

Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology

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March 11, 2010

Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology
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Morpho-phonology
Case
Numbers
Verbs
Dual

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Overview

- 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!

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Inari Saami

- 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.

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Morpho-phonology

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

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Morphology without (agglutinative) morphemes

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Case

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- 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



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kiõtt 'hand' (Skolt Saami)

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Morpho-phonology

Case

Numbers

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	



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kietâ 'hand' (Inari Saami)

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Morpho-phonology

Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	kietâ	kiedah
ACCUSATIVE	kiedâ	kiedâid
GENITIVE	kiedâ	kiedâi
ILLATIVE	kietân	kiedâid
LOCATIVE	kiedâst	kiedâin
COMITATIVE	kiedâin	kie'dâigui'm
ABESSIVE	kie'dâittáá	kie'dâittáá
ESSIVE	kiettân	
PARTITIVE	kiettâd	



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What to do?

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



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Pronominal paradigm, 1ST PERSON

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

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

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Nominative

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

- Subject of finite verb.

Example

Kumppi koccái meecist.
wolf.NOM.SG awoke forest.LOC.SG
'The wolf woke up in the forest.'

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Accusative

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Case

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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.'

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Genitive

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- Prenominal possessors.

Example

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

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Illative

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Verbs

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- 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.'



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Locative

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

- 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.'



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Locative

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Example

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

Example

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



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Comitative

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Dual

- with

Example

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



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Comitative

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Example

Tuoi	Ánnáin	puátivettee	meecest.
you.NOM.DU	Anna.COM	come.PRES.DU	forest.LOC.SC

'You and Anna are coming from the forest.'



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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.'



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Essive

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

- 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.'



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Partitive

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

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

Example

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

'The tree is smaller than the house.'



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Numbers and nouns

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

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

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

- Also in the other Eastern Saami languages (?)



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Ohtâ

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Case

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Verbs

Dual

- ohtâ: declines together with the noun

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

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



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Numbers kye'h'ti – kuttâ

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

SUBJECTS & OBJECTS:

kyeh'ti/kulmâ/nelji/vittâ/kuttâ poccou
2.NOM/3.NOM/4.NOM/5.NOM/6.NOM reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG

Numbers: NOM or ACC?



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Numbers čiččâm → ∞

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Verbs

Dual

SUBJECTS & OBJECTS:

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



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Number + noun when noun is not subject or object

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Dual

- Example, illative case:

Examples

Mun	adelim	kuolijđ	viidâ	almâi
1SG.NOM	gave.1SG	fish.ACC.PL	five.ACC/GEN	man.ILL.SG

'I gave fish to five men.'

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CASE	EXAMPLE	MAIN USE
NOMINATIVE	<i>mun</i> 'I'	subject of finite verb
GENITIVE	<i>nieidâ</i> 'girl'	prenominal possessor
ACCUSATIVE	<i>kuumpijđ</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

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kuá'lástâđ 'to fish', present tense:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	kuá'lástam	kuá'lásteen	kuá'lástep
2	kuá'lástah	kuá'lástvettee	kuá'lástvetteđ
3	kuáláást	kuá'lástava	kuá'lásteh

čokkáđ 'to sit', present tense:

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

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Dual

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	kuá'lástam	kuá'lásteen	kuá'lástep
2	kuá'lástah	kuá'lástvettee	kuá'lástvetteđ
3	kuáláást	kuá'lástava	kuá'lásteh

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

Endings?

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2nd person dual and plural

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Case

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Dual

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



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čokkáđ 'to sit'

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PRESENT TENSE:

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

PAST TENSE:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	čokkájim	čokkááim	čokkáim
2	čokkájih	čokkááid	čokkáid
3	čokkáái	čokkááin	čokkájii



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The dual in Inari Saami

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Verbs

Dual

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



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Dual agreement

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Case

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Dual

- (1) Sun kuá'láást 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.'



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Dual agreement

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Dual

- (1) Almai kuá'láást 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.'

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Agreement: Animacy

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Dual

- (1) Meejist 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 keedgi láá meecist.
two big rock are.3PL forest.LOC
'Two big rocks are in the forest.'

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Agreement: Animacy

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Verbs

Dual

- (1) Kyehti poccu 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.'

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Agreement: Topicality/Specificity?

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Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

- (1) Muste lava/láá kyehti viiljá.
I.LOC are.3DU/are.3PL two brother
'I have two brothers.'
- (2) Táálust lava/láá kyehti ulmuu.
house.LOC are.3DU/3PL two person
'There are two people in the house.'
- (2) Kyehti almaa poodijn/pottii.
two man came.3DU/3PL
'Two men arrived; There came two men.'

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