Nicole Nau
(Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan)

To and fro between language and dialect –
Grammatical changes in Latgalian

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On the Border of Language and Dialect

Structure of this talk

- What is Latgalian?
- Case studies of changes
  - Logophoric pronouns
  - Object marking in negated clauses
  - Personal endings
- Conclusions

What is Latgalian and who speaks it?

- A regional language (officially: a variety of Latvian) in Eastern Latvia
- Developed separately from Low Latvian (politically separated 1629-1918)
- Today about 164000 speakers (census 2011)
- Writing tradition since the 18th c. (but…)
- Standardized orthography
- The status of Latgalian as a separate language (not as a dialect of Latvian) has always been a matter of discussion
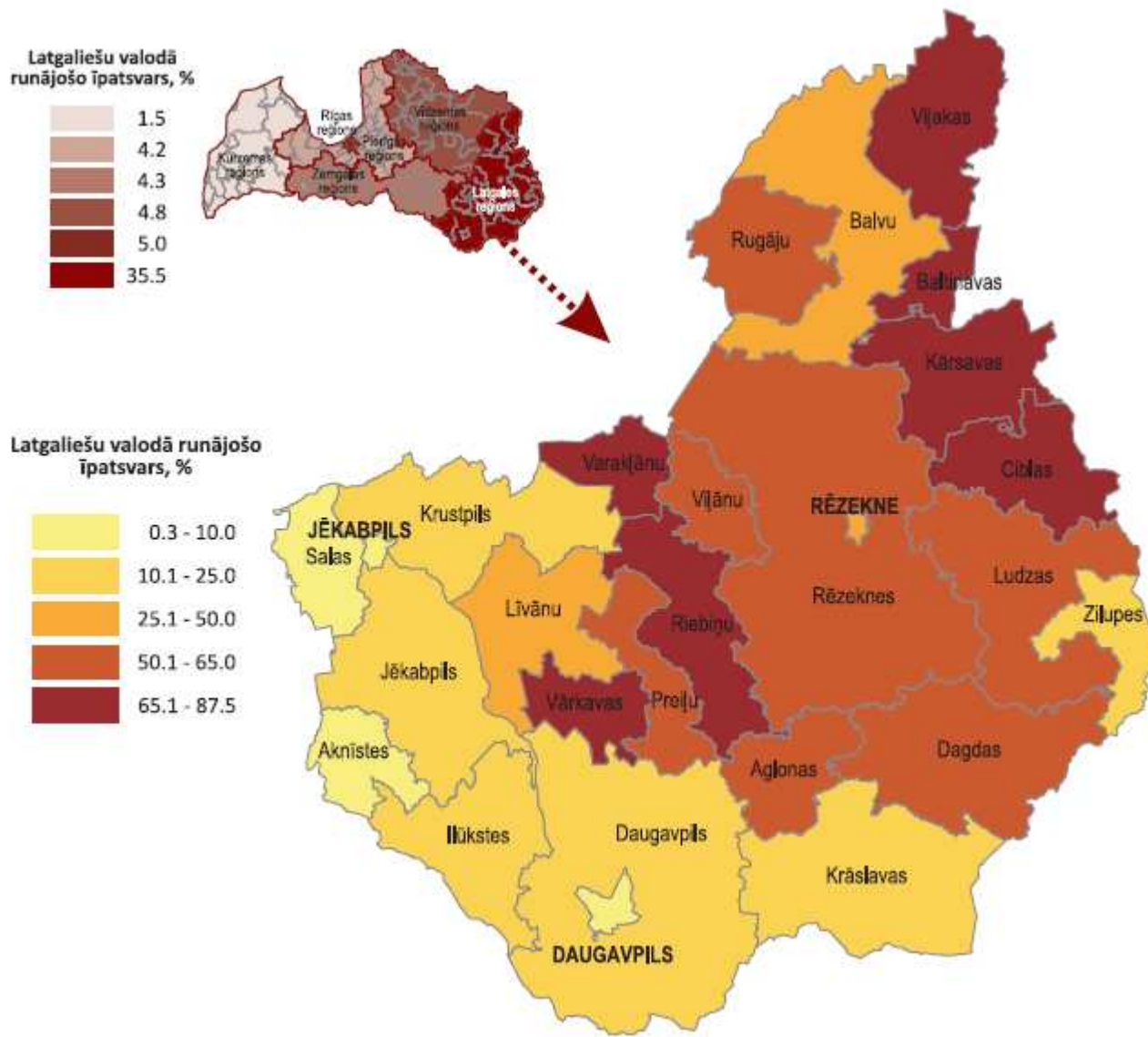
Baltic tribes
5th – 10th c.

Source:
Latvijas vēstures atlants.
Rīga: Jāņa sēta 1998

Latgalia (Latgola, Latgale)

Latgalian speakers according to the 2011 census

http://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/Latviesu/prese/2012/latgali_karte.pdf

Survey "Languages in Eastern Latvia"
(Šuplinska & Lazdiņa, eds. 2009)

	401. Which of these languages do you know?	1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405 Do you know… ? (y/n)	701. I regard myself as a speaker of … (1 answer)	205. I regard myself as a … (1 answer)
Latvian	90.9 %	96.9 %	42.3 %	40.7 %
Russian	93.5 %	98.3 %	34.4 %	25.9 %
Latgalian	**62.1 %**	**69.5 %**	**25.1 %**	**27.0 %**
Belarusian	7.2 %	8.0 %	0.2 %	3.5 %
Polish	5.2 %	7.0 %	0.3 %	1.5 %

	1102 I speak more easily	1101 I count in	1203 I pray at home in	412 I speak with the priest
Latvian	39.4 %	49.4 %	36.0 %	30.2 %
Russian	35.8 %	33.5 %	29.2 %	25.7 %
Latgalian	**25.5 %**	**18.6 %**	**40.7 %**	**30.3 %**
Belarusian	0.1 %	0.2 %	2.7 %	0.1 %
Polish	0.2 %	0.2 %	3.1 %	1.2 %

Sources for my research

- Traditional Latgalian, late 19th century: Ulanowska 1895 (fairy tales) (cf. http://inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/Text/1)

- Corpus of contemporary written Latgalian MuLa-1.0, about 1 million words, available through www.korpuss.lv

- Various contemporary texts, stories, blogs from known authors

Case study 1: logophoric ~ demonstrative pronoun

	Latgalian	**Latvian**
3rd 'he'	jis	viņš
DEM 'that'	tys	tas
DEM 'this'	itys	**šis**
LOGOPHORIC	**šys**	-

Pronouns in traditional spoken Latgalian (speaker Anna, born 1918) (Nau 2006)

(3) **tys** Broks₁, jā, **tys₁** cīš pordzeivuojs beja.
  DET Broks yes PRO very suffer:PAP:M.SG AUX:PST
  Jis₁ teice, ka **šys₁** grybiejs nūšautis
  PRO say:PST:3 COMP LOG want:PAP:M.SG shoot:INF:REFL
  'this Broks₁, well, **he₁** had really suffered. **He₁** said that **he₁** wanted to shoot himself'

(4) Tagad jis₁ suoka runuot, tys bruolāns₁, lai es
  now PRO start:PST:3 talk:INF DET cousin COMP 1sg
  precejūs ar jū₃.
  marry: PA:F.SG with PRO:ACC
  'Now he₁ started to say, this cousin₁, that I should marry him(not 1) [= the uncle]' (AA 55)

Logophoric pronouns in Finnish dialects (North Karelian; Kuiru 1984)

Polijärvi

(1) *se*   *(apteekkari)*   *sano*   *jotta*   *kyllä*
    PRO   (the pharmacist)   said   that   PTC

hiän   *suapi*   *tämän*   *paranemmaan.*
LOG   could   DEM.ACC   make.better

'He₁ (the pharmacist) said that he₁ could surely heal this.'

Liperi

(2) *ne*   *(ihmiset)*   *kirjuttivat jotta,*
    PRO.PL   (the people)   wrote   that

hyö   *on*   *ihan*   *terveitä*   *jo.*
LOG.PL   are   very   well   already

'They₁ (the people) wrote that they₁ were already very well.'

šys in the corpus MuLa-1.0

Overwhelmingly used as a demonstrative pronoun, a few examples for the logophoric function in fiction.

	NOM.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	DAT.SG.M
šys/šū/šam (logophoric)	161 (11)	346 (0)	133 (2)
itys/itū/itam	318	500	72

The pronoun šys in contemporary written Latgalian (examples from MuLa-1.0)

Demonstrative pronoun

- *dzeivōja reiz zāns, vōrdā Sergejs…Bet **šys zāns**, tagad jau pīaudzis, eksistej eistineibā*

  'there once lived a boy called Sergejs…. But **this boy**, who is grown up by now, really exists'

(almost) Logophoric pronoun (not obligatory)

- ***Jis** ir laimeigs, ka **šam** pasatruopeja breivdīna tymā dīnā, kod **juo** kolēgys nūsyuteja iz* [...]

  '**He** is happy that **he** is free the very day when **his** colleagues are sent to [...]'

Explanations for the change

- Logophoric pronouns are typically used in **spoken** language, oral narratives, not in **written** genres.

- The logophoric function is not **mentioned in grammars** or dictionaries, few people are aware of it.

- The pronoun *šys* has never completely lost its **demonstrative function**, it is found in Latgalian dialects in combinations such as *da **šuo** laika* 'up to **this** time'.

- However, the massive use of demonstrative *šys* instead of *itys* can only be explained by **Latvian influence**.

Case study 2: genitive of negation

Traditional Latgalian: Objects of transitive verbs are in the genitive when the clause is negated.
Examples from Nau (2014)

(6)   *može*   *jei*   *man-e*   *na-ap-jess*
maybe 3SG.F.NOM 1SG-GEN NEG-PFX-eat.FUT.3
'maybe she won't eat me' (UP)

(10)   *Na-saun*   *zvierbuḷ-a,*   *kas*   *vēḷ nav*
NEG-shoot.PRS.2SG sparrow-GEN.SG WH.NOM yet NEG.be.PRS.3
izparā-t-s.
PFX-hatch-PPP-NOM.SG.M
'Don't shoot a sparrow before it is hatched.' (KS)

Contemporary Latgalian: choice between genitive and accusative (data from MuLa-1.0)

verb	GEN	ACC	?
ēst 'eat'	4	**5**	
giut 'catch'	2	2	
jimt 'take'	14	**18**	3
moksuot 'pay'	3	**7**	
dareit 'do'	**12 (*8)**	7	1
redzēt 'see'	**70 (*14)**	26	9

*=nikuo

Examples from MuLa-1.0

(1) *Kundz-e na-ād   gal-i* —
lady-NOM NEG-eat.PRS.3   meat-**ACC**

toļkin duorzojus, pīnenes, vyrzu...

'The lady doesn't eat meat – only veggies,
dandelions, chickweed...'

(2) *Cylvāk-s   vaira   na-ād*
human-NOM.SG anymore   NEG-eat.PRS.3
***maiz-is*?**
bread-**GEN**

'People don't eat bread anymore?'

Accusative

(1) *bet tagad **tū** vairs nadoru*

'but now I don't do **that** anymore'

Genitive

(2) *Anna Rancāne **tuo**, prūtams, nadora*

'Anna Rancāne doesn't do **that**, of course'

Accusative

(3) *bārni naradz **ni** krīzi, **ni** bezdorbu*

'children don't see the crisis or the unemployment'

Genitive

(4) *jys naredzēja **ni** logiskys atškireibys, **ni** pretrunys nikur*

'he didn't see a logical difference or contradiction anywhere '

Explanations for the change

- Long-time tendency of giving up the genitive of negation in **Latvian dialects**, proceeding from west to east

  ? Latgalian dialects

- **Standard Latvian** – usually accusative, genitive possible with *nekas* ‚nothing' and emphatic negative particle *ne*

- Russian: optional, meaning difference (intensional reading: genitive)

  ? Latgalian (*redzēt*)

Case study 3: Personal endings

1PL present ending for verbs with mixed stems and infinitive in –ēt (originally short soft present stems)

- **-im** = ending for soft stems, **original** Latgalian (not in Latvian)

  mes varim, gribim, redzim

- **-om** = ending for hard stems in Latgalian (not in Latvian) + vowel alternation

  mes varom, grybom, radzom

- **-am** = ending for verbs of other stem types in Latgalian and for the corresponding verbs in **Latvian;** + vowel alternation (in Latgalian)

  mes varam, grybam, radzam

Data from MuLa-1.0

verb	-im	-om	-am
varēt 'be able'	87	19	92
gribēt 'want'	16	4	8
redzēt 'see'	15	0	10
ticēt 'believe'	1	0	2
turēt 'hold'	3	0	4
stuovēt 'stand'	3	2	13

Explanations for the change

- Not all speakers make a phonological (and morphophonological) distinction between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants.
- Palatalization is not marked in writing (*redzēt*).
- Soft present stems are given up. (?)
- *-am* is a «neutral» ending, compatible with both soft and hard stems
- *-am* is the only one of the three variants with a correspondence in Latvian

Language planning:
Descriptive grammars

- Logophoric pronouns – never adressed
  - Bukšs & Placinskis describe *šys* as a demonstrative pronoun
  - Cibuļs & Leikuma mention *šys* among the demonstrative pronouns, but give paradigms only for *itys*
- Genitive of negation – described as a rule (no exceptions mentioned)
- Personal endings with soft present stems:
  - Bukšs & Placinskis allow both *–im* and *–am*;
  - Cibuļs & Leikuma describe *–im* as the rule and mention other endings as dialectal variants
  - LPN 2009 gives only forms with *–im* as the correct variant

Conclusions: Main factors for grammatical changes

- Convergence with a Latvian model (all changes)
- Written vs. spoken language (logophoric pronouns; personal endings)
- Long-term tendencies in dialects (genitive of negation; personal endings)
- Phonological changes (personal endings)
- Standardization
- Speakers' awareness

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Thank you for your attention!

E-mail

Nicole.Nau@amu.edu.pl (or: naunicol@amu.edu.pl)

Homepage

www.naunicol-e.home.amu.edu.pl

Or find me on www.academia.edu