

The Meaning and Use of Korean Conjunctive Suffix *-Taka*

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I. Introduction

Korean *-taka* conjunctive construction shows an interesting syntactic distribution as in (1) noticed by Kim (1988) and Nam (1994).

- (1) a. [[S₁ V₁]-taka [S₂ V₂]] if S₁ = S₂ and V₁ ≠ V₂
b. [[S₁ V₁]-taka [S₂ V₂]] if S₁ ≠ S₂ and V₁ = V₂

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c *[[S₁ V₁]-taka [S₂ V₂]] if S₁ ≠ S₂ and V₁ ≠ V₂

When the conjunctive suffix *-taka* links two clauses syntactically, both clauses should share the same subject or the same predicate as in (1a) and (1b), which are exemplified by (2a) and (2b), respectively.

- (2) a. Swuni-ka sakwa-lul mek-taka t cam-i tul-ess-ta
 NOM apple-ACC eat-CON sleep-NOM fall-PST-DC
 'Eating an apple Swuni fell into sleep'
- b. Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOMd riving-ACC do-CON NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC
 'Swuni drove and then Mina drove'
- c.*Swuni-ka sakwa-lul mek-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOM apple-ACC eat-CON NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC
 'Swuni ate an apple and then Mina drove'

But the entire sentence becomes weird if this restriction is not observed as in (1c), which is exemplified by (2c).

However, there is another type of *-taka* construction as in (3), in which *-taka -taka ha-* construction seems to function more like a coordinate construction. At first glance, two *-taka* clauses in (3a) do not share the same subject but we can see that they have the same implied subject *nalssi-ka* ('weather').

(3) *-taka -taka ha-* construction

- a. nwun-i o-taka pi-ka o-taka ha-n-ta
 snow-NOM come-CON rain-NOM come-CON do-PRS-DC
 'It snows and rains in turn'
- b. ai-ka wul-taka wus-taka ha-n-ta
 child-NOM cry-CON laugh-CON do-PRS-DC
 'A child cries and laughs in turn'

In fact, (3a) and (3b) observe the same restriction as in (1a). *Ka* of *-taka* is often omitted without any change in meaning.

One of the curious features of Korean conjunctive *-taka* construction is that they

appear to be a subordinate construction syntactically, but also have several features in common with coordinate structures, like the Hindi conjunctive participle *-kar* (Davison, 1981) and some conjunctions in Japanese (Kuno, 1973).

In the following sections, I will give syntactic evidence for its being a subordinate construction as contrasted with coordinate *-taka -taka ha-* construction. Also the semantic function of the connective marker *-taka* will be explored by looking into scope relations with question and negation, and the lexical meaning of the suffix.

II. Coordination versus Subordination

According to Greenbaum and Quirk (1990), both coordination and subordination involve the linking of units; but in coordination the units are on the same syntactic level, whereas in subordination one of the units is a constituent of a superordinate unit. Similar semantic relationships may be expressed through coordination with *but* as in (4a) and subordination with *although* as in (4b).

- (4) a. He tried hard, but he failed.
b. Although he tried hard, he failed.

Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik (1972) claim that a major difference between coordination and subordination of clauses is that the information in subordinate clauses is not asserted, but presupposed as given as in (4b). They also argue that although the pairs of sentences are similar semantically, they are different syntactically, since the subordinate clause in (4b) is adverbial in clause structure.

Greenbaum and Quirk(p.263-266) offer 6 syntactic features for coordinators such as *and*, *or*, and *but*. First, clause coordinators are restricted to clause-initial position, which is generally true of both coordinators and subordinators but is not true of most conjuncts as in (5).

- (5) a. John plays the guitar, *and(though)* his sister plays the piano.
b.*John plays the guitar; his sister *and(though)* plays the piano.
c. John plays the guitar; his sister, *moreover*, plays the piano.

To Korean coordinators and subordinators we cannot apply the first feature because they are dependent morphemes such as *-ko*, *-na*, *-a/ese*, *-myense*, *-nikka* and the like, and they cannot be separated from their verbal stems.

Second, coordinated clauses are sequentially fixed, which is true for coordinators and conjuncts but not for most subordinators.

- (6) a. They are living in England, *or* they are spending a vacation there.
 b.* *Or* they are spending a vacation there, they are living in England.
 c.* *Nevertheless* John gave it away, Mary wanted it.
 d. *Although* Mary wanted it, John gave it away.

Third, coordinators are not preceded by a conjunction. The coordinators *and*, *or*, and *but*, and the subordinators *for* and *so that* ('with the result that') do not allow another conjunction to precede them. Other subordinators as well as conjuncts can usually be preceded by conjunctions.

- (7) a. He was unhappy about it, *and yet* he did as he was told.
 b.* *And yet* he did as he was told, he was unhappy about it.

We may adopt second and third features to differentiate Korean coordinators from subordinators.

Fourth, coordinators can link clause constituents. *And*, *or*, and *but* may link constituents smaller than a clause, for example, predicates as in (8a). This feature does not apply to most other linkers including subordinators as in (8b, c).

- (8) a. I may see you tomorrow *or* may phone late in the day.
 b.*He did not want it, *for* was obstinate.
 c.*She didn't say anything *because* he was new *and because* looked unwell.

We may not apply fourth feature to Korean in that ellipsis of NP arguments is generally allowed in Korean if they are recovered from context at LF.

Fifth, coordinators can link subordinate clauses. As well as linking two main clauses *and* and *or* can link subordinate clauses.

- (9) He asked to be transferred, *because* he was unhappy *and because/although* he saw no prospect of promotion.

Such linking is not possible for conjuncts or for the other conjunctions except *but*.

Sixth, coordinators can link more than two clauses. *And* and *or* can link more than two clauses, and the construction may then be called one of multiple coordination. All but the final instance of these two conjunctions can be omitted as in (10).

- (10) The battery may be disconnected, (*or*) the connections may be loose, *or* the bulb may be faulty.

In this respect, *and* and *or* differ from subordinators and conjuncts. They differ even from *but*, since *but* semantically speaking can only link two units at the same level.

Subordination, on the other hand, is generally marked in the subordinate clause by various kinds of signals such as a subordinating conjunction, a *wh*-element, complementizer *that*, subject-operator inversion in declarative clauses or (negatively) the absence of a finite verb.

With Greenbaum and Quirk's account (1990) in mind, I will try to identify syntactic and semantic functions of Korean conjunctive marker *-taka*.

III. Syntactic Arguments for *-Taka* Construction as Subordinate

In this section I am going to examine syntactic distribution of Korean *-taka* constructions including scope of negation and question and then will draw a conclusion that they are identified as subordinate rather than as coordinate.

1. Syntactic Distribution of *-Taka* Construction

Let's take a look at two types of *-taka* constructions in (11) and (12) to see what is required by Korean connective suffix *taka*.

- (11) a. Swuni-ka setwulu-taka t neme-ci-ess-ta

- NOM hurry -CON fall -PAS-PST-DC
 'Swuni fell down because of hurrying'
- b. *Swuni-ka setwule-taka ta
 NOM hurry-CON DC
 'That's why Swuni was hurry'
- c. Swuni-ka neme-ci-ess-ta
 NOM fall-PAS-PST-DC
 'Swuni fell down'
- (12) a. Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka t hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON NOM do-PST-DC
 'Swuni drove and then Mina drove'
- b. *Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON do-PST-DC
 'It was after Swuni drove'
- c. Mina-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC
 'Mina drove'

(11b) sounds strange while (11a) and (11c) are okay, which means that a *-taka* clause is a subordinate one and it requires its superordinate, matrix clause. (12b) as well is ungrammatical as contrasted with grammatical (12c), which means the same thing again. We may say that Korean connective suffix *-taka* is a subordinate conjunctive marker requiring its matrix clause.

Consider (13) and (14) to ensure that the conjunctive marker *-taka* requires a TP. At this point, I will introduce traditional clausemates, honorific morpheme *-si* and negative polarity item(NPI) *amwuto*, to testify whether *-taka* clause constitutes a TP/IP.

- (13) a. Halapeci-kkeyse sakwa-lul capswu-si-taka cam-i tu-si-ess-ta
 grandfather-HON apple-ACC eat-HON-CON sleep-NOM fall-HON-PST-DC
 'Eating an apple my grandfather fell into sleep'
- b.*Halapeci-kkeyse sakwa-lul mek-taka cam-i tu-si-ess-ta
 grandfather-HON apple-ACC eat-CON sleep-NOM fall-HON-PST-DC

In (13a) *si* in *-taka* clause agrees with its subject *halapeci* ('grandfather') but there is no honorific feature required for agreement in *-taka* clause in (13b), so it sounds not good.

(14) a. Amwuto sakwa-lul mek-ci anh-taka
 nobody apple-ACC eat -ci not do-CON
 motwu(-ka) emeni-kkey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta
 everybody-NOM mother-HON scolding-ACC be hit-PST-DC
 'Nobody ate apples so everybody was scolded by mother'

b. ?*Amwuto sakwa-lul mek-taka
 nobody apple-ACC eat-CON
 motwu(-ka) emeni-kkey yatan-ul mac-ci anh-ass-ta
 everybody-NOM mother-HON scolding-ACC be hit-ci not do-PST-DC
 'Nobody was scolded by mother for eating apples'

In the similar vein, NPI *amwuto* requires a negative particle *an* in the same clause as in (14a) to satisfy Full Interpretation, while in (14b) there is no negative item in the same clause for *amwuto* to agree with, which turns out gibberish. Based on the grammaticality contrast presented in (13) and (14), I argue that *-taka* clause is a TP.

For tense/aspect, let us turn to (15) and (16). It is noted by Nam(1994) that *-taka* clause can go with zero morpheme \emptyset and past tense *a/ess* only, but can never with *-n*, *-assess*, *-keyss* and retrospective *-te*.

(15) a. Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-taka kongkyek-ul tang-hayss-ta
 NOM gun-ACC shoot-CON attack-ACC receive-do-PST-DC
 'While shooting a gun, Swuni was attacked'

b. Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-ass-taka kongkyek-ul tang-hayss-ta
 NOM gun-ACC shoot-ASP-CON attack-ACC receive-do-PST-DC
 'Having shot a gun, Swuni was attacked'

In (15b) past morpheme *ass* in *-taka* clause functions as aspect [+perfective] to describe already completed action or event, so that we can see clear meaning difference between (15a) and (15b). When other tense morphemes come in *-taka* clauses, they don't make sense, as shown in (16).

- (16)a. *Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-keyss-taka kongkyek-ul tang-hal kes i-ta
 NOM gun-ACC shoot-will-CON attack-ACC receive-do-FUT-DC
 b. *Swuni-ka chongul sso-n(??assess/*te)-taka
 NOM gun-ACC shoot- PRS(PLU/RTP) -CON
 kongkeyk-ul tang-ha-n-ta
 attack-ACC receive-do-PRS-DC

At the moment, I would like to compare *-ta* in *-taka* with Korean declarative sentence ending marker *-ta*. They look the same, but are they really different? How are we sure that they are different? To prove it, let me introduce another aspectual morpheme *-lye*, which never goes with the declarative sentence ender *-ta*, as illustrated in (17b).

- (17) a. Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-lye-taka kongkyek-ul tang-hayss-ta
 NOM gun-ACC shoot-try to-CON attack-ACC receive-do-PST-DC
 'Trying to shoot a gun, Swuni was attacked'
 b. *Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-lye-ta
 NOM gun-ACC shoot-try to-DC
 'Swuni tried to shoot a gun.'

(17b) sounds incomplete and the hearer must be expecting for the speaker to continue his or her talking. We do not finish our talking with such markers as *lye-ta*.

On the other hand, similar morphemes *-li* and *-lyen* with implication of the speaker's intention for the future trial can occur with the declarative sentence ender *-ta*, as in (18). They cannot appear with *ta* of the conjunctive marker *-taka*.

- (18) a. Nay-ka chong-ul sso-li-ta
 I-NOM gun-ACC shoot-*li*-DC
 'I'm going to shoot a gun'
 b. Nay-ka chong-ul sso-lyen-ta
 I-NOM gun-ACC shoot-FUT-DC
 'I'll shoot a gun'
 c. *Swuni-ka chong-ul sso-li/lyen-taka

NOM gun-ACC shoot
 'Swuni is going to/will shoot a gun...'

(18c) doesn't sound incomplete but sounds just gibberish.

Therefore, we can safely say that *ta* in *-taka* is not the same morpheme as the declarative sentence ender *-ta*. Their functions are clearly different, so *ta* resulted with ellipsis of *ka* from the conjunctive marker *-taka* is often observed without causing any confusion.

It is time to testify second and third features in Greenbaum and Quirk(1990), as exemplified in (6) and (7), in order to find out which one is a subordinating clause and which one is a coordinating one. In (19) and (20) *-taka* clauses are postposed but the entire sentences sound good, as is expected for subordinating clauses.

(19) a. Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka t t emma-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 NOM bread-ACC eat-CON Mom-DAT give-PST-DC

b. emma-eykey cwu-ess-ta Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka
 Mom-DAT give-PAST-DC NOM bread-ACC eat-CON

'While eating bread, Swuni gave it to Mom'

(20) a. Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC

b. Mina-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka
 NOM driving-ACC do-PAST-DC NOM driving-ACC do-CON

'Swuni drove and then Mina drove'

Look at (21) which I argue is a coordinating construction.

(21) a. ai-ka wul-taka wus-taka ha-n-ta
 child-NOM cry-CON laugh-CON do-PRS-DC

b.* wus-taka ha-n-ta ai-ka wul-taka
 laugh-CON do-PRS-DC child-NOM cry-CON

c.* ha-n-ta ai-ka wul-taka wus-taka
 do-PRS-DC child-NOM cry-CON laugh-CON

'A child cries and laughs in turn'

Coordinated clauses are sequentially fixed following Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) so postposing of the preceding clauses results in ungrammaticality as in (21b) and (21c). Moreover, *-taka -taka ha-* construction shows the sixth feature of coordinators, as mentioned in Section II, which can link more than two clauses as in (22).

- (22) ai-ka ket-taka swi-taka ttwi-taka ha-n-ta
 child-NOM walk-CON rest-CON run-CON do-CON
 'A child walks, takes a break, and runs in turn'

For the second type of *-taka* construction presented in (20), we can see some interesting phenomena. Look at (23).

- (23)a. Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON NOM driving-ACC do-CON
 Chelswu-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC
 b. *Chelswu-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka
 NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC NOM driving-ACC do-CON
 Mina-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON
 'Swuni drove, and next Mina drove and then Chelswu drove'

In (23a) the subordinator *-taka* can list more than two clauses. Here *-taka* functions as a coordinator and, as seen in (23b), postposing of the preceding clauses leads to an ungrammatical sentence. Its subordinating power seems to be gone.

To sum up, I claim that the conjunctive marker *-taka* functions as a subordinating marker in *-taka* construction, while it functions as a coordinating marker in *-taka-taka ha-* construction.

2. Scope of Negation and Question

In Korean when the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with the subject of the matrix clause, one of them is omitted. Further, even the identical object NPs can be frequently omitted if they are recovered at LF, as shown in (24).

- (24) Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka t t Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 NOM bread-ACC eat-CON DAT give-PST-DC
 'While eating some bread, Swuni gave it to Mina'

The complex sentence in (24) can be negated by two types of negation called Long-Form Negation(LFN) as in (25) and Short-Form Negation(SFN) as in (26). Scope of a negator *an* should be decided by its syntactic position.

- (25) Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka t t Mina-eykey cwu-ci anh-ass-ta
 NOM bread-ACC eat-CON DAT give-*ci* not do-PST-DC

a. 'While eating some bread, Swuni did not give it to Mina'

Chelswu-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 DAT give-PST-DC

'Swuni gave it to Chelswu'

b. 'Swuni gave it to Mina not while eating bread'

ttek-ul mek-taka cwu-ess-ta
 rice cake-ACC eat-CON give-PST-DC

'Swuni gave it to Mina but while eating rice cake'

- (26) Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka t t Mina-eykey an cwu-ess-ta
 NOM bread-ACC eat-CON DAT not give-PST-DC

a. 'While eating some bread, Swuni gave it to Mina'

Chelswu-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 DAT give-PST-DC

'Swuni gave it to Chelswu'

b. *'Swuni gave it to Mina not while eating bread'

*ttek-ul mek-taka cwu-ess-ta
 rice cake-ACC eat-CON give-PST-DC

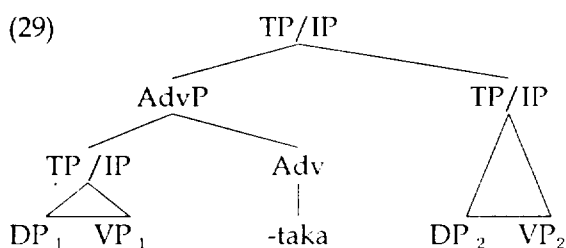
'Swuni gave it to Mina but while eating rice cake'

In (25) the negator *an* for LFN has to be placed at the higher position than the matrix clause since it is able to negate not only the matrix clause but the entire sentence. The negator *an* for SFN in (26), however, stays in the matrix clause and does not affect the subordinate adverbial clause.

Consider the second type of *-taka* construction as in (27) and (28). Only LFN is possible and SFN does not make sense with this construction.

- (27) Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul ha-ci anh-ass-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON NOM driving-ACC do-ci not do-PST-DC
 a. 'It is not that Swuni drove and then Mina drove'
 Chelswu-ka ha-taka Mina-ka hay-ss-ta
 'Chelswu drove and then Mina did'
 b. 'Swuni drove and then Mina did not drive'
 Chelswu-ka wuncen-ul hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-PST-DC
 'but then Chelswu drove'
- (28) *Swuni-ka wuncen-ul ha-taka Mina-ka wuncen-ul an hay-ss-ta
 NOM driving-ACC do-CON NOM driving-ACC not do-PST-DC
 'It is not that Swuni drove and then Mina drove'

In (27) negator *an* works with the entire sentence as well as with the matrix clause, just like the first type as in (25). But SFN (28) cannot be interpreted as 'It is not that Swuni drove and then Mina drove' and even the negation restricted to the matrix clause sounds unnatural.



If Korean *-taka* construction is identified as a subordinating conjunctive construction, I now propose the structure in (29) for its syntactic analysis.

IV. The Meaning of *-Taka*

Some semantic feature plays an important role in syntax, as was observed by

Kuno(1973). For the *-taka* construction types of matrix verbs appear to affect interpretation of reflexive pronoun *caki* as indicated in Nam (1994).

He argues that reflexive *caki* can have the bound interpretation depending on the types of matrix verbs. With the classes of giving and receiving verbs, causative verbs, and verbs of passive meaning such as *-tang ha, mac-* and the like, *caki* can have the bound interpretation, whereas with other types of verbs it can't.

- (30) a. Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-taka
 NOM bread-ACC eat-CON
 Swuni-ka ppang-ul Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 NOM bread-ACC DAT give-PST-DC
- b. t ppang-ul mek-taka Swuni-ka t Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 bread-ACC eat-CON NOM DAT give-PST-DC
- c. **caki-ka** t mek-taka **Swuni-ka** ppang-ul Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 self-NOM eat-CON NOM bread-ACC DAT give-PST-DC
 'Eating bread Swuni gave it to Mina'
- (31) a. Swuni-ka chayk-ul po-taka
 NOM book-ACC see-CON
 Swuni-ka emma-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key hayss-ta
 NOM Mom-DAT book-ACC read-CAU do-PST-DC
- b. t chayk-ul po-taka Swuni-ka emma-eykey t ilk-key hayss-ta
 book-ACC see-CON NOM Mom-DAT read-CAU do-PST-DC
- c. **caki-ka** t po-taka **Swuni-ka** chayk-ul emma-eykey t ilk-key hayss-ta
 self-NOM see-CON NOM book-ACC Mom-DAT read-CAU do-PST-DC
 'Swuni had Mom to read it for her while looking through the book'
- (32) a. Swuni-ka kkoch-ul kkekk-taka
 NOM flower-ACC pick-CON
 Swuni-ka Mina-eykey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta
 NOM by scolding-ACC be hit-PST-DC
- b. t kkoch-ul kkekk-taka Swuni-ka Mina-eykey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta
 flower-ACC pick-CON NOM by scolding-ACC be hit-PST-DC
- c. ? **caki-ka** kkoch-ul kkekk-taka **Swuni-ka** Mina-eykey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta
 self-NOM flower-ACC pick-CON NOM by scolding-ACC be hit-PST
 'Swuni was scolded by Mina for picking a flower'

- (33) a. Swuni-ka kukcang-ey ka-ss-taka Swuni-ka Mina-lul manna-ss-ta
 NOM theater-LOC go-ASP-CON NOM ACC meet-PST-DC
 b. t kukcang-ey ka-ss-taka Swuni-ka Mina-lul manna-ss-ta
 theater-LOC go-ASP-CON NOM ACC meet-PST-DC
 c. *caki-ka kukcang-ey ka-ss-taka Swuni-ka Mina-lul manna-ss-ta
 self-NOM theater-LOC go-ASP-CON NOM ACC meet-PST-DC
 'When Swuni went to the theater, she happened to meet Minsu'

Looking through (30) to (33), we can see that backward *caki* binding is syntactically possible in the *-taka* construction if we assume the structure in (29), but something relating to semantic or pragmatic features seem to work here to produce an appropriate bound interpretation. With giving and receiving verbs as in (30) and causatives as in (31) *caki* appears to be bound in the domain, whereas with verbs of passive meaning as in (32) *caki* binding needs more pragmatic support. With other action verbs *caki* may not have a bound reading in the domain.

Consider the past tense *a/ess*, which can function as past tense as well as perfective aspect, as indicated in Lee (2001). When *a/ess* is added to the *-taka* clause, the entire sentence is ruled out in that there is a logical contradiction in meaning between the *-taka* clause and its subsequent matrix clause, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. *Swuni-ka ppang-ul mek-ess-taka t t Mina-eykey cwu-ess-ta
 NOM bread-ACC eat-ASP-CON DAT give-PST-DC
 b. *Swuni-ka chayk-ul po-ass-taka t t Mina-eykey ilk-key hayss-ta
 NOM book-ACC see-ASP-CON DAT read-CAU do-PST DC

At this point, we must allow introduction of semantic features to account for the syntactic distribution of the *-taka* construction. Let us look at the following postposing examples:

- (35) a. Swuni-ka t emma-eykey cwu-ess-ta t ppang-ul mek-taka
 NOM Mom-DAT give-PST-DC bread-ACC eat-CON
 b. Swuni-ka ppang-ul emma-eykey cwu-ess-ta t t mek-taka
 NOM bread-ACC Mom-DAT give-PST-DC eat-CON
 'Swuni gave it to Mom, eating bread'

- (36) a. Swuni-ka emma-eykey t ilk-key hayss-ta t chayk-ul po-taka
 NOM Mom-DAT read-CAU do-PST-DC book-ACC see-CON
 b. ?Swuni-ka emma-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key hayss-ta t t po-taka
 NOM Mom-DAT book-ACC read-CAU do-PST-DC see-CON
 'Swuni had Mom to read it for her while looking through a book'
- (37) a. Swuni-ka Mina-eykey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta t kkoch-ul kkekk-taka
 NOM by scolding-ACC be hit-PST flower-ACC pick-CON
 b. *Swuni-ka kkoch-ul Mina-eykey yatan-ul mac-ass-ta t t kkekk-taka
 NOM flower-ACC by scolding-ACC be hit-PST-DC pick-CON
 'Swuni was scolded by Mina for picking a flower'

Compare (a) with (b) from (35) to (37), we can see that ungrammaticality is caused for a syntactic reason as well as from semantic or pragmatic context. (35b) is good, while (36b) sounds less acceptable, which I guess is caused by the different thematic power of *cwu-* and *po-*, not by the syntactic constraint. Yet (37b) is out by the syntactic restriction because *kkoch-ul* is moved out of its domain.

Therefore, in the next section we are going to review Yule(1998) to account for the different distribution of *a/ess-taka* and *a/e-taka* and find out the lexical features of the subordinate conjunctive marker *-taka*.

1. Meaning Variation

Yule(1998)* observed that verbs denoting acts, activities and processes will

1 In Yule (1998) verbs are classified into two types Stative and Dynamic which, in turn, are subclassified into Cognition and Relations from Stative, and into Punctual and Durative from Dynamic. Dynamic verbs used with non-durative meanings typically describe isolated acts (*kick, hit, smash*) as in (i)

- (i) a. She kicked the ball.
 b. It hit the window.
 c. And it smashed the glass.

Another term for non-durative is punctual aspect, related to the 'point in time' interpretation of expressions (*fire a gun, smash a window*) which do not extend through time.

In contrast, verbs with durative meanings describe situations that typically extend through time. Durative aspect is an essential feature of verbs that denote activities (*run,*

be interpreted very differently when used with progressive as opposed to perfect aspect. Examples are presented in (38) to (41)

- (38) a. He is eating lunch.
 b. He has eaten lunch.
- (39) a. I am writing some notes.
 b. I have written some notes.
- (40) a. We are baking a cake.
 b. We have baked a cake.
- (41) a. She is learning karate.
 b. She has learned karate.

In the (a) examples, the implicated meaning is that the activity or process is ongoing and incomplete. In the (b) examples, the implication is that those events are completed and some goal has been achieved. This is what happens when a verb has dynamic lexical aspect.

Turn to (42) to (45) to see the meaning difference between *-a/ess-taka* and *-a/e-taka*.

- (42) a. Swuni-ka pap-ul mek-taka
 NOM rice-ACC eat-CON
 ‘When Swuni is eating rice...’
 b. Swuni-ka pap-ul mek-ess-taka
 NOM rice-ACC eat-ASP-CON
 ‘When Swuni has eaten rice...’
- (43) a. t memo-lul cek-taka

eat), as in (iia), and processes (*become*, *grow*) as in (iib).

(ii) a. We should run more and eat less.

 b. We’ll become more peaceful as we grow older.

The verbs that are typically used with punctual aspect, describing momentary acts (*kick*, *cough*), take on a slightly different meaning when used in the progressive form. *He’s kicking the box* or *Someone’s coughing* will tend to be interpreted as repeated acts of *kick* and *cough* and not as single acts. The concept of repetition, which is sometimes described as the iterative aspect, can appear in other phrases (eg. *again and again*, *over and over*), but it is notably absent from the meaning of verbs used statively.

- note-ACC write-CON
 'When I am writing some notes...'
- b. t memo-lul cek-ess-taka
 note-ACC write-ASP-CON
 'When I have written some notes...'
- (44) a. Wuli-ka ppang-ul kwup-taka
 We-NOM bread-ACC bake-CON
 'When we are baking bread...'
- b. Wuli-ka ppang-ul kwuwess-taka
 We-NOM bread-ACC bake-ASP-CON
 'When we have baked bread...'
- (45) a. ku ay-ka taekwondo-lul paywu-taka
 the child-NOM taekwondo-ACC learn-CON
 'When the child is learning taekwondo..'
- b. ku ay-ka taekwondo-lul paywess-taka
 the child-NOM taekwondo-ACC learn-ASP-CON
 'When the child has learned taekwondo ...'

Interestingly, they show the similar contrast that happened between English progressive and English perfect aspect with Dynamic verbs. In Korean with action verbs in terms of Nam(1994) *a/e-taka* produces an interpretation of ongoing activity, while *a/ess-taka* has an interpretation of completed activity as exemplified in (46).

- (46) a. Swuni-ka hakkyo-ey ka-taka Mina-lul manness-ta
 NOM school-LOC go-CON ACC meet-PST-DC
- b. Swuni-ka kukcang-ey ka-ss-taka sensayngnim-ul manness-ta
 NOM theater-LOC go-PST-CON teacher-ACC meet-PST-DC

For stative verbs Nam(1994) offers two subclasses [+stative] and [+copula], which should be elaborated. Following Yule(1998) I will subdivide stative verbs into two classes, verbs of cognition(ex. *understand, know, love*) and verbs of relations(ex. *have, be, own*).

Look at examples in (47) and (48). Stative verbs can appear in the *-taka* clauses but they cannot in the matrix clauses as seen in (47b).

- (47) a. Chelswu-ka kangcikha-taka pikwulhay-ci-ess-ta
 NOM honest- CON coward-PAS-PST-DC
 b. *Chelswu-ka kangcikha-taka pikwulha-ta
 NOM honest-CON coward-DC
- (48) a. ?Kimssi-ka kongmwuwon-i-taka hwoysawon-i toy-ess-ta
 Mr.-NOM official-be-CON office worker-NOM become-PST-DC
 b. Kimssi-ka kongmwuwon-i-ess-taka hwoysawon-i toy-ess-ta
 Mr.-NOM official-be-PST-CON office worker-NOM become-PST-DC

In (47) and (48) stative verbs become passivized by verbs *ci-*, and in a sense turn into action verbs.

According to Nam (1994), all the verbs except copulas can occur in the *-taka* clauses, while only action verbs can go with their matrix clauses but stative verbs cannot. The conjunctive marker *-taka* requires for the action or state of the *-taka* clause to last long enough till the point of time when the action of the matrix clause starts to take place.

To clarify the meaning of *-taka*, let us compare *a/ess-taka* with *a/e-se*.

- (49) a. Chelswu-ka Swuni-wa manness-taka heye-ci-ess-ta (fact)
 NOM with meet-PST-CON break up-PAS-PST-DC
 b. *Chelswu-ka Swuni-wa manna-se heye-ci-ess-ta (reason)
 NOM with meet-CON break up-PAS-PST-DC

Another connective suffix *a/e-se* indicates ‘reason’ so there is semantic contradiction in (49b) and the sentence is ruled out, whereas *ass-taka* presents the completed fact. The action of the matrix clause starts at the completion of the *-taka* clause.

Let us compare *a/e-taka* with *-myense*.

- (50) a. tol-ey mac-taka soli-lul chi-ess-ta
 stone-with be-hit-CON scream-ACC cry out-PST-DC
 ‘I was hit by stones and at one moment I began to cry out.

b. tol-ey macu-myense soli-lul chi-ess-ta
 stone-with be-hit-CON scream-ACC cry out-PST-DC
 'I was crying out while I was hit by stones'

We have to differentiate the meaning of these two markers with the same semantic implication of [+ongoing]. As indicated by Yule(1998), *hit* is a punctual verb so it describes momentary acts. But they take on a slightly different meaning when used in the progressive form. They tend to be interpreted as repeated acts of *hit* and not as single acts. Here *a/e-taka* with the implication of progressive meaning is used with a punctual verb *mac-* ('be hit') and we can see the same effect as in (50). But the matrix clause shows us the difference between them. *-myense* focuses on co-occurrence of its action with that of the matrix clause, while *-taka* focuses on the start of a new action described in the matrix clause.

Consider one more example (51).

(51) a. keyytan-ul naylye ka-taka tol-ey mac-ass-ta
 stairs-ACC down go-CON stone-with be hit-PST
 'I was hit by a stone at one moment going down the stairs'
 b. keyytan-ul naylye ka-myense tol-ey mac-ass-ta
 stairs-ACC down go-CONO stone-with be hit-PST
 'I was hit by stones in a row while going down the stairs'

In the subordinate clause both actions are ongoing, but with introduction of *-taka* a focus turns to a new action. A punctual verb keeps its original meaning, a single act, while by *-myense* co-occurrence of the two actions are presupposed and the punctual verb again takes on the concept of repetition.

For the meaning of *-taka*, Choi (1961) offers the meaning of 'stop/halt' in addition to 'contrast,' 'coincidence,' 'addition,' and 'cause.' Korean conjunctive suffix *-taka* refers to the starting point of time for the action of its subsequent matrix clause against the action or situation of the *-taka* clause which should last for a certain length of time. Thus, the action of the matrix clause may be started at one point of time in the middle of the action or state of the *-taka* clause or at the completion of the *taka* clause. All the meanings provided in Choi (1961) can be generated from such a function.

2. The Use of *-Taka* Construction

-Taka construction is often found in the recipe as in (52).

- (52) yangpaychwu-nun nal kes-ulo mekul-ttay-nun mwulkun
 cabbage-TOP raw thing-with eating- when-TOP thinned down
 sikcho mwul-ey salccak tamk-ass-taka kkenay-myen coh-ta
 vinegar water-in lightly put-ASP-CON take out good-DC

Because of their symmetricity, we also meet the parallel expression such as (53) and (54) in the magazine articles.

- (53) kutul-i kankani wus-taka kankani ccingkuli-taka
 they-NOM sometimes laugh-CON sometimes frown-CON
 kankani cali-lul piwess-ta
 sometimes seat-ACC empty- PST-DC
- (54) kukcang sukulin-ulo po-taka intenyet-uy cakun hwamyen-ulo po-lyeni
 theater screen-with see-CON internet-GEN small picture-with see-CON

V. Conclusion

-Taka refers to a certain length of time/duration. A certain length of time is presupposed and then the action of the matrix clause may start to take place in the middle of preceding action or at the completion of preceding action.

-Taka clause constructions may be classified into two types: one is a subordinate conjunction in which the subordinate *-taka* clause offers background information for the action of its matrix clause; the other one seems to be a coordinate conjunction, *-taka-taka ha-* construction, where *-taka* clause is foregrounded.

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Abstract

Korean conjunctive *-taka* clauses require a superordinate clause TP/IP with syntactic restriction of sharing the same subjects or predicates. Three types of *-taka* construction are observed including a coordinate construction *-taka -taka ha-* construction. The semantic function of the connective marker *-taka* seems to highlight the starting point of time when the action of the superordinate clause takes place after holding a certain length of time.