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Adverbial Clauses in Koryak: Degrees of Subordination and the Five Levels

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1. Introduction

The present paper aims to describe adverbial subordination in Koryak¹. 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.

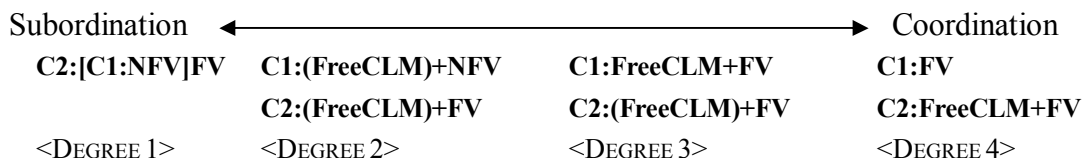
2. The subordination-coordination continuum

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 FIGURE1 below.

¹ Koryak is a member of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family as are the languages of the neighboring Chukchi, Kerek, Alutor, and Itelmen peoples. It is characterized by marked dialectal diversity: besides the main dialects, Chawchəvan 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 Chawchəvan dialect. The Koryak (Chawchəvan) phonemic inventory set up by Kurebito (2004) is as follows: Consonants: *p, t, t', k, q, v, ɣ, ʕ, c, m, n, n', ŋ, l, l', j, w*; Vowels: *i, e, a, o, u, ə*. Voicing is not contrastive and all the stops are voiceless. The symbol [ʔ] denotes palatalization of the dentals. *c* is used as a symbol of the affricate [tʃ]. 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).



(Abbreviations: C=clause, CLM=clause linkage marker, FV=finite verb, NFV=non-finite verb)

FIGURE 1 *The continuum from typical subordination to coordination*

DEGREE1 shows the highest degree of subordination. The verb in C1, the subordinate clause, appears in the non-finite form and is embedded in C2, the main clause. DEGREE2 shows that the verb in C1 appears as a non-finite verb but is not embedded in C2. Also, a free CLM used both for subordination and coordination appears optionally. On the other hand, in DEGREE 3 a finite verb appears in C1, accompanied by a free CLM within the clause and at the same time a coordinative CLM also sometimes appears in C2. DEGREE 4 shows not subordination but coordination. C1 with a finite verb is not accompanied by any subordinative free CLM, but only C2 has a free coordinative CLM.

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)³(See the following sections for the examples of each type).

- (1) Type A: VERB STEM – CASE AFFIX

Type B: VERB STEM – RELATIONAL AFFIX – CASE AFFIX

³ 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*

Affix	Type	Case	Semantic area ⁴	Meaning
<i>-k</i>	A	Locative	Time	when
				after
			Concessive	even if
			Conditional	if
			Causal	because
<i>-e/-a/-te/-ta</i>		Instrumental	Simultaneous	while
<i>-ŋ</i>		Dative		
<i>-ma</i>		Comitative ⁵		
<i>yejqə/yaɟqə... -e/-a/-te/-ta</i>		Associative		
<i>-kena-jtəŋ</i>	B	Relational+Allative	Time	before

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 DEGREE1 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) -*ŋ* (Dative) ‘while’

ənən [*vella-ŋ*]_{sc} *ko-ncec ʃan'-ŋəvo-ŋ-ne-n*.
 he/she(ERG) stand-DAT IPF-watch-HAB-IPF-3SG.S-3SG.O
 ‘Standing, he/she was watching it/him/her.’

(3) -*ma* (Comitative) ‘while’

əməŋ ɲelvəlʃ-ə-kine-w [*ŋanko tanŋəcen-ma*]_{sc}
 all reindeer.herd-E-REL-ABS.PL there go.to.war-COM
pəlwənt-o to ɲənvəq na-ko-nnej-ŋəvo-ŋ-na-w
 money-ABS.PL and many INV-IPF-send-HAB-IPF-3SG.S-3PL.O
tanŋəcet-ənv-etəŋ.
 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) *yejqə-/yajqə...-e/-a/-te/-ta* (Associative) ‘while’

Pəciqa-w [*yejq-ə ʃajŋe-te*]_{sc} *yala-la-j-Ø om-nota-jtəŋ*.
 bird-ABS.PL ASC-E-sing-ASC 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-jtəŋ jelqiv-ə-k*, *qej n-əppul'u-qina-w*, *qej qucce-w*
 they-ALL drop.by-E-LOC even PRP-little-3-ABS.PL even other-ABS.PL
meki-w]_{sc}, *na-k-ew-ŋəvo-ŋ-na-w*, *q-ə-yala-la-tək*,
 who-ABS.PL INV-IPF-say-HAB-IPF-3SG.S-3PL.O 2SG.S/IMPR-E-pass-PL-2SG.S
ənki q-ə-caj-o-la-tək, *q-ojecval-la-tək*.
 here 2SG.S/IMPR-E-tea-drink-PL-2SG.S 2SG.S/IMPR-play-PL-2SG.S
 ‘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* *unmək* *kojŋ-ə-n*]_{sc}, *ləyən*
 sugar-VBL-E-LOC very.much cup-E-ABS.SG even
n-ə-waqma-qen-Ø *nəŋel-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-juŋ-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’
 [*Miŋki jej-u* *ekmit-ə-k*]_{sc}, *ewəncam* *ne-je-jyulet-yi*.
 where what-ABS.PL take-E-LOC anyway INV-FUT-recognize-2SG.O
 ‘Wherever and whatever you take, they will recognize you.’
- (10) *-e/-a/-te/-ta* (Instrumental) ‘because’
 [*Am-ŋotəcŋa-ta* *yəmka-jtəŋ* *Kamak-Ø*]_{sc},
 only-get.angry-INSTR I-ALL Kamak-ABS.SG
ujŋe e-winn’et-ke *t-ə-ku-nt-ə-ŋ-ə-n*
 not not-help-not 1SGS-E-IPF-do-E-IPF-E-3SG.O
 ‘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-jəlqet-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, *-kena-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-...-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’

[*Wejem-Ø qet-ə-kena-jtəŋ*]_{sc}, *mət-k-aja ʃo-ŋvo-la-ŋ*.
 river-ABS.SG freeze-E-REL-ALL 1PL.S-IPF-fish-HAB-PL-IPF
 ‘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 a ‘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) *umk-ə-kin-Ø yijnik-Ø*
 forest-E-REL-ABS.SG wild.animal-ABS.SG
 ‘a wild animal in the forest’
- (13b) *ənkəjep-kine-t l’əmŋəl’-te*
 long.ago-REL-ABS.DU story-ABS.DU
 ‘two ancient stories’
- (13c) *ewji-kine-w wal-u*
 eat-REL-ABS.PL knife-ABS.PL
 ‘knives for eating’
- (13d) *Pojt-ə-kena-k wejem-ə-k ŋənvəq amalvaŋ*
 Paren’-E-REL-LOC river-E-LOC many various
it-ə-lʃ-o ənn-u.
 be-E-PART-ABS.PL fish-ABS.PL
 ‘There are many varieties of fish in the Paren’ river.’
- (13e) *yəmmo t-ə-lqət-ə-k-Ø Cajbuqa-kina-jtəŋ wajam-etəŋ.*
 I(ABS) 1SGS-E-go-E-1SGS-PF Chajbuxa-REL-ALL river-ALL
 ‘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 TABLE2 below.

TABLE 2 Free subordinative CLMs occurring in C1

Semantic Area	CLMs	Meanings
Time	<i>Tite</i>	when
	<i>vitku</i>	after
	<i>Kitkit</i>	as soon as
	<i>tite=ŋən</i>	before
	<i>jeppə</i>	
	<i>kəta=van</i>	
Locative	<i>miŋki</i>	where

Manner	<i>miŋkəje=ŋən</i>	how
	<i>teqən</i>	as if
Purpose (affirmative vs. negative)	<i>Tit</i>	so that, lest
Reason	<i>məjew</i>	because
Simultaneous	-----	-----
Conditional (affirmative vs. negative)	<i>Ekilu</i>	if
Concessive	<i>qej (ŋano)</i>	even if, although
	<i>qəŋewən</i>	

Meanwhile, the free coordinative CLMs employed in C2 are *ŋam* ‘but’, *to* ‘and’, and *em ŋu* (=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 FIGURE2).

Locative	> Instrumental	> Dative, Comitative, Associative, Allative
<i>tite</i> ‘when’	-----	-----
<i>vitku</i> ‘after’		
<i>tite=ŋən</i> ‘before’		
<i>məjew</i> ‘because’		
<i>ekilu</i> ‘if’		
<i>qej (ŋano)</i> ‘although’		

FIGURE 2 Correlation between case marker hierarchy and other CLMs

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

(14) *tite* ‘when’

[*Tite* *ɣajmav-ə-k*]_{sc} *kami-w* *na-ko-no-ŋvo-ŋ-naw*
 when want-E-INF dried.fish-ABS.PL INV-IPF-eat-HAB-IPF-3PL.O
 ‘When they wanted, they used to eat dried fish.’

(15) *vitku* ‘after’

[*Vitku* *moga-ɣal’a-pl’ətko-k*], *ənno* *ŋeqev-i-ø*
 after rain-pass-finish-LOC he/she(ABS) leave-PF-3SGS

⁸ =qun is an intensifier.

ŋelvəlʃ-etəŋ.

herd-ALL

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

(16) *məjew* ‘because’

[*Məjew yəmnin-Ø lewət-Ø təʃəl-ə-k*]_{sc},

because my-ABS.SG head-ABS.SG ache-E-LOC

vetatənv-etəŋ ec yi qəjəm m-ə-lqət-ə-k.

workplace-ALL today not OPT.1SG.S-E-go-E-OPT.1SG.S

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

(17) *ekilu* ‘if’

[*Ekilu ya-kkə kiwəl-Ø*]_{sc}, *ne-ku-tejk-ə-ŋ-ə-n*

if be-LOC reindeer.blood-ABS.SG INV-IPF-make-E-IPF-E-3SG.O

wilwil.

fermented.blood salad(ABS.SG)

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

(18) *qej*(=*ŋano*)

[*Qej=ŋano unmək pəkav-ə-k*], *ewəncam*

even.if very.much be.unable-E-LOC anyway

*ya-javetan-ŋəvo-ta*⁹.

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 *ŋam* ‘but’, *to* ‘and’, and *emŋu* (= *qun*¹⁰), *qinam*, *qinwat* ‘so, therefore’ are employed in C2.

(19) *tite* ‘when’

[*Tite yəmmo t-ə-jet-ə-k-Ø ŋalvəlʃ-ə-ŋqo*]_{sc}, *to*

when I(ABS) 1SG.S-E-come-E-1SG.S-PF herd-E-ABL and

ənnə ŋopta jet-ti-Ø vojv-ə-ŋqo.

he/she(ABS) also come-PF-3SG.S 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’

ənno *ʃeqev-i-Ø* [*vitku* *moqa-ʔal'a-pl'ətko-j-Ø*]_{sc.}
 he/she(ABS) leave-PF-3SG.S after rain-pass-finish-PF-3SG.S
 ‘He/she left after the rain stopped.’

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

(21) *ʔəmnin* *ŋanko* *vitku* *ənnan-məlləŋe-n* *ʔivi-w*
 my(ABS.SG) then only one-five-ABS.SG year-ABS.PL
ko-nʔa-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’

[*Kitkit* *k-ə ʔal-at-ə-ŋ-Ø*]_{sc.}, *na-ko-ŋvo-ŋ-naw*
 as.soon.as IPF-E-snow-VBL-E-IPF INV-IPF-begin-IPF-3PL.O
jiwl-ə-k *pic ʔ-u* *məʔyu-te*.
 carry-E-INF food-ABS.PL caravan-INSTR
 ‘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, *tite=ŋən* in (23) is equivalent to ‘before’. Therefore the subordinate clause occurs in affirmative form. On the other hand, *jeppə* ‘yet’ in (24) and *kəta=van* ‘as long as’ in (25) introduce a negative form to the subordinate clause.

(23) *tite=ŋən* ‘before’

ənno *jet-ti-Ø* *kəluba-ŋqo*, [*tite=ŋən* *ʔəmmo*
 he/she(ABS) come-PF-3SG.S club-ABL before I(ABS)
t-ə ŋto-k *jaja-ŋqo*]_{sc.}
 1SG.S-E-go.out house-ABL
 ‘He came from the club before I went out of the house.’

(24) *jeppə* ‘before’

[*Jeppə* *ʔəmmo* *a-ŋto-ka* *jaja-ŋqo*]_{sc.}, *ənno* *jet-ti-Ø*
 yet I(ABS) not-go.out house-ABL he/she(ABS) come-PF-3SG.S
kluba-ŋqo.
 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) *Ajjon jeppə n-əppul'u-yəm.*

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

cəvint-ə-lʔ-ə-n qoja-mk-ə-n]_{sc}, *qəjəm*

cut-E-PART-E-ABS.SG reindeer-many-E-ABS.SG not

n-ə-jajt-ə-n.

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 ajyəve ənno y-ə-ŋenŋal-lin-Ø*]_{sc}, *to yəmmo*

where yesterday he/she(ABS) RES-E-fall-RES-3SGS and I(ABS)

ŋano ecyi ʃopta ŋanko t-ə-ŋenŋat-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-wan'avat-ə-ŋ-Ø, [miŋkəje=ŋən el'ʃa-Ø

he/she(ABS) IPF-speak-E-IPF-3SGS how woman-ABS.SG

ye-n yəjulew-lin-Ø-Ø]_{sc}.

RES-teach-RES-3SGS-3SGO

The woman speaks as he taught her to.’

- (29) *teqən* ‘as if’

ənno ko-wan'avat-ə-ŋ-Ø, [teqən ənno

he/she(ABS) IPF-speak-E-IPF-3SGS as.if he/she(ABS)

cəqjo-lʔ-ə-n]_{sc}.

catch.cold-NML-E-ABS.SG

‘He/she talks like she has a cold.’

- (30) *tit* ‘so that’

yəmmo jəqmetev-ə-ŋqo t-ə-ŋeqev-ə-k-Ø

I(ABS) morning-E-ABL 1SGS-E-leave.for-E-1SGS-PF

tajŋatənv-etəŋ, [tit mal'-pajoc t-ajpe-new
 fishing.place-ALL so.that little-more 1SGS-catch.fish.by weir
*ənn-o]*_{sc}.
 fish-ABS.SG
 'I left for the fishing place so that I could use the weir to catch a few more fish.'

(31) *tit* 'lest'

ɣəmmo t-əje-piq-ə-ŋ jaja-ciko, [tit ənan
 I(ABS) 1SGS-E-FUT-hide-E-FUT house-inside so.that he/she(ERG)
*e-leŋu-ke n-ə-ŋ-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) *məjew* 'because'

En'pici-t ko-wajolŋan-ŋəvo-ŋ-e ɣəmke-kjit, [məjew ecyin
 father-ABS.DU IPF-be.afraid-HAB-IPF-3DU.S I-CAS because their
*ŋənvəq kmiŋ-u təŋəl-ə-k veŋ-ə-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) *ekilu* 'if'

*[Ekilu meki-Ø je-ketyucŋet-ə-ŋ-Ø]*_{sc}, *to ŋellə-Ø*
 if who-ABS.SG FUT-bestronger-E-FUT-3SGS and herd-ABS.SG
j-ekmin-ŋ-ə-ni-n cimqəp-Ø.
 FUT-take-FUT-E-3SGS-3SGO part-ABS.SG
 'If someone is stronger, then he will take a part of the herd.'

(34) *ekilu* 'unless'

*[Ekilu e-muqet-ke j-it-ə-ŋ-Ø]*_{sc}, *ɣəmmo amu*
 if not-rain-not FUT-be-E-FUT-3SGS I(ABS) probably
t-ə-j-elulqiv-ə-ŋ.
 1SGS-E-FUT-go.for.berry-INT-E-FUT
 'If there is no rain, I will probably go for berries.'

(35) *qej (ŋano)* 'even if, although'

*[Qej (ŋano) moqa-ŋala-j-Ø]*_{sc}, *ewəncam*
 even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS anyway
umkə-ciku-n kəc-ŋ-ə-l'q-ə-l'ŋ-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) *qəfəwən* ‘even if, although’

[*Qəfəwən moqa-jtəŋ ja-tva-ŋ-Ø*]_{sc}, *ewəncam yəmmo*
 even.if rain-ALL FUT-be-FUT-3SG.S anyway I(ABS.SG)
t-ə-j-uŋel-ə-ŋ.
 1SG.S-E-FUT-go.for.firewood-E-FUT-3SG.S
 ‘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 *ŋam* ‘but’, *to* ‘and’, and *em ŋu (=qun)*, *qinam*, *qinwat* ‘so, therefore’, always occurring in the postpositional clause, link the two clauses. Therefore we may tentatively regard DEGREE 4 as coordinative.

(37) *ŋam* ‘but’

ŋejŋej-ə-k jeppə en’pici-t tajŋatənv-ə-k
 autumn-E-LOC still father-ABS.DU fisheries-E-LOC
ko-tva-ŋ-e, ŋam yəmmo internat-ə-k
 IPF-be-IPF-3DU.S but I (ABS) boarding.school-E-LOC
t-ə-ko-tva-ŋ.
 1SG.S-E-IPF-stay-IPF
 ‘In autumn my parents were still at the fisheries, but I was at boarding-school.’

(38) *to* ‘and’

Acfa-w na-ku-tŋəm-təva-ŋ-naw to əvənŋ-ə-k
 boiled.fish-ABS.PL INV-IPF-bone-remove-IPF-3PL.O and berry-E-LOC
ne-ku-nn’əfəlew-ŋ-ə-new.
 INV-IPF-mix-IPF-E-3PL.O
 ‘They removed the bones from the boiled fish and mixed them with berries.’

(39) *em ŋu=qun* ‘so’

Yəmnin-Ø lewət-Ø ku-tŋəl-ə-ŋ-Ø,
 my-ABS.SG head-ABS.SG IPF-ache-E-IPF-3SG.S
em ŋu=qun vetatənv-etəŋ ec yi qəjəm m-ə-lqət-ə-k.
 so=INT workplace-ALL today not OPT.1SG.S-E-go-E-OPT.1SG.S
 ‘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

integration.

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)¹¹. 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)

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

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, DEGREE1 and DEGREE 2 formed by non-finite verbs should cover less Levels than Degree 3 formed by finite verb (DEGREE4 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 *məjew*, conditional *ekilu*, and concessive *qej* (= *qano*) and the coordinative markers such as *emʁu=qun*, *emʁu* 'so' and *ʁam* '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 *məjew* ‘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 *məjew* or *-k*. When the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, *məjew* is not obligatory. In this case either a finite verb or non-finite verb may occur. The coordinative marker *em ʕu=qun* or *em ʕu* may also occur at the beginning of the main clause. At the same time, when the subordinate clause follows the main clause, *məjew* 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.

- (41a) [(*Məjew*) *aj ʔəve unmək muqet-i-Ø* (~*muqet-ə-k*
because yesterday very.much rain-PF-3SGS rain-VBL-E-LOC
~ *em-muqet-ə-k*)]_{sc}, *em ʕu=qun ec ʔi n'uce-l'q-ə-n*
only-rain-E-LOC so=INT now earth-surface-E-ABS.SG
unmək imci ʔu-i-Ø.
very.much get.wet-PF-3SGS

- (41b) *Em ʕu=qun ec ʔi n'uce-l'q-ə-n unmək*
so now earth-surface-E-ABS.SG very.much
imci ʔu-j-Ø, [*məjew aj ʔəve unmək 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) [*Məjew kəmiŋ-ə-n ʔət ʕev-i-Ø*]_{sc}, *em ʕu=qun*
because child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-PF-3SGS so=INT
ko-tejŋat-ə-ŋ-Ø.
IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SGS

- (42b) *Em ʕu kəmiŋ-ə-n ko-tejŋat-ə-ŋ-Ø*, [*məjew kəmiŋ-ə-n*
so child-E-ABS.SG IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SGS because child-E-ABS.SG
ʔət ʕev-i-Ø]_{sc}.
get.hungry-PF-3SGS

4.1.2. Level II

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

- (43a) [(*Məjew*) *mejŋ-ə-muqemuq* *yala-j-Ø*]sc, *em ŋu=qun* *to*
 because heavy-E-rain(ABS.SG) pass-PF-3SG.S so=INT and
ewəncam *amu* *n'uce-l'q-ə-n* *imci yu-j-Ø*
 perhaps probably earth-surface-E-ABS.SG get.wet-PF-3SG.S
- (43b) *Ewəncam* *amu* *n'uce-l'q-ə-n* *imci yu-j-Ø*,
 perhaps probably earth-surface-E-ABS.SG get.wet-PF-3SG.S
 [(*məjew*) *mejŋ-ə-muqemuq* *yala-j-Ø*]sc.
 because heavy-E-rain(ABS.SG) pass-PF-3SG.S
 '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) [(*Məjew*) *ec yi* *ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø*]sc, *em ŋu=qun* *ənno*
 because today IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SG.S so=INT he/she(ABS)
jaja-k *va-jo-lqəl-Ø*.
 house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SG.S
- (44b) *Ənno* *jaja-k* *va-jo-lqəl-Ø*, [(*məjew*) *ec yi*
 he/she(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SG.S because now
ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø]sc.
 IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SG.S

4.1.3. Level III

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

- (45a) [(*Məjew*) *ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø*]sc, *em ŋu=qun* *in'et* *a-ŋto-ka*
 because IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SG.S so=INT don't not-go.out-not
ŋajŋəno-jtəŋ.
 outside-ALL
- (45b) *In'et* *a-ŋto-ka* *ŋajŋəno-jtəŋ*, [(*məjew*)
 don't not-go.out-not outside-ALL because
ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø]sc.
 IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SG.S

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

- (46a) [(*Məjew*) *kəmiŋ-ə-n* *yətŋev-i-Ø*]sc, *em ŋu=qun*
 because child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-PF-3SG.S so=INT

q-ə-n-ewje-t-ɣən.

IMPR.2SGS-E-CAUS-eat-CAUS-3SGO

- (46b) *Q-ə-n-ewje-t-ɣən* *kəmiŋ-ə-n,* *[məjew*
 IMPR.2SGS-E-CAUS-eat-CAUS-3SGO child-E-ABS.SG because
*ɣətʃev-i-Ø]*sc.
 get.hungry-PF-3SGS

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* *ənan* *ɣ-ineŋnelq-ə-lin-Ø,*
 surely long.ago he/she(ERG) RES-boil-E-RES-3SGO
[məjew qinam ɣe-qətvi-lin-Ø *cəjpat-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* *muget-i-Ø,* *[məjew kimitʃa-w*
 probably rain-PF-3SGS because clothes-ABS.PL
*ɣe-l’əjo-ləna-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’, *ŋeveq* ‘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 *ŋeveq* ‘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-ŋvo-ŋ-Ø ano-jo ŋ-ə-k (~ano-jo ŋ-ə-k)*]_{sc},
 when IPF-begin-IPF-3SGS spring-ICH-E-INF spring-ICH-E-LOC
ko-ŋvo-la-ŋ-Ø təŋe-k təŋec ŋ-u.
 IPF-begin-PL-IPF-3S grow-INF plant-ABS.PL

- (49b) *Ko-ŋvo-la-ŋ-Ø təŋe-k təŋec ŋ-u,*
 IPF-begin-PL-IPF-3S grow-INF plant-ABS.PL
 [*tite ko-ŋvo-ŋ-Ø ano-jo ŋ-ə-k*]_{sc}
 when IPF-begin-IPF-3S grow-ICH-INF

[2-2-1-2] If rain falls, I always stay home.

- (50) [*Ekilu ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø (muqet-ə-k)*]_{sc}, *ɣəmmo qonpəŋ*
 If IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS rain-E-LOC I(ABS) always
jaja-k t-ə-ko-tva-ŋvo-ŋ.
 house-LOC 1SGS-E-IPF-stay-HAB-IPF

4.2.2. Level II

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

- (51) [*Ekilu mitiw je-muqe-ju ŋ-ə-ŋ-Ø (~muqe-ju ŋ-ə-k)*]_{sc},
 if tomorrow FUT-rain-ICH-E-FUT-3SGS rain-ICH-E-LOC
to ənno jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-Ø.
 and he/she(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS

[2-2-2-2] If the child is/becomes hungry, he/she will surely cry.

- (52) [Ekilu kəmiŋ-ə-n yətʃev-ə-j-Ø (~yəʃev-ə-k)]_{sc},
 if child-E-ABS.SG get.hungry-E-PF-3SG get.hungry-E-LOC
 to ewənʃət əno ja-tejŋ-ə-ŋvo-ŋ-Ø.
 and anyway he/she(ABS) FUT-cry-E-ICH-FUT-3SG.S

4.2.3. Leve III

[2.2.3.1] Don't go out if rain falls.

- (53) [Ekilu ku-muqe-t-ə-ŋ-Ø (~muqe-tə-k ~ muqe-juʃ-ə-k)]_{sc},
 if IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SG.S 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) kəmiŋ-ə-n ku-yətʃet-ə-ŋ-Ø
 If child-E-ABS.SG IPF-be.hungry-E-IPF-3SG.S
 (~yəʃev-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 kəmiŋ-ə-n ko-tejŋat-ə-ŋ-Ø, (~tejŋat-ə-k)]_{sc}
 if child-E-ABS.SG IPF-cry-E-IPF-3SG.S cry-E-LOC
 to amu əno əno ku-yətʃet-ə-ŋ-Ø.
 and probably probably he/she(ABS) IPF-be.hungry-E-IPF-3SG.S
 '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-juŋ-ə-ŋ-Ø* (*je-muqe-juŋ-ə-k*)]_{sc}, *əno wutku*
 if FUT-rain-ICH-E-FUT-3SGS FUT-begin-ICH-E-LOC here
škaf-ciko ko-tva-ŋ-Ø zontik-Ø.
 shelf-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-ŋala-j-Ø (~moqa-ŋala -k)*]_{sc}, *ewəncam*
 even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC anyway
umkə-ciku-n kəc ɣ-ə-l’q-ə-l’-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-ŋala-j-Ø (~moqa-ŋala -k)*]_{sc}
 even.if in.spite.of rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC
ewəncam ənno jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-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 inmə muqe-juŋ-e-Ø (muqe-juŋ-ə-k)*]_{sc}, *amu*
 even.if it.is.true rain-ICH-PF-3SGS rain-ICH-E-LOC probably
n’uce-l’q-ə-n ewənŋət amu jeppə
 earth-surface-E-ABS.SG anyway probably yet
n-ə-kəc ɣə-qin-Ø.
 PRP-E-dry-3TOP-SG

[2.3.2.2] Although the rain stopped, he has to stay in the house.

- (60) [*Qej inmə moqa-ɣala-j-Ø (~moqa-ɣala-k)*]_{sc},
 even.if it.is.true rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-PF-3SGS
ənno-Ø ewənɬət jaja-k va-jo-lqEl-Ø,
 he/she-ABS.SG anyway house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS
- (61) *Ənno-Ø ewənɬət jaja-k va-jo-lqEl-Ø*, [*qej*
 he/she-ABS.SG anyway house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-3SGS even.if
inmə moqa-ɣala-j-Ø]_{sc}.
 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 ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø (~muqet-ə-k)*]_{sc},
 even.if IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS rain-E-LOC
muju ewəncam mæc-ca-l'ajv-ətko-la-ŋ,
 we(ABS) anyway 1PL.S-FUT-walk-E-ITR-PL-FUT
- (63) *Muju ewəncam mæc-ca-l'ajv-ətko-la-ŋ*,
 we(ABS) anyway 1PL.S-FUT-walk-E-ITR-PL-FUT
 [*qej ku-muqet-ə-ŋ-Ø*]_{sc}.
 even.if IPF-rain-E-IPF-3SGS

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

- (64) [*Qej inmə moqa-ɣala-j-Ø (~moqa-ɣala-k)*],
 even.if it.is.true rain-pass-PF-3SGS rain-pass-LOC
ewənɬət ɣæcci jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-e-ye,
 anyway you(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-2SGS
- (65) *Ewənɬət ɣæcci jaja-k va-jo-lqəl-e-ye*,
 anyway you(ABS) house-LOC stay-NML-to.be-2SGS
 [*qej inmə moqa-ɣala-j-Ø*]_{sc}.
 even.if 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.

TABLE3 *Five Levels in Koryak*

	I	II	III	IV	V
Causal					
məjew +non-finite	+	+	+	+/-	-
məjew +finite	+	+	+	+/-	-
Conditional					
tite	+/-	-	-	-	-
ekilu+non-finite	+/-	+	+	+/-	+/-
ekilu+finite	+/-	+	+	+/-	+/-
Concessive					
qej (ŋano)+non-finite	+	+	+	-	-
qej (ŋano)+finite	+	+	+	-	-

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.

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Abbreviations

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=inchoative	INF=infinitive	INSTR=instrumental	
INT=intensive	INV=inverse	IPF=imperfective	ITR=iterative	LOC=locative
NML=nominalizer	OPT=optative	O=object	PART=participle	F=perfective
PL=plural	PRP=property	RECP=reciprocal	RES=resultative	S=subject
SG=singular	TOP=topic	1=first person	2=second person	3=third person

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コリャーク語の副詞節 ー従属の度合いと五段階ー

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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接続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、表わしうる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接続も見られる。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。