

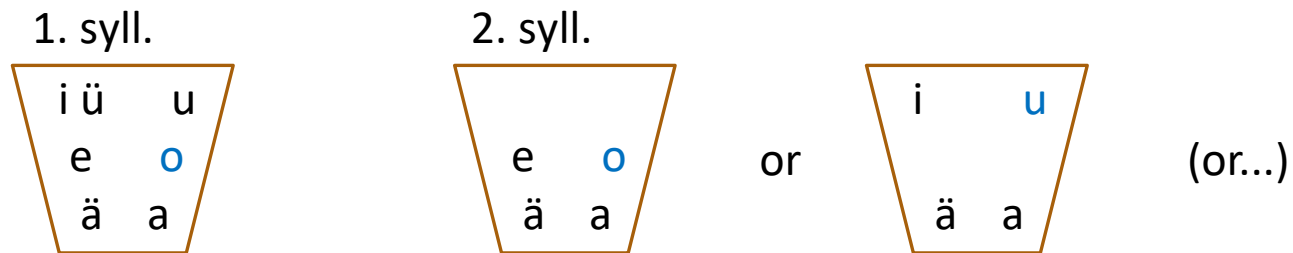
Saami labial vowel stems and their background

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS”

Saamic and Finnic suffixal labial vowels

- Considered as a common innovation in Finno-Saamic protolanguage since E. Itkonen (1954)
- Standard view:
 - Pre-FS **-av/-äv/-ev* > FS **-o* **kuule-v(e)-* ‘to hear + autom.-refl.’
 - FS **-o* > Fi. *-o, -u, -ü (-ö)* > Fi. *kuulu-* ‘to be heard’
 - FS **-o* > Saa. *-ō (-u)* > SaaN *gullo(j)-* ‘id.’
 - cf. Md. *neja-v-* ‘to be seen’
- Additional phoneme in non-initial syllables



Finnic suffixal labial vowels

- Assumed phoneme split **o > o, u (/ü)* seems to have no conditioning factors – original conditions lost due to later analogical levelling?
 - Autom./transl./contin. verbs with *-u/ü* (*kuulu-*, *mustu-*, *heilu-*)
 - Deverbal nouns with *-u/ü* or *-o(/ö)* (*alku*, *teko*, *kaivu*, *kaivo*)
- Still, deverbal nouns to a large extent group according to the stem vowel of the base verb:

anta- → anto

otta- → otto

pala- → palo

elä- → elo

heittä- → heitto

säästä- → säästö

ime- → imu

juokse- → juoksu

kulke- → kulku

käske- → käsky

kylpe- → kylpy

kilpaile- → kilpailu

Finnic suffixal labial vowels

Quick statistics from Hakulinen's (1979) Finnish deverbal noun lists:

- 144 **-o/ö** nouns: **65** from **-a/ä** verbs, 24 from **-e** verbs
- 101 **-u/y** nouns: 17 from **-a/ä** verbs, **62** from **-e** verbs
- Conclusion: Finnic high and mid labial vowels (at least partly) reflect the quality of the underlying illabial vowels, and must be differentiated from the beginning on. Either
 - **ev*, **äv* > *u/ü* and **av* > *o* (cf. E. Itkonen) or
 - **ev* > *u/ü* and **äv*, **av* > *o* (suggested by the data above)

Saami labial vowel stems

- One (Early) PS labial vowel (\bar{o}), but two stem types ($-\bar{o}$ and $-\bar{o}j$)
- $*-\bar{o}j$ stems were sometimes compared with Finnic $-oi$ ($< *-\bar{a}j$) derivatives, but virtually no connecting words exist
 - Only the inchoative verb type $\check{c}ir'ro(j)- \leftarrow \check{c}ierru-$ 'to cry' has correlates with $*j$, but $*\bar{o}$ is from the base verb (cf. $buol'lá(j)- \leftarrow buolli-$ 'to burn (intr.)')
- Sammallahti: $*-\bar{o}j-$ is a regular variant of $*-\bar{o}v-$ (in non-stressed vs. secondary-stressed syllable), reflecting Pre-Saami $*-av/\bar{a}v/iv$
 - cf. passive verbs: PS $*kull-\bar{o}j\check{c}$ - 'to be seen', $*\check{c}\bar{o}lm\check{c}t-\bar{o}v\check{c}$ - 'to get knotted'
> SaaN *gullot*, *\check{c}uolbmaduvvat*
 - similarly nouns: $*salav > PS *s\bar{o}l\bar{o}j > Saaln suálui$ 'island' (cf. Fi. *salo*)
- Problem: Where does the difference between PS $*-\bar{o}$ and $*-\bar{o}j$ stems originate, if both are derived from Pre-Saami $*-av/\bar{a}v/iv$?

Different Pre-FS suffixes?

- In addition to $*v$, there are other Uralic phonemes scarcely attested in suffixal positions: $*p$ and $*\eta$.
- Both p and η are likely to change into v , if anything.
- Possible scenarios with original two sets of suffixes:
 - 1) $*-p, *-v$ ($*salap, *pa\delta av, *kuvlipim, *kuććavim$) >
 $*-p, *-o$ ($*salap, *pa\delta o, *kuvlipim, *kuććo(i)m$) >
 $*-v, *-o$ ($*salav, *pa\delta o, *kuvlivim, *kuććom$) >
 $*-ov, *-o$ ($*salov, *pa\delta o, *kuvlovim, *kuććom$) >
 $*-oj, *-o$ ($*s\bar{o}loj, *p\bar{o}\delta o, *k\bar{u}lojim, *kuććom$) >
(*suolu(j), buođđu, gul'lon, gohččun*) ('island', 'dam'; 'be heard', 'call'
1SG)
 - 2) $*-\eta, *-v$ > (similarly)
 $*-\eta, *-o$ >
 $*-v, *-o$ >
 $*-ov, *-o$ >

Different Pre-FS suffixes – problems(?)

- Reconstructing sounds ($*p/*\eta$) which are not attested in any daughter language as such
- Mordvin has a suffixal (lative) $-\eta$ (can't reconstruct $*\eta$ for pass.-autom. $-v-$), possibly other languages too
- Retained $*p$ occurs in some suffixes
(PS $*m\eta\eta\text{-}p$ 'go-1PL' < $*meni\text{-}p\grave{a}$; PS $*\acute{c}eac\bar{e}\text{-}p\bar{e}$ < $*\acute{s}e\check{c}\grave{a}\text{-}p\grave{a}$)
 - All these seem to contain $*\text{-}pa/\text{-}p\grave{a}$; could postulate Pre-Saami $*p > *v / _i, _ \#$

Different suffixes with PU labial vowel?

- In addition to Saamic and Finnic, also Proto-Samoyedic had non-initial-syllable labial vowels, **o* and **u* (Salminen 2012)
 - Still, it seems that these can be derived from PU **aw*, **äw*, **iw*:
Samoyedic requires no PU labial vowels(?)
- 1. Proto-Uralic suffixal **o* > PSaami **ō*; PU **aw/äw/iw* > PS **ōv ~ *ōj* ?
 - Postulating a new PU vowel like this would only serve the reconstruction of Saamic; Finnic deverbal noun *o ~ u/ü* will not get explained
- 2. Proto-Uralic suffixal **aw/äw/iw* > PSaami **ō*; PU **ow* > PS **ōv ~ *ōj* ?
 - Finnic *o ~ u/ü* can be explained (**aw/äw* > *o*; **iw/ow* > *u/ü*)
 - Possible common FS stage with **/o, u(ü), ow/* or independent changes

Saami variants based on primary stem vowels?

- Oldest-looking North Saami transl.-contin. *-u-* verbs (PS **-ō*) (stem cognates in other Uralic) all seem to derive from **-a* stems
 - *čoallut* ← **śola* | *duorbut* ← **tarpa*, cf. Veps *tarbād'a* |
noaidut ← **nojta* | *gohččut* ? ← Proto-Baltic **kūaitja-/o-* |
loggut ? ← **lunka* | *molljut* ? ← **mulja-* | *njoallut* ← **ńola-* |
oažžut ← **ońsa* | *oskut* ? ← **uska-*, cf. Fi. *uska-ltaa* | *soallut* ← **šola*
- Also most of other SaaN *-u-* verbs having an illabial stem correlate seem to correlate with *-i* stems (< Pre-Saami **-a/ä*)

Intransitive (translative) verbs:

coahkut ← *coahki* 'shallow'

gahcut ← *gahci* 'miserly'

stiivut ← *stiivvis* 'stiff'

suoidnut ← *suoidni* 'hay'

Transitive (instrumental etc.) verbs:

meallut ← *mealli* 'paddle'

mannut 'to nest' ← *manni* 'egg'

muotkut ← *muotki* 'isthmus'

hávvtut ← *hávvi* 'wound'

Saami variants based on primary stem vowels?

Quick statistics from Kulonen's (2010) verb lists:

- 27 intransitive (translative) verbs: 21 from *-i* nouns, 4 from *-a* nouns
- 26 transitive (instrumental etc.) verbs: 17 from *-i* nouns, 7 from *-a* nouns
- Should be checked with more comprehensive data; also deverbals

Saami variants based on primary stem vowels?

- Oldest-looking North Saami transl.-contin. *-u-* verbs (PS **-ō*) (stem cognates in other Uralic) all seem to derive from **-a* stems; similar tendency among other denominal verbs of the type
- On the contrary, many likely old passive-automotive *-o(j)-* verbs (PS **-ōj*) are derived from **-i* stems (*gullot* 'to be heard' < **kullōj-* < **kūli-v-*)
- Hypothesis: The regular Pre-Saami development was
 - **aw/äw* > **o* (> PS **ō*)
 - **iw* > **ow* (> PS **ōv* : **ōj*)
 - Then **o* was generalized as a transl./continuative suffix and **ow* as a deverbal passive suffix (the most frequent suffix variants in each derivative type)

Saami variants based on primary stem vowels?

- Hypothesis: The regular Pre-Saami development was
 - **aw/äw* > **o* (> PS **ō*)
 - **iw* > **ow* (> PS **ōv* : **ōj*)
- Problem: Noun derivatives with PS **-ōj* do not support the hypothesis
 - Lehtiranta's (1989) data contains 11 Common Saami **-ōj* nouns; of these,
 - 8 are possibly derived from **-a/ä* stem (**kōmōj*, **kōntōj*, **pōcōj*, **sōlōj*, **ēnōj*; ? **cōmpōj*, **kālōj-*, **cōlkōj*, **koćōj*, **kōksōj*)
 - 5 possibly from **-i* stem (**peŋkōj*; ? **cōmpōj*, **kālōj-*, **cōlkōj*, **kōksōj*)
 - Still, the data set is very small and ambiguous

(Preliminary) Conclusions

- The assumed Finno-Saamic change $*av/äv/iv > *o(v)$ does not suffice to explain neither Finnic nor Saamic suffixal labial vowels
- Different possibilities for reconstruction:
 1. two (or more) series of consonant suffixes ($*-v$, $*-p$)
 2. additional PU suffixal vowel ($*-o$)
 3. conditional sound changes based on the stem vowel
- Analogical levelling / functional differentiation of suffix variants
- Effect and extent of mutual contacts?