

Pain as a Force – A Study of the Conceptual Metaphors of Pain in Vietnamese

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Abstract—This study aimed to investigate the conceptual metaphors of pain in Vietnamese. Twenty-six Vietnamese women with cancer were involved as research participants who took part in one-to-one semi-structured interviews with the researcher to provide information about their pain experience and their cancer condition. Data obtained from the interviews was transcribed, coded and interpreted using qualitative content analysis. Talmy's (1988) force dynamic schema was employed to identify the structure of conceptual metaphors of pain. The findings indicated that a wide variety of pain metaphors were found in Vietnamese, with PAIN AS A FORCE being the general metaphor followed by many more specific ones. While Vietnamese conceptual metaphors of pain overlap in multiple ways with those typically found in English and Greek, new findings emerged from the Vietnamese data, including PAIN AS A FRIGHTENING ENTITY, PAIN AS AN ENEMY, PAIN AS A REWARD OR A VALUABLE ASSET, and PAIN AS A NET OR A TRAP. The study contributed to validating the role of language in describing pain, enriching the international work concerning the conceptualisation of pain, and facilitating Vietnamese healthcare professionals' understanding about their patients' communication about pain using language.

Index Terms—Vietnamese pain language, conceptual metaphor, pain as a force, Talmy's force dynamic schema, cognitive semantic perspective

I. INTRODUCTION

Pain is one of the most challenging and frightening domains of ordinary human experience (Halliday, 1998). Pain is also a complex, private, central, and ubiquitous experience playing an unavoidable role in the human condition (Lascaratou, 2007). Different definitions about pain have been proposed; however, the one preferred by the International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP) is currently achieving consensus, in which pain is defined as “[...] an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage” (Merskey & Bogduk, 1994, p. 250). The definition itself has implied that pain is a bio-psycho-social phenomenon (Melzack & Wall, 1996; Sussex, 2009).

When the reaction to pain is made public, language serves as an important channel to validate pain. People can express, describe, and qualify pain, making pain become part of their social reality (Lascaratou, 2007). Research on the language of pain has been conducted from different perspectives, ranging from the philosophical (Wittgenstein, 1967) to the bio-psycho-social (Kortessluoma & Nikkonen, 2006; Kugelmann, 1999; Melzack, 1975, 1987; Söderberg & Norberg, 1995; Strong et al., 2009), the interpretive language-based perspective (Diller, 1980; Fabrega & Tyma, 1976a, 1976b; Pugh, 1991), and the theoretical linguistic perspective (Bacchini, 2008; Halliday, 1998; Kövecses, 2008; Lascaratou, 2007, 2008; Lascaratou & Hatzidaki, 2002; Lascaratou & Marmaridou, 2005). Nonetheless, systematic research on Vietnamese pain language is minimal.

The metaphors of pain have been largely examined in bio-psycho-social research (Kortessluoma & Nikkonen, 2006; Kugelmann, 1999; Söderberg & Norberg, 1995), and in interpretive language-based research (Fabrega & Tyma, 1976a, 1976b; Pugh, 1991). The findings obtained from these studies, however, were not developed from any particular framework. On the other hand, conceptual metaphors of pain have been thoroughly investigated in English by Kövecses (2008) and in Greek by Lascaratou and Marmaridou (2005) and Lascaratou (2007, 2008). In these studies, the discussion on the metaphors of pain concentrates on how pain as an emotion is conceptualized in cognitive semantics, based on Talmy's (1988) force dynamic schema. Nonetheless, conceptual metaphors of pain in Vietnamese have not been discussed in relevant research.

The current study investigates conceptual metaphors of pain in Vietnamese, using Talmy's (1988) *Force Dynamics*, a well-established schema and already validated in metaphorical language research of other languages, in order to verify the role of language in describing and expressing pain and enrich the international work of pain language as well.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Conceptual Metaphors of Emotion

From the cognitive perspective, metaphor is a cognitive process, which not only influences how people perceive reality but also structures how they experience that reality; this is particularly true for phenomena such as emotion that

are difficult to comprehend and discuss in concrete terms (Lakoff & Johnson, 1981). Given that human emotions are heavily dependent on language (Enfield & Wierzbicka, 2002) and metaphor is central in the conceptualization of human emotions, Kövecses (2000) suggested that we must take into account the language and conceptualization of emotions, particularly conceptual metaphors, if we wish to understand our feelings. As Kövecses (2000) put it, exploring the language of emotion and its metaphor not only captures diverse and abstract emotional experiences but also helps understanding them. The conceptual metaphors of emotion, as argued by Kövecses (2000, 2008), are instantiations of a general force dynamic schema, which was outlined by Talmy (1988). Talmy (1988) discussed *Force Dynamics* as a semantic category – how entities interact with respect to force. The category typically includes such concepts as: the exertion of force, resistance to such exertion, and the overcoming of such resistance.

B. Conceptual Metaphors of Pain

Metaphorical pain language has been investigated in English and Greek systematically by Kövecses (2008), Lascaratou and Marmaridou (2005), and Lascaratou (2007, 2008), using Talmy's (1988) force dynamic schema to conceptualize pain from cognitive semantic perspective.

(a). Conceptual Metaphors of Pain in English

Kövecses (2008) discussed examples of evaluative metaphors and phenomenological metaphors of pain, which were taken from his student Sági's (2005) thesis. Evaluative metaphors include PAIN IS DOWN (e.g., We *descended* into pain and darkness), PAIN IS DARK (e.g., His eyes were *darkened* by pain), and PAIN IS HEAVY (e.g., I feel *weighed down* with pain). Typical phenomenological metaphors are PAIN IS A CAPTOR/PRISON (e.g., She was a *prisoner shackled* to her pain), PAIN IS A SHARP OBJECT (e.g., A *sharp stab* of pain made her sit back down), PAIN IS AN INTRUDER (e.g., People react in different ways to pain's *continued intrusion* on the daily activities of their lives), PAIN IS A TORMENTING ANIMAL (e.g., A massive killing pain came over my right eye [...] I clawed at my head trying to uproot the *fiendish talons from their iron grip*), and PAIN IS FIRE (e.g., Pain is *fire that can devour* the whole body). As Kövecses (2008) explained, physical, mental, or emotional pain may cause a person to be confined to a place, be hurt by a sharp object, burned, and so forth. Pain metaphors are therefore conceptualized in terms of the potential causes as revealed in the given examples.

In addition to evaluative and phenomenological metaphors, Kövecses (2008) suggested a number of general conceptual metaphors of pain which follow the general force-dynamic pattern as proposed by Talmy (1988). The general metaphors include PAIN IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER (e.g., He was not strong enough to hide the *exploding* pain), PAIN IS A NATURAL FORCE (e.g., He was trying to push back the *waves* of pain), PAIN IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (e.g., He was suddenly *knocked down* by pain), PAIN IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (e.g., My life is *ruled* by pain), PAIN IS AN OPPONENT (e.g., She's *struggling to overcome* pain), PAIN IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL (e.g., My *pain got out of hand*), PAIN IS INSANITY (e.g., In the last hours, she *grew crazy* with pain), PAIN IS A FORCE DISLOCATING THE SELF (e.g., She was *beside herself* with pain), and PAIN IS A BURDEN (e.g., Life is too short *to carry pain around*).

(b). Conceptual Metaphors of Pain in Greek

The set of *ponos* nominal constructions were found to be the metaphorical conceptualization of pain in Greek (Lascaratou, 2007, 2008; Lascaratou & Marmaridou, 2005). A number of Greek pain metaphors have been reported.

When *ponos* functions as object of the verbs *exo* (*have*), *esthanome* (*feel*), and *njotho* (*feel*), the metaphor PAIN IS A POSSESSION/ A POSSESSED OBJECT is instantiated.

When *ponos* functions as subject in intransitive structures, the metaphor PAIN IS AN EVENT is activated. The *event structure* metaphor is also instantiated with PAIN IS HEAT/FIRE (e.g., *o ponos ezvise, o alos, o dikos mu*: The pain has faded away, the other, my own; *kapsimo exo edo*: I've got something burning here), and PAIN IS MADNESS/INSANITY (e.g., *kseris ti pono! trela pono!*: You know what kind of pain! Pain (which is) madness!). The location of pain is also expressed in the motion of pain, with the personification of pain derived from its metaphorical representation PAIN IS A MOVING ENTITY (e.g., *erxete o ponos, fevji, ksanarxete*: The pain comes and goes, comes back again). This metaphor is further configured as A VOLUNTARY, SELF-WILLED MOVING ENTITY and as AN INTRUDER, AN UNDESIRED, UNINVITED, AND UNWELCOME VISITOR.

When *ponos* functions as subject in transitive structures, it is, in functional terms, the Actor and also the Agent in the material processes, where the sufferer's self functions as the Goal. Pain is also metaphorically expressed in the event structure. Once established as A SELF-WILLED INTRUSIVE VISITOR OF THE HUMAN BODY, pain is further construed as AN EXTERNAL INVASIVE ENEMY setting on the sufferer's self (e.g., *apotoma mja mera m'epjase enas ponos*: Suddenly one day a pain sets on me), as A MALEVOLENT AGGRESSOR, i.e. A RUTHLESS TORTURER acquiring additional power of engaging in malevolent, aggressive actions directed against the sufferer's self (e.g., *tora, as pume, me kei me kei*: Now, for instance, it's burning me, it's burning me), and as A DYNAMIC AGENTIVE FORCE holding back the sufferer's self, which finally confine and imprison him/her (e.g., *de m'afini (o ponos) na sikoθo*: It (the pain) does not let me stand up; *exete kapja drastiriōtita ... i o ponos sas exi periorisi sto spiti...?*: Do you have any activity ... or has the pain confined you at home?).

When *ponos* functions as circumstance of cause, pain is understood as a condition under which the sufferer is tormented and forced to lose control by performing different external responses. For example, the metaphor PAIN IS A TORMENTOR/ TORTURER is instantiated in *lipoθimisa apo ton pono* (I fainted from (the) pain).

When *ponos* functions as object in transitive structures, pain is metaphorically construed as an OPPONENT that must be *placed under control* (e.g., *exo θesi ipo elenxo... tus ponus, iparxi ke kapja veltiosi me to voltaren*: I have got the pains under control, there is even some improvement with Voltaren) or *be endured at all costs* (e.g., *tin kardia petra ke θa ipomenuma ton pono*: We shall turn our hearts into stones so as to endure the pain).

C. Research on Pain Language in Vietnamese

It can be observed that Vietnamese pain language has been scarcely examined. Specifically, back in 1980, Diller conducted a contrastive analysis of pain terms across languages in which Vietnamese pain terms were discussed. In Diller's study, two differentiated pain terms **đau** and **nhức** were found in Vietnamese, with the former being less focused, internal, and intense than the latter. It was also found that these two terms could be used to report muscular pain conditions, indicating changes in state. Recently, Nguyen (2018a, 2018b) investigated the association between the dominant religions in Vietnam and the Vietnamese communication about the nature of pain and pain coping strategies. Nonetheless, Nguyen's studies merely concentrated on Vietnamese pain communication, not Vietnamese pain language, although the studies helped confirm the language role in the Vietnamese communication about pain.

In summary, although language has been regarded as a key channel to validate pain and various studies have been conducted to investigate the language of pain, research on pain language in Vietnamese is still minimal. Moreover, while conceptual metaphors of pain have been systematically explored in languages such as English and Greek, research on the conceptual metaphors of pain in Vietnamese is almost absent. This indicates a need for a thorough investigation into Vietnamese conceptual metaphors of pain in order to not only validate the language role in the expression and description of pain but also contribute to enriching the international work with the conceptualisation of pain in Vietnamese.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Research Participants

Participants in the study included twenty-six Vietnamese women with cancer of different types and at different stages, who were being treated in a large hospital in Vietnam. The cancer patients aged from 37 to 79; they were experiencing pain but felt well enough to take part in the interviews with the researcher. Cancer patients were selected so that they could provide rich data about their pain experience through which the pain language produced would also be abundant.

B. Data Collection

Ethical approval for the study was granted by The University of Queensland Behavioural and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee and the Research Committee of the hospital in Vietnam. The researcher was also able to invite a treating doctor from the hospital to function as the contact person who connected the researcher with the potential patients. All the patients voluntarily agreed to participate in the research and have their interviews recorded.

The study employed one-to-one semi-structured interviews to collect data. Interviewing is preferred by most people because of its natural and socially acceptable way of collecting information (Dörnyei, 2007); moreover, interviewing is regarded as the single most reliable indicator of a person's pain experience (Bergh et al., 2005) and has therefore been utilized in different pain language studies. When taking part in the interview sessions, the patients were asked about their pain experience and their cancer condition such as types of cancer, stages of cancer, and cancer treatment. The interview protocol was designed in Vietnamese and the entire interview process was also conducted in Vietnamese. It was expected that the patients would feel comfortable and that the researcher would be able to capture any new ideas arising from the patients' answers, and then ask for clarification. The metaphors of pain were expected to emerge from the language the patients used to describe their pain experience.

C. Data Analysis

The data collected from the interviews was transcribed, coded, cross-checked by a second coder and finally interpreted. The coding of the metaphors of pain was conducted on both sentential and discursal levels. The force dynamic schema developed by Talmy (1988) was employed to identify the structure of conceptual metaphors of pain in the current study. Based on Talmy's (1988) schema, pain in Vietnamese was typically coded as A FORCE; this is the general metaphor of pain followed by nine more specific ones which are also instantiations of Talmy's schema.

Both general and specific metaphors of pain in Vietnamese were presented. Qualitative content analysis was employed whereby interpretation of the data was based on the patients' pain talk as well as the relevant literature.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Pain as a Force Impeding the Sufferer's Actions and Functions

The metaphor PAIN AS A FORCE IMPEDING THE SUFFERER'S ACTIONS AND FUNCTIONS can be extended to the lower-level metaphors PAIN AS IMPRISONMENT OR CONFINEMENT and PAIN AS A DESTROYER OF ONE'S CAPABILITY. First of all, pain was reported to prevent the patients from functioning properly; for example, they were unable to walk around (1):

- (1) Nó đau mà không đi đâu được.
It (dummy subject) hurt then not walk where able.
It hurts (so much that) I can't go anywhere.

Example (1) indicates the Vietnamese patient's desperate desire to escape from her current location but she could not. She was confined in one place because of pain. The concept of pain in (1) therefore initiates the metaphor PAIN AS IMPRISONMENT OR CONFINEMENT, which was previously discussed by Kugelmann (1999), Lascaratou (2007), and Sági (2005). PAIN AS IMPRISONMENT OR CONFINEMENT therefore reveals constrictions and inescapable limits, and can also be considered as being associated with the more general metaphor of emotion proposed by Kövecses (2000), such as EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE.

The metaphor PAIN AS IMPRISONMENT OR CONFINEMENT, which has been exemplified in terms of physical space in the previous paragraph, can also be interpreted as preventing or inhibiting one's capability. The following examples illustrate pain being conceptualised as A DESTROYER OF ONE'S CAPABILITY to perform a number of actions or functions; for example, the sufferers were unable to lie on either their side or their back (2), they were unable to eat (3), or to sleep (4):

- (2) (Tã) đau mà phải ngồi, nằm-nghiêng không được, nằm-ngửa không được.
(I) hurt then have to sit, lie on one's side not able, lie on one's back not able.
I hurt (so much that) I can't lie on my side, I can't lie on my back.
- (3) (Tã) đau mà không ăn được cái gì
(I) hurt then not eat able what.
I hurt (so much that) I can't eat anything.
- (4) (Dì) đau mà không ngủ được.
(Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then not sleep able.
I hurt (so much that) I can't sleep.

Examples (2)-(4), in addition to expressing the limitations and boundaries caused by pain, also signal that the body machinery is not operating as it should. Therefore, the metaphor PAIN AS A DESTROYER OF ONE'S CAPABILITY is associated with the metaphors proposed by Aldrich and Eccleston (2000), including PAIN AS SIGNAL OF MALFUNCTION (e.g., *Pain as a sign of serious damage that needs repair*) and PAIN AS AN ALIEN INVADER (e.g., *Pain is a specific and dangerous kind of destroyer*).

B. Pain as a Force Impeding the Sufferer's Language

The data has so far described the physical constraints caused by pain. The current section now turns to discuss the cognitive constraints caused by pain: the inhibiting and destroying features of pain present the metaphor PAIN AS A FORCE IMPEDING THE SUFFERER'S LANGUAGE. Pain is therefore conceptualised as AN INHIBITOR and A DESTROYER in the sufferer's performance of language:

- (5) Nó (xương) đau mà khó tả lắm.
It (bone) hurt then difficult describe very much.
It (the bone) hurts in such a way that I can't describe it.
- (6) (Chị) đau mà không thể so-sánh với cái gì hết.
(Elder sister-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then cannot compare with anything.
I hurt (so much that) I can't compare it with anything else.
- (7) (Tui) nhức mà không nói.
(I) ache then not speak able.
I ache (so much that) I can't speak.

In the pain expressions (5)-(7), the patients were unable to describe pain, compare pain with anything else, or even simply speak. As Diller (1980) and Ehlich (1985) claimed, various ways of expressing pain include: crying and groaning, pain interjections, and pain descriptions. What the patient in (7) meant by being unable to speak is that she could not produce meaningful utterances in order to describe pain. The patient, however, was still able to cry and groan, or produce pain interjections as other ways of expressing pain.

When pain inhibits the sufferer's language, both the increasing intensity of pain and the indescribable aspect of pain make pain become conceptually separated from the sufferer, and contribute to impeding and destroying the sufferer's language. As Melzack and Wall (1996) stated, people in pain often find themselves at a loss for words; this notion was also supported in research conducted by Söderberg and Norberg (1995), DeSouza and Frank (2000), and Lascaratou (2007). Furthermore, Scarry (1985) and Woolf (2002) generalised pain as totally private and untransmittable, resisting and actively destroying language. In Vietnamese, when pain is conceptualised as A FORCE IMPEDING THE SUFFERER'S LANGUAGE, it obviously inhibits and destroys the patients' language ability; however, pain cannot totally destroy the patients' desire for language, and language remains as a channel through which pain is expressed and described.

C. Pain as a Force Causing the Sufferer's Physical Deformation or Injury

Pain often results in suffering in different parts of the patients' body. This initiates the metaphor PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S PHYSICAL DEFORMATION OR INJURY. As in the examples below, the stomach was pulled down (8), or rolling, boiling, and rotating (9), the limbs felt as if they were being separated from the body (10), or the breast became swollen (11):

- (8) (Cô) đau mà nó (cái bụng) trì xuống dưới này.
(Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then it (CLF stomach) pull down under here.
I hurt (so much that) my stomach is pulled down.
- (9) (Mệ) đau mà cái bụng cuốn-cuốn sôi-sôi xoay-xoay.
(Grandma-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then CLF stomach roll roll boil boil rotate rotate.
I hurt (so much that) my stomach rolls, boils, and rotates.
- (10) (Tôi) đau mà chân-tay rụng-rời.
(I) hurt then limbs fall and lose.
I hurt (so much that) my limbs feel as if they were being separated from my body.
- (11) (Chị) nhức mà cả cái vú sưng luôn.
(Elder sister-1st per.sing.pro.) ache then whole CLF breast swell PART.
I ache (so much that) my whole breast gets swollen.

As Lascaratou (2007) suggested, a majority of the pain descriptors in the MPQ established by Melzack (1975) are metaphorical in nature, for example, pain is described as *beating, shooting, stabbing, flashing, burning, scalding, stinging, gnawing, and splitting*. These pain descriptors involve the sense of PHYSICAL DEFORMATION OR INJURY. The conceptualisation of pain as causing PHYSICAL DEFORMATION was specifically discussed by Fabrega and Tyma (1976a), Söderberg and Norberg (1995), and Lascaratou (2007). In their presentation of the English pain terms, Fabrega and Tyma (1976a) stated that the English terms such as *burning, cutting, and crushing* elaborate the pain experience, which is generalised as a PHYSICAL PROCESS being captured by PHYSICAL DEFORMATION, DESTRUCTION, DAMAGE, and HARM. Similarly, in Söderberg and Norberg's (1995) research, when the patients reported feeling as if they were being burned or boiled, these metaphorical expressions of pain also indicate the physical change being interpreted as A PHYSICAL DEFORMATION or A TORTURE-LIKE EXPERIENCE. Moreover, in Lascaratou's (2007) investigation of Greek pain language, pain is understood as A VICIOUS/RUTHLESS TORTURER or A MALEVOLENT AGGRESSOR, resulting in the sufferer's PHYSICAL DEFORMATION. These metaphorical expressions of pain, together with the Vietnamese pain expressions (8)-(11), all stress pain as A TORTURER causing PHYSICAL DEFORMATION OR INJURY in the sufferers, and the sufferers therefore become the VICTIMS of pain, who try to accept and adapt to the situation. Accordingly, the physical model of pain occurs not only in English language and culture as claimed by Fabrega and Tyma (1976a), but also in others, including but not limited to Swedish, Greek, and Vietnamese.

D. Pain as a Force Causing the Sufferer's Involuntary Actions

In the current section where the metaphor PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S INVOLUNTARY ACTION is the focus, pain can also be conceptualised as AN INTRUDER INTO THE SUFFERER'S LIFE. It is PAIN AS AN INTRUDER that causes the sufferer to perform involuntary actions, for example, keeping their eyes tight shut (12), wandering around ceaselessly (13), or holding another person's arm and pinching him/her (14):

- (12) (Tôi) đau đầu mà phải nhắm mắt vậy.
(I) hurt head then have to shut eyes PART.
I hurt in the head (so much that) I have my eyes tight shut.
- (13) Chị nhức mà cứ đi-quanh-đi-quất, đi-quanh-đi-quất vậy.
Elder sister-1st per.sing.pro. ache then keep wander around, wander around PART.
I ache (so much that) I keep wandering around, wandering around.
- (14) (Dì) đau mà vớ được ai là phải cầm tay người đó mà nhéo họ như-vậy.
(Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then catch someone then have to hold arm person that and pinch them so.
I hurt (so much that) if I am able to catch somebody, I will hold his/her arm and pinch him/her.

The metaphor PAIN AS AN INTRUDER into people's daily life activities has been discussed by Sági (2005) and Lascaratou (2007). Specifically, Sági (2005) presented the example *People react in different ways to pain's continued intrusion on the daily activities of their lives*. Or Lascaratou (2007) stated that the pain actually invades the sufferer's self, although she did not specify how the invasion influences the sufferer's daily life activities. Similarly, PAIN AS AN INTRUDER in Vietnamese is definitely unwelcome and uninvited. It interferes with the sufferers' life, making them lose control over their actions. These actions are therefore beyond and against the sufferers' will, which affect either the sufferers themselves or both the sufferers and others. In particular, PAIN AS AN INTRUDER in a different sense in example (14) has seemingly turned the sufferer into AN ATTACKER, although the sufferer did not mean to be

AN ATTACKER; the actions of grabbing another person's arm and pinching him/her are merely signals of helplessness and distress.

E. Pain as a Force Causing the Sufferer's Involuntary Language

We now present the metaphor PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S INVOLUNTARY LANGUAGE, where pain continues to be metaphorically understood as AN INTRUDER. In addition to causing physical and social interference in the patients' daily life activities, pain also causes more cognitive interference in the patients' performance of language by making them produce some language in an unwelcome and uninvited manner. Such language performance is beyond their will and control, for example, the patients cry out to their mother and father (15), cry out to Trời and Đất (16) (which can be roughly translated as *Heaven and Earth*), or even swear (17):

(15) (Tôi) đau mà kêu Cha kêu Mẹ.

(I) hurt then cry Father cry Mother.

I hurt (so much that) I cry out to my father and mother.

(16) Đêm nào (mẹ) cũng đau mà kêu Trời kêu Đất.

Night every (grandma-1st per.sing.pro.) also hurt then cry Heaven cry Earth.

Every night, I hurt (so much that) I cry out to Heaven and Earth.

(17) Chị đau đến mức mà chửi-đồng lu ôn, em à

Elder sister 1st per.sing.pro. hurt to extent that swear PART, younger sibling VOC!

I hurt so much that I swear, you know!

The pain expressions (15)-(17) have contributed to emphasising the complex influence that pain places on language. Pain not only inhibits and destroys language but also causes involuntary language performance; or in other words, pain still cannot destroy the patients' desire for language. As AN INTRUDER, pain invokes language in order to liberate the patients from the unpleasant experience of pain or at least to reduce the uneasy feeling resulting from pain. For example, when swearing is employed, though involuntarily, as in (17), this type of undesired language can also be understood as pain coping because swearing has been associated with increased pain tolerance (Stephens et al., 2009). By its very nature, an INTRUDER is unwelcome and uninvited and tends to do harm to others; however, in the current section, PAIN AS AN INTRUDER into the patients' language performance can be interpreted as having a positive influence when the language performance itself, though undesired, can help in alleviating pain.

F. Pain as a Force Causing the Sufferer's Undesired Mental State

As a FORCE, pain also causes the sufferer to undergo an undesired mental state: the sufferer may grow crazy or lose consciousness because of pain. In the example (18) below, pain drives the patients crazy, allowing us to formulate the metaphor PAIN IS A FORM OF INSANITY:

(18) (Di) đau mà điên luôn a đó.

(Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then crazy PART.

I hurt (so much that) I grow crazy.

The metaphor PAIN IS INSANITY was already discussed by Kövecses (2008) (e.g., *In the last hours, she grew crazy with pain*). Moreover, Lascaratou (2007) presented a similar metaphor BEING IN PAIN IS BEING INSANE. The concept of INSANITY or MADNESS, according to Lascaratou (2007), regularly represents severe pain intensity as well as indicates the distressing psychological effects of intense pain. The Vietnamese patients also employed the metaphor PAIN IS A FORM OF INSANITY to express these features of pain.

The undesired mental state experienced by the Vietnamese patients includes not only the feeling of MADNESS or INSANITY but also that of UNCONSCIOUSNESS. In the example (19), the patient loses consciousness as a result of pain, exemplifying the metaphor PAIN IS UNCONSCIOUSNESS:

(19) (D) đau mà bất-tỉnh không biết gì hết!

(Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.) hurt then lose consciousness not know anything!

I hurt (so much that) I lose consciousness, not knowing anything!

G. Pain as a Force Causing Negative Affects in the Sufferer

Pain is also conceptualised as A FORCE CAUSING NEGATIVE AFFECTS IN THE SUFFERER. Pain results in the sufferer's thinking about death and fearing death (20), which initiates the metaphor PAIN AS A KILLER:

(20) Tôi sợ (tôi) đau quá thì chết.

I fear (I) hurt too much then die.

I fear that I hurt so much that I will die.

The metaphor PAIN AS A KILLER was discussed by Lascaratou (2007): the sufferer's self "is completely overcome by the devastating force of the pain [...] to the point that he feels as if he has ceased to live" (p. 167). The Vietnamese patients experience a similar feeling; they can sense death, which is brought about by pain, is approaching.

The sufferer's negative affects also include their unwillingness to live (21), or even their desire to terminate their own life (22). These affects indicate the tormenting experience suffered by the patients; pain has placed them into a situation where they actively wish to die. As a result, the metaphor PAIN AS A TORMENTOR / TORTURER is again instantiated:

- (21) Còn (mình) đau-đớn quằn-quại không muốn sống làm gì
 And (I) hurt much agonizing not want live do what.
 And I hurt a great deal, to such an agonizing extent that I do not want to live.
- (22) (Tôi) đau mà chỉ muốn chết thôi.
 (I) hurt then only want die only.
 I hurt (so much that) I just want to die.

The negative effects in the sufferer also include the fear for pain and the hatred for pain. It was found in the previous studies that the fear of pain is overwhelming and second only to the fear of death (Zborowski, 1969). Moments with intense pain give rise to fearful thinking about pain, and the fear of pain therefore increases (Crombez et al., 2013). The Vietnamese data has revealed that all the patients admitted that they not only feared but also hated pain:

- (23) Chị sợ đau, ghét đau lắm em ơi!
 Elder sister – 1st per.sing.pro. fear pain, hate pain very much, younger sibling VOC!
 I fear pain and hate pain very much, you know!
- (24) Nghĩ đến con đau là chị thấy sợ rồi.
 Think about CLF pain then elder sister- 1st per.sing.pro. feel frightened already.
 Thinking about pain already makes me feel frightened.

As the examples (23)-(24) indicate, the patients did not specify why they feared and hated pain, and they did not further elaborate their fear and hatred. Nonetheless, the fact that all patients repeatedly claimed they feared and hated pain instantiates the metaphors PAIN AS A FRIGHTENING ENTITY and PAIN AS AN ENEMY.

H. Pain as a Self-Willed Moving Entity

Pain can also be construed as a force in the metaphor PAIN AS A SELF-WILLED MOVING ENTITY, which is adopted from Lascaratou's (2007) research discussing pain in Greek as "AN INTRUDER, AN UNDESIRE, UNINVITED AND UNWELCOME VISITOR, who *appears* and *disappears arbitrarily*, actually invading the sufferer's self" (p. 154). The Vietnamese patients produced pain expressions in which pain arrives unexpectedly or gradually (25)-(26), moves to different places (27)-(28), and finally stops (29). These Vietnamese examples illustrate pain, as Lascaratou (2007) stated, "not simply as A MOVING OBJECT, but most importantly as A VOLUNTARY, SELF-WILLED and, therefore, ANIMATE ENTITY" (p. 153). The moving of pain is self-willed and voluntary, but the pain itself is undesired, uninvited, and unwelcome:

- (25) Nhiều khi con-đau tới bất-thình-lình.
 Many times the pain come suddenly.
 For many times, the pain comes suddenly.
- (26) Con-đau đến từ-từ thôi.
 The pain come gradual only.
 The pain comes gradually only.
- (27) Bây-giờ con-đau về nơi xương-cụt.
 Now the pain move place sacrum.
 Now the pain is moving down to the sacrum.
- (28) Rồi con-đau lên não vậy-đó.
 Then the pain go up brain PART.
 Then the pain goes up to the brain.
- (29) Bây-giờ thì con-đau vừa-mới hết xong.
 Now then the pain just stop PART.
 Now the pain has just stopped.

The fact that pain is conceptualised as A MOVING ENTITY was previously discussed not only in Greek by Lascaratou (2007) but also in English by Fabrega and Tyma (1976a) and in Swedish by Söderberg and Norberg (1995). For instance, as Fabrega and Tyma (1976a) argued, in the pain expression *The pain raced through my arm*, the experience has been anthropomorphized to the point that it can be conceived of as an agent capable of performing an action. Or pain was described as "being spread all over the body or as wandering from one location to another" (Söderberg & Norberg, 1995, p. 57).

I. Pain as an Undesired Possession

PAIN AS A POSSESSION is a common concept discussed in a number of studies, for example, Halliday (1998), Kugelmann (1999), and Lascaratou (2007). The possession of pain (e.g., *I have a terrible pain*), as Lascaratou (2007) claimed, is associated with the existence of an emotion (e.g., *He has a lot of trouble / anxieties*). Therefore, the metaphor PAIN AS A POSSESSION is associated with the metaphor of emotion EXISTENCE OF EMOTION IS POSSESSION OF AN OBJECT / POSSESSING AN OBJECT, presented by Kövecses (2000). The Vietnamese data further emphasises this POSSESSION as being undesired, which therefore initiates the metaphor PAIN AS AN UNDESIRE POSSESSION. Specifically, as an undesired possession, pain is endured and carried by the sufferer, acquired and labelled by the sufferer, received by the sufferer, or saved for and awarded to the sufferer by external super-human agencies, or the sufferer is caught in pain and thus has no option but to possess it. The possession is

undesired, and therefore is involuntary. Moreover, it is INALIENABLE POSSESSION in the sense that the possession is unable to be taken away or given away from the possessor and transferred to new ownership. In addition, this UNDESIRE POSSESSION possesses a number of undesired qualities and intensity.

In the example (30), the patient claimed she was able to endure pain and involuntarily accepted the existence of pain. In particular, the patient specifically admitted having to carry pain as a burden; this is another way to express the notion of enduring pain. Accordingly, when pain as an undesired possession is endured and carried by the sufferer, pain can also be interpreted as A FORCE, and the metaphor PAIN AS A BURDEN is formulated. This metaphor was also discussed by Kövecses (2008), who introduced *Life is too short to carry pain around* as an instantiation of PAIN IS A BURDEN:

- (30) Chị có thể chịu đựng đau, chị
phải cố mà chịu đựng thôi.
Elder sister – 1st per.sing.pro. can bear pain, elder sister – 1st per.sing.pro.
have to try PART bear PART.
I can bear the pain, I have to try to bear it.

In the following pain expressions, pain is received by the sufferer (31), saved for the sufferer (32), and awarded to the sufferer (33). PAIN AS AN UNDESIRE POSSESSION is ironically interpreted as A REWARD or A VALUABLE ASSET in these examples. Such a PROPERTY is actually of little cash value (Kugelmann, 1999); however, the sufferers were so upset about pain that they could not help mocking the existence of pain as being very rewarding and valuable. As a result, the metaphors PAIN AS A REWARD and PAIN AS A VALUABLE ASSET are instantiated:

- (31) Thiệt đó dì lãnh mấy cái đau đó hết-rồi.
True that, aunt-1st per.sing.pro. receive PART (plural noun) CLF pain those already.
Definitely, I have received all those pains already.
- (32) Ông-Trời để-dành đau hết cho dì rồi. Dì
cũng không-nên phàn-nên chi nữa.
Ông-Trời save pain all for aunt-1st per.sing.pro. already. Aunt-1st per.sing.pro.
PART shouldn't complain what more.
Ông-Trời has saved all the pains for me already. I shouldn't complain any more.
- (33) Mấy cái đau đó được tặng cho dì hết-rồi.
PART (plural noun) CLF pain those be awarded to aunt-1st per.sing.pro. already.
Those pains have been awarded to me already.

In another example, PAIN AS AN UNDESIRE POSSESSION functions as A NET or A TRAP, in which the sufferers are caught and they are forced to possess pain against their will (34). This example suggests another metaphor PAIN AS A NET OR A TRAP:

- (34) Tôi vướng-vào cái đau thể-xác lẫn đau tinh-thần.
I be caught CLF pain physical and pain mental.
I have been caught in both physical pain and mental pain.

V. CONCLUSION

The findings indicate that a wide variety of pain metaphors have been found in Vietnamese, with PAIN AS A FORCE being the general metaphor followed by more specific ones, including (1) PAIN AS A FORCE IMPEDING THE SUFFERER'S ACTIONS AND FUNCTIONS, (2) PAIN AS A FORCE IMPEDING THE SUFFERER'S LANGUAGE, (3) PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S PHYSICAL DEFORMATION OR INJURY, (4) PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S INVOLUNTARY ACTIONS, (5) PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S INVOLUNTARY LANGUAGE, (6) PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING THE SUFFERER'S UNDESIRE MENTAL STATE, (7) PAIN AS A FORCE CAUSING NEGATIVE AFFECTS IN THE SUFFERER, (8) PAIN AS A SELF-WILLED MOVING ENTITY, and (9) PAIN AS AN UNDESIRE POSSESSION. These metaphors can be interpreted as an instantiation of Talmy's (1988) force dynamic schema and corresponds to Kövecses's (2000, 2008, 2010) metaphor of emotion, namely, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Moreover, such metaphors of pain in Vietnamese overlap in various ways with those typically found by Kövecses (2008), Lascaratou (2007, 2008), Lascaratou and Marmaridou (2005), amongst others; however, they are investigated here with a focus on Vietnamese language and culture. In other words, many of the specific metaphors of pain have displayed similarities between Vietnamese data with data from English, Greek, and Swedish. Nonetheless, some new findings have emerged from the Vietnamese data, including PAIN AS A FRIGHTENING ENTITY, PAIN AS AN ENEMY, PAIN AS A REWARD OR A VALUABLE ASSET, and PAIN AS A NET OR A TRAP. These metaphors have therefore contributed to enriching the conceptualisation of pain in a much broader way.

The study has supported the idea that pain is difficult to describe, so that metaphors are a fundamental underlying part of the patients' attempt to communicate their pain experience. In addition to enriching international work in the area of pain language, this study contributes to Vietnamese healthcare professionals' understanding of how their patients use language to communicate about their pain experience, assisting them to provide more timely treatment and

encouragement for the patients. The study has also shed light on a number of new research domains for Vietnamese applied linguists who attempt to explore language problems in areas such as health, therapy, and counselling in order to make significant contributions which can go far beyond just education.

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