

16

Clause Linking

Notes

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16.1 Background Information and Observation

Ainu scholars have traditionally distinguished the clause linking words of Ainu into the two classes of 'conjunctions' and 'conjunctinalisers' (e.g. Refsing 1986; Tamura 2000). In other accounts this distinction is not present and clause linkers are only called 'conjunctions' (e.g. Murasaki 1979). Syntactically, the forms of both classes follow the predicate of the clause they introduce.

Studies that operate this two-fold distinction argue that what separates conjunctions from conjunctinalisers is mainly their prosodic features. On the one hand, conjunctions are said to be free forms as they may be phonologically separated from the predicate of the clause they introduce or may be found 'at the beginning of sentences' (which essentially means after a long pause in speech with a resuming function). On the other hand, conjunctinalisers are said to be bound forms because they form a single phonological unit with the predicate they follow. Nonetheless, prosodic pauses even before conjunctinalisers are sometimes attested, and this behavior eventually obscures the divide with conjunctions. Traditionally, conjunctinalisers have been treated as adverbialisers. As such they are implicitly understood to entail the dependency of the clause they head from a matrix clause (i.e. subordination). However, at present there is still insufficient syntactic evidence to confirm the dependency of clauses headed by conjunctinalisers and, more generally, to investigate the structural properties and differences of conjunctions and conjunctinalisers. Tracing a divide between coordination and subordination in Ainu is a complicated matter and generally conjunctions and conjunctinalisers are implicitly defined as subsuming one or the other on the basis of their contextual uses and translation. In light of these analytical problems and other theoretical ones we will simply talk about 'clause linkers' in this lesson.

Example (1) shows the HA linker *kor* 'while, when' and example (2) shows the SA linker *an-ah* 'if'. As you can see, in both varieties the clause linker follows the predicate of the clause it heads (put in square brackets in the examples below).

- (1) [... *sekor hawean-an*] **kor** *a-wen-hoku-hu* *a-ko-sakayokar*.
ADV speak-4S **while** 4.PSR-be.bad-husband-POSS 4A-APPL-3S.O/insult
'While saying so I insulted my no-good husband.' (Tamura 1985, 30)
- (2) [*Kamuy-ahci* *i-yee* *'an-pe* *nee-no* *hannehka*
god-old.woman 4IO-3S.A/3S.O/say IPFV-NMLZ COP-ADV NEG
'an-kii] **'anah** *wen*.
4A-3S.O/do **if** 3S.S/be.bad
'It [would] be bad if I didn't do as the divine old woman tells me.' (Dal Corso 2021, 409)

→ Consider this additional information...

In HA and SA the clause linker *kusu* is polysemous as it entails both cause or aim. The causal or final reading is established on context. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate the uses of *kusu* with an example from SA.

- (3) [*Eci-mahpo-ho* *pirika*] **kusu** *'eci-'oskoro* *'anahka ...*
2P.PSR-daughter-POSS 3S.S/be.good **CAU.FIN** 3P.A-3S.O/be.jealous if
'If you are jealous of your daughter because she is [so] beautiful...' (Dal Corso 2021, 283)

- (4) [*Nean* *kito-ta-hci* *usi-ke-he* *wooneka-hci*] **kusu**
that 3P.S/kito-collect-COLL 3.PSR/place-PTV-POSS 3P.A/3S.O/check. **CAU.FIN**
situation-COLL
ariki-hci-hi *neampe ...*
3P.S/ come.PL-COLL-NMLZ TOP
'As they went back to check the situation of the place where they collected the *kitos*...' (Dal Corso 2021, 309)

→ Dataset 1 – Semantics of clause linkers

Look at the following examples that feature the HA clause linkers *wa* and *yak* and the SA clause linkers *teh* and *yahka(yki)*. Consider the translations provided, determine the primary meaning of these linkers, and (if needed) try to propose an equivalent translation that would better fit the context. Then give a closer look at the instances of *wa* and *teh*. Are there cases where the meaning of these linkers is not straightforwardly retrievable in translation? How is clause linking rendered instead? What in the Ainu construction can account for this different interpretation and translation?

Set 1.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Arkian yak iociwe kuni eramu.*

'If I come you will think to throw me away.' (OS 1979, line 663)

2. *Apa caka wa ikore.*

'[My mother] opened the door for me.' (Bugueva 2004, 131)

3. *Kusur epitta keman wa aep ka isam.*

'In the whole Kushiro there was a famine and there was no food.' (Tamura 1984, 26)

4. *Ikoonkami wa akoonkami.*

'He greeted me and I greeted him.' (Bugueva 2004, 262)

5. *Ekimnean wa inkar'an sekor yaynuan.*

'I [will] try to go to the mountains [to hunt], I thought.' (Bugueva 2004, 186)

6. *Na ci yak kera pirka.*

'It [will] taste better if it ripens more.' (Tamura 2000, 163)

7. *Tektaksa poka eekar wa [...] kor tasum pirka.*

'You give at least a massage [to the sick person] and [...] the sickness they have gets better.' (Tamura 1984, 12)

8. *Atumamaha opitta munin wa isam.*

'My whole body went rotten.' (Bugueva 2004, 372)

9. *Ienonnoitak yak pirka na!*

'It's good if you pray to me.' (OS 1980, line 480)

Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *'Eerameskari yahka pirikaha.*

'You don't know that, but it's alright!' (Dal Corso 2021, 332)

2. *'Otakata 'ampene ruwehehcin maake teh an.*

'[The animals] had clearly left their footprints on the beach.' (Dal Corso 2021, 309)

3. *Nean henkeutah neyke renkarankorohci yahka neya mahtekuh 'ampene etunne.*

'Those elders agreed [to the wedding], but the young woman [their daughter] really didn't want to.' (Dal Corso 2021, 282)

4. *'Ururukata rikinkehci teh 'ampene 'emus 'ani tatakihci.*

'They lifted [the mouse spirit] up onto the river bank and beat it up with the swords.' (Dal Corso 2021, 336)

5. *Neya cih [...] hesuyehci teh tani 'atuykaene repahci.*

'[The whale-gods] went round the boat and eventually went out to the open sea.' (Dal Corso 2021, 291)

6. *'Ankuu ka hankii teh henkeuta 'ankuure.*

'I didn't drink it and made the men drink it [instead].' (Dal Corso 2021, 206)

7. *Seta neeno tenkorasi yahka pirika.*

'One hugs [a bear cub] like a dog, but it's fine.' (Dal Corso 2021, 196)

16.2 Research

Now look at this other dataset. Additional examples from other languages are not given for this lesson.

→ Dataset 2 – Semantic overlap

Examples in the following dataset feature some other clause linkers: *hine*, *hike*, *ciki*, and *yakun* of HA and *koroka*, *waka(yki)*, *ike*, and *wa* of SA. Background context is given in square brackets below each example. Looking at the translation and at the background context try to explain 1) how *hine* and *hike* are different from *wa*, 2) how *ciki* and *yakun* are different from *yak*, 3) how *koroka* and *waka(yki)* are different from *yahka(yki)*, and 4) how *ike* and *wa* are different from *teh*. For each of these linkers the same English translation is given, but you are free to propose a better one according to the context. What kind of semantic relation between clauses do these four groups of linkers entail?

Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Upascironnup kamuy ane hine okaan.*

'I was a stoat god and [so] I lived.' (Tamura 1985, 58)

[This is the beginning of a tale when the main character introduces himself.]

2. *Ekor rusuy pe an ciki hok!*

'If there's something you want, buy it!' (Tamura 2000, 165)

[The speaker gives a suggestion]

3. *Tektaksa poka eekar wa [...] kor tasum pirka.*

‘You give a massage [to the sick person] and [...] the sickness they have gets better.’
(Tamura 1984, 12)

[The speaker is explaining how to perform a healing massage on a sick person and goes through the phases of the treatment]

4. *Ase aeyayetokoyki hine nea katkemat anak akor poyson kay tek.*

‘I got ready to carry [provisions] and [my] wife carried our small baby on [her] back.’
(Tamura 1985, 26)

[The character of the story is telling about his and his wife’s daily life, making a list of the different activities they used to do]

5. *Pewre okkaypoutar ne yakun pokor wa po resu kusu nepki.*

‘If they are young men, they have children and they work to provide for them.’
(Bugaeva 2004, 249)

[The speaker is imagining how the life of some young men, from whom food has been stolen, must be]

6. *Ienonnoitak yak pirka na!*

‘It’s good if you pray to me.’ (OS 1980, line 480)

[The character is told by a god that he will benefit from praying to him]

7. *Kamuy iyerampokwen kusu ene sikoan humi an sekoyaynuan hike cisan a an a.*

‘“Because the gods had mercy towards me [now] I regained my sight like this!” I thought and continued to cry.’ (Tamura 1985, 8)

[An old lady suddenly gets her eyesight back, a signal that the curse previously cast on the village she comes from has left her, and now that she is able to see again she is overwhelmed with joy]

8. *Ikoonkami wa akoonkami.*

‘He greeted me and I greeted him.’ (Bugaeva 2004, 262)

[The character of the story is welcomed by the owner of a house and he responds likewise upon entering]

9. *Arkian yak iociwe kuni eramu.*

‘If I come you will think to throw me away.’ (OS 1979, line 663)

[A dog explains what it expects if it will follow the owner]

10. *A: Kunu ka eramiskari ruwe tapan na.*

‘I’ve never ever heard [that story].’

B: Yakun kuye wa ecinure kusu ne.

‘If [it’s so], I’ll tell it to you.’ (Tamura 1984, 18)

[Two people are speaking about a story that A has never heard but about which she is curious]

11. *Aynu okkaypone yaykaran hine pasan kane terkean kane sanan.*

‘I turned myself into a human young man and ran downhill leaping.’ (Tamura 1985, 60)

[A stoat god describes how he disguised himself in order to then go meet a human young woman who was walking on a mountain trail and deceive her]

12. *Taan hekaci itakan ciki pirkano enu kus ne na.*

‘Boy, if I speak you should listen well.’ (Bugueva 2004, 205)

[The speaker is about to share important details on his identity with the boy, who is the main character of the story]

Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Seta neeno tenkorasi yahka pirika.*

‘One hugs [a bear cub] like a dog, but it’s fine.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 196)

[Two speakers are talking about a man being bitten by a bear and one says it couldn’t have been a bear cub since they are usually very docile]

2. *‘Oriikawa karakahseka wa ranke.*

‘They made her roll down and threw her from a high place.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 348)

[The narrator tells how some people tried to cure the madness of a young woman]

3. *‘Oniste koroka herohki nee nah ‘an‘eraman kusu sianno keera‘anno ‘an‘ee.*

‘[The flesh] was firm, but I thought they were *herohkis* so I ate them with much pleasure.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 206)

[The speaker is remembering the food she ate at an event and comments on it with a friend]

4. *Oyasine yaykara manu ike ‘atuykaapoka tani ‘ahkas.*

‘She turned into a spirit and eventually roamed across the sea.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 353)

[In this passage the narrator tells how a crazy woman ended up after being thrown at sea]

5. *Neen henkeutah neyke renkarankorohci yahka neya mahtekuh ‘ampene etunne.*

‘Those elders agreed [to the wedding], but the young woman [their daughter] really didn’t want to.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 282)

[In this tale a young woman refuses to get married and turns down all the suitors she has]

6. *Niicauta ‘anse wa sapan.*

‘I carried the tree limbs and went [back].’ (Dal Corso 2021, 167)

[The speaker tells about her activities in the morning]

7. *Neya cih [...] hesuyehci teh tani ‘atuykaene repahci.*

‘[The whale-gods] went round the boat and eventually went out to the open sea.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 291)

[After a father gives away his daughter to a whale god, the group of whales makes its farewell this way before leaving]

8. *Kucasamta sapan teh inuan [...] ike suke hum annu.*

'I proceeded down to the hut and listened [...] and I heard the sound of cooking.'
(Pilsudski 1912, 134)

[The character of the tale tells the moments before he met with a she bear that had disguised herself as his wife.]

9. *Ramma ray 'aynu ka 'anhi nee waka sihnu utah tani 'emuyke situsahci.*

'There [had] certainly been people who [had] died, but all the people who [had] survived eventually recovered.' (Dal Corso 2021, 337)

[The characters of the story manage to avoid a famine to get worse by bringing food to people in need, who escape from death thanks to it]

10. *'Anrekucihi kayki [...] 'araka nee koroka kahkemah simma oman kusu [...] 'ariki'anhi nee ko.*

'I also had a sore throat, but because the young woman (= our friend) leaves tomorrow [...] I came, you see.' (Dal Corso 2021, 177)

[The speaker stresses how much it meant to her to be present at the last recording session before the collector of the data (i.e. the young woman) returned home]

11. *'Ururukata rikinkehci teh 'ampene 'emus 'ani tatakihci.*

'They lifted [the mouse spirit] up onto the river bank and beat it up with the swords.'
(Dal Corso 2021, 336)

[After catching the evil spirit that had stolen the village's provisions, a group of men kills it]

12. *Anemakankehe ne numan eperay wakayki ekoyaykus.*

'I sent you [there and] yesterday you fished, but you couldn't [catch anything].'
(Pilsudski 1912, 197)

[A god, who had disguised himself as a fish, reveals his plan to the character of the story]

16.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 300 words give an overview of the semantics of the clause linkers *wa*, *hine*, *hike*, *ciki*, *yak*, and *yakun* in HA and *koroka*, *yahka(yki)*, *waka(yki)*, *ike*, *teh*, and *wa* in SA. Include relevant examples from the sets above where needed.

- What kind of semantic relation do they entail?
- Are there formally different but semantically equivalent linkers in HA and SA?
- The same English translation is given for groups of clause linkers in the examples in Set 2. Do the items in these groups show any difference? If yes, how are they different and what alternative translation would you propose to better highlight the semantic relation they express?
- Within each variety, are there linkers that appear to be semantically identical?
- Return on the examples in Set 1 where *wa* and *teh* are not translated directly into English. How do these clause linkers contribute with their meaning to the expression? How can this be insightful with regards to the function of *wa* and *teh* as clause linkers?

