

# Frustratives and aspect

Javier Carol  
UADER, Conicet

Andrés Pablo Salanova  
University of Ottawa

## 1 Introducing the frustrative

**Narrow definition:** a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realisation of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause (Overall 2017).

Some examples of frustratives proper *apud* Overall (op. cit.):

- (1) Desano (Miller 1999)  
bākā-ge eha-ri-bi  
town-LOC arrive-FRUSTR-NON3-PST  
“I arrived at the town (but I didn’t accomplish what I went there for).”
- (2) Tupinambá (Jensen 1998)  
a-só-biã  
1SG-go-FRUSTR  
“I went, but didn’t accomplish anything.”
- (3) Nanti (Michael 2008)  
no=neh-be-ak-a=ri  
1.SUBJ=see-FRUSTR-PFV-REAL=3.M.OBJ  
“I saw him (but without the expected result).”
- (4) Asheninka Perené (Mihas 2015)  
i-pos-a-vai-vi-t-ak-a-na  
1.M.A-hit-EP-DUR-FRUSTR-EP-PFV-REAL-1.SG.A  
“He really slapped me on the face (but I didn’t wake up).”

There are further meanings that are often expressed by frustratives cross-linguistically, at least the following (the first five are mentioned by Overall 2017, whereas the last is from Kroeger 2017):<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the purposes of this paper, we adopt Overall’s terminology, in particular as regards the frustrative proper, action narrowly averted, and incomplete. There is quite a bit of latitude in the actual use of some of these terms, in particular “optative”.

1. “Incomplete aspect”: an event began but did not culminate.
2. “Action narrowly averted”: an event was about to begin but did not begin.
3. Consequent of (counterfactual) conditional: an event did not or would not occur because a necessary condition didn’t hold.
4. “Negative evaluative”: the speaker is disappointed about the interruption of an event.
5. “Discontinuous [sic] past”: a past state has been discontinued.
6. “Optative”: an event is desirable.

Here are examples of some of the above senses, just to show that frustratives are more complex than the adverbials that translate them in more familiar languages:

“Frustrative proper”, where an expected outcome does not occur or hold:

- (5) Chorote  
A-lej-a-ta ki i-’yu’, j’t’ojli’!  
1A-wash-MOM-FRUSTR D 1SG.POS-clothes 3.dirty  
“I washed my shirt, but it’s dirty!”
- (6) Mëbengokre  
Ba te awÿr tē  
I FRUSTR 2.up\_to go  
“I went up in vain to where you were [you weren’t there].”

Incomplete, where an action is initiated, and “action narrowly averted”, where it intended but not accomplished:

- (7) Kimaragang (Kroeger 2017)  
Tila’ay di=tusing i=pinggan pinangkalan ku dot mangakan  
lick.DV.ATEMP GEN=cat NOM=plate IV.PST.eat 1SG.GEN COMP AV.eat  
oku po dara.  
1SG.NOM yet FRUSTR  
“The cat licked the plate that I ate from, when I still intended to eat some more.”
- (8) Tohono O’odham (Copley and Harley 2014)

Huan 'o **cem** kukpi'ok g pualt.  
 Juan AUX.IMPF FRUSTR open DET door  
 "Juan pulled on the door but failed to open it."

- (9) Kimaragang  
 Bu-buyuk-an no **dara** i=iyay di=kikina, i pinadagang  
 DUP-cheat-DV COMPL FRUSTR NOM=mother GEN=chinese NOM AV.PST.sell  
 do=paray, nga' siri oku diiri.  
 ACC=rice but there 1SG.NOM that  
 "Mother would have been/was about to be cheated by the Chinese (shop-keeper) when she sold her rice, but fortunately I was there."

- (10) Chorote  
 A-lej-**ta** ki i-'yu'...  
 1A-wash-FRUSTR D 1SG.POS-clothes  
 "I was washing my shirt..." [I didn't finish]  
 "I was going to wash my shirt..." [I didn't wash it]  
 "I would have washed my shirt..." (consequent of CF conditional)

- (11) Mēbengokre  
 a. Ba **bit** awÿr tē  
 I FRUSTR 2.up\_to go  
 "I was going up to where you were [I didn't get there]"  
 b. Ne kam **bit** kute kanga mā.  
 and then FRUSTR 3ERG abandon PROSP  
 "And he was about to abandon her."

And an unambiguous case of the use of the frustrative in the consequent of a counterfactual conditional:

- (12) Kimaragang (Kroeger 2017)  
 Ong a-sawak-∅ no i=sada sid=parik, ki-rinapa tokow  
 if NVOL-scoop-OV COMPL NOM=fish DAT=ditch EXIST-viand 1PL.INCL  
**dara** obo.  
 FRUSTR VOC  
 "If we scooped the fish out of that ditch, we would have some meat to eat with our rice." (or, possibly, "If we had scooped... we would have had...")
- (13) Awasi **dara** ong o-winsil-an no ilot jonjila.  
 good FRUSTR if NVOL-lock-DV COMPL that(NOM) window  
 "How good it would be if latch was installed on that window."

The bounded past of a state:

- (14) Waro **dara** siin ku nga' n-i-baray ku dot=tutang.  
 exist FRUSTR money 1SG.GEN but PST-IV-pay 1SG.GEN ACC=debt  
 "I did have money but I used it to pay off my debt."
- (15) Tohono O'odham (Copley and Harley 2014)  
 Pi 'o **cem** suam g howij.  
 NEG AUX FRUSTR yellow DET banana  
 "The banana wasn't yellow."  
 ["I walked by the banana tree yesterday, it wasn't yellow, but now it's yellow."]
- (16) Pi añ **cem** ñ-na:tokc.  
 NEG 1SG.AUX.IMPF FRUSTR 1SG-ready.IMPF  
 "I wasn't ready."  
 ["Someone came by — I wasn't planning to go, so I wasn't ready."]

And finally the optative use:<sup>2</sup>

- (17) Kimaragang  
 Kikiroon **dara** dialo dot poki-rata-an i=tana yo.  
 think FUSTR 3SG COMP PET-level-DV NOM=land 3SG.GEN  
 "He is thinking of/wanting to get someone to level his land."

Overall recognizes the association of the categories listed above with frustratives but considers their relation to frustratives to be one of notional proximity or to be due to semantic shift.

## 2 Outline and goals of the talk

In this talk, we concentrate in only a subset of the above meanings. Of interest to us now are **frustratives proper**, **incompletives**, and **action narrowly averted**.

The **descriptive goal** of this talk is to show that there is a systematic synchronic relation between incompletives and "action narrowly averted", and frustratives. We do this by looking at two lowland South American languages, Chorote (Mataguayan) and Mēbengokre (Jê), that exemplify two forms that this relation can take.

<sup>2</sup>Optatives may also be used to make a request through a pragmatic inference. To us, these are covert conditionals with implied antecedents such as "if you would be so kind" or "if it is not too much to ask".

The **theoretical goal** of the talk is to propose an analysis that captures that interaction and brings frustratives close to aspectual categories.

This is the outline of what follows:

- Walk you through the Chorote and the Mëbengokre data.
- Show the observed relationship between incompletive and frustrative.
- Propose an analysis for incompletives and action narrowly averted.
- Sketch what we'd do for frustratives proper.

### 3 Our data

#### 3.1 Chorote



Chorote is a Mataguayan language spoken in the Chaco region of Argentina and Paraguay. It's an SVO language with active-inactive person marking and hierarchy effects in transitive predicates. TAM marks and applicatives are suffixes or enclitics to the verb.

In Chorote, the frustrative with dynamic eventualities is standardly ambiguous between interruption (and non-continuation) of the eventuality at the planning or development stage. In the case of telic eventualities, notably achievements, interruption means absence of culmination:

- (18) Juan nam-**ta** (#nam jiwék).  
 Juan [3S]come-FRUSTR 3.come finally  
 "Juan was going to come/was coming (# and in the end he came)."

There is a minimal difference between a frustrative and a counterfactual conditional construction, both of which employ the frustrative suffix:

- (19) 'Nes-**ta** ka 'esy-e ji-ka siwálak.  
 [3S]arrive-FRUSTR COMP [3S]good-IRR 3POSS-AL bicycle  
 "I would have arrived if my bicycle had worked."
- (20) 'Nes-**ta**, ji-ka siwálak i-syaj-a.  
 [3S]arrive-FRUSTR 3POS-AL bicycle 3S-break-P  
 "I would have arrived/I was going to arrive, but my bicycle broke."

With predicates that are atelic, the frustrative just means that the action stopped before some contextually-salient (or speaker-intended) measure of completeness, and here still contrasts with the imperfective in that the latter remains agnostic about continuation:

- (21) K'yejli a-laki-**tye** ja-kya pelóta, ton-a-met.  
 just\_now 1A-play-FRUSTR f-D ball [3S]drip-MOM-hither  
 "I was just playing/about to play ball and it started to rain."

Finally, an event marked with the MOMENTARY particle,<sup>3</sup> which we will tentatively call a bounded event, is interpreted as having occurred without expected consequences if marked with the frustrative particle:

- (22) A-jlò-ye-**ta** wata'a ka ijno-'wa-s-e kyu  
 1A-order-MOM-FRUSTR with\_effort COMP 3S.IRR.go-2-PL-P awhile  
 wat pet ka jl-a'yi-s-a na-pò  
 so.much in.turn COMP 3POSS-companion-PL-IRR D-PL.h  
 si-'lijwa-s, 'yina je ya-kajli.  
 1PL.POSS-people-PL but NEG 3A-be\_able  
 "I ordered him insistently to also go [see] you all together with the brothers, but he couldn't."
- (23) A-'wen-a-**ta** ta'a ki in-amtik ti paj'yi, 'nakayi  
 1A-see-MOM-FRUSTR already D POSS.IND-word COMP before then  
 pe jla'am ti je si-jwey-e.  
 PREM but COMP NEG 1S<sub>O</sub>-be\_brave-P  
 "I had heard the word [the Gospels] before, but at that time I feared it."

A special case of this is what happens to statives: a frustrative here doesn't necessarily indicate interruption, but rather that the consequences of the state do not hold, with reference to an unstated goal:

- (24) Pò-ye-**ta**, 'yina ti je isaj-k'i.  
 [3S]exist-MOM-FRUSTR but COMP NEG [3S]wide-P  
 "[Before] there was [a path to the river], but it wasn't wide [enough]."

Given the presence of MOM, it is possible that this predicate needs to be interpreted inchoatively.

<sup>3</sup>See Carol (2011).

### 3.2 An inverse pattern

The pattern found in Chorote is essentially the same as that of Kimaragang. Some languages exhibit a pattern that might be seen as the inverse of the situation found in Chorote: in the unmarked case, frustrative-marked clauses indicate that the eventuality culminated but without the expected consequences, but the addition of imperfective or prospective morphology yields readings where the culmination isn't reached.

Overall (2017) gives some examples of this:<sup>4</sup>

- (25) Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003)  
 heku-pada-ne diwhida di-ña-kasu-**tha**-pidana  
 wood-CL:PIECE-INS 3NSG.F.head 3NSG.F-hit-INTENT-FRUSTR-RPST.REP  
 “He was about to hit its head with a piece of wood (but didn't because the fish turned into a beautiful woman).”
- (26) Urubu-Kaapor (Jensen 1998)  
 juka ta **tipe**  
 3.kill FUT FRUSTR  
 “He intended to kill it but didn't.”
- (27) Sikuani (Queixalós 1991)  
**pikani** ubi-hitsia-nü  
 FRUSTR plant-IMM-1SG  
 “I was going to plant (... and didn't do it/... but doubtless wont' do it).”

### 3.3 Mëbengokre



One language to show the interaction working in this direction is Mëbengokre.

Mëbengokre is a Jê language from central Brazil. It is SOV, and modifiers of the predicate are of two sorts: adverbial particles on the left, and lexical or quasi-lexical modifiers to the right of the verb which require that the latter be in its nominal form.

There is overlap between the semantics of both types of modifiers in many domains.

<sup>4</sup>Note that if we are to accept the labels used by the sources of these examples, the relevant morphemes belong to three distinct classes: modality (Tariana INTENT), tense (Urubu-Kaapor FUT) and aspect (Sikuani IMM). Based on what we find in Mëbengokre, we will claim that it is primarily aspectual categories that interact with frustratives.

Frustrativity, for instance, can be expressed with both types of modifiers:

- (28) ba **te** kum arē  
 1NOM FRUSTR 3DAT 3.tell.V  
 “I told him about it to no avail.”
- (29) ije kum arēnh **kajgo**  
 1ERG 3DAT 3.tell.N FRUSTR  
 “I told him in vain (lit., it was a waste to tell him).”

The pattern that we are interested in is exemplified by the following:

- (30) ba **te** pota 'āta  
 1NOM FRUSTR door open.V  
 “I opened the door...” [“...but nobody woke up.”]
- (31) ba **te** ije pota 'āyr mā  
 1NOM FRUSTR 1ERG door open.N PROSP  
 “I tried in vain to open the door.”  
 “I was about to open the door [but was dissuaded]”
- (32) ba **te** ije pota 'āyr kadjy  
 1NOM FRUSTR 1ERG door open.N PURP  
 “I tried to open the door, to no avail.”

Since we get both incomplete an action narrowly averted when the frustrative is combined with one of the prospective aspectual enclitics, we might wonder if one gets a strictly incomplete reading with progressive.

The Mëbengokre progressive construction requires a positional or movement auxiliary that subordinates a nominal form of the lexically main verb:

- (33) ba nē ba mē mā i-djujarēnh o=nhỹ  
 1NOM NFUT 1NOM PL 3.DAT 1-ANTIPASS.tell.N P=sit.V  
 “I'm [sitting] telling them stories.”

Combining progressive and frustrative does not quite yield the expected effect:

- (34) ba **te** pota 'āyr o=dja  
 1NOM FRUSTR door open.N P=stand  
 “I kept opening the door in vain...” [“...but nobody woke up.”]

But I think this is an issue with the meaning of this particular progressive, which does not exclude culminating iterative meanings. Still, though, the “gradual” imperfective with *omō* “move through something” surprisingly doesn’t work:

- (35) \*ba te pota ’āyr o=mō  
 1NOM FRUSTR door open.N P=move.through

There are two disclosures to make about Mēbengokre frustratives.

- The first is that there is an adverbial particle *bit* (seen in some of the earlier examples) that seems to specialize for the sense of action narrowly averted (like *te* in this guise, it requires the prospective).

This particle could be a desiderative (we haven’t worked much on it, and have no examples with non-volitional subjects), but it does show some significant overlap with *te*.

- The second is that a situation where the goal is eventually achieved is permitted with *te*:

- (36) ba te ije mar mā ne arým kuma  
 1NOM FRUSTR 1ERG know.N PROSP and already 3ACC.know  
 “I struggled to learn it, but [eventually] learned it.”

This contrasts with our definition of incompletives and with what we say below about Chorote example (43), but somehow does not strike me as intuitively odd. The difference between the two examples might simply be that (36) talks about two distinct situations, while in (43) the two events are part of a single situation.

### 3.4 Summary and one further example

The empirical facts of Chorote and Mēbengokre frustratives can be summarized as follows, where *incompletive* subsumes *action narrowly averted* in both cases:

- Chorote *ta* is incompletive by default, and frustrative with MOM.
- Mēbengokre *te* is frustrative by default, and incompletive with PROSP.

Tohono O’odham, as presented by Copley and Harley (2014), exemplifies a case where aspect is always marked, but where imperfectives, prospectives, and the perfective still have the effect on frustrative interpretation that they do in Mēbengokre and Chorote:

- (37) Huan ’at o cem kukpi’ok g pualt.  
 Juan AUX.PF FUT FRUSTR open DET door  
 ANA: “Juan tried to/was going to open the door.” (he tripped before he got there)
- (38) Huan ’o cem kukpi’ok g pualt.  
 Juan AUX.IMPF FRUSTR open DET door  
 incompletive: “Juan tried to open the door.” (he pulled but couldn’t get it open)
- (39) Huan ’at cem ku:pi’o g pualt.  
 Juan AUX.PF FRUSTR open DET door  
 non-cont: “Juan got the door open but it didn’t stay open.”  
 non-eff: “The door’s being open did not have the desired effect.”

The development that these data suggest is probably clear: aspect determines the interpretation of the frustrative, and perhaps the difference between Tohono O’odham, Chorote and Mēbengokre can be attributed to language-specific inherent or default aspectual properties of predicates. We will explore this in what follows, but should already mention that a strong version of this claim does not really fly very far.

## 4 An analysis of incompletives

It is striking how at least incompletive and action narrowly averted readings of frustrative morphemes can be translated by imperfectives in English:

- (40) I was getting here Friday night, but I missed my connection.  
 (41) I was still eating, but the cat licked the plate.

The main difference between frustratives and imperfectives, we claim, is presence vs. absence of (some) culmination. While the English imperfective (42) leaves unspecified whether the event culminates or doesn’t, a true frustrative, such as Chorote’s *-ta*, comes hard-wired with the sense of interruption:

- (42) I was reading your draft when I was called to work, ...  
 a. ... so I never finished reading it.  
 b. ... so I finished reading it the following day.
- (43) Juan nam-ta (#nam jiwék).  
 Juan [3]come-FRUSTR 3.come finally  
 “Juan was going to come/was coming (# and in the end he came).”

We begin by describing the unfolding of an eventuality as a sequence of stages that are related through *inertia* (see Arregui et al. 2014 for the particular elaboration that we are assuming; this is likely largely translatable to Copley and Harley’s notion of *force*).

In Arregui et al. (2014), we propose the following semantic skeleton for imperfectives:

$$(44) \quad \llbracket \text{IMPF} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda s. \forall s' : M_\alpha(s)(s') = 1. \exists e. P(e)(s') = 1$$

Where  $M_\alpha$  is a modal base that picks pairs of situations that have an inertial relation as informally defined above.

For the two readings of the English imperfective in (40) and (41), we need two types of inertia:

(45) Event Inertia

$\text{MB}_{\text{E-inertia}} = \lambda s. \lambda s'. s'$  is an Event-inertia situation for  $s$ , where for any two situations  $s$  and  $s'$ ,  $s'$  is an *Event-inertia* situation for  $s$  iff all the events that have actually started in  $s$  continue in  $s'$  as they would if there were no interruptions.

(46) Preparatory Inertia

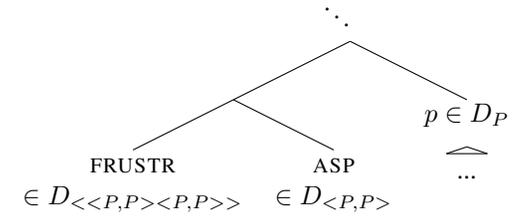
$\text{MB}_{\text{P-inertia}} = \lambda s. \lambda s'. s'$  is a Preparatory-inertia situation for  $s$ , where for any two situations  $s$  and  $s'$ ,  $s'$  is a *Preparatory-inertia* situation for  $s$  iff all the events that are in preparatory stages in  $s$  continue in  $s'$  as they would if there were no interruptions.

To deal with incompletives and action narrowly averted frustratives, we begin by proposing a minimal modification to the basic skeleton proposed by Arregui et al. (2014) for the imperfective, cf. (44), where various inertias can be substituted to yield the various readings of imperfective.

$$(47) \quad \llbracket \text{FRUSTR} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda s. \forall s' : M_\alpha(s)(s') = 1. \exists e : P(e)(s') = 1 \wedge \neg \exists e : P(e)(s) = 1$$

Where  $M_\alpha$  is a modal base that picks pairs of situations that have an inertial relation as informally defined above.

Given the interactions that we observed between frustratives and aspect, we believe the following to be a better alternative to (47), where  $P$  is just the type of propositions and  $R$  is  $\langle P, P \rangle$ :



$$(48) \quad \llbracket \text{FRUSTR} \rrbracket = \lambda R. \lambda P. \lambda s. R(P) \wedge \neg \exists e : P(e)(s) = 1$$

There is nothing in our denotation of FRUSTR that predicts this, but I think a plausibility argument can be sketched for the closeness between FRUSTR and ASP based on the following fact.

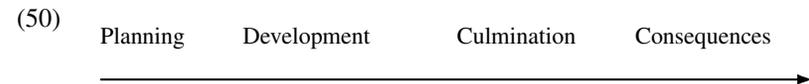
Mëbengokre has a process of emphasis through lengthening and association of high pitch to a syllable that serves to intensify a lexeme’s value (on qualifying adjectives, for instance). The frustrative particle *te* can be emphasized in this way:

$$(49) \quad \begin{array}{cccccc} \text{ba} & \text{te:} & \text{ije} & \text{mar} & \text{mã} & \\ \text{1NOM} & \text{FRUSTR} & \text{1ERG} & \text{know.N} & \text{PROSP} & \\ \text{“I tried and tried for a very long time to learn it.”} & & & & & \end{array}$$

Such an intensification could in principle affect the frustrative component of meaning (i.e., the action was very decidedly useless). However, what actually happens is that the meaning of an intensified *te* is either iterative or “durative” (i.e., two aspectual categories).

## 5 The frustrative proper is a problem

We might wish to extend the previous idea to the frustrative proper (i.e., the case where expected consequences of a completed action don’t really take place). After all, preparation and development of P are only two stages in a larger timeline:



So one could define a third type of inertia that takes consequences into play:

(51) Consequence Inertia

$MB_{C-inertia} = \lambda s. \lambda s'. s'$  is a Consequence-inertia situation for  $s$ , where for any two situations  $s$  and  $s'$ ,  $s'$  is a *Consequence-inertia* situation for  $s$  iff all the events that are completed in  $s$  have consequences in  $s'$  as they would if there were no interruptions.

There is clearly a problem with incorporating this into our skeleton for the frustrative, however: whereas for the other two types of inertia what occurs in the inertia situations is what  $P$  denotes, in this type of inertia the consequences aren't (plausibly) lexically specified, while the occurrence of  $P$ -events belongs to the actual world.

We don't have a fully worked-out solution for this, but we end our talk with some speculation to bring this frustrative sense into the imperfective fold (i.e., yet another plausibility argument).

## 6 Present relevance and factual imperfectives

There are cases where states of affairs that hold after the culmination or completion of an event seem to be encoded lexically.

Parsons (1990), for instance, distinguishes between *target states* and *resultant states*. In Parsons' account, the former have a target state specified in the lexical entry that is brought out, e.g., when an adjectival passive is formed out of them (cf. Kratzer 2000).

There is an infelicity that comes about if a predicate with a target state is followed by a claim that the target state no longer holds:

- (52) a. I opened the door, but the wind closed it.  
 b. #I've opened the door, but the wind closed it.

In cases where no target state is lexically specified, no such infelicity arises:

- (53) a. I explained this to him, but he forgot.  
 b. I've explained this to him, but he forgot.

Despite the absence of any infelicity, there is still a contrast between (53a) and (53b). The latter would clearly be preferred, e.g., if we wanted to express frustration (not in the "frustrative" sense!) at the fact that the expected consequences don't hold. This is one of the uses of the perfect of present relevance.

Let's say, then, that *present relevance* means *we expect something (presently relevant) to follow* from the fact that  $P$  occurred. In the specific case of predicates with target states, there is no ambiguity about what this is (we expect the target states to hold),

and hence the infelicity above. With resultant states, this is determined by the conversational context, an option that is still available with target state  $P$ s:

- (54) A: — Man, it stinks in here.  
 a. B: — I've opened the door already.  
 b. #B: — I opened the door already.

The difference between perfects such as (53b) and frustratives is that it is not part of the meaning of the former that the intended consequences do not hold. I.e., just like in the case of the incompletive and action narrowly averted, we could claim that the frustrative is built upon an aspectual meaning.

To close the circle, note that there are imperfectives that do the same thing as the perfect of present relevance (or so it seems), namely the Polish and Russian factual imperfectives.

Though often translated by simple perfective past, according to Frąckowiak (2010), the following sentence is felicitous if uttered without any temporal referent provided by the context, and hence quite clearly a perfect:

- (55) Jan studiował matematikę.  
 John study.IMPF mathematics.ACC  
 "John has studied mathematics."

In all of the examples in Frąckowiak's paper the translations are either of an experiential perfect or of a perfect of present relevance.

This is of course what we would like to say in conclusion:

- (56) Futurate imperfective + FRUSTR → Action narrowly averted  
 Ongoing imperfective + FRUSTR → Incompletive  
 Factual imperfective + FRUSTR → Frustrative proper

There are some obvious empirical problems with this, even in our own data:

1. The semantic value of aspectual morphemes is not exactly preserved when they occur with frustrative: *mā* is PROSP when used by itself in Mēbengokre, but it allows both incompletive and ANA readings (rather than only the latter) when combined with frustratives.
2. Furthermore, if the interpretations of frustrative-marked clauses without overt aspect say something about their interpretation without the frustrative, this would

mean that aspectually-unmarked clauses in Mëbengokre are always interpreted as perfects, and aspectually-unmarked clauses in Chorote are always interpreted as imperfective. I don't think either of these is the case.

We might need default imperfective attached to FRUSTR to get the facts right, or perhaps split things differently: FRUSTR would always combine with IMPF (or with an aspect that has [+ subinterval property], to get what happens when it combines with statives), and if there is any overt imperfective morphology it serves to specify the modal base.

## 7 Disclosures and conclusions

In conclusion:

- Incompletives and action narrowly averted are essentially dealt with in the above proposal, with only relatively minor technical details to work out.
- The general approach might easily be extended to deal with non-continuation of target states, given that in these the target state is lexically specified.
- For true frustratives, we need a type of inertia that's problematic on various counts:
  1. It's not found in the most common imperfectives.
  2. It is implausible to locate the type of culmination that it implies (goals are achieved) in lexical items.
  3. There are some technical details to work out regarding what culminates when.

Many things haven't been discussed which can be profitably related to the topic at hand:

- Counterfactual readings of the frustrative.
- Frustratives in the future (what Kroeger 2017 calls "optative").

And further:

- Frustratives and incompletives are not clearly related in this way in all the descriptions that are available to us.

- There are many interesting nuances that need to be explored further: some languages seem to have speaker-oriented frustratives (this might be at the origin of their negative evaluative use), while others have subject-oriented ones, for instance.

## Thanks

Thanks to Ana Arregui and to audiences at the Berkeley Symposium on Amazonian Languages II and UCSC S-circle for comments of the current version of this talk, to our Chorote, Mëbengokre, and Guaraní consultants for their valuable help in getting us to understand frustratives, and to SSHRC, which through Insight grant 435-2016-1375 to Ana Arregui (PI), María Luisa Rivero and Andrés Pablo Salanova allowed one of us to be here to deliver the talk. Any errors in this handout are the authors' sole responsibility.

## References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2003. *A grammar of Tariana, from Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Arregui, Ana, María Luisa Rivero, and Andrés Pablo Salanova. 2014. Cross-linguistic variation in imperfectivity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32:307–362.
- Carol, Javier. 2011. Valores aspectuales y modales de *-a* y *-taj* en Chorote (Mataguayo). *Linguística* 26:193–227.
- Copley, Bridget, and Heidi Harley. 2014. Eliminating causative entailments with the force-theoretic framework: The case of Tohono O'odham *cem*. In *Causation in grammatical structures*, ed. Bridget Copley and Fabienne Martin. Oxford University Press.
- Frackowiak, Ewelina. 2010. The semantics of the factual imperfective in Polish and Russian. University of Ottawa ms.
- Jensen, Cheryl. 1998. Comparative Tupi-Guarani morphosyntax. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages, vol. 4*, ed. D.C. Derbyshire and G.K. Pullum, 489–618. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2000. Building statives. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on Aspect*, 385–399.

- Kroeger, Paul. 2017. Frustration, culmination, and inertia in Kimaragang grammar. Unpublished ms., GIAL.
- Michael, Lev. 2008. Nanti evidential practice: language, knowledge, and social action in an Amazonian society. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Mihas, Elena. 2015. *A grammar of Alto Perené (Arawak)*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Miller, Marion. 1999. *Desano grammar: studies in the languages of Colombia 6*. Arlington, TX, USA: SIL.
- Overall, Simon. 2017. A typology of frustrative marking in Amazonian languages. In *The cambridge handbook of linguistic typology*, ed. Alexandra Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon. Cambridge University Press.
- Parsons, Terence. 1990. *Events in the semantics of English: a study in subatomic semantics*. Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Queixalós, Francisco. 1991. *Entre cantos y llantos: tradición oral sikuani*. Bogotá: Publicaciones de Etnollano.