

Dozing eyes and drunken faces:
nominalized psycho-collocations in
Daakaka (Vanuatu)

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Abstract

Like many languages of the world, the Oceanic language Daakaka (Vanuatu) uses idiomatic combinations of body-part terms and verbs to express emotions, medical conditions and related concepts. However, languages differ in how they express the same concepts nominally. I will contrast the nominalization strategy found in Daakaka with other languages and discuss the differences. I will argue that the nominalization strategy in Daakaka is less transparent than its alternatives but that it allows for the formation of a paradigm that also includes meteorological expressions. This phenomenon highlights the need to look beyond individual lexemes when comparing lexical classes and derivational processes cross-linguistically.*

1 Introduction

The only way to express most emotions in Daakaka are **psycho-collocations** – formulaic phrases such that an obligatorily possessed body-part term serves as the subject to a certain predicate. This phenomenon is illustrated by the following example:

- (1) *yu-on* *mwe yaa*
inside/feeling-3s REAL hurt
'she/he is angry' (lit. 'his/ her inside/feeling hurts') (ex. (561) in von Prince 2015)

To form a corresponding nominal expression that denotes the notion of 'anger', an uninflected body-part noun is taken as the head, with the predicate as its attribute:

- (2) *yuo* *yaa~yaa*
feeling REDUP~hurt
'anger' (lit. 'the hurting feeling/inside') (ex. (78) in von Prince 2015)²

This is different from languages such as Sino-Tibetan Japhug, where the predicate is nominalized and the body-part is encoded as a possessor:

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²List of glosses (inconsistencies are due to the variety of sources): ART – article; ASR – assertion marker; CAUS – causal; CL – classifier (possessive); CM – comment marker; COMP – complementizer; CPLT – completive aspect; CPL – completive aspect; DEGREE; DEM – demonstrative; DISC – discourse marker; D – determiner; EMPH – emphatic; ERG – ergative; FACTUAL; FOC – focus particle; GENR.POSS – generic possessor; GEN – genitive; IFR – inferential; IN – inclusive; INV – inverse; IPFV – imperfective; IRR – irrealis; LNK – linker; MED – medial distance; NEG – negation; NMLZ – nominalizer; NM – nominalizer; OP; PERF – perfect; PL – plural; POT – potential; PST – past; PFV – perfective; REAL – realis; REDUP – reduplication; RES – resultative; S/A – S/A participle; SENS – sensory; SUBJ – subject; TRANS – transitivizer; UNEXP – unexpected;

47 2 Expressing emotions

48 2.1 Overview

49 Emotional states such as anger and fear do not correspond neatly to any of the prototypical concepts
50 usually associated with major lexical classes: They are certainly not visible, tangible objects, and they
51 also lack the dynamics associated with prototypical events. The person who experiences a certain
52 emotion (the experiencer) is often neither an agent nor a typical patient of this process. Emotional
53 states are usually only temporary, which in turn differentiates them from prototypical properties of
54 objects. Similar considerations hold not only for emotional states in the narrow sense, but also for
55 other physical and medical states such as fatigue, headaches or ebriety.

56 It is therefore not surprising that, in many languages, expressions that refer to such concepts do not
57 fall squarely into one specific lexical class. They may not even correspond to one single lexeme: A very
58 widespread strategy for expressing emotions and related notions is to use formulaic combinations of
59 a body-part expression with a certain predicate. It appears that most of the world's languages have
60 at least a few expressions that follow this pattern (compare Wierzbicka, 1999; Enfield & Wierzbicka,
61 2002). One example from English is the phrase *my heart is heavy* to describe a feeling of sadness or
62 regret. In some languages, such structures are by far the most productive way to refer to emotions. As
63 Ameka (2002: 29) puts it, the 'bodily expressions' of emotions in these languages (including his subject
64 language, Ewe) are basic and unmarked, they do not contrast with less complex expressions.

65 Languages in which such formulaic phrases are the main way of expressing emotions can be found
66 in many different families all over the world. They include Dalabon from Australia (Ponsonnet, 2014),
67 Mandinka from Sub-Saharan Africa (Denis Creissels, p.c.), Mezquital Otomi from Central America (En-
68 rique L. Palancar, p.c.), Adyghe from the North-West Caucasus (Peter Arkadiev, p.c.) and Walman, a
69 Torricelli language from Papua New Guinea (Matthew Dryer and Lea Brown, p.c.).

70 The term *psycho-collocations* is commonly used in the context of Mainland South-East Asian lan-
71 guages to refer to the exact same phenomenon (see Matisoff 1986, also compare Vittrant 2013 and
72 references therein). Expressions that follow this pattern often do not only denote emotions in the nar-
73 row sense, but also comprise medical states such as blindness and pain, as well as human propensities
74 such as stubbornness. For convenience, I will use the term *psycho-collocation* to encompass all these
75 expressions.

76 **2.2 Psycho-collocations in Oceanic languages**

77 In many of the Oceanic languages of Melanesia, too, psycho-collocations are the main way to express
78 emotions and similar concepts. Many of them involve a specific structure of external possession: a
79 body-part term is incorporated into a predicate, its semantic possessor is then encoded as the subject of
80 the clause. Lichtenberk (2010) has found evidence for such structures in Toqabaqita (Solomon islands),
81 Saliba (Papua New Guinea), Samoan, Tuvaluan and Tawala (Papua New Guinea). I will give a brief
82 summary of those structures below.

83 In the following example from Saliba (Papua New Guinea), the body-part expression *gado* ‘throat’ is
84 the subject of the predicate *magu* ‘(of the tide) be low’ to indicate a feeling of thirst. The same meaning
85 can also be expressed by a structure of external possession, where the possessor appears as the subject
86 of the construction. The body-part expression is then incorporated into the predicate.

- 87 (5) a. *Gado-gu ye-magu.*
throat-1SG.P 3SG-low.tide
88 ‘I’m thirsty’ (lit. ‘My throat is low tide’)
- 89 b. *Ya-gado-magu.*
1SG-throat-low.tide
90 ‘I’m thirsty.’ (lit. ‘I’m throat-low tide.’) (Margetts, 1999: 233)

91 For Tawala (Papua New Guinea), Ezard (1997) reports a rich inventory of *human-propensity verbs*, say-
92 ing:

93 Emotions, attitudes and psychological states can hardly be talked about without the use of
94 these verbs. [...] Human-propensity verb stems consist of two roots: a body-part and a verb root.

95 The structure of Tawala human-propensity verbs is essentially identical to the structures involving
96 external possession that we just saw from Saliba:

- 97 (6) a. *nugo-na i-gohola*
heart-3SG 3SG-jump
98 ‘his heart jumped’
- 99 b. *i-nugo.gohola*
3SG-heart.jump
100 ‘he was surprised’ (Ezard, 1997: 278)

101 More examples from Tawala are given in table 1.

[Table 1 about here.]

These compound structures can also combine with derivational prefixes to derive more specific meanings, as in *li-nugo.emota-o*, ‘unite’ (CAUS-mind.one).

A similar picture also emerges for Toqabaqita, as illustrated by the following two examples from Lichtenberk (2010):

- (7) a. *Maa-mu e gego.*
eye-2S.PERS 3S.NFUT be.‘blind’
‘Are you blind?’ (lit. ‘Are your eyes blind?’)
- b. *Qo maa-gego.*
2S.NFUT eye-be.‘blind’
‘Are you blind?’ (lit. ‘Are you eye-blind?’)

In many of those expressions, the meaning of the verb is no longer fully transparent, since they do not occur outside of these structures. Some of the more transparent structures are shown in table 2.

[Table 2 about here.]

In the three languages discussed so far (Saliba, Toqabaqita and Tawala), these compound structures are mostly restricted to body-part terms and overwhelmingly express emotions, medical states, human propensities or similar.

Samoan and Tuvaluan use similar structures to express concepts related to human traits, but here these structures are not restricted to such concepts. For example, in Tuvaluan, we find a number of *verbal noun adjective compounds* (Besnier, 2000: 606) that express human propensities – they are shown in table 3.

[Table 3 about here.]

Besnier (2000: 607) writes that the same construction can be formed productively with any noun expressing the part of a greater whole, as in *manuao tila tolu* ‘three-mast warship’.

The Samoan *isu mamafa* compounds are mostly used to express psychological, physical or medical properties of animate referents. This is illustrated by the following examples, which also reveal the origin of the term *isu mamafa* by Mosel & Hovdhaugen (1992: 300):

- (8) *'Ua 'ou isu mamafa*
PERF 1SG nose heavy

128 'I have a cold' (lit. 'I have a heavy nose.')

129 (9) *Na iloa e Maatusi ua loto vaivai Iopu*
PST know ERG Maatusi PERF heart weak Iopu
130 'Maatusi recognised that Iopu was scared.' (lit. '...that Iopu had a weak heart.')

131 (Mosel & Hovd-
haugen, 1992: 335)

132 (10) *...ma ia tatou loto tetele...*
and SUBJ 1INC.PL heart big(PL)
133 '...and let's be brave,...' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992: 335, Moana 86:2)

134 Like in Tuvaluan, this Samoan pattern is not restricted to body-part nouns and to expressions related
135 to a person's condition. Nor are these structures the main way to express emotions in the language;
136 there are verbs such as *ita* 'be angry' that can simply be predicates to a person-denoting subject, just
137 as in English.

138 Some other Oceanic languages also have psycho-collocations, but do not express them by incorpor-
139 ated nouns with external possessors.

140 A case in point is Mwotlap (Vanuatu). The inflected noun *IV* can be translated as 'mind', but is
141 restricted to two meteorological predicates meaning '(be) daylight' and '(be) night' respectively:

- 142 (11) a. *na-lē-k me-myen ēgēn.*
ART-mind-1SG PRF-daylight now
143 'I remember now'
- 144 b. *na-lo-n may qōñ.*
ART-mind-3SG CPLT night
145 'He has already forgotten (it)' / 'He's unconscious' / 'He's senile.' (François, 2013: 205)

146 2.3 Expressing emotions in Daakaka

147 Most emotional, medical and mental states can be expressed only by psycho-collocations in Daakaka.
148 The subject of the following example sentence is *ny-* 'face of', a noun which is inflected for the person
149 and number of its obligatory possessor; the predicate is the verbal adjective *lili* 'drunk'. The combin-
150 ation of these two expressions is the only canonical way in Daakaka to encode the information that
151 someone is drunk.

152 (12) *ny-un mwe lili*
face.of-3S REAL drunk

153 'she/he is drunk' (lit. 'her face is drunk') (ex. (570) in von Prince 2015)

154 A particularly frequent subject in psycho-collocations is *yu-*, which probably developed diachronically
155 from a noun with the meaning 'inside/ interior' but could today also be translated as 'feeling' (compare
156 von Prince, 2015: 266).

157 (13) *yu-on mwe yaa*
inside/feeling-3S REAL hurt
158 'she/he is angry' (lit. 'his/ her feeling hurts') (repeated from (1))

159 (14) *yu-on mwe kyes~kyes(=ane nge)*
inside/feeling-3S REAL REDUP~be.sweet(=TRANS 3S)
160 'she/he is in love (with her/him)' (lit. 'his/ her feeling is sweet for her/him') (ex. (563) in
161 von Prince 2015)

162 Other examples include terms referring to the skin, the body, the head and the eyes as subjects. The
163 last case is illustrated by (15).

164 (15) *met-an mwe nyup*
eye-3S REAL doze.off
165 'she/he is dozing off' (lit. 'her/his eyes are dozing') ((569) in von Prince 2015)

166 Most expressions for emotions, physical and mental states of humans and similar follow this pattern.
167 There are a few exceptions, to be mentioned here briefly. In one group of expressions related to percep-
168 tions or feelings, the experiencer is encoded as the object of a transitive verb and a noun denoting the
169 feeling is encoded as subject. This strategy is primarily used to talk about hunger, cold, and the very
170 region-specific notion of *ôp*, which is a feeling of depression and fatigue as well as a sense of foreboding
171 that comes with someone's imminent or recent departure.

172 (16) *myaa mwe kyer (ansi)*
hunger REAL bite.PL 1PL.IN
173 'we are hungry' (lit. 'the hunger bites (us)')

174 (17) *meas mwe kyer (ansi)*
cold REAL bite.PL 1PL.IN
175 'it is cold' (lit. 'the cold bites (us)')

176 (18) *óp=ane Anja ma tiye ansi*
 OP=TRANS A. REAL hit 1PL.IN
 177 'We feel fatigued because Anja has recently left/ will leave today.'

178 In some other emotional and medical states, the experiencer is encoded as subject and the condition is
 179 encoded as the predicate. This is the case for *mese* 'be sick', *yos* 'love', *ongane mu vu/ ma sanga/...* 'feel
 180 good/ bad/ ...', *yungpan* 'be thirsty'. Some examples are given below:

181 (19) *mebyuneli ma ongane ma sanga*
 grandchild REAL feel REAL be.bad
 182 'Her grandson was upset.' (sto38:030)

183 (20) *na=m yungpan ne wye ten*
 1SG=REAL thirsty TRANS water very
 184 'I'm very thirsty for water.' (sto15:033)

185 Summing up this section, we have seen that there is a variety of structures to express emotional, mental
 186 and medical states in Daakaka, but psycho-collocations are the most dominant kind of structure, just
 187 as in a variety of other Oceanic languages. See also von Prince (2015: chapter 6, section 2.2.3) and the
 188 semantic domain of *body* terms in von Prince (to appear).

189 3 Nominalizing psycho-collocations

190 3.1 Strategies for nominalizing psycho-collocations

191 In the published literature, formulaic subject-predicate combinations expressing emotions have been
 192 mainly discussed in terms of their implications for cross-cultural comparison of cognitive processes
 193 (e. g. Wierzbicka, 1999; Enfield & Wierzbicka, 2002; Sharifian et al., 2008; Idström & Piirainen, 2012;
 194 Ponsonnet, 2014). For this article, however, I want to focus on the challenge that these structures pose
 195 for grammatical processes: How do you derive a nominal expression for a meaning that can only be
 196 encoded by a subject-predicate combination?

197 There are a number of logical answers to this question. For some languages, the answer may be
 198 simply that such structures are not nominalized at all. This appears to be the case for Walman, for
 199 example, where many concepts relating to mental and emotional states cannot be expressed nominally
 200 (Matthew Dryer, p. c.).

201 Other languages do have a variety of strategies to nominalize psycho-collocations. Consider the
 202 Sino-Tibetan language Japhug. Japhug has a wide range of body-part-denoting subjects that collocate
 203 with specific predicates to express a person's physical and emotional state. The body-part terms are
 204 typically relational and must be prefixed by a morpheme that denotes the person and number of its
 205 possessor:³

206 (21) *u-sni* *ɲu-zduy*
 207 3SG.POSS-thought/heart SENS-painful
 'He feels sad.' (Guillaume Jacques, p. c.)

208 To express the notion of 'sadness' nominally, the predicate is nominalized, the body-part term is en-
 209 coded as the possessor of the nominalized verb, and the experiencer is encoded as the possessor of the
 210 body part (see Jacques to appear for more on this type of nominalization):

211 (22) *tchemɣpu nuu rca*, [*u-sni* *u-tu-zduy*]
 212 little.girl DEM FOC:UNEXP 3SG.POSS-thought/heart 3SG.POSS-NMLZ:DEGREE-painful
 213 *pjɣ-sɣre zo*
 IFR:IPFV-be.funny/be.extreme EMPH
 'The little girl was extremely sad (lit. the pain of the little girl's heart was extreme).' (from the
 214 Cinderella story, in the Japhug Corpus)

215 It is also possible to leave the experiencer unspecified: Among the possessor prefixes that attach to
 216 obligatorily possessed nouns is one morpheme that indicates a generic possessor. This is illustrated in
 217 (23):

218 (23) *mɣ-kuu-pe* *a-pú-wy-mtshɣm tce* [*tu-sni* *u-tu-zduy*]
 219 NEG-NMLZ:S/A-be.good IRR-PFV-INV-hear LNK GENR.POSS-hear really
 220 *saɣab*
 3SG.POSS-NMLZ:DEGREE-be.painful be.extreme:FACTUAL
 'When one hears bad news, one feels extremely sad' (lit. 'the pain of one's heart is extreme')
 221 (Guillaume Jacques, p. c.)

222 A similar strategy is used by the Niger-Congo language Mandinka. In (24), we see the basic sentential
 223 structure, where the subject is a body-part term ('liver'), combining with the predicate *laa* 'lie down';
 224 the experiencer is expressed as the (inalienable) possessor of the body-part:

³Many of these expressions correspond to incorporating verbs with their (unpossessed) objects – see Jacques (2012).

225 (24) *À jùsôo láatá lè.*
 3SG liver.D lie.down.CPL FOC
 226 ‘He/ she is happy.’ (lit. ‘His/her liver lied down.’) (Denis Creissels, p. c.)

227 In the corresponding nominal expression, the body-part term is incorporated by the verb. Predicates
 228 can be used as event-nominals without interfering morphology in Mandinka, so the resulting term
 229 *jùsù-láa* can be used as a nominal expression denoting ‘happiness’. The experiencer of the emotion
 230 can optionally be expressed by an alienable possessor of this noun phrase. See Creissels & Sambou
 231 (2013) for incorporation in Mandinka, Creissels (2012a) for more on event nominals in Mandinka, and
 232 Creissels (2012b) for the entry on *jùsù-láa* and related lexemes.

233 (25) *(à lá) jùsù-lâa*
 3SG GEN liver-lying.D
 234 ‘(his/ her) happiness’ (Denis Creissels, p. c.)

235 3.2 Nominalizing psycho-collocations in Daakaka

236 3.2.1 Overview

237 In Daakaka, however, the canonical way to express an emotion nominally is very different. Whereas
 238 in Japhug and Mandinka, the head of the noun phrase is the nominalized predicate, Daakaka emotion
 239 nominals are headed by the relevant body-part term. The corresponding predicate is used as an attribute
 240 to the body-part expression. Thus, the notion of ‘love/ infatuation’ literally translates as ‘sweet feeling,
 241 sweet inside’, not as ‘emotional/ interior sweetness’. In (26), we see how the verb *kyes* ‘be sweet’ is
 242 reduplicated to form an attribute to the noun *yuo* ‘feeling/ inside’:⁴

243 (26) *bwe kolir usili [yuo kyes~kyes]*
 REAL.CONT sing follow inside/feeling REDUP~sweet
 244 ‘he was singing about love’ (lit. ‘he was singing about the sweet feeling’) (sto25:080)

245 The nominal terms corresponding to the other phrases introduced in section 2 are as follows:

246 (27) a. *nena lili*
 face drunk
 247 ‘drunkenness’ (translation-based elicitation, OT)

⁴Many stative predicates are adjectives and thus do not have to be reduplicated to serve as attributes. Only verbs have to be reduplicated.

- 248 b. [yuo yaa~yaa]=ne yas=an sa mwe gene ba=an
 feeling REDUP~hurt=TRANS steal=NMLZ CM REAL make fight=NMLZ
 249 'the anger about the theft caused the fight' (elicited, JM)
- 250 c. na=m ongane [myar nyup~nyup]
 1SG=REAL feel eyes REDUP~drowsy
 251 'I feel sleepy' (lit. 'I feel drowsy eyes') (elicited, JM)

252 Table 4 shows a sample of structures following the same pattern.

253 [Table 4 about here.]

254 To summarize briefly. We have so far seen two cross-linguistically attested strategies for nominal-
 255 izing psycho-collocations:

- 256 1. In Japhug and Mandinka, the property word is nominalized and serves as the head of the construc-
 257 tion, while the body-part term is expressed as a possessor ('my heart's pain').
- 258 2. In Daakaka, the property word is used as an attribute to the body-part term, which serves as the
 259 head noun of the structure ('my painful heart').

260 These Daakaka expressions are quite curious in a number of ways. I will discuss here specifically
 261 two relevant properties: exocentricity and the morphological structure of the head noun.

262 3.2.2 Exocentricity

263 First of all, nominalized psych-collocations are arguably exocentric, in the sense that the entire term
 264 is not a hyponym of its head element – which is the definition of exocentricity in the context of com-
 265 pounds (Bauer, 2001): When I talk about 'drowsy eyes' in Daakaka, I hardly talk about a particular
 266 kind of eyes. The attribute 'drowsy' does not serve to disambiguate the head noun (the drowsy eyes, in
 267 contrast to the alert ones); nor does it further describe a given set of eyes (the eyes, which are drowsy).
 268 the term *kus lip~lip* literally translates as 'dripping nose', but really denotes the bleeding of the nose,
 269 or the blood running from the nose. This is illustrated in (28):

- 270 (28) temeli en=te mu mur te [kus lip~lip] mu puo yen kus-un
 child DEM=MED REAL fall DISC nose REDUP~drip REAL be.plenty in nose.of-3SG.POSS
 271 'this child fell and then he had a big nosebleed' (lit. 'the dripping nose was plentiful in his
 272 nose') (ex. (166) in von Prince 2015)

273 Exocentricity may not necessarily be a property of all these structures. Enfield (2002) rightly warns
 274 against drawing inferences about the conceptualization of corresponding emotion-related expressions
 275 based on the ‘literal’ body-part meanings. Especially nominals with the rather abstract noun *yuo*, which
 276 may be translated as ‘feeling’ or ‘inside’, may in fact be understood quite literally. Maybe the ‘sweet
 277 feeling’ of infatuation is in fact a particular kind of feeling, rather than a particular kind of sweetness.
 278 And in some cases (such as the ‘drowsy eyes’ and the ‘dripping nose’), it is possible, as suggested by
 279 Enfield (2002) that we are really dealing with polysemous lexemes whose actual reference is simply not
 280 as concrete as the homophonous body-part term. I should note, however, that the term *kus* ‘nose’ does
 281 not otherwise and by itself denote any kind of secretion of the nose. The general term for secretions of
 282 the nose is *dep*.

283 In other, quite clear cases of exocentricity, the property denoted by a body-part term and its attribute
 284 is taken metonymically to refer to the person characterized by this property. For example, *myar bwii*
 285 (eye blind) may refer to a blind person, *kor yas~yas* (head REDUP~strong) may denote a pigheaded
 286 person. This is also illustrated in (29):

287 (29) *[myar sang-sanga] sa ma oko vyan tu-kuwu tebol*
 288 eye REDUP~bad CM REAL walk go hit-RES.out table
 ‘someone with bad eyes has walked into the table, overturning it’ (elicited, JM)

289 In sum, while not all nominalized psycho-collocations in Daakaka are necessarily exocentric, they
 290 appear to have a tendency to be interpreted this way. At the very least, between the two cross-
 291 linguistically attested alternatives, the structure used in Japhug and Mandinka (‘my heart’s pain’) ap-
 292 pears to be more semantically transparent than the option used by Daakaka (‘my painful heart’).

293 3.2.3 Uninflected body-part terms

294 The second interesting property of nominal psycho-collocations concerns the morphology of their head
 295 nouns. Nouns denoting external human body-parts are generally inflected for the person and number
 296 features of their possessor in Daakaka. In contrast to Japhug, there is no inflection in Daakaka that
 297 would indicate an indefinite or generic possessor. There is therefore no form of an inflected noun
 298 without a definite or specific possessor.

299 An inflected noun cannot be the head of a psycho-collocation. The nouns that are used as heads

300 for nominalized psycho-collocations instead are suppletive, uninflected lexemes. The forms of these
 301 lexemes often resemble their inflected counterparts, but are never identical to any of their forms. An
 302 overview is given in table 5.

303 [Table 5 about here.]

304 The following examples show that the relevant pattern is available only for uninflected body-part
 305 nouns, not for inflected ones. Since finite sentences have a very similar distribution to noun phrases,
 306 the corresponding meaning can usually be expressed by a clausal argument, as shown in (30-c). The
 307 first of those examples was given by language consultant JM as a response to my request for a sentence
 308 containing the expression *kor pwengpwenges* ‘headache’. I then inquired about the acceptability of the
 309 two variations of the sentence.

- 310 (30) a. *gyes=an en=te mwe gene [kor pweng~pwenges]*
 311 work=NMLZ DEM=MED REAL make head REDUP~hurt
 ‘this work causes headaches’
- 312 b. **gyes=an en=te mwe gene [bet-uk pweng~pwenges]*
 313 work=NMLZ DEM=MED REAL make head.of-1SG.POSS REDUP~hurt
 intended ‘this work causes me a headache’
- 314 c. *gyes=an en=te mwe gene [bet-uk ma pwenges]*
 315 work=NMLZ DEM=MED REAL make head.of-1SG.POSS REAL hurt
 ‘this work makes my head hurt’

316 Why is (30-b) not acceptable? There is no general restriction against attributes to inflected nouns, as
 317 long as these attributes can be understood to either restrict the reference of the noun, or to further
 318 describe its referent. This is illustrated in the following two examples. In (31-a), the relative clause is a
 319 descriptive or restrictive attribute of the inflected term *nat-en* ‘her child’; in (31-b), the attribute *kekei*
 320 ‘little’ adds a description to the inflected noun *meby-un* ‘her grandson’.

- 321 (31) a. *bwe kolir usili [nat-en [na mwe seaa vyan pwer etes]]*
 322 REAL.CONT sing follow child-3SG.POSS COMP REAL get.lost go stay at.sea
 ‘she was singing about her child that/ who was lost at sea’ (sto23:015)
- 323 b. *ka ra=p tiye vyap myató en=te myane [meby-un kekei]*
 324 ASR 1PL.IN=POT kill woman old DEM=MED with grandson.of-3SG small
 ‘we will kill this woman and her little grandson’ (sto34:054)

325 Moreover, it is not the case that nominalized psycho-collocations generally disallow the realization

326 of the experiencer or subject. It is possible to talk about the anger or love felt by someone specific, not
 327 just as abstract concepts: An experiencer can be encoded as the possessor of the phrase by a possessive
 328 linker pronoun or a linker genitive – structures that are typically associated with alienable possession
 329 (compare von Prince, 2015). For the following example, I asked JM if he could form a sentence starting
 330 with *san kor yasyas sa mwe gene...* ‘his obstinacy resulted in...’, which he did:

331 (32) [*s-an* [*kor yas~yas*]] *sa mwe gene vy-an* *mwe setyup*
 332 CL3-3SG.POSS head REDUP~strong CM REAL make hand.of-3SG.POSS REAL break
 333 ‘his obstinacy was the reason he broke his hand’

333 Apparently, in cases such as (32), the scope of the possessive relation is not restricted to the body-part
 334 term, but extends over the entire psycho-collocation.

335 A possible reason for the unacceptability of (30-b), then, is that the exocentric reading is not available
 336 when the possessor is encoded by inflection on the head noun. Thus, the only way to interpret (30-b)
 337 would be to say ‘this kind of work makes my head, which/ that is hurting.’

338 In contrast, uninflected nouns such as *kor* in (32) allow for generic possessors and for possessors
 339 that scope over the entire phrase, rather than just the body-part term, thus allowing for an exocentric
 340 reading of the noun phrase. The same is not possible with inflected nouns, which is probably why
 341 they cannot serve as heads for a nominal psycho-collocation. If this is on the right track, this would
 342 be an additional piece of evidence that we are in fact dealing with exocentricity in the case of Daakaka
 343 nominalized psycho-collocations.

344 3.2.4 Paradigm consistency

345 The question remains why the strategy of nominalization that is utilized by languages like Japhug and
 346 Mandinka is not available in Daakaka. After all, one may expect that an endocentric, more transparent
 347 expression such as ‘my heart’s pain’ should be preferred over an exocentric, less transparent expression
 348 such as ‘my painful heart’. The reason for this choice of nominalization strategy is not immediately
 349 apparent, as Daakaka has a very productive procedure of nominalizing predicates: The clitic *=an* nom-
 350 inalizes verbs and predicative adjectives. The resulting expression denotes an event or a kind of events:

351 (33) [*s-am oko=an en=te*] *ka we vyan ka we sanga*
 352 CL3-2SG travel=NM DEM=MED ASR POT go ASR POT bad

352 'this journey of yours will go badly' (exp02:127)

353 The nominalized predicate phrase can consist of more than one lexeme. The following example shows
354 how a semitransitive verb and its generic object are nominalized to express a generic or habitual beha-
355 vior.

356 (34) [s-am yas barar=an] to vu
CL3-2SG steal pig=NM NEG.REAL good
357 'your (habit of) stealing pigs is not good' (a response by my consultant JM to the question
358 whether he could use the phrase *yas barar=an* in a sentence)

359 It is however possible that this derivational process excludes the kinds of predicates that feature in
360 psycho-collocations. My data suggest that this may in fact be one relevant factor. Some of the verbs we
361 find in psycho-collocations can be nominalized by the morpheme =an described above, but not all of
362 them. Thus, I have tried to elicit a nominalized version of *kyes* 'sweet', which we have seen in examples
363 (14) and (26), but suggestions such as the following were firmly rejected by JM:

364 (35) **kyes~kyes=an* (ne mees)
REDUP~NMLZ TRANS food
365 intended: 'sweetness (of the food)'

366 I can not explain the unacceptability of (35) in terms of *aktionsart* or reduplication, since otherwise all
367 types and shapes of predicates find their way into nominalizations with =an. Whatever the reason, the
368 nominalization strategy that takes the body-part term as a head is available to all expressions in the
369 paradigm, while the strategy that takes the nominalized predicate as its head is not. Thus, it may be that
370 in Daakaka, a consistent paradigm featuring exocentring nominalizations wins against an inconsistent
371 paradigm featuring endocentric ones.

372 Before concluding this article, I would like to point out an interesting parallel between the psycho-
373 collocations and the following expressions for meteorological events:

374 (36) a. or mwe myaek
place REAL be.night
375 'it is night'
376 b. or mwe yuop
place REAL be.dawn

377 'it is dawn' (ex. (553-a/b) in von Prince 2015)

378 The corresponding nominal expressions follow the same pattern as the psycho-collocations, and their
379 exocentricity is illustrated by the following example:

380 (37) *or bwe towane [or yuop~yuop]*
place REAL;CONT throw place REDUP~dawn
381 'it was getting dawn' (lit. 'the place was throwing the dawning place') (ex. (95-c) in von Prince
382 2015)

383 Like emotions, meteorological events do not match any of the prototypical notions associated with
384 one particular lexical class and show considerable variation in their assignment to lexical classes cross-
385 linguistically. In Daakaka, they could be described as forming one class with psycho-collocations: In
386 both cases, the relevant meaning can only be expressed by a specific subject-predicate collocation at the
387 sentence-level; and in both cases, these collocations form noun phrases by taking the subject expression
388 as a head noun and the predicate as its attribute.

389 4 Conclusion

390 For this paper, I have discussed the nominalization of psycho-collocations in Daakaka. I have con-
391 trasted this process with different strategies from other languages and proposed that, given the logical
392 alternatives, the nominalization strategy used in Daakaka is slightly puzzling. I have presented original
393 data from fieldwork and corpus work to explore some of the possible reasons behind the development
394 of this process. I have concluded that one relevant factor may be the consistency of a paradigm that
395 may not only include psycho-collocations, but also meteorological collocations. But only a more sys-
396 tematic comparison between languages will allow us to get a thorough understanding of the factors
397 that determine the choice of nominalization strategy and the range of variation considering this phe-
398 nomenon.

399 This research highlights the fact that cross-linguistic comparisons between derivational processes
400 should not be restricted to the level of individual lexemes, but should also take more complex phrases
401 into consideration.

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Table 1: Human-propensity verbs from Tawala (Ezard, 1997: 278-279)

<i>mata.maga</i>	be promiscuous	(eyes.many)
<i>upu.dodola</i>	be lazy	(back.unbending)
<i>gamo.bagibagi</i>	be talkative	(mouth.work)
<i>kamna.apapoe</i>	be poorly	(disposition.bad)
<i>taniga.pupu</i>	be disobedient	(ear.block)
<i>nugo.apapoe</i>	be angry	(heart.bad)
<i>nugo.kadidili</i>	be resolute	(heart.hard)

Table 2: Compounds of a body-part expression and a predicate from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk, 2010: 378)

<i>seqe-daadaola</i>	'be/feel lazy'	(body-stiff)
<i>lio-dila</i>	'feel very sad, dejected, heartbroken'	(mind-slip)
<i>lio-dora</i>	'forget'	(mind-not.know)
<i>manata-akele</i>	'repent, regret'	(mind-turn.around)
<i>rake-boko</i>	'be constipated'	(belly-be.blocked)
<i>gwau-boko</i>	'be dumb'	(head-be.blocked)
<i>maa-boko</i>	'be blind, be unable to see'	(eye-be.blocked)

Table 3: Compounds expressing human propensities in Tuvaluan (Besnier, 2000: 606f.)

<i>leo saauaa</i>	verbally brutal	(voice brutal)
<i>mata faanoanoa</i>	sad looking	(eyes sad)
<i>loto alofa</i>	empathetic	(heart feel.empathy)
<i>lima puke-puke</i>	thievish	(hand REDUP-grab)
<i>gutu ppelo</i>	prone to lying	(mouth lie)
<i>gutu saasaa</i>	loud and cheerful	(mouth cheerful ⁵)

Table 4: Examples for complex terms denoting bodily or emotional states in Daakaka

Term	Gloss	Meaning
<i>bip mer-mer</i>	body REDUP~dead	'exhaustion'
<i>bip erér</i>	body hot	'fever'
<i>kor yas-yas</i>	head REDUP~strong	'obstinacy'
<i>kus lip-lip</i>	nose REDUP~drip	'nosebleed'
<i>myar nyup~nyup</i>	eye REDUP~doze	'drowsiness'
<i>myar bwii</i>	eye blind	'blindness'
<i>nená lili</i>	face drunk	'ebriety, drunkenness'
<i>yuo kyeskyes</i>	feeling sweet	'infatuation'
<i>yuo yaa~yaa</i>	feeling REDUP~hurt	'anger'
<i>yuo maru</i>	feeling glad	'gladness'
<i>vyaa boo</i>	arm deformed. by.elephantiasis	'elephantiasis affecting the arms'

Inflected	Uninflected	Translation
<i>bet-</i>	<i>kor</i>	'head'
<i>bye-</i>	<i>bip</i>	'body'
<i>lu-</i>	<i>ép</i>	tooth
<i>ly-</i>	<i>lye</i>	'leg'
<i>met-</i>	<i>myar</i>	'eye'
<i>nyu-</i>	<i>nena</i>	'face'
<i>pan-</i>	<i>penyu</i>	forehead
<i>sy-</i>	<i>taten</i>	feces
<i>tin-</i>	<i>tinya</i>	gut
<i>vya-</i>	<i>vyaa</i>	'hand'
<i>yuo-</i>	<i>yuo</i>	'feeling/inside'

Table 5: Inflected and uninflected counterparts of body-part-terms in Daakaka