

An elusive experiential tense construction in Latvian

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The article is a contribution to the study of experiential and indefinite past-tense forms. It offers an analysis of the Latvian past-tense construction *tikt* + PPA, which is now a feature of the Latvian standard language though it was originally restricted to Eastern Latvia (probably mainly the High Latvian dialects). It can be characterised as an experiential but has a wider scope than the prototypical experiential, which refers to event types in the past without precise location in time. The Latvian construction with *tikt* can also refer to events that are more precisely anchored in time and then develops into a non-resultative and non-narrative past-tense form reminiscent of the factual imperfective in Russian. The question is also raised whether differences can be found between the use of the construction *tikt* + PPA in texts reflecting its distribution in the regional dialects where it used to be indigenous and in the modern standard language.

Keywords: Latvian, indefinite past tense, experiential, event type, event token, factual imperfective

1. Introduction¹

This article deals with a Latvian construction (described in Latvian grammars as a tense form) used to refer to events in the past, consisting of the verb *tikt* ‘get, become’ and a past active participle. It is illustrated here with example (1):

¹ We wish to thank two reviewers for their insightful and constructive criticisms, Anna Stafecka for answering our questions in the domain of Latvian dialectology, and Peter Arkadiev, Nicole Nau and Rolandas Mikulskas for their useful comments on our draft version. For all remaining shortcomings of the article we are solely responsible. This research has received funding from the European Social Fund (project No. 09.3.3-LMT-K-712-01-0071) under grant agreement with the Research Council of Lithuania (LMTLT).

- (1) *Es arī par vienu tādu tiku dzirdējis,*
 1SG.NOM also about one.ACC.SG such.ACC.SG **TIKT.PST.1SG**
hear.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 [*kas 90-tajos iesaistījās bandā tikai tāpat, joka pēc.*]
 ‘I have also heard about one person [who, in the 1990s, became a gang member just like that, for a joke.]’²

The construction *tiku dzirdējis* is reminiscent of, and (at least in this case) could be replaced with, the perfect *esmu dzirdējis*. The Latvian perfect consists of the auxiliary *būt* ‘be’ and the past active participle, and is part of a system of absolute and relative tenses shown in Table 1:

Table 1. *The Latvian tense system*

	Simple	Perfect
Present	<i>dzirdu</i> ‘I hear’	<i>esmu dzirdējis</i> (M), <i>dzirdējusi</i> (F) ‘I have heard’
Past	<i>dzirdēju</i> ‘I heard’	<i>biju dzirdējis</i> (M), <i>dzirdējusi</i> (F) ‘I had heard’
Future	<i>dzirdēšu</i> ‘I will hear’	<i>būšu dzirdējis</i> (M), <i>dzirdējusi</i> (F) ‘I will have heard’

The construction *tiku dzirdējis/dzirdējusi*, on the other hand, does not enter a regular form correlation like the ‘be’-perfect does. Though *tiku dzirdējis* would, in (1), correspond to a present perfect, *tiku* is actually a past tense, and there is no corresponding construction with a present tense of this verb (**tiek dzirdējis*), or with a future (**tikšu dzirdējis*). It would be hard, therefore, to find a fitting slot for it in the conjugation tables for Latvian verbs, but it is nevertheless mentioned in Latvian grammars as a variety of the past tense or the perfect (for details see below). As we will show below, the construction under discussion has certain functions that coincide with those of the experiential perfect, but it also has functions that could alternatively be expressed by the pluperfect, and such as could alternatively be expressed by the simple past. In each of these types of use, it could actually be replaced with these respective tense forms, and

² <https://nra.lv/viedokli/viktors-avotins/229763-valsts-pilsonis-nav-valsts-ipasums.htm/komentari>

its use is never obligatory. It usually asserts or negates the occurrence of an event or a series of events at an indefinite moment in the past, and in this sense it has certain features of what Dahl (1985, 139–144)³ calls ‘experiential’, a tense form referring mainly to event types in the past. However, the construction with *tikt* is not a prototypical experiential in the sense that it can also refer, in specific cases, to event tokens. In this article we will endeavour to get a better understanding of the functioning of our construction.

The structure of the article is as follows. First, we will briefly characterise the empirical basis for our research, including the corpora available for Latvian, and the sociolinguistic history of Latvian, as this is indispensable for a correct understanding of the occurrence of our construction. Next, in order to provide a context for the use of the verb *tikt* as an auxiliary, we will give an overview of verbal constructions headed by this verb. We will then concentrate on the construction based on the preterite *tiku* and the active past participle, which, unlike other constructions with *tikt*, is not indigenous in all regional dialects of Latvian. We will analyse its use on the basis of texts written by representatives of the regional dialects that have the construction, and attempt to formulate the principles of its use. Next, we will examine the situation in contemporary written standard Latvian, and we will pose the question whether the character of the construction has changed in the process of its becoming a feature of the standard language.

2. Corpora and other sources

We have used several Latvian language corpora, almost all of them found at *korpuss.lv*. The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (in its older version called *miljons-2.0.*) and the Corpus of Saeima (Latvian Parliament) Proceedings represent the modern standard language, and the corpus of texts by the Latvian classic Jānis Rainis reflects the usage of the second half of the 19th century. Another source on 19th century Latvian which we have used is the literary production of Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš, especially his novels *Baltā grāmata* (‘The White Book’) and *Zaļā grāmata* (‘The Green Book’).

³ The term seems, however, to have originated in grammatical descriptions of certain individual languages, such as Mandarin (Östen Dahl, p.c.).

The *miljons-2.0* corpus contains written texts, both fiction and non-fiction, from the last decade of the 20th century. *Miljons-2.0* was used to extract all instances of the verb *tikt* in 2013-2014, when it had 3.5 mln words. The data it contained have now been integrated into a new version of the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2013, 4.5 mln words). The *Saeima* (Parliament) corpus (17.5 mln words) is, in essence, a transcript of sessions of the Latvian Parliament from the last decade of the 20th century up to 2018, and therefore reflects elements of (admittedly not always quite spontaneous) spoken language. The Rainis corpus (further referred to as *Rainis*) contains 1.5 mln words and can be searched at <http://nosketch.korpuss.lv/run.cgi/first?corpname=rainis>.

3. The sociolinguistic history of standard Latvian

For more background information on Latvian the reader can be referred to Balode and Holvoet (2001). For the purposes of our article it is important to note that standard Latvian as we now know it is of relatively recent origin. Latvian is attested from the 16th century, but until the 19th century Latvian texts were written mainly by German pastors for the use of the Lutheran (less frequently Roman Catholic) churches in Latvia. The national revival in the 19th century led to the rise of a Latvian literary idiom cultivated by ethnically Latvian authors. The establishment of the Republic of Latvia in 1918 ushered in the introduction of Latvian in all spheres of public life, and Standard Latvian began to oust the popular dialects. The dialectal base for Standard Latvian (often referred to as the ‘central dialect’ of Low Latvian) had been established since the 17th century, but Latvian writers from the mid-19th century up to World War II were also speakers of their regional dialects, and some characteristics of these dialects are reflected in their language. The final consolidation of Standard Latvian took place after World War II.

The construction to be discussed in this article was originally indigenous only to part of the regional dialects of Latvian. This does, however, not apply to all grammatical or semi-grammatical constructions in which the verb *tikt* occurs, but just to this one. In order to provide a broader context for the discussion of our construction, we will start with an overview of

the different functions of *tikt* in Latvian grammar, after which we will focus on the construction *tiku* + past active participle.

4. The place of the verb *tikt* in Latvian grammar

This section discusses the various uses of *tikt* on the basis of Daugavet (2015), where various uses of this verb are analysed as they are found in a subcorpus of the older version of the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian called *miljons-2.0*. The subcorpus is also the source of all examples in the current section, although at one point we will refer to the Rainis corpus, which provides a comparison with an earlier stage of the Latvian literary language. This section also discusses dialectal variation.

Latvian *tikt*, which replaced (through a change in ablaut pattern, cf. Endzelin 1923, 60) an original Proto-Latvian form **tekti*, is the exact etymological counterpart of Lithuanian *tekti*, which (by itself or combined with prefixes) has the meanings ‘get to some place, find oneself somewhere, fall to somebody’s share, happen, be necessary’. This Baltic lexeme has no reliable etymology; the *Lexicon of Indo-European Verbs* (Rix *et al.*, eds. 2001, 619) derives it from an Indo-European stem **tek-* ‘hold out a hand, reach out’, cf. also Smoczyński 2018, 1465), but it seems reasonable to assume that the intransitive spatial meaning ‘get to some place’ was the original one for Baltic, and that it underlies the possessive as well as the implicative and modal meanings.

In modern Latvian, the meaning of *tikt* is similar to that of English *get* in its intransitive uses. The general idea is a subject’s translocation or change of state. This meaning becomes more specific in combination with certain case forms of nouns, as well as with adverbs, adjectives, and participles. In this last case, *tikt* develops into an auxiliary. The constructions reflecting the different stages of this development can be grouped into two major classes. The first class is translocational or involves a clearly discernible translocational metaphor, and apart from adverbs it also comprises locative case forms of nouns as well as prepositional phrases. The second class can be called ‘copular’ and it contains combinations of *tikt* with adjectives and adjective-like participles, predicative nouns and prepositional phrases with the predication marker *par*. An overview is given in Table 2.

Table 2. *The functions of tikt in Latvian grammar*

class	meaning	construction
translocational	strictly translocational	<i>tikt</i> + LOC / PP / ADV
	translocation > inceptive possession	<i>tikt</i> + DAT
	translocation > implicative/modal	<i>tikt</i> + (LOC / PP) INF
copular	change of state > ingressive copula	<i>tikt</i> + ADJ/NOM/ <i>par</i> + ACC
	ingressive copula > dynamic passive	<i>tikt</i> + PPP
	ingressive copula > perfect-like construction	<i>tikt</i> + PPA

4.1. Translocational constructions

The verb *tikt* denotes translocation when combined with directional locatives, adverbs, and various prepositional phrases (with the important exception of those with the preposition *par*, which will be discussed separately below).

- (2) *Duša* *toreiz* *tikām* *reizi* *nedēļā*.
 shower.LOC.SG then **TIKT.PST.1PL** time.ACC.SG week.LOC.SG
 ‘We only got to the shower one time a week in those days.’

- (3) [*Centos uzmanīties*,]
tomēr *sula* *tika* *uz* *rokas* <...>
 but juice.NOM.SG **TIKT.PST.3** **on** **hand.GEN.SG**
 ‘[I tried to be careful] but the juice got on my hand <...>’

- (4) [*Dažkārt pagāja dienas*,]
līdz *Florence* *tika* *atpakaļ*,
 before Florence.NOM.SG **TIKT.PST.3** **back**
nogurusi *un* *nikna*.
 tired.NOM.SG.F and angry.NOM.SG.F
 ‘[Sometimes it was days] before Florence got back, tired and angry.’

The place that a subject moves to may be omitted if it is obvious to both speaker and addressee, as in the following example about passing entry examinations:

- (5) [*Vakar paziņoja eksāmenu rezultātus.*]
Katrīna ir tikusi.
 PN.NOM.SG **be.PRS.3** **TIKT.PPA.NOM.SG.F**
 ‘[They published the examination results yesterday.]
 Katrina has got in [sc. into university.]’

Directional locatives, adverbs and prepositional phrases are grouped together here not only because of their shared meaning of translocation. Very common with *tikt* are local adverbs, some of which originate as locative forms of nouns, such as *iekšā* ‘inside’, *laukā* ‘outside’, while others, such as *pāri* ‘across’, double as adverbs and adpositions (as they can assign case, like prepositions, they are termed ‘relational adverbs’ by Lagzdīņa 1998).

- (6) <...> *tramvajā gan es bez palīdzības*
tram.LOC.SG PTC 1SG.NOM without help.GEN.SG
iekšā netieku.
inside NEG.TIKT.PRS.1SG
 ‘<...> but I cannot get onto the tram without help.’
- (7) *Kā viņi pāri robežai tiek?*
 how 3.NOM.PL.M **across border.DAT.SG** **TIKT.3.PRS**
 ‘How do they get across the border?’

The same constructions can refer to a change of state:

- (8) <...> [*it kā cilvēki kā cilvēki, bet,*]
kad tiek kopā,
 when **TIKT.PRS.3** **together**
 [*tad gluži kā zvēri pret to vienu.*]
 ‘<...> [they look like normal people but,] when they get together,
 [then they are like beasts towards that lone one.]’
- (9) <...> *tieši šajā vietā Šerloks Holmss*
 exactly this.LOC.SG place.LOC.SG Sherlock.NOM.SG Holmes.NOM.SG
tika vaļā no profesora Moriartija.
TIKT.PST.3 free from professor.GEN.SG Moriarty.GEN.SG
 ‘<...> it is exactly in this place that Sherlock Holmes got rid of / broke free from Professor Moriarty.’

The shift from translocation to change of state yields some very frequent collocations, such as *tikt galā* ‘cope with’ (literally ‘get to the end of sth’), *tikt skaidrībā* ‘understand’ (literally ‘come into clarity’) etc. See the example below and more examples to follow.

- (10) *Un cik labi viņš tiek galā*
 and how well 3.NOM.SG.M **TIKT.PRS.3** **end.LOC.SG**
ar visu.
 with all.ACC.SG
 ‘And how well he manages everything.’

When combined with a recipient in the dative, the meaning of translocation is understood as inceptive possession.

- (11) *Dāvanas tika arī mūziķiem.*
 present.NOM.PL **TIKT.PST.3** also **musician.DAT.PL**
 ‘The musicians also got some presents.’
 Literally: ‘Some presents fell to the share of the musicians as well.’

A similar meaning, though with a different case frame (the possessor being encoded as subject), is expressed by a combination of *tikt* with a preposition *pie* followed by a noun in the genitive, which appears to be a further development of *tikt pie* + GEN in a purely spatial meaning, cf. the two examples below.

- (12) <...> *ceļš, caur kuru*
 way.NOM.SG through REL.ACC.SG
varētu tikt pie lielā
 be.able.IRR **TIKT.INF** **at** big.GEN.SG.M.DEF
Krievijas tirgus.
 Russia.GEN.SG market.GEN.SG
 ‘<...> a way that would enable one to gain access to the huge Russian market.’

- (13) *Tie, kas nebaidās riskēt,*
 DEM.NOM.PL.M REL.NOM NEG.fear.PRS.3.RFL risk.INF
tiek pie visādiem labumiem.
TIKT.PRS.3 **to** various.DAT.PL.M benefit.DAT.PL
 ‘Those who are not afraid of taking risks receive various benefits.’

A variety of this construction contains a verbal noun with the suffix *-šan-*, referring to a situation in which a person is brought by circumstances to exercise a certain type of activity:

- (14) *Labi, ka TTT pie spēlēšanas*
 good.ADV COMPL PN to play.ACN.GEN.SG
tika izlases kandidātes.
 TIKT.PST.3 national.team.GEN.SG candidate.NOM.PL
 ‘It is a good thing that candidates for the national team got to play in the TTT tournament.’

Instead of this prepositional phrase with a verbal noun we also rarely find an infinitive, probably arising through deletion of the directional phrase and expansion with what was originally an infinitive of purpose, see Daugavet (2015, 35). At this stage we could call *tikt* an implicative complement-taking verb. An implicative verb (for this notion see Karttunen 1971) is a verb implying that the event expressed by the clausal complement actually takes place (or, if the implicative verb is negated, does not take place), and specifying the necessary and sufficient conditions for this event to take place.

- (15) <...> *uz tā strādāt tiks paši*
 ON DEM.GEN.SG.M work.INF TIKT.FUT.3 very.NOM.PL.M
labākie.
 good.COMP.NOM.PL.M.DEF
 ‘<...> it is the very best ones who will get to work on it [sc. a ship].’

- (16) *Svarīgi, lai mūsējie tiek spēlēt.*
 important.ADV COMPL OUF.NOM.PL.M.DEF TIKT.PRS.3 play.INF
 ‘It is important that our people get to play.’

Although formally *tikt par* + ACC contains a prepositional phrase, it only expresses change of state and is synchronically no longer felt to involve a spatial metaphor.

- (17) <...> *laika gaitā tu mācies tiek par cilvēku.*
 time.GEN.SG course.LOC.SG 2SG.NOM learn.PRS.2SG.RFL TIKT.INF PRED human.being.ACC.SG
 ‘<...> you learn how to become a human being in course of time.’

The expression is synonymous with *tikt* + NOM, where *tikt* is accompanied by a noun in the nominative case.

- (18) [*Ja arī visas, kas gribēja,*
netika aktrises <...>
 NEG.TIKT.PST.3 actress.NOM.PL
 ‘[Even if not everybody who wanted to] became an actress <...>.’

While *tikt par* + ACC is formally identical to prepositional phrases conveying translocation, a noun in the nominative is a feature that unites *tikt* + NOM with adjectival constructions. Both *tikt par* + ACC and *tikt* + NOM are rare in *miljons-2.0*, although they are more frequent in the *Rainis* corpus.

4.2. Copular constructions

There is no clear difference in meaning between adverbial and adjectival constructions expressing change of state, cf. the examples below.

- (19) *Viņš* *netika* *skaidribā,*
 3.NOM.SG.M NEG.TIKT.PST.3 clarity.LOC.SG
 [*vai tiek vests uz tiesu vai operāciju zāli.*]
 ‘He was unable to understand [whether he was being taken
 to a courtroom or to an operating theatre.]’
- (20) *Un* *tu* *netiec* *gudrs* – *kāpēc.*
 and 2SG.NOM NEG.TIKT.PRS.2SG clever.NOM.SG.M why
 ‘And you can’t figure out why.’

The formal difference is that in adjectival constructions *tikt* combines with words that agree with the subject in gender and number.

Another frequent collocation of *tikt* and an adjectival complement has an adjective in the comparative form.

- (21) [*Te mēs sevi pazīstam kā tautu,*]
lai *tiktu* *vēl* *pilnīgāki.*
 COMPL TIKT.IRR more complete.COMP.NOM.PL.M
 ‘[Here we get to know ourselves as a nation] in order to become
 a more complete one.’

Although *tikt* + ADJ apparently reflects a transition towards analytical forms containing *tikt* as an auxiliary, it is rarely found in *miljons-2.0*, much like *tikt* + NOM and *tikt par* + ACC. All three constructions are however more common in the *Rainis* corpus, which means that they have fallen out of active use only recently.⁴

⁴ This cannot be an idiosyncratic feature of *Rainis*’ literary style because, as shown in Daugavet (2015, 56–57), a similar tendency manifests itself in a well-known text from the early 20th century, *Latviešu rakstniecības vēsture* (‘History of Latvian Literature’) by Teodors Zeiferts (Vols. 1–2, 1922, 1930).

There are two types of participles that combine with *tikt* as a kind of auxiliary to make up what looks like two different analytic forms. The first one, which is the most common use of *tikt*, is the actional (dynamic) passive. The use of the verb *būt* ‘be’ instead of *tikt* turns the construction into a resultative (stative) passive — see Holvoet (2001, 161–166) for more details on the use of *tikt* and ‘be’ in passive constructions.

- (22) *Tur mašīnas tika pārdotas*
 there car.NOM.PL **TIKT.PST.3** **sell.PPP.NOM.PL.F**
ar uzviju par 600 latiem.
 with profit.ACC.SG for 600 lats.DAT.PL
 ‘Cars were sold there with a 600 lats profit.’

- (23) *Ja ir pārdoti viltus jautājumi,*
 if **būt.PRS.3** **sell.PPP.NOM.PL.M** deceit.GEN.SG question.NOM.PL
 [*tā uzreiz ir krāpšana.*]
 ‘If the tests that have been sold are false, [this qualifies as fraud.]’

The use of *tikt* as an auxiliary with the actional (dynamic) passive was less widespread a hundred years ago when the alternative verbs *tapt* and *kļūt*, both meaning ‘become’, were more frequently used instead (Nau & Holvoet 2015, 10).

The second combination of *tikt* with a participle involves an active past participle producing a perfect-like form where *tikt* is found instead of the verb *būt* ‘be’ which one would expect to appear with the genuine perfect. As was mentioned in the introduction, the important formal distinction from the perfect is that in *tikt* + PPA the auxiliary-like *tikt* is only found in the past tense whereas *būt* in combination with the same participle can be used in any tense form yielding present perfect, past perfect, and future perfect forms respectively. See the examples with the present and the past perfect below.

- (24) *Es viņus visus tiku*
 1SG.NOM 3.ACC.PL.M all.ACC.PL.M **TIKT.PST.1SG**
saticis *nejauši.*
meet.PPA.NOM.SG.M accidentally
 ‘I met all of them only by accident.’

- (25) *Šad tad esmu saticis*
 sometimes **būt.PRS.1SG** **meet.PPA.NOM.SG.M**
domubiedrus.
 like.minded.person.ACC.PL
 ‘I have met like-minded persons at some points.’

- (26) *Ar laiku viņa bija satikusi*
 with time.ACC.SG 3.NOM.SG.F **be.PST.3 meet.PPA.NOM.SG.F**
dažus tādus <...>.
 few.ACC.PL.M such.ACC.PL.M
 ‘In course of time, she had met a few such persons <...>.’

There is a superficial similarity between the alternative use of *būt* and *tikt* with past active participles and the use of these two verbs as auxiliaries of the passive. As the passive with *tikt* is commonly referred to as actional passive in contradistinction to the stative passive with *būt*, the New Academy Grammar refers to *tikt* + PPA as the ‘actional perfect’ (Grigorjevs, ed., 2013, 480). This terminology is completely gratuitous: As there is no reason to regard the perfect with *būt* as specifically stative, there is also no reason to view the construction with *tikt* as dynamic in contrast to it.

4.3. Dialectal variation

According to Anna Stafecka (p.c.), the construction involving *tikt* and an active past participle was not taken into account when collecting the data for the Latvian Dialect Atlas, but dialectologists agree that it can be found in High Latvian, including both Selonian and Latgalian (for the standardised variety of the latter cf. Nau 2011, 50).

Map 1. Latvian dialects and regions referred to in the article



Evidence from those Latvian writers that were born in the 19th century allows us to include adjacent parts of the Low Latvian of Central Vidzeme in this area (Nicole Nau, p.c.). Among the numerous descriptions of dialects in the pre-war issues of the leading philological periodical *Filologu Biedrības*

Raksti as well as several post-war publications, it is only in a subset of descriptions of High Latvian, especially Selonian, that the construction is mentioned. It is particularly striking that Rūķe and Draviņš (1958), the authors of the most detailed description of any Latvian dialect, say not a word about it in their monograph on the Low Latvian dialect of Stende.

Since the works referred to are concerned more with phonology and inflectional morphology, the construction is only briefly mentioned among regular examples of other analytical forms, especially past perfect. Only about half of the authors comment explicitly on the auxiliary *tikt*, and the examples are often too short to allow conclusions about meaning. The list of almost identical examples below (not all of them complete sentences) nearly exhausts the relevant data in the publications.

- (27) Selonian dialect of Dignāja (Indāne 1986, 114)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>ār</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>es</i> | <i>na:tyku</i> | <i>pļoāvušę,</i> |
| with | DEM.ACC.SG | 1SG.NOM | NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG | mow.PPA.NOM.SG.F |
| <i>ręžęjūšę</i> | | <i>tyku</i> | | |
| see.PPA.NOM.SG.F | | TIKT.PST.1SG | | |
- ‘I have not mown with it, but I have seen (it).’
- (28) Selonian dialect of Sēlpils (Vīksne 1940, 71)
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>tiku</i> | <i>bejuse</i> |
| TIKT.PST.1SG | be.PPA.NOM.SG.F |
- ‘I have been’
- (29) Selonian dialect of Aknīste (Ancītis 1935, 190; 1977, 259)
- | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>es</i> | <i>tyku</i> | <i>bejš</i> |
| 1SG.NOM | TIKT.PST.1SG | be.PPA.NOM.SG.M |
- ‘I have been’ (the author adds ‘many times’)
- (30) Selonian dialect of Daudzese (Vīksne 1937, 158)
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>ēs</i> | <i>jòu</i> | <i>natik^a</i> | <i>skùola</i> |
| 1SG.NOM | PTC | NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG | school.LOC.SG |
| <i>ni-viēn^a</i> | | <i>dien^a</i> | <i>gòajs</i> |
| NEG.one.ACC.SG | | day.ACC.SG | go.PPA.NOM.SG.M |
- ‘I have not been to school for a single day’

Some dialects use an alternative indeclinable form *-um* (with a reflexive variety *-um-ies*) with both *tikt* and *būt*. This form is referred to as a participle (and is here glossed accordingly) but in origin it is probably a case form of a verbal noun in *-ums* (as assumed already by Mühlenbach 1905, 410–12 = 2011, 217–219):

- (31) Selonian dialect of Sausnēja (Poiša 1985, 62)
- | | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>a's</i> | <i>jòu</i> | <i>na:~ty:k</i> | <i>bij-ùm</i> |
| 1.SG.NOM | PTC | NEG-TIKT.PST | be-PTCP |
- 'I have not been [there]'

At least in one dialect (which also happens to belong to the Latgalian dialect group rather than the Selonian one as in the previous examples) *tikt* is claimed to be used in analytical forms with both past and present. As the author does not comment on function, it remains unclear whether there is any difference in meaning between (32a) and (32b) and whether (32b) should be translated with a past perfect form into English.

- (32) High Latvian dialect of Liezēre (Hauzenberga 1934, 192)
- a. *nij tiek òizgàjs uz dořbu nij*
 NEG TIKT.3.PRS GO.PPA.NOM.SG.M to work.ACC.SG NEG
 '(They) have not gone to (their) workplace.'
- b. *ęs tiku sędęse*
 1SG.NOM TIKT.PST.1SG sit.PPA.NOM.SG.F
 'I have (had?) sat'

In conclusion, we can say that the construction with *tikt* was originally a feature of part of the Latvian dialects, especially those of Selonian. It has, however, become a feature of the standard language, and the grammars (Endzelin 1923; Bergmane *et al.*, eds., 1959; Grigorjevs, ed., 2013) do not even mention its restriction to part of the Latvian dialects.

5. Description

Taking into account the facts discussed in the previous section, we will now consider how the construction with *tikt* and the past active participle should be interpreted. As mentioned, Endzelin and the Academy grammars describe it as a tense form, but Endzelin translates it as 'es fęgte sich' ('it thus happened') and compares it to Ancient Greek constructions with the verb *tynchánō* 'I happen to (be doing sth)', which also combines with participles:

- (33) Ancient Greek
- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>ętychen</i> | <i>hestękός</i> |
| happen.AOR.3SG | stand.PPFA.NOM.SG.M |
- 'he happened to be standing'

This account suggests that *tikt* + PPA should (like the construction with the infinitive mentioned in section 4.1) be interpreted as an implicative verb, and the whole construction as consisting of a higher predicate and its complement. Whether *tikt* is to be interpreted as an auxiliary or a complement-taking higher verb can probably not be decided on the basis of purely semantic arguments, but at this stage we should point out three facts:

- the construction at hand exists alongside and independently of the implicative construction with *tikt* and the infinitive. There is *a priori* no reason to assume that implicatives should combine with the infinitive; Greek *tynchánō*, cited as a parallel by Endzelin, would be a good example of an implicative verb taking participial complements. But the two constructions would have to be somehow differentiated as they do not seem to stand in free variation. This suggests that *tikt* + participle is something different from the implicative construction ‘happen to + V’.
- *tikt* is elsewhere treated as an auxiliary, viz. in combinations with passive participles; while this is, of course, not decisive for the interpretation of other constructions with *tikt*, it might show that this verb has a certain propensity for auxiliarisation;
- while the complement-taking implicative verb *tikt* is used in different tenses, the preterite *tiku* occurring in the construction at hand does not alternate with other tense forms, which suggests a specific kind of interaction with tense not characteristic of the implicative constructions with *tikt* and the infinitive, which show no such restrictions.

In accordance with the intuition of those linguists who have described the construction with *tikt* and the past active participle as a kind of tense form, we will investigate it on the assumption that its semantics can at least be compared with that of tense forms.

The examples with which, in this introductory section, we will attempt to give a preliminary characteristic of the use of the tense forms with *tikt* are taken from one single author. The reason is that, as mentioned above, this construction was originally restricted to one region of Latvia; its centre is constituted by the Selonian dialects. We have therefore singled out two texts by a writer native to this area, Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš (1877–1962), who was born in the civil parish of Nereta and had this gram in his na-

tive dialect. Our assumption is that in the period in which Jaunsudrabiņš acquired his native language the written language reflected the dialectal substratum represented by the writer more faithfully than nowadays, and that in those writers who have the construction it is used as in the substratum dialect. By way of comparison, the bulky novel *Rīga*, by Augusts Deglavs (1862–1922), who was born in the civil parish of Šķībe near Jelgava (Zemgale), does not contain a single instance of the construction. A modern Latvian writer might not have a native regional dialect and just use the construction with *tikt* because it is known to her/him as a feature of the standard language. Contemporary Latvian speakers who are in this situation must, of course, also have certain intuitions about the use of the construction, but these may not quite coincide with the original use in the regional dialects where it is indigenous; we will touch upon this question further on.

After a reconnaissance based on just one book by Jaunsudrabiņš, we will enlarge our empirical base including another text by this author; this will reveal new types of use which we will have to integrate in our description. In a next step, we will examine the use of our construction in Rainis (1865–1929). Like Jaunsudrabiņš, Rainis came from the area where our construction is indigenous. Owing to his status as a Latvian national writer, a digital corpus of his writing has been compiled. Importantly, this corpus also contains other text sorts apart from the narrative genre represented in Jaunsudrabiņš. It includes drama, poetry, publicistic texts and private correspondence. Rainis' data will reveal basically the same types of use, but different relative frequencies of the individual types according to genre. After that, we will switch to the modern language. As mentioned, the construction with *tikt* is recognised as a feature of the standard language, so it can potentially be used by speakers who have not necessarily inherited the construction from their native dialect. It should be mentioned that most speakers of modern Latvian do not have a native regional dialect, as the standardisation process has been rapidly extending since the establishment of the independent Latvian State in 1918. There is thus no longer any point in trying to establish where a person comes from. In examining the data of modern Latvian we will therefore take into account only text sort (genre). Here our sources will be *miljons-2.0*, which comprises basically narrative texts, and the Corpus of Saeima (Parliamentary) Proceedings, which reflects edited transcripts of oral speech.

6. A first reconnaissance based on Jaunsudrabiņš' *Baltā grāmata*

Jaunsudrabiņš' book of childhood reminiscences *Baltā grāmata* 'The White Book' contains only a dozen instances of our construction, too few to get an accurate picture of its use but enough to illustrate the main types of use and to compare them with the remaining past tense forms of the Latvian verb. First, we find cases where the construction with *tiku* could be replaced with a perfect – to be more precise, an experiential perfect:

- (34) *Daudzreiz es tiku dzirdējis,*
often 1SG.NOM **TIKT.PST.1SG** hear.PPA.NOM.SG.M
[*ka siļķe un kartupelis esot tāds ēdienu pāris, kurus tikpat labprāt ēdot ubags, kā ķeizars.*]
'Many times I have heard it said [that herring and potatoes are a pair of edibles that both a pauper and an emperor eat with equal relish.]'

It does not replace the resultative perfect, illustrated in sentence (35):

- (35) *Man bij tik liksmi ap sirdi,*
1SG.DAT be.PST.3 so gleeful.ADV about heart.ACC.SG
apzinoties, ka esmu izglābis kādu
realise.CVB that **be.PRS.1SG save.PPA.NOM.SG.M** some.ACC.SG
dzīvību.
life.ACC.SG
'My heart felt so elated at the realisation that I had saved a life.'

However, the construction with *tiku* is not just a "restricted perfect" with the experiential functions characteristic of the prototypical perfect but without the resultative ones (the co-occurrence of experiential and resultative functions being a definitional feature of a true perfect, cf. Dahl & Velupillai 2013). It can also be used in contexts where it would have to be replaced with a pluperfect rather than a perfect. It is then also experiential as in (34), but it is shifted to the past, that is, reference time is in the past and does not coincide with the narrator's 'now'. This is observed in (36):

- (36) *Manu naudu pazina visi mājas*
my.ACC.SG money.ACC know.PST.3 all.NOM.PL.M home.GEN.SG
ļaudis, jo es bieži par to
people[PL].NOM because 1SG.NOM often about it.ACC
tiku runājis.
TIKT.PST.1SG talk.PPA.NOM.SG.M
'The whole house knew about my 'money', for I had often been talking about it.'

Finally, we also find uses where the substitution of either a perfect or a pluperfect for the construction with *tikt* would be impossible, and a simple past would be called for:

- (37) *Iedoma, ka galdiņš varētu man
fancy.NOM.SG that table.DIM.NOM.SG could.IRR 1SG.DAT
zust, mani tik stipri nospieda, ka es
be.lost.INF 1SG.ACC so strongly depress.PST.3 that 1SG.NOM
visu ceļu netiku pasmējies.
all.ACC.SG way.ACC.SG NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG laugh.PPA.NOM.SG.M.RFL*
‘The thought that the little table could be lost to me depressed me so much that I didn’t laugh a single time on the whole way [home].’

In this case the construction *netiku pasmējies* could be replaced with the preterite *nepasmējos*. The perfect would not be possible here because this sentence is part of a narrative. Reference time is therefore in the past, and it does not coincide with the narrator’s ‘now’. What the construction *netiku pasmējies* seems to have in common with the perfect is the lack of reference to a specific moment. The form has negative existential function in that it is asserted there was not a single occurrence of laughing over the whole duration of the journey.

The contrast between the *tikt*-construction and the simple preterite can be seen from the following narrative sequence, which comprises the sentence analyzed in (37) and the follow-up sentence:

- (38) [*Iedoma, ka galdiņš varētu man zust, mani tik stipri nospieda, ka es visu ceļu netiku pasmējies.*]
*Māte redzēja manas bēdas un
mother.NOM.SG see.PST.3 my.ACC.PL.F sorrow[PL].ACC and
teica, ka citā reizē man
say.PST.3 that other.LOC.SG time.LOC.SG 1SG.DAT
vajagot prasīt.
be.needed.EVID ask.INF*
‘[The thought that the little table could be lost to me depressed me so much that I didn’t laugh a single time on the whole way home.] My mother saw my sorrow and said I would have to ask for it another time.’

The difference is in that the events in the follow-up sentence have an exact location in a narrative sequence: *redzēja* ‘saw’ presumably coincided with the duration of the drive but could also refer to a specific moment during the drive (as *redzēja* is aspectually vague), while *teica* refers to a

specific moment during the drive. In Reichenbachian terms (see Reichenbach 1947) we could preliminarily say (this will have to be corrected later on) that in both cases reference time coincides with event time. In order to characterise *netiku pasmējies* in the preceding sentence we have to operate with an extended reference time which can be said to comprise a number of instances of the event, or to comprise none.

As already mentioned above, the construction with *tikt* has certain features of what Dahl calls *experiential*, cf. Dahl (1985, 139–144). According to Dahl’s definition, “the basic use of *EXPER* is in sentences in which it is asserted (questioned, denied) that an event of a certain type took place at least once during a certain period up to a certain point in time.” One of the questions on the basis of which it is identified is

Q: When you came to this place a year ago, did you know my brother?
(No,) I not *MEET* him (before I came here but I met him later)

This would correspond to a pluperfect in those languages that have this category. In other words, Dahl’s experiential is not a restricted perfect (i.e. a perfect restricted to experiential function), and neither is the Latvian construction with *tikt*. Dahl’s questionnaire would cover two of the three types of use identified above for *tikt* + *PPA*, but the instances where it can be replaced with the simple past are somewhat problematic. Dahl’s formulation “during a certain period” should capture uses as in (37) if we assume that this interval may be closed at both ends, but such situations are not covered by a specific question in Dahl’s questionnaire. At any rate, the location within that interval is indefinite, and reference is made to a type of event, e.g., an instance of laughing.

The fact that the construction with *tikt* can correspond to three different tense forms means that the location of the event with regard to reference time *R* cannot be the same everywhere. This makes our tense form somewhat difficult to characterise in Reichenbachian terms. We will here attempt a characterisation that does not crucially rely on a certain relationship to *R* but tries to capture the similarity to the perfect in the sense of a certain indeterminacy of location on the axis of time through a specific relationship with event time *E*.

As is well known, there has been some discussion on whether time adverbials with perfects are associated with reference time or event time. It seems reasonable to assume that the time adverbial coincides with reference time in (39) but not in (40):

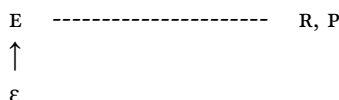
- (39) *I have **now** visited all countries of the world.*
 (40) *Like all men of the Library, I have travelled **in my youth**.*

In (40) reference time encompasses speech time, as the subject's experiences are being referred to as determining her/his state of consciousness. But the event itself is tied to a time frame clearly separated from the time of speech.

If we equate this time frame with event time, we must dissociate event time from the trace of the event on the axis of time, a solution also suggested by Kiparsky (2002) in his account of the experiential (in his terminology, existential) perfect. Kiparsky defines its meaning as the inclusion of ϵ , defined as the temporal trace of the event denoted by a predicate, in event time. Kiparsky goes on to say that "the event does not have to extend throughout the entire interval E [...] and the implicature is that it does not". Applied to example (37), the duration of the journey defines event time E , which is said to include no instantiation of the event.

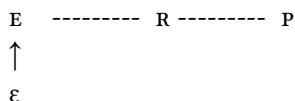
Kiparsky's neo-Reichenbachian account of the experiential perfect is shown in the following diagram, in which P is what Kiparsky calls "perspective time", a generalised notion subsuming speech time but allowing for narrative shifts etc. The arrow symbolises inclusion:

Figure 1. *Reichenbachian schema for the experiential perfect*
 (from Kiparsky 2002)



Kiparsky's schema can naturally be modified to accommodate situations where the construction with *tikt* corresponds to an experiential pluperfect:

Figure 2. *Reichenbachian schema for the pluperfect-like uses of tikt + PPA*



And, finally, by letting reference time coincide with event time, we can account for those uses where the construction with *tikt* can be replaced with a preterite:

Figure 3. Reichenbachian schema for the preterite-like uses of *tikt* + PPA

The relation of inclusion rather than coincidence might be the feature crucially opposing the construction with *tikt* to the narrative preterite, where the trace of the event is not distinct from event time.

The relation of inclusion says nothing about the number of instantiations of the event. The examples from Jaunsudrabiņš' *Baltā grāmata* have in common that the construction with *tikt* refers to more than one occasion when an event of a certain type took place during a certain period in the past. In fact, the iterativity of the situations they describe is overtly expressed by the adverbs *daudzreiz* 'many times' (34), *nez cik reizu* 'God knows how many times', *bieži (vien)* 'often' (36) and even *retu reizi* 'rarely'. Where a corresponding adverb is absent, the iterativity can be inferred from other elements of the context, cf. (41), where the mention of many agents forces an iterative reading:

- (41) [*Cik labprāt atceros visus tos ļaudis,*
kuri to.reiz bij ap mani un
 REL.NOM.PL.M that.time be.PST.3 around 1SG.ACC and
tika ar mani runājuši
 TIKT.PST.3 with 1SG.ACC talk.PPA.NOM.PL.M
kādu vārdu.
 INDEF.ACC.SG word.ACC.SG
 '[It is with great pleasure that I recall all those people] who used to surround me and have (at some time) exchanged a few words with me.'

In questions as well as in sentences with negation the iterativity is potential, as they refer to many situations where a certain event could have taken place (*kādreiz* 'any time', *nevienam* 'to no one' each corresponds to one/none out of many occasions/persons).

- (42) [*Bet jūs domājat,*
ka kād.reiz tika kas
 COMPL any.time TIKT.PST.3 INDEF.NOM.SG
zudis?
 disappear.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 'Do you think that anything ever disappeared at any time?'

- (43) <...> *es* *par* *notikumu* ***netiku***
 1SG.NOM about event.ACC.SG **NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG**
teicis *nevienam* *ne* *pušplēsta*
say.PPA.NOM.SG.M nobody.DAT NEG torn.in.two.GEN.SG.M
vārda,
 word.GEN.SG
 [un, ja es to tagad daru, tad tikai tāpēc, ka solītās algas vēl neesmu saņēmis.] ‘I have not said a blessed word about the event to anybody, [and, if I am doing so now, it is only because I still have not received the promised pay.]’

Another feature shared by almost all of the examples from *Baltā grāmata* is that (potentially) recurring events of a certain type are repeated over a period of time that has no clearly marked boundaries. While the end of this period implicitly coincides with the time of reference, its beginning may go back as far as the subject’s birth, thus comprising their whole life.

There are, however, two examples that are not entirely in agreement with these two observations. The first one is (37), here repeated as (44), in which the (potentially) recurring events are restricted to the time of the journey:

- (44) *Iedoma,* *ka* *galdiņš* *varētu* *man*
 fancy.NOM.SG that table.DIM.NOM.SG could.IRR 1SG.DAT
zust, *mani* *tik* *stipri* *nospieda,* *ka*
 be.lost.INF 1SG.ACC so strongly depress.PST.3 that
es *visu* *ceļu* ***netiku***
 1SG.NOM all.ACC.SG way.ACC.SG **NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG**
pasmējies.
laugh.PPA.NOM.SG.M.RFL
 ‘The thought that the little table could be lost to me depressed me so much that I didn’t laugh a single time on the whole way [home.]’

The second example is ambiguous. Although the sentence may refer to the period beginning with the promise to pay and ending with the time of reference (compare (43) above), an alternative interpretation is also possible to the effect that the respective period comprised only a short time following the promise. Moreover, due to its briefness, the number of potential occasions when the promised action could have taken place is also reduced to the extent that there might have been only one such occasion.

- (45) *Un naudu jau Jurkiņš tikai solīja,*
 and money.ACC.SG PTC PN.NOM.SG only promise.PST.3
*devis netika.*⁵
 give.PPA.NOM.SG.M NEG.TIKT.PST.3
 ‘And Jurkiņš only promised the money, but he never gave it.’

Although the evidence of these two examples, pointing to more specific time reference, may appear unconvincing when viewed against the rest of the data from *Baltā grāmata*, there are more such cases in other texts by Jaunsudrabiņš.

7. Jaunsudrabiņš: *Zaļā grāmata*

There are about 40 instances of the construction with *tikt* in *Zaļā grāmata* ‘The Green Book’, which is a sequel to *Baltā grāmata*, and at least several of them are not iterative. An individual event is often placed inside a clearly defined period of time that is considerably shorter in comparison with the indefinite period of time referred to in most sentences from *Baltā grāmata*. Those examples from *Zaļā grāmata* that convey individual events either contain corresponding adverbials (*vienu vienīgu reizi* ‘one single time’, *kādreiz* ‘once’⁶) or define an interval of time with the aid of such adverbs as *pavasārī* ‘in spring’, *pērn* ‘last year’ or by pointing to simultaneous situations expressed by converbs and other clauses which, in some cases, may also correspond to individual events. But in many such examples, individual events actually appear as representatives of a certain type rather than a specific occurrence. In other words, they are still type-focusing rather than token-focusing, see Dahl & Hedin (2000, 387) for the terms:

- (46) *Vienu vienīgu reizi es Pormaļu*
 one.ACC.SG single.ACC.SG time.ACC.SG 1SG.NOM PN.GEN.PL
Kristīni tiku redzējis,
 PN.ACC.SG TIKT.PST.1SG see.PPA.NOM.SG.M

⁵ See the broader context: “Jurkiņš felt sorry for his new machine but not for our horse. Once he came very close to me and said in a quiet voice: ‘I’ll give you three kopecks, just don’t drive so hard.’ He was ashamed of asking the landlord to allow us to work slower. But what could I do? I was scolded as soon as I gave the horse free reins. And as for the money, Jurkiņš only promised but never gave it.”

⁶ In (42) above *kādreiz* receives the meaning ‘any time’ due to the sentence being a question.

[*kaut gan dzirdējis biju par viņu bieži.*]

‘I saw Pormaļu Kristīne only once [although I had heard of her often].’

- (47) *Vai ko līdzīgu jau pērn man*
 INT INDEF.ACC similar.ACC.SG already last.year 1SG.DAT
ne.tika jautājis Brangaļu Juris,
 NEG.TIKT.PST.3 ask.PPA.NOM.SG.M PN.GEN.PL PN.NOM.SG
 [*un es nezināju, ko viņam atbildēt.*]
 ‘Didn’t Brangaļu Juris ask me something similar already last year,
 [and I didn’t know what to answer him.]’

Now that we have introduced the distinction, it would not be out of place to observe that in most examples with negation as well as in questions, from both *Baltā grāmata* and *Zaļā grāmata* alike, the distinction between a single event and multiple events is actually blurred. See (42) and (43), which were previously described as implying ‘potential iterativity’.

The need to differentiate between individual events and series of repetitive events arises because some individual situations can only be interpreted from a token-focusing perspective, that is, as genuine unique events rather than representatives of a type. Although infrequent, they are still present in *Zaļā grāmata* as illustrated by the following examples.

- (48) *Māte man pavasarī tika*
 mother.NOM.SG 1SG.DAT spring.LOC.SG TIKT.PST.3
teikusi,
 say.PPA.NOM.SG.F
 [*kad es rādīju tūlnainās delnas un teicu, ka tas no rakšanas, — redzēšot gan, kad nākšot āboļi gatavi, vai es par savām tūlnām dabūšot kādu sasu?*]
 ‘My mother told me in the spring, [when I showed her the calluses on my hands and explained that they were from digging, that she would see if I couldn’t get a few apples for my trouble as soon as they got ripe.]’

- (49) *Es nu tālāko ne.tiku*
 1SG.NOM PTC further.ACC.SG.DEF NEG.TIKT.PST.1SG
redzējis,
 see.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 [*jo biju ganos.*]
 ‘I had no occasion to see what happened after that
 [because I was on the pasture.]’

In some sentences the choice between a type-focusing or token-focusing perspective depends on whether the event is perceived as repetitive or

unique. It is not clear if the mother's words in (50) were only uttered once during one of her visits or whether they represent her favourite saying at that time.

- (50) [*Pa reizai māte gan uz Liepiņām atnāca. Ar saimnieci viņas bija tā kā draudzenes kļuvušas, tā bērna dēļ;*]

<i>jo</i>	<i>māte</i>	<i>pati</i>	tika
because	mother.NOM.SG	self.NOM.SG.F	TIKT.PST.3
teikusi	<i>par</i>	<i>savu</i>	<i>ciemošanos:</i>
say.PPA.NOM.SG.F	about	RPOSS.ACC.SG	visit.AC.N.ACC.SG.RFL

[«*Iegribējās Mikiņu redzēt, ne jau tevi. Tu esi liels. Kā par bērnu vairs par tevi nevar priecāties. <...>*»]

‘[But my mother sometimes did come to Liepiņi. She became kind of friends with the landlady, because of the child.] Because my mother used to say / said herself about her visits: [‘It’s Mikiņš I wanted to see, not you. You are big. One cannot feel joy at your sight as of that of a child anymore. <...>’]

8. What we learned from Rainis

Another author representative of the above-mentioned dialect area is Jānis Rainis (1965–1929), who was born in the Dunava civil parish. The current analysis is based on all 161 instances of *tikt* + PPA that are found in the corpus of his writings. The use of *tikt* + PPA in *Rainis* is, on the whole, in accordance with the results obtained from *Baltā grāmata* and *Zaļā grāmata* by Jaunsudrabiņš.

Firstly, *tikt* + PPA can be replaced with either a perfect (51) or a preterite (52), although examples where *tikt* + PPA can be replaced with an unambiguous pluperfect are harder to find (53):

- (51) [*Tā mēs, piecpadsmit gadus dzīvodami pie pašas Itālijas robežas, Romu neredzējām.*]

<i>Kam</i>	<i>to</i>	tiku	stāstījis,
REL.DAT	DEM.ACC.SG	TIKT.PST.1SG	tell.PPA.NOM.SG.M
<i>tas</i>	<i>tikai</i>	<i>galvu</i>	<i>vien nokratīja.</i>
DEM.NOM.SG.M	only	head.ACC.SG	PTC shake.PST.3

‘[Thus, while we lived at the Italian border for fifteen years, we never saw Rome.] Those whom I have told about this only shook their heads [in disbelief].’

- (52) [*Elektriska bādes aparāta te Lugānā nau;*]
Cīrihā pie dakt<era> Osterssetzeres es
 Zurich.LOC.SG at doctor.GEN.SG Osterssetzer.GEN.SG 1SG.NOM
tiku tādus lietojis gadiem.
TIKT.PST.1SG such.ACC.PL **use.PPA.NOM.SG.M** year.DAT.PL
 ‘[There is no electric bath here in Lugano;] at Dr Osterssetzer’s in
 Zurich I used them for years.’
- (53) *Tiku iecerējis daudzus*
TIKT.PST.1SG **conceive.PPA.NOM.SG.M** many.ACC.PL.M
īsus dzejoļus,
 short.ACC.PL.M poem.ACC.PL
 [*bet man nebija vairs spēka tos izstrādāt tālāk <...>*]
 ‘I (had) conceived many short poems [but I didn’t have enough
 strength to work on them any further <...>]’

Secondly, *Rainis* contains sentences that convey a certain type of events recurring over an extended period of time with no clearly marked boundaries, see (51) above. As in the examples from Jaunsudrabiņš, the iterativity of the event may be conveyed by the mention of multiple agents and/or multiple objects.

- (54) «*Dienas Lapas*» *cien<ījamie>* *lasītāji ar*
 PN.GEN.SG esteemed.NOM.SG.M.DEF reader.NOM.PL with
sevišķu interesi tika lasījuši
 special.ACC.SG interest.ACC.SG **TIKT.3PST** **read.PPA.NOM.PL.M**
ši autora <...> lielo vēsturisko
 DEM.GEN.SG.M author.GEN.SG large.ACC.SG.DEF historical.ACC.SG.DEF
romānu «Ar uguni un zobenu»,
 novel.ACC.SG with fire.ACC.SG and sword.ACC.SG
kā arī sīkākas noveles <...>
 as also small.COMP.ACC.PL.F story.ACC.PL
 ‘With a special interest the esteemed readers of *Dienas lapa* (have) read
 this author’s large historical novel “With Fire and Sword” as well as his
 shorter novellas <...>’

Since *Rainis* yields more data in comparison with the two books by Jaunsudrabiņš, it has a greater diversity of predicate types including not only recurring events but also states that continue to hold at several points over a longer period of time.

- (55) <...> *krievu sabiedrība, kas līdz pat*
 Russian.GEN.PL society.NOM.SG REL.NOM till PTC
pēdējam laikam vispār tika maz
 recent.DAT.SG.M time.DAT.SG at.all **TIKT.PST.3** little
interesējusies par dažādiem
interest.PPA.NOM.SG.F.RFL for various.DAT.PL.M
 «cittautiešiem» un nacionālo jautājumu <...>
 allogeneous.DAT.PL and national.ACC.SG.DEF question.ACC.SG
 ‘<...> the Russian public, which, until recently, had generally felt little interest for all kinds of ‘allogeneous people’ and for the national question <...>’

A time frame for recurrent events may last just for a clearly defined time span demarcated by calendar dates or by events characterising it, which is rather a typical context for preterites in general.

- (56) <...> 1923. gadā tiku pie tā
 1923 year.LOC.SG **TIKT.PST.1SG** on DEM.GEN.SG
diezgan daudz strādājis.
 quite much **work.PST.PPA.NOM.SG.M**
 ‘I worked quite a lot on this in 1923.’

- (57) *No ceļa tiku Tev rakstījis:*
 from road.GEN.SG **TIKT.PST.1SG** 2SG.DAT **write.PST.NOM.SG.M**
 [no Berlīnes, no Cīrihas, no Lugānas kartiņu un vēstuli, garāku.]
 ‘I wrote you during my journey: [from Berlin, from Zürich, a card and a longer letter from Lugano.]’

But many examples from *Rainis* refer to individual, situationally anchored events rather than to series of events, and we must discuss these in greater detail.

- (58) *Tiku Tev vakar rakstījis*
TIKT.PST.1SG 2SG.DAT yesterday **write.PST.NOM.SG.M**
uz jauno dzīvokli,
 to new.ACC.SG.DEF flat.ACC.SG
 [ja neesi saņēmusi, tad pameklē.]
 ‘I wrote you yesterday at your new address. [If you haven’t received (my letter), then you should look for it.]’

Negation may mean that a certain individual, situationally anchored (e.g., expected) event did not occur:

- (59) *Žēl, ka Jūs netikāt atbildējusi*
 pity COMPL 2PL.NOM NEG.TIKT.PST.2PL answer.PPA.NOM.SG.F
uz manu vēstuli par mūsu komitejas
 to my.ACC.SG letter.ACC.SG about our committee.GEN.SG
konfliktiem,
 conflict.DAT.PL
 [*būtu vieglāk bijis tikt galā.*]
 ‘It’s a pity that you didn’t answer my letter about the conflicts
 in our committee; [they would have been easier to manage
 (if you had answered).]’

That the relationship between the type/token distinction and the iterativity of the event is not straightforward is further confirmed by the fact that one can find series of events in token-focusing sentences:

- (60) [*Jelgavā tika arī iesākts Aspazijas «Saules meitas» tulkojums,*]
un pie tā tiku strādājis,
 and at DEM.GEN.SG.M TIKT.PST.1SG WORK.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 [*kā redzu no atzīmēm, maija, jūnija un jūlija mēnešos 1896. gadā <...>*]
 ‘[In Jelgava the translation of Aspazija’s *Daughter of the Sun* was
 commenced as well,] and I worked on it [in May, June, and July 1896,
 as I can see from my notes <...>].’

It is impossible to establish for some examples whether they refer to individual situations or to series of repetitive events.

- (61) *Fr<ici> Bergmani tiku Pēterpilī*
 PN.ACC.SG PN.ACC.SG TIKT.PST.1SG Petrograd.LOC.SG
vēl saticis.
 still meet.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 ‘I had occasion to meet Fricis Bergmanis in Petrograd.’

The type-focusing sentence (61) is concerned with the fact that Bergmanis was still in Petrograd when Rainis arrived there so that it was possible for Rainis to meet him. The number of occurrences is irrelevant, as a reference to one individual event may also be type-focused.

However, we also find instances where the indeterminacy between single event or series of events is an instance of ambiguity rather than vagueness. This can be seen in (62):

- (62) *Vainu par «Spēlēju dancoju» klajā*
 blame.ACC.SG about play.PST.1SG dance.PST.1SG open.LOC.SG
neizlaišanu tiku licis uz
 NEG.publish.ACN.ACC.SG TIKT.PST.1SG lay.PPA.NOM.SG.M on

pārāk *intensīvo* *strādāšanu* *un*
 excessively intensive.ACC.SG.DEF work.ACN.ACC.SG and
nervu *reakciju;*
 nerve.GEN.PL reaction.ACC.SG

[*bet varbūt pats laiks arī bija vainīgs <...>*]

'I (have) put the blame for the fact that the play *I Played, I Danced* was not published on my working too hard and the reaction of my nervous system; [but it is possible that the times themselves were to blame, too <...>']

One of the possible readings of this sentence is that Rainis blamed the delay in publication on his nerves on a particular occasion Rainis which both the author and the reader remember (the other reading being repeated utterances in the same spirit). It is with respect to such uses that the data from *Rainis* differ from Jaunsudrabiņš. The distinction lies in the proportion of sentences conveying a series of events vs individual events. While the majority of Jaunsudrabiņš' examples refer to series of events, this is not the case in *Rainis*, where examples of individual events are actually more frequent in comparison to either repetitive events or those sentences that are vague between iterative and type-focusing use. This difference is even reflected in the relative frequencies of adverbs. While the most common adverbs in Jaunsudrabiņš' books have the meaning 'many times' or 'often/rarely', the data from *Rainis* more often contain reference to time as measured by calendar and clock, e.g. *vakar* 'yesterday', *pagājušo nakti* 'last night', *februārī* 'in February' (although 'many times' and 'often/rarely' are found in *Rainis* as well).

Therefore, since individual situations do not necessarily entail a token-focusing reading, type-focusing examples still form the larger part of the data in *Rainis*. Nevertheless, token-focusing examples are much more common in *Rainis* than in Jaunsudrabiņš. Our explanation is that the majority of texts that yield the construction in *Rainis* consist of Rainis' letters, which are sometimes reminiscent of a dialogue. Typically, Rainis confirms that he did what was expected of him, as in the example below:

- (63) *Tāpat* ***tiku*** *uz* *Tavu* *izgājušo*
 also **TIKT.PST.1SG** to your.ACC.SG previous.ACC.SG.DEF
vēstuli ***atbildējis*** *vēl* *to*
 letter.ACC.SG **answer.PPA.NOM.SG.M** already DEM.ACC.SG
pāšu *dienu* *un* *ļoti* *plaši.*
 same.ACC.SG day.ACC.SG and very at.length
 'Also, I answered your previous letter on the same day, and at great length.'

Such examples are less likely to be found in a narrative, which accounts for their absence in Jaunsudrabiņš' books. Jaunsudrabiņš' texts consist of narrative episodes interspersed with retrospective generalisations abounding in type-focusing uses. The more dialogic style of Rainis' correspondence contains numerous mentions of past events located within a very narrow time frame, e.g., a particular day. The most characteristic context is what Mehlig (2013) calls 'confirmative contexts': the reference is to a situationally anchored event that was often expected and that is considered abstracting away from its result (a typical example would be that of a letter that was not received but may or may not have been sent). This type of use corresponds to what is called the 'factual imperfective' in Russian aspectology (for a thorough study of this phenomenon cf. Grønn 2003). The experiential tense widens here to a kind of non-resultative non-narrative past, a tendency noted by Dahl (1985, 143–144), who also raises the question whether such a non-resultative past is still a subtype of the experiential or whether it should be recognised as a distinct gram-type. Perhaps the fact that Latvian also shows this development constitutes a piece of evidence confirming that there is a natural tendency for experientials to develop such uses.

9. What we can learn from modern texts

Modern Standard Latvian is represented in our article by two different sources. Fiction and non-fiction texts written in the last decade of the 20th century are found in the *miljons-2.0* corpus. The spoken language is represented by transcripts of sessions of the Latvian Parliament from the last decade of the 20th century up to 2018, collected in the *Saeima* corpus. Although the transcript might have undergone some editing in comparison to the spoken original, we believe it highly unlikely that this kind of editing could have involved changes in the way in which *tikt* + PPA is used.

9.1. *Miljons-2.0*

The number of examples of *tikt* + PPA is about 50, which is actually comparable to the number of examples in Jaunsudrabiņš' *Zaļā grāmata* alone. In other terms, it amounts to 14 per mln words, which is a noticeably smaller number than the 107 instances per mln words found in *Rainis*. It is enough to characterise *tikt* + PPA as an uncommon expression in modern Latvian

literary texts. Nevertheless, the construction as it is found in modern written texts shows a certain continuity with regard to Jaunsudrabiņš and Rainis in that it may correspond to the three tenses mentioned above: perfect (64), pluperfect (65) and preterite (66).

- (64) [*Piecdesmit kilogramu smagā darba “Siren” (Sirēna) autors ir mākslinieks Marks Kvins,*]
kurš jau iepriekš tika
 REL.NOM.SG.M already before **TIKT.PST.3**
veidojis Mosas skulptūru.
create.PPA.NOM.SG.M Moss.GEN.SG sculpture.ACC.SG
 ‘[The author of the sculpture *Siren*, which weighs 50 kg, is visual artist Marc Quinn] who has already created a sculptural portrait of Moss.’
- (65) [*Tā bija skaistākā dabas glezna,*]
kādu jebkad tiku redzējis.
 REL.ACC.SG ever **TIKT.PST.1SG** **see.PPA.NOM.SG.M**
 ‘[It was the most beautiful landscape] I had ever seen.’
- (66) [*Šai laikā es centos iekšēji sakārtoties un noskaidrot, kas tad man īsti ir svarīgi.*]
Tiku savus secinājumus rūpīgi
TIKT.PST.1SG RPOSS.ACC.PL.M conclusion.ACC.PL diligent.ADV
pierakstījis blociņā.
write.down.PPA.NOM.SG.M notepad.LOC.SG
 ‘[At the time I tried to bring my inner world into order and find out what was really important for me.] I diligently wrote down my conclusions on a notepad.’

Most frequently the construction in *miljons-2.0* serves to convey actions that are repeated regularly over an extent of time which usually coincides with a person’s whole life or a long period in it. Predicates in such sentences may also describe states that hold at many points over a longer period.

- (67) *Viņš vienmēr demokrātiskā pozā*
 3.SG.NOM.M always democratic.LOC.SG posture.LOC.SG
tika stāvējis plēsonīgu plebeju
TIKT.PST.3 **stand.PPA.NOM.SG.M** predatory.GEN.PL plebeian.GEN.PL
vidū ar idiotiski sirsniņu smaidu
 middle.LOC.SG with idiotic.ADV cordial.ACC.SG smile.ACC.SG
sejā <...>
 face.LOC.SG

'He was always standing among predatory plebeians, his posture that of an advocate of democracy, with an imbecilically cordial smile on his face <...>.'

- (68) [<...> *kādu laiku pēc tam, kad biju dabūjis ar pagali pa galvu, es dzīvoju ļoti harmoniski.*]

Tiku ēdis daudz vitamīnu, vispār
TIKT.PST.1SG eat.PPA.NOM.SG.M much vitamin.GEN.PL generally
lietoju pareizi sabalansētu pārtiku bez
 use.PST.1SG correct.ADV balance.PPP.ACC.SG food.ACC.SG without
konservantiem, bez pārmērīgām kaloriju
 preservative.DAT.PL without excessive.DAT.PL.F calory.GEN.PL
devām, tiku vingrojis,
dose.DAT.PL TIKT.PST.1SG exercise.PPA.NOM.SG.M
nodarbojies ar elpošanas vingrinājumiem,
engage.PPA.NOM.SG.M.RFL with breathing.GEN.SG exercise.DAT.PL
pašmācības ceļā apguvu grāmatvedības,
 self.study.GEN.SG way.LOC.SG learn.PST.1SG book.keeping.GEN.SG
tirgzinības, arī sabiedrisko attiecību
 marketing.GEN.SG also public.GEN.PL.DEF relation.GEN.PL
pamatus <...>
 base.ACC.PL

'[<...> after being hit on the head with a stick, I lived a very harmonious life for some time.] I ate a lot of vitamins; I consumed only well-balanced food without chemicals, and without excessive calories; I did gymnastics, and performed breathing exercises; I learned the basics of bookkeeping, marketing and PR all on my own <...>'⁷

This text fragment nicely shows the functional differentiation of tense forms: *tiku ēdis*, *vingrojis*, *nodarbojies* are type-focused, whereas *apguvu* is resultative (it refers to a skill acquired over the whole of the relevant period) and *lietoju* refers to a situation explicitly stated to have held over the whole reference time, as shown by the adverbial *vispār* 'overall, in general'.

⁷ Although the repetition of the construction within a sentence may seem unusual, the use is quite authentic as a similar example is found in the Rainis corpus: <...> *ar Ed. Volteri daudz tiku kopā strādājis ne vien pie viņa etnogrāfiskiem darbiem par latgaļiem, bet arī par leišiem; tiku norakstījis gabaliem un lasījis korektūru, piem., cik atminos, Daukšas «Postilla»; tur tiku lasījis arī senprūšu «Stas Dröffs» <...> ' <...> I worked a lot with Ed+uard> Wolter not only on his ethnographic studies about Latgalian, but about Lithuanians as well; I copied large portions and read proofs, for example, of Daukša's *Postilla*; I also read the Old Prussian *Stas Dröffs* there <...>'*

In comparison to both Rainis and Jaunsudrabiņš, *miljons-2.0* does not contain examples with adverbs meaning ‘many times’ or ‘often/rarely’, although the effect may be due to the limited size of the corpus. *Miljons-2.0*, however, does have adverbs like ‘once’ or ‘twice’ in combination with *tikt* PPA, pertaining to individual occurrences of certain type of events. All these are type-focusing sentences.

- (69) *Varbūt kādā brīdī tiku*
 maybe INDEF.LOC.SG moment.LOC.SG **TIKT.PST.1SG**
viņam zvanījusi?
 3.SG.DAT.M **ring.up.PPA.NOM.SG.F**
 ‘Is it possible that I rang him up at some moment?’

- (70) [*Neizprotamā kārtā atcerējos.*]
ka pāris reižu Rainim tiku
 COMPL couple time.GEN.PL Rainis.DAT.SG **TIKT.PST.1SG**
iespēris
kick.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 [– *ne jau stipri, tikai drusku, lai norādītu stulbajam zvēram tā vietu.*]
 ‘[Inexplicably, I remembered] that I had kicked Rainis⁸ a couple of times. [Not very hard, just lightly, to put the stupid beast in its place.]’

Token-focusing sentences are not so frequent in *miljons-2.0* as in Rainis, but still they are not so rare as in Jaunsudrabiņš’ texts either.

- (71) [*Nevarēdams aizmigt, Ēriks pēkšņi atcerējās.*]
ka viņš pirms braukšanas jakas
 COMPL 3.NOM.SG.M before going.GEN.SG jacket.GEN.SG
iekškabatā tika ielicis piezīmju
 inner.pocket.LOC.SG **TIKT.PST.3** **put.in.PPA.NOM.SG.M** note.GEN.PL
grāmatiņu ar savu sapņu
 book.DIM.ACC.SG with RPOSS.GEN.PL dream.GEN.PL
aprakstiem <...>
 description.DAT.PL
 ‘While struggling to fall asleep, Eriks suddenly remembered that before leaving he had put his notebook in which he wrote down his dreams, into an inner pocket of his jacket <...>’

Neither token- nor type-focusing sentences in *miljons-2.0* contain reference to a fixed time in terms of months, days, hours etc., which is common

⁸ In this case, not the distinguished writer but a cat.

in *Rainis* but is rare in Jaunsudrabiņš' books. The only exception is, in fact, a citation from the Saeima proceedings, also found in the Saeima Corpus:

- (72) *Šo.ruden vĕlĕtĕji tika devuši*
 this.autumn voter.NOM.PL **TIKT.PST.3** give.PPA.NOM.PL.M
mandĕtu
 mandate.ACC.SG
politikas pĕctecĭbai, ilg.laicĭgai stabilitĕtei
 politics.GEN.SG succession.DAT.SG long.lasting.DAT.SG stability.DAT.SG
un prognozĕjamiem lĕmumiem.
 and predictable.DAT.PL.M decision.DAT.PL
 'This autumn the voters have given a mandate to the continuity
 of policy, long-term stability and predictable decisions.'

Interestingly, this and other sentences in *miljons-2.0* may have resultative readings, which will be discussed in the section on the *Saeima* Corpus.

9.2. The *Saeima* Corpus

Saeima has the largest number of examples with *tikt* + PPA amounting to about 450, but the number of instances is due to the large size of *Saeima* itself (17.5 mln), the number of *tikt* + PPA per mln being of the same order as the corresponding number for *miljons-2.0* (26 and 14 respectively). The *Saeima* Corpus (*Saeima*) is reminiscent of *Rainis* in that it contains speech that is intended as dialogue rather than narrative, the latter being characteristic of both Jaunsudrabiņš and *miljons-2.0*.

What sets *Saeima* apart from the other data is that no fewer than half of the *tikt* + PPA examples convey individual events, the share of token-focusing sentences also being about half of the data. This is even more than found in *Rainis*, and the explanation is twofold. Firstly, some of the data in *Rainis* still comes from narratives and other texts where token-focusing sentences are less likely to appear than in dialogue-like personal correspondence. The examples of *tikt* + PPA in *Saeima*, on the contrary, are found in relatively short speeches by deputies, in other words, they can be compared to somewhat longer lines in real dialogues.⁹ Secondly,

⁹ The exact length of any 'speech' given by a deputy is seen from looking at a wider context which normally includes both the beginning and the end of the speech, as well as the words of previous and following speakers.

and more importantly, it is likely that the use of the construction by the Saeima deputies differs from its original use, exemplified by Jaunsudrabiņš' and Rainis' writings. The number of deputies that use the construction is large enough (more than a hundred) to suggest that they cannot all have inherited it from their dialectal background (to the extent that they have one). This means that they may occasionally adopt the construction from the standard language even if it is not part of their idiolect.

Before turning to particular contexts that seem to elicit the construction from the Saeima deputies, we describe more typical uses resembling the picture that emerges from the other three sources. The first thing to mention is that *tikt* + PPA is still found in contexts where a perfect (73) or a preterite (74) can be used instead. Pluperfect contexts (75) are more difficult to find.

- (73) *Par to mēs komisijā*
 about DEM.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM committee.LOC.SG
tikām diskutējuši.
TIKT.PST.1PL discuss.PPA.NOM.PL.M
 'We have been discussing this in the committee.'
- (74) *Tajā laikā dažādi politiķi*
 DEM.LOC.SG time.LOC.SG various.NOM.PL.M politician.NOM.PL
tika solījuši šis
TIKT.PST.3 promise.PPA.NOM.PL.M DEM.GEN.SG.F
problēmas pozitīvu risinājumu.
 problem.GEN.SG positive.ACC.SG solution.ACC.SG
 'At that time many politicians promised a positive solution to this problem.'
- (75) <...> *nozarē, kuras pārraudzību no valsts*
 branch.LOC.SG REL.GEN.SG supervision.ACC.SG from state.GEN.SG
puses pati "Vienotība" iepriekš tika
 part.GEN.SG self.NOM.SG.F PN.NOM.SG before **TIKT.PST.3**
destroy.PPA.NOM.SG.F
iznīcinājusi.
 '<...> in a branch in which *Unity* [a political party] itself had previously abolished State supervision.'

Additionally, the construction often conveys events of a certain type recurring over a longer period of time. See also an example with negation in (78):

- (76) [*Laikā, kad tika spriests par Satversmes preambulu,*]
tiku saņēmis daudz dažādu
TIKT.PST.1SG receive.PPA.NOM.SG.M much various.GEN.PL
viedokļu un aicinājumu.
 opinion.GEN.PL and invitation.GEN.PL
 ‘[During the time when the preamble for the Constitution was discussed]
 I received a lot of varied opinions and suggestions.’
- (77) *Vairāk.kārt jau Augstākā padome*
 many.times already supreme.NOM.SG.F.DEF council.NOM.SG
tika izskatījusi jautājumu par
TIKT.PST.3 consider.PPA.NOM.SG.F question.ACC.SG about
to,
 DEM.ACC.SG
 [*kā paātrināt arhīva darbu*] <...>
 ‘The Supreme Council (has) repeatedly considered the question
 [how to speed up the work of the archive] <...>.’
- (78) [*Mēs zinām,*]
ka laikmeta grieži Latvijas ļaudis
COMP epoch.GEN.SG turn.NOM.PL Latvia.GEN.SG people.ACC.PL
netika saudzējuši.
NEG.TIKT.PST.3 spare.PPA.NOM.PL.M
 ‘[We know] that junctures of time have never been easy for
 the people of Latvia.’

Though *tikt* + PPA frequently occurs with adverbs meaning ‘many times’, these are less common than adverbs referring to calendar time, such as ‘in the year/month/on day x’, ‘x years/months/days ago’ and including, for example, ‘yesterday’.

- (79) PCTVL *frakcija tika piedāvājusi*
 PN fraction.NOM.SG **TIKT.PST.3** **suggest.PPA.NOM.SG.F**
to ieviest likumā jau šā
 DEM.ACC.SG introduce.INF law.LOC.SG already DEM.GEN.SG.M
gada 3. septembrī.
 year.GEN.SG 3rd September.LOC.SG
 ‘The PCTVL fraction suggested that this should be made law as early
 as September 3 of this year.’

The latter feature unites *Saeima* with *Rainis*, which is not surprising since *Saeima*, too, has a very large share of sentences referring to individual events. Although some such sentences are type-focusing, as in (80) below,

about half of all examples in *Saeima* can be viewed as token-focusing, which is a lot even in comparison to *Rainis*.

- (80) <...> [*tagad tā tiek anulēta jau tad, ja cilvēks vairāk nekā sešus mēnešus gadā meklē darbu ārpus Latvijas robežām vai*
pirms desmit gadiem tika sniedzis
 before ten year.DAT.PL **TIKT.PST.3** **provide.PPA.NOM.SG.M**
par sevi nepatiesas ziņas.
 about RFL.ACC false.ACC.PL.F information.ACC.PL
 ‘<...> [now it (sc. the permit) is cancelled as soon as a person has been looking for a job outside Latvia for more than six months or] has provided false information about themselves over a period up to ten years.’

Token-focusing interpretation, of course, does not exclude that an event may encompass more than one moment in time, although such examples as in (81) are not common.

- (81) Šo rekomendāciju jūs gada
 DEM.ACC.SG recommendation.ACC.SG 2PL.NOM year.GEN.SG
sākumā trīs reizes tikāt
 beginning.LOC.SG three.ACC.PL time.ACC.PL **TIKT.PST.2PL**
izņēmuši no savām deputātu
out.take.PPA.NOM.PL.M from RPOSS.DAT.PL deputy.GEN.PL
kastītēm <...>
 box.DIM.DAT.PL
 ‘In the beginning of the year you took this recommendation thrice from your deputies’ boxes <...>’

The reason why these token-focusing sentences conveying individual events are so frequent in *Saeima* may be that apart from their uses in an experiential meaning they are also used in place of a resultative (plu)perfect.

- (82) *Tātad šo dokumentu mēs tikām*
 thus DEM.ACC.SG dokument.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM **TIKT.PST.1PL**
atzinuši par steidzamu.
acknowledge.PPA.NOM.PL.M PRED urgent.ACC.SG
 ‘We have thus recognised this document as urgent.’
- (83) <...> [*tad mēs faktiski esam nostājušies pret visu Eiropu,*
kurā mēs tikām integrējušies.
 REL.LOC.SG 1PL.NOM **TIKT.PST.1PL** **integrate.PPA.NOM.PL.M.RFL**
 ‘<...> [therefore we have actually positioned ourselves against all Europe,] into which we have integrated.’

The above example (72), here repeated as (84), calls for a resultative interpretation, especially if one remembers that the sentence describes the results of recent elections.

- (84) *Šo.ruden vēlētāji tika devuši*
 this.autumn voter.NOM.PL.M **TIKT.PST.3** **give.PPA.NOM.PL.**
mandātu politikas pēctecībai, ilg.laicīgai
 mandate.ACC.SG politics.GEN.SG continuity.DAT.SG long.lasting.DAT.SG.F
stabilitātei un prognozējamiem lēmumiem.
 stability.DAT.SG and predictable.DAT.PL.M decision.DAT.PL
 ‘This autumn the voters have given a mandate to continuity of policy,
 long-term stability and predictable decisions.’

The use of *tikt* PPA with a resultative meaning in *Saeima* is associated with certain verbs that serve to describe situations typical of parliamentary procedures: *iesniegt* ‘submit’, *saņemt* ‘receive’, *atbalstīt* ‘support’, *gūt atbalstu* ‘receive support’. The examples below evidently deal with having or not having legislative proposals at the reference time (resultative meaning) rather than with carrying out the action of receiving them (experiential meaning), and so on.

- (85) [*12. pantā nav citu priekšlikumu. Bija tikai tie,*
ko tika iesniedzis Ministru
 REL.ACC **TIKT.PST.3** **submit.PPA.NOM.SG.M** minister.GEN.PL
kabinets.
 cabinet.NOM.SG
 ‘[There are no other proposals for Article 12. There were only those]
 that the Cabinet of Ministers had submitted.’
- (86) [*Mēs atstājam šo normu spēkā—vēl jo vairāk tādēļ,*
ka citu normu rakstveidā ne.viens
 COMPL other.ACC.SG norm.ACC.SG in.writing no.body.NOM.SG
mums ne.tika iesniedzis.
 1PL.DAT **NEG.TIKT.PST.3** **submit.PPA.NOM.SG.M**
 ‘[We upheld this norm—the more so because] nobody had submitted
 any alternative norms to us in writing.’
- (87) *Juridiskā komisija tika*
 legal.NOM.SG.F.DEF committee.NOM.SG **TIKT.PST.3**
saņēmusi
receive.PPA.NOM.SG.F
veselu virkni priekšlikumu arī
 whole.ACC.SG series.ACC.SG proposal.GEN.PL also

trešajam *lasījumam* <...>
 third.DAT.SG.M.DEF reading.DAT.SG
 ‘The Legal Committee has received a whole series of proposals for
 the third reading as well <...>’

Rather than being a unique property of *Saeima*, resultative meaning can be also found in other modern texts, notably in *miljons-2.0*, where the most obvious example of a resultative *tikt* + PPA remains (72). Some examples in earlier texts by Jaunsudrabiņš (88) and Rainis (89) are ambiguous between an experiential and a resultative interpretation and may have therefore served as a basis for the later development.

(88) [*Es neticu, vai kāds cilvēka bērns pasaulē uzaudzis bez kašķa.*]
Es *ar* *viņu* *tiku* *aplīpis*
 1SG.NOM with 3.ACC.SG TIKT.PST.1SG be.covered.PPA.NOM.SG.M
vairākiem *lāgiem.*
 many.DAT.PL.M time.DAT.PL
 ‘I don’t believe that any human child could have grown up without
 scabies. I have been covered with it many times.’

(89) <...> [*satversmi jeb konstitūciju pieprasīja tanī pat 1905. gada sākumā latviešu inteliģence savā petīcijā.*]
kuru *es* *tiku* *izstrādājis*
 REL.ACC.SG 1SG.NOM TIKT.PST.1SG draw.up.PPA.NOM.SG.M
 [*un kura ievietota nākošā nodaļā.*]
 ‘<...> [a *Satversme*, or constitution, was demanded in the same early
 months of 1905 by the Latvian intelligentsia in their petition,] which I
 had drawn up [and which can be found in the next chapter.]’

In the course of this development, *tikt* + PPA is identified with a regular (plu)perfect. Several examples in *Saeima* suggest the construction can also be used to convey the meaning of ‘current relevance’; usually with the adverbs *nupat* and *tikko* both meaning ‘a moment ago’:

(90) *Nupat* *tika* *izskanējusi* *doma* <...>
 just.now TIKT.PST.3 be.voiced.PPA.NOM.SG.F idea.NOM.SG
 ‘The idea has just been voiced [that] <...>’

(91) <...> [*jo tas ir saistīts ar debatēm,*]
kas *tika* *izskanējušas*
 REL.NOM TIKT.PST.3 be.voiced.PPA.NOM.PL.F
pirms *brīža* <...>
 before moment.GEN.SG
 ‘<...> [because this concerns the dispute] that took place a moment ago <...>’

All these facts suggest that *tikt* + PPA has extended to a number of functions belonging to the domain of the resultative perfect, from which it had been barred in the dialects where it was indigenous. As mentioned above, the identification of *tikt* + PPA with a regular perfect is also reflected in Grigorjevs, ed. (2013, 479–480). But due to the fact that in our construction the auxiliary has only the past-tense form, it can be identified with both the perfect and the pluperfect. At the same time, the construction is still broadly used in contexts where it can be replaced with a preterite (with which it is identified in Bergmane *et al.*, eds., 1959, 594). Still, it differs from the preterite in that it basically occurs in non-narrative contexts.

It is striking that in spite of the apparent widening of the functional scope of constructions with *tikt* its relative frequency has not increased: *tikt* + PPA remains a marginal construction in the modern language, its frequency being noticeably lower in comparison with the earlier texts by Rainis and Jaunsudrabiņš. We could speculate that with the extension of its scope our construction has become more of a stylistic or genre-connected variant of the three tense forms referring to past events — preterite, perfect and pluperfect, without noticeable restrictions of the kind we observe in older writers.

An interesting difference emerging from a comparison of *Rainis* and the *Saeima* corpus is that the ratio of 1st-person and 3rd-person forms in *Saeima* is almost the reverse of what we find in *Rainis*. While *Rainis* has 124 1SG forms out of a total of 161, as against 15 3rd-person forms, *Saeima* has 347 3rd-person forms out of a total of 443, as against 46 for the 1SG. We are not sure how to interpret this difference. Obviously ego-documents constitute a considerable part of the *Rainis* corpus whereas they are absent from the *Saeima* corpus, but it is not clear whether the differences can be put down to genre.

10. Some generalisations

At the start, we attempted to characterise the preterite with *tikt* by linking it to *experientials*, a gram type singled out by Dahl (1985). Many uses of our construction correspond to the notion of experiential as described by Dahl: they often refer to event types and express no precise location in time, specifying instead that one or more instances of this event type have

or have not taken place within a certain time frame closed (at least) at the end, either by the moment of speech or by some reference time in the past.

The features enumerated here are those singled out by Dahl. Within the notion of experiential emerging from the above characterisation, we can make our description more precise by saying that

- the time-frame within which the event type is said to have been or not to have been instantiated can either be closed by speech time, in which case it could be replaced with an experiential perfect, or it can be closed by a reference time in the past, in which case it could be replaced with an experiential pluperfect.
- the time-frame can be closed at both ends, as in *during the whole journey I didn't laugh a single time*, and in this case our construction could only be replaced with a simple past tense, not with a perfect or pluperfect.

But the use of our construction is actually wider in the sense that it can refer not only to event types but also to individualised events, precisely anchored in discourse space. So, for instance, it can refer to the posting of letters in general but also to the posting of a particular letter promised to or expected by another discourse referent. The anchoring of an event in discourse space is not equivalent to the statement of its having taken place; this may be either affirmed or negated. In this way we arrive at, what in Russian aspectology, has been called the 'factual meaning', manifesting itself, for example, in questions like

(92) Russian

[*A esli prizyvnik uničtožit pis'mo, kak potom voenkomatu dokazat'*,]

čto on ego voobšče posylal?

COMPL 3.SG.NOM.M 3.SG.ACC.N at.all send[IPFV].PST.SG.M

'[And if a draftee destroys the letter, how is the military commissariat supposed to prove] that it sent it at all?'¹⁰

We have thus actualisation of an event instead of instantiation of an event type. Is this still an experiential? In what way does it differ from, say, a simple past?

¹⁰https://aif.ru/dontknows/actual/poyavyatsya_elektronnye_povestka_i_bolnichnyy

The crucial question is whether the characteristic element of temporal indefiniteness still holds. As long as we are talking about event types, time frames tend to be longer as we are thinking about event types possibly recurring within a scale of weeks, months or years. When talking about anchored events, we scale down to shorter periods in which this event was expected or may be assumed to have occurred. When we arrive at adverbials like ‘yesterday’ or ‘this morning’, we may legitimately ask whether the time indefiniteness proper to experientials still applies.

An important point is, however, that the verb form is not narrative. Narrative texts create a shifting time frame whose correspondence to the immobile time frame measured in years, months and calendar days is not always specified but does not need to be specified because the narrative creates its own time frame. The defining feature of forms with *tikt* seems to be that they do not depend on a narrative time frame. To be sure, they do not exclude it, e.g. in example (37) above (*During the whole journey I didn't laugh a single time*) the journey is part of a narrative time frame. But the time frame can be an absolute one, not dependent on a narrative, e.g., ‘yesterday’. Within this time frame, the occurrence or non-occurrence of a situationally anchored event is asserted.

We have attempted to characterise the use of *tikt* + PPA across genres, the main line of division being narrative vs non-narrative, and across periods, contrasting older writers who presumably had a native competence in the original use of our construction with the usage in speakers of the contemporary standard language. Our initial hypothesis was that the adoption of the *tikt* + PPA construction, originally a feature of High Latvian dialects, as a feature of the standard language, sanctioned by its use in renowned writers, must have led to changes in the principles governing its use. This was confirmed. Where it was indigenous, the *tikt* + PPA construction was originally an experiential tense in a broader sense, comprising not only reference to event types without precise location on the axis of time, but also statements of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a situationally anchored event within a relatively restricted time frame. This original use could be characterised as non-resultative and non-narrative. In modern usage the *tikt* + PPA construction is still non-narrative, but seems to have widened its scope by extending to resultative contexts.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, ACN — action noun, ADJ — adjective, ADV — adverb, AOR — aorist, COMP — comparative, COMPL — complementiser, CVB — converb, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, DEM — demonstrative, DIM — diminutive, EVID — evidential, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, INDEF — indefinite, INF — infinitive, INT — interrogative, IPFV — imperfective, IRR — irrealis, LOC — locative, M — masculine, N — neuter, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PL — plural, PN — personal name, PPA — past active participle, PPFA — perfect active participle, PPP — past passive participle, PRED — predication marker, PRS — present, PST — past, PTC — particle, PTCP — participle, RFL — reflexive, REL — relative pronoun, RPOSS — reflexive possessive, SG — singular

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