

“Possession in North Saami:

Rich Morphology in Competition with an Analytic Construction”

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Reference

(1) Anaphoric reference

(a) *Son manai latnjasis* (KP2: 29)

3S.NOMgo.IND.PRET.3S room.ILL.SG.PX.3S

“**he_i** went **to his_i** room”

(b) *son... gavccui loktii iežas latnjii* (KP2: 28)

3S.NOMclimb.IND.PRET.3S upstairs.ILL.SG REFL.GEN.3S room.ILL.SG

“**she_i** climbed upstairs **to her_i** room”

(2) Endophoric reference

(a) *Málbmageaidnu han lei ain sin hálddus, ja ulbmil lei diedusge geahččalit doallat dán buot návccaideasetguin.* (AOE: 66)

sin návccaideasetguin

3P.GEN strength.COM.PL.PX.3P

“The mining road was still in **their** possession, and the goal was of course to try to hold onto it **with** all **their** strength.”

(b) *Dušše heasta guođui stállanjálmmeš báddegeažes. Dat lei iežaset heasta.* (HÁG2: 26)

iežaset heasta

refl.GEN.3P horse.NOM.SG

“There was just a horse grazing by the stable door at the end of a rope. It was **their** horse.”

(3) Exophoric (deictic) reference

(a) *Na de geahččalii mearranusvuodamet.* (KNT: 124)

mearranusvuodamet

seasickness-resistance.ACC.SG.PX.1P

“Then it tested **our** resistance to seasickness.”

(b) *Iežamet čivggat, liikká jallat go dáččat!* (MÁS: 29)

Iežamet čivggat

refl.GEN.1P kid.NOM.PL

“**Our** kids, just as stupid as outsiders!”

(4) Generic reference

(a) *Mánjii lea nu buorre beassat bidjat sániidis báhpára ala.* (KP2: 53)

sániidis

word.ACC.PL.PX.3S

“Many times it is so good to get a chance to put **one’s** words down on paper.”

(b) *Mihá buoret livččii leamaš baicca ruovttus iežas seanggas oadđit.* (EMV1: 224)

iežas seanggas

refl.GEN.3S bed.LOC.SG

“It would have been much better to stay home and sleep **in one’s** own bed.”

Possessum Case

NOTE: Possessum in illative is illustrated in (1a-b), comitative (2a and 10b).

(5) Possessum in accusative

(a) *Loahpas son vuolggahii bártnis...* (NT)

son bártnis

3S.NOMSON.ACC.SG.PX.3S

“Finally **he** sent **his son**...”

(b) *Mun vuolggahan iežan ráhkis bártni.* (NT)

Mun iežan bártni

1S.NOMREFL.GEN.1S son.ACC.SG

“I send **my** dear **son**.”

(6) Possessum in genitive

(a) *Ari lei jo beavit jávkan skihpáriiddis lusa gillái.* (KP S: 146)

Ari skihpáriiddis

Ari.NOM.SG friend.GEN.PL.PX.3S

“During the day **Ari** went off to the village to see **his friends**.”

(b) *Mana dan iežat engela lusa.* (EMV-Ká)

Mana iežat engela

go.IMPER.2S REFL.GEN.2S angel.GEN.SG

“Go to **your** **angel**.”

(7) Possessum in locative

(a) *Dalle ehpēt oaččo bálkká áhčisteattet guhte lea almmis.* (NT)

ehpēt áhčisteattet

neg.2P father.LOC.SG.PX.2P

“Thus **you will not** receive the reward **from your father** who is in heaven.”

(b) *Kátjá lei dál bohtán luoddaerrui iežas eallimis.* (EMV-Ká)

Kátjá iežas eallimis.

Kátjá.NOM.SG REFL.GEN.3S life.LOC.SG

“Now **Kátjá** had come to a crossroad **in her life**.”

(8) Possessum in nominative

(a) *Máhttájeaddji ii leat stuorit go oahpaheaddjis...* (NT)

Máhttájeaddji oahpaheaddjis

Disciple.NOM.SG teacher.NOM.SG.PX.3S

“**The disciple** is not greater than **his teacher**...”

(b = 2b) *Dat leai iežaset heasta.* (HÁG2: 26)

iežaset heasta

refl.GEN.3P horse.NOM.SG

“It was **their** **horse**.”

(9) Possessum in essive

(a) *son ii dahkan duojášii oččodeamen aivve Maria beallinis* (AL: 45)

son beallinis

3S.NOM side.ESS.PX.3S

“**he** didn’t even get Maria to always be **on his side**”

- (b) *Mu lei váttis dovdat su iežan áhččin.* (JÁV1: 39)
Mu iežan áhččin
 1S.GEN REFL.GEN.1S father.ESS
 “It was hard for **me** to acknowledge him as **my father.**”

Possessum Case

NOTE: Genitive marking of the possessor for the two constructions is illustrated in examples (2a) and (9b).

(10) Possessor in accusative

- (a) *Son čuovui Kátjá latnjasis...* (EMV-Ká)
Kátjá latnjasis
Katja.ACC.SG room.ILL.SG.PX.3S
 “He followed **Katja to her room...**”
- (b) *Oaidnit Biera ja Máret Láillá, Ken Thomasa iežas nieiddain – vázzime giehtalaga bálgáid mielde...* (EMV-Ká)
Ken Thomasa iežas nieiddain
Ken Thomas.ACC.SG REFL.GEN.3S girl.COM.SG
 “To see Biera and Máret Láilá and **Ken Thomas with his girlfriend**, walking hand in hand along the path...”

(11) Possessor in illative

- (a) *Birggehii lei hui lossat čuovvut bártnis duššálaš eallima.* (JÁV-Á2)
Birggehii bártnis
Birget.ILL.SG son.GEN.SG.PX.3S
 ‘It was very hard for **Birget** to follow **her son’s** trivial life.’
- (b) *Go sii ledje bilkidan su, de nulle sus soalddátbiktasa ja cogge sutnje fas iežas biktasiid.* (NT)
sutnje iežas biktasiid
3S.ILL REFL.GEN.3S clothes.ACC.PL
 “When they had tormented him, they took off of him the soldier’s clothes and put **on him** again **his own clothes.**”

(12) Possessor in locative

- (a) *Sus lei ollu maid áiggui olbmásis muitalit.* (EMV-Čá)
Sus olbmásis
3S.LOC friend.ILL.SG.PX.3S
 ‘**She** had [lit. ‘at her there was’] a lot of things to tell **her friend.**’
- (b) *Sus ii lean miella vuolgit iežas váivves latnjii vel, ...* (EMV-Ká)
Sus iežas latnjii
3S.LOC REFL.GEN.3S room.ILL.SG
 “**She** didn’t feel like [lit. ‘at her was not mood’] going **to her** sorry **room...**”

Morphological Complexity

Standard paradigm (10 forms):

guoibmi “partner”

- **NomSg** *guoibmi*
- **GenSg=AccSg** *guoimmi*
- **IllSg** *guoibmái*
- **LocSg** *guoimmis*
- **ComSg=LocPl** *guimmiin*
- **NomPl** *guoimmit*
- **GenPl=AccPl** *guimmiid*
- **IllPl** *guimmiide*
- **ComPl** *guimmiiguin*
- **Ess** *guoibmin*

81 additional forms with possessive suffix; 48 (boldfaced) involve special morphology:

NomSg: PxSg1 <i>guoibmán</i> PxSg2 <i>guoibmát</i> PxSg3 <i>guoibmis</i> PxDu1 <i>guoibmáme</i> PxDu2 <i>guoibmáde</i> PxDu3 <i>guoibmiska</i> PxPl1 <i>guoibmámet</i> PxPl2 <i>guoibmádet</i> PxPl3 <i>guoibmiset</i>	GenSg=AccSg: PxSg1 <i>guoibmán</i> PxSg2 <i>guoimmát</i> PxSg3 <i>guoimmis</i> PxDu1 <i>guoibmáme</i> PxDu2 <i>guoimmáde</i> PxDu3 <i>guoimmiska</i> PxPl1 <i>guoibmámet</i> PxPl2 <i>guoimmádet</i> PxPl3 <i>guoimmiset</i>	IllSg: PxSg1 <i>guoibmásan</i> PxSg2 <i>guoibmásat</i> PxSg3 <i>guoibmásis</i> PxDu1 <i>guoibmáseame</i> PxDu2 <i>guoibmáseatte</i> PxDu3 <i>guoibmáseaskka</i> PxPl1 <i>guoibmáseamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guoibmáseattet</i> PxPl3 <i>guoibmáseaset</i>
LocSg: PxSg1 <i>guoimmistan</i> PxSg2 <i>guoimmistat</i> PxSg3 <i>guoimmistis</i> PxDu1 <i>guoimmisteame</i> PxDu2 <i>guoimmisteatte</i> PxDu3 <i>guoimmisteaskka</i> PxPl1 <i>guoimmisteamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guoimmisteattet</i> PxPl3 <i>guoimmisteaset</i>	ComSg=LocPl: PxSg1 <i>guimmiinan</i> PxSg2 <i>guimmiinat</i> PxSg3 <i>guimmiinis</i> PxDu1 <i>guimmiineame</i> PxDu2 <i>guimmiineatte</i> PxDu3 <i>guimmiineaskka</i> PxPl1 <i>guimmiineamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guimmiineattet</i> PxPl3 <i>guimmiineaset</i>	GenPl=AccPl(=NomPl for Sg1): PxSg1 <i>guimmiidan</i> PxSg2 <i>guimmiidat</i> PxSg3 <i>guimmiidis</i> PxDu1 <i>guimmiideame</i> PxDu2 <i>guimmiideatte</i> PxDu3 <i>guimmiideaskka</i> PxPl1 <i>guimmiideamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guimmiideattet</i> PxPl3 <i>guimmiideaset</i>
IllPl: PxSg1 <i>guimmiidasan</i> PxSg2 <i>guimmiidasat</i> PxSg3 <i>guimmiidasas</i> PxDu1 <i>guimmiidasame</i> PxDu2 <i>guimmiidasade</i> PxDu3 <i>guimmiidasaska</i> PxPl1 <i>guimmiidasamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guimmiidasadet</i> PxPl3 <i>guimmiidasaset</i>	ComPl: PxSg1 <i>guimmiidanguin</i> PxSg2 <i>guimmiidatguin</i> PxSg3 <i>guimmiidisguin</i> PxDu1 <i>guimmiideameguin</i> PxDu2 <i>guimmiideatteguin</i> PxDu3 <i>guimmiideaskkaguin</i> PxPl1 <i>guimmiideametguin</i> PxPl2 <i>guimmiideattetguin</i> PxPl3 <i>guimmiideasetguin</i>	Ess: PxSg1 <i>guoibminan</i> PxSg2 <i>guoibminat</i> PxSg3 <i>guoibminis</i> PxDu1 <i>guoibmineame</i> PxDu2 <i>guoibmineatte</i> PxDu3 <i>guoibmineaskka</i> PxPl1 <i>guoibmineamet</i> PxPl2 <i>guoibmineattet</i> PxPl3 <i>guoibmineaset</i>

- (13) *Gula, mánážan.* (KP2: 6)
mánážan
child.DIM.NOM.SG.PX.1S
 “Listen, **oh my (little) child.**”