

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, 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 which occurs in what can descriptively be regarded as instances of all three of these uses, (1-3), including both in-case and avertive. Additionally, =*sa'ne* also can be used a complementizer of sorts with certain predicates such as *dyuju* 'fear' and *ansange* 'be ashamed', an extension noted in some languages previously (e.g. Lichtenberk 1995 for Toqabaqita), as in (4). Finally, it also displays a similar use in (5) in which it expresses the speaker's fear or apprehension in absence of a predicate of fear.

The only previous major work on verbal morphology, Fischer and Hengeveld (t.a.), lists =*sa'ne* as a negative purpose marker, but does not say anything further about its interpretation or syntactic properties. We present several arguments that the clauses to which =*sa'ne* attaches are syntactically subordinate clauses. First, like other subordinate clauses in A'ingae, second position person clitics like first person =*ngi* in the matrix clause in (4) are not grammatical within them. Second, the clause to which =*sa'ne* attaches is rigidly verb/predicate-final, which Fischer and Hengeveld (t.a.) argue is a property only true of subordinate clauses in the language. Third, we can find semantically embedded cases like (4) in which the interpretation (specifically the interaction with negation) argues against a paratactic analysis. The full paper gives additional arguments as well as comparing =*sa'ne* clauses with other subordinate forms including purpose clauses and related clauses introduced by *kûintsû*, infinitives with =*ye*, and negative purpose clauses formed periphrastically with the negative adverbial clitic =*mbe* plus *kan* 'see'.

Having argued for the syntactically subordinate status of =*sa'ne* clauses, we analyze their much less frequent apprehensive (1) and matrix fear uses like (5) as instances of insubordination (Evans 2007, Mithun 2008), where historically subordinate forms give rise to matrix clauses. Based on the potential for a final second position clitic, we argue that true insubordination and more context-sensitive ellipsis can be distinguished. Finally, we propose that the (also infrequent) timitive uses like (3), noted by Borman's (1976, p. 36) dictionary, arise from coercion of the nominal into a clause-like meaning facilitated by the use of event-denoting nominals and rich discourse contexts that provide a salient related event (here, the injury becoming an infected wound).

In sum, we argue that =*sa'ne* has two primary uses: precautioning uses where it introduces an adverbial subordinate clause and fear complement uses where it introduces an argument subordinate clause with monoclausal uses related to these via insubordination or coercion.

- (1) [Tsa'khû=ma sefa-en]=sa'ne.
water=ACC use.up-CAUS=APPR
'Watch out, you might use up all the water!' **Apprehensive**
(Lit. 'Lest you use up the water')
- (2) Se'je-an-ngi='fa=ja [pa=ve da]=sane.
cure-CAUS-CIS=PL=IMPER die=ACC2 become=APPR
'Come here lest you die.' **Precautioning**
- (3) Seje-'je='a'khe tsû anga-ya='chu seje-'su=ni [khû'khû=thi tûi'khû]=sa'ne.
cure-IPFV=ADD 3 bring-IRR=SUB cure-REL=LOC wound=LOC pus=APPR
'For curing it, one should bring it to a doctor, lest [it become] an infected wound.' **Timitive**
- (4) Ansenge=mbi=ngi [ña=ma feña]=sa'ne.
ashamed=NEG=1 1SG=ACC laugh=APPR
'I'm not afraid of him laughing at' **Fear complementizer**
- (5) **Context:** You arrive to the classroom and see that I look worried or upset about something, but don't know what. We make eye contact and I say to you:
[Ña amigo=ma iyikhaye-n]=sa'ne
1SG friend=ACC anger-CAUS=APPR
'I'm worried/afraid I angered my friend' **Matrix Fear**

References

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