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차   례

① A Comparative Corpus-based Study on Image Schemas for Expressions of Emotions in English and Chinese Songs

임 양

② A Study on the Functions of the English Phrase *I Think* and Its Chinese Translation

한 징

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Table of Contents

Chapter One. Introduction

1.1 Research Background.

Everyone can speak their own language, the vital factor to make them communicate without barriers is due to the identical cognitions of them (Saeed, 2015), and these cognitions definitely emerge from our common sensorimotor experiences (Cuccio, 2017). Image schemas are the representations of these common experiences, provide us with the frame of well-organized knowledge, make our brain automatically associate to the related conceptions when we speak, describe, express and deliver the meanings in whatever the ways are. They are, the recurrent mental patterns for structuring our experiences and understanding (Johnson, 1987: 29). Three main functions of image schemas contribute to the way we understand and organize language.

First is that image schemas play the role as common rules serving for the recurring experiences in our everyday life, and are applied for either the physical domains or abstract domains (Johnson, 1987: 65). For example, the CONTAINMENT schema can be used either for "the bag to contain book", or "the visual field to contain views" (Johnson and Lakoff, 1998). Three crucial properties construct the perception of CONTAINMENT. 1) There is a container to contain some other objects. 2) There is a boundary to separate the space inside and outside of the container. 3) The object is either inside or outside the container. With this series of knowledge, all the similar perceptions can be interpreted with a shared pattern.

Second is that image schemas are served as dynamic patterns that interact with each other and thus provide us with the coherent cognitions of all our experiences (Johnson, 1987: 29). This function characterizes the crucial nature of our perceptions which are continuous, coherent, and well-organized in order. As we have seen in the CONTAINMENT schema, the book cannot be in the bag on itself, it has to be put in the bag by someone who imposes a force to let them in. And the way it comes inside or outside the bag depicts a path it travels. So, the related schemas of CONTAINMENT are PATH and FORCE. That is why we have expressions like as below.

(1) a. *He puts the book in his pocket.*
   b. *The water in the kettle is fetched from the spring.*

Third is that image schemas have explicit structures which contribute to understanding the particular way we organize our language. They structure our knowledge about the concepts from various aspects, and make the different expressions reasonable. We can see cases as below:

(2) a. *Damage to <u>one side of the brain</u> can cause visual handicap.*
    b. *He has <u>an empty brain</u>.*

In (2a), brain is considered as an OBJECT, and why we say "*one side of the brain*" is because brain is a WHOLE constructed with several PARTS. (2b) is expressed metaphorically within the schema of CONTAINMENT, which consists of a two-component structure, the containing object and the object to be contained (Johnson, 1987). An empty container is usually considered as useless, "*brain*" here is thought as a container, and "*the empty brain*" delivers a sense of "foolish". In sum, benefiting from image schemas, our minds are embodied and language expressions, no matter literal, or metaphorical, are easy to understand.

As we have mentioned, the basis of our cognitions are the common experiences. On one hand, most of our sensorimotor experiences are nearly the same, and image schemas cannot only contribute to understanding one certain language, but also the cross-linguistic understanding. For example, if a Chinese person have the basic knowledge of English (including knowledge about words, grammars, etc.), he or she is possible to understand most of the expressions in English, and vice versa. On the other hand, experiences of some domains are somewhat different, especially the highly abstract domains, which are greatly affected by particular factors, like the social structures, cultural background, and so forth, thus also differ in the language expressions. For example, the domain of emotions.

Emotion of our humans is complicated, they are abstract in two aspects: first is the way we perceive them, second is the way we express them. With respect to the perception of emotions, it requires for a complicated processing from our "body engine". And with respect to the expressions of our feelings, it intimately relates to much more complex factors. Economics, politics, cultures, geographic environments and so forth are the very factors that together contribute to the way of how different groups of people think and express themselves. For instance, the emotions of Chinese people are considered as sensitive, conservational, mild, gradually, euphemistic, and so forth, while direct, intense, fast-style, passionate, bold, etc. of the Americans. Hence, Chinese and English do really have some identical ways to express their emotions, while also have discrepancies. More comparative studies are necessary to see how emotions are

commonly and differently expressed in different languages of different groups of people. For example, the typical easterners like Chinese, and typical westerners as North Americans. One typical feature of expressions of emotions in both of this two languages is that they are highly figurative, which are dominated by metaphorical and metonymic expressions (Kövecses, 2000). And besides, not all the emotions are directly expressed by simple words, they maybe implied through the sentence logic. We can see an example in Chinese as below.

(3) 如果当时我们能，不那么倔强，现在也不那么遗憾。
 "*If we hadn't been that stubborn at that time, there might be not much regret now.*"

Here, the emotion of remorse is not directly spoken out. It is implied in an epistemic sense by making an assertion, which suggests that "we could have more good memories now if we were more tolerate to each other when we were with each other".

1.2   Previous studies and Research Purposes

Previous studies around image schemas are not too much, the existing studies of image schemas are mainly about identifying and defining image schemas (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Oakley, 2007; Mandler and Cánovas, 2014; Hampe, 2005), exploring the perceptual basis of image schemas and reading them in cognitive respects (Gibbs, 2005; Mandler, 2005; Johnson, 2005), image schemas used in metaphorical level (Cienki, 1998; Forceville, 2017; Cervel, 1999), looking at one of the image schemas for specific language representations (Hampe, 2005; Forceville, 2006), and so forth. Seldom of them systematically studied on the applying of image schemas in language expressions, especially expressions of one certain domain, let alone the abstract domains, for example, emotions. Most of the studies around expressions of emotions are based on the conceptual metaphors (Steen, 1999; Casasanto, 2009; Vervaeke & Kennedy, 2004; Kövecses, 2016; Lakoff, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 2020; etc.), arguing that metaphors of emotions are the transformations from concepts to concepts. However, this paper suggests that, on one hand, metaphor is not a conceptual transformation but should be elaborated in terms of the image schemas, which considers the metaphor as an extension of our prototypical perceptions. On the other hand, as we have mentioned, our emotions are not totally expressed through word meanings directly, image schemas are used to reveal the implied sense hiding inside the relations of the speech acts. And besides, studies of image schemas are mainly carried out in one certain language, comparisons between languages are rather rare, especially comparisons between English and Chinese.

Due to the lack of more empirical studies on image schemas in specific domains, and the blank of the comparisons between different languages, the present research focuses on the applications of image schemas for expressions of the highly abstract domain, emotions, and make comparisons between the two different languages, Chinese and English. The purposes of the present paper are as follow:

First is to reveal how our languages are organized and understood in terms of image schemas by exploring the application of image schemas in language expressions of emotions.

Second is to explore what schemas are commonly used for expressions of emotions, in different languages of Chinese and English, to see what commonalities do different groups of people have when expressing their emotions.

Third is to explore what schemas are differently used for expressions of emotions by comparing Chinese and English, to reveal the influence of different thinking patterns on language expressions, and further explore the specific factors that cause the differences in thinking patterns.

1.3 Methodology and Research Questions

The present paper studies on how image schemas are used for our emotions expressed in two different languages. The comparative study will be given out based on a corpus analysis. Data of the expressions will be collected from songs of the 21st century, which are covering of both the pop and mainstream songs, 500 of them will be selected in each of the two languages. Besides, these songs will be divided into three types of theme, the theme of ROMANTIC LOVE, PATRIOTISM, and LIFE. There are four reasons for why we choose songs as our researching objects. First is that song is one of the main carriers for expressing our feelings, and the amount of emotional representations in lyrics is large enough to carry out our study. Second is that song is one of the forms of art, and arts serving for the high-level civilization of our humans, have distinct features themselves. Like songs, they not only vary in the ways to speak out the feelings, but also cover various types of our human emotions. In addition, the song makers, normally have rather abundant emotional experiences. The third reason is that songs can strongly represent the characters of times. Emotions belong to the realm of consciousness, greatly rely on the economic basis, and cannot leave without the cultural background. This nature can mainly reflect in one particular era. Songs of the 21st century, happened a huge change in both Chinese and English due to the rapid development of internet, the special events, and also the transformations of the economic structures that change our way of thinking and social

interactions, the overall atmosphere of expressing our own feelings. Final is that songs, not like other literary works, are closer to our common lives. We can listen to the music anytime, and just need to put on a song with a quick click. What's more, making a song always don't spend too much time, and is not that high required for the literary attainments. They are so many come into our sight and thus enough to represent the typical features of an era.

The research questions of the present study are given as below. 1) What kinds of emotion are involved in songs of the three themes? 2) Which expressions of emotions are explicit and which are implied, in the Chinese and English songs, respectively? 3) What image schemes are used for the explicit expressions of emotions and what for implied, in Chinese and English, respectively? 4) What schemas are of a high frequency for either the explicit or implied expressions in English and Chinese songs, respectively? 5) What schemas are commonly used for expressions of the different types of emotions in both the Chinese and English songs? 6) What schemas are differently used for expressions of the different types of emotions in Chinese and English, respectively?

And the present paper is arguing for four things as following: First is that image schemas are pervasively used for expressions in emotion domains. Second is that the ways to express our emotions are partly the same in different languages. Third is that there are also different ways to express our emotions in different languages, this is greatly due to the different social background and experiences of different groups of people. Forth is that, there are also different preference of use of the image schemas for different types of emotions. The following paper will be organized as below: Chapter two will interpret what image schemas are and how they structure our understanding and help us organize our language; Chapter three will give an elaboration of the emotions of Chinese and Americans; Chapter four will carry out case studies on how image schemas used for emotions of the three themes; Chapter five will make the analysis based on the corpus, and also display the results. Chapter six is the conclusion.

Chapter Two. Theoretical Background of Image Schemas

2.1 The Nature of Image Schemas

2.1.1 Image Schemas as Recurring Patterns

The term "image schema" was first raised by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff(1987) in their monographs. Johnson defined "image schemas", or interchangeably, "embodied schemas" and "schemas" as "structures for organizing our experience and comprehension", which are recurrent patterns, shapes, and regularity in, or of, all our ongoing ordering activities and motions (Johnson, 1987: 29). They are, actually, analog structures arising from perceptions based on our sensorimotor experiences including bodily movements, manipulation of objects, experience of forces (Mandler and Cánovas, 2014: 02). For example, PATH schema gives picture of the pervasive movements, telling that there is a source where an entity comes and the entity moves along a path to a destination. Thus, we have cases like bus starting from a location then passing through several stops towards a direction and finally arriving at the terminal, your everyday walk from a starting point and ending at another, a leaf leaving out from the branch and falling down in the ground, and so forth. Such a track can not only depict the spatial movements, but also metaphorical movements like the progress of the events, telling that an event begins at a time, passes along a series of intermediate events and finally comes a result. LINK schema shows the bonding between two physical objects, but can also map onto more abstract associations, like relationships between two persons, or potential relevancy of two events. FORCE includes more force types we daily experienced, for example, the COMPULSION is one of the most pervasive forces acts on objects or to move objects. And it might also happen in areas like mental feelings, for example, being praised is the very compulsion that makes one happy.

The reason for why we say image schemas are recurrent is that an identical schema might not just be a pattern for the same repeated movement, but also possibly pertains to movements in different situations, interacts with different entities, happens in disparate domains. They emerge from our sensorimotor experience, but might also be influenced by other social factors (Santibáñez, 2002: 183).

2.1.2 Image Schemas as Mental Patterns

Apart from the nature of recurrent, Grady (2005: 35) stressed that image schemas are universally agreed as mental patterns, they are, "the mental representations of sensory experiences including perceptions via sight, hearing, touch, kinesthetic perception, etc." (Grady, 2005: 44). For example, when we refer to a room or a box, we might conjure up an image which there is always a boundary of a particular space, where an object is either inside or outside of it. This image can be represented by a CONTAINMENT schema, with which the concept of all three-dimensional containers can be accounted. This mental structure is stored in our mind in a long term based on the processing of our experience from observing the motion of "*in-out*" orientation in everyday life.

Besides, as we have just mentioned, the image schemas pertain to different domains, even they are sometimes highly abstract, the mental pattern can serve as the mechanism for simulations in different domains. Thus, we have the metaphorical expressions like VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), EMOTIONS ARE BOUNDED SPACES (Kövecses, 1986: 28) and so forth. We can say that, one of the crucial roles of the image schemas is to map the sensor concepts onto the non-sensor concepts (Grady, 2005: 45).

There are debates around the status of some typical schemas. Turner (1991: 74), Sweetser (1990: 60), Clausner and Croft (1999: 22) claimed that schemas like SCALE, CIRCLE, PROCESS are non-perceptual schemas, which there is no direct bodily experience to be based on. For example, SCALE is just an abstract parameter of degree, which can either combine with other perceptual (e.g., *sharpness*) or not (e.g., *goodness)* to form the scalar complex conception (Clausner and Croft, 1999: 16-19). However, this paper still suggests that no matter how abstract a concept might be, it is certainly related to our bodily, perceptual experiences. Even for schemas like SCALE, is persisted in relation to the lower perceptual modalities (touch and taste), the latter of which provides the experiential ground for scalarity in our construal of perceptual properties (Popova, 2005: 395).

2.1.3 Image Schemas as Prelinguistic Patterns

Furthermore, "image schemas" is thought as a prelinguistic cognitive model and the origin of many of the image schemas can even trace to the earliest stage of prenatal period (Szwedek, 2018: 01). Touch, rather than the sense of vision, is proved as the first and most fundamental perception, which develops simultaneously with the nervous system around the 7th week of gestation, and is the only sense capable of providing a three-dimensional perception of objects, one of the schemas that form in the very early stage is CONTACT (2018: 23-24).

Apart from this, some other primitive image schemas have been constructed during the early ages of infants, especially the first year of birth. For example, LINK is the very conception that forms during the pregnancy (Krzeszowski: 1997). When we are the fetus gestated in mothers' womb, on one hand, the umbilical cord is the biological bonding that connects two of them. On the other hand, they form the primary image of the CONTAINMENT as they experience the process from in to out of the womb. Besides, they may continue to form the images of OCCLUSION and CONTAINMENT during the 2nd to 3rd months of birth (Aguiar and Baillargeon, 1999). However, compared with the container itself, the action of going in and out of the containers may

14

interest them more (Mandler, 2014: 06). Similarly, young infants (during the 5th to 6th months of birth) are more likely notice and remember the motions among the paths and actions than the objects taking part (Bahrick, Gogate and Ruiz, 2002; Perone, Madole, Ross-Sheehy, Carey and Oakes, 2008). However, extant studies (Leislie, 1994; Carey, 2000; Mandler, 2004; Campanella and Rovee-Collier, 2005; Luo and Baillargeon, 2005; Luo, Kaufman and Baillargeon, 2009; etc.) haven't given sufficient data to prove that infants can have any concepts or how the perceptions are represented conceptually during the early months, image schema is suggested that develops simultaneously with the nervous system during the prenatal period (Neisser,1976: 54; Szwedek, 2018: 25; Krzeszowski:2017: 185) and, is the only format that provides a common framework for preverbal thinking as well as verbal thought (Mandler and Cánovas, 2014: 03-04).

2.1.4 Image Schemas as Abstract Patterns

Differing from rich images which are the mental pictures with more details and have to remain stable with always no changes, image schemas are more abstract and common patterns. They are influenced by our general knowledge, pertain to various different objects, events, activities, and bodily movements. Under this situation, for example, when we try to draw the hand with a rich image, the myriad lines on your palms, the blood vessels that appear indistinctly, and even the skin textures have to be nearly the same as the real hand. These images are rich of every detail and such mental pictures are the concrete mapping of the source objects.

On the contrary, image schemas only have a few basic elements or components that are related by definite structures (Johnson, 1987: 28), and thus can provide a frame for flexible "creation" if certain linguistic expressions served as "cues" are given. For example, if asked to draw the picture of hand when executing the linguistic cue "hand", this time, we just draw it as five vertical bars linked one by one with different heights in accordance with our corresponding five fingers. The two bars standing in the most right and left side link with a semi-sphere. With this cognition of such an abstract structure, everyone can have their own creation of a hand. Besides, actually, the rich images can finally realize a transformation to the image schema, like the details can be omitted and the most common and crucial elements and factors being remained.

In short, we can say that image schemas emerge from the very beginning when we have perceptions, and are the mental patterns to serve as the frame of our cognition, the internal structures, and the underlying logics which based on our daily experiences. They are, actually, the same rules, the shared common structures to deal with different issues, and these issues can involve in different situations, no matter physical or abstract, rational or mental.

2.2 The Features of Image Schemas.

Before we know how image schemas function in the cognitive linguistic, and how they contribute to our thinking and understanding, we should first look to the features of image schemas. Hampe (2005: 1-2) concluded five typical features that can best profile the image schemas, telling that image schemas are (i) embodied/experiential; (ii) preconceptual; (iii) highly schematic gestalts; (iv) internally structured; (v) highly flexible; (vi) patterns acquired independently of other concepts. However, these features are more in terms of defining the image schemas themselves. The present paper, however, looks to the features of how image schemas function to provide us with the frame of conceptualization, and how they apply to different situations. There are four main features that contribute to the function of image schemas, they are (i) dynamics; (ii) interdependency; (iii) use in both prototypical and metaphorical expressions; and (iv) use of the visible diagrams.

2.2.1 Dynamics

The first and most important feature of image schema is that they are dynamic. They are dynamic in two respects. First is that "schemata are structures of an activity by which we organize our experience in ways that we can comprehend. They are a primary means by which we construct or constitute order and are not mere passive receptacles into which experience is poured" (Johnson, 1987: 29). As we all known, movements are absolute, there are no literally static objects, and activities are always undergoing. In addition, all our perceptions cannot live without the interactions among objects, force is the very energy to make the objects in motion, and all the interactions are related to the spatial relations among the objects. Thus, dynamics is the very status of all the objects. Based on this nature, image schemas are thought to be the dynamic patterns rather than fixed and static structures (Johnson, 1987: 29).

From this respect, mentioned as in the last section, infants of the early ages focus more on the motions of objects entering in or getting out of a container than the container itself, it gives a primitive evidence implying that it is the motion that first makes the image of CONTAINMENT to be built. Dewell (2005) made a more explicit elaboration on defining this schema from observing the involved movements of ENTRY and ENCLOSING (2005: 377-340). For the ENTRY schema, there is a trajectory (TR afterwards) starts from somewhere outside the container and after entering in, it finally ends at the inside of container. From looking to the path penetrating through the outer

16

boundary of the container, the containment can be conceptually perceived. Likewise, for the ENCLOSING schema, an active enclosing pattern makes the perception of containment by a container enclosing an object. Moreover, ENTRY and ENCLOSING events can happen together. For example, we put a cookie inside our mouth and then the mouth actively enclosing it. Such a dynamic ENTRY-ENCLOSING pattern can explicitly profile the concept of CONTAINMENT. However, the two events cannot simply combine to form the CONTAINMENT schema as they involve opposing figure-ground relations. In ENTRY, the contained object is the moving figure, thus we can see the using of locative preposition "*in*" to describe the object being inside after entering the container. While in ENCLOSING, the moving figure is the container and we have the verbs "*grab*", "*catch*", "*surround*" and so forth to describe the movement of the actively enclosing container. More cases can be found within the schematic structures, like schemas related to FORCE, without observing how objects moved by a given force, we might not know what type the force is.

The second respect of dynamic argued by Johnson (1987: 29-30) is that "unlike templates, schemata are flexible in that they can take on any number of specific instantiations in varying contexts. It is somewhat misleading to say that an image schema gets "filled in" by concrete perceptual details; rather, it must be relatively malleable, so that it can be modified to fit many similar, but different, situations that manifest a recurring underlying structure".

As for this aspect, we have slightly exemplified in the first section via the PATH, LINK, and COMPULSION schemas. These schemas are rather fundamental and pervasive that directly based on the physical objects. Now we check a rather abstract but also common experience to see the dynamic feature of the image schemas. For example, when you are defending for an argument, a well-organized statement should follow the steps as: speak out the argument you defend for, the reasons for why you defend for it, evidences to support, and a short conclusion of your key points. This complies to the normal logic for figuring out an issue considering that "*what is it*", "*why is it*", "*how does it*" and "*so it is*". And this series of steps you always follow, is the very structure based on what we recurrently experienced. It pertains to various situations not just in having debates or rational arguments, but also drawing a plan or strategy, writing a thesis or proposal, exploring the factors of being existence of all the entities, the results and causes of development for matters, the changes and factors of the relationships, and so forth. Such a CAUSE-EFFECT logic constructs the frame for thinking and arguing, and contribute to our mental activities of reasoning.

2.2.2 Interdependency

The second feature of image schema has also been slightly explained in the previous sections, that is, interdependency. Interdependency also happens in two levels. First is the interdependency of the elements in the schemas, where they are woven with particular relations to make the conception a whole (Saeed, 2015: 359). These elements together construct a gestalt, which is defined as an organized, unified whole within our experience and understanding, and generates coherence for, establish unity within, and constrain our network of meaning (Johnson, 1987: 41-42).

Schemas are all considered as gestalt structures. For example, we can see typical schemas like PATH, the elements that construct this gestalt are: a moving entity, or namely, a trajectory (TR), a source where the TR is moving from (a starting point), or namely, a landmark (LM), a path which consists of various intermediate points, and a goal (an ending point). Obviously, the path schema involves a series of movements in order. Gestalts for the FORCE schema can vary in different types like COMPULSION, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, RESTRAINT REMOVAL, ENABLEMENT, and so on. All these force types include the elements of a force vector with a direction and a degree of intensity, with or without a barrier of force which might block its further progress. And the gestalt structures of these forces are telling that they are imposed by a source, moving along a path towards a destination and make particular interactions with objects, cause some effects like moving the objects, or may also be blocked, redirect, divert, counteracted when meet with a barrier.

Second is the interdependency among schemas. Absolute independent schemas do not always exist, schemas are normally in relations with each other, as what we have seen in the illustration of the relation between the CONTAINMENT schema and PATH schema. Many suchlike associated schemas can be pervasively seen in our daily perceptions, for example, FORCE schema always involves a PATH when a force given from a source and act on an object, the CENTERY-PERIPHARY schema group is definitely grounding in the PART-WHOLE schema group.

Instead of saying that they are "interact" with one another (Santibáñez, 2002: 184), the present paper prefers to use "interdependent" to describe the mutual functions among the schemas as we have proved in the CONTAINMENT. It is the ENTRY and ENCLOSING movements that perceptualize the concept of CONTAINMENT. And in return, after we conceptualize CONTAINMENT, we might be more explicitly about how the whole process of these movement involve.

2.2.3 Use for both Physical and Metaphorical Projections

One crucial property of image schemas is that they are compatible for both the physical and metaphorical projections. The physical projection is the sensorimotor

perceptions directly mapping onto the schemas, and the metaphorical project is the extension of these prototypical mappings. Here, "metaphorical" is with a broader sense not just as a rhetorical figure of speech, but also the metaphorical structure in our reasoning (Johnson, 1987: 65). Image schemas are the very mechanism to wove the unrelated things into correlations, realize the transformations from the physical to metaphorical.

From this respect, we can say that within the image schemas, there exists a hierarchy, in which our sensorimotor experiences stand at the primary level, and the others are more abstract domains of different levels. Nevertheless, no matter what domain it is, the metaphorical projections are performed via the shared schemas based on our sensorimotor experiences. And metaphor of the image schema version is different from the assertion arguing that metaphors are the propositional structures (Coleridge, 1927) in the form of "concept A is concept B" or "concept A is like concept B" with certain conditions to support the transformations between this two different concepts, and also differs from the claim of metaphor being a process to create the similarities between two domains via our thought process (Black, 1977). Metaphors should be taken in the image schemata dimension as a mode of activity in the structuring of our experience (Johnson, 1987: 70). That is, various sub-forms of a pattern emerge from the prototypical perceptions in accordance with the different context. As our sensorimotor perceptions are the most primitive content of what we experience, we say the nature of the metaphor is actually an upgrading process of the physical structure. We can see how it works in example as DOG IS A CAT.

At the first glance, it seems as a propositional-like form, however if we have a scrutiny of its nature, we might break this illusion. From the "normal" sense, it is quite possible for us to infer that "the dog is like a cat with some properties maybe soft, quiet, cold, or else". Nevertheless, is it true that these properties are exclusively possessed by cats? Of course, it's not, they may be typical for cats, but are never any necessary or sufficient conditions to define such a creature as a cat. On one hand, we only use this series descriptions to structure our understanding about cats, and these descriptions are what we perceive from our sensorimotor experiences, like touching, watching, or else. On the other hand, these properties are specifically typical for cats which won't make any others always "share". Now, we move to check the schema of CAT, and we will have the inferences as below.

(4) a.   CAT is a schema with some typical properties like soft, quiet, cold, etc.; (the properties are regarded as the elements consists of the schema)

b.   (a particular) dog is a cat as it (contingently) has the typical properties of CAT;

c. DOG complies to the schema of CAT (contingently).

d. DOG is the metaphorical projections of CAT.

What we have to distinguish here is that CAT is a not the very cat of our normal cognition, it is a gestalt structure for us to understand something with these typical properties. And the primary "candidate" in this schema is the cat in the nature sense, others are the metaphorical projections, for example, a dog, but such a dog is culturally shaped in terms of the context.

What we must stress again and again is that no matter how high the level of a domain is at, it is our sensorimotor experiences being the starting point of the metaphor. Hence, benefit from this view of metaphor, on one hand, it is not just the dog can be conceptualized as a cat, and on the other hand, dog can be conceptualized as more other things.

2.2.4 Use of Visual Diagrams

The final property of the image schema is peripheral, but also distinctive, that is, making use of the simple figures to display the inner structure of the image schemas. Although these figures are not equal to the whole images of our perceptions, they are easy to read, and already included the crucial elements and the related relations, and thus will help us to visually understand how our perceptions are organized in order (Johnson, 1987: 23). As we can see the figure of PATH schema as below.
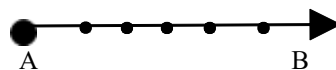
Figure 1. PATH schema

In virtue of this simple diagram, we can quickly define how a path might be in terms of the elements and the relations among the elements. It tells that a path is always with a starting point, some or myriad intermediate points, and maybe an ending point. If there is an entity moving from the starting point A and passing through the intermediate points towards the ending point B, then the trace is the path it goes by. The larger filled dot representing the starting point, the smaller filled dots representing the intermediate points, and the arrow representing the way going forward are enough to make us conjure how the real path might be.

However, again, these figures cannot tell the total story of the real perceptions. Like

in the PATH schema, the path is not always in a horizontal direction, and it not always moving forwards. It is just a symbolic direction to tell that the entity is moving towards another place. We can only say that these two-dimensional figures give us a primary level knowledge of our experiences which can simplify the structure of most of our common perceptions. And if we are already educated with some given knowledge, we our brains, can succeed to accept this information and process them into mature acknowledgment to some extends.

2.3   The Status of Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistic

2.3.1 Grounding for Organizing our Language

Language is used to organize, understand and represent our perceptions of the world and of our own consciousness (Bloor, T., & Bloor, M, 2013), meaning of language is equated with conceptualization (Turner, 1991), while conception is embodied (Anderson, 2003). Image schemas provide the link between the bodily experiences and this highly cognitive domain, and function as the primitive level of conceptual category underlying metaphor (Saeed, 2015:358). However, the image schemas cannot simply be "mapped" onto the language construction, the relation between image schemas and language is more complex than that (Dewell, 2005: 371). This mapping is greatly related to two levels of embodiment, the "body image" and "body schema", which the two together provides us the ground for organizing our language. This function of image schemas behaves in three respects.

First is that image schemas provide us with the transferring mechanism from sensory experiences to perceptions and ultimately to the cognitions (Cuccio, 2017: 90). Such a mechanism has the "body schema" as a source, which is a system to constantly regulate posture and movements of sensory-motor processes, requires no reflective awareness or perceptual monitoring (Gallagher, 2005: 37). Three functional subsystems constitute the body schema (2005: 45). First is the system responsible for the processing of information about postures and movements. The primary source for this information is the somatic proprioception from kinetic, muscular, articular, cutaneous, visual sources, and so forth. The second functional system is responsible for the production of motor programs and movement patterns (output). No matter innate or learned patterns, the processing of proprioceptive information is essential for the production of motor patterns. The third functional system of a body schema regards cross-modal communication. We have an innate ability to transform visual inputs into motor competence. Even we haven't executed an action by our own bodies, we can process it by activating our

mirror neurons, multimodal neurons in the pre-motor cortex and thus make us possible to infer the motor patterns and execute the same action according to what we observed from others. Such "motor simulation" might also happen in the emotion-related areas, mental images, and language comprehension (Gallese & Sinigaglia, 2011). In sum, body schema is a system to process various types of proprioceptive information and then construct them into motor patterns universally acknowledged, such motor patterns can also be learned or imitated by observing the movements from others.

Second is that image schemas provide us with the raw material for our language. Language itself is a highly cognitive domain which extracts from our super wisdom, and it is the knowledge about our body that contribute to the language representations. Such knowledge is in a gestalt form of "body image", which consists of a complete set of intentional states and dispositions of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes (Gallagher, 2005: 25). For example, we know the boiling water is hot when we touch it by our hands or taste it with our tongue, or even sometimes we can just judge from observing the drifting water vapor. These are the perceptual information processed through our body itself. Beliefs derive from the conceptualization of the understanding of our body which consists of two crucial factors. That is, the scientific knowledge, which is highly conclusive description of what we perceived, and the commonsense. And these beliefs are inevitably grounded in the historical, linguistic, and cultural environment. Emotional attitude is also another typical reflection of our bodily experience, even sometimes is invisible. For example, feelings are actually the subjective reflections in terms of what we see or feel. We might feel pleasant when good things happen, eat delicious foods, and so forth. As we can see, whatever the source of the image includes, body percept, body concept or body affect, they are almost always a partial representation of the body. Metaphorical mappings also have the body image as a source. And it is our body that contributes to these sensory experiences that makes the metaphor start (Cuccio, 2017: 93).

Third is that image schemas provide us with the analogy basis for language representations. Actually, the whole system of language involves the process of analogy, from the primary levels like lexical formations, syntactic constructions, etc. to more abstract levels like the modality, rhetorical expressions, register, logic relations and so forth. A simple case, for example, in Chinese, character is a typical application of image schema, the radicals of the characters derive from the image of our body, and stand for a fundamental meaning part of the characters. Although knowing the concrete meaning of the characters require more integrated knowledge, these Chinese radicals serving as the image schemas provide us with an analogy strategy for producing more related characters. For example, the Chinese radical "mouth" displayed as below, and

the group of characters with the "mouth" all relate to something with mouth.

Figure 2. The sensory-perceptional source of the image schema "mouth"

(5) "口"(*mouth*): 唱*sing*, 吃*eat*, 喝*drink*, 叫 *shout*, 吓*threaten*, 呼*exhale*, 哈*onomatopoeia word for laughing*, 吸*inhale/suck*, etc.

In sum, body schemas realize the transferring from our sensorimotor experiences to cognition, body images specify the particular aspects of our cognitions, these two factors affect each other and interact in an embodied simulation to provide us with an analogy basis. Image schemas consist of this three factors, body schema, body image and analogy basis, to provide us the ground for organizing our language.

2.3.2 Basis for our Understanding and Reasoning.

One question crosscutting in the areas of philosophical, psychological, and linguistic is that where our conceptions come from, and how meanings and reasoning are possible, how our sensorimotor experiences are recruited for abstract thinking. In the last section, we have showed that our body can process the sensorial information into perceptions and cognitions, and all the knowledge is about our body. This fact implies that "mind" and "body" are not separate things (James, 1980; John Dewey, 1985; and Maurice Merleau-Ponty,1962). Image schemas provide us with the basis for how we understand and reason (Johnson, 2005: 16).

Image schemas is the basis as they can show themselves in the contour of our basic sensorimotor experiences (Johnson, 2005: 21). For example, we might perceive the CONTAINMENT by touching the boundary of a container, open one side of a container to have a look into the inside or outside of the container, or observe an entity moving into or out of container. They reveal the primitive elements in the schema and then organize them into the structural patterns we recurrently identify. These structures are not just the background for meaning to emerge from, but they themselves are part of our meaning and understanding (Johnson, 1987: 48).

Furthermore, the embodiment of our understanding is solved by the image schema through its own logic (Johnson, 2005: 24). Johnson took the typical example of mathematics based on the schema of COLLECTION to make illustration, showing that

the arithmetic operation of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division is a metaphorical mapping from the changing happen in the source domain of object collection. For example, addition (normally expressed with the symbol "+") is putting collections together, subtraction (with the symbol "-") is taking a smaller collection from a larger collection. The correlations between the two domains can reveal more underlying entailments, like: two physical collections A and B, A is bigger than B, if another collection C is added into A, then the summation is still bigger than if C is added into B. Image-schematic logic performed like this is served as the basis for inferring, and can also be performed in even more high-level cognitive domains like language.

Indeed, the role of image schema has been empirically explored in semantic, syntactic and pragmatic phenomena in languages and inference (Raymond Gibbs and Herbert Colston, 1995; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Lakoff and Nunez,2000). One representative example given by Johnson (1987: 48-61) in his monograph is to understand the expressions with the model verbs and the underlying logic based on the FORCE schemas. He revealed that there are three sense types of the three typical modal verbs "*must*", "*can*" and "*may*", which are root sense, epistemic sense, and the speech act sense. He adopts the notion "root" to instead the notion "deontic" which the latter only belongs to a morality level, while "roots" involves a broader sense in both the physical and sociophysical realms. "*must*" always relates to the COMPULSION schema with a sense of compelling force, "*may*" relates to the REMOVAL OF RESTRAIN schema, implying the barrier of a force being removed, and "*can*" relates to the ENABLEMENT schema with an ability to move. We can see examples as below:

(6) a. *We can lift the telephone and speak to people in Australia.* (physical-ENABLEMENT)

  b. *Nobody can force you except you yourself.* (sociophysical-ENABLMENT).

(7) a. *Older children must wear an approved child restraint or an adult seat belt.* (physical-COMPULSION)

  b. *Events must play themselves out to aesthetic, moral and logical conclusion.* (sociophysical-COMPULSION)

(8) a. *We may be able to find a boat next time.* (physical-REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT)

  b. *You don't agree and are fired, you may take the new owner to an industrial tribunal.* (sociophisical-REMOVAL OF RESTAINT)

Epistemic stands for reasoning, argument and theorizing. Both "*must*" and "*may*" have the parallel force as the root realm. With the respect for "*must*", there must be definite

evidences that make the conclusion. And with the respect for "*may*", there is no barrier to stop some evidences from drawing the conclusion, while the conclusion is not definitely correct, and the hearer can choose not to believe in the conclusion also. However, there is no positive "*can*" in this realm, as if someone "*can*" reason to a conclusion, then he must do so. On the contrary, the negative "*can*" relates to the ENABLEMENT, telling that there are some evidences that can negate the original conclusion. We can see some examples as below.

(9) a. *It seems to me that he can' t be that unhappy because he's currently managing twelve vacancies deliberately.* (ENABLEMENT)
   b. *There must be a link between the murders and Dovaston.* (COMPULSION)
   c. *He may be able to obtain redress through the courts.* (REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT)

And the force structure can also apply in the speech acts themselves. It represents the force in four aspects of the speech acts, the force to change the form of the sentence (e.g, from indicative to interrogative), the force on the hearer to determine how they can understand the utterance (e.g., statement is a force impose on the hears that make them to believe in the statement or have some more other beliefs; the force on the way to perform the intentional meanings (mild vs. stronger); and the force contributes to the underlying intention of the speeches. We can see several examples as below.

(10) a. *You must bear with me ever when you find me in the wrong.* (Make a requirement)
    b. *If you need to cancel your booking, you must advise your accommodation establishment in writing as soon as possible.* (Make an assertation)
    c. *Come on! How, how can you possibly like poor?* (Make a query)

Again, the senses of root in the sociophysical realm and the epistemic, and also the speech acts are the metaphorical applications of the FORCE schemas. They share the same regularity of the physical schema and provide us the basis for our understanding and reasoning of the language expressions.

2.3.3 Counter-arguments of Objectivism and Phenomenalism

What has been repeatedly stressed in the construal of image schemas is the sensorimotor experience basis, which implies the stance of materialism to answer the philosophy question around "thinking and being: who is the first?". However, it also

acknowledges the role of our mental capability to transform our perceptions into cognitions. The present paper believes that image schemas are a typical production of dialectical, historical materialism and greatly challenges the status of the objectivism.

Not like the objectivist approaches treat meaning in a fairly narrow sense, as a relation between symbolic representations and objective (mind-independent) reality, and semantics only focus on the truth conditions of the sentence depend on a preexisting metaphysical reality of the right kind (Johnson, 1987: 16; Lakoff, 1987: 186), cognitive model of images schemas are not subject-predicate structures represented by arbitrary symbols like "X is Y if Z", but the mental structures relative to our experience. Image schemas can be represented propositionally as we have shown the example of CAT in last section, the substantial merit for the image schemas no need to do so is that they are the real mappings of the cognitive reality. The mappings involve our grasp of structure that give definite coherence, order and connectedness in our experience, while propositions don't realize such natural transformations from the reality to the propositional frames.

By the way, one another view that always correlates to the image schemas is the phenomenological analysis of the image schemas, which contends that the embodiment in cognitive linguistics has its basis in phenomenology (Geeraerts, 1985; Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, 2005), and that there is no strict separation between subjective experience and objective reality (Dreyfus, 1999). Searle (2005) rejects this view and treats it as an illusion, insists that perception, memory and voluntary action all require logical analysis to determine their structure. This paper argues that even image schemas are the preconceptual models and can be automatically perceived by our sensorimotor system, they do not equate to phenomenology themselves as they already turn to be part of our mature knowledge. Especially, when we use them to make analogy, it requires us to manipulate such "law-like-processes" with our intelligence to flexibly structure more of our understanding and reasoning.

2.4 The Types of Image Schemas and Illustrations of Typical schemas

2.4.1 The Types of Image Schemas

Many of the scholars have list the types of image schemas, we now present several works given by these scholars which are most representative and typical. First is the list given by Lakoff. The list he gave has been highly acknowledged in the succeeding researches, however, is too sweeping to display many concrete perceptions.

Table 1. Classification given by Lakoff (1987: 273-275)

The CONTAINER Schema

The PART-WHOLE Schema

The LINK schema

The CENTER-PERIPHERY Schema

The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL Schema

Johnson has showed a list of twenty-seven types, which includes what he takes to be the most of the more important image schemas. And Johnson argued that these image schemata are pervasive, well-defined, and full of sufficient internal structure to constrain our understanding and reasoning (Johnson, 1987: 126).

Table 2. Classification given by Johnson (1987: 126)

CONTAINER	BALANCE	COMPULSION
BLOCKAGE	COUNTERFORCE	RESTRANT REMOVAL
ENABLEMENT	ATTRACTION	MASS-COUNT
PATH	LINK	CENTER-PERIPHERY
CYCLE	NEAR-FAR	SCALE
PART-WHOLE	MERGING	SPLITTING
FULL-EMPTY	MATCHING	SUPERIMPOSITION
ITERATION	CONTACT	PROCESS
SURFACE	OBJECT	COLLECTION

Based on the lists given by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff(1987), Croft and Gruse (2004:45) provided a seven-class classification, the subtypes of which are in a hierarchical structure of a larger domain.

Table 3. Classification given by Croft and Cruse (2004: 45):

SPACE	UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, LEFT-RIGHT, NEAR-FAR, CENTER-PERIPHERY, CONTACT
SCALE	PATH
CONTAINER	CONTAINMENT, IN-OUT, SURFACE, FULL-EMPTY, CONTENT
FORCE	BALANCE, COUNTERFORCE, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT, ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE, DIVERSION, ATTRACTION
UNITY/MULTIPLICITY	MERGING, COLLECTION, SPLITTING, ITERATION, PART-WHOLE, MASS-COUNT, LINK
IDENTITY	MATCHING, SUPERIMPOSITION
EXISITENCE	REMOVAL, BOUNDED SPACE, CYCLE, OBJECT, PROCESS

Szwedek (2018: 08) gave a relatively complete list of image schemata as below. Szwedek, similar as Croft and Cruse, seems that he attempts to categorize the schemas into a hierarchy structure.

Table 4. Classification given by Szwedek (2018: 08):

1) a. CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER, PATH/SOURTH-PATH-GOAL, LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, BALANCE

b. FORCE: ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE, ATTRACTION, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT, REMOVAL, DIVRSION

2) a. CONTACT, SCALE, NEAR-FAR, SURFACE, FULL-EMPTY, PROCESS, CYCLE, IRETATION, MERGING, MATCHING, SPLITTING, OBJECT, COLLECTION, [MASS-COUNT], [SUPERIMPOSITION]

b. UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK

3) a. INAIMATE MOTION, ANIMATE MOTION, SELF MOTION, CAUSED MOTION (Mandler, 1992: 593-596), LOCOMOTION (Dodge and Lakoff, this volume)

b. EXPANSION (Turner, 1991: 171), STRAIGHT (Cienki, 1998), RESISTANCE (Gibbs et al. 1994:235), LEFT-RIGHT (Clausner and Groft, 1999: 15). (Hampe, 2004:2-3).

Many of the researchers argued that there is no standard for ranking all the image schemas (Pauwels and Simon-Vandenbergen, 1993; Cervel, 1999; Santibáñez, 2002), also others tried to build the hierarchy of the image schemas though (e.g., Croft and Cruse, 2004; Szwedek: 2008). While, this paper argues that due to the crucial feature of image schemas, they are dynamic gestalt structures, and interdependent with each other, there can't be strict hierarchy among the image schemas, only some relations and interactions between. If have to say a sense of dependent, the only independent schema is OBJECT, within which some schemas are dependent on the OBJECT schema. We consider the list given by Johnson (1987) as the most reasonable, and carry out our research based on his list. We now display some typical schemas and the possible relations they might have, together show some their representations in language.

2.4.2 The Illustrations of the Typical Schemas

In this section, we will emphatically introduce the three most important and typical schemas and some related schemas. They are, the OBJECT schema and several dependent schemas, the related image schemas of FORCE, and the related schemas of the PATH schema. OBJECT schema is said to have a basic status with relations to other schemas, such as LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, and so forth (Santibáñez, 2002: 199); image schemas of FORCE play a prominent role in most of our experiences (Cervel, 1999:187); and PATH is identified as the key structure for our motions (Cánovas, 2016:120). We will list several examples of both the prototypical and metaphorical projections of these schemas, to see how they behave in the language expressions. Here, we only take English cases as examples. Now we first start our

illustrations from the OBJECT schema, which is the most primeval and fundamental schema for more other schemas to depend on.

2.4.2.1 OBJECT Schema and the Dependent Schemas

The OBJECT schema hasn't been given a definite status as debates around it has never stopped. Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987) haven't given elaborations of this schema, Quinn (1991) and Peña (2000) denied it as a schema on its own but an element of other schemas. Clausner and Croft (1999) treated it as an individual schema but being ranked below another larger domain, in the same parallel with other subsidiary schemas. Paul (1992), Jäkel(1995), Reddy (1979), Cienki(1997), Santibáñez(2002), Szwedek (2002, 2011, 2018), however, are on the contrary, affirmed its independent existence as a basic image schema and is taken to group other more specific images-schematic patterns, like LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY.

The present paper is also in support of the important status of OBJECT schema. The reason for why we overlook the role of objects is that they are everywhere in or out of our eyes and thus easily to be ignored (Wittgenstein, 1953), however, the truth is that all our bodily senses we can ever experience are physical objects (Szwedek, 2019:19). They are unified wholes, losing of integrity may result in destructions (Santibáñez, 2002: 186), while they are not only intrinsic to our physical reality, but also the ultimate domain in metaphorization (Szwedek, 2018: 05), which can project onto other domains of more abstract entities like feeling, attributes, organizations, mental constructs (Santibáñez, 2002: 186).

In terms of how the objects consist of and how they contribute to our daily interactions, Szwedek (2018: 13-17) divided the OBJECT schema into two types, the static and dynamic schemas. Static OBJECT schema is related to the form of object including its internal structure and orientation, while dynamic schema reflects the experience of motion of the objects. Now we subsequently introduce the related schemas of this two status of OBJECT based on the elaborations given by Szwedek.

Static means a fixed state of the object, depicts how an object is constructed within a three-dimensional space. It consists of two important magnitudes, the structure and orientation. Schemas related to structures include CONTAINMENT, FULLY-EMPTY, PART-WHOLE, UNITY, FRAGMENTATION, CENTERY-PERIPHARY, FRONT-BACK, SURFACE, etc., while orientation relates to schemas like NEAR-FAR, UP-DOWN, LINK, CONTACT, etc. (Szwedek, 2018: 10-14). We now illustrate few typical schemas of this two magnitudes, respectively, and also how they behave in language expressions.

The image schema of "CONTAINMENT"

Any object is a container, it has a boundary to separate the space inside and outside (Johnson, 1987: 21). The containing state of the objects is defined as CONTAINMENT, which depicts a structure consisting of two elements, the object to contain and the object being contained. Examples of containment can be seen as follows, a bottle contains some water, a house contains some people, a book contains some information, etc. Containment can happen in more abstract domains, like our visual field, event, actions, activities, states and so forth. They are all concerned as Containers to contain particular abstract contents (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008: 07). We now use the visual diagram to show how CONTAINMENT is like as in figure 2.

Transitive is another entailment of containment, as argued by Johnson (1987: 22), "If I am *in* bed, and my bed is *in* my room, then I am *in* my room.", which indicates the basic logic that if an object X is in a container A, while container A is in another container B, then the object X must be in the container B also (Lakoff, 1987: 272).

However, what we have to stress here is that the CONTAINMENT we currently discuss is a static state, and in fact, CONTAINMENT can be more complicated and dynamic. As we have introduced previously, the related motions are more active for the perception of the CONTAINMENT itself. This perception has been built during the very early age of our birth. During the 2-5 months after birth, rather than the containment, infants pay more attention to the activities in relation to it (Dewell, 2005), like entering, exiting, and contact (Mandler and Cánovas 2014,515-517); infants of 3-month-old, may start to realize that if a container moves so does whatever is contained inside it (Hespos and Baillargeon, 2001). Hence, CONTAINMENT is argued as an integrated structure of knowledge about spatial events which consists of primitives like *container*, *into*, *out of*, *path*, *behind*, *appear*, *disappear*, *eyes*, *move*, *thing*, etc. Cánovas (2016:121). One of the most intimately related schemas is PATH, and if there is an agent for moving the object inside or outside, FORCE is also required.
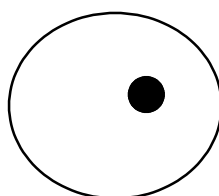

Figure 3. CONTAINMENT schema

And we can see some examples of how they are represented in language expressions as below.

(11)   a. *There are some books inside the bag.*
       b. *The kids were in the room.*

The image schema of PART-WHOLE, UNITY, FRAGMENTATION

Every object can be seen as a whole, even sometimes might not be that intact. For example, a defective production, a book without a cover, a silver long-time wearing bracelet. Part is the fundamental unit that composes the whole. Nevertheless, part can be an individual object itself like the tire of a car, the skin of a fruit, the cover of a book, etc. On one hand, without the parts, the whole can never make sense. On the other hand, however, a whole is not just a simple summation of parts, only the parts existing in the configuration that make the whole come into existence (Santibáñez, 2002: 190). And a perfect whole with the parts being intimately related with each other is considered as a UNITY.

Distinction between parts and pieces should be mentioned by the way. As we have just said, parts can stand for themselves independently but functionally related to the belonging whole, while pieces are the segments dependent of the whole, without the whole they never exist. However, lacking one or several of the pieces sometimes is not sufficient to disintegrate the whole. When the whole is broken into more pieces, there makes the FRAGMENTATION, and the reordering of the pieces can bring the whole back (Santibáñez, 2002: 192).
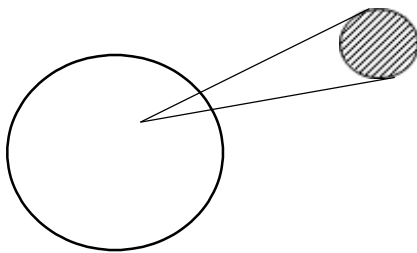
Figure 4. WHOLE-PART schema   Figure 5. FRAGMENTATION schema
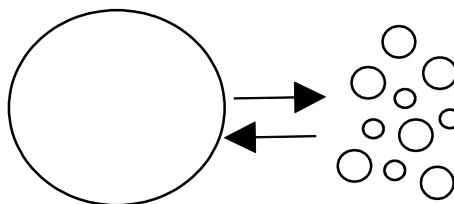
(12)   a. *There may well be some changes and until we see the thing as a whole, we don't know what it will say.*
       b. *It sold a part of the whole enterprise by converting the public corporation into Companies Act companies and selling.*
       c. *The object is not just to inform but to persuade effectively, or dissuade a part or the whole of the population to or from a particular opinion.*
       d. *Your diction will go to pieces.*

The image schema of "CENTERY-PERIPHERAY"
The image schema of "EMPTY-FULL"
The image schema of "FRONT-BACK"
The image schema of "SURFACE"

The image schema of "NEAR-FAR"

Even we can simply define that this two opposite conceptions relate to the spatial distance, however, they are greatly influenced by the subjective perception of the object being perceived. As the visual diagram showed in Figure 6, if object A is a perceiver, and the object B is near it in the left while far in the right, and vice versa when object B is the perceiver. There are two situations if there is a third observer, first is the observer perceiving the distance between A and B, and the other is the observer perceiving the distance between A and between B, respectively. The perception of near or far for the observer depends on the location he stands at.
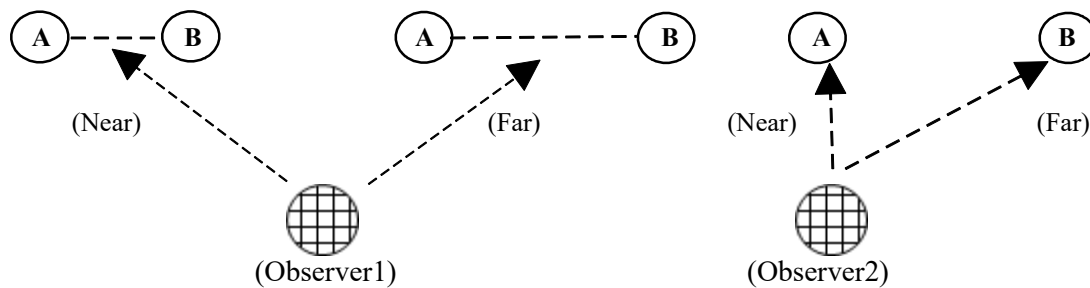
Figure 6. NEAR-FAR schema

(13) a. *"What can I do?" he says, as we walk in the fields near his home in Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.*

b. *Her relationship with Grant is a close one. "All relationships go in phases," she says.*

c. *Their lives, and their families in the area, people didn't move very far, they were probably born in an area, went to work in the area.*

The image schema of "UP-DOWN"
The image schema of "LINK-CONTACT"

Next, we will introduce the dynamic OBJECT schema. Dynamic means the process that involves with motions. Normally, the motion of OBJECTS is caused by the forces

that act on them. The two important factors attribute to FORCE are mass and velocity, mass is experienced in the form of objects, and velocity is the very intensity of the force. There are various types of FORCE, Johnson has listed eight basic types to show the motions of how objects are moved by different forces. Due to the complexity of the FORCE, we will elaborately illustrate them more in next section.

2.4.2.2 The Image Schemas of the FORCE

One of the most pervasive image schemas that have intimate relations with our daily motion is FORCE. And there are eight types of FORCE schema (Johnson, 1987: 42), they together characterize the ways of things making interactions with each other. We now take several types to make illustration.

The image schema of "COMPULSION"

First is the schema of COMPULSION. It is the force that we most pervasively experience. For example, someone pushes you from behind, a flying football hits right on your body, or even a gust of wind blows the leaf down, etc. We should mention a distinction given by Mandler(1992: 593) here, the self-motion and caused motion. Self-motion happens when objects can move themselves with no any other external forces, caused motion happens when objects move with a force launched by others. It is the second type that concerned as the COMPULSION force. Animacy is the very factor that differentiates this two kinds, as only the animates can start to move by themselves. We display the image of the COMPULSION showed in the diagram below. As we can see, FORCE is always related with the PATH schema. The trajectory (TR afterwards) in the path is the very force with a given magnitude that comes from somewhere and moves towards a direction to the landmark (LM afterwards). Either the TR and LM can be the physical and abstract entities, for example, "betrayal" (TR) is the very force that makes the love relation (LM) broken. However, sometimes, if the compulsion is irresistible, the path will involve two TRs (Cervel, 1999:193), one is the source force imposed on the target object (LM), which enables the LM to move, second is the force given by the target object which turns to be the other TR (Johnson, 1987:45).

TR(F$_1$)   LM (TR$_2$=F$_2$)

Figure 7. COMPULSION schema

(14) a. *When we push our trolleys round the store, the staff sing Strangers "In The Night".*

   b. *Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*

   c. *I felt very moved by the sincerity of worship, the music, the servers.*

   d. *He owes a lot of money, mainly to banks. He has been hit by the recession like everyone else.*

The image schema of "BLOCKAGE"

Second is the schema of "BLOCKAGE", which exhibits that an ongoing force towards a direction is blocked by a barrier. For example, when you are rushing to a place and halted by a wall, when a football is kicked towards the goal but intercepted by the goalkeeper, when the water is flowing out but occluded by the valve, etc. As the figure shown below, we can see that the force is blocked and only passes through or tries other directions when it has sufficient power to do so (Johnson, 1987: 45). Metaphorical projects can be seen in abstract domains like the human rights, requirements, progress, emotion, and so forth. For example, the rights of our commoners have been exploited by other power man, our requirements was not approved, or our plan isn't going well because of some sudden problems, etc.

F
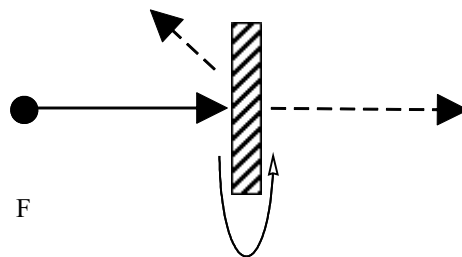
Figure 8. BLOCKAGE schema

(15) a. *If he objects, progress is blocked for a week.*

   b. *The Wall is designed to block the flow of information legitimately acquired by one department, to other departments.*

   c. *The owner tried to stop the dispute being decided by an expert.*

The image schema of "REMOVAL OF RESTRIANT"

Another schema that opposes to the BLOCKAGE is the REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT as the barrier of a force has been removed or a potential barrier is not present, and the force finally reaches the intended destination (Johnson, 1987:57). This schema can be best seen in the examples like when you open the door of a room and then successfully enter in, passages pass through the ticket check machine after inserting their traffic card or ticket, etc. Thus, such schema is always related to the image like no obstacles, free passing and abstractly, no restrictions, no discourages. To some sense, it implies other than a smooth passing from the beginning to the end, but an unexpected or expected change due to the purposefully or unmeant removing of the obstacles.
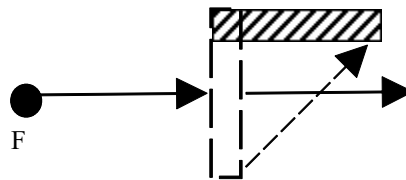
Figure 9. REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT schema

(16)   a. *Now we should get rid of the problem.*
       b. *We will eliminate racial discrimination in housing allocation and improve safety on estates.*
       c. *We need to try to remove as much' risk' from the project as possible by defining the conditions.*

The image schema of "COUNTERFORCE"
The image schema of "DIVERSION"
The image schema of "ENABLEMENT"
The image schema of "BALANCE"
The image schema of "ATTRACTION"

2.4.2.3 The Schema of PATH and Related Schemas

As we can see, no matter the schema of CONTAINMENT, or the FORCE schemas, they all greatly interact with the PATH schema (Cervel, 1999:188). Apart from this two, some more other schemas like CYCLE, SCALE also have particular relations with PATH. Now we just give some brief introduction on PATH. As argued by Johnson (1987: 113-114), the schema of PATH, no matter physically or metaphorically

projected, is always with the same parts: 1) a source, or starting point; 2) a goal, or endpoint; and 3) a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal. Besides, paths can have temporal dimensions mapped onto them. "I start at point A (the source) at time T₁, and move to point B (the goal) at time T₂". In this way, there is a timeline mapped onto the path. That is, the point B is further down the path than point A, and T₂ is much later than T₁. The corresponding figure and examples are showed as below.

A   B
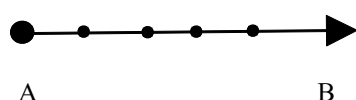
Figure 10. PATH schema

(17) a. *It strikes me that we can actually start moving towards that process.*
       b. *For Behaviouralists, the path to theory started with what was observable.*
       c. *Joy was soon to turn to despair.*
       d. *As hard times turn to iron times this is an urgent question.*

One of the most important interdependent schemas as we have mentioned is CONTAINMENT, which tells that the source of the moving entity is a container and such a path involves a "in-out" orientation. There are normally three prototypes of the "in-out" orientation that interacts with the CONTAINMENT. We now observe the examples based on the one-way orientation "*out*" given by Lindner (1981) as below:

(18) a. *John went out of the classroom.*
       b. *Pour out the beans.*
       c. *The train started out for Chicago.*

The three parallels all show the same thing that a trajectory (TR), which is the contained object, moves out from a landmark (LM), which is the container, towards some other places. In (18a), John is the TR that moves out of the LM which represents as the room. In (18b), beans are the TR, and they have been poured out of the surface of LM, maybe a bowl. While in (18c), there seems no LM as the TR "*the train*" started out from Chicago, in which the container "*the train station*" is hided. And apart from the interaction with the PATH and CONTAINER, the "in-out" sometimes also interacts with the SURFACE schema, or even the FORCE schema. She used these three prototypical image schemas to explain how the orientation of "*out*" has interacted with the containers and vividly illustrated them with three diagrams as in below, the first

among which is the most basic.
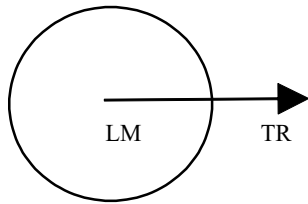
| Figure 10. TR is out from LM | Figure 11. TR is out from the surface of LM | Figure 12. TR is out from the hidden LM |
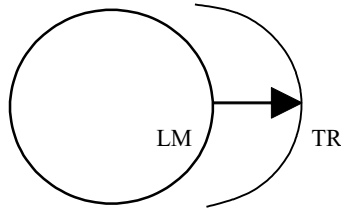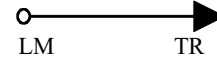
The image schema of "CYCLE"
The image schema of "SCALE"

Chapter 3. Emotions in Modern songs (From 2000-2020)

3.1 Emotion in Chinese Songs of 21st Century.

3.1.1 The Culture of Emotions of Chinese People
3.1.2 The Background of Chinese Songs of 21st Century

3.2 Emotion in English Songs of 21st Century

3.2.1 The Culture of Emotions of North American People
3.2.2 The Background of English Songs of 21st Century

Chapter 4. Case studies of the Emotional Expressions

In this chapter, we are going to check how image schemas contribute to our cognition of emotions by analyzing the cases of three themes that include many of our emotions, they are, ROMANTIC LOVE, PATROTISM, LIFE. We will display the cases of both Chinese and English expressions of emotions.

4.1 Case study 1: Use image schema for Emotions about ROMANTIC LOVE

4.1.1 Reasons for the Study on ROMANTIC LOVE

Amongst all the different types of love, for example, love between parents and children, between friends, between lovers, between country and its people, love for the strangers, for the nature, and so forth, the ROMANTIC LOVE (LOVE afterwards in this section) is the one that hardest to capture. It is complicated as people are always longing for and pursuing love, but hard to realize and maintain. And it does not only involve the positive feelings, but also negative, not only various obscured, changeful feelings, but also attitudes. Besides, although most of our emotions about love are the same, as we have mentioned, they also greatly relate to the background of people live and the way people think, thus feelings about love also vary from people of different societies to some extent. Comparisons between people of China and North Americans is what the present paper focuses on, and figuring out how emotions about love are represented in their languages is a tough but interesting topic.

Most of the studies around the romantic love is at the level of metaphor. Of course, emotional expressions do greatly employ metaphor, metaphor itself exhibits a high-level of abstractness though. This paper believes that the higher abstract a domain it is, the more need to metonymically understand and represent it through a physical archetype. What's more, metaphor is just a tip of iceberg of the emotional expressions, the internal relations among the speech acts is also a reflection of how people organize their mind. Hence, this paper studies on the intimate relations between the perception of love and our daily experiences and look to how image schemas contribute to our understanding and expressing of the emotions by analyzing the related language representations. Before to do so, we should first have a brief review of how our emotions about love normally are, and what affect the different emotions of love in terms of the model raised by Kövecses (1986), who gave an explicit elaboration around the concept of love. Although Kövecses studied the romantic love mainly around metaphor also, what he stressed in his study is that all the metaphors have our physical experiences as the source domain.

4.1.2 The Conceptual Frame of ROMANTIC LOVE

According to Kövecses (1986), there are two models to conceptualize romantic love,

the ideal model and the typical model. Ideal model is the one that characterizes the individual desire of love, it treats the love as "true love" that hard to realize. Typical model retains most of the major features of the ideal model, while on the contrary, relates more to the real experiences of love which involves what is expected by the society. We are going to frame the romantic love based on this two models given by Kövecses (1986: 61-104) as below.

1.   The fundamental elements consist of ROMANTIC LOVE:

1)   ROMANTIC LOVE (LOVE afterwards) basically consists of three elements, the objects of love, the related emotions, and the intensity of love.

2)   LOVE of the ideal model is regarded as a UNITY consists of two irreplaceable components linking with harmony and it comes along by itself, while as a HIDDEN OBJECT of the typical model that we want and search by ourselves.

3)   The objects of LOVE are the liking of beautiful, personalities, nature, etc. of a person; SEXUAL DESIRE like intimate sexual behaviors including touch, kiss, embrace and even sex; object which is regarded as a deity and the related emotions for the objects can be respect, admiration, worship, devotion, sacrifice, enthusiasm in a sacred sense; objects that can be viewed as some valuable objects and the related emotions can be attachment, pride and so forth. There are some other embedded emotions like affection or fondness, kindness, longing, care, interest, happiness, passion, etc.

4)   Love has intensity, it measures the intimacy between two persons, and how much the person loves the other. When the love is extremely strong or even goes beyond the maximum, the persons in love might lose control of themselves, and if love goes beyond the minimal, then love might disappear.

5)   There are several resulted physical effects when in love: body heat and heart rate increasing, blushing, not able to function normally. And there are also several behavior reactions: physical closeness, intimate sexual behavior, sex, and loving visual behavior.

The ideal model and typical model differ in several aspects. True love always presupposes the harmony between two persons of being a unity, the long last enthusiasm, eternal relation, no betray and jealous, no desire to control the feelings, the passivity of the person which implies that love is the thing coming along by itself, the equal value of love returning to each other. While real love is said to have more social reality than the ideal love. Love turns to be the thing we actively chase for, and if love leaves us away, we might eager to find them back. When we are in love, we try to keep us from lacking control and also stop it from hurting either we ourselves or the others. Sometimes, there is an underlying war between the two persons in love, during which negative emotions like suspicious, jealous, conquest, disloyalty, anger or

even hate might emerge. And love might also be not that equal, as maybe only one of the two persons falls in love but the beloved does not return at once or to the same degree. Marriage is another difference between the ideal and typical as marriage reaches the peak of love, after which the intensity of love starts to decrease. Nevertheless, this does not mean that love totally disappears, it might exist in a special way, the affection. Besides, the typical model has a much more clear-cut of the temporal structure than the ideal one. We now present the temporal structure of love in terms of this two states.

2. The temporal structure of love.

Phase one (The beginning):

1) True love comes along itself or, someone searches for the love by themselves. The person is attracted by someone irresistibly, and such attraction soon rises to a high level or even the maximal.

Phase two (During the love): There are two states of love during this phase.

1) First is the ideal status. Love reaches the maximum or even goes beyond that makes the person lack of control. The two persons in love forms a unity, in which they are irreplaceable for both of each other, and the relationship between keeps a perfect harmony. What's more, love is mutual and equal to each other, and the persons in love feel happy. They will define the attitude to the object of love through a variety of emotions and emotional attitudes: liking, sexual desire, respect, devotion, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, admiration, kindness, affection, care, attachment, intimacy, pride, longing, friendship, interest.

2) Second is the status not that ideal. The person tries to keep control of self's emotion or the attraction from the other, if fails, love's intensity goes beyond the limit, and the persons will feel like experiencing the true love of the ideal status. However, the persons don't believe that love lasts forever, rather, the wild love turns into peaceful affection in a nature way. They will define the attitude to the object of love through a variety of emotions and emotional attitudes: liking, sexual desire, respect, devotion, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, admiration, kindness, affection, care, attachment, intimacy, pride, longing, jealousy, faithfulness, friendship, and interest.

Phase three (At the end): there are also two status of the end.

1) First is the ideal status: Love lasts forever.

2) Second is the status that not that ideal: Love is fulfilled in marriage, while the intensity of love decreases and goes below the limit: Love turns into affection.

Now we can divide the emotions and emotional attitudes about the ROMANTIC LOVE into two types, the positive and negative. For positive, they can be like, desire, respect, devotion, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, admiration, kindness, affection, care, attachment, intimacy, pride, longing, faithfulness, friendship, willingly, and interest and so forth. For negative, they can be sadness, disappointed, suspicious, jealous, unpleasant, dissatisfied, anger, hate, cold, rejected, losing control, hesitated and so forth. However, this two types are not two polar terms saying about good or bad, they are just used to describe the mental reflection in terms of the real-time events of love.

4.1.3 Typical Schemas for ROMANTIC LOVE

Expressions about emotions are represented in three respects, 1) the expressions about the emotions itself, for example, to define love, to show the features or effects of love, and so forth. 2) expressions about feelings, for example, feel happy, sad, angry, etc., and 3) expressions about attitudes towards emotions, like willing to sacrifice for the one beloved, suspicious of the faithfulness from the other one in love, and so on. This section checks how image schemas are used for understanding the expressions about emotions by making analysis on lyrics selected from both the English and Chinese top 100 popular songs in the first decade of 21st century (from 2000 to 2010). We now consider the examples of the positive emotions as below to see how schemas are used for romantic love.

(19)　a. *Wherever you are, whenever it's right, you come out of nowhere and into my*
　　　　life.　　　　　　　　　　　[Containment + Path]　《*Haven't met you*》
　　　b. 脑袋都是你，心里都是你。　　[Containment + Full]　　《*大城小爱*》
　　　"*My brain is filled with you, and my heart is also.*"

The two expressions both explicitly tell the emotion of like. In (19a), the involved schema is PATH, and it interdepends the schema of CONTAINMENT, which exhibits that a trajectory "*you*" come out from a container "*nowhere*", which is a source and enter in another containment "*my life*", which is a goal. (19b) also applies the CONTAINMENT as "*my brain*" and "*my heart*" are all considered as a container, and it is "*you*" being filled in both the two, thus the CONTAINMENT interdepends the schema of FULL. Both of the two directly show "*my*" strong fondness for the other.

(20)　a. *Would you swear that always be mine?*　　[speech act-Compulsion]　《*Hero*》
　　　b. 让我们，形影不离。　　　　　[speech act- Compulsion + Unity]　《*至少还有你*》
　　　"*Let us never be separated from each other.*"

Expressions in (20a) and (20b) both exhibit the emotion of desire. In (20a), the desire is the possessing of "*you*", it is expressed implicitly by using the COMPULSION schema on the speech act, makes the sentence a form of question, sets a sense of requirement on "*you*" to swear that always belong to "*me*". And in (20b), the desire is intimately being with each other. Similarly, it also imposes a force on the speech act, which also pertains to the schema of COMPULSION, making the sentence an imperative form, asking the hearer "to be with each other like body and shade". Insofar, it applies the schema of UNITY. Here, such a desire is explicitly expressed in.

(21)   a. *For you I'd bleed myself dry.*   [Enablement+Full- Empty]   《*Yellow*》
        b. 既然爱了就不后悔，再多的苦我也愿意背。[Counterforce+Scale] 《死里都要爱》
       "Since I fell in love with you, I will never regret to do so, no matter how many obstacles there might be, I would like to accept and get rid of them."

Both the expressions of (21a) and (21b) explicitly show the emotional attitude of a willing of devotion. The schema for the English expression (21a) is ENABLEMENT, and it interacts with the schema of FULL-EMPTY. It tells that "my body" is a container, and I enable to "*bleed myself dry*" for loving you, that is, give all what I have for you. And in the Chinese expressions of (21b), the involved schema is COUNTERFORCE, while it interacts with the schema of SCALE, claiming that no matter how much obstacles there will be for I loving you, I am willing to face them and get rid of them. The sense of willingness gives a force back to the possible barriers that impose on "*me*".

(22)   a. *We'll never be worlds apart.*   [speech act-Compulsion+Unity] 《*Fix you*》
        b. 我说过我不闪躲，我非要这么做。[speech act-Compulsion+Counterforce] 《偏爱》
       "I said I will never dodge, I must do in this way."

The two expressions in English and Chinese display the firm attitude towards love. Firstly, both of the two employ the schema of COMPULSION, to impose a force on the speech act, making the sentence a claim. In (22a), such an attitude is expressed directly, and it also applies the schema of UNITY, showing that what to be affirmed is that "we are a UNITY" that never be separated. In (22b), the other involved schema is COUNTERFORCE, which implies that "*my*" attitude of "no matter what barriers there will be, I will definitely face it directly" is a force given back to the possible barriers for stopping us being together.

(23)   a. *There's a fire starting in my heart, reaching a fever pitch and it's bringing*

me out of the dark.   [Enablement + Out]   《*Rolling in the deep*》

     b. 如果爱告诉我走下去，我会拼到爱尽头。   [Enablement + Path] 《*暗香*》

"If love asks me to move forward, I will keep on fighting till the end of love."

As we can see, both this two examples exhibit the power of love and they all pertain to the schema of ENABLEMENT. The power of love in (23a) is explicitly showed, claims that love is a fire, it brings "*me*" getting out of the darkness, which is the very power that possible to make "*me*" get rid of the depressions, and besides, as it shows, it interacts with the IN-OUT schema. In (23b), love is the potential force that enables me to have the courage moving forward, that is, to keep on fighting against the obstacles of our love. As we can see, it also interacts with the schema of PATH. However, such a power is implicitly showed inside the relation of the speech acts by making an assumption.

(24)   a.   *I'm falling to pieces, yea.*   [Enablement + Fragmentation] 《*Feel*》

       b. 想念是会呼吸的痛,它留在我身上每个角落.[Compulsion+Whole-Part] 《*独家记忆*》

"Missing is the pain that can breathe, it remains at every corner of my body."

The negative emotion in (24a) and (24b) is sadness. In (24a), the negative emotion is explicitly expressed by using the schema of ENABLEMENT interacting with the schema of FRAGMENTATION, which depicts the decadent condition from being hurt. In (24b), the sadness is explicitly expressed also. It relates to the schema of COMPULSION, makes the missing after breaking up a sadness, and such a sadness is remain in the whole body, "*every corner of my body*" correlates to the schema of WHOLE-PART schema.

(25)   a. *When you try your best but you don't succeed.*

      When you get what you want but not what you need.

      When you feel so tired but you can't sleep.

      Stuck in reverse.   [Compulsion]   《*Fix you*》

       b. 我在幸福的门外，却一直都进不来。   [Blockage]   《*倒带*》

"I am always at outside of the happiness, and has never entered in."

This two examples both exhibit the emotion of disappointment and both of the two involve with the FORCE schema, while differ in the force types. In (25a), disappointment is implicitly expressed in the three "*but*", showing that the opposite results of what the person really wants, which pushes the person into frustration. Here, the related schema is COMPULSION. In (25b), the force schema is BLOCKAGE, it

shows that "*I*" keep on trying to gain happiness, while "*my*" desire has always been blocked by some factors, maybe the betrayal, hurt, deceiving from the other one beloved, and the disappointment is also implicitly delivered.

(26)　　a. Fairy tales don't always have a happy ending, do they?

[speech act-Compulsion + Path] 《*Big girl don't cry*》

　　b. 没那么简单，就能去爱，别的全不看，尤其是在，看过了那么多的背叛。

[epistemic Enablement +Part-Whole + Center-Periphery] 《*没那么简单*》

　　"It can't be that easy to love with consider nothing else, especially having witnessed so many betrayals."

The two expressions both display an attitude of restraint. In (26a), the restraint attitude is towards the expectation of the long-last love relations. It is implied by giving a force on the speech act, making an assertion by adding a tag question. The corresponding schema is COMPULSION, while it also uses another schema of PATH, showing that keeping the love relation requires the temporal factor. In (26b), the thing to be restrained is the motivation to love others. And the attitude is also implied by giving an assertion in an epistemic sense, which claims that "*it is not easy to find the perfect lovers*". Such a claim is inferred from the experience of witnessing so much betrayals and thus pertains to the schema of epistemic ENABLMENT, which gives that there are some evidence bars me from concluding "it is easy to love" (Johnson, 1987: 56). Besides, this sentence also characterizes the nature of love, which is considered as an object consisting of several parts, the absence of any of them will fail to construct the whole. It metaphorically tells that the preconditions of love require to take various factors into consideration, and thus pertains to the schema of PART-WHOLE, while at same time, as "*especially having witnessed so many betrayal*" also suggests that "faithfulness" is extremely important, it also interacts with another schema of CENTER-PERIPHERY.

(27)　　a. *When you're too in love to let it go.*　　　[Blockage + Scale]　　《*Fix you*》

　　b. 可今天我已离不开你，不管你爱不爱我。　　[Removal + Contact] 《*离不开你*》

　　"And now I cannot leave you anymore, no matter you love me or not."

The two expressions display the attitude of concession in love. In (27a), the motivation of "*let it go*" is blocked by "*my*" indulgence of love, which pertains to the schema of BLOCKAGE. Such an attitude is explicitly expressed towards the person beloved, and it also interacts with the schema of SCALE, showing the strong intensity of love. In (27b), the related schema is REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT, and the attitude

of concession is also explicitly delivered through the words of "*no matter you love me or not*". Besides, another schema of CONTACT is also involved to show that the desire of "*me*" is to never leave "*you*".

(28)　　a. *Confusion that never stops, closing walls and ticking clocks.*

[Collection + Compulsion]　　《*Clocks*》

　　b. 自尊常常将人拖着，把爱都走曲折。[Compulsion + Diversion + Cycle] 《倒带》

"*The self-pride always bother us, make the love goes in zigzag.*"

This two examples both display the hardness in love relations. (28a) tells that the endless conflicts between two persons in love keeps on collecting, which pertains to the schema of COLLECTION, and it interacts with the COMPULSION schema at the same time, as such a confusion contributes to the estrangement between the two lovers and also makes the time waste. This greatly implies the possible hardness when getting along with the lovers in the love relations. In (28b), the hardness of love is also implied in the status of how two persons behave in the love relations. It is the self-pride make the love relations hard, which pertains the schema of COMPULSION. However, it does not mean that love totally disappears, it just moves forward with the struggle of the persons thus pertains to the schema of DIVERSION, and such a motion recurrently happens in love relations and makes the love goes in zigzag, thus also relates to the schema of CYCLE.

As we can see, in short, image schemas are used for not only the explicit or implicit expressions of either the positive or negative emotions in both English and Chinese. And from observing how schemas interact with each other, we can see that when we express the feelings, attitudes and emotions themselves, they are not completely separated from one another. Sometimes we can infer the statues of the love relations in terms of the feeling of the person, or the attitudes of the person towards the love or the other one beloved. It shows that the complicated mentality of falling in love, being in love, chasing love back, being hurt by love, giving up the love and so forth is filled with strong desire and feelings, conflicts, struggling and so on.

4.2 Case study 2: Use Image Schema for Emotions of PATRIOTISM

4.3 Case study 3: Use Image Schema for Emotions of LIFE

Chapter 5. Corpus Analysis and Results

5.1 Methodology

Our data is used to check, first, in terms of different themes, what expressions of different types of either the positive or negative feelings, attitudes, and the emotions themselves in English and Chinese, respectively, are explicit, and what are implicit; second is to see what schemas are used for each of these emotions, respectively, and what schemas are of a high frequency; third is to make comparisons between this two languages to check what are the identical schemas and what are different, and besides, the situations of interaction among the schemas.

5.2 Data Analysis
5.3 Results

Chapter 6. Conclusions

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A Study on the Functions of the English Phrase
I Think and Its Chinese Translation

한징

A Study on the Functions of the English Phrase *I Think* and Its Chinese Translation

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A Study on the Functions of the English Phrase *I Think* and Its Chinese

Translation

1. Introduction

I think is an English cognitive verb phrase frequently used in people's daily lives. Previous research shows that the phrase *I think* occurs almost every three minutes in daily conversations, and therefore is regarded as one of the most frequently-used cognitive phrases for human beings (Kärkkäinen, 2012; Thompson & Mulac, 1991). The popular usage of this phrase may very possible be resulted from its many functions in discourse, such as to express people's evaluation on something or to modify the illocutionary force contained in the sentences. Taking the latter function as a detailed example, if a speaker would like to make the hearer take his or her personal opinion as just a reference rather than an absolute idea must be adopted, the speaker may probably start the utterance with *I think* to make the hearer be aware of this point. In this way, the force of persuasion contained in the utterances is naturally lowered.

This phrase is not only found in English, Chinese people also have this kind of phrase to facilitate the expression of opinions and reduce the illocutionary force in language. According to the online dictionaries, we can find many different versions of the translation to the English phrase *I think*, such as *wǒ* rènwéi, *wǒ* xiǎng, and *wǒ juéde*. Based on that, one dictionary further provides the information to differentiate these translated phrases: *wǒ* xiǎng is usually used in conversations and it suggests that the tone of the speaker is not very strong, while *wǒ* rènwéi is usually used to explain something in a euphemistical way.

However, when checking the English translation of the three Chinese phrases through the dictionaries, it is interesting to find that: from the perspective of pragmatics,

wǒ rènwéi and *wǒ* xiǎng can also correspond to *I guess*, while *wǒ juéde* seems to be only correspondent to the phrase *I think*. The mutual correspondence between *I think* and *wǒ juéde* in translation is also indicated by some Chinese literature (Liu, 2013; Yang, 2021). Therefore, in order to deepen the understanding of the functions of this frequently-used phrase *I think*, its Chinese translation *wǒ juéde* can be a recourse to study and refer to from the perspective of translation, so that the understanding of the pair of phrases will be enhanced.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Concepts for *I Think*

2.1.1 Epistemic Phrase

From the perspective of pragmatics, there are two main concepts for *I think*. One concept refers to that *I think* can be considered as an epistemic phrase. In the previous study, Kärkkäinen (2012) examines the past tense of *I think* and holds that the past tense of this epistemic phrase is mainly used to express people's evaluation, affective attitudes, opinions and their changes of the opinions. In Kärkkäinen's paper (2012), it is indicated that the functions of the past tense of the epistemic phrase *I think* should not only be comprehended according to people's usual habits or common sense. Instead, the phrase should be comprehended together with its conjoined utterance (the utterance that follows the phrase) because the epistemic phrase and its conjoined utterance actually form a whole structure which can perform several certain functions (Kärkkäinen, 2012).

Thus, in Kärkkäinen's paper, the construction of the conjoined utterances of *I thought* was observed in a detailed way and concluded after that. Taking the function of expressing one's personal assessment as an example, the structure of the conjoined

utterance with *I thought* can be concluded as "I thought + it / that + was + intensifier (e.g., very) + evaluative item (e.g., interesting)" (Kärkkäinen, 2012).

Although Kärkkäinen's study (2012) does not directly investigate the phrase *I think*, the study of its past tense can also shed light on the understanding of *I think*. Firstly, Kärkkäinen's study (2012) implies a possible research direction for the phrase *I think*, which is to study whether the functions of the epistemic phrase *I thought* can also be found on the phrase of its present tense *I think*. Though we may naturally assume *I think* and *I thought* have similar epistemic functions as they are just the different tense forms of the same phrase, the conclusion may still need to be confirmed by research.

The second enlightening aspect is that, when investigating *I think*, it is important to study the conjoined utterances of their epistemic phrases, because the conjoined utterances may contain certain information or construction that contribute to the understanding of these epistemic phrases. This point of view is also reflected in another study. In order to express emotional attitudes in discourse, speakers usually use different cognitive phrases to introduce clauses, but the implication of these attitudes may not be one hundred percent precise as sometimes the reason why people change these phrases is just to avoid the clumsy feeling of wording (Urmson, 1952).

2.1.2 Mitigator

The other main concept for *I think* is that it can be regarded as a mitigator in speech, one of the special types of discourse markers (Fraser, 1980; Kaltenböck, 2010; Li, 2016). A discourse marker is usually seen as one part of a sentence, but it does not affect the meaning and structure of the rest of the sentence (Fraser, 2009: Liu, 2009). Although discourse markers cannot change the meaning of the utterances, they are able to affect the other aspects of the utterances, for examples, they can imply speakers' emotions and

attitudes to the utterances. Fraser's paper (2009) concludes that discourse markers have four main functions in discourse (1) to request an action from hearers; (2) to provide a comment; (3) to point out the relation between two segments or sentences; and (4) to show the organization of the discourse. We will describe mitigation and mitigators in the following sections.

(1) Fraser's Theory on Mitigation

Mitigation refers to the mitigating force in conversations, which is considered to be very close to the concept of the politeness in discourse (Fraser, 1980). Generally, if a sentence is delivered with mitigating force, it is thought as taking the politeness into consideration as well (e.g., It would be better if you could come at 3:00 p.m. tomorrow), while if a sentence is delivered with politeness, it does not surely contain the mitigating force (e.g., Please come at 3:00 p.m. tomorrow) (Fraser, 1980).

Here is the description of the functions for mitigation in speech. Generally speaking, the motivation to apply mitigation in speech is to reduce the possible unwelcome effect caused by language on hearers (Fraser, 1980). From the aspect of the politeness, the unwelcome effects on both of the interlocutors are seen as face-threatening acts, namely, the threat to the expectation of one's image (Li, 2016; Pfister, 2010). Although it seems that hearers are the only side who will receive the face-threatening effect from the utterances, in usual situations, both sides will be affected by the negative feeling, because speakers will also receive the negative feedback from hearers (Fraser, 1980; Li, 2016).

Therefore, the potential threats from the double negative effects will naturally lead to the usage of some strategies for speakers to ease these effects. Specifically, two main strategies are usually used. One is self-oriented strategy, which refers to that in order to

be excused by hearers, speakers will add certain skillful wordings before saying something negative to hearers, or emphasize the objective result itself instead of the person who is in charge of the situation, for example, I am sorry to inform you that the assessment report shows your project needs to be resubmitted by next week (Fraser, 1980). The other is altruistic strategy, which means that speakers will skillfully weaken the seriousness of the occurred negative situations, for example, they may describe the situation of being failed in a challenge or performing badly in a task as just something quite normal that will happen every day on everyone (Fraser, 1980).

Parenthetical phrase *I think* is one of the frequently-used mitigators adopted to achieve the mitigating force in speech (Fraser, 1980). From observation, we can see *I think* is a structure consisting of a first-person pronoun and a parenthetical verb *think*, and this phrase can be placed at the beginning, the middle and the end of a sentence, for example: (1) *I think* that it is great; (2) It is, *I think*, great; (3) It is great, *I think* (Kaltenböck, 2010; Urmson, 1952).

To hearers, speakers' use of a parenthetical phrase usually can provide them with a better evaluation and understanding of the received utterances (Urmson, 1952). In other words, hearers' understanding of the speakers' words are partially resulted from the parenthetical phrases in the sentences, because these phrases can help speakers deliver the emotions and attitudes (e.g., *I regret* that I did not buy that book), point out the logic relation between the sentences (e.g., *I conclude* that they will visit the place), and imply the reliability of the utterances (e.g., *I believe* that they have visited the place before) to their hearers (Urmson, 1952). Though the functions of the parenthetical phrase *I think* are not explicitly indicated in the paper, it is implied this phrase may own the function of modifying the truth of the provided statement (Urmson, 1952).

(2) Caffi's Theory on Mitigation

Another influential theory on mitigation is raised in Caffi's paper (1999). The paper indicates that mitigation can help people ease the face-threatening effect in language, such as when they making an apology, refusal, disagreement, or saying something with self-contradiction (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016). Apart from that, another major function for using mitigation in conversations is to show speakers' cautiousness that is realized by three elements: bushes, hedges, and shields (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016). The explanations of each element are provided as follows.

Firstly, the adoption of bushes in speech is able to reduce both the feelings of force from speakers and the illocutionary force on hearers, and therefore, hearers will not feel pushed to conduct the speech acts raised by speakers (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016). The representative examples of bushes are the parenthetical phrases, such as *I think* and *I assume*. Since the bushes always contain first-person pronoun *I*, they are also called "I mitigators" (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016).

Secondly, the adoption of the hedges refers to using the techniques of raising some discussible questions or reducing the certainty of words, so that speakers' utterances will be more understandable to hearers, for instances, *if you need* and *probably* (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016).

Thirdly, the use of shields in speech is to provide some background information, increase the objectiveness, or reduce the significance of certain utterances, for example, *furthermore*, *comparatively*, and *by the way* (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016).

2.2 Chinese Literature on *I Think*

In Chinese daily conversations, *wǒ juéde* is regarded as the correspondent translation of *I think* as they are considered as owning the mutual correspondence in the

meanings (Liu, 2013; Lim, 2011; Yang, 2021). Just as *I think*, *wǒ juéde* can also be placed at the various positions: the beginning, the middle and the end of a sentence (Liu, 2013).

The previous Chinese study investigated the functions of *wǒ juéde* and concluded the findings into two major aspects. Firstly, when being adopted as an epistemic phrase, *wǒ juéde* performed three functions: to show speakers' inferences or judgement with high or low certainty, to express speakers' positive, negative or neutral evaluation, and to show speakers' agreement or disagreement with their conversation partners (Yang, 2021). Secondly, when being used as a discourse marker, *wǒ juéde* also performed three functions: to introduce a new topic when the phrase is placed at the beginning of a sentence, to continue a turn in the conversation when it is placed at the middle of a sentence, and to finish a turn in the conversation when it is placed at the end of a sentence (Yang, 2021). Besides the two major aspects, the adoption of *wǒ juéde* as an epistemic phrase was found much more frequent in the study. Its usage is almost over four times as many as that of *wǒ juéde* functioning as a discourse marker (Yang, 2021).

Let's compare the two main findings with those that shown in the previous English literature. The first finding in the Chinese study makes us easily think of Kärkkäinen's study (2012) which indicates the past tense of the epistemic phrase *I think* owns four functions: to show speakers' evaluation, affective attitudes, opinions, and their changes of the opinions. Assuming the epistemic functions of the past tense of *I think* can be applied on the Chinese translation of *I think*, namely, *wǒ juéde*, among all the four functions, only one function (to provide speakers' evaluation) is found to be overlapped in both English and Chinese studies. Besides, Yang's study (2021) supplements the understanding of this overlapped function by indicating that, in the sentences where

people adopt *I think* or *wǒ juéde* to express an evaluation, the conjoined utterance is regarded as an objective statement (Yang, 2021). Therefore, using *I think* or *wǒ juéde* to introduce the followed utterance can be considered as quoting an objective statement by speakers (Yang, 2021).

Yang's study (2021) further points out some benefits for applying mitigators in conversations: (1) for speakers, their stress of being always responsible for the truth and objectiveness of the provided facts will be released, and their provided facts will be easier to be accepted by hearers; (2) for hearers, they will not be pushed to show the same attitudes as speakers', and they will not be affected when making their own judgement (Caffi, 1999; Li, 2016; Yang, 2021).

The second main finding about the functions of *wǒ juéde* makes us think of the mentioned functions of discourse markers and mitigators in the previous sections. However, although *wǒ juéde* is seen as the translation of *I think*, the three functions of *wǒ juéde* found in the Chinese study seem to be only the common functions of discourse markers (to introduce a topic, to continue or finish a turn in conversations) (Yang, 2021). In other words, it seems that the Chinese translation of *I think*, namely *wǒ juéde*, was only adopted as an ordinary discourse marker, not a mitigator.

Another Chinese study examined the functions for *wǒ juéde* as a discourse marker. It holds that the major function of this phrase is to express speakers' cautiousness in speech, for example, by using *wǒ juéde*, it shows that only the speaker him or herself thinks like this, not others (Liu, 2009). The reason for speakers to use the phrase is that they would not like to impose their viewpoints on hearers, and therefore by using *wǒ juéde*, the force of the views will be eased to some degree (Liu, 2009). This echoes with the reason for adopting mitigation strategy of using bushes in speech raised in Caffi's

paper (1999).

2.3 Research Significance

  2.3.1 From the Possible Literature-Based Description on *I think*

As a frequently-used cognitive phrase, *I think* has been mentioned and described by many researchers. However, the variety of the descriptions on *I think* might lead to some confusion in the understanding of this phrase. For examples, (1) When *I think* is functioning as an epistemic phrase, it may be able to express speakers' evaluation in discourse according to Kärkkäinen's study finding (2012), while in another paper, this phrase is implied to be able to show speakers' evaluation in discourse when it is functioning as a discourse marker (Urmson, 1952). There seems to be an overlap between the two functions. The possible explanation for the overlap may be that the connotation for the provision of an evaluation of one phrase when it is functioning as an epistemic phrase may be different from that of this phrase when it is functioning as a discourse marker; (2) From the perspective of the politeness, a mitigator can be used to reduce the face-threatening effects on people, while from another perspective, the adoption of a mitigator is expected to show speakers' cautiousness in discourse (Caffi, 1999; Fraser, 1980; Li, 2016). Here the different purposes and functions of using mitigators lead to another research question worth to be thought: what would be the purpose and functions for applying this special mitigator *I think* in discourse?

The second point of the study significance lies in the lack of the literature on the function of *I think* as an epistemic phrase. Till now, not much literature has been found to study the epistemic functions of *I think*, so the systemic study of its past tense could be a better resource be referred to. Besides, most of the theories on this phrase focus on the description of its functions as a discourse marker rather than an epistemic phrase.

Furthermore, it is also true for the Chinese literature. It is shown that the study to systemically investigate *wǒ juéde* at its functional aspects has just emerged since around ten years ago (Liu, 2009).

2.3.2 From the Studies on *I think*

The next research significance is about the insufficient literature on the study of the practical use for *I think*. Although we can refer to the study findings from the Chinese literature about *wǒ juéde*, the correspondence between the meanings of *I think* and its translation *wǒ juéde* may not ensure the correspondence between the practical functions of *I think* and those of *wǒ juéde*. Even if it is assumed that the possible literature-based description for the functions of *I think* (referring to the description for the functions of its past tense) can be applied on its Chinese translation *wǒ juéde*, we can still find some differences between the description of the functions for *wǒ juéde* and its functions in the practical use indicated in the literature. The detailed differences are listed as follows.

Firstly, the previous research indicates that *wǒ juéde* can be used to make inferences, judgement, agreement or disagreement when it is adopted as an epistemic phrase, while these practical functions are not explicitly shown in the literature that introduces and describes the functions of the phrase (based on the assumption that the description for the functions of *I thought* could be applied on *wǒ juéde*). The possible reason for this may lie in that these practical functions are the detailed functions of each main function, and therefore they are not specifically described in the literature (Kärkkäinen, 2012; Yang, 2021). Or these functions found in the practical use may be the supplemental functions to those functions already mentioned in the literature.

Secondly, one previous literature points out that, speakers can benefit from the use of *wǒ juéde* as a mitigator to lower their stress of always being responsible for the truth

and objectiveness of the facts they provide, while it is indicated in another literature that the main function of the mitigator is to ease the unwelcome effect on hearers or the effect from hearers to speakers, not the negative effect directly on speakers (Fraser, 1980; Yang, 2021). Although speakers will receive negative feedback from hearers in some situations, the effect is considered as an indirect one for speakers because it firstly takes effect on the hearers rather than the speakers. The possible reason for the few or no mention of the direct function on speakers in the literature may be that, the functions directly on speakers are not the main functions of a mitigator (Fraser, 1980; Yang, 2021).

Thirdly, previous literature does not illustrate one situation that *I think* or *wǒ juéde* sometimes can perform two functions in one sentence. Let's see some sentences from corpuses as examples.

a. *I think* you're too late now to do much about it.

b. *I think* that's good.

c. *I think* that's why people like it.

d. *I think* that is why we call them standard.

e. *I think* it's a great way to end the day.

f. *wǒ juéde rènhé shìqing dōu yǒu qí jījí de yímiàn.* (Chinese Sentence)

   I think everything has its positive aspect. (English Translation)

g. *wǒ juéde kěyǐ jièyòng luósù de huà lái shuō.* (Chinese Sentence)

   I think it is able to be illustrated by Russell's words. (English Translation)

h. *wǒ juéde zhèshì yígè hěnhǎo de jiāoliú.* (Chinese Sentence)

   I think it is a good communication. (English Translation)

i. *wǒ juéde hěn jīngdiǎn.* (Chinese Sentence)

   I think it is classic. (English Translation)

j. *wǒ juéde zhèshì xūyào wǒmen kǎolǜ de wèntí.* (Chinese Sentence)

I think this is the problem we need to consider. (English Translation)

Here are some illustrations for the above example sentences. First of all, *I think* in example (a) functions as both an epistemic phrase and a mitigator, to express a personal opinion and imply cautiously that this is just an opinion belonging to the speaker him or herself. Similarly, in example (b), *I think* can be regarded as an epistemic phrase as it expresses the opinion that the thing is good, not bad. At the meanwhile, it is also reasonable to consider the phrase as a mitigator because the *I think* here can show that the owner of the opinion is the speaker only, not others.

Then come to the examples (c) and (d). The phrase *I think* in the two sentences also performs two functions: (1) to make an inference as an epistemic phrase, and (2) to express cautiousness as a mitigator, implying that it is just the speaker's own inference, not the inference of other people's. *I think* in example (e) owns similar functions as those in the previous two examples, while the difference is that the phrase in example (e) just expresses a common opinion, not an inference, when it is functioning as an epistemic phrase.

Finally, *wǒ juéde* (the Chinese translation of *I think*) in the examples of (f) to (j) are observed that they have common features: to express a point of view and to express it in a cautious way. The results of the observation show that the phrase *I think* and its Chinese translation *wǒ juéde* in some cases can be construed as either an epistemic phrase or a mitigator at the same time, which probably needs further investigation to confirm and explain this situation.

2.4 Research Questions

Considering the above reasons, this study is expected to deepen the understanding

of the functions of the phrase *I think* and its Chinese translation through the

investigation of their practical use. Specifically, the study aims to examine the English

sentences with *I think* and the Chinese sentences with *wǒ juéde* from corpuses to find

some answers for the research gap, and to supplement the explanation of the functions

for the two phrases when it is necessary. It is also expected to learn whether the possible

literature-based description for the functions of *I think* (referring to the description for

the functions of its past tense) can also be applied on its Chinese translation *wǒ juéde*,

and whether the previous findings about the practical use of *wǒ juéde* in the Chinese

literature can also be found on that of its English phrase *I think*. The research questions

of the study are set as follows.

(1) What are the epistemic functions and discourse functions of *I think* from the

corpus data? How similar or different it would be between the functions of *I

think* in the practical use and those that indicated in the literature?

(2) What are the epistemic functions and discourse functions of *wǒ juéde* from the

corpus data? How similar or different it would be between the practical

functions of *wǒ juéde* found in the current study and those found in the

literature?

After separately sorting out the similarities and differences of the two phrases (*I

think* and *wǒ juéde*) in terms of their functions in the literature and practical use, the two

phrases will be compared together.

(3) Whether the possible literature-based description for the functions of *I think*

(referring to the description for the functions of its past tense) can be applied on

wǒ juéde?

(4) What are the similarities and differences of the practical functions for *I think*

and *wǒ juéde*?

Finally, for each phrase, its functions from the literature and practical use will be combined together into one comprehensive description, and two descriptions will be compared.

(5) Whether the functions of *I think* and *wǒ juéde* can correspond to each other? If they cannot, what would be the differences between them? And how the results of the comparison could deepen the understanding or supplement the explanation of both phrases?

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① 동격 관계절 기능 핵어 Par의 자질 구조 분석

김 유 미

② Comparing English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger and
　Happiness

Le Thi Ngoc Thy

영어학 석사 본발표

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2022년 10월

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동격 관계절 기능 핵어 Par의
자질 구조 분석

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요약

본 논문은 동격 관계절의 통사 구조를 설명하기 위해 기능 핵어 Par를 채택하고, 이것이 갖는 자질 구조를 최소주의적 관점에서 분석한다. 관계절은 선행사를 뒤에서 결합하여 수식하여 지시 대상에 대한 더 많은 정보를 제공하는 역할을 하며, 일반적으로 선행사의 지시 범위를 제한하는지 아닌지에 따라서 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절로 나뉜다. 서면 상으로 동격 관계절은 주로 콤마나 괄호를 사용하여 제한적 관계절과 다른 방식으로 표현된다. 이 두 유형은 관계절이 갖는 공통적인 특성을 공유하지만 동시에 문법적, 음운적, 의미적으로 많은 차이점을 갖는다.

관계절의 구조는 Wh-이동 분석이나 선행사 상승 분석 등 많은 연구를 통해 분석되어 왔다. 이 두 가지 이론은 관계절의 구조를 설명하는 가장 대표적인 접근인데, 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 차이를 중요하게 다루지 않으며 공통적인 구조를 갖는 것으로 보고 일괄적인 설명을 제공한다. 하지만 이 두 유형 사이에는 명백한 차이점이 존재하기 때문에 이 차이점을 설명해줄 수 있는 통사적 기제를 필요하다.

동격 관계절의 연구에서는 동격 관계절이 선행사와 한 성분을 이룬다고 보는 통합 접근과, 동격 관계절은 주절의 통사와 완전히 분리되어 있다고 보는 고립 접근의 두 가지 입장이 있다. 본 논문에서는 de Vries(2013)의 연구를 근거로 하여 통합 가설을 지지하고, 동격 관계절의 병합을 설명하는 기능 핵어 Par 이론을 채택한다. 뿐만 아니라 Adger(2010)의 자질 구조 분석 이론을 받아들여서 핵어 Par가 통사적 병합을 위해 갖는 자질을 분석하고, 통사부를 넘어선 PF 접점과 LF 접점에서의 규칙을 설정한다. 핵어 Par의 자질 분석을 통해 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절로부터 갖는 통사적 구조의 차이를 설명하고, 핵어 Par가 갖는 PF 접점 규칙과 LF 접점 규칙을 통해 어떻게 음운적, 의미적 차이를 갖게 되는지 살펴본다. 이 연구는 더 나아가 동격 관계절을 넘어서 더 많은 유형의 삽입구절의 병합에 사용되는 핵어 Par의 다양한 자질을 연구하는 발판이 될 것이다.

I. 서론

영어 관계절(Relative Clauses)은 형용사처럼 명사구 내의 명사 핵을 수식하는 절이며, 형용사보다는 지시하는 명사에 대한 속성, 사건, 명제와 같은 더 풍부한 정보를 제공할 수 있다는 장점을 갖는다.

(1) a. I like the blue shirts.
    b. I like the shirts which John bought me.

(1a)는 형용사 blue가 명사 shirts를 수식하지만, (1b)의 관계절 which John bought me는 단순히 형용사로는 설명할 수 없는 이야기를 제공하여 선행사(antecedent)의 지시물의 범위를 한정시킨다. 관계절은 선행사의 지시대상을 제한시키는지 아니면 단순히 문장 사이에 삽입되어 추가 정보만 제공하는지에 따라 제한적 관계절(Restrictive Relative Clauses)과 동격 관계절(Appositive Relative Clauses)로 나눌 수 있다.

(2) a. I like the shirts which John bought me.
    b. I like the shirts, which John bought me.

(2a)같은 문장은 선행사에 의해 지시되는 개체(entity)의 군(class)을 관계절이 기술하는 속성을 갖는 것으로 제한시킨다는 점에서 제한적 관계절(Restrictive Relative Clauses)이라고 한다. 이 문장에서 I는 여러 장의 셔츠를 가지고 있는데, 그 중 John이 사준 특정한 그 셔츠만 좋아하는 것으로 해석한다. 즉, 관계절 which John bought me가 선행사 the shirt의 지시 범위를 제한시킨 것이다. 반면 (2b)의 관계절은 보통 구어체에서 문장의 나머지와 분리된 억양으로 '삽입어구로 제시된 말(parenthetical comments)'또는 '나중에 생각한 것(afterthought)'의 역할을 하는 동격 관계절(Appositive Relative Clauses)이며, 주로 콤마(comma)나 괄호(parenthesis)로 표시된다. 이때 관계 대명사는 마치 등위 접속사 "and"가 삽입된 것처럼 해석할 수 있다. 따라서 이 문장은 I가 어떤 셔츠들을 좋아하고, "그리고(and)" 그 셔츠는 John이 사준 것이라고 해석한다. 이때는 제한적 관계절처럼 선행사 shirts의 지시대상의 범위를 제한시키지 못하고, 단순히 추가적인 정보만 제공하는 역할을 한다. 이처럼 선행사의 지시 범위를 제한하지 못한다는 점 때문에 동격 관계절은 동시에 비제한적 관계절(Non-restrictive Relative clauses)이라고도 불린다. 본 논문에서는 이 관계절이 문장 중간에 삽입어구로 나타나는 동격

(Apposition)과 같은 행위를 한다는 점에 더 초점을 맞출 것이므로 동격 관계절이라는 용어를 사용할 것이다.

제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 선행사에 대한 추가적 정보를 제공한다는 점에서 공통점을 가지며, 전반적인 관계절의 통사구조는 대표적으로 Chomsky(1977)의 Wh-이동 분석(Wh-movement Analysis)과 Kayne(1994)과 Cecchetto&Donati(2011)의 선행사 상승 분석(Antecedent Raising Analysis)으로 설명되어 왔다. 이 두 분석은 관계대명사와 선행사의 이동으로 관계절이 파생되는 방식을 설명함으로써 관계절의 전반적인 구조를 가장 효과적으로 설명해준다는 장점이 있다. 하지만 이 두 분석은 모두 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 구조적 차이에 대해서는 자세한 설명을 제공하지 않는다. 한 예로, 이 두 분석은 wh-관계대명사나 NP 선행사가 이동한 후 선행사와 관계절 CP가 결합해 더 큰 NP를 구성한다고 주장한다. 이 점은 NP만 선행사로 갖는 제한적 관계절의 구조는 효과적으로 설명할 수 있지만, AP, VP, PP, CP등 다양한 범주의 선행사를 받을 수 있는 동격 관계절의 구조를 설명하는 데는 문제가 생긴다.

(3) CP: The three wise men advised resignation, which is good.

VP: The dog has thrown up, which the cat hasn't, fortunately.

AP: She denied to be corrupt, which she really was, though.

AdvP: He ran fast, which is how an athlete should run.

PP: They talked from one to twelve o'clock, which is a long time.

PP: John looked behind himself, (which is) where I stood.

(Vries 2002: 185)

제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절 사이에는 이 외에도 분명히 많은 문법적, 음운적, 의미적 차이점이 존재한다. 가장 대표적인 차이로 제한적 관계절인 (4a)는 wh-관계대명사 외에 보문소 that과 영 보문소인 ø를 허용하지만, 동격 관계절인 (4b)에서는 wh-관계대명사 외의 다른 요소를 허용하지 않는다는 점이 있다.

(4) a. I like the shirt which/that/ø John bought me.
   b. I like the shirt, which/*that/*ø John bought me.

이와 같은 차이점을 미루어 볼 때, 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절 사이에는 통사 구조적 차이가 있을 것이라는 것을 예측할 수 있고, 이 구조적 차이를 설명해 줄 방법이 필요하

다는 것을 알 수 있다.

하지만 Arnold(2007)나 Aarts(2018)같은 일부 학자들은 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 의미적으로 해석상의 차이만 있을 뿐 선행사에 결합되는 내부 통사구조는 두 유형에 차이가 없음을 주장한다.

(5) Do you remember [$_{NP}$ *that summer, which was so sunny*]?
(6) Do you remember [$_{NP}$ *that summer which was so sunny*]?

<div align="right">(Aarts 2018: 132)</div>

뿐만 아니라 앞서 (5)에서 동격 관계절은 보문소 that의 사용을 허용하지 않는다고 하였지만 반드시 그렇지는 않다는 증거도 있다. Stowell(2006)은 모든 삽입어구 관계절들이 반드시 동격 관계절인 것은 아니며, 이는 즉 that도 삽입어구로 나타날 수 있다고 주장한다.

(7) a. The guy next door (who I sold my car to) was arrested today.
    b. The guy next door (that I sold my car to) was arrested today.

이러한 점을 미루어보면 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 내부 구조 사이에 공통점이 있다는 것을 추측할 수 있다. 다만 이 두 관계절이 선행사와 하나의 성분을 이루기 위해 외부적으로 결합되는 방식에서 차이가 생기며, 이때 통사적, 음운적, 의미적으로 다른 특징을 갖게 된다는 추론이 가능하다. 다시 말해, 동격 관계절은 내부적으로 제한적 관계절과 동일한 속성을 공유하지만 외부적으로 선행사와 결합되는 과정에서 서로 다른 통사 구조를 갖는다고 볼 수 있다. 본 논문에서는 이 차이를 만드는 동격 관계절만의 통사적 기제를 분석할 것이다.

이 동격 관계절의 통사 구조는 동격 관계절이 선행사와 어떻게 결합되는지에 따라 통합적 접근과 고립적 접근으로 분석할 수 있다. 우선, 고립 가설(Orphanage Hypothesis)은 동격 관계절이 단순히 덧붙여진 것으로서 문법적으로 전혀 영향을 미치지 않는 고립 요소(orphans)로 본다. 반면, 통합 가설(Integration Hypothesis)은 동격 관계절이 자신의 닻(anchor)에 어떤 내부적인 통사적 작용으로 결합되어 하나의 성분을 이룬다고 주장한다. 특히 통합 가설을 주장한 학자 중 한명인 de Vries(2013)는 병합 (merge)에는 일반적인 병합과 Par-병합(Parenthetical Merge) 두 종류가 존재하는데, 동격 관계절은 이 중 후자를 택한다고 주장한다. 이를 뒷받침하기 위해 그는 기능 범주

(functional category) Par(entheticals)를 상정하여 관계절 CP가 어떻게 선행사 역할을 하는 닻(anchor)에 연결될 수 있는지 설명했다. 이 접근은 지금까지 이루어진 동격 관계절의 내부 구조에 대한 연구 중 가장 타당성이 있어 보이므로 필자는 de Vries(2013)의 Par 병합 가설을 지지한다.

하지만 Vries(2013)은 Par라는 기능 핵어가 갖는 자질에 대해서는 자세히 설명하지 않았다. Adger(2010)의 자질 분석(Feature Analysis)에 따르면 각 범주가 갖는 비해석성 자질(Uninterpretable Feature)은 해석성 자질(Interpretable Feature)을 갖는 범주와 병합(Merge)할 때 확인(Checking)되며, 모든 비해석성 자질이 확인 되어야만 완전한 문장이 된다고 하였다. 그렇다면 기능 핵어 Par는 어떤 자질(Feature)들을 가지며 어떤 범주와 결합해야 하는지를 설정할 필요가 있어 보인다. 본 논문에서는 자질 분석 (Feature Analysis)을 통해 동격 관계절의 기능 핵어 Par가 갖는 자질들을 살펴볼 것이다. 또한 동격 관계절의 운율적 특징을 근거로 핵어 Par의 PF 접점 규칙과, 해석상의 특징을 찾아 핵어 Par의 LF 접점 규칙을 정의하고자 한다. 그리하여 Vries(2013)가 제안한 핵어 Par가 통사부에서 병합되는 과정과 PF 접점에서 어떤 운율적 특징을 갖는지, 그리고 LF 접점에서 어떻게 해석되어야 하는지를 정의하는 것이 본고의 목적이다.

본 논문의 2장에서는 영어의 관계절의 전반적인 특징에 대해서 기술한 후 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절로부터 갖는 차이점에 대해서 자세히 기술한다. 3장에서는 관계절의 통사구조에 대한 선행연구를 살펴보고 이 연구들이 동격 관계절의 설명에 있어서 갖는 문제점들을 파악한 후, 동격 관계절의 두 가지 접근 유형인 고립 가설(Orphanage Hypothesis)과 통합 가설(Integration Hypothesis)에 대해 자세히 살펴본다. 그리고 de Vries(2013)의 핵어 Par를 통해 동격 관계절의 통사 구조 설명에 있어서 적합하다는 근거를 살펴본다. 4장에서는 Adger(2010)의 자질 분석 이론을 자세히 살펴 본 후, 이 이론에 근거하여 기능 핵어 Par의 해석성 자질과 비해석성 자질을 정의한다. 또한 핵어 Par의 PF 접점과 LF 접점에서의 규칙을 설정하여 Par의 통사, 음운, 의미 3가지 접점에서의 행위를 정의한다. 그리고 이 이론의 장점과 문제점에 관해 논의한다. 그리고 마지막 5장에서는 이 연구의 결론을 정리한다.

II. 동격 관계절의 특징

이 장에서는 제한적 관계절(Restrictive Relative Clauses), 동격 관계절(Appositive Relative Clauses), 그리고 자유 관계절(Free Relative Clauses)의 전반적인 특징과 차이점을 살펴본다. 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 자유 관계절과는 달리 선행사를 갖는 관계절로서 표면상으로 매우 유사해 보인다. 하지만 이 둘은 분명히 문법적, 음운적, 의미적 차이점을 가지며, 이는 두 유형의 내부 통사에는 차이점이 있음을 시사한다. 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절과는 구별되는 고유의 통사 구조를 갖는다는 점을 뒷받침하기 위해, 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절로부터 갖는 여러 차이점을 분석한다.

1. 관계절의 전반적인 특징

관계절은 크게 세 가지 유형인 제한적 관계절, 동격 관계절, 그리고 자유 관계절로 분류된다. 제한적 관계절은 명사 또는 대명사인 선행사(antecedent)를 수식하며, 이 선행사들 바로 뒤에 수식절로 나타난다. 제한적 관계절은 선행사에 의해 지시되는 개체(entity)의 군(class)을 관계절이 기술하는 속성을 갖는 것으로 제한시키기 때문에 제한적 관계절이라 불린다. 다음 예시에서 꺾쇠괄호로 나타난 절이 제한적 관계절이다.

(8) a. I only work with *people* [**who** I can trust]
  b. This is *something* [**which** you have to take seriously]
  c. There are *places* [**where** they sell counterfeit watches]
  d. They lived in *times* [**when** money was tight]
  e. There are *reasons* [**why** he kept quiet]   (Radford 2016)

이 예시에서 관계절은 who/which/where/when/why와 같은 관계 대명사에 의해 소개되는데, 이처럼 명시적인 wh-대명사(*Wh*-pronoun)를 갖는 관계절을 wh-관계절(wh-relatives)이라고 부른다.

Wh-관계절 외에도 보문소(Complementiser)에 의해 소개되거나 명시적인 wh-대명사를 갖지 않는 형태로도 나타날 수 있는데, 이러한 관계절을 wh-less 관계절(*Wh*-less relatives)이라고 한다.

(9) a. He never listens to *things* [**that** I say]

b. I don't have *anyone* [**that** I can rely on]

c. There is *nothing* [**for** me to do]

d. There is *nobody* [**for** me to talk to]   (Radford 2016)

　또한, 관계절은 명시적인 관계 대명사나 보문소 둘 다 없이 나타나기도 하는데, 이러한 경우를 영관계절(zero relatives)이라고 한다. 동시에, 선행사와 관계절 CP의 핵어 C 아래의 첫 번째 명시적인 성분 사이에 직접적인 접촉이 있기 때문에 접촉 관계절(contact relatives)이라고도 부른다.

(10) a. Mary is *someone* [he really cares about]

　　b. This is *something* [not to be taken lightly]

　(10a)에서는 he가 선행사 someone을 바로 뒤따르고, (10b)에서는 not이 선행사 something을 바로 뒤따른다. 이 영/접촉 관계절 역시 명시적인 Wh-대명사가 없으므로 Wh-less 관계절에 속한다. 이 영 관계절은 영 보문소(null complementiser)가 핵으로서 CP로 투사한 것이라 볼 수 있다.

　영 관계절의 사용이 항상 허용되는 것은 아니다. (11a)처럼 CP절 내의 주어가 관계화될 때는 영 관계절의 사용이 불가하며, (11b)처럼 관계절이 중첩되는(stacked) 경우에는 선행사에서 가장 가까운 절만 영 관계절로 나타낼 수 있다.

(11) a. The police stopped a car [that/*ø was speeding]

　　b. The police stopped a car [that/ø they caught speeding] [that/*ø they
　　　suspected of being used in an armed robbery]

　주로 콤마(comma)나 괄호(parenthesis)로 나타나는 동격 관계절은 보통 구어체에서 문장의 나머지와 분리된 억양으로 '삽입어구로 제시된 말(parenthetical comments)' 또는 '나중에 생각한 것(afterthought)'의 역할을 한다. 제한적 관계절과 달리 동격 관계절(appositive relative clauses)은 선행사가 지시하는 대상의 속성이 관계절에 제한되지 않는다.

(12) a. John (*who used to live in Cambridge*) is a very good friend of mine.

　　b. Yesterday I met my bank manager, *who was in an uncompromising*

mood

c. Mary has left home – *which is very upsetting for her parents*

동격 관계절은 (12a)의 John처럼 한정사(determiner) 등으로 수식되지 않은 고유명사와 함께 사용되거나, (12c)의 Mary has left home처럼 절(clause)로 이루어진 선행사를 받을 수도 있다. 또한, 동격 관계절은 (13a)처럼 Wh-관계절로서만 나타날 수 있다. (13b)의 보문소 that이나 (13c)의 영보문소로 소개되는 Wh-less 절로 나타날 수 없다.

(13) a. John (*who you met last week*) is a good friend of mine

b. *John (*that you met last week*) is a good friend of mine

c. *John (*you met last week*) is a good friend of mine

마지막 유형은 자유 관계절(free relative clauses)이다. 자유 관계절은 앞서 살펴본 두 유형들과는 달리 선행사를 갖지 않는다.

(14) a. [What he did] was amazing

b. I don't like [how he treats her]

c. You can have [whatever you want]

(14)의 예문들은 실제로 절보다는 명사류(nominals)로 기능하는데, 여기서 사용된 Wh-관계대명사들은 NOMINAL+RELATIVE CLAUSE 구조로 재표현 할 수 있다. (14a)의 what he did는 'the thing that he did'로, (14b)의 how he treats her는 'the way that he treats her'로, 그리고 (14c)의 whatever you want는 'any thing that you want'로 표현 가능하다. 자유 관계절은 선행사를 갖지 않지만 Wh-단어의 어휘적 특성에 따라 관계절과 같은 방식으로 사용될 수 있다. 표준 영어에서 what, how 그리고 wh+ever 단어들은 자유 관계절로 나타날 수 있지만, 제한적 관계절이나 동격 관계절에서는 나타나지 못한다. 반대로, which는 제한적 또는 동격 관계대명사로 나타날 수 있지만 자유 관계절에서는 사용될 수 없다.

2. 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 차이점

제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 자유 관계절과는 달리 명시적인 선행사를 갖는다는 점에서 공통점을 갖는다. 그렇기 때문에 이 두 유형의 관계절이 통사적으로 동일한 구조를 갖는다고 보는 의견들도 있다. 하지만 두 관계절은 분명히 차이점이 있고, 이는 내부적으로 다른 통사 구조를 갖는다는 것을 암시한다. 이 장에서는 제한적 관계절로부터 동격 관계절이 갖는 문법적, 음운적, 의미적 차이점을 살펴보고, 두 관계절의 통사구조는 내부적으로 분명히 다르다는 것을 뒷받침하는 근거를 찾는다. 자유 관계절은 선행사를 갖지 않는다는 점에서 이미 나머지 두 유형과 표면적으로 차이를 보이므로, 비교대상에서 제외하기로 한다.

우선 두 관계절의 문법적인 차이부터 살펴보자. 동격 관계절의 가장 대표적인 특징은 which/who/where/when/why처럼 명시적인 wh-관계사로만 소개될 수 있고, 제한적 관계절과는 달리 that같은 보문소나 영/null 관계사(ø)에 의해 소개될 수 없다는 점이다.

(15) a. The allegations [which/that/ø Trump made during his campaign] turned out to be fake

    b. The allegations, [which/*that/*ø Trump made during his campaign], turned out to be fake

(Radford 2019)

두 번째 차이점은 동격 관계절은 수식이 없는 고유명사 뒤에 나타날 수 있지만, 제한적 관계절은 그렇지 않다는 것이다.

(16) a. He finally got to meet <u>Chomsky</u>, who he had long admired
    b. *He finally got to meet <u>Chomsky</u> that he had long admired

게다가, 제한적 관계절은 중첩(stacked)될 수 있지만, 동격 관계절은 그렇지 않다.

(17) a. The one person *that I met* <u>that really impressed me</u> was Chomsky
    b. *Chomsky, *who I met in Cambridge*, <u>who really impressed me</u>, always replies to emails

또한, 제한적 관계절은 수량 표현(quantified expression)을 수식할 수 있지만 동격 관

계절은 그렇지 않다.

(18) a. <u>Every student</u> *that took my syntax course* enjoyed it

    b. *<u>Every student</u>, *who took my syntax course*, enjoyed it

제한적 관계절은 명사 선행사를 갖지만 동격 관계절은 다른 종류의 선행사도 가질 수 있다.

(19) CP: The three wise men advised resignation, which is good.

    VP: The dog has thrown up, which the cat hasn't, fortunately.

    AP: She denied to be corrupt, which she really was, though.

    AdvP: He ran fast, which is how an athlete should run.

    PP: They talked from one to twelve o'clock, which is a long time.

    PP: John looked behind himself, (which is) where I stood.

<div align="right">(Vries 2002: 185)</div>

게다가, 제한적 관계절은 주로 평서문이지만, 동격 관계절은 의문문, 감탄문, 명령문, 권유문과 같은 다양한 유형을 표현할 수 있다.

(20) a. He has massive gambling debts, *which* is he really in control of?

    b. He used the F-word on live TV, which how lucky he was to get away with!

    c. I've forwarded the document, which please be carful to double check

    d. He made a silly mistake, which let's not make a big deal about

이 사실들을 미루어 볼 때, 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 마찬가지로 선행사를 수식하는 역할을 하지만 분명히 문법상으로 차이가 있다는 것을 확인할 수 있다. 이 밖에도 동격 관계절은 선행사에 연결되는 방식에 있어서 제한적 관계절과 다른 통사구조를 갖는다는 점을 뒷받침할 만한 더 많은 문법적 근거들이 있다. 우선, 제한적 관계절은 연어(collocation)나 관용어구(idiom)의 분열을 허용하지만 동격 관계절에서는 불가능하다.

(21) a. The horrible face that Harry made at Peter scared him.

b. *The horrible face, which Harry made at Peter, scared him.

<div align="right">(Vries, 2002: 194)</div>

'to make a face'라는 표현은 '얼굴을 찌푸리다, 침울한 표정을 짓다'라는 의미의 관용어구인데, (21a)처럼 영관계사를 사용하여 제한적 관계절로 나타낼 경우 정문이지만, (21b)처럼 동격 관계절로 사용하면 비문이다. 관용어구가 동격 관계절로 분열될 경우 제한적 관계절과 달리 하나의 의미적 일관성을 갖는 구(phrase)를 이룰 수 없게 된다. 또 다른 차이점으로 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 달리 비정형절을 허용하지 않는다.

(22) a. I'll introduce you to the person to whom to send your receipts.
    b. *This is Fred Horner, to whom to send your receipts.

<div align="right">(McCawley, 1998: 445)</div>

(23) a. *The man, to do the job, came in.
    b. *Larry, for Mary to talk to, was at the party.

<div align="right">(Lobeck, 2000: 320)</div>

또한, 제한적 관계절은 기생간극(parasitic gap)이 나타날 수 있지만, 동격 관계절은 기생간극이 나타날 수 없다.

(24) a. John is a man [who$_i$ [everyone [who knows pg_i]] admires t$_i$]
    b. *John is a man who Bill, who knows, admires.   (Safir, 1986: 673)

Vries(2002)는 동격 관계절이 인허 관계(licensing relations)에 대한 장벽으로 기능하여 변항 결속(variable binding)을 방해하기 때문에 이러한 현상이 발생한다고 말한다. 게다가, 동격 관계절은 수량화적 재료(quantificational material)의 동반이동(pied-piping)을 허용하지만 제한적 관계절은 그렇지 않다.

(25) a. Twenty demonstrators were arrested, <u>some of</u> *whom* the police subsequently charged
    b. *Lawyers have been hired to represent the demonstrators <u>some of</u> *whom* the police subsequently charged

또한, 제한적 관계절은 초점화(focus)나 부정(negated)이 사용 된 주절에 따라올 수 있지만, 동격 관계절은 이러한 문장과 함께 나타나지 못한다.

    (26) a. We didn't talk to the man who married SUSAN.

        b. We talked to the man who married JANE.

<div align="right">(Vries, 2002: 195)</div>

    (27) *We didn't talk to the man, who married SUSAN.

이러한 사실들은 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 다른 방식으로 선행사에 결합된다는 것을 뒷받침한다. 즉, 동격 관계절을 분명히 선행사를 수식한다는 점에서 제한적 관계절과 공통점을 갖지만, 통사적으로 선행사에 붙는 위치나 방식에 있어서 차이가 있음을 확인할 수 있다.

    제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절 사이에는 위에서 살펴본 문법적 차이 뿐만 아니라 PF에서의 운율-억양 상으로도 몇 가지 차이가 있다. 우선 억양(intonation)상으로 동격 관계절은 핵어와 관계절 사이에 휴지가 존재하기 때문에 핵어에서 떨어지는 하강조가 존재하지만 제한적 관계절은 그러한 현상이 나타나지 않는다.

    (28) a. The Students, who had to take final exams today, are retired.

        b. The students who had to take final exams today are tired.

<div align="right">(Cowan, 2008: 437)</div>

또한, 다음 예문의 제한적 관계절에서는 [həl]로 축약이 일어나지만 동격 관계절에서는 [həl]로 축약이 일어나지 않는다.

    (29) a. those people who'll [həl] be there tomorrow

        b. *those people, who'll [həl] be there tomorrow

<div align="right">(Vries, 2002: 195)</div>

Vries(2002)는 이러한 억양-운율의 차이가 동격 관계절이 비연속적인 통사의 근거가 된다고 주장한다.

또한, Astruc-Aguilera(2005:70-1)는 제한적 관계절과 비제한적 관계절(NRRC)의 성조 범위(intonation domain)를 비교하는 실험에서 동격 관계절이 자신의 앞뒤에 재료(materials)로부터 분리된 억양 영역(intonation domain)을 구획(phrase)한다는 것을 발견했다. 그녀는 (30a)의 동격 관계절 문장이 (31a)처럼 구획되어 분리된 억양구(Intonational Phrase/IP)를 형성한다고 보았다. 이때 IP 사이에는 휴지(pause)가 오면서 음운적으로 문장의 다른 부분들과 분리된다. 반면 제한적 관계절인 (30b)는 관계절 앞에 등장하는 재료와 함께 구획되고 뒤따르는 재료와는 경계를 가지면서 두 개의 영역만 갖게 된다.

(30) NRRC vs. restrictive RC

    a. Anna's friends, who were loyal, supported her.

    b. The friends who were loyal supported her.

<div align="right">(Dehé 2014: 52)</div>

(31) NRRC vs. restrictive RC: intonational phrasing

    a. IP[Anna's friends]IP IP[*who were loyal*]IP IP[supported her]IP

<div align="right">(non-restrictive)</div>

    b. IP[The friends who were loyal]IP IP[supported her]IP

<div align="right">(restrictive)</div>

<div align="right">(Dehé 2014: 52)</div>

Watson과 Gibson(2004)은 그들의 실험 연구를 통해, 화자들의 즉흥적인 발화(spontaneous speech)에서 동격 관계절 앞에 억양 휴지(intonational break)가 발생하는 현상이 더 잘 드러난다는 것을 발견했다. Auran과 Loock(2011)는 코퍼스 연구에서 동격 관계절이 왼쪽과 오른쪽 가장자리에 경계를 가지며 하나 또는 그 이상의 분리된 억양 단위(separate intonation unit)를 갖는 것을 밝혀냈다. 이들의 데이터에서 길고 복잡한 동격 관계절은 하나 이상의 억양 단위를 가졌는데, 동격 관계절의 초성(onset)과 끝에 있는 경계와 함께 구조적으로 예측 가능한 자리에서 추가적인 경계가 있었다. 예를 들어, (32a)에서는 *since* 앞에 IP 경계가 있고 (32b)에서는 *weather*과 *with*사이에 있다.

(32) Long and complex NRRCs spanning more than one intonation unit

    (Auran and Loock 2011:184)

a. Israelis have sympathy and liking for Americans *which is just as well since the country is swarming with transatlantic visitors.*

b. Northern Scotland will have occasional light rains *which will be followed during the day by colder but still mainly cloudy weather with a few sleet and snow showers.*

(Dehé 2014: 53)

Dehé(2014)는 이러한 사전 연구들에 근거해, 동격 관계절의 음운적 구획의 기본 가정(default assumption)은 음운적 분리(prosodic separation)로 정의한다.

(33) Prosodic phrasing of NRRCs: Hypotheses

The default prosodic phrasing of NRRCs is separation. NRRCs are phrased in their own intonational domain, preceded and followed by the respective boundaries.

(Dehé 2014: 54)

(34) NRRCs: predicted prosodic phrasing

prosodic separation: (...) $_{IP}[...]_{IP}$ $_{IP}[NRRC]_{IP}$ $(_{IP}[...]_{IP})$ (...)

(Dehé 2014: 54)

이러한 동격 관계절과 제한적 관계절의 음운적 차이 또한 이 두 유형 사이에 구조상의 차이가 있음을 반영하는데, 제한적 관계절은 선행사를 포함하는 NP에 포함되면서 선행사와 통합되어 있지만, 동격 관계절은 그렇지 않다는 것이다. 이러한 통합의 부족은 동격 관계절이 독립된 문장으로 사용될 수도 있다는 사실을 반영한다. (35)에서 (B)의 대답이 바로 이 경우이다.

(35) A: *Bob seems extremely keen to become chair of the finance committee.*

B: *Which is exactly why we shouldn't select him.*

마지막으로, 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과는 통사-의미적(syntactic-semantic)으로도 다른 속성을 갖는다. 우선, 주절의 부정(negation)이 동격 관계절에서는 부정극어

(negative polarity item)를 허가하지 않지만, 제한적 관계절에서는 허용된다. 이는 주절과 동격 관계절 사이에 성분통어(C-command)관계가 작용하지 않음을 보여준다.

(36) Licensing of negative polarity items (examples from Burton-Roberts 1999: 35)
  a. None of the authors who had any imagination remained with them.
  (restrictive)
  b. *None of the authors, who had any imagination, remained with them. (non-restrictive)

마찬가지로, 제한적 관계절 안에 있는 대명사는 주절의 양화사(quantifier)에 결속(bound)될 수 있지만, 동격 관계절에서는 그렇지 않다.

(37) Pronoun binding (examples from Burton-Robert 1999: 35)
  a. She gave every boy$_i$ who/that cleaned his$_i$ teeth well a new toothbrush. (restrictive)
  b. *She gave every boy$_i$, who/that cleaned his$_i$ teeth well, a new toothbrush. (non-restrictive)

동격 관계절은 분리된 화행(speech acts)을 표현하며, 동격 관계절의 발화 수반 힘(illocutionary force)은 주절의 발화 수반 힘으로부터 독립적이다.

(38) illocutionary force
  a. Does Jake, *who I met last week*, own a car?   (de Vries 2007: 217)
  b. Are linguists, *who use the IPA*, invariably clever people? (Arnold 2007:276)

(38b)의 주절에 표현된 질문은 일반적으로 언어학자(linguists)에 관한 질문이지, IPA를 사용하는 언어학자들만을 말하는 것이 아니다. 또한, (39)에서 동격 관계절에서는 *probably*같은 서법 기능어(modal operator)의 범위 하에 있지 않다.

(39) Scope of a modal operator

Jake probably said that Mary, *who is my sister*, took a few days off. (de Vries 2007: 217)

동격 관계절의 지시표현(referential expression)은 결속 이론(Binding Theory)의 원리 C(Principle C)의 위반 없이 어주(host)안의 지시표현과 동지시(co-indexed)될 수도 있다.

  (40) Binding(Principle C)

    $John_i$ gets on well with those firms, who employ him/$John_i$ frequently.

(Burton-Roberts 1999:35)

  제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 선행사와 한 성분을 이룬다는 점에서는 공통점을 갖지만, 위에서 살펴 본 여러 가지의 차이점을 볼 때 선행사와 결합하는 과정에서 분명히 통사적인 차이가 존재한다는 것을 추론할 수 있다. 다음 장에서는 관계절의 통사 구조를 분석한 선행연구들과 동격 관계절의 구조적 특징을 연구한 많은 학자들의 통합적 분석(Integration Analysis)와 고립 분석(Orphanage Analysis)을 살펴볼 것이다.

III. 기능 핵과 통사구조

관계절의 통사구조에 대해서는 Chomsky(1977)의 Wh-이동(Wh-movement) 이론과 Kayne(1994)과 Donati&Cecchetto(2011)의 선행사 상승(Antecedent Raising) 이론을 비롯한 많은 연구들이 이루어져왔다. 특히 이 두 분석은 전반적인 관계절의 구조와 파생을 효과적으로 설명한다는 장점이 있다. 하지만 이 두 이론은 제한적 관계절의 구조 분석에 초점이 맞추어져 있으며, 동격 관계절과 제한적 관계절의 구조적 차이점에 대해서는 자세히 다루지 않고 모든 관계절을 총칭적으로 다룬다는 특징이 있다. 이 외에도 Aarts(2018)는 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 동일한 통사 구조를 갖고 있으며 의미적 접점에서만 다르게 해석된다고 본다.

이에 반해, 다른 많은 학자들은 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 다른 통사구조를 갖는 동격(Apposition)과 삽입구절(Parentheticals)의 한 종류로 보고, 동격 관계절이 선행사에 연결 된 구조에 따라 통합 가설(Integration Hypothesis) 또는 고립 가설(Orphanage Hypothesis)로 분석한다. 특히 de Vries(2013)는 동격 관계절이 선행사와 병합하여 하나의 성분을 이룬다고 주장하며 통합 가설을 지지하는데, 이 때 동격 관계절이 선행사에 병합하는 방식이 제한적 관계절의 병합 과정과는 다른 Par-병합(Parentherical merge)을 한다고 주장하며 기능 핵어 Par를 설정한다. 반대로 고립 가설은 동격 관계절이 완전히 분리된 통사부에 존재하며, 주로 LF접점이나 담화 상에서 의미적으로 연결된다고 본다.

이 외에도 동격 관계절의 Wh-word를 'it'이나 'there'같은 허사의 한 종류로 보는 Wh-허사(Wh-expletive) 분석도 있다. Hong&Lee(2016)는 동격 관계절이 두 개의 분리된 문장으로 사용될 수 있다는 점을 볼 때, 동격 관계절의 Wh-word는 '담화 조응소(discourse anaphora)'로 사용된다고 하였다.

(41) Speaker A: Perhaps she thinks it sounds better.
     Speaker B: *Which* it does really.

(42) Speaker A: He goes out playing squash, then he's not eating his main meal until eleven o'clock at night.
     Speaker B: *Which* is stupid.

위 문장에서 Which가 없으면 비문인데, 이는 'It is raining'같은 문장에서 허사

(expletive) It이 없으면 비문인 것과 비슷하므로 which는 it과 마찬가지로 허사라는 주장이다.

이 장에서는 관계절의 전반적인 통사구조를 분석하는 주요 이론들을 살펴본 후, 동격 관계절의 통합 가설과 고립 가설을 비교 분석하여 de Vries(2013)의 Par-병합 분석을 지지하는 근거를 찾을 것이다.

1. 관계절의 통사구조

Chomsky(1977)는 Wh-이동(*Wh*-movement) 분석으로 관계절의 구조를 설명한다.

(43) [*The photos of you which he has taken ~~which~~*] are really nice

Wh-이동 분석에 따르면 관계절 CP의 핵 C는 관계사 지정어(specifier)를 필요로 하는 언저리 자질(edge feature)인 관계사 특질(relative feature 혹은 R-feature)을 갖고, 이로 인해 관계 운용자/대명사(relative operator/pronoun)는 spec-CP 이동한다. (43)에서는 CP 내부의 영 보문자(null complementiser) ø이 Wh-관계대명사인 which를 spec CP로 Wh-이동하게 만들고, 이렇게 형성된 CP는 외부적으로 형성된 선행사 NP에 더해져 더 큰 NP를 만든다. 마지막으로 이 NP는 한정사 D와 결합해 DP를 이룬다.

(44)
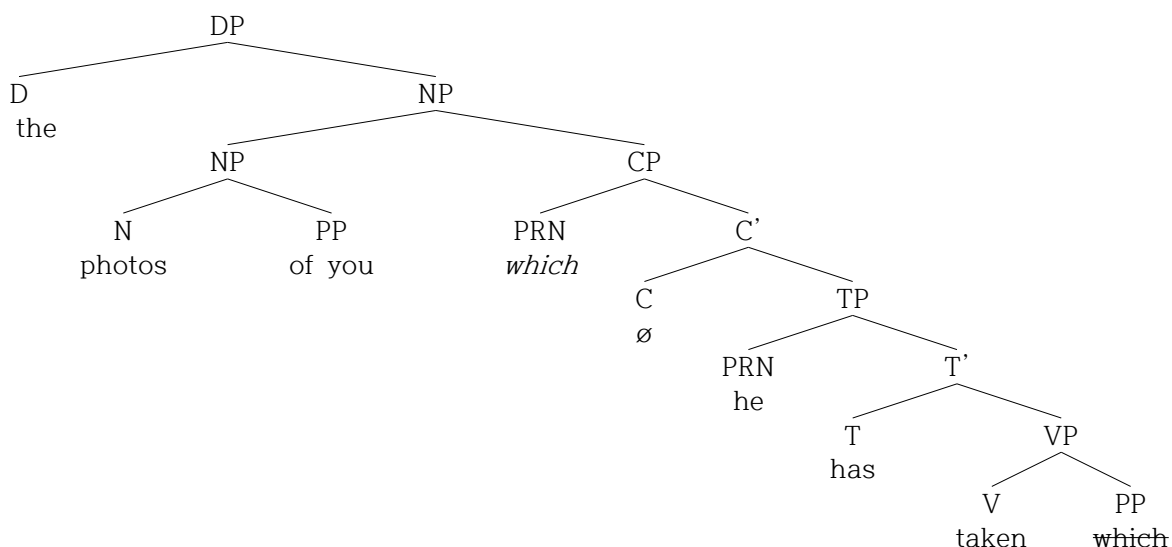
Wh-이동 분석은 관계절의 몇 가지 특징을 설명할 수 있다는 장점을 갖는데, 그 중 하나는 제한적 관계절이 반복적으로 중첩(stacked)될 수 있다는 것이다.

(45) *The photos of you which I took which you liked* are on the mantelpiece

여기서 선행사 photos of you는 두 개의 관계절로 수식된다. 부가어는 반복될 수 있기 때문에 관계절도 선행사에 붙는 것이라면 여러 개의 수식이 가능하다.
두 번째는 선행사와 관계대명사는 형태학적으로 격이 다를 수 있다는 것을 보여준다.

(46) $[_{CP1} [_{C1} ∅]$ the man $[_{CP2}$ whom $[_{C2} ∅]$ they have arrested] is a suspected spy]

한정사 the와 선행 명사 man은 성분통어(c-command)하는 영 보문소 C_1에 의해 주격을 할당 받는다. 대조적으로, 관계대명사 whom은 타동사 arrested의 직접목적어에서 기원하였으므로 대격을 갖는다. 선행사와 관계대명사가 wh-이동 분석 하에서 완전히 구별되는 성분이므로, 이들을 포함하는 절 내부에서 다른 위치를 차지한다면 격이 다를 것이라고 예측할 수 있다.
세 번째는 명사가 끝나는 위치가 아니라 기원하는 위치의 의미적 접점에서 해석된다는 재구성 효과(reconstruction effect)를 설명할 수 있다.

(47) Which photo of John does he hate?

여기서 he는 John과 동시지(coreference) 될 수 없으며 John이 아닌 다른 사람을 지시해야 한다. 이동의 복사이론(Copy Theory of Movement) 하에서, 의문사구(interrogative phrase)인 which photo of John은 동사 hate의 보충어로서 기원하고 wh-이동할 때 복사본(copy)을 남긴다. 그 복사본으로 남아있는 구에서 John은 he로 성분통어 되기 때문에 John이 he를 동지시 할 수 없다. 하지만 아래의 관계절 구조 예문을 보자.

(48) This is *the photo of John which he hates* ~~which~~

이 DP에서는 John이 한번만 등장하고 which만 복사본을 남기면서 이동한다. 이 구조에

서는 he가 더 이상 John을 성분통어하지 않으므로 Principle C를 위반하지 않는다. 따라서 Wh-이동 분석은 관계절에서 Condition C 재구성 효과의 부재를 설명할 수 있다.

하지만 이 Wh-이동 분석은 몇 가지 문제점을 갖는다. 그 중 첫 번째는 관용어구 명사(idiom chunk noun)의 관계화를 설명하지 못한다는 것이다. make headway같은 관용어구에서 명사 headway는 동사의 보충어로서 기원해야 한다. 하지만 다음과 같이 관계화 된다.

(49) The *headway* [which they have made] is impressive

만약 (49)의 which가 동사 made의 보충어 자리에서 기원하였고, 그 자리에서 관계절 CP의 가장자리로 이동한다면, 이 문장의 자세한 구조는 다음과 같아진다.

(50) [DP [D the] [NP [N headway] [CP which [C ø] they have made ~~which~~]]] is
        impressive

이 구조는 명사 headway가 관계절 CP 밖에서 기원하며, 동사 MAKE의 처음 보충어가 관계대명사 which이기 때문에, 관용어구 명사 headway가 처음에 동사 MAKE의 보충어로서 결합해야 한다는 제약을 만족시키지 못한다.

Wh-이동 분석의 또 다른 문제점은 부사류 명사(adverbial noun)를 수식하는 관계대명사와 전치사의 사용에 있어서 명확한 설명을 하지 못한다. 예를 들어, the way which people behave와 *the manner which people behave의 차이점을 살펴보자. 이 중 첫 번째 예시의 선행사 way는 수단(manner)을 나타내는 명사이며, 이것과 관계대명사 which 사이에 전치사 in이 없어도 정문이다. 하지만 명사 way를 명사 manner로 교체하면 관계대명사 which가 전치사 in과 함께 쓰는 것이 필수가 된다.

(51) The **manner** *(<u>in</u>) which she behaved was appalling

Wh-이동 분석 하에서, 대명사 which는 수단 전치사(manner preposition) in의 목적어 역할을 하여 PP in which를 형성하고, 이는 동사 behave의 보충어 자리에서 관계절 앞으로 이동하여 아래와 같은 구조를 만든다.

(52) [DP the way/manner [CP *in which* people behave ---]]

PP Hypothesis에 의하면, 명사 manner와는 달리 way같은 일부 특정 명사들은 부사적으로(adverbially) 사용가능한데, 그럴 경우 이 구는 묵음(null spellout)이 가능한 전치사가 핵인 PP이다. 하지만 Wh-이동 분석은 관계대명사 which가 전치사의 목적어라는 것만 알 수 있을 뿐이지, 선행사가 way인지 manner인지는 볼 수 없다. 따라서 Wh-이동 분석으로는 전치사 in이 묵음(null spellout)이 될 수 있는지 아닌지를 확인할 방법이 없다.

Wh-이동 분석이 갖는 세 번째 문제점은 조응소 결속(Anaphor Binding)에 있다.

(53) The *photos of himself* [which Jim has taken ---] are really nice

이 문장에서 재귀대명사 himself가 어떻게 Jim을 포함하는 DP에 결속되어 해석되는지를 설명하지 못한다. 결속이론(Binding Theory)의 원리 A(Principle A)에 따르면 조응소(anaphor)는 선행사에 의해 성분통어(c-command) 될 때 그 선행사에 결속되어 해석될 수 있다. 하지만 (53)은 DP Jim이 조응소 himself를 성분통어하지 않는다. 그래서, Wh-이동 분석으로는 (53)같은 문장을 설명하기는 힘들다.

이러한 Wh-이동 분석의 문제점을 보완하는 또 다른 접근이 바로 선행사 상승(Antecedent Raising) 분석이다(Kayne 1994, Donati&Cecchetto 2011).

(54) The cuts [(that) we are facing ---] are severe

이 분석은 선행사가 외부적으로 따로 발생한 것이 아니라 관계절 CP 내부에서 생성되어 보문소 that 앞으로 이동한 후 CP와 재병합(remerge)한다고 본다. 따라서 (54)의 선행사 명사 cuts는 외부적으로는 주절의 주어 역할을 하고 있지만 내부적으로는 facing의 목적어 역할을 동시에 한다. 이 분석에는 한정사(determiner) the가 관계절과 그 안의 모든 성분을 성분통어(c-command)하며, that-관계절 CP는 선행사 cuts와 분리된 성분(constituent)을 형성한다는 주장도 내포되어있다.

(55)

```
                        DP
            ┌───────────┴───────────┐
            D                       NP
            the            ┌────────┴────────┐
                           N                 CP
                           cuts       ┌──────┴──────┐
                                      C             TP
                                      that   ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            PRN            T'
                                            we      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                    T             VP
                                                    are     ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                            V           N
                                                          facing       c̶u̶t̶s̶
```
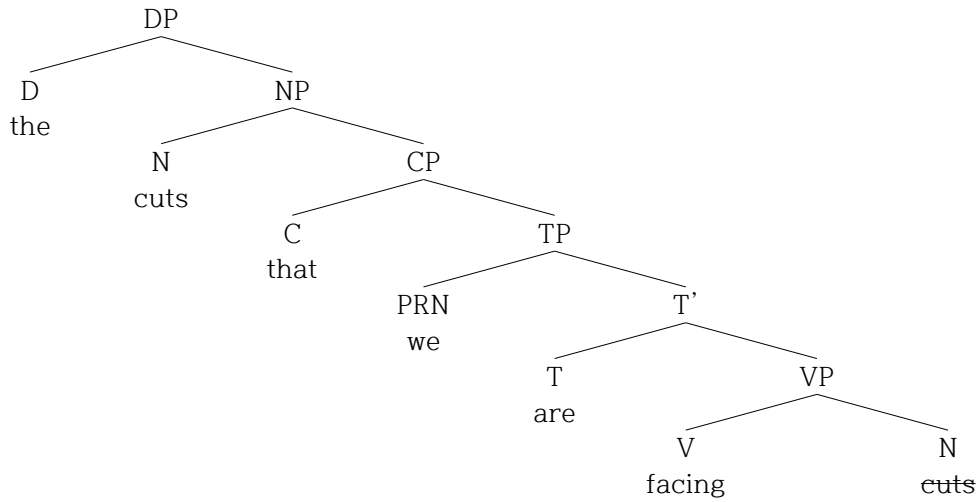
   Donati와 Cecchetto(2011: 528)는 보문소가 아닌 Wh-관계절의 경우엔 선행사 상승과 Wh-이동이 함께 일어난다고 주장한다. 이 경우 wh-관계사가 명사의 한정사 역할을 하게 된다.

(56) [DP the [NP cuts [CP [DP which c̶u̶t̶s̶] [C' ø [TP we are facing w̶h̶i̶c̶h̶ ̶c̶u̶t̶s̶]]]]]

DP인 which cuts가 동사 facing의 보충어 자리에서 CP의 spec자리로 Wh-이동 한 후 명사 cuts만 CP밖으로 선행사 상승을 하여 CP와 재병합 하면서 더 큰 새로운 NP를 만들어낸다. 이 선행사 상승 분석은 Wh-이동 분석으로는 문제가 있었던 구조들을 처리할 수 있는 방법을 제공한다는 장점이 있다. 우선 관용어 명사의 관계화를 설명할 수 있다.

(57) The **headway** *that they have made is impressive*

상승 분석에 의하면 선행사가 원래 CP안의 동사 made의 보충어 자리에서 먼저 생성되었다고 보기 때문에 'made headway'라는 단어의 연결이 끊어지지 않는다. 또한 부사류 명사의 관계화도 설명 가능하다.

(58) *The way that she behaved* was appalling

부사류 명사 way는 묵음 전치사 in의 보충어에서 기원하고 관계절 CP와 재합병하기 위

해 상승한다.

(59) The way that she behaved ~~in~~ ~~way~~

관계화된 way는 부사류 명사로서 묵음(null spellout)이 가능한 전치사의 보충어로 사용 가능하며, 이 자리에서 선행사 자리로 상승했다고 설명 가능하다. 하지만 명사 manner의 경우 부사류 명사가 아니므로 (59)의 way처럼 묵음 전치사의 보충어 자리에서 상승할 수 없다.

마지막으로, 발화 오류인 Antecedent Copying에서 선행사 상승의 증거를 찾을 수 있다.

(60) I hit shots [that I know I can hit shots]

Cinque(2011)는 이런 구조를 이중 핵어 관계절(double-headed relatives)이라고 칭하였다. 이 문장은 화자의 긴장으로 명사 shots가 중복되어 나타난 antecedent copying의 경우인데, 여기서 선행사가 관계절 CP내에서 발생하는 것임을 확인할 수 있다.

하지만 이런 상승 분석에도 몇 가지 문제점이 있는데, 그 중 첫 번째는 상승하는 명사의 수(number)에 관련되어 있다.

(61) the man that they have arrested ~~man~~

이 문장에서 명사 man은 상승이 일어나기 전 동사 arrested의 보충어 자리에 있을 때 한정사 없이 단독 명사로 사용되었다. DP 가설(DP Hypothesis)에 따르면 논항은 단독 명사(bare noun)가 아니라 DP여야 하며, man같은 단수 가산 명사는 묵음 한정사(null determiner)도 갖지 못하므로 문제가 있다.

두 번째 문제는 Impenetrability Condition같은 이동의 지역적 조건(locality condition)을 위반한다는 것이다. 이 조건은 어떤 성분이든 C아래 위치에서 CP 위의 위치로 바로 이동할 수 없다는 것이다. 이 두 가지 문제를 해결하기 위해서 Donati와 Cecchetto(2011)는 wh-less 관계절의 경우, wh-관계대명사가 오는 자리에 영 관계 한정사/운용자(a null relative determiner/operator)가 있다고 보고 이것이 wh-관계대명사와 똑같이 wh-이동을 한다고 가정한다. 그렇다면 명사 man은 영 관계 한정사(Op)와 병합하여 DP인 Op man을 만들어내고, 이 DP는 CP의 가장자리(edge)로 Wh-이동

한다. 그 후에, 명사 man이 선행사 상승을 하여 CP와 결합하여 더 큰 NP를 만들어내고, 마지막으로 한정사 the와 병합하여 최종 DP를 형성한다.

(62) the man Op ~~man~~ that they have arrested ---

결국, 이 분석은 wh-less 관계절이 명시적이지 않은 관계 운용자(*Op*)를 갖는다는 점을 제외하면 wh-관계절과 동일한 파생을 갖는다는 점을 보여준다. 즉, wh-제한적 관계절과 wh-less 제한적 관계절은 모두 Wh-이동을 포함하며 명사 상승(N-Raising)이 뒤따른다는 점을 보여준다. 한편, 이 분석은 wh-관계사가 NP 보충어를 갖는 한정사임을 가정하는데, who같은 일부 대명사는 일반적으로 보충어와 함께 쓰이지 않는다는 문제를 여전히 갖는다.

지금까지 살펴본 Wh-이동 분석과 선행사 상승 분석은 관계절에 대한 가장 설득력 있는 설명을 제공한다. 하지만 위의 두 분석은 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 차이점에 대해서는 설명하지 않고 통합적인 관점에서만 기술한다는 단점이 있다.

이 외에도 동격 관계절과 제한적 관계절의 구조를 동일하게 보는 견해들이 있다. Arnold(2007)는 통사적 완전성(Syntactic Integrity/SI) 접근을 통해 비제한적 관계절과 제한적 관계절이 같은 방식으로 선행사와 한 성분을 이룬다고 주장한다. 그는 이를 주장하기 위해 몇 가지 통사적 근거를 들었는데, 그 중 첫 번째는 삽입어구의 개입(parentheticals intervention)이다. 삽입어구 표현은 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절 관계없이 선행사와 관계절 사이에 끼어들 수 있다. 두 번째는 명사류 보충어의 외치(nominal complement extraposition)인데, 선행사의 명사류 보충어는 두 유형 모두에서 외치될 수 있다. 세 번째는 부가어 위치(adjunct placement)로, 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절보다 먼저올 수 있으며, 서로 반대 자리에도 올 수 있다. 이는 두 유형의 관계절과 선행사와의 관계가 동일하기 때문에 가능하다. 다음 근거는 중첩(stacking)이다. 일반적으로 동격 관계절은 중첩이 불가능하다고 알려져 있지만, Arnold(2007)는 적절한 맥락에서는 가능하다고 주장한다. 동격 관계절에서 중첩이 불가능한 경우는 통사적 문제보다는 담담화적이나 의미적 문제로 본다. 다음으로 외치(extraposition)를 근거로 들었는데, 동격 관계절과 제한적 관계절은 둘 다 동일하게 오른쪽 가장자리로 외치된다. 마지막 근거는 소유격 표시 접어 's를 두 유형의 관계절이 동일한 방식으로 붙인다는 점이다. 's는 성분에만 붙으며, 이 사실은 두 유형의 관계절이 선행사와 함께 동일한 방식으로 성분을 이룬다는 것을 가정할 수 있다.

(63) a. The person that ruined the party's mother left early. (RRC)

b. King Alphonso-who ruined the party-'s mother left early. (NRC)

c. my mother (who used to live in Edinburgh)'s new flat (NRC)

<div align="right">(Arnold, 2007:284)</div>

Arnold(2007)는 이 사실들을 종합해 볼 때 동격 관계절과 제한적 관계절이 선행사에 붙어있는 방식은 동일하며, 성분성에 관련해선 두 유형 사이에 차이가 없다고 말하며 이들의 통사구조를 다음과 같이 나타낸다.

(64) RRC construction:

```
                S
          /          \
        NP            VP
      /     \          /\
    NP      S_RRC    will win
    /\       /\
a person   who I detest
```

(65) NRC construction:

```
                S
          /          \
        NP            VP
      /     \          /\
    NP      S_NRC    will win
    /\       /\
   Kim   ,who I detest
```
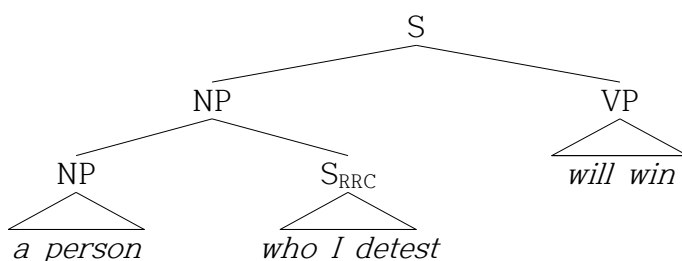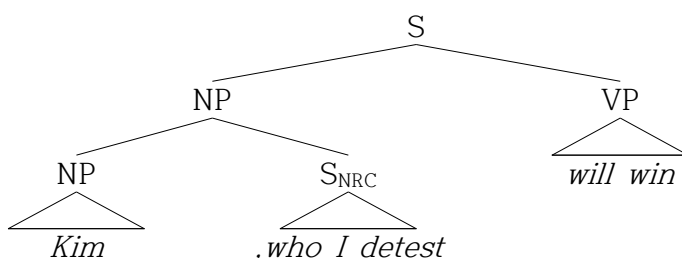
이 분석은 동격 관계절이 선행사와 완전히 분리되어 주절의 통사에 존재하지 않는다고 보는 극단적 고립(Radical Orphanage) 접근을 반대하면서, 동격 관계절의 통사적 통합성을 설명해준다는 장점이 있다. 하지만 명사 선행사인 특정한 경우만 포함하고 있으므로 더 많은 설명이 필요하다는 단점이 있다.

비슷한 연구로 Aarts(2018) 역시 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 구조를 동일하게 보았다. 그는 관계절(relative clauses)을 NP 내에서 Wh-word나 that으로 소개되는 절 부가어(Clausal Adjuncts)로 분석하며 다음의 예시를 들었다.

(66) Do you remember [_{NP} *that summer, which was so sunny*]?

(67) Do you remember [_{NP} *that summer which was so sunny*]?

(68) I'm worried about [_{NP} *the watch that was stolen*], not the one on the
      table.

<div align="right">(Bas Aarts 2018: 132)</div>

동격 관계절인 (66)는 대화자가 어떤 특정 여름이 지시되는지 알고 있는 상황에서 발화되며, 이 경우 관계절은 그 여름을 식별할 수 있게 해주는 더 많은 정보를 더하지 않는다. 여기서 콤마(comma)는 summer 뒤에 휴지(pause)를 둠으로써 성조상으로 관계절을 구별한다. 제한적 관계절인 (67)은 콤마가 없으므로 summer 뒤에 휴지가 없고, 여기서 관계절은 대화자들을 위해 특정한 하나의 여름으로 지시 대상을 한정시킨다. (68)에서 관계절 that was stolen 역시 특정한 손목시계를 유일하게 식별하는 제한적 관계절이다. Aarts(2018)는 비제한적 관계절과 제한적 관계절의 구분이 분명히 의미적인 것이고, 이들의 해석은 발화의 특정 맥락에 의존하기 때문에, 핵어(head)에 관계되어 위치하는 방식을 구조적으로 구분할 필요가 없다고 주장한다. 그는 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 둘 다 NP에 결합되는 부가어(Adjuncts)로 기능한다고 취급한다. 다음의 (69)은 (66)과 (67)의 NP를 나타내고, (70)는 (68)의 NP를 나타낸다.

(69) (Bas Aarts 2018: 133)
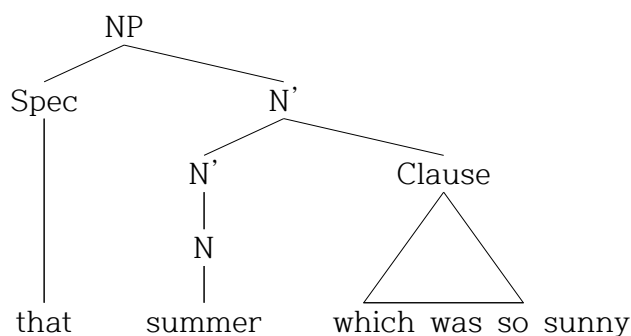
(70) (Bas Aarts 2018: 133)
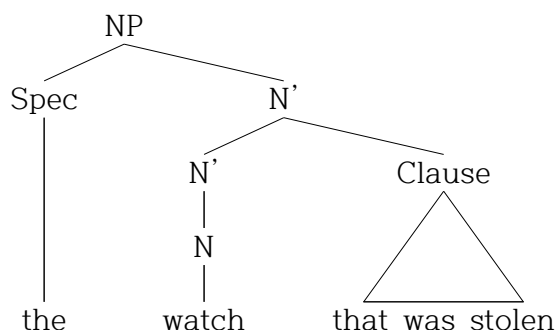
이 분석들은 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 공통점을 강조하는데, 이와 비슷한 입장으로 Stowell(2005)은 동격 관계절뿐만 아니라 제한적 관계절도 삽입구절(parentheticals)로 나타날 수 있으며, 따라서 *that*도 삽입구절로 나타날 수 있다고 주장한다.

(71) a. The guy next door (who I sold my car to) was arrested today.
    b. The guy next door (that I sold my car to) was arrested today.

이는 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절의 내부 구조 사이에 공통점이 있다는 근거가 된다. 따라서 여기서 할 수 있는 추측은 관계절의 기본적인 속성은 모두 동일하지만 선행사와 결합하는 방식에서 통사적 차이를 갖는다는 것이다. 바로 이 결합 과정에서 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 서로 구별되는 특징을 갖게 되며, 이로 인해 통사적, 음운적, 의미적 차이가 발생하게 되는 것이다. 이 두 관계절은 분명히 공통점을 갖지만, 앞서 살펴본 많은 차이점을 볼 때 완전히 똑같은 구조라고 보긴 힘들다. 따라서 내부적으로는 동일한 관계절의 속성을 공유하지만, 외부적으로 선행사와 결합하는 과정에서 통사적 차이가 있다고 가설을 세울 것이다. 다음 장에서는 이 차이를 유발하는 통사적 기제가 무엇인지 분석한다.

2. 동격 관계절의 통합 가설과 고립 가설

동격 관계절의 연구에서 언어학자들은 고립성(Orphanage)와 성분성(Constituency)에 따라 크게 두 가지 입장을 갖는다. 우선 고립(Orphanage)분석에 해당하는 주절 가설

(Main Clauses Hypothesis/MCH)은 동격 관계절이 주절(main clauses)이라는 입장으로, 동격 관계절이 선행사와 완전히 분리된 다른 성분을 이룬다고 본다. Ross(1967)는 동격절(Appositives)은 주절이며 심층구조(D-structure)에서 주절(matrix clause)로 등위접속(coordination) 된다고 본다. 그 후에 변형(transformation)이 일어나 그 절을 삽입어구(parentheticals)나 관계절로 바꾸고, 표면상 선행사에 근접하게 나타난다고 주장한다. Thompson(1971)이 이 주장을 이어받았는데, 그는 제한적 관계절에도 이 분석을 적용시켰다. 또한 Emonds(1979)와 Stuurman(1983)도 이 분석을 지지한다.

특히, 고립 분석은 '급진적(radical)'과 '비급진적(nonradical)' 고립으로 다시 분류되는데, 이 중 급진적 고립(radical orphanage)은 동격절이 주절의 통사구조에 아예 존재하지 않는다고 보기도 한다. 예를 들어 Safir(1986)는 LF를 넘어서 LF'레벨이 있고, 여기서 선행사 옆에 ARC가 붙는다고 하였다. 비슷하게, Fabb(1990)와 Canac-Marquis & Tremblay(1997)는 동격 관계절이 담화(discourse) 수준에서 붙는다고 하였다. 비급진적 고립 분석은 동격 관계절이 통사적으로 존재하지만 선행사와 함께 생성되진 않는다고 보는 접근이다.

이에 반대되는 입장은 동격 관계절이 선행사와 하나의 성분(Constituent)을 이룬다고 보는 종속절 가설(Subordinate Clause Hypothesis/SCH)이다. 이 분석은 동격 관계절을 주절이 아닌 종속절로 본다. 제한적 관계절과의 차이점은 NP구 내에서 더 높은 레벨에서 결합한다는 것이다. 이 입장은 Jackendoff(1977:Ch7)에서 시작해서 Perzanowski(1980)에 의해 이어졌다. 이분지 문법에서 Jackendoff의 분석은 오른쪽 부가(right-adjunction)으로 해석되었다. 예를 들어, Smits(1988:partⅡ)는 동격절(appositives)이 NP-level에서 오른쪽에 붙는다고(right-adjoined)보았고, 후에 Toribio(1992)는 동격 관계절의 위치가 DP-level에서 결합하는 것으로 보았다.

고립 가설의 장점은 왜 동격 관계절이 주절의 영역 안에 있지 않은지 설명해준다는 것이다. 하지만 동시에 선행사과 동격절 사이의 단일한 관계를 전혀 설명하지 못한다는 단점이 있다. 따라서 본 논문에서는 선행사와 동격절이 하나의 성분을 이룬다는 성분성 접근을 지지할 것이다.

이러한 학자들의 입장의 차이를 de Vries(2006)는 다음과 같이 분류했다.

그림 1. Theories on appositive relativization (de Vries 2006: 233)

Syntactic connection			Main clause	Parataxis	Authors
Constituency	Constituent coordination		−	+	Sturm (1986) Koster (1995, 2000) De Vries (2000, 2002)
	Complementation		−	−	Smith (1964) Platzack (1997, 2000) Lipták (1998)
	Right-adjunction (SCH)		−	−	Jackendoff (1977) Perzanowski (1980) Smits (1988) [type A][a] Toribio (1992)
(Mixed)	Initial constituency, LF detachment		−/+ [(SEM)]	−	Kayne (1994) Bianchi (1999) [type i][b] Demirdache (1991) Del Gobbo (2003)
Orphanage	Nonradical	Extraposition	−	−	Smits (1988) [type B][c] Bianchi (1999) [type ii][d]
		Discont. constituent	−	−	McCawley (1982)
		Coordination (MCH)	+	+	Ross (1967) Thompson (1971) Emonds (1979) Stuurman (1983)
	Radical		+/−	+	Safir (1986) Fabb (1990) Canac-Marquis and Tremblay (1998)

[a] Regular appositive relatives
[b] Extraposed appositive relatives with a continuative meaning or a split antecedent
[c] Regular appositive relatives
[d] Appositive relatives with a nonnominal antecedent

이어서 de Vries(2012a)는 통합적 분석을 지지하며, 동격 관계절과 선행사 사이에 성분통어(c-command)가 작용하지 않는다는 점을 들면서 삽입어구(parenthetical)가 일반적인 방식과는 다르게 어주(host)에 결합된다고 하였다. 즉, 그는 병합(merge)에는 두 가지 종류가 있다고 주장한다.

(72) Two types of merge (de Vries 2012a: 156)
    a. (Regular) merge (A,B) yields C such that
      ⅰ. C directly (regularly) includes A,
      ⅱ. C directly (regularly) includes B, *and*
      ⅲ. A is the merge-mate of B.
    b. Par(enthetical) merge (A,B) yields C such that
      ⅰ. C directly par-includes A,
      ⅱ. C directly par-includes B, *and*

ⅲ. A is the merge-mate of B.

Vries(2012a: 158)는 담화를 연결하는 '삽입어구 명시 등위접속사(parenthetical specifying coordinator)'로서 Par라는 통사적 핵(syntactic head)을 설정한다. 그에 따르면 삽입어구(parentheticals)는 ParP라는 추상적인 구에 내포되어 있으며, 이 ParP는 어주(host)에 결합(adjoin)하여 선형상(linearly) 어주와 삽입어구의 순서대로 나타나게 된다. 이러한 Par-병합(Par-merge)의 보이지 않는 내부구조 때문에 성분통어 관계가 작용하지 않는 것이다.

이어서 Griffiths와 de Vries(2013)(이하 G&dV)는 기능 핵어 Par를 채택하여 Par-병합(Par-merge)을 통해 얻을 수 있는 이점들을 설명했는데, 그 중 첫 번째는 닻(anchor)과 동격절(appositives)이 왜 선형(linearly)에서 근접한지 설명해준다는 것이다. 이 부분은 고립 분석으로는 더 설명하기 힘들다. 두 번째는 더 추상적인 레벨에서 (통사는 소리와 의미 사이를 중재한다고 가정할 때) 핵어 Par는 동격이 갖는 정보를 주절(host clause)에 의해 지시되는 명제(preposition)에 부차적인 것으로 만들어주는 의미적 운용자(semantic operator)인 Potts (2005)의 "comma feature"에 필수적인 통사적 장소(syntactic locus)를 제공한다는 점이다. 세 번째 이점은 Par 접근으로 삽입 어구(parentheticals)들이 서로에 대하여 반복적으로 해석될 수 있음을 예측할 수 있다는 점이다.

(73) I like linguists, who study language, such an intriguing phenomenon, as you know, and in particular syntacticians, the most intelligent of all.
(G&dV 2013: 334)

G&dV(2013)는 PF 삭제 접근(PF deletion approach)을 채택하여 생략(Ellipsis)과 조각문 대답(Fragment Answers)을 통해 기능 핵어 Par 분석을 뒷받침한다. 조각문 대답은 생략 과정에서 일어나는 나머지 부분(remnant)을 말하고, 최종적으로 남는 나머지 부분은 절의 왼쪽 주변(left periphery)으로 초점이동(focus-moved)된다. 그리고 대개 남은 C'가 생략된다. 생략은 성분(constituent)에만 적용되므로, 동격 관계절에서 생략된 장소도 완전한 구(phrase)여야 한다. 게다가, 생략은 맥락을 통해서 회복 가능하다는 점에서 이미 주어진 자료를 포함한다. 따라서, 생략된 절과 생략되지 않은 절 사이에 해석차이가 있으면 안 된다.

(74) a. John stole [Mary's computer, which crashes all the time].

   b. [John stole Mary's computer, which got him arrested].

<div align="right">(G&dV 2013: 335)</div>

위의 두 문장을 다음의 질문과 대답에서 동격 관계절(ARC)의 삭제가 일어난 후 나머지 부분(remnant)과 함께 유지되는지 아닌지를 테스트해볼 수 있다. 우선, (75)처럼 직접 목적어 대답을 유발하는 질문에서는 (75B ⅰ)처럼 목적어에 관련된 동격 관계절이 나타나거나 (75B ⅱ)처럼 절에 관련된 동격 관계절이 나타날 수 있고, 이로 인해 성분적 해석과 전제적 해석의 중의성이 생긴다. 하지만 (76)처럼 질문이 주어를 포함한다면, (76B ⅱ)처럼 절에 연결된 동격 관계절은 가능하지만 (76B ⅰ)처럼 목적어에 관련된 동격 관계절은 불가능해지면서 전제적 해석만 가능해진다.

(75) A: What did John steal?

   B: ⅰ. Mary's computer, which crashes all the time.

     ⅱ. Mary's computer, which got him arrested.

<div align="right">(G&dV 2013: 335)</div>

(76) A: Who stole Mary's computer?

   B: ⅰ. *John (did), which crashes all the time.

     ⅱ. John (did), which got him arrested.

<div align="right">(G&dV 2013: 335)</div>

우선 전제적 해석을 다시 살펴보면 위의 (75B ⅱ)는 (77)으로, (76B ⅱ)는 (78)로 다시 나타낼 수 있다.

(77) A: What did John steal?

   B: $[_{ParP}[_{CP}[_{DP}$ Mary's computer$]_1$ $[_{C'}$ $\complement^0$ $[_{TP}$ ~~John stole~~ $t_1]]]$ $[_{Par'}$ Par^0 $[_{ARC}$ which got him arrested$]]].$

<div align="right">(G&dV 2013: 336)</div>

ParP
- CP
  - DP₁ : Mary's computer
  - C′
    - C⁰
    - TP : John stole t₁
- Par′
  - Par⁰
  - ARC : which got him arrested
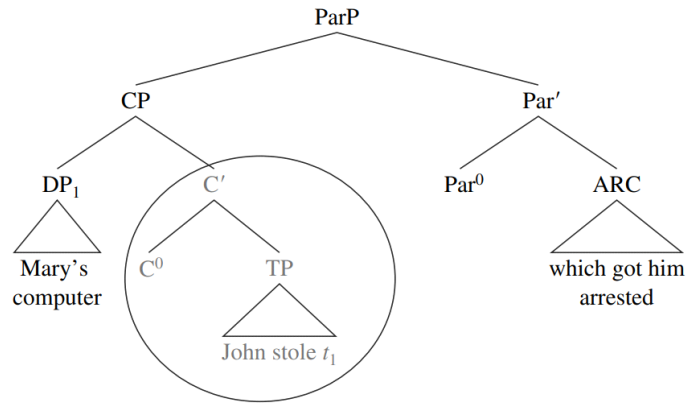
(78) A: Who stole Mary's computer?

B: [ParP[CP[DP John]₁ [C′ Ɇ⁰ [TP t₁ ~~stole Mary's computer~~]]] [Par′ Par⁰ [ARC which got him arrested]]].

ParP
- CP
  - DP₁ : John
  - C′
    - C⁰
    - TP : t₁ stole Mary's computer
- Par′
  - Par⁰
  - ARC : which got him arrested
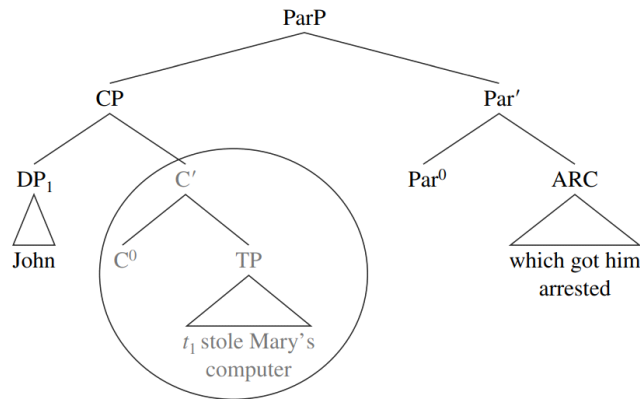
이제 동격 관계절이 명사구를 선행사로 취하는 성분적 해석으로 가보자. (79)은 (75B ⅰ)의 설명이다. 여기서 전체 ParP는 초점이동 되었고(focus-moved), C′의 생략으로 인해 직접 목적어가 동격 관계절과 조각 대답(fragment answer)으로서 결합되게 한다.

(79) A: What did John steal?

B: [CP[ParP[DP Mary's computer] [Par′ Par⁰ [ARC which crashes all the time]]]₁ [C′ Ɇ⁰ [TP ~~John stole~~ t₁]]].
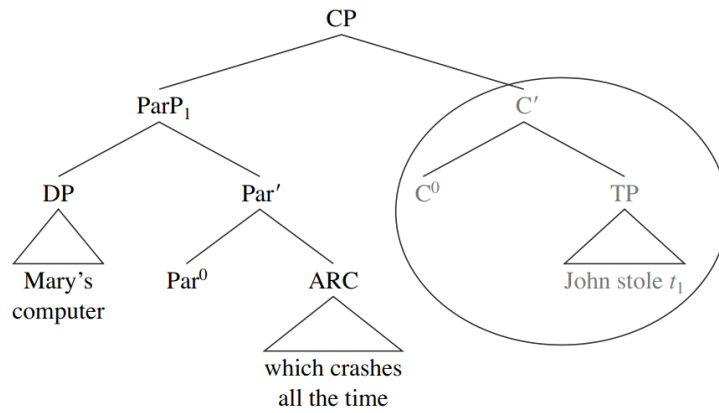
다음은 불가능한 경우인 (76B ⅰ)를 나타낸다.

(80) A: Who stole Mary's computer?

B: *[CP John]₁ [C' C⁰ [TP t₁ [VP ~~stole~~ [ParP[DP ~~Mary's computer~~] [Par' Par⁰ [ARC which crashes all the time]]]]]]].

(G&dV 2013: 338)
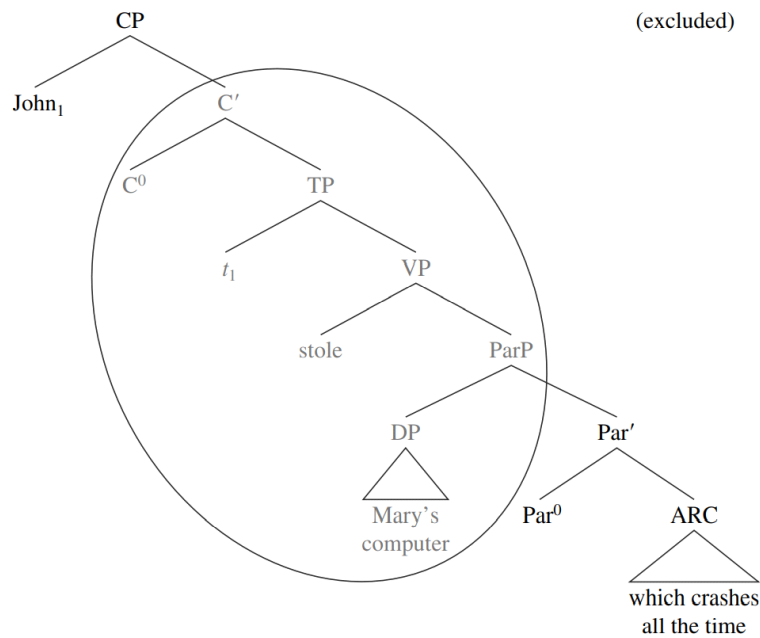
(80B)의 생략 장소가 (80A)로부터 회복 가능하다 해도, 여기서 성분이 아닌 것을 생략

하므로 배제된다. 고립 분석(Orphanage Analysis)처럼 동격 관계절이 완전히 선행사와 분리되어 있다고 본다면 이 문장은 정문으로 해석되어야 한다. 하지만 고립 분석으로는 이 비문을 설명할 수 없다. 따라서, G&dV(2013)는 PF 삭제 테스트를 통해 삽입어구 구조들은 통사적 수준에서 그들의 어주와 결합한다는 주장을 뒷받침한다.

하지만 이에 반대하는 입장으로 Ott(2016)는 G&dV의 통합적 분석에 반대하며, 동격 관계절의 설명에 있어서는 고립 분석이 더 적절하다고 주장한다. 그 첫 번째 근거로 G&dV(2013)는 동격 관계절이 생략 장소를 넘어서 외치(extraposition)된 자리에 올 수 있는 가능성을 배제했다는 문제점을 제기했다. G&dV(2013)는 다음 문장 (81)을 (82)로 분석하며, (81a-b) 조각 대답(fragment answer)은 비논항 이동한(A'-moved) 성분의 삭제가 성공적으로 일어난 후의 나머지 부분이지만, (81c)는 삭제된 동격 관계절을 제외한 삭제된 부분이 성분이 아니므로 비문이라고 보았고, 이는 동격 관계절이 자신의 닻(anchor)에 연결되어 있다는 증거를 제공한다고 주장했다.

(81)　A: Who stole Mary's car?
　　　a. B: John, who's a notorious thief.　(who=John)
　　　b. B: John, which is awful.　　　　　(which=John stole Mary's car)
　　　c. B: *John, which is blue.　　　　　(which=Mary's car)

(82) a. [[$_{DP}$ John$_i$ [$_{ARC}$ who's a notorious thief]]$_1$ <[t_1 stole Mary's car]>].
　　　b. [$_{CP}$ [John$_1$ <[t_1 stole Mary's car]>]$_i$ [$_{ARC}$ which$_i$ is awful]].
　　　c. *[John$_i$ <[t_1 stole [$_{DP}$ [Mary's car]$_i$ [$_{ARC}$ which$_i$ is blue]]]>].

하지만 Ott(2016)는 동격 관계절이 외치될 경우 (81c)를 다음과 같이 분석 가능하므로 정문이라고 주장한다.

(83) [John$_2$ [<[t_2 stole [Mary's car]$_i$]> [$_{ARC}$ which$_i$ is blue]]].

하지만 이 주장을 위해선 동격 관계절이 단순한 외치만 가능한 것이 아니라, 가능한 생략 장소 밖의 자리로 외치된다는 것이 입증되어야 하는데, G&dV는 (84B)의 경우를 들며 이것이 불가능하다고 주장한다.

(84) A: Who might have stolen Mary's car yesterday?

B: *John, which is blue.

[$_{CP}$ John$_1$ <[~~$_{TP}$ might have [$_{vP}$ [t_1 stolen Mary's car yesterday~~] [$_{ARC}$ which$_i$ is blue]]]>].

여기서 삭제 대상은 CP 아래의 모든 것인데, 실제로 삭제되는 부분은 성분이 아니다. 그들은 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 둘 다 선형에서 닻/핵 명사에 근접한 자리를 차지하거나 이것들을 직접적으로 포함하는 절의 오른쪽 주변에 있어야 한다고 주장한다. 즉, Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967:185)가 만족될 때만 가능하며, 이는 외치된 관계절은 생략을 벗어나지 않는다는 것을 의미한다. 다시 말해, G&dV(2013)는 동격 관계절은 생략 장소 밖의 자리를 차지하지 못한다는 점을 들며 Ott(2016)의 가설이 설득력이 없음을 주장한다.

Ott(2016)가 G&dV(2013)의 통합적 가설을 반대하는 또 다른 주장은 동격 관계절은 선형상으로 근접한 것이 아니라 앞선 담화에서 정보 구조적(information-structurally)으로 가장 중요하고(prominent) 상대적으로 새롭고(new), 집중되고(focused), 비주제적(nontopical)인 것을 자신의 닻으로 선택한다는 것이다. G&dV(2019)는 표면상 동격 관계절(ARC)이 적어도 부분적으로 명시적인 닻(anchor)의 옆에 나타나야한다고 이 둘의 관계를 (85)로 일반화한다.

(85) An ARC can only surface next to an anchor that is at least partially overt.

(G&dV 2019: 614)

하지만 Ott(2016)은 이 일반화를 (86)으로 나타내면서 (81c)의 비문이 비성분 삭제로 인한 것으로 설명할 필요가 없다고 주장한다.

(86) Appositive relative pronouns anaphorically resume the most prominent featurally compatible antecedent in the preceding discourse.

(G&dV 2019: 614)

하지만 G&dV(2019)는 이 주장에 다시 반박하며 동격 관계절이 외치된 경우가 아니라면 정보-구조적 배열에 관계없이 선형상으로(linearly) 가장 근접한 것을 선택한다고 주장한다. 선형으로 더 멀리 있는 선행사 β는 (87)에서 대조적으로, (88)에서 표상적으로 나타

나지만, 그래도 가장 가까운 선행사 α가 여전히 선행사이다.

(87) A: I heard that the vizier presented a suitor to the princess.

B: No, [the SULTAN]$_i$ presented [a suitor]$_k$, who$_{k/*i}$ I'm told is an old man, to her.

(G&dV 2019: 615)

(88) A: Who presented a suitor to the princess?

B: [The SULTAN]$_i$ presented [a suitor]$_k$, who$_{k/*i}$ I'm told is an old man, to her.

(G&dV 2019: 615)

G&dV(2019)는 주절의 정보-구조 배열을 조작하는 것은 동격 관계절이 외치된 경우에만 선행사의 선택에 영향을 미친다고 본다. (89B)에서 *who*는 상대적으로 멀지만 대조적으로 집중된 선행사인 *the sultan*에 연결될 수 있다. (90B)에서 *who*는 단독은 아니지만 표상적으로 집중된 *the sultan*에 연결될 수 있다. 두 경우 모두에서 *a suitor*는 가능한 선행사로 남는다.

(89) A: I heard that the vizier presented a suitor to the princess.

B: No, [the SULTAN]$_i$ presented [a suitor]$_k$ to her, who$_{i/k}$ I'm told is an old man.

(G&dV 2019: 616)

(90) A: Who presented a suitor to the princess?

B: [The SULTAN]$_i$ presented [a suitor]$_k$ to her, who$_{i/k}$ I'm told is an old man.

(G&dV 2019: 616)

하지만, 두 개의 후보 닻들이 모두 대조적으로 집중된다면, *who*는 가장 가까운 닻과만 동지시(coindex)되어 해석될 수 있다.

(91) A: I heard that the vizier presented a merchant to the princess.

B: No, [the SULTAN]$_i$ presented [a SUITOR]$_k$ to her, who$_{k/*i}$ I'm told is an old

man.

결론적으로 동격 관계절이 선행사를 선택하는 결정적인 요소는 주절의 정보-구조적 상태가 아니라 근접성이며, 동격 관계절이 외치되고 주절이 대조적 또는 표상적 초점(foci)을 가지면서 가장 가까운 구가 덜 중요해질 때만 예외적으로 초점을 갖는 가능한 것 중 가장 가까운 선행사가 선택된다고 주장했다. 이에 따라 Ott(2016)의 일반화 (86)을 다시 (92)으로 정정했다.

(92) In nonextraposed ARCs, appositive relative pronouns anaphorically resume the linearly adjacent (necessarily compatible) anchor on the preceding discourse.

즉, G&dV(2019)는 정보-구조적 중요성 보다는 선형상의 근접성이 주요 요인이라고 본다. 동격 관계절이 외치된 경우는 다소 복잡해지지만 그래도 여전히 근접성이 영향을 미치므로 자신들의 주장이 더 설득력이 있음을 밝히며, 동격 관계절이 선행사와 하나의 성분을 이룬다는 통합 가설을 지지한다.

IV. ParP의 도출과 해석

지금까지 동격 관계절이 갖는 전반적인 구조와 제한적 관계절과는 내부적으로 다른 통사 구조를 갖는다는 점도 살펴보았다. 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 공통적인 구조적 속성을 공유하며, 자신의 닻과 분리되지 않은 하나의 성분을 이룬다. 하지만, 동격 관계절의 운율적 패턴과 어주(host)와 관계절 사이에 성분통어(c-command) 관계가 작용하지 않는다는 점 같은 두 관계절 사이의 차이를 고려할 때, 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과는 분명히 다른 내부적 통사 작용이 일어난다는 것을 도출해낼 수 있다. 여기서 필자는 비제한적 관계절의 통합적 분석을 기반으로 한 de Vries(2013)의 기능 핵어 Par 이론을 따르고자 한다.

De Vries(2009, 2012)는 동격 관계절은 Par라는 통사적 기능 핵어에 의해 중재되어 닻(anchor)에 "삽입어구적으로 등위접속된다(parenthetically coordinated)"고 하였다. 등위접속 구(coordination phrase)처럼 ParP는 관련 명사구에 삽입되고, 그 명사구는 Par의 지정어(specifier)를 차지한다고 설명하며 (93)의 문장을 (94)로 나타냈다.

(93) John, who is my neighbor, is a good guy.

(G&dV 2013: 332)

(94) $[_{host\_clause}[_{ParP}[_{DP}$ John] $[_{Par'}$ Par^0 [who is my neighbor]]] is a good guy].

(G&dV 2013: 333)

De Vries(2013)는 동격 관계절의 구조를 ParP로 설명했지만, 이 기능 핵어 Par가 갖는 자질 구조에 대해서는 자세한 설명을 하지 않았다. 따라서 필자는 Adger(2010)의 자질 분석(Feature Analysis) 이론을 받아들여, 이 기능 핵어 Par의 자질 구조(Feature Structure)를 최소주의(Minimalist)의 관점에서 분석하고자 한다. 그리고 기능 핵어 Par가 갖는 PF 접점 규칙과 의미적 접점 규칙을 설정할 것이다.

1. 기능 핵어 Par의 자질 분석

최소주의(Minimalist) 관점에서 인간의 언어 구조를 이루는 것은 통사(syntax)가 유일하며, 이후에 이 구조는 소리(sounds)와 의미(meanings)로 사상(map)시키는 접점

(interface)에 의해서 해석된다고 본다. 즉, 소리 쪽에선 그 구조의 배열에 대한 진술이 필요하고, 의미 쪽에선 구조 해석의 각 부분이 그 구조의 다른 부분과 어떻게 연관되는지에 대한 무언가가 언급되어야 한다는 것이다(Adger 2010). 여기서 통사의 주요 작용은 병합(merge)이며, 이 병합의 입력값(input)은 어휘(lexical items)이다. 어휘의 하위 구조에는 자질 구조(feature structure)가 존재하며, 어휘 아이템들은 다양한 자질(feature)들이 모여 형성된다. 각 어휘 아이템들의 범주(categories)는 V, N, A, P처럼 의미역(θ-role)에 관련된 의미(semantics)를 갖는 경우 어휘 범주(lexical categories)라고 하며, 이와 대조적으로 의미를 지니긴 하지만 그 어휘가 의미역(θ-role)에는 관련이 없는 경우 기능적 범주(functional categories)에 속한다고 본다. Adger(2003)는 이 기능적 범주가 어휘 범주에 의미역과 관련없는(non-thematic) 의미를 더해줄 뿐만 아니라 어휘 범주와 관련된 자리들을 다양한 방식으로 제공한다고 말한다. 즉, 기능적 범주는 한 구에서 일어나는 다양한 통사적 관계를 함께 잡아주는 기능을 하면서 어휘 범주 위에 통사적 뼈대 짓는다고 덧붙였다. 여기서 우리는 Par(enthetical)라는 범주가 의미역(θ-role)에 관련된 의미를 지니 않은 채, 분리된 의미적 운율적 특징을 갖는 선행사와 관계절을 하나의 성분으로 연결시켜주는 기능적 범주에 속한다고 가정할 수 있다.

각 어휘들(lexical items)은 자신이 어떤 범주와 병합할 수 있는지 결정하는 범주 선택 자질(Categorial Selectional Feature/C-selectional Feature)을 갖는다. 이 자질은 해석성 자질(Interpretable feature)과 비해성석 자질(Uninterpretable feature)로 나뉜다. 해석성 자질은 범주의 의미적 해석에 효과를 갖는 자질을 말하며, 비해석성 자질은 의미에 차이를 만들진 않지만 그 문장의 문법성을 설명하기 위해 요구되는 자질을 말한다. 비해석성 자질을 갖는 범주는 그와 일치하는 해석성 자질범주와 자매(sister)관계로 병합될 때 확인(check)되며, 이 때 비해석성 자질은 삭제된다. 자질 확인과 삭제의 과정은 다음과 같이 나타낼 수 있다.

(95)

```
            X
          /   \
    Y[uF]      Z[F]
```
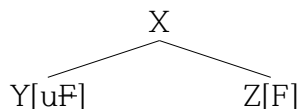
비해석성 자질 [uF]를 갖는 Y는 동일한 범주 자질 [F]를 해석성 자질로 갖는 Z와 자매 관계에서 병합하고, 이때 Y의 비해석성 자질 [uF]는 삭제된다. 통사(Syntax)가 하는 일은 병합(merge)과 확인(checking)을 통해 모든 비해석성 자질을 삭제시키고 해석성 자

질만 남아있도록 하여 문장의 구조 안에 있는 모든 것이 완전한 해석을 할당할 수 있도록 하는 것이다. 따라서 모든 비해석성 자질이 삭제되고 해석성 자질만 남아있을 때 의미적 접점 규칙이 적용될 수 있다. 이 규칙을 완전한 해석(Full interpretation)이라 한다.

(96) **Full Interpretation**: The structure to which the semantic interface rules apply contains no uninterpretable features.

<div align="right">(Adger 2003: 66)</div>

이제 자질 분석 이론에 따라 기능 핵어 Par의 자질 구조를 다음과 같이 설정할 수 있다.

(97) **Par [Par] [uC$_{rel}$] [uANC]**
    a. [Par]: 비해석성 자질 [uPar]를 확인(check)한다.
    b. [uC$_{rel}$]: Par는 해석성 자질 [C$_{rel}$]로 확인(check)되어야 한다.
    c. [uANC]: Par는 해석성 자질 [ANC]로 확인(check)되어야 한다.

기능 핵어 Par는 두 개의 비해석성 자질을 갖는데 그 중 하나인 [uC$_{rel}$]는 관계절 CP의 해석성 자질 [C$_{rel}$]와 확인(checking)되고, [uANC]은 Par의 지정어(spec) 자리에 오는 선행사 닻의 해석성 자질 [ANC]와 확인(checking)된다. 그리고 관계절의 CP의 보문소 C$_{rel}$는 비해석성 자질 [uPar]를 가져야 하고, 이는 Par의 해석성 자질 [Par]로 확인(checking)된다.

    Adger(2003)에 따르면 보충어(Complement)가 먼저 병합한 후 지정어(specifier)가 올 수 있고, 그 후에 부가어(Adjunct)가 부가(adjunction)될 수 있다. 이제 핵어 Par를 이용한 (93)의 ParP 부분의 병합을 다음과 같이 예측할 수 있다.

(98)

```
                        ParP
               ┌─────────┴──────────┐
              DP                   Par'
          ┌────┴────┐         ┌─────┴─────┐
      John [ANC]  ø[Par, uANC, uCrel]    CP
                                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                              ø[Crel, uPar]    C'
                                          ┌─────┴─────┐
                                        who is my neighbor
```
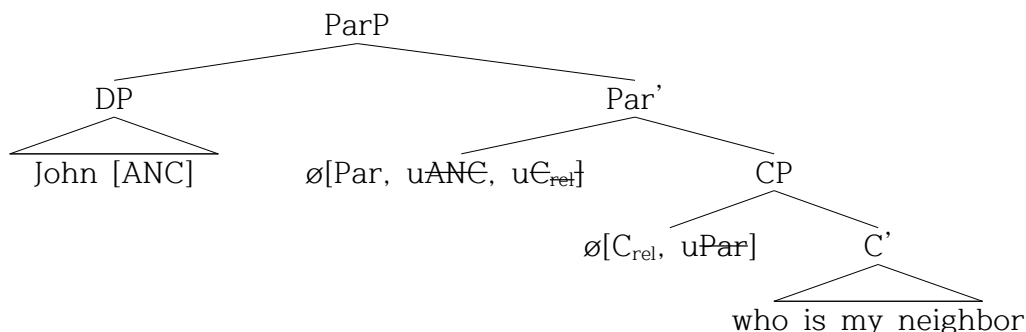
ø [Par]는 비해석성 자질로 보충어 자리에 필요한 [uC$_{rel}$]와 지정어 자리에 필요한 [uANC]를 갖는다. 먼저 해석성 자질[C$_{rel}$]를 갖는 동격 관계절 CP인 ø who is my neighbor가 보충어 자리에서 병합하여 [uC$_{rel}$] 자질을 확인(check)하고, ø[C$_{rel}$]가 갖는 비해석성 자질 [uPar]는 해석성 자질 ø [Par]로 확인(checking) 받는다. 그 후 지정어 자리에 해석성 자질 [ANC]를 갖는 John과 병합하면서 [uANC] 자질을 확인한다.

앞서 동격 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 달리 DP 뿐만 아니라 AP, VP, CP등 여러 범주를 선행사로 취할 수 있다는 것도 보았다. 여기서 우리는 Par의 [uANC]가 다양한 범주를 취할 수 있도록 새로운 제약을 설정해야 한다.

(99) Par의 ANCHOR Rule: Par는 자신의 Anchor의 범주에 있어 제약이 없다.

Full Interpretation 제약에 따라 기능 핵어 Par의 모든 비해석성 자질이 확인 되고 통사 작용이 끝나면, 그 다음의 음운적 접점과 의미적 접점에 도달하게 된다. 먼저 실험적 예시를 통해 PF 규칙을 살펴보자. Nicole Dehé(2014)는 Corpus data를 이용한 삽입어구(parentheticals)의 통사-운율(Syntax-Prosody) 체계의 관계 연구에서 비제한적 관계절의 운율적 패턴을 조사했다. 이 연구에서 비제한적 관계절은 제한적 관계절과 달리 선행사와 분리된 억양구(Intonational Phrase/IP)를 갖는다는 것을 알아냈고, 따라서 비제한적 관계절의 운율 구획(prosodic phrasing)의 기본값(default)은 운율 분리(prosodic separation)라는 가설을 세웠다.

(100) Prosodic phrasing of NRRCs: hypotheses

The default prosodic phrasing of NRRCs is separation. NRRCs are phrased in their own intonational domain, preceded and followed by the

respective boundaries.

(Dehé 2014: 146)

(101) NRRCs: predicted prosodic phrasing

prosodic separation: (…) $_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$ $_{IP}$[NRRC]$_{IP}$ ($_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$) (…)

(Dehé 2014: 146)

이 전제를 바탕으로 Dehé(2014)는 the British Component of the International Corpus of English(ICE-GB)에서 추출한 60개의 자연스러운 구어체(spontaneous spoken language) 비제한적 문장의 녹음된 로 실험하였고, 결과적으로 다음과 같은 운율 패턴을 밝혀냈다.

(102) Observed patterns of prosodic phrasing of non-restrictive relative clauses(NRRCs)

a. NRRC: prosodic separation

…$_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$ $_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$ $_{IP}$[NRRC]$_{IP}$ ($_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$) (…)   55 NRRCs (92%)

b. NRRC: relative pronoun phrased with preceding host material, NRRC-remnant separate

…$_{IP}$[…*(P) which*]$_{IP}$ $_{IP}$[NRRC]$_{IP}$ $_{IP}$[…]$_{IP}$…   4 NRRCs (7%)

c. phrasing unclear   1 NRRC (1%)

  Total: 60 NRRCs

(Dehé 2014: 146)

이 패턴을 미루어 볼 때 동격 관계절은 일반적으로 선행사와 관계절 사이에 휴지(pause)를 두어 제한적 관계절과의 차이를 표시할 수 있다고 가정할 수 있다. 따라서 핵어 Par의 PF 접점 규칙(PF Interface Rule)을 다음과 같이 상정할 수 있다.

(103) **Par의 PF 접점 규칙** : ParP의 시작과 끝에 휴지(pause)를 두어라.

마지막으로 핵어 Par의 의미적 접점 규칙을 알아보자. Loock(2007)는 코퍼스(corpus) 연구를 통해 담화에서 어떻게 해석되는지에 따라 동격 관계절의 의미적 특징을 분류하는 유형론을 제시하였다. 그가 제시한 세 가지 유형은 다음과 같다.

(104) 연속적 동격 관계절 (the CONTINUATIVE APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE)

　　　관련성 동격 관계절 (the RELEVANCE APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE)

　　　주관성 동격 관계절 (the SUBJECTIVITY APPOSITIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE)

이 세 가지 유형은 각각 해석적 특징이 있다. 우선 연속적 동격 관계절(Continuative Appositive Relative Clause)은 두 개의 연속된 사건을 묘사하여 시간적 이동이 일어나는 의미를 갖는다. 이 경우 now, then, later와 같은 부사들이 동격 관계절 안에서 함께 사용되기도 한다.

(105) *Zenia herself was present only in spirit, said the lawyer, and also in the form of her ashes, <u>which they would now proceed to the Mount Pleasant Cemetery to inter</u>.*

<div align="right">(Loock 2007: 340)</div>

위 문장은 주절의 be present와 동격 관계절 안에 있는 proceed라는 두 개의 사건을 포함하는데, 이 두 사건이 시간적 연속성을 갖는 것을 볼 수 있다. 이 유형은 주절과 관계절은 서로 독립된 역할을 하며, 여기서 사용되는 관계대명사는 등위접속사와 비슷한 역할을 한다.

　두 번째는 가장 일반적인 유형인 관련성 동격 관계절(Relevance Appositive Relative Clause)이다. 이 유형은 Wilson(1986)의 관련성의 이론(Theory of Relevance)에 기반하는데, 이 이론은 상대방이 발화를 이해하는데 있어 불필요한 노력을 하지 않도록 화자가 자신의 발화의 관련성을 최대화 시켜 맥락적 효과를 늘이는 것을 말한다. Sperber와 Wilson(1986)은 각각의 의사소통 행위는 필수적으로 관련성의 추정을 암시한다고 하며 다음과 같이 기술했다.

(106) (a) The set of assumptions Ⅰ which the communicator intends to make manifest to the addressee is relevant enough to make it worth the addressee's while to process the ostensive stimulus.

　　　(b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one the communicator could have used to communicate Ⅰ.

그리고 이들은 관련성(Relevance)을 다음과 같이 상대적인 개념으로 정의한다.

(107) **Extent conditions 1**: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in this context are large.

Extent conditions 2: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small.

이 개념에 따라 동격 관계절은 지시물을 제한하지 않고 선행사에 보충 정보를 제공하여 담화 상에서 선행사와의 관계를 관련성 있게 만들고, 전체 발화의 관련성을 최적화 시킨다. 다음 예문이 관련성 동격 관계절에 속한다.

(108) *When Steven Soderbergh [who has already directed Clooney in Out of Sight] phoned to tell me he was planning to do a remake of the film, I jumped for joy.*

(Loock 2007: 346)

이 문장에서 괄호 친 관계절에서는 일부 독자에게 필수적이라고 판단되는 정보가 외부의 누군가에 의해 추가되어 전달되고 있다. 이 유형의 동격 관계절은 주절의 고유명사 주어인 선행사 뒤에 주로 삽입된다.

동격 관계절의 마지막 의미적 유형은 주관성 동격 관계절(Subjectivity Appositive Relative clause)이다. 이 유형은 화자의 의견, 판단, 또는 논평을 전달하는 동격 관계절을 말한다. 여기서 주절은 지시적(referential)이고 동격 관계절은 논평적(commentary)으로 두 레벨 사이에 차이가 존재한다. 이때 동격 관계절은 서법 조동사(modal auxiliaries)나 판단 또는 감상을 지시하는 어휘 같은 양상(modality)의 표시를 갖는다. 이 유형에서 화자는 선행사의 지시물이나 주절의 주어-술부 관계에 대한 논평을 제공함으로써 객관성에서 주관성으로 이동한다.

(109) *This incredible spirit-which Chelsea so clearly lack-is summed up beautifully by Gemmill, who has been unable to command a regular plane and has also been a target for some of the fans on his rare appearances.*

(Loock 2007: 353)

이 동격 관계절에서 화자는 자신의 판단을 전달할 수 있고 I think, in my opinion 또

는 to me같은 삽입어구가 관계절 안에 삽입될 수 있다.

(110) (a) *This incredible spirit—which to me Chelsea so clearly lack—is summed up beautifully by Gemmill, who has been unable to command a regular plane and has also been a target for some of the fans on his rare appearances.*

<div align="right">(Loock 2007: 353)</div>

또한 대시 기호(dash)나 괄호(parentheses)로 나타나는 동격 관계절은 대부분 이 유형에 속한다는 특징이 있다.

동격 관계절의 의미적 유형은 지금까지 살펴본 바와 같이 크게 세 가지로 나눌 수 있고, 각 유형은 특유의 해석적 특징을 갖는다. 예를 들어 주관성 동격 관계절에 삽입 가능한 I think이나 in my opinion같은 삽입어구들을 연속적 동격 관계절인 (105)나 관련성 동격 관계절인 (108)의 문장에 삽입하면 해석이 부자연스러워진다. 마찬가지로 계속적 동격 관계절에서 사용 가능한 then, now, later같은 표현이 나머지 두 유형의 동격 관계절에 삽입 된다면 어색한 표현이 된다. 따라서 동격 관계절의 기능 핵어 Par의 의미적 접점 해석 규칙에는 맥락에 따라 동격 관계절의 해석을 세 가지 유형으로 분류하는 Loock(2006)의 유형론을 채택하여 다음과 같이 설정한다.

(111) **Par의 LF 접점 규칙**: 동격 관계절은 담화 맥락에 따라 계속적(Continuative), 관련성(Relavance), 또는 주관성(Subjectivity) 동격 관계절로 해석한다.

2. Par 자질 분석의 장점

앞서 살펴보았듯이 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절은 내부적으로 관계절의 공통적인 속성을 공유한다. 하지만 이 두 유형이 문법적, 음운적, 의미적 차이를 갖게 되는 것은 바로 이 관계절이 선행사와 결합되는 방식의 차이에서 비롯한다는 가설을 세웠다. 전통적으로 관계절 구조 설명에 많이 사용되어왔던 Wh-이동 분석이나 선행사 상승 분석은 관계절의 전반적인 구조에 대한 자세한 설명을 제공하지만, 이들이 설명하는 것들은 사실 제한적 관계절의 구조적 특징에 치우쳐있다. 따라서 동격 관계절이 갖는 차이를 설명해 줄 다른 통사적 수단이 필요한데, 바로 기능 핵어 Par가 이 역할을 해 준다.

본 논문에서 살펴 본 동격 관계절을 만드는 기능 핵어 Par의 자질 구조 분석은 이 범주의 해석성 자질과 비해석성 자질을 설정하여, 동격 관계절을 만들기 위해 Par는 어떤 범주들이 필요한지 보여준다. 게다가, 이 자질들이 모두 확인되어 Par-병합 된 후 PF 접점과 LF 접점에서 일어나는 규칙을 설정하여, 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절로부터 갖는 고유의 음운적, 의미적 차이를 설명해준다는데 장점이 있다.

사실 동격 관계절은 삽입구절(Parentheticals)의 다양한 유형 중 한 종류이다. 본 논문에서는 동격 관계절의 특징에 초점을 맞추었기 때문에 Par의 비해석성 자질 중 [uC$_{rel}$]만 다루었지만, 더 넓은 관점에서 명사류 동격(Nominal apposition) 또는 분사구문이나 to 부정사(to infinitives)같은 비정형절(Non-finite clauses) 같은 다양한 삽입구절 유형에도 접목시킬 수도 있을 것이다. 핵어 Par가 다양한 삽입구절의 병합 과정을 설명하기 위해 이 범주가 가질 수 있는 비해석성 자질의 유형의 목록을 제시하여 유형론을 만들 수도 있을 것이다.

3. 문제점 및 한계

본 논문은 Par의 통사적 규칙에 집중한 연구이다. 그러므로 PF 접점과 LF 접점에서의 규칙에 대해서는 간략하게 정의하였지만 추후에 더 자세한 연구를 통해 세부적인 분석을 추가해야 할 것이다. 그리하여 통사부를 넘어선 영역의 핵어 Par의 접점 규칙을 더 자세하게 자질 구조를 설정할 수 있을 것이다.

또한 핵어 Par는 단지 동격 관계절 뿐만 아니라, 문장 사이에 삽입되는 다양한 삽입구절(Parentheticals)의 병합 과정을 설명할 수 있다. 하지만 본 논문의 범위가 너무 광범위해지지 않도록 연구 범위는 동격 관계절로만 제한하였다. 향후 더 많은 삽입구절 유형에 따른 Par의 자질 분석 연구를 통해, Par가 갖는 다양한 자질 구조들을 유형별로 정의할 수 있을 것이다. 이는 향후 연구과제로 남겨두도록 한다. 또한 핵어Par의 의미적 접점 규칙에서 동격 관계절의 해석 유형을 세 개로 분류하였지만, 향후 더 자세한 연구를 통해 더 세부적인 유형들이 추가될 수 있을 것이다.

V. 결론 및 제안

선행사에 대한 더 많은 정보를 제공하는 역할을 하는 관계절은 크게 제한적 관계절과 동격 관계절로 나뉜다. 이 두 관계절은 선행사 뒤에 결합하여 그 선행사를 수식한다는 점에서 공통점을 갖는다. 또한 이 두 유형의 관계절은 내부적으로 동일한 통사구조를 공유한다. 하지만 서로 호환되지 않는 제약들을 많이 가지고 있다는 점을 볼 때 이 두 유형의 관계절 사이에는 분명히 구조적 차이점이 존재하는데, 이 차이들은 관계절 CP가 선행사와 결합되는 다른 방식 때문에 발생한다고 가정하였다. 즉, 관계절 자체의 내부 구조는 차이가 없으나 선행사와 결합하는 외부적 통사 과정에서의 차이 때문에 서로 구별되는 문법적, 음운적, 의미적 특징이 생기며, 이 차이에 따라 관계절은 두 유형으로 분류되는 것이다. 오래전부터 전통적으로 많이 논의되었던 Wh-이동 분석과 선행사 상승 분석은 관계절의 일반적인 통사구조를 잘 설명해주는 장점이 있지만, 동격 관계절이 갖는 이 차이에 대한 설명까지는 해주지 못한다는 단점이 있다. 따라서 동격 관계절만이 갖는 특징을 설명해주기 위한 또 다른 통사적 설명이 필요하다.

동격 관계절의 특징을 살펴본 연구들은 크게 통합 접근과 고립 접근의 두 가지 입장으로 나뉜다. 이 중 고립 접근은 관계절이 주절의 통사 외부에 있다고 보고 선행사와는 한 성분을 이루지 않는다고 주장한다. 하지만 Ott(2016)의 주장을 Griffiths & de Vries(2019)가 PF 삭제 접근을 통해 반박했듯이, 동격 관계절은 주절의 통사 안에서 완전히 분리되어 존재할 수 없다. 즉, 동격 관계절이 제한적 관계절보다는 선행사에 느슨하게 연결되어 있으나, 아예 다른 통사부에 존재한다고 볼 수는 없는 것이다. 따라서 본 논문에서는 통합 접근을 지지하며 de Vries(2013)의 기능 핵어 Par 가설을 채택했다. 이 가설은 관계절이 일반적인 병합이 아닌 기능 핵어 Par를 통해 Par-병합(Par-merge)하여 선행사와 ParP라는 한 성분을 이룬다고 주장하며, 이는 제한적 관계절과의 통사적 차이를 설명해준다는 장점이 있다.

본 논문은 기능 핵어 Par의 채택에서 한 단계 더 나아가 최소주의적 관점에서 Adger(2010)의 자질 분석 이론을 받아들여 핵어 Par의 자질 구조의 분석을 시도했다. 핵어 Par가 갖는 해석성 자질과 비해석성 자질을 파악하여, 완전한 해석으로 가기 위해 이 범주가 병합 과정에서 확인(checking)해야 하는 자질을 정의하였다. 뿐만 아니라, 동격 관계절은 통사적 차이 뿐만 아니라 음운적, 의미적으로도 제한적 관계절과 차이가 있었다. 이는 핵어 Par가 통사부를 넘어서 PF 접점과 LF 접점에서도 특유의 규칙을 갖기 때문이었고, 실험적 연구들을 근거로 이 접점에서의 규칙도 설정하였다.

기능 핵어 Par의 자질 구조 분석은 동격 관계절이 선행사에 Par-병합하면서 갖는 문

법적, 음운적, 의미적 특징을 모두 아울러 설명할 수 있다는 점에서 큰 장점을 갖는다. 또한 Par는 동격 관계절 뿐만 아니라 다양한 유형의 삽입구절의 통사구조도 설명할 수 있다는 특징이 있다. 이러한 점을 볼 때 향후 연구에서는 여러 유형의 삽입구절에 적용될 수 있는 Par의 다양한 자질 구조를 유형별로 정의하는 유형론으로 이어질 수도 있을 것이라 예측한다.

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Comparing English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger and Happiness

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Comparing English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger and Happiness

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Abstract

Idioms have always significantly played a vital role in all-natural languages, including English and Vietnamese. Moreover, idioms do not only enhance the language but also help communication to be more lively and successful in the shortest and most effective way. However, learners face numerous difficulties as a result of the uncommon idiomatic expressions from both languages. For that reason, this study was conducted to illustrate a comparative analysis in English and Vietnamese idioms expressing anger and happiness. The study aims to provide a comprehensive awareness of these features to learners and also provide some suggestions for future research.

Key words: idioms, anger, semantic, English, Vietnamese

Chapter 1

Introduction

Language is always an important and influential medium of communication. It is the fastest and most effective way to express one's thoughts, feelings, etc. According to Ethnologue (2021), English is the world's most spoken language, with nearly 370 million first-language speakers and almost 980 million second-language speakers. Therefore, English plays a significant part in daily life, not only for native speakers but also for billions of learners worldwide.

Idiomatic expression (i.e., idioms) is a common and productive way of communication. An idiom, which is a combination of figurative terms, frequently provides a comparison to help us comprehend abstract concepts through tangible objects. Idioms make sentences glossy and symbolic, and therefore they make the speech more interesting and varied in meaning. However, we can not understand the idioms based on the knowledge of their components in general, which makes English learners suffer a lot. Because language is arbitrary, it undergoes significant structural and semantic changes, called language variants. To make the conversation more natural and vivid, many native English speakers begin to use these variants, e.i., idioms, proverbs, and other figurative languages. But many non-native speakers are facing trouble using the idioms appropriately even if they have enough knowledge of the essential meaning. For that reason, it is crucial to understand idiomatic expressions and how to use them to obtain a high level of English proficiency.

There are various studies about idiomatic expressions since idioms have been topics many scholars have been concerned about for years. Rosamund (1998) claims that you can only comprehend fixed expressions in conjunction with the texts in which they appear. Eliana (2009) and Rana (2016) showed the importance of idiomatic expressions in learning English. In 2009, Eliana's small-scale project results demonstrated that English learners might expand their

understanding of idioms, increase their vocabulary, and improve their communicative skills by learning and using idiomatic expressions. Also, in 2016, Rana's results show that the greater a non-English native speaker's ability in idiomatic comprehension, the closer he is to achieving English proficiency. These studies have shown that learning idiomatic understanding is essential for English learners.

Moreover, idioms can be taken from many sources of life, and emotion is the primary concern of every language. There are various studies on idiomatic emotional expressions in many languages besides English. Na (2013) investigated the emotional idioms between Korean and French specific to human body parts. Also, Gong (2013) demonstrated a similar subject but in terms of Korean and Arabic. In 2017, Melike studied the concept of metaphor in expressing feeling through the idioms in Turkish that related to the heart. Julia (2019) studied the Thai idioms expressing resilience and distress in terms of the mindlessness of Buddhists. But research related to idioms expressing emotions is enormous and still not very common in Vietnamese. So far, Luong (2010) has investigated some common English idioms and proverbs that express humans' feelings and emotions. Nguyen (2010) demonstrated some semantic features of Vietnamese and English idiomatic expressions of happiness and sadness from a cognitive linguistic perspective. Specifically, Nguyen (2009) illustrated features of some English words and idioms expressing happiness in terms of grammar and semantics. Besides the semantic features, Nguyen (2015) also showed the structural features of English idioms denoting anger. Li (2010) demonstrated a comparison of happiness-related idioms in English and Chinese. On the other hand, Chen (2010) investigated the metaphorical idioms of anger in English and Chinese. However, there are seldom discussions about the contrastive idioms expressing anger and happiness.

According to Anna (2017), in Western cultures, everyone always desires to feel happy, so is it the same in the case of Asians, specifically in Vietnamese? Anger is an emotion characterized by antagonism toward someone or something people feel has deliberately done people wrong, which is considered a negative emotion (Alan, 2000). On the other hand, happiness is an emotion characterized by joy, fulfillment, contentment, and satisfaction, generally linked to experiencing more positive events (Kendra, 2020). Anna (2017) also claimed that while anger and hatred may be compatible with happiness, there is no evidence that other negative emotions like fear, guilt, sorrow, and anxiety are. For the above reason, I will only research idioms expressing anger and happiness in this study.

This study will investigate the semantic features specified in metaphors of English and Vietnamese idioms expressing anger and happiness. Therefore, it could help Vietnamese learners understand the differences between idioms and other English units. Understanding English idioms expressing anger and happiness would encourage Vietnamese learners to spot idioms in listening, reading, speaking, and writing skills. In conclusion, to achieve the aims mentioned above, the study will answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the similarities and differences between English and Vietnamese idioms expressing anger?

RQ2: What similarities and differences between English and Vietnamese idioms expressing happiness?

Chapter 2

Literature Background

2.1. Metaphor

2.2. Idioms

2.3. Emotional Idioms

2.3.1. Concept of Anger

2.4. Cognitive Linguistics

2.5. Previous Studies on the English and Vietnamese Metaphor Features

Chapter 3

Methodology

Chapter 3 starts with the introduction of the research methods in this study. This chapter presents the research questions and the research data. It also demonstrates the data collection and procedure of the research. Lastly, it shows the analysis of the collected data for the examination. In conclusion, Chapter 3 aims to provide irrelevant evidence to answer the research questions of this study.

3.1. Research Questions

This study was conducted using quantitative research methods. The data of the research includes diverse idioms expressing anger and happiness from both English and Vietnamese dictionaries, books, and literary works. This research aims to find the answer to the questions below:

RQ1: What are the similarities and differences between English and Vietnamese idioms expressing anger?

RQ2: What similarities and differences between English and Vietnamese idioms expressing happiness?

3.2. Data

I collect the idioms expressing anger and happiness from three American dictionaries and four Vietnamese - English dictionaries as shown below. However, dictionaries can only provide the lexical knowledge of the idioms but they can not illustrate properly why people use them when they speak, think, or express themselves. Therefore, I also provide examples of the collected idioms to present the contexts more vividly.

DICTIONARIES USED IN THIS STUDY	
Language	Dictionaries
English	The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms (Christine, 1997)
	NTC's American Idioms Dictionary (Spears, 1987)
	Cambridge Dictionary of American Idioms (2003)
Vietnamese - English	Vietnamese Idioms Third Edition (Tran, 2018)
	Dictionary of Current English - Vietnamese Idioms (Nguyen, 2007)
	Vietnamese Idioms (Pham, 2003)
	Explanation of Vietnamese Idioms (Pham, 2014)

3.3. Data Collection and Procedure

3.4. Data Analysis

After finishing the data collecting stage, I describe all the particular idioms expressing anger and happiness in terms of metaphorical features by descriptive methods. Then I provide the data profiling technique to track the frequency and distribution of those features in each language. I also employ the comparative method to indicate the similarities and differences of both languages semantic features. The analytic and theoretical approaches are mainly based on previous studies by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1987) and Kovecses (1987, 1988, 2000). Lastly, I illustrate examples to point out the metaphorical features mentioned above effectively.

According to the previous studies, I choose the following source domains e.i., CONTAINER, ORIENTATION, FORCE, POSSESSIVE, TEMPERATURE, etc., as the foundation for this research to explore the similarities and differences between English and Vietnamese metaphorical idioms.

SOME SOURCE DOMAINS AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS		
Source Domains	Conceptual Metaphors	Examples
CONTAINER	EMOTION IS A CONTAINER	in good spirits
ORIENTATION	HAPPY IS UP	be on cloud nine
FORCE	LOVE IS PHYSICAL FORCE	lost one's momentum
POSSESSIVE	TIME IS MONEY	have a good time
HEAT	ANGER IS HEAT	e hot under the collar
COLOR	SAD IS COLOR	feel blue
FIRE	ANGER IS FIRE	breathe fire
and so on.		

Chapter 4

Results and Discussion

4.1. Results

In the case of English, I collected and analyzed a total of 206 idioms using three primary dictionaries e.i., The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms (Christine, 1997), NTC's American Idioms Dictionary (Spears, 1987), and Cambridge Dictionary of American Idioms (2003). In the case of Vietnamese, I used a total of four Vietnamese - English dictionaries as Vietnamese Idioms Third Edition (Tran, 2018), Dictionary of Current English - Vietnamese Idioms (Nguyen, 2007), Vietnamese Idioms (Pham, 2003), and Explanation of Vietnamese Idioms (Pham, 2014) to collect 206 idioms for the study. Lastly, I used onliine sources like Google scholar and other novels while illustrating the examples of the collected data, but I mostly used Harry Potter (1998, 2001, 2002) for English and Kinh Van Hoa (Nguyen, 1995-2003) for Vietnamese.

COLLECTED IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER IN THIS STUDY		
Emotion	English idioms	Vietnamese idioms
Anger	146	146
Happiness	60	60
Total	206	206

4.1.1. Similarities and Differences between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger

As a consequence of this study, conceptual metaphors involving bodily parts place first, with 30 idioms in English and 67 in Vietnamese. THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE comes in second with 45 Vietnamese idioms. Meanwhile, DIRECTIONS STAND FOR ANGER ranks second in English idioms with 27 items. On the next place, ANGER IS HEAT in Vietnamese has 29 idioms, whereas THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE in English has 24 idioms. Even though many conceptual metaphors are comparable in both languages, as shown in the table below, some do not apply to English and vice versa. In idiomatic metaphors, individuals in English seldom employ the third pain, cultural origin, and taste. On the other hand, I tried to find a conceptual metaphor in the Vietnamese language that uses an opponent in an idiomatic expression. The most interesting of languages is that even though they have similarities in some parts but when we discover closer to each of them, we can find many differences between them. For example, COLORS STAND FOR ANGER in both languages, but no idiom expresses anger using the purple color, but in Vietnamese, people tend to use it the most.

IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER USING THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS		
Conceptual Metaphors	ENGLISH	VIETNAMESE
ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER	15	12
ANGER IS FIRE	7	16
ANGER IS HEAT	19	29
DIRECTIONS STAND FOR ANGER	27	24
ANGER IS PHYSICAL FORCE	8	13
COLORS STAND FOR ANGER	6	17
ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE	1	10
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	3	0
CAUSING ANGER IS TRESPASSING	12	5
THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS MENTAL ANNOYANCE	6	13
THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE	24	45
SUPERNATURAL BEINGS STAND FOR ANGER	8	4
THIRD SUFFERING STANDS FOR ANGER	0	10
AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIORS STAND FOR ANGER	7	20

AGGRESSIVE PHYSICAL BEHAVIORS STAND FOR ANGER	9	19
ANGER IS INSANITY	16	3
CULTURAL ORIGIN IN ANGER	0	8
BODY PARTS STAND FOR ANGER	30	67
ANGER IS BITTER TASTE	0	2
ANGER IS A LIVING BEINGS	14	17
ANGER IS AN OBJECT	15	26

1. Similarities between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger

IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER USING THE SIMILAR CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS		
Conceptual Metaphors	ENGLISH	VIETNAMESE
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1. THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE

When a person's body is unwell or "uncomfortable," they tend to lose control of their emotions, leading to an irritable situation. THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE is an important metaphorical source of cognitive linguistics to express anger in the use of language. There are 24 idiomatic expressions of English, and on the Vietnamese side, the number of idioms using this concept is nearly double, with 45 items.

(5) Ron grinds his teeth at Malfoy's back.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, 2001: 33)

Physical annoyance according to Vietnamese perception is characterized through damage or invasion of body parts such as: liver, intestines, lungs, blood, eyes, etc. Uncomfortable is expressed by negative words in the category of temperature (hot, boiling), color category (bruised, red), container category (full, fill), vital activity category (eat, drink), etc.

(6) Thị thấy lòng sôi lên sùng sục, thị giậm chân bành bạch kêu trời.

(Nam Cao, Giang Sang, 1942)

Literal meaning: She feels her bowel is boiling; she stamped her feet and cried out to heaven.

Figurative meaning: She is angry and cries out to heaven.

English idioms expressing anger are expressed by using a combination of body part names such as teeth, neck, lips, mouth, nose, eyes, blood, gut, etc. Both Vietnamese and English idioms belonging to the metaphorical domain of bodily discomfort use the names of human body parts to express angry emotions. This can be explained on the basis of the view that man is the center of the universe, and feelings or emotions are important human attributes that make humans distinguishable from other creatures. However, the use of body part names in the two languages surveyed is different. Accordingly, most idioms indicating angry feelings in Vietnamese have a very high frequency of using words indicating the internal parts of the human body.

The results demonstrate that metaphors in both languages use many images of body parts to show anger. There are 30 idioms in English and 67 idioms in Vietnamese containing these words relating to these images respectively. When people feel uncomfortable, they tend to lose themselve easier, which might make them to the mad situation.

144

FREQUENCY OF BODY PARTS IN ENGLISH AND VIETNAMESE IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER					
	English	Vietnamese		English	Vietnamese
Part of the body	Quantity	Quantity	Part of the body	Quantity	Quanity
Arm	1	0	Hair (tóc)	3	1
Ass/butt	2	0	Head (đầu)	1	3
Blood (máu/ tiết)	6	11	Liver (gan/ mật)	0	16
Bowel/gut (ruột)	2	9	Mouth (miệng)	1	0
Chest (ngực)	0	2	Nail	3	0
Ear (tai)	1	4	Neck/ Nape (cổ/ gáy)	1	1
Eye (mắt)	0	10			
Eyebrow (mày)	0	5	Nerve	1	0
Face (mặt)	0	14	Rip (sườn)	1	1
Forehead (trán)	0	1	Teeth (răng)	5	1
Gum (lợi)	0	1			

According to above table , there are 30 idioms expressing anger with the metaphoric features of 12 parts of the body in English. Blood accounts for the highest rate with 6 idioms, following is teeth with 5 idioms, and hair and nails are consistently listed with 3 idioms. Next, other parts of the body like ass/butt, and bowel/gut are listed with 2 idioms each. Arm, ear, head, mouth, neck/nape, nerve, and rip also appear once each. Here are some examples of English idioms expressing anger using parts of the body in Metaphor.

(7) Ron grinds his teeth at Malfoy's back.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, 2001: 33)

The above table also demonstrates 15 parts of the body are metaphorically and used 67 Vietnamese idioms to express anger. In contrast to English, in Vietnamese, gan/ mật (liver) is placed first with 16 idioms, mặt (face) is placed second with 14 idioms. Next, máu/ tiết (blood) ranked third with 11 idioms each.

Then, mắt (eyes) 10 idioms, ruột/ lòng (gut) 9 idioms are ordered. Lastly, other parts of the body like mày (eyebrown), tai (ear), đầu (head), răng (teeth), ngực (chest), trán (forehead), lợi (gum), tóc (hair), cổ/ gáy (neck/ nape), and sườn (rip) are orderly listed with a total of 18 idioms. Here are some expressions of anger in Vietnamese idioms using parts of the body.

(8) Thị thấy lòng sôi lên sùng sục, thị giậm chân bành bạch kêu trời.

(Nam Cao, Giang Sang, 1942)

Literal meaning: She feels her bowel is boiling; she stamped her feet and cried out to heaven.

Figurative meaning: She is angry and cries out to heaven.

1. ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is also used to denote anger. Metaphors of this kind are used quite commonly in everyday life, governing our use of language. The number of expressions indicating anger in Vietnamese through the metaphor ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is less than in English.

If in English we have sentences like these:

(8) His temper, which seemed to have been bubbling just beneath the surface all day, was reaching boiling point.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix, 2003: 251)

In Vietnamese, we can find:

(9) Thị thấy lòng sôi lên sùng sục, thị giậm chân bành bạch kêu trời.

(Nam Cao, Giang Sang, 1942)

Literal meaning: She feels her bowel is boiling; she stamped her feet and cried out to heaven.

Figurative meaning: She is angry and cries out to heaven.

The idioms mentioned above make it possible for us to associate the image of fire on many different levels. The container is the angry human body with the fire burning inside. English is based on the experience of immersing in the whole body with the experience of working through the image of steam in an industrial society, where people are often inhibited by the pressures of a fast-paced life and strict discipline. These idioms express the degree of anger roughly corresponding to their literal meaning. In this way, many metaphors can be constructed: emotions can be simmered, surging, boiling up, exploding, and exploding as pressure builds. To return to equilibrium, people can express or reveal emotions.

Another metaphorical model, ANGER IS HEAT, is also related to the CONTAINER source domain. This metaphor is based on the physiological experience of the body: when people are angry, they feel their inhibitions get out of control and explode.

(10) His temper, which seemed to have been bubbling just beneath the surface all day, was reaching boiling point.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix, 2003: 251)

According to our traditional knowledge of human philosophy, when someone feels upset or furious, their body temperature rises somewhat. They may feel the heat mainly in the upper half of the body as their pulse increases. People can determine the meaning of these idioms using this information and conceptual metaphor.

Stylists consider idioms such as bruised liver and intestines to be an exaggeration, a method of exaggerating a certain degree, quality, or characteristic of things. Idioms of this type can be found quite a lot in the class of idioms expressing feelings in Vietnamese. In Vietnamese, people tend to use words like 'nóng' (hot) and 'sôi' (boil) 'when talking about heat, as in 'nóng gáy' (hot under the collar), 'nóng mặt' (hot at the face), 'nóng mắt' (hot at the eyes) more often.

(11) Câu trả lời của Văn Châu khiến chị Ngọc Diệu tức sôi gan.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 414)

Literal meaning: Van Chau's answer made Ngoc Dieu angry so that her liver got boiled.

Figurative meaning: Van Chau's answer made Ngoc Dieu so angry.

The above evidences show that English idioms tend to express anger, rather than hiding it inside. This is probably due to the characteristic of Americans being straightforward, expressing their feelings directly to the outside. Therefore, angry behavior is also revealed through the movement of visible body parts, such as blowing. Icons quite common in Western life are also found as typical cultural models with steam and items such as fuses, gaskets, stack, lid. They are industrial products of English, associated with their daily life. The English metaphorical model of anger used these images as a social experience.

148

We can see the difference in Vietnamese when using the source domain HEAT to express anger. Vietnamese idioms use the metaphor HEAT to express repressed emotions, while English tends to reveal it outwardly. The characteristics of community culture and wet rice culture create opportunities for Vietnamese people to cooperate and gather in daily life, and behavior will be more flexible.

2) Differences between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Anger

IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER USING DIFFERENT CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS		
Conceptual Metaphors	ENGLISH	VIETNAMESE
ANGER IS AN OPPONENT	3	0
THIRD SUFFERING STANDS FOR ANGER	0	10
CULTURAL ORIGIN IN ANGER	0	8
ANGER IS BITTER TASTE	0	2

1. ANGER IS AN OPPONENT

There are 3 idioms in English that using conceptual metaphor ANGER IS AN OPPONENT as bear a grudge (against someone), have a grudge (against someone) and hold a grudge (against someone). When people are mad, if they have to face their enemy or opponent, the chance that they get madder will be more higher. Maybe in Vietnamese, people also use these kind of expression but in the scope of this study, there is nothing.

(12) Anna has to hold her grudge everytime she meets her exes.

(Christine, The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms, 1997: 110)

1. THIRD SUFFERING STANDS FOR ANGER

In Vietnamese, several idioms refer to the third suffering. When people are angry, they usually show angry behavior against another person or something intending to release their tension or anger, as shown below.

SOME VIETNAMESE IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER USING THIRD SUFFERING	
Idioms	Literal Meaning
Chửi bóng chửi gió	Swear at an undetermined person.
Chửi chó mắng mèo	Swear at the dog and yell at the cat
Chửi mèo quèo chó	Swear at the cat and trip up the dog.
Đá mèo quèo chó	Kick the cat and trip up the dog.
Đâm bị thóc chọc bị gạo	Stab the paddy bag and thrust the rice bag.
Đá thúng đụng nia	Kick this and that baskets.
Giận cá chém thớt	Mad the fish, chop the chopping-board.
Giận chồng mắng con	Mad the husband, yell the child.
Giận con rận đốt cái áo	Mad the flea, burn the shirt.
Giận đằng đông chém đằng gió	Mad the East, cut the wind.

(13)   Quý ròm nổi cáu chơi trò giận cá chém thớt.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 1462)

Literal meaning: Little Quy got mad so he started "mad as the fish, chop the chopping-board".

Figurative meaning: Little Quy is mad so he put his anger on other people but not the one who made him mad.

150

1. CULTURAL ORIGIN OF IDIOMS

There are many representations in Vietnamese idioms that are quite recognizable to everyone that is directly tied to living in the rural and farm activities using the words such as niêu (pottery bow), mắm (fish sauce), thúng/ nia (basket), thóc (paddy), gạo (rice), chum (small cup), con bọ (flea), etc. Here are some examples.

SOME VIETNAMESE IDIOMS EXPRESSING ANGER USING CULTURAL ORIGIN	
Idioms	Literal Meaning
Chửi như chó ăn vã mắm	Yell like a dog eating fish sauce.
Giận chuột ném vỡ chum	Mad the mouse, break the cup.
Đâm bị thóc chọc bị gạo	Stab the paddy bag and thrust the rice bag.
Đá thúng đụng nia	Kick this and that baskets.
Giận con rận đốt cái áo	Mad the flea, burn the shirt.
so on	

We can notice that language reflects culture. For many years, Vietnam has been an agricultural country, with more than 70% of its inhabitants involved in farming and dependent on agriculture; the language they speak is directly tied to their impoverished and basic living. Agricultural culture is vividly expressed in idioms based on long experience in farming, such as the expression 'tức nước vỡ bờ'.

(14)   Trong một lần tức nước vỡ bờ, người đàn bà này đã chém chết chồng.

(Hoang Lam, Nuoc mat đam phien toa xet xu vo giet chong)

Literal meaning: In one time "the water broke the bank", this woman slashed her husband to death.

Figurative meaning: In one time the woman reached her boiling point; she slashed her husband to death.

1. ANGER IS BITTER TASTE

When people feel angry, they might taste their feeling too. In Vietnamese, two idioms express this conceptual metaphor: cay như ớt (hot like a chilly) and giận đắng giận cay (mad as bitter and hot). The spicy comes out when people feel really angry, same with the bitter when people want to express the feeling angry or sad.

4.1.2. Similarities and Differences between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Happiness

There are several techniques to compare and contrast two languages in the semantic aspect. Many works use structural views as a starting point for comparison. I will compare English idioms of happiness to their Vietnamese counterparts using cognitive linguistics in this study. Idioms will be classified into relevant categories. Through the data collection and analysis, I found some similarities and differences between the English and Vietnamese idioms expressing happiness, as below.

1. Similarities between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Happiness

Based on the Lakovian approach, we can see many similarities in metaphors expressing happiness in the two languages. There are 45/70 idioms in English and 52/72 idioms in Vietnamese expressing happiness using conceptual metaphors in this study as below.

IDIOMS EXPRESSING HAPPINESS USING THE SIMILAR CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS		
Conceptual Metaphors	ENGLISH	VIETNAMESE
BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND	6	3
BODY PARTS STAND FOR HAPPINESS	8	25
HAPPINESS IS A FORCE DISCLOCATING THE SELF	4	11
HAPPINESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	1	3
HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURE PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSATION	2	7
HAPPINESS IS A RAPTURE	3	1
HAPPINESS IS DESIRED OBJECT	1	3
HAPPY IS LIGHT	3	5
HAPPY IS UP	6	2

1. HAPPY IS UP

In terms of orientational metaphor, several idioms in both English and Vietnamese describe the concept of happiness. These metaphors originate from both physical and cultural experiences. Physical experience reveals that a refined look frequently reflects a pleasant attitude. Many idioms in English reflect the orientational metaphor HAPPY IS UP as follows:

(15) Harry cheered up a bit when he found a bottle of ink.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone, 2001: 59)

Similarly, Vietnamese phrases also use this type of metaphor. These idioms are used in a variety of communication circumstances.

(16) Quý ròm bỗng cười lên khanh khách.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 856)

Literal meaning: Little Quy suddenly burst to laugh.

Figurative meaning: Little Quy is so happy with the moment.

1. BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND

According to Kovecses (1991), a metaphor similar to HAPPY IS UP is BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. This metaphor represents an upbeat, energetic, and joyful mood. Here are some examples.

(17)   When my check came, I was on cloud nine for days.

(Spears, NTC's American Idioms Dictionary, 1987: 288)

In Vietnamese, people also use this metaphorical idiomatic expression as below.

(18) Đỗ Lễ vẫn chưa chịu đặt chân xuống mặt đất. Nó tiếp tục đi trên mây.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 2597)

Literal meaning: Do Le seem not to want to set foot on the ground. She keeps walking on the cloud.

Figurative meaning: Do Le can not stop being happy.

154

Most fundamental concepts are constructed using orientational metaphors based on physical and cultural experiences. These idioms are not optional, but they are systemically consistent. This consistency is a result of the way humans select fundamental metaphors. The metaphor HAPPY IS UP or BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND was chosen because it is consistent with the metaphors GOOD IS UP, HEALTH IS UP, AND MORE IS UP. This suggests that the metaphor UP expresses positivity, so they are consistent in the system.

Although it is apparent that this metaphor is shared by English and Vietnamese idioms, within a narrow scope of examples, there are descriptive differences between English and Vietnamese. English has some more idioms that describe the happiness that does not present in Vietnamese idioms, such as float on the air, and walk on air. It is also consistent with the metaphors HAPPY IS LIGHT, HAPPY IS FEELING LIGHT, and SAD IS HEAVY/DOWN. This adds to the more significant disparity between the two languages.

1. HAPPY IS LIGHT

Besides the metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, Kovecess (1991) develops an essential metaphor describing happiness that is LIGHT. Here are some English examples of this metaphor.

(19) Hagrid appeared at once, looking very grumpy, but his expression brightened when he saw who it was.

(J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets, 1998: 110)

Like many other conceptual metaphors, happiness is described through a more

clear and practical idea. The power of light represents many levels of pleasure, and more light equals greater happiness. For example, 'lit up' and 'brighten up' indicate the sudden and intense delight we can see in the real world. Not only English idioms but Vietnamese idioms also have some expression with this metaphor.

(20)   Tìm ra được đáp số, mặt nhỏ Diệp tươi roi rói.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 239)

Literal meaning: After finding the answer, Diep's face turned bright.

Figurative meaning: Diep is so happy finding the answer.

Although Vietnamese idioms do not contain the original word 'light,' they show meaning as 'light' through derivative phrases such as 'rói, lóa' to allude to happiness implicitly. Everything is based on Vietnamese cognition culture. One similarity here is that both English and Vietnamese idioms of happiness employ 'light' of the eyes to express happiness, like in 'stars in one's eyes' and 'đẹp lóa mắt' (dazzlingly beautiful). They believe this because, while eyes are commonly regarded as the "window to the soul," utilizing them to communicate emotion is an experience of a human. Both English and Vietnamese represent happiness as 'light.' Unsurprisingly, both think about unhappiness/sadness in terms of 'darkness.'

1. HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSATION

Physical feeling is a normal human reaction to the environment, particularly personal emotion. It is a physical sensation that is universally relevant to all cultures. The conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURABLE PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSATION is shared in both English and Vietnamese. The sense of 'tickle' makes people happy and want to laugh; it is an expression of enjoyment. To illustrate the concept of happiness where English and Vietnamese idioms were used, as well as some comparable and dissimilar physical feelings.

(21) I was tickled pink when I got his autograph

(Christine, The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms, 1997: 1079)

(22)   Miễn là con cố học cho giỏi, thế là ba mẹ vui lòng rồi.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 3642)

Literal meaning: As long as you try to study well, then we are satisfied.

Figurative meaning: As long as you try to study well, then we are happy.

In English, an idiom containing the term 'shake' describes the entire body's physical experience when a person laughs. However, it is not seen in Vietnamese idioms. Vietnamese idioms, unlike English idioms, express physical sensations in specific parts of the body, such as feeling 'mát' (fresh) in the term 'mát lòng mát dạ.' They contribute to the cultural distinctions of both languages.

1. HAPPINESS IS A RAPTURE

Following the metaphor HAPPY IS UP, the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A RAPTURE is seen as the happiest point of personal feeling. Here are some examples.

(23) They both couldn't be happier since they got married.

(Christine, The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms, 1997: 94)

Happiness can be expressed directly like in rapture or indirectly couldn't be happier. Vietnamese idioms also use this metaphor for happiness, for example.

(24) Đó là một người bạn tuyệt vời!

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 2113)

Literal meaning: That's a really good friend!

Figurative meaning: That's a fantastic friend! Having a friend like that is amazing.

1. HAPPINESS IS A FORCE DISLOCATING THE SELF

This metaphor refers to happiness as 'a force dislocating the self'. Both English and Vietnamese idioms involve this concept. For example,

(25) That comedian had us splitting our sides.

(Christine, The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms, 1997: 985)

(26) Nhỏ em bây giờ chẳng có vẻ gì là một người bệnh. Nó cười như nắc

nẻ.

<div align="right">(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 501)</div>

Literal meaning: She doesn't seem like a sick person now. It laughs like crazy.

Figurative meaning: She is laughing so happily that makes her not look like a patient.

We can observe that when people are joyful, their bodies appear to be dislocated. You can see the idioms from both languages correlate similarly.

1. HAPPINESS IS DESIRED OBJECT

Happiness is also represented as a 'desired thing,' like imagination or a dream. People believe that some things are genuinely precious, particularly money because everyone needs money, and having it is like a dream come true that makes them happy. As a result, this metaphor is constructed and usable in both English and Vietnamese.

(27)   A quick swim in the morning makes me feel like a million dollars.

<div align="right">(Spears, NTC's American Idioms Dictionary, 1987: 288)</div>

(28) Tiểu Long và nhỏ Hạnh mừng như bắt được vàng.

<div align="right">(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 435)</div>

Literal meaning: Little Long and Hanh are as happy as catching gold.

Figurative meaning: Little Long and Hanh are extremely happy.

Vietnamese idioms seem to have more conceptual metaphorical expressions than English ones.

2) Differences between English and Vietnamese Idioms Expressing Happiness

1. Conceptual Metaphors Of Happiness Are Only Applicable In English Idioms

English idioms have some metaphors which express happiness that Vietnamese ones do not, such as below.

1. HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

One English metaphor for happiness is HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. This metaphor is frequently used in combination with verbs referring to fluid, such as full, fill, burst.

(29) Joe was not exactly bursting with joy when he got the news.

(Spears, NTC's American Idioms Dictionary, 1987: 69)

Although many conceptual metaphors of English idioms are related to Vietnamese ones, cultural factors prevent a one-to-one correspondence between English and Vietnamese. One example is the metaphor HAPPINESS/JOY IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Perhaps some Vietnamese idioms describe this metaphor. However, this metaphorical idea does not appear relevant in the Vietnamese idiom database.

1. HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN

People also use the metaphorical concept HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN in English idioms expressing happiness. Here are some examples.

(30) John was in seventh heaven when the director praised his speech.

(Christine, The American Heritage® Dictionary of Idioms, 1997: 540)

The term is inherited from English and Western culture. English people believe that a paradise is where humans are never unhappy or alone and are always joyful. This idiom does not exist in Vietnamese, but they have a similar expression as 'sướng như tiên' (as fortunate as a fairy). This expression does not mention 'heaven' or 'paradise,' but people know the 'fairy' is living in these places.

2. Conceptual Metaphors Of Happiness Are Only Applicable In Vietnamese Idioms

1. HAPPINESS IS BLOSSOMING FLOWERS IN INTESTINES

Although some metaphorical conceptions for English idioms, such as HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER are not relevant in Vietnamese, but other Vietnamese idioms are as HAPPINESS IS BLOSSOMING FLOWERS IN INTESTINES.

(31) Nghe Quý ròm nhận lời đi về quê với mình, mặt nó tươi như hoa.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 507)

Literal meaning: After Little Quy accepted to go to his hometown with him, his face turned bright as a flower.

Figurative meaning: He is so happy that Little Quy will go to his hometown with him.

In Vietnamese culture, people believe that flowers are most attractive when blooming. Another explanation is that bodily experiences demonstrate that when a person is joyful, their mouth and face resemble a budding flower. Furthermore, a fading flower cannot represent virtue and positivity as the pleasure notion does. As a result, the flower here should be interpreted as being in bloom. This 'flower' metaphor symbolizes Vietnamese extroversion because enjoyment is blooming on the face or mouth. Both the face and the lips are visible from the outside. This, together with the mental metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, exemplifies a Vietnamese extroverted personality.

1. HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS BLOSSOMING IN INTESTINES

Vietnamese idioms expressing happiness feature numerous idioms relating to blossoming flowers, but it differentiates clearly with this concept that flowers lie inside the body, in the burst/ gut. It also defines the attractive personality of the Vietnamese.

(32) Nhìn Thùy Vân nhảy thoăn thoắt lên các bậc cấp, Tiểu Long không khỏi nở từng khúc ruột.

(Nguyen Nhat Anh, Kinh Van Hoa, 1995: 113)

Literal meaning: Looking at Thuy Van jumping all over the steps, Little Long can not hold back but feels his intestines are blooming.

Figurative meaning: Looking at Thuy Van jumping all over the steps, Little Long feel so proud and happy.

1. HAPPINESS IS A FESTIVAL

Vietnamese idioms include one happiness metaphor that is consistent with the metaphor HAPPY IS CROWD which is HAPPINESS IS A FESTIVAL because a festival is a gathering of many people. Here are some examples.

(33)   Cùng nhau chia sẻ những khoảnh khắc ngọt ngào, như ý thì ngày nào cũng vui như Tết.

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(Nguyen, Tang them nhung ngay sum vay hanh phuc, avaible at

https://zingnews.vn/tang-them-nhung-ngay-sum-vay-hanh-phuc-post1180446.html

accessed August 15th, 2022)

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Chapter 5

Conclusion

People use idioms of anger and happiness in language and in everyday life. They are crucial in making the meaning of not just speaking manner but also communication more metaphorical and vivid. Being conscious of its significance and related to my interest, I chose to compare English idioms of anger and happiness with Vietnamese counterparts using conceptual metaphors.

This study investigates and compares the similarities and contrasts between English and Vietnamese idioms of anger and happiness in light of conceptual metaphors. This study focus on English and Vietnamese idioms of anger and happiness, specializing in conceptual metaphor, to provide beneficial knowledge and experiences for learning and further studying these idioms.

According to the research study, the concepts of anger and happiness based on embodied experiences are similar. Both English and Vietnamese idioms share primary conceptual metaphors when describing anger: ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS HEAT, THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR ANGER, ANGRY BEHAVIOR IS AGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE, SWEARING STANDS FOR ANGER, and BODY PARTS STAND FOR ANGER.

While in the term of happiness, there are BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, BODY PARTS STAND FOR HAPPINESS, HAPPINESS IS A FORCE DISCLOCATING THE SELF, HAPPINESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE, HAPPINESS IS A PLEASURE PHYSIOLOGICAL SENSATION, HAPPINESS IS A RAPTURE, HAPPINESS IS DESIRED OBJECT, HAPPY IS LIGHT, and HAPPY IS UP.

Furthermore, the data demonstrate that English idioms of anger and happiness contain numerous conceptual metaphors based on cultural experiences that Vietnamese idioms do not and vice versa. The differences in the cognitive factors of the two cultures result in conceptual metaphors for each language. For example, in English idioms, not many expressions use intestines to express anger, but in Vietnamese, people use them a lot.

Suppose the metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND represents the extroverted characteristics of both English and Vietnamese people. In that case, the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BLOSSOMING FLOWERS IN INTESTINES represents the introverted characteristic of Vietnamese people. It suggests that English people are more extroverted, whereas Vietnamese people are both outgoing and introverted.

In addition, this study proposed several efficient approaches to learning English idioms of anger and happiness from a linguistic standpoint.

Finally, all of the conclusions above were based on a study of English and Vietnamese idioms of anger and happiness in the context of cognitive linguistics, which provides linguistic information that may be used to compare two languages and cultures. I have summarized what was discussed in my paper with the goal that instructors, students, and other readers would benefit from this study to understand better idioms expressing anger and happiness in English and Vietnamese.

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