Conceptualization of pain in Beserman Udmurt: Genesis and Language Contacts

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Beserman Udmurt

Finno-Ugric.

variety of Udmurt spoken:
  ◦ north-western Udmurtia

contacts:
  ◦ Russian dialects
  ◦ Turkic languages
Our concern

Lexical items denoting pain in Beserman Udmurt:

- semantic structure
- syntactic properties
- comparison with closely related and neighbouring languages:
  - Beserman Udmurt vs Zyrian (relative)
  - Beserman Udmurt vs Russian (in close contact)
  - Beserman Udmurt vs Turkic languages (in close contact)
Data

**Beserman:**
- Expedition to Shamardan, Yukamensky distr., Udmurtia (2003 – 2019)
- [http://linghub.ru/beserman_examples_corpus/search](http://linghub.ru/beserman_examples_corpus/search)
- **Corpora:**

**Zyryan** – [Luchina 2011]

**Turkic** (Crimean-Tatar) – [Tischenko-Monastyrskaya 2009]

**Russian** – dictionaries of Russian dialects: [СРНГ], [СРНГСУ] - introspection
Research questions

❖ How does Beserman Udmurt complete the frame of PAIN?

❖ What features of PAIN in Beserman are native (e.g. similar with relative languages, but doesn't exist in their common neighbors)?

❖ What features appeared as a result of close contacts with Russian and the Turkic languages?
Plan

1. PAIN frame: relevant parameters for language description
2. The main characteristics of PAIN in BESERMAN UDMURT in comparison with Zyrian, Turkic and Russian:
   o vocabulary, sources of semantic derivation (metaphor, rebranding), close concepts,
   o intensity and actional characteristics,
   o grammatical marking of actants and strategies of pain conceptualization.
3. Conclusions
PAIN frame

RELEVANT PARAMETERS FOR LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION
Main Papers

Брицын В. М., Рахилина Е. В., Резникова Т. И., Яворская Г. М. (ред.). Концепт боль в типологическом освещении. Киев: Видавничий Дім Дмитра Бураго, 2009

‘X feels pain Q in Y because of R’

X = **WHO** feels this pain? – person, or animal, or ?plant

Y = **WHERE** this pain is located? – body part or viceral

Q = **WHAT KIND of** pain is it? – just pain vs some specific feelings

R = What **CAUSED** this pain? – internal vs external; relevant for some pain situations; out of focus today
PARAMETRES of DESCRIPTION

- **vocabulary**: none-derived predicates and sources of semantic derivation
- expressions of **intensity** and **actional characteristics** of pain situation
- **case marking** of participants and strategies of pain conceptualizing
PAIN in BESERMAN UDMURT and closely related and neighbouring languages

SEMANTICS, DERIVATION, SYNTAX
Vocabulary
Vocabulary

**Rich vs poor systems**

**Polysemy ’X’ \( \rightarrow \) ‘PAIN’**

- NON-SPECIFIC: predicates with high abstract meanings: modal, negative evaluation, changing
- SPECIFIC: different kinds of exposure, destruction, reformation, movement, changing position, hitting the target, taking and giving, emitting sounds etc.

**PAIN and close concepts**

- PAIN \( \rightarrow \) Emotional pain \( \rightarrow \) negative (?) emotions
- PAIN \( \rightarrow \) Functionality loss
Vocabulary: Beserman Udmurt

**Non-Specific Pain** ‘have a pain somewhere’: 13 lexical items including 1 fixed expression and 3 semantically derived items.

**Specific Pain** ‘feel something special and painful’: more than 65 lexical items including more than 50 semantically derived.

→ quite a rich system
NON-SPECIFIC (BASIC) PAIN

**MAIN VERB:** višənəə ‘to have a pain’ → višətənə̑” to cause a pain’;

**NOUNS** derived from the verb višənəə: višon (VN) and višem (PTCP.PST)‘pain’

**PREDICATIVE ADVERB:** veš ‘painful’ and constructions with it: veš luənəə‘become painful’ and veš karənəə‘cause a pain’
NON-SPECIFIC (BASIC) PAIN

VERBS WITH OTHER ROOTS:

$mə̑žmə̑nə̑$ ‘to have pain as a punishment of supernatural forces’;

$rańžənə̑$ and $kur aźənə̑$ (lit. ‘ask to see’) - ‘to have very strong pain for a long time’.
SEMANTICALLY NON-DERIVED VERBS of SPECIFIC PAIN: PAIN ZONES in FOCUS

❖ feeling of **numbness**: zubektənə́l

❖ **discomfort in oral cavity**:
  ❖ toothache because of tooth hyperkinestesia: zubektənə́2,
  ❖ discomfort because of eating something very sour: dolkan ə̑/tolkan ə̑

There are also semantically derived verbs denoting this set of meanings: jetənə́ for toothache, čońdənə́ for numbness etc.
SPECIFIC PAIN: SEMANTICALLY DERIVED VERBS

❖ **Semantically derived verbs**: *kutənə* (lit. ‘catch, hold’ for sudden pain, *azənə* ‘lit. to have a garden overgrown with weeds’ for feelings of skin abscess, *kurektənə* (lit. ‘to be sick at heart’ for burning pain);

❖ The majority of pain verbs – derived or non-derived – can make **causative** forms with the regular suffix -*ət* (CAUS) or causative constructions with nominalization and the light verb *karənə* ‘make’
SPECIFIC PAIN: CONSTRUCTIONS

❖ Pain noun + non-pain verb constructions: sudruga baštənə̑ ‘lit. take spasm’, sərəm jətənə̑ ‘lit. букв. ‘be involved in coal gas’ – about problems of respiration (in any reason);

❖ Fixed expressions: čuž vož ažənə̑ (‘lit. to see yellow and green’ – about getting dark, loosing consciousness for a moment), šundə̑n... šijem ‘lit. sun ate...’ about overburned skin feelings;

❖ Constructions with ideophones: juzə̑r-kezə̑r, nəs-nəs, zub-zub, čokak/čogak and many others
SPECIFIC PAIN: CONSTRUCTIONS WITH IDEOPHONES

- **light verb** *(juzə̑-kezə̑ luə̑nə̑/ karə̑nə̑)* ‘lit. IDEOPH + become/do’ – about tremor;
- **non-pain verb** with concrete semantics: *gə̑zə̑rak mə̑nə̑nə̑* ‘lit. IDEOPH + go, move’ about skin feeling of insect going under clothes;
- **pain predicate**;
  - **specify** pain feeling: *kə̑skənə̑* (‘draw’) – about nagging or shooting pain vs. *zub-zub kə̑skənə̑* about shooting pain only,
  - **denote a new pain feeling** associated with the verb meaning (cp. *jetə̑nə̑* about toothache or stomachache vs. *č́ogak jetə̑nə̑* about sudden stabbing pain anywhere,
  - **add meanings** like ‘**very much, strongly**’ *ʒot-ʒot* or ‘**suddenly**’ *čokak/čogak* and the others with -ak).
SOURCES of METAPHORE and REBRANDING in BESERMAN UDMURT: BASIC PRADICATES

Negative evaluation
ə̑rod ‘bad’

Modality
marke luənə ‘smth. becomes’

Changing
bəŋatənə with negation ‘cannot’
SOURCES of METAPHORE and REBRANDING in BESERMAN UDMURT: SPECIFIC PRADICATES

- **Different exposures, manipulations:**
  - *bəškanə* lit. ’stab’ and *čogjanə* lit. ’jab’ - about jabbing pain etc.

- **Movement, position changing:**
  - *berganə* ’circle’ about dizziness, *suranə* lit ‘stir, mix up’ about stomachache,
  - *kəškənə* ‘tow’ about nagging pain or running nose, *tərənə* ’put’ about feeling of full stomach or about problems with breath because of running nose etc.

- **Distruction:**
  - pələnə ‘break’ about strong headache

- **Sound imitation:**
  - *waźənə* ‘make a sound’, *žangetənə / žingetənə* ‘ding’ - about feelings in head of in ears
SOURCES of METAPHOR and REBRANDING in BESERMAN UDMURT: SPECIFIC PRADICATES

States of material objects and there changing:

- čöńdänə~‘become hard’ – about nubbing and erection as well,
- kiżerməńə~‘become soft or liquid’ about stomachach,
- päčanə~‘cause smth. being wet’ → ‘cause problems in conscious because of drinking alkohol’

Mužik-ɬə kumuška-jed pəč’a-z
Man-DAT alcohol-POSS.2SG cause=wet-PST.3SG
‘Your alcohol caused problems in conscious for the man’

Imitating of human behaviour and states:

- kurektənə~‘to be sick at heart’ about burning pain
- žummənə~‘to be tired’, about dizziness and lose of conscious
Dirty, careless: *azənə* ‘lit. to have a garden overgrown with weeds’ for feelings of skin abscess

Non-penetrare – no data
Fire – no data
Pane and close concepts

**EMOTIONAL PAIN** – rare (≠ Standart Udmurt): *ves* and constructions with it, *rańźənə* and *kur aźənə*

**EMOTIONS** – rare, only for some specific types of pain: *guńdənənə* ‘cause smb. being surprised or offended’ ← ‘cause smb. gagging’

**FUNCTIONALITY LOSS** – never used; there are special predicates (≠ pain)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Vocabulary: Closeley Related and Neighboring Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zyrian</td>
<td>Basic predicates: višny and dojmyny (external va internal reason, more or less intensive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific predicates: <strong>NON-DERIVED</strong>: poddoony about numbness and juzedny about toothache – like beserman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derived: at least 9 sources of metaphorization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Basic predicates: Rich system including derived predicates – like BESERMAN</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific predicates: <strong>NON-DERIVED</strong>: no data about specific underived items for numbness or toothache or discomfort inside oral cavity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derived: very rich metaphoric system, richer than in Beserman (more sources)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkic</td>
<td>Basic predicates: агъырмакъ only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific predicates: <strong>NON-DERIVED</strong>: агъырмакъ + metaphoric nouns or + ideophones – like Beserman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Derived: very rich system, richer than in Beserman (fire! non-penetrate!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Intensity and Actional Characteristics
Intensity and Actional characteristics

**Intensity**
- Strong vs mild

**Actional characteristics**
- long vs punctive vs periodic

**EXPRESSED BY**
- special lexical items
- constructions (with adverbs of ideophones)
- morphology (prefixes, suffixes)
INTENCITY : BESERMAN UDMURT

- **special lexical items**: rare
  - *rāńźěńə* and *kur aźěńə* (lit. ‘ask to see’) - ‘to have very strong pain for a long time’

- **constructions with adverbs**: preferable
  - *jun, zol* - ‘strong, very much’; *sâče ‘so’

- **constructions with ideophones**: preferable

- **Suffixes - - dł- =** ITER: very **rare** (specific predicates only), not obligatory
  - *Čidantem lāõ- dł- aňə* ‘to be intolerably itchy’
ACTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS: BESERMAN UDMURT

- **lexical items**: no information
- **constructions with adverbs**: preferable
  - čem ‘often’, pər ‘permanently’
- **constructions with ideophones**: preferable for punctual situations
  - čokak/čogak and other ideophones with -ak
- **suffixes – -əl- = ITER**: rare, not obligatory
  - jər-ə viš-əl-e / čem viš-e ‘I often have a headache’
special lexical items for intensive pain:
- Zyrian, Turkic – no data
- **Russian +**

constructions with adverbs:
- Zyrian +, Turkic +, Russian +

constructions with ideophones:
- **Turkic – preferable** [Tischenko-Monastyrskaya 2009]
- Zyrian, Russian – no data

suffixes:
- **Zyrian – preferable** [Luchina 2011]
- Turkic – no data
- **Russian – rare, not obligatory** (raskhvorat’s’a vs zakhvorat’)
Case Marking or Main Participants
CASE MARKING: WHAT IS PAIN IN OUR MIND?

**Sensation**
- something what I feel
  - Experiencer
  - NOM
  - DAT
  - Theme
  - NOM
  - Place
  - Locative cases

**Exposure**
- something acting upon my body / visceral
  - Patient
  - ACC
  - Target
  - Directional cases...

**Possession**
- something that concerns me → something that I have
  - Possessor
  - GEN
  - POSS
  - Theme
  - NOM
  - Or any other role

“ZERO”
- something taking place
  - Just a situation
  - Participants are out of focus
CONCLUSIONS
PAIN IN BESERMAN UDMURT IN COMPARISON WITH RELATED AND NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

**Vocabulary**: quite rich system of pain predicates (like all closely related and neighboring languages).

- Richer than in Zyrian, but **focused on the same concepts**
- Not so rich as in Turkic and Russian
- System of non-specific predicates ← Russian,
- Specific predicates – authentic and partly Turkic (ideophones)

**Semantic derivation** is like Russian (but not so rich), not like the Turkic languages (no fire and non-penetrating objects as sources).
PAIN in BESERMAN UDMURT IN COMPARISON WITH RELATED AND NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

**Intensity and actional characteristics** are like **Turkic** languages (LEXICAL EXPRESSIONS: ideophones, constructions), but not like genetically related **Zyrian** (MORPHOLOGICAL EXPRESSIONS: suffixes).

**Case marking** has features of all the 3 systems:
- **possessive strategy** – the main one, authentic and also used in neighboring languages,
- **patientive orientation** – like in Zyrian and also in Turkic languages, but less than in both of them; **authentic** – more used in specific pain zone, less used in basic one ← Russian,
- **experientive orientation** ← Russian.
Pain in Beserman Udmurt

LOOSING OF AUTHENTIC FEATURES IN SYNTAX

- lexical expressions of intensity/actional characteristics (accepted) ← morphological expressions (authentic)
- many possible strategies of case marking (authentic and accepted) ← patientive strategy combined with possessive strategy (authentic)

KEEPING OF AUTHENTIC FEATURES IN VOCABULARY, ENLARGING IT BY ACCEPTED PREDICATES

- non-derived center (authentic); metaphores (authentic in specific zone and many of accepted in non-specific zone).
Thank you for your attention!