

# Watch out you might miss the apprehensive!

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## 0. Introduction

### 0.1. Purpose of the paper

- Describe the semantics and the morphology of the **apprehensive modality suffix** in Ese Ejja (§1)
- (1) *Ixya-ka-'yo-chana-mi!*  
eat-3A-TEL-APPR-2ABS  
'Watch out he'll eat you! (the devil that we hear whistling at night)'. (soo\_cre\_014)
- Review the **terminology** used in various languages (§2.1) –'lest' clauses, apprehensive, évitativ (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 [eseʔexa], a Tacanan language
- Over 1000 Ese Ejja in Bolivia<sup>1</sup> - **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



<sup>1</sup> 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’ = $\emptyset$ .
  - ii. Verbal indexation of 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. Agent (sg/pl)    ‘3.A’ -*ka*

Transitive: Agent ‘ERG’ = *a* ; Patient ‘ABS’ =  $\emptyset$

- |  |                                      |                                |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>A</i>   | <i>P</i>                             | <i>V</i>                       |
| (2) <i>Dokwey-'ay=a</i>  | <i>esho'i=<math>\emptyset</math></i> | <i>jya'okya-jya-ka-ani.</i>    |
| 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’ =  $\emptyset$

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>U</i>                                 | <i>V</i>                        |
| (3) <i>Dokwey=<math>\emptyset</math></i> | <i>kwaji-kwaji-ney-ney-ani.</i> |
| 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<sup>2</sup>
- (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=x*e* 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!*

<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup>-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-ka-'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  
'Beeeeeeee! 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

(12) *Ebakwa eshikwixi kya-wiso ixya-jya-maxe poki-jeyo-chana.*  
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).'

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<sup>3</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person

#### (13) French

*Ne va pas tomber!*  
 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. *Jaawana-kwe [e-kiyo-'yo kwanixe].*  
 care.after-IMP RES-hot-TEL PURP.NEG  
 ‘Look after him so that he does not burn himself.’ (elicited)

b. *Banco wana-naje [kachina e-nobiki-xi 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. *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. *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.)**

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

## 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

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### 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**

Australia	Melanesia	Amazonia
‘lest’ (subordinate) clauses apprehensional constructions	apprehensive apprehensive epistemics avoiditive timitive mood	apprehensive admonitive

## 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)

→ Dixon’s translations: ‘lest’, ‘might’, ‘since otherwise’, ‘in case’ (ibid: 351)

- in **Mwotlap** (François 2003): intrinsic 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** (Gruzedva 1992)<sup>4</sup>
  - 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**)

**Table 3 : Summary of the three types of morphemes to distinguish**

scope	morpheme in Ese Ejja	proposed glose
(independent) clause	<b>-chana</b> ‘ <b>APPR</b> ’	‘ <b>APPREHENSIVE</b> ’
subordinate clause	-kwanixe ‘SO.AS.NOT.TO’	‘AVOIDATIVE?’
noun phrase	=yaxajo ‘FOR.FEAR.OF’	‘TIMITIVE?’

- further investigation will focus on
  - collecting more data in Ese Ejja
  - the areal ‘presence’ and detailed features of this morpheme

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Aikhenvald (2003b). Unfortunately, I cannot retrieve the exact reference (a Russian title). Nivkh is a language of Siberia.

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## **Gloses**

A	agent	RPST	remote past
ABS	absolutive	P	patient
APPR	apprehensive	PERL	perlative
AUX	auxiliary	POT	potential
CAUS	causative	PRS	present
DS	different subject	PST	past
ERG	ergative	PTCL	particule
FOC	focus	PURP	purpose
FUT	future	RED	reduplication
GEN	genitive	RES	resultative
IMM.FUT	immediate future	SS	same subject
IMP	imperative	TEL	telic
INCL	inclusive	TMP	temporal sub.
INTR	intransitive	U	unique argument
INTS	intensifier	1	1 <sup>st</sup> person
NEG	negation	2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
NML	nominalizer	3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person