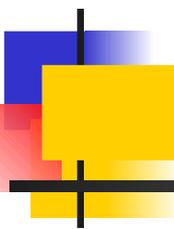


Metaphors of PAIN in a typological perspective: an update

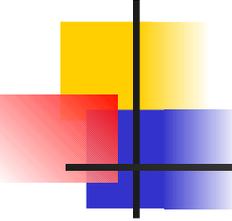


Anastasia Bonch-Osmolovskaya

Ekaterina Rakhilina

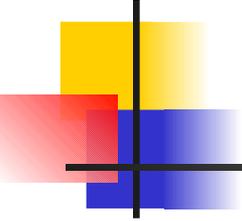
Tatiana Reznikova

PARIS, 20.03.08



In this paper:

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



Data for the moment: > 20 languages

- **genetically close:**

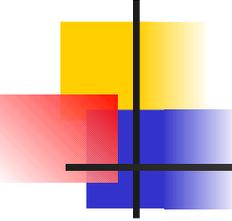
- **Slavic** – Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish, Czech
- **Germanic** – English, German
- **Romanian** – French, Spanish, Italian
- **Finno-Ugric** – Hungarian, Estonian, Erzya (Mordvin)

- **areally close:**

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

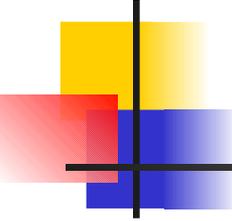
- **other:**

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



DOMAIN STRUCTURE

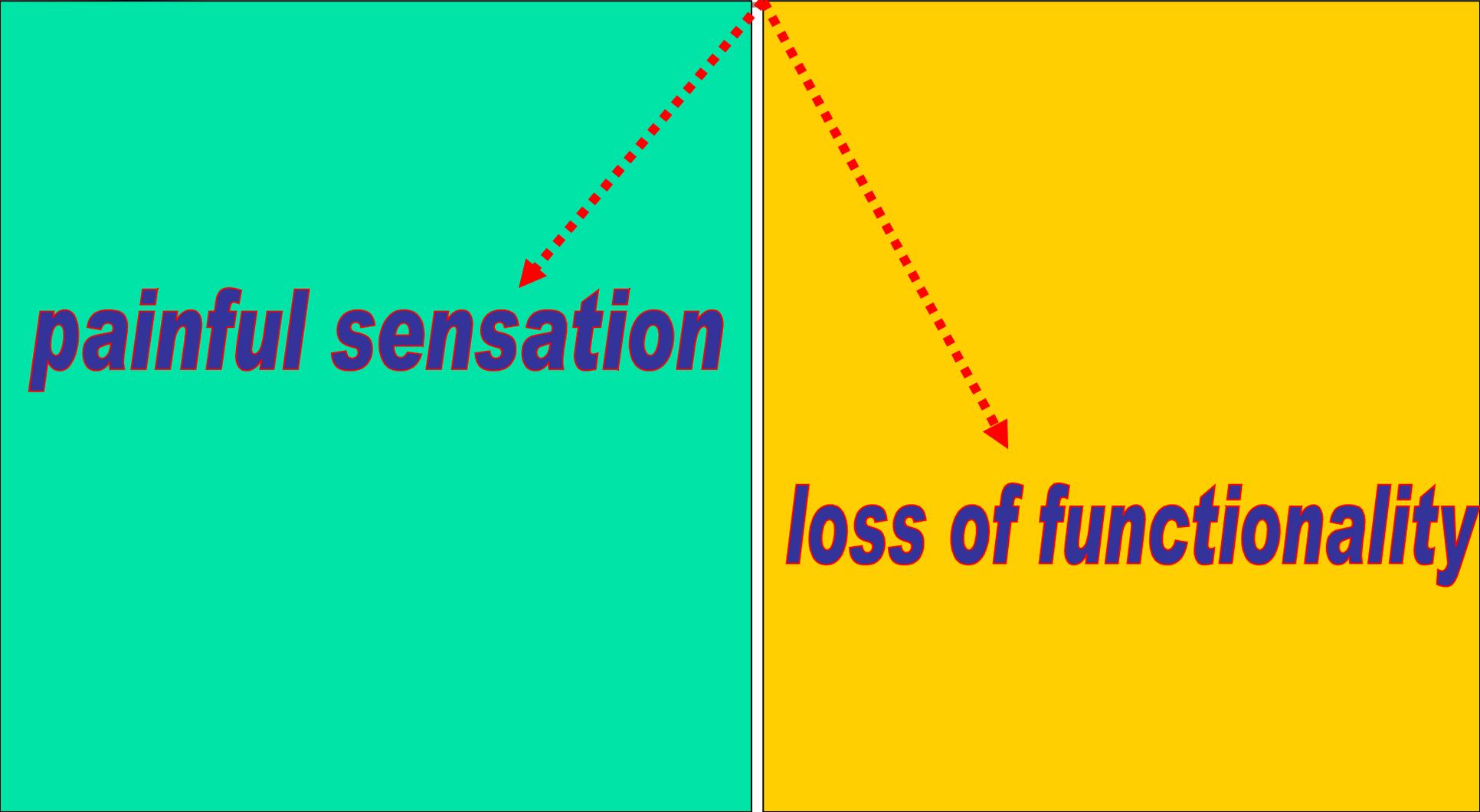
- Few predicates of pain per se (1 to 4)
- Metaphorical uses of lexical units (Up to 50)
- Among them several evolved pain predicates, that lost their basic meaning



Pain domain: types of grammatical constructions

- verbal
- attributive
- nominal
- ideophonic
- conventionalized comparisons

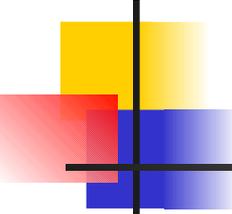
Pain domain: conceptual sources



painful sensation

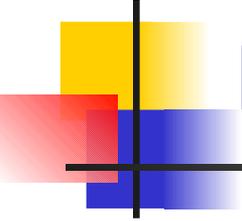
The diagram consists of two large rectangular boxes side-by-side. The left box is cyan and contains the text 'painful sensation'. The right box is yellow and contains the text 'loss of functionality'. A red dotted arrow points from the top-right corner of the cyan box to the top-left corner of the yellow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

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

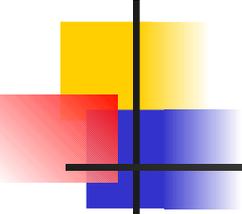


Functionality loss: metaphorical types

- 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

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



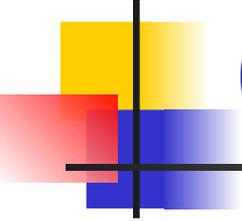
Morphosyntax of pain constructions: morphology

Source: verbs denoting activities, accomplishments, achievements

semantic shift
stativization



Goal: - pain experience - stative



Morphological means: (activity, accomplishment)

- 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

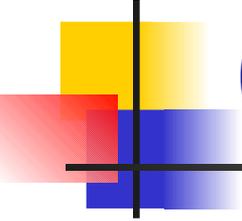
- Movement impediment
- Stiffening

durative forms

resultative forms

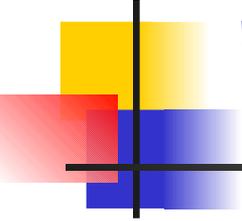
Prevalence of durative forms: "durative-oriented" languages
(*Russian, Lithuanian*)

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



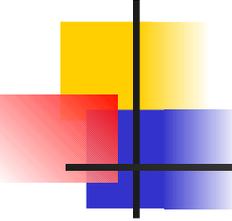
Morphological means: (achievement)

- using forms conveying **prospective** meaning



Morphosyntactic means of "stativization":

- nominalization
- attributive constructions



PAIN ARGUMENT CODING

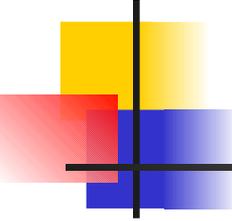
FrameNet interpretation:

Perception_body Frame

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

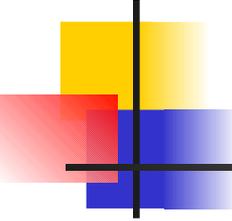
manner is expressed by ideophonic adverbs (Japanese) or metaphorical shifts (cf. all the examples above)

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



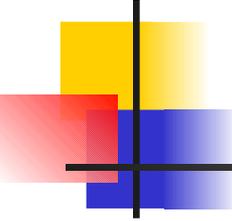
Body-part:

- **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:

- **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:

- **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

V_{intr}-physical ex.. <make noise>			X_s		
V_{intr}-pain	1	REASON ∅/OBL	BP_s	EXP _{DAT/POSS}	
	2	REASON ∅/OBL	specific pain construction	EXP _{DAT/POSS}	BP _{LDC}



Syntax of the derived pain constructions

source verb: transitive

derived verb: transitive

V_{tr}-physical ex..<cut>			X_A	Y_o	
V_{tr}-pain	1	REASON ∅/OBL	BP _A	EXP _o	
	2		REASON _A	BP _o	EXP _{DAT/POSS}
	3	REASON ∅/OBL		BP _o	EXP _{DAT/POSS}
	4	REASON ∅/OBL		EXP _o	BP _{DAT/POSS}

specific pain constructions

Syntax of the derived pain constructions

source verb: transitive

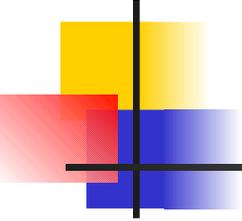
derived verb intransitive

V_{tr}- physical ex.. <cut>			X_A	Y_o		
V_{intr}-pain	1	REASON <small>∅/OBL</small>			EXP _{DAT/POSS}	BP _{LOC}
	2	REASON <small>∅/OBL</small>	BP_s		EXP _{DAT/POSS}	

specific pain constructions



Mechanisms of semantic shift in pain domain



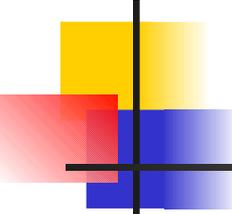
- Numerous research (*among them: Panther/Radden 1999, Blank/Koch 2000, Croft/Cruise 2004; etc.*)
- **Moscow semantic school classification** (*Kustova 1998, 2004, Paducheva 2004*):

Metonymies

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

Metaphors

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

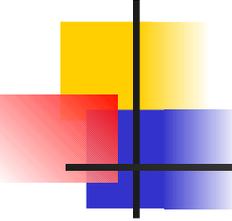


Semantic shift in pain domain: the case of <cut> and <prick>

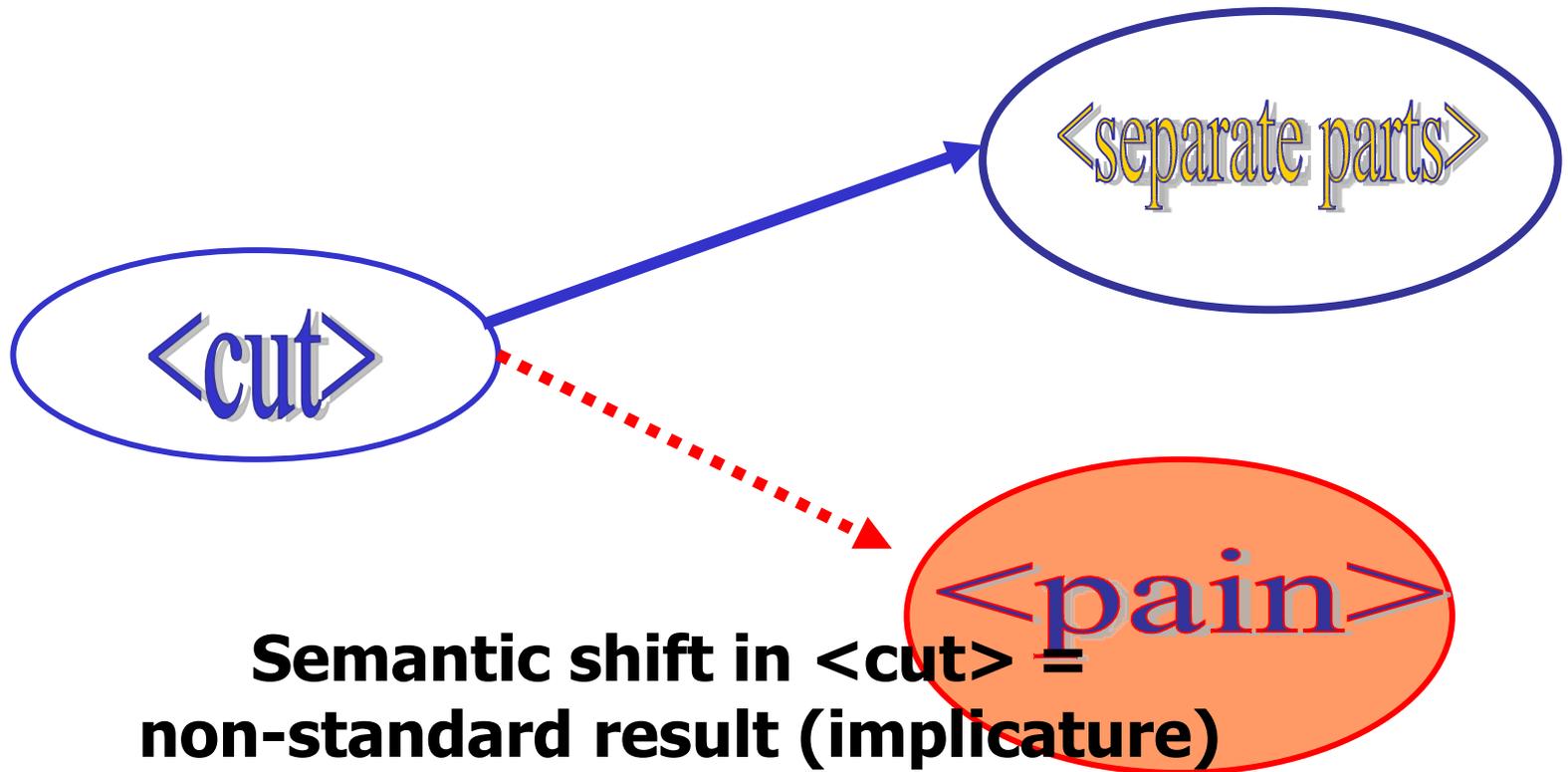
Example: (*Russian*)

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



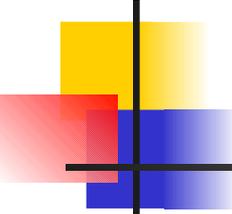
Result vs. Implicature



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

+

non-standard (non-categorical) metaphor



Typological consistence

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

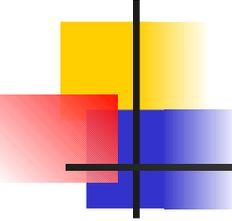
<**prick**> standard object: **skin**

⇒ typologically **often** as a pain verb

vs.

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

⇒ typologically **rare** as a pain verb



Semantic shift?

Lexical perestrojka / rebranding

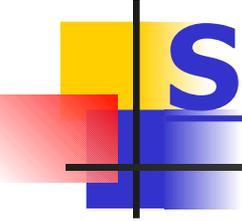
as a special term, reflecting a complex semantic and grammatical restructuring of a lexical unit.

Grammaticalization as an extreme case of **rebranding**

Grammaticalization & Rebranding



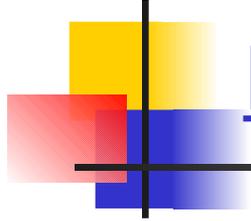
- * loss of phonetic substance
- ✓ metaphorization
- ✓ semantic bleaching
- ✓ change in combinability
- ✓ morphosyntactic changes (including: limitations on basic paradigm)
- ✓ conventionalization of implicatures
- ✓ **graduality**



Specific pain verbs

- 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>