

A Sense of Place: Nyungar cultural mapping of UWA and surrounds

Authors: Len Collard, Linda Martin, Paulina Motlop and Josh Reynolds

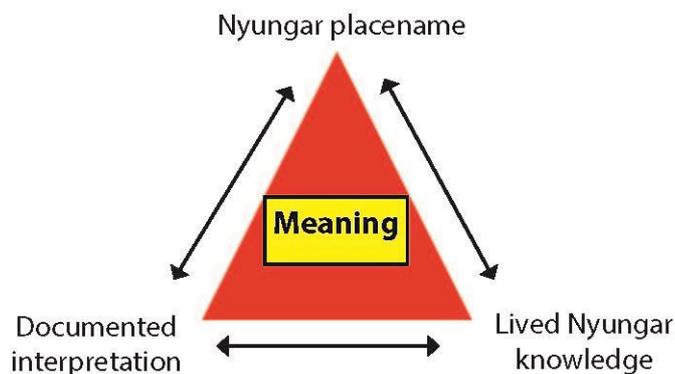
*Kia Kia Kiaaaaa nitja Whadjuk Nyungar boodjar. Katatjin wer marr wanginny noonar
koorl geeginy yeye nyinniny.*

*(Hello, hello, hellooo this is Whadjuk Nyungar country. Knowledge and hand talk you
have come to look at today here.)*

Wangkiny (language) performs a significant role in understanding Nyungar culture particularly in relation to the interconnected knowledge system of boodjar (land), moort (family) and katitjin (knowledge). The study of Nyungar oral language, that has been passed down by each generation for over forty thousand years, alongside more recent documented written language by colonists and linguists, has enabled researchers to access knowledge contained within the verbal and printed language expressions. These two levels of knowledge have helped researchers gain insight into Nyungar culture. (Collard, L. & Harben, S., 2010; Bracknell, C., Collard, L., Palmer, D., and Revell, G., 2015)

A recent research project into Nyungar placenames led by Professor Len Collard (www.boodjar.sis.uwa.edu.au) provided a third level of knowledge enabling even greater insight into the ways of life for Nyungar people for thousands of years. This third level of knowledge is 'lived Nyungar knowledge and experience'. Collard's research demonstrates that when we incorporate contemporary lived Nyungar knowledge and experience into the study of oral and written language, we gain access to an even broader understanding of Nyungar language and meaning. With access to lived experience we are able to incorporate personal knowledge of ceremony, trade, weather, food, kinship, spirits and other practices central to Nyungar culture to expand our knowledge of Nyungar culture and history. (Wooltorton, S, Collard, L and Horwitz, P., 2017; Collard, L. Nyittiny, 2007)

In this paper, we draw on eight placenames in and around the University of Western Australia to determine meaning through oral and written translation with the added level of lived Nyungar knowledge and experience. These placenames have been recorded, documented and defined by colonists and linguists. With the addition of lived Nyungar cultural knowledge, investigation and interpretation of these geographical sites reveals local cultural and economic significance tied to the language along with emotional, familial and spiritual connection. Professor Len Collard provides this third level of knowledge for this study. We argue that it is only when this third level of knowledge is applied – the lived Nyungar knowledge and experience – that the true and full meaning of Nyungar placenames can be revealed.



Prior to the commencement of our placenames study, we acknowledge that the Whadjuk Nyungar in the Perth region are from the twelve different language groups among the Nyungar people of the South West of Western Australia – Balardong, Juat, Kaneang, Koreng, Minang, Njakinjaki, Pibelmen, Pindjarup, Wardandi, Whadjuck, Wilman and Wudjari (Tindale 1940, p. 561) – and remain the traditional owners of the land that the University of Western Australia (UWA) is situated on (Host, J and C. Owen , 2009; Collard, L and Palmer, D, 1998; www.noongar.org.au). On and around this land are significant sites with Nyungar placenames that continue to hold knowledge and meaning for Nyungar people.

We also acknowledge that in studying Nyungar wangkiny (language), knowledge of the twelve different Nyungar language groups with language variations needs to be taken into consideration (Tindale 1974; Douglas 1976). In addition, there is a network of Nyungar

dialects and a variation of spellings from Nyungar people and from European settlers, which means different recorded spellings of some Nyungar words can be in the dozens. In examining the eight Nyungar placenames around UWA, we have drawn on wordlists from around thirty sources (Wordlist references) from 1829 and have, in most cases, used the most commonly spelled words.

In analysing the placenames, we have accommodated differences between English and Nyungar languages, recognising that English spelling conventions often do not reflect the differences between English and Nyungar language – in particular long and short vowels, stress patterns, nasal consonants and plosives and nasal consonants (Walsh, Yallop 1993). In addition to variations of spelling, we recognise the naming of places may also alter depending on the time of the year. For example, Kaart Geenunginyup Bo (Collard, L., Palmer, D., Leonard, L. & Revell, G., 2000) (known as Kings Park), is also referred to as Karrakatta (Bates, D., 1992) (hill of the crabs). For the purposes of this paper we will restrict our examples to eight namings.

In our research, we have collected and compared the various Nyungar spellings of names of places on and around the University of Western Australia and then phonetically broken these placenames down to word segments that hold particular meaning. We have then applied Nyungar katatjin (knowledge) to the word segments, to reveal the embedded significant cultural meaning for Nyungar people. Through this application, we also demonstrate how each placename is made up of a number of small words that tell a sentence that describes Nyungar place, way of life and or purpose. (Collard, L., Palmer, D., Leonard, L. & Revell, G., 2007; Collard, L., 2000)

The following eight Nyungar placenames on and around the Crawley campus of the University of Western Australia have been used as examples (Collard, L. & Palmer, D., 1998).

1. Derbal Yiragan/Derbal Yarragon/Derbal Yaragan Beeloo
2. Goordaandalup/Gurndandallup/Goordandalup

3. Boolahdalalingup
4. Boodjar Gapalingup/Boodjar Kapaalingup
5. Kaart Geenunginyup Bo
6. Birritt
7. Mandyooranup/Mandyuranup
8. Margamangup/Margamongup

Overarching this and any language study, we recognise that Elders continue to be acknowledged as custodians of all Nyungar knowledge and wisdom. Professor Len Collard has provided Nyungar authorial cultural interpretation and lived Nyungar experience.

At first glance the eight placenames appear to be straightforward geographical namings of sites. When the placenames are broken down into word segments, and those segments are linguistically and culturally examined from an experienced Nyungar cultural perspective, the placenames are seen as phrases that tell us more than simply the naming of a location. We see the placenames as a combination of Nyungar words that combine to tell a ‘story’, revealing social, spiritual and/or geographical connections.

The following tables demonstrate how each placename is made up of these different word segments, with each part containing a different meaning. When combining these words and meanings with Nyungar katitjin (knowledge) we can see that, combined, the word segments form a phrase that contains subjects, verbs, nouns and actions, and that imbues each placename with meaning. The following placenames and tables triangulate this Nyungar cultural katatjin (knowledge) with various spellings of the place and with documented interpretation to provide interpretation.

1. Derbal Yiragan/Derbal Yarragon/Derbal Yaragan Beeloo
(estuary/river out the front of the UWA campus)

Der	opening
Ta	mouth of

Dar Taa Dah	doorway entrance of
Bal Barl Baal	he/him she/her it
yirra	to rise from above on top of
gan gàn nghyne nganna	I myself me
Beeloo Beeler Bi-lo Bilo Beel	floods rivers stream crossing fjord

In applying our three levels of knowledge we see that Derbal Yiragan can be interpreted as ‘the estrine starts at the top and comes down to me’. It is the water source or pool or water that was created by the Waakal (water snake) and that made all the waterways in Nyungar boodjar.

Nyungar people believe the Waakal (water snake or Rainbow Serpent) is the creator of all things and embodies Nyungar culture theory and laws. Because the Waakal lives in Derbal Yiragan there are many kaarnya (protocols) about getting into the water. Naturally, Nyungar people respected these protocols as Derbal Yiragan was an important food source and offered a wide variety of reptiles in addition to birds, eggs, frogs, fish, tortoise, marron, gilgee and coonacs that they caught by hand, netting or gidgeeing (spearing).

Today, many Nyungar people continue to access areas around the Derbal Yaragan for sustenance, knowledge, spiritual renewal and to practice distinctly cultural forms.

2. Goordaandalup/Gurndandallup/Goordandalup

goord	lover/husband/wife/betrothed
daan	tie together
dal	opening
al	over there/that thing there
up	place of

Using the same interpretative approach,

Goordaandalup/Gurndandallup/Goordandalup can be understood as ‘the place or entrance to the location of lovers where lovers are united in a life-long relationships’. In other words, it is ceremony joining husband and wives, or wife and husbands.

For local Nyungar people this was a site where people gathered for cultural purposes and activities, in particular for matrimonial reasons. The families would gather with the new ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ where the new spouse would take up a life with the family group.

The University of WA campus is today still a favoured place for marriage.

2. Boolahdalalingup

Boolah	lots/many/big/large
dal	opening
al	over there/that thing there
ing	situated here/sitting here
up	place of

Boolahdalalingup can be interpreted as ‘the location of the one with the big mouth’ or ‘the bird with the big mouth is situated at this location’. As we know, the pelican has a large mouth. Today, this landmark is known as Pelican Point.

Nyungar people would have gathered at this place with the knowledge that pelicans were in abundance. The presence of pelicans would suggest a plentiful supply of fish all year round. For local Nyungar people Boolahdalalingup was a place to gather and fish.

3. Boodjar Gapalingup/Boodjar Kapaalingup

Boodjar	ground/earth/land/country
Gap	water
al	over there/that thing there
ing	situated here/sitting here
up	place of

Boodjar Gapalingup/Boodjar Kapaalingup can be interpreted as ‘the place where the water and the land meet’, otherwise known as the riverbank or wetlands. For the Nyungar people, the wetlands and the swamplands were sites of high usage particularly for hunting and gathering. The swamps contained birds, birds eggs, ducks, swans, frogs, reptiles and other food sources. It also contained bull rushes that were used for making a bread cake.

The University of Western Australia campus was built on the wetlands and, today, particularly during the winter period and after heavy rains, the grassed areas can often be saturated suggesting that the swamplands remain active even after sand infill. In the winter, students and staff have to walk around the grassed areas.

4. Kaart Geenunginyup Bo

kaart	head/top of something/hill/mountain
geenung	look/observe/see
iny	situated here
up	place of
bo	afar/a long way off/in the distance

Kaart Geenunginyup Bo can be interpreted as ‘here at this place at the top of a hill or mountain where you can see a long way away’. Today it is known as Kings Park. For Nyungar people it was a site used for communication as the people could light a fire for gatherings and people could see the fire from far away.

Nyungar people would also shout from the top of the hill and their voices would carry across the river. It was also used to observe fish in the river.

Today, many visitors and families gather at Kings Park for picnics, conversation and to enjoy the view.

6. Birritt

bidi	vein/main path or track
------	-------------------------

Birritt relies on ‘bidi’ for its spelling, further exemplifying the need for Nyungar katitjin (knowledge) when comparing oral language to written wordlists. The above can be interpreted as ‘tracks like veins that blood travels along. Life.’ Foot tracks or paths were made by Nyungar people as they walked through the trees. Over time, these continuous routes became established footpaths. The road going from Midland to York (the Old York Road) was known as King Dick Road. Many of these footpaths became the highways and byways that crossed Nyungar Boodjar.

Today's Riverside Drive was built on an ancient Nyoongar footpath, as were the roads from the foot of Kings Park and the Freeway.

7. Mandyooranup/Mandyuranup

Mandjar	a sort of fair/people gather for social and exchange
Man-da	all together gathering collectively
yoor	come
ngung	mine
up	place of

Mandyooranup/Mandyuranup can be interpreted as 'the place of fair, mine, gathering' revealing a site of corroboree/tribal gathering. It is a location where Nyungar people from different clans and regions would meet for tribal gatherings. The gatherings focused on trade and exchange in meeting future in-laws, husbands and wives, or relations.

The site was suitable as water leaked from the side of the hill and drained into little riverlets and provided fresh water. The site also offered shelter and plentiful food sources from the river and the land.

Today it is known as Freshwater Bay and is overlooked by the suburbs of Dalkeith, Claremont, Mosman Park and Peppermint Grove.

8. Margamangup/Margamongup

Mar	hand
-----	------

ga	of/connected to
Mandjar Man-da	a sort of fair/people gather for social and exchange all together gathering collectively
Mánga	fish trap
mungit	banksia
munga	a crowd of people
up	place of

Margamangup/Margamongup can be interpreted as ‘the place where you catch fish by hand’. For Nyungar people the location offered plentiful food, with fish and other resources. It was a meeting place that offered people food, shelter and drink and Nyungar people would gather for celebration or ceremony.

Today, it is known as Melville Water that stretches between Attadale and Point Dundas. The area continues to be a popular place for fishing and a gathering place for picnics, barbeques and water sports. ¹

In interpreting the above placenames, we demonstrate that the triangulation between Nyungar placename, documented interpretation and Nyungar cultural knowledge offers an interrelation that, combined, tells a richer story by sharing a lived experience of place. Such an approach shares not just what places were historically used for but also describes place, way of life and/or purpose. The placenames become active.

Interpretation of placenames that is devoid of the lived experience and authority of Nyungar people exists as a two-way dialogue between the placename (with its various

¹ A sense of place: Nyungar cultural mapping of UWA and surrounds. Map found at: <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=5e1d22a790ab40f2bfff5faed67263b&folderid=da4f8da4332846a48d0a655100d3fc2e>

oral translations, spellings and definitions) and reader. This two-way transaction provides some insight into the language and culture but interpretation, with its absence of valuable cultural knowledge and codes, lacks validity by offering only part of the true meaning. A three-way approach, with the addition of Nyungar cultural knowledge, ensures a richer interpretation where the very tissue of cultural knowledge is present.

Bibliography

Armstrong, F. (1836) Manners and habits of the Aborigines of Western Australia. Perth Gazette, October 1836.

Bates, D. (1992) *Aboriginal Perth and Bibbulmun Biographies and Legends*. Victoria Park WA: Hesperian Press.

Bates, D. (1985) *The Native Tribes of Western Australia* Canberra: National Library of Australia.

Boodjar Nyungar Placenames in the South-West of Western Australia
<http://www.boodjar.sis.uwa.edu.au/>

Bindon, P. & Chadwick, R. (1992) A Nyoongar Wordlist from the South West of Western Australia, Western Australian Museum, Perth, Western Australia.

Bracknell, C. & Collard, L. (2011) Beeliar Boodjar: An Introduction to the Aboriginal History of the City of Cockburn Based on Existing Literature. Perth, Western Australia: City of Cockburn.

Bracknell, C., Collard, L., Palmer, D., and Revell, G. (2015) 'Ngatj baranginy ngulluckiny koorliny DERBAL YIRIGAN bilya: Take Me To The Place the Estuary that Place on the River that Rises and Falls.'. In Take Me To The River: The story of Perth's Foreshore. J. Bolleter (ed.) University of Western Australia Press.

Collard, L. (nd.) Boodjar Nyungar Placenames – Western Australia. Retrieved from <http://www.boodjar.sis.uwa.edu.au/index.htm>

Collard, L. & Palmer, D. (1998) Nidja Goordandalup! Noonookurt Nyinning Nyungar Boodjar: A Nyungar Interpretive History of Boodjar (Country) in the Vicinity of the University of Western Australia. Murdoch, Western Australia: Murdoch University.

Collard, L., Leonard, L. & Revell G. (1999) Kau Nyungar Boodjar Gabbee Gnarning Quobberup. Oh, a Place within Aboriginal Country where the Drinking Water is Very Good. In Bolton, G. & Gregory, J. Claremont A History: The Mooro and the Colonial Agitator, Ch. 1 p.3.

Collard, L. & Mountford, A. Yongkarin. (2000) Retold by L. Collard & A. Mountford, Illustrated by year 4 Students from St Brigid's Primary School, Middle Swan. Perth: Catholic Education Office of Western Australia.

Collard, L., Palmer, D., Leonard, L. & Revell, G. (2000) Nidja Noongar Bilya Boodjar (This is Noongar River Country). Perth: Catholic Education Office of Western Australia.

Collard, L., Palmer, D., Leonard, L. & Revell, G. (2000) Noongar Place Meanings. Perth: Catholic Education Office of Western Australia.

Collard, L. (2007) Kura, Yeye, Boorda Walwalinyup: From the Past, Today and the Future Fremantle. Fremantle Studies: Journal of the Fremantle History Society, 5, 9- 21.

Collard, L. (2007) Nyittiny: Cosmology of the Nyungar of South-Western Australia. Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues, 11:1, 3-11.

Collard, L. (2007) Wangkiny Ngulluck Nyungar Nyittiny, Boodjar, Moort and Katitjin: Talking About Creation, Country Family and Knowledge of the Nyungar of South Western Australia. In S. Morgan, T. Mia & B. Kwaymullina (Eds.), Speaking From the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country (pp.262-278). Fremantle, Western Australia: Fremantle Press.

Collard, L. (2008) Kura, Yeye, Boorda: From the Past, Today and the Future'. In Morgan, S., Mia, T. & Kwaymullina, B. (Eds.), *Heartsick for Country: Stories of Love, Spirit and Creation* (pp.60-80). Fremantle, Western Australia: Fremantle Press.

Collard, L. & Palmer, D. (2008) Looking for the Residents of Terra Australis: The Importance of Nyungar in Early European Coastal Exploration. In P. Veth, P. Sutton, and M. Neale (Eds.), *Strangers on the Shore: Early Coastal Contacts in Australia* (pp. 181-197). Canberra: National Museum of Australia.

Collard, L. & Harben. S. (2010) Nartj Katitj Bidi Ngulluckiny Koorl? (Which Knowledge Path Will We Travel?). *Ethics and the Practice of History: Studies in Western Australian History*, 26, 75-95.

Collard, L. (2012) *Imagine: Visions for our Sustainable Future. BOORDAWAN WALWALINGUP/ Future Vision for City of Fremantle. Community Arts Network WA (CAN WA). Printed by Discus on Demand.*

Collard, L., and Revell, G. (2015) In *Cultural Mapping as Cultural Inquiry*, W.F. Garrett-Petts & N. Duxbury (eds.), Routledge. *Wedjumup Wangkiny Koorra, Yeye and Mila Boorda (Wedjemup Talking From the Past, Today and the Future). An Ex-Modern Way of Thinking Landscape into Country?' Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.*

Collard, L (2018) Katitjin Ngulluckiny Boojera: Kura, Yeye Mila Boorda (Understanding our country: Past, today, and into the present) in *Westerly* Vol. 63, No. 1. The University of Western Australia, Crawley.

Decision on the Single Nyoongar Claim (Native Title)

<http://www.noongar.org.au/noongar-single-claim.php>

http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/multimedia/nyungar_menu9.htm Updated and edited by Len Collard (ARC Research Fellow Curtin University) and Carole Winfield (City of Perth), January 2012

Dench, A 1994, 'Nyungar' in Thieberger, N & McGregor, W, *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*, Sydney, Macquarie Library, pp.173-192.

Douglas, W. (1976) *The Aboriginal Language of the South West of Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Gibbs, M. (2011) *An Aboriginal fish trap on the Swan Coastal Plain: the Barragup mungah*. Records of the Western Australian Museum, 79. Retrieved from <<http://museum.wa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2.%20Gibbs.pdf>>

Rooney, B. (2011) *The Nyoongar Legacy*, Batchelor Press for the Benedictine Community New Norcia Inc. and the Noongar Language Project, NT.

South West Land and Sea Council, Host, J and C. Owen. (2009) *It's still in my heart, this is my country: the Single Noongar Claim History* Crawley WA: UWA Press.

Stocker, L., Collard, L., and A. Rooney. (2015) *Terra cognita: Aboriginal experience with coastal climate change. Local Environment, Aboriginal world views and colonisation: implications for coastal sustainability. Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Tindale, N. (1940) *Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes: A Field Survey. Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64 (1).

Von Brandenstein, C.G. (1988), *Nyungar Anew*, Pacific Linguistics, A.N.U. Series C Number 9.

Walsh, M. and Yallop, C. (1993) *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra, ACT: Aboriginal Studies Press. (pp. vii–xiii)

Whitehurst, R (1997), 2nd edn, *Noongar Dictionary*, Noongar Language and Cultural Centre, Bunbury, WA.

Wooltorton, Sandra; Collard, Len and Horwitz, Pierre (2017). *The land still speaks: Ni, Katitj!*: An introduction [online]. PAN: Philosophy Activism Nature, No. 13, Dec

Wordlist References

1930 Bussell, A.J. South West Aboriginal Language or Dialect 'What the Aborigines term 'Dornderup Wongie' And Other Things Concerning Australia generally. Typescript, prepared by Battye Library, Perth, c. 1930.

1949 Hassell, E. 'Native Vocabulary' in Names from various sources for future reference by the Nomenclature Advisory Committee, The Nomenclature Advisory Committee, Department of Land Administration, Perth, 1949.

1841 Symmons, C. 'Grammatical introduction of the study of the Aboriginal language of Western Australia', 1841, in Western Australian Almanack, Perth, 1842, appendix.

1841 Moore, G.F. Diary of Ten Years Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia; and Also, a Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines, 1841, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, W.A., facsimile ed., 1978.

1977 Salvado, R. The Salvado memoirs: historical memoirs of Australia and particularly of the Benedictine mission of New Norcia and of the habits and customs of the Australian natives, ed. & translated by E.J. Storman, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, W.A., 1977.

1827 King, P.P. Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia performed between the years 1818 and 1822, J. Murray, London, 1827, vol. 2, pp. 144-7.

1899 Brady, J. A descriptive vocabulary of the West Australian Aboriginal language, compiled by the Right Rev. Dr. Brady, Bishop of Perth. T. Bryan, Perth, 1899.

1886 Taylor, C. No. 33 'From Doubtful Bay to Israelite Bay: Vocabulary of the Ngokgurring or Shell people' in E.M. Curr (ed.), The Australian Race, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1886, vol. 1, pp. 392-3.

Folio 40/1-6. Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 1. (a), Southwestern District, Deebungool of Esperance. Folio 40/1- 6.

MS 365 Folio 40/29-41 Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 2., Southwestern District, Binyunyu of Ravensthorpe. Folio 40/29-41.

Natjumaya vocabulary with some Nyungar words

Folio 40/7-28 Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 1. (b), Southwestern District, Indar, Joowel & Baiungan of Esperance. Folio 40/7-28.

Folio 40/42-78. Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 3. (a), Southwestern District, Jakbum & Wabbinyet of Albany. Folio 40/42-78.

Folio 46/30-34 1886 Armstrong, C.F. No. 19 Perth' in E.M. Curr (ed.), *The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1886, vol. 1, pp. 334-5, reproduced in D.M. Bates, MS 365, Section XII, Language: grammar and vocabularies, Part 2. B. 44, Southwestern District, Folio 46/30-34.

1875 Ranford, H.S. Wordlist, Stirling Range area, Field Book 8, p. 146, Manuscript, 1875, Department of Land Administration Library, Midland, Western Australia.

Undated Davis, J. (compiler and illustrator). A glossary of the Bibbulmum [i.e. Bibbulmum] language, typescript, [196-?], Battye Library, Q 499.15 GLO.

1949 Brockman, F.S., informed by Samuel Isaacs. 'Aboriginal Proper Nouns' in Names from various sources for future reference by the Nomenclature Advisory Committee, The Nomenclature Advisory Committee, Department of Land Administration, Perth, 1949.

N.D. Grey, G. South West (Sourced from old Gazetteer Cards, Landgate) 'Edited by Sandra Harben.

Folio 40/79-96 Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 3. (b), Southwestern District, [Jakbam or Jackbum & Bumblefoot] from Albany & Denmark. Folio 40/79-96.

Folio 41/1-26. Undated Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 9. (a), Southwestern District, Notum, Wirijan and Kaiar of Katanning. Folio 41/1-26.

This research was conducted by the *Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions* (Project number CE110001011).