking [worrying] you know. So he’s inside there in this cell, thinking really hard/brooding over, poor thing.’

¹³ The Family Problems Picture Task, see San Roque et al. (2012).

Figure 5. Picture from the
in elicitation.



Family Problems Picture Task used

Jinggebat is used very regularly in contexts comparable to (13) and (14), and more generally in contexts where *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’ would be used in Dalabon.

Thus, *jinggebat*, the continuous form of *think* ‘think’, allows speakers of Barunga Kriol to identify and refer to a certain type of emotional state with just one word, as it happens in Dalabon – but not in English. While the semantic overlap between Dalabon *njirrk(mu)* and Barunga Kriol *think* remains partial, in terms of usage and communicative effect, *jinggebat* profiles a certain type of emotional state in exactly the same way as *njirrk(mu)* does in Dalabon. Thanks to this partial semantic overlap, translation gaps are avoided (Wierzbicka 1999:24–31), and speakers can articulate statements like the one in (14), inviting the addressee to focus on the exact same emotional states as the Dalabon statement in (13). As evident in both examples, the emotional state in question is highly dependent on interpersonal interactions, and therefore Barunga Kriol and Dalabon offer lexical tools that allow speakers to present the emotional dimension of social ties in very similar ways.

4.2.4 Emotional connotations

Barunga Kriol and Dalabon lexemes can share emotional connotations, when lexemes do not denote an emotional state as such, but occur in comparable emotional contexts. Such a pattern of resemblance was observed with the Barunga Kriol intransitive verb *jukdan* ‘bend over’ (<Eng. *shook* + *down*).

Strictly speaking, *jukdan* refers to body postures rather than emotions, but it often occurs where a body posture is the symptom of an emotional state. The exact same pattern of emotional connotation is found in Dalabon with the intransitive verbs *djud-kurlkkurlkan* and *djud-kurl(mu)*, literally ‘nape of neck’+BEND (and see also Jawoyn v. *bam-gul-ma* ‘head’+‘bend, bow’, ‘to worry about’). Compare (15) and (16) (repeated from 1.3 in the introduction):

(BKriol) 20140327c_001_LB*_ND* 09 (LB*) [Stim]

[Describing the characters on a photo, two of them laughing together and a third one sitting apart.]

- (15) *Im salki-wan na tubala*
 3sg sulky-SHIFT EMPH 3du
yuluk mami im jukdan darrei miself [...].
 look mother 3sg bend.over there alone
 ‘She’s sulking at the other two, look mum, she’s bending down there on her own.’

(Dal) 20110523b_005_MT 035 [Stim]

[Describing the characters on a photo where the author is sitting apart from a group of characters sitting and laughing together.]

- (16) *Nunda njing dja-h-dja-djud-kurlkkurlka-n kardu narra-h-du-rru-ninj*
 DEM 2sg 2sg-R-FOC-neck-bend-PRS maybe 2du-R-scold-RR-PPFV
wanjh dja-h-yolh-weh-mu-n.
 CONJ 2sg-R-feelings-bad-INCH-PRS
 ‘And you, you are bending down, you two might have been arguing and that’s why you are sad.’

As noted in 1.3, (15) and (16) describe photos where the characters’ postures are not particularly salient, but it is a natural trend for both languages to refer to

bodily postures to describe emotions (see Section 3 and Ponsonnet 2014a).¹⁴ While the association between emotions and the body is not as prominent in Barunga Kriol as in Dalabon (see 4.1, 5.4, Ponsonnet (2017)), the expression *jukdan* ‘bend over’ is a subtle instance of it. As discussed in 1.3, this connotation of *jukdan* in Barunga Kriol allows speakers to profile the same aspect of emotions as in Dalabon, namely the role of bodily postures in their expression and evaluation.

4.2.5 *Lexical gaps*

The last type of lexical resemblance between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon in the domain of emotions has to do with lexical gaps. Lexical gaps are a slippery matter. Firstly, they are always defined in comparison with another language (here, by default, English). Secondly, the absence of a dedicated lexeme clearly assigned to a concept does not imply that this concept cannot be expressed by another lexeme (for instance, a superordinate – e.g. ‘be angry’ for ‘be furious’). Nevertheless, systematic investigation of the emotion lexicon in Dalabon suggests that disgust and pride, for instance, are two key emotion concepts¹⁵ not very clearly lexicalized in this language. Investigation of these concepts in Barunga Kriol revealed that they are not clearly lexicalized in this language either.

4.3 *Combinatorics*

As discussed by Evans (2010:506) among others, the meaning of lexemes is partly defined by their combinatorics, which “gives information about how [lexemes] combine with other signs”. Shared combinatorics represents another

¹⁴ *Jukdan* ‘bend over’ was also used to translate the Dalabon verb *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘head’+‘be cut, end’, which means ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’ and does not denote a posture at all in synchrony.

¹⁵ Disgust is often treated as a basic emotion, see Ekman (1992).

type of lexical resemblance attested in the case under consideration. Some Barunga Kriol lexemes differ from English and pair up with Dalabon with respect to combinatorics – more specifically, syntactic behavior, which is one aspect of combinatorics. These resemblances concern core subcategorization patterns, discussed in 4.3.1, as well as the semantics of non-core arguments, discussed in 4.3.2. These syntactic resemblances can be described as covert, in the sense that they only become apparent in contexts where the relevant arguments are expressed.

4.3.1 *Argument subcategorization*

Some Barunga Kriol lexemes with English etymologies subcategorize arguments in the same way as a Dalabon lexeme. The fact that a pair of lexemes shares argument subcategorization does not preclude that they also share their semantics, and indeed the lexemes presented below share both. Yet, it is possible to imagine pairs of lexemes sharing their subcategorization frame without sharing the exact same semantics.

A good example is that of the transitive verb *sori* (<Eng. *sorry*) which means ‘indulge’, ‘give (something) to someone (out of compassion)’. Unlike its English etymology, the form *sori* has both an intransitive and a transitive use, and as I show below, the transitive verb matches a Dalabon verb, *marrbun* ‘indulge someone with something (out of compassion)’. In its intransitive use, the Barunga Kriol *sori* is semantically very close to its English etymology. Like *sorry* in English, *sori* is an adjective that can have an apologetic sense¹⁶ or mean ‘sad’ (‘feel sorry’). In this sense, it often means ‘feel compassion’, especially in the indirect-object constructions *fil sori la/na* and *fil sori bla*, ‘feel sorry for’ (introduced by locative *la/na* or dative *bla*).

(BKriol) 20140406a_003_MJ* 58 [Film]

¹⁶ This is rarer and preferably expressed as an interjection: ‘*Sori!*’, ‘*sei ‘sori*’ ‘say ‘sorry’.

[In the movie *Rabbit-proof Fence* (Noyce 2002), a man who is chasing children eventually lets them go.]

- (17) *Bobala im fil sori na olebat yuno.*
INTJ.comp 3sg feel sorry LOC 3pl CONJ
'Good on him, he's got compassion/mercy for them you know.'

In addition to these English-like senses, *sori* can be used as a transitive verb, typically followed by a dative complement. It then means 'indulge someone with something (out of compassion)', as in (18). The conceptual association between compassion and gift is very natural in the cultural context at stake, where generosity and sharing are conventionally regarded as evidence of (socially encouraged) compassionate feelings (see Ponsonnet 2014a:196–199; Myers 1979:355–358; 1986:113–117).

(BKriol) 20150823b_000_BB_TM 13 (TM) [Cont El]

- (18) *Dei neba bin sori mi [bla] fish.*
3pl NEG PST indulge 1sg DAT fish
'They didn't indulge me with fish.'

This transitive subcategorization pattern and the associated meaning of *sori* are not at all matched by *sorry* in English. Instead, *sori* as a transitive verb has a lot in common with the Dalabon (di)transitive verb *marrbun* 'feel sorry, compassionate for/indulge someone with something (out of compassion)'. *Marrbun* shares both senses of *sori* (the pair is listed as a 'plain semantic resemblance' in Table 2, 4.2.1). The sense 'feel sorry, compassionate', conveyed in Barunga Kriol by *sori* as an adjective, is illustrated in (19), where *marrbun* has only one object and conveys connotations of mercy. The sense 'indulge someone with something' is illustrated in (20) with the ditransitive use of *marrbun*.

(Dal) 20120721_003_LB 173 [Film]

[In the movie *Rabbit-proof Fence* (Noyce 2002), a man who is chasing children eventually lets them go.]

- (19) *Bulu ka-h-marrbo-ng.*
 3pl 3sg>3-R-feel.sorry.for-PPFV
 ‘He’s got compassion/mercy for them.’

(Dal) 20120721_001_LB 49 [Film]

- (20) *Bulu ka-h-ngabbo-ng, mey bulu ka-h-marrbo-ng.*¹⁷
 3pl 3sg>3-R-give-PPFV food 3pl 3sg>3-R-indulge-PPFV
 ‘He gave them [something], he indulged them with some food.’

Table 3 shows that apart from a difference in their formal treatment of their third argument, the Barunga Kriol transitive verb *sori* and the Dalabon ditransitive verb *marrbun* display very similar argument mapping, with identical semantics.

	Barunga Kriol <i>sori</i>	Dalabon <i>marrbun</i>
S	EXPERIENCER	EXPERIENCER
O	STIMULUS/RECIPIENT	STIMULUS/RECIPIENT
O2		THEME
DATIVE	THEME	

Table 3. Subcategorization patterns of *sori* (v.t.) and *marrbun* (v.dt.).

Here again, there is remarkable similarity between the Barunga Kriol utterances in (17) and (18) and the Dalabon ones in (19) and (20). Both languages offer a lexical means to describe an act of giving as an act of compassion, thus linguistically sanctioning a well-entrenched moral value. In addition, given the resemblance in argument mapping, both *sori* ‘indulge someone (with something out of compassion)’ and *marrbun* ‘indulge someone with something (out of

¹⁷ The prosodic treatment of *mey* ‘food’ makes it clear that it is the object of the second clause headed by *marrbun* ‘indulge’, not of the first clause headed by *ngabbun* ‘give’.

compassion)’ describe givers as experiencers of emotions and recipients of goods as stimuli of compassion. Thus, the lexemes in each language assign similar roles to each participant in these emotionally loaded social interactions.

4.3.2 *The semantics of non-core arguments*

Some Barunga Kriol emotional lexemes share their semantics and their core-argument subcategorization pattern with English, but stronger semantic resemblances with Dalabon become evident when non-core arguments are taken into account. The intransitive verb *wori* (<Eng. *worry*) and the semantics of its dative arguments are a case in point. When used without a dative object,¹⁸ *wori* means ‘worry, be preoccupied’ and is therefore semantically very close to its English etymon. There is no clear Dalabon equivalent for this sense (the best approximation being *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’, discussed in 4.2.3).

(BKriol) 20140328c_006_IA 044 [Narr]

(21) *Bat festam mela bin mub iya...*

but initially 1pl.excl PST move here

Bat ai bin oles apset.

but 1sg PST HAB upset

Ai bin oles wori en apset. [...]

1sg PST HAB feel.bad and upset

‘But in the early days of our moving here... But I was always upset.

I was always worried, and upset...’

However, when a dative object (introduced by either *bla/ba* or *fo*) is added, *wori* denotes grief rather than more general preoccupations, and this meaning matches that of the Dalabon lexeme *kangu-darr(mu)* ‘belly’+‘?’, ‘feel bad when missing someone/grieving for someone’. The dative objects of *wori* are usually

¹⁸ Or with vague inanimate dative objects (e.g. *wori fo samthing* ‘worry about something’).

animates.¹⁹ *Wori* can be used when someone is sick, or when someone is away. This is the case in the first line of (22): the grandfather in question had been away for a while and had given no news. In this context, *wori* could mean ‘worry (be preoccupied)’ for someone as well as ‘grieve’. But when *wori* is used to talk about people who are deceased, it cannot mean ‘be preoccupied for the person’. This is the case in the second line of (22), where the father in question was actually deceased. In this case, *wori* means ‘miss, grieve about someone who is not here (whatever the reason of the absence)’.

(BKriol) 20140401a_002_MT** 036 [Narr]

[About a teenage boy’s classificatory grandfather who has left and gives no news, and the boy’s recently deceased biological father.]

(22) *Bikos im-in wori*
 because 3sg-PST feel.bad
ba olmen grenpa [first name] matbi.
 DAT old.man grandfather first name maybe
Bad athawei matbi
 But otherwise maybe
im-in wori ba im ded tu.
 3sg-PST feel.bad DAT 3sg.POSS father too

‘Because he was missing his grandfather [first name] [who has left and isn’t giving news] perhaps. Or, otherwise, he may have been grieving for his father [who passed away a year ago].’

Thus, while *wori* alone can indeed mean ‘be preoccupied’, *wori*+DAT means ‘miss, grieve’, and a better gloss for *wori* is the more generic ‘feel bad about a beloved person (missing, grieving...)’. The senses of *wori*+DAT are matched in Dalabon by the intransitive verb *kangu-darr(mu)*, in particular when it has

19 More rarely, inanimates that can trigger grief – such as *kantri* ‘country’ for instance. Members of Australian Aboriginal groups tend to experience strong attachment to their ancestral country, so that ‘home-sickness’ can be severe (Hill in prep.).

participants that can, in Dalabon, be regarded as the equivalent of indirect objects. This is illustrated in (23) where the verb has a genitive adjunct and denotes grief; and in (24), where the verb has a benefactive object, with the sense ‘miss someone’.

(Dal) 20120708a_000_MT 053 [ContEl]

[About a recently deceased aunt (mother’s sister).]

- (23) *Buyirrhwalung nga-h-dja-kangu-darr-minj murlah-ngan-kun.*
inside 1sg-R-FOC-belly-DARR-PPFV mother’s.sister-1sg.POSS-GEN
feel.bad
mak nga-bengwudj-mi.
NEG 1sg-forget-IRR
‘Deep inside I was still grieving for my mother’s sister [who had passed away].
I had not forgotten.’

(Dal) 2008/30036 – 17’ (MT) [ContEl]

- (24) *Maïa, derrh-no dja-h-bo-niyan...*
proper.name tomorrow 2sg-R-go-FUT
Djila-h-karra-marnu-kangu-darr-miyan.
1pl>2-R-all-BEN-belly-DARR-FUT
feel.bad
‘Maïa, you’re leaving tomorrow... We’re all going to miss you.’

Here again, the respective lexical resources of Barunga Kriol and Dalabon allow speakers to depict emotional situations and the associated interpersonal relationships in similar ways. Namely, both languages allow speakers to use a single verb to talk about several types of negative feelings caused by one’s attachment to another person – whether one worries about them, misses them or grieves for them. In both languages, the person in question is represented as an indirect object (or equivalent), and the experiencer of the negative emotion as an intransitive subject.

In a similar way, the Barunga Kriol adjective *hapi* (<Eng. *happy*), ‘feel good’ also reveals resemblances with Dalabon when it occurs with a dative object. Without a dative object, *hapi* is closer in meaning to its English etymon than to comparable Dalabon lexemes meaning ‘feel good’. However, when Barunga Kriol *hapi* ‘feel good’ receives a dative complement, it patterns semantically like Dalabon lexemes. In English, *x is happy for y* means ‘something good happened to y and x is happy because y is happy’. In Barunga Kriol, the default meaning of *x im hapi bla y* is ‘x is happy because of y’, i.e. ‘x feels good about y’ in the sense of ‘x likes y’. This concurs with the standard semantics of non-core arguments for Dalabon emotion predicates: benefactive objects (the status of which compares with indirect objects) typically refer to animate stimuli, i.e. to persons that trigger the emotions described by the predicates (as with *wori bla* above).

4.4 Summary of resemblances

4.4.1 Lexical resemblance

In total, 21 Barunga Kriol emotion lexemes share some clearly identifiable properties with Dalabon (exclusive of properties that are also shared with English). This represents about a third of fully attested lexemes in this semantic domain – a significant proportion that explains the impression of resemblance between the two languages. Table 4 recapitulates the full list, i.e. the 21 items that fall under various types of resemblances described in previous sections.²⁰

BKriol	meaning	etymology	Dalabon match
CALQUES			

²⁰ Most of them were cited or discussed to illustrate the types, but a few items that had to be left out for reasons of space also fall under these types.

<i>big as</i> , adj.	selfish, greedy	<i>big, arse</i>	<i>dedj-boyenj</i> , adj. 'tail, bum'+ 'big'
<i>gud/nogud binji</i> , adj.	feel good/bad, be happy/unhappy, be in a good/bad mood	<i>good, no Sydney language bindhi</i>	<i>kangu-mon, kangu-weh-mun</i> , adj. 'belly'+ 'good'/'bad'
<i>hatkrek</i> , v.i.	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock	<i>heart, crack</i>	<i>kangu-barrh(mu)</i> , v.i. 'belly'+ 'crack'
<i>jelop nos</i> , ?adj.	be snobbish, cold to someone	<i>swell up, nose</i>	<i>dje-bruh(mu)</i> , v.i. 'nose/nostrils/face'+ 'blow, SWELL'

PLAIN SEMANTIC RESEMBLANCE

<i>gede shok</i> , v.i.	be surprised (can be positive or neutral) / undergo emotional shock	<i>get a shock</i>	<i>kangu-barrh(mu)</i> , v.i.
<i>gula</i> , n.	trouble, conflict, anger, aggression	Sydney language <i>gulara</i>	<i>yirru</i> , n.
<i>heit</i> , v.t.	have resentment, have negative feeling for someone (contextual)	<i>hate</i>	<i>ngurrng-dung, njirrhmiwon, kangu-dinjirr(mu)</i> , v.t./i.
<i>laik</i> , v.t.	like (food, people, to do something...) / love (friendship, romantic, sexually oriented)	<i>like</i> (v.t.)	<i>djare</i> , adj.
<i>sheim</i> , adj.	avoid interactions for fear of others	<i>shame, ashamed</i>	<i>yer(mu)</i> , v.i.
<i>sheim mijelp</i> , v.i.	avoid interactions for fear of others	<i>shame, ashamed, myself</i>	<i>yer(mu)</i> , v.i.
<i>sori</i> , v.t.	indulge someone with something (out of compassion)	<i>sorry</i>	<i>Marrbun</i> , v.dt.
<i>tjiki</i> , adj.	likely to cause harm: aggressive, harmful, dangerous, poisonous	<i>cheeky</i>	<i>yirru-mon</i> , adj.

PATTERNS OF COLEXIFICATION

<i>laikim mijelp</i> , v.i.	feel good/show off, parade around/seduce, flirt	<i>like</i> (v.t.), <i>myself</i>	<i>kol(mu)</i> , v.i.
-----------------------------	---	--------------------------------------	-----------------------

PARTIAL SEMANTIC OVERLAP

<i>jinggebat</i> , v.i. continuous form	brood over, think for a long time about something negative	<i>think, about</i>	<i>njirrk(mu)</i> , v.i.
<i>kan get oba</i> , v.i.	be unable to come to terms with an emotionally difficult situation, typically in mourning	<i>can't get over</i>	<i>njirrk(mu)</i> , v.i.
EMOTIONAL CONNOTATIONS			
<i>jukdan</i> , v.i.	bend over (often because of being sad or upset)	<i>shook, down</i>	<i>djud-kurlkkurlkan</i> , <i>djud-kurl(mu)</i> , v.i.
ARGUMENT SUBCATEGORIZATION			
<i>boring</i> , adj.	boring, bored	<i>boring</i>	<i>warndih</i> , adj.
<i>sori</i> , v.t.	indulge someone with something (out of compassion)	<i>sorry</i>	<i>marrbun</i> , v.dt
<i>sori mijelp</i> , v.i.	feel sorrowful, desperate / feel sheepish	<i>sorry, myself</i>	<i>marrburrun</i> , v.rr.
SEMANTICS OF NON-CORE ARGUMENTS			
<i>hapi (bla)</i> , adj.	feel good + DAT: like someone	<i>happy</i>	<i>yolh-mon</i> , adj.
<i>wori (bla)</i> , v.i.	worry + DAT: feel bad when, missing someone/grieving for someone	<i>worry</i>	<i>kangu-darr(mu)</i> , v.i.

Table 4. Barunga Kriol emotion lexemes that share some properties with Dalabon emotion lexemes.

4.4.2 A typology of lexical resemblances

Fig. 6 below recapitulates the lexical resemblances discussed in previous sections by categories and types (i.e. distinct patterns within each category). The arrows indicate that both the categories and the types within the categories can be more or less overt or covert: resemblances in lexical forms are inherently apparent, while resemblances in combinatorics are the least apparent. Of course, these degrees of visibility represent tendencies, not a strict ordering. In the

present comparison between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon, resemblances in lexical forms, i.e. calques, account for just five cases, and plain semantic resemblances for eight cases. Other, less apparent semantic resemblances, whether in semantics or combinatorics, altogether account for eight cases, i.e. nearly 40% of the matching pairs. Therefore, less apparent types of resemblances are by no means a minority.

lexical form	semantic	combinatorics	
etymological sourcing e.g. <i>gula</i> ‘conflict, anger’	plain equivalence e.g. <i>sheim</i> ‘avoid interactions with others because of fear’	argument subcategorization e.g. <i>sori</i> ‘indulge someone with something (out of compassion)’	↑ + apparent
calques e.g. <i>gud binji</i> ‘feel good, happy, be in a good mood’	common colexification e.g. <i>laikim mijelp</i> ‘feel good/show off/flirt’	semantics of non-core arguments e.g. <i>wori</i> ‘feel bad about a beloved person (missing, grieving...)’	
	partial semantic overlap e.g. <i>jinggebat</i> ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’	(selectional restrictions) see 5.2	↓ – apparent (covert)
	common connotation e.g. <i>jukdan</i> ‘bend over’ (common figurative tropes) see 5.4		
	common lexical gaps e.g. pride		
← + apparent		→ – apparent (covert)	

Fig. 6. Types of lexical resemblances. The types between parentheses are not instantiated in the domain and languages under consideration.

Fig. 6 also includes resemblances that were not encountered in the present study, but that one might expect to encounter when comparing lexica in other languages (common figurative tropes and selectional restrictions). These are discussed in Section 5, where I discuss notable differences between the Barunga Kriol and Dalabon emotion lexica.

4.4.3 *Lexical resemblances and perspectives on emotions*

As stated in 1.3, linguistic tools constrain linguistic descriptions to the extent that they make some descriptions easier for speakers to articulate, while others require greater effort. In the above sections, I have shown that in the domain of emotions, the respective lexical tools of Barunga Kriol and Dalabon share a number of properties. We saw that in several cases, Barunga Kriol and Dalabon utterances profile the same aspects of emotional events, often with a similar perspective upon interpersonal interactions. Several observations on the consequences of lexical resemblances are in place here, indicating directions for future research.

The first and most general observation is that lexical resemblances allow speakers in each language to produce descriptions that in turn invite one to look at emotions in comparable ways. This is the case with *jukdan* and *djud-kurlkkurl(mu)* ‘bend over’, discussed in 1.3 and 4.2.2. The connotations of both lexemes invite the addressee to attend to bodily postures as evidence of emotional states.

Secondly, lexical resemblances contribute to depicting interpersonal interactions in the same ways. This can be encapsulated by the semantics of the lexemes in cases of semantic resemblance (e.g. *sheim*, *sheim mijelp* and *yer(mu)*, ‘avoid interactions with others because of fear’ in 4.2.1), or by the combinatorics of the lexemes that assign the same syntactic and semantic roles to participants, for instance by representing the recipient of donations as a stimulus of compassion (*sori* and *marrbun*, ‘give something to someone out of compassion’, 4.3.1).

Thirdly, at least some lexical resemblances encapsulate culture-specific social and moral perspectives on emotions. For instance, the verbs *sori* and *marrbun*, which both mean ‘give something to someone out of compassion’ encapsulate

a correlation between an emotion and an interpersonal interaction. Affection is associated with sharing goods – a correlation that has been described as a moral cornerstone among Aboriginal groups.

Lastly, it must be noted that even minimal structural resemblances can achieve significant functional equivalence. The examples with *jinggebat*, the continuous form of *think* ‘think’, and *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be confused, brood over’ (4.2.3) demonstrate that a very partial semantic overlap between a Barunga Kriol and a Dalabon lexeme can result in a significant level of ‘functional equivalence’.

All four points above highlight how resemblances in lexical semantics allow speakers of Barunga Kriol and Dalabon to describe emotions in a similar way, and thus how these lexical resemblances minimize the impact of language shift upon communication practices. Further research may reveal whether similar observations apply in other language shift situations. Now that lexical resemblances between the Barunga Kriol and the Dalabon emotion lexica have been identified, in the next section I discuss lexical differences between the two languages, for the same semantic domain.

5. Differences

Focusing on the resemblances between two languages without discussing differences obviously runs the risk of over-estimating resemblances. On the other hand, pinning down differences is probably even more delicate, because in a sense, differences may be regarded as the ‘background’ against which resemblances are assessed. Here I will only discuss briefly a couple of major, salient differences between the Barunga Kriol and the Dalabon emotion lexica. Differences in patterns of lexicalization are presented in 5.1, followed by

differences in selectional restrictions in 5.2. The respective profiles of the lexica in terms of word classes is discussed in 5.3, followed by figurative representations in 5.4. Overall, this section shows that the most important differences concern the figurative representations of emotions – a matter further discussed in Ponsonnet (2017). Thus, it seems that language shift has a stronger impact on figurative than on literal descriptions of emotions.

5.1 *Patterns of lexicalization*

5.1.1 *Absent concepts*

A couple of the Dalabon emotion lexemes (Ponsonnet 2014a) do not find a good lexeme-based translation among the emotion lexemes documented in Barunga Kriol.²¹ Among other mismatches, a remarkable absence is that of a good translation for the Dalabon noun *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, which refers to one’s inner feelings, life force, energy and motivation, inclinations and desires. This meaning is not assigned to any lexeme or collocation in Barunga Kriol. The noun *filing* (<Eng. *feeling*) refers to inner feelings and inclinations, as well as to intuitions, as *feeling* does in English. *Filing* does not encapsulate the more culturally specific notion of life force and energy.²² The absence of a good match for this Dalabon concept in Barunga Kriol is all the more notable in that this concept appears to be lexicalized in many Australian Aboriginal languages (Ponsonnet 2016a).

²¹ Sometimes this may be due to insufficient documentation, but in some cases I enquired systematically.

²² The noun *wil* (see Table 5 in 5.3) was used in this sense, but only idiosyncratically and by older speakers. The word *nyingaya* is reported to mean ‘spirit, intuition’ in the Roper Kriol variety (Dickson 2015:136), but it was not used spontaneously by Barunga Kriol speakers.

5.1.2 *Absent colexifications*

It was shown in 4.2.2 that some relatively specific patterns of colexification observed in Dalabon can be matched in Barunga Kriol. This is not systematically the case though, and importantly, one of the few general patterns of colexification that structures the Dalabon emotion lexicon is far less represented in Barunga Kriol. This structural pattern is the colexification between ‘other-oriented’ and ‘self-oriented’ emotional states. ‘Other-oriented’ emotional states target a stimulus: for instance ‘hate’, which denotes negative feelings *oriented towards someone* (Ponsonnet 2014a:75–77, 187–190). ‘Self-oriented’ emotional states, by contrast, have no stimulus or source: the word ‘sad’ denotes self-oriented negative feelings. Many Dalabon lexemes colexify other- and self-oriented states, e.g. *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’+‘flow+REDUP’ means both ‘be pleased (self-oriented)’ and ‘be kind (other-oriented)’. While this pattern of colexification is relatively pervasive in Dalabon, it is not in Barunga Kriol.²³

5.1.3 *New concepts*

As discussed in 4.2.5, some semantic gaps identified in Dalabon also occur in Barunga Kriol, but this is not systematic. A number of Barunga Kriol emotion lexemes encode concepts that are not as clearly lexicalized in Dalabon. This is the case of n./v.t. *lab* (<Eng. *love*) for instance, which denotes romantic love. In Dalabon, the concept of love can be expressed by a number of verbs and adjectives, but there is no sharp distinction between *like* (mild appreciation and affection, mild sexual attraction) and *love* (stronger affection, strong desire, romantic attachment).

²³ The few Barunga Kriol lexemes that display this colexification are those with an English etymon or translation that also displays this colexification – for instance *apset*, which is very close in meaning to its etymon *upset*.

5.2 *Selectional restrictions*

Both Barunga Kriol and Dalabon tend to use emotion adjectives predicatively, but Dalabon adjectives follow stricter selectional restrictions. In Dalabon, an emotion adjective always qualifies the experiencer, i.e. the person experiencing the emotion – as opposed to the stimulus, that triggers the emotion. That is, in Dalabon, it is not possible to qualify a story or a piece of music as ‘sad’ for instance. In Barunga Kriol, by contrast, emotion adjectives can qualify stimuli: ‘*im rili sed dis mubi*’, ‘this movie is really sad’. This usage of *sed* ‘sad’ is relatively unusual, but it is acceptable, whereas in Dalabon it is simply impossible.

5.3 *Word classes*

As pointed out in Section 3, Dalabon has remarkably few emotion nouns: only two are fully attested. By contrast, my Barunga Kriol corpus contains 24 nouns in total, listed in Table 5. Among them, 17 occurred extremely occasionally and are better treated as English borrowings; another 2 occurred exclusively within collocations. Once these are set apart, a total of 5 nouns can be considered full-fledged, common Barunga Kriol nouns. This is significantly more than in Dalabon. Furthermore, the practice of borrowing nouns (mostly) from English is widespread: all speakers, across generations, did borrow some English noun(s).²⁴ The suffix *-nes* was used as a semi-productive nominalizer (e.g. *heit/heitnes* for ‘hatred’), making it easier to create emotion nouns in Kriol – Dalabon, by contrast, does not have a productive nominalizer.²⁵ Altogether, it

²⁴ This conforms to a well-identified cross-linguistic pattern: of all word classes, nouns are the most easily borrowed (Matras 2009). This trend is usually explained by the high referentiality of nouns, but this does not apply in domain of emotions.

²⁵ But some neighboring Gunwinyguan languages do, e.g. Bininj Gun-wok (Evans 2003:219).

seems likely that more emotion nouns will be adopted into Barunga Kriol in the relatively near future.

	meaning noun	tokens	remarks
<i>dipreshen</i>	depression	2	within the same conversation
<i>ingga</i>	anger	2	
<i>fan</i>	fun	8	collocation <i>abum fan</i>
<i>filing</i>	feeling, esp. of compassion premonition rarely: container of emotions	28	
<i>fir</i>	fear	1	
<i>frait</i>	surprise	2	1 speaker
<i>gratj</i>	grudge	2	1 speaker
<i>gridines</i>	greediness	1	
<i>gula</i>	trouble, fight, argument aggression	6	homophonous verb more frequent
<i>hapines</i>	positive emotions	1	
<i>heit, heitnes</i>	negative feelings towards somebody	3	same older speaker
<i>hop</i>	hope	1	older speaker
<i>jelasi</i>	jealousy	1	
<i>lab</i>	love (romantic, sexually oriented)	15	often in collocation: <i>lab stori, lab tok</i>
<i>nyingaya</i>	feeling part of the person	1	said to be from the Roper variety (Ngukurr region)
<i>sadnes</i>	sadness	1	
<i>seprais</i>	surprise	3	2 tokens by same speaker, same sequence homophonous verb more frequent
<i>shok</i>	emotional shock i.e. strong, negative surprise	7	collocation <i>gede shok</i>
<i>sheim</i>	respect	1	older speaker homophonous verb more frequent

<i>stres</i>	pressure (social, family)	7	all by younger speakers
<i>wil</i>	life energy, part of person that determines intuitions and inclinations	3	older speakers only
<i>wori, worines</i>	deep concern	6	

Table 5. Emotion nouns attested in Barunga Kriol.

5.4 Figurative representations

The use of emotion nouns has important consequences: nouns allow speakers to produce a type of emotion metaphor that is virtually absent in Dalabon. These are metaphors that represent emotions as things, entities external to the experiencer – like when one talks about ‘an overwhelming happiness’ or about ‘fighting one’s fears’ in English. In Dalabon, by contrast, emotions are systematically represented by predicates, and therefore as states of the experiencer (Section 3, Ponsonnet (2014a)). However, this cross-linguistically remarkable restriction in figurative language is not matched in Barunga Kriol. In (25) for instance, fright is depicted as an entity independent of the experiencer – namely, something the experiencer can see –, using the noun *frait*.

(BKriol) 20140326b_002_IA 107 [EI]

(25)	<i>Ye</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>bi...</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>sodobe</i>	<i>frait</i>	<i>deya,</i>
	INTJ.approb	DEM	COP	HESIT	CONJ	fright/surprise	there
	<i>yu</i>	<i>goda</i>	<i>luk</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>frait.</i>		
	2sg	FUT	look	DET	fright/surprise		

‘Yeah, this would be like... um, like a fright, you’ll see the fright [get a fright].’

Such metaphors of emotions as independent entities are relatively frequent in Barunga Kriol, and are natural enough that speakers can actually create new ones for stylistic purposes, as in (25). Although there are only a couple of full-

fledged nouns, occasional nouns were also used to build metaphors (also as in (25)), and some collocations (e.g. *abum fan* ‘have fun’) represent emotions as entities. These matters are discussed in detail by Ponsonnet (2017).

More generally, the most salient properties of Dalabon figurative representations of emotions are not matched in Barunga Kriol. As pointed out in Section 3, Dalabon representations of emotions are closely associated with representations of the body, predominantly with abdominal body-parts such as the belly or the heart. I showed in 4.1 that Barunga Kriol has a handful of emotional collocations matching Dalabon emotional body-part compounds, but the number and frequency of these expressions cannot compare with Dalabon (five collocations in total against more than forty just with the belly in Dalabon, Ponsonnet 2014a; 2014c). Overall, the Barunga Kriol lexicon does not reflect the figurative representations of emotions observed in Dalabon (see Ponsonnet (2017) for a detailed discussion of this mismatch).

5.5 *Summary of differences*

While resemblances between the Barunga Kriol and the Dalabon emotion lexica are extensive, differences should not be overlooked. I have identified lexical tools that Barunga Kriol does *not* have, while Dalabon has them: concepts that are not lexicalized and colexifications that do not occur. However, the most significant differences are perhaps in terms of devices and options that are available in Barunga Kriol, while in Dalabon, they are not. For instance, Barunga Kriol has lexemes specialized for romantic love (5.1.3); emotional adjectives that apply to inanimate stimuli (5.2); and speakers use emotion-denoting nouns (5.3).

Some of these additional devices and combinatorial possibilities have consequences upon figurative representations of emotions: they allow speakers

to represent emotions as entities independent of the experiencer, which is essentially impossible in Dalabon. More generally, as pointed out in 4.1 and 5.4, the Barunga Kriol lexicon does not strongly support the figurative association between the body and emotion that pervades the Dalabon lexicon. In other words, lexical differences between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon in the domain of emotions converge towards linguistic representations of emotions that are less tied to states of the body and states of the person, resulting in a very different set of figurative representations of emotions. Thus, while the shift to Barunga Kriol appears to have a relatively low impact on *literal* descriptions of emotions – thanks to commensurate lexical resources –, it has a deeper impact upon *figurative* representations – largely due to additional resources (see Ponsonnet (2017) for a detailed study on figurative representations).

6. Conclusion

This comparative analysis of the Barunga Kriol and Dalabon emotion lexica has identified significant lexical resemblances between the two languages. About a third of the Barunga Kriol emotional lexemes share specific properties with emotional lexemes of Dalabon, one of the potential substrates of this creole. These shared lexical properties can be grouped into different types, forming the bases of a typology of lexical resemblances. I have identified three main categories – resemblances in form, in semantics and in combinatorics – with further distinctions of types within each category. While resemblances in form are immediately perceptible, other types of resemblances can be less apparent. Resemblances in combinatorics, in particular, are covert, since they only surface in contexts where the relevant arguments are expressed. Research on creoles has mostly focused on the most immediately visible of all these resemblances: resemblances in forms, i.e. etymological sourcing. However, the present study demonstrates that these are by no means the only possible lexical resemblances

between a creole and a potential substrate. Other resemblances, in semantics and combinatorics, account for nearly half of the resemblances identified here.

This study did not seek to demonstrate substrate influence in the narrow sense (influence by a handful of local languages), and it focused on synchronic resemblance rather than diachronic influence. Nevertheless, the lexical resemblances between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon strongly suggest that Australian Aboriginal languages (in general) have influenced the creole lexicon. But more importantly, lexical resemblances between Barunga Kriol and Dalabon inform us on the impact of language shift to this creole. The two languages share many lexical tools, and as a result they provide their speakers with means to elaborate comparable discursive contents in both languages. Several of the examples considered in the article indicate that with these similar tools, speakers do indeed produce very similar descriptions when facing comparable real-world situations. The lexical tools in question thus invite speakers of both languages to articulate descriptions that profile emotions in the same way: for instance, describing emotions in relation to their bodily expression, referring to the same complex emotional states, associating emotions with types of personal interactions, emphasizing moral values associated with emotions, among other things. Thus, thanks to a common set of lexical tools, important aspects of the communicative and descriptive output of the Dalabon emotion lexicon are preserved through language shift to Barunga Kriol.

Naturally, there are also differences between the Barunga Kriol and Dalabon emotion lexica, and overall, the most significant consequences of these differences bear upon figurative representations of emotions (a question dealt with in further detail by Ponsonnet (2017)). Thus, in the domain of emotions, the lexical resources in each language invite speakers to articulate similar literal descriptions, while figurative connotations tend to differ.

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to speakers of Barunga Kriol, and in particular to Ingrid Ashley, Bonita Bennett, †Lily Bennett, Queenie Brennan and Maggie Jentian, for their support around this project. I would also like to thank Clair Hill, Eva Schultze-Berndt and Angela Terrill for their previous help with previous drafts. My thanks also go to the ASLAN project (ANR-10-LABX-0081) of Université de Lyon within the program “Investissements d’Avenir” (ANR-11-IDEX-0007) of the French government operated by the National Research Agency (ANR), for funding this research project, including fieldwork.

References

- Ameka, Felix. 2015. “Dev’t means eye-red’: Communicating feelings in glocalised Ghanaian English. Oral presentation at the Australian National University, August 2015.
- Besmeres, Mary. 2006. Language and emotional experience: The voice of translingual memoir. In Aneta Pavlenko (ed.), *Bilingual minds. Emotional experience, expression, and representation*, 34–58. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1981. *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1984. The language bioprogram hypothesis. *Behavioral and Brain Science* 7. 173–221.
- Chaudenson, Robert. 2001. *Creolization of language and culture*. London: Routledge.
- Crowley, Terry & Claire Bowern. 2010. *An introduction to historical linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cruse, David Alan. 1986. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cutfield, Sarah. 2011. *Demonstratives in Dalabon. A language of south-western Arnhem Land*. PhD Thesis, Monash University, Melbourne.
- Dickson, Gregory F. 2015. *Marra and Kriol: The loss and maintenance of knowledge across a language shift boundary*. PhD Thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Ekman, Paul. 1992. An argument for basic emotions. *Cognition and Emotion* 6(3/4). 169–200.
- Enfield, Nick J. 2015. *The utility of meaning: What words mean and why*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2003. *Bininj Gun-Wok: A pan-dialectal grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

- Evans, Nicholas. 2010. Semantic typology. In Jae Jung Song (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, vol. 504-533. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas, Dunstan Brown & Greville Corbett. 2001. Dalabon pronominal prefixes and the typology of syncretism: A network morphology analysis. In Booij Geert & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of morphology 2000*, 103–172. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Evans, Nicholas & Francesca Merlan. 2003. Dalabon verb conjugation. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan Languages of Northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*, vol. 552, 268–283. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Evans, Nicholas, Francesca Merlan & Maggie Tukumba. 2004. *A First Dictionary of Dalabon*. Maningrida: Maningrida Arts and Culture, Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation.
- Farquharson, Joseph. 2012. *The African lexis in Jamaican: Its linguistic and sociohistorical significance*. PhD Thesis, University of West Indies, Kingston.
- François, Alexandre. 2008. Semantic maps and the typology of colexification: Intertwining polysemous networks across languages. In Martine Vanhove (ed.), *From polysemy to semantic change*, 163–215. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gaby, Alice R. 2008. Gut feelings: Locating emotion, life force and intellect in the Thaayorre body. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven & Yu Ning (eds.), *Body, culture and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 27–44. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goddard, Cliff. 1994. Lexical primitives in Yankunytjatjara. In Cliff Goddard & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *Semantics and lexical universals: Theory and empirical findings*, 229–262. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Harkins, Jean. 1990. Shame and shyness in the Aboriginal classroom: A case for “practical semantics.” *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 10(2). 293–306.
- Hiatt, Less R. 1978. Classification of the emotions. In Less R Hiatt (ed.), *Australian Aboriginal Concepts*, 182–187. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Hill, Clair. In prep. The social action of tending the land: On the road to the Old Mission with Umpila and Kuuku Ya’u speakers. *Anthropological Linguistics*.
- Hoffmann, Dorothea. 2012. *Descriptions of motion and travel in Jaminjung and Kriol*. PhD Thesis, University of Manchester.
- Holm, John. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holm, John. 2000. *An introduction to pidgins and creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koch, Harold. 2000. Central Australian Aboriginal English: In comparison with

- the morphosyntactic categories of Kaytetye. *Asian Englishes: An International Journal of the Sociolinguistics of English in Asia/Pacific* 3(2). 32–58.
- Lee, Jason. 2004. *Kriol-English interactive dictionary*. AuSIL Interactive Dictionary Series A-9.
- Lee, Jason & Kazuko Obata. 2010. Languages of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People – A uniquely Australian heritage. *Year Book Australia*, vol. 2009-10. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 1986. Relexification in creole genesis revisited: the case of Haitian Creole. In Pieter C Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Substrata versus Universals in Creole Genesis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 1998. *Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar. The case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 2004. *Issues in the study of pidgin and creole languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKay, Graham. 1975. *Rembarrnga: a language of Central Arnhem Land*. PhD Thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Meakins, Felicity. 2014. Language contact varieties. In Harold Koch & Rachel Nordlinger (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Australia: A comprehensive guide*, 361–411. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Merlan, Francesca & Pascale Jacq. 2005. *Jawoyn-English Dictionary and English Finder List*. Katherine: Diwurruwurru-Jaru Aboriginal Corporation.
- Migge, Bettina. 2003. *Creole formation as language contact*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2008. History of research into Australian pidgins and creoles. In William McGregor (ed.), *Encountering Aboriginal languages: Studies in the history of Australian linguistics*, 437–457. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2011. Language form and language substance. From a formal to an ecological approach to pidgins and creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 26(2). 341–362.
- Munro, Jen. 2004. *Substrate language influence in Kriol: The application of transfer constraints to language contact in Northern Australia*. PhD Thesis, University of New England, Armidale.
- Musharbash, Yasmine. 2010. Marriage, love magic, and adultery: Warlpiri relationships as seen by three generations of anthropologists. *Oceania* 80(3). 272–288.
- Muysken, Pieter C. 1981. Half-way between Quechua and Spanish: the case for relexification. In Arnold R Highfield & Valdman Albert (eds.), *History and Variation in Creole Studies*, 52–79. Karoma: Ann Arbor MI.

- Myers, Fred R. 1979. Emotions and the self: A theory of personhood and political order among Pintupi Aborigines. *Ethos* 7(4). 343–370.
- Myers, Fred R. 1986. *Pintupi country, Pintupi self: Sentiment, place and politics among Western Desert aborigines*. Canberra, Washington: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Nicholls, Sophie. 2013. Cultural scripts, social cognition and social interactions in Roper Kriol. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 33(3). 282–301.
- Noyce, Philip. 2002. *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. Australia, Australia: Jabal Films PtyLtd.
- Ogarkova, Anna. 2013. Folk emotion concepts: Lexicalization of emotional experiences across languages and cultures. In Johnny R J Fontaine, Klaus R Scherer & Cristiana Soriano (eds.), *Components of emotional meanings: A sourcebook*, 46–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. 2006. *Bilingual minds. Emotional experience, expression, and representation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. 2014. *The bilingual mind and what it tells us about language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peile, Anthony R. 1997. *Body and soul: An Aboriginal view*. Victoria Park: Hesperian Press.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2009. Aspects of the semantics of intellectual subjectivity in Dalabon (south-western Arnhem Land). *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2009(1). 16–28.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2011a. “Brainwash from English”? Barunga Kriol speakers’ views on their own language. *Anthropological Linguistics* 52(2). 24.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2011b. Les figures du doute en langue dalabon (Australie du Nord). *Journal de la société des Océanistes* 132(1). 151–164.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2012. Body-parts in Barunga Kriol and Dalabon: Matches and mismatches. In Maïa Ponsonnet, Loan Dao & Margit Bowler (eds.), *Proceedings of the 42nd Australian Linguistic Society Conference – 2011*, 351–387. Canberra: ANU Research Repository.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2014a. *The language of emotions: The case of Dalabon (Australia)*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2014b. Documenting the language of emotions in Dalabon (Northern Australia). Caveats, solutions and benefits. In Aicha Belkadi, Kikia Chatsiou & Kirsty Rowan (eds.), *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory Conference 4*, 1–13. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2014c. Figurative and non-figurative use of body-part words in descriptions of emotions in Dalabon. *International Journal of Language and Culture* 1(1). 98–130.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2016a. Emotion nouns in Australian languages. In Peter K Austin, Harold Koch & Jane H Simpson (eds.), *Language, Land and Story in Australia*. London: EL Publishing.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2016b. *Emotion middle predicates in Barunga Kriol*. Kioloa, Australia.

- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2017. Conceptual representations and figurative language in language shift. Metaphors and gestures for emotions in Kriol (Barunga, northern Australia). *Cognitive Linguistics* 28(03). 631–671.
- Rhydwen, Mari. 1995. Kriol is the color of Thursday. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 113. 113–119.
- Sakel, Jeanette. 2007. Types of loans: Matter and pattern. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*, 15–29. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- San Roque, Lila, Gawne Lauren, Darja Hoenigman, Julia Colleen Miller, Alan Rumsey, Stef Spronck, Alice Carroll & Nicholas Evans. 2012. Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task. *Language documentation and conservation* 6. 135–174.
- Sandefur, John R. 1979. *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: A description of of Ngukurr-Bamiyili dialects*. Darwin: SIL-AAB.
- Sandefur, John R. 1986. *Kriol of North Australia: A language coming of age*. Darwin: SIL-AAB.
- Saulwick, Adam. 2003a. *A First Dictionary of Rembarrnga*. Maningrida: Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation, Maningrida Arts and Culture.
- Saulwick, Adam. 2003b. *Aspects of the verb in Rembarrnga, a polysynthetic language of northern Australia: Grammatical description, texts and dictionary*. PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva, Felicity Meakins & Denise Angelo. 2013. Kriol. In Susan M Michaelis, Matthew Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *The atlas of pidgin and creole language structures (APiCS)*, 241–251. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sharifian, Farzad, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier. 2008. Culture, body and language. Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2008. *The emergence of pidgin and creole languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simpson, Jane. 2000. Camels as pidgin-carriers: Afghan cameleers as a vector for the spread of features of Australian Aboriginal pidgins and creoles. In Jeff Siegel (ed.), *Processes of language contact: Studies from Australia and the South Pacific*, 195–244. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Fides.
- Simpson, Jane. 2002. From common ground to syntactic construction: Associated path in Warlpiri. In Nick J Enfield (ed.), *Ethnosyntax: Explorations in grammar and culture*, 2087–2307. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thornton, Warwick. 2009. *Samson and Delilah*. Australia, Australia: Scarlett Pictures PtyLtd.
- Troy, Jakelin. 1990. *Australian Aboriginal Contact with the English Language in New South Wales 1788-1945*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistic.

- Troy, Jakelin. 1994. *Melaleuka: A history and description of New South Wales Pidgin*. PhD Thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Turpin, Myfany. 2002. Body part terms in Kaytetye feeling expressions . In Nick J Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 271–303. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Walsh, Michael. 1996. Body parts in Murrinh-Patha: In corporation, grammar and metaphor. In Hilary Chappell & William McGregor (eds.), *The grammar of inalienability: A typological perspective on body part terms and the part-whole relation*, 111–153. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in contact*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1999. *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 1998. Documenting rhetorical, aesthetic, and expressive loss in language shift. In Leonore A Grenoble & Lindsay J Whaley (eds.), *Endangered languages*, 234–258. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Youn, Hyejin, Logan Sutton, Eric Smith, Christopher Moore, Jon F Wilkins, Ian Maddieson, William Croft & Tanmoy Bhattacharya. 2015. On the universal structure of human lexical semantics. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113(7). 1766–1771.