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Adverbial clause combining in Latgalian: Temporal, conditional, causal and concessive relations in spontaneous speech

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This paper investigates techniques of clause combining in spoken Latgalian, based on a corpus of 5 hours of recorded interviews with eleven speakers from different parts of Latgalia (Eastern Latvia). The study focuses on inter-clausal relations that are most typically expressed by adverbial clauses and in grammars of European languages are largely associated with adverbial subordinators such as English *when*, *if*, *because*, or *although*. In spoken Latgalian these relations are most often marked by a combination of lexical, grammatical and prosodic features. Patterns described in detail include asyndetic constructions with grammatical marking, clause chaining, clause combining with semantically vague or polysemous connectives, and correlative constructions. The study calls for a broad understanding of adverbial clause combining, without recourse to the problematic concept of subordination and without assuming the complex sentence as a syntactic or textual unit. Such an approach is needed to pay justice to the intricate structures of fluent speech.

Keywords: Latgalian, spoken discourse, clause combining, adverbial clauses, connectives, converbs, correlative constructions, temporal clauses, conditional clauses, causal clauses, concessive clauses

1. Introduction[1]

This study explores how clauses are combined and how certain semantic relations between clauses are expressed in spontaneous, fluent talk by speakers of Latgalian dialects. It focuses on temporal, conditional, causal, and concessive relations. ADVERBIAL CLAUSE COMBINING is used as a cover term that gets its meaning from the traditional understanding of adverbial clause, but will be defined in a broader sense. In (1) I give an example of the kind of structures under investigation.

[1] I am grateful to Bernhard Wälchli and three anonymous reviewers for very helpful comments and suggestions.

(1) NL_G1_SD (explaining the meaning of dreams)

(a) *pimāram* *ka* *es* (—) *pa* *↑Ūdeni*
example.DAT.SG CONN 1SG.NOM over water.ACC.SG
staigu;
walk.PRS.1SG
'for example, if I walk over water'

(b) (0.4)

(c) *ta* *nūteikti* <<laughing> *dzeršana* *būs.*
CONN surely drink.ACN.NOM.SG be.FUT.3
'then there surely will be drinking'

(d) *pa* *skaidru* *ūdeni.*>
over clear.ACC.SG water.ACC.SG
'over clear water'

Note that here and in all following examples ";" and "." are not punctuation marks as used in writing, but transcription symbols that mark slightly falling and falling pitch at the end of an intonation unit. Transcription symbols and abbreviations are listed at the end of this paper.

Adverbial clauses have been traditionally studied as part of complex sentences. This tradition is still noticeable in some recent typological research, for example, in Gast & Diessel's (2012) overview of clause linkage. The term "complex sentence" is however problematic when studying unplanned speech: the sentence as a textual unit, let alone a syntactic construction, is a unit of written texts, and the concept has been found inadequate for the description of the syntax of spontaneous spoken language (see Miller & Weinert 1998; Biber *et al.* 1999, 1066–1082; Givón 2001, 355). The extract given in (1) is a textual unit of spoken discourse which I will call a clause complex. It is characterized by thematic coherence—three parts together express one thought, and the noun phrase in (d) elaborates the simple noun in (a) semantically. The clauses in (a) and (b) are linked by the connectives *ka* and *ta*. The initial word *pīmaram* 'for example' is a preface not only for the clause in (a), but for the whole complex (using the term PREFACE here a bit more broadly than in Biber *et al.* 1999, 138; 1072–1076). A clause complex may be held together by prosodic means, but this is less evident in the given example, where the pitch contour of (c) may already be interpreted as terminal. In this paper I start with the individual clauses and study how they combine with others; clause complexes will be referred to at some points, but they are not the unit under analysis here.

It is generally acknowledged that the combination of clauses to larger units differs in unplanned spoken versus planned written registers of languages, especially languages with a considerable history of standardization. Yet linguists disagree when characterizing the nature of this difference. According to a widespread view, structures in spontaneous spoken language are less complex and intricate, and can often be described as "incomplete" when compared to elaborate written texts. This view was expressed by Wallace Chafe, one of the pioneers of spoken language research, in several publications of the 1980s (see also Miller & Weinert 199, 78–79). At the same time, the opposite view was put forward by M.A.K. Halliday, who maintains that spoken language has more intricate grammatical structures than written language (see especially Halliday [1987] 2002; for more on the controversy between Chafe and Halliday and evidence in favor of the latter see de Vries 1992). The units to which clauses are being combined in spontaneous speech, or, as Halliday puts it, in "un-self-monitored discourse", can be very complex and their on-line construction follows elaborate rules. These regularities cannot be seen when trying to describe these units after the model of written sentences, which are the result of planning and revising.

My aim in this paper is to describe clause combining in spoken Latgalian in its own right, not by contrasting it to complex sentences in writing. Many of my findings will probably also hold for written registers, as there are of course elements and constructions which appear in both modes. Spoken and written registers are not isolated from each other, especially in modern societies with rich and widespread literacy practices. Latgalian however is used primarily orally, while for writing its speakers commonly use other languages, most often Latvian.

One reason for the failure to see the intricacies of clause linkage in spontaneous spoken language is a neglect of prosodic features such as pitch contour, intensity and pauses, and/or a denial of any place in grammar for prosody (see Couper-Kuhlen 2015 for a short history of views on the relation between intonation and grammar). Since the 1990s, a growing number of studies on clause linkage in unplanned spoken language has provided us with important insights about the role of such features in distinguishing types of linked clauses, as well as about the emergent nature of clause-linkage patterns and their functions in discourse (see, among many others, Couper-Kuhlen 1996; Hopper & Thompson 2008; Mithun 2009; Laury & Ono 2014; contributions to the volume edited by Laury & Suzuki 2011 or the thematic issue edited by Ehmer & Barth-Weingarten 2016). Most of these studies are based on conversations, and they often focus on patterns of interactions between participants. My current study is different in that I chose a less interactive register and concentrate on monologic stretches:

sequences of utterances produced by one speaker who at that moment does not pay much attention to the listener's immediate reaction. While interactional approaches view language in use as produced by several, interacting participants, I focus on linguistic structure as it unfolds in undisturbed production by an individual. It is in these stretches that we can best see the complexity Halliday had in mind when writing:

> The complexity of spoken language is in its flow, the dynamic mobility whereby each figure provides a context for the next one, not only defining its point of departure but also setting the conventions by reference to which it is to be interpreted. (Halliday [1987] 2002, 363)

My main research questions are the following: How can adverbial clause combining be defined in a way suitable for constructions of spontaneous fluent speech? Which techniques and means are employed in adverbial clause combining in the investigated material? What are characteristic patterns of constructions, or how do different means (lexical, grammatical, prosodic) combine in constructions with a certain meaning? How do the investigated meanings arise, especially in constructions with a semantically vague connective or without a connective?

In Section 2, I will describe the data on which this study is based and the ways they were gathered and processed. Section 3 discusses the concepts of adverbial clause combining and presents criteria for detecting constructions that fall under this concept. The delimitation of the concept is especially problematic in constructions without a lexical marker (asyndetic constructions), and such constructions will be discussed in Section 4. In Section 5 I turn to what at least in Europe is the prototype of an adverbial clause, namely, clauses with a connective that may be translated as *when, if, because, although*, and in other ways. Another kind of connective will be discussed in Section 6: linking elements in the main clause, which may or may not correlate with a connective in the adverbial clause. In the concluding Section 7 I will sum up my findings and point out questions for further research.

2. Methods of data collection and presentation

For this research I used recordings of interviews from the collection made within the project *TriMCo Triangulation Approach for Modelling Convergence with a High Zoom-In Factor*,[2] or for short the "TriMCo corpus". I chose interviews

[2] The project was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and conducted at Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz in the years 2013–2017, by a team headed by Björn Wiemer; see http://www.trimco.uni-mainz.de/.

with 10 main speakers, of which 6 are female and 4 are male. In one of the recordings another male speaker (the son of the interviewee) takes part, so there are 11 speakers in sum. The total length of my selection is about 5 hours. The speakers belong to two generations: 5 speakers were born between 1928 and 1937 (G1), and 6 speakers were born between 1955 and 1965 (G2). They may further be grouped along geographical criteria which roughly correspond to dialect areas of Latgalian (cf. Rūķe 1939): Northern Latgalia (NL; 2 hours, 4 speakers from Viļaka and Baltinava), Eastern Central Latgalia (EL; 1 hour, 2 speakers from Melnava and Cibļa), and Southern Latgalia (SL; 2 hours, 5 speakers from Andrupene, Dagda, and Auleja). The speakers are coded here according to these criteria, for example SL-G1-VP for a speaker from Southern Latgalia born between 1928 and 1937, with VP the abbreviation used for this speaker in the TriMCo corpus.

For all these speakers Latgalian is a native language, acquired during childhood as a home language, though for the second generation it may not have been the main home language. Some speakers of the first generation did not pass on Latgalian to their children, who instead acquired it from their grandparents and other relatives and friends. All speakers have spent their childhood as well as most of their adult life in Latgalia, interrupted by some years in Riga or other places in Latvia, typically for (higher) education or first professional activities. Within Latgalia, they have lived within one region, moving only between neighboring parishes. All speakers are multilingual: for most of their life they have used Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian to varying degrees depending on the situation and the interlocutor. They had their primary and secondary education in Latvian, and those who continued to study received higher education in Latvian or Russian. The interviews were conducted between 2009 and 2014, either by researchers and students of Rēzekne Academy of Technologies during their annual folklore expeditions (8 interviews), or by a member of the TriMCo project (2 interviews). All interviewers spoke Latgalian. The interviews took place in a familiar environment, most often the speaker's home. The topics spoken about vary, but mostly they concern aspects of the speaker's life (childhood memories, life and traditions in the village, experiences in professional life). In addition to these common characteristics, the interviews also differ along several parameters, for example, the way of recording (only audio recording with a less intrusive small device vs. parallel video recording with a professional camera), the degree of familiarity between the participants (in one case the interviewer was the speaker's daughter, in other cases the participants were strangers, or knew each other from previous occasions), or the degree to which they use Latgalian outside of the circle of family and friends (two interviewees are cultural

activists, one writes plays in Latgalian). While such variables undoubtedly have an influence on language use, they will not be taken into account here.

All interviews in the TriMCo corpus have a time-aligned orthographic transcription made with ELAN. The Latgalian data were transcribed by several students and other young adults, all speakers of Latgalian. Prosody was not marked in the transcription; the transcribers used punctuation marks at liberty, mostly guided by the rules for written standard Latvian. No guidelines for the segmentation of the speech flow were given, and the transcriptions differ widely in this respect. Despite this and some other inconsistencies, these first transcriptions are very useful for working with the texts. To facilitate the search of words and morphemes I used Sketch Engine[3] to compile a corpus from the selected transcripts. This corpus contains 40,107 wordforms. As this number includes speaker labels and utterances made by interviewers, it is not well suited as reference point for statistical analyses of the studied expression means. I therefore always operate with absolute numbers and compare the frequency of occurrence of a word or morpheme (in an informal way) to that of other elements extracted in the same way, not to the total of wordforms in my corpus.

Collecting examples of clause combining I first used an onomasiological approach: I went through transcripts and recordings and extracted about 50 short samples (reaching from combinations of 2 clauses to paragraphs of up to 2 minutes) which included at least one temporal, conditional, causal, or concessive relation between clauses. Having determined the techniques which marked these relations, I then searched for more instances of the use of these expression means. In both steps I ignored utterances produced by an interviewer and focused on less interactive, more monologic parts of the interviews. This was an easy task, as most parts of the interviews are monologic in this way. The interviewees are privileged speakers who by default hold the floor, and there is little negotiation of turn taking, co-constructing of syntactic structures, or other phenomena typical for informal conversations. In terms of genre or discourse type, the extracted parts may belong to narratives or descriptions, or sometimes to instructions.

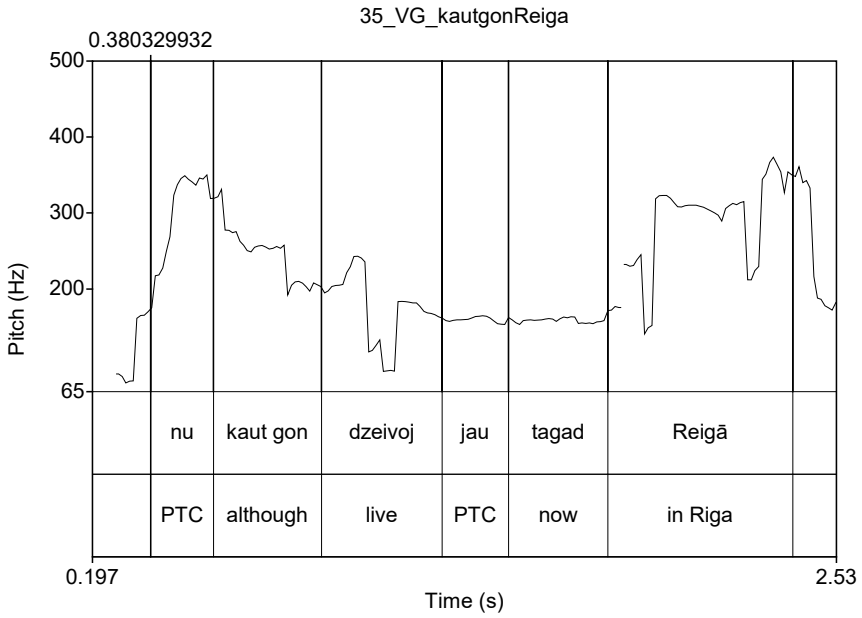
The extracts presented in this paper have been analyzed using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016) and prosodic features were added to the transcription. With respect to word forms I followed the first transcription, correcting only a few errors in spelling. Prosodic signals were notated based on the recommendations and conventions for the GAT2 system (Selting *et al.* 2009). Phrasal

[3] See https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/.

accents are marked according to the feature that in my impression was most salient, which could be loudness (marked by capital letters) or a step up in pitch (marked by the symbol ↑). The most attention was paid to prosodic border signals such as pauses, pitch contour and intensity at the end of an intonation unit. For the segmentation of the extract into lines (numbered alphabetically within one example) I combined syntactic and prosodic criteria (cf. Degand & Simon 2009 for a detailed account of defining units of spoken discourse in such a way). A clause is defined as a predicate with its arguments and non-clausal adverbials, while an intonation unit is defined by prosodic border signals, most often by final and initial pitch (Himmelmann 2006). Very often the borders of clauses and intonation units coincide, and what is presented as one line is both a syntactic and a prosodic unit. However, this is not always the case, and I reject Givón's view of clauses as "syntactic units packed under a single intonation contour" (Givón 2001, 357). Non-clausal units that are clearly separated prosodically also constitute one segment presented in its own line, such as *pa skaidru ūdeni* 'over clear water' in line (d) of example (1) above. If two clauses are combined without an audible border signal, they will also be presented in two lines, and the fact that these lines do not represent intonation units will be described in the text. The numbering of lines within examples is meant to enhance readability and facilitate reference to clauses, but does not imply a classification into segments of equal status.

Determining the final pitch of an intonation unit was not always easy. Some of the recordings contain background noise, which may influence the pitch contour drawn by Praat. Furthermore, Latgalian uses pitch accent on syllables as a phonological feature. The so-called "broken" accent has a rising-falling contour, which causes waves in the visualization that are not relevant for determining the phrasal intonation. For example, in the following visualization one sees the pitch fall and rise in the third word (*dzeivoj* 'live.PRS.3'), where the diphthong /eî/ has a broken accent, as well as at the end of the last word, caused by the broken accent of the final vowel /â/ (the locative ending).

Figure 1. Pitch contour of the clause in (35c)



For my purpose, the only relevant prosodic features in this extract are the final pitch of the intonation unit (rising, noted by ",") and the emphasis on the last word, bearing the phrasal accent, whose first syllable is louder and lengthened. Accordingly, it was transcribed in the following way:

(32c) EL_G2_VG

nu	*kaut gon*	*dzeivoj*	*jau*	*tagad*	*REI::gā*,
PTC	CONN	live.PRS.3	PTC	now	Riga.LOC.SG

'well although/even if they are now living in Riga'

All symbols used in the transcriptions are explained in a section at the end of this paper, before the references.

The spelling of individual words may show dialectal and individual variation. When I needed a citation form for words that have variants in my corpus, I chose the form given as the main form in the Lithuanian-Latvian-Latgalian dictionary (LLL).

3. Defining adverbial clause combining

Following the terminological distinctions made by many linguists with a functional-typological approach (for example, Lehmann 1988; Halliday 1994; Croft 2001), CLAUSE LINKAGE is a cover term for all kinds of constructions where clauses are linked together. By excluding constructions where a clause is embedded into another clause, either as a complement of the main predicate or as a modifier of one of its arguments, we arrive at the narrower term CLAUSE COMBINING, itself a cover term for various paratactic and hypotactic constructions, including ADVERBIAL CLAUSE COMBINING, or clause combining with an adverbial clause.

Adverbial clauses are generally understood as clauses that modify clauses or verb phrases (Hetterle 2015; Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007). Syntactically, adverbial clauses are often negatively defined: as neither complement nor relative clauses, or as dependent, but not embedded into another clause. Many linguists acknowledge that a straightforward distinction of adverbial clauses is problematic. For example, Diessel (2013) concludes:

> Adverbial clauses constitute a very heterogeneous class of subordinate clauses with fuzzy boundaries to coordinate sentences and other types of clause-linkage constructions (Diessel 2013, 342)

The concept of subordination, which is evoked in this quote, has been much discussed during the last 30 years (see especially Cristofaro 2003; 2014; for an early critique Haiman & Thompson 1984). There are various criteria that characterize subordinative vs. coordinative clause combining, such as flexible order of the two clauses, or the possibility to extract arguments. However, these criteria do not distinguish all adverbial clauses. The distinction seems especially problematic for spontaneous spoken language (cf. Miller 2006). For that reason, in some recent work subordination is no longer a necessary criterion in the definition of adverbial clause combining, but rather a graded concept, as in the following quote (which again uses the complex sentence as a reference point):

> adverbial clauses constitute a family of related constructions that vary as to the degree to which they are integrated into a complex sentence (Diessel & Hetterle 2011, 24).

In a similar vein, I will sometimes speak of structures being "more coordinative" or "more subordinative", with respect to individual criteria that have been discussed as distinguishing the two types of clause combining.

Members of the family of adverbial clauses may be defined by semantic criteria, much as this is done in traditional grammar, where temporal clauses,

conditional clauses, causal clauses and others are distinguished. Using a bottom-up approach, Hetterle arrives at the following definition of ADVERBIAL CLAUSE:

> Adverbial clauses are clausal entities that modify, in a very general sense, a verb phrase or main clause and explicitly express a particular conceptual-semantic concept such as simultaneity, anteriority, causality, conditionality, and the like. (Hetterle 2015, 2.3.2[4])

For Hetterle, the semantic criterion is necessary to distinguish adverbial clauses from the three traditional types of coordination (conjunction, disjunction, and adversative coordination), as well as from clause combining where the semantic relation between clauses is not explicit, though it can be inferred from the context. To the latter belong juxtaposed clauses without any marker (*She was cold—she went inside*) or with a semantically empty or vague linking morpheme, and probably also sentence relative clauses (*She went inside, which annoyed him*), which are not mentioned by Hetterle.

Hetterle's definition is well suited as a starting point for a typological investigation of adverbial clauses in languages with very different structures, including both standardized written varieties and varieties of spontaneous spoken language. It does not presuppose the sentence as a syntactic or textual unit and does not rely on the problematic concept of subordination. The category of adverbial clause as defined by Hetterle includes not only the finite adverbial clauses with a semantic subordinator that are listed in school grammars of European standard languages, but also a range of other constructions, where the semantic relation between clauses is expressed by non-lexical means: grammatical categories such as tense and mood, word order, or intonation.

In this study I used a range of cues when deciding whether a pair of clauses qualify as an instance of adverbial clause-combining. Like Hetterle, I started with the **semantic relation** between clauses. A useful list of such relations was compiled by Kortmann (1997) in his study of adverbial clauses in European languages. I will use Kortmann's terms with capital initials (for example, Simultaneity, Anteriority).

For Hetterle (2015), explicit semantic marking is a necessary feature of adverbial clauses. This requirement brings about the problem of distinguishing between semantically vague marking (which would be excluded) and polysemy of markers. The Latgalian converbs, which will be discussed in Section 4, and

[4] The electronic version of this book that I accessed through the library does not have page numbers, therefore reference is given to sections.

the connective *ka* 'that; when, if, because' etc., discussed in Section 5.2, can be analyzed in either way. Another problem is our insufficient knowledge about the role of intonation for marking a semantic relation. Existing studies usually analyze prosodic characteristics of constructions containing a connective, such as English *because* or *but*.[5] Thus it has been found that constructions with a certain type of connective may also have a certain typical intonation, but it is not clear whether prosody alone may mark a semantic relation, so that, for example, in constructions sharing the same lexical and grammatical marking conditional vs. temporal relations are distinguished by intonation.

While this remains an open question in this paper, **prosody** is doubtlessly important in clause combining. Prosodic patterns may have a crucial role in the emergence of complex structures, cf. Mithun's (2009) insightful paper on complementation and relativization in Mohawk. The complex sentence as a unit of standard written language is assumed to correspond to some kind of prosodic unit when read aloud, ending with a clearly falling or, in questions, clearly rising pitch contour, while within a sentence only slightly rising or falling pitch is supposed to occur at the end of clauses. In spontaneous speech, the prosodic unity of a clause complex is a tendency but not a strict rule, as a clause complex may be continued after a clause with clearly falling intonation (as in example 1) or may end in slightly rising, falling, or level intonation. There may also be pauses between clauses that are combined by lexical or grammatical means. In this study special attention is paid to prosodic integration of clauses that are not linked by a connective (Section 4) and to the prosodic integration of a connective into the preceding and the following stretch of speech.

Grammatical marking of clause combining may consist in the use of special verb forms (in my research converbs and participles), the use of verbal categories such as tense and mood, word order, and other means. Word order is not used to mark dependent clauses in Latgalian. Participles may also be used in independent clauses, and there is no tense or mood form that would be restricted to dependent clauses and thus be a clear marker of an adverbial clause. Rather, grammatical marking in adverbial clause combining is revealed in patterns of tense and mood marking in both the modifying and the modified clause; see example (2) below and the discussion in Section 4. Distinctions between finite and non-finite forms, or considerations of the grade of deranking of verb forms,

[5] See, for example, Chafe (1984) for pioneering thoughts about adverbial clauses in spoken and written English; Couper-Kuhlen (1996) for prosodically different types of English *because*-clauses; Karpiński (2006, 179–184) for the prosody of adversative, conditional, and justification clauses in Polish dialogues.

are of minor importance for the analysis. Rather than use such generalizations, I will name the individual forms that are used in constructions under discussion.

Finally, **function words** are obvious and easily-detected markers of clause combining and of particular semantic relations. In European standard languages, adverbial clauses are most often marked by an adverbial subordinator which expresses the semantic relation (English *if, because*, etc.). There is also a range of lexical items that appear in a main or independent clause (that is, a clause that does not modify another clause), such as English *however, therefore, then*. These words are traditionally classified as adverbs or particles. The umbrella term for different kinds of lexical markers of inter-clausal relations is CONNECTIVE (see, for example, Fabricius-Hansen 2000; Pander Maat & Sander 2006).[6]

Detecting adverbial clause combining in spontaneous spoken language is not a straightforward task, as none of the abovementioned cues is a sufficient or necessary criterion. Rather, lexical, grammatical and prosodic means are used together in various combinations, and they "conspire" in the marking of semantic relations between clauses.

With the following example I want to show how prosodic and grammatical criteria are used to decide about the status of a clause as adverbial clause.

(2) Speaker SL_G1_VP

(a) *i* *niKUO* *nasaslymu.*
and no_way NEG.fall_ill.PST.1SG
'and I never fell ill.'

(b) (2.4) ((interviewer starts a sentence which the speaker ignores))

(c) ↑*NUI* (0.7)
yes 'yes'

(d) *šņabeiti* *vysod* *izdzieru.*
schnapps.DIM.ACC.SG always PVB.drink.PST.1SG
'I always drank schnapps'

(e) (1.0)

(f) *nu* ↑*šņabja* *NAdziers*
PTC schnapps.GEN.SG NEG.drink.PST.PA.SG.M
'well, had (I) not drunk schnapps' / 'not having drunk schnapps'

(g) *byutu* ↑*seņ* *NŪmiers.*
be.IRR long_ago PVB.die.PST.PA.SG.M
'I would have died long ago.'

[6] Pander Maat & Sander (2006, 33) define connectives as "one-word items or fixed word combinations that express the relation between clauses, sentences, or utterances in the discourse of a particular speaker".

In this extract, two semantic relations between clauses can be noted: a causal relation between (a) and (d) and a conditional relation between (f) and (g). In the first instance, the two clauses are prosodically clearly separated: by a longer pause and by the fact that the intonation contour of (a) is clearly falling. The wider context shows that clause (a) is the coda of a paragraph where the speaker told about his hard work and that he had often wished to fall ill in order to be able to stay at home. With the exclamation in (c) the speaker starts a new thought. In both (a) and (d) the verb is in the simple past, a form which may be considered neutral with respect to clause combining. Therefore, despite the fact that (d) semantically modifies (a)—the regular drinking of schnapps is given as the reason for never falling ill—, (d) is not counted as an adverbial clause.

In contrast, clauses (e) and (f) are prosodically tightly integrated—there is no pause nor other border signal between them; they form one intonation unit. The semantic relation of counterfactual conditionality is explicitly marked by the use of irrealis in (f) following a clause where the predicate is a past participle.

While clauses which are linked only semantically but show no lexical, grammatical or prosodic marker of clause combining are thus excluded from the analysis, I do include some clauses which show an explicit marker but do not modify another clause or verb phrase, and thus do not meet the initial definition of adverbial clause. Such instances have lately been much discussed in the linguistic literature.[7] Suzuki and Thompson (2016) see this phenomenon as a challenge to the traditional definition of adverbial clause as 'a clause modifying a clause'. Analyzing the use of temporal, causal, and conditional clauses with explicit lexical markers in Japanese conversations, they find that these clauses also appear in patterns where they do not modify a clause. In my eyes, this is not a problem, as long as we accept that there could be two different understandings of ADVERBIAL CLAUSE: first, we define the category functionally ('a clause modifying a clause'), then we expand the use of the term to instances where a form typically fulfilling the defining function is used elsewhere. Such a situation is well known in linguistics with the category of relative clause. Relative clauses by definition are clauses modifying a noun or noun phrase, but clauses of this

[7] For constructions that formally resemble dependent (subordinate) clauses but are used independently (as "main clauses"), Evans (2007) introduced the cover term INSUBORDINATION. This term has become quite fashionable and has initiated a range of interesting research, especially on spoken varieties of languages (see, among others, contributions to Evans *et al.* 2016). However, I am hesitant to use it, as it presupposes the primacy of complex constructions: the independent use of a pattern is claimed to be both historically and synchronically secondary, derived or derivable from its dependent use. This is a very strong claim for which I do not find any evidence in my data. See also Traugott (2017) for a critique of insubordination as degrammaticalization.

type are often also found in other functions and the term is expanded accordingly (as in FREE RELATIVE, SENTENCE RELATIVE) without changing the initial definition. In the same way we could deal (and I will do so) with adverbial clauses that do not modify a clause. We may speak of FREE or INDEPENDENT ADVERBIAL CLAUSES with reference to those that do not modify any other linguistic unit (for example, the conditional clauses in Finnish and Swedish analyzed by Laury, Lindholm & Lindström 2013). Analyzing spoken language, one should be aware that sameness of form only regards lexical and grammatical form, while prosodically constructions may differ in different uses. For example, Elvira-García, Roseano & Fernández-Planas (2017) show prosodic differences in Spanish conditional clauses in their dependent and independent use.

4. Asyndetic clause combining: Which clauses are adverbial clauses?

As described above, grammatical marking on the verb and prosodic marking within and between intonation units can give certain cues for the interpretation of the relation between two clauses even in the absence of a lexical connective. They are however seldom completely specific with respect to the semantic relation between the clauses (cf. Hetterle 2015, Section 3.51). If explicit semantics is a defining feature of adverbial clauses, one may consider to what degree asyndetic constructions fulfill this criterion.

In this section I will discuss converb clauses, clauses with a past active participle and clauses with finite verbs.

4.1 Converbs

Latgalian has two dedicated converbs for simultaneous actions, both historically derived from present participles. One contains the morph *-dam-*, attached to the infinitive stem of a verb and followed by agreement markers for gender and number. The other converb is marked by the ending *-ūt*, which is attached to the present stem and does not have agreement markers. The markers have cognates in Latvian, but their use and range of functions differs slightly in the two languages. In Latgalian, the *dam*-converb is more usual than the *ūt*-converb (at least in traditional variants which are less influenced by Standard Latvian). It is often used for purely temporal relations ('while'), as well as for expressing Manner, Instrument, and Concomitance. The *ūt*-converb is used mainly for temporal relations. This situation is reflected in my sample. The *dam*-converb is used

slightly more often, by more speakers and with more different lexical verbs, while the *ūt*-converb is used by fewer speakers, all of the second generation, and with a lexical preference: 3 out of 6 verbs (4 of 8 tokens) contain the stem *brauk-* 'go by transport' (tokens: *braucūt* (2x), *atbraucūt* 'arriving by transport', *ībraucūt* 'entering by transport'). Forms with other verbs are only used by one speaker. The exact figures are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Converbs used in the investigated material (11 speakers)

	tokens	verbs	speakers	comment
-dam-	13	11	7 (2 G1, 5 G2)	
-ūt	8	6	3 (G2)	1 speaker produced 5 tokens

With a sum of 21 occurrences, clause combining with converbs is well attested in the investigated material, but it is decidedly less frequent than other means of clause combining (especially the connective *ka* discussed in Section 5.2). With respect to the semantic relations expressed, prosodic patterns and word order, the 21 instances are heterogeneous, and the number of tokens is too small to draw generalizations. The following three examples show a part of the variation found. The converb clause may appear before or after the main clause, or interrupt it as a parenthesis, usually after the subject. Examples (3) and (4) show parenthesis. In extract (3) both clauses are within one intonation unit, while in extract (4) the converb clause forms a separate intonation unit ending in slightly rising pitch. In both examples the semantic relation is temporal: Simultaneity Overlap in (3) and Simultaneity Duration in (4), in the terminology of Kortmann (1997).

(3) EL_G2_VG

bet	*tod*	*BRAUc-**ūt***	*pa celi*	*es*	*saceju,*
but	then	go-CVB	away	1SG.NOM	say.PST.1SG

'but then, **going** away (= when leaving), I said'

(4) EL_G2_VG

(a)

i	*vot*	*es*	*↑TYmā*	*DĪnā;*
and	PTC	1SG.NOM	DEM.LOC.SG	day.LOC.SG

'and so I, on that day'

(b)

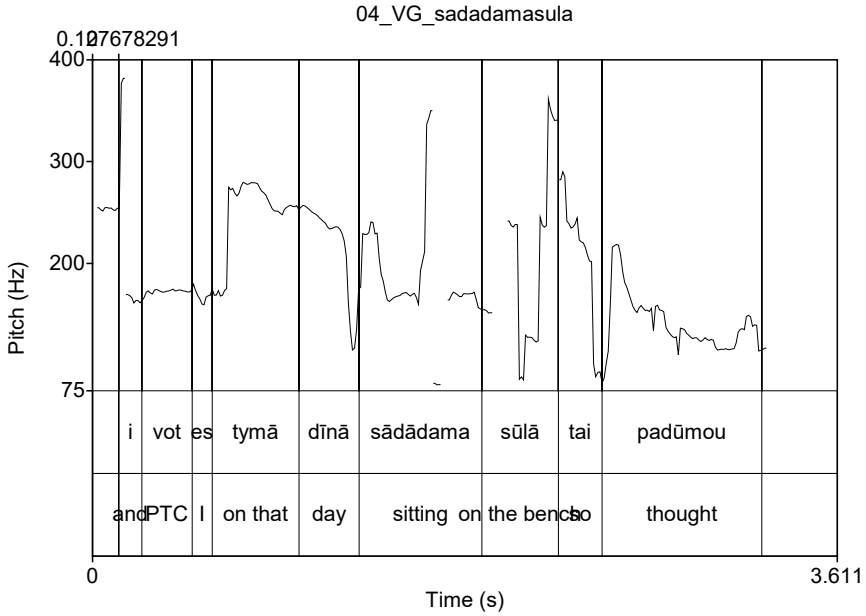
*sādā-**dam**-a*	*↑sūlā,*
sit-CVB-SG.F	bench.LOC.SG

'**sitting** on my bench (in class)'

(c) *tai* *padūmou.*
so PVB.think.PST.1SG
'thought that way'

The pitch contour of extract (4) drawn by Praat is given in Figure 2. It shows clearly the rise at the end of the converb clause and the falling pitch at the end of (4c), which is the end of the clause complex and the end of a paragraph.

Figure 2. Pitch contour of extract (4)



In example (5) the converb clause follows the main clause as a kind of afterthought. The main clause ends in slightly falling pitch followed by a short pause. The semantic relation is one of Manner rather than purely temporal.

(5) SL_G1_VL3 (enacting the speech of her father-in-law, a builder)
(a) *ar* *↑TRA::Ktori* *tik* *zemis* *nikas*
with tractor.ACC.SG so earth.GEN.SG no_one.NOM
nav *↑PUORracs* *kā* *as*;
NEG.be.PST.3 PVB.dig.PST.PA.SG.M as 1SG.NOM
'nobody has dug over with a tractor as much earth as I (did)'

(b) (0.3)
(c) *TAIsie-**dam**-s* *fundamentus*;
make-CVB-SG.M foundation.ACC.PL
'**making** the foundations'

4.2 Past active participle

There is no dedicated converb for anteriority in Latgalian. Instead, the past active participle can be used in this function. There are not many examples in my sample (they cannot be found automatically), and the degree of prosodic integration with the environment varies. Nevertheless, I will argue that there are two different patterns.

In the first pattern, the clause with the participle behaves in the same way as the converb clauses described in Section 4.1: it may precede, follow, or interrupt the main clause and be pronounced as a more or less separate unit. In the following example, the main clause subject contained in (a), the participle clause (c), and the rest of the main clause (g) are in three different intonation units. This is the same pattern as in example (4) above, though a bit obscured by pauses, hesitations and additions. The semantic relation is Anteriority. The participle clause provides backgrounded information.

(6) EL_G2_JK (for the full clause complex see 29 below)
(a) *nu* *myusu* (0.6) ↑*SAIMINĪKI*,
PTC 1PL.GEN farmer.NOM.PL
'well, our farmers'
(b) (0.3)
(c) ***puordavuši*** (0.6) *sovu* *ražu* *tī—*
sell.PST.PA.PL.M RPOSS.ACC.SG harvest.ACC.SG here
'**having sold** their harvest here'
(d) *voi* *tī* ↑*syvānus*;
or PTC piglet.ACC.PL
'or piglets'
(e) ((filled pause for 1.7))
(f) *apriņķa* *centrā* *ludzā*;
district.GEN.SG center.LOC.SG Ludza.LOC.SG
'in the district center Ludza'
(g) *brauce* *uz* ↑*SĀTU*,
go.PST.3 to home.ACC.SG
'were driving home'

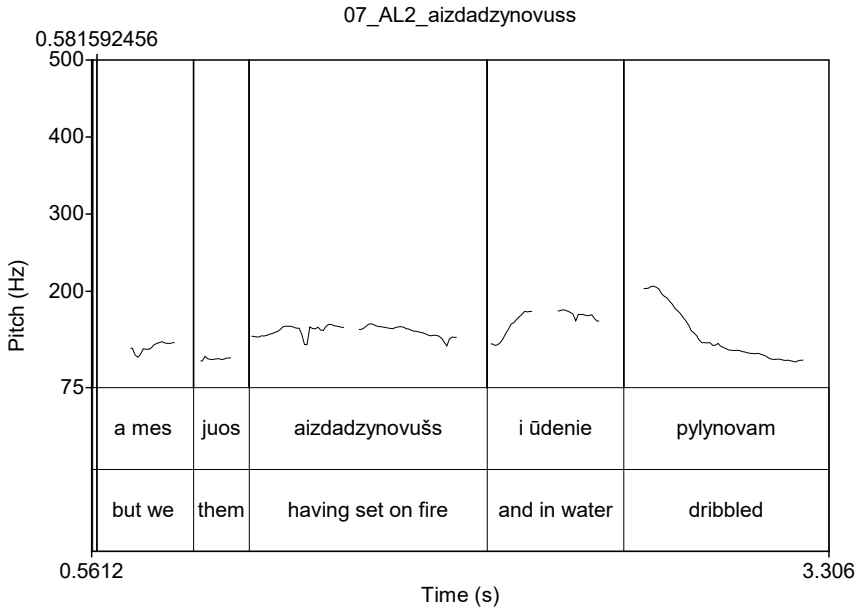
The second pattern is a construction which shows characteristics associated with coordination, not subordination: the clause with the participle can only precede the other clause, the information it provides is on the same level (not backgrounded), and the shared subject is not separated by intonation. In extract (7), the participle clause has no prosodic border signal, that is, the whole construction is expressed in one intonation unit.

(7) NL_G2_AL2[8]

(a)	*a*	*mes*	*juos*	***AIZ-dadz-yn-ov-ušs***
	PTC	1PL.NOM	3.ACC.PL.F	PVB-burn-CAUS-PST-PA.PL
(b)	*i*	*↑ūdenie*	*↑pyl-yn-ov-am.*	
	PTC	water.LOC.SG	dribble-CAUS-PST-1PL	

'and we set them on fire and dribbled (it) into the water' (bottles with washing powder)

Figure 3. Pitch contour of extract (7)[9]



[8] The preceding utterance established the complex discourse referent 'bottles with washing powder', of which one part is the formal antecedent of the pronoun ('bottles' = PL.F) and another part the logical object of the two verbs (it was the powder that was burned and dribbled).

[9] The gap at the end of the word *aizdadzynovušs* is provoked by the consonant [ʃ:]. There is no pause between this word and the following.

This construction can be regarded as an example of clause-chaining.[10] It is similar to the type listed as "the simple participial equi-subject chain" by Givón (2001, 357), the first and most simple subtype of clause-chaining of the SOV type.[11] Latgalian is a basically SVO language with a considerable amount of freedom in word order. In example (7) we see both predicates at the end of the clause. Another difference to clause-chaining with participles in English is the use of the word *i* at the beginning of the second clause, which in Latgalian functions as a focus particle and as a coordinative conjunction ('and'). In the above example it can be interpreted as the conjunction, adding to the coordinative character of the construction. The free translation 'we set on fire and dribbled' is more adequate than 'having set on fire, we dribbled'. In Latgalian, the past active participle signals anteriority, but not subordination. A coordinative conjunction is not possible in English clause-chaining (**Having set them on fire and we dribbled*). The pattern is rare in modern Latgalian (in my current sample the above is the only example of this kind), but it is well attested in folktales collected at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as in (8).

(8) From the fairytale collection by Kokalis (Spārītis 2009)

(a) *Rogonys* *miaita* ***nūgōjusia*** *uz*
witch.GEN.SG daughter.NOM.SG PVB.go.PST.PA.SG.F to
pērti
bathhouse.ACC.SG

(b) ***i*** *raud* *narošņai.*
PTC cry.PRS.3 bitterly
'The witch's daughter went to the bathhouse and cried bitterly.'

The distinction between the first and the second pattern of clause combining with the past active participle is not always as neat as in the above examples. There may be a continuum between subordinated and coordinated participle clauses. More research with a larger corpus of spoken Latgalian is needed to decide this point.

Both patterns meet the criterion of explicit marking of a certain semantic relation (Anteriority), but are the participle clauses in both instances adverbial clauses? Hetterle (2015) explicitly (though without argumentation) excluded clause-chaining from her study of adverbial clauses, but included "semantically

[10] As defined in Myhill & Hibiya (1988, 363): "Clause-chaining will here be defined as the use of non-finite forms not headed by a conjunction with temporal or circumstantial meaning."

[11] Givón (2001: 357) nevertheless illustrates this type with data from English, a SVO language.

specific cosubordinate clauses, and coordinate constructions if they code typical adverbial relations between clauses" (Hetterle 2015, 2.4.2). The Latgalian pattern in (7) and (8) may be described as a semantically specific coordinative participle construction, and I consider it as an instance of adverbial clause combining.

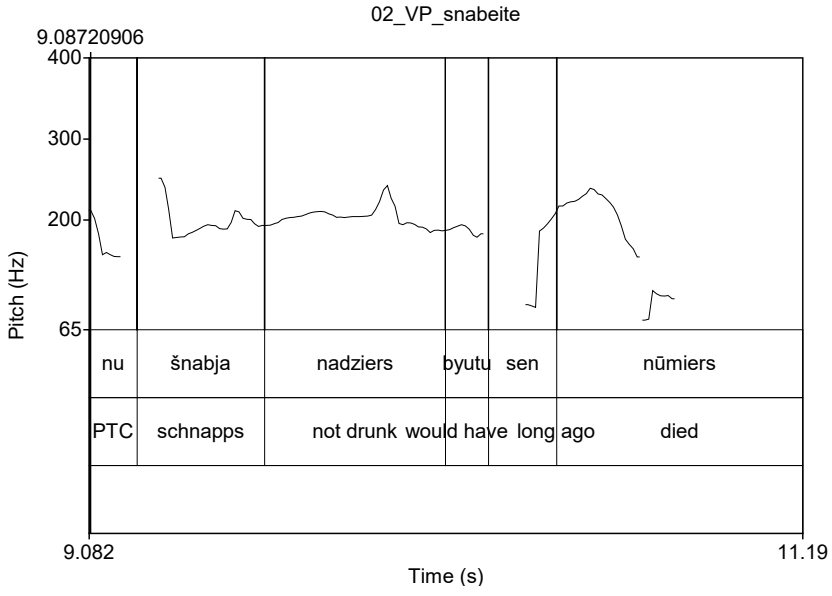
Another pattern with the past active participle is in imaginative (counterfactual) conditional clauses. As already remarked above when discussing extract (2), the cues for the interpretation of the construction are spread over both clauses. In the clause expressing the protasis (= the adverbial clause), explicit markers are the participle as the form of the predicate without an auxiliary and the negation, while the clause expressing the apodosis (= the main clause) contains the irrealis form of the auxiliary 'be', which cannot be omitted, and the past active participle of the main verb.

(9) SL_G1_VP (= lines (f) and (g) of example 2 above)

a. *nu* *↑šņabja* *nadziers*
PTC schnapps.GEN.SG NEG.drink.PST.PA.SG.M
'well, had (I) not drunk schnapps'

b. *byutu* *↑seņ* *NŪmiers.*
be.IRR long_ago PVB.die.PST.PA.SG.M
'I would have died long ago.'

Figure 4. Pitch contour of extract (9)



Comparing this construction with the two anteriority constructions, we find that it resembles the second, coordinated, more than the first pattern. Again, both clauses are within one intonation unit and the participle clause precedes the main clause. The order is probably fixed (more research needed).

The Latgalian past active participle is not a typical nonfinite form:[12] it contains tense and subject agreement markers (number and gender), and a clause with this verb form as the predicate may express an independent proposition about a past action. Only in the combination with another clause does the participle become a marker of an adverbial clause. In the next section I will turn to forms which are still "more finite" (marked for tense and person) and discuss whether clauses with these forms also may become adverbial clauses within a pattern.

4.3 Finite clauses

Asyndetic juxtaposition of formally independent clauses was not considered as adverbial clause combining in Hetterle's (2015) study. If a semantic relation is a matter of inference alone (usually based on implicature), the combination does not meet the criterion of explicit semantic marking. An example was shown in extract (2) above ('I never fell ill. I always drank schnapps', implicature: 'I never fell ill because I always drank schnapps'). However, there are some patterns of the use of tense and mood that seem to conventionally signal certain semantic relations.

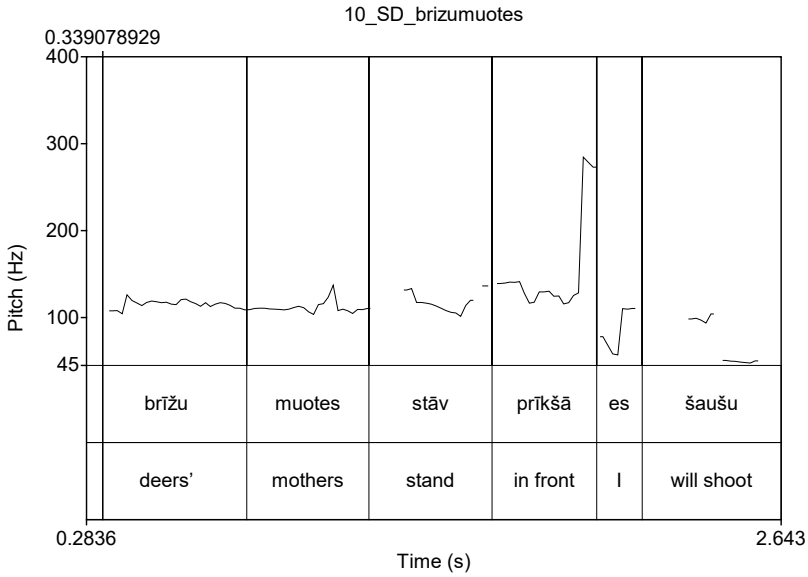
The speaker of the following example speaks about his attitude towards shooting animals and reports a situation where he had joined a hunting party but was unable to shoot the game. He concludes with a general remark, saying that he prefers to watch wild animals, not shoot them. Then he adds the following.

(10) NL_G1_SD

(a)	*brīžu*	*muotes*	*stav*	*PRĪKšā,*
	deer.GEN.PL	mother.NOM.PL	stand.PRS.3	front.LOC.SG
	'does stand in front (of me)'			
(b)	*es*	*šau-š-u.*		
	1SG.NOM	shoot-FUT-1SG		
	'I will shoot'			

[12] See Givón (2001, 341) on general considerations of finiteness and integration of participle clauses.

Figure 5. Pitch contour of extract (10)



The two clauses in (10) form separate intonation units, the first ending with a rising pitch that makes the listener expect a continuation, and the second with a falling pitch which marks an endpoint. In the first clause the verb is in present tense and the second clause it is in future tense. This difference in tense form is not motivated by a difference of reference to absolute time: both events are set in an imagined world. Instead, this is a pattern typically found in conditional clauses: 'if p (PRS) then q (FUT)'. Thus, the combination of the two clauses may be freely translated as 'If does are standing in front of me I will shoot'. The intonation and the context make it clear that this situation is inconceivable for the speaker, and a pragmatically more adequate translation may be one using pseudo-coordination ('Does are in front of me and I will shoot'). In any case the first clause may be understood as modifying the second clause by presenting an imagined situation—a condition. I consider the pattern as semantically specific and the grammatical marking as a conventional way of marking conditional clauses. Thus, the construction qualifies as adverbial clause combining in a broad sense, although the clause in (10b) considered in isolation does not show any marker of adverbial clauses.

Another example of the use of future tense in a second clause is the following. The interviewer had asked the speaker about recommendations for beekeeping: how best to approach the bees and what to avoid. The speaker

responds with a list of conditions, varying the syntactic construction (with and without an explicit 'if'). The clause preceding the example ended with falling intonation.

(11) NL_G1_SD

(a) *uz* *↑POHmelim* *ar* *naej* *kluot—*
on hangover.DAT.PL also NEG.go.2SG near
'don't approach (the bees) with a hangover'

(b) (0.4)

(c) *tevi* *sakūss* <<laughing> *uzreiz.*>
2SG.ACC PVB.bite.FUT(3) at_once
'(they) will bite you up at once'
'Don't approach them with a hangover [or/because] you will be bitten up at once.'

Again, the final intonation of the first clause makes the listener expect a continuation, while the end of the second clause signals the end of the clause complex. However, the semantic relation between the two clauses is less clear than in the previous example, and the pause between the clauses make them less integrated.

4.4 Summary of the findings

The constructions discussed in this section are compared in Table 2. The potential adverbial clause is referred to as the modifying clause (MOD), the clause it modifies as main clause (MAIN).

Table 2. "Adverbial" types of asyndetic clause combining

Construction (Examples)	Semantic relation	TAM marking	Order of clauses	Prosodic integration
Converbs (3, 4, 5)	Simultaneity, Manner, other	CVB — PST, CVB — PRS	flexible	variable
Past active participle I (6)	Anteriority	PST.PA — PST	flexible?	variable
Past active participle II (7, 8)	Anteriority	PST.PA — PST	MOD — MAIN	tight

Participle + Irrealis (9)	Counter-factuality	PST.PA — IRR	MOD — MAIN	tight
Finite conditional (10)	Predictive conditional	PRS — FUT	MOD — MAIN	variable?

Each of these constructions may be included into the class of adverbial clause combining in the broadest sense, where the criteria are explicit marking of certain semantic relations and subordination is not a necessary criterion. They differ from the "prototype" (adverbial subordination with a semantically specific connective) in various ways.

Anteriority constructions with the past active participle are semantically specific and have clear grammatical marking in the modifying clause. With the first type, flexible word order may be possible; there are some examples in written Latgalian, though in the overwhelming majority the participle clause precedes the main clause, which is iconic in a relation of anteriority and therefore most natural.

Clauses with a dedicated converb are semantically less specific, but more clearly marked as syntactically dependent. A possible thesis that has to be investigated empirically on a larger basis is that for this reason converb clauses may be more easily separated prosodically (especially by pauses) from the modified clause than the other types. For simultaneous events there is no iconic order, which is reflected in the flexible order of converb clause and main clause.

The asyndetic "finite conditional" constructions differ from all the others in that the modifying clause does not have any grammatical marking that can be associated with its role as a modifying clause. Only in the combination with a following clause with future tense (maybe also imperative) is it interpreted as the protasis of a conditional relation. Therefore the order of the clauses is fixed and they have to be adjacent. Prosodic marking can contribute to interpreting the two clauses as a clause complex: this is the case in extract (10), with a slightly rising contour of the first clause and no other border signal than pitch between the clauses, while in example (11) the two clauses are separated by a pause, which gives the first clause a more independent interpretation.

5. Lexical markers in the adverbial clause

In traditional descriptive grammars, adverbial clauses are understood as finite clauses with a semantically specific subordinator. In this section I will analyze temporal, conditional, causal and concessive clauses which contain a connective, but it will be a matter of discussion whether these connectives are subordinators and whether they are semantically specific. After giving an overview of these connectives in Section 5.1, I will discuss in detail constructions with a semantically non-specific connective used in temporal, conditional and causal relations (5.2). Section 5.3 presents other connectives in temporal and conditional clauses, and Section 5.4 discusses questions of word order in these constructions. Causal and concessive constructions are discussed in Section 5.5, and Section 5.6 sums up the findings.

5.1 Overview of forms

In Latgalian, as in many other languages, we find simple (monomorphemic) markers and morphologically complex markers, the latter consisting of more than one word. In general, complex markers are semantically more specific, while simple markers are often (though not always) polysemous. In the following tables I list the connectives found in the investigated material in temporal, conditional, causal, or concessive adverbial clauses. Connectives with more than one use are listed in all respective rows.[13]

Table 3. Simple connectives for the investigated relations

relation	connective (variants in brackets)
temporal	*ka* 'when'
	kai (*kei, kuo, kā*) 'when', 'as', 'as soon as'
	kod 'when'
	cikam, kamer (*komer*, *kamēr*) 'as long as', 'until', 'while'
conditional	*ka* 'if'
	ja, *jesli* 'if'

[13] The connectives *ka* and *kai* have further uses that are not indicated in the table. Both function also as complementizers; *ka* is the unmarked complementizer (comparable to English that) used with all kinds of predicates.

causal	*jo* (*juo, jū*) 'for, because'
	ka 'because, since'
	kai 'as'
concessive	*lai* (?) — used as 'although, even if' by one speaker
	kod (?) — used as 'although' by one speaker

The simple connectives *lai* and *kod* are each used only once in concessive clauses, and it is unclear whether this use is lexicalized. Usually concessive meaning requires the addition of a particle (*lai gon, kod i* 'although'; see Table 4 below).

Most of the simple connectives are derived from an inherited pronominal root (**k-* or **j-*), and most are shared with Latvian and Lithuanian. The only simple connective with inherited material not used in Modern Standard Latvian is *cikom* 'until, as long as, while', but its cognate is found in Old Latvian texts. The connectives *jesli* 'if' is borrowed from Slavic and is used in my sample only by one speaker from Eastern Latgalia.

Table 4. Complex connectives for the investigated relations

relation	connective
temporal	*piec tam ka, piec tam kai* 'after'
	tod kod 'when'
conditional	—
causal	*partū ka, deļtuo ka(m)* 'because, for'
	par cik 'since'
	tai kai 'as, since'
concessive	*kaut gon, lai gon* 'although'
	lai i, lai jou 'although, even if'
	kod i 'although, even if'

The complex connectives are less frequent than the simple connectives in my data. None is used by all speakers and some are used by only one or two speakers in my sample.[14]

Complex connectives are formed along the following patterns:

- preposition + demonstrative + simple connective: *piec tam* 'after that' + *ka* or *kai*; *dieļ tuo* or *par tū* 'for that' + *ka* or *kam*;[15]

[14] Of course, as my sample includes only about half an hour of recording per speaker, we may by no means conclude that a connective that does not appear in this recording is not used by the speaker in general.

[15] The word *kam* (originally the dative of *kas* 'what, who') is used as a simple causal connective 'because, for' in Latgalian, but not in my sample.

- demonstrative adverb and corresponding question word (which is also used as simple connective): *tai kai* 'so + how', *tod kod* 'then + when';
- combination of particles, or of a simple connective with a particle: all concessive connectives.

The connective *par cik* 'for + how much' is assumed to be a calque from Russian *поскольку*.

5.2 The subordinator *ka*

The most frequent connective in my sample is *ka*, which is used in different types of clause linkage. There are 566 tokens of the word *ka* in my corpus, which makes it number five of the most frequent words. In about half of its occurrences *ka* is used as a complementizer, for example *zynu ka* 'I know that', *esu dzierdiejis ka* 'I have heard that', *žāl ka* '(I am) sorry / '(it is) a pity that'. Of the rest, I filtered out utterances made by the interviewer, repetitions of *ka* (for example in hesitations), fixed combinations such as the complex connectives, and some unclear uses. I further left aside result clauses ('so that', mostly introduced by the combination *tai ka*, but sometimes by *ka* alone), purpose clauses, constructions expressing extent (of the type *she was so hungry that…*), and clauses modifying a noun (all temporal, as in English *the moment (when) I saw you*). This resulted in 142 adverbial clauses for further analysis. The overwhelming majority express either a temporal or a conditional relation, and often it is not easy to decide which of these meanings is focused. Only in 6 occurrences did I identify a causal relation.

In the temporal meaning the adverbial clause may name a situation or event to indicate the time when the event of the main clause took place. In Kortmann's (1997) classification, the relation is usually Simultaneity overlap ('when'), but sometimes it is rather Simultaneity duration ('while') or Immediate anteriority ('as soon as'). Most often past tense is used in both clauses. The adverbial clause more often precedes the modified clause but may also follow it, as in the following example.

(12) NL_G2_AL

(a) *tuodu* *katlini* *tīši* *es* *īraudzeju*
such.ACC.SG pot.DIM.ACC.SG just 1SG.NOM see.PST.1SG
↑*KRĪ:vejā;*
Russia.LOC.SG
'I saw exactly such a pot in Russia'

(b) ***ka*** *bejam* *ekskursejā* *kaut* *kur* *tī*
CONN be.PST.1PL tour.LOC.SG some where PTC
Novgorodas *apgabalā.*
Novgorod.GEN.SG district.LOC.SG
'when we were on a guided tour somewhere in Novgorod district'

The meaning described above is similar to that of the German adverbial subordinator *als* in temporal clauses, but in my Latgalian sample *ka* alone is not used in relations of (non-immediate) Anteriority ('after'). This meaning requires additional lexical material, such as *pēc tam* 'after that' or the borrowed expression *pa tom* 'afterwards'. The combination of *pēc tam* and *ka* is discussed below in Section 5.3.

Adverbial clauses with *ka* are also used to express the regular, repeated cooccurrence of events (Contingency, 'whenever'). This meaning is close to a conditional relation and in many examples I found it difficult to decide whether the relation was to be classed as temporal or conditional (cf. Auer 2000 for the same problem with German *wenn*-clauses). When both clauses are in past tense, as in the following example, the temporal meaning often dominates.

(13) SL_G1_VL3
(a) ***ka*** *↑LATVĪšim* *leldine;*
CONN Latvian.DAT.PL Easter.NOM.SG
'when Latvians had Easter (holidays)'
(b) *KRĪVI* *nastruodova* *tože* *tuos* *dīnys.*
Russian.NOM.PL NEG.work.PST.3 also DEM.ACC.PL.F day.ACC.PL
'Russians, too, did not work those days'
(c) *i* ***ka*** *krīvim* *leldinis* *bea,* (0.2)
and CONN Russians.DAT.PL Easter.NOM.PL be.PST.3
'and when Russians had Easter (holidays)'
(d) *LATvīši* <<quietly> *tože* *nastruodova.>*
Latvian.NOM.PL also NEG.work.PST.3
'Latvians did not work as well'

If the verbs in the *ka*-clause and in the modified clause show different tense/mood marking, the construction expresses a condition rather than a temporal relation. The following combinations were found in constructions with real or predictive conditional, that is, expressing a condition which is depicted as possible (*ka*-clause — main clause): PRS — FUT, PST — FUT, PST — PRS, or PST/PRS

— IMPERATIVE. Examples are the extract in (1), where the conditional clause is in present tense and the main clause has future marking, and (28) with past tense in the conditional clause and imperative in the main clause. Another option, found four times in my sample, is to mark the *ka*-clause as non-factual by using future tense, irrespective of the tense in the main clause (in my sample present, past, or future).

Imaginative conditional constructions with *ka* were found only 5 times in my sample. They are marked by the irrealis mood. The following two examples show that the same structure (*ka* + simple irrealis[16]) is used in hypothetical and in counterfactual conditional clauses. These two meanings are here differentiated by the form of the main clause predicate: simple irrealis in ex. (14) (hypothetical) and simple past in (15) (counterfactual). However, this may be a coincidence: from other texts we know that irrealis is commonly used in the main clause of counterfactual constructions as well; see Nau (2011, 99–101) on conditional clauses with examples from written Latgalian.

(14) SL_G2_AL3

(a) *nu* *vot* ***ka*** *tuos* *↑kamerys* *nabyutu*;
PTC PTC CONN DEM.GEN.SG.F camera.GEN.SG NEG.be.IRR
'well, if there wasn't this camera'

(b) *t-* *tai* *pastuosteitu.* ((laughs))
so tell.IRR
'then I would tell [these stories]'

(15) SL_G1_VL. Context: the interviewer asked whether the speaker went dancing in her youth

(a) *ņā.* 'no'

(b) *maņ* *mama* *SLYmova* *↑cīš.*
1SG.DAT mom.NOM.SG be_ill.PST.3 very
'my mother was very ill'

(c) (0.5)

(d) *i* *as* *struodovu,*
and 1SG.NOM work.PST.1SG
'and I was working'

(e) (0.3)

[16] "Simple irrealis" as in the given examples, opposed to a "compound irrealis" with an auxiliary in the irrealis mood and the main verb as past active participle.

(f) *puorejī* *četri* *muocējās*,
other.NOM.PL.M.DEF four.NOM.PL.M study.PST.3
'the other four (= my brothers and sisters) went to school'

(g) *i* ***ka*** *as* *naspātu* *↑struoduot—*
and CONN 1SG.NOM NEG.be_able.IRR work.INF
'and if I could not work' = 'if I had not been able to work'

(h) *VYSS*! ((speaker smacks her hand on the table)) (0.7)
all.NOM.SG.M 'that's it!'

(i) *jim* *vajadzēja* *↑muoceibys* *puortraukt*;
3.DAT.PL.M be_necessary.PST.3 education.ACC.PL interrupt.INF
'they had to (= would have had to) interrupt their education'

The six *ka*-clauses in my sample that express a causal meaning were produced by speakers from Southern Latgalia. Four of these clauses follow the modified clause (as in extract 16) and two precede it (ex. 17 after a non-continued start of a main clause; the other example for preceding causal *ka*-clause is given in 40 in Section 6).

(16) SL_G1_VP, context: occasions when my father made beer

(a) *agruok* *beja* *↑RODU* *daudz.*
earlier be.PST.3 relative.GEN.PL a_lot
'in earlier times one had a lot of relatives'

(b) ((interviewer: *mhm*))

(c) (0.3)

(d) *i* *↑pībrauc—*
and PVB.go.PRS.3
'and they came visiting'

(e) ***ka*** *ondrupenī* *daudz* *↑tiergu* *beja*; (2.0)
CONN PN.LOC a_lot market.GEN.PL be.PST.3
'**because** a lot of markets were [held] in Ondrupeni'

(17) SL_G1_FS; context: we didn't talk Latgalian to our children

(a) *jā* *i*, (0.4)
yes and 'yes and'

(b) *jī* *yy—*
3.NOM.PL.M HES 'they'

(c) *vai* *nu* ***ka*** *↑POGOLmā* *daudz* *bie* *↑krīvu*
PTC PTC CONN courtyard.LOC.SG a_lot be.PST.3 Russian

bārnu,
child.GEN.PL
'maybe **because** there were many Russian children in the courtyard'

(d) (0.4)

(e) *krīviski* *īsavuicie* *jī*,
Russian PVB.RFL.learn.PST.3 3.NOM.PL.M
'they acquired Russian'

(f) (0.7)

(g) *lobuok* *kai* *kai* ((laughs)) <<laughing> *kai* *latgaliski*>>
better than than than Latgalian
'better than Latgalian'

Given that constructions with the connective *ka* may express different temporal, conditional and causal relations, as well as a range of other relations beyond the scope of this paper, the question arises which meaning or meanings are encoded in the connective. Is it a polysemous marker which does mean 'when' as well as 'if' and 'because'? Does it have one core meaning, and other meanings are derived by pragmatic inference? Or is it semantically vague or even empty, and the interpretation of the relation between clauses is based on other cues? From the material investigated I tentatively conclude that the last mentioned scenario is the most convincing. By using *ka* in clause combining the speaker indicates that the clause with this connective in some way modifies another clause, but leaves open the nature of this relation. If both clauses express an event going on in time ('my brother bought a car') or states which are bounded in time ('I was a child', 'we lived on a farm'), the default interpretation is temporal cooccurrence: the two events are simultaneous, there is partial overlap, or one immediately follows the other. If one of the events or states is non-factive (predicted or imagined), a conditional relation arises. This is often marked on the verb in one or both clauses by future tense, imperative or irrealis mood. A causal interpretation in turn arises when the *ka*-clause expresses a fact which is not going on in time. In examples (16) and (17), the *ka*-clause contains a quantification,[17] which is a hint that the speaker is talking about a general fact. Without the quantifier, example (16) could also have a temporal reading ('they came visiting when markets were held', while ?'they came visiting when markets were held often' is not felicitous).

[17] Though formally the quantifier relates to a noun phrase, it is really a situation that is quantified. This is most clear in (16): 'there were many markets held' = 'markets were held often'. Likewise in (17) a recurrent situation of Russian children playing in the courtyard is evoked, not a single situation where there were many children.

The order of the clauses may be an additional cue. As shown in this section, an adverbial clause with *ka* may precede or follow the clause it modifies. This flexibility distinguishes the construction from typical coordination with a conjunction 'and', which may have the same possibilities of semantic interpretation. In addition, there is a clear preference for the first position in conditional constructions and with the temporal meanings of Contingency (regular cooccurrence) and Immediate Anteriority. The first position is also preferred with other temporal meanings, but to a lesser extent (Simultaneity Overlap and Simultaneity Duration). With a causal meaning, on the other hand, there is a preference for the adverbial clause to follow the main clause (4 out of 6 tokens). However, the number of tokens is too small to make generalizations.

I did not find prosodic differences associated with the different meanings discussed here; maybe such differences will show up in a more thorough phonetic analysis. What I did find are prosodic differences between *ka* in temporal, conditional and causal constructions and *ka* as a complementizer. In the examples I analyzed, the adverbial clause with *ka* was a separate intonation unit. It did not fuse prosodically with a preceding main clause when that clause was completed (for inserted adverbial clauses see Section 5.4), and the border to a following main clause was clearly marked by pitch. I did not find an example where the adverbial connective *ka* prosodically was treated as part of the previous clause and separated from the clause it introduced by a pause. This finding may be important, as I encountered exactly such a situation in constructions with *ka* as a complementizer. The following extract is the introduction to the represented ("enacted") speech in extract (5) above. The complementizer *ka* forms a prosodic unit with the complement-taking predicate 'say' and there is a clear border to the following stretch of speech, which represents the content of the complement.

(18) SL_G1_VL3 (talking about her father in law)

(a) *zam* *↑NUOvis* (-) *munam* *veiram*
under death.GEN.SG my.DAT.SG.M husband.DAT.SG
PAscie *ka.*
say.PST.3 CONN
'when he was dying he told my husband that'

(b) ((breath intake 0.8))

(c) *↑dēleņ*!
sonny.VOC

(d) (0.35) [followed by extract (5) above]

While this may be a rather extreme example of separating a complement from a complementizer, I found the phenomenon in weaker form several times in my sample with complements other than represented speech. Whether this reflects a general difference between *ka* as a complementizer and *ka* as an adverbial subordinator will be investigated in a future study.

5.3 Other connectives in temporal and conditional clauses

In conditional clauses, connectives other than *ka* are used only by individual speakers. The connective *ja* is used by three speakers (of which one produced it only once) in a total of 13 clauses. As *ja* is the common word for 'if' in Standard Latvian, this may be a case of interference or code-mixing; for example, one of the speakers used it three times (of six) in a report of a conversation with a school director, which probably was conducted in Standard Latvian. *Ja* instead of *ka* for 'if' is also used several times by interviewers for whom Latvian is the dominant language. The connective *jesli* 'if', borrowed from Slavic (probably Russian), is used one time by one speaker from Eastern Latgalia. I did not investigate constructions with *ja* or *jesli* further.

For temporal relations, two further simple connectives are common, *kai* and *kod*. The first one is used by all speakers in the form *kai* and additionally in its regional variants *kei* (Eastern Latgalian), *kuo* (Northern Latgalian) and as *kā* (Southern Latgalian, also Standard Latvian). The word has many functions, which for the largest part are related to manner. Most frequently it is found in comparisons expressing '(such) as', 'like' as well as 'than' (for example, in 17g); other uses are as the question word 'how' and as a complementizer (for example, with perception verbs). The total number of tokens of all variants (*kai, kei, kuo, kā*) in my corpus is 474,[18] of which only 28 were identified by me as introducing a temporal, conditional or causal clause in the speech of the interviewees. In half of these instances there is a correlating element in the main clause (13 times *tai*, 1 time *tod* 'then' and 1 time *tūreiz* 'at that time'). Correlative constructions will be discussed in Section 6 below.

Constructions with *kai* most often express (immediate) anteriority (as in extract 16) and may invite a causal interpretation as inference: the situation expressed in the second clause is interpreted as brought about by the immediately preceding event expressed in the first clause.

[18] This figure comprises all occurrences of *kai*, *kei* and *kā* and 15 occurrences of *kuo* (occurrences where *kuo* was the genitive of the pronoun *kas* 'who, what' were filtered out).

(19) NL_G2_AL2

(a) *mes* ***kuo*** *↑liecem;*
1PL.NOM CONN jump.PST.1PL
'when/as soon as we jumped' (= with the sleigh over a rock)

(b) (0.5)

(c) *ROgovas* *salyuza;*
sleigh.NOM.PL PVB.break.PST.3
'the sleigh broke'

While in the majority of my examples past tense is used (20 of 28 extracts), present and future tense occur when the speaker refers to a regular sequence of two events or situations, thus, a relation of Contingency. As mentioned above, this relation is close to a conditional relation, but with *kai* as connective the temporal sequence is still focused and often additionally marked by adverbs such as *iz reizes* 'at once' as in example (20). There are no examples of imaginative conditionals with *kai*.

(20) NL_G2_AL

(a) ***kuo*** *cyuku* *↑nūkausi;*
CONN pig.ACC.SG slaughter.FUT.2SG
'when/if you slaughter a pig'

(b) ***tuo*** ***iz*** ***reizes*** *yy* *KUOpustu* *ZUpu*
CORR at time.GEN.SG HES cabbage.GEN.PL soup.ACC
ar *abadu.*
with abada.ACC.SG
'then at once [you have] cabbage soup with *abada* (freshly butchered meat)'

A *kai*-clause may also express a causal relation not based on temporal cooccurrence. In one example a speaker reports how he opposed the parish authorities who were planning construction work on the site of a prehistoric graveyard. He justifies his defense of the cultural heritage with his belonging to the place.

(21) EL_G2_JK (representing his own speech)

(a) *i* *es*::—
and 1SG.NOM
'and I'

(b) ***kai*** *NUOku* *nu* *itys* *VĪtys* *es-*
CONN come.PRS.1SG from DEM.GEN.SG.F place.GEN.SG 1SG.NOM
'as I come from this place I'
(c) (0.4)
(d) *stuovu* *pret* *TŪ* *ka* *te*
stand.PRS.1SG against DEM.ACC.SG COMPL here
kaut kas *NŪtiks*;
something.NOM happen.FUT.3
'object to anything happening here.'

The meaning of causal 'as' is also expressed by the complex connective *tai kai*, which has no temporal meaning. The combination *tai kai* is used mostly as an adverb or modifier with meanings such as 'somehow', 'in a certain manner', 'as if', 'so to say'. I assume that the causal meaning of *tai kai* and of *kai* in constructions such as (21) is derived from the core meaning of *kai* '(such) as, like', and not from temporal cooccurrence. I further assume that the subordinator *kai* is polysemous (not vague as postulated for *ka*).

In my sample all temporal and causal *kai*-clauses which are clearly related to another clause precede this clause. While I do not rule out the possibility of a *kai*-clause following a main clause, the order found in my sample is at least a strong tendency.

The second temporal connective is *kod* (33 tokens) or *kad* (6 tokens);[19] the variants do not show a regional distribution in my sample. The core meaning of this word is 'when', and just as its English translation equivalent it is used as a question word and as an adverbial subordinator, but also introducing complement clauses. The temporal meaning seems to be clearly encoded in the word and does not depend on the construction. Most often it is Simultaneity overlap, more rarely (non-immediate) Anteriority. A *kod*-clause can be interpreted as giving a temporal reference even when it is not clear to which part of the text it relates (as a FREE ADVERBIAL CLAUSE). This distinguishes *kod* from the two subordinators discussed so far, *ka* and *kai*, whose meaning largely depends on the construction and the context. However, a non-temporal relation is also possible: in 2 of the 39 examples I identified a concessive meaning, once in combination with the additive focus particle *i* (comparable to German *wenn auch* 'when/if + also' = 'although') and once with *kod* alone.

[19] The number of tokens in both instances refers only to utterances made by the main speakers, not by interviewers.

A *kod*-clause may precede or follow the main clause. In my sample, 17 adverbial clauses with *kod* immediately precede and 5 immediately follow a main clause.

A clause containing *kod* 'when' is very often combined with a clause containing *tod* (*tad*) 'then', or sometimes with another correlating element (for example *tūreiz* 'at that time'; see Section 6). When *tod* appears immediately before *kod*, the two words may fuse to a complex connective with the same meaning as *kod* alone. Evidence for the lexicalization of this pattern is the fact that there may be another instance of *tod* as correlative adverb in the main clause (*tod kod* CLAUSE, *tod* CLAUSE). In my sample the sequence *tod kod* appears 10 times.

Another complex connective is used for signaling Anteriority. It consists of *piec tam* 'after that' and one of the simple connectives *ka* or *kai*. However, the combination is not fully lexicalized. I found only one example where the three elements really seem to make up one connective (ex. 22). In other instances, there may be a prosodic border after *tam* (ex. 23), or the two parts are separated by lexical material (ex. 24). Note that in extracts (22) and (24) the main clause is in simple past tense, while the predicate of the adverbial clause is realized as a past participle, which in itself is an indicator of anteriority.

(22) EL_G2_VG

(a) *nu* ***pēc*** ***TAM*** ***ka*** *suocies* *Latvejas*
PTC after that CONN begin.PST.PA.RFL Latvia.GEN.SG
↑*naatkareiba*;
independence.NOM.SG
'well, after Latvia's independence began' (= 'after Latvia had become independent')

(b) *tod* *jau* *mes* <<slowly> *IZzynuoam*;>
then PTC 1PL.NOM get_to_know.PST.1PL
'then we got to know'

(23) NL_G2_AL, context: what kind of dessert we had in my childhood

(a) ↑*KOMpoti* *suokuos* ***piec*** ***TAM***;
compote.NOM.PL begin.PST.3 after that

(b) ***ka*** *vuocini* *tī* *pazaruodejuos*—
CONN lid.DIM.NOM.PL here appear.PST.3.RFL
'fruit salads started afterwards, when lids became available' or: 'fruit salads started after lids had become available'

(24) SL_G2_DP, context: why is home-distilled liquor called *šmakovka*

(a) *nu* *tuo* *ka* *it kai* *tī* *ka* *tī*
from DEM.GEN.SG.M CONN as if PTC CONN PTC
kā *↑cyuka* *ŠMAKstynuoja*
as pig.NOM.SG smack.PST.3
piec ***tam*** *ar* *lyupom* ***ka*** *tādu*
after that with lip.DAT.PL CONN such.ACC.SG
padziers—
PVB.drink.PST.PA.SG.M
'from the fact that, it seems, people smacked their lips afterwards when having drunk such stuff' (one intonation unit)

(b) *tā* *tī* *cielīs* *tys* *nūsaukums*
so PTC rise.PST.PA.SG.M DEM.NOM.SG.M name.NOM.SG
ŠMAKOVka.
šmakovka.NOM.SG
'so that is (reportedly) how the name *šmakovka* ("smacker") has come up'

In both extracts (23) and (24) the phrase *piec tam* 'after that' rather belongs to the main clause than the subordinate clause, which in turn is introduced by *ka* alone. The construction in (23) corresponds to typical uses of *ka* as adverbial subordinator with the meaning 'when'. In (24), in turn, the *ka*-clause is more tightly integrated than usual; it does not form an intonation unit of its own.

The temporal relations (in Kortmann's 1997 terminology) Simultaneity Duration ('while'), Simultaneity co-extensiveness ('as long as'), and Terminus ad quem ('until') are expressed by two synonymous connectives: *cikom* (in my sample only in the variant *cikam*, 2 tokens)[20] and *kamer* (variants in my sample: *kamer, kamēr, komer, komēr*, 13 tokens in total, including repetitions and break-offs). Clauses with these connectives appear before or after a main clause. In both positions they may be part of the same intonation unit as the main clause, as in the following extract (lines b and c form one intonation unit).

(25) NL_G2_AL, context: we used to drink herbal teas

(a) *es* *atcerūs*;
1SG.NOM remember.PRS.1SG.RFL
'I remember'

[20] In written Latgalian, the basic variant *cikom* is much more frequent: in MuLa we find 438 tokens of *cikom* and 37 of *cikam*.

(b) ***cikam*** *Kitīte* *beja* *dzeiva*
CIKOM Kitīte.NOM.SG be.PST.3 alive.NOM.SG.F
'as long as Kitīte was alive'

(c) *jei* *↑par* *jīm* *rūpejuos,*
3.NOM.SG.F about 3.DAT.PL.M care.PST.3.RFL
'she took care of them (= the herbal teas)'

In combination with negative polarity, these connectives may express the relation Posteriority[21] ('as long as not' = 'before'), as in the following example (one of two in my sample).

(26) SL_G1_FS (showing techniques of weaving)

(a) *nu* *jau* *nu* *SUOkuma* ***kamer*** ***na****bie*
PTC PTC from beginning.GEN.SG while NEG.be.PST.3
STELleišu;
loom.DIM.GEN.PL
'well at the beginning **before** there were looms'

(b) *ar* *taidim* *ir* *AUdem.*
with such.DAT.PL.M PTC weave.PST.1PL
'that's what we were weaving with'

5.4 Word order patterns in temporal and conditional clause combining

Adverbial clauses with one of the connectives discussed above (*ka, kai, kod, cikom, kamer, pēc tam ka, tod kod*) may precede or follow the main clause, or be inserted after some element of the main clause. They thus show variable position, which is one of the features associated with subordination (cf. Haspelmath 1995; Diessel 2001, 437–438). In general, a position before the main clause (or, in case of parenthetical constructions, before the predicate of the main clause) is decidedly more frequent than a construction with a postposed adverbial clause. This behavior fits into cross-linguistic trends as described by Diessel (2001) and Hetterle (2015). Adverbial clauses in initial position create an expectation for certain information that will be given in the main clause (what happened/will happen then?), and this is one of the main discourse functions of conditional

[21] Cf. Thompson et al. (2007, 247–248) for negative polarity in constructions of anteriority in various languages.

and temporal clauses. A slightly rising or level pitch at the end of the adverbial clause supports this function, but in my sample slightly falling pitch was also often observed. If a temporal clause follows the main clause, it is often treated as an afterthought that provides additional information which is not necessary to complete the clause complex (cf. Auer 2000, 191 for German *wenn*). The preceding clause may end with a falling pitch signaling an end point (see example 27g below).

In addition to these general observations, differences between individual meanings and connectors have been noted. The preference for an initial position is stronger in conditional clauses than in temporal clauses indicating some kind of simultaneity with the connective *ka* (cf. Auer 2000 for the same result in German constructions with the temporal and conditional connective *wenn*). It is also very strong with the meaning Immediate Anteriority. This is one of the core meanings of the connective *kai*, and in my sample clauses with this connective always precede the main clause.[22] Clauses with the connectives *kod*, *tod kod*, *kamer* and *cikom*, on the other hand, while following the general trend of a preference for initial position, were relatively more often found after a main clause.

The different functions of initial and final adverbial clauses of the same type are especially noticeable in instances where a clause complex contains both. This is a pattern I found several times in my sample. In the following example the speaker describes what they did when the school board came together in the biggest school where she had worked as a teacher. The episode is framed by two adverbial clauses with *ka*, containing the same lexical verb *(at)braukt* 'go/come by transport'.

(27) SL_G1_FS

(a) *vot* *egļūs* ***ka*** ***BRAUce*** *VAdietuoji*;
PTC Egļi.LOC.PL CONN go.PST.3 superior.NOM.PL
'well, in Egļi, when the (school) board members came (together)'

(b) (0.4)

(c) *nu* *tak* *jau* *vysi* *školuotuoji* *tod* *jau::* (0.3)
PTC PTC PTC all.NOM.PL.M teacher.NOM.PL then PTC
yy—
HES
'then all teachers'

[22] I here disregard occurrences where the kai-clause was not clearly connected to another clause.

(d) *kaut kū* *goldu* *sataisom*,
something.ACC table.ACC.SG PVB.make.PST.1PL
'we prepared something, laid the table'
(e) *yy* *↑nu* *i*:::— (—)
HES PTC PTC
(f) *PASIEžom* *tī*.
PVB.sit.PRS.1PL here
'we sat there (together) for a while'
(g) ***ka*** ***atbrauce***.
CONN PVB.go.PRS.3
'when they came'

This construction is a kind of apokoinou construction: the clauses between lines (a) and (g) are in a semantic relation to both the initial and the concluding *ka*-clause, they constitute a shared "main clause". Another kind of apokoinou construction, where one adverbial clause is shared by two main clauses, is mentioned by Auer (2000, 183).[23] Those can also be found in my sample, but they don't seem to make up a pattern.

Extract (27) above is part of an answer to the question whether it was a custom that teachers came together to celebrate anniversaries or New Year. The answer is negative: the speaker had worked mostly in small village schools where no such celebrations took place. The description in (27) is the only kind of gathering she remembers, and it is distinguished by being a custom of the bigger school in Egļi; the extract continues with resuming that such gatherings were not practiced in the small schools. Thus, the celebrations at the school in Egļi are contrasted to the absence of celebrations in other schools. The place name in the locative *Egļūs* in line (a) has a contrastive accent and it is topicalized—taken out of the clause and placed in front of the connective. This technique is found quite often in my corpus, not only when marking a contrast, but for emphasizing a topic in general. All arguments and adjuncts of a predicate may be fronted in this way, especially in short clauses. Most common are extracted subjects (as in ex. 19 *mes kuo liecem*, literally 'we when jumped') and adverbials of place, as in (27) and (28). This fronting is possible only in adverbial clauses that precede the modified clause.

(28) NL_G1_SD (context: what to avoid in beekeeping)
(a) *↑KŪTĪ* ***ka*** *biji—*
cowshed.LOC.SG CONN be.PST.2SG

[23] I owe to Auer (2000) the use of the term APOKOINOU for these constructions.

‘if you were in the cowshed’

(b) *labuok* *naej* *pi* *bitem*;
better NEG.go.PRS.2SG to bee.DAT.PL
‘better don’t go to the bees’ (because they will bite)

A third possible position for temporal adverbial clauses is as a parenthesis within the main clause. In extract (29), the adverbial clause with *kamer* is inserted between the arguments and the verb. There is no clear border signal between the adverbial clause and the main clause predicate, but the inserted clause is marked by tempo.

(29) EL_G2_JK
(a) *bet* *jis* *maņ* (0.35) *itū—* (0.5)
but 3.NOM.SG.M 1SG.DAT DEM.ACC.SG
(b) <faster <***kamer*** *viņ* *↑dzeivs* *beja:>>*
while PTC alive.NOM.SG.M be.PST.3
(c) *ATguodynuoja*;
remind.PST.3
‘but as long as he was alive he reminded me of it’

A parenthesis into a complete main clause is however rare in my data. More often, when an adverbial clause interrupts a main clause, the latter is resumed fully after the adverbial clauses, as shown in the following example. We thus get a preposed adverbial clause. The self-correction is another piece of evidence for the differences between initial and final temporal clauses: speakers do not simply continue the main clause and add the adverbial clause to produce a grammatically correct clause complex such as (constructed:) *es tagad arī brauču uz Aglynu* ‘I now also went to Aglona’ / *ka maņ beja dzimšonys dīna* ‘when it was my birthday’.[24] Instead, an adverbial clause opens a new construction which calls for a following main clause, leaving the already introduced parts (subject, adverbials) behind as parts of an unfinished construction. See also extract (21) above, where the repeated subject pronoun is uttered immediately after the interrupting adverbial clause, within the same intonation unit.

[24] Cf. Auer (2000, 183): “instances in which a clause is broken off and a *wenn*-clause is inserted before it is re-started […] are also evidence for the interactional relevance of pre- vs. postpositioning”.

(30) NL_G1_FA

(a) *es* *tagad*;
1SG.NOM now
'now I'

(b) *↑dzimšonas* *dīna* ***ka*** *man* *beja—* (0.4)
birth.GEN.SG day.NOM.SG CONN 1SG.DAT be.PST.3
'when it was my birthday'

(c) *es* *Arī* *brauču* *uz* *aglyunu—*
1SG.NOM also go.PST.1SG to Aglona.ACC.SG
'I also went to Aglona'

5.5 Causal and concessive connectives

Connectives for causal and concessive relations differ from those used in temporal and conditional clauses in several respects. First, they show a greater variety across speakers. Second, complex connectives are more widely used than in temporal and conditional clauses. The total number of clauses with causal and concessive connectives is smaller than that of temporal and conditional clauses. This is partly due to the nature of my corpus: it is not highly interactive and the speakers talk mostly of personal experiences and traditions and do not so often feel the need to argue for what they say. In more interactive registers causal clauses, especially those expressing a justification for what the speaker thinks or says, are probably more frequent, as they have found to be in English conversations (Biber et al. 1999, 821-822). The absence of causal connectives does not directly indicate the absence of rhetorical relations of cause and justification (cf. Gohl 2000). For example, the speech of speaker SD contains quite a lot of reasoning ('one does/does not do X because of Y'), but his preferred way of combining clauses is asyndetic (cf. Section 4.3). Only once does he use an explicit causal connective to introduce a reason. Concessive adverbial clauses have been found to be generally less frequent in spoken registers, in English and some other languages, especially those that precede a main clause (Biber *et al.* 1999, 821; 845; Miller & Weinert 1998, 81).[25]

In total, I found 88 occurrences of a causal connective (including repetitions, as in 31b-d) and 14 occurrences of a concessive connective. Tables 5 and 6 below

[25] Clauses introduced by *bet* or a 'but' are not considered in this study. Neither did I search for asyndetic clause combining with concessive meaning. In Barth's (2000) study of concessives in English conversations, *but*-clauses and asyndetic combinations were the most frequent expression means for a concessive relation.

show the distribution of these connectives across speakers.

Table 5. Connectives in causal adverbial clauses used by speakers of my sample

	EL		NL				SL				sum
	JK G2	VG G2	SD G1	FA G1	AL G2	AL2 G2	VP G1	DP G2	FS G1	AL3 G2	
'because'											
deļtuo ka (*dieļ tuo ka/kam*)		1			11						12
partū ka (*par tū ka*)	1	6		1			5	3		6	22
jo (*juo, jū*)	2		1	23	1	10			2		39
ka[26]							3		1	2	6
'as, since'											
par cik	4										4
tai kai		1								1	2
kai	1									2	3
Sum	8	8	1	24	12	10	8	3	3	11	**88**

The most widespread simple causal connective is *jo* (variants *juo*, as in Standard Latvian, and *jū* in northern Latgalian). However, as can be seen in Table 5, it is not found in the speech of all speakers in my sample, and 33 of 39 tokens were produced by only two speakers from the same village in Northern Latgalia. Clauses with *jo* always follow the main clause, as do clauses with *juo* in Standard Latvian. Cross-linguistically this is the typical position for clauses that present a reason or justification (cf. Diessel & Hetterle 2011). The word *jo* has no other functions in my sample[27] and clearly announces a clause or a sequence of clauses naming reasons for a statement. Such an announcement may give the speaker the necessary time to reflect and formulate these reasons.

[26] The connective *ka* is used both for 'because' and for 'since'.

[27] In the corpus MuLa, *jo* is often found in other functions, most importantly as a phonetic variant of *ja* 'if' and in constructions expressing Proportion (*jo* — *jo* 'the (more) — the (more)'). The total number of tokens is 1409 in this corpus—too high for a manual filtering of uses, but the use of *jo* as a causal connective is certainly frequent.

(31) NL_G1_FA

(a) *nu* *uz* *↑RĒzekni* *ratuok* *braucu*;
now to Rēzekne.ACC.SG rarely.COMP go.PRS.3
'now I travel to Rēzekne more rarely'

(b) ***jo***,
because 'because'

(c) (1.7)

(d) ***jo*** *ceļš* *ir* *↑DUORguoks*;
because way.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 expensive.COMP.NOM.SG.M
'because the journey is more expensive'

(e) *naizDEVEIguoks*;
NEG.convenient.COMP.NOM.SG.M
'less convenient'

(f) (1.5)

(g) *i* *man* *ir* *uzduovynuojs* *viļs* (0.4)
and 1SG.DAT be.PRS.3 present.PST.PA.SG.M Viļs.NOM.SG
yy *↑kaču*;
HES cat.SG.ACC
'and Viļs has given me a cat'

Causal clauses with the connective *ka* and *kai* have already been discussed above in Sections 5.2 and 5.3.

Another common means for causal adverbial clauses is complex connectives. This holds for spoken as well as written varieties of Latgalian as well as of Standard Latvian. In Latvian, the combinations *tāpēc, ka* and *tādēļ, ka*, both literally translating as 'therefore that', are lexicalized in the meaning 'because' and their standard orthography (in two words with a comma) is accepted by all writers; even in informal texts on the Internet the writing is most uniform. In written Latgalian, there is more variation. Four complex causal connectives literally translating as 'for that that' are attested in the corpus MuLa: *partū ka* (647 tokens), *deļtuo ka* (58), *deļtam ka* (36), *aiztuo ka* (19),[28] and each has several spelling variants. The numbers suggest that *partū ka* (in all its orthographic variants) is a highly conventionalized expression means for the meaning 'because' in contemporary written Latgalian. In my sample, variants of *partū ka* are produced by 6 speakers and variants of *deļtuo ka* by 2 speakers (see Table 5 above). Clauses

[28] In addition, there are Latgalianized versions of Latvian connectives (*tōpēc ka*, *tōdeļ ka*, *tuodēļ ka*, 13 tokens in sum).

with these connectives always follow the statement they modify. This is the common constellation in written Latgalian as well; in the corpus MuLa a clause with one of these connectives very rarely precedes the main clause. Furthermore, in written Latgalian these adverbial clauses are often separated from the clause they modify and presented as a separate sentence. In spoken Latgalian, causal adverbial clauses are often prosodically set apart from the previous text. For example, they are presented as an afterthought or as a digression from the main flow of thought, or they initiate a new thought. In the following example, the adverbial clause in (d) is an afterthought, but it also initiates a digression from the main topic ("what we had for dessert and sweets"), leading to reflections about cellars in traditional houses.

(32) NL_G2_AL

(a) *ā::* *ka* *jau* *↑UObuls* *kuods* *zīmai*
PTC CONN PTC apple.NOM.SG some.NOM.SG.M winter.DAT.SG
bija *nu—*
be.PST.3 PTC
'if (we were lucky and) there was some apple (left) for winter time'

(b) *tys* *bija* *reti,*
DEM.NOM.SG.M be.PST.3 rarely
'this happened rarely'

(c) *↑ja* yy—
yes HES 'yes'

(d) <<slower> ***dieļ tuo kam*** *nabija* *PAgroba.>*
DEĻTUO KA NEG.be.PST.3 cellar.GEN.SG
'**because** we had no cellar'

Furthermore, complex causal connectives may (and often do) connect larger parts of text rather than clauses. To illustrate this, I will discuss two slightly longer examples. In the first one, the connective in line (c) links the question of line (b) ("why is the place called Tridņa?") to the legend announced in line (a) and unfolded in lines (d)–(k). The connective forms an intonation unit of its own (as was the case with the causal connective *jo* in 31b).

(33) EL_G2_JK

(a) *nūstuosts* *ir* *↑TAIDS,*
legend.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 such.NOM.SG.M
'there is this legend'

(b) *par* ↑*kū* *vītai* *nūsaukums* ↑*tridņa—*
for what.ACC place.DAT.SG name.NOM.SG Tridņa.NOM.SG
'why the place is called Tridņa'

(c) ***par tū ka***; (0.6)
PARTŪ KA
'because'

(d) *nu* *myusu* (0.6) ↑*SAIMINĪKI*, (0.3)
PTC 1PL.GEN farmer.NOM.PL
'well, our farmers'

(e) *puordavuši* (0.6) *sovu* *ražu* *tī—*
sell.PST.PL.M RPOSS.ACC.SG harvest.ACC.SG here
'having sold their harvest here'

(f) *voi* *tī* ↑*syvānus*;
or PTC piglet.ACC.PL
'or piglets'

(g) ((filled pause for 1.7))

(h) *apriņķa* *centrā* *ludzā*;
district.GEN.SG center.LOC.SG Ludza.LOC.SG
'in the district center Ludza'

(i) *brauce* *uz* ↑*SĀTU*,
go.PST.3 to home.ACC.SG
'were driving home'

(j) *i* *vot* *tī* *tū* *veiksmeigū*
and PTC here DEM.ACC.SG successful.ACC.SG.DEF
sovu ↑*gišeftu* (0.25) ↓*ATZEIMEĴA*;
RPOSS.ACC.SG business.ACC.SG celebrate.PST.3
'and here they celebrated their successful transaction'

(k) *treis* *dīnys*; (0.3)
threeday.ACC.PL
'for three days'

(l) *nu* ↑*TUO* *i* *Tri-dņa.*
from DEM.GEN.SG.M PTC Tri-dņa
'and that's where Tri-dņa comes from' (Russian *tri dnja* 'three days')

In the next example, it is not possible to identify clauses or other linguistic units which the connective *partū ka* would connect. It is thus part of a free adverbial clause. Nevertheless it is not difficult to understand its function in the context. The speaker had told before how in their village they invented a funny ritual,

wiping of greasy hands, as part of enjoying a traditional Latgalian dish (*kļockys*, a kind of dumpling). Then she discovered that a woman from another village, who is running a tourist site, had adopted this ritual and now presents it as if it were her invention. The speaker expresses her indignation. The segment starting with the connective *partū ka* in line (n) may be interpreted as expressing the reason or evidence for the speaker's assumption that the other woman stole their idea, followed by her explanation for this outrageous behavior. Lines (n)–(q) are the coda of a paragraph that started a few clauses before the presented lines. Line (q) closes the paragraph.

(34) SL_G2_AL3

(a) *īsliedzam* *↑televizoru—*
switch_on.PRS.3 televison.ACC.SG
'we switched the tv on'

(b) *jei* *pasnīdz* *↑kļockys,*
3.NOM.SG.F offer.PRS.3 kļocka.ACC.PL
'she is passing around kļockys'

(c) (0.7)

(d) <<slowly> *i* *ruoda* (0.3) *tože* *rūku*
and show.PRS.3 also hand.GEN.PL
slauceišonu>—
wipe.ACN.ACC.SG
'and demonstrates also the hand wiping'

(e) (0.6)

(f) *saprūtit—*
understand.PRS.2PL'you see'

(g) *mes* *piļneigi* *bejom* *šokā.*
1PL.NOM completely be.PST.3 shock.LOC.SG
'we were totally shocked'

(h) (1.6)

(i) *kļockys* *cap* *vysa* *Latgale,* (0.2)
kļocka.ACC.PL fry.PRS.3 all.NOM.SG.F Latgalia.NOM.SG
'kļockys are cooked everywhere in Latgalia'

(j) *lai* *jei* *↑cap—*
PTC 3.NOM.SG.F fry.PRS.3
'she is free to do it'

(k) (0.7)

(l) *bet* *navajag* *↑atkuortuot* (0.5) *↑nu↓* (1.0)
but NEG.need.PRS.3 repeat.INF PTC
'but one must not repeat, well'
<<slightly laughing> *rituālus* *saprūtit*>,
ritual.ACC.PL understand.PRS.2PL
'the rituals, you see'

(m) (0.5)

(n) <<fast> ***par tū ka*** *jei* *tože* *beja* *↑cīmā*;
PARTŪ KA 3.NOM.SG.F also be.PST.3 village.LOC.SG
'**because** she had also been a guest in our village'

(o) *nūsaviere>* *i—*
PVB.RFL.see.PST.3 and
'she had seen (the hand wiping) and'

(p) *vīnkuorši* *nu* *nabeja* *sovys* *↑idejis*;
simply PTC NEG.be.PST.3 RPOSS.GEN.SG.F idea.GEN.SG
'she simply had no idea of her own'

(q) *i* *jei* *↑aizguoja.*
and 3.NOM.SG.F PVB.go.PST.3
'and she went along'

Thus, the complex causal connectives have text-structuring functions which I did not observe with the simple connectives. Another causal connective with such functions is *tai kai* 'since'. In one of the tokens a clause with this connective follows the statement 'I did not at once know what profession to choose' and introduces a paragraph which gives the reasons why the speaker had become a teacher. The structure is very similar to that in example (33) above.

The last causal connective on my list, *par cik*, was found only with one speaker. Its scope is local: it combines clauses. In one token the adverbial clause precedes the main clause and presents a known fact ('**since** our pharmacy was in the neighborhood') as the cause of another fact ('my parents were friendly with them'). In the remaining three tokens the adverbial clause follows the main clause.

Concessive connectives are not frequent in my sample and may be less lexicalized, as there is a lot of variation. They are mostly complex, consisting of a simple connective (*lai*, *kaut, kod*) and a particle (*gon, i, jou*). The particles *i* and *gon* are additive focus particles, which are frequently found as a source for concessive connectives in many languages (König 2006, 822). One speaker uses also simple *lai* and another speaker uses simple *kod* in a concessive clause. Three

connectives have exact parallels in Standard Latvian (Latvian *lai gan, lai arī, kaut gan* 'although'), and it is possible that their use in Latgalian is influenced by a Standard Latvian model. It seems that all the connectives in Table 6 may express both concessive relations ('although') and concessive conditional relations ('even if'). These two functions are often blurred (König 2006, 822). The semantic profile of individual connectives requires more research on a larger sample.

Table 6. Connectives in concessive and concessive conditional clauses

	EL		NL				SL			
	JK	VG	SD	FA	AL	AL2	VP	DP	FS	AL3
	G2	G2	G1	G1	G2	G2	G1	G2	G1	G2
'although', 'even if'										
kaut gon		3		1						
lai gon	1	1						1		
lai i		1		1						
lai jou		1								
lai				2						
kod; kod i		1	1							

In one instance, *kaut gon* has a text-structuring function such as we have seen above with the causal connectives *partū ka* and *tai kai*. The speaker starts a paragraph about language use among Latgalians by stating that they had always used Latgalian among themselves. This statement is then rectified in a stretch of speech consisting of 21 lines in my transcription, starting with *kaut gon* (stressed, separate intonation unit, followed by a pause) and closing with the statement 'we spoke Latvian (in public)'. In this context, *kaut gon* is best translated as 'however'. In the other instances, the connective has a local scope, that is, it combines adjacent clauses.

All adverbial clauses with these connectives precede the clause or sequence to which they relate. What is interesting: in 10 of the 14 examples in my sample the following clause contains the connective *bet* 'but', one time the concessive clause is followed by a clause containing *taipat* 'anyhow', and in only three instances (one with *lai gon*, one with *lai i* and one concessive conditional with *kod i*) there is no corresponding word in the following text. Example (35) shows both *bet* 'but' and *taipat* 'anyhow' in the main clause correlating with *kaut gon* 'although' in the modifying clause.

(35) EL_G2_VG

(a) *nu* *CIK* *taidi* *jī* *PAteikami*,
PTC how such.NOM.PL.M 3.NOM.PL.M pleasant.NOM.PL.M
'how pleasant they are'

(b) *cik* *ZOlīdi* *tī* *latgalīšu*
how decent.NOM.PL.M DEM.NOM.PL.M Latgalian
CYLvāki *kau-*
human.NOM.PL FALSS
'how decent these Latgalian people are'

(c) *nu* ***kaut gon*** *dzeivoj* *jau* *tagad* *REI::gā*,
PTC although live.PRS.3 PTC now Riga.LOC.SG
'well although/even if they are now living in Riga'

(d) ***bet*** *↑saknes* ***taipat*** *LATgalī;*
but root.NOM.PL anyhow Latgalia.LOC.SG
'but their roots are in Latgalia **anyhow**'

(e) *jā:* —
yes 'yes'

The typical construction for concessive and concessive conditional relations is thus correlative: *kaut gon* (etc.) … – *bet* … Correlative constructions are also used for other relations, to which I will turn in Section 6, but the proportion is not as high and the correlative words are not coordinators.

5.6 Summary

The features associated with the various connectives discussed in this section are summarized in Table 7.

The table shows some of the diversity found among adverbial clauses with a connective that on first sight may seem to be a typical adverbial subordinator. The most frequent connective, *ka*, is not in all respects a typical representative of this class, as it is semantically vague. In clauses with the connective *ka* a temporal, conditional, or causal meaning arises mainly through semantic and grammatical features of the predicates in both the clauses that are combined. It is therefore questionable whether *ka*-clauses "explicitly express a particular conceptual-semantic concept", which was Hetterle's (2015) criterion for adverbial clauses. Otherwise these clauses seem to be at the very center of adverbial subordination in Latgalian: they clearly modify a clause (thus, have local scope), which they may precede, follow or interrupt (a criterion for subordination

Table 7. Characteristics of adverbial connectives discussed in this sections

Connective	Semantics	Clause position (w.r.t. MAIN)	Topicalization within clause	Scope
ka 'when, if, because' (etc.)	vague	flexible	yes (27, 28, 30)	only local
kai 'as, as long as, since (causal)'	polysemous	precedes	yes (19, 21)	only local
kod 'when', 'although' (?)	polysemous?	flexible	no (but parenthetical)	local, also free
kamer 'while, as long as, until'	polysemous	flexible	no (but parenthetical; 29)	only local
jo 'because'	specific	follows	no	only local
partū ka 'because'	specific	follows	no	local and global
tai kai 'since' (causal)	specific	precedes	no	local and global
kaut gon 'although'	specific	flexible	no	local and global
pēc tam ka (*) 'after'	specific	flexible	no	local
tod kod (*) 'when'	specific	flexible	no	local

(*) not fully lexicalized

vs. coordination). In contrast, clauses with a connective that translates as 'because' (*jo, partū ka, deļtuo ka*) are semantically specific, but they have a fixed position (following the modified clause) and are prosodically more independent. Here, the question is whether we can speak of subordination. Cross-linguistic research has revealed that causal clause combining often has more in common with coordination than subordination (Diessel & Hetterle 2011), and the Latgalian data corroborate this. The complex expressions for 'because' (*partū ka, deļtuo ka*) are also found in clauses which do not modify another clause, but relate to a larger part of text or to a context. Maybe the "best" representative of an adverbial subordinator, from the point of view of traditional grammar of

European standard languages, is *kamer* 'while, as long as, until, before'. Its polysemy is restricted to a domain where clusters of related meanings are common cross-linguistically (see Wälchli 2018), the position of the clause is flexible and the scope of the connective is local.

6. Correlative constructions and lexical markers in the main clause

In many languages, a semantic relation between two clauses (or other parts of a text) may be marked by adverbs or prepositional phrases such as English *then, later, thus, at that time, for this reason, in spite of this*, etc. Some languages also use particles for this purpose, which are semantically less specific, often have additional pragmatic functions, and are more or less untranslatable into English, for example German *doch*, *ja*.

In my Latgalian corpus, adverbs with specific semantic content are found first of all with temporal meaning: *tūlaik* or *tūreiz* 'then, at that time' < 'that time (ACC)', *tiuleit* 'at once', *tod* 'then'. The last one (*tod* or *tad* 'then') also appears in conditional constructions. Causal relations can be marked by the phrases *par tū* and *deļ tuo* (*dieļ tuo*) 'therefore' (literally 'for that'), which are sometimes used as adverbials, but more frequently appear as part of the complex connectives discussed in the previous section. An adverb indicating concession is *taipat* 'anyhow' (see example 35 above). It is easy to see that all these expressions contain the pronominal (demonstrative) root *t-*, which is also found in the particles *ta, to, tak, tok* (no English translation equivalents; see below for translations in context).

The mentioned adverbs and particles may occur alone or as correlates of one of the connectives discussed in Section 5. Most often they correlate with one of the most frequent, polysemous or vague simple connectives *ka* and *kai*. Example (36) shows the adverb *tūlaik* 'then' as the only marker of the temporal relation, while in example (37) the same adverb correlates with the simple connective *ka*.

(36) NL_G2_AL2, about working at the farm as children

(a) *ym sovu dorbu izdaream*,
HES RPOSS.ACC.SG work.ACC.SG PVB.do.PST.1PL
'we finished our work'

(b) ***tūlaik*** *otkol tyka* (0.2) *yyy* ↑*skraidēšona—*
then again happen.PST.3 HES run_around.ACN.NOM.SG
'then we ran around again' (literally: 'running around happened')

(37) EL_G1_VG, context: granny had peppermint drops which the child liked very much, but granny did not give them to her normally; granny said:

(a) *nu* ***ka*** *kuoss* *tev* *↑īs—*
PTC CONN cough.NOM.SG 2SG.DAT go.FUT.3
'well, **when** you have a cough'

(b) ***tūlaik*** *tu* *↑vari* ((laughs))
then 2SG.NOM can.PRS.2SG
'**then** you may'

(c) *tod* *tūs* *ka-* *tūs* *tuos*
PTC DEM.ACC.PL.M FALSS DEM.ACC.PL.M DEM.ACC.PL.F
↑kampetes *nu* *mani* *PAprasēt.*
candy.ACC.PL from 1SG.GEN PVB.ask.INF
'ask me for these candies'

The particles *ta* or *to* and, less often, *tok* or *tak*[29] are used in constructions with a temporal, conditional or causal relation. These particles do not carry meaning here (in other constructions, which are not considered in this paper, *tok/tak* can have adversative meaning), but seem to merely indicate a link to the previous clause. They are thus connectives, just as the vague adverbial connective *ka*, only that they appear in what traditionally is considered to be an independent main clause. There are thus two possibilities of linking clauses with a connective:

(i) ***ka*** (adverbial) clause — main clause

(ii) unmarked (modifying) clause — ***ta*** (modified) clause

The following example shows that these two constructions are interchangeable, at least in some contexts.

(38) NL_G2_AL2, context: the interviewer asked how far the way to the speaker's first school was. The answer (one or two kilometers) is elaborated in the following way.

(a) *guojam* *mes* *pa* *TAISnū,*
go.PST.1PL 1PL.NOM PREP straight.ACC.SG.DEF
'we went straight'

[29] It is not yet clear whether *ta* and *to* as well as *tak* and *tok* are purely phonetic variants of the same particle or whether there is a difference in use. In this paper I treat them as variants. Furthermore, it is possible that in some occurrences one or both of the first pair (*ta/to*) are reduced variants of *tad/tod*.

(b) ***ta*** *bej* *pusŪTRA* *kilametra—* (0.6)
TO be.PST.3 one_and_a_half kilometer.GEN.SG
'**then** it was one and a half kilometers'

(c) (0.6)

(d) *a* ***ka*** *guojam* *pa:::* *↑apkuort,*
but KA go.PST.1PL PREP around
'but **when/if** we went around'

(e) *kuodi* *DIveji—*
some.NOM.PL.M two.NOM.PL.M
'about two'

(f) *drusciņ* *vairuok.*
a_bit more
'a bit more'

The two types of marking may be combined. A construction with a connective in the adverbial (modifying) clause and a correlating connective particle in the modified clause will be called a correlative construction. In a broader sense, also constructions with an adverb (as in 37) may be subsumed under this term.[30]

The following table lists common combinations of simple connectives in the adverbial clause with correlating particles and adverbs. Other combinations occurring only once in my sample are *kamer – tikmer* 'as long as' (with *tikmer* alone meaning 'meanwhile') and *jesli – tod* 'if – then'.

Table 8. Correlative constructions

first component: simple connective with the root *k-* (adverbial clause)	second component: particle with the root *t-* (main clause)	correlating adverb (main clause)
ka 'when', 'if', 'as'	*to (ta)*	*tūreiz, tūlaik* 'at that time'
	tok (tak)	
	tod (tad)	*tod (tad)* 'then'
kai (kei, kuo, kā) 'when', 'as', 'as soon as'	*tai (tuo, tā)*	*tiuleit* 'at once'
kod 'when'	*tod* 'then'	*tūreiz, tūlaik* 'at that time'
		tod 'then'

[30] I thus use the term CORRELATIVE CONSTRUCTION as common in grammars of European languages and not in a more technical sense (cf. Lipták 2009, 1).

A main clause may contain both a correlating particle and an adverb (see example 39 below). Correlative particles differ from adverbs in this list not only by being semantically empty, but also by having a fixed position at the beginning of the clause, while adverbs may appear later. The adverb *tod* 'then' often behaves as a particle and may be characterized as somehow half-way between adverb and particle.

In correlative constructions with *ka* or *kai*, the adverbial clause comes first and commonly ends in slightly rising or slightly falling pitch. In example (39), the *ta*-clause is followed by another *ka*-clause, which is a paraphrase of the first and added as an afterthought. This may be seen as a variant of the apokoinou construction mentioned above.[31]

(39) NL_G2_AL2; context: where we played ice hockey as children

(a) *a* ***ka*** *Uobeļovas azars nūsola kuo ↑spīdžeļs*;
but KA Uobeļova.GEN lake PVB.freeze.PST.3 as mirror
'but **when/if** Uobeļova's lake froze (as flat) as a mirror'

(b) (0.4)

(c) ***ta*** ***tūlaik*** (0.6) *spieļoam iz azara*, (0.2)
TA then play.PST.1PL on lake.GEN.SG
'then we played on the lake'

(d) ***ka*** *nabea viļnens.*
KA NEG.be.PST.3 wave.ADJ.NOM.SG.M
'**when/if** there were no waves'

The above is a good example of a clause complex marked by prosodic and lexical means. It starts with the discourse particle *a* 'but', which typically appears at the beginning of clause complexes, and ends with falling pitch. All three clauses are linked together with simple, semantically empty connectives, while the adverb *tūlaik* marks the relation as temporal.

As discussed above in Section 5.2, a causal interpretation of a *ka*-clause may come about when the clause expresses a situation not going on in time. The same may occur in a correlative construction with *ka* and *to/ta*. In the following example, the *ka*-clause in line (e) relates to an event that has not happened at any time, and this is connected to another negative fact expressed in the *to*-clause in line (h). A temporal relation is not possible, and a causal interpretation seems straightforward.

[31] In a construction with *ta* as connective in the main clause the *ka*-clause has to precede the main clause. Therefore formally the tripartite construction in (39) is not an apokoinou construction.

(40) SL_G1_VP; context: the speaker's son had asked the speaker to tell the interviewer about the decoration he once was supposed to receive

(a) *symtu* *desmit* *procentu* *goda* *PLĀNS*
100 10 percent.GEN.PL year.GEN.SG plan.NOM.SG
beja *maņ* <<silently> *izpiļdeits.*>
be.PST.3 1SG.DAT PVB.fill.PST.PP.NOM.SG.M
'I had the annual plan fulfilled by 110 percent'

(b) (1.2)

(c) ***ta*** *maņ* *tur* *gribieja* *MEdali* *īdūt*
TA 1SG.DAT there want.PST.3 medal.ACC.SG PVB.give.INF
ci *ORdeni—*
or decoration.ACC.SG
'**so/then** they wanted to give me a medal or a decoration'

(d) (0.8)

(e) *a* ***ka*** *es* *partejī* *NAsarakstejūs;*
but KA 1SG.NOM party.LOC.SG NEG.RFL.write.PST.3.RFL
'but **as** I didn't join the party'

(f) ((intonation unit of two unintelligible syllables, maybe *besa* 'nothing, empty, no way'))

(g) ((interviewer: *mmh*))

(h) ***to*** *maņ* *medali* *tū* *NAĪdeve.*
TO 1SG.DAT medal.ACC.SG DEM.ACC.SG NEG.PVB.give.PST.3
'**so** they didn't give me the medal'

Example (40) contains also an instance of the particle *ta* as the only lexical marker of a relation (line b). The semantic relation to the previous clause (line a) is less clear; it may be temporal or causal.

A construction with the correlating connectives *kai – tai* often indicates a relation of immediate anteriority. The meaning of immediateness may be enforced by the adverb *tiuleit* 'at once' in the main clause.

(41) EL_G2_VG

(a) ***kai*** *suoksi* *latgaliski* *runot,*
CONN start.FUT.2SG Latgalian speak.INF
'as/if you start speaking Latgalian'

(b) ***tai*** *jau* ***tyuleit*** *tev* *pīvierš* *↑uzmaneibu.*
CORR PTC at.once 2SG.DAT turn.PRS.3 attention.ACC.SG
literally: '**so** they turn **at once** their attention to you'

'as soon as you start speaking Latgalian / you draw attention to yourself'

Though there are also instances where the sequence of actions is not immediate, the meaning of immediate anteriority is conventionalized to a high degree. The construction may further imply (by pragmatic inference, i.e. as a conversational implicature) a causal relation. The following example shows that speakers are aware of this implication. The speaker relates the story of her first name: it was given to her in honor of her mother's sister, who had been deported to Siberia. Shortly after the girl was christened, her aunt returned from Siberia. The choice of the name may thus be seen as a cause for the return, but the speaker's laughter, which sets in after the word *tai*, questions the implicature. The speaker probably does not believe in such a magical causal relation, or at least does not fully support it and does not require the listener to believe in it.

(42) EL_G1_VG

(a) *nu* *VO:T;*
PTC PTC 'well'

(b) ((breath intake 0.7))

(c) *i* *tod* *muna* *muote* ***kai*** *mani*
and then my.NOM.SG.F mother.NOM.SG CONN 1SG.ACC
↑*nūsauce* ***tai***
PVB.call.PST.3 CONN
'and then **as** (soon as) my mother had given me the name **then**'

(d) <<laughing> ↑*īzaruodīs—*
PVB.RFL.appear.PRS?.3.RFL
'appeared'

(e) *piec* *puors* *mienešīm* *īzaroduos;>*
after couple month.DAT.PL PVB.RFL.appear.PST.3.RFL
'a few months later (it) appeared'

(f) *yyy—*
HES

(g) *atbrauce* ((breath intake 0.7)) *itei* *TANte*;
PVB.travel.PST.3 DEM.NOM.SG.F aunt.NOM.SG
'this aunt came back'

(h) *a* *taipat* *vysi* *atbrauce*
and just_as_well all. NOM.PL.M PVB.travel.PST.3

sveiki *vasaly* *nu* *Sibīrejis*;
safe.NOM.PL.M whole.NOM.PL.M from Siberia.GEN.SG
'and just as well all (other mother's relatives) came back from Siberia safe and sound'

(i) *acagrīzēs* *iz* *Latveji.*
PVB.RFL.turn.PST.3.RFL to Latvia.ACC.SG
'(they) returned to Latvia'

A causal meaning of the construction with *kai — tai* arises through implicature and is not part of the lexical meaning of the correlative connective.[32] As a conversational implicature, the causal interpretation of *kai — tai* can be cancelled, which distinguishes it from markers such as *jo* and *partū ka* 'because', where the causal meaning is lexicalized. However, the implication is very common and may become conventionalized.

Correlative constructions in spoken (and in written) Latgalian need further research. There seem to be at least two different types. One type is best represented by constructions with *kai — tai* and *ka — ta (to)* as shown above. Here, the order of the two clauses is fixed (*k-* precedes *t-*) and the clauses have a parallel structure (though not always the same tense and mood marking). In another construction, the clause with the *t-*connective (or adverb) precedes the adverbial clause. In that case there is a tendency to place the adverbial clause immediately after the *t-*connective, which gives rise to lexicalization. The combination *tai kai* ('so as') is already completely lexicalized as a complex connective 'as, since', while the combination *tod kod* ('then when') is somewhere on the way to become a complex connective 'when'.

7. Conclusions

The goal of this paper was to explore how clauses are combined in spontaneous spoken Latgalian and how temporal, conditional, causal, and concessive relations between clauses are marked. My investigation was based on ten interviews with middle-aged and older speakers from different parts of Latgalia with a total recording time of five hours. This small sample proved to be large enough to give a differentiated picture of the most frequent constructions and also provide some examples of less frequent constructions.

[32] Ambrazas, ed. (2006, 741) argue similarly for the Lithuanian combination *kai — tai*.

My findings fully confirm Diessel's remark that "adverbial clauses constitute a very heterogeneous class" (Diessel 2013, 342). Starting with a semantically based, bottom-up approach to adverbial clause combining, I arrived at a set of constructions with various characteristics that are shared by family resemblance rather than as necessary or sufficient criteria. For this family, the traditional concept of an adverbial clause—a construction with a semantically specific connective and features associated with subordination—may be seen as a prototype. Constructions that share characteristics of this prototype include:

- clause combining with the semantically vague connective *ka*, where a temporal, conditional, or causal meaning arises through semantic and grammatical features of the predicates in both the combined clauses (see 5.2);
- constructions with the causal connectives *jo* and *partū ka*, which cannot precede the main clause and are prosodically more independent (see 5.5);
- constructions with a connective only in the main clause (the semantically vague connective *ta* discussed in Section 6);
- correlative constructions (Section 6);
- asyndetic clause combining where grammatical marking of both predicates more or less explicitly expresses a semantic relation (Section 4).

In all types of constructions analyzed in this paper, the interpretation of two clauses as combined and the identification of a particular semantic relation depends on a variety of lexical, grammatical and prosodic features, and these markers may be spread over the whole construction. Shifting the focus of analysis from the adverbial clause to more complex constructions, we find new challenges to the problematic distinction between subordination and coordination. For example, the typical concessive/adversative construction seems to combine an adverbial subordinator with a coordinating conjunction (*kaut gon* p *bet* (*taipat*) q 'although p but (anyhow) q', cf. Section 5.5).

My finding that there are more ways of combining clauses than by typical adverbial subordination or by coordination is certainly not new. As others before, I have identified several constructions which deviate from both prototypes. What is still lacking, in my eyes, is a generally accepted alternative for structuring the diverse area of clause combining, without referring to coordination and subordination, either as absolute types or as poles of a continuum. Language-particular studies, such as the one at hand, may contribute to developing such a new approach. A further challenge is to describe types of clause combining without the concept of COMPLEX SENTENCE, which is a unit of written text and not universal.

This research is a pioneering study of the syntax of Latgalian. It gives an overview of phenomena and questions which have not been investigated before for this language (and have hardly ever been explored empirically in its sister language Latvian). Inevitably, many interesting questions have only been touched upon and have to be investigated in more detail. These include, among others, correlative constructions of various types and clause chaining with the past active participle (and maybe also with converbs of simultaneity). More research is also needed on asyndetic finite constructions, with a special look at grammatical categories and prosody. Another field for future research is the distinction between adverbial and complement clauses with the same connective (in Latgalian especially the connectives *ka, kai* and *kod*). Such investigations must include prosody, as there seems to be systematic differences, for example, between *ka* as a complementizer 'that' and *ka* in adverbial clauses where it is equivalent to English *when*, *if*, *because*, and others. On the other hand, studies of clause combining in written Latgalian are needed to better appreciate what is typical for spoken varieties. Two preliminary hypotheses based on my experience with written and spoken Latgalian are that (i) the use of *ka* adverbial clauses is more restricted in written text (temporal and causal clauses with *ka* are rare, only conditional clauses are common), and (ii) correlative constructions are more typical for spoken varieties.

This research is also one of the very first studies on the grammar of spontaneous speech in a Baltic language. It has convinced myself, and hopefully will convince the reader, that this grammar is indeed intricate and worth investigation not only from the point of view of interaction in conversations (which is also a still unexplored field in Baltic linguistics), but also by linguists who are primarily interested in syntactic structures of languages.

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Transcription symbols

(based on conventions of GAT 2, Selting *et al.* 2009)

Line.	Final pitch falling to low	↑Word	noticeable step up in pitch
Line!	Final pitch falling from high to low	↓Word	noticeable step down in pitch
Line;	Final pitch falling slightly	yy	filler, hesitation sound, vocalic
Line–	Final level pitch	m	filler, hesitation sound, nasal
Line,	Final pitch rising slightly	SYLLAble	emphasis
Line?	Final pitch rising to high	::	lengthening
Line=	latching	((comment)), ((non-verbal sounds))	
(0.5)	measured pause	<<manner> text>	
(—)	micro pause, < 0.2 seconds		

Abbreviations

ACC — accusative, ACN — action noun, ADJ — adjective (derivational suffix), CAUS — causative, COMP — comparative, COMPL — complementizer, CONN — connective, CORR — correlative, CVB — converb, DAT — dative, DEM — demonstrative, DIM — diminutive, FALSS — false start, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, HES — hesitation, INF — infinitive, IRR — irrealis (subjunctive, conditional), LOC — locative, M — masculine, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PA — active participle, PL — plural, PN — place name, PP — passive participle, PREP — preposition, PRS — present tense, PST — past, PTC — particle, PVB — preverb, RFL — reflexive, RPOSS — reflexive possessive pronoun, SG — singular, VOC — vocative

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