

Apprehensive vs. Precautioning clauses

Workshop on precautioning clauses: lest we miss them

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The apprehensional domain

- 2 key features: high probability & undesirability
- 4 functions to encode an **apprehension-causing situation / entity** (Lichtenberk 1995; Vuillermet 2018)

Table 1. Four functions identified for the apprehensional domain

	English equivalent	Marrithiyel Green 1989	Toqabaqita Lichtenberk 1995	Ese Ejja Vuillermet 2018
APPREHENSIVE (APPR.-EPISTEMICS)	(I am afraid) he might fall	<i>fang</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>-chana</i>
PRECAUTIONING	He grabbed him lest he fall	<i>fang</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>e-V kwanijje</i>
FEAR COMPLEMENTATION	He was afraid, lest he fall		<i>ada</i>	non.finite V=LOC mistaken belief contrs.
TIMITIVE	He ran away for fear of her	<i>fang</i>		<i>=yajjajo</i>

Ese Ejja (Pano-Takanan, Bolivia; Vuillermet 2018)

(1)

APPREHENSIVE

*Kekwa-ka-**chana** miya!*

pierce-3A-**APPR** 2SG.ABS

'Watch out (this bee) might sting you!'

Apprehension-causing
clause

(2)

PRECAUTIONING

Preemptive clause

E-'bakwa kawii-mee-ka-ani jjanijji=jo

NPF-child sleep-CAUS-3A-PRS mosquito_net=LOC

['di=a o=e-kekwa-ka pwanijje].

mosquito=ERG 3ABS-**PREC**-pierce-3A **PREC**

Apprehension-causing
clause

'She has her child sleep under a mosquito net lest mosquitoes sting him.' [NTM ms]

Toqabaqita (Austronesian, Solomon Islands; Lichtenberk 1995)

(3) APPREHENSIVE

Ada wane ka 'arungi kulu.

APPR rain it:SEQ see me

'(I fear) that the man **might** see me.'

(4) PRECAUTIONING

<i>Nau</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>agwa</i>	<i>'i</i>	<i>baira</i>	<i>fau</i>
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I	IFACT	hide	at	behind	rock
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ada wane ka 'arungi kulu.

APPR rain it:SEQ see me

'I hid behind a rock so that **lest** the man see me.'

Marrithiyel (Western Daly, Australia; Green 1989:80; 170)

(5) APPREHENSIVE

gu-n-ning-pirr-∅-fang

3S.REAL-go-1SGO.NSG.NIRR.S-leave-3PL-**APPR**

‘(I’m afraid) they might leave me.’

(6) PRECAUTIONING:

<i>tharr</i>	<i>guwa-mirrmirr</i>	<i>garri</i>	<i>mitik-a /</i>
thing	3sg.SUBJ.REAL.stand-thunder	3sg.SUBJ.NFEM.rrri	extinguish-PST

watjan ambi gu-iwinj-sjang-∅-fang

dog NEG 3NSG.SUBJ.REAL-3NSG-hear-3pl-**APPR**

‘He turned off the “thundering thing” (the generator), lest they not hear the dogs.’

Apprehensives & preemptive actions

Ese Ejja (Vuillermet 2018)

(7) *Piajja=koma!* *Shiwi-'io-**chana**=mi!* *Jama=owe*
bad=DISC slim-TEL-**APPR**=2ABS this.way=DISC

<i>a-kwe</i>	<i>'ba'a!</i>
do-IMP	SEE

'But this is unhealthy! Watch out you'll slim down! Look, do it that way!'

(8)

<i>A'a</i>	<i>María</i>	<i>wowi-jji,</i>	<i>poki-chana!</i>
PROH	M.	tell-PROH	go- APPR

'don't tell her, (beware of that) she may come along!' [volunt]

Lichtenberk's (1995) account

- **Apprehensional-epistemics** as a mixed-modality marker (p.295)
- the **Precautioning function** “connect[s] a clause encoding an apprehension-causing situation to a preceding clause encoding a [preemptive] situation” (p. 298)

→ Nature of the link?

Apprehensives & preemptive actions

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'But this is unhealthy! Watch out you'll slim down! Look, do it that way!'

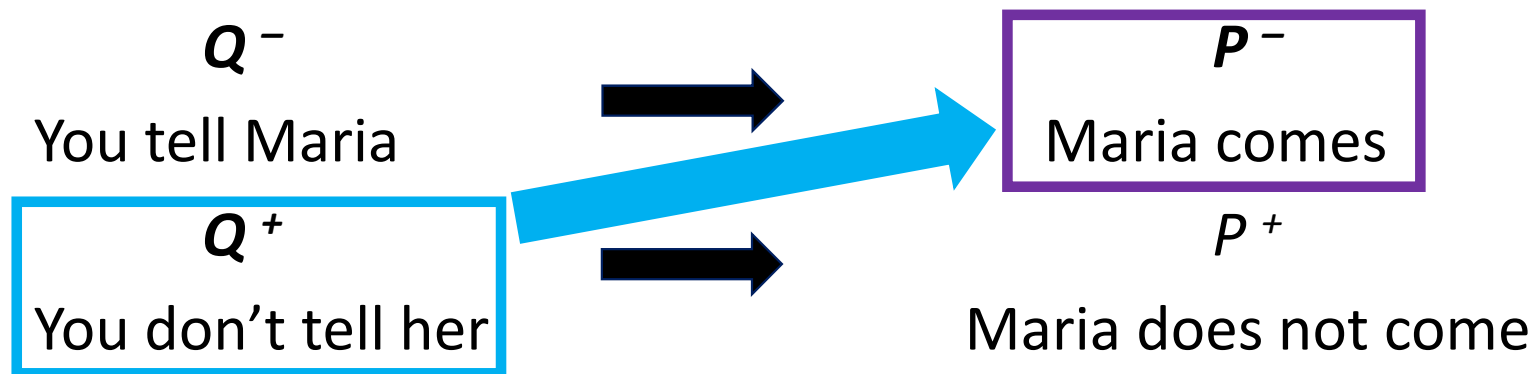
(8) *A'a* *María* *wowi-jji,* *poki-**chana**!*
PROH M. tell-PROH go-**APPR**

'don't tell her, (beware of that) she may come along!' [volunt]

Very strong pragmatic link

- François (2003:304ff.); Schultze-Berndt & Angelo (2017; 2018 SWL)

Figure 1. Adapted from François' (2003:307) "*carré logique de l'Evitatif*"



Wardaman (Yangmanic)

Merlan (2003:102)

“Evitative (...) **is usually preceded by a clause expressing what ought to be done** to avoid those results: ‘do X, lest Y (evitative)’. But the evitative is also used more broadly, that is, **not preceded by a clause** saying what ought to be done; so that, by itself, the evitative simply expresses some possible events which is deemed undesirable.”

Wardaman (Merlan 1994:295)

(9) Precautioning (dependent) use

<i>yirrb-a</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yiwarlng</i>	<i>wiya-warang</i>	<i>wu-boban</i>
remove-PS	AUX	clothes-ABS	water-having-ABS	WU-dry-ABS
<i>guwe</i>	<i>yi-ni-ngegbi</i>	<i>bujun</i>	<i>warlad</i>	
don	IRR-2SG-AUX	<i>lest</i>	sick	

'Take off your clothes, they're wet, put on dry ones, lest you get sick'.

(10) Apprehensive (independent) use

<i>bujun</i>	<i>nunu-jologbi</i>	<i>lagla-ya</i>	<i>warlgin-(n)ya</i>
<i>lest</i>	IRR2NSG-urinate.FUT	camp-LOC	bed-LOC

'You might pee in your bed!'

Diyari (Pama-Nyungan)

Austin (1981:232; my emphasis):

“There are a number of examples (...) where a verb is inflected for ‘lest’ and yet **there appears to be no main clause to which it is dependent**. That is, *-yathi* **appears** to function as a **main clause verb suffix**. Nevertheless, in all the examples (...) it is clear from the context that **an ‘understood’ imperative, warning or suggestion is implicit**; the ‘lest’ clause simply expresses an unhappy or harmful consequence and the cause of it or precautions necessary to avoid it are clear and need not be expressed.”

- Other cues:
 - *-yathi* ‘lest’ being morphologically closer to the mood markers
 - only subordinate with no SR marking

Dyirbal (Pama-Nyungan)

- Dixon (1972): no mention of the independent use
- Verstraete (2006:201-202)
 - APPR similar to the other TAM in terms of verb marking
 - Almost all other languages in Verstraete's sample have an independent use
→ a 'dependent mood'

Marrithiyel: speaker vs. MC subject

- Green (1989:168), contrasting the independent and dependent uses
 - “**In subordinate /fang/ the speaker simply reports the apprehension of the main clause subject** without himself endorsing or otherwise commenting on the feeling.”
 - “**In independent clauses, /fang/ expresses the speaker’s view** that the event is undesirable.”

Marrithiyel (Western Daly, Australia; Green 1989:80; 170)

(11) APPREHENSIVE: **SPEAKER'S FEAR**

*gu-n-ning-pirr-**Ø-fang***

3S.REAL-go-1SGO.NSG.NIRR.S-leave-3PL-**APPR**

'(I'm afraid) they **might** leave me.'

(12) PRECAUTIONING: **MC SUBJECT'S FEAR**

tharr guwa-mirrmirr

garri

mitik-a /

thing 3sg.SUBJ.REAL.stand-thunder 3sg.SUBJ.NFEM.rrri

extinguish-PST

*watjan ambi gu-iwinj-sjang-**Ø-fang***

dog NEG 3NSG.SUBJ.REAL-3NSG-hear-3pl-**APPR**

'He turned off the the generator, lest they not hear the dogs.'

Intra-clausal markers and...

- If no relational markers, then how is the interclausal relation notified? (Verstraete 2006:217)
 - Pragmatic effect
 - Intonation
 - “Turn off the generator **APPRL_{SBD}** they might not hear the dogs!”
 - < “Turn off the generator! **APPRL_{MC}** they might not hear the dogs!”
 - ? He turned off the generator; “watch out they might not hear the dogs!”
- Strategies to repair for perspective mismatch: agent binding relator
 - “linguistic evidential” in Ngiyambaa (Pama-Nyungan; Donaldson 1980:285)

Reported speech construction in Matsés (Pano-Takanan)

(13) *uesnid* *chimadësh* *pe-en-quio* *ic-e-c*
curassow gizzard eat-Neg-Aug Aux-Npast-Indic
[*shëta* *nën-mane* *que-shun*]
[tooth hurt-**APPR** **say**-after:S/A> A]

‘(Matses) do not eat curassow gizzards **lest** their tooth hurt.’

< Matses do not eat curassow gizzards, after saying: “I might tooth-hurt”

(Fleck 2003:439)

- Similar strategies reported in Tariana (Arawakan; Aikhenvald 2003:386;453ff.), in Mehweb (Nakh-Daghestanian; Dobrushina & Daniel 2018 SLE), in **Thulung Rai (Lahaussois 2018 SWL)**, in **Japhug (Jacques 2018 SWL)**

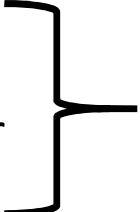
Criteria suggestion

- An apprehensional marker displays a **precautioning (*lest*) function**
 1. if the judgement of the undesirable possibility of the apprehension causing-situation is bound to the subject of the main clause.

'He turned off the generator, lest they not hear the dogs.'
= judge of undesirable possibility

2. if the main clause has a 3rd person subject and does not convey the speaker assessment.

⚠ I turned off the generator
⚠ Turn off the generator
⚠ He should turn off the generator
⚠ Don't be loud

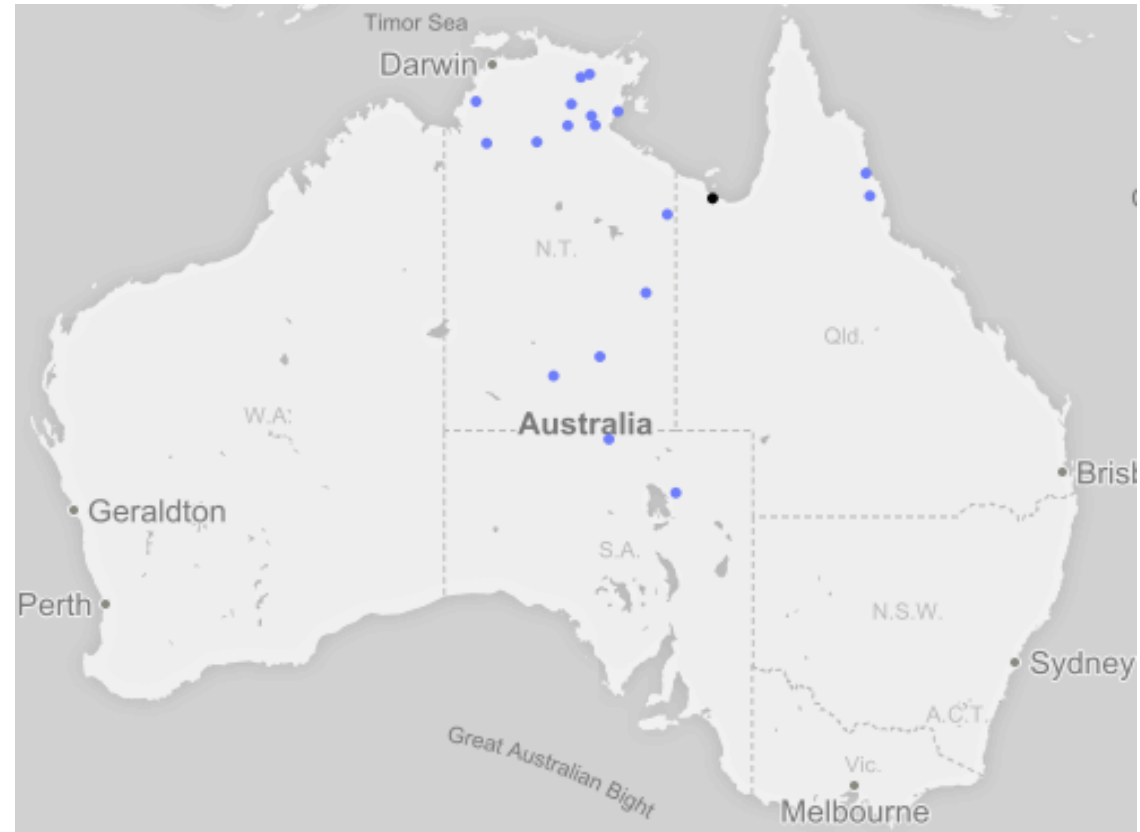


lest they not hear the dogs.

Apprehensives



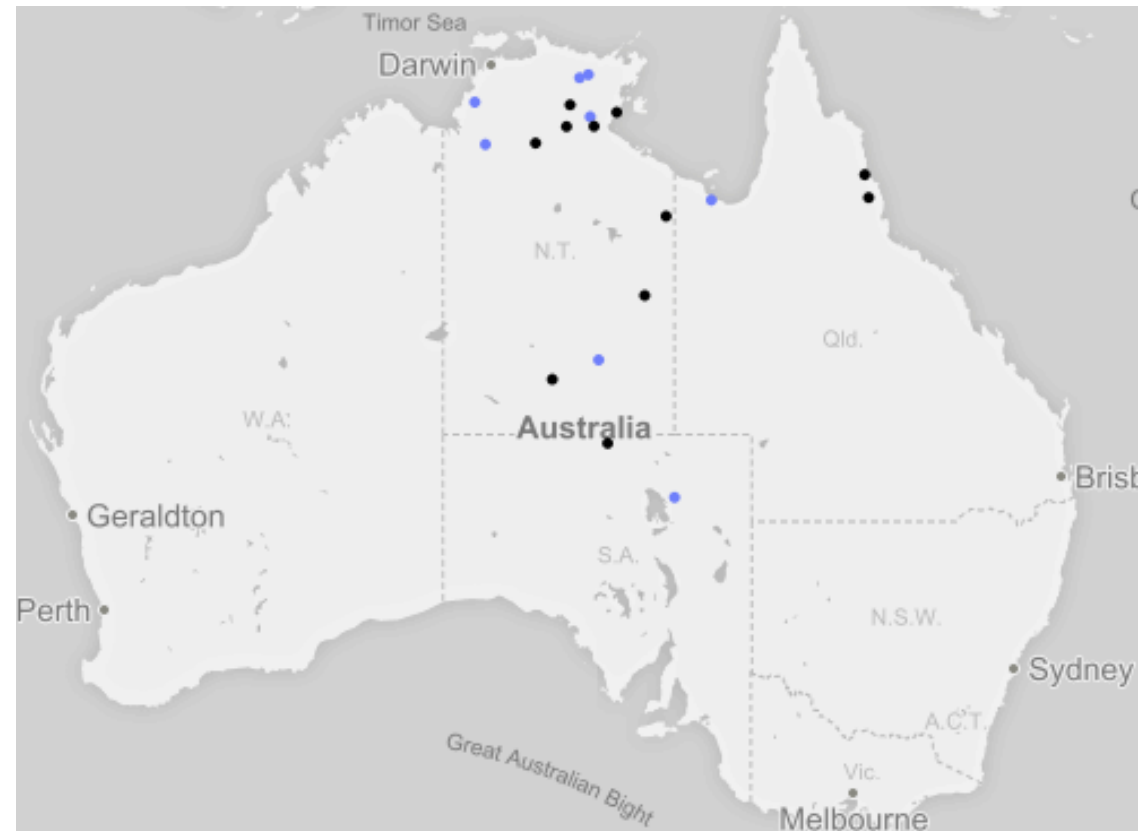
	SOUTH AMERICA (50 families)	AUSTRALIA (8 families)	TOTAL 121 lg, 58 families
APPR	28 / 102	18 / 19	38.0%
PREC	17 / 102	8 / 19	20.7%



Precautioning



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APPR	28 / 102	18 / 19	38.0%
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Preliminary observations

Table 2. Apprehensive & Precautioning marking in South America and Australia

	SOUTH AMERICA (50 families)	AUSTRALIA (8 families)	TOTAL 121 lg, 58 families
APPR	28 / 102	18 / 19	38.0%
PREC	17 / 102	8 / 19	20.7%
A=P	2	7	36%
A±P	3	-	12%
A≠P	5	-	20%
P only	6	1	32%

General conclusion

- Subtle differences between the APPREHENSIVE and PRECAUTIONING functions
 - no dedicated marker in (many?) languages
 - ⚠ intonation
 - ⚠ clause type of the preemptive clause
- Some unsolved issues
 - PREC > APPR... ongoing insubordination?
 - Restricted data available in grammars (but apprehensional questionnaire (Vuillermet 2017 ms!) online -- TULQUEST!
 - *Bambai*-like markers (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo 2018 SWL)

Thank you for
your
attention!



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