<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>項目</th>
<th>資訊</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Adverbial Clauses in Koryak: Degrees of Subordination and the Five Levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>呉人 憲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>北方人文研究 = Journal of the Center for Northern Humanities, 5: 71-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2012-03-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doc URL</td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/2115/49280">http://hdl.handle.net/2115/49280</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>bulletin (article)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>File Information</td>
<td>06journal05-kurebito.pdf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers: HUSCAP
Adverbial Clauses in Koryak: 
Degrees of Subordination and the Five Levels

Megumi KUREBITO
University of Toyama

1. Introduction
The present paper aims to describe adverbial subordination in Koryak\(^1\). In concrete terms, it first presents Koryak morphosyntactically typical adverbial subordinate clauses and clarifies their semantic and morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies. It next presents marginal adverbial clauses which lie to differing degrees between subordination and coordination. It then takes up those typical and marginal adverbial subordinate clauses, with a special focus on causal, conditional and concessive, in terms of the ‘Five Levels’ proposed by Mie Tsunoda (2004)\(^2\) and examines if there is a correlation between different degrees of subordination and the Five Levels.

Other subordinate clauses, that is, relative and complement clauses, lie outside the scope of the present discussion.

2. The subordination-coordination continuum
To begin with, let us determine the scope of the clauses under discussion.

In Koryak, and perhaps in other languages as well, drawing a clear dividing line between subordination and coordination is not necessarily a straight forward matter. There is, rather, a continuum running from typical subordination to typical coordination. I tentatively divide the continuum into four degrees according to level of subordination, that is, Degree 1, 2, 3, and 4. The continuum is schematized in Figure 1 below.

---

\(^1\) Koryak is a member of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family as are the languages of the neighboring Chukchi, Kerek, Altutor, and Itelmen peoples. It is characterized by marked dialectal diversity: besides the main dialects, Chawchhvan and Palana, the presence of other dialects such as Paren, Itkan, Kamenskoe, Apuka, and Karaga, has been reported (Zhukova 1968). All the examples presented in this paper are from the Chawchhvan dialect. The Koryak (Chawchhvan) phonemic inventory set up by Kurebito (2004) is as follows: Consonants: \(p, t, t', k, q, v, \tilde{v}, c, m, n, n', \eta, l, l', j, w\); Vowels: \(i, e, a, o, u, \tilde{a}\). Voicing is not contrastive and all the stops are voiceless. The symbol [\(\sim\)] denotes palatalization of the dentals. \(c\) is used as a symbol of the affricate \([\tilde{t}]\). Pitch and stress are not distinctive.

\(^2\) The data for the present paper are mainly from my fieldwork conducted in September of 2010 and 2011 in Khabarovsk, Russia. The fieldwork was supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture for the project ‘Endangered Languages of Northeast Asia: Documentation and Typology’ headed by Toshiro Tsumagari (#22320075) and for the project ‘Descriptive and Typological Study on the Structure of Predicative Adjective in Koryak’ headed by the author of the present paper (#22520394). Some complementary data are also cited from Ajatginina & Kurebito (eds.)(2006).
3. Adverbial clause types
3.1. Non-finite verb in subordinate clauses

The most typical adverbial subordinate clauses exhibit Degree 1 or Degree 2 behavior. In both degrees, non-finite verbs are employed for the formation of subordinate clauses.

Traditional Koryak grammar has treated non-finite verb forms occurring in subordinate clause as ‘deeprichastie (converbs)’ (Zhukova 1972:265). However, in its strict sense Koryak has no converb, as there is no special converb marker exclusive to the verb. Most explicitly and typically linked subordinate clauses in Koryak employ various case marking affixes, the locative, the instrumental, the dative, the allative, the comitative, and the associative, which are the same affixes as those employed in the nominal system (See Table 1). They attach to two different kinds of syntactic structures. That is, they either attach directly to the verb stem (Type A), the more dominate of the two, or to a kind of nominalized verb stem (Type B)

(1) Type A: VERB STEM – CASE AFFIX
Type B: VERB STEM – RELATIONAL AFFIX – CASE AFFIX

---

*Although a language which exhibits similar two-type adverbial subordination has not yet been found in Northeastern Asia, the Kham language belonging to the Tibetan-Burma language family, also employs precisely the same strategies for adverbial subordination (Watters 2011:101).*
TABLE 1  Koryak case marking affixes used in a verbal context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Semantic area¹</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>when, after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e/-a/-te/-ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-η</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Comitative²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yejqο/-yaqο...-e/-a/-te/-ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Associative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kena-jtοη</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Relational+Allative</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We seem to be able to make the following generalization about correlation between the case markers and other morphosyntactic phenomena in typical subordinate clauses:

(a) It seems that in Type A there is a hierarchy of case marking according to what semantic areas they cover: Locative>Instrumental>Dative, Comitative, Associative.

(b) This hierarchy probably correlates with the following morphosyntactic phenomena.
   (b1) Co-occurrence of other subordinative clause linking devices: the more semantic areas a case marker covers, the more clause linking devices such as conjunctions are employed (see section 3 for further discussion).
   (b2) Embedment: the subordinate clause may either precede or follow the main clause; however, the former is the dominate structure. Also, some subordinate clauses, seemingly those lower in this hierarchy, that is, the dative, the comitative, and the associative, seem to be more easily embedded in the main clause.

3.2. DEGREE 1

In DEGREE 1 the subordinate clause C1 with a non-finite verb is embedded in the main clause C2. The case markers employed in DEGREE 1 are, as mentioned above (b2), the dative, the comitative, and the associative, which show Type A behavior and occupy the lower level of the hierarchy. At the same time, an example of Type B DEGREE 1 has not yet been found in my field data. In the examples below [the subordinate clause]sc is shown in this way, with the main clause being left unmarked. Non-finite verb attached by CLM in each subordinate clause is underlined.

⁴ The division of semantic areas is based on Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007). According to Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) the adverbial clauses which have been reported for languages around the world fall into twelve basic semantic areas: Time/Locative/Manner/Purpose and Reason/Circumstantial/Simultaneous/Conditional/Concessive/Substitutive/Additive/Absolutive /Speech act. As I have not yet been able to obtain data for Circumstantial, Substitutive, Additive, Absolutive and Speech act, I did not include them in the table.

⁵ To be more precise, -ma is the latter part of the comitative circumfix ya...-ma.
(2) -γ (Dative) ‘while’

Northern [vella-γ]sc ko-neeqγan-γeqo-γ-ne-n.
he/she(ERG) stand-DAT IPF-watch-HAB-IPF-3SGS-3SGO
‘Standing, he/she was watching it/him/her.’

(3) -ma (Comitative) ‘while’

Northern jelvγY-γ-kine-w \[γanko tanγcen-ma\]sc
all reindeer.HERD-E-REL-ABS.PL there go.to.war-COM
pσhweŋ-o to γeqeq na-ko-neeq-γeqo-γ-na-w
money-ABS.PL and many INV-IPF-send-HAB-IPF-3SGS-3PL.O
tanγket-γ-nv-etγ.
go.to.war-E-place-ALL
‘While the war was going on there, all the reindeer herders sent a lot of money
to the front.’

(4) yejγ-γ/-yajγ-γ-ε/-α/-τ/ε/-τa (Associative) ‘while’

Poczγ-γ \[yejγ-γ-Sainpe-te\]sc yala-la-jØ om-nota-jγγγ.
bird-ABS.PL ASC-E-REL-ALL pass-PL-PF-3S warm-earth-ALL
‘Birds flew toward the warm land, singing.’

3.3. DEGREE 2

At the same time, subordinate clauses with case marking from a higher level of the
hierarchy, that is, the locative or the instrumental of Type A, seem to be more
autonomous. This is DEGREE 2. The case markers of Type A and the allative of Type B do
not influence the syntax of the subordinate clause, even if the non-finite verb with case
marking no longer inflects for person, number, and case. The non-finite verb takes the
arguments and adjuncts freely just as an ordinary finite verb does. The subject of an
intransitive and the object of a transitive verb take the absolutive case, while the subject
of a transitive takes the ergative case. Examples (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), and (11) below
are examples of Type A.

(5) -k (Locative) ‘when’

[Ijka-jγγ γeqiv-γ-k, qej n-γppul’u-qina-w; qej qucc-e-w
they-ALL drop.by-E-LOC even PRP-little-3-ABS.PL even other-ABS.PL
meki-w]sc, na-γ-ew-γeqo-γ-na-w; q-γ-yala-la-tγk,
who-ABS.PL INV-IPF-say-HAB-IPF-3SGS-3PL.O 2SGS/IMPR-E-pass-PL-2SGS
ənki q-γ-caj-o-la-tγk, q-ojecval-la-tγk’.
here 2SGS/IMPR-E-tea-drink-PL-2SGS 2SGS/IMPR-play-PL-2SGS
‘When the lads used to stop by, they’d say, “Come in for some tea and fun!”’
(6) 
-k (Locative) ‘after’

\[Jajt-ə-k\]sc, \(kəta\) \(ya-qlev-o-ŋvo-ta\)\(^{6}\).

return.home-E-LOC only.then COM-bread-eat-HAB-COM

‘Eat bread only after you return home.’

(7) 
-k (Locative) ‘because’

\[Caqali-t-ə-k\] unmrk \(kojŋ-ə-n\)sc, \(ləyən\)

sugar-VBL-E-LOC very.much cup-E-ABS.SG even

\(n-ə-waqma-ŋen-Ø\) \(nə mêl-i-Ø\).

PRP-E-sticky-3TOP-SG become-PF-3SGS

‘Because (someone) put a lot of sugar in the cup, it became sticky.’

(8) 
-k (Locative) ‘if’

\[Muqe-ju-ə-k\]sc, \(ənno\) jaja-k \(va-jo-lqəl-Ø\)\(^{7}\)

rain-ICH-E-LOC he/she(ABS.SG) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS

‘If it starts raining, he/she should stay home.’

(9) 
-k (Locative) ‘even if’

\[Mîjki\] jej-u \(ekmit-ə-k\]sc, \(əwncam\) ne-jej-yulet-yi.

where what-ABS.PL take-E-LOC anyway INV-FUT-recognize-2SGO

‘Wherever and whatever you take, they will recognize you.’

(10) 
-e/-a/-te/-ta (Instrumental) ‘because’

\[Am-potək\] \(əmka-jtəŋ\) Kamak-Ø]sc,

only-get.angry-INSTR I-ALL Kamak-ABS.SG

utpe \(e-\)winn‘et-ke \(t-ə-ku\)nt-ŋə-ŋ-n

not not-help-not 1SGS-E-IPF-do-E-IPF-E-3SGO

‘Because Kamak got angry with me, I don’t help him.’

(11) 
-e/-a/-te/-ta (Instrumental) ‘while’

\(Yəmnan\) \(t-ə-cvi\)tku-ne-w-Ø [\(yəcci\] \(em-jəlget-e\)]sc.

I(ERG) 1SGS-E-cut-ITR-3SGS-3PL.O-PF you(ABS.SG) only-sleep-INSTR

‘I cut them while you slept.’

At the same time, -\(k\)en\(a-jtəŋ\) of Type B also belongs to Degree 2 as in (12) below.

---

\(^{6}\) It should be noted that although FV formed is expected here in the main clause, \(ya-qlev-o-ŋvo-ta\) is NFV form with the comitative marker \(ya-\ldots-\)ta which denotes imperative meaning when attached to a verbal stem.

\(^{7}\) \(-jo-lqəl\) is a nominalizer whose general meaning as an argument is ‘one who is supposed to’, but it denotes deontic meaning when used as a predicate as seen in this example.
(12)  *kena-jtəŋ* (Relational + Allative) ‘before’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wejem-Ø} & \quad \text{get-Ø-kena-jtəŋ}\text{sc.} \\
\text{river-ABS.SG} & \quad \text{freeze-E-REL-ALL} \\
\text{1PL.S-IPF-fish-HAB-PL-IPF}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We usually fish before the river freezes.’

*kena-jtəŋ* ‘before’, Type B, consists of the relational *kena* and the allative *-jtəŋ*. The first suffix *kena*, which has traditionally been regarded as an ‘otnositel’nye prilagatel’nye (relational adjectives) forming suffix (Zhukova 1972), attaches to nominal, adverbial, and verbal stems and denotes the various relations between the head noun and the dependent. It behaves more like a nominal in that it agrees with the head noun in number and case.

(13a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{umk-Ø} & \quad \text{kin-Ø} \\
\text{forest-E-REL-ABS.SG} & \quad \text{wild.animal-ABS.SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘a wild animal in the forest’

(13b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nkjep-kine-t} & \quad \text{l’omŋɔɑ’-te} \\
\text{longago-REL-ABS.DU} & \quad \text{story-ABS.DU}
\end{align*}
\]

‘two ancient stories’

(13c)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ewji-kine-w} & \quad \text{wal-u} \\
\text{eat-REL-ABS.PL} & \quad \text{knife-ABS.PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘knives for eating’

(13d)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pojt-Ø-kena-k} & \quad \text{wejem-Ø-k} \\
\text{Paren’-E-REL-LOC} & \quad \text{river-E-LOC} \\
\text{many various} & \quad \text{it-Ø-ìŋ-ø} \quad \text{ìŋ-ø-u.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There are many varieties of fish in the Paren’ river.’

(13e)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋɔmɔ-} & \quad \text{t-ŋɔt-ŋk-Ø} \\
\text{1SGS-E-go-E-1SGS-PF} & \quad \text{Chajbuxa-relall} \quad \text{wajam-etŋ.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I went to the Chajbuxa river.’

Furthermore, the adverbial clauses in DEGREE2 take not only the case marker as CLM but also a free subordinative CLM in C1 and a coordinative CLM in C2. Subordinative CLMs are shown in Table 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Area</th>
<th>CLMs</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td><em>Tite</em></td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>vitku</em></td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kitkit</em></td>
<td>as soon as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tite=ŋɔn</em></td>
<td>before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>jeppə</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kɔn=van</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>miŋki</em></td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Meanwhile, the free coordinative CLMs employed in C2 are ɪəm ‘but’, to ‘and’, and emˈlu (=qun⁸), qinam, qinwat ‘so, therefore’ and others.

As has already been pointed out above, there seems to be a correlation between the hierarchy of case markers depending on what semantic areas they cover and the use of other subordinative CLMs. That is, the more semantic areas a case marker can cover, the more free CLMs it needs. Conversely, the less semantic areas a case marker covers, the less free CLMs it needs (See Figure 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>CLM</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Tìt</td>
<td>so that, lest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason</td>
<td>məjew</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Ekiulu</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>qəj (ŋano)</td>
<td>even if, although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qəwəwən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2** Correlation between case marker hierarchy and other CLMs

Locative -k may be accompanied by the most free CLMs, that is, tìte ‘when’, vitku ‘after’, məjew ‘because’ in causal, ekiulu ‘if’ in conditional, and qəj (ŋano) ‘even if, although’ in concessive.

(14) tìte ‘when’


‘When they wanted, they used to eat dried fish.’

(15) vitku ‘after’

[Vitku mọqə-yal’a-pl’əko-k], ŋno ʕeqv-i-ə

‘After rain-pass-finish-LOC he/she(ABS) leave-PF-3SGS

⁸ =qun is an intensifier.
herd-ALL

‘After the rain stopped, he/she left for the herd.’

(16) məjew ‘because’

[Məjew yəmnin-Ø lewat-Ø tojəl-ə-k]sc,
because my-ABS.SG head-ABS.SG ache-E-LOC
vetatəny-ə-jə ec yi qəʒəm m-ə-lqəx-ə-k.
workplace-ALL today not OPT.1SGS-E-go-E-OPT.1SGS

‘Because I have a headache, I will not go to work today.’

ekilu ‘if’

[Ekilu va-κκə kiwəl-Ø]sc,
if be-LOC reindeer.blood-ABS.SG INV-IPF-make-E-IPF-E-3SGO
wilwil.
fermented.blood salad(ABS.SG)

‘If there was reindeer blood, they would make fermented-blood salad.

(17) qej(=ŋano)

[Qej=ŋano unmək pəkəv-ə-k], ewəncam
even if very.much be.unable-E-LOC anyway
ya-javetan-ŋəvo-ta9.
COM-try-HAB-COM
‘Even if you can’t, try hard!’

3.4. DEGREE 3

Contrary to the typical adverbial subordinate clauses of DEGREE 1 and DEGREE 2, both of which make use of non-finite verbs marked with case affixes, DEGREE 3 is a marginal type of subordinate clause. The structure can be schematized as C1:FreeCLM+FV, C2:(FreeCLM)+FV. Instead of a non-finite verb, a finite verb occurs in C1. Both C1 and C2 can take free CLMs. C1 takes the free subordinative CLMs as shown in Table 2 above. Meanwhile free coordinative CLMs such as ụam ‘but’, to ‘and’, and em’fu (=qun10), qinam, qinwat ‘so, therefore’ are employed in C2.

(19) tite ‘when’

[Tite yəmənno t-ə-jet-ə-k-ə ŋalvəl[ə-ŋə]sc, to
when I(ABS) 1SGS-E-come-E-1SGS-PF herd-E-ABL and
əmənno ʃopta jet-ti-ə vojv-ə-ŋəo.
he/she(ABS) also come-PF-3SGS village-E-ABL

9 Note that the comitative ye-/ya--e/-a/-te/-ta expresses imperative meaning when attached to a verbal stem.
10 =qun is an intensifier.
‘When I came from the herd, he/she also came from the village.’

(20) **vitku** ‘after’

$\text{vitku} \text{ moqa-} \text{yl’a-pl’} \text{ko-j-Ø}_{\text{sc.}}$

he/she(ABS) leave-PF-3SGS after rain-pass-finish-PF-3SGS

‘He/she left after the rain stopped.’

**Vitku** is probably an adverb originally meaning ‘only just’. See the example (21) below.

(21) $\text{yɔmnin} \text{ qanko vitku} \text{ ənnan-məlləge-n} \text{ yivi-w}$

my(ABS.SG) then only one-five-ABS.SG year-ABS.PL

ko-n’u-la-ŋ-Ø,
IPF-became-PL-IPF-3S

‘Because I had only just become six years old at that time.’

(22) **kitkit** ‘as soon as’

$[\text{Kitkit} \text{ k-ə-} \text{Yal-at-ə-ŋ-Ø}_{\text{sc.}}, \text{ na-ko-ŋvo-ŋ-naw}$

as.soon.as IPF-E-snow-VBL-E-IPF INV-IPF-begin-IPF-3PL.O

jiwl-ə-k picγ-u məyun-te.
carry-E-INF food-ABS.PL caravan-INST

‘As soon as it snowed, they began to carry food in a caravan.’

‘Before’ and ‘until’ clauses are different from other temporal clauses such as ‘when’ clauses in that the event named in one clause has not yet happened by the time of the event in the other clause. Koryak has three CLMs for ‘before’ clauses and deals with this semantic fact in different ways. That is, $\text{tite=}\text{ŋən}$ in (23) is equivalent to ‘before’. Therefore the subordinate clause occurs in affirmative form. On the other hand, $\text{jeppə}$ ‘yet’ in (24) and $\text{kəɑa=}\text{van}$ ‘as long as’ in (25) introduce a negative form to the subordinate clause.

(23) **tite=ŋən** ‘before’

$\text{əmmno} \text{ jet-ti-Ø} \text{ kəłuə-ŋəo,} \text{ [tite=}\text{ŋən} \text{ əmmno}$

he/she(ABS) come-PF-3SGS club-ABL before I(ABS)

t-ə-ŋto-k jaja-ŋəo}_{\text{sc.}}$

1SGS-E-go.out house-ABL

‘He came from the club before I went out of the house.’

(24) **jeppə** ‘before’

$[\text{Jeppə} \text{ əmmno} \text{ a-ŋto-ka} \text{ jaja-ŋəo}_{\text{sc.}}, \text{ əmmno} \text{ jet-ti-Ø}$

yet I(ABS) not-go.out house-ABL he/she(ABS) come-PF-3SGS

kluba-ŋəo,
club-ABL
‘He came from the club before I went out of the house.’
(← ‘He came from the club while I had not yet come out of the house.’)

The CLM jeppə is probably better translated as an adverb meaning ‘yet, still’.

(25) Ajŋon jeppə n-əppul’u-ɣəm.
long.ago yet PRP-small-1SG.TOP
‘Long ago I was still small’

(26) kəta=van ‘before’
[Kəta=van tata-na-k a-nn’ajtat-ka je-nt-ə-ŋ-ni-n as.long.as daddy-AN-ERG not-drive-not FUT-do-E-FUT-3SGS-3SGO
OPT-E-return.home-E-3SGS
‘He will not return home as long as he does not drive the part of reindeer herd.’

(27) miŋki ‘where’
[Miŋki aj’yəve ənno y-ə-ʃəŋul-lin-Ø]sc, to ɣəmno where yesterday he/she(ABS) RES-E-fall-RES-3SGS.E and I(ABS)
ŋano ec’i ʃopta ɣənko t-ə-ʃəŋat-ə-k-Ø.
?? today also there 1SGS-E-fall-E-1SGS-PF
‘Today he/she also fell over where he/she had fallen.’

(28) miŋkəje=ŋən ‘how’
ənno ko-зван’əvat-ə-ŋ-Ø, [miŋkəje=ŋən el’ʔə-Ø he/she(ABS) IPF-speak-E-IPF-3SGS how woman-ABS.SG
ye-nəŋjulew-lin-Ø-Ø]sc. RES-teach-RES-3SGS-3SGO
‘The woman speaks as he taught her to.’

(29) teqən ‘as if’
ənno ko-зван’əvat-ə-ŋ-Ø, [teqən ənno he/she(ABS) IPF-speak-E-IPF-3SGS as.if he/she(ABS)
cəʃjo-lt-ə-n]sc.
catch.cold-NML-E-ABS.SG
‘He/she talks like she has a cold.’

(30) tit ‘so that’
ɣəmno jəŋmetev-ə-ɣgo t-ə-ʃeqev-ə-k-Ø
I(ABS) morning-E-ABL 1SGS-E-leave.for-E-1SGS-PF
Megumi Kurebito  Adverbial Clauses in Koryak

\[ tajŋatənv-etŋ, \ [tit \ mal’-pajoc \ t-ajpe-new \]
  fishing.place-ALL so.that little-more 1SGS-catch.fish.by weir
  Cann[sc.
  fish-ABS.SG
  ‘I left for the fishing place so that I could use the weir to catch a few more fish.’

(31) \textit{tit ‘lest’}

\[ \text{ŋəmmə t-əje-piq-əŋ jaja-ciko, [tit ənan} \]
  I(ABS) 1SGS-E-FUT-hide-E-FUT house-inside so.that he/she(ERG)
  e-leʃu-ke  n-ə-ʃ-ine-nt-ə-n[sc.
  not-see-not OPT-E-?-1SGO-do-E-3SGS
  ‘In case he sees me, I will hide in the house.’

(32) \textit{møjew ‘because’}

\[ En’pi>C-t ko-wajol’uŋno-ŋ-e əmke-kjit, [møjew ecyn} \]
  father-ABS.DU IPF-be.afraid-HAB-IPF-3DU.S 1-CAS because their
  ŋənvəq kmiŋ-u təxəl-ə-k veʃ-e-la-j-Ø[sc.
  many child-ABS.PL sickness-E-LOC die-E-PL-PF-3S
  ‘Our parents were worrying about me, because many children died of sickness.’

(33) \textit{ekilu ‘if’}

\[ [Ekilu meki-Ø je-ketyuc-set-ə-ŋ-Ø]sc, \text{to əllo-Ø} \]
  if who-ABS.SG FUT-be.stronger-E-FUT-3SGS and herd-ABS.SG
  j-ekmin-ŋ-ə-ni-n cimqap-Ø.
  FUT-take-FUT-E-3SGS-3SGO part-ABS.SG
  ‘If someone is stronger, then he will take a part of the herd.’

(34) \textit{ekilu ‘unless’}

\[ [Ekilu e-muqet-ke j-it-ə-ŋ-Ø]sc, əmmə amu \]
  if not-rain-not FUT-be-E-FUT-3SGS I(ABS) probably
  t-əj-elu-lqiv-ə-ŋ.
  1SGS-E-FUT-go.för.berry-INT-E-FUT
  ‘If there is no rain, I will probably go for berries.’

(35) \textit{qej (ŋano) ‘even if, although’}

\[ [Qeʃ (ŋano) moqa-ylə-j-Ø]sc, ewəncam \]
  even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS anyway
  umka-ciku-n kəɣ-ə-lq-ə-lʃ-ə-n.
  forest-inside-ABS.SG dry-E-surface-E-PART-E-ABS.SG
  ‘Although rain came through, it is dry in the forest.’
(36)  *qǝfewǝn* ‘even if, although’

\[ Qǝfewǝn \ moqǝ-jàŋŋ \ ja-tva-ŋ-Ø, \ ewǝncam \ ĭmmo \]

even.if  rain-ALL  FUT-be-FUT-3SGS  anyway  I(ABS.SG)

\[ t-ǝj-ujel-ǝŋ. \]

1SGS-E-FUT-go.for.firewood-E-FUT-3SGS

‘Even if it rains, I will go for firewood.’

3.5. **Degree 4**

In **Degree 4**, the two linking clauses C1 and C2 are the most autonomous. Both of the clauses make use of finite verbs inflected for person, number, and TAM. Only free CLMs such as *ısam* ‘but’, *to* ‘and’, and *emı́*u (=qun), *qınam, qınwat* ‘so, therefore’, always occurring in the postpositional clause, link the two clauses. Therefore we may tentatively regard **Degree 4** as coordinative.

(37)  *ısam* ‘but’

\[ ñejnej-ǝ-k \ jeppǝ \ en’pci-t \ tajjatǝnv-ǝ-k \]

autumn-E-LOC  still  father-ABS.DU  fisheries-E-LOC

\[ ko-tva-ŋ-e, \ ısam \ ĭmmo \ internat-ǝ-k \]

IPF-be-IPF-3DU.S  but  I(ABS)  boarding.school-E-LOC

\[ t-ǝko-tva-ŋ. \]

1SGS-E-IPF-stay-IPF

‘In autumn my parents were still at the fisheries, but I was at boarding-school.’

(38)  *to* ‘and’

\[ Ača-w \ na-kul’êm-tova-ŋ-naw \ to \ ǝvǝns-ǝ-k \]

boiled.fish-ABS.PL  INV-IPF-bone-remove-IPF-3PL.O  and  berry-E-LOC

\[ ne-ku-nn’želew-ŋ-ǝ-new. \]

INV-IPF-mix-IPF-3PL.O

‘They removed the bones from the boiled fish and mixed them with berries.’

(39)  *emı́*u=qun ‘so’

\[ Yı́mnın-Ø \ lewǝt-Ø \ ku-tʃək-ǝ-ŋ-Ø, \]

my-ABS.SG  head-ABS.SG  IPF-ache-E-IPF-3SGS

\[ emı́*u=qun \ vetatǝnv-ǝtәŋ \ ecyi \ qı̊ım \ m-ǝ-lgət-ǝ-ŋ. \]

so=INT  workplace-ALL  today  not  OPT.1SGS-E-go-E-OPT.1SGS

‘I have a headache, so I will not go to work today.’

4. **Five Levels**

We have so far organized Koryak adverbial clauses based on the semantic and morphosyntactic features as premises for the discussion in this section. The results reveal that it is not easy to draw a dividing line between adverbial subordination and coordination in Koryak because subordination and coordination form gradual continuum but that they can be roughly divided into four types according to the degree of
In this section Koryak adverbial subordinate clauses, typically causal, conditional and concessive clauses are examined in terms of the five-level distinction proposed by Mie Tsunoda (2004). Mie Tsunoda (2004) proposed a five-level distinction in clause linkage, incorporating Nakau’s (1986, 1994) three ‘ryooiki’ (domains), Sweetser’s (1990) three domains, and three of Crevels’ (2000) four levels. The characterizations of the five levels are as follows.

(40) Five-level distinction in clause linkage (Mie Tsunoda 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>S-clause</th>
<th>M-clause</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>situation</td>
<td>situation</td>
<td>e.g. Because the rain fell, the ground is wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>situation</td>
<td>situation + judgment</td>
<td>e.g. Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>situation</td>
<td>situation + interpersonal effect</td>
<td>e.g. Don’t go out because the rain is falling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>premise</td>
<td>judgment</td>
<td>e.g. Because he is alive, the doctor saved him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>premise</td>
<td>speech act</td>
<td>e.g. The food is here, because you are looking for food.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mie Tsunoda (2004) argues that in Japanese clause linkage markers vary according to modality in the main clause or semantic relation between subordinate clause and main clause. In connection with this argument Mie Tsunoda (2004) also points out that the more autonomous the subordinate clause is, the more Levels it can cover. If it applies to Koryak adverbial subordinate clause, Degree 1 and Degree 2 formed by non-finite verbs should cover less Levels than Degree 3 formed by finite verb (Degree 4 is outside the scope of this discussion because it is not subordination but coordination). This is what we will clarify in this section.

In analyzing the examples of non-finite and finite verb, we focus on the locative marker -k, as it is the most multifunctional and can express not only causal, but also conditional and concessive relation. Subordinate free CLMs such as Causal mafew, conditional ekilu, and concessive qej (=qano) and the coordinative markers such as emitu=qun, emitu ‘so’ and ýam ‘but’ are not examined separately in this section, as -k often co-occurs with these free CLMs and it is not necessarily easy to judge whether the existence or non-existence of these free CLMs interacts with the Five Level or not. All the English examples below from [2-1-1-1] to [2-3-5-2] are cited from Tasaku Tsunoda (2011).

11 For the interview I prepared a Russian translation of Tasaku Tsunoda’s “Questionnaire for Five Levels” (2011).
4.1. Causal

Both non-finite and finite verb in causal subordinate clauses can express Level I, Level II, Level III, and in some cases Level IV.

To express causal relations Koryak mainly employs CLMs such as the locative suffix -k and the free word m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew ‘because’. The order of the main and subordinate clauses is not fixed. The subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause. However, it seems that there is a restriction in the occurrence of m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew or -k. When the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew is not obligatory. In this case either a finite verb or non-finite verb may occur. The coordinative marker \textit{em\textasciitilde}u=qun or \textit{em\textasciitilde}u may also occur at the beginning of the main clause. At the same time, when the subordinate clause follows the main clause, m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew is obligatory. In this case, only a finite verb can occur in the subordinate clause.

4.1.1. Level I

[2-1-1-1] Because the rain fell, the ground is wet.

\begin{verbatim}
(41a) \textit{[M\textit{\textasciitilde}jew aj\textit{\textasciitilde}ve unm\textit{\textasciitilde}k muqet-i-Ø (~muqet-Ø-k)
because yesterday very.much rain-PF-3SGS rain-VBL-E-LOC
~ em-muqet-Ø-k]sc, em\textit{\textasciitilde}u=qun ec yi n\textit{\textasciitilde}uce-l\textit{\textasciitilde}q-Ø-n
only-rain-E-LOC so=INT now earth-surface-E-ABS.SG
unm\textit{\textasciitilde}k imci\textit{\textasciitilde}u-i-Ø.}
very.much get.wet-PF-3SGS

(41b) Em\textit{\textasciitilde}u=qun ec yi n\textit{\textasciitilde}uce-l\textit{\textasciitilde}q-Ø-n unm\textit{\textasciitilde}k
so now earth-surface-E-ABS.SG very.much
imci\textit{\textasciitilde}u-j-Ø, \textit{[m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew aj\textit{\textasciitilde}ve unm\textit{\textasciitilde}k muqet-i-Ø]}sc.
get.wet-PF-3SGS because yesterday very.much rain-PF-3SGS

[2-1-1-2] Because the child is hungry, he/she is crying.

(42a) \textit{[M\textit{\textasciitilde}jew k\textit{\textasciitilde}mi\textit{\textasciitilde}g-Ø-n y\textit{\textasciitilde}r\textit{\textasciitilde}ve-i-Ø]sc, em\textit{\textasciitilde}u=qun
because child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-PF-3SGS so=INT
ko-tej\textit{\textasciitilde}gat-Ø-Ø.}
IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SGS

(42b) Em\textit{\textasciitilde}u k\textit{\textasciitilde}mi\textit{\textasciitilde}g-Ø-n ko-tej\textit{\textasciitilde}gat-Ø-Ø, \textit{[m\textit{\textasciitilde}jew k\textit{\textasciitilde}mi\textit{\textasciitilde}g-Ø-n
so child-E-ABS.SG IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SGS because child-E-ABS.SG
y\textit{\textasciitilde}r\textit{\textasciitilde}ve-i-Ø]sc.
get.hungry-PF-3SGS}
\end{verbatim}
4.1.2. Level II

[2-1-2-1] Because the rain fell, the ground must be wet.

(43a) 

```plaintext
[(Møjew) mej ISP-ŋ-muqemuq yala-j-O]sc, emyi=qun to because heavy-E-rain(ABS.SG) pass-PF-3SGS so=INT and ewəncam amu n’uce-l’q-ŋ-n imciyu-j-O perhaps probably earth-surface-E-ABS.SG get.wet-PF-3SGS
```

(43b) Ewəncam amu n’uce-l’q-ŋ-n imciyu-j-O,

perhaps probably earth-surface-E-ABS.SG get.wet-PF-3SGS


because heavy-E-rain(ABS.SG) pass-PF-3SGS

‘Perhaps the earth has gotten wet because a heavy rain passed through.’

[2-1-2-2] Because the rain is falling, he has to stay in the house.

(44a) 

```plaintext
[(Møjew) ec yi ku-muqet-ŋ-j-O]sc, emyi=qun ənno because today IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS so=INT he/she(ABS) jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-O. house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS
```

(44b) ənno jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-O, [моjew ec yi he/she(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS because now ku-muqet-ŋ-j-O]sc.

IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS

4.1.3. Level III

[2-1-3-1] Don’t go out because the rain is falling.

(45a) 

```plaintext
[(Møjew) ku-muqet-ŋ-j-O]sc, emyi=qun in’et aŋto-ka because IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS so=INT don’t not-go.out-not ɲajɲəno-jtəŋ. outside-ALL
```

(45b) In’et aŋto-ka ɲajɲəno-jtəŋ, [моjew don’t not-go.out-not outside-ALL because ku-muqet-ŋ-j-O]sc.

IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS

[2-1-3-2] Give the child food because he/she is hungry.

(46a) 

```plaintext
[(Møjew) kəmiŋ-ŋ-j ɲəʼev-i-O]sc, emyi=qun because child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-PF-3SGS so=INT
```

85
4.1.4. Level IV

[2-1-4-1] Because the ground is wet, rain fell.

*Not permissible.

[2-1-4-2] Because he is alive, I GUESS/SUPPOSE/INFER/CONCLUDE THAT the doctor saved him.

*Not permissible.

However, other examples of Level IV are permissible if occurring with an adverb such as ewəncam ‘surely, anyway’ and amu ‘probably’.

(47) *Ewəncam ənkejəp ənən y-ineŋnelq-ə-lin-Ø,
    surely long.ago he/she(ERG) RES-boil-E-RES-3SGO
    [məjew qinam ye-qəvi-lin-Ø cajpat-Ø]sc.
    because so RES-get.cold-RES-3SGS kettle-ABS.SG
‘Because the kettle got cold, he surely boiled it long ago.’

(48) *Amu muqet-i-Ø, [məjew kimitə-w
    probably rain-PF-3SGS because clothes-ABS.PL
    ye-l’ʧəo-lena-w]sc.
    RES-get.wet-RES-3PL.S
‘Because the clothes got wet, the rain probably fell.’

4.1.5. Level V

[2-1-5-1] There is food here, because you are looking for food.
   Intended meaning: BECAUSE you are looking for food, I SAY TO YOU
   ‘There is food here.’

*Not permissible.

[2-1-5-2] There is water here, because you are/look thirsty.
   Intended meaning: BECAUSE you are/look thirsty, I SAY TO YOU ‘There
   is water here.’
*Not permissible.

4.2. Conditional

For conditional subordinate clauses Koryak employs the free word CLMs such as *ekilu* ‘if’, *geveq* ‘if’, *tite* ‘when’ and converb CLMs -k, the same suffix as in the causal.

*Tite* ‘when’ is used when cause-and-effect relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause is logically clear as in [2-2-1-1]. The difference between *ekilu* ‘if’ and *geveq* ‘if’ is not clear at present. They are in most cases interchangeable or even sometimes co-occurring.

4.2.1. Level I

[2-2-1-1] If spring comes, flowers bloom.

For this example, *ekilu* meaning ‘if’ is not used, because it stands to reason that spring comes and flowers blossom. Therefore, in this example *tite* meaning ‘when’ is used instead. The subordinate clause may either precede or follow the main clause.

(49a) \[Tite \ ko-γvo-ŋ-Ø \ ano-jo-ς-ŋ-k \ (~ano-jo-ς-ŋ-k)]sc, \nwhen IPF-begin-IPF-3SGS \ spring-ICH-E-INF \ spring-ICH-E-LOC \nko-γvo-la-ŋ-Ø \ tŋe-k \ tŋećς-u. \nIPF-begin-PL-IPF-3S \ grow-INF \ plant-ABS.PL \n
(49b) \[ko-γvo-la-ŋ-Ø \ tŋe-k \ tŋećς-u, \nIPF-begin-PL-IPF-3S \ grow-INF \ plant-ABS.PL \ntite \ ko-γvo-ŋ-Ø \ ano-jo-ς-ŋ-k.]sc \nwhen IPF-begin-IPF-3S \ grow-ICH-INF \n
[2-2-1-2] If rain falls, I always stay home.

(50) \[Ekilu \ ku-μuqet-ς-ŋ-Ø \ (μuqet-ς-k)]sc, \nIf IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS \ rain-E-LOC \nI(ABS) \ always \njaja-k \ t-ŋko-tva-γvo-ŋ. \nhouse-LOC \ 1SGS-E-IPF-stay-HAB-IPF \n
4.2.2. Level II

[2-2-2-1] If rain falls tomorrow, he has to stay in the house.

(51) \[Ekilu \ mittiw \ je-μuqet-ς-ŋ-Ø \ (~μuqet-ς-k)]sc, \nif tomorrow FUT-rain-ICH-E-FUT-3SGS \ rain-ICH-E-LOC \nto \ əmmo \ jaja-k \ va-jo-lgəl-Ø. \nand he/she(ABS) house-LOC \ stay-NML-to.be-3SGS \n
[2-2-2-2] If the child is/becomes hungry, he/she will surely cry.

(52) \([Ekilu \ kəmɪp-ə-n \ yəˈmɛv-ə-ŋ-Ø \ (\sim yəˈmɛv-ə-k)]_{sc}\),
if child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-E-PF-3SG get.hungry-E-LOC
to ewənət anno ja-tejə-gvo-ŋ-Ø.
and anyway he/she(ABS) FUT-cry-E-ICH-FUT-3SGS

4.2.3. Level III
[2.2.3.1] Don’t go out if rain falls.

(53) \([Ekilu \ ku-muqe-t-ə-ŋ-Ø \ (\sim muqe-tə-k \sim muqe-juə-ŋ-k)]_{sc}\),
if IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS rain-E-LOC rain-ICH-E-LOC
in’et a-ŋto-ka.
don’t not-go.out-not

[2.2.3.2] Give the child food if he/she is hungry.

(54) \([Ekilu) \ kəmɪp-ə-n \ ku-ˈyəɛt-ə-ŋ-Ø\)
If child-E-ABS.SG IPF-be.hungry-E-IPF-3SGS
(\sim ˈyəɛv-ə-k)]_{sc}, ye-n-ewje-t-te.
get.hungry-E-LOC COM-CAUS-eat-CAUS-COM

4.2.4. Level IV
[2.2.4.1] If the ground is wet, rain fell.

*Not permissible.

[2.2.4.2] If the child is crying, he/she is hungry.

This sentence is permissible if occurring with an adverb such as amu ‘probably’ and əno ‘probably’.

(55) \([Ekilu \ kəmɪp-ə-n \ ko-tejət-ə-ŋ-Ø, (\sim tejət-ə-k)]_{sc}\)
if child-E-ABS.SG IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SGS cry-E-LOC
to amu əno əno ku-ˈyəɛt-ə-ŋ-Ø.
and probably probably he/she(ABS) IPF-be.hungry-E-IPF-3SGS
‘If the child is crying, then he/she is probably hungry.’

4.2.5. Level V
[2.2.5.1] There is an umbrella, if rain is falling.

Level V is not permissible if the subordinate clause indicates the present tense, while it is permissible if it indicates the future tenses as in the following (56).
(56) [Ekilu je-muqe-ju-ə-ŋ-Ø (je-muqe-ju-ə-ŋ-k)]sc, əno wutku
if FUT-rain-ICh-E-FUT-3SGS FUT-begin-ICh-E-LOC here
škaf-ciko ko-tva-ŋ-ə zontik-Ø.
shef-inside IPF-be-IPF-3SGS umbrella-ABS.SG
‘There is an umbrella here, if it rains.’

[2.2.5.2] There is food here, if you are hungry.

*Not permissible.

4.3. Concessive
Koryak employs the free CLM qej(ŋano) ‘even if, although’ for concessive subordinate clause. The locative case marker –k may also occur in concessive clause.

4.3.1. Level I
[2.3.1.1] Although rain fell, the ground is dry.

(57) [Qej (=ŋano) moqa-yala-j-Ø (~moqa-yala-k)]sc, ewɔncam
even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC anyway
umkɔ-ciku-n kɔɛ-y Ɂq-ə Ɂl-ə-ə-n.
forest-inside-ABS.SG dry-E-surface-E-PART-E-ABS.SG
‘Although rain came through, it is dry in the forest.’

[2.3.1.2] Although it stopped, he has to stay in the house.

(58) [Qej (ŋano) moqa-yala-j-Ø (~moqa-yala-k)]sc
even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC
ewɔncam əno jaja-k va-jo-lq-ə-Ø.
anyway he/she(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS

4.3.2. Level II
[2.3.2.1] Although rain fell, the ground may be dry.

(59) [Qej innə muqe-ju-ə-e-Ø (muqe-ju-ə-e-k)]sc, amu
even.if it.is.true rain-ICh-ICH-PF-3SGS rain-ICh-E-LOC probably
n’uce-lq-ə-n ewɔnət amu jeppə
earth-surface-E-ABS.SG anyway probably yet
n-ə-kɔɛ-yə-qin-Ø.
PRP-E-dry-3TOP-SG
Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.

(60) [Qej \( \text{inm} \) \( \text{moqa-} \text{yala-} \text{j-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) \( \text{it.is.true} \) rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-PF-3SGS
\( \text{qnno-} \) \( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS.SG}} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
he/she-ABS.SG anyway house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS

(61) \( \text{qnno-} \) \( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS.SG}} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-} \), \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{e} \) \( \text{c} \) \( \text{c} \) \( \text{ci} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-} \),
\( \text{qnno-} \) \( \text{moqa-} \text{yala-} \text{j-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{e} \) \( \text{c} \) \( \text{c} \) \( \text{ci} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) even.if it.is.true rain-pass-PF-3SGS

4.3.3. Level III

[2.3.3.1] Let’s go out, although rain is falling.

(62) [Qej \( \text{ku-muqet-} \text{p-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS rain-E-LOC
\( \text{muju} \) \( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS}} \) \( \text{m} \text{c} \text{c} \text{laj-} \) \( \text{tko-la-} \),
we(ABS) anyway 1PL.S-FUT-walk-E-ITR-PL-FUT

(63) Muju \( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS}} \) \( \text{m} \text{c} \text{c} \text{laj-} \) \( \text{tko-la-} \),
\( \text{we} \) \( \text{ABS} \) \( \text{anyway} \) 1PL.S-FUT-walk-E-ITR-PL-FUT
\( \text{qej} \) \( \text{ku-muqet-} \text{p-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) even.if IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS

[2.3.3.2] Stay in the house, although the rain stopped.

(64) [Qej \( \text{inm} \) \( \text{moqa-} \text{yala-} \text{j-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) \( \text{it.is.true} \) rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC
\( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS.SG}} \) \( \text{y} \text{xci} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-eye} \),
\( \text{anyway} \) \( \text{you} \) \( \text{ABS} \) \( \text{house-LOC} \) \( \text{stay-NML-to.be-2SGS} \)

(65) \( \text{ew}_{\text{ABS.SG}} \) \( \text{y} \text{xci} \) \( \text{jaja-k} \) \( \text{va-jo-lqel-eye} \),
\( \text{anyway} \) \( \text{you} \) \( \text{ABS} \) \( \text{house-LOC} \) \( \text{stay-NML-to.be-2SGS} \)
\( \text{qej} \) \( \text{inm} \) \( \text{moqa-} \text{yala-} \text{j-} \) \( \text{sc} \),
\( \text{even-if} \) \( \text{it.is.true} \) rain-pass-PF-3SGS

4.3.4. Level IV

[2.3.4.1] Although the doctor saved/cured him he had not been sent for.

*Not permissible
[2.3.4.2] Although the ground is wet, rain did not fall.

*Not permissible

4.3.5. Level V

[2.3.5.1] There is food here, although you know this.

*Not permissible

[2.3.5.2] Work hard, although I am sorry for you.

*Not permissible

4.4. Summary

TABLE 3 sums up the result of our examination.

TABLE 3 Five Levels in Koryak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Causal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majew +non-finite</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majew +finite</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tite</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekilu+non-finite</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>+/−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekilu+finite</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/−</td>
<td>+/−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concessive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qej (ŋano)+non-finite</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qej (ŋano)+finite</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I have been unable to find CLMs for each of the target constructions, I could not show the difference of Levels between different CLMs in the same semantic area. However, we seem to be able to draw a rough dividing line between the causal/conditional and the concessive in that the formers can cover Level IV (or in some cases Level V in causal), while the latter can cover only Level 1, 2, and 3.

5. Conclusion

The aforementioned analysis reveals the following:
i) It is not easy to draw a clear dividing line between subordination and coordination in Koryak because clause linkage markers in coordination occur even in a typical subordinate clause. We should rather consider subordination and coordination to lie at two ends of a continuum. This continuum can be divided into two morphological types, that is, the non-finite verb type and the finite verb type. These are further divided into roughly four subtypes according to the degree of subordination.

ii) As for the Five Levels, we seem to be able to draw a rough dividing line between causal/conditional and concessive. Causal and conditional subordinate clauses cover levels I, II, III, and IV (and in some cases V also), while concessive subordinate clauses cover levels I, II, and III.

iii) Distinction between non-finite and finite verb types, in other words, degree of subordination, does not seem to interact with the Five Levels.

[Acknowledgement]
I am deeply grateful to my language consultant, Mrs. Ajatginina Tatjana Nikolaevna (born in 1955), who generously and patiently gave her time to answer my questions and share her rich knowledge of Koryak with me. I am also very grateful to Dr. Mie Tsunoda for motivating me to write the present paper with her deep insight and stimulating arguments regarding the problems of Japanese clause linking. I also owe the birth of the present paper to Dr. Tasaku Tsunoda, the project leader of ‘Adnominal Clauses and Noun-Concluding Construction: Grammaticalization of Nouns’ at the National Institute of Japanese language and Linguistics, who provided me with the invaluable opportunity to exchange cross-linguistic information on the Five Levels and to make a presentation on Koryak clause linking at his corporative meeting held on 10th, December, 2011.

Abbriviations
ABL=ablative     ABS=absolutive    ALL=allative     AN=animate     AP=antipassive
ASC=associative     CAS=causal    CAUS=causative    COM=comitative     CONV=converb
DU=dual     E=epenthesis    ERG=ergative    FUT=future     HAB=habitual
IMPR=imperative     ICH=ichoative    INF=infinitive    INSTR=instrumental     LOC=locative
INT=intensive     INV=inverse    IPF=imperfective    ITR=iterative     LOC=locative
NML=nominalizer     OPT=optative    O=object     PART=participle     P=perfective
PL=plural     PRP=property    RECP=reciprocal    RES=resultative     S=subject
SG=singular     TOP=topic     1=first person     2=second person     3=third person

References
Ajatginina, T.N. and M.Kurebito

Crevels, M.
and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kurebito, M.

Nakau, M.

Sweeter, E.E.

Thompson, S. A., R.E. Longacre, and S.J.J.Hwang

Tsunoda, Mic.

Tsunoda, Tasaku.
2011.5.3. Questionnaire for Five Levels. Mbh/.s.

Watters, D.E.

Zhukova, Alevtina N.

コリャーク語の副詞節
従属の度合いと五段階

呉人 惠
富山大学

本稿では、コリャーク語の副詞節の形態統語的・意味的特徴を、主に 1）従属の度合い、
2）主節のモダリティおよび従属節と主節の連接が表わす意味関係によって設定された「五段
階」(角田三枝 2004)の2つの観点から考察し、次の点を指摘した。

(a) コリャーク語の典型的な副詞節は、非定形動詞として現われるが、これには本来、名詞語幹につく格接辞に由来する節連接マーカーが動詞語幹に直接付加されるタイプと、「関係接辞」と呼ばれる接辞を介して間接的に動詞語幹に付加されるタイプとがある。前者のタイプには、場所格、道具格、与格、共同格、随格が用いられるが、表わす意味領域の範囲が場所格>道具格>与格、共同格、随格の順で階層をなす。また、後者のタイプには方向格が用いられる。

(b) 典型的な副詞節以外にも、定形動詞や接続詞を用いた周辺的な節の連接も見られる。このような事情も関わって、コリャーク語では従属節と等位節を区別することは必ずしも容易ではなく、むしろ連続体を成していると考えられる。この連続体は、主節への従属の度合いによって、従属節から等位節へと大まかに4段階に分類される。

(c) 「五段階」から見ると、コリャーク語の副詞節は、原因/条件と逆接の間に線を引くことができそうである。すなわち、前者はレベル I, II, III, IV（場合によってはV）をカバーできる一方で、逆接はレベル I, II, IIIしかカバーできない。

(d) 日本語では従属節の従属の度合いと「五段階」が相関する可能性が指摘されているが(角田三枝 2004)、コリャーク語では非定形動詞か定形動詞かという従属の度合いの違いと「五段階」の間の相関性は現段階では観察されていない。ただし、限られたデータによる観察であるため、今後のさらなる調査が必要である。