

Frustrative in Doromu-Koki

21 September 2021

Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea Conference, Ukarumpa, EHP

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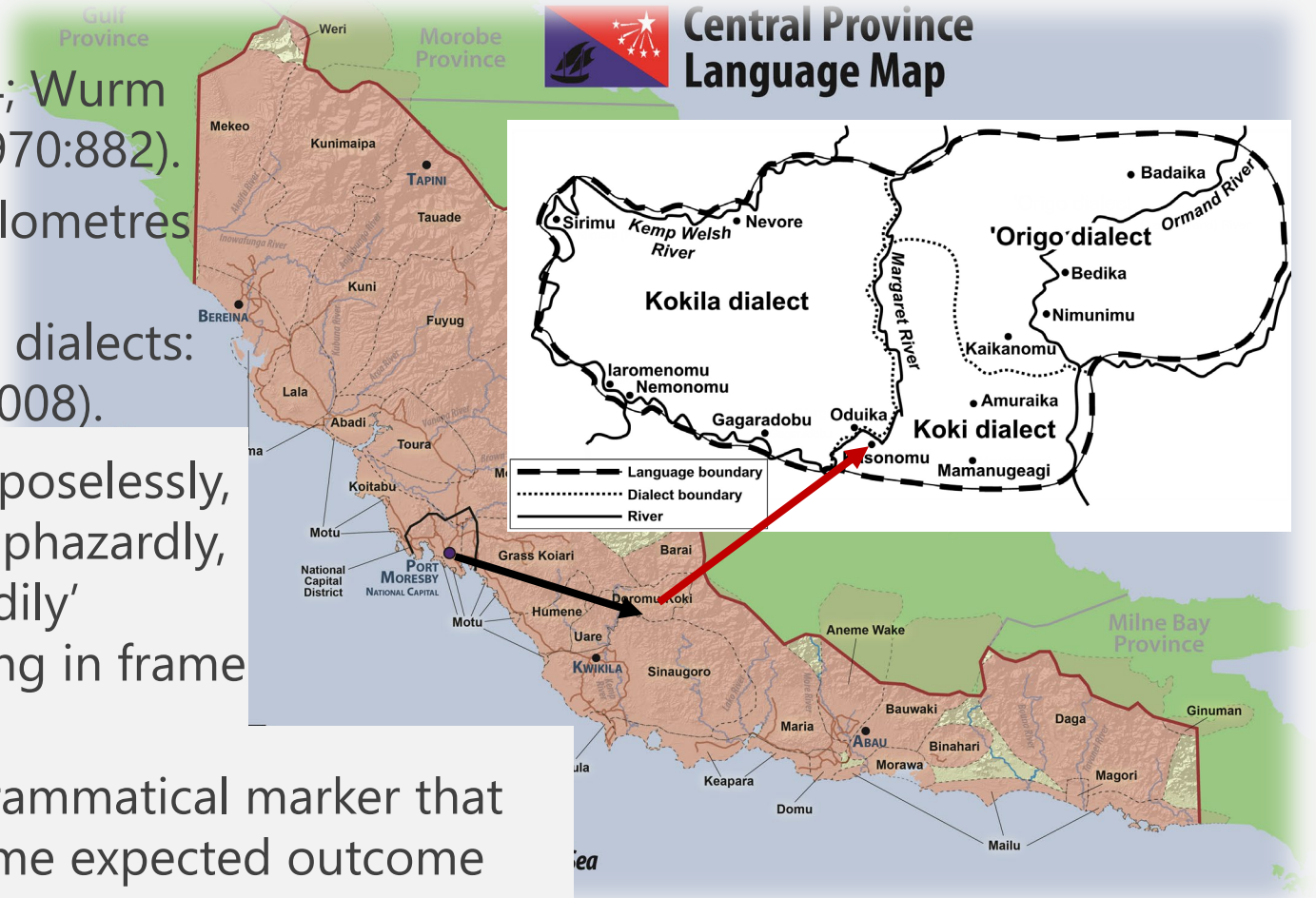
Doromu-Koki

→ **Papuan:** Manubaran, Southeast (cf. Eberhard et al. 2019; Pawley 2005:94; Wurm 1982:163-4, 1975:614 and Dutton 1970:882).

→ **Central Province**, Inland Rigo; 80 kilometres east-southeast of Port Moresby. Approximately 2,000 speakers; three dialects: Koki, Kokila and Korigo (Bradshaw 2008).

→ **Manner adverb** *tavoi* '(in) vain; purposelessly, aimlessly, silly, worthlessly, futile, haphazardly, helter-skelter, messy, uselessly, untidily' (Bradshaw 2021:236). Often occurring in frame *v tavoi re-* (V FRUST do).

→ **The frustrative** is defined as '...a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realization of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause (Overall 2017:479)'.



Language profile (1)

- There are 18 word classes:
 - **Three open:**
 - *Nouns*
 - *Complex verbs*
 - *Adjectives*
 - **Two semi-open:**
 - *Simple verbs*
 - *Adverbs*
 - **13 closed:** *pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, postpositions, interrogatives, polar question markers, affirmative, negatives, degree adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, vocative and discourse markers*

Language profile (2)

- All elements in a noun phrase are optional, so that it can be headless or filled with an adjective, as in Option 2. In Option 3, a proper noun normally occurs alone. The structure of a noun phrase:

	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3
1.	(Possessive pronoun)		
2.	(Demonstrative)		
3.	(Noun)	(Adjective)	(Proper noun)
4.	(Noun)		
5.	(Noun)		
6.	(Degree adverb)		
7.	(Postposition)		
8.	(Postposition)	(Postpositional clitic)	

Language profile (3)

- Doromu-Koki is nominative/accusative; order is fairly rigid, except for temporal and locatives for pragmatic effects. The structure of a verbal clause:

Elements	(1)
1. (Temporal constituent)	[<i>Yokaru Saturday</i>] _{TEMP} [<i>na Raphael</i>] one.day 1SG (name)
2. (Transitive/intransitive subject)	<i>bona Mathias</i>] _S [<i>sufa.sufa</i>] _{OBL} and (name) bush.REDUP
3. (Oblique NP)	[<i>di-yafa</i>] _V
4. (Object NP)	go-1PL.PAST
5. (Extended argument NP)	'One Saturday, Mathias and I, Raphael, went to the big bush'
6. Verb phrase	

- Object NP cf. (3)-(5b), (9), (11)-(13)

Language profile (4)

- Plural noun forms: Only kinship terms (two types) and two other nouns – otherwise verbal morphology [cf. (1)]
 - *dubuini* 'brother' vs. *dubuiyaka* 'brothers'
 - *aufa* 'grandparent/grandchild' vs. *aufakai* 'grandparents/grandchildren'
 - *oyena* 'fish' vs. *oyevani* 'fish (pl.)'
 - *amiye* 'person' vs. *vene* 'people'
- Verbs:
 - Transitive 66.5% (e.g. *feide-* 'cook')
 - Intransitive 26.1% (e.g. *bo-* 'go')
 - S=A ambitransitive 4% (e.g. *vari.vari* 'planting')
 - Ditransitive 3.4% (e.g. *mar-* 'give').

Language profile (5)

- Four types of verbless clauses:

- Equative
- Attributive
- Locative
 - Postpositional
- Existential:
 - Interrogative
 - Possessive

(2) [Mina giro]_{VCS} bi [nai]_{VCC}.
this axe TOP 1SG.POSS
'This axe is mine.' (Bradshaw 2021:118)

- Clause types (in terms of speech act):

- Statement
- Question
- Command

Adverbs

- Manner adverbs:
 - Pre-verbal
 - Can act as complements to a complex verb in a serial verb construction (i.e. $V_1 + V_2$, in which V_2 is the complex verb) [cf. (6)-(10), (13) below]
 - Intervening constituents: modifying adjectives, conjunctions, negation, agent, other manner adverbs or complex verb complements

(3) *Mida keika.keika ore vene ve-si kere vorovoro*
child small.REDUP sorcery people see-SEQ.SS scream.out excessively
ni-yadi.
say-3PL.PAST

'The small children saw the sorcerers and really screamed out.' (Bradshaw 2021:264)

Complex verbs (1)

- Consist of a complement and an associated simple verb:
 - Primarily *re-* 'do', *ni-* 'say/become', *ri-* 'make'.
 - Or *ae-* 'put', *ari-* 'arrange', *bae-* 'come', *bo-* 'go', *dadi-* 'get up', *di-* 'go (around)', *fere-* 'leave', *gurau-* 'suffer', *imi-* 'pierce', *iri-* 'eat', *mar-* 'give', *moi-* 'get', *ne-* 'go down', *nimar-* 'commend', *nioku-* 'testify', *nugar-* 'cut', *ode-* 'break', *ori-* 'burn, cook', *oure-* 'be first', *u-* 'hit', *vadi-* 'weave', *vai-* 'burn', *vari-* 'plant', *ve-* 'see' and *youfeide-* 'surrender'.
- New members created through borrowings [e.g. *abata re-* 'flood' (Bradshaw 2021:49) from the national language Hiri Motu *abata* 'flood, tide' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:187)].
- Two subclasses:
 - Non-compositional (~70%): complements cannot be used on their own without the associated verb (4).
 - Compositional (~30%): complements are nouns, adjectives or postpositions which can be used on their own in other contexts (5).

Complex verbs (2)

(4) *Ini* *ura* *bi* *rumana* *vene* *be* ***abidi.re-go.***
3.POSS want TOP man people some designate.do-3SG.FUT
'He wanted to choose some men.' (Bradshaw 2021:49)

(5a) *Iruku* *iri-si* ***bere*** ***re-yaka.***
food eat-SEQ.SS nice.and.straight do-1SG.PAST
'I ate food and was full (i.e. the stomach became nice and straight).' (Bradshaw 2021:71)

(5b) *mina* *yabo* ***bere*** *nuga*
this tree nice.and.straight cut
'cut this nice and straight tree'

The frustrative (1)

- Often occurs in serial verb constructions [see also (9)]

(6) *diye ni tavoï re-dedi*
dung become aimlessly do-3PL.PRES
'dung scattered aimlessly about'

(7) *ma moimoi rei tavoï re-dedi vene rofu*
and work do in.vain do-3PL.PRES people to
'and to slaves' (lit. working in vain people)'

(8) *idu ya kaya yi rei tavoï.tavoï re-gam-o*
but 2 self 2.POSS do careless.REDUP do-PAST.IMPERV-2SG.PAST
'but you were being really careless with yourself'

The frustrative (2)

- Occurs in negative clauses [see also (12)]

(9) *moni moi rei **tavoi** de rei-da*
money D.CAUS do carelessly NEG do-1SG.PRES
'I don't carelessly waste money'

(10) *iri **tavoi** de*
eat untidily NEG
'not eating untidily/messily'

The frustrative (3)

- *Is found in interrogative clauses*

(11) *mina ago ni **tavoi.tavoi** amiye bi beika ni-do?*
this word say worthless.REDUP person TOP what say-3SG.PRES
'what is this babbler (lit. worthless word saying person) saying?'

- *Is found in imperative clauses*

(12) *vegu **tavoi.tavoi** yokoi ga re-fo*
action useless.REDUP one PROH do-2PL.PO.IMP
'don't do anything really rash (lit. any very useless actions)'

The frustrative (4)

- *Is regularly reduplicated to convey iterative meaning [see also (8) and (11)]*

(13) *Beika.resi nai moni rei **tavoi.tavoi** rei-sa?*
why 1SG.POSS money do FRUST.REDUP do-2SG.PRES
'Why do you keep carelessly wasting my money?'

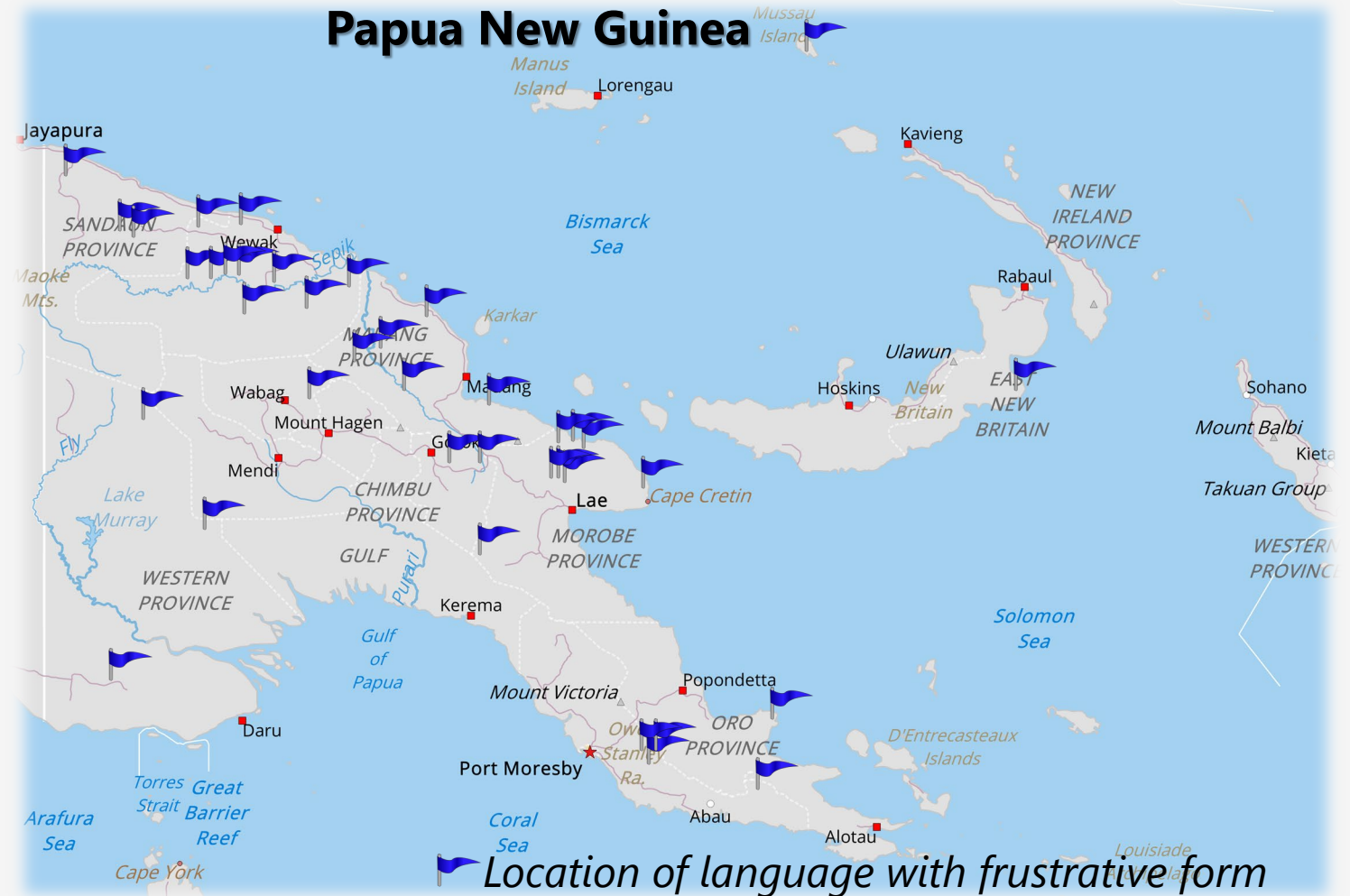
- *or intensity [see (12)]*
- *Can also function as a modifier [see (12)]*

Areal distribution (1)

- Overall (2017) (cf. also Kroeger 2017) proposed frustrative marking as an Amazonian areal feature.
- In a preliminary study, it has been found to be such a feature in New Guinea...

Areal distribution (2)

- Documented in 42 languages spread throughout New Guinea:
 - In 15 provinces
 - Two in Indonesia
 - 92.9% Papuan
 - 7.1% Austronesian
 - Total of 44 when including the two national languages: Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu
 - High concentration along northern coast



Areal distribution (3)

Abau [aau]

Abui [abz]

Aisi/Musak [mmq]

Awiakay/Karamba (Maring) [mbw]

Awtuw/Kamnum [kmn]

Benabena [bef]

Binumarien [bjr]

Bukiyip/Coastal Arapesh [ape]

Chini/Akrukay [afi]

Coastal Marind [mrz]

Daga [dgz]

Doromu-Koki [kqc]

Eibela/Kware [ail]

Finongan [fag]

Hiri/Police Motu [hmo]

Iatmul [ian]

Kâte [kmg]

Kilmeri/Kilmera [kih]

Konai [kxw]

Korafe-Yegha [kpr]

Kyaka Enga [kyc]

Ma Manda/Sauk [skc]

Mali/Baining [gcc]

Manambu [mle]

Mato/Nenaya [met]

Mauwake/Ulingan [mhl]

Menya/Menyama [mcr]

Mussau-Emira/Musao [emi]

Areal distribution (4)

Nambo/Arufe [ncm]

Northern One/Onele [onr]

Nukna/Komutu [klt]

Nungon/Yau/Uruwa [yuw]

Pondi [lnm]

Pouye [bye]

Sinauḡoro [snc]

Siroi/Suroi [ssd]

Sos-Kundi [sdk]

Tayap [gpn]

Tok Pisin [tpi]

Uare/Kwale/Kware [ksj]

Uri/Erap [uvh]

Yalaku/Yelogu [ylg]

Yessan-Mayo [yss]

Yimas [yye]

- More comprehensive list includes complete references, classification, province/region organized geographically and form (if provided).

Areal distribution (5)

- In the majority – a verbal suffix mainly expressing ‘non-actual’, ‘failed’, ‘unfulfilled’, ‘unsuccessful’, ‘to no avail’, ‘non-realised’ or ‘counterfactual’.
 - Other include:
 - ‘in vain’, ‘disappointed’ (Binumarien, Eastern Highlands Province; Oatridge and Oatridge 1965:9)
 - ‘no, nothing’ (Konai, Western Province; Årsjö 2016:245 or Korafe-Yegha, Oro Province; Farr 1999:137, 233, 280)
 - ‘almost’ (Coastal Marind, Papua, Indonesia; Olsson 2018:473 or Yimas, East Sepik Province; Foley 1991:264)
 - ‘nearly’ (Tayap, East Sepik Province; Kulick and Terrill 2019:113)

Areal distribution (6)

- In a few (besides Doromu-Koki) – an adverb or other free form. Mato (Oceanic, Morobe Province) example below:

(14) *Di-tuba-tuba sus.*
3PL.S-try-REDUP FRUST.INT
'They tried and tried, but they couldn't do it.' (Stober 2013:98)

- In some instances, it has a dual function (Yessan-Mayo, Sandaun and East Sepik Provinces):
 - "The deep structure relationship is one of the event...almost happening but not having yet happened, or of being frustrated (Foreman 1974:148)."

(15) *ner tak ti-tī keraket tiye*
night dark be-FUT a.little.bit was
'it is almost dark' (Foreman 1974:148)

Areal distribution (7)

- Unique forms include the 'different subject' marking frustrative in Aisi of Madang Province.

(16) *Mit-i* *w-oginiŋ,* *niri* *yak-i* *ir-og* *ma,* *mabiŋ.*
leave-SS go-3PL.DS 3PL come.up-SS perceive-3PL.DS.FRUST NEG no
'They_i went away and they_j came up and looked, but no (they_i were gone).'

(Daniels 2015:228)

- Also seen in Nukna of Morobe Province, where Taylor (2016:133) states that speakers claim the frustrative marker *men* is a contraction of *muná hále-n* (no become-3SG.DS.SEQ) 'it does not become'.

Conclusion

- The frustrative construction in the Doromu-Koki language is:
 - a means of expressing **negative evaluative information**.
 - The manner adverb *tavoi* 'in vain' is found both in the complex verb construction *tavoi re-* and alone, where it can also function as a modifier.
 - The complex verb construction, when combined with another verb forms a serial verb construction *V tavoi re-*.
 - The form *tavoi* is frequently reduplicated to indicate iterative aspect or intensity and can be negated as well as found in imperative and interrogative clauses.
- It has been shown that a frustrative form is also found throughout New Guinea. It may be that many more languages have such a form, but it either has not been observed or mentioned, or may have been misinterpreted. Some data is very brief, with little to no examples provided. It is hoped that more will be discovered, leading to a more comprehensive typology and possible diachronic analysis.
 - Any additions or corrections are most welcome (robert.bradshaw@my.jcu.edu.au or robert_bradshaw@sil.org)...

Abbreviations

1	first person	INT	intent	REDUP	reduplication
2	second person	NEG	negative	S	intransitive subject
3	third person	NP	noun phrase	SEQ	sequential
A	transitive subject	OBL	oblique	SG	singular
CAUS	causative	PAST	past	SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
D	direct	PL, pl.	plural	SS	same subject
DS	different subject	PNG	Papua New Guinea	TEMP	oblique temporal constituent
FRUST	frustrative	PO	polite	TOP	topic marker
FUT	future	POSS	possessive	V	verb
IMP	imperative	PRES	present	VCC	verbless clause complement
IMPERV	imperfective	PROH	prohibitive	VCS	verbless clause subject

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Thank you...