# Morphological variation in Kildin Saami

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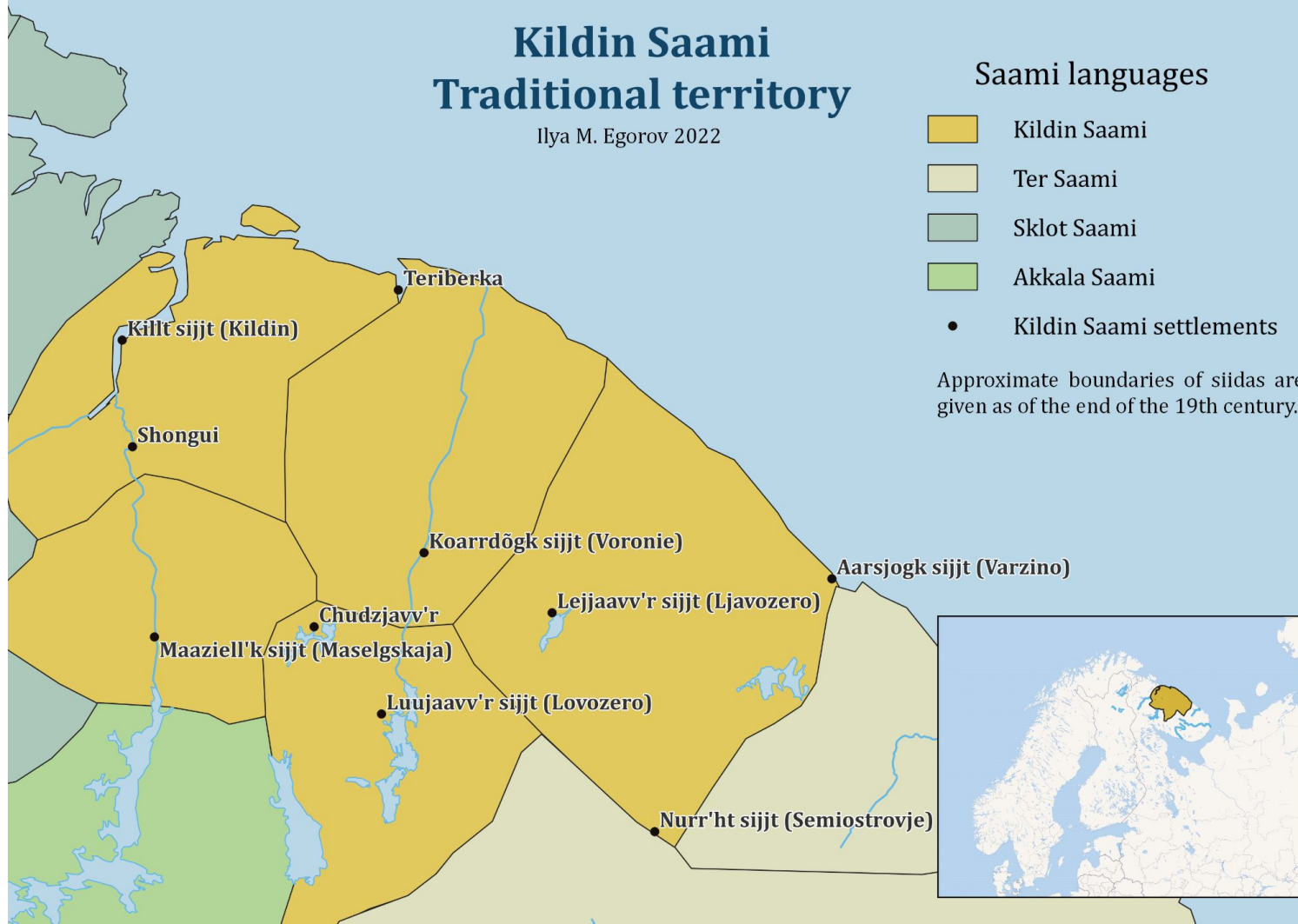
# Kildin Saami
# Traditional territory

Ilya M. Egorov 2022

## Saami languages

- Kildin Saami
- Ter Saami
- Sklot Saami
- Akkala Saami
- • Kildin Saami settlements

Approximate boundaries of siidas are given as of the end of the 19th century.

Teriberka

Killt sijjt (Kildin)

Shongui

Koarrdõgk sijjt (Voronie)

Aarsjogk sijjt (Varzino)

Lejjaavv'r sijjt (Ljavozero)

Chudzjavv'r

Maaziell'k sijjt (Maselgskaja)

Luujaavv'r sijjt (Lovozero)

Nurr'ht sijjt (Semiostrovje)

# Kildin Saami
# Transformation of the traditional territory in the 20th century

Ilya M. Egorov 2022

**Saami languages**

- Kildin Saami
- Ter Saami
- Skolt Saami
- Akkala Saami
- Closed military bases (Let's ruin all of them!)
- Defunct settlements
- Currently existing settlements
- Forced relocations

Gadzhievo
Poliarny
Teriberka
Killt sijjt (Kildin)
Murmansk
Kola
Shongui
Koarrdõgk sijjt (Voronie)
Aarsjogk sijjt (Varzino)
Lejjaavv'r sijjt (Ljavozero)
Chudzjavv'r
Maaziell'k sijjt (Maselgskaja)
Luujaavv'r sijjt (Lovozero)
Monchegorsk
Revda
Nurr'ht sijjt (Semiostrovje)
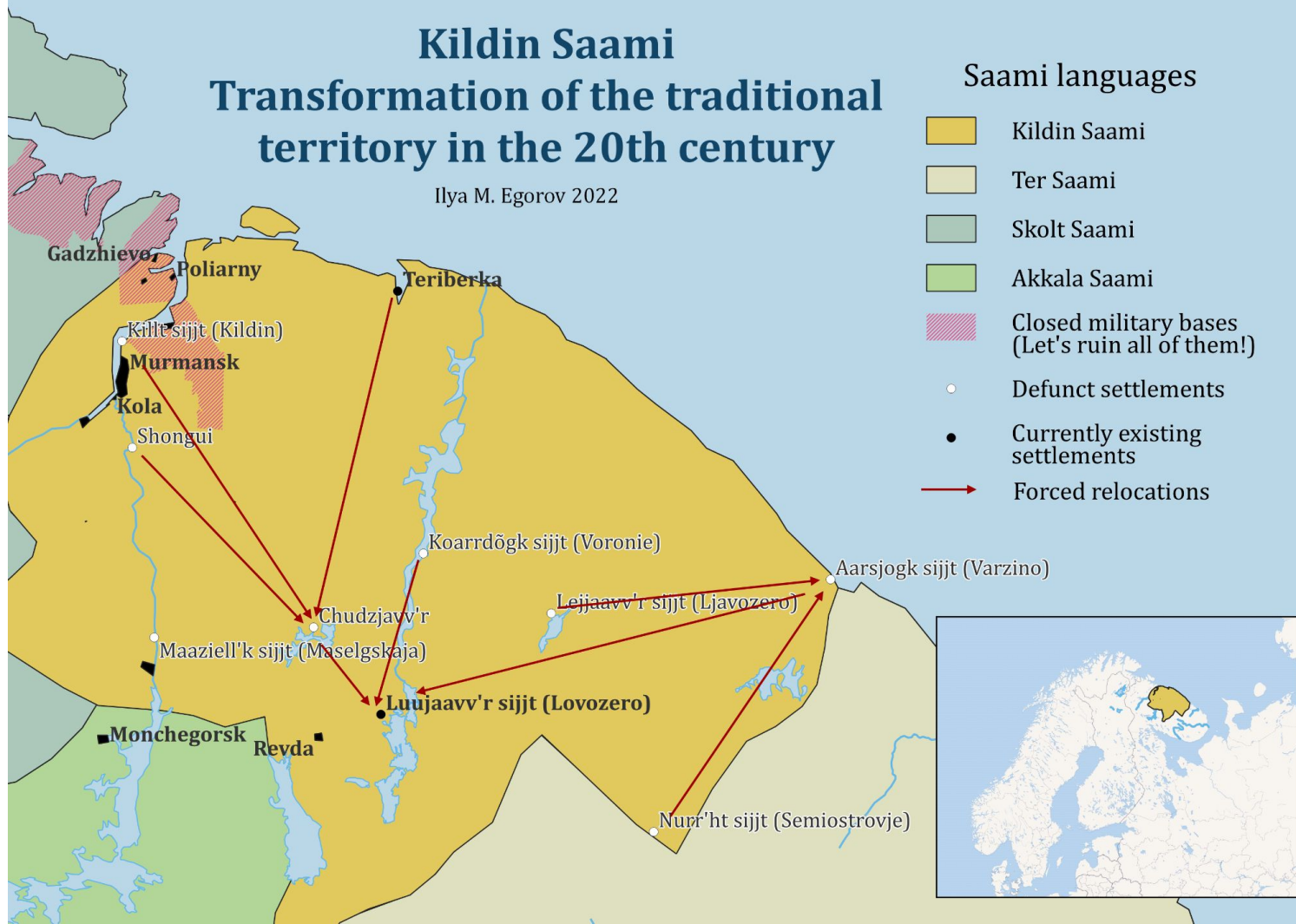
## Sources: published texts

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Shongui** | Lehtiranta (ed.) 1985 | included in the current analysis |
| **Teriberka** | Kert 1961b | included in the current analysis |
| **Killt (Kildin)** | T.I. Itkonen & Europaeus 1931 | to be analyzed |
| | T.I. Itkonen 1958 | included in the current analysis |
| **Luujaavv'r (Lovozero)** | Kert 1961b | included in the current analysis |
| | Bjarnson 1976 | to be analyzed |
| **Koarrdõgk (Voronie)** | Kert 1961b | included in the current analysis |
| | Szabó 1967; 1968 | included in the current analysis |

# Sources: field data

| Speaker | Date of birth | Speaker's place of birth | Her/his mother's place of birth | Her/his father's place of birth |
|---------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| **POG** | 1951 | Luujaavv'r | Luujaavv'r | Luujaavv'r |
| **GGV** | 1957 | Luujaavv'r | Luujaavv'r | Luujaavv'r |
| **JaAI** | 1956 | Koarrdõgk | Teriberka | Killt |
| **AAM** | 1972 | Luujaavv'r | Killt | Koarrdõgk |
| **JuUM** | 1955 | Koarrdõgk | Killt | Koarrdõgk |
| **KhDM** | 1954 | Koarrdõgk | Koarrdõgk | Koarrdõgk |
| **GGM** | 1949 | Koarrdõgk | Koarrdõgk | Koarrdõgk |
| **ShNS** | 1959 | Chudzjaavv'r | Chudzjaavv'r (?) | Chudzjaavv'r (?) |
| **FZA** | 1949 | Chudzjaavv'r | Killt | Killt |
| **LGP** | 1949 | Chudzjaavv'r | Killt | Killt |
| **ANE** | 1939 | Aarsjogk | Aarsjogk | Aarsjogk |

# Dialectal \ ideolectal subgrouping



Subgrouping using Multidimensional Scaling in Gabmap web application (Nerbonne et al. 2011; Leinonen et al. 2016).

Aarsjogk

Luujaavv'r

Koarrdõgk

Chuudzjaavv'r
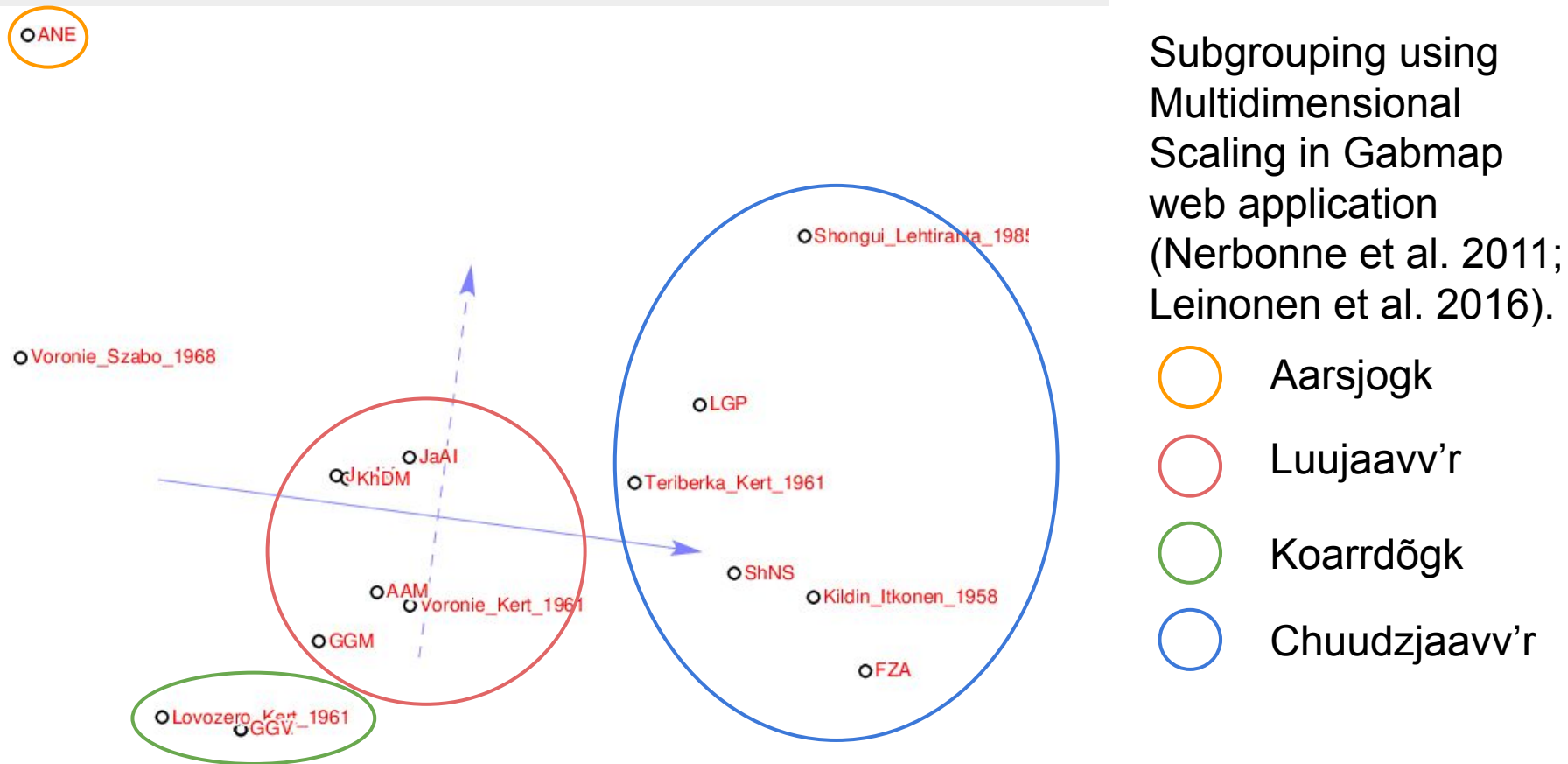
# Focus of the present study

Variation in inflexion:

- Forms of affixes
- Variation in alternations:
  - Vocalic alternations in roots
  - Consonant gradation
  - On morpheme borders

Types variation:

- Dialectal variation
- Diachronic variation
- Idiolectal variation
- Free variation

# Potential sources of morphological variation

- Different development of the forms of proto-language
- Different patterns of analogical leveling                    ←
- Different stages of (de)grammaticalization              ←  ?
- Borrowing of affixes

- Effects of different phonological processes                 ←

# Apocope → Diachronic variation

Some dialects are affected by dropping off of final syllables of the structure *-VC[+sonorant] (apparently, somewhat different rules for final nasals and j).

Proto-Saami *vuosŋon >  Luujaavv'r, Koarrdõgk **vuesk** ~ Chudzjaavv'r **vueskan** 'perch'

However, the rule does not work as a strict sound law in inflectional forms.

Proto-Saami *vearo-n, *vearo-m > **v'aar** 'soup.GEN/ACC.SG'

**but**

Proto-Saami *laavlo-m > **laavl-e** 'sing-PRS.1SG'

# Apocope → Diachronic variation

|  | Proto-Saami | Halász 1881 | Lehtiranta 1985 | Modern field data |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.PRS | *-m | sārn-**am** | kul-**am** | saarn-**a** <br> kul-**a** |
| ACC.SG | *-m | kīδ-**'** | kīδ-**ě** | kiid |
| GEN.SG | *-n | kīδ-**'** | kīδ-**ě** | kiid |
| NOM.PL | *-k | kīδ-**'** | kīδ-**ě** | kiid |
| 2SG.PRS | *-k | sārn-**aχ** | kul-**aχ** | saarn-**aχ** saarn-**ak** <br> Kul-**aχ** kul-**ak** |
| GEN.PL | *-j | kīδ-**ij** | kīδ-**ej** | kiid-**e** |

# Analogical leveling → Dialectal variation

Paradigm of diminutives *CVCV-ńćę-

|  | **Killt / Shongui / Teriberka** | **Chudzjaavv'r** | **Koarrdõgk** | **Luujaavv'r** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.SG | *nɨjp'-eɲč* | *nɨjp'-eɲč* | *nɨjp'-a* <br> *nɨjp'-eɲč* | *nɨjp'-a* |
| GEN.SG | *nɨjp'-a* | *nɨjp'-eɲč (?)* | *nɨjp'-a* | *nɨjp'-a* |
| ACC.SG | *nɨjp'-a* | *nɨjp'-eɲč (?)* | *nɨjp'-a* | *nɨjp'-a* |
| DAT.SG | *nɨjp'-ɲ-a* | *nɨjp'-eɲč-e* | *nɨjp'-ɲ-a* | *nɨjp'-ɲ-a* |
| COM.SG | *nɨjp'-an'* | *nɨjp'-eɲč-en'* | *nɨjp'-an'* | *nɨjp'-an'* |
| … | … | … | … | … |

# Analogical leveling → Idiolectal variation

The antiquity of the forms *must, tost, sost* (LOC.SG of personal pronouns) is proven by the North Saami forms *mus*, *dus*, *sus*.

| Published sources | Shongui | Killt | Teriberka | Kuardõgk | Luujaavv'r |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LOC.SG (pers. pronouns) | *must ~ munest* | NA | *must ~ munest* | *must* | *must* |

| Field data | Chuudzjaavv'r | | | Kuardõgk | Luujaavv'r | Aarsjogk |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LOC.SG (pers. pronouns) | *must* FZA, ShNS | *munest* LGP | *must ~ munest* AAM, KhDM | *must* JuUM, JaAl, GGM | *must* POG, GGV | *munest* ANE |

# Dialectal features → idiolectal features

Published sources

| | Shongui | Killt | Teriberka | Kuardõgk | Luujaavv'r |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| POT.1PL | *-eb* | *-eb* | *-eb* | *-em'* | *-em'* |
| POT.3PL | *-en'* | *-en'* | *-ev* | *-en'* | NA |

Field data

| | Chuudzjaavv'r | | | Kuardõgk | Luujaavv'r |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| POT.1PL | *-eb*<br>FZA, LNF | *-em'*<br>ShNS | *-eb*<br>AAM, JuUM, JaAI | *-em'*<br>KhDM, GGM | *-em'*<br>POG, GGV |
| POT.3PL | *-en'*<br>FZA, LNF | *-ev*<br>ShNS | *-ev*<br>AAM, JuUM, JaAI | *-en'*<br>KhDM, GGM | *-en'*<br>POG, GGV |

# Dialectal features: elimination of old features

|  | **Shongui** | **Killt** | **Teriberka** | **Kuardõgk** | **Luujaavv'r** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PTCP.PST | *-enč* | *-enč* | *-enč ~ -a* | *-a* | *-a* |
|  | *-menč* | *-menč* | *-menč ~ -a* | *-ma* | *-ma* |

Now all speakers produce only the forms of PTCP.PST in *-a* and *-ma*.

They accept the forms in *-enč* and *-menč* as ones from a forigen dialects.

The speakers from Luujaavv'r claim that "people from Koarrdõgk sijt or Chuudzjaavv'r speak in this way". The speakers from Koarrdõgk sijt claim that "people from Chuudzjaavv'r or Luujaavv'r speak in this way" etc.

# Dialectal features: new features?

Published sources

| | **Shongui** | **Killt** | **Teriberka** | **Kuardõgk** | **Luujaavv'r** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ABE.PL (*CVCV nouns) | *-exa* | *NA* | *NA* | *-exa ~ =ahta* | *NA* |

Field data

| | **Chuudzjaavv'r** | **Kuardõgk** | **Luujaavv'r** | **Aarsjogk** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ABE.PL (*CVCV nouns) | *-xatta* ShNS, FZA, LNF | -exa AAM, JuUM, KhDM *=ahta* JaAI, GGM, AAM | *=ahta* POG, GGV | *-exa* ANE |

# Simplification ?= language attrition

Simplification of some idiosyncratic morphological patterns is not necessarily a symptom of language attrition. However, it can be regarded as such in the case of Kildin Saami. Other structural and (impoverishment of the lexicon, loss of some phonological oppositions) and sociolinguistic factors (appearance of language activism, lack of younger speakers) indicate language attrition as well.

# Simplification ?= language attrition

## Elimination of less trivial inflectional classes

*jeem'p'er'* 'bucket.nom.sg'    *jammpar* 'bucket.acc\gen.sg'  >    *jeem'p'er'* *jammpar*
*čiigar* 'cattle.nom.sg'          *čiiggr-e* 'cattle.acc\gen.sg'  >    *čiigar*      *čiigar*

*kuuss* 'pine.nom.sg'             *kuuz* 'pine.acc\gen.sg'          >    *kuuss*       *kuuz*
*kuus's'* 'guest.nom.sg'         *kuus's'* 'guest.acc\gen.sg'     >    *kuus's'*     *kuuz'*

## Simplification of distribution of allophones

| Proto-Saami | NOM.SG | DAT.SG | | NOM.SG | DAT.SG |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *-Cē | Cʲ | C-a | | Cʲ | C-a |
| *-Cō | C | C-e | > | **C** | **Cʲ-e** |
| *-Cę | C | Cʲ-e | | C | Cʲ-e |

# Idiolectal variation

Currently observed inter-speaker variation is a sum of old inherited dialectal features and idiolectal variation. Modern idiolects can be clustered into groups reflecting older dialectal differentiation.
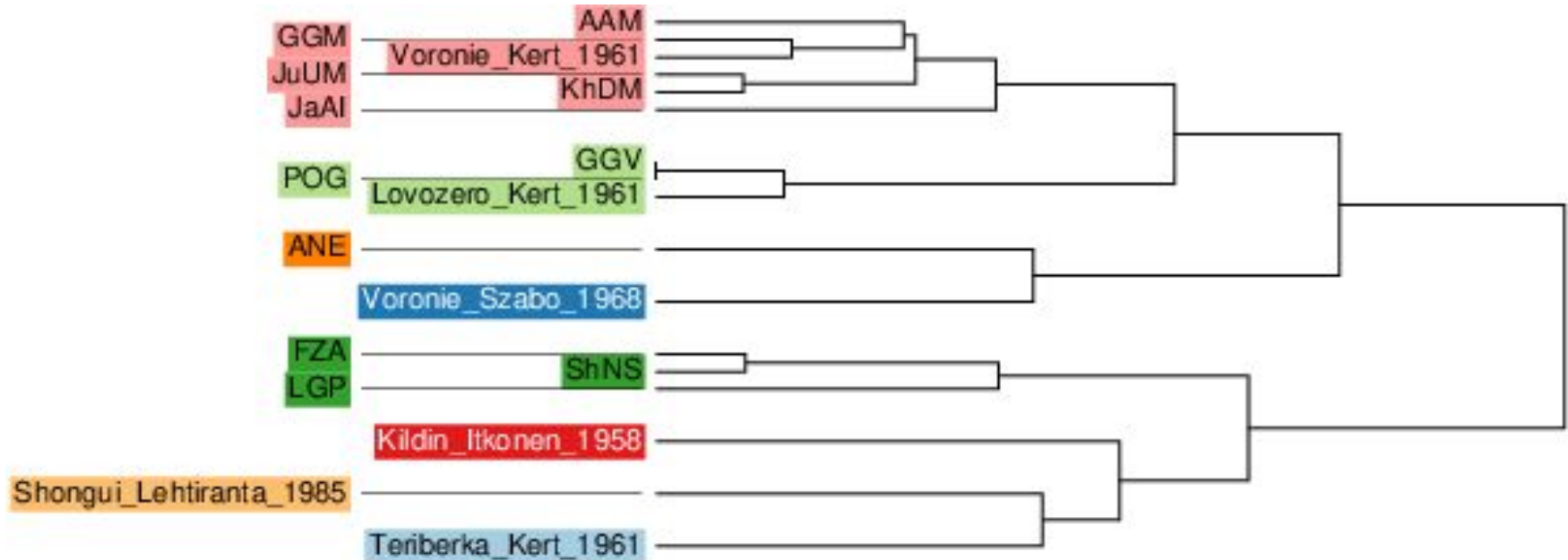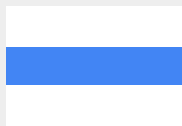
# Conclusions

- Diachronic, dialectal and idiolectal variation can be observed in the existing Kildin Saami data.
- Four dialects which correspond to four sijjtes can be distinguished: Western (Killt sijjt, Shongui, Teriberka, Chuudzjaavv'r), Luujaavv'r sijjt, Koarrdõgk sijjt, and Aarsjogk sijjt.
- Modern idiolects only partially reflect old dialectal differentiation.
- A lot of parameters of variation in inflectional markers reflect indeed different stages of phonological processes.
- Some parameters of idiolectal variation can be treated as symptoms of language attrition.

Шӯрр пāссьпе!

# Шӯрр па̄ссьпе!

Мунн ля̄ вӯсьт тӯррэ.