A short grammar of Latgalian

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Contents

Preface

Cikom cylvāks runoj ar cylvāku, ir volūda.
Kod volūda palīk tikai vuordneicā, lementarī
i lyugšonu gruomateņā, nav ari volūdys.[*] (IS)

The growing interest in Latgalian, in recent years shown especially by scholars of Baltic and Slavic languages, has created the need for more extensive information on the structure of this language, accessible also to linguists who do not know Latvian. The present grammar is no more than a small contribution towards answering this need and to making Latgalian known to a broader linguistic audience.

The grammar is based on texts of different times and different genres. The vast majority of examples are taken from texts written in recent years, many of them published on the Internet. They contain short journalistic prose (squibs), blogs, short stories and literary self-portraits of contemporary writers. I sometimes refer to these sources as "modern texts". On the other hand, I used a corpus of traditional narratives, fairy-tales collected in the 1890s and the 1920s in two villages of Central Latgalia (referred to as "traditional texts"). By choosing these two kinds of sources, I chose to document varieties of Latgalian that are planned and elaborated, and at the same time in many respects close to the spoken language. I thus deliberately neglected more formal written genres, as newspaper articles, academic prose, religious texts, and the language of fiction of the 20th century. In my experience, the language of such sources is often very close to Standard Latvian and contains much less of the phenomena that make Latgalian special. All examples are cited in the same way that they are written in the source, which means that at least three different orthographic conventions are used, the main characteristics of which are briefly explained in Chapter 2.

My greatest gratitude goes to the speakers who keep this beautiful language alive, for:

[*] 'As long as man talks to man, a language exists. When a language resides only in dictionaries, primers and prayer books, the language is no more.'

1. Introduction

1.1 General information

Latgalian is a regional language spoken in the Eastern part of Latvia in Central Europe, the region called Latgalia (*Latgola* in Latgalian, *Latgale* in Latvian; both forms are also found in publications in English). The language belongs to the Eastern group of the Baltic branch of Indo-European. Within this group it is more closely related to Latvian than to Lithuanian. On the other hand, there are several lexical and morphological parallels between Latgalian and Lithuanian not shared by Modern Latvian. Official language policy in Latvia regards spoken Latgalian as a dialect of Latvian and written Latgalian as a "historical variety of Latvian" entitled to support by the state (*Valsts valodas likums* (Latvian language law), paragraph 3.4). It is possible that Latgalian will be officially recognized as a regional language in the near future; such a goal has been pursued by Latgalian activists for several years. Most Latgalians regard themselves as ethnic Latvians with a separate language.

From a dialectological point of view, the dialects of Latgalian belong to the High Latvian dialect (see Rudzīte 1964; Balode & Holvoet 2001). There is also regional variation within Latgalian which may be broadly captured by distinguishing a Northern, a Southern, and a Central-Eastern variant. The sources used for this grammar reflect mostly the Central-Eastern variant.

The Latgalian Research Institute at Daugavpils University gives an estimated number of 150,000 – 200,000 speakers who use Latgalian in everyday communication (*Latgale –Latgola*). A recent survey of the linguistic situation of Latgalia gives a more detailed picture of language use within the region (see Šuplinska & Lazdiņa, eds. 2009; Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2008; Lazdiņa 2008; Kļavinska 2008; Pošeiko 2010). In this survey, 9076 inhabitants of the region (= about 3%) from all age groups and representing various linguistic communities answered to a comprehensive questionnaire about language knowledge and language use. About two thirds of the respondents claimed to know Latgalian. Their ability to use the spoken language was judged as good or excellent by about 70% of these respondents, while only 36% gave their writing skills equally good marks. There are probably no monolingual speakers of Latgalian. Most speakers are trilingual and regularly use Latvian and Russian in addition to Latgalian.

1.2 History[1]

Latvian and Lithuanian emerged as languages during the Middle Ages as a result of convergence and divergence of dialects of the Eastern Baltic tribes. In the process, the language of the tribe of Latgalians was one of the main sources of Latvian. In later times, historical factors led to separate developments in the language of Latvians in the Eastern and the Western part of the territory. For several centuries Latgalia was politically and culturally separated from the territories where other varieties of Latvian were used. In 1629, after decades of war, Latgalia was integrated into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The region became known as the Polish Inflants (*Inflanty Polskie* in Polish). With the First Partition of Poland in 1772 it became part of the Russian governorate of Vitebsk, remaining so until the end of the Russian Empire in 1917. During the 17th and the 18th centuries, Polish language and culture became increasingly influential in the region. Polish missionaries, especially Jesuits, were active in spreading and stabilizing the Catholic faith, and from that time Catholicism has always played an important role for Latgalian identity, and it has become a feature of distinction from Protestant, western Latvia. The Jesuits were also active in the field of education and the spread of literacy. In the 18th century, the first (religious) books in Latgalian were printed. The oldest preserved Latgalian book is the *Evangelio toto anno* of 1753. The first primers also stem from the 18th century (see Cibuļs 2009), providing proof of early schooling in Latgalian and efforts to raise literacy. Publications with secular content followed in the 19th century, among them the first grammars and dictionaries (see below). The orthography used in these early texts is based on the Polish writing of the time, and the typeface used in print is Antiqua. In contrast, from the 17th to the 19th centuries, Latvian books were printed using Blackletter (Gothic script), and the orthography was based on German. A consequence of these differences was that, although the spoken languages were mutually comprehensible and regarded as dialects of the same language, printed Latvian books seemed foreign to Latgalian readers (and vice versa), and the two literatures developed largely independently of each other. Old Latgalian texts display a considerable influence from Polish in syntax and lexicon; most of the early writers were not native speakers of Latgalian. In the second half of the 19th century, the Russian Empire pursued a severe policy of Russification, which greatly impeded the further development of written Latgalian. Education was now available only in Russian; the Catholic Church was persecuted and its activities stopped. In 1865 a ban of printing in Latin alphabet was issued, which in fact meant the end of printing in Latgalian. Some attempts to print Latgalian texts in Cyrillic were not successful – readers were too used to the traditional script, and furthermore, Cyrillic was associated with the Orthodox Church and therefore unacceptable to the faithful Catholic. Instead, Latgalian activists copied books manually (in an astonishing amount), and children were taught to read in Latgalian at home. This dark period lasted until 1904. By that time, the first Latgalian intellectuals had entered the scene, and the early 20th century was the time of a national (or rather, ethnic and cultural) Latgalian awakening. By now those who wrote in Latgalian were native speakers of some Latgalian dialect. Books were published, the

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[1] English sources on the history of written Latgalian are Leikuma (2002) and Stafecka (2004); see also Lelis (1961). See also the historical and sociolinguistic overview given in Mercator (2009).

first Latgalian journals appeared, and the standardization of Latgalian was discussed. Politically, Latgalian intellectuals strived for an independent Latvia with Latgalia as a politically and economically-integrated part of the proposed state, with a certain autonomy only in matters of culture and language. This goal was achieved in 1918. In the newly founded Latvian republic, Latgalian was used in primary schools and in local administration. It was acknowledged as one of the ways of using Latvian, the national language, and Latgalian literature was included in school canons. These favourable circumstances changed under the authoritarian rule of president Ulmanis (1934-1940), where Latgalian was marginalized in the name of a unified nation with a unified language. There were also noticeable Latgalian communities in Soviet Russia, and in the first, liberal, period of Soviet language policy, Latgalian was acknowledged as a minority language and used in primary schools in Russia.

During the Second World War, the first Soviet occupation of Latvia (1940-41) is notable for the persecution of intellectuals, while the German occupation (1941-44), despite its terror, adopted a liberal policy towards Latgalian (doubtlessly for strategic reasons, not out of sympathy with minorities), and in this period, a noticeable number of books, including dictionaries and text books, were published in Latgalian. At the end of the war, with the beginning of the second Soviet occupation in 1944, many intellectuals fled to the West, and in the following decades activities based on the Latgalian language, literature, and culture were mainly carried out in exile communities in countries such as Western Germany, the USA, or Canada. Munich was the site of a "Latgalian Research Institute" and a publishing house. In Soviet Latvia, Latgalian was used in print (rather rarely) until the mid 1960s. Afterwards, although not officially forbidden, the language did not get any support and its use in public was discouraged. Only at the end of the Soviet period did Latgalian reappear in books and periodicals (for example, the popular Catholic monthly *Katōļu Dzeive* that had been published from 1926 until 1940 was renewed in 1989), a process that continued and intensified after the restoration of the Latvian Republic.

Spoken Latgalian is used most often in families and among neighbours and friends. Another traditional domain of the language is the Roman Catholic Church. Services where Mass is said in Latgalian are offered in Catholic churches even in Riga, the capital of Latvia. The Latgalian radio station *Latgales radeja* is now also owned by the Catholic Church. Recent years have brought about an increasing use of Latgalian in further public domains, most noticeable on the Internet: the language is used in sites devoted to Latgalian history, society, or culture, in an on-line newspaper and in several blogs by ambitious Latgalian writers. Several nongovernmental organizations are active in supporting Latgalian language and culture, in the region itself as well as in the capital.

Despite its well established tradition as a written language, its considerable number of native speakers and its importance for (regional) cultural heritage, Latgalian to date has only a marginal place in education (see Mercator 2009 for details).

1.3 Research and description

The first grammars of Latgalian were written in Polish, designed for Catholic priests who worked among the Latgalian people. The oldest preserved grammar (Kossowski 1853) has only 32 pages and is mostly of historical value. The first grammar published by a native speaker is Skrinda (1908), written in Russian. The author belonged to the circle of Latgalian intellectuals who studied and worked in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century. His grammar became the basis for discussions about language reform and standardization that started at that time and intensified after Latvia had become an independent state. The grammars by Trasuns (1921) and Strods (1922) are milestones in this standardization process. It is interesting to note that up to this time, no special name was used for Latgalian: in all titles it is referred to as "Latvian". The titles of both Trasuns' and Strods' grammar can be translated as "Latvian grammar for Latgalians", which mirrors the understanding of the status of Latgalian at that time. During the centuries of separation Latgalians as well as speakers of other Latvian dialects had regarded their language simply as Latvian. As contacts were rare, there was no need to distinguish it from other varieties of Latvian. The situation changed in the newly founded republic, where Latgalians found themselves and their language confronted by a different Latvian, which was dominant in the public domain and considered superior by its speakers. This confrontation was the ground for developing a concept of Latgalian as a language distinct from Latvian.

Pīters Strods was also the head of the Orthography Commission in charge with developing an orthography which was officially adopted in 1929. His dictionary (Strods 1933) codified this standard. In the 1920s and early 1930s, some practical grammars and text books for the use in schools were published in Latvia, and also in Soviet Russia, where Latgalian was a minority language. During the Soviet occupation of Latvia, Latgalian activists in exile continued the standardization of Latgalian (see Bukšs & Placinskis 1973) and published articles and monographs devoted to several aspects of the language. Mikelis Bukšs' grammar (contained in Bukšs & Placinskis 1973) is to this date the most comprehensive description of Latgalian. It is designed as a practical grammar but contains various remarks from the point of view of historical linguistics.

In Soviet Latvia, and later continued more intensely in the 1990s in the restored Latvian Republic, research concerning Latgalian was carried out on Latvian dialectology and historical (Baltic) linguistics, mostly by linguists who were native speakers of Latgalian. An outstanding figure in this context is Antons Breidaks, whose work includes monographs (academic thesis) on Latgalian lexis and phonetics as well

as numerous articles devoted to questions of phonology, morphology, language contacts, and other topics concerning Latgalian (see the collection in Breidaks 2007). Dialectologists carried out linguistic fieldwork and published descriptions of individual subdialects, dialect dictionaries, and collections of transcribed texts (see for example Jokubauska 1988; Reķēna 1998; Reķēna 2008; many descriptions of subdialects are contained in unpublished theses defended at Latvian universities). Another, already much smaller area of research was concerned with Old Latgalian writings. During the 1990s, a commission lead by Antons Breidaks worked on a reform of Latgalian orthography; the result became official in 2007 (LPN 2008).

In recent years, research on Latgalian has broadened, but it is still a small field. Currently a corpus of contemporary Latgalian is under construction, which hopefully will open new possibilities for research. An interesting new area has been found with the "discovery" of Latgalian speakers in Siberia, the descendants of Latgalian colonists from the late 19th century (see Andronov & Leikuma 2006).

Nowadays many linguists acknowledge Latgalian as a language distinct from Latvian, and information on Latgalian as a separate Baltic language is included in reference books (Brejdak 2006; Andronov & Leikuma 2010; Eckert 2010a). In 2008, the annual International Conference on Latgalistics was founded as a forum for research on Latgalian language, literature and culture.

1.4 Typological overview

Like many other languages of Central Europe, Latgalian has free word order, that is, the order of clause constituents is determined by pragmatic factors rather than syntactic roles, but SVO may be considered the most neutral order. The order of noun phrase constituents, on the other hand, is fixed: adjectives and genitive modifiers precede the head noun. In traditional texts, only prepositions are found. Prepositions govern case, mainly genitive or accusative. Prepositions governing accusative in the singular combine with dative noun phrases in the plural.

Latgalian is a dependent marking nominative-accusative language. All nominal arguments are morphologically marked for case. Direct objects show variation between accusative and genitive marking. Apart from nominative subjects, dative arguments may be primary core arguments and display behavioural properties of subjects. Adjectives and other determiners always agree with the noun they modify.

Grammatical categories are mainly expressed by suffixes. The major parts-of-speech are clearly distinguished by morphology. Nominal word-forms consist of a stem and an ending which expresses several categories simultaneously. Nouns are inflected for case and number, adjectives for case, number, gender and definiteness. The derivation of diminutives is very common and regular for nouns. Other derivational elements play a minor role, and in most nominal word-forms in texts the stem consists of the

root only. Verbs inflect for person in three tenses. The distinction between present and past tense is made by different stems, while future tense is marked by a special suffix. In third person forms, there is no distinction of number (3rd singular and 3rd plural have the same form). Further verbal forms that are used as predicates in independent clauses are the conditional, the debitive, and the oblique. Latgalian has also a rich inventory of participles, a monofunctional converb for simultaneous actions, an infinitive, a supine and a verbal noun. The most important derivational processes in verbs are prefixing and the building of reflexive verbs. The reflexive marker is put between prefix and stem, but if there is no prefix it follows the ending or amalgamates with it.

A remarkable feature of Latgalian is morphophonological harmony: word-forms strive to contain only sounds of one of the following sets: (i) palatalized consonants and front vowels, (ii) non-palatalized consonants and back vowels.

2. The sound system

Most of my own research has been conducted using written texts. The current chapter on the sound system of Latgalian therefore relies heavily on the work of Antons Breidaks (especially Brejdak 1989 and Brejdak 2006). A good source of examples relevant for phonology is Cibuļs & Leikuma (1992). Phonetic and phonological analysis of Latgalian as spoken today, using modern methods, is urgently needed for a more accurate description, but to my knowledge is not being currently carried out.

2.1 Phonemes, sounds, and letters

Vowels

There are short and long vowels; long vowels are additionally characterized as tense, short vowels as lax. Mid vowels are basically short, a long mid vowel appears only occasionally in interjections. The resulting gap in the system of long vowels is filled by the diphthongs /ie/ and /uo/, which are regarded as monophonemic (in contrast to all other diphthongs). The short high front vowel has a centralized allophone, which in phonological and morphophonological rules is used as the back alternant of [i].

	short vowels			long vowels		
	front	central	back	front	central	back
high	i	/ ɨ	u	iː		uː
mid	ɛ		ɔ	iɛ		uɔ
low	æ	a		æː	aː	

Since the beginning of the 20th century vowel length is indicated in writing by a macron: ā, ē, ī, ū. In 19th century texts vowel length is occasionally indicated by a

circumflex (â, î etc.), but most often it is not marked at all. The following table shows some further orthographic conventions:

	current orthography	20th c	19th c
ɨ	y	y	y
ɛ	e	e	e
æ	e	e	ia
iɛ	ie	ē	ie, ia
uɔ	uo / ō	ō	o

There are very few minimal pairs for the opposition /ɛ/ : /æ/, an example is:

(*jis*) *ceļ* [tsʲɛlʲ] '(he) raises' : (*tu*) *ceļ* [tsʲælʲ] '(you (sg.)) raise'.

The difference between mid and low front vowels is not always phonologically important, and in some dialects these two vowels are positional variants. In general [ɛ] has a more restricted distribution than [æ], and it basically (though not only and not always) appears in the environment of alveolar obstruents and before a syllable containing a high front vowel. In this grammar the mid vowel [ɛ] will be indicated as <ę> in cases where the difference between mid and low front vowel is morphologically important, for example in personal forms of certain verbs.

Examples for the two vowels:

mid short [ɛ]	low short [æ]
ęsi [ɛsʲi] (2sg prs. of 'be')	*mes* [mʲæs] 'we'
vęcs [vʲɛtʲsʲ] 'old man'	*zeme* [zʲæmʲæ] 'land'
sęši [sʲɛʃi] 'six'	*gūteņa* [guːtʲænʲa] 'cow (dimin.)'
męžs [mʲɛʃ] 'wood'	*dieleņš* [dʲiɛlʲænʲtʃ] 'son (dimin.)'
ceļš [tsʲɛlʲʃ] 'way'	*ceļt* [tsʲælʲtʲ] 'to raise (infinitive)'
tu cępi [tsʲɛpʲi] 'you (sg.) baked'	*jis cepe* [tsʲæpʲæ] 'he baked'

Diphthongs ending in a mid vowel (monophonemic diphthongs)

<ie> *viejs* 'wind' (20th c orthography *vējs*)

<uo> *muote* 'mother' (20th c orthography *mōte*, 19th c texts *mote*)

Diphthongs ending in a high front vowel:

<ai> *laiva* 'boat'

<ei> = [ɛi] *peile* 'duck' [pʲɛilʲæ]

<ei> = [æi] *meita* 'daughter' [mʲæita]

These three diphthongs are very common in the language. In addition <ui> and <oi> occur occasionally, for example in *nui* 'yes' (< particles *nu* and *i*), *puiss* 'boy' (loan

from a Finnic language), *vuiceit* 'teach' (probably a loan from a Slavic language); *voi* 'or' (loan from a Finnic language), *broilers* 'broiler'.

Diphthongs ending in a high back vowel:

<au> *saule* 'sun'

<iu> *giut* 'catch'

<yu> *byut* 'be'

These three diphthongs are very frequent. In addition, <ou> occurs occasionally in sound-imitating words and in loans, for example *poukšēt* 'to patter', *kouldre* 'blanket, quilt' (compare Polish *kołdra* 'blanket'); it occurs also in dialects instead of *au* (*nouda* ~ *nauda* 'money'). In some dialects <eu> occurs instead of <iu> and <yu> (*ceuka* ~ *cyuka* 'pig').

Consonants

Obstruents and sonorants can be palatalized. Alveolar obstruents are palatalized only in some dialects, the fricatives more often than the affricates. The trill is not palatalized in modern standard Latgalian and most dialects. According to Breidaks (Brejdak 1993; 1989), palatalization is phonologically distinctive for sonorants, voiceless labial obstruents and voiceless dental obstruents, while for all other obstruents the palatalized consonant is a positional variant. However, in Modern Latgalian minimal pairs are occasionally found with these sounds also, and there are grounds for postulating palatalization as phonologically distinctive for all non-alveolar obstruents (Alexej Andronov, p.c.).

All non-alveolar consonants are palatalized before front vowels, and in these cases palatalization is not marked in the orthography. In other positions palatalized velar plosives and dental sonorants are written with the letters < ķ, ġ, ņ, ļ >, while for other consonants · palatalization is not indicated in current orthography. In 19th c texts palatalization is indicated by the letter <i> before other vowels (as in Polish) or by an accent put above or after the letter (for example < ś, ź, t', d' >). In this grammar a superscript < ʲ > will be used to indicate palatalization, when it is important for the point in question, in those cases when it is not marked by current orthography. Example: the infinitive of the verb 'to raise' is spelt < ceļt > in Standard Latgalian and pronounced [tsʲælʲtʲ]. The palatalization of the initial affricate follows from its position before a front vowel. The palatalization of the sonorant is marked by the letter <ļ>, while the palatalization of the final plosive (the infinitive ending) is not marked. To indicate the latter, I will use the modified spelling < ceļtʲ >.

Obstruents

	labial				dental				alveolar		velar			
plosives	p	pʲ	b	bʲ	t	tʲ	d	dʲ				k	kʲ	g	gʲ
fricatives*⁾			v	vʲ	s	sʲ	z	zʲ	ʃ	ʒ					
affricates					ts	tsʲ	dz	dzʲ	tʃ	dʒ					

*⁾ Traditional analysis treats [v] and [vʲ] as allophones (consonantal realizations) of phonemes classified as approximants, see below.

Letters in current and 20th c orthography:

< p, b, v, t, d, k, ķ [kʲ], g, ġ [gʲ], s, z, c [ts], dz, š [ʃ], ž [ʒ], č [tʃ], dž [dʒ] >

In older texts alveolar obstruents were symbolized by < sz, ż, cz, dż > (as in Polish).

Examples showing the phonological contrast of palatalized / non-palatalized consonants (from Brejdak 2006):

[p] – [pʲ]　　*stīp* 'pulls, pull' (3.PRS) – *stīpʲ* '(you) pull' (2SG.PRS or 2SG imperative)

[t] – [tʲ]　　*īt* 'goes, go' (3.PRS) – *ītʲ* 'go (infinitive)'

[tsʲ] – [tsʲ]　*sauc* 'calls' (3.PRS) – *saucʲ* '(you) call' (2SG.PRS or 2SG imperative)

The fricatives [f] and [x] (letter <h>) occur occasionally in recent borrowings, especially learned vocabulary (*ortografeja, aforizms, informaceja, humors, tehnologeja*); it is a matter for further research in how far this spelling reflects actual pronunciation of these words. In most loanwords [f] is replaced by [p] and [x] is replaced by [k], for example *kopejs* 'coffee', *putbols* 'football', *kokejs* 'hockey' (pronounced with initial [x] in Standard Low Latvian and Russian; note that internationalisms are likely to enter Latgalian via one of these languages).

Sonorants

	labial		dental		alveolar
nasal	m	mʲ	n	nʲ	
lateral			l	lʲ	
trill					r

In current orthography palatalized dentals are written < ļ, ņ > before back vowels, but < l, n > before front vowels. In 19th c texts the palatalized lateral was always written <l>, while the non-palatalized was written <ł>.

Approximants

Traditional analysis establishes approximants (semivowels) as phonemes with consonantal and non-syllabic vocalic allophones. Two places of articulation are distinguished: labial-velar /w/ (letter <v>, 19th c <w> and sometimes <ŭ> for vocalic realization) and palatal /j/. Breidaks (Brejdak 2006: 198-199) has argued that in both places of articulation, a phonological opposition is found that corresponds to the opposition palatalized/non-palatalized in other consonants. Phonetically this opposition is realized as advancement or retraction. According to this analysis the system of approximants is fourfold:

labial-velar		palatal	
retracted	advanced	retracted	advanced
w	wʲ	j	jʲ

Evidence for this phonological opposition is however scarce, especially for the palatal semivowel. More research is needed.

2.2 Stress and tone

With very few exceptions, Latgalian words have the main accent on the first syllable.

As in the other Baltic languages, tone (pitch) is distinctive for long syllables, that is syllables containing a long vowel, a diphthong, or a short vowel plus sonorant. Latgalian dialects distinguish two tones that are traditionally called falling (marked [à]) and broken (marked [â]). Based on her experimental phonetic research, Markus (1998) suggests "level" vs. "sharp" as more adequate labels.

The falling (level) tone is characterized by an even decrease of intensity and pitch. Syllable nuclei with the falling tone are also pronounced longer than those with the other tone. Examples for words carrying the falling tone: *dìna* 'day', *krùosa* 'color', *cèļš* 'way, road', *dzìmt* 'be born', *mìert* 'die'.

The broken (sharp) tone is characterized by a sudden decrease of intensity and pitch. Examples: *volûda* 'language', *jyûs* 'you (pl.)', *jim̂t* 'take'. Case-endings of the locative also have this tone.

There are only a few minimal (or almost minimal) pairs of words distinguished by tone, for example:

àussʲ 'ear'　　　　　: 　*aûssʲ* 'weave' (third person future)

rèitʲ 'swallow'　　: 　*reît* 'tomorrow'

As this grammar is mainly based on written sources, tones will not be marked here. Tones are not indicated in writing, not even in material made for educational purposes.

The only texts where tones are marked are transcripts made by dialectologists (for example, in the collection of dialect texts edited by Jokubauska 1988).

2.3 Phonological processes

Palatalization (phonetic, positional)

Consonants are palatalized in the following positions (cf. Breidaks 1974 (2007 II: 206)):

- before a front vowel or a diphthong beginning with a front vowel, thus {i, iː, iɛ, iu, ɛ, ɛː, æ, æː, ɛi, æi}: all non-alveolar consonants, in some dialects also alveolar consonants. Examples: *bīzi* [bʲiːʒi] 'often', *seši* [sʲɛʃi] 'six', *zeme* [zʲæmʲæ] 'land';
- before a palatalized consonant (in principal, but with exceptions): all non-alveolar consonants, with the possible exception of velar plosives in some dialects. Examples: *miļti* [mʲiļʲtʲi] 'flour', *stīpt* [stʲiːpʲtʲ] or [stʲiːptʲ] 'pull' (infinitive);
- following a front vowel or diphthong, i.e. { i, iː, iɛ, iu, ɛ, æ, æː, ɛi, æi }: only the voiceless dental consonants [tʲ] and [sʲ]. This rule accounts for the palatalized consonant in nominal and verbal endings, such as *-isʲ* = SG.GEN. or PL.NOM and PL.ACC (*muot-isʲ* 'mother'), *-itʲ* = 2PL imperative (*dor-itʲ* 'do!'), *-etʲ* = 2pl in past tense forms (*klīdz-etʲ* 'you yelled'). The rule is however not fully productive (cf. non-palatalized *īt* 'goes, go' (3.PRS), *reit* 'tomorrow').

Palatalized consonants in other positions are usually the result of retention of palatalization after some sound change (most often the loss of a front vowel) had altered the context. This explains, for example, the palatalization of the infinitive ending [tʲ] – historically the infinitive ended in [tʲi].

Final devoicing

Word-finally, obstruents are always voiceless, for example:

moz-a [mɔza] 'small, little' (adjective, fem.sg.) / *moz* [mɔs] 'little' (adverb)

Assimilation according to voice

In a sequence of obstruents (usually two, sometimes more), there is regressive assimilation of voice, the first obstruent becoming voiced or voiceless in assimilation to the second. This rule works across morpheme boundaries in the case of suffixes and prefixes, as well as in some compounds. Examples:

zyrga [zɨrga] 'horse' (gen.sg.) / *zyrgs* [zɨrks] 'horse' (nom.sg.)
atīt [atʲiːt] 'come' (3rd person present) / *atguoja* [adguoja] 'come' (3rd person past)
apdūmeigs [abduːmʲæiks] 'careful' (M.SG.NOM.)

The voiced labial fricative [v] does not take part in this process: a voiceless obstruent preceding it (as in *apvyds* 'surrounding') does not become voiced.

Affricatization

a) A sequence of dental plosive and fricative is pronounced as dental affricate:

atsagrīzt 'come back', *pots* 'self', *gods* [gɔts] 'year'

b) Following [n] or [nʲ], a word-final dental or alveolar fricative turns into the respective affricate:

muns [munts] 'my' (NOM.SG.M.)
mozeņš [mɔzʲɛnʲtʃ] 'small' (diminutive, NOM.SG.M.)

Apart from this paragraph, affricatization is not marked in transcriptions throughout this book.

Gemination

Suffixation and prefixation often lead to a sequence of two of the same obstruents. Such a sequence is pronounced as a long (geminated) obstruent; the process often occurs together with voice assimilation or affricatization:

saus-s [sauss] 'dry' (M.SG.NOM) / *saus-a* [sausa] 'dry' (F.SG.NOM.)
moz-s [mɔss] 'small' (M.SG.) / *moz-a* [mɔza] ;small' (FEM.SG.)
vacs [vatss] 'old' (NOM.SG.M.)
vecs [vʲætsʲsʲ] 'old man' (NOM.SG.)

In a few instances this is distinctive, for example

(tu) *nes* [nʲæsʲ] 'carry (2sg present)' / (jis) *ness* [nʲæsʲsʲ] 'carry (3rd future)'

For more cases of gemination see Brejdak (1989: 422-423).

3. Morphophonology

3.1 Morphophonological harmony

As a rule, the stems of Latgalian words can be classified as either "soft" or "hard" on account of their phonological shape. Some stems – mostly verbal stems ending in a diphthong or a semivowel – are neutral with respect to this opposition. Soft stems contain palatalized consonants or alveolar consonants (for which palatalization is not important), while hard stems contain non-palatalized non-alveolar consonants. The vowels [ɨ], [ɔ], [aː] (<y, o, ā>) are found only in hard stems, while [i], [ɛ], [æ], [æː] (<i, e, ē>) and the diphthong <ie> characterize soft stems. Other vowels may appear in both kinds of stems.

Examples of hard stems: *god-* 'year', *zyrg-* 'horse', *vac-* 'old' (adj.), *ād-* 'eat', *nas-* 'carry' (present stem), *dor-* 'do' (present stem), *maklā-* 'search' (III stem, hard variant)

Examples of soft stems: *ac-* [atsʲ] 'eye', *ziv-* [zʲivʲ] 'fish' *vec-* [vʲetsʲ] 'old man', *seš-* [sʲeʃ] 'six', *iedʲ-* 'eat', *nes-* [nʲæsʲ] 'carry' (past stem), *meklē-* [mʲæklʲæ:] 'search' (III stem, soft variant)

Neutral stems: *runoj-* 'speak', *darej-* 'do' (past stem)

In the formation of new stems and of word-forms we may observe a strive for harmony as a strong tendency: as a rule, suffixes with a soft shape combine with soft stems and suffixes with a hard shape combine with hard stems. Suffixes containing [u] or [a] count as hard, while suffixes containing [i:] are soft (in stems these three vowels are neutral). Morphophonological harmony has various effects:

- distinction of "hard" and "soft" declension classes; for example, accusative singular is -u for nouns and adjectives with hard stems (*god-u* 'year', *zyrg-u* 'horse', *vac-u* 'old'), but -i for nouns with soft stems (*ac-i* 'eye', *ziv-i* 'fish', *vec-i* 'old man'); for more details see section 4.1.1;

- choice of hard or soft variant of a verbal stem in harmony with the suffix; for example, the (hard-shaped) supine suffix *-tu* is combined with the hard shape of the third stem (*maklā-tu* 'search', *nas-tu* 'carry'), while the (soft-shaped) infinitive suffixe *-tʲ* combines with the soft variant (*meklē-tʲ* [mʲæklʲæ:tʲ] 'search', *nes-tʲ* [nʲæsʲtʲ] 'carry');

- morphological processes which change hard stems into soft stems (stems of nouns, adjectives, and verbs) or, less frequently, soft stems into hard stems (stems of numerals and verbs). For example, hard stems of nouns are subject to vowel and consonant alternation when combined with the soft-shaped diminutive suffix *-eŋ-* (*gad-eŋ-š* [gadʲænʲtʃ] 'year (dim.)', *zirdz-eŋ-š* 'horse (dim.)').

Many morphophonological alternations that will be shown in the following paragraphs can be explained as a means to preserve harmony.

3.2 Morphophonological vowel alternations

Vowel alternation I: "front" ~ "back"

The following pairs of phonemes are involved in this alternation:

[ɛ ~ a], [æ ~a], [a ~ ɔ], [æ: ~ a:], [iɛ ~ a:]

In addition, the allophones of the high front vowel [i ~ ɨ] alternate in the same environments.

For morphophonological rules, the left member of the pair is classified as "front", the right member as "back". A phonetically more precise statement is that front vowels alternate with central vowels, but central [a] alternates with the nearest back vowel.

Therefore [a] occurs on both sides of the alternation, while [i, ɛ, æ, iɛ] are always "front", and [ɨ], [ɔ] are always "back". The other vowels (ī, u, ū, uo) do not alternate.

	short			long		
	front	central	back	front	central	back
high	i —— ɨ					
mid	ɛ		ɔ	iɛ		
low	æ —— a			æ: —— a:		

This alternation plays an important role in the distinction of hard and soft shapes of stems. It is therefore frequently encountered in derivation and in verbal inflection. It occurs in morphological contexts that also trigger palatalization, alveolarization, or dentalization. For example, the formation of diminutives of hard-stemmed nouns with the soft suffix *-eŋ-* triggers vowel alternation back > front:

- with palatalization: *dorb-s* 'work' > *darbeŋš* [darbʲænʲtʃ]
- with dentalization and palatalization: *zyrg-s* 'horse' > *zirdzeŋš*
- with non-alternating consonant: *jār-s* 'lamb' > *jiereŋš*

The direction front > back is less often found. Vowels in front stems do not alternate as predictably as vowels in hard stems (with the exception of the phonological alternation [i ~ ɨ]). Examples (with depalatalization):

> *zivsʲ* 'fish' > *zyv-u* (GEN.PL)
> *acsʲ* 'eye' > *ocu* (GEN.PL)

Vowel alternation II: mid ~ low

[ɛ ~ æ], [iɛ ~ æ:]

This alternation does not effect morphophonological harmony. It is found in verbal stems in the formation of the past and future tenses: the forms for 1sg and 2sg have the mid front vowel (here indicated by <ę>) or diphthong <ie>, while in the other forms the stem has the low front vowel. Examples:

nest 'carry'
past stem *nes-* [nʲæsʲ], 1sg. *nęšu* [nʲɛʃu], 2sg *nęsi* [nʲɛsʲi], 3rd *nese* [nʲæsʲæ]
future stem *ness-* [nʲæsʲsʲ], 1sg *nęššu* [nʲɛʃʃu], 2sg *nęssi* [[nʲɛsʲsʲi], 3rd *ness* [nʲæsʲsʲ]

ēst 'eat'
past stem *ēd-* [æ:dʲ], 1sg *iežu*, 2sg *iedi*, 3rd *ēde* [æ:dʲæ]
future stem *ēss-* [æ:ss], 1sg *ieššu*, 2sg *iessi*, 3rd *ēss*

As can be seen in these examples, vowel alternation II is independent of consonant alternation (1sg past shows alveolarization with depalatalization, but 2sg has no consonant alternation).

3.3 Morphophonological consonant alternations

Palatalization (in morphophonology)

A non-palatalized consonant alternates with a palatalized consonant without changing the place and manner of articulation. While phonetic (positional) palatalization affects all non-alveolar consonants, morphophonological rules affect only a part. The following sets can be distinguished:

set 1 (dental obstruents): [t ~ tʲ], [d ~ dʲ], [s ~ sʲ], [z ~ zʲ]
set 2 (labials):   [p ~ pʲ], [b ~ bʲ], [v/w ~ vʲ], [m ~ mʲ]
set 3 (dental sonorants):   [n ~ nʲ], [l ~ lʲ]
set 4 (velars):   [k ~ kʲ], [g ~ gʲ]

Palatalization is regularly accompanied by vowel alternation I (back > front).

Examples: The formation of diminutives from nouns with hard stems using the suffix -*eņ*- triggers the palatalization of consonants of sets 1 – 3 (see section 4.1.2), for example *rynda* 'row' > *riņdʲeņa* [rinʲdʲænʲa], *sīva* 'wife' > *sīvʲeņa*, [si:vʲænʲa], *mola* 'edge' > *maļeņa* [malʲænʲa]. The formation of adverbs from adjectives by the suffix -*i* selects sets 2 – 4 for palatalizaton (see section 4.2.4): *rup-s* 'coarse' > *rup-i* [rupʲi] (adverb), *tuol-s* 'far' > *tuol-i* [tuolʲi] (adverb), *plyks* 'naked, bare' > *plik-i* [pʲlʲikʲi] (adverb).

Depalatalization

A palatalized consonant alternates with the same non-palatalized consonant. This process regularly affects labials, thus the following pairs (the mirror image of set 2) occur:

set 5 (labials)   [pʲ ~ p], [bʲ ~ b], [vʲ ~ v], [mʲ ~ m]

Examples: *zeme* 'land' [zʲæmʲæ] > *zemu* [zʲæmu] (gen.pl.); *labi* [labʲi] 'well' > *lobuok* 'better' (adverb)

Occasionally depalatalization occurs with voiceless dental obstruents, as an exception from alveolarization with depalatalization, for example *zūsʲ-sʲ* 'goose' (nom.sg) ~ *zūs-u* (gen.pl):

set 6 (voiceless dental obstr.)   [tʲ ~ t], [sʲ ~ s], [tsʲ ~ ts]

Depalatalization is sometimes accompanied by vowel alternation I (front > back), see examples *zivs* > *zyvu*, *acs* > *ocu* above.

Alveolarization

A dental non-palatalized plosive or fricative alternates with an alveolar fricative. Occasionally, a non-palatalized velar voiceless plosive alternates with an alveolar affricate

set 7 (dentals)   [t ~ ʃ], [d ~ ʒ], [s ~ ʃ], [z ~ ʒ], [ts ~ tʃ], [dz ~ dʒ]
set 8 (velars)   [k ~ tʃ]

Examples (derivation of adverbs from adjectives by the suffix -i): *rat-s* 'rare' > *reši*, *sovaid-s* 'different' > *sovaiži*, *smolk-s* 'fine' ~ *smaļči*

Alveolarization is regularly accompanied by vowel alternation I (back > front).

Alveolarization with depalatalization

A palatalized dental obstruent alternates with a non-palatalized alveolar consonant. This involves the following pairs:

set 9 (dentals)   [tʲ ~ ʃ], [dʲ ~ ʒ], [sʲ ~ ʃ], [zʲ ~ ʒ], [tsʲ ~ tʃ], [dzʲ ~ dʒ]

This process is found regularly when a suffix consisting in a "hard" vowel (-a, -u) combines with a soft stem. Examples: *zutʲ-* 'eel' (stem) > *zuš-a* (gen.sg), *trusʲ-* 'rabbit' > *truš-a* (gen.sg.), *raudʲ-* 'weep' (present stem) > *rauž-u* (1sg.prs), *klīdzʲ-* 'shout' (past stem) > *klīdž-u* (1sg.past).

The fricatives also alternate in a position before a sonorant (palatalized or depalatalized)[2]: [snʲ ~ ʃnʲ], [slʲ ~ ʃlʲ], [znʲ ~ ʒnʲ], [zlʲ ~ ʒlʲ] and [smʲ ~ ʃm]

Example: *dzīsme* [dzʲi:sʲmʲæ] 'song' ~ *dzīšmu* [dzʲi:ʃmu] (gen.pl) (Standard Latgalian).

Other combinations of consonants, most notably [sʲtʲ], behave less predictably; they sometimes undergoe alveolarization, sometimes only depalatalization (*puoksʲtʲ-sʲ* 'pod' ~ *puokš-u*, *asʲtʲ-e* 'tail' (nom.sg) ~ *ast-u* (gen.pl)).

Alveolarization does not involve vowel alternation I, which follows from both members of the process being soft stems.

Dentalization with palatalization

A non-palatalized velar plosive alternates with a palatalized dental affricate:

set 10 (velars)   [k ~ tsʲ], [g ~ dzʲ]

This process is accompanied by vowel alternation (back > front). It is found only in derivation, for example, in the formation of diminutives:

kūk-s 'tree' > *kūc-eņ-š* (diminutive)
ūg-a 'berry' > *ūdz-eņ-a; vonog-s* 'hawk' > *vanadz-eņ-š*

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[2] Not in all dialects.

Summary of morphophonological consonant alternation (pairs in brackets: marginal)

	palatalization	depalatalization	alveolarization	depalatalization with alveolariz.	dentalization with palataliz.
dental obstruents	t > tʲ d > dʲ s > sʲ z > zʲ	(tʲ > t) (sʲ > s) (tsʲ > ts)	t > ʃ d > ʒ s > ʃ z > ʒ	tʲ > ʃ dʲ > ʒ sʲ > ʃ zʲ > ʒ tsʲ > tʃ dzʲ > dʒ	–
velar obstruents	k > kʲ g > gʲ	–	(k > tʃ)		k > tsʲ g > dzʲ
labials	p > pʲ b > bʲ v/w > vʲ m > mʲ	pʲ > p bʲ > b vʲ > v mʲ > m	–	–	–
dental sonorants	n > nʲ l > lʲ	–	–	–	
	+ vowel altern. back > front	+/- vowel alter. front > back	+ vowel altern. back > front	no vowel alternation	+ vowel altern. back > front

Stems ending in {r, š, ž, č, dž, j, kʲ, gʲ} don't show consonant alternation.

3.4 Sets of morphophonological processes[3]

MA-1 occurs when a soft stem is combined with an ending consisting of a back vowel (/a/ or /u/). This situation arises in three independent cases:

- masculine nouns of the II declension: formation of genitive (-a) and dative (-am) singular;
- feminine nouns of the V or VI declension: formation of genitive plural (-u);
- past tense of the e-conjugation: formation of 1sg (-u);
- present tense of the i-conjugation: formation of 1sg (-u).

Furthermore, MA-1 occurs in **all** case forms in the plural of class II nouns, regardless of the quality of the vowel in the ending.

The processes found in this alternation are

- alveolarization with depalatalization for dental obstruents (as a rule);
- depalatalization (with or without vowel alternation) for labial consonants and (exceptionally) for voiceless dental obstruents.

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³ Examples are given in the respective sections of chapter 4 and 5.

The remaining consonants are not subjected to alternation: [lʲ], [nʲ], [gʲ] and [kʲ] remain palatalized, [r], [tʃ], [dʒ] remain non-palatalized (other consonants are not found at the end of a soft stem).

MA-2 occurs in the derivation of adverbs from adjectives by the suffix -i and involves

- vowel alternation I (back > front), together with
- alveolarization for dental obstruents;
- palatalization for dental sonorants (set 3);
- palatalization for labial and velar consonants (sets 2 and 4);

For stems ending in a dental consonant, the change is permanent: adverbs with such stems retain the fronted vowel and the "softened" consonant also before the comparative suffix -uok. In contrast, stems ending in labial or velar consonants alternate into soft stems only before -i, but before -uok these adverbs have a hard stem.

MA-3 is found in derivation, most regularly in the formation of diminutives by the suffix -eņ-, and involves:

- vowel alternation I (back > front), together with
- palatalization for non-velar consonants (sets 1, 2, 3);
- dentalization with palatalization for velar plosives.

4. Nominal morphology

Nominal inflectional categories are case, number, and gender. There are two numbers and two genders, masculine and feminine. Five cases are regularly and productively formed with every nominal stem: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and locative. The vocative, which is found with some nouns in the singular (see 4.1.3), has a derivational rather than inflectional character. Some dialects apparently still distinguish an instrumental (by tone, not by a special ending), but in most varieties this case has merged with the accusative in the singular and the dative in the plural.

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Stems and declensions

Nominal stems always end in a consonant and are either hard or soft (see 3.1). Soft stems end in a palatalized or an alveolar consonant. The distinction between hard-stemmed and soft-stemmed nouns is one of the major features determining declension classes, the second being gender (see Nau, forthcoming b). Feminine soft-stemmed nouns can further be divided into an e-declension and i-declension, but there is a tendency to unify these two classes. Some masculine proper names with hard stems (most prominently *Jezus Kristus*) are optionally inflected in the singular according to a further declension (corresponding to the Latvian u-declension), which otherwise is

obsolete. Thus, Latgalian is somewhere on the scale from a system with six declension classes as is realized in Standard Latvian, to a system with four classes. The new system is more advanced in the plural than in the singular, and for masculine nouns more than for feminine nouns.

Masculine classes, singular

	hard stems (class I)		soft stems (class II)		proper names in -*us* (class III)
		kūk- 'tree'		ūsʲ- 'ash tree'	Jez-
NOM	-s, -ys, -š	kūk-s	-s [sʲ], -is [isʲ]	ūsʲ-sʲ [uːsʲsʲ]	Jez-us
GEN	-a	kūk-a	+a	ūš-a	Jez-us / -a
DAT	-am	kūk-am	+am	ūš-am	Jez-um / -am
ACC	-u	kūk-u	-i	ūsʲ-i	Jez-u
LOC	-ā	kūk-ā	-ī	ūsʲ-ī	Jez-ū / -ā

Masculine classes, plural

		hard stems	soft stems
		kūk- 'tree'	ūsʲ- 'ash tree'
stem			
NOM	-i	kūk-i	ūš-i
GEN	-u	kūk-u	ūš-u
DAT	-im	kūk-im	ūš-im
ACC	-us	kūk-us	ūš-us
LOC	-ūs	kūk-ūs	ūš-ūs

Notes

All nouns belonging to these two classes have **masculine gender**.

The default ending for **nominative singular** is -s for hard-stemmed nouns and -sʲ for soft-stemmed nouns (not distinguished in standard orthography). The variants -ys and -is [isʲ] are used to avoid consonant clusters, for example in *korklys* (hard stem) 'willow', *eļksnis* (soft stem) 'alder'. The ending -š is used with some stems ending in -ļ- [lʲ] (*ceļš* 'way', some dialects have *ceļsʲ*) and -ņ- [nʲ], most prominently diminutives with the suffix -eņ- (hybrid stems, see below).

Hard-stemmed nouns which formerly belonged to the u-declension (class III) may form the **genitive singular** alternatively with the ending -s (< -us). In this case, the genitive is homonymous with the nominative. Examples are *ols* 'beer', *vyds* 'middle', *mads* 'honey', *gods* 'year'.

Soft stems undergo morphophonological alternation MA-1 in **genitive and dative singular** and all **plural** forms (only consonant alternation, no vowel alternation). Stems ending in a dental show alveolarization with depalatalization. Examples (forms: nom.sg, acc.sg, gen.sg, dat.sg, nom.pl):

[tʲ ~ š]	*zuts* [zutsʲ] 'eel', *zutʲi ~ zuša, zušam, zuši*
[dʲ ~ ž]	*bolūds* 'pigeon', *bolūdi ~ bolūža, bolūžam, bolūži*
[sʲ ~ š]	*truss* 'rabbit', *trusi ~ truša, trušam, truši*
[zʲ ~ ž]	*ezs* 'hedehog', *ezi ~ eža, ežam, eži*
[cʲ ~ č]	*luocs* 'bear', *luoci ~ luoča, luočam, luoči*
[dzʲ ~ dž]	*vadzs* 'peg', *vadzi ~ vadža, vadžam, vadži*

Soft stems ending in a labial consonants show depalatalization in case forms consisting in a back vowel (genitive and dative singular, genitive, accusative and locative plural); the alternation here is thus purely phonological:

uops [uopʲsʲ] 'badger' (nom.), *uopʲi* (acc.), *uopʲī* (loc.) ~ *uopa* (gen.), *uopam* (dat.); plural: *uopʲi, uopu, uopʲim, uopus, uopūs*

guļbs [guļpʲsʲ] 'swan', *guļbi* [guļbʲi] (acc.sg) ~ *guļba* [guļba] (gen.sg) etc.; *kūrms* [kurmʲsʲ] 'mole' ~ *kurma* [kurma] (gen.sg) etc.

As the example *guļba* 'swan (gen.sg)' shows, only the last consonant is depalatalized.

The **nominative plural** of hard-stemmed nouns has the ending -y (instead of -i) in some dialects, which is in line with morphophonological harmony.

In the **accusative plural** many dialects show syncope: -us > -s for hard-stemmed nouns (*dāls* 'son' – *dāls* (acc.pl.)) and -us > -š for soft-stemmed nouns (*bruoļsʲ* 'brother' – *bruoļš* (acc.pl.)).

Feminine classes, singular

class	hard stems (class IV)		soft stems vocalic (class V)		soft stems consonantal (class VI)	
stem		līp- 'linden'		egļʲ- 'fir'		sirdʲ- 'heart'
NOM	-a	līp-a	-e	egļʲ-e [ægļʲæ]	-s [-sʲ]	sirdʲ-sʲ [sʲirtsʲ]
GEN	-ys	līp-ys	-is	egļʲ-is	-s [-sʲ]	sirdʲ-sʲ
DAT	-ai	līp-ai	-ei	egļʲ-ei	-ei	sirdʲ-ei
ACC	-u	līp-u	-i	egļʲ-i	-i	sirdʲ-i
LOC	-ā	līp-ā	-ē	egļʲ-ē	-ī	sirdʲ-ī

Feminine classes, plural

	hard stems (class IV)		soft stems vocalic (class V)		soft stems consonantal (class VI)	
stem		līp- 'linden'		egļʲ- [ægļʲ-] 'fir'		sirdʲ- 'heart'
NOM = ACC	-ys	līp-ys	-is	egļʲ-es	-s, -is [sʲ, isʲ]	sirdʲ-sʲ, sirdʲ-isʲ
GEN	-u	līp-u	+u	egļ-u	+u	sirž-u
DAT	-om	līp-om	-em	egļʲ-em	-im	sirdʲ-im
LOC	-uos	līp-uos	-ēs	egļʲ-ēs	-īs	sirdʲ-īs

Notes

Theses classes contain mostly **feminine** nouns, but a few nouns of class IV and V are masculine. These are common nouns denoting male persons (*puika* 'boy' (not all dialects), *tēte* 'daddy') and some male proper names (*Aleksandra* 'Alexander'). Class IV nouns denoting persons in general may have masculine or feminine gender according to the referent, for example *šeļma* 'naughty, mischievous person'.

Class VI is a closed class, it contains neither derivations nor recent borrowings.

In the **dative singular**, **masculine** nouns of class IV may take the ending -am (*Aleksandram*; *šeļmam* 'naughty person (male)') and masculine nouns of class V the ending -em (*tētem* 'daddy'); this rule is optional and mainly found in the standard written language, while colloquial varieties usually do not use special endings for masculine nouns of these classes (*Aleskandrai, šeļmai, tētei*).

In the **genitive singular** as well as **nominative and accusative plural** northern dialects and 20 c standard written Latgalian uses the endings -as (class IV) and -es (class V) instead of -ys and -is.

In the **locative singular** of class V nouns some dialects and colloquial varieties have -ī instead of -ē (for example *dzeivī* loc. of *dzeive* 'life'), proof of the tendency to unify classes V and VI. Some central Latgalian dialects, on the other hand, use the ending -ē for nouns of class IV and V alike, while other dialects show the ending -ie in both classes.

In the **genitive plural** soft-stemmed nouns undergo consonant alternation MA-1, occasionally with vowel alternation front > back, for example *acs* [atsʲsʲ] 'eye' – *ocu* [ɔtsu] (gen.pl.).

In the **dative** and the **locative plural**, some dialects use the endings -om and -uos for all classes, but may have consonant alternation with soft-stemmed nouns. Example paradigms for these dialects:

Plural forms of soft-stemmed feminine nouns in some dialects

stem	hard	soft	'fir'	'heart'	'eye'
NOM = ACC	-ys	-is	egl-is	sirdʲ-(i)s	acʲ-(i)sʲ
GEN	-u	+u	egl-u	sirž-u	oc-u
DAT	-om	+om	egl-om	sirž-om	acʲ-om
LOC	-uos	+uos	egl-uos	sirž-uos	acʲ-uos

Note: for soft stems ending in [lʲ] like *egl-e* the alternation is only orthographic (<l> before <i>, <ļ> before <u, o>), while phonologically all forms contain the palatalized sonorant.

Hybrid stems

Hard stems and soft stems are distinguished by their phonological shape, and the choice of ending largely follows morphophonological harmony (see 3.1). Therefore, given the phonological shape of a stem in addition to the gender of a lexeme, the inflection of the noun is largely predictable. In particular, accusative and locative singular are almost entirely triggered by the stem: for both genders, hard stems combine with -u in the accusative and with -ā in the locative, while soft stems have -i in the accusative and -ī or -ē (some dialects: -ie) in the locative. Some stems ending in a palatalized sonorant ([lʲ] or [nʲ], the palatalization is invariable) do not obey this general rule: they have the phonological shape of soft stems but combine with endings of the "hard" classes I (masculine) or IV (feminine). I call these stems "hybrid stems". Examples are *ceļ-* (masc.) 'way', *gaļ-* (fem.) 'meat', *skaņ-* (fem.) 'sound', and diminutives derived by the suffix -eņ-. Nouns with hybrid stems display variation in their declension, especially in the accusative and locative singular. The nominative singular of masculine nouns with hybrid stems has the ending -š (< s (non-palatalized)). The nominative singular of feminine nouns has the ending -a, which in this phonetic environment is pronounced as a fronted [a] close to [æ], probably contributing to the transition of such nouns into class VI (Cibuļs&Leikuma 2003: 29), for example *gaļa ~ gale* 'meat'. However, variation in the accusative and locative is found with masculine and feminine nouns alike (for more discussion see Nau, forthcoming).

Examples from the fairy tales collected by A. Kokalis in the 1920s (the same variation can be found in modern texts as well):

Accusative -u or -i (*gabaleņš* (masculine) 'little bit', diminutive of *gobols* 'piece, bit')

(1) Kaid-u **gabal-en-i** pagōjuš-i   jī   atroda –
    some-A bit-DIM-A PFX:go:PAP-SG.M they.M find:PST:3

    vīn-s   stabul-eit-i, ūtr-is   zalt-a   kul-eit-i.
    one-N.SG.M flute-DIM-A   other-N.SG.M gold-G sack-DIM-A

(2) Saldats pa-īt,   pa-īt   **gabal-eņ-u** i   pa-stabulej
    soldier-N PFX-go:PRS:3 PFX-go:PRS:3 bit-DIM-A   and PFX-play.flute:PRS:3

    'Having walked on a little bit, one found a flute, the other a sack of gold. [...]
    The soldier went on a little bit playing his flute' (Ko, 86)

Locative -ā or -ī (*ustabeņa* (fem) 'little house, hut', diminutive of *ustoba* 'house, hut')

(3) Pēdeigi jis   ī-gōja   vīn-ā moz-ā   **ustab-en-ī**,
    at.last he:N PFX-go:PST:3 one-L small-L house-DIM-L

    kur   dzeivova tikai vīn-s pat-s vec-eit-s.
    where live:PST:3 only one-M EMPH-M old.man-DIM-N

    'At last he entered a little hut, where only one old man lived by himself.' (Ko, 87)

(4) *Jei* [...] *ī-skriāja* **ustab-eņ-ā,** *bet* *tī* *nikas* *jau* *na-dzeivova.*
    she:N   PFX-run:PST:3 house-DIM-L but there nobody PTC NEG-live:PST:3

    'she [...] ran into a little house, but nobody lived there anymore.' (Ko, 108)

The paradigms of hybrid stems appear thus (diminutive stems ending on -eņ-):

	masc.		fem.	
NOM	-š	gabaleņ-š	-a	ustabeņ-a
GEN	-a	gabaleņ-a	-is	ustaben-is
DAT	-am	gabaleņ-am	-ai	ustabeņ-ai
ACC	-i / -u	gabalen-i / gabaleņ-u	-i / -u	ustaben-i / ustabeņ-u
LOC	-ī /-ā	gabalen-ī / gabaleņ-ā	-ī /-ā	ustaben-ī / ustabeņ-ā

4.1.2 Diminutives

The formation of diminutives of nouns is very regular. The most productive diminutive suffixes are distributed along the parameter hard / soft stem. They do not change the gender of the noun.

The most common diminutive suffix for **hard-stemmed nouns** is -eņ-. It produces a soft-shaped hybrid stem (see above). The phonological shape is changed by the following morphophonological alternations:

- vowel alternation I (back > front):

  o > a   *dorb-s* 'work' > *darb-eņ-š*, *gobol-s* 'piece, bit' > *gabal-eņ-š*;
           ustob-a 'house' > *ustab-eņ-a*; *golv-a* 'head' > *gaļv-eņ-a*
  a > æ   *mad-s* 'honey' > *med-eņ-š*
  ā > ie   *bārn-s* 'child' > *biern-eņ-š*,
  y > i (phonological alternation): *rynd-a* 'row, line' > *rind-eņ-a*

- dentalization and palatalization of velar consonants:

  k > ts   *kūk-s* 'tree' > *kūc-eņ-š*
  g > dz   *vonog-s* 'hawk' > *vanadz-eņ-š*; *ūg-a* 'berry' > *ūdz-eņ-a*

- palatalization of non-velar consonants (not reflected in modern orthography):
  darbʲ-eņ-š 'work', *biernʲ-eņ-š* 'child', *rinʲdʲ-eņ-a* 'row, line' etc.

Some nouns that formerly had belonged to the III declension use the allomorph -**teņ**- instead of -eņ- (with the same alternations), for example *ol-s* 'beer' > *aļ-teņ-š* (dim.).

Soft-stemmed nouns mostly combine with the diminutive suffix -**eit**- followed by the case endings of class II (masculine) or V (feminine). As both the base and the derived stem are soft stems, no morphophonological alternation occurs. Examples:

bruoļ-s [bruoļʲsʲ] 'brother' > *bruol-eit-s* [bruolʲeitʲsʲ], *zač-s* 'hare' > *zač-eit-s*;
zem-e [zʲæmʲæ] 'land' > *zem-eit-e* [zʲæmʲeitʲæ], *las-e* 'drop' > *las-eit-e*

Some masculine soft-stemmed nouns that formerly belonged to a consonantal declension have irregular diminutives: *akmiņs* 'stone' > *akmisteņš*; *iudiņs* 'water' > *iudisneņš*.

Feminine consonantal soft-stemmed nouns (class VI) are less predictable in their choice of suffix: they may take -(t)eņ-, -sneņ- or (least often) -eit-: *piert-s* 'bath-house' > *piert-eņ-a*; *gūv-s* 'cow' > *gū-teņ-a*, *ac-s* 'eye' > *ac-teņ-a*, *sird-s* 'heart' > *sir-sneņ-a*.

Diminutives are very frequently used. They carry various emotional and pragmatic nuances (affection, irony, respect) that only sometimes are related directly to the referent of the noun carrying the diminutive suffix, but more often are linked to the speaker, the addressee, or the text.

(5) *Sābr-ys* *ir* *universal-a* *person-a; jys* *var* *tov-us*
    neighbour-N be:PRS:3 universal-N.F person-N he can:PRS:3 2SG-A.PL.M

    bārn-us *pī-sa-vier-t,* *tov-u* **gū-ten-i** *iz-slauk-t,* *tov-u*
    child-A.PL PFX-RFX-look-I 2SG-A.SG COW-DIM-A PFX-milk-I 2SG-.A.SG

    cepl-eit-i *iz-kurynuo-t, jys* *var* *tev* **maiz-eit-is**
    oven-DIM-A PFX-heat-I he can:PRS:3 2SG:D bread-DIM-G

    i *suoļa* *aiz-dū-t*
    and salt-G PFX-give-I

    'A neighbour is a universal person; he may look after your children, milk your **cow**, heat your **oven**, he may lend you **bread** and salt [...]' (OS)

4.1.3 Vocatives

Some nouns have a special form used in addressing someone or something. In most cases this vocative consists of the stem of the noun without an ending. With masculine soft-stemmed nouns also a vocative ending in -i (homonymous with the accusative) is found, but the form without ending seems to be more common. A general rule not always observed is that monosyllabic stems build the vocative with -i (*Juon-i!* of *Juoņs* 'John', but we also find *Juoņ!*).

Vocatives are only formed in the singular. The following nouns regularly appear in the vocative form:

- proper names (of female names only polysyllabic stems);
- nouns denoting family members (*tēt!* 'daddy', *bruoļ!* 'brother', *muot!* 'mother') and some social functions;

- diminutives of all kind of nouns; also words of the above mentioned groups are usually used in the diminutive in addresses: *Jureit!* (diminutive of *Jurs* 'George'), *sīveņ!* (dim. of *sīva* 'wife'), *muoseņ!* (dim. of *muosa* 'sister').

On the whole the use of a special vocative form seems to be more restricted in Latgalian than in Latvian. More research is needed here.

4.2 Adjectives

4.2.1 Stems and inflection

As a rule, adjectives have hard stems. A small group of derived adjectives have soft stems, and a few adjectives have hybrid stems (most clearly *slapn-is*, *slapņ-a* 'wet'). Adjectives with hard or hybrid stems have two sets of endings: short (indefinite) and long (definite). The indefinite endings are the same as found with noun classes I (masculine) and IV (feminine). The definite forms of adjectives are historically derived from the corresponding indefinite forms and a pronominal element. From a synchronic point of view, dative and locative forms contain a segmentable element -aj- (some dialects have -ej-, others -yj- or -uj- instead)[4] followed by the same ending as in the respective indefinite forms. A similar analysis can be made for masculine singular -ai-s. The remaining definite endings are unanalyzable wholes.

Adjectives containing the derivative element -ej- in the stem (for example, *pādejais* 'last', *puorejais* 'the rest', *senejais* 'former', *īkšejais* 'internal', *uorejais* 'external') take long endings in the nominative, genitive and accusative, but short endings in the dative and locative.

	masculine indefinite	masculine definite	-ej- masculine	feminine indefinite	feminine definite	-ej- feminine
SINGULAR						
NOM	moz-s	moz-ais, / -īs	senej-ais	moz-a	moz-uo	senej-uo
GEN	moz-a	moz-uo	senej-uo	moz-ys	moz-uos	senej-uos
ACC	moz-u	moz-ū	senej-ū	moz-u	moz-ū	sene-ū
DAT	moz-am	moz-aj-am	senej-am	moz-ai	moz-aj-ai	senej-ai
LOC	moz-ā	moz-aj-ā	senej-ā	moz-ā	moz-aj-ā	senej-ā
PLURAL						
NOM	moz-i	moz-ī	senej-ī	moz-ys	moz-uos	senej-is
GEN	moz-u	moz-ūs	senej-ūs	moz-u	moz-ūs	senej-ūs
ACC	moz-us	moz-ūs	senej-ūs	moz-ys	moz-uos	senej-uos
DAT	moz-im	moz-aj-im	senej-im	moz-om	moz-aj-om	senej-om
LOC	moz-ūs	moz-aj-ūs	senej-ūs	moz-uos	moz-aj-uos	senej-uos

mozs 'small', *senejais* 'former'

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[4] Historically, this segment is the result of reanalysis.

Adjectives derived with the suffix -iņ- have soft stems; they combine with the endings of declension classes II (masculine) and V (feminine). They don't have definite endings. Such adjectives have a referential meaning, they often refer to the material of an object: *kūciņs* 'wooden' (< *kūks* 'tree, wood'), *dzeļziņs* 'iron (adj.)' < *dzeļzs* 'iron (noun)'. These adjectives are not used in all dialects and are rare in Standard Latgalian, where reference to the material is regularly expressed by using the genitive of the corresponding noun, for example *kūka kurpe* 'wooden shoe'.

4.2.2 On the use of the definite endings

The indefinite ending of adjectives is functionally less marked. Roughly speaking, it is used whenever there is no reason to use the definite ending. The definite ending has several functions which largely coincide with the functions of these endings in Latvian. As in Latvian (cf. Nau 1998: 13), deictic and non-deictic uses can be distinguished. Differences between Latvian and Latgalian need further investigation[5] and will not be discussed here. The main deictic use is the marking of the definiteness of the noun phrase (see 6.1.2).

A clearly non-deictic function of the definite ending is emphasis: in an indefinite noun phrase a qualitative adjective with a definite ending may be used to indicate a high degree of the designated quality.

(6)   *Tāv-am*   *beja*   **lyl-ī**   *prīk-i.*
     father-D   be:PST:3   great-N.PL.M.DEF   joy-N.PL

     'Father was overjoyed.' (Sus) (literally: "Father had the great joys")

A further example is (149) *Tik **gordūs** blīņu izcapuse.* 'She had made such delicious (definite) pancakes.' (KurS).

Another non-deictic use occurs in lexicalizations. When an adjective is nominalized and designates a concrete or an abstract entity, it takes the definite ending. These nominalizations may be more or less stable:

(7)   *Eistineib-ā* **bedn-ī**   *nu*   *laim-is*   *atsarūn*   *tuoļ-uok*
     reality-L   poor-M.PL.DEF   from   happiness-G   stand:PRS:3   far-COMP

     nakai   **bogot-ī.**   **Bedn-aj-am** *ruodīs,*   *ka*   *vys-ys*   *juo*
     than   rich-M.PL.DEF   poor-DEF-D   seem:PRS:3   that   all-N.PL.F   his

     problem-ys   *ir*   *nu*   *nabadzeib-ys*
     problem-PL   be:PRS:3   from   poverty-G

     'Actually the poor are farer away from happiness than the rich. A/the poor [man] thinks that all his problems come from poverty' (VL)

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[5] For example, in Latgalian I found the definite ending in specific indefinite noun phrases where Latvian would use indefinite endings; it also seems to be used more often in non-deictic functions.

(8)   Rokstu   viņ   par   sev   aktual-ū.
      write:PRS:1SG   only   about   RFX:D   relevant-A.SG.DEF

     'I only write about what is relevant to me' (Sus)

The definite ending is also used when an adjective or participle and a noun express one concept and thus form a lexical unit. This may be a proper name, for example:

(9)   Jō   sauk-uš-i   vis-i   par   **Gar-ū**   **ubog-u,**
      he:G   call-PAP-PL   all-PL   for   tall-A.SG.DEF   beggar-A.SG

     'Everybody called him Tall Beggar [...]' (Ko)

In other cases the noun phrase containing such a lexicalization may be indefinite; note that in the following two examples the first modifiers (atnastys, īcierstu) have indefinite endings.

(10)   i   atnas-t-ys   [nūcenuo-t-**uos**   gruomot-ys]
      PTC   bring-PPP-A.PL.IDF   reduce.price-PPP-A.PL.DEF   book-A.PL

     (In this shop one could buy new) 'as well as [price-reduced books] that were brought there' (Sus)

Participles may have further complements, as in [molkys školdomais] ciervs 'wood-cutting axe' (as a special type of axe) in the following example:

(11)   Voi   calm-ā   ī-ciers-t-u   [[molk-ys   škold-om-ū]   cierv-i]].
      or   log-L   PFX-cut-PPP-A.IDF   wood-G   chop-PP-A.DEF   axe-A

     (... can be more dangerous than a knife.) 'Or a [wood-cutting axe] that has been stuck into a log.' (IS)

In **deictic uses** the definite ending of an attributive adjective marks the noun phrase as definite (or sometimes as specific) and contrasts with the indefinite ending. It may be the sole indicator of definiteness or appear together (in agreement) with determiners such as demonstrative or possessive pronouns or genitive modifiers.

(12)   Tān   nūpītn-uo   daļ-a.
      now   serious-N.SG.F.DEF   part[F]-N.SG

     'Now for the serious part.' (Sus)

(13)   [...] zuol-ē   beja   palykuse   mun-a   oranž-uo   maik-a
        grass-L   be:PST:3   stay:PAP:SG.F   my-N.SG.F   orange-N.SG.F.DEF   shirt-N.SG

     'I had left my orange T-shirt in the grass' (IS)

More examples in 6.1.2 Definiteness.

4.2.3 Diminutives

Adjectives also have diminutive forms, but these are not as frequent as diminutives of nouns and are regularly formed only from a rather small set of adjectives, most often from mozs 'small'. The suffix employed with hard-stemmed adjectives is -eņ-, as with

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hard-stemmed nouns; it triggers palatalization or (for velar consonants) dentalization with palatalization of the final consonant:

moz-s 'small' > moz-eņ-š (diminutive)
seik-s '(very) small, little' > seic-eņ-š
smolk-s 'fine' > smaļc-eņ-š

Other than with nouns the suffix does not always trigger vowel alternation with adjectives (mozeņš < mozs 'small' as opposed to darbeņš < dorbs 'work' (noun)). Possibly vowel alternation is restricted to cases where dentalization occurs (smaļceņš), but data is sparse.

Adjectives with the diminutive suffix do not take definite endings and usually appear in predicative function, though the attributive function is possible. For example:

(14)   I   saprūti -   cik   patīseib-ā   tev-e   ir   moz,
      and understand:PRS:2SG   how   truth-L   2SG-G   be:PRS:3   little

     cik   vuoreig-s   i   **moz-eņ-š**   vyss   ir.
     how   weak-M   and   small-DIM-M   everything-N   be:PRS:3

     'And you understand – how little of you there actually is, how weak and small everything is.' (IS)

(15)   Staiguoja   vys-u laik-u   ar   **moz-eņ-u**   radiv-eņ-u leidza.
      walk:PST:3   all-A   time-A   with   small-DIM-A   radio-DIM-A thereby

     'He walked about with a small radio all the time.' (VL)

4.2.4 Derivation of adverbs from adjectives

Adverbs are regularly derived from ajdectives and adjectival participles with a suffix, either -**i** or -**ai**, added to the stem. The choice between -ai and -i largely depends on regional and individual preferences; -ai is less widespread, but may be found alongside -i in the same text. Examples:

(16)   a   varbyut suok-š-u   rakstei-t "sprost-uok"   i   na   tik
      but   maybe   begin-FUT-1SG   write-I   simply:COMP   and   NEG   so

     abstrakt-ai i   **atraut-ai**   nu   šudin-ej-uos   dzeiv-is,
     abstract-ADV and   detaiched-ADV   from   today-ADJ-G.F.DEF   life-G

     'but maybe I'll start to write "simpler" and not in such an abstract way and detached from today's life' (Sus)

(17)   Ka   tik   poš-i   lob-i   cylvāki,   tod   i   apleik vyss   **lab-i**.
      if   only   EMPH-N.PL good-N.PL person-N.PL   then   PTC   around   all-M.SG   good-ADV

     'If only you are good people, everything around you also is o.k.' (IS)

The suffix **-i** triggers morphonological vowel and consonant alternation (MA-2), altering the shape of hard-stemmed adjectives into that of a soft stem:

- vowel alternation back > front[6]

  o > a   *lob-s* 'good' > *lab-i* 'well'
  ā > ie   *lān-s* 'slow' > *lien-i* 'slowly'
  y > i   *tyv-s* 'near, close' > *tiv-i*

- alveolarization of dental obstruents:

  t > š   *gryuts* 'difficult' > *gryuš-i*; *slikt-s* 'bad' > *slikš-i*
  s > š   *eis-s* 'short' > *eiš-i*
  d > ž   *sovaid-s* 'different' > *sovaiž-i*
  z > ž   *dreiz-s* 'soon' > *dreiž-i*

Some exceptions are found, for example *parosti* 'usually', *pareizi* 'right (adv.)'; also, past participles with the suffix -t- usually don't undergo alternation: *napuortraukti* 'uninterruptedly'.

- palatalizaton of dental sonorants:

  l > lʲ   *vāl-s* 'late' > *vielʲ-i*
  n > nʲ   *lān-s* 'slow' > *lienʲ-i*

  sn > šnʲ *taisn-s* 'right' > *taišnʲ-i*

These two consonant alternations have a permanent effect: the soft shape of the adverb is kept also before the comparative suffix -uok- (*slikšuok* 'worse', *dreižuok* 'sooner, rather', *vieļuok* 'later' etc.). Stems ending in other (= not dental) consonants, in contrast, change into a soft shape only with the suffix -i, but show a hard stem with the suffix -uok: *lob-s* 'good' > *labʲ-i* 'well' but *lob-uok* 'better (adv.)', *smolk-s* 'fine' > *smalʲkʲ-i* (or *smalʲč-i*) but *smolk-uok*.

4.2.5 Comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs

A form used in comparisons is built from adjectives and adverbs with the suffix -**uok**- (orthographic variants: 20th c Latgalian <-ōk->, earlier texts <-ok->). Adjectives add case endings, while adverbs have no further suffix:

slikt-s 'bad' > *slikt-uok-s* (idf.) / *slikt-uok-ais* (def.) 'worse' (adjective)

lob-s 'good' > *lob-uok-s* (idf.) / *lob-uok-ais* (def.) 'better' (adjective)

slikš-i 'badly' > *slikš-uok* 'worse' (adverb)

lab-i 'well' > *lob-uok* 'better' (adverb)

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[6] It seems that the phoneme /a/ in the stem of an adjective does not alternate with /æ/ in the formation of adverbs: *gars* 'long' > *gari*; *zams* 'low' > *zami* (or *zemli*, with another suffix).

There is only one suppletive form: *vairuok* 'more' as comparative of *daudz* 'much' (regular *daudzuok* also appears, and there is an adverb *vaira* meaning '(any) more').

Forms with -uok- may have both a comparative and superlative meaning, but there are also ways to mark a superlative explicitly, for example with the emphatic pronoun *pats*. When used as comparatives, adjectives more often have an indefinite ending, while superlatives usually have a definite ending (in modern Latgalian, while in 19th century texts superlatives with indefinite endings are frequent).

(18) *Zyl-uos*   *gūv-s*   *to*   *breineigys,*
     blue-N.PL.F.DEF   COW-N.PL   PTC   wonderful-N.PL.F.IDF

   a   *Latvej-is*   *bryun-uos*   **lob-uok-ys,**   *tok* **poš-ys**
   but   Latvia-G   brown-N.PL.F.DEF   good-COMP-N.PL.F.IDF   PTC   EMPH-N.PL.F

   lob-uok-uos   *ir*   *malnraib-uos*   *gūv-s*
   good-COMP-N.PL.F.DEF   be:PRS:3   black_and_white- N.PL.F.DEF   COW-N.PL

'The blue cows (a species typical for Courland) are wonderful, but Latvia's brown cows are **better**, still, the black-and-white (Holstein) cows are **the best**' (IS)

For comparative and superlative constructions see 6.1.5.

4.3 Numerals

4.3.1 Stems

	ordinal			cardinal	
1	vīn-s, -a	'one'	1.	pyrm-ais, -uo	'first'
2	div(i) / divej-i, -is	'two'	2.	ūtr-s, -a /-ais, -uo	'second'
3	treis	...	3.	treš-s, -a /-ais, -uo	...
4	četr-i, -ys		4.	catūrt-...	
5	pīc-i, -ys		5.	pīkt-	
6	seš-i, -ys		6.	sast-	
7	septen-i, -is		7.	septeit-	
8	oston-i, -is		8.	ostoit-	
9	deven-i, -is		9.	deveit-	
10	desmit [dʲesʲmʲitʲ]		10.	dasmyt-	

11-19:   stem + *padsmitʲ* (cardinal) / + *padsmyt-* (ordinal): *vīnpadsmit*, *divpadsmit, treispadsmit, četr(u)padsmit, pīcpadsmit, sešpadsmit, septeņpadsmit, ostoņpadsmit, deveņpadsmit; vīnpadsmytais, divpadsmytais* etc.

20, 30 ... 90: stem + *desmitʲ* (cardinal) / + *dasmyt-* (ordinal): *divdesmit, treisdesmit, ... deveņdesmi; divdasmytais, treisdasmytais, ... deveņdasmytais*

21, 22... *divdesmit vīns, divdesmit div(i)...*

100 *symts* (masculine noun, hard stem), ordinal *symt-ais, -uo*

1000 *tyukstūša* (feminine noun, hard stem), ordinal *tyukstūš-ais, -uo*

4.3.2 Inflection

Ordinals are inflected like adjectives. The numerals *pyrmais* 'first', *symtais* '100th' and *tyukstūšais* '1000th' have only definite endings, while ordinals from '2nd' to '99th' are used with definite or indefinite endings without any difference in meaning. The indefinite ending is preferred in traditional texts, while in Modern Standard Latgalian definite endings appear more often, probably under the influence of Latvian. Like most other adjectives, the words for ordinal numbers have a hard stem, while the words for cardinal numbers (except for 'one') have a soft or hybrid shape; this is best seen in the shapes of the stem for '10': ordinal *dasmyt-* [dasmit], but cardinal *desmit* [dˈɛsˈimˈitˈ].

The word for the cardinal number '1', *vīn-s*, inflects like an indefinite adjective in the singular. The words for the numbers from 4 to 9 inflect like indefinite adjectives in the plural. '10' *desmit* and compounds with *-desmit* or *-padsmit* are indeclinable.

The words for '2' and '3' have several forms:
- '2', invariant form for both genders and all cases: *divi* or *div*
- '2', long form inflected for gender and case: *divej-i, divej-ys* etc. (indefinite endings)
- '2', short form inflected for gender and case (not Standard Latgalian): *div-i, div-ys* etc. (indefinite endings)
- '3', invariant form for both genders and all cases: *treis*
- '3', form inflected for gender and case (except nominative): *trej-u* (gen.m and gen.f), *trej-im* (dat.m), etc.

Example:

(19) *Kur*   **divej-i** *latvīš-i,*   *tī*   **treis**   *partej-is.* [...]
     where   two-N.M Latvian-N.PL there three party-N.PL

     Kur   **div** *latgalīš-i,*   *tī*   *vysmoz*   **div** *radej-is.*
     where   two Latgalian-N.PL there at.least   two radio-N.PL

     Niu   *ari*   **divej-is** *"Latgolys Radej-is"*   *sātyslop-ys*
     now   also two-N.F "Latgolys Radeja-G" homepage-N.PL

'Where there are two Latvians, there are three parties. [...] Where there are two Latgalians, there are at least two radio stations. And now "Latgolys Radeja" also has two homepages' (IS)

For the syntax of cardinal number + noun see 6.1.3.

4.4 Pronouns

4.4.1 Personal pronouns (1st and 2nd person), reflexive and possessive pronouns

The pronouns for first and second person singular and the reflexive pronoun are inflected in the same way. The nominative differs from the other case forms, and the dative can be seen as basic, as it is formed by the bare stem without ending. These stems are soft.

	1SG	2SG	reflexive
NOM	*es / as*	*tu*	–
DAT	*maņ*	*tev*	*sev*
GEN	*man-e / man-i*	*tev-e / tev-i*	*sev-e / sev-i*
ACC	*man-i*	*tev-i*	*sev-i*
LOC	*man-ī*	*tev-ī*	*sev-ī*

Notes

Standard Latgalian has 1SG nominative *es*, but the form *as* is often found in traditional texts and colloquial Latgalian.

1SG dative is also found with a non-palatalized [n]. The orthographic form *man* was written standard in the 20th c.

The two genitive forms shown in the table are both accepted in Standard Latgalian. In dialects more variants are found, with the endings -a and -s (*maņa, maņs, tava* etc.). In 20th c. (written) Standard Latgalian the forms *manis, tevis, sevis* were used (= the same as in Latvian), they still show up in modern texts.

The pronouns for first and second person plural have short and long variants in the genitive, dative, and accusative. For the standard language, the long form of the genitive and the short form of the dative and the accusative were chosen (marked bold in the following table). In traditional texts, all forms given in the table are found, as well as some further variants. In modern texts (blogs) there is a clear preference for the long forms, at least for the 1PL.

	1PL		2PL	
NOM	*mes*		*jius*	
GEN	*myus*	**myus-u**	*jius*	**jius-u**
DAT	**mums**	*myus-im*	**jums**	*jius-im*
ACC	**myus**	*myus-us*	**jius**	*jius-us*
LOC	*myus-ūs*		*jius-ūs*	

There are special possessive pronouns for first and second person singular and for the reflexive. They have short and long forms. The short forms are inflected as indefinite adjectives, while the long forms – as all stems ending on -ej- – take definite endings in

the nominative, genitive, and accusative, but indefinite (short) endings in the dative and locative. There are also corresponding long forms for 1PL and 2PL.

	short form	long form
1sg 'my'	*mun-s, mun-a*	*munej-ais, munej-uo*
2sg 'your'	*tov-s, tov-a*	*tovej-ais, tovej-uo*
rfx. poss.	*sov-s, sov-a*	*sovej-ais, sovej-uo*
1pl 'our'	-	*musej-ais, musej-uo*
2pl 'your'	-	*jiusej-ais, jiusej-uo*

Use of the reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun *sev-* and the reflexive possessive pronoun *sovs* usually relate to the subject of the clause, for all persons:

(20) *pyrm-om   kuort-om   rokst-u   del   **sev-e***
    first-D.PL.F order-D.PL write:PRS-1SG for   RFX-G

    'first of all I am writing for myself' (Sus)

(21) *1991. god-ā suoču   iz-dū-t   **sov-ys** ail-is   i   proz-u*
    1991 year-L   start:PST:1SG PFX-give-I RPO-A.PL.F poem-A.PL and prose-A

    'In 1991 I started to publish my poems and prose' (Sus)

(22) *Kai Tu raksturoj   **sov-ys**   attīceib-ys   ar   religej-u?*
    how 2SG characterize:PRS:2SG RPO-A.PL.F relation-A.PL with religion-A

    'How do you characterize your relations with religion?' (Sus)

In addition, reflexive pronouns may also relate to:

- implicit subjects of imperatives,
- implicit subjects in constructions with a general reading ('one'),
- implicit subjects of infinitives and nominalizations (ex. 23),
- dative debitors in the debitive construction (ex. 24),
- dative possessors in possessive clauses (ex. 25),
- dative experiencers in clauses without nominal subjects (ex. 26).

(23) *Myužeig-uo   dilem-a –   voi rakstei-šon-a ir*
    eternal-N.F.DEF dilemma-N   QU   write-VN-N   BE:PRS:3

    reagie-šon-a   iz sev-i voi iz   apleicīn-i
    react-VN-N   to RFX-A or   to   environment-A

    'The eternal dilemma – is writing reacting to oneself or to the environment?' (Sus)

(24) *Ka man   sev-i juo-raksturoj   šudiņ, tod [...]*
    if   1SG:D RFX-A DEB-characterize today   then

    'if I had to characterize myself today, then [...]' (Sus)

(25) *Bārn-im   sov-a   dzeiv-e, vac-ajim   sov-a.*
    child-D.PL RPO-N.F life-D   old-D.PL.M.DEF RPO-N.F

    'Children have their life, elder [people] have theirs.' (IS)

(26) *Maņ hroniski   tryukst   sov-ys   sāt-ys.*
    1SG:D chronically lack:PRS:3 RPO-G.F   home-G

    'I'm missing my home all the time.' (IS)

4.4.2 Anaphoric, logophoric, and demonstrative pronouns

The anaphoric (3rd person personal) pronoun *jis*, the logophoric pronoun *šys*, and the demonstrative pronouns *tys* 'that' and *itys* 'this' are inflected in the same way.

	m.sg ('he')	m.sg LOG	m.sg. DEM	f.sg ('she')	f.sg LOG	f.sg DEM
NOM	*jis*	*šys*	*(i)tys*	*jej*	*šei*	*(i)tei*
GEN	*juo*	*šuo*	*(i)tuo*	*juos*	*šuos*	*(i)tuos*
DAT	*jam*	*šam*	*(i)tam*	*jai*	*šai*	*(i)tai*
ACC	*jū*	*šū*	*(i)tū*	*jū*	*šū*	*(i)tū*
LOC*)	*jimā*	*šymā*	*(i)tymā*	*jimā*	*šymā*	*(i)tymā*
	m.pl ('they')	m.pl LOG	m.pl DEM	f.pl ('they')	f.pl LOG	f.pl DEM
NOM	*jī*	*šī*	*(i)tī*	*juos*	*šuos*	*(i)tuos*
GEN	*jūs*	*šūs*	*(i)tūs*	*jūs*	*šūs*	*(i)tūs*
DAT	*jim*	*šim*	*(i)tim*	*jom*	*šom*	*(i)tom*
ACC	*jūs*	*šūs*	*(i)tūs*	*juos*	*šuos*	*(i)tuos*
LOC*)	*jimūs*	*šymūs*	*(i)tymūs*	*jimuos*	*šymuos*	*(i)tymuos*

*) In the locative several variants are found that differ in the vowel preceding -m-, for example loc. sg. masculine and feminine of the demonstrative pronoun: *tymā, tamā, tumā*. In earlier stages of the language the forms with -a- (*jama, šama, tama, jamūs* etc.) were feminine, while masculine forms had -i/y- (*jima, šyma, tyma, jimūs* etc.). In modern texts, the vowel found most often is -y/i- for both genders as shown in the table.

Other demonstrative pronouns are *taids* 'such (as that)' and *itaids* 'such (as this)'; they are inflected like indefinite adjectives and mainly used attributively.

The pronoun *šys* is sometimes used as a demonstrative pronoun, as a synonym of *itys*. This use is however very rare in traditional texts, where only lexicalizations or fixed patterns like *šūdīn* 'today', *da šam* 'until now' show the demonstrative meaning. In traditional texts *šys* functions as a logophoric pronoun: it refers to the author of a reported or represented speech. The addressee of the represented dialogue is marked second person. Note that this use of second person is not a mark of direct speech and that speech reports with a logophoric pronoun are neither direct nor indirect speech,

but may contain characteristics of either (see 6.5; see Nau 2006 for more details and examples from Latgalian dialects). Examples from Kokala's collection of fairy-tales:

(27) Bet veir-s   atsacej-a,   ka   **šis**   bārn-u   naasūt
      but husband-N answer:PST-3 that   LOG:N.SG.M child-A NEG-be:PA[IDCL]

      redzējs,   jo **tu** poša   bārn-u aiznasusia.
      see:PAP:SG.M for you PRO-SG.F child-A carry.away:PAP:F.SG

      'The husband answered: I didn't see the child, you carried him away yourself'
      or:
      'The husband_i answered that he_i hadn't seen the child, she (= addressee)
      herself had carried him away.' (Ko)

(28) Polsān-s   stōstejs,   ka   pēc **šo**   dūm-om
      Polsāns-N tell:PAP:SG.M that   after LOG:G.SG.M thought-D.PL

      zyrg-ā bejs   ī-leids   valn-s
      horse-L be:PAP:SG.M PFX-creep:PAP:SG.M devil-N

      'Polsāns_i told [me] that in his_i opinion the devil had crept into the horse' (Ko)

I haven't found the logophoric pronoun in the modern texts investigated here. It seems that it has been lost in written Latgalian, although it still can be found in spoken dialects and is an important characteristics of represented speech in traditional narratives (see 6.5).

4.4.3 Interrogative, relative, indefinite, and negative pronouns

There is no special relative pronoun; interrogative pronouns are used in relative clauses (see 6.3.2). Interrogative pronouns are also the basis for indefinite and negative pronouns.

The most general interrogative/relative/indefinite pronoun is *kas* 'who, what'. The inflection of *kas* is similar to that of the anaphoric, the logophoric and the demonstrative pronoun in the masculine singular. We also find the same variation in the locative; moreover, there are also locative plural forms (given in Cibuls&Leikuma 2003: 52; not yet found in texts).

	'who/what'
NOM	kas
GEN	kuo
DAT	kam
ACC	kū
LOC	kimā / kamā
LOC.PL	kimūs (m) / kamuos (f)

The non-distinction of 'who' and 'what' is a typologically rare feature shared by all three Baltic languages. The translation equivalent in each case is largely dependent on the context. Compare:

(29) A,   **kas**   to   pi   vys-a vaineig-s?
      PTC WH-N PTC to   all-G to.blame-N.SG.M

      'But **who** is to blame for everything?' (OS)

(30) A,   **kas**   beja   ar   Latgol-ys Televizej-u?
      PTC WH-N   be:PST-3 with   Latgalia-G television-A

      'And **what** happened to Latgalian Television?' (OS)

(31) **Kam** tys   vys-s   vādzeig-s?
      WH-D   DEM:N.SG.M all-N.SG.M necessary-N.SG.M

      '**What** good is all this for?' (OS)

(32) Tū   vīn-s   Dīv-s   viņ zyna,
      DEM:A.SG.M one-N.SG.M God-N   PTC know:PRS:3

      kam patīseib-a,   **kam** mal-y.
      WH-D truth-N   WH-D lie-N

      'Only God alone knows **who** tells the truth and **who** is lying.' (OS)

The pronoun *kur-s* 'which' is inflected as indefinite adjectives. In the locative, forms with an element -ym- are found as variants: *kurymā* (loc.sg), *kurymūs* (loc.pl.m), *kurymuos* (loc.pl.f).

(33) Ir   taid-i   punkt-i, **kurymūs**   tu   bezkusteig-i
      be:PRS:3 such-PL point-PL which:L.PL.M 2SG motionless-ADV

      atsa-rūņ,   bet cylvāk-i poš-i   da-īt   pi   tev-is.
      PFX:RFX-find:PRS(3) but person-PL EMPH-PL PFX-go:PRS:3 to   2SG-G

      'There are places where you stand without moving, and people come to you on their own.' (VL)

As an interrogative pronoun, *kurs* can have the meaning 'who' (but not 'what'), if it does not refer to something given in the text (in which case it means 'which'):

(34) **Kur-s**   to   itaid-ā muldeišon-ā īguļdeis   sov-u   naud-u?
      WH-N.SG.M PTC such-L twaddle-L   invest:FUT(3) RPO-A money-A

      'Who would invest money in such twaddle?' (OS)

A third interrogative pronoun is **kaid-s** 'which, what kind of'; it inflects like indefinite adjectives. Used as independent indefinite pronoun, it means 'someone', but used as a modifier its English translation equivalent is *some, some kind of*, or the indefinite article.

In the function of an **indefinite pronoun** we often find a combination of an interrogative pronoun with some particle. They constitute a series which includes indefinite adverbs ('somewhere', 'sometimes' etc.). The choice of particle for this function is extensive, especially among the dialects:

- the most lexicalized and the most frequent are combinations with *naz* (< *nazyn* 'don't know'): *nazkas* 'someone/something', *nazkaids* 'some, any', *nazkur* 'somewhere', *nazkad* 'sometime', *nazkai* 'somehow, anyhow', *nazcik* 'to some amount'.

- Alternatives to *naz-* are *kazyn* (< 'who knows'), *koč*, *kod*; they construct the same kind of series, but are not equally frequent in modern texts (although *koč* corresponds to Latvian *kaut*, which may further its use in the future).

- Particles posed after the interrogative are *nabejs* and *naviņ* (or *na viņ*): *kas nabejs, kas naviņ* 'someone/something', *kur nabejs, kur naviņ* 'somewhere' etc.

- In some dialects the clitic *=ta* is placed after an interrogative: *kastā*, acc. *kūta* 'someone/something', *kaidsta* 'some (kind of)' etc. (also written in two words).

- Another construction consists of the juxtaposition of an interrogative and the corresponding negative word: *kas nakas* 'someone/something', *kod nakod* 'sometimes' etc.

A functional differentiation of these many ways to form indefinite pronouns is not easy to detect, and more research is needed here. Examples:

(35) Runuo-t   ir   vīn-s,   rakstei-t **–nazkas**   cyt-s.
     talk-I   be:PRS:3 one-SG.M write-I   something:N   other-SG.M

     'Speaking [a language] is one thing, writing is something else.' (VL)

(36) vyspyrms   vajag   lab-i   pa-dūmuo-t,
     first   need:PRS:3   good-ADV   PFX-think-I

     kai   var   **kū-ta**   na-darei-t
     how   can:PRS:3   WH:A-PTC   NEG-do-I

     'First one has to consider well how one may avoid doing something' (VL)

(37) Vītej-ūs   Latgol-ys   laikrokst-ūs **kod   nakod**   pasaruoda
     local-L.PL Latgalia-G   journal-L.PL   when   NEG-when   appear:PRS:3

     i   **kaid-s**   rakst-eņ-š   latgaliski.
     PTC   some-M.SG.N article-DIM-N   in.Latgalian

     'In the local press of Latgalia some small article written in Latgalian appears sometimes / from time to time.' (VL)

(38) A,   ka   as   byu-š-u   muldei-dam-s   **kū   na   viņ**
     PTC   if   1SG   be-FUT-1SG twaddle-CV-SG.M   WH:A   NEG   PTC

     lob-u   pasaciejs   par   **kū   to   na   viņ** [...]
     good-A.SG.M express:PAP:SG.M about WH:A   PTC   NEG   PTC

     'But, when I have, by talking nonsense, expressed something good about some special thing [...]' (OS)

Furthermore, the numeral *vīns* 'one' and the pronoun *cyts* (basic meaning 'other') are also used as indefinite pronouns.

Negative pronouns are built from indefinite pronouns and the negative element *ni*: *nivīns* 'no one', *nikas* 'no one/nothing', *nikaids* 'no, (not) any' (as modifier); see also 6.2.3.

4.4.4 Other pronouns

Other pronouns are inflected as indefinite adjectives: *vyss* 'everything, all', *kotrys* 'each, any', *sevkurs* 'each', *abi* (plural only) 'both', *cyts* 'other (of more than two)'.

The emphatic pronoun (intensifier) *pats, poša* has an irregular form in the masculine singular nominative, while all other forms are regularly built from the stem *poš-* with adjectival indefinite endings. This pronoun signals identity (English translation equivalents depending on the construction are *self, own, same*) and ultimate extension (*the very, the most*). The latter meaning is seen in its use as a marker of the superlative (see 4.2.5 and 6.1.5) and in local and temporal constructions, for example *pošā ceļa vydā* (VL) 'right in the middle of the road', *da pošys Elizabetis īlys* (IS) 'up to Elizabeth Street', *nu pošys Latvejis vaļsts dybynuošonys* (IS) 'from the very [moment of the] founding of the Latvian state'. Signalling identity, *pats* may occur with (ex. 39, 40) or without (ex. 41) an anaphor.

(39) A   byu-t **poš-a**   es   var-u   tikai   latgaliski.
     PTC be-I   EMPH-F.SG.N 1SG:N can:PRS-1SG only   in.Latgalian

     'Only in Latgalian can I be myself.' (female speaker) (IS)

(40) **Mes poš-i**   gryb-om,   kab myusus apmuona.
     1PL:N EMPH-M.PL.N want:PRS-1PL that 1PL:A   deceive:PRS:3

     'We ourselves want to be deceived.' (VL)

(41) Da-guoj-a   gol-s   gol-ā   krūg-ā   i   autobus-ā dzīduo-t **poš-im**.
     PFX-go:PST-3 end-N   end-L   pub-L   and bus-L   sing-I   EMPH-PL.D

     'In the end it was up to [our]selves to sing in the pub and in the bus.' (IS)

The meaning 'own' arises in constructions with the reflexive possessive pronoun. Note that the two pronouns receive their case, number, and gender from different sources — in ex. (42) *sovu* agrees with *kodu* and is thus marked accusative, but *poša* behaves like an anaphoric pronoun (that is, noun-like) and is assigned genitive; in ex. (43) *sova* agrees with *atbiļdeiba* (genitive, feminine), but *pošam* has the same case (dative) as its co-constituent *kotram*.

(42)   *Jau   nazcik   minot-i   juo   ac-s   vērēs*
     already   some   minute-N.PL   he-G   eye-N   look:PST:3

     *iz   **sov-u**   **poš-a**   person-ys   kod-u.*
     on   RPO-A.SG   EMPH-G.SG.M   person[F]-G.SG   code-A.SG

     'For several minutes already his eyes had been looking at his own person
     identification number.' (VL)

(43)   *Kotr-am   **poš-am**   **sov-a**   atbiḷdeib-a*
     each-D.SG.M   EMPH-D.SG.M   RPO-N.SG.F   responsibility-N

     pret   sev-i   i   cyt-im,   na   cyt-im   pret   tev-i.
     against   RFX-A   and   other-D.PL   NEG   other-D.PL   against   2SG-A

     'Each [of us] has their own responsibility for themselves and others, it's not the
     others who are responsible for you.' (IS)

5. Verbal morphology

5.1 Overview: stems, classes, forms

Verbal lexemes have three stems, which will be called here the present (or first) stem, the past (or second) stem, and the third stem. The third stem is not associated with a tense. It is not the case that for all words all three stems are different. Prefixes do not change the characteristics of stems. The part of a stem between prefixes and inflectional ending will be called the base. Stems can be classified (i) as hard or soft (see 3.1), and (ii) as short or long. Other than with nouns, the first criterion is not used for classifying verbal lexemes; a given verb may have a hard present stem and a soft past stem, and third stems may have both a hard and a soft shape, chosen in harmony with the ending. There are also neutral stems. Short stems have a monosyllabic base, consisting only of the root, while long stems have a base with more than one syllable, containing a stem-building suffix in the form of a long vowel, a diphthong, or a vowel plus semivowel[7]. In the two latter cases the stem is neutral with respect to morphophonological harmony, while short stems and stems ending in a long vowel may be soft or hard. Examples:

	hard stem	soft stem	neutral stem
short stem	*dor-* 'do' (present stem) *nas-* 'carry' (present stem)	*grib^j-* 'want' (present stem) *nes^j-* 'carry' (past stem)	—
long stem	*maklā-* 'search' (third stem)	*meklē-* 'search' (third stem)	*darei-* 'do' (third stem) *runoj-* 'speak' (first, second, third stem)

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[7] Derivational suffixes between root and stem-building suffix sometimes occur, but are not frequent.

Stem length is used to distinguish three classes of verbal lexemes, which in traditional Latvian linguistics are called "conjugations". This use differs from the internationally more widespread use of the term and is therefore avoided here. In this grammar the term conjugation is used for inflectional patterns distinguished by the choice of personal endings, while for "conjugations" in the Latvian sense I will use the term class, or speak of short verbs (class I), long verbs (class II), and mixed verbs (class III). For verbs of the first class all three stems are short, for the second class all three stems are long, and verbs of the third class have a short present stem, while past stem and third stem are long. This classification is however not very helpful for determining how the forms of a given lexeme are built, it is used here mainly for readers used to the Latvian tradition[8].

Verbs are inflected for person & number, tense, and "mood" (in a broad sense, including various modal meanings and evidentiality). There is a rich system of participles and converbs, which may inflect for gender and number and of which several are also used as predicates in simple sentences, thus the function typically reserved for finite forms. In addition to the infinitive there is a further infinite verb-form, the supine. Finite forms basically consist of the stem and one ending. Only future forms (and in some dialects also the subjunctive which occupies the same slot as the future suffix) have separate markers for tense/mood and person&number. Apart from the base a stem may contain the reflexive marker and/or prefixes. The reflexive marker is posed (i) after the ending for non-prefixed verbs, (ii) between prefix and base for prefixed verbs. Negation is expressed by a prefix which appears at the very beginning of a finite verb form. The same position is used by the debitive prefix; debitive forms don't combine with the negative prefix. Examples of finite verb-forms:

NEG/DEB	PFX	RFX	BASE	FUT/SUB	PERS&NR	RFX
na			ceḷ			
			ceḷ	s	im	
			cal	tu		
			cal	tū	-	s
na	-	sa	cel	-	it	
	pī	sa	cēl	-	e	
na	pī	sa	ceḷ	s	im	
juo	pī	sa	ceḷ			

naceḷ 'doesn't raise', *ceḷsim* 'we will raise', *caltu* 'would raise', *caltūs* 'would rise', *nasacelit* 'don't rise!' (2pl), *pīsacēle* 'he/she/they got up', *napīsaceḷsim* 'we will not get up', *juopīsaceḷ* 'must get up'

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[8] Lelis & Zeps (1965) present a classification of verbs that combines the traditional classes with four ways each of forming present and past tense, arriving at 11 types.

Overview of forms built from the three stems of a verbal lexemes

meklēt 'search' (class II — three long stems)

I stem *meklej-*, II stem *meklēj-*, III stem *meklē-* [mʲækʲlʲæ:] ~ *maklā-* [makla:]

	FIRST (PRESENT) STEM	SECOND (PAST) STEM	THIRD STEM	
INFINITE FORMS			*meklē-t*	INFINITIVE
			maklā-tu	SUPINE
TENSE	PRESENT TENSE	PAST TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	
1SG	*meklej-u*	*mekliej-u*	*meklie-š-u*	
2SG	*meklej*	*mekliej-i*	*meklie-s-i*	
3	*meklej*	*meklēj-a*	*meklē-s*	
1PL	*meklej-am*	*mekliej-om*	*meklē-s-im*	
2PL	*meklej-at*	*mekliej-ot*	*meklē-s-it*	
MOODS	*meklej-it* IMP.2PL		*maklā-tu* SUBJUNCTIVE	
	juo-meklej DEBITIVE			
CON-VERB			*maklā-dam-s, -a*	
ACTIVE PARTIC.	*meklej-ūt*		*meklē-š-ūt* (FUT)	
	meklej-s, -ūte (f), *-ūts* (pl)	*meklēj-s,-use, -uši, -ūšas*	*meklē-šk-ys,*	
	meklej-ūš-s, -a, -i, -as		*-ūte, -ūts* (FUT)	
PASS. PARTIC.	*meklej-am*		*maklā-t-s, -a* (PST)	
	meklej-am-s, -a			

nest 'carry' (class I - three short stems)

I stem *nas-*, II stem *nesʲ-*, III stem *nes-* [nʲæsʲ] ~ *nas-* [nas]

	FIRST (PRESENT) STEM	SECOND (PAST) STEM	THIRD STEM	
INFINITE FORMS			*nes-t*	INFINITIVE
			nas-tu	SUPINE
TENSE	PRESENT TENSE	PAST TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	
1SG	*nas-u*	*neš-u* [nʲɛʃu]	*nes-š-u* [nʲɛʃʃu]	
2SG	*nes* [nʲæsʲ]	*nes-i* [nʲɛsʲi]	*nes-s-i* [nʲɛsʲsʲi]	
3	*nas*	*nes-e* [nʲæsʲæ]	*nes-s* [nʲæsʲsʲ]	
1PL	*nas-am*	*nes-em* [nʲæsʲim]	*nes-s-im* [nʲæsʲsʲim]	
2PL	*nas-at*	*nes-et* [nʲæsʲætʲ]	*nes-s-it* [nʲæsʲsitʲ]	
MOODS	*nes-it* [nʲæsʲitʲ] IMP.2PL		*nas-tu* SUBJUNCTIVE	
	juo-nas DEBITIVE			
CONV.			*nas-dam-s, -a...* (PRS)	
ACTIVE PARTIC.	*nas-ūt*		*nes-š-ūt* (FUT)	
	nas-ūts, -ūte, -ūts	*nes-s, nas-use, -uši, -ūšas*	*nes-šk-ys, -ūte...* (FUT)	
	nas-ūš-s, -a, -i, -as			
PASS. PARTIC.	*nas-am*		*nas-t-s, -a...* (PST)	
	nas-am-s, -a, -i, -as			

dareit 'do' (class III — one short, two long stems)

I stem *dor-*, II stem *darej-*, III stem *darei-*

	FIRST (PRESENT) STEM	SECOND (PAST) STEM	THIRD STEM	
INFINITE FORMS			*darei-t*	INFINITIVE
			darei-tu	SUPINE
TENSE	PRESENT TENSE	PAST TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	
1SG	*dor-u*	*darej-u*	*darei-š-u*	
2SG	*dor-i*	*darej-i*	*darei-s-i*	
3	*dor-a*	*darej-a*	*darei-s*	
1PL	*dor-om*	*darej-om*	*darei-s-im*	
2PL	*dor-at*	*darej-ot*	*darei-s-it*	
MOODS	*dor-it* IMP.2PL		*darei-tu* SUBJUNCTIVE	
	juo-dor DEBITIVE			
CON-VERB			*darei-dam-s, -a*	
ACTIVE PARTIC.	*dor-ūt*		*darei-š-ūt* (FUT)	
	dor-s, -ūte (f) *, -ūts* (pl)	*darej-s,-use, -uši, -ūšas*	*darei-šk-ys,*	
	dor-ūš-s, -a, -i, -as		*-ūte, -ūts* (FUT)	
PASS. PARTIC.	*dor-om*		*darei-t-s, -a* (PST)	
	dor-om-s, -a			

5.2 Conjugation (tense forms)

In all forms marked for person, there is no distinction of number for the third person. Paradigms thus contain five forms distinguished by personal endings. In the present tense the 3rd person sometimes has zero ending, 2sg zero ending with stem alternation (hard > soft). In Standard Latgalian the following personal endings are used in tense forms of non-reflexive verbs (dialects have further variants for 1pl and 2pl):

	present	past	future
1SG	u	u	u
2SG	(i)	i	i
3	(a)	a, e	-
1PL	am, im, om	om, em	im
2PL	at, itʲ, ot	ot, etʲ	itʲ

The palatalization of tʲ after front vowels (itʲ, etʲ) follows a phonological rule (cf. 2.3) and will not be marked in the paradigms below.

According to the vowel in the endings of 1pl and 2pl, three conjugations can be distinguished in the present tense and two in the past tense, as presented below. It should however be noted that this system is an idealization for the standard language – not only in dialects and other colloquial variants, but we also find in written

standardized texts considerable variation in the choice of ending for 1pl and 2pl; see Cibuļs & Leikuma (2003) for the main variants.

5.2.1 Simple present

Present tense forms are built from the present stem. Short stems end in a consonant and may be hard or soft. Long stems end in a short vowel + j (either -oj- or -ej-), they are neutral (neither hard nor soft). In some dialects we find variants ending in a diphthong and palatalized sonorant: *runoiļ-u, runoiņ-u* (1sg of *runuot* 'speak'), such forms are also sometimes found in modern texts.

The **a-conjugation** is used with all long stems (class II) and with all short stems of short verbs (class I). These short stems are basically hard, but get a soft shape in the form of the 2sg, historically triggered by the ending -i, which then was lost. As a result, the final consonant of the 2sg form is palatalized. In addition, some mixed verbs (class III) build the present tense according to the a-conjugation; these verbs have the ending -i for 2sg plus stem alternation[9].

	long stem	short stem (I)	short stem (I)	short stem (I)	short stem (III)
1SG	runoj-u	klīdz-u	sadz-u	valk-u	tak-u
2SG	runoj	klīdz [klʲiːtsʲ]	sedzʲ	veļcʲ	tecʲ-i
3	runoj	klīdz	sadz	valk	tak
1PL	runoj-am	klīdz-am	sadz-am	valk-am	tak-am
2PL	runoj-at	klīdz-at	sadz-at	valk-at	tak-at
	runuot 'speak'	*klīgt* 'scream'	*segt* 'cover'	*viļkt* 'pull'	*tecēt* 'run'

The short present stems of the majority of mixed verbs (class III) can be divided into soft stems (**i-conjugation**) and hard stems (**o-conjugation**). Soft stems undergo morphophonological alternation MA-1 in 1sg (depalatalization or alveolarization with depalatalization, vowel alternation front > back). During the 20th century there was a tendency to give up soft stems, and verbs of the i-conjugation were inflected according to the a-conjugation (like *tecet* in the table above). In the following table this is shown by the alternative patterns for the verb *redzēt* 'see', which also illustrate the difference between soft and hard stems and the working of morphophonological rules[10].

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[9] Readers familiar with Latvian may note that class I verbs in Latgalian never have -i in 2sg, for example *tu prūtʲ* (Latvian *tu proti*) 'you know, are able'.

[10] The forms for 1sg and 2sg are identical in both patterns, but are arrived at in different ways. In the i-conjugation the 2sg shows the unaltered soft stem, but 1sg is the result of depalatalization and vowel alternation front > back, but in the a-conjugation the 1sg shows the hard stem and the 2sg is the result of alternations.

	i-conjugation	i-conjugation	o-conjugation	i-conjugation	a-conjugation
1SG	dzierž-u	gryb-u	dor-u	radz-u	radz-u
2SG	dzierdʲ-i	gribʲ-i	dor-i	redzʲ-i	redzʲ-i
3	dzierdʲ	gribʲ	dor-a	redzʲ	radz
1PL	dzierdʲ-im	gribʲ-im	dor-om	redzʲ-im	radz-am
2PL	dzierdʲ-it	gribʲ-it	dor-ot	redzʲ-it	radz-at
	dzierdēt 'hear'	*gribēt* 'want'	*dareit* 'do'	*redzēt* 'see'	

5.2.2 Simple past

Past tense forms are built from the past stem. Short stems can be divided into soft (**e-conjugation**) and hard (**o-conjugation**). Long stems are neutral, they end in -oj- (alternative: -ov-), -ej-, or -ēj-, and always combine with endings of the o-conjugation. Soft stems undergo morphophonological alternation MA-1 in the forms of the 1sg. In short stems containing [æ] <e> this vowel alternates with [ε] (here written <ę>) in the 1sg and 2sg, and correspondingly in short stems containing [æː] <ē> this vowel alternates with the diphthong /ie/ (vowel alternation mid ~ low)[11]. In long stems ending on -ēj- the long vowel alternates with /ie/ also in other personal forms, the choice of form being a matter of dialectal variation. The current standard orthography recommends <ie> for all forms except the third person, as in the table below (for *gribēt* 'want').

	o-conjugation long stem -oj-	alternative: -ov-	o-conjugation long stem -ej-	o-conjugation long stem -ēj-	o-conjugation short stem
1SG	runoj-u	runov-u	darej-u	gribiej-u	prot-u
2SG	runoj-i	runov-i	darej-i	gribiej-i	prot-i
3	runoj-a	runov-a	darej-a	gribēj-a	prot-a
1PL	runoj-om	runov-om	darej-om	gribiej-om	prot-om
2PL	runoj-ot	runov-ot	darej-ot	gribiej-ot	prot-ot
	runuot 'speak'		*dareit* 'do'	*gribēt* 'want'	*prast* 'know'

e-conjugation (only short stems)

1SG	klīdž-u	lyudž-u	sędž-u	męš-u	iež-u
2SG	klīdzʲ-i	lyudzʲ-i	sędzʲ-i	mętʲ-i	iedʲ-i
3	klīdzʲ-e	lyudzʲ-e	sedzʲ-e	metʲ-e	ēdʲ-e
1PL	klīdzʲ-em	lyudzʲ-em	sedzʲ-em	metʲ-em	ēdʲ-em
2PL	klīdzʲ-et	lyudzʲ-et	sedzʲ-et	metʲ-et	ēdʲ-et
	klīgt 'scream'	*lyugt* 'beg'	*segt* 'cover'	*mest* 'throw'	*ēst* 'eat'

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[11] The verbal suffix <ej> always contains the mid vowel [ε], it is not marked here.

5.2.3 Simple future

Future tense forms are formed from the third stem in its soft shape (as in the infinitive) and the future suffix -s^j- (in 1sg -š-). All verbs build the future in the same way, there are no conjugations. As in the past tense, 1sg and 2sg have a front mid vowel where the other forms have a low mid vowel.

	runuo-t 'speak'	*darei-t* 'do'	*gribē-t* 'want'	*seg-t* 'cover'	*ēs-t* 'eat'
1SG	runuo-š-u	darei-š-u	gribie-š-u	seg-š-u	ies-š-u
2SG	runuo-s-i	darei-s-i	gribie-s-i	seg-s-i	ie-s-i
3	runuo-s^j	darei-s^j	gribē-s^j	seg-s^j	ēs-s^j
1PL	runuo-s-im	darei-s-im	gribē-s-im	seg-s-im	ēs-s-im
2PL	runuo-s-it	darei-s-it	gribē-s-it	seg-s-it	ēs-s-it

5.2.4 Conjugation of *byut* 'be' and *īt* 'go'

As in most Indo European languages, the conjugation of the verb 'be', *byut*, differs from that of other verbs, mainly by showing suppletion. In Standard Latgalian only the present tense has irregular forms, while past and future are formed regularly. The same is found with the verb *īt* 'go'. The following table gives the forms of Standard Latgalian, followed by variants most often found in modern texts. There are however many more variants, also for the past and future tenses (see Cibuļs & Leikuma 2003: 62-63).

	byut 'be'			*īt* 'go'		
	present	past	future	**present**	past	future
1SG	asmu / asu	bej-u	byu-š-u	īmu / eimu / eju	guoj-u	ī-š-u
2SG	esi	bej-i	byu-s-i	ej	guoj-i	ī-s-i
3RD	ir / irā / irajd	bej-a	byu-s^j	īt	guoj-a	ī-s^j
1PL	asam	bej-om	byu-s-im	īmam	guoj-om	ī-s-im
2PL	asat	bej-ot	byu-s-it	ejat / eite	guoj-ot	ī-s-it

The negative form of 3rd person present tense of the verb *byut* 'be' ('is/are not') has the variants *nav, navā, navajd, navaida*.

5.2.5 Conjugation of reflexive verbs

In non-prefixed reflexive verbs the reflexive marker amalgamates with the personal ending of 1sg, 2sg and 3rd person. For 1pl and 2pl it is added to the personal ending as -ēs^j (standard variety) or -īs^j (dialectal variant often found in modern texts). The resulting reflexive endings may be grouped into the following conjugations:

	a-conjugation	e-conjugation	i-conjugation	o-conjugation
tense	present	past	present, future	present, past
1SG	-ūs	-ūs	-ūs	-ūs
2SG	-īs^j	-īs^j	-īs^j	-īs^j
3RD	-ās	-ēs^j	-īs^j	-uos
1PL	-am-ēs^j /-īs^j	-em-ēs^j /-īs^j	-im-ēs^j /-īs^j	-om-ēs^j /-īs^j
2PL	-at-ēs^j /-īs^j	-et-ēs^j /-īs^j	-it-ēs^j /-īs^j	-ot-ēs^j /-īs^j

The palatalization of s^j after front vowel follows a phonological rule (cf. 2.3) and will not be marked in the paradigms below.

The conjugations are distributed as with corresponding non-reflexive verbs. Examples:

	a-conjugation,	present	e-conjugation,	past
1SG	jamu	jamūs	jiemu	jiemūs
2SG	jem	jemīs	jiemi	jiemīs
3RD	jam	jamās	jēme	jēmēs
1PL	jamam	jamamēs / jamamīs	jēmem	jēmemēs / jēmemīs
2PL	jamat	jamatēs / jamatīs	jēmet	jēmetēs / jēmetīs
	jimt 'take'	*jimtīs* 'undertake'	*jimt* 'take'	*jimtīs* 'undertake'

	i-conjugation,	present	o-conjugation,	past
1SG	turu	turūs	turieju	turiejūs
2SG	turi	turīs	turieji	turiejīs
3RD	tur	turīs	turēja	turējuos
1PL	turim	turimēs / turimīs	turējom	turējomēs / -īs
2PL	turit	turitēs / turitīs	turējot	turējotēs / -īs
	turēt 'hold'	*turetīs* 'hold on'	*turēt* 'hold'	*turētīs* 'hold on'

Note that these paradigms are an idealization of the standard variety. In actual texts, the distribution of endings often does not follow this principle. Often one finds forms of the a-conjugation instead of the i-conjugation (for ex. *turamīs* 'we hold on (OS) pro *turimēs*) and forms of the o-conjugation, especially for 3rd person, instead of the a-conjugation (*kautrejuos* 'is timid' (VL) pro *kautrejās*, *cenšuos* 'tries' OS pro *cenšās*).

If the verb contains a prefix (a lexical prefix, the negative or the debitive prefix), the reflexive marker -sa- (dialectal variant -ža-) is put between prefix and base and the endings are the same as with non-reflexive verbs. Compare the positive and the negative form of the verb *vērtīs* 'to watch' in the following example:

(44) I   **ver-ūs**,   a   ka   gryb-u,   **na-sa-veru**.
     PTC   watch:PRS-1SG   PTC   if   want:PRS-1SG   NEG-RFX-watch:PRS-1SG

     'So I watch (television), but if I [don't] want [to], I don't watch.' (VL)

With the prefixes aiz- and iz- the reflexive marker melts into the respective forms aiza- and iza-.

(45) Te   ari **aiza-suoc**   stuost-s.
     here also PFX:RFX-begin:PRS:3 story-N

     'And that's where the story begins.' (IS)

5.2.6 Compound tense forms

For all three tenses, a compound (perfect) form is built with the auxiliary *byut* in the respective simple tense, inflected for person, and the past active participle of the main verb, inflected for gender and number, for example: *asmu redzējs* 'I (male speaker) have seen', *beja aizmyguse* '(she) had fallen asleep', *byus izavuicejuši* '(they) will have finished their studies'. See 5.4 for the formation of the participle.

There are two more compound tense constructions; neither is very frequent: (i) a compound past with the past active participle and the auxiliary *tikt* in the simple past; it is mostly used in the negative:

(46) Vaira jis na-tyka   nikuo   saciejs
     more he   NEG-AUX:PST:3 nothing:G say:PAP:SG.M

     'He didn't say anything more' (KurS)

(47) Tik gord-u   blĩņ-u   tik lob-ā   kompanej-ā
     so   delicious-G.PL pancake-G.PL so   good-L company-L

     na-tyku   āduse   i   na-zynu,   kod   ies-š-u.
     NEG-AUX:PST:1SG eat:PAP:F.SG and NEG-know:PRS:1SG when eat-FUT-1SG

     'I hadn't eaten such delicious pancakes in such nice company (before) and don't know when I'll do (again).' (IS)

(ii) A possessive perfect formed with the past passive participle, the auxiliary *byut* 'be', and the actor/possessor in the dative:

(48) Vit-ai ir   sataiseits   cīši interesn-ys   dīnrokst-s "Sauve".
     Vita-D be:PRS:3 make:PPP:SG.M very interesting-SG.M blog-N "Sauve"

     'Vita has created (= has) a very interesting blog called "Sauve"' (IS)

(49) paśmiariaja ar   dziejw-u jiŭdin-i,
     apply:PST:3 with alive-A   water-A

     kur-s   jam   bieja   butieł-â pajimts   lejdza
     which-N.M he:D be:PST:3 bottle-L PFX:take:PPP:SG.M along

     'he applied (to the corpse) the water of life, which he had taken along (= which he had with him) in a bottle' (UP)

5.3 Further verb-forms and verbal categories

5.3.1 Imperative

There is no special form for the imperative of 2sg, and the present tense form is used in commands: *runoj!* 'speak!', *naklīdz!* 'don't scream!', *veļc!* 'pull!', *esi lobs!* 'be good!'.

For 2pl an imperative is formed based on the 2sg present tense with the ending -**it** [itʲ] *runojit, naklīdzit, veļcit!* This rule applies also to the verbs 'be' and 'go': *esit, ejit!* A variant of -**it** is -**te**, most frequently found with the verb 'go': *eite!* 'go!'. Reflexive verbs without prefix have the ending -**itēs**ʲ (dialectal variant: -itiesʲ): *klausitēs!* 'listen' (with prefix: *nu-sa-klaus-it*). Examples:

(50) **Verities,**   viņ Lenin-a i   Stalin-a **na-veļcit**   uorā
     watch:IMP.2PL PTC Lenin-G and Stalin-G NEG-pull:IMP.2PL out

     nu   aiz-putej-ūš-ūs   plaukt-u
     from PFX-rot-PA-G.PL shelf-G.PL

     'Just be careful and don't pull out Lenin and Stalin from their rotting shelves' (OS)

(51) Jyus tik **pa-sa-verit**   iz   leidzšinej-ū
     2PL   PTC PFX-RFX-look:IMP.2PL at   previous-A.SG

     politisk-ū   praks-i   Latvej-ā!
     political-A.SG practice-A Latvia-L

     'Just take a look at the previous political practice in Latvia!' (OS)

However, the distinction of 2pl imperative and indicative present is an idealization of the Standard Language. In both traditional and modern texts we find the "imperative" form also as a variant of the indicative for verbs of all conjugations. Examples:

(52) **Dūmojit** —   nā-asu   peļnejs?
     think:PRS:2PL   NEG-be:PRS:2SG earn:PAP:M.SG

     'You think I haven't earned it?' (OS) (Standard: *dūmojat*)

(53) Cylvāk-i,   nu   kū   jius **dorit**?
     person-PL.N PTC WH:A 2PL do:PRS:2PL

     'People, what are you doing?' (IS) (Standard: *dorot*)

(54) Jius tok na-**esit**   nu   nakuŗīn-is. Jius **esit**   nu
     2PL PTC NEG-be:PRS:2PL from nowhere-G   2PL   be:PRS:2PL from

     Latgol-ys.   Tod i   **rokstit**   sov-ā   volūd-ā   kai
     Latgalia-G then PTC write:IMP.2PL RPO-L language-L as

     lel-i   cylvāk-i,   na   napraškys bārn-i.
     big-PL.N person-PL.N NEG ignorant   child-PL.N

'You are not from nowhere. You are from Latgalia. Then write your language like adults, not like ignorant children.' (IS) (Standard: *esat*)

5.3.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is formed from the third stem in its hard variant with the suffix -**tu**: *caltu* 'would raise', *maklātu* 'would search', *runuotu* 'would talk', *dareitu* 'would do', *byutu* 'would be'. This form is homonymous with the supine (see 5.5). For non-prefixed reflexive verbs the suffix is -**tūs**: *caltūs* 'would rise', *turētūs* 'would hold on', *vuiceitūs* 'would learn'; prefixed reflexive verbs: *pī-sa-caltu* 'would get up' etc.

In modern texts this form is usually used for all persons and has been approved for the standard variety. Besides, also forms with personal endings, which can be found in sourthern dialects and in older written texts, are accepted in Standard Latgalian.

	endings	example	reflexive endings	example
INVARIANT OR 3RD	-tu	caltu	-tūs	caltūs
1SG	-tum	caltum	-tumūs	caltumūs
2SG (soft)	-tim	ceļtim	-timis	ceļtimis
1PL	-tumem	caltumem	-tumemēs	caltumemēs
2PL	-tumet	caltumet	-tumetēs	caltumetēs
		ceļt 'raise'		*ceļtīs* 'rise'

Note: The personal endings and examples in this table are taken from Cibuļs & Leikuma (2003: 78); they are in general not used by authors from Central Latgalia. Curiously, I found some of these forms in other functions: *varātum* 'would be able' for 2sg (in one paragraph with the same form used for 1sg, VL), also for 3rd person (Sus), *byutumet* 'would be' for 3rd person (Sus). The following example for the canonical use of the personal endings of the subjunctive comes from the *Evangelium toto anno* of 1753 and shows both a non-reflexive verb (*mīļuot* 'love') and a reflexive verb (*prīcuotīs* 'be glad, rejoice'):

(55) *Kad   milo-tumet   mani,   tod   pryco-tumetes,*
      if   love-SUB:2PL   1SG:A then be.glad-SUB:2PL

      kad   imu   uz   Taw-u
      that go:PRS:1SG   to   father-A

      'If you loved me, you would be glad that I am going to the Father' (John 14: 28)

In dialects and traditional texts further endings are found, for example -**tib** for 2sg, -**tulam** for 1pl, and -**tulat** for 2pl in UP.

A **compound form** is built with the auxiliary *byut* in the subjunctive plus the past active participle of the main verb, inflected for gender and number: *byutu guojis* 'would have gone (m.sg)', *byutu guojuse* (f.sg) etc.

The subjunctive is used mainly in subordinate clauses: conditional clauses with the subordinators *ka* and *kab*, and final clauses with *kab* or *lai* (see 6.3.2). In simple sentences it appears most often with verbs expressing modality (neccessity, possibility, desiderative): *varātu* 'could', *vajādzātu* 'should', *grybātu* 'would like to' etc.

(56) *Dieļ kuo   Aizsardzeib-ys ministrej-a **na-varā-tu**   atsaras-t   Rēzekn-ē?*
      for wh:G defence-G   ministry-N   NEG-can-SUB   be.located-I   Rēzekne-L

      'Why couldn't the ministry of defence be located in Rēzekne?' (OS)

(57) *Tev   par   itū   vys-u   **vajadzā-tu**   sa-rakstei-t   roman-u!*
      2SG:DAT   about   this:A   all:A   must-SUB   PFX-write-I   novel-A

      'You should write a novel about all this!' (VL)

5.3.3 Debitive

The debitive form is built by prefixing **juo**- to the 3rd person present tense form: *juorunoj* 'must talk', *juovalk* 'must pull', *juodzierd* 'must hear', *juodora* 'must do', *juojamās* 'must undertake', *juoturīs* 'must hold on', *juovuicuos* 'must learn'. The standard debitive form of the verb *byut* 'be' is *juobyut*, variants are *juobyun* and *juoir*.

The debitive form is used as a predicate and may be accompanied by the auxiliary *byut* (in any tense, also in the subjunctive (ex. 61) and as a participle). In traditional texts forms with the auxiliary are rare and in modern texts, too, the debitive is more often found without auxiliary.

In constructions with the debitive the underlying subject (nominative subject of the verb in the indicative) is expressed as an argument in the dative:

(58) *Nu, te   Dīv-am juoraud i   Valn-am juomierst nūst nu   smīklu,*
      PTC here God-D   DEB:cry and Devil-D DEB:die down of   laughter-G

      'Well, here God must cry and the Devil must die of laughter' (OS)

(59) *Dieļ   kuo   Reig-ā juobyun vys-uom   ministrej-uom!*
      for   WH:G Riga-L DEB:be   all-D.PL.F ministry-D.PL

      'Why do all ministries have to be in Riga?' (OS)

A direct object that in the indicative would be in the accusative is expressed in the nominative (except for first and second person pronouns and the reflexive pronoun) in the standard variety, but accusative and genitive marking are also found (see 6.2.1.6).

(60) *Šūdīņ kotr-am juodybynoj partej-a*
      today each-D DEB:found   party-N

      'Today everybody has to found a party' (OS)

(61) *Voi na-byu-tu   juopiketej   i   juodauza   lūg-i*
      QU NEG-be-SUB   DEB:demonstrate and   DEB:smash   window-N.PL

pi	sov-uom	pošva|deib-uom	pa	vys-u	Latgol-u?
at	RPO-D.PL.F	municipality-D.PL	over	all-A	Latgalia-A

'Shouldn't we demonstrate and smash windows at our local governments all over Latgalia?' (OS)

Some linguists hold that the use of the debitive is not characteristic for Latgalian but is due to influence from Latvian (Cibuļs & Leikuma 2003: 83). It is true that in dialects and in traditional texts constructions with the verb *vajadzēt* 'need' (for examples see 6.2.1.2) are more frequent for the expression of necessary modality than the debitive. However, the debitive is not rare in such texts, and it is surely not a recent innovation.

5.3.4 Oblique (renarrative)

The oblique or renarrative is a form traditionally counted among the moods, a classification that does not corresponds to its functions. Formally it consists of the use of participles in the place of finite verb-forms. The following participles may be used in this function (forms in brackets are less frequent variants):

non-reflexive: *dareit* 'do' (present stem *dor-*, past stem *darej-*, third stem *darei-*)

	m.sg.	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	indeclinable
present	dor-s	dor-ūt-e	dor-ūt-s (dor-ūš-i)	dor-ūt-s (dor-ūš-ys)	dor-ūt
future	darei-šk-ys	darei-šk-ūt-e	darei-šk-ūt-s (darei-šk-ūš-i)	darei-šk-ūt-s (darei-šk-ūš-ys)	darei-š-ūt
past	darej-s	darej-us-e	darej-uš-i	darej-uš-ys	-

reflexive: *turētīs* 'hold on' (present stem *tur-*, past stem *turiej-*, third stem *turē-*)

	m.sg.	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	indeclinable
present	tur-īs	tur-ūt-ēs	tur-ūt-īs (tur-ūš-īs)	tur-ūt-īs (tur-ūš-uos)	tur-ūtīs
future	turē-šk-īs	turē-šk-ūt-ēs	turē-šk-ūt-īs (turē-šk-ūš-īs)	turē-šk-ūt-īs (turē-šk-ūš-uos)	turē-š-ūtīs
past	turiej-īs	turiej-us-ēs	turiej-uš-īs	turiej-uš-uos	-

The indeclinable forms of the present and future tenses are found more often in modern texts, while in traditional texts the declinable present and future participles prevail. In UP only the declinable forms of the above table are used as oblique (cf. Nau 2008). In addition, in UP and other traditional texts indeclinable present and future participles with the suffix -am(a) ("passive" participles) are occasionally found in represented speech.

The oblique is used most often in contexts of reported speech. In traditional narratives, especially fairy tales, it marks predicates belonging to speaker and addressee (less often to third persons) of a represented dialogue (for more examples see section 6.5, sample text 1, and Nau 2008).

(62)
A	Jākup-s	soka,	ka	na-laiškis,
PTC	Jākups-N	say:PRS:3	that	NEG-let:FAP:M.SG

koliaidz	pasceiškis,	kur	bejs.
until	tell:FAP:M.SG	where	be:PAP:M.SG

'But Jākups said that [he = Jākups] wouldn't let go, until [he = addressee] would say where [he = addressee] had been.' (Ko)

In modern texts the oblique is also used to mark reported speech, but it is not frequent. The indicative is used much more often in speech reports, especially when they are introduced explicitly by a verb of saying. The oblique may also mark information obtained by hearsay, by any spoken or written source. When there is no explicit mention of a speaker, the border between reported speech and reported evidentiality is often not clear, as in the following examples:

(63)
Par	pyrm-ajim	rokst-im	sajiem-u	aizruodiejum-us –
for	first-D.PL.M	article-D.PL	recieve:PST-1SG	reproach-A.PL

asūši	par	garu,	par	garlaiceigu,	par	latgalisku.
be:PA:PL.M	too	long	too	boring	too	Latgalian

'For my first articles I got reproaches – [they said] they were too long, too boring, too Latgalian.' (IS)

(64)
Latgalīšu	ortografej-a	asūte	lob-s	biznes-a	projekt-s.
Latgalian	orthography-N	be:PA:SG.F	good-M	buisness-N	project-N

Puor-skaitiej-u	itaid-u	komentar-u,	pa-sa-breinuoj-u.
PFX-read:PST-1SG	such-A	coment-A	PFX-RFX-wonder:PST-1SG

'Latgalian orthography is (said to be) a good business project. I read such a comment and wondered.' (IS)

What reported discourse and reported evidentiality have in common is the introduction of another "voice" into the text. In example (63) this voice can be heard quite literally – reading this sentence aloud, the second clause would be marked by intonation as reported (represented) discourse. In example (64), on the other hand, it is only the content of the clause, the statement expressed by it, that is attributed to another voice. As the oblique is not used often in the modern texts I investigated, I cannot give a more accurate account of its functions, thus further research is needed.

In traditional texts, especially legends, folk beliefs, sayings the oblique marks information as obtained by tradition, by "what people say". It is also used in retelling the personal experience of another person.

(65)
Vac-i	ļaud-s	stōsta,	ka	ir	pavysam	trejs	Laim-as.
old-N.PL.M	people-N	tell:PRS:3	that	be:PRS:3	in.all	three	Laima-N.PL

Pyrm-ō	Laim-a	vālūt	vys-lob-ōk-ū,
first-F	Laima-N	wish:PA[IDCL]	PFX-good-COMP-A.DEF

ūtr-ei	tik	lob-u,	un	treš-ō	tikai	slykt-u.
second-F	only	good-A	and	third-F	only	bad-A

Kū	šit-ōs	Laima-s	**sokūš**,	tys	iz	mot-a	**nūteikūt**.
WH:A	this-F.PL	Laima-PL	say:PA[PL]	DEM:N	on	hair-G	happen:PA[IDCL]

'Old people say that there are all together three Laimas. The first Laima wishes the very best, the second just something good, and the third only bad things. Whatever these Laimas say happens exactly.' (Vārkava I, 87) (Laima - goddess of fate)

5.3.5 Passive

The passive voice is expressed by the past passive participle and by (but not always obligatorily) an auxiliary. The past passive participle is formed from the third stem in its hard variant with the suffix -t- and an agreement marker for number and gender (see 5.4). Two auxiliaries are regularly used: *tikt* (basic meaning 'get (to)') and *byut* 'be'. The construction with *tikt* expresses a process, while with *byut* or without an auxiliary the focus is on a state.

(66)	Es	tik	verūs,		kai	rūnās		i
	I	PTC	observe:PRS:1SG		how	arise:PRS:3		and

	teik	**radei-t-ys**		tem-ys.
	AUX:PRS:3	create-PPP-N.PL.F		topic[F]-N.PL

'I just observe how topics arise and are being created' (IS)

(67)	svātdīn-is	**ir**	**radei-t-ys**	pastaig-om	ar	fotoaparat-u.
	Sunday[F]-N.PL	AUX:PRS:3	create-PPP-N.PL.F	walk-D.PL	with	camera-A

'Sundays are made for a walk with the camera.' (IS)

(68)	Paļdis	Dīv-am	i	muokslinīk-am,
	thank	God-D	and	artist-D

	obroz-s	*(ir)*	**sataisei-t-s**	ar	ellis	kruos-u
	picture-N	be:PRS:3	make-PPP-N.SG.M	with	oil-G	paint-A

'Thank God and the artist, the picture is made with oil paint' (context: so splashes of water won't damage it) (IS)[12]

The differentiation between process and state by use of different auxiliaries is however not as regular as in Latvian (or German). According to Cibuļs & Leikuma (2003: 84) the use of the auxiliary *tikt* is due to influence from Latvian and not typical for Latgalian dialects, where the passive is usually formed with *byut* or without an auxiliary.

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[12] The text where this sentence is taken from is published on the Internet at various places. Interestingly, in some versions the auxiliary *ir* is found, in others it is omitted.

The past passive participle may be formed from transitive and intransitive verbs, from the verb *byut* 'be', from prefixed reflexive verbs and even from non-prefixed reflexive verbs. Passive constructions with reflexive verbs are however rare, the following example is taken from Cibuļs & Leikuma (2003: 84):

(69)	Seņ	nav	**radzā-t-īs**.
	long	NEG:be:PRS:3	see-PPP-SG.M.RFX

'We (inclusive) haven't met for a long time.' (said when people meet)

A marginal passive construction is formed with the **present passive participle**. Usually this participle has a modal meaning (possibility, more rarely necessitiy); it is used with the auxiliary *byut* 'be':

(70)	Cikom	volūd-a	ir	runoj-am-a	i	skait-am-a,
	as.long.as	language-N	be:PRS:3	speak-PP-F.SG	and	read-PP-F.SG

	na	tikai	skait-am-a.
	NEG	only	read-PP-F.SG

'As long as a language is still /may still be/ spoken and read, not only read.' (IS)

The various meanings of passive constructions are a matter of further research. On the possessive perfect see 5.2.6. For more on the syntax of passive constructions see 6.2.1.6.

5.4 Participles and converbs

Several non-finite forms marked for tense are built from verbal lexemes. They contain a stem-building suffix (dropped in masculine singular forms in some instances), usually followed by agreement markers for gender and number. Some participles are fully declinable like adjectives with long and short forms for all cases. Forms without agreement markers are called indeclinable participles[13].

Present participles are built from the present stem by three different suffixes: (i) -**ūš**- (variant with short vowel: -uš-) or -**eiš**-, (ii) -**ūt**- or -**eit**-, (iii) -**am**- or -**om**-. For the first two types, the second variant (-eiš- and -eit-) originally was used with verbs which build the present tense according to the i-conjugation and have infinitives ending in -ēt (*gulēt* 'sleep', *gribēt* 'want'), but often the dominant variant (-ūš-, -ūt-) is used with these verbs, too; on the other hand forms with -eiš- or -eit- occasionally occur with other verbs. With the third type, the variant -om- is used with verbs which build finite present tense forms according to the o-conjugation and have infinitives ending in -eit (*dareit* 'do', *skaiteit* 'read'). The participles have several functions, the

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[13] Forms with agreement markers that do not inflect for case are called "partly declinable participles" in the Latvian tradition.

names in the table below only serve for orientation (the "oblique" participles are used in the function of oblique, or renarrative, see 5.3.4). The attributive and the passive participles are fully declinable, they also inflect for case and definiteness (like adjectives).

Examples: *degt* (present stem *dag-*) 'burn', *gulēt* (*gul^(j)-*) 'sleep', *dareit* (*dor-*) 'do'

name	suffix	m.sg	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	idcl
present active (attributive)	-ūš- (-uš-), -eiš-	dag-ūš-s gul-eiš-s	dag-ūš-a gul-eiš-a	dag-ūš-i gul-eiš-i	dag-ūš-ys gul-eiš-ys	–
present oblique	-ūt- (-eit-)	dor-s	dor-ūt-e	dor-ūt-s	dor-ūt-s	dorūt
present passive	-am-, -om-	dor-om-s	dor-om-a	dor-om-i	dor-om-ys	dorom(u/a)

The attributive participle is not frequent and not fully productive (not built from all verbs).

Future participles are only used in the function of the oblique (see 5.3.4). Forms with agreement markers are built from the third stem plus future suffix -šk- and participle-building suffix -ūt- (except for masculine singular). The indeclinable form of this participle in Standard Latgalian uses the future suffix -š-. In dialects, another indeclinable future participle is found with the future suffix -šk- plus suffix -am, -amu, or -ama.

name	suffix	m.sg	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	idcl
future oblique	-š(k)-ūt- -šk-am(u/a)	darei-šk-ys	darei-šk-ūte	darei-šk-ūts	darei-šk-ūts	darei-š-ūt darei-šk-am(u)

The two **past participles** are fully declinable (inflect for gender, number, case, and definiteness). The **past active participle** is built from the past stem with the suffix -uš- (feminine singular nominative -us-), which triggers morphophonological harmony: the soft stems of the e-conjugation are turned into a hard shape. This suffix does not appear in the masculine singular nominative, which therefore retains a soft shape. The **past passive participle** is built from the third stem (hard variant) and the suffix -t-, all forms are regular.

Examples: *dareit* (past stem *darej-*, III stem *darei-*) 'do', *celt* (past stem *cēl^(j)-*, III stem *cel^(j)- ~ cal-*) 'raise'

name	suffix	m.sg	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	idcl
past active	-uš-	darej-s cēļ-s	darej-us-e cāl-us-e	darej-uš-i cāl-uš-i	darej-uš-ys cāl-uš-ys	–
past passive	-t-	darei-t-s cal-t-s	darei-t-a cal-t-a	darei-t-i cal-t-i	darei-t-ys cal-t-ys	–

A **converb** for simultaneous actions is built from the third stem (hard shape) with the suffix -dam- plus agreement markers:

name	suffix	m.sg	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	idcl
converb	-dam-	darei-dam-s cal-dam-s	darei-dam-a cal-dam-a	darei-dam-i cal-dam-i	darei-dam-ys cal-dam-ys	–

Most of these participles are also built of **reflexive verbs**: present and future oblique participles, past active and past passive participle, and converb. The past passive participle occurs in one invariant form (formally the masculine singular), the other participles have agreement markers. The reflexive endings can be derived from the respective non-reflexive endings:

	m.sg	m.sg	f.sg	f.sg	pl	m.pl	f.pl
non-reflexive	-s	-ys	-a	-e	-s	-i	-as
reflexive	-īs / -ūs	-īs	-uos	-ēs	-īs	-īs	-uos

Example: *ceļtīs* 'rise'

name	m.sg	f.sg	m.pl	f.pl	idcl
present oblique	cal-ūs / cel-īs	cal-ūt-ēs	cal-ūt-īs (calūšīs)	cal-ūt-īs (calūšuos)	cal-ūt-īs
future oblique	ceļ-šk-īs	ceļ-šk-ūt-ēs	ceļ-šk-ūt-īs	ceļ-šk-ūt-īs	ceļ-š-ūtīs
past active	cēl-īs	cāl-us-ēs	cāl-uš-īs	cāl-uš-uos	-
past passive	-	-	-	-	cal-t-īs / cal-t-ūs
converb	cal-dam-īs	cal-dam-uos	cal-dam-īs	cal-dam-uos	-

Prefixed reflexive verbs place the reflexive marker -sa- before the base and use the same endings as non-reflexive verbs, for example, *pī-sa-cāl-us-e* (past active participle feminine singular of *pīsacelt* 'get up').

Participles are used in various **functions**.

The present active (attributive) participle, present passive participle, past active and past passive participle are used like adjectives as **modifiers** of nouns. This function is most frequently found with passive participles. The present passive participle almost always carries some additional modal meaning (necessity or possibility).

(71) *Nu   bārn-a kuoj-is asu   mīlejuse   **rakstei-t-ū**   vuord-u.*
     from child-G leg-G be:PRS:1SG love:PAP:F.SG write-PPP-A.SG.DEF word-A

     'From early childhood I have loved the written word.' (Sus)

(72) *vadej-u   tehnikum-a   **rokst-ūš-us**   ļauž-u   literar-ū   apvīneib-u*
    lead:PST-1SG   polytechnic-G   write-PAA-G.PL   people-G   literary-A.DEF   union-A

    'I was in charge of the polytechnic's literary circle of people interested in writing'
    (literally: 'the polytechnic's literary society of writing people') (Sus)

(73) *real-i   **taust-am-uos**   (dzierd-am-uos,   radz-am-uos,*
    real-ADV   touch-PP-L.PL.F   hear-PP-L.PL.F   see-PP-L.PL.F

    sajyut-am-uos)   līt-uos
    feel-PP.L.PL.F   thing-L.PL

    'in things one can touch (hear, see, smell) for real' (OS)

Like adjectives, these participles may also build comparative and adverbial forms, may be nominalized (for example, *cytaiž dūmojūšī* 'dissidents', literally 'otherwise thinking (N.PL.M.DEF)' (IS)), and are used in the predicate of copula clauses and as co-predicates in verbal clauses. The present active participle is rare in predicate functions, but constructions like the following can be found in traditional texts:

(74) *Tū   līp-u   es   atgōdoju   vēļ   zaļoj-ūš-u.*
    DEM:A   linden-A   1SG   remember:PRS:1SG   still   green[VERB]-PA-A.SG

    'I remember this linden tree when it was still in leaf' (Vārkava)

As **predicates** of verbal clauses we find the present and future oblique participles and both past participles. The latter appear with or without an auxiliary (see 5.3.4 and 6.5 on the oblique, 5.2.6 on compound tenses, 5.3.5 on the passive).

Several forms are used as subordinate predicates: the converb with the suffix -dam- (used only in this function), the indeclinable present oblique participle, the indeclinable present passive participle, the past active and past passive participle and occasionally the future active oblique participle (see 6.3.1).

5.5 Infinitive and supine

Infinitive and supine are both built from the third stem, but the infinitive (ending -tʲ < ti) takes the soft shape, the supine (ending -**tu**) the hard shape of this stem. The respective reflexive endings are -tīsʲ and -tūs.

gloss	III stem	infinitive	supine
'be'	byu-	byu-tʲ	byu-tu
'go'	ī-	ī-tʲ	ī-tu
'eat'	ēs- ~ ās-	ēs-tʲ	ās-tu
'dig'	rak- ~ rok-	rak-tʲ	rok-tu
'see'	redzē- ~ radzā-	redzē-tʲ	radzā-tu
'raise'	ceļ- ~ cal-	ceļ-tʲ	cal-tu
'rise'	ceļ- ~ cal- [+ rfx]	ceļ-tīsʲ	cal-tūs
'get up'	pī-sa-ceļ- ~ -cal-	pī-za-ceļ-tʲ	pī-za-cal-tu

In dialects where a final -u tends to be dropped, the infinitive and the supine are distinguished only by the opposition soft vs. hard shape (expressed by consonant and vowel alternation), as in the following examples:

(75) *Vīn-u   reiz-i   Polsān-s   nū-dūmōj-a   ī-t   vac-ōs   naud-ys   **rokt**.*
    one-A   time-A   Polsāns-N   PFX-think:PST-3   go-I   old-G.SG.F.DEF   money-G   dig:SUP

    'Once Polsāns decided to go [and] dig [up] old money.' (Ko)[14]

(76) *Nū-gōjs   uz   zyn-om-ū   vīt-u,   jis sōk-a   **rakt**.* [raktʲ]
    PFX-go:PAP:M.SG   to   know-PP-A.SG.DEF   place-A   he start:PST-3   dig:I

    'He went to a certain place and began to dig. ' (Ko)

The supine is used after verbs of movement associated with a purpose. A direct object governed by a verb in the supine is in the genitive case and usually precedes the verb, while a direct object of an infinitive is in the accusative and usually follows the verb:

(77) *Vīnu dīnu beja lels soltums, a rogona izsyuteja bōrineiti **drēbu valāt**. Bōrineitia, nūgōjusia uz pērti, sōka **viaļāt driābis** un raudōt par sovu gryutū dzeivi un borgū pamōti.*

    'One day it was very cold, but the witch sent out the orphan to beat clothes. The orphan girl went to the bath-house and began to beat the clothes and to weep about her hard life and her cruel stepmother.' (Ko)

(77a) *rogon-a   iz-syuteja   bōrineit-i   **drēb-u   valāt*** [vala:t]
    witch-N   PFX-send:PST:3   orphan-A   cloth-PL.G   beat:SUP

(77b) *bōrineit-ia   sōka   **viaļāt   driāb-is*** [vʲæļʲæ:tʲ]
    orphan-N   begin:PST:3   beat:INF   cloth-PL.A

In modern texts the supine is often replaced by the infinitive, and also in traditional texts the infinitive is sometimes found instead of the supine.

5.6 Verbal noun

A verbal noun is formed with the suffix -**šon**- followed by the case endings of the feminine hard declension. The suffix is attached to the front variant of the third stem (the alveolar fricative [ʃ] blocks vowel alternation). Examples:

byut 'be' > *byušona*
īt 'go' > *īšona*
ēst 'eat' > *ēššona*
ceļt 'raise' > *ceļšona*
redzēt 'see' > *redzēšona*

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[14] "Old money" - a treasure that had been burried in ancient times, a frequent topic in Latgalian and Latvian fairy-tales. Ex. (75) and (76) are actually from two different tales.

Verbal nouns derived from non-prefixed reflexive verbs have special endings. They lack dative and locative forms. The case-forms of non-prefixed reflexive verbal nouns are as follows:

	singular	plural
NOM	-šon-uos	-šon-uos
GEN	-šon-uos	-šon-ūs
ACC	-šon-ūs	-šon-uos

Examples:

ceļtīs 'rise' > *ceļšonuos*

klauseitīs 'listen' > *klauseišonuos*

Prefixed reflexive nouns have the reflexive marker -sa- between prefix and base; with the prefixes iz- and aiz- it melts into iza- and aiza-, respectively:

(78) **At-sa-zei-šon-a**   ir   ceļ-š   iz   **iza-lobuo-šon-u.** :)
      PFX-RFX-know-VN-A   be:PRS:3   way-N   to   PFX:RFX-improve-VN-A

      'Acknowledging is a way towards improvement :)' (IS)

The verbal noun is frequently found in both traditional and modern texts. It forms part of idiomatic expressions. In constructions with the verbal noun, both subject and direct object of a verb appear as genitive arguments.

(79) *Taid-a*   *maņ*   *bej-a*   *jutūn-e, kod*   *tymā*   *bezmīga*   *nakt-ī*
      such-SG.F   1SG:D   be:PST-3   feeling-N when   DEM:L   without.sleep   night-L

      pa-sa-mūd-u   *nu*   *leit-a*   **sis-šon-uos**   *pa jumt-u*
      PFX-RFX-wake:PST-1SG of   rain-G   beat-VN-G:RFX   on roof-A

      i   *iudiņ-a*   **šveikstei-šon-ys** *aiz*   *lūg-a*
      and   water-G   whoosh-VN-G   behind   window-G

      'Such were my feelings when I woke up during this sleepless night from the rain's beating on the roof and the water's whooshing beyond the window.' (IS)

(80) *Tok taid-a*   *trok-a*   *puosok-u*   **skaitei-šon-a** *na-var*
      PTC such-N.SG.F   mad-N.SG.F   tale-PL.G   read-VN-N   NEG-can

      palik-t bez   *sek-u.*
      stay-i   without   consequence-G.PL

      'However, such mad reading of fairy-tales will not remain without consequences.' (IS)

6. Syntax and discourse

6.1 Phrases and constructions

6.1.1 Noun phrase structure

Determiners, numerals and other quantifiers, adjectives, adjectival participles, and most noun phrases in the genitive precede the noun they modify. Genitives dependent on nouns of measurement follow the head (for example *gabaleņš maizis* 'a small piece of bread'). Other postmodifiers are noun phrases in the dative and in the locative, prepositional phrases, infinitives, and finite relative clauses. There is usually only one either determinating or quantifying modifier in a noun phrase, but there may be several qualifying (descriptive) modifiers. A preliminary analysis leads to the postulation of three structural positions for qualifying modifiers (with further research being needed in this area). Adjectives and adjectival participles appear in all three of these positions, but show different behaviour with respect to definiteness marking. In the middle position (QUAL-2 in the table below) the choice between long and short ending depends on the definiteness of the NP (comparable to the choice between definite and indefinite article in other languages). Adjectives in position QUAL-3 take the long ending independently of definiteness; they form a fixed expression together with the noun (for example *socialais statuss* 'social status' in (86)). Adjectives in position QUAL-1 are inherently definite; ordinal numbers belong to this group (they may have short endings, with no influence on the definiteness of the noun phrase). There is usually only one modifier in the positions QUAL-1 and QUAL-3. In position QUAL-2 we can have several adjectives as well as elaborate participle phrases (non-finite relative clauses). Examples of noun phrases found in modern texts follow:

DET/QUANT	QUAL-1	QUAL-2	QUAL-3	HEAD	POSTMOD.	EX.
taidi				*cylvāki*	*, kuri atkļuoti struodoj sev*	(81)
vīns		*naviereigs*		*sūļs*		(82)
muna		*meiļuokuo*	*stykla*	*kruška*		(83)
		muojeigs	*gruomotu*	*veikaliņš*		(84)
	pyrmū	*brīsmeigū*		*viļšonūs*	*mīlesteibā*	(85)
pavysam cyts			*socialais*	*statuss*		(86)
vysu	*puorējū*			*alfabetu*		(87)
	pādejū		*Jūrmalys*	*viļcini*		(88)
	jaunuo gailāna	*spolgajā*		*bolsā*		(89)
kotrā		*arheologu izroktā*		*piļskolnā*	*Latgolā*	(90)

(81)   taid-i   cylvāk-i,   kur-i   atkluoti   struodoj   sev
      such-N.PL.M   person-N.PL   REL-N.PL.M   openly   work:PRS:3   self:D

      'such persons who openly work for their own good' (OS)

(82)   vīn-s   na-viereig-s   sūḷ-s
      one-N.SG.M   NEG-careful-N.SG.M.IDF   step-N.SG

      'one careless step' (VL)

(83)   mun-a   meiḷ-uok-uo   stykl-a   krušk-a
      my-N.SG.F   dear-COMP-N.SG.F.DEF   glass-G.SG   cup-N.SG

      'my favorite glass cup' (cup of glass) (VL)

(84)   muojeig-s   gruomot-u   veikal-iṇ-š
      cosy-N.SG.M.IDF   book-G.PL   shop-DIM-N.SG

      'a cosy bookshop' (Sus)

(85)   pyrm-ū   brīsmeig-ū   viḷšon-ūs   mīlesteib-ā
      first-A.SG   terrible-A.SG.DEF   disapointment-A.SG   love-L.SG

      (I experienced) 'the first terrible disappointment in love' (Sus)[15]

(86)   pavysam   cyt-s   social-ais   status-s
      completely   other-N.SG.M   social-N.SG.M.DEF   status-N.SG

      'a completely different social status' (VL)

(87)   vys-u   puorēj-ū   alfabet-u
      all-A.SG   remaining-A.SG.DEF   alphabet-A.SG

      (then I wrote down) 'all the rest of the alphabet' (Sus)

(88)   pādej-ū   Jūrmal-ys   viḷcin-i
      last-A.SG   Jūrmala-G   train-A.SG

      (I took) 'the last Jūrmala-bound train' (Sus)

(89)   jaun-uo   gailān-a   spolg-ajā   bols-ā
      young-G.SG.M.DEF   young.cock-G   shrill-L.SG.DEF   voice-L

      (the chicken started to sing) 'in the shrill voice of a young cock' (IS)

(90)   kotr-ā   arheolog-u   izrokt-ā   piḷskoln-ā   Latgol-ā
      each-L.SG   archaeologist-G.PL   excavate:PPP-L.SG.IDF   hillfort-L.SG   Latgalia-L

      'in every hillfort in Latgalia that has been excavated by archaeologists' (VL)

Genitive modifiers are found in positions QUAL-1 and QUAL-3. In the latter case they are conceptually closer to the noun; they denote characteristics of the referent (*stykla kruška* 'glass cup', *gruomuotu veikals* 'book shop') and do not affect the definiteness

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[15] The verbal noun *vilšonās*, accusative *vilšonūs* is derived from a reflexive verb (see 5.6).

status of the noun phrase. Genitive modifiers in position QUAL-1 usually denote possessors and make the noun phrase definite (ex. 89).

Noun phrases may contain chains of genitive modifiers. These are typically found in names of institutions and in written texts, for example:

(91)   vairuok-i   desmit-i
      several-N.PL.M   ten[NOUN]-N.PL

      Pīterpiḷ-s   latgalīšu   Muzikalisk-uos   bīdreib-ys   teatr-a   trup-ys
      Petersburg-G   Latgalian:G.PL   musical-G.SG.F.DEF   society-G   theatre-G   staff-G

      akter-u
      actor-G.PL

      'several dozen actors of [the staff of the theatre of the Latgalians' musical society of St. Petersburg]' (OS)

In traditional narratives, in contrast, noun phrases are typically short, rarely containing more than two simple modifiers. In 19th century texts genitive modifiers are sometimes found after the head. Whether this is the result of interference from Polish or a genuine characteristic of the older language is a question for further research.

6.1.2 Definiteness

The majority of noun phrases in a text is not marked for definiteness. Only in noun phrases containing a descriptive adjective in position QUAL-2 do we find a grammaticalized device for marking definiteness in the choice between long and short adjectival ending. Noun phrases consisting of a single noun or noun phrases containing only a modifier in position QUAL-1 can be indefinite or definite. For noun phrases with a determinating modifier this element, for example, a demonstrative or indefinite pronoun, marks the definiteness status of the noun phrase (more research is needed here). The following beginning of a fairytale illustrates the cases just mentioned:

(92)   *Kaidā pūra molā dzeivōjuši divi brōli Jezups un Savers. Pi jūs bejusia sērma cyuka. Vīnu dīnu tāvs saceja dālym, ka reit jōkaun cyuka, jo zīmys laikā beja pīsnidzs tik daudz snīga, ka sērmō cyuka sōka kōpiaḷāt pa jumtym.*

      'At some edge of a swamp there lived two brothers, Jezups and Savers. They had a grey pig. One day father told [his] sons that the next day [the] pig had to be slaughtered, for so much snow had fallen during winter that the grey pig started to clamber about [the] roofs. (Ko)

The indefinite pronoun *kaids* 'some; a certain' marks the first noun phrase as indefinite:

(93) *Kaid-ā   pūr-a   mol-ā*
some-L.SG   swamp-G.SG   edge-L.SG

literally 'at some swamp-edge' => 'somewhere at the edge of a swamp'

The numeral *vīns* 'one' can have a similar effect, as in *vīnu dīnu* 'one day, on a certain day' and example (104) below. The next noun phrase, *divi brōli Jezups un Savers* 'two brothers (called) Jezups and Savers', introduces new referents and therefore appears at the end of the sentence; it contains no marker of definiteness. Another discourse referent, the pig, is introduced in this story with a noun phrase containing a descriptive adjective with an indefinite ending:

(94) *Pi   jūs   bejusia   sērm-a   cyuk-a.*
at   they:G   be:PAP:SG.F   grey-N.SG.F.IDF   pig[F]-N.SG

'They had **a grey pig**.'

Once introduced, the pig is identifiable in this story, and in later mentions the descriptive adjective takes the definite ending:

(95) *sērm-ō   cyuk-a   sōka   kōpiaḷā-t   pa   jumt-ym*
grey-N.SG.F.DEF   pig[F]-N.SG   start:PST:3   clamber-I   about   roof-D.PL

'**the grey pig** started to clamber about the roofs'

Without such an adjective, the definiteness status remains unmarked:

(96) *reit   jō-kaun   cyuk-a*
tomorrow   DEB-slaughter   pig-N

'tomorrow we must slaughter **[a/the] pig**'

The remaining noun phrases that are contextually definite in this story, denoting the father, the sons, and the roof, are likewise unmarked, they consist of the bare noun.

As described in 4.2.2, the definite ending is also used when adjectives are nominalized and denote entities. The following fairytale shows how the functions of nominalization and definiteness marking may overlap: the two heroes are identified as the rich and the poor (neighbour) and referred to throughout the story by the adjective with definite ending, contrasting with the same adjectives with indefinite ending used as predicates[16]:

(97) *Reizi dzeivōjuši divi kaimini. Vīns bejs **bogōts**, a ūtrys **nabadzeigs**. Reizi **bogōtais**, atgōjs da **nabogajam**, soka, "No mož īs naudys maklātu, muni dāly īs, tod tu ari vari riazī ar jim īt, mož i atrassit." A **nabogajs** atsoka: "Navajag maṇ valna naudys, a jo Dīvs dūs, tod i pa lūgu īsvīss." **Bogōtō** dāly īt, īt un īrauga uz ceḷa nūsprōgušu suni. A jī sarunoj pajimt tū suni nūṇast un īsvīst **nabogō** ustobā. Kai dūmōts, tai dareits, pajam sun, nūnas un īsvīž ustobā pa lūgu.*

_____
[16] The adjective 'poor' has two variants, *nabogs* and *nabadzeigs*.

*Skandys vīn saskaṇ, un suns pōrsavērš par naudu. Nu tō laika **nabogais** palics **bogōts**.*

'Once there were two neighbours. One was **rich** and the other was **poor**. Once **the rich** [man] went to **the poor** [man] and said: "Well, maybe you'll go to search for money, my sons will go, so you may go with them, maybe you'll find something." But **the poor** [man] answered: "I don't need the devil's money, and if God gives [money], than he'll throw it through the window." **The rich** [man]'s sons went along and on the road they found **a dead dog**. They agreed to take **this dog** and throw it into the hut of the poor [man]. No sooner thought than done, they took the dog, carried it and threw it through the window into the hut. A clinking, a clanking, and the dog turned into money. From this time on **the poor** [man] was **rich**.' (Ko)

(98) *Vīn-s   bejs   bogōt-s,   a   ūtr-ys   nabadzeig-s.*
one-N.SG.M   be:PAP:SG.M   rich-N.SG.M.IDF   and   second-N.SG.M   poor-N.SG.M.IDF

'One was rich and the other was poor.'

(99) *Reizi bogōt-ais,   atgōjs   da   nabog-aj-am,   soka*
once   rich-N.SG.M.DEF   come:PAP:SG.M   to   poor-DEF-D.SG.M   say:PRS:3

'Once the rich [man] came to the poor [man] and said'

(100) *Nu   tō   laik-a   nabog-ais   palics   bogōt-s.*
from   DEM:G.SG.M   time-G   poor-N.SG.M.DEF   become:PAP:SG.M   rich-N.SG.M.IDF

'From this time the poor [man] has been rich.'

This story also contains an example of the definite pronoun *tys* 'that, this' used in a noun phrase denoting a referent that has been introduced before and is therefore identifiable:

(101) *īrauga   uz   ceḷ-a   nūsprōguš-u   sun-i*
see:PRS:3   on   road-G   dead-A.SG.M.IDF   dog-A.SG

'they found **a dead dog** on the road'

(102) *A   jī   sarunoj   pajim-t   tū   sun-i*
PTC   they   agree:PRS:3   take-I   DEM:A.SG   dog-A.SG

'And they agreed to take **this dog**'

The use of *tys* in this function is common enough in narratives, but it does not go as far as in Latvian, where it begins to grammaticalize into a definite article (cf. Nau 1998: 22-23 for Latvian examples).

The use of the indefinite pronoun *kaids* 'some' or the numeral *vīns* 'one' in noun phrases introducing a new referent in a narrative is rare in UP but quite often found in Ko. Compare the following variants of a typical beginning of fairytales:

(103) *Bieja   taw-am   trejs   dal-i*
      be:PST:3 father-D.SG three   son-N.PL

  'A father had three sons' (UP)

(104) *Vīn-am   tāv-am   beja   trejs dāl-i.*
      one-D.SG father-D.SG be:PST:3 three son-N.PL

  'A father had three sons' (Ko)

These examples show the most typical word order for such introductory clauses, but there are also other variants: a noun phrase containing *vīns* 'one' may also follow the verb, and a noun phrase without determiner may also stand at the beginning of the clause.

6.1.3 Syntax of cardinal number or other quantifier + noun

There are several models for the combination of a cardinal numeral with a noun that is counted, and the association of a class of numerals with a certain model is a matter of much variation.

Numerals with agreement markers (referring to numbers from 1 to 9, also as last part of a compound, as *divdesmit pīci* 'twenty five' etc.) act as modifiers of the noun and agree with it in gender and case. The position of the numeral in the noun phrase is QUAL1. Cardinal numerals have only short endings and are neutral with respect to definiteness. The indeclinable forms for '2' and '3' behave syntactically in the same way. Examples follow:

(105) *aiz   septeņ-u   aizslāg-t-u   durov-u*
      behind seven-G   close-PPP-G.PL door-G.PL

  'behind seven closed doors' (IS)

(106) *piec pīc-īm   god-īm*
      after five-D.M year[M]-D.PL

  'in five years' (OS)

(107) *ap   seš-om   stuņd-em   vokor-ā*
      about six-D.F hour[F]-D.PL evening-L

  'at about six o'clock in the evening' (IS)

For *vīns* '1' this rule always works, but for the words for numbers from 2 to 9 there are two alternatives. First, numeral and noun may be marked nominative (masculine for the numeral) in syntactic functions which otherwise demand accusative (sometimes also other cases). This model is often found in traditional texts; in modern texts it is attested mostly in adverbials of extension instead of accusative ('how long', 'how far').

(108) *Kaid-s   saldat-s, nū-dīnejs   divdesmit pīc-i   god-y,*
      PIDF-M.N soldier-N PFX-serve:PAP:M.SG twenty   five-N   year-PL.N

      gōj-a   uz sāt-u.
      go:PST-3 to home-A

  'A soldier, who had served in the army for twenty five years, was on his way home.' (Ko)

Second, in traditional texts numeral and noun are sometimes marked genitive (plural) in syntactic functions which otherwise demand accusative or nominative. Genitive plural of nouns is also found with compound numerals in modern texts.

(109) *Tod valn-s dabov-a   devein̦-u buc-u –   aizdiadzia   un svīd-ia.*
      then devil-N get:PST-3 nine-G   barrel-G.PL light:PST:3 and fling:PST:3

  'Then the devil got nine barrels – he set them on fire and flung them.' (Ko)

(110) *Jupiter-am ir   sešdesmit treis pavodūņu*
      Jupiter-D be:PRS:3 sixty   three satellite:G.PL

  'Jupiter has sixty three moons' (Bic)

With the indeclinable words *desmit* '10' and compounds with *desmit* and *padsmit*, as a rule the noun is in the genitive in syntactic functions that demand the nominative or the accusative (but not the dative or the locative).

(111) *Paguojuš-ā god-ā   sa-guoja   desmit broiler-u.*
      last-L   year-L PFX-go:PST:3 ten   chicken-G.PL

  'Last year the outcome was ten chickens.' (IS)

(112) *Daleib-ys   moks-a ir   pīcpadsmit lat-u*
      participation-G fee-G   be:PRS:3 fifteen   lat-G.PL

  'the participation fee is fifteen lats' (IS)

(113) *iza-cel̦   augst-a   pil̦-s   ar   divpadsmit tūrn-im*
      PFX:RFX-raise:PRS:3 high-N.SG.F castle-N with twelve   tower-D.PL

  'a high castle with twelve towers arises' (IS)

However, the nominative and the accusative also appear after these numerals, especially in those cases where the noun phrase contains a modifier with agreement marker:

(114) *Interesejūs   par   tū   jau kaid-us   10 god-us*
      be.interested:PRS:1SG about DEM:A.SG PTC some-A.PL.M 10 year-A.PL

  'I have already been interested in this for about 10 years.' (IS)

Symts 'hundred' and *tyukstūša* 'thousand' are heads of a noun phrase, they show the respective case assigned to the noun phrase and govern the genitive plural of the noun expressing what is counted.

(115) *Pīterburg-a   pyrms   **symt-a**   **god-u**   beja*
Petersburg-N before   hundred-G.SG year-G.PL   be:PST:3

Latgol-ys   i   latgalīšu   gaism-ys piļsāt-a.
Latgalia-G and   Latgalian:G.PL light-G   city-N

'One hundred years ago St. Petersburg was the city of light (= a centre of education) for Latgalia and the Latgalians.' (IS)

The forms *symts* and *symtu* 'hundred' are also used as indeclinable forms, in which case their syntactic behaviour is that of indeclinable numerals like *desmit* 'ten'. A similar behaviour is also observed with indeclinable quantifiers such as *puors* 'couple', *daudz(i)* 'much, a lot of', *moz* 'little, few'. In functions demanding the dative or the locative, the quantifier does not influence the choice of case:

(116) *antologej-a* [...]   *nūpierk-am-a   puors   veikal-ūs*
anthology-N   buy-PP-SG.F   couple   shop-L.PL

'the anthology can be bought in a couple of shops" (IS)

In functions demanding nominative or accusative the quantifier governs the genitive.

(117) *Ak jau byu-s   tikai   puors   trok-ūs*
PTC   be-FUT(3) only   couple   crazy-G.PL.M.DEF

'There surely will be only a couple of fools' (IS)

(118) *Es   cīši   grybā-tu   īsavuicei-t*
I   very.much want-SUB   learn-I

koč   puors   vuord-u   bab-ys   volūd-ā.
if.only couple word-G.PL granny-G   language-L

'I really want to learn at least a couple of words in granny's language.' (IS)

However, nominative and accusative are also found with quantifiers, especially when there are modifiers with agreement markers in the noun phrase:

(119) *lai   var   sapras-t   tuos   puors   vīt-ys*
PTC   can:PRS:3 understand-I DEM:A.PL.F couple   place[F]-A.PL

'in order to be able to understand those few passages' (of a film) (IS)

Of the quantifiers mentioned above, *puors* '(a) couple (of)' is the most frequent. It always combines with nouns in the plural, while *daudz(i)* 'much, a lot of' is used with singular and plural nouns (*daudz dorba* 'much work', *daudz cylvāku* 'a lot of people'). There is also a declinable word (adjective) *daudz-i, daudz-ys* 'many' with plural adjectival endings, both indefinite and definite. Like other adjectives, this word agrees with the head noun in gender, number and case, and is preferred in noun phrases in the dative and the locative.

The variation in constructions with cardinal numerals deserves further investigation.

6.1.4 Prepositional phrases

In traditional texts only prepositions are found, there being no postpositions. The cognate of the Latvian postposition *dēļ* 'for, because of' (Standard Latgalian *deļ*) is used only as a preposition, for example *deļ tuo* 'therefore' (compare Latvian *tādēļ* 'therefore'). In modern texts *deļ* is found both as a preposition and a postposition, for example *karjerys deļ* (IS) 'because of (my) career, for (my) career', *deļ školņīkim* (VL) 'for pupils', *tuo deļ* (IS) / *deļ tuo* (VL) 'therefore'. If used as a postposition, the genitive is always used in both numbers (as in Latvian).

The cases governed by prepositions are the genitive, accusative (including former instrumental), and the dative for singular noun phrases, and the genitive and dative (including former instrumental) for plural noun phrases. No preposition governs the locative. The different case assignment according to number is a result of a restructuring following the merging of the instrumental with the accusative in the singular and the dative in the plural. In Latvian this process has led to a state where all prepositions govern the dative in the plural, regardless of the case governed in the singular. Latgalian has not gone that far, but variation in case assignment in traditional and modern texts show that the process is still active. As a rule, prepositions governing the accusative in the singular govern dative in the plural, while prepositions governing the genitive are used most often with this case in both numbers; however, the dative is found with plural noun phrases with increasing frequency. Several examples of prepositions with plural noun phrases can be found in the previous section (6.1.3). The following two examples are taken from two different authors of which one (IS) almost always uses the genitive in both numbers, while the other (VL) consistently uses dative in the plural with all preposition:

(120) *Nu   tāv-a   i   muot-is   **pus-is**,*
from   father-G.SG   and   mother-G.SG side-G.SG

nu   divej-u   dzed-u   i   divej-u bab-u,
from   two-G   grandfather-G.PL and   two-G grandmother-G.PL

nu   četr-u prodzed-u   i   četr-u probab-u
from   four-G greatgrandfather-G.PL and four-G greatgrandmother-G.PL

'from the side of my father and my mother, from two grandfathers and two grandmothers, from four greatgrandfathers and four greatgrandmothers' (IS)

(121) *nu   televizej-is,   radej-is,   gazet-om   i   žurnal-im*
from   television-G.SG radio-G.SG   newspaper-D.PL and   journal-D.PL

'from television, radio, newspapers and journals' (VL)

Prepositions governing the genitive are most numerous and include: *aiz* 'behind', *bez* 'without', *da* '(up) to' (also used with dative), *deļ* 'for', *iz* 'on', *nu* 'from, of', *pi* 'at', *piec* 'after', *pyrms* 'before', *zam* 'under'.

Prepositions governing the accusative in the singular include: *ap* 'about, around, by', *ar* 'with', *pa* 'by, along', *par* 'about', *pret* 'against', *iz/uz* 'to'.

A preposition governing the dative in the singular is *pa* (with different uses than *pa* with accusative), mostly found in idiomatic constructions as *pa munam* 'in my eyes', *pa ratam* 'rarely', *pa eistam* 'for real', *ik pa pusgodam* 'every six months'. The preposition *da* '(up) to' is used with the dative in some regions and by some individual speakers, but more often it is used with the genitive.

6.1.5 Comparison

In constructions with the comparative form of adjectives or adverbs there are different ways to mark the standard of comparison:

kai (basic meaning 'as'): most frequent marker in UP, rarely used in Modern Standard Latgalian

(122) *eś tagad biediejg-ok-s,   **kaj**   biej-u   sieni-ok!*
      1SG now   poor-COMP-N.SG.M.IDF than be:PST-1SG early(ADV)-COMP

   'I am poorer now than I was before!' (UP)

na (basic meaning negation): frequent in traditional texts, is rarely found in Modern Latgalian

(123) *rejt-s   byu-ś   gudr-ok-s   **na**   wokor-s*
      morning-N be-FUT(3) wise-COMP-N.SG.M.IDF than   evening-N

   'The morning will be wiser than the evening.' (UP)

(124) *sieni-ok   bieja   ciszi daŭdź kienini-u, wajrok **na** tagad!*
      early(ADV)-COMP be:PST:3 very   much   king-G.PL more   than today

   'in earlier times there were very many kings, more than today' (UP)

nakai (= *na* + *kai*): frequent in modern Latgalian, is found less in traditional texts (not in UP)

(125) *"Sadarinā-s-im,   ka   jius-u   sīv-ys   ir*
      bet-FUT-1PL   that 2PL-G   wife-PL.N be:PRS:3

      *paklauseig-ōk-is   **nakai** mun-a."*
      obedient-COMP.N.PL.F.IDF than   my-N.SG.F

   'Let's bet that your wives are more obedient than mine.' (Ko)

(126) *Maŋ   jau ruodīs,   ka   bierneib-ā vairuok*
      1SG:D PTC appear:PRS:3 that childhood-L more

      *skaitiej-u   **nakai** runuoj-u*
      read:PST-1SG than   talk:PST-1SG

   'It even seems to me that as a child I read more than I talked.' (Sus)

par (basic meaning 'over, about'[17]): frequently found only in contemporary texts (probably under the influence of Standard Latvian)

(127) *Paslapyŋ nūglobuo-t-s   i   nūlīg-t-s   eilyn-s ir*
      secretly keep-PPP-N.SG.M   and deny-PPP-N.SG.M   awl-N   be:PRS:3

      *beistam-uok-s   **par** sauv-ē turā-t-u   naz-i*
      dangerous-COMP-N.SG.M   than   palm-L hold-PPP-A.SG.M knife-A

   'An awl kept secretly and denied is more dangerous than a knife held in the hand.' (IS)

In the **superlative construction** the emphatic pronoun *pats* is often posed before an adjective with comparative suffix and definite ending; *pats* and the adjective are inflected for the same agreement categories (except for definiteness, which is inherent in the pronoun):

(128) *Kas   Tov-ā   dzeiv-ē ir   **pat-s**   **svareig-uok-ais?***
      what:N your-L.SG life-L   be:PRS:3 EMPH-N.SG.M important-COMP-N.SG.M.DEF

   'What is the most important (thing) in your life?' (Sus)

This construction is frequently found in both traditional and contemporary texts. Another construction, available with both adjectives and adverbs, uses forms of the pronoun *vyss* 'all': *vysu* (gen.pl.), *nu vysu* 'of all (pl)', *par vysu* 'over all (sg.)', *par vysim* 'over all (pl.)'. Before adverbs, and in the modern language also before adjectives, these forms are shortened to *vys*, which becomes first a particle, then a prefix[18].

(129) ***par*** **wys-im** *biej-a   skajst-ok-a   i*
      over   all-D.PL.M be:PST-3 beautiful-COMP-N.SG.F.IDF and

      *driab-is   **nu** **wys-u** szmuk-ok-ys   jej   biej-a*
      cloth-N.PL of   all-G.PL pretty-comp-N.PL.F.IDF she:D   be:PST-3

   'she was the most beautiful among them (lit.: more beautiful than all) and she had the prettiest clothes (lit.: prettier of all)' (UP; note the use of indefinite endings, typical for this text)

---

[17] This preposition also has some of the meanings of English *for* (Latin *pro*), for example in contrast to 'against', or in 'to vote for', 'to fight for' or 'in exchange for'. It thus partly overlaps with the meanings of Lithuanian *už* (but does not share the local meaning 'behind', nor the temporal 'after'), which is commonly used in comparative constructions.

[18] Note that the construction *vis*+stem+comp+definite ending is the most frequent means of forming the superlative in Latvian, which certainly favors the spread of this construction in Modern Latgalian.

(130) Tai kai jaun-ōk-ō   miait-ia at-skriāj-a   **vys dreiž-ōk,**
      so as young-comp-N.F.DEF daughter-N PFX-run:PST-3 PTC soon-COMP

      tod ari naud-a pīdariāj-a   jaun-ōk-ōs   miait-ys   veir-am.
      then also money-N belong:PST-3 young-COMP-G.F.DEF daughter-G husband-D

      'As the youngest daughter had come running soonest, the money belonged to
      the husband of the youngest daughter.' (Ko)

In both traditional and modern texts superlative meaning is often not specially marked.
In the modern language (like in modern Latvian), adjectives with the comparative
suffix and definite ending are used as superlatives as in the following example; in
traditional texts, the definite ending is found most often with the words 'young' and
'old', as in the previous example 'the youngest daughter'.

(131) **Lel-uok-ū**   īspaid-u   pamat-us-e   Regin-ys Ezer-ys "Nodevība"
      big-COMP-A.SG.DEF impression-A leave-PAP-F.SG Regina-G Ezera-G (title)

      'Regina Ezera's novel "Nodevība" has left the greatest impression (on me)'
      (Sus)

Also the comparative form of adverbs without furher marking can be understood as
superlative:

(132) Wajaga   win-u ap-aś-t', - klik-s-im,   kas
      need:PRS:3 one-A PFX-eat-I scream-FUT-1PL who:N

      cisz-ok   ajza-klik-ś,   tu   pa priszku eś-s-im!"
      hard-COMP PFX:RFX-scream-FUT(3) DEM:A.SG first(ADV) eat-FUT-1PL

      'We have to eat one [of us]. Let's scream, and whoever will scream out harder
      (= the hardest, of a group of more than two) will be the one we'll eat.' (UP)

6.1.6 Coordination

Words, phrases and clauses are coordinated most often by using conjunctions or
connective particles. The same elements are often also used as focus particles, and
many of them are borrowed. There are several largely synonymous connectors,
distributed according to regional and individual preferences:

'and' *i, un, da, da i*
'but' *a, bet, da, no*
'or'   *voi, ci; aba* (in older texts)

In traditional texts we find two further means for the coordination of words and
phrases: juxtaposition and the use of the preposition *ar* 'with'. The latter is used most
often for natural coordination, the paradigm example is 'father and mother' = 'parents'
(there is no traditional simple expression for 'parents' in Latgalian). Compare the
following variants of typical beginnings of fairytales:

(133) Dzeivova **tāv-s**   un   **mōt-ia,**
      live:PST:3 father-N and   mother-N

      jim   beja   vīn-a   moz-a   miait-iŋ-a.
      they:D be:PST:3 one-N.SG.F little-N.SG.F daughter-DIM-N

      'Once upon the time there was a couple who had a little daughter.' (Ko)

(134) Dzeivōja **tāv-s,**   **mōt-e**   un   jim   beja   trejs dāl-y.
      live:PST:3 father-N   mother-N and   they:D be:PST:3 three son-N.PL

      'Once upon the time there was a couple who had three sons.' (Ko)

(135) Dziejwoja **taŭ-ś**   **ar**   **mot-i**   i   bieja   jim   dał-s
      live:PST:3 father-N with   mother-A and   be:PST:3 they:D son-N.SG

      'Once upon the time there was a couple who had a son' (UP)

The construction with the preposition *ar* 'with' is treated as a plural noun phrase with
respect to agreement:

(136) Un viac-eit-ia   ar   sov-u   miait-i
      and old.woman-DIM-N.SG with RPO-A.SG daughter-A.SG

      ŋu beja   vysod   paād-uš-is.
      now be:PRS:3 always eat.one's.fill-PAP-PL.F

      'And from that time on the old woman and her daughter always had enough to
      eat.' (Ko)

The connective *i* 'and' (in older texts also its synonym *un*) is also used in a bisyndetic
construction, where it is put in front of each of the coordinants (i X i Y). This
construction contains a notion of emphasis. It is often found with more than two
coordinants, and for the last coordinant another connective may be used.

(137) Dzeivōja jī   laimeig-i,
      live:PST:3 they:N happy-ADV

      beja   jim   i   pōrtyk-as, i   apvolk-a
      be:PST:3 they:D and food-G.SG and cloth-G.SG

      'They lived happily, they had food as well as clothes' (Ko)

(138) Tei pīdūd   jam i   drēb-es   dēl jiuz-u,
      she give:PRS:3 he:D and cloth-G.SG for trousers[PL]-G

      i   gal-is,   i   maiz-is,   i   naud-ys.
      and meat-G.SG and bread-G.SG and money-G.SG

      'She gave him cloth for trousers and meat and bread and money.' (Ko;
      emphasis: "she gave him everything")

(139) I   rūnuos   iluzej-a,   ka   tu vari   tai   moment-ā
      and arise:PST:3 illusion-N that 2SG can:PRS:2SG DEM:L.SG.F moment-I

i	*cylvāk-us*	*uorstē-t,*	*i*	*futbol-a*	*komand-u*	*trenē-t,*
and	human-A.PL	cure-I	and	football-G	team-A	train-I

da i	*par*	*ministr-u*	*byu-t.*
and	for	minister-A	be-I

'And the illusion arises that at this moment you are able to cure people, to train a football team, and (even) to be minister.' (VL)

6.2 Clause structure

6.2.1 Clause types and case assignment

Different structural types of clauses may be distinguished along the following parameters:

(a) whether the predicate is a lexical verb, the existential verb *byut* 'be', or a non-verbal lexical element (with or without a verbal copula);

(b) whether the primary core argument is a nominative subject or a dative-marked argument; a third rather small group is formed by clauses without primary core argument.

The types distinguished by these criteria show differences with respect to agreement marking and behavioural properties of the primary core argument and case marking in negated clauses.

Word order in simple sentences is pragmatically governed, the basic rule being "topic before comment". There are no syntactic restrictions, in principle any constituent may be topic and thus precede other constituents. Some constituents are however more likely to be topics. Details will be given in the following subsections.

6.2.1.1. Verbal clauses with a nominative subject

Most verbs in Latgalian combine with a nominative subject. Depending on the verb-form there is agreement between subject and predicate with respect to either person&number or number and gender; some verb-forms don't have agreement markers. The subject may be omitted if it is recoverable from the context; first person subjects are often omitted. Otherwise clauses without an overt subject and the finite verb in 3rd person form have a general reading of 'human actor' (as English *one*). This is a technique for agent defocussing functionally equivalent to the passive, with which it may be combined in one sentence.

(140)
Kod	*roksta*	*par*	*i*	*ap*	*katuolu*	*līt-om,*	*cytu reiz*
when	write:PRS:3	about	and	around	Catholic	matter-D.PL	sometimes

ari	*teik*	*izmontuo-t-a*	*latgalīšu*	*rokst-u*	*volūd-a.*
also	AUX:PRS:3	use-PPP-F.SG	Latgalian	writing-G.PL	language-N

'When [someone] writes about and around Catholic matters, the Latgalian written language is also sometimes used.' (VL)

(141)
Ar	*mēl-i*	*nūkaun*	*vaira*	*ļaužu*	*kai*	*ar*	*zūbyn-u*
with	tounge-A	kill:PRS:3	more	people:G.PL	than	with	sword-A

'One kills more people with the tongue than with the sword.' // 'More people are killed by tongue than by sword.' (IS)

An overtly expressed subject is often the topic and therefore the first argument in linear order. It controls the reflexive pronouns (see 4.4.1) and the *dam*-converb (see 6.3.1). The nominative subject of an active clause is deleted in the passive construction (see 5.3.5 and 6.2.1.6) and becomes a dative argument in the debitive construction (see 5.3.3 and 6.2.1.6). Direct objects are marked accusative or genitive. They are promoted to nominative subjects in the passive construction and become nominative arguments in the debitive construction (see 5.3.3, 5.3.5, 6.2.1.6). Other core arguments found with verbs with a nominative subject are noun phrases in the dative, noun phrases in the locative, prepositional phrases, infinitival and finite complement clauses.

The least marked word-order in transitive clauses is SVO.

The choice between accusative and genitive for direct objects depends on a variety of factors and needs further investigation. Here, only some general observations will be made and typical examples will be given.

Lexical genitive: Some verbs with nominative subjects may select genitive objects independently of other factors. Examples are *meklēt* 'search, look for', *gaideit* and *sagaideit* 'wait (for)', *gribēt* 'want', *praseit* 'ask for', *klauseit* 'listen to, obey'. However, the same verbs are also found with objects marked accusative (note that in Latvian the equivalents of these verbs govern accusative). Examples with genitive marking include:

(142)
Šudiņ	*pīc-ūs*	*nu*	*reit-a*	*stuovieju*	*Viļān-u*	*staceja*	*i*
today	five-L.PL	of	morning-G	stand:PST:1SG	Viļāni-G	station-L	and

gaidieju	*viļcīņ-a.*
wait:PST:1SG	train-G

'This morning at five o'clock I was standing at the station of Viļāni and was waiting for the train.' (IS)

(143)
Taipat	*kai*	*pi*	*uobeļ-u*	*kast-is,*	*kur*	**meklej**
same	as	at	apple-G.PL	box-G	where	search:PRS:3

tuo	*vīn-a,*	*sov-a.*
DEM:G.SG.M	one-G.M	RPO-G.SG.M

'It's like standing in front of a box of apples, where you are looking for the very one that will be right for you.' (IS)

(144) *Ka* **gribi**   *īlyugum-a,   vys-s, kas   Tev   juo-dora –*
    if   want:PRS:2SG invitation-G all-N WH:N 2SG:D DEB-do

pareizi   juo-atbiļd   iz 3   vaicuojum-u.
right:ADV DEB-answer to 3 question-G.PL

'If you want an invitation, all you have to do is to answer correctly 3 questions.'
(IS)

Some reflexive verbs govern a genitive object that does not have the characteristics of direct objects (behaviour in passive and debitive constructions), for example *beitīs* 'fear, be afraid of'. With these verbs accusative marking is not found, instead, the genitive competes with a prepositional phrase (*beitīs **nu** 'be afraid of'*).

Genitive of negation: Objects marked accusative in affirmative clauses receive genitive marking when the clause is negated. This is the norm for the standard language, but is not always followed in actual texts.

(145) *Voi na-zynat*   *viestur-is?*
    QU NEG-know:PRS:2PL history-G

'Don't you know the history?' (OS)

(146) *Piec tehnikuma beigšonys piec nūsyutiejuma braučū struoduot iz Rēzeknis sovhozu, a tī **mane napījēme**, kai izzynova, ka mani īsauks dīnēt armejā. Atsagrīzu iz tehnikumu, i **mani pījēme** dorbā par laukstruodnīku augļkūpeibys brigadē.*

'After finishing studies at the polytechnic I went after BEING orderED to work at the Sovhoz of Rēzekne, but they **didn't accept me** [genitive] there when they heard that I would be called into the army. I returned to the polytechnic and they **accepted me** [accusative] as an agricultural worker in the fruit-growing brigade.' (Sus, OS)

Genitive of indefinite quantity: Mass nouns as direct objects often appear with genitive marking[19]:

(147) *par tū   naud-u   pī-pērk   **sōļ-a, maiz-is**,*
    for DEM:A money-A PFX-buy:PRS:3 salt-G bread-G

*pī-vard   **gal-is**   un   dzeivoj   nedeli*
PFX-cook:PRS:3 meat-G and live:PRS:3 week-A

'for this money he bought salt and bread, cooked meat and lived on it for a week' (Ko)

---

[19] Note that in these examples the verb selecting a direct object has a prefix which also indicates collectivity of objects. The interplay of verbal prefixes and case marking of objects needs further investigation.

(148) *Pī-vuorēja   **keiseļ-a**   i   **čaj-a**   i   vys-i   dzeiv-i   palyka.*
PFX-cook:PST:3 jelly-G.SG and tea-G.SG and all-N.PL alive-N.PL stay:PST:3

(before there was modern medication) 'They prepared jellies [from certain berries] and [herbal] teas and everybody stayed alive.' (KurS)

Also plural objects appear with genitive marking in the meaning of indefinite quantitiy or when only part of the designated group is affected by the action:

(149) *Tik   gord-ūs   blīņ-u   iz-capuse.*
    so delicious-G.PL.M.DEF pancake-G.PL PFX-bake:PAP:SG.F

'[Grandma] had made such delicious pancakes.' (KurS)

Genitive with non-finite verb-forms: If the verb is in the supine, a direct object is usually in the genitive (see 5.5). Also with infinitives used instead of the supine after verbs of movement genitive marking is found as an alternative to accusative marking[20], for example:

(150) *Jei   aizguoja   iz   klāvu   da-cierp-t   pādej-ūs   vušk-u.*
    she go.out:PST:3 to barn-A PFX-shear-I last-G.PL sheep-G.PL

'She went out to the barn in order to shear the last sheep.' (KurS)

A case probably related is genitive marking of objects of infinitives as complements of the verb *gribēt* 'want', again competing with accusative marking (cf. the variants 152 and 153 from the same text; the variation in case assignment is not provoked by the different forms of the verb 'want'):

(151) *voi **tuo**   Tu gribi   dabuo-t?*
    QU DEM:G 2SG want:PRS:2SG get-I

'Is that what you want to get?' (IS)

(152) *Jis sulej   tieŭ   miejtu,*
    he promise:PRS:3 2SG:D daughter-A

*a   grib   **toŭ-ys   dwiasial-is** dabo-t'!*
but want:PRS:3 your-G soul-G get-I

'He promises you his daughter, but he wants to get your soul!' (genitive) (UP)

(153) *a   tieŭ byŭš   šlikti,   ka   gribieszkys   **toŭ-u   dwiasial-i** pa-jemt!*
but 2SG be:FUT:3 bad:ADV as want:FAP:M.SG your-A soul-G PFX-take-I

(she said) 'it will be bad for you, he will want to take your soul' (accusative) (UP)

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[20] Bukšs (Bukšs & Placinskis 1973: 296) holds that it is the meaning of the construction, not the form of the verb (supine) that triggers genitive marking. He also includes cases like *atnest maizes* 'to bring bread (genitive)' into the group "verbs denoting going after something or bringing something" ("verbi, kas izsoka īšonu pēc kaut kō voi kaut kō atnessonu", ibd.), which could as well be explained as partitives.

6.2.1.2. Verbal clauses with a primary dative argument

Several verbs select a dative argument as the primary core argument. These verbs denote states, often emotions, where the dative expresses the experiencer: *maņ pateik* 'I like' (lit. "me pleases"), *maņ suop* 'hurts me', *maņ gribīs* 'I desire, I like to have', *maņ vajag* 'I must, need; it is necessary for me', *maņ (pī)tryukst* 'I miss; is lacking', *maņ pīteik* 'I have enough', *maņ ruoduos* 'I think, it seems to me'. The dative argument is usually the topic and thus the first argument in unmarked word-order. It may control reflexive pronouns, as in the following example (= 26):

(154) *Maņ   hroniski   tryukst   sov-ys   sāt-ys.*
  1SG:D   chronically lack:PRS:3   RPO-F.G home-G

  'I'm missing my home all the time.' (IS)

Just like nominative subjects, these datives are often omitted if the experiencer is the speaker or the addressee or otherwise clearly recoverable from the context. In other cases, the omission of the dative argument, just as omission of a nominative subject, gives a 'general human actor' reading. The functional similarity of nominative subjects and datives as primary core arguments can further be demonstrated by sentences where both types of clauses are combined:

(155) *Gondreiž   voi   saīt –   ka   eistyn   kuo   **gribi**   i   tuo*
  almost   PTC happen:PRS:3 if   really   WH:G want:PRS:2SG and DEM:G

  *tymā   šaļt-ī   **vajag**,   tys   pīsapylda   i   ir.*
  DEM:L   moment-L need:PRS:3 DEM:N come.true:PRS:3 and be:PRS:3

  'It almost comes to this – if [you (nom.)] really want something and [you (dat.)] need it at that moment, it comes true and exists.' (IS)

With respect to further arguments verbs with a dative experiencer vary. With *patikt* 'please/like' and *suopēt* 'hurt' the stimulus is expressed by a nominative argument which has the marking properties of a subject (case, agreement). Constructions with these verbs are thus a border case between the two major types of verbal clauses distinguished here. With other verbs we find variation in case marking of the argument expressing the stimulus. Genitive marking as in ex. (156) – (158) seems to be most common, but it competes with accusative and nominative marking.

(156) *Cīši   jau   **gribīs**   gaism-ys   i   mīr-a.*
  very   PTC desire:PRS:3 light-G   and peace-G

  '[I] much desire light and peace.' (VL, the clause is a quotation)

(157) *A   vaļdeib-a   klīdz,   ka   **tryukst**   naud-ys*
  PTC government-N shout:PRS:3 that lack:PRS:3 money-G

  'But the government laments that [they] lack money / that money is lacking' (OS)

(158) *Ka   maņ   juo   idej-u   na-**vajag**,*
  that 1SG:D he:G idea-G.PL NEG-need:PRS:3

  *ka   maņ   poš-am   plan-u   **pīteik**   iz   desmit dzeiv-em.*
  that 1SG:D EMPH-D plan-G.PL be.enough:PRS:3 to   ten   life-D.PL

  'That I don't need his ideas, that I myself have plans enough for ten lives.' (VL)

With *vajag* 'need' accusative marking is found rather often in modern texts, though genitive marking (the suggested norm for Standard Latgalian) seems to be still more common; note that the accusative is used with this verb in Latvian.

Several of these verbs may also take verbal complements – infinitives or finite clauses. A direct object contained in an infinitive complement again shows variation in case marking between the genitive and the accusative. With *vajag* 'need' genitive marking of a direct object in a complement clause (159) is suggested as the norm of the standard language; nominative marking is attested in dialects (Cibuļs & Leikuma 2003: 83). However, in modern texts one most often finds accusative marking (161), even with negated objects (162).

(159) *Vajag   atras-t   i   **skaiteituoj-a**, kas   spiej,*
  need:PRS:3 find-I   PTC reader-G   WH:N be.able:PRS:3

  muok   i   gryb   skaitei-t latgaliski.
  be.able:PRS:3 and want:PRS:3 read-I   Latgalian:ADV

  (It's not enough to write in Latgalian.) 'One has to find also a **reader** [= genitive] who is able and knows how to read in Latgalian and wants to do it.' (IS)

(160) *a   **itū**   vaļdeib-u   vāg   atlais-t*
  PTC DEM:A government-A need:PRS:3 suspend-I

  *i   **myusus**   **vys-us**   apšau-t*
  and 1PL:A   all-A.PL   shoot-I

  (someone working at the tax office shouted out:) 'one has to suspend **this government** [= accusative] and shoot down **all of us** [= accusative]' (OS)

(161) *I vyspuor, ir loba tradiceja, par kuru runova vēļ Valdis Zeps,*

  *ka   **vītvuord-us**   na-vajag   tulkuo-t,*
  that place.name-A.PL NEG-need:PRS:3 translate-I

  'In general, it is a good tradition, Valdis Zeps still talked about it, that one doesn't have to / should not translate **place names** [= accusative]' (VL)

6.2.1.3. Existential and possessive clauses

Existential clauses differ from verbal as well as non-verbal clauses with respect to subject properties. The existential verb is *byut* 'be'. It most often appears in the third person, where it has several variants: *ir, irā, iraid(a)*, negated *nav, navā, navaida* and others. Under certain circumstances the verb may be omitted.

The subject usually belongs to the comment and thus follows the verb. In affirmative clauses without quantification it is marked nominative; with a quantifier or in negated clauses it is marked genitive:

(162) **Ir**   **cylvāk-i,**   kur-i   kūta   jaun-u
    be:PRS:3   person-PL   REL-PL.N   IDF:A   new:A

    pataisa   ēs-t   piec   recept-em.
    make:PRS:3   eat-I   after   recipe-D.PL .

    'There are people who prepare new kinds of food following recipes' (VL)

(163) Cīši   **moz   ir**   **cylvāk-u,**   kur-i   prūt
    very   few   be:PRS:3   person-G.PL   REL-N.PL   know:PRS:3

    latgalīšu   rokst-u   volūd-u
    Latgalian   writing-G.PL   language-A

    'There are very few people who know the Latgalian written language [= who know how to write in the Standard language].' (VL)

(164) navaida   ni-vīn-ys   mašyn-ys,   a   jis   stuov   i   gaida
    NEG:be:PRS:3   NEG-one-G   car-G   but   he   stand:PRS:3   and   wait:PRS:3

    'there isn't a single car (on the road), but he stands and waits (at the traffic light)' (VL)

(165) Partū ka   šaļtim   ruodīs –
    for   that   sometimes   seem:PRS:3

    kuo   nav   teikl-ā,   **tuo**   **nav**   i   pasaul-ī.
    WH:G   NEG:be:PRS:3   net-L   DEM:G   NEG:be:PRS:3 PTC   world-L

    'For sometimes it seems – what's not on the Net, isn't in the world.' (IS)

(166) Taid-u   gadīn-u   navā   daudz,   no   irā.
    such-G.PL   case-G.PL   NEG:be:PRS:3   much   but   be:PRS:3

    'There are not many such cases, but they do exist.' (VL)

In the last two examples the subject is the topic and appears before the verb.

The debitive construction turns the subject into a dative:

(167) Sok,   ka jau   es tū   izdūmuoju,   **tam   ir**   **juo-byut.**
    PTC   if   PTC   I   DEM:A   invent:PST:1SG   DEM:D   be:PRS:3   DEB-be

    'Like, if I invented it, it has to exist.' (IS)

The existential verb is sometimes omitted when the clause contains a quantifier (*daudz* 'much, a lot of', *moz* 'little, few', *gona* 'enough') or the negative particle *na*:

(168) Dziļi sirdī asu optimists i idealists, partū pasauli grybātu izkruosuot dzaltonu –

    jimā   jau   tai   palākum-a   i   dryumum-a   gona,
    3SG:L   PTC   PTC   grayness-G   and   somberness-G   enough

    a   saul-is,   gaism-ys   i   syltum-a   na-var   byu-t   par   daudz.
    but   sun-G   light-G   and   warmth-G   NEG-can:PRS:3   be-I   too   much

    'Deep in my heart I am an optimist and idealist, therefore I want to paint the world in yellow – there is already enough grayness and somberness in it, and there can't be too much sun, light, and warmth.' (Sus)

(169) Kab   **na   vušk-u**   i   **Raibal-is,**   zam   pensej-is   dīn-ys
    if   NEG   sheep-G.PL   and   Raibale-G   under   retirement-G   day-G

    skrī-tu   pa   pasaul-i   kai   Kapust-īn-e.
    run-SUB   around   world-A   as   Kapusts-DERI-N

    'If the sheep and [the cow] Raibale weren't there [= if she hadn't the sheep and the cow], being retired she would dash around the world like Mrs. Kapusts.' (KurS)

There is no verb 'to have' in Latgalian. The **possessive construction** is based on the existential construction, with the possessum in the nominative or the genitive (in the case of quantification or negation). The possessor is expressed by an argument in the dative that often is the topic and thus preceeds the verb and may control reflexive pronouns (see 4.4.1 and example (25) repeated below). The subject properties are thus split between the possessor and the possessum (the same situation is found in Latvian, cf. Nau 1998: 55-58).

(170) Ar   humor-u   myusim   vys-im   ir   problem-ys.
    with   humor-A   we:D   all-D.PL   be:PRS:3   problem-N.PL

    'We all have problems with humor.' (VL)

In the possessive construction the existential verb may also be omitted in affirmative clauses without quantification. Recall example (25):

(25) Bārn-im   sov-a   dzeiv-e,   vac-ajim   sov-a.
    child-D.PL   RPO-N.F   life-D   old-D.PL.M.DEF   RPO-N.F

    'Children have their life, elder [people] have theirs.' (IS)

6.2.1.4 Non-verbal clauses with a nominative subject (assignment clauses)

The most typical instances of this type are clauses where the predicate consists of a copula and a predicative noun (phrase) or adjective (phrase). There is agreement in case, number and, if possible, gender. The copula *byut* 'be' has the same forms as the existential verb (see above). Another copula sometimes used in assignment clauses is *palikt* 'become'.

(171) Es   asu   latvīt-e.
    I   be:PRS:1SG   Latvian(F)-N

    'I (female speaker) am a Latvian.' (IS)

(172) *latgalīšu   literatur-a   ir   dzeiv-a*
      Latgalian   literature[F]-N.SG   be:PRS:3 alive-N.SG.F

      'Latgalian literature is alive' (IS)

(173) *Gail-eit-s   tyuleņ   palyka   dzeiv-s*
      cock-DIM-N   at.once   become:PST:3   alive-N.SG.M

      'at once the little cock became/was alive again' (Ko)

Negation does not alter the case assignment (nominative). Quantified subjects with genitive marking are rare; if they appear, the predicative is usually in the nominative, thus does not agree in case:

(174) *Cik   daudz   bārn-u   i   jaunīš-u   Latvej-ā   i   Latgol-ā*
      how   much   child-G.PL   and   youngster-G.PL   Latvia-L   and Latgalia-L

      ni-vīn-am   nav   vajadzeig-i.
      NEG-one-D   NEG:be:PRS:3   necessary-N.PL.M

      'How many children and youngsters in Latvia and Latgale are not needed by anyone.' (lit. "are not necessary to anybody") (IS)

In the debitive construction, both subject and predicative noun or adjective receive dative marking:

(175) *Novembr-ī   mež-am   juo-byut   tukš-am.*
      november-L   wood[M]-D.SG   DEB-be   empty-D.SG.M

      'In November the wood must be empty.' (IS)

The copula is not obligatory. Clauses with a particle (focusing *i*, topicalizing *to*, negative *na*) often lack the copula, which may give rise to reanalysis of the particle as a copula. However, particles may also appear in clauses containing a copula (more research is currently undertaken). Examples:

(176) *A   može   vys-s   i   sovaiduok.*
      but maybe all-N.SG   PTC different

      'But maybe everything is different.' (VL)

(177) *Dīv-s   na   moz-ais   bārn-s*
      God-N   NEG   small-N.M.DEF   child-N

      'God is not a small child' (a saying meaning 'your deeds won't go unnoticed') (IS)

(178) *A   Kvāp-s   to   moz-eņ-š,   vēļ   god-a   nav.*
      but Kvāps-N PTC small-DIM-N   still year-G   NEG:be:PRS:3

      'But Kvāps (a cat) is very small, not yet a year old.' (IS)

Assignment clauses with neither copula nor particle are found most often as part of complex sentences:

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(179) *Jis jurist-s,   i   dūmoj   pījemšon-ys/ lobuojum-u   kategorej-uos.*
      he lawyer-N   and   think:PRS:3   accepting-G correction-G.PL   category-L.PL

      'He is a lawyer, and he thinks in categories of accept/correct.' (VL)

(180) *Ni-vīn-am   nav   juo-skoloj   smadzin-is, cik   es   lob-a.*
      no-one-D   NEG:be:PRS:3   DEB-wash   brain-N   how   I   good-N.F.SG

      'I don't have to wash anybody's brain [convincing them] how good I am.' (IS)

The predicate of an assignment clause may also consist of a prepositional clause (ex. 118), an infinitive, and some other constructions. The same rules of copula omission and particle use seem to apply, but as these constructions are not frequent, further research is needed.

(181) *Tuol-u   i   eksotisk-u zem-u   apsavier-šon-a   na   deļ   manis*
      far-G.PL and   exotic-G.PL land-G.PL look.at-VN-N   NEG   for   1SG:G

      'Visiting far and exotic lands doesn't interest me ("is not for me")' (VL)

6.2.1.5 Other non-verbal clauses

Another type of clause is built with invariable predicates: adverbs, predicatives, or nouns in the nominative. As other non-verbal clauses, they are found with and without the copula. Apart from *byut* 'be', I found *palikt* 'become' and *tikt* 'get, become' as copulas, but they are rare. A dative argument expresses an experiencer; it has the same characteristics as the dative primary core argument in verbal clauses (cf. 6.2.1.2). Without such an argument, these clauses express a general judgment, for example *(ir) kauns* 'it's a shame' / *maņ (ir) kauns* 'I am ashamed'. Some typical examples:

(182) *Ir   vys-īm   prīc-a   taid-us   ļaud-s   satik-t*
      be:PRS:3   all-D.PL   joy-N   such-A.PL.M   people-A.PL   meet-I

      'Everybody enjoys meeting such people' (OS)

(183) *Tei   ir   līt-a,   par   kū   maņ   nav   kaun-s.*
      DEM:N.F   be:PRS:3   thing-N about WH:A   1SG:D   NEG:be:PRS:3   shame-N

      'This is something I am not ashamed of.' (IS)

(184) *Tok   mani   gryuš-i   īkļau-t   kaid-ūs   kanon-ūs.*
      but   1SG:A   hard-ADV include-I   some-L.PL   canon-L.PL

      'However, it is difficult to fit me into some (literary) canon.' (Sus)

(185) *Dzed-s   to   pats   lizeik-u   na-taisa,*
      Grandpa-N   PTC EMPH:SG.M   spoon-G.PL   NEG-make:PRS:3

      nav   bejs   okuot-s.
      NEG:be:PRS:3   be:PAP:SG.M   desire-N

      'Grandpa doesn't make spoons himself, he hasn't been in the mood.' (KurS)

As the two last examples show, negation does not change the case marking: predicative nouns such as *kauns* 'shame' and *okuots* 'desire, inclination' in this clause type are always in the nominative. This distinguishes this type from existential clauses, where negation triggers genitive marking. Nouns typically used as predicates denote feelings and states of mind, further examples include *izbreins* 'astonishement' and *dusmis* 'anger'.

An infinitive complement as in example (182) and (184) is the most usual type of complement in clauses of this type. The predicatives *žāl* 'pity, sorry' and *bais* 'afraid' may also have nominal complements in the genitive and prepositional complements, respectively:

(186) *Pīter-am   žāl   dzed-a   ar   bab-u.*
　　　Pīters-D pity grandpa-G with grandma-A

　　　'Pīters feels sorry for his grandparents.' (KurS)

(187) *Maņ   ir   bais   nu   ļauž-u   ļaunum-a.*
　　　1SG:D be:PRS:3 afraid of people[PL]-G malice-G

　　　'I am afraid of people's wickedness.' (IS)

6.2.1.6 Case assignment and agreement in debitive and passive constructions

As has been shown in the previous sections, there are several constructions which change the case assignement of arguments corresponding to the subject or the direct object of the basic construction (where the predicate is a finite, indicative, active verbal form). The following table presents a summary of the main options:

	Subject of verbal clause	Subject of existential clause	Subject of assignment clause	Direct object
basic	nominative	nominative	nominative	accusative
negated	nominative	genitive	nominative	genitive
debitive	dative	dative	dative	nominative
passive	- (not expressed)	-- (no passive)	-- (no passive)	nominative

Note that arguments in the dative (primary arguments as well as indirect objects) are not affected by any of these processes.

In the debitive construction, the nominative marked argument which corresponds to the direct object in the basic construction has only partial subject properties and should be rather considered a nominative object than a subject (in contrast to the passive construction, where it has all subject properties). Recall also that first and second

person personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun as objects should be in the accusative in the debitive construction (I have so far not found an example in texts). Accusative marking of this argument is occasionally also found in other cases, for example:

(188) *da   9. august-a   juo-at-syuta   **sov-u**   CV*
　　　to   9. August-G   DEB-PFX-send   RPO-A.SG   CV

　　　'(applicants) have to send in their CV BY August 9th' (IS)

(189) *Dvēsel-i   juo-pa-laiž   ī-t   juos   ceļ-u,*
　　　soul-A   DEB-PFX-let   go-I   PRO:G.SG.F   way-A

　　　kod   daguojs   juos   laik-s.
　　　when   come:PAP:SG.M   PRO:G.SG.F   time-N

　　　'One has to let the soul go its way when its time has come.' (IS)

Furthermore, genitive marking can be found in functions where direct objects, but not subjects of verbal clauses may be marked as genitive[21]:

(190) *škol-**a**   juo-veic   i   **lob-uok-a**   **dorb-a**   juo-daboj.*
　　　school-N   DEB-do   and   good-COMP-G.SG.M   work-G   DEB-get

　　　'one has to do school (nominative) and get **some better job** (genitive)' (KurS)

In the passive construction, in contrast, the nominative argument has clear subject properties. The passive participle (and a participle form of the auxiliary) agrees with this subject in number and gender, a finite auxiliary agrees with the subject in person; first and second person subjects are however very rare. An exception with respect to agreement are cases where the subject is a singular noun of measurement and the participle is marked plural in agreement of what is measured, for example:

(191) *Partū ka   daļ-**a**   ak jau   nazkod*
　　　because   part[F]-N.SG   PTC   sometimes

　　　*ir   bejuš-**i**   publiceit-**i**.*
　　　be:PRS:3   be:PAP-PL.M   publish:PPP-PL.M

　　　'Because a part [of these songs and aphorisms] has certainly already been published sometimes.' (IS)

When the predicate is negated, the subject (the patient) may appear in the genitive, and the participle is marked with the default agreement values masculine singular[22]:

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[21] However, the few examples of negated debitive constructions with a direct object I have found so far have nominative marking.

[22] Cf. Holvoet (2001: 269); the example from "Latvian" Holvoet cites (after Endzelin 1951) is actually in Latgalian.

(192) *a   nikuo   pruoteig-a   radzā-t-s   to   gon nav   nikod.*
but   nothing:G reasonable:G   see-PPP-SG.M   PTC   PTC   NEG:be:PRS:3   never

'but anyhow he never saw anything reasonable' (literally "nothing reasonable has ever been seen") (KurS)

Nominative subjects, however, are probably more frequent in negated passive constructions (as negated passives are rare in my texts, more research is needed here). Genitive subjects with default agreement marking also occur in case of quantification with a quantifier (*daudz* 'much, a lot of', *maz* 'little, few', *cik* 'how much, how many') or without a quantifier, as in the following example with a prefixed reflexive verb as predicate (from Cibuļs & Leikuma 2003: 84):

(193) *Molk-ys   pi-sa-grīz-t-s   deļ   treju   zīm-u*
firewood-G   PFX-RFX-chop-PPP-SG.M   for   three:G   winter-G.PL

'[Enough] firewood has been chopped for three winters.'

Only direct objects are promoted to the level of subjects in the passive construction, indirect objects are not affected. Word order follows pragmatic rules, and indirect objects may be topics in clauses with passives, too, as in the following example with the dative *jim* '(to) them':

(194) *Jim   tyka   atlais-t-i   vys-i   grāk-i,*
they:D   AUX:PST:3   forgive-PPP-PL.M   all-PL.M   sin-PL

tik   īsacei-t-s   na-sēdē-t   iz   svāt-ūs   trep-eiš-u [...]
PTC   tell-PPP-SG.M   NEG-sit-I   on   holy-G.PL   step-DIM-G.PL

'They were forgiven all their sins, but told not to sit on the holy steps' (IS)

With a passive predicate, the agent cannot be expressed. An agent phrase (in the genitive) is found only in noun phrases with the past passive participle as a modifier:

(195) *Ka   kūk-s,   dzeļz-s i   stykl-s   ir*
if   wood-N   iron-N   and   glass-N   be:PRS:3

cylvāk-a   puorveiduo-t-ī   dob-ys   material-i,
man-G   transform-PPP-N.PL.M.DEF   nature-G   material-N.PL

to   plastmas-a ir   cylvāk-a pruot-a   i   gryb-ys
PTC   plastic-N   be:PRS:3   man-G   mind-G   and   will-G

radei-t-s   material-s
create-PPP-N.SG.M.IDF   material-N

'While wood, iron and glass are natural materials transformed by man, plastic is a material created by man's mind and will.' (VL)

6.2.2 Adjuncts

All types of clauses may further contain adjuncts – adverbials of time, place, manner, cause, etc. They are expressed by noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbs, or finite or non-finite subordinate clauses. Cases used for noun phrases as adjuncts are the dative, accusative, and the locative.

Noun phrases in the locative mark place (where?) and time (when?), for example:

(196) *Gruomot-ys ir   mun-i   sarun-u   bīdr-i*
book-N.PL   be:PRS:3   my-N.PL.M   conversation-G.PL   companion-N.PL

klus-ūs   vokor-ūs   i   vāl-uos   nakt-s   stuņd-ēs.
silent-L.PL.M.IDF   evening-L.PL   and   late-L.PL.F.IDF   night-G   hour-L.PL

'Books are my companions on silent evenings and late at night.' (Sus)

Noun phrases in the accusative may also express time (when?), more often they express extension (how far? for how long?):

(197) *Jov   **34 god-us**   asu   lauleib-ā   ar   sov-u sīv-u   Irēn-u.*
already   34 year-A.PL   be:PRS:1SG   marriage-L   with   RPO-A   wife-A   Irēna-A

'My wife Irēna and I have been married **for 34 years** already.' (Sus)

Noun phrases in the dative may express a purpose or goal; they are most usual with (de)verbal nouns:

(198) *Paļdis latgalīšu   muzykant-im, [...]   kas   spielej*
thanks Latgalian   musician-D.PL   WH:N   play:PRS:3

*lobdareib-ys koncert-us   **naud-ys salasei-šon-ai**.*
charity-G   concert-A.PL   money-G   collect-VN-D

'Thanks to Latgalian musicians who give charity concerts **in order to collect money.**' (IS)

Very common are noun phrases in the dative expressing a peripheral participant (often a person, but also objects are possible referents); they can have a wide range of semantic roles, among others beneficient, experiencer, possessor. Two examples:

(199) *Kas   **Tev**   ir   lob-a literatur-a?*
WH:N   2SG:D   be:PRS:3   good-N.SG.F   literature-N

'What is good literature to/for/according to you?' (Sus)

(200) *Vysu besu pats muociejs sastrojēt –*

***skap-am**   durov-ys ī-lik-t   voi **telvīzer-am** kuoj-u da-skryuvē-t,*
cupboard-D   door-A   PFX-put-I   or   television-D   leg-A   PFX-screw-I

***syvān-am** sil-i   sa-sis-t   voi **jumt-am** diel-eiš-us   nū-mainei-t.*
piglet-D   manger-A   PFX-strike-I   or   roof-D   board-DIM-A.PL   PFX-change-I

'He knew to do all kinds of handicrafts himself – put a door into the cupboard or fix a leg on the television set, hew a manger for the piglet or change the clapboards of the roof.' (KurS)

6.2.3 Negation

Three morphemes are used for expressing negation in Latgalian: *nā*, *na* and *ni*:

(201) *a   autors   na-soka   ni   nui, ni   nā*.
      PTC   author-N NEG-say:PRS:3 NEG yes NEG no

'and the author says neither yes nor no' (VL)

The particle *nā* is always a free form, it is used as the answering particle 'no' and as negative anaphora of a verb phrase or a complete clause, for example:

(202) *Ka boguot-s,   to   dzeivoj   ar   gūd-u,*
      if   rich-N.SG.M PTC live:PRS:2 with dignity-A

      nā – eln-is   gun-ī   deg-s-i
      no   hell-G   fire-L burn-FUT-2SG

'If [you are] rich, live with dignity, **if you don't**, you'll burn in hell' (OS)

The morphemes *na* and *ni* are used both as free forms and as prefixes. For clause negation, *na-* is prefixed to the finite verb or finite auxiliary of the predicate. It is always the first prefix. With the third person present tense form of the verb *būt* 'be' (existential verb, copula, auxiliary) we find suppletive forms: *nav, navā, navaid* and others 'is/are not'.

(203) *Pretim   na-pa-sa-smēja   nivīn-s.*
      back   NEG-PFX-RFX-laugh:PST:3 nobody-N

'nobody smiled back' (IS)

(204) *Pat-s   lob-oik-īs   vysod   ir   tys,*
      PRO-M.SG good-COMP-N.SG.M.DEF always be:PRS:3 DEM:N.M.SG

      kū   veļ   na-asu   lasiejuse.
      WH:A yet NEG-be:PRS:1SG read:PAP:SG.F

'The very best [reading matter] is always what I haven't read yet' (Sus)

Clause negation also combines with negative pronouns and adverbs ('nobody', 'nothing', 'never' etc.):

(205) *tū,   kas   nūtik-s   nuokūtn-ē,*
      DEM:A wh:N happen-FUT(3)   future-L

      precizi   nivīn-s   nikod   na-zynuo-s
      precisely nobody-N never   NEG-know-FUT(3)

'nobody will ever know precisely what will happen in the future' (Sus)

As described above (6.2.1.1, 6.2.1.3) the genitive is used to mark the subject in negated existential clauses and the object in negated transitive clauses:

(206) *Mam-ys   i   pap-a   jis   na-atguodoj,*
      mommy-G   and daddy-G   he   NEG-remember:PRS:3

      varbyut   jūs   nimoz   nav   i   bejs.
      maybe   they:G   at.all   NEG:be:PRS:3 PTC be:PAP:SG.M

'He doesn't remember his parents, maybe they haven't existed at all.' (KurS)

The prefix *na-* is also attached to infinitives and converbs as predicates.

(207) *Doru   tū   par tū,   kab   na-palik-t   par dogmatik-i*
      do:PRS:1SG DEM:A for DEM:A that   NEG-become-I   for dogmatist-A

'I do that in order not to become a dogmatist' (VL)

The free form *na* is sometimes used in negated existential and non-verbal clauses instead of a negated form of the existential verb or copula *būt* 'be' (see examples in 6.2.1.3, 6.2.1.4 above). Otherwise the free forms are used to negate only a part of the clause, which may be the predicate, but more often is some smaller constituent. In most instances these particles additionally carry emphasis or contrastive focus. Single constituents are negated by *na*, while *ni* is used in coordination:

(208) *Tys   lai ir   radz-am-s   mun-ūs dorb-ūs, na vuord-ūs.*
      DEM:N PTC be:PRS:3 see-PP-N.SG.M my-L.PL work-L.PL NEG word-L.PL

'This shall be apparent in my deeds, not my words.' (Sus)

(209) *Tai   i   dzeivoju –*
      so   PTC   live:PRS:1SG

      rokstu,   na   skaitu.   Izdūmoju,   na   stuostu.
      write:PRS:1SG NEG read:PRS:1SG invent:PRS:1SG NEG narrate:PRS:1SG

'So that's how I live – I do write, not read. I do invent, not narrate.' (IS)

(210) *ni   sat-ys,   ni   boguot-a   veir-a,   ni   karjer-ys navā*
      NEG home-G NEG rich-G.M.SG husband-G NEG career-G NEG:be:PRS:3

'I have neither a home nor a rich husband nor a career' (Sus)

(211) *Nu   publicitat-is   ni   bāgu,*
      from   publicity-G   NEG flee:PRS:1SG

      ni   pakaļ tai   skrīnu.
      NEG after   DEM:D.SG.F run:PRS:1SG

'As for publicity, I'm neither running away from it nor chasing it.' (VL)

Both prefixes are also used in derivation. The prefix *ni-* is found in negative pronouns and adverbs derived from indefinite pronouns and adverbs: *nivīns* 'no one', *nikas* 'nobody, nothing', *nikod* 'never', *nikur* 'nowhere' and a few others. The prefix *na-* is

used with nouns, adjectives, adjectival participles, and adverbs derived from adjectives and participles, for example: *navaineigs* 'innocent', *naīrosts* 'unusual', *naapzynuoti* 'unconsciously', *nadorbs* 'misdeed', *nalīteiba* 'villainy'.

6.2.4 Questions

Yes/No-questions are formed with a question particle preceding the clause. There are two question particles, *voi* and *ci*. Both are also used as disjunctive coordinators ('or').

The particle *voi* (Latvian cognate *vai*) goes back to a loan from a Finnic language, while *ci* is borrowed from a Slavic language (Belarusian or Russian dialect). The choice between *voi* and *ci* follows regional and individual preferences; *voi* is more frequent in modern texts.

(212) **Voi** zynit,   kas   ir   Kristaps Morbergs?
      QU   know:PRS:2PL   WH:N   be:PRS:3   Kristaps Morbergs

      'Do you know who Kristaps Morbergs is?' (VL)

(213) **Ci** gribi   nū-bolsuo-t par myusu   idej-om?
      QU   want:PRS:2SG   PFX-vote-I   on   1PL:G   idea-D.PL

      'Do you want to vote on our ideas?' (http://lgsc.lv/pruoata-vatra-tonis-biroja)

It is also possible to form questions without a particle, by intonation alone.

Question words are *kas* 'who/what', *kurs* 'which; who', *kaids* 'which, what kind of', *kai* 'how', *kod* 'when', *kur* 'where', *kam* (> dative of *kas*) 'why', and *cik* 'how much'.

In conversations questions often begin with the emphatic particle *a*, for example:

(214) *jis brīsmeig-ā bols-ā aiza-klīdzia*   **"A** kam   tu   sacej!"
      he   terrible-L.SG voice-L PFX:RFX-shout:PST:3   PTC why   2SG say:PST(2)

      'He shouted out in a terrible voice: "Why did you say [that]!" (Ko)

This emphatic particle may also take the place of the question particle *voi* or *ci*:

(215) „**A** tu   zyni,   kas   ir   Vinsents van Gogs?" „Nui".
      PTC 2SG know:PRS:2SG   WH:N   be:PRS:3   Vincent van Gogh   yes

      'Do you know who Vincent van Gogh is? Yes.' (VL)

Another emphatic particle often found in questions is *to* or *ta* (Latvian equivalent *tad*), which follows a question particle or a question word:

(216) *Cik **to** iļgi mes jauk-s-im*   volūd-u   ar   dialekt-u?
      how PTC long we   confuse-FUT-1PL   language-A   with   dialect-A

      'For how long will we confuse a language with a dialect?' (OS)

6.3 Clause linkage

The four structural types of clause linkage – relativization, complementation, subordination, and coordination – are not strictly distinguished formally, especially in traditional narratives. Also, dependent clauses are often only loosely integrated into a complex sentence. The following features, among others, reflect this situation:

- the same element (conjunction) is used as complementizer and adverbial subordinator; subordinators and relative pronouns are etymologically related;
- free relative clauses and adverbial subordination show parallel structures (correlative constructions);
- linking a (subordinate) participle clause to a finite clause, coordinating conjunctions may be added;
- clauses headed by an adverbial subordinator as well as clauses with a converb are not always integrated prosodically and often presented as independent sentences in written texts.

6.3.1 Participle and converb clauses

Participle clauses as **modifiers** of nouns (non-finite relative clauses) are found most often with the past passive participle; agents are expressed by a noun phrase in the genitive:

(217) [*mun-a   dzed-a   stuosteit-ajā*]   *puorsok-ā*
      my-G.M.SG   grandpa-G   tell:PPP-L.SG.DEF   tale-L.SG

      par   catūrt-u tāv-a   dāl-u
      about   forth-A   father-G son-A

      'in the fairy-tale about the fourth son [told by my grandpa]' (VL)

These clauses always precede the head (see 6.1.1 on noun phrases; for other participles as modifiers see 5.4).

Within **complements** of verbs of perception and feeling ('see/hear/ … someone doing something'), as well as some other verbs ('find', 'leave') the indeclinable form of the present oblique participle (suffix -**ūt** or -**ejt**) is used in traditional narratives:

(218) *īraudzēj-a   [muižnīk-a sīv-u   [runoj-ūt   ar   celinīk-u]].*
      notice:PST-3   [farmer-G wife-A   talk-PA[IDC]   with   wanderer-A]

      '(he) caught sight of [the farmer's wife [talking to a wanderer]]' (Vārkava)

(219) *atrod-a   ti   [barn-u, pujszki-nieni-u,[ziam-ia gul-ejt']]*
      find:PST-3   there   [child-A boy-DIM-A   ground-L sleep-PA[IDC]]

      'there they found [a child, a little boy, [lying on the ground]]' (UP)

In modern texts, we find the indeclinable form of the present passive participle (suffix -am / -om) in such constructions (the cognate of this participle is used in this function in Latvian):

(220) *Na-jiut-u*   [*tū*   "*blog-u*"   [*as-am*   *dzeiv-u*]].
      NEG-feel:PRS-1SG [DEM:A   blog-A   [be-PP[IDC] alive-A]]

      'I don't feel [that this "blog" [is alive]].' (IS)[23]

In traditional narratives the indeclinable present oblique participle is also used in constructions which are between modification and adverbial subordination (comparable to non-restrictive relative clauses). The participle clause follows the noun or pronoun it relates to, which usually is not the (nominative) subject of the sentence:

(221) *tim*   [*zam cepļ-a sēž-ūt*]   *aus-s dag*   *nu*   *korstum-a*
      DEM:D.PL under oven-G sit-PA[IDC] ear-N.PL burn:PRS:3 from   heat-G

      'those [sitting under the oven] got their ears burnt by the heat' /
      '[sitting under the oven] they got their ears burnt by the heat' (Ko)

(222) *Brauk-dam-i*   *jī*   *dadzyn-a*   *Andriv-u*   [*brauc-ūt*   *kung-a*   *zyrg-ā*].
      drive-CV-PL.M they catch.up:PST-3 Andrivs-A   drive-PA[IDC] lord-G   horse-L

      'On the road they caught up with Andrivs [(who was) driving with the
      gentleman's horse].' (Ko)

In modern texts this participle is also frequently used as a converb for **adverbial subordination** (in traditional texts such a use is rare), expressing a simultanous action or a manner in which something is done, and relating to the subject of the sentence:

(223) [*Ļaun-ūt*   *atsateistei-t Latgol-ys*   *latgalisk-ajai*   *kultur-ai*],
      allow-PA[IDC] develop-I   Latgalia-G Latgalian-D.F.DEF culture-D

      [*atbolst-ūt*   *latgalisk-ū*   *Latvej-u*],
      support-PA[IDC] Latgalian-A.DEF Latvia-A

      mes nūturē-s-im   *i*   *saglobuo-s-im*   *latvysk-u*   *Latgol-u*.
      we support-FUT-1PL and preserve-FUT-1PL Latvian-SG.A Latgalia-A

      '[(By) allowing Latgalian culture to develop in Latgalia], [(by) supporting a
      Latgalian Latvia], we will support and preserve a Latvian Latgalia.' (IS)

More typical in adverbial subordination, especially in traditional texts, is the converb with the suffix -**dam**-, which is specialized for this function; it marks actions simultaneous to the main predicate. Both predicates must relate to the same subject – see example (222) above, where the form *braukdami* (converb of *braukt* 'drive, ride')

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[23] As Peter Arkadiev remarked in a comment, in this example the use of the accusative may be a hint that *tū blogu* 'this blog' belongs into the participle phrase, for a direct object of the negated verb *nejiutu* 'I don't feel' would be expected to be in the genitive.

relates to the subject (*jī* 'they'), while the form *braucut* (indeclinable present oblique participle of the same verb) relates to the object of the main clause (*Andrivu*). Examples from modern texts:

(224) [*Upīt-ē*   *vuicei-dam-īs*] *suok-u*   *sacerē-t*   *ailen-is*
      Upīte-L   learn-CV-SG.M start:PRS-1SG compose-I   poem-A.PL

      i   *eis-stuost-us*.
      and   short-story-A.PL

      '[While studying at Upīte] I started to write poems and short stories.' (Sus)

(225) [*Dzeiv-a byu-dam-a*] *tok*   *jei*   [*ļūbēj-a*   *zam*   *vokor-a*   *at-ī-t*   *gost-ūs*
      alive-F   be-CV-SG.F PTC she like:PST-3 under evening-G PFX-go-I guest-L.PL

      i,   [*taipat*   *stuovā-dam-a*   *ustob-ys*   *priškā*],
      and same   stand-CV-SG.F   house-G   in.front

      puorrunuo-t sov-ys   *dzel-ys*.
      PFX-talk-I   RPO-A.PL.F   matter-A.PL

      'After all, [when she was alive] she liked to visit in the evening and, [just
      standing in front of the house], to talk about her concerns.' (IS)

(226) *Šūnakt liduoj-a zūs-s*   *prūm. Nakt-ī aiz*   *lūg-a*   **aiza-klīg-dam-ys**.
      tonight fly:PST-3 goose-PL away night-L behind window-G PFX:RFX-cry-CV-PL.F

      'Tonight the geese took off. Shouting their calls beyond the window in the night.'
      (IS)

The converb with -dam- is also (rarely) found relating to a dative experiencer; in such case it is marked dative in agreement:

(227) **Doncō-dam-am**   *jam*   *tyk-a*   *korst*
      dance-CV-D.SG.M   he:D   get:PST-3 hot[ADV]

      'dancing he got hot / he got hot from the dancing' (Ko)

The past active participle is used as an anterior converb. It is very frequent in traditional narratives, but also found in modern texts.

(228) *Anne*, [*panāmusi*   *nu*   *gold-a maiz-is*   *nāz-i*],
      Anne   PFX-take:PAP:SG.F from   table-G bread-G   knife-A

      puor-grīze   *mun-u*   *nob-ys*   *sait-i*.
      PFX-cut:PST:3   my-A   navel-G   cord-A

      'Anne, [having taken the bread knife from the table], cut my umbilical cord.' /
      'Anne [took the bread knife from the table and] cut my umbilical cord.' (Sus, OS)

The relation between the converb clause and the finite clause is often rather loose, and may resemble coordination. In traditional narratives, the addition of a coordinating conjunction or particle is not uncommon, for example:

(229) a łops-a, [da-skrij-dam-a pi jō] i soka
      PTC fox-N   PFX-run-CV-SG.F to he:G and say:PRS:3

   'and the fox [(came) running towards him] and said' (UP)

(230) A Pałnuruszk-a [at-gojis] i prosas
      PTC Palnuruška-N PFX-go:PAP:SG.M and ask:PRS:3

   'and John from the Ashes [came near] and asked' (UP)

A clause with the *dam*-converb may also be linked to a finite clause with a sub-ordinator:

(231) Tūreiz iz sāt-u at-guoja pat-s,
      then   to home-A PFX-go:PST:3 EMPH-N

   koč knapi kuoj-is **vylk-dam-s**.
   although hardly leg-A.PL pull-CV-SG.M

   'At that time he came home on his own, although he could hardly walk.' (IS;
   about a dog who got shot by a neighbour)

Other participles used in clause-combining (adverbial subordination) are the past passive participle (occasionally in traditional and modern texts), and the future active oblique participle (occasionally in UP).

6.3.2 Finite clauses

Finite **relative clauses as modifiers** in noun phrases are linked to the head noun by an interrogative pronoun functioning as a relative pronoun; they always follow the head. There is no formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The most usual pronoun in this function is *kurs* 'which', it is used in both genders and numbers and all case forms, also with prepositions, with all kinds of antecedents.

(232) kotr-s cylvāk-s, [**kur-s** tik satyka], bāga voi klīdzia
      each   man-N   which-N.M PTC meet:PST:3 flee:PST:3 or cry:PST:3

   'Every man [who ever met (him)] ran away or cried' (Ko)[24]

(233) Tāv-s pajāmia sīv-u rogon-u,
      father-N take:PST:3 wife-A witch:A

   kur-ai beja ari sov-a miait-a.
   which-D.F be:PST:3 too RPO-N.F daughter-N

   'Her father married a witch(,) who also had a daughter.' (Ko)

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[24] This sentence is ambiguous, the relative clause can also be interpreted as a juxtaposed free relative clause: 'every man, whoever met him, ran away'.

(234) Jis īt, īt vīn-s pat-s, redz uz cel-a
      he:N go:PRS:3 go:PRS:3 one-N.M EMPH-N.M see:PRS:3 on road-G

   lel-u dom-u, **kur-a** tymā vīt-ā nikod nav bejis.
   big-A house-A which-G.M DEM:L place-L never NEG:be:PRS:3 be:PAP:SG.M

   'He goes on and on alone, at the road he sees a big house that hasn't been at that place ever before.' (Ko)

(235) Sun-eit-s, [**ar kur-u** brō]-s staigova medeib-ōs],
      dog-DIM-N with which-A brother-N walk:PST:3 hunting-L

   sōka grauz-t sīn-u, [kur-ā beja īspraus-t-a odot-a].
   start:PST:3 chew-I hay-A which-L be:PST:3 stick.in-PPP-SG.F needle-N

   'The little dog [with which the brother went hunting] began to chew the hay [into which a needle had been stuck].' (Ko)

The pronoun *kas* 'who/what' is used mainly with a pronoun, very rarely with a noun as antecedent (in contrast to Latvian, where *kas* is the usual relative pronoun):

(236) Kad ap-jeś-s-it [tu wys-u, **kas** ira sa-łyk-t-s],
      when PFX-eat-FUT-2PL DEM:A all-A WH:N be:PRS:3 PFX-put-PPP-SG.M

   to du-sz-u miejt-u
   PTC give-FUT-1SG daughter-A

   'When you'll have eaten up [all that has been put together here], I'll give you my daughter' (UP)

The question word *kur* 'where' is used in this meaning in relative clauses in all varieties (as English *where*). In traditional texts (UP) and non-standard varieties this word is also used as a relativizer in the function of subject and direct object, thus instead of a relative pronoun in the nominative or accusative (but not the dative, and not with prepositions).

(237) i tyka tamâ wit-â, [**kur** Aleksandr-a gulaja]
      PTC get:PST:3 DEM:L place-L where Alexander-N lie:PST:3

   'and he came to the place [where Alexander was lying]' (UP)

(238) Mun-s wiejr-s, [**kur** bieja izgajss],
      my-N.M husband-N REL be:PST:3 disappear:PAP:SG.M

   sat-â at-gojis!
   home-L PFX-go:PAP:SG.M

   'My husband, [who had disappeared], has come home!' (UP)

(239) nu-sit' tu mań tu zyrg-u, [**kur** taŭ-s tieŭ pamiatia]
      kill:PRS:2SG 2SG:N 1SG:D DEM:A horse-A REL father-N 2SG:D leave:PST:3

   'kill for me the horse [your father has left you]' (UP)

Free relative clauses usually have a correlative demonstrative pronoun. This structure is very common in traditional narratives, but also found in modern texts. A free relative clause has the same form as a relative clause modifying a noun, but differs slightly in the choice of pronoun: here, *kas* 'who/what' is used more often, and *kurs* is used with reference to humans. In UP the indeclinable form *kur* is also found in free relative clauses.

(240) *Bet durak-s,   kai durak-s   byu-dam-s,*
      but simpleton-N as   simpleton-N be-CV-SG.M

 kū   tik   sateik   tam   i   stōsta
 WH:A PTC meet:PRS:3 DEM:D PTC tell:PRS:3

 'but the simpleton, being a simpleton, told whoever he met' (Ko)

(241) *ku   kung-s łyka   tu   wajadzieja muźik-am kłaŭsie-t'*
      WH:A master-N command:PST:3 DEM:A need:PST:3 farmer-D obey-I

 'a farmer had to obey whatever the master demanded' (UP)

(242) *"Saŭnit,   a   kur-s   iz kur-u   pus-i*
      shoot:IMP:2PL PTC which-N.SG.M to which-A.SG direction-A

 iz-saŭ-ś   łud-i, tys   nu tos   pus-iś
 PFX-shoot-FUT(3) bullet-A DEM:N.SG from DEM:G.SG.F direction-G

 i   sîw-u sieŭ pa-jim-ś!"
 PTC wife-A RFX:D PFX-take-FUT(3)

 'Shoot! But whose bullet is shot in a certain direction, will take his wife from this direction' (a father to his sons, who then follow their bullets in their search for a wife)

Complement clauses and **adverbial subordinate** clauses are introduced by a subordinating conjunction. The following are the most frequent:

ka   'that' (complementizer), 'if', 'when', 'because', 'as' (causal/temporal)
kab   'that' (complementizer), 'if' (counterfactual), 'so that', 'in order to',
kam   'because' (< *kam* 'why' < dative of *kas* 'who/what')
koč   'although'
kai   'as', 'when'
cikom 'until', 'as long as', 'while';
        other conjunctions with these meanings: *koleidz, kuoļš*

par tū ka, dieļ tuo ka 'because' (literally like French *par-ce-que*)

Ka 'that' is the most common **complementizer** used for finite complements of verbs of saying, mental states, perception, judgment, etc. *Kab* 'that' is used in complements of volitional verbs with a different subject, with the predicate in the indicative or

subjunctive (when the subject of the complement is co-referent with the subject of the main clause, an infinitive clause is used):

(243) *Mes poš-i   grybom,   kab myusus apmuona.*
      we   EMPH-N.PL.M want:PRS:1PL that we:A   betray:PRS:3

 'We want to be betrayed.' ("We want ourselves that they betray us.") (VL)

(244) *A   taŭ-s   na grib,   kab jis zog-tu*
      PTC father-N NEG want:PRS:3 that he steal-SUB

 'But the father doesn't want him to steal' ("does not want that he would steal") (UP)

Another element used in complement clauses is *lai* (more common as a modal particle), used occasionally in reported requests:

(245) *Prasēja, lai pažčeju   80 lat-us.*
      ask:PST:3 PTC borrow:PST:1SG 80 lat-A.PL

 '[He] asked [me] to lend [him] 80 lats.' (VL)

In **conditional clauses** *ka* 'if' is used for both factual and counterfactual conditionals. For factual conditionals the verb is in the indicative; usually a correlative construction is used, with the particle *to* or *tod* (< *tod* 'then') as correlate:

(246) *Koč stuosts par Latvejis vālātuojim i īdzeivuotuojim ir stuosts par vardivem, kas dzeivoj klusenom.*

 Ka veicās   izbēg-t, to dzeivoj. Ka nā, ap-ād   stark-s.
 if be.lucky:PRS:3 flee-I PTC live:PRS:3 if not PFX-eat:PRS:3 stork-N

 Bols-u pa-dūd   tikai tod, ka kaid-s   izmyn   viersā.
 voice-A PFX-give:PRS:3 only PTC if someone-N step:PRS:3 upon

 'Although the story of the voters and inhabitants of Latvia is the story of frogs that live in silence. If they manage to run away, they survive. If not, they are eaten by the stork. They only speak out (vote) if someone steps upon them.' (IS; "give voice" = 'to vote')

Counterfactual conditional sentences with the conjunction *ka* always refer to the present (a situation marked as counterfactual (unreal) for the present time or in general). The subjunctive is used in both parts of the sentence:

(247) *a   ka byu-tu jūs   vīt-ā,*
      PTC if be-SUB they:G place-L

 darei-tu taipat laikam   kai i   jī.
 do-SUB   same   probably as PTC they

 'but if they were in their place, they would probably do just the same.' (VL)

Conditional clauses with the conjunction *kab* are always counterfactual. They may relate to the present or to the past (a situation that has not been the case). There are

several possibilities to mark the predicate in both parts of the sentence. First, the compound form of the subjunctive unambiguously marks a counterfactual situation of the past:

(248) *Na-byu-tu atroduse ituo rokst-a, kab pyrms puors dīn-u*
NEG-be-SUB find:PAP:SG.F DEM:G.M article-G if before couple day-G.PL

Googl-is cioc-e najauši na-byu-tu atroduse cyt-a rokst-a.
Google-G aunt-N by.chance NEG-be-SUB find:PAP:SG.F other-G.M article-G

'I wouldn't have found this article if, a couple of days ago, auntie Google hadn't found another article by chance.' (IS)

Second, in the clause introduced by *kab* the verb may take the form of the past active participle. This happens most often with the verb *byut* 'be', examples with other verbs are rare (but exist). If the compound form of the subjunctive is used in the second part of the sentence, reference is unambiguously to the past, while with the simple form of the subjunctive the sentence may refer either to the past or the present:

(249) *Kab tai na-bejs, mes byu-tu palyk-uš-i*
if so NEG-be:PAP:SG.M we be-SUB remain-PAP-PL.M

pi pyrmatnej-ūs cylvāk-u fosilej-u.
at primitive-G.PL human-G.PL fossil-G.PL

'If it hadn't been that way, we would have remained at the stage of primitive human fossils.' (IS)

(250) *Dzed-s sacēja, ka varā-tu parak-t gruov-eit-i voi kū,*
grandpa-N say:PST:3 that can-SUB dig-I ditch-DIM-A or DEM:A

kab laik-a bejs.
if time-G be:PAP:SG.M

'Grandpa said he could dig (could have dug) a ditch or whatever if he had (had) time.' (KurS)

Thus, the construction *kab bejs* is potentially ambiguous ('if there were' / 'if there had been'). It seems, however, that reference to the past is the more common reading, which leads to a situation where *ka* + subjunctive (counterfactual present conditional) is opposed to *kab* + participle (counterfactual past conditional). The following minimal pair illustrates this[25]:

(251) *Ka es na-byu-tu tik slink-a, es da-lyk-tu karten-is*
if I NEG-be-SUB so lazy-N.F I PFX-put-SUB picture-A.PL

nu puors pādej-ūs latgalisk-ūs pasuokum-u
from couple last-G.PL Latgalian-G.PL event-G.PL

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[25] This is similar to the situation in Old Lithuanian, cf. Holvoet (2010: 81).

'If I weren't so lazy I would add pictures from a couple of the latest Latgalian events' (= here, in my blog) (IS)

(252) *Kab es na-bejuse tik slink-a,*
if I NEG-be:PAP:SG.F so lazy-N.F

es izdūmuo-tu sov-u volūd-u.
I invent-SUB RPO-A language-A

'If I hadn't been so lazy I would have invented my own language.' (= at that time, as a child) (IS)

A negated counterfactual condition with reference to the present may also be expressed by *kab* + negation *na* without the verb 'to be'. This construction seems to be quite conventionalized, especially for existential clauses (see ex. 169 above), but it is also found with assignment clauses:

(253) *Kab jis na rikteig-s veir-s, voi ta bab-a juo sāt-ā pacīs-tu.*
if he NEG proper-N.M man-N QU PTC granny-N he:G home:L tolerate-SUB

'If he (= grandpa) weren't a proper man, granny would hardly tolerate him in her home.' (KurS)

In **purpose clauses**, the conjunction *kab* is used with either the subjunctive or the infinitive (subjunctive seems to be a bit more common):

(254) *Kab pajim-tu sauv-ē vīn-u uobel-i, ūtr-ys juo-nūlīk atpakaļ.*
so.that take-SUB palm-L one-A apple-A other-N.M DEB-put back

'In order to take one apple into your hand, you have to put back another.' (IS)

(255) *Puordeve sāt-ys, kab nūpierk-t*
sell:PST:3 home-A.PL so.that buy-I

itūs nu Turcej-is atvas-t-ūs breinum-us.
DEM:A.PL from Turkey-G bring-PPP-A.PL.M.DEF wonder-A.PL

'They sold their houses in order to buy these marvels imported from Turkey.' (VL, talking about the tulip boom in 17th century Holland)

For coordinating conjunctions see 6.1.6 Coordination.

6.4 Particles in discourse

Latgalian has a rich inventory of particles with discourse structuring functions. Such particles have been described very infrequently, as current grammars and dialect descriptions offer no more than some lists of particles with a few comments on individual items. Much further research is needed, and this section aims to provide only a first glance at the phenomenon.

In the inventory of particles there are many synonymous items, or particles with largely overlapping functions. New items are easily borrowed (there are many loans from Slavic languages), or derived from content words or from existing particles. There is also significant regional and individual variation, of which speakers seem to be conscious, as the following example shows:

(256) *Viin-aa viit-aa soka   ta,   uutr-aa tai. **Ci** tai nav?*
     one-L   place-L say:PRS:3 so   other-L   so   PTC so   NEG:be:PRS:3

    Voi tai nav?   **Mozh** tai nav?
    PTC   so   NEG:be:PRS:3   PTC   so   NEG:be:PRS:3

    Ili tai nav?   **Varbyut** tai nav?....
    PTC   so   NEG:be:PRS:3   maybe   so   NEG:be:PRS:3

    'At one place they say it this way, at another place that way. Isn't it so (5 x)?'
    (comment in a discussion about what is "proper Latgalian";
    http://www.lakuga.lv/lg/news/comments?id=3238)

In the above example, five synonyms are given for the initial particle that marks the clause as a question. The first two, *ci* and *voi*, are both accepted for the standard variety as question particles and as the disjunction 'or'; both are old loan words (see 6.2.4). The fourth variant, *ili*, is a more recent loan from Russian, where it has the meaning 'or'. The word *moš* or *može*, borrowed from a Slavic language (Polish or Belarusian or Russian, multiple borrowing likely), is widespread in Latgalian and has the basic meaning 'maybe', but it is also used in several patterns where it loses this meaning, polite questions being one example (see Nau, forthcoming a). The meaning 'maybe' is also expressed by *varbyut* (*var* 'can' + *byut* 'be). The example thus shows very nicely the main techniques for renewing particles.

The classification of particles according to their function requires more research. It is made difficult, among other factors, by the fact that many particles have several functions and their meaning varies according to the linguistic context. Furthermore, it is not uncommon that several particles are combined in a clause, and the exact meaning of an individual item of such a combination is hard to grasp. The following is a typical example:

(257) **Tok** tai **vot** i   dzeivojam. Sov-s   pīn-eņ-š,   svīst-eņ-š.
    PTC so   PTC PTC live:PRS:3   RPO-N.SG.M   milk-DIM-N   butter-DIM-N

    Sov-a   gal-eit-e.   Sov-a   volūd-a.
    RPO-N.SG.F   meat-DIM-N   RPO-N.SG.F   language-N

    'But/so that's how we live. Our own milk and butter. Our own meat. Our own language.' (IS)

The particle *tok* that appears in this example marks a speaker's statement that is resuming a previous discussion and presenting an argument that is in (slight) contrast

to what someone else may think (similar to English 'after all'). The particle *vot* (borrowed from Russian) is a presentative particle with quite a generalized function of bringing something to the attention of the hearer, while *i* may be classified as an additive focus particle.

The class of presentative particles (see Petit 2010) includes *vot, ot, dze, ša*, among others. A special presentative particle is *sok* (derived from a present tense form of the verb 'to say'), which introduces a statement that expresses a supposed opinion that is not shared by the author. It may also mark a popular saying expressing received wisdom (again, the content is rather in opposition to the author's own view).

(258) *Tei ir latgaļīšu vīnaļdzeiba i naticeišona, naīsakļaušona sabīdreibā – pasaverit*
    koč voi pādejuo referenduma rezultatus.

    Sok, kai jau Dīv-eņ-š   devs,   tai juo-dzeivoj. A   kū
    PTC   as   PTC God-DIM-N   give:PAP:SG.M so   DEB-live   PTC WH:A

    jau tī   izmaineisi,   lai jī   tī   pa Reig-u pliešās.
    PTC there change:FUT:2SG PTC they there in Riga-A tussle:PRS:3

    'It is the Latgalian indifference and scepticism, the unwillingness to integrate into society – just look, for example, at the results of the latest referendum. **Sok**, we have to live as Our Good Lord has granted. And what can you do about it, let those in Riga tussle over it.' (IS)

Particles with mainly focusing function are *i* (additive focus), *a* (contrastive focus), *až* ('even'), *to*, and the negative particle *ni* (see 6.2.3 for the latter). While *i* and *a* are placed before the word or phrase that is highlighted, the particle *to* follows that expression.

(259) *Voi jiusim ir gadejīs, ka akmiņs nūsaveļ nu sirds? Gadejīs?*

    A cegl-s? **Akmiņ-s** **to** vīgl-i   veļās,   pa-gryud –
    PTC brick-N   stone-N   PTC easy-ADV roll:PRS:3   PFX-push:prs:2sg

    i   mīr-s!   **A** **cegl-s** kai veļās?
    and peace-N   PTC brick   how   roll:PRS:3

    'Have you ever experienced a stone rolling off your heart? You have? **But what about a brick**? **A stone** rolls easily, give it a gentle push and – peace and quiet. **But a brick**, how does that roll?' (VL) ('a stone rolling off one's heart' is an idiom meaning 'a load being taken off one's mind')

In the above example there is a contrast between the two elements highlighted by the particles *a* and *to*, respectively, but this is not a necessary condition for the use of *to*. This particle lays emphasis on an element within the topic of a clause. It thus has a topicalizing function (in the sense of explicitly marking the topic). The highlighted element is often a noun, but may also be a verb, an adjective, or any other part-of-speech (recall its use after a question word described in 6.2.4). Two further examples:

(260) **Viestur-i**   **to**   roksta   ū,
history-A   PTC   write:PRS:3   DEM:N.PL.M

kur-i   zamu   klonuos   var-ai,   a   na   taut-ai.
REL-N.PL.M   low-ADV   bow:PRS:3   power-D   PTC   NEG   people-D

'History is written by those who bow to the power, not to the people.' (OS)
("as to // speaking of history, it is written…")

(261) **Bēg-t**   **to**   man   nav   kur!
flee-I   PTC   1SG:D   NEG:be:PRS:3   where

'As to getting away, there is no place where to!' = 'There is no place I could
escape to' (with 'getting away' being the topic) (IS)

As mentioned above (6.2.2.3, 6.2.1.4), the existential verb or the copula 'be' may be
omitted in existential, possessive, and non-verbal clauses, and this seems to be more
often the case when a particle is used in the clause. In such clauses the particle *to* looks
like an element connecting subject and predicate, as in the following possessive clause
(another example was given in 6.2.1.4):

(262) **Saimineic-ai**   **to**   vuord-s   Roza.
farmer[FEM]-D   PTC   name-N   Roza

'The farmer (the farmer's wife) has the first name Rose' (context: The author
invents a reason why a homestead is called *Rožlejas* 'valley of roses', and her
idea is that the name is not motivated by the flowers, but by the farmer's name;
thus, *saimineicai* is an emphasized topic) (IS)

The particle *to* is also used clause-initially, referring to the content of the previous
clause and preparing a new statement on its base (approximate explicite English
translations are 'in this case', 'given this state of affairs').

(263) *A školuos latgaļu mieli i patīsu latgaliskū kulturviesturi navuica.*

To   ir   myusīm   sov-ys   taut-ys   var-a
PTC   be:PRS:3   we:D   RPO-G.SG.F   people-G   power-N

i   sov-ys   tautškol-ys   voi   nav?
and   RPO-G.SG.F   people-school-G.SG   or   NEG:be:PRS:3

'But neither the Latgalian language nor proper Latgalian cultural history are
taught in schools. **Now then**, do we have the power of the people and the
people's schools or not?' (OS)

The particle *to* is derived from the adverb *tod* 'then', but its functional development
has most probably been influenced by the homophonous particle *to* in Polish, Russian,
and Belarusian. It is certainly worth further investigation.

6.5 Represented speech in traditional narratives

In Latgalian traditional stories, dialogues between heroes often play an important role.
An example of such a typical dialogue is given in the first sample text in section 7. The
represented (constructed) speech of a character of a story may be distinguished from
the narration not only by prosody, or by using quotation marks in writing, but also by
grammatical means: the logophoric pronoun (see 4.4.1) and the use of participles
instead of the finite indicative verb-forms (see 5.3.4 and 5.4) as well as the use of the
infinitive instead of a finite imperative. These are traditional devices used for
"voicing", for distinguishing between the voice of a character and that of the narrator
(cf. Nau 2008), and at the same time to distinguish between a constructed speech act as
part of a story and a real speech act. The following example illustrates these
techniques:

(264) *Jis*   tiūleń   iz-liń   nu   zam   tyłt-a   i   klidz:
he   at.once   PFX-creep:PRS:3   from   under   bridge-G   and   shout:PR

   "Ajz-mokso-t szam,   a   ka   na,   to   **du-szkys**   sud-â!"
   PFX-pay-I   LOG:D.SG.M   PTC   if   NEG   PTC   give-FAP:SG.M   court-L

'At once he comes out from under the bridge and shouts: "Pay me
compensation, or else I'll take you to court!"' (UP)

In this example, the infinitive *aizmoksuot* 'to pay (compensation)' is used in the
function of an imperative and the future participle *dūškys* is used instead of the finite
indicative form of the verb 'to give'. The logophoric pronoun *šys* refers to the reported
speaker. Outside of a story, the speech act represented in (xx1) would have the
following form:

   Ajz-moksoj   **mań,**   a   ka   na,   to   **du-sz-u**   sud-â!
   PFX-pay:2SG   1SG:D   PTC   if   NEG   PTC   give-FUT:1SG   court-L

'Pay me compensation, or else I'll take you to court!'

While a represented speech act may also appear in an unmarked form like this, the
techniques described in this section are regular features of traditional narratives. The
participles used in this function are the "oblique" participles given in sections 5.3.4
and 5.4. They are used very frequently in the traditional fairytales that I have
investigated systematically (UP and Ko). The following example shows two rarer
variants of the oblique future participle:

(265) *tiejra-dam-a*   i   atrun   jej   tu   gradzyn-u   ziwi-aj   wadar-â:
clean-CV-SG.F   PTC   find:PRS:3   she   DEM:A.SG   ring-A   fish-D   belly-L

   "Ak,   itajd-s   szmuk-s   gradzyn-s!   **Iz-lik-szkiejtia**
   oh   such-N.SG.M   nice-N.SG.M   ring-N.SG   PFX-lay-FAP:SG.F

   iz   łaktieniś,   **byŭ-szkama**   szos   miejt-aj!"
   on   kerchief-G.SG   be-FAP(IDCL)   LOG:G.SG.F   daughter-D

'When gutting the fish she found the ring in its belly [and exclaimed]: "Oh, such a nice ring! I'll lay it on my kerchief, it will be for my daughter!" (UP)

The use of the infinitive instead of an imperative is not as frequent, but is attested in various sources. In general, forms marked for mood or modality (imperatives, subjunctives, and debitives) are used without limit in represented speech alongside the participles that stand for indicative forms.

(266) *A*   *jej*   *i-dud'*   *jam*   *kukl-is*   *i*   *soka*   *taj:*
     and   she   PFX-give:PRS:3   he:D   kokle-G   and   say:PRS:3   so

     "Ej   *i*   *śpiałaj,*   *da-i-szkys*   *wysur!"*
     go:IMP.2SG   and   play: IMP:2SG   PFX-go-FAP:SG.M   everywhere

     'And she gives him a kokle (= a music instrument) and says: "Go and play, and you'll get everywhere!"' (UP)

Future and past oblique participles are the most frequent, present participles are found only occasionally, for example:

(267) *sa-skriń*   *waln-i*   *i*   *wajcoj:*   *"Nu,*   *kô*   *tu*   **grib-ś?"**
     PFX-run:PRS:3   devil-PL   and   ask:PRS:3   PTC   wh:G   2SG   want-PA:SG.M

     "Szys   *tô*   **grib-ś,**   *kab*   *szô*   *sîw-a*   *[...]"*
     LOG:N.SG.M   DEM:G   want-PA:SG.M   that   LOG:G.M.SG   wife-N

     'the devil came running and asked: "What do you want?" "I want that my wife [...]"' (UP)

(268) *Nu,*   *i*   *iz-lejda*   *jis*   *nu*   *to*   *ciepl-a*   *i*   *soka*   *taj*
     PTC   PTC   PFX-creep:PST:3   he   from   DEM:G.M   oven-G   and   say:PRS:3   so

     iż   *tu*   *kalw-i [...]:*   *"Może*   **ass**   *ku*   *aś-t' i-dud'*   *szam?"*
     to   DEM:A   smith-A   maybe   be:PA:SG.M   WH:A   eat-I PFX-give:I   LOG:D.SG.M

     Kalw-s   *soka*   *na*   **ass,**   *sîw-a*   *wyss*
     smith-N   say:PRS:3   NEG   be:PA:SG.M   wife-N   always

     słym-a   *guł*   *i*   *ni-kam*   *iz-woriej-t'*
     sick-N.SG.F   lie:PRS:3   and   NEG-WH:D   PFX-cook-I

     'Well, he crept out of the oven and said to the smith: "Maybe there is something to eat that can be given to me?" The smith said there wasn't, his (my) wife is always lying around sick and there is nobody to cook [a meal]." (UP)

The second part of the above example also shows that there is no straightforward distinction between direct and indirect speech (while in the English translation we have to choose, for example, between "my wife" and "his wife" and adjust the tense form). The use of quotation marks may be taken as a criterion, but we often find characteristics of direct and indirect speech mixed in one sentence. In the following example, the lack of quotation marks and the presence of a complementizer are features of indirect speech, while the use of a vocative form, the second person

pronoun for the reported addressee, and the exclamation mark may be associated with direct speech.

(269) *jis*   *rakśtieja*   *taj,*   *ka*   *szam,*   *ciszi*   *griŭt-s,*   *diel-eń,*
     he   write:PST:3   so   that   LOG:D.SG.M   very   hard-N.SG.M   son-DIM:VOC

     a   *tieŭ*   *utra*   *cik*   *byŭs*   *griŭt-ok-s!*
     but   2SG:D   two.times   much   be:FUT:3   hard-COMP-N.SG.M

     literally: 'he wrote that for him (me) life was (is) very hard, sonny, but for you it will be two times harder!' (UP)

If reference to the reported speaker is taken as the criterion, three types of reported discourse may be distinguished (cf. Nau 2006), depending on whether the reported speaker is treated as being in the first person (as in English direct speech), as being in the third person (as in English indirect speech), or referred to by the logophoric pronoun. While respecting verbal agreement, the logophoric pronoun is treated as a third person, it is functionally closer to the first person. The reported addressee is most often treated as being in the second person:

(270) *i*   *nu-syŭta*   *jam*   *gromot-u,*   *ka*   **toŭ-aj**   *sîw-aj*
     and   PFX-send:PST:3   he:D   letter-A   that   2SGPOS-D.SG.F   wife-D

     na   *barn-s*   *pidzyms*   *ira,*   *bet*   *kucałan-s!*
     NEG   child-N   be.born:PAP:SG.M   be:PRS:3   but   pup-N

     'She sent him_i a letter [telling him] that his_i (literally: your) wife had born not a child, but a pup.' (UP)

The use of the techniques described here is largely confined to the representation of acts of communication (speaking or writing); only occasionally it is extended to the representation of thoughts. They may be tightly connected to the oral deliverance of a story and for this reason are hardly ever found in stories that were composed in writing.

7. Samples

The first sample represents traditional narrative fiction, told in a Latgalian subdialect before the standardization of Latgalian, transcribed by an ethnographer. The subdialect is that of Viļāni, a parish in Central Latgalia in the region of Rēzekne. The second sample represents contemporary Standard Latgalian (which is still in the process of being codified). The writer comes from Viļāni, too.

Sample1: From Ulanowska's collection of fairytales (UP), published in 1895.

The texts of this collection were written down using the writing system that was common in the 19th century. It is based on Polish orthography. Not that vowel length is not indicated and that <o> may indicate /ɔ/ as well as /uo/, while <i> is used as a marker of palatalization. For the interlinear translation I rewrote the text in current standard orthography, without changing the forms of the words. The dialect is very close to Standard Latgalian, only a few forms in this fragment differ from forms accepted for the standard variety. These are the reduced forms for the accusative plural: *pūr-s < pūr-us, mež-š < mež-us, maiseņ-č < maiseņ-us*.

Text in original orthography (fragment of the fairytale "Ap Zierniejti")

Nu, jaŭ niko dariejt, it jaŭ jis, it, it, cik wierstus porgoja, cik godu jis goja, – i mieższ porgoja, i purs i cik tiejrumu porgoja, - igoja jis, kur nawa nikajdu dzieraŭniu, ni mujżu, tik wina baźnijca, radź, ti stow', - a jis sadumoja tu, ka iszkys pi to baźnijckunga, stoszkys par kołpu iz gods. Igoja wydâ, a ti jaŭ baźnijckungs soka taj: "Stoj pi mania par kołpu!" – Jis soka taj: "Stoszkys jaŭ pi tiewa!" – "A cik ta tu moksys jimsi iz gods?" – "Szys dorgi na jimszkys nu tiewa, baźnijckungs!" – "Nu, cik tu jimsi nu szo?" – "A ku ta szys nu tiewa jimszkys? Ka atdziejwoszkys jaŭ godu, iszkys iz satu, tu mań pibiersi tu capuri naŭdys i winu majsieniu mań rudzu i utru miżu!" – A jis dumoj, tys baźnijckungs: "Kas itys ir mań pibiert' jam tus diŭ majsieńcz i tu naŭdys capuri?" – Nu, jis soka: "Łabi, szys tieŭ ajzmoksoszkys, tolki dziejwot' jaŭ!" – Jis i dastoja ti i dziejwoj [...]

Free translation

Well, nothing doing, he leaves and walks on and on. Many versts (miles) he measured, many years he walked, and he crossed forests and swamps and many fields. Then he came to a place where there was neither village nor manor, only, behold, a single church. And he figured he'll go to the priest and enter into service for a year. He went inside, and there the priest said at once: "Enter into service with me as a farmhand!" He said: "I'll do that!" – "But how much will you take as your pay for a year?" – "I won't take much from you, priest!" – "Well, how much then will you take from me?" – "Well, what shall I take from you? When I'll have finished the year, when I will go home, you will fill me this cap with money, and one little sack with rye and another one with barley!" – And he thinks, the priest: "What is that to me to fill him these two

little sacks, and the cap of money?" – So he says: "All right, I'll pay you, just start living here now!" – And he entered into service and started his life there.

Interlinear translation

(1) *Nu,   jau   ni-kuo   darei-t,*
    PTC   PTC   NEG-WH:G   do-I

(2) *īt   jau   jis,   īt,   īt,*
    go:PRS:3   PTC   he   go:PRS:3   go:PRS:3

(3) *cik   verst-us   puor-guoj-a,*
    how.much   verst-A.PL   PFX-go:PST-3

(4) *cik   god-u   jis   guoj-a, –*
    how.much   year-G.PL   he   go:PST-3

(5) *i   mež-š   puor-guoj-a   i   pūr-s*
    PTC   forest-A.PL   PFX-go:PST-3   PTC   swamp-A.PL

(6) *i   cik   teirum-u   puor-guoj-a, –*
    PTC   how.much   field-G.PL   PFX-go:PST-3

(7) *ī-guoj-a   jis,   kur   nava   ni-kaid-u   dzerauņ-u,*
    PFX-go:PST-3   he   where   NEG:be:PRS:3   NEG-which-G.PL   village-G.PL

(8) *ni   muiž-u,*
    NEG   manor-G.PL

(9) *tik   vīn-a   bazneic-a,   redz,   tī   stuov, –*
    only   one-N.SG.F   church-N.SG   see:PRS:2sg there   stand:PRS:3

(10) *a   jis   sa-dūmuoj-a   tū,*
     PTC   he   PFX-think(PST)-3   DEM:A.SG

(11) *ka   ī-šk-ys   pi   tuo   bazneic-kung-a,*
     that   go-FAP-SG.M   at   DEM:G.SG.M   church-lord-G.SG

(12) *stuo-šk-ys   par   kolp-u   iz   god-s.*
     enter-FAP-SG.M   for   farmhand-A.SG   on   year-G.SG

(13) *ī-guoj-a   vyd-ā,*
     PFX-go:PST-3   inside[NOUN]-L.SG

(14) *a   tī   jau   bazneic-kung-s   soka   tai:*
     PTC   there   PTC   church-lord-N.SG   say:PRS:3   so

(15) *„Stuoj   pi   man-e   par   kolp-u!" –*
     enter-IMP.2SG   at   1SG-G   for   farmhand-A.SG

(16) *Jis   soka   tai:*
     he   say:PRS:3   so

(17) *„Stuo-šk-ys   jau   pi   tev-e!" –*
     enter-FAP-SG.M   PTC   at   2SG-G

(18) „*A   cik   ta   tu   moks-ys   jim-s-i   iz   god-s?"* –
    PTC   how.much   PTC   2SG   pay[NOUN]-G.SG   take-FUT-2SG   on   year-N.SG

(19) „*Šys   duorg-i   na-jim-šk-ys   nu   tev-e,*
    LOG:SG.M   expensive-ADV   NEG-take-FAP-SG.M   from   2SG-G

(20) *bazneic-kung-s!"* –
    church-lord-N

(21) „*Nu,   cik   tu   jim-s-i   nu   šuo?"* –
    PTC   how.much   2SG   take-FUT-2SG   from   LOG:G.SG.M

(22) „*A   kū   ta   šys   nu   tev-e   jim-šk-ys?*
    PTC   WH:A   PTC   LOG:N.SG.M   from   2SG-G   take-FAP-SG.M

(23) *Ka   at-dzeivuo-šk-ys   jau   god-u,   ī-šk-ys   iz   sāt-u,*
    when   PFX-live-FAP-SG.M   PTC   year-A.SG   go-FAP-SG.M   to   home-A.SG

(24) *tu   maņ   pī-bier-s-i   tū   capur-i   naud-ys*
    2SG:N   1SG:D   PFX-pour-FUT-2SG   DEM:A.SG   cap-A.SG   money-A.SG

(25) *i   vīn-u   mais-eņ-u   maņ   rudz-u*
    PTC   one-A.SG   sack-DIM-A.SG   1SG:D   rye-G.PL

(26) *i   ūtr-u   mīž-u!"* –
    PTC   other-A.SG   barley-G.PL

(27) *A   jis   dūmoj,   tys   bazneic-kung-s:*
    PTC   he   think:PRS:3   DEM:N.SG.M   church-lord-N.SG

(28) „*Kas   itys   ir   maņ*
    WH:N   DEM:N.SG.M   be:PRS:3   1SG:D

(29) *pī-bēr-t   jam   tūs   div   mais-eņ-č*
    PFX-pour-I   he:D   DEM:A.PL.M   two   sack-DIM-A.PL

(30) *i   tū   naud-ys   capur-i?"* –
    PTC   DEM:A.SG   money-G.SG   cap-A.SG

(31) *Nu,   jis   soka:*
    PTC   he   say:PRS:3

(32) „*Lab-i,   šys   tev   aiz-moksuo-šk-ys,*
    good-ADV   LOG:N.SG.M   2SG:D   PFX-pay-FAP-SG.M

(33) *tolki   dzeivuo-t   jau!"* –
    just   live-I   PTC

(34) *Jis   i   da-stuoj-a   tī   i   dzeivoj*
    he   PTC   PFX-enter:PST-3   there   PTC   live:PRS:3

Sample 2: from Ilze Sperga's electronic diary

(In http://lv.wordpress.com/tag/wwwdienalv/ on 10/11/2008 at 00:22; also available at the portal www.lakuga.lv)

Comment: As in many other places in Central Europe, mushroom picking is very popular in Latgalia and a frequent topic of conversations.

Free translation

The first and the last mushrooms [of this year] – the chanterelles of July 18th and those of November 6th.

When, on July 19th, I met friends at the concert "Made in Latgalia" in Preili and told them that I had mushroom sauce the day before, they didn't believe me – are there [mushrooms] already [they asked]? Too early, isn't it? It was only St. John's day not so long ago, St. Peter's day. What mushrooms?

When on November 6th I went to Rēzekne for the broadcasting of "Latgalian language on television" on the Regional Television of Latgalia, again they didn't believe me. Mushrooms? In November? After the frost? Surely they are frozen and old. If not already poisonous….

Nothing doing. Such a winter and such a summer.

I wouldn't even have gone into the wood, but I read in the e-diary of a friend that mushrooms were on offer at the market of Vilāni. Then I couldn't leave the matter alone. I had to go and check.

And there they were. At the beginning it was like a shock, but then it became a challenge to look for them. It's so strange to walk through the November woods, where birds' voices are no longer to be heard, and let your eyes wander over the moss. In November that's untypical. In November the wood should be empty. It's the half-light that suits November, shades of grey, it's getting rid of everything superfluous – the advent of winter's lucidity.

Then I remembered what two Russians had said in a train on their way from Riga in summer. That there are a great many mushrooms this year. Plenty of mushrooms. That in years of famine, plenty of mushrooms grow. The active person gathers [mushrooms] and eats [them] in winter. Because mushrooms grow in the wood so that all the poor could eat their fill. God is not a small child – by one hand He takes away, but by the other He gives.

Interlinear translation

(1) *Pyrm-uos   i   pādej-uos   sieņ-s –*
    first-N.PL.F.DEF   and   last-N.PL.F.DEF   mushroom-N.PL

(2) *18. jul-a   gailin-is   i   6. novembr-a   gailin-is.*
    18th July-G   chanterelle-N.PL   and   6th November-G   chanterelle-N.PL

(3)   Kod   19. jul-ī   satyk-u   draug-us   Preiḷ-u   koncert-ā
      when   19th July-L   meet:PST-1SG   friend-A.PL   Preii-G   concert-L

(4)   "Taisei-t-s   Latgol-ā"   i   saciej-u,   ka   vakar   jau   iež-u
      make-PPP-SG.M   Latgalia-L   and   say:PST-1SG   that   yesterday   PTC   eat:PST-1SG

(5)   sien̦-u   mērc-i,   man̦   na-ticēj-a –
      mushroom-G.PL   sauce-A.SG   1SG:D   NEG-believ:PST-3

(6)   voi   ta   jau   as-ūš-ys.   Par   agr-i   tok.
      QU   PTC   PTC   be-PA-PL.F   for   early-ADV   PTC

(7)   Napasenim   tik   Juon̦a-dīn-a   cauri,   Pīter-dīn-a.
      not.long.ago   PTC   John:G-day-N.SG   through   Peter-day-N.SG

(8)   Kaid-ys   sien̦-s?
      which-N.PL.F   mushroom-N.PL

(9)   Kod   6. novembr-ī   aiz-brauč-u   iz   Rēzekn-i,
      when   6th November-L   PFX-ride:PST-1SG   to   Rēzekne-A

(10)   iz   raidiej-um-u   "Latgalīš-u   volūd-a   televizej-ā"
      to   show[VERB]-DER-A.SG   Lagalian-G.PL   language-N.SG   television-L.SG

(11)   Latgol-ys   Regional-ajā   televizej-ā,   man̦   otkon   na-ticēj-a.
      Latgalia-G   regional-L.SG.DEF   television-L   1SG:D   again   NEG-believe:PST-3

(12)   Sien̦-s?   Novembr-ī?   Piec   soln-u?
      mushroom-N.PL   November-L   after   frost-G.PL

(13)   Da   gon̦   jau   sa-sol-uš-ys   i   vac-ys.
      PTC   PTC   PTC   PFX-freeze-PAP-PL.F   and   OLD-N.PL.F

(14)   Ka   tik   vēḷ   na   in̦d-eig-ys...
      if   PTC   already   NEG   poison-DER-N.PL.F

(15)   A   kū   pa-darei-s-i.
      PTC   WH:A   PFX-do-FUT-2SG

(16)   Taid-a   zīm-a   i   taid-a   vosor-a.
      such-N.SG.F   winter-N.SG   and   such.N.SG.F   summer-N.SG

(17)   Na-byu-tu   ni-moz   iz   mež-u   guoj-us-e,
      NEG-be-SUB   NEG-little[ADV]   to   forest-A.SG   go:PST-PAP-SG.F

(18)   a   vīn-ys   pazin-is   e-dīn-ys-gruomot-ā   puor-skaitiej-u,
      but   one-G.SG.F   acquaintance-G.SG   e-day-G.SG-book-L   PFX-read:PST-1SG

(19)   ka   Viḷān-u   tierg-ā   var   nū-pierk-t   sien̦-s.
      that   Viḷāni-G   market-L.SG   can:PRS:3   PFX-buy-I   mushroom-A.PL

(20)   Tai   tū   līt-u   na-varēj-a   pa-mes-t.
      so   DEM:A.SG   matter-A.SG   NEG-can:PST-3   PFX-throw-I

(21)   Vajadzēj-a   ī-t   i   puorbaudē-t.
      must:PST-3   go-I   and   control-I

(22)   I   beja.
      and   be:PST-3

(23)   Nu   suok-um-a   šok-s,   a   tod   azart-s   meklē-t.
      from   begin[VERB]-DER-G.SG   shock-N.SG   but   then   exitement-N.SG   search-I

(24)   Ir   tik   jūc-eig-ai   ī-t   pa   novembr-a   mež-u,
      be:PRS:3   so   joke-DER-ADV   go-I   along   November-G   forest-A.SG

(25)   kur   vaira   na-skan̦   putyn-u   bols-i,
      where   more   NEG-sound:PRS:3   bird-G.PL   voice-N.PL

(26)   a   ar   ac-im   lais-t   pa   syun-u.
      and   with   eye-D.PL   let-I   over   moss-A.SG

(27)   Novembr-ī   tai   nav.
      November-L   so   NEG-be:PRS:3

(28)   Novembr-ī   mež-am   juo-byut   tukš-am.
      November-L   forest-D.SG   DEB-be   empty-D.SG.M

(29)   Novembr-am   pī-stuov   mikriesl-is,   palāk-ī   tūn-i
      November-D   PFX-stand:PRS:3   twilight-N.SG   grey-N.PL.M.DEF   hue-N.PL

(30)   i   at-sa-breiv-uo-šon-a   nu   līk-uo –
      and   PFX-RFX-free-DER-VN-N.SG   from   superfluos-G.SG.M.DEF

(31)   at-eim-ūš-a   zīm-ys   skaidr-eib-a.
      PFX-go-PA-N.SG.F.IDF   winter-G.SG   clear-DER-N.SG

(32)   Tod   es   at-guoduoj-u,   kū   vosor-ā   viḷcīn-ī   runuoj-a
      then   1SG   PFX-remember:PST-1SG   WH:A   summer-L   train-L   talk:PST-3

(33)   divej-i   krīv-i,   kas   brauc-e   nu   Reig-ys.
      two-N.M   Russian-N.PL   WH:N   ride:PST-3   from   Riga-G

(34)   Ka   itū-god   cīši   daudz   sien̦-u.
      that   this:A.SG-year   very   much   mushroom-G.PL

(35)   Oplom   daudz   sien̦-u.
      very   much   mushroom-G.PL

(36)   Ka   daudz   sien̦-u   ir   bod-a   god-ūs.
      that   much   mushroom-G.PL   be:PRS:3   hunger-G.SG   year-L.PL

(37)   Kur-s   čakl-s,   tys   pī-los-a
      REL-N.SG.M   active-N.SG.M   DEM:N.SG.M   PFX-gather:PRS-3

(38)   i   zīm-u   ād.
      and   winter-A.SG   eat:PRS:3

(39) *Par-tū*   *ka*   *sieŋ-s*   *aug*   *mež-ā,*
     for-DEM:A.SG   that   mushroom-N.PL grow:PRS:3   forest-L.SG

(40) *kab*   *vys-i*   *nabog-i*   *byu-tu*   *pa-ād-uš-i.*
     that   all-N.PL.M   poor-N.PL.M.IDF   be-SUB   PFX-eat-PAP-PL.M

(41) *Dīv-s*   *na*   *moz-ais*   *bārn-s –*
     God-N.SG   NEG small-N.SG.M.DEF   child-N.SG

(42) *ar*   *vīn-u*   *rūk-u*   *jem,*   *ar*   *ūtr-u*   *dūd.*
     with   one-A.SG   hand-A.SG   take:PRS:3   with   other-A.SG   give:PRS:3

8. Abbreviations used in interlinear translations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
A	accusative
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
COMP	comparative
CV	converb
D	dative
DEB	debitive
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative (pronoun)
DER	derivational suffix
DIM	diminutive
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
F	feminine
FAP	future active participle
FUT	future tense
G	genitive
IDCL	indeclinable
IDF	indefinite
IMP	imperative
I	infinitive
L	locative
LOG	logophoric pronoun
M	masculine
N	nominative
NEG	negation
PA	present active participle
PFX	prefix
PAP	past active participle
PFX	prefix
PL	plural
PP	present passive participle
PPP	past passive participle
PRS	present tense

PST	past tense
PTC	particle
QU	interrogative particle
REL	relative pronoun
RFX	reflexive
RPO	reflexive possessive pronoun
SG	singular
SUB	subjunctive
SUP	supine
V	vocative
VN	verbal noun (derivational suffix)
WH	interrogative pronoun 'who/what'

9. Sources

Bic = texts from Laura Bicāne's blog "dūmu pylni pogolmi", available at the portal www.lakuga.lv

IS = texts from Ilze Sperga's blog at www.naktineica.lv, also available at the portal www.lakuga.lv.

Ko = *Feimaņu draudzes pasakas. Tautas dziesmas un pasakas Rēzeknes novada Feimaņu un Silajāņu pagastā.* Pierakstījis Antons Kokalis. Sastādītājs Ojārs Spārītis. Rīga: Nacionālais apgāds, 2009.

KurS = "Kur sauleitei sāta", short story by Ilze Sperga published on her former website at http://saprge.wordpress.com

OS = texts written by Ontons Slišāns, published in a Latvian magazine (*Republika.lv*) and on the Internet, available at the portal www.lakuga.lv.

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Languages of the World/Materials

Latgalian is a regional language of Latvia in Central Europe, regularly used by an estimated number of 150,000 speakers. Genetically it belongs to the Eastern Baltic branch of Indo-European. While its close relationship to Latvian is apparent in basic vocabulary and inflectional morphemes, there are also significant differences in the phonology, morphology and syntax of the two languages, due to divergent development during the 17th - 19th c., when Latgalia was politically and culturally separated from other Latvian territories. Furthermore, contact with Slavic languages (Polish, Belarusian, Russian) has played an important role in the history of Latgalian.

Typologically salient features of Latgalian include morphophonological harmony with an opposition of back vs. front vowels and soft (palatalized or alveolar) vs. hard consonants, a large inventory of non-finite verb forms, genitive vs. accusative marking of direct objects, dative marking of primary core arguments in a variety of constructions, the use of non-finite predicates in represented speech, and the existence of a distinct logophoric pronoun referring to the speaker of a reported discourse.

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