

Final **-m* in Central and Southern Saami

In Proto-Saami, the markers of the accusative singular (AccSg) and of the 1st person singular in verbs (Vx1Sg) both had the form **-m* (Sammallahti 1998: 65, 78, *et passim*). In this talk, I will be discussing the development of Proto-Saami final **-m* and its various reflexes in Central and Southern Saami from a diachronic and dialectological perspective, focusing especially on the situation in 20th century Ume Saami. The reflexes of these two suffixes in the older Saami texts and in dialect material collected during the first half of the 20th century have been examined for this study. In the case of the latter, I have relied heavily on Ume and Pite Saami archive material housed at *Institutet för språk och folkminnen* (ISOF) in Uppsala, collected by C. Axel Calleberg, Björn Collinder, Valter Jansson, Nils Moosberg, Israel Ruong, Tryggve Sköld, and K. B. Wiklund. Starting with the older Saami literary corpus, Olaus Stephani Graan's *Manuale Lapponicum* (Qvigstad 1947: 23, 25–9, 31–2, 37) and Lars Rangius' translation of the New Testament (Wilson 2008: 89–90, 92–7, 111) both show original **-m*. Only in nominals suffixed for the 2nd and 3rd person singular the AccSg marker is found as *-p-* in both Graan and Rangius (note Rangius AccSg.3Sg <pz> (< **-msē*); cf. Wilson 2008: 98–9, 111). As Wilson (2008: 111) suggests, these possessed forms resulted from a change in which **m* became *p* before obstruents. Those AccSg forms with *-p-* were later extended analogically to the unpossessed AccSg, and then similarly to the Vx1Sg of verbs. The 20th century varieties from South to Lule Saami can be classified into four main groups according to their reflexes of **-m*: (1) the *m*-type, (2) the *p*-type, (3) the *v* (*p*)-type, which has *v* in all polysyllabic forms as opposed to *-p* in monosyllabic ones, (4) and lastly the *v* (*v*)-type, which has *v* in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic forms. The *m*-type is found throughout the southern-most Saami area, such as Hïerjedaelie or Snåase, while the more northern *p*-type is attested, *inter alia*, in Aarborte, Dearn, Gávtjávrrie, and Ulliesjávrrie. The innovation of *-p* > *-v* must have originated somewhere in the Pite and Lule Saami areas as all those varieties examined have completed this shift, thus constituting the *v*-type. This innovation later spread to the eastern (forest) Ume Saami dialects, where it has not taken place in monosyllabic forms (and should be classified as the *v* (*p*)-type), as is the case with Máláge and Måsskure. Calleberg's (ULMA 22480) material from the forest dialect of Suorssá shows great variation with polysyllabic verbs and nouns having both *-v* and *-p*; monosyllabic forms however consistently have *-p*. Larsson (2012: 131) also

notes the same about AccSg forms in Moosberg's word collection from this variety. The transitional region between the eastern Ume Saami *v* (*p*)-type and the Pite–Lule *v*-type is made up by varieties spoken around Giehkure (Västra Kikkejaur). These have *-v* in polysyllabic forms but show great vacillation between *-p* and *-v* in monosyllabic ones. As noted by Siegl (2017: 271), in Sköld's data from Luöbniejávrrie there is variation between final *-m* and *-p* in monosyllabic forms. Similar observations could also be made in Jansson's fieldnotes from Luöbniejávrrie (ULMA 34455), as well as in Jansson's (ULMA 34455) material from Gánssjá, Calleberg's (ULMA 22480; 2139) from Málmiesjávrrie, Collinder's from Iggajávrrie (ULMA 16359), and Ruong's (ULMA 16763) from Njallajávrrie. In these varieties, one can thus clearly speak of an ongoing change *-p* > *-v*, diffusing from the north, in monosyllabic forms at the time of attestation.

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