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2002년 6월 29일

주 심 문 학 박 사 전 춘 배 (인)

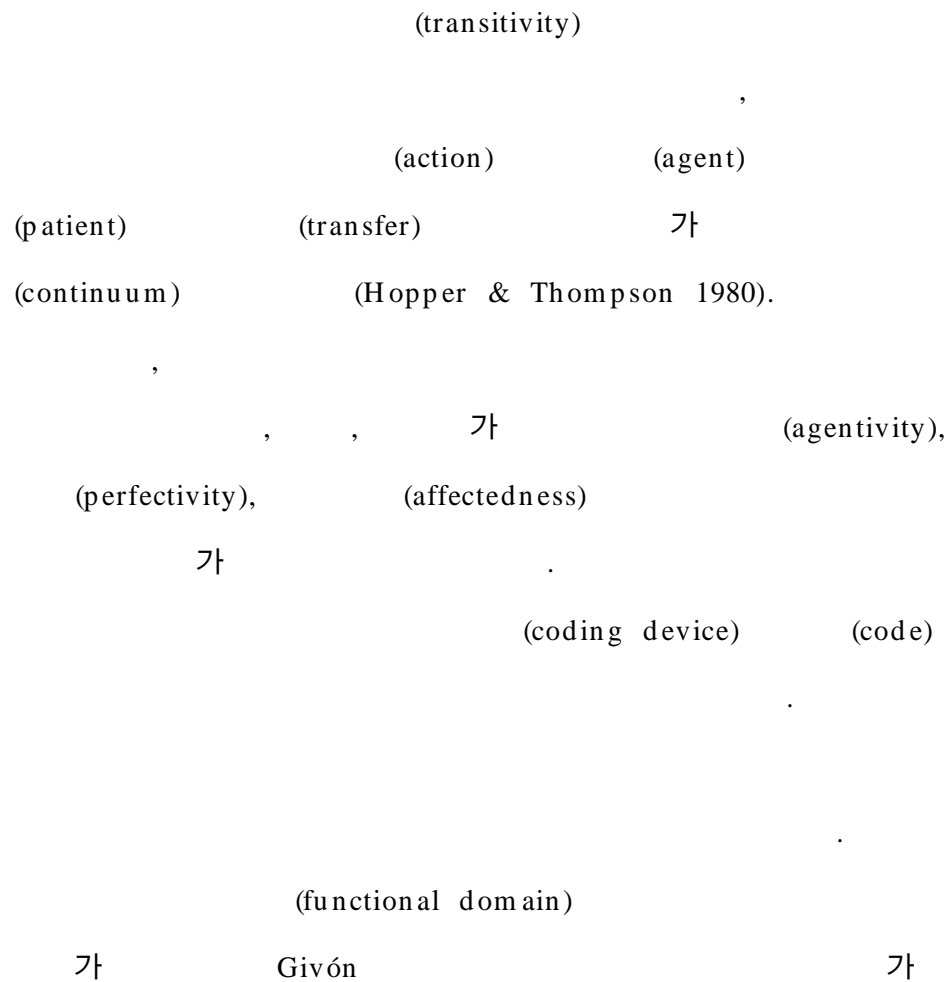
위 원 언어학박사 초 미 희 (인)

위 원 언어학박사 김 은 일 (인)

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•	58
	61
	63

•



(1998).

(2000) 가

가

. ‘ 가 . ’

‘ There is a father to me. ’

‘ , ’

‘ , ’ ‘ , ’

. , 가

,

.

‘ have ’

.

, (case marking)가

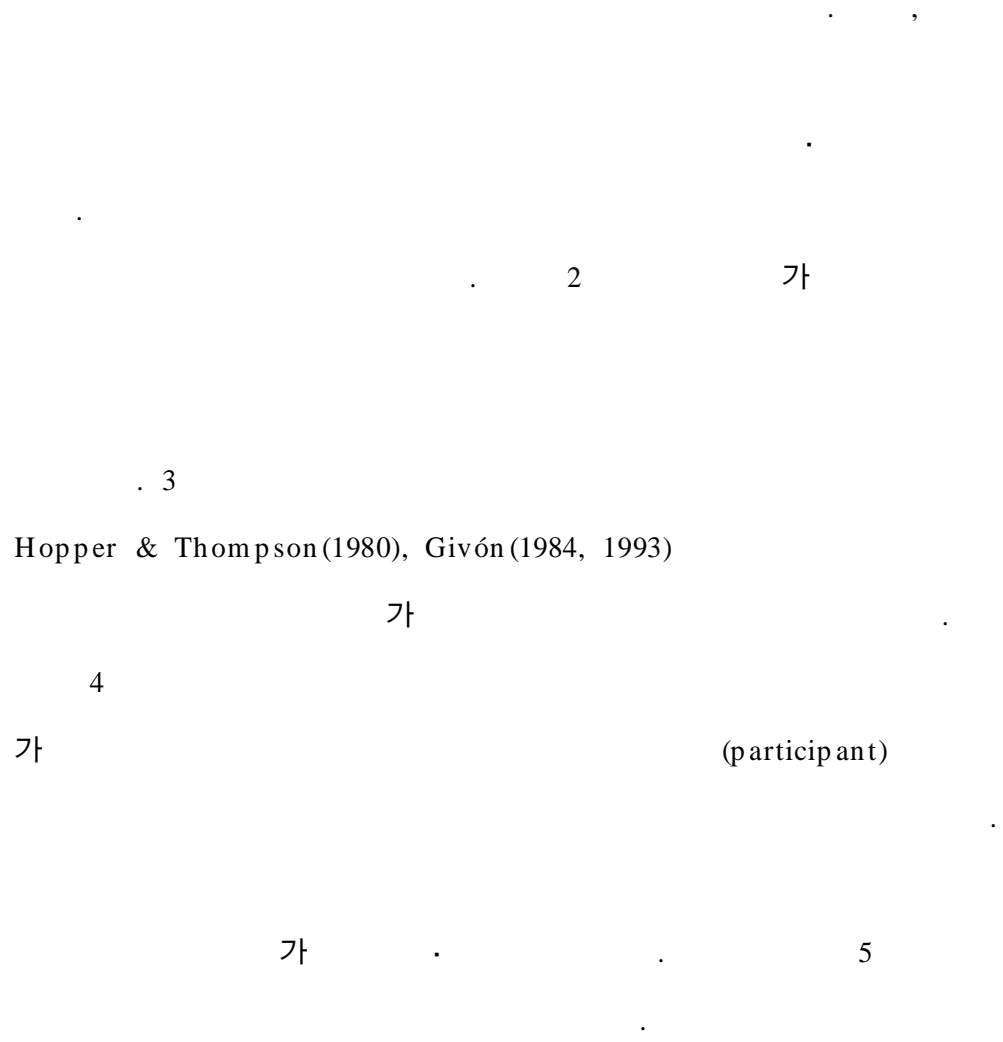
.

가 (prototype approach)

. , ,

,

. ,



•

, , ,

(categorization)

Wittgenstein (1958),

Zadeh (1965), Rosch (1975)

.

2.1

1950

가

1)

가

20

, ,

.

가

(Smith & Medin 1981: 22-60, Taylor 1989, 1995:

1) ‘ (prototype semantics) ’

(Aristotlian semantics) ’,

theory) ’

(Fillmore 1975: 123).

‘ (checklist

23-24).

a. 2) .

b. .

c. .

(a)

, ‘ ,

. ‘ , 가 ,

180. ’

,

,

.

‘ ,

. ,

가 .

(b)

,

.

가 , ‘

2) ‘ ’

“ ”

,

([+]), ([-])

.

， ‘ ’

·

(c)

·

，

·

‘ ’ ‘ ’

，

가

，

가 ，

·

·

·

2.2

·

(Taylor 1989, 1995). ，

. Berlin & Kay(1969) ‘ (basic color terms) ’
 Rosch(1973, 1975) ‘ (degree of membership) ’
 , 가

Berlin & Kay(1969)

가

. 20 329

‘ 가 ’, ‘ 가

가 ’ .

가

.

, 가

‘ , ‘ , 가

가

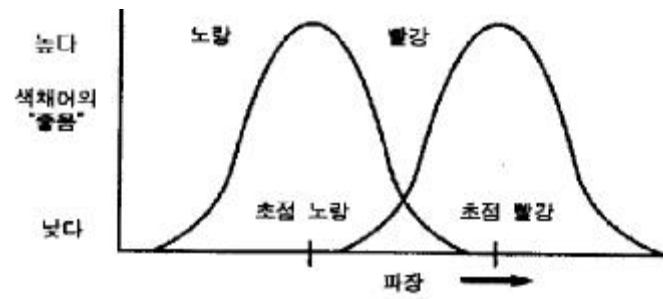
.

Kay & McDaniel(1978) ‘ , ‘ , ’

< 1> .

가

.



< 1> ‘ , ‘ ’ (Kay & McDaniel 1978: 639)

Rosch(1975: 198) 가 , , , , ,

10

. 1-7 ‘ ,
 , 1 가 ‘ , 4 ‘ ,
 , 7 ‘ ,
 가
 Rosch ‘ (prototype) ’ ‘ 가
 ,
 ,
 , ‘ ,
 , ‘ ,
 , ‘ , 가
 , ‘ ,
 , ‘ ,

Rosch & Lloyd(1978), Armstrong(1983)

,

가 , ,

가
(,)
 , , ,
 , .

가
 ,
 ,
 .

()
()

Rosch & Mervis(1975: 573-74) .

가 ,

가

•

. 3.1

, 3.2

3.3

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

Givón(1984, 1993)

.

가

.

3.1

.

.

가

(participant), (argument)

가 . 가

(subcategorization frame)

(Lexicon) .

, 가 [+__NP]

. Chomsky(1966) .

“Consider now the problem of a proper notation for the other contextual features, e.g. transitivity. Clearly the best notation is simply an indication of the context in which the item can occur. Thus the feature [+Transitivity] can be represented simply [+__NP].”

(Chomsky 1966: 45)

, NP가 VP NP

, 가

.

,

.

like, resemble, have 가
 가 kill, hit, break

(grammatical function) 가 가
 ,
 (semantic roles)⁵⁾

3.2 3.3

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

Givón(1984, 1993)

3.2 Hopper & Thompson(1980)

가

5) Fillmore(1968) (Case Grammar)
 , Gruber(1976) (thematic relations),
 Chomsky(1981) (Θ -role) 가

. (entity)
(Quirk &
Greenbaum 1997: 209).

(event) (state) ,
,
,
(argument) . 가
가
(adjunct) .
가 가
가 . (1)
,
(agent), (patient),
(experiencer),
(instrument),
(benefactive), 가
(locative), 가
(associative), 가 (goal),
(source), (temporal)
가

- .
- (1) a. (agent): *Mary* kicked John.
 b. (patient): Mary kicked *John*.
 c. (experiencer): *John* saw Mary.
 d. (instrument): She opened it *with the key*.
 e. (benefactive): He fixed the roof *for his mother*.
 f. (locative): She went *to the store*.
 g. (associative): She worked *with her father*.

가 가
 가 ,

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

10가

(2) Hopper & Thompson

(1980: 252)

	(HIGH)	(LOW)
a.	,	
(PARTICIPANTS)	(2 or more participants, A and O)	(1 participant)
b.	(KINESIS)	(action)
		(non-action)
c.	(ASPECT)	(telic)
		(atelic)
d.	(PUNCTUALITY)	(punctual)
		(non-punctual)
e.	(VOLITIONALITY)	(volitional)
		(non-volitional)
f.	(AFFIRMATION)	(affirmative)
		(negative)
g.	(MODE)	(realis)
		(irrealis)
h.	(AGENCY)	(A high in potency)
		(A low in potency)
i.	(AFFECTEDNESS OF O)	(O totally affected)
		(O not affected)
j.	(INDIVIDUATION OF O)	(O high individuated)
		(O non-individuated)

(participants) , (2a) 가 가

(2b) (kinesis)

6)
(3a) ‘ Sally ’ 가 (3b)
‘ Sally ’ 가 ‘ I ’

(3) a. I hugged Sally.

b. I like Sally.

(2c) (aspect) (telic)
가 (4a) 가
가 ,
(4b) 가 .

(4) a. I ate it up.

b. I am eating it.

6) (3)-(8) Hopper & Thompson(1980: 252-53)

(2d) (punctuality)

가

. , ‘ kick ’ ‘ carry ’

.

(2e) (volitionality)

가

가

. (5a)

(5b)

가

.

(5) a. I wrote your name.

b. I forgot your name.

(2f) (affirmation)

가

, (2g)

(mode)

(irrealis)

가

(realis)

.

(2h) (agency)

가

(6a)

‘ George ’가 (6b)

‘ picture ’

,

.

(6b)

.

(6) a. George startled me.

b. The picture startled me.

(2i) (affectedness)

가 가

. (7a)가 (7b)

(7) a. I drank up the milk.

b. I drank some of the milk.

(2j) (individuation)⁷⁾

, (8a)

가 (8b)

(8) a. Fritz drank the beer.

b. Fritz drank some beer.

(2) a-j

7) Timberlake(1975, 1977) . , , , 가 , , 가 , , .

,

가 (Transitivity

Hypothesis)⁸⁾

.

가

(9), (10)

. (9)

가

(10)

가

(9)가 (10)

.

(9) Susan left.

:

:

:

:

(10) Jerry likes beer.

: 2

8)

가

(2a)-(2j)

,

(a)

(b)

(a)가

,

가

(a)가

.

,

가

,

.

Hopper & Thompson(1980) (10)

가

,

.9)

.

(morphosyntactic markings)가 가

.

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

가

.

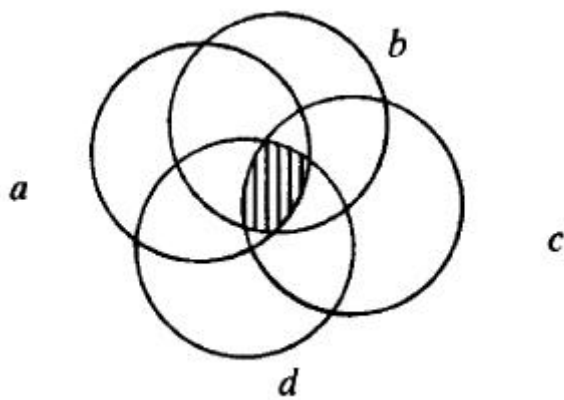
9) (10) (oblique case) ,
가 가
Me gusta la cerveza.
me-DAT pleases the beer
' I like beer. ' (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 254)

3.3 Givón(1984, 1993)

2 2 Lakoff(1973, 1977, 1982),
Lakoff and Johnson(1980), Ross(1972, 1973, 1974), Givón(1982)

가 가 ,

Givón(1984)



< 2> (Givón 1984: 14)

< 2> 가

, ‘ 가 ’

‘ (prototype) ’ . 가

가 ‘

,

· , 가

,

.

Givón(1993)

, , 가 가

,

,

(11) Givón (1993: 100)

- a. Agentivity¹⁰: The subject of a prototypical transitive clause is a **deliberately acting agent**.
- b. Affectedness: The direct object of prototypical transitive clause is a **concrete, visibly, affected patient**.
- c. Perfectivity: The prototypical transitive verb codes a **bounded, terminated, fast-changing event** that took place in **real time**.

10) Cruse(1973), Hopper and Thompson(1980), Dik(1989)

‘ Agency ’

‘ Agentivity ’

	Givón(1993)		Hopper & Thompson
(1980)	,		,
	가		가
	.		.
	, 가		.
	,	,	,
	.		.
	Givón(1993)		Hopper &
Thompson(1980)			.
Hopper & Thompson(1980)			
	Givón(1993)	가	
	가	가	
(11)	가		
	.	,	,
			,
	Givón(1993)		.
Givón(1993)			
	,	가	
			.

, Davidson(1971) (intentionality)¹¹⁾

“ A man is the agent of an act if what he does
can be described under an aspect that makes
it intentional.” (Davidson 1971: 7)

(intention) (animate being)

Klaiman(1991)

(animacy) (sentiency), (intentionality)
(awareness of an action)

Dowty(1991) (volition),

(perception), (causation), (movement)

(action),

(entity)

가 가 (doing)

가

11) Hopper & Thompson(1980)

가

‘ volitionality ’ ‘ ,

. (12), (13) ‘ John ’
 ‘ the wind ’ ‘ (overturning the dustbin) ’
 가
 ‘ John ’ 가 .¹²⁾

(12) John overturned the dustbin.

(13) The wind overturned the dustbin.

, 가
 가 .
 가

(14) John smashed the glass.

(14)
 가 가 .
 ,

12) Cruse(1973: 11) , , ‘ natural agent ’
 ‘ doing ’ ,
 가 .

. (8) , (8'a)가 (8'b)

.

- (8') a. Fritz drank the beer.
b. Fritz drank some beer.

,

가

(action verb)

가 .

.

‘ all

morning, for hours on end ’

.

- (15) *Mary killed the intruder for hours on end.

(Taylor 1995: 210)

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

Givón(1984, 1993)

.

가

가

가

Hopper & Thompson(1980)

가

가

Givón(1984, 1993)

•

3.3

가 가 .

4.1

(coding device)

(Schlesinger 1995).

(2000).

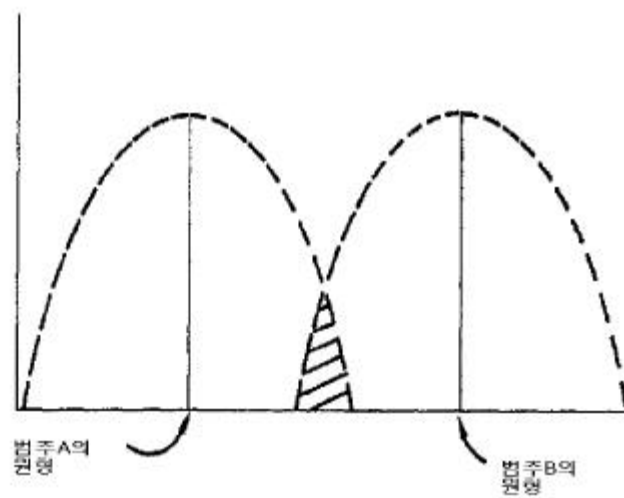
가

가

< 3> A B

가

13)



< 3>

13)

Lyons(1977: 491)

“... as human beings, we are particularly interested in the result of our purposive actions and in the effects that our actions have upon patients.”

가

가

Givón(1984, 1993)

가

가

가

가

4.2 (Prototypical Transitivity)

Givón(1993: 107)

가

가

(16) (creation)

a. He built a house.

b. 갸 .

(17) (destruction)

a. She smashed the glass.

b. — .

(18) (change of state)

a. They bent the front bumper.

b. — .

(19) (change of location)

a. They moved the barn.

b. — .

(20) (change of surface condition)

a. He washed his shirt.

b. — .

(21) (change of internal properties)

a. He heated up a cup of soup.

b. 갸 .

가 , ‘ - , - , - , -가(‘ -가 ’
) ’ . ‘ -가 ’

•

•

	S V O	
	S O V	(- , - , - , -가) (- , -)

4.1

Givón(1993) , ,
.

4.3.1

가
(Givón
1984: 88, 1993: 100). ,
 , , ,

가

,

가

. 가

see, hear, feel, know , understand, think, want , ,
.

.
 ‘ , , , ’
 , (22b) 가 가 ‘ ’
 , 가 (23b)
 ‘ ’가
 ‘ ’
 ‘ - ’
 ‘ - , -가 ’
 가

(22) a. I looked at the mountain over there.

b. ____ .

(23) a. I see the mountain over there.

b. (____) .

Kim (1992) ‘ , , ’

가

(24) a. I like flowers.

- b. _____ .
- (25) a. * _____ .
- b. _____ . (Kim 1992: 119)

(22b) ‘ _____ ’ (23b)

- (26) a. _____ .
- b. * _____ .

가

가 _____ . ‘ listen

(to) ’ , ‘ look (at) ’

가

(27) Eric *listened to* the argument.

[He put his ear to the wall.]

(28) Eric *heard* the argument.

[He couldn't help it; they were screaming.]

(29) John *looked at* the scar.

[He examined it carefully.]

(30) John *saw* the scar.

[He didn't want to see it.]

가

. (31)

‘ peran ’

.

(31) Pam cyngw llygoden peran

“ to the king (DAT) like pears (NOM) ”

(Hawkins 1986: 68)

.

,

가 가 .

(32) a. Hard work killed him.

b. .

(32a) ‘kill’ 가

가 ‘hard work’

(Givón 1993: 109).

가 ‘ (causer subject)’ 가

.

(32b)

가가

.

가

‘him’

(33), (34)

.

.

(33) a. A loud snoring sound startled them.

b. .

(34) a. Winds are pushing the chill factor lower and lower.

b. 가 .

(*Readers's Digest* 56 : 101)

‘ (instrument)’가

. (35a) ‘ key ’

가

.

(35) a. The key opened the door.

b. .

(36) a. The hammer smashed the window.

(Someone smashed the window with the hammer.)

b. (가) .

(36)

,

가 .

가

(Givón 1993:

111).

가

‘ _ ’

. 가

가

가

‘ _ ’

.

1993: 100).

가

(dative), (locative),
(associative), (cognate object), (light verb)

(3.2 (7), (8)).

가

(38a)

가

(38b)

.14)

(39)

(38) a.

b.

(39) a.

b.

{*- , - , - }

{*- , - , - }

14)

가

가

(Comrie 1981: 128).

(1996: 69)

가

가

(40) a. They insulted me.

b.

(41) a. She thanked her mother.

b.

(42) a. He obeyed his boss.

b.

가

(locative)

15)

(43) a. They climbed the mountain.

b. .

(44) a. He rode the horse.

b. 가 .

(45) a. They went up the mountain.

b. .

(46) a. He rode on the horse.

b. 가 .

(43), (44)

가 , 가

가

.

,

‘ _ ’

.

(45), (46)

‘ _ ’

.

가

. Anderson (1971: 390-1)

‘ (achievement)’

, ‘ (activity) ’
 .
 (reciprocal event) (associative)
 가 . (47a)
 (co-agent)

, ‘ with ’¹⁶⁾
 . 가 가
 (47b) ‘ - ’ ¹⁷⁾

(47) a. He met with Mary.
 b. .

‘ he ’ ‘ Mary ’ 가
 , 가
 (downgrade)
 . ,
 가

16) ‘with’ , ‘-’
 , ‘-’
 17) ‘-’ .

(48) a. He met Mary.

b. _____.

(48b)

‘ _ ’ ‘ _ ’

가 _____.

‘ _ ’

‘ _ ’ _____.

가

,

(49)

.

(49) a. He {divorced, married, fought} her.

b. { _____ , _____ }.

c. * { _____ , _____ }.

(cognate object) _____.

(50) a. She danced an original dance.

b. .

(51) a. He lived a happy life.

b. .

(50), (51)

가

‘ _ ’

가

‘ _ ’

(1996).

가

(deverbal nominal)

‘ have, give, take, do, make ’

가

,

(empty) 가

(light verb) .¹⁸⁾

18)

Svartvik(1975: 185)

가

Leech &

(52) a. We swam.

b. We had a swim.

(53) a. She laughed.

b. She gave a laugh.

(54) a. He walked.

b. He took a walk.

(52, 53, 54a) (52, 53, 54b)

(55)

(55) a. He walked for hours.

b. *He took a walk for hours.

‘ have, take, give ’ 19)

19) , ‘ have, take, give + a ’
Dixon(1991)

가 (for a bit)
가 ,
. ‘
, ‘ stroll ’ ‘ have
a ’ 가 .
‘ give a ’ ‘ have a ’ 가
가
. , (56a)
‘ ha ’가 (56b) 1-2

- (56) a. She gave a laugh.
b. She have a laugh.

‘ give ’ ‘ give
a ’ 가가 가
; ‘ give a ’ 가
가 . (57a)
가 , (57b) 가

(57) a. I gave the child a carry.

b. *I gave the suitcase a carry.

' take a '

가 가

,

' take '

.

' take a ' ' have a '

;

가 가 .

' give a ' .

가 ' give a ' 가

, ' take a ' , ' have a ' .

가 , .

(58) a. Mary did her homework.

b. () .

(59) a. He made a mistake.

b. () .

(60) a. She took a bath.

b. () .

(61) a. She gave a brief statement to reporters.

b. () .

가 . 가 (incorporation)

(62)

4.3.3

(bounded)

(punctual)

(Givón 1993: 100).

가 , ,

4.2.1

(unpunctual)

(unbounded)

(63) a. He knows his mistake.

b. {- , - } .

(64) a. He realizes his mistake.

b. {*- , - } .

(64) ‘ (realize) ’ (63) ‘ (know) ’

가 가

.

,

(64) ‘ - ’

가 , (63) ‘ (know) ’

가

‘ _ ’ ‘ _ 20)

.

가

.

‘ have ’

,

,

. ‘ have ’ ‘ get ’, ‘ grab ’, ‘ take ’,

‘ obtain ’ , ‘

(acting to take possession) ’

20) ‘ - ’ .

,

.

가

•

•

- 54 -

b. { -, - } .

(74) a. The book costs \$20.

b. 20 .

(75) a. She lacks money.

b. .

(72) – (75)

.
,

Allerton(1982: 83-85) ‘ resemble ’, ‘ weigh ’, ‘ have ’

가 가 21)

(76) 가 가

a. ‘ resemble ’ : resemble, fit, equal, match, ...

b. ‘ weigh ’ : weigh, cost, measure, hold, extend, ...

21) 가 가 . 가

c. ‘ have ’ : have, lack, belong, posses, own, ...

가 가

,

.

(76) 가 가 .

4.3

,

. 가 ,

, , 가

,

가

, , ,

.

가 가

‘ _ ’ , ,

,

,

가 .

가

가 ,

.

•

,

(prototype

approach)

.

.

• ,

, 가 ,

, ,

가 .

.

가 가

.

, 가

- 59 -

‘ ‘ ‘ ‘

,

.

ABSTRACT

A Cognitive Approach to Transitivity and its Syntactic Coding in English and Korean

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Transitivity is a continuum and the degree of transitivity involves a number of components, including the “agentivity” of the subject, the “affectedness” of the direct object, and the “perfectivity” of the verb(Hopper and Thompson 1980, Givón 1993). These components co-vary with one another in language after language.

This thesis aims to discuss how the semantic domain of transitivity is coded in syntax. In this study, extensions of the transitive construction and deviations from the prototypical transitivity are examined. This study also provides data from English and Korean illustrating the syntactic differences in coding the less prototypical transitivity.

The results of this study are as follows: First, only the more central members in English and Korean in terms of transitivity conform to the same transitive pattern. Second, the more marginal members in terms of transitivity are coded differently in syntax. The assignment of a transitive syntactic construction to verbs that are semantically non-prototypical may be viewed as a metaphoric extension of either the prototype agent or the prototype patient. This tendency is very striking in English: The notion ‘transitive’ is much more syntactic and much less semantic. However, Korean tends to code different transitivity gradience according to semantic features. This is supported by Korean morphosyntactic reflexes of Transitivity.

- . 2000. 「가」.
- 」. :
- . 1995. 「」.
- . 1998.
- . 「」 9: 145-64.
- _____. 2000. 「」 20: 71-96.
- . 1996. 「」. :
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