

Time and Tense in Circum-Baltic. 19–20 June 2018, Vilnius University

Nicole Nau (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan): ‘All the time’
On two Latvian constructions expressing continuous or habitual actions

1. Object, data, questions

Construction A: V + vienā ‘one.locative’ + action noun (from V) in the locative

- (1) *otrajā rītā mans omulīgais bērns bija pārvērties,*
raudāja vienā raudāšanā
cry.PST.3 one-LOC.SG cry-ACN-LOC.SG
‘the next morning my cheerful baby had completely changed: (s/he) **cried all the time** (= the whole morning without interruption)’

Construction B: NP būt ‘be’+ liels ‘big’+ agent noun

- (2) *Manam dēlam tagad ir 6 mēneši.*
Viņš ir liels raudātājs.
3SG.NOM be.PRS.3 big.NOM.SG.M cry-AGN-NOM.SG
‘My son is now 6 months old. He is one that **cries all the time** (= at all times, often).’

Source: *lvTenTen14*. Corpus of Internet resources, automatically compiled and tagged, 530.4 million wordforms. Access via sketchengine.co.uk.

Questions:

- What are the meanings of the constructions and how do they come about?
- Are there affinities to certain (semantic or formal) classes of verbs?
- How idiomatic are the constructions?
- How are the constructions related to other constructions?
- What can we learn from all that about the nature of constructions?

2. Meanings and uses

<u>Construction A: V vienā V-šanā</u>	<u>Construction B: N būt liels AGN</u>
continuous activity during a certain time	habitual activity; also states
unbounded	unbounded
colloquial	colloquial
actors/undergoers persons and non-persons	actors persons and (higher) animals
[+/- control, intention]	mostly [+control, intention]
mostly negative connotation (speaker)	mostly positive connotation (actor)

Construction A: doing something all the time is no good

- (3) An example from the 19th century (some verbs uncommon in modern Standard Latvian)

<u>Mark Twain (1876)</u>	<u>Jānis Pliekšāns & Pēteris Stučka (1888)</u>
<i>Punch, brothers, punch!</i>	<i>Šur un tur, it nekur (Pēc Marka Twena)</i>
I returned home, and suffered all the afternoon ; suffered all through an unconscious and unrefreshing dinner; suffered, and cried, and jingled all through the evening ; went to bed and rolled, tossed, and jingled right along, the same as ever ;	Es gāju atkal mājās un kamājos cauru priekšpusdienu ; kamājos kā mašina, bez prieka ēzdams; kamājos un kunkstēju un bimbinaju visu miļu vakaru ; gāju gulēt un valstījos, spārdījos un bimbinajos vienā valstīšanā, vienā bimbinašanā ;

- (4) *gāju gulēt un valstījos, spārdījos un go.PST.1SG sleep.INF and toss.PST.1SG.RFL kick.ITER.PST.1SG.RFL and bimbinajos vienā valstī-šan-ā, vienā bimbina-šan-ā jingle.PST.1SG.RFL one.LOC toss-ACN-LOC one.LOC jingle-ACN-LOC*
 'I went to sleep and turned and kicked around and jingled all the time'

Verbs used in Construction A in the corpus: 128 tokens, 57 types

athematic verbs (class I) = 40 tokens, 24 types (17 itr, 9 trs; 1 reflexive)

thematic verbs (classes II and III) = 88 tokens, 33 types (26 itr, 7 trs; 3 reflexive)

SOUND, SPEECH, CRY/LAUGH: 31 of 57

blaut 'shout', *brēkt* 'cry', *kliegt* 'scream', *spiegt* 'shriek', *blēt* 'bleat', *riet* 'bark'; *ņirgt* 'sneer', *smieties* 'laugh', *malt* literally 'grind', here: 'rehash' (coll.),

***raudāt* 'weep'**, *bimbāt* 'cry', *čikstēt* 'whimper', *pīkstēt* (here:) 'whimper', *dūdot* 'coo' (here: of a little girl), *dziedāt* 'sing', *bimbinašties* (here:) 'jingle', *ķiķināt* 'giggle', *purkšķēt* 'rattle', *sprauslāt* 'snort; sputter', *tarkšķēt* 'rattle; chatter', ***runāt* 'talk'**, *čalot* 'chat', *leijerēt* (slang) 'talk a lot', *skalot* (here, slang:) 'say loudly', *taurēt* (here, slang:) 'say loudly', *lielīt* 'praise', *slavēt* 'praise', *lamāt* 'swear, abuse', *melot* 'lie', ***muldēt* 'twaddle'**

SLANG: 3 : *dirst*, *drāzt* (vulgarisms, meaning in context), *slaukt* 'milk', here: 'demand money'

MOVEMENT: 5 *braukt* 'go by transport', *skriet* 'run', *krist* 'fall'; *skraidīt* 'run about', *valstīties* 'roll, toss and turn', (no)*pēdot* 'tread, clump; make a path by walking'

OTHER: 22 of 57

bāzt 'shove', *dzert* 'drink', *grauzt* 'gnaw', *rīt* 'gulp', *svīst* 'sweat', *jaukt* 'mix up', *jukt* 'go to pieces', *brukt* 'fall to pieces', *pļaut* 'mow', *līt* 'rain'

čurāt 'pee', *klepot* 'cough', *mirdzēt* 'shine', *pilēt* 'drip', *rakstīt* 'write', *rīkot* 'organize', *shēmot* 'scheme', *skaitīt* 'count', *slimot* 'be ill', *trīcēt* 'tremble', *plaisīties* 'burst, crack', *ziedēt* 'blossom', *liņāt* 'drizzle'

- (5) *skraida vienā skraidī-šan-ā tur un šurp*
 run.ITER.PRS.3 one.LOC.SG run.ITER-ACN-LOC.SG there and here
 'is running about all the time from here to there'

- (6) *apkārt viss ir no-pēdo-t-s*
 around all.NOM.SG.M be.PRS.3 PVB-clump-PST.PP-NOM.SG.M
vienā pēdo-šan-ā
 one.LOC clump-ACN-LOC
 'all around everything is trodden down through constant clumping around' (?)

Comparison with other expression means with similar meaning

- (7) *Mēs gan līdz augšai tā arī neuzkāpām,*
jo visu laiku lija.
 for all.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG rain.PST.3
 'We did not climb to the top however, for it was raining **all the time.**'

- (8) *Līst jau trīs dienas no vietas Maskavā*
 rain.PRS.3 already three day.ACC.PL from place.GEN.SG MOSCOW.LOC.SG
 'It has been raining **continuously for three days** in Moscow'

(9) No jūlija līdz oktobrim 1844. g. **lija** lietus **vienā lišanā**; siens, labība, kartupeļi sapuva, rudzi palika neiesēti; turpmākajā ziemā nevarēja izmitināt lopus. (from Zeiferts 1922)
'From July to October 1844 it **rained without interruption**; hay, grain, potatoes rotted away, the rye could not be sowed; the following winter one could not keep cattle.'

(10) Protesti tiek organizēti un rīkoti
protest.NOM.PL AUX.PRS.3 organize.PST.PP.NOM.PL.M and organize.PST.PP.NOM.PL.M
nepārtraukti, gandrīz katru nedēļu kaut kas notiek
uninterruptedly almost every.ACC.SG week.ACC.SG something.NOM happen.PRS.3
'Protests are being organized **all the time**, there is something going on almost every week'

(11) šeit tikai vienā laidā rīko okupantu salidojumus ...
here only one.LOC.SG LEX.LOC.SG organize.PRS.3 occupant.GEN.PL meeting.ACC.PL
'Here they are only **non-stop** organizing occupants' meetings...'

(12) mītiņus un saietus mēs rīkojam vienā rīkošanā,
rally.ACC.PL and meeting.ACC.PL 1PL.NOM organize.PRS.3 one-LOC.SG organize-ACN-LOC.SG
bet ka tikai neizmutuļotu viss tvaiks!
but that only NEG.PVB.CURL.IRR all.NOM.SG.M steam.NOM.SG
'We **keep organizing** meetings and rallies, hopefully all that steam will not just curl away!'

(13) Kā palika tumšs tā tikko ēsma sasniedza grunti, tā **copēja vienā copēšanā**, tikai ārā nevarēja izvilkt!
'From the moment it was dark he, as soon as the bait touched the ground, **kept fishing and fishing**, only he could not pull out [fish]!'

Construction B: doing something all the time because one likes it

Verbs used in Construction B in the current sample: 285 tokens, 86 types

athematic verbs (class I): 37 tokens, 18 types

thematic verbs (classes II+III): 248 tokens, 68 types

NON-PROFESSIONAL, SPARE TIME ACTIVITY; REGULAR ACTIVITY OF ANIMALS: 30 of 86

skriet 'run', aust 'weave', +grebt 'carve' > kokgrebēja 'wood carver'; +braukt 'go by transport' > velobraucējs, autobraucējs

ceļot 'travel', staigāt 'walk', klaiņot, klejot 'wander about', sportot 'sport', vingrot 'do gymnastics', slepot 'ski', slidot 'skate', peldēt 'swim', serfot 'surf', laivot 'make boat trips', piknikot 'have a picnic', ogot 'go berry picking', seņot 'go mushroom picking', ballēt, tusēt 'party', uzdzīvot 'live a fast life', dancot, dejot 'dance', dziedāt 'sing', dainot 'sing folksongs', muzicēt 'make music', lasīt 'read', rakstīt 'write', zīmet 'draw', gleznot 'paint' (mostly lexicalized 'great painter')

HUMAN HABITS; PET ANIMAL HABITS: 6 kafijot 'drink coffee', smēķēt, pīpēt 'smoke'; grauzt 'nibble' (of a puppy), knābāt 'peck' (of a pet bird), murrāt 'purr' (of a cat)

SPEECH, SOUND, CRY/LAUGH: 14 of 86

blaut 'shout', kliegt 'shout', lūgt 'pray', riet 'bark', smieties 'laugh'

runāt 'talk', pļāpāt 'chat', stāstīt 'tell', tenkot 'gossip', jokot 'joke', kritizēt 'criticize', sūdzēt(ies) 'complain', čīkstēt 'whimper', vaimanāt 'lament'

OTHER PHYSICAL ACTIVITY/PROCESS/STATE: svīst 'sweat', (of a pet), gulēt 'sleep', 'lie', and others

MENTAL ACTIVITY/PROCESS/STATE (AGN often lexicalized, in this case only one example kept in the sample): 10

prast ‘know how to’; *domāt* ‘think’, *plānot* ‘plan’, *sapņot* ‘dream’, *fantazēt* ‘fantasize’, *slīpēt* ‘polish’ (here: a poem), *eksperimentēt* ‘make experiments’; *cienīt* ‘value, admire’, *mīlēt* ‘love’ (here: make love), *mīļot* ‘like, love’, *zināt* ‘know’, *jūsmot* ‘enthuse’

OTHER VERBS: 15 (but several cases doubtful), includes *ciest* ‘suffer’, *dot* ‘give’; *darīt* ‘do’, *vērot* ‘watch’, *tirgot* ‘vend’, *karot* ‘fight, make war’, *cīnīties* ‘fight’, *blefot* ‘bluff’, *ziedot* ‘donate’

(14) *Viņas mamma bijusi liela aud-ēj-a,*
3.GEN.SG.F mother.NOM.SG be.PST.PA.NOM.SG.F big.NOM.SG.F.DEF weave-AGN-NOM.SG
darinājusi dvieļus, galdautus
make.PST.PA.NOM.SG.F towel.ACC.PL tablecloth.ACC.PL

‘Her mother used to weave a lot; she made towels, table clothes.’

(15) *Nav noslēpums, ka somi ir lieli auto-brauc-ēj-i.*
NEG.be.PRS.3 secret.NOM.SG that Finn.NOM.PL be.PRS.3 big.NOM.PL car-travel-AGN-NOM.PL

‘It’s no secret that Finns like to travel by car.’

(16) *Vēl mēs esam lieli pikniko-tāj-i,*
in.addition 1PL.NOM be.PRS.1PL big.NOM.PL have_picnic-AGN-NOM.PL
visos gada laikos.
all.LOC.PL year.GEN.SG time.LOC.PL

‘Also, we have a lot of picnics / like to have picnics, at all seasons.’

(17) *Visa ģimene ir lieli kafijo-tāj-i.*
all.NOM.SG.F family.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 big.NOM.PL drink_coffee-AGN-NOM.PL

‘Everybody in the family drinks a lot of coffee / likes to drink coffee.’

(18) *Kaķis ir ļoti miļš, ļoti patīk*
cat.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 very nice.NOM.SG.M very please.PRS.3
glastīties, un ir liels murrrrrā-tāj-s :)
caress.INF.RFL and be.PRS.3 big.NOM.SG.M purrrrr-AGN-NOM.SG

‘The cat is very sweet-natured, it loves to be caressed and it purrrrrs a lot :)’

(19) *Bērnībā un skolas gados biju liela smēj-ēj-a.*
childhood.LOCand school.GEN year.LOC.PL be.PRS.1SG big.NOM.SG laugh-AGN-NOM.PL
[Mute līdz ausīm vaļa – tas bija mans normālais stāvoklis.]

‘During my childhood and school years I was laughing all the time. [Mouth gaping wide open – that was my usual condition.]’

(20) *Pensionāri ir lieli vaimanā-tāj-i,*
pensioner.NOM.PL be.PRS.3 big.NOM.PL lament-AGN-NOM.PL

[bet vairumam nemaz tik slikti neklājas;]

‘Pensioners are always lamenting, [but the majority is not doing so badly at all.]’

(21) *esmu liela kritizē-tāj-a, bet ne darī-tāj-a*
be.PRS.1SG big.NOM.SG.F criticize-AGN-NOM.SG but NEG do-AGN-NOM.SG

‘I like to criticize, but not to act’

3. Idiomaticity and variability

Construction A: frequency of selected verbs

Verb (frequency per million)	V-šanā [locative]	vienā V-šanā (% of V-šanā)	V vienā V-šanā (% of V-šanā)
<i>raudāt</i> 'weep' (31.40)	42	17 (40.5%)	12 (28.6%)
<i>runāt</i> 'talk' (441.40)	123	13 (10.6%)	12 (9.8%)
<i>muldēt</i> 'twaddle' (5.60)	66	10 (15.2%)	10 (15.2%)
<i>skriet</i> 'run' (92.40)	1140	97 (8.2%)	2 (0.2%)
<i>dzert</i> 'drink' (80.80)	214	3 (1.4%)	2 (0.9%)
<i>bļaut</i> 'shout' (9.50)	24	3 (12.5%)	2 (8.3%)
<i>blēt</i> 'bleat' (0.48)	2	1	1
<i>līt</i> 'rain' (10.28)	2	1	1

Construction A: most frequent forms of V (total of tokens = 128)

Form		Person			
		3rd	1SG	other	nd
PRS	81	73	7	1 (2pl)	0
PST	33	23	10	0	0
INF	7	0	0	0	7
other (5 forms)	7	2	0	0	5
sum	128	98	17	1	12

Construction B: frequency of selected verbs

Verb (per million)	AGN (M) (per milion)	<i>liels</i> AGN (M)	<i>būt liels</i> AGN (HABITUAL)	% of AGN
<i>ceļot</i> 'travel' 27,291 (41.50)	14,621 (22.24)	107	32	0.0021
<i>dziedāt</i> 'sing' 58,237 (88.60)	28,374 (43.20)	160	35	0.0012
<i>lasīt</i> 'read' 197,708 (300.70)	57,924 (88.10)	246	22	0.0004
<i>gulēt</i> 'sleep' 62,911 (95.70)	319 (0.49)	18	8	0.0251
<i>staigāt</i> 'walk' 35,257 (53.60)	288 (0.44)	7	5	0.0174
<i>sapņot</i> 'dream' 15,964 (24.28)	1,342 (2.04)	54	14	0.0104

Construction B (agent nouns with -tāj-): most frequent forms of the copula

Form		Person			
		3	1.SG	1.PL	2
PRS	144	109	15	9	11
PST	54	40	9	2	3
FUT	3	3			
PST.PA	39				
EVI	4				
IRR	3				
INF	1				
	248	152	24	11	14

Construction A: Arguments (in 128 tokens 14 direct objects, 5 other complements)

(22) *iedzīvotāji | šo "gadsimta būvi" |*
 inhabitant.NOM.PL DEM.ACC.SG century.GEN.SG building.ACC.SG
lamā vienā lamā-šan-ā
 curse.PRS.3 one-LOC.SG curse-ACN-LOC.SG
 'Locals are cursing this "building of the century" all the time'

(23) *man nesaprotamā valodā | kāpņu telpā |*
 1SG.DAT uncomprehensible.LOC.SG language.LOC.SG stair.GEN.PL room.LOC.SG
kaut ko | runā vien-ā runā-šan-ā
 something.ACC talk.PRS.3 one-LOC.SG talk-ACN-LOC.SG
 'is/are talking without interruption in a language incomprehensible to me in the staircase'

(24) *Da bāž vien-ā bāšanā | cilvēki |*
 PTC shove.PRS.3 one-LOC.SG shove-ACN-LOC.SG human.NOM.PL
visādus mēslus | sevī
 all_kind_of.ACC.PL crap.ACC.PL RFL.LOC
 'Really, people keep stuffing themselves with all kind of crap'

(25) *un jauc | "Pūt, vējiņi!" vārdus | vien-ā jauk-šan-ā*
 and mix.PRS.3 PN word.ACC.PL one-LOC.SG mix-ACN-LOC.SG
 'and keeps muddling up the lyrics of "Pūt, vējiņi!"'

Construction B: Arguments and adjuncts (not in the sample)

(26) *Moldāvi laikam ir lieli kafijas dzēr-ēji*
 Moldavian.NOM.PL probably be.PRS.3 big.NOM.PL coffee.GEN.SG drink-AGN-NOM.PL
 'It seems that Moldavians (like to) drink a lot of coffee'

(27) *Baumaņu Kārlis bijis liels zolītes spēlēt-āj-s*
 PN.GEN.PL PN.NOM.SG be.PST.PA.SG.M big.NOM.SG.M PN.GEN.SG play-AGN-NOM.SG
 '(They say) Kārlis Baumanis used to / liked to play Zolīte (a card game) a lot'

(28) *Esmu bijis liels teātru staigā-tāj-s*
 be.PRS.1SG be.PST.PA big.NOM.SG.M theater.GEN.PL walk-AGN-NOM.SG
 '(At some point in my life) I used to go to the theater (different theaters) a lot'

4. Patchwork families of constructions

Features that relate our constructions to other constructions

Construction A: V <i>vienā</i> V- <i>šanā</i>	Construction B: N <i>būt</i> <i>liels</i> AGN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>viens</i> • locative • action noun • two instances of the same verb (stem) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ verb and derivation of this verb ○ verb and non-finite form with this stem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>liels</i> • agent noun • Copula clause N <i>būt</i> NP

Examples of constructions related to construction A

[+viens +locative, -action noun]: *vienā laidā* (see example 11)

[+ viens, + locative, + action noun, - two instances of V-stem]:

Construction [laiks] [paiet] *vienā V-šanā* '[time period] [passes] in one V-ACTION NOUN]'

(29) *Īstenībā nedēļas nogales šeit*
 reality.LOC.SG week.GEN.SG end.NOM.PL here

paiet vien-ā dzer-šan-ā
 pass.PRS.3 one-LOC.SG drink-ACN-LOC.SG

literally: "Actually weekends pass away in one drinking" ('one is drinking away the weekends')

(30) *Mana pirmdiena pagāja vien-ā skrie-šan-ā, stresā*
 my.NOM.SG.F Monday.NOM.SG pass.PST.3 one-LOC run-ACN-LOC stress-LOC.SG

[un ēst es dabūju tikai ap 20:00 vakarā.]

'My Monday passed away in running about (= I was running about all the time), in stress, and only at eight pm I found the time to eat something.'

Constructions with two instances of the verb stem

V, V

(31) [Tā pat ir ar augstāko izglītību!]

runājam runājam, bet kur ir lēmumi?

talk.PRS.1PL talk.PRS.1PL but where be.PRS.3 decision.NOM.PL

'[It's the same with higher education!] **We are talking and talking,** but where are decisions?'

Construction V-INF V

(32) [nemainīga paliek tikai pati problēma - jau 4 gadus runa par vien un to pašu.]

runā-t runājām, apkure kā nav, tā nav.
 talk-INF talk.PST.1PL heating.NOM.SG how NEG.be.PRS.3 so NEG.be.PRS.3

'[only the problem itself does not change – one and the same issue has been talked over for four years already.] **We kept talking,** but the heating is still missing.'

(33) *Kāzu torti viesi slavē-t slavēja.*
 wedding.GEN.PL cake.ACC.SG guest.NOM.PL praise-INF praise.PST.3

'The guests praised the wedding cake very much.'

(34) *Visiem bija darbs un maize, dzert dzēra* toreiz, bet šodien dzer daudz vairāk un karas, slīcinās arī, no bezcerības

'Everybody was earning a living. **True, people were drinking** at the time, but today people are drinking much more and are hanging and drowning themselves out of hopelessness'

Construction V(TRS) V-PRS.PP

(35) *Tas ikaunis muld muld-am-o.*
 DEM.NOM.SG.M PN twaddle.PRS.3 twaddle-PRS.PP-ACC.SG.DEF

'This ikaunis **is talking nonsense.**'

Examples of constructions with the agent noun *gulētājs* ‘sleeper’

(36) *Es esmu gulē-tāj-s –*
 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG sleep-AGN-NOM.SG
 [bieži smejos, ka bez problēmām varētu aizmigt stāvot kājās trolejbusā]
 ‘I am one that sleeps a lot – [I always joke that I could easily fall asleep standing in the trolleybus]’

(37) *Bērns man gulē-tāj-s,*
 child.NOM.SG 1SG.DAT sleep-AGN-NOM.SG
 [bet miega badu citās dzīves situācijās esmu piedzīvojuši]
 ‘My child sleeps well, [but I have experienced lack of sleep in other situations in life]’

With modifier

(38) *Mazais ir ļoti slikts gulēt-āj-s,*
 small.NOM.SG.M.DEF be.PRS.3 very bad.NOM.SG.M sleep-AGN-NOM.SG
 [bet šķiet, ka tas ir mans nopelns, jo bērns jau atspoguļo mammu].
 ‘My child is a very bad sleeper, [but it seems that this is my fault, for a child reflects its mother, doesn’t it.]’

(39) [problēmas sākās iepriekš jo]
mazais ir nakts gulē-tāj-s
 small.NOM.SG.M.DEF be.PRS.3 night.GEN.SG sleep-AGN-NOM.SG
 ‘Problems (with breastfeeding) started earlier, for my child is one that sleeps at night’

With negation

(40) *Bet arī kopā ņemot,*
spāņi nav lieli gulētāji
 Spanish.NOM.PL NEG.be.PRS.3 big.NOM.PL sleep-AGN-NOM.PL
 ‘[But in general,] the Spanish do not sleep a lot’

(41) [tiesa šis bērns]
nekad nav bijis mašīnā gulē-tāj-s
 never NEG.be.PRS.3 be.PST.PA.SG.M car.LOC.SG sleep-AGN-NOM.PL
 ‘[True, this child] has never been one that sleeps in the car’

(42) *No sākuma mūs ievietoja vienā lielā istabā ar 15 slimniekiem. Tak šādā daudzumā miera nebija, jo naktī ejot uz atteju durvis tika stiprāk pievērtas un tā es nekāds gulē-tāj-s nebiju.*
 so 1SG.NOM no_such.NOM.SG.M sleep-AGN-NOM.SG neg.be.PST.1SG
 ‘First they put us into one big room with 15 patients. With this many [people] there was no piece, for when going to the loo in the night the door was closed forcefully and] so I did not sleep much (“I was not one of the kind that sleeps”).’

Agent noun as modifier

(43) *Vienkārši ir bērni gulē-tāj-i*
 simply be.PRS.3 child.NOM.PL sleep-AGN-NOM.PL
un bērni ne-gulē-tāj-i.
 and child.NOM.PL NEG-sleep-AGN-NOM.PL
 ‘There simply are children that sleep and children that don’t sleep (habitually)’