



Reanalyzing frustration: event maximality and inertia in two O’dam frustratives

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Frustrative markers

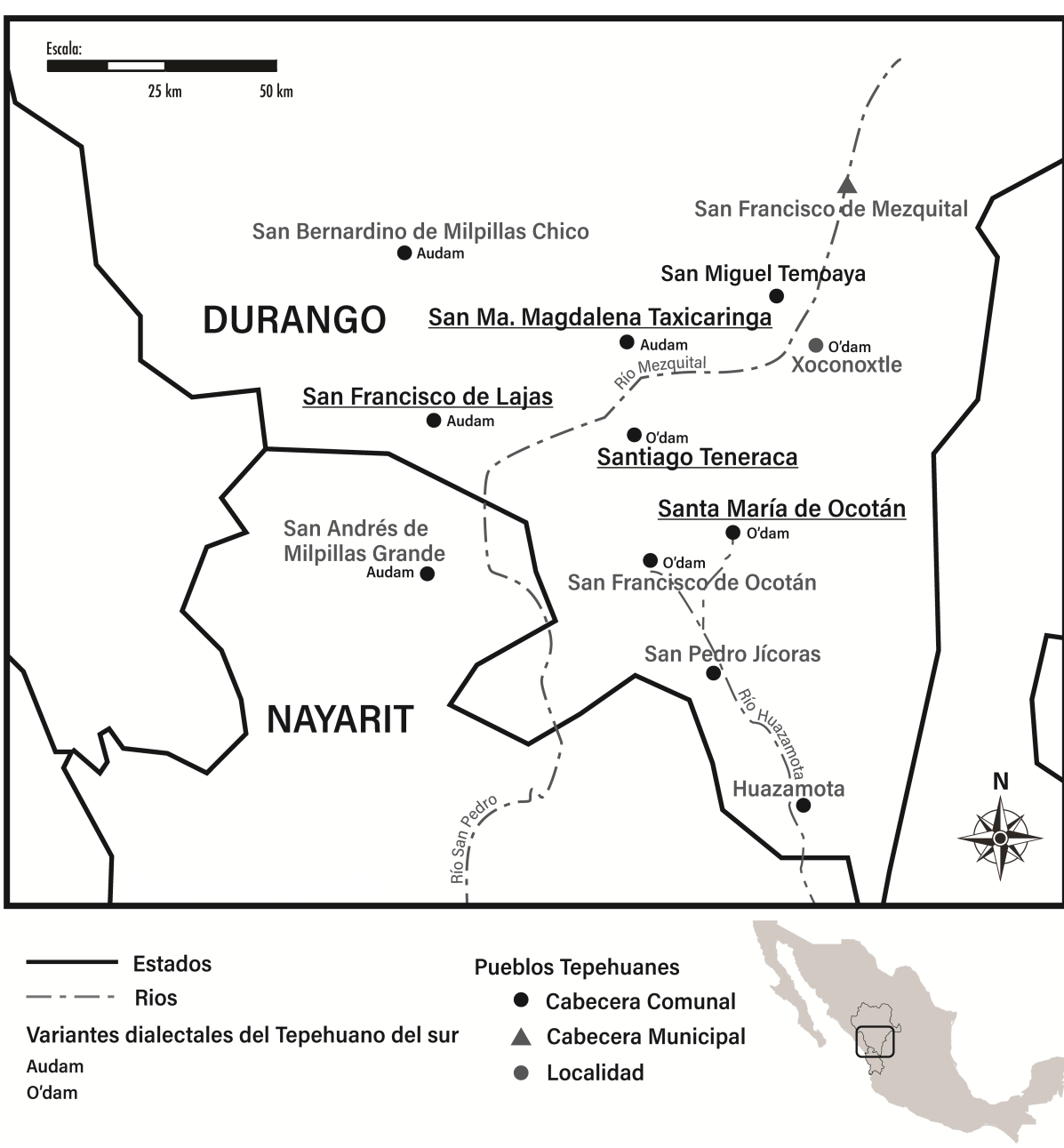
FRUSTRATIVE markers “[express] the non-realization of some expected outcome implied by [...] the marked clause” (Overall 2017)

Across languages, **frustratives** scope clausally:

- Monoclausal, salience of a second (intended or expected) unrealized proposition implied
- Within-language range of empirical interpretations interacts with TAM marking

See also: Copley & Harley 2014, Carol & Salanova 2017, Davis & Matthewson 2016, 2022, Kroeger 2017, 2024

O’dam (stp, Tepiman < Uto-Aztecan)



Location:
Sierra Madre Occidental

Speakers: ~44K

Frustratives:
precede verb with other clausal particles

Desiderata

On past analyses, **FRST**:

- Asserts** realization of *aspect-marked* predicate
 - Presupposes** *non-stereotypicality* of reference situation (Copley & Harley 2014, Davis & Matthewson 2022)
- **P, I, & A** readings arise from composition with PFV, IMPF, & PROSP (resp.)
 - **Does not work ‘off the shelf’ for O’dam:**
 - (i) ASP & FRST type do not align as predicted,
 - (ii) cannot explain *tii*/*tiipup* contrast
 - **Solution:** separate ASP & event maximality

O’dam frustratives:

- Assert** (part/full) realization of marked event
- Presuppose** non-stereotypicality two ways:
 - a. **Weak:** non-commitment to inertia
 - b. **Strong:** commitment to non-inertia, via event-based **non-maximality**

Two frustratives in O’dam: *tii* and *tiip(up)*

O’dam has two frustratives, dividing the interpretive space typically occupied by a single marker (e.g., Tohono O’odham *cem*; Copley & Harley 2014)

<i>Frustrative reading</i>	<i>tii</i> (FRST)	<i>tiip(up)</i> (FRST.NONMAXIMAL)
P(roper): ✓ <i>tii</i> , ✗ <i>tiipup</i> marked event realized (but not expected/intended result)	(1) Ap tii mua dhi-ñi ko’ 2SG.SBJ FRST kill.SG DEM.PROX-VIZ snake ‘You killed this snake’ (but someone else took it)	(2) Ap tiipup mua dhi’-ñi ko’ 2SG.SBJ FRST.NMAX kill.SG DEM.PROX-VIZ snake #‘You killed this snake (but ...)’ [Avertive possible]
I(ncompletive): ✓ <i>tii</i> , ✓ <i>tiipup</i> marked event partly realized	(3) Añ tii niira-’ gu camion 1SG.SBJ FRST wait-IRR DET bus ‘I’m waiting for the bus (but it still has not come)’	(4) Añ tiipup niira-t gu camion 1SG.SBJ FRST.NMAX wait-IMPF DET bus ‘I was waiting for the bus (but it never came)’
A(vertive): ✓ <i>tii</i> , ✓ <i>tiipup</i> marked event anticipated but does not begin	(5) cham bia’-iñ gu popotes, tii NEG have-1SG.SBJ DET chips FRST ba-ja-saba’n-mira-k-añi-ch mu tienda CMP-3PL.PO-buy-MOV-PNCT-1SG.SBJ-PFV DIR store ‘I don’t have chips, I was gonna buy them at the store.’	(6) tiipup jii-ñi-ch mu tienda FRST.NMAX go.PFV-1SG.SBJ-PFV DIR store ‘I almost went to the store.’ (but I never even left and now I won’t/can’t go)

Key observations for O’dam:

- Only *tii* is compatible with **P** readings; *tiipup* in (2) forces an **A** reading (‘You tried to/almost killed the snake, but failed’)
 - **I** readings are best described in terms of **non-maximality** (not restricted to telic predicates; permitted whenever partial realization is possible)
- (7) Xib tiipup tii-ñi-ch gu marcelo jix=bhai’ jiñ-chat-iñ
today FRST.NONMAX see.PFV-1SG.SBJ-PFV DET Marcelo COP=good 1SG.MID-feel-1SG.SBJ
‘I got a glimpse of Marcelo today (e.g. through the grates of a fence), I feel great!’ [*Speaker comment:* It sounds like you’re a huge fan of Marcelo.]
- The particles **differ in strength**: both convey unexpected/unintended development, but *tii* leaves a ‘better outcome’ open (goal/intention still realizable)

Proposal: inertia and maximality

Assumptions:

- Branching time: $w' \in \text{HIST}(w, t)$ shares history with w through t (Thomason 1984)
- Inertial futures of context c at w, t :
$$\text{INR}(c, w, t) := \text{BEST}_{\text{caus}(c, w, t)}(\cap \text{HIST}(w, t))$$
- Predicates may denote non-maximal events:
$$\text{MAX}(P) := \exists e. P(e) \ \& \ \forall e' [e \sqsubset e' \rightarrow \neg P(e')]$$
- Non-maximal P -eventualities inertially develop into maximal instantiations (see Nadathur & Filip 2021 for telic case)
- A** readings are special cases of **I** reading: P interpreted as **inchoative** (Kroeger 2024)
$$\text{INCHO}(P) := \lambda e. \exists e' [e \prec e' \ \& \ \text{CAUSE}(e, e') \ \& \ P(e')]$$

Implementation:

O’dam FRSTs compose with aspect & event predicate:

	Asserts	Presupposes
<i>tii</i>	$\text{ASP}(P, w, t)$	$w \notin \text{INR}(c, w, t)$
<i>tiipup</i>	$\text{ASP}(P, w, t)$	$\neg \text{MAX}(P, w, t)$

Aspects differ w.r.t. termination (indep. of MAX):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{PFV}(P, w, t) &:= \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq t \ \& \ P(e)(w) \ \& \ \forall e' [e \sqsubset e' \rightarrow \neg P(e')(w)]] \\ \text{IMPF}(P, w, t) &:= \exists e [\tau(e) \supset t \ \& \ P(e)(w)] \end{aligned}$$

Predictions:

- *Tiipup* presupposition precludes **P** readings
- *Tii* is compatible with **P, I, A** readings
- Presupposition strength predicts default temporal orientation of FRST claims

Outlook

O’dam:

- We explain distributional & interpretive contrasts by decoupling aspect and event maximality
- **Looking ahead:** Does this account make the right predictions for other FRST uses, including politeness, optative, counterfactual contexts?

Crosslinguistically: frustratives vary in strength (cf. Kroeger 2024)

- Our account aligns with work suggesting that FRSTs involve non-inertial or non-stereotypical modality, but indicates two modes of realization
- **Looking ahead:** Do lexically-specified notions of event maximality play a role in strong frustrativity beyond O’dam?