

# **Metaphors of PAIN in a typological perspective: an update**



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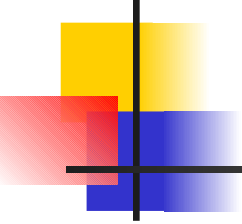
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# In this paper:

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- classification of metaphorical pain sources
- morphosyntax of pain constructions
- "principles and parameters" of semantic shifts in pain domain



# Data for the moment: > 20 languages

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- **genetically close:**

- **Slavic** – Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish, Czech
- **Germanic** – English, German
- **Romanian** – French, Spanish, Italian
- **Finno-Ugric** – Hungarian, Estonian, Erzya (Mordvin)

- **areally close:**

- **Caucasian** – Georgian, Balkar (Turkic), Agul (Daghestanian)

- **other:**

- Lithuanian
- Hindi
- Arabian
- Japanese
- Chinese
- Khmer



# DOMAIN STRUCTURE

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- Few predicates of pain per se (1 to 4)
- Metaphorical uses of lexical units (Up to 50)
- Among them several evolved pain predicates, that lost their basic meaning



# **Pain domain: types of grammatical constructions**

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- verbal
- attributive
- nominal
- ideophonic
- conventionalized comparisons

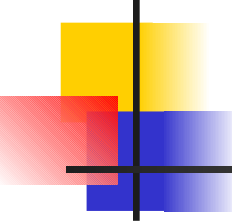
# **Pain domain: conceptual sources**



***painful sensation***

The diagram consists of two large rectangular boxes side-by-side. The left box is cyan and contains the text 'painful sensation'. The right box is yellow and contains the text 'loss of functionality'. A red dotted arrow points from the top-right corner of the cyan box to the top-left corner of the yellow box. Another red dotted arrow points from the top-right corner of the yellow box towards the bottom-right of the yellow box.

***loss of functionality***



# Painful sensations: metaphorical types

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- fire
  - sound
  - destruction
    - agentive
      - instrumental
      - quasi-instrumental (using teeth, claws, and alike)
      - non-instrumental:
        - structure deformation
        - soft deformation
    - non-agentive
  - motion
  - antropomorphic: negative emotion



# Functionality loss: metaphorical types

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- stiffening (cf. 'to become stick-like', 'to become like a cabbage stalk')
- movement impediment
  - outer: seizing
  - inner: blocking
- separating a part
- anthropomorphic: disablement
  - becoming dumb or deaf
  - fall into the state of unconsciousness



# Metaphors of pain vs. Metaphors of functionality loss

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- Destruction ↔ Stiffening
- Self-destruction  
(into parts) ↔ Separating a part
- Motion ↔ Movement  
impediment
- Sound ↔ Becoming dumb or  
deaf



# Morphosyntax of pain constructions: morphology

**Source:** verbs denoting activities, accomplishments, achievements

*semantic shift*  
*stativization*



**Goal:** - pain experience - stative



# Morphological means: (activity, accomplishment)

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- using forms conveying **durative** meaning
- using forms conveying **resultative** or **perfect** meaning

# Source verb classes: choice of aspectual marking

Prevalence of durative forms:

- Sound
- Burning
- Motion

*Variation zone*  
*"accomplishment"*  
*destructions*

Prevalence of resultative forms

- Movement impediment
- Stiffening

*durative forms*

*resultative forms*

Prevalence of durative forms: "durative-oriented" languages  
(*Russian, Lithuanian*)

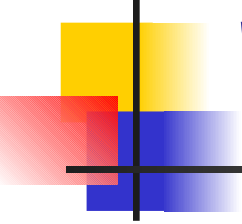
Prevalence of resultative forms: "resultative-oriented" languages  
(*Agul, French*)



# Morphological means: (achievement)

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- using forms conveying **prospective** meaning



# Morphosyntactic means of "stativization":

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- nominalization
- attributive constructions



# PAIN ARGUMENT CODING

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*FrameNet interpretation:*

## Perception\_body Frame

- core elements: *experiencer, body-part*
- additional elements: *manner, reason*

manner is expressed by ideophonic adverbs (Japanese) or metaphorical shifts (cf. all the examples above)

**body-part, experiencer and reason do not exhibit distinct role characteristics**



# Body-part:

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- **location** of the pain event → Syntactic coding: **OBL**
- **theme** of the pain event, being affected → Syntactic coding: **S/O**  
*but no examples in our database of O body-part argument of the basic pain-verb*
- **agent (effector)** of the pain event, being the initial point of pain expansion → Syntactic coding: **A**





# Experiencer:

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- **experiencer** of the pain event → Syntactic coding: **DAT**
- **possessor** of the body-part → Syntactic coding: **OBL** or **poss.pronoun**
- **patient** of the pain event, being directly affected → Syntactic coding: **A**



# Reason:

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- **cause** of the pain event → Syntactic coding: **A**
- **source** of the pain event, being directly affected → Syntactic coding: **OBL** or **poss.pronoun**

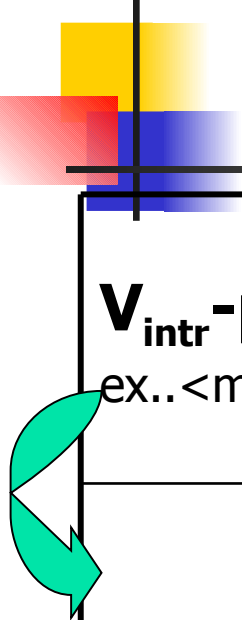
# Syntax of the derived pain constructions

*source verb: intransitive*

*derived verb intransitive*

<b>V<sub>intr</sub>-physical</b> ex.. <make noise>			<b>X<sub>s</sub></b>		
<b>V<sub>intr</sub>-pain</b>	1	REASON ∅/OBL	<b>BP<sub>s</sub></b>	EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>	
	2	REASON ∅/OBL		EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>	<b>BP<sub>LDC</sub></b>

specific pain construction



# Syntax of the derived pain constructions

*source verb: transitive*

*derived verb: transitive*

<b>V<sub>tr</sub>-physical</b> ex..<cut>			<b>X<sub>A</sub></b>	<b>Y<sub>o</sub></b>	
<b>V<sub>tr</sub>-pain</b>	<b>1</b>	REASON ∅/OBL	BP <sub>A</sub>	EXP <sub>o</sub>	
	<b>2</b>		REASON <sub>A</sub>	BP <sub>o</sub>	EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>
	<b>3</b>	REASON ∅/OBL		BP <sub>o</sub>	EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>
	<b>4</b>	REASON ∅/OBL		EXP <sub>o</sub>	BP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>

specific pain constructions

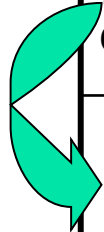
# Syntax of the derived pain constructions

*source verb: transitive*

*derived verb intransitive*

<b>V<sub>tr</sub>-</b> <b>physical</b> ex.. <cut>			<b>X<sub>A</sub></b>	<b>Y<sub>o</sub></b>		
<b>V<sub>intr</sub>-pain</b>	<b>1</b>	REASON <small>∅/OBL</small>			EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>	BP <sub>LOC</sub>
	<b>2</b>	REASON <small>∅/OBL</small>	<b>BP<sub>s</sub></b>		EXP <sub>DAT/POSS</sub>	

specific pain constructions



# Mechanisms of semantic shift in pain domain

- Numerous research (*among them: Panther/Radden 1999, Blank/Koch 2000, Croft/Cruise 2004; etc.*)
- **Moscow semantic school classification** (*Kustova 1998, 2004, Paducheva 2004*):

## Metonymies

- ♦ changes in argument structure
- ♦ goal bias = metonymy of the resulting situation

## Metaphors

- ♦ change of the taxonomic class of the argument (= categorial)



## Semantic shift in pain domain: the case of <cut> and <prick>

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**Example:** (*Russian*)

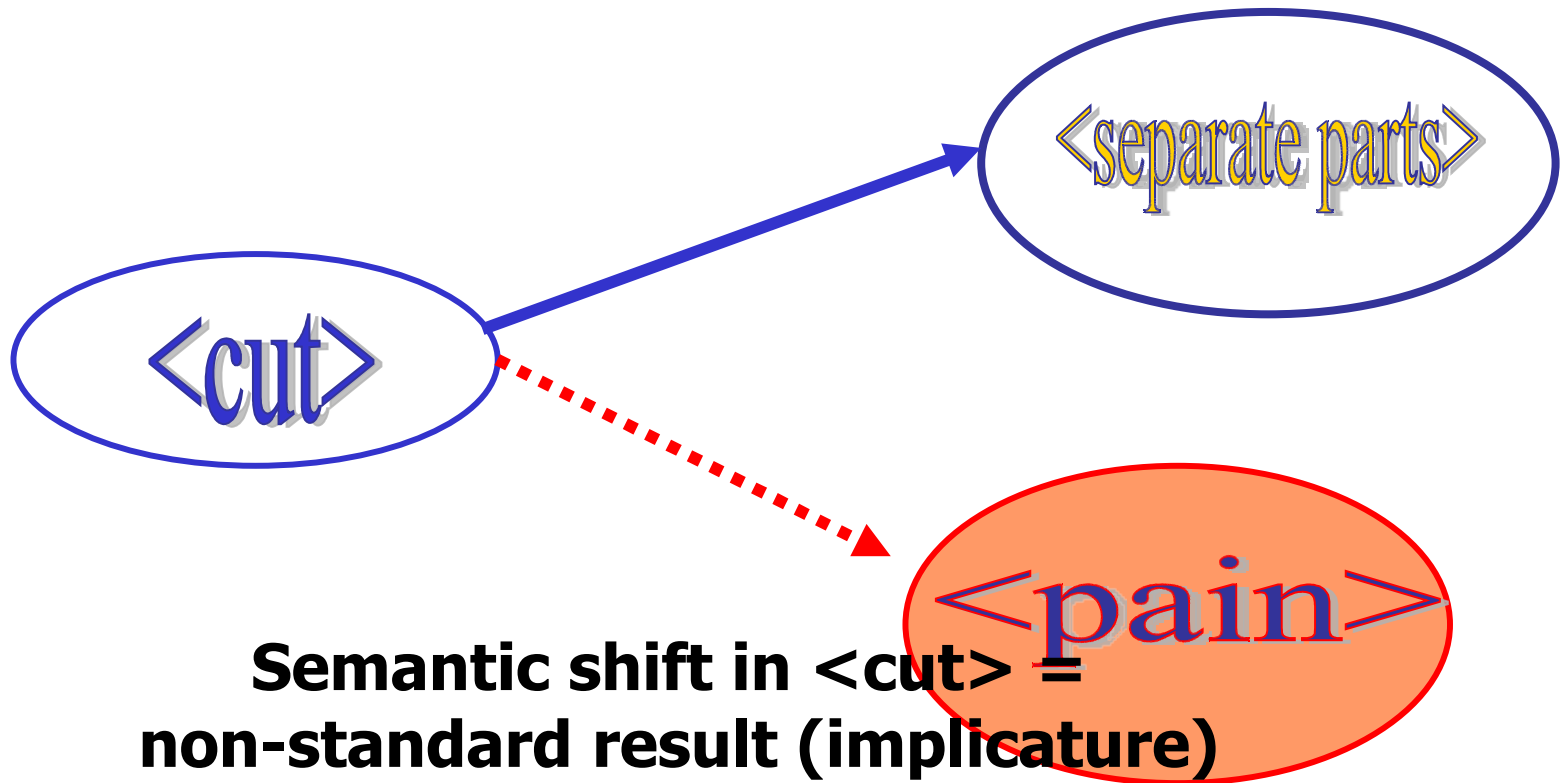
Igolka kolet **palec** ⇒ U menja **bok** kolet  
needle pricks finger I.poss side pricks

- not a categorial metaphor, as the taxonomic class of the object argument is not changing
- goal bias vs. implicature



# Result vs. Implicature

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**Semantic shift in <cut> =  
non-standard result (implicature)**

**+**

**non-standard (non-categorical) metaphor**





# Typological consistence

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The closer implicature is to the standard result the more typologically consistent the semantic shift is, cf.:

<**prick**> standard object: **skin**

⇒ typologically **often** as a pain verb

**vs.**

<**drill**> standard object: **wood** or **metal**

⇒ typologically **rare** as a pain verb



# Semantic shift?

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**Lexical perestrojka / rebranding**

*as a special term, reflecting a complex semantic and grammatical restructuring of a lexical unit.*

**Grammaticalization** as an extreme case of **rebranding**

# Grammaticalization & Rebranding



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- \* loss of phonetic substance
- ✓ metaphorization
- ✓ semantic bleaching
- ✓ change in combinability
- ✓ morphosyntactic changes (including: limitations on basic paradigm)
- ✓ conventionalization of implicatures
- ✓ **graduality**

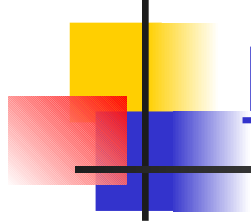


# Specific pain verbs

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- denoting only pain situations **as** pain verbs per se, **not as** metaphoric verbs
- narrow combinability **not as** pain verbs, **as** metaphoric verbs
- synchronically lost (or nearly lost) source
- intransitive **as** pain verbs

# Graduality in lexical rebranding



occasional  
metaphor

conventionalized  
polysemy

monosemantic  
pain verbs

REBRANDING PROCESS



<DRILL>

<CUT>

KOLOT'  
<PRICK>

SADNIT'  
<STING>

<HURT>