

The Semantic Extension of the Korean Conjunctive Ender *Taka*, from the Perspective of Grammaticalization

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Abstract

This study discusses the semantic extension of the Korean conjunctive ender *taka* from the perspective of grammaticalization. Based on the assumption that *taka* originated from the verb *taku-ta/tak-ta* ‘to approach a certain object or direction’ (Choi, 1994; Kim, 1975; Lee, 1996), the study provides a synchronic analysis of the current semantic attributes of the conjunctive ender *taka* in various contexts. Diverse meanings of *taka* have been documented in previous studies. This study shows that these meanings all developed through semantic extension as the form’s subjectivity increased over time, and therefore are not separate but connected. Investigating naturally occurring written and spoken data of Present Day Korean from a web-based corpus system, the study finds that the conjunctive ender *taka* is used as a temporal marker, a causal marker, a conditional marker, and a concessive marker.

Key words: grammaticalization, semantic extension, subjectivity, Korean conjunctive enders

1 Introduction

1.1 Conjunctive *taka*

This study investigates the semantic features of the Korean conjunctive *taka*¹ from the perspective of grammaticalization. The conjunctive ender *taka* has rather complicated semantic characteristics that cannot be defined simply. (1) briefly illustrates how *taka* can cause substantial differences in the meaning of whole sentences, according to slight differences in its syntactic features based on context.²

- (1) a. CS ka mwulkoki-lul cap-taka nohchy-ess-ta.
 NAME NM fish-AC catch-CNJ miss-PST-DC
 ‘CS missed the fish, in the middle of catching it.’

¹ This study focuses on the conjunctive ender *taka*, which combines with the stem of verbs or adjectives (e.g., *mektaka*: ‘to eat’ + *taka*). Its scope does not include other structures such as *-a/e* (connective suffix) + *taka* (e.g., *capataka*: ‘to catch’ + *a* + *taka*) or the auxiliary particle *taka* that accompanies other particles such as *eytaka* (‘to’ + *taka*) or *lotaka* (‘with’ + *taka*).

² AC = Accusative particle; AD = Adverbial suffix; adverbializer; ADM = Admonitive (warning), AH = Addressee honorific; APP = Apperceptive sentence-type suffix; BLN = Blunt speech level or suffix; CAS = Causative suffix; CL = Numeral classifier (counter); CMP = Complementizer suffix; CNJ = Conjunctive suffix; DC = Declarative sentence-type suffix; DEF = Deferential speech level; DR = Directional particle; EM = Emphasizer; ENDER = Sentence/clause ender; EX = Exclamatory suffix; FML = Familiar speech level or suffix; GN = Genitive particle; HN = Honorific word; HT = Honorific title; IM = Imperative sentence-type suffix; IN = Indicative mood suffix; INF = Infinitive suffix; INT = Intimate speech level or suffix; NM = Nominative case particle; NOM = Nominalizer suffix; PAS = Passive suffix; PL = Plural suffix or particle; PLN = Plain speech level or suffix; POL = Polite speech level, suffix, or particle; PR = Propositive sentence-type suffix; PRM = Promissive sentence-type suffix; PRS = Prospective modal suffix; PST = Past tense and perfect aspect suffix; Q = Question marker, i.e., interrogative sentence-type suffix; QT = Quotative particle; RL = Relativizer (or abnominal modifier) suffix; RQ = Requestive mood suffix; RT = Retrospective mood suffix; SH = Subject honorific suffix; SUP = Suppositive mood suffix; TC = Topic-contrast particle; TR = Transfereptive suffix; VOC = Vocative particle

- b. CS *ka* *mwulkoki-lul* *cap-ass-taka* *nohchy-ess-ta*.
 NAME NM fish-AC catch-PST-CNJ miss-PST-DC
 ‘After catching the fish, CS missed it.’
- c. CS *ka* *mwulkoki-lul* *cap-taka* *son-ul* *tachy-ess-ta*.
 NAME NM fish-AC catch-CNJ hand-AC injure-PST-DC
 ‘CS got his hand hurt while he was catching the fish.’
- d. CS *ka* *mwulkoki-lul* *cap-ass-taka* *son-ul* *tachy-ess-ta*.
 NAME NM fish-AC catch-PST-CNJ hand-AC injure-PST-DC
 ‘Catching the fish caused CS’s hand to be hurt.’
- e. *Kekise* *mwulkoki-lul* *cap-taka* *son-ul* *tachi-n-ta*.
 there fish-AC catch-CNJ hand-AC injure-IN-DC
 ‘If (you) go fishing there, your hand will be injured.’

Although the sentences in (1a–1e) all have the conjunctive suffix *taka* after the action verb *capta*, the meanings and functions of each preceding clause (i.e., the clause including *taka*) seem fairly different. For example, *taka* in its base form in sentence (1a) expresses “being interrupted, diversion,” which implies that the initial action of catching a fish was interrupted by the ensuing action of missing the fish. It does so by providing an implicature of simultaneity, that is, the meaning of “in the middle of doing something.” On the other hand, sentence (1b) with the perfective form of *taka*, *-ass taka*, indicates a “completed but retracted action.” This is a different temporal concept, in which the first action is completed but then, for some reason, is undone. Another use of the base form of *taka*, shown in (1c), is to provide temporal background for an ensuing action, in this case, *tachita* (to get hurt). That is, *taka* in (1c) implies a certain level of causal relationship between the predicates, *capta* (catch) and *tachita* (get hurt), while in (1a) it implies very little causality between the predicates *capta* (catch) and *nohchita* (miss). Meanwhile, in (1d), the causality level implied by *taka* with the perfective form is even greater. Furthermore, in (1e), the conjunctive *taka* not only contributes causality to the whole sentence as in (1c) and (1d), but also functions as a conditional marker, which leads this sentence to be a conditional statement expressing the speaker’s belief/attitude.

This study’s interest is in understanding these intriguing differences in the semantics of conjunctive *taka* in distinct structures and contexts, illustrated above. Hence, the study takes a synchronic approach to investigating conjunctive *taka*’s various uses, based on the theoretical framework of grammaticalization. The study employs contextual analysis (Celce-Murcia, 1980, 1990), which requires native speakers’ intuition to be empirically tested.

1.2 Methodology

In order to exclude any possibility of personal bias and to provide sufficient and authentic evidence, in accord with usage-based models (Barlow & Kemmer, 2000),³ the data were collected from written and spoken discourse in a web-based corpus, KKMA, which is part of the Cejong corpus system (<http://kkma.snu.ac.kr>). Written data come from newspaper articles, essays, and novels while spoken data come from telephone conversations among family members and small talk conversations among college students in a campus setting. For this

³ Barlow and Kemmer (2000, p. 12) defined a usage-based model as “one in which the speaker’s linguistic system is fundamentally grounded in ‘usage events’: instances of a speaker’s producing and understanding language.”

study, 340 tokens from written data and 402 tokens from spoken data of sentences containing the conjunctive ender *taka* were collected and analyzed.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization refers to a process by which content words that designate concrete objects or actions gradually change into function words, which indicate grammatical relationships in a sentence. Antoine Meillet first used the term “grammaticalization” with the definition of “the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word” (cited in Hopper & Traugott, 2003, p. 19). Heine et al. (1991a) provided a more elaborate definition: “grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical form or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g., from a derivative formant to an inflectional one” (p. 149). Hopper and Traugott (1993) also provided a key definition: “the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (p. 15).

Earlier studies of grammaticalization focused on the diachronic approach, which emphasizes semantic and morphosyntactic changes in languages over time. As structuralism was emphasized in the second half of the twentieth century, grammaticalization was somewhat marginalized in general. The rise of discourse analysis and research into linguistic universals led to further development of the idea of grammaticalization as a powerful tool for viewing human language and its changes. Recent trends of research in this field can be divided into two streams: descriptive studies with a wide range of cross-linguistic data on the one hand, and studies that emphasize the nature and significance of grammaticalization as a process on the other.

This study’s theoretical basis is grammaticalization in the sense that the study assumes that conjunctive *taka* developed diachronically from the verb *taku-ta* (or *tak-ta*), and in the sense that the study’s synchronic approach to the data assumes that all of the contemporary meanings and functions of conjunctive *taka* in Present Day Korean (PDK) are interrelated and extended over time.

2.2. Subjectification

Subjectification is the increase of speaker involvement (i.e., subjectivity) that occurs along with, or as part of, semantic and/or pragmatic change in a lexical item or a linguistic structure. Lyons (1981) described subjectivity as a “locutionary agent’s expression of himself and his own attitude and beliefs” (p. 102). Subjectification is considered a strong motivation of grammaticalization. For instance, in Traugott’s (1988, pp. 409–410) important work on grammaticalization, she proposed three tendencies in lexical and grammatical semantic changes, which revolve around changes in levels of speaker subjectivity:

- (2) a. Meanings shift from being based on an external situation to being based on an internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation.
- b. Meanings shift from being based on an external or internal situation to being based on a textual/metalinguistic situation.
- c. Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker’s subjective belief-

state/attitude toward the situation.

Traugott's account is very useful in understanding the phenomenon of the strengthening of the expression of a speaker's subjective beliefs, perspectives, or attitudes as part of the semantic change of the grammaticalization process. Rhee (1998) provided the example of English conjunctives (e.g., *while*, *since*, *after*) that were originally temporal markers but extended to have rather subjective connotations such as causality or concessivity. In the present study as well, the notion of subjectivity/subjectification is highly relevant to investigating the semantic expansion of the Korean conjunctive *taka* from the perspective of grammaticalization.

3 Previous Studies

Grammaticalization in the Korean language has received increasing attention since Yang's (1939) study of *hyangka*,⁴ which was the first to present a case of grammaticalization, showing that *-si-* originated from *-isi-*. The study of Korean conjunctives based on the perspective of grammaticalization was initiated by Lee (1989), who documented the diachronic process of change of Korean conjunctives. Several recent studies have focused on the grammaticalization of temporal, causal, and conditional conjunctives into sentence enders with various semantic features. For example, Kim (2000) observed that non-sentential enders have changed to sentence-final enders, and pointed out that this phenomenon can be considered to fit the principles of grammaticalization. Koo and Rhee (2001) presented the conjunctive *ketun* as a case of grammaticalization from a conjunctive to a sentence ender marker, and described how it currently signals reason or cause as its primary semantic feature, thus displaying a high level of involvement of the speaker. Son and Kim (2009) listed conjunctives functioning as sentence enders that had been frequently mentioned in previous studies, including *-ketun*, *-key*, *-ko*, *-nuntey*, *-tako*, *-tanikka*, *-tamyense*, and *-lyeko*.

Research focusing on *taka* specifically began with Yang's (1965, p. 400) interpretation of the second line of *Cheoyongga*, one of the most famous extant examples of *hyangka*, shown in (3).

- (3) *pam tuli noni-taka*
 night until roam-CNJ
 'while I roamed outside until late night'

Most studies on *taka* that discuss its meaning assume, as this study does, that it originated from the verb *taku-ta* (Lee, 1996) or *tak-ta* (Choi, 1994; Kim, 1975), which means "to approach a certain object or direction."⁵ Choi (1960) defined *taka* as "the interruptive form [that] indicates an interruption of an action that has been going on up to this moment and a switch to another action" (p. 310), classifying it as one of the non-sentence-final ending forms. As for the first semantic investigation of conjunctive *taka*, Sung (1976) argued that two semantic features, "+additive" and "+accidental," were essential to the meanings of *taka*. Choi (1988) added "concurrence," "cause," "condition," and "interruption." Chun (1989)

⁴ *Hyangka* are poems written in the native Korean writing system, composed in the Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla, and early Goryeo periods. Only a few have survived (between 25 and 27, depending on whether certain *hyangka* are regarded as authentic or not; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyangga>).

⁵ Seo (1990) and Bak (1996) present an alternative view, arguing that connective *taka* is derived from the sentence-final ending *-ta*, and pointing out significant semantic discrepancies between conjunctive *taka* and the verb *takuta/takta*.

emphasized “diversion” as an essential semantic attribute, along with additional meanings including “condition,” “cause,” and “reason.”

Kim (2010) also considered its essential meaning to be “diversion,” categorized into “diversion after suspension,” “diversion after completion,” “spontaneous diversion,” and “diversion with sustentation,” according to semantic and syntactic constraints. Lee (2006) considered “movement,” “approach,” and “positioning” as the central meanings derived from the verb *tak-ta* (*taku-ta*). Regarding *taka*’s semantic extension, which is the focus of the present study, Lee (2004) divided this process of expansion into two parts: “diversion > enumeration” and “diversion > cause > condition.” Lee clarified the constraints and processes of meaning change of each step based on the assumption that “diversion” is their central semantic feature. Kim (2014) also presented syntactic constraints and semantic attributes of the connective enders *taka* and *etaka*. According to her, the central meaning of *taka* is “switching,” which can expand to “enumeration,” “causality,” “conditionality,” and “repeating,” depending on context.

Among the grammaticalization studies that deal with *taka*, Lee’s (1996) was the first to investigate the process in which *taka* developed from the verb *taku-ta* as one example of the diachronic grammaticalization of Korean verbs, showing its development into an emphatic marker and transferentive/conditional connective. More recently, Park (2014) examined how grammaticalization affected the development of *taka* and *a/e taka* in Middle Korean based on historical documents. He claimed that *taka* derives from the verb stem *taku* (to have/catch something) + *a* (connective ender), which gradually grammaticalized, losing its lexical meaning as a transitive verb.

These previous studies on conjunctive *taka* can be classified by their focus on its origin, its syntactic characteristics, or its semantic attributes in different contexts. This paper will expand the discussion on the semantic features of *taka*, showing that it has developed increasingly subjective meanings including some that previous studies have not yet noted.

4 Analysis of the Synchronic Meanings of *Taka*

4.1 Temporal Uses of *Taka*

4.1.1 Transferentive Temporality

The first semantic function of conjunctive ender *taka* is as a temporal marker with the meaning of “transferentivity,” which indicates a ceasing of the initial action and a connection to an ensuing action. As shown in (4a), the base form of *taka* basically plays the role of marking the suspension of the behavior or state of the preceding predicate, leaving it uncompleted. The representative semantic attributes in this circumstance are disconnectedness, interruption, accidentalness, and unexpectedness. It can be replaced by another temporal marker, *-hanun tocwungey* (‘in the middle of doing something’), without causing a significant meaning change in a sentence. In contrast, sentence (4b) indicates that the first action has been completed, but it is being retracted by the following activity. The aspect marker *ess/ass*,⁶ which denotes perfectiveness in this sentence (Song, 2003), plays a crucial role in expressing the “nullification of the initial activity or state” (Lee, 2004) in (4b).⁷ As for an equivalent conjunct, the

⁶ This paper follows Song’s (2003) view regarding *ass/ess* combined with the conjunctive ender *taka*; he claimed that it tends to be an aspect marker rather than a tense marker, and he considered its semantic function to be expressing a persistence of perfectiveness.

⁷ Lee (2004) proposed that perfective *taka* follows the rule of nullification when it can be categorized as a transferentive. For example, in the sentence *Kunun kyelhon haysstaka ihon hayssta* ‘He was married but

connotation of *capun twiey/hwuey* ‘after catching it’ may be the closest to that of *capasstaka*.⁸ However, they differ in that the temporal conjunctive *-un twiey/hwuey* does not suggest the nullification of the first activity.

Thus, the semantic feature of transferentivity denoted by *taka* with the perfective form can be described as an abrupt retraction of a completed activity or state in the first clause.

- (3) a. *Mwulkoki-lul cap-taka cip-ulo tolaka-ss-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-CNJ home-to return-PST-DC
 ‘(He) returned home in the middle of fishing.’
- b. *Mulkoki-lul cap-ass-taka tolo nwacwu-ess-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-PST-CNJ back release-PST-DC
 ‘(He) released the fish after he caught it.’ (= caught the fish but then released it.)
- c. *Nay-ka yukhaknyen-i toy-l mwulyep-kkaci kekise sal-taka*
 I-NM 6TH grader-NM become-NOM time-until there live-CNJ

mi 8kwun cengmwun-kkeylo isa-lul ka-ss-ta.
 US 8th Corps gate-near to move-AC go-PST-DC

 ‘I lived there until I became a 6th grader, and then (we) moved near the gate of US 8TH Corps.’ [corpus data]
- d. *Sancwungthek-ey ola-ss-taka tteleci-n kipwun-i-ta.*
 hillside-at climb-PST-CNJ fall-RL feeling-be-DC
 ‘I feel like I fell on the hillside after I climbed it.’ [corpus data]

In these examples, *taka* functions as a temporal conjunctive ender that conveys a transferentive temporal meaning in circumstances where the activity or state in a preceding clause is either suspended (with the base form of *taka*, i.e., *captaka*) or completed (with the perfective form of *taka*, i.e., *capasstaka*) before the following clause. The corpus data also illustrate the transferentive feature of *taka*, in that they express the discontinuance of the previous state or action (i.e., ‘I lived there’) in (5c) or of the completed action (‘after I climbed it’) in (5d).

4.1.2 Simultaneous Temporality

On the other hand, the following examples show another aspect of the temporal implicature of

divorced’, the initial predicate with *taka* is nullified by the following predicate when *ess/ass* is used before *taka*, and the main meaning can be considered as transferentive. In contrast, the sentence, **Kunun kyelhon haysstaka isahayssta* ‘He was married but moved’ is semantically inappropriate because it violates this rule.

⁸ The following examples demonstrate this:

- i. *Mwulkoki-lul cap-un hwuey chinkwucip-ey ka-ss-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-RL after friend’s.house-to go-PST-DC
 ‘After catching fish, I went to my friend’s house.’
- ii. **mwulkoki-lul cap-ass-taka chinkwucip-ey ka-ss-ta.*

taka.

- (5) a. *Mwulkoki-lul cap-taka aki talamcwi-lul po-ass-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-CNJ baby squirrel-AC see-PST-DC
 ‘While fishing, I saw a baby squirrel.’
- b. *Cam-ul ca-taka kkwum-ul kkwu-ess-ta.*
 sleep-AC sleep-CNJ dream-AC dream-PST-DC
 ‘While sleeping, I dreamed.’
- c. *swuca-nun ca-taka-to hanpenssik kongpho-ey chilulttel-e.*
 NAME-TC sleep-CNJ-DEL frequently panic-at tremble-INT
 ‘When Swuca sleeps, she frequently trembles with panic.’ [corpus data]

In the contexts of these examples, the connective function of *taka* looks different than in the contexts of (1) and (4), in that the sentences in (5) are implying that the two different activities happen at the same time and the preceding activity continues along with the action in the following clause without any implication of disconnection between the predicates. For example, in (5b), the two activities, sleeping and dreaming, happen simultaneously; the sleeping started first and the dreaming, as the ensuing activity, follows it according to the contextual implication. Likewise, (5b), from the corpus, also indicates that the two actions of the subject Swuca, sleeping and trembling, happen simultaneously.

This simultaneity can be considered another aspect of *taka*’s temporal meaning; the form’s expression of *simultaneity* and *connectedness* are inferred from its contextual and pragmatic surroundings. Among the motivations that promote grammaticalization, “pragmatic inference” refers to a process that serves to conventionalize an inference in accord with pragmatic boundaries, based on highly frequent associations among certain linguistic forms (Rhee, 1998). Indeed, the temporal semantic boundary designated by *taka*, which is transferentive or interruptive, has been expanded to represent simultaneity in contexts where that pragmatic inference is possible.

This is also an example of generalization, which is another characteristic of grammaticalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). Generalization can be defined as a semantic change in which a lexical item loses its specific sense as it gains new and generalized meanings. The original meanings of the words weaken (“semantic bleaching”). One example is the French verb *aller* ‘to go’, which is derived from the Latin *ambulare* ‘to walk’; thus, it shifted to having a more general sense (Rhee, 1998). In this sense, it is clear that the extended functions of *taka* shown in (4) rely on a more general meaning as a conjunctive, and are not limited to the transferentive implication of the verb *takta* (*takuta*), which means “to approach (but be interrupted).”

The examples in (6) show that as the simultaneity meaning increases, *taka* can no longer combine with a perfective form. In order to keep the simultaneous temporality meaning, the preceding clause including *taka* as a conjunctive must adopt the base form representing the present tense.

- (6) a. **mwulkoki-lul cap-ass-taka aki talamcwi-lul po-ass-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-PST-CNJ baby squirrel-AC see-PST-DC
- b. *?Cam-ul ca-ss-taka kkwum-ul kkwu-ess-ta.*

sleep-AC sleep-PST-CNJ dream-AC dream-PST-DC

Simultaneous conjunctive *taka* functions as a bridge to *taka*'s use as a causal conjunctive, because the co-occurrence of two different activities (e.g., to sleep and to dream in (4b)) can be contextualized so that the initial activity (e.g., to sleep) functions as the background or opportunity that allows the following activity (e.g., to dream) to occur. The following section discusses this further development, that is, *taka*'s extension to the causality meaning from its temporal meanings.

4.2 Causal Uses of *Taka*

4.2.1 The Emergence of Causality

The next semantic role of conjunctive *taka* is as a causal connective, which forms a cause-effect relationship between preceding and following clauses, as in (7).

- (7) a. *Mwulkoki-lul cap-taka son-ul tachy-ess-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-CNJ hand-AC injure-PST-DC
 '(I) got my hand hurt while fishing.'
- b. *Cang-ul po-taka somaychiki-lul tanghay-ss-ta.*
 grocery-AC try-CNJ pickpocket-AC get-PST-DC
 '(I) had my pocket picked while grocery shopping.'

In (7a), it seems fairly clear that the unfortunate event of the speaker hurting his/her hand took place due to his/her engagement in the activity of fishing. The main relationship between these two clauses should, therefore, be characterized as causality rather than transferentivity or simultaneity within the context, which is focused on the second happening, that is, the consequence. The fact that *taka* denotes a causal relationship in some cases can be seen more clearly when more context is available, as in (8).

- (8) a. *Way son-ul tachy-ess-ni?*
 why hand-AC injure-PST-PLN Q
 'What happened to your hand?'
- b. *Mwulkoki cap-taka son-ul tacheyess-e.*
 fish catch-CNJ hand-AC injure-PST-INT
 'Fishing caused my hand to be hurt.'
- c. *Esseta somaychiki-lul tanghay-ss-e?*
 how pickpocket-AC get-PST-INT Q
 'How did you get pickpocketed?'
- d. *Cang-ul po-taka somaychiki tanghaysse.*
 grocery-AC try-CNJ pickpocket get-PST-INT-DC
 'Doing grocery shopping caused me to get pickpocketed.'

In these examples, the additional context provided by the questions makes the causality of *taka* more obvious, which also shows that pragmatic inference plays a role in the form's development of this new meaning. Further, the uses of *taka* demonstrate semantic layering

(Hopper, 1991); old and new semantic or syntactic “layers” can co-exist in the process of grammaticalization. In this case, the temporal functions of *taka* coexist with the new function of marking causality.

There is a similar case in English: Traugott (1988, p. 409) pointed out the meaning shift of *since* (meaning *the time that*) to include the meaning *because* as an example of a temporality meaning developing to express causality, as in (9).

- (9) Since her parents divorced, Susan has been depressed.

In the above sentence in Modern English, it is more natural and commonsensical to interpret Susan’s depression as caused by her parents’ divorce than to consider the two events as only temporally related.

4.2.2 Strengthened Causality with Perfectiveness

The conjunctive ender *taka* used as a causal connective tends to show increased causality when combined with the perfective aspect than as the base form, as shown in (10).⁹

- (10) a. *Muwlkoki-lul cap-ass-taka son-ul mwully-ess-ta.*
 fish-AC catch-PST-CNJ hand-AC be bitten-PST-DC
 ‘I had my hand bitten by the fish that I caught.’
- b. *ceney tani-ten kyohoy-ey ka-ss-taka*
 before attend-RL church-to. go-PST-CNJ
- yenkyel-i toy-ess-ten key-a.*
 connection-NM become-PST-RL thing be-IN
 ‘I was connected (with someone) since I visited the church that I used to attend before.’ [corpus data]

The sentence in (10a) suggests that the reason why the subject’s hand was bitten is that the subject caught the fish. This example, especially in comparison to (7a), demonstrates that the use of the perfective form of *taka* leads to a greater degree of causality; in the sentence with the base form in (7a), *taka* only implies that the first predicate gives the reason for the second predicate. The example in (10b) also indicates that it is thanks to conjunctive *taka* that there is a causal relationship between the two predicates, *be connected with someone* and *go to the*

⁹ This does not imply that the base form *taka* cannot convey causality. It rather means that when the base form of *taka* has causal meaning in a sentence, its perfective form can generate strengthened causality. In addition, atelic verbs with ambiguous endpoints such as *cinayta* (stay), *tolpota* (take care), and *salta* (live) cannot carry a perfective marker in a *taka* structure for the causal function. They have causal meaning in the base form, as shown in (i). However, in this case, the perfective form (ii) not only seems unnatural but does not seem to carry stronger causal meaning than the base form (i).

i. *ciuni-nun tongsayngtul-ul tolpo-taka kyelhon-i nucecy-ess-ta.*
 Ciuni-TC younger.siblings-AC take.care-CNJ marrying-NM get.late-PST-DC
 ‘Ciun got married late since/because she took care of her younger siblings (for a long time).’

ii.*? *ciuni-nun tongsayngtul-ul tolpo-ass-taka kyelhon-i nucecy-ess-ta.*

Besides, according to Song (2003), atelic verbs cannot combine with a perfective *taka* construction in general.

church, because the assumed meaning of the whole sentence is “I was connected with someone because I visited the church that I used to attend before.” In other words, increased causality is generated by the perfective *taka*, which thus plays the role of designating the major cause of or contributor to a consequence.

The next examples, in (11), also show causal relationships between two clauses brought about by *taka*, but the levels of causality are different.

- (11) a. *Pam nuckey pisipang-ey ka-taka apec-eykey honna-ss-e.*
 night late internet.café-to go-CNJ father-from being.scolded-PST-INT
 ‘I got scolded by my father while going to the internet café late at night.’
- b. *Pam nuckey pisipang-ey ka-ss-taka apeci-eykey hon-na-ss-e.*
 night late internet.café-to go-PST-CNJ father-from being.scolded-PST-INT
 ‘I got scolded by my father because I went to the internet café late at night.’

In (11a), the fact that the speaker went to an internet café late at night could be one of the reasons for the scolding. However, it is also plausible that the speaker ran into his/her father on the way to the internet café and got scolded for some other reason. In other words, the sentence in (11a) does not provide the exact reason the speaker was scolded. The sentence in (11b), on the contrary, clearly indicates that the speaker was scolded by his/her father specifically for going to the internet café late at night, and hence this sentence represents a more concrete causal relationship than (11a).

4.3 Conditional Uses of *Taka*

4.3.1 The Emergence of Conditionality

Another semantic function of *taka* is as a conditional conjunctive, which connects a conditional clause (the subordinate clause) and a consequential clause (the main clause). Conditional sentences, in general, can describe either factual implications or hypothetical situations and their consequences. Koo (1999) claimed that the concepts of conditionality and temporality are closely related to each other, and that there are plenty of cases of grammaticalization in which temporal markers have changed to conditional markers cross-linguistically. Koo argued that this shift was due to *conceptual transfer* in the process of grammaticalization, as explained by Heine et al. (1991b, p. 154).

According to Koo (1999), there is a transitional stage in the process of grammaticalization from temporal marker to conditional marker, as shown in example (11) and Table 1. She further proposed that this transitional stage is shaped by inference, such that “Y follows whenever X appears.” Furthermore, she insisted that this inference naturally progresses to a causal relationship, that is, “*Because X appears, Y follows*” (p. 170).

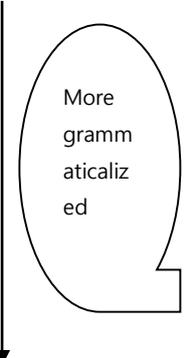
- (12) a. *Ne kekise nakksi ha-taka-(nun) michin yeca manna-n-ta.*
 you there fishing do-CNJ-(TC) crazy woman meet-IN-DC
 ‘If you go fishing over there, you will bump into a madwoman.’
- b. *Kulehke kongpu an hayss-taka-nun tayhak mos ka-n-ta.*
 such study not do-PST-CNJ-TC college cannot go-IN-DC
 ‘If you do not study like that, you cannot get into a college.’ [corpus data]

Table 1: Conceptual Transfer (Koo, 1999, p. 169)

A	B	C
Less grammaticalized stage	Transitional stage	More grammaticalized stage
Time		Condition
When X appears, Y appears also. (X & Y appear simultaneously)	Whenever X appears, Y follows. (because X appears, Y follows.)	If X appears, Y follows.

This process of conceptual transfer also can be applied to *taka* conditionals, as shown in (12). Table 2 presents Koo’s analysis of the process of conceptual transfer using the example sentence in (12a).

Table 2: Conceptual Transfer of Sentence (12a)

	in one case	<u>Someone</u> met a madwoman when he/she was fishing over there.	Simultaneity
	in a large number of cases	<u>A group of people</u> met a madwoman when (< because) they were fishing over there.	Inferred causality
	in your case also	<u>You also</u> will meet a madwoman too if you are fishing over there.	Conditionality

Koo (1999) also suggested a pathway by which temporality develops into conditionality through the process of causal inference. It can be applied as in Figure 1, which fits the semantic extension of *taka* as discussed thus far.

Temporality (Transferentivity → Simultaneity) > Causality > Conditionality

Figure 1: Development of *Taka*’s Conditionality

4.3.2 Subjectivity of Conditional *Taka*

In this paper, subjectification is defined as an increase of the speaker’s involvement that occurs along with the semantic and pragmatic change of an individual lexical item or linguistic structure. In the process of semantic change of the conjunctive *taka* from a temporal marker to a causal and a conditional marker that we have discussed so far, we can also see the development of greater subjectivity; in other words, as *taka*’s meanings change, there is a shift in speaker’s attitude as well.

In the examples in (13), the preceding clauses including *taka* in each sentence are connected to following clauses that are not factual, but predicted by the speaker with a certain level of belief.

- (13) a. *Kulehke nangpi ha-taka(nun) kos ketel-na-n-ta.*
 such waste do-CNJ(TC) soon go.broke-happen-IN-DC

‘If (you) waste like that, you will go broke soon.’ [corpus data]

- b. *Yekise kumantwu-taka(nun) nehuy kacok kkuthcangna-n-ta.*
 here stop-CNJ-(TC) your family be.over-IN-DC
 ‘If you stop here, your family will be ruined.’

In these examples, the speakers represent their subjective opinions toward a situation or context that will be faced, the speaker claims, by the listener in (13a), or an in-group including listeners in (13b).¹⁰ The utterances express the speakers’ personal judgment of the listeners’ current situation, which the speaker is observing. According to Pak’s (2005) categorization,¹¹ conditionals created with the *taka* conjunctive have similar characteristics as *deictic conditionals*, in which the hypothetical situation the speaker is describing is a personal “realis” in a personal domain where a subjective factuality exists (p. 13). For this reason, various deictic adverbials such as *kulehke* (such), *kekise* (there), *ilehke* (such), and so forth, are frequently used in *taka* conditionals. In addition, Song (1988) found that the *taka* conjunctive ender when used as a conditional is usually accompanied by the topic marker *nun*, and the following conjuncts connected by *taka* tend to denote “predictions, warnings, or threats” (p. 238). These characteristics of *taka* conditionals with or without *nun* are strongly related to the speakers’ subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation rather than being objective descriptions or statements. The speakers in (14), by using *taka* to connect the two clauses, magnify their own perspective, evaluation, or belief toward the given situations.

- (14) a. *Kekise nakksi ha-taka michin yeca mann-ass-ta.*
 there fishing do-CNJ mad woman meet-PST-DC
 ‘While(> because) I was fishing there, I bumped into a madwoman.’
- b. *Kekise nakksi hay-ss-takan(nun) michin yeca manna-n-ta.*
 there fishing do-PST-CNJ(TC) mad woman meet-IN-DC
 ‘If you fish over there, you will bump into a mad woman (for sure).’

(14a) uses causal *taka*, with some level of speaker subjectivity; (14b) uses conditional *taka*, which has greater subjectivity by functioning as a predictor of nonfactual events. In addition, the use of perfectiveness in *taka* predicates functions to reveal the speaker’s stronger belief or increased emotion than the use of the basic form, as in (12a), by maximizing the speaker’s subjectivity, as in (14b), which shows the speaker’s personal assurance regarding the predicted consequence of the first predicate’s action.

4.3.3. Concessive Uses of *Taka*

¹⁰ Semantically speaking, *taka* conjunctives generally follow the rule of identical subject or predicate (Song, 1988). However, when *taka* is used with a causal or conditional meaning, it seems that it considers in-group subjects as identical subjects, as in the following examples.

- i. *Nay-ka sewul ka-ss-taka maknay ai-ka apha-ss-ta.*
 I-NM Seoul go-PST-CNJ youngest child-NM be.sick-PST-DC
 ‘My youngest child was sick, because I went to Seoul (and was not able to take care of him/her).’
- ii. *Kelehke sal-taka-nun nehuy casiktul-i himtul-ta.*
 such live-CNJ-TC your children-NM suffer-DC
 ‘If you keep living like that, your children will have hard lives.’

¹¹ He categorized conditionals as hypothetical, counterfactual, deictic, factual, generic, speech act, spatial setting, and temporal according to their semantic characteristics.

The final step to date in conjunctive *taka*'s semantic development is as a concessive marker. The example sentences in (15) show *taka* conjunctives expressing a concessive meaning for the whole sentences by connecting two clauses.

- (15) a. *Kulehkena thoha-taka(to) ce papul po-ni*
 such vomit-CNJ(DEL) that rice-AC see-because

tto kwunchim-i tolta-ni.
 again mouth -NM get watered-EX
 'Although you vomited so badly, how that cooked rice can make your mouth water now.'
- b. *Cwuu-n tusi ca-taka(to) ku nom-hantey*
 be dead-RL like sleep-CNJ(DEL) that guy from

cenhwao-ni pelttekkilena-nya!
 call come because sprang up-EX
 'Although you were sleeping like a log, how you sprang up at the call from that guy!'
- c. *Kutolok simhakey chaey-ss-taka tto ku yeca-eykey*
 such badly be kicked-PST-CNJ again that girl to

mokul may-nun kkol-i-lan!
 be obsessed RL state- be -EX
 'Although you were dumped by her so badly, how come you are still obsessed by that girl!' [corpus data]
- d. *Cakum kwacang-un yephsalam-kwa wus-umye*
 finance manager-TC next person-with smile-CNJ

captam-ul ha-takato na-lul po-myen mopsi
 chatting-AC do-CNJ-DEL me-AC see-if very

pappu-n sinyung-ul ha-mye omyenhay-ss-ta.
 Be busy-RL pretense-AC do-CNJ look away-PST-DC
 'If the finance manager saw me, he turned his face away (from me) pretending he was very busy **even though** he was chatting with the next person with laughter before.' [corpus data]

As shown in these examples, *taka* can be used now in PDK as a conjunctive with the concessive meaning. According to Pak (2007), a close relationship between concessivity and conditionality is found cross-linguistically. The examples in (15) show that the conditional marker *if* in English can be interpreted as a concessive conjunctive when concessive implicature is revealed through the contexts.

- (16) a. John is the honest man, if he is the poorest guy.
 b. John is the poorest guy, if he is the honest guy. (Pak, 2007: 72)

Pak pointed out that concession is characterized as a non-optimal condition with the semantic feature of unexpectedness, considering that concessive meaning appears when the most undesirable or most desirable options are conditionally provided, as in (16). Hence, the relationship between conditionality and concession is very close semantically and also pragmatically.

Similarly, in the case of *taka* as a conjunctive ender, this study finds that the meaning of *taka* conditionals extends to the concessive, where the non-optimal conditional situation is unexpected to the speaker, as shown in (16). This use of *taka* represents the speaker's somewhat negative reaction such as surprise or even hostility toward the situation that brought about the consequence, and therefore expresses the speaker's personal opinion or emotion. In this sense, the subjectivity of conjunctive *taka* has been maximized in this concessive use. While the subjectivity of the conditional use of *taka* reaches the level of indicating the speaker's prediction, personal belief, or perspective, the subjectivity of the concessive use of *taka* has increased to denote the speaker's surprise, criticism, and even sarcasm.

In the sentences in (16), the delimiter *to* with the meaning of "extremeness, unexpectedness, and conditionality" (Pak, 2007: 66) following *taka* emphasizes its concessivity and also functions to increase the subjectivity. However, it seems that *taka* by itself is capable of implying the concessivity of the whole sentence, even without the delimiter *to*.

5 Conclusion

This paper has presented a description of the extended semantic features of conjunctive *taka* from a synchronic viewpoint based on the framework of grammaticalization. Traugott (1988) showed that conjunctive *while* in English, which originally expressed a simultaneous temporality, developed the meaning of concessivity. In a similar way, the semantic change of the Korean conjunctive *taka* can be characterized as a typical grammaticalization process, demonstrating the principles of layering (Hopper, 1991), divergence (Hopper & Traugott, 2003), generalization (Hopper & Traugott, 2003), pragmatic inference (Rhee, 1998), and so forth. Additionally, idiomatized expressions including *taka*, *eccetaka*, and *kuletaka* as in (17) clearly demonstrate that conjunctive *taka* is going through a grammaticalization process in spoken PDK by showing the extended meanings of causality and conditionality, well beyond the original semantic confines of temporality.

- (17) a. Causality
Ccucc ccucc ecce-taka...
 tut tut (clicking tongue) how be-CNJ
 'Tut tut. What made (him) so miserable?' [corpus data]
- b. Conditionality
Ne, kule-taka emma o-si-myen (honna-n-da).
 you do.so-CNJ mother come-SH-if (get scolded-IN-DC)
 'If you do so, (if) mother comes (you will be scolded).'

The study found no concessive use of *taka* in idiomatized expressions in the spoken data, which suggests that conjunctive *taka* is still undergoing the process of grammaticalization, proceeding toward more fully embracing the concessive meaning. The semantic extension that occurs in the grammaticalization process can be illustrated as a pathway, as in Figure 2. And as we have discussed, the further the semantic extension of conjunctive *taka* progresses, the more its

subjectivity increases.

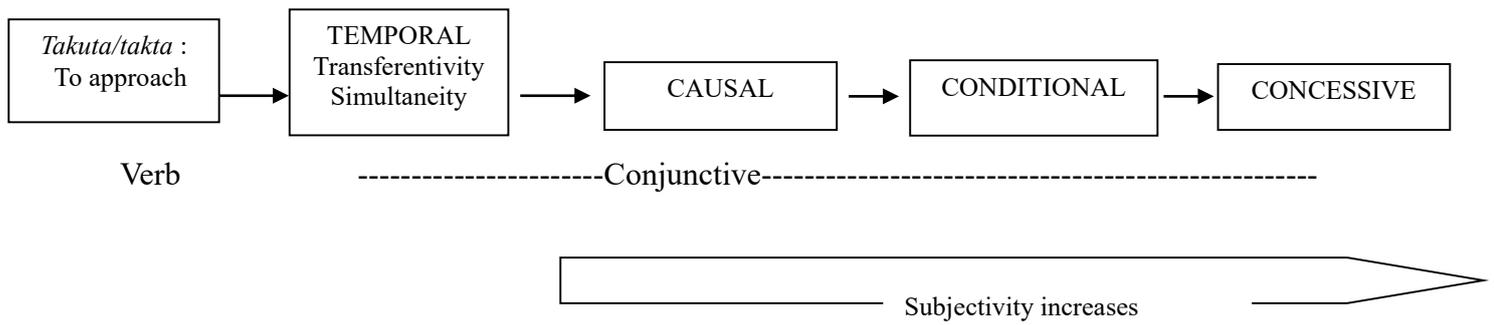


Figure 2: The Path of Grammaticalization of *Taka*

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