

### The conceptual domain of pain in Hindi language

The paper presents a study in the conceptualization of painful sensations in Hindi. It is a part of the on-going Project based on the data of 23 languages – both related and unrelated genetically. The conceptual domain of pain provides ground for cross-linguistic comparison as every natural language has means for describing a great variety of painful sensations. Languages usually have few lexemes of pain per se. The major part of the domain is constituted by lexical units drawn from other semantic fields which are metaphorically applied to pain. These metaphorical meanings are rarely registered in dictionaries therefore the main method of data collection was elicitation. There have been developed two main data elicitation tools for the purposes of research: a situational and a frame questionnaire. The other sources of data from Hindi analyzed in my paper were literary texts and internet. The domain of pain and unpleasant bodily sensations has been divided into 2 conceptual areas: the painful sensations in body parts vs. the functionality loss of body parts.

The metaphorical sources for painful sensations in Hindi include four main conceptual types: 1) burning (6 verbs): *peT āg se jal rahā hai* ‘I am hungry (stomach is burning)’; 2) sound (26 verbs): *mere kān baj rahe hai* ‘My ears ring’; 3) destruction: a) agentive (6 verbs): *mu<sup>h</sup> mirč ke māre kaT rahā hai* ‘Mouth is burning (being cut) because of pepper’; b) non-agentive (3 verbs): *merā sir phaTā jā rahā hai* ‘My head is going to split’; 4) motion (5 verbs): *uskā peT kūd rahā hai* ‘He is hungry (stomach is jumping)’.

The basic set of metaphorical sources for describing the functionality loss consists of 2 main conceptual types: 1) motion: *šarāb pīkar uskā sir ghūm rahā hai /čakrā rahā hai* ‘After drinking wine his head is spinning’; 2) emptiness, stiffening, twisting: *ThaND kī vajah se u<sup>gliyā</sup> sunn ho gāī /akaR gāī/ai<sup>Th</sup> gāī* ‘Fingers grew numb with cold’.

The verbs constituting one conceptual domain usually have their own salient features that in many cases explain metaphorical shifts, i.e. in the conceptual domain of burning the verb *dahaknā* ‘to glow’ emphasizes the color of burning, the light coming from burning, so metaphorical shifts usually involve some kind of visible manifestation of burning: *gāl ThaND/bukhār se dahak rahe hai* ‘Cheeks are glowing because of cold’.

The emotional metaphors are not always derived from the physical ones. There are triplets like direct meaning > physical metaphor > emotional metaphor: direct meaning: *ī<sup>dhān</sup> kī lakRī kaTī huī hai* ‘Firewood has been cut’ > physical metaphor: *mu<sup>h</sup> mirč ke māre kaT rahā hai* ‘Mouth is being cut because of pepper’ > emotional metaphor: *jab bhī beTe kā nuksān hotā hai merā kalejā kaTā hai* ‘Whenever anyone does harm to my son, my heart is being cut’. There are also cases when the direct meaning is shifted straight towards the emotional metaphor: *āg bhaRak uThī* ‘Fire broke out’ > *uskā čehrā bhaRak uThā* ‘His face expressed anger’.

The basic morphological characteristics of the verb are also very important for metaphorical shifts. Non-telic verbs like *cakrānā* ‘to spin’ or *bhaRaknā* ‘to break out (about fire)’ have inceptive meaning in perfective tenses: *uskā sir cakrā gayā* ‘His head started spinning’. Telic verbs in perfective tenses express the completion of the action: *phaT gayā us kā dil* ‘His heart broke (exploded)’. Only telic verbs may form resultatives used as predicates or adjectives: *is kalejā jalī ko parešān karke tumko kyā milegā?* ‘What will you get by disturbing this woman with broken heart?’ Pain may be described as a momentary or lasting feeling. Momentary pain is usually denoted by a verb in perfective tense or by a verbal noun: *bagal me<sup>n</sup> kuch cubh gayā hai/cubhan huī hai* ‘Something has stitched (me) in my side’. Lasting pain may be expressed in two ways: 1) as a process (most typical progressive aspect): *bagal me<sup>n</sup> kuch cubh rahā hai /cubhan ho rahī hai* ‘Something is stitching (me) in my side’ 2) As the result of a previous process/activity: *inječsān lagākar jībh akaR gāī hai / akRī huī hai* ‘The tongue hardened as the result of the injection’. In some domains most languages prefer progressive aspect, other domains tend towards expression of pain in perfective and resultative constructions. Sound and motion verbs belong to the first, verbs describing functionality loss – to the second type of domains, compare: *mere kān sansanā rahe hai* ‘My ears are whistling’ and *merā pair ek jagah rakhte-rakhte sunn ho gaya/akaR gaya / ai<sup>Th</sup> gayā* ‘My foot being kept at the same place for a long time became numb (asleep)’.

Metaphorical shift may result in reducing the verbal paradigm, i.e. the verbs of ‘sound’ domain have perfective forms in their direct meaning like *ghanTī bajī* ‘The bell rang’, but lose them in ‘pain’ metaphors: *\*kān baje* ‘The ears rang’.

Telic verbs, especially the verbs of ‘agentive’ destruction like *break*, *cut* or *shoot*, the verbs denoting self-destruction (usually momentary event) like *explode* and the verbs of motion are to be morphologically adjusted to the metaphorical meaning of pain as the non-telic process. These verbs are much more often used in progressive aspect for pain metaphors than in their basic meaning, compare normal *sir phaT rahā hai* ‘Head is breaking of pain’ (with no more non-telic meaning) and rare *bam phaT rahā hai* ‘Bomb is exploding’ (which should imply telic meaning). Another way to adjust these verbs to their metaphorical meaning is to use them in prospective constructions: *merā sir phaTā jā rahā hai* ‘My head is going to break’ or *uskā kalejā uRā jā rahā hai* ‘He is going to lose his consciousness’. Compare French: *Ma tête va éclater* ‘My head is going to explode’, German: *Mir zerspringt gleich der Kopf / Mir zerspringt fast der Kopf* ‘My head nearly exploded/Will soon explode’.

The data obtained in the project showed that metaphors of pain in closely related languages like Russian, Ukrainian and Polish demonstrate amazing discrepancies, thus, investigation of the conceptual domains of pain in various Indian languages seems very promising for revealing certain fine-grained parameters of semantic variation.

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