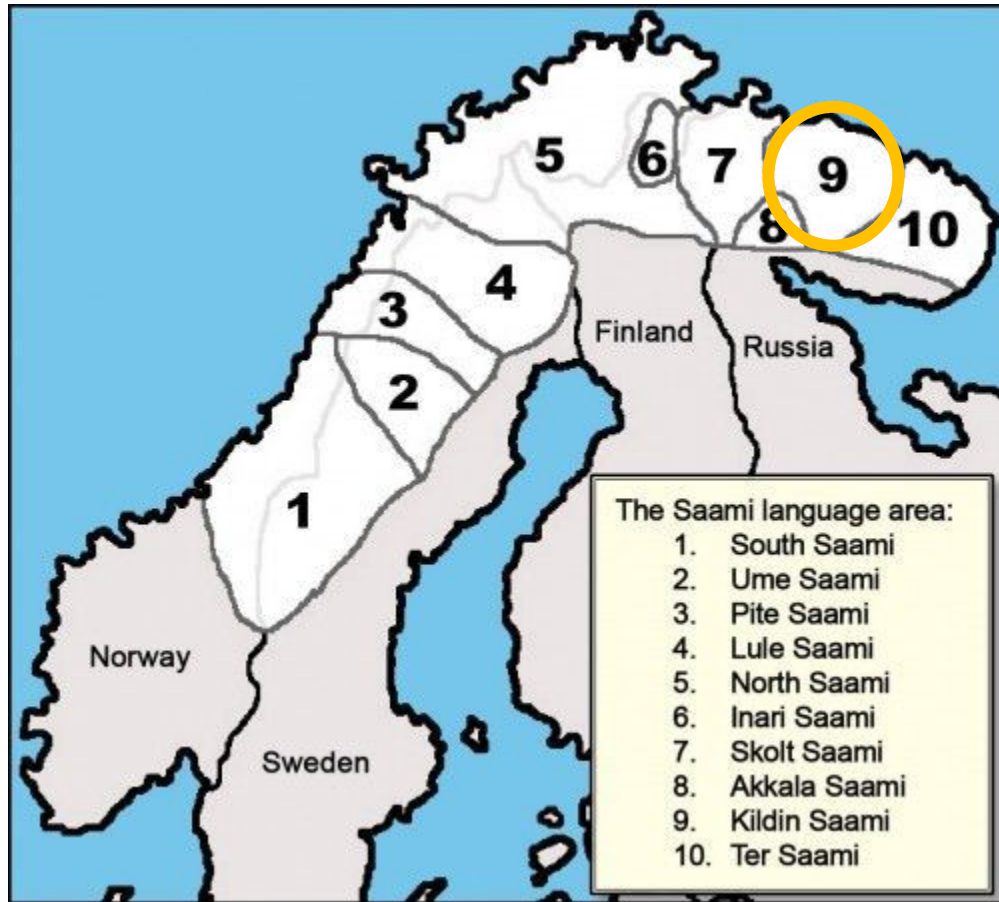




Abessive in Kildin Saami

Valeriya Lelik, NRU HSE, Moscow

Introduction



- Saami languages are spread on the territory of modern Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia
- Uralic family -> Finno-Ugric language
- Total number of speakers (according to population census in Russia, 2010) - 353
- At the territory of Russia the most widespread is Kildin Saami

Introduction

- The data for the research was gathered during the linguistic expedition of HSE and MSU to Lovozero at summer 2019 and on-line in 2020.
- Information from the website **www.caritive.org** was used in the survey



Morphological parameters

There are several abessive endings (*-axta*, *-xanna*, *-xa*, *-xem*)

Endings are attached to nouns (1) and pronouns (2), form adjectives (3) and adverbs (4) with the semantics of the absence of an object or feature

(1) *munn ruphuš-a Vas's'k-xa*
1SG work-1SG.NPST Vasya-ABE.SG
'I work without Vasya'

(2) *munn emm vuannč tenn toon-xa*
1SG NEG.1SG achieve.1SG.NPST this.ACC.SG 2SG-ABE.SG
'I won't manage to do it without you'

(3) *janna kibt sul'l'-x-em peerrk*
mother.NOM.SG cook.3SG.NPST salt-ABE-PTCP food.ACC.SG
'Mother cooks food without salt'

(4) *sonn rikxe jesk-xanne*
3.SG run.3SG.PST stop-ABE.ADV
'he ran without stopping'

Level of realization

- As a part of the word (1-4)
- As a part of a constituent (5)

(5) *per'e m'ill olm-xa mɨj ej vuannč tenn lixxke*
veryintellect man-ABE.SG 1.PL NEG.1PL achieve.1.PL.NPST this.ACC.SG do.INF
'Without a very clever man we won't be able to do this'

Standard meanings

The meaning of not involvement of companion in the situation is expressed with *-xa*, *-axta* (the difference between them is not understood at all yet and seems to be dependent from the particular idiolect). This is actual both for the situations describing the absence of a companion (6) and his presence (7):

(6) *tedt parrne l'ev jen'n'-es'=axta*
this child.PL be.3PL.NPST mother-POSS3=ABE
'these are the children without a mother'

(7) *paar'r'š'a kopčna pertn-es jen'n'-es'=axta*
child.NOM.SG clean.3SG house-LOC.SG mother-POSS3=ABE
'the child cleans the house alone, without a mother'

Standard meanings


Not involvement of an instrument

(8) *Maša* *pessnad* ***mul't-xa***
Masha.NOM.SG wash.3SG.NPST soap-ABE.SG
'Masha washes without soap'

(9) *Maša* *vuel'ke* *olkes* ***zont-axta***
Masha.NOM.SG go.3SG.PST outdoors umbrella-ABE.SG
'Masha went outdoors without an umbrella'

(10a) *Mar'j* *kir'jaxt* *kir'j* ***ručka-xa***
Masha.NOM.SG write.3SG.NPST letter.ACC.SG pen-ABE.SG
'Masha writes letter without a pen'

(10b) *Maša* *kir'jaxt* *kir'j* ***ručk-axta***
Masha.NOM.SG write.3SG.NPST letter.ACC.SG pen-ABE.SG
'Masha writes letter without a pen'



The same sentence, but
the marker varies
between speakers (even
within the speech of
one speaker)

Morphological parameters: clitic or affix?

- Like clitics, the abessive endings are situated after the possessive endings in the word, while for the other cases they tend to be before [Nevis: 1986]
- The endings are prosodically independent, especially *-axta*:

(11) *mun* *pu**de* *villij-an=axta*
1.SG come.1.SG brother-POSS1=ABE
'I came without my brother'

(12) *puaz-s-an*
deer- ILL-POSS.1SG
'to my deer' [Kept 1971: 157]

Syntactic parameters

The *-xem* ending, unlike *-axta*, *-xa*, is only used in the attributive position (the position immediately before the name). In the predicate and predicate-dependent position, the use of *-xem* is impossible. Depending on the idiolect, native speakers use *-axta*, *-xanna*, or *-xa* in this case:

- (13) *mun*n *sar*na ***oab-x-em*** *olm-en*
1.SG speak.1.SG.NPST mustache-ABE-PTCP man-COM.SG
'I speak with a man without mustache'
- (14) **mun*n *sar*na *olm-en* ***oab-x-em***
1.SG speak.1.SG.NPST man-COM.SG mustache-ABE-PTCP
'I speak with a man without mustache'
- (15) **mun*n *sar*na ***oab-xa*** *olm-en*
1.SG speak.1.SG.NPST mustache-ABE.SG man-COM.SG
'I speak with a man without mustache'

Syntactic parameters

(16) *soon* *puude* ***oab-xa***

3.SG come.3.SG.PST mustache-ABE

‘He came without mustache’

(17) **soon* *puude* ***oab-x-em***

3.SG come.3.SG.PST mustache-ABE-PTCP

‘He came without mustache’

Semantic parameters

- Animacy: the absentee can be human (18), animate (19), inanimate (20)

(18) *Uvan* *puude* ***Marj-xa***
Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST Masha-ABE.SG
'Ivan came without Masha'

(19) *Uvan* *puude* ***penn-xa***
Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST dog-ABE.SG
'Ivan came without a dog'

(20) *Uvan* *puude* ***zont-xa***
Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST umbrella-ABE.SG
'Ivan came without an umbrella'

Semantic parameters

- Definiteness: the absentee can be non-specific (21), definite (22) and indefinite (23)

(21) *Leib* *egg* *eedd* ***nijjp-xa***
bread.ACC.SG NEG.2.SG cut.CNG.NPST knife-ABE.SG
'It's impossible to cut bread without a knife'

(22) *Uvan* *puude* ***Marj-xa***
Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST Masha-ABE.SG
'Ivan came without Masha'

(23) *Uvan* *puude* *matematika* ***kniga-axta***
Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST maths book-ABE.SG
'John came yesterday without a mathematic textbook'

Functions of the absentee and other meanings

- Except companion (6-7) and instrument (8-10) can function as legal possession (24), temporary possession (25), garment (26)

(24) *n'uuees's' jeelle mašina=axta*

bad live.INF car=ABE.SG

'It's bad to live without a car'

(25) *Uvan vuul'ke vaar'r'e niĵp-xa*

Ivan.NOM.SG go.3SG.PST forest.ILL.SG knife-ABE.SG

'Ivan went to the forest without a knife'

(26) *Uvan puude kabber'=axta*

Ivan.NOM.SG come.3.SG.PST hat-ABE.SG

'Ivan came without a hat'

Functions of the absentee and other meanings

- Kinship relations (6), body part (27), participant exception (28), vehicle (29)

(27) *Villj* *puude* *tuarr-es* *uul'k-xa*
brother.NOM.SG come.3SG.PST war-LOC.SG leg-ABE.SG
'Brother came from the war without a leg'

(28) *pugg* *ujjt-en'* *lann-a* *Uvan=axta*
everybody go-3PL.PST town-ILL.SG Ivan=ABE.SG
'Everybody went to the city except for Ivan'

(29) *soon* *puude* *sijt-e* *mašina=axta*
3.SG come.3SG.PST village-ILL.SG car=ABE.SG
'He reached the village without the car'

Functions of the absentee and other meanings

- Content (30), circumstance (31), condition (32)

(30) *mun*n *pi*x'x'xte *korzina* *kuumpar=axta*
1.SG bring.1SG.PST basket.ACC.SG mushroom=ABE.PL
'I brought a basket without mushrooms'

(31) *peejjv-xa* *l'i* *keelmas*
sun-ABE.SG be.3SG.NPST cold
'It's cold without the sun'

(32) *mun*n-xa *toon*n *egg* *vuannč* *aav'de* *ukks*
1.SG-ABE.SG 2.SG NEG.2.SG achieve.1.PL.NPST open door.ACC.SG
'You won't be able to open the door without me'

Morphological parameters: verbal stems

- The absence of situation, expressed as a clause, in some cases can be expressed by adding an abessive indicator to the verb roots (33):

(33) *Mar'j* *Vas'k'en* *van'c-ev* ***sarn-xa***
 Masha.NOM.SG Vasya.COM.SG go-3PL.NPST talk-ABE
 'Vasya and Masha go without talking'

Morphological parameters: verbal stems

During the survey negative participles with -nax'tem [Kept 1971: 204] were checked. In some cases their meaning is understood by the speakers in the other way. In (34) the word with such ending means not unwashed but such that cannot be washed and become clean. In (35) the meaning is in line with [Kept 1971: 204]

(34) ***pes-n-ax't-em*** *passtem*

wash-POT-ABE-PTCP spoon.NOM.SG

'the spoon which cannot be washed'

(35) ***log-n-ax't-em*** *kn'iga*

read-POT-ABE-PTCP book.NOM.SG

'not-read book'

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The list of abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1, 2, 3 person;

ABE — abessive;

ACC — accusative;

COM — comitative;

ESS — essive;

LOC — locative;

NEG — negative verb;

NOM — nominative;

NPST — non-past tense;

OBJ — object;

PL — plural;

POSS — possessive;

PST — past tense;

SG — singular.



**Thank you for
your
attention!**
