

Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology

Ida Toivonen

Carleton University

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Overview

Fieldwork and
analysis in
Saami
morphology

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Morpho-
phonology

Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- Some of the main morphological features of one of the Saami languages (Inari)
- Form and function
- Variation between Saami languages
- Variation within Inari Saami
- Note: this talk simply gives examples of what you might find, there's lots more!

Inari Saami

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- Most of the data in this talk is from Inari Saami
- Inari Saami belongs to the Eastern Saami group, but it has been at least somewhat influenced by North Saami.

Morpho-phonology

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Verbs

Dual

- It is difficult to understand Saami morphology if you don't Saami phonetics and phonology.

Morphology without (agglutinative) morphemes

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phonology

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Verbs

Dual

- chicken: kääñi kääni (NOM NOM ACC ACC) play
- rain: arve a' rve (NOM NOM ACC ACC, three speakers) play
- buy: uás'tâm uástám (PAST.PART 1SG.PRES) play

kiõtt 'hand' (Skolt Saami)

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Verbs

Dual

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	kiõtt	kiõđ
ACCUSATIVE	kiõđ	kiõđid
GENITIVE	kiõđ	kiõđi
ILLATIVE	kiõ't'te	kiõđid
LOCATIVE	kiõđâst	kiõđin
COMITATIVE	kiõđin	kiõđivui'm
ABESSIVE	kiõđtää	kiõđitää
ESSIVE	kiõttân	
PARTITIVE	kiõttâd	

ĸietâ 'hand' (Inari Saami)

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Verbs

Dual

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	ĸietâ	ĸieđah
ACCUSATIVE	ĸieđâ	ĸieđâid
GENITIVE	ĸieđâ	ĸieđâi
ILLATIVE	ĸietân	ĸieđâid
LOCATIVE	ĸieđâst	ĸieđâin
COMITATIVE	ĸieđâin	ĸie'đâigui'm
ABESSIVE	ĸie'đâttaá	ĸie'đâittáá
ESSIVE	ĸiettân	
PARTITIVE	ĸiettâd	

What to do?

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Dual

What if you find it difficult/almost impossible to hear the distinctions, especially in natural speech?

Pronominal paradigm, 1ST PERSON

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Verbs

Dual

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	mun	muoi	mij
ACCUSATIVE	muu	munnuu	mii
GENITIVE	muu	munnuu	mii
ILLATIVE	munjin	munnui	mijjân
LOCATIVE	must, mu'ste	munnust	mist, mi'ste
COMITATIVE	muuin, mu'in	munnu(u)in	miigui'm
ABESSIVE	muuttáá	munnuuttáá	miittáá
ESSIVE	munen	munnun	minen
PARTITIVE	muđe	munnud	miđe

Nominative

- Subject of finite verb.

Example

Kumppi	kocčái	mecist.
wolf.NOM.SG	awoke	forest.LOC.SG
'The wolf woke up in the forest.'		

Nominative

- Subject of finite verb.

Example

Kumppi	koccái	mecist.
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Accusative

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Verbs

Dual

- Objects
- Merged with genitive in the singular

Example

Mun oinim kuobžâ.

I.NOM saw bear.ACC.SG

'I saw a bear.'

Accusative

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- Objects
- Merged with genitive in the singular

Example

Mun oinim kuobžâ.

I.NOM saw bear.ACC.SG

'I saw a bear.'

Genitive

- Prenominal possessors.

Example

Nieidâ	ustâv	lii	vaaibâm.
girl.GEN.SG	friend.ACC.SC	is	tired
'The girl's friend is tired.'			

Genitive

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Verbs

Dual

- Prenominal possessors.

Example

Nieidâ	ustâv	lii	vaaibâm.
girl.GEN.SG	friend.ACC.SC	is	tired
'The girl's friend is tired.'			

Illative

- to, onto, into

Example

Muoi	adeliijn	hiäppušijd	kandáid.
we.NOM.DU	gave	horses.PL.ACC	boys.ILL.PL
'We gave the horses to the boys.'			

Illative

- to, onto, into

Example

Muoi	adeliijn	hiäppušijd	kandáid.
we.NOM.DU	gave	horses.PL.ACC	boys.ILL.PL

'We gave the horses to the boys.'

Locative

- on, at, in
- from, out of
- possessor (predicative)

Example

Kumppi koccái meecist.

wolf.NOM.SG awoke forest.LOC.SG

'The wolf woke up in the forest.'

Locative

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Dual

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Locative

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Dual

Example

Tij puátivetteđ meecist.
you.NOM.PL came forest.LOC.SG
'You (all) came out of the forest.'

Example

Mist lii tááľu
we.LOC.PL is house.NOM.SG
'We have a house.'

Locative

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Verbs

Dual

Example

Tij puátivetteđ meecist.
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Comitative

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- with

Example

Suoi	sárnuv	o'lgijgui'm.
they.NOM.DU	speak	boy.COM.PL

'They are speaking with the boys.'

Comitative

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Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- with

Example

Suoi	sárnuv	o'lgijgui'm.
they.NOM.DU	speak	boy.COM.PL
'They are speaking with the boys.'		

Comitative

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Numbers

Verbs

Dual

Example

Tuoi	Ánnáin	puátivettee	meecest.
you.NOM.DU	Anna.COM	come.PRES.DU	forest.LOC.SC
'You and Anna are coming from the forest.'			

Abessive

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Verbs

Dual

- without

Example

Suoi	poodijn	maassâd	nissoonttáá.
you.NOM.DU	came	back	woman.ABE.SG
'You returned without the woman.'			

Essive

- used very rarely
- often replaced with illative case
- “to believe someone to be something/someone.ESSIVE”

Example

Sij	jurdij	muorâ	táállun.
they.NOM.PL	believed	tree.ACC.SG	house.ESS.SG

‘They thought the tree was a house.’

Essive

- used very rarely
- often replaced with illative case
- “to believe someone to be something/someone.ESSIVE”

Example

Sij	jurdij	muorâ	táállun.
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'They thought the tree was a house.'			

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Essive

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

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Sij	jurdij	muorâ	táállun.
they.NOM.PL	believed	tree.ACC.SG	house.ESS.SG

‘They thought the tree was a house.’

Partitive

- used very rarely
- with certain numbers (to be discussed below)
- with comparisons (than someone/something)
- sometimes replaced with accusative

Example

Muoŕâ	lii	táállud	ucceeb.
tree.NOM.SG	is	house.PART.SG	smaller

'The tree is smaller than the house.'

Partitive

- used very rarely
- with certain numbers (to be discussed below)
- with comparisons (than someone/something)
- sometimes replaced with accusative

Example

Muořâ	lii	táállud	ucceeb.
tree.NOM.SG	is	house.PART.SG	smaller

'The tree is smaller than the house.'

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tree.NOM.SG	is	house.PART.SG	smaller

'The tree is smaller than the house.'

Numbers and nouns

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Numbers

Verbs

Dual

nelji	pocuu	'four reindeer'
four.NOM	reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG	

čiččâm	pocud	'seven reindeer'
seven.NOM	reindeer.PART.SG	

- Also in the other Eastern Saami languages (?)

Numbers and nouns

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Dual

nelji four.NOM	pocuu reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG	'four reindeer'
čiččâm seven.NOM	pocud reindeer.PART.SG	'seven reindeer'

- Also in the other Eastern Saami languages (?)

Ohtâ

- ohtâ: declines together with the noun

ohtâ	puásui	'one reindeer'	(SUBJECT)
one.NOM.SG	reindeer.NOM.SG		

oovtâ	poccuu	'one reindeer'	(OBJECT)
one.ACC.SG	reindeer.ACC.SG		

Numbers kyeht'iti – kuttâ

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Dual

SUBJECTS & OBJECTS:

kyeh'ti/kulmâ/nelji/vittâ/kuttâ

2.NOM/3.NOM/4.NOM/5.NOM/6.NOM

pocuu

reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG

Numbers: NOM or ACC?

Numbers čiččâm → ∞

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Dual

SUBJECTS & OBJECTS:

čiččâm/käävci / ... poccud
7.NOM/8.NOM / reindeer.PART

Number + noun when noun is not subject or object

- Example, illative case:

Examples

Mun	adelim	kuolijd	viidâ	almâi
1SG.NOM	gave.1SG	fish.ACC.PL	five.ACC/GEN	man.ILL.SG
'I gave fish to five men.'				

CASE	EXAMPLE	MAIN USE
NOMINATIVE	<i>mun</i> 'I'	subject of finite verb
GENITIVE	<i>nieidâ</i> 'girl'	prenominal possessor
ACCUSATIVE	<i>kuumpijd</i> 'wolves'	object
ILLATIVE	<i>kandáid</i> 'boys'	to, into, onto
LOCATIVE	<i>avdost</i> 'car'	on, at, in; from
COMITATIVE	<i>Ánnáin</i> 'Anna'	with
ABESSIVE	<i>nisonijttáá</i> 'women'	without
ESSIVE	<i>táállun</i> 'house'	as X, becoming X
PARTITIVE	<i>táállud</i> 'house'	after numbers 7+, compar:

Table: The functions of the morphological cases, Inari Saami

kuá'lástâđ 'to fish', present tense:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	kuá'lástam	kuá'lásteen	kuá'lástep
2	kuá'lástah	kuá'lástvettee	kuá'lástvettedđ
3	kuáláást	kuá'lástava	kuá'lásteĥ

čokkáđ 'to sit', present tense:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	čokkáám	čokkájeen	čokkáp
2	čokkááh	čokkáávettee	čokkáávettedđ
3	čokkáá	čokkáv	čokkájeĥ

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	kuá'lástam	kuá'lásteen	kuá'lástep
2	kuá'lástah	kuá'lástvettee	kuá'lástvetted
3	kuáláást	kuá'lástava	kuá'láste

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	čokkáám	čokkájeen	čokkáp
2	čokkááh	čokkáávettee	čokkáávetted
3	čokkáá	čokkáv	čokkáje

Endings?

2nd person dual and plural

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- Two of my informants have merged *-vettee* and *-vetted*
- Not a general loss of dual–plural distinction.

2nd person dual and plural

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- Two of my informants have merged *-vettee* and *-vetted*
- Not a general loss of dual–plural distinction.

čokkáđ 'to sit'

PRESENT TENSE:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	čokkáám	čokkájeen	čokkáp
2	čokkááh	čokkáávettee	čokkáávetteđ
3	čokkáá	čokkáv	čokkájeh

PAST TENSE:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	čokkájim	čokkáám	čokkám
2	čokkájih	čokkááid	čokkáid
3	čokkáái	čokkááin	čokkájii

The dual in Inari Saami

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- Dual morphology in the pronouns, the verbal morphology and the possessive suffixes.
- Non-pronominal nouns: no distinction between dual and plural.

Dual agreement

- (1) Sun kuáláást onne.
s/he.NOM.SG fish.3SG today
'S/he is fishing today.'
- (2) Suoi kuá'lástava onne.
they.NOM.DU fish.3DU today
'The two of them are fishing today.'
- (3) Sij kuá'lásteh onne.
they.NOM.PL fish.3PL today
'They are fishing today.'

Dual agreement

(1) Almai kuáláást onne.
man.NOM.SG fish.3SG today
'The man is fishing today.'

(2) Almah kuá'lástava onne.
man.NOM.PL fish.3DU today
'The two men are fishing today.'

(3) Almah kuá'lásteh onne.
man.NOM.PL fish.3PL today
'The men are fishing today.'

Agreement: Animacy

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Dual

- (1) Meeclist lava uábbi já viljá.
forest.LOC are.DU sister.NOM and brother.NOM
'In the forest are my sister and brother.'
- (2) Táálust láá kyehti vi'ste.
house.LOC are.3PL two room
'There are two rooms in the house.'
- (3) Kyehti stuorra keeđgi láá meecist.
two big rock are.3PL forest.LOC
'Two big rocks are in the forest.'

Agreement: Animacy

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Dual

(1) Kyehti poccuu ruáttáin/ryettih meecist.
two reindeer ran.3DU/ran.3PL forest.LOC
'Two reindeer ran in the forest.'

(2) Puásui já peenuv lava/láá meecist.
reindeer and dog are.3DU/are.3PL forest.LOC
'The reindeer and the dog are in the forest.'

Agreement: Topicality/Specificity?

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Verbs

Dual

(1) Muste lava/láá kyeh̄ti viiljâ.
I.LOC are.3DU/are.3PL two brother
'I have two brothers.'

(2) Táálust lava/láá kyeh̄ti ulmuu.
house.LOC are.3DU/3PL two person
'There are two people in the house.'

(2) Kyeh̄ti almaa pood̄ijn/pottii.
two man came.3DU/3PL
'Two men arrived; There came two men.'

Negation

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Numbers

Verbs

Dual

SOUTH SAAMI	INARI SAAMI	
<i>(manne) im daejrieh</i>	<i>(mun) jiem tie'de</i>	'(I) don't know'
<i>(datne) ih daejrieh</i>	<i>(tun) jieh tie'de</i>	'(you.SG) don't know'
<i>(manne) idtjim daejrieh</i>	<i>(mun) jiem tiättám</i>	'(I) didn't know'
<i>(datne) idtjih daejrieh</i>	<i>(tun) jieh tiättám</i>	'(you.SG) didn't know'

Adjectives and adverbs

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

	ADJECTIVE	ADVERB
POSITIVE	muččâd	muččâđávt
COMPARATIVE	muččâđup	muččâđupoht
SUPERLATIVE	muččâđumos	muččâđumosávt

Note: These data are from my notes, but the details should be checked, I have a feeling there should be some gradation here...

Attributive vs. predicative

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Dual

	ATTRIBUTIVE	PREDICATIVE
SG.	mučis	muččâd
PL.	mučis	muččedeh

Causative

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Dual

Torne dialect of North Saami, from Svonni & Vinka.

(1) Máhtte cuvkii láse
Máhtte.NOM break.PAST.3S window.ACC
'Máhtte broke the window.'

(2) Mon cuvke-h-in Máhte láse.
I.NOM break.TRANS-CAUS-PAST.1S Máhtte.ACC windo
'I caused Máhtte to break the window.'

(3) Láse cuvke-h-uvvu-i.
window.NOM break.TRANS-CAUS-PASS-PAST.3S
'The window was caused to be broken.'