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DAROS UN ŅEMOS:

AN ANTIPASSIVE-BASED CONSTRUCTION IN LATVIAN

Introduction

- reflexive verbs *ņemties* and *darīties*
- very general meaning
- lvTenTen14 (annotated web corpus, 658 mln tokens, sketch engine)
- polysemous, only examples like

[*Dzīve ir tik ilgi,*

kamēr tu darīe-s un ņemie-s.

while 2SG.NOM **be.active.2SG-RFL** and **be.occupied.2SG-RFL**

‘[There is life so long] as you are not idle.’

- glosses vs translation depending on the context
- refer to the same situation
- “coordination construction”

Structure

reflexive uses of *darīt* and *ḡemt* with special reference to antipassive construction: interaction between the meanings of the verbs and grammatical properties

why the coordination construction attracts antipassives

Reflexives: derivation from transitives

ņem-t ‘take’ > *ņem-tie-s*

Ņemu ieroci un šauju.

take.PRS.1SG weapon.ACC.SG and fire.PRS.1SG

‘I take a weapon and fire (it).’

darī-t ‘do; make’ > *darī-tie-s*

Es daru savu darbu.

1SG.NOM **do.PRS.1SG** RFL.ACC.SG job.ACC.SG

‘I’m doing my job’

Reflexives: uses

Holvoet (2020)

- ◆ natural reflexives

mark the assignement of the agent and the patient roles to the same participant

‘wash’: Lithuanian *prausti-s*, Latvian *mazgātie-s*

- ◆ autobenefactives

the same participant is given the agent and the beneficiary roles

‘buy’: Lithuanian *pirkti-s*

- ◆ metonymic extensions of natural reflexives

the patient belongs to the agent’s personal sphere

‘button one’s clothes’: Lithuanian *segti-s*, Latvian *pogātie-s*

- ◆ <...>

Reflexives: development of antipassives

Holvoet (2020): antipassives develop from extended metonymic uses of natural reflexives:

(simplified example)

Māte *lāpījā-s*
mother.NOM.SG **mend.PST.3-RFL**

◆ metonymic extension of natural reflexives: ‘Mother did her mending’

◆ antipassive: ‘Mother was busy mending’ — the object is demoted

~~but *darīties* and *ņemties* which seem to have another source!~~

a possible link to autobenefactives

Reflexives: development of antipassives

autobenefactive

- common in Lithuanian

perka-si bilietą

buy.PRS.3-RFL ticket.ACC.SG

‘(S/he, they) buys a ticket for themselves’

-- such reflexives can take direct objects because the position of the patient is free: the two roles assigned to the same participant are the agent and the beneficiary rather than the agent and the patient

- uncommon in Latvian

[*Tad nu, ķēniņi, esiet gudri,*

ņemietie-s prātu, zemes soģi <...>

take.IM P.2PL-RFL reason.ACC.SG earth.GEN.SG judge.NOM.PL

= [Be wise now therefore, O ye kings:] be instructed, ye judges of the earth.

Reflexives: development of antipassives

authobenefactives in Modern Latvian?

transitive reflexive verbs with restrictions on direct objects

no nouns, in/definite pronouns (*viss, kas, viss kas, kaut kas*)

in/definite pronouns are more object-like after the verb (rare)

[*Kad visu laiku esi vienā ritenī un tik skrien un skrien un skrien, tiecies ar cilvēkiem, ballējies,*]

daries visu kas vien ienāk prātā,

do.PRS.2SG-RFL all.ACC.SG what.NOM.SG only enter.PRS.3 mind.LOC.SG

[*bez miega, bez atpūtas*]

‘[When you are constantly turning <as a squirrel> in a wheel, running, running, running, meeting with people, socialising,] doing everything you can imagine, [without sleep, without rest]’

Reflexives: development of antipassives

in/definite pronouns are less object-like before the verb (frequent)

phonological reduction (unstressed)

Es visu ko daros saistībā
1SG.NOM **all.ACC.SG** **what.ACC** **do.PRS.1SG-RFL** connection.LOC.SG

ar mūziku,

with music.ACC.SG

[*bet Linda ir smaržu speciāliste.*]

‘I do various things with music [but Linda specialises in smells]’

semantic reduction (generic object),

cf. object demotion in the antipassive construction

Reflexives: development of antipassives

- with natural reflexives and their metonymic extensions
- no reference to the patient because the patient coincides with the agent!

<...> *kaut ko aizbildino-s*

INDEF.ACC.SG make.excuses.PRS.1SG-RFL

par vecumu un slimajām kājām.

about age.ACC.SG and sick.DAT.PL.DEF leg.DAT.PL

‘<...> I’m making excuses justifying myself with my age and problems with legs.’

cf. Russian (Èxo Moskvvy)

[*Byli kadry togo,*

kak on čego-to opravdyvaetsja <...>

how 3.SG.NOM INDEF.ACC/GEN.SG make.excuses.PRS.3SG-RFL

‘These was a video of him making excuses for himself’

kaut ko/čego-to do not correspond to arguments but expresses the speaker’s evaluation of the agent’s actions as unconvincing

Reflexives: development of antipassives

◆ common with antipassives

Visu laiku kaut ko ņemo-s,

all.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG PCL **what.ACC** take.PRS.1SG-RFL

kaut ko daro-s, raksto-s, meklējo-s,

PCL **what.ACC** do.PRS.1SG-RFL write.PRS.1SG-RFL search.PRS.1SG-RFL

[domāju, plānoju utt, bet neko prātīgu vēl neesmu izdarījusi]

‘I’m constantly fussing, doing smth, writing, searching, [thinking, planning etc, but I haven’t done anything useful yet]’

◆ antipassive without the particle

Ainas meita Dace darās

P.N.GEN.SG daughter.NOM.SG P.N.NOM.SG **do.PRS.3-RFL**

pa virtuvi.

about kitchen.ACC.SG

‘Aina’s daughter Dace is busy in the kitchen.’

Reflexives: development of antipassive

the combination of *darīties* and *ņemties* is possible with uses ~~that still retain strong links to the autobenefactive construction~~ where the pronoun is more like a direct object than a pragmatic device

Ļoti daudz ko ***darō-s*** *un* ***ņemo-s***
very much what.ACC **do.PRS.1SG-RFL** and **take.PRS.1SG-RFL**

[*un tik daudz kas notiek un tik daudz ko jāpaspēj*]

‘I’m busy with numerous things [and so many things are happening, and there are so many things I should get done]’

Cf. *Latvija* *var* ***darītie-s*** *un* ***ņemtie-s***,
Latvia.NOM .SG can.PRS.3 **do.INF-RFL** and **take.INF-RFL**

[*bet tik un tā lietas lems Brisele.*]

‘Latvia can be very active, [but all the same, Brussels will be in charge.]’

Reflexives: types of antipassive

more information about antipassive as a class:
two varieties of antipassive (Holvoet 2020)

◆ deobjective eliminates the patient

rakt zemi 'dig the earth' > *raktie-s* 'to be busy digging'

◆ deaccusative reintroduces the patient with oblique marking

raktie-s 'to be busy digging' > *raktie-s pa zemi* 'to dig around in the earth'

both types are found with *dar̄ities* and *ḡemties*

but *dar̄ities* is more likely to occur in the deobjective construction,
and *ḡemties* in the deaccusative construction

Reflexives: types of antipassive

both types are possible with *darīties*

◆ deaccusative

Tur jau katrs darā-s kā grib.

there PCL every.NOM.SG.M **do.PRS.3-RFL** as want.PRS.3

‘Everybody there acts as s/he wants.’

◆ deobjective (instrumental type)

Kamēr darīe-s ar vienu lietu,

while **do.PRS.1SG-RFL with** single.ACC.SG thing.ACC.SG

[*viss darbojas ļoti labi.*]

‘So far as you are busy with one thing [everything works fine.]’

Reflexives: types of antipassive

Šis autors jau te visu laiku ņema-s.

DEM author.NOM.SG. PCL here all.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG **take.PRS.3-RFL**

[*Var atpazīt pēc rupjajām latviešu valodas kļūdām.*]

‘This author is active here all the time. [One can identify them by their bad Latvian.]’

[*Jau bērnībā viņš nespēlējās ar rotaļlietām,*

bet ņēmā-s ar pārtikas produktiem.

but **take.PST.3-RFL with** food.GEN.SG product.DAT.PL

‘Even as a child he didn’t play with toys but busied himself with food products.’

[*Nemaz nav jābūt pianistam,*

lai ņemto-s ap klavierēm.

in.order **take.SBJ-RFL around** piano.DAT.PL

‘One doesn’t need to be a pianist in order to spend time around a piano.’

Cik ilgi varat ņemtie-s gar politiku!

how long.ADV can.PRS.2PL **take.INF-RFL along** politics.ACC.SG

‘You cannot be occupied with politics for so long!’

Reflexives: other uses

other reflexive uses (passive-like configuration of the arguments)

- anticausative (the most frequent use of *darīties*)

Paskatieties, kas darā-s aiz loga.

take.look.IM P.2PL what.NOM .SG **do.PRS.3-RFL** behind window.GEN .SG

‘Take a look at what is happening under your window’

- facilitative (very rare)

<...> *miziņa viegli ņema-s nost,*

peel.NOM .SG easily **take.PRS.3-RFL** off

[*jo tā paliek cietāka.*]

‘The (apple) peel comes off easily [because it gets denser]’

Vislabāk darbi darā-s vakarā.

best work.NOM .PL **do.PRS.3-RFL** evening.LOC .SG

‘Work is easiest to do in the evening.’

Reflexives: summing up

the verbs *ṇemties* and *darīties* are regularly derived reflexives

a number of reflexives uses

(autobenefactives, antipassives, anticausatives, facilitatives)

~~antipassives uses of *ṇemties* and *darīties* are linked to autobenefactive uses, with numerous intermediate uses between them~~

~~the coordination construction involving *ṇemties* and *darīties* employ antipassive uses as well as the whole range of intermediate uses~~

Structure

reflexive uses of *darīt* and *ḡemt* with special reference to antipassive

construction: coordination of synonymous verbs

interaction between antipassives and the construction

Construction: tautology

[*Dzīve ir tik ilgi,*]

kamēr tu darie-s un ņemie-s.

while 2SG.NOM **be.active.2SG-RFL** and **be.occupied.2SG-RFL**

‘[There is life so long] as you are not idle.’

Coordination of synonymous verbs is not dissimilar to repetition of identical verbs

Mēs skrienam un skrienam,

1PL.NOM **run.PRS.1PL** and **run.PRS.1PL**

[*un pat nepadomājam – priekš kam mēs to darām.*]

‘We run and run, [and we don’t even think what’s the point of doing this]’

— **slow progress on the part of the agent and/or lack of results.**

Connotation is not necessarily negative (action is performed for fun):

[*Viss bija lieliski*]

un gribējās tikai skriet un skriet <...>

and want.PST.3.RFL only **run.INF** and **run.INF**

‘Everything was wonderful, I/we only wanted to keep on running’

Construction: tautology

If the lengthy process is successful, the result has to be made explicit:

[*Tas ir milzīgs gandarījums,*]

kad tu ņemie-s, ņemie-s

when 2SG.NOM **take.PRS.2SG-RFL take.PRS.2SG-RFL**

un ir arī rezultāts.

and be.PRS.3 also result.NOM.SG

‘[It is immensely satisfying] when you put a lot of effort and there is a result’

Construction: tautology

Instead of being identical or synonymous, verbs may only share some components of meaning, e.g. corpus results for *sēdēt* ‘sit’ and V: *gaidīt* ‘wait’ (12%), *domāt* ‘think’ (8%), *skatīties* ‘look’ (6%), *klausīties* ‘listen’ (3%) vs *sēdēt* ‘sit’ (1%)

Kamēr mēs raujam un grābjam,
while 1PL.NOM pull.PRS.1PL and grab.PRS.1PL
pārējie sēž un gaida.

other.NOM.PL.DEF **sit.PRS.3** and **wait.PRS.3**

‘While we are busy pulling and grabbing, others spend their time sitting and waiting.’

Jūs te sēžat un sēžat,
2PL.NOM here sit.2PL and sit.2PL
[*un neko nevarat izspriest*]

‘You keep sitting here [without being able to reach a decision]’

Construction: tautology

darīties and *ņemties* are most often found with each other
(10% of *ņemties* and 28% of *darīties*)

Es caur asarām, dusmām un visām citām
1SG.NOM through tear.DAT.PL anger.DAT.PL and all.DAT.PL other.DAT.PL
emocijām ņēmo-s un darījo-s.

emotion.DAT.PL **take.PST.1SG-RFL** and **do.PST.1SG-RFL**

‘Through tears, anger and all other emotions, I kept on with my activities’

Ļoti daudz ko daro-s un ņemo-s

very much what.ACC **do.PRS.1SG-RFL** and **take.PRS.1SG-RFL**

[*un tik daudz kas notiek un tik daudz ko jāpaspēj*]

‘I’m busy with numerous things [and so many things are happening, and there are so many things I should get done]’

No comparable uses of non-reflexive *ņemt* and *darīt* are found!

Construction: tautology

ņemties is also relatively often used in coordination with itself (6%)

Šie ņēmā-s un ņēmā-s
DEM.NOM.PL **take.PST.3-RFL** and **take.PST.3-RFL**
[— *nekas nelīdzēja.*]
‘They kept fussing but nothing helped.’

There is a single example of *darīties* coordinated with the non-reflexive *darīt* (1%)

[*Ja tev ir ko teikt,*
ja tu dari un darie-s,
if 2SG.NOM **do.PRS.2SG** and **do.PRS.2SG-RFL**
[*būšana Twitterī ir vienkārša*]
‘[If you have anything to say,] if you are active [then being on Twitter is not a problem]’

Construction: tautology

skriet ‘run’ is the second most frequent verbs found with both *ņemties* (4%) and *darīties* (11%)

[*Ir cilvēki,*

kuri visu mūžu skrien un darās <...>

REL.NOM.PL all.ACC.SG life.ACC.SG **run.PRS.3** and **do.PRS.3-RFL**

‘There are people who are busy running around and doing things all their lives’

Kur tas muļķīgais kaķis šitā

where DEM.NOM.SG stupid.NOM.SG.DEF cat.NOM.SG thus

var skriet un ņemtie-s?

can.PRS.3 **run.INF** and **take.INF-RFL**

‘Where can this stupid cat run and make a ruckus like this?’

Construction: tautology

examples with other verbs

Tāpēc arī varu rakstīt un ņemtie-s

therefore also can.PRS.1SG **write.INF** and **take.INF-RFL**

visu cauru darba laiku <...>

all.ACC.SG non.stop.ACC.SG work.GEN.SG time.ACC.SG

‘That’s why I can write and be occupied all my work time’

[Kā izrādās ir tikai daži daudz maz spēcīgāki blogeri,]

kas regulāri raksta un darā-s,

REL.NOM regularly **write.PRS.3** and **do.PRS.3-RFL**

[bet ne to, kas latvju bāleliņu interesētu.]

‘[It turns out there are only a few more or less influential bloggers] who regularly write and do things, [but these things are different from what would interest a common Latvian fellow]’

Construction: positions of *ņemties/darīties*

darīties is predominantly found as the final element (84%),
but *ņemties* is equally possible after and before another verb

[*Bet malacis esi,*]

ka **ņemies** *un fotografē!*

COMPL **take.PRS.2SG-RFL** and **photo.PRS.2SG**

‘[You are doing the right thing] when you put your time/effort (into this) and take pictures!’

<...> *kāpēc tik ļoti* **ņemie-s** *un uztraucie-s,*

why so much **take.PRS.2SG-RFL** and **worry.PRS.2SG-RFL**

[*kā dara citi?*]

‘why do you fuss and worry so much about what others do?’

Construction: longer sequences

[*katru dienu šķiet,*]

ka to vien daru kā skrienu

COMPL DEM.ACC.SG only do.PRS.1SG as run.PRS.1

un ņemo-s un daro-s,

and **take.PRS.1SG-RFL** and **do.PRS.1-RFL**

[*bet tik un tā darbu kā jūra*]

‘It seems that I spend every day running, fussing and doing things, but all the same, there is a lot to do’

[*suns entuziasts ārprātīgs,*]

ņēmā-s un lēkāja un darījā-s

take.PST.3-RFL and **jump.PST.3** and **do.PST.3-RFL**

‘The dog, being the crazy enthusiast he is, fussed and jumped, and did all kinds of things’

Construction: imperfective

The semantic effect of slow progress/lack of result is absent with perfectives, cf.

[*Ja vēlies*]

vari *pats* *ņemtie-s* *un* *saorganizēt*

can.PRS.2SG self.NOM.SG **take**.INF-RFL and PREF.**organise**.INF

šādu *pasākumu,*

such.ACC.SG event.ACC.SG

[*tad redzēsi un zināsi, kur tā nauda paliek un cik tas ir vienkārši!*]

‘[If you wish,] you can just organise this kind of event yourself [and then you will see where all the money goes and how easily it is done!]

where *ņemties* might be equivalent to *saņemties* ‘take heart’ (perfective and natural reflexive rather than antipassive)

— see also Nau, Kozhanov, Lindström, Laugalienė, Brudzyński (2019) on ‘take’ and V constructions

Construction: dependents and cohesion

The effect produced by repetition of verbs with shared semantic components is reduced when dependents are inserted between

vajag tikai kustināt smadzenes un darītie-s,
need.PRS.3 only **move.INF** brain.ACC.PL and **do.INF-RFL**

[*tad arī Latvija uzplauks un visi būs laimīgi*]

‘one only needs to use one’s brain and be active, [then Latvia will prosper and] everybody will be happy’

[*Viņam nevajadzētu būt kā klasiskam kultūras raidījumam, kā Nacionālajiem dārgumiem,*]

kur runā par vienu autoru un ņema-s.

where **speak.PRS.3** about one.ACC.SG author.ACC.SG and **take.PRS.3-RFL**

‘It shouldn’t be like a classic culture show like “National treasures” where they speak about one author and make a fuss’

Construction: cohesion

Dependents of *ņemties/darīties* can cancel the redundancy effect even if they are found after the final verb as they restrict the meaning of the verb

Ai, kā Tev patīk ciest un ņemtie-s

INTERJ how 2SG.DAT please.PRS.3 **suffer.INF** and **take.INF-RFL**

ar visādām ilūzijām.

with various.DAT.PL illusion.DAT.PL

‘You like it so much, to suffer and entertain all kinds of illusions’

ēdu un daro-s pa māju

eat.PRS.1SG and **do.PRS.1SG-RFL** about house.ACC.SG

‘I eat and do work around the house’

Construction: cohesion

But *ņemties/darīties* coordinated with another verb can also have what look like shared dependents

Starp citu var te cepties un ņemtie-s
by.the.way can.PRS.3 here **roast.INF.RFL** and **take.INF-RFL**

par visu ko,
about all.ACC.SG what.ACC.SG

[*bet ZZS elektorāts kā ir virs 5%, tā ir.*]

‘By the way, one can seethe and fuss as one pleases (literally: over everything) but ZZS voters remain above 5% anyway’

Construction: transitivity

stronger cohesion is more likely to be found between verbs that do not have dependents, including intransitive verbs or non-transitive uses of transitive verbs

Un es tikai rakstīju un rakstīju

and 1SG.NOM only **write.PST.1SG** and **write.PST.1SG**

sava prieka pēc.

RFL.GEN.SG joy.GEN.SG for

‘And I was dedicating all my time to writing for my own pleasure’

? *Un es tikai rakstīju tekstus un*

and 1SG.NOM only **write.PST.1SG** text.ACC.PL and

rakstīju tekstus sava prieka pēc.

write.PST.1SG text.ACC.PL RFL.GEN.SG joy.GEN.SG for

‘And I was dedicating all my time to writing texts for my own pleasure’

Construction: summing up

- ◆ slow progress / lack of result
- ◆ coordinated structure of two or more verbs
- ◆ various degree of affinity of meaning
(identical, synonymous, sharing some common elements)
- ◆ imperfectives
- ◆ preferably no dependents
- ◆ intransitives

Interaction with antipassive

The coordination construction is found with many verbs apart from *ņemties* and *darīties* (e.g. *skrien un skrien* 'run', *sēž un gaida* 'sit and wait') that are not antipassives. The use of antipassives is made possible by similarities between the coordination construction and the antipassive construction

emphasis on (unproductive) activity

imperfectives

intransitives

Interaction with antipassive

antipassives often occur in strings containing other antipassives or non-reflexives verbs

[*Jā, tā strādā viņi visi, šie velna apsēstie, šie zinātnes ļaudis –*]

urķēja-s un rakņāja-s,

rake.PST.3-RFL and **dig.PST.3-RFL**

[*elsdami un pūzdami aiz piepūles.*]

‘[Yes, this is how they work, the obsessed ones, the people of science —] they rake and dig around, [panting and puffing as they overwork themselves]’

Divas nedēļas rakņājo-s un meklēju,

two.ACC.PL week.ACC.PL dig.PST.1SG-RFL and **search.PST.1SG**

[*lai saprastu, kas bija Fridrihs Barbarosa*]

‘I digged around and searched for two week[trying to understand who Friedrich Barbarossa was]’

Conclusions

- verbs sharing components of meanings are coordinated in order to refer to the same event as slow in progress and/or lacking results
- the construction requires verbs be imperfective, intransitive and, preferably, having no other dependents
- the construction shares properties with antipassives which stimulates its use with antipassives

[*Dzīve ir tik ilgi,*]

*kamēr tu **darie-s** un **ņemie-s.***

while 2SG.NOM **be.active.2SG-RFL** and **be.occupied.2SG-RFL**

‘[There is life so long] as you are not idle.’

Perspectives

corpus study: looking for regular combinations of verbs sharing similar meanings and referring to the same situation
typological parallels with a higher degree of grammaticalisation

