Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology

Ida Toivonen

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March 11, 2010
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!
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.
It is difficult to understand Saami morphology if you don’t Saami phonetics and phonology.
Morphology without (agglutinative) morphemes

- chicken: kääni 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
### Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology

Ida Toivonen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>ńkiött</td>
<td>ńkiōď</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōď</td>
<td>ńkiōďid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōď</td>
<td>ńkiōđi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illative</strong></td>
<td>ńkiō’ťte</td>
<td>ńkiōďid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōďast</td>
<td>ńkiōđin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comitative</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōđin</td>
<td>ńkiōđivui’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abessive</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōđtāą</td>
<td>ńkiōđitāą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essive</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōttāń</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partitive</strong></td>
<td>ńkiōttād</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ķietâ ‘hand’ (Inari Saami)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOMINATIVE</strong></td>
<td>kietâ</td>
<td>kieđah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACCUSATIVE</strong></td>
<td>kieđâ</td>
<td>kieđâid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENITIVE</strong></td>
<td>kieđâ</td>
<td>kieđâi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ILLATIVE</strong></td>
<td>kietân</td>
<td>kieđâid</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LOCATIVE</strong></td>
<td>kieđâst</td>
<td>kieđâin</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COMITATIVE</strong></td>
<td>kieđâin</td>
<td>kie’dâigui’m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABESSIVE</strong></td>
<td>kie’dâttáá</td>
<td>kie’dâittáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSIVE</strong></td>
<td>kiettân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTITIVE</strong></td>
<td>kieđâd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What to do?

What if you find it difficult/almost impossible to hear the distinctions, especially in natural speech?
# Pronominal paradigm, 1ST PERSON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominaive</strong></td>
<td>mun</td>
<td>muoi</td>
<td>mij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
<td>muu</td>
<td>munnuu</td>
<td>mii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>muu</td>
<td>munnuu</td>
<td>mii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illative</strong></td>
<td>munjin</td>
<td>munnui</td>
<td>mijjân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>must, mu’ste</td>
<td>munnust</td>
<td>mist, mi’ste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comitative</strong></td>
<td>muuіін, mu’in</td>
<td>munnu(u)ііn</td>
<td>miіgu’ііm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abessive</strong></td>
<td>muuttáа</td>
<td>munnuuttáа</td>
<td>miittáа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Essive</strong></td>
<td>mунen</td>
<td>munnun</td>
<td>mіnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partitive</strong></td>
<td>múde</td>
<td>munnud</td>
<td>mіđe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nominative

- Subject of finite verb.

**Example**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kumppi</th>
<th>koccái</th>
<th>meecist.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolf.NOM.SG</td>
<td>awoke</td>
<td>forest.LOC.SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The wolf woke up in the forest.’
Nominative

- Subject of finite verb.

**Example**

```
Kumppi koccái meecist.
well.NOM.SG awoke forest.LOC.SG
```

‘The wolf woke up in the forest.’
Accusative

- Objects
- Merged with genitive in the singular

Example:

Mun oinim kuobžâ.

I.NOM saw bear.ACC.SG

‘I saw a bear.’
Accusative

- Objects
- Merged with genitive in the singular

Example

Mun oinim kuobžâ.
I.NOM saw bear.ACC.SG
‘I saw a bear.’
Prenominal possessors.

Example

Nieidâ ustâv lîi vaaibâm.
girl.GEN.SG friend.ACC.SC is tired
‘The girl’s friend is tired.’
Prenominal possessors.

Example

Nieidâ ustâv lîi 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
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Kumppi  koccái  meecist.
wolf.NOM.SG  awoke  forest.LOC.SG
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Example

Kumppi koccái meecist.

wolf.NOM.SG awoke forest.LOC.SG

‘The wolf woke up in the forest.’
Locative

Example

Tij puátivetteŋ meecist.
you.NOM.PL came forest.LOC.SG
‘You (all) came out of the forest.’

Example

Mist lii táľu
we.LOC.PL is house.NOM.SG
‘We have a house.’
Locative

Example

Tij puátivetteď meecist.
you.NOM.PL came forest.LOC.SG
‘You (all) came out of the forest.’

Example

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we.LOC.PL is house.NOM.SG
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Morphophonology

Case

Numbers

Verbs

Dual

Comitative

- with

Example

Suoi sárnuv o’lgijgui’m.

they.NOM.DU speak boy.COM.PL

‘They are speaking with the boys.’
Comitative

with

Example

Suoi sárnuv o’lgijgui’m.
they.number.dual speak number.comitive.
‘They are speaking with the boys.’
Comitative

Example

Tuoi | Ánnáin | puáтивettee | meecist.
you.NOM.DU | Anna.COM | come.PRES.DU | forest.LOC.SC
‘You and Anna are coming from the forest.’
Abessive

- without

Example

Suoi poöďijn 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.

Example

Sij jurdij muorâ táállun.
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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

Muorâ lii táállud ucceeb.

‘The tree is smaller than the house.’
Partitive

- used very rarely
- with certain numbers (to be discussed below)
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Tree.NOM.SG is house.PART.SG smaller

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Muorâ lii táállud ucceeb.
tree.NOM.SG is house.PART.SG smaller
‘The tree is smaller than the house.’
# Numbers and nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nelji</th>
<th>poccuu</th>
<th>‘four reindeer’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>four.NOM</td>
<td>reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>čičcâm</th>
<th>poccud</th>
<th>‘seven reindeer’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>seven.NOM</td>
<td>reindeer.PART.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Also in the other Eastern Saami languages (?)
Numbers and nouns

nelji        poccuu        ‘four reindeer’
four.NOM     reindeer.ACC/GEN.SG

čiččâm       poccud        ‘seven reindeer’
seven.NOM    reindeer.PART.SG

Also in the other Eastern Saami languages (?)
Ohtâ

- ohtâ: declines together with the noun

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohtâ</td>
<td>puásui</td>
<td>‘one reindeer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one.NOM.SG</td>
<td>reindeer.NOM.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oovtâ</td>
<td>poccuu</td>
<td>‘one reindeer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one.ACC.SG</td>
<td>reindeer.ACC.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Numbers kyeh’ti – kuttâ

SUBJECTS & OBJECTS:

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

Numbers: NOM or ACC?
Subjects & Objects:

čičcâm/käävci / ... poccud
7.NOM/8.NOM / reindeer.PART
Number + noun when noun is not subject or object

Example, illative case:

Mun adelim kuolijd viiďâ almai
1SG.NOM gave.1SG fish.ACC.PL five.ACC/GEN man.ILL.SG

'I gave fish to five men.'
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Case</strong></th>
<th><strong>Example</strong></th>
<th><strong>Main use</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOMINATIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>mun ‘I’</em></td>
<td>subject of finite verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENITIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>nieidâ ‘girl’</em></td>
<td>prenominal possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACCUSATIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>kuumpijd ‘wolves’</em></td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ILLATIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>kandáid ‘boys’</em></td>
<td>to, into, onto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCATIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>avdost ‘car’</em></td>
<td>on, at, in; from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMITATIVE</strong></td>
<td>Ánnáin ‘Anna’</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABESSIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>nisonijttaá ‘women’</em></td>
<td>without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>táállun ‘house’</em></td>
<td>as X, becoming X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARTITIVE</strong></td>
<td><em>táállud ‘house’</em></td>
<td>after numbers 7+, compar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table:** The functions of the morphological cases, Inari Saami
kuá’lástâđ ‘to fish’, present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kuá’lástm</td>
<td>kuá’lásteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuá’lástah</td>
<td>kuá’lástvettee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuáláást</td>
<td>kuá’lástava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

čokkáđ ‘to sit’, present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čokkáám</td>
<td>čokkájeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čokkááh</td>
<td>čokkáávettee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čokkáá</td>
<td>čokkáv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Fieldwork and analysis in Saami morphology

**Ida Toivonen**

**Morphophonology**

**Case**

**Numbers**

**Verbs**

**Dual**

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<tr>
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<td>kuá’lástah</td>
<td>kuá’lástvettee</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>kuáláást</td>
<td>kuá’lástava</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čokkáám</td>
<td>čokkájeen</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čokkááh</td>
<td>čokkáávettee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čokkáá</td>
<td>čokkáv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Endings?**
Two of my informants have merged -vettee and -vetted
Not a general loss of dual–plural distinction.
2nd person dual and plural

- Two of my informants have merged -vettee and -vetted
- Not a general loss of dual–plural distinction.
### čokkáđ ‘to sit’

**PRESENT TENSE:**

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<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čokkáám</td>
<td>čokkájeen</td>
<td>čokkáp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čokkááh</td>
<td>čokkáávettee</td>
<td>čokkáávetteđ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čokkáá</td>
<td>čokkáv</td>
<td>čokkájeh</td>
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</table>

**PAST TENSE:**

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>čokkájim</td>
<td>čokkááim</td>
<td>čokkáim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>čokkájih</td>
<td>čokkááid</td>
<td>čokkáid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>čokkáái</td>
<td>čokkááin</td>
<td>čokkájii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dual in Inari Saami

- 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

(1) Meecist lava uábbi já viljà.

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 keeďgi láá meecist.

two big rock are.3PL forest.LOC

‘Two big rocks are in the forest.’
Agreement: Animacy

(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?

1. Muste lava/láá kyehti viiljâ.
   l. 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 poódijn/pottii.
   two man came.3du/3pl
   ‘Two men arrived; There came two men.’
# Negation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Saami</th>
<th>Inari Saami</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(manne) im daejrieh</td>
<td>(mun) jiem tie'de</td>
<td>‘(I) don’t know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(datne) ih daejrieh</td>
<td>(tun) jieh tie'de</td>
<td>‘(you.sg) don’t know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(manne) idtjim daejrieh</td>
<td>(mun) jiem tiättám</td>
<td>‘(I) didn’t know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(datne) idtjih daejrieh</td>
<td>(tun) jieh tiättám</td>
<td>‘(you.sg) didn’t know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives and adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ADJECTIVE</th>
<th>ADVERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>muččâďávt</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMPARATIVE</td>
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<td>muččâďupoht</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUPERLATIVE</td>
<td>muččâďumos</td>
<td>muččâďumosávt</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG.</td>
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<td>muččâd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>mučis</td>
<td>muččedeh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Causative

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.
    l.NOM break.TRANS-CAUS-PAST.1s Máhtte.ACC window
    ‘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.’