



Abstract In her study on emotions across languages and cultures, Wierzbicka proposed a set of eleven working hypotheses on emotional universals. We test each of these hypotheses against data newly collected from the Native American language East Cree. Eight of these eleven hypotheses are confirmed, thus giving support to their universality. We offer cross-cultural comparison of anger-like, fear-like and shame-like concepts, and discuss the Cree expression of good and bad feelings, *cry* and *smile*, and Cree emotive interjections. Our findings indicate that not all languages commonly use figurative bodily images ('my heart sank') or bodily sensations ('when I heard this, my throat went dry') to describe cognitively based feelings. The Cree data also cast some doubt on a straightforward universal syntax for combining the primes, as proposed in the current Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework. However, we conclude that, for researchers interested in avoiding ethnocentric bias, the NSM approach is on the right track as a tool for cross-cultural, cross-linguistic research on emotions.

Key Words aboriginal culture, East Cree, emotions, lexicography, Native American, Natural Semantic Metalanguage

Marie-Odile Junker

Carleton University, Canada

Louise Blacksmith

Mistissini Cree Nation

Are There Emotional Universals? Evidence from the Native American Language East Cree

When studying emotions across languages and cultures the researcher must take great care to guard against both extreme cultural relativism and ethnocentric naïvety. According to the first view, emotions are entirely culture-dependent and it is impossible to escape a hermeneutical circle to describe them. According to the second, there is a set of basic emotions that are universal and can be accurately labeled with words from the language of the researcher (usually English). Both these views will be challenged here. The goal of this article is to contribute to the search for 'emotional universals' by testing Wierzbicka's (1999)

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set of working hypotheses on emotional universals against newly collected data from the Native American language East Cree. In her study on emotions across languages and cultures, Wierzbicka (1999) proposed the following set of working hypotheses (pp. 275–276):

1. All languages have a word for FEEL.
2. In all languages some feelings can be described as 'good' and some as 'bad' (while some may be viewed as neither 'good' nor 'bad').
3. All languages have words comparable to, though not necessarily identical in meaning with, *cry* and *smile*; that is, words referring to the bodily expression of good and bad feelings.
4. In all cultures people appear to link some facial gestures with either good or bad feelings, and in particular, they link the raised corners of the mouth with good feelings, whereas turned down corners of the mouth or a wrinkled nose appear to be linked with bad feelings.
5. All languages have 'emotive' interjections (i.e. interjections expressing cognitively-based feelings).
6. All languages have some 'emotions terms' (i.e. terms designating some cognitively-based feelings).
7. All languages have words linking feelings with: (i) the thought that 'something bad can happen to me', (ii) the thought that 'I want to do something', and (iii) the thought that 'people can think something bad about me'. These are all words overlapping, though not identical, in meaning with the English words *afraid*, *angry*, and *ashamed*.
8. In all languages, people can describe cognitively-based feelings through observable bodily 'symptoms' (i.e. via some bodily events regarded as characteristic of these feelings).
9. In all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described with reference to bodily sensations.
10. In all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described via figurative 'bodily images'.
11. In all languages, there are alternative grammatical constructions for describing (and interpreting) cognitively-based feelings.

Why Look for Emotional Universals in Language?

It is important that the eleven hypotheses listed above be tested, for several reasons. The study of human emotions needs input from the study of languages. As argued by Harkins and Wierzbicka (2001), while most research experiments in brain physiology are conducted in predominantly English-speaking research environments, it is expected that their findings will apply to human brains generally (Davidson & Ekman, 1994). Such research and the interpretation of its results hinge upon questions of language. Emotions cannot be defined purely in terms of eliciting conditions and physiological responses. Ultimately, it is only through language that we can know that what is experienced

is say, anger. Disparate emotion experiences can only be linked conceptually when they are given the same label by language. Wierzbicka (1988, 1999) demonstrates that such a label is not the same across languages. Differences in usage of emotion words are connected in some way with cultural attitudes and cultural identity. To quote Harkins and Wierzbicka (2001): 'The different feel of the words *angry*, *furious*, *furieux* [French] has much to do with kinds of things English and French speakers do, how they look, sound and behave, when they feel these emotions' (p. 3).

Because of this intrinsic connection to culture, an English emotion word such as *anger* can no longer be considered neutral or self-explanatory, nor a universal primitive of human emotions. In order to study both the diversity and the universal aspects of human emotions, we need a tool for cross-cultural analysis. Wierzbicka (1999) and Harkins and Wierzbicka (2001) argue that technical English cannot do the job. What is needed is a set of universal conceptual primitives that allow us to explore human emotions from a universal, language-independent perspective. For that they suggest we use the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) that Wierzbicka and her colleagues developed over the last thirty years. This metalanguage contains a set of proposed semantic primes, the result of many empirical cross-linguistic investigations, which are lexicalized in all languages of the world and cannot be further explained by simpler, more primitive words. The following list is given in Goddard and Wierzbicka (2002) for English (Table 1) and in Junker (2004) for East Cree (Table 2).

Note that the inventory of primes looks like a natural language in miniature. Goddard and Wierzbicka (2002) also claim that there is a common core of matching grammatical patterns in which the common core of shared lexical items can be used. This mini-language can thus be used to define more complex, culturally, and language-dependent emotion words. Using this method, Wierzbicka (1999) not only describes cultural differences between emotions across languages,¹ but also arrived at a series of working hypotheses, listed above, about what would truly be universal in the realm of human emotions in language. With language being central to the labeling and conceptualizing of emotions, such linguistic research is essential to the field of cultural psychology, as was already pointed out over a century ago by the psychologist Williams James:

If one should seek to name each particular one [of the emotions] of which the human heart is the seat, it is plain that the limit to their number would lie in the introspective vocabulary of the seeker, each race of men having found names for some shade of feeling, which other races have left undiscriminated. (James, 1890, p. 485, cited by Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 26)

Table 1. Thematic table of semantic primes—English exponents (after Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2002)

Substantives:	I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, PEOPLE SOMETHING/THING, BODY
Determiners:	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers:	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH/MANY
Evaluators:	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors:	BIG, SMALL
Mental/experiential predicates:	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Speech:	SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions, events, movement:	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and possession:	THERE IS, HAVE
Life and death:	LIVE, DIE
Time:	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space:	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE
Logical concepts:	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Intensifier, augmentor:	VERY, MORE
Taxonomy, partonomy:	KIND, PART
Similarity:	LIKE

Table 2. Thematic table of semantic primes—East Cree exponents (after Junker, 2004)

Substantives:	NII, CHII, AWEN, INNU CHEKWAAN, WIYUU
Determiners:	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers:	PEYAKW, NISH, PASCH, MISIWE, MIHCHE/ MISHTAHI
Evaluators:	MIYU, MACHI
Descriptors:	MISTA, APISH
Mental/experiential predicates:	ITEYIHTAM, CHISCHEYIHTAM, NITUWEYIHTAM, ITAMAHCHIHUU, WAAPAHTAM, PEHTAM
Speech:	ITWEU, AYIMUWIN, TAAPWEH
Actions, events, movement:	IHTUUTAM, ISPAYUU, AAHCIIU
Existence and possession:	IHTAKUN, IYAAU
Life and death:	PIMAATISIU, NIPUU
Time:	TAISHPISH, ANUHCIIISH, PWAAMUSH, CHISKWAA, CHINEUSH, WEIPISHCHIIH, WESKACHIIISHIISH, ISHKAYAAHCH
Space:	TAANTE, UT, ISHPIMIHC, NIIHTAAHCH, CIIHCIIH, NEAR, UHPIME, PIHC
Logical concepts:	NAMUI, MAASKUUCH, CHII, EUKUN WEHCHI, [CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIF INFLECTION]
Intensifier, augmentor:	NAASCH, ETITUU
Taxonomy, partonomy:	--
Similarity:	MWEHCH

Testing Wierzbicka's hypotheses about emotional universals on an aboriginal language like East Cree can provide us with interesting results. First, a greater degree of variation in any conceptualization domain can be expected with such a non-European language than that between English and French. Note also that such languages are fast disappearing and changing, with their culture and traditional way of life under assault. So our results about cross-linguistic variation may be quite different twenty years from now, when the monolingual elders we can still interview today will be gone. Second, if Wierzbicka is right, we can get closer to understanding the universal and culture-specific aspects of human emotions. We can also provide cultural psychologists with the proper tools to understand the role of culture in psychological processes without ethnocentric bias.

Background about Cree Language and Culture

East Cree is a Native American language from the Algonquian family, spoken in the Eastern James Bay region of Canada by about 13,000 people living in nine different communities. There are two major dialects, Northern and Southern (Junker, 2000–2006). The data used in this paper are from the Southern dialect, but the research includes interviews with Northern speakers as well. The traditional way of life of East Cree people was that of a hunter-gatherer society, made of small groups living in the boreal forest. Crees successfully engaged in the fur trade around the 17th century (Francis & Morantz, 1983; Morantz, 1983, 2002). The collapse of the fur trade in the 1930s created an unprecedented period of starvation that encouraged people to spend more time in permanent settlements. They were then forced to send their children to residential schools where they acquired some of the colonial languages (English for the most part, French for a few). Hydro-electric developments started in the 1970s in the region and forced the relocation of some communities. These developments had a large impact on the traditional way of life, forcing even more sedentarization. They also brought along modern forms of communications: roads, telephones, electricity and television. The signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (similar to a treaty) in 1975 resulted in some autonomous Cree bodies of government, like the Cree School Board and the Cree Health Board. In 1995 the Cree School Board made Cree the language of instruction from kindergarten to Grade 3. Today the majority of the Crees live in the communities. Some people still live in the bush, but the majority of youth now only know village life. Older traditional values mix and fit with Christian values, as exemplified in

the narrative by Alice Jacob (Preston, 1986). In general there is a deep embrace of Christianity that dates back to the 19th century (Morantz, 2002) and continues today with the Pentecostal and other similar movements.

On the Universality of FEEL

Is There a Word for FEEL in East Cree?

The first and probably strongest hypothesis about emotional universals is that all languages have a word for FEEL, undifferentiated between 'bodily feelings' (sensations) and 'cognitively based' feelings ('emotions'). The basic 'psychological' sense of this universal word, expression or morpheme would correspond to the following English sentences (excluding the sense of intentional touching):

- (1) (a) I feel like this now.
- (b) I do not feel anything.
- (c) I can't describe what I felt.
- (d) How are you feeling?
- (e) I felt as if I was going to die.

Cross-linguistic evidence also suggests that no language fails to distinguish between THINKING and FEELING. Some languages do reportedly use a lexical word-form for both, though in such cases polysemy can be established on language-internal grounds. Where cultures do differ is in the way they talk about feelings, but 'the basic conceptual and linguistic resources for talking about matters related to feelings are always there' (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 279).

East Cree has three words that can translate as *feel* in English:²

- (2) (a) Iteyimû (vai) 'S/he thinks/feels a certain way.'
- (b) Itamahchihû (vai) 'S/he feels a certain way.'
- (c) Mûshihû (vai) 'S/he feels, s/he feels pain or something in her/his body.'

All three words belong to the class of animate intransitive verbs (vai). This means that they are predicates taking one argument, which is an animate subject. Cree verbs are in fact minimal sentences, in that they always include reference to a subject, and if transitive, to both a subject and an object. There is no infinitival form such as *to feel* in Cree. Cree has four morphological classes of verbs, depending on the animacy of the subject for intransitive verbs, and the animacy of the object for transitive verbs. Thus, the verbs in (2a–c) also have corresponding transitive verbs, to which we will turn later. For now, let us find out if any of these three verbs would be a good candidate for the

semantic prime FEEL: that is, a word undifferentiated between 'bodily feelings' (sensations) and 'cognitively based' feelings (emotions).

The first verb, *iteyimû*, literally means 's/he thinks', but can be translated as 's/he feels' in contexts involving certain states of mind believed to be the cause of certain emotions. In example (3) below, 'not thinking' is equated with peace of mind, thus of feeling well. The question in (4a), partially overlaps in meaning with the English *feel* but is about a state of mind. Answers to (4a) could be (4b, c and d.)

- (3) Namui wiyes iteyimû.
 not anything s/he.thinks (vai)
 'S/he feels well (in her/his mind)'/
 'S/he is in such a state of mind that there is nothing that worries her/him.'
- (4) (a) Tân e iteyimuyin?
 How C you.so.think (vai-conjunct)?
 'What is your state of mind?'/ 'How do you feel (in your mind)?'
- (b) → Namui wiyesh nititeyimûn.
 not anything I.think (vai)
 'I feel well, at peace.'
- (c) → Nitâyimeyihnten.
 I.trouble.think. (vti)
 'I am troubled in my mind.'/ 'I am worried about it.'
- (d) → Nimiyeiyhten.
 I.good.think (vai)
 'I like it.'/ 'I am happy about it.'

The second verb, *itamahchihû*, is found in all the canonical contexts given by Wierzbicka (1999) for the prime FEEL:

- (5) (a) Ekun e itamahchihuyân anuhchîsh. 'I feel like this now.'
 focus.particle C I.feel.so (vai conjunct) now
- (b) Namui wiyesh nititamahchihun. 'I do not feel anything.'
 not anything I.feel.so (vai)
- (c) Namui nikachî wîhten tân nihâu kê itamahchihuyân.
 not I.can describe how exactly C I.feel (vai conjunct)
 'I can't describe what I felt.'
- (d) Tân e itamahchihuyin? 'How are you feeling?'
 how C you.feel.so (vai conjunct)
- (e) Mwehch che nipiyân ekun kê itamahchihuyân.
 like past I.die (vai independent) that is C I.feel.so (vai conjunct)
 'I felt as if I was going to die.'

(5a) is a sentence that summarizes all expressions of cognitive and bodily feelings, so, for instance, it could be preceded by (5d). (5b) and (5c) cover both cognitive and bodily feelings. On the other hand, the question (5d) will generally be understood by speakers as a question

of mind. These contrasts appear clearly in the following examples (7a–c):

- (7) (a) Anite an mekwâch, namui wiyesh nûhchi **iteyihten**.
 There (at) that time, not anything I.past so.think.it (vti)
 ‘At that time, I did not think of it.’
- (b) Anit an mekwâch, namui wiyesh nûhchi **itamahchihtân**.
 There (at) that time, not anything I.past so.feel(it) (vai/vti)
 ‘At that time, I did not feel anything (from it).’
- (c) Anit an mekwâch, namui chekwân nûhchi **mûshihâtân**.
 There (at) that time, not anything I.past feel(it) (vai/vti).
 ‘At that time, I did not feel anything (physically)’
 /‘I had no sensation in my body.’

Comparing how the three candidates for the prime are used in questions also clarifies their meanings (8a–c).

- (8) (a) Tân e **iteyimuyin?**
 How C you.so.think (vai-conjunct)?
 ‘What is your state of mind?’/‘How do you feel (in your mind)?’
- (b) Tân e **itamahchihuyin?/*Tânite e itamahchihuyin?**
 how C you.feel (vai conjunct)
 ‘How are you feeling?’
- (c) Tânite e **mûshihuyin?/*Tân e mûshihuyin?**
 where C you.feel (vai conjunct)
 ‘Where do you feel/sense (the pain)?’

The first question, in (8a), is about a state of mind that will generate certain cognitive feelings. It is not used for asking questions about feelings in general. The second question, in (8b), also constructed with the interrogative pronoun/particle *tân* ‘how’, is used to ask about bodily and cognitive feelings, in appropriate pragmatic circumstances. The third question cannot be constructed with the particle *tân*, but only with the particle/adverb *tânite* ‘where’, as opposed to the second question, which cannot be constructed with the locative question *tânite*.³ This is consistent with the fact that *mûshihû* refers to a bodily sensation and therefore has to be located somewhere in the body, while *itamahchihû* refers to a feeling in general. Our conclusion is that Cree has an exponent for the prime FEEL and that it is *itamahchihû*.

Properties of the Semantic Prime FEEL

Now, can the Cree data reveal something about the properties of the semantic prime FEEL? Remember that the sense of intentional touching in the English use of *feel* was excluded by Wierzbicka in her definition of the prime FEEL. Is this confirmed by the Cree data? In order to find out, we conducted the following test. Cree speakers were presented

with a list of feeling verbs (selected because they are all glossed by *feel* in the dictionary [MacKenzie et al., 2006]), and asked if *itamahchihû* 'S/he feels a certain way' can adequately describe them. Responses are summarized in Table 3. *Itamahchihû* was judged to be a good gloss for all feeling verbs except for the feel-touch type. The Cree data thus prove that it is right to exclude the feel-touch meaning of the English *feel* in the definition of the prime FEEL.

- (9) Can *Itamahchihû* ('S/he feels a certain way') adequately describe these words? (see Table 3).

Table 3.

kusikumahchihtâu	YES	'S/he feels it heavy, s/he finds it a burden'
kutinam/kutineu	NO	'S/he feels it/him, S/he tries it/him by touching'
mâtimachihîtaû	YES	'S/he begins to feel its effects'
mametunishkam	NO	'She feels her way in the dark, using her feet'
memetunam/memetuneu	NO	'S/he feels it/him with her hands'
mihteyihtam	YES	'She feels better from it'
miyuhkasû	YES	'S/he feels good from drinking'
miyumachihîtaû	YES	S/he feels the good effects of it'
miyumachihû	YES	'She feels good'
miywâtisû	YES	'She feels better after being sick'
muisû	YES	'S/he gets a feeling on her back which foretells an event'
mûshiheu	YES	'She feels, she is aware of him'
mûshihû	YES	'She feels, she feels pain or anguish, she has the sensation of feeling'
nânitunam/nânituneu	NO	'She feels (around) for it/him'
nishteyihtam		
nishteyihtamiheu	YES	'S/he is overpowered with feeling, grief or joy' 'She overpowers him with feeling, grief or joy'
nisitumahchihû	YES	'S/he has a feeling, a sensibility' (S/he feels hunger, sickness)
nisitusû	YES	'She has a sense of feeling'
nitûnamiskweu	NO	'S/he feels around for the beaver'
puwâpâweu	YES	'S/he feels the water coming through her clothes'

What else can the Cree data reveal about the presumed properties of the prime FEEL? Wierzbicka (1996) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (2002) proposed a universal syntax for the semantic primes. Each prime occurs in specific grammatical (combinatorial) contexts. The proposed frame for FEEL (Goddard, 2002) is given in (10a), and is also realizable as (10b). The construction in (11), however, while possible in English, is not found in many languages (Goddard, 2002). A polysynthetic language like Cree, where every verb is a sentence, is a perfect testing ground for this hypothesis.

- (10) (a) X feels something good/bad towards Y.
 (b) X has good/bad feelings towards Y.
- (11) X feels something towards Y.

In Cree, syntactic frames can be realized by the different verb classes. The candidate-exponent of the prime FEEL discussed so far, the verb-sentence *itamahchihû*, is an animate intransitive verb (vai). There are corresponding pseudo-transitive inanimate (vai/vti) and transitive animate (vta) verbs, as exemplified in (12).

- (12) (a) **Itamahchihû**.(vai) 'S/he feels a certain way.'
 (b) **Itamahchihtâu**.(vai/vti) S/he feels a certain way about it.'
 (c) **Itamahchiheu**. (vta) 'S/he feels a certain way about him/her (sexual connotation).'

Is the construction (11), combining the primes FEEL and SOMETHING, possible in Cree? If so, it would be a combination of the transitive inanimate verb *iamahchihtâu* (12b) and a word or morpheme that corresponds to the prime SOMETHING. The word for 'something' is the pronoun *chekwân* or the particle *wiyesh*. Syntactic reasons prevent a combination with *chekwân* as shown by (13), because the verb starts with the relative root *it-*.⁴ Combination with *wiyesh* is possible, as in (14), but the meaning is typically one of a physical sensation, not the neutral one intended by Wierzbicka.

- (13) **chekwâyû itamahchihtâu*
 something.OBV s/he.feels (vai/vti)
- (14) *Wiyesh itamahchihû*.
 something (particle) s/he.feels (vai)
 'S/he feels a certain way.' → 'She does not feel well.' (in the physical sense)

The construction in (11), FEEL + SOMETHING, is thus possible in Cree, but it is unclear if its meaning is the one intended for the primes combination.

Now, can we say (10), FEEL + SOMETHING + GOOD, in Cree? The combination of the Cree exponents of the primes FEEL and GOOD consists of a derived verb, made up of a preverb *miyu* 'good', which we take to be the exponent of the prime GOOD in Cree (see Junker, in press) and the root of the verb *itamahchihû* (see also the following section). Corresponding transitive verbs (vti and vta) are attested, but they imply that there is a physical contact, for instance touch, and that the object 'it' or 'him/her' is the cause of the feeling. Furthermore, the vta has a sexual connotation, which is not the meaning intended in the frame (10).

- (15) (a) Miyu-mahchihû. (vai) 'S/he feels good.'
 she.good-feels (vai)
 (b) Miyu-mahchihtâu. (vai/vti) 'S/he feels good because of it.'
 she.good-feels (vti)
 (c) Miyu-mahchiheu. (vta)
 she.good-feels (vta)
 'S/he feels good because of him/her.' (sexual connotation)

Similarly, when the verb in (15b) is combined with the exponent of the prime SOMETHING *chekwân*, as in (16), the meaning is not the one intended in the frame (10). (16) does not mean 'She feels something good (towards Y)', it means, as shown below, that 'something is making her feel good' or that 'She feels good *because of* something'.

- (16) Miyu-mahchihtâu chekwâyû.
 she.good-feels (vai/vti) something.OBV
 'Something (that is touching her physically) is making her feel good (in her body).'

Leaving aside the derived verbs, the frame FEEL SOMETHING GOOD can only be realized in Cree by the verb *mûshitâu*, as in (17a), which specializes in bodily feelings. The combination SOMETHING (which is) GOOD with *itamâchihtâu* is ruled out in (17b) by the fact that the pronoun *chekwân* (inflected as *chekwâyû*) cannot be used with *it-* verbs, but surprisingly it is also ruled out in (17c) with the particle *wiyesh*.

- (17) (a) Mûshitâu e miywâyich chekwâyû.
 she.feels (vai/vti) C it.is.good (vai conjunct) something.OBV
 'She feels something (physically) (that is) good.'
 (b) *itamâchihtâu e miywâyich chekwâyû.
 she.feels (vai/vti) C it.is.good (vai-conjunct) something.OBV
 (c) *wiyesh e miywâyich itamahchihtâu.
 something C it.is.good (vai-conjunct) she.feels(vai/vti)

It is possible to combine GOOD (*miyu-*) and SOMETHING (*chekwân*) in Cree. However, the resulting word *miyuchekwân* cannot be combined with feeling words at all, as shown by (18). The only way to say FEEL SOMETHING GOOD is with a new verb, as in (19), that includes the morpheme *-eyi-* indicating mental activity, and whose meaning is more about being in agreement or approving of what someone else does.

- (18) (a) *itamâchihtâu miyu-chekwâyû
 she.feels.it.so good-thing.OVB
 (b) *mûshitâu miyu-chekwâyû
 she.feels/senses.it good-thing.OVB
 (19) (a) Naheyimeu. (vta) 'He feels good about him/her.' (because he approves what the person does)
 (b) Naheyihtam. (vti) 'He feels good about it.' (sense of agreeing with—to be in agreement)

This shows that the postulated universal syntactic frame 'FEEL SOMETHING GOOD' is not possible in Cree with the intended meaning of covering both cognitive and bodily feelings. One argument Wierzbicka advances for using the less idiomatic expression 'to feel something good', rather than just 'to feel good', is that one could feel 'something good' and 'something bad' at the same time, while 'to feel good' implies a global well-being in English. The idea of global well-being also appears with the Cree primes. While it is not acceptable to say 'I feel good and I feel bad at the same time', as shown in (20), one could use other verbs, 'feel-sense' or 'feel-think', differentiating between physical state and state of mind, as in (21a), or talking about contradictory states of mind (21b).

- (20) *Ni-miyu-mahchihtâu kaye mâk ni-machi-mahchihtâu.
 I-good-feel (vai/vti) and also I-bad-feel (vai/vti)
 'I feel good and I feel bad at the same time'
- (21) (a) Ni-machi-mahchihûn mukw yâpach ni-miy-eyihten.
 I-bad-feel/sense (vai) but yet I-good-feel/think (vti)
 'I feel bad (physically), but yet I feel good (in my mind)/but yet I am happy.'
- (b) Nimeyihnten kaye mâk nimacheyihten.
 I-good-feel/think (vti) and also I-back-feel/think (vti)
 'I feel good in my mind and I feel bad in my mind'/'I am happy and I am sad.'

The Cree data show that the combination of the Cree exponents of FEEL SOMETHING GOOD is not possible, while SOMETHING GOOD, FEEL SOMETHING and FEEL GOOD are. Goddard (2002, pp. 310–312) speaks of a 'compound valency' for FEEL to indicate that FEEL combines with both SOMETHING and GOOD in universal grammar—i.e. FEEL SOMETHING GOOD. The Cree exponents of these primes cannot be combined in such a way. Based on the Cree data, we would like to suggest that FEEL only combines with GOOD.

The data presented here demonstrate that, although Cree has several verbs that can be translated by 'feel' in English, only one of these verbs fully corresponds to the meaning associated with the semantic prime FEEL. It is *itamahchihû*. The Cree data corroborate two other claims: (1) that no language would fail to distinguish between THINK and FEEL (these are in Cree *iteyimû* and *itamahchihû*, respectively); and (2) that the 'feel-touch' sense of English *feel* has to be excluded from the universal semantic primitive FEEL. Finally, in not allowing the FEEL + SOMETHING + GOOD combination, the Cree facts question the validity of the postulated universal syntax for the prime FEEL.

'Good' and 'Bad' Feelings

Cree, like other languages, has a way of describing feelings as either good or bad. This is done with a derived verb related to the exponent of the prime FEEL and whose initial element is the modifier *miyu*- 'good' or *machi*- 'bad'.

- (22) Ni-**miyu**-mahchihun. (vai) 'I feel good.'
 I-**good**-feel (vai)
 ni-**machi**-mahchihun. (vai) 'I feel bad.'
 I-**bad**-feel (vai)

Corresponding transitive verbs are also attested:

- (23) Ni-miyu-mahchihtân. (vai/vti) 'I feel good about it.'
 I-good-feel.it (vai/vti)
 Ni-machi-mahchihtân. (vai/vti) 'I feel bad about it.'
 I-bad-feel.it (vai/vti)
- (24) Ni-machi-mahchihâu. (vta) 'I feel bad about him/her.'
 I-bad-feel.him/her (vta)
 Ni-miyu-mahchihâu. (vta) 'I feel good about him/her (sexual connotation).'
 I-good-feel.him/her (vta)

Speakers had no difficulty giving examples of good and bad feelings, indicating that the distinction is made. The other Cree feeling verb *mûshihû* has no corresponding derived verb for 'feeling good or bad'. This further confirms that *mûshihû* is not the universal semantic prime.

- (25) *ni-miyu-mûshihûn
 I-good-feel (vai)
 *Ni-miyu-mûshihtân
 I-good-feel (vai)

The second hypothesis, that some feelings can be described as good and bad in all languages, is thus confirmed by the Cree data.

Words for 'Cry' and 'Smile'

Links between feelings and the body are clearly attested in Cree. Indeed, Cree has words comparable to 'smile' and 'cry':

- (26) Mâtû. (vai) 'S/he cries.'
 Pâhpû. (vai) 'S/he laughs.'

Wierzbicka (1999) proposes that the shared components of meanings of these words across languages be:

- cry/weep*:
 I think: something bad is happening
 I feel something bad now

smile/laugh:

I think: something good is happening

I feel something good now

Describing these in Cree, using Cree exponents of the semantic primes, gives us:⁵

mâtû:

nit-iteyihnten: e ispahihch chekwân ekâ miyeyihtâkuhch

I-think(vai/vti) C it.happens(vii) something C.not it.is.good(vii- conjunct)

ni-machi-mahchihun

I-bad-feel(vai)

pâhpû:

nititeyihnten: e ispahihch chekwân e miyeyihtâkuhch

I-think(vai/vti) C it.happens(vii) something C it.is.good(vii- conjunct)

ni-miyu-mahchihun

I-good-feel(vai)

Wierzbicka (1999) makes the assumption that crying and laughing behaviors can be and usually are interpreted as messages. The Cree verbs support this assumption by having a derivation for these verbs that means 'pretend'.

(27) (a) Mâtû. (vai) 'S/he cries.'

(b) Mâtu-hkâsû. (vai) 'S/he pretends to cry.'

(28) (a) Pâhpû. (vai) 'S/he laughs.'

(b) Pâhpi-hkâsû. (vai) 'S/he pretends to laugh.'

The Cree data thus confirm hypothesis 3, that all languages have words referring to the bodily expression of good and bad feelings. How and when it is appropriate to laugh or cry is of course subject to cultural variation. We have observed that laughing together plays an important role in Cree conversation. (See Spielmann, 1998, chap. 6 for a discussion of laughter and teasing in a neighboring language.)

Facial Universals

An informal survey shows that speakers do interpret facial gestures as indicating certain thoughts and feelings. A smile is definitely understood as conveying a good feeling in Cree. Some facial gestures are typical of Cree and do not necessarily convey emotions, for instance the tongue or lower lip extension is used to indicate direction (along with a demonstrative pronoun; Junker & MacKenzie, 2003). Some sensations in the face are interpreted in a particular way in Cree culture: eyes twitching means a premonition, and, according to some, if the left eye is twitching, it means bad luck. Staring people in the eyes

is not a positive communicative device in traditional culture. We have noticed that when people tell personal stories, listeners look aside, as to avoid eye contact. This is to show respect (Daisy Moar, *personal communication*, 2002) or to show that you are paying attention. As a child, Louise Blacksmith was told not to stare at people because it was rude (no gender difference here). Despite some cultural differences, we would expect some universal facial gestures for 'I feel something good now' and 'I feel something bad now' to be realized in Cree, but an experiment in Cree with suitable design and methodology remains to be done.

Emotive Interjections

All languages have words for voicing feelings. Wierzbicka (1999) proposes that the shared meaning of those words can be represented as follows:

I feel something now
because I think something now

Below is a list of common Cree interjections. Under each Cree interjection, we suggest what the specific thought might be for each interjection.

Ekwesâ ('wow', 'oops')—short form: *sâ* (with a nasal sound)
I didn't think this would happen.

Ekwesâ expresses surprise. It can be positive or negative, such as when something tastes really good or when you break something, but the surprise is more important than whether it is good or bad.

Eheh ('Yikes', also used when in pain)
This is bad.
I don't want this to happen.
I feel something bad.

Eheh can be pronounced with a groaning sound, like an ongoing complaint for pain that lasts, or quickly for a short strike of pain, such as after being pinched.

Seh ('yuk')
This is bad.
I don't want it.

Seh can be used, for example, if you are given the same food over and over and do not want it, or if you are annoyed and do not want to do something.

Sâ ('Who does he think he is?')

A person is here.

I feel something.

I do not want to be here now with this person.

Sâ is used if someone is boasting and you are so embarrassed that you do not want to be with that person. There are gestures that go with *sâ*: either tongue out and hands down, or moving the hand down from the wrist.

Âhwesâ ('incredible')

You say something. You do something.

I know this: this is not true.

Âhwesâ is used when you don't really believe what another person is saying, or what is happening, such as if someone throws a surprise birthday party for you and you get a lot of gifts, and you are so surprised you cannot believe it is true.

Michisch ('Ass')

Chekw mei ('Shit')

Machimanitû ('Satan', used when in anger)

Something bad is happening/this person did something bad.

I don't want this to be happening/ I don't want this person to do things like this.

The above three interjections are used in the same context, depending on the speaker.

Heh ('wow')

This person did something

I think this is very good.

Heh is used when you are impressed with someone and you feel pride in that person.

Mâ ('yeah')

You say something.

Mâ is used for acknowledging someone's comment.

Entâpwe ('how sweet of you')

I feel something towards you.

Entâpwe is a form of endearment. It can be used for acknowledging a gift. When it is for a baby, you pronounce it with a *ch* instead of *t*: *enchâpwe*.

M ('thank-you')

You did something

I think this is good. I feel something good now.

M is for expressing gratitude.

Cree has plenty of 'emotive' interjections and thus confirms hypothesis 5—that all languages have interjections expressing cognitively-based feelings.

'Emotion Terms'

All languages have words for describing feelings based on certain thoughts. These words do not have to match in meaning across languages, but they all combine the following components:

someone feels something
because this person thinks something

Words of this type describe the nature of the feeling via a cognitive prototype:

Person X was *angry/afraid/ashamed/worried*, etc. →
person X felt something
because X thought something
sometimes a person thinks: [Y]
because of this this person feels something
person X felt something like this
because X thought something like this

There are two pieces of evidence that indicate Cree has words for cognitively-based feelings. First, a number of Cree verbs translated by English emotion words bear the morpheme *-eyi-* which indicates mental activity (see Junker, 2003). These words are translated in the Cree dictionary (MacKenzie et al., 2006) as: *jealous, envious, happy, content, angry, lonely, sad, compassionate* and *sorry*, as in (29a–l). Notice the etymological association of the feeling of jealousy with the porcupine in (29a).

- (29) (a) Kâhkw-**eyi**-meu. 'She is jealous of him/her.'
s/he.porcupine-thinks (vta)
(b) Uhteyi-meu. 'S/he is jealous/envious of him/her.'
s/he.is.envious (vta)
(c) Miy-**eyi**-htam. 'She is happy, content./ S/he likes it.'
s/he.good-thinks (vti)
(d) Mûchich-**eyi**-htam. 'S/he is elated, rejoicing.'
s/he.joy-thinks (vti)
(e) Nîstâmeyi-htam. 'S/he is angry.'
s/he.is.angry (vti)
(f) Pîchiskâteyi-htam. 'S/he is lonely.'
s/he.is.lonely (vti)
(g) Pâsikw-**eyi**-htam. 'S/he is excited.'
s/he.going.over.board-thinks (vti)
(h) Mach-**eyi**-htam. 'S/he is sad.'
s/he.bad-thinks (vti)

- (i) Nanehkâteyi-meu. 'S/he suffers with empathy for another.'
s/he.suffers.with.empathy (vta)
- (j) Nanehkâteyi-mû. 'S/he is suffering.'
s/he.suffers (vai)
- (k) Wâwîsacheyi-htam. 'S/he is (physically) suffering.'
s/he.suffers (vti)
- (l) Mihchîw-eyi-htam. 'S/he is sorry *about it*.'
she.sorry-thinks(vti)

Second, when asked why those words had the *-eyi-* component in them, speakers explained that such feelings originate in the mind, through the thought process. Not all feelings words in Cree contain *-eyi-*, but the ones that do clearly indicate a causal relationship from thinking to feeling. It is also important to note that these Cree words, although they contain the thinking morpheme *-eyi-*, can be used to answer not the question *Tân iteyimûyîn?* 'What do you think?' but rather the question *Tân itamahchihûyîn?* 'How are you feeling?' (except for (c) and (h), which can be used for both). This confirms that we are dealing with cognitively based feelings, and not just thoughts.

'Fear-Like', 'Anger-Like' and 'Shame-Like' Words

Wierzbicka (1999) claims that all languages have words linking feelings with the following thoughts:

- (i) the thought that 'something bad can happen to me' (fear-like)
something bad can happen (to me)
I don't want this to happen
- (ii) the thought that 'I want to do something' (anger-like)
I do not want things like this (to happen)
I want to do something because of this
- (iii) the thought that 'people can think something bad about me' (shame-like)
People can think something bad about me
I don't want this to happen

We will discuss how these three categories apply to Cree.

'Fear'-Like Words

There are several words and roots in East Cree that translate as 'fear'. For example:

- (30) (a) Kushtâchû. (vai) 'S/he is afraid (of physical harm).'
- (b) Kushtâchuwin. (ni) 'Fear, fright, terror.'
- (c) Kuspînû. (vai) 'S/he is afraid for something to happen.'
- (d) Nanachû. (vai) 'S/he fears something will happen to himself/herself.'
- (e) Sechisû. (vai) 'S/he is scared, terrified (inside fear, afraid of shame).'

All these words do indeed include the semantic components (i):

something bad can happen (to me)
I don't want this to happen

Wierzbicka (1999) further claims that every language will have at least one word relating to 'danger' and 'wish to avoid danger' (something bad can happen to me, I do not want this to happen). In East Cree, the same roots *kushtât/ch-* and *kuspin-* that we found in some 'fear-like' words are found in the 'danger-like' words.

- (31) Kushtâch-û (vai) 'S/he is afraid.'
Kushtât-ikusû (vai) 'S/he is a dangerous person.'
Kushtât-ikun (vii) 'It is dangerous.'
- (32) Kuspin-û (vai) 'S/he is afraid for something to happen.'
Kuspin-âtikun (vii) 'It is very dangerous.'
Kuspin-âsinâkun (vii) 'It looks dangerous.'

'Anger'-Like Words:

Cree has several words that can translate as *angry* in English.

- (33) (a) Chishuwâsû. (vai) 'S/he is angry.'
(b) Neshtâmeyihtam. 'S/he is angry.' (upset, annoyed)

The second word, with the root *neshtam-*, describes a milder feeling than the first one, with the root *chishu-*. The root *neshtâm-* is found combined with *-eyi-*, 'think', indicating that the feeling is thought-related. This verb can only be transitive. The intransitive form is not attested.

- (34) Neshtâm-eyi-htam. (vti) 'S/he is angry/mad at it.'
Neshtâm-eyi-meu. (vta) 'S/he is angry/mad at him.'
*neshtâm-eyi-mû. (vai)

The root *chishû-* is found in a large number of Cree 'anger'-like words, including derivations that indicate the cause of this feeling.

- (35) (a) Chishuw-âheu. (vta-causative) 'S/he angers him/her.'
(b) Chishû-hkateu. (vai) 'S/he is angry/cranky/upset because s/he is hungry.'
(c) Chishû-hkushû. (vai) 'S/he is angry/cranky because s/he is sleepy.'
(such as when you are woken up by a loud party)
(d) Chishû-hteu. (vai) 'S/he is angry/cranky from walking.'
(such as when somebody trips you)
(e) Chishû-shin. (vai) 'S/he is angry/upset because s/he fell, s/he lies there angry.'
(f) Chishuw-û. (vai) 'S/he is angry/upset because s/he has so much work.'
(work to do that she does not really want to do)
(g) Chishu-wâpamû. (vai) 'What s/he sees angers him/her.'

In all the words listed in (35), the semantic components (ii) are included in the meaning of these verbs.

- (ii) I do not want things like this (to happen)
I want to do something because of this

However, there is no semantic component implying a desire for retaliation towards someone, unlike the English word 'angry' ('X wants to do something bad to Y'). This supports Wierzbicka's claim that 'anger-like' words are *not* universally associated with an impulse to fight.

Shame-Like Words

There is a series of shame-like words in East Cree⁶ based on the root *pimâm-*. Traditionally, these concepts played an important role as a method to regulate undesirable social behavior. Gentle and gradual censorship by the hunting group would elicit shame-like feelings and directly influence the conduct of an individual. However, in contemporary settings, elders complain that individuals do not care enough about their relations to be shamed by them (McDonnell, 1992). Both verbs in (36a–b) are intransitive, but the second one includes the morpheme *-eyi-* 'think', indicating that the feeling is thought-related (see also the section on 'The Grammar of Emotions'), (36c–e) are derived verbs.

- (36) (a) Pimâm-isû. (vai) 'S/he is ashamed, embarrassed, shy with guilt.'
(she has no confidence in herself)
(b) Pimâm-eyi-mû. (vai) 'She is ashamed.' (the way she thinks about herself, with guilt)
(c) Pimâmihtuweu. (vta) 'She is shamed by what another says.'
(d) Pimâminâkusû. (vai) 'S/he looks shameful, she causes embarrassment to others.'
(e) Pimâm-inuweu. (vta) 'S/he is shamed by what she sees someone is doing.'

Wierzbicka (1999) concluded that all languages should distinguish between 'fear-like' and 'shame-like' feelings. Can this line be drawn in Cree? Yes, because these feelings are expressed by different words. Shame-like feelings are expressed by words like (36), fear-like feelings by words such as (37):

- (37) (a) Kushtâchû. (vai) 'S/he is afraid.'
(b) Kushteu. (vta) 'She fears him.'
(c) Kushtâchuwin. (ni) 'fear, fright, terror.'

And what about good feelings? The word for *happy* in Cree is the same as the word for *to like*. Words from this series are also associated with comfort. This expresses a continuum between a good state of

mind and the way one feels physically, consistent with the belief that physical well-being depends largely on your state of mind.

- (38) Miyeyihtam. (vti) 'S/he likes it, s/he is happy.'
 Miyeyimeu. (vta) 'S/he likes him.'
 Miyeyimû. (vai) 'S/he is comfortable.'
 miyeyimuwin (ni) 'comfort'

As far as *love* is concerned, Cree definitely has a full range of words for this concept. McDonnell (1992) reports that traditionally, with arranged marriages, *sâchihîwewin* was conceived as a feeling that is product from the relationship of marriage, not its cause. Today, the romantic sense is also available. *Sâchihîwewin* can be experienced for all kinds of relationships, between lovers, between husband and wife, between parent and child, between grandparents and grandchildren,⁷ between siblings, or between friends.

- (39) Sâchiheu. (vta) 'S/he loves him/her.'
 Sâchihîweu. (vai) 'S/he loves.'
 Sâchihtâu. (vai/vti) 'S/he loves it.'
 sâchihîwewin (ni) 'love'

The Cree data thus confirm the hypothesis that all languages have words linking feelings with certain thoughts. That is, words overlapping (though not identical) in meaning with the English words *afraid*, *angry* and *ashamed*.

Emotions Described via External Bodily Symptoms

Cree is no exception to the claim that all languages can talk about 'emotions' by referring to externally observable bodily symptoms of inner feelings. For example, the blushing verb given in (40) is based on root *mihku-* 'red' and the medial *-hkwe-* 'skin' (compare with literal (41)). Other examples, also based on this medial, are given in (42–44)

- (40) Mihku-hkwe-payû. 'S/he is blushing.'
 s/he.red-skin-becomes (vai)
- (41) Mihku-payû. 'It reddens.'
 it.red-becomes (vai)
- (42) Wâpi-hkwe-payû. 'S/he is afraid or sickly looking.'
 s/he.white-skin-becomes (vai)
- (43) Pihti-hkwe-payû. 'S/he is afraid.'
 s/he.blue-skin-becomes (vai)
- (44) Kwesch-ihkwe-nâkusû. 'His face is changing because of anger.'
 s/he.turn-skin-looks.like (vai)

Emotions Described via Sensations

Wierzbicka (1999) claims that in all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described with reference to bodily sensations. Examples of these references were nearly impossible to find in Cree. Only one of our consultants came up with an example:

- (45) Pâhkukunewe-payû. 'His mouth is getting dry because of fear.'
 s/he.dry.mouth.becomes (vai)

When Cree people speak about bodily sensations, they usually mean the bodily sensation literally, not a cognitively-based feeling. To describe feelings using bodily sensations does not seem to be a common thing to do in Cree. This may be linked with the fact that bodily sensations seem to be traditionally used for premonitions, rather than for cognitive feelings. Goddard (2004) shows that metaphorizing is a speech practice that can vary across cultures. While the possibility of describing emotions via sensations might be available universally, it does not seem to be exploited at this point in time in East Cree discourse.

Emotions Described via Internal 'Bodily Images'

Another of Wierzbicka's hypotheses is that in all languages, cognitively-based feelings can be described via figurative 'bodily images', referring to imaginary events and processes taking place inside the body. However, this is also not very common in Cree. When prompted with an English example, our bilingual consultants offered the sentence in (46), but they could not come up with other examples in Cree, nor did we find any in texts.

- (46) Kâ nipiyich ukawî nâshch tâpwe.
 C she.died (vai) her.mother very truly
 chî mûshihtâu utehî e kushikumahchihtât.
 Past she-felt-it her-heart C it-is-heavy (vii-conjunct)
 'When her mother died, she really felt her heart heavy.'

The only examples we elicited were qualities, not emotions.

- (47) (a) Sûhchiteheu. (vai) 'S/he is brave.' (Literally: 'S/he is strong-hearted.')
 (b) Wâpushuteheu. (vai) 'S/he is fearful.' (Lit: 'S/he is rabbit-hearted.')
 (c) Kuiskuteheu. (vai) 'S/he is good hearted' (Lit: 'S/he is straight-hearted.')
 (d) Kuiskuîhtû.(vai) 'S/he is honest' (Lit: 'S/he does straight.')
 (e) Chinwâyuwewu. (vai) 'S/he is nosy.' (Lit: 'S/he has a long tail.')

- (f) Mahchituneu. (vai) 'S/he is a loud-mouth.' (Lit: 'S/he has a large mouth.')
- (g) Mâhkupisû (vai) 'S/he is in authority'. (Lit: 'S/he is tied.')

Figurative language, as attested by the above examples, exists in Cree, but figurative 'bodily images', referring to imaginary events and processes taking place inside the body, are almost non-existent. Wierzbicka's claim that emotions can universally be described via bodily images is thus not confirmed by the Cree data.

The Grammar of Emotions

Wierzbicka's last hypothesis is that all language would draw grammatical distinctions in order to conceptualize emotions. In Cree, emotions are processes, and are mainly described by verbs. Some subtle differences in meaning are expressed by pairs of verbs like (48) and (49). The verbs in the (b) examples correspond to the (a) examples plus the morpheme *-eyi-* indicating thoughts. In these, the emotion explicitly involves some thoughts, indicating that the person is partly contributing to the way one feels.

- (48) (a) Pimâm-isîu (vai) 'S/he is ashamed.'
s/he.is.ashamed (vai)
- (b) Pimâm-eyi-mû (vai) 'She is ashamed.' (the way she thinks about herself).
s/he.ashamed-thinks (vai)
- (49) (a) Mihchiw-esû. (vai) 'She is sorry.'
s/he.is.sorry (vai)
- (b) Mihchîw-eyi-htam. (vti) 'S/he is sorry about it.' (She feels sorry about it)
s/he.sorry-thinks (vti)

As we saw earlier, the different classes of verb, with transitive and intransitive distinctions, also allow for subtle differences in meaning. For instance, pairs like the intransitive *itamahchihû* and the pseudo-intransitive *itamahchihtâu* allow for the latter distinction, a more precise localization of the feeling in the body. These two examples confirm that all languages draw grammatical distinctions in order to conceptualize emotions.

Conclusion

Eight of the eleven hypotheses put forth by Wierzbicka (1999) about emotional universals were confirmed by our study of the Cree

language. None of the three remaining hypotheses were, however, disproved. Hypothesis 4, about facial universals, could not be thoroughly examined in this study. Hypotheses 9 and 10 (that cognitively based feelings can be described with reference to bodily sensations and via figurative 'bodily images', respectively) were not strongly supported by the Cree data. It seems that while it is possible to employ body-related feeling expressions in Cree, it is not a common speech practice, possibly because bodily sensations, in addition to their literal meaning, are mainly used for premonitions, rather than for describing cognitive feelings. This finding should alert the researcher in cross-cultural psychology that not all languages would commonly use figurative bodily images ('*my heart sank*') or bodily sensations ('*when I heard this, my throat went dry*') to describe cognitively based feelings. Those expressions should be treated with caution if included in cross-cultural experimental design. Finally, while hypothesis 1—that all languages have a word for FEEL which includes bodily and cognitive feelings—was supported, the Cree data casts some doubt on a straightforward universal syntax for combining the primes. This latter hypothesis was not part of Wierzbicka's (1999) emotional universal hypotheses, but it has a consequence for the way any research using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework can be conducted in the future. The combination FEEL SOMETHING BAD OR FEEL SOMETHING GOOD is widely used in NSM emotion research and can be found in hundreds of explanations of words or cultural scripts. We found out that this combination of the Cree exponents of the primes is not available in Cree with the intended meaning. We suggest that the more idiosyncratic FEEL GOOD combination be used, and that more systematic research into possible language-specific restrictions of this combination be conducted. The fact that most of the hypotheses were confirmed shows that the NSM approach is on the right track in developing a tool for cross-cultural, cross-linguistic research on emotions. It implies that, for theories of emotion and culture interested in avoiding ethnocentric bias, more cross-linguistic empirical work has to be done in the general direction illustrated here.

Notes

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1. For example, the word *angry* in the frame *person X was angry with person Y* is defined as follows, using the vocabulary of semantic primes combined according to their universal syntax (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 88).

X was angry (with Y)

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks about someone:
- (c) 'this person did something bad'
- (d) I don't want this person to do things like this
- (e) I want to do something because of this
- (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
- (g) X felt something like this
- (h) because X thought something like this

Notice in particular the use of the prime FEEL followed by SOMETHING and BAD. We will discuss this important combination for Cree in the section 'Properties of the Semantic Prime FEEL'.

2. Abbreviations used in this paper:

vii: intransitive verb with inanimate subject
vai: intransitive verb with animate subject
vti: transitive verb with inanimate object
vta: transitive verb with animate object

These correspond to the four Algonquian verb classes. There is also:

vai/vti: hybrid class of verbs with vai morphology but syntactically transitive with an inanimate object (pseudo-intransitive)

Nouns in Cree are either animate or inanimate:

ni: noun inanimate
na: noun animate

There are three orders (or inflectional patterns) for verbs in Cree: Independent, Imperative and Conjunct. In this article, we leave the Independent unmarked in the glosses; we only note the Conjunct and the Imperative.

C: conjunct preverb

3. *Tânite* is not possible with the vai/vti form of this verb either. **Tânite itamahchihtâu?*
4. All verbs starting with the relative root *it-* 'so' cannot combine with the pronoun *chekwân*. Compare the examples in (7a–c).
5. While it is possible to say: *something bad is happening* as in (i), speakers definitely prefer to say *something not good is happening*, as in the explication of *matû* 'S/he cries'. This might be due to a general tendency across cultures to view the positive as the preferred pole of reference.

- (i) e ispahihch chekwân e macheyihtâkuhch
 C it.happens(vii) something C it.is.bad(vii- conjunct)

It would also be possible to gloss these verbs by replacing the last component with the thinking-feeling verb: *nimachieyihten* 'S/he feels bad (in her mind)' and *nimiyeyihten* 'S/he feels good (in her mind)'. These verbs are derived from *iteyihtam* 'S/he thinks of it'. The possibility of these glosses reflects again that for the Cree most feelings originate by way of thinking.

6. Another series of words which have in common with the *pimâm-* words the idea of shyness are the following, based on *shâkw-eyi-*. However, these express a fear-related shyness, rather than a shame-related one, indicating that Cree does indeed distinguish, like other languages, between fear-like and shame-like words.

- (i) *shâkw-eyi-mû* (*vai*) 'S/he is shy, (embarrassed).' (caused by fear)
 (when you want to ask someone but do not dare do so. You can't bring yourself to ask.)

(ii) *Example:*

- a. *namui mitun shakweyimû.* 'She is not shy at all.' (compliment)
 b. *nashch ekâ shakweyimut.* 'She is not shy at all.' (with proper intonation = criticism)

(iii) *Derived verbs:*

- a. *shakweyimuheu* (caus- vta) 'S/he makes him feel shy, embarrassed.'
 b. *shakweyimutuweu* (applicative-vta) 'S/he feels shy, embarrassed toward him.'

7. To describe the love-like feeling between grandparents and grandchildren, two other words will also be used: *shaweyihchichewin* (love-affection) and *chisewaatisiitwin* (love-kindness) (Elsie Duff, personal communication, 2004). A full study of the meaning and use of these words is beyond the scope of this paper.

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Biographies

MARIE-ODILE JUNKER is Professor of Linguistics in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies and the Cognitive Science Institute at Carleton University, Canada. She is currently the editor-in-chief of the Cree–French Dictionary. She co-created the www.eastcree.org website, a resource for documenting and preserving the East Cree language, using a participatory action research framework in collaboration with Cree speakers, teachers and curriculum designers of the Cree School Board. Her current research focuses on lexicography, cross-cultural semantics and pragmatics, and aboriginal languages preservation. ADDRESS: Professor Marie-Odile Junker, School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6. [email: mojunker@ccs.carleton.ca]

LOUISE BLACKSMITH is a freelance English-Cree translator and Cree language consultant. She worked for many years as a Cree teacher and curriculum designer for the Cree School Board of Quebec, Canada. She currently teaches Cree literacy courses for the Cree School Board/McGill University and collaborates on the Cree language website www.eastcree.org with Dr Junker at Carleton University. ADDRESS: Louise Blacksmith c/o Dr Marie-Odile Junker, School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6.