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Australian Languages Workshop
Canberra/Kioloa 3-6th March 2016

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**Emotion middle predicates
in Barunga Kriol**

ADDITIONS FOR PUBLICATION

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- *boring mijelp* (TM)
- *wori mijelp* (JBe + BB)
- 20140328c_006_IA 052 (IA) ai ole thinkebat mijelb mi en mai dedi bin mub na ebri haus

INTRODUCTION

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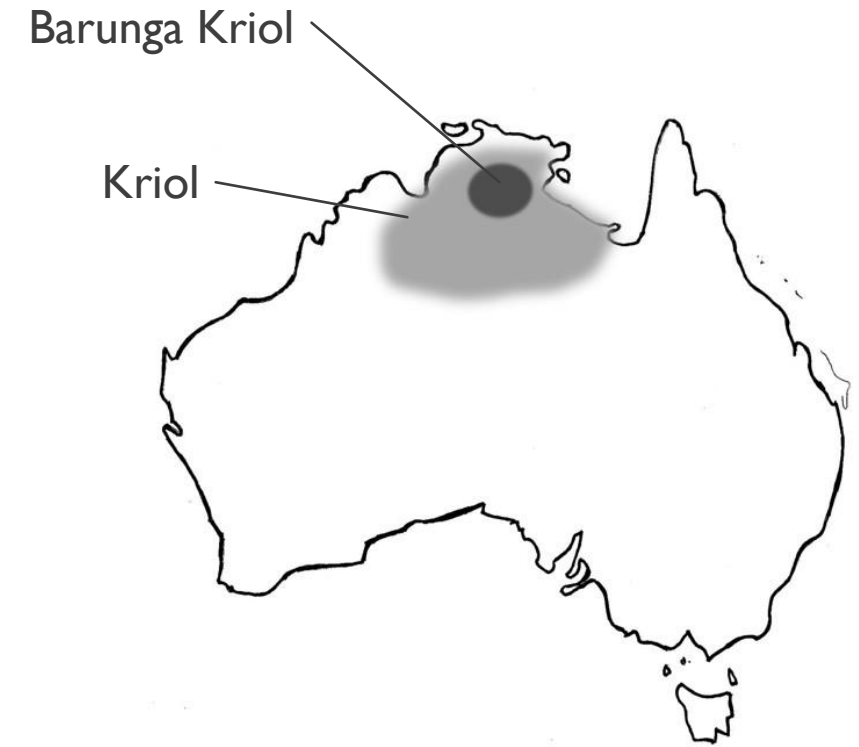
- **Perspectives**
- A general interest for lexicalized emotion middle forms.
 - Interest for the encoding of emotions in general.
 - Typological perspective.
- Some questions on creole formation and Australian influence.

- A/ Presentation of emotion middle.
- B/ Discussion of Barunga Kriol lexemes.

INTRODUCTION

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- **Barunga Kriol**
- (Sandefur 1979, 1986, Schultze-Berndt et al. 2013, Ponsonnet 2011...).
- A few thousand speakers to the east of Katherine.
- Around Barunga and further.
- Potential substrate languages: Gunwinyguan languages
- Bininj Gun-wok, Dalabon, Jawoyn, Rembarrnga
- Dalabon as a 'measure' of local languages.





EMOTION MIDDLE



EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **What are they?** (Kemmer 1993:16-20)
- Also called ‘pseudo-reflexives’.
- Lexicalized reflexive constructions.
 - Where the reflexive marker doesn’t express reflexivity.
 - Eng. *enjoy oneself*
 - (English has very few.)
- Kemmer (1993) defines ‘middle voice’ semantically:
- ‘the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb’ (Lyon 1969:363).

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **What are they?** (Kemmer 1993:16-20)
- Cross-linguistically common.
- A range of typical semantic domains
 - Cognitive states and events (Sp. *enterarse* 'realize')
 - Emotional speech actions (Fr. *s'excuser* 'apologize')
 - Emotions (Fr. *s'ennuyer* 'to get bored', *s'amuser* 'enjoy oneself', *s'énervé* 'lose temper'...)
- The focus on *emotion* middle is also for convenience.

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **Typological questions**
- Little is known about the typological distribution of lexicalized emotion middle constructions.
 - Dig the literature on reflexive constructions (König & Gast 2008, Evans et al. 2011...).
- Kemmer quotes 6 languages among which **Guugu Yimidhirr**.
- = Occurs in Australian languages.

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **Typological questions**
- Some things I would like to know about the typology of emotion middle constructions:
 - Which languages?
 - Which emotions?
 - In Australia and accross the world?
 - What distinctive properties and how do they pattern?

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **Typological questions**
- From transitive verbs?
 - Eng. *enjoy oneself*
 - Literal interpretation remains available.
- From intransitive predicates?
 - Barunga Kriol *sheim mijelp*
 - No literal interpretation available.
- No base: does not exist without a reflexive marker.
 - Fr. *s'apitoyer* 'feel sorry', *s'amouracher* 'have a crush'...
 - No literal interpretation available.

EMOTION MIDDLE



- **Typological questions**
- What bases are typologically more frequent?
 - Transitive, intransitive, no bare verb?
- Is there a correlation base/meaning of the form?
 - Ex. certain emotions with certain types of bases?
- What are the possible semantic relationships between the base and the lexicalized form?
 - When transitive, when intransitive?

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **Emotion middle in Barunga Kriol?**
- Starting point for a typology.
- + Origines of emotion middle forms in Barunga Kriol:
 - English has very few lexicalized emotion middle.
 - Universal tendencies.
 - Reinforced by Australian influence (substrate and adstrate)?
 - There is always something that seems inspired from local languages.

EMOTION MIDDLE

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- **Emotion middle in Barunga Kriol?**
- Lexico-semantic description as a first step.
- And initiate crosslinguistic exploration.



EMOTION MIDDLE IN BARUNGA KRIOL OVERVIEW



OVERVIEW

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- **The reflexive/reciprocal marker *mijelp*** (Ponsonnet 2016)
- Polysemous
 - *ai luk mijelp* (in the mirror) ‘I look at myself’ (reflexive)
 - *dei luk mijelp* ‘they look at each other’ (reciprocal)

OVERVIEW

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- **The reflexive/reciprocal marker *mijelp*** (Ponsonnet 2016)
- More a range of typical semantic domains.
- All mentioned by Kemmer as typical semantic extensions of middle markers.
 - Cognitive middle: *filim mijelp* ‘feel’, *jinggebat mijelp* ‘think deeply’ (occasional)
 - Emotion speech actions: *onap mijelp* ‘apologize’
 - **Emotion middle**

OVERVIEW

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- **Lexicalized emotion middle in Barunga Kriol:**
- 4 main items identified so far.
- 2 with transitive bases
 - *laikim mijelp* from vtr *laikim* ‘like’
 - *sabi mijelp* from vtr *sabi* ‘know’
- 2 with intransitive bases
 - *sheim mijelp* ‘from adj *sheim* ‘feel socially uncomfortable (and avoid interactions)’
 - *sori mijelp* adj *sori* ‘have sorrow, feel compassion’

OVERVIEW

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- **Discussion of the 4 items**
- BASE
- MEANING
- AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE
- SOURCE OF THE FORM



EMOTION MIDDLE IN BARUNGA KRIOL ITEMS



LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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- **BASE**

- ***laikim*** ‘like’

- Appreciate something, feel like doing something.
- Like or love someone.

(1) **A:h** **ai** **laik-im-bat** **im...** **oh** **ai** **bin** **rili** **love im very much and...**
INTJ.exclm 1sg like-TR-CONT 3sg INTJ.exclm 1sg PST really [shift to English]

‘A:h I like him... Oh, I really loved him very much and...’

LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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■ **MEANING**

- Reciprocal interpretation ‘like e.o.’ remains available.
- Lexicalized intransitive meaning is common and known by all.
- And more natural than the reciprocal interpretation.

LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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■ MEANING

- Be happy, pleased, enjoy oneself.

(2) *Mibala bin idim-bat bigibigi en den... [...]*
Ipl.excl PST eat-CONT wild.pig and then

Wi bin jis... laik-im-bat mijelb yuno, oh...
Ipl PST just like-TR-CONT REF/REC CONJ INTJ.exclm

‘We ate some wild pig and then... [...] We were just **having a good time** you know, oh...’

LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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■ MEANING

- Be happy, pleased, enjoy oneself.
- Show off, parade, make oneself look attractive, try and seduce.

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

Im laik-im mijelb.
3sg like-TR REF/REC

‘He’s really happy indeed he’s killed a kangaroo.
He’s **parading around, showing off.**’

Samson and Delilah
© Scarlett Pictures Pty Ltd



LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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■ MEANING

- Be happy, pleased, enjoy oneself.
- Show off, parade, make oneself look attractive, try and seduce.
- Typically about women making themselves ‘sexy’.

(4) *Ai goda laik-im mijelb beddam. Ai goda laik-im mijelb brabli wei*
Isg FUT like-TR REF/REC first Isg FUT like-TR REF/REC properly ADV

blanga dat men ba ask-im im banga abe deit.
DAT DET man PURPask-TR 3sg PURP have date

‘I’ll **make myself look good** first. I’ll really **chat that man up** to ask him for a date.’

■ AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE

- Association between having fun, flirting and showing off.
- // *kol(mu)* in Dalabon (and see also *kol* in Rembarrnga, Saulwick 2003)
- Laugh, be cheerful.
- Flirt, pretend.

■ AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE

- The association between having fun, flirting and showing off is culturally entrenched.
- 'Sexy' attitudes of women are culturally salient.
- There are many other words to talk about women who make themselves attractive in this way.
 - *seksi, jinggali, kayawan...*
- The emotion middle lexeme encodes a culturally specific local polysemy.
- And a culturally salient attitude.

LAIKIM MIJELP

‘feel good; be flirtatious, show off’

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■ SOURCE OF THE FORM

- Not in Gunwinyguan languages.
- Other Australian languages?
- Universal trend?
- Eng. *enjoy oneself*, Fr. *s’amuser*...
- Superstrate influence?
- Literal reflexive interpretation ‘like oneself’ could relate to the sense ‘show off’.

SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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- **BASE**
- *sabi* ‘know’
- Know something, know someone, know how to do something.

SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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■ **MEANING**

- ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’
- Rare and not always acknowledged/recognized.
- A recent innovation?
- Reciprocal interpretation available: ‘know each other’.
- Connotation: ‘be in a relationship with each other’.

SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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■ MEANING

- ‘feeling guilty’ was suggested.

(5) *Im-in* **sabi** **mijelb** *na,* *laik* *feeling guilty* *im* **sabi** **mijelb**
3sg-PST know REF/REC EMPH CONJ English 3sg know REF/REC
brood.over.remorse

im-in **sabi** **mijelb** *dat* *imin* *du* *de* *rong* *thing*
3sg-PST know REF/REC that 3sg-PST do the wrong thing
brood.over.remorse

‘He was **remorseful** indeed, like ‘feeling guilty’, he *sabi mijelp*,
he knew himself/he was **remorseful** that he did the wrong thing.’



Family Problems Picture Task
San Roque et al. 2012

SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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■ AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCES

- *guilty* known but usually not considered a Barunga Kriol word.
- ‘Guilt’ not clearly lexicalized in Dalabon.
- But see *njirrk(mu)* ‘brood over, have remorse’ (Ponsonnet 2010).
- The lexicalized middle fills in a lexical gap compared to Dalabon.

SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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- **SOURCE OF THE FORM**
- Not in Gunwinyguan languages.
- Other Australian languages?
- Universal tendencies?
- Literal meaning?
 - *toi-même tu sais / you know yourself*

SHEIM MIJELP ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

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■ BASE

- adj *sheim* ‘be **afraid** of interactions with others (and **avoid interactions** accordingly).’
- Avoidance behavior is often mentioned.

(6) [...] *Kadja bala aim sheim na ai kan wokeraun.*
INTJ.ctrtry INTJ.comp 1sg>adj ashamed/shy EMPH 1sg IRR.FUT walk.around

‘[...] Come on poor me I’m **ashamed** now I **can’t walk around**
[in the community because I couldn’t stand people looking at me].’

- But can be left unspecified. (7) *Yu don sheim, ai meiki yu bogi.*
2sg NEG ashamed/shy 1sg make-TR 2sg go.in.water

‘Don’t **be ashamed** [of standing naked in front of me], I’m giving you a shower.’

SHEIM MIJELP ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

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■ MEANING

- Same as base but only in situations where avoidance behavior is obvious.

(8) *If yumob luk blakbala, yu goda abtu*
If 2pl look revenge.being 2pl FUT TELEOL.OBL

[...] *yu cof en im sheim mijelb den.*
2sg cough and 3sg shy.away REF/REC then
avoidance+fear

‘If you see a bush black fellow, you’ll have to...
you cough and he **runs away** [because your coughing scares him].’

(9) *Mh adono, ?inaudible? sheim mijelb ba kamera.*
CONJ ? shame REF/REC DAT camera
avoidance+fear

‘Mh, I don’t know [?he was?] **hiding in discomfort** from the camera.’

SHEIM MIJELP ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

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- **MEANING**

- Specialization with respect to behavior.
- Less frequent than *sheim* but still common enough.
- Also in the *Kriol Baibul* (1991).

SHEIM MIJELP ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

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- **AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE**

- *sheim mijelp* emphasizes the behavioral component of *sheim*.
- This component is an important difference between Dalabon *yer(mu)* and English ‘shame’.
- Further removed from the English meaning and closer to the Dalabon one.

SHEIM MIJELP ‘avoid interactions for fear of others’

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- **SOURCE OF THE FORM**
- Not in Gunwinyguan languages.
- Other Australian languages?
- Universal trend?

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **BASE**
- adj. *sori*
 - Feel apologetic.
 - Feel distressed, have sorrow (often *fil sori*)
- vi. *fil sori* + DAT: *sori bla* x ‘feel compassionate’
- vt. *sori x bla y* vt: ‘indulge someone with something’
 - A culturally natural association between helping and feeling compassionate.
- The lexicalized middle is closer to the intransitive meaning.

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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■ MEANING

- Have sorrow, feel very sad, often because someone is away or lost.

(10) *Im sori mijelb na, im kil-im mijelb bobala.*
3sg sorry REF/REC EMPH 3sg hit/fill-TR REF/REC INTJ.comp
have.sorrow

‘She’s **desperate** really, she’s hitting herself poor thing.’

*Images from Rabbit-Proof Fence
courtesy of Jabal Films Pty Ltd.*



SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **MEANING**

- Have sorrow, feel very sad, often because someone is away or lost.
- After an argument or being scold: feel sheepish.

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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■ MEANING

(11) *En dat lil dog im sodob, sori mijelp na,*
and DEM little dog 3sg sort.of sorry REF/REC EMPH
feel.sheepish

im-in sori mijelp brabli wei,
3sg-PST sorry REF/REC really ADV
feel.sheepish

im-in wok hambul wei bobala mmm...
3sg-PST walk sad ADV INTJ.com INTJ.approb

‘And the little dog was sort of, is **feeling sheepish**,
he was **feeling really sheepish**,
he was walking in a sad way poor thing mmm...’



SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **MEANING**

- Usually when there is physical display.



SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **MEANING**

- Specialization with respect to behavior.
- Cf. Dalabon tendency to describe emotions and associated behavior with the same word.
(Ponsonnet 2014)

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **MEANING**

- Less frequent than *sori*.
- But common and known by all.
- Also in the *Kriol Baibul* (1991).

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **SOURCE OF THE FORM: AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE**
- There is a lexicalized middle construction with a comparable pattern in Dalabon.
 - vt. *marrbun* ‘feel sorry for someone, feel compassionate for someone’
 - vref. *marrburrun* vt+REFL/REC ‘feel sorry for oneself, feel sad’
- Also found in Rembarrnga (Saulwick 2003:610)
 - vt. *marrbu*, vref *marrboetti*, same meanings as above

SORI MIJELP ‘have sorrow, feel sheepish’

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- **SOURCE OF THE FORM: AUSTRALIAN INFLUENCE**
- The Gunwinyguan bases are transitive.
- Kriol *sori/fil sori* is intransitive.
- But *sori* also has a transitive form.



CONCLUSIONS



CONCLUSIONS

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- **Observations relative to a typology**
- In Barunga Kriol:
- Intransitive bases as numerous as transitive ones.
- Lexicalized expressions from intransitive bases have higher frequency.
- No base-free forms.

CONCLUSIONS

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- **Observations relative to a typology**
- Intransitive bases:
 - The lexicalized form is closer in meaning.
 - Specialization with respect to behavior.
- Transitive bases:
 - The meaning of the middle construction is further removed from the meaning of the base.
 - Influence of literal reflexive interpretation? (quite indirect)
- Do we find comparable forms/meanings/patterns in other Australian languages?

CONCLUSIONS

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- **About creole formation**
- Lexicalized middle constructions make forms available that are not exactly English like.
- These forms convey meanings that are more typical of local languages.

- A way of avoiding the availability constraint (Siegel 2008)?
- Which says that a superstrate form is needed to receive a substrate meaning/function.
- Middle constructions supply forms to receive local meanings.

CONCLUSIONS

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- **About creole formation**
- Australian influence at the level of semantics?
- What about influence at the level of form?



THANK YOU



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SABI MIJELP ‘feel remorseful, brood over one’s deeds’

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(2) LB *Kardu* *kanh* *bulu-no* *o* *nah-no balah-njirrkmu* *munguyh.*
peut-être DEM père-3sPOSS ou mère-3sPOSS 3pl-**njirrk**:PR tout.le.temps

Kardu *bunu* *burrah-marne-buninj,* *be-burrng, o* *kanh* *eksiden-kun* *balah-eksidenminj...*
peut-être 3duO 3du/3s-BENEF-frapper:PI fils-3duPOSS ou DEM accident-GEN 3pl-accident:PR

Balah-dja-njirrkmu *yelek.* *Dei* *stil* *dinkabatit.*
3pl-seulement-**njirrk**:PR ensuite 3pl toujours penser.à.quelque.chose

« Par exemple, un père ou une mère peuvent **s’inquiéter (njirrk)** longtemps. Peut-être qu’ils ont battu leur fils, ou c’est peut-être au sujet d’un accident, s’ils ont eu un accident. Alors ils **njirrk**. Ils continuent à y penser. »