



HAL
open science

Introduction. Grammar, culture, and emotion tropes

Maïa Ponsonnet, Dorothea Hoffmann, Isabel O'keeffe

► **To cite this version:**

Maïa Ponsonnet, Dorothea Hoffmann, Isabel O'keeffe. Introduction. Grammar, culture, and emotion tropes. Emotion, body and mind across a continent: Figurative representations of emotions in Australian Aboriginal languages, 27 (1), pp.1-19, 2020, 10.1075/pc.00010.int . hal-04629510

HAL Id: hal-04629510

<https://hal.science/hal-04629510>

Submitted on 15 Jul 2024

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

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

John Benjamins Publishing Company



This is a contribution from *Pragmatics & Cognition* 27:1
© 2020. John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. The author(s) of this article is/are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Permission is granted by the publishers to post this file on a closed server which is accessible only to members (students and faculty) of the author's/s' institute. It is not permitted to post this PDF on the internet, or to share it on sites such as Mendeley, ResearchGate, Academia.edu.

Please see our rights policy on <https://benjamins.com/content/customers/rights>

For any other use of this material prior written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

Please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website: www.benjamins.com

Introduction

Grammar, culture, and emotion tropes

Maïa Ponsonnet^{1,2,4} Dorothea Hoffmann³ and
Isabel O’Keeffe⁴

¹The University of Western Australia | ²Centre of Excellence for the
Dynamics of Language | ³University of Oregon | ⁴The University of
Sydney

It sounds somewhat pleonastic to observe that human bodies are omnipresent in the life of human beings. Not only is every person intimately acquainted with their own body and its parts in many different ways, our visual and social environment is also saturated with other human bodies. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that body parts feature amongst the most productive symbols in human linguistic and semiotic systems (Brown & Witkowski 1981; Zlatev 2007). Linguistically, body-part words are well known for their broad semantic extensions, from parts of the landscape (‘the mouth of the river’) to artefacts (‘the foot of the table’), via spatial orientation (‘at the back’) and natural organisms (e.g. ‘eye’/‘seed’ colexification). Perhaps the richest semantic connections are between body parts and other, more abstract aspects of the person, in particular intellectual and emotional states (Sharifian et al. 2008a).

The present special issue focuses on the semantic associations between body parts and emotions. It compiles contributions from a 2017 Australian Linguistic Society workshop entitled *Emotion metaphors in Australian languages: The role of the body*,¹ edited by Maïa Ponsonnet, Dorothea Hoffman and Isabel O’Keeffe.² The linguistic description of emotions by means of figurative lexicalized expressions involving body parts – like ‘heart-broken’ in English – is overwhelmingly frequent cross-linguistically. Wierzbicka (1999: 276) even suggested that it may be universal. As demonstrated by Enfield & Wierzbicka (2002) (*Pragmatics and Cognition* 10(1), special issue ‘The Body in Descriptions of Emotions’), such body-based descrip-

1. Annual Meeting of the Australian Linguistic Society, The University of Sydney, 7 December 2017.

2. Respectively from The University of Western Australia, The University of Oregon, and The University of Sydney.

tions of emotions often present very different forms in different languages. In some languages, the phenomenon is relatively marginal (e.g. Germanic or Romance languages); in others it is widespread and/or more prevalent in usage, so that body-based emotional expressions form ramified figurative systems of conceptually coherent metonymies and metaphors. This collection of articles considers a continent, Australia, where the phenomenon is prevalent.

This short introduction to this collection is organized as follows. Section 1 gives an overview of what is already known about body-based emotion tropes across the world's languages, and identifies where our knowledge is lacking. Sections 2 to 4 explain how this volume advances our current understanding of the phenomenon, not just by accumulating more data but by bringing comparable data (Section 2), introducing and applying a framework against which the data can be interpreted (Section 3), and articulating specific research questions, which I also begin to answer here (Section 4). Finally, Section 5 presents a brief summary of each of the contributions in this special issue.

1. State of the art

Across languages, language families and continents, a large number of body parts can associate with many different emotions, via a broad range of figurative pathways (see Sharifian et al.'s 2008b preliminary typology). Apart from Sharifian et al.'s (2008a) collective volume, which focuses largely on body parts treated as the main seat of emotions (mostly the heart, belly and head), relatively little is known about the typology of body-based emotional tropes. In fact, in spite of the relatively extensive literature on the topic, comprehensive language-specific descriptions are somewhat scant. Only in a few languages, such as Burmese (Vittrant 2013) or the Australian language Dalabon (Gunwinyguan, non-Pama-Nyungan, Ponsonnet 2014), have body-based figurative expressions for emotions been examined in detail. Table 1 offers a list of publications that contain significant data on this phenomenon. While this inventory is not exhaustive, it does include most of the readily available literature. All continents present comparable coverage, to the exception of the American continent: northern America is absent, and Latin America is only marginally documented. However, although more than 30 languages are listed, the last column indicates that very few publications offer a systematic account.

Many of the sources referenced in Table 1 were published in Sharifian et al.'s edited volume (2008a). The editors' introduction to the volume sets clear typological aims and summarizes important results regarding which body parts are treated across the world as the seat of cognition and emotion. The authors distinguish "three types of conceptualizations [that] can be labelled 'abdominocen-

Table 1. Non-exhaustive list of publications containing substantial information about body-based emotional tropes

Language	Reference	Extent and notes
Australia		
Dalabon	(Ponsonnet 2014)	Systematic documentation.
Kaytetye	(Turpin 2002)	Belly, throat and back.
Kuuk Thayorree	(Gaby 2008)	Systematic overview.
Oceania		
Daakaka (Vanuatu)	(von Prince 2017)	Not exhaustive, interest in morphosyntactic status of expressions.
Indonesian	(Siahaan 2008)	Focuses on seats of emotion/cognition.
Kuot (PNG)	(Lindström 2002)	Focuses on belly and skin.
Koromu (PNG)	(Priestley 2002)	Focuses on body image.
Kilivila (Trobriand)	(Senft 1998)	Systematic overview.
Asia		
Burmese	(Vittrant 2013, 2017)	Systematic overview.
Chinese	(Yu 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
Ancient Chinese	(Maréchal 2017)	Focuses on the heart and mouth.
Hmong	(Mouton 2019)	Systematic overview.
Japanese	(Ikegami 2008)	Focuses on the seat of emotions, with appendix covering all body parts.
Japanese	(Occhi 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
Japanese	(Hasada 2002)	Several body parts are discussed albeit mostly organs.
Korean	(Yoon 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
Lao	(Enfield 2002)	Focuses on the heart, interest in figurative status.
Malay	(Goddard 2008)	Focuses on seats of emotions.
Vietnamese	(Dao & Do-Hurinville 2017)	Not exhaustive, interest in morphosyntactic status of expressions.

Table 1. (continued)

Language	Reference	Extent and notes
Africa		
Dogon languages	(McPherson & Prokhorov 2011)	Focuses on the liver, with discussion of morphology.
Ewe (Ghana)	(Ameka 2002)	Focuses on the eyes.
Nilotic and Bantu languages	(Dimmendaal 2002)	Focuses on internal organs, explores morphosyntactic status of expressions.
Tunisian Arabic	(Maalej 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
Wolof	(Bondeelle 2011)	Focuses on the heart, explores morphosyntactic status of expressions.
Zulu	(Taylor & Mbense 1998)	Focuses on metaphors of anger, but heart and other physiological processes mentioned.
Europe		
Basque	(Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2008)	Covers four internal organs.
Dutch	(Foolen 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
English	(Niemeier 2008)	Focuses on heart and head.
Old English	(Geeraerts & Gevaert 2008)	Focuses on the heart.
Middle East		
Aramaic & Syriac	(Wolk 2008)	Focuses on the heart, but has a table of all body parts.
Hebrew	(Kidron & Kuzar 2002)	Interest in subcategorization and the notion of control.
Persian	(Sharifian 2008)	Focuses on heart and stomach.
America		
Kakataibo (Peru)	(Maravi Espinoza 2015)	On emotion metaphors, with mention of body parts.
Oneida (US, Canada)	(Michelson 2002)	Overview of all body parts, perhaps not systematic.

trism', 'cardiocentrism', and 'cerebrocentrism' (or 'cephalocentrism'), respectively" (Sharifian et al. 2008a:5). Based on the individual studies in the volume, they suggest that abdominocentric languages are dispersed around the world; cardio-centrism is prevalent in East Asia; while European and North-African cultures

exhibit a dualistic mix of cardiocentrism (seat of emotions) and cerebrocentrism (seat of intellect). The welcome focus of the volume on seats of emotion implies that the roles of secondary body parts does not attract much attention, or at least not systematic attention, throughout the volume.

Apart from Sharifian et al.'s collection and the specific question of which body parts are treated as a seat of emotions, publications on body-based emotional expressions are only very minimally cumulative. In order to articulate interesting observations, most individual publications approach the question from a particular angle, for instance a language-specific contrast (e.g. between belly and skin in Kuot, Lindström 2002), a specific emotion (e.g. Taylor & Mbense (1998) about anger metaphors in Zulu), or a morphosyntactic question about the nature of the collocations/compounds (e.g. Von Prince (2017) about Daakaka in Vanuatu). While adopting a specific angle contributes to making each article more interesting per se, this produces a multitude of snapshots rather than a panoramic picture. When tackling the question of body-based emotional tropes, authors have so far rarely built upon a common framework or a previously articulated argument; neither do they aim for exhaustive presentation of the data. As a result, it is very difficult to extract any generalizations.

The design of the present special issue seeks to address this lacuna to favour comparability and theoretical coherence. This is achieved via typological cohesion, a shared framework, and the articulation of overarching research questions, as presented in the Sections 2 to 4 below.

2. Typological cohesion

Firstly, the volume focuses on one single continent, Australia, where some linguistic and cultural homogeneity has previously been observed, particularly in the domain of emotions (Ponsonnet 2020, to appear). While body-based emotional expressions have already been discussed for a few Australian languages (Turpin 2002; Gaby 2008; Ponsonnet 2014, 2017, and cursory discussions for instance in Walsh 1996; Peile 1997, *inter alia*), this volume offers the first coherent collection, including a continent-wide typology. This continental focus sets individual descriptions against a common interpretative background, which helps us make sense of the echoes and differences detected with respect to the role of body parts in emotional tropes.

A total of nine languages are considered in some detail, including languages from very different regions, on both sides of the Pama-Nyungan/non-Pama-Nyungan major divide, with a range of grammatical profiles, and different levels of endangerment. Non-Pama-Nyungan, polysynthetic languages are better repre-

sented, which is appropriate given that they are grammatically more diverse than the Pama-Nyungan family, and are better suited to answer a number of the research questions (see Section 4). Ponsonnet & Laginha’s typology of body-based tropes in Australian languages offers a background against which body/emotion linguistic associations in each focus language can be understood and compared. This typology is based on a balanced sample of 67 languages, in which around 30 distinct body parts are attested in emotional expressions. The belly is by far the most frequent, and a dozen other body parts also have significant representations. These include, in this order, the heart and generic terms for the abdomen, as well as the eyes, nose, head, face, ears, throat, chest, forehead, and liver.

Comparability across articles and languages is also enhanced by a second distinctive feature of the volume, which is that most contributions aim for systematic, if not exhaustive documentation of all the body-based emotional tropes attested in a given language, and even of other aspects of the figurative representations of emotions. This includes for instance the discussion of the pragmatic and cultural contexts where emotion tropes are used (Amery on Kaurna, Kofod & Crane on Gija), or observations about semantically related domains, for instance cognition, or body-based insults (Hoffmann on MalakMalak). Most articles provide thorough analyses of the grammatical properties in which emotion tropes are embedded. Argument structures in particular are thoroughly discussed, which is useful because they partly shape figurative roles in emotional tropes (see 4.1.1). Other means to build emotional tropes *without* body parts, such as emotion nouns and coverb constructions, are often considered as well. As a result, the collection does sketch a panoramic view on figurative representations of emotions across one continent, with a focus on the linguistic role of body parts.

3. A framework

Another important step forward in this volume is that it proposes an explicit, transposable framework to analyse and classify body-based emotional tropes. Consequently, for the first time we see a number of articles dealing with different languages on the basis of a shared framework. This is particularly useful to organize exhaustive descriptions into meaningful discussions. Laid out by Ponsonnet & Laginha, the framework is inspired by the Australian-wide typology presented in the same article, as well as by language-specific studies (in the volume, but see also Ponsonnet (2014) on Dalabon). It identifies and labels a number of types of body-based tropes that tend to recur in many Australian languages (Ponsonnet & Laginha; see also Ponsonnet (2014: Chapters 8–9)):

- **Generic metonymies:** the body part is described as ‘good’ or ‘bad’.
- **Experiencer metonymies:** the expression contains a term that is an emotional term itself, for instance, be ‘sad from the belly’, ‘stubborn from the head’; or where a response to an emotion is attributed to the body part, for instance ‘shake from the chest’, ‘cry from the liver’.
- **Body-part-for-emotion metonymies:** the body part itself represents the emotion, as in ‘becoming throat’ for ‘desire someone’.
- **Somatic metonymies:** a physiological state of the body part represents an emotion, for instance ‘numb belly’ for ‘surprised’.
- **Behavioral metonymies:** an expression describes a behavior that involves the body part – for instance ‘bend one’s back’ for ‘sulk’.
- **Physical-properties metaphors:** a property that is not a plausible state of the body part in question represents an emotion (for instance destruction, alteration, resistance, mobility, posture or position, color...).
- **Perception metaphors:** emotions are represented as perceptions of the body part, e.g. ‘liver hear/feel’ for ‘dread’.
- **Patientive metaphors:** the emotion corresponds to the body part being impacted, for instance hit or bitten (e.g. ‘chest hitting itself’ for ‘feeling sorry’).
- **Agentive metaphors:** the body part is described as acting upon a patientive element, e.g. eating; these sometimes evoke violence, e.g. hitting, biting, throwing, etc.

This framework is directly operationalized in Ponsonnet & Laginha’s typology itself, as well as in Bednall on Anindilyakwa, and O’Keeffe, Singer & Coleman on Kunbarlang, Bininj Kunwok, Mawng and Ndjébbana, Laughren & Ponsonnet on Warlpiri. This shared interpretative grid greatly improves comparability between the languages to which it is applied, and also helps drawing connections with languages for which it is used more sparingly. Some authors have extended or modified this framework to accommodate the data in the language under consideration (e.g. Bednall on Anindilyakwa), but this does not impede comparability – on the contrary. While the types postulated in this framework account primarily for the body-based emotional tropes as they occur in Australian languages, it will be interesting to see if future research can adapt it to account for body-based emotion metaphors elsewhere in the world.

4. Research questions

4.1 Grammatical constraints on figurative representations of emotions

Beyond typologically consistent descriptions and a shared framework, the articles in this volume are also informed by a number of common questions that they all contribute to answer, in one way or another. The most central theme concerns the roles of linguistic vs. cultural factors in shaping emotion tropes. To which extent does the grammatical architecture of a particular language influence figurative representations of emotions in a given language? Are emotional tropes strongly determined by linguistic inheritance? How permeable are they to cultural contact or influence, either via linguistic borrowings, or due to the influence of shared representations in shaping metaphors?

4.1.1 *Noun incorporation*

A case in point regarding purely grammatical influence is, for instance, the role of noun incorporation with respect to body-based metaphors. Ponsonnet’s (2014) work on body-based tropes in Dalabon, a Gunwinyguan language of northern Australia, shows that in this polysynthetic language, body-based representations of emotions are woven into noun-incorporation constructions. The vast majority of emotional body-based expressions in this language – as in other languages of this family, all polysynthetic (O’Keeffe et al. this volume) – are lexicalized noun-incorporation constructions. For example, *ngah-kangu-yowwow*, ‘I+‘belly’+‘flow’ reads as ‘my belly flows’ literally, but the figurative meaning is ‘I feel good/I am nice or kind’. This raises the question of the influence of the grammar of noun incorporation on the range of body-based emotional tropes available in polysynthetic languages, where most of these tropes are built upon this construction.

Evidently, the existence of body-based tropes is not conditioned by noun incorporation: many languages in the world have developed them without resorting to this particular construction (see Amery on Kaurua, Laughren & Ponsonnet on Warlpiri, Vittrant 2013 on Burmese, Von Prince 2017 on Daakaka, Vanuatu, among many others). However, noun incorporation may limit the type of tropes available because syntactic noun incorporation usually confines incorporated body-parts nouns to certain syntactic and semantic roles in a sentence. This, in turn, seems to limit the range of grammatically affordable metaphors. In Dalabon, like in many other languages featuring noun incorporation (Evans 1996; Ponsonnet 2015), incorporated body-part nouns are normally interpreted as part of the absolutive argument, i.e. part of an intransitive subject (S) or part of the object in transitive sentence (O). Incorporated body-parts nouns cannot be in ergative roles, i.e. they cannot express a transitive subject. This seems to correlate with a limitation on figurative representations of emotions: in Dalabon, body parts are never represented

as agents in emotion metaphors. In other words, one can be described as ‘flowing from the belly’, ‘cracked from the belly’, ‘good in the belly’, etc.; but there are no figurative expressions involving an agentive body part impacting on something else, such as one’s belly perceiving something or hitting something for instance.

If such representations are indeed blocked because Dalabon body-based emotional tropes are based upon noun-incorporation constructions, rather than for instance by cultural influence, one would make the following predictions. In other languages where noun incorporation plays the same grammatical role as in Dalabon, body-based emotional tropes would be expected to undergo the same limitation, irrespective of the cultural context. While languages with less productive noun incorporation would not display such limitations, even when spoken in a comparable cultural context. This would indeed suggest that the absence of certain agentive representations of body parts in emotion metaphors results from certain grammatical features in these languages. Several of the articles in this volume shed further light on this question, supporting the hypothesis that noun incorporation constrains body-based emotion tropes. Laughren & Ponsonnet observe that in the Pama-Nyungan, non-polysynthetic Warlpiri, emotions are figuratively depicted as perceptions of the belly. For instance, a sentence meaning literally ‘I/My belly see that you run away from me’ means ‘I worry about you running away from me’. In such metaphors, the belly perceives the stimulus of the emotion, i.e. the body part is in an ergative role.³ Ponsonnet & Laginha report comparable metaphors in several other Pama-Nyungan languages, as confirmed by Amery (this volume) for Kaurna, a Pama-Nyungan language of South Australia. On the other hand, such perception metaphors are absent from the systematic inventories of languages where noun incorporation plays a role or has played a role in the past (Anindilyakwa, Bednall; Kunbarlang, Bininj Kunwok, O’Keeffe et al.; MalakMalak, Hoffmann). This points to a possible locus of influence of noun incorporation upon emotion metaphors.

4.1.2 *Coverb/generic verb constructions*

The question of the influence of grammar upon figurative representations of emotions is also explored with respect to constructions that do not involve body-parts nouns. Whatever their grammatical base, body-part emotional tropes in Australia are consistent enough, cross-linguistically, that they can be assigned to one of the types listed in Section 3, or some slightly adapted version of this list (see Bednall or Laughren & Ponsonnet, this volume). In other words, body-based figurative representations of emotions share some sort of common profile – whether this is specific to Australia or applicable across the world. These commonalities become

3. On a par with the person whose belly it is, because in Warlpiri body part nouns share their case/syntactic role with their whole, see Laughren & Warlpiri.

particularly evident when we compare body-based tropes to the tropes produced by completely different linguistic means, not involving body parts, such as coverb constructions for instance.

Australian languages are rich in complex predicates, including coverb/generic verb constructions (Schultze-Berndt 2000; Bowern 2014). Although their syntax is well known, like their semantics to some extent, the figurative role of coverbs with respect to emotions had not been studied so far (to my knowledge). In this volume, Kofod & Crane address this gap by looking at coverbs in Gija, a Jarragan language of the non-Pama-Nyungan group (Kimberley). They show that in coverb/generic verb constructions that describe emotions, speakers' choice of generic verbs produce metaphors whereby emotional impact is associated with physical violence. Namely, speakers can choose generic verbs meaning HIT or SPEAR, instead of more neutral transitive forms such as GET and PUT, when describing emotionally impactful events. This suggests a figurative realm entirely distinct from that of body-based tropes. Interestingly, figurative representations of emotions as physical violence are not attested with Gija body-based tropes. Such metaphors are relatively rare in Australia when the body is involved (see Ponsonnet & Laginha, Laughren & Ponsonnet), and in fact practically unattested in non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Yet, Kofod & Crane show that in Gija, physical violence forms the base of figurative representations of emotions when these are grammatically anchored in coverb/generic verb constructions. This is another indication that grammar does influence figurative representations of emotions.

4.2 Inheritance, contact and figurative representations of emotions

When exploring the role of linguistic factors in shaping emotion tropes, other influences to be considered apart from grammatical architecture are the inheritance and borrowing of tropes. Inheritance is a strong linguistic determination, and if most tropes in a given language are the products of the language's linguistic history, then cultural influence must play a lesser role (Gevaert 2005; Geeraerts & Gevaert 2008). Do languages that share a common ancestor continue to share the same tropes even if their speakers have drifted away geographically, or culturally? This would suggest strong linguistic determination. On the contrary, if two languages from different stocks were spoken in comparable cultural settings, would their respective tropes resemble each other more than the rest of their grammar? This would suggest that cultural factors – linguistic borrowing, or sharing representations that in turn influence borrowing – are significant. Although the effects of shared inheritance are difficult to tease apart from the effects of contact and cultural similarity in the Australian context (Miceli 2015), there are ways to unveil their respective impact on figurative representations of emotion.

Some of the articles presented in this special issue begin to explore these questions, and set some of the background against which future research could answer them (see also Ponsonnet, Bednall & O’Keeffe 2019). The wealth of data made available for a range of languages with some genealogical comparability offers important starting points. More specifically, O’Keeffe, Coleman & Singer’s study of Arnhem Land languages directly addresses the question of inheritance and contact. The authors compare Kunbarlang, from the Gunwinyguan family, with three other languages. One of them, Bininj Kunwok, belongs to the same family, so that shared inheritance is expected. The other two belong to neighbouring families: Mawng to the Iwaidjan family and Njébbana to the Maningridan family. In terms of contact, Kunbarlang is the immediate neighbour of Mawng and Njébbana, while Bininj Kunwok is a bit further removed. In this configuration, the degree of resemblance between emotional tropes in Kunbarlang and Bininj Kunwok gives a measure of shared inheritance; while the degree of resemblance of Kunbarlang with Mawng and Njébbana gives a measure of the impact of contact.

The study suggests complex patterns of resemblances that will require careful quantification in future studies (Ponsonnet, Bednall & O’Keeffe 2019). Kunbarlang and Bininj Kunwok seem to share versions of the same figurative system as far as body-based emotional tropes are concerned, which indicates that linguistic inheritance probably plays a fairly strong role in determining which tropes a given language has. Yet, Kunbarlang also shares some features with its neighbours Mawng and Njébbana, suggesting that some emotion tropes do get borrowed, albeit without full replacement of the system. While it is too early to draw firm conclusions on these matters, O’Keeffe, Coleman & Singer’s contribution also raises more general methodological questions about how to measure the distance between languages when it comes to the multifaceted phenomenon of body-based emotion tropes. Combined with Bednall’s discussion of Anindilyakwa (this volume), another Gunwinyguan language, and existing publications on Dalabon (Ponsonnet 2014), this paves the way for fruitful future research on the influence of inheritance and contact on figurative language, focusing on the Gunwinyguan family.

5. Summary of contributions

Notwithstanding the common aims and general coherence highlighted above, each of the articles in the issue also adopts a particular angle on body-based emotion tropes, bringing its own insights. Here the contributions are summarized in their order of appearance.

As already mentioned, **Ponsonnet & Laginha** present a typology of body-based emotion metaphors in Australian languages. The results in terms of strict

distribution of body parts are summarized in Section 2, and Section 3 recapitulates their framework. Further, Ponsonnet & Laginha’s study shows how certain properties of body parts – e.g. whether they are internal organs, visible facial parts – may indicate which historical scenarios led to their linguistic associations with emotions, and in turn, their semantic and figurative properties.

O’Keeffe, Singer & Coleman’s comparative study of Kunbarlang (Gunwinyguan), Bininj Kunwok (Gunwinyguan), Mawng (Iwaidjan) and Njébbana (Maningridan) has already been mentioned in some detail in 4.2. All four are polysynthetic non-Pama-Nyungan languages spoken in the multilingual yet socioculturally unified context of western Arnhem, in the centre north of Australia’s Top End (Northern Territory). The pivot of the study is Kunbarlang, which shares genetic inheritance with Bininj Kunwok, but is in intense contact with the neighboring Mawng and Njébbana, from different genetic stocks. With this configuration, the comparison sheds light on the respective roles of inheritance and contact in determining emotional tropes. O’Keeffe, Singer & Coleman not only cover body-based tropes systematically, they also consider emotion nouns and tropes that do not involve body parts. As discussed above, the results suggest that Kunbarlang emotion tropes remain close to those of their Gunwinyguan neighbour, Bininj Kunwok, suggesting that shared inheritance plays a significant role in linguistic figurative features. Yet, there is also good evidence that Kunbarlang’s neighbours from other language families must have contributed specific expressions in a number of instances, resulting in a mixed figurative system.

Also on the Gunwinyguan family, **Bednall** offers a comprehensive study of the figurative representations of emotions in Anindilyakwa, spoken in the east of the Top End (Northern Territory). Bednall draws directly from Ponsonnet & Laginha’s framework, which makes his account highly comparable with other studies in the volume, in particular O’Keeffe, Singer & Coleman’s data on Kunbarlang and Bininj Kunwok. Adding Ponsonnet’s (2014) account of Dalabon, also Gunwinyguan, this allows a relatively comprehensive comparison across this family, from its westernmost members (Kunbarlang) to its easternmost members (Anindilyakwa). Bednall’s discussion of Anindilyakwa reveals a system of body-based emotional tropes bearing little resemblance with what is observed to the east of the Gunwinyguan region. The most prevalent body part is the chest, rather than the belly or heart in the west. The chest strongly connects to cognition as well as to emotion, and the tropes themselves differ from the ones observed in the Gunwinyguan languages to the west. For instance, we find distinctive somatic metonymies that could evoke chest infections. Even speakers’ metalinguistic awareness of the tropes seems to differ, being apparently lower for Anindilyakwa than in the rest of the Gunwinyguan family. Whether this ‘figurative distance’ between Anindilyakwa and western Gunwinyguan languages is greater than the ‘grammatical distance’ between them is a question for future research.

Hoffmann's article takes us to MalakMalak, a critically endangered non-Pama-Nyungan language of the Daly River area to the west of the Top End (Northern Territory). MalakMalak offers a particularly interesting grammatical comparison, because noun incorporation is no longer productive in this language, but probably was in the past. Synchronically, noun incorporation is frequent in body-based emotional collocations, but uncommon in any other semantic domain of the language, which again sheds an interesting light on the questions raised in 4.1.1. In terms of the body parts involved, the belly is once more the most frequent, along with head and ear for state of mind and cognition. Hoffman's article sets body-based emotional expressions into a broader semantic context, by covering the full range of body-related semantic extensions. These include the domains of emotion, cognition, but also personality traits (with insults); significant people and places; as well as number and time.

Travelling further west, **Kofod & Crane** focus on Gija, a non-Pama-Nyungan language from the East Kimberley in northern Western Australia. The first part of the article covers body-based tropes, where the belly plays a prominent role. Gija is less synthetic than some other members of the non-Pama-Nyungan group, and body-based collocations in this language do not feature incorporated body-part nouns. This provides a useful point of comparison with reference to the research question outlined in 4.1. In addition, Kofod & Crane explore the history and semantics of two body-related emotion nouns, in particular the pan-regional *liyan*, glossed as 'good feeling in the guts, deeply contented, comforted'. This is particularly helpful, as this noun is regularly borrowed in English in discussions about well-being in Australian Indigenous communities (for instance in the media). Finally, Kofod & Crane also present metaphors based on coverb/generic verb constructions, a phenomenon that had never been considered in Australia so far. They show that metaphors embedded in this part of the Gija grammar mostly depict emotional impact as physical impact – a metaphor that remains unattested in Gija body-based metaphors, and generally marginal in body-based metaphors across the continent. As discussed in 4.1.2, this offers a perspective onto the role of grammar in determining emotion metaphors.

Laughren & Ponsonnet discuss body-based emotional tropes in Warlpiri, a Pama-Nyungan language of the Ngumpin-Yapa subgroup spoken in Central Australia. This is the only article in the volume to focus on just two body parts, namely the belly, involved in representations of emotions, and the ear involved in representations of cognitive and intellectual states. With less to cover, the authors are able to dive into detailed syntactic analysis of the argument structure of each collocation, and how they are reflected in the tropes. This detailed account in turn allows for insightful comparisons with what other contributions in the volume reveal of non-Pama-Nyungan languages, particularly the polysynthetic ones. The presence, in Warlpiri, of metaphors representing emotions as perceptions by the belly, and their

relation with noun incorporation, have already been discussed in 4.1.1. Laughren & Ponsonnet also discuss metaphors representing emotions as harm or violence done to the belly, which are attested in a number of Pama-Nyungan languages, but virtually absent in non-Pama-Nyungan languages. The article also notes lexicalized reflexive constructions with emotional semantics, comparable to those observed in Romance or Germanic languages for instance.

Finally, **Amery’s** contribution on Kaurna, apart from offering very welcome data from a Pama-Nyungan language in the southern part of the continent, also provides a unique discussion of emotion tropes in the context of language reclamation. Kaurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia, is an awakening language where a remarkable number of emotion terms and tropes can be recollected from 19th century documentation. Attested body-based expressions primarily involve the liver (but not the belly), affording insights into how liver-based expressions are used. Other important body parts are the chest and lungs, with the heart only playing a minor role. There are also more elusive terms such as the *muiyu* ‘pit of the stomach’ or *yitpi* ‘seed’, playing a central role in representations of emotions. Importantly, Amery also examines the historical and social context in which body-based emotional collocations occur. This includes the context in which they were documented; but also the ways in which this documentation is used today, and the significance of body-based figurative representations of emotions for new speakers in the context of reclamation.

Considered altogether, the seven contributions in this special issue begin to sketch a clearer picture of the typology of body-based emotion tropes in Australian languages – from the body parts involved to their relationship with grammar, including of course their semantics and some pragmatic insights. It is hoped that this collection will inspire future research, focusing on other regions of the world or language families, as this would afford us very valuable comparisons, as well as further answers to the research questions discussed in this introduction.

We would like to dedicate this special issue to Prof Farzad Sharifian, who left us unexpectedly just a few weeks after the first draft of this introduction was written.

References

- Ameka, Felix. 2002. Cultural scripting of body part for emotions: On “jealousy” and related emotions in Ewe. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 271–303. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.03ame>

- Bondeelle, Olivier. 2011. From body to emotion in Wolof: A phraseology process. In Gian Claudio Batic (ed.), *Encoding emotions in African languages*, 17–36. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Bowern, Claire. 2014. Complex predicates in Australian languages. In Harold Koch & Rachel Nordlinger (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Australia: A comprehensive guide*, 263–294. Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110279771.263>
- Brown, Cecil H. & Stanley R. Witkowski. 1981. Symbolism and cognition. *American Ethnologist* 8(3). 596–615. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1981.8.3.02a00110>
- Dao, Huy Linh & Danh Thanh Do-Hurinville. 2017. Expression des émotions (psycho-collocations), des sensations physique et des traits de caractère en vietnamien. In Nicole Tersis & Pascal Boyeldieu (eds.), *Le langage de l'émotion: Variations linguistiques et culturelles* 2, 583–600. Paris: Peeters.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit. 2002. Colourful psi's sleep furiously. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 57–83. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Enfield, Nick J. 2002. Semantic analysis of body parts in emotion terminology: Avoiding the exoticism of “obstinate monosemy” and “online extension.” In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10(1/2), 1–25. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.05enf>
- Enfield, Nick J. & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.). 2002. *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*. Vol. 10. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Nicholas. 1996. The syntax and semantics of body part incorporation in Mayali. In Hilary Chappell & William McGregor (eds.), *The grammar of inalienability: A typological perspective on body part terms and part whole relation*, 65–109. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110822137.65>
- Foolen, Ad. 2008. The heart as a source of semiosis: The case of Dutch. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 373–394. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gaby, Alice R. 2008. Guts feelings: Locating emotion, life force and intellect in the Thaayorre body. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Yu Ning & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Body, culture and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 27–44. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, Dirk & Caroline Gevaert. 2008. Hearts and (angry) minds in Old English. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 319–347. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gevaert, Caroline. 2005. The ANGER IS HEAT question: Detecting cultural influence on the conceptualization of anger through diachronic corpus analysis. In Nicole Delbecq, Johan Van der Auwera & Dirk Geeraerts (eds.), *Perspectives on variations: Sociolinguistic, historical, comparative*, 195–208. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110909579.195>
- Goddard, Cliff. 2008. Contrastive semantics and cultural psychology: English *heart* vs. Malay *hati*. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 75–102. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Hasada, Rie. 2002. “Body-part” terms and emotions in Japanese. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 271–303. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.06has>
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide. 2008. Guts, heart and liver: The conceptualization of internal organs in Basque. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Yu Ning & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ikegami, Yoshihiko. 2008. The heart: What it means to the Japanese speakers. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 167–189. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kidron, Yael & Ron Kuzar. 2002. My face is paling against my will: Emotion and control in English and Hebrew. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 129–157. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.07kid>
- Lindström, Eva. 2002. The body in expressions of emotion: Kuot. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 159–184. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.08lin>
- Maalej, Zouhair. 2008. The heart and cultural embodiment in Tunisian Arabic. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 395–428. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Maravi Espinoza, Victoria R. 2015. *Metaforas emocionales en el kakataibo*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Maréchal, Chrystelle. 2017. Les émotions en Chine ancienne: Une analyse sémantico-graphique et sociale. In Nicole Tersis & Pascal Boyeldieu (eds.), *Le Langage de l’émotion: Variations linguistiques et culturelles*, 197–210. Paris: Peeters.
- McPherson, Laura & Kirill Prokhorov. 2011. Structural correlates of “liver” expressions in Dogon emotional vocabulary. In Gian Claudio Batic (ed.), *Encoding emotions in African languages*, 38–55. Munich: LINCOM Europa.
- Miceli, Luisa. 2015. Pama-Nyungan. In Claire Bower & Bethwyn Evans (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, 704–725. London/New York: Routledge.
- Michelson, Karin. 2002. Emotions in Oneida. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, 185–206. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mouton, Léa. 2019. *Les psycho-collocations dans les langues hmong*. Seminar presentation, Lyon 7–9 octobre 2019.
- Niemeier, Susanne. 2008. To be in control: Kind-hearted and cool-headed. The head-heart dichotomy in English. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 349–371. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Occhi, Debra J. 2008. How to have a HEART in Japanese. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 191–212. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Peile, Anthony R. 1997. *Body and soul: An Aboriginal view*. Victoria Park: Hesperian Press.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. to appear. Interjections. In Claire Bowers (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Australian languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2014. *The language of emotions: The case of Dalabon (Australia)*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/clsc.4>
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2015. Nominal subclasses in Dalabon (South Western Arnhem Land). *The Australian Journal of Linguistics* 35(1). 1–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2015.976900>
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2017. Conceptual representations and figurative language in language shift: Metaphors and gestures for emotions in Kriol (Barunga, northern Australia). *Cognitive Linguistics* 28(4). 331–371. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2016-0020>
- Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2020. *Difference and repetition in language shift to a creole: The expression of emotions*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429470158>
- Ponsonnet, Maïa, James Bednall & Isabel O’Keeffe. 2019. *The respective roles of culture and grammar in shaping emotion metaphors: The case of the Gunwinyguan family (Australian, non-Pama-Nyungan)*. Nishinomya, Japan: International Cognitive Linguistics Conference 15, Aug 2019.
- Priestley, Carol. 2002. Insides and emotion in Koromu. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 271–303. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.11pri>
- Prince, Kilu von. 2017. Dozing eyes and drunken faces: Exocentric psycho-collocations in Daakaka (Vanuatu). *Studies in Language* 41(2). 502–520. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.41.2.08von>
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2000. *Simple and complex verbs in Jaminjung: A study of event categorisation in an Australian language*. Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen.
- Senft, Gunther. 1998. Body and mind in the Trobriands. *Ethos* 26(1). 73–104. <https://doi.org/10.1525/eth.1998.26.1.73>
- Sharifian, Farzad. 2008. Conceptualizations of *del* ‘heart-stomach’ in Persian. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 248–265. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199109.4.247>
- Sharifian, Farzad, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier. 2008a. Culture and language: Looking for the “mind” inside the body. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 3–23. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199109.1.3>
- Sharifian, Farzad, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier. 2008b. *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199109>
- Siahaan, Poppy. 2008. Did he break your heart or your liver? A contrastive study on metaphorical concepts from the source domain ORGAN in English and in Indonesian. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 45–74. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Taylor, John & Thandi G. Mbense. 1998. Red dogs and rotten mealies: How Zulus talk about anger. In Angeliki Athanasiadou & Elzbieta Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of emotions: Conceptualisation and expression*, 191–226. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110806007.191>


- Turpin, Myfany. 2002. Body part terms in Kaytetye feeling expressions. In Nick J. Enfield & Anna Wierzbicka (eds.), *The body in description of emotion, Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10, 271–303. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.10.1-2.12tur>
- Vittrant, Alice. 2013. Psycho-collocational expressives in Burmese. In Jeffrey P. Williams (ed.), *The aesthetics of grammar: Sound and meaning in the languages of mainland Southeast Asia*, 255–279. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139030489.021>
- Vittrant, Alice. 2017. Expression des émotions dans les langues d'Asie du Sud-Est: Les psycho-collocations du birman. In Nicole Tersis & Pascal Boyeldieu (eds.), *Le Langage de l'émotion: Variations linguistiques et culturelles*, 557–582. Paris: Peeters.
- Walsh, Michael. 1996. Body parts in Murrinh-Patha: Incorporation, grammar and metaphor. In Hilary Chappell & William McGregor (eds.), *The grammar of inalienability: A typological perspective on body part terms and the part-whole relation*, 111–153. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110822137.327>
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1999. *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511521256>
- Wolk, Daniel P. 2008. The heart *libba* in Northeastern Neo-Aramaic. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 267–317. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yoon, Kyung-Joo. 2008. The Korean conceptualization of heart: An indigenous perspective. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 213–243. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yu, Ning. 2008. The Chinese heart as the central faculty of cognition. In Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, Ning Yu & Susanne Niemeier (eds.), *Culture, body and language: Conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages*, 131–168. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zlatev, Jordan. 2007. Embodiment, language and mimesis. In Tom Ziemke, Jordan Zlatev & Roslyn M. Franck (eds.), *Body, language and mind. Vol. 1: Embodiment*, 297–337. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Address for correspondence

Maïa Ponsonnet
Social Sciences M257
The University of Western Australia
35, Stirling Highway
Crawley WA 6009
Australia
maia.ponsonnet@uwa.edu.au

Biographical notes

Dr Maïa Ponsonnet is an anthropological linguist currently based at The University of Western Australia (Perth). She holds a PhD in Linguistics from the Australian National University (Canberra, 2014), with additional background in Philosophy (PhD Université Paris-8, 2005). Dr Ponsonnet's research specializes in expressivity and the description of emotions, and she has extensive experience working with speakers of Australian Indigenous languages. She has published two monographs (*The language of emotions: The case of Dalabon*, Benjamin 2014, and *Difference and repetition in language shift to a creole: The expression of emotions*, Routledge 2020), as well as many journal articles. Key articles related to the present publication are for instance 'Conceptual representations and figurative language in language shift', *Cognitive Linguistics* 2017, and 'A preliminary typology of emotional connotations in morphological diminutives and augmentatives' *Studies in Language* 2018.

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8879-9798>

Dorothea Hoffmann, Honorary Research Associate at the University of Oregon and Linguistic Project Manager at The Language Conservancy, PhD in 2012 from the University of Manchester on the language of space and motion in Jaminjung and Kriol. Since 2012, intensive fieldwork, language documentation and descriptive work on Malak Malak. Currently working on various Native American, First Nations and Aboriginal in the US, Canada and Australia on revitalization projects with the nonprofit organization The Language Conservancy.

Isabel O'Keeffe (University of Sydney) is a linguist and musicologist who has researched multilingualism and songs in western and central Arnhem Land communities for 15 years. Her recent focus has involved working with community members to document the endangered Kunbarlang language. She is particularly interested in the relationships between language, song and emotions in this highly multilingual region.