Watch out you might miss the apprehensive!
Marine Vuillermet, Université Lyon2 – DDL/CNRS
marinevui@yahoo.fr

0. Introduction

0.1. Purpose of the paper

- Describe the semantics and the morphology of the apprehensive modality suffix in Ese Ejja (§1)

(1) \textit{Ixya-ka'-yo-chana-mi!}
\begin{align*}
et-3A-TEL-APPR-2ABS & \\
\text{‘Watch out he’ll eat you! (the devil that we hear whistling at night)’}. \text{(soo\_cre\_014)}
\end{align*}

- Review the terminology used in various languages (§2.1) –’lest’ clauses, apprehensive, évitatif (avoiditive?), timitive, admonitive

- Underline the necessity to differentiate the various functions (§2.2) of the same functional “apprehensional” domain (Dixon 1977: 350ff.) sometimes grouped together

0.2. The Ese Ejja language

- Ese ejja [ese?exa], a Tacanan language

- Over 1000 Ese Ejja in Bolivia\textsuperscript{1} - relatively high vitality in Bolivia (intergenerational transmission preserved). Also spoken in Peru.

Map 1: Approximate location of Ese Ejja communities in Peru and in Bolivia

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1} According to data of the OIPE (Organización Indígena del Pueblo Ese Ejja) and of community organization collected by Alexiades (p.c 2010), there were 209 families in 2008, i.e. more than 1000 people for an average of 5 people per family.}
0.3. Essentials of Ese Ejja grammar

- Ergative alignment marked by
  i. Case marking (clitics)  A ‘ERG’ = (y)a  P/U ‘ABS’ = Ø.

  Transitive: Agent ‘ERG’ = a  Patient ‘ABS’ = Ø
  (2) Dokwey ‘ay=a esho’i=Ø jya’okya-jya-ka-ani.
  deer-big=ERG child=ABS throw.down-caresslessly-3A-PRS
  ‘The big deer threw off the child (from its horn).’ (baw_FWA18.001)

  Intransitive: Unique argument ‘ABS’ = Ø
  (3) Dokwey=Ø kwaji-kwaji-ney-ney-ani.
  deer=ABS run-RED-INTS-RED-PRS
  ‘The deer ran very fast.’ (SFWA.050)

- ‘Neutral’ verb final word order UV/ APV (not rigid)
- Agglutinative language
- Prodrop language

1. The apprehensive modality marker –chana

1.1. –chana morphology

- TAM-suffix (in the obligatory Tense/Modality slot): no bare root allowed in Ese Ejja

  (4) a. Apprehensive (repeated)
     Ixya-ka-’yo-chana=mi!
     eat-3A-TEL-APPR=2ABS
     ‘Watch out he’ll eat you!’ (soo_cre.014)

  Tense
  b. Present
     O=wa=ya  ixya-ka-(a)ni.
     3=ERG=FOC  eat-3A-PRS
     ‘He eats (fish)’ (kox_ani.070)

  c. Remote past
     Ejyoxi=xe  ixya-ka-pwa.
     foot=PERL  eat-3A-RPST
     ‘(the spider) bit him in the foot’ (ino_basha.005)

  Modality
  d. Potential
     Bibya=a  pya’ay ese=a  ixya-ka-’yo-me.
     jaguar=ERG also 2INCL.ABS=FOC  eat-3A-TEL-POT
     ‘The jaguar can (potentially) eat us.’ (soo_cre.044)

  e. Imperative
     Ixya-ixya-kwe!

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2 Except for the posture verbs, which represent a special subset of verbs. See Vuillermet 2008, 2009 for more details.
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eat-RED\(^3\)-IMP
‘Eat!’ (fieldnotes)

1.2. –chana semantics

- Two dimensional: a highly potential event (= epistemic) is viewed by the speaker as highly undesirable (= deontic)
- “Modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event.” Palmer (2001: 1)… little “obscure status” of apprehensive within modality (ibid: 13)

Spontaneous texts

(5)  Koya eshawa wowi-ani mekaxe ixya-’yo-chana-mi!
be.careful devil whistle-PRS at.night eat-3A-TEL-APPR-2ABS
‘Be careful, the devil whistles at night, he might eat you!’ (soo_cre.013-14)

(6)  Koya ese=ya mimijaji-maxe
be.careful 1INCL.ABS=FOC gossip-TMP.SS

Ese’ejja= a mano-mee-ka-’yo-chana, jyoxi-kwya-ka-’yo-chana.
Ese’ejja=ERG sick-CAUS-3A-TEL-APPR foot-squeeze-3A-TEL-APPR
‘When we (Ese’ejja) speak bad, Ese’ejja might make (people) die, might charm their footprint!’ (soo_cre.077-78)

(7)  Biya biya biya biya! Kekwa-ka-chana mi=ya!
bee bee bee bee pierce-3-APPR 2ABS=FOC
‘Beeeeeee! Watch out it might bite you!’ (ern_esh)

fieldnotes

(8)  Mi=ya kwya-chana!
2ABS=FOC squeeze-APPR
‘Watch out I might hit you!’ (fieldnotes)

elicited

(9)  Marina=a sii-ka-chana mikye=sipi.
M.=ERG steal-3A-APPR 2GEN=carpet.weaven
‘Watch out Marine might steal your weaven carpet’ (KEli070519.c)

(10) Yonalia=a kwya-ka-chana Bella.
Y.=ERG squeeze-3A-APPR B.
‘Watch out Yonalia might hit Bella!’ (KEli070519.c’)

Ese Ejja writings

(11)  O’i jjo niñe-ma po-chana!
elder.brother PTCL lucky-PRIV AUX.INTR-APPR
(ctx: The Sloth woman is the lover of the elder brother. He goes hunting game for her every time before they have sex. The younger brother is trying to rape the Sloth-woman. To convince him not to rape her she says) ‘Elder brother might get unlucky (when hunting)!’ (bemashapona libreto)

SIL booklet

child medicine APF-many eat-carelessly-TMP.SS go-FINISH-TAM
‘If a child eats medicine (he should not eat), he might die (lit: go for good).’

\(^3\) Reduplication here is only a detransitivizing device, allowing for unspecified argument.
• Not very frequent in texts (monologues): 4 examples from spontaneous texts out of 9 examples

1.3. To be distinguished from...

Imperative
• Not an “imperative future”: OK for 1st and 3rd person
(13) French
\[\text{Ne va pas tomber!}\]
\text{NEG go/PROX.FUT.AUX.IMP NEG fall}

‘ Might you not fall.’

Ese Ejja ‘apprehensional’ constructions with different scope
• Not a subordinate clause ‘SO.AS.NOT.TO’
(14) a. \[\text{Jaawana-kwe [e-kiyo-’yo \text{kwanixe}].}\]
care.after-IMP RES-hot-TEL PURP.NEG
‘Look after him so that he does not burn himself.’ (elicited)

b. \[\text{Banco wana-naje [kachina e-nobiki-xi \text{kwanixe}].}\]
bench lay.down-PST chicken RES-enter-NML PURP.NEG
‘I put the bench down (against the door) so that the chicken would not enter.’
(elicited)

• Not an adposition ‘FOR.FEAR.OF’
(15) a. \[\text{Iñawewa kwaji-kwaji-ani [biya]=yaxajo.}\]
dog run-RED-PRS bee=FOR.FEAR.OF
‘The dog is running for fear of the bees.’ (elicited)

b. \[\text{Esho’i ‘oke-’yo-naje [pexepexe]=yaxajo}\]
child fall-TEL-PST owl=FOR.FEAR.OF
‘The child fell down for fear of the owl.’ (ep_FAW.033)

Table 1: ‘Apprehensional’ functions (following Dixon 1977: 350ff.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>scope</th>
<th>morpheme in Ese Ejja</th>
<th>English paraphrases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(independent) clause</td>
<td>-chana ‘APPR’</td>
<td>Watch out you might miss the apprehensive!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subordinate clause</td>
<td>-kwanixe ‘SO.AS.NOT.TO’</td>
<td>(Listen carefully) so as not to miss the apprehensive!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>=yaxajo ‘FOR.FEAR.OF’</td>
<td>(Stay here) for fear of missing the apprehensive!</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. Cross-linguistically
2.1. Where which terminology?

Australia
• ‘lest’ type constructions typical for Australian languages (Dixon 2002:86ff.):
• Yidin: two “apprehensional constructions” (a ‘fear’ inflection and a ‘lest’ inflection)
  Dixon (1977: 349ff.)
• See also Austin (1981:188) for Diyari or Dench (1988) for Martuthunira: ‘lest’
  (subordinate) clauses
Melanesia (Oceania subregion)
- Mwotlap (Autronesian) (François 2003): “évitatif” (avoiditive?); frequent in the Melanesian area (ibid: 302)
- Hyslop (2001: 251) and a “apprehensive” bo for Ambae, Lichtenberk 1995 and the “apprehensive epistemics” for To’abaita (both cited in François 2003: 302)
- but ‘timitive mood’ in Lichtenberk (2008) for the same language (following Palmer 2001)

North East Amazonia
- Tiriyó (Carib) (Meira 1999: 317): ‘admonitive’ (today) suffix

Northwest Amazonia
- Tariana (Arawak) (Aikhenvald 2003: 384ff.): two “apprehensive” clitics and one syntactic construction
- Also present in East Tucano languages (ibid)
- Hup (Makú) (Epps 2008: 630.ff): ‘apprehensive’ mood (zero morpheme)

Southwest Amazonia
- Apprehensive modality suffix in Ese Ejja (Takana) –not reported in sister language Cavineña (Guillaume 2008)
- Mojeño Trinitario (South Arawakan) (Rose 2010): apprehensive

Table 2: Terminology in different areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Melanesia</th>
<th>Amazonia</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘lest’ (subordinate) clauses</td>
<td>apprehensive</td>
<td>apprehensive</td>
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<td>apprehensional constructions</td>
<td>apprehensive epistemics</td>
<td>admonitive</td>
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<td>avoiditive</td>
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<td></td>
<td>timitive mood</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.2. What to check?

Imperative?

Which scope?
- Dixon (1977: 349ff.): two different morphemes for the same functional domain
  - a ‘fear’ inflection on noun phrase
  - a ‘lest’ inflection on subordinate clause (typical for Australian languages Dixon: 1977)
- Further distinction in Ese Ejja

Independent or main clause?
- Amazonian languages
  - in Hup (Epps 2008:330): main clause usage
  - in Tiriana (Aikhenvald 2003: 385)
    - semantically: both dependant or main clause usage
    - morphologically: no overt marker of subordination
    - syntactically: apprehensive (main) clause + causative subordinate (see (5) for the same argument with apprehensive main clause + temporal sub.)
  - Ese Ejja: distinction of both –chana (modality marker) and kwanixe (neg. purp. clause)

- Australian and Melanesian languages
  - in Diyari (Austin 1981: 188ff.): ”serve to indicate some situation which the speaker considers to be unpleasant and which should be avoided.”
  - ‘Occasionally, ‘lest’ clauses are found where there appears to be no main clause to
which they are subordinated.” (ibid: 225) “These sentences may be regarded as structurally subordinate because it is always possible to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary.”

- in *Yidin* (Dixon 1977:350): “A ‘lest’ subordinate clause refers to an undesirable event that some person or thing referred to in the main clause might get involved in. The main clause will describe action that can be taken to try to avoid this.”
  → *a few cases with ‘no common NP’* (ibid:354)
- in *Mwotlap* (François 2003): instrinsic relationality, pragmatic dependency

- **Caucasian: Akhvakh** (North Caucasian) (Creissels, pc. January 2010): extension of the conditional **subordinate** clause into a apprehensive subordinate clause, also used as an independent clause (insubordination)

**Apprehensive + evidentiality**
- Aikhenvald (2003b): evidential distinction in *Tariana* –rare but also reported for *Nivkh* (Gruzdeva 1992)\(^4\)
  - visual apprehensive
  - non visual apprehensive
  - remote or indirect evidence apprehensive

**Negative clause?**
- Intrinsic positivity argued by François (2003: 303): (rare but) possible negation
- No possibility of negation (Aikhenvald 2003a)
- Ese Ejja? further investigation needed

### 3. Conclusions

- Need to distinguish 3 different functions (different scope):
  - an adposition (noun phrase)
  - a type of subordinator? (subordinate)
  - a modality marker ‘**APPREHENSIVE**’ (independent clause)

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<th>proposed close</th>
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<td>(independent) clause</td>
<td>-chana</td>
<td>‘<strong>APPR</strong>’</td>
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<td>‘APPREHENSIVE’</td>
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<tr>
<td>subordinate clause</td>
<td>-kwansixe</td>
<td>‘SO.AS.NOT.TO’</td>
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<td>‘AVOIDATIVE?’</td>
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<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>=yaxajo</td>
<td>‘FOR.FEAR.OF’</td>
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<td>‘<strong>TIMITIVE</strong>’</td>
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</tbody>
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- further investigation will focus on
  - collecting more data in Ese Ejja
  - the areal ‘presence’ and detailed features of this morpheme

\(^4\) Cited in Aikhenvald (2003b). Unfortunately, I cannot retrieve the exact reference (a Russian title). Nivkh is a language of Siberia.
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References
Hyslop, C. 2001. The Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae Language, Vanuatu. Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University,
2009. "Ese ejja posture verbs can't stand still (and sometimes side step)". CILLA IV, Austin, TX, (October 29-31th).
## Gloses

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<th>A</th>
<th>ABS</th>
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<th>AUX</th>
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