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### ► To cite this version:

Pius W. Akumbu, Roland Kiessling. 'Bubbling belly' and 'bursting bile' - The linguistic expression of anger in Babanki (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon). 24th Afrikanist\*innentag, Jul 2021, Frankfurt Am Main, Germany. hal-04250472

**HAL Id: hal-04250472**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04250472>**

Submitted on 1 Nov 2023

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# 'Bubbling belly' and 'bursting bile' - The linguistic expression of anger in Babanki (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon)

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## 0 Abstract

Babanki, a Grassfields Bantu language of North-West Cameroon activates various linguistic strategies to express the concept of anger. While it generally lacks a direct and congruent lexicalisation, it provides a plethora of metonymical idioms in which the expression of ANGER is distributed across various (relational and) body part nouns plus verbs for qualities such as BECOME BAD, BECOME RED and BECOME HOT, verbs for motion such as CLIMB and verbs for physical processes such as BURN, BUBBLE and BURST. The paper describes the morphosyntax of these constructions with special reference to the encoding of the central participant roles, i.e. experiencer (EXP) and stimulus/phenomenon (PHM). It also explores the pragmatic properties of these constructions and integrates the observations into the wider typological debate on experiencer constructions in African languages.

## 1 Introduction

Babanki, a Central Ring language of Grassfields Bantu spoken in the North-West region of Cameroon (Akumbu & Chibaka 2012, Akumbu, Hyman & Kießling 2020, Akumbu & Kießling 2022), activates various linguistic strategies to express the concept of anger.<sup>1</sup> While it generally lacks any direct and congruent lexicalisation, it provides a plethora of metonymical idioms in which the expression of ANGER is instead distributed across various (relational and) body part nouns which combine with verbs for qualities, verbs for locomotion or verbs for other types of physical processes, as illustrated in (1a-d).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The data presented in this study have been provided by the first author and subsequently contrasted with five other Babanki native speakers (Vivian Ba-ah, Regina Phubong, Cornelius Wuchu, Victor Vishi, and Benjamin Nkwenti) during sessions conducted through WhatsApp between June and September 2020.

<sup>2</sup> The formulaic notations that head the examples extract generalizations on the syntactic encoding of semantic roles in the respective idiomatic expressions. The central semantic roles of experiencer

- (1) ANGER expressions in Babanki
- (a) [[INSIDE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURN (*à* PHM)  
*tyín á Búŋ á fwí †lí (à ləmà wén)*  
 9.inside 9.AM Bung 5.SM burn P0 at 1.brother 3SG  
 ‘Bung is angry (at his brother).’
- (b) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BUBBLE (*byi* PHM)  
*à-bàm á Búŋ á fũʔ-à (byi wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM bubble-PROG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry (at you).’
- (c) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> CLIMB (*byi* PHM)  
*mà-nlyúŋ mà Búŋ kúʔ (byi wù)*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung climb because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry (at you).’
- (d) [[INTESTINES]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BITTER (*byi* PHM)  
*mà-ntú mà Búŋ lwì (byi wàn yèn)*  
 6a-intestine 6a.AM Bung be(come).bitter because 1.child this  
 ‘Bung is very angry (at this child).’

In all four examples, the expression of ANGER results from the idiomatic combination of relational and body part nouns such as *tyín* ‘inside’ (1a), *à-bàm* ‘belly’ (1b), *mà-nlyúŋ* ‘blood’ (1c) and *mà-ntú* ‘intestines’ (1d) in subject position with either verbs for qualities such as *lwì* ‘be(come) bitter’ (1d), verbs for physical processes such as *fwí* ‘burn’ (1a) and *fũʔ* ‘bubble’ (1b) or verbs for motion such as *kúʔ* ‘climb’ (1c). The syntactic expression of central participant roles is handled as follows: the experiencer participant is encoded as possessor of the relational or body part noun, while the participant presenting the role of stimulus/phenomenon takes the position of complement in adjuncts headed by the locative preposition *à* ‘at’ (1a) or the causal preposition *byi* ‘because of’ (1b-d).

Since the topic is couched in the wider context of the expression of emotion and experience concepts generally, section 2 introduces the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic parameters that are central for their typological categorization, i.e. the syntactic locus of expression of the experience concept itself, the syntactic locus of expression of the experiencer role and the pragmatic value of the expression as a whole. Section 3 applies these parameters to categorize the Babanki expressions for the rise of anger (3.1) and its recession (3.2). Section 4 concludes with a summary of the findings.

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and phenomenon are abbreviated by small capitals EXP and PHM, respectively, while fixed items, nouns and verbs, that constitute the core of the idiom are given in full lexical form in English translation. Both are indexed for their syntactic role. Grammatical operators such as prepositions are given in their Babanki form in italics. Parentheses mark optional components. Square brackets indicate syntactic units.

## 2 The expression of experience concepts in Babanki

In the wider context of experience concepts generally, coding strategies can be categorised for three crucial parameters, following Reh, Simon & Koops 1998 and Simon & Reh 1999: (a) the expression of the experience itself (i.e. *expertum*), (b) the syntactic locus of the expression of the experiencer role, i.e. the participant who undergoes the experience, and (c) pragmatic markedness.

With respect to parameter (a), experience coding strategies are roughly identified as congruent vs. incongruent and can be categorised, more specifically, according to seven types identified by the descriptive grid of Reh (1998: 11-13): direct labelling, metonymy, verbal derivation, copula constructions, specifying expressions, attributive expressions and anthropomorphic expressions, as listed in the scheme in table (1).

lexicalisation type	strategy
I. Congruent:	(a) direct labelling
	(b) metonymy
	(c) verbal derivation
II. Incongruent (metaphorical):	(a) copulative
	(b) specifying
	(c) attributive
	(d) anthropomorphic

Table 1: Overview of experience coding types

In direct labelling the experience is encoded in the verb root exclusively, e.g. ‘I love you’. Nearly the same holds for metonymical expressions, except that the verb root basically refers to another semantic domain, e.g. ‘I am *hungry* for knowledge’. Derivation distributes the expression of experience over the verb root plus its extensions and eventually suppresses agency-connotations in the experiencer subject by dedicated markers such as the mediopassive (Kießling 2002), e.g. Alagwa (Southern Cushitic) *ana ono digid-uut* ‘I remember you’ (mediopassive suffix *-uut* indicates that the experience has been triggered without any effort on the side of the experiencer) vs. *ana ono digid-uus* ‘I recall you, I think of you’ (causative suffix *-uus* indicates that the experience has been induced by a conscious effort of the experiencer). These three strategies may roughly be categorised as congruent in that the expression of experience is restricted to the predicate. This is different with metaphorical expressions in which the predicate refers to another semantic domain than the entire expression, e.g. to identification or localisation (copula constructions, e.g. Vai *kɔŋgɔ bɛ nda* ‘Hunger is with me.’) (Simon & Reh 1999: 176), to a more general semantic domain of experience (specifying constructions, e.g. Swahili *ninasikia njaa* ‘I hear hunger.’), to the physical property of a part of a person (attributive

expressions, e.g. Babanki *àbàm á Búŋ á yí bàŋ* ‘Bung’s belly became red.’) or to a material domain such as locomotion or manipulation (anthropomorphic expressions, Babanki *dzìŋ á zwií mò* ‘Hunger is killing me.’).

Languages resort to different strategies for syntactic accommodation of the experiencer role (Reh 1998, Simon & Reh 1999, Kießling 2002, Bickel 2004). They either assign it to subject or object position, allowing for subtle semantic gradation, i.e. more agent-like experiencers in subject position vs. more patient-like experiencers in direct object position. Another strategy is to suppress or highlight agency connotation of experiencer subjects by dedicated verbal extensions, e.g. mediopassive or causative. Or the experiencer role is relegated to a non-central position in the clause, either as an indirect object (recipient or goal) or as possessor of a body or person’s part (Bickel 2004). Their crucial contrast resides in the allocation of experience. The possessor model internalises experience with respect to the body, while the goal model rather externalises experience from the body. In Babanki, it is clearly the possessor model that is prominently applied in the expression of ANGER, as is evident from the mention of bubbling bellies and bursting biles in the title. In this respect, the encoding of ANGER in Babanki stands out as special, since the vast majority of pragmatically neutral Babanki experience constructions are experiencer-oriented, i.e. the experiencer role is expressed as the syntactic subject, as shown in the comparative overview of pragmatically neutral coding types of various experience concepts in table (2) and illustrated by examples in (2-4) below.

concept	expertum coding type	orientation type (experiencer)
ANGER	incongruent (attributive)	possessum
HAPPY	congruent	experiencer
LIKE	congruent	experiencer
HATE	congruent	experiencer
FEAR	congruent	experiencer
PAIN	congruent	experiencer
SHAME	congruent	experiencer
ENVY	congruent	experiencer
HUNGER	incongruent (specifying)	expertum

*Table 2: Pragmatically neutral coding types of Babanki experience constructions*

Thus, the concept of fear is expressed by congruent lexicalisation in an experiencer-oriented construction based on the verb *fwàn* ‘fear’ with the phenomenon as direct object (2). In contrast, the pragmatically neutral coding of the concept of hunger is achieved by reference to the more general concept of pain via the verb *záf* ‘hurt’ in an expertum-oriented construction (3), and the concept of anger in (4) is expressed by a construction oriented towards the

possessum, i.e. the body part *àbàm* ‘belly’, with the experiencer encoded as its possessor.

- (2) Experiencer-oriented expression of FEAR  
 [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> FEAR [PHM]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*Búŋ yì fwàn wàn*  
 Bung P1 fear 1.child  
 ‘Bung feared the child.’
- (3) Expertum-oriented expression of HUNGER  
 [HUNGER]<sub>SUBJ</sub> HURT [EXP]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*dʒìŋ yì zàf Búŋ*  
 9.hunger P1 hurt Bung  
 ‘Bung was hungry.’
- (4) Possessum-oriented expression of ANGER  
 [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BUBBLE (*byì* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á fùʔ-à (byì wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM bubble-PROG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry at you.’

With respect to parameter (c), a basic distinction can be made between pragmatically unmarked construction types as listed in table (2) above and constructions that are pragmatically marked in one way or another, e.g. by an upgrading of the experience’s intensity or by assigning an increased degree of control to one of the participants, either the experiencer or the phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> Thus, different types of semantic-pragmatic manipulations contribute to multiply expression types for every single experience concept, as exemplified in table (3).

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<sup>3</sup> Unmarked and marked expressions are distinguished on the basis of text frequency entailed by specific semantic and pragmatic conditions, e.g. the need to upgrade the intensity of an experience.

concept	expertum coding type	orientation type (experiencer)	pragmatic marking
ANGER	(a) incongruent (attrib.)	(a) possessum	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (attrib., deriv.)	(b) experiencer	(b) control by EXP
	(c) incongruent (attrib.)	(c) phenomenon	(c) control by PHM
HAPPY	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (attrib.)	(b) possessum	(b) intensity upgrade
LIKE	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (attrib.)	(b) possessum	(b) intensity upgrade
HATE	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (copulat.)	(b) expertum	(b) intensity upgrade
FEAR	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (metaph.)	(b) expertum	(b) intensity upgrade
	(c) congruent (deriv.)	(c) phenomenon	(c) control by PHM
PAIN	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (specif.)	(b) experiencer	(b) intensity upgrade
SHAME	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (attrib.)	(b) possessum	(b) intensity upgrade
ENVY	(a) congruent	(a) experiencer	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (copulat.)	(b) expertum	(b) intensity upgrade
HUNGER	(a) incongruent (specif.)	(a) expertum	(a) neutral
	(b) incongruent (metaph.)	(b) expertum	(b) intensity upgrade

Table 3: Coding types of Babanki experience constructions

In contrast to the pragmatically neutral expression of the concept of fear by congruent lexicalisation in an experiencer-oriented construction based on the verb *fwàn* ‘fear’ as in (5a), an intensified degree of fear is expressed by the construction in (5b). Here, the emotion *àfwàn* ‘fear’ is personified as metaphorical agent in physical action expressed in the verb *yá?* ‘grip’ with the experiencer encoded as metaphorical patient in the direct object. On another line still, the parameter of control can be manipulated, e.g. by assigning it to the phenomenon. This is achieved by promoting the phenomenon role to subject position (5c) in a construction based on the verb stem *báysá* ‘frighten’ in which the expression of the expertum is distributed over the verbal root and the petrified causative suffix *-sə*.

(5) Pragmatically neutral vs. marked expressions of FEAR

(a) Pragmatically neutral expression of FEAR

[EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> FEAR [PHM]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*Búŋ yì fwàn wù*  
 Bung P1 fear 2SG  
 ‘Bung feared you.’

- (b) Pragmatically marked expression of FEAR: intensity upgrade  
 [FEAR]<sub>SUBJ</sub> GRIP [EXP]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*byi* PHM)  
*à-fwān é yá? ʼli Búŋ (byi wù)*  
 5-fear 5.SM grip P0 Bung because 2SG  
 ‘Fear (of you) has gripped Bung.’
- (c) Pragmatically marked expression of FEAR: control by phenomenon  
 [PHM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> FRIGHTEN [EXP]<sub>OBJ</sub>  
*Búŋ yì bàŋsá wàn*  
 Bung P1 frighten.CAUS 1.child  
 ‘Bung frightened the child.’

In the following, we elaborate on the expression of the concept of anger with respect to the parameters introduced above, i.e. the syntactic locus of expression of the experience concept itself, the syntactic locus of expression of the experiencer role and the pragmatic value of the expression as a whole.

### 3 Babanki anger expressions

The concept ANGER cannot be expressed congruently, since Babanki lacks a single lexical item for it. ANGER is rather expressed metonymically and/or metaphorically by a range of idioms which combine body part nouns with various action or inchoative-stative verbs. In pragmatically neutral contexts, these idioms are cast in the mould of attributive constructions syntactically, i.e. they are oriented towards the body part nouns which take subject position in the clause, while the experiencer role is construed as possessor of these body parts. In the following, the plethora of anger expressions will be subdivided according to its crucial phases or stages, i.e. the rise of anger (3.1) vs. the regression or containment of anger (3.2).

#### 3.1 The rise of anger

In idioms expressing the rise of anger, the experiencer is construed as possessor of either the general locational noun ‘inside’ or a whole range of body parts which are conceptualised as loci of the emotion, i.e. ‘belly’, ‘blood’, ‘intestines’, ‘bile’, ‘eyes’, ‘face’ and also ‘body’ itself. The collocation of nouns and verbs in these idioms is not random, but fixed as visualised in table (4).

Noun	Verb
<i>àbàm</i> ‘belly’	<i>záf</i> ‘hurt’
	<i>fù?</i> ‘bubble’
	<i>bás</i> ‘be(come) stale’
<i>àkà?</i> ‘face’	<i>byíf</i> ‘be(come) bad’
<i>àfì</i> ‘eyes’	<i>bàŋ</i> ‘be(come) red’
<i>mànyúŋ</i> ‘blood’	<i>kú?</i> ‘climb’
	<i>lìm</i> ‘be(come) hot’
<i>màntú</i> ‘intestine’	<i>lwì</i> ‘be(come) bitter’
<i>fàlwílwí</i> ‘bile’	<i>túmá</i> ‘burst’
<i>àwén</i> ‘body’	<i>tsíŋ</i> ‘shiver’
<i>tyín</i> ‘inside’	<i>fwí</i> ‘burn’
<i>àfó</i> ‘things’	<i>bwìnkà</i> ‘roll’

Table 4: Noun and verb collocations for the expression of rise of anger

For most of the constituent nouns listed on the right side, there is only one way to combine with a verb from the left side, except for *mànyúŋ* ‘blood’ which combines with *kú?* ‘climb’ or with *lìm* ‘be(come) hot’ and *àbàm* ‘belly’ which combines with a range of five different verbs. As for the verbs, only *byíf* ‘be(come) bad’ and *bàŋ* ‘be(come) red’ collocate with two different body part nouns, whereas the rest are fixed to combine with a single noun only.

The pragmatically neutral way to express anger is via collocation of *tyín* ‘inside’ with the verb *fwí* ‘burn’, as in (6). Mention of the phenomenon could optionally be made in an adjunct headed by the prepositions *byì* ‘because of’ (6a) or *à* ‘for’ (6b).

(6) Neutral expression of ANGER

(a) [[INSIDE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURN (*byì* PHM)

*tyín*      *á*      *Búŋ*    *fwí*    (*byì*      *wàn*      *yì*)  
 9.inside 9.AM Bung burn because 1.child DEM  
 ‘Bung is angry (because of that child).’

(b) [[INSIDE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURN (*à* PHM)

*tyín*      *á*      *Búŋ*    *fwí*    (*à*    *lámà*      *wén*)  
 9.inside 9.AM Bung burn for 1.brother 3SG  
 ‘Bung is angry (at his brother).’

The choice of the preposition is significant since each preposition encodes a slightly different meaning. If *byì* ‘because of’ is used, then the phenomenon is the sole trigger of the ANGER whereas with *à* ‘at’ the trigger may be the phenomenon mentioned or some other trigger.

All anger expressions which involve body part nouns are pragmatically marked either by upgrading the intensity of the anger to various degrees or by indicating a prolonged manifestation of anger. Variation in the syntactic positions of the body part nouns (as loci of the emotion) and the phenomenon (as trigger of the emotion) signal different constellations of agentivity with respect to control over the emotion and responsibility for it.

The body part nouns are arranged in a broader hierarchy with the most versatile noun *àbām* ‘belly’ (7a-e) being used for upgrading the degree of anger slightly beyond normal, while all the other body part nouns, i.e. *mànlýúŋ* ‘blood’ (7f-g), *màntú* ‘intestines’ (7h), *fàlwílwi* ‘bile’ (7i), *àfí* ‘eyes’ (7j), *àkà?* ‘face’ (7k), and *àwén* ‘body’ (7l) are used to signalise greater degrees of anger without any further difference on the semantic or pragmatic level.

(7) Body-part oriented expressions of ANGER

- (a) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> HURT (*byì* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á záf-á (byì wùwì yèn)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM hurt-PROG because 1.woman DEM  
 ‘Bung is very angry at this woman.’
- (b) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BAD (PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á byíf <sup>4</sup>lí (byì wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).bad P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry at you.’
- (c) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) RED (*byì* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á báŋà <sup>4</sup>lí (byì wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).red P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (d) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BUBBLE (*byì* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á fù?-á (byì wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM bubble-PROG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry at you.’
- (e) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) STALE (*byì* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á bás <sup>4</sup>lí (byì wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).stale P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (f) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> CLIMB (*byì* PHM)  
*mà-nlýúŋ m̀ Búŋ kú? (byì wù)*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung climb because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (g) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) HOT (*byì* PHM)  
*mà-nlýúŋ m̀ Búŋ òm (byì wù)*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung be(come) hot because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (h) [[INTESTINES]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BITTER (*byì* PHM)  
*m̀-ntú m̀ Búŋ lwì (byì wàn yèn)*  
 6a-intestine 6a.AM Bung be(come).bitter because 1.child DEM  
 ‘Bung is very angry at this child.’

- (i) [[BILE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURST (*byi* PHM)  
*fā-lwīlwī fā Búŋ fā túmá ʔlí (byi wù)*  
 19-bile 19.AM Bung 19.SM burst P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (j) [[EYES]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) RED (*byi* PHM)  
*à-fī á Búŋ á bàŋ (byi wù)*  
 6-eye 6.AM Bung 6.SM be(come).red because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry at you.’
- (k) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BAD (*byi* PHM)  
*à-kāʔ á Búŋ á byíʔ ʔlí (byi wù)*  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).bad P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry at you.’
- (l) [[BODY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> SHIVER (*byi* PHM)  
*à-wén á Búŋ á tsíŋ (byi wù)*  
 5-body 5.AM Bung 5.SM shiver because 2SG  
 ‘Bung is very angry at you.’

As is typical of idioms, the specific collocations of nouns and verbs listed in (7) above are rigidly fixed. Any deviant combinations result in catachresis and simply produce non-figurative meanings that do not relate to ANGER and might sound absurd. This is illustrated in (8) by switching the verbs collocated with the appropriate body part nouns, i.e. *àbām* ‘belly’ (8a), *mānlyúŋ* ‘blood’ (8b), *māntú* ‘intestines’ (8c), *fālwīlwī* ‘bile’ (8d), *àfī* ‘eyes’ (8e), *àkāʔ* ‘face’ (8f), and *àwén* ‘body’ (8g).

- (8) Catachresis of idiomatic collocations of body part noun and verb
- (a) \**à-bām á Búŋ á yì lím (byi wù)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM P1 be(come) hot because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s stomach became hot because of you.’
- (b) \**mā-nlyúŋ mē Búŋ á lwī ʔlí (byi wù)*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung 5.SM be(come) bitter P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s blood has become bitter because of you.’
- (c) \**mā-ntú mē Búŋ bàŋ (byi wàn yèn)*  
 6a-intestine 6a.AM Bung be(come) red because 1.child DEM  
 ‘Bung’s intestines have become red because of this child.’
- (d) \**fā-lwīlwī fā Búŋ fā límà ʔlí (byi wù)*  
 19-bile 19.AM Bung 19.SM be(come) hot P0 because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s bile has become hot because of you.’
- (e) \**à-fī á Búŋ á túmá (byi wù)*  
 6-eye 6.AM Bung 6.SM burst because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s eyes have burst because of you.’
- (f) \**à-kāʔ á Búŋ á yì fwì (byi wù)*  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM P1 burn because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s face got burnt because of you.’

- (g) \*à-wén á Búŋ á yì zàf (byì wù)  
 5-body 5.AM Bung 5.SM P1 hurt because 2SG  
 ‘Bung’s body hurt because of you.’

Various syntactic strategies serve to manipulate the semantic parameter of responsibility for the emotion of anger and to either assign a higher degree of responsibility to the phenomenon or to the experiencer. In pragmatically neutral expressions such as (6) above and (9) below, responsibility on the side of the phenomenon is minimized by its syntactic presentation as complement of the preposition *byì* ‘because of’ in an optional adjunct. Its responsibility for the emotion of anger can be upgraded by promoting it to the subject of an agentive construction with the verb *nè* ‘do’ while relegating the experiencer to the possessor position in the direct object, as detailed further below in (11).

- (9) Phenomenon as complement of preposition  
 (a) [[INSIDE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURN (*byì* PHM)  
*tyín á Búŋ yì fwí (byì wàn)*  
 9.inside 9.AM Bung P1 burn because 1.child  
 ‘Bung got angry at the child.’  
 (b) [BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> CLIMB (*byì* PHM)  
*mà-nlyúŋ mà Búŋ yì kú? (byì vàwé)*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung P1 climb because 3PL  
 ‘Bung was very angry at them.’

Responsibility on the side of the experiencer can be upgraded in two stages: a slight upgrade is achieved by adding reference to him/her in a compound noun or pronoun which includes reference to the experiencer, thus construing the emotion as a product of cooperation of both the phenomenon and the experiencer, as illustrated in (10) below.<sup>4</sup> In principle, all constructions presented in (7a-1) can be used here. Maximal responsibility is assigned to the experiencer by promoting him/her to the subject of an agentive construction with the causativised verbs of (7a-1) above, as illustrated in (12) below.

- (10) Phenomenon and experiencer co-encoded in compound (pro)noun  
 (a) [[INSIDE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [BURN]<sub>V</sub> (PHM)  
*tyín á Búŋ yì fwí wéwàn*  
 9.inside 9.AM Bung P1 burn 3SG+child  
 ‘Bung was angry with the child.’  
 (b) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BAD (PHM)  
*à-bàm á Búŋ á byíf ʹlí wyéwén*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).bad P0 2SG+3SG  
 ‘Bung has become very angry with you.’

<sup>4</sup> In Babanki and Grassfields Bantu more generally, basic pronouns can be combined into compound pronouns to refer to groupings of participants conceptualized as composed of two distinct divisions (Akumbu & Kießling, forthcoming)

- (c) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BITTER (PHM)  
*mà-nlyúŋ mà Búŋ yì lwì yúwùwén*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung P2 be(come).bitter 1DUAL+3SG  
 ‘Bung became angry with me.’
- (d) [[INTESTINES]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) RED (PHM)  
*mà-ntú mà Búŋ yì bàŋ wéwùwì*  
 6a-intestine 6a.AM Bung P1 be(come).red 3SG+woman  
 ‘Bung became angry with the woman.’

The replacement of the locus by an orientation towards the phenomenon has the semantic effect of ascribing a higher degree of agentivity to the phenomenon as an active and responsible causer of the emotion. Syntactically, this is achieved by promoting the phenomenon into subject position in a transitive predication based on the action verb *nè* ‘do’, as illustrated in (11). The introduction of this verb produces a ‘switch function’ or ‘pivotal’ serial verb construction (Aikhenvald 2006: 14ff.) in which the body part nouns form the syntactic pivot in that they act as direct objects of the causation verb *nè* ‘do’ and at the same time as subjects of the verbs they collocate with in the idiomatic anger expressions. All the collocations presented in (7a-l) can be used as base in these periphrastic causative expressions.

- (11) Phenomenon-oriented expressions of ANGER
- (a) [PHM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DO [BILE [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>OBJ</sub> BURST  
*Búŋ tà nè fà-lwílwí fw-óm=fá túmá*  
 Bung P2 do 19-bile 19-my=19.ENC burst  
 ‘Bung brought out my anger.’
- (b) [PHM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DO [EYES [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>OBJ</sub> BE(COME) RED  
*Búŋ tà nè à-fí ãŷ-óm=á bàŋ*  
 Bung P2 do 6-eyes 6-my=6.ENC be(come).red  
 ‘Bung brought out my anger.’
- (c) [PHM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DO [FACE [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>OBJ</sub> BURN  
*Búŋ tà nè à-kà? à-ŷóm=á byíŋ*  
 Bung P2 do 5-face 5-my=5.ENC be(come).bad  
 ‘Bung brought out my anger.’
- (d) [PHM]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DO [BODY [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>OBJ</sub> SHIVER  
*Búŋ tà nè à-wén ãŷ-óm=á tsíŋ*  
 Bung P2 do 5-body 5-my=5.ENC shiver  
 ‘Bung brought out my anger.’

In contrast to body-part or locus orientation and phenomenon orientation in the anger expressions above, the experiencer itself can alternatively be encoded as subject. Semantically, this strategy assigns a higher degree of control and agentivity to experiencers, signalling that they are actively letting the emotion, i.e. anger, build up and manifest in them. Syntactically, this strategy requires the locus/body part noun to be shifted to direct object position and the inchoative-stative verbs, as well as the action verbs *fwí* ‘burn’ and *tsíŋ* ‘shiver’ to take their causative form by virtue of the suffix *-sə*, as exemplified with different idiomatic collocations in (12a-d).

## (12) Experiencer-oriented expressions of ANGER

- (a) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BURN-CAUS [INSIDE POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*à* PHM)  
*Búŋ yì fwì-sá tyín á wén (ā wàn)*  
 Bung P1 burn-CAUS 9.inside 5.AM 3SG for 1.child  
 ‘Bung got angry (at the child).’
- (b) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BAD-CAUS [BELLY POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*byì* PHM)  
*Búŋ yì byìp-sá ā-bām á wén (byì wù)*  
 Bung P1 be(come).bad-CAUS 5-belly 5.AM 3SG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung got angry (because of you).’
- (c) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BAD-CAUS [FACE POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*byì* PHM)  
*Búŋ yì byìp-sá ā-kā? á wén (byì wù)*  
 Bung P1 be(come).bad-CAUS 5-face 5.AM 3SG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung got angry (at you).’
- (d) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) RED-CAUS [EYES POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> *à* PHM  
*Búŋ yì bàŋ-sá ā-fì á wén à wù*  
 Bung P1 be(come).red-CAUS 6-eye 5.AM 3SG to 2SG  
 ‘Bung got angry at you.’

A prolonged manifestation of ANGER is encoded by inflecting the verbs in the idioms listed in (7a-1) for the progressive aspect, as illustrated by the collocation of *mànyúŋ* ‘blood’ and *kú?á* ‘climbing’ in (13a) and *àfó* ‘things’ and *bwìnkà* ‘rolling’ in (13b).

## (13) Expression of prolonged duration of anger

- (a) [BLOOD]<sub>SUBJ</sub> CLIMB *fá* [BODY [EXP]]<sub>PSR</sub> (*byì* PHM)  
*mà-nlyúŋ yì ŋ-kú?-á fá ā-wén á Búŋ (byì wù)*  
 6a-blood P1 N-climb-PROG from 5-body 5.AM Bung because 2SG  
 ‘Bung was persistently angry at you.’
- (b) [THINGS]<sub>SUBJ</sub> ROLL *fá* BELLY [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub> (*byì* PHM)  
*à-fó yì m-bwìnkà fá ā-bām á Búŋ (byì wù)*  
 8-thing P1 N-roll.PROG from 5-belly 5.AM Bung because 2SG  
 ‘Bung was persistently angry at you.’

In (13b) the progressive *-á* merges with the final schwa of *bwìnkà* ‘rolling’ which itself contains the repetitive *-kà* that has been petrified with *bwìn* ‘return’ to create *bwìnkà* ‘roll’.

It is striking that the experiencer is obligatorily encoded as possessor of the nouns ‘body’ or ‘belly’, i.e. the emotion is conceptualised either via body part noun ‘blood’ or by the noun ‘things’ which undergo specific events (‘climb’, ‘roll’) with respect to a locus (‘body’, ‘belly’).

The expression of ANGER distributed over a body part noun and a verb could also be nominalised in an associative construction with the experience itself expressed in a deverbal nominalisation, which obligatorily includes the causative suffix *-sá*, acting as the head noun and the locus of experience, i.e. the body part, as modifying possessor. Of all the collocations in (7a-1) only *fwì* ‘burn’, *bàŋ* ‘be(come) red’ and *byíf* ‘be(come) bad’ can be nominalised and combined with *tyín* ‘inside’, *àfì* ‘eyes’ and *àkà?* ‘face’ respectively, as in (14a-c).

## (14) Nominalised expressions of ANGER

- (a) *à-fwí-sá*      *á*      *tyín*      *á*      *byíf-á*  
 5-burn-CAUS    5.AM    9.inside    5.SM    be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Being angry is bad.’
- (b) *à-báŋ-sá*      *á*      *ā-fī*      *á*      *byíf-á*  
 5-red-CAUS    5.AM    6a-eyes    5.SM    be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Being angry is bad.’
- (c) *à-byíb-sá*      *á*      *ā-kà?*      *á*      *byíf-á*  
 5-spoil-CAUS    5.AM    5-face    5.SM    be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Being angry is bad.’

In constructions such as these, the experiencer role can be integrated as possessor of the nominalized verb that acts as head noun, while the phenomenon can be adjoined as complement in a prepositional phrase headed by *á* ‘at’, as illustrated in (15).

## (15) Nominalised expressions of ANGER with explicit mention of participants

- (a) [[BURN-CAUS] INSIDE [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub> *á* [PHM]]<sub>NP</sub>  
*à-fwí-sá*      *á*      *tyín*      *à*      *wù á*      *Búŋ*      *á*      *byíf-á*  
 5-burn-CAUS    5.AM    9.inside    9.AM    2SG at    Bung    5.SM    be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Your anger at Bung is bad.’
- (b) [[RED-CAUS] EYES [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub> *á* [PHM]]<sub>NP</sub>  
*à-báŋ-sá*      *á*      *á-fī*      *à*      *wù á*      *Búŋ*      *á*      *byíf-á*  
 5-red-CAUS    5.AM    6-eyes    5.AM    2SG at    Bung    5.SM    be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Your anger at Bung is bad.’

While the restricted set of phraseologisms mentioned above can be subjected to nominalisations as illustrated in (14), none of the phraseologisms of (7a-l) can be subjected to any derivational manipulations, i.e. neither are the nouns accessible to pluralisation (16a-b) nor are the verbs accessible to verbal derivations such as pluractional or attenuative (16c-d).

## (16) Derivationally induced catachresis in ANGER expressions

- (a) *\*tā-bām*      *tá*      *Búŋ*      *tá*      *záf-á*      (*byì*      *wùwì*      *yèn*)  
 13-belly    13.AM    Bung    13.SM    hurt-PROG    because    1.woman    DEM  
 ‘Bung’s bellies are hurting because of this woman.’
- (b) *\*mā-lwīlwī*      *mā*      *Búŋ*      *túmá*      (*byì*      *wù*)  
 6a-bile      6a.AM    Bung    burst    because    2S  
 ‘Bung’s biles have ruptured because of you.’
- (c) *\*mā-nlyúŋ*      *mā*      *Búŋ*      *līm-tā*      (*byì*      *wù*)  
 6a-blood    6a.AM    Bung    be(come) hot.ATT    because    2SG  
 ‘Bung’s blood is a bit hot because of you.’
- (d) *\*ā-fī*      *á*      *Búŋ*      *á*      *bāŋ-lā*      (*byì*      *wù*)  
 6-eye    6.AM    Bung    6.SM    be(come).red-PLUR    because    2SG  
 ‘Bung’s eyes have become red in many spots because of you.’

The verb *fwí* ‘burn’ used in the pragmatically neutral expression of ANGER can also be integrated into a larger verbal phrase, i.e. consecutive constructions with the verbs *byíf* ‘become bad’ (17a) and *kú?* ‘climb’ (17b).

- (17) Verbal expressions of ANGER in consecutive constructions
- (a) *tyín á fwi-i á byíf-á*  
 9.inside 9.AM burn-PROG CSC be(come).bad-PROG  
 ‘Getting angry is bad/dangerous.’
- (b) *tyín á fwi-i á kú?-á*  
 9.inside 5.AM burn-PROG CSC climb-PROG  
 ‘Anger is rising/building up.’

Table (5) presents a condensed overview of Babanki morphosyntactic strategies of ANGER expression, specified for their syntactic orientation and their crucial semantic-pragmatic parameters, i.e. intensity, duration and ascription of responsibility/control.

pragma-semantics	construction type	syntactic orientation	example
neutral	INSIDE of EXP BURN (because of PHM)	person’s part (inside)	1a
intensification	BODY PART of EXP PROCESS (because of PHM)	various body part nouns	1b-d, 4, 6a-b, 7, 9
increased control (EXP)	BODY PART of EXP PROCESS [EXP + PHM] <sub>COMP-PRON</sub>	various body part nouns	10
maximal control (EXP)	EXP PROCESS-CAUS BODY PART of EXP (because of PHM)	experiencer	12
maximal control (PHM)	PHM DO BODY PART of EXP PROCESS	phenomenon	11
increased duration	BODY PART PROCESS-PROG in BODY of EXP (because of PHM) THINGS ROLL in BELLY of EXP (because of PHM)	body part, things	13

Table 5: Pragmatic and syntactic parameters of anger expressions in Babanki

In pragmatically neutral contexts, the concept of anger is expressed in an attributive construction oriented towards the person part noun ‘inside’ which combines with the process verb ‘burn’. The experiencer role is encoded as possessor of the person part noun, while the phenomenon can be added in a prepositional adjunct. An upgrade of the degree of intensity of anger can be achieved by replacing the idiomatic collocation of ‘inside’ and ‘burn’ by a variety of other idioms that combine various body part nouns with process verbs, reflecting the conceptualization of the emotion of anger metonymically by reference to various physical phenomena that are perceived as its symptoms. Increased control of the experiencer over the rise of anger is signaled by apposition of a compound (pro)noun that includes reference to both the experiencer and the phenomenon, thereby construing the emotion as a product of

cooperation of phenomenon and experiencer. Maximal control over the emotion by either participant can be expressed by reorientation towards the experiencer or the phenomenon in an agentive construction. In case of experiencer reorientation, the body part nouns are demoted to the position of direct objects of the respective process verbs that need to undergo causativisation. In the case of phenomenon reorientation, the entire phraseme is integrated in a pivotal multiverb construction subordinate to the general causation verb ‘do’. A prolonged manifestation of anger is either encoded by inflecting the verbs in the idioms for the progressive aspect or by another idiom oriented towards the noun ‘things’ combined with the verb ‘roll’ and the body part location ‘belly’.

### 3.2 The regression of anger

In analogy to the rise of anger discussed in section 3.1 above, its regression and containment is also expressed via metaphorical constructions of the attributive type based on idioms which combine the body (part) nouns *àkà?* ‘face’, *àbàm* ‘belly’, *àwén* ‘body’, *àtyím* ‘heart’ and *mànlyúy* ‘blood’ with various action and inchoative-stative verbs, as visualised in table (6).

noun	verb
<i>àkà?</i> ‘face’	<i>só</i> ‘be(come) bright’
	<i>jità</i> ‘mend’
	<i>báyn</i> ‘shine’
<i>àbàm</i> ‘belly’	<i>bòy</i> ‘be(come) good’
<i>àwén</i> ‘body’	
<i>àtyím</i> ‘heart’	<i>bwá?só</i> ‘soften’
	<i>yá?</i> ‘hold’
<i>mànlyúy</i> ‘blood’	<i>ji?á</i> ‘descend’

Table 6: Noun and verb collocations for the expression of regression of anger

While *àbàm* ‘belly’, *àwén* ‘body’ and *mànlyúy* ‘blood’ combine only with a single verb each, *àkà?* ‘face’ and *àtyím* ‘heart’ are capable of combining with up to four different verbs each. As for the verbs, *bòy* ‘be(come) good’ collocates with four different body part nouns, while *ji?á* ‘descend’ combines with two and the rest are fixed to combine with a single noun only. The range of body part nouns employed in these idiomatic expressions for anger regression is reduced as compared with the ones for the rise of anger in table (4) above. While the body (part) nouns ‘belly’, ‘blood’, ‘face’ and ‘body’ occur in both, nouns such as ‘intestines’, ‘bile’ and ‘eyes’ are restricted to idioms for the rise of anger and the body part noun *àtyím* ‘heart’ is used for the expression of anger regression only and does not occur in idioms used to express the rise of anger.

In analogy to the expression of the rise of anger, pragmatically neutral expressions of anger regression are body-part oriented, i.e. the body part nouns

of table (6) above feature as subject while the experiencer role is construed as possessor. Mention of the phenomenon could optionally be made in an adjunct headed by the prepositions. The phenomenon is optionally introduced by *byi* ‘because of’ or *à* ‘for’.

## (18) Body-part oriented expressions of regression of ANGER

- (a) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BRIGHT (*byi* PHM)  
*à-kāʔ á Búŋ á só ʔlí (byi lì à wén)*  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).bright P0 because 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (b) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> SHINE (*à* PHM)  
*à-kāʔ á Búŋ á báyn ʔlí (à lì à wén)*  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM shine P0 for 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (c) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (*à* PHM)  
*à-kāʔ á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí (à lì à wén)*  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 for 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (d) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (*à* PHM)  
*à-bām á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí (à lì à wén)*  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 for 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (e) [[BODY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (*a* PHM)  
*à-wén á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí (à lì à wén)*  
 5-body 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 for 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (f) [[HEART]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (*à* PHM)  
*à-tyím á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí (à lì à wén)*  
 5-heart 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 for 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (g) [[HEART]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DESCEND [GROUND] (*byi* PHM)  
*à-tyím á Búŋ á fíʔá ʔlí á nsé (byi*  
 5-heart 5.AM Bung 5.SM descend P0 to 9.ground because  
*lì à wén)*  
 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (h) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DESCEND [GROUND] (*byi* PHM)  
*mà-nlyúŋ mà Búŋ fíʔá á nsé (byi*  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung descend to 9.ground because  
*lì à wén)*  
 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’

Parallel to the expressions of the rise of anger, compound (pro)nouns are used to construe the control of ANGER as a product of cooperation of both the phenomenon and the experiencer in body-part oriented expressions (19) where

the body part nouns of table (6) above feature as subject while the experiencer role is construed as possessor.

(19) Body-part oriented expressions of regression of ANGER

- (a) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) BRIGHT (PHM)  
 à-kāʔ á Búŋ á só ʔlí wéwàn  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).bright P0 3SG+child  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with the child.’
- (b) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> SHINE (PHM)  
 à-kāʔ á Búŋ á báyn ʔlí wyéwén  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM shine P0 2SG+3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with you.’
- (c) [[FACE]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (PHM)  
 à-kāʔ á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí wéwùwì  
 5-face 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 3SG+woman  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with the woman.’
- (d) [[BELLY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (PHM)  
 à-bām á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí wéwàn  
 5-belly 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 3SG+child  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with the child.’
- (e) [[BODY]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (PHM)  
 à-wén á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí wéwén  
 5-body 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 3SG+3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with her.’
- (f) [[HEART]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> BE(COME) GOOD (PHM)  
 à-tyím á Búŋ á bóŋà ʔlí wyéwén  
 5-heart 5.AM Bung 5.SM be(come).good P0 2SG+3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with you.’
- (g) [[HEART]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DESCEND [GROUND] (PHM)  
 à-tyím á Búŋ á fíʔá ʔlí á nsé wéwùwì  
 5-heart 5.AM Bung 5.SM descend P0 to 9.ground 3SG+woman  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with his mother.’
- (h) [[BLOOD]<sub>PSD</sub> [EXP]<sub>PSR</sub>]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DESCEND [GROUND] (PHM)  
 mà-nlyún mà Búŋ fíʔá á nsé wéwàn  
 6a-blood 6a.AM Bung descend to 9.ground 3SG+child  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry with the child.’

As in the case of expressions for the rise of anger, the re-orientation of the clause towards the experiencer assigns a higher degree of control to them, signalling that they actively make an effort to contain and control the emotion, i.e. suppress and subdue their anger. This increase in agentivity is directly reflected in the choice of manipulation verbs such as *kyé* ‘abandon’ (20a), *màʔà* ‘throw away’ (20b), *fíʔà* ‘mend’ (20c) and *yáʔ* ‘hold’ (20d) which imply maximal control on the side of the agent, and eventually in the obligatory application of the causative extension in stems such as *bwáʔ-sá* ‘soften’ (20e) and *fíʔ-sá* ‘lower, drop, sink’ (20f). Syntactically, this strategy requires the locus, i.e. the body part noun, to be integrated in a nominal possessive construction and shifted to direct object

position while the phenomenon could be introduced by the prepositions *byi* ‘because of’ or *à* ‘to’.

(20) Experiencer-oriented expressions of controlled containment of ANGER

- (a) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> ABANDON [INSIDE BURNING (POSS)]<sub>OBJ</sub> *byi* PHM  
*Búŋ yì kyè tyín á fwi-í á wén byì wù*  
 Bung P1 abandon 9.inside 9.AM burn-PROG 9.AM 3SG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung stopped being angry at you.’
- (b) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> THROW AWAY [INSIDE BURNING (POSS)]<sub>OBJ</sub> *byi* PHM  
*Búŋ yì mà?à tyín á fwi-í á wén byì wù*  
 Bung P1 throw away 9.inside 9.AM burn-PROG 9.AM 3SG because 2SG  
 ‘Bung stopped being angry at you.’
- (c) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> MEND [FACE POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*à* PHM)  
*Búŋ yì fità à-kā? á wén (ā wén)*  
 Bung P1 mend 5-face 5.AM 3S to 3SG  
 ‘Bung stopped being angry at him.’
- (d) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> HOLD [HEART POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*à* PHM)  
*Búŋ yá? ā-tyím á wén (à lì à wén)*  
 Bung hold 5-heart 5.AM 3SG to 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (e) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> SOFT-CAUS [HEART POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*à* PHM)  
*Búŋ bwá?-sá ā-tyím á wén (à lì à wén)*  
 Bung soften-CAUS 5-heart 5.AM 3SG to 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’
- (f) [EXP]<sub>SUBJ</sub> DESCEND-CAUS [HEART POSS]<sub>OBJ</sub> (*à* PHM)  
*Búŋ fí?-sá ā-tyím á wén (à lì à wén)*  
 Bung descend-CAUS 5-heart 5.AM 3SG to 1.mother 1.AM 3SG  
 ‘Bung is no longer angry at his mother.’

## 4 Conclusion

The concept of ANGER in Babanki is expressed metonymically and/or “metaphonymically” (Goossens 1990) by a range of idioms which combine body part nouns with various action or inchoative-stative verbs. Regarding the rise of anger, the nouns are the general locational noun ‘inside’ (of a person) or a whole range of body parts which are conceptualised as loci of the emotion, i.e. belly, blood, intestines, bile, eyes, face and also body itself. The body parts may burn, bubble, shiver, be(come) hot, be(come) red or be(come) stale. Regarding the regression of ANGER, expressions use a smaller number of body part nouns including the body part noun ‘heart’ that it not used in expressions for the rise of anger. In the regression of anger, these body parts become good, bright or shine, they are softened, descended, held or mended. The Babanki evidence manifests widespread conceptual metaphors such as ANGER IS FIRE/ANGER IS HEAT/ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses 1986, 2000, 2010). It supports the observation that “the use of expressions based on bodily symptoms and bodily image for expressing emotions is rather widespread cross-linguistically” (Ameka

2002: 29) and that possibly “in all languages one can talk about emotions by referring to externally observable bodily events and processes understood as symptoms of inner feelings” Wierzbicka (1999: 294). Of particular interest, however, is the finding that the concept ANGER has to be expressed by metonymical reference to bodily events in Babanki, since there is no congruent expression available. A similar situation has been reported for Akan (Ghana) where ANGER is expressed figuratively as the process of a person’s chest growing weed (Ansah 2011). The question remains as to why languages lack direct lexicalisations of emotion concepts and whether this has something to do with the socially disruptive potential of (talking about) anger.

## Abbreviations

1SG first person singular, 2SG second person singular, 3SG third person singular, 1PL first person plural, 3PL third person plural, 1...19 noun classes, AM associative marker, ATT attenuative, CAUS causative, COMP compound, CSC consecutive, ENC enclitic EXP experiencer, N nasal, OBJ object, P0 present/perfect tense, P1 immediate past tense, PHM phenomenon, PLUR pluractional, POSS possessive, PROG progressive, PRON pronoun, PSD possessed noun, PSM possessum, PSR possessor, REP repetitive, SM subject, SUBJ subject

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