The apprehensional domain in A'ingae (Kofán)

Recent work such as Vuillermet (2018) has identified at least three different kinds of morphemes encoding fear or apprehension grammatically (collectively known as apprehensionals): apprehensives, avertive or precautioning morphemes, and timitives. While Vuillermet (2018) shows that Ese Ejja has 3 distinct morphemes for these functions, many other languages have morphemes which can be used for more than one of these functions.

This paper explores this functional domain in A'ingae (Kofán, Cofán), a language isolate spoken by roughly 2000 people in northeast Ecuador and southern Colombia. It has one apprehensional morpheme =sa'ne, a phrasal enclitic. The morpheme's primary function is *avertive*. The phrase to which =sa'ne encliticizes is used to convey that a possible state of affairs is an undesirable one.

Previous work on verbal morphology such as Fischer and Hengeveld (t.a.) mentions =sa'ne but does not locate it within the morphological template for verb phrases. We show that the avertive =sa'ne does not co-occur with the irrealis suffix -ya or the negative clitic =mbi. Yet, =sa'ne clauses can scope over aspect and subject agreement for number. As the infinitival subordinate clauses display the exact same distributional properties, we suggest that the precautionary =sa'ne clauses are paradigmatically related to the infinitivals and thus subordinate to the preemptive ones.

=sa'ne clauses can also occur as stand-alone sentences, instantiating the apprehensive function. Since the apprehensives are far rarer than the avertives, and such =sa'ne clauses have the subordinate characteristics found in avertive uses, we explore the hypothesis that they ought to be considered as instances of insubordination (Evans 2007, Mithun 2008), where historically subordinate forms give rise to matrix clauses. This position is further supported by the use of =sa'ne as a complementizer of sorts with certain predicates such as dyuju 'fear' and ansa'nge 'be ashamed', an extension noted in some languages previously (e.g. Lichtenberk 1995 for Toqabaqita).

In addition to its avertive and apprehensive functions, we address the question of whether =sa'ne has timitive uses as well, where it scopes only over a noun phrase (cf. English 'for fear of'). Borman's (1976, p. 36) dictionary claims that =sa'ne can be used with clauses as well as noun phrases, where it encodes danger or need of care, although no examples are given. While rare, we confirm this finding based on a handful of naturalistic examples.

We conclude, then, that the A'ingae apprehensional =*sa'ne* has all three of avertive, apprehensive, and timitive functions, as well as the fear-complement use. Like Marrithiyel, A'ingae can therefore be found at a far end of the typological spectrum, opposite of Ese Ejja whereby each of the three apprehensional functions has a dedicated morpheme (Green 1989, cited in Vuillermet 2018).

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