An ethnosemantic study of terms representing anger in southern Thai Dialect

การศึกษาค่าเรียกอารมณ์โกรธในภาษาไทยถิ่นใต้ตามแนวอรรถศาสตร์ชาติพันธุ์

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บทคัดย่อ

เป็นที่ยอมรับกันในหมู่นักวิจัยด้านจิตวิทยาและภาษาศาสตร์จำนวนมากว่าความโกรธเป็นหนึ่งในอารมณ์พื้นฐาน มีงานวิจัยเกี่ยวกับความโกรธอยู่จำนวนมากโดยเฉพาะในกรอบของมโนอุปลักษณ์ (conceptual metaphor) และแนวอภิภาษาเชิงอรรถศาสตร์ธรรมชาติ (natural semantic metalanguage) งานวิจัยเหล่านี้ศึกษาภาษาใดภาษาหนึ่งเพียงบางคำหรือความหมายที่เกี่ยวข้องในคำเรียกความโกรธจำนวนหนึ่งคำหรือหลายคำ แต่ไม่ได้ศึกษาค่าเรียกในภาษาหนึ่งๆเพื่อสะท้อนให้เห็นถึงการมองโลกของผู้พูด ดังนั้นในงานวิจัยนี้ผู้วิจัยได้ศึกษาค่าเรียกความโกรธในภาษาไทยถิ่นใต้ทั้งระบบตามแนวทางอรรถศาสตร์ชาติพันธุ์เพื่อสะท้อนให้เห็นถึงความคิดและการมองโลกของชาวไทยถิ่นใต้โดยมุ่งวิเคราะห์ความหมายของคำเรียกความโกรธในภาษาไทยถิ่นใต้ เพื่อหาค่าเรียกความโกรธพื้นฐานและจัดประเภทค่าเรียกดังกล่าวยึดถึงแนวอรรถศาสตร์ชาติพันธุ์ในการวิเคราะห์

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Abstract

There is an agreement among researchers that anger is one of the basic types of emotion. There have been many studies about anger especially in Conceptual Metaphor and Natural Semantic Metalanguage frameworks. Those studies attempted to understand concepts of one or some anger terms in particular languages. Nevertheless, there are very few studies about a system of anger terms that reflect speakers’ world view. This study employed Ethnosemantic approach so as to reveal southern Thai people’s thoughts and world views reflected in anger terms. It aims to analyze the meaning of anger terms in the southern Thai dialect by finding, identifying the basic anger terms and then categorize them using Componential Analysis.

The results show that there are five basic anger terms in the Southern Thai dialect: /wip⁴/ (วิบ), /baːn³⁴/ (บาน), /mʊn²⁴/ (มูน), /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ (หุดหิด) and /khɛʔn²¹/ (แค้). The meanings of these basic terms are differentiated by three major dimensions of contrast and it can be concluded that Southern Thai people conceptualize anger in terms of its duration, goal and violence level.

Keywords: ethnosemantics, anger terms, emotion, anthropological linguistics, culture
Introduction

Anger is considered a typical emotion which people feel frequently. It can be seen on most of the lists of basic emotions which were proposed in Wierzbicka (1992), Plutchik (1994, p. 58), Ekman and Cordaro, (2011), Izard(2011) and Levenson (2011). The term ‘anger’ has been defined by many researchers. For instance, Bruce and Bruce (2010, p. 49) described anger as feeling bad about something that one did not want to happen, and because of that one wants to hurt something or someone. Thus, it is very interesting to study and understand anger.

There are many studies of anger in various perspectives such as in phycology, culture, philosophy, cognitive science, and language. The studies about language of anger are in two main frameworks: conceptual metaphor and natural semantic metalanguage.

In conceptual metaphor, Kovecses (2000) explains that metaphorical expressions manifest in our conceptual process. Conceptual metaphor is a connection of two domains. One of the domains is physical or concrete. Another domain is more abstract. The purpose of conceptual metaphor is to understand the more abstract in terms of the more concrete. An example of metaphor of anger purposed by Lakoff and Kovecses,(1987), is ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

Natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) analyzes emotion concepts in language by using a set of indefinable words or semantic primes. An example of anger concepts which is described by NSM is as follows. Wierzbicka (1992) defines a concept of anger in the English language by using semantic primes. The semantic primes are feel, bad, want, and something.

The conceptual metaphor and natural metalanguage frameworks do not study a whole set of anger terms. They study only one or some anger terms. Thus, the studies of anger terms in these perspectives do not explain world view of the speakers and cannot categorize the terms.
An ethnosemantic study explores world views and thoughts of speakers in a cultural group. Frake (1962) defines ethnosemantics as the study which aims to understand knowledge system, thoughts, attitude, concepts and world view of any ethnic group. The study is based on the belief that languages reflect thoughts and world views of the speakers. Languages represent concepts of things. Frake says that the existence of the vocabulary or the terms of things in one language can be evidenced that those things exist in that culture.

The analysis of the meaning of any vocabulary sets, for example a set of color terms or cooking terms, reflects thoughts of the speakers. The vocabulary tells us what is considered important to a society. Boas (1911 cited in Martin, 1986) shows that there are some variable numbers of unique words for ‘snow’ in Eskimo but there is only one word for ‘snow’ in English. This implies that snow is more important in Eskimo people's beliefs than in English speakers' beliefs.

Prasithrathsint (2006, p.83) explains the principles of an ethnosemantic study, which can be concluded as follows.

Words represent concepts. Analysis of words enables us to understand concepts, knowledge systems, thoughts and cultures. Data is collected naturally and objectively. The ethnosemantic study focuses on word meaning analysis. Analysis has to be in scientific and falsifiable. The purpose of the ethnosemantic study is to objectively show folk knowledge systems.

According to Eglin (1980, p.19), Ethnosemantics deals with collections of terms sharing a common feature of meaning. Some examples are ethnosemantic study of kinship terms, color terms or plant terms. The ethnosemantic studies describe the terms in a set of semantic rules.

In ethnosemantic study, the researcher has to choose a semantic domain to study. The terms in the same semantic domain are divided into basic and non-basic terms. The basic terms are important data which the researchers analyze to find out how they are categorized. When the researchers can explain how the basic terms are categorized, they are able to describe the thoughts or world views of the group of the speakers. According to Prasithrathsint (1995), we can identify basic terms on these criteria.
1. It is a monolexemic word. The meaning of the basic word cannot be guessed by any part of the word. For example, *red* is a basic color term, while *reddish* is not.

2. The meaning of the basic term does not overlap with other words. It cannot be included under other basic terms. Moreover, it is not specific. *Crimson*, for example, is not a basic term because it is a kind of *red* and too specific.

3. It is psychologically salient and constantly used.

There is no previous ethnosemantic study of any emotion terms. The objective of this paper is to do an ethnosemantic study of anger terms in the southern Thai dialect to reflect thoughts and world views of the speakers by analyzing meanings basic anger terms.

**Methodology**

This study uses the ethnosemantic approach. Firstly, a list of putative anger terms in this study was collected from the Southern Thai Dialect Dictionary by using the researcher's intuition. Then the real list of anger terms is decided by elicited interview of five native speakers who are the native Southern Thai and are older than 45 years old. In the elicitation, the questions were asked indirectly. For example, the question cannot be 'what is anger' or 'what does the term X mean.' The interview was aimed to naturally get the data. The terms were not spoken by the interviewer, for instance, the question 'what is wip' cannot be used. The anger terms were elicited by using situations as stimuli and the informants were asked to tell stories about their anger. The questions were also designed on the basis of contrast and inclusion. An example of the questions was ‘what do you feel when someone kicks you?’ and the answer was probably *I feel angry*.

In this study, basic anger terms are analyzed by using componential analysis which categorizes the terms by using necessary and sufficient features. Componential analysis is based on the assumption that word meanings are composed of semantic features. The features are presented in [  ] and there are binary and descriptive features. In a binary features system, Saeed (2009, p. 260) explains that the symbol ‘+’ means the feature is present, while ‘-‘ means the feature is absent. The basic steps of componential analysis can be found in Nida (1979).
Findings: Basic anger terms in the Southern Thai Dialect

The finding of the study shows that terms for emotion including anger in Thai are verbs. In this study, I use the verb definition defined by Prasithrathsint, 2000. It is found in this study that in the Southern Thai, dialect there are five basic anger terms. They are /wip⁴⁵/ ‘abruptly get angry or suddenly get angry and this feeling does not last long.’, /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ ‘feel a bit anger or annoyed’, /mu:n²⁴/ ‘have felt anger for a long time.’, /ba:n³⁴/ ‘have felt anger forever.’ and /khɛ:n²¹/ ‘to be angry and want to pay back’.

To give an overview, all the five terms are shortly explained here. Then details of each term and their sentence frames are shown.

When the speakers get ‘angry’ in a sudden short time, they use the term /wip⁴⁵/. This term is used in the situation which the anger occurs quickly and is soothed down in a short period. The emotion changes more rapidly compares to other basic anger terms. An anger which is not intense is called /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/. The reaction of /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ is not strong. When someone feels /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/, he/she is not likely to do something serious such as committing a crime. The term /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ is caused by unimportant triggers. For example, someone feels /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ because of hot weather or an annoying insect.

The term /mu:n²⁴/ represents ‘the long-term anger’. It is used when someone has been angry for a long time. When someone starts to be angry at something, he may feel /wip⁴⁵/ or /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/. If the emotion cannot stop in a short time, this anger is later called /mu:n²⁴/. It cannot be specified exactly for how long the /wip⁴⁵/ or /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ should be changed to /mu:n²⁴/.

The term /ba:n³⁴/ means ‘forever anger’. When someone feels /ba:n³⁴/ at others, he/she is going to boycott them forever. He/she will not forgive them, though at the end of life.

The term /khɛ:n²¹/ is used in the Southern Thai dialect as similar to other dialects. It is defined as ‘feels anger and waits to pay back.’

The descriptive meaning of basic anger terms which is presented above is an overview. The details of basic anger terms usage and sentence frames are described below. The usage of each term is collected from the informants. The sentence frames which are collected from the elicitation are the evidence why the terms are semantically contrasted.
/wip\textsuperscript{45}/

It has a specific sense that is ‘abruptly get angry or suddenly get angry and this feeling does not last long.’ Moreover its sense is ‘with strong anger.’ According to these specific senses, /wip\textsuperscript{45}/ cannot co-occur in the sentence frame shown in (1) and (2). Moreover, it can be used with some intensifiers which mean ‘very much until the wind is blown out of ears’ and ‘the most’ as shown in (3) and (4).

(1) \textit{ku:\textsuperscript{33} wip\textsuperscript{45} na:n\textsuperscript{22}}
I feel anger a long time
‘I feel anger for a long time’

(2) \textit{wip\textsuperscript{45} may\textsuperscript{21} l\varepsilon:\textsuperscript{21} phi:\textsuperscript{45}}
feel anger no look ghost
‘feel anger at someone and never care about him/her forever (up to his/her death.)’

(3) \textit{wip\textsuperscript{45} hu:\textsuperscript{45} ci:\textsuperscript{21}}
feel anger ear sound of wind blown
‘feel anger very much’

(4) \textit{wip\textsuperscript{45} ?a:\textsuperscript{22} kha:t\textsuperscript{21}}
feel anger up to the degree of revenge
‘feel anger at the most’

/hut\textsuperscript{45}hit\textsuperscript{45}/

This term means ‘feel a bit anger or annoyed’ The term /hut\textsuperscript{45}hit\textsuperscript{45}/ is less intense than /wip\textsuperscript{45}/. When people feel /hut\textsuperscript{45}hit\textsuperscript{45}/, this feeling can be changed into /wip\textsuperscript{45}/ easily. The specific sense of /hut\textsuperscript{45}hit\textsuperscript{45}/ is that the level of anger is not enough to make someone kill people so it does not occur in (5) or is used with the intensifier which means ‘the most’ in (6).

(5) \textit{hut\textsuperscript{45} hit\textsuperscript{45} con\textsuperscript{34} kha:\textsuperscript{24} man\textsuperscript{22} ta:y\textsuperscript{34}}
feel a bit anger until kill It dead
‘so annoyed that he kill him/her’
Southern Thai people commonly feel /hut^45hit^45/ with the situations which are not so serious. For example, when someone feels that their body is not in a good condition but they cannot explain why or how they feel or when the weather is hot and makes them feel uncomfortable or when mosquitoes or insects are flying around.

/mu:n^24/

The term /mu:n^24/ means ‘have felt anger for a long time.’ This term is the anger with the specific sense of long duration. Concerning duration, /mu:n^24/ lasts longer than /wip^45/ and /hut^45hit^45/. Even though someone can feel /mu:n^24/ for a long time, but this feeling will not exist until the end of his life. The term /mu:n^24/ cannot be used in the sentence frame (7).

(7) * mu:n^24 may^21 le:^21 phi:^45 feel anger for a long time No look ghost
‘feel anger feel anger for a long time until the end of the one’s life

However, there is no specific sense of action or violence level in this term so it can be used with any intensifier, even with the term which means ‘the most.’ The simple usages of /mu:n^24/ are in (8) to (10).

(8) mu:n^24 phi:^24 mu:n^24 no:ŋ^21
have felt anger elder brother/sister have felt anger younger brother/sister
‘The event that brothers or sisters have felt anger at each other.’

(9) nap^45 wip^45 /hut^45hit^45
likely to feel anger / feel a bit anger
‘start to feel anger’

(10) nap^45 mu:n^24
likely to have felt anger
‘start to feel anger’
In (8), it is the collocation or typical expression of /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/, which explains the conflict and anger among family members. In (9) and (10), they show that /wip\textsuperscript{45}/ and /hut\textsuperscript{45} hit\textsuperscript{45}/ can co-occur with \~nap\textsuperscript{21}/ ‘start (from nothing) to be something or almost doing something’ but /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/ cannot. The reason for (10) is that /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/ is the term for feeling anger in the stage after /wip\textsuperscript{45}/or /hut\textsuperscript{45} hit\textsuperscript{45}/.

/ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/

This term is defined as ‘have felt anger forever.’ It has a sense of duration. When someone feels /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ with another he will not contact him in any way even up to the end of his life. In contrast to other anger terms, it is the longest feeling as there is a collocation shown in (11).

(11) ba:n\textsuperscript{34} may\textsuperscript{21} le:\textsuperscript{21} phi:\textsuperscript{45} have felt forever no look ghost
   ‘have felt anger until the end of the one’s life

In Southern Thai culture, if someone feels angry, the action of anger can be varied. A person may be able to contact or talk with the one who he/she is angry with. The feeling will end after that person passes away. He/she will attend the funeral to show forgiveness. However, if he/she feels /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ at someone, he/she will boycott that one by not attending the funeral. So the /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ feeling is the longest anger.

The differences between /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/ and /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ are in two points. The first one is the duration of anger as the reasons above, the /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/ lasts long but not forever. The second difference is that when someone feels /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/ to another person, he/she will not boycott him/her.

/kh\textepsilon:n\textsuperscript{21}/

This term means ‘feel anger and wait to pay back.’ The term is commonly used when someone is hurt physically or mentally, then he/she feels anger and wants to hurt back in the same way. He/she waits for the chance to do that. In this concept, there is a sense of specific goal or plan. The differences between /kh\textepsilon:n\textsuperscript{21}/ and /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ can be explained by the situation below.
When X is kicked by his friend, he/she feels angry and wants to kick back but he/she does not have any chance to do so. He/she waits until three weeks later to kick him/her back. This feeling of X is called /khɛ:n⁴¹/. The description of /khɛ:n⁴¹/ is ‘waiting to harm someone in return.’

(12) khɛ:n⁴¹ ?a:²² khaːt²¹
‘feel anger and wait to pay back.’
‘feel the most anger and wait to pay back.’

(13) khɛ:n⁴¹ ʔaw³⁴ khɛ:n²²
‘feel anger and wait to pay back.’
‘feel anger and wait to pay back.’

The term /khɛ:n⁴¹/ is expressed when someone feels ‘anger and waits to pay back’. This is used when someone is treated badly so he/she is angry and wants to do the same or much more than the same back. The terms /khɛ:n⁴¹/ and /mu:n²⁴/ are similar as they are ‘long-term anger’ but /khɛ:n⁴¹/ has a specific goal, while /mu:n²⁴/ does not.

Dimensions of contrast of basic anger terms in the Southern Thai dialect

The five basic terms are semantically contrasted. The degree of violence is the first dimension used to categorize the terms. From this step, the term /hut⁴⁵ hit⁴⁵/ is the only one which is ‘non-strong anger’. Then the Southern Thais use duration to classify short-term anger, /wip⁴⁵/, out of the other long-term anger. In addition to the short or long term period concerned, they also use the duration dimension to distinguish ‘the forever anger’, /ba:n³⁴/, from the other anger terms. Lastly, the dimension of goal is used to differentiate /mu:n²⁴/ from /khɛ:n⁴¹/.

Southern Thai speakers differentiate anger by three dimensions of contrast: degree of violence, duration and goal.
Degree of violence

The violence used here is severity of action due to anger. The violent behavior in this study means a behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, or kill someone. The features in this dimension are [-strong] and [+strong]. Feature [-strong] means that anger is not so violent. The term /hut\textsuperscript{45} hit\textsuperscript{45}/ is marked by this feature. The feature [+strong] signifies a strong degree of violence. The degree of violence is gradable but all the informants agreed that the maximum level is expressed as killing someone. An example sentence of the terms with [+strong] is in (14).

(14) ku:\textsuperscript{33} wip\textsuperscript{45} /mu:n\textsuperscript{24} /ba:n\textsuperscript{34} /kh\varepsilon:n\textsuperscript{21} con\textsuperscript{34} kha:\textsuperscript{24} man\textsuperscript{22} ta:y\textsuperscript{34} I feel anger until kill it dead.

‘I feel so much anger that I can kill him/her.’

Duration

The second dimension of contrast that is used to divide the anger terms is duration. In this dimension, there are [-long], [+long], [-forever] and [+forever]. The feature [-long] is for anger terms which cannot exist for a long period. The term /wip\textsuperscript{45}/ combines with this feature. The /wip\textsuperscript{45}/ cannot be in (15). The feature [+long] is for /mu:n\textsuperscript{24}/, /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ and kh\varepsilon:n\textsuperscript{21} as they cannot be in (16). Then the feature [+forever], which means the anger exists forever until the end of one’s life, distinguishes /ba:n\textsuperscript{34}/ from the other two. It is an only one word which can be used in the sentence (17).

(15) * ku:\textsuperscript{33} wip\textsuperscript{45} na:n\textsuperscript{22}
I feel anger a long time.
‘I feel anger for a long time’

(16) * ku:\textsuperscript{33} \textsuperscript{nap\textsuperscript{45}} mu:n\textsuperscript{24} /ba:n\textsuperscript{34} /kh\varepsilon:n\textsuperscript{21}
I start to feel anger
‘I start to feel anger’

(17) ku:\textsuperscript{33} ba:n\textsuperscript{34} may\textsuperscript{21} le:\textsuperscript{21} phi:\textsuperscript{45}
I feel anger no see ghost
‘I feel anger forever’
Goal

The third dimension to classify the basic anger terms is goal. The goal dimension means that there is the specific objective of paying back in the anger term. The features are [-goal] and [+goal]. The feature [-goal] means that there is no specific goal for the anger term. When the anger happens, the action can vary. We cannot foretell it correctly. On the other hand, the feature [+goal] is defined as there is a specific goal of the term. The only one term which has [+goal] is /khɛ:n²¹/. The term with [-goal] is /mu:n²⁴/. The sentence frame is shown here.

(18) ku:³³ khɛ:n²¹ ro:²⁴ ?aw³⁴ khin²²
    I feel anger wait take back
    ‘I feel anger and wait to take back’

Semantic feature representation of basic anger terms in the Southern Thai dialect

Table 1 shows the sentence frames and features for basic anger terms. The term /wip⁴⁵/ has two main essential and necessary features; [+strong] and [-long]. In addition, this emotion can be defined as a quick anger but [+quick] is a redundant feature. The features of /hut⁴⁵hit⁴⁵/ is [-strong] . This only one feature can distinguish the term from the others. However, the sense that it is the anger caused by physical illness is culturally important. The features of this term /mu:n²⁴/ are [+long], [-forever] and [-goal]. The features of this term will be understood clearly when compared with /ba:n³⁴/ and /khɛ:n²¹/. In contrast to the other anger terms, /ba:n³⁴/, it is the longest feeling. The features of the term are [+long] and [+forever] but the features of /khɛ:n²¹/ are [+strong], [+long], [-forever] and [+goal].
Table 1. The sentence frame and features

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<th>Sentence frame</th>
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<th>/hut&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;hit&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;/</th>
<th>/ba:n&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt;/</th>
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</table>

The semantic features of each basic anger term in southern Thai dialect are presented in figure 2.

![Figure 2. Semantic features of basic anger term in Southern Thai.](image)

Discussion

In conceptualizing anger emotion, Southern Thai speakers know that there is a difference in level of violence as they know which anger emotion can cause a strong action and which one cannot. The duration is very important for them as there are four main features in this dimension. The features are [+-long] and [+/ - forever]. The [+/ - long] can distinguish the anger terms into 2 groups but cannot differentiate the single terms out of each other. So the [+/ - forever] is used. It can be said that the anger emotion is conceptualized as an event, which consumes time.
The terms /wip⁴⁵/, /ba:n⁴⁴/ and /mu:n²⁴/ are culturally significant for this dialect, whereas /hut⁴⁵/hut⁴⁵/ and /khɛ:n²¹/ are shared with other Thai dialects.

In addition, the terms /ba:n⁴⁴/ and /mu:n²⁴/ have some senses connected with the ‘hate’ term in the Southern Thai dialect since the shared features of the these two anger terms is [+long] and the terms are sensed as the later anger stage than the beginning stage. Similarly, the ‘hate’ term in the Southern Thai dialect which is /kliat³³/ contains some senses similar to the /ba:n⁴⁴/ and /mu:n²⁴/. The reason is that the term /kliat³³/ can be replaced in the sentence below the same as /ba:n⁴⁴/ and /mu:n²⁴/ which implies that /kliat³³/ has got the [+strong] feature. The term /kliat³³/ also contains the feature [+long] because it can be used in the sentence (19) and cannot be used in (20).

(19) kliat³³ con₃₄ kha:₂₄ man²₂ ta:y³⁴ hate until kill It dead
‘hate and kill that one’

(20) *nap⁴⁵ kliat³³
Start to / almost hate
‘start to hate’

Conclusion
There are five words of anger in the Southern Thai dialect. All of them have specific senses and have a specific sentence frame. In conclusion, Southern Thais divide anger terms into three dimensions of contrast: degree of violence, duration and goal.

In a degree of violence dimension, the non-strong term is /hut⁴⁵/hit⁴⁵/. The other terms can be used in the context such as killing people.

In the duration dimension, there are two features: [long] and [forever]. The terms /mu:n²⁴/, /ba:n⁴⁴/ and /khɛ:n²¹/ contain [+long]. In addition, /ba:n⁴⁴/ also contains [+forever]. On the other hand, the term /wip⁴⁵/ contains [-long].

In the goal dimension, the term /khɛ:n²¹/ is an only one term which has [+goal] while the other terms cannot specify the goal or action of anger.

References


Conclusion

There are five words of anger in the Southern Thai dialect. All of them have specific senses and have a specific sentence frame. In conclusion, Southern Thais divide anger terms into three dimensions of contrast: degree of violence, duration and goal.

In a degree of violence dimension, the non-strong term is /hut45 hit45/. The other terms can be used in the context such as killing people.

In the duration dimension, there are two features: [+long] and [+forever]. The terms /muⁿ²/, /baⁿ³⁴/ and /khⁿ²¹/ contain [+long]. In addition, /baⁿ³⁴/ also contains [+forever]. On the other hand, the term /wip⁴⁵/ contains [-long].

In the goal dimension, the term /khⁿ²¹/ is an only one term which has [+goal] while the other terms cannot specify the goal or action of anger.

References


