

LAGB April 2003

INARI SAMI

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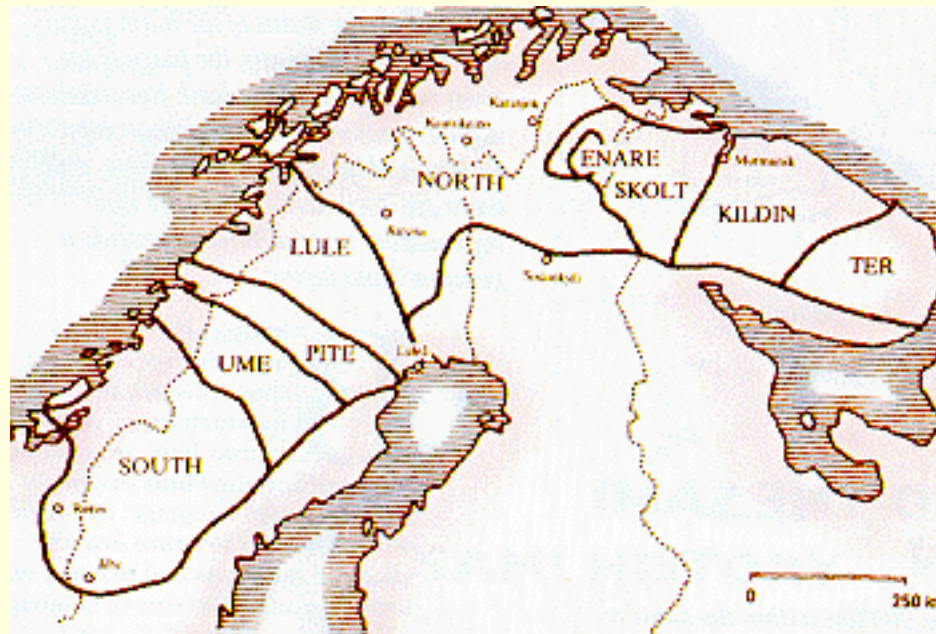
Map



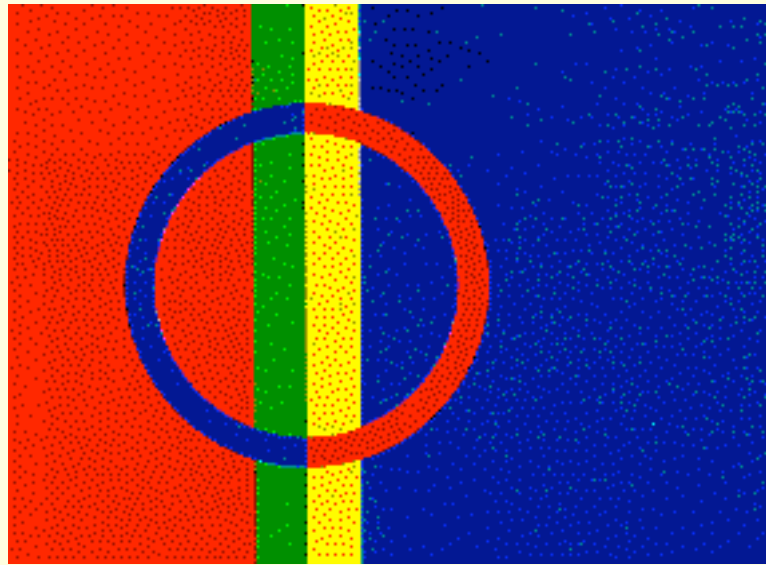
Finnish Lapland



Map



Sami flag



SOUNDS

Inari Sami Consonants

Phonetically

p			t	ts	tʃ		k	
b			d	dz	dʒ		g	
		f	s		ʃ			h
	ǰ	v				j		
m			n				ŋ	
			l		r			

Inari Sami Consonants

Spelling

p			t	c	č		k	
b			d	ɟ	č̣		g	
		f	s		š			h
	□	v				j		
m			n				ŋ	
			l		r			

Inari Sami Consonants

Phon&Spell

p			t	c (ts)	č (tʃ)		k	
b			d	ɟ (dz)	ǰ (dʒ)		g	
		f		s	š (ʃ)			h
	ǰ (ǰ)	v				j		
m				n			ŋ	
				l	r			

Inari Sami Consonants

Full chart

p			t	c (ts)	č (tʃ)		k	ʔ
b			d	ɟ (dz)	č̣ (dʒ)		g	
		f		s	š (ʃ)			h
	ǰ (ǰ)	v		z	ž (ʒ)	j		
m				n	ń (ɲ)		ŋ	
				l	r			

Inari Sami Vowels

i

u

e

ê

o

ä

á

a

Inari Sami Vowels

i

u

e

â

o

(æ)

ä

á

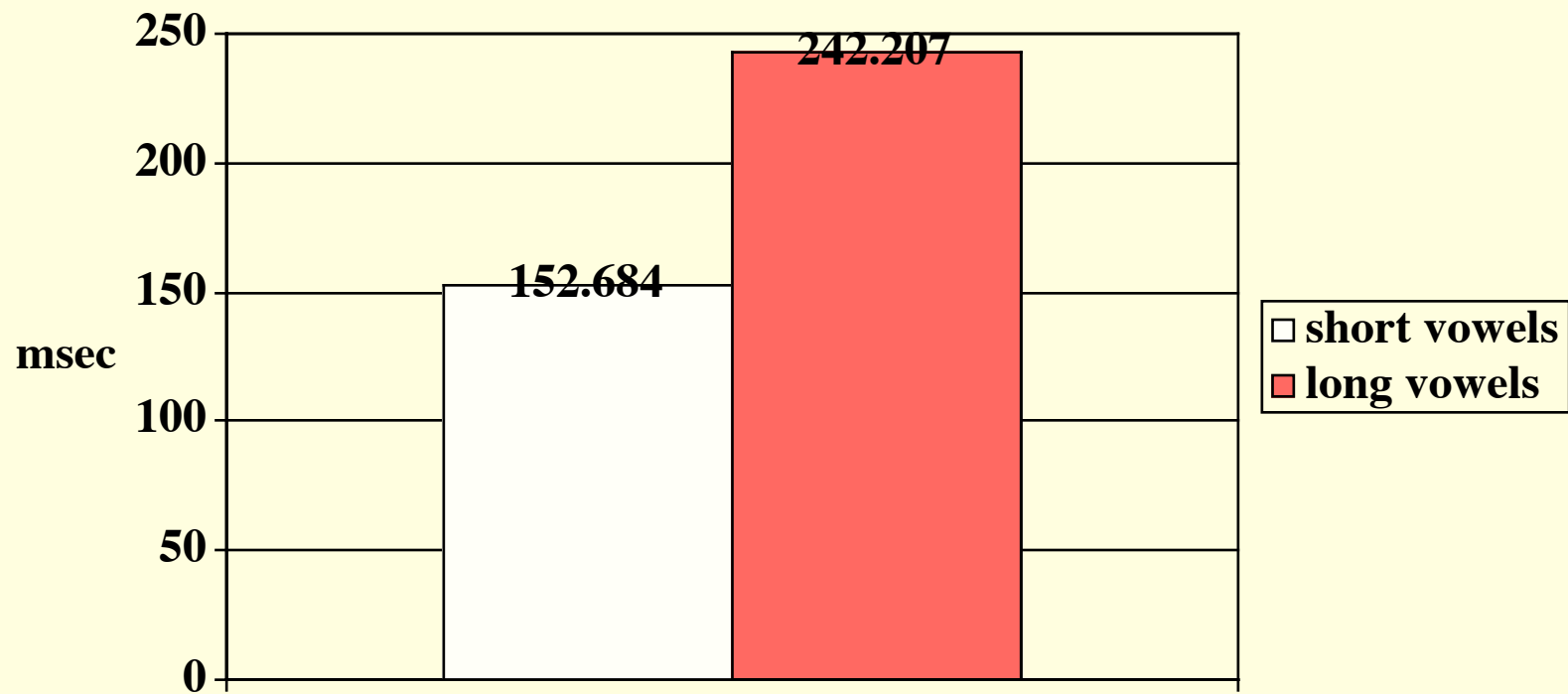
a

VOWELS

long and short

- All measurements are **PRELIMINARY**

Length: vowels



CONSONANTS

short, half-long and long

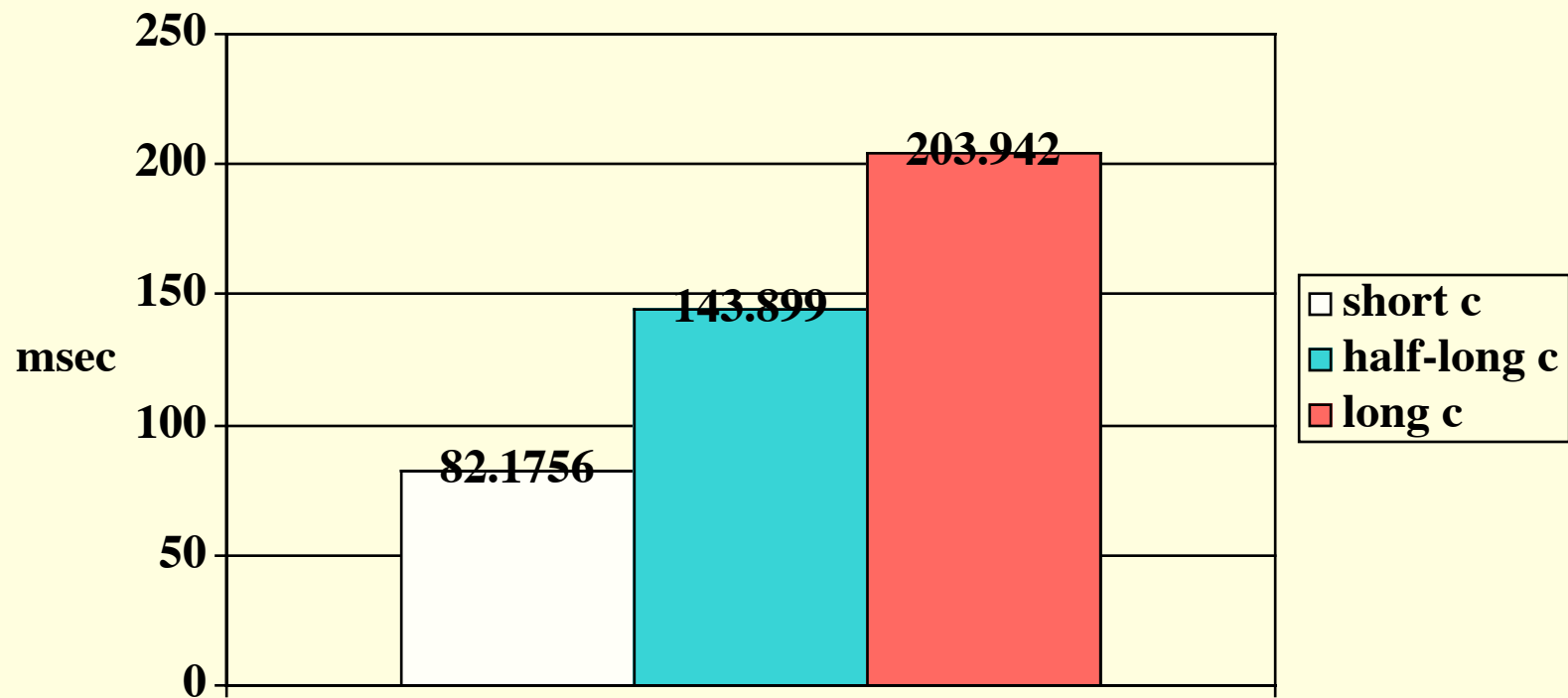
Three durations

$m, n, \eta, l, r, \square, v, h, j$

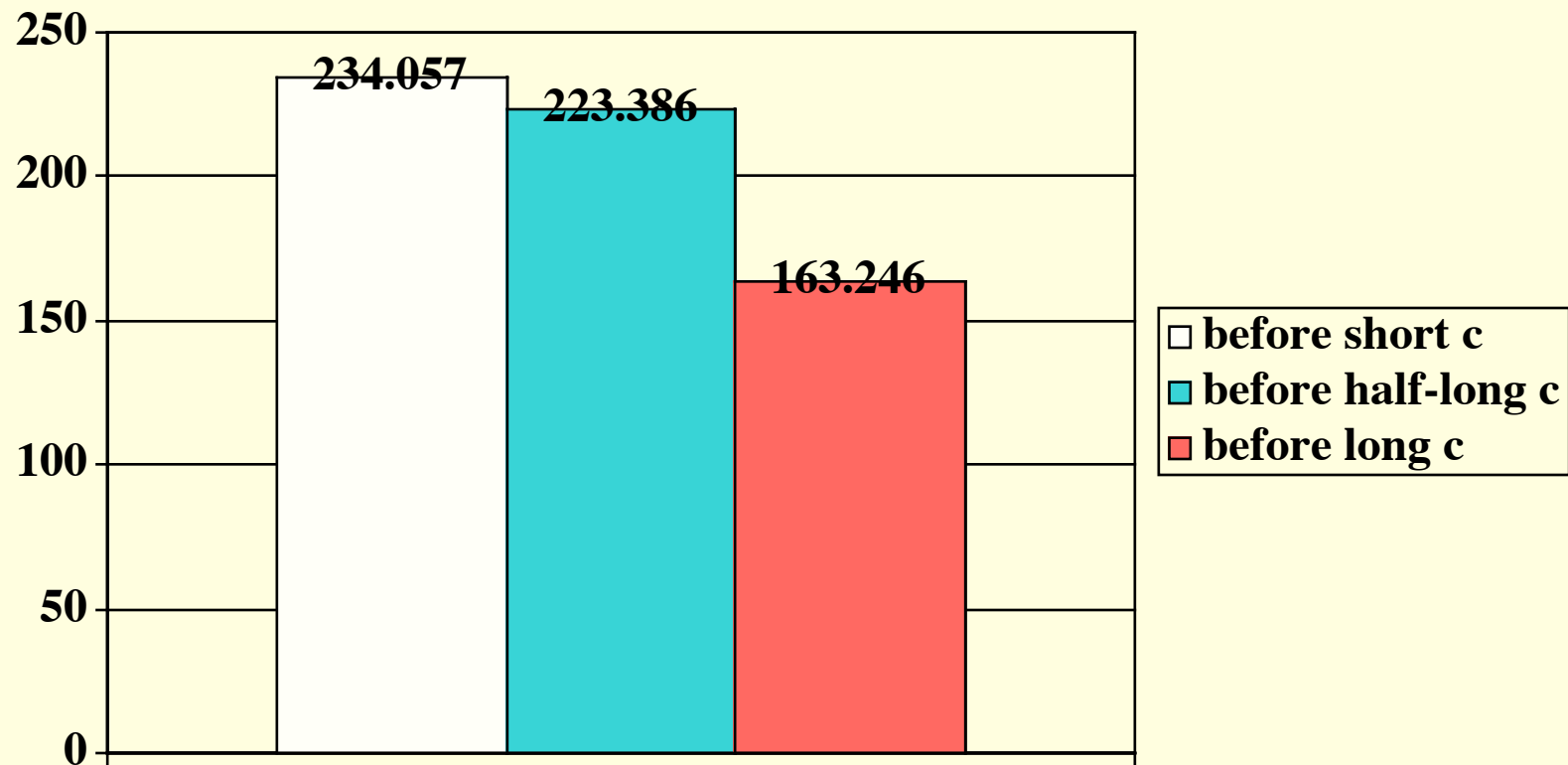
Three durations

$mm \quad m \quad m$

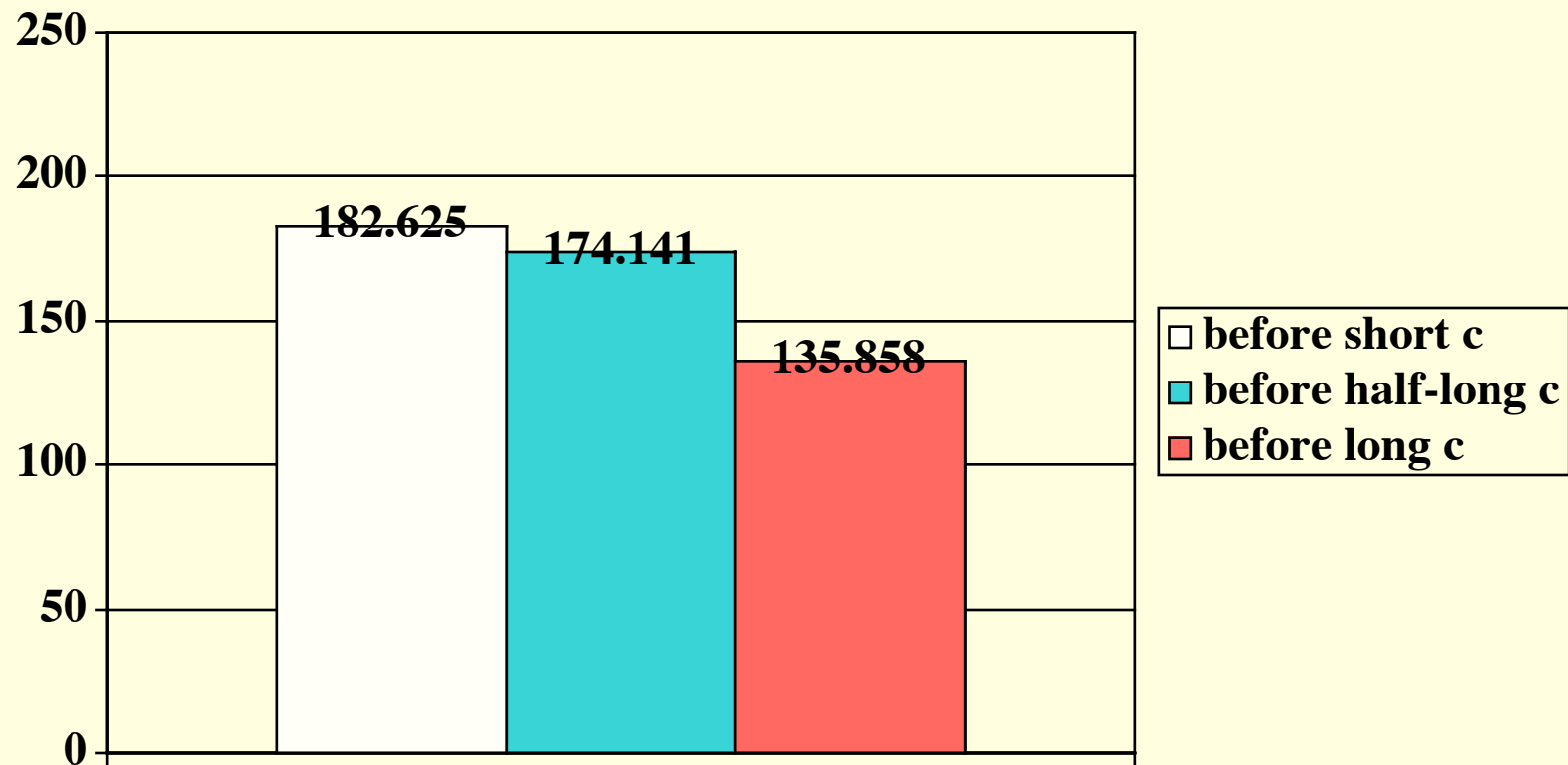
Length: consonants



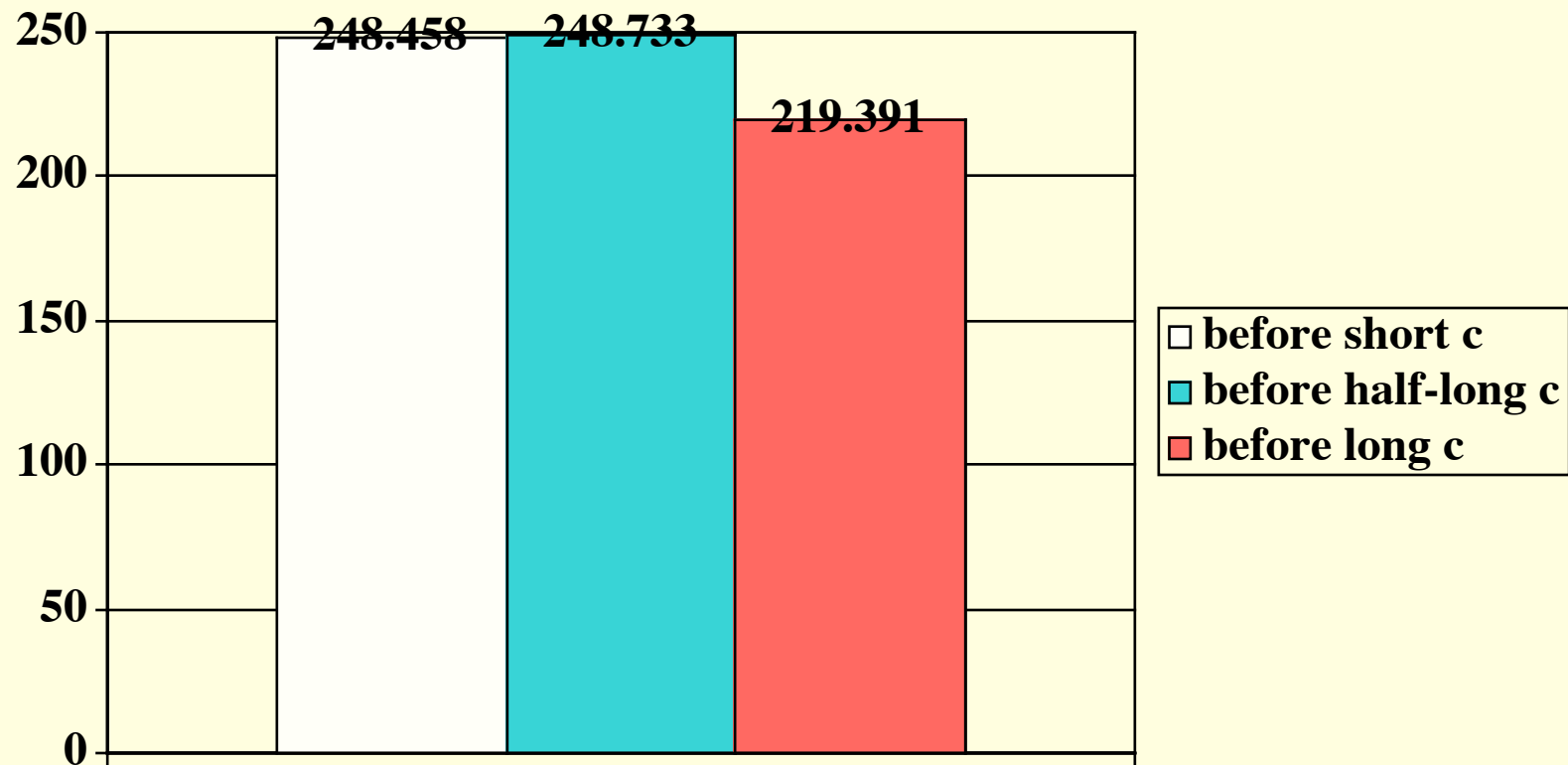
Length: all vowels



Length: short vowels

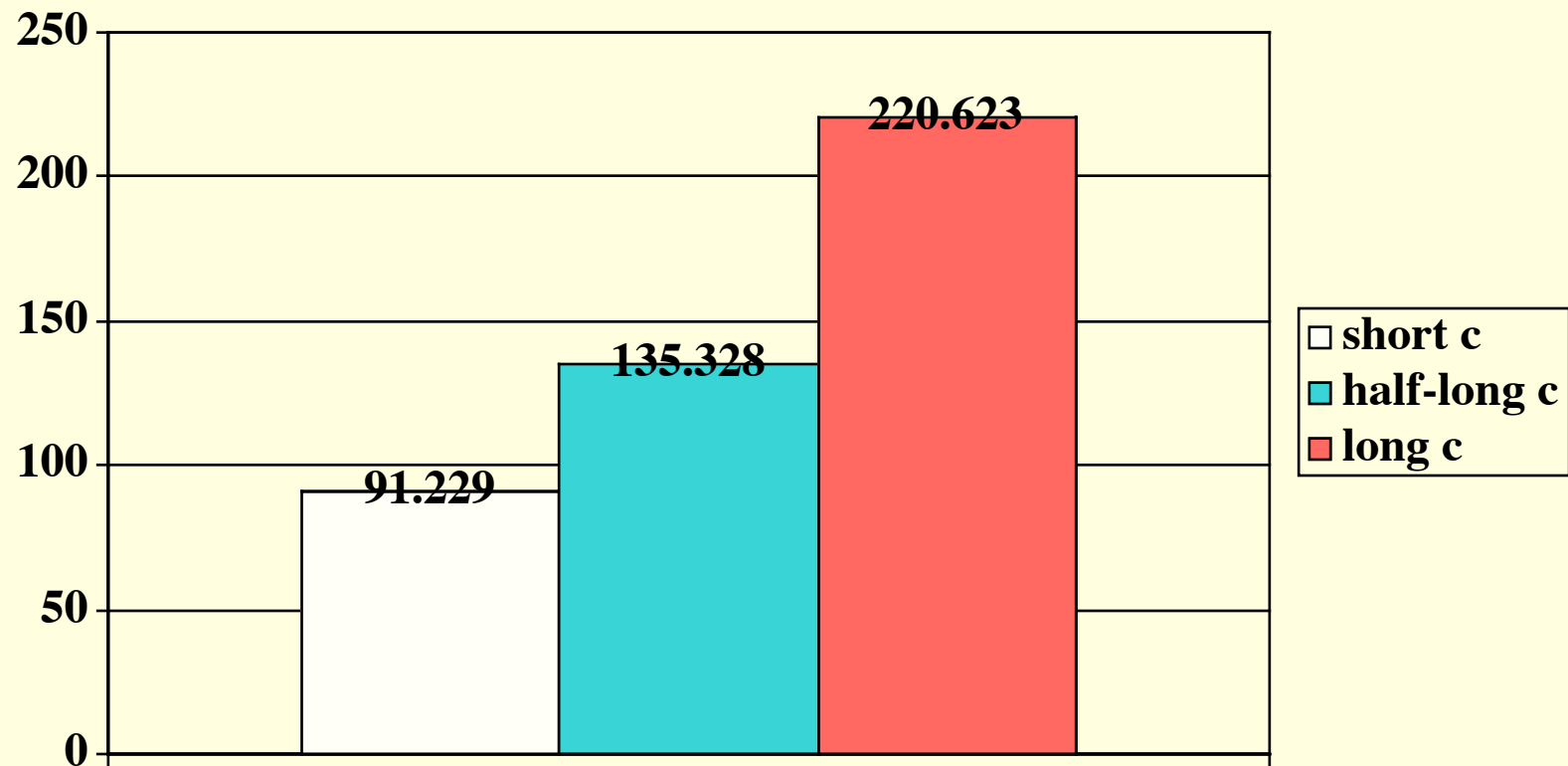


Length: long vowels



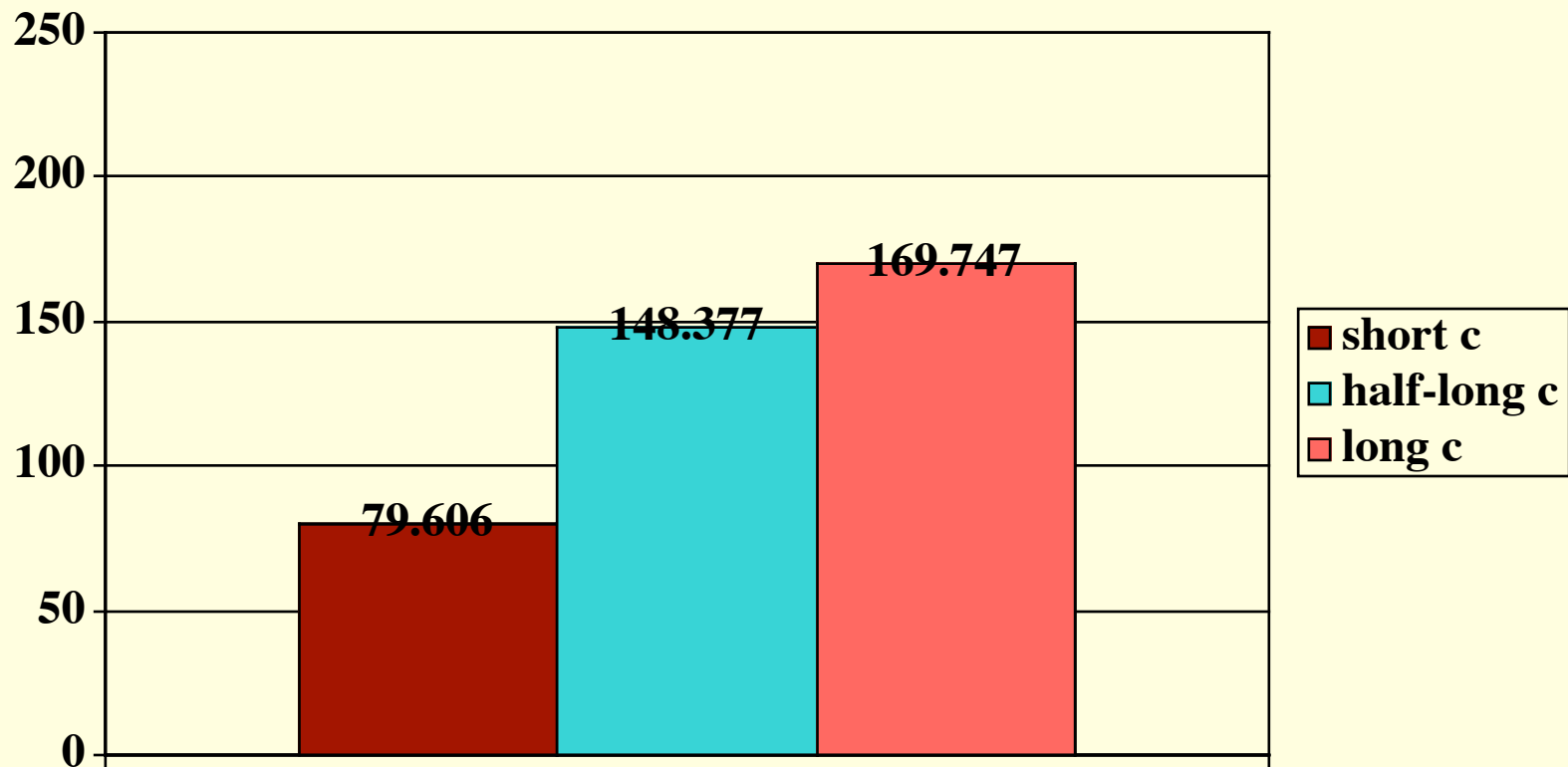
Length:

Consonants after short vowels



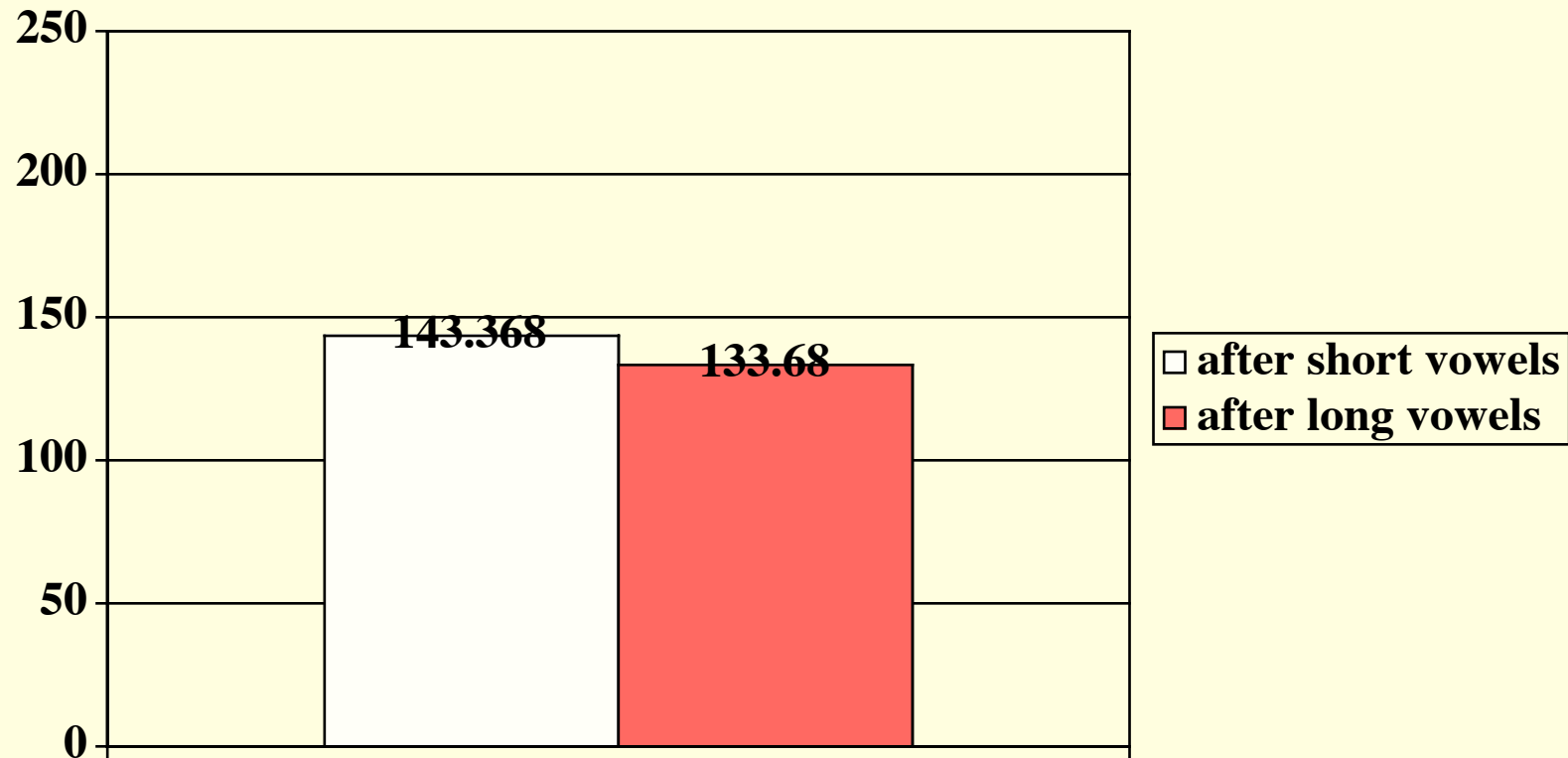
Length:

Consonants after long vowels



Length:

Consonants after long and short vowels



arve, a'rve

arve vs. a'rve; alme vs. a'lme

long [r] in arve, alme

short [r] in a'rve, a'lme

also: phonetic lengthening of final vowel

Prestopping

before nasals

Preaspiration

before voiceless stops

V

v: onsets

w: codas

MORPHOLOGY

Morphology

- Vowel alternations
- Consonant gradation

Consonant gradation

- Strong grade and weak grade
- 3 and 2
- 2 and 1

Consonant gradation

- mm - m̄
- nn - n̄
- rr- r̄
- tt -t
- bb -b
- zz - z
- vv - v
- c - s
- kk - h
- p - v
- h - v
- č - j
- t - □

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

pälkki ‘wages, pay’

case	singular	plural
nominative	pälkki	päälhih
genitive	päälhi	paalhij
accusative	päälhi	paalhijd
illative	páálkán	palhhijd
locative	päälhist	paalhijn
comitative	palhhijn	pa'lhijgui'm
abessive	pälhittää	pa'lhijttáá
essive	pälkkin	
partitive	pälkkid	

kietâ 'hand'

	singular	plural
nominative	kietâ	kie□ah
genitive	kie□â	kie□âi
accusative	kie□â	kie□âid
illative	kietân	kie□âid
locative	kie□âst	kie□âin
comitative	kie□âin	kie'□âigui'm
abessive	kie'□âttáá	kie'□âittáá
essive	kiettân	
partitive	kiettâd	

anarâš̥ ‘Inari Sami person’

	singular	plural
nominative	anarâš̥	anarâš̥âh
genitive	anarâš̥	anarâš̥âi
accusative	anarâš̥	anarâš̥âid
illative	anarâš̥ân	anarâš̥šâid
locative	anarâš̥âst	anarâš̥âin
comitative	anarâš̥âin	anarâš̥âigui'm
abessive	anarâš̥ttáá	anarâš̥âittáá
essive	anarâš̥ân	
partitive	anarâš̥âd	

alge 'boy'

	singular	plural
nominative	alge	a'lgeh
genitive	a'lge	oolgij
accusative	a'lge	oolgijd
illative	aalgan	olgijd
locative	algeest	oolgijn
comitative	olgijn	o'lgijgui'm
abessive	a'lgettáá	o'lgijttáá
essive	algen	
partitive	alged	

case marking -- template

	singular	plural
nominative		-h
genitive		-i/-ij
accusative		-id/-ijd
illative	-n	-(V)id/-(V)ijd
locative	-st	-i(j)n
comitative	-i(j)n	-gui'm (-gijn)
abessive	-ttáá	-ttáá
essive	-n	
partitive	-d	

Nominative

- subject of finite verbs

Nominative

Kumppi koccái ejittáá.

wolf awoke father

nom **3sg** **abe**

'The wolf awoke without his father.'

Nominative

Mun oinim suu vyeijimin.

I saw he/she drive

nom 1sg acc ger

'I saw him/her driving.'

Genitive

- prenominal possessors
- in the singular: merged with the accusative
- after numbers 2--6
- after *maŋgâ*, *muád'di*, *kalle*

Genitive

<u>Niei'dâ</u>	ustev	tietá	it	mij	lep	vyelgimin
girl	friend	knows	that	we	are	leave
gen	nom	3sg	inf	nom.pl	1pl	ger

'The girl's friend knows that we are leaving.'

Accusative

- objects

Accusative

Tij	káččávette□	<u>tuom</u>	vastees	<u>kaasi.</u>
you	watch	that	ugly	cat
nom.pl	2.pl	acc		acc

'You are watching that ugly cat.'

Accusative

Mun oinim kuumpijd cokkaámin tyebbin.

I saw wolves sit there

nom 1sg acc inf

'I saw the wolves sitting over there.'

Illative

- *to, into, onto*

Illative

Tun	lijjih	pieijim	puttâl	<u>toos</u>
you	were	put	bottle	it
sg	2.sg	participle	acc	ill

‘You had put the bottle in it.’

Illative

Muoi	adelijn	hiäppušijd	<u>kandáid.</u>
we	gave	horses	boys
nom.du	1.du	acc	ill

‘We gave horses to the boys.’

Illative

<u>Kiäs</u>	tun	adelih	tuom	pâânâ?
who	you	gave	that	pen
sg.ill	sg	2.sg	acc	acc

‘Who did you give that pen to?’

Locative

- *on, at, in*
- *from, out of*
- expresses possessor:

someone has something:

someone-LOC is something

Locative

Kyesih čokkájeh avdost.

guests sit car

nom 3pl loc

‘The guests are sitting in the car.’

Locative

Tuoi	Ánnáin	puátivettee	<u>meeclist</u>	suuin.
you	Anna	come	forest	he
nom.du	com	2.du	loc	com

‘You and Anna are coming out of the forest together with him.’

Locative

<u>Mist</u>	laa	maŋgâ	táálu.
we	are	many	house
loc.pl	3pl	nom	gen.sg

'We have many houses.'

Comitative

- *with*
- pronoun and someone:
dual-pronoun someone.**comitative**

Comitative

Suoi sárnuv tiigui'm.

they speak you

nom.du 3.du pl.com

'They are speaking with you.'

Comitative

Tuoi	<u>Ánnáin</u>	puátivettee	meeecist	<u>suuin.</u>
you	Anna	come	forest	s/he
nom.du	com	2.du	loc.sg	com

‘You and Anna are coming out of the forest together with him/her.’

Abessive

- *without*

Abessive

Suoi	poo□ijn	maassâd	<u>nisonijttáá</u>
they	came	back	women
nom.du	3.du		abe

‘They returned without the women.’

Abessive

Suoi	poo□ijn	maassâd	<u>nissoonttáá</u>
they	came	back	woman
nom.du	3.du		abe

‘They returned without the woman.’

Essive

- used very rarely
- often replaced with illative case
- to believe (jurde□) someone/something to be someone-ESS/something-ESS

Essive

Sij	jurdiŋ	muorâ	<u>táállun</u>
they	believed	tree	house
nom.pl	3.pl	acc	ess

‘They thought the tree was a house.’

Partitive

- after numbers 7+
- with comparatives (*than someone/something*)
- sometimes replaced with accusative

Partitive

Muorâ	lii	<u>táállud</u>	ucceeb
tree	is	house	smaller
nom.sg	3.sg	part	

‘The tree is smaller than the house.’

Partitive

Mun uáinám käävci juuhâd.

I see eight river

nom 1.sg part.sg

'I see eight rivers.'

PRONOUNS

Pronouns

- personal pronouns: singular, dual, plural
- singular, dual, plural in nine cases (except possibly partitive)
- other pronouns: singular and dual
- case marking as with nouns (no pl. essive and partitive)
- non-pronominal nouns: no dual

First person

	sg	du	pl
nom	mun	muoi	mij
gen	muu	munnuu	mii
acc	muu	munnuu	mii
ill	munjin	munnui	mijjân
loc	must, mu'ste	munnust	mist, mi'ste
com	muuin	munnuin	miigui'm
abe	muuttáá	munnuuttáá	miittäá
ess	munen	munnun	minen
part	mu□e	(munnud)	(mi□e)

Possessive suffixes

- instead of genitive pronoun + noun:
noun+possessive suffix

Possessive suffixes

- muu alge □ algam (nom.sg)
- muu a'lge □ algen (acc.sg)
- muu aalgan □ algâsân (ill.sg)
- muu o'lgij □ o'lgijdân (acc.pl)

Possessive suffixes

- 1 person: -m, -n, -ân
- 2 person: -d, -âd
- 3 person: -s, -is

MORPHOLOGY

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives and adverbs

	adjective	adverb
positive	muččâd	muččâāv
comparative	muččâup	muččâupoht
superlative	muččâumos	muččâumosáv

Adjectives and adverbs

	adjective	adverb
positive	kiergâd	huáppust
comparative	kiergâꞑup	huápupeht
superlative	kiergâꞑumos	huápumosávt

Adjectives and adverbs

	adjective	adverb
positive		(-ávt)
comparative	-up	-peht/-poht
superlative	-mos	-mosávt (-musáht)

Attributive vs. predicative

	attributive	predicative
singular	mučis, nuorâ	muččâd, nuorâ
plural	mučis, nuorâ	mučče□eh, nuorâh

Adjectives: plural

<u>Kiergâñis</u>	kuumpih	pottii	mecist.	(attributive)
fast	wolves	came	forest	
	nom.pl	3.pl	loc	

‘The fast wolves came out of the forest.’

Sij	láá	<u>kiergâñeh.</u>	(predicative)
they	are	fast	
nom.pl	3.pl	pl	

‘They are fast.’

Attributive vs. predicative

	attributive	predicative
pos sg	mučis	muččâd
pl	mučis	mučče ^{eh}
comp sg	muččâ ^{up}	muččâ ^{up}
pl	muččâ ^{up}	muččâ ^{upeh}
supr sg	muččâ ^{umos}	muččâ ^{umos}
pl	muččâ ^{umos}	muččâ ^{umoseh}

Adjectives: case marking

Lavlâ kullui muččâñan.

song sounded beautiful

nom 3.sg

‘The song sounded beautiful.’

Adjectives: case marking

Sun	lii	šoddâm	puárisân.
s/he	is	become	old
nom	3.sg	participle	

‘He has gotten old.’

MORPHOLOGY

VERBS

Verbs

- indicative, potential, conditional and imperative
- present, past, perfect, and pluperfect
- three persons and three numbers

Not much...

- not much: potential
- not much: first and third person imperative
- not much: passive

Verbs on handout

- present indicative (1) & (11)
- past indicative (2) & (12)
- conditional (3) & (13)
- imperative (4) & (14)

Verbs

- perfect: *le□e* in present tense + participle
- pluperfect: *le□e* in past tense + participle
- (5) & (15) & (8) & (9)

past, present, conditional

	present	past	conditional
sg 1	-m	-m	-m
2	-h	-h	-h
3		-i	-ij
du 1	-n	-in	-áin
2	-vettee	-id	-áid
3	-v	-in	-áin
pl 1	-p	-in	-ijn
2	-vette□	-id	-ijd
3	-h	-ii	-ii

past, present, conditional (some verbs)

	present	past	conditional
sg 1	-m	-m	-m
2	-h	-h	-h
3		-ij	-ij
du 1	-n	-(i)ijn	-áin
2	-vettee	-(i)ijd	-áid
3	-v	-(i)ijn	-áin
pl 1	-p	-ijn	-ijn
2	-vette□	-ijd	-ijd
3	-h	-ii	-ii

past, present, conditional dictionary

	present	past	conditional
sg 1	-m	-m	-m
2	-h	-h	-h
3		-i	-ij
du 1	-n	-im (-in)	-áim (-áin)
2	-vettee	-id	-áid
3	-v	-in	-áin
pl 1	-p	-im (-in)	-im (-ijn)
2	-vette□	-id	-ijd
3	-h	-ii	-ii

vahhoo□ (to doubt)

	present	past
sg 1	vavoh	voohum
2	vavoh	voohuh
3	vaho	vavoi
du 1	vahhoon	vavvooin
2	vahovettee	vavvooid
3	vahhoov	vavvooin
pl 1	vahhoop	vavvoin
2	vahovettee□	vavvoid
3	vahoh	vohhuu

NEGATIVE VERBS

‘not go’

	negation	present	past
sg 1	jie'm	sáárnu	särnum
2	jie'h	“	“
3	ij	“	“
du 1	iän	“	“
2	eppee	“	“
3	iä'vä	“	“
pl 1	ep	“	“
2	eppe□	“	“
3	iä	“	“

- Examples (16), (17) & (9)

Cf. South Sami

	South Sami		Inari Sami
present	im	daerijeh	jiem tie [∫] e
tense	not	know	not know
	1sg.prs	participle	1sg participle.prs
past	idtjim	daerijeh	jiem tiättâm
tense	not	know	not know
	1sg.pst	participle	1sg participle.pst

NON-FINITE VERBS

Infinitive

- ending: -□
- Examples (18-24)

Participle

- ending: *-m*
- Examples (25-29)

Gerundive I

- ending: *-ijn* (+possessive suffix)
- Examples (30-31)

Gerundive II

- ending: *-min*
- Examples (32-38)

Gerundive III

- ending: *-mist*
- Examples (39-41)

‘by means of’

- ending: *-máin*
- Examples (42-43)

Abessive

- ending: *-hánnáá*
- Examples (44-45)

Yes-no questions

- question marker: *-uv*
- cliticizes to first word (phrase)
- normally: verb-*uv* subject object
- examples (46-48)

wh-questions

- wh-word at the beginning of the sentence

AGREEMENT MARKING

- subject agreement

A 'well-behaved' subject

- agrees with the verb
- bears nominative case
- appears in the canonical subject position
- example (49)

Basic agreement facts

- pronouns appear in three persons and three numbers (50)
- the verb agrees in three persons and three numbers (51-52)
- non-pronominal nouns, impersonal pronouns, and adjectives are inflected for singular and plural (not dual) (53-55)

Partial agreement

- in addition to full agreement, Inari Sami also has *partial* agreement
- full and partial agreement for ‘to be’ ()
- singular: third person singular (*lii*)
- dual and plural: third person plural (*láá*)

When full, when partial?

- animacy
- examples (57-58): animate subject
- full agreement
- examples (59-61): inanimate subject
- partial agreement

Problem 1: animals

- human subjects: full agreement
- inanimate subjects: partial agreement
- examples (63-64):
- animals: sometimes full, sometimes partial

Problem 2: ?

- Sometimes partial agreement also with human subjects (65-66)
- Topicality?
- Specificity or definiteness?
- Influence from Finnish?

Finnish agreement

- Finnish does not have partial agreement
- Finnish has default agreement

Is it really *subject* agreement?

Subject agreement?

- WORD ORDER?
- ‘normal’ sentences: leftward agreement
- existential and possessive sentences:
rightward agreement

Subject agreement?

- THEMATIC ROLE?
- the agreeing phrase can have all kinds of semantic functions.
- not necessarily highest function

Subject agreement?

- CASE MARKING?
- the agreeing phrase normally bears nominative case

Subject agreement?

- **CASE MARKING ON NUMBERS**
- a noun modified by a number does not bear ‘normal’ case marking
- it is possible that the verb then agrees with the modifying numeral
- if so: case marking is not a clear marker of subjecthood
- nom and acc case merged in numerals (?)

Verbal agreement: Summary

- full agreement: humans
- partial agreement: inanimates
- specificity, definiteness and/or topicality is also relevant
- there is *always* agreement
- there is no default agreement

Numbers

- a noun modified by a number does not bear the normal subject/object case marking
- numbers 2-6: genitive singular (68-70)
- numbers 7+: partitive singular (71-73)

Numbers

- numbers 2-6: accusative or genitive?
- compare examples (68-69) to example (70)

Case marking on numbers

- Different from other paradigms?
- numbers: nom & acc merged, gen different
- otherwise: gen & acc merged, nom different

Case marking on numbers

- The case assigned by the numeral overrides normal subject and object case marking only
- It does not override lexically assigned case
- It does not override semantic case

Mun adelim kiirjijd vii□â aalgan.

I gave books five boy

nom 1sg acc ill.sg

‘I gave books to five boys.’

VARIATION

MORPHOLOGY

Variation

- Present tense paradigm
- Second person dual: *-vettee*
- Second person plural: *-vette*□
- Dictionary and most informants

-vettee and *-vette* □

- Speaker A:
second person dual and plural have merged
into *-vettee*
- Speaker B:
second person dual and plural have merged
into *-vette* □

-vettee and -vette □

		speaker A	speaker B
Du 2	<i>lávluvettee</i>	<i>lávluvettee</i>	<i>lávluvette</i> □
P1 2	<i>lávluvette</i> □	<i>lávluvettee</i>	<i>lávluvette</i> □

-vettee and -vette □

- Speakers A and B are siblings
- Both speakers distinguish between dual and plural elsewhere
- Both speakers distinguish between second person dual and plural in other tenses and moods

-vettee and -vette □

- Speaker A has not lost the -□ sound elsewhere
- Both speakers recognize that there is variation, but they do not recognize the distinction in meaning
- Phonetic salience?

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