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Maïa Ponsonnet

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The Language of Emotions

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Volume 4

The Language of Emotions. The case of Dalabon (Australia)
by Maïa Ponsonnet

The Language of Emotions

The case of Dalabon (Australia)

Maïa Ponsonnet

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To Dalabon speakers.

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Preface

This volume documents and analyzes the linguistic devices available to the speakers of the Dalabon language, a severely endangered Australian language, to express and describe emotions, assessing how these devices relate to local representations and practices about emotions. The study is based on first hand data collected between 2007 and 2012 in south-western Arnhem Land (Northern Territory), where Dalabon is spoken.

Chapter 1 sets the theoretical framework; Chapters 2 and 3 the ethnographic and linguistic backgrounds respectively. Chapter 4 presents expressive emotional devices, which include diminutives, interjections, and various prosodic features. Expressive features are prominent in terms of frequency, and relate to culturally central categories such as compassion.

Nevertheless, descriptive emotional features also play an important part. The emotion lexicon is large: at least 160 emotional lexemes, most of them adjectives or verbs. A lot of these lexemes are morphologically compound, often involving a body-part noun. Having discussed the morphology and syntax of emotion words in Chapter 5, and their semantics in Chapter 6, Chapters 7 to 11 examine the roles played by body-part nouns in the Dalabon emotion lexicon.

Like most languages in the world (and like many Australian languages) Dalabon uses metaphors grounded in physical and physiological metonymies in order to describe emotions. The linguistic and conceptual status of these tropes is discussed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 presents Dalabon emotion metonymies and metaphors related to the body. One of the particularities of Dalabon metaphors of emotions is that in spite of their metaphorical dimension, they remain partly metonymic to the extent that they always represent emotions as states or parts of the person, not as independent entities. As a result, emotions are never represented as forces or opponents. In Dalabon, a metaphor like 'overwhelmed by love' for instance, is impossible. Explaining this limitation is a goal for future cross-linguistic research. Chapter 9 presents emotion metaphors that do not involve body-related nouns, in particular metaphors for anger. These metaphors come closer to representing emotions as independent entities – although such representations remain marginal.

Chapter 10 adopts an alternative perspective on Dalabon emotional compounds, and shows that metonymies and metaphors are not the only things body-part nouns 'do' in the Dalabon emotion lexicon. While nouns denoting abdominal body-parts endorse a figurative dimension, nouns denoting visible body-parts are used to specify which parts of the person are involved in emotional behaviors. For instance, it is

possible to use a compound to say that someone is 'angry from the hands', when someone is gesticulating in anger. Here, the body-part noun serves a descriptive, rather than figurative function. Such compounds rely on analogy and compositionality, with metonymies and metaphors playing minor roles in their production. In fact, analogy and compositionality produce compounds which, in turn, may suggest new metaphors to the speakers.

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Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses

ABL:	ablative case	INTJ:	interjection
APPR:	apprehensive mood	IRR:	irrealis mood
ASSOC:	associative case	LIM:	limitative particle
BEN:	benefactive	LOC:	locative case
COM:	comitative	MASC:	masculine prefix
CONJ:	conjunction	NEG:	negation
CSTVZR:	causativizer	NOM:	nominative case
DAT:	dative case	NPST:	non-past tense
DEM:	demonstrative	ONOMAT:	onomatopoeia
DET:	determiner	PART:	particle
DIM:	diminutive	PCUST:	customary past
du:	dual	PI:	past imperfective
DYAD:	dyadic suffix	pl:	plural
dys:	dysharmonic	POSS:	possessive
EFF:	effective	PP:	past perfective
EMPH:	emphasizer	PR:	present tense
ERG:	ergative case	PRIV:	privative suffix
excl:	exclusive	PST:	past tense
FEM:	feminine	PURP:	purposive mood
FILL:	morphological filler	R:	realis mood
FOC:	focus prefix	REDUP:	reduplication
FUT:	future tense	RR:	reflexive/reciprocal
GEN:	genitive case	SEQ:	sequential
h:	high(er) on scale of animacy	sg:	singular
HESIT:	hesitation	SUB:	subordinate marker
INCH:	inchoative marker	TIME:	time case marker
incl:	inclusive	TR:	transitive marker
INST:	instrumental case	VBLZR:	verbalizer
INTERR:	interrogative		

Speakers' initials

JW	Jimmy Wesan
LB	Lily Bennett
MT	Maggie Tukumba
ND	Nikipini Dalak
PA	Philip Ashley
QB	Queenie Brennan

Data types

[ContEl]	contextualized elicitation
[ConvEl]	conversation in the course of elicitation
[DD]	Dalabon Dictionary
[El]	standard elicitation
[Narr]	narratives
[RPF]	comment on <i>Rabbit-Proof Fence</i>
[Sc]	cultural script
[SD]	comment on <i>Samson and Delilah</i>
[Stim]	response to elicitation stimuli
[TC]	comment on <i>Ten Canoes</i>
[Tr]	comment in the course of translation

Other abbreviations

ANIM	animate	M	mother
B	brother	NMNLZR	nominalizer
BP	body-part	PA	part-of-animate noun
D	daughter	PI	part-of-inanimate noun
EXP	experiencer	RECIP	reciprocal
F	father	REDUP	reduplicated form
GEN	generic noun	REFL	reflexive
INAN	inanimate	S	son
INST	instrument	THMTC	thematics
KIN	kin-terms	Z	sister

Recordings

In the following paragraphs:

'####' are meaningless file numbers.

'SS' means speakers' initials.

'annot' means the annotation number in ELAN (transcription software).

The 'data type' is indicative of the context in which the data was collected (see abbreviations above.)

Data collected in 2007 and 2008:

30024/2007 - 14' (JW) [ContEl]

####/yyyy - min (SS) [data.type]

These recordings have not been transcribed under ELAN.

The minute reading indicates where the segment is located in the recording.

These files are archived with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies, Canberra, audio-visual archives:

<http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/ava.html>

Data collected in 2009:

270909_93OK 0400 (LB) [ContEl]

ddmmyy_#### annot (SS) [data.type]

These recordings have been transcribed under ELAN.

They are archived with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies, Canberra, audio-visual archives:

<http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/ava.html>

Data collected between 2010 and 2013:

20110613_002_ND_LB 027 (LB) [Stim]

yyyymmdd_###_SS_SS annot (SS) [data.type]

These recordings have been transcribed under ELAN.

They are archived with ELAR, the Endangered Languages Archive (Endangered Languages Documentation Program, hosted by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London):

<http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/ponsonnet2012dalabon>

Orthographic conventions

Table 1. Dalabon consonants and their orthographic notation.

	Bi-labial	Apico- alveolar	Apico-post-alveolar (retroflex)	Lamino- palatal	Dorso- Velar	Glottal
Short plosive	b	d	rd	dj	k	h
Long plosive	bb	dd	rdd	djdj	kk	
Nasal	m	n	rn	nj	ng	
Lateral		l	rl			
Trill		rr				
Approximant	w		r	y		
Fricative						H ¹

1. The status of the sound represented by ‘H’ is not clear yet. It is probably not a phoneme but rather a realisation of the glottal stop in some environments. When following or preceding a nasal, the glottal stop is realised as a voiceless nasal. It has become very systematic within some words. It is particularly frequent in words related to breathing, as in *bruH(mu)* ‘blow’, *ngerH-no* ‘heart, breath’. This sound even occurs occasionally in such words where it is not triggered by the environment (e.g. *ngadjdjiHun* for *ngadjdjibun* ‘sneeze’, also words for coughing, breathing...). This suggests that speakers exploit the iconic dimensions of this phoneme. I follow other authors who have published on Dalabon in transcribing voiceless nasals as ‘H’. While transcribing non-phonemic sounds is a non-standard practice, in this case it presents the advantage of keeping track of the occurrence of voiceless nasals before the status of the sound can be clarified. This is all the more relevant that the phenomenon is relatively remarkable (this sound is unusual in Australian languages).

Table 2. Dalabon vowels and their orthographic notation.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	(ú) ²	u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 3. Dalabon diphthongs and their orthographic notation.

Final target	Initial target				
	i	e	a	o	u
w [u]	iw	ew	aw	ow	
y [i]	iy	ey	ay	oy	uy

2. Not all speakers have a high central vowel. In fact, none of the speakers who contributed significantly to the data in this work have it. Instead, they normally use the [u] phoneme, often with central realisation. The high front vowel [i] can also be realised as more central. I have decided not to use the ‘ú’ representation, because it confuses spellings and is irrelevant for the speakers who contributed to this work. There may be some exceptions, for instance the clan name *Búlaldjja*, where the high central epenthetic vowel is never realised as any of the standard Dalabon vowels. Since the symbol ‘ú’ occurs in some previous publications, it is worth mentioning it to provide a more exhaustive sound inventory, also covering conventions used in other publications on *Dalabon*.

Introduction

This volume describes and discusses the language of emotions in Dalabon, a threatened language of Northern Australia, and considers what this description might teach us with respect to local representations and practices about emotions. A simple, but crucial contribution of this work consists of filling in a descriptive gap. There exist a few linguistic works dealing with emotions in Australian languages (Gaby, 2008; Goddard, 1991; Harkins, 1990a, 2001; Peile, 1997; Turpin, 2002), and many publications provide fragmented information. Several anthropologists have written about emotions in Aboriginal Australia (the most prominent contributions are Myers (1979, 1986, 1988), but see also, for instance, Camfoo et al. (2000), Cowlishaw (1979, 1999), Moisseeff (1999), Tamisari (2000, 2006), Glaskin et al. (2008), Musharbash (2009, 2010a, 2010b), Blakeman 2014)). However, to my knowledge, no detailed and systematic description of the language of emotions in an Australian language has been carried out so far, and none has been published. This volume provides such an account for the Dalabon language.

With empirical studies on this topic, there are usually some expectations that understanding the linguistic encoding of emotions will tell us about speakers' concepts and representations of emotions, or about their experience of and practices about emotions. This study also questions this assumption and seeks, wherever possible, to evaluate its adequacy, with respect to the Dalabon language. Although studying how emotions are linguistically encoded surely tells us *something* about shared representations and practices about emotions (Palmer, 1996; Scherer, 2000, p. 152; Sharifian, 2014), it is not obvious which aspects of a language are relevant in this respect, and to what extent (Enfield, 2002b; Levinson & Gumperz, 1996; Lucy, 1992, 1996; Ogarkova, 2013). That is, what aspects of language should we attend to in order to draw conclusions not only about the *language* of emotions, but also about the associated 'culture' of emotions? The correlations between language on the one hand, and cultural representations and practices on the other hand, can go both ways. Representations and practices may contribute to the shaping of linguistic resources; conversely, linguistic resources may influence representations and practices (Lucy, 1992; Whorf, 1956). How does language contribute to shape the way its speakers construe emotions? Do the nature of the resources available, and the distribution of labor between them, make a difference in the way speakers experience or construe emotions? These are some of the questions that constitute the background of the present empirical description.

I do not aim to bring definite answers to any of these questions. Nevertheless, the present work sheds some light on the matter, for instance by showing that emotional vocabularies are not, in Dalabon, the best indicators of culturally significant concepts. While the existence of a word in a language warrants that the associated concept is readily accessible to its speakers, the reverse is not true: the absence of a word does not imply that the associated concept is unavailable (Malt, Ameel, Gennari, Imai, & Majid, 2011). Besides, the existence of a word for a concept does not tell us about the cultural salience of this concept – it may be backgrounded. A number of authors have relied partly (and often implicitly) on lexical distinctions as guides to shared cultural representations of emotions (Lutz, 1986; Myers, 1979, 1986; Wierzbicka, 1999). Myers (1979), for instance, maps the Pintupi (Central Australia) ‘moral order’ upon the analysis of a number of key Pintupi emotion words, mostly nouns. While this is valid and effective for Pintupi, the method would fail in the Dalabon context. Firstly, Dalabon has very few emotion nouns. The emotion lexicon is large, but comprises mainly verbs and adjectives. More importantly, while the lexicon does encode some culturally important emotion categories, not all important categories correspond to clear lexical distinctions.

Some categories (compassion for instance, one of the key Pintupi nouns), are more commonly encoded by non-lexical features such as diminutives or prosodic contours. The meanings of such ‘expressive’ features are usually far less accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness than words, especially nouns. Yet, in Dalabon, expressive features are crucial conveyors of speakers’ moral assessment of emotions. These expressive resources are much more widespread in emotional speech than ‘descriptive’ lexical resources, and they also encode culturally prominent emotional categories. Thus, as suggested by Wilce (2009), the case of Dalabon confirms that if linguistic description is going to be a guide to speakers’ shared representations of emotions, this description should be broader than just lexical, and fine enough to encompass features less accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness. Such expressive resources are harder to document and describe. So far, they have attracted far less attention than lexical features, especially for Australian languages (but see Evans (1992) and Wilkins (1992) on interjections, and Grandi & Kortvelyessy (2015) on diminutives). The present volume describes expressive emotional resources for Dalabon, and also indicates where to look, and how to search for such features.

Another area where researchers have searched for correlations between language and shared cultural representations is figurative language, i.e. tropes, namely metaphors and metonymies. According to the now classic framework of cognitive linguistics (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), conceptual metaphors are representations of a target domain structured by analogy with a source domain. That is, the fact that I can say ‘he was consumed by anger’ relies on a metaphorical representation of anger as fire. Thus, our language suggests associations between things of a different nature, and these linguistic associations often match shared conceptual representations (Keesing, 1979, 1985). The domain of emotions is particularly rich in

metaphors and metonymies (Kövecses, 2000), where emotions are often represented as things, natural forces, opponents, etc. Dalabon is interesting in this respect, because metaphors that reify or personify emotions (i.e. treat them as things or persons respectively) are absent – although they occur in most languages for which we have data on the matter, across continents, including in Australia. The quasi-absence of reification and personification metaphors in Dalabon correlates with the scarcity of emotion nouns and the quasi-systematic encoding of emotions as predicates, with the experiencer as their first syntactic argument. Thus, in this language, emotions are mostly represented metonymically as states of the person, rather than metaphorically as entities independent of the person. In other words, Dalabon avoids reifying emotions by encoding them as nouns.

Why is Dalabon different in this respect? This, again, raises the question of what language tells us about shared representations and practices. Does the absence of reification and personification metaphors correlate with a different way of construing emotions, and/or of dealing with them? Or, is this limitation imposed by grammatical properties of Dalabon, which may in turn impose constraints on shared representations of emotions?

While the range of emotion metaphors is somewhat limited in Dalabon, there are other tropes. Dalabon makes broad use of somatic metonymies and some use of body-based metaphors. Like most (if not all, see Wierzbicka (1999, p. 36), Ogarkova (2013, p. 50)) languages in the world, Dalabon uses body-part words in emotional expressions. Across languages, these expressions often exemplify metonymies whereby body-parts are represented as the seat or container of emotions (Sharifian, Dirven, Yu, & Niemeier, 2008b) – thus, in English, ‘to be kind-hearted’, where the heart is represented as part of the person experiencing empathy and sympathy. However, while many authors have expanded upon such figurative usages of body-part words, the status of body-parts with respect to emotions remains a matter of debate. For instance, Enfield (2002a) and Goddard (Goddard, 1994, 1996a) have expressed reservations about figurative interpretations. They argue that the body-part words in question are polysemous rather than figurative, i.e. that they denote emotions ‘directly’, so to speak, without any figurative reference to the body.

Dalabon emotion expressions feature a large number of body-part words. This is unsurprising, since Australian languages make extensive use of semantic extensions inspired by body-part words in the domain of emotions as in other domains (for instance kinship, see Kendon (1988) (1988, pp. 330–366)). Yet, the exact role of body-part words in the emotion lexicon has not been thoroughly analyzed for any Australian language. Turpin (2002) and Gaby (2008) indicate that metaphors must play a role for Kaytetye (Central Australia) and Kuuk Thaayorre (North Queensland) respectively, and Turpin (2002) suggests that body-part words may also be involved in lexical descriptions of emotions intimately linked with behaviors. However, both works are short articles providing insightful but partial analysis of the role of body-parts in linguistic descriptions of emotions. The present study of Dalabon demonstrates that

although some body-part words do contribute metaphors to the Dalabon emotion lexicon, this is by no means their only role with respect to emotions.

A couple of Dalabon words denoting internal organs – the belly and the heart – serve a clearly figurative role. They exemplify consistent networks of tropes inspired by somatic metonymies, i.e. by invisible physiological responses to emotions – an important aspect of the intimate relation between body and emotions. There is ample evidence that these tropes do match shared representations, also reflected in other shared semiotic practices such as ritual for instance. However, a larger number of words denoting visible body-parts (not internal organs) are used to specify the nature of emotional behaviors – for instance ‘be angry from the hands’ for someone gesticulating in anger, ‘be ashamed from the cheek’ for someone turning their head to avoid embarrassing looks, etc. This usage of body-part words in descriptions of emotions does not relate to the somatic dimension of emotions, but relies on another intimate association between emotions and the body: the fact that observable behavioral responses to emotions are our main access to other people’s emotions. This usage of body-part words in emotion descriptions is presumably a universal possibility, possibly explaining the presence of some body-part words in emotional expressions in other languages as well. In Dalabon, body-part-based descriptions of emotional behaviors seem particularly widespread – which raises the question of the cultural and linguistic parameters channeling this usage of body-parts.

The description of Dalabon emotional resources presented in this volume unfolds and expands the questions outlined above. Starting with expressive features and their prominence in relation to the lexicon, I then discuss the Dalabon emotion lexicon, showing how verbs and adjectives, that are used exclusively as predicates, predominate in the lexicon, rather than nouns. The following chapters analyze the functions of body-part nouns in the lexicon. While they do instantiate some metaphors, Dalabon mostly represents emotions metonymically, i.e. as states of the person rather than independent entities – in line with the lexical bias towards adjectives and verbs as opposed to nouns. The remaining chapters focus on non-figurative functions of body-part words in Dalabon descriptions of emotions, exploiting the close connection between emotions and behavioral responses.

Before I embark upon the description of Dalabon emotional resources, a few definitions and theoretical clarifications are in order. In the above paragraphs, I have used the word ‘emotion’ somewhat unreflectively. However, the sense of the term is not straightforward. Neither its everyday nor its scientific senses can be taken for granted. The following section (Section 1) presents my working definition of emotions, situating it with respect to various theoretical perspectives on ‘emotions’. In Section 2, I present my methodological approach and how it relates to various linguistic currents. Section 3 spells out the content and structure of the volume.

1. Defining emotions

Being a common English word used by all English speakers with few hesitations does not warrant that the term ‘emotion’ can serve to identify the object of a scientific study without further elaboration. Everyday-language definitions are usually context dependent, and therefore versatile and impractical for scientific purposes. Wierzbicka (1999, 2010) points out that scientific definitions do not necessarily match everyday definitions. In my view, this should not be regarded as a problem (see Putnam (1975) on the ‘division of linguistic labor’). There is no pre-defined ‘emotion’ category, no pre-established ‘essence’ that we should try and be faithful to – searching for it either among our own categories, or among emic categories met in other languages. In this work, I do not attempt to identify, or to be faithful to, folk theories of emotions, whether that of English speakers or that of Dalabon speakers (see Ponsonnet (2010) for a reflection on this matter). Rather, I use and define the label ‘emotion’ so as to identify a workable range of phenomena for my empirical descriptions. What is adequate here is determined in part by my own research agenda and interests. It is obviously reasonable to devise a definition that bears some resemblances with the way the word is used in English, so as to avoid unnecessary confusion. Thus, the definition set out in 1.2 relates to the sense of the English word ‘emotion’, but it is devised as a methodological or working definition that serves my research purposes. As a result, it may evolve in the view of empirical findings. As pointed out by Scarantino (2012, pp. 365–366) and Majid (2012b, p. 380), scientific definitions are ‘prescriptive’ rather than ‘descriptive’. That is, they serve to *prescribe* a definition of their object, rather than *describe* a somehow preexisting category or object. This explains why, as pointed out by Izard (2010), Widen & Russell (2010), and Wierzbicka (2010), scientific definitions of the term vary greatly across disciplines and researchers. Different researchers embrace different purposes, and tailor their definitions so as to suit their own purposes.

My definition of ‘emotions’ is spelt out in 1.2. I do not claim that this definition is better than others. The proposed criteria provide a grid to classify events into categories. Such grids are useful guides to empirical descriptions, but should not be expected to reflect a perfect image of the world. While categories are in essence discrete and clear-cut, and often well-organized, the real world is a complex continuum. As a result, wherever we postulate categories, we should expect that empirical observation will reveal a number of inadequacies and undecidable cases, wherever things in the world do not fit neatly into our clear-cut categories. This, however, does not imply that the categories in question are inadequate. Here, a comparison with color categories is enlightening. I know what ‘blue’ and ‘green’ mean, and in many cases I assign these labels without hesitation. Yet, not all blue things are the exact same hue – ‘blue’ defines a gradient, i.e. a heterogeneous category. In addition, there are many things in the world which I would hesitate to call either ‘blue’ or ‘green’, because they fall somewhere in between. Neither of these points – heterogeneity within a category or undecidable

cases – imply that ‘blue’ and ‘green’ are meaningless labels that should be discarded. Likewise, the categories of private states (emotions and others) delineated below group together things which can be different, and they also leave some cases undecided. Yet, this does not imply that these categories are incorrect or useless. Within the philosophical literature, a similar point is made by Wittgenstein (1953) for instance. The simple idea behind his philosophical argument is that when we posit conceptual categories, we should not expect things in the world to necessarily distribute neatly between these categories. The inclination to sort out every borderline case results from what Wittgenstein could call a misguided ‘essentialization’ of our own categories.

As will be discussed in the following sections (1.3), it is unlikely that Dalabon people share a concept identical to the concept of emotion I will be using here, as defined in the following section. This does not imply, however, that using my own methodological definition will amount to inadequately imposing foreign categories onto the Dalabon language. As long as I am aware that the categories I use are mine, and as long as my observation is comprehensive enough (for instance covering what is adjacent to my object of study), the mismatch between my own definitions and emic categories does not interfere with sound empirical observations attentive to emic categories. Rather, as will be shown throughout the volume, emic categories become apparent in empirical observation and are registered as such. Here again, the comparison with colors is enlightening. ‘Green’ is an English word and concept. As such, it is not precisely defined, but sharper scientific definitions may be devised (with criteria of wavelengths etc.). Equipped with such definitions, it is possible to investigate empirically the way people talk about green things in languages that do not have words for this color range. Indeed, Dalabon has no word for ‘green’, but speakers may use other color words to describe green objects, extending their spectrum of reference; or, Dalabon speakers may refer to the color of grass. The fact that my empirical observations are framed by my own definition of ‘green’ does not impede adequate observation of Dalabon linguistic practices, nor prevent me from discovering their emic categories in the process – especially if I also consider colors other than green, and remain attentive to local distinctions. The same applies to emotions. My definition allows me to select the range of phenomena I am interested in, without further assumptions about Dalabon concepts and categories. Provided the spectrum of observation is large enough (i.e. also paying some attention to some phenomena adjacent to my definition), emic categories will emerge from empirical observation, as will be shown throughout the volume.

In the following sections, I briefly present various trends of research on emotion (1.1), before eliciting my own working definition in 1.2. Section 1.3 discusses how this concept relates to Dalabon emic categories.

1.1 Universalists and relativists

Emotions have long been an important topic of reflection, mostly among philosophers originally (Aristotle, *De anima/On the soul*; Descartes, 1649; Hume, 1740; James, 1884, 1890; Spinoza, 1677/1992), but also in medical circles in the last few centuries (see Dixon (2012) for a concise history of modern medical discourse on emotions). In the last fifty years or so, empirical and theoretical research on emotions has been rich and diverse (Scherer, 2000, 2013). Many authors identify two broad trends in this research.

On the one hand, some psychologists take a 'physicalist' position, construing emotions as neurological and/or physiological phenomena (Damasio, 1999, 2003; Ekman & Davidson, 1994). These are often labelled 'universalists', because this physicalist stance should in principle allow us to identify each particular emotion as a type of private, internal event, with unified properties across individuals and cultures. Some researchers, inspired by Darwin (1872), construe emotions as adaptive responses, and posit a set of 'basic emotions' (Ekman (1992a); also Frijda & Parrorr (2011) on 'ur-emotions', and Scarantino (2012) on whether emotions are natural kinds), also universally expressed and identified by humans across cultures in terms of facial expression (Ekman, 1992b). This seems problematic when confronted with the cross-cultural diversity evidenced by ethnographic research. Furthermore, such lists of 'basic emotions' are usually inspired by the English lexicon (Arnett, 2008; Blumenthal, 2009, p. 44; Majid, 2012b), thus imposing a cultural bias on what is deemed universal.

In contrast, most social scientists adopt a stance labelled 'constructionist' or even 'relativist': they see emotions as shaped up, to a greater or smaller extent, by culture (Harré, 1986a, 1986b; Lutz, 1986, 1988; Myers, 1979, 1986; Rosaldo, 1980, 1990; Shweder & LeVine, 1984). These social scientists – mostly anthropologists – seek to rehabilitate the conceptual and social dimension of emotions (as opposed to their physical dimension). Rather than approaching emotions as eminently internal, private states, they study emotions as social constructs, and this explains why emotions may vary with the social context. Some social researchers admit a certain level of universal experience. For instance Levy (1973, 1984) suggests that underlying experience is common across cultures, but that social parameters select which aspects of experience are considered significant, and which are 'hypocognized', i.e. cognitively and culturally backgrounded. Some anthropologists, like Briggs (1970) or Lutz (1987, 1988), postulate more radical differences in experience. The emphasis on social manifestations of emotions leads to a certain reluctance to construe them as private events (Myers, 1979). This stance combines with 'relational' conceptions of emotions and the person or 'dividual' (rather than 'individual', see Strathern (1988)). (See Lutz & White (1986), Reddy (Reddy, 2001) (2001, p. Part 1), Wilce (2009, p. Part 1) for concise accounts of these research trends.)

As pointed out by social scientists, emotions – their conceptualization, and maybe, due to feedback effects of hypocognition, actual emotional experience – vary across cultures. However, ‘relational’ conceptions and the downplaying of the ‘private’ dimension of emotions sometimes lead to a relatively unnatural use of the word ‘emotion’, where it refers to public events. For instance, Leavitt (1990, p. 527) puts to the fore ‘the transindividual nature of culturally marked emotions’, and Wilce (2009, p. 51) (concurring with Goodwin & Goodwin (2001)) invites researchers to ‘locate emotions in the realm of intersubjective participation’.¹ What they mean ultimately is that emotions cannot be understood independently of the social contexts and interactions which shape them. This idea is also encapsulated in the idea of emotional ‘scenarios’ or ‘cultural scripts’. Cultural scientists emphasize the prototypical, and thus culturally shared, nature of some of the scenarios (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Linguists oriented towards semantics (Natural Semantic Metalanguage in particular), led by Wierzbicka (1999, pp. 12–17), argue that scenarios or scripts are part of the meaning of emotion words (a point agreed upon by researchers from various trends, see Russell (1991, p. 442ff), Plantin (2011)).

While emotion scenarios are often crucially informative and constitute an inherent part of the meaning of emotion words, formulations such as the ones quoted from Leavitt (1990, p. 519) and Wilce (2009) use the word ‘emotion’ in a way that conflicts with most everyday uses of the term. In everyday English, reference to psychological states is a core feature of the word ‘emotion’. As a result, defining emotions as non-private, relational events sounds somewhat odd.² As pointed out by Ortony et al. (1987, p. 343), the sources and implications of emotional states – constituting what is more naturally called a *scenario* – are important to understand what these states are, but should not be confused with the states themselves. Russell (1991, p. 445), for instance, blames Lutz (1980) for this confusion. He points out that this tendency to conflate emotions and scenarios may be rooted in a confusion between sense and reference: while the sense of a word is defined by a network of relations with all sorts of *signifiants* and *signifiés* to which it is associated in one way or another, reference targets the object itself. Hence, for instance, a number of events, comprising threatening events interactions, behavioral responses etc., may contribute to define the sense of the word ‘fear’; yet, ‘fear’ denotes an internal state, not the observable events that relate to this state. In my working definition of ‘emotion’, like in my everyday use of the English word, emotion words crucially refer to internal, private states. (See also Spiro (1984, p. 334) for criticisms of the relativism in Rosaldo (1980), and Palmer & Brown (1998) targeting Rosaldo (1990).)

1. See also Plantin (2011, p. 116), who suggests that ‘nothing forces us to consider the emotion as a fundamentally private event; the same event can affect a whole group simultaneously’ (my translation).

2. At least in my use of the word, possibly influenced by my understanding of the French word *émotion*.

Wierzbicka (1999, p. 25) takes a middle road between universalism and relativism, and suggests that emotional ‘content’ (emotional experience) is universal, while emotional categories (the concepts, the words) are culture-specific. A number of linguists and psychologists (Russell (1991), as well as Kövecses (2005) on a slightly different topic) and some anthropologists (Levy, 1973, 1984) adopt a similar stance, which is the one I embrace in this work.

1.2 Working definition

1.2.1 *Emotions are private states*

In my working definition of ‘emotions’, the internal, or private, dimension of emotions is a crucial criterion. English examples of emotional private states are ‘be sad’, ‘love’, ‘feel angry’... This property of being internal or psychological is not at odds with the everyday use of the English ‘emotion’ (at least for some speakers), but more importantly, it suits my research purposes and interests. One of the motivations of my interest for the language of emotions is precisely that emotion words refer to internal, invisible states. These invisible states become detectable via a myriad of visible symptoms: reflex or voluntary behaviors and expressions (bodily or vocal), visible physiological reactions. As repeatedly pointed out by various philosophers such as Wittgenstein (1953) or Ryle (1949), these visible phenomena are our only access to others’ internal states, so that we may as well do without the reference to anything internal, i.e., according to Ryle, without a ‘concept of mind’. Recent works have emphasized the predominance of descriptions of scenarios in discourse, as opposed to the description of emotions *per se*. For instance, Préneron & Lambert-Kluger (2010) show that French speaking children (re)telling a story involving fear will more often articulate descriptions of the factual threat that causes the character to be scared (‘the monster comes about’), than fear *per se* (‘the man is scared’). In any case, they seldom provide explicit descriptions of fear (‘the man is scared’) without mentioning the factual threat. Matching these findings, I have observed that Dalabon speakers (like speakers of most languages presumably) are able to elaborate extremely emotional narratives without using emotional devices, but simply describing facts in a suggestive way.

This apparent predominance of observable facts in humans’ evaluation and descriptions of emotions raises a question. If all we know about emotional internal states are their external, observable manifestations, and if it is possible for speakers to effectively discuss emotional events without referring to these internal states, why is it that most, if not all languages in the world have emotion terms (Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 36, 284)? Is there any language that does not have words referring to invisible states? How do word forms acquire the ability to refer to invisible states, based on which original meanings, and in which contexts? What kind of semantic extensions are at play? Can we identify cross-linguistic preferences in this respect? These questions (tackled by Sweetser (1990), followed by Evans & Wilkins (2000), and Vanhove

(2008) for intellection terms) are not the focus of this work: they call for broader typological studies rather than language-internal descriptive research. Yet, they contribute to my interest for the language of emotions, and I do answer some of these questions with respect to Dalabon.

1.2.1.1 *The body and mind dichotomy* The above ‘privacy criterion’ relies on a distinction between internal, invisible events on the one hand – i.e. psychological and intellectual events – and external, observable events on the other hand – i.e., behaviors. Western philosophy, and possibly Western folk theories, have long associated this internal/invisible vs external/visible distinction with another distinction, the mind vs body dichotomy. While these distinctions are not strictly equivalent, there are some overlaps between them. Descartes’s *Méditations métaphysiques* (1641) highlighted the immaterial – and thus invisible – aspect of the mind, which is inside the body, and contrasted it with the material, and thus visible aspect of our body, which is our external envelope. Among philosophers, anthropologists, and even neurologists (Damasio, 2005), the strength attributed to this mind vs body contrast is often regarded as a mistaken overstatement of the division between the mind and the body, and as a cultural particularism giving in to the ‘myth of the inside’ (Descola, 2005; Dewey, 1925; James, 1900; Leavitt, 1990; Ryle, 1949; Wikan, 1991; Wittgenstein, 1953). Thus, one may object that my definition of emotions as private, invisible, psychological states, inherits a particular twist of Western thought.

There are several reasons why this objection is invalid. Firstly, the mind vs body distinction may actually be useful. It is in part culturally specific, like most of the distinctions we posit. However, this does not entail that it is inaccurate or useless. All conceptual distinctions drawn by human beings in the world may be regarded as cultural conventions, but this does not entail that they may not capture some relevant aspects of reality (Bouveresse, 1987). The criticism of the mind vs body distinction is not new (Johnson & Rohrer, 2007, p. 20), and more recently some authors reflecting upon the notion of embodiment from the point of view of cognitive psychology have suggested that this distinction is useful. Thus, Ikegami & Zlatev (2007, p. 230) ‘believe that some conceptual – and even in some cases ontological – differences between different levels [of human cognition, i.e. between intellectual and embodied cognition] need to be maintained.’

Second, while there are conceptual associations between the internal and invisible vs external and observable distinction and the mind vs body dichotomy, these two contrasts are distinct. It is not clear that Dalabon speakers endorse the latter, but there is ample evidence that they do endorse the former. For instance, they linguistically express contrasts between observable behaviors and invisible emotional states. This is often sanctioned by the use of the word *buyirrhwalung* ‘inside’, suggesting that emotional states are indeed located ‘inside’ the person’s body-envelope. Related tropes are further discussed in Section 4 of Chapter 9.



Figure 1. Picture extracted from the *Mind Reading* video set used in elicitation.

20120705b_001_MT 054 [Stim]

[Watching a video extracted from the *Mind Reading: The interactive guide to emotion* set, where the actor exemplifies ‘hurt’. The actor had an argument with his girlfriend, who has left. His mouth looks like he is crying, but he sheds no tears.]

(1) *Ka-h-yolh-weh, duway-no.*

3sg-R-feelings-bad husband-3sgPOSS

Kardu bah ka-h-ru-n, ka-h-kangu-ru-n, buyirrhwalung.

maybe but 3sg-R-cry-PR 3sg-R-belly-cry-PR inside

feel.sad

‘He’s not happy, her husband [of the woman who left upset]. It looks like he’s crying, he’s feeling bad [crying from the belly], inside.’

In addition, the Dalabon language seems to make some use of the immaterial vs material distinction, which is even closer conceptually to the mind vs body dichotomy. Dalabon has words for non-physical aspects of the self such as *men-no* ‘one’s ideas, one’s mind’ (Ponsonnet, 2009a), *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, which connects to desires and will (Ponsonnet, 2010). That these aspects are regarded as immaterial, at least by some speakers, is evidenced by pointing tests. Speakers readily pointed at body-parts, including internal organs, on drawings, but when asked to point at *men-no* (‘ideas’) or *yolh-no* (‘pep, feelings’), some of them objected that these attributes of the person did not feature on the drawings. This suggests that, as one would expect, Dalabon speakers distinguish between material and immaterial aspects of the self. Therefore, defining emotions as internal, invisible, psychological (and thus to some extent immaterial³) states is appropriate in the context of the description of the emotional resources of Dalabon.

3. Neuroscience has shown that emotions and other psychological states have a material dimension in the brain. Yet, this level of observation is not available to Dalabon speakers (nor to myself), neither in the context of this research, nor in everyday life.

1.2.1.2 *Linguistic tests* Few authors have suggested or discussed linguistic tests for internal state terms.⁴ In French or English, there exists a simple, relatively good test to show that words refer to an internal emotional state rather than to a visible behavioral response. For instance, if I say ‘he looks sad, but he’s not really sad’, under normal conditions, I must be contrasting an observable behavior with an invisible internal state. This corresponds to two senses of ‘sad’, an emotional sense and a behavioral sense. In Dalabon the use of *buyirrhwalung* ‘inside’ is probably the best equivalent. *Buyirrhwalung* allows speakers to contrast behaviors against ‘internal’ psychological states, as in (2), where the speaker contrasted cheerful behavior with psychological discomfort. *Buyirrhwalung* ‘inside’ was sometimes used spontaneously to qualify emotional states.

20120705a_002_MT 128 [ContEl]

[In response to a scenario attempting to combine smiling and laughing (behavior) with being sad (emotion).]

(2) *Ka-h-dja-woh-redji-ng yelng bonj.*

3sg-R-FOC-a.bit-laugh-PR SEQ INTJ.finished

Buyirrhwalung mak ka-kakku-yolh-redji-ng kahke.

inside NEG 3sg-R-really-feelings-laugh-PR NEG

‘She laughs a bit and then finished. Deep inside, she’s not really happy [have laughing/smiling feelings].’

Example (2) was a response to a test where the speaker had been asked to describe a situation where someone is sad but displays cheerful behavior to please others. This particular test was relatively successful, but most tests seeking to contrast a behavior with dissonant emotions, so as to demonstrate that a given word refers to an invisible internal state rather than an observable behavior, failed. When trying to describe a contrast between someone acting nice in spite of resentment, for instance, speakers (especially the main consultant) typically reinterpreted the scenario as a succession of states (the person was nice for a while, then became nasty) or in terms of intensity (the person felt a little angry, but not really angry). As a result, the internal/external contrast hardly ever obtained in such tests.⁵

4. But see Ruwet (1994) for such tests in French.

5. The repeated failures met by these tests may be explained by Dalabon speakers’ socially motivated reluctance to discuss faking and dissimulating behaviors. Dalabon speakers (like most humans presumably, see Festinger (1957) or Voh & Baumeister (2010)) commonly dissociate their behaviors from their emotions, and in the social context of a relatively small group, such practices are probably indispensable to maintain social cohesion. Discussing such dissimulating practices opens up the risk of making them less successful. Indeed, open discussions of hypocrisy tend to threaten social order. Given that Dalabon speakers seem prone to adopt avoidance strategies with respect to emotions such as anger in particular (Chapter 2, 4.2, Chapter 6, 2.1.1),

1.2.2 *Other criteria and properties*

The ‘private state’ lexicon includes emotional words translating ‘be sad’, ‘love’, ‘feel angry’ etc., but also non-emotional states such as ‘know’ or ‘believe’, ‘agree’, ‘understand’, i.e. words referring to judgments and other intellectual states and processes (Palmer, Goddard, & Lee, 2003). The scope of private states is too large to be considered in its entirety in this study. Instead, narrowing the scope to Dalabon words referring to emotions brings it down to a more appropriate scale for this work. Specifying emotions as private states is not sufficient to capture the sense of what is usually called ‘emotions’ in English or scientific English. I thus define emotions using the properties outlined below, several of them shared with Ortony et al.’s (1987) now ‘classic’ criteria. Ortony et al. define emotions as internal (as opposed to external) conditions which are mental (as opposed to physical) and relate to affects (as opposed to behavior or cognition). I adopt comparable criteria, albeit organized in a somewhat simpler system, and with different labels.⁶ Another difference is that Ortony et al.’s definition considers states as better exemplars of emotions, while I consider that the category may encompass moods or dispositions as well as states for instance. In Dalabon, as in many languages such as English, French, or Dogon languages for instance (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011), emotional adjectives can usually denote both a temporary state and a durable disposition to experience this kind of state (Chapter 5, 2.2) – in English, ‘he feels cheerful today’ (his current state) and ‘he is a cheerful person’ (i.e. someone with a propensity to feel cheerful). As mentioned above, I do not claim that my definitions are better than others; I have chosen criteria which suit my research purposes, and which remain in line with the everyday use of the word, as well as with a number of scientific definitions.

1.2.2.1 *Emotions vs sensations* Emotional states differ from *sensations* and other *affects* in that they are triggered by representations of the world. Sensations, on the contrary, result from physical triggers. Emotions are triggered by the cognitive appraisal of events – social or otherwise. Sensations such as pain, hunger, tickling, etc., involve no cognitive grasp: I can feel pain in my hand without establishing a representation of the source of the pain. In practice, however, I am usually aware of what causes my pain, and this knowledge does modify my sensations. Yet, in principle, sensations can occur

it is likely that they prefer not to engage in overt discussion of dissociation strategies. In line with these suggestions, the vocabulary for discussing dissociation – such as words for lies and trickery – appears to be limited in Dalabon (but would deserve further documentation). Dissociation practices and speakers’ reluctance to discuss dissociation should be taken into account in the process of documentation, and when analyzing the data.

6. I use the term ‘private’ where Ortony et al. prefer ‘internal’, or ‘inner’ (I endorse these terms as well, with the same sense). I call ‘cognitive’ what Ortony et al. call ‘mental’, and ‘intellectual’ what they call ‘cognitive’; following Hagege (2006), I use ‘affect’ to cover both cognitive and non-cognitive internal states, while Ortony et al. use ‘affect’ to refer to non-affective judgements.

while the cause remains unknown, whereas an emotion is normally a response to my understanding of a situation (if I feel sad without knowing why, I will probably try and find out what triggers my feeling). Both emotions and sensations are affects; they share the property of being pleasant or unpleasant, and of escaping, to some extent, the full control of the experiencer. I use the term *affect* to refer to emotions and sensations together, along with physical affects, such as being sick or have a broken leg.⁷

1.2.2.2 Emotions vs intellectual cognitive states ‘Emotional’ cognitive states differ from other ‘intellectual’ cognitive states because the latter concern *only* the establishment of appropriate ‘representations’ of the world (Ikegami & Zlatev, 2007, p. 200), and nothing else. I treat both emotional and intellectual states as *cognitive states*, i.e. as states having to do with the individual’s representation of the world. Emotional states, however, involve more than these representations. When believing something or denying something, for instance (two intellectual states), an individual posits the validity or invalidity of a representation of a certain state of affairs in the world. They articulate a judgment, which may be deemed accurate or inaccurate. As pointed out by Nussbaum (2001), judgments and representations of the world play an important part in emotional states as well. I claim, however (unlike Nussbaum), that emotional cognitive states also involve a non-intellectual component, i.e. that in some aspects they are independent of our assessment of what the world is like. The nature of this component – which some psychologists call ‘arousal’, and which Nussbaum calls ‘upheavals’ (2001, p. 62)⁸ – remains obscure, and I do not claim that it corresponds to any neurological reality (although it may correspond to what Damasio (1999, p. 281ff) calls ‘feelings’). Rather, my assumption here is that this component is largely what speakers of many languages hold emotion words to refer to, in association with the scenarios and judgments that are assumed to trigger this non-judgmental component.⁹

This ‘specifically emotional’ dimension partly explains why emotional states are sometimes granted a particular ‘epistemic status’ by some philosophers (Cavell, 1979;

7. The term ‘affect’ has attracted very different definitions. I diverge from Ortony et al. (1987, pp. 341–364), who use ‘affect’ to define words ‘that do not refer to emotions but might influence them’. For Ortony et al., ‘affects’ include affective judgements. What I call ‘affect’ includes what Ortony et al. call ‘non-mental’ (1987, p. 351), i.e. sensations (which I indeed describe as ‘non-cognitive’). My definition of ‘affect’ is also distinct from Massumi’s (1995), and better reflects the use of the French ‘affect’ by Hageège (2006) for instance.

8. A term inspired by Proust. Crucially, Nussbaum (2001) denies that emotions *are* these upheavals.

9. This distinction between intellectual states and emotional states is in line with the finding of linguists working in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework, who have established that both THINK (an intellectual state) and FEEL (relating to emotional states) are universal semantic primes (Goddard, 2011).

Wittgenstein, 1953). Indeed, if I declare that I feel sad, one may suggest that I'm lying or pretending, but usually not that my statement is wrong (in the sense 'inaccurate' or 'inadequate'). The sentence 'I was wrong to be sad about it' sounds odd to many English speakers.¹⁰ This does not mean that all emotions are exempt of such accuracy or adequacy judgments. With some emotions, the judgment or intellectual component is prominent enough, so that the emotion itself can be denied. For instance, the sentence 'I was wrong to worry about it' sounds much better to many English speakers than 'I was wrong to be sad about it'. As discussed by Plantin (2011), emotional states may be subject to inter-personal negotiations and for this reason, inaccuracy tests are not good linguistic tests to identify emotions. Nevertheless, emotional states also include a dimension that typically escapes interpersonal scrutiny, and may be qualified as 'subjective' to that extent – this dimension is attested by English speakers' rejecting the suggestion that one may be wrong to be sad. As pointed out by Lutz (e.g. 1988, p. 223), in practice, emotions and intellectual states cannot always be teased apart. Yet, in my definitions, the difference between them remains that emotional states involve more than just claims about the adequacy of representations of the world.

1.2.2.3 *Emotions and their physical manifestations* As emphasized by Wierzbicka (1999) and Damasio (1999), emotional responses typically involve the body, in various ways. Emotions are often accompanied by visible symptoms: a behavior, a posture, a facial expression, the visible aspect of a physiological reactions (e.g. blushing in shame). These observable phenomena constitute our only source of information about other people's internal states – apart from what people *say* about these internal states of course. In addition, emotions are often accompanied by physiological responses which may not be perceptible by others but trigger interoception (the sensations of one's organs, blood pressure level etc. – for instance, feeling one's own increased heart-beat in response to fear).

Unlike Wierzbicka, Damasio and others, I do not include physiological responses as a criterial property for emotions. Since I am interested in internal states, I consider emotions as a broader category which also includes durable states as well as shorter episodes (Ekman, 1992a, pp. 86, 175; Ortony et al., 1987, p. 354ff), and also *emotional dispositions* (i.e. one's propensity to experience a certain emotion). Durable states and dispositions may be devoid of any clearly identifiable physiological counterpart – being a cheerful person, for instance (a disposition), does not correlate with a well-identified bodily response. This inclusion is further justified by the fact that in Dalabon, a number of emotional words colexify emotional states and emotional dispositions. Given this inclusion, I do not need to distinguish between emotions as immediate responses and

10. About 20 speakers have been surveyed, and about half found the sentence unacceptable, or strange.

long-lasting states, i.e. ‘feelings’ (or between emotions and the French ‘sentiments’).¹¹ Although the distinction may be very useful to psychologists for instance (see Scherer, 2013, p. 25), it is not indispensable here, where the broader category of ‘internal states’ is in focus. (On proposed distinctions between emotions and feelings, see Myers (1979), Wierzbicka (1999), Damasio (2003), Ponsonnet (2010).)

Since under my definition, emotion words are those which refer to internal emotional states, words denoting behaviors strictly speaking fall out of the scope of my research (which contributes to limiting the scale of the study to a manageable size). Thus, I leave aside social behavior words (e.g. verbs meaning ‘to argue’). While the events that such words refer to usually have emotional implications, they are not internal events. The distinction between social behaviors and emotional behaviors may sometimes seem arbitrary, but again, it was necessary to limit the extent of the research. On the other hand, Dalabon has a number of words which refer to a behavior intimately tied up with an emotion. This is for instance the case of the verb *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, which refers to a behavior (avoiding interactions with other people), but also specifies quite precisely the emotion that triggers the behavior, namely feeling afraid of interacting with others. *Yer(mu)* cannot be used to refer to someone avoiding speaking to someone else because they find this person boring, for instance. The type of emotion involved is part of the sense of the lexeme. I call the words referring to a behavior *along with* its inherent emotional trigger *emotional behavior words*. Because emotions are part of the denotation of these words, I include them in the study.

1.2.3 Summary

To summarize, I define emotions as *cognitive, internal or private states* that are triggered by representations of the world (i.e. not *sensations*, which do not rely on representations of the world – the pain I feel when I jab my finger does not depend on a representation of the needle) but that are not concerned solely with establishing adequate representations of the world (i.e. not *intellectual cognitive states*). I make no distinctions between feelings and emotions. Emotions are private and thus invisible states, but are often accompanied by physiological and observable manifestations, such as behaviors or expressions. However, my definition of emotions includes states which do not trigger such responses: in particular, words referring to durable *emotional states* and *emotional dispositions* are considered emotion terms, as well as terms referring to shorter *emotional events* or episodes.

The manifestations of emotions (behaviors, expressions, physiological responses) are not part of what I define as emotions. Emotional behaviors, such as laugh or cry,

11. See Melnikova (2009, p. 159) on the semantics of the French pair, which suggests a very different partition from the one between emotions and feelings in English. Here again, the use of English may have influenced the conceptual categories used by researchers.

are not directly included in this study. However, what I call *emotional behavior words*, i.e. words denoting both a behavior *and* its inherent emotional trigger, will be considered. The expressions in italics will be used along the following chapters in the sense posited in the previous paragraphs. Those among them that are not straightforward are listed and briefly defined for reference in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitions of some expressions used in the volume.

Expression	Sense
affects	internal states which can be pleasant or unpleasant: emotions and sensations
emotional behavior words	words denoting a behavior and specifying the emotional trigger of this behavior
emotional disposition	propensity of an individual to experience a particular emotional state
feelings	equivalent to emotions in this work
intellectual states	cognitive states having to do solely with the establishment of adequate representations of the world
internal (private) states and events	any event or state affecting the person in a way that is not perceptible by others, independent of the visible manifestations resulting from this state or event
sensations	internal states triggered by physical factors, independent of representations of the world

1.3 The concept of emotion in Dalabon

It is well known that not all languages include a generic term comparable to the English word ‘emotion’ (Lutz, 1982, p. 114; Ogarkova, 2013; Russell, 1991, pp. 429–430; Wierzbicka, 1999). Some researchers, especially anthropologists, have argued that researchers should be wary of ‘importing’ this foreign concept, along with the expectations and cultural bias it entails (see Lutz (1987), Myers (1979) for such warnings, and Ponsonnet (2010) for critical suggestions). As argued above (Section 1), delimitating the object of one’s study independently of local categories does not imply that the observer will become blinded and unable to perceive emic categories. In addition, as pointed out by various authors (Levy, 1984; Russell, 1991, p. 430), not having a word for a concept does not equate not using this concept. Speakers of languages without a generic term for ‘emotion’ may well construe emotional states as a relatively unified category in spite of the absence of a corresponding lexical category.

Dalabon, like some other Australian languages (e.g. Gidjingali, Arnhem Land, Hiatt (1978), Pintupi, Central Australia, Myers (1986)), has no superordinate noun referring to a generic concept of ‘emotion’.¹² This is not surprising, considering the low incidence of nouns in the Dalabon emotion lexicon (only a handful, among more than 160 emotion words (Chapter 5, 1.1)). Two compound verbs may be used to ask questions about someone’s feelings: *yolh-yin* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘say, do’, *kangu-yin* ‘belly’ + ‘say, do’.

Yolh-yin ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘say, do’ is frequent in rhetorical questions, where speakers wonder what someone wants or why someone is acting the way they do (3). It was not clear whether these rhetorical questions targeted emotional states specifically: they seemed to encompass physical aspects as well. However, the context of such questions often related to emotional states. *Yolh-yin* was also used occasionally outside of rhetorical questions, with a similar ambiguity (4). *Yolh-yin* is the best candidate for an exponent of FEEL, listed by Wierzbicka (1999, pp. 275–279) among universal exponents of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

20110526c_000_MT 030 [Narr]

- (3) *Ka-h-dja-woh-kangu-dinjirr-minji*¹³, *kanh-kun narra-woh-du-rru-ninji*.
3sg-R-FOC-a.bit-belly-HATE-PCUST DEM-GEN 2du-a.bit-scold-RR-PCUST

Bah kardu marruh ka-h-yolh-yinHyin-inj,
but maybe INTERR 3sg-R-feelings-say/do:REDUP-PP
feel

kardu molkkun, kardu kinikun
maybe secretly maybe different

kirdikird-kun kardu molkkun, ka-h-woh-kangu-dinjirr-minji.
woman-GEN maybe secretly 3sg-R-a.bit-belly-HATE-PCUST

‘He was hostile to you, and this is why you kept arguing. I don’t know what was happening to him [what his feelings were doing], maybe secretly, [it was about] another woman, secretly, that he was hostile to you.’

MT’s Kriol¹⁴ trans. of ‘*kardu marruh kah-yolh-yinHyininj*’:
‘ai don no wad kain wil o aidiya la im’
‘I don’t know what sort of views or ideas he had’

12. Some Australian languages, like Yolngu, are reported to have a term approximating a generic ‘emotion’ term (Tamisari, 2000, p. 281).

13. With verbs ending with the intransitive verbalizer *-mu* or its inflections, an alternative gloss would distinguish a verbalizer element and a tense element: *-minji* would be *-m-inji* ‘VBLZR-PCUST’. However, the cases where *-mu* is an independent morpheme rather than a part of the verb root are difficult to identify, and since the semantic input of the verbalizer is close to nil, I gloss the tense only.

14. Barunga Kriol is the local creole, see Chapter 3, 1.1.2.

- 20120706a_004_MT 74 [Stim]
 [Commenting on Figure 2.]
- (6) MP *Kardu marruh nga-h-kangu-yin?*
 maybe INTERR 1sg-R-belly-say/do:PR
 be.sulky
- MT *Kardu dja-h-wurr-ngarrk-mu.*
 maybe 2sg-R-intestines-ache-PR
- ‘MP What could happen to my belly?’
 MT You might have a belly-ache.’



Figure 2. Picture of the author used in elicitation.

Thus, while the concepts ‘emotion’ and ‘to feel’ (as in ‘to experience an emotion’) do not stand in one-to-one correspondence with Dalabon lexical categories, the Dalabon language does provide lexical tools to ask generic questions about emotional states and events. The Dalabon generic terms allowing for such generic questions are verbs (the noun *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ is not a generic term for emotions when used alone: it refers to enthusiasm and desires, i.e. to specific emotions, see Chapter 8, 3.1). Verbs are not construed by speakers as hyperonyms for categories as easily as nouns are. Therefore, the expressions *yolh-yin* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘say, do’ and *kangu-yin* ‘belly’ + ‘say, do’ did not help in obtaining lists of emotion words for instance. Nevertheless, these verbs allowed me to trigger comments on emotional states.

In addition, I have shown in Ponsonnet (2010) that while Dalabon people put a strong emphasis on ‘relational’ emotions – i.e. socially embedded and socially constrained emotions – they also pay careful attention to emotional states stemming from the individual alone, independent of any social interactions. A number of lexemes, in particular YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ compounds (Chapter 6, 2.2 and Chapter 8, Section 3) denote such personal (non-social) emotions. This is an important difference between the Dalabon emotional landscape and the Pintupi emotional landscape as described

by Myers (1979, 1986, 1988). My observations in the Dalabon context otherwise align fairly well with Myers's descriptions, except that he does not discuss lexemes that refer to private emotional states independent of any social order. In his interpretation, such emotions surface under the form of a tension within the social and moral order, but are hardly treated as an emotional realm of their own. As will be further discussed in Chapter 6 (2.2), many Dalabon lexemes refer to 'non-relational', personal emotional states that do not relate to social interactions and norms. It is possible that this aspect is also present with the Pintupi, and other Australian groups, but has been overlooked because it is not in focus within overt moral systems – and is therefore backgrounded in conversations, especially conversations with strangers. In any case, Dalabon does lexicalize the notion of autonomous emotional self, and Dalabon speakers are attentive to emotions that bear no relation to the social and moral realm. As a result, my interest for the language of emotions as private states in Dalabon is not at odds with local concepts and values.

2. Linguistic approaches to emotions

2.1 Expression vs description

Many authors have delineated a distinction between linguistic resources which allow speakers to *express* their own emotions, and those which allow them to *describe* (their own or others') emotions. Authors suggest various labels for these categories, emphasizing slightly different contrasts. The 'expressive' function (Jakobson, 1960, p. 354; Leech, 1974, pp. 10–27) is alternatively called 'emotive', 'affective' (Lyons, 1977), contrasting with denotational, descriptive, social components of language (Lyons, 1977), or other functions such as referential, metalingual, poetic, phatic, conative (Jakobson, 1960), informative, directive, aesthetic (Leech, 1974). Besnier (1990) provides a review of such partitions. Potts (2005, 2007) suggests criteria defining 'expressive' language. Expressive features include non-referential and/or suprasegmental devices (prosody, morphology, contrastive syntactic constructions). Their input is usually less accessible to speakers' metalinguistic awareness and to their control. As pointed out by Besnier (1990, p. 422), the expressive dimension pervades every aspect of language. Any utterance is endowed with some expressive impact, since suprasegmental features always convey additional messages.

Descriptive tools, on the other hand, consist essentially of referential devices, namely lexical resources. In contrast with expressive features, the use of lexical tools is relatively locatable and may be delineated with some precision. The (relatively) discrete nature of lexical descriptions of emotions makes them more amenable to both speakers' awareness and control, as well as to systematic study and analysis by the linguist, than expressive resources (Besnier, 1990; Majid, 2012a, p. 435). But for the same

reasons, descriptive resources are also less spontaneous, and therefore less pervasive, than expressive resources – at least in Dalabon. This results in a paradox, namely that the most studied aspect of emotional language is relatively marginal in actual speech.

While Dalabon has a well-developed emotional lexicon, lexical resources seem to be used mostly in relatively formal – and thus, less emotional – speech. The data suggest that expressive features are prominent in ordinary speech. When I was able to record spontaneous emotional speech, expressive resources immediately became overwhelmingly frequent and central in conveying emotions. In addition, it will be shown in Chapter 4 that expressive resources sanction socially central emotional categories, which are not particularly well-catered for by the lexicon. As a result, it seems logical to give them a prominent position in this study. This does not, however, undermine the relevance of lexical studies. Since emotion words delineate emotional concepts, describing the emotional lexicon represents an important step towards understanding emotional resources in a given language. Therefore, lexical studies are at least important components, if not preliminary components (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 28), in such studies.

Both expressive and descriptive resources are considered in this work. Chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to expressive features, and the analysis of the lexicon extends over all the following chapters. Since expressive features are in fact prominent in spontaneous emotional speech, they might have deserved more space. However, there are obstacles to the study of expressive features. An initial problem is data collection. As I explain in Chapter 2 (4.1), Dalabon speakers treat emotions as a ‘private’ topic, so that recording spontaneous, authentically emotional speech was difficult. While I did manage to get enough for an initial study, my data remain somewhat fragmentary in this respect. Through conversations with colleagues working on other Australian languages, I have come to the conclusion that the obstacles to the collection of spontaneous emotional speech in Dalabon apply in most Australian contexts (if not further). Indeed, there seems to exist no published study or significant material on expressive emotional features in Australian languages. This made it harder to articulate a well-developed analysis on this topic – due to the lack of comparative material etc. Cross-linguistic studies of emotive interjections or emotional prosodic patterns exist (see Chapter 4), but remain rare and often isolated. What I provide in Chapter 4 is thus an initial contribution to the understanding of expressive emotional resources in Australian languages. It is hoped that this description can serve as a base for comparison in the future.

Developing an analysis of the lexicon was easier. While collecting lexical data on emotions words is also difficult, it remains more controllable (elicitation, while slippery, is at least possible). In addition, here my own analyses can lean against a large corpus of existing works and ongoing arguments, fed by relatively large amounts of cross-linguistic data.

2.2 Focus on meaning vs focus on metaphor

Over the years, linguists working on emotional language have often focused on descriptive devices, and in particular on lexical resources (i.e. words used to describe emotions). There exist several well-entrenched traditions of linguistic research on emotional lexicons (I will only mention a few prominent trends and representative works; see Soriano (2013) for a more comprehensive account). Apresjan & Apresjan (2000, p. 203) distinguish ‘meaning-based’ approaches from metaphorical approaches to emotions. Linguists concerned with meaning seek to provide thorough descriptions of emotional words, based on comprehensive scenarios, and freed from the influence of English (or other languages in which these studies are articulated). The most prominent representatives of this trend are the proponents of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach (Goddard, 2008; Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1996, 1999), but they are not the only ones to pay thorough attention to lexical descriptions. Some anthropologists provide comparable, if less technical, descriptions (Lutz, 1988; Myers, 1988; Rosaldo, 1980). Also oriented towards precise lexical descriptions are linguists (especially European linguists) working on combinatorics in order to unveil semantic classes and their properties (Goossens, 2011; Grossmann & Tutin, 2005; Novakova & Tutin, 2009; Tutin, Novakova, Grossmann, & Cavalla, 2006), and others who rely on corpus linguistics (e.g. Bednarek, 2009). Detailed semantic studies are of interest to those psychologists who, adopting the point of view of typological linguistics, seek to identify cross-linguistic regularities in emotion lexicons throughout the world, and question the cognitive implications of cross-linguistic differences and regularities (Majid, 2012b; Ogarkova, 2013; Russell, 1991).

Cognitive linguists, on the other hand, study emotional words and expressions from a different angle, focusing on the conceptual metaphors instantiated by the emotional lexicon in English and other languages (among many others, Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2000, 2002, 2005; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Yu, 1998). They contend that metaphors participate in carving out our concepts (see Chapter 7), so that unveiling metaphors should tell us about how we construe emotions (Kövecses, 1991, pp. 43–45). Kövecses (1986, 2000) shows how metaphors can help reconstitute emotional scenarios. While both Wierzbicka (along with other Natural Semantic Metalanguage linguists) and Kövecses seek to identify prototypical emotional sequences, the data and theoretical principles they respectively rely upon to do so are utterly different. ‘Meaning-based’ linguists (in particular Wierzbicka, e.g. (1999)) criticize the cognitivists’ approach for not taking enough care of the actual sense of words. While her point is justified, and in spite of numerous attacks and various weaknesses (see Chapter 7, Section 2), it is hard to deny that the cognitivists’ theory of metaphors does yield some results. It has indeed shed light upon a significant number of recurring regularities in terms of emotion metaphors – for instance, the relative uniformity of anger metaphors across the world (Kövecses, 1995, see Chapter 9). Emotion

metaphors have also been studied by many linguists who do not endorse all cognitivist canonical claims (Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995; Goatly, 1997/2011, 2007; Sharifian, Dirven, Yu, & Niemeier, 2008a).

Some authors – for instance Wilce (2009, p. 55ff) – tend to dismiss lexical studies altogether. They treat them as naively centered on ‘reference’, i.e. on the idea that emotional language is to be identified with the part of language that *refers to* emotional states, rather than *expresses* them through non-lexical devices, and through the interplay between language and non-linguistic features. In their view, the linguistic dimension of emotions is to be sought in semiotic interactions – not limited to speech – rather than in reference. This stance connects to the idea that emotions are essentially social – not private – phenomena. While reference is not the only dimension of the language of emotions, it remains an important part of it, especially as among all aspects of language, reference and lexical definitions are probably the most accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness. As a result, this aspect cannot be entirely irrelevant when discussing the relation between language and speakers’ representations and understanding of emotions.

2.2.1 *Describing meanings in Dalabon*

My analysis of the emotion lexicon pays close attention to both meaning and metaphors. The analysis of metaphors and other tropes is relevant and enlightening (see 2.2.2 below). On the other hand, thorough descriptions of the sense of words are an indispensable component of this study, and in any case it seems impossible to understand the nature of a metaphor at play in a given expression without a good grasp of the sense of the expression.

Accordingly, semantic analyses have been carried out as precisely as possible, for each and every attested Dalabon emotional word. For a given word, spontaneous tokens have been recollected throughout the available Dalabon corpora (see Chapter 3, 1.2.4), so as to extract the semantic contribution of each token. These contributions were compared, and what was common between them was tentatively identified as the sense of the word. This sense was then tested, as far as possible, thanks to semantic tests designed to contrast relevant features, so as to confirm or rectify the definition. For instance, spontaneous examples of *kangu-kurduh(mu)* ‘feel anxious/have one’s belly blocked’ always referred to anxiety triggered by other people, but elicited tests showed that speakers can use it in other contexts as well (for instance, feeling nervous when flying in a small plane). Thus, the word is not specialized for socially induced anxiety, although it does convey a social connotation. Some of the semantic descriptions resulting from these investigations are accounted for within the chapters, but others have been left out due to constraints of space. The glossary in Appendix 2 provides definitions for each Dalabon emotion word; Appendix 3 provides information about the other lexical components involved in Dalabon emotion metaphors. Even when the details of the sense of a given word do not appear within the volume, the analysis has nonetheless been carried out.

Considering the size of the lexicon (c. 160 lexemes plus various non-lexicalized compounds), and the nature of the corpora available for Dalabon (see Chapter 3, 1.2.4), one cannot expect that very precise definitions can emerge for each and every word.¹⁵ Meaning-based linguists working on emotions often study languages of broader use (English, Russian, German, French, Spanish, etc. – often their own native language), for which there exist extensive digitalized corpora (often literary corpora) as well as cohorts of literate speakers. Researchers can extract hundreds of well-contextualized examples for a given word, and test their hypotheses with any speaker of the language. They often quote poetry and literature (Wierzbicka, 1999; Zhengdao, 2001). In contrast, working on small languages from an oral tradition imposes heavy constraints.

With Dalabon, apart from a few very frequent words, well-contextualized examples routinely numbered less than ten for a given word. This is enough to extract a sense, but it is often insufficient to specify a precise emotional scenario for instance. Likewise, the nature of the documentation effort for a language like Dalabon makes it difficult to systematically clarify the distinctions between polysemies and monosemies. As pointed out by Riemer (2005) or Goddard (2011, p. 24), this distinction is inherently subtle and hard to grasp in general. The distinction is in principle grounded by speaker's normality judgments (Cruse, 1986, p. 8) and abilities to contrast the distinct senses of a given word. For instance, in Dalabon, *kangu-kurduh(mu)* 'belly' + 'blocked' can mean either 'feel anxious' or 'have one's belly blocked'. To demonstrate that these are two distinct senses (a polysemy) rather than one single concept (i.e. speakers would consider it one and the same thing to feel anxious and have a blocked belly – a monosemy), it would be necessary to bring a speaker to say something equivalent to 'I *kangu-kurduh(mu)* (feel anxious), but I don't *kangu-kurduh(mu)* (my belly isn't blocked)', or the reverse. However, speakers are usually reluctant to use such sentences, because the related scenarios are often artificial, and the formulation sounds strange and even confusing – speakers naturally prefer to use different words in each clause, or reinterpret the scenario in a completely different way (see Chapter 3, 1.2.3.1). Their normality judgments on such sentences tend to vary. As a result, drawing sharp boundaries between polysemy and monosemy is often practically impossible. Studies based on surveying a large number of speakers, like the ones on Basque (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2006), Indonesian (Shaver, Murdaya, & Fraley, 2001), or Chinese (Shaver, Wu, & Schwartz, 1992), inspired by Fehr & Russell (1984), are also impossible. These researchers collected responses to a number of metalinguistic questions and tests from a large number of speakers (several dozens), in order to assess the prototypicality of certain emotions. The number of speakers of Dalabon (probably less than ten, see Chapter 3) is an insurmountable obstacle to such studies.

15. For instance, Harkins (2001, p. 200), working on emotion terms in Arrernte with a group of literate speakers, collected data on 55 emotion terms, but narrowed her study down to 8 of them, for which she managed to collect at least 20 examples (2001, p. 204).

2.2.2 *Reflecting on tropes*

One of the purposes in this work is to clarify the functions of body-parts in the Dalabon emotion lexicon. Although this is not their only function, Dalabon body-part nouns contribute tropes – metonymies and metaphors. The volume analyzes these tropes, reflecting on the correlations between these metonymies and metaphors, and speakers' shared conceptual representations.

While I adopt the now classic cognitivist distinction between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), I do not endorse all the cognitivists' assumptions about the relations between the two. In the cognitivists' framework, every *linguistic* metaphor (i.e. every linguistic expression with some metaphorical dimension) mirrors an underlying *conceptual* metaphor, i.e. a shared conceptual representation in speakers' minds. It is assumed that this representation motivates the related linguistic metaphors, so that all linguistic metaphors tell us something about speakers' representations. Thus, for instance, in the cognitivists' framework, the linguistic metaphor 'he exploded in anger' is motivated by the underlying conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. This linguistic metaphor is supposed to tell us something about how English speakers construe anger.

This straightforward correspondence between linguistic metaphors and conceptual representations has been extensively criticized. Many linguistic metaphors are old and have become conventionalized, so that they no longer call upon any cognitive association (Enfield, 2002a; Goddard, 1996a, 2004) in speakers' minds. For instance, when saying 'the back of the room' in English, I do not rely on a representation of the room as an animal with a back (body-part), in spite of the historical origin of the word. Besides, some linguistic metaphors may still be associated with some representations, but these representations are not necessarily the ones that motivated the metaphors historically. Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995) and Gevaert (2001, 2005) show that this applies to the metaphorical representation of anger as fluids: they are historically rooted in the Medieval theory of humors, which no longer has currency today. Speakers may, however, reinterpret anger metaphors in new terms, independent of the original theory (for instance, ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED FLUID IN A CONTAINER). In this process, as suggested by Enfield (2002a), the linguistic metaphor motivates new conceptual representations – hence the direction of motivation is inverted, since in the cognitivists' framework, representations are taken to motivate linguistic metaphors, not the reverse. This volume expands upon this conclusion, suggesting further possible situations where linguistic forms may motivate conceptual metaphors (Chapter 10).

In line with these remarks, my use of the terms 'metaphor' and 'metonymy' makes no assumption about historical motivations, nor about speakers' representations. Rather, I use the notion of 'conceptual metaphor' as a tool for description: conceptual metaphors are representations suggested to the linguist by the language. They may in some cases suggest some historical motivations, but this historical status should not be taken for granted. Likewise, postulating the existence of a conceptual metaphor in a language does not warrant that the corresponding representations are relevant to

speakers: this should be tested and demonstrated independently. Ultimately, tropes constitute a stock of representations available to speakers to elaborate upon if they wish to. These notions of tropes – metaphors and metonymies – are further developed in Chapter 7, and applied in Chapters 8 and 9.

3. Structure of the work

The body of this book comprises ten chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 are introductory. This starts with the ethnographic context in Chapter 2, including an overview of the Dalabon history and contemporary life style, in particular the role of emotions and their regulation in daily life. Chapter 3 covers the linguistic background, including the local ecology, the methods used for data collection, the resulting corpora, and some relevant aspects of the grammar of Dalabon.

Chapter 4 describes and discusses expressive features, and highlights the prominent role of these features in verbalizing culturally relevant emotions. Chapter 5 presents the relatively large Dalabon emotion lexicon, discussing its morphological, syntactic and aspectual features. Chapter 6 consists of ethnographically informed discussions of some important emotions, as well as of the associated lexical categories and their semantics. Echoing the conclusions of Chapter 4, Chapter 6 shows that lexical categories are not always good indicators for these categories, and that the lexicon is not, in Dalabon, the most reliable guide to cultural representations and practices in the domain of emotions.

On the other hand, some Dalabon words instruct us about speakers' representations of emotions in other ways. Chapters 7 to 9 analyze the figurative input of body-part nouns with respect to emotions in Dalabon, and explore Dalabon emotional tropes systematically. After clarifying my definitions of metaphors and metonymies in Chapter 7, I present body-based tropes in Chapter 8, showing how they stem from somatic responses to emotions, and systematically depict emotions as states of the person rather than independent entities. Chapter 9 analyzes non-body-based tropes, among which anger metaphors, where anger is marginally represented as an entity independent of the person. Finally, Chapter 10 considers the non-figurative functions of body-part nouns in Dalabon emotion-related compounds, analyzing the descriptive role of nouns denoting visible body-parts. Finally, Chapter 11 is a short, concluding chapter, which ties the findings together within a brief summary.

Ethnographic context

Dalabon is an endangered language included in the Gunwinyguan family, of the non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages. It was once spoken in south-western Arnhem Land, in the Northern Territory, and the remaining speakers now live in the communities to the south-east of Katherine: Weemol, Bulman, Beswick (also known as Wugularr), Barunga (also known as Bamyili) (see Figure 1). This chapter provides an ethnographic context to the study, outlining the most important aspects of Dalabon lifestyle, social organization and history. Section 1 presents the Dalabon group, and Section 2 describes some aspects of its pre-colonial history, including life-style, social organization and beliefs. The history of colonization and the contemporary situation are then discussed in Section 3. Section 4 accounts for the cultural status of emotions, and how they are dealt with on a daily basis among the Dalabon. Discussion of the linguistic context – local language ecology, language shift etc. – will be dealt with separately in the next chapter.

1. Who are the Dalabon?

‘Dalabon’ is an ethnographic label¹⁶ attributed to and adopted by a number of patrilineal clans (probably a few hundred people), who currently live in and around the communities of Weemol, Bulman, Beswick, Barunga, and in the township of Katherine. In pre-colonial times, Dalabon occupied the center of the Arnhem Land region (Figure 1). Dalabon people are now centered in the villages or ‘communities’ of Bulman and Weemol, near the southern border of the Arnhem region, but the territories of Dalabon clans used to spread further north, closer to the Arafura Sea.

The closest neighboring groups were those speaking Jawoyn, Kune and Mayali (Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain), Rembarrnga and Ngalakgan. Ngalakgan people are seldom mentioned nowadays. Jawoyn are often mentioned, but are usually regarded as competitors in regional politics. Rembarrnga, Kune and Mayali are presented as close neighbors and allies.

While located further east, near the coast, and thus not immediate neighbors of Dalabon, Yolngu groups are important actors in the regional landscape. Yolngu people have a different cultural background, and a very different colonial history. Some

16. On the exact nature, sense and history of such labels, see for instance Merlan (1998).

Yolngu groups are successful in communicating and collaborating with the rest of Australia and the world (for instance in negotiations with governments), so that they attract a lot of attention from the media, and from researchers. Dalabon people are different from Yolngu people in many respects, and they often stress these differences.

In the 1960s, the anthropologist Kenneth Maddock did extensive fieldwork among the Dalabon. He produced a doctoral dissertation on a Dalabon ritual (Maddock, 1969b) and published various articles (Maddock, 1969a, 1969c, 1970a, 1970b, 1974), in particular on kinship, marriage rules, alliances and the subsection system (2.1). However, no monograph was ever published on the Dalabon group. Kenneth Maddock is fondly remembered by older Dalabon people as the anthropologist of the Land Rights (Section 3) (see Maddock (1972, pp. 28–55)). In the 1970s, the anthropologist Gillian Cowlshaw focused on Rembarrnga people. The proximity of this group to Dalabon people is such that her publications shed an important light on Dalabon ethnography as well. Cowlshaw took an interest in the women's realm, thus providing an account complementary to Maddock's (Camfoo et al., 2000; Cowlshaw, 1978, 1979, 1999).

In the following section, I start with an account of some of the features of Dalabon pre-colonial life. While the material life style has drastically changed with colonization, many social aspects persist, or influence the life of contemporary Dalabon people. It is therefore easier to start with an account of a somewhat idealized past, before I describe the contemporary situation.

2. Pre-colonial life style, environment and connection to the land

Like other groups in this region and most groups across the Australian continent, Dalabon people were semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers. The semi-tropical climate affords a relatively clement environment, at least in comparison with the drastically arid conditions Australian Aboriginal groups had to deal with in the Central Australian Desert. The southern parts of the Dalabon region, and the areas closer to the coast, host a mix of savannahs and forests, reasonably well-watered by a network of water courses, and punctuated by water-holes, some of them permanent. Seasons alternate between a hot and humid monsoon featuring high rainfall (December–April), and a dry season starting with very cool and windy months (May–July). This is followed by a 'build-up' period (August–November), when temperature and humidity rise steadily, before the first rain. By the end of the build-up, the land becomes very dry. Yet, in this region, some water courses, springs and water-holes never dry out, so that water resources are always relatively accessible.

Game and fish are abundant, and the diet is complemented by various fruits, berries and roots, often small and acidic. Based on present-day accounts, it is possible to hypothesize that food wasn't scarce. However, intake may have been irregular, both in quantity and quality, depending on the success of hunting expeditions, on the growth of various

berries etc. Importantly, the main sources of carbohydrates were limited to a few species of yams, and the fruit of the cycad. Many of these had to be carefully prepared (grated, soaked etc.) before they became edible. The only significant source of sugar was a very tasty honey provided by native bees, which is still eagerly sought after today. Some areas of the Dalabon territories, however, imposed tougher conditions. In the middle of the Dalabon region is a table top, with much dryer savannah. Some Dalabon elders spent their childhood in this tougher environment, and the lack of resources, and of water in particular, is a prominent feature in their accounts of this past life style. It is possible that at some point, Dalabon populations became confined to these regions as a result of the colonial occupation of the richer regions by white farmers.

Hunter-gatherers in this part of Australia had no permanent housing and few material belongings, most tools and materials being readily replaceable (e.g. shelters were made of bark and foliage picked up on the spot). They hunted and fished mainly with stone-pointed spears aided by a spear-thrower. Dalabon groups moved across their territories, adjusting to the climate and to the resources, meeting up with each other, especially for ritual purposes. Dalabon people developed a thorough knowledge of their environment, both in terms of access to resources and in cultural terms. Estates in land were precisely defined and owned by patrilineal descent groups, nowadays called clans – *daworro* in Dalabon. Land tenure was essentially collective, joint between several individuals and several clans (Maddock, 1972; 1974, pp. 47–55), and implied responsibilities as much as rights. The custodians of an estate had access to its resources, controlled who could access it, and also had to ensure that the land was looked after, both practically (e.g. monitoring grass-burning) and culturally (e.g. managing access to ‘sacred’ sites). Custodians from various descent groups were mutually accountable, within a system of reciprocal control. Each estate is associated with a repertoire of stories and songs. Some feature rock paintings, and/or a number of special sites which are secret/sacred and must be protected (see 2.3). As elsewhere in Australia, attachment to one’s ancestral land is a powerful emotion among Dalabon people, at least those who have had the opportunity to live on this land. This attachment is expressed very frequently and explicitly. Dalabon people access their homelands as often as possible, and discussion of country (for instance changes to the landscape, who visited which site etc.) is prominent in conversations.

2.1 Social organization

2.1.1 *Kinship*

Like all other Australian groups, Dalabon people used an extensive classificatory kinship system, i.e. a system for designating relatives and grouping them in categories which are not strictly definable by blood categories and which do not correspond to Western categories. These systems have been extensively described for many Australian groups, and categorized by types (see Keen (2004, p. 174ff), Dousset (2011)

for an introduction to Australian kinship, Scheffler (1978) for a more detailed discussion). The available data indicates that the Dalabon system is close to the Aranda type (the distinctive feature of Aranda systems is that they distinguish between four categories of grandparents), with some features bringing it closer to a Kariera type (which distinguishes only two categories of grandparents). This is not surprising, given neighboring groups to the south (Jawoyn) use Kariera systems, while other neighboring groups use Aranda(-like) systems (see Harvey (2001) and Evans (2003, pp. 42–44) for systems used by Bininj Gun-Wok speakers, McKay (1975) for Rembarrnga and Merlan (1983) for Ngalakgan).

One of the basic but key features of the Dalabon system (in line with most Australian systems) is that ego calls his or her father's brothers 'fathers' (FB, *bulu-no*) – while in English we call them 'uncles'. In the Dalabon system, only mother's brothers receive a different label (MB, *kardak-no*, 'uncle'). Likewise, the children of one's father's brothers, which English treats as cousins, are treated as siblings in the Dalabon system (*yabok-no* 'sister', *wulkun-no* 'brother'). The same is true of one's mother's sisters' children: they are also siblings. Only 'cross-cousins' (the children of MB or FZ, not of FB or SZ) are called cousins (*birrwoyin-no*, *kom-no*).

This difference is important, because it results in a strong emphasis on social (and emotional) proximity. A Dalabon person has several mothers and fathers, and a lot of brothers and sisters. Large numbers of what we would consider relatively remote cousins are treated as first-degree cousins. The same is true in ascending generations (grandparents, great-grandparents), and descending generations (grandchildren, great-grandchildren). At least in the pre-colonial system where meeting complete strangers was exceptional, the kinship network covered the entire population. Each individual was able to trace and label their relationship with any other, so that everyone was a relative of every one, close or distant. Kinship relationships strongly determine social relationships, and therefore, emotional life. They determine the attitudes to be adopted with various individuals depending on kin categories: one must remain distant with some people, while friendly relationships (sometimes, compulsory joking relationships, see Garde (2008b)) are expected with others. One is also expected to care for one's close relatives, and expects to receive empathy and material support from them. Complying with these commitments, and benefiting from others' compliance in return, is a major dimension of emotional life in the Dalabon context.

2.1.2 *Marriages*

Kinship networks regulate marital unions, i.e. prescribe possible spouses for each individual. In theory, the Dalabon prescribe marriages with a second-degree cousin, MMBDD, referred to as *djabruh-no* (or *djaburlh-no*) in Dalabon. However, marriages between first-degree cousins (MBD) were also allowed. In practice, a low population meant that many people did not have a *djabruh-no*, and the incidence of unions between classificatory first cousins in living generations (around 50 y.o. and above) is significant. First-degree cross-cousin marriages occurred in both directions,

patrilateral or matrilateral. This resulted in local restricted-marital-exchange networks, where pairs of clans tended to exchange spouses regularly (which does not occur in a system like the Yolngu's for instance, where unions are obligatorily matrilateral: a given clan receives wives from clan x and provides wives to clan y). These clan clusters probably mapped onto a number of named areal units, which, according to some Dalabon people, correspond to what is called 'country' in the Western world. Clusters of such 'countries' are also named. Thus, Weemol is located in the area called Madrulk, within the region called Marlbbarl.¹⁷

Comparable marriage practices are reported by Hiatt (1965, 1968) for the Gidjingali, who are not very distant from the Dalabon (and see Keen (1982) for a comparison between this system and the Yolngu system). Interestingly, the Dalabon speaker who provided the most information on kinship (because she had the best knowledge of the details of the pre-colonial system) sounded somewhat apologetic with respect to first-degree-cousin marriages, which she sometimes contrasted with Yolngu practices. In fact, first-degree-cousin marriage is possible among the Yolngu, but it remains strictly matrilateral, while Dalabon married bilaterally. In any case, during documentation sessions on genealogies, my main Dalabon consultant felt the need to justify first-cross-cousin marriage at length. She depicted it as irregular compared to the habits of neighboring groups, but legitimate, because it was justified by local demographic parameters.

While polygamy was not uncommon among the Dalabon, it was not as developed as among the Yolngu. Presumably for demographic reasons, men did not usually accumulate a large number of wives (Keen, 1982). Marriages were organized by senior relatives, and promises were sometimes contracted by parents when the spouses were very young. In many cases, older men contracted promises with parents of young girls, who were handed over to their much older promised husbands as early teenagers. Such practices are resisted by teenagers nowadays and no longer occur in the Dalabon region (on contemporary marriage practices in Aboriginal Australia, see Musharbash (2010a)). The opinions of older women on these marriage arrangements vary. Some women present them as normal, relatively inconvenience-free, and regard chosen unions as a recent oddity. Another Dalabon woman painfully recalled being forced to marry an older man she was not attracted to, and living in fear of her elders (see Chapter 6, 2.3, 2.4).

2.1.3 Subsections

In pre-colonial times, Dalabon people would mostly interact with persons within their kinship network, however remote the actual genetic connection. Nowadays, outsiders (white people or Aboriginal people with no retrievable genetic connection)

17. Names for other 'countries' in the Marlbbarl region were Karulum, Marridjaldju, Bularra, Mo, Bundukurruk, Bulba, Bakerrep. (These names were not recorded but noted under the dictation of † George Jangawanga in 2002. The spellings are approximate.)

are assimilated into the system by means of the subsection system (Dousset, 2011; Maddock, 1972, pp. 81–104; Scheffler, 1978). Subsections, *malk-no* in Dalabon or *skin* in Kriol, the local creole (McConvell & Ponsonnet, in prep.), are groups of people defined by their descent. Subsections are socio-centric, while kin-terms are ego-centric. The kin-term that someone x chooses to address someone y depends on x's relationship with y, so that different people address y with a different kin-term; but everyone will address y with the same subsection name, as defined by birth.

There are eight subsections, corresponding to sixteen names – eight female and eight male. Conceptually speaking, the system can be described in terms of three dichotomies (which do not necessarily correspond to three successive historical steps; see Harvey (2008, p. 80) for alternative descriptions of these divisions). One dichotomy categorizes the population into two groups of patrilineal descent, called patrimoieties. Patrimoieties have well-known labels, Duwa and Yirridjdja, and are presented by Dalabon people as a key feature of the social and cosmological structure of the world. Another division is between two groups of matrilineal descent. Evans et al.'s (2004) introduction to the *Dalabon Dictionary* provides labels for these terms (see Figure 2), but I have personally never heard them.¹⁸ The intersection of these two dichotomies defines four groups, or sections. Many Australian groups use a four-section system (with or without labels for moieties). In the northern part of the continent, a number of groups subdivide sections in two, so that they use an eight-subsection system. Dalabon speakers use such a system, and thus the language has a set of sixteen nouns, i.e. a masculine and a feminine name (or 'skin name') for each subsection, as represented in Figure 2. Subsections are grouped in pairs which correspond to sections: Bulanj and Ngarridj are closely associated together, so are Kodjok and Bangardi, etc. Sections are not labelled in the Dalabon system, but their members partly share marriage choices.

In some subsection systems, including the Dalabon one, there is another pairing of subsections, whereby each subsection is associated with another subsection which is not the other member of the same section, but pick (ideal) father-and-son pairs. That is, while sections pair up subsections as follows: Bulanj/Ngarridj, Kodjok/Bangardi etc.; the patri-couple grouping pairs them up as Bulanj/Kodjok, Ngarridj/Bangardi, etc. These alternative pairs are also called semi-moieties (each patri-couple represents half a patrimoiety). They are further grouped by pairs of pairs to form quadruplets called 'ceremony moieties'. This label refers to the fact that – as clearly expressed to me by speakers (see also Maddock, 1974) – these divisions dictate people's roles in some rituals, as well as in land management. While in some subsection systems, such categories remain covert (i.e. people do not have a label for these categories), among the Dalabon they are well identified. Dalabon ceremonial moieties are often discussed explicitly and are labelled with reference to ceremonial symbols: one is associated with

18. Matrimoiety labels are commonly used in northern groups, for instance the Kunwinjku or the Mawng.

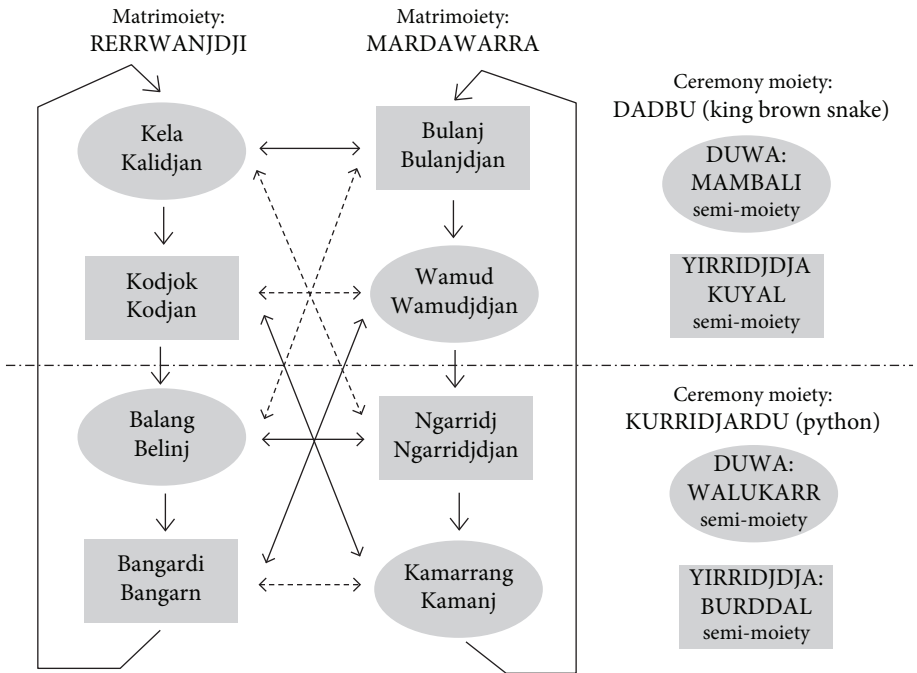


Figure 2. The Dalabon subsection system. Adapted from Evans et al. (2004). In circles: Duwa skin names. In squares: Yirridjdja skin names. Vertical arrows: mother-child relationship.

the king-brown snake, *dadbu*; the other with the python, *kurridjardu*. Patri-couples or semi-moieties also have commonly used labels (see Figure 2). Maddock (1974) provides a thorough description of the Dalabon subsection system, also discussed in Evans et al. (2004).

Subsections or 'skin names' (Kriol *skin*) are determined by the 'skin' of one's mother. All siblings share the same 'skin'. From these basic rules, kin relationships can be 'calculated' on the basis of regularities in the systems. For instance, if I am Ngarridjdjan, my children are Kamarrang (males) and Kamanj (females). My mother is Wamudjdjan, and my uncles, her brothers, are Wamud. Therefore, meeting someone with whom I have no retrievable actual kin connection, but whose 'skin' is Wamud, I know that I am entitled to call him 'uncle' (*kardak-ngan*).

The subsection system also 'translates' marriage preferences in terms of socio-centric categories. Nowadays, younger Dalabon generations are less wary of the second-degree cousin prescription (2.1.2). Rather, they know who is a potential spouse based on 'skins'. Each subsection is entitled to marry two subsections. The first choice corresponds to straight second-degree cousins (MMBDD, see 2.1.2), and the second to first-degree cousin. However, the order of preference has now become backgrounded, and younger Dalabon people simply say that they can marry two subsections. Again,

this allows people to identify potential spouses across broader social networks, where actual kin connections can become blurred. Subsection systems are specific to the northern part of Australia (McConvell, 1985; McConvell & Ponsonnet, in prep.). As pointed out by Bauman (2002), they provide translation grids that are capable of adapting kinship systems to broader social interactions. Nowadays, Dalabon people do make extensive use of Kriol kinship terminology, but outside of a smaller network of closer relatives, even older people effectively calculate kin connections using subsections and the regularity principles of this system.

2.2 Cosmogonies

The Dalabon elders I met told a number of creation stories, which together explained why the land and landscape are as they are, why human beings are what they are, speak the language they speak, follow the social rules they follow, and so on. As in many other Australian groups, these creation stories feature a number of ancestral animals who travelled across the land, creating the landscape. The Dalabon have a number of local ‘myths’ or traditional stories, like the story of how humans started using fire and eating roasted meat (Ponsonnet, 2009b, p. 14). The particular Dalabon versions of such stories are not necessarily shared across neighboring groups, and in particular they are not present among the Yolngu (although there exist a variety of stories related to the spread/use of fire across the continent). The Dalabon story explains how people, who were ‘unfinished’ at the time and had stumps instead of complete limbs, used to sleep under the water at night, in rivers, and eat their meat raw. This ended when the *berredberred*, or kingfisher, stole the fire-sticks¹⁹ from the crocodile who used to own them. The kingfisher took them away from the crocodile and out of the water, spreading fire across the land. Humans got cooked and their limbs took their current form. Since then, they live their current lives – in particular, they eat roasted meat (on the mythology of fire and its relation with food, see Lévi-Strauss (1964)). Another important aspect of the cosmogony are the peregrinations of a group of four people, two men (Bulanj and Kodjok, Yirridjdja moiety) and two women (Kalidjan and Kamanj, Duwa moiety), together called the Nakorrkko (Maddock, 1974, p. 206; Ponsonnet, 2009b, p. 20). The Nakorrkko are central to the Dalabon cosmogony, so that some Dalabon people sometimes compared them with the Christian God.²⁰

Stories of this kind may be referred to as Nayunghyungkih stories, Nayunghyungkih being the name given to very old ancestors. The time of the Nayunghyungkih corresponds to what is called *tjukurrpa* in Central Australia (Myers, 1986, p. 48), and

19. Two wooden sticks that people used to roll one against the other to make fire.

20. The Nakorrkko may be compared to famous stories such as the Yolngu’s Wagilak or Djang’kawu sisters in terms of their foundational dimension (Keen, 1994, p. 259). Dalabon speakers know of the Wagilak sisters story as their neighbors’ belief, but do not endorse it.

sometimes 'dreaming' in English. In the Dalabon context, unlike in Central Australia, the role of dreams with respect to cosmogonic stories remains marginal. The Nayunghyungkih stories define what is called *walu-no* in Dalabon, *lau* (<Eng. 'law') in Kriol: the ancestral law, the set of rules which makes the universe what it is, physically and socially. These rules must be followed; breaking them attracts supernatural punishments (accidents, cataclysms etc.). This law and related stories tend to constitute what is considered 'important' knowledge (see). They also nourish prestigious speech *par excellence*, as will be developed in the following sections.

2.3 Secrecy and gender division

Gender divisions were very sharp in Dalabon society, as elsewhere in Australia. Important cosmogonic stories, and the ancestral law, were considered men's knowledge. While women can tell some traditional stories, it is men who are entitled, or expected, to talk about the Nakorrkko and elaborate discourse about the ancestral law. Some segments of the cosmogony narratives, containing crucial episodes, are *wirridjih*, 'taboo': they are endowed with a supernatural force that may become dangerous (e.g. trigger calamities or cataclysms) if approached by persons who cannot handle this force. Such episodes constitute secret/sacred knowledge (*wirridjih*), and all the clues associated with these episodes (sites, designs, songs, stages of rituals...) are also secret/sacred. In order to access such secret/sacred knowledge, men must go through initiation ceremonies, a series of rituals during which teenage men were circumcised, and 'culturally instructed' (Maddock, 1972, pp. 105–120). Women, on the other hand, are not entitled to initiation, so that in principle, they can never access this knowledge. Strangers should in principle never access such knowledge either. Yet, in practice, these interdictions are often less constraining on some white witnesses. The gerontocratic and phallocratic dynamics created by secrecy are brilliantly described by Keen (1994) for the Yolngu context – a description which largely applies to the Dalabon context.

While women should not be exposed to secret/sacred knowledge, men on the other hand should also be kept away from some aspects of reality that are proper to women. This is the domain of sexuality and reproduction. As discussed by Cowlishaw (1978, 1979), and in Chapter 6 (2.3), the partition of these gender restrictions is fundamentally asymmetric. The men's domain is prestigious, and it is women's responsibility to avoid stepping into the domain of male secrecy. The women's domain is not prestigious, and it is, again, women's responsibility to protect men from being exposed to it.

Along with these divisions of knowledge and taboos came a division of daily tasks and specializations. As is common across the world, women took care of children and domestic matters. Women were in charge of gathering, and men hunted – a prestigious activity (on Aboriginal economies see Altman (1987), Keen (2004)). Men took care of ceremonies, while women cooked for them. Painting and singing, closely associated with ritual life, also pertained to the male domain (this has evolved: there are now a

number of women painters). Some women have spontaneously expressed their frustration to me about the impossibility to take part in ceremonies (apart from marginal, accompanying dances, and catering), and about the amount of work falling upon them in the household (on this last aspect, see Cowlshaw (1979)).

Another important dimension of social life in pre-colonial times was diplomatic relationships between clans. Some clans were allied, exchanged spouses and collaborated in rituals, land management etc. Some clans fought over these issues. Some disputes lasted a long time, fed by vendetta ideologies. In the Dalabon context, accidents are not accepted as a sufficient explanation for death (see Evans-Pritchard, 1976). It is necessary to identify human responsibility for all deaths considered premature (in other words, most deaths). Rival clans were often accused of having brought about someone's death, implemented by means of sorcery via a *kurdang* ('clever man', 'sorcerer', the equivalent of a shaman). Revenge and sorcery are sources of constant fear, especially as revenge 'messengers', referred to as *rakalk*, or 'bush black fellows', are said to be present in the bush at all times, spying on potential victims (Musharbash, 2010b). Another source of fear are various malevolent beings hidden in the bush, for instance the Namorrorddo, which haunts the bush at nights and may steal the heart of newborn babies if they sleep on their back. The Namorrorddo can also be held responsible in cases of accidental deaths. Dalabon beliefs do not expand on life after death, but deceased people become spirits who may, if disturbed, come and visit the living (potentially making them worried and sick).

3. Colonization and recent history

The colonization of Dalabon land took place in the first decades of the 20th century, and was relatively abrupt. A large part of Dalabon country lies within the boundaries of what is now called Arnhem Land, an area that was declared an Aboriginal Reserve from 1931, and was thus protected from pastoralists from that date. Cowlshaw (1999) recounts how the land was settled by livestock farmers prior to the establishment of the reserve. The Aboriginal populations disturbed the farming, killing cattle for food. The nomadic groups were consequently gathered around farming stations, and later removed to government-managed settlements (Rowse, 1998), closer to the township of Katherine. There, they served as a workforce in various industries (for example, the Dendengel compound and sawmill, and the Maranboy tin mine). Some Dalabon elders reported being still in the bush during World War Two (when the region was bombed), but they soon joined the settlements. From the 1950s, Dalabon territories would have been devoid of human inhabitants.

Life at the settlements evokes mixed memories for Dalabon people. On the one hand, they recall a relatively peaceful life, with regular access to food, and where children had the opportunity to go to school. On the other hand, they point out that they

lived on a land which wasn't theirs, but belonged to the Jawoyn, and that they were mixed with too many clans of too many ethnic affiliations: Jawoyn, Rembarrnga, and Mayali. Jawoyn clans may have been superior in numbers. Dalabon speakers' accounts indicate that they felt somewhat disempowered, lacking consideration. This era also fostered language shift from Dalabon to Kriol, an English-based Kriol (see Chapter 3, 1.1.2). In 1967, the Australian Constitution was modified by referendum, and the legal status of Australian Aborigines evolved towards more equality with whites. The 1967 referendum resulted in Aboriginal people being accounted for in the national census, and allowed for the Commonwealth to legislate on Aboriginal issues. Among Dalabon people, this historical move is known as 'citizenship', and is primarily associated with free access to alcohol. The 1967 referendum did not legislate on alcohol consumption, but coincided with the 1964 Northern Territory's new *Social Welfare Ordinance*. This act had legalized the consumption of alcohol by Aboriginal persons – such consumption had been illegal since 1918, prohibited by the 1918 *Northern Territory Aboriginal Ordinance* (D'Abbs, 1990). Like many people in the Northern Territory (see Cowlshaw (1999, p. 22)), Dalabon people often conflate the various legal changes of these times, referring to them together as 'citizenship'. A number of Dalabon people perceive these changes as having sowed the seeds of decadence.

The following period, on the other hand, the 1970s, was marked by the legal recognition of land rights in the Northern Territory (*Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* (1976)). This is presented by the locals as an era of cultural revival. While most Dalabon people are unaware of the activism behind this legal victory, they celebrate the fact that they were taken back to their own land by the anthropologist Kenneth Maddock.²¹ The village of Weemol was built and Dalabon families settled there, much closer to their traditional territories. Only Dalabon clans live there. In the 1980s, the 'outstation movement' saw the Government funding the establishment of small hamlet infrastructures, on individual families' homelands. Six outstations (hamlets) were built within a radius of about 80 kilometers around Weemol (some outstations being much closer). The time when these outstations opened, which corresponds with Dalabon people's physical return to their real homeland, is fondly remembered. A lot of these outstations were in relatively regular use throughout the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s. Families were able to spend some time in very remote areas, usually with regular visits to the larger villages of Weemol and Bulman. Several of these outstations have now been more or less abandoned, due to lack of resources to enable regular transportation. Access to food, medical and schooling services is centralized in Bulman, 6 kilometers away from Weemol. Two outstations remain in use.

21. In the accounts I collected, speakers did not emphasize their own agency in this event, but clearly present the anthropologist, or the more general concept of *lenrait* (<Eng. 'land rights'), as having initiated the shift.

3.1 Dalabon life style

Nowadays, most Dalabon people, and all the Dalabon speakers I have worked with, live in 'remote communities', i.e. villages or small townships located at some distance (sometimes hundreds of kilometers) from town centers. These are villages built and equipped mostly thanks to government subsidies, where basic services such as a school, a health center, a very small supermarket, a cash machine and so on, are provided. The main Dalabon community is Weemol. In other villages (Bulman, Beswick, Barunga), Dalabon people live with other ethnic groups.

People in these communities live in large households, in fairly basic houses not always suited to accommodate their numbers. Very few people have regular employment, but a significant number take up temporary jobs. This is hardly perceived as a lack; there is usually no desire or expectation to find a regular job. Subsistence is largely ensured by government benefits and various welfare opportunities. People buy food from the local supermarket or 'shop', where prices are very high. They try to supplement their resources by fishing and hunting whenever they can. Finding food is not always easy, however; it takes a significant amount of time and energy each day. Because there is no shop in Weemol, inhabitants must do their shopping in Bulman, about 6 kilometers away. Securing a lift to the shop and gathering enough money, socializing at the shop and finding a lift back occupies a significant portion of most days. Looking after children, minding the house, playing cards and watching television also feature among regular daily activities. Fishing trips are much appreciated whenever a car is available. Many women produce artifacts (woven baskets, necklaces made of seeds) which they sell on occasional trips to the local township of Katherine (360 kilometers away from Weemol). Some men paint or make didgeridoos for the same purpose. Local governance – involving meetings with various organizations – is another important activity, often regarded as a duty.

Most people are anchored in one community, but enjoy moving from one community to the other every now and again, to spend a couple of weeks or months with another group of relatives for instance. This is also a convenient way to ease social tensions that may have built up at home. Another destination is the town center, Katherine, where most people travel regularly, whether to access health and/or administration services, or to visit relatives who are hospitalized. Weemol has been an alcohol free community since 2007, so that people willing to drink must go to Katherine to do so. Many Weemol residents, men in particular, spend significant periods of time in town.

People born before the Second World War tend to be illiterate because they never went to school. They do not always speak English very well, their everyday language being Kriol. A lot of people born around 1950, however, are literate and speak good English: they attended school in the 1950s and 1960s when they lived in government-managed settlements. Among younger generations, patterns are more diverse. Schooling was available to everyone in remote communities, yet not every child/parent chose to attend regularly. Semi-regular attendance is ineffective, especially because

schooling conditions are not optimal. Children aged 12 y.o. are offered scholarships to go to high school in the town of Katherine or, further, in Darwin. They do not always take up the offer, however, and again, schooling is not always effective. I know a lot of Dalabon people born in the mid-1970s or later who cannot read, and are not at ease speaking English. However, in these post-1970s generation, a number of people do read and do feel at ease in English.

Literacy and English mastery tend to correlate with place of regular residence. I know of more literate people in communities closer to Katherine. There exists a growing divide between Weemol and Bulman on the one hand, and Beswick and Barunga, which are much closer to town, on the other hand. The latter communities have enjoyed mobile phone coverage for several years already, and relatively easy access to town (about an hour's drive on a sealed road). Inhabitants are more exposed to the global world – for instance, some of them have a Facebook or Twitter account (Butchmann, 2010; Delargy Healy, 2013; Kral, 2010). In Weemol (and Bulman), there is no mobile coverage, and very few houses are equipped with fixed telephones. Inhabitants have satellite televisions with some national and local channels, and DVD players; a small choice of movies and music is available from the local shop. A 4WD car is required at any time of the year to drive the 360 kilometers to Katherine, and the road is not always practicable in the monsoon. Children are taught computer skills at school, but having no mobile phone connection, and often being illiterate, they are not well aware of what the world-wide-web is – they don't use it. While a large proportion of Aboriginal remote communities have joined the 'global world' in terms of communication, it must be noted that the movement is uneven. Some communities have been left behind due to greater physical remoteness.

3.2 The Dalabon and their historical background

The most strongly persisting aspect of pre-colonial Dalabon society is definitely kinship. Most Dalabon kin-terms are no longer known by the younger generations, and Barunga Kriol kin-terms are used instead (see Dickson (in prep.)), displaying comparable (albeit not entirely identical) divisions. As discussed in 2.1, kin-terms are supplemented by subsection terms and the rules of the subsection system, which apply to more distant circles of acquaintances. Pre-colonial marriage practices no longer have currency, and neither does polygamy. Promises have been replaced by more Western-like choices based on personal inclination (Musharbash, 2010a). Nevertheless, young people do express their preference to marry someone within an authorized subsection, and indeed, they often do so. Kinship-imposed attitudes (e.g. brother and sister avoidance, obligations to care) are respected, albeit probably under milder (less constraining) forms than in pre-colonial times. Gender divisions are not as strong as they used to be.

Importantly, Dalabon people of all ages display a passionate and seemingly insatiable interest in kinship. Discussing where relatives are, how they are, what they have done, when they will visit, is an important topic of daily conversation. The reconstruction of genealogies can last forever without consultants becoming bored. People who attended such sessions, whatever their age, were usually eager to contribute some information on their family network; in fact, even those who did not attend sometimes contributed information in passing.

Some of the other cultural traits described in previous sections are not so present in contemporary life. Most people living in Weemol have very good knowledge of the landscape and environment, but expert botanic or ethological knowledge is now limited to a few people who, for one reason or another, go out bush more often. Circumcision is sometimes conducted in hospital, but further initiation ceremonies seldom take place in the Dalabon region. Between 1998 and 2013, there has been one large initiation ceremony, in 2007. The men who used to be in a position to carry out these ceremonies are now deceased.

Historical cosmogonic narratives are hardly being passed on. However, new narratives arise, usually based on more recent historical events, often in association with a particular site or landscape feature. As a result, younger Dalabon people tend to 'read narratives' through the land just like their elders, albeit with different narratives.²² These stories do not aim to explain cosmogony. To my knowledge, no all-encompassing creation stories (like the Nakorrkko story for instance, see 2.1.3) are being created. Missionaries have never been very active in the area – there was never a local mission. Yet, a number of Dalabon people have received Christian instruction, probably at school. There exists a Kriol translation of the Bible (Summer Institute of Linguistic, 1991, 2007), and some people own a copy. The existence of a Christian-like God, *bulu-ngokorrng*, literally 'our father', who lives above us, is usually taken for granted (except by isolated individuals who resist this belief very strongly). The idea of an enjoyable realm where people live after death is sometimes endorsed, in particular to ease mourning. These Christian beliefs are fairly superficial and passive. They coexist with other beliefs without replacing them. Sorcery, revenge and its agent the 'bush black fellows' (*rakalk* in Dalabon), and various malevolent beings, are still considered totally 'real', and a source of great fear. Most Dalabon people are relatively unaware of further Christian ideology, except for a few families more closely involved with visiting missionaries. Among older people who know traditional stories and feel authorized to elaborate upon them, syncretism – combining a traditional story with an episode of the Bible for instance – is not uncommon.

22. Presumably, such narratives have always evolved from one generation to the next, hence change does not, in itself, result from colonization. However, large corpora of stories are not being passed on at all, and this probably represents a rupture with pre-colonial times.

4. Emotions in the Dalabon context

4.1 The status of emotions

In the Dalabon conceptual realm, some issues, and some topics of conversation, are deemed culturally ‘significant’, endowed with some particular importance. In Kriol, these things are said to have *mining* (<Eng. ‘meaning’), and to be part of *koltja* (<Eng. ‘culture’). This corresponds, in Dalabon, to those things construed as codified by the ancestral law, *walu-no*. Kinship is typically very ‘significant’, but so also are traditional stories, paintings, and music. More mundane, but clearly codified and well-identified spheres of knowledge such as *savoir-faire* related to artifacts, or ethnobotanic knowledge, are also ‘culturally significant’. The list of ‘significant’ domains evolves, in particular under the influence of exchanges with visitors, and of their (fairly standardized) interests with respect to Dalabon knowledge. These significant spheres of knowledge constitute appropriate topics of instruction for children, and are the contents to be communicated to outsiders, for instance to linguists, anthropologists, tourists or others. They are appropriate contents for recording and archiving information. The prototypically ‘significant’ domain is probably the narratives related to Nayunghyungkih ancestors, creation stories and the importance of the ‘traditional law’. The public portions of these domains nourish the most prestigious type of discourse, to be communicated by older men to prominent outsiders.

Emotions, as defined in Chapter 1 for the purpose of this study, are obviously omnipresent in everyday life, as well as expressed and discussed in ‘ordinary’ conversations. Yet, they do not pertain to this set of ‘significant’ topics. People have personal strategies as to how to avoid a particular feeling or another (4.2), as well as prototypical scripts about the context in which particular emotions arise. These *doxas* are shared to a significant extent, and they were readily articulated when I prompted conversations about them. Yet, they do not constitute a culturally established body of explicit knowledge. Emotions are obviously a fundamental component of the kinship system, since kin relations channel the experience of certain emotions: one should feel in this or that way with respect to this or that relative. In turn, the absence of demonstration of the expected emotion on behalf of a relative may trigger further (negative) emotions. However, this aspect of kinship is not ordinarily presented as a norm when discussing the kinship system. Such expectations are spelt out when difficulties arise, i.e. when someone’s expectations about kin-based emotional reciprocity are not fulfilled. As discussed in Chapter 1 (1.3), the Dalabon language has no generic term for ‘emotions’ as a category and Dalabon speakers do not often articulate theories about emotions in general and how they arise (this contrasts with Blakeman’s account of Yolngu discourse on emotions).

It is not considered worthwhile instructing outsiders in emotional matters or in their interpretation. Emotions do not feature in Dalabon traditional creation

narratives. The characters of these narratives may experience emotions, but these emotions are not spelt out and are not an actual *topic*. Matching Barwick et al.'s (2007, p. 28) description of Iwaidja narratives, Dalabon narratives focus 'on the outward events [resulting from emotional events], and on the[ir] social consequences' – rather than on 'a fine depiction of feelings themselves' (Myers (1979, p. 348) makes a similar observation). One of the semi-speakers of Dalabon, Queenie Brennan, did record very emotional traditional narratives. While her father was Dalabon, she was raised among Mayali and Kunwinjku people, and the stories in question are not part of the Dalabon repertoire. In contrast to what is reported by Tamisari (2000) about the Yolngu, I haven't noticed that among the Dalabon, emotions play an explicit role in aesthetic experience, nor with art forms in general.

In practice, emotions were discussed in chatting and gossiping, mostly about other people, in a way that seemed relatively natural and close to my own practices in my Western life – discussing conflicts and resentments, people's emotional difficulties, tragic events at appropriate times etc. Affection between adults is not necessarily explicitly articulated, even less demonstrated in public by body contact. Public demonstrations of sexually driven love are deemed inappropriate, even by younger people (at least the ones I know). Rather, affection is proven by action – providing support to people, sharing with them etc. A major exception is with young children (under 8 years), who, in most families, are abundantly cuddled and addressed, often jokingly, with emotionally marked speech (prosody etc.). Section 2 of Chapter 6 presents an overview of the most frequently observed emotions in the Dalabon context.

4.2 Managing painful emotions

Human groups across the world adopt various strategies in order to minimize, or where possible eliminate, negative emotions (grief, apprehension, depression, shame, guilt...). In my Western social network for instance, sharing traumatic experience with others is a common strategy (Rimé, 1993, 2009). Lutz (1986, p. 98ff) reports similar strategies among the Ifaluk. Individuals are strongly encouraged to discuss their emotions with relatives and friends.²³ In addition to family and friends, in the Western world, paid professional interlocutors are available to help people deal with their negative emotions. Psychologists and psychoanalysts guide their patients through the exploration of their own emotions, of their causes and consequences. This strategy is implicitly justified by the well-entrenched and rarely challenged belief, put to the fore by Freud (1909/2008, 1930/2002) for instance, that discovering the cause of a psychological problem will bring it to an end.

23. Among my Western acquaintances, such prompts are sometimes judged intrusive by those who do not adhere to the strategy in question.

Dalabon people implement very different strategies. The overarching principle of emotion regulation consists of monitoring emotional triggers – i.e. exposure to events that may cause negative emotions – in order to control the flow of emotional experience. Emotional balance is reached by monitoring the pace and intensity of emotional experience. Negative emotions are thus managed in a similar way to how I manage my own physical energy and fitness. I make sure I rest and relax enough, but also exercise enough at the right times, and may adjust these activities depending on circumstances, for instance exercising more if I feel stressed, and so on.

A good example of these Dalabon emotional strategies are mourning strategies, which aim to control the levels of emotional input and intensity at various stages of mourning (on mortuary rites in Australia see Glaskin et al. (2008)). Immediately after a loss, one is supposed to demonstrate, but also *experience* very intense grief. During funerals, close relatives of the deceased person cry very loudly and continuously, in a way that often seems exaggerated, and thus sometimes ‘insincere’, to outsiders. Emotional pain is enhanced by its associated physical reaction, crying: tears ordinarily trigger more tears, and with them, emotional suffering. This warrants very intense emotional input in the early stage of mourning (see Lutz (1986, pp. 100, 126) for similar strategies among the Ifaluk). Like many other Australian groups, the most strongly affected (usually female) relatives may hurt themselves physically, typically hitting themselves on the head with a stone (bleeding is common, and major injuries are reported). Dalabon people often justify self-inflicted wounds with respect to their social function: one ‘shares the pain’ of a close relative, and demonstrates empathy publicly. In addition, pain feeds negative emotional experience, bringing it to a paroxysm.

Beyond this initial stage, emotional triggers are intentionally kept to their lowest levels by prohibiting all references to the deceased person. The names of deceased people cannot be pronounced for some time; allusions to the person should be discreet and subtle rather than direct, and people avoid places that remind them of the death, etc. Dalabon people explicitly relate these taboos to the avoidance of negative emotions, which are effectively minored – although at the same time, these taboo acknowledge that the deceased is still being remembered, as pointed out by Musharbash (2008, p. 29). Nowadays, taboos on names are somewhat lighter than they were even fifteen years ago. In particular, while Dalabon people used to avoid being exposed to pictures of deceased persons, they now express their desire to see these pictures (this shift seems to have applied to many Australian groups). However, the strength and length of the taboo primarily depends on the attachment to the deceased person, their social status, and the traumatic character of the death. In some cases, very strong taboos can still be implemented for years.

Meanwhile, positive emotional triggers are sought at appropriate times. An acknowledged way to ease grief is to spend time with close relatives, especially with children, who will make you feel good. If the trauma is significant, further active strategies may be improvised to overcome grief. For instance, at some appropriate time in

the mourning process, a pilgrimage-like trip may be organized to a place associated with the deceased person. Grief is intentionally revived on this occasion, but strictly monitored (one makes sure that close relatives will be around providing support, etc.). Such spontaneous, micro-rituals will open up new phases where the trauma is experienced as more and more distant.

While with grief (and possibly other intense negative emotions), the regulation of emotions involves an alternation between intended emotional triggers and their suppression, with most milder emotions, the basic strategy consists of avoiding negative emotional triggers altogether. This is achieved mostly by controlling one's cognitive focus. One should avoid thinking about someone who is away, because it might make you sick, or make the other person sick. A temporary stressful situation, for instance waiting for someone who is late, when we don't know what they have been doing and if they are OK, will be dealt with by focusing very actively on other activities. This desire to avoid emotional triggers has drastic consequences in people's discourse about their own emotions. The basic principle consists of not talking about one's own emotional pain or about traumatic biographical events (which does not entail not discussing other people's negative emotions). Associated with this strategy is the fact that potentially distressing situations will, as far as possible, be presented positively. Potential negative outcomes are minimized, and so are one's responsibilities in negative situations (thus minimizing guilt). Usually the responsibility for painful events is attributed to enemy clans and groups, but not always. In one occasion, the need to shift responsibility resulted in mildly blaming a recently deceased elderly person for not letting their family know that they were going to die – thus justifying the fact that the family in question was absent at the time of the death.²⁴

While these strategies are not always made explicit (but some are), they are deliberate. When declining to talk about certain issues, one of the Dalabon speakers explained that it would have been unreasonable to do so. I was sometimes led to believe that some people also take a certain pride in mastering these strategies – for instance, in situations of temporary and relatively benign stress, competing discreetly about who would most successfully manage to focus on something else. In post-colonial days, considering the drastically high incidence of violent deaths (accidents, murders, suicides) and diseases leading to premature death, most Dalabon people I know have had to deal with highly traumatic losses very regularly along their lives. As a result, such emotion regulation skills are probably a basic condition of survival. Of course, not every Dalabon person adopts the exact same strategies, or to the same extent; my account is influenced by close observation of a handful of people. In addition, my

24. Morphy & Morphy (2008, p. 212) mention that the Yolngu expect old people to notify relatives of their imminent death. The 'reproach' in question presumably refers implicitly to such a similar practice.

interpretation of emotional strategies is naturally based on what people express about them: deeper layers are inaccessible from my stand-point. In any case, these avoidance strategies obviously have enormous consequences on the social display of emotions, since they often imply *not* discussing or sharing emotions.

Not all the information presented in this chapter will be used directly in the following chapters, but some understanding of the context will help the reader make sense of the description and discussion of the language of emotions unfold in the volume. Likewise, some information on the Dalabon language and its speakers will be useful, and I turn to this aspect of the context, presented in Chapter 3.

Linguistic context

After presenting the ethnographic context of this study in Chapter 2, here I discuss its linguistic context. Dalabon is an endangered language included in the Gunwinyguan family, of the non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages, in south-western Arnhem Land (Northern Territory, Australia). It is severely endangered, and this obviously has important consequences when documenting it, especially when documenting the language of emotions. In Section 1.1, I present the local language ecology, and in particular the respective weight of Dalabon, of the local creole called Barunga Kriol, and of English. In 1.2, I discuss the caveats and difficulties encountered when gathering data on emotions in Dalabon, and the solutions I brought – which stimuli were used and how. Clarifications on the corpora and their status, and the conventions in glossing, translations etc., are also in this section. Section 2 introduces the Dalabon language itself. In 2.1 and 2.2 I sketch its typological profile, providing basic notions to allow for comfortable reading of the rest of the work. In 2.3 and 2.4, I describe some aspects of the grammar of Dalabon which are particularly relevant to the analyses presented in this work, namely noun incorporation and nominal subclasses.

1. Linguistic context

1.1 The local language ecology

1.1.1 *Dalabon*

Dalabon is severely endangered. The few remaining speakers now live in the communities to the south-east of Katherine, as shown on the map (Figure 1, repeated from Chapter 2). It is difficult to evaluate the number of speakers, because some passive speakers remain silent for cultural/interactional reasons, but may be able to speak sometimes. There are probably fewer than a dozen fluent speakers, with diverse levels of mastery. Dalabon is no longer a language of significant interaction on a day-to-day basis. Even when two relatively fluent Dalabon speakers talk together, they normally use Kriol. However, Dalabon is still used occasionally, for instance when addressing requests and commands, to children in particular.



Figure 1. Map of the Top End languages. Information gathered and presented by Mark Harvey (Humanities and social sciences, University of Newcastle).

There are indications that Dalabon remained a language of daily interaction until the late 1990s, within a group of mature Dalabon people living in Weemol and surrounding outstations. Most of these people died in the 1990s, often of premature death. Two prominent Dalabon speakers passed away in 1998, presumably marking the end of the daily use of Dalabon. Children and teenagers born after 1995 tend to have very little knowledge of Dalabon. Most Dalabon people born in the late 1980s and early 1990s have some knowledge of their parents' language (they know a few words and can utter a few simple sentences), and display good passive knowledge. A couple of young adults born in the late 1970s and early 1980s demonstrate full passive mastery (they can take part in a conversation, understanding everything said in Dalabon, apparently parsing it, but answering in Kriol), and at least two of them can actually speak a little bit.

While speakers of Dalabon are few, several of them are highly motivated to document their language. Some have collaborated with linguists for a long time, and are very willing to continue doing so. My main Dalabon consultant, Maggie Tukumba, is the coauthor of a dictionary (Evans et al., 2004). While there is no grammar of Dalabon, a number of articles have been published (2.1), and there also exist some audiovisual resources and some teaching material, as well as older recordings from the 1970s and 1980s which have not yet been exploited. Cutfield (2011, pp. 22–27) provides a detailed report on documentation and revitalization efforts by the Dalabon community.

1.1.2 *Kriol*

The language of daily interaction in the communities where Dalabon speakers and their descendants reside is the variety of Kriol called Barunga Kriol. Kriol is an English-based creole that developed throughout the Top End of the Northern Territory (coastal areas excepted) and across, up to the Kimberleys. It is spoken by up to 30,000 indigenous Australians nowadays (Lee & Obata, 2010) throughout a vast portion of Central Northern Australia (Figure 2). Although it has not always been the case (Rhydwen, 1995; Rhydwen, 1996), and is not necessarily the case everywhere (Meakins, 2008), in the Barunga region, Kriol is now identified by its own speakers as a proper language and as an identity marker they are proud of (Ponsonnet, 2011a).

Kriol resulted from the creolization of a pidgin commonly referred to as the Northern Territory Pidgin, which came to be used in the Northern Territory in the second half of the 19th century (Koch, 2000). Roper Kriol, the best documented variety of Kriol, emerged at and around the Roper River Mission (south-eastern edge of the Kriol area) in the first decades of the 20th century. Harris (1986) presents this emergence as a relatively abrupt process concentrated at the Roper River Mission. Munro (2000, 2004) depicts a more progressive development. The pace and path of the spread of Kriol across Northern Australia have not yet been studied in detail.

Barunga Kriol emerged at the settlement of Barunga towards the end of the first half of the 20th century (Sandefur, 1986, p. 21), initially adopted by younger generations. Dalabon people born before 1950 have acquired Dalabon first, and Kriol as a second language. In the 1960 and 1970, as Kriol was the first language of younger generations, it gained a honorable status: it was taught at school as part of a bilingual

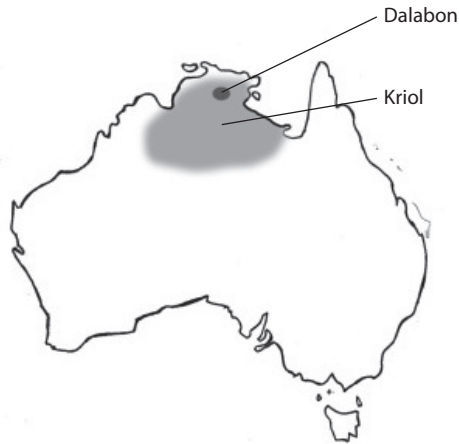


Figure 2. Kriol area. Adapted from Munro (2000).

program, and speakers came to acknowledge it as a full-fledged language (Ponsonnet, 2011a). Nowadays, Kriol has become the entire community's everyday language, the language people speak the most spontaneously. Even for those for whom Dalabon is their first language, it takes a little effort to speak Dalabon, because they don't speak it much daily. People born after the 1950s acquired Kriol as they grew up. While they are bilingual in Dalabon, Kriol has always been their first language. People born after 1960 are native Kriol speakers and have acquired Dalabon as a second language. Everyone speaks some English, but the level of mastery varies greatly, not always in correlation with age, but rather with education and literacy. Two of the Dalabon consultants I have worked with, † Lily Bennett and Queenie Brennan, speak English very well (they are also literate). My main consultant, Maggie Tukumba, like Nikipini Dalak (who I worked with occasionally), speak English to a much lesser extent, and are not literate. They are less than ten years older than the other two, but they were too old to go to school when they reached government-managed settlements.

Resemblances and differences between Kriol and its substrate languages, including Dalabon, are obviously an important topic of study (Ponsonnet, 2012). While I will not be able to tackle these issues in the present work, facts about Kriol are reported whenever appropriate.

1.2 Gathering data on emotions in Dalabon

Before I discuss the methods of data collection adopted in this work, a reminder on the scope of the study may be in place. This work does not ambition to describe Dalabon speakers' emotions as such, but rather the way Dalabon speakers talk about and express emotions. Naturally, the way people speak of emotions offers some insight on the emotions they actually experience (and conversely). Wherever possible I will comment on emotional experience as well. Nevertheless, the primary focus is on language.

1.2.1 *Vantage point*

In spite of the small number of speakers, gathering Dalabon data is relatively easy, because a few speakers are highly motivated to document their language. At the moment, four Dalabon speakers, all female, are able and willing to provide Dalabon data, and three of them were happy to work on emotions. Some semi-speakers also contributed information.

My history with the Dalabon community greatly facilitated my work in general, and the documentation of emotions in particular. Born and educated in France with no family ties to Australia, I first established a relationship with Dalabon speakers in 1997, when I came to work near Weemol. Between 1997 and 2003 I spent eight months of each year living near the community, and became the ‘wife’ of a white person who had been granted kinship ties and ritual status by Dalabon elders. My relationship with this person ended in 2003, but we maintained a friendly relationship – to the relief of a number of Dalabon speakers and their families. Since 2003, I’ve come back to Weemol, Bulman, Beswick and Barunga nearly every year. From 2007 to 2009, I carried out several language documentation projects funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS, Canberra), during which I recorded about 30 hours of miscellaneous Dalabon data, some of it on emotions. These recordings have been transcribed and constitute a searchable corpus which adds up to the more substantial corpus compiled between 2010 and 2013 (1.2.4). More importantly, my long-term involvement with the Weemol community, and my personal involvement with some Dalabon speakers, rendered the task of documenting the language of emotions in Dalabon more feasible.

Maggie Tukumba (MT) and Lily Bennett (LB), the most reliable consultants, are women with whom I have had close personal relationships over the years. I have known Maggie Tukumba (the master Dalabon speaker) and her family personally since 1997 and I have spent a lot of time with them since then. MT is my classificatory sister, and a guide through Dalabon language and community life. MT was around 70 y.o. at the time of documentation, and was born in the bush, on Dalabon land, speaking Dalabon. She joined the settlements with her family as a little girl, after the Second World War. She learnt Mayali and Kriol (and probably some other languages) at the settlement, as well as some English. In the 1970 she went back to Weemol (Dalabon Land) thanks to the Land Right movement, and is very attached to this place. She is a prominent local figure, with a large, caring family.

I have also known Lily Bennett, the other major consultant, since 1997. I spent less time with her than with Maggie, and the classificatory relationship between us was not salient. She was younger than Maggie Tukumba and I felt very close to her in many respects, so that exchanges with her on emotional issues flowed naturally. Lily was born in 1951, in the bush, and reported being brought by force to Barunga with her Dalabon family when she was around 8 y.o. She went to school, became literate and learnt good English. She worked as a teaching assistant and a health assistant. She also went back to Weemol in the 1980s, but came back again to Beswick in the late 1990s. She passed away unexpectedly in September 2014, as this manuscript was being finalized for publication.

The third prominent consultant was Queenie Brennan (QB), who I met later, in 2009. Queenie has Dalabon ascendance from her father side, but her mother was Mayali. She currently lives between Barunga, Katherine and Oenpelli. She has family in each of these three places. She spent some time in Pine Creek, north-west of Katherine, as a child, and attended school there for a while. Her first language is Mayali, followed by Kriol, and English. Dalabon is her father's language, and she is a fluent semi-speaker of this language, with a strong desire to improve her mastery.

The main language of communication during recording sessions was Barunga Kriol. I am fluent in this language, which is also the daily language of Dalabon speakers, and the one they are the most at ease with (even though it is, for some of them, a second language). Barunga Kriol is a useful translation tool, and speakers' translations of Dalabon into Kriol are very informative. With Lily Bennett and Queenie Brennan, who are at ease in English, I sometimes used English (which is not my native language) to clarify a point or another. I was able to understand most of the content of the sessions in Dalabon, and interact in this language in this context, for instance providing follow-up questions in the course of exploring a topic, responding appropriately to speakers' comments on movies (see 1.2.2.4), etc. When a new topic or question had to be articulated in full, I usually resorted to using Kriol.

1.2.2 *Caveats and methodological solutions*

In spite of these favorable conditions, gathering data on emotions was difficult. In daily life and in private, speakers discuss emotional events and states fairly easily. However, they approach language documentation as a public matter, especially MT. When the microphone was on, even though she knew that access to the recordings can be controlled, she acted as if she was speaking in public. MT knows that the recordings collected by myself or other linguists will be archived by institutions that she associates with 'governments' and other important organizations, so that she favors more prestigious topics of discourse. As discussed in Chapter 2 (4.1), emotions are hardly considered a culturally significant or prestigious matter, and thus not an adequate topic in public contexts. Emotion regulation strategies (Chapter 2, 4.2), which avoid evoking painful emotions, add another obstacle. In the following sections, I present and contextualize the type of data I used.

1.2.2.1 *Cultural scripts*

Speakers were always keen to devise short emotional scenarios corresponding to their prototypical cultural scripts for given emotions. For instance, when I asked an open question about the sense of an emotional word, speakers would usually elaborate a short story illustrating the emotion in question. For instance, words denoting resentment were illustrated by scenarios featuring husbands scolding wives; words for feeling relieved with scenarios about traditional clanic revenge (relieved of resentment; see Chapter 6, 2.1.1); or about coming back from hospital and seeing one's grandchildren, etc. Sometimes the broader context of the scenario was suggested by myself, sometimes it was made up entirely by the speaker. Both MT and LB

referred frequently and spontaneously to conflictual relationships between husbands and wives. Anger and resentment counted among the emotions speakers illustrated most willingly, with relatively consistent scenarios across speakers (and very consistent scenarios for each speaker). Interestingly, speakers were hardly willing to discuss anger with respect to real life events (see Chapter 6, 2.1.1).

Such scenarios provide valuable linguistic data, along with insights on speakers' views or folk theories about emotions. However, they remain constrained by moral prescriptions, which do not necessarily reflect what happens in real life (Palmer & Brown, 1998, p. 344). Besides, in the absence of any observable context, they were often difficult to interpret.

1.2.2.2 Narratives Narratives represent another significant source of data. MT, LB and QB all recorded emotional autobiographic stories. MT also recorded narratives featuring emotional events that we shared on a daily basis, or relative to my own emotional history. In 2010 and 2011, MT seemed a little hesitant about these performances, but appeared to enjoy them at the same time. She required that the recordings remain private, and seemed to reach a better realization of the potential opened by this possibility. In 2012, MT felt more confident, expressing clearer views about what narratives to record, how and when.

These narratives provided good data, albeit a small amount (the total number of hours is low). In addition, they were always performed to some extent, and therefore contain little spontaneous emotional speech. I have grouped these narratives in a reference corpus that I call the 'Emotions Corpus' – a subset of my general, larger corpus. In total, this corpus includes a bit more than 3 hours and 40 minutes – comprising digressions, some Kriol translations, etc.²⁵

1.2.2.3 Stimuli In 2011 and 2012 I also used tailored visual stimuli. I devised and produced photographs featuring myself, my husband, children and other people presented as relatives, in various postures evocative of emotional social interactions (e.g. Figure 3).²⁶ These helped greatly in gathering data on body postures and their semantic extensions towards emotionally loaded behavior, and in exploring speakers' emotional cultural scripts. I also used various pre-made stimuli, for instance set of pre-made teddy-bear cards designed by psychologists to elicit emotions with children (Deal & Woods (2010), Figure 4²⁷). MT did not react very positively to these, declaring them 'white people stuff'. The teddy-bears' expressions were not transparent to her. Yet, some speakers enjoyed these cards, and these teddy-bears proved useful in

25. My corpora can be accessed via the ELAR archive <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/ponsonnet2012dalabon>

26. Many thanks to Laurent Benaïm for his help with the task.

27. Reproduced from a card set called *The Bears*, with the permission of the publisher, St Luke's Innovative Resources: www.innovativeresources.org

targeted disambiguation tests. In 2012 I used some videos from the *Mind Reading: The interactive guide to emotion* and some Ekman face images (Ekman, 2011). These triggered very precise descriptions of facial expressions, but the lack of context rendered the data unsuitable for the study of emotional language. MT's reading of facial expressions regularly differed from my own interpretations (see Russell (1991, p. 437)). Ponsonnet (to appear) discusses the details of these experimentations.



Figure 3. Example of tailored stimulus.



Figure 4. One of the 48 teddy-bear elicitation cards.

1.2.2.4 Movies While narratives are rich and informative, they contain little spontaneous emotional speech. In July 2012, I came to the field with further solutions to try and fill in this gap. I had selected three well-known Australian movies of culturally appropriate content, with high emotional input, and suggested to MT that we watch

them together, recording her comments. The movies were *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Noyce, 2002), *Ten Canoes* (De Heer & Djigirr, 2006), and the first thirty minutes of *Samson and Delilah* (Thornton, 2009). *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (RPF) and *Ten Canoes* (TC) are iconic movies among the people I work with.

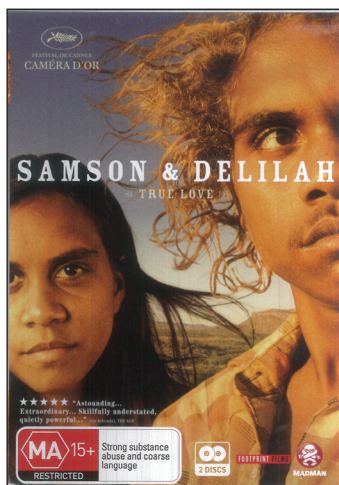
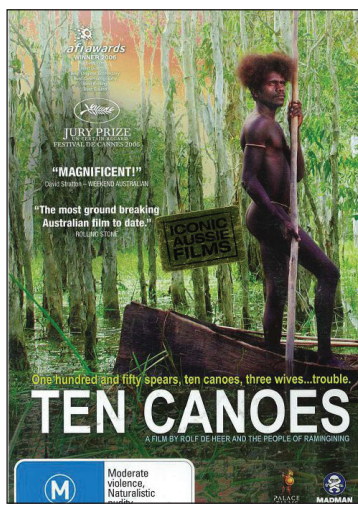
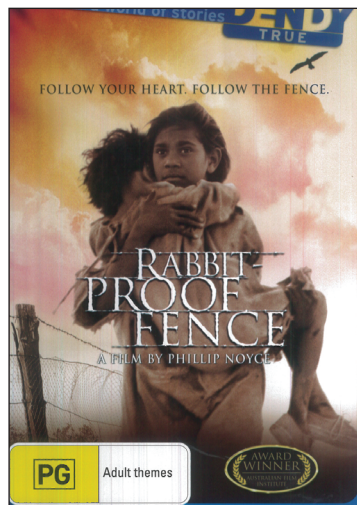


Figure 5. DVD covers of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd), *Ten Canoes* (photo courtesy of Vertigo Production), and *Samson and Delilah* (© Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd).²⁸

28. Warm thanks to the authors and producers of these movies, who kindly authorized me to reproduce images from the films, and the covers, in this work.

Rabbit-Proof Fence tells the true story of three Aboriginal children of mixed descent, taken away from their mother by welfare services (as happened in Australia throughout the 20th century, a practice now referred to as the Stolen Generation, see for instance the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's report (1997) and Cummings (1990)). The children walked through a significant portion of the continent to return to their family. *Ten Canoes* is a tragi-comedy that takes place in pre-colonial times, featuring emotional matters about marriage, love and jealousy, inter-group conflicts about women, and a lot of references to and illustrations of Aboriginal traditions. MT and her family identified strongly with this movie. It was shot in an adjacent region which happens to be the country of MT's deceased husband. David Gulpilil, a famous Aboriginal actor who has a role in *Rabbit-Proof Fence* and is the voice over in *Ten Canoes*, is MT's husband's classificatory brother. MT had seen both these movies before. She had also seen *Samson and Delilah*, although this film is less iconic. Some people said they liked it, but several younger people made negative comments about it being too dark. *Samson and Delilah* (SD) tells a love story between two young adults in an Aboriginal community in Central Australia. The scenario is gloomy, as the male character is addicted to petrol sniffing. In addition, the social context is poorly depicted: the main characters seem isolated from their kin, which disconcerted Dalabon speakers. I chose to show MT the first thirty minutes of this movie, which are not as dark as the rest, because they feature very romantic love on the one hand and depression on the other hand, two emotions not portrayed in *Rabbit-Proof Fence* and *Ten Canoes*.

MT responded very well to these three movies, including *Samson and Delilah*. She provided fluent and detailed commentaries, with nice lexical features, and a lot of spontaneous, emotionally loaded speech. LB commented on *Rabbit-Proof Fence* and *Samson and Delilah*. LB's comments were less fluent, yet they also contained a lot of spontaneous emotional features. The total of the comments is a bit less than eight hours in twenty-two files. I refer to this as the Movies Corpus, a second subset of my global corpus. Chapter 4, on expressive features, relies essentially on this corpus. These recordings also contain a lot of well-contextualized semantic information essential to lexical analyses.

1.2.3 *Limitations of the data*

For a start, there is a general gender bias in my data, due to the fact that no male speaker was able to act as a consultant for Dalabon language on the topic of emotions. In 2007 and 2008, I had worked with two male speakers. From 2009, their health condition prevented them from taking part in the project on emotions. The corpus is also strongly biased towards a few individuals, who contributed most of the data.

The Emotions and Movies corpora by no means cover all possible emotions. Matching a reluctance to discuss personal events, there is a general bias towards emotional events occurring to others than the self. Some particular emotions are

under-represented. Anger, in particular, is absent from narratives and comments on movies – although sections of the movies do relate to indignation. In general, negative emotions are better represented than positive emotions in the Emotions and Movies corpora, although the movies do feature happy scenes. With personal narratives, in spite of my encouragement, MT never recorded an account of a particularly happy event; LB did record a funny anecdote. In the absence of more spontaneous data, particular emotions were explored via stimuli-based tasks, as well as in contextualized elicitation where they were illustrated by shorter narratives and cultural scripts.

1.2.3.1 Elicitation tests While elicitation provided useful complementary information (e.g. stimuli, elicitation enriched with speakers' prototypical scenarios), elicited data must be handled with care. Disambiguation tests, in particular, i.e. scenarios aiming to highlight a particular semantic feature for a given term, did not yield good results. They often confused speakers, who reacted by simply making up a new scenario (see Chapter 1, 1.2.3.1). Even when these tests gave the appearance of having succeeded in demonstrating a point, the results often turned out to be unreliable, for instance based on misunderstanding between myself and the speaker. I often renounced relying on such tests. This meant that the confirmation of some hypotheses could not be planned. I had to create suggestive contexts and await revealing utterances, which did not always come.

1.2.4 Corpora and their indexation

In this work I use data collected since 2007, but the most important source of information are recordings collected during four field sessions carried out between July 2010 and July 2012. During these years the costs of fieldwork were covered by a grant from the Endangered Languages Documentation Project (Hans Rausing Foundation), which also allowed me to buy video equipment. The resulting corpus amounts to about 90 hours of recordings, including some video-recordings, mainly on the topic of emotions and descriptions of the body.²⁹ These include narratives, stimuli-based sessions, elicitations, as well as translations, discussions in Kriol etc. About 60 hours have been transcribed.

Data on emotion language comes in five major types: elicitation, cultural scenarios devised by speakers, narratives, stimuli-based data, and comments on movies. Contextualized elicitation (small discussion of daily events, scenarios I made up myself) filled some missing areas. In some cases, contextualized elicitation turned into spontaneous conversation, or conversation just took place naturally during a recording session. Elicitation was used to clarify grammatical points or to establish semantic contrasts. Throughout this volume, each example is preceded by a label allowing

29. Also on kinship, land management, and miscellaneous topics as sometimes suggested by speakers.

the reader to retrieve it in the corpora when they are available from the audio-visual archive of the Australian Institute of Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander Studies (Canberra) and/or the Endangered Languages Archive (London).³⁰ The label indicates who the speaker was, and the code between brackets specifies the type of data to which the example belongs. Detail of the codes is given in the preliminary section.

Naturally, the distinction between these types is not always sharp, especially between what I call ‘contextualized elicitation’ and ‘standard elicitation’. I always provide a context for elicited data, but ‘contextualized elicitation’ indicates that the context was partly provided by the speaker, or referred to a real event to which myself and the speaker could refer without ambiguity.

1.2.5 Glosses

A lot of Dalabon words, and in particular the emotion words that will be discussed in this work, are morphologically compound. Many of these attract a non-compositional lexicalized sense: for instance, *kangu-yowyow(mu)*, where the first morpheme means ‘belly’, the second morpheme means ‘flow’ (reduplicated), and the compound means ‘be pleased, be nice’. While the lexicalized meaning is not compositional, speakers are aware of the sense of each morpheme. This is the case with most compound lexemes: Dalabon speakers are acutely aware of the compositional nature of their lexical devices (see 2.3.2). Throughout this volume, I will thus systematically provide morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. This will apply in the prose, where *kangu-yowyow(mu)* will be spelt out as ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’. Because studying the compositionality of lexemes is an important aspect of the study, this will also apply in interlinear glosses, where I will systematically gloss compounds morpheme by morpheme. However, where the sense of a lexeme is clearly not compositional (as with *kangu-yowyow(mu)*, ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’), I add the lexical sense under the morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear gloss (the lexical meaning is spatially aligned with the gloss of the first morpheme of the compound). In addition, lexical meanings appear in translations. In most cases, I have opted for idiomatic translations that reflect the word-for-word structure of the Dalabon sentence as far as possible,³¹ and have added literal translations between brackets. This glossing strategy is not intended to convey the impression that the sense of each morpheme surfaces in the output sense of a given utterance – which would be naive. Rather, the idea is to facilitate access to the arguments and analyses by clarifying relevant aspects of the language.

30. AIATSIS audio-visual archive: <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/ava.html> – ELAR (Endangered Languages Archive): <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/ponsonnet2012dalabon>

31. With some variations, since some Dalabon words or constructions are not amenable to idiomatic word-for-word English translations.

In dealing with polysemies in interlinear glosses, I have tried to preserve a unique interlinear gloss for a given morpheme in as many cases as possible. The noun *kangu-no* and the morpheme KANGU (with capitals signaling that I refer to the morpheme), for instance, are always glossed ‘belly’, although they sometimes endorse other senses. *Kangu-no* can sometimes mean ‘inside’ (e.g. of a tree for instance), and as shown in Chapter 10 (2.4), in compounds KANGU can sometimes mean ‘emotionally’. Since this work tackles the question of the metonymical and metaphorical uses of body-parts occurring in emotion words, glossing KANGU ‘belly’ makes the argument easier to follow. Some words/morphemes, such as *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ consistently receive a double gloss, because neither sense would be accurate of itself, and deciding which sense applies on a case per case basis is impossible. In some cases, however, polysemies can be matched in interlinear glosses. For instance, the verb *wurrh(mu)* ‘be surprised, be scared’ is usually glossed ‘surprise’, because this sense is the most salient for the root. However, when the meaning ‘surprise’ was entirely absent, I glossed *wurrh(mu)* as ‘frightened’. Within the text, a slash between two senses of a lexeme indicates that the word is probably polysemous; a coma, that the two senses are two aspects of the same sense (monosemy). In glosses, slashes are used at all times. The distinction between polysemy and monosemy is not in focus in this work.

2. The Dalabon language

2.1 Profile and previous works

Dalabon is a non-Pama-Nyungan language of the Gunwinyguan family, located in Arnhem Land. Like most other languages of this family, it is polysynthetic. Dalabon pushes polysynthesis to a very high degree (at least for an Australian language) and is also highly agglutinative. Word order is syntactically free, and pragmatically determined.

Apart from a short sketch grammar by Capell (1962) and a preliminary study of pronouns by Alpher (1982), work on Dalabon started in the 1990s. A dictionary of Dalabon was published in 2004 (Evans et al., 2004), but to date there exists no full grammar. However, a number of works describe various aspects of the language, including the verbal template, tense/aspect/mood categories, person prefixes (Evans, 2006; Evans, Brown, & Corbett, 2001; Evans & Merlan, 2003), and prosody (Evans, Fletcher, & Ross, 2008; Ross, 2011). Cutfield’s study of demonstratives (Cutfield, 2011) also comprises a detailed discussion of the Dalabon noun phrases (41–113), as well as a discussion of the orthography (23–25). Evans (2007), Ponsonnet (2009a, 2010, 2011b, 2012) and Bordluk et al. (2013) explore Dalabon semantics, in particular in the domain of cognition, as well as body-parts (Ponsonnet, 2012) and ethno-biology (Bordluk et al., 2013).

While the analyses presented in this work rely on thorough linguistic description, grammatical description is not in focus, and is thus limited to the aspects of the Dalabon language that are useful to understand the linguistic encoding of emotions. Section 2.2 presents the main features of the Dalabon verb complex, in order to facilitate access to the examples throughout the volume. Section 2.3 explains the process of noun incorporation and how it relates to emotion-denoting compounds. Section 2.4 describes the system of nominal subclasses, which is specific to Dalabon (i.e. not found in other Gunwinyguan languages, and not described for other Australian languages either), and relevant to the linguistic encoding of various aspects of the person, including body-parts and emotions.

2.2 The verb template

As described by Evans & Merlan (2003), Dalabon allows for fairly extensive verb complexes, with more than a dozen prefixes potentially adding to the verb root, and up to five suffixes and enclitics after the verb root.³² The template ruling the order of affixation is presented in Figure 6. This template applies to verbal predicates only. Nominal and adjectival predicates behave slightly differently as they allow for verbalizer suffixes for instance.

While there are slots for fifteen affixes in the template, in practice, it is exceptional (in fact, virtually non-existent in the corpus) to find more than eight affixes for a verb complex. Only the slots in grey boxes occur systematically. Long verbs are not very common in ordinary speech, nor even in narratives. Many verb complexes only have person prefixes plus the realis marker *h-* before the root (1). Most verbs have no more than two or three additional prefixes (2, 3). The most common verb prefixes are the focus prefix *dja-* ('just', 'only'), the sequential prefix *lng-* ('then') (which may exceptionally come before the realis prefix *h-*), and the benefactive prefix *marnu-*.

20120706b_000_MT 043 [RPF]

[Two children are running away and their cousin is staying behind.]

- (1) *Woy, dja-h-dokka-n ngarra-h-bo-niyan,*
 INTJ.hey 2sg-R-get.up-PR 1pl.incl-R-go-FUT
wudjirru-ba-n barra-h-yin.
 APPR:1du>2sg-leave-PR 3du-R-say/do:PR
 'Hey, get up, we're going, or we'll leave you here they say.'

32. The status of morphemes as affixes or clitics has no consequences on my argument. For this reason, and for the sake of comfortable reading, clitics and affixes alike are followed/preceded by single hyphens in my examples (to the exclusion of '=').

-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3/4	+5
Object pron.	Person pref.	Status	Focus	Sequential	Misc. adverbs	Benefactive	Misc. adverbs	Incorporated nom.	Number prefix	Comitative	ROOT	Refl./Recip.	TAM	Case/Poss. encl.	Diminutive
-11	Obj. pronoun	Independent pronoun or proclitic.													
-10	Person prefix	The prefixes in this slot always encode the subject, but may also encode the object (portmanteau prefixes). These prefixes can also indicate mood.													
-9	Status	Morphemes indicating the status of the clause: realis (<i>h-</i>), irrealis (\emptyset) or subordinate (<i>-ye</i>).													
-8	Focus	Frequent focus adverb <i>dja-</i> ('just'), with various aspectual contributions.													
-7	Sequential	Frequent sequential adverb <i>yeleng-</i> , usually realized as <i>lng-</i> ('then'), with various aspectual contributions.													
-6, -4	Misc. adv.	e.g. <i>munku-</i> 'far away', <i>bolan-</i> 'nearly', <i>warrkah-</i> 'wrongly', <i>djih-</i> 'a little bit'.													
-5	Benefactive	Benefactive applicative prefix <i>marnu-</i> , sanctioning the presence/addition of an animate participant (Chapter 5, 2.4.1).													
-3	Incorp. nom.	Incorporated nominals, see 2.3.													
-2	Num.	Number prefixes e.g. <i>mokun-</i> 'bunch, group'.													
-1	Comitative	Comitative applicative prefix <i>ye-</i> , sanctioning the presence of an accompanying participant.													
0	Root	The verb root (sometimes etymologically analyzable).													
+1	Refl./Recip.	The reflexive or reciprocal marker <i>-rr</i> .													
+2	TAM	Inflections encoding tense and aspect, and irrealis mood.													
+3/4	Case/ Poss. enclitic	Case markers, e.g. TIME <i>-kuno</i> (the clause is a subordinate indicating time), GEN <i>-kun</i> (the clause is a subordinate indicating reasons for action.) Possessive enclitics also occur after the TAM marker. The order of the slots remains to be determined (one would expect the possessive enclitics in +3 and case marker in +4).													
+5	Diminutive	Diminutive enclitic <i>-wurd</i> , see Chapter 4, Section 3.													

Figure 6. The Dalabon verb template and explanation of its slots.

Adapted from Evans & Merlan (2003, p. 271) and Evans, Fletcher & Ross (2008, p. 95).

20120705b_004_MT 118 [RPF]

[Two children are running away and their cousin is staying behind, watching them run.]

- (2) *Bunu ka-h-na-ng, barra-h-dja-Ing-kakku-yurd-minj.*

3du 3sg>3-R-see-PP 3du-R-FOC-SEQ-really-run-PP

‘She looked at them two, they were running fast.’

20120705b_005_MT 131 [RPF]

- (3) *Bulu ka-h-marnu-kangu-wurdah-minj.*

3pl 3pl>3-R-BEN-belly-suffer-PP

feel.bad

‘She was really sad for them.’

Not all transitive verb complexes have object proclitics like *bunu* in (2) and *bulu* in (3). Many of them have portmanteau prefixes encoding both arguments on a single pronoun. Singular objects are never encoded with a pronoun, but always with a portmanteau. Compare the intransitive prefix *bala-* in (4) and the portmanteau transitive prefix *bula-* in (5), which cross-references the object *wah* ‘water’, without an independent pronoun. More is said on the morphological indexing of arguments in Chapter 5 (2.1).

20120705b_004_MT 016 [RPF]

- (4) *Bala-h-madme-do-nj.*

3pl-R-hungry-die-PP

‘They were starving.’

20120706b_000_MT 124 [RPF]

- (5) *Bula-h-yaw-kolh-ngu-kolh-ngu-n wah.*

3pl>3-R-little.one-liquid-eat:REDUP-PR water

‘They [the children] drink a little water.’

It is also possible to form verb complexes, following the same template, with nominals. No TAM marker is required with adjectival predicates in the present tense (e.g. *burrama* ‘good, healthy’ in (6)). With such nominal predicates, verbalizer suffixes, which can modify the valence or aspect of the predicate, may be added ((7), where *-wo* is a causativizer). TAM suffixes are then added on these suffixes.

20120713a_000_MT 169 [TC]

[A child collected bush honey for an old man.]

- (6) *Ka-h-burrama nunda nga-h-ngu-yan, ka-h-ngabbu-n.*

3sg-R-good DEM 1sg>3-R-eat-FUT 3sg>1-R-give-PR

‘It’s good [this honey] I’ll eat it, he’s giving it to me.’

20120713a_002_MT 065 [TC]

[A child collected bush honey for an old man.]

- (7) *Kung* *kanh* *buka-h-Ing-yolh-mon-wo-ng.*
 bush.honey DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-SEQ-feelings-good-CSTVZR-PP

‘The honey made him feel good.’

(Or: ‘He’s happy because of the honey.’)

2.3 Noun incorporation

2.3.1 *Syntactic noun incorporation and lexicalized compounds*

Dalabon makes broad use of noun incorporation, i.e., in the definition adopted here, of the addition of a noun fulfilling syntactic functions within a verb complex – a common phenomenon across the world’s languages, and among polysynthetic languages in particular. Noun incorporation is very widespread in Gunwinyguan languages.³³ Dalabon noun incorporation resembles its neighbors Bininj Gun-wok and Rembarrnga’s noun incorporation (Evans, 2003; Saulwick, 2003), and yet differs from both (Ponsonnet, 2015). The descriptive frame used by Evans (2003, p. 323–336, p. 450–485) remains well adapted to introduce the principles of the phenomenon in Dalabon (for broader analyses of noun incorporation in Australia and elsewhere, see for instance Sapir (1911), Mithun (1986), Rosen (1989), Baker (1988), Baker et al. (2005)).

In Dalabon, as in Bininj Gun-wok, expressions that surface as [noun + verb] compounds are of at least two sorts: either noun incorporation constructions or lexicalized compounds. Syntactic noun incorporation produces [noun + verb] complexes following a productive syntactic process with strict syntactic rules. Lexicalized [noun + verb] compounds, on the other hand, do not follow such rules. As in many languages in the world featuring noun incorporation, the main constraint on this construction in Dalabon (apart from the fact that not all nouns can incorporate) is that the incorporated noun must express the absolutive argument (see for instance Baker, 1988, p. 81). That is, the incorporated noun is the only argument of an intransitive predicate (which I call S) or part of it, as in (8), or the second argument of a transitive predicate (which I call O) or part of it, as in (9).³⁴ This is a major feature of noun incorporation cross-linguistically and among Gunwinyguan languages.

33. See Harvey (1996) for Warray, Evans (1996, 1997; 2003, pp. 323–335; 450–485) for Bininj Gun-wok, Saulwick (2003, pp. 327–502) for Rembarrnga, Merlan (1983, pp. 143–146) for Ngalakgan, Baker & Nordlinger (2008) for Ngalakgan and Nunggbubuyu/Wubuy, Van Egmond (2012, pp. 234–274) for Enindhilyakwa.

34. In Dalabon, an incorporated noun can, marginally, represent the third argument of a ditransitive predicate. Being a theme, this argument is semantically equivalent to the second argument of most transitive predicates.

20110521a_002_MT 030 [EI]

- (8) *Nga-h-dengu-berderde-mu.*
 1sg-R-foot-ache-PR
 ‘My foot aches [I ache from the foot, I foot-ache].’

20111206a_003_MT 107 [ContEI]

- (9) *Bim-no-ngu dja-h-bim-m-iyán.*
 picture-FILL-2sgPOSS³⁵ 1sg>2sg-R-picture-get-FUT
 ‘I’ll take a photo of you [I’ll take your picture, I’ll picture-take your picture].’

In (8) and (9), the incorporated nouns are possessed nouns, and the possessor is cross-referenced by person prefixes on the verb (*nga-*, first person singular, and *dja-*, first person acting upon second person). Here the absolutive argument is double-headed, encompassing both the whole (cross-referenced on the verbs and as a possessor) and the incorporated parts (*dengu* ‘foot’, *bim* ‘picture’). Following Evans’s (1996, p. 79ff; 2003, p. 456ff) analysis of similar constructions in Bininj Gun-wok, it can be argued that the incorporated part and its possessor are in apposition. Therefore, in (8) the absolutive argument (S) is ‘me-my foot’ (with first person singular cross-referenced on the verb, by the prefix *nga-*). In (9) the absolutive argument (O) is ‘you-your picture’ (with first person singular acting upon second person singular cross-referenced on the verb, *dja-*). Thus, the incorporated nouns express parts of the absolutive arguments.

In (8) and (9), the sense of the verb complex is compositional, and the argument could also be expressed externally, as in (10), where *bibbi-ngan* ‘my breast’ could as well come within the verb complex, before *ngarrkmu* ‘ache’ (like *dengu* ‘foot’ in (8)). The noun may be expressed twice, once incorporated, once externally, as is the case in (9).

250909_85OK 488 (LB) [ContEI]

[Discussing sensations triggered by empathy with suffering relatives, here children.]

- (10) *Nunda ke bibbi-ngan nga-h-ngarrk-mu.*
 DEM EMPH breast-1sgPOSS 1sg-R-ache-PR
 ‘This is when my breast hurts.’

35. In Dalabon, *-no* is an ubiquitous form which can be either a third person singular possessive enclitic, or a suffix serving as a ‘morphological filler’, i.e. ‘filling in’ final positions for bound lexemes which cannot afford an empty slot to their right-hand side. The citation form of bound nouns includes *-no* (e.g. *kangu-no* ‘belly’). With nouns, it is generally possible to decide, based on nominal-subclass affiliations, when *-no* is a possessive enclitic and when it is a filler suffix (Ponsonnet, 2015). In principle, I gloss the possessive enclitic, not the filler suffix, which is invariable and semantically empty. The only times I gloss the filler suffix is when it is followed by a possessive enclitic, as in *bim-no-ngu* ‘your picture’, because this clarifies the status of an otherwise intriguing construction. *-No* also occurs on adjectives and adverbs, where its behavior and functions are less clear. In these positions, it is not glossed, because it is normally an obligatory part of the lexeme.

In (8) and (9) above, the incorporated nominal expresses a part of the absolutive argument. The argument itself, the whole, remains cross-referenced on the verb (hence the *dja-* – first person singular acting upon second person singular – prefix in (11), not *nga-* – first singular acting upon third singular –, as it would be if the picture was the absolutive argument itself). Some incorporated nouns, like *mey* ‘food’ in (11), express the whole absolutive argument, not a part of it. Here the person prefix *da-* encodes the action of a second person singular upon a third person singular, which is the food.

20111208_007_MT 18 [E1]

- (11) *Da-h-mey-ngu-n kahnunh bakabaka.*
 2sg>3-R-food-eat-PR DEM many:REDUP
 ‘You eat a lot of food there.’

Contrasting with the constructions presented in the above examples, [noun + verb] compounds where the noun cannot be interpreted as the absolutive argument or part of it are not noun incorporation constructions, but lexicalized compounds. In (12), given the sense of the compound *kurnh-wudj(mu)* ‘country’ + ‘end, die’, ‘pass away’, the incorporated KURNH ‘place’ cannot relate to the absolutive argument. Therefore, *kurnh-wudj(mu)* ‘country’ + ‘end, die’, ‘pass away’ is a lexicalized [noun + verb] compound, not a syntactic noun incorporation construction.³⁶ Conformingly, *kurnh-no* cannot be expressed outside of the verb complex without modifying the sense of the sentence.

30099/2007 – 11’ (MT) [ContE1]

- (12) *Kanh bala-ye-kurnh-wudj-mu, men-mungu yala-h-ni,*
 DEM 3pl-SUB-country-end-PR ideas-unintentionally 1pl.excl-R-sit/be:PR
 pass.away
mak yila-beng-ka-n, nunh waral njel
 NEG 1pl.excl>3-MIND-take-PR DEM spirit 1pl.excl
 know
*bula-h-koh-dadjka.*³⁷
 3pl>3-R-eyes/gaze-cut:PR
 appear.to
 ‘When someone dies, and we’re not aware, we don’t know, their spirit might appear to us.’

36. Noun incorporation constructions would be better called ‘verb complexes’, as opposed to ‘lexicalized compounds’. However, lexicalization is often a matter of degree, and for the sake of simplicity I will call all [noun + verb] combinations ‘compounds’.

37. The [ka] element in transitive verbs such as *dadjka* ‘cut’ usually alternates with the intransitive verbalizer *-mu* (*djad(mu)* ‘end’), so that it could possibly be glossed as a causativizer. However, since its semantic contribution is not entirely regular, since it is not highly relevant to the current work, and because it considerably lengthens the glosses, I have opted against signaling this semi-regularity in my morpheme divisions and interlinear glosses.

2.3.2 Lexicalization and metaphors

However, some cases are not as simple as *kurnh-wudj(mu)* ‘country’ + ‘end, die’, ‘pass away’. Consider for instance *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, which means ‘feel good, be nice’ (13). This lexical sense is not compositional.

30033b/2008 – 3’ (MT) [Sc]

[Discussing a ritual intended to ensure that infants develop a nice personality.]

(13) *Bulu ka-h-na-n biyi kirdikird*

3pl 3sg>3-R-see-PR man woman

bul-ka-h-marnu-kangu-yowyow.

3pl-3sg>3-R-BEN-belly-flow:REDUP:PR

feel.good/be.nice

‘When she sees people [men and women], she’s pleased, she’s kind to them [her belly flows for them].’

Further criteria confirm that the compound is lexicalized. For instance, Evans (2003) points out that noun incorporation constructions should be equivalent to constructions where the noun is expressed externally, as in (10) above. But with *kangu-yowyow(mu)*, it is not natural to express *kangu-no* outside of the compound.³⁸ Considering some of Pawley’s (1985) criteria of lexicalization, the fact that KANGU cannot be replaced by a synonym confirms that the compound is lexicalized: *wurr-no* can denote the stomach, but **wurr-yowyow(mu)* ‘intestines/stomach’ + ‘flow’:REDUP does not occur. The frequency of *kangu-yowyow(mu)* also indicates that it is a lexical entry.

Thus, *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘feel good, be nice’ is lexicalized. Nevertheless, the compound lends itself to a suggestive compositional interpretation based on standard rules of noun incorporation. According to these rules, it reads ‘her belly flows’, which suggests a trope where a state of the belly represents an emotional state. In this particular case, this compositional meaning explains the existence of the compound, and its emotional lexical sense. There is also ample evidence that speakers perceive this sense (see Chapter 8) – that is, they access the literal, compositional meaning of lexicalized compounds.

Body-part noun incorporation is very frequent in Dalabon – in many contexts it is quasi-obligatory. Thus, syntactic noun incorporation provides a large number of [noun + verb] compounds, and in particular many of the emotional compounds, with or without plausible figurative interpretations.

38. Although very rare occurrences of externalization of *kangu-no* ‘belly’ outside of otherwise lexicalized compounds are found, see for instance 1.4.3 in Chapter 8. The lexicalization of such compound predicates is often a matter of degree.

2.4 Body-part nouns and nominal subclasses

2.4.1 *The animate-part nominal subclass*

In addition to incorporability, Dalabon body-part nouns display other morphosyntactic properties relevant to the study of the emotion lexicon and its metaphors. Unlike several other Gunwinyguan languages³⁹ (and many Australian languages in general), Dalabon has no gender noun classes. There are no gender prefixes, either on nouns or on adjectives. Yet, Dalabon nouns can be grouped into six semantically coherent nominal subclasses, based on their morphosyntactic behaviors. Body-parts and attributes of the person form a nominal subclass, labelled the animate-part subclass⁴⁰ (Ponsonnet, 2015). The animate-part subclass is a large, open, semantically well-identified class including all parts and attributes of animate wholes (humans, animals or supernatural beings). The most clearly attested Dalabon emotional noun, *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, belongs to this class. Indeed, these nouns denote parts or attributes of the person that may be concrete, systemic, or abstract:

- Body-parts, organs, systemic body-parts: *kodj-no* ‘crown of head/head’, *langu-no* ‘hand/finger’, *karru-no* ‘leg’, *kangu-no* ‘belly’, *ngurl-no* ‘heart’, *kurlah-no* ‘skin’, *ngerh-no* ‘heart/breath’, etc.
- Detachable parts of the body, remains: *marru-no* ‘hair’, *nunj-no* ‘saliva’, *mo-no* ‘bones/TEETH’,⁴¹ *yeminj-no* ‘body smell’, etc.
- Representations and indices of the person: *ngey-no* ‘name’, *bim-no* ‘image’, *borlh-no* ‘track’, etc.
- Abstract attributes of the person: *ngudj-no* ‘energy’, *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, *men-no* ‘ideas’, etc.

Many Australian languages are reported to group together, in one way or another, nouns with a similar semantics (Evans, 1996; Hale, 1981; McGregor, 1996). Animate-part nouns play a prominent role in the description of emotions in Dalabon, as they appear in a number of lexicalized compounds denoting emotional states.

2.4.2 *Morphosyntactic behavior of animate-part nouns*

This subclass is defined as the class of incorporable, strictly bound nouns, which are obligatorily possessed and can raise their possessor freely (and do so most of the time).

39. Evans (2003, p. 184ff) for Biniñ Gun-wok, Van Egmond (2012, p. 92ff) for Enindhilyakwa, Merlan & Jacq (2005a, 2005b) for Jawoyn, Merlan (1983, pp. 35–37) for Ngalakgan, Heath (1984, p. 159ff) for Nunggubuyu/Wubuy, Heath (1978, p. 35) for Ngandi, Harvey (1996, p. 113) for Warray.

40. Sometimes abbreviated as PA (part of animates), cf. Appendices 1 and 2.

41. *Mo-no* normally means ‘bones’, but is also used in some compounds where it refers to the teeth (e.g. *mo-barrun* ‘bones/TEETH’ + ‘bite’ + REFL, ‘grind teeth’). Below I will only mention the ‘bones’ sense.

In the following paragraphs, I spell out briefly what behaviors correspond to these criteria. These features single out animate-part nouns against other Dalabon nominal subclasses as morphosyntactically ‘inalienable’ (see Ponsonnet, 2015).⁴² That is, these nouns are treated morphosyntactically and semantically as parts of wholes: when an animate-part noun is mentioned, the possessor or whole to which it relates is nearly systematically mentioned as well, overtly or by means of some cross-reference.

2.4.2.1 Incorporability Noun incorporability was presented in 2.3, where (8) and (9) illustrate the incorporability of animate-part nouns. Several subclasses of Dalabon nouns can incorporate: only one subclass can’t, the subclass of ‘natural-kind’ nouns. The nouns in this large subclass denote animal and vegetal species (*rolu* ‘dog’, *dadbar-rankul* ‘king-brown’, *yarraman* ‘horse’...) as well as stages of life (*yawurrinj* ‘young man’, *wurdurd* ‘child’...), and natural elements (*radjdja* ‘sand’, *wah* ‘water’, *mudda* ‘sun’...).

2.4.2.2 Boundness In addition to being incorporable (and very often incorporated), animate-part nouns are bound. They must either be incorporated in a verb complex or a nominal compound, i.e. followed by an adjective, a numeral etc.; or be followed by some alternative filling material to their right. Animate-part nouns occurring outside verb complex or nominal compounds are systematically followed by a possessive enclitic. The enclitic indexes the possessor of the noun when there is one (14). When there is no possessor, or when the possessor is semantically backgrounded as in (15), the noun is followed by *-no*, which is the third singular possessive marker. This is mirrored in the citation form, NOUN + *no*.

20120721_001_LB 07 [RPF]

[A tracker is chasing fugitive children.]

- (14) *Bulu ka-h-bolh-yawa-n, bolh-bulng.*
 3pl 3sg>3-R-track-look.for-PR track-3plPOSS
 ‘He’s looking for their tracks [he’s track-searching them, their tracks].’

20110518b_002_LB_ND 139 (LB) [ConvEl]

[When a kangaroo is killed; the speaker enumerates the parts being shared around.]

- (15) *Kodj-no, woley-no bulu bula-h-ngabungabbu-n.*
 head-3sgPOSS side-3sgPOSS 3pl 3pl>3-R-give:REDUP-PR
 ‘The head, the rib sides, people give them away.’

42. Kin-terms are another morphosyntactically inalienable subclass. Kin-terms and animate-part nouns display distinct inalienability features, but both are clearly inalienable. This is in line with cross-linguistic patterns of inalienability (Nichols, 1988: 572), and matches the semantics of kin-terms and animate-part nouns.

Thus, an animate-part noun never occurs alone. **Kangu* ‘belly’, **dje* ‘nose/nostril/face’, **bibbi* ‘breast’ are impossible: instead, they are followed by possessive enclitics. Nouns that cannot incorporate (natural-kind nouns) are not bound and may occur alone. Among incorporable nouns, several subclasses are bound, but the nouns in the ‘generic’ subclass are incorporable and unbound. Thus, the generic noun *mey* ‘food’ can occur in a verb complex, as illustrated in (11) above (2.3.1), but it can also occur alone, outside a complex and not followed by a possessive enclitic: *kah-ngabbun mey* ‘he gives me food’. The generic subclass is one of the least coherent semantically, grouping some generic terms such as *dulh* ‘tree’, some artefacts such as *borndok* ‘woomera (spear thrower)’, nouns relating to the domestic domain (*mey* ‘food’), and some cultural assets like *yang* ‘language’. *Yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, an emotional noun (albeit not fully attested as emotional when occurring outside of compounds) is a generic noun. It will be shown in Chapter 9 that the subclass membership of *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ has consequences on Dalabon metaphors for anger.

2.4.2.3 Obligatory possession There are four subclasses of Dalabon bound nouns, and they attract two distinct treatments to encode possession. Nouns in the animate-part and kin-term subclasses are ‘obligatorily possessed’. The possessive enclitic that fulfils their boundness requirement (2.4.2.2) agrees with the possessor in person and number. Thus in (14), *bolh-no* ‘track’ becomes *bolh-bulng* to encode possession by third person plural, in (10) *bibbi-no* becomes *bibbi-ngan* agreeing with first person singular possessor, etc. Nouns that are bound but not obligatorily possessed (parts of inanimate wholes and features of the landscape) encode possession in a different way. The suffix that serves to fulfil their boundness requirement is homophonous with the third person singular possessive enclitic (*-no*), but it is invariable. Thus, it cannot agree with the possessor. Instead, a second suffix must be added in order to encode possession: *labbarl-no-ngu* ‘billabong’ + FILLER + 2sgPOSS, ‘your billabong’, not **labbarl-ngu*.

Thus, animate-part nouns (like kin-terms) are well described as obligatorily possessed, because the material added to fulfil their boundness requirement is indeed a possessive enclitic (see Ponsonnet (2015) for nuances). As a result, animate-part nouns are often presented linguistically as possessed by the animate whole to which they relate (see (14) and (15) above).

2.4.2.4 Possessor raising ‘Possessor raising’ refers to a type of construction, found in many languages across the world, where the possessor of a noun is treated as an argument of the verb that describes an event involving the part, rather than as a simple possessor (Baker, 1988; Bally, 1926; Chappell & McGregor, 1996). This can be illustrated by the French ‘*elle m’a tiré les cheveux*’ (‘she pulled me the hair’/‘she pulled the hair to me’), instead of *‘*elle a tiré mes cheveux*’ (‘she pulled my hair’). Possessor raising applies to nouns in a tighter relation to their possessors (typically body-parts and kin-terms).⁴³

43. Arguably, my use of the expression ‘possessor raising’ differs from the most common use of the expression. Most authors use it to refer to a modification of the syntactic structure of the clause whereby the possessor is not only promoted to a core syntactic function, but also

Possessor raising was already exemplified for animate-part nouns in (8), (9) and (10), repeated below. In each of these examples, the absolutive argument is the affected body-part, a third person singular. If these body-parts were cross-referenced on the verbs, the prefixes would be *ka-* in (8) and (10) (third person singular), and *nga-* in (9) (first person singular acting on third singular). But in each case, the possessor is cross-referenced by the person prefix instead of the part: either first person singular, *nga-*, in (8) and (10), or first person singular acting upon second person singular, *dja-*, in (9).

20110521a_002_MT 030 [EI]

(8) *Nga-h-dengu-berderde-mu.*

1sg-R-foot-ache-PR

‘My foot aches [I ache from the foot, I foot-ache].’

20111206a_003_MT 107 [ContEI]

(9) *Bim-no-ngu* *dja-h-bim-m-iyán.*

picture-FILL-2sgPOSS 1sg>2sg-R-picture-get-FUT

‘I’ll take a photo of you [I’ll take your picture, I’ll picture-take your picture].’

250909_85OK 488 (LB) [ContEI]

[Discussing sensations triggered by empathy with suffering relatives, here children.]

(10) *Nunda ke* *bibbi-ngan* *nga-h-ngarrk-mu.*

DEM EMPH breast-1sgPOSS 1sg-R-ache-PR

‘This is when my breast hurts.’

Both animate-part nouns and kin-terms have the ability to raise their possessors, but animate-parts do so much more often – it is the most standard construction with this nominal subclass. The examples above show that possessor raising is independent of incorporation. In (8), the animate-part noun is incorporated, in (10) it is not, and in (9) it occurs both inside and outside the verb complex. Kin-terms, on the other hand only raise their possessor under exceptional circumstances.

demoted from its possessor function. Based on this definition, the Dalabon constructions presented above may not be described as ‘possessor raising’, because the possessor remains a possessor at the same time as it is cross-referenced on the verb (hence the possessive enclitic on *bibbi-ngan* ‘my breast’ in (10)) (see Evans (1996) and Evans (2003, p. 456) for comparable analyses in Biniñ Gun-wok, Van Egmond (2012, p. 266ff) for Enindhilyakwa). This is because the two elements of the absolutive argument, namely the whole and the part, are in apposition, forming a single NP (as is common across Australian languages, see Cutfield (2011, p. 45ff) for Dalabon). As a result, the possessor is not raised, but is simply part of a noun phrase that expresses the argument. Here, I use a slightly different notion of ‘possessor raising’, one which makes no assumption about syntactic structures, nor about underlying syntactic movements. I use ‘possessor raising’ to refer to a pattern of morphological encoding of the possessor, which can be contrasted with another pattern of encoding also found in the language.

2.4.2.5 *Animate-part nouns and inalienability* Obligatory possession and possessor raising characterize animate-part nouns (and kin-terms) as morphosyntactically ‘inalienable’ (Creissels, 2006, p. 154). Both features contribute to represent animate-part nouns as parts of wholes, i.e. as relational nouns (Goddard, 2011, p. 55). It will be shown in Chapter 8 that the morphosyntactic behavior of body-parts and other parts of animates has consequences on Dalabon emotional tropes. Chapter 9 shows that nominal subclass membership also sheds light upon differences in emotional tropes based on generic nouns and animate-part nouns respectively.

Now equipped with an understanding of the ethnographic and linguistic context of the study, and of some relevant aspects of Dalabon grammar, we can move on to the description of expressive features, in Chapter 4, before analyzing the lexicon in later chapters.

Expressive features

This chapter is dedicated to the linguistic devices available to Dalabon speakers to *express* their emotions – rather than to *describe* (their own or others') emotions. While description is achieved via denotation and relies mainly on the Dalabon lexicon (presented in Chapters 5 to 11), expression makes use of a variety of features, including suprasegmental features. Such features belong to what a number of authors have labelled the 'expressive' component of meaning (Lyons (1977) – also 'emotive', 'affective'), or the 'expressive' function of language (Jakobson, 1960, p. 354; Leech, 1974, pp. 10–27), contrasting it with various denotational, descriptive, social components (Lyons, 1977), or other functions such as referential, metalingual, poetic, phatic, conative (Jakobson, 1960), informative, directive, and aesthetic (Leech, 1974). (See Besnier (1990) for a literature review on such partitions.)

As pointed out by Besnier (1990, p. 422) (see also Omondi (1997, pp. 90–94)) this expressive dimension pervades every aspect of language. Any utterance is endowed with some expressive impact, by virtue of the particular syntax chosen by the speaker as opposed to alternative options, and suprasegmental features (intonation, loudness, tempo) always convey additional expressive messages. However, Omondi (1997, p. 93) also shows that some suprasegmental features are conventionalized: for instance, in Dholuo (Western Nilotic), lengthening of the last vowel, associated with 'tenderness', is conventionalized to the point that it has a metalinguistic label (Omondi, 1997, p. 107). Highly conventionalized non-lexical features with strong association with emotions are the features I am concerned with in this chapter. These are the most frequent features, displaying very regular and coherent, mostly emotional, contexts of occurrence (i.e. they regularly convey a consistent range of emotions). That these features are conventionalized is also evident from the fact that speakers control their use very precisely. For instance, they can insert a conventionalized prosodic feature at a very specific point in a narrative, when the emotion conveyed becomes relevant. In addition, speakers are able to imitate such features in elicitation, and they render their emotional coloration in English or Kriol translations.

In Dalabon, such expressive features are omnipresent in spontaneous emotional speech, and significantly more frequent than descriptive features. Expressive features are the most common way to convey and discuss emotions in ordinary speech. In addition, as will be shown in the present chapter, some of the core emotional categories expressed by these resources correspond to socially and ethically central emotions. Compassion, in particular, is a focal category across the expressive features described; it is also a socially salient category among the Dalabon as among other Australian groups (see Myers (1979, 1986, 1988) about the Pintupi). In contrast, as discussed in

Chapter 6 (2.1.3), compassion is not a particularly salient lexical category in Dalabon. It will also be shown in Chapter 6 that more generally, the existence of a given lexical distinction in the domain of emotions does not warrant that this emotional category is culturally salient, and reciprocally. Thus, in Dalabon, expressive features are better guides through the local moral order than words are.

After some methodological clarifications in Section 1, Section 2 provides a quick insight into two ‘peripheral’ emotional devices, namely the apprehensive mood and reported speech. Typically emotional devices are presented next: morphological devices, the diminutives *-wurd* and *yaw-* in Section 3; emotive interjections in Section 4; and various highly conventionalized suprasegmental features including prosodic contours and variations in intensity and voice quality in Section 5. While linguistic descriptions of emotions in Australian languages have attracted some attention (Gaby, 2008; Peile, 1997; Turpin, 2002), there is, to my knowledge, very little work on expressive emotional language in these languages.⁴⁴ While this chapter remains a brief presentation of features which deserve further attention, it contributes an initial documentation and analysis of these aspects of Australian languages.

This part of the volume deals with linguistic properties that can hardly be rendered by visual notations. For the convenience of the reader, the audio-recordings of all the examples within this chapter are accessible from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/clsc.4.audio>.

1. Methodology

1.1 Data

As explained in Chapter 3 (1.2.2), cultural restrictions together with the constraints of language documentation make it difficult to record emotional speech in Dalabon; emotional features are not frequent in traditional stories either. As a result, my general corpus and other researchers’ corpora contain little in this respect. However, when commenting upon movies, speakers made very extensive use of expressive features. The analyses presented here rely mostly on data from the Movies Corpus, with some additions from the Emotions Corpus (see Chapter 3 (1.2.4)). With the diminutives, I also used data from the general corpus. With interjections and prosody, the general corpus was only used for control purposes (i.e. checking on a particular feature, comparing interjection tokens etc.).

As discussed in Chapter 3 (1.2.3), these corpora have their limitations, resulting from the small number of Dalabon speakers and the absence of spontaneous

44. There are some publications on interjections in Australian languages (Evans (1992), Wilkins (1992), see 4.1). With diminutives and prosodic features, I couldn’t identify published works dedicated to the description and/or discussion of these linguistic devices in Australian languages. They have sometimes been documented within grammars, or within works dealing with other issues, but not in dedicated articles or volumes.

conversations. Comments on movies introduce another bias. On the one hand, they have the advantage of being more spontaneous than most data used in studies on prosody (Himmelman & Ladd, 2008, p. 265ff). On the other hand, not all contexts can be tested in this way, and not all emotions are covered: for instance, there is little on anger. In addition, commenting on movies is a relatively specific speech context. It probably compares to a few more ‘natural’ contexts. For instance, it is easy to imagine that pre-colonial life, set in camps where families lived at a short distance from each other, more or less in the open, would provide some opportunities to comment on semi-distant events. The focus on the Movies Corpus certainly introduces a general bias towards this particular setting and the ‘commenting’ speech style. But since asking speakers to comment on movies was the only way of recording a significant amount of emotional speech, my view is that data collected under evident constraints is better than no data. Of course, it is important to remain aware of this general bias.

Because of the crucial importance of prosody with respect to all expressive features, all the examples presented in this chapter are accessible as audio-recordings via <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/clsc.4.audio>.

1.2 Categories

In this description of expressive emotional features, I propose a number of categories, defined by the contexts in which each feature is found. Some of these categories such as ‘positive’, ‘negative’, ‘self-oriented’, ‘other-oriented’ are fairly generic, but others like ‘intimacy’, ‘critical bewilderment’, ‘witnessing caring and sharing’, are specific to Dalabon and its particular social context. They emerged within linguistic description. I found that they were relevant and valid insofar as they allow us to make sense of all the occurrences of a given linguistic device and of the semantic range covered by each device. In addition, the empirical study of the corpus – in particular, interjections (Section 4) – suggested a classification of these categories based on two dimensions and three features on each dimension. This classification is helpful in organizing the description of some of the linguistic features presented in this chapter, as well as some of the features of the lexicon presented in the following chapters. However, they result from the description, and do not dictate it.

One of the dimensions is valence, which can be either negative (‘something bad happens’), positive (‘something good happens’) or neutral (mainly surprise). Many authors call upon a positive/negative partition (as pointed to by Besnier (1990, p. 459), or Wierzbicka (1999, p. 281) quoting Plutchik (1994, p. 109)), and positive/negative/surprise tripartite partitions are also used by some (and some researchers argue for multi-dimensional models, see Fontaine et al. (2007)).⁴⁵ For instance, this corresponds to the clusters observed by Toivonen et al. (2012, p. 6) in their study of

45. See also Toivonen et al. (2012, pp. 1–2) on problems with dimensional representations of emotions.

Finnish emotion terms, or by Mathieu (2000, p. 34)⁴⁶ for French verbs. The second dimension is orientation: emotions can be self-oriented or other-oriented, and if other-oriented, they can be empathetic (positive empathy, compassion) or external (which usually contain some kind of moral assessment: judgment, approval). For instance, I call sadness self-oriented, because, while other people can constitute the stimulus of sadness, the negative feelings of sadness are not negative *intentions* targeting others. Anger, by contrast, is negative and other-oriented, because it corresponds to negative intentions targeting others. These categories are probably not the only possible grid to organize Dalabon emotion categories, but they will be useful in the descriptions that follow.

Table 1. Classification of emotions along two dimensions.
(With some examples of corresponding emotions.)

Valence	Orientation		
	Self-oriented	Other-oriented	
		Empathetic (+ moral value)	External (judgment)
positive	joy happiness ...	rejoicing for others, witnessing intimacy and routines	love affection endearment (moral) approval (e.g. when witnessing sharing and caring)
negative	sadness regret ...	compassion grief concern for others	hatred anger criticism sulk
neutral	surprise ...	concerned bewilderment	critical bewilderment

The second column at the center of the table is particularly important, as it will be found that compassion, which is ‘negative, other-oriented and empathetic’ (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 297ff; Schweder & LeVine, 1984; Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 110–111), is a core category: most Dalabon emotional resources can express compassion. This is very much in line with Myers’s description of the Pintupi emotional landscape (Myers, 1979, pp. 355–358; 1986, pp. 113–117), which presents compassion as a prominent and morally encouraged emotion within this social system (as is common with other social systems across the world, see for instance Briggs

46. Following Jackendoff (1990), Mathieu (2000) describes a positive/negative/neutral partition, but the neutral set contains only ‘absence of emotions’ and surprise. On the question of dimensions of descriptions of emotions, see also Schlosberg (1952), and Russell (1980; 1991, p. 438ff) for alternative tripartite dimensions.

(1970) for the Utku Eskimos or Lutz (1986) for Ifaluk Island in Micronesia, Bender et al. (2007) for the island of Tonga). My choice of the term ‘compassion’ is partly a reference to Myers’s description. The status of compassion among the proposed categories is remarkable. Compassion is negative in terms of valence, because it is a reaction to a negative event and presupposes suffering. On the other hand, along the orientation dimension, empathy is morally valued and thus attracts positive appraisal. Compassion is therefore encouraged, praised, and it is even possible to hypothesize that it is actually experienced and conceived of as ‘enjoyable’. Because it is (ethically) good to suffer for others, it may feel good to suffer for others. The fact that speakers are so prompt to express approval of compassion (when witnessing sharing and caring for others) confirms that this emotion lies at the center of the Dalabon emotional landscape.

While I have tried to organize these categories into a systematic frame for the sake of a clear description, I have not attempted to provide any underlying formal principles for this organization. While some formal approaches can be relevant to the description of emotional language (Potts, 2005, p. Chapter 5; Talmy, 1988), it seems to me that an inductively based framework will be more effective considering the scale and purposes of this study.⁴⁷

1.3 Comparison with Kriol

The comparison with Barunga Kriol, the local variety of Australian creole to which the Dalabon-speaking community has now shifted (see Chapter 3, 1.1.2), is always relevant when studying Dalabon, and even more so when studying expressive features, in particular suprasegmental features. In this chapter, I mention my observations on Barunga Kriol wherever possible. However, a dedicated study of emotional features in Barunga Kriol is necessary before a detailed assessment of such features, and a comparison with Dalabon, can be articulated.

2. Other emotional devices

To preserve space, it was necessary to limit this account to features that are central to the expression of emotion, and exclude others. Apprehensive mood (briefly discussed in 2.1) and reported speech (briefly discussed in 2.2) do express or describe emotions in Dalabon, yet they are not as closely tied to emotional contexts as diminutives, interjections and prosodic features. These features are partly descriptive – allowing for

47. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (Wierzbicka, 1992a, 1996, 1999) could be useful to describe the categories at play in this chapter. However as argued in Chapter 1 (2.2.1), I have opted for systematic but yet space-effective definitions.

descriptions of and statements about the event. Yet at the same time, they index speakers' views in a more 'spontaneous' and less 'controlled' way than lexical devices do, which explains why moods are often included among expressive features. Moods and reported speech are mentioned in brief below, for the sake of completeness. Dalabon demonstratives may also convey emotional effects, and these have already been studied in some details by Cutfield (2011). In 2.3, I briefly recapitulate Cutfield's findings on emotional deixis in Dalabon.

2.1 Apprehensive mood

Dalabon has an apprehensive mood, signaled by a particular set of person prefixes on the predicate. As exemplified in (1), this mood expresses the speaker's negative appraisal of a potential event.

20120710b_002_MT 077 [EI]

[Speech attributed to the author, who spends a lot of time away from her husband.]

- (1) *Nunda kardu biyi-ngan kardu wuku-ba-n.*
 DEM maybe man-1sgPOSS maybe APPR:3sg>1-leave-PR
 'And then my husband could possibly leave me.'

To the extent that this mood signals fear or disapprobation, it expresses emotions. However, the apprehensive mood is found mostly in relatively descriptive contexts, where the speaker makes a calm rather than emotionally loaded statement about a situation.⁴⁸ Clauses expressed in this mood rarely feature typically emotional devices. Among hundreds of tokens including a diminutive with emotional value, an emotive interjection, or an emotional intonational pattern, I have only found a handful of apprehensive clauses.

48. Note that the use of the apprehensive mood may also reflect the apprehension of a participant other than speaker, namely the subject of the clause expressed in the apprehensive, as in the example below. In the following example, MT comments on the potential consequences of an action the main male character in *Samson and Delilah*. Since she has no empathy for him, it is unlikely that the apprehensive mood reflects her own concern. Rather, it seems to reflect the view point of the participants she refers to. Such interactions between emotional features and direct or indirect reported speech would deserve an in-depth study.

20120719a_001_MT 290 [SD]

Bah ka-h-djong-mu-n mahkih, nadjamorrwu wubuyu-mang,
 but 3sg-R-FEAR-INCH-PR also policeman APPR:3sg>3sg-get:PR
wubulu-bu-n biyi baka.
 APPR:3pl>3-hit-PR man many

'But he's scared too, a policeman might catch him, some group of men might hit him.'

2.2 Reported speech

Also associated with emotions is reported speech or thought, which is also partly descriptive. Other people's emotions can be described by putting emotion words 'in their mouth': for instance, a speaker can utter '*mak nga-yolh-mon*', literally 'I'm not feeling good', meaning 'he's not feeling good', when presented with the picture of a sad-looking character and prompted to describe how they feel. In addition, reported speech allows non-lexical descriptions of emotions, as in (2), where hesitation (here associated with insecurity, as indicated by the interjection *ooo*, intonation and the rest of the extract) is conveyed by a reported sentence.

20110605_003_LB_ND 033 (ND) [Stim]

[Commenting on a picture displaying a drawn face looking sad and disturbed.]

- (2) *Ooo...* *Ka-h-kurnh-wonawona-n*,
INTJ.compassion 3sg>3-R-place-hear:REDUP-PR
think

kardu kumarruh nga-h-bo-niyan, ka-h-yin.
maybe INTERR 1sg-R-go-FUT 3sg-R-say/do:PR

ka-h-yolh-weh-m-inj.
3sg-R-feelings-bad-INCH-PP

Other speaker: *Ka-h-yolh-weh.*
3sg-R-feelings-bad

'Ooooh... He's thinking, where should I go, he thinks. He was feeling bad.

Other speaker: He feels bad.'

However, reported speech is a common narrative feature and is frequent in non-emotional contexts. It is used to report dialogue and speech occurring in the reported event, and to describe participants' cognitive states in general, whether emotional or not (McGregor, 1994; Rumsey, 1990). In (3), the speakers were discussing the scenario of a story in the Jackal and Crow Picture Task (Carroll, Kelly, & Gawne, 2011; San Roque et al., 2012), i.e. they were working out the actions and intentions of two characters (a jackal and a crow) in a little narrative presented in a series of pictures. Both speakers, in turn, explain the action of the jackal trying to steal a fish that the crow has in its beak, by means of reported speech describing the intentions of the jackal.⁴⁹

49. Reported speech can be normative rather than descriptive, like in the following account of a domestic dispute. The speaker explains by means of reported speech what the wife should have done had she been fair to her husband. The whole sequence is reported speech (or thought).

20110605_002_LB_ND 095 (ND and LB) [Stim]

- (3) ND *Nga-h-marnu-burlh-minj darnkih, dulh-kah ka-h-yin-inj.*
 1sg>3-R-BEN-come.out-PP close tree-LOC 3sg-R-say/do:PP
- LB *Nga-h-marnu-bo-n darnkih, nga-h-lng-ye-m-iyān.*
 1sg>3-R-BEN-go-PR close 1sg>3-R-SEQ-COM-get-FUT
- ‘ND I came up to him, close to the tree, he thought.
 LB I’m coming close to him, I’ll steal it from him.’

2.3 Demonstratives

As discussed by Christopher & Potts (2010), demonstratives may also convey emotional value, by virtue of the fact that they index proximity/distance from the speaker – the distance can be spatial, but also emotional in some cases. This is attested for Dalabon demonstratives, as established by Cutfield (2011, p. 295–298, p. 370–374). Cutfield shows that the demonstrative *nunda*, which relates to referents relatively close to the speaker (or within their personal sphere), may also index the speaker’s close association with the referent (for instance, ownership), as well as preference and emotional proximity. In contrast, *nunh*, which relates to referents distant from the speaker (or outside their personal sphere), can index emotional distance. In addition, the demonstrative *kanh*, which is used when the referent is easily recoverable from context, is used to emphasize social proximity between the speaker and the addressee (the speaker assumes a body of common knowledge which will allow the addressee to identify the referent, and therefore, asserts common grounds and emotional proximity between discourse participants). As will be shown below, emotional proximity and the assertion of common grounds between people are also part of Dalabon diminutives possible meanings and effects (3.6).

20100722b_005_MT 73 [Narr]

Wurdurd-wurd kanh korre yirra-h-yaw-yidjnja-n kenbo kanh wurdurd-yih
 child-DIM DEM before 1du.excl>3-R-little.one-have-PR then DEM child-ERG

mah njerr ka-h-beng-werrewerre-miyan
 and 1du 3sg>1-MIND-erase:REDUP-FUT
 make.forget

murnu yala-h-dja-ni-ngiyan mak djeil-kah nga-h-munku-yung-iyān.
 LIM 1pl.excl-R-FOC-sit/be-FUT NEG jail-LOC 1sg>3-R-far-put-FUT
 send

‘We already have a little child, and this child will make us forget [our quarrels], we’ll just stay together in peace, I won’t send him [my husband] to jail [for domestic violence].’

3. Diminutives

Dalabon has two diminutives. The most frequent, *-wurd*, is an enclitic⁵⁰ that occurs more often on nouns, and sometimes on verbs, at the very end of verb complexes. The other is a verb prefix, *yaw-*. *-Wurd* is homophonous with the noun *wurd* ‘woman’s child’, and *wurdurd*⁵¹ is ‘child’, an etymology postulated by Jurafsky (1996) for the Indo-European diminutives. *Yaw-* is also the incorporable form of a nominal meaning ‘little one’ (‘child’, ‘cub’...), realized externally as *yaw-no*. The range of contexts in which *yaw-* occurs is comparable to the contexts in which *-wurd* occurs, except for the contexts in which *-wurd* serves a pragmatic function. Since *-wurd* is more frequent, I will focus on it in the following sections. *Yaw-* is discussed more briefly in 3.5.

Barunga Kriol does not have a proper diminutive morpheme – this is unsurprising, since Barunga Kriol, like most creoles, has little morphology. In her Kriol translations, MT rendered Dalabon diminutives using the Barunga Kriol emotive compassionate interjection *bobala* (<Eng. ‘poor fellow’). However, the adjective *lil* ‘little’ (<Eng. ‘little’), does sometimes express an emotional meaning. Several other Australian languages, including other languages of the Gunwinyguan family, are reported to have diminutive morphology (the Gunwinyguan Rembarrnga, see Saulwick (2014), Warray (Harvey, 1986, pp. 77–78); Warlpiri, of the Ngumpin-Yapa, Pama-Nyungan family). However, to my knowledge, and although extensive work on diminutives has been published for many languages in the world,⁵² no Australian diminutive has been studied in detail (but see Grandi & Kortvelyessy (2015)).

-Wurd can attach to most word classes. Nouns are the most common (a universal tendency, Dressler & Barbaresi Merlini (1994, p. 94), Bauer (1997)), especially animates, and more specifically nouns referring to persons: human categories (words for ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘young woman’, ‘child’, etc.), skin names, kin-terms; also animals, and other nouns. *-Wurd* is also common on verb complexes. It is occasional on adjectives,

50. There is clear evidence that *-wurd* is not an independent lexeme. First it never comes alone, nor before its head, and it is normally unstressed. In addition, the realisation of [w] can vary depending on the sound that precedes, which indicates that *-wurd* is not an independent lexeme. Since it is not assigned to a particular nominal subclass, but actually has a much broader distribution, *-wurd* is better described as an enclitic than a suffix.

51. *Wurdurd* results historically from a contraction of *wurd-wurd*, the reduplicated form of ‘woman’s child’.

52. Among others: Polish (Klimaszewska, 1983; Wierzbicka, 1984), Russian (Volek, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1992b, p. 125ff), Slovak (Böhmerova, 2011), Dutch and German (Klimaszewska, 1983), Greek (Daltas, 1985; Sifianou, 1992), Spanish (Gooch, 1967/1970), Mexican Spanish (Gaarder, 1966), Colombian Spanish (Travis, 2004), Italian (Dressler & Barbaresi Merlini, 1994), Akan (Niger-Congo, Appah & Appiah Amfo, 2011)... (See Dressler & Barbaresi Merlini (1994) for a detailed bibliography.)

and isolated tokens occur for adverbs, numerals and demonstratives. I will leave these marginal cases aside to focus on the [noun + DIM] and [verb + DIM] expressions.

Like most diminutives world-wide (Bauer, 1997; Dressler & Barbaresi Merlini, 1994), the values of *-wurd* are three-fold: denotation, connotation and pragmatic functions. *-Wurd* can have a scalar sense, where it specifies the denotation of the head noun as being low on a scale: low on the scale of age for nouns denoting animates ('young'), low on the scale of size ('small') or quantity ('a small amount') for other nouns. In addition, *-wurd* can endorse emotional connotations and/or 'pragmatic' functions. The label 'pragmatic' covers functions having to do with 'softening' the effect of discourse: politeness, management of criticism and judgment. Sometimes the non-denotational functions, i.e. the emotional and softening functions, combine with a 'young'/'small'/'small amount' scalar sense; sometimes they are independent of it. When used on nouns, *-wurd* always has a scalar sense, most often combined with an emotional and/or softening function. When *-wurd* occurs on verbs, on the other hand, the scalar sense may be absent, but there is always an emotional and/or softening effect. Therefore, the non-denotational functions of the Dalabon diminutive *-wurd* are more salient and more autonomous from the scalar sense on verbs than on nouns. This conforms to the implicational hierarchy constraining the bases for evaluative morphology, as stated by Bauer (1997, p. 540) (from Nieuhenhuis (1985, p. 221)). The meanings and functions of [noun + *wurd*] expressions are presented in 3.1 (animates) and 3.2 (inanimates); those of [verb + *wurd*] expressions in 3.3.

3.1 *-Wurd* with nouns referring to animates

-Wurd is most commonly found encliticized to nouns referring to animates, and more specifically, on nouns referring to persons. *-Wurd* is sometimes found on kin-terms and subsection terms⁵³ (see 3.1.4.1), occasionally on proper names or other descriptive nouns, but the most frequent configuration is for *-wurd* to appear on human categories. I call 'human categories' the nouns that denote classes of persons based on criteria of subsections or on age and/or gender: *biyi* 'man'/'male person', *kirdikird* 'woman'/'female person', *na-kohbanj* 'old man', *ngal-kohbanj* 'old woman', *yawurrinj* 'young man', *wolmud* 'female', *wurdurd* 'child', etc.

With human categories, the semantic value of the diminutive varies depending on whether the category is defined by age or by gender because, with animates, the scalar

53. Subsections terms, or 'skin names', are a set of 16 names (8 for males and 8 for females) assigned to people by birth, based on the subsection of their parents. They determine someone's position in a socio-centric 'kin-space' (see Chapter 2, 2.1.1). Skin names are a very common way to address or refer to people in Dalabon, probably comparable to using someone's first name in English.

sense operates on the scale of age, and thus interferes with the sense inherent to the nouns. Section 3.1.1 presents [non-age-based-categories + DIM] expressions, and 3.1.2 presents [age-based-categories + DIM] expressions; 3.1.3 discusses their distribution. Section 3.1.4 briefly discusses *-wurd* on kin-terms and animal nouns.

3.1.1 Categories not defined by age

When a human category is defined by criteria other than age, the diminutive specifies that the referent is a member of this category within a lower range of age, i.e. a young member as compared to the age range of the category. This applies to categories defined by gender, but also to subsections, which denote classes of persons based on a socio-centric kinship grid. [Subsection + DIM] expressions usually refer to infants or newborn babies, as in Example (4).⁵⁴

250909_83OK 334 (MT) [ContEl]

[How children with delayed speech are given egg yolk as a cure.]

- (4) *Korreh ka-h-dja-Ing-yenjdju-ng,*
 before 3sg-R-FOC-SEQ-talk-PR
wanj kanh Belinj-wurd ka-h-yin.
 CONJ DEM subsection-DIM 3sg-R-say/do:PR
 ‘Now she will talk, like this little Belinj, she says.’

Examples (5) and (6) show how *kirdikird-wurd*, ‘female person’ + DIM and *biyi-wurd*, ‘male person’ + DIM, can be used to refer to children (from newborn babies to teenagers). A similar behavior is observed with other gender terms such as *rangum* ‘male’, (*rangum-wurd* ‘male child’ or ‘young male’) and *wolmud* ‘female’.⁵⁵

30037/2007 – 14’ (LB) [Narr]

[Explaining what happens when women become pregnant.]

- (5) *Da-h-yidjnja-n wurdurd, ka-h-yin.*
 2sg>3-R-have-PR child 3sg-R-say/do:PR
Nga-h-bukurribun-inj, ka-h-yin-inj.
 1sg>3-R-dream-PI 3sg-R-say/do-PP
Kardu kirdikird-wurd, kardu o biyi-wurd.
 maybe woman-DIM maybe or man-DIM
 ‘You have a child, she says. I had a dream, she says. Maybe a baby girl or maybe a baby boy.’

54. This is comparable to the use of diminutives on proper names (see Wierzbicka (1984) for instance).

55. The diminutive was also found, occasionally, on other human categories such as *nes* ‘nurse’, but this was not frequent enough that I could assess the sense.

20110614_008_LB 117 [Stim]

[Commenting on a picture where a young boy and a young girl are laughing together.]

- (6) *Ka-h-marnu-kolmukol-minj kanh biyi-wurd.*
3sg>3-BEN-pretend:REDUP-PP DEM man-DIM

‘This little boy is making fun for her.’

Biyi-wurd and *kirdikird-wurd* are not used to refer to adults of small size, but only to younger males and younger females. Here the diminutive operates simply on the scale of age, which is of course associated with size, but not on the scale of size as such.

3.1.2 Categories defined by age

-*Wurd* can apply to ‘stage of life’ nouns, i.e. human categories defined by age, when these categories denote a relatively young age group (e.g. *yawurrinj* ‘young man’, *yawk* ‘young woman’, *wurdurd* ‘child’...). They were not found to apply to nouns denoting older person categories.⁵⁶

When commenting on *Ten Canoes*, MT qualified the younger hero as *yawurrinj* ‘young man’, for instance in this sequence (7) where she interprets the answers of the young man’s male relatives, as the hero complains about not being given a wife. *Yawurrinj* denotes young men, from teenage to around 20 y.o., which is the age of the character.

20120710b_003_MT 029 [TC]

- (7) *Manjh dja-h-dja-di*
wait 2sg-R-FOC-stand/be:PR
mak kirdikird [false start] djila-bangmu-ngabbu-yan,
NEG woman 1pl.excl>2sg-(not)yet-give-FUT
manjh yelek [false start] dja-h-dja-yawurrinj.
wait slowly 2sg-R-FOC-young.man

‘Wait, stand by, we won’t give you a wife yet, hang on, you’re still a young man.’

At other times, she called the same character *yawurrinj-wurd*:

20120710b_003_MT 064 [TC]

- (8) *Kanh kirdikird-ngong bula-h-dja-na-ng*
DEM woman-group 3pl>3-R-FOC-see-PP

56. One reason is obviously that this would be contradictory with the basic sense of the diminutive on person categories, which is ‘young’. On the other hand, this should not prevent the diminutive from being added to these terms for emotional or pragmatic effect, but it will be shown in 3.3 that in such cases, the diminutive is added to the verb complex. In addition, the main terms for these categories, *na-kohbanj* ‘old man’ and *ngal-kohbanj* ‘old woman’, seem to have emotional connotations similar to the ones described for the diminutives in the following sections.

kanunh yawurrinj-wurd ka-ye-yu nahda.
 DEM young.man-DIM 3sg-SUB-lie:PR there

‘The women have seen the little young man who’s over there.’

As with any diminutives around the world, this use is utterly common with *wurdurd*, ‘child’, *wurdurd-wurd* being a very common alternative to *wurdurd* (although about ten times less frequent than the bare form *wurdurd*). *Wurdurd-wurd* applies to children of any age, up to the teenage years – which is also the range of age for *wurdurd*. Hence with age-based human categories, the diminutive does not seem to restrict the denotation to a younger member of the category. Instead, it simply confirms that the denotatum is young, on the speaker’s absolute scale. Therefore, the denotational input is nil – or at least transparent, making no difference compared to the sense of the bare noun. What is, then, the contribution of diminutives when encliticized to age-based human categories?



Figure 1. Dayindi/Yerarlpaaril. Photo courtesy of Vertigo Production.

An obvious hypothesis is that the diminutive is associated with emotionally loaded contexts. However, the following examples indicate that emotional load is not, by itself, a decisive feature of the diminutive form. In (9), we find *wurdurd-wurd* in an emotionally neutral context, while in (10), *wurdurd* occurs in an emotionally loaded context. In (9), the speaker explains who must name a baby. Her account is not emotional, as she is not discussing a specific case, but stating things in the abstract. In (10), the speaker describes her reaction when a child falls over and starts crying – where endearment seems in order.

20110605_005_LB_ND 060 (ND) [Narr]

- (9) *Bula-h-ngi-yong-iyan bula-h-ngi-ngabbu-yan dat wurdurd-wurd.*
 3pl>3-R-name-put-FUT 3pl>3-R-name-give-FUT DEM(Kriol) child-DIM
 ‘They’ll choose a name, they’ll give a name to the child.’

270909_93OK 0400 (LB) [ContEI]

- (10) *Ngarra-h-bo-n ngurra-h-na-n kanh wurdurd ka-ye-ruru-n.*
 1pl.incl-R-GO-PR 1pl.incl>3-R-see-PR DEM child 3sg-SUB-CRY:REDUP-PR
Wordeh ka-h-kurlba-werhka-rr-inj djarra.
 INTJ.surprise 3sg-R-blood-make.come.out-RR-PP here
 ‘We go and see the child who is crying. Oh, he’s bleeding there!’

Hence the semantic contribution of *-wurd* to age-based human categories cannot be described simply in terms of ‘endearment’. However, a distributional analysis shows that the diminutive is indeed associated with empathy and proximity.

3.1.3 Distribution

Since the presence of *-wurd* on age-based categories makes no denotational difference, the contribution of the diminutive in such cases presumably has to do with ‘connotations’, i.e. with a particular ‘tone’ given to the sentence. Such contributions should be assessed based on distribution: the contexts in which *-wurd* occurs more frequently indicate its connotations. Naturally, distribution is also significant where the diminutive does make a denotational contribution. Even with non-age-based categories, where the diminutive does provide some indication that the denotatum is young, the denotational difference is not necessarily very significant, and connotations presumably play a major role as well. For instance, in *Samson and Delilah*, the female character is a woman around 20 y.o. She is young enough to be called *kirdikird-wurd* ‘young woman/female’, and old enough to be simply called *kirdikird* ‘female/woman’ without further specification (a label which would sound strange for a teenager). It is a choice of the speaker whether to use the diminutive or not. Finally, even in the case of a very young referent, it remains a choice of the speaker whether to flag young age by means of a diminutive, or not; connotations also determine such choices. A distributional analysis will reveal the connotations of diminutives where these connotations come together with denotational semantic contributions. When the diminutive has no

denotational impact, like with age-based categories, the distribution will reflect the most salient semantic contribution of *-wurd*.

The general corpus in Dalabon is not suited for such a distributional analysis, because the only forms displaying relative frequency are *wurdurd* ‘child’ and *wurdurd-wurd* ‘child’ + DIM (twenty-four tokens). It appears from these tokens that the DIM is absent when the noun is used predicatively, and less frequent where the noun carries other morphology.⁵⁷ But semantically speaking, the contexts and the referents are too diverse to allow for systematic comparisons between bare and diminutive expressions.

In the Movies Corpus, by contrast, studying the way speakers referred to some of the characters proved fruitful, as comments on movies provide a relatively large number of tokens referring to the same person in commensurable contexts.⁵⁸ The observations stated below are tied to a particular type of speech: comments upon fictional events in which the speaker does not take part. This is possibly not the most natural context for diminutives, which would be used more naturally in interactions, typically with children. Yet, the results are clear and consistent with what is known of diminutives cross-linguistically (Dabasinskiene, 2009; Dressler & Barbaresi Merlini, 1994; Jurafsky, 1996; Travis, 2004).

3.1.3.1 Favoring factors The following analysis highlights the contexts of occurrence of Dalabon diminutives based on the number of times speakers used *-wurd* to refer to some of the characters of the movies. At the end of the section, Table 2 recapitulates the figures discussed in the analysis.

The patterns of use of *kirdikird* ‘woman/female’ vs. *kirdikird-wurd* ‘woman/female’ + DIM by two speakers, MT and LB, to refer to the female character in *Samson and Delilah*, a young woman who may be called alternatively *kirdikird* ‘female/women’ or *kirdikird-wurd* ‘young female/women’, are enlightening. MT displayed no empathy for the characters in this movie. She expressed no emotions with respect to their love story and sounded relatively judgmental of their behavior in general (for instance, taking drugs). MT uses *kirdikird* ten times and *kirdikird-wurd* twice to refer to the female character. Most of the occurrences of the bare form *kirdikird* occur in the context of the love affair between her and Samson, the male character – an aspect of the scenario to which MT seemed emotionally indifferent. Both diminutive occurrences were set in the context of Delilah looking after her grandmother. This aspect of the character’s behavior attracted MT’s endearment and explicit approval.

57. The diminutive may add up to other nominal enclitics (*wurdurd-wurd-no*, *wurdurd* + DIM + 3sgPOSS, ‘his child’), but this is exceptional.

58. Three systematic comparisons were carried out: *kirdikird* ‘woman’ vs *kirdikird-wurd* referring to Delilah in *Samson and Delilah*; *yawurrinj* ‘young man’ vs *yawurrinj-wurd* referring to Dayindi in *Ten Canoes*; and *wurdurd* ‘child’ vs *wurdurd-wurd* to refer to any of the children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. See Hymes (1974) for a comparable method applied to a myth in the Takelma language (Oregon), with respect to a prefix with diminutive values.

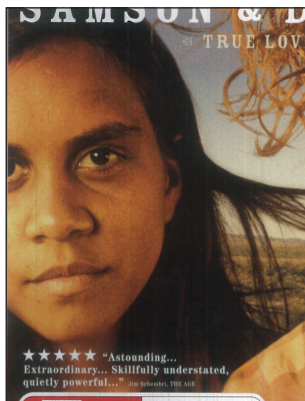


Figure 2. Delilah. © Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd.

20120719a_001_MT 205 [SD]

(11) *Ka-h-men-burrama nunda men-wurrhwurrungu.*

3sg-R-ideas-good DEM ideas-old.person

Kanh kirdikird-wurd

DEM woman-DIM

buka-h-naHna-n kakkak-no.

3sg>3sg.h-R-see:REDUP-PR parallel.grandkin-3sgPOSS

look.after

'She's got respect [her ideas are good], she's mature [her ideas are old].

This little young women looks after her grandmother.'

This is in agreement with the expressions used by MT when commenting on *Ten Canoes*. MT was much more enthusiastic about *Ten Canoes*, which tells a 'traditional story' and to which she is attached for personal reasons (see Chapter 3, 1.2.2.4), than about *Samson and Delilah*. She expressed much more empathy for the characters of *Ten Canoes* and, accordingly, she used *yawurrinj-wurd* 'young man' + DIM almost systematically, rather than *yawurrinj*, to refer to the young hero in this movie.⁵⁹

In LB's comment on *Samson and Delilah*, the bare form *kirdikird* is used seven times and the diminutive form eight times to refer to the female character, Delilah. Among the eight diminutive forms, one refers to the context of Delilah looking after her grandmother; and five describe an intimate scene: Delilah waking up in the morning, Delilah combing her hair, Delilah listening to music in her car in the night etc. Example (12) describes the girl's evening routine (as she goes to sleep by the fire), in a low-pitch, low-intensity voice.

59. She used the bare form *yawurrinj* in specific cases which will be accounted for by the determining factors described in 3.1.3.2.



Figure 3. Delilah watching her fire in the night. © Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd.

20120720_003_LB 075 [SD]

- (12) *Mimal ka-h-marnu-rurung...*⁶⁰
 fire 3sg>3-BEN-burn:REDUP:PR
Kanh kirdikird-wurd...
 DEM woman-DIM
 ‘Her fire is burning for her...
 The little young woman...’



Similar occurrences relate to very quiet scenes of the referent’s daily life, which tend to project the observer into someone’s intimacy. In contrast with these contexts where LB uses *kirdikird-wurd*, she uses the bare form *kirdikird* when the context is emotionally neutral, or relates to the love affair – about which LB displayed no emotional reaction – and a few other contexts accounted for in 3.1.3.2. Indeed, cross-linguistically, diminutives are commonly associated with intimacy, often because they relate to daily life with children (Dabasinskiene, 2009). Diminutives are also reported to relate to familiarity because they are used to speak about ordinary things of daily life (Chao (1947, p. 35) on Cantonese, Fradin & Montermini (2009) on French).

In Dalabon, the instances related to intimate scenes suggest an association not only with intimacy and familiarity but more specifically with routines, typically shared routines (like making fire) that everyone can jointly identify with because they are comparable to a daily ‘score’ where one can easily follow a melody known by all. These routines are experienced by each individual on their own (not shared with others in this respect), and yet they are shared to the extent that everyone goes through the same routines. This acknowledgement of common, shared experience in daily life is at play in other uses of the diminutives, as described in 3.1.4.2, and in other aspects of Dalabon emotional speech. Other emotional features, typically prosody, are used

60. In this example, the use of the person prefix *buka-*, indexing an agent lower in animacy than its patient, would be expected, but LB used *ka-*.

when identifying certain features of daily life, like birds singing in the morning for instance. These are things everyone knows intimately, and everyone also knows that others know intimately as well.

A further interpretation is that emotional features used in such contexts allow speakers to flag ‘shared respective intimacy’ (as defined above) with some discretion, i.e. without disrupting privacy. Indeed, this interpretation matches my experience of the discreet attention Dalabon people pay to others’ habits and personal needs, which they observe and acknowledge (sometimes with some amusement), but avoid judging. Such indirect acknowledgment of interpersonal proximity also echoes the ‘obliquity’ (Keen, 1994, p. 290), ‘indirectness’ or ‘circumspection’ (Garde (2008a) after Levinson (2007, p. 30)) that is typical of address and reference to others in Aboriginal Northern Australia. Garde (2008a) explains how direct mentions of private names are avoided because they induce a risk of ‘losing face’, presumably in line with a local reluctance to be exposed in public (see Chapter 6, 2.1.4). In addition, having to rely on descriptions other than proper names puts strong emphasis on the shared knowledge and experience that become necessary to identify referents without the use of such straightforward linguistic devices. Using diminutives when witnessing someone’s daily routines achieves the same results. It acknowledges the person’s intimacy, and shared intimate routines, without exposing them inappropriately.

Commenting on *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, MT used *wurdurd* ‘child/children’⁶¹ twelve times to refer to the three main characters of the movie, and *wurdurd-wurd* two times. She also used *wurdurd-wurd* three times to refer to other children appearing in the story. Four of the occurrences of *wurdurd-wurd* are tied to emotional contexts where compassion, defined as an emotional response to a negative event happening to someone other than the speaker, is very plausibly at play: the children are crying, scared, taken away from their parents by welfare officers who bring them to a compound. A fifth occurrence relates to the speaker witnessing someone taking care of someone else, in the context of an intimate routine: the children are given a shower. Compassion relates to empathy and is therefore a plausible connotation for a diminutive (it is reported in Cantonese by Jurafsky (1988) and Colombian Spanish by Travis (2004, p. 268), who calls it ‘sympathy’).⁶²

61. In Dalabon, plural is usually not obligatorily marked on nouns, so that any noun can denote its referent as one or several. I adapt the glosses to the context for the sake of clarity.

62. On one occasion, compassion was expressed by a first person inclusive plural possessive enclitic on *wurdurd* ‘children’ (there are a couple of examples of expressive usage of this morphological feature throughout the corpora). MT was commenting on the children lying on the ground, as they attempted to walk through the desert, and fell over in exhaustion. MT was acutely aware of the death threat.

20120706b_000_MT 133 [RPF]

Hey... *Wurdurd-ngokorrng!* *Barra-h-Ing-rakka-ng.*
INTJ.call children-1pl.inclPOSS 3du-R-SEQ-fall-PP

‘Oh... Our children! They fell over.’ [They are lying on the ground.]

20120705b_004_MT 086 [RPF]

(13) *Marruh mah nah-no?*

INTERR and mother-3sgPOSS

Kanh wurdurd-wurd ka-h-ruru-n. Ngarrkun-no.

DEM child-DIM 3sg-R-CFY:REDUP-PR newborn.baby

'And where's his mother? This little child is crying. This newborn baby.'



The respective distributions of *kirdikird* 'young woman' and *kirdikird-wurd* in reference to the female character of *Samson and Delilah*, and of *wurdurd* 'child/children' and *wurdurd-wurd* in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, summarized in Table 2, indicate that the diminutive *-wurd* indexes various contexts relating to empathy and proximity:

- compassion (a negative event affects someone);
- endearment and approval (positive feelings inspired by someone else): approval applies, in particular, when witnessing someone caring for someone else – which may be described as 'second degree' compassion: witnessing someone's compassionate response to a third person being threatened by a negative event;
- witnessing intimacy and daily routines, in particular in context where one acknowledges shared daily experience.

Empathy, which implies approval and proximity, is at play in each feature, and is a common feature of diminutives cross-linguistically (Jurafsky, 1996). Familiarity, which connects with proximity and intimacy, is also a common feature (Dabasińskiene, 2009).

Table 2. *-Wurd* tokens explaining factors favoring the use of diminutives. Number of occurrences of [noun + DIM] expressions vs bare forms when referring to Delilah in *Samson and Delilah* and to children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. LB's tokens for the children were not analyzed. Figures in the 'among which' lines may add up to more than the total above, since each occurrence may exemplify several contexts at a time.

<i>kirdikird</i> 'woman' vs <i>kirdikird-wurd</i> 'woman + DIM' in <i>Samson and Delilah</i>		
	MT	LB
<i>kirdikird</i> 'woman'	10	7
<i>kirdikird-wurd</i> 'woman + DIM'	2	8
among which approval of compassionate behavior	2	1
among which intimacy	0	5
others	0	2
<i>wurdurd</i> 'child/children' vs <i>wurdurd-wurd</i> 'child/children + DIM' in <i>Rabbit-Proof Fence</i>		
	MT	
<i>wurdurd</i> 'child/children'	12	
<i>wurdurd-wurd</i> 'child/children + DIM'	5	
among which compassion (children in dire situations)	4	
among which approval of compassionate behavior	1	
among which intimacy	1	

None of these factors is a requirement: not all occurrences are tied to an emotional context. Also, in spite of an important emotional connotation, when *-wurd* occurs on nouns the ‘young(er)’ sense is preserved in all cases. In the corpora, diminutives are not used on human category nouns referring to persons who are not young (relative to the speaker), although the movies offered occasions to do so (see 3.3.1).

3.1.3.2 Detering factors: referential and perceptual distance In *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, the children are constantly put in very dire situations (threatened, scared, crying, tired, in pain etc.), so that compassion is often a plausible emotional response. However, the diminutive form *wurdurd-wurd*, ‘child/children’ + noun, was not used systematically. In MT’s comment, the bare form *wurdurd* occurred four times in non-emotional contexts. In addition, *wurdurd* occurred three times in non-referential use. Likewise, when commenting on *Ten Canoes*, MT never used *yawurrinj-wurd*, but systematically used *yawurrinj* ‘young man’, to talk about young men in a general, non-referential way. The diminutive tends to occur on referential expressions. This factor seems consistent with the emotional connotations: one cannot feel empathy for, or be intimate with a referent that is not identified. This section discusses the factors limiting the use of diminutives in potentially emotional contexts. At the end of the section, Table 3 recapitulates the figures for the tokens considered in the analysis.

On seven occasions, *wurdurd* was used where the context was potentially emotional (compassion, intimacy), but the children did not participate in the event directly. Instead, they related to the event as its cause or purpose, for instance when their parents worried about them, when the welfare’s Chief Protector tried to locate them as they were fleeing from the compound, etc. Likewise, diminutive forms were not used in reported speech, even when the context was emotional. In fact, it seems that speakers are more likely to use a diminutive form if the referent is actually on screen at the time of utterance. These factors, as well as the presence of other morphology, limit the use of diminutives in Dalabon.⁶³ Example (14) shows that the bare form *wurdurd* was preferred to describe an event not involving the children directly, even though the context was emotional.

20120705b_002_MT 109 [RPF]

- (14) *Bulu bula-h-marnu-dombu-rru-n weh-no,*
 3pl 3pl>3-R-BEN-extinguish-RR-PR INTJ.generic
*wurdurd bulu bulah-njerrh-ye-komh-minj.*⁶⁴
 child 3pl 3pl>3-R-(dead)body-COM-leave.abnormally-PP
 ‘They are gone altogether, too bad, they took their children away from them.’

63. In the comments on *Ten Canoes*, all the occurrences of the bare form *yawurrinj* ‘young man’ instead of *yawurrinj-wurd* to refer to the young hero can be explained by one of these factors, or by the presence of other morphology, as mentioned earlier in this section.

64. MT said *wurdurd bulu bulah-ngerh-ye-komhminj*, which would mean ‘they took the children’s heart/breath from the mother and grandmother’. Considering the context, I interpret this as a slip of the tongue, and reconstruct the clause in a way that makes sense and sounds very natural.

This is consistent with the rest of the findings: where a character is not part of the event described, where they are not perceptually accessible (here, on the screen) but simply referred to, the diminutive is not used. The referent must be identified, it must be part of the event described, and preferably perceptually close.

These deterring factors (summarized in Table 3) have to do with the centrality of the referent in the speech situation and discourse context, rather than with the referent and event described *per se*. While these factors may be specific to the discourse situation under scrutiny (commenting on movies), they are interesting because they match the connotation of proximity, which is listed among the triggering factors above (intimacy). The phenomenon is not unique cross-linguistically: a preference of diminutives for referentiality is also observed in Dutch, as reported by Bauer (1997, p. 553), from Zonneveld (1983, p. 142ff). In addition, these centrality factors may explain the relatively low representation of the diminutive in the rest of the Dalabon corpora, in which most of the narratives feature distant referents.⁶⁵ In contrast, speech situations brought about by daily interactions with a child who remains the constant focus of attention of their mother and other relatives probably fulfill these ‘centrality of reference’ criteria.

Table 3. -*Wurd* tokens explaining factors deterring the use of diminutives. Number of occurrences of [noun + DIM] expressions vs bare forms when referring to children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, and to the younger hero in *Ten Canoes*, both in MT’s comments.

	MT
<i>wurdurd</i> ‘child/children’ vs <i>wurdurd-wurd</i> ‘child/children + DIM’ in <i>Rabbit-Proof Fence</i>	
<i>wurdurd</i> ‘child/children’	12
among which non-emotional	4
among which non-referential	3
among which children not on screen	7
<i>wurdurd-wurd</i> ‘child/children + DIM’ (compassion, endearment)	5
<i>yawurrinj</i> ‘young man’ vs <i>yawurrinj-wurd</i> ‘young man + DIM’ in <i>Ten Canoes</i>	
<i>yawurrinj</i> ‘young man’	8
among which non-referential	3
among which predicative	2
among which accompanied by other morphology	2
among which young man not on screen	1
<i>yawurrinj</i> ‘young man + DIM’ (approval and endearment)	9

65. Elicitation with visual stimuli is an exception in this respect, and indeed, features a relatively high proportion of diminutives.

3.1.4 Other animates

-*Wurd* is also found on kin-terms, another person-denoting noun set. Nouns referring to other animates – animals – can also take a diminutive.⁶⁶ Age-based scalar meaning and emotional senses apply like with the human categories presented above. Unfortunately, due to space limitations it is impossible to describe in detail how the diminutive interacts with these categories, but I will mention a few points in the following paragraphs.

3.1.4.1 Kin-terms On some kin-terms, *-wurd* operates as with other human categories: it is applied to young humans, often with an emotional connotation (e.g. *be-no-wurd* ‘male’s.son’ + 3sgPOSS + DIM, ‘his young son’, referring affectionately to a toddler.) However, *-wurd* was more frequent on kin-terms denoting siblings or reciprocal kin-terms, in each case meaning ‘the younger of the pair formed by referent and propositus’ (the propositus being the speaker in many instances). Hence ‘sibling’ + *wurd* means ‘propositus’s younger sibling’ and ‘reciprocal kin-term’ + *wurd* means ‘the younger member of the pair formed by referent and propositus (who are from different generations but address each other with the same reciprocal kin-term)’. The term *kakkak-no*, used in (15), is reciprocal: it means both parallel grandparent (e.g. mother’s mother) and parallel grandchild (e.g. daughter’s daughter). Adding *-wurd* disambiguates the term, indicating reference to the younger member of the pair.

220909_70OK 0907 (QB) [ContEl]

- (15) *Bulu nga-h-n-iyān kakkak-wurd-ngan,*
 3pl 1sg>3-R-see-FUT parallel.grandkin-DIM-1sgPOSS
bula-h-yolh-mon-wo-n.
 3pl>1-R-feelings-good-CSTVZR-PR
 ‘I will see my grandchildren, they make me feel good.’

66. There is one occurrence (in Sarah Cutfield’s corpus) of a diminutive on a vegetable, namely the leaves of the pandanus tree, which are used for basket weaving. The translation collected by Sarah Cutfield, given here, is ‘young’, consistent with the fact that baskets are made with tender pandanus leaves. There is some affectionate connotation associated with recalling souvenirs and with the familiarity of the traditional technique of weaving, which is one of MT’s most habitual daily activities (familiar routine).

DWOL_Rough_Cuts_2_0392 (MT)

Nidjarra kereben ka-h-worh-di-nj, buhkorreh-kun kanhdja
 here caravan 3sg-R-WORH-stand/be-PI a.long.time.ago there
yila-h-mamang-inj, nunda dayarr-wurd.
 1pl.excl>3-R-get:REDUP-PI DEM pandanus-DIM

‘Here is where that caravan used to stand, in the olden days, that’s where we collected them, the young pandanus.’

Here the denotational sense has to do with age, but the label *scalar* is not entirely appropriate. The diminutive does not shift the denotational range along a scale of age, but discriminates between a pair of terms respectively located at each end of this scale.

The tokens with siblings indicate that the ‘younger of the pair’ sense can be waived in favor of the sole expression of compassion or endearment. This may have to do with whether the order of the morphemes is inverted. The standard order of affixation is KIN + DIM + POSS.⁶⁷

20110526c_002_MT 055 [Narr]

- (16) *Kurl ka-h-bo-ninj kanh rangum-no,*
 school 3sg-R-GO-PI DEM male-FILL
nunh mah kanh wangirribeh kanh wulkun-djan-wurd-no
 DEM and DEM ahead DEM sibling-FEM-DIM-3gPOSS
kanh Bangarn nah-no... nunh kahnidjah ka-h-dja-Ing-ni-nj.
 DEM subsection mother-3sgPOSS DEM there 3sg-R-FOC-SEQ-sit/be-PP
 ‘Her brother [the boy of the pair] was going to school, he went first, his little sister, Bangarn’s mother, she stayed there at home at the time.’

On one occasion LB referred to her older brother using a diminutive form with the inverted order: KIN + POSS + DIM instead of KIN + DIM + POSS. The context was particularly emotional, as she was recounting how her older brother had been taken away from her parents when he was a child, as part of the ‘Stolen Generation’.⁶⁸ The intonation (low volume, lower pitch, creaky voice) conveyed compassion and sadness. The diminutive may indicate that the sibling was young at the time of the event (around 6 y.o.), and it indicates compassion.

20110519b_001_LB_ND 051 (LB) [Narr]

- (17) *Kurnh-kinikun-kah bulu ka-h-ka-ng [...].*
 country-different-LOC 3pl 3sg>3-R-take-PP
Yayaw-no... wulkun-ngan-wurd.
 little.one:REDUP sibling-3sgPOSS-DIM
 ‘They took them to another country. The little one, my poor little [older] brother.’

67. These occurrences suggest that *-wurd* placed between kin-terms and possessive enclitics may be a different enclitic, assigned to a different slot. At this point, however, the evidence is too thin to expand upon this analysis.

68. The Stolen Generation is a long episode in Australian history during which Aboriginal children were forcibly taken away from their families. The movie *Rabbit-Proof Fence* recounts one of these forced removals.

3.1.4.2 *Animals* With animals, the diminutive was found to behave as it does with human categories nouns. It is used to refer to pets and other animals, either when they are young (*kunj-wurd* ‘kangaroo’ + DIM for a joey for instance); or when the context triggers endearment or compassion, or both. *-Wurd* does not occur spontaneously on nouns referring to (relatively) big animals. In elicitation, a diminutive form was accepted in a case where the referent was neither small nor young, but a rather big dog (called Basta), because the context was emotional. The speaker repeated the proper name with the diminutive in (18) only after making a more spontaneous suggestion first, where the diminutive was encliticized to the verb (see 3.3).

20120719a_000_MT 090 [E1]

- (18) *Ka-h-ruru-ninj* *Basta-wurd*,
 3sg-R-CRY:REDUP-PI proper.name-DIM
na-Basta *kanh ka-h-ru-ninj bunu ka-h-yawa-ninj*.
 MASC-proper.name DEM 3sg-R-cry-PI 3du 3sg>3-R-look.for-PI
 ‘Poor Basta was crying, Basta, he was crying, looking for them two.’

Another context where diminutives were found on animal nouns seems to have to do with familiarity. When presented with drawings of culturally important species such as (adult) kangaroos or crocodiles, speakers sometimes used a diminutive when naming the species for the first time. As discussed in 3.1.3.1, witnessing familiar routines can trigger the use of the diminutive. The study of interjections and prosodic features indicates that culturally identified routines (for instance making fire, roasting a kangaroo, identifying which bird is singing in the morning...) attract emotional features. Here, the species were presented as familiar, and shared knowledge of these species was being emphasized (speakers described their typical behaviors, how they were eaten etc.). The species identified on drawings and encliticized with a diminutive were adult animals, so that these occurrences disconnect the emotional value of the diminutive from its age specification.⁶⁹ In contrast, no spontaneous occurrence applied the diminutive to a person that was not regarded as young.

3.2 *-Wurd* on nouns referring to inanimates

While on nouns denoting animates, the diminutive indicates that the referent is low on a scale of age, in the case of nouns referring to inanimates, the diminutive indicates that the referent is low on a scale of size (count nouns, 19), or quantity (mass nouns,

69. An alternative hypothesis is that the diminutive signals the size of the drawing, which is smaller than the life model. But this is not very plausible. Speakers are familiar enough with such graphic representations to overlook the size, and they never commented upon the size of drawings as compared to life models.

20). Note that in (19), the diminutive cannot express endearment, since I kept complaining about the car in question (my rented car for that trip), and about its small size in particular.

[Unrecorded elicitation during conversation with MT] [ContEl]

- (19) *Mak nga-djare kanh murdika-wurd.*
 NEG 1sg-like/want DEM car-DIM
 ‘I don’t like this small car.’

20110530_001_MT 26 [Narr]

- (20) *Kanh-kun bula-ye-yang-mama-ng.*
 DEM-GEN 3pl>1-SUB-language-get:REDUP-PP
nunh kanh bad-wurd bula-h-ngabbu-n
 DEM DEM stone-DIM 3pl>1-R-give-PR
ngey-karn nga-h-dja-koh-nam-urru-n.
 1sg-EMPH 1sg-R-FOC-eyes/gaze-put-RR-PR
 manage

‘When they record my language, then they give me a bit of money and I just manage by myself.’

3.2.1 Emotional connotations

Several of the emotional factors highlighted in 3.1.3.1 also apply when the diminutive is added on other nouns: compassion, approval (witnessing caring and sharing), and intimacy. Some spontaneous occurrences clearly dissociate the emotional meaning from the size specification: diminutives are found on objects that are not small (a dissociation not observed for diminutives on human categories). In (21) the three heroines of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* were hiding in a bed under the same blanket. The blanket was actually quite large: the diminutive indexes the speaker’s endearment and compassion as she witnesses the children sharing a common protection in a distressful moment.

20120705b_006_MT 54 [RPF]

- (21) *Bulu ka-h-barrkbo-ng kardu blankid-wurd.*
 3pl 3sg>3-R-cover-PP maybe blanket-DIM
 ‘It’s like covering them, the good old blanket.’

3.2.2 Softening pragmatic functions

In addition to these dimensions also found with human categories, diminutives on non-person/animals nouns can have a softening function, downplaying some aspect of the statement or situation. The range of possible softening functions remains open. Example (20) (above) and (22) respectively present an apologetic use and an attempt to attract compassion, but there may be more applications in other contexts.

Example (20) exemplifies a desire to attract compassion, or to ‘soften others’, in a context where MT was also explaining why she had refused to give money to a distant relative (hence also an apologetic dimension). The expression *bad-wurd* ‘stone/money’ + DIM minimized her own gains, and thus justified her refusing to share. In other words, she tried to attract compassion from others, in order to explain why she did not act compassionately herself at an earlier stage. MT often used *bad-wurd* ‘stone/money’ + DIM when discussing earnings.

In (22), the speaker downplayed negative behavior while flagging it at the same time. This is taken from a video in Sarah Cutfield’s corpus (Cutfield, 2003), where MT and other women were digging roots for dyeing.⁷⁰ MT used *-wurd* to describe as small a piece of root that she set aside to keep for herself. Her voice was low and whispery, indicating that discretion was in order.

DWOL_Rough_Cuts_0737 (MT)

- (22) *Nga-warlkk-iyān nunda warnu-no-wurd ka-h-marnu-yong-iyān.*
 1sg>3-hide-FUT DEM arm-FILL-DIM 3sg>1-R-BEN-lie-FUT
 ‘I’ll hide this little root, it will wait for me there.’

As pointed out by Travis (2004, pp. 264–266) about Colombian Spanish diminutives and by Sifianou (1992, p. 158) about Greek, softening functions associate naturally with, and may result from, the broadly positive emotional connotations of diminutives, which is acquired by diminutives as they are used with reference to children. While this applies to softening diminutives in Dalabon as well, there are also indications that in this language, softening functions associate more specifically with the ‘small’ scalar sense, as opposed to the ‘young’ scalar sense. Since X + DIM compounds can mean ‘small X’ or ‘small amount of X’ if X is inanimate, diminutives can be encliticized to inanimate nouns in order to minimize (i.e., make smaller) the importance of a negative event, and therefore soften a judgment. This is not found with human categories, where the shift applied to diminutive compounds pertains to age, not size. In principle it would seem possible, for instance, to express some criticism about someone and then soften it by adding a diminutive to a noun referring to them, thus expressing endearment. The fact that this does not happen in Dalabon suggests that the softening function derives from the ‘small’ scalar sense.

3.3 Verbs

The diminutive is also found on verb complexes, although the frequency of [verb + DIM] expressions was significantly lower than with nouns (especially nouns of animates). The range of emotional senses and softening functions of [verb + DIM]

70. From a small tree, called *kumurduk*, the root of which produces yellow dye. The tree is not excessively common, and the roots are notoriously difficult to extract.

expressions compares with those found with nouns (both animates and inanimates), with the major difference that with verbs, scalar senses are not attested independent of emotional or pragmatic contributions.

3.3.1 *Scalar senses*

Most occurrences may be interpreted under one of the following scalar senses:

- one of the arguments⁷¹ is young⁷² (23);⁷³
- the event is incomplete (do x incompletely) (24) or not intense (25).

20120705b_004_MT 025 [RPF]

[A nun is giving a shower to children.]

- (23) *Woywoy* *bulu ka-h-naHna-n-wurd*,
INTJ.compassion 3pl 3sg>3-R-see:REDUP-DIM
look.after

bulu ka-h-djukkodjukko-n.

3pl 3sg>3-R-wash:REDUP-PR

‘Good on her, she (kindly) looks after them [after the children], she washes them [she gives them a shower].’

20110530_004_MT 57 [ConvEl]

[As we were sitting in a park in the town of Katherine, working on Dalabon, a police car came around and looped towards us, then turned away again before reaching us.]

- (24) *Kardu ngorr bula-h-kurlhkurhka-wurd*.
maybe 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-visit:REDUP:PR-DIM

Yow, bah ngorr bula-h-na-ng.

INTJ.approb. but 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-see-PP

Kardu bala-h-men-yin djehneng

maybe 3pl-R-ideas-say/do:PR as.if

reckon

kardu ngungurru-kolh-ngu-n wah.

maybe APPR:1pl.incl>3-liquid-eat-PR water(liquid)

‘It seems that they [the police patrol] are coming a little towards us. Yeah, and they saw us. Perhaps they believe we might be drinking alcohol.’

71. Often the absolute argument, which is also the argument encoded by syntactically incorporated material. In some rarer cases, the only ‘young’ argument available was the ergative argument.

72. Presumably ‘small’ if the argument was inanimate, but there is no example.

73. A phenomena called ‘transference’ (of the scope of the diminutive to the argument) by Gooch (1967/1970, p. 17).



Figure 4. Ridjimaril. Photo courtesy of Vertigo Production.

In (27), none of the scalar senses applies either, as MT is commenting on two older women, and her Kriol translation confirms that the event is neither incomplete nor intense. MT consistently rejected scalar translations on verbs, and regularly rendered the effect of the diminutive by adding the typically compassionate Kriol interjection *bobala* (<Eng. ‘poor fellow’, see 4.3.5), as indicated in her translation of (26) above. In contrast, with ‘person’ + *wurd* expressions, the ‘young’ sense was translated.



Figure 5. The women who inspired the characters of Molly and Daisy in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. Images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.

20120706b_001_MT 68 [RPF]

- (27) *Barra-h-dja-redjiredji-ng-wurd mahkih.*
 3du-R-SEQ-laugh:REDUP-PR-DIM too

‘Also it seems that they are happy, dear ladies.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Dubala hepi olawei.’

[Verb + DIM] expressions commonly convey compassion as in (26) above, or positive empathy (endearment), as in (27). This use of diminutives on verbs correlates with the observation that *-wurd* never occurs on nouns denoting older persons. Indeed, when the person attracting compassion or endearment is old, the diminutive is added to the verb, not to the noun.

Other emotional contexts available for nouns apply to verbs as well. Witnessing caring and sharing was exemplified in (23), repeated below, in a comment on the nuns taking care of the children at the compound in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*.

20120705b_004_MT 025 [RPF]

- (23) *Woywoy bulu ka-h-naHna-n-wurd bulu ka-h-djukkodjukko-n.*
 INTJ.compassion 3pl 3sg>3-R-see:REDUP-DIM 3pl 3sg>3-R-wash:REDUP-PR
 look.after

‘Oh, she looks after them, she (kindly) washes them [she gives them a shower].’

Finally, [verb + DIM] compounds were also used when witnessing intimate scenes of daily routines, albeit less frequently. Here the speaker comments on a photo of myself and my husband sitting side by side, looking ahead of us in the same direction.



Figure 6. Picture of the author and her husband used in elicitation.

20110614_007_LB 083 [Stim]
[Commenting on Figure 6.]

- (28) *Kardu debibijen nunda nurra-h-naHna-n,*
maybe television DEM 2du>3-R-see:REDUP-PR
narra-h-ngurdka-rru-n-wurd nurra-h-naHna-n.
2du-R-stay.still-RR-PR-DIM 2du>3-R-see:REDUP-PR
‘You might be watching television here, you’re quietly watching a bit of television.’

3.3.3 Softening functions

Pragmatic softening functions of [verb + DIM] compounds, on the other hand, were never dissociated from the idea that the event was incomplete or of lesser intensity. This corroborates the hypothesis that in Dalabon, this function relates to the ‘small’ scalar sense of the diminutive (3.2.2). The following examples of softening functions correlate with the one presented in 3.2.2 for ‘inanimate’ + *wurd* expressions.

Diminutives can be used to soften the impact of negative events, as exemplified in (24) (repeated below). As explained above, we were having a session in a public park in Katherine and a police car came around – but did not actually reach the spot where we were sitting. The idea of the police’s suspicion was probably disturbing for MT.

20110530_004_MT 57 [ConvEl]

- (24) *Kardu ngorr bula-h-kurlhkurhka-wurd,*
maybe 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-visit:REDUP:PR-DIM
Yow, bah ngorr bula-h-na-ng.
INTJ.approb. but 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-see-PP
Kardu bala-h-men-yin djehneng
maybe 3pl-R-ideas-say/do:PR as.if
kardu ngungurru-kolh-ngu-n wah.
maybe APPR:1pl.incl>3-liquid-eat-PR water(liquid)
‘It seems that they [the police patrol] are coming a little towards us. Yeah, and they saw us. Perhaps they believe we might be drinking alcohol.’

Diminutives may also soften and flag a criticism at the same time. In the following example, MT discusses the funeral of a little girl who died in car accident in 1999, and uses a diminutive on the verb complex describing the funeral event. It is expected that children’s funerals are somewhat shorter than adults’ funerals, and this may justify the use of the diminutive, which in this sense conveys compassion for the deceased, endearment, possibly approval as well. On the other hand, MT had just explained that the family had neither undertaken proper revenge on the clans or persons responsible for the death, nor cried long enough. The use of the diminutive, in an utterance that is not

marked by any other emotional feature, indicates a negative judgment. The diminutive softens the judgment by minimizing the negative event, but it flags the speaker's negative judgment as much as it softens it. This ambivalence of diminutives is described by Taine-Cheikh (1988, pp. 94–98) for the diminutives of Mauritanian Arabic.

20120707b_000_MT 414 [Narr]

- (29) *Mmm, byunrul yila-h-marnu-yidjnja-ninj-wurd.*
 INTJ.approv funeral 1pl.excl>3-R-BEN-HAVE-PI-DIM
 'Mmm, we had a small funeral for her.'

3.4 -*Wurd* on other word classes

-*Wurd* occurs only marginally on adverbs, numerals, and demonstratives. With adjectives, -*wurd* is slightly more frequent. It seems that the diminutive may apply to the head, yielding the sense 'a small (amount of) HEAD with the property x', or to the adjective, yielding the sense 'a HEAD which is somewhat x'. It seems likely that [adjective + DIM] expressions can endorse emotional senses and pragmatic functions, yet due to the small number of tokens I cannot describe how this operates.

-*Wurd* is frequent on *yaw-no* 'small', 'young'. *Yaw-no* is one of the Dalabon nominals that is difficult to classify strictly as an adjective or as a noun, but displays features typical of both classes.⁷⁴ *Yaw-no-wurd* behaves in a similar fashion. All the senses described above for diminutive forms apply to *yaw-no-wurd*. It can take scalar senses, meaning either 'young', 'small' or 'small amount', depending on the nature of the head. The scalar sense can also be adverbial, meaning 'do x a little bit'. *Yaw-no-wurd* conveys emotional connotations and pragmatic functions as well, although none of these senses was found to occur independently of a scalar sense.

3.5 *Yaw-*

*Yaw-no*⁷⁵ has an incorporable counterpart, *yaw-*, basically the same form without *-no* (on the ubiquity of *-no* in Dalabon, see Ponsonnet (2015)). The incorporable form *yaw-* behaves mostly like an incorporable noun, i.e. it bears on the absolutive argument of the verb to which it is incorporated – which is the standard behavior of syntactically

74. Dalabon word classes cannot be defined in terms of necessary and sufficient features, so that they allow for degrees of membership.

75. The word is in fact pronounced *yaw-rno*, the retroflex arising naturally after back vowels. However, *-no* being a well-identified Dalabon suffix, I prefer to maintain its standard spelling.

incorporated nouns in Dalabon.⁷⁶ The incorporated form *yaw-* is frequent with verbs having to do with begetting a child, being pregnant, birth etc.

20100722b_005_MT 44 [Narr]

- (30) *Wurdurd-no-kih kanh yirra-h-Ing-yaw-ngalka-ng.*
 child-3sgPOSS-EMPH DEM 1du>3-R-SEQ-little.one-find-PP

‘He and I had a child who was his own [i.e. not from another man, like the child I brought to our marriage from a previous union].’

In the Movies Corpus, a significant number of occurrences of *yaw-* depart from this ‘child’ interpretation of *yaw-*. In (31), the absolutive arguments, the subjects of the intransitive verb, are two old women (the actual women represented as children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*). Based on their age, the ‘young’ sense of *yaw-* does not apply. One of them is fairly tall and strong, which rules out a ‘small’ interpretation. The other one looks very old, so that the adverbial interpretation ‘a little bit’, applied to the verb, ‘get old’, would not make sense either. Therefore, the semantic contribution of *yaw-* here is strictly emotional, expressing endearment.⁷⁷



Figure 5. The women who inspired the characters of Molly and Daisy in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. Images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.

76. See Evans (1996, 2003) for an account of noun incorporation and argument distribution in Bininj Gun-wok transferable to Dalabon, and Ponsonnet (2015) for some specificities of Dalabon noun incorporation.

77. Note that while LB commented on this final scene of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* using the diminutive *yaw-* with a strictly emotional sense, MT had done the same thing with *-wurd* in her comment on this scene (27).

20120721_003_LB 183 [RPF]

- (31) *Kordeh barra-h-yaw-kenjhbi... -kohbakohbanj-m-inj.*
 INTJ.excl 3du-R-DIM-whatyucallit old:REDUP-INCH-PP
 ‘Ah well they’re whatyucallit, getting old, dear old ladies.’

In fact, more than 50% of the c. 45 tokens of *yaw-* examined within the Movies Corpus are accompanied by other emotional devices such as the diminutive *-wurd*, interjections, prosodic features, or several of these together, as in (32), where *yaw-* could refer to the child participant (the subject) or relate to compassion for the child, or both.

20120706b_000_MT 111 [RPF]

[With creaky voice.]

- (32) *Bordo ka-h-yaw-ruru-n.*
 INTJ.surprise 3sg-R-little.one-cry:REDUP-PR
 ‘Oh dear, the (poor) little one is crying.’

Nearly all these tokens occur in emotional contexts, of the same kinds as the ones found for *-wurd* on human categories (compassion, endearment especially when witnessing sharing and caring, intimacy, etc.). In many cases, especially in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, where the heroines are children, the emotional interpretation and the absolute interpretation of *yaw-* are merged, as in (32). This furnishes a bridging context for the shift from the senses ‘child/small’ to the emotional connotation. Examples like (31) above demonstrate that the emotional sense has become an independent sense of *yaw-*, and can occur where there is no denotational sense.

Pragmatic softening, on the other hand, is not attested with *yaw-*. This diminutive is also less frequent than the other one. There are about twice as many occurrences of *-wurd* as occurrences of *yaw-* in the Movies Corpus. I haven’t identified a clear emotional occurrence of *yaw-* as a diminutive in the general corpus (while *-wurd* does occur with emotional senses and pragmatic functions in the general corpus). There seems to be speakers’ preferences. LB used *yaw-* in strictly emotional contexts, and *-wurd* displayed lower incidence in her speech. MT used *-wurd* more than LB, and while she often used *yaw-* in emotional contexts, there is no token where she used it independently of a denotational sense ‘young’.

3.6 Conclusions

In the available corpora, the Dalabon diminutive *-wurd* has meanings and functions of three types, depending on the context and the head to which it applies.

- On nouns and adjectives, and possibly on verbs: scalar meanings:
 - low on scale of age (‘young’) on nouns referring to animates;

- low on scale of size ('small') on count nouns referring to inanimates, adjectives, possibly verbs;
- low on scale of quantity ('a small amount') on mass nouns referring to inanimates;
- low on scale of intensity/incomplete event, possibly with verbs, possibly on adjectives, confirmed for *yaw-no-wurd* 'little one' + DIM.
- On all word classes where the enclitic is attested with some frequency: emotional meanings:
 - empathy: compassion and positive empathy (other-oriented, empathic), approval, in particular witnessing sharing and caring, or endearment (other-oriented, external);
 - proximity: intimacy, daily routines, familiarity (positive, other-oriented, empathetic).
- On nouns referring to inanimates and verbs, i.e. on words triggering a 'small' scalar sense: softening functions:
 - softening (and flagging) negative judgment (criticism);
 - softening (and flagging) behavior to be condemned (apologetic);
 - attracting compassion (to soften others' judgment);
 - softening the impact of a negative event.

Emotional meanings occur for any kind of head, whereas softening functions do not occur with heads triggering the 'young' scalar sense. I hypothesize that this may be because the conceptual path to softening is minimization (of a quantity, of the size of a belonging, of an event, as exemplified by actual utterances), which is conveyed by the 'small' scalar sense, not by the 'young' scalar sense. Naturally, the general positive emotional connotations of the diminutive *-wurd* also play an important part in these softening occurrences.

The use of the diminutive *-wurd* is limited by:

- For nominals: predicative use – the diminutive enclitic is not found on nouns used predicatively.
- For nominals: the presence of other morphology on the head, word-final morphology in particular.
- In the context of commenting on a movie, the position of the referent in the event described and with respect to the speaker seems to impact on the use of the diminutive. The referent must take part directly in the event described, and must preferably be perceptually accessible. This matches the proximity dimension found with intimacy and familiarity.

The verb prefix *yaw-* takes similar emotional meanings, but was not found to realize softening. Since the incorporated noun *yaw-* relates to participants considered low on a scale of age (usually children or equivalents in non-human species), and not of size

independent of age, the absence of softening effects is in line with the hypothesis that these functions associate with size-related scalar senses.

In general, Dalabon diminutives conform to what diminutives do in at least some other languages, both in terms of semantics, morphological distribution (i.e. the parts of speech on which they occur), correlation of this distribution with semantics, and deterring factors. The specificities of *-wurd* lie in the cultural particularities of the emotional contexts which trigger them, as well as in the senses which *-wurd* does *not* have, while many other diminutives around the world have them.

First, compassion, a culturally central value in the Dalabon social landscape (Myers, 1979, pp. 355–358; 1986, pp. 113–117), is a very prominent context of occurrence of diminutives. In the Movies Corpus, it is the second most frequent emotional context of occurrence. The most frequent is endearment (45% of emotional occurrences), which is a standard core emotional contribution of diminutives across languages. Compassion accounts for 40% of emotional occurrences. This figure includes cases where a diminutive does not express compassion *per se*, but the endearment or approval of a speaker witnessing ‘sharing and caring’, i.e. witnessing someone being compassionate to a third person. These ‘second-degree compassion’ contexts are important, because they highlight the moral dimension of compassion. In these contexts, diminutives repeatedly express speakers’ emotionally loaded moral satisfaction with respect to the interpersonal interactions they deem adequate and desirable. Thus, Dalabon diminutives (and, as will be shown in the following sections, expressives in general) convey an assertion on what speakers want the world to be like.

This centrality of compassion is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that this emotion is not particularly richly lexicalized in Dalabon – contrary to some other Australian languages, for instance Pintupi, where it is labelled with a noun, *ngaltu* (Myers, 1979). In Dalabon, one of the speakers (LB) used the verb *marrbun* ‘feel compassion’, but this word was seldom used in any of the other speakers’ speech. The main speaker (MT)’s way to *describe* compassion was by means of a semi-lexicalized benefactive verb, *marnu-wurdah(mu)*, literally ‘suffer for someone’ (see Chapter 6, 2.1.3). This expression can have several senses: ‘suffer for someone’ (grief, literal), but also ‘be compassionate’, especially in contexts when someone is being helpful to someone else (sharing and caring). Hence Dalabon does provide speakers with lexical means to describe compassion, as a broad category. Expressive and descriptive features are compatible: there are words to discuss the categories associated with expressive features. However, lexical means are not very salient. With compassion, the expressions *marrbun* and *marnu-wurdah(mu)* are not frequent – and the latter is a lexicalized construction, not an autonomous root. In fact, lexical devices are clearly secondary when it comes to express or respond to compassion, and are commonly supplanted by expressive features.

A less frequent, yet culturally specific context of occurrence of Dalabon diminutives has to do with shared daily routines. These contexts account for less than 15%

of the emotional occurrences in the Movies Corpus, but seem relatively culturally specific. As explained in 3.1.3 and 3.1.4.2, diminutives uttered when witnessing shared daily routines are not only a response to witnessing someone's intimacy. They also acknowledge the fact that the routine in question represents shared experience, and shared knowledge – common codes. These routines are lived by each individual on their own (not shared with others in this respect). Yet, they are shared to the extent that everyone experiences the same routines. On these occasions, diminutives constitute discreet acknowledgments of this 'shared respective intimacy'. The speaker flags that they know what someone else is doing and how it feels doing this, but this is done with some discretion, so as not to disrupt privacy. Such 'indirect acknowledgement' of an intimate relationship with others is fairly typical of Australian 'circumspection' communication strategies, as described by Garde (2008a) for instance.

Finally, it is worth noting that, matching the centrality and specificity of compassion and connection to others, Dalabon diminutives do not encode negative other-oriented categories (i.e. emotions including bad intentions directed towards others) that are frequent with diminutives across languages. Dalabon diminutives do not express contempt, although this is a common connotation of diminutives (Jurafsky, 1996, p. 543), reported even in languages where compassion is an important dimension of diminutives (see Travis (2004) for Colombian Spanish). In Dalabon, diminutives can be used to flag criticisms at the same time as they minimize them, but purely contemptuous uses fall out of the scope of the emotions expressed by the diminutives, which, as a result, display a clearer focus on the expression of positive emotional connections between people.

4. Emotive interjections

Another important device in the expression of emotions, in Dalabon as in many languages around the world, is interjections. Publications on interjections in Australian languages include Evans (1992) for the Gunwinyguan Bininj Gun-wok, and Wilkins (1992) for Mparntwe Arrernte (Central Australia); Laughren (1982) also alludes to Warlpiri interjections in her description of particles. These works tend to focus on phatic and/or conative interjections, i.e. interjections used to organize communication or action, rather than on emotive interjections. In the following sections, I discuss some of the most common Dalabon emotive interjections. Section 4.1 spells out my perspective on the definition and status of interjections. Section 4.2 provides an overview of Dalabon emotive interjections, and 4.3 presents the most common emotive interjections, namely *weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy*, in further details.

4.1 Definitions

I adopt Wilkins's (1992, p. 124) definition of interjections:

(1) *Interjection*: A conventional lexical form which (commonly and) conventionally constitutes an utterance on its own, (typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes.

The strict definition identifies 'prototypical interjections' – which Ameka (1992) calls 'primary interjections'. Once the hedges are taken into account, the definition includes non-prototypical interjections into the class, i.e. 'secondary interjections' in Ameka's terms. Secondary interjections are formulas or words which do not belong to the class of interjections, but which may constitute an utterance by themselves (*oh my god* or *shit* in English). In some languages (e.g. French, cf. Drescher, 1997, p. 236), listing interjections would be difficult due to the high number of 'secondary interjections', with some undecidable cases. In Dalabon (as in Bininj Gun-wok, see Evans, 1992, p. 226), the matter is easier. While there exists a large number of interjections, there is only one secondary interjection in my data: *weh-no*, homophonous with a nominal meaning 'bad'.

A full study of Dalabon interjections is not possible here. I focus on what Ameka (1992, p. 113) calls 'emotive' interjections, a subclass of 'expressive' interjections (which Wierzbicka (1999, p. 283) lists among the potential universals of the linguistics of emotions). Ameka's expressive interjections comprise emotive ones and cognitive ones. They contrast with conative interjections (expressing the speaker's wishes, e.g. *shhh* in English) and phatic interjections, which channel communication (*alright, OK...*). Unsurprisingly, there is some overlap between the emotive and the phatic function. Interjections are usually very numerous and by nature ubiquitous. Each interjection can occur in extremely varied (and often semantically contrastive) contexts. Here I can only present a small segment of the possibilities, with the limited purpose to highlight the salient contrast between a handful of emotive emotions.

4.2 Emotive interjections in Dalabon

My main source of information for emotive interjections is the Movies Corpus – which, as mentioned in 1.1, does not cover all emotions. Interjections expressing anger and surprise are under-represented. Based on a complete inventory of interjections in the Movies Corpus, supplemented by an inventory of emotive interjections in the Emotions Corpus, and surveys in other corpora, I have established a non-exhaustive list of Dalabon emotive interjections (Table 4 below).

I have inventoried seventeen forms used as emotive interjections. Among them, four are used much more frequently than all others. These are discussed in the

following sections, while the less frequent interjections are not discussed, but listed and exemplified in Table 4 below. Emotions listed as ‘core emotive interjections’ in Table 4 are the ones which occurred at least twenty-five times in the Movies Corpus, while the interjections listed as ‘other emotive interjections’ numbered less than ten tokens at most (sometimes much less). One of the core emotive interjections is a borrowing from Kriol (*bobala*, <Eng. ‘poor fellow’). In lack of space, the analysis in this section focuses exclusively on Dalabon core emotive interjections. For other emotive interjections, I provide examples in Table 4, but no discussion. In addition to emotive interjections, the most common phatic interjections can be emotionally loaded, and are thus listed in Table 4 as ‘other emotive interjections’. These interjections usually convey non-emotional effects (typically punctuating discourse), but may occasionally endorse emotional connotations. *Yo* and *mmm* are the most common cases. Both can mean ‘yes’, and are used very frequently to punctuate speech. They can express emotions via prosodic coloration: intonation contour, loudness and pitch, and voice quality following the conventional patterns (see Section 5). This occurs even when adjacent utterances are not prosodically marked for emotion, in which case these phatic interjections are the main conveyors of emotions. Reciprocally, Dalabon core emotive interjections can be used at times where the immediate context is not emotional, but the broader discourse ‘sequence’ is (see Drescher (1997, p. 240) and Kockelman (2003, p. 479) for similar observations about French and Qeq’chi’ Maya respectively). In such cases, emotive interjections function as phatic interjections, punctuating the release or reception of new information.

It is well known that the status of interjections as linguistic signs is ambiguous, and some researchers have questioned the view that they encode concepts (see Goffman (1978) for instance, and Padilla Cruz (2009) for an account of the debate). Indeed, the semantic output of Dalabon emotive interjections varies greatly with respect to context, prosodic features etc. Yet, it is possible to describe the range of contexts in which a given interjection occurs (to the exclusion of some others), and to weight the relative frequency of each context. (For similar approaches in other languages, see for instance Ochs (1988, p. 173) for emotive interjections, and for emotions in general Wierzbicka (1991), Schourup (2001), Kockelman (2003), Rézeau (2006), Swiatkowska (2006), Goddard (2014), among others.) While the three emotive interjections *weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy* (and the Kriol borrowing *bobala*) overlap in great part, the analysis of their contexts of occurrence unveils distributional contrasts.

Table 4. Non-exhaustive list of Dalabon emotive interjections. The table lists the interjections found with emotive functions in the Dalabon corpora. ‘Core Dalabon emotive interjections’ are interjections which appear essentially in emotional contexts, and at least 25 times in the Movies Corpus. All the core interjections are also present in other corpora. ‘Other Dalabon emotive interjections’ are those found mostly in emotional context, albeit less frequently than core emotive interjections. ‘Frequent’: more than 25 occurrences in the Movies Corpus. ‘Common’: between 3 and 20 occurrences in the Movies Corpus, usually not more than 10. ‘Rare’: 1 or 2 occurrences, in the Movies Corpus or elsewhere. ‘Other emotions sometimes expressing emotions’ are phatic interjections occasionally found to convey emotional connotations.

‘Core’ Dalabon emotive interjections

All frequent. See 4.3.

<i>bordo(h)</i> [ʼbɔɖɔ(ɔ)]	<i>woywoy</i> [ʼwɔywoy]
compassion	compassion
bewilderment, surprise	concerned bewilderment
endearment, intimacy	rejoicing for others
rejoicing for others	intimacy
criticism	punctuates discourse
personal regrets	
punctuates discourse	<u>borrowed from Kriol</u>
	<i>bobala</i> [ʼbɔbala]
<i>weh-no</i> [ʼweɻnɔ]	<i>bala</i> [ʼbala]
compassion	(<Eng. ‘poor fellow’)
rejoicing (for others or self)	compassion
endearment, intimacy	personal regrets
personal regrets	rejoicing (for self or others)
injunction to be compassionate	endearment
punctuates discourse	punctuates discourse

Other Dalabon emotive interjections (partial descriptions focusing on emotions)

ah – [a], [aɻ], [ã], [ãɻ]

common

surprise, endearment

Occurs in isolation (no linguistic context).

ahah [aɻaɻ]

rare

concerned bewilderment

Occurs in isolation (no linguistic context).

barna [ʼbaɻa]

rare

positive surprise, interrogation

Table 4. (continued)

30099/2007 – 14' (MT) [ContEl]

[Reported speech, imitating the nurse after a child has been sick.]

Barna wurdurd-wurd kahnun ka-h-njalngh-mu

INTJ.interr child-DIM DEM 3sg-R-play-PR

kardu ka-h-burrama-m-inj.

maybe 3sg-R-good-INCH-PP

'Ah well, this little boy is playing, it looks like he's better.'

boy [bɔy], [bɔy]

rare

endearment

20120705b_005_MT 073 [RPF]

[The children meet a man who gives them matches. The wording suggests that the man may be scratching the matches for the children, but he only hands them over. The melodic contour is emotional and the intensity is low.]

Boy bulu bula-h-madj-bu-yan.

INTJ.compassion 3pl 3pl>3-R-match-hit-FUT

'How kind, he's giving them matches.'

bubay ['bubay]

rare

approval, encouragement

20120719a_001_MT 067 [SD]

[Delilah invites her grandmother to take her medication (with water).]

Bubay da-h-kolh-ngu-n buka-h-marnu-yin-inj.

INTJ.encourag. 2sg>3-R-liquid-eat-PR 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-say/do-PP

'Come on, drink it, she said to her.'

hey [hey]

common

surprise, fear

*Hey in Kriol, closer to the English hey in semantics.

20120705b_005_MT 117 [RPF]

[The young heroine enters a hen-house. The transition from the previous scene is abrupt, and MT is not sure what is happening.]

Hey keningh mah nunda ka-h-yawayawa-n?

INTJ.fear INTERR and DEM 3sg>3-r-look.for:REDUP-PR

'Oh and what is she looking for now?'

Table 4. (continued)

kordo ['gɔdɔ], *korde* ['gɔdɛ]

rare

surprise, negative event (happening to someone else), endearment

20120720_003_LB 239 [SD]

[Samson, the hero, has suddenly switched on the music very loud in the middle of the night, waking everybody up.]

Wo kordo bulu ka-h-dokkeyh-wo-ng.

INTJ.approb INTJ.surprise 3pl 3sg>3-R-wake.up-CSTVZR-PP

'Ah, that's it, he woke everyone up.'

kuyu ['kuyu]

rare

fear

20120721_000_LB 025 [RPF]

[Early in the film, a policeman is coming to the community where the children live with their family. He presumably intends to take them away. 'Be up high' is normally *waddi*, but given the context, this is the best interpretation for *walddi*.]*Kuyu! Bulidjmen djahkih ka-h-walddi yarraman-kah.*

INTJ.impress policeman there 3sg-R-be.up.high:PR horse-LOC

'God! A policeman is sitting up there on a horse.'

ngale(h) ['ŋale(ɾ)]*ngalewoh* ['ŋale,wɔɾ]

frequent

surprise, decision making, rarely: negative event (to other)

20120705b_004_MT 010 [RPF]

[Commenting on the children eating their meal at the compound.]

Ngale langu-yih-ke-kun kardu bula-h-ngu-n

INTJ.constat hand/finger-INST-EMPH-GEN maybe 3pl>3-R-eat-PR

bala-h-burn-dih.

3pl-R-spoon-PRIV

'Ah well, apparently they're eating with their fingers, they have no spoons.'

20120721_000_LB 186 [RPF]

[When she sees the actor David Gulpilil, her classificatory uncle, appear on screen.]

Ngalewoh! Bobala...! Kardak-ngan weh-no.

INTJ.constat INTJ.compassion uncle-1sgPOSS INTJ.compassion

'Ah well! Oh dear...! My dear uncle.'

Table 4. (continued)

oh [ɔʔ]*common*

surprise (sometimes with disbelief)

20120720_003_LB 193 [SD]

[The young woman takes her grandmother to the clinic, followed by the young man.]

Oh *linik-kah bala-h-bobo-n ngale.*

INTJ.surprise clinic-LOC 3pl-R-go:REDUP-PR INTJ.constat

'Oh, they're going to the clinic, right'.

ooo [ɔ:]*rare*

surprise, negative event, contentment (speaker sees something pleasant)

20120720_002_LB 11 [SD]

[The young hero takes a relative's guitar from his hands somewhat violently.]

Ooo... *Kenjhbi-no ka-h-mang-inj kidda-no.*

INTJ.surprise whatyucallit-3sgPOSS 3sg>3-R-get-PP guitar-3sgPOSS

'Oh no, he took his what you call it, his guitar.'

worde ['wɔde]*common*

negative event, acknowledgment that something with emotional salience happened

20110605_002_LB_ND 050 [Stim]

[Jackal and Crow Picture Task: the speaker comments on the jackal's intention to steal the crow's fish (i.e. make it his own). This is reported speech from the jackal.]

Worde *djenj-ngan ka-h-yin.*

INTJ.excl fish-1sgPOSS 3sg-R-say/do:PR

'Damn it, this fish is mine he thinks.'

woyi ['wɔyi]*rare**Woy* [wɔy] is used to call attention and/or encourage someone to approach or do something.*Woyi* occurred twice, apparently an emotionally tainted version of *woy*.

20120706b_000_MT 050 [RPF]

[One of the children is about to get caught by welfare agents. The other two see what is happening from a distance and try to warn her.]

Woyi *burra-h-marnu-yin-inj, langu-yih.*

INTJ.COME.ON 3du>3-R-BEN-say/do-PP hand/finger-INST

Korrekorre *dja-h-kurkkurl burra-h-marnu-yin-inj.*

quickly 2sg-R-run:PR 3du>3-R-BEN-say/do-PP

'Come on, please!, they said to her with their hands. Quick, run, they said to her.'

Table 4. (continued)

Other Dalabon interjections sometimes expressing emotions
(partial descriptions focusing on emotions)

Phatic interjections, used primarily to structure communication, which commonly take an emotional value via marked intonation contour, pitch and voice quality:

***mhmh* [mʔmʔ] low + high**

same tone sequence possible with indistinct nasalized vowel

frequent

(Also means 'no'.)

criticism

Differs from ***mhmh* [mʔmʔ] high + low or even pitch**, which means 'yes', and punctuates discourse.

20120719a_002_MT 010 [SD]

[The speaker comments on the male hero sniffing petrol, which does not attract her compassion.]

Bordoh. Mhmh. Ka-h-kodj-mayah-mu kanh beddrok-yen.

INTJ.surprise INTJ.disapprob 3sg-R-head-get.lost-PR DEM petrol-EFF

'Goodness. Hmh. He's crazy because of the petrol [he is sniffing].'

***mmm* [m:]**

varies in length etc.

very frequent

(Also means 'yes'.)

punctuates discourse, various emotional values assigned to emotional interjections (see above)

20120713a_001_MT 142 [TC]

[One of the characters has been left behind by others. Lower intensity indicates sadness.]

Ka-h-mumu-malu-dorrung.

3sg-R-eyes-tears-COM

Mmm... Kardu ka-h-ru-yan-kun.

INTJ.approb maybe 3sg-R-cry-FUT-GEN

'He's got tears in his eyes. Mmm... Because he's going to cry maybe.'

***yo(w)* [yɔ(w)]**

very frequent

(Also means 'yes'.)

punctuates discourse, diverse emotional values assigned to emotional interjections (see above)

20120710b_003_MT 234 [TC]

[A stranger has just visited the group and the characters worry about his intentions. MT reckons the stranger intends to come back later. The intensity and pitch are low, expressing concern.]

Yo, kenbo bulu ka-h-yawh-marnu-dudj-miyan kardu...

INTJ.yes/yeah then 3pl 3sg>3-R-again-BEN-return-FUT maybe

'Yeah, he might come back to them again later...'

4.3 Core emotive interjections

Apart from *weh-no*, the only secondary emotive interjection, Dalabon emotive interjections (like other Dalabon interjections) overwhelmingly occur sentence-initially, often in prosodic isolation from the rest of the sentence, which follows. The contexts of occurrence of the three core Dalabon emotive interjections *weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy* closely resemble the contexts of occurrence of the diminutives. These interjections are attested in the following contexts:

- Events with negative emotional impact:
 - self-oriented: personal regrets (not attested with diminutives);
 - other-oriented, empathetic: compassion (attested with diminutives).
- Events with positive emotional impact:
 - self-oriented: rejoicing (not attested with diminutives);
 - other-oriented, empathetic: positive empathy (attested with diminutives);
 - other-oriented, external (involving some moral assessment): witnessing sharing and caring (or witnessing compassion, attested with diminutives), endearment (someone deserves compassion, attributed to diminutive by default when there is no other specific context), witnessing intimacy and routines (attested with diminutives).
- Neutral (not attested with diminutives):
 - self-oriented: surprise, bewilderment;
 - other-oriented, empathetic: concerned bewilderment;
 - other oriented, external: critical bewilderment (criticism is implied with some pragmatic functions of diminutives).

Surprise and regret are the only contexts that are not attested with diminutives. Thus, Dalabon interjections supplement diminutives in taking charge of self-oriented and neutral emotions, which diminutives cannot express. Across corpora, the negative events associated with an interjection are mostly events occurring to participants other than the speaker. As discussed earlier, the corpora are biased towards other-oriented rather than self-oriented emotions, but this may result partly from a cultural restriction on the discussion of one's own feelings. Likewise, negative emotions are over-represented in the corpora, and again, this correlates with speakers' reluctance to expand upon positive feelings, which does not seem to constitute a topic worth of interest.⁷⁸ The assessment of the 'rejoicing' category must take these biases into account.

78. As demonstrated by experimental research, this is apparently a cross-cultural cognitive bias whereby people tend to focus cognitively on negative emotions rather than positive ones, independent of the respective frequency/degree of negative/positive experience as such (see Schrauf & Sanchez, 2004).

In 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, I consider each of the core emotive interjections in turn, identifying those of the contexts above in which they are found, and illustrating the most important ones. Section 4.3.4 recapitulates their contexts of occurrences and discusses the contrasts between them; 4.3.5 compares the Kriol borrowing *bobala* (<Eng. ‘poor fellow’) to the other, non-borrowed interjections.

4.3.1 Weh-no

Weh-no is the only secondary interjection attested so far in Dalabon, and probably the only secondary emotive interjection. *Weh-no* is otherwise used as an adjective meaning ‘bad’.

There is no doubt that *weh-no* is a full-fledged interjection. It is commonly found in isolation, constituting a complete utterance. However, *weh-no* does not behave exactly like other Dalabon emotive interjections, which are normally found either alone, or at the beginning or end of a clause. In contrast, *weh-no* is regularly found within clauses, often after the predicate, but also after arguments or other elements. There seem to be few constraints on the position of *weh-no*.

20110605_002_LB_ND (LB) 273 [Stim]

[From the Jackal and Crow Picture Task; with emotional intonation.]

- (33) *Yibung-karn wakwak weh-no buka-h-naHna-ninj,*
 3sg-EMPH crow INTJ. generic 3sg>3sg.h-R-see:REDUP-PP
dulh-walung, wordeh?meng?!
 tree-ABL INTJ.excl.?

‘As for the poor crow, he’s watching him [the jackal] from the tree, ah well!’

20120705b_002_MT 090 [RPF]

- (34) *Bala-h-dja-Ing-ru-n bulkkidj weh-no wurdurd.*
 3pl-R-FOC-SEQ-cry-PR really INTJ. generic child

‘They’re just really crying, poor kids.’

In such sentences, *weh-no* cannot be assigned a grammatical function other than *ad hoc*. Some occurrences are ambiguous between an adjectival or adverbial interpretation and the interjection interpretation, but they remain marginal. The intonation confirms that *weh-no* is not syntactically integrated into the clause. These nuances, as well as the historical steps leading from the adjectival use to the interjection, are beyond the scope of the current work, but deserve a detailed study.

Weh-no is the most ‘generic’ of Dalabon emotive interjections. Like all other Dalabon emotive interjections, it is very frequent where compassion is at stake. In addition, it is attested in most of the contexts listed in 4.3 above, with relatively even distribution between these other contexts. The only context in which it does not occur is surprise (or bewilderment).

Weh-no often constitutes a response to a negative event. In most cases, the victim is someone other than the speaker, so that *weh-no* expresses **compassion** (35). *Weh-no* also occurs, somewhat marginally, where the event affects the speaker (**personal regrets**), as in (36) where the speaker explains how alcoholism developed at a certain point in the local history.

20120721_000_LB 074 [RFP]

- (35) *Bakabaka weh-no bulu ka-h-yaw-m-e.*
 many:REDUP INTJ.generic 3pl 3sg>3-R-little.one-get-PP
 ‘Oh dear, he took several of these poor children.’

30041/2007 – 11’ (LB) [Narr]

- (36) *Bula-h-Ing-karra-kolh-ngu-ninji, deksi, dwendi dola.*
 3pl>3-r-SEQ-all-liquid-eat-PCUST taxi twenty dollars

Apendan ten dola yala-h-bo-ninj
 up.and.down ten dollars 1pl.excl-R-go-PI

garra olfeshen deksi weh-no.
 with old.fashioned taxi INTJ. generic

‘Everyone used to drink, taxi, twenty dollars. Up and down, ten dollars, we went [to town] in these old-style taxis, Jesus.’

Weh-no was also found, albeit much more rarely, in response to a remarkable event positively affecting self (**rejoicing**).

20111209_003_MT 29 [EI]

- (37) *Labbarl-no-ngan-kah kardu [false start]*
 billabong-1sgPOSS-LOC maybe
djenj bala-h-Ing-yarlH-minj weh-no.
 fish 3pl-R-SEQ-expand-PP INTJ. generic
 ‘Maybe the fish have multiplied in my billabong hey!’

Rejoicing for others is not attested with *weh-no*, except in the context of **witnessing sharing and caring**:

20120713a_000_MT 172 [TC]

[Men bring a kangaroo to the wives.]

- (38) *Burra-h-marnu-ye-dudjud-mu, kunj weh-no.*
 3du>3-R-BEN-COM-return:REDUP-PR kangaroo INTJ. generic

‘They come back with something for them, a kangaroo, good on them/for this poor one.’

Weh-no is sometimes used to punctuate **injunctions to the addressee to provide care** to a third person – where the person to be cared for deserves compassion.

20120719a_002_MT 115 [SD]

- (39) *Mak mah kardu keninjh wubu-ngu-n,*⁷⁹
 NEG and maybe INTERR APPR:3sg>3-eat-PR
ka-h-yin-inj ngal-kohbanj-yih. Da-h-ngabbu-n weh-no,
 3sg-R-say/do-PP FEM-old.person-ERG 2sg>3-R-give-PR INTJ.generic
kardu ka-h-yin-inj.
 maybe 3sg-R-say/do-PP
 ‘But he might have nothing to eat, the old woman said. Give something to him for God’s sake, she said, something like that.’

Finally, *weh-no* can be uttered when witnessing intimacy and daily routines.



Figure 7. Samson listening to music at night. © Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd.

20120720_003_LB 073 [SD]

[As Samson, the hero, is in bed listening to music.]

- (40) *Myujik ka-h-wonawona-n weh-no.*
 music 3sg>3-hear:REDUP-PR INTJ. generic
 ‘He’s listening to music, oh look.’

4.3.2 Bordo(h)

Bordo(h) is the second most frequent emotive interjection in the corpora. Unlike *weh-no*, it is a primary interjection: *bordo(h)* is not a Dalabon word otherwise, and thus has no independent meaning. *Bordo(h)* clearly behaves like an interjection, yet it can, rarely, carry some morphology. In (41) this is the first person singular possessive enclitic *-ngan*; in (42), a diminutive.

79. *Wuku-* would be expected here for the apprehensive, but the speaker says *wubu-*, presumably by analogy with the plural forms of the paradigms (*wubulu-* for plural, *wuburru-* for dual).

DWOL_Rough_Cuts_5_0392 (MT)

[While using knives.]

- (41) *Ka-h-lng-djurd-minj nunda... Ka-djed- bordo-ngan!*
 3sg-R-SEQ-blunt-PP DEM 3sg-sharp INTJ.surprise-1sgPOSS
 ‘It’s blunt this one apparently... It’s sharp [false start], oh my goodness!’

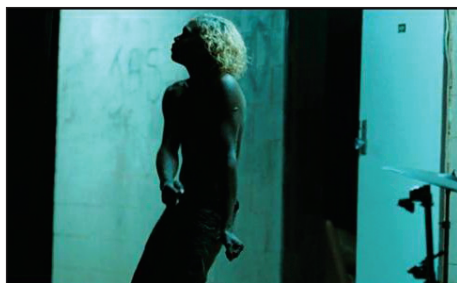


Figure 8. Samson dancing in the night. © Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd.

20120720_003_LB 246 [SD]

- (42) *Bordoh-wurd ka-h-marnmarnbo-n.*
 INTJ.surprise-DIM 3sg-R-dance:REDUP-PR
 ‘Oh dear, he is dancing.’

While *bordo(h)* occurs in a broad range of contexts among the ones listed in 4.3, it is slightly less compassion-oriented than the other core emotive interjections, and instead seems to be the preferred interjection in response to surprise (or bewilderment). In the examples below (and above), even when *bordo(h)* relates to another emotion than surprise, there is usually a surprise parameter as well. Consistent with its weaker association with compassion, *bordo(h)* is also the only core emotive interjection that was found to express criticism.

Bordo(h) is used in response to negative events, more often events affecting someone other than the speaker, expressing **compassion** (13), but also **personal regrets** (44). *Bordo(h)* is preferred to *weh-no* or *woywoy* in situations of deep concern, for instance in matters of life or death. In (43), MT reacts to the idea (expressed in the film) that the babies in the compound’s nursery have no mothers.

20120705b_004_MT 090 [RPF]

- (43) MP *Bala-h-nah-dih.*
 3pl-R-mother-PRIV
 [higher pitch, lower intensity]
 MT *Bordo!*
 INTJ.surprise

‘MP [Translating a character’s answer.] They have no mother.

MT Oh God.’

In (44) the interjection is embedded in reported speech, where the character catches his lover with another man.

20110518a_002_QB 360 [Narr]

- (44) *Ka-h-dja-dududj-minj kenbo ah! ka-h-wona-ng,*
 3sg-R-FOC-return:REDUP-PP then INTJ.surprise 3sg>3-R-hear-PP
bala-h-redjiredji-ng. Ah. Bordo.⁸⁰
 3pl-R-laugh:REDUP-PR INTJ.surprise INTJ.surprise
 ‘He came back, then ah! he heard, they were laughing. Ah. Alright then.’

Bordo(h) was regularly used in response to an event with positive consequences, mostly for participants other than the speaker (**rejoicing for others**, (45)). **Rejoicing for self** is also attested in Sarah Cutfield’s corpus (46).

20120706b_001_MT 42 [RPF]

[The children finally make it back home, to their mother and grandmother, after a long, painful and very dangerous trip.]

- (45) *Bordo bunu burra-h-marnu-burlh-minj.*
 INTJ.surprise 3du 3du>3-R-BEN-come.out-PP
 ‘Oh dear, they reached them.’

DWOL_Rough_Cuts_5_0337 (ND)

[A turtle has been caught.]

- (46) *Wulk-no! Bordoh kurrubbirl-ngan nga-h-ngungu-n!*
 fat INTJ.surprise short.neck.turtle-1sgPOSS 1sg>3-R-eat:REDUP-PR
 ‘The fat! Goodness my turtle, I’m eating it!’

Bordo(h) was also used in cases where nothing good or bad happened, but a participant attracted **endearment**, as in LB’s reaction to the male character of *Samson and Delilah* dancing in the middle of the night (where surprise was at play as well). LB was somewhat less critical of this character than MT. She reacted emotionally when witnessing his intimate routines, and seemed sensitive to his dancing (to which the female character was sensitive too). In (42) repeated from above, LB’s intonation indicates endearment rather than criticism. *Bordo(h)* also appeared in comments on the characters’ **intimate daily routines**, as in (46), commenting on Delilah combing her hair.

20120720_003_LB 246 [SD]

- (42) *Bordoh-wurd ka-h-marnmarnbo-n.*
 INTJ.surprise-DIM 3sg-R-dance:REDUP-PR
 ‘Oh dear, he is dancing.’

80. It is not clear here why the speaker uses plural *bala-* rather than dual *barra-*.

20120720_003_LB 229 [SD]

- (47) *Ka-h-marru-yarrk-mu bordo.*
 3sg-R-hair-comb-PR INTJ.surprise
 ‘Oh look she’s combing her hair.’



Speakers also used *bordo(h)* when facing an unexpected, and not fully understood situation (**bewilderment** or **surprise**). Often there is an expectation that something bad may be happening. Watching *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, MT considers two strangers coming in the direction of the children, as they are walking through a desert plain. She uses a Dalabon interjection in a Kriol sentence.

20120705b_005_MT 068 [RPF]

- (48) *Bordo garra keingguru wadrrong?*
 INTJ.surprise with kangaroo what’s.going.on
 ‘What’s that, with a kangaroo, what’s going on?’



On several occasions, *bordo(h)* expressed **critical bewilderment** (or **surprise**), witnessing a weird behavior, in particular in relation to the male character of *Samson and Delilah*, for whom MT displayed little sympathy, and whose behavior often seemed opaque to her.

20120719a_002_MT 010 [SD]

- (49) *Bordoh. Mhmh. Ka-h-kodj-mayah-mu kanh beddrol-yen.*
 INTJ.surprise INTJ.disapprob 3sg-R-head-get.lost-PR DEM petrol-EFF
 ‘Goodness. Hmh. He’s crazy because of the petrol [he is sniffing].’



4.3.3 Woywoy

Woywoy is a standard primary interjection. The only point worth mentioning with respect to its form is that it looks like the reduplication of a common conative interjection, *woy*, which is used to signal oneself to someone, and tell them to come closer. Synchronically there is little semantic proximity between *woy* and *woywoy*.

Woywoy is the most compassion-oriented among the core emotive interjections. It was found exclusively in empathetic, other-oriented contexts, i.e. in contexts where speakers expressed empathy and love for others. It was not found in self-oriented contexts, where the speaker was affected by the event.

Woywoy was very frequent as an expression of **compassion** (50). It is not attested as an expression of rejoicing for others.

20120705b_006_MT 24 [RPF]

- (50) *Kardu ka-h-bulbbul-minj. Ka-h-yaw-nini woywoy.*
 maybe 3sg-R-get.tired-PP 3sg-R-little.one-sit/be:REDUP:PR INTJ.compassion
 ‘She must be tired. She’s sitting there poor little one.’



The most frequent context of occurrence of *woywoy* was in response to **witnessing sharing and caring** ((23) (repeated) exemplifies caring, and (51) exemplifies sharing).

20120705b_004_MT 025 [RPF]

- (23) *Woywoy... Bulu ka-h-naHna-n-wurd, bulu ka-h-djukkodjukko-n.*
 INTJ.compassion 3pl 3sg>3-R-see:REDUP-DIM 3pl 3sg>3-R-wash:REDUP-PR
 look.after

‘Oh... She (kindly) looks after them, she washes them [she gives them a shower].’

20120705b_005_MT 142 MT [RPF]

- (51) *Madj bulu ka-h-ngabbu-n. Woywoy.*
 coat 3pl 3sg>3-R-give-PR INTJ.compassion
 ‘She gives them coats. Good on her.’

Reactions to sharing were typically single word utterances produced when the three heroines of the movie, having to hold together strongly in the face of adversity, were shown doing things together, for instance hiding together, sleeping together, and eating together. This often tied up to **intimacy and daily routines** (as in (23)).

Finally, in MT’s comment on *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, *woywoy* was used several times in reaction to a situation involving endearing children, when MT wasn’t sure what was going on and seemed concerned about their welfare. In (52), the heroine suddenly appears in a henhouse. It’s a new scene and the set-up has not been clarified. MT’s intonation when uttering *woywoy* was interrogative: she expressed **concerned bewilderment**.

20120705b_005_MT 117 [RPF]

- (52) MT *Hey keningh mah nunda ka-h-yawayawa-n?*
 INTJ.fear INTERR and DEM 3sg>3-R-look.for:REDUP-PR
 MP *Dabo-no-ngong.*
 eggs-group
 MT *Woy- Woywoy.*
 INTJ.compassion
 ‘MT Oh and what is she looking for now?
 MP Some eggs.
 MT Oh- oh really.’

4.3.4 Comparison

Table 5 compares the ranges of contexts in which *weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy* occur respectively, grouped by features, with, at the center, the categories which are positive either in valence or in orientation. The first point to note is that compassion and related categories are frequent for all interjections. The table also shows that while several contexts are common to all interjections, each interjection displays distinctive patterns.

Woywoy is other-oriented. It does not occur in self-oriented contexts, nor in other-oriented external (judgmental) contexts. Instead, it specializes in compassion and second degree compassion (witnessing sharing and caring), and other contexts associated with concern for others (i.e. other-oriented empathetic emotions). Conformingly, *woywoy* was very frequent in MT's comment on *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, where it actually became a phatic device. It was also found in MT's comment on the dramatic moments of other movies and in one dramatic narrative of the Emotions Corpus. Outside of these emotionally marked contexts, there is only one occurrence of *woywoy* throughout all corpora.

Table 5. Respective contexts of occurrence of Dalabon emotive interjections. *Weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy* are considered throughout corpora. S = self-oriented, O+ = other-oriented empathetic, O \emptyset = other-oriented external. Percentages in each column may add up to more or less than 100%, since a single occurrence may instantiate several contexts, and on the other hand, emotive interjections can also occur with essentially phatic functions (this is frequent with *weh-no*). Shades of grey serve to increase the readability of the table by highlighting attested contexts (light grey) and contexts reaching 20% or more (dark grey).

valence	orientation		<i>weh-no</i>	<i>bordo(h)</i>	<i>woywoy</i>	
-	S	self-oriented	personal regrets	6%	7%	
+	S		rejoicing for self	4%		
+	O+		rejoicing for others	3%	13%	13%
-	O+		compassion (negative)	62%	30%	22%
-	O+	other-oriented, empathetic and/ or with positive valence	injunction to be kind	1%		
+	O+		intimacy	7%	6%	4%
+	O \emptyset		witnessing caring and sharing	4%		39%
+	O \emptyset		endearment	4%	10%	
\emptyset	O+		concerned bewilderment		22%	
\emptyset	S	neutral	neutral surprise or bewilderment	20%		
\emptyset	O \emptyset	non empathetic	critical surprise or bewilderment	13%		

Bordo(h) is less compassion-oriented. The 'witnessing sharing and caring' context is not attested. *Bordo(h)* is the only interjection among these three that covers neutral and critical bewilderment or surprise (neutral, other-oriented, external), and there is often a surprise connotation even when other emotions are at play as well. *Bordo(h)* is also the only core emotive interjection that can express criticism. It has the potential to express a kind of disharmony with the situation. *Bordo(h)* did occur in my general corpus, and in addition is very frequent in Sarah Cutfield's corpus, where a speaker

uses it frequently to punctuate minor dissatisfactions such as her being tired of digging in the heat in search for dyeing roots.

Weh-no may be described as a ‘generic’ emotive interjection, focused on compassion, and also covering positive and negative events with consequences on speakers and others, as well as empathy (intimacy). It does not express surprise.

4.3.5 Note on bobala

Bobala (or its shortened form *bala*) is primarily a Kriol interjection, but it is now used in Dalabon speech as well. Its etymology (<Eng. ‘poor fellow’) emphasizes its association with compassion, illustrated in (53).

20120705b_005_MT 097 [RPF]

[The mother of the fugitive children has heard from the radio that they ran away from the compound. She looks preoccupied.]

- (53) *Kanh ngal-badjan... Bobala... Ka-h-kodj-di.*
 DEM FEM-mother INTJ.compassion(Kriol) 3sg-R-head-stand/be:PR
 think

‘The mother... Poor thing... She’s thinking.’

Bobala is indeed found in response to negative events impacting on the speaker or someone else, as in (53); less frequently, to positive events impacting on the speaker or someone else. Witnessing sharing and caring is also a frequent context, and *bobala* can express endearment, as well as familiarity. I haven’t found that it expresses criticism.⁸¹ Thus, *bobala* seems to cover, at least approximately, the range of contexts covered by both *weh-no* and *woywoy*, leaving out the critical dimension of *bordo(h)*. Indeed, in her Kriol translations, MT regularly used *bobala* to render *weh-no* and *woywoy*. As mentioned in 3.3.2, she also relied on *bobala* to translate the diminutive *-wurd*.

4.3.6 Conclusions

Three Dalabon emotive interjections, *weh-no*, *bordo(h)* and *woywoy*, plus a Kriol borrowing, *bobala*, are frequent in all corpora. Altogether, they cover a range of emotional contexts very similar to the ones observed with diminutives, with compassion as a core meaning for all interjections. An additional context is surprise or bewilderment, which can be associated with compassion (concern) or with criticism. The expression of surprise by conventionalized linguistic means is left to interjections. Surprise is of course associated with reflex prosodic variations, but these patterns are not clearly conventionalized. Section 5 shows how prosodic features also associate with a comparable range of contexts – again, with some specificity.

81. In Kriol, the interjections *katja* (?<Eng. ‘got you’) or *katjinga* (etymology unclear) are probably preferred to *bobala* where criticism is at play. In contrast with *bobala*, these interjections are not commonly found in Dalabon speech. *Katja* and *katjinga* are also used for reproaches, and it is likely that *bordo(h)* can too, but this does not show up in the Dalabon corpora.

5. Emotional prosodic features

Studies of the prosodic expression of emotions usually focus on what Scherer (1988, p. 79) calls ‘push factors, which determine affect expression mainly via physiological effects, [as opposed to] pull factors, which influence expression via socially mediated models’. Such studies are based on the observation that variations in pitch, intensity, speed, and voice quality, are ‘[a] characteristic expression of basic emotions [that] ‘erupt’ in speech, often involuntarily, as one of the neurophysiological consequences of experiencing the emotion by the ‘sender’’ (Pell, Paulmann, Dara, Alasseri, & Kotz, 2009b, p. 417). Using experimental techniques, samples of speech produced upon request or synthesized, researchers have explored the production and interpretation of these features (for instance Gobl & Ní Chasaide (2003), Russell et al. (2003)). They also study their degree of conventionalization, via linguistic comparison: some universal trends are found, yet speakers of different languages display distinctive patterns in production as well as in interpretation (Pell, Monetta, Paulmann, & Kotz, 2009a; Pell et al., 2009b; Scherer, Clark-Polner, & Mortillaro, 2011).

While this literature on the reflex expressions of emotions is relatively well developed (see for instance Scherer (1986), and Cutler et al. (1997) for a literature review), the question of how the patterns emerging from reflex variations are conventionalized into fully codified features is more rarely tackled. However, it is certainly not uncommon for languages to develop highly codified contours: for instance the English ‘contradiction contour’ described by Bolinger (1986, pp. 245–252), as well as the multitude of English contours with less conventionalized, but often emotional meanings (1986, p. 274ff). In some languages, such expressive prosodic patterns are so prominent in speakers’ metalinguistic awareness that they have names for them, as reported by Omondi (1997, p. 107) for Dholuo.⁸² The conventionalized effects of voice quality and prosody with respect to voice registers have also been studied in some detail (Irvine (1990) and Sicoli (2010)), but the literature on conventionalized prosodic patterns remains scarce. The most detailed anthropological studies of emotions hardly mention these phenomena: Lutz (1988, p. 120) evokes ‘the sentimental tone that people [on Ifaluk Island] typically use to express affection’, suggesting that there are intonation patterns to study; but she does not explore the matter. For Australian languages there exists published work on prosody in general (Bishop & Fletcher, 2005; Fletcher & Evans, 2002; Schultze-Berndt & Simard, 2012; Simard, 2010), and Ross (2011) offers a study of prosody in Dalabon more specifically. But published research dedicated to emotional prosody in Australian languages is, to my knowledge, non-existent, although some sections are sometimes found in broader grammatical descriptions (e.g. Sharpe (1972, pp. 38–39) for Alawa, non-Pama-Nyungan, Arnhem Land).

82. Another example of metalinguistic labels for expressive emotional features is in Japanese, where onomatopoeic words expressing inner feelings are called *gijoogo* (Hasada, 2001, p. 217).

A complete account of all suprasegmental effects in Dalabon, including reflex variations induced by physiological effects and features with a lower degree of conventionalization, is beyond the scope of this study. Experimental protocols implemented with dedicated instruments and settings would be required in order to assess, for instance, finer pitch and intensity variations, as well as some articulatory variations which seem to be at play. In the following sections, I simply describe a couple of highly conventionalized devices. While these devices are probably ‘inspired’, historically, by emotional reflex variations, they clearly belong to the domain of controlled signals. There are no names for such patterns, but speakers are able to identify them and mimic them in elicitation, and to implement them quite abruptly, at very precise points in speech when the emotion they express becomes relevant. Such codified devices are easy to perceive and their analysis does not require specialized equipment or instruments. Measures and diagrams produced with the Praat software were used here in support of impressionistic interpretations (and confirmed them), but cannot be as accurate as measures extracted in experimental conditions.⁸³ Praat figures are displayed below to illustrate the analysis, and for the convenience of the reader.

Section 5.1 describes variations in pitch, including a highly conventionalized pitch contour which is used to express a range of emotions comparable to the one delineated for diminutives in Section 3 and interjections in Section 4. Section 5.2 discusses intensity and phonation, in particular creaky and whispery voice, and 5.3 describes a register associated with sadness and regret.

While I haven’t carried out a comparable study in Kriol, my data indicate that most of the conventionalized emotional prosodic features are also found in Kriol with significant frequency. The comparison with Kriol is crucial here. Unlike with diminutive for instance, there is no reason to assume the historical priority of Dalabon with respect to prosodic features. They may have diffused into Dalabon from other Australia languages, via Kriol (or may even possibly be a Kriol innovation). Comparable studies in Kriol, as well as in other Kriol substrates, and more distant Australian languages, will be necessary before the origin of prosodic features can be ascertained.

5.1 Variations in pitch

5.1.1 *Emotional prosodic contour*

Evans et al. (2008) and Ross (2011, pp. 96–101) indicate that standard Dalabon intonation phrases display a ‘hat pattern’ (rise and fall, described by Bolinger (1986, pp. 47–50) as the unmarked contour for English) or a ‘plateau contour’ (flat) – with

83. In particular, since a condition for recording emotional speech data was to watch movies with speakers, noisy backgrounds were unavoidable. Having speakers listen to the sound-track via headphones was impractical, because the sound-track was then necessary to analyze the recordings. These difficulties could have been avoided in an experimental context, but working by myself in the field, my practical options were more limited.

some variations.⁸⁴ Two prosodic contours are associated with categories highlighted in the study of diminutives and emotive interjections, and often accompany these devices. One is a simple falling pattern, the other displays more complicated contours. These two patterns differ in some respects, yet they share some features. In practice, while some tokens very clearly exemplify one pattern or the other, many tokens fall somewhere in between. They occur in similar contexts. For these reasons, I treat them as variants of one single ‘compassionate contour’. The most salient feature of the less frequent pattern is falling intonation, which is not unexpected as an emotional expression associated with negative events (Bolinger, 1986; Mathew & Bhat, 2010; Pell et al., 2009b; Scherer, 1974). The most frequent pattern is also more conventionalized, and could be a codified elaboration upon the first one. Comparable patterns are used in Kriol by Dalabon speakers and others.

In the simple falling contour, illustrated in (54), the falling intonation is plain, starting high at the beginning of the phrase (which usually matches with a clause), and then falling; or intonation may be raised on the first morpheme(s), then falling. The last syllable can be lengthened,⁸⁵ or more often, with LB but also with MT, the penultimate.

20120706b_000_MT 163 [RPF]

[MT comments on the children waking up in the desert, after collapsing and falling asleep, a stage during which MT hypothesized that they may be dead.]

(54) *Barra-h-do:kka-ng.*

3du-R-get.up-PP

‘They wo:ke up.’

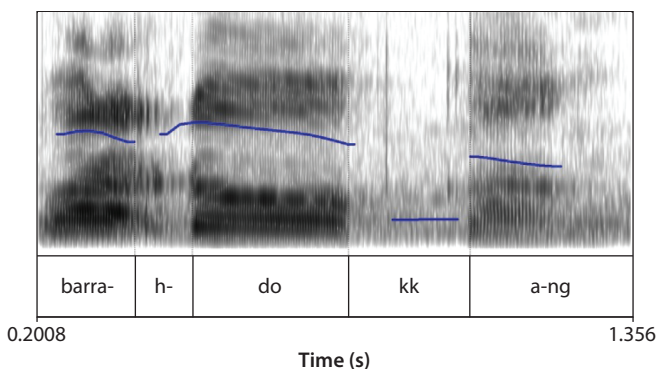


Figure 9. Pitch trace of (54): simple falling contour by MT, with penultimate vowel lengthening. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

84. These patterns are confirmed by my own observation with MT and LB.

85. See Omondi (1997, p. 93) for another example of such lengthening expressing affection, in Dholuo (Nilotic).

The conventional compassionate contour, on the other hand, is not a simple falling contour. The pitch level falls, but then rises again, which is characteristic of this contour, in association with the following features:

- high or very high pitch on the first morpheme(s) of the phrase (which often matches with a clause), often falling;
- then down on the following syllable(s)/morpheme(s) (often along the verb compound);
- then up again slightly;
- the pitch reaches a plateau, which often matches with an argument;
- the last vowel of the phrase, or sometimes the penultimate syllable, can be lengthened;
- the pattern is often realized over a whole clause, even if the clause is long;
- the pattern can be realized in any pitch range;
- voice quality and intensity features can be added.

Example (55) (repeated) is a prototypical example of this contour. Example (56) displays similar features, albeit less marked, so that it is closer to the simple falling contour.

20120705b_005_MT 140 [RPF]

- (55) ? *bulu bula-h-yaw-ngabb-ong-wurd.*
 ? 3pl 3pl>3-R-little.one-give-PP-DIM
 ‘They gave [a bit of food] to the poor children.’

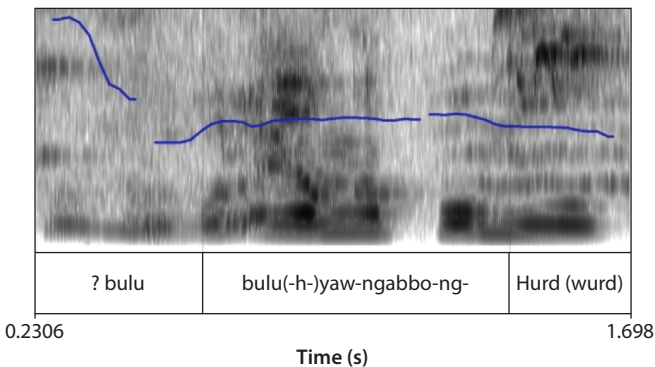


Figure 10. Pitch trace of (55): conventionalized compassionate contour by MT. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

20120721_002_LB_084 [RPF]

[The tracker is trying to catch the children. The speaker does not want the tracker to catch the children, hence a feeling of compassion. In addition, the speaker knows that the tracker does not really want to catch the children himself: he is forced to track them by his boss. From other sequences it is clear that the speaker feels endearment and compassion for the tracker as well.]

- (56) *Bulu ka-h-bolh-ya:wa-n.*
 3pl 3sg>3-track-look.for-PR
 ‘He’s looking for their tracks.’

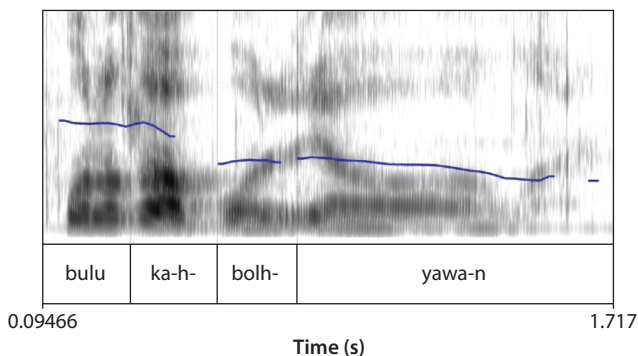


Figure 11. Pitch trace of (56): simple falling contour by LB, with penultimate vowel lengthening. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

5.1.2 Contexts

These emotional contours are relatively frequent: about fifty clear tokens across the Movies Corpus and the Emotions Corpus, with a slightly higher proportion of tokens closer to the conventionalized type (high falling, then a slight rise) than closer to the simple falling type.⁸⁶ They are mostly associated with compassion. This context accounted for nearly half of the tokens examined. In (57), MT comments on the young hero of *Ten Canoes* leaving the group, sulking.

Witnessing sharing and caring also accounts for an important proportion of the tokens (about 25%), in particular with the conventionalized contour type (40%). Example (58) describes the female character of *Samson and Delilah* looking after her grandmother. In this case, the speaker initiates the contour after a false start, as the comment on the caring event begins.

⁸⁶ This proportion also reflects the fact that MT uses conventionalized contours more frequently, whereas simple falling contours are more frequent with LB, who recorded less hours of speech. Both contours are found with both speakers.

20120713a_001_MT 065 [TC]
[conventionalized pattern]

- (57) *Ka-h-bal-bo-n-wu:rd.*
3sg-R-directly-go-PR-DIM
'He takes off poor thing [because he is sulking].'

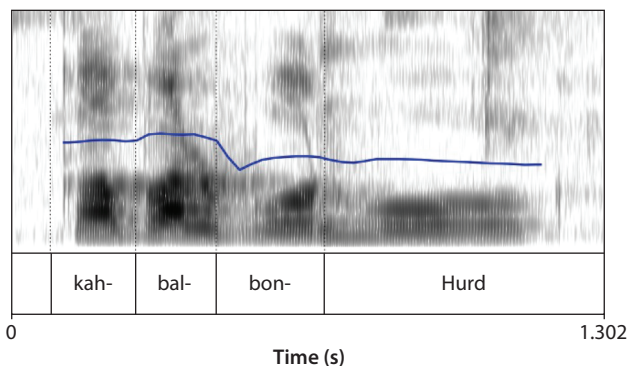


Figure 12. Pitch trace of (57): conventional compassionate contour by MT, with final vowel lengthening. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

20120719a_001_MT 209 [SD]
[conventionalized pattern]

- (58) *Ka-h-yaw-men-burram- mimal buka-h-marnu-worrhworr-mu!*
3sg-R-little.one-ideas-good fire 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-prepare.fire:REDUP-PR
'This young one is really goo-she's making fire for her [for her grand mother]!'

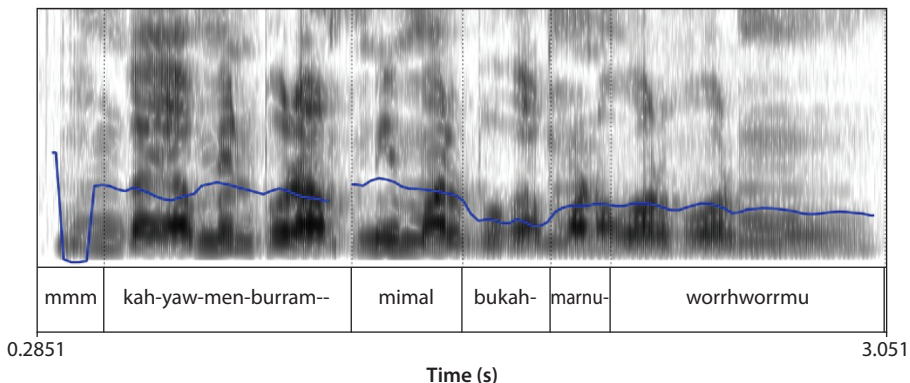


Figure 13. Pitch trace of (58): conventional compassionate contour by MT. Starting from *mimal* 'fire'. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

Other contexts had to do with rejoicing for others (positive event happens to someone else), or endearment, often in contexts associated with intimacy or daily routines. Example (59) describes the children sleeping in the bush at night – a rejoicing daily intimate scene, and also one where the children protect each other in the night. In contrast, the statement that they sleep without fire (which is not rejoicing and does not evoke a pleasant daily routine) attracts no emotional prosodic feature.

20120721_001_LB 15 [RPF]

[simple falling pattern]

- (59) *Bala-h-yaw-njengu:yu... Mimal-dih!*
 3pl-R-little.one-sleep:PR fire-PRIV
 ‘They’re sleeping nicely... Without a fire!’

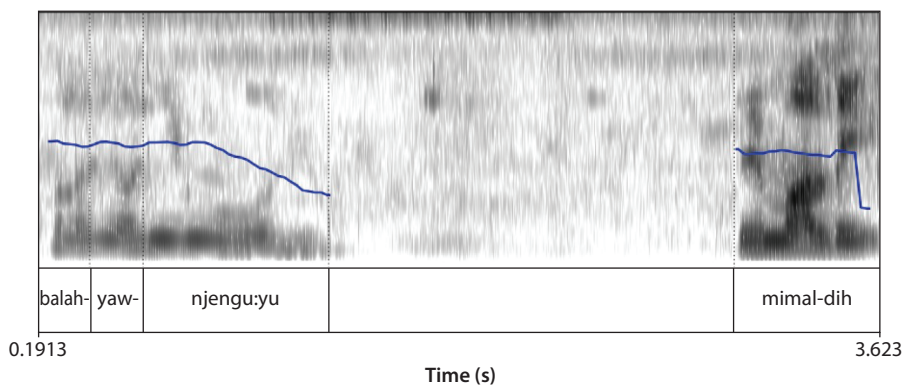


Figure 14. Pitch trace of (59): simple falling contour by LB (excluding ‘*mimal-dih*’, ‘without fire’). The penultimate syllable is lengthened: ‘*njengu:yu*’. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

5.1.3 High pitch

Speakers raise their pitch to the higher portion of their range (sometimes with a slight drop in intensity⁸⁷), responding to compassion, when they witness sharing and caring, as well as intimacy and routines.⁸⁸ This pattern was also used when facing a situation not fully understood, and raising concerns, as in this scene of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* where strangers are shown approaching the children from a distance. MT’s pitch in this occurrence reaches 230Hz, when her standard range varies between 180 and 200Hz.

87. A slight lowering in intensity throughout a clause or intonation unit often occurs in emotional contexts.

88. This does not conform to Pell et al.’s (2009b) findings, as they observed that in all the languages they studied (English, German, Hindi and Arabic), most emotions other than fear associate with lower pitch.

20120705b_005_MT 070 [RPF]

(60) *Bulnu*⁸⁹ *bula-h-na-ng garram kunj.*
 3pl 3pl>3-R-see-PP with(Kriol) kangaroo

Woywoy bulu bula-h-djawa-nj.

INTJ.compassion 3pl 3pl>3-r-ask-PP

‘They saw them, with a kangaroo. Oh, they asked them.’

This feature is not always easy to identify, as it is relative to the pitch range of the rest of the discourse. In addition, a high pitch often occurs on interjections at the start of a clause, but it is then similar to the start of a compassionate contour (5.1.1). Including interjections forming an utterance of themselves, I have identified at least 20 clear occurrences of significantly higher pitch matching an emotional context throughout the Movies and Emotions Corpora.

5.1.4 Other contours

There may be another relatively conventionalized contour associated with criticism or indignation, featuring relatively high intensity, relatively fast tempo, and pitch in the higher range, rising repeatedly (in agreement with Banse & Scherer’s (1996, p. 616) finding that anger triggers variability in pitch). This is not dissimilar to the ‘exasperation pattern’ described by Sharpe (1972, p. 38) for Alawa (non-Pama-Nyungan, Arnhem Land). Occurrences are rare,⁹⁰ so that the existence of this pattern is yet to be confirmed.

20120707b_000_MT 204 [Narr]

(61) *Mak bula-Ing-bukku-yurr-mi, kahke-no,*
 NEG 3pl>3-SEQ?-give.in.return-IRR NEG

kardu bula-h-marnu-djong-m-inj.

maybe 3pl>3sg-R-BEN-FEAR-INCH-PP

‘They didn’t take revenge at all, maybe they were afraid of them.’

5.2 Phonation and intensity

5.2.1 Creakiness

Quite heavy creakiness can occur across entire clauses, sometimes in striking contrast with immediately preceding or following clauses.

89. *Bulnu* is a less frequent alternative of the third person plural proclitic (usually *bulu*).

90. Only 3 relatively clear tokens in the Movies and Emotions Corpora, a couple elsewhere, and the contour sounds familiar to me, probably because I have heard it at other times when it wasn’t recorded.

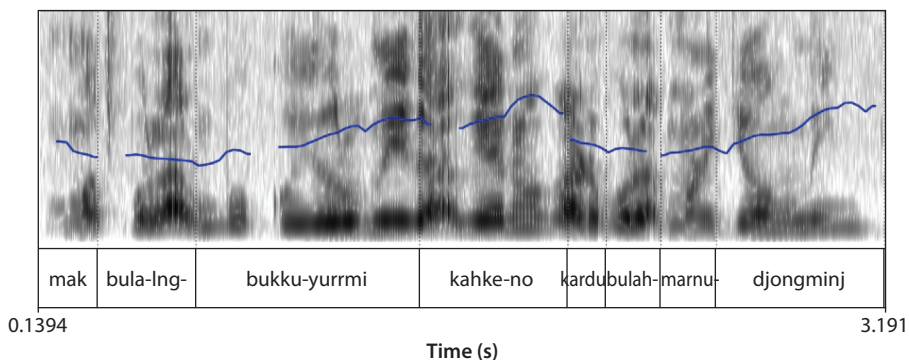


Figure 15. Pitch trace of (61): ‘indignation’ contour by MT. Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

20120706b_000_MT 111 [RPF]
[creaky voice]

- (32) *Bordo ka-h-yaw-ruru-n.*
INTJ.surprise 3sg-R-little.one-cry:REDUP-PR
‘Oh dear, the little one is crying.’

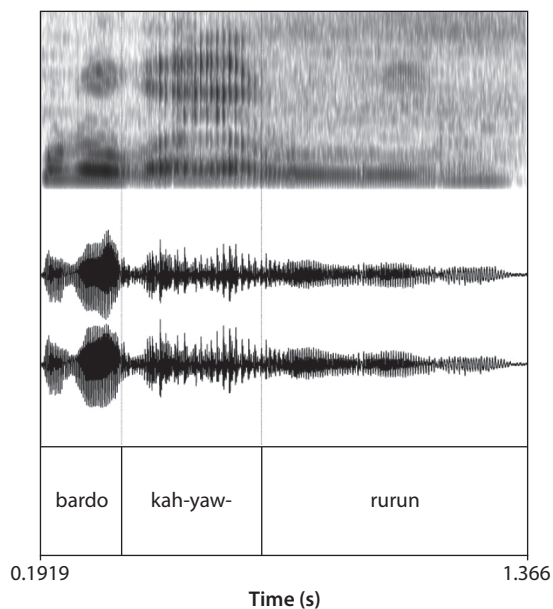


Figure 16. Spectrogram and wave form of (32), showing creakiness after the clause’s initial interjection.

Creak is defined by Catford (1964, p. 32) (see also Laver (1980, p. 122)) as ‘low frequency [...] periodic vibration of a small section of the vocal cord.’ This feature is frequent, but it is difficult to provide precise figures, because the three speakers who provided significant data on emotions have naturally creaky voices, so that it is often unclear when the feature is significant. However I have counted about twenty-five clear occurrences of marked creakiness. I have observed creakiness effects in Kriol in the speech of Dalabon speakers.

In some cases, as in (62), the speaker shifts abruptly to creaky phonation, as she reaches the relevant stage in her speech. Creakiness often relates to loss and/or death, or severe diseases etc. This is not found with other emotional devices presented in this chapter, except the ‘sad register’ (5.3). As pointed out by Bolinger (1986, p. 216), creakiness occurs when the speaker reaches the lower portion of their pitch range. Since lower pitch ranges are found to relate to sadness cross-linguistically (Bolinger, 1986; Mathew & Bhat, 2010; Pell et al., 2009b; Scherer, 1974), this conventionalized feature could result from the conventionalization of a natural feature (a similar hypothesis was mentioned for the compassionate pitch contour described in 5.1.1).

In (62), MT was talking about her life in Barunga, about 25 years ago, the focus being one of her granddaughters. At some point, MT mentioned another of her grandchildren, who passed away in very tragic circumstances in 2008. Her voice became very creaky precisely at this point (*rangum-no* ‘the boy of the pair’). Here, creakiness actually helps in identifying the person in question, who cannot be named due to cultural post-death taboos (see Chapter 6, 2.1.5). Indeed, voice quality, and prosody in general, being elusive and discreet, offer a range of possibilities to communicate ‘indirectly’, i.e. without openly disclosing sensitive information, such as in this case the name of a deceased relative.

20110526c_002_MT 046 [Narr]

(62) *Ngal-keninjhbi* *ngal-Clarissa.* *Yow*
 FEM-what’s.her.name FEM-proper.name yeah

buka-h-lebbu-ninj *kahnunh mahkih buka-h-lebbu-ninj,*
 3sg>3sg.h-R-humbug-PI DEM too 3sg>3sg.h-R-humbug-PI

[voice becomes very creaky] [shifting to Kriol]

en rangum-no, kurl kahnidjah ka-h-dja-bo-ninj tu big boiwan.
 and male-FILL school there 3sg-R-FOC-go-PI too big boy

‘And what’s her name, Clarissa. Yeah she had to be looked after this one too, she had to be looked after [because she was still very young and still a burden like young children are], and her [deceased] brother [the boy of the pair], he was going to school there too, the eldest boy.’

Loss and death is the most salient context of significant occurrence of creakiness. In addition, creaky voice is also associated with compassion (32), regret (62), more rarely rejoicing for others, intimacy and routines. It was not used as a response to witnessing sharing and caring.

Creakiness sometimes recalls the quavering voice of speakers on the verge of tears, and indeed, it is often used in clauses that include the verb *run* ‘cry’. In staged narration, creakiness can sometimes turn into mimicry of tears.

20110519a_000_QB 172 [Narr]
[very creaky voice]

(63) *Mak nunda kardu ka-munku-yung-iyān,*
NEG DEM maybe 3sg>1-far-put-FUT
send

wurdurd-ngān mak bulu ngā-n-iyān
children-1sgPOSS NEG 3pl 1sg>3-see-FUT

[sobbing]

nah-ngān ma??? ngā-h-n-iyān ngā-h-yin-inj.
mother-1sgPOSS NEG 1sg>3-R-see-FUT 1sg-R-say/do-PP

‘He won’t let me go, I can’t see my children, I can’t see my mothers (?), I was thinking.’

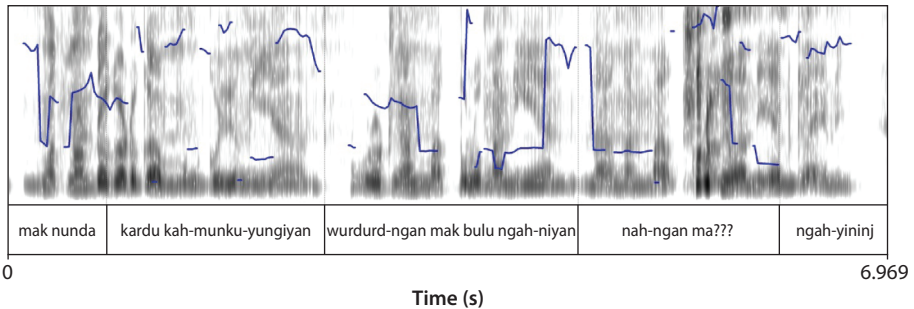


Figure 17. Pitch trace of (63). The voice is so creaky that the track is lost, especially at the point when the speaker starts sobbing (‘*nah-ngān ma???*’). Pitch measure between 30 and 400Hz, vertical scale from 0 to 400Hz.

5.2.2 *Whispering*

Whispering is used in mimicry: in the Movies Corpus, whispering is nearly systematic when the characters in the movie are hiding. Whispering is also used when the content of the speech should not be heard by others. For instance, criticisms of other people are often whispered, even if their targets can’t possibly hear the conversation.⁹¹ Also systematically whispered are matters relating to sorcery – having to do with revenge and conflicts between groups. Comments on people’s odd behaviors are whispered as well, and in some instances, whispering (64), or even simple breathiness (49, repeated below), indexes criticism.

91. Or when a conversation is being recorded, where whispering makes no difference to the target hearing the conversation or not.

20120719a_002_MT 031 [SD]

[whispered]

- (64) *Kandja kardu ka-h-wung-minj.*
 marijuana maybe 3sg>3-smoke-PP
 ‘Maybe she’s smoked ganja.’

20120719a_002_MT 011 [SD]

[breathy]

- (49) *Bordoh! Mhmh. Ka-h-kodj-mayah-mu kanh beddrol-yen.*
 INTJ.surprise INTJ.disapprob 3sg-R-head-get.lost-PR DEM petrol-EFF
 ‘Goodness. Hmh. He’s crazy because of the petrol [he is sniffing].’

This feature wasn’t very common in my Movies and Emotions Corpora (4 tokens), but this is probably due to the fact that the corpora do not target these kinds of emotions.

5.2.3 Lower intensity

Intensity was difficult to measure or assess due to variations in the context of recording (often with a movie in the background, sometimes not; inside a house or outside; in quiet or noisy surroundings). In general, lower intensity seemed to index either compassion and serious concern, or intimacy and routines (LB often adjusted intensity to a lower volume when commenting on quiet scenes). Compassion is exemplified in (32) (repeated), where lower intensity combines with creaky voice. Example (59) (discussed in 5.1.2 and repeated below) exemplifies a context of intimacy, where LB associated a conventionalized compassionate contour with lower intensity as she witnessed the children sleeping together in the night in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. When she abruptly interrupted the realization of the contour (stating that the children slept *mimal-dih*, ‘without a fire’, which is at odd with the idea of a pleasant routine), the intensity increased.

20120706b_000_MT 111 [RPF]

[creaky voice]

- (32) *Bordo ka-h-yaw-ruru-n.*
 INTJ.surprise 3sg-R-little.one-cry:REDUP-PR
 ‘Oh dear, the little one is crying.’

20120721_001_LB 15 [RPF]

[simple falling pattern]

- (59) *Bala-h-yaw-njengu:yu... Mimal-dih!*
 3pl-R-little.one-sleep:PR fire-PRIV
 ‘They’re sleeping nicely... Without a fire!’

The association of lower intensity with compassion and concern is consistent with the fact that the ‘sad register’ (see 5.3 below) makes use of lower intensity to express

sadness. As suggested by (32) and (59), lower intensity often combined with creaky voice (5.2.1), and sometimes with compassionate intonation contours (5.1.1), but these associations were by no means systematic.

5.3 The ‘sad register’

When telling sad or even tragic stories, relating to death or other serious matters affecting her personally, MT used a particular vocal register (which I will call the ‘sad register’), characterized by the following regular prosodic features:

- relatively flat pitch contours;
- within a relatively narrow pitch range;
- with somewhat lower intensity (Figure 18a and 18b);
- intonation units tend to have regular length, and most of them display a very slightly falling intonation;
- pauses are frequent and fairly long (Figure 18a and 18b);
- the voice is very soft, very lax, sometimes nearly breathy;
- stops, including glottal stops, are softened, mostly voiced (Figure 19a and 19b).

These features conform to Banse & Scherer’s (1996, p. 616) and Pell et al.’s (2009b, p. 418) combined suggestions that low pitch, lower intensity and slow tempo tend to index sadness. Here, this natural feature seems to develop into a conventionalized register, at least for one speaker. Most of the emotional prosodic features described in the rest of the section occurred within this register (but contours were maintained within a narrower and lower pitch range).

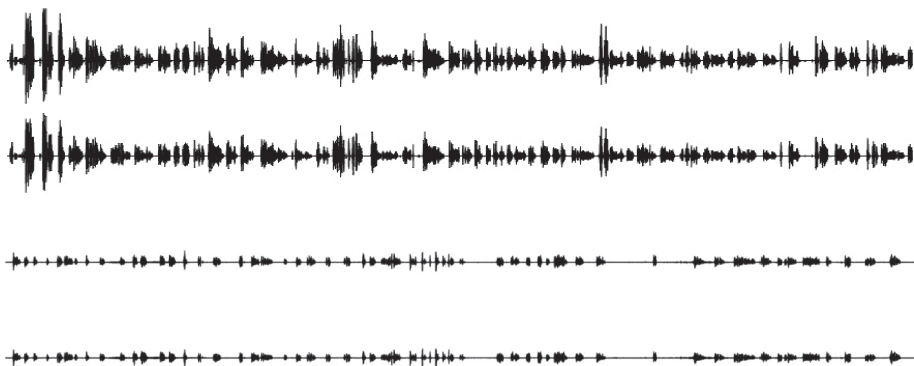


Figure 18a and 18b. Wave forms of 3min of ‘standard’ speech (top), and of 3min of ‘sad register’ speech (bottom). The samples were recorded in comparable conditions, when MT was alone in a room. The condition of recording of the narrative in the ‘sad register’ (bottom) were ideal, so that the drop in intensity cannot result from poor recording quality. Also striking is the regularity of the intensity, as compared to the ‘standard’ sample.

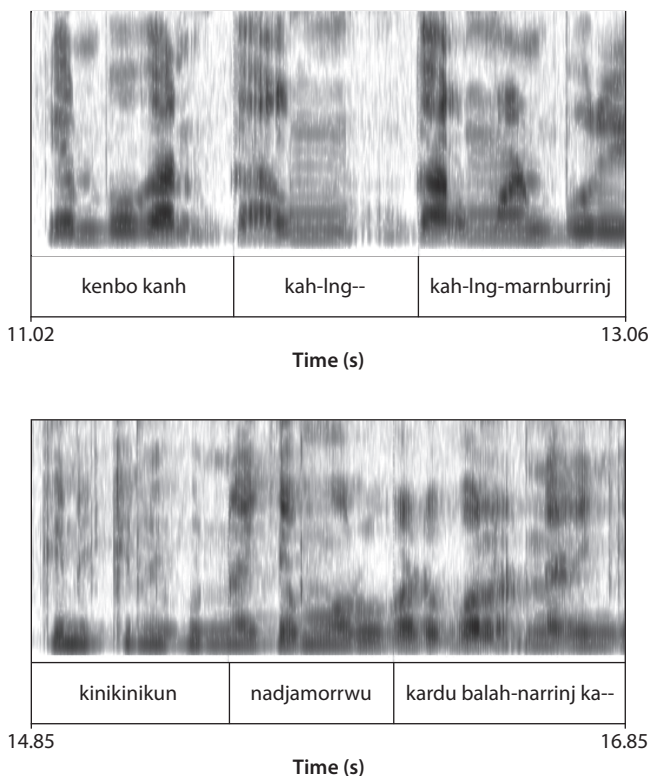


Figure 19a and 19b. Spectrograms of 2sec of MT's standard speech (top), and of 2sec of MT's 'sad register' speech (bottom). The comparison highlights the attenuation of stops in the 'sad register'. Vertical scale from 0 to 5,000Hz.

The above prosodic features were particularly clear when MT recounted very sad, even tragic events. This 'register' was used throughout an entire narrative (10min) where MT talks about a tragic car accident where a white man she was close to lost his life (65).

20110529_003_MT 092 [Narr]

- (65) *Ka-h-kolh-ngu-nj, lilbit djana-no kardu ka-h-kolh-ngu-nj.*
 3sg>3-R-liquid-eat-PP a.little(Kriol) beer maybe 3sg>3-R-liquid-eat-PP
Kinikinikun nadjamorrwu kardu bula-h-na-ninj
 different:REDUP policeman maybe 3pl>3-R-see-PP
kahnidjah bula-h-kolh-ngu-nj. Ka-h-lng-dudj-minj.
 there 3pl>3-R-liquid-eat-PP 3sg-R-SEQ-return-PP

'He had drinks, he drank a little bit of beer perhaps, other policemen saw him, they were drinking there. Then he came back [and killed himself on the road].'

The same prosodic properties were observed where loss wasn't the topic, but the context reminded MT of a loss, and triggered nostalgia. It was then observed in more punctual contexts, embedded in a narrative dealing with completely different matters. For instance, watching the first minutes of *Ten Canoes*, MT recalled how she used to watch this movie with her deceased husband, who happened to be from the region where the movie was filmed. After this introduction she shifted to the comment on the movie and its own narrative.

Others speakers did not use such a 'register', even though LB did produce stories about loss. One of LB's narratives does display some of the features of this 'register' at the start, and occasionally she lowers intensity in emotional contexts – in fact, lowering of intensity is also associated with emotional contexts across speakers and narratives. Yet, LB never used the 'sad register' throughout a whole narrative. I haven't observed this register in Kriol, but it could be inspired by Kriol (or by other Australian languages via Kriol) or English. It may also be a personal habit of MT. The features match cross-linguistic expectations in terms of what should express sadness (Mathew & Bhat, 2010; Pell et al., 2009b, p. 418). Nevertheless, the register seems relatively conventionalized in MT's speech. Its features are regular, the contexts where MT uses it are consistent, and her shifts into and out of this register are clear-cut.

5.4 Conclusions

Leaving aside marginal and/or uncertain patterns, five clear conventionalized emotional prosodic patterns have been identified: contours (simple falling, or further conventionalized 'compassionate' contour; possibly an 'indignation contour'), high pitch, drop in intensity; creaky and whispery phonation; and a register expressing 'sadness' by means of a cluster of features. Most of the emotions indexed by these features match the categories identified in the description of diminutives and emotive interjections as described in Sections 3 and 4. In fact, prosodic features often combine with these other features, in response to the following contexts: compassion, witnessing sharing and caring, endearment, intimacy and routines, as well as criticism. On the other hand, prosodic features can also index death, loss and nostalgia, which are not major categories for diminutives and interjections.

An important question with prosodic features is that of the comparison with Kriol, and with other Australian languages. Most of the prosodic features described above are also found in Kriol, at least to some degree. With the diminutive or interjections, it is relatively easy to determine that at least the forms come from Dalabon, whereas in the case of prosody, things are not that clear-cut. Studies need to be carried out in varieties of Kriol, as well as on languages neighboring Dalabon, before the issue can be determined.

As noted by Bolinger (1989, p. 27) for intonation, cross-linguistic studies of prosodic features are important because they can shed light upon the relation between

these linguistic features and the characteristics imposed on speech by reflex physiology. For most of the features described above – the emotional pitch contours, creakiness and whispering, the sad register – it was possible to hypothesize a connection between the feature in question and a physiologically driven speech effect. In most cases, the feature was distorted away from the reflex feature, and its meaning was conventionalized. More research is needed to ascertain the association between conventionalized features and their would-be reflex origin and, if applicable, to understand how languages elaborate upon the latter to conventionalize the former.

6. Expressives: Final remarks

The following categories were used in the description of Dalabon expressive features: compassion, personal regrets, rejoicing for self or others, witnessing caring and sharing (second degree compassion), endearment (deserving compassion?), intimacy, routines, familiarity, bewilderment, criticism, loss and death. As is apparent in this list, compassion (defined as a reaction to something negative happening to someone else, i.e. negative, other-oriented and empathetic) is a crucial category. Table 6 provides an overview of which categories are expressed by which resources.

Table 6. Broad emotion categories and corresponding linguistic resources. Resources appear higher in the list if they are more prominent in expressing the category in question. They appear between square brackets if they represent a secondary resource for expressing the category in question.

Emotional category	Resources
compassion (and second-degree compassion)	diminutives interjections prosody (contour)
regrets	interjections
rejoicing	interjections
empathy and endearment (intimacy, familiarity, routines)	diminutives [interjections] [prosody (contour, pitch)]
surprise, bewilderment	interjections
sadness, deep concern (involving loss and death)	prosody (voice quality, tempo, intensity)
criticism	prosody (contour) interjections [diminutives]

This list of categories raises the question of other emotions, the ones which are absent from the descriptions presented in this chapter. Some of them (such as anger) were probably absent due to the nature of the stimuli presented to speakers, yet some emotions presented by the stimuli did not trigger emotional responses. This applies to love (see Chapter 6, 2.3) and resentment for instance. In contrast, the listed emotions are the ones which prototypically trigger emotional features. Should we expect to find a similar expressive range in other cultures? Among Kriol speakers? In other Australian languages, in the vicinity of Dalabon and elsewhere? All these questions are open to further research.

With respect to the hierarchy of the categories listed above, it appears that compassion plays a central role for each type of expressive feature. It is in focus with diminutives (3.6), where it accounts for a significant proportion of occurrences. It is central as well with interjections: major emotive interjections all have the ability to express compassion, and frequently do so (4.3.4, Table 5). Compassion is also expressed by one of the most frequent and most conventionalized emotional pitch contours, labelled the ‘compassionate’ contour (5.1.1). Finally, it is interesting to note that the three types of expressive features tend to converge and accumulate in compassionate contexts. In fact, they are more often combined than isolated from each other, at least in compassion contexts. About 80% of the occurrences of the *-wurd* diminutive that relate to compassion occur together with another expressive feature (interjection or prosody), and often with both. Several other Australian languages are known to express compassion by means of expressive morphology (for instance, Wilkins (1989, p. 358) reports a ‘pity’ suffix *-penhe* in Arrernte (Central Australia), Donaldson (1980, p. 194) describes an affectionate verbal derivational suffix *-guwa-y* in Ngiyambaa (Pama-Nyungan, Wiradhuric, New South Wales), and Merlan (1983, p. 66) reports a compassionate prefix in Ngalakgan (Gunwinyguan)).

This centrality of compassion as an expressive emotional category resonates with its cultural weight as a morally valued emotion among the Dalabon group, in line with Myers’s (1979, p. 358) view that compassion represents ‘a moral ideal, an emotion that people *should* have’ for the Pintupi. As mentioned earlier, and as will be discussed in Chapter 6, compassion is not particularly well represented in the lexicon. More generally, expressive features seem to reflect culturally salient emotional category more accurately than words do. In the Pintupi context, emotion words, and more specifically a few emotion nouns discussed by Myers (1979), seem to provide directions to navigate through the local emotional landscape and associated moral order. This is probably not the case in Dalabon, where expressive features are better indicators of which emotions are culturally relevant.

Indeed, these expressive features are highly conventionalized, suggesting a middle ground between pure, spontaneous emotional expressiveness and speakers’ intentional display of a set of morally appropriate emotional responses reflecting their wishes as to what their social world should be like. As pointed out a few times throughout the

chapter, expressive features present the advantage that they sketch this frame in a fairly 'indirect' way. 'Indirectness', or 'circumspection', is indeed an important dimension of social communication among some Aboriginal groups. This preference for indirectness is better accommodated by expressive features like those described in this chapter, than by explicit lexical devices.

In spite of this 'expressive priority', the Dalabon emotion lexicon is large and detailed, indicating that words, and the *descriptions* they allow, do play a role in the language of emotion in Dalabon, albeit possibly in less spontaneous contexts of speech. I now turn to the description of this lexicon.

CHAPTER 5

The lexicon

Structure

Chapter 4 discussed a number of linguistic devices used by Dalabon speakers to *express* emotions. The rest of this work will discuss linguistic devices used in this language to *describe* emotions. This is achieved by lexical means,⁹² which constitute the topic of this chapter and of the following. The preceding chapter showed that expressive emotional devices encode culturally significant emotions. The following two chapters on the lexicon contribute further to the discussion of which aspects of language may constitute guides through cultural representations of emotions, by showing that there is no one-to-one correspondence between words on the one hand and culturally significant categories on the other hand. Dalabon has words for culturally backgrounded emotions, and conversely, some culturally salient emotions are not clearly lexicalized. In addition, these chapters set the scene for the study of Dalabon emotion metaphors, undertaken in Chapters 7 to 9.

Prior to the discussion of the semantics of Dalabon emotion words, the present chapter offers an overview of the Dalabon emotional lexicon. Section 1 below presents a non-exhaustive set of c. 160 documented emotional lexemes and discusses their word classes and morphological structure. They are mainly verbs and adjectives that can only be used as predicates, and a lot of them are compounds. Section 2 discusses the syntactic behavior of these emotion predicates. Most of them are intransitive and their argument is the experiencer – which, as will be shown in Chapter 9, has consequences on the type of emotion metaphors found in the language. Additionally, there are two patterns of argument subcategorization for transitive verbs. Finally, Section 3 offers some remarks on the aspectual properties of some of the Dalabon emotion verbs.

92. As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 2, other devices such as reported speech or the apprehensive mood do convey descriptions of emotions, but are used more broadly to clarifying participants' cognitive states. To preserve space, and because they deserve a dedicated study, I will leave them aside.

1. Extent and structure of the lexicon

1.1 Word classes and their numbers

Dalabon numbers more than 160 emotional lexemes. These are listed in a table in Appendix 1, and the glossary presented in Appendix 2 provides definitions and examples. For reasons discussed in Chapter 1 (1.3) and Chapter 6 (Section 1), asking speakers for lists of emotion terms did not yield any results. I thus determined lexemes as emotional based on my own criteria, spelt out in Chapter 1, 1.2. That is, emotional lexemes denote private cognitive states, i.e. internal, psychological states that are not sensations such as pain or hunger. In addition, they are not purely intellectual, i.e. they are not concerned solely with the establishment of appropriate representations of the world (this excludes verbs meaning ‘know’ or ‘believe’ for instance). Ambiguous cases were determined based on contextual clues. For instance, when it was not clear whether a word was purely intellectual or partly emotional (e.g. with doubt or surprise), I considered whether it occurred in emotionally loaded contexts (for instance with prosodic clues etc.). The structure of the Dalabon emotion lexicon is recapitulated here in Table 1 (verbs and adjectives) and Table 2 (nouns). Table 1 groups the lexemes according to their morphological structure, which will be discussed in the following section.

It is difficult to comment on the size of the lexicon, since there exist relatively few exhaustive studies of emotional lexicons across languages, and these yield diverse figures. For French for instance, Mathieu (2000) lists about 350 emotion verbs, as well as 315 nouns; Ortony et al. (1987) based their study of emotions on 500 English words. They report that Wallace & Carson (1973, p. 5) considered 2,000, with one-tenth only being frequent, and including many words which wouldn’t qualify as emotional under most scientific definitions. Boucher (1979) reports 750 emotion words for Taiwanese Chinese and 230 for Malay, Lutz (1980) 58 for Ifalukian, and Howell (1981) only 7 in Chewong (Peninsular Malaysia). Harkins (2001, p. 200) collected 55 emotion terms in Arrernte (but did not claim that her collection was exhaustive at all). Dalabon numbers at least 160 emotional verbs and adjectives,⁹³ which is much smaller than in English, but not incommensurable. These verbs and adjectives are normally used as predicates. The figure for Dalabon emotion nouns, on the other hand, is incomparably smaller than the one for French for instance (Mathieu, 2000): less than 5, listed in Table 2. This lower figure correlates with the fact (studied in Chapter 8) that in Dalabon, the ontological metaphor *EMOTIONS ARE LIKE INDEPENDENT ENTITIES* is relatively marginal as compared to English, French and many other languages in the

93. Especially as it was probably established based on a small corpus: there are certainly more lexemes, as indicated by the fact that I keep learning a few new emotion words during each of my field trips, even recent ones.

Table 1. Examples of Dalabon emotion verbs and adjectives (normally used as predicates). This table presents the morphological structures of Dalabon emotion predicates, grouping them according to their compositional nature and according to the sense of their first component. The second column indicates the number of compounds featuring the first component in question. The third column offers an example of compound with this first component (or several where there exist many compounds formed with the same component). Column 4 contains a gloss of the predicate appearing in the compound, and column 5 a translation of the whole compound. Unless indicated, the compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The number between brackets specifies the syntactic class of the predicate (see 2.2 and 2.3).

First component	Nb of cpds	Example(s) of compound(s)	Sense of predicate component	Sense of compound
EXTERNAL, VISIBLE-BODY-PART NOUNS (animate-part nouns)				
<i>dalu-no</i> 'mouth'	1	<i>dalu-yer(mu)</i> (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	be too shy to speak
<i>dje-no</i> 'nose/nostril/face'	1	<i>dje-bruh(mu)</i> (1)	blow/SULKY (v.i.)	be sulky, be sad/put on a sad face, a rictus
<i>dolku-no</i> 'back, spine'	2	<i>dolku-ngabbun</i> (v.t.) (2)	give (v.dt.)	turn back on someone/ be on bad terms with someone
<i>kodj-no</i> 'crown of head/head'	10	<i>kodj-murduk</i> (1)	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally closed (wrt to conjugal relationships)/ be selfish, not share
<i>koh-no</i> 'eyes, gaze'	3	<i>koh-yedjmun</i> (1)	feel uncomfortable (v.i.)	avoid visual interactions for fear others
<i>kom-no</i> 'neck'	1	<i>kom-nunj-wukmurrun</i> (1)	? (v.refl.)	swallow spit/feel sexual desire
<i>nunj-no</i> 'saliva'				
<i>medmo-no</i> 'cheekbone, side of face'	3	<i>medmo-yer(mu)</i> (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	feel ashamed with respect to sight, avoid being seen
<i>mud-no</i> 'body hair'	3	<i>mud-bruk</i> (1)	dry (adj.)	brave, fearless
<i>mumu-no</i> 'eyes'	1	<i>mumu-yer(mu)</i> (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	lower eyes to avoid eye contact (with potential lover)
<i>njerrh-no</i> 'body (potentially dead)'	1	<i>njerrh-ye-merey-di</i> (1)	COM + jealously + stand (v.t.)	?be very jealous
<i>yamarrk-no</i> 'teeth'	1	<i>yamarrk-barrun</i> (1)	bite + REFL (v.refl.)	grind teeth/be angry

Table 1. (continued)

EXTERNAL and INTERNAL BODY-PART NOUN (animate-part noun)				
<i>kangu-no</i> 'belly, inside'	41	<i>kangu-bak(mu)</i> (1)	break (v.i.)	forgive
-----		<i>kangu-barrh(mu)</i> (1)	(get) crack(ed) (v.i.)	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock
-----		<i>kangu-burrama</i> (1)	good, healthy (adj.)	be a nice person, feel good emotionally
-----		<i>kangu-kurduhka</i> (3)	block (v.t.)	cause to feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive
-----		<i>kangu-marrka</i> (1)	shiver (v.i.)	feel nervous, scared
-----		<i>kangu-wurdah(mu)</i> (1)	suffer emotionally (v.i.)	suffer emotionally because of affection for someone
-----		<i>kangu-yord(mu)</i> (1)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel relieved, get rid of resentment/stomach feel better
-----		<i>kangu-yowwyow(mu)</i> (1)	flow:REDUP (v.i.)	feel good, be pleased, be nice and kind
INTERNAL, INVISIBLE-BODY-PART NOUNS (animate-part nouns)				
<i>mo-no</i> 'bones'	3	<i>mo-wudj(mu)</i> (1)	end, die (v.i.)	lack interest, motivation, energy
<i>ngerh-no</i> 'heart, breath'	6	<i>ngerh-waddi</i> (1)	be high up (v.i.)	feel strong affection
NGURLK	7	<i>ngurlk-di</i> (1)	stand/be (v.i.)	have/develop strong affection
cf. <i>ngurl-no</i> 'heart'				
Possible etymological relation to INVISIBLE-BODY-PART NOUN				
<i>wurr-no</i> 'intestines, stomach'	2	<i>wurrhka</i> (v.t.) (3)	CAUSATIVIZER	surprise, give a fright (intentionally or not), mislead
ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTES OF THE PERSON (animate-part nouns)				
<i>kangu-yirru(-no)</i> '?anger of the belly'	9	<i>kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)</i> (1)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>koh-no</i> 'eyes, gaze'	3	<i>koh-yedjmun</i> (1)	feel uncomfortable (v.i.)	avoid visual interactions for fear others
<i>men-no</i> 'ideas, mind, consciousness'	1	<i>men-yer(mu)</i> (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	?be ashamed

Table 1. (continued)

<i>yolh-no</i> 'pep, feelings'	25	<i>yolh-dukkarrun</i> (1) <i>yolh-mon(-mun)</i> (1)	tie + REFL (v.refl.) good, fine (+ INCH) (adj.)	suffer from chronic anxiety, depression feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice
-----		<i>yolh-wudj(mu)</i> (1)	end, die (v.i.)	feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky
GENERIC NOUN				
<i>yirru</i> 'conflict, anger'	13	<i>yirru-mun</i> (1) <i>yirru-burh(mu)</i> (1)	NOMINAL VERBALIZER come out (v.i.)	be(come) angry (emotional or behavioral) become (emotionally) angry
ADVERB				
<i>merey</i> 'jealously'	4	<i>merey-nan</i> (2)	see (v.t.)	be jealous of someone
PARTLY ANALYZABLE				
DJONG/? <i>djong-no</i> 'for fear, afraid, fear'	4	<i>djong-bon</i> (1)	go (v.i.)	go away in fear
NGURRUNG (?)	1	<i>ngurrung-dung</i> (2)	scold (v.t.)	hate someone, have negative feelings for someone
WARN (?) (see <i>warn</i> 'pain hurt s.b.' (v.t.))	1	<i>warndih</i> (adj.) (1)	PRIV	lack motivation, feel bored
YI (?)	2	<i>yidih</i> (adj.) (1)	PRIV	be selfish
OTHERS: examples among 18 lexemes not clearly analyzable				
NA	NA	<i>djare</i> (adj.) (1)	NA	like, love/want
NA	NA	<i>wurdah(mu)</i> (v.i.) (1)	NA	suffer emotionally
NA	NA	<i>yer(mu)</i> (v.i.) (1)	NA	avoid interactions for fear of others (shame, embarrassment)

world – metonymies of the type EMOTIONS ARE LIKE STATES are preferred.⁹⁴ These nouns, when used alone, do not usually endorse predicative functions. Table 2 also includes marginal nouns, i.e. roots that are normally used as verbs (RU ‘tears’ related to the verb ‘cry’, RE ‘laughters’ related to *redji* ‘smile, laugh’ and its transitive counterpart *rewon*; *djong(-no?)* which normally occurs in compounds and is marginally used as a noun for ‘fear’). Some of these items are akin to Bininj Gun-wok deverbal nominals (Evans, 2003, p. 219). Setting aside such marginal lexemes, Dalabon has only two standard emotion nouns, namely *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ and *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’. There is also one adverb, *mercy* ‘jealously’. The main line of description will focus on verbs and adjectives, i.e. on lexemes which are normally used as predicates, since they are not only more numerous, but also more frequent.

Table 2. Nouns and other lexemes normally used in non-predicative positions. Nouns in capitals are not fully lexicalized nouns, but are either noun-like morphologically, and/or are found in typically nominal positions in compounds. They may be ‘emerging’ nouns.

Lexeme	Word class	Sense
NOUNS		
yirru	n., generic	conflict, anger
yolh-no	n., animate-part	enthusiasm, pep, feelings
OTHER		
mercy	adv.	jealously
MARGINALLY USED AS NOUNS		
DJONG(-NO)	?adv. or adj. or n.	in fear, afraid, fear
?RE	?n. (from verbal root)	laughter
?RU ⁹⁵	?n. (from verbal root)	tears
OCCASIONAL NOMINALIZATIONS		
NJIRRHMI	// deverbal nominal	hatred
WURDAHMI	// deverbal nominal	emotional suffering
YERMI	// deverbal nominal	shame

94. See Wittgenstein (1953) for a more general reflection on the influence of representing emotions with nouns, and his criticism of misguided parallels between nouns for things and nouns for feelings, which may lead to implicitly assume that words refer to feelings as they refer to things. See also Ponsonnet (2013) for a more systematic discussion of how this volume relates to Wittgensteinian arguments.

95. Alpher, Evans & Harvey (2003, p. 323) list **ru* as a verb root. Indeed, in Dalabon *run* is a verb meaning ‘cry’, but RU also appears in comitative constructions (*ru-dorrung*, ‘cry’ + COM, ‘crying’), which typically apply to noun roots. RE ‘laughter’ (from *redji* ‘smile, laugh’) also appears in such constructions.

1.2 Compounds and the role of body-parts

Table 1 groups emotional predicative lexemes (verbs and adjectives) according to their morphological structure. More than 130 of these lexemes (i.e. 80%) are compounds of the form [X + predicate] (i.e. [X + verb or adjective]). There exist a few of monomorphemic (i.e. synchronically unanalyzable) emotional roots such as YER (yielding *yer(mu)*, ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, *yerkan* ‘cause to avoid interactions for fear of others’, *yermi* ‘shame’ being a marginal derivation using the nominalizer *-mi*), or *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’.

Some Dalabon [noun + predicate] compounds originate as regular noun incorporation constructions which have undergone lexicalization (see Chapter 3, 2.3.2). Others do not comply with the syntactic principles of noun incorporation but may look superficially similar to noun incorporation constructions. The first component of emotion compounds is often formally equivalent to an incorporable noun. As shown in Table 1, this first component is frequently a body-part (whether a visible body-part such as *dje-no* ‘nose/ nostrils/face’, or an invisible organ such as *kangu-no* ‘belly’ (partly invisible) or *ngerh-no* ‘heart/breath’⁹⁶). It can also be an abstract attribute of the person with emotional meaning (*yolh-no*, ‘pep, feelings’) belonging to the same nominal subclass as body-parts and other parts of animate wholes (see Chapter 3, 2.4.1). In total, in nearly 120 of 160 emotional compounds (i.e. 75%), the first component, being a body-part or an attribute of the person, belongs to the animate-part nominal subclass. Only one first component is a generic incorporable noun (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2.2) with an emotional sense: *yirru*, ‘conflict’ (as in a quarrel) but also ‘anger’, ‘aggressiveness’. Sometimes the first component is not a noun (e.g. *mercy* ‘jealously’, which is an adverb). At other times its status as an individual lexeme is unclear, being half-way between a cranberry morpheme and a word (e.g. DJONG, ‘FEAR’, which is often denied existence as a word by speakers in metalinguistic comments, but does occur marginally as such in the data, see Chapter 6, 2.4). And finally, in some cases, only the predicate is clearly identifiable, as with *ngurrung-dung*, NGURRUNG + ‘talk inappropriately’, ‘have negative feelings for’, where NGURRUNG does not appear in any other attested compound.

One of the purposes of this work is to explain the structure of (some of the) Dalabon emotional compounds, and in particular, to shed light upon the role of body-parts and other attributes of the person in the lexical description of emotions. From a typological point of view, the use of body-parts in emotion-related expressions or lexemes is unsurprising – Wierzbicka (1999, p. 36) suggests that this is a universal feature. This does not mean, however, that the same body-parts are involved, nor, more importantly, that they always play the same role. In Australia, among linguists,

96. On the distinction between internal and external body-part in figurative language and emotional language in particular, see Ikegami (2008, p. 174–175) and Ponsonnet (2014).

anthropologists and other groups exposed to Aboriginal cultures and languages, the question of the role of body-parts in descriptions of emotions is often raised in debates and conversations. As confirmed by published research (Evans, 1994; Gaby, 2008; Goddard, 1994; Myers, 1986; Peile, 1997; Turpin, 2002),⁹⁷ it is well-known that Australian languages make broad use of body-parts, and in particular abdominal body-parts (like Dalabon, see KANGU ‘belly’ compounds in Table 1), in lexical descriptions of emotions. Yet, while some authors have contributed to shed significant light on the issue (in particular Goddard (1994), Turpin (2002), Gaby (2008)), the exact origin and nature of the associations between body-parts and emotions has not been fully clarified for any Australian language.

Usually, it is assumed that body-parts become associated with emotions by means of metonymies and metaphors. These metonymies and metaphors may differ across languages, not only in their nature but also in their status. Are they still cognitively accessible to speakers, so that emotion expressions involving body-parts are figurative? Or are they fully conventionalized? Chapters 7 to 9 will discuss these questions for Dalabon, where emotion metaphors using body-parts are both rooted in conventional lexemes, and – for some of them – cognitively salient. However, metaphors and metonymies are not the only reason why body-parts are frequent in emotion descriptions in Dalabon. Dalabon speakers make extensive use of body-part nouns when describing emotion-related behaviors, creating new [body-part + predicate] compounds in order to be specific about the behavior in question – which body-part, which function is involved, etc. These compounds may lexicalize, and these mechanisms represent an important avenue of semantic association between body-parts and emotions. Metaphors and metonymies play a role in these processes, but they are not the main driving force. Instead, new linguistic forms and senses are produced via formal (i.e., not conceptual) mechanisms, and these forms may in turn *influence* conceptual metaphors. These mechanisms, as well as other potential influences of linguistic features on conceptual metaphors, will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Before moving on to these questions, the present chapter provides an overview of the Dalabon emotional lexicon, considering questions of syntax (Section 2) and aspectual properties (Section 3). Syntax in particular is relevant to the study of metaphors, as argument subcategorization patterns play an important role in shaping metaphors.

2. Syntax

As mentioned above, the large majority of Dalabon emotional lexemes, namely verbs and adjectives, are used almost exclusively as predicates. In many languages across the world, predicative descriptions of emotions use distinctive syntactic constructions,

97. See also Enindhilyakwa (Waddy, n.d.).

displaying particular argument marking and/or mapping of semantic roles (Amberber, 2001, pp. 60–65; Ameka, 1990; Becher, 2003; Bugenhagen, 1990; 2001, pp. 70–74; Hagège, 2006; Mathieu, 2000; Pawley, Gi, Majnep, & Kias, 2000; Reh, 1998; Wierzbicka, 1992a; 1999, pp. 302–304). In Dalabon, the syntax of emotion predicates is relatively regular. Section 2.1 unfolds the principles of argument marking in Dalabon, before moving on to the description of emotion predicate valence classes (2.2 and 2.3), and then to rarer alternative strategies of argument and adjunct marking for these predicates (2.4 and 2.5).

2.1 Argument marking in Dalabon

In Dalabon, word order is relatively free, and therefore not very useful in identifying arguments. Syntactic arguments are – mostly – identified by means of morphological marking (see Evans & Merlan (2003), Cutfield (2011, p. 30ff), Ross (2011, p. 53ff)). Arguments are cross-referenced on predicates by means of person prefixes and proclitics, and predicates select one of two sets of such person prefixes and proclitics. One set is ‘intransitive’, encoding one argument (in bold in (1)); the other is ‘transitive’, allowing for the encoding of two arguments (in bold in (2)).

20120706b_000_MT 043 [RPF]

- (1) *Woy* ***dja-h-dokka-n*** *ngarra-h-bo-niyan.*
 INTJ.hey 2sg-R-get.up-PR 1pl.incl-R-go-FUT
 ‘Hey, get up, let’s go.’

20120710a_001_MT 155 [Stim]

- (2) *Mak* ***bulu*** *ngurra-ngalk-iyen.*
 NEG 3pl 1pl.incl>3-find-FUT
 ‘We won’t find them.’

Which set a given verb selects does not depend on the arguments expressed in the clause or on the contextual sense of the predicate. Instead, each verb form is strictly assigned one of the sets. Therefore, the ‘formal’ valence of each verb is morphologically defined, and (apart from valence changing morphological enrichments) never varies across occurrences of the verb in question. The formal valence of a verb and its semantic valence in a given context can mismatch. Formally intransitive verbs still select an intransitive prefix when there is a salient second semantic participant. In (3) for instance, *yang-ngu* ‘your language’ is semantically an object of the verb *yenjdjung* ‘talk’, but is not cross-referenced by the person prefix on *yenjdjung* (if it were, the prefix would be *da-*), because this verb is formally intransitive. Adjectives pattern like intransitive verbs.

30024/2007 – 14' (JW) [ContEl]

- (3) *Bulu-ngokorrng-yih ngorr ka-h-yang-buyhwo-n,*
 father-1pl.inclPOSS-ERG 1pl.incl 3sg>1-R-language-show-PR
 god

nunda yang-ngu dja-h-yenjdu-ngiyan.

DEM language-2sgPOSS 2sg-R-talk-FUT

'Our father God taught us languages, so you speak your language.'

Likewise, transitive verbs *always* cross-reference a second argument on the verb, even when the second argument is semantically backgrounded, as in (4). The speaker describes the manner of eating (rather than what is being eaten), but *ngun* 'eat' is prefixed by the transitive *bula-*, third plural acting upon third singular (rather than the intransitive third person plural *bala-*), because *ngun* 'eat' always takes an object (food), even though this is irrelevant to what the speaker is saying.

20120705b_004_MT 010 [RPF]

[Commenting on the children eating their meal at the compound.]

- (4) *Ngale langu-yih-ke-kun kardu bula-h-ngu-n*
 INTJ.constat hand/finger-INST-EMPH-GEN maybe 3pl>3-R-eat-PR

bala-h-burn-dih.

3pl-R-spoon-PRIV

'Ah well, apparently they're eating with their fingers, they have no spoons.'

For some person combinations, the arguments are encoded separately: the first argument by a person prefix, the second by a proclitic (like *bulu ngurra-* in (2) above, first person plural inclusive acting about third plural, and *bulu bula-* in (5), third person plural acting upon third person plural). For some person combinations, a portman-teau prefix is used, encoding both persons at the time (e.g. *bula-* (6) below, third person plural acting upon third singular, contrasting with the intransitive third dual *bala-*; note that in (6), even if O *kunj* 'kangaroo' wasn't overtly expressed, it would not be replaced by a pronoun).

240909_80OK 0277 (LB) [Narr]

- (5) *Bala-ye-do-ninj, bulu bula-h-ngu-ninji, bunbarr.*
 3pl-SUB-die-PP 3pl 3pl>3-R-eat-PCUST ?cannibalism.custom

Kanh bala-h-bu-rru-ninji bulu bula-h-ngu-ninji.

DEM 3pl-R-hit-RR-PCUST 3pl 3pl>3-R-eat-PCUST

'When they died, they used to eat them, [we called it] *bunbarr*. When they fought, they used to eat them.'

20120705b_004_MT 010 [RPF]

[The children have just been given a kangaroo tail and eat it.]

- (6) *Bula-h-djarrk-ngu-n* *kunj*.
 3pl>3-R-together-eat-PR kangaroo
 ‘They eat the kangaroo together.’

Some of the forms merge intransitive and transitive person combinations. For instance, *dja-* can encode second person singular for intransitive predicates, as well as first or third singular acting upon second singular for intransitive verbs (Evans et al., 2001). In (7), *dja-* occurs twice, with a different meaning each time. Due to the number of person combinations, tables displaying the full paradigms take space, and they would be superfluous here as glosses indicate person combinations systematically. The paradigms can be found in Evans et al. (2001, p. 199) and Evans et al. (2004, pp. xxx, xxxii).

20120712b_006_MT 27 [Narr]

- (7) *Dja-h-men-yer-minj*, *dja-h-men-yerka-ng*.
 2sg-R-ideas-shy.away-PP 3sg>2sg-R-ideas-cause.to.shy.away-PP
 ‘You were ashamed, she made you feel embarrassed.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Yu bin sheim mijalb, imin meikim yu sheim.’

Thus, verbs are morpho-lexically determined as transitive or intransitive according to the person prefixes they attract. Therefore, the lexically defined formal valence of verbs can be identified with relative ease. The emotional lexicalized compounds that are transitive (see Table 1 and Appendix 1) treat the animate participants – not the noun to the left of the compound – as arguments. Thus, with for instance *kangu-kurduhka* ‘belly’ + ‘cause to be blocked’, ‘cause to feel anxious/cause to have one’s belly blocked’, if the belly (*kangu-no*) was the second argument, this verb would only have third person second arguments. Instead, the second argument is the person made to feel anxious: *ngorr bulah-kangu-kurduhka* ‘they make us feel anxious/they block our belly’, with *ngorr*, first person plural inclusive. In a significant proportion of the cases, the element to the left of the compound is a body-part, and the patient is also the possessor of the body-part. Since possessors of body-parts are usually raised to the role of core argument (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2.4), there is no difference between the lexicalized valence pattern and the way arguments would be encoded in a syntactic noun incorporation construction. Things are slightly different when the first element in the compound is not a body-part but a generic noun for instance, as in compounds with YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’. These cases are discussed in detail in Chapter 9, Section 1.

Overall, the semantics of verbs tends to conform to their lexically-defined valence. Nevertheless, it is not rare for an intransitive verb to allow a semantic second argument, as with *yang-ngu* ‘your language’ in (2) above. This results in a mismatch between the extremely regular morphological marking of syntactic arguments and

the semantic valence of the verb.⁹⁸ Second arguments which are not encoded by person prefixes and enclitics are more often inanimates: when an animate participant is added to an intransitive verb, it is normally sanctioned by a benefactive applicative prefix *marnu-* (see 2.4.1), and this participant is cross-referenced on the verb: in (8), the person prefix is transitive (*burra-* third person dual acting upon third singular, not the intransitive *barra-*).

20120713a_002_MT 038 [TC]

[Two co-wives are crying for their (common) deceased husband.]

- (8) *Burra-h-marnu-wurdah-minj duway-burrng.*
 3du>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP husband-3duPOSS

‘They were desperate about their [common] husband [they suffered for him].’

However, the benefactive prefix and the prefix cross-referencing the participant on the verb can sometimes – relatively rarely – be omitted, as with *yolh-mon* in (9). There is no benefactive marker and the prefix is intransitive, but a second participant is overtly mentioned, flagged by a genitive case marker (possibly as a second thought). This participant is not cross-referenced by the verb prefix: *dja-* would be required instead of *ka-* to encode the action of third person singular upon second person singular.

20110526c_000_MT 096 [Narr]

[After an argument.]

- (9) *Dja-h-lng-marnu-yenjdju-ng, kanh ka-h-mon,*
 3sg>2sg-R-SEQ-BEN-talk-PR DEM 3sg-R-good

ka-h-lng-yolh-mon, njing-kun.

3sg-R-SEQ-feelings-good 2sg-GEN

‘Now he talks to you, it’s OK now, he feels good, about you.’

More rarely, the second argument is cross referenced by a possessive enclitic of the corresponding person, added at the end of the verb complex, as in (10). In such cases, the argument in question is not cross-referenced by person prefixes (otherwise the dual third person proclitic *bunu* would occur in (10)).

98. Some morpho-lexically intransitive verbs, in particular verbs of communication, nearly always receive a syntactically unmarked second argument; with other verbs, the second argument is occasional. With emotion verbs it is relatively frequent. Philosophers tend to define emotions as ‘inherently intentional’, i.e. oriented towards an object. Linguistically, in Dalabon as in many languages, this object, if it exists at all, is by no means systematically expressed (Mulligan & Scherer, 2012, p. 348). The ‘intentionality’ of emotions has been an issue of debate in philosophy (Anscombe, 1957; Russell, 1921; Wittgenstein, 1953).

20120713a_000_MT 181 [TC]

[A co-wife is unhappy because her husband has shown a preference for another co-wife, by giving the other one kangaroo meat in priority.]

- (10) *Kenbo kanh ka-h-lng-dje-bruH-minj-burrng djarrk-no.*
 then DEM 3sg-R-SEQ-nose/face-blow-PP-2duPOSS together
 be.sulky

‘That’s why she’s upset with them then, with both of them.’

The use of case markers and possessive enclitics to repair discrepancies between the morphological encoding of syntactic arguments on the one hand, and the actual semantic roles defined by the sense of the clause, is rare overall. However, it is relatively more frequent with emotions. They will be discussed in 2.5.2 and 2.5.3. More standard is the use of a suffix *-yih*, which occurs not in cases of discrepancy, but when there is a need to clarify or emphasize which participant is which. This suffix is usually labelled ‘ergative’, as it more often encodes the agentive argument of transitive verbs (11, *kan* ‘take’). Yet, it is also found, albeit more rarely, on agents of intransitive verbs (12, *yin* ‘say, think/do’).

20120705b_005_MT 045 [RPF]

[Three children are running away, and a tracker is paid to find them.]

- (11) *Kanh draika-yih bulu ka-h-ye-bolh-kaka-n.*
 DEM tracker-ERG 3pl 3sg>3-R-COM-track-take:REDUP-PR

‘The tracker, he is picking up their tracks.’

20120705b_002_MT 059 [RPF]

[The three children are forcibly removed from their family by a welfare agent and their mother protests.]

- (12) *Kurda-koh-munku-yu-ng, ka-h-yin-inj kanh ngal-badjan-yih.*
 APPR:2sg>3-eyes/gaze-far-put-PR 3sg-R-say/do-PP DEM FEM-mother-ERG
 send

‘You can’t send them away from here, the mother says.’

Discrepancies between morphological valence and actual arguments, as illustrated in (3) or (9), are relatively rare. Because syntax is not in focus in this work, and because formal valence is a strong constraint in Dalabon, and usually remains in line with semantic roles, the three emotion predicate valence classes defined below are based on formal valence. Hence predicates that morphologically encode one argument are treated as one-place predicates even if they often feature a prominent second participant, as long as this one is not morphologically encoded by the person prefix. The encoding of such extra participants is discussed in 2.5.

Emotion verbs are thus assigned a class based on their morpho-lexically defined valence with respect to the cross-referencing of arguments on the verb. The mapping of semantic roles onto syntactic arguments of these classes is relatively straightforward, and conforms to cross-linguistic expectations: the experiencer is usually treated as

the only or first argument, except with causative verbs where it is the second argument (Dowty, 1991; Maratsos, Katis, & Margheri, 2000; Schlesinger, 1992). The valence classes presented below resemble the basic distinctions found in English (Ortony et al., 1987, p. 357) or in French (Mathieu, 2000).

Matching a common terminology,⁹⁹ I label S the single argument of morpho-lexically intransitive predicates; A, the most agent-like argument of morpho-lexically transitive predicates and other two-place predicates, the morphological encoding of which resembles the encoding of S,¹⁰⁰ and the other argument of these predicates I will call O.

2.2 One-place predicates

A large majority of emotion verbs, and all the adjectives, subcategorize lexically for just one argument, and encode the experiencer as this only argument (S). Most verbs are intransitive and conform to this pattern (13): this is by far the largest class, with 127 lexemes (i.e. more than three-quarters of the lexemes). As mentioned above, verbs of this class may imply semantic adjuncts. In (14) for instance, as suggested by the speaker's Kriol translation, it is implied that the emotion is oriented towards someone. That is, the predicate has an unexpressed stimulus adjunct, but remains morphologically intransitive.

- (13) Class 1
S = EXP (anim)

20100725_004_MT 09 [E1]

- (14) *Ka-h-kangu-darrijdarridj-mu.*
3sg-R-belly-shake.in.agony:REDUP-PR
be.furious

'He's furious [about to explode] [his belly shakes in agony]'
MT's Kriol trans.: 'Im rili wana go fait la sambadi els.'

Adjectives occur as primary predicates, preceded by person prefixes (as in *kah-yolh-mon*, 'he/she feels good'); or, rarely, as secondary predicates, as in *yolh-mon kah-ni* 'he is/sits *yolh-mon*'. Adjectives pattern like intransitive verbs (and are thus noted '(1)' for 'Class 1' in Appendix 1). They tend to denote emotional dispositions rather than emotional states, i.e. a person's propensity to experience an emotional state (15). Yet, the most common emotional adjectives (which are also among the three most common

99. See for instance Givón (1984), Kroeger (2004).

100. Some of the transitive person prefixes are portmanteau prefixes (see Evans & Merlan, 2003), in which case it is not clear which argument is encoded 'like' an S, but in many cases, one of the argument is encoded by a person prefix (like S), and the other argument by a free pronoun or a clitic.

emotional lexemes) also commonly denote states (16). Emotional adjectives receive the same verbalizers, with the same valence and aspectual effects, like other adjectives.

20120708b_007_MT 36 [ConvEl]

[A white person that MT likes a lot has just refused a favor to her granddaughter.]

- (15) *Mak ka-kangu-murduk-kun.*¹⁰¹ *Mak ngorr ka-kakku-drah-mi.*
 NEG 3sg-belly-hard/strong-FILL NEG 1pl.incl 3sg>1-really-refuse-IRR
 selfish
Bah ka-h-mon. Ka-h-kangu-kerlkkerlk.
 but 3sg-R-good 3sg-R-belly-soft:REDUP
 nice

‘But he’s not selfish [hard belly]. He didn’t really refuse us a favor [with no reason]. So it’s OK. He’s good, generous [soft belly].

20120719a_001_MT 002 [SD]

[The young hero gets up in the morning, and MT suggests that he may be thinking about the girl he loves, who keeps rejecting him.]

- (16) *Ka-h-dokka-ng. Kardu ka-h-yolh-weh.*
 3sg-R-get.up-PP maybe 3sg-R-feelings-bad
Kardu keninh ka-h-beng-di.
 maybe INTERR 3sg-R-MIND-stand/be:PR
 think
Kardu kirdkird-kun ka-h-beng-di...
 maybe woman-GEN 3sg-R-MIND-stand/be:PR
 think

‘He got up. It looks like he’s feeling no good. What can he be thinking about. He’s thinking about the woman maybe.’

With emotional behavior verbs and adjectives (as defined in Chapter 1, 1.2.2.3), S is both an experiencer and an agent, since the verb denotes both a behavior and the accompanying emotional state (17).

20120719a_001_MT 115 [SD]

[The young heroine avoids eye contact with an older white man.]

- (17) *Mak buka-na-n ka-h-koh-yer-mu.*
 NEG 3sg>3sg.h-see-PR 3sg-R-eyes/gaze-shy.away-PR
 ‘She doesn’t look at him, she’s avoiding eye contact because she’s intimidated/respectful.’

101. A suffix formally equivalent to the genitive marker *-kun* is used as a morphological filler on some adjectives.

'be cut, end', *dadjka* 'cut'; *yerrk(mu)* 'be released', *yerrkka* 'remove', etc.¹⁰² Such pairs are found among emotion verbs, for instance, *wurrh(mu)* 'be surprised, be scared', *wurrhka*, 'surprise, give a fright, mislead', or 'scare'. However, the majority of emotional verbs ending with *-mu* do not allow this alternation, even when the alternation is found with the predicate component of a compound: for instance, *kodj-dadj(mu)* 'head' + 'be cut, end' means 'become upset and interrupt social interactions', but *kodj-dadjka* 'head' + 'cut' only attracts a literal sense ('cut head off') and no emotional meaning.¹⁰³ Conversely, some emotion compounds allow alternations unattested outside of the emotion domain: *kangu-barrh(mu)* 'be surprised, undergo emotional shock', and *kangu-barrhka* 'cause to undergo emotional shock', but while *barrh(mu)* means 'get cracked', *?barrhka* is unattested.

2.3.3 *Isolated patterns*

Two transitive verbs display distributionally rare patterns. One is *yirru-ngalka* 'conflict, anger' + 'find', 'be(come) angry', literally 'find anger'; the other is *yolh-ngun* 'feelings' + 'eat', used in formula of the type '*kardu keninjh bukah-yolh-ngun?*', literally 'what is eating his/her pep/feelings?', i.e. 'what is affecting his/her will?', often when someone behaves inappropriately, or looks upset.

20120707b_000_MT 469 [Narr]

[About an evening a long time ago when a large group of kids drove to the nearby village to go to a disco party, and their car rolled over, killing a little girl.]

(22) *Kanh-dorrung bala-h-bo-ninj nahda didjko.*

DEM-COM 3pl-R-go-PI there disco.party

Kardu keninjh bulu ka-h-Ing-yolh-ngu-nj bordoh.

maybe INTERR 3pl 3sg>3-R-SEQ-feelings-eat-PP INTJ.surprise

'They went there to the disco party with him. God knows what they were thinking [I don't know what ate their feelings].'

MT's Kriol trans.: 'Ai don no wad dei bin min.'

With *yolh-ngun*, A is impersonal, but it remains ambiguous whether this impersonal argument is the emotion affecting the person or the events triggering the emotion

102. Because the semantics of *-ka* is not fully regular, I have decided not to gloss *-ka* as such but to treat it as part of the root for the purpose of interlinear glossing.

103. It is not obvious why some predicates have a transitive alternation and others don't. Blocking due to the existence of other forms may be at play in some cases. Otherwise, the best explanations are probably the conceptual and formal constraints operating on lexical sets, described in the following chapters.

in question (on emotions and causality, see Dirven (1997)). This is the only Dalabon emotional verb which encodes a causal element as A.¹⁰⁴ As I will discuss in Chapters 8 and 9, in Dalabon emotions are very rarely presented as agents, or even as autonomous arguments in general. Many languages do treat emotions as agents. This is found in languages distant from Dalabon (English (Kövecses, 2008), several African languages (Dimmendaal, 2002; Reh, 1998)) or in languages with greater genetic and geographic proximity to Dalabon, like Iwaidjan languages (Evans, 2004; Singer, 2006) or Murrinh Patha (Walsh, 1987) for instance.

The second isolated pattern is *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘become angry’, literally ‘find anger’. This verb takes transitive prefixes encoding a frozen second argument, which is the incorporated noun *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’. This argument never varies: it is part of the lexical sense of the verb. The lexicalized sense of the verb is semantically intransitive: ‘be(come) angry’. The only true argument is the experiencer (formally encoded as an A), as with intransitive predicates. In (23), the prefix *burra-* encodes the action of third person dual upon a third person singular object. If the verb was intransitive, the person prefix in (23) should be *barra-* (intransitive); if the stimulus was encoded as O, a third dual free pronoun *bunu* should occur before the verb complex, cross-referencing the two women.¹⁰⁵

20111207a_004_MT 21 [E]

[About two co-wives who argue all the time.]

- (23) *Kanh kirdikird-ko munguyh burra-yirru-ngalka.*
 DEM women-DYAD always 3du>3-conflict/anger-find:PR
 be(come).angry

‘These two women quarrel [find anger] all the time.’

104. An affect, namely pain, is another exception to the rule that, in Dalabon, internal states are not encoded as A and not assigned an agentive semantic role. Dalabon has a number of lexemes to express physical pain, most of which are intransitive predicates encoding the experiencer as S. However, *warn* ‘hurt’ follows a different pattern, displaying an impersonal A in an agentive role, and an incorporated body-part, along with its raised possessor, as O.

Bulu ka-h-dengu-warn.

3pl 3sg>3-R-foot-hurt:PR

‘It hurts their feet.’

This compares with constructions reported by Singer (2006, 216–220) for Mawng, Evans (2004) for Iwaidjan languages and Walsh (1987) for Murrinh Patha and some other languages, including several Gunwinyguan languages (Jawoyn, Ngalakgan, Warray, 1987, p. 431). It also compares with the English ‘it hurts’ or the French ‘ça fait mal’ for instance.

105. Or in this case, a reciprocal form would be expected here, because the sense is that they quarrel ‘with each other’.

The argument subcategorization of these verbs instantiate metaphors involving respectively EMOTION IS LIKE AN ENTITY INDEPENDENT OF THE PERSON (anger in *yirru-ngalka* ‘find anger’) and (possibly) EMOTION IS LIKE A FORCE (emotional disturbance in *yolh-ngun* ‘eat one’s feelings’) (Kövecses, 2000). I show in Chapter 9 (1.2) that the instantiation of these metaphors is exceptional in Dalabon, as emotions are not normally encoded as arguments, even less assigned an agentive semantic role.

2.4 Valence-changing operations

2.4.1 Benefactives

The Dalabon prefix called ‘benefactive applicative’ (hereby ‘benefactive’) is an affix that comes before the verb root. Its basic function is to allow for an extra argument to be formally encoded as an argument on the verb, this extra argument being either an animate who is impacted by the event (semantically a benefactee or a malefactee) but is not a direct participant, or an animate who participates in the event but is not included in the lexically defined subcategorization of the verb. This usually results in raising the valence of the verb by one, but the role of the added argument varies greatly.

The semantic role of the benefactive argument varies with the semantics of the verb, and in particular it is constrained by the semantic role of the first argument (S or A) of the bare form of the verb. If this argument is an agent, the range of possible semantic roles is not the same as if it is an experiencer. As a result, emotion predicates differ from most predicates with respect to the benefactive applicative construction: since the first argument of these bare predicates are experiencers, the benefactive argument is always a stimulus, to whom/which the event can be beneficial (positive emotions, benefactee) or detrimental (negative emotions, malefactee).

With intransitive verbs of Class 1, benefactive constructions are very common and occur spontaneously. As mentioned above, although predicates of Class 1 are formally intransitive, they often involve an implicit stimulus (see for instance *kangu-darridj(mu)* ‘be furious’, which usually implies the existence of someone triggering anger). The benefactive *marnu-* is used when this argument is overtly expressed. The predicate then becomes formally divalent. The first argument remains an experiencer and the benefactive argument must be a stimulus. In other words, the applicative benefactive construction derives a complex form with a Class 2 argument structure from a verb with a Class 1 argument structure. This is exemplified in (25), where the first occurrence of the verb *kangu-yerrk(mu)* is intransitive (intransitive prefix *barra-*, third dual), while the second occurrence is a benefactive construction, resulting in a transitive predicate. The first argument encodes the experiencer (the children) and the benefactive object encodes the stimulus (the parents). Benefactive constructions do not occur spontaneously on emotion verbs of classes 2 and 3.

- (24) Benefactive from Class 1 = Class 2

First argument = EXP (anim)

BEN = STIM (anim)

20120706b_001_MT 29 [RPF]

[Two of the children heroines reach home after a long and dangerous journey, and reunite with their family.]

- (25)
- Barra-h-kangu-yerrk-minj. Nah-no-burrng-kun bulu-burrng...*
-
- 3du-R-belly-release-PP mother-FILL-3duPOSS-GEN father-3duPOSS
-
- feel.better

kakkak-burrng bulnu bula-h-marnu-kangu-yerrk-minj.
parallel.grandkin-3duPOSS 3pl 3pl>3-BEN-belly-release-PP
feel.better

‘They felt relieved. Their mother, their father... their grandmother, they felt relieved for them.’

MT’s Kriol translation of the first line: ‘Dubala jis rili rait prapa hepi na.’

In addition to this stimulus role, there is always a potential for the benefactive argument to be affected by the event, since stimulating feelings usually triggers consequences for the stimulus even if these consequences are only potential or virtual. Therefore, a benefactee or malefactee reading always adds up to the stimulus reading. Note that malefactees are only found when the bare predicate denotes a negative emotion where negative feelings are directed towards other people (i.e. the judgmental category in Chapter 4, 1.2). This is exemplified with *kangu-darridj(mu)* ‘be furious’ in (26). The benefactive *marnu-* is used when the participant is explicitly mentioned. The benefactive argument is a malefactee (and its identity is optionally clarified by means of a locative marker *-kah*; see 2.5.2.1).

20120707a_000_MT 059 [Stim]

[A photo of a man and a woman arguing very vividly.]

- (26)
- Buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridjdarridj-mu,*
-
- 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony:REDUP-PR
-
- be.furious
-
- yibung-karn mah biyi buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridj-mu kirdikird-kah.*
-
- 3sg-EMPH and man 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony-PR woman-LOC
-
- be.furious

‘Their anger is rising. She’s angry at him, and him too, the man, he is angry at the woman.’

In contrast, with negative emotions caused by empathy for others, like *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’, the benefactive argument is always a benefactee. In (27), *burra-* encodes the third person dual acting upon a third singular, i.e. two children left behind

feeling sorry for a third one who is being taken away. *Wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’ and *run* ‘cry’ are intransitive as such; the benefactive allows the addition of a stimulus which ‘benefits’ from the negative emotion. The clause implies love for this person. In fact, benefactive constructions applied to verbs denoting sympathetic negative emotions are the main way to describe compassion lexically. This point is further discussed in Chapter 6 (2.1.3).

20120710a_001_MT 125 [Stim/RPF]

[Two of the children, hidden away, watch the third one being taken away from them by welfare agents.]

- (27) *Burra-h-munku-na-ng, burra-h-marnu-wurdah-minj bulkkidj.*
 3du>3-R-far-see-PP 3du>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP really

Burra-h-marnu-dje-ru-nj.

3du>3-R-BEN-nose/face-cry-PP.

‘They were looking from a distance [at their cousin being taken away] and they were really sad for her. They looked very sad for her [they cried from the nose/face].’

2.4.2 *Lexicalized benefactive: marnu-djare ‘like, love’*

Marnu-djare, the benefactive form of *djare* ‘like, love/want’, is lexicalized to the extent that the benefactive does not operate in *marnu-djare* as it does elsewhere – and therefore, as I show in the following paragraphs, the sense of *marnu-djare* is not entirely compositional. Standard benefactive constructions with *djare* ‘like, love/want’ tend to mean ‘like, love’ as opposed to ‘want’. This stems from the fact that the benefactive usually applies when the stimulus is animate, and in these cases affection is more frequent than desire – e.g. affection for relatives, (28) or ‘love’ (romantic love), (29).

20120710a_001_MT 302 [RPF]

[The children have made it home and the older girl kisses her grandmother. The speaker translates ‘I love you *kakkak*’.]

- (28) *Yarra-h-dudj-minj wulkun-wurd-ngan,*
 1du.excl-R-return-PP younger.sister-DIM-1sgPOSS

buka-h-marnu-yin-inj kakkak-burrng-kah.

3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-say/do-PP parallel.grandkin-3duPOSS-LOC

Kanh buka-h-marnu-yin-inj dja-h-marnu-djare.

DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-say/do-PP 1sg>2sg-R-BEN-like/want

‘Me and my little sister have come back, she says to their grandmother. I love you, she tells her now.’

30036/2008 – 42' (MT) [ConvEI]

[Talking about my husband.]

- (29) *Dja-h-kakku-marnu-djare.*
 3sg>2sg-R-really-BEN-like/want
 'He really loves you.'

In addition, *marnu-djare* is sometimes used with an inanimate stimulus, which is not a standard use of the benefactive, and therefore indicates lexicalization. In such contexts, *marnu-djare* also translates as 'like', as in (30). Thus, *marnu-djare* has (to some degree) lexicalized, yielding the sense 'like'.

20111206b_001_MT 089 [EI]

- (30) *Nunh kanh naddo nga-h-marnu-djare.*
 DEM DEM bush.peanuts 1sg>3-R-BEN-like/want
 'I like bush peanuts.'

Reciprocally, when *djare* is used without *marnu-*, it often yields the sense 'want'. This is the case when *djare* is followed by a clausal adjunct, as in (31) (see also 2.5.1), or by an inanimate stimulus, like the lollies in (32). In addition, the simple form is sometimes used with animate stimuli, when the sense is clearly 'want' rather than 'like, love', as in (33). Hence the bare form *djare* has (to some extent) lexicalized the sense 'want' as opposed to 'like, love'.

20110529_003_MT 022 [Narr]

[Someone making an employment offer that implies moving to another location.]

- (31) *Nga-h-djare nahdjarrada narra-h-bo-niyan*
 1sg-R-like/want there 2du-R-go-FUT
nidjarra burra-h-marnu-wurkih-miyan.
 here 2du>1-R-BEN-work-FUT
 'I'd like you two to go there, you will work for me here.'

20120714b_005_MT 012 [ContEI]

- (32) *Loli kardu ka-h-djare, dohkardu mey. Kanh ka-h-ruru-yan.*
 lollies maybe 3sg-R-like/want or food DEM 3sg-R-cry:REDUP-FUT
 'He wants lollies or food maybe. That's why [the child] he'll keep crying.'

20120721_003_LB 079 [RPF]

[Translating 'I want mummy', the words of one of the children heroines expressing her desire to be with her mother, whom she's been taken away from and is walking back to.]

- (33) *Ngey nah-ngan nga-h-djare*
 1sg mother-1sgPOSS 1sg-R-like/want
ka-h-yin kanh wurdurd-wurd.
 3sg-R-say/do:PR DEM child-DIM
 ‘I want my mummy, the little girl says.’

However, the sense/form association – *djare* for ‘want’ and *marnu-djare* for ‘like, love’ – is not clear-cut. In (34), the other speaker translates the same passage of the movie as in (33), and uses *marnu-djare* rather than *djare* for ‘want’ – which is expected with an animate stimulus. In (35), in contrast, the speaker uses *djare* alone to refer to the love of a wife for her husband – which is less expected, since animate stimuli usually attract a benefactive construction.

20120706b_000_MT 011 [RPF]

[Translating ‘I want mummy’, the words of one of the children heroines expressing her desire to be with her mother, whom she’s been taken away from and is walking back to.]

- (34) *Nah-ngan nga-h-marnu-djare ka-h-yin-inj.*
 mother-1sgPOSS 1sg>3-R-BEN-like/want 3sg-R-say/do-PP
Nah-ngan-kah nga-h-bo-niyan.
 mother-1sgPOSS-LOC 1sg-R-go-FUT
 ‘I want my mummy she said. I’ll go back to my mum.’

20120713a_000_MT 155 [TC]

- (35) *Mah buka-h-djongh-minj kahnunh merey-nguddu.*
 and 3sg>3sg.h-R-kiss-PP DEM jealous-HEART
Ka-h-kakku-djare, ngale duway-ngan ka-h-lenj-mon.
 3sg-R-really-like/want INTJ.constat husband-1sgPOSS 3sg-R-LENJ-good
 good.hunter
 ‘And she kissed him, the jealous one. She really loves him, ah my husband is a good hunter [she thinks].’

2.4.3 *Reciprocals*

Transitive verbs of Class 2 and benefactive constructions based on Class 1 predicates (which share the same argument mapping pattern) regularly take the suffix *-rr*, which sanctions both reciprocal and reflexive constructions. In the bare construction, S is the experiencer and O the stimulus. Once a reciprocal suffix is added, the resulting predicates are formally intransitive, attracting person prefixes of the intransitive sets, as in (37) (*ngurrung-dung => ngurrung-durrun*, Class 2) and (38) (benefactive from Class 1, *marnu-kangu-darridjmu => marnu-kangu-darridj-murrun*). The participants encoded as S are reciprocal experiencer and stimulus at the same time.

- (36) Reciprocals from Class 2

S = EXP (anim) + STIM (anim)

20111208_002_MT 65 [El]

- (37)
- Barra-h-lng-bonjh-minj mak barra-ngurrung-du-rru-n kahke.*
-
- 3du-R-SEQ-finish-PP NEG 3du-NGURRUNG-scold-RR-PR NEG
-
- hate

‘They stopped, they no longer hate each other.’

20120707a_000_MT 063 [Stim]

- (38)
- Biyi buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridj-mu kirdikird-kah.*
-
- man 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony-PR woman-LOC
-
- be.furious

Burrkunh-ko barra-h-marnu-kangu-darridj-murru-n.
two-DYAD 3du-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony-RR-PR
be.furious

‘The man is extremely angry at the woman. They are both extremely angry at each other.’

Bare verbs of Class 1 cannot take a reciprocal interpretation as they are intransitive. As for emotion verbs of Class 3, they did not occur in reciprocal constructions in spontaneous speech.

2.4.4 Reflexives

The same suffix, *-rr*, is also used in reflexive constructions. Causative emotion verbs (Class 3) occurred in reflexive constructions in spontaneous speech. Resulting intransitive predicates encode the experiencer as S. In (40), the verb *kangu-yirru-djurrkkan* ‘cause to become excited’ takes a reflexive marker *-rr*, and thus becomes intransitive: ‘become excited’. The idea of an action of the experiencer on themselves is relatively backgrounded semantically, so that these verbs are formally similar to emotion verbs of Class 1, denoting states. Many Dalabon transitive verbs follow the same path, yielding (often lexicalized) intransitive predicates in reflexive constructions. Reflexive constructions based on verbs of Class 2 did not occur spontaneously.

- (39) Reflexive from Class 3 = Class 1

S = EXP (anim)

20120713b_003_MT 017 [ContEl]

- (40)
- Nganabbarru ka-h-yirru-mon*
-
- buffalo 3sg-R-conflict/anger-good
-
- aggressive

nunh kanh ka-h-lng-yirru-ngal-miyan.
DEM DEM 3sg-R-SEQ-conflict/anger-appear-FUT
be(come).angry

Brrrr *ka-h-yin*, *ka-h-kangu-yirru-djurrkka-rru-n*.

ONOMAT 3sg-R-say/do:PR 3sg-R-belly-conflict/anger-excite-RR-PR

‘The buffalo is aggressive, this is why he’ll get angry. Brrr [imitating the buffalo blowing in anger] it goes, he’s getting excited.’

Reflexive constructions based on Class 1 verbs are unusual and were sometimes rejected in elicitation, but it seems that they are marginally possible, at least for some verbs (41). The argument mapping is identical in the reflexive construction as in the base construction: in both cases, S is the experiencer. The translation indicates that in this case, the action of the experiencer on themselves may be semantically relevant.

20120715a_000_MT 056 [El]

(41) *Nga-h-yer-mu-rru-n*.

1sg-R-shy.away-RR-PR

‘I make myself feel ashamed.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Mi sheim mijalb.’

2.5 Alternative constructions

Because many emotion predicates are lexically intransitive, but tend to semantically imply a second participant, they attract a number of alternative participant-encoding strategies. Therefore, studying the syntax of emotion predicates reveals interesting syntactic processes that may be less apparent in other semantic domains. The strategies in question are presented below.

2.5.1 Clausal adjuncts

Two adjectives, both expressing inclination to do something, regularly take clausal adjuncts: this is frequent with *djare* ‘like, love/want’ ((31) and (42)), and somewhat less frequent with *yolh-mon* ‘feel good (emotional or physical), feel like, be pleased, be nice’ (43) (see Chapter 6, Section 1). Clausal adjuncts are also common with other, non-emotional Dalabon verbs (see Evans, 2006). Dalabon subordinate clauses can sometimes be flagged by the use of a dedicated set of person prefixes, ending in *-ye* (or *-e*). On the other hand, many subordinate clauses do not take these dedicated person prefixes but a standard one, and simply occur in apposition to main clauses, with prosodic continuity between clauses.¹⁰⁶ Standard person prefixes, apposition and adequate intonation are the norm for subordinate clauses of *djare* and *yolh-mon* predicates. The subordinate clause is often in the future tense, thus specifying temporal succession between the clauses, but this depends on the semantics of the sentence, and other tenses are possible (42, 44).

106. Similar constructions are used with coordinate clauses, without subordination.

20110529_003_MT 022 [Narr]

[Someone making an employment offer that implies moving to another location.]

- (31) *Nga-h-djare nahdjarrada narra-h-bo-niyan*
1sg-R-like/want there 2du-R-go-FUT

nidjarra burra-h-marnu-wurkib-miyan.
here 2du>1-R-BEN-work-FUT

‘I’d like you two to go there, you will work for me here.’

20100718b_007_MT 373

- (42) [*Marlk-no nga-h-djare nga-h-ngu-n.*
liver-3gPOSS 1sg-R-like/want 1sg>3-R-eat-PR

‘[Liver], I like to eat it.’

30118/2007 – 53’ (MT) [EI]

- (43) *Yolh-no, mak ka-yolh-mon ka-bo-niyan. Ka-h-warndih.*
feelings-3sgPOSS NEG 3sg-feelings-good 3sg-go-FUT 3sg-R-lacking.motivation
‘His inclinations, he doesn’t feel like going. He’s not up to it.’

20110614_006_LB 184 [Narr]

[About finding rock paintings on her land; she wasn’t sure she would locate them.]

- (44) *Nga-h-Ing-kodj-ru nga-h-ru-nj.*
1sg-R-SEQ-head-cry:PP 1sg-R-cry-PP

Nga-h-yolh-mon-m-inj nga-h-ngalka-ng nga-h-yolh-mon-m-inj.
1sg-R-feelings-good-INCH-PP 1sg>3-R-find-PP 1sg-R-feelings-good-INH-PP

‘[I was so happy that] I cried inside, I cried. I was pleased that I had found [the paintings], I was pleased.’

2.5.2 Case marking

Dalabon has a significant number of case markers, some of them quite rare. The two most frequent case markers are the locative *-kah* and the genitive *-kun*. Both are found to occasionally sanction participant roles in emotional events. Such case markers can cumulate with benefactive applicative constructions, in which case they serve to clarify which argument is which, and are optional. When a second participant (a stimulus) is expressed but not sanctioned by lexically defined argument marking, and no benefactive strategy is in place, then it is obligatory to use some alternative strategy to signal the argument. Case marking is a possibility; adding a possessive enclitic to the verb compound (2.5.3) is another one (these strategies do not seem to cumulate). It seems that for most emotion verbs, the case chosen is usually the genitive *-kun*, but with a few others, typically when anger or jealousy are at stake, the locative *-kah* is frequent. Some verbs allow for variations. For instance, the verb *run* ‘cry’ can be used to mean

‘be desperate for’, in which case the stimulus usually carries a genitive marker (*kah-run bad-kun*, ‘he’s desperate for money’). But occasionally, the stimulus in question can be followed by a locative enclitic, as in (50) (2.5.2.2). The use of the genitive case *-kun* to mark arguments of emotion predicates is presented in 2.5.2.1, and the use of the locative case *-kah* in 2.5.2.2.

2.5.2.1 Genitive cases As with any event (emotional or not), the cause or matter of an emotional event may be encoded with the genitive case, expressed by the enclitic *-kun*.

20120709b_000_MT 147 [ContEl]

- (45) *Yabok-ngan yarra-h-du-rru-ninj.*
 sister-1sgPOSS 1du.excl-R-scold-RR-PP
Nga-h-marnu-yolh-boled-minj. Biyi-ngan-kun kardu.
 1sg>3-R-BEN-feelings-turn-PP man-1sgPOSS-GEN maybe
 upset.with

‘My sister and I had an argument. I got upset with her. Over my husband maybe.’

In addition, with emotion predicates, the genitive marker *-kun* can also mark other arguments or adjuncts. With intransitive verbs of Class 1, the stimulus is not subcategorized lexically by the verb, but if an animate stimulus is overtly expressed, a benefactive construction is normally used. Genitive enclitics constitute an alternative, far less frequent treatment of the expressed stimulus (46); it can also, occasionally, be used with inanimate stimuli (47). As shown in (46), when followed by a genitive marker, the participants are not cross-referenced on the verb (otherwise, the person prefix in the second clause would be *buka-*, third singular acting upon animate third singular). However, some utterances employ both the benefactive and the genitive strategies, as in (48), where the specification of the stimuli comes as an afterthought.

20120706b_005_MT 095 [ContEl]

[About MT’s great-granddaughter ringing her mother’s sister on the phone.]

- (46) *Delegram buka-h-marnu-burlh-miyan,*
 email 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-come.out-FUT
mulah-no-kun ka-h-Ing-kangu-yowyow-miyan.
 mother’sister-3sgPOSS-GEN 3sg-R-SEQ-belly-flow:REDUP-FUT
 feel.good

‘She’ll get a phonecall, and she will be pleased about her mother’s sister.’

20120718a_000_MT 014 [ContEl]

[MT had run out of tobacco the day before.]

- (47) *Beka-kun nga-h-kakku-djare-ninj.*
 tobacco-GEN 1sg-R-really-like/want-PI
 ‘I really wanted tobacco.’ (‘I was desperate for tobacco.’)

20120714b_005_MT 031 [ContEI]

[About a close friend of MT having to leave the community forever.]

- (48)
- Nga-h-marnu-yolh-weh. Kanh François-kun.*

1sg>3-R-BEN-feelings-bad DEM proper.name-GEN

‘I feel bad about him. About François.’

In addition, the genitive case may also encode the beloved object in jealousy predicates, although locative encoding (2.5.2.1) is more frequent.

20120713a_001_MT 046 [TC]

[A woman tries to prevent a younger woman from having contacts with the young man who likes her (and who she likes).]

- (49)
- Barra-h-merey-na-rr-inj kanh yawurrinj-wurd-kun.*

3du-R-jealously-see-RR-PP DEM young.man-DIM-GEN

‘They were jealous of each other about the little young man.’

2.5.2.2 Locative case A locative case marker *-kah* is sometimes (relatively rarely) found on noun phrases expressing the stimulus. Locative marking is used in place of a benefactive construction when the stimulus is inanimate (50). A locative case may also mark an animate stimulus, as in (51), in which case this extra marking of this participant adds up to the standard cross-referencing of the benefactive object on the verb. The concomitant use of the ergative case on the experiencer, in (52), suggests that the locative marker may also be used to clarify which argument is which.

20120705b_005_MT 149 [RPF]

[The three children are looking attentively at the sky, in a bid to spot a plane which would indicate the correct direction to walk back home; they are not crying.]

- (50)
- Kanh bala-h-ru-n errblen-kah.*

DEM 3pl-R-cry-PR plane-LOC

‘They’re desperately looking for a plane.’

20120707a_000_MT 060 [Stim]

[A photo of a man and a woman arguing violently.]

- (51)
- Buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridjdarridj-mu,*

3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony:REDUP-PR

be.furious

yibung-karn mah biyi buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridj-mu kirdikird-kah.

3sg-EMPH and man 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony-PR woman-LOC

be.furious

‘She’s angry at him, and him too, the man, he is angry at the woman.’

20120710b_003_MT 091 [TC]

- (52) *Nawalingu-yih mahkih ka-h-Ing-woh-merey-di korre.*
 proper.name-ERG and 3sg-R-SEQ-a.bit-jealously-stand/be:PR before
Buka-h-njerrh-ye-merey-di nuhka
 3sg>3sg.h-R-(dead)body-COM-jealously-stand/be:PR there
kanh yawurrinj-wurd-kah.
 DEM young.man-DIM-LOC
 ‘But Nawalingu is already a bit jealous. She’s jealous about the little young man there.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Darran najawan gel im jeles la im.’

The locative case is often found with transitive jealousy verbs of Class 2, like in (52), and (53). Jealousy scenarios normally involve three animate participants:¹⁰⁷ an experiencer, a beloved person, and an interfering person. With verbs of Class 2, the interfering person is treated as the stimulus, encoded as O. The noun phrase referring to the beloved person often takes a locative case marker.

20120713a_003_MT 340 [TC]

[About two co-wives.]

- (53) *Barra-h-merey-na-rru-n kanh wanjinh biyi-kah.*
 3du-R-jealously-see-RR-PR DEM one man-LOC
 ‘They are jealous about one man [that they are sharing].’

2.5.3 Possessive markers

Finally, possessive enclitics are sometimes added after a verb compound, following the verb inflection, in order to specify the identity of the stimulus. This strategy is rare. It may occur with verbs expressing non-emotional events, but it is proportionally more frequent (albeit still rare) with emotion predicates, particularly predicates denoting anger. The stimulus participant signaled by the possessive enclitic is not cross-referenced on the verb (otherwise, the pronoun *bulu* would be required in (54)).

20120708a_000_MT 099 [EI]

- (54) *Nga-h-kangu-dadj-minj-bulng,*
 1sg-R-belly-end-PP-3plPOSS
 lose.temper
bah mak bulu nga-kakku-marnu-kangu-dadj-mi.
 but NEG 3pl 1sg>3-really-BEN-belly-end-IRR
 lose.temper
 ‘I lost [was about to lose] my temper with them, but I didn’t really lose it against them.’

107. In Dalabon, jealousy with respect to a belonging for instance is rarely in focus. Such scenarios are accepted in elicitation but are not articulated spontaneously.

3. Aspect

It will not be possible to describe aspect in much detail here. A full discussion of the aspectual properties of Dalabon emotion verbs should rely upon an initial description of aspectual properties of each verb. This would require more time and space than I have, and more data than is available for Dalabon. Aspectual studies of emotion lexemes (nouns or verbs) tend to make use of broader digital corpora available for languages like Russian, German or French, allowing thorough analysis of variations throughout contexts, constructions and collocations (see for instance Wierzbicka (1999) on anger in Russian and German, Melnikova (2009) for Russian and French, Tutin et al. (2006) for French). With Dalabon, for a lot of verbs, I simply do not have enough examples to carry out an aspectual analysis. Successful tests clarified some simple cases, for instance confirming that *kangu-barrh(mu)* ‘be surprised, undergo emotional shock’ is a change of state, which therefore cannot combine with the durative adverb *munguyh* (55). But in general this type of focused elicitation yielded limited results, the quality of which remained questionable (see Chapter 3, 1.2.2).

20120714a_003_MT 132 [ContEl]

[About someone having to leave the community.]

(55) MT *Nga-h-marnu-kangu-barrh-minj*

1sg>3-R-BEN-belly-crack-PP
get.shocked

kanh yang nga-h-wona-ng yibung-walung.

DEM language 1sg>3-R-hear-PP 3sg-ABL

MP *Nga-h-dja-kangu-barrh-mu munguyh?*

1sg-R-FOC-belly-crack-PR always
get.shocked

MT *Nga-h-dja-kangu-darr-mu munguyh.*

1sg-R-FOC-belly-DARR-PR always
feel.bad

Mak dja-kangu-barrhmu munguyh.

NEG 2sg-belly-crack-PR always
get.shocked

MT ‘I got a shock for him, when I heard the news about him.

MP I still *kangu-barrhmu*, I still get a shock?

MT I’m still grieving, *kangu-darrmu*. Not you still *kangu-barrhmu*, ‘still get a shock?’

However, a couple of remarks can be formulated (see also 2.2 about aspectual properties of adjectives). As suggested in (55), many emotion lexemes in Class 1 (and 2) denote potentially durative states, like *kangu-darr(mu)* ‘feel bad when worrying for someone (grief)’. Yet, a lot of the Class 1 verbs denote a change of state – and are

therefore used in the past perfective form when a present emotional state is being described, like sulking in (56). Table 3 lists emotional verbs denoting the entry into a state, as illustrated with *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’ in (56). A lot of these verbs translate English change-of-state emotional verbs.



Figure 1. Picture used in elicitation. To the right, the author.

20120706a_004_MT 04 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 1.]

- (56) *Kardu bulu da-h-marnu-kodj-dadj-minj.*
 maybe 3pl 2sg>3-R-BEN-head-end-PP
 become.upset

Kardu dja-h-ni dja-h-kodj-kurlhkurlka-n.
 Maybe 2sg-R-sit/be:PR 2sg-R-head-bend:REDUP-PR

‘Maybe you are upset [got upset] with them.
 Like you’re sitting there, head down.’

All the predicate components in Table 3 denote a change of state themselves. The compounds instantiate metonymies and metaphors inspired by the sense of these components (see Chapters 7 to 9), and thus map some of the feature of an emotional event under the features of a non-emotional (usually more concrete) event. Aspectual features are among the features which get mapped. It is therefore unsurprising that emotional events and the events they are metonymically or metaphorically compared to often share aspectual features.¹⁰⁸

However, the aspectual structure of emotional events is not necessarily absolutely identical to the source event, and in some cases there is a clear mismatch between the source predicate and the resulting emotional compound. For instance, *wudj(mu)* ‘end, die’ is a change of state verb (57). However, while *yirru-wudj(mu)*

108. Melnikova (2009) makes the same remark for Russian.

Table 3. Dalabon emotional verbs denoting a change of state. The digit after their entry indicates the valence class of the verb (see 2.2 and 2.3). Verbs in *italics* occurred only once. A question mark in front of the entry indicates that there was no fully conclusive evidence that the verb denotes a change of state, but that the data suggests that it does.

Compound	Other component	Sense
kodj-dadj(mu) (1)	be cut, end (v.i.)	sulk and interrupt social interactions as a consequence
kodj-dukkan (2)	tie up (v.t.)	be upset with someone
kangu-bak(mu) (1)	break (v.i.)	forgive
kangu-dadj(mu) (1)	be cut, end (v.i.)	lose temper, be very angry
?kangu-damh(mu) (1)	body-part be(come) blocked (v.i.)	suffer emotionally, when losing someone
?kangu-muk(mu) (1)	BE/GET COVERED (v.i.)	feel vengeful, feel terrible, e.g. dreadful news
?kangu-yalway(mu) (1)	(get) refresh(ed) (v.i.)	get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally / stomach feel better
kangu-yerrk(mu) (1)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally), get rid of resentment
kangu-yord(mu) (1)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment / stomach feel better
kangu-yirru-burlh(mu) (1)	come out (v.i.)	become (?emotionally) angry
kangu-yirru-ngal(mu) (1)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
yolh-yerrk(mu) (1)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better, get rid of resentment
yolh-yord(mu) (1)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. get rested)
yirru-burlh(mu) (1)	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
yirru-ngal(mu) (1)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
yirru-ngalka (1)	find (v.t.)	become (be?) (?emotionally) angry
yirru-ngurd(mu) (1)	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	calm down, stop arguing or fighting (?emotion/behavior)
yirru-won (2)	CSTVZR	become (emotionally) angry ?against someone
yirru-wudj(mu) (1)	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)

‘conflict, anger’ + ‘end, die’, ‘calm down, end argument’ is also a change of state verb, *yolh-wudj(mu)* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘end, die’, ‘lack energy, be sulky’, denotes states with potential duration (58).

30118/2007 – 36’ (MT) [EI]

[An empty bottle.]

(57) *Ka-h-kolh-wudj-minj ka-h-lorrkno.*

3sg-R-liquid-end-PP 3sg-R-empty

‘The water has been finished off, [the bottle] is empty.’

20111207a_001_MT 74 [ContEl]

- (58) *Ngey-walung-kun nga-h-dja-ni, nga-h-mo-yolh-wudj.*
 1sg-ABL-GEN 1sg-R-FOC-sit/be:PR 1sg-R-bones-feelings-end:PR
 lack.energy

‘I’m staying on my own, I’m feeling morose.’

4. Conclusion

The Dalabon lexicon mostly comprises adjectives and verbs (c. 160), a lot of them morphologically analyzable as [noun + predicate]. Syntactically speaking, these lexemes are used as predicates, with a relatively regular syntax. They divide quite neatly into three argument-subcategorization classes. More than three-quarters of these predicative lexemes are intransitive, selecting the experiencer as their only argument. There is thus a clear preference for experiencer subjects. As will be shown in the following chapters, this syntactic preference correlates with some aspects of the Dalabon metaphors for emotions. While syntactically intransitive, these emotion predicates are often semantically more complex, featuring further participants not encoded as syntactic arguments. Aspectually speaking, emotion verbs tend to behave like the predicative component they are based upon, although this is not absolutely systematic. Now that some light has been shed upon the morphological and grammatical properties of the Dalabon emotional lexicon, we can move on to the semantic properties of this lexicon, dealt with in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

The lexicon

Semantics

Having described formal properties of the Dalabon emotion lexicon in Chapter 5, here I discuss the semantics of some of the words, and provide ethnographic background about how various emotions are dealt with in the Dalabon context. Complementing the findings of Chapter 4, where it was shown that Dalabon expressive features play a prominent role in encoding culturally significant emotion categories, the present chapter shows that the lexicon does not always offer an ideal mapping of these significant categories. Indeed, there is no strong correlation between the cultural salience of an emotion and the existence of a well-identified corresponding lexical category. Socially central emotions are other-oriented emotions, for instance emotions related to conflict, compassion, shame, and emotions experienced in mourning. While these emotions are culturally central, not all of them correspond to lexical categories. In addition, Dalabon also has a wealth of lexemes denoting emotional states which are not socially oriented and mostly escape the moral framework. Love and jealousy and their relatively backgrounded status are also discussed, as well as fear and surprise. These emotional categories and the corresponding distinctions are discussed below throughout Section 2. Prior to this discussion, in Section 1 I provide a list of frequent lexemes, and describe the semantic range they cover.

1. Frequent lexemes

As explained in Chapter 1 (1.3), there is no Dalabon nominal hyperonym equivalent to the English ‘emotion’, subsuming other emotion-denoting words. While this does not mean that the concept of emotion isn’t relevant in the Dalabon context (indeed, it is possible to ask ‘how does x feel?’, ‘*marruh kah-yolh/kangu-yin?*’, see Chapter 1, 1.3), it implies that it is not possible to simply ask Dalabon speakers what they subsume under the category ‘emotion’. In Dalabon, the terms conditioning generic questions on emotions are verbs. Unlike nouns, verbs hardly correspond to conceptual categories readily accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness. As a result (as pointed out by Russell (1991, p. 430)), methodologies aiming to establish the structure of a lexicon based on speakers’ judgments of prototypicality (Fehr & Russell (1984) for English, Breugelmans & Poortinga (2006) for Javanese, Alonso-Arbiol et al. (2006) for Basque, Toivonen et al. (2012) for Finnish; with smaller languages, Lutz (1982) for Woleaian (Ifaluk),

Harkins (2001) for Arrernte (Central Australia)) do not apply to Dalabon. In addition, the low number of speakers and their lack of familiarity with abstract, systematic tasks, makes any study of that sort very difficult. Nevertheless, it is possible to differentiate between more frequent and less frequent terms – frequency being an indicator, if not of categorial centrality, at least of a certain conceptual prominence.¹⁰⁹

Among the Dalabon emotional lexemes presented in Chapter 5 and listed in Appendix 1, some are relatively rare (e.g. *kodj-kerlk*, ‘head’ + ‘soft’, ‘be emotionally open’, *kangu-bola* ‘belly’ + ‘SOFT/SENSITIVE’ ‘feel good’, ‘be nice’); most are occasional to common; and a dozen (less than 10%), listed in Table 1 here, are frequent. They are partial synonyms of less frequent terms (e.g. *kangu-darr(mu)* ‘feel bad when worrying for someone (grief)’, which can be replaced by *marnu-wurdah(mu)* BENEFACTIVE + ‘suffer’, ‘feel sorry for someone’). Some of the less frequent terms seemed to be used in more formal contexts: either when producing narratives aiming at a higher register, with an intention to be precise, or simply in elicitation, a context which MT felt at ease with,¹¹⁰ during which she seemed to enjoy using a wide range of words.

It is difficult to provide comparative frequency figures, as frequency is distorted in the context of elicitation. Most of the lexemes listed in Table 1 number around 50 tokens (+/- a dozen), while in comparison, some emotion words occurred only a handful of times across the corpora. Three lexemes were significantly more frequent: *djare* ‘like, love/want’ (more than 200 tokens; see Chapter 5, 2.4.2), and the polar pair *yolh-mon* ‘feelings’ + ‘good, fine’ (c. 180 occurrences) and *yolh-weh* ‘feelings’ + ‘bad’ (c. 110 occurrences). A term was included in Table 1 if one of the following conditions was fulfilled: (a) it was overwhelmingly frequent in at least one corpus, or in one type of narrative; (b) it was relatively frequent in at least one corpus and used systematically and spontaneously for a certain type of situation; (c) a significant number of tokens were found in spontaneous speech, along with a large number of spontaneous occurrences in elicitation sessions (i.e. the word was used spontaneously to describe a large number of suggested scenarios).¹¹¹ Naturally, not all the terms listed in Table 1 are

109. I consider it uncontroversial that if speakers use a word frequently, it implies that the sense of the word in question applies frequently, and thus that the thing, event etc. it relates to is familiar and conceptually well-identified.

110. Somewhat surprisingly, she kept asking for more elicitation, and evidently enjoyed depicting complicated scenarios. When given the choice between a variety of tasks including presumably more entertaining ones such as commenting on pictures, discussing kinship or shooting a video, she kept asking for *kweshten* (<Eng. ‘questions’), the label we tacitly used for simple elicitation.

111. Excluded from the list are lexemes which, like *wurrh(mu)* ‘be surprised, be scared’ for instance, are the unmarked choice to describe a given emotion (here, surprise), but are not frequent in any of the corpora. In order to include such terms into the list, it would have been necessary to establish a priori a list of basic emotions, independently of linguistic data, and then add to the table the lexemes corresponding to these ‘basic emotions’ (Darwin (1872), Descartes

as frequent as each other, yet they are all frequent words, unmarked in terms of their register. The sense of each of these lexemes is discussed in detail in Section 2 below, and in the glossary presented in Appendix 2.

Table 1. Frequent emotion lexemes in Dalabon.

The number between brackets indicates the syntactic class of the word (see Chapters, 2.2 and 2.3).

Compound	Sense
djare (adj.) (1)	like, love/want
dje-bruh(mu) (1)	be sulky, be sad/put on a sad face, a grimace
djong-mun (1)	be scared
kangu-mon (adj.) (1)	feel emotionally fine, be well-disposed, be a nice person
kangu-weh-mun/no (v.i./adj.) (1)	feel bad/mean, nasty/unwell in the belly
kodj-dadj(mu) (1)	become upset and interrupt social interactions as a consequence
ngurrung-dung (2)	hate someone, experience negative feelings for someone
wurdah(mu) (1)	suffer emotionally
yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (shame, embarrassment)
yirru-mun (1)	be(come) angry (emotional or behavioral)
yolh-mon (adj.) (1)	feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice
yolh-weh (adj.) (1)	feel bad (emotional or physical), be upset with s.b., bad-tempered

The following section contains a brief discussion of the semantics of frequent lexemes. Section 2 considers which emotions are lexicalized and which are not, and questions noticeable absences of lexical categories. It provides semantic analyses for important terms, as well as some ethnographic background for their contexts of use.

As pointed out by Wierzbicka (1999, 2013), we should not assume that lexemes in any language always find straightforward English translations. Careful consideration is in order when articulating correspondences between languages. Dalabon words may merge senses expressed by different English lexemes, and/or endorse particular connotations based on the contexts in which they appear and scenarios in which they take part, which are specific to the Dalabon social environment. I refer the reader to the glossary presented in Appendix 2 for further insight on the semantics of the lexemes. Some emotion lexemes are also discussed in Chapters 8 to 11.

The most generic (and also the most frequent) of Dalabon emotion words are the pair *yolh-mon* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘good, fine’ (c. 180 occurrences) and *yolh-weh* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘bad’ (c. 110 occurrences), denoting positive and negative emotional states respectively. They do not specify which emotion is at stake, whether joy, relief (for the

(1649), Ekman (1992a, p. 170)). Instead, I preferred to rely on the empirical criteria of frequency of spontaneous occurrences, so that Table 1 gives an idea of which emotions were frequently and spontaneously discussed in my corpora.

positive *yolh-mon*), fear, anxiety, anger (for the negative *yolh-weh*) etc. *Yolh-mon* and *yolh-weh* may be regarded as hyperonyms of all other emotion terms. They can also denote the emotional state of someone who is well- or ill-disposed towards someone else (see 2.1.1 about self-/other-oriented colexifications). While *yolh-mon* is formally intransitive and may simply mean ‘feel good’ (1), it may also take clausal adjuncts (see Chapter 5, 2.5.1), where it means ‘feel good with respect to an event’. If the complement clause refers to a future event, ‘feel like doing x’ is a better translation (2); if it refers to a past event, *yolh-mon* translates as ‘be pleased about x’ (3).

20120707a_002_MT 046 [ContEI]

- (1) *Mulah-ngu ka-h-lng-kurnh-wudj-minj, djila-h-marnu-yin-inj.*
 mother’s.sister-2sgPOSS 3sg-R-SEQ-country-end-PP 3pl>2sg-R-BEN-say/do-PP
 pass.away

Dja-h-lng-yawoh-kangu-damh-minj,
 2sg-R-SEQ-again-belly-block-PP
 feel.bad

mak dja-h-kangu-yolh-mon-m-ini kahke.
 NEG 2sg-R-belly-feelings-good-INCH-IRR NEG

‘You were told that your aunt had died. You felt sad again, you weren’t feeling good at all.’

20110518a_002_QB 416 [Narr]

[Two characters in a myth arguing about a woman.]

- (2) *Dja-h-yolh-mon-m-iniyan kardu dje-h-bu-rru-niyan?*
 2sg-R-feelings-good-INCH-FUT maybe 2du.dys-R-hit-RR-FUT
 ‘Do you want (us two) to fight together?’

20110614_006_LB 184 [Narr]

[About finding rock paintings on her land, that she wasn’t sure she would be able to locate.]

- (3) *Nga-h-lng-kodj-ru nga-h-ru-nj.*
 1sg-R-SEQ-head-cry:PP 1sg-R-cry-PP
Nga-h-yolh-mon-m-inj nga-h-ngalka-ng nga-h-yolh-mon-m-inj.
 1sg-R-feelings-good-INCH-PP 1sg>3-R-find-PP 1sg-R-feelings-good-INCH-PP
 ‘[I was so happy that] I cried inside, I cried. I was pleased that I had found [the paintings], I was happy.’

Less frequently, *yolh-mon* can denote a disposition (like all Dalabon emotional adjectives) oriented towards someone: ‘be well-disposed towards x’. The stimulus can be marked as a benefactive argument (4), or receive a case suffix (5).

20120718a_000_MT 046 [ContEl]

[About a conflict with a community employee.]

(4) *Nga-h-bolan-yirru-burlh-minj.*

1sg-R-nearly-conflict/anger-come.out-PP

be(come).angry

Bah kahke-no mak nga-yirru-burlh-mu.

but NEG NEG 1sg-conflict/anger-come.out-PR

be(come).angry

Nga-h-marnu-yolh-mon.

1sg>3-R-BEN-feelings-good

‘I nearly got angry. But no, I’m not angry. I’m OK with him.’

20110526c_000_MT 096 [Narr]

[A man reconsidering his former attitude towards his ex. The ex is the addressee (‘you’ at the end of the example).]

(5) *Kardu keninjh-kun nga-h-marnu-yolh-bolerd-minj*

maybe INTERR-GEN 1sg>3-R-BEN-feelings-turn-PP

be.upset.with

yarra-h-woh-dudu-rru-ninj.

1du.excl-R-a.bit-scold:REDUP-RR-PI

Kardu ka-h-yin

maybe 3sg-R-say/do:PR

men-no.

ideas-3sgPOSS

Dja-h-lng-marnu-yenjdju-ng, kanh ka-h-mon,

3sg>2sg-R-SEQ-BEN-talk-PR DEM 3sg-R-good

*ka-h-lng-yolh-mon,**njing-kun.*

3sg-R-SEQ-feelings-good 2sg-GEN

‘But why did I become emotionally distant from her and keep having arguments with her. He might think in his mind. Now he talks to you, it’s OK, he feels good about you.’

In addition, *yolh-mon* has a less common physical sense, ‘feel good physically, be fit’, as illustrated in (6). Physical and emotional well-/ill-being often come together in practice, and indeed, words that denote both physical and emotional well/ill-being are common across the world’s languages (Goossens, 2011, p. 223). Levy (1984, p. 219) mentions the case of Tahitian language and culture, where, in his interpretation, sadness is ‘hypocognized’: while it is experienced, and marginally identified, it is not the focus of great attention either culturally or individually. According to Levy, this correlates with the fact that perceived sadness is colexified with physical states such as being tired, and thus perceived as a physiological response. In Dalabon, purely emotional feelings are lexified separately from physical states by many lexemes. *Kangu-yowwow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’, for instance, is strictly emotional, attracting no physical reading. However, many other lexemes, including *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, *yolh-mon* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘good, fine’ and many YOLH

compounds, denote states that have an emotional and a physical aspect at the same time. This association of emotional states with physical states corresponds to somatic metonymies which will be further discussed in Chapter 8 (Section 3), when I deal with the tropes involving YOLH ‘pep, feelings’.

20110522_001_MT_ND 046 (MT) [ContEl]

- (6) *Dja-h-njenguyu-ngiyan*, *kenbo dja-h-Ing-dokk-iyen*,
 2sg-R-sleep-FUT then 2sg-R-SEQ-get.up-FUT
dja-h-wona-rru-niyan dja-h-Ing-yolh-mon-m-uniyan^{112!}
 2sg-R-hear-RR-FUT 2sg-R-SEQ-feelings-good-INCH-FUT
 ‘You’ll sleep, then you’ll get up, see how you feel, and you’ll feel better!’

Yolh-weh ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘bad’, ‘feel bad’ attracts similar interpretations as *yolh-mon*, albeit for negative emotions. *Kangu-mon* ‘belly’ + ‘good, fine’ presents a similar profile, but it does not allow complement clauses, and its dispositional interpretations are more salient (7). Its physical readings focus on the stomach (see Chapter 8, Section 1).¹¹³ *Kangu-weh-mun/no* ‘belly’ + ‘bad’ + INCH/FILL are the negative counterparts of *kangu-mon*.

20120710a_000_MT 138 [RPF]

[About a nurse looking after the children at the compound. MT reckons she is very good to them.]

- (7) *Mak ka-beng-ka-n wurdurd bulu ka-yaw-du-ng.*
 NEG 3sg>3-MIND-take-PR children 3pl 3sg>3-little.one-scold-PR
 know
Kardu ka-h-kodj-kulu-mon, ka-h-kangu-mon.
 maybe 3sg-R-head-marrow-good 3sg-R-belly-good
 brain

‘She never scolds the children [she doesn’t know how to scold the children]. She’s a good person [she has a good brain (head-marrow), she’s generous [she has a good belly].’

Apart from *yolh-mon* ‘feel good, be pleased, feel like, be nice’ and *kangu-mon* ‘feel good’, ‘be well-disposed’, the only frequent term denoting a positive emotion is *djare*,

112. The future form of the inchoative *-mun* can be realized either as *-miniyan* (more frequent in the examples presented in this work), or *-muniyan*.

113. We will see in Chapter 8 (3.1) that the etymology of *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ probably relates to the abdomen, so that *yolh-mon* and *yolh-weh* might have started out as ‘belly’ + ‘good’/‘bad’ compounds, comparable to *kangu-mon* and *kangu-weh-mun/no* today (*kangu-no* ‘belly’). In synchrony, *yolh-no* is not considered a body-part (most speakers are not inclined to assign it to any body location, but see it as something immaterial).

'like, love/want'. Matching the general tendency to express negative rather than positive emotions (Chapter 3, 1.2.3) as well as cross-linguistic tendencies to have more lexemes for negative than for positive emotions (Averill, 1980; Bugenhagen, 2001, p. 95; Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 50), lexemes denoting negative emotions are over-represented among frequent lexemes. As discussed in Chapter 3, this predominance of negative feelings may be a bias of my corpus, but since my attempts to gather data relating to positive emotions failed, it seems likely that the corpus bias reflects a cultural bias. In spite of this bias, *yolh-mon* is more frequent than *yolh-weh*. However, this does not reflect more frequent discussions of positive emotions. Rather, the positive hyperonym *yolh-mon* 'feel good etc.', as well as *djare* 'like, love/want', are more frequent because they are preferred to more specific terms for positive emotions. This supports the hypothesis of the prominence of negative emotions in discourse, because the frequency of positive hyperonyms in fact reflects the lower incidence of more specific words for positive emotions. The list of frequent specific negative terms is also longer than the list of frequent specific positive terms (see Hiatt's (1978, p. 183) suggestion that 'in Australia the tranquil emotions have not obtained the same degree of verbal representation as their counterpart').¹¹⁴

The list of frequent lexemes for negative emotions in Table 1 includes a term denoting emotional pain, glossed 'suffer emotionally', *wurdah(mu)* (see 2.1). There are two more words denoting negative emotions in association with negative social interactions (negative valence, empathy): *kodj-dadj(mu)* 'head' + 'be cut, end', 'become upset and interrupt social interactions', *dje-bruh(mu)* 'nose/nostrils/face' + 'blow' 'sulky, sad/put on a dark face' (see Chapter 10, 1.3.1). The most frequent term for being/becoming angry is *yirru-mun* 'anger' + INCH, 'be angry', which has a number of metaphorical near-synonyms (see Chapter 9, Section 1). Also negative, but neutral with respect to other people, is the generic term for fear: *djong-mun*, DJONG + INCH, 'be scared' (2.4).

2. Emotions and their patterns of lexicalization

In the following section, I briefly discuss a couple of emotions, their realization in the Dalabon social context, and the Dalabon words used to describe them. This account does not aim to be exhaustive, but rather to give an idea of the Dalabon 'emotional landscape', thus providing a background to the linguistic study that follows. It is conceived as a dialogue with existing linguistic and anthropological works on emotions among Australian Aboriginal groups. While I discuss lexicalization patterns systematically and provide linguistic illustrations where relevant, linguistic data is certainly not

¹¹⁴ Dalabon also matches Hiatt's (1978, p. 183) prediction that Australian languages always have words for anger, fear, sorrow, jealousy and shame.

the sole source of information here. Instead, this account is based on daily observations made since 1997, as I was living near Weemol and later, during shorter linguistic field trips. My observations of intimate emotional behavior focused on the individuals I spent the most time with – including Dalabon speakers and their close relatives. The following account is greatly influenced by the personality of half a dozen women I have had more intimate relationships with.

A first constellation of emotions (anger, brooding, compassion, shame, mourning-related emotions, 2.1), relate to social interactions. These have been described at length by various authors (Goddard, 1991; Harkins, 1990b, 2001; Myers, 1979, 1986, 1988; Peile, 1997; Tamisari, 2006), and my account relies upon existing descriptions. These are not the only culturally acknowledged emotions. On the contrary, Dalabon language and Dalabon speakers pay much attention to emotions and states relating to the individual's 'energy', their mood, and their emotional well-being independent of social interactions (2.2). In contrast with these culturally salient emotions, love and sexuality are relatively backgrounded in Dalabon descriptions of emotions, and often recast as 'jealousy' (2.3). Finally, 2.4 discusses Dalabon attitudes and symbolism related to fear and surprise.¹¹⁵

It is well known that languages across the world 'cut reality at different joints' (Berlin & Kay, 1969; Whorf, 1956), and it has been hypothesized that the mapping of these categories may have consequences on how speakers 'perceive' reality. Lexical distinctions, and the words available to speakers to discuss emotions, have been assumed to have an impact on how speakers treat corresponding emotions cognitively (Russell, 1991, p. 427). Anthropological works on emotions are often structured around, or partly and more or less explicitly grounded by, the discussion of lexical items (Briggs, 1970; Lutz, 1988; Myers, 1986, 1988; Rosaldo, 1980). Indeed, it seems intuitively natural that understanding the emotion words of a given language must be relevant to understanding how the speakers of this language deal with, or at least discuss, emotions. All through the following paragraphs, however, as might be expected in light of various works on linguistic relativity (Enfield, 2002b; Levinson & Gumperz, 1996; Lucy, 1992), it will be found that the cultural salience of an emotion does not necessarily match lexicalization patterns, nor even the frequency of related lexemes. Some culturally important emotions are not lexically salient, and the reverse is also true to a minor extent. For instance, compassion is culturally central, but it is not particularly well represented in the lexicon, nor even in descriptions (although compassion is central with expressive features, see Chapter 4). Love and sexual desire are lexicalized, but rarely discussed and apparently hypocognized, i.e. not in focus (Levy, 1973, 1984) (2.3). Mourning-related emotions are cognitively and culturally salient, but not lexicalized in Dalabon.

115. As predicted by Wierzbicka (1999, p. 286), Dalabon has words for all the emotions she calls 'recurring themes' and which, she hypothesizes, are lexicalized in all languages: fear, anger and shame. The totality of Wierzbicka's (1999) proposed universals are realized in Dalabon.

2.1 Interpersonal relationships

In many respects, the account below matches Myers's description of the Pintupi 'emotional landscape' (Myers, 1979, 1986, 1988), and I refer the reader to his writings for more details. There are, however, important differences, emphasized along the following paragraphs. In his monograph and other publications on Pintupi and their emotional 'landscape', Myers has repeatedly demonstrated the centrality of interpersonal relationships in the definition of the Pintupi 'self', acknowledging the centrality of the 'ideology of 'relatedness'' (1979, p. 362) in the definition of the Pintupi individual (on the notion of 'relational individual' or 'dividual', particularly as it applies in Melanesia, see Strathern (1988)). Like Pintupi society, Dalabon society is structured by a dense kinship network, weaving reciprocal obligations between people as dictated by the overarching mythical 'law', which defines the entire universe and the behaviors of its human and non-human occupants (see Chapter 2, 2.2).

This kin network is crucial to both social and emotional life. The number and strength of one's social ties have implications for one's physical well-being (relatives can provide support in various ways), as well as for one's prestige (they are synonymous with power), and emotional comfort (they are reassuring and ego-enhancing) (Myers, 1986, pp. 170–175).¹¹⁶ Dalabon people of all ages often reassert kinship ties, when they claim a gift to fulfil a material need, or for personal reassurance. For instance, when staying in Katherine, the local township, where she has few relatives and where finding accommodation and food is a daily struggle, all along her conversations with me MT strongly emphasized the depth of her acquaintance with some white inhabitants of the town. Usually, these acquaintances bring no material benefits,¹¹⁷ yet evoking them and the potential benefits they *could* entail serves as a strategy of social assertion and emotional reassurance. Likewise, MT systematically minimized her conflicts with her relatives, and emphasized their kindness to her. This is not simply to praise them, but also because attracting kindness and sharing is a source of pride.¹¹⁸ As pointed out by

116. The same probably applies in the Western contexts I am familiar with, except that emotional ties are chosen and acquired, while in the Dalabon context, they are provided by kinship.

117. These acquaintances (e.g. the owner of the arts center, an employee at the welfare office, etc.) cannot necessarily help. In fact, the implications of sharing and caring, and the strategy consisting of emphasizing kindness and minimizing lack of care, are a source of considerable misunderstanding between Aboriginal and white people, especially in town, where MT and her family are relatively vulnerable. MT constantly seemed to expect care on behalf of white acquaintances, and interpreted some of what they said as promises in this respect, but her expectations were rarely fulfilled.

118. This can be pernicious to the extent that it sometimes entails over-optimistic judgements about others' kindness.

Myers (1986, p. 115), material gifts are demonstrations of love. In Barunga Kriol, *lobyu* (<Eng. ‘love you’; the verb *lob* ‘to love’ exists in Kriol’) means ‘thank you’. MT herself perpetuated sharing thanks to superlative generosity whenever she can, and this was, in turn, a source of pride. On the other hand, individuals also have to cope with very numerous, often competing requests for help, gifts and demonstrations of love. Such recurring requests are called *hambeg* in Kriol (<Eng. ‘humbug’). Kriol *hambeg* partially translates as a transitive verb *lebbun* in Dalabon, but *lebbun* ‘bother someone’ applies more often to children annoying their parents or to spouses mucking around. While *hambeg* applies in such contexts as well, it is typically used to refer to unwelcome requests for material goods, a context in which *lebbun* does not occur. People tend to describe such repeated requests as distressing, and implement strategies to waive them without disrupting the social order. These strategies typically consist of avoiding interactions, hiding one’s possessions, or presenting practical excuses for being unable to share. The practical excuses can be minimal (for instance being too tired to do something), their main function being to assert that the underlying reason is not that the person doesn’t care for the other one.

In this context, interpersonal relationships play a crucial role in one’s emotional life. Following Myers, I identify four categories of interpersonal emotions: emotions related to conflict, compassion, and ‘shame’ or ‘social fear’, and mourning-related emotions. They are discussed below in this order. Before dealing with these categories, I discuss a semantic association which is widespread throughout the lexicon, namely the association between feelings oriented towards others and feelings oriented towards the self.

2.1.1 *Other-oriented and self-oriented emotions*

A number of Dalabon words can refer indifferently to self-oriented emotions, such as feeling good or being happy, or to other-oriented emotions of equivalent polarity. As defined in Chapter 4 (1.2), other-oriented emotions ‘target’ another person (for instance being nice, being well-disposed towards someone), while self-oriented ones do not (e.g. being pleased, happy).¹¹⁹ Such colexification of self- and other-oriented emotions are particularly common with positive emotions: *kangu-burrama* ‘be nice, feel good emotionally’, i.e. have positive feelings, either self- or other-oriented; *kangu-yerrk(mu)* ‘feel better, feel relieved’ (8) or ‘forgive’ (9), i.e. get rid of negative feelings, either self- or other-oriented.

119. This colexification also occurs in English, where ‘he’s not happy’ can mean ‘he’s angry’, ‘she’s upset’ can mean ‘she’s not feeling well’ or ‘she’s offended and won’t speak to me’. It is more widespread in Dalabon though. Maalej (2008, p. 412) mentions a similar colexification in Tunisian Arabic (have pity is ‘feel pain in one’s heart’). Wolk (2008, p. 248) flags it in Neo-Assyrian (‘generous’ and ‘cheerful/outgoing’).

20120706b_001_MT 29 [RPF]

[After a long and dangerous walk, two of the children make it back home to their family.]

- (8) *Barra-h-kangu-yerrk-minj. Nah-no-burrng-kun bulu-burrng,*
 3du-R-belly-release-PP mother-FILL-3sgPOSS-GEN father-3sgPOSS
 feel.better

kakkak-burrng... Bulnu bula-h-marnu-kangu-yerrk-minj.
 parallel.grandkin-3sgPOSS 3pl 3pl>3-R-BEN-belly-release-PP
 feel.better

‘They felt relieved. Their mother, their father... their grandmother, they felt relieved for them.’

MT’s Kriol trans. of the first clause: ‘Dubala jis rili rait prapa hepi na.’

30112/2007 – 6’ (MT) [contEI]

- (9) *Malung narra-h-ngurrung-du-rru-n, kardu*
 before 2pl-R-NGURRUNG-scold-RR-PR maybe
 hate

da-h-ngurrung-du-ng
 2sg>3-R-NGURRUNG-scold-PR
 hate

mah njing yibung mah kardu dja-h-ngurrung-du-ng,
 and 2sg 3sg and maybe 3sg>2-R-NGURRUNG-scold-PR
 hate

kenbo kanh ka-h-Ing-kangu-yerrk-mu.
 then DEM 3sg-R-SEQ-belly-release-PR
 feel.better

‘First you resent each other, like you hate him and him, he hates you maybe, then he’ll forgive [his belly is released, he gets back to better feelings].’

The phenomenon is less widespread with negative emotions but it does occur: *kangu-muk(mu)* ‘feel vengeful, feel terrible’.¹²⁰ The sense of the very common *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’ is clearly primarily other-oriented (10), yet it was used once to refer to an event where self-oriented emotions (grief) led to the interruption of social interactions (11).

120. Colexification of negative emotions, namely sadness and anger, is reported in other parts of the world, for instance Africa (Uganda) by Orley (1970) and on the Ifaluk atoll by Lutz (1980) (see Russell (1991, p. 430)).

20120713a_000_MT 036 [TC]

[Commenting on an argument between co-wives.]

- (10) *Ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj ka-h-bo-ng. Ka-h-dokka-ng, ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj.*
 3sg-R-head-end-PP 3sg-R-go-PP 3sg-R-get.up-PP 3sg-R-head-end-PP
 become.upset become.upset
 ‘She got upset, she left. She got up, she’d got upset (and didn’t want to stay).’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Imin brabli salki langa im.’

20110529_003_MT 140 [Narr]

[After someone they were working and living with in an isolated hamlet died in a car accident.]

- (11) *Mak yala-lng-ni-ngi,*
 NEG 1pl.excl-SEQ-sit/be-IRR
yala-h-wadda-bawo-ng, yala-h-kodj-dadj-minj.
 1pl.excl>3-R-camp-leave-PP 1pl.excl-R-head-end-PP
 become.upset(and.leave)

Yala-h-kodj-dadj-minj.

1pl.excl-R-head-end-PP

become.upset(and.leave)

‘We didn’t stay, we left the place, we were upset [and didn’t want to stay]. We were upset.’

MT’s Kriol trans. of ‘*yilah-wadda-bawong yalah-kodj-dadjminj*’:

‘Mibala nomo laikim sidan deya.’

This isolated extension of *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’ suggests that self-/other-oriented emotions colexifications may be monosemies (i.e. the senses are subsumed under a single, broader concept) rather than polysemies (speakers contrast the two senses conceptually), since apparently one of the senses can be extrapolated on the basis of the other even when it is not a lexicalized sense. Indeed, self- and other-oriented emotions may easily be subsumed under broader concepts, e.g. ‘experience positive feelings’ and ‘experience negative feelings’.

However, the distinction between self- and other-oriented emotions is lexicalized by many Dalabon lexemes, for instance all lexemes denoting anger, such as *kangu-darridj(mu)* ‘be furious’, for which self-oriented readings were rejected. There also exist a couple of self-oriented-only KANGU ‘belly’ compounds, for instance *kangu-darr(mu)* ‘feel bad when worrying for someone (grief)’, *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’. In order to become other-oriented, *wurdah(mu)* requires a benefactive construction (see Chapter 5, 2.4.1), in which case the valence is inverted. Emotional suffering is negative for the self, but to suffer *for* someone is being good for the person in question, hence positive for others, and morally valued (12). Strict colexifications don’t split valence in benefactive constructions like *wurdah(mu)* does.

20120705b_005_MT 128 [RPF]

[Hungry children are offered food by a helpful woman.]

- (12) *Mey-duninj dja-h-ngabbu-yan, buka-h-marnu-yin-inj.*
 food-EMPH 1sg>2sg-R-give-FUT 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-say/do-PP

Bulu ka-h-marnu-wurdah-minj.

3pl 3sg>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP

feel.compassionate

'I'll give you real food, she said to her. She was kind and helpful to them [she suffered for them, she felt compassionate towards them].'

2.1.2 Conflict-related emotions

Conflict-related emotions are thoroughly lexicalized. The set of compounds starting with KANGU 'belly', in particular (Chapter 8, Section 1), provides speakers with lexemes describing various stages of conflicts: *kangu-dadj(mu)* 'lose temper, be very angry', *kangu-darridj(mu)* 'be furious', *kangu-yalway(mu)* 'get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally', and many more. These terms are relatively specific and not excessively frequent. Anger is an important aspect of interpersonal conflict, and is amply lexicalized by compounds starting with YIRRU 'conflict, anger'.

The noun *yirru* can refer to conflict-related events (13). These can be local and directly observable (for instance an argument or fight¹²¹), or spread in time and space: 'conflict' (Burbank, 2000).¹²² Less frequently, *yirru* can also be used as a predicate and denote an emotional behavior ('angry behavior' (14)) or aggressive potential (of humans or animals (15)). (The colexification between emotional behavior and emotional disposition is standard in Dalabon.)

[DD]

- (13) *Biyi-ngong-no-kah, yirru-kah ka-h-kahka-ninj!*
 man-group-FILL-LOC conflict/anger-LOC 2sg>1-R-take:REDUP-PI

121. *Yirru* 'conflict, anger' is very commonly found in a semi-lexicalized expressions with the intransitive verb *durrun* 'argue with each other', where it stands as a syntactically unmarked semantic theme with a zero net contribution to the sense of the verb (i.e. a cognate object, as in *sing a song*; about cognate objects in Australian languages, see Singer (2006)).

20110525a_004_MT 67 [Stim]

Narra-h-dolku-ngabbu-rr-inj, kardu yirru narra-h-du-rru-ninj.

2du-R-back-give-RR-PI maybe conflict/anger 2du-R-scold-RR-PI

be.on.bad.terms

'You are turning your back on each other, maybe you had an argument [you argued an argument].'

122. *Yirru* belongs to a well-attested cognate set among Gunwinyguan languages. The polysemy between 'fight' and 'angry behavior' is also reported by Burbank (1985, p. 49) in the Numbulwar region, a few hundred kilometers to the south-east.

ka-h-yin-inj.

3sg-R-say/do-PP

‘And you brought me here to this mob of people, to this fight! he said.’

20110613_002_LB 16 [El]

[Growling to imitate anger.]

- (14) *Nunda ngey nga-h-yirru ka-h-yin, rrrrr, ka-h-yin.*
 DEM 1sg 1sg-R-conflict/anger 3sg-R-say/do:PR ONOMAT 3sg-R-say/do:PR
 ‘Now I’m angry he says, rrrrr, he goes.’

[DD]

- (15) *Ka-h-kakku-yirru, dja-h-bang-iyau dja-h-don-iyau.*
 3sg-R-really-conflict/anger 3sg>2sg-R-bite-FUT 2sg-R-die-FUT
 ‘It’s really venomous, if it bites you, you’ll die.’

Many of the examples where *yirru* means ‘angry behavior’ are ambiguous: in (14), *yirru* could also refer to the emotion as well as to the accompanying behavior. *Yirru* is not clearly attested with a solely emotional sense. Some contexts seem to induce an emotional interpretation (16), but this interpretation is never absolutely compelling. The tests aimed at disambiguating these two senses, for instance suggesting that someone pretends to be angry but is not, or on the contrary someone feeling angry but remaining calm, usually failed. Therefore, I conclude that *yirru* denotes an emotional behavior, as defined in Chapter 1 (1.2.2.3), i.e. a behavior which is systematically and inherently associated with a particular and well-identified type of emotion. The word refers primarily to the behavior, but implies the emotion in question as a cause. The emotion is part of the scenario prompted by the word, and thus part of its denotation, which also includes a certain type of behavior.

20120706a_005_MT 049 [Stim]

[Commenting on Ekman face photos.]

- (16) *Mak nunh yirru-kun kahnun ka-djare.*
 NEG DEM conflict/anger-GEN DEM 3sg-like/want
Wanjh ka-h-dje-redjiredji-ng kodj-menmungu yirru.
 since 3sg-R-nose/face-laugh:REDUP-PR head-unintentionally conflict/anger

Nula-h-dja-yawa-n ngey-karn

2pl>3-R-FOC-look.for-PR 1sg-EMPH

nga-h-dja-ni yirru-dih ka-h-yin.

1sg-R-FOC-sit/be:PR conflict/anger-PRIV 3sg-R-say/do:PR

‘This one doesn’t want to fight. Since he is laughing, he has no angry intentions. You look for it [for fight, conflict], as for me I’m have no anger [I’m staying no conflict] he says.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Yubala lukaraun gula, mi ai sidan no gula.’

(*gula*: Kriol ‘conflict, fight’)

There exists a relatively large set of compounds using *yirru* as their first component, describing the stages and aspects of emotional events involving anger (see Chapter 9, Section 1). Unlike the noun *yirru*, some of the compounds formed with it do refer unambiguously to emotional states (17, where angry behavior is denied), at least for those which can denote the onset stage, i.e. ‘become angry’ – which a lot of them can do.¹²³ On the other hand, many occurrences remained ambiguous between emotional and behavioral senses (18). Tests aiming to isolate behavioral denotations (by suggesting scenario where behavior and emotions mismatched) failed repeatedly.

20120714b_005_MT 052 [ContEl]

[MT explains that she is unhappy about a young community employee. Problems have arisen in the past, she had mentioned them already, but never had an argument with anyone about it.]

- (17) *Bah korre nga-h-dja-yirru-ngal-minj.*
 but before 1sg-R-FOC-conflict/anger-appear-PP
 be(come).angry

Nga-h-bolan-yinmi-wo-ng.

1sg>3-R-nearly-SPEECH-CSTVZR-PP

bah derrh-no-bo nga-h-n-iyann nunh kanh ka-ye-yin-miyan

but few.days.later 1sg>3-R-see-FUT DEM DEM 3sg-SUB-R-say/do-FUT

nunh nga-h-Ing-yinmi-wo-yan.

DEM 1sg>3-R-SEQ-SPEECH-CSTVZR-FUT

‘But I was already angry before [my anger had already appeared]. I was about to tell him, but I’ll tell him later when he talks to me, then I’ll tell him.’

20110530_003_MT 242 [ContEl]

[When a father scolds a child.]

- (18) *Nah-no mah ka-h-Ing-dje-bruH-mu. Korreh bahdih*
 mother-3sgPOSS and 3sg-R-SEQ-nose/face-blow-PR before but
 be.sulky

buka-h-kangu-na-n. Bulu-no kardu ka-h-yirru-mu-n

3sg>3sg.h-R-belly-see-PR father-3sgPOSS maybe 3sg-R-conflict/anger-INCH-PR
 appreciate/understand

bulu ka-h-du-ng.

3pl 3sg>3-R-scold-PR

‘His mother, she’s sad. Because first, she has affection for him [she sees his belly/belly-sees him]. His father maybe, he gets angry/aggressive, he scolds them.’

123. As reported by Goddard (1991, p. 269), verbs of anger in Yankunytjatjara (Central Western Desert, Australia) also refer to the onset of anger.

Concepts of anger vary greatly across cultures (Durst, 2001; Goddard, 1991; Harkins, 2001; Kornacki, 2001; Lutz, 1987, 1988; Myers, 1988; Rosaldo, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1999). There is sometimes a notion of justified anger (Lutz, 1988), and the expression of anger may be more or less discouraged (Briggs, 1970). Unlike Yankunytjatjara in Central Australia where Goddard (1991) identifies three terms for anger, Dalabon has only one common term for emotions of this kind: *yirru*. The semantics of *yirru* is similar to the English concept – but the metaphors instantiated by YIRRU compounds are fairly different from the English ones, as will be discussed in Chapter 9. Another difference is that the Dalabon concept seems to target others obligatorily, as opposed to the self – I haven't found any case where *yirru* compounds mean 'be angry at oneself'. In the Dalabon linguistic framework, 'anger' results from irritation triggered by some external factor (usually other people) and surfaces, after an onset stage, as violent demonstrations. As emphasized by Myers (1988, p. 593) in the Pintupi context, one of the defining features of anger is 'willingness to harm'.¹²⁴ This is typically expressed very plainly, as in (19) with an angry animal, and also with humans (20). In general, the fear of being physically hit by other people is relatively present in spontaneous scenarios elaborated by speakers in response to stimuli or to illustrate words and concepts (on controversial issues regarding violence in the pre-colonial context, see Sutton (2001)).¹²⁵

20120713b_003_MT 017 [ContEl]

(19) *Nganabbarru ka-h-yirru-mon*

buffalo 3sg-R-conflict/anger-good
aggressive

nunh kanh ka-h-lng-yirru-ngal-miyan.

DEM DEM 3sg-R-SEQ-conflict/anger-appear-FUT
be(come).angry

Brrrr ka-h-yin, ka-h-kangu-yirru-djurrkka-rru-n.

ONOMAT 3sg-R-say/do:PR 3sg-R-belly-conflict/anger-excite-RR-PR

Ngol ka-h-bu-yan-kun.

1pl.incl 3sg>1-R-hit-FUT-GEN

'The buffalo is aggressive, this is why it'll get angry. [Imitating the buffalo blowing in anger:] Brrr it goes, it's getting excited. To charge us.'

124. And Harkins (2001, p. 201) notes the polysemy between 'angry' and 'bellicose' in Australian languages (Arrernte, and Kriol *tjiki*).

125. Sutton describes a very violent context. However, note that the fear of being hit does not always go hand in hand with actual violence, as pointed by Lutz (1986) about Ifaluk.



Figure 1. Picture of the author used in elicitation.

20110614_009_LB 23 [Stim]
[Commenting on Figure 1.]

- (20) *Nunda dja-h-kangu-darridj-darridj-duninj.*
DEM 2sg-R-belly-shake.in.agony:REDUP:PR-EMPH
be.furious

Kardu bulu da-h-bu-yan.
maybe 3pl 2sg>3-R-hit-FUT

‘You’re really furious there. Like you might hit them.’

Among the Dalabon people I know, demonstrations of anger are not common. Along with sexually oriented love, anger seems to be an emotional domain where Dalabon speakers implement a high level of dissociation between emotions and behaviors (this is expected since anger is the emotion for which the social cost of expressing emotions is the highest, which makes dissociation worth the effort, as pointed out by Festinger (1957) and Voh & Baumeister (2010)). I sometimes felt that expressions of anger were awkward, often indirect (e.g. expressed to someone else, or afterwards), as if long-repressed. Typically, angry reproaches, like hyperbolic expressions of love, are expressed under the effect of alcohol. Anger attracted negative moral judgments among Dalabon speakers (unlike among the Pintupi, Myers (1988, p. 594)). In fact, it was difficult to gather narratives involving anger which were based on true stories, because anger involving relatives and friends (even when easily justifiable) was usually recast as something else, i.e. described in other terms, for instance words meaning ‘upset with’ but not implying any violent behavior. Due to Dalabon speakers’ reluctance to discuss scenarios relating to *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, it was difficult to assess the antecedent events of this emotion. A few examples applied to conflicts and

disagreements between community members, where a protagonist judged that someone had done the wrong thing for instance.

According to ethnographic descriptions (Briggs (1970) for the Utku Eskimos, Howell (1989) for the Chewong of Malaysia, Bender et al. (2007) for Tongans), the correlation between a positive emphasis on compassion (see Chapter 4, and 2.1.3 below) and a negative assessment of anger is not uncommon. On the other hand, emotional ‘systems’ present slightly different clusters. For instance, the Chewong value fear against anger, where the Dalabon value bravery (2.4); Bender et al. (2007) demonstrate that among the people of Tonga, the avoidance of anger result in guilt playing a greater role, but this clearly isn’t the case among the Dalabon (see Chapter 2 (4.2), and 2.1.4 below).

As pointed out by Harkins (2001, p. 204), another culturally important aspect of contentious interpersonal relationships is ‘brooding resentment’, sometimes rendered by ‘sulk’ in English, but more serious than its ‘petty’ and ‘self-indulgent’ gloss. *Njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, resentful/be confused’ can allude to more serious matters with consequences over time, for instance broader-scale enmities, where resentment can lead to long-lasting hatred and cycles of vendetta-like revenge (Ponsonnet, 2011b). *Njirrk(mu)* differs from *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ words in that the latter refers to more immediate conflicts, accompanied by immediate aggressive behavior. In pre-colonial times, most deaths were interpreted as resulting from the misdeeds of an enemy clan – directly, or via sorcery.¹²⁶ Such deaths had to be ‘paid back’ – i.e. they led to another killing. Such cycles of violence have now been interrupted, to the relief of some Dalabon people (see Keen (1994), Ponsonnet(2011b)). Yet, sorcery beliefs remain extremely vivid, and revenge cycles are normally evoked in the wake of the most abnormal deaths.

Dje-bruh(mu) ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ and *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘become upset and interrupt interactions’ denote pettier emotions which represent important features of daily emotional life. They usually apply within a family or intimate group rather than at community level (where *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ applies) or inter-clanic levels (where *njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, resentful/be confused’ applies). These words are used in cases of small-scale disagreement as to what to do or where to go for instance, resulting in someone’s temporary frustration; or when someone is offended by others’ lack of attention for them, etc. *Kodj-dadj(mu)*, ‘become upset and interrupt interactions’, in particular, is very frequent. It has the particularity of specifying the social ‘fix’ to the negative emotional state, namely interrupting social interaction – leaving, turning away (21). In contrast with anger, this kind of behavior is not condemned, but attracts sympathy, as indicated by the diminutive and the intonation in this example.

126. This is well illustrated in the movie *Ten Canoes*.

20120713a_001_MT 065 [TC]

[After a scene where his lover rejects him, the young hero appears on the screen alone, paddling on the swamp in a canoe, and MT concludes that he must have run away from the camp, sulking.]

(21) [With compassionate intonation.]

Ka-h-bal-bo-n-wurd!

3sg-R-away-go-PR-DIM

*Karra denkinu.*¹²⁷ *Ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj.*

with[Kriol] dugout.canoe 3sg-R-head-end-PP
become.upset

Ka-h-bo-ng yibung-karn.

3sg-R-go-PP 3sg-EMPH

‘He’s going away poor thing! In a dugout canoe. He got sulky and left. He left all by himself.’

As reported by Myers (1986, p. 258), in nomadic life, parting routes with another group was also a common way of resolving broader-scale conflicts. In modern life, moving to another community achieves the same results. Family groups or individuals often take leave and spend time in other communities, hundreds of kilometers away, with different groups of relatives. In a social environment where the pressure for sharing and complying with others’ imperious demands is high, leaving is often a smooth and effective way of dealing with resentment and animosity.

2.1.3 *Compassion*

Myers puts compassion, the emotion driving empathy, as well as sharing with others and supporting them in various ways, at the center of the Pintupi emotional system (see Myers (1979, pp. 355–358; 1986, pp. 113–117); also Peile (1997, p. 124)). In his 1988 article, Myers explains how compassion associates with anger as a demonstration of ‘relatedness’ with others (1988, p. 596). As discussed above, anger has a slightly different status in Dalabon compared to the Pintupi, but compassion seems to play a similar part among both groups as a central, and morally valued, emotion. Consistent with the emotional prominence of sharing, being sensitive to other people’s misfortunes and helping them out is encouraged and approved. People make a point of being compassionate and of showing that they are. In addition, witnessing others being compassionate (kind, generous) is always a source of explicit praise, and often a source of endearment. As discussed in Chapter 4, compassion is central with respect to Dalabon expressive emotional features: it is a core emotional category for diminutives, interjections and prosodic features.

127. While watching *Ten Canoes*, MT used *denkinu* (<Eng. ‘ten canoes’) as ‘dugout canoe’, instead of the Dalabon form *wubbunj*.

However, compassion is not particularly well represented in the lexicon. A couple of KANGU ‘belly’ compounds, or YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ may describe people as being nice and kind, which also implies that they are generous: *kangu-burrama* (22), *kangu-yowyow(mu)*, *yolh-mon*, which can all mean ‘feel good’ and ‘be nice’ are among the most frequent. *Kangu-darr(mu)* describes sorrow (often grief) related to other people (23). The focus is on personal emotions, not on sharing. *Kangu-darr(mu)* was sometimes rejected when applied to animals, on the ground that they do not have the adequate intellectual capacities.

20120712b_000_MT 168 [ContEI]

[Translating ‘generous’ in the context of the description of a friend’s personality.]

- (22) *Ka-h-kangu-burrama. Munguyh ngol ka-h-ngabbu-n.*
 3sg-R-belly-good always 1pl.incl 3sg>1-R-FOC-give-PR
 generous

Nunh ka-h-kangu-burrama. Mak ka-kangu-dinjirr-mu.
 DEM 3sg-R-belly-good NEG 3sg-belly-HATE-PR
 generous

‘He’s generous. He gives us things all the time. So he’s generous. He doesn’t have hostile feelings.’

20120713a_002_MT 061 [TC]

[The older hero is undergoing *makkarrardda*, a dangerous traditional punishment by spearing. His uncle and wives fear that he might not survive.]

- (23) *Kardu bunu ka-h-ru-wa-n, bala-h-djarrk-ru-n.*
 maybe 3du 3sg>3-R-tears-follow-PR 3pl-R-together-cry-PR
Ka-h-kangu-darr-mu.
 3sg-R-belly-DARR-PR
 feel.sad

‘Like he’s crying with them [his two daughters], they’re crying together. He’s feeling sad and worried.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Im matbi krai du gadam dubala doda, dem kraikrai gija, im nomo gudbinji na, im brabli apset.’

The verb *marrbun* ‘feel compassion’ was found in LB’s speech, but was seldom used by any other speaker. The commonest lexical form for expressing compassion, and the one used in association with expressive features, is *marnu-wurdah(mu)*, the benefactive form of *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer’ (see Chapter 5, 2.4.1). It denotes compassion as demonstrated either by sympathy or by material assistance (giving, helping out), or both (24), and is associated with kindness. Note that in (25), *marnu-wurdah(mu)* describes affection for someone: there is no negative feeling, and no distressing situation either.

Traditional crying, at funerals for example, which is part of the context in (26), is obviously a socially valued expression of compassion. Not crying enough, not feeling sorry enough or vengeful (i.e. not being willing to implement traditional clan revenge according to the etiquette of local vendetta (Chapter 2, 2.3)) with respect to the loss of a close relative, attracts criticism.

20120705b_003_MT 18 [RPF]

[About a young woman who offers to the fugitive children to sleep in her house, and gives them a blanket to sleep under.]

- (24) *Bulu ka-h-ngabbo-ng, bala-h-barrhbu-rr-inj, bala-h-njenguyu.*
 3pl 3sg>3-R-give-PP 3pl-R-cover-RR-PP 3pl-R-sleep:PR
Yibung nunh kanh ka-h-yolh-mon, bulu ka-h-naHna-n.
 3sg DEM DEM 3sg-R-feelings-good 3pl 3sg>3-R-see:REDUP-PR
 look.after

Bulu ka-h-marnu-wurdah-minj.

3pl 3sg>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP
 feel.compassionate

‘She gave it to them, they cover themselves and they sleep. She’s good this one, she looks after them. She’s got compassion for them (she helps them).’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Imin brabli kain bla olabat.’

20110526c_000_MT 087 [Narr]

- (25) *Dja-h-lng-marnu-kangu-wurdah-mu nekenda mak dja-du-ng.*
 3sg>2sg-R-BEN-belly-suffer-PR now NEG 3sg>2sg-scold-PR
 feel.compassionate

‘He likes you now [he’s got compassion for you, he feels for you], he doesn’t argue with you.’

20120713a_002_MT 034 [TC]

[Two wives are worrying about their husband who left to face traditional punishment by spearing, and might not come back alive.]

- (26) *Kardu mak ngurra-yawoyh-n-iyen, barra-h-yin-inj.*
 maybe NEG 1pl.incl>3-again-see-FUT 3du-R-say/do-PP
Kenbo kanh-kun bala-h-lng-ruru-n,
 then DEM-GEN 3pl-R-SEQ-cry:REDUP-PR
burra-h-marnu-wurdah-minj duway-burrng.
 3du>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP husband-3duPOSS

‘We might not see him again, they thought. And so they cry then, they were sad and worried about their husband.’

Marnu-wurdah(mu), BENEFACTIVE + ‘suffer’, is a lexicalized benefactive construction. *Marnu-wurdah(mu)* is not particularly frequent, especially in comparison with the frequency of expressive features triggered by compassion or witnessing compassion.¹²⁸ *Marrbun* ‘feel compassion’ is an autonomous root, but it was even less frequent than *marnu-wurdah(mu)*. Thus, explicit descriptions by means of overt lexical categories are not the main way to index this socially and psychologically central emotion.

2.1.4 Shame

Along with anger and compassion, Myers presents ‘shame’ (an approximate translation for the Pintupi noun *kunta*) as a structural pivot of the Pintupi social system (1979, pp. 361–365). Harkins (1990b) describes the concept as ‘shame/shyness’, and concurs with Myers that in many parts of Aboriginal Australia, this emotion constrains behaviors and serves as a powerful social regulator. The ‘Aboriginal’ concept of ‘shame’ discussed by Myers and Harkins does not equate with the sense of the English word ‘shame’. Rather, this emotion relates to fear (see also Hiatt (1978, p. 185), Peile (1997, p. 122)), and could partly be defined as ‘the fear of others’. Myers (1986, p. 123) points out that ‘respect’ is part of this concept of shame, which is also described as an ‘egalitarian’ ‘levelling device’ preventing one to stand out of the group of one’s peers, even for positive reasons (for instance receiving a prize at school, etc.) (Harkins, 1990b, p. 297; 1996; Myers, 1986, pp. 121–125).

In Dalabon, emotions and behaviors relating to ‘shame’, and more specifically to an emotion comparable to the one described by Myers, Harkins and others, can be described using the relatively common verb *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’. Kriol has an equivalent verb, *sheim* (<Eng. ‘shame’). *Yer(mu)* is sometimes purely emotional, as in (27), but most of the time, its meaning is both emotional and behavioral (28), describing someone who avoids interactions with others due to shame, respect, or any feelings inducing fear triggered by other people (29). As discussed in Chapter 10 (1.2), the behavior in question can be described more specifically using one the hyponyms of *yer(mu)*.

20110518b_004_LB_ND 27 (ND) [Stim]

[Commenting on the picture of a smiley with a distorted mouth, with no behavioral clues.]

- (27) *Wal ka-h-marrbu-rru-n ka-h-yer-mu, bula-h-du-nginj.*
 INTJ.well 3sg-R-be.sad-RR-PR 3sg-R-shy.away-PR 3pl>3-R-scold-PP
 ‘Well he’s sad, he’s afraid of other people, they told him off.’

128. In the Movies Corpus, it is clear that the preferred response to compassion is by means of various expressive features. Most of the times, these were only seconded by lexical devices when I prompted the speaker to do so.

20120709b_000_MT 013 [ContEl]

[About MT's granddaughter talking to the receptionist at a hotel in Katherine.]

- (28)
- Ka-h-yer-minj malung, bah ka-h-dja-yenjdju.*

3sg-R-shy.away-PP before but 3sg-R-FOC-talk:PP

Malung ka-h-yang-wurdka-rru-n,¹²⁹ kenbo mah ka-h-dja-yenjdju-ng.

before 3sg-R-language-finish-RR-PR then and 3sg-R-FOC-talk-PR

'She was ashamed and not willing to talk first, but she spoke. First she shuts up, and then she does speak.'

20110518b_004_LB_ND 60 (ND) [Stim]

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

- (29)
- Kardu nunda buka-h-du-ningj.*

maybe DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-scold-PP

Nunda ka-h-yer-mu. Bula-h-bu-yan kardu.

DEM 3sg-R-shy.away-PR 3pl>3-R-hit-FUT maybe

'Maybe someone abused him. This one is feeling uncomfortable with respect to other people [ashamed]. They might hit him.'

A very common context of occurrence of *yer(mu)* is when children shy away from adults (especially whites) (30). It may apply in the context of relationships with taboo relatives (Chapter 2, 2.1.1), between males and females (31), or with white people in town for instance (28). *Yer(mu)* can also have more positive connotations, meaning 'be respectful', as in (32) where *yer(mu)* is presented as an appropriate response (Harkins, 1990b, p. 297; Kennedy & Donaldson, 1982, p. 5). Ultimately, *yer(mu)* can denote simple shyness, basic fear of others, for instance when hesitating to go and visit people from a different camp (house hold). This pattern of colexification associating shame, shyness and embarrassment is cross-linguistically well attested (see Russell, 1991, p. 430). As noted by Harkins (1990b, p. 298), *yer(mu)* does not relate to guilt. As far as I can tell, guilt is not lexicalized, hardly ever surfaces in conversations, and thus seems 'hypocognized' or at least not articulated (as pointed out in Chapter 2 (4.2), this may be a feature of emotion regulation strategies).

240909_82OK 1068 (MT) [ContEl]

- (30)
- Dja-h-marnu-yer-mu*

3sg>2sg-R-BEN-shy.away-PR

mak dja-w-iyán kanh wurdurd-wurd,

NEG 3sg>2sg-follow-FUT DEM child-DIM

129. *Wudjkarrun* would be expected here, meaning 'end'. It may be a slip of the tongue.

dja-h-marnu-djong-mu-n.

3sg>2sg-R-BEN-FEAR-INCH-PR

‘He’s shy of you, he won’t come to you this child, he’s afraid of you.’



Figure 2. Picture used in elicitation. Second from the left, the author.

20120706a_002_MT 063 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 2.]

- (31) *Nunda kardu kirdikird-wurd kardu dja-h-marnu-yer-mu.*
 DEM maybe woman-DIM maybe 3sg>2sg-R-BEN-shy.away-PR
Kardu bunu ka-h-marnu-yer-mu.
 maybe 3du 3sg>3-R-BEN-shy.away-PR

‘Like this young woman is shying away from you maybe. Or she’s shying away from these two.’

20120706a_001_MT 113 [ContEl]

[About young people who do not respect older people and do not treat them well, for instance taking food that has been given to older people.]

- (32) *Wurhwurrungu ngorr bula-h-ye-ma-ng,*
 old.person 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-COM-get-PR
ngorr bula-h-marnu-ngu-yan. Kardu mak bala-yer-mu.
 1pl.incl 3pl>1-R-BEN-eat-FUT maybe NEG 3pl-shy.away-PR

‘They take [things] from us old people, they eat our [food]. It seems that they have no respect.’

While the Dalabon people I know praise respect, they also encourage outgoing behaviors, either with strangers or otherwise. In (28) above, MT concluded that her granddaughter did speak to the receptionist, and presented this outcome as positive. Being tame is criticized if not despised, and being self-assertive is praised to some extent, so that the use of *yer(mu)* can sometimes sound semi-dismissive (33).

20120717_007_MT 039 [ContEI]

[Responding to MP's statement that some people don't talk in community meetings.]

- (33) *Mak bala-yenjdju-ng. Kardu keninjh bulu ka-h-yolh-ngu-n.*
 NEG 3pl-talk-PR maybe INTERR 3pl 3sg>3-R-feelings-eat-PR
Miding yale-bo-n, kardu eisiyem miding o
 meeting 1pl.excl:SUB-go-PR maybe ACM(community) meeting or
 or.else
wirrimahkih
enelsi miding yale-bo-n,
 NLC(land.council) meeting 1pl.excl:SUB-go-PR
boyenjboenj maining kampeni...
 big:REDUP mining company
Kardu keninjh bulu ka-h-yolh-ngu-n.
 maybe INTERR 3pl 3sg>3-R-feelings-eat-PR
Kinikinikun mah mak bala-bo-n miding-kah.
 different:REDUP and NEG 3pl-go-PR meeting-LOC
Mak bulnu yila-marnu-yenjdju-ng. Kahke.
 NEG 3pl 1pl.excl>3-BEN-talk-PR NEG
Kardu bala-h-dalu-yer-mu, kardu bala-h-mehdu-yer-mu.
 maybe 3pl-R-mouth-shy.away-PR maybe 3pl-R-CHEST-shy.away-PR
 too.shy.to.talk shy.of.social.interaction
 'They don't speak up. I don't know what's wrong with them. When we go to a meeting, like a community meeting or a land council meeting we go to, or a big mining company... I don't know what's wrong with them. Or others they don't come to the meetings. We don't talk to them. Nothing. They seem to be ashamed to speak, or they're too shy of social interactions maybe.'

Likewise, the polysemy of *kangu-murduk* 'belly' + 'hard/strong', 'emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/physically resistant' encapsulates a double set of values. One sense of the word, denoting self-assertion (to be emotionally strong), is valued (34); another sense of the word, denoting emotional 'closure' (being selfish), is condemned (35). In addition, in contrast with the emphasis put by Harkins (1990b) on the avoidance of situations where one stands out for positive reasons (being awarded a prize in public etc.), the Dalabon people I know are keen to put themselves to the fore, for instance in performance or other self-enhancing situations. Self-praise is not uncommon, for instance praising one's capacity to speak in public, the deeds of one's children as opposed to others' (an attitude that Myers presents as unacceptable in the Pintupi context (1979, p. 362); Bree Blakeman's observations with Yolngu concur with Myers's (pers. com. July 2010)). I have observed the more extreme behaviors reported

by Myers, Harkins and others, i.e. people refusing to stand out at all, even for positive reasons, because feeling ‘shame’. However, those adopting these attitudes were usually teenagers (for instance a good dancer not willing to dance in public). The notion of ‘pride’ is apparently not lexicalized.

20120706b_004_MT 003 [ContEl]

[Answer to the question ‘who is *kangu-murduk?*’.]

- (34) *Kangu-murduk*, *bla agyumen?* R.
belly-hard/strong for argument proper.name
self.confident

Nunh bale-du-rru-n o yale-du-rru-n

DEM 3pl:SUB-scold-RR-PR or 1pl.excl:SUB-scold-RR-PR

nunh bulu ka-h-yinmi-wo-n.

DEM 3pl 3sg>3-R-SPEECH-CSTVZER-PR

Mak bulu ka-marnu-djong-mu-n.

NEG 3pl 3sg>3-BEN-FEAR-INCH-PR

‘*Kangu-murduk*, ‘strong belly’, about argument? [My son] R. When there is an argument, or when we argue, he speaks to them then. He’s not afraid of people.’

20110530_001_MT 68 [Narr]

[MT describes the likely consequences of not giving anything to a young, remote relative who asked her for money or food at the town shopping center the day before.]

- (35) *Njing ngal-kohbanj mak bad ka-ngabb-uy*,
2sg FEM-old.person NEG stone/money 2sg>1-give-IRR

ka-h-marnu-kangu-murduk-wo-rr-inj, kardu kenbo ka-h-yin-miyan.
2sg>1-R-BEN-belly-hard/strong-CSTVZR-RR-PP maybe then 3sg-R-say/do-FUT
selfish

‘You old woman, you didn’t give me money, you were selfish with me [hard-bellied], he might think later.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Meikimbat had filin la mi.’

Hence Dalabon has a similar concept of ‘shame’ as reported for other Australian groups, lexicalized by the verb *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’. However, for the Dalabon people I know, this emotion is possibly not as constraining as described for other groups.

2.1.5 Mourning-related emotions

An important dimension of compassion is the ability to feel sad and to worry when something bad happens to relatives. This is lexicalized as *kangu-darr(mu)*, having

to do with grief and deep concern, (36), and the more generic *marnu-wurdah(mu)*, which applies even if nothing serious happens to the beloved person (also 2.1.3 and Chapter 5, 2.4.1). These emotions are a crucial feature of mourning, where it is important not only to experience sorrow, but also to display one's emotions – crying, or taking revenge against the clans held responsible for the death (self-oriented or other-oriented demonstrations).

20110601_003_MT 77 [ContEl]

[After visiting someone in hospital.]

(36) *Njel ka-h-marnu-dorrung-murduk-bo-ng.*

1pl.excl 3sg>1-R-BEN-body-hard/strong-VBLZR-PP

Mak ka-lng-moyh-yo-ngi, kahke. Njel ka-yang-wo-ninj...

NEG 3sg-SEQ-sick-lie-IRR NEG 1pl.excl 3sg>1-language-CSTVZR-PP

Yala-h-lng-dudj-minj yila-h-lng-marnu-kangu-yowyow-minj.

1pl.excl-R-SEQ-return-PP 1pl.excl>3-R-SEQ-BEN-belly-flow:REDUP-PP

feel.good

Yolh-mon-kih yala-h-dudj-minj,

feelings-good-proper 1pl.excl-R-return-PP

mak yila-marnu-kangu-darr-mi kahke.

NEG 1pl.excl>3-BEN-belly-DARR-IRR NEG

feel.bad

'He got stronger for us. He was no longer sick. He talked to us. We came back very pleased about him. We came back feeling very good, we were no longer worried about him.'

Overall, like most other Aboriginal groups in Australia (Glaskin et al., 2008), in the post-colonial context Dalabon people experience very frequent dramas, involving the loss of close relatives, often in potentially traumatic circumstances: diseases, accidents, disappearances, suicides, murders. Most of the Dalabon people I know have experienced one or several such traumatic losses in their life. Like neighboring groups and most other Australian groups (see for instance Peile (1997, pp. 28–34), Glaskin (2008)), Dalabon have a well-entrenched tradition of mourning practices. Traditional mourning processes comprised several ceremonies, several months apart.¹³⁰ Contemporary practices have adapted to material constraints, but they also frame long-term mourning processes stretched over several weeks or months.¹³¹

130. At least two: burying, and another ceremony called the *lorrkkon* ceremony, where the remains were retrieved, and some of the bones put into a hollow log (a *lorrkkon*, hence the name of the ceremony) and placed in a special place on the deceased's traditional land.

131. Due to the use of coffins, and to the complexities involved in implementing *lorrkkon* ceremonies, these have fallen out of use. 'Rag' ceremonies, where the belongings of the deceased

Associated with these practices is an acute awareness of the emotional stages of mourning. Speakers can describe the emotional stages they are going through as they recover from a loss (e.g. still need to define a scenario which makes the loss feel more acceptable; give in to the need to talk about the event again and again; have reached acceptance, etc.). They can identify these stages when they witness other people experiencing them, and implement explicit strategies to ease the process (see Chapter 2, 4.2). Triggers of negative emotions are avoided at certain times (for instance avoiding being exposed to places or people recalling the deceased person, hence the taboo on the names of the deceased, which cannot be used for a certain time after death (see Myers (1979, p. 358)).¹³² Instead, distractions are actively sought. Later on, people create occasions for negative triggers in planned and controlled contexts (for instance, organizing a trip to the place where a tragic death occurred, when the right amount of time has elapsed, and with the right family members).

In comparison with my Western social network, in the Dalabon context mourning-related emotions are well-identified and culturally salient (if only due to high numbers of traumatic deaths). In pre-colonial times, a widow's mourning process was paced by ceremonies and under some circumstances timed by ceremonial necklaces called *manguyadj*. A widow was to wear such a necklace until it was removed ceremonially; while wearing the necklace, she could not remarry. While mourning stages are discussed, as well as symbolically and ceremonially acknowledged, they are not lexicalized: Dalabon does not have specific terms denoting these emotions and accompanying strategies. Some speakers use *njirrk(mu)* as 'brood over' (hence 'be mourning still') to mean 'be still in the first stage of mourning when one is still thinking about the drama constantly', but it is not clear that this sense is part of the canonical sense of the word. This interpretation of *njirrk(mu)* may be inspired by the Kriol verb *kangedoba* (<Eng. 'can't get over'), which is used to describe 'brooding over the traumatic events related to loss', referring to the very first stage in mourning.

person were burnt a couple of months after their death, seem to have taken place for a while, but to my knowledge they no longer occur in the Dalabon region. Nowadays, the possibility of storing bodies in morgues allows for long periods of time between deaths and funerals (sometimes several months). A large part of the mourning process seems to take place during that time. Visiting the corpse at the morgue is not uncommon, and visiting graves and other places of remembrance, at a well-managed pace after the funeral, plays an important part.

132. This taboo is very common across the whole continent. In the Dalabon context, it is not a strict rule: its duration varies greatly depending on who the deceased was, their age, and the condition of the death. The name of an elderly person who died more or less naturally may be pronounced nearly immediately after their death. In contrast, the name of a young man who committed suicide in unbelievably tragic circumstances in mid-2008 could not yet be pronounced around his family in mid-2014. The duration of the taboo mirrors emotional needs.

2.2 The autonomous self

Myers conceives of emotions as socially defined concepts (Myers, 1979), and as a result, he puts a strong emphasis on ‘relatedness’, interpersonal relationships, and the emotional sphere defined by these social parameters. He acknowledges that converse trends, namely the individual’s autonomous aspirations and desires, play a part in the system, but mainly as a ‘counter-current’. Myers qualifies the ideology of emotions in the Pintupi cultural system ‘almost as a moral text against the wrongness of private willfulness’.¹³³ I have argued elsewhere (Ponsonnet, 2010) that Myers’s theoretical inclination to approach emotions as socially defined phenomena could have led him to over-focus on socially oriented Pintupi emotions. As outlined above, socially oriented emotions comparable to the Pintupi ones play a major role in Dalabon social and emotional life, and indeed impose a set of relatively constraining values. However, Dalabon also experience, discuss and take into moral and social consideration various feelings which are disconnected from relatedness and social obligations. The Dalabon lexicon features corresponding lexical categories.

A significant number of emotional compounds (see Table 1 of Chapter 5, 1.1, as well as Appendices 1 and 2) include the component YOLH, from *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ (among them the most frequent *yolh-mon* ‘feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice’ and its antonym *yolh-weh* ‘feel bad (emotional or physical), be upset with somebody, bad-tempered’, see Section 1). Used in isolation, *yolh-no* denotes one’s own and personal feelings, desires, as determined strictly by one’s own individuality (see Ponsonnet (2010, pp. 381–384)). Thus *yolh-no* describes an aspect of the person which essentially escapes its definition by social constraints and relationships to others.

YOLH is much more frequent within lexicalized emotional compounds than in isolation. The noun *yolh-no* often occurs along with emotional compounds including YOLH, as in (37), in which case it means ‘what one feels’, ‘what one thinks’.

30116/2007 – 6’ (JW) [E1]

- (37) *Bula-h-yolh-na-ninj*, *yolh-ngan*, *warnamunh nga-h-bo-ninj*.
 3pl>1-R-feelings-see-PI feelings-1sgPOSS separately 1sg-R-GO-PI
 ‘They knew what I felt like, my feelings, I was going my own way.’

In (37) *yolh-no* repeats an element of the predicate of the clause (*yolh-nan*, ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘see’), but the free use of *yolh-no* is not limited to such contexts. When it is used independently of a YOLH predicate, it denotes one’s state of mind, one’s condition, one’s will, be it psychological or physical.

133. The expression ‘private wilfulness’ is borrowed from Stanner (1966).

20120717_007_MT 030 [ContEl]

[What happens when you worry too much about the loss of someone close.]

- (38) *Nunh yolh-ngu-yih wurda-Ing-moyh-ngalka,*
 DEM feelings-2sgPOSS-ERG APPR:2sg>3sg-SEQ-disease-find:PR

wuku-yelng-moyh-yu.

APPR:3sg-SEQ-disease-lie:PR

‘[If you feel bad about someone,] your *yolh* might make [this person] sick, [the person] might get sick.’

MT’s Kriol trans./comment: ‘Yu meikim im sik na wen yu wori oldei bla im. Garra yu wil laikijad.’ (‘with your will, that’s it’)

In metalinguistic comments about *yolh-no*, speakers provided Kriol translation and comments of great consistency:

- (39) Speakers’ proposed Kriol translations of *yolh-no*:

MT: *wil* (<Eng. ‘will’), *filin* (<Eng. ‘feeling’)

JW: *aidiya* (<Eng. ‘idea’), *main* (<Eng. ‘mind’)

Speakers’ comments in Kriol about *yolh-no*:

MT: *im difren brom ebribodi* (‘he’s different from other people’)

JW: *nobodi dalim wad tu du* (‘no one tells him what to do’)

Yolh-no refers to someone’s psychological and physical condition, energy, pep, and enthusiasm. It also has an intellectual dimension, as it can denote intentions. I gloss *yolh-no* as ‘pep, feelings’ for convenience, because it adequately translates the most important semantic components, and because it reflects speakers’ metalinguistic comments on subjectivity and individual specificity. This gloss does not exclude a physical component.¹³⁴ *Yolh-mon* ‘feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice’ is described in Section 1, and the set of compounds formed with YOLH is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 (Section 3).

While KANGU ‘belly’ compounds often relate to conflict and other-oriented emotions in general, in the YOLH set such senses are relatively marginal. Most of the YOLH compounds describe individual well-being as related not to other people but to one’s own physical health and pep. A number of YOLH compounds colexify emotional and physical well-being – for instance the generic and extremely frequent *yolh-mon* ‘feeling’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like,

134. *Yolh-no* is not entirely identical to the English *feelings*. However, the best candidate for a FEEL Natural Semantic Metalanguage exponent (which, according to Wierzbicka (1999, p. 275–279) is a universal exponent) is a YOLH compound, *yolh-yin* ‘feelings’ + ‘say/think, do’, ‘feel’ (see Chapter 1, 1.2.3).

be nice' (see Section 1).¹³⁵ Health and pep connect to emotional states such as desire, enthusiasm, appetite for doing things: compounds formed with YOLH cover these emotions. Thus *yolh-wudj(mu)* 'pep, feelings' + 'end, die' describes boredom as a lack of motivation or interest. *Yolh-dukkarrun* 'pep, feelings' + 'tie' + REFL describes deeper depression as may arise after a loss (40). YOLH compounds are not the only lexemes denoting emotional states independent of social interactions. *Kangu-kurduh(mu)* 'belly' + 'blocked', 'feel anxious' may describe feelings resulting from interactions with others, but may also describe someone feeling uncomfortable when flying in a small plane, for instance. Yet in general, KANGU compounds tend to denote emotions triggered by external factors, and YOLH compounds, by fluctuations of mood that stem from the person proper (Ponsonnet, 2010).

30029/2008 – 6'48" (MT) [ContEl]

- (40) *Nunh munguyh nga-ye-ni-ngiyan, munguyh nga-ye-beng-k-iyen,*
 DEM always 1sg-SUB-sit/be-FUT always 1sg>3-SUB-MIND-take-FUT
nunh wunga-yeleng-moyh-rakka-n.
 DEM APPR:1sg-SEQ-sick-fall-PR
Yolh-ngan, wunga-yolh-dukka-rru-n.
 feelings-1sgPOSS APPR:1sg-feelings-tie-RR-PR
 be.depressed

'That's if I sit around all day, if I think about it all day, then I might fall sick.
 My spirits, I might get depressed.'

MT's Kriol trans.: 'Bambai im goda dinkabat dumaj en im meikim imself sik'

Emotional disorders like the one described in (40) correlate with physical activity and health (Chapter 8, 3.4.2.1), and with negative thoughts. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (4.2), the antidote to such depressive states, just like the way out of mourning, is to be sought in close relatives, whose cheerfulness and love is comforting and distracting.

As discussed above (2.1), interpersonal relationships described by KANGU compounds (and other lexemes) fall under heavy moral constraints in the Dalabon social system. The personal feelings described by YOLH compounds, on the other hand, are partly determined by one's physical condition, and not subject to moral judgments (Ponsonnet, 2010, p. 384). People struggle to avoid falling into such states, but rarely sound judgmental about the fact that some people may feel anxious, lack motivation or feel depressed. This is in line with speakers' metalinguistic comments about the autonomy of *yolh-no*: '*im difren brom ebribodi*' ('he's different from other people'), '*nobodi*

135. Levy (1984, p. 219) explains that for Tahitians, emotions that are described as resulting from physiological responses (e.g. talking of 'being tired' when someone is sad) are hypocognized. He contends that Tahitians *perceive* sadness as tiredness. This is not the case with Dalabon speakers: they associate depression and boredom with tiredness, but this does not entail that they are not conceptually attentive to these emotional states as such.

dalim wad tu du ('no one tells him what to do') (39). In my experience, Dalabon speakers often avoid judging such differences. Personal inclinations (selective tastes for a type of food, idiosyncratic habits etc.) are considered with indulgence and/or amusement. In contrast, Dalabon speakers clearly express praise or judgments about socially constrained, other-oriented emotions, where moral polarization is very explicit.

It seems that concepts sharing some features with *yolh-no* are not uncommon cross-culturally. Within Australia, Tamisari (2000, p. 281) mentions the Yolngu concept of *maar*, one's 'feelings, moods and desires' (among other things). For other continents, Lutz (1988, p. 93ff) defines the Ifaluk word *tip-* as 'individual will or desire [...] not seen as inherently anti-social or necessarily amoral but rather as one of the most important sources of actions of all kinds'. Rosaldo's description of Ilongos' *liget*, the life energy which takes the form of excitement and surfaces as love or desire to kill, also bears some resemblances to Dalabon *yolh-no*.

2.3 Jealousy, love and sexual desire

2.3.1 Love and jealousy

Love is listed among prototypical emotions, with positive valence, in a number of languages of diverse genetic stocks such as English (Fehr & Russell, 1984), Indonesian (Shaver et al., 2001), and Basque (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2006). Not all language have such a lexical category. Chinese, for instance, has more complex lexical distinctions, where sexually oriented love is assigned negative valence (Shaver et al. (1992), quoted by Alonso-Arbiol et al. (2006, p. 843)). The concept of 'love' as it is expressed in English is itself changing (Kövecses, 1988). In Dalabon, the lexicalization of love, especially romantic and/or sexually oriented love, is marginal. *Djare* primarily means 'like, love' or 'want' and does not target romantic or sexually oriented love and desire, but more frequently taste or affection (like the verb *love* in English, but unlike the expression *be in love*, which is specialized for sexually oriented love, Goddard (2011, pp. 41–43)). In the benefactive form (41), *djare* was usually chosen as a translation of (romantic) 'love'.

30036/2008 – 42' (MT) [ConvEl]

[Talking about my husband.]

(41) *Dja-h-kakku-marnu-djare*.

3sg>2sg-R-really-BEN-like/want

'He really loves you.'

Strong affection for family and friends may also be described with NGURLK compounds (NGURLK is probably 'HEART' etymologically, Chapter 8, 2.1), as in (42). These seem to belong to a higher register than *djare*, and are thus relatively rare. In addition, NGURLK compounds can denote conjugal love or sexual desire, as in (43) and (44) – but they do not denote romantic love as such. In addition, there exists a metaphorical

expression describing intense sexual desire: *kom-nunj-wukmurrun* ‘neck’ + ‘saliva’ + ?, ‘swallow spit/experience sexual desire’, which was used for instance to describe the hero of *Samson and Delilah* chasing around the heroine somewhat obsessively.

20120708b_006_MT 063 [Narr]

(42) *Bula-h-karra-marnu-ru-n ke!*

3pl>3-R-all-BEN-CRY-PR EMPH

Nunda Ngarridj, bulkkibulkkidj bula-h-marnu-ngurlk-d-anginj.

DEM subsection really:REDUP 3pl>3-R-BEN-HEART-stand/be-PI
develop.affection

‘They all cry for him true! This Ngarridj, they really loved him [their heart stood for him].’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Brabli wei olabat bin gedyustu langa im,
mela kan ledimgo im.’

20120706b_003_MT 57 [ContEl]

[MT explains how young women would start sleeping with their husband when reaching a certain age.]

(43) *Ka-h-bo-ninj kanh biyi ka-h-njenguyu-rru-ninj kanh kirdikird-wurd-kah.*

3sg-R-go-PI DEM man 3sg-R-sleep-RR-PI DEM woman-DIM-LOC

Bunu burra-h-djarrk-ye-yo.

3du 3du>3-R-together-COM-lie:PP

Kanh buka-h-lng-marnu-ngurlk-madd-inj.

DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-SEQ-BEN-HEART-STAY.IN.ONE.PLACE-PP
develop.conjugal.affection

‘The man would go to sleep with the young woman. They would sleep with each other. This is how she grows conjugal affection for him.’

20120715a_001_MT 51 [ContEl]

[About someone talking ‘rudely’ to me in the street. MT understands ‘rude’ as a reference to sexual offers.]

(44) *Dja-h-ngurlk-djawa-n.*

3sg>2sg-R-HEART-ask-PR

Yang-djehneng kardu, dja-h-mararradj-marnbu-yan.

as.if maybe 3sg>2sg-R-lover-make-FUT

‘He makes sexual offers to you. It seems that he wants you to be his lover maybe.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Drai meikim yu juwidad.’ (<Eng. ‘sweetheart’)

Joking and laughing with someone are typically associated with flirting, so that *redji* ‘smile, laugh’ was sometimes translated as such in English/Kriol. Any friendly interaction between a man and a woman tends to be seen as potentially flirtatious, especially

if fun is involved. Making someone laugh is therefore a sign of potential sexually oriented interest, and is thus of benefit to the person who triggers laughter. The causative counterpart of *redji* ‘smile, laugh’, *rewon* ‘cause to laugh, laugh with’, very rarely encapsulates the idea of mockery.

20120708a_002_MT 044 [Stim]

- (45) *Bah biyi-no-yih kanh buka-h-re-wo-n,*
 but man-3sgPOSS-ERG DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-laughter-CSTVZR-PR
buka-h-kerlkkerlk-wo-n.
 3sg>3sg.h-R-soft:REDUP-CSTVZR-PR
Buka-h-kerlk-bu-n, ka-h-redji-ngiyan-kun.
 3sg>3sg.h-R-soft-VBLZR-PR 3sg-R-laugh-FUT-GEN
 ‘But her husband is making her laugh, he’s cajoling her [softening her]. He softens her, so that she laughs.’

While there exist a number of terms which can apply to sexually oriented love and desire, these terms are relatively rare, and love is hardly a topic of conversation or comments for the Dalabon speakers I know. They avoid discussing their own experiences as well as other people’s feelings in this respect.¹³⁶ Witnessing love affairs (in movies or in life) triggers few emotional responses. This became very clear in comments on *Ten Canoes* and *Samson and Delilah*. MT and LB identified love affairs in the scenarios, described them in terms of sexual attraction, but never responded with emotional features. I have observed comparable attitudes with several other women of various ages. It is not entirely clear whether these responses resulted from the suppression of speakers’ emotions (i.e. dissociation, Festinger (1957)), or whether the speakers experienced no emotions in these contexts. In any case, these examples do not imply that all Dalabon people share the same reserve with respect to this topic. Certainly, this is not a feature of all other Australian groups (Berndt & Berndt, 1951; Musharbash, 2010a).

While sexually oriented love is usually seen as something positive in the Western world (albeit not without ambivalence), this is not necessarily so among all human groups. As pointed out by Wierzbicka (1999, p. 293), it is not uncommon for ‘(sexually oriented) love’ words to endorse negative connotations in the world’s languages (e.g. Malay, Goddard (1996b, p. 450)). Among the Dalabon speakers I know, while affection for others is greatly valued, sexually oriented love does not have positive connotations, as indicated by the use of the apprehensive mode in (46). But mostly, it seems relatively ‘hypocognized’ (see Section 1). Romantic love is even more backgrounded.

136. Gillian Cowlshaw confirmed this observation with respect to Rembarrnga women (Cowlshaw pers. com. Aug 2012).

20120714b_005_MT 140 [ContEI]

- (46) *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-PR 3pl-R-follow:REDUP-RR-PR
Nunh kanh bala-h-dje-kol-mu.
 DEM DEM 3pl-R-nose/face-pretend-PR
 flirt
Bala-h-marnu-dje-kol-murru-n. Kardu mararradj wubulu-yidjnja-n.
 3pl-R-BEN-nose/face-pretend-RR-PR maybe lover APPR:3pl>3-have-PR
 flirt

‘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.’

In narratives and comments on cultural practices, speakers associate love with younger age, prior to marriage, and with the post-colonial era. Conjugal relations are a prototypical setting for examples involving interpersonal conflicts, and some consultants tended to choose relationships with men to exemplify negative feelings such as disgust for instance. In pre-colonial times, conjugal relationships were typically not chosen, and while extra-conjugal relationships were obviously possible in principle, for some women they may have been practically impossible. Dalabon has a noun to refer to lovers: *mararradj* (Kriol *juwidad* <Eng. ‘sweet heart’). This refers to extra-conjugal lovers, i.e. not to a husband one is in love with (44, 46). *Mararradj* clearly refers to semi-institutionalized extra-conjugal, sexually oriented and/or romantic love, and in this case the existence of the word indicates that such relationships are/were somewhat customary. However, MT talks about such relationships with some distance, explicitly assigning these life experiences to young girls, and presenting them as more frequent in contemporary times. Given MT’s biography, it would not have been possible for her to entertain such relationships. Among the Dalabon, they may not have been as frequent as described by Berndt & Berndt (1951) for the Cobourg Peninsula, or Musharbash (2010a) for the contemporary Warlpiri. The Dalabon women I had conversations with about this were all (more or less forcibly) married in their early teens, leaving little time for pre-conjugal relationships. In practice, I have observed that some Dalabon women display clear signs of being ‘in love’ with their partner or husband, but this is never made explicit in conversations,¹³⁷ in spite of opportunities to do so and of a level of intimacy that one would expect to be sufficient for them to discuss it.¹³⁸

137. Either by them or by others.

138. I have known some of these women for about 15 years and we do discuss personal issues.

Most of the time, manifestations of love can be recast in terms of protective intentions and behaviors, described by the adverb *merey*. *Merey* was translated as ‘jealously’, an adequate translation in contexts where *merey* is used to describe an emotional state (47). However, *merey* is usually associated with the desire to control the beloved person, either by protecting them from competing desires, or by constraining their movements (48).¹³⁹

20120713a_000_MT 040 [TC]

[After two co-wives had an argument, one thinks the other is jealous.]

- (47) *Buka-h-yolh-na-ng, kardu ka-h-merey-na-ng, ka-h-yin-inj.*
 3sg>3sg.h-R-feelings-see-PP maybe 3sg>1-R-jealously-see-PP 3sg-R-say/do-PI
 ‘She got how she was feeling [she saw her feelings], she was probably jealous of me, she thought.’

20120710b_003_MT 084 [TC]

[About one of the co-wives preventing the young hero from accessing the women’s camp because she doesn’t want him to see the younger woman he is in love with.]

- (48) *Bah mak ka-bo-niyan. Kanh mah kirdikird kinikun-yih*
 but NEG 3sg-go-FUT DEM and woman different-ERG
ka-h-merey-di. Buka-h-koh-na-n kahnunh.
 3sg-R-jealously-stand/be:PR 3sg>3sg.h-R-eyes/gaze-see-PR DEM
 check.upon

‘But he won’t go. And the other wife is jealous. She keeps an eye on him.’

Merey ‘jealously’ can attract negative judgments, and controlling behaviors may be criticized when they lead to conflict and social disturbance. However, such behaviors are more often plainly accepted as expected, irrepressible responses that cannot be avoided, and thus well tolerated. In real life, some spouses (either male or female, but typically the ones I would describe as being ‘in love’) tend to be extremely controlling, irrespective of conflict or competitors. In my cultural circles in the Western world, such attitudes would be construed as excessive and undesirable consequences of love. Among Dalabon speakers, the correlation with love is not commonly articulated (since love is hardly mentioned), and these behaviors are not deemed abnormal or excessive.

139. In line with these observations, Mark Harvey (pers. com. Nov 2013) indicated that in Wagiman (an Australian language to the West of the Gunwinyguan region), the words translated by Kriol words etymologically related to the English ‘jealous’ appear to mean something like ‘block off, cordon off, restrict access to’. They do not necessarily correlate directly with the English concept of jealousy.

2.3.2 *Love, sexuality and gender*

This relative ‘hypocognition’ of love could be a very local feature, possibly limited to a few families living together. Cowlshaw (pers. com. Aug 2012) reported a similar status for love in conversations with Rembarrnga women, Rembarrnga being the immediate neighbors of Dalabon and possibly the most closely acquainted group in terms of marriages, common ceremonies etc.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, QB, who speaks Dalabon as a third language but whose cultural background is not mainly Dalabon,¹⁴¹ discussed love extensively in two narratives (a traditional tale and a very personal story).¹⁴² Dalabon women are extremely prudish with respect to sexual matters, and this is in stark contrast with reports on some other groups, some relatively distant (Warlpiri, Central Australia, Musharbash (2010a); Kukatja (Western Australia), Peile (1997)), some quite close (Cobourg Peninsula, Berndt & Berndt (1951)). Even closer, this modesty contrasts with the widespread use, in adjacent regions, of ‘dirty’ jokes in ‘joking relationships’, an institutionalized joking style adopted with certain kin (Garde, 2008b; Jackes, 1969; McGregor, 1989; Thomson, 1935).¹⁴³ Garde (2008b, pp. 243–244) describes the joking relationships used by Dalabon living in the north with speakers of Kunwinjku and Kune people,¹⁴⁴ but I have never witnessed dirty jokes among the Dalabon people I know. LB sometimes alluded to jokes oriented towards eliminative bodily functions (never sexuality), and MT explicitly and vividly denied the existence of joking relationships in her own social system.¹⁴⁵ She seemed embarrassed by my questions on this point, and somewhat offended by the idea that she and her family could do such things.

140. Nowadays, a large number of Dalabon and Rembarrnga people live in adjacent communities (Dalabon in Weemol and Rembarrnga in Bulman).

141. Her first languages are Mayali (Bininj Gun-wok dialect) and Kriol, and she has lived in a number of communities such as Barunga, Katherine, Pine Creek and Jabiru, where she has family connections. Her first husband, the father of her children, was Dalabon (MT’s brother).

142. She suggested these narratives spontaneously, although she had not known me for as long as MT, LB and other women of Dalabon background.

143. According to Garde (2008b, p. 237), with potential affines with whom affinity connections have not been actualized, and have been renounced.

144. That is, people speaking dialects belonging to the Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain.

145. Since joking relationships occur mainly between men, I am less likely to have been exposed to them. However, it is very plausible that various Dalabon subgroups follow different practices. In fact, the marriage system described by Garde (2008b) for the Bininj Gun-wok groups and Dalabon alike does not entirely reflect the Dalabon marriage system as implemented in the southern Dalabon region in the last couple of generations. This difference suggests that there may exist other important differences between the practices of Dalabon speakers living to the north, closer to Bininj Gun-wok country, and the ones living around Weemol. The distance between the northern and the southern Dalabon settlements is not very important and would

The impact of missionaries is not a very convincing explanation for these Dalabon specificities, because missionaries are not particularly present in the communities where Dalabon is spoken – and in any case not more than in adjacent regions. Rather, Dalabon women's reluctance to discuss sex reflects a well-entrenched gender divide. Like most Aboriginal groups, the Dalabon society is structured around a gender division of tasks and knowledge (Burbank, 1985, 2000; Cowlshaw, 1979; Keen, 1994), the structure of which may correlate with Dalabon women's attitudes towards sexuality.

Mythological and ritual knowledge pertaining to men should not be accessed by women: it is endowed with potentially dangerous supernatural power – it is *wirridjih* (n.), 'dangerous', 'taboo'. The knowledge restricted to men is prestigious: it is enacted in rituals, having to do with the secrets of creation. Maddock's (1969b) description of the Yaburdurra ceremony, for instance, where women are brought to the ceremonial ground with the firm instruction not to look at what is taking place, confirms that this divide is the instrument of control by the ones who know secret knowledge (older men) over others (women, younger men), following social mechanisms thoroughly described by Keen (1994). In theory, if a woman accesses men's knowledge, whether intentionally or not, the punishment falls on her.¹⁴⁶

On the other hand, the domain pertaining to women has to do with female sexuality. As in other parts of Australia (Myers, 1986, p. 248; Peile, 1997, p. 3), anything having to do with women's sexuality (linguistic references to sexual parts and functions, but also periods, pregnancy, giving birth etc.) should remain inaccessible to men. This female domain has no dedicated label in Dalabon,¹⁴⁷ but in Kriol it is qualified as *rud* (adj.) (<Eng. 'rude', and possibly 'root (copulate)', Rumsey (1983, p. 183)).¹⁴⁸ Exposing men to women's sexual matters is a cause of 'shame' (2.1.4) for women. In particular, brothers and sisters being in taboo or 'avoidance' relationship (i.e. not allowed to speak to each other freely), a woman's brother should not be exposed to anything having to do with his sister's sexuality (Burbank, 1985, p. 50ff; Cowlshaw, 1978). However, while

have been covered on foot relatively easily. However, these places have not been connected by road, so that the distance between them by car is comparatively much greater. As a result, it is possible that the two groups have diverged in the years following settlement.

146. In practice, the punishment does not have to be implemented as long as others do not know that she knows. As suggested by Keen (1994, p. 253), (some) women may have been able to access a broader array of knowledge in the private sphere.

147. MT once referred to male sexual organs on a drawing (which she would normally ask me to hide) as *wirridjih* 'sacred/taboo'.

148. I haven't observed that *rud* applies to anything else than sexual or vulgar matters which are the object of shame. *Rud* does not seem to apply to socially inappropriate address for instance (unless they are sexual), as *rude* does in English. This observation matches Rumsey's hypothesis that *rud* resulted from a phonological conflation between the English words *rude* and *root* (copulate).

the punishment falls on women if they access men's knowledge, it also falls on women if men are exposed to women's sexuality, even when the woman is not responsible for it. Maddock (1970b) describes a custom which he calls *mirriri*, which corresponds to what Dalabon speakers call *beng* (n.) (see also Burbank (1985)). The *beng* rule imposes that if a brother is exposed to his sister being sworn at obscenely by anyone, he should spear his sister, possibly hurting or even killing her. While this custom is no longer enforced today, it was in the 1960s.¹⁴⁹ People who commented on it in recent years never made any remark with respect to what I perceived as a flagrant asymmetry and blatant injustice.¹⁵⁰

Since the weight of the taboo on the natural functions of their own bodies falls entirely on women, it is not surprising that some of them are reluctant to discuss sexuality and sexual desire. Some women (often not of Dalabon background) are quite willing to discuss these issues in the absence of men; others seem to implement a more radical strategy, and are reluctant to discuss these issues even among women. None of the mature women I know chose their first husband,¹⁵¹ and some complain about their forced early marriage, as teenagers, with mature men – a practice no longer enforced today. Overall, this context does not favor the experience of sexual desire and related love.¹⁵² However, these parameters – marriages, taboos – are consistent across most Australian groups. Customs equivalent to the *beng* law existed among other groups in Arnhem Land (Burbank, 1985; Hiatt, 1964, 1965, 1966; Makarius, 1966; Warner, 1957).¹⁵³ As a result it partly remains a puzzle why some groups/families developed a

149. The latest case reported by Maddock (1970b) is 1959, and a consultant of mine, Philip Ashley, reported his uncle implementing *beng* on Philip's mother when Philip was a child, probably in the early 1960s.

150. In Philip Ashley's case, his uncle targeted his mother, but hit Philip's brother, who died. Philip expresses regrets about the death of his brother. He does not consider what would have happened if his uncle had actually hit his own mother.

151. Not all men chose their wives either.

152. Some ceremonial practices in Arnhem Land feature ritual sex and/or ritual defloration, however Cowlshaw (1978, p. 132) indicates that there is no evidence of such practices in the Rembarrnga region. I haven't come across such evidence either.

153. The Burarra (Hiatt, 1964, 1965, 1966) and the Murgin, i.e. Yolngu (Warner, 1957). On the debate about the function of this custom, see also Makarius (1966), Burbank (1985). These authors strived to explain why a brother would spear his sister in this situation, rather than the offender. Warner (1957) called upon functionalist explanations (the need to maintain order). Hiatt (1964), referring to the feeling of shame (cogently I think), invoked psychological factors, and Makarius (1966) relied upon psychoanalytical theories. Maddock (1970b) suggested an entirely structural solution to the problem, based on the structure of the exchange between groups and Burbank (1985) invoked ritualized display of sincere anger. While all the parameters invoked by these authors probably came into play, I believe that a key factor to understand the *beng* rule is the structure of power enforced by men upon women, as described by Cowlshaw (1978).

greater distance with sexuality and love than others. It must be remembered that the Dalabon and the Rembarrnga are and have always been a relatively small group, so that we are in fact talking about a handful of extended families. This may also explain some idiosyncrasies in terms of local behaviors.

2.4 Fear and surprise

Fear is lexicalized by DJONG compounds, the most common being *djong-mun* ‘be afraid’. Fear attracts few metaphorical interpretations in Dalabon. The term *djong-mun* applies broadly to all contexts where one feels threatened in all sorts of ways and by all sorts of things.

In synchrony, DJONG is not a full-fledged Dalabon lexeme: speakers seldom use it outside of predicative compounds, and tend to deny its existence when asked about it directly. Hypotheses about its etymology remain uncertain, and are not accessible to speakers in synchrony. It seems that based on occurrences of DJONG in compounds meaning fear, the form is reanalyzed as a lexeme meaning ‘in fear’, like in (49), or sometimes ‘afraid’. The available examples do not allow us to determine whether DJONG is being reanalyzed as an adverb, an adjective or a noun. In any case, it is treated as a bound lexeme: when used outside a verbal compound, it is always followed by a *-no* suffix (which suggests possible reanalysis as an attribute of the person).

Sebastian Harris AIATSIS deposit, MTPA_090704_Larrambino (MT) [Narr]

(49) *Bala-ye-drong-minji*

3pl-SUB-drink.alcohol-PCUST

nunh kirdikird-bulng,

DEM woman-3plPOSS

bala-h-wurdi-minji nidjarra bala-h-ni-nj.

3pl-R-run.away-PCUST here 3pl-R-sit/be-PI

Djong-no bala-h-wurdi-minji.

FEAR-FILL 3pl-R-run.away-PCUST

‘When they used to drink, their wives, they would run away and stay here. In fear, they ran away.’

DJONG compounds relate to threats that may bear upon the physical integrity of the person, with various causes, from the most ordinary (a dog being afraid of another) to the most unusual. ‘Supernatural’ causes are an important source of fear: people are afraid of triggering cataclysms and other harmful events if they break the mythical ‘law’ – for instance, if they go to a secret place, learn a segment of a traditional story that they shouldn’t know of, etc. *Djong-mun* is also appropriate in contexts where the fear is social, i.e. triggered by other people (see Musharbash (2010b) on the fear of others among the Warlpiri). Such fears often bear upon physical integrity: illustrative

scenarios devised by speakers often evoke the risk of being hit by other people (50). Such apprehensions do not always correlate with higher levels of interpersonal violence: Lutz (1988, p. 198) mentions comparable fears on Ifaluk, in a non-violent context. *Djong-mun* equally applies when the threat takes a more ‘psychological’ turn, where someone tries to impose a view or force someone to do something (51, 52) – in such instances, English would probably use other terms such as being ‘impressed upon’, ‘intimidated’ etc. As discussed in 2.1.4, the fear of others is a significant component of Dalabon emotional life.

20110613_003_LB 050 [ContEl]

- (50) *Yawurrinj, yawkyawk, kardu bala-h-men-bo-n.*
 young.man young.woman:REDUP maybe 3pl-R-ideas-go-PR
 imagine

Bala-h-djong-mu-n bulu bulu-bu-n.
 3pl-R-FEAR-INCH-PR 3pl APPR:3pl>3-hit-PR

‘Young men, young women, they might imagine bad things. They are afraid of being hit.’

20120707b_000_MT 332 [ContEl]

[Criticizing people for not undertaking revenge killings after a member of their clan died.]

- (51) *Bah kahke-no. Kardu bala-h-djong-m-inj.*
 but NEG maybe 3pl-R-FEAR-INCH-PP

Bula-h-marnu-djong-m-inj kardu.
 3pl>3-R-BEN-FEAR-INCH-PP maybe

‘But no [they didn’t carry out revenge killings]. They must have been scared. They must have been afraid of them.’

20111207a_005_MT 07 [El]

- (52) *Mak nga-marnu-dengu-rok-ey. Nga-h-marnu-worh-d-anginj.*
 NEG 1sg>3-R-BEN-foot-move-IRR 1sg>3-R-BEN-WORH-stand/be-PI
 give.in stand

Mak nga-marnu-djong-m-ini.
 NEG 1sg>3-BEN-FEAR-INCH-IRR

‘I didn’t move [my feet]. I stood up against her. I wasn’t afraid of her.’

On the other hand, being alone, and particularly being alone in natural surroundings such as, typically, the bush, is a source of oppressive fears. Darkness makes this feeling even worse. In general, loneliness is a source of distress and fear. People live constantly surrounded by others (Musharbash, 2009; Myers, 1986, p. 179), avoid being alone, and express discomfort, sometimes suspicion, with respect to people who stay alone. Women are often very reluctant to venture out in the bush alone, as they fear attacks from animals such as buffaloes or snakes, enemies, or spirits. Snakes in particular

are a prominent symbol of fear, even of aversion. The sight of the drawing of a snake sometimes made people jump and shout, protesting with disgust. Another important symbol of fear are policemen, which may be designated (among other names) by the metonymic label *nguh-yirru* ‘intestines’ + ‘conflict/anger’, i.e. ‘aggressive, dangerous’, which has come to mean ‘policeman’. In the first decades of the 20th century, when farmers settled in Dalabon country, policemen were employed to control local populations (for instance, dealing with cattle poaching, organizing deportations towards government-controlled settlements etc., see Cowlshaw (1999)). At the time, police patrol officers would have been the main point of (stormy) contacts with colonizers. Today, local policemen are usually well intentioned and sometimes welcome after a while, but *a priori* Dalabon people express apprehensions about their visits and distrust about them. They remain a symbol of threat: disobedient children are told that policemen will come and grab them. This could be a remnant of the time when agents of social welfare organizations used to come and take children of mixed descent away from their families (as depicted in the movie *Rabbit-Proof Fence*).

Surprise is also lexicalized by various lexemes, where it is colexified with fright (*wurrah(mu)* ‘be surprised, be scared’), with emotional trauma (*kangu-barrh(mu)* ‘be surprised, undergo emotional shock’), and with positive awe (*kuhmu*, ‘stare at something in awe’). Surprise is not a particularly common topic of conversation.

20111207a_004_MT 33 [ContE]

[About a common friend to whom I had given a surprise visit in Katherine the day before, while he didn’t know I was in town. MT is reporting what I would have said/thought.]

- (53) *Mak ka-beng-k-ey nahr daberda Canberra-walung nga-h-bo-ninj.*
 NEG 3sg>3-MIND-take-IRR there town.name-ABL 1sg-R-go-PI
 know

Kenbo kanidjah nga-h-bo-ng nga-h-marnu-burlh-minj wadda-no-kah,
 then there 1sg-R-go-PP 1sg>3-R-BEN-come.out-PP camp-3sgPOSS-LOC
ka-h-darnh-dorrung-kuh-minj kanidjah.
 3sg>1-R-close-body-stare-PP there

‘He didn’t know I was coming from Canberra. Then I went there and came up to him at his place, he was astounded and stared at me.’

3. Conclusion

This chapter offered a view on the semantic properties of the Dalabon emotion lexicon, in conjunction with emotional experience and the moral assessment of emotions: what words mean, which ones are frequent, what lexical distinctions are made, which senses are merged.

Some senses are regularly merged: many words colexify physical and emotional states (e.g. feel refreshed and feel happy), as well as self-oriented and other-oriented emotions (e.g. feel relieved and forgive). There seems to be no strong correlation between the existence of a lexical distinction and the cultural salience of an emotion. Interpersonal relations (conflict, compassion, shame, mourning), which correspond to lexical categories, are culturally salient and morally constrained; on the other hand, compassion for instance is culturally salient but not lexically salient. Dalabon speakers also recognize emotions pertaining to the person alone, irrespective of social relationships, and these emotions are lexicalized. Love and sexuality seem culturally backgrounded, although there are some words to talk about them. Thus, while the study of the lexicon provides some insight into shared representations, it should not be taken for a perfect blue-print of the local conceptual landscape in this respect. As demonstrated in Chapter 4 with expressive features, other aspects of the language should be taken into account in this quest.

With a better idea of the properties and structure of the Dalabon emotion lexicon, we can now turn to the study of further aspects of this lexicon, namely the structure of emotional compounds, and in particular the figurative and non-figurative roles of body-parts in these compounds.

Metaphors

Introduction

Most languages in the world (if not all, see Wierzbicka (1999, p. 36), Ogarkova (2013, p. 50)) use body-part words in expressions and collocations that denote emotions. The role of body-part words in these expressions has often been studied (see Enfield & Wierzbicka, 2002a; Sharifian et al., 2008a, among others). In terms of semantic analysis, authors tend to focus either on the figurative aspect of body-part words with respect to emotion, which then opens up the question of the role of the body in conceptual representations of emotions. As explained in Chapter 5, a significant proportion of Dalabon emotion lexemes are compounds, and many of these compounds include a body-part noun. What is the exact role and input of these body-part components in Dalabon? Do they contribute metonymies and metaphors, and if so, do these tropes correlate with speakers' representations of emotions? Or do they serve other functions?

The following chapters show that a few body-part nouns, namely nouns of abdominal organs, do take part to coherent networks of metonymies and metaphors, many of these endorsed by speakers as conceptual representations. On the other hand, as will be shown in Chapter 10, many body-part nouns denoting visible body-parts do not take part to such consistent systems of tropes. Instead, they are used in compounds that can be interpreted compositionally (rather than figuratively). These body-part nouns serve a descriptive function, specifying which body-part is involved in emotional behaviors.

In Chapters 8 and 9 I will present the sets of emotional compounds yielding clear metaphorical interpretations, starting with compounds involving a body-part or attribute of the person. Chapter 9 completes the descriptions of Dalabon metaphors, dealing with metaphors not related to body-parts, in particular anger metaphors. Chapter 10 presents sets of compounds structured by compositional rules and formal analogy rather than by tropes, where many visible-body-part nouns serve to produce specific descriptions of emotional behaviors.

The present chapter considers a number of theoretical and methodological issues relevant to the arguments presented in the rest of the volume. Section 1 sets the scene by considering different types of emotion compounds, and different ways of analyzing them – as tropes, or otherwise. Section 2 clarifies the notion of trope I use throughout the volume, by situating my approach to metaphors with respect to the ‘canonical’ cognitivists’ notion of metaphor, and with respect to the various criticisms formulated against their theories. Section 3 discusses the types of metaphors used

but according to the predicates. Indeed, a few predicates, mostly predicates that closely associate emotions with behaviors, recur in a number of compounds (some listed in Appendices 1 and 2, some not listed there because not lexicalized). An example of such a recurring predicate is *yer(mu)*, ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ (i.e. shy away, ‘shame away’, see Chapter 6, 2.1.4), which occurred in (more or less lexicalized) compounds with ten different nouns denoting visible body-parts, and with one abstract attribute of the person. Thus we find *dalu-yer(mu)* ‘mouth’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘be too shy to talk’ (2), *koh-yer(mu)* ‘eyes/gaze’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘avoid visual interaction for fear of others’, etc. (see Chapter 10). While some tropes (mostly metonymies) are involved, such [noun + emotional-behavior predicate] sets mostly rely on (semi-)compositional interpretation of the compounds (rather than on non-compositional lexical senses, as with KANGU ‘belly’ compounds discussed above). In many of the second type of compounds, the noun, denoting a visible body-part, serves to specify which part of the experiencer is involved in the emotional behavior.

20111207a_001_MT 48 [E]

- (2) *Nunh wurdurd mak dja-marnu-yenjdju-ngiyan delebon-walung [...].*

DEM child NEG 3sg>1-BEN-talk-FUT telephone-ABL

Ka-h-dalu-yer-mu.

3sg-R-mouth-shy.away-PR

too.shy.to.talk

‘This child won’t speak to you over the phone. He’s too shy to talk [he’s shy from the mouth].’

The above examples are relatively clear-cut cases, where it is easy to see how tropes operate in the first instance (KANGU ‘belly’ set (1)), and how compositionality operates in the second instance (*yer(mu)* set (2)). A given compound can belong to two sets, one of each type (e.g. *kangu-redji* ‘belly’ + ‘smile, laugh’, ‘be pleased’, where both KANGU and *redji* can alternate within sets, see Chapter 8, Section 1 and Chapter 10, 1.5.1). For some sets, it is harder to determine a structuring principle, and to decide whether tropes and/or compositionality may be at play. This occurs with the KODJ ‘crown of head/head’¹⁵⁴ set for instance. KODJ appears in twelve emotional compounds, and some of them may suggest a figurative dimension, for instance *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘head’ + ‘be cut, end’ ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’ (3). However, the whole set does not suggest consistent metaphorical representations involving the head, and there is no evidence that speakers do endorse the tropes suggested by these compounds (Chapter 10, 2.2).

154. The primary meaning of *kodj-no* is ‘crown of head’, and it gets extended to ‘head’ (Ponsonnet, 2012, p. 376).

20120713a_000_MT 036 [TC]

[Commenting on an argument between co-wives.]

- (3) *Ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj ka-h-bo-ng. Ka-h-dokka-ng, ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj.*
 3sg-R-head-end-PP 3sg-R-go-PP 3sg-R-get.up-PP 3sg-R-head-end-PP
 become.upset become.upset
 ‘She got upset, she left. She got up, she’d got upset (and didn’t want to stay).’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Imin brabli salki langa im.’

Another interesting case is that of the [noun + *bruk*] ‘dry’ set of emotional compounds, a shorter set of nine compounds, mostly emotional, having to do with self-control: *djong-bruk* ‘FEAR’ + ‘dry’, ‘brave’, *mud-bruk* ‘body hair’ + ‘dry’, ‘brave’, *men-bruk* ‘ideas’ + ‘dry’, ‘self-controlled’. *Bruk* ‘dry’ does not attract an emotional meaning when used outside of a [noun + *bruk*] compound, so the set must be rooted, historically at least, in a metaphor representing emotional agitation as a liquid (a cross-linguistically common metaphor, see Kövecses (1991, pp. 33–36), Omori (2008)). However, the set is structured very much like other sets where the predicate remains constant, illustrated above with [noun + *yer(mu)*] ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ compounds. That is, the body-part specifies which part of the person is involved in the (un)agitated behavior. There is no evidence that speakers endorse the figurative dimension of these compounds in synchrony.

Are [*kodj* + predicate] (e.g. *kodj-dadj(mu)* ‘head’ + ‘be cut, end’, ‘become upset and interrupt social interactions’) and [noun + *bruk*] metaphorical compounds? The answer depends largely upon our definition of tropes, and the following sections in this chapter seek to clarify this. A sound approach to metaphors and metonymies will not warrant, however, that it is always possible to decide whether a compound started historically as a metaphor, or not, nor whether the trope in question is conceptually relevant to speakers or not. My aim is not to provide a decisive answer to these questions in each case, but rather to explore the synchronic structure of emotional compound sets, and to present them in an enlightening order and context. Some of the clearer cases will allow firmer conclusions as to their historical development, suggesting possible historical paths for these compounds to arise. Speakers’ metalinguistic apprehension of these compounds – whether they perceive them as figurative or not – will also be documented and analyzed as far as possible.

2. Metaphors: Definitions and debates

2.1 The cognitivists' and the anthropologists' views on metaphors

My methodology is partly inspired by the 'canonical' cognitivists' definition of metaphor,¹⁵⁵ as developed since the 1980s by authors like Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993, 1987), Gibbs (1994), Yu (1998), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Kövecses (2002), and many others. This theory is so well-known that presenting it at length is unnecessary. Suffice it to say that in this theory – in contrast with the 'traditional view on metaphor' –, metaphors are primarily *conceptual metaphors*, i.e. cognitive devices. These conceptual representations motivate linguistic forms, the *linguistic metaphors*, which, therefore, are clues to the existence of conceptual metaphors. For instance, the expression 'to defeat an argument' is a linguistic metaphor motivated by the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. A particularity of the cognitivists' approach is that it applies throughout linguistic polysemies without discrimination: whenever a given word has several senses, a linguistic metaphor is identified, and subsequently a conceptual metaphor is postulated. For instance, 'to be *in* love' is interpreted as a metaphor EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE – Kövecses (2000, pp. 36, 41)).

In this framework, conceptual metaphors structure our concepts, and thus linguistic metaphors reveal this structure. In addition, conceptual metaphors are embodied, i.e. they are supposedly inspired by basic, physical and physiological human experiences of the world, hence the label 'cognitive' (this aspect is also known as the 'experientialist theory'). While many of the cognitivists' theoretical and practical tools are useful to study metaphors, I do not subscribe to all aspects of these theories, and in particular I do not subscribe to the cognitivists' 'cognitive' assumptions, that linguistic metaphors correspond to a cognitive apparatus of the human brain. The notion of metaphor I use in this work matches a modified version of this 'canonical cognitivists' theory', which over the years was subjected to various critiques (see Yu (1998), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández (2011), Haser (2005) for overviews of such critiques).

In the cognitivists' framework, conceptual metaphors shape the structure of our concepts – especially abstract concepts like emotions. A number of authors, from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, have argued against this radical stance (see Quinn (1991), Holland (1982) and Kövecses (2005, pp. 193–228) for a cognitivist's detailed rejoinder). Psychologists such as Murphy (1996, 1997) express doubts about the conceptual priority of metaphors, suggesting a relation of analogy between metaphors

155. In many respects, the cognitivists theory of 'metaphors' applies more broadly to 'tropes' i.e. to metonymies as well as metaphors. In the rest of the volume, I use the word 'trope' to refer to metaphors and metonymies indifferently, and reserve the terms 'metaphor' and 'metonymy' to refer to each type of trope more specifically. However, in this chapter, I use 'metaphor' more broadly, matching the cognitivists' usage.

and the concepts they express, rather than a relation of *definition*. Cognitivists have attempted to establish the cognitive reality of metaphors by means of various experimental protocols (Boroditsky, 2001; Gibbs, 1992; Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs, Lenz, Lima, & Francozo, 2004; Gibbs & O'Brian, 1990; Keysar, Shen, Glucksberg, & Horton, 2000) but these studies have their limits (Rákosi, 2012). Overall, it seems unlikely that metaphors alone are responsible to such a great extent for the way we construe the world.¹⁵⁶

Some anthropologists concerned with linguistic theories, for instance Keesing (1979, 1985), followed by some linguists (e.g. Evans & Wilkins, 2000, p. 550), adopt a different view on metaphors. In this perspective, language is informed by 'culture', defined as 'a system of *knowledge*, a composite of cognitive systems more or less shared by members of a society' (Keesing, 1979, p. 15). Keesing's use of 'cognitive' is not as loaded as Lakoff's: Keesing simply refers to a body of shared concepts, of representations, some implicit, some explicit, which each speech community relies on to communicate. I take metaphors to be informed by these shared representations at least as much as by cognitive devices in the human brain, and some cognitive linguists have acknowledged this point (Fillmore, 1977; Kövecses, 2005). In addition, shared representations are potentially accessible to the field linguist, whereas cognitive structures remain largely inaccessible outside of experimental protocols, and therefore lie mostly out of the reach of this work.

Therefore, while I use some of the cognitivists' concepts and terminology, I favor a slightly modified version of their framework. Cognitive linguists contrast linguistic metaphors with the conceptual metaphors that trigger them (as defined above). I will make use of these expressions and related contrast between forms and conceptual representation, but the nature and role of what I call 'conceptual metaphors' differ from the cognitivists' assumptions. I intend the expression 'conceptual metaphor' as neutral with respect to the cognitive structure of the brain. In my framework, conceptual metaphors are simply mental, often shared, representations. In addition, I make no *a priori* assumption about the directionality of the influence between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors. Cognitive linguists assume that conceptual metaphors trigger linguistic metaphors. While that would often be the case, the reverse may also be true: linguistic metaphors may channel metaphorical representations and thus trigger conceptual metaphors, as suggested by Enfield (2002a). Throughout this volume, formulae in small capitals refer to conceptual metaphors, assuming this modified definition of the expression.

156. However, the cognitivists' theory may be saved if we consider that metaphors *constitute* these concepts not in the sense of defining them, but because they are – sometimes – the only way we have to *formulate* these concepts, which would otherwise have no articulate shape (a point not mentioned in Gibbs's (1996) answer to Murphy, but in line with Lakoff's (1987) philosophical stance on objectivism). For a criticism of the philosophy of the cognitivist's view on metaphor, see Haser (2005).

The problem of the ‘cognitive’ dimension of conceptual metaphors is not the only aspect of the cognitivists’ theory of metaphor that attracts criticism. Many linguists have criticized the priority of metaphor in the definition of words, preferring a ‘meaning-based approach’ (Apresjan & Apresjan, 2000, p. 203). Wierzbicka (for instance (1986, 1999)) and other proponents of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach (Durst, 2001; Goddard, 1988) point out that metaphors do not tell us about the *sense* of words: the study of metaphor should not exempt linguists from careful semantic analysis, and metaphors should not be considered clues to the sense of words.¹⁵⁷ In addition, another line of criticism attacks the cognitivists’ lack of historical insight, as discussed below.

2.2 Historical depth

A number of authors reject the cognitivist’s indiscriminate recruitment of linguistic metaphors, arguing that a large number of what cognitivists take to reflect active conceptual metaphors have in fact become conventionalized over time. In synchrony, these expressions should be treated as literal rather than figurative (hence ‘to be in love’ should not be treated as the instantiation of the LOVE IS A LOCATION metaphor). This criticism, put to the fore (under various shapes) by many authors such as Keesing (1985), Jackendoff (1990), Wierzbicka (1999), Goddard (1996a) Enfield (2002a), and Enfield & Wierzbicka (2002b), has become a classic counterargument to the cognitivists’ theory of metaphor. The argument leads to a distinction between two types of linguistic metaphors. ‘Active’ (or ‘online’, Enfield (2002a)) metaphors are associated with some conceptual representations that speakers are aware of. By contrast, ‘frozen’ or ‘imposed’ metaphors are conventionalized metaphors: they are imposed by language, so that speakers can use them without being aware of the representation that originally triggered them. All metaphors are supposedly historically rooted in conceptual representations, but once a metaphor is conventionalized, this representation belongs to history, and speakers need not be aware of it in synchrony. Enfield (2002a) and Goddard (2004), summarize criteria and tests to distinguish active from frozen metaphors (see 3.1).

Also concerned with historical depth, some authors have argued for better accounts of the historical context in which a number of metaphors – in particular, emotion metaphors – have emerged. Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995) argued that a number of English metaphors for anger are rooted in the Classical and Medieval ‘medical’ theory of humors (1995, pp. 155–162) (see also Plantin (2011, p. 6)). As a result, interpretations of these metaphors rooted uniquely in synchrony, like Lakoff

157. In spite of this theoretical stance, NSM semanticists do regularly call upon the nature of a metaphor to shed light on the sense of some emotions words (see for instance Wierzbicka (1999, p. 92), regarding *outrage*).

& Kövecses's (1987) interpretation of metaphors for anger in English¹⁵⁸ as inspired essentially by physiology, are flawed, say Geeraerts and Grondelaers, because they do not take into account the conceptions about physiology that had course when these metaphors were created (see also Gevaert (2001, 2005) Deignan (2003), Geeraert & Gevaert (2008), Wiseman (2007), and replies by Kövecses (1995), Kövecses (2005, pp. 177–182)). Linguists who advocate such cultural and historical approaches to metaphors also insist that studies of metaphors should be corpus-based, and should take into account the *frequency* of metaphors, rather than just their *existence*, in order to weight their relative conceptual and cultural salience.

The first and second trends of 'historically-oriented' criticism (i.e. advocates of conventionalization on the one hand and advocates of adequate historical anchorage on the other hand) are related: they both point out that the metaphors we use in synchrony may have fossilized, and thus become disconnected, in synchrony, from the conceptual metaphors that led to their emergence. They may have become totally opaque, or they may remain suggestive – like our metaphors for anger and other emotions – but even then we cannot assume that the original conceptual representation which historically triggered the linguistic forms are still cognitively and/or culturally relevant for today's speakers. Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995, p. 170) point out that metaphors for anger have undergone reinterpretation. Some of these metaphors depict anger as a hot fluid in a container (e.g. 'boiling with anger'), and speakers may perceive the hot fluid metaphor; but the hot fluid metaphor is not what motivated the linguistic forms in the first place. Geeraerts & Grondelaers show that these metaphors were originally rooted in the humoral theory of emotions. Since this theory is now obsolete, some English speakers assign a new interpretation to linguistic idioms, alluding to the somatic effect of anger (heat, pressure, and therefore hot liquid in a container). Historically, some of these metaphors related to a well-developed theory where all emotions are fluids running in the body. Speakers' synchronic representations of anger as a liquid under pressure in a container (which seems to match synesthetic experience of anger) do not relate to a general theory of emotions as fluids. In this historical process, linguistic descriptions of anger created within the framework of the theory of humors channel different, contemporary conceptions of anger. The theory of humor motivated metaphors that involved fluids, which are now reinterpreted in relation to the somatic responses of anger (heat and pressure, therefore hot liquid). The presence of the fluid metaphor in the historical metaphors has thus given some orientation to the contemporary representations of anger, via linguistic metaphors.¹⁵⁹

158. Which is primarily Kövecses's work, as published in Kövecses (1986).

159. Deignan (2003) also studies cases of reanalysis, with animal metaphors in particular, but focuses on the influence of the source domain upon the target domain.

3. The notion of trope in this work

All the criticisms above identify serious weaknesses in the cognitivists' theory of metaphor and metonymy (and other frameworks, see Goatly (1997/2011, pp. 5–6)), which I take into account in this work. Some of the flaws can readily be avoided. For a start, I do not rely exclusively on metaphors and metonymies to define emotion terms. All lexemes have been analyzed prior to the study of their metaphorical dimension (see Appendix 2).¹⁶⁰ In addition, the senses of the components of the lexemes have also been thoroughly analyzed (see Appendix 3 for predicate components). Furthermore, the study is corpus-based, so that throughout the chapters, the relative salience of each metaphor is weighted in terms of frequency, as well as against metalinguistic and non-linguistic data where applicable.¹⁶¹

3.1 Dalabon lexical tropes: Imposed but active

Metalinguistic and non-linguistic data indicate that speakers of Dalabon do treat some emotion metaphors and metonymies as figurative. For instance, a speaker may accompany the lexeme *kangu-yurd(mu)* 'belly' + 'run, flow', 'feel good' with a hand gesture involving her belly (see Chapter 8, 1.5.4). On the other hand, the matter is not clear-cut, since compounds like *kangu-yurd(mu)* are lexicalized, and therefore, relatively conventionalized. Evidence in support of this lexicalization are, for instance, non-compositional meanings and imposed components: KANGU 'belly' cannot be replaced by its synonyms in emotion compounds. **Wurr-yurd(mu)* is not acceptable, although *wurr-no* can denote the stomach, like *kangu-no*. Some emotional metaphorical compounds are also the most common ways of expressing certain emotions (e.g. *kangu-yowwow(mu)* 'belly' + 'flow':REDUP, 'be pleased, be nice'). They are unmarked, and therefore less likely to convey a strong figurative effect: there is no 'colorful effect' or 'novelty' (see Goddard (2004, p. 1213)).

There are indications that when using compound emotion terms, speakers do not intend any metaphorical effect. For instance, it is possible to apply a test suggested by Enfield (2002a, p. 93) and Goddard (2004, p. 1214), following Boguslawski (1994). The test discriminates between intended and unintended metaphors depending on the sense of hedges. Thus, 'so to speak' can flag a metaphor when there is one (as in (4a)),

160. Due to the methodology of documentation (see Chapter 3, 1.2), some of the lexemes occurred only a couple of times throughout the corpus and the semantic analysis has a narrow basis, but it has nevertheless been carried out as far as possible. Also, in the view of the number of lexemes, it was impossible to account for the detail of each analysis within the volume.

161. Pragmatic studies of metaphors – how they are interpreted and how they are used in speech –, advocated by Goatly (1997/2011), are not so relevant here, because the metaphors in question have conventionalised as lexemes which are, in many cases, the unmarked option to express a particular concept.

but when there is none, it flags an approximation (4b). As a result, the sense of ‘so to speak’ is not the same in (4a), where ‘heart’ is metaphorical, and (4b), where ‘head’ is literal, having conventionalized the sense ‘director’. This hedge can therefore be used to discriminate active (or intended) metaphors from conventionalized (imposed) ones.

- (4) a. *John is, so to speak, the heart of the company.*
 (= John is really the heart of the company, but it’s a metaphor)
- b. *John is, so to speak, the head of the company.*
 (= John is not really the head (director) of the company)

Goddard’s (2004, p. 1217) notes that Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara (Central Australian Desert) speakers make little use of intended metaphors (i.e. metaphor independent of lexicalized items).¹⁶² The same observation holds for Dalabon, where intended metaphors independent of lexical items are rare – albeit not entirely absent.¹⁶³ The hedge *djehneng*, which may be tentatively glossed as ‘appearances indicate that’ (Evans, 2010), may be used to flag such metaphors, as in (5) – where the metaphor is in fact relatively conventional (recurrent), but not embedded in a lexicalized compound. Yet, when used with metaphorical/metonymical lexicalized compounds (6), the hedge clearly indicates that the compound does not really apply, as in (4b) above. This confirms that the compounds in question are lexicalized and do not convey active or intended metaphors.

30033b/2008 – 3’ (MT) [Sc]

[Describing the effect of a ritual implemented on infants, see Chapter 8 (1.5.4).]

- (5) *Bulu ka-h-na-n biyi kirdikird bul-ka-h-marnu-kangu-yowyow.*
 3pl 3sg>3-R-see-PR man woman 3pl-3sg>3-R-BEN-belly-flow:REDUP:PR
 feel.good

Djehneng ka-h-yin radjdjarr.
 as.if 3sg-R-say/do:PR flood.water

‘She sees people, she’s kind to them [her belly flows for them]. Just like flood-water [but it’s not really flood water, it’s a metaphor].’

[Unrecorded elicitation with QB] [El]

- (6) *Yang-djehneng ka-h-kangu-yowyow.*
 as.if 3sg-R-belly-flow:REDUP:PR
 feel.good

QB’s Kriol trans.: ‘Yu mait dink dat im rait.’

‘You might think that (s)he’s feeling alright.’

(As opposed to: ‘As if his/her belly flows.’)

162. Peile (1997, p. xix), however, says the contrary about the Kukatja.

163. It is impossible to rule out the possibility that, as suggested by Goddard (2004, p. 1219), this marginal practice may have been borrowed from English and/or Kriol.

Hence the figurative dimension of Dalabon emotion compounds like *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’ is not intended, but imposed along with Dalabon’s standard lexical devices. This does not mean, however, that these metaphors are as ‘frozen’ as the metaphor encapsulated in ‘to be in love’ in English. With Dalabon emotion compounds, there is clear evidence that speakers do perceive the metaphors conveyed by emotional compounds. As mentioned above, gestures indicate that at least some of these linguistic metaphors do associate with conceptual metaphors (Cienki, 1999; McNeill, 1992). There is also metalinguistic evidence, such as translations in Kriol and English, and cultural practices (see Foolen (2008, pp. 379–380) on Dutch), for instance a ritual activating various symbols related to conceptual metaphors of emotions (Chapter 8, 1.5.4). This evidence is discussed throughout the following chapters, as I present individual metaphors. Dalabon speakers are aware of the compositional sense of their emotional compounds, and this matches their global metalinguistic stance: they are, in general, well aware of the compositionality of their language.

Thus, *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’ (and other compounds of the sort) is lexicalized, but it does encapsulate a metaphor that some speakers endorse (these may be labelled ‘inactive’ and ‘tired’, albeit not ‘buried’, following Goatly’s (1997/2011, p. 31) classification). I will call such metaphors ‘lexical metaphors’, and will reserve the expression ‘free metaphor’ for metaphors not embedded in lexicalized compounds.¹⁶⁴ The status of these lexical metaphors in Dalabon cuts across the online/imposed distinction. They are not intended, they are not designed to convey particular effects, and they are ‘imposed’ by the lexicon. Yet, they are also perceived by speakers as figurative, and may be described as ‘active’ to that extent. This status probably applies to a significant proportion of emotion metaphors in English, French, and many languages across the world: as pointed out by many authors (Evans & Green, 2006/2011, p. 289ff; Gibbs, 1994; Goatly, 1997/2011, p. 14), the distinction between what speakers regard as literal or metaphorical is not clear-cut, and one should also expect variations between speakers in this respect.

3.2 Focus on synchrony and reinterpretation

Since Dalabon and neighboring languages have only been written for a few decades, Dalabon studies will never afford extensive diachronic depth. Etymologies may sometimes be retrieved thanks to cross-linguistic comparisons, and speakers’ accounts may offer some insight into past cultural associations. Yet, this remains limited in comparison with the data available for English or Dutch, for instance (Geeraerts & Gevaert, 2008; Geeraerts & Grondelaers, 1995; Gevaert, 2005).

164. Free metaphors are not necessarily intended either (they can be conventional), but they do not involve a compound lexeme, and are therefore probably ‘more intended’ than lexical metaphors, since language does not impose them strictly speaking.

In my view, the best way to overcome this limitation is to embrace a radically and systematically synchronic approach. In their plea for a diachronic approach to metaphors, Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995, p. 174) criticize cognitivists for sometimes discarding metaphorical expressions on the arbitrary ground that they look 'obviously' frozen. Taking the conventionalization of metaphors into account arbitrarily is worse than consciously and systematically leaving this aspect aside.

With Dalabon lexical metaphors, where diachronic insight is largely unavailable, the best option is simply to describe each metaphor as it appears in synchrony, irrespective of its possible historical origin *or* of its cognitive salience. For reasons of space, when it seems unlikely that a given metaphor either played a historical role *or* is cognitively salient in synchrony, and when the compound at stake can be explained otherwise, the metaphor in question is not discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 but in Chapter 10, along with formal processes of lexical formation (composition, analogy). Yet, all possible metaphorical interpretations have been considered in principle. This suits our conclusions about the cognitive status of these metaphors stated in the previous section. Since emotional compounds are lexicalized, their use is imposed, and the conceptual associations which motivated their forms historically do not have to be active. Instead, speakers, perceiving the compounds as figurative, are free to reinterpret them – or not – as they wish to, as suggested by Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995, p. 170), as well as Enfield (2002a). There is no reason to assume that synchronic reinterpretations should always remain faithful to the conceptual metaphors that historically triggered the lexicalization of a given compound (especially as the sense of the component of the compounds may have changed). Synchronic reinterpretations may apply when there was historically no trope, and vice versa. Subsequently, the existence and nature of speakers' reinterpretations must be attested independently of the description of linguistic metaphors, via metalinguistic and non-linguistic evidence.

This may be illustrated with the compound *kangu-murduk* 'belly' + 'hard/strong', 'emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful'. *Murduk* is polysemous between 'hard' and 'strong'. Given the constellation of Dalabon metaphors for emotions using the belly as their source, there may be reasons to hypothesize that the compound originated as *kangu-murduk* 'selfish, not cheerful', picking the 'hard' sense of *murduk* (NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL STATE IS LIKE RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY). However, in synchrony, *kangu-murduk* also means 'emotionally strong', and instantiates two conceptual metaphors at a time: NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL STATE IS LIKE RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY and EMOTIONAL STRENGTH IS LIKE RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY. One of these conceptual metaphors probably played no historical role, but it is nonetheless instantiated by the compound in synchrony just like the other one.

3.3 Literal vs figurative meaning

As pointed out by Mühlhäusler (1985), the qualification of linguistic expressions as metaphorical, or more generally as figurative, often begs the question of what is considered the literal meaning of these expressions. Mühlhäusler illustrates this problem with the Enga language of Papua New Guinea, where half a dozen different verbs can translate the English verb ‘to exist’, depending on the nature of the existing entity (animal, vegetal, female human etc.). From the perspective of this language, the English verb ‘exist’ can be seen as entailing metaphors: for instance *ANIMALS ARE LIKE HUMANS*, *VEGETABLES ARE LIKE HUMANS* etc. The question of which representations are figurative and which are literal obviously becomes quite intricate.

The same problem may apply in the domain of emotions. Many Dalabon emotion compounds represent emotions as physical states of the person. Should we conclude that the language contains metaphors/metonymies (see 5.1) of the type *EMOTIONAL STATES ARE LIKE PHYSICAL STATES*? Or, rather, that for Dalabon speakers, the distinction between physical and emotional states is, with respect to these expressions, irrelevant – just like the difference between the mode of existence of animals and that of humans is, with respect to the use of ‘exist’, irrelevant to speakers of English? Ultimately, the distinction between emotional and physical states relies on a relatively rigid mind/body dichotomy, which is often described as a typically Western belief (see Chapter 1, 1.3).

As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 1 (and further in Chapter 8, Section 3), a number of Dalabon emotion lexemes colexify physical and emotional states. Just like the English verb *feel*, these lexemes (for instance *yolh-mon* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good’) merge physical and psychological well/ill being. However, with respect to some other words, such as the ones formed with *KANGU* ‘belly’ for instance (Chapter 8, Section 1), the distinction between body and mind is relevant, because a number of these compounds cannot refer to physical states. Their literal interpretations do evoke physical states of the belly, but they are often implausible physiological states, and thus lexically inactive. This is the case for instance with *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’ (Chapter 8, 1.5.1), *kangu-barrh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘crack’, ‘be surprised, undergo emotional shock’ (Chapter 8, 1.5.2), and others. Such interpretations can only be figurative, and thus qualify well as metaphorical or metonymical.

4. The power of tropes

It thus seems that Dalabon speakers tend to endorse some of the conceptual tropes for emotions suggested by emotional compounds, but this is potentially independent of the historical origin of these compounds, since they are lexically imposed anyway. In this context, I adopt notions of metaphor and metonymy where synchrony and

diachrony are independent: a conceptual trope may be salient for speakers, or not, and this salience is in principle independent of whether or not it did historically motivate a given linguistic metaphor or metonymy.

4.1 Tropes as conceptual suggestions

My notion of conceptual trope (unlike the cognitivists') is to be understood as a descriptive tool: for instance, it applies indifferently to both metaphors spelt above for *kangu-murduk* 'belly' + 'hard/strong' (NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL STATE IS LIKE RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY and EMOTIONAL STRENGTH IS LIKE RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY), regardless of which was historically prior, or which is conceptually salient for speakers. As a result, in this work, conceptual metaphors – spelt out in small capitals – , are essentially a tool for linguistic description, pointing to conceptual associations *suggested* (to the linguist or to speakers) by linguistic forms (see for instance Robert (2008), Murphy (1996, p. 184) for somewhat comparable views). As such, they tell us about the 'stock' of conceptual metaphors or metonymies, or conceptual 'suggestions' contributed by linguistic forms, and available to speakers for potential interpretation (Enfield, 2002a). While in the case of Dalabon, linguistic tropes are not productive enough to allow for the establishment of detailed 'prototypical emotional scenarios' as suggested by Kövecses (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987),¹⁶⁵ such 'suggestions' may help interpret further (meta)linguistic and cultural practices, for instance ritual symbolism (Chapter 8, 1.5.4) or emotion regulation (Chapters 2, 4.2 and 8, Section 4). When linguistic tropes do correspond to conceptual tropes, they need not define concepts entirely or exhaustively: they simply constitute a pool of representations available to speakers, among other possible shared representations.

4.2 Tropes as motivations of lexical form and semantic change

Independent of the synchronic status of tropes, in many cases, Dalabon conceptual tropes related to emotions present themselves as a natural historical motivation for a set of form/meaning pairings. If a given conceptual trope explains a significant amount of data, and if there is no competing motivation, we may postulate that linguistic tropes correspond to historical conceptual tropes, shedding light upon the history of semantic extensions (Geeraerts, 1997; Goatly, 1997/2011; Haser, 2000; Jurafsky, 1996; Niepokuj, 1994; Sweetser, 1990). I postulate this role for most of the linguistic tropes described in Chapters 8 and 9, and will add historical disclaimers when appropriate. Yet again, the metaphorical and metonymical representations need not exist for speakers in synchrony.

165. In addition, I tend to agree with Wierzbicka's (1999) view that scenarios are better identified via semantic analysis of lexical items.

4.3 Conceptual tropes resulting from linguistic forms

Not all compounds that are, formally speaking, linguistic metaphors or metonymies must necessarily be motivated by conceptual tropes. As will be argued in Chapter 10, some may be motivated by other principles, such as mechanisms of formal analogy. For instance, there exists in Dalabon a semi-productive set of [noun + *bruk*] ‘dry’ compounds (e.g. *djong-bruk* ‘FEAR’ + ‘dry’, ‘brave’) which instantiates metaphors of the type EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FLUIDS – a cross-linguistically common metaphor (see Kövecses (2000, p. 77 for instance), Omori (2008)). However, it is not clear that the set of Dalabon compounds is in its entirety motivated by this conceptual metaphor, or rather by simple analogy, where *bruk* ‘dry’ acquires the sense ‘emotionally sober’ and becomes associated with further nouns on this basis (see Chapter 9, Section 3 and Chapter 10, 1.4). We may thus distinguish between formal motivations (e.g. analogy) and conceptual motivations (metaphors or metonymies) of linguistic tropes.

As pointed out above, this stance on tropes departs significantly from the cognitivists’ view. The cognitivist framework distinguished conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors, the former motivating the latter, not the reverse.¹⁶⁶ To summarize, in contrast with the standard cognitive framework, I focus on the description of linguistic tropes; I do not postulate that every linguistic trope is systematically motivated by a conceptual trope. Conceptual tropes are primarily tools of linguistic description which constitute a ‘stock’ of representations available to speakers for (re)interpretation. The diachronic role and synchronic status of conceptual tropes must be assessed independently of the description and interpretation of linguistic tropes.

5. Methodological issues

Although the notion of metaphor that I rely upon differs from the cognitivists’, I borrow some of the cognitivists’ methodology and terminology for the description of linguistic metaphors, as clearly spelt out by Kövecses (2002), for instance. This methodology raises a number of relatively well-known issues (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2011), which I briefly consider below.

166. Some cognitive linguists have sometimes considered the possibility that linguistic metaphors may be ‘generative’, i.e. that our language influences our thought via metaphors (e.g. Reddy (1979/1993), Schön (1979/1993), but this remains marginal.

5.1 Metaphors and metonymies

Traditionally, linguists have distinguished metaphor from metonymy on the basis of their conceptual ground: metaphors are based on similarity¹⁶⁷ between concepts, metonymies on contiguity, which includes both part-whole relationship and bare contiguity (Taylor, 1989/1995, p. 122; Ullmann, 1957, p. 232). However, it has often been pointed out that the concept of contiguity is too vague to provide an adequate definition of metonymy (Haser, 2000, p. 173; Radden, 2000, p. 94). Alternatively, cognitive linguists tend to define metonymy as referential (i.e. as referring to an item in the universe of discourse, as opposed to the base of the trope being generic and referentially unspecified), which has also been criticized as imprecise (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2001, p. 323); or as linking two concepts pertaining to one 'conceptual domain',¹⁶⁸ in contrast with metaphor which operates between domains (Croft, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35; Radden & Kövecses, 1998, p. 39; Traugott & Dasher, 2002, p. 79). However, as pointed out by Croft (1993, p. 362),¹⁶⁹ defining the extension of a conceptual domain may be problematic, because 'not surprisingly, unexpressed contextual knowledge can enter into the semantic determination of the domain in which an utterance is interpreted' (see also Riemer (2005, p. 190)). This domain definition is, however, one of the most common, and the one I will rely upon.

In view of these difficulties, many authors conclude that metaphors and metonymies cannot be strictly contrasted and represent two extreme cases along a continuum (Barcelona, 2000b; De Mülder & Vanderheyden, 2008; Dirven, 1993; Radden, 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2000). Goossens (1990) coined the term 'metaphonymy'. Several authors have argued that metaphors are always grounded in metonymies (Barcelona, 2000a, 2000b; Niemeier, 2000), or at least that 'many conceptual metaphors derive from conceptual metonymies' (Kövecses & Radden (1998), also Goatly (1997/2011, p. 57)). This is true of emotion metaphors in particular, often inspired by physical and physiological reactions which stand in a metonymic relation to emotions (Barcelona, 2000a; Niemeier, 2000).¹⁷⁰ Indeed, physical states and emotions are all states of the person, and thus the tropes in question are metonymical because they operate within one domain.

The porosity of the distinction between metaphors and metonymies is not a problem in this work, since I do not aim to establish a typology of tropes. There are

167. See for instance Lyons (1977, p. 442). The definition of similarity may raise difficulties, see Goatly (1997/2011, p. 16ff).

168. See Barcelona (2000a) for further discussion of the notion of the notion of 'conceptual domain' as a 'superordinate experiential domain' (2000a, p. 32).

169. See also Goatly (2007, p. 219ff).

170. See Barcelona (2000c), Dirven & Pöring (2003) for further insight on the metaphor/metonymy distinction, and Haser (2005) for a critical account of the literature on this problem.

borderline cases (Riemer, 2005), but it seems naive to assume that because various criteria cannot *always* distinguish metaphors from metonymies, these can *never* be distinguished, and that the related concepts are therefore empty.¹⁷¹ In general, Dalabon emotion tropes are firmly anchored in metonymies, and many of them remain largely metonymic. However, the status of some of the tropes is mixed. I will comment on this aspect whenever possible.

5.2 The typology of metaphors

Most of the contributors to the core theory of metaphor mention distinctions between various types of metaphors (for instance Kövecses (2002, pp. 33–36; 2003, p. 319) Lakoff & Johnson (1980, pp. 14, 25), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 46), Yu (2008, p. 248)). These categories usually emphasize two contrasts – generic vs specific, and simple vs complex – but the relation between these two contrasts is not always clear. Grady (1997) established a single distinction, later endorsed by several authors, between primary and compound metaphors.¹⁷² As pointed out by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández (2011) this partition is not entirely satisfying, and the question requires more research (Goatly, 2007, p. 270ff; Haser, 2005; Szwedek, 2007, p. 208ff).

In my framework, the generic/specific and the simple/compositional contrast are relative, not intrinsic, properties of the tropes. For instance, ANGER IS LIKE FIRE is more specific than EMOTIONS ARE LIKE NATURAL FORCES, which is more specific than EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FORCES, simply because the latter metaphor recasts the former using hyperonyms for the former. Apart from a very few, very generic metaphors, most tropes combine with several others. Composition may or may not be emphasized depending on the purpose of description. For instance, ANGER IS LIKE FIRE is a simple equation, yet it combines EMOTIONS ARE LIKE NATURAL FORCES and ANGER IS LIKE HEAT (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2001, p. 332). In this framework, generic, specific, primary, simple, compound etc. are not well-identified categories of metaphors, but rather scalar or relative properties which may be foregrounded or backgrounded depending on the needs of description. Each linguistic metaphor may be described in terms of a range of conceptual metaphors, but this should not be regarded as a problem. In a language like English, the proliferation of linguistic metaphors allows us to narrow down the descriptions, yet this is not always the case with Dalabon lexical metaphors, which are less numerous.

171. See Chapter 1, Section 1 for a similar argument relative to the definition of the category of ‘emotions’.

172. Primary metaphors are implicitly defined as the most general way of formulating a metaphor without losing some predictive strength (Grady, 1997, p. 285), which corresponds to the fact that these metaphors are grounded in experience (Grady (1997, p. 287), Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 175)).

5.3 Terminology

For the sake of clarity, some of the expressions defined above are recapitulated in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitions of some expressions used in the volume.

Expression	Sense
linguistic metaphors	linguistic forms making use of a metaphorical trope
conceptual metaphors	the mental representations suggested by linguistic metaphors, irrespective of their historical role and synchronic status for speakers
lexical metaphors	metaphors embedded in compound lexemes
free metaphors	metaphors not embedded in compound lexemes
frozen/conventionalized/ imposed metaphors	metaphors which are embedded in lexicalized expressions and do not require the speaker to endorse conceptual metaphors: they are imposed by the rules of the language
active/intended metaphors	metaphors not imposed by the rules of language, which require that the speaker endorses some associated conceptual metaphors
generic metaphors	conceptual metaphors described using words at a higher level of generality (hyperonyms); the distinction between generic and specific metaphors relates primarily to the descriptions rather than to the metaphors themselves

6. Conclusion

To summarize, my conception of metaphor and metonymy is one where the existence of a linguistic trope does not warrant *a priori* that the associated conceptual trope played a role in diachrony as historical trigger, or plays a role in synchrony as a reality in speakers' minds. The potential diachronic role and synchronic roles of conceptual tropes should be assessed independently of their identification through linguistic tropes. Indeed, in Dalabon, some emotional tropes seem to play a diachronic role in motivating sets of [noun + predicate] compounds. In addition, although these linguistic tropes are embedded in lexicalized compounds and thus imposed by language – rather than deliberately 'chosen' by speakers for particular effects – independent evidence shows that (at least some) speakers endorse these conceptual metaphors in synchrony.

Now that this theoretical stance has been spelt out, clarifying the potential roles of linguistic tropes with respect to representations, I turn to the description of Dalabon emotion metaphors. I will first present body-part-based metaphors (Chapter 8), then move on to other metaphors (Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 8

Metaphors

Around the body

This chapter describes the figurative input of animate-part nouns (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2.5) i.e. body-parts and other attributes of the person, with respect to emotions. A larger number of emotional compounds have an invisible attribute of the person as their first component: either an invisible body-part (an organ) or an abstract attribute of the person. These compounds relate to tropes involving somatic responses to emotions. In this chapter, I discuss three sets of such compounds: two where the first components of the compounds are nouns denoting internal organs, namely the belly (stomach) and the heart; and one where the first component is an abstract attribute of the person, YOLH ‘pep, feelings’. The structure of the sets suggests that these compounds were probably motivated historically by conceptual metonymies and metaphors. In any case, regardless of historical motivations, there is good evidence that in synchrony, speakers do perceive and endorse these tropes. The metonymies and metaphors in these three sets all relate to physiological responses, and more specifically to digestive processes, as well as to fitness and mobility. Remarkably, these tropes, even when they offer some metaphorical dimension, remain partly metonymic. That is, they systematically represent emotions as states of the person or as parts of the persons – not as entities independent of the person. This limitation is cross-linguistically unusual, which raises the question of why Dalabon emotion metaphors are limited in this way.

The most productive of the three sets, with KANGU ‘belly’, is presented in Section 1. Another body-part yielding some metonymical and metaphorical compounds is the heart (*ngerh-no* ‘heart/breath’ and NGURLK ‘HEART’), as discussed in Section 2. Section 3 describes the compounds and tropes around the emotional attribute of the person *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’.

1. KANGU ‘belly’

The most productive body-related morpheme in the domain of emotions is KANGU, from *kangu-no*, relatively well translated as ‘belly’ in English (see Ponsonnet (2010, pp. 372–380)). The linguistic association of the belly with emotions is

cross-linguistically common,¹⁷³ and is reported in many Australian languages from diverse regions and genetic stocks: Kuuk Thaayorre, North Queensland (Gaby, 2008), Kayardild, North-West Queensland (Evans, 1994, p. 212), Murrinh Patha, in the Daly River region (Walsh, 1996), and several languages of Central Australia such as Kaytetye (Turpin, 2002), Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1994, 1996a), Pintupi (Myers, 1986) (see also Peile (1997, p. 63), Dixon (1991, p. 142)).

1.1 Senses

It appears from contextual use and pointing tasks carried out on drawings during elicitation that the primary denotation of *kangu-no* is an external body-part: on humans, the lower part of the front of the body (the abdomen), on quadrupeds, fish, reptiles etc., the lower part of the body. In compounds, KANGU can denote the palm of the hand or the sole of the foot (respectively *langu-kangu-no*, ‘hand/finger’ + ‘belly’ and *dengu-kangu-no* ‘feet/toes’ + ‘belly’). While some speakers defined *kangu-no* as the totality of the organs located in the torso, in actual use or in pointing tasks, *kangu-no* is not a common term for the stomach or guts, which are rather labelled *wurr-no*, *nguh-no* or sometimes *ku-no*. Yet, *kangu-no* can be construed as internal, as a physical container (that receives, contains and processes the food), or as the womb for instance, as in (1).¹⁷⁴

30123/2007 – 50’ (MT) [EI]

[Of a pregnant woman.]

- (1) *Ka-h-yaw-ma-rru-n*, *buyirrhwalung* *kangu-no-kah*.
 3sg-R-little.one-get-RR-PR inside belly-3sgPOSS-LOC
 ‘She’s carrying a child, inside in her belly.’

In the above senses, *kangu-no* is an animate-part noun (Chapter 3, 2.4.2.5). In another sense, *kangu-no* can belong to another class, the class of parts of inanimate wholes. In (2), it refers to the part of a vegetable, meaning ‘inside’ – the core of a vegetable.¹⁷⁵

173. This is reported for instance in Japanese (Matsuki (1995) and Hasada (2002)); among African languages such as Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998), Dholuo (Western Nilotic, Reh (1998)) and several other Nilotic languages (Dimmendaal, 2002), Nigerian English (Niemeier, 2000); in Papuan languages such as Mbula (Bugenhagen, 2001), Kuot (Lindström, 2002); also in Persian (*del* ‘heart-stomach’, Sharifian (2008)).

174. Peile (1997, p. 2) makes the same observation about *tjurni* in Kukatja.

175. It is not unusual that an abdominal body-part associated with emotions also means inside: this is the case with *heart* in English and *cœur* in French. In Mongo (Bantu) the word for ‘heart’ is polysemous with ‘marrow’ and ‘interior’ (Dimmendaal, 2002, p. 71); Sharifian (2008, p. 249) reports that Persian *del* ‘heart’ also means ‘middle’. Because this gloss is marginal, and to save space, I will gloss *kangu-no* as ‘belly’, omitting the sense ‘inside’.

20120718a_000_MT 131 [El]

- (2) *Yalang kanh dulh buka-h-kangu-lorrk-wo-n, [...] termites DEM tree 3sg>3sg.h-R-belly-empty-CSTVZR-PR ka-h-dulh-ngungu-n, ka-h-Ing-kangu-lorrk-mu-n kanh ka-h-rakka-n. 3sg>3-R-tree-eat:REDUP-PR 3sg-R-SEQ-belly-empty-INCH-PR DEM 3sg-R-fall-PR*
 ‘The termites empty the core of the tree, they eat up the tree, then it’s empty inside and it falls.’

KANGU occurs in a couple of compounds denoting postures (e.g. *kangu-bar(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘?’, ‘sleep on belly’), but it is more rarely used in compounds denoting physiological matters such as belly-aches etc. WURR and NGUH are preferred in these contexts. In contrast, WURR and NGUH cannot replace KANGU in analyzable emotional compounds. Table 1 lists forty-one attested, lexicalized emotional KANGU compounds (to the exclusion of occasional compounds). It is likely that further documentation would reveal more KANGU compounds, since the set seems semi-productive and open to speakers’ creativity.

In Barunga Kriol, the belly is called *binji* (<Sydney language ‘*binji*’, ‘stomach’, Harris (1986, p. 287), Nash (2010, p. 171), Meakins (2014)), and indeed *binji* is sometimes used in association with emotions. Some of the most common of the Dalabon KANGU compounds have Kriol ‘calques’,¹⁷⁶ in particular *gudbinji* ‘feeling good’ and *nogudbinji* ‘feeling bad’,¹⁷⁷ literally ‘(no) good belly’. However, *binji* ‘belly’ is not always the preferred translation for Dalabon KANGU. As exemplified in (3), several Kriol speakers consistently used Kriol *at*¹⁷⁸ ‘heart’ (<Eng. ‘heart’) when translating KANGU compounds.¹⁷⁹ Some KANGU compounds have Kriol ‘calques’ using *at*, for instance *atkre* ‘get a fright’, ‘heart’ + ‘crack’, matching Dalabon *kangu-barrh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘crack’, ‘be surprised, undergo emotional shock’.

176. I make no assumption that these Kriol words are actually calqued from the Dalabon compounds. They may have been inspired by structurally equivalent compounds found in other substrates of Barunga Kriol. Since I am not discussing substrate influences here, I use the word ‘calque’ for convenience, meaning that the structure of a given Dalabon compound is matched by a morphologically analyzable word in Barunga Kriol. See 1.5.4 for further discussion of this question.

177. Since I haven’t carried out detailed semantic studies on the emotional lexicon of Barunga Kriol, the definitions given for this language are more approximate than for Dalabon.

178. Pronounced *a:t*, sometimes *ha:t*.

179. Peile (1997, p. 64) and Gaby (2008, p. 35) report a similar practice, in English, for speakers of Kukatja and Kuuk Thaayorre respectively.



Figure 1. The tracker hired to chase the children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. Images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.

20120710a_001_MT 161 [RPF]

[The tracker hired to chase the fugitive children has lost their track; he's secretly happy about this, as betrayed by his discreet smile.]

(3) *Ka-h-lng-kangu-redji.*

3sg-R-SEQ-belly-laugh:PR

be.pleased

'He's secretly pleased.'

MT's Kriol trans.: 'Insaid la im at, imin smail'

'Inside his heart, he smiled.'

The contrast in translations indicates that the morpheme KANGU (if not the noun *kangu-no*) has two well-distinguished senses, one denoting the organ, the other the internal site of emotions – a polysemy discussed by Enfield (2002a) with respect to Lao.¹⁸⁰

1.2 Remarks on the semantics of KANGU compounds

Most of the compounds listed in Table 1 relate to emotional well/ill-being and/or to conflict (the sense of these compounds is detailed in Appendix 2). A significant proportion of these compounds colexify self-oriented emotions along with the corresponding other-oriented emotions (see Chapter 6, 2.1.1), like *kangu-yerrk(mu)* 'feel relieved' (8) and 'forgive' (5) – i.e. get rid of negative feelings, either self- or other-oriented.

20120706b_001_MT 29 [RPF]

[After a long and dangerous walk, two of the fugitive children make it back home to their family.]

(4) *Barra-h-kangu-yerrk-minj. Nah-no-burrng-kun bulu-burrng,*

3du-R-belly-release-PP mother-FILL-3sgPOSS-GEN father-3sgPOSS

feel.better

¹⁸⁰. This is the standard analysis for most body-parts used in linguistic descriptions of emotions. See for instance Goddard (2008) for English and Malay, Geeraerts & Gevaert (2008) for Old English.

Table 1. KANGU + X compounds. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. All compounds are lexicalized. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>kangu-berlh (?)</i>	?	<i>?be indulgent</i>
kangu-bak(mu)	break (v.i.)	forgive
kangu-barrhka	CRACK (v.t.)	surprise, cause to be emotionally shocked
kangu-barrh(mu)	(get) crack(ed) (v.i.)	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock
kangu-(ya)bola	sensitive (adj.) (slowly (adv.))	feel good, be calm, appeased (not angry), be nice
kangu-bruk	dry	socially self-confident, not scared in conflictual interactions
kangu-burrama	good, healthy (adj.)	be a nice person, feel good emotionally
kangu-dadj(mu)	be cut, end (v.i.)	lose temper, be very angry
kangu-damh(mu)	body-part be(come) blocked (v.i.)	be constipated/suffer emotionally (when losing someone)
kangu-darridj(mu)	shake in agony (v.i.)	be furious
kangu-darr(mu)	(?protrude (v.i.))	feel bad when worrying for someone (grief)
<i>kangu-di</i>	<i>stand/be (v.i.)</i>	<i>like, love</i>
kangu-dinjirrmu	HATE (v.i.)	have bad feelings, feel hostile
kangu-karndi	?	sense that something bad is going to happen
kangu-kerlk	soft (adj.)	be a nice person
kangu-kurduh(mu)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive/ (have blocked belly)
kangu-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel bad
kangu-mang	get (v.t.)	touch emotionally (cause to feel compassionate)
<i>kangu-marnburrun</i>	<i>make + REFL (v.refl.)</i>	<i>feel better</i>
kangu-marrka	shiver (v.i.)	feel nervous, scared
kangu-mon	good, fine (adj.)	feel emotionally fine, be well-disposed, be a nice person
kangu-muk(mu)	BE(COME) COVERED (v.i.)	feel vengeful, feel terrible e.g. because of dreadful news
kangu-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/ physically resistant
kangu-nan	see (v.t.)	appreciate someone
kangu-ngarrk-ni	<i>ngarrk(mu)</i> be in pain (v.i.)	suffer emotionally?with respect to someone
kangu-redji	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be pleased (and hide it)
kangu-run	cry/be desperate for (v.i.)	feel sad (often because of separation from someone)
kangu-weh-mun	bad + INCH (v.i.)	feel bad/unwell in the belly

Table 1. (continued)

Compound	Predicate	Sense
kangu-weh-no	bad (adj.)	be mean, nasty
kangu-wokarrun	talk + REFL (v.rfl.)	feel resentful (with respect to ongoing conflict)
kangu-wurdah(mu)	suffer emotionally (v.i.)	suffer emotionally because of affection for someone
kangu-wurlh(mu)	be (too) hot (body-part aches) (v.i.)	get angry/?have a burning belly
kangu-yalway(mu)	(get) refresh(ed) (v.i.)	stomach feel better/get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally
kangu-yerrk(mu)	slip/be released (v.i.)	get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally
kangu-yin	say, think/do (v.i.)	feel
kangu-YIRRU compounds	ANGER RELATED	ANGER RELATED, same sense as YIRRU compound (see Chapter 9)
<i>kangu-yolh-mon</i>	<i>feel good, be nice</i>	<i>feel good</i>
kangu-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	stomach feel better/ feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment
kangu-yowhmu	cause to flow (v.t.)	cause to feel (be?) good (better)
kangu-yowyow(mu)	flow:REDUP (v.i.)	feel good, be pleased, be nice and kind
<i>kangu-yurd(mu)</i>	<i>run, flow (v.i.)</i>	<i>?feel good</i>

1.3 Bridging somatic metonymies:

PHYSICAL STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE

Wierzbicka (1999, pp. 294–295) hypothesized that all languages use expressions involving bodily symptoms and sensations to denote emotional states.¹⁸¹ Kövecses (2002, p. 156) further explained that ‘many conceptual metaphors derive from conceptual metonymies’: ‘the metonymic vehicle becomes the source domain of metaphor through the process of generalization’. In other words, an expression denoting a physiological state regularly associated with an emotional state (for biological reasons) may come to denote this emotional state. The metonymy is rooted in bridging contexts (see for instance Evans & Wilkins, 2000, p. 549; Sweetser, 1990, p. 9) where someone experiences both the physical state in question and the related emotional state, and therefore verbal reference to the former may coincide with verbal reference to the latter. On the basis of this initial association, metaphors based on the bodily response in question

181. This prediction is certainly fulfilled in Dalabon.

and/or related body-parts may develop. The KANGU set operates in this way. It is rooted in ‘somatic metonymies’, which motivate further metonymies and metaphors.

As displayed in Table 2, the literal, compositional interpretation of some of the lexemes listed in Table 1 denotes a physiological state involving the belly. Sometimes, this literal physiological sense is also a possible meaning of the compound expression (in which case the physiological sense appears in the ‘sense’ column of the tables).¹⁸² For instance, *kangu-yord(mu)*, ‘belly’ + ‘clear way, body fluid be released’, was used both with an emotional sense ‘get rid of negative feelings’ (6) and with a physiological meaning ‘feel sated’ (7). The physiological meaning is not entirely literal, but since ‘release’ may easily extend conceptually to ‘ease’, the semantic correlation makes sense. With most compounds, the physiological sense is backgrounded: it is acceptable, but does not arise spontaneously.¹⁸³

20120706b_005_MT 175 [ContEI]

[Discussing the situation in a community where feuds had been taking place for more than a year, as reported on television.]

- (6) *Munguyh bala-h-dja-ngurrung-du-rru-n*,
always 3pl-R-FOC-NGURRUNG-scold-RR-PR
hate

bala-h-du-rru-n kanihdja
3pl-R-scold-RR-PR there

wadda-bulng-kah, yow mak bala-bangmu-kangu-yord-mu.
camp-3plPOSS-LOC INTJ.approb NEG 3pl-(not)yet-belly-clear/release-PR
feel.better

‘They still hate each other, they argue over there in their community, yeah, they haven’t reconciled yet [they don’t release their belly yet].’

20120707a_001_MT 003 [EI]

- (7) *Nga-h-lng-kakku-djare-do-nj*,
1sg-R-SEQ-really-like/want-die-PP
be.hungry

nga-h-djare manjh nga-h-dja-ngu-yan kunga-kangu-yord-mu.
3sg-R-like/want meat 1sg>3-R-SEQ-eat-FUT PURP:1sg-belly-clear/release-PR

‘I got really hungry, I want to eat some meat so that I feel sated [so that I clear my belly].’

182. Not all compounds have been tested for this in elicitation. It is possible that speakers accept physiological interpretation in some contexts for some compounds where this sense is not listed. The tables mention a physiological sense when it is attested in at least one occurrence.

183. Often, an equivalent NGUH ‘intestines’ is preferred to the KANGU compound in body descriptions: *kangu-damh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘body-part be(come) blocked’, ‘suffer emotionally’, but *nguh-damh(mu)* ‘intestines’ + ‘body-part is blocked’, ‘be constipated’.

Table 2. KANGU + X compounds attracting both emotional interpretations and physiological literal interpretations. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The compound in italics occurred only once. The categories or predicates highlighted in capitals in subtitle lines will be explained and discussed in the following sections.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
SPECIFIC PREDICATES RELATED TO RESISTANCE METAPHOR		
kangu-(ya)bola	sensitive (adj.) (slowly (adv.))	feel good, be calm, appeased (not angry), be nice
kangu-damh(mu)	body-part be(come) blocked (v.i.)	be constipated/suffer emotionally (when losing someone)
kangu-kurduh(mu)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive/ (have blocked belly)
kangu-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel bad
kangu-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/ physically resistant
kangu-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	stomach feel better/feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment
OTHER SPECIFIC PREDICATES		
kangu-ngarrk-?ni	<i>ngarrk(mu)</i> be in pain (v.i.)	suffer emotionally ?with respect to someone
kangu-wurlh(mu)	be (too) hot (body-part aches) (v.i.)	get angry/?have a burning belly
kangu-yalway(mu)	(get) refresh(ed) (v.i.)	stomach feel better/get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally
GENERIC PREDICATES		
kangu-burrama	good, healthy (adj.)	be a nice person, feel good emotionally
kangu-mon	good, fine (adj.)	feel emotionally fine, well-disposed, be a nice person
kangu-weh-mun	bad + INCH (v.i.)	feel bad/unwell in the belly
kangu-weh-no	bad (adj.)	be mean, nasty

Whether the physical sense is still active or whether it is backgrounded, the tropes motivating the semantic extension from the physical to the emotional denotation is a metonymy grounded in contiguity in experience – PHYSICAL STATE (OF THE BELLY) FOR EMOTIONAL STATE. The physical states in question often co-occur with the emotional states, which provides a bridging context: when one is well-fed and feels physically comfortable, one is more likely to feel good emotionally. The metonymy PHYSICAL STATES OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE is an instance of the more generic EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy.

Emotions can generate abdominal discomforts such as tensions etc. Conversely, discomfort of the belly (hunger or other) can cause emotional discomfort as well, even more so in the context of the Dalabon environment, where food, if not drastically

scarce, was not always readily available. In particular, access to food would have been inconsistent in terms of quantity and quality alike, triggering dietary irregularities – for instance, substantial but punctual protein intakes, and large quantities of relatively acidic raw berries. Carbohydrates and sugar were scarce and highly valued.¹⁸⁴ Such diets may cause daily abdominal discomforts, and it is easy to imagine how these discomforts, or even the threat of discomfort, could have become a source of anxiety.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, several of the compounds listed in Table 2 refer to the well-being of the belly (*kangu-yord(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘clear way, body fluid be released’) or to hunger (e.g. *kangu-burrama* ‘belly’ + ‘good, healthy’ could relate to satiety), or both.

A number of compounds listed in Table 2 have to do with blockage and release. Blockage of the belly correlates with negative emotions (*kangu-kurduh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘be blocked’, ‘feel anxious, nervous’), while release correlates with positive emotions (*kangu-yerrk(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘slip/be released’, ‘get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally’). The stress on blockage gives rise to a resistance metaphor described in 1.5.1. This metaphor is relatively productive, and appears to be a salient shared representation.

Rooted in this initial figure, further metonymies ramify, motivated by the particular forms and senses of the compounds displayed in Table 2. Physiological state of the belly metonymies suggest the mapping of further physical states of the belly onto emotional states (1.4.1), which altogether suggest a representation of the belly as the seat of emotions (1.4.2). In 1.4.3, I discuss a rare case where the belly is represented as the experiencer of emotions. Finally, 1.4.4 questions the relevance of these tropes to speakers.

184. Carbohydrates were limited to yams (e.g. *Dioscorea bulbifera*) and cycad roots (*Cycas armstrongii*). When eaten raw, some yams are very bitter, and cycad is said to be poisonous, so that these vegetables could only be ingested after thorough soaking and other preparations. Large amounts of sugar were provided solely by native bees and their very tasty honey. Even today, finding a nest of native bees is a source of considerable excitement for Dalabon people. The importance of yams and native bees in the mythology confirms their central importance in pre-colonial daily life.

185. Among the Kayardild, constipation is feared as a death threat (Evans pers. com. May 2013). On the other hand, Peile (1997, p. 85) observes that due to the Kukatja dietary habits, one would expect digestive difficulties, but explains that Kukatja people experience less problems in this respect than may be expected. He mentions traditional healing songs designed to help with digestion.

1.4 Other metonymies: BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS

1.4.1 BELLY FOR SEAT OF PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO EMOTIONS

The compounds listed in Table 3 take a verb or adjective describing a physical response to some physical or emotional condition as their predicate component. The resulting compounds denote emotions only – not physical aspects of the person.

20120705b_006_MT 87 [RPF]

[About the Chief Protector showing signs of anxiety as he cannot find the children who have ran away from his compound (note that he does not visibly shake).]

- (8) *Ka-h-kangu-marrka*, *men-no* *ka-h-yin*
 3sg-R-belly-shake:PR ideas-3sgPOSS 3sg-R-say/do:PR
 feel.nervous

kardu djehneng madme-djam bala-h-do-n wah-djam.
 maybe as.if hunger-ASSOC 3sg-R-die-PR water-ASSOC

‘He’s nervous [he’s shaking from the belly], he thinks in his mind that they might have died of hunger or thirst.’

Table 3. KANGU + X compounds with physical states/responses predicates. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
OUTPUT EMOTION SPECIFIED BY PREDICATE COMPONENT		
<i>kangu-marrka</i>	shiver (v.i.)	feel nervous, scared
<i>kangu-redji</i>	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be pleased (and hide it)
<i>kangu-run</i>	cry/be desperate for (v.i.)	feel sad (often because of separation from someone)
OUTPUT EMOTION UNDER-SPECIFIED BY PREDICATE COMPONENT		
<i>kangu-bruk</i>	dry (adj.)	socially self-confident, not scared in conflictual interactions
<i>kangu-darridj(mu)</i>	shake in agony (v.i.)	be furious
<i>kangu-wurlh(mu)</i>	be (too) hot (body-part aches) (v.i.)	get angry/?have a burning belly

These compounds combine the metonymy BELLY FOR SEAT OF PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO EMOTIONS, where the belly is represented as the part of the person affected by emotions, with the metonymies UNPLEASANT PHYSICAL STATES FOR NEGATIVE EMOTIONS and PLEASANT PHYSICAL STATES FOR POSITIVE EMOTIONS. These compounds suggest a blended mental space (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002; Kövecses, 2005, p. 7) where the belly undergoes the physical responses (or properties) experienced by the

person, responses which, transposed to the belly, are mapped to the corresponding emotions. This is in line with the PHYSICAL STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE metonymy, and suggests representations of the belly as the organ or seat of emotional states.

The predicates *marrka* ‘shake’, *redji* ‘smile, laugh’, *run* ‘cry’¹⁸⁶ often refer to emotional responses: one may shake from fear for instance, and one normally laughs because of being amused. However, the emotional cause is not part of the lexical sense of these predicates, since they may be used to describe physical reactions independent of any emotion, for instance shaking from cold, laughing when being tickled. Nevertheless, these frequent physical-response/emotion correlations do motivate the meanings of the corresponding KANGU compounds. Therefore, these compounds instantiate a metonymy BELLY FOR SEAT OF PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO EMOTIONS, along with a metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSES FOR EMOTIONAL STATES (EFFECT FOR CAUSE). They remain entirely metonymic. Thus *kangu-marrka* means ‘feel nervous, scared’, relating to fear, which can cause shaking; *kangu-run*, literally ‘cry from the belly’, means ‘feel sad (often because of separation)’.

20120707b_000_MT 459 [ConvEl]

[Discussing semi-recent losses within her family.]

(9) *Kanjhwoh-njunj...*

grand.child-1du.inclPOSS

Bulu-kun nga-h-marnu-kangu-ru-ninj,

3pl-GEN 1sg>3-R-BEN-belly-cry-PI

bulu nga-h-marnu-ruru-ninj.

3pl 1sg>3-R-BEN-CRY:REDUP-PI

Rangum-burrkunh-ko.

male-two-DYAD

‘Our grand-children (of you and me). I was very sad about them, I was sad for a long time for them. The two boys.’

Kangu-redji ‘belly’ + ‘smile, laugh’ means ‘be pleased’, where contentment is often associated with smiling. Here the emotional value of *kangu-redji* is often contrasted with the behavioral dimension, with the idea that what is emotional is hidden, and may contrast with behavior. Thus, as exemplified in (3) (repeated below from 1.1), *kangu-redji* ‘belly’ + ‘smile, laugh’, ‘be pleased’ is often used to describe someone who is *secretly* pleased (this point is further discussed in 1.6, and in Chapter 10, 2.4).

186. *Kangu-run* ‘belly’ + ‘cry/be desperate for’, given its meaning, ‘feel sad (because of separation)’, seems to be based upon the physical sense ‘cry’ rather than ‘be desperate for’, which applies in a more specific range of contexts, associated with begging or seeking something desperately.

20120710a_001_MT 161 [RPF]

[The tracker hired to chase the fugitive children has lost their track; he's secretly happy about this, as betrayed by his discreet smile.]

- (3) *Ka-h-lng-kangu-redji*.
 3sg-R-SEQ-belly-laugh:PR
 be.pleased
 'He's secretly pleased.'

Three of the predicates in Table 3 (*bruk* 'dry', *darridj(mu)* 'shake in agony', *wurlh(mu)* 'be (too) hot (body-part aches)') are not regular emotional responses, but physical responses not associated with any particular emotion. As a result, the sense of the compound cannot be predicted solely from the sense of the predicate, and another metaphor operates to specify it. The resulting compound thus combines a metonymic dimension (STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE OF THE PERSON) and a metaphoric dimension.

With *kangu-bruk* 'belly' + 'dry', 'socially self-confident', the additional metaphor is DRYNESS OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STABILITY. As developed in Chapter 9 (Section 3) and Chapter 10 (1.4), *kangu-bruk* belongs to a set of [noun + *bruk*] compounds where the metaphor EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS LIKE DRYNESS is at play. There is no evidence, however, that speakers endorse such a conceptual metaphor. Instead, there exists in Dalabon a FLUIDITY OF THE BELLY metaphor (1.5.1) where emotional composure maps to fluidity rather than dryness.

Darridj(mu) 'shake in agony', *wurlh(mu)* 'be (too) hot (body-part aches)' describe unpleasant physical states, and the corresponding KANGU compounds likewise denote unpleasant emotions. The exact nature of the emotion denoted by the compound is specified via the metaphors ANGER IS LIKE A LETHAL STATE (EXTREME ANGER IS LIKE AGONY¹⁸⁷), ANGER IS LIKE PAIN and ANGER IS LIKE HEAT, a quasi-universal metaphor (Kövecses, 2005, pp. 39–42) (see Chapter 9).

1.4.2 BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS

1.4.2.1 *Generic predicate components* As shown by the headings in Table 2 of 1.3, the literal sense of some compounds related to states of the belly denotes a relatively specific physiological process (e.g. *kangu-yord(mu)* 'belly' + 'clear way, body-part fluid be released', 'feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment'), while others use a relatively generic predicate: *kangu-burrama* 'belly' + 'good, healthy', 'be nice, feel good emotionally'. Unlike the other predicate components in Table 2, these generic predicates may also apply to the whole person (with no specification of part), in which case they yield a similar sense as the KANGU compound, as in (10):

187. Athanasiadou (1998) indicates that in Modern Greek *ayonia* 'agony' relates to fear. In Dalabon, *darridj(mu)* 'shake in agony' relates to anger.

20110523a_000_MT 014 [El]

- (10) *Wulkun-ngu ka-h-burrama mak dja-du-ng,*
 brother-2sgPOSS 3sg-R-good NEG 3sg>2sg-scold-PR
ka-h-kangu-burrama.
 3sg-R-belly-good
 be.nice

'Your brother is good, he doesn't scold you, he is a good person [he' good-bellied].'

'*Kah-kangu-burrama*' may be interpreted as a noun incorporation construction where, under standard syntactic rules, KANGU restricts the domain of application of the predicate. The literal sense of the clause '*kah-kangu-burrama*', 'he is/feels good in the stomach',¹⁸⁸ and the sense of '*kah-burrama*', 'he is/feels good', are relatively different. However, the lexicalized sense of '*kah-kangu-burrama*' ('he is/feels emotionally good') is much closer to the sense of '*kah-burrama*' ('he is/feels good'). The main difference is that the sense of '*kah-burrama*' may be emotional or otherwise ('be healthy'), while '*kangu-burrama*' must be emotional. Thus KANGU contributes to impose an emotional reading.

This may be analyzed in various ways. In the 'generic predicate' compounds of Table 2, as in other compounds presented above in 1.4.1 and below in the rest of 1.4.2, KANGU can be interpreted as simply sanctioning the emotional dimension of the predicate – i.e. meaning something like 'emotionally'. This interpretation will be further discussed in Chapter 10 (2.4). On the other hand, in *kangu-burrama* 'belly' + 'good, healthy', 'be nice, feel good emotionally', KANGU may be interpreted as denoting the aspect of the person involved in emotional states, i.e. the emotions themselves – which yields a metonymy: BELLY FOR THE PERSONS' EMOTIONS (this will be further discussed in 3.1). Finally, *kangu-burrama* also represents the belly as the physical part of the person who experiences emotions, thereby instantiating a BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymy (the seat of emotions is not the same as the person's emotions). Note that the belly is usually not treated as the experiencer itself, since the subject of the verb remains the person: 'I feel good' is *ngah-kangu-burrama*, 'I'm good-bellied', not 'my belly is good'. BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymies are at play in further KANGU compounds, as described above and below.

1.4.2.2 Emotional predicate components Table 4 lists metonymic compounds where the predicate component already denotes an emotion in its own right. With *kangu-dinjirrmu* 'feel hostile', the first component is obligatory: **dinjirrmu* is not a verb of itself. Yet, several lexemes based on the root *njirr(h)(k)* endorse related emotional

188. Both *kangu-burrama* and *burrama* allow for a self-oriented ('feels good') as well as an other-oriented ('is good (to)') reading, and the literal renderings here account for both possibilities.

meanings, so that it is reasonable to assume that in *kangu-dinjirrmu*, DINJIRRMU already conveys an emotional component.¹⁸⁹

Table 4. KANGU + X compounds with emotional predicates. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The compound in italics occurred only once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>kangu-dinjirrmu</i>	HATE (v.i.)	have bad feelings, feel hostile
<i>kangu-wurdah(mu)</i>	suffer emotionally (v.i.)	suffer emotionally because of affection for someone
<i>kangu-yolh-mon</i>	<i>feel good, be nice</i>	<i>feel good</i>

With *kangu-wurdah(mu)*, KANGU is optional, and seems to make no semantic contribution other than a confirmation of the emotional nature of the event described. Indeed, *wurdah(mu)* and *kangu-wurdah(mu)* both mean ‘suffer emotionally’. *Kangu-wurdah(mu)* is nearly as frequent as *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer’ alone, and they are found in similar contexts. Speakers translate them identically. Turpin (2002, p. 285) reports that in Kaytetye, *aleme* ‘belly/liver’ is optional in some emotional constructions, and if present, intensifies the emotional dimension.¹⁹⁰ In Dalabon, there is no indication that the addition of KANGU denotes intensity. When I presented a speaker with a portrait of myself putting a sad face, and simultaneously with another portrait of myself crying desperately, the speaker expressed no preference for describing the former with *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’ alone, and the latter with *kangu-wurdah(mu)*. Instead, she used *kangu-wurdah(mu)* to describe both portraits, independent of the visible intensity of my despair. Conformingly, *wurdah(mu)* alone regularly applies to most intense suffering, typically losing someone. In (11) MT tells a tragic story where someone died in a car accident. The very intense suffering is described with *wurdah(mu)*.

20110529_003_MT 142 [Narr]

[After someone they lived and worked with killed himself in a car accident.]

- (11) *Mak yala-lng-ni-ngi, yila-h-wadda-bawo-ng,*
 NEG 1pl.excl-SEQ-sit/be-IRR 1pl.excl>3-R-camp-leave-PP
yala-h-kodj-dadj-minj dumadji yala-h-wurdah-minj.
 1pl.excl-R-head-end-PP because 1pl.excl-R-suffer-PP
 become.upset

‘We didn’t stay, we left the place, we left upset, because we were grieving.’

189. *Njirrk(mu)* ‘be upset, be resentful/confused’, *njirrhmiwon* (*njirrk* + NMNLZR + CSTVZR) ‘hate someone’. Cf. Bininj Gun-wok *kun-njirrke* ‘charcoal, black’, and ‘hatred’ (Evans, 2003; Garde, n.d.); see also Ponsonnet (2011b).

190. Huang (2002, p. 178) reports a similar intensification function with body prefixes in Tsou (Austronesian, Taiwan).

With the *wurdah(mu)/kangu-wurdah(mu)* pair, no decisive example clearly highlights the contribution of KANGU. However, further pairs of this type, considered in Chapter 10 (1.5 in particular), indicate that the contribution of KANGU consists of ‘flagging’ predicates as emotional – which is redundant with *wurdah(mu)* ‘suffer emotionally’ (thus making the contribution of KANGU hard to pin down).

It will be argued in Chapter 10 (2.4) that in such compounds, KANGU may be interpreted as simply meaning ‘emotionally’. In terms of tropes, these compounds instantiate the metonymy BELLY AS SEAT OF EMOTION, since a literal interpretation of ‘*yalah-kangu-wurdahminj*’ would read ‘we were deeply affected in our bellies’, with KANGU interpreted as an incorporated body-part specifying the domain of application of the emotional predicate. This use of KANGU explains that some emotional predicates may carry two body-parts or emotion-related words, as in *kangu-yolh-mon* ‘belly’ + ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good’, where KANGU is added to a readily emotional compound predicate with an incorporated abstract attribute of the person. Doubling of body-parts as such was not encountered in Dalabon but is reported by Gaby (2008, p. 37) for Kuuk Thaayorre (the belly of the chest), and by Waddy (n.d.) for Enindhilyakwa.

1.4.2.3 *What happens to your belly?* Matching the BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymy, we find a more generic BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL ASPECT OF THE PERSON metonymy, instantiated by the compound *kangu-yin* ‘belly’ + ‘say, think/do’. *Yin* does not denote emotional responses, but simply behaviors in general, and may be used in questions: ‘*marruh mah djah-yin?*’, ‘what/how are you doing?’. *Kangu-yin* is also very generic and used mainly in questions, as in (12). Since in compounds such as *kangu-marrka* ‘feel nervous, scared’, literally ‘shiver from the belly’, what happens to the belly tells us about someone’s emotions, it seems natural to ask what the belly does when enquiring about someone’s emotions. This compound was not used spontaneously by Dalabon speakers, but when I used it to ask questions, MT repeated it with no hesitations.

20120706a_005_MT 010 [Stim]

[Describing Ekman faces.]

- (12) *Kardu marruh ka-h-kangu-yin,*
 maybe INTERR 3sg-R-belly-say/do:PR
 feel

kardu ka-h-yirru-ngal-minj.
 maybe 3sg-R-conflict/anger-appear-PP
 be(come).angry

‘What could he feel like [what could his belly do/what could he do from the belly], he’s angry maybe [his anger appeared/he anger-appeared].’

1.4.3 BELLY FOR EXPERIENCER OF EMOTIONS

In general, the subject of emotional predicates remains the person (or the animal) experiencing the emotion. This experiencer is thus encoded as the first argument of emotional verbs denoting a state (and as the second argument of causative verbs), and the belly is encoded as a part of the person. This conforms to the morphosyntactic

constraints bearing upon body-part nouns: they normally raise their possessor to the function of argument, and are encoded as part of this argument, not the whole argument (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2.4).

When a body-part noun is incorporated, possessor raising is systematic. When, much more rarely, the body-part noun is not incorporated, it can sometimes (again, rarely) not raise its possessor. Some KANGU compounds are sometimes ‘broken down’ so that *kangu-no* is expressed externally.¹⁹¹ The possessor is normally raised as in (13), but in just one occasion, in (14), it wasn’t: the verb *run* ‘cry’ takes an intransitive third person singular prefix *ka-*, cross-referencing ‘our belly’ (not a first plural for the possessor). In this case, the metaphor/metonymy BELLY FOR EXPERIENCER OF EMOTIONS applies. However, this remained exceptional, as the belly was normally encoded as a part of the experiencer, not the argument itself.

20120718b_MT_000 49 [E1]

[Commenting on my feelings when I returned to Paris, where my husband lived.]

- (13) *Da-h-Ing-marnu-kangu-yowyow-mu.*

2sg>3-R-BEN-belly-flow:REDUP-PR

feel.good

Kurdu nga-h-dudj-miyan biyi-ngan-kah,

INTJ.excl. 1sg-R-return-FUT man-1sgPOSS-LOC

dja-h-yin kangu-ngu.

2sg-R-say/do:PR belly-2sgPOSS

‘You’ll be pleased thanks to him [you will flow from your belly for him]. Ah, I’ll go back to my husband, you’re thinking for yourself [your think from your belly].’

20120707a_001_MT 040 [E1]

[If a child passes away.]

- (14) *Nunh ngorr bula-h-ru-ngabbu-n,*¹⁹²

DEM 1pl.incl 3sg>1-R-tears-give-PR

ngarra-h-dja-Ing-kakku-wurdah-mu ngarra-h-ru-n,

1pl.incl-R-FOC-SEQ-really-suffer-PR 1pl.incl-R-cry-PR

kangu-ngokorrng ka-h-ru-n.

belly-1pl.inclPOSS 3sg-R-cry-PR

‘We cry for him then [he gives us (our) tears], we’re really desperate and we cry, we cry in our hearts [our bellies cry].’

191. KANGU was often externalized from the verb *yin* ‘say, think/do’, breaking down the compound *kangu-yin* ‘feel’. This is possibly encouraged by the fact that a structurally equivalent compound with MEN ‘ideas, mind’, *men-yin* ‘reckon’, is often realized with an external noun: *ngah-men-yin* or *ngah-yin men-ngan*, literally ‘I reckon my mind’. The argument mapping is the same, with the possessor of MEN ‘ideas, mind’ raised in both cases.

192. The third person plural is routinely found in non-referential use.

1.4.4 *Relevance to speakers*

The fact that speakers can sometimes externalize the noun *kangu-no*, as in (13) and (14) above, shows that they analyze these compounds and identify their components as units of sense. In addition, speakers often reflect the BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymy in Kriol translations (3), albeit with a heart trope, consistent with the fact that KANGU is normally translated as *at* (<Eng. ‘heart’) in Barunga Kriol (1.1).

20120710a_001_MT 161 [RPF]

[The tracker hired to chase the fugitive children has lost their track; he’s secretly happy about this, as betrayed by his discreet smile.]

(3) *Ka-h-Ing-kangu-redji.*

3sg-R-SEQ-belly-laugh:PR
be.pleased

‘He’s secretly pleased [he laughs from the belly].’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Insaïd la im at imin smail.’

‘Inside his heart, he smiled.’

1.5 State of the belly metaphors

Section 1.4 described how further metonymies ramify from the bridging somatic metonymy PHYSICAL STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE. Rooted into the association of digestive states of the belly, further associations develop, linking various physical states or reactions of the belly with emotions. As discussed in 1.3, physical states of the belly participate in a motivating trope for a number of compounds of the KANGU set presented in Table 1 (1.2). In addition, further compounds are motivated by combinations of the STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE metonymy with several metaphors, involving representations of resistance, movement, physical integrity, and proximity. These are presented in turn in the following sections. The resistance metaphor is presented first because it is by far the most frequent and productive, as well as the most salient culturally and conceptually. Again, I consider how metaphors can be made sense of in synchrony, and do not intend the following account as an accurate historical account – although it probably suggests some paths of historical development.

1.5.1 *Resistance metaphors: Blockage, softness, fluidity, movement*

Table 5 lists compounds which, interpreted literally, describe a physical state of the belly related to resistance or absence of resistance.¹⁹³ These compounds evoke blockage, release, malleability and softness. Some of them, repeated from Table 2 in 1.3, suggest

193. It is not uncommon for emotion metaphors to involve resistance, for instance in Tunisian Arabic (Maalej, 2008, p. 414), in English Niemier (2000, p. 201), also in French (*avoir le cœur dur*, ‘have a hard heart’, for ‘be emotionally insensitive’).

Table 5. KANGU + X compound instantiating a resistance metaphor.
 All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.
 The compound in *italics* occurred only once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
METONYMIC BASIS: PLAUSIBLE STATES OF THE BELLY		
kangu-damh(mu)	body-part be(come) blocked (v.i.)	be constipated/suffer emotionally (when losing someone)
kangu-kurduh(mu)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive / (have blocked belly)
kangu-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel bad
kangu-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful / physically resistant
kangu-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	stomach feel better/feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment
METAPHORICAL BASIS: LESS/NOT PLAUSIBLE STATES OF THE BELLY		
kangu-bak(mu)	break (v.i.)	forgive
kangu-kerlk	soft (adj.)	be a nice person
kangu-yerrk(mu)	slip/be released (v.i.)	get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally
kangu-yowhmu	cause to flow (v.t.)	cause to feel (be?) good (better)
kangu-yowyow(mu)	flow:REDUP (v.i.)	feel good, be pleased, be nice and kind
<i>kangu-yurd(mu)</i>	<i>run, flow (v.i.)</i>	<i>?feel good</i>

a plausible physiological (digestive) state where the belly is blocked, and thus pertain to the somatic metonymy PHYSICAL STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE. Presumably inspired by these lexemes and their emotional interpretations, further KANGU compounds describe physical states of the belly which are less plausible physiological states, but describe the belly as not blocked, or more or less resistant, where RESISTANCE IS BAD and ABSENCE OF RESISTANCE IS GOOD.¹⁹⁴ Such compounds remain partly metonymic to the extent that they represent emotions – which are states of the person – as states of the belly, which are also states of the person. The tropes remain within the same domain, and are thus metonymic (Chapter 7, 5.1). However, the metaphorical dimension of the compounds presented in this section is also clearer than with the compounds discussed earlier.

Compounds that literally describe the belly as resistant can be said to rely exclusively upon metonymies, because they all match plausible physiological states, or at least proprioceptions.¹⁹⁵ In contrast, compounds that literally describe the belly as not resistant are less plausible physiological states – for instance *kangu-bak(mu)* ‘forgive’,

194. Turpin (2002, p. 288) reports a comparable metaphor in Kaytetye, where the belly is described as a stone in an expression denoting emotional concern.

195. That is, the perception of internal organs.

literally ‘belly breaks’. These compounds are thus better qualified as metaphorical. Note that these compounds did not necessarily arise from an occurrence in a bridging context, since they do not denote a plausible physical state which would channel a semantic extension of an existing word. Rather, it seems more likely that these compounds result from the creativity of speakers, who apply conceptual metaphors suggested by metonymical compounds to create further lexemes.

The case of *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’, literally ‘belly flows’ (as well as its much rarer causative counterpart *kangu-yowhmu* ‘belly’ + ‘cause to flow’, ‘cause to be/feel good’) and *kangu-yurd(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘run, flow’, ‘feel good’, is slightly different, as it describes the belly as fluid – a property which cannot plausibly apply to the belly, which is a solid part of the person. In the following paragraphs I will discuss *kangu-yowyow(mu)* as a priority because it is far more frequent than *kangu-yurd(mu)*, but the argument applies to both. Fluidity can be seen as the reverse of blockage (a blocked fluid flows when it gets through), and this is why I have listed these compounds among the RESISTANCE compounds. Yet, the idea of a blockage in itself does not imply that a fluid is involved. Rather, fluidity corresponds to the absolute lack of resistance, extreme malleability, or, as Sullivan & Sweetser (2009) put it, the property of the ‘paragon’ of emotionally positive states. These compounds introduce a fluidity metaphor, namely EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING IS LIKE FLUIDITY OF THE BELLY, as an extension of the resistance metaphors described above.¹⁹⁶

196. In addition, *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP, ‘be pleased, be nice’ may suggest another metaphor. Combined with a BELLY FOR THE PERSON’S EMOTIONS metaphor (brought about by compounds like *kangu-burrama* ‘belly’ + ‘good, healthy’, see 1.4.2.3), it yields a metaphor EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FLUIDS (*‘kah-kangu-yowyowmu’* would then read literally as ‘her emotions flow’, for ‘she feels good’). This metaphor sounds natural to speakers of English, because English does make broad use of EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS metaphors (Kövecses, 1991, pp. 33–36; Omori, 2008). In English, this metaphor implies the more generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE THINGS. However, the Kriol translation of/comment on the intended metaphor below, where the person’s temper is compared to floodwater, suggests that the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE THINGS is not endorsed. Indeed, the emotion, *filin*, is possessed (*bla im*), and thus construed as a possession or part of the person, rather than a thing independent of the person.

30033b/2008 – 3’ (MT) [Sc]

[Describing the effect of a ritual performed on infants, see 1.5.4.]

Bulu ka-h-na-n biyi kirdikird bul-ka-h-marnu-kangu-yowyow.

3pl 3sg>3-R-see-PR men women 3pl-3sg>3-R-BEN-belly-flow:REDUP:PR
feel.good

Djehneng ka-h-yin radj djarr.

as.if 3sg-R-say/do:PR flood.water

‘She sees people, she’s kind to them [she flows from the belly for them]. Just like floodwater.’
MT’s Kriol translation/comment:

‘Laiki woda im jis ran laiki blodwoda. Dat lil *filin bla im*, yeah im sol.’

‘Like floodwater, it flows like floodwater. Her little feelings/will, yes, her soul/will’.

djila-h-yinmi-wo-ng-kuno.

3pl>2sg-R-SPEECH-CSTVZR-PP-TIME

'You felt grief, you got a shock too [you cracked from the belly], when they told you.'

While *kangu-weh-no/mun* 'belly' + 'bad' may describe literal states of the belly (a sick belly), the literal interpretation of other compounds in Table 6 do not match plausible states of the belly, and this is why they are better characterized as metaphoric. However, they preserve a metonymic element, since they map states of the person to states of the person (i.e. an intra-domain trope).¹⁹⁸

1.5.3 Accessibility metaphor

There exist a few compounds, listed in Table 7, instantiating an accessibility metaphor. Accessibility mainly targets interpersonal relationships, via the EMOTIONAL CONCORD IS LIKE ACCESSIBILITY OF BELLIES metaphor. The accessibility can be physical (get, grasp, i.e. touch) or perceptual (see). This metaphor entails that someone with a covered (and thus inaccessible) belly is someone who feels resentful (*kangu-muk(mu)* 'belly' + 'BE/GET COVERED', 'feel vengeful, feel terrible'), and someone who sees your belly is someone who likes you (*kangu-nan* 'belly' + 'see', 'appreciate someone') (16).



Figure 2. Picture used in elicitation. To the right, the author.

198. A compound like *kangu-barrh(mu)* 'belly' + 'crack', literally 'cracked belly', may look like it instantiates a resistance metaphor. The lexical sense of this compound, however, 'be surprised, undergo an emotional shock', does not match the RESISTANCE metaphor. To crack is to cease to resist, and since RESISTANCE IS BAD, *kangu-barrh(mu)* should denote positive emotions, just like *kangu-bak(mu)* 'belly' + 'break', 'forgive' (1.5.1). While the destruction and the resistance metaphor seem closely connected as for their source (an object loses its physical integrity when it ceases to resist), they command very different mappings.

20120714b_005_MT 078 [Stim]

[It was suggested that although they laugh together, the women on Figure 2 does not like the man.]

- (16) *Kardu buyirrhwalung*
 maybe inside
mak buka-kangu-na-n.
 NEG 3sg>3sg.h-belly-see-PR
 appreciate

‘Deep inside her she doesn’t like him [she doesn’t see (him) his belly].’

This metaphor feels intuitively natural because English (like French) has a relatively similar metaphor, described by Kövecses (2000, pp. 192–193) as EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP IS CLOSENESS. There is no obvious motivation to this metaphor within the KANGU set. It may be inspired by an analogy with a more widespread metaphor for knowledge and intellection, whereby the head is depicted as a container of knowledge, resulting in FORGETTING IS LIKE HAVING AN INACCESSIBLE HEAD (Ponsonnet, 2009a, p. 21). *Kodj-muk(mu)* ‘head’ + ‘cover’, ‘forget’ is a common compound (more common than *kangu-muk(mu)* ‘feel vengeful, feel terrible’). This intellect metaphor seems relatively salient. On the other hand, Blakeman (2014) reports a culturally salient inaccessibility metaphor for emotions in Yolngu Matha (north-eastern Arnhem Land, close to Dalabon country), so this may also be an autonomous trope.

Table 7. KANGU + X compounds instantiating an accessibility metaphor.
 All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>kangu-mang</i>	get (v.t.)	touch (cause to feel compassionate)
<i>kangu-muk(mu)</i>	BE/GET COVERED (v.i.)	feel vengeful, feel terrible e.g. because of dreadful news
<i>kangu-nan</i>	see (v.t.)	appreciate someone

In a couple of occurrences, *kangu-no* was external to the verb, as an object of the predicate *nan* ‘see’, with the sense ‘understand someone’s emotions’ as in (1.5.3),¹⁹⁹ yielding a free accessibility metaphor: UNDERSTANDING SOMEONE’S EMOTIONS IS LIKE SEEING SOMEONE’S BELLY.

199. *Kangu-nan* ‘belly’ + ‘see’, ‘appreciate’, evokes the familiar trope PHYSICAL ACCESS FOR INTELLECTION, i.e. ‘understand someone’. However, the actual sense, ‘appreciate someone’, adds an ACCESSIBILITY IS GOOD metaphor. When *kangu-nan* was suggested in contexts where it would have endorsed the sense ‘understand what one feels’, *yolh-nan* ‘feelings’ + ‘see’ was used instead.

20120705a_002_MT 051 [ContEl]

[About insincere apologies.]

- (17) *Ka-h-dja-marnu-yenjdju-ngiyan men-kun*
 3sg>1-R-SEQ-BEN-talk-FUT ideas-GEN

bah mak kangu-ngan yirrhwalung ka-na-ng kahke.

but NEG belly-1sgPOSS inside 3sg>1-see-PP²⁰⁰ NEG

‘She talked to me in self-interest only, but deeply she doesn’t understand me [she doesn’t see (me?) inside, my belly].’

1.5.4 *Relevance to speakers*

While none of the metaphors above are very productive, the resistance metaphor is more so than others (five compounds including instances of the fluidity metaphor, ten if we include compounds denoting physiological resistance of the belly). The resistance metaphor accounts for several of the most frequent compounds: *kangu-murduk* ‘emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/physically resistant’ and *kangu-yerrk(mu)* ‘feel better emotionally, get rid of resentment’ are common, and *kangu-yowyow(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘flow’:REDUP is frequent. Furthermore, the resistance metaphor seems particularly vivid in speakers’ representations of emotions, as evidenced below by Kriol translations, gestures, and even cultural practices such as rituals.

Kriol provides evidence for the vivacity of substrate figures in two ways: calques, and direct translations. Calques do not provide evidence about conceptual metaphors associated with Dalabon in particular, but more generally about conceptual metaphors present in any of the substrates of Kriol. In many cases, calques are more likely to originate in other substrate languages.²⁰¹ What calques do demonstrate is that some speakers were aware of the compositionality of their lexemes at the time when the Kriol calques came into use. There are a few Kriol calques matching Dalabon metaphors. For instance, *atkrek* ‘get a fright’ (<Eng. ‘heart’ + ‘crack’) matches *kangu-barrh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘crack’, ‘get a fright’ (as pointed out in 1.1, KANGU is regularly translated as *at* ‘heart’ in Kriol), instantiating a destruction metaphor.

Literal translations and comments in Kriol reproducing Dalabon tropes constitute better evidence of the cognitive salience of these tropes in synchrony. The translations

200. Here the person prefix is ambiguous between third and first person object, and unfortunately I have no disambiguating example.

201. For instance Jawoyn is a more likely source for *at* ‘heart’ compounds, since it uses *ngudu* [ɲudu] ‘heart’ in a number of emotional compounds (especially where the compound does not have a perfect English equivalent, e.g. *atkrek* (<Eng. ‘heart crack’) ‘have an emotional shock’). Some calques may also originate in languages from other regions or be borrowed from other Kriol varieties. Some Kriol calques resemble Dalabon compounds with respect to lexical composition but do not match them entirely with respect to sense (e.g. *dje-bruh(mu)* ‘nose/nos-tril/face’ + ‘blow (SWELL)’, ‘be sulky, be sad/put on a dark face’ and *shwelopnos* <Eng. ‘swell up’ + ‘nose/face’, ‘be sulky, angry’).

matching KANGU metaphors are less common than translations matching KANGU metonymies (1.4.4). However, resistance metaphors as well as other KANGU metaphors do surface in Kriol comments and translations, usually using *at* ‘heart’ for KANGU (resistance in (18), accessibility in (19), in the translation).

20110521a_002_MT 100 [ContEl]

[Translating a scenario first explained in Dalabon.]

- (18) *Brom im asbin imin argyim*
 from 3sgPOSS husband PST argue.TR
en im matha bin sei
 and 3sgPOSS mother PST say
not gedewei from yu asbin,
 NEG get.away from 3sgPOSS husband
yu habtu stei deya garram im,
 2sg have.to stay there with 3sg
dadsdewei im nomo tu gud na
 that's.why 3sg NEG too good now
im jis blok dat at bla im.
 3sg just block DET heart GEN 3sg

‘Because her husband scolded her, and her mother said not to leave her husband, ‘you have to stay there with him’ [she said], that’s why she doesn’t feel good now, her heart is really blocked (she’s anxious).’

20120714a_003_MT 160 [ContEl]

- (19) *Kanh murlah-ngu ka-ye-do-nj-kuno dja-h-kangu-muk-minj.*
 DEM mother's.sister-2sgPOSS 3sg-SUB-die-PP-TIME 2sg-R-belly-cover-PP
 feel.terrible

‘When your aunt died, you got terribly upset [you got belly-covered].’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Jis lilbit shat dat hat bla yu.’

In addition, as mentioned in 1.5.1 and in Chapter 7 (3.1), metaphors of fluidity are used independently of lexicalized compounds (20). This is remarkable since intended metaphors are not particularly common in Dalabon. However, while not embedded in a lexicalized compound, the floodwater metaphor used in (20) is very conventional (i.e., it is less ‘indented’).

240909_81OK 552 (MT) [Com]

[Commenting on her own account of a ritual performed on young infants, see below.]

- (20) *Ka-h-kangu-yowyow-mu, balkka-wanjkih.*
 3sg-R-belly-flow:REDUP-PR floodwater-like
 feel.good

‘She’s happy [she flows from the belly], like floodwater.’

Another very interesting piece of evidence of speakers' awareness of KANGU metaphors, and in particular the resistance (blockage) metaphor, is gestures. Performing the Family Problems Picture Task (Carroll, Evans, & Hoenigman, 2009; San Roque et al., 2012),²⁰² MT commented on a participant's emotional redemption, when he turns to God in order to sort out his alcohol-related family issues. MT accompanied her statements (21) with very explicit gestures involving her belly, as illustrated in Figure 3. MT's gestures indicate that she endorses some of the belly metaphors as appropriate means to communicate about emotions, and that she has therefore adopted the conceptual metaphor *BLOCKED BELLY IS LIKE NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL STATE*.

DAL_2012_06_13_05_SC_VID – 4'50" (MT) [Stim]

- (21) [photos a, b]
Bulu-ngokorrng nga-h-djaw-iyān,
 father-1pl.inclPOSS 1sg>3-R-ask-FUT
 [photos c, d, e, f]
nga-h-lng-kangu-yurd-miyan,
 1sg-R-SEQ-belly-run-FUT
 feel.good
 [photo g]
mak nga-woh-kangu-dinjirr-miyan.
 NEG 1sg-a.bit-belly-HATE-FUT
 'I'll ask God, and I'll feel good then [I will flow from the belly, I will belly-run],
 I won't be mean again [I won't have bad feelings from the belly].'

Finally, the cultural salience of the resistance metaphor is such that it correlates with a secular Dalabon ritual performed on infants of crawling age until recent years. This ritual used to ensure that infants developed a nice, open, emotionally stable personality.²⁰³ The infant was taken to a sandy river bank. Their belly was massaged with sand and/or they were dragged in the sand near the river, on their belly, leaving a mark along the bank. Later on, as the waters rose with monsoon rains, the river covered the bank, and the marks in the sand were flushed with the flow. Example (22) describes a part of the ritual, and its purpose.

30033b/2008 – 4' (MT) [Sc]

- (22) *Nunh wurdurd kanh ka-ye-berrhma-ng,*
 DEM child DEM 3sg-SUB-be.born-PR
bula-h-kangu-boyoh-mu radjdja-yih,
 3pl>3-R-belly-rub-PR sand-INSTR

202. The session was organized and video-recorded by Sarah Cutfield in June 2012, upon request of Nicholas Evans.

203. Both MT and LB provided details about this ritual, and their accounts were generally consistent. LB reported performing this ritual on her older daughter, probably born in the early 1980s. To my knowledge, this ritual is no longer in use.



Figure 3. MT accompanying discourse about emotions with gestures involving the belly. From left to right, first row: a, b, c; second row: d, e, f; third row: g. As she mentions God, MT points upwards (a), then puts her hand on her heart (b), pointing to her heart with her index finger. When explaining that the man will feel better (*kangu-yurd(mu)*), she moves her hand down from her heart to her navel (c, d) and lower, and then away from her belly and up in a swift gesture (e), finally lifting it up again, open, facing outside (f). Unfortunately, the movement is so fast that still pictures find it hard to capture. After this movement, as MT explains that the man will no longer be bad (mean), she brings her open hand back to her stomach and moves it around with small movements, before resting it on her belly (g).

nunh mak ka-ling-yolh-borled-mu, mak ka-ru-n munguyh.
 DEM NEG 3sg-SEQ-feelings-turn-PR NEG 3sg-cry-PR always
 have.tantrum(s)

Ka-h-dja-ling-kangu-burrama. Ka-h-kangu-yowwow-mu [...].
 3sg-R-FOC-SEQ-belly-good 3sg-R-belly-flow:REDUP-PR
 be.nice feel.good

‘When a child is born, they massage her belly with sand, so that she doesn’t become capricious [her feelings do not turn], so that she does not cry all the time. She’ll be good-tempered [good-bellies]. She’s a happy person [she flows from the belly].’

Each of the steps in this ritual makes sense in the view of resistance/fluidity metaphors. The fluidity of sand is culturally and linguistically salient.²⁰⁴ Massaging an infant’s belly with sand may thus be interpreted as a symbolic attempt to transfer the properties of sand – fluidity – to the belly, and of course, massage as such may soften the abdomen. The (symbolic) efficacy of the process, which aims at the person’s emotional stability, relies on resistance symbolism. The rest of the ritual relies on the symbolic properties of floodwater, which embodies the paragon of fluidity in this environment, also used in partly ‘intended’ (non-lexicalized) metaphors targeting positive emotions (1.5.4). The floodwaters flushing the marks of the belly on the sand may be interpreted as a symbol of fluidity overcoming resistance (of the belly), which again matches resistance metaphors conveyed by KANGU compounds.

It would be harder to account for the manipulations in the ritual without an understanding of related metaphors conveyed by KANGU compounds. The match between the metaphor and the ritual symbols is certainly intentional.²⁰⁵ This does not mean, of course, that Dalabon speakers *believe* that massaging the belly with sand will have a practical effect on someone’s feelings. It does mean, however, that they consider softness and fluidity of the belly as appropriate representations, even symbols or emblems, of emotional well-being. It also indicates that they can elaborate extensively upon the symbolism offered by the linguistic metaphors present in their language, thus enriching the associated conceptual metaphor with further shared knowledge and associations (on semiotic exploitations of body-parts among other Australian groups, see Kendon (1988), Peile (1997, p. 90)).

204. In pre-colonial times sand was the often the softest mattress available. The word for sand, *radjdja* was sometimes used as an adjective *radjdja-no*, meaning ‘soft’. The fluidity of sand also yields polysemies. *Radjdja* is used for ‘sugar’, and may also be related to *radjdjarr* ‘floodwater’ (note that floodwater also flushes sand away, hence a metonymic relationship).

205. Such rituals may be interpreted as allegories. See Crisp’s (2005) definition of allegory as a super-extended metaphor with no reference to the target domain, or Monnerie (2010) about the projection of metaphor into ritualized objects.

1.6 Other ‘free’ metaphors with *kangu-no* ‘belly’

Kangu-no ‘belly’ was used a couple of times with a locative case, usually denoting the seat of emotionally loaded thought. In Dalabon, the ‘head’ (or more specifically the crown of the head), *kodj-no*, is usually treated as the seat of thought and other cognitive states and events (Ponsonnet, 2009a, pp. 375–379; 2012). *Kangu-no* ‘belly’ is (relatively rarely) used as an alternative container, when the thoughts in question are emotionally loaded.

20120709a_000_MT 078 [ContEI]

[About a white man very close to MT who had been working with the community for decades and just had difficulties with some community members.]

- (23) *Bala-h-karra-rarre-minj ngey-walung,*
3pl-R-all-grow-PP 1sg-ABL

djehneng bula-h-marnu-wurdah-mi kanh ka-h-yin,
as.if 3pl>1-R-BEN-suffer-IRR DEM 3sg-R-say/do:PR
be.compassionate

ka-h-nini ka-h-kurnh-wonawona-n
3sg-R-sit/be:REDUP:PR 3sg-R-country-hear:REDUP-PR
think

yibung-karn nahda kangu-no-kah.
3sg-EMPH there belly-3sgPOSS-LOC

‘They all grew up with me, you’d think they’d feel sorry for me, that’s how he thinks, when he’s by himself thinking, on his own there in his belly.’



Figure 4. One of the children in *Rabbit-Proof Fence* taken away by welfare agents. Images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.

20120710a_001_MT 111 [RPF]

[A child has been caught by welfare agents and is taken away from her cousins in a car.]

- (24) *Bula-h-Ing-na-ng bula-h-Ing-m-e,*
3pl>1-SEQ-see-PP 3pl>1-R-SEQ-get-PP

kanh ka-h-yin kodj-no-kah, ka-h-yeHyenjdu-ng
DEM 3sg-R-say/do:PR head-3sgPOSS-LOC 3sg-R-talk:REDUP-PR

kangu-no-kah *ka-h-yaw-malk-naHna-n.*
 belly-3sgPOSS-LOC 3sg>3-R-little.one-time-see:REDUP-PR
 look.around

‘They saw me and grabbed me, that’s what she’s thinking in her head, she says in her belly as she is looking away, poor thing.’

Occasionally, *kangu-no* was presented as containing the stimulus of the emotion, i.e. a beloved person (25), presumably matching the fact that the experiencer is thinking about this person. As shown in (26), the belly and the head can both be presented as containers.

20111207a_001_MT 26 [E]

[About a woman who won’t leave her husband although they just had an argument.]

- (25) *Mak buka-bawo-yan,* *ka-h-dja-marnu-djare,*
 NEG 3sg>3sg.h-leave-FUT 3sg>3-R-FOC-BEN-like/want
kangu-no-kah *ka-h-dorrung-ni.*
 belly-3sgPOSS-LOC 3sg-R-body-sit/be:PR

‘She won’t leave him, she really loves him, he’s there in her heart [his body sits in her belly].’

30111/2007 – 12’ (MT) [ContE]

[About a man obsessed about a woman.]

- (26) *Ka-h-dorrung-waral-daddi,* *kodj-no-kah.* *Buka-h-beng-ka-n.*
 3sg-R-body-spirit-stand:PR head-3sgPOSS-LOC 3sg>3sg.h-R-MIND-take-PR
Kirdirkird mahkih, kanh biyi buka-ye-na-n,
 woman also DEM man 3sg>3sg.h-SUB-see-PR
buka-h-dja-marnu-waral-waddi *kodj-no-kah.*
 3sg>3sg.h-R-SEQ-BEN-spirit-be.high:PR head-3sgPOSS-LOC

‘Her image stands there in his head. He thinks about her. And the woman too, this man that she saw, his image is up there in her head.’

While the belly may be represented as the seat of emotions and emotional responses, or as containing thoughts or the object of thought (the stimulus of an emotion), the BELLY AS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS metaphor is not clearly attested in Dalabon. This metaphor is common cross-linguistically: a lot of the languages that make use of some abdominal body-part in descriptions of emotions do represent this body-part as a container (e.g. French: ‘*mon cœur déborde d’amour pour lui*’, ‘my heart overflows with love for him’).²⁰⁶ This metaphor is also reported in Australian languages: Turpin

206. See, among others, Hasada (2002) and Matsuki (1995) for Japanese, Taylor & Mbense (1998) for Zulu, Niemeier (2000) for Nigerian English, Sharifian (2008) for Persian, and with the heart, Yu (1995) for Mandarin Chinese.

(2002, p. 288) for Kaytetye (27), Gaby (2008, pp. 33–38) for Kuuk Thaayorre (28), as well as Goddard (1996a) for Yankunytjatjara, Myers (1986) for Pintupi. Barunga Kriol associates emotions with *binji* ‘belly’ (<Sydney language ‘*binji*’, ‘stomach’) and speakers sometimes claim that *filin* (<Eng. ‘feelings’) are located in the belly.

Kaytetye, Turpin, 2002, p. 288

- (27) *aleme-warle arre-nke re atyenge-warle*
 stomach-ALL put-PRS 3sg.NOM 1sg-ALL
 ‘He made me feel happy’
 (lit. ‘He put (it) in my stomach’) (PY 1996)

Kuuk Thaayorre, Gaby, 2008, p. 35

- (28) *ngay ngeengk-an piit-Ø*
 1sg(NOM) belly-DAT hold-NPST
 ‘I hold (worries) in my belly’

Such metaphors are absent in Dalabon, and free metaphors presenting KANGU as a container/seat for emotions were rejected (29) and/or puzzled the full speakers.²⁰⁷

DAL_2011_07_01_01_SC_MT 03 (MT)

[El, kindly recorded by Sarah Cutfield upon my request]

- (29) **ka-h-kakku-dje-bruh-mu kangu-no-kah*
 3sg-R-really-nose/face-blow-PR belly-3sgPOSS-LOC
 be.sulky

Instead: *ka-h-kakku-dje-bruh-mu*
 3sg-R-really-nose/face-blow-PR
 be.sulky

‘He’s really upset.’

In contrast, Dalabon speakers who are more fluent in Kriol tend to accept Dalabon sentences like (29) and even produce their own. Barunga Kriol may have adopted a BELLY AS CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS metaphor from substrates other than Dalabon, and Kriol speakers seem to borrow this metaphor in Dalabon.

This hypothesis is consistent with the results of a metalinguistic test where various Dalabon speakers were explicitly asked to locate *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ on the drawing of a human body displaying the organs, like local paintings in the X-ray style. MT stated that *yolh-no* could not be assigned a location; five speakers located *yolh-no* in the head; two speakers located it in or associated it with the belly. These two speakers were those who speak better English, had secondary education, and have presumably more contact outside the Dalabon community. Although *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ does

207. MT sometimes explicitly expressed her own confusion as to the role of *kangu-no* ‘belly’ (in comparison with the head, for instance) with respect to emotions.

not equate with 'emotions' in general (see 3.1), the test does support the hypothesis that Dalabon does not have a well-entrenched BELLY AS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS metaphor, but that such a metaphor may be introduced from other Australian languages, via Kriol. Dalabon *per se* offers mixed representations, combining abdocentrism and cephalo/cerebrocentrism with respect to the seat of emotions, as shown above (see Sharifian et al. (2008b), Foolen (2008)).

1.7 Discussion

Most KANGU compounds can be interpreted under metonymies or metaphors. Leaving aside the compounds where the sense of the predicate component is unknown or too uncertain, only three KANGU compounds do not yield plausible tropes. These are *kangu-di* 'belly' + 'stand/be', 'like, love', *kangu-marnburrun* 'belly' + 'make' + REFL, 'feel good', *kangu-wokarrun* 'belly' + 'talk' + REFL, 'feel resentful'. Each of these three compounds is structurally equivalent to a compound found in another series, with another body-part noun as a first component. Therefore, it is likely that these compounds were motivated by analogy with others – as will be shown in Chapter 10, formal analogy is also an important process of lexical production of such emotional compounds. These three compounds are only marginally attested, and the bulk of KANGU compounds are amenable to figurative interpretations.

Unsurprisingly, Dalabon lexical metaphors involving the belly are rooted in metonymies, themselves grounded in physiological states associated with negative emotions, with an apparent emphasis on digestive discomfort. As noted in the above sections, a metonymic dimension remains throughout all lexical tropes: emotions are never represented as anything else than states or parts of the person, so that the tropes operate within a single domain. This does not mean that KANGU compounds do not instantiate true metaphors: I showed in 1.5 that there exists a few cognitively and culturally salient metaphors linking emotions to the belly in Dalabon.²⁰⁸ Yet, even compounds that display a clear metaphorical dimension remain partly metonymic. Further sections and chapters will show that this preference for the metonymic representation of emotions as states of the person holds across the near totality of Dalabon emotion metaphors.

Another noticeable feature of belly metaphors is that, as shown in 1.4.3, apart from rare exceptions, the belly is normally not treated metaphorically as the experiencer of emotions, but usually as part of the experiencer, i.e. as a seat of emotions. This matches the standard morphosyntactic treatment of body-parts, which raise their possessor in most circumstances. In other languages (English, French, but also the Western Nilotic Dholuo for instance (Reh, 1998, p. 380), and Papuan Languages such as Kalam, Koromu and Tok Pisin (Priestley, 2002)), body-parts often stand as autonomous arguments of emotion predicates, and thus as experiencers of emotions.

²⁰⁸. On the linguistic 'preference' for metonymy, see Huang (2002) about Tsou (Austronesian, Taiwan) and Charteris-Black (2003) on English and Malay.

Finally, in Dalabon, unlike in some other Australian languages, the belly is not represented as a container of emotions. The absence of a container metaphor correlates with the (metonymic) representation of emotions as states of the person, as opposed to independent entities. This precludes metaphorical treatment of the belly as a container, because for the belly to contain emotions, emotions should be represented as things to place in the container, which does not apply. Instead, the belly is represented linguistically as the *seat* of emotional states – the part of the person that experiences them.

Belly metaphors are the most productive of all Dalabon emotion metaphors. Another set of emotional compounds takes the heart as its base, and alternates predicate components, thus producing another set of (less frequent) metaphors, which I will now present.

2. Around the heart: NGURLK and NGERH

There exist two small sets of emotional compounds using respectively NGERH and NGURLK as their first component. Both morphemes relate to the heart, and they share a height/verticality metaphor (2.2.2). For these reasons, treating these two sets of compounds together is justified, and provides a better insight into metonymies and metaphors involving the heart in Dalabon.

2.1 Meanings of the body-part components

NGURLK does not correspond to an independent Dalabon word strictly speaking. However, it is close to the word for ‘heart’, *ngurl-no*, which simply denotes the organ in a non-ambiguous manner. There is evidence in favor of an etymological connection between NGURLK and *ngurl-no*. The change from [k] to [∅] in word-final position is rare but attested.²⁰⁹ Words where [k] becomes [ʔ] on the one hand, and where [ʔ] becomes [∅] on the other hand, are common across Gunwinyguan languages (especially the latter, see Harvey (2003, p. 218)), and amply attested for Dalabon.²¹⁰

209. Harvey’s (2003) Gunwinyguan cognate sets offer a single example of straight [k] → [∅] correspondence (after a lateral as in [ɲu(k)]):

[yolkvolk]: Jawoyn ‘to converse’, Rembarrnga ‘to tell a story’, Ngalakgan ‘to narrate’, Ngandi ‘to recount’

[yolyol]: Dalabon, *yolyol(mu)* ‘to explain, to discuss at length’.

210. For instance:

[k] → [ʔ]: Bininj Gun-wok [ganpowk], Warray [ganpuk], ‘tree snake’
Dalabon [ganpowʔ], ‘tree snake’

[ʔ] → [∅]: Ngalakgan, Ngandi, Rembarrnga [gurm[uʔ], ‘blue-tongue lizard’
Dalabon [gurmulu] ‘blue-tongue lizard’

On the other hand, the correlation in form between *ngurl-no* and NGURLK does not warrant that the component NGURLK relates to the sense ‘heart’ etymologically. The compounds may have been formed at a time when the lexeme had a different meaning. But there are other reasons to treat NGURLK compounds, in synchrony, as ‘heart’ metonymies and metaphors. Firstly, MT provided several Kriol translations of NGURLK compounds using *at* ‘heart’ (albeit without translating the compound literally). Secondly, there exists a metaphor shared by NGURLK compounds and NGERH compounds, and *ngerh-no* does mean ‘heart’ (or ‘breath’) in synchrony. Furthermore, heart metaphors are found in at least one other Gunwinyguan language, Jawoyn. In conclusion, the component NGURLK is very probably related to *ngurl-no* ‘heart’, both in form and in meaning, but the change in form suggests that the compounds may be relatively old.

As for NGERH compounds, *Ngerh-no* can denote the heart as an organ, as in (30) (where it is thus synonymous with *ngurl-no*).

250909_89OK 0356 (LB) [ContEI]

[The *namorrorddo* is a supernatural being who steals children’s hearts at night.]

- (30) *Nunda namorrorddo bulu kungu-ngerh-ma-ng.*
 DEM supernatural.being 3pl PURP:3sg>3-heart/breath-take-PR
 ‘The *namorrorddo* might take their hearts.’

In addition, *ngerh-no* can denote bodily functions: mainly breath (31) and the function of breathing (32), occasionally the pulse.²¹¹

20100719a_008_MT 030 [EI]

- (31) *Nga-h-burrkehbo-ng mah nga-h-Ing-ngerh-yord-minj.*
 1sg-R-burp-PP and 1sg-R-SEQ-breath-clear/release-PP
 ‘I burped, or I released breath.’

[DD]

- (32) *Ngurl-no nunh kanh ka-h-ngurl-dolhdol-mu,*
 heart-3sgPOSS DEM DEM 3sg-heart-beat:REDUP-PR
nunh mak ka-ngerh-ngurdka-rru-n.
 DEM NEG 3sg-breath-be.quiet-RR-PR
 ‘His heart is still beating, his pulse hasn’t stopped.’

211. The resulting verb, *ngerh(mu)*, means ‘to breathe’.

[DD]

A.: *Marruh dja-h-yin?* B.: *Manj nga-h-ngerh-miyan.*
 INTERR 2sg-R-say/do:PR INTJ.wait 1sg-R-breathe-FUT
 ‘Whatcha gonna do? B. Let me have a spell.’

2.2 NGURLK compounds

Table 8 lists the nine attested NGURLK compounds, none of which is frequent. They did not occur until the last field session, when MT seemed to enjoy the process (induced by elicitation and then exploited in narratives) of recovering a broader vocabulary that she probably had not used for years. Once MT started using NGURLK compounds, they became more common.

Semantically, all these compounds relate to strong affection. Some of them relate to sexually oriented love, or sexual desire, as well as conjugal affection. NGURLK compounds were the preferred option when discussing sexually connoted affection and sexual desire. Peile (1997, p. 57) documents the exact same range of semantic associations for the throat in Kukatja.

In contrast with the KANGU set (Section 1) and the NGERH set (see below), the NGURLK set does not feature any somatic metonymy (none of the NGURLK compounds in Table 8 alludes to any function or state of the heart). As a result, no obvious connections can be established with a physiological process or response. If the set is relatively old, it is possible that the compounds connecting directly to somatic metonymies have fallen out of use (they may arise with further documentation). Nevertheless, the somatic bridge between the heart and emotions becomes apparent with the NGERH set, as explained in 2.3 below. Most of the NGULK compounds can be interpreted under a more general metonymy: HEART FOR AFFECTION (2.2.1) combined with a metaphor: FEELING AFFECTION IS LIKE HAVING A VERTICAL HEART (2.2.2).

Table 8. NGURLK + X compounds.

All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

Compounds in italics (i.e. all but two) occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
ngurlk-di	stand/be (v.i.)	have/develop strong affection
ngurlk-djawan	ask (v.t.)	make sexual offers to someone
ngurlk-djavar(mu)	?miss (v.i.)	miss, suffer emotionally as beloved person is absent
<i>ngurlk-kardubun</i>	?SETTLE DOWN	<i>become familiar, develop affection</i>
ngurlk-karlh(mu)	climb (v.i.)	develop strong affection
<i>ngurlk-maddi</i>	STAY IN ONE PLACE (v.i.)	<i>develop conjugal relationship</i>
<i>ngurlk-marrun</i>	get + REC (v.rr.)	<i>fall in love with each other</i>
<i>ngurlk-wurrhka</i>	surprise, give a fright, mislead (v.t.)	<i>mislead with respect to conjugal relationship</i>
<i>ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-mang</i>	COM + YIRRKKI + get (v.t.) (?be envious)	<i>be in love with</i>

2.2.1 HEART FOR AFFECTION metonymy

Like some of the KANGU compounds presented in Section 1, the compounds listed in Table 9 instantiate a PHYSICAL PART OF THE PERSON FOR EMOTIONAL ASPECT OF THE PERSON metonymy, namely HEART FOR THE PERSON'S AFFECTION, where affection can take the form of sexual desire (*ngurlk-djawan*, 'HEART' + 'ask', 'make sexual offers', considered vulgar), conjugal attachment (*ngurlk-maddi* 'HEART' + STAY IN ONE PLACE, 'develop conjugal affection'), or romantic love (*ngurlk-marrun* 'HEART' + 'get' + REC 'fall in love with each other').

Table 9. NGURLK + X compounds instantiating the HEART FOR AFFECTION metonymy. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. All compounds occurred only once and are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>ngurlk-djawan</i>	ask (v.t.)	make sexual offers to someone (vulgar)
<i>ngurlk-maddi</i>	STAY IN ONE PLACE (v.i.)	develop conjugal affection
<i>ngurlk-marrun</i>	get + REC (v.rr.)	fall in love with each other

All the compounds instantiating the HEART FOR AFFECTION metonymy were found in conjugal/sexual contexts (as opposed to family-related affection for instance). These concepts are thus grouped under one metaphorical category – albeit not one lexical category. The association between sexual desire, conjugal attachment and romantic love may seem natural to the reader because it corresponds to emotions grouped together under the concept of 'love' in English, but the correlations between the three are not obvious. Yet, they do constitute a (somewhat covert) category in Dalabon (and in Kukatja, Peile (1997, p. 57)).

20120706b_003_MT 57 [Narr]

[About how young women got married in pre-colonial times.]

(33) *Ka-h-bo-ninj, kanh biyi ka-h-njenguyu-rru-ninj*

3sg-R-go-PI DEM man 3sg-R-sleep-RR-PI

kanh kirdikird-wurd-kah. Bunu burra-h-djarrk-ye-yo.

DEM woman-DIM-LOC 3du 3du>3-R-together-COM-lie:PP

Kanh buka-h-Ing-marnu-ngurlk-madd-inj.

DEM 3sg>3sg.h-R-SEQ-BEN-HEART-STAY.IN.ONE.PLACE-PP

develop.conjugal.affection

'The man would go to sleep with the young woman. They would sleep with each other. This is how she grows conjugal affection for him.'

2.2.2 Height and verticality metaphors

Table 10 lists three compounds instantiating metaphors involving height, verticality and rising of the heart. These metaphors rely upon the metonymy STATES OF THE HEART FOR PERSON'S EMOTIONAL STATES, a metonymy comparable to the ones found

with KANGU compounds (Section 1). Movement, posture, shape and location of the heart stand for emotional states of the person, with a general directionality: AFFECTION IS UP. The three compounds instantiating this metaphor were found to denote generic affection (as opposed to sexually driven affection or conjugal affection).

Table 10. NGURLK + X and NGERH + X compounds instantiating a height or verticality metaphor. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
NGURLK		
ngurlk-di	stand/be (v.i.)	develop strong affection
<i>ngurlk-kardubun</i>	?SETTLE DOWN	<i>become familiar, become open to affection</i>
ngurlk-karlh(mu)	climb (v.i.)	develop strong affection
NGERH		
<i>ngerh-waddi</i>	<i>be high up (v.i.)</i>	<i>feel strong affection</i>

Ngurlk-di ‘HEART’ + ‘stand/be’, ‘develop strong affection’, implements a verticality metaphor: TO START FEELING AFFECTION IS LIKE TO HAVE ONE’S HEART STANDING UPRIGHT (*di* does not refer to a change of posture but to a posture). *Ngurlk-karlh(mu)* ‘HEART’ + ‘climb’, ‘develop one’s affection’ induces a change of location: START FEELING AFFECTION IS LIKE RAISING ONE’S HEART. To complete the picture, Table 10 lists a NGERH compound which instantiates a comparable height metaphor: *ngerh-waddi* ‘heart/breath’ + ‘be high up’, ‘feel affection’, where location – rather than upwards movement – is at play: FEELING AFFECTION IS LIKE HAVING A HIGH HEART. Hence height and verticality are systematically mapped with affection. Postures and locations of the heart are mapped with emotional states, while changes of position/posture of the heart are mapped with changes of emotional states.

20120708b_006_MT 062 [Narr]

[About someone being forced to leave the community, although many wanted him to stay.]

(34) *Bula-h-karra-marnu-ru-n ke!*

3pl>3-R-all-BEN-CRY-PR EMPH

Nunda Ngarridj bulkkibulkkidj bula-h-marnu-ngurlk-d-anginj.

DEM subsection really:REDUP 3pl>3-R-BEN-HEART-stand/be-PI
develop.affection

‘They all cried for him true! This Ngarridj, they really loved him [they heart-stood for him].’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Brabli wei olabat bin gedyustu langa im, mela kan ledimgo im.’

Metaphors for emotions involving height, verticality or the raising of organs are not uncommon, and relate to the generic metaphors GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff &

Johnson, 1980).²¹² Peile (1997, p. 128) mentions a comparable metaphor in Kukatja, where it is the ‘spirit’ which is metaphorically described as raising. In English height/verticality targets happiness, not affection: HAPPINESS IS UP (Kövecses, 2000, p. 24; Meier & Robinson, 2005, pp. 244–247)).²¹³ English metaphors selecting the heart as a source (Goddard, 2008; Niemeier, 2000, 2008) are altogether very different from the Dalabon ones. However, in the narrower context of Christian rhetoric, we find a metaphor involving the height of the heart or spirit (‘lift your heart’, ‘lift your spirit’), meaning ‘becoming a better person’.²¹⁴ In the Dalabon ethical framework, where feeling affection for others is praised, Dalabon metaphors linking affection to height of the heart are not very distant from the English Christian metaphor.²¹⁵

2.2.3 HEART FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymy

Finally, like KANGU (1.4.2), NGURLK can be associated with emotional predicates (Table 11), and the resulting NGURLK compounds instantiate a HEART FOR THE SEAT OF EMOTIONS metonymy. *Ngurlk-djavar(mu)* relates to generic emotions and *ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-mang* to sexual desire.

Table 11. NGURLK + X compounds with emotional predicates. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
ngurlk-djavar(mu)	?miss (v.i.)	miss, suffer emotionally as beloved person is absent
<i>ngurlk-wurrhka</i>	<i>surprise, give a fright, mislead (v.t.)</i>	<i>mislead with respect to conjugal relationship</i>
<i>ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-mang</i>	COM + YIRRKKI + get (v.t.) (?be envious)	<i>be in love with</i>

212. See also Japanese, where ‘rising up *hara* (belly)’ represents anger (Matsuki, 1995, p. 144).

213. English verticality metaphors also map to pride (Kövecses, 1990, p. 90).

214. This formula was quoted to me by a Christian English speaker as ‘lift your spirits’ (see Niemeier (2000, p. 202) about ‘high spirits’).

215. The verticality of posture metaphor is also present in Dalabon in the cognitive domain, as described by Evans (2007) – an article entitled ‘Standing up your mind’, the author’s literal translation of the Dalabon verb *beng-di* MIND + ‘stand/be’, ‘think, reflect upon’. To my knowledge, *beng-di* ‘think, reflect upon’ is the only cognitive compound to instantiate this metaphor. Like NGURLK, BENG means MIND etymologically but is no longer a Dalabon free root meaning ‘mind’, which indicates that *beng-di* is not a recent compound.

Ngurlk-wurrhka ‘HEART’ + ‘surprise, give a fright, mislead’ occurred only once, in a definition of *men-kolmu* ‘to abuse by means of seduction’, when commenting (in Kriol and Dalabon) upon an unsatisfying conjugal relationship.

20120708a_000_MT 031 [ContEl]

[About a man who doesn’t realize that the woman he is in a relationship with is insincere (not cheating on him but simply not serious).]

- (35) *Det olmen im nomo bin sabi insaid langa im.*
DEM man 3sg NEG PST know inside LOC 3sg

Buka-h-ngurlk-wurrhka-ng.

3sg>3sg.h-R-HEART-surprise-PP

betray.affection

‘The man didn’t know, inside him. She was playing with him (she wasn’t taking their relationship seriously) [she betrayed (him) his heart].’

Here the metaphor/metonymy HEART FOR CONJUGAL AFFECTION applies: interpreted literally as a noun incorporation construction, the sentence could then read ‘she betrayed his conjugal affection.’²¹⁶ At the same time, NGURLK echoes the emphasis on *insaid* (<Eng. ‘inside’) in the preceding Kriol sentence (see Chapter 9, Section 4 on metaphors with ‘inside’).

2.3 NGERH compounds

Like NGURLK ‘HEART’ compounds, all NGERH ‘heart/breath’ compounds (listed in Table 12) are rare, and they also surfaced late in the documentation process (at the same time as NGURLK compounds). NGERH compounds are not a very unified set in terms of metonymies and metaphors. Several compounds look like analogues of KANGU or NGURLK compounds, and/or endorse metaphors instantiated in these other sets: for instance *ngerh-murduk* ‘heart/breath’ + ‘hard/strong’, ‘self-confident’ (compare with *kangu-murduk*) and *ngerh-waddi* ‘heart/breath’ + ‘be high up’, ‘feel strong affection’, which instantiates a verticality metaphor also found with NGURLK ‘HEART’ compounds. However, unlike the NGURLK set, the NGERH set features a somatic metonymy. This somatic metonymy relates to the heart (not to breath), and the rest of the terms are also better explained if NGERH is interpreted as ‘heart’ rather than ‘breath’.

216. ‘Conjugal affection’ is used here as opposed to ‘love’, which tends to refer to sexually oriented or romantic love.

Table 12. NGERH + X compounds. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics (i.e. all but one) occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
ngerh-djaw(mu)	?worry (v.i.)	worry about someone (?in the absence of someone)
<i>ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>
<i>ngerh-(r)dow(r)dow(mu)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>
<i>ngerh-murduk</i>	<i>hard/strong (adj.)</i>	<i>self-confident, not scared in socially challenging situations</i>
<i>ngerh-waddi</i>	<i>be high up (v.i.)</i>	<i>feel strong affection</i>
<i>ngerh-weh-mun</i>	<i>bad + INCH (adj.)</i>	<i>feel bad</i>

2.3.1 Somatic metonymy: AFFECTED HEART RATE FOR EMOTIONAL STATES

As displayed in Table 13, two compounds are polysemous between physiological states – namely heart rate – and emotional states, yielding an AFFECTED HEART RATE FOR EMOTIONAL STATE somatic metonymy. The physiological source of this metonymy is unsurprising, as heartbeat is one of the most obvious bodily symptoms of emotional states. However, the target domains associated with this source vary cross-linguistically. In French or English, heartbeat can target love as well as fear (Barcelona, 2000b, p. 33; Kövecses, 2000, p. 24). Dalabon does both, mapping heartbeat to concerns, usually associated with (and resulting from) affection for someone:

20120710b_002_MT 060 [ContEI]

[About a woman worrying because her husband didn't return home early enough.]

- (36) Na-S. *kanunh... [...] kardu buka-h-marnu-ngerh-dowdow-minj.*
 MASC-proper.name DEM maybe 3sg>3sg.h-BEN-heart-beat:REDUP-PP
 worry

'About S. [her husband]... [...] maybe she was worrying about him [her heart was beating for him/she was heart-beating for him].'

Table 13. NGERH + X compounds with physiological state predicates. Compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Each of these compounds occurred once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>
<i>ngerh-(r)dow(r)dow(mu)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>

2.3.2 Free metaphors with *ngerh-no*

The noun *ngerh-no* ‘heart/breath’ was used metaphorically once, under the metaphor HEART AS CONTAINER OF KNOWLEDGE, where putting something into someone’s heart maps with teaching. Note that as with cognition-related metaphors using *kangu-no* (1.6), *ngerh-no* is on a par with the head (here the brain, more specifically) as an alternative location of knowledge. However, unlike comparable free metaphors found with *kangu-no* ‘belly’, the cognitive content referred to in (37) is not emotional.

20120713a_001_MT 246 [TC]

[Commenting on older people telling stories to younger ones.]

- (37) *Dawo bala-h-ye-woka-rru-n, nunda ngongda*
 story 3pl-R-COM-tell-RR-PR DEM group

kahnunda bala-h-borlb-miyan-kun.

DEM 3pl-R-get.used-FUT-GEN

Bula-h-Ing-yidjnj-iyen. Kodj-kulu-bulng-kah, bula-h-yung-iyen,
 3pl>3-R-SEQ-have-FUT head-marrow-3plPOSS-LOC 3pl>3-R-put-FUT
 brain

ngerh-bulng-kah bula-h-yung-iyen.

heart-3plPOSS-LOC 3pl>3-R-put-FUT

‘They’re telling the story between themselves, so that these ones will learn.
 They’ll have it then. They’ll put it in their brain, they’ll put it in their heart.’

2.4 Salience of conceptual metaphors

The status of the heart and related metaphors in the language of emotions in Dalabon is ambiguous. NGURLK compounds were translated using *at* ‘heart’ in Kriol, but this also corresponds to the fact that Kriol *at* has the sense ‘seat/container of emotions’ (and is also used as a translation of KANGU ‘belly’). The tropes instantiated by NGURLK or NGERH compounds were not translated literally into Kriol. This contrasts with the KANGU metonymies, which were regularly translated – but the ‘heart’ tropes were also less frequent, providing less opportunities for translation. I did not encounter any free metaphors reproducing the HEART tropes, and there exists no ritual or other practice calling upon them. Since the NGURLK compounds may be quite old, the tropes in question may be frozen, and thus opaque to speakers.

However, in Sarah Cutfield’s video of the Family Problems Picture Task mentioned in 1.5.4, MT points to her heart as she explains that the participant is turning towards God.

DAL_2012_06_13_05_SC_VID – 4'50" (MT) [Stim]

(21) [photos a, b]

Bulu-ngokorrng nga-h-djaw-iyán,
 father-1pl.inclPOSS 1sg>3-R-ask-FUT

nga-h-Ing-kangu-yurd-miyan, mak nga-woh-kangu-dinjirr-miyan.
 1sg-R-SEQ-belly-run-FUT NEG 1sg-R-again-belly-HATE-FUT
 feel.good

'I'll ask God, and I'll feel good then [I will flow from the belly, I will belly-run],
 I won't be mean again [I won't have bad feelings from the belly].'



Figure 5. MT accompanying discourse about God with gestures involving the heart. As she mentions God, MT points upwards (a), then puts her hand on her heart (b), pointing to it with her index finger.

As mentioned in 2.2.2, the Dalabon height-of-the-heart metaphor corresponds to Christian symbolism, where 'lifting up one's heart' may be used to mean 'become a better person'. Indeed, these compounds and the height metaphor could plausibly be recent innovations inspired by missionaries. However, the form NGURLK, including a final plosive which has undergone complete lenition in the noun *ngurl-no* 'heart', suggests that the forms are not so recent. In addition, the heart plays a prominent role (comparable to *kangu-no* 'belly' in Dalabon) in Jawoyn, which suggests that heart metaphors for emotions are not new in the Gunwinyguan family. These metaphors could in fact be relatively conventionalized metaphors re-activated and reinterpreted under the influence of missionaries' rhetoric, in English and Kriol. The metaphor PERSONAL VALUE IS LIKE HIGH LOCATION, applied to God ('*God im haibala*', literally 'God is high', for 'God is good'), is used in the *Holi Baibul*, the Kriol translation of the Bible (1991, 2007).²¹⁷ This metaphor is unattested in spoken Barunga Kriol for the moment.

217. Eksadas (Exodus) 15.21, p. 187: '... *God, dumaji im haibala...*', literally 'God, who is high' for 'God, who has triumphed gloriously'.

In any case, considering the low frequency of the NGURLK and NGERH compounds, and the scarcity of non-linguistic realization of related metaphors, it seems safe to assume that in synchrony, these conceptual metaphors are conceptually and culturally backgrounded.

3. YOLH ‘pep, feelings’

3.1 Sense and etymology

A large number of Dalabon emotional compounds use YOLH as their first component (see Table 14). While the morpheme is more frequent in compounds, the noun *yolh-no* may also occur alone. It belongs to the animate-part morphosyntactic class (Chapter 3, 2.4.1) and denotes an abstract attribute of the person: someone’s psychological and physical condition, energy, pep, enthusiasm, as well as motivations and desires (emotional), and intentions (intellectual). The senses of *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ are discussed in Chapter 6 (3.1) (see also Ponsonnet (2010, pp. 381–384)). As a member of the animate-part subclass, *yolh-no* is treated as an inalienable noun: it is always possessed, and it normally raises its possessor to the function of argument (see Chapter 3, 2.4).

Dalabon *yolh-no* may once have denoted an abdominal body-part. Candidate cognates of *yolh-no* can be identified in other Gunwinyguan languages. Rembarrnga has the clear cognate *yuwalh* [yuwalʔ]²¹⁸ ‘feelings’, and Jawoyn has *yilk* [yilk]²¹⁹ ‘guts, spirit, gumption’, which differs more significantly from the Dalabon form but could be a cognate as well.²²⁰ YILK is found in a number of Jawoyn emotional compounds comparable to Dalabon YOLH compound. The polysemy of this Jawoyn word encapsulates the semantic extension from an abdominal part (guts) to an intellectual/emotional part of the person (spirit, gumption).

Such a semantic shift from an abdominal denotation to an abstract attribute of the person (energy, pep, desires) is even more plausible in view of the similarities between KANGU (‘belly’) emotional compounds (Section 1) and YOLH emotional compounds (see below). The abstract sense of *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ could result from the reanalysis of emotional compounds formed with an etymon of YOLH denoting an abdominal part, just like KANGU compounds. In 1.4, I mentioned that some KANGU compounds instantiate a metonymy BELLY FOR PERSON’S EMOTIONS (for instance *kangu-burrama* ‘belly’ + ‘good, healthy’, ‘be nice, feel good emotionally’). Therefore, in such compounds, KANGU ‘belly’ may be reanalyzed as ‘emotions’ (‘he feels good

218. Vowel split is a standard sound change in Rembarrnga (Harvey, 2003).

219. As discussed in 2.1, the word final sound change [k] to [ʔ] is common throughout Gunwinyguan languages and widely attested in Dalabon.

220. Also possibly Bininj Gun-wok *njilng* [njilŋ] ‘feelings’, although correspondences are not attested.

from the belly’ means ‘he feels good emotionally’). This would constitute an adequate context for morphemes referring to an abdominal body-part to gain an emotional meaning. It is possible that YOLH has undergone such a process. The KANGU set and the YOLH set display similarities: the most common emotional term in Dalabon is *yolh-mon* ‘feeling’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good’, which is very similar to *kangu-burrama* ‘belly’ + ‘good, healthy’, ‘be nice, feel good emotionally’. In a sense, the YOLH set could thus be an ‘older’ version, so to speak, of the KANGU set. Another parallel between KANGU and YOLH compound is with *boled(mu)* ‘turn’, where both *kangu-boled(mu)* and *yolh-boled(mu)* can mean ‘turn around on self’.

3.2 YOLH compounds

Table 14 lists thirty-one YOLH compounds, most of them lexicalized and relatively common. Some of them (e.g. *yolh-warhwan* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘ignore’, ‘not know what someone feels’) were both occasional and entirely compositional, so that they may be regarded as regular noun incorporation constructions. Some are not emotional, but relate to physical energy, i.e. to how one feels physically. I have included all [YOLH + predicate] combinations in the list because any exclusion raised issues of criteria.

While the KANGU set includes a lot of compounds relating to conflict and other-oriented emotions in general, in the YOLH set these are relatively marginal. Most of the YOLH compounds describe individual well-being as related not to other people but to one’s own physical health and pep. A number of YOLH compounds colexify emotional and physical well-being – for instance the generic and extremely frequent *yolh-mon* ‘feeling’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good emotionally and/or physically’ (Chapter 6, Section 1).

Table 14. YOLH + X compounds. Except where indicated, all compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>yolh-bak(mu)</i>	<i>break</i> (v.i.)	<i>forgive</i>
yolh-bengan	know (v.t.)	see through someone, guess how someone feels
yolh-boled(mu)	turn (v.i.)	have a tantrum, be capricious/ feel negative about someone close/turn on self
yolh-bon	go (v.i.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)
yolh-burrama	good, healthy (adj.)	feel (emotionally) good, be nice
yolh-di	stand/be (v.i.)	?synonym with <i>yolh-ni</i>
yolh-djare	like, love/want (v.i.)	like, love
yolh-dukkarrun	tie + REFL (v.refl.)	suffer from chronic anxiety, depression
yolh-kurduh(mu)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-marnbun	make (v.t.)	comfort (cause to feel good after feeling bad)
yolh-marnburrun	make + REFL (v.refl.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)
yolh-momokk?o/yi	?	?peaceful, quiet, discreet

Table 14. (continued)

Compound	Predicate	Sense
yolh-mon	good, fine (adj.)	feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice
yolh-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful
yolh-nan	see (v.t.)	know how someone feels
yolh-ngun	eat (v.t.)	in rhetorical questions: what's wrong with x?
yolh-ni	sit/be (v.i.)	feel good, cheerful, be pleased, love, like (sexual orientation)
yolh-redji	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be happy, cheerful
yolh-wanjingh (adj.)	one (num.)	NA (meaning varied significantly with context)
yolh-warhwan	ignore/lose (v.t.)	<i>not know how someone feels</i>
yolh-warndih	lack interest (v.i.)	be sulky after an argument
yolh-warriburrun	worry intensely (v.refl.)	<i>bring self to worry intensely</i>
yolh-weh	bad (adj.)	feel bad (emotional or physical), be upset with someone, bad-tempered
yolh-wokarrun	talk + REFL (v.refl.)	<i>?feel resentful</i>
yolh-wonarrun	hear + REFL (v.refl.)	<i>?feel up to doing things</i>
yolh-wudj(mu)	end, die (v.i.)	feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky
yolh-yalala(mu)	?	rest, <i>?feel emotionally good</i>
yolh-yerrk(mu)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better, get rid of resentment
yolh-yin	say, think/do (v.i.)	in questions: how does x feel?
yolh-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)

Such colexifications instantiate a metaphor comparable to the HAPPINESS IS VITALITY metaphor found in English (Kövecses, 2000, p. 24). However, with *yolh-mon*, the colexification between feeling good physically and emotionally is not as figurative as the HAPPINESS IS VITALITY metaphor in English. The emotional states associated with physical lack of energy are typically boredom (*yolh-wudj(mu)* 'pep, feelings' + 'end, die', 'feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky') and depression (*yolh-dukkarrun* 'feelings' + 'tie up' + REFL, 'be chronically anxious, depressed').

Since *yolh-no* 'pep, feelings' does not allude to a body-part in synchrony, it is expected that the tropes instantiated by YOLH compounds differ from the ones identified with KANGU, NGERH or NGURLK, which relate to body-parts. *Yolh-no* is already emotional (or broadly cognitive), so that for a number of YOLH emotional compounds, the literal and the lexicalized meanings are identical (3.3). Nevertheless, some compounds instantiate metaphors where YOLH 'pep, feelings' is represented as a material entity (3.4.1), with various source domains revolving around existence (FEELING GOOD IS LIKE FEELING SOMETHING) and movement/mobility (GOOD FEELINGS ARE LIKE MOBILE FEELINGS). In addition, some YOLH compounds seem to be formed by analogy with KANGU compounds, so that the KANGU metaphors (e.g. resistance) apply to YOLH 'pep, feelings' as well.

3.3 Compositional interpretations

The compounds listed in Table 15 attract literal interpretations only. Some of these compounds may be considered lexicalized to the extent that they are frequent, but their lexical sense is identical to their literal, compositional interpretations. In all these compounds, YOLH is an incorporated animate-part noun, with the sense ‘pep, feelings’, ‘energy’ etc. As is the rule with syntactic noun incorporation, the incorporated noun expresses a part of the absolutive argument, i.e. a part of S (38) with intransitive predicates and a part of O with intransitive predicates (39).

20120717_004_MT 031 [Narr]

[About how MT decided to pay a visit to her husband in his aged-care home in town the year before, just a couple of weeks before he passed away.]

(38) *Yila-h-lng-kurlhk-iyān*

1pl.excl>3-R-SEQ-visit-FUT

kardu ka-h-yolh-mon-m-iniyan njel ka-h-n-iyān.

maybe 3sg-R-feelings-good-INCH:FUT 1pl.excl 3sg>1-R-see-FUT

‘We’ll pay him a visit, he should be pleased [he might get good feelings] to see us.’

20120714a_003_MT 094 [ContEl]

[MT commenting on her relationship with the author.]

(39) *Dja-h-beng-ka-n buhkorrehkun. Dja-h-yolh-beng-ka-n.*

1sg>2sg-R-MIND-take-PR a.long.time.ago 1sg>2sg-R-feelings-MIND-take-PR
know know

‘I’ve known you for a long time. I know you emotionally, I can see how you feel [I know (you) your feelings].’

In most instances, the predicate component is not emotional *per se*. It may apply to the entire person, so that YOLH contributes to the sense of the compound by narrowing down the aspect of the person to which the predicate component applies (e.g. *yolh-mon* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘good, fine’, ‘feel good’ or ‘good from your feelings’, *yolh-yin* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘say, think/do’, ‘feel’ – ‘what do your feelings do’, ‘what do you feel’). Note that the mechanism and output are the same as with KANGU in *kangu-burrāma* ‘belly’ + ‘good, healthy’, ‘be nice, feel good emotionally’ (1.4.2.1).

Two of the predicate components in Table 15 are already emotional, so that YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ simply specifies the part of the person to which the predicate applies anyway by default, so to speak (e.g. *yolh-djare* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘like, love/want’, ‘like, love’²²¹). In these compounds, YOLH seems to emphasize the emotional nature of the event, with no further semantic contribution. These occurrences are rare.

221. This compound is not attested with the sense ‘want’, but since the number of occurrences was low, and this point cannot be confirmed.

Table 15. YOLH + X compounds with a compositional lexical sense.
 All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.
 Compounds in italics were marginal (only one or two occurrences).

Compound	Predicate	Sense
PREDICATE COMPONENT IS NEITHER EMOTIONAL NOR BEHAVIORAL		
yolh-bengkan	know (v.t.)	see through someone, guess how someone feels
yolh-burrama	good, healthy (adj.)	feel (emotionally) good, be nice
yolh-mon	good, fine (adj.)	feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice
<i>yolh-warhwan</i>	<i>ignore/lose (v.t.)</i>	<i>not know how someone feels</i>
yolh-weh	bad (adj.)	feel bad (emotional or physical), be upset with s.b., bad-tempered
yolh-yin	say, think/do (v.i.)	in questions: how does x feel?
PREDICATE COMPONENT IS EMOTIONAL		
<i>yolh-djare</i>	<i>like, love/want (v.i.)</i>	<i>like, love</i>
<i>yolh-warndih</i>	<i>lack interest (v.i.)</i>	<i>be sulky after an argument</i>
<i>yolh-warriburrun</i>	<i>worry intensely (v.refl.)</i>	<i>bring self to worry intensely</i>
PREDICATE COMPONENT IS BEHAVIORAL		
yolh-redji	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be happy, cheerful

In just one case, *yolh-redji* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘smile, laugh’, ‘be happy, cheerful’, the compound denotes a behavior regularly associated with an emotional state. Since the sense of the predicate component is behavioral, and since YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ specifies the predicate as emotional (applying to the experiencer’s feelings), it modifies the sense of the predicate (narrowing down its application). The semantic contribution of YOLH consists of shifting the denotation from the behavior described by the predicate to the emotional state usually associated with this behavior. While there is only one compound of this type, it is relatively frequent.²²² It is possible to formulate a metaphor of the type FEELINGS ARE LIKE BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES OF THE EMOTIONAL PART OF THE PERSON. However, as suggested in Chapter 10, an explanation of *yolh-redji* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘smile, laugh’, ‘feel happy, cheerful’ in terms of compositionality may be more economical and more enlightening than a metaphorical interpretation.

3.4 Metaphors involving feelings

A significant number of YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ compounds are formed with a predicate which normally applies to material entities of various sorts – the human body, an object, a piece of matter. Table 16 lists all of these irrespective of which metaphor they

222. More frequent than the corresponding KANGU ‘belly’ compound, see 1.4.1.

instantiate. The following sections identify major metaphors underlying a significant number of predicates, namely an existence metaphor and its extension into perception metaphors (3.4.1), and blockage/mobility metaphors (3.4.2). Sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4 discuss isolated patterns related to change and resistance.

Table 16. YOLH + X compounds with a predicate which routinely applies to material entities. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>yolh-bak(mu)</i>	<i>break</i> (v.i.)	<i>forgive</i>
yolh-boled(mu)	turn (v.i.)	have a tantrum, be capricious/ feel negative about s.b. close/turn on self
yolh-bon	go (v.i.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)
yolh-di	stand/be (v.i.)	?synonym with <i>yolh-ni</i>
yolh-dukkarrun	tie + REFL (v.refl.)	suffer from chronic anxiety, depression
yolh-kurduh(mu)	be(come) blocked (v.i.)	feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-marnbun	make (v.t.)	comfort (cause to feel good after feeling bad)
yolh-marnburrun	make + REFL (v.refl.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)
yolh-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	selfish/not cheerful
yolh-nan	see (v.t.)	know how someone feels
yolh-ngun	eat (v.t.)	in rhetorical questions: what's wrong with x?
yolh-ni	sit/be (v.i.)	feel good, cheerful, be pleased, love, like (sexual orientation)
yolh-wanjingh (adj.)	one (num.)	NA (meaning varied significantly with context)
<i>yolh-wonarrun</i>	<i>hear + REFL</i> (v.refl.)	? <i>feel up to doing things</i>
yolh-wudj(mu)	end, die (v.i.)	feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky
yolh-yerrk(mu)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better, get rid of resentment
yolh-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotional/physical, i.e. rest)

3.4.1 Existence metaphor and its extensions

The literal interpretation of each of the compounds listed in Table 17 depicts feelings as a material entity which can exist, be created, disappear etc., with the metonymy EXISTING FEELINGS FOR GOOD FEELINGS (EXISTENCE IS GOOD). The metaphor entails that one feels better when feeling something, and feels bad when feelings disappear. Thus, *yolh-marnbun* 'pep, feelings' + 'make', literally 'to create feelings', means 'cause to feel better' (40), while *yolh-wudj(mu)* 'pep, feelings' + 'end, die' means 'lack energy, be sulky' (41), i.e. be bored, be temporarily depressed etc., a state which has both a physical and an emotional aspect. This mapping of the existence of YOLH with positive

feelings is in line with the fact that *yolh-no* refers primarily to positive feelings (physical and emotional): ‘energy’, ‘pep’, ‘enthusiasm’ etc.²²³

Table 17. YOLH + X compounds instantiating existence, production and deterioration metaphors. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
yolh-di	stand/be (v.i.)	?synonym with <i>yolh-ni</i>
yolh-marnbun	make (v.t.)	comfort (cause to feel good after feeling bad)
yolh-marnburrun	make + REFL (v.refl.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. become rested)
yolh-ngun	eat (v.t.)	in rhetorical questions: what’s wrong with x?
yolh-ni	sit/be (v.i.)	feel good, cheerful, be pleased, love, like (sexual orientation)
yolh-wudj(mu)	end, die (v.i.)	feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky



Figure 6. Picture used in elicitation.

20120708a_002_MT 025 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 6.]

- (40) *Kardu munu ka-h-dja-kangu-darr-mu. [...]*
 maybe LIM 3sg>R-FOC-belly-DARR-PR
 feel.bad

Nunda mah buka-h-re-wo-n,
 DEM and 3sg>3sg.h-R-laughter-CSTVZR-PR
yang-djehngeng buka-h-yolh-marnbu-yan.
 as.if 3sg>3sg.h-R-feelings-make-FUT
 comfort

‘Maybe she’s simply feeling bad. This one [the man] laughs with her, it seems that he’s comforting her [he’s making/fixing her feelings].’

223. The colexification between positive and neutral feelings is found in other languages, e.g. French, where *sentiments* ‘feelings’ can be neutral, or positive: *avoir des sentiments pour quelqu’un* ‘to have feelings for someone’, ‘be in love with someone’.

30015b/2008 – 10' (LB) [E1]

- (41) *Nga-h-yolh-wudj*, *mak nga-nguya-n. Nga-h-mirrhmirrh-mu.*
 1sg-R-feelings-end:PR NEG 1sg>3-eat-PR 1sg-R-hot:REDUP-PR
 'I feel crooked [my feelings have ended], I won't eat. I'm too hot.'

It may be noted that this metaphor implies that feelings are endowed with material existence, but it does not imply that feelings are entities independent of the person. The metaphor is consistent with YOLH 'pep, feelings' being construed as a part of the person. This concurs with the morphosyntactic status of *yolh-no* 'pep, feelings', which belongs to the morphosyntactic class of attributes of the person, and is therefore obligatorily possessed.

The existence metaphor has extensions where feelings are represented as things which can be perceived. Two compounds (Table 18) depict feelings as perceptible entities, with the metaphor FEELINGS ARE LIKE THINGS THAT CAN BE PERCEIVED. They can be seen (*yolh-nan* 'pep, feelings' + 'see', 'know how someone feels', with KNOWING IS LIKE SEEING); it also seems that they can be heard (*yolh-wonarrun* 'pep, feelings' + 'hear' + REFL, literally 'hear one's feelings'). With *yolh-wonarrun*, the metaphor GOOD FEELINGS ARE LIKE THINGS THAT CAN BE PERCEIVED also applies, which is consistent with the EXISTENCE IS GOOD metaphor highlighted in the previous section. A comparable perception (accessibility) metaphor was found for *kangu-no* 'belly' (1.5.3).

Table 18. YOLH + X compounds instantiating a perception metaphor.

The compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

The compound in italics occurred only once and is not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>yolh-nan</i>	see (v.t.)	know how someone feels
<i>yolh-wonarrun</i>	hear + REFL (v.refl.)	?feel up to doing things

Another extension of the existence metaphor represents feelings as things that can be eaten. This is instantiated by a single, but relatively frequent, compound, *yolh-ngun* 'pep, feelings' + 'eat'. *Yolh-ngun* is used uniquely in rhetorical questions, when a speaker wonders what happens to someone, often in circumstances when someone behaves in an abnormal way.²²⁴

20110522_001_MT_ND 057 (MT) [ContE1]

[About a relative of MT who stays in his house all day, playing video games, which MT condemns.]

- (42) *Wow*, *nunh munguyh ka-h-durn-daddi*,
 INTJ.approb DEM always 3sg-R-hole-be.inside:PR

224. See Mikolajczuk (1998, p. 165) for a similar expression in Polish, applying more specifically to anger.

kardu keninjh buka-h-yolh-ngu-n.

maybe INTERR 3sg>3sg,h-R-feelings-eat-PR

‘Yeah, he stays at home all the time, I don’t know what’s wrong with him [what’s eating (him) his feelings].’

YOLH is represented as an entity that can be affected, with destruction of the entity mapping to emotional torments, consistent with the GOOD FEELINGS ARE LIKE EXISTING FEELINGS metaphor. *Yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’ is represented as a part of the patient experiencer, and the ‘force’ affecting the experiencer’s *yolh-no* is represented as the agent. This agent is impersonal: it is always encoded by a third singular prefix, and its identity is never specified. It is unclear what this causal agent is: as pointed out by Dirven (1997), both the emotions and the events triggering the emotions are causal factors, and here it is not possible to decide which one is referred to. In Dalabon, the linguistic allusion to a force independent of experiencer or stimulus participants is exceptional, and emotions are normally represented linguistically as parts of the person, not as agents (i.e. not as forces, causes, enemies etc.). *Yolh-ngun* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘eat’, ‘what’s wrong with x’ is the Dalabon compound that comes closest to an agentive representation of emotion.

3.4.2 Blockage and mobility metaphors

In another sets of compounds, displayed in Table 19, feelings are represented as mobile entities, with the metaphor NEGATIVE FEELINGS ARE BLOCKED and POSITIVE FEELINGS ARE MOBILE.

The blockage metaphor was also found with KANGU compounds (1.5.1), in association with a resistance metaphor and a fluidity metaphor. Some of the YOLH compounds may allude to fluidity (*yolh-yord(mu)* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘clear way, body fluid be released’, ‘feel better’), suggesting a FEELINGS ARE LIKE FLUIDS metaphor, widespread in English (Kövecses, 2000, pp. 23–27; Omori, 2008). However, the fluidity metaphor is backgrounded with YOLH compounds; the recurring theme throughout the set is the possibility/impossibility of movement. Feelings that cannot move freely are bad feelings (*yolh-dukkarrun* ‘feeling’ + ‘tie’ + REFL, literally ‘tied up feelings’ or ‘entangled feelings’, ‘be chronically anxious, depressed’, (43)), while mobile feelings are positive feelings (*yolh-bon* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘go’, ‘feel better’).²²⁵

225. Cf. Kövecses (1990, p. 170) on emotion as motivation and physical movement in English. See also Wolk (2008, pp. 300–301), who identifies a HEALTH IS INTERNAL MOVEMENT in Northeastern Neo-Aramaic, and Leavitt (1990, p. 521), who (indirectly) reports a Kumoani (South Asia) metaphor where the ‘slowing of movement within the person and of interactions between persons’ represents ‘sadness, regret and sorrow’.

Table 19. YOLH + X compounds instantiating a blockage or movement metaphor. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
yolh-bon	go (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. become rested)
yolh-dukkarrun	tie + REFL (v.refl.)	suffer from chronic anxiety, depression
yolh-kurduh(mu)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-kurduhka	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-yerrk(mu)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better, get rid of resentment
yolh-yord(mu)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. become rested)

30059/2007 – 0'20" (MT) [Sc]

[After a beloved person passed away.]

- (43) *Nunh munguyh nga-ye-ni-ngiyan, nga-ye-beng-k-iyān,*
 DEM always 1sg-SUB-sit/be-FUT 1sg>3-SUB-MIND-take-FUT
nunh wunga-yelung-moyh-rakka-n.
 DEM APPR:1sg-SEQ-sick-fall-PR
Yolh-ngan wunga-yolh-dukka-rru-n.
 feelings-1sgPOSS APPR:1sg-feelings-tie.up-RR-PR
 be.depressed

'If I stay idle, I'll think about it, and I might fall sick. I might get depressed [I might get feelings-entangled].'

3.4.2.1 Relevance to speakers Metaphors associating health with movement and mobility (WELL-BEING IS LIKE MOBILITY/MOVEMENT) are relatively widespread in Dalabon. The fluidity metaphor observed with KANGU compounds (1.5.1) connects to movement. Not only does flowing imply movement, but also, one of the compounds, *kangu-yurd(mu)* 'belly' + 'run, flow' 'feel good', may trigger this metaphor by virtue of the polysemy of the predicate component. In addition, speakers produce WELL-BEING IS LIKE MOBILITY/MOVEMENT free metaphors:

20110522_001_MT_ND 041 (MT) [Sc]

- (44) *Nga-h-mo-kunkuyh-mu, mak nga-Ing-bo-niyan. [...]*
 1sg-R-bones-KUNKUYH²²⁶-PR NEG 1sg-SEQ-go-FUT
 be.sick
Nga-h-mon, nga-h-bo-niyan.
 1sg-R-good 1sg-R-go-FUT

'When I'm sick, I won't go anywhere (I won't walk). When I'm fine, I'll walk around.'

226. The literal translation of *mo-kun-kuyh-mu* could be 'heavy bones' or 'wet bones', but this is not fully attested.

The physical sense of YOLH compounds was illustrated by scenarios alluding to long bush walks, where lack of physical energy impedes movement:

20110522_001_MT_ND 084 [Sc]

[During a session with two speakers, with some semi-spontaneous conversation.]

(45) ND *Djulu-kah-kun ngarra-h-ni-ngiyan.*
 shade-LOC-GEN 1pl.incl-R-sit/be-FUT

MT *Kanh ngarra-h-Ing-yolh-yalway-miyan djulu-kah.*
 DEM 1pl.incl-R-SEQ-feelings-be.released-FUT shade-LOC
 rest

[...] *Ngarra-h-yolh-yord-miyan.*
 1pl.incl-R-feelings-clear/release-FUT
 feel.better

Wirrihmahkih biyi mah ke birnday
 or man and EMPH grass

ngorr bulayh-marnu-wurrlhka.
 1pl.incl 3pl>1.HORT-BEN-burn:PR

Kungarru-bobo-n [...].
 PURP:1pl.incl-go:REDUP-PR

'ND In the shade, this is where we'll rest.

MT This is where we'll rest [we will refresh our feelings], in the shade. We'll recover [we'll clear our feelings]. Or the men now, they should burn the grass for us [following the customary practise of seasonal, controlled bush fires]. So that we can walk.'

In the context of nomadic life, MOBILITY FOR HEALTH is a salient EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, and it is therefore not surprising that metaphorical associations between well-being and movement/mobility are relevant to speakers. Interestingly, the correlation between health and mobility goes both ways: (43) above suggests that in the speaker's view, depression may *result* from staying in one place. On the one hand, health is a condition for movement, and on the other hand, moving is healthy. One may also argue that there is no metaphor here, but that emotional and physical well-being are simply construed as one (see Chapter 7, 2.2).

Another indication that these mobility metaphors are culturally and conceptually salient is that they attracted literal translations into Kriol. For instance '*im ran rili gudwan*', 'it runs/flows very nicely', was used to explain how to resolve a depressive condition described as *yolh-dukarrun* ('feeling' + 'tie up' + REFL, 'be chronically anxious, depressed'). Furthermore, the association of mobility with positive feelings is present in another Dalabon polysemy, in which the adjective *djurrk*, 'rejoicing', means 'fast' when reduplicated.

3.4.3 *Change metaphor*

One compound, *yolh-boled(mu)* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘turn/change’ ‘have a tantrum, be capricious/part emotionally from someone close’ instantiates a metaphor having to do with change of direction, and relates conceptually to the mobility metaphor.

However, it is not clear that *yolh-boled(mu)* is historically connected to the mobility metaphor. In fact, it may result from a regular noun incorporation construction. *Boled(mu)* has a number of senses. It can refer to an entity turning along a curve or turning around on itself. With an incorporated body-part it refers to a person turning against or towards another person (e.g. *berru-boled(mu)* ‘chest’ + ‘turn’, ‘face someone’ or ‘turn back on someone’), and *boled(mu)* may also mean ‘to change’. Under the ‘change’ sense, the compound *yolh-boled(mu)* is not metaphorical, but simply means ‘his/her *yolh* changed’, which matches the ‘part emotionally from someone close’ sense. On the other hand, metaphorical interpretations are also available if the other senses of *boled(mu)* are taken into account. The ‘turn against’ sense of *boled(mu)* could account for the sense ‘part emotionally from someone’ of *yolh-boled(mu)* (46),²²⁷ and the ‘change’ sense could account for *yolh-boled(mu)* ‘be capricious’ (‘to change feelings (all the time)’), which may then extend to ‘have a tantrum’ (47). The sense ‘turn around self’ of *boled(mu)* is also evocative of ‘having a tantrum’. Here instability and movement of feelings are negatively appraised, with the metaphor NEGATIVE FEELINGS ARE LIKE TURNING FEELINGS.

20100722b_003_MT 158 [Narr]

[MT reporting what should be said to a wife after a dispute with her husband.]

- (46) *Mak yolh-wanjingh narra-ni, da-h-marnu-yolh-boled-mu.*
 NEG feelings-one 2du-sit/be 3sg>3-R-BEN-feelings-turn-PR
 upset

‘You no longer get on well [you’re no longer one feeling], you no longer love him [your changed/turned your feelings for him].’

20120712b_000_MT 051 [EI]

[At the local shop.]

- (47) *Wurdurd-wurd ka-h-yolh-boled-mu,*
 child-DIM 3sg-R-feelings-turn-PR
 have.tantrum(s)

kardu mey-kun ka-h-yolh-boled o kardu loli-kun.
 maybe food-GEN 3sg-R-feelings-turn:PR or maybe lollies-GEN
 have.tantrum(s)

‘This little child is having a tantrum [he’s turning his feelings around], he’s having a tantrum [he’s turning his feelings around] for food, or lollies maybe.’

227. See also in Kaytetye, ‘turn over one’s stomach’ (with *ngapetyeyne* ‘turn over’), meaning ‘change one’s feelings’ (Turpin, 2002, p. 294).

3.4.4 *Resistance metaphor and KANGU analogues*

Table 20 presents rare YOLH compounds which have more frequent KANGU analogues. Two compounds exemplify a resistance metaphor comparable to the one found with KANGU compounds (1.5.1): NEGATIVE FEELINGS ARE LIKE RESISTANT FEELINGS. In fact these two YOLH compounds are strictly analogous to KANGU compounds. *Yolh-murduk* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘hard/strong’ displays the exact same triplets of emotional senses, ‘emotionally strong’ (48), ‘selfish’ (49) and ‘austere’ (50).

20100719a_005_MT 533 [Sc]

[About conjugal disputes.]

- (48) *Kardu yirru barra-h-du-rru-n*
 maybe conflict/anger 3du-R-scold-RR-PR
o duway-no barra-h-du-rru-n,
 or husband-3sgPOSS 3du-R-scold-RR-PR
nunh ka-h-yolh-murduk mak ka-dudj-miyan
 DEM 3sg-R-feelings-hard/strong NEG 3sg-return-FUT
 emotionally.strong
ka-h-bo-n wulungmunguyh.
 3sg-R-go-PR always

‘They might have an argument [argue an argument], or her husband, they might argue, if she’s emotionally strong [she’s strong from the feelings], she won’t come back she’ll just leave for ever.’

20111206a_003_MT 018 [El]

- (49) *Nekenda ka-h-yolh-weh-m-inj mak njel ka-lng-ngabbu-n*
 now 3sg-R-feelings-bad-INCH-PP NEG 1pl.excl 3sg>1-SEQ-give-PR
kardu keninh buka-h-yolh-ngu-nj,
 maybe INTERR 3sg>3sg.h-R-feelings-eat-PP
ka-h-lng-yawh-yolh-murduk-bo-ng.
 3sg-R-SEQ-again-feelings-hard/strong-VBLZR-PP
 selfish

‘[She used to be generous but] now she’s become mean, she won’t give us anything, what happened to her, she turned selfish [she turned hard from the feelings].’

20120705a_002_MT 113 [El]

[Open question on *yolh-murduk*.]

- (50) *Nunh mak ka-redji-ng nunh mak ka-yolh-ni*
 DEM NEG 3sg-laugh-PR DEM NEG 3sg-feelings-sit/be:PR
ka-h-dja-ni yibung-karn yolh-murduk.
 3sg-R-FOC-sit/be:PR 3sg-EMPH feelings-hard/strong
 austere

‘She doesn’t laugh, she’s got no enthusiasm, she just stays by herself, sad, austere [with hard feelings].’

Table 20. YOLH + X compounds with a KANGU analogue. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
RESISTANCE METAPHOR		
<i>yolh-bak(mu)</i>	<i>break (v.i.)</i>	<i>forgive</i>
yolh-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish/not cheerful
OTHER		
<i>yolh-wokarrun</i>	<i>talk + REFL (v.refl.)</i>	<i>?feel resentful</i>

The corresponding KANGU compounds are a lot more frequent – in fact, *yolh-bak(mu)* is exceptional. While the resistance metaphor is well represented by KANGU compounds, it is sporadic with YOLH compounds: it appears in two lexemes, one of them marginal. It thus seems plausible that these two YOLH compounds were inspired by a formal analogy with the corresponding KANGU compounds. In addition to the compounds in Table 20, which occurred in spontaneous speech, several YOLH compounds equivalent to KANGU compounds were tested in elicitation. There is variation, both between speakers and within a single speaker's responses. Most of the YOLH analogues were generally rejected, but *yolh-yowyow(mu)* (see *kangu-yowyow(mu)* 'belly' + 'flow:REDUP', 'be pleased, be nice'), was marginally accepted. This compound instantiates the fluidity metaphor, found with KANGU 'belly' compounds, which is not very distant conceptually from the mobility metaphor instantiated by some YOLH compounds.

3.5 Discussion

In contrast with KANGU 'belly', and NGURLK and NGERH which relate to the heart, YOLH 'pep, feelings' does not refer to a body-part. As a result, YOLH compounds do not instantiate metonymies relating to physical states of body-parts. Instead, they tend to assign to 'pep, feelings' various properties usually attributed to material entities: existence, perceptibility, mobility. Yet, these metaphors are also inspired by physiological responses to emotions. *Yolh-no* 'pep, feelings' encapsulates a concept of energy which is both physical and emotional, and a number of metaphors draw from a MOVEMENT FOR HEALTH metonymy.

While representing *yolh-no* as an entity, metaphors instantiated by YOLH compounds do not imply that YOLH 'pep, feelings' is metaphorically represented as an entity independent of the person. Indeed, in the immense majority of the YOLH compounds presented, the subject of the predicate is the experiencer, i.e. the raised possessor of YOLH, which as an animate-part noun is always possessed. The metaphors are thus compatible with the representation of 'pep, feelings' as a part of the person, in

line with the morphosyntactic class of *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, an obligatorily possessed attribute of the person (animate-part subclass).

Among YOLH tropes, the metonymy MOVEMENT/MOBILITY FOR HEALTH (physical or emotional health) is conceptually and culturally salient. This metaphor overlaps conceptually with the fluidity metaphor observed with KANGU compounds. Also, some YOLH compounds are strictly analogous to KANGU compounds. Whether with KANGU or YOLH compounds, the conceptual metaphor representing positive emotions as moving or mobile seems to be a relatively prototypical emotion metaphor in Dalabon, at least for descriptions of emotional well-being.

4. Conclusions

This chapter studied the details of Dalabon emotion metaphors encapsulated in sets of compounds featuring an internal abdominal body-part or an attribute of the person, i.e. an animate-part noun (see Chapter 3, 2.4 on nominal subclasses). Only two body-parts occur in these sets: the belly (the most productive KANGU set) and the heart (smaller NGURLK/NGERH sets). The belly plays an important part in the lexical description and conceptual metaphors of emotions related to well-being, mood, interpersonal relations and conflict.

Apart from the belly, and to a minor extent the heart, no other body-part is involved in such an extensive metaphorical network of emotion metaphors in Dalabon. Thus, with respect to the typological distinctions established by Sharifian et al. (2008a) (see also Ogarkova (2013)), Dalabon, which is cephalocentric with respect to cognition (Evans, 2007; Ponsonnet, 2009a), is predominantly abdocentric with respect to emotions – with marginal cardio-centric expressions. As will be discussed in Chapter 10 (2.1), a few other body-parts, among which *mud-no* ‘body hair’, *mumu-no* ‘eyes’, *mo-no* ‘bones’, are associated with emotions via a single metaphor or metonymy, but as we shall see, tropes play a less significant role in these associations.

Several of the conceptual tropes instantiated by animate-part compounds (i.e. compounds alluding to the belly, the heart or to *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’) are conceptually and culturally salient. This is the case in particular of fluidity and movement metaphors. These linguistic metaphors correlate with gestures, Kriol translations, intended metaphors and even the material symbolism implemented in a ritual (1.5.4). The resistance/blockage vs fluidity/movement metaphor, presumably rooted in the association of negative emotional states with digestive disorders (where the stomach can be described as blocked), finds further echoes in the importance of movement and mobility in the nomadic lifestyle, where mobility and positive emotional states correlate. Digestive blockage and physical mobility are two very different things, yet they converge towards a relatively unified figure.

Throughout these body-based metaphors, emotions are always depicted as states of the person, and body-parts are always treated as *part* of the experiencer – i.e. not as the experiencer as such. Neither emotions nor body-parts treated as the seat of emotions are normally treated as autonomous arguments or as locations (e.g. container). This is matched by the emotion metaphors encapsulated in compounds featuring *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’. *Yolh-no* is an attribute of the person noun, which implies that it is obligatorily possessed. As a result, it is never represented as an autonomous argument, but always as a part of the person experiencing an emotion. As a result, emotions described by YOLH compounds are depicted as states of the person, not as independent entities.

Therefore, matching the relative scarcity of emotion nouns, and the higher proportion of emotion predicates, emotions in Dalabon are preferably represented as states or parts of the person. That is, all the identified tropes are partly metonymical, even when they also have a metaphorical dimension in addition to the metonymy. In Dalabon, emotions are only exceptionally represented as entities independent of the person – in contrast with what happens in English, French and many other languages across the world (for instance Oneida (Iroquoian) (Michelson, 2002, p. 202)), Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998, p. 210), Gbaya (Africa, Ubangian, Roulon-Doko (2013), Papuan languages such as Koromu (Priestley, 2002), and Australian languages such as Murrinh Patha (Walsh, 1987), Mawng (Singer, 2006, pp. 216–220) and other Iwaidjan languages (Evans, 2004)).

This particularity of Dalabon emotion metaphors has important consequences. When emotions are metaphorically depicted as entities independent of the person, they may also be construed as forces or opponents (‘he was struggling with/gripped by emotions’, Kövecses, 1990, pp. 160ff, 182). Kövecses (2000, p. 61) qualifies EMOTION IS FORCE as a ‘master metaphor’ in English, and explains how it structures prototypical emotion scenarios (on emotions and causality, see also Dirven (1997)). In Dalabon, emotions cannot be represented as forces or opponents, since they are not represented as entities independent of the person.²²⁸ This could correlate with the way emotions are dealt with (see Chapter 2, 4.2). The Dalabon people I know do not confront or resist emotions frontally, and do not try to eradicate them by identifying their cause for instance. Rather, they manage emotions by managing their flow, favoring certain emotional triggers at certain times, and avoiding them at other times, just like I manage my physical energy by resting or exercising. The connection between emotional and physical energy is taken seriously: for instance, depression is seen as a consequence of inactivity, which is in turn seen as a consequence of sorrow. A more typically Western folk conception would link sorrow to depression directly, backgrounding the connection with physical activity.

228. A possible exception to this generalization is found with *yolh-ngun* ‘feelings’ + ‘eat’, ‘what’s wrong with him?’, see 3.4.1. Another marginal exception is anger, see Chapter 9, Section 1.

Why are emotional tropes always partly metonymical in Dalabon – why aren't emotions reified as entities independent of the person, or personified as agents, in this language? The observation that this limitation seems to correlate with local strategies about the regulation of emotions does not tell us what triggers this limitation. It is conceivable that shared representations associated with these strategies have imposed a limitation on metaphors – matching the hypothesis of representations shaping linguistic devices. On the other hand, it is also possible that the absence of certain types of emotion metaphors influenced speakers' representations and practices about emotions – matching the hypothesis of language constraining representations. The absence of certain metaphors could result from some grammatical properties of Dalabon, such as the constraints imposed on some nouns by the system of nominal subclasses for instance, and then in turn influence representations of emotions. These questions cannot be tackled here, but indicate directions for future, crosslinguistic research.

The three sets of body-based emotional compounds presented above are the most productive lexically, and yield the most emotional tropes in Dalabon. However, Dalabon also has a few emotion metaphors unrelated to the body. These are described in the following chapter.

Other emotion metaphors

The present chapter completes the description of Dalabon emotional tropes, now considering metonymies and metaphors that do not involve the body. In Sections 1 and 2, I discuss several sets of emotional compounds where the first component does not denote an animate-part noun. The main set to be considered here is the one with the generic noun YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’, presented in Section 1. The figurative output of these compounds differs slightly from the body-based tropes presented in Chapter 8. Indeed, one YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ compound represents anger as an entity independent of the person – a metaphor which remains exceptional in Dalabon, where emotions are normally represented as states of the person. This raises the question of the particular status of anger with respect to metaphorical representations. Indeed, the figurative representations of this particular emotion seems to stand out in several respects, not only in Dalabon, but cross-linguistically.

After discussing metaphors for anger in Section 1, in Section 2 I analyze a few other non-body-based Dalabon metaphors, namely marginal metaphors for laughter and tears. In Section 3, I present a set displaying a different structure, where the predicate (*bruk*, ‘dry’) remains constant while the nouns alternate. This set triggers clear metaphors in synchrony, but there is no evidence that speakers endorse these metaphors. Finally, Section 4 presents free metaphors involving *buyirrhwalung* ‘inside’.

1. YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’

1.1 YIRRU and KANGU-YIRRU compounds

1.1.1 YIRRU compounds

As pointed out in Chapter 6 (2.1.1), the noun *yirru* refers primarily to directly observable events – either to conflicts, or to angry behaviors. When *yirru* refers to a behavior, the nature of the emotion triggering this behavior is implied: *yirru* thus denotes an emotional behavior which is by definition triggered by a certain emotion (Chapter 1, 1.2.2.3). YIRRU occurs in a dozen or so compounds denoting anger and angry behavior, as listed in Table 1. Contrarily to the noun *yirru*, some of the YIRRU compounds sometimes refer unambiguously to emotional states.

Table 1. YIRRU + X compounds. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The asterisk indicates that the compound is not attested as KANGU-YIRRU + X (see 1.1.2). Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
yirru-burlh(mu)	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-dadjka</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent someone from being angry or fighting</i> (?esp. husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)
* <i>yirru-don</i>	<i>die, suffer/dry (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument or fight</i> (?emotion/behavior)
*yirru-mon	good, fine (adj.)	dangerous, aggressive (of animals or spirits)
yirru-mun	INCH	be(come) angry (emotion/behavior)
yirru-ngal(mu)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
*yirru-ngalka	find (v.t.)	become (be?) (?emotionally) angry
*yirru-ngandung (v.i.)	ADDRESS	?have a (verbal) argument
*yirru-ngurd(mu)	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	calm down, stop arguing or fighting (?emotion/behavior)
<i>yirru-wayhka</i>	<i>lift up or out/open (v.t.)</i>	<i>stir up someone's anger</i>
*yirru-weh	bad (adj.)	disposition: tame
*yirru-won	CSTVZR	become (emotionally) angry?at someone
*yirru-wudj(mu)	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)

Unlike the other nouns that occur in emotional compounds, *yirru* is not an animate-part noun (body-part or abstract attribute of the person), but a generic noun: it is not bound but free, and it is not obligatorily possessed (see 1.2). In fact, it is never possessed. When speakers wish to express possession with respect to *yirru* 'anger' (to say something like 'someone's anger', 'someone's being angry'), they use a compound with KANGU 'belly', *kangu-yirru(-no)*, with a possessive suffix.

Two of the compounds listed in Table 1 are formed by adding productive nominal verbalizers to *yirru*: an inchoativizer (*yirru-mun* 'be(come) angry') and a cauzativizer (*yirru-won* 'be(come) angry (at someone)'). These two compounds cannot be interpreted as tropes. Neither can *yirru-ngandung* 'conflict, anger' + ADDRESS, 'have a verbal argument'. Since *yirru* can actually denote a verbal argument when used in isolation, *yirru-ngandung* is compositional.²²⁹ Apart from these, all the compounds listed in Table 1 are metaphorical.

229. The verb *ngandung* is in fact not found as such, but only in *KIN-ngandung* compounds, meaning 'call O KIN', for instance '*dah-yabok-ngandung*', 'you call her sister'. Contrary to the verb *dung* 'scold', *KIN-ngandung* compounds are not used to describe events where people

1.1.2 KANGU-YIRRU compounds

In addition to YIRRU compounds, there exists a set of compounds, listed in Table 2, where YIRRU is preceded by KANGU, so that the first component becomes KANGU-YIRRU ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’, literally ‘the conflict/anger of the belly’. Some of these compounds are analogous to YIRRU compounds both formally and semantically. Altogether, YIRRU compounds are significantly more frequent (about four times) than KANGU-YIRRU compounds.

Table 2. KANGU-YIRRU + X compounds. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. An asterisk indicates that the compound is not attested with YIRRU alone instead of KANGU-YIRRU. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
* <i>kangu-yirru-bonjhm</i>	<i>terminate (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument (?emotion/behavior)</i>
* <i>kangu-yirru-brang</i>	<i>potentially harmful (adj.)</i>	<i>for vegetable to be poisonous</i>
* <i>kangu-yirru-bruk</i>	<i>dry (adj.)</i>	<i>socially self-confident, not scared in conflicts</i>
kangu-yirru-burlh(mu)	come out (v.i.)	become (?emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-dadjka</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent someone from being angry or fighting (?husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)</i>
* <i>kangu-yirru-djurrkkan</i>	<i>exasperate, annoy (v.t.)</i>	<i>cause to be so excited that one acts aggressively</i>
* <i>kangu-yirru-djurrkarrun</i>	<i>exasperate, annoy + REFL (v.refl.)</i>	<i>become so excited that one acts aggressively</i>
kangu-yirru-mun	INCH	be(come) angry (emotional or behavior)
* <i>kangu-yirru-nan</i>	<i>see (v.t.)</i>	<i>?be (emotionally) angry at someone</i>
kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-wayhka</i>	<i>lift up or out/open (v.t.)</i>	<i>stir up someone’s anger</i>
kangu-yirru-worrun	CSTVZR + REFL	be(come) (emotionally) angry

address each other, but relations between people. *KIN-ngandung* compounds are transitive (or ditransitive, if *KIN* is considered a second object), while *yirru-ngandung* is intransitive. In the view of these differences between *KIN-ngandung* and *yirru-ngandung*, it is not clear why YIRRU is found in a compound with *ngandung*, and not with *dung* ‘scold’, ‘address inappropriately’. These compounds and their components have probably undergone semantic shifts so that their etymology is obscured. *NGANDUNG* seems to have been assigned the sense ‘address’ in the process, by analogy. Admittedly, from this perspective, *yirru-ngandung* is not entirely compositional, but it is compositional from the point of view of the contribution of YIRRU, and to the extent that it is not metaphorical.

It is difficult to pin down the contrast between YIRRU compounds and the analogous KANGU-YIRRU compounds. KANGU-YIRRU compounds occur in the same contexts as YIRRU compounds, often concomitantly (1). As discussed in Chapters 8 (1.4.2) and 10 (2.4), KANGU may specify the emotional dimension of the base compound – this is indeed a common function of KANGU.

DAL_2012_06_13_02_SC_VID – 11' (MT) [Stim]

- (1) *Buka-Ing-kangu-yirru-wayhka-ng.*
3sg>3sg.h-SEQ-belly-conflict/anger-lift/open-PP
stir.up.anger

[...]. *Buka-h-yirru-wayhka-ng* *kanh nguh-yirru-yih.*
3sg>3sg.h-R-conflict/anger-lift/open-PP DEM intestine-conflict/anger-ERG
stir.up.anger aggressive

‘He stirred up his anger [lifted/opened (him) the anger of his belly]. He stirred up his anger [lifted/opened (him) his anger], this nasty bellicose one.’

The stress patterns of some of the KANGU-YIRRU compounds suggest that *kangu-yirru* is treated as a lexicalized compound.²³⁰ On the other hand, the compound was seldom found outside verb complexes. It occurred once as a noun independent of a verbal compound (2), and was then followed by a possessive suffix, as if it belonged to the animate-part subclass and was therefore obligatorily possessed. In contrast, in such contexts, *yirru* never attracts a possessive suffix. In (2), *kangu-yirru-bulng* can be interpreted as ‘their feeling of anger’, matching its literal interpretation.

20120707a_000_MT 058 [Stim]

[Commenting on a photo of two people fighting.]

- (2) *Barra-h-yirru-burlh-minj,*
3du-R-conflict/anger-come.out-PP
be(come).angry

kangu-yirru-bulng, *ka-h-burlh-minj.*
belly-conflict/anger-3plPOSS 3sg-R-come.out-PP

Buka-h-marnu-kangu-darridjdarriidj-mu.
3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-belly-shake.in.agony;REDUP-PR
be.furious

‘They got angry [they anger-came out], the anger of their belly has come out. He is furious against her [he shakes in agony from the belly for her].’

230. When preceded by KANGU, YIRRU regularly loses the primary stress which normally occurs on the first syllable of the first morpheme of compound lexemes.

As with YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ compounds, KANGU-YIRRU compounds are metaphorical, to the exception of those formed with the inchoativizer and causativizer. In the following sections I treat KANGU-YIRRU compounds together with YIRRU compounds wherever they attract similar semantic interpretations.

1.2 Generic metaphors

1.2.1 ANGER IS LIKE A PART OF THE PERSON

As pointed out in the introduction to this section, *yirru* does not belong to the animate-part subclass, but to the generic subclass, which means that it is not inalienable. It does not take possessors, and therefore does not trigger possessor raising. However, as shown along the following paragraphs, most lexicalized emotional compounds do not reflect this pattern: in fact, their argument subcategorization patterns are formally analogous to what they would be if YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ was possessed by the experiencer of anger, with this possessor raised to the function of argument. Table 3 lists the compounds where this analogy applies. KANGU-YIRRU compounds are not listed because, as suggested in 1.1.2, *kangu-yirru(-no)* probably denotes an attribute of the person anyway, and all the compounds with KANGU-YIRRU pattern accordingly.

Table 3. YIRRU + X compounds that pattern as if YIRRU was an animate-part noun. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. An asterisk indicates that the compound is not attested with KANGU-YIRRU. KANGU-YIRRU compounds are not mentioned in this table, as *kangu-yirru(-no)* is considered an attribute of the person. The compound in italics occurred only once and is not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
* <i>yirru-don</i>	<i>die, suffer/dry (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument or fight</i> <i>(?emotion/behavior)</i>
* <i>yirru-mon</i>	good, fine (adj.)	dangerous, aggressive (of animals or spirits)
<i>yirru-ngal(mu)</i>	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
* <i>yirru-ngurd(mu)</i>	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	calm down, stop arguing or fighting <i>(?emotion/behavior)</i>
* <i>yirru-weh</i>	bad (adj.)	disposition: tame
* <i>yirru-wudj(mu)</i>	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight <i>(?emotion/behavior)</i>

Like most of the compounds discussed in this chapter, on the surface the lexicalized YIRRU compounds in Table 3 are structurally equivalent to productive noun incorporation constructions. The rules of noun incorporation provide principles for literal interpretation of these compounds. In Dalabon, under the rules of syntactic noun incorporation, the incorporated noun should encode the absolutive argument or part of it, i.e. S or part of S with intransitive emotional predicates such as the ones

in Table 3. In synchrony, *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, as a generic noun, should not raise a possessor to the function of absolutive argument (see Chapter 3, 2.3). Thus when incorporated, it should in principle express the whole absolutive argument, not part of it. Under the rules of generic noun incorporation, a clause like *kah-yirru-ngal(mu)* would translate literally as ‘anger appears’, the incorporate YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ being S. If this were the case, the predicate *yirru-ngal(mu)* could only take third person prefixes. Yet, *yirru-ngal(mu)* and other intransitive compounds listed in Table 3 do not encode ‘conflict, anger’, but the experiencer of anger, as S. That is, like most emotion verbs (see Chapter 5, Section 2 on argument subcategorization classes), the compound verbs in Table 3 are intransitive and encode the experiencer as their subject. In (3), the prefix *narra-*, intransitive second person dual, encodes the two experiencers (the spouses) as S.

20120709a_000_MT 173 [EI]

[About a dispute between spouses.]

- (3) *Da-h-du, narra-h-du-rr-inj*
 2sg>3-R-scold:PP 2du-R-scold-RR-PP
narra-h-du-rr-inj, da-h-du, da-h-du, da-h-du,
 2du-R-scold-RR-PP 2sg>3-R-scold:PP
Narra-h-lng-kakku-yirru-ngal-minj.
 2du-R-SEQ-really-conflict/anger-appear-PP
 be(come).angry

‘You argued with him, you two argued, you two argued, you argued with him, you argued with him, you argued with him. Then you (two) were getting really angry [your angers really appeared/you really anger-appeared].’

The person prefix in (3) rules out the possibility that YIRRU can be interpreted as the subject of *yirru-ngal(mu)*. Rather, these YIRRU emotional compounds would allow for the reanalysis of the incorporated *yirru* as a part of the absolutive argument. Under such a reanalysis, ‘*narrah-yirru-ngal(mu)*’ would translate literally as ‘your angers appear/you two anger-appear’, as if YIRRU was an animate-part noun denoting an attribute of the person, ‘one’s anger’.

There is no evidence that speakers do endorse this reinterpretation as such. Rather, the fact that KANGU-YIRRU compounds structurally equivalent to these YIRRU compounds occur suggests that this reanalysis is indeed attractive to speakers, but applies to *kangu-yirru(-no)* rather than to *yirru* itself, since *kangu-yirru(-no)* is apparently treated as an animate-part noun, ‘feelings of anger’.²³¹

231. Speakers do not endorse clauses suggesting that people ‘have *yirru*’ (e.g. *‘*Ngah-yidnjan yirru*’, ‘I have *yirru*’). This corroborates the hypothesis that *yirru* ‘anger’ is not actually construed as a part of the person by speakers.

1.2.2 ANGER IS LIKE AN ENTITY INDEPENDENT OF THE PERSON

However, there exists one YIRRU compound where YIRRU is indeed treated syntactically as an independent entity: *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘become angry’. *Yirru-ngalka* is formally transitive. It encodes the experiencer as A, and *yirru* as an invariable, lexicalized O.²³²

20111207a_004_MT 21 [E]

[About two co-wives who constantly argue.]

- (4) *Kanh kirdikird-ko munguyh burra-yirru-ngalka.*
 DEM women-DYAD always 3du>3-conflict/anger-find:PR
 be(come).angry

‘These two women quarrel [find anger] all the time.’

This conforms to the syntactic rules of noun incorporation, whereby incorporated generic nouns must express the absolutive argument of the predicate (O for transitive verbs). In (23), the transitive prefix *burra-* encodes the action of third dual over third singular, i.e. it cross-references the two experiencers (the co-wives) as S, and anger as O. If the verb was intransitive, the person prefix should be *barra-* (intransitive); if the stimulus (i.e. the person triggering anger), rather than anger, was encoded as O, a third dual free pronoun *bunu* should occur before the verb complex, cross-referencing the two women.²³³ Additionally, (5) shows that a benefactive construction is required for an animate experiencer to be cross-referenced on the person prefix – confirming that it is not subcategorized for by the bare verb.

Thus, in the sentence ‘*burrah-yirru-ngalka*’, *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ is the absolutive argument O, while the experiencer is the ergative argument A, and a literal translation is ‘they (two) find anger’ (‘they (two) become angry’). Therefore, in this compound YIRRU cannot be interpreted as a part of the experiencer of the emotion. Conformingly, **kangu-yirru-ngalka* is impossible – which is expected since *kangu-yirru(-no)* denotes a part of the person (1.2.2).

This status of YIRRU in the transitive compound *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘become angry’ is in contrast with the intransitive YIRRU compounds listed in Table 3, the form of which would allow for reanalysis of YIRRU as an attribute of the person. *Yirru-ngalka* is unusual in that it metaphorically represents an emotion, anger, as an independent entity. This is the only Dalabon compound allowing for the generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE LIKE ENTITIES INDEPENDENT OF THE PERSON (possibly along with *yolh-ngun* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘eat’ ‘what’s wrong with x’ (Chapter 8, 3.4.1),

232. This may be regarded as a form of lexicalized verbal argument of the type described by Singer (2006, p. 205ff).

233. Or in this case, a reciprocal form would be expected here, because the sense is that they quarrel ‘with each other’.

but the metaphor is not fully confirmed for this compound). Note that in fact, in many occurrences, like (4), *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘be(come) angry’, would also mean ‘quarrel’, i.e. ‘find conflict’ (thus denoting a visible event). However, this interpretation is less natural in (5), because the compounds denote individual events, not a joint activity like quarrelling. Interestingly, the argument subcategorization of *yirru-ngalka*, while clearly attested, sometimes triggered speakers’ hesitations, which might indicate that the metaphor is not entirely familiar to them.



Figure 1. Picture used in elicitation. To the right, the author.

20120709b_000_MT 096 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 1.]

(5) *Dja-h-marnu-yirru-ngalka-ng.*

3sg>2sg-BEN-conflict/anger-find-PP

be(come).angry

[O] *njing kardu kanh da-h-marnu-yirru-ngalka-ng.*

[or] 2sg maybe DEM 2sg>3-R-BEN-conflict/anger-find-PP

be(come).angry

‘She’s angry at you [she found anger for you]. [Or] you maybe you’re angry at her [you found anger for her].’

1.3 Specific metaphors

At a more specific level, YIRRU compounds instantiate several metaphors, compatible with the ANGER IS LIKE AN ENTITY (whether part of the person or independent) metaphor. One of them is ANGER IS LIKE A HIDDEN/APPEARING ENTITY (1.3.1); the other is ANGER IS LIKE A LIVING ENTITY (1.3.2).

1.3.1 *Appearing entity*

The compounds listed in Table 4 represent anger as an entity which can appear, disappear or be found. Similar metaphors are reported for English, Russian and Spanish (Ogarkova & Soriano, 2014; Stefanowitsch, 2006). *Burlh(mu)* ‘come out’ and *ngal(mu)* ‘appear’ normally apply to animate entities or to entities endowed with the capacity of self-development, so that *yirru-burlh(mu)* and *yirru-ngal(mu)*, both ‘become angry’, also instantiate the metaphor ANGER IS LIKE A DEVELOPING LIVING ENTITY (1.3.2). *Ngalka* ‘find’ and *wayhka* ‘lift in or out/open’ on the other hand, often receive inanimate themes (although *ngalka* ‘find’ often applies to animates).

Table 4. (KANGU-)YIRRU + X compounds yielding appearing-entity metaphors. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-ngal(mu)</i>	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-ngalka</i>	find (v.t)	become (?be) (?emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-wayhka</i>	<i>lift up or out/open (v.t.)</i>	<i>stir up someone's anger</i>
KANGU-YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>kangu-yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	come out (v.i.)	become (?emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)</i>	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-wayhka</i>	<i>lift up or out/open (v.t.)</i>	<i>stir up someone's anger</i>

At first sight, it seems that *yirru-burlh(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘come out’, ‘be(come) angry’ and *yirru-wayhka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘lift in or out/open’ instantiate the metaphor BODY AS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS, which Kövecses (1990, pp. 144–159) mentions for English. The case is, however, not clear-cut in Dalabon. Most of the compounds in Table 4 can denote the onset of anger, when someone’s anger is growing (6 and 7) (not necessarily when the person ‘explodes’). Anger is thus represented as an entity that develops, generates, appears to the experiencer as they experience it, but this metaphorical ‘coming out’ of anger does not correspond to the behavioral expression of anger – in contrast, in English, ‘bursting with anger’ relates to the moment when the person starts behaving angrily. Therefore, the Dalabon compounds do not instantiate a ‘standard’ BODY AS A CONTAINER OF ANGER metaphor. Rather, anger is depicted as a developing entity (1.3.2), and its apparition corresponds to the onset of anger, not to its behavioral manifestation.



Figure 2. Picture used in elicitation.

20120708a_002_MT 018 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 2.]

- (6) *Ka-h-ni ka-h-dje-bruH-mu*
 3sg-R-sit/be:PR 3sg-R-nose/face-blow-PR
 be.sulky

ka-h-kangu-yirru-wo-rru-n.
 3sg-R-belly-conflict/anger-CSTVZR-RR-PR
 be(come).angry

Kenh. Ka-h-kangu-yirru-burlh-mu wanjkih.
 HESIT 3sg-R-belly-conflict/anger-come.out-PR like
 be(come).angry

‘She sitting there, she’s sulky, she’s angry. Well. She’s *becoming* angry [her anger is coming out/she is anger-coming out] rather.’

20120714b_005_MT 052 [ContEl]

[MT explains that she is unhappy about a community employee. Problems have arisen in the past, she had mentioned them already, but never had an argument with anyone about it.]

- (7) *Bah korre nga-h-dja-yirru-ngal-minj.*
 but before 1sg-R-FOC-conflict/anger-appear-PP
 be(come).angry

Nga-h-bolan-yinmi-wo-ng.
 1sg>3-R-nearly-SPEECH-CSTVZR-PP

bah derrh-no-bo nga-h-n-iyana nunh kanh ka-ye-yin-miyan
 but few.days.later 1sg>3-R-see-FUT DEM DEM 3sg-SUB-R-say/do-FUT
nunh nga-h-Ing-yinmi-wo-yan.
 DEM 1sg>3-r-SEQ-SPEECH-CSTVZR-FUT

‘But I was already angry before [my anger had already appeared/I had already anger-appeared]. I was about to tell him, but I’ll tell him later when he talks to me, then I’ll tell him.’

Thus, *yirru-ngal(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘appear’ and *yirru-burlh(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘come out’ map the onset of anger with the appearance of an entity; *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’ maps the onset of anger with the discovery of a hidden entity. All these compounds instantiate the metaphor ONSET OF ANGER IS LIKE APPEARANCE OF ENTITY. *Ngalka* can also mean ‘come across theme’, i.e. it does not imply that the discovery results from active search. Therefore, *yirru-ngalka* does not involve a control metaphor, and does not imply that *yirru* is a valued object.

Yirru-wayhka ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘lift out or up/open’, ‘stir up anger’, probably comes closer to instantiating the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS metaphor, because *wayhka* can sometimes mean ‘lift out’, for instance get something out of a hole. Whether it means ‘lift out or up’ or ‘open’, *wayhka* usually implies making something accessible, which also matches the general appearance metaphor.

The compounds listed in Table 4 are the most frequent of the (KANGU-)YIRRU set after (*kangu-*)*yirru-mun* (‘belly’) + ‘conflict, anger’ + INCH, and there are indications that the hidden/appearing-entity metaphor is a relatively lively representation for Dalabon speakers. First, this metaphor is not strictly limited to lexicalized compounds: *yirru* can sometimes be expressed externally (8), suggesting a lesser degree of lexicalization and conventionalization. In addition, the same metaphor can be implemented outside of lexical compounds with other verbs like *yawan* ‘search’ (9)²³⁴ (also with *namu* ‘put’). It is not clear, however, that in these constructions, the external *yirru* denotes an emotion – as suggested by the Kriol translation in (9), it might denote events (argument, fight, trouble).²³⁵

240909_82OK 1003 (MT) [Sc]

[Of someone with good temper.]

- (8) *Mak yirru ka-ngalka, mak bulnu ka-du-ng.*
 NEG conflict/anger 3sg>3-find:PR NEG 3pl 3sg-scold-PR
 ‘He doesn’t get angry/argue, he doesn’t scold them.’

20120706a_005_MT 052 [Stim]

[Spontaneously building a scenario about Ekman faces, where some of the characters look bellicose, others not.]

- (9) *Yirru nula-h-dja-yawa-n.*
 conflict/anger 2pl>3-R-FOC-look.for-PR
 ‘You are looking for fight.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Yubala lukaraun kula.’²³⁶
 ‘You are looking for conflict.’

234. French and English have similar expressions: ‘look for trouble’, ‘*chercher la bagarre*’ (‘look for fight’).

235. *(*Kangu-*)*yirru-yawan* does not appear to be a valid compound.

236. *Kula* is a Kriol word meaning ‘conflict’.

Within the same metaphor, several YIRRU compounds (Table 5) depict anger as an entity that ‘ends’ when it becomes appeased. This ending can be represented as the extinguishment of a living entity (see 1.3.2, *yirru-don* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘die, suffer/dry’, ‘calm down, end argument or fight’). Other compounds simply describe appeasement of anger as the end of an event, which is relatively literal (*yirru-wudj(mu)*, ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘end, die’, ‘calm down, end argument’). Another compound, (*kangu-*)*yirru-dadjka* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘cut’, ‘prevent someone from being angry or fighting’, adds another dimension to this metaphor, with the mapping APPEASING ANGER IS LIKE CUTTING ENTITY.

Table 5. (KANGU-)YIRRU + X compounds instantiating an ending-entity metaphor. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once and/or are not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>yirru-dadjka</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent someone from being angry or fighting (?husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)</i>
<i>yirru-wudj(mu)</i>	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)
KANGU-YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>kangu-yirru-bonjhmu</i>	<i>terminate (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument (?emotion/behavior)</i>
<i>kangu-yirru-dadjka</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent someone from being angry or fighting (?husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)</i>

The compound *kangu-yirru-dadjka* (Table 5) introduces an association between anger and poison. This compound is formally and semantically analogous to another, more frequent compound, *brang-dadjka*, ‘harmful/poison’ + ‘cut’. *Brang-no* is a bound lexeme which patterns mostly as an adjective meaning ‘harmful’, but can also refer to dangerous/bellicose entities, or to the property of being dangerous, or to the ‘poison’ of a vegetable. According to Harkins (2001), it is not uncommon for Australian languages to lexicalize such broad concepts encompassing active aggressiveness and passive dangerousness, as dispositions or as punctual states (e.g. Kriol *tjiki* (<Eng. ‘cheeky’)). In Dalabon, *yirru* can also denote aggressive behavior or aggressiveness, and the main difference between *yirru* and *brang-no* is that the latter applies irrespective of the animacy of the participant. YIRRU compounds only take animate subjects (humans or animals), while *brang-no* frequently describes inanimates such as vegetables and other consumables – having bad/strong taste, or being poisonous.²³⁷ The lexicalized compound *brang-dadjka* ‘harmful/poison’ + ‘cut’, ‘remove poison’, occurred in descriptions of practical processes aimed at removing the bitterness or poison from vegetables before eating them.

237. *Brang-no* ‘harmful/poison’ was only used on humans very remote from the speaker, thus possibly inducing some distance.

[DD]

- (10) *Dirnku mey bah barng-no*²³⁸
 cycad vegetable.food but poison

wurrhwurrungu bula-h-djukkon-inji ka-h-barng-dadjka-nj.
 old.people 3pl>3-R-wash-PCUST 3sg>3-R-poison-cut-PP

‘[The fruit of the] cycad palm is edible, but it’s poisonous, old people soaked it, they got the toxin out [they cut the poison].’

(*Kangu-*)*yirru-dadjka* (‘belly’ +) ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘cut’, ‘prevent someone from being angry or fighting’ transfers this sense to the emotional domain, metaphorically presenting *kangu-yirru(-no)*, anger, as a dangerous component to be removed. The metaphor, APPEASING ANGER IS LIKE REMOVING POISON, implies a comparison between anger and poison.

1.3.2 Living entity

A large number of (KANGU-)YIRRU compounds are compatible with the metaphor ANGER IS LIKE A LIVING ENTITY (Table 6), a metaphor also reported for English, Russian and Spanish by Ogarkova & Soriano (2014). Some of the compounds described in the previous section under the appearing-entity metaphor also illustrate the living-entity metaphor at the same time. However, the ‘appearing-entity compounds’ do not require

Table 6. (KANGU-)YIRRU + X compounds compatible with a living-entity metaphor. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The compound in italics occurred only once and is not well attested.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-don</i>	<i>die, suffer/dry (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument or fight</i> (?emotion/behavior)
<i>yirru-mon</i>	good, fine (adj.)	dangerous, aggressive (of animals or spirits)
<i>yirru-ngal(mu)</i>	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-ngurd(mu)</i>	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	calm down, stop arguing or fighting (?emotion/behavior)
<i>yirru-weh</i>	bad (adj.)	disposition: tame
<i>yirru-wudj(mu)</i>	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)
KANGU-YIRRU COMPOUNDS		
<i>kangu-yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	come out (v.i.)	become (?emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)</i>	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry

238. In Dalabon, retroflex continuants can occur on either side of a vowel, especially when the preceding consonant is non-coronal, hence indifferently *barng-no* or *brang-no*. I use the most frequent realization in the citation form, but reproduce actual pronunciations in glosses.

that the entity be animate, and their much higher incidence as compared to compounds instantiating living-entity metaphors justified an autonomous treatment.

None of the predicates forming the compounds in Table 6 specify strictly that their argument *must* be an animate, but considered altogether, they do point towards a living-entity metaphor. Several of them (*burlh(mu)* ‘come out’ and *ngal(mu)* ‘appear’) suggest that their subject be minimally vegetative. *Don* ‘die, suffer/dry’ and *wudj(mu)* ‘end, die’ suggest animate subjects even though they allow inanimate subjects.

Some of the compounds in Table 6 suggest representations of anger as a vegetative entity. *Ngal(mu)* ‘appear’ applies to subjects endowed with life in the biological sense of the word, and connotes development. *Ngal(mu)* typically describes natural growth, like the expansion of a species in (11), or putrefaction (12).

[DD]

- (11) *Wah-kuno, kodwongkodwong kanh ka-ye-dabu-marnbu-rru-n,*
 water-TIME frog DEM 3sg-SUB-egg-make-RR-PR
ka-h-dabu-yung, ka-h-lng-ngal-mu, kanunh kodwongkodwong
 3sg>3-R-egg-put:PR 3sg-R-SEQ-appear-PR DEM frog
ka-h-lng-njay-mu, ngong-no-ngong-no.
 3sg-R-SEQ-?-PR group-FILL-group-FILL
 ‘In the wet season, when the frog’s eggs are laid, it lays its eggs, and they appear, lots of frogs breed up.’

20120715a_000_MT 156 [EI]

- (12) *Kanj-no manjh, ka-h-nurru-ngal-minj.*
 meat-3sgPOSS animal 3sg-R-putrefaction-appear-PP
 ‘This [animal’s] meat, it’s rotten [putrefaction appeared].’

Hence *yirru-ngal(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘appear’, ‘become angry’ instantiates two metaphors: one focusing on appearance (hidden entity, 1.3.1), and one, suggested by the particular contexts in which *ngal(mu)* ‘appear’ is more commonly found, focusing on development: ONSET OF ANGER IS LIKE DEVELOPMENT OF LIVING (VEGETATIVE) ENTITY. This metaphor is consistent with the ANGER IS LIKE LIVING ENTITY metaphor described in the following section, even though the living entity may be vegetative here, since *ngal(mu)* only specifies that the entity be endowed with self-development. This metaphor represents a conceptual bridge between the very frequent ANGER IS LIKE A HIDDEN/APPEARING ENTITY metaphor and the less frequent ANGER IS LIKE LIVING ENTITY metaphor.²³⁹

Within the same metaphor, liveliness of the entity maps with stronger anger, while death of the entity maps with appeasement of anger. *Yirru-don* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘die, suffer/dry’ and *yirru-wudj(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘end, die’, both ‘calm down, end fight

239. A vegetative entity metaphor for anger is reported in Akan (Kwa, Ghana), where anger is represented linguistically as a growing weed (Ansah, 2011, p. 127).

or argument' instantiate the ANGER IS LIKE A LIVING ENTITY metaphor with the entailment EXTINGUISHMENT OF ANGER IS LIKE DEATH OF A LIVING ENTITY. *Wudj(mu)* means 'end' more generally (e.g. event ends) but does apply to animates, and is commonly used to talk about death. *Don* can mean 'die' or 'suffer' when the subject is animate, but it may also mean 'dry', in particular for wounds (heal) or vegetables. Hence *yirru-don*, 'calm down, end fight or argument', may be also interpreted as 'conflict, anger' + 'die' or as 'conflict, anger' + 'dry', where *yirru* is, again, represented as a self-developing or vegetative living entity.

Another aspect of the same metaphor maps vivacity of the living entity with degrees of anger. *Yirru-ngurd(mu)* 'conflict, anger' + 'be(come) quiet', 'calm down, stop arguing' makes direct reference to agitation (hence vivacity), and is metonymic in the sense that agitation results from anger and is a component of fights and arguments.

20111207a_004_MT 28 [E]

[Two persons used to argue all the time, now they've calmed down.]

- (13) *Barra-h-dja-ni munu, yirru-dih,*
 3du-R-FOC-sit/be:PR LIM conflict/anger-PRIV
barra-h-lng-yirru-ngurd-minj.
 3du-R-SEQ-anger-be.quiet-PP

'They're just sitting quiet, free of conflict/anger, they calmed down/ended the argument [their angers are now quiet/they got anger-appeased].'

Yirru-mon 'conflict, anger' + 'good, fine', 'dangerous, aggressive' and *yirru-weh* 'conflict, anger' + 'bad', 'tame' instantiate the metaphor ANGER/AGGRESSIVENESS IS LIKE LIVELY/HEALTHY ANIMATE ENTITY. *Mon* and *weh* can respectively mean 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' as well as 'good' and 'bad'. Hence *yirru-mon* may be interpreted literally as 'healthy (lively) anger', i.e. 'disposed to anger', 'aggressive', and *yirru-weh* as 'unhealthy (not lively) anger', i.e. 'not disposed to anger', 'tame'. The metaphor underlying these two compounds allows us to make better sense of their polarity. *Mon* 'good, fine' and *weh* 'bad' can express ethical judgments: they are used to praise or condemn people's behaviors etc. Other emotional compounds with *mon* and *weh* endorse the moral polarity of these adjectives: *kangu-mon* 'belly' + 'good, fine' means 'feel good/be good', *kangu-weh-no* 'belly' + 'bad', 'be mean, nasty', etc. Since being angry is condemned by Dalabon moral norms (see Chapter 6, 2.1.1), the reverse polarity would be expected, where *yirru-mon* would mean 'tame' and *yirru-weh* 'dangerous, aggressive'. The ANGER IS LIKE A LIVELY/HEALTHY ANIMATE ENTITY metaphor sheds some light upon the reverse polarity: *yirru-mon* 'conflict, anger' + 'good, fine', 'dangerous, aggressive'.

While the lexemes instantiating this metaphor are not particularly frequent, the metaphor is salient enough to be mirrored in Kriol translations. Interestingly, it was mirrored not by literal translations of the Dalabon compounds, but by new forms of the same metaphors involving vivacity:

20120712a_000_MT 088 [Stim]

- (14) *Ka-h-yirru-wo-ng.*
 3sg>3-R-conflict/anger-CSTVZR-PP
 be(come).angry
 ‘He got angry at him.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: Im kula jambab.
 ?’His anger is jumping.’

1.3.3 *Anger, pain, diseases and poison*

Interestingly, while this living-entity metaphor does not apply to emotions other than anger,²⁴⁰ it may apply to pain, *bar-no*. *Bar-ngal(mu)* ‘pain’ + ‘appear’ ‘(start to) suffer physically’ occurred when describing an infected wound:

20120718a_000_MT 008 [El]

- (15) *Langu-moh-ngu,* *dja-h-marnu-bar-ngal-minj.*
 hand/finger-wound-2sgPOSS 3sg>2sg-R-BEN-pain-appear-PP
 ‘The cut on your finger is hurting you [makes your pain appear].’

Bar-ngal(mu) ‘pain’ + ‘appear’, ‘(start to) suffer physically’, is formally and semantically analogous to *yirru-ngal(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘appear’, ‘be(come) angry’. The construction [affect + *ngal(mu)* ‘appear’] seems limited to degenerating proliferation such as infection (like in (15)) and putrefaction. The transitive counterpart of *ngal(mu)*, *ngalka* ‘find’, also occurs with a couple of other affects (see Section 2), including pain (*bar-ngalka* ‘pain’ + ‘find’, ‘(start to) suffer physically’), and *moyh-no* ‘disease/sick’ – the most common of the compounds with this structure.²⁴¹

20120713b_003_MT 106 [El]

- (16) *Kanh manjh, kanj-no-yih* *ngol* *ka-h-Ing-moyh-ngalka-nj.*
 dem animal meat-3sgPOSS-ERG 1pl.incl 3sg>1-r-SEQ-sick-find-PP
 ‘This game, the meat made us sick [it found us sick/it found our sickness].’

In contrast with *yirru*, *moyh-no* is an animate-part noun, and therefore raises its possessor. It encodes the experiencer as the absolutive argument, O (*ngol*, first person plural inclusive in (16)), and the incorporated noun MOYH is a part of this experiencer (‘our sickness’). With *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘be(come) angry’, O is invariably

240. Compounds like **yolh-ngal(mu)* ‘feelings/enthusiasm’ + ‘appear’ or **djong-ngal(mu)* ‘FEAR’ + ‘appear’ were rejected in elicitation.

241. *Re-ngalka* ‘laughter’ + ‘find’, ‘make someone laugh’ (experiencer is O) was used very marginally, but the construction was rejected with several other affects such as *nurru-no* ‘putrefaction’, *madme-no* ‘hunger’.

third person, cross-referencing ‘anger’. While the two compounds present a different pattern of argument subcategorization as a result of the nominal subclasses of the noun component, they are formally similar, which constitutes another parallel between anger and disease, a metaphor reported in several European languages (English, Russian and Spanish, see Orgarkova & Soriano (2014); Polish, see Mikolajczuk (1998, p. 168)) as well as in an African language (Akan, Kwa, Ghana, see Ansah (2011, p. 134). In Dalabon, the similarities between anger, pain and diseases also echo the linguistic associations of anger with poison, instantiated by *kangu-yirru-dadjka* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘cut’ in comparison with *brang-dadjka* ‘harmful/poison’ + ‘cut’ (see 1.3.1).

1.3.4 *Anger is a fluid*

Kangu-yirru-bruk ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘dry’, ‘self-confident, not scared in conflicts’ instantiates the metaphor ANGER IS LIKE A FLUID, echoing the plausible interpretation of *yirru-don* as ‘anger dries’. No other (KANGU-)YIRRU compounds repeat this representation, but as will be shown in Section 3, the dryness metaphor occurs in another set, the [noun + *bruk*] ‘dry’ set.

The ANGER IS LIKE A FLUID metaphor is very backgrounded in Dalabon. As will be discussed in Chapter 10 (1.4), the existence of the *kangu-yirru-bruk* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘dry’, ‘self-confident, not scared in conflicts’ may be explained without postulating this particular metaphor. The interpretation ‘anger dries’ of *yirru-don* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘die, suffer/dry’ is not compelling either, since the most common sense of *don* is ‘die’, not ‘dry’. However, since the ANGER IS LIKE A FLUID metaphor has been claimed to be universal (2005, pp. 39–42), it is important to report it (see the discussion on the particularity of Dalabon metaphors for anger, in 1.6 below).

1.4 Metaphors specific to KANGU-YIRRU compounds

KANGU-YIRRU compounds are mostly analogous to YIRRU compounds, and they instantiate the metaphors outlined above – except the ANGER IS LIKE AN ENTITY INDEPENDENT OF THE PERSON metaphor found with *yirru-ngalka*, since **kangu-yirru-ngalka* is not acceptable. A couple of KANGU-YIRRU compounds deserve special mention. The compounds listed in Table 7 are formed with predicates that already denote an emotional state. The addition of KANGU-YIRRU does not appear to make a difference to the sense of the resulting compound.²⁴² The role of KANGU in here is comparable to its role in [KANGU + emotional predicate] compounds such as *kangu-wurdah(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘suffer emotionally’, ‘suffer emotionally’, interpreted in Chapter 8 (1.4) as a metonymy BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS. With KANGU-YIRRU, the metonymy is ANGER OF BELLY FOR SEAT OF ANGER. This formulation may sound pleonastic in English, but it makes more sense in Dalabon, where abstract aspects of the person such as feelings are treated morphosyntactically like body-parts, i.e. as parts

242. But the low number of occurrences made the assessment difficult.

of the person (see *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, Chapter 8, Section 3). A literal translation of ‘*bukah-kangu-yirru-djurrkkan*’ ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘exasperate, annoy’ would thus be ‘it exasperates his anger’ for ‘it causes x to become aggressive’.

Table 7. KANGU-YIRRU + X compounds with emotional predicates. All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component. The asterisk indicates that these compounds are not attested as YIRRU + X. The compound in italics occurred only once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
* <i>kangu-yirru-djurrkkan</i>	<i>exasperate,</i> <i>annoy (v.t.)</i>	<i>cause to become so excited</i> <i>that one acts aggressively</i>
*kangu-yirru-djurrkarrun	exasperate, annoy + REFL (v.refl.)	become so excited that one acts aggressively

Kangu-yirru-djurrkkan ‘excite’ and *kangu-yirru-djurrkarrun* ‘get oneself excited’ apply specifically to experiencers that are not in full intellectual control of themselves, typically animals or young people. Hence the experiencer is semantically ‘demoted’, so to speak, in favor of the part of the person more directly affected by the emotion. Note that the experiencer is not syntactically demoted though.

20110521b_002_MT 024 [Sc]

- (17) *Yawurrinj-wurd wirrimah kirdikird-wurd. Kanh duyuyih*
 young.man-DIM or woman-DIM DEM taboo-ERG
bulu ka-h-kangu-yirru-djurrkka-n,
 3pl 3sg>3-R-belly-conflict/anger-excite-PR
ngorr wubulu-bubu-n.
 1pl.incl APPR:3pl>1-hit:REDUP-PR

‘Young men, or young women. The power of taboos stirs them up [stirs up the anger of their belly], they might hit us then.’

1.5 Other anger metaphors

Three compounds from the KANGU set presented in Chapter 8 (Section 1) denote anger (Table 8). They combine PHYSICAL STATE OF THE BELLY FOR EMOTIONAL STATE metonymies, and several distinct metaphors: ANGER IS LIKE AGONY (OF THE BELLY), ANGER IS LIKE SHAKING (OF THE BELLY), ANGER IS LIKE HEAT (OF THE BELLY), ANGER IS LIKE PAIN (OF THE BELLY), ANGER IS LIKE DESTRUCTION (OF THE BELLY). The destruction and pain metaphors are not specific to anger, but target negative emotions in general (Chapter 8 (1.5.2), DESTRUCTION OF THE BELLY FOR NEGATIVE EMOTIONS). The other three are specific to anger. They are metonymically grounded metaphors found in other languages across the world. In Dalabon, these KANGU compounds are far less frequent than YIRRU compounds, which are the unmarked way to describe anger.

Table 8. KANGU + X compounds denoting anger.

All compounds belong to the same word class as the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
kangu-darridj(mu)	shake in agony (v.i.)	be furious
kangu-wurlh(mu)	be (too) hot (BP ache) (v.i.)	get angry/?have a burning belly
kangu-dadj(mu)	be cut, end (v.i.)	lose temper, be very angry

The HEAT metaphor is, according to Lakoff & Kövecses (1987), one of the crucial metaphors for anger in English, and is found in virtually all languages for which the topic has been explored.²⁴³ In Dalabon, this metaphor remains very marginal (one lexeme, one occurrence).²⁴⁴ The association of anger with shaking is also cross-linguistically common (English, French). It may be seen as a physical effect of anger, or related to physical agitation, a source domain for anger in several languages (English, Lakoff & Kövecses (1987, p. 197), Japanese, Matsuki (1995, p. 138), Polish, Mikolajczuk (1998, p. 138)). Finally, the agony metaphor is not unrelated to the ANGER IS LIKE A BODILY DISEASE metaphor reported by Mikolajczuk (1998, p. 168) for Polish and by Ogarkova & Soriano (2014) for English, Russian and Spanish (ANGER IS LIKE ILLNESS).

In addition, Dalabon also uses some behavioral metonymies for anger. *Yamarrk-barrun* and *mo-barrun* ‘teeth’/‘bones’ + ‘bite’ + REFL can both mean either ‘grind teeth’ or ‘be angry’. *Mayah(mu)* ‘get lost’ may also mean be ‘angry at someone’ in benefactive constructions: ‘*dah-marnu-mayahmayahmu*’, ‘you are angry at him’.

1.6 Discussion

1.6.1 Representations of anger in Dalabon

YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ compounds differ from the three body-based compound sets described in Chapter 8, to the extent that *yirru* belongs to the generic subclass, while the fixed nouns in the other sets belong to the animate-part subclass (body-parts like belly or heart, or the abstract attribute of the person YOLH ‘pep, feelings’). This correlates with the fact that *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ does not refer to a body-part or part of the person, but to observable events such as fights or conflicts. As a result, *yirru* is not obligatorily possessed and should not, in principle, raise a possessor. In one compound, *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘become angry’, anger is encoded as an argument independent of the person (1.2.2), yielding the metaphor ANGER IS LIKE AN ENTITY INDEPENDENT OF THE PERSON. Such representations of emotions are marginal

243. Anger is also represented by heat in Kukatja, a language of Western Australia (Peile, 1997, p. 128), and in Kaytetye *pwenhe* means both ‘cooked’ and ‘angry’ (Turpin, 2002, p. 280).

244. And note that the compound in question, *kangu-wurlh(mu)* ‘belly’ + ‘be (too) hot (BP aches)’ also conveys an ANGER IS LIKE PAIN METAPHOR, which occurs in the YIRRU set (1.3.3).

in Dalabon. Indeed, most YIRRU compounds are intransitive and select the experiencer, rather than *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, as their subject. As a consequence, with these compounds, anger is represented as a state of the person, not as an entity independent of the person. The clauses formed with these compound verbs are formally analogous to what noun incorporation constructions with *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ would look like if *yirru* was an animate-part noun (1.2.1). This could indicate that in these compounds, *yirru* is being reanalyzed as an emotional attribute of the person, while in the compound *yirru-ngalka* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘find’, ‘become angry’, it can refer to conflicts as well (i.e. to events). However, *yirru* does not seem to undergo complete reanalysis. Indeed, when (rarely) speakers needed to discuss ‘someone’s anger’, they did not add a possessive enclitic to *yirru* (**yirru-ngu* ‘your anger’, **yirru-no* ‘his anger’, etc.). Instead, a speaker formed the compound *kangu-yirru-bulng* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict anger’ + POSS, literally ‘the anger of their belly’, which was expressed as possessed.

Another notable difference between YIRRU metaphors for anger and the metaphors in various body-based sets is that YIRRU metaphors are relatively independent of the somatic effects of anger. Metaphors grounded in somatic metaphors exist (instantiated by KANGU ‘belly’ compounds, see 1.5), but remain marginal in terms of frequency. The most frequent metaphors relate to physiological processes, but not to somatic responses to anger (i.e. not to the effect of anger itself). Instead, anger is compared to pervasive, self-developing bodily affects such as pain, disease, and poison. While this may also be grounded in proprioception of anger, these comparisons do not relate to somatic responses, but rather to the perception of anger as uncontrollable,²⁴⁵ and to its morally negative status. Living-entity metaphors, on the other hand, could be rooted in behavioral responses to anger, which are usually ‘lively’ and not necessarily controlled – like independent, living entities. Indeed, a compound like *yirru-ngurd(mu)* ‘conflict, anger’ + ‘become quiet’, ‘calm down’, can be interpreted as a direct reference to the experiencer’s behavior. Negative moral assessment, absence of control and agitated behavior are interrelated aspects of anger.

1.6.2 Cross-linguistic comparison

As already noted by Myers (1988, p. 593) (and even more since then), anger has attracted a lot of attention from anthropologists (Briggs, 1970; Lutz, 1988; Rosaldo, 1980), but also from linguists interested in cross-linguistic comparison, with two divergent trends. On the one hand, some semanticists emphasize the cultural specificity and diversity of anger words across languages and cultures (Durst, 2001; Goddard, 1996b; Harkins, 2001; Kornacki, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1998; 1999, pp. 123–167). By contrast, some cognitive linguists have discussed anger as one of the best examples of cross-linguistic uniformity. Kövecses (2005, pp. 39–42) argues that metaphors of anger

²⁴⁵ Myers (1988, p. 598) indicates that Pintupi perceive anger as ‘turbulence’, inducing lack of control.

are remarkably similar across languages. In particular, the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor (or hot gas, as suggested by Goatly (2007, p. 243ff)), based on the physiologically grounded ANGER IS HEAT metaphor combined with the BODY AS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS, is reported in a number of very diverse languages.²⁴⁶ According to Kövecses, the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID/GAS IN A CONTAINER metaphor is a 'potentially universal' metaphor (Kövecses, 2005, p. 35), by which he means that it is made statistically more common because it is 'embodied', i.e. grounded in somatic effects of anger – mostly, a raise in temperature confirmed by Ekman et al. (1983), Levenson et al. (1990), Levenson et al. (1991).²⁴⁷ Dalabon makes only marginal use of the fluid and container metaphors for anger. ANGER IS LIKE A FLUID was described in 1.3.4 as secondary for anger and generic for all emotions (Section 3). The metaphor of the body as a container for anger exists (*yirru-burlh(mu)* 'conflict, anger' + 'come out', 'become angry', *yirru-wayhka* 'conflict, anger' + 'lift up or out/open', 'stir up anger'), but is secondary as compared to the appearing-entity metaphor (1.3.1). These metaphors do not combine into a fluid-in-a-container metaphor.

This counter example does not invalidate Kövecses's claim: as he pointed out (1995), embodiment motivates metaphors but does not determine them entirely. Yet, the status of metaphors for anger in Dalabon raises questions. Firstly, anger stands out as the only emotion metaphorically represented as an entity independent of the person. To that extent, Dalabon metaphors for anger seem to converge towards cross-linguistically standard metaphors. Huang (2002) reports a comparable status for anger metaphors in Tsou, an Austronesian language of Taiwan. According to Huang (2002, p. 174), Tsou does not represent emotions metaphorically at all, except anger. In Tsou, anger is represented as excess of air in a container – a metaphor very similar to the cross-linguistically frequent pressured liquid/gas metaphor. Thus, in Tsou as in Dalabon, anger attracts a special treatment, and in both cases metaphors of anger converge towards typologically frequent patterns which do not occur elsewhere in the

246. This metaphor is reported in nearly all the languages for which anger metaphors have been described: Chinese (Yu, 1995, 1998), English (Kövecses, 1986; Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987), French (Augustyn & Bouchoueva, 2009), Hungarian (Bokor, 1997; Kövecses, 2008), Japanese (Matsuki, 1995), Polish (Augustyn & Bouchoueva, 2009; Mikolajczuk, 1998), Russian (Augustyn & Bouchoueva, 2009), Spanish (Barcelona, 2001), Tahitian (Levy, 1984), Tunisian Arabic (Maalej, 2004), Wolof (Munro, 1991), Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998), and a related metaphor is found in Akan (Kwa, Ghana) (Ansah, 2011) and in Tsou (Austronesian, Taiwan) (Huang, 2002, p. 174).

247. In the case of the ANGER IS HOT FLUID/GAS IN A CONTAINER metaphor, which induces a pressure component presented by Lakoff & Kövecses (1987, p. 196) among the physiological effect of anger, one may wonder if pressure is indeed a physiological effect of anger, or rather, a 'psychological synesthetic feel' related to an urge to make one's feelings perceptible by others (shouting, gesticulating etc.), i.e. to behave in a certain way.

language.²⁴⁸ This supports Kövecses's hypothesis of the quasi-universality of metaphors for anger. However, this suggests that this hypothesis could apply to anger in particular, rather than to metaphors inspired by somatic responses in general.

Furthermore, unlike Tsou, Dalabon makes no significant use of the quasi-universal metaphor of the hot/pressurized gas/liquid in a container. Yet, Dalabon metaphors for anger resemble metaphors found in other languages. The living-entity metaphor resembles another cross-linguistically common metaphor: *ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL*, reported in English (see Lakoff & Kövecses (1987, p. 206), as well as in Japanese (Matsuki, 1995, p. 141), Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998, p. 209), plus a related metaphor in Polish: *AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF ANIMALS FOR ANGER* (Mikolajczuk, 1998, p. 170). In addition, the parallel between anger and diseases is also reported in English, Spanish and Russian (*ANGER IS ILLNESS*, Ogarkova & Soriano (2014)) and Polish (*ANGER IS A DISEASE* metaphors, Mikolajczuk (1998, p. 168)), and closely matched by *ANGER IS NAUSEA* in Zulu (Taylor & Mbense, 1998, p. 198). Finally, the Dalabon parallel between anger and poison is matched by a Polish metaphor *ANGER IS VENOM* (Mikolajczuk, 1998, p. 170).

Thus, Dalabon metaphors for anger do not constitute typological exceptions, but they do not include the most common one, the hot fluid in a container – which is common supposedly because it is anchored in somatic responses to anger. As pointed out in 1.6.1, Dalabon metaphors for anger are precisely not inspired by somatic responses to anger, but rather by its uncontrollable nature (ant related behaviors), and by negative moral appraisal. In this respect, anger metaphors also stand out amongst other Dalabon emotion metaphors, since most of them are inspired by somatic responses to emotions (physiological states of the belly (*KANGU* 'belly'), heartbeat (*NGURLK* and *NGERH* 'heart/breath'), physical energy and its correlation with emotions (*YOLH* 'pep, feelings' set)) and remain closely tied to this somatic anchorage: emotions are always treated as states or parts of the person.

To summarize, Dalabon metaphors for anger differ from other Dalabon emotion metaphors to the extent that they are not somatically anchored: specific metaphors for anger are not inspired by somatic responses to anger, and anger is sometimes treated as an entity independent of the person rather than a state or part of the person. As a consequence of this, on the one hand Dalabon metaphors of anger lose some of their specificity (treatment as part of the person/independent entity), but on the other hand they do not resemble the cross-linguistically most common metaphor, the *HOT FLUID/GAS IN A CONTAINER* metaphor, which is anchored in somatic responses to anger. This configuration casts doubts on Kövecses's hypothesis that the universality of the hot liquid/gas in a container is due to its somatic anchorage. Indeed, anger metaphors seem to endorse a special status, in Dalabon as in Tsou (Austronesian, Taiwan, Huang,

248. This convergence between Tsou and Dalabon is all the more interesting since these two languages present further similarities with respect to descriptions of emotions, see Chapter 10, Section 4.

2002), since they depart from some of the particularism observed in these languages to converge towards typologically common patterns. But in Dalabon, this cannot be due to somatic anchorage, since the Dalabon metaphors for anger are *not* somatically inspired. The aspects of anger which inspired Dalabon metaphors may also be shared across cultures (see Maalej (2004) about the role of cultural representations in accounting for metaphors).²⁴⁹

The status of metaphors for anger in Dalabon raises several questions. Why does anger pattern differently than other emotions in Dalabon – like in Tsou? Why does it move away from somatic representations, otherwise broadly used by Dalabon emotion metaphors? Is it because of the sense of the lexeme that serves as a base for the compounds, namely *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, which denotes conflict events rather than a body-part or an emotion when used alone? This could relate, ultimately, to the public, social – as opposed to intimate – dimension of anger. Does the syntactic status of *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, being a generic noun rather than an animate-part noun, play a role here? Is there a correlation between the particular status of anger in Dalabon and the fact that anger triggers remarkably consistent metaphors across languages? Does the particular ‘nature’ of anger – be it physiological, neurological, behavioral, social – motivate its outstanding metaphorical status across languages? Do Dalabon people make use of a particular concept of anger, which would motivate different metaphorical treatments? Or should we seek explanations in the particular linguistic tools available to describe anger in Dalabon?

Some of these questions are beyond the scope of this study. Others may be tentatively tackled. As stated in Chapter 6 (2.1.1), there are no reasons to think that Dalabon people use a significantly different concept of anger. In fact, Dalabon speakers have used PRESSURIZED FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphors in their Kriol translations of Dalabon utterance, which suggests that their concept of anger is compatible with these metaphors. The speaker offered the translation in (18) as she was struggling to provide a Dalabon explanation for the Dalabon compound *kangu-yirru-djurrkkan* ‘cause to become excited and aggressive’.

20120706a_001_MT 003 [Com]

[Translating ‘*duyu buka-h-kangu-yirru-djurrkka-n*’

taboo 3sg>3sg,h-belly-conflict/anger-excite-PR

‘The power of taboos stirs him up [stirs up the anger of his belly].’]

(18) *Tumadj im ful dat anga bla im.*

a.lot 3sg full DET anger GEN 3sg

‘His anger is really full.’

‘He gets really excited and aggressive.’

249. Although the moral appraisal dimension, at play in Dalabon metaphors, is the one that would vary the most (Lutz, 1986; Rosaldo, 1980).

On the other hand, it is possible that some linguistic features of Dalabon linguistic descriptions of anger discourage the use of physiological metaphors of anger. *Yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ is a generic noun, not an animate-part noun like all the other nouns involved in emotional compound sets. As a result, *yirru* potentially triggers different patterns of argument subcategorization in noun incorporation, and it has been shown throughout the above sections that this impacts on metaphorical representations of anger.

2. RE ‘laughter, smile’ and RU ‘tears’

Listed in Table 9 are several compounds denoting emotional states, emotional behaviors or other affects formed with the roots RE ‘laughter, smile’ and RU ‘tears’ (on laughter and tears, see Chapter 10, 1.5).

Table 9. *X + ngabbun* and *X + ngalka* compounds. The valence and argument mapping of the compounds vary. Compounds in italics were elicited.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
RE ‘laughter, smile’ (in verbal and nominal compounds)		
re-dorrung	COMITATIVE	smiling (or laughing?)
<i>re-ngabbun</i>	<i>give (v.dt.)</i>	<i>cause to laugh (emotional behavior)</i>
re-ngalka	find (v.t.)	cause to laugh (emotional behavior)
re-burlh-keyhwon	come out + CSTVZR (v.t.)	cause to laugh (emotional behavior)
RU ‘tears’ (in verbal and nominal compounds)		
ru-dorrung	COMITATIVE	crying
<i>ru-ngabbun</i>	<i>give (v.dt.)</i>	<i>emotional: cause to suffer emotionally (doesn’t have to be intentional)</i>
ru-ngurd(mu)	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	stop crying
ru-wan	follow, come close (v.t.)	cry with someone

Both RE ‘laughter, smile’ and RU ‘tears’ occur in nominal compounds (with the comitative *-dorrung*) as well as verbal compounds, but not as isolated nouns. They denote behaviors resulting from emotions and occur in compounds instantiating metaphors of the type EMOTIONAL BEHAVIORS ARE LIKE ENTITIES, with ENCOUNTERING ENTITY IS LIKE EXPERIENCING EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR, TRANSFERRING ENTITY IS LIKE CAUSING EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR.²⁵⁰ The compounds listed in Table 9 are very marginal (one occurrence each).

Interestingly, several of the predicates (*ngalka* ‘find’, *ngurd(mu)* ‘be(come) quiet’) also occur with *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, which equally denotes an emotional behavior.

250. In these metaphors, emotional behavior is used in the ordinary sense ‘behavior triggered by an emotion’, not in the sense defined in Chapter 1 (1.2.2.3) for this work.

However, the argument mapping of *re-ngalka* ‘laughter, smile’ + ‘find’, ‘cause to laugh’, is not the same as *yirru-ngalka* ‘become angry’. In (19), the experiencer – not the emotion/behavior – is treated as O (*ngorr*, first plural inclusive). RE ‘laughter, smile’ could be either the second argument O, or a part of the experiencer expressed as an incorporated noun – in which case laughter would be treated as an inalienable attribute of the person (like *yolh-no* ‘pep, feelings’, see Chapter 6, Section 1 and Chapter 8, Section 3). The rare occurrences of such compounds do not allow us to discriminate between these two possibilities. Therefore, it is impossible to assess whether the compounds instantiate the metaphor EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR IS LIKE AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY, or whether RE ‘laughter, smile’ is treated as an attribute of the person (1.2.1).

20111208_002_MT 80 [EI]

- (19) *Kanh kirdikird ka-h-kakku-berr-mondi, ngorr ka-h-re-ngalka.*
 DEM woman 3sg-R-really-CHEST-good 1pl.incl 3sg>1-R-laughter-find:PR
 be.funny

‘This woman is very funny [good chest], she makes us laugh [she finds our laughter].’

3. BRUK ‘dry’

The previous sections presented emotional compound sets with alternating predicates, based on a given noun: [NOUN + predicate]. This section presents a set where the nouns alternate and the predicate remains the same: [noun + PREDICATE]. In Dalabon, [noun + PREDICATE] sets of emotion-related predicates, often featuring body-parts and other attributes of the person in the noun slot, are a very productive and important tool to describe emotions and associated behaviors. In contrast with the sets presented above, a lot of the [noun + PREDICATE] sets are not figurative but mostly compositional – this will be discussed in Chapter 10. However, one set, where compounds are formed with the adjective *bruk*, ‘dry’, does yield plausible metaphorical interpretations (Table 10).

Table 10. X + *BRUK* compounds.

All compounds are adjectives, like *bruk*. Compounds in italics were elicited.

Compound	First component	Sense
BODY-PARTS		
kangu-bruk	belly (animate-part)	socially self-confident, not scared in conflictual interactions
mud-bruk	(body) hair (animate-part)	brave (not be scared)
ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTES OF THE PERSON		
men-bruk	ideas, mind (animate-part)	self-controlled, not scared, patient

Table 10. (continued)

Compound	First component	Sense
<i>kangu-yirru-bruk</i>	?feeling of anger (animate-part)	not scared? in conflictual interactions
NOT *yolh-bruk	feelings (animate-part)	
OTHERS		
<i>djong-bruk</i>	FEAR	brave (not scared)
<i>wadda-bruk</i>	camp, home (generic)	quiet, focused, not agitated
NOT *yirru-bruk	conflict, anger (generic)	

Apart from *wadda-bruk* ‘quiet, focused’, all these compounds primarily denote dispositions:

20111207a_005_MT 33 [E1]

[About someone who is not invited to follow others in the bush.]

- (20) *Yang-djeneng bula-h-k-iyen-kun barlbbara,*
 as.if 3pl>3-R-take-FUT-GEN company
bah mak bulu ka-kakku-djawadjawa-n, bah ka-h-beng-ka-n,
 but NEG 3pl 3sg>3-really-ask:REDUP-PR but 3sg>3-R-MIND-take-PR
 know
ka-h-dja-djong-mu-n, mak ka-mud-bruk kahke.
 3sg-R-FEAR-INCH-PR NEG 3sg-body.hair-dry NEG
 brave

‘You’d think they would have taken him [along on a bush trip] for company, but he didn’t actually ask them, because he knows, he’s scared [in the bush], he’s not brave at all [he’s not dry-haired].’

There exist further non-emotional BRUK compounds, not listed here (see Chapter 10, 1.4). The emotional compounds yield EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS LIKE DRYNESS metaphors, with variations depending on whether the preceding noun is an attribute of the person represented metonymically as the experiencer of emotions (20), or the emotion itself (21). With *mud-bruk* ‘body hair’ + ‘dry’, there is an additional metonymy BODY HAIR FOR FEAR. As discussed in Chapter 10 (2.1), this relates to goosebumps.

260909_87OK 1397 (MT) [E1]

[Open question on *djong-bruk*.]

- (21) *Ka-h-djong-bruk, mak ka-djong-mu-n.*
 3sg-R-FEAR-dry NEG 3sg-FEAR-INCH-PR
 brave
Bula-h-du-ngiyan, mak ka-djong-m-iniyan.
 3pl>3-R-scold-FUT NEG 3sg-FEAR-INCH-FUT
 ‘He’s brave [he’s dry-fear], he’s not scared. They’ll argue with him, he won’t be scared.’

Wadda-bruk ‘camp, home’ + ‘dry’, ‘quiet, focused’, is at odds with the set: *wadda* is a generic noun, while all the other nouns are animate-part nouns.²⁵¹ In synchrony, the compound does not yield very intelligible metaphors. It is not the only compound where *wadda* ‘home’ associates with a word which should in principle apply to animates: we also find *wadda-bulbbul(mu)* ‘camp, home’ + ‘be/get tired’, ‘stay home tired’. These compounds may have been formed by analogy, or date back from a time when *wadda* used to mean something else.

3.1 Dryness of attribute for emotional composure

Most of the BRUK compounds in Table 10 display a body-part or abstract attribute of the person noun as their first component. The compounds metaphorically depict the person’s disposition to emotional composure as the dryness of a part or attribute of theirs associated with this emotion: EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS LIKE DRYNESS OF SEAT OF EMOTION.²⁵² With abstract attributes, like *men-bruk* ‘ideas, mind’ + ‘dry’, ‘self-controlled’, the metaphor applies directly to a cognitive attribute. With body-parts, *kangu-bruk* ‘belly’ + ‘dry’, ‘socially self-confident’, and *mud-bruk* ‘hair’ + ‘dry’, ‘brave’, further tropes connect the body-part with the emotions in question: BELLY FOR SEAT OF CONFLICT-RELATED EMOTIONS (Chapter 8, 1.4), and HAIR FOR SEAT OF FEAR via goosebumps as a somatic response to fear (Chapter 10, 2.1).

3.2 Emotions are fluids

EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS is a common metaphor in English. It is reported by Kövecses (2000, p. 77 for instance),²⁵³ and Omori (2008) presents it as the most important and prototypical metaphor for emotions in English.

In Dalabon, the association of fluidity with negative emotions is backgrounded. The literal interpretations of most compounds in Table 10 describe dryness of a part of the person, i.e. they describe states of the person rather than qualities of emotions (i.e. what is fluid is the person part, not the emotion). The only compound which seems to entail NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FLUID metaphors is *djong-bruk* ‘FEAR’ + ‘dry’, ‘brave’, to the extent that DJONG may be interpreted as ‘fear’, with the entailment that if the fluid dries up, the emotion is not experienced. However, in synchrony, DJONG is

251. *Yirru-bruk*, formed with *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’, a generic noun, was rejected in favor of *kangu-yirru-bruk*, *kangu-yirru(-no)* being otherwise treated as an animate-part noun.

252. Dogon languages have DRY LIVER FOR BEING FEARLESS (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011, p. 46), and classical Syriac has DRY HEART FOR QUIET TEMPERAMENT (Wolk, 2008, p. 298).

253. See also Goatly (1997/2011, p. 64), Kövecses (1990, p. 74). This metaphor also occurs in French: ‘être submergé par ses émotions’, ‘be submerged by one’s emotions’.

not really a lexeme but a cranberry morpheme. It occurs in a set of compounds related to fear, but speakers seldom use it in isolation, and deny its validity as a lexeme. As a result, while the BRUK set does suggest an association of emotions (and more specifically emotional agitation) with fluidity, and of composure with dryness, it is not clear that the metaphor FEAR IS LIKE A FLUID is actually instantiated, nor the NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE LIKE FLUID metaphor. There is no evidence that Dalabon speakers endorse this representation. The association of emotional agitation with fluids contrasts with the cognitively and conceptually salient fluidity metaphor associating good feelings with a fluid belly (see Chapter 8, 1.5.1).

4. Free metaphor: The body as a container

Dalabon makes very scarce use of ‘free’ emotion metaphors, i.e. metaphors not embedded in compounds – but not necessarily *intended* as figurative either, since such free metaphors can be highly conventional. Apart from the free realization of the lexical metaphors mentioned throughout this chapter (i.e. where the noun that is normally part of the compound is externalized), I have identified just one free emotional metaphor. Like most languages in the world, Dalabon speakers can metaphorically depict emotions as ‘inside’ – just like organs and bodily processes are inside the body (22) – thus instantiating the metaphor BODY AS A CONTAINER OF EMOTIONS. This is achieved with the addition of the locative adverb *buyirrhwalung* to clauses describing emotions, like in (23). As in French or English,²⁵⁴ this usually occurs when speakers describe an emotional state accompanied by a dissonant behavior, so that the ‘inside’ emotion contrasts with the one on display, and is more ‘real’:²⁵⁵

20110613_003_LB 102 [ConvEl]

[LB and MP discussing their own health issues.]

- (22) *Ngerh-ngan ka-ye-yenjyendju-ng yirrhwalung²⁵⁶ ngey-kah.*
 heart-1sgPOSS 3sg-SUB-talk:REDUP-PR inside 1sg-LOC

‘My heart, which beats [talks] inside me.’

20120719a_001_MT 328 [SD]

254. ‘Deep inside him’, ‘au fond de lui’.

255. In French or English, depth (of the heart, of the body) is also associated with sincerity (Kövecses, 1990, p. 152; Niemeier, 2000, p. 207). In Dalabon, *buyirrhwalung*, means ‘under water’ as well as ‘inside’, and the surface/depth contrast is also used in a metaphor for conceptual importance (of ideas, knowledge etc.).

256. ‘Inside’ is usually *buyirrhwalung*, but occasionally *yirrhwalung*. The forms do not seem to correspond to a clear semantic contrast.

[Delilah gives a packet of lollies to her suitor.]

- (23) *Buka-h-dja-ngabbo-ng, munu kangu-berlh-wurd buka-h-ngabbo-ng*
 3sg>3sg.h-R-FOC-give-PP LIM belly-BERLH-DIM 3sg>3sg.h-R-give-PP
 indulging.in.compassion

kanh loli, bah buyirrhwalung mak buka-marnu-djare.
 DEM lollies but inside NEG 3sg>3sg.h-BEN-like/want

‘She just gave him something, she indulged in feeling sorry about him for no reason and gave him the lollies, but (deep) inside her she doesn’t love him.’

This metaphor is not uncommon, but it is possible that its frequency was boosted by the recurrence of elicitation scenarios seeking to contrast behaviors and emotions. Arguably, such expressions can be considered literal, to the extent that emotions can be accompanied by physiological responses which do occur inside the body.

5. Conclusions

As presented in Chapter 8, many Dalabon emotion metaphors are directly or indirectly body-based. The lexicalized compounds that encapsulate these metaphors include an animate-part noun, i.e. a body-part or an abstract attribute of the person, as a fixed component. These body-based metaphors represent emotions as states of the person or parts of the person.

In this chapter, I discussed Dalabon emotion metaphors displaying different patterns. Dalabon metaphors for anger are encapsulated in compounds including the noun YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’, which belongs to the generic nominal subclass. Anger stands out as the only emotion treated syntactically as an autonomous argument, and thus metaphorically as an entity independent of the person. This representation is made possible by the nominal subclass affiliation of the noun *yirru*, which is not an animate-part but a generic noun, and the morphosyntactic constraints associated with this affiliation. This metaphorical reification of anger remains exceptional though, occurring with just one, not very frequent compound.

Anger is represented metaphorically as a hidden, living entity, compared to a developing disease, to poison, and to pain. These tropes mirror the morally negative perception of anger, its self-developing and therefore uncontrollable nature, as well as behavioral responses to anger. In general, Dalabon metaphors for anger depart from other Dalabon emotion metaphors in that they are not inspired by somatic responses to anger. This contrasts with some hypotheses about the cross-linguistic status of anger with respect to metaphorical representations, but suggests that anger does have a particular status in this respect.

This chapter also mentioned marginal metaphors involving laughter and tears, for which it cannot be decided (due to their low incidence in the corpora) whether

they depict these behaviors as independent entities or parts/attributes of the person. I also discussed the only metaphorical set where the predicate remains constant and the noun varies: the [noun + BRUK 'dry'] set, which associates emotional composure with dryness. As will be seen in the following chapter, the other sets where the predicate remains constant and the noun varies do not yield extensive figurative interpretations.

Body-parts and emotional behaviors

Chapters 7 to 9 described how a number of Dalabon compounds denoting emotions and involving nouns of abdominal body-parts may be interpreted in terms of tropes (either metonymies or metaphors), most of them matching local shared representations of emotions. With these sets of compounds, the tropes in question are the best candidates for historical motivation of the compounds: they explain the structure of the sets, and the existence of some compounds could hardly be justified by any alternative factor. However, many other emotion-denoting compounds featuring body-part nouns, especially nouns of visible body-parts, are not clearly metaphorical or metonymical, and the body-parts in question have no or little figurative input. As pointed out by numerous studies on lexical semantics and semantic change (among many others, Cruse (1986), Traugott & Dasher (2002)), conceptual metaphors and metonymies are by no means the only possible motivation to produce new words and assign meaning to them. This chapter highlights the descriptive role of body-part nouns in the emotion lexicon, as well as the role of strictly formal, or structural (i.e. not conceptual) paths of word formation and semantic change, namely principles related to compositionality and formal analogy. I also show how the compounds formed on the basis of these principles may, in turn, trigger regular semantic associations between some body-parts and some emotions, or suggest new emotion metaphors.

Here ‘compositionality’ refers to the regular processes of sense computation in a given language, i.e. the rules that apply to compute the sense of new compounds in a predictable way. In Dalabon, the sense of a lexeme is for instance compositional when a compound follows the standard rules of noun incorporation; or more broadly, if the sense of a compound can be predicted based on combinations recurrent elsewhere in the language. In this chapter, I will show that (semi-)compositionality plays a role in several sets of emotional behavior compounds. I call any [noun + predicate] associations a ‘compound’: the word ‘compound’ refers to formal pairings, irrespective of the semantic or syntactic relationships between the items in question.

I call ‘formal analogy’ the processes where speakers draw inspiration from existing forms in the language, to produce new forms or realign existing forms (as commonly occurs across paradigms (see for instance Campbell (2004, Chapter 10)).²⁵⁷

257. Such processes are usually called simply ‘analogy’, but in the context of this study, this would entail a confusion with conceptual analogy as the underlying principle of metaphors, hence the specification as ‘formal analogy’.

In Dalabon, this applies for instance when speakers reproduce the structure of some [noun + predicate] compounds to create another [noun + predicate] compound. Thus, *djong-bruk* 'FEAR' + 'dry/QUIET', 'brave' and *kangu-bruk* 'belly' + 'dry', 'socially self-confident', for instance, are relatively common lexicalized compounds; by analogy with these two compounds (and others), a speaker formed an occasional compound *langu-bruk* 'hand/finger' + 'dry/QUIET', 'who doesn't steal'. The form of the latter compound is inspired by formal analogy with the former. The compounds are structurally comparable, in form and in meaning. *Langu-bruk* 'hand/finger' + 'dry/QUIET', 'who doesn't steal', is all the more natural that [body-part + emotion/behavior predicates] are frequent throughout the sets described in this chapters.

In the present chapter, I describe six semi-productive sets of emotional compounds of the type [body-part + predicate] or [attribute of the person + predicate], having to do with emotional behaviors, in which recurrent semantic contrasts are observed. In these compounds, visible-body-part nouns serve to produce precise descriptions of emotional behaviors. Thus, in addition to the figurative role of nouns denoting abdominal organs, inspired by non-observable somatic responses to emotions, nouns of visible body-parts serve to describe visible responses to emotions. This function contributes to explain the proliferation of body-part nouns in the Dalabon emotion lexicon, and raises questions about the cultural specificity of this usage of body-part nouns.

While each of the six sets described below differs from the others, they display family-resemblance analogies. Some of the compounds in these sets are metonymic or metaphoric, but many are essentially (semi-)compositional. Although I will show how these processes of lexical production and semantic extension operate within each set, I am not concerned so much with the variety and details of the processes in question. Instead, the point of this chapter is that in these sets, compositionality and formal analogy – rather than conceptual metaphors and metonymies – constitute the main motivation for compound formation and semantic extensions. That is, aside from conceptual motivations, formal principles are also the source of lexical production and semantic extensions, conferring emotional connotations or senses to visible-body-part nouns and to a few verbs and adjectives. In addition, I suggest that the compounds produced on the basis of these formal principles may in turn inspire conceptual metaphors to speakers, so that in some cases, formal principles may be the source of conceptual representations, rather than the reverse.

Section 1 presents the six sets of emotional-behavior compounds, their semantic properties, and their possible figurative reinterpretations. Section 2 discusses the semantic associations acquired by a number of body-part nouns as a result of their occurrence in the sets described in Section 1. Finally, Section 3 contributes some hypotheses on the relation between shared representations of emotions and the Dalabon propensity to use body-part nouns in descriptions of emotional behavior.

1. Emotional behavior sets

It was noted in Chapter 8 that while metaphors for emotions involving body-parts concern a large number of compounds, they do not concern a very large number of body-parts: mainly the belly, and the heart, i.e. abdominal organs (see Chapter 8). However, Dalabon features many more body-part-based compounds related to emotions. A few compounds instantiate straightforward metonymies, where a visible consequence ordinarily associated with an emotion (a posture, a behavior or a visible physiological response) represents this emotion. Such compounds rely on the VISIBLE ASPECT OF THE PERSON FOR EMOTIONAL ASPECT OF THE PERSON metonymy. These are for instance *dolku-ngabbun* ‘back’ + ‘give’, ‘turn back on someone/be in bad terms with someone’, *mo-barrun* ‘bones(/TEETH)’ + ‘bite’ + REFL, ‘grind teeth/feel furious, vengeful’. None of these compounds is frequent: this metonymy is not particularly salient.

More frequent is the association of nouns denoting visible body-parts with emotional-behavior predicates. I define emotional behaviors as behaviors that are regularly associated with an emotion. Emotional behavior predicates, as defined in Chapter 1 (1.2.2.3), are predicates which describe a behavior, but also imply, as part of their sense, the emotional trigger of this emotion. For example, *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ describes avoidance behaviors, but implies that avoidance results from certain emotions such as fear or respect, as opposed to avoiding someone because one finds them boring, for instance. There exist several semi-productive sets of the form [body-part + emotional behavior predicate], yielding compounds like *dalu-yer(mu)* ‘mouth’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘be too shy to talk’. A large number of these compounds (like *dalu-yer(mu)*), are largely compositional in form and meaning, i.e. they obey the rules of syntactic incorporation. The incorporated body-part noun specifies which part of the absolutive argument (S for intransitive emotional predicates) is involved in the behavior in question: *ngah-dalu-yer(mu)*, literally ‘I’m ashamed from the mouth’ – lexicalized as ‘be too shy to talk’.

20111207a_001_MT 48 [E1]

- (1) *Nunh wurdurd mak dja-marnu-yenjdju-ngiyan delebon-walung [...].*
 DEM child NEG 3sg>2sg-BEN-talk-FUT telephone-ABL

Ka-h-dalu-yer-mu.

3sg-R-mouth-shy.away-PR

too.shy.to.talk

‘This child won’t speak to you over the phone. He’s too shy to talk [he’s shy from the mouth].’

In most cases, the sense of such compounds remains essentially compositional: the resulting compound is a behavioral hyponym of the simple emotional behavior

predicate, specifying the behavior in question via the body-part involved in this behavior.²⁵⁸ Hence *daluy-yer(mu)* ‘be too shy to talk’ is a hyponym of *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, specifying behavior related to the mouth. The relation between the incorporated body-part and the specified behavior is not entirely predictable. With *daluy-yer(mu)*, the compound picks a function of *daluno* ‘mouth’ (i.e. speech). With *kokmele-yer(mu)* ‘?cheek, temple’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘turn head to avoid someone’s look’, it is the body-part involved in the posture that contributes the semantic specification.

Some of these compounds are occasional and not lexicalized.²⁵⁹ Others may be regarded as partly lexicalized to the extent that they are frequent, in spite of the fact that their lexicalized sense remains compositional. Others are fully lexicalized, since they receive a non-compositional lexical interpretation, which may in turn trigger metaphorical interpretation and/or semantic change. In the following sections, I discuss the [noun + emotional behavior predicate] sets based on YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ predicates (1.1), on *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ (1.2) and BRUH(MU) ‘blow/SULKY’ (1.3). Section 1.4 discusses a set with the predicate BRUK ‘dry/QUIET’, where the respective roles of regular compositionality, formal analogy and metaphors are open to discussion. Finally, 1.5 deals briefly with comparable sets where the predicate is strictly behavioral, albeit with a strong association with emotions (e.g. *redji* ‘smile, laugh’). While all these sets are interesting in themselves, they also shed a new light upon several metaphorical sets presented in Chapter 8, and upon the role of metaphors in general.

1.1 *Yirru* ‘conflict’, ‘anger’

Table 1 lists compounds of the form [noun + YIRRU predicate], where the predicate can be *yirru-mun* (the most frequent of YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ compounds) or another emotional predicate with YIRRU. The meanings of the noun *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ and related compounds have been discussed in Chapter 6 (2.1.1) and Chapter 9 (Section 1). A lot of the [noun + YIRRU predicate] compounds have visible-body-part nouns as their first component and denote a type of angry behavior. This is exemplified with *daluyirru-mun* ‘mouth’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + INCH, ‘display anger from the mouth’ in (2). Note that DALU ‘mouth’ makes a different contribution here than in

258. Huang (2002, p. 175–177) describes a comparable process of specification in Tsou, where body-part prefixes specify which body-part is involved in an emotional event. However, in Tsou the body-part specifies the cause of the emotion rather than the emotional response.

259. Therefore, some of them would be better called ‘complexes’ than ‘compounds’. However, as mentioned earlier, since it is often difficult to decide whether a given item is lexicalized or not, I use the term ‘compound’ more broadly for the sake of simplicity.

daluy-er(mu) ‘too shy to talk’. With YIRRU predicates, the resulting compounds are behavioral hyponyms of the predicate, meaning ‘express anger by means of body-part X’. Thus, the relation between the alternating nouns and the recurring predicates are regular, or at least semi-regular: the set is structured by principles of compositionality.



Figure 1. Picture used in elicitation. To the right, the author, frowning.

20120707a_000_MT 029 [Stim]

[Commenting on Figure 1.]

(2) *Dja-h-dalu-bruH-minj*,

2sg-R-mouth-blow-PP

sulk.from.mouth

dja-h-kakku-dalu-yirru-m-inj,

2sg-R-really-mouth-conflict/anger-INCH-PP

dje-widj-ŋgu

dja-h-dje-widj-yirru-m-inj.

nose/face-WIDJ-2sgPOSS 2sg-R-nose/face-WIDJ-conflict/anger-INCH-PP

lips

lips

‘You were sulking from the mouth, you were really angry from the mouth, from the lips, you were angry from the lips.’

*Kodj-yirru*²⁶⁰ is also a hyponym of YIRRU predicates, but the semantic contribution of the body-part KODJ ‘crown of head/head’ (see Ponsonnet (2011a, pp. 375–379)) does not operate via the denotation of this morpheme, but via its connotations. KODJ does

260. KODJ wasn’t found to precede YIRRU predicates, but only *yirru* alone, and the compound *kodj-yirru* was used as an adjective. This is unusual, because this pattern is expected with [noun + adjectives] compounds. [Noun + noun] compounds where the first noun is the head of the compound are less common.

Table 1. X + *yirru* (+ pred) compounds. Compounds in bold are lexicalized. Compounds in italics were elicited (others occurred spontaneously). Except where indicated, compounds inherit the word class and verb class of the predicate.

Compound	Others component	Sense
HYPONYSMS		
daluyirru-mun	mouth	express anger with the mouth
djeyirru-mun	nose/nostrils/face	express anger with the face
djeyirru-widj-yirru-mun	lips	express anger with the lips
kodj-yirru (adj.)	crown of head/head	be angry with respect to conjugal relationships
<i>langu-yirru-burlh(mu)</i>	<i>hand/finger</i>	<i>express anger with the hands</i>
marruyirru-mun	head hair	one's hair betrays anger
mumuyirru-mun	eyes	express anger with the eyes
NEAR SYNONYMS		
kangu-yirru(+ pred)	belly	feel angry
<i>men-yirru (adj.)</i>	<i>ideas</i>	<i>angry/aggressive</i>
<i>mo-yirru-mun</i>	<i>bones</i>	<i>?feel angry</i>
nguh-yirru (adj./n.)	intestines	aggressive (adj.)/policeman (n.)
<i>yirru-beng (adj.)</i>	<i>MIND</i>	<i>be mean</i>
<i>yirru-kuddu (adj.)</i>	<i>HEART</i>	<i>be mean</i>

not specify which part of the body is involved in the display of anger, but the context of the emotional behavior: *kodj-yirru* means 'be angry', 'be argumentative' in contexts having to do with conjugal relationships.²⁶¹ This matches a metonymically acquired connotation of KODJ observed in a number of compounds alluding to the person as a social actor in a network of exchange (see Ponsonnet (2009a, pp. 21–23), and 2.2 below). As expected, compositionality interacts with tropes, metonymies in particular (Goatly, 1997/2011, p. Chapter 3).

Not all compounds in Table 1 are hyponyms of YIRRU 'conflict, anger' predicates. In fact, none of the compounds formed with nouns which do not denote *visible* body-parts is a hyponym of YIRRU predicates. Some of the compounds are formed with invisible parts of the person: KANGU 'belly', NGUH 'intestines' and MO 'bones'; and one compound is formed with the abstract attribute of the person MEN 'ideas'. The presence of NGUH 'intestine' in an emotional compound is unusual, since *nguh-no* is normally assigned to physiological descriptions. The compound may be archaic. In addition to this list, I encountered two probably archaic compounds where YIRRU is the first component (i.e. the order is inverted) and the second component relates to an attribute of the person or an organ, albeit only

²⁶¹ Interestingly, *kodj-yirru* may apply to someone angry at one's own spouse, or to someone angry because someone else does not do the right things with respect to spouses or potential spouses. Hence KODJ specifies the context of conjugal relationships in a broad sense.

The presence of various invisible body-parts and abstract-attribute nouns in combination with YIRRU predicates may also result from the following semantic constraints. As discussed in Chapter 6 (2.1.1), the isolated noun *yirru* primarily denotes events such as conflicts or angry behaviors; YIRRU compounds can denote either behaviors or emotions. As a result, in some contexts, the addition of an animate-part noun operates disambiguation, making a YIRRU compound clearly emotional. This happens in (5), with the noun *yirru* itself, where *men-yirru-dih* ‘ideas’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + PRIV is preferred to *yirru* to refer to the emotional state of participants who feel no anger, i.e. who are not aggressive. In contrast, in (6) for instance, it is impossible to tell whether the speaker refers to the emotional state of the participants or to the absence of conflicts.

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- (5) *Bah njel-karn manj yala-h-dja-lng-mononma-ng,*
 but 1pl.excl-EMPH INTJ.wait 1pl.excl-R-FOC-SEQ-stay.quiet-PR
yala-h-ni. Men-yirru-dih.
 1pl.excl-R-sit/be:PR ideas-conflict/anger-PRIV

‘As for us, wait, we stay quiet by ourselves. Without making or thinking of making an argument.’

MT’s Kriol trans. of ‘*men-yirru-dih*’: ‘Mela jis sidan laik dat, no argimon.
 No dinkebat fo gula [fight] najing.’

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- (6) *Barra-h-dja-ni munu, yirru-dih,*
 3du-R-FOC-sit/be:PR LIM conflict/anger-PRIV
barra-h-lng-yirru-ngurd-minj.
 3du-R-SEQ-conflict/anger-be.quiet-PP

‘They’re just sitting quiet, free of conflict(?/anger), they ended the argument(?/calmed down).’

This process of specification could explain the relative proliferation of attributes of the person nouns and invisible-body-part nouns in this YIRRU set. Indeed, we saw in Chapter 8 that KANGU ‘belly’ and some words for ‘heart’ can stand metonymically for the seat of emotions. MO ‘bones’ may replace KANGU in some of these compounds. Thus, KANGU ‘belly’ and other invisible parts of the person may also be used to specify the sense of *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ as emotional, like MEN ‘ideas’ does in (5). This analysis provides a hypothesis for the existence of the noun *kangu-yirru(-no)* and of the frequent KANGU-YIRRU alternatives to YIRRU compounds (Chapter 9, 1.1.2, 1.4) Since YIRRU compounds can by themselves attract an emotional reading, the contribution of KANGU ‘belly’ there is partly redundant, and thus relatively transparent.

To summarize, among the relatively productive [noun + YIRRU predicate] compounds outlined in Table 1, two kinds of compounds are found. Where the noun denotes a visible part of the person, the compound is a behavioral hyponym of the original predicate, with the body-part contributing semantic specification (literal or metonymic). Where the noun denotes an invisible body-part or an abstract attribute of the person, the resulting compounds are partial synonyms of the original predicate. These nouns do not contribute a neat semantic modification, but seem to specify the predicates as emotional (while they are originally ambiguous between behavior and emotion). That abdominal organs may contribute this emotional specification probably results from their role in various emotion metaphors (Chapter 8).

Metaphors and metonymies play a relatively minor role in the [noun + YIRRU predicates] set. While the metonymy INTERNAL ORGAN FOR EXPERIENCER OF EMOTIONS, matching emotion metaphors, is indeed a key to the emotional connotations of invisible body-parts, the set instantiates very few other conceptual tropes.²⁶⁵

1.2 *Yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

As discussed in Chapter 6 (2.1.4), the emotional predicate *yer(mu)* denotes avoidance behaviors due to shyness, shame or respect. *Yer(mu)* takes part in a set of compounds of the form [noun + predicate], presented in Table 2. Most of the compounds feature a visible body-part noun as their first component. Unlike the YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ set presented in the previous section, the *yer(mu)* set does not feature internal body-parts, but does include an abstract attribute of the person: MEN, ‘ideas’ (which also occurs in the YIRRU set).

As is apparent from Table 2, the structure of the *yer(mu)* set is analogous to the structure of the YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ set in several respects. Most of the time, the first component is a body-part (or function, *koh-no* ‘eyes/gaze’) which specifies which part of the person is involved in the avoidance behavior, so that the compound is a hyponym of *yer(mu)*, as in (1) repeated here. As discussed above, the sense of the compounds *dalu-yer(mu)* is largely compositional (albeit not entirely).

20111207a_001_MT 48 [E]

- (1) *Nunh wurdurd mak dja-marnu-yenjdju-ngiyan delebon-walung [...].*
 DEM child NEG 3sg>2sg-BEN-talk-FUT telephone-ABL

Ka-h-dalu-yer-mu.

3sg-R-mouth-shy.away-PR
 too.shy.to.talk

‘This child won’t speak to you over the phone. He’s shy [from the mouth].’

²⁶⁵ Except for the metonymy HEAD FOR THE ACTOR IN CONJUGAL INTERACTIONS, with *kodj-yirru* ‘head’ + ‘conflict, anger’, ‘angry with respect to conjugal relationships’ (see 2.2).

Table 2. X + *yer(mu)* compounds. Compounds in bold are lexicalized. Compounds in italics were occasional. All compounds inherit the word class and verb class of the predicate.

Compound	First component	Sense
HYPONyms		
<i>berru-yer(mu)</i>	chest	avoid social interactions (with taboo kin)
dalū-yer(mu)	mouth	be too shy to speak
<i>koh-yer(mu)</i>	eyes/gaze	avoid visual interactions for fear of others
<i>kokmele-yer(mu)</i>	? <i>temple, cheek</i>	<i>turn one's head to avoid someone's looks</i>
medmo-yer(mu)	side of the face	avoid being seen
<i>mehdu-yer(mu)</i>	<i>CHEST</i>	<i>be shy in social interactions</i>
<i>mumu-yer(mu)</i>	eyes	lower eyes to avoid eye contact (with potential lover)
<i>redj-yer(mu)</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>avoid/feel ashamed in social interactions</i>
SYNONYM		
men-yer(mu)	ideas	?be ashamed
OTHER		
dolku-yer(mu)	back	scared in strange surroundings/ feel the presence of someone behind

As in the YIRRU 'conflict, anger' set, with several compounds, the specification is determined by the connotations of the added body-part. *Mumu-yer(mu)* 'eyes' + 'avoid interactions for fear of others' was used for 'avoid visual interaction, often with potential lover' rather than just 'avoid visual interaction' (which is *koh-yer(mu)*, 'eyes/gaze' + 'avoid interactions for fear of others'). This is consistent with the fact that, as is cross-linguistically common,²⁶⁶ MUMU 'eyes' is used metonymically in compounds denoting sexual desire (e.g. *mumu-nan* 'look at someone with sexual desire', since sexual desire involves watching the desired person intensely, and making eye contact, see 2.1).

Likewise, *berru-yer(mu)* 'chest' + 'avoid interactions for fear of others' means 'avoid social interactions (with taboo kin)', drawing from the metonymic occurrence of BERRU (or its allomorph BERR) in various compounds denoting social interactions. These can refer to friendly, 'joking'²⁶⁷ social interactions (e.g. *berr-wan*, 'chest' + 'follow/come close', 'interact nicely with someone', and *berr-burrāma*, 'chest' + 'good, healthy', 'a funny story'), or on the contrary, to taboo social interactions, like with *berru-yer(mu)*. Unsurprisingly, BERRU 'chest' is used in posture and orientation compounds, for instance *berru-di* 'chest' + 'stand/be', 'face towards', [BERRU + cardinal

²⁶⁶. See for instance Wolk (2008, p. 283) for Northeastern Neo-Aramaic, Maalej (2008, p. 397) for Tunisian Arabic.

²⁶⁷. 'Joking relationships' are the type of relations one should establish with kin categories which are not in an avoidance register. They are friendly, relaxed, taboo-free relationships. See Chapter 6 (2.3).

point] ‘face towards cardinal point’, etc. Facing someone is usually a condition for interacting socially with them. In the Dalabon context, this aspect of social interactions is highlighted by taboo practices, whereby people in a taboo relationship should avoid facing each other – but may talk to some extent, as long as the interaction remains physically distant. In this avoidance strategy, facing each other is in focus: it is the aspect of social interaction to be avoided. This correlates with the linguistic salience of the FACING SOMEONE FOR SOCIALLY INTERACTING WITH SOMEONE metonymy, at play with BERRU ‘chest’ compounds. These taboo rules also explain why *berru-yer(mu)* ‘chest’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘avoid social interactions’, is frequently used to describe someone avoiding interactions with taboo kin.

Medmo-yer(mu) ‘side of face’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘avoid being seen because of being embarrassed by other people seeing you’ differs from the above patterns. The lexicalized sense of *medmo-yer(mu)* does not allude to the side of the face, but simply to sight – avoid being seen. This is evident in (7), where those who are said to *medmo-yer(mu)*, to avoid being seen by others, hide in a house – a behavior that does not involve the side of the face at all. Thus, *medmo-yer(mu)* does not specify which part of the experiencer is involved in the avoidance behavior. Rather, this hyponym specifies which function the person(s) responsible for the feeling of shame (that is, the stimulus) causes the emotion (namely, sight).

20120706b_005_MT 05 [ContEl]

[Discussing the reaction of people who marry with someone in the wrong kin category, and who are (should be) ashamed.]

- (7) *Mak bala-Ing-burh-mu, bala-h-durn-kurn-daddi munguyh.*
 NEG 3pl-SEQ-come.out-PR 3pl-R-hole-country-stand:PR always
 house

Bala-h-medmo-yer-mu.

3pl-R-side.face-shy.away-PR
 ashamed.to.be.seen

‘They don’t go out, they stay in their house all the time. They are ashamed to be seen.’

The side of the face is typically involved in shame-related behaviors aiming at avoiding embarrassing looks. For instance, one can put their hand on their temple, or simply turn their face to the other side, exposing their temple. This constitutes a bridging context in which a compound of the form [experiencer’s active part + *yer(mu)*] (‘side of face’ + *yer(mu)*) may be interpreted as [stimulus’s active part + *yer(mu)*] (‘sight’ + *yer(mu)*). Indeed, speakers used the compound *medmo-yer(mu)* to describe people hiding the side of their face with their hand on photos.

Just like the *yirru* ‘conflict, anger’ set, the *yer(mu)* set includes a couple of compounds which are not hyponyms of *yer(mu)*. One of them has an attribute of the person, MEN ‘ideas’, as its first component. The sense of *men-yer(mu)* ‘ideas’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ is not entirely clear, partly because the compound is relatively rare. It

seems that it is seemingly synonymous with *yer(mu)* – as suggested by speakers’ translation with *sheim* in Kriol – and that the contribution of MEN ‘ideas’ is thus transparent.²⁶⁸

20120712b_006_MT 26 [Narr]

[Telling how I had an argument with someone at the local clinic, and left, sulky, upset and embarrassed.]

- (8) *Dja-h-lng-komhkomh-minj*, *dja-h-dje-bruH-minj*.
 2sg-R-SEQ-leave.abnormally:REDUP-PP 2sg-R-nose/face-blow-PP
 be.sulky

Dja-h-men-yer-minj, *dja-h-men-yerka-ng*.
 2sg-R-ideas-shy.away-PP 3sg>2sg-R-ideas-shy.away-PP

‘Then you just left, you got sulky. You left ashamed, she made you feel embarrassed.’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Yu bin salki, yu bin sheim mijelp, imin meikim yu sheim.’

MEN ‘ideas’ could simply emphasize the part of the person affected by the emotion, just like it does in *men-yirru* ‘ideas’ + ‘conflict, anger’, ‘emotionally angry’ (1.1), i.e. it simply emphasizes the emotional dimension of *yer(mu)*, which otherwise denotes primarily a behavior of avoidance. While this emphatic function is often assigned to KANGU ‘belly’ (KANGU-YIRRU ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ compounds, 1.1 and Chapter 9, 1.1.2), it is interesting that *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ only occurred in combination with MEN ‘ideas, consciousness’, to the exclusion of KANGU ‘belly’ and other invisible organs.²⁶⁹ The occurrence of MEN with *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ is relatively unsurprising when we consider that MEN can sometimes mean ‘respect’, which is closely related to awareness and understanding of social rules: someone who is *men-dih* ‘ideas, consciousness’ + PRIV has no respect, no manners (i.e., this person is unaware). It seems that the feeling of shame, which is valued as a sign of social awareness, is considered a relatively rational (i.e. grounded, justified) emotion, and is thus assigned to *men-no*, the seat of opinions, awareness and social awareness (see Harkins, 1990a, p. 299). Turpin (2002, p. 295) indicates that in Kaytetye, *nyerre* ‘shame’ cannot occur with *aleme* ‘belly’ either (but can occur with *artepe* ‘back’ as it does in Dalabon).

Finally, the compound listed last in Table 2, *dolku-yer(mu)* ‘back’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘scared in strange surroundings/feel the presence of someone behind’, is neither a synonym nor a hyponym of *yer(mu)*. As illustrated by (9), *dolku-yer(mu)* ‘back’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ is often used to describe someone feeling uncomfortable in strange surroundings, and wary of potential attacks from behind (whether buffaloes, spirits, enemies...). On one occasion, it was used to describe someone feeling the presence of a non-threatening person in their back.

²⁶⁸. On one occasions it was used as a synonym of *dolku-yer(mu)*, ‘scared in strange surroundings/feel the presence of someone behind’, see below.

²⁶⁹. MEN ‘ideas’ occurs with YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ predicates, but in terms of frequency, it is marginal in comparison with KANGU-YIRRU predicates and other [invisible body-part + YIRRU predicate] compounds.

20110521b_002_MT [ContEl]

[During a recording session taking place in the bush a long way away from the village, with no one around.]

(9) *Nidjarra ya-h-yenjhyenjdu-ng*

here 1du.incl-R-talk:REDUP-PR

kardu nga-h-dolku-yer-mu.

maybe 1sg-R-back-shy.away-PR
scared.by.unknown

Molkkun kardu rakalk ngorr bulu-djud-wa-n.

unbeknownst maybe enemy 1pl.incl APPR:3pl>1-neck-follow-PR

Wirrimah kardu nganabbarru njeh wuku-djud-wa-n.

or maybe buffalo 1du.incl APPR:3sg>1-neck-follow-PR

Nga-h-dolku-yer-mu kahnunh.

1sg-R-back-shy.away-PR DEM
scared.by.unknown

‘Here as you and me are talking, I might ‘*dolku-yermu*’, ‘be ashamed from the back’. Maybe enemies are secretly following us. Or maybe buffaloes might charge from behind. This is why I ‘*dolku-yermu*’.

DOLKU ‘back’ does not indicate the body-part involved in an avoidance behavior, but the location of the stimulus (a person or an animal could come from behind) and/or the location of a physical response (the back can respond to fear physiologically, e.g. quivering). However, *dolku-yer(mu)* is not a hyponym of *yer(mu)*, and its sense is in fact quite different. The avoidance reading does not apply in (9), as we were quietly sitting in the bush. In addition, while the compound is often used in contexts when one feels scared by others, fear or shame are not compulsory features of the compound, which was used once in a context where someone simply felt a presence in their back.

Hence *dolku-yer(mu)* ‘back’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, while formally analogous to the set of [visible body-part + *yer(mu)*] hyponyms of *yer(mu)*, is further lexicalized. I have no explanation as to why this compound stands out against others in the set and receives an irregular, non-compositional interpretation.

1.3 *Dje-bruH(mu)* ‘be sulky, be sad/put on a dark face’

The above sections discussed sets where the bare predicates already describe an emotional behavior when used alone. In addition to these sets, there exist a couple of sets of [body-part + predicate] compounds where the predicates do not yield an emotional sense when they are used alone, but only when they are combined with a body-part. This is the case with the predicate *bruH(mu)* ‘blow’, which occurs in the frequent emotional compound *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘nose/nostrils/face’ + ‘blow’, meaning ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’.

1.3.1 Sense and etymology

Dje-bruH(mu), literally ‘nose/nostrils/face’ + ‘blow’, has three distinct senses. The most frequent sense, which is also the most accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness, is both emotional and behavioral: ‘be sulky’ (10), which relates to an other-oriented emotion (see Chapter 4, 1.2). There is also a self-oriented emotional sense ‘be sad’ (11 and 12), and a purely behavioral sense ‘put on a dark face, a grimace’ ((13) contrasting with (12)).²⁷⁰



Figure 2. Teddy-bear card used in elicitation.²⁷¹

20110605_003_LB_ND 088 (LB) [Stim]

[Reported speech in response to teddy-bear stimulus.]

- (10) *Nga-h-ni-ngiyan nala-h-bo-n nukah,*
1sg-R-sit/be-FUT 2pl-R-go-PR there

ngey mak nga-waw-iyam!

1sg NEG 1sg>3-follow:REDUP-FUT

Kardu yibung-karn bulu ka-h-djare-ninj nahdah bala-h-bo-ni.
maybe 3sg-EMPH 3pl 3sg-R-like/want-PI there 3pl-R-go-IRR

Ka-h-lng-dje-bruH-mu mak nol nga-h-marnu-bo-niyan.

3sg-R-SEQ-nose/face-blow-PR NEG 2pl 1sg>2-R-BEN-go-FUT

be.sulky

‘I’m staying, you go over there, I won’t follow! Perhaps he wanted them to go there [altogether]. He’s sulking: I won’t go with you.’

²⁷⁰. Interestingly, these three senses are very similar to the senses of the French expression ‘*faire la gueule*’, which also evokes the face (*gueule* is a colloquial word for ‘face’).

²⁷¹. Reproduced from a card set called *The Bears*, with the permission of the publisher, St Luke’s Innovative Resources: www.innovativeresources.org

20120706a_004_MT 88 [Stim]

[While Figure 3 was described with *dje-bruH(mu)*, MT had discarded *dje-bruH(mu)* as a description of Figure 4, with a preference for *bar-wonan* ‘be in pain’. However, as MP pointed at the face on the photo, *dje-bruH(mu)* was accepted.²⁷²]

(13) MP *Ngah-dje-bruH* *wirrimah kahke?*
 1sg-R-nose/face-blow:PR or NEG

MT *Dja-h-dje-bruH-mu.*
 2sg-R-nose/face-blow-PR
 put.on.dark.face
Da-h-bar-wonawona-n.
 2sg>3-R-pain-hear:REDUP-PR
 ache

‘MP Do I *dje-bruhmu* or not?’

MT You *dje-bruhmu*. You’re in pain [you’re feeling/hearing pain].’

In synchrony, *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘nose/nostril/face’ + ‘blow’, ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ instantiates a metaphor BLOWING NOSE FOR FEELING SAD.²⁷³ This metaphor was not discussed in Chapter 8 because it does not motivate a significant number of compounds (it is restricted to this compound), and because it seems opaque to speakers in synchrony. They do not analyze or comment upon the literal reading of *dje-bruH(mu)*, it does not show up in Kriol translations, etc. The sentence ‘*kah-dje-bruHmu*’ was accepted as a description of a buffalo blowing in anger (presumably ‘it is blowing from the nose’), but the speaker established no correlation with the lexicalized compound meaning ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’.

It is likely that the compound *dje-bruH(mu)* originated in a different metaphor. While *bruH(mu)* commonly means ‘blow’ in synchrony, there exists an isolated and probably archaic use where *bruH(mu)* means for a pregnant women to ‘grow’. A cognate is found in Jawoyn, with the sense ‘swell up’ (*bur[?]-ma-*, [buɹma]).²⁷⁴ Thus, an etymon of *bruH(mu)* probably had the sense ‘swell up’ (possibly in conjunction with the sense ‘blow’). This is supported by the existence of Kriol *shwelopnos* (Eng. ‘swell up’ + ‘nose’), ‘be sulky, angry’. Furthermore, emotion terms relating to sulking and anger, and meaning literally ‘big nose’ are reported in other parts of the continent (e.g. Central Australia (Kaytetye, Turpin (2002, p. 281), Western Desert (Kukatja,

272. A similar test was repeated several times, and systematically triggered the same succession of responses.

273. *Dje-no* means nose and nostril, as well as face, but the nose denotation is much more salient. The face denotation is very backgrounded (see Ponsonnet, 2012, pp. 367–374).

274. Also *bur[?]-ma-rl* [buɹma] ‘swell up’ in Warray (Harvey, n.d.).

(Peile, 1997, p. 128)). Finally, associations of swelling with hostile feelings (particularly anger) are cross-linguistically common – a possible extension of the ANGER IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER and BODY AS A CONTAINER OF ANGER metaphors. Yet, in Dalabon, the sense ‘grow/swell up’ of *bruH(mu)* is no longer productive in synchrony: speakers understand the verb as meaning ‘blow’. As a result, *dje-bruH(mu)* could only be interpreted literally as ‘blowing from the nose’, and the resulting metaphors are not cognitively active.

1.3.2 *Body-part alternations*

While the trope that presumably motivated *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘nose/nostril/face’ + ‘blow’, ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ is no longer accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness in synchrony, they still take into account the compositionality of the compound. Speakers identified DJE as the nose or the face, for instance translating the compound as ‘*salkibala nos*’ or ‘*salkibala feis en nos*’: ‘sulky nose’, ‘sulky face and nose’, in Kriol.

As with YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ predicates and *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, a (smaller) number of [visible body-part + BRUH(MU)] compounds were encountered. DJE ‘nose/nostril/face’ was replaced by another body-part, clearly matching the part involved in the emotional behavior described, as listed in Table 3. The main structuring principle of the set is the same as in the YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ and *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ sets: alternating body-parts yield hyponyms, specifying which body-part is involved in the emotional behavior in question.

Dje-bruH(mu) ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ is significantly more frequent than these alternative compounds (which were exceptional), hence it is clear that it is the base of the set. An important difference with the YIRRU predicates and *yer(mu)* sets discussed earlier is that in these two sets, the ‘base’ predicates are already emotional behavior predicates. With the [body-part + BRUH(MU)] set, the ‘base’ predicate is not an emotional behavior predicate, and does not relate to emotions at all, since *bruH(mu)* means ‘blow’. It only endorses an emotional behavior sense in [body-part + BRUH(MU)] constructions.

Table 3. X + BRUH(MU) compounds. Apart from *dje-bruh(mu)*, all compounds were exceptional (but they occurred spontaneously). All compounds inherit the word class and verb class of the predicate.

Compound	First component	Sense
BASE PREDICATE		
<i>dje-bruH(mu)</i>	nose/nostril/face	be sulky, be sad/put on a dark face
HYPONYMS		
<i>dalubruH(mu)</i>	mouth	express sulkiness with the mouth
<i>dolku-bruH(mu)</i>	back	express sulkiness by turning one’s back on others
<i>mumu-bruH(mu)</i>	eyes	express sulkiness with the eyes (frowning)

All the compounds are hyponyms of the main sense of *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘be sulky’. *Mumu-bruH(mu)* ‘eyes’ + ‘blow’ referred to frowning, and *dalu-bruH(mu)* ‘mouth’ + ‘blow’ to my expression on Figure 5. *Dolku-bruH(mu)* ‘back’ + ‘blow’ was used to describe a teddy-bear turning its back when sulking, as in Figure 6. Since *dje-bruH(mu)* has a purely behavioral sense, ‘put on a dark face’, *mumu-bruH(mu)* and *dalu-bruH(mu)* could have strictly behavioral senses too, denoting facial expressions (as opposed to emotions). This is not the case for *dolku-bruH(mu)*, where the facial expression sense would be far-fetched considering Figure 6, where the character is obviously sulking – hence *dolku-bruH(mu)* refers to an emotional behavior.



Figure 5. Picture used in elicitation. To the right, the author.



Figure 6. Teddy-bear card used in elicitation.²⁷⁵

275. Reproduced from a card set called *The Bears*, with the permission of the publisher, St Luke's Innovative Resources: www.innovativeresources.org

While these compounds were not always acknowledged in elicitation, they occurred spontaneously, hence I consider them lexicalized compounds. Speakers seemed to create them in response to appropriate contexts, based on a formal analogy with *dje-bruH(mu)*. In this process, the predicate BRUH(MU), which means ‘blow’ in isolation, licenses an emotional behavior sense in [body-part + BRUH(MU)] constructions – the construction carries part of the emotional sense. This semantic shift is made possible by the fact that *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ is a compound which presumably originated in a metonymy of the type FACIAL EXPRESSION OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION (EFFECT FOR CAUSE), a trope which is no longer accessible to speakers’ metalinguistic awareness. As a result, speakers use a [body-part + predicate] emotional behavior compound which they can analyze formally, albeit not semantically. On this basis, the sense of the compounds can be reanalyzed, and BRUH(MU) is invested with an emotional sense which then surfaces in other compounds.

In line with the patterns of [body-part + emotional behavior predicate] alternations described in 1.1 for YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ predicates and in 1.2 for *yer(mu)* ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, speakers alternate the body-part noun combined with BRUH(MU) ‘blow/QUIET’ to specify which body-part is involved in the emotional behavior, thus producing a set of [body-part + BRUH(MU)] emotional predicates where the emotional behavior sense is conveyed by the construction. This process of alternation is based on formal analogy with other sets of compounds discussed above. While an eroded trope is at the origin of the base-predicate *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘nose/nostril/face’ + ‘blow’, ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’, the other compounds in the set result from formal analogies with other sets and yield compositional interpretations. In synchrony, this mechanism of compound formation has little to do with metaphors or metonymies.

1.4 BRUK ‘dry/QUIET’

The adjective *bruk* ‘dry’ also occurs throughout a set of emotional compounds with alternating nouns. *Bruk* does not denote either an emotion or an emotional behavior in itself, but [noun + BRUK] compounds denote lack of agitation – whether emotional or behavioral. As suggested in Chapter 9 (3.2), the connection of *bruk* ‘dry’ with lack of agitation is most probably rooted in a metaphor of the type COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS, or maybe more specifically, EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS. This metaphor derives naturally from the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS, a cross-linguistically common metaphor (Goatly, 1997/2011; Kövecses, 2000; Omori, 2008).

Section 3 of Chapter 9 presented emotional [noun + BRUK] compounds only. However, the set is larger, also including behavioral predicates denoting absence of (negative) agitation. Table 4 lists the complete set, and also accounts for elicitation tests where some compounds were rejected. The sense of the emotional compounds in Table 4, and the metaphors they imply, have already been discussed in Chapter 9. Like in other sets, [invisible body-part + BRUK] compounds are emotional, and related

to a metaphor EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS. Here I discuss [visible body-parts + BRUK] compounds, which yield behavioral or emotional compounds.

Table 4. *X + bruk* compounds. All the compounds are lexicalized except possibly *langu-bruk*. All compounds are adjectives like *bruk*. Adjectives in italics were elicited, others occurred spontaneously. Compounds preceded by an asterisk were rejected in elicitation.

Compound	Domain	First component	Sense
VISIBLE BODY-PARTS			
<i>dal</i> -bruk	behavioral	mouth	not speak
<i>langu-bruk</i>	<i>behavioral</i>	<i>hand/finger</i>	<i>not steal</i>
<i>mud</i> -bruk	emotional	body hair	brave (not easily scared)
<i>mumu-bruk</i>	<i>behavioral</i>	<i>eyes</i>	<i>not flirt</i>
INVISIBLE BODY-PARTS			
<i>kangu-bruk</i>	<i>emotional</i>	<i>belly</i>	<i>not scared in conflictual interactions</i>
ATTRIBUTES OF THE PERSON			
<i>men-bruk</i>	emotional	ideas	self-controlled, not scared, patient
<i>kangu-yirru-bruk</i>	<i>emotional</i>	?anger (<i>emotional</i>)	<i>not scared</i> <i>?in conflictual interactions</i>
* <i>yolh-bruk</i>		feelings	
OTHERS			
<i>djong-bruk</i>	emotional	FEAR	brave (not easily scared)
<i>wadda-bruk</i>	emotional?	camp, home (generic)	quiet, focused, not agitated
* <i>yirru-bruk</i>		conflict, anger (generic)	
* <i>marrmo-bruk</i>		country (generic)	
* <i>kurnh-bruk</i>		place (inanimate-part)	

The set is relatively coherent semantically. All its behavioral members have to do with the absence of (usually negative) activity,²⁷⁶ and all its emotional members have to do with the absence of negative emotion, i.e. absence of emotional agitation. With visible-body-part nouns, the agitation is often behavioral, its nature being specified either with reference to the function of the part in question (*dal*-bruk ‘mouth’ + ‘dry’, ‘not speak’ (14), analogous to *dal*-yer(*mu*) ‘mouth’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘be too shy to talk’, 1.2), or with reference to a connotation of the body-part acquired via a metonymy. This occurs with MUD ‘body hair’, metonymically associated with

276. The only exception is *dal*-bruk ‘mouth’ + ‘bruk’, ‘not speak’. Speaking is *not* culturally depreciated (see Chapter 6, 2.1.4).

fear via goosebumps, a physiological response to fear (see 2.1);²⁷⁷ and with MUMU ‘eyes’, metonymically associated with sexual desire (which involves watching the desired person intensely, and making eye contact) (15) (see 2.1).



Figure 7. Picture used in elicitation.

20120706a_002_MT 077 [Stim]

[About the woman to the left of Figure 7.]

- (14) *Ka-h-dalu-bruk. Ka-h-dalu-yer-mu,*
 3sg-R-mouth-dry 3sg-R-mouth-shy.away-PR
 not.talk too.shy.to.talk

mak dja-marnu-yenjdju-ngiyan.

NEG 3sg>2sg-BEN-talk:REDUP-FUT

‘She’s silent [she’s got a dry mouth]. She’s afraid to speak [she’s shy from the mouth], she won’t talk to you.’

20120714b_005_MT 102 [Sc]

- (15) *Nunh ngarra-h-mumu-bruk wirrimah ngarra-h-mumu-kol-mu.*
 DEM 1pl.incl-R-eyes-dry or 1pl.incl-R-eyes-pretend-PR
 not.flirt flirt

Nunh bala-ye-mumu-kol-mu

DEM 3pl-SUB-eyes-pretend-PR
 flirt

nunh mararradj bulu bula-h-yidjnja-n.

DEM lovers 3pl 3pl>3-R-have-PR

‘Either we are serious, we’re not flirting by looking at men [we’ve got dry eyes], or we seduce men [with our eyes]. The ones who seduce [with the eyes], these ones have lovers.’

277. This is of course cross-linguistically common (French, English, Tagalog (Palmer & Brown, 1998, p. 346)).

[Visible body-part + BRUK] behavioral compounds imply a metaphor consistent with the EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS metaphor, namely the more general COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS and the more specific IDLE BODY-PART IS DRY BODY-PART.²⁷⁸

The respective roles of metaphor and analogy in the formation of the BRUK compounds presented in Table 4 cannot easily be teased apart. It is indisputable that in synchrony, a metaphor COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS is detectable in the BRUK set. Historically, such a metaphor is most probably at the origin of at least one of the compounds in the set. Since emotional compounds are more numerous and more common than behavioral metaphors, the original metaphor may be an emotional metaphor such as EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS metaphors are cross-linguistically common.

While this is the best explanation for the initial association of *bruk* 'dry' with the absence of emotional or behavioral agitation, the role of metaphor with respect to the formation of *further* BRUK compounds is less clear. Postulating conceptual metaphors as the historical motivation of linguistic forms is justified only when such conceptual metaphors may explain a particular constellation of forms (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). However, here, there exists a competing explanation. Since the BRUK set is structurally analogous to several other sets, there are reasons to think that the semi-productivity of the set is not channeled by the COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS metaphor, but by formal analogy.

The BRUK set is very similar to the *dje-bruH(mu)* 'nose/nostrils/face' + 'blow' 'sulky, sad/put on a dark face' set: body-part nouns combine with a non-emotional predicate, on the basis of analogy with a [body-part + non-emotional predicate] compound endorsed with an emotional sense motivated by a (frozen) metaphor. There are no reasons to see metaphor as a better historical explanation for the existence and configuration of the set than formal analogy with an initial compound and with other semi-compositional sets. In addition, there are no signs – translations, free or intended metaphors etc. – that this dryness metaphor is cognitively salient for speakers in synchrony. If the explanation by formal analogy is correct, it makes sense to say that BRUK in [noun + BRUK] compounds conveys the sense 'lacking agitation', rather than the sense 'dry' and its metaphorical implications – just like BRUH(MU) conveys the sense 'sulky' rather than 'blow' in [body-part + BRUH(MU)] compounds. The emotional sense of BRUK is tied to the construction.

This question of whether the BRUK set is motivated by a metaphor or by formal analogy is partly idle, because it is not clear which kind of evidence could, in this case, discriminate strictly between the two hypotheses. The question is nonetheless worth raising, in my view, because each hypothesis suggests a different path of semantic change, with different roles for body-part nouns, metaphors and strictly linguistic mechanisms. If metaphor motivates the whole set, we postulate that speakers exploit

278. As discussed in Chapter 9 (Section 3), the only compound formed with a generic noun, *wadda-bruk* 'camp, home' + 'dry', 'quiet, focused', does not yield very clear metaphors.

the conceptual, figurative potential of body-parts and other concrete aspects of the world to create new lexical forms and assign meanings to them. If formal analogy is at play, we postulate that speakers expand upon formal and semantic regularities that exist in their language to create new forms and assign meaning to them. With the latter hypothesis, the linguistic structure has a much stronger role in determining linguistic representations. Linguistic rules may then *suggest* conceptual metaphors (rather than being triggered by conceptual metaphors), which speakers may, in turn, choose to take into account or not. If metaphor is the driving principle, conceptual representations determine linguistic forms; if formal analogy is the driving principle, linguistic rules and forms may determine or inspire linguistic and conceptual representations.²⁷⁹ As mentioned above, I have not observed that Dalabon speakers exploit COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS metaphors, but this is in theory possible.²⁸⁰

1.5 Behavioral verbs

The base-verbs of the four sets presented in previous sections are emotional behavior verbs, i.e. they denote a type of behavior *and* its emotional trigger (as defined in Chapter 1, 1.2.2.3). In contrast, the Dalabon verbs *redji* ‘smile, laugh’ and *run* ‘cry’ are strictly behavioral. While smiling/laughing is often associated with being pleased, and crying with being sad, these lexemes do not *impose* the accompanying emotions. *Redji* ‘smile, laugh’ may be used to ask someone to smile for a photo (16), or to describe someone laughing when being tickled (17) – no emotions are involved in either case.²⁸¹ Likewise, *run* ‘cry’ can denote a physical reaction with a physical (not

279. The same could apply to BRUH(MU) ‘blow’ compounds, although the set is much more restricted. Its compounds are exceptional, and the resulting metaphors very far-fetched (unlike the BRUK ‘dry’ ones).

280. The interplay between metaphor and derivation, as two different mechanisms of lexical creation, has been explored by Goatly (1997/2011, p. Chapter 3). Goatly acknowledges important interactions between metaphor and ‘word formation, specially of the denominal kind, [which] prepares the way for metaphorical extensions and transfers of meaning’ (1997/2011, p. 106). According to Goatly, derivations (including compounds) are more likely to attract further new metaphorical senses than other lexical items. Like Goatly, I emphasize interactions between derivation and metaphors, but my suggestion is different. I hypothesize that compounds (which are derivations) can suggest new conceptual metaphors, based on their compositional meaning. The process does not involve assigning a new sense to the compound, but simply reinterpreting it as a metaphor.

281. *Redji* is sometimes used with the implication that two persons are chatting together and thus having fun together. Consistent with the association of joking relationships with potential conjugal relationship (see Chapter 6, 2.3), *redji* is sometimes translated as ‘flirt’. However I do not treat ‘chat’ and/or ‘flirt’ as autonomous senses of *redji*, because in all the cases at play, the participants were actually laughing – the senses ‘chat’ and ‘flirt’ are triggered by implicature.

emotional) cause, such as pain for instance (18). When used alone (not in combination with an attribute of the person), neither *redji* nor *run* were found to denote emotional states independent of laughing or crying behaviors.

Metaphors involving the nominal roots RE ‘laughter, smile’ and RU ‘tears’ are discussed in Chapter 9 (Section 2). Independent of these metaphors, both *redji* ‘smile, laugh’ and *run* ‘cry’ can be associated with body-parts and attributes of the person to form further compounds.

20120705a_002_MT 153 [EI]

[This was repeated in elicitation, but heard as a (non-recorded) spontaneous occurrence as a photo was being taken.]

- (16) *Dja-h-bim-m-iyān*, *dja-h-kakku-redji-ng*.
 1sg>2sg-R-picture-get-FUT 2sg-R-really-laugh-PR
 ‘I’ll take a photo of you, put on a bright smile.’

20110613_003_LB 271 [EI]

- (17) *Dja-h-mardardak-miyan* *dja-h-yedj-m-iniyan*.
 2sg-R-?startle-FUT 3sg>2sg-R-tickle-INCH-FUT
Dja-h-redji-ngiyan.
 2sg-R-laugh-FUT
 ‘You’ll be startled, he’ll tickle you. You’ll laugh.’

20110601_001_MT 54 [Stim]

- (18) *Kardu da-h-bra-wodna-n* *dja-h-ru-n*.
 maybe 2sg>3-R-pain-throw-PR 2sg-R-cry-PR
 ‘Maybe you’re in pain [you’re throwing pain], you’re crying.’

Ru does have an emotional sense, ‘be desperate for’, want something badly and behave so as to obtain it. This applies in situations where the person is crying, for instance a child crying for lollies, but also in cases where tears are absent, as in (19). I do not consider this sense here, as it is not the one involved in the [body-part + *run*] set.

20120705b_005_MT 149 [RPF]

[The three fugitive children are looking attentively at the sky, in a bid to spot a plane which would indicate the correct direction to walk back home; they are not crying.]

- (19) *Kanh bala-h-ru-n* *errblen-kah*.
 DEM 3pl-R-cry-PR plane-LOC
 ‘They’re desperately looking for a plane [crying for a plane].’

The following sections discuss the sets of [noun + *redji* ‘smile, laugh’] (1.5.1) and [noun + *run* ‘cry’] (1.5.2) compounds. While there are similarities with the sets presented above, the fact that the base verbs do not denote emotions *per se* triggers differences.

1.5.1 Redji 'smile, laugh'

Table 5 lists [noun + *redji* 'smile, laugh'] compounds. Most of the body-parts involved with this verb are facial body-parts. These compounds are relatively rare, and, as opposed to what happens in the other sets described above, body-part nouns did not seem to yield hyponyms but synonyms: they do not appear to contribute a semantic contrast. This is presumably because laughing, being a reflex behavior, normally involves the whole face, with little allowance for dissociation of various parts of the face (contrarily to sulking for instance). As a result, to 'laugh from the forehead' one has to be laughing anyway.

Table 5. X + *redji* compounds. All compounds are intransitive verbs. Compounds which are clearly lexicalized appear in bold.

Compound	First component	Sense(s)
SYNONYMS/INTENSIFIERS		
dalú-redji	mouth	smile, laugh expressively
dje-redji	nose/nostrils/face	smile, laugh expressively
milh-redji	forehead	smile, laugh expressively
mumu-redji	eyes	smile, laugh expressively
njerrh-redji	body (potentially dead)	laugh out loud
EMOTIONAL		
kangu-redji	belly	be pleased (and hide it)
yolh-redji	feelings	be happy, cheerful

The addition of facial parts appears to sanction intensity, but this was difficult to evaluate. In (20), the intensity of the smile is described with a verbal intensifier. However, the smile is not strikingly intense, but the person's features are particularly expressive. MT's translation suggests that facial body-parts emphasize the fact that laughing or smiling can be read on various parts of the face.

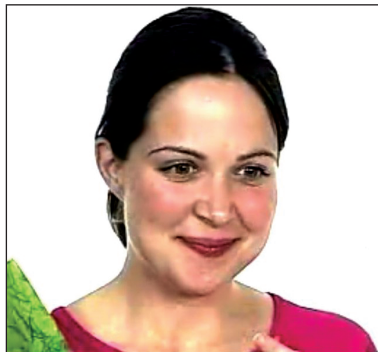


Figure 8. Picture extracted from the *Mind Reading* video set used in elicitation.

20120705b_001_MT 146 [Stim]

[Commenting on a video of *Mind Reading: The interactive guide to emotion* set, where the actress exemplifies ‘touched’. The girl has just been offered flowers by her boyfriend, who has left.]

- (20) *Derrh-no-bo yarra-h-ma-rru-niyan ka-h-yin.*
 sometimes 1du.excl-R-get-RR-FUT 3sg-R-say/do:PR
 marry

Ka-h-kakku-milh-redji,

3sg-R-really-forehead-laugh:PR

*mumu-no-dorndorrung,*²⁸² *dalu-widj-no.*

eyes-3sgPOSS-COM:REDUP mouth-WIDJ-3sgPOSS
 lips

Kardu ka-h-marnu-djare ka-h-yin men-no.

maybe 3sg>1-R-BEN-like/want 3sg-R-say/do:PR ideas-3sgPOSS

Kanh ka-h-lng-kakku-dalu-redji,

DEM 3sg-R-SEQ-really-mouth-laugh:PR

ka-h-milh-redji mumu-no-dorrung

3sg-R-forehead-laugh:PR eyes-3sgPOSS-COM

ka-h-kakku-mumu-redji.

3sg-R-really-eyes-laugh:PR

‘I’ll be with him/marry him later, she thinks. She’s smiling brightly [from the forehead, with her eyes and all, her lips]. Maybe he’s in love with me, she’s thinking in her mind. That’s why she’s smiling so brightly [with her mouth], she’s got a bright smile all over her face [she’s smiling from the forehead], with her eyes.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘*kah-kakku-milh-redji mumu-no-dorndorrung*’:
 ‘Imin laf brabli wei garram im ai en big smail.’

Nouns denoting something an attribute of the person other than a facial body-part did make a semantic contribution. NJERRH ‘(dead) body’ contributed intensity: *njerrh-redji* ‘(dead) body’ + ‘smile, laugh’ was used – often in combination with the verbal intensifier *kakku-* – to describe someone laughing out loud, rather than just smiling (see Section 2).

YOLH ‘pep, feelings’, an abstract attribute of the person, also contributed an important semantic shift: as shown in (21), the relatively frequent *yolh-redji* denotes an emotional state, ‘being cheerful, happy’, rather than a behavior. The less frequent *kangu-redji* ‘belly’ + ‘smile, laugh’ took a similar sense. Both were used in particular in a context where someone had to hide their being pleased, thus contrasting visible and invisible aspects of the person.

282. The comitative *-dorrung* attracts the irregular reduplication *-dorndorrung*, used when referring to all the members of a set, typically body-parts.

20120705a_002_MT 128 [ContEl]

[In response to a scenario attempting to combine smiling and laughing (behavior) with being sad (emotion).]

(21) *Ka-h-dja-woh-redji-ng yelng bonj.*

3sg-R-FOC-a.bit-laugh-PR SEQ INTJ.finished

Buyirrhwalung mak ka-kakku-yolh-redji-ng kahke.

inside NEG 3sg-R-really-feelings-laugh-PR NEG

‘She laughs a bit and then finished. Deep inside, she’s not really happy [have laughing/smiling feelings].’

Hence in the *redji* ‘smile, laugh’ set, [visible facial body-part + *redji*] compounds are partly redundant – they denote behaviors (laugh or smile), just like *redji*, possibly with some intensification. Invisible parts of the person (invisible abdominal body-parts and abstract attributes), on the other hand, play a similar role as in YIRRU ‘conflict, anger’ predicate compounds, specifying the compound as emotional. With YIRRU predicates, this specification disambiguates between the behavioral and emotional readings of YIRRU predicates. With *redji* ‘smile, laugh’, this contribution results in a semantic shift from a behavioral sense to an emotional sense.

1.5.2 Run ‘cry’

Table 6 lists [attributes of the person + *run*] compounds. One of the [visible body-part + *run*] compounds, *kodj-run* ‘head’ + ‘cry’, could yield a hyponym of *run* where the specification operates on the basis of the metonymic associations HEAD FOR SOCIAL ACTOR, HEAD FOR ACTORS IN CONJUGAL MATTERS (1.1, 2.2), since *kodj-run* was used to describe someone crying for a dead husband. However, the compound occurred only twice, and more data is needed before this compound can be understood.

Table 6. X + *run* compounds. All compounds are intransitive verbs.

The compound in bold is clearly lexicalized.

Compound	First component	Sense(s)
?HYPONYM		
<i>kodj-run</i>	crown of head/head	?cry for one’s spouse
OTHERS		
<i>dje-run</i>	nose/nostrils/face	?(express emotional pain by) a very sad face
<i>milh-run</i>	forehead	?(express emotional pain by) a very sad face
EMOTIONAL		
<i>kangu-run</i>	belly	feel sad (because of separation from someone)

Compounds of the form [facial body-part + *run*] were used occasionally where the participant was not crying, but looked very sad, and was indeed deeply affected emotionally. The use of DJE is not surprising since *dje-no* primarily means ‘nose’ but can

also denote the face. *Milh-no*, which means ‘forehead’ in synchrony, is found in several compounds denoting facial expressions.²⁸³ It is not clear whether *dje-run* and *milh-run* (which appear to be synonyms) were used to denote emotional states or facial expressions of an emotional state, but Figure 9 suggests that facial expressions are in focus. In any case, they are not hyponyms of *run*, as (27) suggests that *dje-run* ‘nose/nostrils/face’ + ‘cry’ and *milh-run* ‘forehead’ + ‘cry’ exclude *run*. Rather, both *run* ‘cry’ and these compounds denote expressions of sadness observable on the face.



Figure 9. Picture extracted from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* and presented to MT as a support to story re-telling. Images from *Rabbit-Proof Fence* courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.

20120710a_001_MT 125 [Stim/RPF]

[MT is presented with Figure 9 extracted from *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, where two of the children watch the third one being taken away from them by welfare agents. The utterances are very emotional, including prosodic and voice quality features. They are not technical descriptions.]

- (22) *Burra-h-munku-na-ng*, *burra-h-marnu-wurdah-minj* *bulkkidj*.
 3du>3-R-far-see-PP 3du>3-R-BEN-suffer-PP really
Burra-h-marnu-dje-ru-nj, *ka-h-milh-ru-nj* *nunda kanh*
 3du>3-R-BEN-nose/face-cry-PP 3sg-R-forehead-cry-PP DEM DEM
boyenjboyenj. *Nunda wurdurd-wurd mahkih yaw-no-wurd*.
 big:REDUP DEM child-DIM and little.one-DIM
Burra-h-na-ng, *bulkkidj burra-h-marnu-kangu-wurdaH-minj*.
 3du>3-R-see-PP really 3du>3-R-BEN-belly-suffer-PP
Kardu kenbo burra-h-marnu-ru-n.
 maybe then 3pl>3-R-BEN-cry-PR

283. There may be several explanations for this. Firstly, the forehead does change appearance when one is laughing or crying. Secondly, *milh-no* could relate etymologically to the whole face. In support of this hypothesis is that fact that MILH occurs regularly in parallel position as DJE in compounds (*dje-redji* ‘nose/nostril/face’ + ‘smile, laugh’, *milh-redji* ‘forehead’ + ‘smile, laugh’; *djah-dje-ngunj* ‘I thank you’ (literally ‘I ate your nose’) or *djah-milh-ngunj* ‘I thank you’). Jawoyn has *mirk* ‘chest’, occurring, like Dalabon BERRU ‘chest’, in compounds denoting social interaction, where the key semantic feature is ‘facing’. In synchrony, however, speakers never used *milh-no* as such to denote the face: it is the forehead.

‘They were looking from a distance [at their cousin being taken away] and they were really sad. They looked very sad for her [they cried from the nose/face], the older one expressed sadness with her forehead [crying from the forehead]. And the poor little one too. They were looking at her, they were intensely sad for her. After maybe, they are going to cry for her.’

In this set again, the semantic contribution of the noun denoting an invisible part of the person – this time an invisible body-part, KANGU ‘belly’ – differs from the semantic contribution of visible body-parts. *Kangu-run* ‘belly’ + ‘cry’ operates a shift towards an emotional denotation (see remarks on (*kangu-*)*yirru* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’, ‘anger (emotional)’ in Chapter 8, 1.4.1). This is illustrated in (1), where the speaker hesitates between *run* and *kangu-run* due to the participant’s ambiguous behavior: his mouth looks like he is crying, or about to cry, but he sheds no tears. The use of *buyirrhwalung* ‘inside’ (Chapter 9, Section 4) confirms that the speaker intends to discard a behavioral statement.

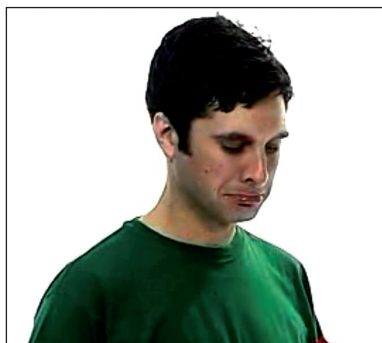


Figure 10. Picture extracted from the *Mind Reading* video set used in elicitation.

20120705b_001_MT 054 [Stim]

[Watching a video extracted from the *Mind Reading: The interactive guide to emotion* set, where the actor exemplifies ‘hurt’. The actor had an argument with his girlfriend, who left upset. His mouth looks like he is crying, but he sheds no tears. This behavioral oddity triggers the speaker’s use of *run* ‘cry’ then corrected as *kangu-run* ‘belly’ + ‘cry’.]

- (23) *Ka-h-yolh-weh, duway-no.*
 3sg-R-feelings-bad husband-3sgPOSS
Kardu bah ka-h-ru-n, ka-h-kangu-ru-n, buyirrhwalung.
 maybe but 3sg-R-cry-PR 3sg-R-belly-cry-PR inside
 be.sad

‘He’s not happy, her husband [of the woman who left upset]. It looks like he’s crying, he’s feeling bad [crying from the belly], inside.’

The compound *kangu-run* ‘feel sad (often because of separation)’ was already considered in Chapter 8 (1.4.1), where it was interpreted as a metonymy BELLY FOR EXPERIENCER OF EMOTIONAL RESPONSES, which it does yield in synchrony. From a diachronic point of view, it is hard to tell, in this case, whether the occurrence of the compound is triggered by a conceptual metaphor, or by formal analogy of the *run* ‘cry’ set with other emotional behavior sets.

1.6 Conclusions on emotional behavior sets

None of the six sets of emotional behavior compounds described above present the exact same structure, but they do display family resemblances. Several sets are structured around a compositional or semi-compositional core of compounds, where nouns denoting visible body-parts specify which part of the experiencer is involved in an emotional behavior. In several sets, nouns denoting invisible body-parts and abstract attributes of the person specify the compounds as emotional, as opposed to behavioral. A number of body-part and abstract-attribute nouns recur in several sets. Many of them contribute a semantic specification resulting from their denotation or from the function of the body-part in question. With other body-parts, the semantic contribution relies upon tropes, mostly metonymies, and is systematized by regular association of the body-part with a particular emotional connotation throughout a number of sets. The following section discusses these connotations.

2. Body-parts with emotional connotations

The body-part nouns that contribute semantically to emotional behavior compounds on the basis of a trope are listed in Table 7. That is, the table recapitulates the body-part nouns that occur in the sets of compounds analyzed in the previous section and contribute a non-literal meaning in these compounds. Table 7 also lists abstract attributes of the person nouns that can specify a compound as emotional.

One of the nouns in the table, NJERRH ‘(potentially dead) body’, is neither a body-part (since it refers to the whole body) nor an abstract attribute of the person. NJERRH ‘(dead) body’, which occurred only marginally in the compound sets, seemed to contribute intensification. This is well assessed for *njerrh-redji* ‘(dead) body’ + ‘smile, laugh’, ‘laugh out loud’, and is also a plausible interpretation for [NJERRH + emotional predicate] compounds, as with *djare* ‘like, love/want’ here:

20120706b_000_MT 037 [RPF]

[About one of the children taken away from their mothers, walking across the continent to go back home.]

- (24) *Ka-h-kakku-njerrh-djare* *ka-h-bo-niyan nah-no-kah.*
 3sg-R-really-(dead)body-like/want 3sg-R-go-FUT mother-3sgPOSS-LOC
 ‘She really wants to go back to her mother [she wants it in her flesh].’

While the contribution of other visible-body-part nouns in the table can be explained by metonymies, this is not as clear with NJERRH. Although this contribution seems intuitively natural, it is not obvious why NJERRH, which can denote dead bodies as well as living ones, was preferred to DORRUNG ‘alive body’ in emotional compounds.²⁸⁴ *Njerrh-no* is also used to refer to dead animals, i.e. edible flesh. The use of NJERRH ‘(dead) body’ may reflect the passivity and lack of control of the experiencer of emotions, for instance *njerrh-ye-merey-di*, literally ‘stand/be jealous with one’s body’, lexically ‘be very jealous, be desperately in love’, used to describe someone suffering the torments of an overwhelming passion. Indeed, this contrast could explain some disjunctions between NJERRH and DORRUNG in other, non-emotional compounds as well.²⁸⁵

Table 7. Body-part and abstract-attribute nouns and their senses/connotations in emotional/behavioral compounds. NGUH appears in italics because the connotations in question are attested in only one compound.

Noun	Denotation	Connotation
VISIBLE BODY-PARTS		
BERRU	chest	social interaction, esp. with non-taboo kin, flirtation
KODJ	crown of head/head	social interactions, in particular conjugal interactions
MUD	body hair	fear
MUMU	eyes	sexual desire
NJERRH	body (potent. dead)	?intensification of emotion described by predicate ?
REDJ	side	social interactions, in particular taboo or flirtatious
INVISIBLE BODY-PARTS		
KANGU	belly, inside	emotions, hidden emotions
MO	bones	emotional
NGUH	<i>intestines</i>	<i>emotions, hidden emotions</i>
ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTES		
MEN	ideas	emotional (social)
YOLH	feelings	emotional

The semantic contributions of visible-body-part nouns is easier to pin down and assign to tropes. These contributions are discussed in the following sections, starting with EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies (2.1), then PART FOR WHOLE metonymies (2.2). Section 2.3 discusses metaphorical associations, and 2.4 discusses the case of

²⁸⁴. See Bugenhagen (2001, p. 99) about Mbula (Papuan), where the alternations between the terms for living body and dead body in emotional compounds also remains unexplained.

²⁸⁵. For instance, *njerrh-warlkarrun* ‘(dead) body’ + ‘hide’ + REFL, ‘hide oneself’, where the agent is subjected to some external constraint, is common but not *dorrung-warlkarrun*; and *dorrung-murduk* ‘body’ + ‘hard/strong’, ‘strong person’, not *njerrh-murduk*. The partition, however, is not clear-cut.

KANGU ‘belly’, which tends to shift/specify the sense of emotional behavior predicates as emotional, consistent with its metaphorical representation as the seat of emotions (Chapter 8, 1.4).

2.1 EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies

Some of the nouns listed in Table 7 occur in large sets of compounds structured essentially around metonymies and metaphors. This is the case with KANGU ‘belly’, NGURLK ‘HEART’ and YOLH ‘feelings’, described *in extenso* in Chapter 8. Others rely upon a more isolated metonymy, and then spread through (smaller) sets which do lend themselves to metaphorical interpretation. For instance, MUD ‘body hair’ connects with fear via goosebumps reactions (PHYSICAL REACTION FOR EMOTION, BODY-PART INVOLVED IN PHYSICAL REACTION FOR PHYSICAL REACTION, EFFECT FOR CAUSE, Kövecses (1990, p. 75)) – a cross-linguistically common association. MUMU ‘eyes’, connects with sexual desire because this emotional state leads to intense observation and eye contact (RESULTING BEHAVIOR FROM EMOTIONAL CAUSE, EFFECT FOR CAUSE), and because watching someone can trigger desire (BEHAVIORAL CAUSE FOR EMOTIONAL EFFECT, CAUSE FOR EFFECT). In the Dalabon context in particular, eye contact from a distance is interpreted as a sexual offer (people say that lovers exchange gaze as signals to meet up secretly in the bush).

The tables below recapitulate the compounds (emotional and otherwise) where MUMU ‘eyes’ and MUD ‘body hair’ respectively endorse these connotations. Only two MUD compounds are emotional, instantiating metonymies of the type BODY HAIR FOR EXPERIENCER OF FEAR metonymies (plus the EMOTIONAL COMPOSURE IS DRYNESS metaphor), via the relation between fear and goosebumps (25). MUD ‘body hair’ is found with the root KELE, which occurs in Bininj Gun-wok with the sense ‘fear’, but is not an independent Dalabon lexeme. MUD seems to relate to a particular type of fear, such as apprehension, fear of a scary environment (26). It was not found in contexts where fear relates to a clearly identified and immediate threat (non-metaphorical DJONG compounds are preferred in such cases (see Chapter 6, 2.4)).

20120712b_000_MT 138 [ContEI]

- (25) *Nga-h-kakku-dulh-mu-n* *nidjarra, nga-h-mud-dokka-ng.*
 1sg-R-really-be.cold-INCH-PR here 1sg-R-body.hair-get.up-PP
 ‘I’m really cold here, I’ve got goosebumps.’

20110521a_002_MT 108 [ContEI]

- (26) *Dja-h-mud-kelekele-m-iniyan,* *muna-no kanh dja-ye-yo-ngiyan.*
 2sg-R-body.hair-FEAR:REDUP-INCH-FUT at.night DEM 2sg-SUB-lie-FUT
 ‘You can have scary feelings [fear from the hair], at night when you lie in bed.’

While KANGU ‘belly’ compounds have developed an extensive network of emotional tropes, MUD ‘body hair’ and MUMU ‘eyes’ mostly instantiate one relevant metonymy, where the body-part in question is the seat of the emotion. In the case of KANGU compounds, metonymies and metaphors constitute the most convincing (and sometimes the only) explanation for the existence of some compounds. With MUD ‘body hair’ and MUMU ‘eyes’, by contrast, formal analogies between sets of emotional behavior compounds may explain some compounds more convincingly, as I will now explain.

Mumu-yer(mu) ‘eyes’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’ was used to describe women avoiding eye contact with potential lovers. In this compound, both compositionality and metonymic association are at play. This compound is compositional to the extent that the body-part noun specifies which part of the person is involved in the avoidance behavior in question. At the same time, the compound is metonymic to the extent that it is specialized for visual interactions between lovers, where both the eyes and an emotional state are involved at the same time – hence a regular association between the eyes and an emotion, fostering a metonymy.

Contrarily to *mumu-yer(mu)* ‘eyes’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘avoid eye contact, often with potential lover’, *mumu-bruk* ‘eyes’ + ‘dry/QUIET’ ‘not flirt’, did not denote a behavior involving the eyes: it was used in a more general context, referring to various flirtatious behaviors having nothing to do with the eyes. Therefore, in this compound, MUMU ‘eyes’ connotes ‘sexual desire’ independently of the reference to the eyes as a body-part. In this compound, MUMU simply means ‘(with respect to) sexual desire’. The compound does illustrate the metaphor DRYNESS OF THE EYES FOR ABSENCE OF DESIRE-DRIVEN BEHAVIOR, but this trope is conceptually far-fetched, does not occur elsewhere in the language, and is not salient for speakers. It seems unlikely that this metaphor is responsible for the production of *mumu-bruk*, and thus for the reinforcement of the ‘sexual desire’ connotation of MUMU ‘eyes’. Rather, the compound results from formal analogy with other compounds, for instance *mumu-yer(mu)* ‘eyes’ + ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’, ‘avoid eye contact, often with potential lover’, and *djong-bruk* ‘FEAR’ + ‘dry’.

Table 8. MUD + X compounds.

All compounds inherit the word class of the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
mud-bruk	dry (adj.)	brave, fearless
mud-dokkan	get up (v.i.)	have goosebumps
mud-kele-mun	FEAR+ INCH (v.i.)	be scared
mud-nahbu	step on/affect body-part fr. a distance (v.t.)	?cause goosebumps for emotional reasons (?make feel uncomfortable)
mud-yedjmun	feel ticklish (v.i.)	?have goosebumps

Table 9. MUMU + X compounds. All compounds inherit the word class of the predicate. The compounds in italics may not be fully lexicalized.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
<i>mumu-bruk</i>	<i>dry (adj.)</i>	<i>not flirt</i>
mumu-kol(mu)	pretend (v.i.)	look at someone in a way that expresses desire, flirt
mumu-nan	see (v.t.)	look at someone in the eyes/flirt/ like someone, be attracted by someone
mumu-yer(mu)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	lower eyes to avoid eye contact (with potential lover)

Another body-part endorsing regular connotations is BERRU ‘chest’. The anchorage of the connotation is metonymic, like with MUMU ‘eyes’ and MUD ‘bruk’, albeit involving social interactions rather than emotions: the chest is involved in proximity interactions. As a result, BERRU ‘chest’ occurs in compounds denoting social behaviors, but not in compounds relating to emotions. (Similar metonymies are found, albeit more marginal, with REDJ ‘side’, DENGU ‘foot’ and MEHDU, etymologically ‘chest’.)

20100725_003_MT 101 [E]

- (27) *Dalu-berr-no*, [...] *kanunh*,
mouth-CHEST-3sgPOSS DEM
mate

kanh ke-h-redji-ng, ke-h-berr-ma-rru-n munguyh.
DEM 3du.dis-R-laugh-PR 3du.dis-R-CHEST-get-RR-PR always
joke

‘His mate [his mouth-chest], this one, that’s when they laugh, they have fun together all the time.’

MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Im oles abum fan garram im,
matbi sambadi im garra gudfren.’

2.2 PART FOR WHOLE metonymies

KODJ, which primarily means ‘crown of head’, and ‘head’ by extension, stands, among other things,²⁸⁶ for the social individual – a relatively natural metonymy (PART FOR WHOLE, PHYSICAL ACTOR FOR SOCIAL ACTOR). KODJ is found in compounds denoting interactions of individuals as social actors in a social network (e.g. *kodj-nganj-mang*

²⁸⁶ In compounds denoting intellectual states and events, KODJ represents the seat of intellectual processes and knowledge (Ponsonnet, 2009a, pp. 21–23), based on a cross-linguistically common metonymy whereby the (crown of the) head stands for the brain (CONTAINER IS CONTENT), combined with the metaphor THE BRAIN IS THE INSTRUMENT OF INTELECTION.

'crown of head/head' + ? + 'get', 'share according to social etiquette' – for instance the meat of a kangaroo). KODJ 'crown of head/head' is also found in various compounds relating to conjugal relationships, a special case of social relationship. In addition, KODJ occurs in compounds relating to babies to be born (*kodj-ngalka* 'head' + 'find', 'beget a child'). The crown of the head – the first denotation of *kodj-no* – is the first part of the child that appears at birth, and therefore this part could stand metonymically for the baby being born, and further, for the person. Irrespective of this hypothesis, the cluster of connotations (social actor, conjugal actor, expected baby) can be explained in the following way.

The Dalabon social context can be described as a non-saturated kinship network where each individual, considered as kin, is a node. Begetting a child is filling in a node in the network. In pre-colonial times, this social network was a guide to conjugal unions. One would marry with the right node (as defined in terms of kin relations and patrilineal descent lines) in order to maintain balance in the network (Hiatt, 1968; Keen, 1982). In the Dalabon context, for some individual, the 'right node' to marry did not always exist, due to relatively low demographics. For this reason, newborn babies could be promised as spouses at a very young age or even before birth, to people awaiting spouses. In the social network, each node, each individual, and also each newborn baby, was defined as someone's potential spouse. This system sheds light the extension/specialization of the connotation of KODJ 'crown of head/head' from the social-actor (an expected metonymy) to the actor-in-conjugal-relationships metonymy, and the connection with babies to be born.

The KODJ 'crown of head/head' set (Table 10) is larger than the MUD 'body hair' and MUMU 'eyes' sets, and does instantiate more specific, and relatively diverse metaphors, such as resistance (*kodj-murduk* 'head' + 'hard/strong', 'selfish/emotionally closed'), destruction (*kodj-dadj(mu)* 'head' + 'be cut, end', 'become upset and interrupt social interactions'), and blockage (*kodj-dukkan* 'head' + 'tie up', 'be upset with').

Table 10. KODJ + X compounds. Except where indicated otherwise, compounds inherit the word class of the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
SOCIAL ACTOR		
<i>kodj-burrama</i>	good, healthy (adj.)	smart, morally good, socially accommodating
<i>kodj-dadj(mu)</i>	be cut, end (v.i.)	become upset, interrupt social interactions as a consequence
<i>kodj-dukkan</i>	tie up (v.t.)	be upset with someone
<i>kodj-men-mungu</i>	<i>with no intention, in vain (?adj.)</i>	<i>?have no intention to fight or argue</i>
<i>kodj-mon</i>	<i>good, fine (adj.)</i>	<i>well-disposed, not sulky</i>
<i>kodj-murduk</i>	hard/strong (adj.)	be selfish, not willing to share
<i>kodj-njirrk(mu)</i>	upset, resentful (v.i)	be upset, resentful/confused
<i>kodj-wuluyh-mu?n</i>	<i>?ACHE</i>	<i>miss (someone)</i>

Table 10. (continued)

Compound	Predicate	Sense
MARITAL ACTOR		
kodj-kerlk	soft (adj.)	have good character so that finding a spouse is easy
kodj-murduk	hard/strong(adj.)	emotionally closed (with respect to potential lovers or spouses)
<i>kodj-run</i>	<i>cry/be desperate for (v.i.)</i>	? <i>cry for one's spouse</i>
kodj-yirru (?adj.)	conflict, anger (n.)	be angry with respect to conjugal relationship

In fact, all the metaphors instantiated by KODJ 'crown of head/head' compounds are also instantiated, and further developed, by KANGU 'belly' compounds (Chapter 8, Section 1) or YOLH 'pep, feelings' compounds (Chapter 8, Section 3). The KODJ compounds which instantiate them are formally and semantically analogous to KANGU or YOLH compounds: *kodj-dadj(mu)* 'become upset and interrupt social interactions' (28) matches *kangu-dadj(mu)* 'lose temper, be very angry'; *kodj-murduk* 'emotionally closed/selfish' matches *kangu-murduk* 'emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/physically resistant'; *kodj-dukkan* 'upset with' nearly matches *yolh-dukarrun* 'be chronically anxious, depressed', etc. In each case, the sense of the KODJ compound is similar to the sense of the matching compounds, but KODJ specifies a social or conjugal context.

20120713a_000_MT 034 [TC]

[Commenting on an argument between co-wives.]

- (28) *Keninj-h-kun ka-h-marnu-djud-kurl-mu buka-h-marnu-yin-inj.*
 INTERR-GEN 3sg>1-R-BEN-neck-bend-PR 3sg>3sg.h-R-BEN-say/do-PP

[...] *Ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj, ka-h-bo-ng.*
 3sg-R-head-end-PP 3sg-R-go-PP
 become.upset

Ka-h-dokka-ng, ka-h-kodj-dadj-minj,
 3sg-R-get.up-PP 3sg-R-head-end-PP
 become.upset

ka-h-komh-minj yang-dih.
 3sg-R-leave.abnormally-PP language-PRIV

'Why is she bending her head (sulking) to me, she says to her [to the other co-wife]. [The other co-wife] got sulky [head-ended/cut], she left. She got up, she got sulky and left [head-ended/cut], she took off without saying anything.'
 MT's Kriol trans.: 'Imin brabli salki langa im.'

Here again, while the [KODJ + predicate] set instantiates a number of metonymies and metaphors, it seems more likely that these lexical forms emerged and were assigned meanings based on formal and semantic analogy with other (metaphorical) compounds, along the lines just suggested. Once the forms are produced, speakers are

free to reanalyze these compounds as metaphorical – although I have not observed that they do (for instance, speakers normally translated *kodj-dadj(mu)* as *salki* in Kriol (<Eng. ‘sulky’) (28), and made no mention of body-parts).

The same remarks apply to compounds formed with MO ‘bones’. Except for *mo-barrun* ‘grind teeth/be furious, vengeful’,²⁸⁷ which instantiates a PHYSICAL RESPONSE FOR EMOTION metonymy, other MO compounds listed in Table 11 have KANGU ‘belly’ or YOLH ‘pep, feelings’ analogues (*yolh-wudj(mu)* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘end, die’, ‘feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky’; *kangu-yirru-mun* ‘belly’ + ‘conflict, anger’ + INCH, ‘be(come) angry’) or both (*kangu-murduk*, *yolh-murduk* ‘belly’/‘pep, feelings’ + ‘hard/strong’, ‘be selfish’).

Table 11. MO + X compounds. Compounds inherit the word class of the predicate component. Compounds in italics occurred only once.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
mo-barrun	bite + REFL (v.refl.)	grind teeth/be furious, vengeful
mo-murduk	hard/strong (adj.)	be selfish
mo-wudj(mu)	end, die (v.i.)	lack interest, motivation, energy
<i>mo-yirru-mun</i>	<i>be(come) angry (v.i.)</i>	<i>?feel angry</i>
<i>mo-yolh-wudj(mu)</i>	<i>lack energy/be sulky (v.i.)</i>	<i>lack energy, be sulky</i>

MO ‘bones’ thus occurs in alternation with KANGU ‘belly’, which can also (marginally) mean ‘inside’ (Chapter 8, 1.1), and with YOLH ‘pep, feelings’. This use of MO ‘bones’ seems to rely upon a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, where the bones stand for the person’s ‘inside’. In line with this interpretation, MO is also found in compounds relating to physical pain, meaning ‘all over one’s body’ (29 and 30).²⁸⁸ The existence of MO compounds confirms the fact that it is by virtue of their being internal that abdominal organs, KANGU ‘belly’ in particular, convey the semantic feature ‘emotional’, in line with metaphors representing the body as a seat of emotions (Chapter 8, 1.4).

20110613_003_LB 027 [E1]

- (29) *Mo-bulng ka-h-borroborr-mu. Yirrhwalung mo-bulng-kah.*
 bones-3plPOSS 3sg-R-hurt:REDUP-PR inside bones-3plPOSS-LOC
Kardu bala-h-moyh-yu, kardu bala-h-yolh-wudj.
 maybe 3pl-R-sick-lie:PR maybe 3pl-R-feelings-end:PR
 lack.energy

‘Their bones, it hurts. Inside in their bones. They may be sick, or have no energy...’

²⁸⁷ *Mo-no* only refers to the teeth in some compounds; ‘bones’ is the standard sense outside compounds.

²⁸⁸ Peile (1997, p. 78) mentions that Kukatja people also consider the bones as the site of deep pain, deeper than the pain sitting in muscles.

20110521a_002_MT 026 [E1]

- (30) *Ka-h-mo-warn.* *Nga-h-mo-borrobarr-mu.*
 3sg>1-R-bones-hurt:PR 1sg-R-bones-hurt:REDUP-PR
 ‘It hurts everywhere [it hurts my bones]. I feel pain everywhere [I feel pain in my bones].’
 MT’s Kriol trans.: ‘Mi ardim bon ebrawei.’

2.3 Analogy within metaphorical sets

Cases where the body-part noun which grounds the metaphor is replaced by another body-part on the basis of the connotations of the latter (thus blurring the original metaphor), are not limited to KODJ ‘crown of head/head’ and MO ‘bones’. In Chapter 8, metaphorical interpretations accounted for a large number of compounds in each set. However, for several sets, it was mentioned that some (marginal) compounds did not fit well within the tropes instantiated in the set in question, but matched a metaphor found in another set. This is the case, for instance, of *kangu-marnburrun* ‘belly’ + ‘make’ + REFL, ‘feel better’, which mirrors *yolh-marnburrun* ‘pep, feelings’ + ‘make’ + REFL, ‘feel better’ (Chapter 8, 1.7); of *ngerh-murduk* ‘heart/breath’ + ‘hard/strong’, ‘self-confident’ which mirrors *kangu-murduk* (Chapter 8, 2.3).

These analogies rely upon reanalyses comparable to the ones observed in the *dje-bruH(mu)* ‘sulky, sad/put on a dark face’ or BRUK ‘dry’ sets (1.3 and 1.4 above). It is the construction – for instance [emotion-connoted noun + *marnburrun*] – which conveys the emotional interpretation (and thus the predicate may undergo semantic shift and gain an emotional sense via this construction). Which of the several emotion-connoted nouns available in Dalabon (KANGU ‘belly’, YOLH ‘feelings’, MO ‘bones’, and more marginally NGERH ‘heart/breath’ and NGURLK ‘HEART’) occurs with the predicate is secondary. As a result, these nouns are interchangeable to some extent. These partly free alternations may in turn trigger new tropes. For instance, while it seems clear that the resistance metaphor is, in synchrony, far more productive with KANGU ‘belly’ (RESISTANCE OF THE BELLY FOR NEGATIVE EMOTIONAL STATE, Chapter 8, 1.5.1), *mo-murduk* ‘bones’ + ‘hard/strong’, ‘self-confident’ yields a perfectly interpretable metaphor involving resistance of the bones. This metaphor may, in turn, be exploited cognitively, so that again, forms triggered by analogy may determine conceptual metaphors.

2.4 Compositional interpretation of KANGU compounds

Chapter 8 presented a large set of [KANGU + predicate] emotional compounds. This set may be considered as a whole, as I did in Chapter 8. From that angle, it makes sense to ask which metaphors and metonymies picking the belly as a source, and

targeting emotions, are instantiated in Dalabon. That speakers themselves perceive some of these tropes, and exploit them in translations, gestures and other symbolism, warrants that this approach is relevant. However, some compounds in this KANGU 'belly' set, although interpretable in terms of metaphors, may as well be motivated by formal analogy, along the lines suggested above. Indeed, KANGU 'belly' occurs in a large number of compounds instantiating metonymies of the type BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONS, BELLY FOR SEAT OF EMOTIONAL RESPONSES (Chapter 8, 1.4, and repeated in Table 12 for convenience), and with all the compounds falling under this metonymy, the net contribution of KANGU to the semantics of the compound consists of specifying the sense of the predicate as emotional. This matches the contribution of KANGU in the emotional behavior set described above, where KANGU specifies the event as emotional: *kangu-run* 'belly' + 'cry', 'feel sad (often because of separation)', *kangu-redji* 'belly' + 'smile, laugh', 'be pleased', etc.

Table 12. KANGU + X compounds where KANGU contributes the sense 'emotional(ly)'. Compounds inherit the word class of the predicate component.

Compound	Predicate	Sense
BEHAVIORAL PREDICATES		
<i>kangu-marrka</i>	shiver (v.i.)	feel nervous, scared
<i>kangu-redji</i>	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be pleased (and hide it)
<i>kangu-run</i>	cry/be desperate for (v.i.)	feel sad (often because of separation from someone)
GENERIC PREDICATES		
<i>kangu-burrama</i>	good, healthy (adj.)	be a nice person, feel good emotionally
<i>kangu-mon</i>	good, fine (adj.)	feel emotionally fine, well-disposed, be a nice person
<i>kangu-weh-mun</i>	bad + INCH (v.i.)	feel bad/unwell in the belly
<i>kangu-weh-no</i>	bad (adj.)	be mean, nasty
EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR PREDICATES		
<i>kangu-yirru(-no)</i>	conflict, anger	? 'anger of the belly', i.e. feeling of anger
<i>kangu-yirru(-mun)</i>	ANGER RELATED PRED.	ANGER RELATED, same sense as predicate
EMOTIONAL PREDICATES		
<i>kangu-dinjirrmu</i>	HATE (v.i.)	have bad feelings, feel hostile
<i>kangu-wurdah(mu)</i>	suffer emotionally (v.i.)	suffer emotionally
<i>kangu-yolh-mon</i>	feel good, be nice	feel good

The nature of the emotional input of KANGU in the compounds of Table 12 varies. With behavioral predicates (e.g. *run* 'cry' and *redji* 'smile, laugh'), KANGU imposes an emotional reading where there is none originally. With 'generic' predicates, which can apply to the whole person (e.g. *burrama* 'good, healthy', see Chapter 8, 1.4.2.1),

KANGU narrows down the application of the predicate to the person's emotions. With emotional behavior words, which combine a behavioral and an emotional sense (e.g. *yirru* 'conflict, anger'), KANGU appears to specify the sense as emotional, ruling out an otherwise possible behavioral interpretation. With emotional predicates, KANGU does not seem to make a semantic contribution (not even intensity), but simply emphasizes the emotional nature of the event (see Chapter 8, 1.4.2.2).

Thus, while the analysis of KANGU 'belly' compounds in terms of metaphors and metonymies is valuable, some of these metaphorical compounds may also be considered from a different angle. Various KANGU compounds also belong to other, so to speak orthogonal sets, where KANGU alternates with other body-part nouns, while the predicate remains the same. When contrasted with the other members of these [variable noun + fixed predicate] sets, KANGU simply means 'emotional(ly)'. The input of KANGU may be analyzed as a regular semantic contribution, and the compounds may be interpreted compositionally. As a result, from a diachronic point of view, conceptual metaphors may have played no role at all in the emergence of some of the compounds in Table 12, which may be interpreted as compositional compounds, with KANGU meaning 'emotional, emotionally'. This sense is rooted in metonymies and metaphors, but it is reinforced and spread by means of repeated contrasts within various semi-productive and semi-regular sets.²⁸⁹ Both tropes and compositionality, pulling in the same direction, may have influenced the emergence of these compounds.

It was shown in Chapter 8 that speakers perceive belly metaphors and exploit them in various meta- and para-linguistic ways. At the same time, it seems that the literal input of KANGU as meaning 'emotionally' is also accessible to speakers' meta-linguistic awareness, judging by their reactions when exposed to presumably 'new' KANGU compounds, which they interpreted as emotional (e.g. *kangu-yin* 'belly' + 'say, do', interpreted as meaning 'feel', see Chapter 1, 1.3). While this interpretation competes with an interpretation in terms of tropes, it seems very plausible that speakers' can perceive both aspects (either that different speakers adopt different views, or that one speaker may adopt different views at different times).

Ultimately, there is no reason to choose between the figurative and the compositional interpretations of KANGU 'belly'. Both apply in synchrony, and possibly historically as well. This analysis of KANGU brings an interesting answer to the debate about the figurative input of body-part words in emotion lexicons. While a number of authors have reported emotional tropes featuring body-part nouns without questioning the exact nature of this figurative input, others have criticized figurative interpretations of body-part words for being naïve, and guilty of 'exoticizing' linguistic practices. Enfield (2002a) emphasized that body-part words in these expressions need not be interpreted figuratively as referring to actual body-parts.

289. Regarding the importance of perceiving compositionality in collocations, see Schrotten (2000).

Rather, the forms in question may be polysemous, denoting the body-part and an autonomous 'seat of emotion' as two separate concepts. Enfield suggests that the seat of emotion need not be associated with the actual body-part in any way other than linguistic; i.e., speakers need not cognitively associate emotions with this part of the body. Goddard (1994, p. 239; 1996a, pp. 149–150) argues for more radical polysemies whereby body-part words can, depending on the context, denote either the body-part, or an emotional state, with no figurative bridge between the two. According to Goddard, in Yankunytjatjara (Pama-Nyungan, Australian Western Desert Language) *tjuni* means both 'belly' and 'feel', so that when speakers use *tjuni* in emotion-denoting expressions, they do not allude either to a body-part or to a seat of emotions. Rather, they directly and literally refer to emotions. My analysis of KANGU 'belly' in Dalabon matches Goddard's interpretation of Yankunytjatjara *tjuni*, since I contend that KANGU can mean 'emotional(ly)'. However, my double analysis of the roles of KANGU 'belly' in the Dalabon emotion lexicon shows that polysemy does not necessarily exclude figurative power. Indeed, in Dalabon, KANGU can mean 'emotional(ly)' as well as 'belly', but this does not annihilate its figurative dimension.

3. Analogy, compositionality, body-parts and emotions

Dalabon has a number of semi-productive, semi-compositional sets of [animate-part noun + predicate] compounds, where the base predicates relate to emotional behaviors. Chapters 8 and 9 presented [noun + predicate] sets where metonymy and metaphor play a structuring role – and may therefore be regarded as probable historical motivations for at least some compounds in the sets. But only a few nouns denoting abdominal organs serve such a figurative function, instantiating extensive networks of tropes inspired by non-observable somatic responses to emotions. Many more visible-body-part nouns are involved in descriptions of visible responses to emotions, and this function actually fosters further semantic associations between body-part nouns and emotions. The sets of compounds described in this chapter do call upon various metonymies which confer some connotations to some body-parts. Yet, the structuring principles across these sets are not only, or not mostly, conceptual. They are formal: namely (semi-) compositionality and formal analogy between sets.

I have described six semi-productive sets of such [animate-part noun + emotional-behavior predicate] compounds. While each set displays a slightly different structure, they present recurring family resemblances. A significant proportion of the compounds in these sets attract (semi-)compositional interpretations: when the noun component denotes a visible body-part, most of the time it specifies that the emotional behavior in question involves this body-part. Some compounds exploit metonymies whereby a given body-part is associated with a given emotion or context (e.g. MUD 'body hair' and fear, KODJ 'crown of head/head' and social/conjugal relations). These

metonymies also recur, and develop, across the sets, so that the body-part nouns in question acquire strong emotional connotations. While these semantic extensions are also grounded in metonymies, tropes are not a driving principle of lexical production and semantic extension in these sets of compound. Instead, compositionality and formal analogy between sets play a structuring role.

While the core of the (semi-)compositional compounds in each set relates to body-parts, these sets are not limited to body-part specification, i.e. to the specification of visible aspects of emotional events. In some compounds, the noun denotes an internal body-part or an abstract attribute of the person, and in this case, imposes an emotional reading to the predicate. That internal body-part and abstract-attribute nouns both contribute emotional readings of predicates mirrors the fact that Dalabon speakers construe emotions as internal to the body and thus invisible (see Chapter 1, 1.2.1.1 and Chapter 9, Section 4). Metonymies play a role in the original conceptual association between these invisible-part nouns (KANGU ‘belly’ in particular) and emotional states, but compositional principles are also at play. Throughout repeated contrasts with other members of such sets, the morpheme KANGU for instance, which also means ‘belly’, has the sense ‘emotional’. Other invisible and abstract parts of the person involved in emotional behavior compounds also contribute the sense ‘emotional’. Speakers seem to endorse such compositional interpretations, but this does not prevent them from endorsing metaphorical interpretations as well.

Also based on formal analogy and recurring semantic contrasts, predicates having nothing to do with the emotional domain may acquire an emotional sense via [animate-part noun + predicate] constructions. This is the case with BRUH(MU) ‘blow/SULKY’, which conveys the meaning ‘be or look sulky’ in emotional compounds, and BRUK ‘dry/QUIET’, which conveys the feature ‘not agitated’. While the presence of these predicates in emotion-related compounds is originally motivated by metaphors, the extensions of the BRUH(MU) and BRUK sets seem to be motivated by formal and semantic analogy with other emotional behavior sets. The BRUH(MU) and BRUK sets may in turn *suggest* conceptual metaphors to speakers, who may choose to exploit them conceptually or not. If this happened, the respective roles of conceptual metaphors and linguistic forms would be inverted: linguistic forms would motivate conceptual metaphors, rather than the reverse. Thus, emotional compounds may not only be independent of metaphors: they may actually influence them in some cases.

4. Emotional behavior sets and the perception of emotions

Another question to ask is why such [animate-part noun + behavior/emotion predicate] sets exist in Dalabon. While specific descriptions of emotional behaviors are probably possible in most if not all languages in the world, not all languages allow speakers to be so systematically specific in these descriptions. In English or French or

other Romance languages, there are no words or compounds encapsulating the idea that one is ‘laughing from the eyes, the nose’ etc. Given that my elicitation methods were often based on visual stimuli (photos, videos etc., see Chapter 3, 1.2.2.1), where speakers were implicitly expected to be specific about what they saw, this feature of Dalabon is particularly salient in my data. Yet, such visual stimuli are relatively natural, i.e. not very different from watching someone with attention. The occurrence of body-part specifications in emotional (and therefore, non-technical) utterances related to *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (27) indicates that specification is indeed frequent. Turpin (2002) also notes a propensity to describe emotional behavior in Kaytetye. Does it correlate with more intense attention dedicated to the role of the body in emotional (and social) behaviors? Enfield (2001), who reports a somewhat comparable phenomenon in Lao, where facial expressions are described by means of descriptions of parts of the face rather than as a whole, suggests that this may impact on the way people interpret facial expressions (2001, pp. 162–163). Are Dalabon speakers particularly attentive to how parts of the body, as opposed to the body as a whole, betray/express emotions? Are they particularly prone to thorough body descriptions?

This question cannot be answered on the sole basis of ethnographic observation and linguistic data: such cognitive orientations should be explored by means of experimental protocols. However, a couple of observations are in order. The compositional compounds in the emotion behavior sets are standard noun incorporation constructions. Their existence is conditioned by the grammatical possibility of incorporating animate-part nouns (see Chapter 3, 2.4.2), a mechanism which facilitates the specification of which body-part is involved in a given event. For some semantic roles, such a specification is quasi-compulsory. This is the case with experiencers of affects. Verbs meaning ‘ache’ are usually accompanied by a body-part noun specifying the seat of the event. If the pain is diffused throughout the whole body, MO ‘bones’ may be used: *ngah-mo-ngarrkmu* ‘I ache all over’. On the other hand, the frequency of such body-part specification matches contextual relevance: *ngarrk(mu)* ‘ache’ occurs alone in contexts where the nature of one’s affect – as opposed to its location – is in question (is it pain or something else?):

20120712a_002_MT 45 [Stim]

[Presented with an Ekman face photo.]

- (31) *Kenh kardu marruh ka-h-kangu-yin,*
 HESIT maybe INTERR 3sg-R-belly-say/do:PR
 feel

ka-h-yolh-weh-mu-n kardu ka-h-kakku-ngarrk-mu.
 3sg-R-feelings-bad-INCH-PR maybe 3sg-R-really-ache-PR

‘Ah well, what can she feel like, she feels bad, like she’s in great pain.’

With semantic roles other than experiencer, the specification of which body-part is involved is not compulsory, but occurs only when contextually relevant.²⁹⁰ With patients and perceptual stimuli (often marked as O, and thus candidates for specification by noun incorporation, which target absolutive arguments, see Chapter 3, 2.3), the specification of the affected body-part is not compulsory and not even particularly frequent: *bun* ‘hit/kill’ rarely receives such specification; neither does *nan* ‘see’ (except that *dorrung-nan* ‘body’ + ‘see’ is lexicalized with the sense ‘see socially, encounter, meet up’). Agents of transitive verbs, marked as A, are not good candidates for specification by noun incorporation (they are not absolutive arguments). The verb *kan* ‘carry, take’, for instance, normally occurs alone without an incorporated body-part specifying the carrying part (32), although such a specification wouldn’t be surprising in principle.²⁹¹ Only remarkable carrying styles attract body-part specification, as in (33), where *karlang-kan* ‘carry on shoulders’ is a lexicalized compound and does not correspond to a syntactic noun incorporation construction. Such specifications are not particularly frequent.

20100719a_005_MT 086 [Narr]

[MT recalls her childhood and how she used to go and gather green plums with her elder sister.]

- (32) *Dabu nga-h-ka-ninj ben-dorrung,*
woven.basket.type 1sg>3-R-take-PI handle-COM
kahnidjah moyi ngah-marnu-yungyung-inj,
there green.plums 1sg>3-R-BEN-put:REDUP-PI
Nga-h-lng-ye-dudj-minj nah-njerrng-kah nga-h-buyhwo-ninj.
1sg>3-R-SEQ-COM-return-PP mother-1du.excl-LOC 1sg>3-R-show-PI
‘I used to carry a *dabu* (‘egg’ basket), with a handle, I’d put all the green plums there for her. Then I would bring it back to our mother and show her.’

20110614_006_LB 080 [Narr]

[LB recalls how her long-deceased and very dear father used to look after her own children, his grandchildren.]

- (33) *Ngey wurdurd-ngan bulu ka-h-karlang-ka-ninj.*
1sg children-1sgposs 3pl 3sg>3-R-shoulder-take-PI
‘And me, my children, he used to carry them on his shoulders.’

In conclusion, Dalabon does not impose or encourage particularly strongly the specification of body-parts involved in events: they are specified when they are remarkable or contextually important. On the other hand, noun incorporation facilitates specification, making it linguistically effortless.

290. With postures, body-part specification is naturally frequent, yet a number of verbs lexicalize a particular posture without incorporating a body-part: *di* ‘stand/be’ and *worhdi* ‘stand’, *ni* ‘sit/be’, *yu* ‘lie/be’.

291. See Giacon (2008) for Yuwaalaraay/Gamilaraay (New South Wales) for instance.

With emotional behaviors (and social behaviors²⁹²), on the other hand, body-part specification is relatively frequent. In her article on the use of body-parts in emotional constructions in Kaytetye, Turpin (2002) observes that in this language, some emotions are primarily described by means of physical descriptions. Inspired by Peile (1997) and Myers (1986), she suggests that this may be explained by ‘a tendency to refer indirectly to emotional experience, [maybe] because people are more inclined to talk about things that can be perceived externally, rather than speculate on another person’s internal feelings’. This hypothesis is not confirmed for Dalabon. As Turpin indicates for Kaytetye, in Dalabon body-part specification does not apply to any emotions indiscriminately, but targets emotions closely associated with a behavior. With other emotions, there exist numerous terms referring directly to the cognitive states (see Chapters 5 and 6). In addition, I find Dalabon speakers relatively prompt to speculate on other people’s internal states: reported speech – a common narrative technique in Dalabon (Chapter 4, 2.2) – provides examples of such speculations, where speakers’ accounts of what another person thinks can be extensive and detailed.

The question of the specification of body-parts in emotional events is tackled by Huang (2002) about Tsou (Austronesian, Taiwan). Tsou also offers the possibility of specifying which body-part is involved in an emotional behavior, by means of a prefix on the behavioral predicate. The phenomena bear some resemblance to the one observed in Dalabon. Huang argues that the availability, in Tsou, of a grammatical prefixation strategy (specifying which body-part is affected by the cause of an emotion) generates a cognitive pattern whereby Tsou speakers perceive events as ‘macro-events’ (Talmy, 2000, pp. vol. 2 213–221) involving emotions and behaviors, which in turn results in the absence of tropes (metaphors or metonymies) in the emotion lexicon (Huang, 2002, p. 177). By contrast, in Dalabon, the grammatical possibility of specifying which body-part is involved in an emotional event by means of noun incorporation does not exclude any strategy of lexical creation. Conceptual tropes, derivation following principles of compositionality, and formal analogy are all at play in the extension of the lexicon. There is no reason to hypothesize a broad ‘cognitive pattern’ of perception of events as macro-events. Rather, some events are perceived as emotional behavior events, in which case body-part specification of observable behavior is common, and other events are perceived as strictly emotional, yielding metonymies and metaphors inspired by non-observable somatic responses to emotions.

292. Some social behavior compounds involve body-parts like BERRU ‘chest’ (1.2, 2.1) or REDJ ‘side’ because they describe behavior by means of metonymies involving postures. With some others, no posture is involved but the body-part specification partakes in a lexicalized [body-part + predicate] construction yielding a social sense. This is the case with [body-part + *ngun*] ‘eat’ compounds for instance, used to thank someone. The default body-part is DJE ‘nose/nostriils/face’: *djah-dje-ngunj* ‘I thank you’, literally ‘I ate your nose’. But DJE can be replaced by MILH ‘forehead’, yielding the same sense, or by other body-parts that specify which part of the thanked person was involved in the event attracting gratitude: *djah-langu-ngunj* ‘I thank you [for passing me the bottle of water with your hand]’, literally ‘I ate your hand’.

My best hypothesis for the frequency of body-part specification with emotional behaviors has to do with material culture, and specifically the settings of daily life in pre-colonial times (Kövecses, 2005, p. 239). Dalabon people (like most Australian peoples in the northern part of the continent) often lived in camps, usually under open shelters scattered across small areas. Being able to observe each other, from a distance, between groups, would have been an important social parameter. This context is perpetuated today: in Dalabon communities, people tend to live in front of their houses, rather than inside. People of all ages usually keep an eye on what is happening outside, on the road and around other houses, and comment upon it. Thorough descriptions of bodily behaviors and postures would be relevant to the description and understanding of a given situation, where people's behaviors are being observed from a distance, and voices may not be audible. In Dalabon, body-part noun incorporation probably favors body-part specification by making it linguistically effortless.

5. Conclusions

While it was demonstrated in previous chapters that body-part nouns are involved in a significant number of emotional tropes, the present chapter showed that this is not the only function body-part nouns serve in Dalabon descriptions of emotions. Indeed, while nouns denoting abdominal body-parts endorse a figurative dimension inspired by non-observable somatic responses to emotions, nouns denoting visible body-parts often have a descriptive role, contributing precise descriptions of emotion behaviors, i.e. of visible responses to emotions. The relative proliferation of such compounds fosters semantic extensions whereby various visible-body-part nouns and a couple of predicates gain emotional connotations, while a couple of invisible-body-part nouns, in particular KANGU 'belly', may be interpreted as meaning 'emotional'.

These sets are formally and semantically semi-productive, and yield new lexical forms as well as semantic shift, largely (albeit not only) under the influence of linguistic mechanisms independent of metaphors or metonymies. Among these mechanisms are compositionality and formal analogy. Although the lexical forms in question are not figurative (or not prominently figurative), they are not independent of shared representations of emotions: they incorporate them, and may also influence them. Some of the lexical forms produced via these linguistic mechanisms may inspire new conceptual emotion metaphors, i.e. new representations of emotions. Here the relation between linguistic forms and conceptual metaphors is inverted: linguistic forms may influence conceptual metaphors, as well as the reverse. Thus, the forms and rules of language combine with shared representations to produce new representations.

Conclusion

In this work, I have set out to describe emotional linguistic features, both expressive and descriptive, in Dalabon, a severely endangered south-western Arnhem Land language (Gunwinyguan family, non-Pama-Nyungan). In doing so, I also sought to spell out, wherever possible, the nature of possible correlations between the linguistic encoding of emotions on the one hand, and shared representations of emotions on the other hand. What does a study of linguistic emotional resources tell us about speakers' concepts and beliefs about emotions? What properties of language can influence these representations? What aspects of language reflect shared representations? What linguistic features should a researcher look at in a quest to learn something about speaker's concepts, experience and practices about emotions?

Chapters 4 to 6 showed that in Dalabon, expressive features apparently reflect culturally salient categories more vividly than lexical distinctions do. On the other hand, as discussed in Chapters 7 to 9, the lexicon encapsulates emotional tropes – metonymies and metaphors – which are clearly relevant to speakers' representations of emotions. These tropes are often body-based, and indeed, Dalabon descriptions of emotions take great care of various bodily responses to emotions. Like in many languages, nouns denoting abdominal organs are involved in metonymies and metaphors inspired by non-observable somatic responses to emotions. Unlike many languages, Dalabon only very rarely represents emotions as entities independent of the person – that is, Dalabon hardly ever reifies or personifies emotions. It doesn't treat them as things, masses of matter, enemies, opponents, forces etc., but only (mostly) as states or parts of the person. In addition, visible-body-part nouns serve to produce precise descriptions of emotional behaviors, possibly reflecting attention paid to visible bodily responses to emotions (Chapter 10). This function of body-part nouns is productive and fosters further linguistic associations between emotions and some body-part nouns. In the following sections, I recapitulate the main findings of the volume.

1. Expressive features

The main Dalabon expressive features presented in this work (Chapter 4) are diminutives, interjections, and prosodic features. While descriptive features (the lexicon) are also significant, expressive features are by far more prominent in spontaneous speech. In addition, they express culturally central categories such as compassion for

instance, towards which they converge, and which is not particularly well represented by descriptive, lexical resources. Thus, expressive features play a central role in the linguistic encoding of emotions, and are indicative of culturally salient categories.

2. The lexicon

Nevertheless, Dalabon offers a fairly large emotion lexicon (c. 160 lexemes), presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Most lexemes are verbs and adjectives which can only be used as predicates; there is only a handful of nouns. Many lexemes are compounds of the form [noun + predicate]. The noun is very often a body-part or an attribute of the person, i.e. nouns of the animate-part morphosyntactic subclass. With respect to their morphological structure, these compounds formally resemble noun incorporation constructions (and some of them are lexicalized noun incorporation constructions). The interplay between the lexical senses of these expressions, which are often not compositional, and their plausible literal interpretations following the rules of noun incorporation, often yields figurative interpretations.

The syntax of Dalabon emotion predicates is relatively regular. They divide into three classes with distinctive argument subcategorization patterns. The largest class, comprising more than three-quarters of the predicates, includes intransitive predicates, where the experiencer is always encoded as the only argument, S. Another smaller class is transitive, and maintains the experiencer as its first argument A, treating the stimulus O. There are also some causative predicates, where the experiencer is encoded as O, and the stimulus as A.

Chapter 6 dealt with the semantics of the lexicon and provided some ethnographic details about the contexts in which various emotion words are used. Previous anthropological works on emotions (in particular Myers, 1986) demonstrated the primacy of interpersonal emotions associated with ‘relatedness’ – compassion, anger, shame – among some Australian groups (e.g. the Pintupi for Myers). Not only do such emotions feed emotional experience, but they also shape moral values, and with them, social structures and behaviors. Conforming to this tendency, many Dalabon emotion words denote other-oriented emotions: anger and other conflict-related emotions (resentment, brooding over...), compassion, grief, shame. In fact, many words are polysemous between self- and other-oriented emotions. As with the Pintupi described by Myers, these emotions play a strong structuring role among the Dalabon. However, many Dalabon emotion words denote emotions that have nothing to do with moral norms imposed by the values of ‘relatedness’, but describe feelings proper to the person, associated with the will, one’s desires, enthusiasm and energy. These emotions, and the autonomy of individuals with respect to emotions, are often discussed, and rarely dismissed. Thus, relatedness is not the only emotional value in the Dalabon social and conceptual landscape.

Studying Dalabon lexical categories against their ethnographic background shows that there is no straightforward correlation between the existence of a lexeme for a given emotion, and the cultural salience of this emotion. For instance, compassion is culturally central, and emotions related to mourning are conceptually salient, but these emotions are not particularly well represented lexically. On the other hand, there are some words for talking about love and sexual desire, but these emotions seem relatively backgrounded, at least for the speakers I worked with. Therefore, in Dalabon, the lexicon is not a readily interpretable map of local representations, values and practices about emotions. Instead, expressive features seem to reflect more salient categories.

3. Metonymy and metaphor

As mentioned above, many Dalabon emotional lexemes are compounds, and many of these compounds include a body-part noun. Some of these nouns recur across large sets of compounds, with a range of predicates. Several of these sets yield metaphors inspired by somatic metonymies. The main body-part yielding metaphors is *kangu-no* 'belly', which participates in tropes related to resistance, fluidity, destruction and accessibility of the belly. These metaphors are engraved in the Dalabon lexicon, and therefore highly conventionalized. However, they are not opaque to speakers, who perceive them and tend to elaborate semiotically upon some of them. There are also some relatively marginal metonymies and metaphors involving the heart. Although not a body-part, but morphosyntactically associated with parts of the person, the noun *yolh-no* 'pep, feelings' also participates in tropes, in particular mobility metaphors.

A particularity of these body-based emotional tropes is that they always represent emotions as states of the person, or as parts of the person. Emotions are represented metonymically as states of the belly, or as a state of *yolh-no* 'pep, feelings', which is an animate-part noun treated linguistically as an inalienable part of the person. In many languages in the world, emotions can also be represented as entities independent of the person (e.g. 'be full of anger') or as agentive entities (e.g. 'be driven by anger'). Such representations are absent in Dalabon, and this raises the question of the reason for this absence. Are such linguistic representations at odds with local concepts and practices about emotions? Or are they 'blocked' by some grammatical feature of Dalabon – for instance, morphosyntactic constraints on emotion nouns, or a grammatically imposed preference for experiencer subjects? This is a question for future cross-linguistic research.

This particularity also applies – albeit less systematically – to non-body-based emotional tropes. Metonymies and metaphors for anger in particular, instantiated by compounds formed with the noun *yirru* 'conflict, anger', also mostly represent emotions as states of the person. With these compounds, however, there are exceptions, and anger is sometimes represented metaphorically as an entity independent of the

person. Dalabon metaphors for anger differ from body-based Dalabon metaphors, and from other anger metaphors across the world, in that they are not inspired by somatic responses to anger. Instead, anger is presented as a self-developing living entity, often compared to poison, disease, or affects such as pain (which are not somatic responses to anger). These metaphors are probably inspired by behaviors associated with anger, and by the negative moral status of anger. Dalabon makes very little use of the cross-linguistically widespread metaphor involving representations of anger as heat and pressure in a container. Altogether, Dalabon anger metaphors are interesting because they diverge both from other Dalabon emotion metaphors and from anger metaphors in other languages. This raises questions as to why anger attracts this distinctive treatment.

4. Body-parts and emotional behaviors

Not all [body-part + predicate] emotional compounds are metaphorical. While nouns denoting abdominal body-parts contribute a figurative input, drawing on somatic responses to emotions, nouns denoting visible body-parts play a descriptive role, where visible responses to emotions are in focus. In a large number of emotional compounds, and more specifically with predicates denoting emotional behaviors, visible-body-part nouns specify which part of the experiencer is involved in the emotional behavior in question. These compounds thus allow speakers to say that one is ‘angry from the hands’ when gesticulating, or ‘shying away from the mouth’ when one is too shy to talk. In such compounds, the contribution of body-parts is not primarily figurative, but (semi-)compositional. This principle of composition yields half a dozen semi-productive sets of compounds denoting emotional behaviors, each based on one type of emotional behavior (anger, avoidance due to shame, sulking, laughing...). Each of these sets differs slightly from the others, yet altogether they display family resemblances. Based on these resemblances, formal analogy operates between the sets to produce further compounds and assign meaning to them. Some body-part nouns recur throughout several sets, with semi-regular semantic contributions. As a result, several visible body-parts and a couple of predicates gain regular emotional connotations. Invisible body-parts, such as KANGU ‘belly’ in particular, also occur in these sets, where they contribute the semantic feature ‘emotionally’ throughout a number of compounds, matching the figurative representation of abdominal organs.

5. Conceptual motivations and formal motivations

While conceptual tropes, namely metaphors and metonymies, play an important part in the emotion lexicon, they are not the only principles driving lexical formation and semantic extension. Rather, the emotional behavior sets involving body-part nouns

seem to expand following principles of compositionality and formal analogy. Thus, formal – as opposed to conceptual – principles also yield semantic extension, triggering new representations of emotions. Some compounds formed on the basis of analogy may in turn *suggest* emotional tropes, so that the canonical direction of influence between conceptual and linguistic tropes is inverted. In the canonical cognitivists' view of metaphor, any linguistic metaphor results from a conceptual metaphor. In the Dalabon emotion lexicon, we find cases where the reverse may be possible.

6. Dalabon representations of emotions

As discussed extensively in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3 in particular), there are no reasons to expect that Dalabon speakers make use of a concept identical to what I have called 'emotions' throughout this work. Indeed, the Dalabon language has no equivalent to the English hyperonym 'emotion'. As argued in Chapter 1, this mismatch in categories was not an obstacle to the empirical assessment of how Dalabon speakers deal linguistically and conceptually with what was called 'emotions' here. Indeed, this study has highlighted a number of specificities in the way the Dalabon language and its speakers depict 'emotions'.

As pointed out above, an important difference with some other languages, including English, French, and other languages around the world, is that emotions are very rarely represented linguistically as independent entities, and are never endowed with strength and agency. Instead, they are preferably described as states or parts of the physical person. As a result, descriptions of emotions are linguistically interwoven with body descriptions – this is probably true of descriptions of emotions in most languages in the world, but it is particularly salient in Dalabon. The body is prominent in emotional tropes, where metonymies and metaphors draw on somatic responses to emotions, and on the correlation between positive emotions and physical fitness. It is also true of descriptions of emotional behaviors, which pay close attention to the expressive potential of body-parts. The attention dedicated to bodily responses in linguistic descriptions of emotions seems to correlate with local practices and cultural habits, for instance strategies to deal with negative emotions.

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Table of Dalabon emotion verbs and adjectives

List of the Dalabon emotion verbs and adjectives documented so far. The table presents the lexemes ordered by morphological structure. Purely behavioral lexemes are excluded, but emotional behavior words are included. Occasional, non-lexicalized compounds are not included (but many of them are listed in other tables within the volume). Compounds listed in italics are not fully attested. Except where indicated, the word class of second components determines the word class of compound lexemes. The digit between parentheses after the lexeme indicates its valence class (see Chapter 5, Section 2).

Compound	Other component	Sense
VISIBLE BODY-PARTS (animate-part nouns)		
DALU – <i>dalu-no</i> ‘mouth’		
dalu-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	be too shy to speak
DJE – <i>dje-no</i> ‘nose/nostrils/face’		
dje-bruh(mu) (1)	blow (v.i.)	be sulky, be sad/ put on a sad face, a rictus
DOLKU – <i>dolku-no</i> ‘back, spine’		
dolku-ngabbun (v.t.) (2)	give (v.dt.)	turn back on someone/ be on bad terms with someone
dolku-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	scared in strange surroundings/ feel the presence of someone behind
KODJ – <i>kodj-no</i> ‘crown of head/head’		
kodj-burrama (1)	good, healthy (adj.)	smart, morally good, socially accommodating
kodj-dadj(mu) (1)	be cut, end (v.i.)	become upset and interrupt social interactions as a consequence
kodj-dukkan (2)	tie up (v.t.)	be upset with someone
kodj-kerlk (1)	soft (adj.)	have good character so that finding a spouse is easy
<i>kodj-mon</i> (1)	<i>good, fine (adj.)</i>	<i>well-disposed, not sulky</i>
kodj-murduk (1)	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally closed (wrt to potential sexual partners or spouses)/be selfish, not share

Compound	Other component	Sense
kodj-njirrk(mu) (1)	upset, resentful/ confused (v.i.)	be upset, resentful
kodj-weh (1)	bad (adj.)	feel no good, be mean
<i>kodj-wuluyh-mu?n</i> (1)	?ACHE	?miss (people, home...)
kodj-yirru (?adj.) (1)	conflict/anger (n.)	be angry with respect to conjugal relationship
KOM – kom-no ‘neck’		
<i>kom-nunj-wukmurrun</i> (1)	saliva + ? (v.refl.)	swallow spit/feel sexual desire
MEDMO – medmo-no ‘cheek bone, side of face’		
medmo-dabka (3)	block access to (v.t.)	prevent someone from seeing or being seen, often when ashamed
medmo-nan (3)	see:REDUP (v.t.)	make someone ashamed by looking at them
medmo-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	feel ashamed with respect to sight, avoid being seen
MUD – mud-no ‘body hair’		
mud-bruk (1)	dry (adj.)	brave, fearless
mud-kele-mun (1)	FEAR + INCH (v.i.)	be scared
mud-nahbu (3)	step on/affect body-part from a distance (v.t.)	?cause goosebumps for emotional reasons (?make feel uncomfortable)
MUMU – mumu-no ‘eyes’		
mumu-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	lower eyes to avoid eye contact (with potential lover)
NJERRH – njerrh-no ‘(potentially dead) body’		
njerrh-ye-merey-di (2)	COM + jealously + stand (v.t.)	?be very jealous
EXTERNAL or INTERNAL BODY-PART (animate-part nouns)		
KANGU – kangu-no ‘belly, inside’		
kangu-bak(mu) (1)	break (v.i.)	forgive
kangu-barrhka (3)	CRACK (v.t.)	surprise, cause to be emotionally shocked
kangu-barrh(mu) (1)	(get) crack(ed) (v.i.)	be surprised, undergo an emotional shock
<i>kangu-berlh</i> (?)(1)	?	?be indulgent
kangu-(ya)bola (1)	sensitive (adj.) (slowly (adv.))	feel good, be calm, appeased (not angry), be nice
kangu-bruk (1)	dry (adj.)	socially self-confident, not scared in conflictual interactions
kangu-burrama (1)	good, healthy (adj.)	be a nice person, feel good emotionally
kangu-dadj(mu) (1)	be cut, end (v.i.)	lose temper, be very angry

Compound	Other component	Sense
kangu-damh(mu) (1)	body-part be(come) blocked (v.i.)	be constipated/suffer emotionally when losing someone
kangu-darridj(mu) (1)	shake in agony (v.i.)	be furious
kangu-darr(mu) (1)	(?protrude (v.i.))	feel bad when worrying for someone (grief)
<i>kangu-di (1)</i>	<i>stand (v.i.)</i>	<i>like, love</i>
kangu-dinjirrmu (1)	HATE (v.i.)	have bad feelings, feel hostile
kangu-karndi (1)	?	sense that something bad is going to happen
kangu-kerlk (1)	soft (adj.)	be a nice person
kangu-kurduhka (3)	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel bad
kangu-kurduh(mu) (1)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel anxious, nervous, apprehensive/ (have blocked belly)
kangu-mang (3)	get (v.t.)	touch (cause to feel compassionate)
kangu-marrka (1)	shiver (v.i.)	feel nervous, scared
kangu-mon (1)	good, fine (adj.)	feel emotionally fine, be well-disposed, be a nice person
kangu-muk(mu) (1)	BE/GET COVERED (v.i.)	feel vengeful, feel terrible e.g. because of dreadful news
kangu-murduk (1)	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful/physically resistant
kangu-nan (2)	see (v.t.)	appreciate someone
kangu-redji (1)	smile, laugh (v.i.)	be pleased (and hide it)
kangu-run (1)	cry/be desperate for (v.i.)	feel sad (because of separation from someone)
kangu-weh-mun (1)	bad + INCH (v.i.)	feel bad/unwell in the belly
kangu-weh-no (1)	bad (adj.)	be mean, nasty
kangu-wokarrun (v.i.)(1)	talk + REFL (v.rfl.)	feel resentful (with respect to ongoing conflict)
kangu-wurdah(mu) (1)	suffer emotionally (v.i.)	suffer emotionally because of affection for someone
kangu-wurlh(mu) (1)	be (too) hot/ body-part aches (v.i.)	get angry
kangu-yalway(mu) (1)	(get) refresh(ed) (v.i.)	get rid of resentment, feel better emotionally/stomach feel better
kangu-yerrk(mu) (1)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally), get rid of resentment
kangu-yin (1)	say, think/do (v.i.)	feel
kangu-yord(mu) (1)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel relieved, get rid of resentment/ stomach feel better
kangu-yowhmu (3)	cause to flow (v.t.)	cause to feel (be?) good (better)
kangu-yowyow(mu) (1)	flow:REDUP (v.i.)	feel good, be pleased, be nice and kind
<i>kangu-yurd(mu) (1)</i>	<i>run, flow (v.i.)</i>	<i>?feel good</i>

Compound	Other component	Sense
INTERNAL (invisible) BODY-PART (animate-part nouns)		
MO – mo-no ‘bones/(TEETH)’ (sense ‘TEETH’ in compounds only)		
mo-barrun (v.i.) (1)	bite + REFL (v.refl.)	grind teeth/be furious, vengeful
mo-murduk (1)	hard/strong (adj.)	be selfish/strengthen
mo-wudj(mu) (1)	end, die (v.i.)	lack interest, motivation, energy
NGERH– ngerh-no ‘heart, breath’		
ngerh-djaw(mu) (1)	?worry (v.i.)	worry about someone (?in the absence of)
<i>ngerh-dorlhedorh(mu) (1)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>
<i>ngerh-(r)dow(r)dow(mu) (1)</i>	<i>heart beats:REDUP (v.i.)</i>	<i>heart beats/feel bad, worry</i>
<i>ngerh-murduk (1)</i>	<i>hard/strong (adj.)</i>	<i>self-confident, not scared in socially challenging situations</i>
<i>ngerh-waddi (1)</i>	<i>be high up (v.i.)</i>	<i>feel strong affection</i>
<i>ngerh-weh-mun (1)</i>	<i>bad + INCH (adj.)</i>	<i>feel bad</i>
YAMARRK – yamarrk-no ‘teeth’		
<i>yamarrk-barrun (1)</i>	<i>bite + REFL (v.refl.)</i>	<i>grind teeth/be angry</i>
ETYMOLOGICALLY RELATED TO BODY-PARTS (animate-part nouns)		
NGURLK: probably related to ngurl-no ‘heart’ (etymology accessible to speakers)		
ngurlk-di (1)	stand/be (v.i.)	have/develop strong affection
ngurlk-djavar(mu) (1)	?miss (v.i.)	miss, suffer emotionally as beloved person is absent
<i>ngurlk-kardubun (1)</i>	<i>?SETTLE DOWN</i>	<i>become familiar, develop affection</i>
<i>ngurlk-karlh(mu) (1)</i>	<i>climb (v.i.)</i>	<i>develop strong affection</i>
<i>ngurlk-maddi (1)</i>	<i>STAY IN ONE PLACE (v.i.)</i>	<i>develop conjugal relationship</i>
<i>ngurlk-marrun (?) (1)</i>	<i>get + REC (v.rr.)</i>	<i>fall in love with each other</i>
<i>ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-mang (2)</i>	<i>COM + YIRRKKI + get (v.t.) (?be envious)</i>	<i>be in love with</i>
WURR(H): possibly related to wurr-no ‘intestines, stomach’ (not transparent for speakers)		
wurrhka (3)	CAUSATIVIZER	surprise, give a fright (intentionally or not), mislead
wurrh(mu) (1)	INCHOATIVE	be surprised, be scared
ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTES OF THE PERSON (animate-part nouns)		
KANGU-YIRRU – ?kangu-yirru(-no)? ‘anger of the belly’		
<i>kangu-yirru-bonjhmu (1)</i>	<i>terminate (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument (?emotion/behavior)</i>
<i>kangu-yirru-burlh(mu) (1)</i>	<i>come out (v.i.)</i>	<i>become (?emotionally) angry</i>
<i>kangu-yirru-dadjka (3)</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent s.b. from being angry or fighting (?husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)</i>

Compound	Other component	Sense
kangu-yirru-djurkkkan (3)	exasperate, annoy (v.t.)	cause to become so excited that one acts aggressively
kangu-yirru-mun (1)	nominal verbalizer	be(come) angry (emotional or behavioral)
<i>kangu-yirru-nan</i> (2)	<i>see</i> (v.t.)	<i>be (emotionally) angry at someone</i>
kangu-yirru-ngal(mu) (2)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>kangu-yirru-wayhka</i> (3)	<i>lift up or out/open</i> (v.t.)	<i>stir up someone's anger</i>
kangu-yirru-worrun (1)	CSTVZR + REFL	be(come) (emotionally) angry
KOH – <i>koh-no</i> ‘eyes, gaze’		
koh-wurrrh(mu) (1)	be surprised, scared (v.i.)	be surprised by something one sees
<i>koh-yedjmun</i> (1)	<i>feel uncomfortable</i> (v.i.)	<i>avoid visual interaction for fear of others</i>
koh-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	avoid visual interaction for fear of others
MEN – <i>men-no</i> ‘ideas, mind, consciousness’		
men-yer(mu) (1)	avoid interactions for fear of others (v.i.)	?be ashamed
YOLH – <i>yolh-no</i> ‘pep, feelings’		
<i>yolh-bak(mu)</i> (1)	<i>break</i> (v.i.)	<i>forgive</i>
yolh-boled(mu) (1)	turn (v.i.)	have a tantrum, be capricious/ feel negative about someone close/ turn on self
yolh-bon (1)	go (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. get rested)
yolh-burrama (1)	good, healthy (adj.)	feel (emotionally) good, be nice
yolh-di (1)	stand/be (v.i.)	?synonym with <i>yolh-ni</i>
yolh-djare (1)	like, love/want (v.i.)	like, love
yolh-dukarrun (1)	tie + REFL (v.refl.)	suffer from chronic anxiety, depression
yolh-kurduhka (3)	block (v.t.)	cause someone to feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-kurduh(mu) (1)	be blocked (v.i.)	feel uneasy or anxious
yolh-marnbun (3)	make (v.t.)	comfort (cause to feel good after feeling bad)
yolh-marnburrun (1)	make + REFL (v.refl.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. get rested)
yolh-mon(-mun) (1)	good, fine (+ INCH) (adj.)	feel good (emotional or physical), be pleased, feel like, be nice
yolh-murduk (1)	hard/strong (adj.)	emotionally strong/selfish, not cheerful

Compound	Other component	Sense
yolh-nan (2)	see (v.t.)	know how someone feels
yolh-ngun (irregular)	eat (v.t.)	in rhetorical questions: what's wrong with x?
yolh-ni (1)	sit/be (v.i.)	feel good, cheerful, be pleased, love, like (sexual orientation)
yolh-redji (1)	laugh, smile (v.i.)	be happy, cheerful
yolh-warndih (1)	lack interest (v.i.)	be sulky after an argument
yolh-weh (1)	bad (adj.)	feel bad (emotional or physical), be upset with s.b., bad-tempered
<i>yolh-wokarrun (1)</i>	<i>talk + REFL (v.refl.)</i>	<i>?feel resentful</i>
yolh-wudj(mu) (1)	end, die (v.i.)	feel tired, lack energy and enthusiasm, be sulky
yolh-yalala(mu) (1)	?	rest, ?feel emotionally good
yolh-yerrk(mu) (1)	slip/be released (v.i.)	feel better, get rid of resentment
yolh-yin (1)	say, think/do (v.i.)	in questions: how does he feel?
yolh-yord(mu) (1)	clear way, body fluid be released (v.i.)	feel better (emotionally or physically, i.e. get rested)

GENERIC NOUN

YIRRU – yirru ‘conflict, anger’

yirru-burlh(mu) (1)	come out (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
<i>yirru-dadjika (3)</i>	<i>cut (v.t.)</i>	<i>prevent s.b. from being angry or fighting (?husband with co-wives) (?emotion/behavior)</i>
<i>yirru-don (1)</i>	<i>die, suffer/dry (v.i.)</i>	<i>calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)</i>
yirru-mon (1)	good (adj.)	dangerous, aggressive (of animals or spirits)
yirru-mun (1)	NOMINAL VERBALIZER	be(come) angry (emotional or behavioral)
yirru-ngalka (v.i.) (1)	find (v.t.)	become (?be) (?emotionally) angry
yirru-ngal(mu) (1)	appear (v.i.)	become (emotionally) angry
yirru-ngandung (1)	ADDRESS	?have a (verbal) argument
yirru-ngurd(mu) (1)	be(come) quiet (v.i.)	calm down, stop arguing or fighting (?emotion/behavior)
<i>yirru-wayhka (3)</i>	<i>lift up or out/open (v.t.)</i>	<i>stir up someone's anger</i>
yirru-weh (1)	bad (adj.)	disposition: tame
yirru-won (2)	CAUSATIVIZER	become (emotionally) angry ?against someone
yirru-wudj(mu) (1)	end, die (v.i.)	calm down, end argument or fight (?emotion/behavior)

Compound	Other component	Sense
ADVERB		
<i>merey</i> 'jealously'		
merey-di (1)	stand/be (v.i.)	be jealous
merey-nan (2)	see (v.t.)	be jealous of someone
merey-nguddu (adj.) (1)	HEART	disposition: be inclined to jealousy
njerrh-ye-merey-di (2)	body + COM + stand (v.t.)	?be very jealous, be desperately in love with someone
MARGINAL LEXEME		
DJONG – ?<i>djong(-no)</i>? 'for fear, afraid, fear'		
djong-bon (1)	go (v.i.)	go away in fear
djong + movement/posture pred.	e.g. run away, stand	do x in fear, e.g. run away in fear, stand still in fear, etc.
djong-bruk (1)	dry (adj.)	be brave
djong-marrun (1)	get + REFL? (v.i.)	be scared, stressed (diffuse threat)
djong-mun (1)	inchoativizer	be scared
PARTLY ANALYZABLE		
DUNG – v.t. 'scold'		
ngurrung-dung (2)	?	hate someone, have negative feelings for someone
?WARN – v.t. 'pain hurt someone'		
warndih (adj.) (1)	PRIV	lack motivation, feel bored
YI – ?		
yi-dih (adj.) (1)	PRIV	be selfish
yi-mon (adj.) (1)	good, fine (adj.)	be generous
OTHERS		
brang-no (adj.) (1)	NA	disposition: bitter, dangerous, aggressive (of non-humans)
djare (adj.) (1)	NA	like, love/want
djurrk (adj.) (1)	(REDUP form: 'fast')	rejoicing (REDUP: be fast)
djurrkkan (v.t.) (3)	NA	cause to become excited, annoy, exasperate
kelehmu (v.t.) (3)	NA	scare someone
kormu (v.i.) (1)	NA	be sulky/feel pain, feel no good physically
kuhmu (v.t.) (2)	NA	stare at something in awe or amazement
marrbun (v.t.) (2)	NA	feel compassion, care for someone
marrburrun (v.i.) (1)	NA	be sad

Compound	Other component	Sense
marrun (v.i.) (1)	get + REFL	get together/marry/reconcile
ngarrard(mu) (1)	NA	become (or be?) angry
ngayanganj(mu) (1)	NA	become (or be?) angry
njirrhmiwon (v.t.) (2)	NJIRR + NMNLZR + THMTC	be upset, be resentful/be confused
njirrk(mu) (v.i.) (1)	NA	be upset, resentful/be confused
warriburrun (v.refl) (1)	?may relate to Kriol <i>wori</i> (<Eng. 'worry')	bring self to worry intensely
wirrihmu (v.t.) (2)	NA	be distant
wirrihmurrun (v.refl.) (1)	<i>wirrih</i> + REFL	change aspect (physically)/ be upset with someone
wurdah(mu) (v.i.) (1)	NA	suffer emotionally
<i>yerka</i> (v.t.) (3)	NA	<i>cause to feel ashamed, to want to hide</i>
<i>yermikan</i> (v.t.) (3)	YER + NMNLZR + THMTC	<i>cause to feel ashamed, to want to hide</i>
yer(mu) (v.i.) (1)	NA	avoid interactions for fear of others (shame, embarrassment)

Dalabon emotion lexicon

This lexicon lists all the emotion terms documented to date. A lot of the examples were provided by Philip Ashley, † Lily Bennett, Queenie Brennan, Nikipini Daluk, June Jolly-Ashley, Maggie Tukumba, † Jimmy Wesan. The lexicon also features examples from other corpora, including many published in Evans, Merlan & Tukumba's first Dalabon Dictionary (2004) (DD). There are also some examples from other researchers' corpora (SalH: Salome Harris; SebH: Sebastian Harris; Sarah Cutfield: SC). When a larger number of examples are provided for one lexical unit, they are numbered for convenience.

B – b

brang-no *Variant: barng-no. adj.*

1. *Brang-no* means dangerous, venomous, harmful, aggressive. It often applies to inanimates, typically vegetables, plants etc. (1, 2), where it can mean 'poisonous'. It sometimes translates as 'poison' (3). It can also apply to animates: animals, natural forces, and humans sometimes (4). *Kriol: tjikiwan.*

(1) *Mey kah-barng mak da-nguyan wudjidon* (DD). If the fruit is poison don't eat it or you will die.

(2) *Wowh korn-no nunh ngorr ku-derrmu. Kah-barngbarng.* Yeah, the thorns may sting. It's dangerous.

(3) *Kah-barng-dadjkanj yila-Ing-nguninij barng-dih-no* (DD). It removed the poison and we ate it without the toxins.

(4) *Enelsi nidjarra, barngbarng-ngong. Mani-kun munguyh bulah-dudunginj.* The NLC [council administering the land], they're nasty. They kept harassing him about money.

Syn: yirru (partial).

2. *Brang-no* also applies to things that are not dangerous but unpleasant (strong smell, strong taste: bitter, sour etc.).

* *Kah-yeminj-brangbrang.* It stinks really bad.

* *Wah nunh burdubburdu bulah-bard-minj njel kah-marnu-yowminjyi tap wanjkih nunh yila-Ing-kolh-nguninijyi bah kolh-barng-no, bah yilah-dja-kolh-nguninijyi* (DD). They chopped that paperbark tree, and it flowed for us like a tap, we drank the water, it was salty but we still drank it.

D – d

daluy-er(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'mouth + avoid interactions for fear of others.'*

Avoid speaking when intimidated, not speak in fear of others, be too shy to talk.

* *Kardu keninj bulu kah-yolh-ngun. Kinikinikun mah mak bala-bon miding-kah. Mak bulnu yila-marnu-yenjujung. Kardu balah-dalu-yermu, kardu balah-mehdu-yermu.* I don't know what's wrong with them. The other ones don't come to the meetings. They don't talk to people. They're

ashamed to speak [ashamed from the mouth], or they're too shy to interact [ashamed from the chest].

djare *adj.*

Djare means like, love or want. It can denote taste, for instance for types of food (1), or affection, either for relatives (2), or sexually oriented affection (3). When talking about love for a person, benefactive constructions are normally used. Benefactive constructions are also sometimes used with inanimates, when the sense is 'like' rather than want (4). Conversely, *djare* can be used without a benefactive even with an animate, when the sense is 'want' (5). *Djare* is also often found followed by a complement clause (6, 7), where the sense is usually ambiguous between 'like' ('feel like') and 'want'.

- (1) [*Kofi*] *mak nga-djare*. I don't like coffee.
- (2) *Yarrah-djudjminj wulkun-djan-wurd-ngan, bukah-marnu-yininj kakkak-burrng-kah. Kanh bukah-marnu-yininj djah-marnu-djare*. Me and my little sister have come back, she says to their grandmother. I love you she tells her.
- (3) *Djah-kakku-marnu-djare*. He [your husband] really loves you.
- (4) *Nunh kanh naddo ngah-marnu-djare*. I like bush peanuts.
- (5) *Ngey nah-ngan ngah-djare kah-yin kanh wurdurd-wurd*. I want my mummy, the little girl says. [The child says, in English, 'I want mummy'.]
- (6) *Kardu ngah-djare ngah-boniyen, dohkardu kahke, ngah-ningiyen*. Maybe I'll feel like going, or maybe not, I'll stay.
- (7) *Mak nga-djare bulah-medmo-naHnan*. I don't want/like them to look at me as it makes me feel ashamed.

Syn: *ngerh-waddi; ngurlk-di; ngurlk-karlh(mu)*. *Ant:* *warndih*.

dje-bruH(mu) *Variant:* **dje-burH(mu); dje-bruh(mu); dje-burh(mu)**. *v.i. Lit:* 'nose/nostril/face + blow'.

1. Be sulky (1 to 3) or less frequently feel sad, upset, worried (4). Characterized by the fact that the person doesn't talk, doesn't laugh, refuses to take part in shared activities with others. *Kriol:* *djelop-nos, shwelopnos* (<Eng 'swell up nose').

- (1) *Kah-dje-burHmu, mak ka-yolh-redjing*. He's getting sulky, he doesn't smile.
- (2) *Keninjh-kun-ngan kah-marnu-dje-burHmu mak dja-yenjenjdjung mak dja-redjing munguyh djah-dje-burHmu korreh djah-yolh-naninj bu-dabarngh-kun (DD)*. Why are you sulky on me, you don't talk or laugh, you're always sulking, I already saw how you felt yesterday.
- (3) *Dah-yawoyh-marnu-yenjdjungi kardu. Bah djah-Ing-djud-ngalHminj, djah-Ing-komhkomhminj, djah-dje-bruH-minj*. [After a small altercation.] You tried to say something to her maybe. But you left without looking at her, you left angry, you were upset.
- (4) *Ngey-karn ngah-yawoh-dje-bruh-muninj, ngah-yawoh-woriworimhminj wurdurd-ngan-kun*. And me, I was feeling sad again, I was worried about my children.

2. To put on a sad or dark face, a wince, with a clear negative expression (rictus, frowning etc.). This can result from an emotional state, or from a physical state (pain).

- * *Djah-dja-kakku-milh-kalang-yidnjarrun djah-kakku-dje-bruHminj. Djah-karru-yidnjarrun*. You're holding your forehead and you've got a really dark expression. You're holding your legs.

djong-bruk *adj. Lit:* 'FEAR + dry'.

1. Courageous, brave, someone who is not easily scared. This applies to fear of others (social threat) as well as to fear of 'natural' threats.

- * *Ngey mak nga-djong-mun. Ngeh-ni djarra. Ngah-djong-bruk*. [When camping out.] I'm not scared. You and me camp here. I'm brave.

- * *Mak bulu ka-marnu-djong-mun. Bulu kah-marnu-yenjdjung, kah-kangu-bruk. Kah-djong-bruk.* She's not afraid of people. She talks to people, she's self-confident. She's brave.

2. Well-behaved, tame.

- * *Rolu ngokorrng, kah-djorng-buk (DD).* It's our dog, it's tame.

djong-marrun *v.i. Lit:* 'FEAR + grap + REFL'.
Be afraid, scared, apprehensive.

- * *Wurdurd balah-bobon muna-no, balah-djong-marrun. Balah-djong-mun. Kardu rakkalk-kun balah-djong-marrun.* When children go out at night, they are scared. They're afraid. Like they're afraid of rakalk, revenge perpetrators sent by enemies.
- * *Kah-buh-moyh-no mahkih, kah-yidjan-jan keninjhi peismeika. Yilah-marnu-djong-marruninj.* [Someone vanished in the bush for a few hours.] Also because he's sick, he's got a whatyucal-it a pacemaker. We feared for him.

Syn: **djong-mun; mud-kele-mun.**

djong + movement/posture *v.i. Lit:* 'FEAR + movement/posture'.

DJONG is not really a word in itself but it can combine with verbs of movement or postures in order to mean 'leave in fear', 'run away in fear', 'stand in fear' etc.

- * *Ngarrah-djong-bon. [...] Nunh, nurrah-ban.* [When the war broke out] we got scared and left. That's when we left.
- * *Bulah-bengkan, bulu kah-kijan, kanh balah-Ing-djong-kurkkurmu.* They know that they are going to [catch them and] take them away, this is why they flew away in fear.
- * *Kanh wakwak-burrukunh barrah-waddi, bah burrah-marnu-djong-kalH-minj.* The two crows stand high up [in the tree], as they got up in fear [of the jackal].
- * *Manjh kanh, yilah-nan yalah-djong-worhdi.* Snakes, when we see them we stand still in fear.

djong-mun *v.i. Lit:* 'FEAR + INCH'.

Be afraid, scared, apprehensive. This generic term applies to humans and animals alike and can describe reactions to all sorts of threats: natural, supernatural, social etc.

- * *Muna-no kaye-bon kanh kirdikird, kah-djong-mun. Kah-bengkan kardu buya bukah-wan, dolku-no-kah.* When she goes around at night, she's scared. Like she knows that spirits could be following her, in her back.
- * *Balah-dja-ninginj kanidjah, mamam-bulng-dorrung na, kakkak-bulng. Balah-djong-mininji bah, bulu bulu-buy.* They'd stay there, with their grandfather and grandmother. They used to be scared like, that someone would hit them.
- * *Kah-yinmiwong yarrah-burruni mey-ngan-kih-kah bah, mak nga-marnu-dengu-rokey. Ngah-marnu-worh-danginj. Mak nga-marnu-djong-muni.* She was telling me like she wanted to fight to get some food from me, but I stood strong against her [my feet didn't move for her]. I stood up against her. I wasn't afraid of her.

- * *Rolu kah-wungurr-narrun, kah-djong-mun yelung kah-njokmu (DD).* The dog's looking at his reflection in the water, he's scared and he's barking.
- * *Kah-kolh-bawong, kah-yelung-djong-minj (DD).* He left the grog, he was afraid.
- * *Biyi balah-burlhminj rok-djerrngu, bah ngah-djong-mun (DD).* People have come out, strangers, and I'm afraid.

Syn: **djong-marrun; mud-kele-mun.**

djong(-no) *NA.* This is not a full-fledged Dalabon word in synchrony, but speakers use it exceptionally with the senses 'in fear', 'scared', 'fear'.

- * *Balaye-drongminji nunh kirdikird-bulng, balah-wurdiminji nidjarra balah-minj. Djong-no balah-wurdiminji (SebH).* When they used to drink,

their wives would run away and stay here. In fear, they ran away.

- * *Djong-dih-no kah-dja-bon, mak ka-djong-mun.* He has no fears, he doesn't get scared.
- * *Kenbo madj bulah-Ing-kaninj, mudi-kah bula-ye-dordminj karr-walung, djong-no (SalH).* Then they took their stuff, climbed to the top [of the hill] with the cars, in fear [of the flood].

djud-kurkkurkkan *v.i. Lit:* 'back of neck/nape + ?BEND'.

To bend down, for instance bend head down, or bend whole body down.

Contextually: be sad, sulky.

- * *Nunda njing dja-djud-kurkkurkkan kardu narrah-durrininj wanjh djah-yolh-weh-mun.* And you, you are bending down, maybe they talked badly to you, and therefore you are sad.

Syn: djud-kurl(mu).

djudkurl(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'back of neck/nape + ?BEND'.

1. Bend head or back down. Contextually: be sad, sulky.

- * *Djah-dengu-naHnarrun, djah-djud-kurlmu.* You're looking at your feet, you're bending your head down.

Syn: djud-kurkkurkkan.

2. Lower one's eyes, avert one's gaze to avoid eye contact.

- * *Balak-ngu mak darnkih dja-boniyen, mak dja-redj-nahbuyan kirdikird kah-djud-kurlmu biyi kah-dja-djud-kurlmu (DD).* You can't go close to your cousin, you won't laugh, a woman will go around (her) and also a man will lower his gaze.

djurkk *adj.*

Be happy, rejoice.

- * *Mardadubba kanh yila-nan kah-korlerrmu, yilah-bengkan kahnunh, wah kah-dadjmu, munh yalah-Ing-djurkk-mun, yalah-djurkk-mun kanh wah kah-Ing-dadjmu (DD).* When we see the tall grass and the seeds falling,

then we know that the wet season is finishing up, and we're happy that the rains are coming to an end.

- * *Kah-yaw-yolh-mon. Yo, kah-djurkk-mun nah-no kah-winhminj.* The little one is happy. Yeah, he's cheerful, his mother won [at a game].

djurkkkan *v.t.*

Stir up, cause to become excited, and aggressive.

- * *Duyu bulu kah-djurkkkan, kanunh yawurrinj-wurd wirrimah kirdikird-wurd, kanh duyu-yih bulu kah-kangu-yirru-djurkkkan, ngorr wubulu-bubun.* The power of taboo might stir them up, young men or young girls, the power of taboo stirs up their anger [the anger of their belly], they might harm us.

Syn: kangu-yirru-djurkkkan.

dolku-ngabbun *v.t. Lit:* 'back + give'.

1. Be on bad terms with someone, avoid interaction with someone because of some grudge after a conflict. *Kriol:* *gibitbekbon* (<Eng. 'give back bone').

- * *Barrah-durrininj, mak barra-Ing-marnu-kangu-yerrkminj, mak buka-marnu-kangu-yerrkmi Maia-yih yibung mah mak buka-marnu-kangu-yerrkmi François-yih, bah munguyh barrah-dolku-ngabburrininj.* They had arguments, they didn't get over their resentment, Maia wouldn't forgive him and François wouldn't forgive her, so they remained on bad terms for a long time.
- * *Mak barra-kakku-durrin bah, barrah-dja-dolku-ngabburrin.* They are not really arguing, but they are on bad terms (and do not speak to each other).

2. Turn one's back on someone.

- * *Narrah-dolku-ngabburrinj, narrah-dolku-dirhdirhmurrin.* You're turning your back on each other, your backs are touching each other's.

dolku-yermu *v.i. Lit.*: ‘back + avoid interactions for fear of others’.

1. Feel a presence, usually a scary presence in strange or unsafe surroundings, typically in the bush.

* *Biyi rakalk kardu kah-bong kahnunda, kardu kah-djang-kang bah kardu bulah-borlhwiyan. Kah-dolku-yermu.* A man or a ‘revenge bush black fellow’ might be coming there, he might be hunting and they’re following him. He’s feeling insecure, scared.

2. Feel the presence of someone in one’s back.

* *Balah-warlkkarrinj, bulu kah-wonang, kah-dolku-yerminj.* They’re hiding, he hears them, he feels a presence [behind him].

K – k

kangu-bak(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: ‘belly + break’.

Forgive, get rid of negative feelings, of resentment, after a conflict. *Kriol*: *polodjais*.

* *Malung narrah-woh-ngurrung-durrinj.*

* *Bah dubmi mahkih, dah-marnu-kangu-bakminj, yibung mahkih djah-marnu-kangu-bakminj. Narrah-lng-yenjdjung.* You didn’t quite get on for a while. But now, you’ve forgiven him, and he’s forgiven you. You speak to each other.

* *Murnu kanh mak djeil-kah ngah-yungiyen. Yarra-dja-lng-ningiyen. Kenbo wurdurd-yih njerr burrah-men-werremu. Yibung-karn mah kah-lng-kangu-bakmiyan, ngey-karn mah ngah-kangu-bakmiyan.* I won’t send him to jail [for being violent with me]. We’ll stay here together. And the children will make us forget our conflicts. He’ll forgive me, and me too, I’ll forgive him.

kangu-barrhka *v.t. Lit.*: ‘belly + make crack’.
Cause surprise to someone, cause someone to feel emotionally shocked.

- * *Kardu yibung djah-marnu-kol-mukolmu, kardu njing mahkih dah-marnu-kolmukolmu. Narrah-woh-kolmukolmurrun. Bah mak narra-narrun. Kenbo djah-djawiyan, barna djeh-yongiyen kah-yin. Djah-kangu-barrhkiyan.* Maybe he is flirting with you, and you, you are flirting with him. You are flirting with each other a bit. But you’re not seeing each other. Then, he’ll ask you, what about sleeping together he says. You’ll get a shock.
- * *Bulah-kangu-barrhkanj. Mimi-no kah-doninj.* They gave her a shock [by announcing bad news]. Her grandson died.

kangu-barrh(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: ‘belly + crack’

1. Be surprised. *Kangu-barrh(mu)* describes surprises, whether with positive, neutral or negative emotional connotations. *Kriol*: *atkreka*.

- * *Djah-kangu-barrhminj dabarngh, kanh Balang dah-nang kardabun-kun.* You were surprised yesterday, when you saw Balang [my grandson, who you had not seen for several years], so tall.
- * *Biyi bulnu kah-nan, nunh rok-djerrngu balah-burllhmu, nunh kah-kangu-barrhmu.* When he sees people, strangers coming, he is surprised.

Syn: **wurrrh(mu)** (partial).

2. Undergo an emotional shock, typically when hearing bad news about a relative (someone has died, had an accident).

- * *Kah-kangu-barrhmiyan. Kardu kah-dja-doniyen kardu kahke. Kah-kangu-barrhmiyan kah-ruyan.* [Someone hears that her grandson had an accident.] She’ll get a shock. He might die, or not. She’ll get a shock, she’ll cry.

kangu-berlh *adj. Lit.*: ‘belly +?’.

(Not fully attested.) Be indulgent, indulge in compassion.

- * *Bukah-dja-ngabbong munu kanh, kangu-berlh-wurd bukah-ngabbong kanh loli. Bah buyirrhwalung mak buka-marnu-djare.* She gave it to him, just like that, out of compassion she gave him lollies. But deep inside she doesn't love him.

kangu-bola *Variant: kangu-yabola. adj.*

Lit: 'belly + sensitive (or adv. slow)'.

Be a good person: nice and generous with others, not angry, not aggressive or selfish. *Kangu-bola* can refer to a momentary state or to a disposition.

- * *Nunda djah-kakku-yirru-ngalminj. Nunda djah-kangu-bola-miniyibon.* [Describing photos.] Here [on this photo] you were really angry. On this one you're softening.
- * *Kirdikird nunh kanunh mey kah-ngabbun. Kangu-bolabola-no. Mey kah-ngabbun, kah-kangu-bola-no.* This woman shares food. Kindly. She shares food, she's kind, generous.

Syn: **kangu-yowyow(mu)** (partial). *Ant:* **kangu-murduk** (partial).

kangu-bruk *adj. Lit:* 'belly + dry'.

Be self-confident, not scared, in social interactions, conflict in particular.

- * *Bulah-marnu-njon-marrun, biyi kardu kirdikird yang djehngeng bulah-buyan. Bah, kah-kangu-bruk, mak ka-dengurokan.* They gather around him, everybody, men and women, as if they were going to hit him. But he's strong, he won't move [he won't move a foot].
- * *Tamara kaye-bon nahda daun, mak bulu kah-marnu-djong-mun. Bulu kah-marnu-yenjdjung, kah-kangu-bruk.* When Tamara goes to town, she's not afraid of people. She talks to them, she's self-confident.

kangu-burrama *adj. Lit:* 'belly + good'.

Kriol: *gudbinji. Syn:* **kangu-mon; yolh-burrama. Ant:** **kangu-weh-no; kangu-weh-mun; kangu-murduk** (partial).

1. Be a good person, of good character, friendly.

- * *Mak bala-kangu-burrama kahke. Balah-ni munguyh, mak bala-yenjdjung, mak yala-kurkkarrun kahke. Wadda-njelng-kih-kah yalah-ni.* They're not friendly at all. They stay there (at home) all day, they don't talk, we don't pay visits to each other. We stay in our own houses.

2. Feel good emotionally.

- * *Balah-yolh-yordminj ke, balah-kangu-yowyowmu. Bonj, barrah-Ing-kangu-burrama-minj.* They're relieved indeed, they feel better. That's it, they're happy again.

kangu-dadj(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + end'. See *wurr-dadjka* v.t. 'intestine + cut', 'hurt stomach'.

Become (or be) very angry, usually when the exasperating trigger lasted for a while. *Kangu-dadj(mu)* can be used for petty anger or more serious conflicts. *Kriol:* *sikentaid* (<Eng. *sick and tired*).

- * *Ngorr burrah-bengbun, kanh ngarrah-Ing-kangu-dadjmu, bunu ngurrah-dung.* [The children] keep making noise, so that we'll lose temper, get very angry, and scold them.
- * *Kah-Ing-kakku-kangu-dadjminj-bulng. [...] Bulu kah-Ing-kodj-dukang wul-ungmunguyh.* [After years of conflict with them] he got fed up and became very angry at them. He'll remain upset with them forever.

Syn: **kangu-wurh(mu)**; cf. **yirru** and **kangu-yirru** compounds.

kangu-damh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + body-part becomes blocked'.

Feel bad, like one feels when hearing that a close and beloved relative just passed away. Cf. *nguh-damh(mu)* 'intestine/excrement + body-part becomes blocked', 'be constipated'.

- * *Mulah-ngu kah-Ing-kurnh-wudjminj, djilah-marnu-yininj.*

Djah-Ing-yawoh-kangu-damhminj, mak dja-kangu-yolh-mon-mini kahke.
Your aunt (mother's sister) has passed away, they told you. You felt terrible, you didn't feel good at all.

kangu-darridj(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'belly + shake in agony'.*

Be very angry, furious, so angry that one is ready to hit or fight.

- * *Ngah-kangu-darridjdarridjmu, malung ngah-boniyani bunu ngah-niyan, nidjah yalah-burruniyan, ngah-kangu-darridjdarridjmu-burring.* I'm very angry at them, I'll go there right away I'll see them, and we'll fight, I'm furious against them.

Syn: **mo-barrun.**

kangu-darr(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'belly + ?'.*

Feel bad, worry, in particular about people: when a close relative is sick, or when losing someone (grief), or, occasionally, when someone is absent (miss). *Kriol: wori.*

- * *Njel kah-marnu-dorong-murduk-bong. Mak ka-Ing-moyh-yongi, kahke. Njel ka-yang-woninj...*
Yalah-Ing-dudjminji yilah-Ing-marnu-kangu-yowyowminj. Yolh-mon-kih yalah-dudjminji, mak yila-marnu-kangu-darrmi, kahke. He got stronger [for us]. He's no longer sick, it's over. He talked to us... When we came back [from visiting him in hospital], we were very pleased about him. We came back very happy, we don't worry about him anymore.
- * *Buyirrhwalung ngah-dja-kangu-darrminj murlah-ngan-kun. Mak nga-beng-wudjmi.* Deep inside I was still grieving for my mother's sister. I had not forgotten.
- * *Maia, derrh-no djah-boniyani...*
Djilah-karra-marnu-kangu-darrmiyan. Maia, you're leaving tomorrow... We're all going to miss you.

kangu-di *v.i. Lit: 'belly + stand/be'.*

(Not fully attested.) Like, love someone.

This is an alternative to *yolh-ni* and *yolh-di*.

- * *Kah-dje-bruHmu, bah mak ka-kakku-dje-bruHmu kardu. Buyirrhwalung mah kardu bukah-marnu-kangu-di. Bukah-marnu-djare-miniyani-kun.*
She's sulking, but maybe she's not really sulky. And deep inside she likes him. So that she'll love him.

Syn: **yolh-di; yolh-ni.**

kangu-dinjirrmu *v.i. Lit: 'belly + DI + HATE'.*

Have negative feelings about someone, not like someone, be emotionally hostile.

- * *Bulu kah-nan biyi kirdikird, bulkah-marnu-kangu-yowyow. Djehnung kah-yin radjdjarr. Mak bulka-njirrHmiwon, mak ka-kangu-dinjirrmu. Djalkmi ka-dja-kangu-yowyowmu, kanh biyi kirdikird bulu kaye-nan wurdur.*
[Once a child has undergone a certain ritual intended to soften their personality,] the people she sees, she's kind to them. Just like floodwater. She doesn't have negative feeling about them, she's not hostile. She just simply feels good, when she sees people, men, women or children.
- * *Kah-yawoh-kangu-dinjirminji, kanh-kun narrah-woh-durruninji. Bah kardu marruh kah-yolh-yinHyinj, kardu kinikun kirdikird-kun kardu molkkun, kah-woh-kangu-dinjirminji, wanjh kanh narrah-durruninji.* Then he started to hate you, and this is why you started arguing. I don't know what happened to him, maybe in secret there was another woman, and he started feeling hostile, and this is why you kept arguing.

Syn: **njirrhmiwon.**

kangu-karndi *v.i. Lit: 'belly + ?'.*

Have a premonition, a funny feeling, announcing some negative event, like a fight or a death; anticipate negative outcomes.

- * *Buyirrhwalung nahda balah-kakku-kangu-run. Balah-kangu-karndi ke. Wanjh mah ngorr kah-yin... Kanh balah-dowhmu, balah-Ing-yang-kala-bobo-marrun. Balah-kangu-karndi, balah-kakku-kangu-wurdah. Kardu balah-kurnh-wudjmu kardu nahda. Bulah-bengkan korre bulah-nan kardu. Kenbo kanh balah-Ing-run, balah-kangu-karndi.* [Dogs howling, or barking together at night, are said to express their premonition that something bad is taking place somewhere.] They feel very bad, inside. They have a bad feeling, a bad premonition really. And so it tells us... That's when they bark, they?howl together?. They have a bad premonition, they feel worried; someone passed away over there maybe. And they know in advance, they see. Then they howl, they have a bad premonition.
- * *Yibung-karn-wali bulah-marnu-nahbu. Kurrmara-no-kah. Kahnidjah balah-kangu-karndi.* They're dancing for him now in turn. Around his [dying] body. They anticipate his death.

kangu-kerlk *adj.* Lit: 'belly + soft'.

Be kind, generous, nice, friendly.

- * *Mak ka-kangu-murduk-kun, mak ngorr ka-kakku-drahmi. Bah kah-mon. Kah-kangu-kerlkerlk.* He's not a selfish person. He didn't really refuse a favor with no reason. So it's OK. He's a good, generous person.

Syn: kangu-bola. *Ant:* kangu-murduk (partial).

kangu-kurduhka *v.t.* Lit: 'belly + block'.

Cause to feel bad, for instance by being hostile.

- * *Njing-kah nunh kah-kangu-kurduhka.* [When you argue with your husband all the time,] he makes you feel no good.

- * *Nulah-Ing-weh-wong nunda murdika. Murdika-ngan mah kah-kiyan-kun djenj-kah. Bula-Ing-kangu-kurduhkan.* You broke the car. My car, that takes me fishing. They made me feel no good.

kangu-kurduh(mu) *v.i.* Lit: 'belly + blocked'.

1. Feel anxious, nervous, feel emotionally scared or uncomfortable, apprehensive. The trigger can be of many sorts, such as the illness of a close relative, some threatening presence. The source of anxiety may also be material (rather than social), when flying in a light plane for instance.

- * *Ngah-Ing-kangu-mon-minj kah-marnu-dudjminj wujbidul-walung. Bah malung wujbidul kaye-ninj, nunh ngah-marnu-kangu-kurduhminj, ngah-dja-marnu-kangu-runinj munguyh.* I got to feel better when she came back to me from hospital. But before, when she was in hospital, then I was anxious, I was feeling bad and worried all the time.
 - * *Blein-kah ngah-bon ngah-kangu-kurduhmu. Kanh ngah-Ing-dolkan-kuno nunh ngah-Ing-kakku-kangu-kurduhmu.* When I take a plane, I feel nervous. When I take off, then I get really nervous.
2. Have one's belly blocked, full.
- * *Mey boyenjboyenj ngah-yidjnjan kangu-ngan-kah, ngah-kangu-kurduhmu.* I've got a lot of food in my belly, my belly is blocked.

kangu-mang *v.t.* Lit: 'belly + get'.

Touch, move: cause to feel compassionate, to have empathy, to share emotional pain. This leads to sadness, but also to be willing to help. *Kangu-mang* described compassion directed at people, but the feeling may be mediated by something else, music for instance.

- * *Loli kardu kah-djare dohkardu mey. Kanh kah-ruruyan. Wurdurd-wurd kanh djah-Ing-kangu-miyan, kardu*

dah-marnu-kangu-ruyan. Dah-Ing-ngabbuyan. Wurdahmi-dorrung. He wants lollies, or food maybe. That's why he keeps crying. This little child will touch you, you'll be emotionally moved, you'll feel sorry for him. You'll give him something. Out of feeling sorry for him.

- * *Balah-wayini kardu... Bulu kah-kakku-kangu-mang, kanh kaye-doninj-kun, kardu kanidjah yirrhwalung kah-ni djadj-kah. Wal kanh myusik bulaye-wonan, bulu kah-kangu-mang, balah-run.* Like they're singing... They feel touched, by the person who died, and he may be there in the church. And the music that they hear, it moves them, they cry.

kangu-marrka *vi. Lit.* 'belly + shiver'.

Feel nervous, scared, when facing a threatening prospect like being attacked by enemies, a danger of death.

- * *Kah-burlhminj kardu bad-durn-walung. Kardu kahnidja kah-wadda-bun. Kardu bulu kah-rakalkkiyan-kun. Balah-kangu-marrka.* [The enemy] came out of the cave maybe. He might live there. Maybe to kill them in revenge. They're scared.
- * *Kah-kangu-marrka, men-no kah-yin, kardu djehneng, madme-djam balah-donj, wah-djam.* He feels nervous, he thinks, that they might have died of hunger, or thirst.

kangu-mon *adj. Lit.* 'belly + good'.

Feel fine, feel good, have no negative feelings. This may apply to self-oriented feelings: when one does not feel distressed, or sad etc. (1, 2). Or, *kangu-mon* can mean that one has no negative feelings for others: not be angry, have no animosity etc. (3). *Kangu-mon* can sometimes refer to temporary states, or to a disposition, i.e. a personality feature (be a nice person, have good character (4)), although *kangu-burrama* is normally preferred in such contexts.

- (1) *Ngah-Ing-kangu-mon-minj kah-marnu-dudjminj wujbidul-walung. Bah malung wujbidul kaye-ninj, nunh ngah-marnu-kangu-kurduhminj, ngah-dja-marnu-kangu-runinj munguyh. Bah nekenda kah-mon, ngah-Ing-marnu-kangu-mon.* I got to feel better when she came back to me from hospital. But before, when she was in hospital, then I was anxious, I was feeling bad and worried all the time. But now it's OK, I feel good about her.
- (2) *Barrah-Ing-yirru-wudjminj. Barrah-yirru-donj, nahda nunh, barrah-Ing-kangu-mon-minj.* They calmed down. They stopped arguing, and that's when, then they came back to better feelings.
- (3) *Bukah-dja-marnu-kangu-mon.* [Your ex] is still kind to you, he still gets on with you.
- (4) *Kahnunda kardu bulu kah-naHnan kanh wurdurd. Kah-kangu-wurdahmu, mak ka-bengkan wurdurd bulu ka-yawo-dung. Kardu kah-kodj-kulumon, kah-kangu-mon.* She seems to take good care of the children, this one. She feels for them, she's compassionate, she never scolds the little kids. She's a good person, she's kind.

Syn: *kangu-burrama; kangu-yowyow(mu)* (partial). **Ant:** *kangu-weh-no; kangu-weh-mun; kangu-murduk* (partial).

kangu-muk(mu) *vi. Lit.* 'belly + COVERED'.

Have very negative feelings, whether self-oriented (e.g. feel very sad, for instance when losing someone close) or targeting someone else, like feeling resentful to the point of undertaking revenge, or refusing to sort out a conflict.

- * *Wurhwhurrungu yongkih nunh kanh danj-yih balah-yamurruninj, nunh balah-dja-Ing-kangu-mukminj. Danj bulah-bulk-wodnaninj, mak bula-bulk-yidjnjej.* People in the olden days, they fought with spears, and they would get vengeful then. They threw spears, they didn't hold on to their spears.

- * *Kanh murlah-ngu kaye-donj-kuno, djah-kangu-mukminj.* When your aunt (mother's sister) died, you felt terrible.

kangu-murduk *adj.* *Lit.*: 'belly + hard/strong'.

1. Be socially confident: typically self-assertive, in particular in conflicts, but also socially confident and well-at-ease with other people in general. This sense has positive connotations.

- * *R., kah-kangu-murduk. Nunh bale-durrun, o yale-durrun, nunh bulu kah-yinmiwon, mak bulu ka-marnu-djong-mun.* R., he is self-confident. When he argues with people, or when we argue together, he tells people [what he has to say], he's not afraid of them.
- * *Renjdja kanh [...] bukah-yelng-nang. Nunda mah mak wurdurd kah-run nah-no-kun, kah-yininj, kah-kangu-murduk-kun, kah-yininj. Yow, kah-yininj ngal-binj-murlah-yu Rosita, nunda bah njel yilah-ye-yu, mak ka-run, kah-ngerh-murduk, mak nah-no-kun buka-marnu-runj, kah-yininj Rosita-yih.* [About MT's 4 y.o. great-granddaughter spending a whole day away from her mother.] And the ranger [...] he saw this. This little girl didn't cry for her mother, he said, she's strong, he said. Yes, her mother's sister Rosita replied, when she's with us, she doesn't cry, she's strong, she doesn't cry for her mother, Rosita said.

Syn: **ngerh-murduk** (occasional).

2. Have negative feelings, not open to others, not willing to share. *Kangu-murduk* can mean be selfish, cold-hearted, not inclined to share goods with others. It can also mean be austere, not cheerful, not inclined to share the company of others. This sense has negative connotations (especially in the sense 'selfish').

- * *Njing ngalkohbanj mak bad ka-ngabbuy. Kah-marnu-kangu-murduk-worriinj, kardu kenbo kah-yinmiyan.*

You old woman, you didn't give me money [when I asked]. You acted selfishly with me, he might say later.

- * *Kah-dja-bon yibung-karn, nunh kangu-murduk-kun, mak ka-yolh-redjiredjing, kahke.* She goes along by herself, she's austere, not cheerful, she's not happy at all.

Syn: **murduk** (partial); **kangu-weh-no** (partial); **kangu-weh-mun** (partial). *Ant:* **kangu-burrama**; **kangu-mon**; **kangu-bola**; **kangu-yowyow(mu)** (partial).

3. Be physically strong, resistant.

- * *Kah-dokkang. Kah-kangu-murduk. Mak buka-kangu-bakkey.* He got up. He's resistant. He didn't succumb [to his wounds].

kangu-nan *v.t. Lit.*: 'belly + see'.

Have emotional affinities with someone: understand someone, have empathy for them; get along with someone, appreciate someone.

- * *Wurdurd kanh kah-rurun munguyh... Korre mah bukah-kangu-nan, nah-no-yih. Nah-no mah kah-Ing-dje-bruHmu. Korreh bahdih bukah-kangu-nan.* The child keeps crying... But his mother, she knows how he feels. And the mother will be sad. She understands him.
- * *Biyirrhwalung mak barra-kangu-nar-run. Kardu barrah-ngurrung-durrun.* They don't really get on. Like they are hostile to each other maybe.
- * *Bukah-marnu-redjing kardu nunda kahnunda biyi-yih, barrah-mumu-naHnarrun. Nunda mah kardu, buyirrhwalung mak burra-kangu-nan. Kardu kah-kangu-yirru-burlhmu, kah-merey-di.* [A photo of a woman laughing with a man.] The man is joking with her, they're flirting, looking at each other in the eyes. But this one [the woman], deep inside she doesn't like him. Maybe she's getting angry, she's jealous.

kangu-redji *v.i. Lit: 'belly + smile/laugh'.*

Be pleased (and hide it).

- * *Kirdikird ngah-nang kah-dje-bruHminj, bah kardu mak ka-kakku-dje-bruHmi kardu, bah kardu buyirrhwalung kardu kah-kangu-red-jinginj.* I saw this woman, she looked sad, but maybe she wasn't really sad, like maybe she was feeling alright inside.
- * *Yibung-karn mah kah-bengdanginj, kah-Ing-kangu-redji, buyirrhwalung kah-kangu-redji.* But him, he knows [as opposed to the other ones], and he's secretly pleased, deep inside, he's pleased.

Syn: yolh-redji.

kangu-run *v.i. Lit: 'belly + cry'.*

Feel bad, feel sad, suffer emotionally, with respect to separation from a beloved person.

- * *Kah-kangu-run, kah-run. Kah-run balah-karde-madmirrinj.* [A child being forcibly taken away from her two cousins.] She's very sad, she's crying. She's crying because they're being separated.
- * *Kah-wurdurd-ninj mahkih François bukah-dja-nahnaninj. Kanh bulah-dja-marnu-djare. Olot bulah-marnu-kangu-run kanh wurdurd. Njel mahkih wurrhwurrungu yilah-dja-marnu-kangu-run.* When she was little François used to look after her. That's when they got to like him so much. All the kids are very sad to see him go. And us old people too, we're very sad to see him go.

kangu-weh-mun *v.i. Lit: 'belly + bad + INCH'.*

1. Feel bad, have negative feelings, whatever the reason. *Kangu-weh-mun* can refer to self-oriented negative feelings (e.g. being sad, like in 1) or to feelings targeting others (being angry, sulky etc., like in 2 and 3).

(1) *Kah-kakku-ngurhl-djawarminj wurdurd-no-kun bukah-Ing-marnu-ye-komhminj. Bulkkidj kah-dja-Ing-burrinj bad-yih. Kah-Ing-kangu-weh-minj ke, kah-burrin bulkkidj.* She's in despair that he took her children away. She's hitting herself badly [on the head] with a stone. She's feeling terrible, she's hitting herself violently.

(2) *Kardu kah-yin, mak nol ngah-marnu-yeHyenjdjungiyen, ngah-njenguyungiyen. Nol narrah-yenjdjung nadah kirdikird. Kah-kangu-weh-mun.* [A photo with two girls chatting and a boy lying at a distance.] He may be thinking, I won't speak to you, I'll have a rest. You girls can chat there. He's moody.

(3) *Kah-kangu-weh-minj. Kah-kodj-dadjminj kardu. Nol ngah-ban kardu kah-yin. Balay kah-bong.* He got upset. He got sulky. I'm not staying with you he says. He went away.

Syn: kangu-wehkurla; kangu-weh-no.

Ant: kangu-mon; kangu-yow(mu).

2. Have a belly-ache, be upset in the stomach.

- * *Ngah-ngun kanh mey, mak nadah ka-burlhka kahke. Kangu-ngan-kah kah-ni... [...] Ngah-weh-mun. Ngah-kangu-weh-mun.* I eat food, and it won't go down. It stays in my stomach. I feel bad. I'm upset from the belly.

kangu-weh-no *adj. Lit: 'belly + bad'.*

(Rare.) Be a bad person, a mean person.

- * *Kah-biyi-weh-no-ninj. Kah-kangu-weh-no. Njerrh-ngurhlngurhlmiyi bulu kah-kiyan.* He's a bad person. He's mean. He takes halfcaste children away. *Ant: kangu-burrama.*

kangu-wokarrun *v.refl. Lit: 'belly + talk + REFL'.*

Carry on a conflict with someone, feel resentful.

- * *Kah-dja-kangu-burrama. Mak ka-kakku-kangu-wokarrun kahke.*

Kah-biyi-burrama kardu. He's a good person. He is not resentful. Like he's a good man.

- * *Bulaye-dung kardu, balah-durrun, kanh-kun kah-Ing-yolh-warndih. Kah-kangu-wokarrun mak njel ka-marnu-yenjjungiyen.* Like when they scold her, when they argue, that's when she gets moody. She's upset with us, she won't talk to us.

kangu-wurdah(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + suffer emotionally'.

1. Feel very bad emotionally: be sad, desperate. Usually this is because of one's affection for someone else. Often this is because of something bad happening to the beloved person, so that *kangu-wurdah(mu)* describes compassion. Sometimes, nothing bad happens to the beloved person, but the emotional pain is caused by absence or separation. Often, both parameters apply.

- * *Kardu mak bula-ngabbuyan mak bula-dudjkeyhwoyan. Kanh ngah-marnu-bengdi munguyh. Bah ngah-dja-Ing-marnu-wurdahmu. Ngah-marnu-kangu-wurdaHmu...* [About her husband in aged-care in town.] They might not hand him back to me, they might not send him back. That's why I think about him all the time. And I worry about him. I feel worried about him.
- * *Barlbbara bulah-bawong. Bulu kah-marnu-run kardu barlbbara-kun. Kah-kangu-run. Kah-wurdahminj. Kah-kangu-wurdahminj.* [A dog is howling inside a house.] His masters have left him. He must be crying for his masters. He's crying for them. He misses them. He's feeling very bad.

Syn: **wurdah(mu)**.

2. In benefactive constructions only: *marnu-kangu-wurdah(mu)*, be compassionate, in the sense of being helpful, or have affection for someone. This does not

have to be accompanied by any negative emotion, although there is the idea than the person is sensitive to what happens to someone else.

- * *Kahnunda kardu bulu kah-naHnan kanh wurdurd. Kah-kangu-wurdahmu, mak ka-bengkan wurdurd bulu kayaw-dung.* She seems to take good care of the children this one. She feels for them, she's compassionate, she never scolds the little kids.
- * *Mak dja-dung kahke. Djah-marnu-kangu-yowowmu. Yow djah-Ing-marnu-kangu-wurdahmu nekenda mak dja-dung.* He doesn't argue with you anymore. He feels good about you. Yeah, he has affection for you now, he doesn't argue with you.
- * *Bulu kah-ngabbuyan mey, bulu kah-marnu-kangu-wurdahminj.* She gives them food, she's compassionate to them.

kangu-wurlih(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + be too hot'.

1. Be angry.
- * *Ngah-kakku-kangu-wurlihmu. Mak nga-kangu-yordmiyan, ngah-kangu-wokarruniyan.* I'm really angry. I won't calm down and let it go, I carry on.
2. (Not fully attested.) Have a burning belly, like after eating spicy food.

Syn: **kangu-dadj(mu); ngarrard(mu); ngayanganj(mu);** cf. **yirru and kangu-yirru compounds.**

kangu-yalway(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + refreshed'.

1. Feel better emotionally, i.e. get rid of negative feelings. The bad feelings in question can be self-oriented (feeling sad, worried etc.), in which case *kangu-yalway(mu)* means 'feel relieved'. Or the bad feelings that get resolved can target others (feeling angry at someone), in which case *kangu-yalway(mu)* typically applies to the relief one feels after undertaking revenge in the course of warfare and inter-tribal conflicts.

- * *Mulah-ngan malung bulah-monwong, nunh ngah-Ing-kangu-yalwayminj.* When my mother's sister initially got cured, I was relieved.
 - * *Nguh-deleng-no-kah bulah-yamung. Kinikinikun mahkih biyi, balah-Ing-kangu-yalwayminj. Bulah-Ing-wudjkang.* They speared him in the guts [during a revenge punishment ceremony called Makkarrardda]. The other men, they'll feel revenged, they no longer feel resentful. They will bring [the fight] to an end.
2. Feel better physically after a belly-ache.
- * *Ngah-kangu-ngarrkminj, mey weh-kurla-no ngah-ngunj. Bah kah-mon, ngah-Ing-kangu-yalwayminj.* I had a belly-ache, I had eaten some food that was no good. But it's fine, my belly got better.

kangu-yerrk(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + slip/be released'.

Feel better emotionally, i.e. get rid of negative feelings. The feelings in question can be self-oriented (feeling sad, worried etc.), in which case *kangu-yerrk(mu)* means 'feel relieved'. Or they can target others (feeling angry at someone), in which case *kangu-yerrk(mu)* means 'forgive'.

- * *Re-dorrung balah-kurkkurlminj, bunu burrah-me. Barrah-kangu-yerrkminj. Nah-no-burrng-kun bulu-burrng, kakkak-burrng bulnu bulah-marnu-kangu-yerrkminj.* [Children reunite with their family after a long separation, not knowing if they would see their family again.] They're running with a big smile, they take them in their arms. They are relieved. About their mother, their father, their grandmother, they are relieved.
- * *Barrah-durruninj, mak barra-Ing-marnu-kangu-yerrkminj. Mak buka-marnu-kangu-yerrkmi Maia-yih, yibung mah mak buka-marnu-kangu-yerrkmi François-yih. Bah munguyh*

barrah-dolku-ngabburruninj. They kept arguing, they didn't reconcile. Maia didn't forgive him, and François, he didn't forgive her. So they remained on bad terms for a long time.

- * *Ngey-karn ngah-kangu-yirru-burllhmu kanh wurdurd bulaye-bengbun. Kenbo bulnu ngah-marnu-kangu-yerrkmiyan.* I get angry when the kids make too much noise. Then I forgive them.
- * *Malung narrah-ngurrung-durrun, kardu dah-ngurrung-dung mah njing yibung mah kardu djah-ngurrung-dung, kenbo kanh kah-Ing-kangu-yerrkmu.* First you are hostile to each other, maybe you resent him, and him, he resents you, but then he forgives you. *Kriol: polodjais.*

Syn: kangu-yalway(mu) (partial).

kangu-yin *v.i. Lit:* 'belly + say/do'.

Used mostly in (often rhetorical) questions, to ask how one feels. Usually this opens up a description of emotions. Sometimes, the following description has to do with how one feels physically.

- * *Kardu marruh kah-kangu-yin, kardu kah-yirru-ngalminj.* What can she be feeling, it looks like she is angry.
- * *Kardu marruh djah-kangu-yin? Djah-Ing-mumu-burndahminj mah kardu ke djah-moyh-yu!* What can you be feeling [on this photo]? Well you're frowning, you might be sick actually!

Syn: yolh-yin.

kangu-yirru-bonjhmu *v.i. Lit:*

'belly + conflict/anger + finish'.

Calm down, end argument.

- * *Barrah-yirru-boyenj-minj, bah barrah-yawoyh-marrinj. Barrah-kangu-yirru-bonjhminj. Barrah-yirru-wudjminj.* They had a big argument, but they reconciled again. They calmed down. They ended the argument.

Syn: yirru-ngurd(mu); yirru-don; yirru-wudj(mu); yirru-mun.

kangu-yirru-burlh(mu) *v.i. Lit:*

‘belly + fight/anger + come out’.

Be or become angry.

- * *Kah-ni, kah-dje-bruHmu, kah-kangu-yirru-worrun. Kenh, kah-kangu-yirru-burlhmu wanjkih.* She sits quiet, she’s sulking, she is angry. Well, she’s getting angry it seems.
- * *Buyirrhwalung mak buka-kangu-nan. Kardu kah-kangu-yirru-burlhminj, kah-merey-di.* Deep inside she doesn’t like him. Like she’s getting irritated, she’s jealous.

Syn: kangu-dadj(mu);

kangu-wurlh(mu); kangu-yirru-mun;

kangu-yirru-ngal(mu); kangu-yirru-

worrun; ngarrard(mu); ngayanganj(mu);

yamarrk-barrun; yirru-ngal(mu);

yirru-ngalka; yirru-burlh(mu);

yirru-mun; yirru-won.

kangu-yirru-dadjka *v.t. Lit:*

‘belly + conflict/anger + cut’.

Prevent someone from fighting, or appease someone’s anger. Typically of man appeasing co-wives.

- * *Kardu barrah-durrun kirdikird-djun. Mak kardu bunu ka-kangu-yirru-dadjka kanh biyi-yih.* The co-wives are arguing maybe. Like the husband doesn’t calm them down.

Syn: yirru-dadjka.**kangu-yirru-djurrkkan** *v.t. Lit:*

‘belly + conflict/anger + exasperate’.

Stir up anger, cause to become so excited that one is ready to hit.

- * *Yawurrinj-wurd wirrimah kirdikird-wurd, kanh duyu-yih bulu kah-kangu-yirru-djurrkkan. Ngorr wubulu-bubun.* Young men, or young women, the supernatural powers of taboos stir them up, stir up their anger. They might beat us then.

kangu-yirru-mun *v.i. Lit:* ‘belly + conflict/anger + INCH’.

Be or become angry.

- * *Bulkkidj dah-kakku-kangu-yirru-minj, djah-dje-bruHminj, djah-mumu-bruH-minj.* You’re really angry, you’re putting on a dark face, you’re frowning.

Syn: kangu-dadj(mu); kangu-wurlh(mu); kangu-yirru-burlh(mu); kangu-yirru-ngal(mu); kangu-yirru-worrun; yamarrk-barrun; yirru-burlh(mu); yirru-mun; yirru-ngalka; yirru-ngal(mu); yirru-won.

kangu-yirru-nan *v.t. Lit:* ‘belly + conflict/anger + see’.

- * *Nunda kirdkird kah-yirru-burlhmu. Nunda mah biyi nunh, bukah-dja-reworewon, mak buka-kangu-yirru-nan biyirrhwalung.* The woman is irritated. As for the man, he’s smiling at her, he’s not feeling angry at her.

kangu-yirru-ngal(mu) *v.i. Lit:*

‘belly + conflict/anger + appear’.

Be or become angry.

- * *Djah-Ing-marnu-yirru-ngandunginj. Kah-Ing-woh-kangu-yirru-ngalminji. Djah-woh-dunginji, kardu keninjh bukah-men-nguninj.* He started quarrelling with you, and he became irritated, he started arguing with you all the time, I don’t know what happened to him.

Syn: kangu-dadj(mu);

kangu-wurlh(mu); kangu-yirru-

burlh(mu); kangu-yirru-mun; kangu-

yirru-worrun; yamarrk-barrun;

yirru-burlh(mu); yirru-ngalka; yirru-

ngal(mu); yirru-mun; yirru-won.

kangu-yirru-wayhka *v.t. Lit:* ‘belly + conflict/anger + lift up-out/open’.

Stir up someone’s anger, cause someone to want to fight.

- * *Buka-Ing-kangu-yirru-wayhkanj. Bukah-yirru-wayhkanj, kanh nguh-yirru-yih.* He stirred up his anger [lifted/opened the anger of his belly]. He stirred up his anger [lifted/opened his anger], this nasty bellicose one.

Syn: yirru-wayhka.

kangu-yirru-worrun *v.i. Lit:* ‘belly + fight/anger + CSTVZR + REFL.’

Be or become angry.

* *Nunh mah djah-komhmiyan, marrmo-kinikun-kah, nunh mah wudji-Ing-marnu-kangu-yirru-worrun. Mah wudjili-wrabun.* If you leave [a ceremony before it is over], and go to another place, [the spiritual power] might get angry at you. And it might put a spell on you.

* *Barrak-kangu-yirru-worrun. Barrak-kakku-yirru-burhminj.* They’re angry. They got really angry.

Syn: **kangu-dadj(mu); kangu-wurh(mu); kangu-yirru-mun; kangu-yirru-ngal(mu); kangu-yirru-worrun; yamarck-barrun; yirru-ngal(mu); yirru-ngalka; yirru-burh(mu); yirru-mun; yirru-won.**

kangu-yord(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘belly + body fluid be released’.

1. Feel better emotionally, i.e. get rid of negative feelings. Usually, the feelings in question target another person: anger, hatred etc. Sometimes, *kangu-yord(mu)* applies to self-oriented feelings, meaning ‘be relieved’.

* *Munguyh balah-dja-ngurrung-durrun, balah-durrun kanihdja wadda-bulng-kah. Yow, mak bala-bangmu-kangu-yordmu. Mak bala-langu-marrun kahke.* [About on-going feuds taking place in another community.] They hold on to their resentment, they’re fighting, over there in their community. Yeah, they don’t let it go yet. They can’t settle the matter diplomatically [hold hands].

* *Ngah-djare duway-ngan ngah-dudjmiyan, kunga-kangu-yordmu kah-yin.* I want to go back to my husband, so that I’ll feel better she says.

Syn: **kangu-yalway(mu); kangu-yerrk(mu).**

2. Feel better physically, for instance be relieved from hunger after eating, or feel relieved after a belly-ache.

* *Ngah-Ing-kakku-djare-donj. Ngah-djare manjh ngah-kanj-nguyan, kunga-kangu-yordmu.* I got hungry. I’d like to eat meat, so that I’ll feel better.

* *[Djah]-wurr-berderdeminj. [...] Djah-kangu-yordminj, djah-Ing-kangu-mon bonj.* You had a belly-ache. [...] Your belly got relieved, your belly is now fine, it’s over.

Syn: **kangu-yalway(mu).**

kangu-yowhmu *Variant:* **kangu-yuwhmu.**

v.t. Lit: ‘belly + make flow’.

Cause to feel or be good. *Kangu-yowhmu* was found only in contexts relating to the Christian religion.

* *Kahnidja bulu-ngokorrng kardu bukah-marnu-yenjdju, bukah-djawanj, bulu! Mak ngah-yawh-mayahmiyan kah-kangu-yowhmu. Radjdjarr ngah-Ing-ningiyan, bukah-marnu-yin (SC).* [A man turns to God to help him overcome alcoholism.] There he’s talking to God, he asks to him, Father! I won’t become confused and drink anymore, you make me a good person [make my belly flow]. I’ll be good like floodwater he says.

kangu-yowyow(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘belly + flow’.

Feel good, experience positive feelings.

Kangu-yowyow(mu) is used when someone is pleased because of some positive, but relatively minor, daily event (1, 2).

Benefactive constructions can mean either ‘be pleased about someone’ (self-oriented, 3) or ‘be well-disposed towards someone’ (i.e. emotions targeting others, 4). *Kangu-yowyow(mu)* can also refer to a more durable state, talking about people of good temperament, who are usually happy (5). In this dispositional sense, *kangu-yowyow(mu)* can also refer to good feelings for others, and thus mean kind, generous (6).

(1) *Ngarrak-kakku-yolh-mon-minj, ngarrak-kangu-yowyowminj. Marrmonjelng-kah yalah-dudjminj.* We felt really good, we were pleased. We were back home.

- (2) *Delegram bukah-marnu-burhmiyan, mulah-no-kun kah-lng-kangu-yowyowmiyan.* She got a phone call, she was really pleased [to hear from] her mother's sister.
- (3) *Njel kah-marnu-dorrung-murduk-bong. Mak ka-lng-moyh-yongi, kahke. Njel ka-yang-woninj.... Yalah-lng-dudjminj yilah-lng-marnu-kangu-yowyowminj. Yolh-mon-kih yalah-dudjminj, mak yila-marnu-kangu-darri, kahke.* He got stronger [for us]. He's no longer sick, it's over. He talked to us... When we came back [from visiting him in hospital], we were very pleased about him. We came back very happy, we don't worry about him anymore.
- (4) *Mak dja-dung kahke. Djah-marnu-kangu-yowyowmu. Yow djah-lng-marnu-kangu-wurdahmu nekenda mak dja-dung.* He doesn't argue with you anymore. He feels good about you. Yeah, he likes you now [he feels for you], he doesn't argue with you.
- (5) *Kah-dja-lng-kangu-burrama. Kah-kangu-yowyowmu. Mak ka-yolh-borledmu, mak ka-run mak nah-no bulu-no bunu ka-kelkwon.* [Once a child has undergone a certain ritual] she'll be good person then. She's happy and nice. She doesn't have tantrums, she doesn't cry, she doesn't bother her parents.
- (6) *Mak kirdikird ka-kangu-yowyowmu. Kardu kah-mo-murduk.* This person is not kind. Like she's tough and selfish.

kelehm *v.t.*

Scare someone, frighten someone. The source of the fear can be a person, an animal, a natural force like thunder. The action does not have to be intentional, but the source of the fear is usually aggressive, nasty.

- * *Mak keninj buka-kelehmiyan. Kah-worhdi. Kah-djong-bruk mak ka-djong-mun.* He isn't scared of anyone.

He stands up. He's brave, he doesn't get scared.

- * *[Nganabbarru] njel kah-kelehm.* The buffalo gives us a fright.
- * *Bukah-ye-dudjminj wadda-kah. Kanh Ngalyurr-yih bunu kah-kelehminj.* It brought them back home [made them come home]. Ngalyurr, the lightening spirit, it frightened them two.

Syn: wurhka (partial).

kodj-burrama *adj. Lit: 'crown of head/ head + good'.*

Be good with respect to functions having to do with the head. More commonly, be wise, smart, but also be morally good, socially accommodating.

- * *Balang kahnunda kah-kodj-mayah-mayah, bah kah-lng-kodj-burraminj.* Balang [my grandson], he used to be boisterous, but he's become wise.

Syn: kangu-burrama (partial).

kodj-dadj(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'crown of head/ head + end'.*

Be upset and interrupt social interactions as a consequence, often by leaving others in order to be alone. Usually, *kodj-dadj(mu)* targets someone, meaning 'being upset with someone', but it was occasionally used with the self-oriented sense 'be sad'.

- * *Kah-kodj-dadjminj kah-bong. Kah-dokkang, kah-kodj-dadjminj.* She got upset, she left. She got up [and left], she'd got upset and didn't want to stay.
- * *Yalah-kodj-dadjminj, yalah-wurdahminj, kanh awudj-ngong olot yilah-dja-lng-bawong.* [When our white boss died in a car accident] we got upset and left, we left the houses and all.

kodj-dukkan *v.t. Lit: 'crown of head/ head + tie up'.*

(Not fully attested.) Be upset, be very resentful against someone.

- * *Kah-kakku-kangu-dadjminj munguyh, bulu kah-lng-kodj-dukkan wulung-munguyh, mak nidjarra ka-ningiyan kah-boniyen kurnh-kinikun-kah.* [After

years of conflict with them] he got fed up and became very angry at them.

He'll remain upset with them forever.

kodj-kerlk *adj. Lit:* 'crown of head/ head + soft'.

Be open, easy-going, so that it will be easy for one to find a spouse; or, be open to sexually oriented relationships.

- * *Kah-kodj-murduk, mak ka-kodj-kerlk. Kardu marruh-kuno biyi kah-ngal-kiyan...* She's closed, she's not open. When will she ever find a man...
- * *Wirrimah biyi balah-kodj-kerlk, kirdikird balah-djare. Wirrimah-kih biyi kodj-murduk, mak kirdikird bula-marnu-djare.* Some men can be sexually open, they like women. Or else some other men are not interested in sexual affairs, they don't like women.
Ant: **kodj-murduk**.

kodj-mon *vt. Lit:* 'crown of head/head + good'.

1. Be in a good mood.

- * *Kah-marnu-kodj-dadjminj. Bah ngey, ngah-mon, ngah-kodj-mon.* He got upset and sulky with me. But me, I'm OK, I'm not angry at him.

Syn: **kangu-burrama**. *Ant:* **kangu-weh-no; kangu-weh-mun**.

2. Be smart, intelligent, have intellectual capacities.

- * *Kah-mon nunh kodj-no mak ka-mayahmu, kah-kodj-mon. Bah, bard-karlang-no, dolku-no, rakmo-no, bok-no, mak... mak ka-rurdukmu.* He's alright, in his head, he's not senile, he's can still think right. But, his knees, his back, his hips, his lower back can't... he can't move.

3. Be open to sexually oriented relationships.

- * *Bukah-kodj-djawan kanh kirdikird kanh biyi-yih, bukah-dja-kodj-djawan, barna djah-kodj-mon?* The man, he makes sexual offers to the woman, he asks her hey are you keen to have sex with me?

Syn: **kodj-kerlk**. *Ant:* **kodj-murduk**.

kodj-murduk *adj. Lit:* 'crown of head/ head + hard/strong'.

1. Be emotionally closed. This can mean be selfish, or more specifically not be open to finding a spouse or to meeting sexual partners.

- * *Mey bulu dah-ngabbuyan, mak dja-kodj-murduk-buyan.* You'll give them food, you won't be selfish.
- * *Kah-kodj-murduk, mak ka-kodj-kerlk. Kardu marruh-kuno biyi kah-ngal-kiyan...* She's closed, she's not open. When will she ever find a husband...

Syn: **kodj-yirru** (partial). *Ant:* **kodj-kerlk** (partial).

2. Be smart, determined.

- * *Kah-dorrung-kenjhbi kanh wurdurd-wurd, kah-kodj-murduk. Kah-dudjmiyan.* She's like whatyucallit this child [who is smart enough to escape a tracker], she's smart and determined. She'll get back home [in spite of the obstacles].

kodj-njirrk(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'crown of head/ head + upset/resentful/confused'.

Be upset, resentful.

- * *Wulkun-no kardu barrah-yongiyan. Ngey mak nga-yawoh-marnu-djare, kah-yininj. Kah-kodj-njirrkmu.* She and her brother slept together. I don't want her [as a wife] anymore, he thought. He's upset, he holds it against her.

Syn: **njirrk(mu)** (partial).

kodj-weh *adj. Lit:* 'crown of head/ head + bad'.

Have bad feelings, feel no good. This can be self-oriented, in which case it means 'sad'. Or it can describe feelings targeting others, in which case it refers to a disposition, a personality feature: be mean, be a bad person.

- * *Kardu kah-kodj-weh-mun, warjh kah-dje-bruh.* Maybe he's sad, this is why he's putting on a sad face.
- * *Kanh biyi kah-Ing-kodj-weh-mun. Yibung bukah-ngerh-darrah-mang.* The man is sad. She broke his heart.

- * *Njerrh-ngurlngurlmiyi bulu kah-kiyan. Kah-barbarng-ninj. Kah-kodj-weh-ninj.* He would take the halfcaste children away. He was really nasty. He was mean.

kodj-wuluyh-mu(n?) *v.i. Lit:* ‘crown of head/head + ?ACHE’.

(Not fully attested.) To miss people or home.

- * *Kurnh-balaybbalay-walung kah-boninj, kah-kodj-wuluyhminj, kah-dudjmiyan nah-no-kah bulu-no-kah.* [The young woman] came from far away, she’s homesick, she’ll go back to her mother and father.
- * *Kah-kodj-wuluyhminj, nah-no-kun bulu-no-kun, kah-dudjmiyan, kurnh-balay-walung kah-boninj.* She misses her mother and father, she’ll go back, in her country far away.

kodj-yirru *adj. Lit:* ‘crown of head/ head + conflict//anger’.

Be angry, aggressive, seek argument, in the context of conjugal relationships. This may have to do with partners being aggressive with each other, or with a third person being unhappy about a particular union.

- * *Nunh mak biyi kah-ngalkiyan nunh kah-kodj-murduk. Kah-kodj-yirru.* She won’t find a husband, she’s not open. She’s hostile when it comes to men.
- * *Nah-ngan bulu-ngan mak burra-munku-yung, barrah-kodj-yirru.* My mother and father won’t send me [to live with a husband], they’re hostile to my getting married.

Syn: **kodj-murduk** (partial). *Ant:* **kodj-kerlk** (partial).

koh-wurrh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘eyes/gaze + surprised, frightened’.

Be surprised by the sight of something. *Koh-wurrh(mu)* can be used to refer to fright (minor), or simply to surprising information.

- * *Koh-wurrhmu djaye-yin, nunh, djah-kurnh-nan, dah-nan kardu keninj*

kardu kah-rurdukmu kardu malaworr-no kardu keninj, kardu yarraman.

Djah-koh-wurrhkarrun. You say koh-wurrhmu, this is when you look around, you see something moving, maybe leaves or something, maybe a horse. You get a fright.

- * *Mak bulnu yila-ye-wokan, biyi, kir-dikird, kenbo bulnu-walung-kun balah-koh-wurrhmu bulah-nan kah-wurdurd kanh kaye-yarrardmu, wurr-no-kah.* [When a woman gets pregnant,] we don’t tell people, they find out themselves when they see that it’s a child that is growing, in her belly.

Syn: **wurrh(mu)** (partial).

koh-yedjmun *v.i. Lit:* ‘eyes/gaze + ticklish’.

Avoid looking at others when intimidated, embarrassed or ashamed; feel ashamed or embarrassed because someone is looking at you.

- * *Kah-medmo-yermu, wirrimah kah-koh-yedjmun. Laik mak bulu ka-niyan.* He’s ‘ashamed from the side of the face’, or he’s got ‘ticklish eyes’. Like he won’t look at them.

Syn: **koh-yer(mu); medmo-yer(mu).**

koh-yer(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘eyes/gaze + avoid interactions for fear of others’.

Avoid looking at others when intimidated, embarrassed or ashamed; feel ashamed or embarrassed because someone is looking at you.

- * *Kardu korreh-kun bukah-yolh-weh-woninj wolmud-kahyih, wanjh bukah-marnu-koh-yermu wolmud-yih, mak buka-nan nahda wulkun-no-kah.* He might have made her feel uncomfortable already, the girl, and this is why she’s embarrassed to look at him, she doesn’t look at her brother there.
- * *Bunu kah-nang burrah-naHnan, bunu kah-Ing-marnu-koh-yermu.* She saw that they’re watching her, she’s embarrassed because they’re looking at her.

Syn: **medmo-yer(mu); koh-yedjmun.**

kom-nunj-wukmurrun *v.refl. Lit:*
'neck + swallow spit'.

1. Feel sexually attracted.
 - * *Bukah-Ing-molk-naHnan. Kardu bukah-marnu-kom-nunj-wukmurrun.* She watches him in secret. Maybe she's attracted, she would like to have sex with him.
2. Swallow one's spit. This was given as a translation, but there is no example of actual use.

kormu *Variant: kromu. v.i.*

1. Be sulky.
 - * *Keninjh-kun djah-kormu-ngan mak ka-marne-yenjdjungi korreh djah-yolh-naninj? (DD)* Why are you sulky to me? I didn't talk about you, I saw how you felt.
2. Ache.
 - * *Djah-kangu-kromu.* [Because you ate something bad] you have a belly-ache.

kuhmu *v.t.*

Be surprised when seeing something unknown or unexpected, and look intensely at this thing for that reason, stare at it in surprise and/or awe.

- * *Mak da-marrmo-bengkan, bah kahni-dja djah-boniyen, kardu dah-Ing-marrmo-kuhmiyan.* You don't know this country, but you go there, and you'll stare at this country in awe.
- * *Mak dja-dorrung-bengkey kanh Balang derryah-no kah-burhminj [...]. Kenbo djah-dorrung-kuhminj njing mah dah-dorrung-kuhminj.* You didn't know that Balang had arrived the day before [...]. So he was surprised and stared at you, and you, you were surprised and stared at him too.

M – m

marrbun *v.t.*

Feel sorry for someone, feel compassionate for someone.

- * *Nunda bala kardak-ngu bunu kah-yawoyh-kanjbuy-ngabbuyan weh-no bunu ngah-marrbun (SC).* This one your uncle poor fellow, she gave those two some meat, poor things, I care for these two.

marrburrun *v.i. Lit: 'feel compassionate + REFL.'*

Feel sad.

- * *Biyi-ngan nahda kah-ni, balaybbalay. Ngah-marnu-kangu-wurdahmu, kenbo mah ngah-Ing-marrburrun, mak nunh nga-yolh-mon kahke.* My husband is over there, far away. I feel bad without him, and then I'm sad, I don't feel good at all then.
- * *Wurdurd-wurd kanh kah-marrburrun, dah-milh-djonghmu dohkardu dah-ngalbak-djonghmu, wuku kuku-yolh-mon-mun.* The little girl is sad, you give her a kiss on her forehead, or on her chin, so that she feels better.

marrun *v.i. Lit: 'get + RECIPIENT.'*

1. Meet up, get together.
 - * *Biyi kirdkird balah-marrun bulah-modjdjanj-wan.* Men and women get together and sing.
2. Marry, have a conjugal/sexual relationship with.
 - * *Kirdikird-no kardu kah-bon, biyi kini-kun bukah-mang, barrah-marrun.* Like the wife goes away, she takes another man, they marry.
3. Reconcile.
 - * *Barrah-yirru-boyenj-minj, bah barrah-yawoyh-marrinj. Barrah-kangu-yirru-bonjhminj. Barrah-yirru-wudjminj.* They had a big argument, but they reconciled again. They calmed down. They ended the argument.

medmo-dabka *v.t. Lit: 'side of face + block access to.'* Prevent someone from seeing or being seen, by standing in front of them, often in order to protect them from embarrassment.

- * *Bukah-ney nahda, bah njing-yih dah-medmo-dabkang. Kah-Ing-medmo-yermu nuhka, yibung-karn kah-medmo-boledminj.* This one would see her, but you, you prevent her from being seen. And she's embarrassed by his look there, she is turning her head the other way.
- * *Djah-medmo-dabkarrinj. Kardu djah-yermu dohkardu dah-rurun.* You're hiding your face [with your hand on your temple]. Maybe you're ashamed, or maybe you're crying.

Syn: **koh-dabka** (partial).

medmo-nan Variant: **medmu-nan**. *v.t. Lit:* 'side of face + see'.

Cause someone to be embarrassed or ashamed, by looking at them.

- * *Durn-kah ngah-dja-ni. Wubulu-buh-medmo-naHnan, mak nga-djare. Ngah-men-yedjmun bulah-nahniyan.* I'll stay in the house. I don't want people to see me. That they see me makes me feel uncomfortable.

medmo-yer(mu) Variant: **medmu-yer(mu)**. *v.i. Lit:* 'side of face + avoid interactions for fear of others'. Avoid being seen by other people because of feeling embarrassed or ashamed by them watching, or avoid looking at them because of feeling shy, ashamed or embarrassed.

- * *Mak bala-Ing-burlhmu, balah-durn-kurnh-daddi munguyh. [...] Balah-medmo-yermu.* They won't come out, they stay inside their house. [...] They're ashamed and don't want to be seen.
- * *Mak bulu ka-niyan. O mak ngorr ka-niyan. Ngorr kah-marnu-medmo-yermu.* He won't look at people. Or he won't look at us. He's shy, ashamed of looking at us.

Syn: **koh-yer(mu)**; **koh-yedjmun**.

men-ngun *v.t. Lit:* 'ideas + eat'.

Men-ngun is used to ask pseudo-questions, when one doesn't understand why someone

is acting the way they do. Usually there is a negative connotation. *Men-ngun* is an alternative to the more frequent *yolh-ngun*.

- * *Djah-Ing-marnu-yirru-ngandunginj, kah-Ing-woh-kangu-yirru-ngalminji, djah-woh-dunginji kardu keninj bukah-men-nguninj.* He started quarrelling with you, and he became irritated, he started arguing with you all the time, I don't know what happened to him.

Syn: **yolh-ngun** (partial).

men-yer(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'ideas + avoid interactions for fear of others'.

Feel ashamed, embarrassed, and therefore avoid interactions with others.

- * *Dah-yawoyh-marnu-yenjdjungi kardu. Bah djah-Ing-djud-ngalHminj, djah-Ing-komhkomhminj, djah-dje-bruH-minj. Yow, kardu bah dja-men-yerminj.* [After a small altercation.] You tried to say something to her maybe. But you left without looking at her, you left angry, you were upset. Yeah, and you were embarrassed as well.
- * *Mumu-no-burrng, bunu kah-mumu-nang. Burrah-naHnan du strong. Kenbo kah-Ing-men-yerminj.* She saw their eyes. They look at her too intensely. Then she'll felt embarrassed.

Syn: **yer(mu)**.

merey *incorp.adv.*

Out of jealousy, out of a desire of control. This typically applies to love relationships (particularly between co-wives). It does not apply naturally to envy related to someone else's possessions or qualities.

- * *Kardu duway-burrng-kun barrah-burrun merey.* [These two co-wives] are probably fighting out of jealousy over their husband.
- * *Yirru-boyenj barrah-durrun merey. Kirdikird-yih bukah-dung nuhkah yawurrinj-kahyih.* They're having a big argument over jealousy issues. The woman has an argument with the young man.

merey-di *v.i. Lit.*: ‘jealously + stand/be’.
Be jealous, and over controlling as a result. This is most often used in the context of love/sexual/conjugal relationships.

- * *Njing-yih kardu djah-merey-di buyir-rhwalungh.* It’s you who feel jealous inside [but without showing it].
- * *Kardu kah-kangu-yirru-burlhmu, kah-merey-di.* Maybe she’s getting angry, she’s jealous.
- * *Bah mak ka-boniyen. Kanh mah kirdikird kinikun-yih kah-merey-di, bukah-koh-nan kahnunh.* But he won’t go [visit his lover in the women’s camp]. The other wife is jealous. She keeps an eye on him.

merey-nan *v.t. Lit.*: ‘jealously + see’.
Be jealous of someone (the object is the competitor). This is most often used in the context of love/sexual/conjugal relationships.

- * *Bukah-yolh-nang, kardu kah-merey-nan, kah-yininj.* I got how she was feeling, she was probably jealous of me, she thought.
- * *Barrak-merey-narrinj kanh yawurrinj-wurd-kun.* They are jealous of each other over this young man.

merey-nguddu *v.t. Lit.*: ‘jealously + HEART’.
Be a jealous person, prone to experience jealousy and to be controlling with people.

- * *Mah bukah-djonghminj kahnunh merey-nguddu.* Ah, the jealous one [among the wives] is giving him a kiss.

mo-barrun *v.refl. Lit.*: ‘bones + bite-REFL’.

1. Grind teeth.
- * *Ngaye-njenguyun nunh ngah-mo-barrun.* When I sleep, I grind my teeth.
2. Feel very angry, furious, vengeful, to the point that one cannot appease their anger. *Mo-bang* ‘bite bones’ is associated with cursing.
- * *Kah-mo-barrun bulkkidj, mak buka-marnu-kangu-yordmu. Bukah-kakku-kangu-mo-barrun mak buka-marnu-kangu-yalwaymu.* He’s furious,

he won’t let it go. He’s furious against him, he won’t forgive him.

Syn: **kangu-darridj(mu).**

mo-murduk *adj. Lit.*: ‘bones + hard/strong’.

1. Be selfish, not generous, not willing to share and give.
- * *Mak biyi kirdikird mey njel ka-ngabbun, kah-yi-dih. Kah-mo-murduk.* A man or a woman who doesn’t share food, they’re selfish. They’re ‘hard-boned’, selfish.

Syn: **yi-dih.**

2. Be physically strong.

- * *Biyi-ngu kah-mo-murduk. Kah-dorrung-boyenboyenj mahkih. Kah-kornam-kardabun.* Your husband is strong. He’s massive too. He’s tall.

Syn: **dorrung-murduk.**

mo-wudj(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: ‘bones + end’.

Lack energy, motivation, so that one sits around, not willing to do anything or to interact with others.

- * *Ngah-dja-ni ngey-walung-kun, ngah-ni ngah-yolh-marnburrun, bah yolh-mon-kih ngah-dja-ni. Bah ngah-mo-wudj mak nga-worhbon. Mak mah bulu nga-marnu-yenjdjung.* I stay by myself, I sit around, I’m resting, but I’m alright there. But I have no energy, I don’t walk around. I don’t talk to people.

mud-bruk *Variant: mud-burk. adj. Lit.*: ‘body hair + dry’.

Of a brave, courageous person, who is not afraid in potentially scary situations.

- * *Bulu kah-djawadjawan yang djeneng buluh-kiyan-kun, barlbbara, bah mak bulu ka-kakku-djawadjawan. Bah kah-bengan, kah-djong-mun. Mak ka-mud-bruk kahke.* He was going to ask them to go along [to the bush], to accompany them, but he didn’t ask eventually. Because he knows that he’s scared. He’s not brave.
- * *Kah-dja-djong-mun mak ka-mud-bruk kahke.* He is scared, he’s not brave [dry hair].

Syn: **djong-bruk.**

mud-kele-mun *v.i. Lit:* ‘body hair + FEAR + INCH’.

Feel scared, apprehensive, typically in situations where one would have gooseflesh.

Mud-kele-mun does not mean having gooseflesh for other reasons than fear.

Mud-kele-mun is used when there is no immediate threat, for instance when the atmosphere is scary.

- * *Mukmuk wirrimahkih korrdjdjok nunh kanunh muna-no djeye-boniyen kanh djirrah-marnu-yenjdjungyan, mud wudji-yelng-mud-dokkan kudji-mud-kelekele-mun (DD).* That mukmuk owl or the korrdjdjok night owl, if we are walking around at night and it calls out to the two of us, your hair might stand on end, or your hair might bristle in fear.
- * *Djah-mud-kelekele-miniyen muna-no kanh djaye-yongyan.* You’ll feel funny, scared, at night when you lie down [awake in the middle of the night].

mud-nahbu *v.t. Lit:* ‘body hair + step on’.

Make someone’s hair stand on end because of feeling scared or uneasy. *Mud-nahbu* was used when the source of the feeling was a human or another animate, not things.

- * *Rolu bidjalng balah-dohmu, wirrimah karndukun kah-dohmu, buya bulahn, bulnu bulah-mud-nahbu (DD).* Tame dogs howl, and dingoes howl, they can see travelling spirits, they make their hair stand on end.
- * *Kah-mud-nahbu. Kardu kah-bon nahdaberda, kanunh ngah-mud-yedjmun.* He’s making my hair stand up, he makes me feel uncomfortable. If he comes this way, it makes me feel uneasy.

mumu-yer(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘eyes + avoid interactions for fear of others’.

Avoid eye contact with potential lover, due to shyness.

- * *Bala balah-djorlminj. Kah-worhdi, mah! Bukah-nang kanh kirdikird yawk-no-no. Bukah-marnu-mumu-yerminj.* Ah,

they’re going past him. He’s standing, ah well! He sees his young girl [the one he is interested in]. She avoids his gaze.

N – n

ngarrard(mu) *v.i.*

Get angry. Kriol: *gidwail*.

- * *Biyi-no kah-ngarrardminj du mah yibung. Kah-yirru-burlhminj.* The man is getting angry as well. He’s getting angry [his anger comes out].

Syn: cf. **yirru and kangu-yirru sets; kangu-dadj(mu); kangu-wurhl(mu); ngayanganj(mu); yamarrk-barrun; yirru-burlh(mu).**

ngayanganj(mu) *v.i.*

Get angry. Kriol: *gidwail*.

- * *Duway-no mah yibung-karn kah-dja-kakku-ngayanganjmu.* And her husband, he is very angry too.

Syn: cf. **yirru and kangu-yirru sets; kangu-dadj(mu); kangu-wurhl(mu); ngarrard(mu); yamarrk-barrun; yirru-burlh(mu).**

ngerh-djaw(mu) *v.i. Lit:* ‘heart/breath + ?worry’.

Feel bad about someone because of their absence. This applies to grief, or when someone misses someone else.

- * *Bumararra-kun Bordeyhrdeyh-kun, wadda ngah-marnu-ngerh-djawminj... Wadda-kah kanh Bordeyhrdeyh. Bah nekenda kah-mon. Mak nga-Ing-ngerh-djawmu. Ngah-yolh-mon.* [About a place that the speaker had avoided for years because it was the scene of a tragic death.] Some time ago, with Bodeyhrdeyhr, this place, I felt sad about him [the deceased person]. But now it’s OK. I’m no longer in grief. I feel fine.
- * *Kardu munguyh dah-dja-marnu-malk-naHnan til kah-dudjmu. [...] Ngey ngah-marnu-ngerh-djawmu djah-yin. Dah-marnu-ngerh-djawmu.* [Talking

about the interlocutor being away from her husband.] Like you're going to keep thinking about him until he returns. [...] I miss him you say. You miss him.

Syn: **ngurk-djavar(mu)**.

ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'heart/breath + heart beats'.

(Not fully attested.) Feel bad, worry;?stress. Especially with respect to a beloved person (spouse).

- * *Ngey mah nunh kanh duway-ngan kaye-bon nahda, kah-ban mak ka-yang-won, ngah-lng-marnu-kakku-kangu-darrmu, ngah-marnu-ngerh-dorlhedorlhm.*

When my husband goes away, when he leaves me without telling where he goes, then I worry about him, I get stressed out about him.

Syn: **ngerh-dowdow(mu)**.

ngerh-dowdow(mu) *Variant:* **ngerh-rdowrdow(mu)**. *v.i. Lit:* 'heart/breath + heart beats'.

(Not fully attested.) Feel bad, worry;?stress. Especially with respect to a beloved person (spouse).

- * *Kardu na-Salomon kanunh, kardu bukah-marnu-ngerh-dowdowminj. Marruh-kuno kah-dudjmiyan kardu kah-yininj, men-no.* Like for [her husband] Salomon, she stressed out about him. When will he get back home, she was thinking in her mind.

Syn: **ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu)**.

ngerh-murduk *adj. Lit:* 'heart/breath + hard/strong'.

(Not fully attested.) Be emotionally strong, stable.

- * *Nunda bah njel yilah-ye-yu mak ka-run, kah-ngerh-murduk, mak nah-no-kun buka-marnu-runj, kah-yininj Rosita-yih.* [This little girl], when she's with us, she doesn't cry, she's strong, she doesn't cry for her mother, Rosita said.

Syn: **kangu-murduk** (partial).

ngerh-waddi *v.i. Lit:* 'heart/breath + be high up'.

(Not fully attested.) Feel strong affection.

- * *Bulah-dja-marnu-ngerh-waddi kanh ngong tu!* And this mob, they really like him too!

Syn: **djare** (partial).

ngerh-weh(-mun) *adj. Lit:* 'heart/breath + bad'.

(Not fully attested.) Feel bad.

- * *Nah-no-kun bulu-no-kun, bunu kah-marnu-ngerh-weh-minj.* She's feeling bad about her mother and father [she misses them].

Syn: **kangu-weh-mun; yolh-weh**.

ngurk-di *v.i. Lit:* 'HEART' + stand/be'.

Have/develop strong affection for someone.

- * *Kanunh wurdurd-ngong bulah-marnu-ngurk-danginj.* The children had become strongly attached to him.

Syn: **djare** (partial).

ngurk-djavar(mu) *Variant:* **ngurk-djawra(mu)**. *v.i. Lit:* 'HEART + ?WORRY'.

Miss, feel bad because a beloved person is absent.

- * *Wurdurd bulah-marnu-yaw-ye-kom-hminj. Kah-kakku-ngurk-djawraminj wurdurd-no-kun.* They took the poor little children away from her. She's feeling terrible about her children.

Syn: **ngerh-djaw(mu)**.

ngurk-kardubun *adj. Lit:* 'HEART + ?SETTLE DOWN'.

(Not fully attested.) Develop familiarity and affection.

- * *Kardu kah-kangu-mon bah, kah-djerrngu-no kardu. Kenbo kardu kah-ngulh-kardubun, njel kah-kulkkiyan.* Maybe he's nice, but he's only new here. Later when he develops some familiarity, he might come and visit us.

ngurk-karlh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'HEART + climb'.

(Not fully attested.) Feel strong affection.

- * *François, wurdurd balah-karra-marnu-run, bulah-marnu-ngurlih-karlHminj.* François [who is leaving], all the children cry for him, they love him very much.

Syn: *djare* (partial).

ngurlk-maddi *v.i. Lit:* ‘HEART + stay in one place’.

(Not fully attested.) Develop conjugal relationship.

- * *Kah-boninj kanh biyi kah-njenguyur-runinj, kanh kirdikird-wurd-kah. Bunu burrah-djarrk-ye-yo. Kanh bukah-lng-marnu-ngurlk-maddinj.* The man went and slept there, with the young woman. They slept together. That’s how they’d get into a relationship.

ngurlk-marrun *v.i. Lit:* ‘HEART + get + RECIPI’.

(Not fully attested.) Fall in love with each other.

- * *Bukah-bengkan kanh yawk-no kird-kird. Mmm, barrah-ngurlk-marrinj.* She knows him, the young girl, the woman. Mmm, they fell in love (they are in love).

ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-mang *v.i. Lit:* ‘HEART + COM + YIRRKKI + get’ (possibly ‘be envious’). (Not fully attested.) Be in love with someone, want someone very much.

- * *Bad kah-me bukah-duyhminj dolku-no-kah. Kardu bukah-ngurlk-ye-yirrkki-me.* He took a stone and threw it at her in her back [out of frustration because she keeps rejecting him]. He wants her badly.

ngurrung-dung *v.t. Lit:* ‘NGURRUNG-scold’.
Have negative feelings for someone: hate, be hostile towards, resent someone.

- * *Ngal-Deborah bukah-dja-ngurrung-dung bulu-no.* Deborah does resent her father.
- * *Mak nidjarra ka-ningiyan kah-boniyann kurnh-kinikun-kah, kah-ningiyan. Biyi-burrama-kah, mak bula-dungiyann*

bula-ngurrung-dungiyann. He won’t stay here [where people have been mean to him], he’ll go elsewhere, to live. Where there are good people, who don’t have arguments with him or hostile feelings for him.

- * *Kardu bulah-ngurrung-dung.* Maybe they don’t like me.
- * *Mak dah-djirdmiyan, widjilu-ngurrung-dung (DD).* Don’t steal, or people might hate you.

njerrh-ye-merey-di *v.t. Lit:* ‘(dead)body + COM + jealously + stand/be’.
Be jealous of someone, be obsessed with someone, in the context of sexually oriented love.

- * *Bukah-njerrh-ye-merey-di nuhka kanh yawurrinj-wurd-kah.* She’s jealous of the other man [about a young girl].
- * *Kardu kah-njerrh-ye-merey-di.* Maybe he’s really jealous of her [and cannot take his eyes off her].

njirrhmiwon *v.t. Lit:*

‘HATRED + NMNLZR + CSTVZR’.

Have negative feelings for someone, animosity: not like, hate, resent, be hostile...

- * *Bulu kah-nan biyi kirdikird bulkah-marnu-kangu-yowyow. Djehneng kah-yin radjdjarr. Mak bulka-njirrhmiwon, mak ka-kangu-dinjirrmu.* She sees people, she’s kind to them. Just like floodwater. She has no animosity, she doesn’t have bad feelings.
- * *Bah kardu keningh-kun barrah-dolku-ngabburrun, kardu barrah-njirrhmiworrn.* Why are they on bad terms [turning their back on each other], maybe they don’t like each other.

Syn: *kangu-dinjirrmu*.

njirrk(mu) *v.i.*

1. Be resentful, upset. This typically applies when someone wants to revenge. Some speakers also used *njirrk(mu)* to mean ‘brood over’ (when someone is resentful but also remorseful or sad).

- * *Lobturi bunu kah-marnu-nang. Kanh-kun na-B. ka-lng-njirrkminj.*

Kah-njirrkminj kanh-kun bukah-bong.

He found out about their love affair. This is why B. became resentful. He resented it and this is why he bashed her.

* *Mak bala-njirrkmi, mak bala-burruni.*

They didn't hold resentment (feel vengeful), they didn't fight.

2. Be stumped, not know (what to do), be confused. This can also link with the sense 'brood (over)'.

* *Kah-njirrkmu nunh kah-kurduhmu kardu marruh ngah-yinmiyan, kah-yin (DD).* He njirrkmu, that's when he's uncertain, what'll I do?, he says.

* *Kardu kah-kodj-wokan, kardu. Kah-dja-njirrkmu yalad.* Like he's thinking about things maybe. You say he njirrkmu, he's wondering, he's brooding.

W – w

warndih *adj. Lit: 'ache + PRIV'.*

Warndih expresses lack of motivation and desire. It can mean be bored (1), or be morose and sulky, especially after an argument (2). It can also mean not like, not want (3). *Kriol: nomo wandim.*

(1) *Wadda-kah mak ka-Ing-ni, kah-Ing-warndih-ninj. Kah-Ing-bon nidjarra kanh yang kah-wonawonan, kah-yolh-bon.* He won't stay at home, he was getting bored. He'll come here and listen to [us speaking] language, it will revive him.

(2) *Bukaye-dunginj duway-no-yih, kah-yolh-warndih munguyh buka-dung, duway-no-yih. Bukah-marnu-yolh-warndih kanh kirdikird. Yang-dih-yang-dih kah-dja-ningiyan.* When her husband scolds her, she doesn't like that he scolds her all the time, her husband. She's morose and sulky. She won't speak.

(3) *Ngey bah ngah-warndih nunh biyi. Ngah-warndih ngey mak bulu ngah-marnu-djare.* As for me, I don't like this man. I'm not interested, I don't like them.

Syn: yolh-wudj (partial). Ant: djare (partial).

warriburrun *v.refl.*

Cause oneself to worry intensely. (WARRI could relate to Kriol *wori* (<Eng. 'worry').

* *Kah-yawoyh-yolh-weh-minj, kardu njing-kun djah-marnu-warriwarri-burrinj.* She got bad again [your aunt who had cancer], and you, you got yourself very worried for her.

wirrihmu *v.t. Lit: '?or + VBLZR'.*

Be distant with someone, not wish to get emotionally involved.

* *Bukah-nang, bukah-wirrihminj. Nunda mak mararradj-ngan, nunda biyi-kinikun kah-yininj.* She saw him, and she withdrew (sitting apart). This is not my lover (I don't love him), this is another man, she thinks.

wirrihmurrun *v.i.*

1. Change aspect.

* *Mudda ngurrah-nang kah-wirrihminj, mudda kanh ngurrah-nang kah-Ing-ngurruuminj.* We saw the sun and it had changed color, the sun looked red.

* *Nunda Larrambi-no-kah kah-kurnh-wirrihmurrin! Kah-kolh-dordminj.* At [the billabong called] Larrambi-no the place has changed! The water is higher.

2. Keep one's distances with people because of being upset.

* *Wirrih, nunh djah-wirrihmurrun, mak njel dja-marnu-yenjdungiyang, wirrimahkih Balang François mak da-marnu-yenjdungiyang.* Like you were distant, you didn't talk to us, or you didn't talk to François either.

* *Bale-durrun nunh balah-wirrihmurrun.* When they argue they become distant.

wurdah(mu) *v.i.*

1. Suffer emotionally: be desperate, worried, in grief etc. This is usually about other people, or about feeling homesick for instance. Often this is because of something bad happening to a beloved person, so that *wurdah(mu)* describes compassion. Sometimes, nothing bad happens to the beloved person, but the emotional pain is caused by absence or separation. Often, both parameters apply.

- * *Mak yala-Ing-ningi, yilah-wadda-bawong. Yalah-kodj-dadjminj, yalah-wurdahminj.* We didn't stay, we left the place, we were upset and didn't want to stay. We were upset.
- * *Balah-run ke, kahnunh! Balah-wurdahmu wurdurd-burrng-kun.* They're crying hard there! They're desperate about their children [who have been taken away].
- * *Balah-wurdahmu wadda-bulng-kun.* [The children who have been taken away from their parents,] they're desperate, they want to go back home.
- * *Kardu mak bula-ngabbuyan mak bula-dudjkeyhwoyan. Kanh ngah-marnu-bengdi munguyh. Bah ngah-dja-Ing-marnu-wurdahmu.* [About her husband in aged-care in town.] They might not hand him back to me, they might not send him back. That's why I think about him all the time. And I worry about him. I worry about him.

2. In benefactive constructions only: *marnu-wurdah(mu)*, be compassionate, in the sense of being helpful, or have affection for someone. This does not have to be accompanied by any negative emotion.

- * *Bulu kah-ngabbong, balah-barrhburrinj, balah-njenguyu. Yibung nunh kanh kah-yolh-mon, bulu kah-naHnan. Bulu kah-marnu-wurdahminj.* She gave [a blanket] to them, they covered themselves and they're sleeping. She's good this one, she looks after them. She got compassion for them.'

- * *Munu weh-no bunu kah-naHnan, bunu kah-marnu-wurdahmu.* [They are not his own children,] he just looks after them two, good on him, he compassionately takes care of them.

wurrhka *v.t. Lit:* possibly 'intestine + CSTVZR 'KA'.

1. Frighten someone, give someone a fright. This can be intentional or not. If it is intentional, it can be for fun or with other intentions.
- * *Kah-wurrhkang djah-burhlminj, ngah-kangu-barrhminj.* You frightened me when you appeared, my heart quaked.
 - * *Mikka dja-birdikka, wuda-wurrhka (DD).* Don't go in, you might frighten him.
 - * *Kah-wurrhkang Kamarrang njeh, kardu bawa kah-nahnang-njerrng.* [Kamarrang had given us a fright by cutting off the power at no notice.] He gave us a fright, Kamarrang. He was organizing better electric plugging for us.
 - * *Bukah-wurrhkang kanh kurdang-yih. Kardu be-no-wurd...* [In a movie, a sorcerer jokingly gives a fright to a toddler.] The sorcerer gave him a fright. It's his son maybe...
 - * *Wurrh kaye-rarreminj bulah-wurllhkang, kenbo bulu bulah-Ing-wurrhkang yuno, balah-Ing-karra-bong balaybbalay.* [When hunting,] they would burn the growing grass, then they would scare [the kangaroos], you know, they'd go away.

2. Communicate misleading information. This can be intentional, when one is lying (1), or tricking someone by means of actions rather than words (2). *Wurrhka* may also be used when someone does not fulfill a promise or doesn't act as agreed (3)). *Wurrhka* also applies when the communication of mistaken information is involuntary, i.e. when someone is mistaken, but in good faith (4). *Kriol: delim laya.*

- (1) *Mak buka-ney kahke, kah-warrbminj. Bulu kah-wurrhkang.* He didn't see her at all, he's making it up. He lied to them.
- (2) *Bulah-bawong kahnidja. Yang djehneng bulu kah-yawiy-an-kun bah, bulah-wurrhkang.* They left [their bag] there. So that it looks [to the tracker] like he will find them but, they tricked him.
- (3) *Mak ka-wurrhkiyan, kirribuk-duninj kah-marnu-yedudjmiyan.* [When lending something to someone.] Don't muck me around, make sure you bring it back to me.
- (4) *Kardu dokta, nol kah-wurrhkang. Yang djehneng kardu kah-dja-burrama-mini.* Like the doctor, he mislead us. It seemed that she was getting better [but she eventually died].

Syn: **warrb(mu)**.

wurrh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* possibly 'intestine + VBLZR'.

1. Be surprised, either by the sight of something, or by some new information. *Wurrh(mu)* is not used in emotionally loaded contexts (where *kangu-barrh(mu)* is preferred), but usually applies to more benign surprises.
- * *Kah-wurdurd-ninj dah-bawong, djah-Ing-dudjminj, dah-nang nunh kanadjd-jarra kornam-no, djah-Ing-wurrhminj, djah-men-yinyininj djehneng biyi kinikun.* He was a child when you left him, then you came back, you saw that he was so tall, you were surprised, you thought it was someone else.
- * *Mah Maia mak ka-bengkey, ngah-bengmukminj mak nga-yinmiwoy. Kenbo dubmi ngah-Ing-yinmiwong, kah-Ing-wurrhminj.* [A new bridge had been built on the road leading to the village.] But Maia didn't know this, I forgot to tell her. Then I told her, she was surprised.

Syn: **koh-wurrh(mu)** (partial); **kangu-barrh(mu)** (partial).

2. Be frightened, scared. This sense is less common.

- * *Ngah-dunginj bah mak nga-marnu-djong-mini. Mak nunh nga-marnu-wurruwurrhmi.* I had an argument with him, but I didn't get scared. I wasn't afraid of him.

Syn: **djong-mun**.

Y – y

yamarrk-barrun *v.i. Lit:* 'tooth + bite + REFL'.

1. Grind teeth.
- * *Balah-yamarrk-barrun. Balah-yamarrk-dordidjordidjmu.* [Old people] grind their teeth. They grind their teeth.
2. Be or become angry.
- * *Ngah! Ngah-boniy-an yalah-burruniyan kah-yin. Nunda mah kah-dja-yamarrk-barrinj.* Come on! I'll go and we'll fight, he says. He got really angry this one [he's grinded teeth].

Syn: cf. **yirru** and **kangu-yirru** sets; **kangu-dadj(mu)**; **kangu-wurhl(mu)**; **ngarrard(mu)**; **ngayanganj(mu)**.

yedjmun *v.i.*

1. Feel ticklish.
- * *Ngah-dengu-yedjmun.* My foot tickles me.
2. Feel embarrassed, typically in the presence of a taboo relationship.
- * *Ngah-yedjmun mak bulu nga-berru-wiyan.* I'm feeling embarrassed [in the presence of someone in a taboo kin category], I won't come close to them, I won't interact with them.

Syn: **yer(mu)** (partial).

yerka *v.t.*

Cause someone to be ashamed, to shy away. (Rare. The intransitive *yer(mu)* is much more frequent.) *Kriol:* *meikim sheim*.

- * *Djah-Ing-komhkomhminj, djah-dje-bruHminj. Yow kardu bah dja-men-yerminj. Djah-men-yekang.* You left, you looked sulky. Yeah, maybe you were embarrassed. She made you feel embarrassed.

Syn: **yermikan**.

yermikan *v.t.*

Cause someone to be ashamed, to shy away. (Rare. The intransitive *yer(mu)* is much more frequent.) *Kriol:* *meikim sheim*.

- * *Malk-weh balaye-marrun, ngarrah-yermu. Baka biyi kirdikird yalah-Ing-yermu. Njel bulah-yermin-kan mah kinikinikun.* When they marry with someone with the wrong skin name, we're ashamed. All of us men and women, we'll be ashamed. Other people make us feel ashamed.

Syn: **yerka**.

yer(mu) *v.i.*

Avoid interactions because of some emotion related to shame, shyness, respect, or fear of others in general. The word usually denotes a behavior triggered by these emotions. Sometimes it can denote an emotion as such. *Kriol:* *sheim*.

- * *Ngah-yermu ngah-dja-ni ngah-yer (DD).* I'm ashamed, I just sit here, I'm shy.
- * *Mak wadda kinikun-kah yala-boniyah yalah-yer (DD).* We can't go to any other camp, we are shy.
- * *Bukah-marnu-yerminj. Mak ka-yenjd-jungi. Kah-dja-yenjdjung, wanjingh-no bah, kah-yermu.* She was ashamed of her [the receptionist at a hotel]. She didn't speak. She spoke, a little bit, but she's shy.
- * *Wurhwurrungu ngorr bulah-yemang, ngorr bulah-marnu-nguyan. Kardu mak bala-yermu.* They take things from the old people, they eat our [food]. It seems that they have no respect.

- * *Malk-weh balaye-marrun, ngarrah-yermu.* When they marry with someone from with the wrong skin name, we're ashamed.

Syn: **yedjmun** (partial).

yi-dih *adj. Lit:* 'YI-PRIV'.

Stingy, selfish.

- * *Kah-yi-dih ngey mak ka-ngabbun.* He's stingy, he doesn't give to me.
- * *Kah-yi-dih nunh kanh yalaye-yin nunh mey mak bulu ka-ngabbun madj-no mak bulu ka-ngabbun, yibung-karn-no-kun-kih, kah-dja-yidjnjjan, no-kun-kih mey kah-ngun, bonj, kanh kah-yi-dih yalah-yin (DD).* Yi-dih is what we say when someone won't give food to anybody, won't give stuff to people, he just hangs on to his own stuff, eats food on his own, right, that's what we mean by yi-dih.

Syn: **mo-murduk**. *Ant:* **yi-mon**.

yi-mon *adj. Lit:* 'YI-good'.

Good, generous.

- * *Kah-yi-mon, kanh kah-burrama. Kardu kah-ngabbuyan, wirrimah kardu, bulnu kah-ngabbuyan.* She's generous, she's good. Like she'll give things to me, or maybe she'll give to people. *Ant:* **yi-dih; mo-murduk**.

yirru *n.GEN.*

1. Fight, argument, trouble.

- * *'Biyi-ngong-no-kah yirru-kah kah-kahkaninj!' kah-yininj (DD).* 'And you brought me here to these people, to this mob of people, you brought me to this fight!' he said.
- * *Yirru kardu barrah-durrun kardu duway-no.* They are fighting, maybe a husband and a wife.

2. Angry behavior, aggressiveness, power of aggression.

- * *Nunda ngey ngah-yirru kah-yin, rrrrr, kah-yin.* Now I'm angry he says, rrrrr, he goes.

- * *Kah-kakku-yirru, djah-bangiyan djah-doniyan (DD)*. It's really venomous, if it bites you, you'll die.

yirru-burh(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + come out'.

Be or become angry.

- * *Nadjamorrwu kardu kah-yirru-bur-lhmu. Kanh bulu kah-Ing-mang bulu kah-dun-dabka*. The policeman gets angry. Then he grabs them and locks them up.
- * *Barrah-yirru-burlhminj, barrah-dur-run, karrung duway*. They got angry, they're arguing, wife and husband.
- * *Kah-ni, kah-dje-bruHmu, kah-kangu-yirru-worrun. Kenh, kah-kangu-yirru-burhmu wanjkih*. She sits quiet, she's sulking, she is angry. Well, she's getting angry it seems.

Syn.: **kangu-dadj(mu)**; **kangu-wurh(mu)**; **yamarrk-barrun**; **yirru-won**; **yirru-ngal(mu)**; **yirru-ngalka**; **kangu-yirru-burh(mu)**; **yirru-mun**.

yirru-dadjka *v.t. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + cut'.

Prevent someone from fighting, or appease someone's anger. Typically of man appeasing co-wives.

- * *Barrah-merey-narrun kanunh kirdikird-ko. Woh kanh biyi bunu kah-yirru-dadjka*. The two wives are jealous of each other. Yeah and the husband calms them down.

Syn.: **kangu-yirru-dadjka**.

yirru-don *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + die, suffer/dry'. (Not fully attested.)? Stop fighting, calm down.

- * *Barrah-Ing-yirru-wudjminj. Barrah-yirru-donj, nahda nunh, barrah-Ing-kangu-mon-minj*. They calmed down. They stopped fighting, they were no longer angry, that's when, they'll get back to better feelings.

Syn.: **kangu-yirru-bonhjmu**; **yirru-wudj(mu)**; **yirru-ngurd(mu)**.

yirru-mon *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + good'.

Of animals or supernatural beings likely to cause harm, either because of inherent properties (e.g. poisonous snake), or because of temperament (e.g. an aggressive dog). Various English translations apply: aggressive, belligerent, dangerous, harmful, poisonous... *Kriol*: *tjiki*.

- * *Bah... yirru-mon nunh kanh yawur-ral*. But... the poisonous one, is the diamond king-brown snake.
- * *Ngalyurr kah-yirru-mon*. The lightning spirit [which triggers thunder and lightning] is dangerous.
- * *Nunh rolu kanh kaye-yirru-mon njel kah-barlanh-bang, nunh nidjah mak yala-bon (DD)*. This dog is aggressive, it might bite us, we won't go that way.

Syn.: **barng-no** (partial). *Ant.*: **yirru-weh**.

yirru-mun *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + INCH'.

Be or become angry. This applies to all sorts of contexts: fierce conflicts between enemies, or milder conflicts between relatives such as parents and children, between husbands and wives... It often involves a violent behavior, but someone who displays no violent behavior can be described with *yirru-mun*, where the sense is emotional. Often, there is an implication that the person in question may become harmful, hit and harm others. *Kriol*: *gidwaild*.

- * *Kah-marnu-yirru-minj mak nga-kurhkey bah nah-no bulu-no mak bur-rnga-kurhkey kah-dje-burhminj-njelng (DD)*. He got mad at me because I didn't go visit his mother and father, I didn't visit them, he's upset with us.
- * *Bulu-no kardu kah-yirru-mun bulu kah-dung*. His father is angry, he scolds them.
- * *Karrung duway, barrah-kangu-yirru-burlhminj djung. Kirdikird-no kah-yirru-minj, bukah-buyan duway-no-kahyih*. The wife and the husband, they're angry at each other. The woman is angry, she'll fight with her husband.

- * *Balah-djawarruniyan... Keninj-kun nulah-yamung, nulah-bawoyi kardu balah-yinmiyan. Balah-kakku-yirru-minj.* They'll wonder... Why did you spear him, you should have let him go they say. They got really mad [and speared him].

Syn: **kangu-wurhl(mu)**; **yamarrk-barrun**; **yirru-burhl(mu)**; **yirru-ngalka**; **yirru-ngal(mu)**; **yirru-won**; **kangu-yirru-mun**.

yirru-ngalka *v.t. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + find'.

Be or become angry.

- * *Kanh kirdikird-ko munguyh burra-yirru-ngalka.* These two women quarrel [find anger] all the time.
- * *Djah-marnu-yirru-ngalkang.* [Wirrimah] njing kardu kanh dah-marnu-yirru-ngalkang. She's angry at you [she found your anger]. [Or] you maybe you're angry at her [you found her anger].

Syn: **kangu-dadj(mu)**; **kangu-wurhl(mu)**; **yamarrk-barrun**; **yirru-burhl(mu)**; **yirru-ngal(mu)**; **yirru-mun**; **yirru-won**; **kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)**.

yirru-ngal(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + appear'.

Be or become angry. There is often – but not always – an implication that one is about to become physically aggressive.

- * *Barrak-kakku-yirru-ngalminj, barrak-burruniyan-kun.* They're really angry, so that they'll have a fight.
- * *Nganabbarru kah-yirru-mon. Nunh kanh kah-Ing-yirru-ngalmiyan.* Buffaloes are aggressive. This is why they get angry [and charge people].
- * *Bah korre ngah-dja-yirru-ngalminj, ngah-bolarn-yinmiwong. Bah derrh-no-bo ngah-niyan kanh nunh kanh kaye-yinmiyan, nunh ngah-Ing-yinmiwoyan.* But I was already angry before. I was about to tell him, but I'll tell him later when he talks to me, then I'll tell him.

Syn: **kangu-dadj(mu)**; **kangu-wurhl(mu)**; **yamarrk-barrun**; **yirru-burhl(mu)**;

yirru-ngalka; **yirru-mun**; **yirru-won**; **kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)**.

yirru-ngandung *v.t. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + CALL. Display anger against someone, argue with someone.

- * *Djah-Ing-marnu-yirru-ngandunginj, kah-Ing-woh-kangu-yirru-ngalminji, djah-woh-dunginj kardu keninj bukah-men-nguninj.* He started quarrelling with you, and he became irritated, he started arguing with you all the time, I don't know what happened to him.
- * *Nunh kanuh kirdikird, munguyh bulah-marnu-yenHyenjdjung, nunh kah-Ing-kangu-dadjmu, nunh kah-Ing-yirru-ngandung.* Balah-Ing-burrun. This woman, they're always talking about her, then she'll lose temper, and she'll argue with them. Then they fight.

yirru-ngurd(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + keep quiet'.

Calm down, stop arguing or fighting.

- * *Barrak-dja-ni munu, yirru-dih. Barrak-Ing-yirru-ngurdminj.* They just sit down quiet, not arguing. They calmed down, they put an end to the argument.

Syn: **yirru-don**; **yirru-wudj(mu)**.

yirru-wayhka *v.t. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + lift up-out/open'.

Stir up someone's anger, cause someone to want to fight.

- * *Bukah-yirru-wayhkang, kanh nguh-yirru-yih (SC).* He stirred up his anger [lifted/opened his anger], this nasty bellicose one.

Syn: **kangu-yirru-wayhka**.

yirru-weh *adj. Lit.*: 'conflict/anger + bad'.

Inoffensive (for instance a snake that is not poisonous).

- * *En kurridjardu du mahkih [...]. Kah-yirru-weh.* And the olive python neither. It's not poisonous.

Ant: **yirru-mon**.

yirru-won *v.?* *Lit.*: ‘conflict/anger + CSTVZR’.

Be angry or become angry (against someone?).

- * *Ngah-bolan-yirru-won, ngah-bolan-yirru-burlhminj, bah kahke-no mak nga-yirru-burlhmu.* I nearly got angry, I nearly exploded, but no, I don’t let my anger out.

Syn.: **kangu-dadj(mu)**; **kangu-wurlh(mu)**; **yamarrk-barrun**; **yirru-burlh(mu)**; **yirru-ngalka**; **yirru-ngal(mu)**; **yirru-mun**; **kangu-yirru-worrun**.

yirru-wudj(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: ‘conflict/anger + end/die’.

Calm down, get rid of anger, stop arguing.

- * *Barrah-yirru-boyenj-minj, kenbo kah-mon barrah-yirru-wudjmiyan. Barrah-yawoyh-marruniyan.* They got really angry, then alright they calmed down. They’ll get on well again.

Syn.: **yirru-ngurd(mu)**; **yirru-don**.

yolh-bak(mu) *v.i. Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + break’.
(Not fully attested.) Forgive someone.

- * *Djah-marnu-yolh-bakminj yibung-yih.* As for him, he forgave you.

Syn.: **kangu-bak(mu)**.

yolh-boled(mu) *Variant: yolh-borled(mu)*.
v.i. Lit.: ‘pep/feelings + turn’.

1. For a child to have a tantrum, or to be capricious in general (disposition).

- * *Wurdurd-wurd kah-yolh-boledmu, kardu mey-kun kah-yolh-boled o kardu loli-kun.* This little child is having a tantrum, maybe for food, or lollies maybe.
- * *Nunh wurdurd kanh kaye-berrhmang, bulah-kangu-boyohmu radjdja-yih, nunh mak ka-Ing-yolh-borledmu, mak ka-run munguyh. [...] Mak nah-no bulu-no bunu ka-kelkwon.* When a child is born, they massage her belly with sand, so that she does not become capricious, does not cry all the time. [...] She doesn’t bother her parents.

2. Feel negatively about someone who used to be close (spouse, close relative), lose positive emotional connection with someone.

- * *Djah-bong duway-ngu-yih, dah-marnu-mayahmayahmu, mak yolh-wanjingh narra-ni, dah-marnu-yolh-borledmi.* Your husband bashed you, you’re mad at him, you’re no longer united emotionally, you no longer love him.
- * *Yabok-ngan yarrah-durruninj, ngah-marnu-yolh-boledminj.* My sister and I had an argument, I’m upset with her.

yolh-bon *v.i. Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + go’.

Feel better. This can be get better physically (get rested) or it can have an emotional dimension (become more enthusiastic).

- * *Ngah-bon nahda ngah-loydi, ngah-yolh-boniyon-kun. Ngah-yolh-yalalamiyan.* I’ll go over there and vanish for a moment, to recover. I’ll get a rest.
- * *Narrah-dolku-ngabburrinj bah mak narra-kodj-dadj, bah kahnidjah kardu narrah-dja-ni narrah-yolh-bon.* You’re sitting turning your back to each other, but you’re not sulking, you’re just sitting there, resting.
- * *Wadda-kah mak ka-Ing-ni, kah-Ing-warndih-minj, kah-Ing-bon nidjarra kanh yang kah-wonawonan, kah-yolh-bon.* He won’t stay home, he’d get bored, he’ll come here and listen [to us talking in] language [Dalabon], he will be revived.

yolh-burrama *adj. Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + good’.

Feel good. The sense is more often emotional. *Yolh-burrama* was sometimes used to describe ‘being in a good mood’, i.e. feeling good in this particular moment (self-oriented, 1). At other times it meant ‘be a good person’, referring to someone’s positive feelings for others (2). In some cases, *yolh-burrama* refers to a more

general state, including physical well-being (3). *Yolh-burrama* is far less frequent than *yolh-mon*, and also less frequent than *kangu-burrama*. *Kriol: gudbinji*.

- (1) *Mak ka-kakku-yolh-burrama. Kah-dje-kolmu, bah buyirrhwalungh mak ka-kakku-dje-kolmu kahke, kah-kangu-murduk.* She's not really feeling good. She looks cheerful, but deep inside she's not really cheerful.
- (2) *Kah-marnu-kangu-yowowminj, bah mak ka-kakku-yolh-burrama. Kah-yolh-weh-yolh-weh nunh bah njel kah-drekinhminj.* He was kind to us, but he didn't really mean well. He's nasty, he ripped us off.
- (3) *Dabarngh mak nga-yolh-burrama-mini. Dubmi ngah-yolh-burrama.* Yesterday I wasn't feeling well [I was feeling crooked]. Today I feel good.

Syn: yolh-mon; kangu-burrama.

Ant: yolh-weh.

yolh-di *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + stand/be'.*

Have desires, feel like. This is an alternative to *yolh-ni*, which is more common.

- * *'Ngah-dja-marne-yolh-di', dah-yinmi-won (DD).* 'I (still) love you', you say to her.

Syn: yolh-ni; kangu-di.

yolh-djare *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + like, love/*

want'. *Yolh-djare* was used occasionally with the sense 'like' (have affection for), i.e. instead of *djare*, which can be used alone.

- * *Mak bunu ka-marnu-yolh-mon. Kah-dja-ni-yibung-karn, men-kun. Mak bulu kah-kakku-marnu-yolh-djare.* He doesn't feel good about them. He stays by himself, minding his own business?. He doesn't like them.

Syn: djare.

yolh-dukkarrun *v.refl. Lit: 'pep/feelings + tie:REFL.*

Feel depressed, chronically anxious, typically when thinking constantly about someone who has died or who is absent.

This leads to physical sickness. Remaining active, spending time with beloved people who make you happy, can prevent or cure this state.

- * *Kah-moyh-ngalkarrun, kirdikird-no bukah-bengkan. Kah-Ing-yolh-dukkarrinj. Barrah-yolh-dukkarrun kardu.* [When the woman he loves is away], he'll make himself sick, thinking about his woman. He'll get depressed. Like they both get depressed.
- * *Nunh munguyh ngaye-ningiyan, munguyh ngaye-bengkiyan, nunh wunga-yelng-moyh-rakkan. Yolh-ngan wunga-yolh-dukkarrun.* [After losing someone close,] if I sit around all day, if I think about it all day, then I might fall sick. My spirits, I might get depressed.
- * *Yolh-monmon-kih djah-Ing-ningiyan. Kahnidja djilah-ye-ningiyan, kanunh djongok-ngu kardu... kardak-ngu wirimah nah-ngu, yabok-ngu, wulkundjan-ngu... Nalah-djarrk-ningiyan djilah-ye-ningiyan, nunh kah-mon. Mak dja-Ing-yolh-dukkarruniyan. Djah-yolh-mon-miniyan munguyh. Nalah-djarrk-men-werremurruniyan.* You'll feel great. When you are there with them, like your aunt... your uncle or your mother, your big sister, your little sister... You'll be together, they stay with you, and it's OK. You won't feel depressed. You'll keep feeling good. You distract each other [from the bad thoughts].

yolh-kurduhka *v.t. Lit: 'pep/feelings + block'.*

Make someone feel bad because of one's behavior (e.g. being awkward or aggressive). This does not have to be intentional.

- * *Kamanj Kodjok wadda-burrng-kah ngah-bon kanidjah, bah, ngah-nan mahkih, balah-drongkmu. Nunh mak nga-Ing-yolh-mon-mun,*

ngah-yolh-weh-mun. Bulah-yolh-kurduhka drongkenwan-yih. Mak nga-dje-bruHmu. Ngah-yolh-kurduh. I go there to Kamanj and Kodjok's house, but there I find, they're drunk. I won't feel good then, I feel bad. They make me feel uneasy when they're drunk. I'm not sad or sulky. I'm just feeling uncomfortable, anxious.

yolh-kurduh(mu) *v.i. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + be blocked'. Feel bad because of other people. This can be when one feels uneasy, especially in the presence of someone with a disturbing behavior, or when other people are not kind.

- * *Kamanj Kodjok wadda-burrng-kah ngah-bon kanidjah, bah, ngah-nan mahkih, balah-drongkmu. Nunh mak nga-lng-yolh-mon-mun, ngah-yolh-weh-mun. Bulah-yolh-kurduhka drongkenwan-yih. Mak nga-dje-bruHmu. Ngah-yolh-kurduh.* I go there to Kamanj and Kodjok's house, but there I find, they're drunk. I won't feel good then, I feel bad. They make me feel uneasy when they're drunk. I'm not sad or sulky. I'm just feeling uncomfortable, nervous.
- * *Biyi-no barrah-durrinj, nah-no mah bukah-bengdunginj. Kanh-kun kah-lng-yolh-kurduhmu.* She had an argument with her husband, and her mother told her off. That's why she's upset.

yolh-marnbun *v.t. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + make'.

To comfort someone, to make this person feel emotionally good.

- * *Kardu munu kah-dja-kangu-darrmu. Biyi-no-kih, dohkardu nah-no bulu-no kardu bulu kah-bengkan. Yang djehneng bukah-yolh-marnbuyan, bukah-marnu-yenjenjdjung bukah-rewon. Kahke-no mak buka-marnu-kangu-redjing.* Maybe she's just sad. She may be thinking about her own husband, or her mother and father.

It looks like he's comforting her, he's talking to her and laughing with her. But to no avail, he doesn't cheer her up.

yolh-marnburrun *v.refl. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + make + REFL'.

To feel better, either physically (get rested, 1), or emotionally (2 and 3). The emotional sense applies regardless of the nature of the preceding negative feelings. They can be self-oriented (2: recovering from feeling sad), or target others (3: calming down after getting angry).

- (1) *Djah-dudjminj, djah-yolh-marn-burrninj, djah-njenguyo. Dubmi, djah-lng-yolh-mon-minj.* You got back [home], you got rested, you slept. Now, you're feeling good.
- (2) *Ngah-yolh-weh-ninj bah, ngah-yawoh-yolh-marnburrinj, wurdurd-yih bulah-yolh-monwong.* I was feeling bad [after losing my husband] but, I got to feel a bit better, [the presence of] the children comforted me.
- (3) *Barrah-yirru-minj, kardu kenbo barrah-yolh-marnburrun, barrah-lng-yolh-mon-miniyan. Karrung duway.* They were angry, and then they calmed down, their feelings eased. The wife and the husband.

Syn: **yolh-bon** (partial); **yolh-mon**; **yolh-yalala(mu)** (partial).

yolh-mon(-mun) *adj. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + good(+ INCH)'.

1. Feel good, either emotionally or physically. *Yolh-mon* is the most common emotional term in Dalabon. When the sense is emotional, it can be self-oriented (be happy, be pleased: 1 to 4). Alternatively, the feelings can target someone, in which case the sense is 'get on (with someone)' (5 and 6), or 'be kind' (a disposition, 7). This sense often occurs with benefactive constructions (6). *Yolh-mon* can also mean 'feel good physically' (8). Sometimes the sense is both emotional and physical (9).

- (1) *Kakkak-no kardu kah-lng-yolh-mon. Bulu kah-marnu-njerrh-ye-dudjminj ma.* His grandmother will surely be happy. He's bringing the dead [kangaroo] back to them alright.
- (2) *Dah-milh-djonghmu, dohkardu dah-ngalbak-djonghmu. Kuku-yolh-mon-mun.* You kiss [the little girl] on her forehead, or on her cheek. To make her feel good.
- (3) *Ngah-marnu-yolh-mon-minj, mulah-ngan-kun.* I'm feeling better about my aunt [who passed away].
- (4) *Rolu kahnun, kah-warhwarhmu, kah-yolh-mon, kuluhkulu-no-kah (DD).* That dog is wagging its tail, it's happy to be with its master.
- (5) *Yo, djah-lng-marnu-yenjdjung kanh, kah-mon, kah-lng-yolh-mon, njing-kun.* Yeah, he speaks to you now, it's OK, he feels good, about you (he gets along with you).
- (6) *Mak bulu nga-marnu-yenjdjung, mak bulu nga-marnu-yolh-mon. Wadda-ngan-kih-kah ngey-karn ngah-ni.* I don't speak to them, I don't get along with them. I stay by myself at my own place.
- (7) *Yibung nunh kanh kah-yolh-mon, bulu kah-naHnan.* She's kind this one, she looks after them.
- (8) *Djah-njenguyungiyen, djah-lng-dokkiyan... Djah-wonarruniyan, djah-lng-yolh-mon-muniyan!* You'll sleep, you'll wake up... See how you feel, you'll feel good!
- (9) *Kah-yolh-mon-minj. Kanh kah-kolh-nomung, bukah-yolh-mon-wong.* He's feeling better now. This [petrol] he sniffed, it made him feel good.

Syn: *kangu-burrama (partial); kangu-mon (partial).* *Ant:* *yolh-weh; kangu-weh-no; kangu-weh-mun.*

2. Feel like doing something, when *yolh-mon* is followed by a sentence describing a possible future event.

- * *Yolh-no mak ka-yolh-mon kah-boniyen. Kah-warndih.* As for him, he won't go, he doesn't feel like it. He's not up to it.
- * *Djah-yolh-mon-miniyan, kardu... djeh-burruniyan.* Do you want us two to... fight together?

yolh-murduk *adj. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + hard/strong'. *Yolh-murduk* is a less common alternative for *kangu-murduk*. It has the same senses.

Syn: **kangu-murduk.**

1. Be socially confident: typically self-assertive, in particular in conflicts.

- * *Kardu yirru bale-durrun, duway-no barrah-durrun, nunh kah-yolh-murduk. Mak ka-dudjmiyan, kah-bon wulungmunguyh.* When she argues with people, or with her husband, she's strong. She won't come back, she goes away altogether.

2. Have negative feelings, not be open to others, i.e. be austere (self-oriented) or selfish, cold-hearted (targeting others).

- * *Nunh mak ka-redjing, nunh mak ka-yolh-ni, kah-dja-ni yibung-karn yolh-murduk.* She doesn't laugh, she has no enthusiasm, she just stays by herself, emotionally closed.
- * *Munguhdjamh njel kah-ngabbuninj, nekenda kah-yolh-weh-minj, mak njel ka-lng-ngabbun. Kardu keninj bukah-yolh-ngun, kah-yawh-lng-yolh-murduk-bong.* She used to give us all sorts of things, but now she's cold-hearted, she doesn't give us anything. I don't know what's wrong with her, she's turned selfish.

yolh-nan *v.t. Lit:* 'pep/feelings + see'.

See what someone is feeling or thinking.

- * *Djah-yolh-naninj korre (DD).* I could see what you were feeling before.
- * *Korreh djah-yolh-nan. Kardu marruh djah-yolh-yin. Djah-bengkan buhkor-rehkan, djah-yolh-bengkan.* I can

guess your feelings. How you feel. I've known you for a long time, I know how you react emotionally.

yolh-ngun *v.t. Lit.*: 'pep/feelings + eat'.

Yolh-ngun is used to ask pseudo-questions, when one doesn't understand why someone is acting the way they do, or doesn't understand what they do or feel. Literally, these questions translate as 'what ate your will', 'what ate your feelings'. In English one would say 'what's going on?', 'what's wrong with you?'. Often there is a negative connotation, but sometimes the speaker simply expresses an interrogation. *Yolh-ngun* is not used in other contexts.

- * *Kah-wurdiHminj, bulu kah-bawong. [...] Keninjh bukah-yolh-ngunj.* She took off, she left them [...]. I don't know what was wrong with her.
- * *Kanh-dorrungb balah-boninj nahda didjko. Kardu keninjh bulu kah-Ing-yolh-ngunj kurdo...* They went there to the disco party with him. God knows what they were thinking [I don't know what ate their feelings].
- * *Keninjh mah djah-yolh-ngun? Keninjh mah djah-yolh-yin? Bah djah-yolh-warhwan.* What's happening to you? How do you feel? I don't know what you're feeling.

yolh-ni *v.i. Lit.*: 'pep/feelings + sit/be'

Feel good; feel like, be up to doing things. This applies when someone feels like doing something, or when someone likes a person, in which case it means 'to love' (including romantic love).

- * *Yibung-karn kanh kaye-yolh-ni, nunh kanh kah-redjing.* If someone is happy, she will smile or laugh.
- * *Kah-yolh-ni kah-boniyen nuhkah kah-djangkiyan (DD).* He feels like going there to hunt.
- * *Ngah-yolh-wudj, mak nga-yolh-ni.* I have no energy, I'm not motivated.
- * *Mak buka-kakku-marnu-yolh-ningi. Men-kun bukah-dja-ye-ninj. Kardu*

mak buka-kakku-marnu-djare-mini. She didn't really love him. She stayed with him in self-interest. Like she didn't really love him.

Syn: **kangu-di; yolh-di.**

yolh-no *n.PA.*

Someone's *yolh-no* is their energy, which is both physical and emotional. It defines the person's enthusiasm or spirit, pep, drive, desires, feelings. It can also relate to motivation and will.

- * *Bulah-yolh-naninj, yolh-ngan warnumun ngah-boninj.* They knew what I felt like, my feelings, I went on my own.
- * *Nunh, yolh-ngan kanh ngunga-yolh-dukkarrun mah ngah-moyh-yu.* This is when, my spirit might get low [entangled] and I get sick.
- * *Yolh-ngan, nidjarra ngah-ni. Mak kini-kah nga-boniyen.* As for me, my desire is to stay here. I won't go anywhere else.

yolh-redji *v.i. Lit.*: 'pep/feelings + laugh/smile'.

Feel happy, cheerful.

- * *Wanjingh-no kah-dja-yawoh-yolh-yerrkmu, wanjingh-no kah-dja-woh-redjing yelng bonj. Buyirrhwalung mak ka-kakku-yolh-redjing kahke.* She feels pleased for a short moment, she's cheerful for a while, then it's over. Deep inside, she is not really happy.

yolh-warndih *v.i. Lit.*: 'pep/feelings + ?ache + PRIV (lack motivation)'.

(Not fully attested.) Sulk after an argument.

- * *Kirdikird-no bukaye-dunginj duway-no-yih, kah-yolh-warndih munguyh buka-dung, duway-no-yih. Yang-dih-yang-dih kah-dja-ningiyen.* When her husband scolds her, she doesn't like that he scolds her all the time, her husband. She's morose and sulky. She won't speak.

yolh-weh *adj.* *Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + bad’.

Feel bad. *Yolh-weh* is a generic term which can apply to all sorts of negative states.

Yolh-weh is more commonly used to talk about negative feelings (1 to 7), but it can also mean feel physically bad (8). When the sense is emotional, it can describe self-oriented feelings like feeling upset, sad, unhappy (1 to 3). Alternatively, and more rarely, *yolh-weh* can refer to feelings that target other people (be angry, be in a bad mood, 4 and 5). This sense can refer to a momentary state, or to someone’s disposition to be in a bad mood (personality feature: be selfish, mean, nasty, 6 and 7).

- (1) *Kah-yolh-weh-mun, biyi-no kardu bukah-bengkan, mak ka-yolh-mon (DD)*. She feels upset, maybe she’s thinking about her husband, she isn’t happy.
- (2) *Mak nabikeninj bukah-krulkrukha. Bah kah-dja-ni yibung-walung-kun, kah-yolh-weh-mun*. Nobody visits him. So he stays by himself, he’s unhappy.
- (3) *Kardu kah-yolh-weh-minj. Kanh ngal-kohbanj kah-doninj*. Like he’s sad. That the old woman has died.
- (4) *Ngah-yolh-weh, mak bulu nga-marnu-yenjdungyan*. I’m grumpy, I won’t speak to them.
- (5) *Bukah-marnu-kangu-wokarrun, mak buka-bangmu-marnu-kangu-yerrkmu. Yibung-karn kah-dja-ni biyi kahnunh, yolh-weh-kun. Yibung-karn kirdikird kanh kah-ni, yolh-weh-kun*. She resents him, she won’t forgive him yet. The man stays by himself, angry. The woman stays by herself, angry.
- (6) *Kah-marnu-kangu-yowyowminj, bah mak ka-kakku-yolh-burrama. Kah-yolh-weh-yolh-weh nunh bah njel kah-drekinhminj*. He was kind to us, but he didn’t really mean well. He’s nasty, he ripped us off.
- (7) *Munguhdjamh njel kah-ngabbuninj, nekenda kah-yolh-weh-minj, mak njel*

ka-Ing-ngabbun. Kardu keninj bukah-yolh-ngunj, kah-yawh-Ing-yolh-murduk-bong. She used to give us all sorts of things, but now she’s cold-hearted, she doesn’t give us anything. I don’t know what’s wrong with her, she’s turned selfish.

- (8) *Kah-yolh-weh-mun, kardu kah-kakku-ngarrkmu. Kah-moyh-yu*. She feels bad, like she’s deeply in pain. She’s sick.

Syn.: **yolh-wehkurla; kangu-weh** (partial).

Ant.: **kangu-mon** (partial); **yolh-mon**.

yolh-wokarrun *v.refl.* *Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + talk + REFL’.

(Not fully attested.) Feel resentful. *Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + talk + REFL’.

- * *Mak bulu bula-kakku-marnu-djare,*
- * *bulu bulah-ngurrung-dung. Balah-yolh-wokarrun. Kanh-kun munguyh balah-dje-bruH*. They don’t like them, they are hostile to them. They feel resentful. That’s why they’re sulky all the time.

Syn.: **kangu-wokarrun**.

yolh-wudj(mu) *v.i.* *Lit.*: ‘pep/feelings + end/die’.

Lack energy, not be up to doing anything. This describes people who sit down quiet, without talking or doing anything. The state in question can have physical causes (be tired, be sick, be old); or it can be associated with an emotional state (be sulky, not speak to others).

- * *Kardu balah-moyh-yu... Kardu balah-yolh-wudj... Kardu mak bulu bulah-woniyau... Balah-dja-Ing-niningyan, yang-di-yang-dih*. [Old people,] they may be sick... They have no energy... They can’t hear us... They’ll just sit around, silent.
- * *Bah yolh-mon-kih ngah-dja-ni, bah ngah-mo-wudj mak nga-worhbon. Mak mah bulu nga-marnu-yenjdung. Ngey-walung-kun ngah-dja-ni ngah-mo-yolh-wudj*. But I’m alright, but I

have no energy so I won't go anywhere. I don't talk to people. I just sit around by myself, I'm tired.

- * *Mak ngorr ka-yang-woyan. Kardu kah-yolh-wudjmu ngokorrng. Kardu kah-yirru-mun.* He doesn't talk to us. He may be sulky about us. Like he's angry.

yolh-yalala(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + ?'.*

Be rested, feel physically good. *Yolh-yalala(mu)* was also translated as Kriol *hepi* (<Eng. 'happy'), suggesting an emotional sense, but there are no examples of this sense.

- * *Djah-njenguyungiyen, kenbo djah-ling-dokkiyan... Djah-wonarruniyen djah-ling-yolh-mon-muniyan! Djah-ling-yolh-yalalamiyan.* You'll sleep, then you'll wake up... See how you feel, you'll feel good! You'll feel rested.

Syn: yolh-marnburrun.

yolh-yerrk(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + slip/ be released'.*

Yolh-yerrk(mu) is an alternative to *kangu-yerrk(mu)*. It is less frequent. It means to get rid of negative feelings: either to feel relieved (self-oriented), or to forgive someone.

- * *Balah-burlh-wadjminj borda! Balah-ling-yolh-yerrkminj. Balah-dja-ling-dudjmu wadda-kah.* Oh God they reached the place! They are relieved. They've made it back home.
- * *Bukah-marnu-kangu-wokarrun malung. Bah, kah-bengdi... Ngale kardu kah-dja-duway-ngan-kih.*

Ngah-marnu-yolh-yerrkmu. She resented him at first. But, she thought about it... Well, he's my own husband she thought. I'll forgive him.

Syn: kangu-yerrk(mu).

yolh-yin *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + say/do'.*

Feel, feel like. *Yolh-yin* is used only when one wonders about how someone feels, or about what one feels like.

- * *Korreh djah-yolh-nan. Kardu marruh djah-yolh-yin.* I can guess your feelings. How you feel.
- * *Kardu djob kah-boniyen, mak kardu ka-bayehmiyan, kardu kah-kurduhmu. Kardu kumarruh kah-yolh-yin.* He might go to the shop, but not buy anything, like he hesitates. What does he feel like...

Syn: kangu-yin; yolh-ngun (partial).

yolh-yord(mu) *v.i. Lit: 'pep/feelings + body fluid be released'.*

Feel better. The sense can be physical: get rested. Or it can be emotional: feel relieved.

- * *Kanh ngarra-ling-yolh-yalwaymiyan djulu-kah. Ngarra-yolh-yordmiyan.* Then we rest in the shade. We recover [from walking].
- * *Djilah-marnu-mon-wong kah-burrama-minj, djah-kangu-mon-minj. Djah-yolh-yordminj.* They fixed [your car] for you, it's fixed, you feel better. You are relieved.

Syn: yolh-marnburrun; yolh-yalala(mu).

Emotion Finder-List

English translations are approximations of the sense of the Dalabon lexemes. Each Dalabon lexeme may be assigned to several English translations.

A – a		appeased	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-bonjhmu
		appreciate	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-nan
ache	<i>v.i.</i> kormu	someone	
	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurlh(mu)	apprehensive	<i>v.i.</i> mud-kele-mun
afraid	<i>NA.</i> djong(-no)	argue	<i>v.t.</i> yirru-ngandung
	<i>v.i.</i> djong-marrun	argument	<i>n.GEN.</i> yirru
	<i>v.i.</i> djong-mun	ashamed	<i>v.i.</i> koh-yedjmun
aggressive	<i>adj.</i> kodj-yirru		<i>v.i.</i> koh-yer(mu)
	<i>adj.</i> yirru-mon		<i>v.i.</i> medmo-yer(mu)
aggressiveness	<i>n.GEN.</i> yirru		<i>v.i.</i> men-yer(mu)
anger	<i>n.GEN.</i> yirru		<i>v.i.</i> yer(mu)
angry	<i>adj.</i> kodj-yirru	astonished	<i>v.t.</i> kuhmu
	<i>adj.</i> yolh-weh	astounded	<i>v.t.</i> kuhmu
	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurlh(mu)	austere	<i>adj.</i> kangu-murduk
	<i>v.t.</i> kodj-dukkan		<i>adj.</i> yolh-murduk
angry at	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-yirru-nan	avert one's gaze	<i>v.i.</i> djudkurl(mu)
angry	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-dadj(mu)		<i>v.i.</i> mumu-yer(mu)
(be/become)	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-burlh(mu)		
	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-mun	B – b	
	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-ngal(mu)	bad	<i>adj.</i> kodj-weh
	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-worrun	bad character	<i>adj.</i> kodj-murduk
	<i>v.i.</i> yamarrk-barrun	bad feelings	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-dinjirru
	<i>v.i.</i> ngarrard(mu)	bad mood	<i>adj.</i> yolh-weh
	<i>v.i.</i> ngayanganj(mu)		<i>v.i.</i> kangu-weh-mun
	<i>v.i.</i> yirru-burlh(mu)	bad terms (be on)	<i>v.t.</i> dolku-ngabbun
	<i>v.i.</i> yirru-mun	bend down	<i>v.i.</i> djud-kurkkurllkan
	<i>v.i.</i> yirru-ngal(mu)		<i>v.i.</i> djudkurl(mu)
	<i>v.t.</i> yirru-ngalka	betray	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka
	<i>v.?.t.</i> yirru-won	bitter	<i>adj.</i> brang-no
anxious	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-kurduh(mu)	bored	<i>adj.</i> warndih
	<i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu)	brave	<i>adj.</i> djong-bruk
	<i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dowdow(mu)		<i>adj.</i> mud-bruk
	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-kurduh(mu)	brood over	<i>v.i.</i> njirrk(mu)
	<i>v.refl.</i> yolh-dukarrun		
appease	<i>v.t.</i> yirru-dadjka		
appease	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-yirru-dadjka		
(someone)			

C – c		embarrassed	<i>v.i.</i> koh-yedjmun <i>v.i.</i> koh-yer(mu) <i>v.i.</i> medmo-yer(mu) <i>v.i.</i> men-yer(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yedjmun
calm down	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-bonjhmu <i>v.i.</i> yirru-don <i>v.i.</i> yirru-ngurd(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yirru-wudj(mu)	energy	<i>n.PA.</i> yolh-no
capricious	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-boled(mu)		
carry on	<i>v.refl.</i> kangu-wokarrun	F – f	
change	<i>v.i.</i> wirrhurrun		
cheerful	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-redji	fall in love	<i>v.i.</i> ngurik-marrun
cold-hearted	<i>adj.</i> kangu-murduk <i>adj.</i> yolh-murduk	fear	NA djong(-no) <i>v.i.</i> djong + movement/ posture
comfort	<i>v.t.</i> yolh-marnbun	feel	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yin <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yin
compassionate	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurdah(mu) <i>v.i.</i> wurdah(mu) <i>v.t.</i> marrbun	feel a presence	<i>v.i.</i> dolku-yermu
confident (self-)	<i>adj.</i> kangu-bruk <i>adj.</i> kangu-murduk <i>adj.</i> yolh-murduk	feel bad	<i>adj.</i> ngerh-weh(-mun) <i>adj.</i> yolh-weh <i>v.i.</i> kangu-muk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-run <i>v.i.</i> kangu-weh-mun
confused	<i>v.i.</i> njirrk(mu)	feel better	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-bon <i>v.refl.</i> yolh-marnburrun
courageous	<i>adj.</i> djong-bruk <i>adj.</i> mud-bruk	feel good	<i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama <i>adj.</i> kangu-mon <i>adj.</i> yolh-burrama <i>adj.</i> yolh-mon(-mun)
D – d		feel like	<i>adj.</i> yolh-mon(-mun) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-di <i>v.i.</i> yolh-ni <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yin
dangerous	<i>adj.</i> brang <i>adj.</i> yirru-mon	feelings	<i>n.PA.</i> yolh-no
deceive	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka	fight	<i>n.GEN.</i> yirru
depressed	<i>v.refl.</i> yolh-dukkarrun	forgive	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-bak(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yerrk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-bak(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yerrk(mu)
desire	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-ni		
desire (sexually)	<i>v.refl.</i> kom-nunj-wukmurrun	friendly	<i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama
desires	<i>n.PAW.</i> yolh-no	frighten	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka
despair	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurdah(mu) <i>v.i.</i> wurdah(mu)	frightened	<i>v.i.</i> wurrh(mu) <i>v.t.</i> kelehmu
determined	<i>adj.</i> kodj-murduk		
dislike	<i>v.refl.</i> yolh-wokarrun	friendly	<i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama
distant	<i>v.i.</i> wirrihmurrun <i>v.t.</i> wirrihmu	furious	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-darridj(mu) <i>v.refl.</i> mo-barrun
E – e			
embarrass	<i>v.t.</i> medmo-nan		

G – g

generous	<i>adj.</i> yi-mon
get along with	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-nan
good person	<i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama <i>v.t.</i> kodj-mon
good mood	<i>adj.</i> yolh-burrama <i>adj.</i> yolh-mon(-mun) <i>v.t.</i> kodj-mon
goosebumps	<i>v.t.</i> mud-nahbu
grief	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-damh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-darr(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-djaw(mu)

H – h

happy	<i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yowyow(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-redji
harmful	<i>adj.</i> brang-no <i>v.i.</i> yirru-mon
hate	<i>v.t.</i> ngurrung-dung <i>v.t.</i> njirrhmiwon
hostile	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-dinjirru <i>v.t.</i> ngurrung-dung <i>v.t.</i> njirrhmiwon

I – i

indulgent	<i>adj.</i> kangu-berlh
infuriated	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-darridj(mu) <i>v.refl.</i> mo-barrun
inoffensive	<i>adj.</i> yirru-weh
intelligent	<i>v.t.</i> kodj-mon
irritated	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yirru-burlh(mu)
(be/become)	<i>v.i.</i> yirru-burlh(mu)

J – j

jealous	<i>v.i.</i> merey-di <i>v.t.</i> merey-nan <i>v.t.</i> merey-nguddu <i>v.t.</i> njerrh-ye-merey-di
jealously	? <i>adv.</i> merey

K – k

kind	<i>adj.</i> kangu-bola <i>adj.</i> kangu-kerlk <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yowyow(mu)
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L – l

lack motivation	<i>v.i.</i> mo-wudj(mu)
lie	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka
like	<i>adj.</i> djare <i>adj.</i> ngurk-kardubun <i>adj.</i> yolh-mon(-mun) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-di <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-waddi <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-di <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-karlh(mu)
lose temper	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-dadj(mu)
love	<i>adj.</i> djare <i>v.i.</i> kangu-di <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-waddi <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-di <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-karlh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-ye-yirrkki-mang <i>v.i.</i> yolh-djare <i>v.i.</i> yolh-ni

M – m

mean	<i>adj.</i> kangu-weh-no <i>adj.</i> kodj-weh <i>adj.</i> yi-dih <i>v.i.</i> kangu-weh-mun
mislead	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka
miss	<i>v.i.</i> kodj-wuluyh-mu?n <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-djaw(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngurk-djaware(mu) <i>adj.</i> warndih
morose	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-wudj(mu)
motivation (lack)	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-mang
move	(emotionally)

N – n

nasty	<i>adj.</i> kangu-weh-no
nervous	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-kurduh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-marrka

nice	<i>adj.</i> kangu-bola <i>adj.</i> kangu-burrama <i>adj.</i> kangu-kerlk <i>adj.</i> yolh-burrama <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yowyow(mu)	S – s	
O – o		sad	<i>v.i.</i> dje-bruH(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-damh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-run <i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurdah(mu) <i>v.i.</i> marrburrun <i>v.i.</i> wurdah(mu)
open (emotionally)	<i>adj.</i> kodj-kerlk <i>v.t.</i> kodj-mon	scare	<i>v.t.</i> kelehmu <i>v.t.</i> wurrhka
P – p		scared	NA. djong(-no) <i>v.i.</i> djong-marrun <i>v.i.</i> djong-mun <i>v.i.</i> dolku-yeremu <i>v.i.</i> kangu-marrka <i>v.i.</i> mud-kele-mun <i>v.i.</i> wurrh(mu)
pep	<i>n.PA.</i> yolh-no		
pleased	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-redji <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yowyow(mu)		
poisonous	<i>adj.</i> brang-no <i>v.i.</i> yirru-mon	selfish	<i>adj.</i> kangu-murduk <i>adj.</i> kodj-murduk <i>adj.</i> yi-dih <i>adj.</i> yolh-murduk <i>v.adj.</i> mo-murduk
premonition	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-karndi		<i>v.t.</i> yerka <i>v.t.</i> yermikan <i>v.i.</i> kangu-barrh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> dalu-yer(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yer(mu)
Q – q		shame	
quiet	<i>adj.</i> kangu-bola	shocked	
R – r		shy	<i>v.i.</i> yer(mu)
reconcile	<i>v.i.</i> marrun	shy away	<i>v.i.</i> yer(mu)
recover	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yord(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-bon	smart	<i>adj.</i> kodj-burrama <i>v.t.</i> kodj-mon
rejoice	<i>adj.</i> djurrk	sour	<i>adj.</i> brang-no
relieved	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-yalway(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yerrk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-yord(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yerrk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yord(mu)	stare at	<i>v.t.</i> kuhmu
resent	<i>v.refl.</i> yolh-wokarrun <i>v.i.</i> njirrk(mu) <i>v.t.</i> ngurrung-dung <i>v.i.</i> kodj-njirrk(mu)	stinking	<i>adj.</i> brang-no
	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-yalala(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-yord(mu)	stir up	<i>v.t.</i> djurrkkan <i>v.t.</i> kangu-yirru-djurrkkan
		stir up anger	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-yirru-wayhka <i>v.t.</i> yirru-wayhka
		stress	<i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dowdow(mu)
rested		strong	<i>v.adj.</i> mo-murduk
		strong (emotionally)	<i>adj.</i> ngerh-murduk
		stumped	<i>v.i.</i> njirrk(mu)
		suffer (emotionally)	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurdah(mu) <i>v.i.</i> wurdah(mu)

sulky	<i>v.i.</i> dje-bruH(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kodj-dadj(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kormu <i>v.i.</i> yolh-warndih	understand someone (emotionally) upset	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-nan <i>adj.</i> yolh-weh <i>v.i.</i> kodj-dadj(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kodj-njirrk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> njirrk(mu) <i>v.i.</i> wirrihmurrun
surprised	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-barrh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> koh-wurrh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> wurrh(mu)	upset (against someone)	<i>v.t.</i> kodj-dukkan
T – t			
tame	<i>adj.</i> djong-bruk		
tantrum (have a)	<i>v.i.</i> yolh-boled(mu)	V – v	
tenacious	<i>adj.</i> kodj-murduk	vengeful	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-muk(mu) <i>v.refl.</i> mo-barrun
ticklish	<i>v.i.</i> yedjmun	venomous	<i>adj.</i> brang-no
tired	<i>v.i.</i> mo-wudj(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-wudj(mu)		
touch (emotionally)	<i>v.t.</i> kangu-mang	W – w	
trick	<i>v.t.</i> wurrhka	want	<i>adj.</i> djare
trouble	<i>n.GEN.</i> yirru	well-behaved	<i>adj.</i> djong-bruk
turn back	<i>v.t.</i> dolku-ngabbun	will	<i>n.PA.</i> yolh-no
		wise	<i>adj.</i> kodj-burrama
U – u		worry	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-darr(mu) <i>v.i.</i> kangu-wurdah(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dorlhedorlh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> ngerh-dowdow(mu) <i>v.i.</i> warriburrun <i>v.i.</i> wurdah(mu)
uncomfortable	<i>v.i.</i> kangu-kurduh(mu) <i>v.i.</i> yolh-kurduh(mu)		
understand (emotionally)	<i>v.t.</i> yolh-nan		

Predicate components

This appendix provides a summary of the senses and subcategorization patterns for each of the predicates occurring in Dalabon emotional compounds.

bak(mu) (v.i.)

S = PATIENT = usually INAN

- break

S = PATIENT = BP

- limb breaks

barrh(mu) (v.i.)

S = PATIENT = usually INAN

- (get) crack(ed)

BARRHKA

get crack(ed) + CSTVZR (v.t.)

- not found in isolation or in any other compounds;
- corresponds to a causative counterpart of *barrh(mu)*

barrun (v.rfl.)

bite + REFL (v.refl.)

cf. *bang*: v.t. 'bite'

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = THEME/PATIENT = food or alike

- bite, as part of eating process

S = AGENT = ANIM, usually animal

O = PATIENT = ANIM (often human)

- bite or sting (e.g. dog or ant)

REFL: *barrun*

- only in *yamarrk-barrun* (teeth), *mo-barrun* (bones), *buma-barrun* grind teeth

bengkan (v.t.)

S = EXP = ANIM (usually human)

O = STIM = representation

- know, understand
- have in mind, think about

O = INST = device, tool, language...

- have mastery of, know how to

O = clause

- know how to

O = STIM = backgrounded

- be knowledgeable

boled(mu) v.i.

S = AGENT = ANIM

- turn around on oneself
- turn along a curve
- turn around an obstacle

S = STIM = elongated item

- form a curve (e.g. a line on a drawing)

S = AGENT = AGENT's BP

- turn BP around

S = EXP = ANIM

S = PATIENT = INAM

- change, become different

(*ya*)*bola* (adj./adv.)

HEAD = BP (typically skin)

- sensitive (adj.)

adverb: (slowly (adv.))

bon (v.i.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

- move along, towards or away
- walk, walk around
- go for something (e.g. go for kangaroo (go hunting))
- attend (e.g. school)
- set about doing something ('go and do something')

S = THEME = liquid

- flow

S = STIM = visible entity

- extend spatially (e.g. a feature of the landscape, a line on a drawing)

bonjhmu (v.i.)

S = THEME = EVENT

- event stops (e.g. a fire dying)

S = AGENT = ANIM

- stop doing something (typically arguing, having negative feelings for someone)

bruh(mu) v.i.

S = AGENT = ANIM or natural force

- blow (person blows from the mouth, wind blows)

bruk (adj.)

HEAD = anything potentially wet

- dry

as a noun: *bruk-no*: 'dry season'**burh(mu)** (v.i.)

S = THEME = any material entity

S = AGENT = ANIM

- come out (of an enclosure)
- appear

S = AGENT = ANIM

- arrive, reach (a place)

S = PATIENT = developing part

of a living body

- come into existence (e.g. flowers)

burrama (adj.)

IMPERSONAL:

- it's good, it's alright: the situation at stake is not detrimental to speaker.

HEAD = STIM = representation,

consumable...

- good: pleasant, nice, agreeable, good-looking...

HEAD = INSTR = tool or item operating

towards a practical function

- good: useful

HEAD = AGENT = ANIM (human, animal)

- good: of good character, ethically good

HEAD = EXP = ANIM or item supposed to

operate (e.g. car)

- good: healthy, in good condition

dabka (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

S = THEME = INAN

O = THEME = location, enclosure

- prevent access to (close)

O = THEME = PATH

- block (e.g. a road)

dadj(mu) (v.i.)

S = PATIENT = soft surface

- get torn (e.g. a dress)

S = PATIENT = smaller appendix of a whole

- get cut off from the whole (e.g. a handle from a cup)

S = THEME = portion of space, event

- end, get interrupted (e.g. a road, or for events, rain)

S = EXP's BP

- be tired from BP

dadjka (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = PATIENT = any material entity

- cut: cut in two, cut open, cut into pieces, interrupt a line

damh(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP's BP

- BP gets blocked (usually intestines, but can be ears for instance)

darridj(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM

- shake in agony

di (v.i.)

S = THEME = entity with some vertical dimension

S = AGENT = ANIM

- stand

S = AGENT = ANIM's BP, BP-*di*

- lean against/stand on BP

S = THEME = any entity, often with some vertical dimension

- be in a location, exist in a location

S = EXP = any entity, or maybe only ANIM?

- be + property x: be x (e.g. be single)

don (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM or vegetable

- die
- suffer from (often with an adjunct specifying the source of the pain)

S = PATIENT = liquid or anything wet, typically vegetable

- dry (which is also dying for a vegetal, or metaphorically for a river for instance)

S = PATIENT = sore

- heal (which is also drying and dying)

dorlh(dorlh)(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP's BP = heart

- beat

dow(dow)(mu) v.i

or *rdowrdow(mu)*

S = EXP's BP = heart

- beat

dukkan (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM (human)

O = THEME = a bound

- tie up bound

O = THEME = several flexible entity

- tie things together (entangle things together)

O = THEME = several entities

- group things together with a bound (e.g. flower in a bunch)

O = PATIENT = any entity

- tie something (with something else)

dukarrun (v.refl.)

S = THEME = bound, flexible entity

- tied on self, entangled

karlh(mu) (v.i.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

- climb, climb in, go up

S = STIM = elongated object

- go up (e.g. line on a drawing)

kerlk (adj.)

HEAD = matter

- soft as in malleable, not resistant (e.g. soft meat)

HEAD = surface

- soft as it not harsh

kurduh(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM

- be stuck, unable to go somewhere
- lack a resource (e.g. 'stuck without water')

S = EXP = ANIM

- be confused, hesitate

kurduhka (v.t.)

S = SOURCE/AGENT = any physical entity

O = PATIENT = ANIM

- block someone, prevent them to go somewhere

S = SOURCE/AGENT = event, situation or ANIM

O = EXP = ANIM human

- make someone confused

MADDI

not found in isolation

kurnh-MADDI 'place' + MADDI

- stay in one place

mang (v.t.)

S = AGENT = usually ANIM (human)

O = THEME = any material entity

- grab, grab with intention to use, grab and take with you
- take away

S = AGENT = usually ANIM (human)

O = THEME = usually resource

- collect (food), buy
- receive salary

S = AGENT = usually ANIM (human)

O = THEME = information

- receive news

S = AGENT/SOURCE = ANIM

or natural force

O = PATIENT = usually ANIM

- take control of
- affect negatively

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = PATIENT = ANIM of opposite sex

- take as a spouse, marry

marrun (v.rec., cf. *mang*)

S = O = AGENT/PATIENT = ANIM

- get together, join together
- marry
- reconcile

marnbun (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM, usually human

O = PATIENT = material entity, representation

- make: create, fabricate, cause to exist (e.g. a house, a fire, a song...)

marnburrun (v.i.)

S = AGENT = PATIENT = usually ANIM

- make self x, change self into x

S = EXP = any entity

- change

S = EXP's attribute, EXP = ANIM

- develop attribute (e.g. egg, tooth)

marrka (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM

S = EXP's BP = ANIM's BP

- shake, shiver

mon (adj.)

IMPERSONAL:

- it's alright, there is no problem

HEAD = STIM = INAM = event,

representation

- fine: not problematic, not flawed etc.

HEAD = STIM = INAN, consumables,

representations

- enjoyable, pleasant

HEAD = EXP = ANIM

- fine: not sick, not dysfunctional

HEAD = EXP's BP = ANIM's BP

- BP is not dysfunctional

MUK(MU)

not found in isolation

kangh-muk(mu) 'night' + MUK(MU) 'get dark'*bengmuk(mu)* MIND + 'MUK(MU) 'forget'

see also transitive counterpart:

mukka (v.t.):

S = AGENT = usually ANIM

O = THEME = any item

- cover with ground: burry
- put in ground: plant

S = AGENT = usually ANIM

O = THEME = any item, usually with an extensive surface

- cover (with any thing e.g. blanket)

murduk (adj.)

HEAD = entity

- hard matter (not malleable)
- hard solid surface (impenetrable)

HEAD = mobile device

- stuck (e.g. lid on a bottle)
- for a door: locked

HEAD = ANIM human

- tough, selfish

HEAD = ANIM's BP

- strong

HEAD = representation, typically language

- difficult

nahbu (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = PATIENT = any item

- step on

S = SOURCE or AGENT = any entity

endowed with some force

- affect BP from a distance (typically supernatural)

nahbu (v.i.)

S = AGENT

- dance

nan (v.t.)

S = EXP = ANIM

O = STIM = anything

- see, look

O = STIM = mental representation

- perceive mentally (e.g. spirits)
- marginally: consider

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = PATIENT = ANIM human

- meet, interact socially

REDUP: *nahnán*: take care of, check uponRECIP: *narrun*: meet up physically, be in a relationship with**ngabbun** (v.dt.)

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = RECIP = ANIM (often human)

O2 = THEME = any entity

- give (theme is often resource)
- feed (theme is food put in the mouth)

S = SOURCE = some natural force

O = RECIP = ANIM (often human)

O2 = THEME = a resource

- provide, produce (e.g. ancestral law provided language)

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = EXP = ANIM

O2 = representation

- expose to (e.g. story, news)

ngal(mu) (v.i.)

S = PATIENT/STIM = any developing entity

- appear

ngalka (v.i.)

S = AGENT = ANIM human

- O = THEME = any entity
 – find (after active search)
- S = EXP = ANIM (often human)
- O = THEME = any entity
 – find (without active search), come across
- S = AGENT = ANIM human
- O = THEME = representation
 – find a solution, invent, create, for instance a song
- NGANDUNG**
- KIN-ngandung* (v.t.)
- S = AGENT = ANIM human
- O = EXP = any entity with a kin category
 – call someone (or something) ‘KIN’
- ngarrk(mu)* (v.i.)
- S = EXP = ANIM, often ANIM’s BP
 – suffer, ache (from BP)
 – be sick (from BP)
- ngun* (v.t.)
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = THEME = food
 – eat: ingest
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = PATIENT = any item
 – chew, suck etc.
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = backgrounded THEME = food
 – eat: have a feed, have a meal
- ngurd(mu)* (v.i.)
- S = AGENT = ANIM
 – be(come) quiet
- S = SOURCE = any item endowed with movement (machine, natural phenomenon etc.)
 – stop moving
- ni* (v.i.)
- S = AGENT = ANIM
 – sit down (posture)
 – not do anything (‘just sit there’)
 – remain in one place, reside
 – live together (plural subject, usually dual, implying conjugal relationship)
- S = THEME = any item
 – be in a location
 – exist (in a location)
- S = EXP = any entity, or maybe only ANIM?
 – be + property x: be x (e.g. be single)
- waddi* (v.i.)
- S = THEME = any entity
 – be high up (see *di* ‘stand/be’)
- wan* (v.t.)
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = PATH = itinerary or moving entity
 – follow, walk along
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = LOC = usually ANIM human
 – come close
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = STIM = usually ANIM human
 – act like, be like
- S = STIM = same kind as O
- O = STIM = same kind as S
 – S resembles O
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = THEME = representation
 – execute (e.g. a song, a dance)
- S = AGENT = ANIM
- O = PATIENT = piece of woven basketry
 – weave
- wanjingh* (num.)
- any item: one
- warhwan* (v.t.)
- S = EXP = ANIM human
- O = STIM = representation
 – ignore, not know
- O = STIM = backgrounded (representation)
 – be ignorant
- S = AGENT = ANIM human
- O = THEME = any entity
- + *past tense*
 – left x behind
 – lost x
- S = AGENT = ANIM human
- O = THEME = representation
- + *past tense*
 – forgot x
- S = PATIENT = ANIM human
- O = THEME = ANIM human
- + *past tense*
 – lost someone (when the person died)

wayhka (v.t)

S = AGENT = ANIM

O = THEME = any item

– lift up (e.g. a corpse)

– lift up so as to take out of an enclosure

O = THEME = enclosure

– open (i.e. open the room)

O = THEME = closing device

– open (i.e. open the window)

weh-no (adj.)

HEAD = STIM = event, action

– bad: detrimental to an experiencer

– with consumable: unhealthy, unpleasant, toxic...

HEAD = INST = device, tool, machine

(often systemic)

– bad: in bad condition, damaged, unusable

HEAD = EXP/EXP's BP = ANIM('BP)

– bad: affected by some disease or impairment

HEAD = AGENT = ANIM (often human)

– bad: mean, nasty

+ adverbial use ('badly': 'a lot')

+ interjection (generic/compassionate)

wokarrun (v.refl.)**wokan** (v.t.)

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = THEME = representation with informational content

– tell something, tell a story

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = THEME = verbal representation

– call a name

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = THEME = language

– speak a language

S = AGENT = ANIM human

O = PATIENT = any entity

– assign a name

kodj-wokarrun 'head' + **wokan** + REFL

S = EXP = ANIM human

– talk to oneself, wonder

-won, -worrun– NOUN + **won/worrun**: intr. predicate: 'turn into NOUN'– ADJ + **won/worrun**: intr. predicate: 'become ADJ'**wonarrun** (v.refl.)**wonan** (v.t.)

S = EXP = ANIM

O = STIM = audible

– hear

– listen

REDUP: **wonawonan**, 'think'

(usually preceded by KURNH or MALK 'place')

REFL: **wonarrun**

S = EXP = ANIM

– listen

– feel

wudj(mu) (v.i.)

S = PATIENT = event, activity, state

of affair...

– end, stop, be finished off

– impersonal: event did not occur (rare)

S = PATIENT = ANIM, often collective

– die, be extinguished (e.g. species)

S = PATIENT = ANIM's BP

– disappear (e.g. hair)

S = STIM = entity with spatial extension

– end (e.g. country)

wurth(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM

– be hot, be too hot

S = THEME = fire

– fire burns

REDUP: **wurthwurth(mu)**

S = EXP = ANIM

– be drunk

S = EXP's BP = ANIM's BP

– BP aches

S = THEME = water

– water boils

yalway(mu) (v.i.)

S = EXP = ANIM (human)

– feel better, get rested

yerrk(mu) (v.i.)

S = THEME = fluid

– flow, be released

S = EXP = ANIM

– slip (on a slippery surface)

S = EXP's BP = ANIM's BP

– BP releases fluid

yin (v.i.)

S = AGENT = ANIM human

+ reported speech

- say, think (say to oneself)

+ reported sound

- make a noise (e.g. animal, also
noisy object)

+ verbal representation (name)

- call something [name]

S = AGENT/SOURCE = ANIM or anything
with self-motion

- do (do something, do in a certain way)

yord(mu) (v.i.)S = AGENT (SOURCE?) = ANIM (?natural
force)

O = PATIENT =?path

- clear path

S = EXP = fluid ANIM's BP

- body fluid be released

yowhmu (v.t.)

S = SOURCE (?AGENT) = natural force

(?ANIM)

- cause to flow (e.g. wipers on windscreen)

yow(mu) (v.i.)

S = THEME = fluid

- flow

yurd(mu) (v.i.)

S = AGENT = ANIM

- run

S = THEME = fluid

- flow

S = SOURCE = self-propelled device

- run (e.g. car)

S = STIM = spatially elongated item, path

- extend in length, run (e.g. river)

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