

담화와 인지

Discourse and Cognition

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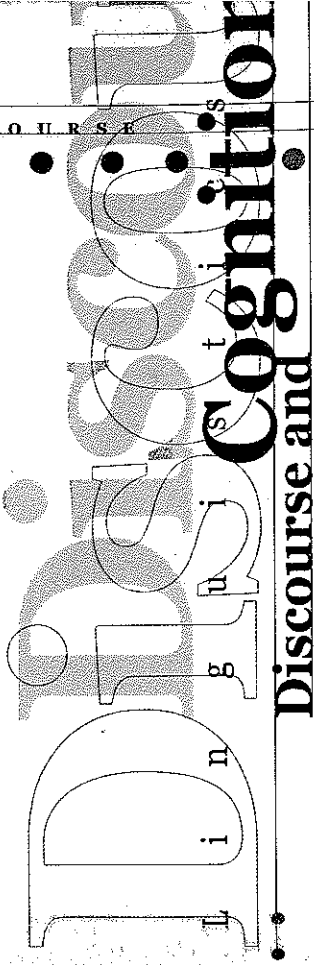
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제14권 3호 (Vol. 14.3) 2007년 12월 (December, 2007)

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Discourse and Cognition

담화와 인지

제14권 3호 (Vol. 14.3)

2007년 12월 (December, 2007)

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현대중국어 보어의 완료상 연구

김 윤 정
(한국의외국어대학교)

Kim, Yoonjeong. 2007. A Study on the Perfective as a General and Basic Property of Chinese Complements. *Discourse and Cognition* 14.3, 1-24. This paper focuses on the perfective as a general and basic property of Chinese complements. The majority of the studies on the aspective feature of Chinese complements has been concentrated on some partial complements which represent the aspective function from their lexical meaning. This study will argue that the perfective is intrinsic in Chinese complements. Chinese complement structures are combined predicate constructions such as 'PI+PZ', and this fact shows that these two predicates are organic, and thus, the perfective of complements can be derived from the organic function implicated in the combined predicates. In this paper, it is suggested that several features such as iconicity, the change from syntactic structure to morphology, and resultative property are regarded as the phenomena of the perfective of Chinese complements. In addition, it shows that the perfective is the feature not for some partial complements but for the whole complements based on the analysis of every separate complement. It will also be suggested that it's very useful in understanding and using the Chinese complements to consider that the perfective is a general and basic feature of the whole Chinese complements. Furthermore, we can clarify the similar meanings of different structures. (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Key words: aspect, Chinese complements, iconicity, perfective, resultative

1. 서론

본 연구는 완료상(完成体[wánchéngtǐ]; perfective)이라는 상적 특징이 중국

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담화와 인지, 제14권 3호(2007. 12)
pp. 81-103

Korean Ethnopsychology Reflected in the
Concept of *Ceng* 'affection': Semantic
and Cultural Interpretation

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담화·인지 언어학회

1. Introduction

As the world is becoming smaller the frequency of cross-cultural contacts between peoples is increasing in this epoch of globalization. The importance of knowing about other cultures and languages is also widely acknowledged. One of the essential tasks in cross-cultural communication is understanding underlying cultural values and norms of the cultural groups concerned in order to minimize potential misunderstanding and miscommunication. According to Shore (1996), culture is what connects the individual's mind with the cognitive models of the society in which that individual lives. Members of a cultural group follow culturally allowed ways of living and transmit them to subsequent generations. Their behaviors are "shaped and influenced by social and cultural forces" (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen 1992:1). When these social and cultural forces are accumulated over a certain period of time, they may become cultural values.

Cultural values and norms can be approached by various disciplines including anthropology, sociology, psychology, and linguistics. The rapidly growing field of cross-cultural psychology deals with culture from an interdisciplinary enterprise (Berry et al. 1992). Among different views on culture and cultural values, this paper takes a linguistic approach—more specifically a semantic approach by using the NSM theory—to understanding Korean culture and Korean ethnopsychology focusing on the Korean cultural keyword *ceŋg* 'affection'.

The theoretical ground for taking a lexical semantic approach, to understanding cultural values and norms can be traced back to Sapir (1949). He pointed out the inextricable link between the life of a society and the lexicon of the language spoken by that society. He states that "language [is] a symbolic guide to culture" (162) and that "vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people" (p. 27). The cultural concepts can be seen as windows through which the culture of a target community can be revealed to outsiders. For researchers who were interested in the cognitive organization of cultural knowledge, language was a focus as well. According to D'Andrade (1995), semantics offers a way into the mind. In other words, a semantic analysis of culture-specific words of a cultural group can reveal what the members of that group value in the given cultural context.

These culture-specific words can be seen as cultural key words that reveal characteristic features of the cultural group in question. Although there is neither a finite set of such words in a language nor an objective discovery procedure, there are some indicators of cultural key words; they are lexically elaborated and they show high frequency of use. In addition they are "particularly important and revealing in a given culture" (Wierzbicka 1997:15). In other words, they are often common words and used frequently in one particular semantic domain. Moreover, they are at the center of a whole phraseological cluster. They can be "studied as focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized" (16).

In this paper, one of the Korean cultural key words, *ceŋg* 'affection', will be analyzed in order to show "the center of a whole complex of cultural values and attitudes... revealing a whole network of cultural specificity" (p. 17) of Korean people. The concept of *ceŋg* has been recognized as one of the most central emotional concepts of Koreans. It is also widely accepted that the meaning of *ceŋg* is culture-specific and peculiar to cultural outsiders. According to Choi and Kim (1996), the concept of *ceŋg* is crucial to understanding the psychology of the Korean people, because it is central to Korean psychology in both interpersonal relations and personality characteristics of Koreans. Therefore, this paper aims to contribute to cross-cultural communication between Koreans and non-Koreans by offering the cognitive scenario of *ceŋg* when Korean people identify their emotion as such.

2. Research method and data

In order to conduct a semantic analysis of culture-specific words a culture-neutral, thus, language-neutral metalanguage must be employed in order to avoid any possible cultural bias. Among different approaches to cross-cultural or cross-linguistic semantic analysis, the Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory stands out for its rigor and persistence in defining meanings including a huge number of works on culture-specific concepts in divergent languages. The theory has been proposed by Wierzbicka (1972) and developed by her colleagues over the last three decades. The theory strives for explicating the meaning using only simple and self-explanatory concepts. They are called semantic primitives or primes since they are claimed to be indefinable and intuitively understandable. Wierzbicka (1997)

claims that:

One cannot define ALL words because the very idea of "defining" implies that there is not only something to be defined (a *definiendum*) but also something to define it with (a *definiens*, or rather, a set of "definienses"). The elements which can be used to define the meaning of words (or any other meanings) cannot be defined themselves; rather, they must be accepted as "indefinibilia" that is, as semantic primes, in terms of which all complex meanings can be coherently represented. (25)

The assumption that the meaning should be described in a set of semantic primitives in order to avoid circularity is a starting point of the NSM theory. In order to avoid obscurity and circularity, this approach assumes a few principles.

First of all, the definition of a word or an expression must be represented by the natural language of the defined words or expressions. Since any artificial metalanguage works only in collaboration with ordinary language, the NSM theory advocates the thesis that the metalanguage for meaning analysis has to be based on natural language.

Secondly, the NSM approach assumes that human concepts are hierarchical. This means that there are more complicated and sophisticated concepts, as well as relatively simple and intuitively intelligible concepts. Among the latter there are indefinable concepts that are called semantic primes or primes in the NSM theory. Consequently, a more complicated concept must be able to be reduced into these intuitively understandable concepts so that the definition (often called an explication in the theory) can be clearly understood. This is the reductive paraphrase principle. According to Goddard (2002:5), "the reductive paraphrase method prevents us from getting tangled up in circularity and terminological obscurity".

Thirdly, a definition using the NSM approach is claimed to have substitutability. This means that a good explication can be verified by ordinary native speakers of that language as to whether the explication and the original expression mean exactly the same thing, and therefore, whether the explication can be substituted for the expression.

Finally, the NSM theory advocates the principle of 'isomorphism' of the semantic primes in terms of both lexicon and syntax: it hypothesizes that in every natural human language, there must be counterparts of the proposed

semantic primitives with the same expressive power, existing as a subset of the language. This can be seen as a mini language and is theoretically capable of being transposed into any other language-based NSMs without carrying difference in meaning. This principle is based on the assumption that the semantic primitives are innate. It is assumed that despite the differences in 'resonance' between two different exponents of the same prime from two different languages, the two exponents will match semantically (see Wierzbicka, 1996 for a detailed discussion). Therefore, the explication achieved by using the NSM method in a certain language, let's say in English, can be translated into a Lao-based or French-based (or any language-based) NSM. Without the isomorphic principle, cross-linguistic comparison between the different semantic systems will not be possible, since "any comparison requires a common measure" (Wierzbicka 1996:16).

The principle of isomorphism of the NSM theory has been supported and validated by cross-linguistic investigation.¹⁾ The proposed semantic primitives have been refined by "a great deal of trial and error experimentation in diverse areas of semantic analysis" (Goddard 1997:3).

Identifying the exponents of the semantic primitives in a particular language is found to involve various issues. Without a firm systematic and analytic dimension the NSM hypotheses cannot be cross-linguistically tested. Therefore guidelines have been developed and provided for those who attempt to test the NSM theory in a particular language. These techniques are crucial in dealing with various language-specific features in testing the NSM theory. For instance, canonical sentences to test the primitive meaning in a certain frame, issue of polysemy, allometry, and valency options of the primes should be dealt with in the theory. However, it is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss these methodological considerations.

As a result of the cross-linguistic investigations, around 60 lexical items are proposed in the current inventory of the NSM theory and a set of possible syntactic combinations has been put forward. The members of the inventory are presented both in English and Korean in the Appendix.

The data for this paper is taken from a Korean corpus and popular songs.

1) The two cross-linguistic projects published in 1994 and 2004 as co-edited books (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994, 2004) in which the hypotheses of the NSM theory of lexicalization of universal human concepts and universal syntax of semantic primitives are found to be generally valid.

Only some examples are presented here due to limitations of space and they all reflect contemporary usage of the defined expressions among speakers of the Korean language in South Korea. All materials used in this paper were originally written in Korean. The first step is to go through many examples where the concept of *ceng* is used in order to capture the semantic invariant. Then a cognitive scenario can be established on the basis of the identified semantic invariant. The explication then can be tested by substituting the defined word in all examples. The explication can be revised by the tests until it obtains maximal satisfaction.

3. The meaning of *ceng* 'affection' and related expressions

While there are a number of Korean cultural key words that reflect core Korean cultural values, the concept of *ceng* 'affection' was chosen for semantic analysis because *ceng* is known to be typically Korean and is at the centre of Korean life. There is plenty of linguistic evidence, including a huge number of fixed expressions containing the concept of *ceng*. This point will be supported later in this section.

Although it is widely agreed that *ceng* reflects the characteristics of Koreans and their interpersonal relationships, the meaning of this concept has not been clearly defined in the literature. The concept of *ceng* is so familiar to Koreans that the need for defining it, not realizing how complex it is, has not gained proper attention.

Na (2004)'s attempt to understand the cognitive contents of the concept of *ceng* stands out as a systematic analysis in the field. He tried to show the conceptualization of *ceng* through a number of metaphors. According to his analysis based on Korean expressions, *ceng* is a thing, a glutinous object, a fluid in a container, a nutrient, a possession, and a warmth. *Ceng* is metaphorically conceptualized in these ways. He claims that *ceng* can only be understood by conceptual metaphors.

However, I claim that the semantic invariant of *ceng* can be captured and described in a clear way. In other words, the meaning of *ceng* does not have to be understood via metaphorical patterns if an adequate analytical tool is used. Therefore, I posit a definition of *ceng* in which the cognitive scenario of the experienter of feeling *ceng* is illustrated.

Although some Korean dictionaries and bilingual dictionaries of Korean-

English suggest a rough meaning of it, entries provided are not practical and helpful for non-Koreans. The definition suggested by the Kumsungphan (1991) Korean dictionary is as follows:

- (i) (Noun) an emotion caused by seeing or hearing something
- (ii) an intimate feeling with someone as the relationship goes deeper
- (iii) a consideration for others
- (iv) affection between man and woman
- (v) one of the two entities of human psychology, which is emotional entity as counterpart of intellectual entity (MT: K->E)

While the definition suggests that *ceng* is an emotion caused by interpersonal relationships from the entry (ii) and (iv), by some experience from (i), and might be a positive aspect of the personality from (iii), they do not provide a full cognitive structure encoded into the concept of *ceng*.

Another dictionary (Shin and Shin 1974) suggests that the meaning of *ceng* is 'a thought from feeling' and 'feeling of love', which are somewhat similar to the entry (i) and (iv) in the previous definition.

Both definitions are not practical in that they define the meaning via other emotions such as 'love' and 'affection', and obscure expressions such as 'intimate feeling' and 'consideration for others'.

Before I proceed, it seems to be worth while to list some expressions containing *ceng* since the numerous fixed expressions show the importance of this concept. These expressions can be seen as an indicator of the lexical elaboration in Korean with respect to the concept of *ceng*:

Fixed expressions:

mitun ceng (hated feeling), *kaun ceng* (beautiful feeling), *koljukci ceng* (affection between siblings), *kaunkunhan ceng* (sticky warm feeling), *tes ceng* (being attracted), *pwuwuci ceng* (affection between husband and wife), *sok ceng* (feeling from the inside), *yes ceng* (affection from a long time), *chies ceng* (firstly experienced affection), *yeminyu ceng* (sympathy), *inceng* (affection as a human), *pwumouy ceng* (*ceng* of parent), *ituskanyu ceng* (*ceng* between neighbours).

Compound nouns containing *ceng*:

- moceng* (love of mother), *puwiceng* (love of father), *yeiceng* (loving feeling between man and woman), *onceng* (warm feeling), *canceng* (little bit of affection), *chiceng* (attachment feeling between man and woman), *wuceng* (affection between friends), *cenghyo* (symbol for affection), *cengin* (lovers), *cengtam* (discourse with affection), *suncceng* (pure love),

Predicates containing *ceng*:

- cengtap-* (being affectionate), *cengkyep-* (being affectionate), *ceng ttelect-* (be disgusted), *cengtul-* (become familiar), *picengha-* (being cruel, being with no mercy), *yucengha-* (being with lots of *ceng*), *muccengha-* (being with no *ceng*), *cengcwu-* (give *ceng*), *cengttay-* (be detached), *cengtuli-*, *taccengha-* (kind),

Apart from these, there are also a number of proverbs and old sayings related to *ceng* as seen below:

- (1) 정각과 흉각이(ceng and defects are separate things)
'Ceng dose not disappear because of someone's negative qualities of personality
- (2) 정에서 노여움 난다 (Anger comes from ceng)
'One tends to get angry with someone with whom she/he feels *ceng*'
- (3) 정들자 이별
'Departed as soon as got *ceng*'

In addition, there are innumerable popular songs that contain the word *ceng*, which mostly refer to *ceng* between lovers.

- (4) 정이란 무엇일까? 주는 걸까 받는 걸까? 받을 땐 꿈속 같고 줄때는 안타
가워
'What is *ceng*? Is this something that (someone) can give, or receive? It is like in the dream when I receive it, and it is frustrating when I give it.'(MT: K->E, 3 October 2007 <http://www.gasaman.com>)

- (5) 기왕에 가시려거든 내 가슴에 남아있는 정마저 가져가야지 처음엔 왜 몰랐을까 이렇게 끝나는 것을 속 다르고 걸 다른 당신 마음 주고 정을 준 게 바보였구나.
'If you wanted to leave me, take *ceng* left in my heart with you as well. How come I didn't know it would finish like this. You are a hypocrite. I was a fool that I gave my heart and *ceng* to you.' (MT: K->E, 3 October 2007 <http://www.gasaman.com>)

As seen above, the concept of *ceng* is widely used in everyday discourses, popular songs, poetry, novels, and in drama texts. All the given instances of the usage of *ceng* provide some insights into its meaning. However, the full meaning has yet to be described on the basis of linguistic evidence using the NSM framework in this section.

The concept of *ceng* can be used to refer to an emotion that involves all kinds of interpersonal relationships; with family members, friends, lovers, neighbours, and acquaintances. Moreover it can involve even a place or a thing as seen in the examples below:

- (6) 가까이하면 가까이할수록 따뜻한 정을 느끼게 되어 한그루의 거목처럼 의지하고픈 마음이 생기는 분입니다.
'He(She) is a person whom you feel warm affection [*ceng*] with as you get to know him(her) better.' (MT: K->E, KAIST)
- (7) 그와 고작 1년 반 정도를 살았으니까 잔정, 큰 정, 고운정. 미운정이 미쳐 생기지도 않았으며...
'Since I have lived with him only for less than a year, no *ceng* [a bit of *ceng*], *ktum ceng* [big *ceng*], *kwum ceng* [beautiful *ceng*] or *mtuum ceng* [hatred *ceng*] has developed.' (MT: K->E, KAIST)
- (8) 학교 대학원에서 함께 공부하다 우연히 정들었고...
'I've come to have *ceng* 'affection' unintentionally while we were together at the same graduate school...' (MT: K->E, KAIST)

- (9) 나는 그의 누운 자리에 옆드려 통곡했다. 그 자녀들은 물론이고 부군들 그 까닭을 알 리 없었다. 그림고 그리운 고향 소학교 시절 같이 정들었던 선생님, 한 가족처럼 정을 나누었던 두 집안, 그리고 나의 어머니를 아는

마지막 사람이 이 세상을 하직한 것이다.

I cried hard where his body was lain. No one knew why I did so. I felt deep affection [*ceŋg*] toward him (her) who was my teacher at the primary school. My family and his family were very close and affectionate [*ceŋg*] toward each other like one family. The last person who knew my mother died.' (MT: K->E, KAIST)

(10) 어린 시절부터 수없이 나들이 정들고 눈에 익은 내 고장 길이긴만 눈가에 비껴오는 동구풍경들이 어쩐지 서머서머하거만 했다.

I felt a little awkward at that time when I saw the scene although that road was one that I used to feel affection [*ceŋg*] toward by using it so frequently when I was young.' (MT: K->E, KAIST)

Examples (6) and (7) suggest that *ceŋg* is an emotion towards someone with whom one establishes some knowledge, probably by having interpersonal contacts. People often develop *ceŋg* with others unintentionally as a result of having frequent contacts as shown in (8). The prototypical situation of getting *ceŋg* with someone is spending a course of time together, probably, by living in the same place. Accordingly, family members and relatives who share time and living space are likely to develop this emotion most. When they live or are together in the same place it is highly likely that they may go through the same daily events and have the same experience. Example (9) shows the prototypical situation one attributes to *ceŋg* referring to 'family'. The same emotion can be developed with respect to a place as shown in (10). It is very natural to refer to *ceŋg* when one is affectionate towards personal belongings, such as a bag, glasses, or a hair pin.

While the emotion *ceŋg* is generally a positive feeling towards someone or something, it is not necessarily a good feeling all the time. Sometimes people hate someone with whom they developed *ceŋg*. The constant contact in daily lives may enhance the feeling of bonding but not necessarily only positively. This is why there are more specific expressions such as *kwon ceŋg* (beautiful *ceŋg*) and *miwun ceŋg* (hatred *ceŋg*). The former refers to a purely positive feeling while the latter refers to the opposite. Examples (11) and (12) indicate that people generally accept that they can have both *kwon ceŋg* and *miwun ceŋg* when they develop *ceŋg* with someone.

(11) 당연히 남북대화는 우리가 주도해야 한다. 싫건 좋 관리는 민간이든 자주 만나 속마음 털어놓고 이해해야 목표도 나오고 미운 정 고운 정도들 것 아닌가.

'It is natural that the dialogue between North and South Korea should be lead by ourselves. Whether we like it or not, we should let people, either ordinary or government officials, meet often so that we can get positive and negative mutual feelings [*miwun ceŋg*, *kwon ceŋg*] and solutions for our problems.' The most peculiar aspect seems to be that *ceŋg* is perceived as an emotion more valuable than *salang* 'love' among people. (MT: K->E, KAIST)

(12) 집안일에 보람과 기쁨을 걸며 남편에게 목을 매달고 하루하루를 사는 것이다. 사랑 같은 것은 살면서 쌓여가는 것보다 못한 것이라 믿고 머운 정 고운 정 쌓아가며 사는 일 말이다.

'It is a life with daily fruit and happiness in house work relying on my husband. It is a life in which positive and negative mutual feelings [*miwun ceŋg*, *kwon ceŋg*] are established with him thinking that an emotion like love is less valuable than affection [*ceŋg*]. (MT: K->E, KAIST)

As a result of establishing *ceŋg*, one comes to be altruistic toward those with whom one establishes *ceŋg*. People are mostly driven to sacrifice themselves for the person whom they feel *ceŋg* with even if they do not experience positive feelings towards them anymore. In other words, one wants to do good things for those who one feels *ceŋg* with, even if they feel only *miwun ceŋg* 'hatred *ceŋg*'. It is similar to a feeling of duty based on the pre-established relationship. Moreover, when *ceŋg* has developed in one's heart it seems to last for a while unless something happens that may destroy the emotion, as shown in example (13).

(13) 우리나라의 대표적인 문화 아니면 민족성이라 할 수 있는 것이 정임니다. '그늘의 정 때문에...' 우리나라 인력의 생산성 향상을 저해하는 요인 중의 하나가 바로 정 때문이라고 주한미국상공회의소 회장을 지낸 제프리 존스라는 분은 그러합니다. 정 때문에 짜르지도 못하고 머라고 겹책하기도 힘들고 관계를 끊기도 힘들고.. 그러니 생산성도 떨어질 수밖에 없다고... 이것이 인간관계를 증시하는 문화를 만들고, 그것이 뇌물

로 이어지고 불투명한 기업문화를 만들기도 합니다. 우리나라에서 기업 하려면 이 점에 대해서는 필수라고 생각합니다.

'*Ceng* can be regarded as a Korean ethnicism or our cultural aspect. According to Jeffrey Jones, a former chair of the American Chamber of Commerce, the Korean specific expression 'due to *ceng*' explains one of the factors of deterioration of productivity in Korea. The productivity falls because one cannot sack or disconnect freely here because of *ceng*. This leads to a culture that puts a lot of importance on human relationships, which then leads again to corruption and undesirable corporate culture. It is essential for everyone who wants to start a business in Korea to know about *ceng*.' (MT: K->E, <http://km.naver.com>)

On the basis of what has been discussed I posit the following explication for *ceng*:

[A] *ceng* (person X felt *ceng* toward person Y)

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks about another person like this:
- (c) "I know this person well
- (d) I was often in the same place with this person
- (e) I did some things with this person
- (f) same things happened to this person as to me
- (g) because of this, I feel something toward this person
- (h) because of this, I want to do good things for this person
- (i) I cannot not? do these things
- (j) I know that I will feel bad if I do not do something good for this person now
- (k) I want to be with this person for a long time"
- (l) when this person thinks this, this person feels something for a long time
- (m) X felt something like this

2) The meaning of 'cannot not' in component (i) is the same as that of 'must' in non-NSM expression. The obligation or impossibility of avoiding something is expressed by the combination of 'can', 'not' and 'not'.

(n) because X thought something like this

Component (a) indicates that the defined concept is an emotion not a bodily sensation and component (b) shows that the components that come after, for instance, from (c) to (k) show the prototypical situation when people feel the defined concept. The semantic prime LIKE plays a vital role in explications of emotions. Although what people actually feel may vary depending on individuals, if they attribute to the same emotion, for instance, *ceng*, they have similar cognitive scenario. Attribution to a similar emotional state is captured in component (b). This component recurs in the NSM explication of emotional concepts (see Wierzbicka 1999 for more examples).

Component (c) shows that *ceng* develops over some period of time and it is closely related to familiarity and established knowledge about the other party. Components (d) to (f) suggest that *ceng* prototypically develops between people who share the same living place, daily activities and life experiences regardless of positive or negative feeling. People tend to build *ceng* relatively quickly when they go through hardships and difficult moments together. The co-residential and similar experiences between family members, colleagues in the same work place, and friends in the same classrooms are the most prototypical examples of people who develop *ceng*.

Component (g) indicates that *ceng* is an ambiguous feeling not necessarily positive or negative, probably a mixed feeling of both. When people share a reasonable amount of time together they may experience both pleasant and awful moments. Components (h) and (i) capture the responsibility for contributing to the party that one feels *ceng* with and the feeling of not being able to control this desire, respectively. There are lots of cases observed in daily life where people express this duty. Moreover, they feel guilty if they are not being helpful.

Component (j) reflects the prospective guilt that one becomes conscious of. Doing a good deed for others can be seen as one of the virtues in the Korean cultural context. The social condemnation of ignoring this aspect is shown in such expressions as '*ceng eps*' [no *ceng*] or '*piceng-ha*' [no *ceng*].

Component (k) shows that the experienter of *ceng* desires to stay together with the person with whom he or she built *ceng* for a long time. Once *ceng* is developed it lasts for a long time. The expression 'a long time' is vague

- (e) I did some things in this place
 (f) some things happened to me when I was in this place
 (g) because of this, I feel something good toward this place
 (h) I want to be in this place for a long time"
 (l) when this person thinks this, this person feels something for a long time
 (m) X felt something like this
 (n) because X thought something like this

This kind of revision can be made easily by looking at some examples that contain *ceng* referring to a place. The same applies to a thing although I do not posit that here due to space considerations.

The two most frequently used fixed expressions, *miwun ceng* and *kwun ceng*, can be explicated easily based on the posited explication. For instance, in *kwun ceng*, component (g) should be changed to 'I feel something good toward this person'. In the previous explication [A], the ambiguous feeling was expressed by 'I feel something toward this person'. One potential additional component can be 'when something bad happens to this person, I cannot not do something good for this person, which emphasizes the stronger inclination to give some benefits to the other party.

On the other hand, in the case of *miwun ceng* (g) can be preceded by an additional component, 'I don't feel something good', which seems to be better than 'I feel something bad' since *miwun ceng* is not a positive feeling but not necessarily a bad feeling. Other components of [A] look valid with *miwun ceng*. Some may argue that such components as (h), (i), (j), (k) and (l) should not be included in the meaning of *miwun ceng*. But the examples that were used for this analysis, show that these components are still valid with the use of *miwun ceng*.

The question of how this concept of *ceng* differs from the concept of *salang* 'love' that is used equally widely and frequently in the same semantic domain among Korean speakers may arise. Although the concept of *salang* deserves a close look and a comprehensive analysis on its own, some aspects can be mentioned already. For instance, the components (i) and (j) do not seem to be valid for the concept of *salang* 'love'. In the concept of *salang* there does not seem to be the obliged bond-like feeling and prospective guilt resulting from not giving benefits to the other party.

in that it can be months to years depending on how people evaluate the length of time. In other words, the actual course of time can vary depending on different people who experience the emotion. However, variations of actual time duration is not in conflict with the vague temporal concept of 'a long time'. Rather it is very well captured in the component. The same applies to the next component. The exact period of time for feeling *ceng* may vary from individual to individual from few days to years. However, in people's minds the conceptualized period of feeling *ceng* is long. Both components capture the experiencers' conceptual time duration, which is expressed as 'a long time'.

The two final components, (m) and (n) show that the actual feeling may vary again from person to person but whoever thinks that they feel *ceng*, will feel something like the prototypical feeling of *ceng* that is shown from components (c) to (k), which are in quotation marks. The cognitive scenario of the experiencer is indicated in the quotation.

When this emotional state is related to an inanimate object, (Y) in the given syntactic construction can be a thing, such as one's glasses or pen, a living thing, such as a pet or a plant, or a place such as one's hometown or homeland. In those cases, some components should be revised accordingly. For instance, the experiencer feels *ceng* towards one's hometown in example (14).

(14) 그동안 정들었던 제2의 고향을 돌아보면서...

'I looked back at my second hometown that I have had *ceng* with for some time...' (MF: K->E, KAIST)

Then the explication should be revised³⁾ as follows:

[B] *ceng* (person X felt *ceng* toward place Y)

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
 (b) sometimes a person thinks about a place like this:
 (c) "I know this place well
 (d) I was often in this place

3) This explication has a number of different components that contain 'place' instead of 'person'.

Moreover, the last component (k) should not be included since *salrang* does not necessarily involve a long lasting feeling.

It may be worth mentioning that there are some components that I considered including in the concept of *ceng* but eventually did not include. For instance, a component 'I think that Y is like a part of me', which can reflect the feeling of oneness or being in the same boat. I have an intuition but could not find good evidence and am inclined to leave this question open for the moment.

Apart from this explication, I would like to posit one more explication of a fixed expression *ceng tteleci*- 'be disgusted' or 'become detached from *ceng*' in order to demonstrate the possibilities of explicating a frozen expression in the same lexical field. The meanings of fixed expressions can well be explicated in the same way as in the case of a lexical item. Among many fixed expressions containing *ceng* there is a very frequently used one, *ceng tteleci*- 'become detached from *ceng*', which implies a relatively strong negative feeling toward someone or something. This expression is used when people want to withdraw *ceng* from the other party that they have been feeling *ceng* with. There must be a motive of the change of emotional state, which must have caused a negative feeling towards the other party. A bilingual dictionary (Dong-A 1997) offers the following translation:

Ceng ttele ci:n: be disgusted (with, at, by); feel disgust at[for, toward, against]; be disaffected (toward); fall out of love (with); be out of patience (with); lose confidence (in); be sick (of)

Examples where this expression is used are as follows:

(15) 시어머니로 모셔야 한다고 생각하니까 정말 정 떨어지더라구.
'When I thought that she would be my mother-in-law, I felt really bad [*ceng tteleci*].' (MT: K->E, KAIST)

(16) 독하고 역한 냄새가 그 심식기름을 정떨어지게 했다.
'The bad smell of the western oil made me disgusted [*ceng tteleci*] with it.' (MT: K->E, KAIST)

(17) 지숙은 치영에 대한 화풀이를 누나인 소영에게 한다. 지숙은 살림을 깨끗이 못한다며 주방 살림을 다 뒤집어 놓고 "니 동생한테 정떨어 지고 누나인 너 한테두 정떨어진다. 목소리도 듣기 싫어"라고 말하자...

'Ciswuk vented her anger to Chiyoung's sister Soyeong though she was angry with Chiyoung. She made a mess in the kitchen blaming Soyeong for not doing her job properly. She said "I am disgusted [*ceng tteleci*] with you and your brother. I don't want to hear your voice" (MT: K->E, 4 Oct. 2007, <http://news.naver.com/news>)

Examples show that the expression *ceng tteleci*- can be used towards a person, an idea or a thing. I posit the following explication for the expression.

[C] Someone (X)-*nun* someone else(Y)-*eykey ceng tteleci-ess-ta*.

- (a) X felt something because X thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks about other people like this:
- (c) "I know this person well.
- (d) I wanted to do good things for this person
- (e) I could not think like this
- (f) after this, something happened
- (g) because of this, I feel something very bad now
- (h) I know that I cannot feel the same towards this person anymore
- (i) I don't want to do good things for this person anymore
- (j) I don't want to be with this person anymore'
- (k) X feels something like this
- (l) because X thought something like this

The reasoning behind components (a) and (b) have already been mentioned. Components (c) to (e) indicate that the pre-established positive feeling is a prerequisite for the fixed expression *ceng tteleci*-. One cannot say that he or she becomes detached from *ceng*, '*ceng tteleci*-', if one does not have a prior relationship. It is awkward to say this expression towards someone whom the experiencer has just met.

Component (f) indicates that there is a motivation for the change of the emotional state from positive to negative. The actual trigger can vary from trivial to severe and the component 'after this, something happened' captures

this vagueness of all possible instances. Components (g) to (j) account for the changed emotional state and the negative feeling toward the other party. This other party can be a thing, a living thing, or a place as in the case of *ceŋg*.

Many other frozen expressions containing *ceŋg* can be explicated in the same way. They may contain the same components as well as different ones. Attempting the semantic analysis of a series of fixed expressions containing *ceŋg* seems to be useful for the purpose of teaching Korean as a foreign language.

What will be more interesting to note is the semantic comparison between *ceŋg* and different translational counterparts in English, such as affection, love, and fondness. It will be interesting to find out to what extent *ceŋg* shares the same semantic component with these Anglo concepts. This cross-linguistic semantic comparison is possible only if English concepts are also analyzed with the same framework. This comparison may enlighten the Korean culture-specificity related to interpersonal relationships.

4. Conclusion

The descriptive analysis of culture-specific concepts is the starting point of research in indigenous psychology (Kim, Yang, and Hwang 2006). This paper analyzes one of the Korean concepts, *ceŋg* 'affection' since it is widely acknowledged as a peculiar, culture-specific, and typically Korean emotional concept. Cultural elaboration (in the sense of Hymes 1964) reflected in numerous fixed expressions and high frequency of use indicate that the concept of *ceŋg* deserves a close examination as one of the cultural key words in Korean (cf. Wierzbicka 1997).

Although there are various ways to approach culture and cultural values, linguistics, more specifically, semantics, can offer a tool for describing culture specificities in a way that they can be understood by cultural outsiders.

There is a substantial body of NSM literature that includes a number of studies on culture-specific concepts (Wierzbicka 1992a, 1992b, 1999; Harkins and Wierzbicka 2001; Goddard In press, 1996 among others). The method has been found to be useful, particularly for cross-cultural semantics, since it consists of semantic primitives that are claimed to be universal and which can be represented in any language. The methodology uses reductive

paraphrase, which explicate complex concepts into simple ones without being tangled up with circularity and obscurity. Unlike other methodologies and frameworks, NSM metalanguage strives for explicating culture-specific concepts in simple and intuitively understandable words. One of the benefits of using the metalanguage is that the explication or definition can be verifiable by ordinary speakers of the language in question.

By using the NSM framework, I attempted to paraphrase a highly distinctive Korean concept in order to enable outsiders to understand the meanings of the analysed concept from the same standpoint as native speakers of Korean. As a result of the analysis, three explications are posited, two for *ceŋg* (toward a person and a thing, respectively) and one for the fixed expression *ceŋg ttelecti*. *Ceŋg* was found to be an emotion born in the heart of Korean people by spending a certain period of time and sharing the same experience with someone (or something). This is clearly illustrated, not via complex terms and culturally loaded concepts. The posited explications show the cognitive scenarios of the emotional states of the experiencer of feeling *ceŋg* and *ceŋg ttelecti*. The result of the semantic analysis can be utilized as cultural instruction in various intercultural and cross-cultural communications between Korean and non-Korean people.

The cognitive contents of *ceŋg* demonstrate why it was difficult to find a translational counterpart in English. Some components illustrate a typical Korean attitude toward other people. The bond-like feeling, the duty-like feeling in doing beneficial deeds, and a prospective guilty feeling were mixed in the concept of *ceŋg*. Probably these aspects are the features that many sociopsychologists and anthropologists have tried to point out in relation to Korean ethnopsychology. The explications of *ceŋg* and *ceŋg ttelecti* can be contrasted with the English translations, 'affection, love, or attachment', and 'be disgusted', respectively. The semantic gap between *ceŋg* and corresponding concepts in English clearly show a considerable difference in conceptualization between Korean and English speakers. The Korean way of thinking is shown in the explication.

Each explication is proposed based on a number of selected examples taken from real language usage so that the cognitive contents of ordinary Korean speakers can be reflected. Only a limited number of examples from those used for semantic analysis are presented in this study. According to Goddard (in press), semantic analyses done by the NSM framework are not

mere analytical conventions, but represent cognitive or conceptual realities for the speech communities under investigation.

All three proposed explications are open for revision in case any counter-example of use appears. This means that they have the potential to be improved by further research. All the proposed analyses are submitted as a first attempt and a reference point for further investigation.

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Convention

[MT: K->E] My translation from Korean to English

Appendix

Table 1. Semantic primes: Korean (Yoon 2005)

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Substantives | <i>na</i> I, <i>ne</i> you, <i>mwukwu</i> someone, <i>salamitul</i> people, <i>manues</i> something/thing, <i>mom</i> body |
| Determiners | <i>i</i> this, <i>tokkath</i> the same, <i>talu</i> other |
| Quantifiers | <i>han</i> one, <i>tuw</i> two, <i>myeci/yetten</i> -tul some, <i>motun</i> all, <i>manh</i> much/many |
| Attributes | <i>coh</i> good, <i>nappu</i> bad |
| Descriptors | <i>ku</i> big, <i>cah</i> small |
| Mental predicates | <i>sayngkakha</i> - think, <i>al</i> - know, <i>nukki</i> - feel, <i>wentha</i> (v + <i>ko</i> -siph) want, <i>po</i> - see, <i>tut</i> - hear |
| Speech | <i>malha</i> - say, <i>mal</i> words, <i>sasil</i> true |
| Actions, events, movement | <i>ha</i> - do, <i>ilena</i> - (sayngki-) happen, <i>wumcki</i> - move |
| Existence, possession | <i>iss</i> - there is, <i>kac</i> - have |
| Life and death | <i>sal</i> - live, <i>cwuk</i> - die |
| Time | <i>tiay</i> (enicey) when/time, <i>ckim</i> now, <i>cen</i> before, <i>hanu</i> after, <i>alay</i> (<i>tongan</i>) a long time, <i>cammkan</i> (<i>tongan</i>) a short time, <i>elma</i> <i>tongan</i> for some time, <i>swankan</i> moment/in one moment |
| Space | <i>kos</i> (eti) where/place, <i>yeki</i> here, <i>wi</i> above, <i>alay</i> below, <i>mel</i> far, <i>kakkap</i> near, <i>cook</i> side, <i>an</i> inside |
| Logical concepts | <i>an</i> (v+cl-ant) not, <i>ama</i> (u) kes I maybe, (u) <i>swu</i> - <i>(ka)</i> -iss can, <i>tiaymanu</i> (ey) because, (u) <i>myen</i> if |
| Intensifier, augmentor | <i>acwu</i> very, <i>te</i> more |
| Relational substantives | <i>cong</i> (yu) (uy) kind, <i>pwupuwu</i> (uy) part |
| Similarity | <i>kath</i> like |

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이 논문은 2007년 10월 30일 투고 완료되어

2007년 11월 1일부터 11월 30일까지 심사위원이 심사하고

2007년 12월 12일 편집위원 회의에서 게재 결정된 것임.