Towards a grammar of spoken South Saami

Richard Kowalik

Towards a grammar of spoken South Saami

Richard Kowalik

Abstract

This thesis is a grammatical description of South Saami, a Uralic language traditionally spoken in central Sweden and Norway. South Saami has today around 500 speakers, many of whom live far from each other. The language has the status of an official language in Norway and is an officially recognized minority language in Sweden. The speakers have been subject to various assimilation policies especially in the previous century. However, in recent times, the language has received substantive support and currently there are a number of revitalization initiatives. The language variety described here is the spoken language of older heritage speakers. Their language may differ from the emerging (written) standard language and contains many features that have not been described previously. This study is the first comprehensive description of South Saami since the 1940s. It is based on fieldwork conducted between 2017 and 2020, resulting in a corpus of 35 hours of recordings. The speakers interviewed for this thesis are functional bilinguals with South Saami and either Norwegian or Swedish. Consequently, the language described here is the product of a long-standing contact with these languages.

The description is grounded in Basic Linguistic Theory and covers phonology, morphology and syntax. The phonological analysis presented here is the first modern comprehensive description of the sound system of South Saami together with various phonotactic relations as well as basic analyses of prosody. The part devoted to morphology covers the main word classes and their inflectional patterns. Form-function relationships are also discussed extensively in pertinent chapters. Topics typically related to syntax such as grammatical relations, simple and complex clauses are reviewed in detail. Word formation and two cross-linguistically universal domains such as questions and negation are treated in chapters of their own. The thesis concludes with two texts from the corpus, provided with morphological glossing and translation into English.

The analyses presented in the thesis are illustrated by examples from the corpus, and whenever possible by examples that represent naturalistic language. The grammar is descriptive in nature and typologically informed. Comparison to other Saamic languages is provided when necessary, either to show similarities or highlight differences between the languages.

Features that characterize South Saami are preaspiration and sonorant devoicing, umlaut and a large vowel inventory in the domain of phonology. The language has generally agglutinative morphology. South Saami has a logophoric pronoun and an optional dual category in verb inflection. The pragmatically neutral word order is SOV. The language uses differential object marking. Furthermore, we observe different clause-initial question particles, an optional copula in non-verbal predications and an optional auxiliary in periphrastic tenses. Similarly to other Uralic languages, South Saami has a negative auxiliary that inflects for person and number. Unlike most other Saamic languages, the negative auxiliary also inflects for tense. Another substantive difference between South Saami and other Saamic languages is the encoding of predicative possession by a non-verbal construction where the possessor is indicated by genitive marking. However, predicative possession in South Saami can be also encoded by the transitive verb utnedh 'have', which is similar to the encoding of predicative possession in other Saamic languages.

Department of Linguistics

Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm

TOWARDS A GRAMMAR OF SPOKEN SOUTH SAAMI

Richard Kowalik

Towards a grammar of spoken South Saami

Richard Kowalik

Daate tjaalege gaajhkh almetjide mah åarjelsaemien soptsesth.

This thesis is dedicated to all speakers of South Saami.

Contents

Acknowledgements

dagka öövre aarege-laante
men manne gujht dej gierkiej mietie nulhtjim
goh dellie manne noere lim.

'the land is stony there,
but I jumped between the rocks,
because I was young.' (Iréne Dorra)

I have been looking forward to writing this acknowledgments section for a long time – acknowledgements are a special and fun genre in academia – and I wanted to write it without repeating one of the many stereotypical metaphors like "it takes a village to raise a child/write a dissertation" – but I realise that there are indeed many people who have contributed and helped me along the way. In writing a grammar for a language, I had to navigate through a vast field of topics and literature. The journey took me from phonetics, where one can measure things with programs, to abstract phonology, unexplored morphosyntactic features and variation in rare syntactical constructions. In the beginning of the project, it felt like I was starting over and over again with each chapter: a new topic that I had to read up on, and new challenges, both theoretically and with the data. And it felt like being in a huge *aarege-laante*, a stony landscape full of rocks, that I had to navigate through. But I made my way through it, and always climbed the next boulder. And luckily, I had many beacons and people who accompanied me along the journey. In this section, I want to thank them. However, I also want to point out that, in the end, writing a dissertation is a journey that needs to be made on one's own, by the PhD student alone. We work mostly alone, and we work independently and autonomously. Also, all mistakes in this dissertation are my own and my responsibility.

I received several grants during my studies, which financed my field trips and data collection. I am grateful for these and want to thank the following organizations: Trusts via the Donation Scholarships at Stockholm University: Rhodins (2017) and Wallenberg (2018), the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Akademy KGAA (2019), and the Department of Linguistics at SU, which supported a number of short trips to relevant events in the South Saami area.

My two supervisors Ljuba Veselinova and Henrik Liljegren accompanied

me from start to finish of the dissertation. I hereby want to thank them first and foremost, and very deeply. Ljuba and Henrik, you have helped me through the moraine of literature, helped me time and again to find a good structure in my texts and read them over and over again. You always motivated me to keep going, you always believed in the project and in my ability. Henrik, primarily the field linguist, taught me how to let the South Saami data talk in the description. Ljuba, the typologist, taught me to see the the big picture. Both of you have also helped me to grow as a human being during the past six years.

There are many people who supported me along the way in recent years, and I am thankful for all the advice, support, motivation and friendship that came along with it:

I want to thank all the senior researchers and linguists who maybe sometimes unknowingly acted as some kind of mentor, and who all helped me with their comments, input and ideas: Rogier Blokland, Michael Dunn, Harald Hammarström, Michael Rießler, Torbjörn Söder and Joshua Wilbur. I want to thank Jussi Ylikoski for his commitment in his role as mock opponent for this thesis.

I want to thank Joshua Wilbur not only as a fellow general linguist working with a Saamic language but also as a friend who made linguistics more accessible for me. Josh taught me also how to telemark(ski), together with Michael Rießler – a crucial skill, especially since I now live in a mountainous area with long winters! I want to thank Micha for opening the door to field work and general linguistics during my studies in Freiburg. Both Josh and Micha played important roles in my academic journey which led me to study a Saamic language.

I want to thank my friend and fellow PhD colleague Olle Kejonen – you made me feel less alone in my work, and I thank you for all the discussions and conversations we had, and for the winter schools and the conferences we attended together – and for your extensive feedback on my texts!

I want to thank David Kroik, a friend and colleague, for all our discussions especially about the sociolinguistic situation of South Saami and his input both from an inside (Saami) perspective and from an academic perspective.

I want to thank Murathan Kurfalı, my fellow PhD student at the department, for introducing me to LateX/Overleaf and for helping me out many times with coding questions.

I thank my former girlfriend Klara Bertils for the years we shared, from our first classes and tentative interest in linguistics at university in Freiburg, Germany, in 2009 until we both received our PhD positions in linguistics in 2017. We supported each other and believed in each other's abilities, and I am very happy for the time we had together – and that you taught me so much and

integrated me so well in Swedish society!

The cool cover of this thesis is the making of the Tynset-based artist & friend Marius Reed. Thank you, Marius!

I want to thank all the consultants who contributed to this study, who opened their doors for me, who dedicated their time gratuitously and put their effort into my work. Without these people, I would not have been able to carry out this project. I also thank the South Saami community who let me, a stranger at first, document and describe their language. The community was positive and welcoming towards my project and helped me to find consultants. I want to direct a special thank you to my main consultant Iréne Dorra, who spent weeks working with me, and who has become a true friend in the past few years (*jeenh gäjhtoe mov vaajmoste, Iréne!*). Iréne also translated the South Saami summary together with me.

I want to thank my mother Sylvia and my father Andreas, who always supported my urge to explore the world around me, in big and small, and the choices I made in life and in my studies.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Oda Martine. You entered my life at the right time. You were curious about my work and you supported me. You encouraged me, and you helped me with both your empathy and your practical solutions when I struggled. Most of all, however, I want to thank you for your love (*det här får vi bra till!* ♡). For the joy and the energy and the love of life we share, and everything we accomplish together, at our fantastic farm, in our partnership, and with our fabulous daughter Margit. Margit, I am endlessly thankful for your existence, which gave this thesis perspective for me like nothing else; you better than anyone showed me what is truly important in life.

Ålborgmoen, Tynset, December 2022
Richard Kowalik

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADMON	admonitive
ADN	adnominal
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
A	agent, the argument in a transitive clause
CNG	connegative
COLL	collective
COMP	comparative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CVB	converb
C	consonant
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DOM	Differential Object Marking
ELA	elative

EMP	emphatic
ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
GR	grammatical relations
HUM	human
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric
MED	medial
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
N	noun
O	object
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PROHIB	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle

PTCP	participle
PX	possessive
Q	question marker
REC	reciproce
REFL	reflexive
RELA	relational
REL	relative
R	recipient, identical with the indirect object
SG	singular
SUP	superlative
S	subject
TMA	tense-mood-aspect
TRANS	transitivizer
T	theme, generally inanimate and less topical than R
V	verb
V	vowel (only in the phonology chapter)

1. Introduction

This is a grammatical description of South Saami (ISO 639-3 code [sma], Glottocode [sout2674]). South Saami is an endangered Uralic language spoken in central Sweden and central Norway by approximately 500 speakers. This description represents the variety spoken by elderly speakers living today. This group of language users is much smaller than the total population of speakers, and their language is generally not represented in the available literature on South Saami.

The purpose of this grammar is to capture the language at a particular point in time and in a certain context, not to describe all varieties and modalities of South Saami. The writing of a comprehensive reference grammar is an enterprise that goes beyond the scope of a PhD project like the current one. To indicate that this work does not claim to be a complete reference grammar – but hopefully a step in that direction – I include the limitation *towards* in the title: *Towards a grammar of spoken South Saami*. The title contains another delimitation that I wish to be explicit about and which is explained in this chapter: *spoken* South Saami. The description reflects spoken South Saami as it is used by the current generation of elderly speakers. As will become clear in the course of this work, there are several complex issues involved in delimiting the speakers of South Saami and outlining its status as an endangered language.

South Saami is an *under*described language, but it is far from *un*described. There is a considerable amount of data on the language, especially its written varieties. However, for methodological and other reasons explained throughout this chapter, these data are not included in the present study. The present description is based on spoken data collected by myself, in collaboration with speakers of South Saami, for the purpose of this study.

Research on South Saami dates back to the end of the 19th century. There are previous descriptions of South Saami, feature-specific articles published by researchers and theses written by students of the language. Much of this material is also referred to in the thesis. However, the purpose of this study is not to incorporate all available studies of South Saami and use all available language materials, or to re-evaluate previous data and review previous analyses. There are several reasons for this. First, there are methodological reasons. It would result in a combination of different types of data. It would also lead to an (un-wanted) mixture of different genres, such as both spoken and written language

from different generations, and different historical stages of the language[1] in the description. Second, it lies outside the scope of this project to incorporate all previous findings and situate my findings in relation to them. Such a text might very likely become impenetrable and too dense; simply put, unreadable. Finally, the purpose of this study is not to base analyses on data other than the corpus, or to incorporate analyses of other studies. The purpose of this study is to describe the language based on one set of data that is as coherent as possible, that is, the spoken language of one generation.

As stated above, the focus of this study is the language of the generation of elderly heritage speakers (see § 1.3.4.1 for a definition). This is a group of South Saami language users who are generally not represented in the available material about the language whom I wish to give a voice here. A description of the this language variety makes a significant contribution to our understanding of and knowledge about the South Saami language as spoken by the current elder generation, but also for the language as whole. Given the age of several of the consultants and the fact that their language has not been previously described in detail, this documentation project is also situated in a critical moment in time. In addition to documenting this language variety, there are many features and constructions in South Saami that have previously not been set in a typologically informed description that draws on general linguistic theory. The work and the data presented in it will serve future studies and provide a resource for diachronic studies, comparative and typological studies, and studies on language change or possibly language attrition. Finally, many heritage learners (see § 1.3.4.2 for a definition) aim at reclaiming and strengthening their language in close collaboration with heritage speakers. (For a definition and description of the different speaker groups, see § 1.3.4.) I believe that the data provided in the study are a useful resource of natural language that heritage learners may benefit from. The current description may therefore be indirectly useful for language maintenance, revitalization efforts and language acquisition.

In this chapter, I present the general setting of the language (§ 1.1), including its name, genealogical affiliation, geographical distribution, a historical note, the language's official status, its orthography, dialectal variation and a section on the sociolinguistic situation. Previous research is presented in § 1.2. The theoretical framework, data and method are presentd in (§ 1.3).

---

[1]As early as 1946, Knut Bergsland deemed it unfeasible to give a full historical account of the language in his grammar, or to incorporate language material from previous studies (Bergsland, 1946, p. IX).

1.1 The language

1.1.1 The language name

The South Saami name for the language is *åarjelsaemien* 'South Saami' or *åarjelsaemien gïele* 'South Saami language', sometimes shortened to *åarjel* 'South'. In Sweden and Norway, where the South Saami is spoken, the language is referred to as *sydsamiska* and *sørsamisk* ('South Saami'), respectively. The members of the language community have a clear understanding of these names and use them in official contexts in Sweden and Norway. In less formal settings, many South Saami refer to their language simply as *samisk(a)* ('Saami') or *saemien* ('Saami').[2]

Historically, the language has been referred to by a number of other ethnonyms based on *-lapp-*, today a derogatory and avoided term: *Southern Lappish*, *South-Lappish*, *Südlappisch* ('South-Saami'). Common for these terms and the previously mentioned (*åarjelsaemien gïele*, *sydsamiska* and *sørsamisk*) is that they reflect a classification of the language.

1.1.2 Genealogical affiliation

South Saami belongs to the Saamic group within the Uralic language family. As stated in Aikio (2022), the family comprises nine groups as illustrated in Figure 1.1. The figure also shows the relative position of the Saamic languages in the language family. (For a map of the Uralic languages, see § 1.1.3 Geography).
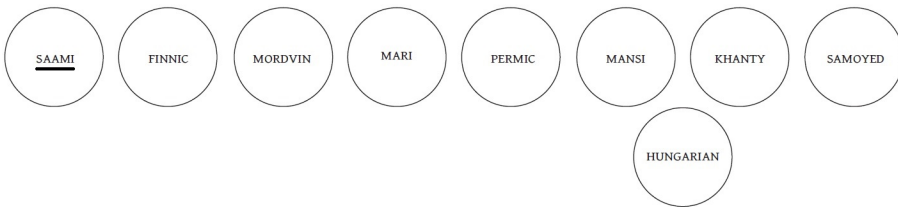
Figure 1.1: The branches of the Uralic language family "in an approximate geographical order along the east-west axis" (figure based on Aikio, 2022).

The Uralic language family has traditionally been illustrated with a binary model, branching off from Proto-Uralic into nine sub-branches. The first divide was into a Finno-Ugric and a Samoyedic group, followed by several

---

[2]*Saemien* 'saami' is an adverb/adjective but also used by South Saami to refer to their language when they talk Swedish/Norwegian. Equally, a speaker of South Saami may use the term *daaroen* 'Swedish/Norwegian') to refer to Swedish and Norwegian.

sub-branches. According to (Aikio, 2022, p. 3), the "intermediate nodes" in this model are "not supported by sufficient evidence". See Aikio (2022) for a discussion on Proto-Uralic and the taxonomy of the Uralic languages.

Within the Saamic group, South Saami constitutes the south-westernmost Saamic language. It is therefore also the geographical endpoint of the dialect continuum that the Saamic languages form. The following Figure 1.2 is based on Sammallahti (1998, p. 1–34) and shows the position of South Saami within the Saamic sub-branch:
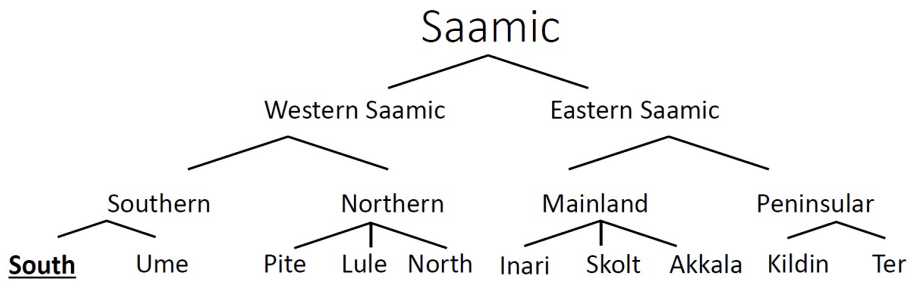
Figure 1.2: South Saami within the Saamic sub-branch of Uralic languages.

The taxonomy of the Saamic languages has been the subject of debate and the interested reader is referred to Rydving (2013) for detailed information.

1.1.3 Geography

The geographical position of the Saamic languages within the area of dispersal of Uralic languages is shown in Figure 1.3, see the area labelled with the numeral 1.

The Saamic languages form a dialect continuum which stretches from the Kola peninsula in Russia in the east to south-central Norway and central Sweden in the west. The area is commonly referred to as *Sápmi*. This North Saami term is also used in Swedish and Norwegian, and has been adapted into South Saami *Saepmie* in recent years. A map of the Saamic languages is provided in Figure 1.4

As can be seen on the map, the area of South Saami is large, especially with respect to its number of speakers (around 500). The area spans from the southern part of the counties Nordland in Norway and Västerbotten in Sweden to the northern parts of Hedmark, Innland county in Norway and northern Dalarna in Sweden. This is a linear distance of around 450 kilometres.

The dispersal of most Western Saamic languages or varieties traditionally reflect a movement from the Scandinavian mountain ridge to the sea. This applies for Saami that have been working as reindeer herders and who therefore
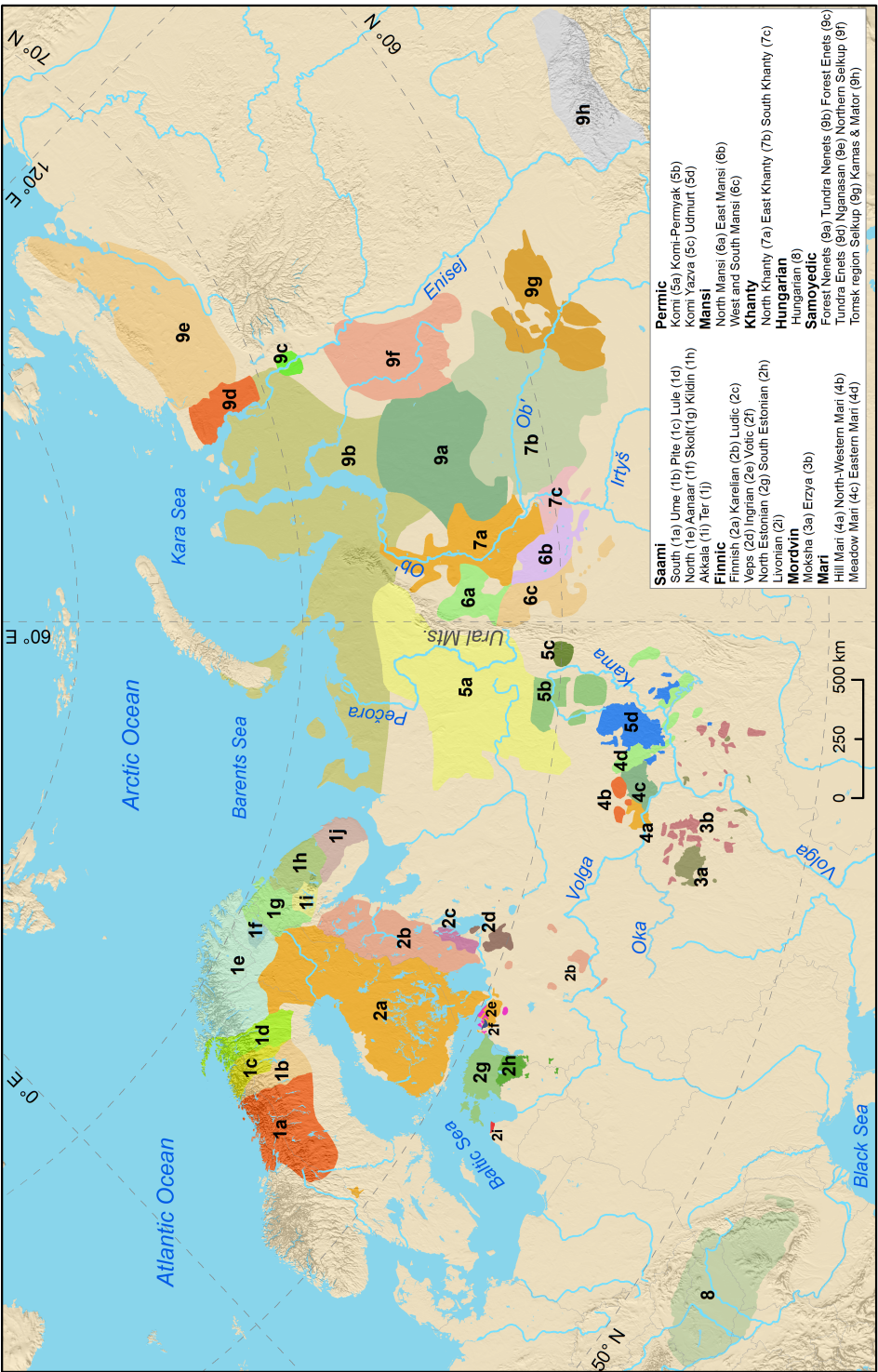
Figure 1.3: Map of the Uralic languages. Map and data: Rantanen *et al.* (2021)

Saami
South (1a) Ume (1b) Pite (1c) Lule (1d)
North (1e) Aanaar (1f) Skolt(1g) Kildin (1h)
Akkala (1i) Ter (1j)
Finnic
Finnish (2a) Karelian (2b) Ludic (2c)
Veps (2d) Ingrian (2e) Votic (2f)
North Estonian (2g) South Estonian (2h)
Livonian (2i)
Mordvin
Moksha (3a) Erzya (3b)
Mari
Hill Mari (4a) North-Western Mari (4b)
Meadow Mari (4c) Eastern Mari (4d)

Permic
Komi (5a) Komi-Permyak (5b)
Komi Yazva (5c) Udmurt (5d)
Mansi
North Mansi (6a) East Mansi (6b)
West and South Mansi (6c)
Khanty
North Khanty (7a) East Khanty (7b) South Khanty (7c)
Hungarian
Hungarian (8)
Samoyedic
Forest Nenets (9a) Tundra Nenets (9b) Forest Enets (9c)
Tundra Enets (9d) Nganasan (9e) Northern Selkup (9f)
Tomsk region Selkup (9g) Kamas & Mator (9h)

5

Figure 1.4: Map of the Saamic languages. South Saami (1) is depicted in khaki/brown. Map and data: Rantanen *et al.* (2021)

pursued a semi-nomadic lifestyle: The seasonal movement was dictated by the reindeer, which spent the winter in less harsh weather conditions closer to the sea. In Sweden, reindeer herding Saami followed the directions of the great rivers that flow from the Scandinavian mountain ridge towards the Baltic Sea. In central Sweden, this direction follows a north-west–south-east axis; compare for instance the the direction of the Ume river. West of the Scandinavian mountain ridge, in Norway, Saami would also travel toward the North Sea, which is westwards. Since the Saami moved mainly on this west-east axis, the different language varieties and dialects are also "stacked" on this axis, see Figure 1.4.[3] The seasonal movement of reindeer herding Saami can be several hundred kilometres long. In some parts of the South Saami area, however,

---

[3]This is a general picture of the language varieties, and holds for most cases. However, there are also arguments for a cultural grouping that reflect a north-south band in some areas, for instance the Forest Saami – see e.g. Larsson (2018).

these moves were much shorter, since winter- and summer lands were closer to each other than further north. This is generally the case in the South Saami area.

The large area that South Saami speakers cover has implications for the vitality of the language today. The language does not have a natural "centre" but is pluricentric. It is not only spoken in two different countries, but in many different places. These places are usually far from each other, and the distance between speakers is long. This makes it more difficult to create domains where the language can be used by a variety of speakers. There are, however, several places that are important for the South Saami community. In Sweden, important cities are Östersund (South Saami: *Staare*) with the cultural centre *Gaaltije*, Umeå (Ume Saami: *Ubmeje*) and its research centre at the university, and the township Lycksele (South Saami: *Liksjoe*), where the most active teaching of South Saami in Sweden takes place. In Norway, relevant places today are Snåsa (*Snåase*), where a South Saami school is located; Levanger, where a programme for South Saami teachers is taught in South Saami at Nord University, Røros (*Plaassje*), where the language competence centre *Aajege* is located, and others, such as Elgå (where a school project took place during the 2010s) or Hattfjelldal (*Aarborte*), the location of a South Saami school. There are, of course, many other places that have, or have had, an important role in the South Saami community. Many of these places are small. A number of such places are highlighted in the map in Figure 1.5. This map is an attempt to reflect the area of South Saami based on individual places, in contrast to maps that depict an area, like in the previous maps. The places on the map are either important former Saami settlements (such as Käringsjön), central cultural locations (e.g. Snåsa and Hattfjelldal), or places where Saami schools have existed (including Håkafot, Jänsmässholmen and Änge). The map also includes places that are relevant for the community today, such as Levanger, Trondheim and Lycksele.

Like many languages of the world, South Saami is not confined to one particular geographical area. In recent years, urbanisation and migration due to work and education has led to the fact that the language is also spoken outside of the described area. Important cities and places for South Saami are Trondheim, Tromsø, Oslo and Kautokeino (in Norway) and Östersund, Umeå and Stockholm (in Sweden).

South Saami locations of cultural importance
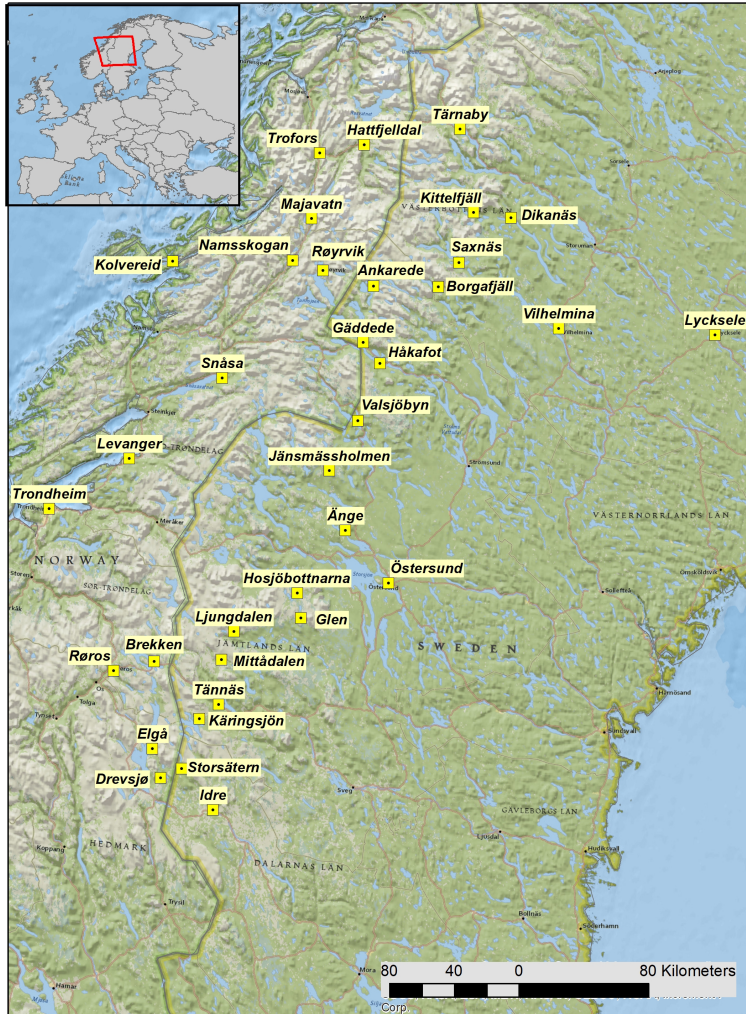
Map data: Richard Kowalik
Software used: ArcMap 10.6

Figure 1.5: Map of the South Saami area with culturally important places.

1.1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

The sociolinguistic situation of South Saami is complex. Only a fragment of this complicated matter can be covered here. The information and content in this section are often based on personal communication, but references to publications are also made.

South Saami as an endangered language

Generally speaking, from a general perspective, South Saami is a small and highly endangered language.[4] The situation of South Saami in the 20th century is closely connected to assimilation politics and discrimination of the language from the surrounding national states Sweden and Norway. South Saami people have been subject to enforced assimilation politics (Minde, 2005). The use of the language has simply been made impossible in many contexts. South Saami was highly stigmatized, or using the language was simply forbidden, like in some school settings (several of the consultants encountered this). The system of boarding schools, to which South Saami children were sent to during the 1940s–60s, contributed to this language deprivation.[5] South Saami have also been relocated by the state. These re-locations were usually no direct, forced actions of suppression carried out physically but happened rather as consequences of laws and prohibitions that were enforced by the state (see for instance the history of the mountain village Käringsjön). Finding practical adaptations that enabled families to survive economically were often the only solution for a South Saami family. Re-locations of Saami families in the beginning of the 20th century also resulted in North Saami living close to or in the same area as South Saami, for instance in Västerbotten, Sweden. One might wonder if the contact between North Saami and South Saami has lead to an influx of North Saami on South Saami. As far as I am aware, however, such influence on the language is not relevant to the data collected for this dissertation.[6] Since many elderly South Saami do not use their language on a daily basis, one may question whether language attrition is a relevant issue in the context of the current study. In short, I assess that it is not. The topic is discussed further in § 1.1.4.2 on language attrition.

Factors contributing to endangerment

The vast geographical area where the speakers reside, and the fact that there is no single natural centre for the language, also has implications for the lan-

[4]Note that languages with few speakers do not have to be endangered and that, vice versa, a language with many speakers may be endangered.

[5]This topic has been dealt with and illustrated in the movie *Sameblod* 'Saami blood' from 2016. Jonar Thomasson, one of the consultants who contributed to this study, starred in this award-winning movie.

[6]A speaker from Tärnaby, Sweden, commented that when the North Saami moved into the area, South Saami and North Saami would generally not speak Saami with each other (but used Swedish in communication instead). This would indicate that contact situations between the languages were limited. Today, on the other hand, there are several younger South Saami who know both North Saami and South Saami, and the question of influx might be relevant in their language.

guage's vitality and revitalization efforts.[7] Revitalization efforts exist in different places – and with different premises. In some areas, there are more speakers, while there are other areas in which only few speakers live. Furthermore, at least among the older generation, there is possibly also a difference between male and female speakers in language proficiency (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019). Generally, elderly female speakers use the language more often, both in spoken and written form. A direct link between reindeer herding (a domain traditionally dominated by men) and proficiency in the language is not typical for South Saami. From this perspective, South Saami is a highly endangered language, with only a few hundred[8] active speakers that are spread over a large area.

Factors supporting the language and its revitalization

"Saami" is recognized as a national minority language in Sweden, and South Saami as an official language in several municipalities in Norway. As such, the language receives considerable funding and support, compared to other small endangered languages in the world. This is, however, a recent development. Activities related to South Saami language use, in education, culture, media etc., receive funding from the national states. The language, culture, history and traditional beliefs are subject of study in several universities and in different departments (especially at Kautokeino University, Umeå University, Tromsø University, Uppsala University, but also at Stockholm University). Teaching materials are continuously developed, and national exams are also available in South Saami in Norway. Children's books, lately also books for adolescents, are regularly translated and published in South Saami (for example, books about the character "Plupp" (books by Inga Borg), the book *Pannkakstårtan* (about "Pettsson and Findus", by Sven Nordqvist), or *The Gruffalo* (Julia Donaldson), to name a few). South Saami may be used in churchly/ecclesiastic contexts and church services. Several Christian texts have been translated into South Saami, including the Gospel of Mark. There are also several channels in official media where the language is promoted. News is published in South Saami and the language is used in radio programs to a limited extent.

---

[7]Compare for instance the situation of Inari Saami, a Saamic language spoken in Finland by a similar number of speakers, but who live much more concentrated in one region. This facilitates revitalization of the language better.

[8]This number is not based on any census but is based on my personal experience and knowledge of the language community, and I discussed this number with other researchers of the field.

Different language varieties

I believe it is important to characterize the variety of South Saami that is used in many of the contexts mentioned in the previous paragraph. It often follows a new prescriptivism that has been developed in recent years. The majority of the actors in these contexts are heritage learners of the language (see § 1.3.4 for a description and definition of the speaker groups). Their language use differs considerably from the language use of older generations. While older heritage speakers usually have a positive attitude to the revitalization efforts and the use of the language by new speakers/heritage learners, they often comment that they perceive this language to be quite different from their own, and there are instances where heritage speakers have difficulties understanding details of the revitalized language.

In short, and very broadly speaking, the language used by heritage learners is characterized by two opposing traits: On one hand, heritage learners tend to use very **conservative** elements, such as the productive use of derivational morphology that is fossilized or lexicalized in the language of heritage speakers. On the other hand, their syntax often reflects Scandinavian syntax and calque constructions and translations ("Scandinavianisms").

Ultimately, this dichotomy is probably a result of the language discrimination and deprivation of the 20th century. The basis for education, revitalization and standardization efforts today is the language material that has been documented and described in the first half of the 20th century (see § 1.2 below). Heritage learners use this material but also wish to develop the language (and find new terms for new phenomena in contemporary society) in a creative way and with their linguistic tools at hands. However, the language use of those speakers that came after the previous documentation efforts (see § 1.2) in the first half of the 20th century is generally not reflected to a great extent in the standard language. This complex construct of 'conservative' language use, (neo)prescriptivism, language revitalization and innovations of both heritage speakers and heritage learners results in a complex net of language users.

Comments on the different language varieties in use

The language of the oldest generation (referred to as heritage speakers in the study, as defined in § 1.3.4.2) is perhaps the most innovative language of continuous use of South Saami. It reflects the language as spoken by the generation of grandchildren of the speakers that former descriptions are based on, e.g. Hasselbrink (1944).

The majority language, that is, Norwegian or Swedish, is usually the stronger language of all speakers of South Saami. Language contact has contributed to the current structure of the language, and contact phenomena and loanwords can easily be identified in South Saami. However, the observed features de-

scribed in this study are usually consistent between different idiolects and dialects in the data. The language of study, despite its regional varieties, thus shares a common structure. This is a strong argument against processes that can be observed in connection with language death as described in for instance Dyirbal (Schmidt *et al.*, 1983). *("Young people's Dyirbal" is structurally different from the language used by previous generations. Differences are the loss of grammatical morphemes, not using core case morphology or inflectional morphology. The author also shows differences that are based on sociolects and different peer groups.)*

In summary: in South Saami, the oldest speaker generation uses the perhaps most innovative language (and with little or no prescriptive influence). Younger generations tend to use a more prescriptive language which may contain conservative traits as well as Scandinavian morpho-syntax and calques in South Saami. The attitude of older heritage speakers towards younger heritage learners is generally very positive and encouraging, even if heritage learners may use a different variety of the language.

In § 1.3.4 I attempt to outline and define the different speaker groups of South Saami.

1.1.4.1 A brief reflection on standardization, maintenance and revitalization of South Saami

One important goal for the language community is to strengthen and revive their language. There are also efforts to extend the domains of use of South Saami. The number of language users of South Saami is increasing, especially among younger speaker groups and heritage learners. Many users of South Saami are also active members in the South Saami community at large, and they are involved in language maintenance and activism. This may happen in formal formats (teaching, research, language technology, language planning, education, translation, interpreters) or less formal contexts (as writers, musicians, language mentors, or otherwise culturally important protagonists). In many of these contexts, written language, and a prescriptive use of language are dominant. This inevitably leads to a standardization of (written) South Saami. A standardization of the language seems crucial as it enables language users to use online dictionaries and other tools of language technology. However, "South Saami" is pluricentric and is not one variety but shows variation. One may therefore ask which variety a standard expresses, and which choices language users make. If language users choose to use one of several possible varieties over others, this might stigmatize other varieties. This happens especially if this variety is defined as the standard. The variety may then become the prestigious one and makes the use of other varieties more difficult.

It is difficult to generalize in this matter for South Saami. The descriptions which follow below are rather anecdotal, but they have been described similarly by different language users and from different points of view.

A lot of the prescriptive material of today is based on descriptive material collected during the 1940s. A textbook can hardly cover all details of a language, and many details may be simplified. This may lead to heritage learners overusing a certain function. Examples are using only the three locational cases instead of the more fine-grained system of adpositions, the consistent omission of the copula in all contexts, or a rigid SOV word order. These features show more variation and complexity in natural language. On the other hand, a heritage learner may also find infrequent forms or items whose function is not described thoroughly, and overgeneralize their use. Examples are using possessive and relational suffixes, derivational morphology which may not be fully productive, inflected forms of pronouns and pro-forms, or inflection of adjectives and numerals. This may sometimes add an archaic character to the language (e.g. possessive suffixes), it may be perceived as "wrong" by other (heritage) speakers (e.g. using only locational cases but no adpositions), or it may cause misunderstandings (e.g. derivations).

However, language users of South Saami feel the need to develop the language to fit its modern requirements. Language planning is an on-going enterprise, and new words or translations are discussed continuously in pertinent groups and forums. If a majority of language users agree on a certain usage, then this may be a chance for the language to expand in use and function in the future.

1.1.4.2 A note on language attrition

I mentioned above that many elderly South Saami do not have many common contexts to practice their language. One may therefore ask whether language attrition is a relevant topic for the study. Above, I answered this question briefly with *no*.

However, given the complex sociolinguistic situation of South Saami, a comment on the subject is deemed necessary. I argue that language attrition in the data is not a primary issue. Instead, I argue for internally motivated, natural language change in the context of language contact and grammaticalization and for effects of frequency of use. I will use the terms L1 and L2 in this section, since the literature (in particular, Schmid (2004)) uses these labels. I refer to South Saami with L1, and to Swedish/Norwegian with L2.

The concept of attrition is complex, and there is "no workable and testable definition of attrition" (Schmid, 2004, p. 8). Definitions of (L1-) attrition usually circle around the concept of making *errors* that a "fully competent

speaker of that language would not make" (Gross, 2004, p. 282). It lies outside the scope of the present study to provide a detailed account of this field.

Several of the consultants are elderly and retrieval of lexical items may take longer for older speakers than younger. Longer retrieval time cannot be interpreted as a sign of, or argument for, attrition: "individuals over the age of seventy[,] appear to exhibit more difficulties in lexical retrieval and provide fewer and less precise synonyms than younger speakers" (Gross, 2004).

Gross (2004, pp. 282–283) points out three other important issues in the research on attrition: (1) Possible variation in the variety or language studied. Perhaps an observed "error" might represent variation instead. (2) Deciding what is an error and what is not. This is a complex issue and also touches on the difference between descriptive and prescriptive language use. (3) Researchers "must address the problem of whether the grammatical changes they observe should best be analysed as internally motivated or externally motivated changes" (Gross, 2004, p. 283).

With this theoretical background in mind, I will now discuss the situation of South Saami. I focus here on language use by the older generation of speakers, primarily those who contributed to this study.

Most, if not all, speakers of South Saami are today more fluent in one of the majority languages Swedish and Norwegian, independent of their age, background and place of living. These speakers' first language was South Saami, which they spoke with their parents and in daily life. Many learned Swedish or Norwegian from an early age (between the age of three and seven). Usually, most speakers do not use South Saami to the same extent as Swedish or Norwegian today. Two of the speakers who contributed to the study were uncomfortable with being recorded. One of them uses the language quite seldom actively and has to "search for words" when producing South Saami. (Perception and recognition of South Saami words and constructions on the other hand did not pose any problems for them.) One may therefore ask whether one can observe language attrition among this group of South Saami speakers.

A short answer to this very complex question based on the data is *no*.

Individual studies are often inconclusive *whether* language attrition in situations similar to the one of South Saami may happen (Schmid, 2004, p. 1). In learning a language, *time* is an important variable, but so are the *attitude* towards a language and *motivation* for it (Schmid, 2004, p. 12ff).

In the data on South Saami, there is undoubtedly an influence of Swedish/Norwegian on South Saami. However, these (Swedish/Norwegian) phenomena may have been well-integrated into South Saami since long ago. The history, geographical proximity of Scandinavians and South Saami, and old loanwords (Piha, 2021) suggest this.

It is important to remember that influence is not the same as attrition

(Pavlenko, 2004, p. 47). Contact languages may interact in five different ways: *borrowing*, *restructuring*, *convergence*, *shift*, or *attrition* (ibid.).

South Saami shows contact phenomena of **borrowings** and **restructuring**. Borrowings are the "addition of L2 elements to the L1", such as lexical borrowings/loanwords. Many loans are old, some enter the language when the phenomenon becomes relevant (e.g. *bijle* 'car' ← bil 'car' (Swe/Nor); *datovre* 'computer' ← *dator* 'computer' (Swe)). Restructuring comprises the "incorporation of L2 elements into L1 resulting in some changes, substitutions, or simplifications" of grammar, or "semantic extensions" (Pavlenko, 2004, p. 47). There are features in the data that may reflect restructuring. For instance, the use of plural verb morphology with dual pronouns (see § 6.4.8),[9] or, arguably, the word order SVO instead of SOV.

For the data, signs of attrition in the following sense are not characteristic: The "loss of some L1 elements, seen in inability to produce, perceive, or recognise particular rules, lexical items, concepts, or categorical distinctions due to L2 influence" (Pavlenko, 2004, p. 47). All speakers who contributed to this study are able to produce and recognize rules, categories and lexical items. They have a clear understanding of what is grammatical(ly correct) language use in South Saami. In elicitation of complex matters, speakers might have been searching for or thinking of a particular word. Examples are concepts that are less frequent such as 'despise' and 'being impressed by'. In the great majority of cases, however, speakers are readily able to provide a translation (Swedish into South Saami), such as in the elicitation of the verbs *vara upprörd* 'being upset with' or *att avundas* 'to envy'.

In unplanned, spontaneous speech, the consultants did not show signs of attrition as defined above. The documented narratives in the data are told without any interruptions or stuttering, but with reformulations and interruptions characteristic of spoken language.

Another answer to the question whether South Saami shows language attrition could be *yes, of course*. That is, if we agree to the fact that "language attrition is [...] part and parcel of the overall process of language *development*" Schmid (2013) (my emphasis). The loss of domains in which South Saami is spoken would arguably also play a role here.[10] Studies suggest that "attrition is to some extent influenced by typological factors concerning the two contact languages" (Schmid, 2013, p. 103). For instance, South Saami has both the

---

[9]The notion of *simplification* has been criticized and has been pointed out as "meaningless" (Schmid, 2004, p. 16), since it would need to be matched against *complexity*. The use of plural verb morphology in the dual category – combined with dual pronouns – is arguably not a 'simplification'.

[10]In recent years, the domains in which South Saami is used are expanded – for instance in higher education.

word order SOV and SVO. Whether we say that the one word order is "native" and the other one "attrited", or whether we say that word order variation is a characteristic of South Saami, becomes almost an ideological question. Also, the two alternatives are not necessarily conflicting; variation in South Saami may also simply be a characteristic of the language. One of the main arguments in favour of a functioning, intact use of South Saami, and against attrition, is its systematicity: Several features (of variation) described in the present study are "systematic" and not just idiosyncratic constructions. By systematic I mean that a construction is attested in natural language use among different speakers from different geographical areas. Speakers generally have a linguistic meta-understanding for variation (or an "alternative" construction). In short, there is a high inter-speaker agreement on the usage of South Saami in the speaker group that is documented in this study, and acceptance of the data as "good language" between the speakers. A haphazard variation is not found in the data.

The other main argument in favour of an intact use and against attrition (in its sense of "decay") is that many features attested in the data reflect developments that are well-known in language change and grammaticalization theory. Examples are the loss of dual verb morphology as mentioned above (a restructuring), a particle-like use of the negative auxiliary (see § 16.2.1.2) or the use of the relative pronoun as a relative particle (see § 14.2.2).

In the context of this study, I therefore argue that many described constructions are best understood in the light of (natural) language change and grammaticalization, in a language that has (and presumably has always had) contact with its neighbouring languages.

1.1.4.3 A note on the historical presence of South Saami and contact with its neighbours

The ancestors of today's South Saami have presumably had contact with their Scandinavian neighbours since at least the year 200 CE. It is argued that the South Saami arrived in the area from the East (instead of from the North) (Piha, 2020, p. 112). In that case, the linguistic ancestors of today's South Saami came to central Scandinavia more directly from the proposed Proto-Saami homeland via the Gulf of Bothnia. At that time, central Scandinavia was inhabited by the (cultural) ancestors of today's South Saami and of today's Scandinavians, and "by people of unknown ethnicity" (Aikio, 2012, p. 69). The languages they spoke were proto-languages that are now extinct. Aikio (2012) points out the time between 300 and 800 CE as a "period of radical ethnic, social, and linguistic change" (Aikio, 2012, p. 69).

Contact between Saami and Scandinavians has been frequent since the ar-

rival of the groups in the area. Especially before the advent of Christianity, this contact was based on mutual exchange of goods and cultural elements and on mutual respect (Kusmenko, 2008).[11] This raises questions about possible contact-based innovations in the language and culture of today's South Saami. The topic is complex and there are still many unanswered questions. The scope of the present study allows only for a brief note on the historical presence and dispersal of the South Saami. The reader is referred to the works of Piha (2021), Kusmenko (2008) and the research of Zachrisson (e.g. Zachrisson (2012)) and other researchers.

To orient the reader quickly; Kusmenko (2008) discusses a number of possible linguistic and cultural substrates from Saami in North Germanic during the Middle Ages (for instance, preaspiration in northern-Swedish dialects, or the Norse goddess Skadi who has clear Saami attributes). Based on these linguistic and cultural traits, he shows that Saami and Scandinavians must have had a much more intense contact and probably also mutual knowledge of their languages.

Piha (2021) combines linguistics and archaeology in her studies and argues for the presence of ancestors of today's South Saami in the area from 200 CE and onward. These are cultural ancestors who did not speak any Saamic language before the arrival of Southern Proto-Saami. Piha bases her arguments on archaeological material dating to around 200 CE and Proto-Scandinavian loanwords that were borrowed into "Southern Proto-Saami" (Piha, 2020, p. 112) around the same time. The loanwords and the archaeological material correlate, for instance domestic animal remains and loanwords referring to domestic animal husbandry. Piha & Häkkinen (2020, p. 105 ff) also point to pure linguistic evidence for an early drift of Southern Proto-Saami from "common Late Proto Saami". Proto-Scandinavian loanwords and phonological substitutes seen in those loanwords suggest that the loanwords entered South Saami directly from Scandinavian and not via other Saamic languages. This indicates that South Saami separated from other Saamic varieties at an earlier stage (Piha & Häkkinen, 2020). Piha shows that Southern Proto-Saami "adopted sound changes due to internal development and loanwords from Proto-Scandinavian" (Piha, 2020, p. 112).

Another important archaelogical finding is Zachrisson's research and discovery of graves in Vivallen, Härjedalen. Vivallen, close to the township Funäsdalen, is a grave field and former Saami settlement that is dated to around 1000 CE (Zachrisson, 2012). Other archaeological findings suggest a Saami presence as far South as Uppland and Mälardalen in Sweden Larsson (2018);

[11]The Norwegian King Harald Hårfager for instance had a Saami wife (Snöfrid), used Saami-made boats, and made use of Saami archers among his soldiers – cf. names based on "Finn-" like *Finnbogi*. *Finn* is an old term for Saami.

Saarikivi (2022). From the end of the 18th century, a Saami presence is also documented along the coastline of the lower Swedish Norrland (the counties Gästrikland and Hälsingland) and in Dalarna (Larsson, 2018). These non-reindeer herding Saami were referred to as *sockenlappar* ('Parish Saami'). Historical presence of Saami in the southern parts of the area, in Østerdalen (Hedmark county) in Norway, is today generally accepted (Bergstøl, 2008); Fjellheim (2012).

Today and in recent centuries, the speakers of South Saami have had constant and intense contact with speakers of the national languages of Norway and Sweden, Norwegian and Swedish.[12] These are the dominant languages in the area, and they are also the dominant languages of all speakers of South Saami today. This is due not least to a long period of severe politics of assimilation (and also discrimination and relocation) of South Saami in the past century; a topic followed up in § 1.1.4 on the language's sociolinguistic situation.

1.1.5 Official status

In Sweden, "Saami" is one of five recognized minority languages. The umbrella term "Saami" comprises the different Saamic varieties/languages, but the different Saamic languages are not individually recognized. In Norway, South Saami is recognized as a minority language in its own right. It is also recognized as an official, administrative language in several municipalities, equal to Norwegian. These municipalities are Aarborte/Hattfjelldal, Snåase/Snåsa, Raarvihke/Røyrvik and Røros/Plaassje (see the map in Figure 1.4). In these areas, and in the South Saami area in Sweden, road signs, town signs and signs in official buildings can be found in both Norwegian/Swedish and South Saami.

1.1.6 Orthography

South Saami has an established orthography since the late 1970s. The orthography was developed by the linguists Knut Bergsland and Gustav Haselbrink, in collaboration with the South Saami teacher Ella Holm Bull (Magga, 1975, p. 41). In 1976, a Saami language committee accepted this orthography as the official South Saami one at a meeting on language development of the Saamic languages (Magga, 1994). In 1978, the Norwegian Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet) and the Swedish National Board of Education (Skolöverstyrelsen) accepted the orthography.

---

[12]Swedish and Norwegian are both North Germanic languages. They are closely related, structurally very similar and mutually intelligible.

Figure 1.6: Town sign of Funäsdalen/Bïenjedaelie in Härjedalen, Sweden. Picture: Richard Kowalik

The orthography uses Latin script and the special characters <å> for [o] (common for Norwegian and Swedish), <ä>/<ö> [æ/ œ] in South Saami written in Sweden and <æ>/<ø> [æ/ œ] in Norway. The orthography also uses the character <i> with a trema: <ï> for a close central unrounded vowel [ɨ]. For affricates, the orthography uses digraphs (e.g. <tj> for [ʧ]), which is similar to Norwegian and Swedish orthographies but unlike for instance North Saami, which uses special characters such as <č and š> for [ʧ] and [ʃ]. The digraph <sj> is used for the fricative [ʃ]. Long sounds are represented with double letters for both vowels and consonants.

In the thesis, I use the official orthography. Occasionally, I use the following adaptions: If a speaker uses [a] or [e] instead of [o] or [u] in verbs, this is reflected in the representation of examples (for instance, the standard *darjodh* 'make' may be represented as *darjedh*; *darjoem* 'I make' is represented as *darjam*).[13] I do not use the letter <ï> in this thesis, since the sound has neither a phonological status nor could its phonetic realization be demonstrated to differ from [i] (see § 3.2.4). Another variation represented in the examples are different realizations of /o, a, u/, as in *dalle* [talːə], *dålle* [tɔlːə] or *dolle* [dulːə]. If a speaker uses clearly voiced plosives instead of voiceless plosives, this is also reflected in the representation of examples. For instance, the word for 'outside' may be spelled either *alkene*, *ålkene* or *olgene*. I represent the

---

[13]The variation of final [a] instead of [o] in nouns is incorporated in the standard orthography. Compare for instance Magga (2009) or the online dictionary *Nedtedigibaakoeh*, which list for instance both *faamoe* 'power' and *faama* 'power'.

final -*h* in the orthography, even if this marker may not always be phonetically realized (as in *nommh* 'names' for instance).

1.1.7   Dialectal variation

South Saami is usually grouped into a northern and a southern dialect (cf. e.g. Bergsland (1946, p. VII), Bergsland (1995)). A division into three dialects, a southern, central and northern, had been proposed by Hasselbrink (cf. Rydving (2013, p. 62–62)). However, both Bergsland and Hasselbrink argue that a dialectal division of South Saami is difficult to establish (Rydving, 2013, p. 62).

Differences between dialects or varieties of South Saami are mainly reflected in the lexicon, in phonology and in morphology, but also in morphosyntax. Some South Saami speakers refer to the railway between Sundsvall in Sweden and Trondheim in Norway as a rough division line between the northern and southern dialect. The literature often follows this general division; however, the situation we observe in reality is much more complex.

The southernmost South Saami varieties are found in Härjedalen and Dalarna/Idre (Sweden) and in the municipalites Røros and Engerdalen/Drevsjø (Norway). Several of the speakers I met in Idre and Engerdalen have moved to these areas from further north, for instance from Vilhelmina and Ammarnäs (the latter is also sometimes ascribed to the Ume Saami area). Therefore, speakers of northern dialects are also found in the very southern areas.

Schooling in South Saami is restricted to a few places within Saepmie (mainly in Snåsa and Røros). Children who attend these schools but come from other dialect areas might therefore receive schooling in another variety (usually the variety referred to as standard South Saami) than the one spoken in their place of origin.

Today, some speakers within the language community refer to some varieties of South Saami as "familiolect", a language variety that is characteristic for a particular family or household. A more fine-grained classification into geographically based dialects today is therefore probably less feasible, or meaningful (compare also Rydving (2013, p. 62)). The arrangement into dialects has possibly been complicated further by the movements within south-Saepmie. Whether other groups of Saami, especially North Saami who have been forced to move and who were relocated to the South Saami area, have had an effect on South Saami remains to be explored.

Despite the difficulties of dialectal classification, a rough division into a northern and southern variant still holds today. Speakers (also heritage learners!) situate or identify themselves along a north-south continuum. Possibly related to the standardizing literary language, both heritage speakers and learn-

ers have become aware of a number of distinctive features and tend to use the respective forms of "their" dialect consciously.

An example to illustrate differences between north and south South Saami is the following dialectal allomorphy: the suffix for the first person singular is *-b* /p/ as in *tjoejkeb* 'I ski' in the northern area and *-m* /m/ in the southern as in *tjoejkem* 'I ski'. An example from phonetics/phonology is the affricate /tʃ/ which is generally pronounced [tɕ] instead of [ts] in the southern dialects: *tseegkedh* 'to build' is pronounced [tɕeːkːətʰ], another is the fricative /s/ which is often pronounced [ʃ] instead of [s] in the southern area: *desnie* 'there' [tæʃniɛ]. In the lexicon, for instance, in the southern dialects, a moose is *vaejsjie*, while it is *sarve* in the central and northern dialects. For more information which dialects the consultants represent, see § 1.3.6 for a presentation of them.

1.2 Previous research

Linguistic interest in South Saami extends back to the end of the 19th century. The purpose of this section is to provide a brief overview of the research history on South Saami. I focus here on published material and on grammatical descriptions. I exclude other material such as word lists, text collections or textbooks. In general, many of the early studies of South Saami focus on a description of phonetics and on morphology.

In the end of the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Halász published a sketch grammar of "Swedish Saami" (*Svéd-lapp nyelvtan és olvasmányok*) 1881. He published a collection of texts in "Jämtland Saami" (*Jemtlandi lapp*) in 1886 and a dictionary in 1891. Descriptions and translations are in Hungarian and partly German. The works contain examples and texts in South Saami that are translated into and commented on in Hungarian.

In 1893, Halász' work was critically assessed and commented by K.B. Wiklund in his article "Die Südlappischen Forschungen Des Herrn Dr. Ignácz Halász" (The South Saami research of Dr. Ignácz Halász) (27 pages). As the title implies, this article was also in German, like most of the early literature from the field. Wiklund criticizes Halász for mixing the sources of his data and for erroneous analyses, and provides a short account of the phoneme inventory. In the article, Wiklund also reflects on the methodology of language description. He is critical towards presenting full morphological paradigms that include constructed forms which in fact might not be used in the language, or which are ultimately impossible to elicit.[14]

In 1923, the Finnish scholar Eliel Lagercrantz published "Sprachlehre des

---

[14]These reflections are highly relevant even in the context of the present study.

Südlappischen" (Grammar of South Saami). Data for the study was collected in 1922 in the municipality Vefsn, Norway, and represents the northern dialects of South Saami. The work (171 pages) contains a syntax part (*Funktionslehre*; ca. 50% of the pages), morphology (*Formenlehre*) and phonology (*Lautlehre*). Lagercrantz briefly describes morpho-syntactic functions and illustrates these with examples.

In the 1940s, several works on South Saami appeared within the course of a few years: Björn Collinder published a number of texts and inflectional paradigms in "Lappische Sprachproben aus Härjedalen" (Saami language samplings from Härjedalen) in 1942; Gustav Hasselbrink published his thesis on phonology "Vilhelminalapskans ljudlära med särskild hänsyn till första stavelsens vokaler" (Vilhelmina-Saami sound system with special focus on the vowels of the first syllable) in 1944, and Knut Bergsland published the comprehensive and densely written "Røros-lappisk grammatikk" (Røros-Saami grammar) in 1946. This latter work is the most comprehensive of the above mentioned works.

While several of the above mentioned scholars had been studying both South Saami and other Saamic languages, Hasselbrink and especially Bergsland emerged as "South Saami specialists" during the 20th century. Hasselbrink continued to work on phonology and published "Alternative analyses of the phonemic system in central South-Lappish" in 1965. In 1981–1983, partly post mortem, his three-volume dictionary "Südlappisches Wörterbuch/Oårjel'saamien baaguog'ärjaa" (South Saami dictionary) appeared, which also included a (sketch) grammar which covers basic phonology and morphology.

To follow chronological appearance, in 1975, the sketch grammar and word list of the South Saami writer Nilsson-Mankok "Systematik i Sydsamiskan Vilhelmina-Vefsen" (Taxonomy of South Saami Vilhelmina-Vefsen) appeared in self-publication.

Bergsland's 1946 grammar was revised and published in 1982 in a slimmed down version that was more pedagogically (and prescriptively) oriented. Its purpose was a "grammar for South Saami in school" (*en grammatikk i sydsamisk for skolebruk* (Bergsland, 1982, p. 11)). A second edition of "Sydsamisk grammatikk" (A grammar of South Saami) was published in 1994. While the 1946 grammar was purely descriptive, the latter publications appeared after the introduction of the official orthography and reflect a prescriptive perspective on the language. The explicitly stated purpose of this grammar is "to contribute to a collection about a written South Saami language"[15].

[15]*Hensikten med grammatikken er ikke å beskrive dialektforskjellene, men tvert om å bidra til en samling om et sydsamisk skriftspråk som kan tjene flest mulig sydsamer.* 'The purpose of this grammar is not to describe dialectal differences, but on the con-

In 2012, Magga & Magga (2012) published the most recent handbook for South Saami, "Sørsamisk grammatikk". This work is based on Bergsland (1994) with an additional section on derivational morphology. It clearly reflects the pursuits of developing prescriptive standards for the language; the purpose of this grammar is to provide a "practical resource" for a broad audience (Magga & Magga, 2012, p. 5).[16]

Apart from these authors, there are several other scholars who worked with South Saami. Ove Lorentz studied phonology in South Saami which resulted in the thesis "Towards a generative phonology of Southern Lappish" Lorentz (1973). In more recent years, South Saami has received in-depth attention in several articles by Rogier Blokland and Nobufumi Inaba (2015; 2019), Torbjörn Söder (e.g. 2020) and Jussi Ylikoski (e.g. 2017, 2018), to name the most prominent. Ylikoski also provided a grammatical overview of South Saami in Bakró-Nagy *et al.* (2022).

Not a grammar per se but an important tool for the language is the online dictionary *Nedtedigibaakoeh*.[17] This platform, maintained by Giellatekno at Tromsø University, generates morphological paradigms for all major word classes and sometimes provides examples for the entries. The dictionary also provides links to SIKOR, the Saami International Korpus. This corpus is a collection of administrative, religious, non-fiction and fiction, law, newspaper and science texts. Most of these texts are translations from a Scandinavian language into South Saami.

I already mentioned the dictionaries by Halász (1891) and Hasselbrink III (1981). Other dictionaries for South Saami include Lagercrantz's 1926 *Wörterbuch des Südlappischen: nach der Mundart von Wefsen* (Dictionary of South Saami, based on the Vefsn-dialect). In Nilsson-Mankok (1975), a word list is included, and he published a separate dictionary. All of these dictionaries use their own orthographies. There are also numerous published and unpublished word lists, such as those by the Swedish linguist Björn Collinder or the South Saami Albert Jåma.

The most comprehensive dictionaries that make use of the official orthog-

---

trary, to contribute to a collection about a written South Saami language which can be helpful to as many South Saami as possible.' (Bergsland, 1982, p. 13)

[16]*Denne grammatikken er skrevet som et praktisk hjelpemiddel for en bred brukerkrets av voksne lesere som vil arbeide med sørsamisk språk. Den er ikke ment som en beskrivelse av all bruk av sørsamisk. Meget av eksemplene er hentetfra Knut Bergslands Sydsamisk grammatikk (1982, 1994).* 'This grammar is written as a practical aid for a broad audience of adult readers who wish to work with the South Saami language. The intention is not to describe all usage of South Saami. A lot of the examples are taken from K.B's Sydsamisk grammatikk (1982, 1994).' (Magga & Magga, 2012, p. 5)

[17]Link: https://baakoeh.oahpa.no/

raphy are Bergsland & Mattsson Magga (1993) (South Saami – Norwegian) and Magga (2009) (Norwegian–South Saami). A dictionary of South Saami–Swedish and Swedish–South Saami appeared in 2015 (Israelsson, 2015).

1.3 The study

1.3.1 Motivation and aim

> "*South Saami is not in danger, but it is a different language [that is in use today] than our dialects*" – Iréne Dorra, 2021

This study has two main goals: first, to describe contemporary, spoken South Saami as it is used by the older generation of speakers today, and second, to fill gaps in research on South Saami. To understand the first motivation better, I first provide some background information on the speaker situation (see also § 1.3.4). By "older generation of speakers today" I mean the generation of South Saami where basically all individuals grew up with South Saami as their first language (L1) who used South Saami in all domains of the surrounding community. The generations that were born after this "old generation" usually did not grow up in an environment where South Saami was the dominant language in the community, due to widespread politics of suppression. This suppression, both political and societal, caused a break in the broad, robust usage of the language. However, the language has been, and is being, transmitted to younger generations of South Saami today. In these cases, South Saami is usually one of several acquired languages in these contexts and generally, Swedish or Norwegian is the stronger language of the speakers. Generally, younger generations of speakers orient themselves towards the (prescriptive) standard language. The oldest speakers on the other hand may use their language the way they acquired it – as a link of an unbroken chain (in an "unbroken tradition") of language use. This language has not been subject to comprehensive studies, and it is this language, of the oldest, first language speakers, that I describe in this study. This language may differ from the language that was documented in the 1940s (esp. Bergsland (1946)), and also from the language that is described in recent grammars and text books (e.g. Magga & Magga (2012)).

In the first half of the 20th century, several grammatical descriptions on South Saami were published by linguistic scholars of that time (see § 1.2 on previous research above). The most comprehensive of these descriptions is Bergsland (1946). For his study, Bergsland worked with consultants who were born around 1870. His grammar has been the basis for most of the more recent handbooks for the language, e.g. Magga & Magga (2012). Since Bergsland's documentation of South Saami in the 1940s, there has been no comprehensive study that documented and described the language in its entirety, until the current one, which was carried out between the years 2017 and 2021.

Languages change over time, and South Saami is no exception. This study therefore describes a different South Saami than the one that was documented

by Bergsland. This may have implications for the classifications that are presented in this description, which may differ from previous classifications. Like Bergsland, I worked with elderly speakers of the language. The majority of consultants who contributed to this study were born between 1933 and 1947, around 70 years later than Bergsland's consultants (See § 1.3.4 for more details about the speaker groups and § 1.3.6 for a presentation of the consultants).

In summary, the first goal is to document and describe South Saami synchronically, based on data that reflects the use of South Saami by members of the generation of speakers that acquired South Saami as their first language in an environment where South Saami was the dominant language.

The second main motivation for this study is to fill in gaps in the existing research. With respect to previous grammatical descriptions, the fields of phonology and syntax stand out in particular. The scholars during the first half of the 20th century worked on the sound system of South Saami but mainly from a phonetic point of view. In more recent hand books of the language, phonology is generally not covered.[18] In this study, I offer my analysis of the phonological system (Chapter 3). This analysis is based on spoken data, corroborated by acoustic analyses.[19] Furthermore, this study covers a number of morpho-syntactic features that have previously not been described in detail.

While several scholars (e.g. Blokland & Inaba, Söder, Ylikoski) have published articles on South Saami in English in recent years, most of the early literature on South Saami is written in German and partly in Hungarian and Norwegian. In recent years, material has also been published in Swedish and in South Saami.[20] My objective here is to write a typologically informed description in English, contextualized within state-of-the-art cross-linguistic research, using (within general linguistics) established terminology, modern analytic procedures and presentation conventions.

1.3.2 Theoretical framework

The present study is a grammatical description of South Saami. Here, *description* is understood as the "characterization of grammatical regularities" of a particular language (Haspelmath, 2009a, p. 378). The term *description*

---

[18]At a conference on South Saami linguistics in 2019 (SMA-biejjieh in Levanger), a talk about phonology had been named "the unwritten chapter of South Saami".

[19]The textbooks for the language, which are explicitly aimed at a broad audience (e.g. Magga & Magga (2012)) operate generally with an assumed equation between (prescriptive) orthography and actual phonological distinctions. The current analysis differs from such descriptions.

[20]A number of master theses on South Saami at Tromsø University have been published in South Saami, e.g. Jonasson (2011); Labj (2021).

is used synonymously with *analysis*, which designates the generalization of a phenomenon (ibid.). Since the descriptions, examples and classifications presented in this grammar are generalizations about the data (and hence the language), they therefore represent the analyses of this study.

An ideal in language description is to "approach any language without prejudice and describe it in its own terms, non-aprioristically, overcoming possible biases from our native language, from the model of a prestige language" (Haspelmath, 2009a, p. 376). A researcher should be able "to discover completely new, unexpected phenomena, to detect previously unsuspected connections between phenomena, and to be guided solely by the data and one's own thinking." (ibid.). The theoretical approach in descriptive linguistics should be data-driven (compare also Chelliah & de Reuse (2010, p. 21)). While this is a principle I adhere to, it has at times been difficult to preserve this open-mindedness in field work. Already established classifications for several aspects of South Saami already exist, and sometimes, especially in the beginning of the project, I subconsciously tried to make my data fit previously established taxonomies. Handling this became easier in later stages, once I had built up the corpus and I had gained a better understanding for the kind (or variety) of South Saami that I am working with.

Fieldwork is about "discovery and asking questions" (Bowern, 2015, p. 12). However, Bowern continues, "you need to know what questions to ask" (ibid.). The questions that I asked, that is, the topics that I cover in this study, are guided by works on typologically established concepts and features. Apart from many feature specific studies and typologies, the following handbooks have served as a guideline and provided the basic theoretical and typological background: Payne's *Describing Morphosyntax* (1997), the volumes about syntax by Shopen (2007a), *Syntax* by Givón (2001), and the framework presented in Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon, 2010). The most frequently cited scholar in this thesis is Martin Haspelmath, whose work has often provided both a typological and a theoretical background for this study.

I have also been inspired by consulting other grammars of South Saami (in particular Bergsland (1946)), of other Saamic languages (especially Wilbur (2014) and Feist (2011)), of other Uralic languages (esp. Siegl (2013)) as well as grammars of other languages, not least Henrik Liljegren (2016), who co-supervised this thesis.

Readers with an interest in South Saami will most likely be familiar with Knut Bergsland and his work on South Saami. I will therefore briefly relate my study to his study. Bergsland (1946) situates his grammatical description in "synchronic-descriptive linguistics, which is the basis for comparative linguistics" ("[...] *den synchronisk-deskriptive lingvistikk, som jo* [sic!] *er grunnlaget*

for den sammenlignende språkvitenskap") (Bergsland 1946: VII).[21] The present grammar is, equally, a "synchronic-descriptive" work, but also a typologically informed study. It differs from Bergsland's description in two main aspects: (1) The data. While Bergsland's consultants were born between 1856 and 1877, speakers that contributed in the present work were born between 1933 and 1954. The present data therefore reflects another stage of the language. (2) The framework. While Bergsland worked in a structuralist framework typical of his time, the present work can be situated in a typological or functional framework (or, possibly, in a "framework-free" theory (Haspelmath, 2009a) that aims at describing a language in its own terms). In contrast to Bergsland (1946), the present description benefits furthermore from established typological terminology and concepts that have been established in the field after Bergsland's grammar and which make cross-linguistic comparison more feasible.

Any descriptive grammar reflects a *doculect* (Good & Cysouw, 2013), that is, a certain variety of the language documented in a defined setting. This study describes South Saami as spoken by first language speakers of the older generation today, that is, South Saami who spoke the language as their first language during childhood. These speakers usually came in contact with Swedish/Norwegian around the age of seven, when they started boarding school; in some instances earlier. All speakers of South Saami today are bilingual (in South Saami and Swedish/Norwegian).

1.3.3 Method and data

The language material of South Saami that this study is based on has been gathered for the purpose of this study by the author. It consists of audio (and to some extent video) recordings of spoken South Saami, collected in collaboration with elderly first language speakers. Forms and examples in this study are taken from these data; classifications and descriptions are based on these data.

A language description, like the present project, entails both *documentation* and *description* of a language (Himmelmann, 2008). I cover theoretical aspects of language description in section 1.3.2 above. The meaning of language documentation is dealt with here.

There is a clear distinction between the notions of language description and documentation: a language documentation is "a lasting, multipurpose **record**

---

[21]With the term *sammenlignende* 'comparative', Bergsland likely referred to historical-comparative linguistics and not to the contemporary understanding of typology.

of a language." (my emphasis) (Himmelmann, 2008, p. 1). Documentation entails the processes of collecting data, storing and making them accessible.

Himmelmann (2008, p. 5) states three reasons for the importance of language documentation: language endangerment, economy of research resources and accountability. *Endangerment* covers aspects of language revitalization and support for language maintenance. *Economy of research* means that a multipurpose corpus for a language may also be used by other linguists (later in time, or with a different focus) and by researchers of other, related academic fields. *Accountability* means that the primary data an analysis is based on is available. This is crucial in order to verify analyses made in a description. For the present study, accountability is guaranteed since all examples presented are transparently linked to their primary source (see § 1.3.3.1 on presentation of examples). Since South Saami is an endangered language, the examples will hopefully be useful to the language community and for language maintenance purposes. The corpus is to this date not yet published but this is planned for the future.

1.3.3.1   The data

The primary data, that is, audio and video recordings, as well as notes taken during fieldwork, have been collected in collaboration with consultants (see § 1.3.6 for a presentation of the contributors). I focused on documentation of spontaneous speech, but I also used typological questionnaires and other elicitation stimuli such as the Family Problem Picture Task (Barth & Evans, 2017a). When necessary, paradigms were elicited, usually with carrier sentences in South Saami (e.g. *Manne moerh tjoehpem, datne moerh tjoehph* 'I chop wood, you chop wood', etc. in the elicitation of the verb 'to chop').

Some of the consultants do not use their language on a daily basis, and while some were able to immediately switch to South Saami, others needed a bit more time. Furthermore, in the first meetings of collaboration, my aim was not entirely obvious to some (however, all consultants, as well as the community at large, were very positive towards my study and my interest in the language). In some instances, it took a few days (or visits) until the consultant felt comfortable to talk freely with (or rather to) me. In other instances, consultants were very open and talkative from the moment we met. While everyone was positive to share their thoughts on South Saami and to talk to me, some consultants did not feel comfortable being recorded. In these instances, data are mainly in the form of written notes. I carried out data collection continuously between 2017 and 2021 for the purpose of this study. The bulk of the data, however, was obtained in autumn 2017 and in summer 2018.

The data collection resulted in around 35.5 hours of recording (audio and

video). Of these, around 12:40 hours are spontaneous or semi-spontaneous speech (natural language), the remaining 22:40 hours are recordings of elicitation sessions. The recordings are processed in the annotation tool *ELAN* (Sloetjes, 2017). They are then transcribed into South Saami in an adapted orthography and translated into Swedish and/or English by me and with the help of the consultants if necessary. Not all data is transcribed to the same extent. The corpus currently has a size of approx. 12,500 transcribed words of spontaneous speech. A catalogue of all recordings is provided in the appendix of this study (Table 18). An overview over the types and size of the data is presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Data and corpus size

Type	Tokens	Duration
Spontaneous	12,500	12h 44min
Elicitation	13,300	22h 44min
Written	2584	–
Total	28,384	35h 28min

The documentation has a focus on the southern dialect of South Saami (today mainly spoken on the Swedish side, in the county of Härjedalen), even if the other varieties (the central and northern) are also represented in the data. The focus on the southern dialect was not something I had planned beforehand, but evolved during the project. The main consultant from the southern area, Iréne Dorra, showed an immense interest in the project, and also had the time to work with me. She is retired and lives by herself in the township Funäsdalen, Härjedalen, Sweden. In the next section 1.3.5, I describe the field for documenting South Saami in more detail, and in section 1.3.6, each of the consultants is presented.

The speakers that contributed to this work are all roughly of the same generation (most are born between 1933 and 1947; one speaker is born later, in 1954). In this respect, the speakers represent a homogeneous group, which I deemed to be important from a methodological point of view. However, the consultants also represent different dialects from the South Saami area. In this respect, the group is less homogeneous, but it meant that I could control for idiolectal variation in the data: If a particular feature was used by the same age group and in different areas, this is a strong argument that the feature is systematic (= not restricted to an idiolect) in the language.

Several chapters in this thesis include tables in which the occurrence of a feature or a form is quantified, for instance, which verb groups or which adjectives are the most frequent. These quantifications are simple counts that

I have carried out and they reflect the corpus data only. Their statistical power is limited. However, I believe they are a valuable supplement in the context of this study, and might indicate tendencies that are true for the language in general.

Presentation of examples

Each linguistic property described in this grammar is illustrated with at least one example. Each example has a source code that links the example to its source (a list with the recordings is found in the Appendix 18). All examples are glossed based on the principles of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie *et al.*, 2008). An example is presented in (1.1):

(1.1) *jih   dellie veedts-i-m   bijjelen vaerie-b*
      and   then   walk-PST-1SG across   mountain-ACC.SG

      "And then I walked over the mountain." [sma20170919a]

The first line is the example in the South Saami orthography. (I apply the orthography, with a few adaptions as pointed out in § 1.1.6.) The second line present the glosses. The third line contains a translation and the source code, which indicates the language (*sma*, South Saami), the date and the number of the recording. A list of all recordings is found in the Appendix 18. The code also indicates whether the example is produced in spontaneous speech (narrative, monologue, dialogue) or in elicitation. Elicited examples are either answers to specific questions, direct translations, or "produced freely", that is, on the speaker's own initiative and without direct stimulus but in an elicitation context or during an elicitation session. When an example is produced in elicitation, this is indicated by an <e> after the source code. When an example is produced "freely but in an elicitation context", this is indicated by <e/f> after the source code. All other examples are produced in spontaneous speech.

1.3.4   The speakers of South Saami

In this section, I briefly describe the speaker community and outline different speaker groups within this community. This implies that I have to make generalizations and categorizations. Any classification is dependent on simplifications, which may not apply to all individual settings, and for which exceptions may be found. One option to avoid these problems would have been not to write this section but omit it entirely.[22] However, I believe the 'big picture' presented here is important for understanding the language variety that

---

[22]I do not wish to make mistakes similar to those made by previous researchers almost a century ago and falesly define the status of the language or its speakers. Lagercrantz claimed in 1923, a century ago, that Saami was "almost extinct" in Hat-

is described in this study, and therefore also important for understanding the study. "Conceptual categories used for research are inherently simplifications and cannot capture the complexity of social life", but they are "necessary because there is no way to conduct meaningful research without them" (Cheng *et al.*, 2021).

The users of South Saami constitute a rather diverse group. A "representative" or "ideal" group of language users is difficult to define for the language, or for any language. Older South Saami often live far from each other and might have few common contexts to use the language. Younger South Saami, who are more mobile, might have more arenas to interact with each other, in schooling environments, but also via social events and not least the internet and social media.

My observation in the field and my understanding of the language community has its natural limitations: due to the time frame of the current project, partly based on my role as a (non-Saami) researcher, and because South Saami has a language community that is spread over a large area. Illustrating the language community is therefore a complex issue; compare for instance the discussion in Polinsky (2018, p. 2ff).

In order to describe the language community, I need to use some terms and classifications. A lot of valuable input for the current study comes from Polinsky (2018) and Cheng *et al.* (2021). I operate with the terms *heritage speaker* and *heritage learner*, as defined in Polinsky (2018), see §§ 1.3.4.1 and 1.3.4.2 below. Note, however, that a clear line between different types of speakers might prove difficult to draw in individual cases. Ultimately, users of South Saami need to define their role and understanding as speakers of the language themselves.

1.3.4.1   Defining heritage speakers

A *heritage speaker* (in its narrow definition) is a speaker who was "exposed to the minority language from birth" (Polinsky, 2018, p. 4). I use this narrow definition of the term, which contrasts with the broad definition that encompasses "speakers who have some family, ethnic, or emotional connection to a given language but who were not exposed to it during childhood" (ibid.).

With this in mind, in the thesis, I refer primarily to the older generation of speakers with the term *heritage speakers*.

tfjelldal: *Da das lappische jetzt in Hattfjelldalen schon beinahe ausgestorben ist [...]* 'Since Saami nowadays in Hattfjelldal is almost extinct.' Today, this location is even one of the centres for South Saami.

1.3.4.2 Defining heritage learners

A *heritage learner* is defined as a speaker who has a "cultural connection to a given language" but who has not been exposed to the language from birth (Polinsky, 2018, p. 4). I use this term descriptively and without valuation or assessment of a speaker's abilities. Another possible term is L2- (second language) learners. The label encompasses speakers either with an "excellent L2 acquisition" (ibid.) that might have started during childhood, or speakers who started acquiring the language later in life. Usually, heritage learners are people "at the forefront of language revival" (Polinsky, 2018, p. 4). As will be shown, this is the case in South Saami as well.

In the thesis, I refer primarily to Saami of younger generations with the term *heritage learners*.

1.3.4.3 Defining language users

A third term that I use occasionally is *language user*, or *user of the language*. I define a 'language user' as any person that uses the language to any extent. This term is meant to be neutral towards the background of the speaker (encompassing both Saami and non-Saami) and towards the type of language that they use (spoken or written), as well as the extent of use. *Language users* are meant to encompass all people who have some kind of knowledge of South Saami and use this knowledge. The group of language users of South Saami is currently increasing in members.

I avoid the term "native speakers" to refer to any speaker. This term has been described as both "vague and harmful" (Cheng *et al.*, 2021). The term has little descriptive or explanatory power but a broad range of possible interpretations and understandings. "Native speakers" also carries the similarly problematic issue of "nativeness" with it. I therefore use the terms "consultant" and "speakers", and aim at describing the setting or "language experience" of different speaker groups instead.

1.3.4.4 South Saami heritage speakers

Heritage speakers of South Saami grew up in an environment where South Saami was the natural language to use in interaction with other members of the local society. Members of this group were typically born before the mid-1900s. They came into contact with the majority languages (Swedish or Norwegian) when they started school at the age of seven. Until that point, South Saami was their dominant language that they would use in basically all domains and all aspects of life. These speakers often knew little or no "Scandinavian" (often called *daaroen* by South Saami when they talk about Swedish/Norwegian, both

in Swedish/Norwegian and in Saami) before school, and were only sporadi-
cally exposed to the majority language. However, this usually changed when
they entered (boarding) school. Depending on the individual setting, speaking
South Saami in the society around them became less normal and less feasible,
or was simply forbidden in many contexts, for instance at school. Note that this
depends on the individual setting: some speakers were able to use South Saami
to some extent at school, others were not able to or allowed to do so. When this
generation became parents, they would typically not speak South Saami with
their children. At that time, the false and harmful assumption prevailed that
more than one mother tongue could be harmful to a child. Therefore, many
children of this generation did not learn South Saami as their first language.
However, there are exceptions to this rule, and there are individuals and fami-
lies that defied the pressure of the majority society and who spoke South Saami
even with their children in that time. Some of the examples I know of are in
rather remote places of south Saepmie, such as Käringsjön (Härjedalen) and
Hosjöbottnarna (Jämtland) – both places are not entirely easy to access even
today. There are, however, also members of this older generation of South
Saami who are victims of the assimilation politics and who speak very little or
no South Saami today.

The consultants who contributed to this study are all heritage speakers (see
§ 1.3.6) who belong to the group of speakers described above.

1.3.4.5   South Saami heritage learners

I subdivide heritage learners into two main groups, which roughly reflect dif-
ferent generations.

The first group is the generation of the children of heritage speakers as
described above. From a general perspective, they typically know less South
Saami than their parents. Members of this group typically grew up in an en-
vironment in which Norwegian/Swedish was the dominant language in most
domains. At that time, they used the South Saami language either exclusively
at home, or not at all. Several consultants reported that in society at large,
bilingualism was considered to be harmful to a child when they raised their
children. Many members of this generation therefore have only limited pro-
ficiency, and the generation is sometimes also referred to as "the lost genera-
tion". However, there are counterexamples to this rule: There are members of
this group who have been exposed to South Saami regularly and who learned
the language despite the systematic discrimination of South Saami that pre-
vailed at this time. Today, several language activists and teachers come from
this group, which is in line with Polinsky's observations (2018, p. 4). Typi-
cally, their language use reflects an emerging standard language and may be

oriented towards prescriptive language use since many continued to learn the language in educational environments. Members of this group are roughly in their 50s and 60s today.

The other group is the younger generation, often grandchildren of heritage speakers. They grew up in societies which started to be more positive towards the rights of the Saami. Speakers of this group are generally self-confident about their status and background as Saami. The members of this group benefit, or try to make use of, new regulations and laws that give Saami the right to receive education in their heritage language. They would typically be taught by teachers of their parent generation, sometimes in collaboration with heritage speakers/their grandparents (as "mentors"). Members of this group are roughly between the age of twenty and thirty-five today.

In South Saami society, it is the heritage learners who are the driving forces in language revitalization, maintenance and education, and there are many speakers among this group who acquired the language to a highly fluent level as a second language.

It is "not uncommon" for a language that is being revitalized to "change in a dramatic way" (Polinsky, 2018, p. 4), which may result in "the emergence of a new language that is only related to its precursor diachronically" (ibid.). Such dramatic changes are not found in South Saami, but there are considerable differences between the language of heritage speakers and heritage learners.

In South Saami, the language of heritage learners is typically more prescriptive and reflects two rather opposing tendencies: On one hand, the use of "conservative" traits of the language; for instance, dual verb morphology or productive use of possessive suffixes – and on the other hand influence of the majority language, reflected in Scandinavian calques, new loanwords or the lack of discourse markers in spoken language. This language also tends to follow a more rigid SOV word order.[23]

1.3.4.6   A new group of heritage speakers?

There are children that acquire South Saami in a first-language-like environment.[24] There are today preschools where some of the staff speak South Saami, for instance in Røros, Norway, and in Östersund, Sweden. Some heritage learners of the younger generations speak South Saami with their children and

---

[23]A hypothesis is that this feature, SOV word order, makes South Saami clearly *different* from the dominant languages Swedish and Norwegian, which generally follow the order SVO. Word order may therefore be an important marker of (language) identity.

[24]I know of at least a handful of children who are growing up with South Saami as their first language, or as one of several, equally well-established languages at home.

make a great effort to exercise their right to home language education. If these children are provided with sufficient contexts and arenas where they can use the language, and if they choose to expand the use of South Saami into different domains, this may possibly result in new generations of speakers who are exposed to the language from birth. Time will tell.

1.3.5 Fieldwork

The documentation of a language is closely related to fieldwork. Any fieldwork setting is unique; describing this setting therefore adds to our understanding of the language studied. In this section, I briefly describe my understanding of the notion of fieldwork, and describe the setting that I encountered during the fieldwork for this study. Fieldwork is "collecting data in its natural environment." (Bowern, 2015, p.2).

What is the natural environment of South Saami, and what is the typical setting for the language? Intuitively, one might perhaps assume that the context of reindeer herding represents the typical setting for the language in use, since reindeer herding plays a central role in the (South) Saami community. While this is true to some degree, generally speaking, my experience is that reindeer herding, as well as *duedtie*/traditional crafts do not represent the typical environments for South Saami to be spoken. However, all consultants that contributed to this study grew up in reindeer herding families, and several of them have been active in handicraft. In addition to these two environments, South Saami is spoken at different kinds of gatherings of South Saami people: official gatherings and congresses (including political ones) and private meetings within the family. South Saami is also used in education to an increasing degree.

The typical heritage speaker of South Saami is probably a middle-aged or elderly woman with an interest in the language and who is active in conveying, teaching or spreading knowledge about her culture and language, both inside and outside the family. Elderly men are usually not very representative. For reflections on and a possible explanation of this circumstance, see Fjellgren & Huss (2019). In essence, Fjellgren & Huss hypothesize that the language deprivation that has taken place is dealt with in two ways: In silence among men, and in activism among women.

The consultants that contributed to this description have been pointed out to me by the South Saami society as particularly solid or capable speakers.

Field trips
My fieldwork for this study consisted of several trips where I visited the consultants in their home environment. Usually, these trips brought me to the tra-

ditional South Saami area, but I also carried out fieldwork in Stockholm, where one of the consultants lives. Fieldwork also consisted of numerous phone calls, and, in an extended meaning, in the maintenance of the relationships to my consultants. All consultants contributed to this study without financial compensation for their work. There is one exception where I had received a stipend that I could partly use to compensate for the consultant's effort in transcription work.

Several of the consultants were born in other parts of Saepmie than they grew up, or live today. A map depicting the place of residence and place of origin of the consultants that contributed to this study is found in Figure 1.7. These places are summarized in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Consultants' places of origin, residence, and the place of fieldwork.

Name	Place of birth	Place of residence and fieldwork
Astrid Anselius	Käringsjön	Grycksbo
Gunhild Anderson	Vilhelmina	Storsätern
Iréne Dorra	Käringsjön	Funäsdalen, Grycksbo
Anna Granefjell	Røyrvik	Røros
Jonhild Joma	Røyrvik	Steinkjer
Paul Klemetsson	Vilhelmina	Dikanäs
Pia Persson	Hosjöbottnarna	Hosjöbottnarna
Jonar Thomasson	Vilhelmina	Røyrvik
Elias Torkelsson	Mittådalen	Stockholm
Sigrid Stångberg	Tärnaby	Tärnaby

Before I was able to visit any speaker, I had to get in contact with them and get to know who they were. I had already established some contact to the Saami community beforehand. During a language course in North Saami in Kautokeino in 2009, I had met some younger South Saami people. They would help me get in contact with other South Saami when I collected data for my master thesis (Kowalik, 2016). During my work for my MA thesis as well as for the current one, I had made several phone calls to people I had heard of or was referred to by other South Saami. I continued to work with two of the consultants who contributed to my master project, Gunhild Anderson and Elias Torkelson.

In June 2017, I attended two South Saami events in order to get to know the community better, to get in contact with potential consultants, and to present my project. The first trip was to Elgå, Norway, in the very south of Saepmie, 2–4 June 2017. There, a meeting and seminar was arranged on the occasion of the opening of a rebuilt hut at the winter site of Daniel Mortenson and the 100-

Locations relevant for the data collection in this grammar

Figure 1.7: Map of the consultants' places of birth and fieldwork locations.

year anniversary of the first countrywide meeting of the Saami in 1917. On this occasion, I had the chance to meet a lot of speakers from younger generations, and I met several of the consultants I would work with later on. Around 200 people from the South Saami community participated in this meeting.[25] The

[25]It is indeed usual to hear South Saami talk in South Saami to each other at such

second trip took me to Raarvihke/Røyrvik, Norway, in central south Saepmie, 21–22 June 2017. There, a "Language network meeting" (*Gïeleviermie*) was arranged and hosted by the municipality. I also presented my project at this occasion. There, I got in touch with a male speaker from the area, and met other members from the language community. Around 30 people participated in this meeting.

The first main data collection was in September 2017, where I set out for a four week long fieldwork trip. During this time, I visited five speakers, all in their places of residence: Hosjöbottnarna, Jämtland, Sweden; Storsätern, Dalarna, Sweden; Funäsdalen, Härjedalen, Sweden; Steinskjer, Trøndelag, Norway; Røyrvik, Trøndelag, Norway. Since some of the places are comparatively remote (e.g. Hosjöbottnarna), travelling by car was the only reasonable option.

During this trip, I also participated in a South Saami meeting on language and culture (*Tjaktjen Tjåanghkoe* – "Autumn gathering") in Snåsa, Norway. This was a large meeting that several hundred members from the community attended. Seminars on culture and language were arranged, and awards for culture and language efforts of individual members were handed out.[26]

On the three occasions, in Elgå, Røyrvik and Snåsa, I did not know many people, nor were they familiar with me and my project. However, I was received very positively by the community. At *Tjaktjen Tjåanghkoe* in Snåsa, one of my consultants in particular made sure that I was introduced to new members in the community and to potentially new consultants.

Also during this trip, I met Iréne Dorra, who became my primary consultant. This was more of a coincidence than planned. I was supposed to meet another speaker in Härjedalen, but she did not have time on the agreed day in the end. However, she gave me the name and phone number of Iréne, whom I called and who had the time to work with me.

The other main data collection trip was carried out in summer 2018. I worked with many of the consultants from 2017, and met new consultants: Anna Granefjell in Røros, Norway; Paul Klemetsson in Dikanäs, Sweden; and Sagka Stångberg in Tärnaby, Sweden. However, I spent the better part of this time in Funäsdalen, where I worked with Iréne for several weeks.

While speakers occasionally meet at different gatherings as described above, they generally live far away from each other and usually do not meet on a weekly or daily basis. Therefore, my fieldwork was largely restricted to working with one consultant at the time. The only time I could properly work with two speakers was in autumn 2018, when I went on a trip with Iréne from

occasions.

[26]Several of the consultants of this study have been awarded language awards by the community in recent years.

Funäsdalen to Falun to meet her sister Astrid.

During 2019, I visited Iréne in winter and in summer for a few days each. By then, we were well acquainted with each other, we had found a routine in our work and Iréne helped me with transcription of data collected earlier.

I was also able to visit Gunhild in Storsätern briefly a few times in 2019 and 2020.

The last field work in situ was in Feburary 2020 in Funäsdalen with Iréne, before the Covid-19 pandemic hit in March 2020. Since then, most of my contact with the consulants has been on the phone.

Most of the data are audio recordings. This felt less intrusive than video recordings in the context, since some speakers had to get used to speak in front of a recording device.

1.3.6 Metadata: the consultants

In this section, I offer a brief description of the consultants that contributed to this project. All consultants gave their consent to be identified by name.

I will primarily use the term "consultant" to refer to the South Saami first language speakers whom I have worked with. This is also the overall standard term in linguistic fieldwork and language documentation today. I understand the role of the consultants in this project as crucial contributors, and without them, this thesis could not have been written. Many of the consultants have devoted much time and interest to the project.

In the study I use the term *heritage speaker*, as defined in § 1.3.4.1. All consultants had a monolingual childhood with South Saami as their first language, but all speakers are today at least bilingual. Most consultants had only sporadic contact with Norwegian/Swedish until the age of seven, when they started school. From that age on, the speakers were increasingly exposed to Norwegian/Swedish. Today, the majority languages are the speakers' stronger languages and the language they use the most and can express themselves most fluently in. The consultants are roughly part of the same generation; the majority are born between 1933 and 1947, the youngest in 1953. Common for all is that they have (or had) a strong and vital network of the language being spoken around them.

For most elderly speakers, it is a challenge to keep their language active on a daily basis. Usually, the geographical distance between the speakers is large, and possibilities of meeting each other are limited and usually do not occur on a daily basis. Speakers often comment on this when I visit them or talk to them on the phone, and all long for more opportunities to speak their language. The pandemic in 2020–2022 caused by the virus Covid-19 has not made it easier for the language to be spoken, since travel was restricted and

many events were cancelled, where speakers otherwise would gather. There is individual variation of how present or accessible South Saami is for each of the speakers. Some speakers needed some time (and several visits) to feel comfortable talking South Saami. For these speakers, it is usually easier to talk about happenings from the past and their childhood. Other speakers, however, can switch instantly and show a vital, strong capability to talk freely and unhindered without hesitation.[27]

In addition to the people presented below, I had contact with or help from the following speakers of South Saami during this project: Vanja Torkelsson (*1948), Thomas "Toamma" Dorra (*1973), Kjell-Roger Appfjell (*1965), Tomas "Tåamma" Willenfelt (*1945).

Iréne Dorra

Iréne Dorra was born in 1943 in Käringsjön, Härjedalen, Sweden, into a reindeer herding family. Käringsjön is a former Saami settlement, then 20 kilometres from any road network. Iréne lived there until the age of 12, when she moved to Brändåsen in 1955. The Swedish State relocated the roughly 50 inhabitants of Käringsjön to this settlement, where they lived in poorly built houses.

Iréne spent her childhood in the mountainous land around Käringsjön, moving between different houses and huts according to the seasons and the movement of the reindeer. During her childhood, she lived with her sister, parents and extended family. Iréne started school at the age of 7; until then, her contact with Swedish was sporadic.

In her professional career, she worked as a headmistress (Swedish *föreståndarinna*) in a school in Ås, Östersund. Later, she worked as a teacher for South Saami in primary school contexts and as a consultant for the language, and she contributed in translation projects for children's books. She is a knowledgeable and skillful seamstress and has sewn many traditional outfits (*gaeptieh*) and other garments, such as the famous Käringsjö-purse (*käringsjöväskan*). Since the mid-2000s, she has been living in Bienjedaelie/Funäsdalen, Härjedalen. Like most South Saami, she is familiar with the official orthography of South Saami. Like other elderly speakers, she considers the differences between dialects among her generation to be fewer than the difference between the language of heritage speakers and learners. Today, she is active as a mentor for South Saami.

Iréne has a great interest in the southern South Saami dialect, in documenting, preserving and mediating it. At the same time, when I started working

[27]The ability to switch to South Saami without hesitation is quite certainly also a trait of one's personality.

with her in 2017, her attitude towards the southern dialect was ambiguous: She said that she did not feel confident about her own dialect in confrontation with the evolving standard South Saami (also referred to as *boksydsamiska* 'Book South Saami' or *rikssydsamiska* 'State South Saami' by some speakers).[28] Iréne commented herself that in recent years, and due to growing external interest in her dialect (not least in the context of this study), she has regained this confidence.[29]

Figure 1.8: Fieldwork with Iréne. Picture: Oda Martine Øverhaug

Iréne is without any doubt the main contributor in this project. We made recordings on 27 different days during the project, and we spent many other days and hours checking transcriptions. In June 2018 we visited the former settlement of Käringsjön (see pictures in Figure 1.9), together with her son Toamma.

---

[28]This was repeated by other speakers as well: The standard language compromised the speakers' confidence in their language.

[29]Her regained confidence also revealed itself in dialectal forms and words that Iréne would not use in the initial stages of the documentation project (in 2017), but which she used frequently later on (from 2018/2019). As a field worker and linguist, this was very exciting; as an individual, I was very grateful to witness her growing confidence and pride. However, I also assume that she had adapted her language in the beginning to be more easily understood by me ("foreigner talk").

Figure 1.9: Remnants of hut sites in the former village of Käringsjön: An overgrown foundation of a house, a timber log, and an iron stove. Pictures: Richard Kowalik

Iréne has provided numerous verb- and noun paradigms, answers to elicitation tasks and answers to linguistic questionnaires. She also checked words and constructions with her sister Astrid on the phone, which I was allowed to record. She carried out the Family Problem Picture Task (Barth & Evans, 2017a) and she has told many stories about her life, the history of Käringjsön, reindeer herding, and much more.

Iréne was my primary consultant and go-to source whenever I had a question, and has never been further away than a phone call.

Astrid Anselius

Astrid is Iréne's younger sister, born in 1945. Like her sister, she grew up in Käringsjön in a reindeer herding family. She moved from the traditional South Saami area during her 20s and lives outside of Falun, Dalarna, Sweden. She has kept her language active in regular conversations with her two sisters, mainly on the phone. Astrid is one of very few speakers of South Saami (actually, the only one to my knowledge!) who has **not** been in contact with or been influenced by standard South Saami, and she does not know the official orthography. In this respect, all of her contributions to the project are invaluable beyond comparison. Astrid represents one of the most fluent and natural speakers of the southern dialect of South Saami.

Iréne and I visited Astrid in 2018 where I recorded the sisters in spontaneous dialogues. The sisters also carried out the Family Problem Picture Task (Barth & Evans, 2017a). Astrid provided many of the verb forms of the southern dialect, the southern forms of the copula (e.g. *läjja* 'be.PST.3SG' instead of *lea*) and the personal pronouns (e.g. *däjjah* '2PL.NOM' instead of *dijjieh*). Apart from the recordings from this occasion, Astrid also answered many questions I had on the phone. She is also recorded on phone calls with her sister Iréne.

Figure 1.10: Astrid and Iréne talking about Käringsjön. Picture: Richard Kowa-lik

Gunhild Anderson

Gunhild was born in 1935 and lives in Storsätern (Grövelsjön), Dalarna, Swe-den, in the very South of the South Saami area. However, she grew up in Vualtjere/Vilhelmina, Västerbotten, Sweden. She has preserved her northern dialect and used to talk regularly with her elder brother Paul on the phone. Since he has passed away, she said that now, she has nobody to talk to anymore (from the northern region on the Swedish side); no-one speaks or remembers the language like her brother did, she said. (This describes the situation of many older speakers; they talk to their relatives on the phone. When they are gone, opportunities to speak the language are rare – *noektjeme geahtja*; the tongue stiffens.) Gunhild shared many interesting features of the northern di-alect and has a fondness for fine, aesthetic pronunciation of her mother tongue. She also pointed out some of the traits from the southern dialect (for instance the shortened modal verb form *gah* instead of *galka* 's/he shall'). Since she is from the northern area, she noticed traits characteristic for the southern dialect when she moved to the southern area in the 1960s. A curiosity is that she met Gustav Hasselbrink. Hasselbrink was also a pastor in the South Saami area, and he baptized Gunhild. Gunhild's grandmother was one of Hasselbrink's consultants in the Vilhelmina area.

I already started working with Gunhild during my master thesis in 2015/ 2016. For the present study, Gunhild contributed recordings of spontaneous speech and elicited conversation. However, her main contribution is in the form of meta-comments about language use and examples that she provided,

44

often on her own initiative. I visited Gunhild several times during the project, and I had regular contact with her on the phone. Most data from her is in written form that I wrote down during my visits or during phone calls.

Figure 1.11: A nuthatch (*sitta europaea*, Polish *Kowalik*) visiting Gunhild's window during one of my visits. Picture: Richard Kowalik

Like most elderly speakers, Gunhild has a very positive attitude towards younger people who are learning South Saami. However, she commented that their language does not include "all those little words" (discourse markers) that "make the language richer". And, like most other L1-speakers, she feels a clear gap in the language used by new speakers on one side and her generation on the other. She can describe differences both in pronunciation and in grammar.

She has a positive attitude towards loanwords and the revival of "old" words that can be used in new contexts. For instance, *tjaste* is a word for "wet, grainy snow", but nowadays also used for "ice cream".

Paul Klemetsson

Paul is Gunhild's older brother. He was born in 1933 and passed away in 2021. He lived in Gäjka/Dikanäs, in Vilhelmina municipality, Västerbotten, Sweden. I only had the chance to meet him once (he jokingly said that the next time I come and visit, he would be dead. Unfortunately, he proved to be right). He preferred not to be recorded, so I only have written notes from my work with Paul. He contributed to this study with verb paradigms, elicited data about privative and partitive constructions, and derivational morphology, and I checked minimal pairs with him. He had a clear epethetic schwa in words like [kierəkiᵊ] 'stone'. In some words, Paul used affricates where I expected geminate /s/: /pitsket/ <bitskedh> 'fry' (instead of /pis:et/ <bissedh>); /petsket/ <betskedh> 'wash' (instead of /pis:et/ <bissedh> 'wash'). He used an uvular [ʀ] instead of an apical [r]. Paul did not use any dual verb morphology.

Jonhild Joma

Jonhild was born in 1945 and is from Raarvihke/Røyrkvik, Trøndelag, Norway. Jonhild is Anna's younger sister. She grew up in a reindeer herding family as the youngest child. Her family's lands are in the border region of Sweden and Norway, so some of her ancestors are from the Swedish side. During her childhood, her family, along with the reindeer moved back and forth between Norway and Sweden, and the national border between the countries was irrelevant (and invisible) in their life. She attended school in Hattfjelldal, and later also lived in other cities in Norway, such as Stavanger and Bergen. Today, she lives in the town Steinkjer, Trøndelag, Norway. She speaks South Saami regularly, both within her family (with her siblings, children and grandchildren) and within the language community. Jonhild is a great narrator and tells stories with great engagement. She came into contact with the Norwegian language at the age of 4–5 when visiting Trondheim.

Jonhild worked as a midwife. Later, she was also active in translating and compiling language resources, including a booklet on health care terminology (South Saami – Norwegian). In 2019 she received a culture award (*kulturpris*) for her activity in the language community.

Jonhild's contributions to the study are several narratives and natural language use; she also answered a questionnaire about the progressive aspect and carried out other elicitation tasks. I also phoned her many times to ask smaller elicitation questions.

Anna Granefjell

Anna was born in 1936 and is from Røyrvik/Raarvihke. She is Jonhild's older sister. Anna went to the "Haviken school for nomadic Saami" (*Haviken skole for flyttsamer*) in Trøndelag. She met her husband, also a South Saami, in

the Saami folk high school in Karasjok in the very north of Norway. In her professional life, Anna was a nurse. She lived with her family in Trondheim before she moved to Røros/Plaassja in the early 1970's, where Anna still lives today. In 1973, she started working for the Saami radio and was the very first South Saami to broadcast news in South Saami in Norway.

Anna used South Saami within her family and taught all her children South Saami. Since the family was living in Trondheim at this time, they did not have much contact with other Saami on a daily basis. However, the language was important for communication within the (extended) family, and crucial for communication with elderly family members, whom they would meet for longer periods in the summer.

Anna's contribution to this thesis is spontaneous speech, recorded on one occasion in 2018. The recordings proved very fruitful for the study, both in terms of content and the constructions found in the narratives. A peculiar feature in Anna's idiolect is the infinitive ending -/tn/ of three-syllabic verbs, e.g. *soptsestitn* 'to talk', (instead of -/t/ *soptsestidh*).

Elias Torkelsson

Elias, or Hilje (which is the South Saami variant of his name), was born in Mihte/Mittådalen in 1934. His family moved with their reindeer herd across the the border of Sweden and Norway several times. They were as far south-west as Oppdal in Norway. During these travels, their reindeer herd had swum across the Trondheim fjord.

Hilje moved to Stockholm in his early 20s for work. He then spent two years at the Saami School in Jokkmokk (today *Sámij åhpadusguovdásj*, the Saami education centre) before returning to Stockholm, where he still lives today. He has had contact with other Saamic varieties and also has some knowledge of the South Saami orthography. Since retiring, Hilje has been working as a language mentor for South Saami in Stockholm. Today, he uses the language only sporadically, but he has a clear understanding of his original dialect.

Hilje was the first South Saami consultant I worked with. He contributed to my master's thesis in 2015/2016. His contributions to the present study are elicitation of word lists and minimal pairs, elicitation tasks and some free speech (narratives).

Jonar Thomasson

Jonar was born in Vilhelmina, Sweden, in 1947. A year later his family moved to Røyrvik, Norway, where Jonar grew up and where he still lives today. Like most of the other consultants, he grew up in an environment where South Saami was the dominant language, and he knew little Norwegian before he started school in Hattfjelldal, Norway, in 1954.

During his professional life, Jonar worked as an electrician. Jonar has always had a great interest for his language. He has been coordinating a language documentation project at Røyrvik municipality and collected and transcribed narratives. This resulted in the publication *Mojhtsijstie* (2019) among others. In 2020, Jonar received the Saami language award *Gollegiella* for his work to promote and document South Saami.

His contributions to this study are primarily spontaneous speech and narratives, as well as elicited data and information given during phone calls.

Pia Persson

Pia is born in 1953 in Hosjöbottnarna, Jämtland, Sweden, and is the youngest of the consultants that I worked with. Like the other consultants' places of origin, Hosjöbottnarna is a comparatively remote place in Sweden. Electricity did not come to the settlement until 1991, and was generated in a self-built power plant, which was limited and somewhat unreliable. Hosjöbottnarna was connected to the official electricity in 2014 (as the last permanent settlement in Sweden to get electricity).

Figure 1.12: The first power station in Hosjöbottnarna. Picture: Richard Kowalik

Pia's time at boarding school was not a bad experience, unlike some of the

other speakers whom I have met. Rather, the school provided an environment where she could meet and interact with other children of her age (since there were not many children in Hosjöbottnarna). The teacher was a kind woman who would also switch to South Saami to explain exercises if someone did not understand. Pia describes her home during childhood as a strong environment for South Saami ('Grandma was clear about that at home, we speak Saami.'). Pia later also lived in Norway, between 1979 and 2007.

Pia has been very active in work for the language in her professional career. She worked with the revitalization project in Elgå and at the primary school there. She has worked with and published teaching materials for South Saami. She is active as a translator in book projects, and also as an interpreter of South Saami in official contexts. Pia also worked at *Sameradion* (Saami Radio), a section of *Sveriges Radio* (Swedish Radio, SR)

In recent years, I visited Pia twice in Hosjöbottnarna, where I recorded spontaneous speech and elicited data, and have consulted her by phone and email several times.

Sigrid Stångberg

Sigrid (or Sagka) was born in 1945 in Dearna/Tärna, Västerbotten, Sweden. She went to boarding school in Tärnaby. In her professional life, she was a teacher, and she has been, and is, very active in both political and cultural associations, as well as in Saepmie in general.

Sagka's contributions to the present study are narratives and spontaneous speech, mainly about her childhood, experiences from school, and the attitude towards the Saami and the language in society when she grew up. I only visited her once, but it was a very productive work session.

2. Typological overview

In this chapter, I present a brief synopsis of the features I consider most important for outlining a grammatical profile of South Saami from a typological perspective. These features are treated in detail in the following chapters of this grammar.

South Saami is the western-most Saamic language, and the western-most Uralic language (Aikio, 2022). It is spoken by around 500 speakers[30] in central Norway and Sweden; this number includes both heritage speakers and learners. I estimate the number of active (mostly elderly) heritage speakers to be around 100–150.

The morphology is mainly agglutinative with fusional elements. South Saami almost exclusively uses suffixes. For nouns, the morphosyntactic categories singular and plural are distinguished, as well as eight cases. For verbs, the relevant morphosyntactic categories are singular, dual and plural and the tenses present and past. The word order is mainly SOV, but SVO is also attested. All modifiers precede their head; South Saami is head-final. The language has mainly postpositions but a few prepositions are also used. The alignment follows a nominative-accusative pattern. South Saami uses differential object marking (DOM) in the plural to mark definiteness of the object.

2.1 Phonology

South Saami has 15 consonant and 11 vowel phonemes. The consonant inventory (Table 2.1) is "average" in size from a typological perspective and the vowel inventory is "large". There are six places of articulation for consonants (bilabial, labio-dental, denti-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal) and six manners of articulation. Voicing is contrastive for labio-dental fricatives.

The 11 vowel phonemes (Table 2.2) comprise four phonologically short and long vowels (i–iː, e–eː, a–aː, u–uː) and three vowel phonemes which do not distinguish length (ø, æ, o).

The typical word in South Saami is disyllabic with a long stem vowel and ends in a vowel, e.g. /paːko/ 'word'. Functional words, as well as the copula and the negative auxiliary, are monosyllabic. Stress is fixed and always word

---

[30]See e.g. Blokland & Hasselblatt (2003) or Sammallahti (1998).

Table 2.1: South Saami consonant phonemes

	Bilab.	Labio-dental	Denti-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p		t		k	
Affricate				t͡ʃ		
Fricative		f v	s	ʃ		h
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Trill			r			
Approximant			l	j		

Table 2.2: South Saami vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
Close	i iː	u uː
Mid	e eː ø	o
Open	æ	a aː

initial (trochaic). Words with more than three syllables receive a secondary stress on the penultimate syllable. All consonants occur as geminates in word medial position.

2.2 Morphology

Nouns inflect for singular and plural and eight cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, illative, locative, elative, comitative and essive. Number is not distinguished in the essive. An example paradigm for a noun is presented in Table 2.3. There are five different noun inflection classes but no declension classes. All nouns take the same case markers.

The function of the nominative is to mark the subject; the accusative marks the object. The nominative plural is also used to mark plural objects (Differential Object Marking); here the object receives an indefinite reading, while the accusative plural marks definite objects. The genitive is used in adnominal possession and marks the dependent of postpositions. The illative is a spatial case that also marks the recipient. Locative and elative are spatial cases; the locative is also used in existential constructions and the elative is also used in partitive constructions. The comitative expresses participation and instrumental. The essive marks a state or a function.

Table 2.3: Noun inflection: *moere-* 'tree'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*moere*	*moer-h*
ACC	*moere-m*	*moer-ide*
GEN	*moere-n*	*moer-i*
ILL	*moere-se*	*moer-ide*
LOC	*moere-sne*	*moer-ine*
ELA	*moere-ste*	*moer-iste*
COM	*moer-ine*	*moer-igujmie*
ESS	*moer-ine*	

Personal pronouns (Table 2.4) inflect for singular, dual and plural and seven cases (all of the above but not the essive). A deictically neutral demonstrative is used as the third person pronoun, which does not distinguish dual and plural. Other pronouns are pronominal demonstratives, adnominal demonstratives, interrogative and relative, reflexive, logophoric, reciprocal and a number of indefinite pronouns. Most of these inflect for singular and plural and some for case. Demonstratives distinguish three distances relative to the speaker.

Table 2.4: South Saami personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*manne*	*monnah*	*mijjieh*
2	*datne*	*dotnah*	*dijjieh*
3	*dihte*	*dah*	

Verbs in South Saami inflect for person and number: singular, dual and plural. Dual is an optional category. There are two finite inflectional categories, the present and the past. An example paradigm for a verb is presented in Table 2.5. The subject suffixes are the same for all verbs in South Saami. There are three different inflectional classes, which are based on the thematic vowels and their behaviour in inflection. There are four prevailing non-finite forms in the language: the perfect participle, the progressive, the infinitive and the connegative & imperative form.

Verbs express the following TMA-categories: present tense indicative, past tense indicative, perfect, pluperfect, progressive and imperative. Additionally, the copula also inflects for the conditional.

The morphology of adjectives is mainly restricted to comparative and su-

Table 2.5: Verbal inflection: *lohke-* 'read'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*lohke-m*		*lohke-be*
	2	*lohk-h*	*lohkie-n*	*lohke-de*
	3	*låhka-Ø*		lohkie-h
Past	1	*lohk-i-m*	*lohk-i-men*	*lohk-i-mh, -o*
	2	*lohk-i-h*	*lohk-i-dh*	
	3	*lohk-i-Ø*	*lohk-i-n*	
Infinitive		*lohke-dh*; *lohkij*		
Perfect participle		*lohke-me*		
Progressive		*lohke-minie*		
Connegative-Imperative		*lohk-h*		

perlative forms. Some adjectives have different forms in attributive and predicative position, but most adjectives are invariable.

There are many suffixes in South Saami that can be identified as derivational morphology; synchronically, the productivity of these suffixes is often limited.

2.3 Syntax

The basic constituent order is SUBJECT-OBJECT-VERB in South Saami. The case alignment system is nominative-accusative. Plural objects, however, are also marked with the nominative. Objects in the nominative plural receive an indefinite reading, while objects in the accusative plural are definite. This system applies both for nouns and pronouns. An example for a plural object in the nominative is given in (2.1):

(2.1)　*dellie*　*manne*　*snaarra-h*　*tjeegk-i-m*
　　　　then　1SG.NOM　snare-NOM.PL　set.up-PST-1SG
　　　　'Then I set up snares.' [sma20170614d]

The subject and agent are always marked identically, with the nominative. The marking of the object depends on definiteness. The different marking strategies are schematized in Table 2.6:

The verb agrees with the subject in person and number. The TAM-categories perfect, pluperfect, progressive and past progressive are based on non-finite verb forms and expressed in periphrastic constructions with an auxiliary. The subject agrees with the auxiliary, which is, however, not obligatory. The subject is then either marked on the pronoun or inferred from context. The imper-

Table 2.6: Case alignment

Subject	Object	Reading of object
NOM	ACC.SG	definite or indefinite
NOM	ACC.PL	definite
NOM	NOM.PL	indefinite

ative second singular uses the same non-finite irrealis form that is also used in negation constructions. A scheme over verbal agreement is presented in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Verbal agreement

	Verb form	Auxiliary	Agreement
PRESENT	finite	–	person/number
PAST	finite	–	person/number
IMPERATIVE	non-finite	–	2SG (only one form)
PERFECT	non-finite	(yes – PRS)	person/number (with AUX)
PLUPERFECT	non-finite	(yes – PST)	pers/number (with AUX)
PROGRESSIVE	non-finite	(yes – PRS)	pers/number (with AUX)
PAST PROG.	non-finite	(yes – PST)	pers/number (with AUX)

An example for the pluperfect is found in (2.2). Constituent order in these constructions is SUBJECT-AUXILIARY-OBJECT-VERB.

(2.2) *aehtjie*_{SUBJ} *lij*_{AUX}   *fealloe-h*_{OBJ}   *vaalte-me*_V *meatan*
       father   be.PST.3SG plank-NOM.PL take-PTCP   with
       'Father had taken planks with him.' [sma20171002f]

The order of modifiers and noun, such as numerals and attributive adjectives, is ADJ-N. Examples for word orders and constituent orders are found in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Overview of word order

Order	Example	
dem-noun	*daate maana*	'this child'
attr.adj.-noun	*tjeehpes biene*	'black dog'
numeral-noun	*geekte johkh*	'two rivers'
genitive-noun	*miesien ietnie*	'the calf's mother'
px.pron.-noun	*mov aahka*	'my grandmother'
adjunct-adjective	*öövre orre*	'very new'
NP-**postposition**	*gåetij bijre*	'around the houses'
subject-verb	*manne fahkim*	'I woke up'
S-**O**-V	*mijjieh doerkh dåajajimh*	'we cut brushwood'

South Saami has a few features that separate it from its closest relatives, e.g. SOV instead of SVO as basic constituent order, no stem gradation, and a genitive possessive. However, most features in the language are commonly found in other Uralic languages. In Table 2.9 I present a selection of features that make South Saami stand out among its closest relatives but also in a wider cross-linguistic context.

Table 2.9: Selection of characteristic features in South Saami

Feature	Section
Preaspiration and sonorant devoicing	3.1.5.1
Large vowel inventory with diphthongic realizations	3.2.1
Morphophonemic vowel alternations (umlaut)	3.4
A genitive possessive	5.5.3
Mass nouns commonly in the plural	5.2.3
A relational suffix on kinship terms	5.6
Special forms for adnominal demonstratives	4.4
A logophoric pronoun	4.7
A polyfunctional diminutive suffix	17.1.2.1
Dual as an optional category in verbal inflection	6.4.8
A negative auxiliary that inflects for person, number and tense	6.5
Particle-like use of the negative auxiliary	6.5
Shortened (grammaticalized?) forms of the modal verb 'shall'	6.6
Differential Object Marking	12.2.1
Several question particles	15.1

3. Phonology

The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview over the phoneme inventory, contrasts and phonological processes in the language. South Saami has 15 consonant phonemes and 11 vowel phonemes. For vowels, length is a distinctive phonemic feature. Consonants occur as singletons and as geminates.

From a general methodological point of view, phonological descriptions of spoken language are in some way bound to reflect a doculect, that is, the language that has been documented at a given time. The present description of South Saami is primarily based on the southern dialect. Phonology "interrelates with grammar in a myriad ways" (Dixon, 2010, p. 264); the most intriguing interactions in South Saami are morpho-phonological alternations of the stem vowels (see § 3.4).

A typical (non-compound) word in South Saami is disyllabic and has the structure /CVCV/, with a long first vowel /CVːCV/. This long vowel is often realized as a diphthong.

Phonemes, and the phonological structure of a word, are indicated by slashes: /lupme/ 'snow'. Phonetic transcriptions are placed between square brackets: [lupmə] 'snow'. When a word is represented in the official orthography, it is written in *italics*. Forms and glosses are represented without indicating morpheme boundaries in this chapter.

I conducted a traditional phonematic analysis in this description. For the purpose of this chapter, the data of natural language use was supplemented with a considerable amount of elicitation work of word lists, minimal pairs and phonetic realization. In the presentation below, I first focus on phonological contrasts, then on the distribution of the phonemes and their allophones.

3.1 Consonants

There are 15 consonant phonemes in South Saami, as listed in Table 3.1. From a typological perspective, the size of the South Saami consonant inventory is *moderately small* (15–18 phonemes) (Maddieson, 2013a).

Most distinctions in manner are found among the denti-alveolar consonants, where the blade of the tongue is placed against the alveolar ridge and the tip against the upper teeth. Plosives do not show any contrast in voice.

Voice is only distinctive in the fricative set /f/–/v/.

Table 3.1: Consonant phonemes in South Saami

	Bilab.	Labio-dental	Denti-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p		t		k	
Affricate				tʃ		
Fricative		f v	s	ʃ		h
Nasal	m		n		ŋ	
Trill			r			
Approximant			l	j		

Marginal contrasts between unaspirated plosives (e.g. [p]) and postaspirated (e.g. [pʰ]) in some loan words could possibly justify postaspirated plosives (e.g. /pʰ/) as a so-called *xenophones*. A xenophone is defined as a foreign sound that is integrated as a phone into a language but not as a phoneme into the phoneme inventory (Lindström & Eklund, 2000). However, postaspirated realization in these instances is not consistent in South Saami (it may be unaspirated as well) and contrasting words are extremely marginal and often inflected word forms.[31]

The glottal fricative /h/ has several allophones [h], [x], [ç] and Ø, for which contrasts can be found in a cluster /h/ + plosive (see Table 3.21). Therefore, instead of postulating phonemes for these sounds (cf. Kowalik (2013)) or establishing phonemes of preaspirated plosives (in disagreement with Kowalik (2013)), these sounds are analysed as allophones of the glottal fricative /h/ in consonant clusters. See § 3.1.5.1 for a discussion.

All consonants occur as singletons or as geminates (see § 3.3). Geminates are restricted to word medial position. Geminates are represented as a double consonant phoneme /CC/ on the phonological level (e.g. /numme/ 'name', /oppa/ 'sister'). In orthography, geminates are either represented as double characters (as in *nomme* 'name') or, for stops, as *bp*, *dt*, *gk* as in e.g. *åabpa* 'sister'.

Example words for the consonants are found in Table 3.2 below.

---

[31]Examples for [pʰ]/[p] are /pʰaːhke/ 'package' and /paːhke/ 'warmth', and for [tʰ]/[t] the inflected forms /tʰijjeste/ 'time.ELA.PL and /tijjeste/ '2PL.ELA'.

Table 3.2: Words illustrating consonant phonemes

Phoneme	Example	Orthography	Gloss
p	/poriːs/	*båeries*	'old'
t	/toriːtit/	*dåeriedidh*	'follow'
k	/kotiː/	*gåetie*	'house'
tʃ	/tʃaxke/	*tjahke*	'peak'
m	/mæliː/	*maelie*	'blood'
n	/næliː/	*naelie*	'race'
ŋ	/jiːŋe/	*jienge*	'ice'
r	/riːpiː/	*riepie*	'fox'
s	/siːjpiː/	*siejpie*	'tail'
ʃ	/ʃitet/	*sjidtedh*	'become'
f	/faːmo/	*faamoe*	'power'
v	/vaːjmo/	*vaajmoe*	'heart'
l	/læjpiː/	*laejpie*	'bread'
j	/jæpiː/	*jaepie*	'year'
h	/hiːrkiː/	*hierkie*	'horse'

In the following sections, the consonant phonemes are presented set by set.

3.1.1 Plosives

South Saami has three plosive phonemes /p t k/. They are bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar plosives. Voice is not a distinctive feature of the plosives. Phonological contrasts for the plosives in word initial position are provided in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Contrasts of plosives

/paːhke/	[pɑːxkə]	*baahke*	'warmth'
/kaːhka/	[kɑːxkɑ]	*gaahka*	'cake'
/tahka/	[tɑxkɑ]	*dahka*	'thereto'
/paːjko/	[paːɕkoᵊ]	*baajkoe*	'cold weather'
/taːjro/	[taːjroᵊ]	*daajroe*	'knowledge'
/paːjro/	[kaːjroᵊ]	*gaajroe*	'wedge' (garments)
/katʃtʃe/	[kɑttsə]	*gadtse*	'claw, nail'
/patʃtʃe/	[pɑttʃə]	*badtse*	'feather'

All plosives occur in word initial, medial and final position, see Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.4: Distribution of plosives

Medial /p/	/epriː/	[ɛpriᵊ]	*ebrie*	'rain'
Medial /t/	/giːte/	[giətə]	*giete*	'hand'
Medial /k/	/kalket/	[gɐlkətʰ]	*galkedh*	'shall'
Final /p/	/etʃtʃep/	[ɛtʃəp]	*edtjeb*	'I shall'
Final /t/	/tarjet/	[tɐrjətʰ]	*darjedh*	'do'
Final /k/	/laːtek/	[lɐːtəkʰ]	*laategh*	'ski tracks'

Occurrence of /p/ and /k/ in final position is less common than final /t/. Final /p/ is more common in the northern dialects, as it is the marker for the first person singular and the accusative singular (which elsewhere has the allomorph /m/).

Examples of geminates are given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Plosive geminates

/oppa/	[ɔapːɑ]	*åabpa*	'sister'
/tuːttiː/	[dʉɛtːiᵊ]	*duedtie*	'handicraft'
/piːkke/	[biɛkːə]	*biegke*	'wind'

As voice is not a distinctive feature, the realization of plosives in respect to voice may vary. In the southern dialects, plosives are often realized voiced. In other dialects, they are generally realized voiceless, even in intervocalic position (see also the spectrogram in § 3.5.3) Here, variation may occur within one idiolect and within different tokens of the same word. For instance, /kaːmeke/ 'shoe' may be [kɑːməkə] or [gɑːməgə]. Furthermore, speakers attach importance to not postaspirating plosives preceding vowels: /kaːmeke/ may never be *[kʰɑːməkʰə] (this latter realization is deemed to be incorrect by speakers). Plosives in word final position may be realized with a slight postaspiration but are often realized without, as in /kalkep/ [kɑlkəp].[32]

In clusters of PLOSIVE + /r/, plosives are also postaspirated in initial position; see Table 3.6 (the trill /r/ is usually realized as a devoiced denti-alveolar tap [ɾ̥] in this environment, see § 3.1.4).

In loan words with initial postaspirated plosives in the source language (i.e. Swedish and/or Norwegian), plosives can be postaspirated even if followed by a vowel, see Table 3.7:

This postaspirated realization could possibly result in a set of *xenophones* or marginal phonemes of postaspirated plosives /pʰ tʰ kʰ/ that contrast with

---

[32]Due to this varying realization, there will also be variation in the phonetic representation of a final /t/ as both [t] and [tʰ] in the thesis.

Table 3.6: Postaspirated plosives in clusters with /r/

/kriːvviː/	[kʰr̥iəvːiə]	*krievvie*	'reindeer flock'
/treːvka/	[tʰr̥eavkɑ]	*treavka*	'ski'
/prihtʃeke/	[pʰr̥içtʃəkə]	*prihtjege*	'coffee'

Table 3.7: Postaspirated plosives in loan words

Phonol.	Phonetic	Orthography	Swe/Nor source	Gloss
/peːra/	[pʰeɐɾɐ]	*peara*	*pärer* (dial. for *potatis*)	'potato'
/toge/	[tʰoːkə]	*tååge*	*tåg*	'train'
/kaːrhte/	[kʰɐːɾtə]	*kaarhte*	*kart(a)*	'map'

unaspirated realizations. However, there is variation in their realization (unaspirated is also attested), and only one minimal pair for /p/–/pʰ/ was found (see Table 3.8), but none could be confirmed for /t/–[tʰ] or /k/–[kʰ]. Therefore, postaspirated plosives are not treated as phonemes.

Table 3.8: A minimal pair of postaspirated plosives

| /paːhke/ | [pɐːxkə] | *baahke* | 'warmth' |
| /pʰaːhke/ | [pʰɐːxkə] | *paahke* | 'package' |

In consonant clusters before plosives or an affricate with a different manner of articulation, /p t k/ are realized with a slight postaspiration, as in the sequence /kt/ in /nuoktʃa/ [nuokʰtʃa] *nuoktja* 'tongue'. In the cluster /kr/, which also occurs word initially, postaspiration of [kʰ] is clearly audible.

In consonant clusters before homorganic consonants with the same manner of articulation, the realization is unaspirated, see the sequence /pm/ in /poepmet/ [poepmetʰ] *boepmedh* 'to eat'.

3.1.2 Affricates

South Saami has one post-alveolar affricate phoneme /tʃ/. It contrasts with the plosive /t/ and the post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ (3.9).

Table 3.9: Contrasts for the affricate /tʃ/

/tʃahke/	[tʃɑxkə]	*tjahke*	'mountain top'
/tahke/	[tɑxkə]	*dahke*	'hither'
/sahkete/	[sɑxkətə]	*sahkede*	'sink.PRS.3SG'

The phoneme occurs word initially, medially and finally. Examples are

given in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Affricates

/ʧælet/	[ʧæːlətʰ]	*tjaeledh*	'to write'
/ʧuhpeʧ/	[ʧuhpəts]	*tjohpets*	'hatless'
/almeʧ/	[ɐlməʧ]	*almetjh*	'people'
/oʧʧet/	[oatʧətʰ]	*åadtjedh*	'to get; be allowed'

Geminated affricates are restricted to word medial position and are realized as a plosive [t] plus affricate, where the plosive belongs to the previous syllable and the fricative element to the following syllable, like in /oʧʧet/ [oat.ʧət].

The phoneme can be realized as [ʧ], [ɕ] or [ts]. The affricates [ʧ] and [ɕ] are allophones that are triggered by different environments: the palatal [ɕ] usually precedes front high vowels, the post-alveolar [ʧ] usually precedes back vowels. However, /ʧ/ may be more palatal ([ɕ]) even when preceding back vowels. Examples are presented in Table 3.11:

Table 3.11: Allophones of the affricate /ʧ/

/ʧitʧiː/	[ɕitɕiə]	*tjidtjie*	'mother'
/ʧeːhpes/	[ɕeːhps]	*tjeehpes*	'black'
/ʧælet/	[ɕæːlət]	*tjaeledh*	'to write'
/ʧahke/	[ʧɑxkə]	*tjahke*	'mountain top'
/ʧorviː/	[ʧoɛrviə]	*tjåervie*	'antler'
/ʧuhpe/	[ʧuhpə]	*tjohpe*	'hat'

The alveolar affricate [ts] on the other hand shows a dialectal and a lexical distribution, discussed in further detail in the following section.

The alveolar affricate [ts]: Dialectal and lexical distribution
The allophone [ts] is more common in the northern dialects, while [ʧ] is more frequent in the southern. For instance, the noun for 'water' and the verb 'to set up' are realized as in Table 3.12:

Table 3.12: The affricate [ts]

	Southern	Northern
'water'	[ɕæːɕiə]	[ɕæːtsiə]
'to set up'	[ɕeːkːet]	[tseːkːet]

The allophones [ts] and [ʧ] occur largely in free variation in the southern dialects, and may also do so within one idiolect. According to one speaker, the

word *tjietsie* 'father's younger brother' can be realized as [ʧieʧie], [ʧietsie] and [tsietsie]. The pronunciation of /ʧ/ as [ts] in southern dialects has probably been influenced by the standard language; the official orthography uses *ts* in words like *tseegkedh* [tseːkːətʰ] 'build, set up'. The affricate [ts] can be substituted with [ɕ] in most contexts; [ɕ] on the other hand cannot be substituted for [ts]. For instanc, /ʧæːʧiː/ 'water' cannot be realized as *[tsæːtsiə].

The affricates are therefore intricate sounds. However, there is no support for an affricate phoneme /ts/, as there is no evidence for a phonological contrast between these affricates, and variation is largely (but not entirely) free. On the other hand, the speakers I worked with understand [ts] to be a different (allophonic) sound than [ʧ] and [ɕ]. There are furthermore a few words where the affricate can only be realized [ts]. Examples from the data are /aːrhtse/ [aː̥rtsə] *aarhtse* 'eagle' or /suptsestit/ [suptsəstitʰ] *soptsestidh* 'to talk'. The privative suffix *-ts* is usually realized [ts] as well, as in /peːpmets/ [peapməts] *beapmets* 'foodless'. I will use /ts/ on a phonological level to point out these words.

3.1.3   Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes in South Saami: a bilabial nasal /m/, a denti-alveolar nasal /n/ and a velar nasal /ŋ/. Phonological contrasts for /m/ and /n/ and for /n/ and /ŋ/ are provided in Table 3.13:

Table 3.13: Nasals

/mæliː/	[mæːliə]	*maelie*	'blood (animal)'
/næliː/	[næːliə]	*naelie*	'race'
/jene/	[jeːnə]	*jeene*	'much; many'
/jiːŋe/	[jiəŋə]	*jienge*	'ice'

The nasals /m/ and /n/ occur in word initial, medial and final position. Examples of these positions are presented in Table 3.14. The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs in medial position only.

Table 3.14: Distribution of nasals

Medial /n/	/maːna/	[mɑːnɑ]	*maana*	'child'
Medial /m/	/numme/	[numːə]	*nomme*	'name'
Final /n/	/maːnan/	[mɑːnɑn]	*maanan*	'child.GEN.SG'
Final /m/	/maːnam/	[mɑːnɑm]	*maanam*	'child.ACC.SG'

The phoneme /m/ is realized as a voiced bilabial nasal [m], /n/ is realized as a voiced alveolar nasal [n] and /ŋ/ is realized as a voiced velar nasal [ŋ]. All

nasals occur as geminates, restricted to word medial position.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ – a cluster or a marginal phoneme?

The phoneme /ŋ/ is not frequent in the data. It is a more marginal phoneme than the other nasals and mainly appears in a limited number of nouns; examples are listed in Table 3.15:

Table 3.15: Examples of the velar nasal [ŋ]

PoS	Example	Gloss
Noun	/jukŋe/	'lingon berry'
Noun	/jarŋe/	'centre'
Noun	/kasŋese/	'juniper'
Noun (loan)	/poŋke/	'wallet' (cf. Swe/Nor *pengepung*)
Verb	/krukŋetit/	'to be bent'
Adposition	/mæŋŋan/	'after'
Personal name	/iŋa/	'Inga'
Toponym	/ʃæːriŋɟøn/	'Käringsjön'

The phoneme /ŋ/ is also found in other Saamic languages, but seems to be similarly restricted in closely related Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 52) as in South Saami.

The phoneme /ŋ/ could possibly be analysed as a cluster of /n+k/ (resulting in /mænnkan/ [mæŋːan]). An argument against the cluster analysis, however, is a number of native words in the data where [ŋ] does not assimilate with [k]: /tʃeŋkere/ [ʨieŋkərə] 'ball'; /tʃoaŋkenit/ [tʃoaŋkənit] 'gather, meet'. An interpretation as an independent phoneme is therefore favoured.

The cluster /ŋ+/k/ also appears in several loan words such as /riŋket/ 'call' (Swe/Nor *ringa/ringe*), /trieŋke/ 'farm hand' (Swe/Nor *dräng*), (/koŋka/ 'king' (Swe/Nor *kung/konge*), /seaŋka/ 'bed' (Swe/Nor *säng*) – and in a limited number of native words like /tʃeŋkere/ 'ball'. In these environments, it is also reasonable to assume an assimilation (velarization) of /n/ with the following velar plosive /k/.

The palatal nasal [ɲ] – an areal allophone

Several words with a denti-alveolar /n/ are realized with a palatal nasal [ɲ] in central and northern dialects, such as /piene/ [piəɲə] 'dog' or /nælkies/ [ɲælkiəs] 'tasty'. In the southern dialects, [ɲ] is is less common, and the words are pronounced [pienə] and [nælkiəs]. Contrasts with any other nasals have not been attested; therefore, the sound is treated as an allophone of /n/ and not as a phoneme.

3.1.4 Trill

The phoneme /r/ is an alveolar trill. Contrasts with the sonorant /l/ and the obstruent /s/ are provided in Table 3.16:

Table 3.16: Contrasts for the trill /r/

/rætti:/	[rætːiᵊ]	*raedtie*	'side'
/lætti:/	[lætːiᵊ]	*laedtie*	'Scandinavian; non-Saami'
/sætti:/	[sætːiᵊ]	*saedtie*	'sand'

The phoneme occurs in word initial and medial position, but not in final position. Examples for medial position are found in Table 3.17:

Table 3.17: Distribution of the trill /r/

Geminate /r/	/urre/	[urːə]	*orre*	'new'
Cluster with /r/	/peːrko/	[pearkɔ]	*bearkoe*	'meat'

In the distribution, South Saami differs from its contact languages Swedish and Norwegian, in which /r/ occurs frequently in final position.[33]

As a singleton, /r/ is often realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ], e.g. /rætti/ [rætːiə] 'side' or /epri/ [ɛpriə] 'rain'. As a geminate, it is usually realized as a voiced, apical alveolar trill [r], e.g. /urre/ [urːə].

3.1.5 Fricatives

South Saami has five fricative phonemes: the labiodental fricatives /f/ and /v/, for which voice is distinctive, the alveolar fricative /s/, the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the glottal fricative /h/. Contrasts for the phonemes are provided in Table 3.18:

---

[33]Loan words ending on /r/ as well as most other consonants are given a stem ending on /e/ in South Saami. For instance, Nor/Swe *kar(l)* [kʰar 'man' is integrated as *kaarre* [kʰɑːrːə] 'man' in South Saami.

Table 3.18: Fricatives

/felet/	[fe:lətʰ]	*feeledh*	'to travel'
/velet/	[ve:lətʰ]	*veeledh*	'to tilt'
/helset/	[he:lsətʰ]	*heelsedh*	'to greet'
/fiːre/	[fiərə]	*fiere*	'every'
/vijre/	[vijrə]	*vijre*	'game (animal)'
/sætti/	[sætːiᵊ]	*saedtie*	'sand'
/ʃætti/	[ʃætːiᵊ]	*sjaedtie*	'track (of grazing reindeer)'

All fricatives occur in word initial and medial position. The phonemes /v/, /s/ and /h/ also occur in final position (/v/ is, however, only attested in a limited number of monosyllabic grammatical words and inflected forms of pronouns in this position). See Table 3.19 for examples:

Table 3.19: Distribution of the fricatives

Medial /f/	/ruffiː/	[rʉfːiə]	*ruffie*	'June'
Medial /v/	/puvvet/	[pʉvːət]	*bovvedh*	'to kill'
Final /v/	/muv/	[muʊ]	*mov*	'my'
Medial /s/	/piːsiː/	[piəsiə]	*biesie*	'nest'
Final /s/	/kalmes/	[kalməs]	*galmes*	'cold'
Medial /h/	/aːha/	[ɑːhɑ]	*aaha*	'inlet'
Final /h/	/maːnah/	[mɑːnɑh]	*maanah*	'child.NOM.PL'

All fricatives occur as geminates in word medial position. The realization of the fricatives is illustrated in Table 3.20 below. The voiceless fricative /f/ is realized as a voiceless fricative [f] in both positions. The voiced fricative /v/ has the allophones [v] (a voiced labiodental fricative) and [ʋ] (a voiced labiodental approximant); see examples (1–2) in Table 3.20. The approximant [ʋ] occurs word finally or in clusters with other consonants (examples 3–5). In this environment, the realization may also be close to a close back unrounded vowel [ɯ] as in example (6). The alveolar fricative /s/ is usually realized as a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in initial, medial and final position, illustrated in examples (7–9). In the southern dialects, /s/ is often realized as a voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] in initial or medial position (10–11). Some words, however, cannot be realized with [ʃ], for instance, /sæmiː/ 'Saami' cannot be realized *[ʃæmiə]. The postalveolar phoneme /ʃ/ is realized as a voiceless post-alveolar [ʃ], see (16–18). The glottal fricative /h/ is realized as a voiceless glottal fricative [h] in initial position (19). In a very limited number of words, /h/ occurs in intervocalic position, both as singleton (20) and as a geminate (21), where /h/ is realized as a voiceless glottal fricative [h], but sometimes

close to a velar fricative [x]. In word final position, /h/ may be realized [h] or Ø (that is, not realized in coda position as in (22) and (23)).

Table 3.20: Realizations of the fricatives

1	/v/	/viːlle/	[viɛlːə]	*vielle*	'brother'
2	/v/	/kuvviː/	[kʉvːiə]	*guvvie*	'picture'
3	/v/	/kuvhte/	[kuʋhtə]	*guvhte*	'six' (6)
4	/v/	/skuvle/	[skʉɯlə]	*skuvle*	'school'
5	/v/	/treavka/	[treaʋkɑ]	*treavka*	'ski'
6	/v/	/muv/	[muʋ], [muɯ]	*mov*	'my' (1SG.GEN)
7	/s/	/soːrme/	[soɛrmə]	*soerme*	'finger'
8	/s/	/laste/	[lɑstə]	*laste*	'leaf'
9	/s/	/poːries/	[poɛries]	*båeries*	'old'
10	/s/	/tesniː/	[tɛʃniə]	*desnie*	'there'
11	/s/	/seːmma/	[ʃeamːɑ]	*seamma*	'same'
12	/s/	/sijhtet/	[ʃiɕtətʰ]	*sijhtedh*	'to want'
13	/s/	/sæmiː/	[sæmiə]	*saemie*	'Saami'
14	/s/	/suptsestit/	[suptsəstit]	*soptsestidh*	'to talk'
15	/s/	/sættiː/	[ætːiə]	*saedtie*	'sand'
16	/ʃ/	/ʃittet/	[ʃitːət]	*sjidtedh*	'to become'
17	/ʃ/	/væjʃie/	[væjʃiə]	*vaejsie*	'moose'
18	/ʃ/	/taːrpeʃ/	[tɑːrpəʃ]	*daarpesjh*	'need.CNG'
19	/h/	/hajkelit/	[hajkəlitʰ]	*hajkelidh*	'to disappear'
20	/h/	/aːha/	[ɑːha]	*aaha*	'inlet'
21	/h/	/pahha/	[pɑxːɑ], [pɑhːɑ]	*bahha*	'devil'
22	/h/	/atnah/	[atna]	*atna*	'have.PRS.3SG'
23	/h/	/almetʃh/	[ɑlmətʃ]	*almetjh*	'human.NOM.PL'

The realization of /h/ is discussed further in the following paragraph, § 3.1.5.1.

3.1.5.1 Preaspiration and sonorant devoicing

The phoneme /h/ has several allophones when preceding a plosive: the allophones [h] (a voiceless glottal fricative), [ç] (a voiceless palatal fricative) and [x] (a voiceless velar fricative). The phonetic realization of clusters of /h/ plus plosive can alternatively be described as **preaspiration**. Preaspiration is "a period of (usually glottal) friction that occurs between a vocalic and a consonantal interval." (Helgason, 2002, p. 11). Nearly all Saamic languages have preaspirated plosives and affricates. Preaspiation is a typologically rare phenomenon (Silverman, 2003); (Helgason, 2002, p. 32), but it is prominent in the Saamic languages as well as in a number of Swedish and Norwegian dialects along with Faroese, Icelandic and Scottish Gaelic, see e.g. Kusmenko (2008, p. 128) and Helgason (2002, p. 23).

Preaspiration in a narrow definition is restricted to voiceless plosives, but a phenomenon that is "intimately linked with preaspiration is voicelessness in sonorants preceding a stop, commonly referred to as **sonorant devoicing**." (Helgason, 2002, p. 17) (my emphasis). In South Saami, we find both preaspirated plosives and affricates as well as sonorant devoicing.

On a phonological level, I argue that preaspiration in South Saami is best analysed as a cluster of /h/ plus plosive or affricate. The phonetic realization depends on the quality of the preceding vowel: In consonant clusters with a preceding high vowel /i/, /h/ is realized [ç]. In consonant clusters with a preceding vowel /a/, /h/ is realized [x]. In final position, /h/ may be [h], not realized (Ø) or a fricative [x]. After the vowel /u/, /h/ may also be realized as a fricative close to a voiceless palatoalveolar-velar fricative [ɧ]. The different realizations are exemplified in Table 3.21:

Table 3.21: Preaspiration or the phonetic realization of /h/

Context	Real.	Scheme	Example
All V except /i/	[h]	/aːht/ → [ɑːht]	/maːhtam/ [mɑːhtɑm] 'I can'
/a/ before /k/	[x]	/ahk/ → [ɑːxk]	/aːhka/ [ɐːxkɑ] 'grandmother'
/i/	[ç]	/iht/ → [içt]	/tihte/ [tiçtə] 's/he'
/u/	[ɧ]	/uhk/ → [uɧk]	/kuhkiː/ [kʉɧkiə] 'long'

In sonorant devoicing, the sonorant preceding a plosive is realized voiceless. This can be schematized as in scheme (3.1):

(3.1)   SONORANT+/h/+PLOSIVE   →   DEVOICED SONORANT+PLOSIVE

An example is for instance the consonant cluster /rhk/ which is realized as [r̥k], as in /kiːrkiː/ [kiɛr̥kiᵊ] 'wolverine'. Contrasts for clusters with /h/, that is, preaspirated and non-aspirated plosives, and for devoiced sonorants, are presented below:

naehpie	/næhpiː/	[næhpiᵊ]	'milking pot'
naepie	/næpiː/	[næːpiᵊ]	'navel'
baalhka	/paːlhka/	[paːl̥ka]	'salary; stick'
baalka	/paːlka/	[paːlka]	'path'
gierhkie	/kiːrhkiː/	[kier̥kiᵊ]	'wolverine'
gierkie	/kiːrkiː/	[kiɛrkiᵊ]	'stone'

Preaspiration is restricted to short plosives and affricates in South Saami. This is different to other Saamic languages, in which preaspiration may occur even with long plosives and affricates; cf. e.g. Wilbur (2014, p. 37).

The analysis of preaspiration as a cluster of /h/ plus plosives is further motivated by other clusters with /h/. For instance, there are clusters with a voiceless (devoiced) sonorant plus fricative /h/ without a following plosive; a minimal pair is attested for this contrast (*derhvie–dervie*). Clusters with /h/ plus sonorant are likewise attested:

derhvie	/terhvi/	[tɛr̥viᵊ]	'turf'
dervie	/tervi/	[tɛrviᵊ]	'tar'
maarhna	/maːrhna/	[maːr̥na]	'market'
jeahna	/jeahna/	[jeahna]	'giant'
muahra	/muahra/	[muahra]	'maternal aunt'

Devoicing of sonorants is not obligatory if there is no contrasting word: In the data, the word *numhtie* 'like this, this way' is pronounced both with and without sonorant devoicing: [nʉm̥tiᵊ] and [nʉmtiᵊ].

3.1.5.2 Realization of final /h/

The realization of /h/ in coda position is subject to variation. Here it is described with respect to /h/ as a plural marker for nouns.

If the following sound is a voiced consonant or a vowel, the plural-/h/ can be realized as [h] or Ø.[34] In normal and higher speech rates, the plural suffix is usually not audible, or not realized (Ø). It is usually not realized (Ø) when the

[34]The plural marker is always present in the official orthography, regardless of its actual pronunciation. However, there are indications in the data that the final *h* is not necessarily natural to spell out for first language speakers, especially for those who are not solid in the use of the orthography. Consider the following episode:

following sound is a voiceless consonant. Apart from this last environment, there is no clear distribution of [h] and Ø with respect to the phonetic environment. The speech rate and articulation are the crucial parameters whether the plural-/h/ is realized or not in nouns ending on *-ie*, *-a* and *-oe*. See Table 3.22 for an overview:

Table 3.22: Realization of the plural marker (1)

Stem	ie-stem	a-stem	oe-stem
Example	*daelvie*	*gärja-*	*baakoe*
Gloss	'winter'	'book'	'word'
Plural	*daelvie-h*	*gärja-h*	*baakoe-h*
Articulated/ slow	[tælviᵊh]	[kærjah]	[pɑːkah]
Normal speech rate	[tælviᵊ]	[kærja]	[pɑːka]
Before voiceless C	[tælviᵊ]	[kærja]	[pɑːka]

Nouns ending on *e* drop the final short vowel *e* in the plural. The plural is thus either marked by the stem minus the thematic vowel (= the root), or by coarticulation (the previous consonant is devoiced; plosives are devoiced and postaspirated). Speech rate and articulation have less impact on the realization of the plural forms here. The phonetic environment on the other hand plays a role here: If the following sound is a voiced consonant or a vowel, the thematic vowel is simply dropped. If the following sound is a voiceless consonant, or if the form occurs utterance final, the previous consonant is devoiced or postaspirated. See Table 3.23 for examples:

During language documentation for the project, a speaker was writing South Saami focusing on her dialect rather than the official orthography (which she is familiar with). In that particular situation, she did not use a plural marker and wrote *nomm* 'names' instead of *nommh* 'names' (singular *nomme*) as well as *tjahk* 'peaks' instead of *tjahkh* 'peaks' (singular *tjahke*). A plural form in which the thematic vowel is simply dropped is thus also accepted in written language. The same speaker has commented on the phrase *jeen gaaldie(h)* 'many springs', an ie-stem noun, that "there is no [h]" [sma20200219c].

Table 3.23: Realization of the plural marker (2)

Disyll. e-stem (Class 1a)				
Example	*tjahke*	*voelpe*	tjejte	*moere*
Gloss	'peak'	'friend'	'goat'	'tree'
Plural	*tjahk-h*	*voelph*	tjejhth	*moer-h*
Bevore voiced C or V	[ʨaxk]	[vuelp]	[ʨejt]	[moer]
Before voiceless C or utterance final	[ʨaxkʰ]	[vuelpʰ]	[ʨejtʰ]	[moer̥]
Trisyll. e-stem (Class 1b)				
Example	*gaamege*	*gieretje*		
Gloss	'shoe'	'pulk'		
Plural	*gaameg-h*	*gieretj-h*		
Bevore voiced C or V	[gɑːmək]	[giərəʨ]		
Before voiceless C or utterance final	[gɑːməkʰ]	[giərəʨ]		

3.1.6 Approximants

South Saami has two approximants, /l/ and /j/. The phoneme /l/ is an alveolar lateral approximant, and /j/ is a palatal approximant. Contrasts between the approximants are presented in Table 3.24:

Table 3.24: Approximants

/jæmet/	[jæmət]	*jaemedh*	'to die'
/læket/	[lækət]	*laekedh*	'to hit'
/aːjja/	[ɑːjːɑ]	*aajja*	'grandfather'
/alla/	[alːɑ]	*alla*	'wool'

Both approximants occur in word initial and medial position. In initial position, /l/ is realized as a denti-alveolar approximant [l], as in /lettiː/ [lɛtːiə] 'bird'. In medial position, /l/ can also be realized as a retroflex approximant or tap [ɭ], as in /kuːliː/ [kʉɛɭiə] 'fish' or /kalo/ [kɑːɭɔ] 'ford'.[35]

---

[35]The retroflex is referred to as "thick <l>" (Swedish *tjockt l*) by some speakers. Some commented that this realization was more common in older times, and that heritage learners usually do not use this sound.

3.2 Vowels

South Saami has 11 vowel phonemes. From a typological perspective, this represents a *large* inventory (7–14 phonemes) (Maddieson, 2013b).

Of the eleven phonemes, eight vowels (four pairs) reflect a contrast in length (/i/–/iː/, /e/–/eː/, /a/–/aː/, /u/–/uː/). The remaining three vowels (/ø/, /æ/ and /o/) are (phonologically) not specified for length and have short and long allophones conditioned by syllable structure (see also § 3.3 on quantitative complementarity). These vowels have short, half-long and long allophones, and the long vowels have half-long and long allophones. While some long (and half-long) realizations are exclusively monophthongal, other long allophones are diphthongs. Here diphthongs are dealt with on a phonetic and not on a phonological level; they are treated in the present section together with vowels under the section on realization of vowels (§ 3.2.4); see also § 3.4 on the morpho-phonological vowel alternation.

I will use the terms V-1, V-2 and V-3 to refer to the vowels of the first, second and third syllable[36] in a phonological foot (see Figure 3.1). A foot is a unit of rhythm that reflects stress of syllables. In South Saami, disyllabic words follow a trochaic stress pattern, trisyllabic words follow a dactylic stress pattern.

(CCC) **V-1** C(CC) **V-2** (CC)

(CCC) **V-1** C(CC) **V-2** C(C) **V-3** (CC)
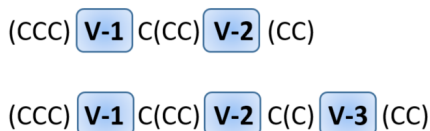
Figure 3.1: Scheme of phonological feet in South Saami.

Parentheses around consonants (C) indicate that this slot is optional. Longer words are combinations of these units. See also § 3.5 on prosody and syllable structure.

---

[36]Compare the description for Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014) which serves as the inspiration for this illustration.

3.2.1 The vowel inventory

There are six contrasting places of articulation: close front /i/, mid unrounded front /e/, mid front rounded /ø/, open front /æ/, close back /u/, mid back /o/ and open back /a/. The phonemes are schematized in Table 3.25.

Table 3.25: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
Close	i iː	u uː
Mid	e eː ø	o
Open	æ	a aː

    Figure 3.2 shows formant plots of the first and second formant (F1 and F2) and their frequency in Hertz (Hz) for the short and long vowel phonemes. All vowels are produced in C_C position and in stressed position in disyllabic words. Most vowels are produced after a plosive /p t k/. The pronunciation reflects the southern dialect as spoken by an elderly female speaker. In the general sociolinguistic context of South Saami, this represents a typical heritage speaker of the language.
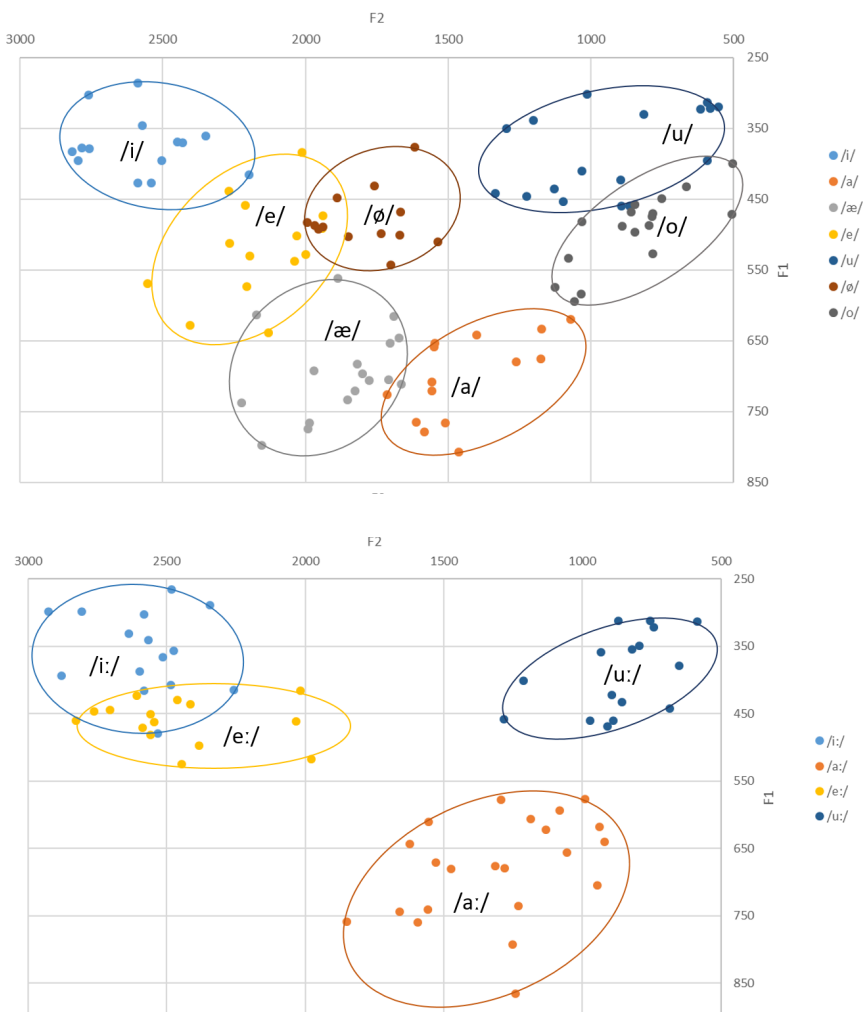
Figure 3.2: Vowel charts of the short and long vowel phonemes. The frequencies are measured in Hertz (Hz).

While the long vowel /eː/ is realized monophthongal, all other long vowels are usually realized as diphthongs (see § 3.2.4 below). For the plot, the first vowel of the diphthong was measured (for instance, if /uː/ is [ue], then the formants for the [u]-segment were measured).

3.2.2 Contrasts of the vowels

Contrasts for the vowel phonemes are presented in Table 3.26. In the first and fourth column, the contrasting phonemes are listed ("Vowel" and "Contr." (contrast)). In the adjacent columns, an example word is presented

For the vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/, contrasts are provided also for V-2 position, and /i/ and /e/ are contrasted in V-3 position as well. As contrasting vowels, either a vowel close in articulation (e.g. /i/–/e/), or the long counterpart (e.g. /i/–/iː/) has been chosen.

It has proven difficult to find minimal pairs, and native speakers of South Saami struggle to find true minimal pairs for the vowels. If no minimal pairs are available, near-minimal pairs are used to demonstrate the contrast. Long vowels are contrasted with their short counterpart. Clear contrasts for the long vowel phonemes are restricted to a few minimal pairs.

Table 3.26: Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes

Vowel	Example	Gloss	Contr.	Example	Gloss
/i/ (V-1)	/p**i**sset/	'fry'	/e/	/p**e**sset/	'wash'
	/p**i**ssiː/	'holy'	/iː/	/p**iː**ssiː/	'birch bark'
/i/ (V-2)	/kalk**i**m/	'I should'	/e/	/kalk**e**m/	'I shall'
	/juht**i**n/	'they moved'	/iː/	/juht**iː**n/	'movingly'
/i/ (V-3)	/høltest**i**/	's/he dwelled'	/e/	/høltest**e**/	's/he dwells'
/e/ (V-1)	/**e**lkiː/	'son'	/eː/	/**eː**lki/	's/he started'
/ø/ (V-1)	/k**ø**let/	'to fish'	/aː/	/k**aː**let/	'to chew'
/æ/ (V-1)	/l**æ**tti/	'non-Saami'	/e/	/l**e**ttie/	'bird'
/a/ (V-1)	/**a**jmos/	'snow-clad'	/aː/	/**aː**jmos/	'bad weather'
/a/ (V-2)	/kalk**a**/	's/he shall'	/i/	/kalk**i**/	's/he should'
/aː/ (V-1)	/l**aː**hko/	'kinship'	/a/	/l**a**hko/	'luck'
/o/ (V-1)	/s**o**le/	'island'	/eː/	/s**eː**lo/	'soul'
/u/ (V-1)	/k**u**lme/	'three'	/a/	/k**a**lme/	'cold'
/u/ (V-1)	/l**u**hkiː/	'ten'	/uː/	/l**uː**hkiː/	'lid'

The vowel system in South Saami has seven contrasts in vowel quality. In their realization, the distinction in openness is more important than a distinction in rounding.[37] This is illustrated in Table 3.27:

[37]Speakers have a fine sense of perception for vowel quality and would correct me when I pronounced a vowel or diphthong incorrectly, on purpose or accidentally. On the other hand, a vowel may vary considerably in realization, both between dialects but also within one idiolect. For instance, /kotiː/ [koɛtiə] 'house' may also be [kœ.tiə]; /vøjnim/ [vœːjnim] 'I saw' also [veːjnim]; /vuːlkepe/ [vʉɛlkəpə] 'we travel' also [veːlkəpə]; /oret/ [oerət] 'to sleep' also [ʉerət], /kotan/ [koatan] also [koːtan]

Table 3.27: Openness vs. roundness.

	Contrast	Example
Openness	[ɛ] ≠ [æ]	[tɛsniə] 'here' ≠ [tæsniə] 'there'
Roundness	[i] ∼ [y]	[kim] ∼ [kym] 'I should'
	[eː] ∼ [œː]	[keːktə] ∼ [kœːktə] 'two'

The vowel /ø/ is a more marginal phoneme and often overlaps with /e/ (e.g. in /køkte/ [kœːktə] ∼ [keːktə] 'two'). Especially speakers of the southern dialect often use [eː] instead of [œː]. A contrast between /y/ and /i/ was attested in one idiolect in elicitation, and for one minimal pair only: [pisːət] 'fry' – [pysːət] 'get fried'. Given this highly marginal occurrence, /y/ is not considered a phoneme. In all other contexts, there is no contrast between [i] and [y].

The back vowels /o/ and /a/ are often neutralized in the southern dialects (/tolle/ [tɔlːə] ∼ [talːə] 'fire'). The back vowels /u/ and /o/ can also be neutralized in the southern dialects ([tulːə] 'fire', or /olkene/ [olkənə] ∼ [ulkənə] 'outside').

The long vowel phonemes appear in the same environment as their short counterparts and have therefore phonemic status.

3.2.3   Distribution of vowels

The distribution of the vowels depends on stress and syllable structure. All vowel phonemes may occur in the first syllable (this slot is referred to as V-1), which always bears the main stress of a word. Long vowel phonemes are restricted to V-1 except for long /iː/, which also appears in V-2 position (and where it contrasts with short /i/). In the second and third syllable (referred to as V-2 and V-3), possible phonemes are more restricted. A scheme for the distribution is presented in Table 3.28.

'home', etc. I recorded statements of the speakers about [i] and [y], and [e] and [œ] such as 'With these vowels, that is all the same.' (*Med de här vokalerna, det är lite hipp som happ.*)

Table 3.28: Distribution of vowel phonemes.

Vowel	V-1	V-2	V-3
/i/	+	+	+
/e/	+	+	+
/a/	+	+	+
/o/	+	+	-
/iː/	+	+	-
/u/	+	(+)	-
/æ/	+	-	-
/ø/	+	-	-
/eː/	+	-	-
/aː/	+	-	-
/uː/	+	-	-

The phoneme /u/ appears in V-2 position in northern dialects (e.g. /tarjut/ 'do') but not in the southern (/tarjet/).

Table 3.29 illustrates this distribution with examples:

Table 3.29: Examples for the distribution of vowel phonemes.

Vowel	V-1	V-2	V-3
/i/	/sijjiː/	/jeːhti/	/suptsesti/
/e/	/lettiː/	/urre/	/suptseste/
/a/	alma	alma	/utnija/
/o/	/kotiː/	/paːko/	-
/iː/	/kiːle/	/tælviː/	-
/u/	/guhkiː/	/tarjut/	-
/æ/	/væriː/	-	-
/ø/	/trøjjes/	-	-
/eː/	/eːlki/	-	-
/aː/	/aːhka/	-	-
/uː/	/guːliː/	-	-

Trisyllabic stems are less frequent than disyllabic stems. In V-3 position, many vowels are further reduced; see § 3.2.5.

3.2.4 Realization of the vowels

All vowel phonemes occur as short, half-long and long allophones. The realizations (as both monophthongs and diphthongs) are schematized in Table 3.30. Especially the long vowels have several allophones. Half-long and long diphthongs differ both in quantity and quality. Half-long diphthongs consist of two short vowels and are usually stressed on the second segment (e.g. [iˈɛ]). Long diphthongs consist usually of a long plus a short vowel. An exception is [ua], in which both vowels are equally long (about 120 ms). The second vowel is usually somewhat reduced (e.g. as a schwa like [ˈiə]).

Table 3.30: Realization of the vowel phonemes

Phoneme	Short	Half-long	Long
/i/	[i], [ɪ]	–	–
/iː/	–	[iɛ]	[iːə]
/e/	[ɛ], [ə]	–	–
/eː/	–	[e.], [ea]	[eː], [eːa]
/ø/	[œ]	[œ.]	[œː]
/æ/	[æ]	[æ.]	[æː]
/a/	[a], [ɐ]	–	–
/aː/	–	[ɑ.], [a.]	[ɑː], [aː]
/o/	[ɔ]	[ɔ.], [ɔɑ], [ɔ.ə]	[ɔː], [ɔːa], [ɔːə]
/u/	[u], [ʉ]	–	–
/uː/	–	[ʉɛ]	[uː], [uːə], [ʉːə], [u.a.]

There are six diphthong allophones; all are opening, like [ie] as in [kiele] 'language' or [ua] as in [kuarket] 'to understand'. Three diphthongs move towards [e] and three diphthongs move towards [a]. A scheme of the diphthongs is presented in Figure 3.3.

All vowel phonemes occur in stressed, open syllables. As a rule, all vowels are lengthened in open syllables: /CV.CV/ = [cvː.cv]. However, syllable weight plays a role in the phonetic length of the vowel, and whether the coda of a syllable consists of a single consonant, a long consonant or cluster. There is thus a three-way distinction between short (70–80 ms), half-long (120–140 ms) and long (180–200 ms) vowels (see also § 3.3 for more details on quantity). These three vowel lengths are illustrated with the phoneme /æ/ in Figure 3.4. The word *baenie* 'tooth' contains an open syllable (/pæ. niː/; [æ] = 198 ms), in *saertie* 'reindeer heart', the syllable is closed by one consonant (/sær.tiː/; [æ] = 140 ms), and in *saedtie* 'sand', the syllable is closed by a consonant that is part of a geminate (/sæt.tie/; [æ] = 82 ms). All three words were produced in isolation, by the same speaker and are taken from the same recording.
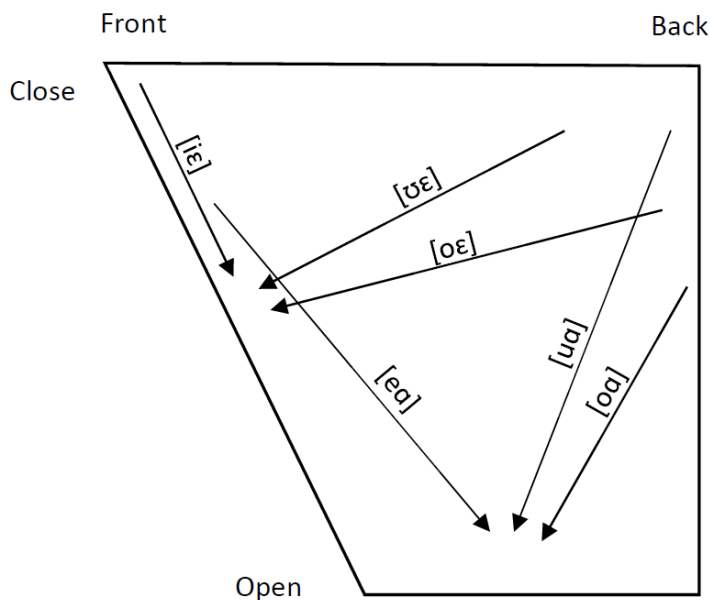
Figure 3.3: Schematic diagram of diphthong realizations in South Saami.

Furthermore, several long vowels are diphthongized. The realization as diphthongs is related to the vowel alternations (see § 3.4). "Diphthongs" are characteristic for South Saami (and other Saamic languages as well, cf. e.g. Skolt Saami (Feist, 2011, p. 92)). Their phonemic status in South Saami has previously been discussed only vaguely (see for instance Bergsland (1946, p. 9) or Magga & Magga (2012, p. 16)). While diphthongs contrast with each other (that is, with at least one other diphthong), they never contrast with long vowels. On the contrary, some words containing a diphthong may be realized with long monophthongs instead, e.g. [koatan] = [koːtan] 'home'. Diphthongs are furthermore restricted to the first syllable, and they are never short, but always half-long or long. Therefore, phonetic diphthongs are analysed as diphthongized long vowels (cf. also the analysis presented by Wilbur (2014, p. 63)).

The realization of long vowels as diphthongs is further discussed in the section on vowel alternation, § 3.4. The realization of each vowel phoneme is illustrated in the following paragraphs (3.2.4) through (3.2.4). In each paragraph, examples for the realization in stressed and unstressed positions are given, as well as for short, half-long and long realizations.
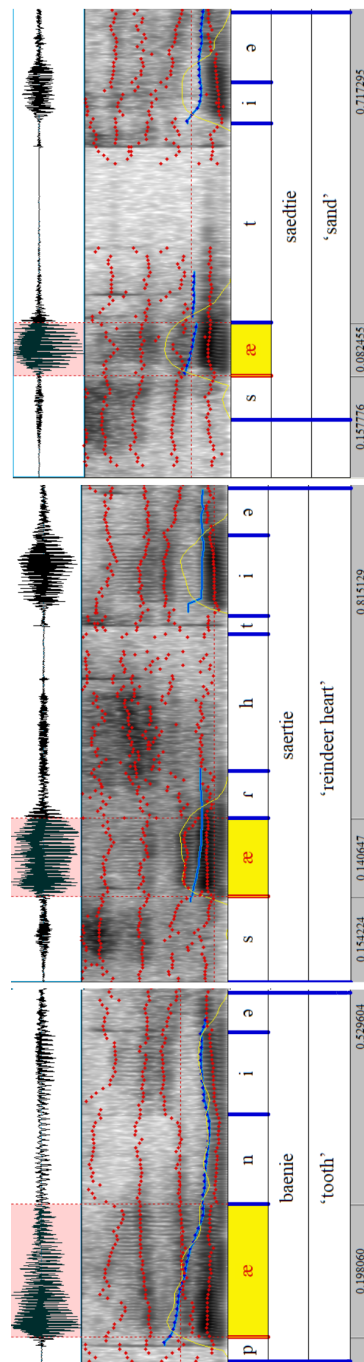
Figure 3.4: Phonetic three-way length distinction of vowels exemplified with /æ/

The close front short vowel /i/   is realized as a short close front unrounded vowel [i] in stressed position (v-1), e.g. in /ikte/ [iktə] 'together'. In unstressed position (V-2 and V-3), it may also be realized as a short near-close near-front unrounded vowel [ɪ], as in /pilli/ [pilːɪ] 's/he was scared' or /uʃʃeti/ [uʃːətɪ] 's/he thought'.

The close front long vowel /i:/   is realized as a half-long diphthong [iɛ] as in /viːlle/ [viɛlːə] 'brother'. This realization [iɛ] is always stressed on the second segment [ɛ]. The vowel is realized as a long diphthong [iə] as in /viːle/ [viələ] 'more'. This realization [iə] bears stress on the first segment [i].
In unstressed position (v-2), /i:/ is realized as a slight diphthong [iə]/[iːˀ] as in /kiːtiː/ [kiɛtːiə] 'reindeer fence'.

The mid front short vowel /e/   is realized as a short open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] as a short vowel in stressed position (V-1), as in /eprie/ [ɛpriə] 'rain'. In unstressed position (V-2 and V-3), /e/ is realized as a mid central vowel or schwa [ə], as in /hølteste/ [hœːltəstə] 's/he dwells' (see also section (3.2.5) on vowel reduction).

The mid front long vowel /e:/   may be realized as a long monophthong [eː] as in /jene/ [jeːnə] 'many, much'. The monophthongal realization occurs usually if the V-2 vowel is an /e/ or /i/.
   The long /e:/ may be realized as a half-long diphthong [e͜a] as in /pearko/ [pearkɔ] 'meat' (with the stress on the second segment [a]), or as a long diphthong [ˈe͜a] as in /seasa/ [seasa] 'aunt (paternal)' (with the stress on the first segment [e]). This realization is conditioned by a vowel /a/ or /o/ in V-2 position.

The open front vowel /ø/   is realized as amonophthongal open-mid front rounded vowel [œ] both as a short and as a long allophone. An example for a short realization is /trøjjes/ [trœjːəs], an example for a half-long realization is /nørje/ [nœˑrjə] 'Norway' or /førhketit/ [fœˑr̥kətit] 'laugh', and an example for a long realization is /kølet/ [kœːlət] 'to fish'.

The open front vowel /æ/   is realized as a near-open front unrounded vowel [æ] both as a short and as a long allophone. An example for a short realization is /næhpiː/ [næhpiˀ] 'milking pot', an example for a long realization is /væriː/ [væːriˀ] 'mountain'.

The short open back vowel /a/ is often realized as a central vowel [ɐ] or back open [ɑ] as in /kalme/ [kɐlmə]/[kɑlmə] 'cold'. It may also be realized as an open front unrounded vowel [a] as in /akte/ [aktə] 'one' or /manne/ [manːə] 'I'.

The long open back vowel /aː/ may be realized as an open back unrounded vowel [ɑ] as in /aːjeke/ [ɑːjəkə] 'spring, born' or /aːhka/ [ɑːxkɐ] 'grandmother'. It may be realized more towards the front as in /aːjja/ [ajːa].

The open-mid back rounded vowel /o/ is realized as an open-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ] as a short allophone as in /korko/ [kɔrko] 's/he understands'. As a long allophone, it is realized as a close-mid back rounded vowel [oː] as in /joktan/ [joːktɑn] 'yesterday'. It may also be realized as a diphthong [oɛ][38] as in /orpene/ [oɛrpənə] 'sibling', or as a diphthong [oa] as in /kotan/ [koatan] 'home'. The diphthongal realization is here influenced by the quality of the following vowel (v-2) (but cf. [joːktan]).

In word final position, /o/ can be realized as [ɔ] or [o] with a following schwa or slightly diphthongized as [oᵊ] as in /kaːlo/ [kɐːloə] or [kɐːloᵊ] 'ford'.[39]

The close back rounded short vowel /u/ is realized as a close back rounded vowel [u] as in /kulme/ [kulmə] 'three', or as a close central rounded vowel [ʉ] as in /kulliː/ [kʉlliᵊ] 'gold'. The realization as central vowel [ʉ] may appear both if the following vowel V-2 is /i/ (as in /kulliː/) or /e/ (as in /pruvres/ [prʉvrəs] 'married'; its condition is therefore not obvious.

The close back rounded long vowel /uː/ may be realized as a long close back rounded vowel [uː] – however, this is restricted to two loan words in the data: /suːre/ [suːrə] 'grumpy (Swe. *sur*) and /juːre/ [juːrə] 'animal' (Swe. *djur*). Other environments in which a long [uː] is attested are /uv/, like in *mov* [muː]/[muɯ] 'mine'. These are analysed as a sequence /u+v/, where [ɯ] is an allophone of /v/.

In all other instances, the long vowel /uː/ is realized as a half-long diphthong [u̯ɛ] as in /fuːlhkiː/ [fu̯ɛl̥ᵊ] 'family', as a long diphthong ['u̯ə] as in /kuːli/ [ku̯əliᵊ] 'fish' (before front vowels) or as a long diphthong ['u̯a] as in /nuana/ [nu̯ːana] 'nose'.

---

[38]In central-northern dialects, this diphthong can also be [œə]: [œɛrpənə] 'sibling'
[39]This is indicated with <oe> in the official orthography.

82

3.2.5 Vowel reduction and omission

Unstressed vowels, especially /e/, are generally reduced to schwa [ə] in V-2 and V-3 position. The front high vowel /i/ may be reduced to schwa as well in V-2 position of trisyllabic words:

/kaːmeke/	[kɐːməkə]	*gaamege*	'shoe'
/paːhkes/	[pɐːxkəs]	*baahkes*	'warm'
/kuvvite/	[kʉ]vːətə]	*guvvide*	picture.GEN.PL

The vowel /e/ is omitted between voiceless consonants in unstressed position (V-2 and V-3). This applies to all word classes. Examples are given below:

/paːhkes/	[pɐːxks]	*baahkes*	'warm'
/røpses/	[rœːps]	*rööpses*	'red'
/suptsestit/	[suptstitʰ]	*soptsestidh*	'to talk'

A frequent environment where the vowel /e/ is dropped is in verb and noun stems on -e when the suffix -h is added. This happens for instance in the present tense second person singular (/lohke-h/ [luhkʰ] *lohkh* 'you read') or in the nominative plural (/moːre-h/ [moərh] *moerh* 'trees').

3.2.6 Epenthetic schwa

Sometimes, an epenthetic schwa occurs between non-homogeneous (or non-homorganic) consonants. This is exemplified by the superscript schwas [ᵊ] in Table 3.31.

Table 3.31: Examples for epenthetic schwa

/elkiː/	[ɛlᵊgiə]	*elkie*	'son'
/almetʃh/	[ɐlᵊmətʃ]	*almetjh*	'people'
/olma/	[ɔlᵊmɑ]	*ålma*	'man'
/ærkiː/	[ærᵊkiə]	*aerkie*	'scared'

This is not a salient feature in South Saami, but it may occur occasionally in slow, well-articulated speech and is then clearly audible. See also the schwa-element in the spectrogram of /olma/ 'man' in Figure 3.5 below.
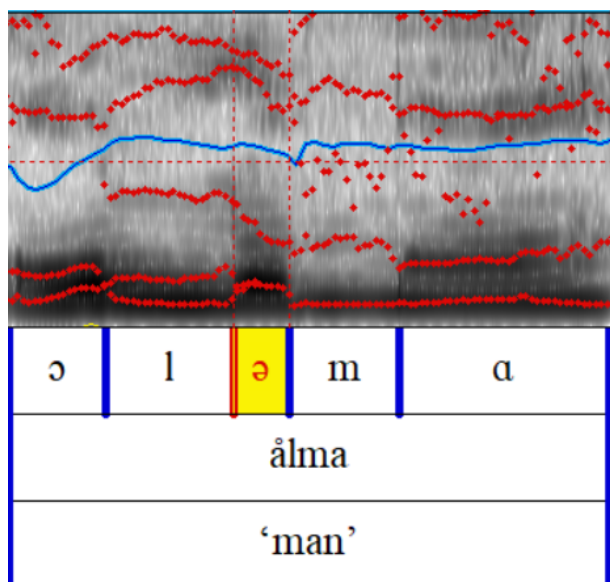
Figure 3.5: Spectrogram illustrating an epenthetic schwa.

The first formant F1 of the schwa here is at 630 Hz and F2 at around 1400 Hz.

3.3 Quantity of consonants and vowels

In this section, I attempt to briefly discuss quantity and the co-occurrence of long and short vowels and consonants. This section contains an exploratory hypothesis to describe South Saami in the terms of quantitative complementarity, in which syllable weight may play a factor as well. However, while there is a possible analysis, more detailed study is needed for more certain statements. In the following description, I also leave a purely phonological level and address subphonemic topics.

In South Saami, a stem always has the same phonetic (articulatory) quantity of vowels and consonants; their quantity does not change in inflection. This is unlike the other Saamic languages, which have consonant gradation (or *grade alternation*; a quantitative and qualitative alternation of the stem consonant) (see e.g. Blokland & Inaba (2015, p. 378), Sammallahti (1998, p. 47), Wilbur (2014, p. 75), Feist (2011, p. 99)).

Consonants may appear as singletons and as geminates in word medial position. As geminates, they are always ambisyllabic: the first segment is part of the coda of the first syllable, the second segment is part of the onset of the second syllable.

The possible combinations of vowels and consonants (in the stem, that is, in stressed position) in terms of length are presented in Table 3.32.

Table 3.32: Possible phonological combinations of quantity.

	Vowel	Consonant	/V/	/C/	Example
YES	/short/	/long/	V	CC	/pil.let/ [pilːət] 'be frigthened'
YES	/long/	/long/	Vː	CC	/veːl.le/ [veˑlːə] 'courtyard'
YES	/long/	/short/	Vː	C	/aː.te/ [ɑːtə] 'thing'
no	/short/	/short/	V	C	—

South Saami allows for the combinations of short vowels plus geminate consonant, long vowels plus geminate consonant and long vowels plus singleton consonant. The combination short vowel plus short consonant is not possible (that is, words with the syllable structure [cv.cv] are not attested).

Phonetically, the quantity of vowels and consonants occurs in some kind of complementary distribution: A consonant (or consonant cluster) is long/geminated after a short or half-long vowel, and the consonant is short after a long vowel. The realizations *short vowel – short consonant* and *long vowel – long consonant* are not possible.

This is somewhat similar to the system of the neighbouring Scandinavian languages Norwegian and Swedish (Kusmenko, 2008). See e.g. Riad (2014) for a description of Swedish phonology (my emphasis):

> "The quantity system of Swedish is dependent on stress. There are quantitative distinctions in both vowels and consonants in stressed syllables, but not in unstressed syllables. A stressed syllable is always heavy. [...]. The heavy, bimoraic weight of a stressed syllable can be supplied segmentally in one of two ways; **either the vowel is long, or the vowel is short and the postvocalic consonant is long**. This is known as complementary quantity/length or quantitative complementarity."

The distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables is also important in South Saami: Quantitative contrasts do not exist in unstressed syllables. In Swedish, stressed syllables are described to be always heavy (see e.g. Riad (2014) and also Auer *et al.* (2002)).

As shown in § 3.2, quantity is phonemic for the vowels /i/–/iː/, /e/–/eː/, /a/–/aː/ and /u/–/uː/. Therefore, we find the (phonological) combination of *long vowel – long consonant/geminate* as in /veːlle/ [ve.lːə] 'courtyard'. The realization of that long vowel, however, is half-long. More examples for possible combinations are presented in Table 3.33. The symbol [ˑ] indicates half-long

vowels in diphthongs; superscript vowels [ᵊ] indicate short vowels in diphthongs.

Table 3.33: Examples for distributions of quantity.

viele	/viːle/	[viˑələ]	'more'
vielle	/viːlle/	[viᵊlːə]	'brother'
giele	/kiːle/	[kiˑələ]	'language'
gille	/kille/	[kilːə]	'some few'
guelie	/kuːlie/	[kʉˑɛliə]	'fish'
gullie	/kullie/	[kʉlːiə]	'gold'
gaaloe	/kaːlɔ/	[kɐːlɔ]	'ford'
gaalloe	/kallɔ/	[kɐˑlːɔ]	'forehead'

The phonetic quantity of the remaining vowels /ø/, /æ/and /o/, which have no phonological quantity contrasts, depends on the syllable structure. In open syllables, these vowels are long; in closed syllables, they are short (see § 3.2.4).

This section is, as noted above, exploratory and contains observations of a phenomenon, and the topic requires more research.

3.4 Morphophonemic vowel alternation

In this section, like in the previous, I address a subphonemic feature, the diphthong-like realization of (phonologically) long vowels. I also address a vowel alternation that may be described as umlaut.

While most forms in South Saami inflection are concatenative (morphemes are attached to each other), some forms show alternations of the stem vowel, or umlaut (and a segmentation of morpheme boundaries is less obvious in these forms). The alternations take place in nouns with a stem on *-ie* in the illative singular, and in verbs primarily in the singular present tense of verbs with a stem on *-ie*. Other verb forms that show vowel alternations are the past tense of verbs on *-ie* and the third person singular of disyllabic verbs on *-e*. Examples are provided in Table 3.34:

These vowel alternations are a characteristic feature of South Saami. They are attested in a restricted albeit frequent set of inflectional forms in verb and noun paradigms. For convenience, the inflectional paradigms of the verb *båetedh* 'to come' (stem: /potiː/ 'come-') and the noun *vaerie* (/væriː/) 'mountain' are repeated in Tables 3.35 and 3.36, respectively. Stems with a vowel alternation are in **bold**, and the paradigms are presented in *italics* in the official orthography.

Table 3.34: Examples of vowel alternations

Stem	Gloss	Alternated form	Gloss
/luhke-	'read-'	/lohka/	'read.PRS.3SG'
/botiː/-	'come-'	/bota/	'come.PRS.3SG'
/botiː/-	'come-'	/bøti/	'come.PST.3SG'
/væriː/	'mountain'	/vaːran/	'mountain.ILL.SG'
/guːliː/	'fish'	/guːlan/	'fish.ILL.SG'
/puːriː/	'good'	/pøremes/	'good.SUP'
/miŋŋiː/	'back'	/mæŋŋan/	'after'

Table 3.35: Inflection of the verb *båetie-* 'come' (stem)

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	***båatam***		*båetebe*
	2	***båatah***	*båetien*	*båetede*
	3	***båata***		*båetieh*
Past	1	***böötim***	***böötimen***	***böötimh***, ***böötio***
	2	***böötih***		***böötidh***
	3	***bööti***		***böötin***
Infinitive		*båetedh*; *båetij*		
Participle		*båateme*		
Progressive		*båetieminie*		
CNG/IMP		*båetieh*		

Table 3.36: Case paradigm of the noun *vaerie* 'mountain'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*vaerie*	*vaerieh*
ACC	*vaeriem*	*vaeride*
GEN	*vaerien*	*vaerij*
ILL	***vaaran***	*vaeride*
LOC	*vaeresne*	*vaerine*
ELA	*vaereste*	*vaerijste*
COM	*vaerine*	*vaerigujmie*
ESS	*vaerine*	

Words that have vowel alternations are almost exclusively of Saamic origin (loan words do generally not show vowel alternations). In many instances, alternated forms cannot be motivated synchronically, and are best explained as

a product of diachronic processes. The frequency of many of these forms may also motivate their usage; frequency of a form may promote its use, even if the form is irregular (Bybee & Hopper, 2001), esp. pp. 181–200. The third person singular present tense for instance is such a frequent form. Some forms on the other hand seem to resemble synchronic processes, or are formed in analogy with historically motivated vowel alternations. An example is the alternation in the loan word /pruvhke/ *pruvhke* 'to be used to' (cf. Swe/Nor *bruka*) with a third ssingular present tense form /provhka/ *pråvka*, *pråvhkå*.

The vowel alternations can be described as a type of regressive vowel assimilation: The vowel of the first syllable (the stem vowel) changes in accordance with the vowel of the second syllable (a trigger vowel) in disyllabic words. This type of alternation is often referred to as *umlaut*. The vowel changes interact with morphology, which is why I describe them as a morphophonological feature, and refer to it as *vowel alternations* (cf. also Sammallahti (1998, p. 41)).

If we try to describe the vowel alternations synchronically, the following may be established: The vowels that may occur in the second syllable are /i/, /i:/, /e/, /a/, /o/ (and, in the northern dialect, /u/); see the distribution of vowels in Table 3.28 above). Three of these vowels appear as trigger vowels for assimilations: /i/, /a/ and /o/. They trigger the (phonological) alternation of the stem vowel, which alternates in accordance. For instance, if the stem vowel is /i/ as in /pissiː/ 'fry, burn', the alternated form has a stem vowel /æ/ as in /pæssa 'fry.PRS.3SG'. The alternations are illustrated in Figure 3.6:
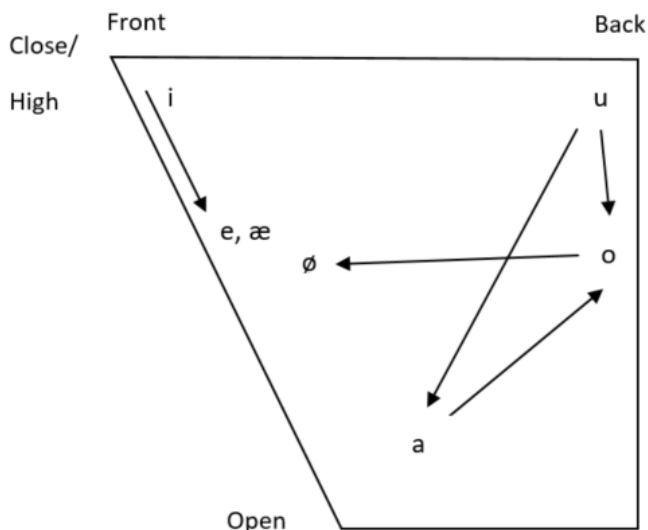
Figure 3.6: Directions of the vowel alternations of stem vowels

All vowel alternations in South Saami pertain to vowel height, even if alternation in frontness is often part of them. All alternations are lowering the stem vowel (e.g. /i/ – /æ/) except the alternation /a/ – /o/.

Based on the trigger vowels, five alternations can be described, which are illustrated schematically in the left column of Table 3.37 and with examples in the right column.

Table 3.37: Vowel alternations schematized

Alternation	Example	
i – æ/_ a	/pissiː-/ 'fry-'	/pæssa/ 'fry.PRS.3SG'
u – a/_ a	/juhtiː-/ 'move'	/jahta/ 'move.PRS.3SG
u – o/_ o	/pruvhke-/ 'use.to-'	/provhko/ 'use.to.PRS.3SG'
a – o/_ o	/tarja-/ 'do-'	/torjo/ 'do.PRS.3SG'
o – ø/_ i	/potiː-/ 'come	/pøti/ 'come.PRS.3SG'

The changes represent *alternations* and not necessarily phonological rules. Several forms have parallel forms (for instance, in addition to /juhtiː/–/jahta/, /juhtiː/–/johta/ is also attested, or /pruvhke/–/provhka/ in addition to /pruvhke/ –/provhko/).

The five alternations presented in Table 3.37 apply to monophthongs fairly well, but the picture of vowel alternations is complicated by the alternations of

diphthongs.[40] These are illustrated on a phonetic level in Figure 3.7.
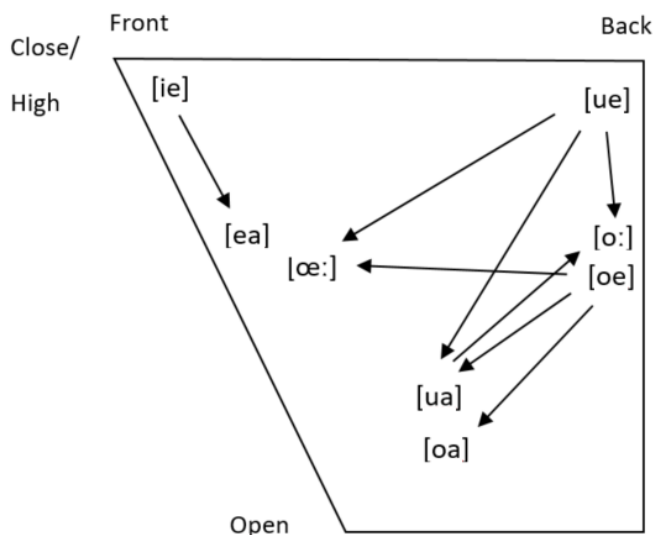
Figure 3.7: Alternations of diphthongs in the stem

Based on these observations, seven alternations can be described, illustrated in Table 3.38.

In these alternations, the stem vowel is phonetically a diphthong and the alternations affect the second segment/vowel of the diphthong, as in [ue] – [ua] or [oe] – [oa], or becomes a monophthong, as in [ue] – [œː] (cf. also what Sammallahti (1998, p. 42) calls *diphthong simplification*).

The alternations that include frontness (both resulting in [œː]) are generally synchronically transparent. Note that instead of [œ], the assimilated vowel may sometimes (but not always) be [eː]; [veːjni] 's/he saw' is a parallel form of [vœːjni].

In summary; while some alternations are synchronically transparent and possible to describe (and predict) by a phonological rule, other alternations are not. For instance, the same trigger vowel /a/ can affect a stem vowel /o/ [oe] in two different ways: either into /u/ [ua] as in [voeje] – [vuaja] (phonological alternation of /o/ into /u/) or into [oa] (phonetic assimilation of [oe] into [oa]) as in [poetie] – [poata]. In these (opaque) vowel alternations, the trig-

[40]Diphthongs are difficult to place within the vowel chart as, depending on length, both the first and the second vowel can be the prominent one (see § 3.2.4). In the figure, they are plotted based on the quality of the vowel/segment than changes, but there is some inconsistency due to the attested words, which may have half-long or long diphthongs.

Table 3.38: Alternations of diphthongs

Alternation			Example		
/iː/	–	/eː/ _/a/	/riːpiː/ 'fox.NOM.SG'	/reːpan/ 'fox.ILL.SG'	
[ie]		[ea]	[riəpiə]	[reapan]	
/uː/	–	/ø/ _/i/	/vuːjniː/ 'see-'	/vøjni/ 'see.PST.3SG'	
[ue]		[œː]	[vuɛjniə]	[vœjni]	
/uː/	–	/o/ _/o/	/vuːjniː/ 'see-'	/voːjno/ 'appear.PRS.3SG'	
[ue]		[oː]	[vuɛjniə]	[voːjno]	
/uː/	–	/uː/ _/a/	/vuːjiː/ 'drive-'	/vuːja/ 'drive.PRS.3SG	
[ue]		[ua]	[vuɛjiə]	[vuaja]	
/uː/	–	/o/ _/o/	/kuːrka/ 'understand-'	/korko/ 'und..PRS.3SG'	
[ua]		[oː]	[kuarka]	[koːrko]	
/o/	–	/ø/ _/i/	/potiː/ 'come-'	/pøti/ 'come.PST.3SG	
[oe]		[œː]	[poətiə]	[pœːti]	
/o/	–	/o/ _/a/	/potiː/ 'come-'	/pota/ 'come.PRS.3SG'	
[oe]		[oa]	[poətiə]	[poata]	

gering vowel has undergone a diachronic change. Forms in a paradigm are the product of diachronic changes. They reflect a usage perspective – for instance, the morpho-phonological marking of the third person singular present tense with an /a/-element – and may be primarily motivated by frequency rather than phonological rules.

3.5   Prosody

The following suprasegmental topics are covered in this part: syllable structure (§ 3.5.1) (covering disyllabic, polysiyllabic and monosyllabic words, in that order), consonant clusters (§ 3.5.2) and stress (§ 3.5.3).

3.5.1   Syllable structure

The most important structure in South Saami is the disyllabic word, as words from open word classes are minimally disyllabic. Disyllabic words are therefore presented first, in § 3.5.1.1. Then, the structure of polysyllabic words, including compounds, is presented in § 3.5.1.2. Monosyllabic words exist in South Saami but are restricted to functional words and some inflected forms of the copula and the negative auxiliary. As this structure is less prominent in the language, it is presented last in § 3.5.1.3. Consonant clusters are described in § 3.5.2.

3.5.1.1 Disyllabic words

A typical syllable structure is /CV.CV/ [cvːcv] or [cvːcvː], either with a long first vowel or a long consonant word medial (see § 3.3), as in /kaːlɔ/ [kɑːlɔ] 'ford' or /numme/ [numːə] 'name'.

Minimal disyllabic words have the structure V.CV, as for example in /aːte/ [ɑːtə] 'thing'. Maximally three consonants may form the onset, or the coda (see § 3.5.2 on consonant clusters).

Table 3.39: Disyllabic words

Structure	Example	Orthography	Gloss
V.CV	/aː.te/	*aate*	'thing'
VC.CV	/ak.te/	*akte*	'one'
CV.CV	/jeː.ne/	*jeene*	'many'
	/maː.na/	*maana*	'child'
	/ko.tiː/	*gåetie*	'house'
CV.CVC	/tiː.ves/	*dievies*	'full'
CVC.CV	/kul.me/	*golme*	'three'
CVC.CVC	/kal.mes/	*galmes*	'cold'
CCV.CV	/klæ.riː/	*klaerie*	'colour'
CCVC.CV	/snur.ke/	*snurke*	'pig'
CCVC.CVC	/snar.ret/	*snarredh*	'to snare'
CCCVC.CV	/stræj.miː/	*straejmie*	'stream; power'

3.5.1.2 Polysyllabic words

A three-syllable word may consist minimally of CV.CV.CV (e.g. /ka.me.ke/ 'shoe') or VC.CV.CV (e.g. /ol.ke.ne/ 'outside'). Verbs with three syllables usually have the syllable structure CVC.CVC.CVC as in /tʃuj.kes.tit/ 'to ski a little' or CVC.CV.CVC as in /kaːv.ne.sit/ 'to exist'.

The possible syllable structures can be combined to longer words, either in inflection, derivation or compounding, compare Table 3.40:

As illustrated in table (3.40), words containing more than three syllables are combinations of the possible feet (trochaic disyllabic or dactylic trisyllabic).

3.5.1.3 Monosyllabic words

Table 3.40: Polysyllabic words

Syllables	Structure	Example	Gloss
3	CVC.CVC.CVC	/sup.tses.tit/	'to talk'
2+2	CVC.CV.CVC.CVC	/lus.te+stal.let/	'be happy'
	CVC.CV.CVC.CV	/luh.ke+tæj.ja/	'teacher'
2+3	CVC.CV.CVC.CV.CV	/luh.ke+tæj.je.se/	'teacher.ILL.SG'
3+2	CVC.CVC.CV.CV.CV	/sup.tses.te+mi.niː/	'talk.PROG'

Monosyllabic words in South Saami are restricted to functional words and a limited number of forms of the copula, the negative auxiliary and of pronouns. From a user perspective, these words occur seldom in isolation and are often cliticised to the preceding or following word. They are thus no members of open word classes. Examples are *manne aaj* 'me too' or *im manne* 'not me', which usually do not occur by them selves (they *may* occur in isolation, especially pronouns such as *gie*? 'who?', but this is not typical). Monosyllabic words are therefore not judged to represent a typical phonological word in South Saami.

Monosyllabic words (see Table 3.41) may consist of at least one consonant and one vowel (either CV or VC) . A frequent form of functional words is CVC. The onset consists usually of a single consonant; an exception is the consonant cluster /tl/ in (/tle/ 'now') which is a syncope of /telli/ 'now'. The coda of monosyllabic words may consist of a cluster of maximum three consonants (as in /lasth/ 'leaf.NOM.PL or /kujht/ 'certainly', but nb. /kujht/ = [kuçt] and /lasth/ = [lastʰ]).

Table 3.41: Monosyllabic words

Structure	Example	Orthography	Gloss
VC	/aːj/	*aaj*	'also'
	/ij/	*ij*	'NEG.PRS.3SG'
	/im/	*im*	'NEG.PRS.1SG'
VCCC	/ullh/	*ollh*	'NEG.IMP.2SG'
CV	/la/	*la*	(Discourse PTCL)
CCV	/tle/	*dle*	'now'
CVC	/kij/	*gij*	'who'
	/jih/	*jih*	'and'
	/tan/	*dan*	'hers/his' (3SG.GEN)
	/men/	*men*	'but'
	/læm/	*leam*	'be.PRS.1SG)
CVCC	/saːht/	*saaht*	'whatever'
CVCCC	/kujht/	*gujht*	'certainly'

3.5.2 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters of up to three consonants can occur word-initially, medial or final. I define consonant clusters to be "an uninterrupted sequence of two or more consonants" that occur in a phonological word (Vennemann, 2012, p.12), and which may stretch across syllables. A scheme for the different possible clusters in each position in a word is provided in table (3.42), examples in (3.43).

Table 3.42: Scheme over possible consonant clusters

Word initial	Word medial	Word final
CCC	CCC	CCC
CC	CC	CC

Table 3.43: Examples of the possible consonant clusters

Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/**stræ**jꞏmiꞏ/ 'power'	/snuꞏ**rh.tʃ**et/ 'be.soaked'	/la**s.th**/ 'leaf.NOM.PL'
/**skr**ovva/ 'hinder'	/viꞏ**nh.t**et/ 'think'	/lu**h.kh**/ 'read.PRS.2SG'
/**skr**eꞏlet/ 'cry, shout'	/maꞏ**rh.n**a/ 'market'	
/**kr**æviꞏs/ 'grey'	/a**s.k**e/ 'moon; month'	/pi꞊ꞏ**nh**/ 'dog.NOM.PL'
/**kr**iꞏviꞏ/ 'herd, flock'	/pa**r.k**o/ 'work'	/aꞏ**.th**/ 'thing.NOM.PL'
/**pr**uv.res/ 'married'	/te**s.n**iꞏ/ 'here'	
/**st**or.re/ 'big'		
/**st**aꞏ.re/ 'city'		

Initial clusters of two and three consonants do occur in the language. Clusters of three consonants are not frequent and while they occur in native words, they often occur in loan words (cf. /storre/ with Swe/Nor. *stor*, or /staꞏre/ 'stad' with Swe. *stad*). Clusters of two consonants usually consist of a plosive and a sonorant (as in /pruvres/ 'married'); clusters of three consonants usually consist of a fricative, a plosive and an sonorant (as in /stræjmiꞏ/ 'power' or /skrovva/ 'feeding hinder (to prevent calves from breast feeding) (Swe. *dihinder*)').

Medial clusters of two consonants are frequent and they are always part of two syllables, as in /as.ke/ 'moon; month'. Medial clusters of three consonants usually consist of a sonorant, an /h/ and a plosive or affricate, and always stretch across a syllable boundary.

Word-final clusters are always products of inflection. As such, clusters of four consonants may be formed, such as /vie**nh.th**/ 'believe.PRS.2SG'. However, the phonetic realization is a continuum rather than a sequence of discrete consonants (a possible realization would be [viɛntʰ] 'believe.PRS.2SG').

3.5.3 Stress

Stress is manifested by a combination of intensity, duration and pitch in South Saami. Intensity was identified as the primary feature. Stressed syllables are longer and have a higher intensity than unstressed syllables. The main stress is always on the first syllable in South Saami. The peak of intensity is on the vowel V-1.

Word stress

Examples for disyllabic ([kuə.liə] 'fish' and [piənə] 'dog'), trisyllabic ([kɑꞏməkə] 'shoe') and quadrisyllabic words ([luhkətæjꞏɑ]/ 'woman') are given in Figure 3.8. All words are produced in isolation. The blue line indicates pitch and the

yellow line indicates intensity. In disyllabic and trisyllabic words, the main stress is on the long vowel or diphthong in the first syllable. Intensity (yellow) falls then towards the end, representing a trochaic/dactylic foot.
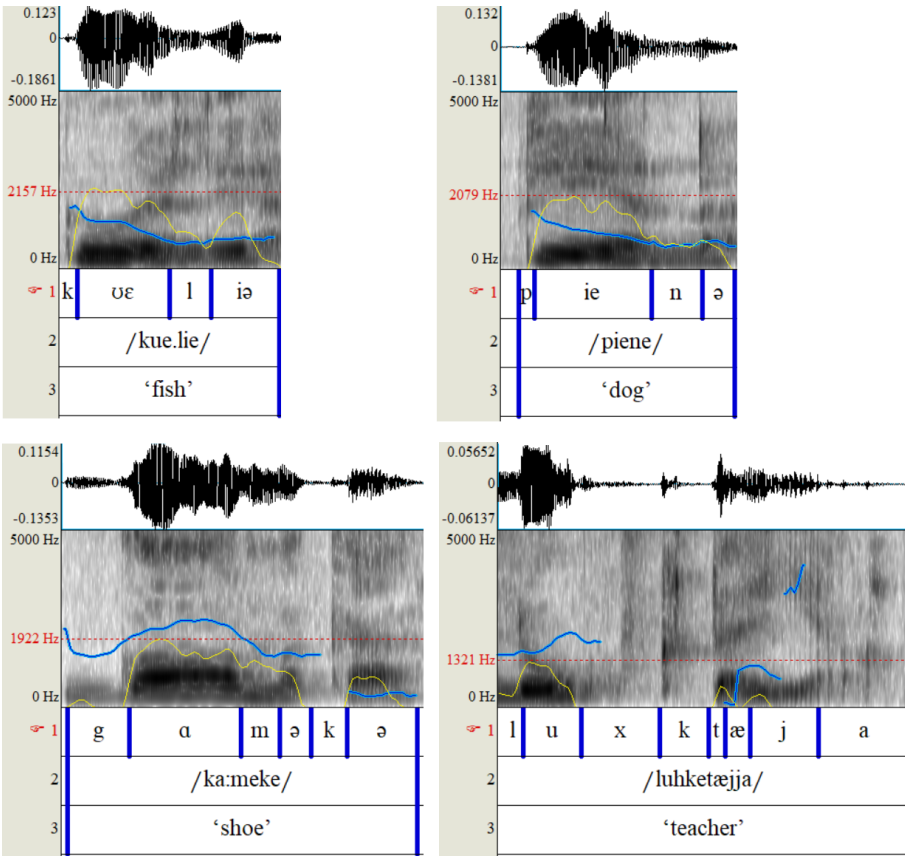
Figure 3.8: Spectrograms. The blue line represents pitch, the yellow line intensity.

In words longer than three syllables, which consist of more than one foot, the first syllable of the second foot receives a secondary stress. This can be seen in the second peak of the yellow line in /luhketæjja/, which has a secondary stress on /æ/, that is, the vowel V-1 of the second foot.

Phrase level stress

The same stress patterns are found on phrase level as in a phonological word. In statements, the first half of the phrase usually shows greater intensity than the second half.

In the example in Figure 3.10, the modifier [jeːn] *jeenh* 'much' is more
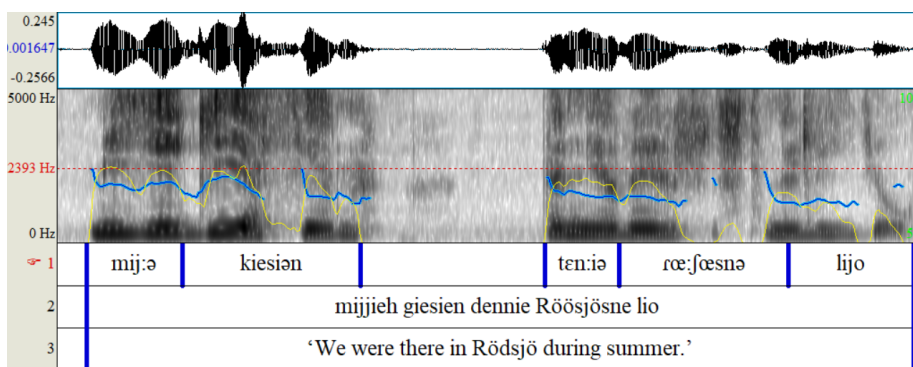
Figure 3.9: Spectrogram of a phrase (1)

stressed than the previous and following words; note also the rise in pitch (blue line).
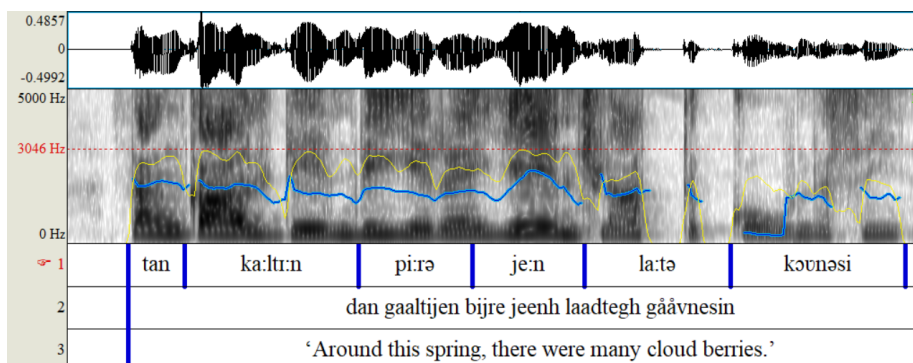
Figure 3.10: Spectrogram of a phrase (2)

The intonation of questions is described in Chapter 15 on Questions.

4. Pronouns

4.1 Introduction

The subject matter of this chapter is the closed word class of pronouns. Even if the word class *pronoun* is well established in descriptive linguistics, a definition as a coherent category is problematic: Several "sets of words" (Bhat, 2004, p. 1) such as personal, relative or interrogative pronouns and demonstratives are included in this class. The term *pronoun*, a "word that stands for a noun", is problematic as many pronouns do not necessarily "stand for nouns". First and second person pronouns refer to the participants of a speech act. Other pronouns (including third person pronouns) and demonstratives on the other hand may also stand for adjectives or adverbs. I will thus follow Bhat (2004) and distinguish between personal pronouns on the one hand and pro-forms on the other.

South Saami has first and second free personal pronouns, and several pro-forms, such as demonstratives, reflexive, logophoric, reciprocal, interrogative, relative and indefinite "pronouns". Regarding demonstratives, I will follow the terminology proposed by Diessel (1999) and distinguish between pronominal, adnominal and adverbial demonstratives, which belong to the categories pro-forms, determiners and adverbs, respectively.

Most pro-forms in South Saami inflect for person, number and case. The present description of the language is primarily based on free speech rather than elicited lists. Consequently, some forms in the paradigms have not been verified. This depends on two factors, which may interact: frequency and language use. By frequency I mean that some forms have not been documented simply because no grammatical construction that would require a specific form occurred in the data. By language use I mean that some forms might not (or no longer?) be in use, whereas other forms expand in function, i.e. show tendencies of grammaticalization. However, complete paradigms, although difficult to provide, are useful for comparative purposes and typological enquiries. I therefore decided to provide full paradigms in the following cases: if the pro-form is frequent, its paradigm morphologically regularly formed, and there are only a few forms are not attested in my data. These forms are set in square brackets and are taken from other sources for the language, primarily from

Magga & Magga (2012). In this respect, the current chapter differs from other chapters, since there are forms represented that are not corpus-based. As discussed in the method section, the aim of this grammar is primarily to provide a description of the language in use today. Therefore, expansion (or neutralization?) in use of certain forms (more boldly, *grammaticalization*) is of interest, and examples for such uses are provided throughout the chapter.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, personal pronouns are presented in § 4.2. Then, three different demonstratives are presented: pronominal (§ 4.3), adnominal (§ 4.4 and adverbial (§ 4.5). In the final sections 4.6–4.10, other types of pronouns including reflexive, logophoric, interrogative and indefinite pronouns are dealt with.

4.2 Personal pronouns

Pronouns have an anaphoric function. Personal pronouns are shifters of reference and "denote individuals who [...] participate in the speech act" (Bhat, 2004, p. 132). Personal pronouns in South Saami inflect for person, number (singular, dual, plural) and case. There are three persons in the personal pronoun system. The third person pronouns are pro-forms and originate in a neutral pronominal demonstrative.

Sex is not distinguished in any of the forms. There is no encoding of clusivity, and honorific forms or an honorific use of a second person pronoun is not attested in the data. The personal pronouns are presented in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: The personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*manne*	*monnah*	*mijjieh*
2	*datne*	*dotnah*	*dijjieh*
3	*dihte*	*dah*	

The paradigm shows an overlap in the form of the third person dual and plural (both *dah*). The third person pronouns *dihte* and *dah* originate in the neutral pronominal demonstrative *dihte* and its plural forms (cf. Table 4.3 and § 4.2.1). The case paradigms for third person pronouns are thus identical in form for dual and plural. Sometimes, the phrase *dah guaktah* 'these two' is used to distinguish between dual and plural reference in the third person. It is common in languages that the third person pronoun behaves differently than

the first and second person. However, it is less common that this is reflected in number as well (Corbett, 2000, p. 63).

There are dialectal differences in the forms of the dual and plural pronouns in the southern (S) and northern (N) dialect, illustrated in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Dialectal variation of pronouns.

	1 DUAL	2 DUAL	1 PLURAL	2 PLURAL
S	*monnah* [mun:a]	*dotnah* [dutna]	*mäjjah* [mɛj:a]	*däjjah* [dɛj:a]
N	*månnoeh* [mɔn:o]	*dåtnoeh* [dɔtno]	*mijjieh* [mij:ə]	*dijjieh* [dij:ə]

In the data, the forms *monnah/dotnah* and *mijjieh/dijjieh* are most frequent, even with southern speakers. They are thus chosen to represent the standard forms in this grammar.

Furthermore, the first and second singular and first person plural have short forms, which can occur in spoken language. These forms are presented in Table 4.3 below. Other shortened forms have not been documented in the data. This ties in with pronominal hierarchies: first and second person outrank third person pronouns. In prescriptive sources for the language, however, short forms for the remaining slots in the paradigm are provided (see e.g. Magga & Magga (2012)). However, these forms do not seem to be used by first language speakers today, and I was unable to elicit other forms of the paradigm. The short forms are presented in Table 4.3 below. Morpheme boundaries are marked when possible, to add transparency and indicate case suffixes.

Table 4.3: Case paradigm for the personal pronouns

		1st person	2nd person	3rd person
SG	Nominative	*manne*; *man*, *mån*	*datne*; *dan*, *dån*	*dihte*
	Genitive	*mov*	*dov*	*dan*; *altese*
	Accusative	*manne-m*	*datne-m*	*dam*
	Illative	*munnjan/ munnan*	*dutnan*	*di-sse*
	Locative	*manne-sne*	*datne-sne*	*de-snie*
	Elative	*manne-ste*	*datne-ste*	*de-stie*
	Comitative	*mann-ine*	*datn-ine*	*dej-nie*
DU	Nominative	*monnah*, *månnoeh*	*dotnah*, *dåtnoeh*	
	Genitive	*monne-n*	*dotne-n*	
	Accusative	*monne-m*	*dotne-m*	
	Illative	*monne-se*	*dotne-se*	
	Locative	*monne-sne*	*dotne-sne*	
	Elative	*monne-ste*	*dotne-ste*	
	Comitative	*monni-ne*	*dotni-ne*	
PL	Nominative	*mijjieh*, *mäjjah*	*dijjieh*, *däjjah*	*dah*
	Genitive	*mijjie-n*; *min*	*dijjie-n*	*daj*, *dej*
	Accusative	*mijjie-m*	*dijjie-m*	*dej-tie*
	Illative	*mijje-se*; *mijj-ide*	*dijje-se*	*dej-tie*
	Locative	*mijje-sne*	*dijje-sne*	*dej-nie*
	Elative	*mijje-ste*	*dijje-ste*	*dej-stie*
	Comitative	*mijj-ine*	*dijj-ine*	*dej-gujmie*

As can be seen in Table 4.1 and 4.3 above, an initial segment signals person marking in the pronoun system. The segment for first person is *m-*, the segment for second and third person is *d-*. Usually, Saamic languages have a segment *s-* in third person pronouns, see § 4.2.1. The case marking of the first and second person singular pronouns is regular and the case suffixes are transparent (see the nominal case suffixes in § 5.3.1). The first and second person genitive singular forms are not based on the nominative form (*mov* and *dov*); all other forms are formed by adding the case suffix to the stem (*manne-*, *datne-*). The illative singular shows umlaut. The third person pro-form looks different. In the singular, we find derived forms for the genitive and accusative (*dan*, *dam*). The remaining forms are based on the segment *d-* in the singular and *dej-* in non-singular (dual/plural). The genitive singular has, in addition to the regular form, a suppletive form *altese*.

Examples for the use of the pronouns are given in the following. As mentioned above, personal pronouns refer to a speaker (as in (4.1)) or addressee

(4.2). The dual pronoun can include both speaker and addressee, illustrated in (4.3).

(4.1) ***manne***   *olkese   veedts-i-m*
      1SG.NOM   out   go-PST-1SG

      'I went outside.' [sma20180605c]

(4.2) ***dijjien***   *tjaebpies vearelde jih* ***dijjieh***   *alkene*
      2PL.GEN   nice   weather   and 2PL.NOM   outside

      'You have nice weather and you are outside' [sma20180607a]

(4.3) ***monnah***   *maehtie-n   soptsestidh*
      1DU.NOM   can.PRS-DU   talk.INF

      'We two can talk.' [sma20170508d]e

However, pronouns are frequently omitted in South Saami ("pro-drop"), both in spoken and in written language. As verbs inflect for person, this is usually sufficient to provide information about the subject. In the following example, the speaker omitted *manne* 'I'.

(4.4) *jih   dellie veedts-i-m   bijjelen dab*
      and   then   go-PST-1SG   over   DEM.ACC.SG

      vaerie-b
      mountain-ACC.SG

      'And then I went over this mountain' [sma20170919a]

In other Saamic languages, third person pronouns can only refer to human beings and not animate or inanimate entities. If referring to such entities, a pronominal demonstrative must be used. This system ties in with the animacy hierarchy human > animate > inanimate (cf. Croft (2002)). See the following examples (4.5) and (4.6) from North Saami:

(4.5) ***son***   *boahtá*
      3SG.NOM(pers.pron)   come.PRS.3SG

      's/he comes.'

(4.6) ***dat****/beana/girji lea   duo*
      it/dog/book   be.PRS.3SG   there

      'The dog/book/it is there.'

The third person pronouns *dihte/dah* are identical with demonstratives in South Saami. Thus, the animacy hierarchy is of no relevance here, and *dihte/dah* can refer to all types of entities such as humans (4.7), animate (4.8) and inanimate (4.9).

(4.7) *dihte   hov lea   aaj saemie*
3SG.NOM EMP be.PRS.3SG also Saami

'She was also a Saami.' [sma20170919a]

(4.8) *daah   labrador-h   dah*
DEM.PROX.NOM.PL labrador-NOM.PL DEM.NOM.PL

leah   gåmme-be-n   bienj-h
be.PRS.3PL wife-RELAT-GEN.SG dog-NOM.PL

'These Labradors, they are his wife's dogs.' [sma20170913h]

(4.9) *gah dihte   dov   gärja?*
Q   3SG.NOM 2SG.GEN book.NOM.SG

'Is it/this your book?' [sma20180606a]e

Note that (4.9) is ambivalent in the sense that *dihte* can be translated both as 'it' and 'this'. As mentioned above, the third person singular has a suppletive form *altese* in the genitive, see example (4.10):

(4.10) *jih dah   altese   bovhts-h*
and DEM.NOM.PL 3SG.GEN reindeer-NOM.PL

dunnie   Sveerje-n   biele-sne
DEM.DIST.LOC.SG Sweden-GEN.SG side-LOC.SG

'And these reindeer of him [were] over there on the Swedish side.'
[sma20171002e]

No difference in function between the regular form *dan* and the suppletive form *altese* has been found; *altese*, however, occurs much less frequent.

4.2.1   The third person pronoun *dihte*

The third person pronoun is special in many languages (Bhat, 2004, p. 132ff). The pro-form used as third pronoun in South Saami today is a neutral pronominal demonstrative *dihte*. As mentioned above, Saamic languages usually have a segment s- in the third person; compare for instance the close neighbour Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 114), North Saami (Kahn & Valijärvi, 2017, p. 69) or Skolt Saami (Feist, 2011, p. 251):

In this respect, South Saami differs from other Saamic languages, which show three distinct initial segments for each person: *m-* (first person), *d-* (second person) and *s-* (third person). In other descriptive Saamic literature, these segments are described as "person morphemes" (Wilbur, 2014, p. 114). South Saami has corresponding forms based on the s-segment: *satne* (3SG), *såtnoeh* (3DU) and *sijjieh* (3PL). Historically, these forms were used for third person

Table 4.4: Third person pronouns in South, Pite, North and Skolt Saami

	South	Pite	North	Skolt
3SG	*dihte*	*sån*	*son*	*son*
3DU	*dah*	*såj*	*soai*	*suäna*
3PL		*sij*	*sii*	*sij*

reference in the personal pronoun system, cf. Bergsland (1946, p. 101). However, in contemporary language, they function as logophoric pronouns instead (see § 4.7). From a synchronic point of view, South Saami could be described as a "two-person" language (Bhat, 2004, p. 134) in contrast to other Saamic languages. The distinction into personal pronouns on the one hand, including first and second person pronouns, and "pro-forms", including all other forms on the other hand, a distinction proposed by (Bhat, 2004, p. 5), is thus applicable for South Saami today. It also demonstrates the difficulty of distinguishing between personal pronouns and demonstratives, cf. e.g. Himmelmann (1996, p. 206) and Kibrik (2011, pp. 123–124).

The forms used for third person referents in South Saami is the neutral demonstrative pronoun *dihte* and its plural form dah (see Table 4.3 above). The plural form of the demonstrative (*dah*) is used both for dual and plural reference. *Dihte* is a polyfunctional word which is used as a demonstrative and a pronoun. It is furthermore used in a way similar to a definite article. *Dihte* therefore shows structural similarities with the Swedish/Norwegian article *den/det*. From a diachronic perspective, *dihte* has undergone an expansion in function from deictic pronominal demonstrative to functioning as a third person pronoun and anaphoric demonstrative (1):

(1) DEM → PRON & DEM

Bergsland (1946, p. 101) lists *satne* as a third personal pronoun and *dihte* as demonstrative. Lagercrantz (1923, p. 31–34) lists *dihte* as a personal pronoun but notes that it is a demonstrative which is "often" used as a personal pronoun. The expansion in use of *dihte* as a personal pronoun therefore already started in the beginning of the 20th century. Its use similar to a definite article can also be found in several language examples from Bergsland (1946, p. 106). In this thesis, I gloss *dihte* in its pronominal use 3SG.NOM and in its demonstrative use DEM.NOM.SG.

4.3 Pronominal demonstratives

Whereas the function of pronouns is anaphoric, demonstratives are primarily deictic. South Saami has two types of *nominal demonstratives* (Dixon, 2010, p. 225) that are formally distinguished, namely *pronominal* demonstratives and *adnominal* demonstratives (Diessel, 1999, p. 4), as well as *adverbial* demonstratives. Pronominal demonstratives occur as independent pronouns and can thus substitute for a noun phrase as in (a); adnominal demonstratives occur within a noun phrase as in (b) (cf. Diessel (1999, p. 4)):

(a) *Read* [*this*]!

(b) *Read* [*this book*]!

Whereas pronominal and adnominal demonstratives in English and many other languages are formally identical, South Saami formally distinguishes between these two types. This section deals with pronominal demonstratives.

South Saami has four pronominal demonstratives. As a grammatical category, they are demonstrative pronouns (cf. Diessel (1999, p. 4)). Of these four demonstrative pronouns, one is neutral in deixis and used anaphorically, the other three show a distant contrast with respect to proximity to the speaker. The demonstrative pronouns are all based on an initial segment *d-*, followed by a short vowel /i/ for the neutral demonstrative, a long vowel /eː/ for the proximal, a long vowel /u/ (realized as [uə] or [ɔə]) for the medial, and a short vowel /u/ for the distal demonstrative.

Visibility or elevation is not encoded in demonstratives. The order of demonstrative and noun is DEM + N:

(4.11) *daate*   *gierkie jorpe*
       DEM.PROX stone   round
       'This stone is round.' [sma20180605a]e/f

The demonstrative pronoun *dihte* 'she/he/it/this/that' does not encode proximity. I gloss *dihte* as DEM only, in contrast to e.g. *daate*, which is glossed for proximity as well (DEM.PROX). *Dihte* is a polyfunctional word used as a neutral, anaphoric demonstrative and as a personal pronoun, and has sometimes a function similar to a definite article (cf. Finnish, Juvonen (2000)).

Demonstratives are inflected for case and number (singular and plural), and they agree with the head of a noun phrase in case and number. Case paradigms for the four demonstrative pronouns are presented in Tables 4.6 through 4.9 below. Forms in parentheses are not attested in the corpus but are

Table 4.5: The demonstrative pronouns in South Saami.

	Neutral	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Form	*dihte*	*daate*	*doete*	*dohte*
Gloss	DEM	DEM.PROX	DEM.MED	DEM.DIST
Translation	'this, that'	'this (here)'	'that (there)'	'that (over there)'

included nonetheless for the sake of completeness. They are taken from Magga & Magga (2012).

Table 4.6: The neutral demonstrative *dihte*

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*dihte*	*dah*
ACC	*dam*	*dejtie*
GEN	*dan*	*daj*, *dej*
ILL	*dasse*, *disse*	*dejtie*
LOC	*desnie*	(*dejnie*)
ELA	*destie*	(*dejstie*)
COM	*dejnie*	(*dejgujmie*)

Table 4.7: The proximal demonstrative *daate*

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*daate*	*daah*
ACC	*daam*	*daejtie*
GEN	*daan*	*daaj*
ILL	(*daase*)	(*daejtie*)
LOC	*daesnie*	*daejnie*
ELA	*daetie* (*daestie*)	*daej* (*daejstie*)
COM	*daejnie*	(*daajgujmie*)

Below are examples of the use of pronominal demonstratives. Example (4.12) illustrates both the anaphoric use of *dihte* and its neutrality in distance:

Table 4.8: The medial demonstrative *doete*

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*doete*	*doeh*
ACC	*doem*	(*duejtie*)
GEN	*doen*	*doej*
ILL	(*doese*)	(*duejtie*)
LOC	*duesnie*	*duejnie*
ELA	(*duestie*)	(*duejstie*)
COM	*duejnie*	(*doejgujmie*)

Table 4.9: The distal demonstrative *dohte*

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*dohte*	*doh*
ACC	*dom*	(*dujtie*)
GEN	*don*	*doj*
ILL	*dosse*	(*duejtie*)
LOC	*dusnie*	(*dujnie*)
ELA	(*dustie*)	(*dujstie*)
COM	*dujnie*	(*dojgujmie*)

(4.12) *doete*   *geajna* *mij*   *daesnie*
        DEM.MED.NOM.SG road   REL.NOM.SG DEM.PROX.LOC.SG

        jeahta   *dihte*   *öövre* *gaertjies*
        go.PRS.3SG DEM.NOM.SG very   narrow

        'This road over there which goes over there, it/this one is very narrow.' [sma20180606b]e/f

    The proximal demonstrative *daate* is used for reference of entities close by, the medial demonstrative *doete* refers to entities a little further away. The difference between proximal *daate* and medial *doete* is described in prescriptive literature as "closer to speaker" and "closer to addressee", respectively (cf. e.g. Magga & Magga (2012, p. 52). In the present data, no difference in the distance between speaker and entity vs. addressee and entity is attested; see examples (4.19) through (4.16). One's finger is proximal (4.13); the mittens in

the setting (4.14), however, were further away, and the fly in (4.15) was similarly far away like the mittens. The house referred to in (4.16) was on a picture that the speaker pointed to.

(4.13) *daate*   *mov*   *soerme*   *båeries*
DEM.PROX.NOM.SG   1SG.GEN   finger   old

'This finger (here) of mine is old.'

(4.14) *daah*   *mov*   *vaanhtj-h*
DEM.PROX.NOM.PL   1SG.GEN   mitten-NOM.PL

'These are my mittens.' [sma20180608i]e/f

(4.15) *dohte*   *akte*   *spahta*
DEM.DIST.NOM.SG   one   fly

'Over there is a fly.' [sma20180606a]e

(4.16) *doete*   *seassa*   *Lassba-n*   *gåetie*
DEM.MED.NOM.SG   father's.sister   Elisabeth-GEN.SG   house

'That over here is aunt Elisabeth's house.' [sma20170922h]

4.4 Adnominal demonstratives

South Saami, like other Saamic languages, has a set of **adnominal** demonstratives that are distinct in form from pronominal demonstratives. Adnominal demonstratives are used as demonstrative **determiners** (cf. Diessel (1999, p. 57); they occur within a noun phrase and cannot substitute for such.

Adnominal demonstratives are inflected for the three spatial cases illative, locative and elative in the singular. The use of these pro-forms is consistent in the data.

Adnominal demonstratives are formally distinct from pronominal demonstratives in the singular. In the plural, two strategies are observed: either, the forms of the pronominal demonstratives are used, or the genitive form (*daj–daaj–doej-doj*) is used.

Adnominal demonstratives function as modifiers in a noun phrase and have been described as "attributive forms" of the demonstrative pronouns in Saamic linguistics (Magga & Magga, 2012, p. 54). They will be glossed ADN.DEM for adnominal demonstrative in this grammar. An example of different forms of the proximal demonstrative *daate* 'this' as a demonstrative pronoun (example 4.17) and as a demonstrative determiner modifying a noun phrase (example 4.18), is given in the locative constructions below:

Table 4.10: The adnominal demonstratives

	Case	Singular
Neutral	Illative	*dan*
(*dihte*)	Locative	*dennie*
	Elative	*dedtie*
Proximal	Illative	*daan*
(*daate*)	Locative	*daennie*
	Elative	*daehtie*
Medial	Illative	*doen* (n/a)
(*doete*)	Locative	*duennie*
	Elative	*duehtie* (n/a)
Distal	Illative	*don* (n/a)
(*dohte*)	Locative	*dunnie*
	Elative	*duhtie* (n/a)

(4.17) *dihte*   *duesnie*
      DEM.NOM.SG   DEM.MED.LOC.SG
      'It is over there.' [sma20181025a]

(4.18) *duennie*   *gåete-sne*
      ADN.DEM.MED.LOC.SG   house-LOC.SG
      'In this house over there.' [sma20180606b]

In the nominative, genitive and accusative, the forms of pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are identical. See the following examples in which the demonstrative *dam* 'it' (ACC.SG) is used pronominally in example (4.19) and adnominally in example (4.20):

(4.19) *manne*   *mujhta-m*   *dam*
      1SG.NOM   remember.PRS-1SG   DEM.ACC.SG
      'I remember that.' [sma20170923d]

(4.20) *jih Mihte-gh*   *aaj dam*
      and Mittådal-COLL   also ADN.DEM.ACC.SG
      giedtie-m   *nuhtj-i-n*
      reindeer.field-ACC.SG   use-PST-3PL
      'And the people from Mittådalens Sameby used this reindeer field as well.' [sma20170924g]

In example (4.20), the adnominal demonstrative *dam* functions as a definite marker of the noun phrase *dam giedtiem* 'this reindeer field'.

4.5 Adverbial demonstratives

South Saami has a group of locative adverbials that are based on the stem *dabp-*, *debp-*, *dubp-* 'here, there, over there'. In line with Diessel (1999, p. 4), these can be described as adverbial demonstratives, belonging to the grammatical category of demonstrative adverbs. Dixon (2010, p. 228) and Aikhenvald (2014, p. 186) call them *local adverbial demonstratives*. These adverbial demonstratives point to a place rather than to objects.

The sets of adverbial demonstratives in South Saami are restricted to location ('over there') and source ('from there') meaning. The suffix *–de* in the other form of the series is a Proto-Saamic partitive case suffix (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 71). The morphology of adverbial demonstratives is less transparent than for other demonstratives, which is in line with general tendencies (Aikhenvald, 2014, p. 189), and they require less locational marking on the noun phrase than other demonstratives (cf. Dixon (2010, p. 228). Adverbial demonstratives are glossed ADV.DEM in this grammar. The following forms have been documented in the data. Also compare adverbs in Chapter 9.

Table 4.11: Adverbial demonstratives *dVbp-* 'there'

STEM	*dabp-* (proximal)	*debp-* (medial)	*dubp-* (distal)
GLOSS	'here'	'there'	'over there'
LOCATION	*dabpene*	*debpene*	*dubpene*
SOURCE	*dabpede*	*debpede*	*dubpede*

Adverbial demonstratives can occur by themselves (cf. Eng. *look **here**!*) as in example (4.21) or with a noun or noun phrase with locational marking, which may include adnominal demonstratives ('look at **this house over there**') as in example (4.22) below:

(4.21) *jeene-sh* ***dabpene*** *aaj man*
      many-COLL ADV.DEM.PROX.LOC also REL.GEN.SG

      sijht-i-n *triengke-m* *utnedh*
      want-PST-3PL farmhand-ACC.SG have.INF

      '(There were) many **here** as well who wanted to have a farmhand.' [sma20171002e]

(4.22) *[dubpene* *daennie* *bahke-n*
      ADV.DEM.DIST.LOC ADN.DEM.PROX.LOC.SG hill-GEN.SG

      duekesne] *desnie* *Käringsjöe Väst i byn*
      behind DEM.LOC.SG Käringsjön West in town

'Over there behind this hill there, there is Käringsjön Westside.'
[sma20170922h]

(4.23) *dellie gosse edtj-i-n dabpede vuejedh*
   then when shall-PST-3PL ADV.DEM.PROX.ELA drive.INF

   'Then when they should drive from there.' [sma20171002e]

Adverbial demonstratives can be combined into phrases like *dubpene-dabpene* 'from over there and over here', see (4.24):

(4.24) *dah mubpie-h dah gujht bööt-i-n*
   DEM.NOM.PL other-NOM.PL 3PL.NOM EMP come-PST-3PL

   dubpede-dapbede
   ADV.DEM.DIST.ELA-ADV.DEM.PROX.ELA

   'And the others they came from different places.' [sma20170919a]

4.6   Reflexive pronoun

South Saami has a reflexive pronoun *jijtje* 'self'. Its use is shown in example (4.25) and (4.26) below:

(4.25) *manne jijtjemdh biesse-m*
   1SG.NOM REFL.ACC wash.PRS-1SG

   'I wash myself.' [sma20190114a]e

(4.26) *manne jijtjemdh geehte-m*
   1SG.NOM REFL.ACC protect.PRS-1SG

   'I protect myself.' [sma20190114a]e

Like most other pro-forms in South Saami, *jijtje* can in theory be inflected for person, case and number (singular/plural). Examples (4.25) and (4.26) above and (4.27) below show some inflection; however, the forms are not in line with earlier described forms or with prescriptive paradigms. The use of inflected forms of *jijtje* is subject to variation. Inflected forms of *jijtje* have all been attested in elicitation.

The pro-form does not occur frequently in sponatenous speech. It is mostly used emphatically, as the following examples (4.27) and (4.28) illustrate:

(4.27) *manne jijtje tjoere-m darjedh*
   1SG.NOM REFL.NOM.SG must.PRS-1SG do.INF

   'I must do (it) myself.' [sma20180611d]e

(4.28) *manne   jijtjedh   tjelmie-gujmie   vööjn-i-m*
        1SG.NOM   REFL.GEN   eye-COM.PL   see-PST-1SG

'I saw it with my own eyes.' [sma20190114a]e

In addition to reflexive pro-forms, South Saami has derivational suffixes with a reflexive function (see Chapter 17 on derivational morphology), which make the use of a reflexive pronoun unnecessary and which could explain the unstable use of *jijtje* as a reflexive pronoun. There is a tendency to use the reflexive pro-form uninflected, i.e. the nominative singular form *jijtje* (which is identical for all persons in the singular), which is used with plural subjects and in other cases as well. This supports an analysis that *jijtje* is not (no longer?) regularly inflected and is possibly undergoing a process of grammaticalization. See the following example (4.29):

(4.29) *mijjieh   hov   jijtje   dagkeres   faamoe-vierhkie-m*
        1PL.NOM   EMP   REFL.NOM.SG   such   power-plant-ACC.SG
        tseegk-i-mh
        build-PST-1PL

'We did build such a power plant ourselves.' [sma20170914b]

The following forms (in Table 4.12) have been attested in the data. No distinction in person was made in the use of these forms below.

Table 4.12: The reflexive pronoun *jijtje* '(one)self'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*jijtje*	*jijtje*
ACC	*jijtjemdh*	*jijtjedh*
GEN	*jijtjen*	*jijtjash*
ILL	*jijtsene*	n/a

It has proven difficult to elicit forms of the reflexive pronoun. The function of *jijtje*, the (former) nominative singular form, is expanding in use. Similar developments can be described for other pro-forms such as the relative pronoun (see below, § 4.9).

4.7   Logophoric pronoun

South Saami has a logophoric pronoun *satne*.[41] It is listed as personal pronoun in older descriptions (Bergsland, 1946, p. 101) and can be inflected for case and number. Its forms are regular; compare the paradigm of personal pronouns in § 4.2. In the data, the following forms have been attested (Table 4.13):

Table 4.13: The logophoric pronoun *satne* as attested in the data

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*satne*	*sijjieh*
GEN	*sov*	*sijjien*

The following examples (4.30) and (4.31) contrast the use of the anaphoric *dihte* and the logophoric *satne*:

(4.30)   *dihte   jeeht-i   dihte   båata*
         3SG.NOM   say-PST.3SG   3SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG

         'S/e said s/he (someone) will come.' [sma20180605d]e

(4.31)   *dihte   jeeht-i   satne   båata*
         3SG.NOM   say-PST.3SG   LOG.NOM.SG   come.PRS.3SG

         'S/he said s/he (herself/himself) will come.' [sma20180605d]e

Example (4.30) is ambivalent in the meaning that the second *dihte* could refer to anyone else, or be used anaphorically to refer back to the first *dihte*. Another strategy has been documented; instead of the logophoric pronoun *satne*, the reflexive *jijtje* can be used:

(4.32)   *dihte   jeeht-i   dihte   jijtje   vualka*
         3SG.NOM   say-PST.3SG   3SG.NOM   REFL   go.PRS.3SG

         'S/he said s/he herself/himself will go.' [sma20170923i]e

In the genitive, the pronoun has a reflexive function (similar to Swedish/Norwegian *sin/sitt/sina* 'their own'). Examples are provided below:

(4.33)   *fierhte hus-båanta   sov   fuelhkie-m*
         every   house-farmer   LOG.GEN.SG   family-AGG.SG

         dijp-i-n   meatan
         take-PST-3PL   with

         'Each man took with him his (own) family.' [sma20170924c]

[41]Compare also Ylikoski (2021, p. 120), who classifies *satne* as a logophoric pronoun.

(4.34) *dellie sov   olma-m   gaavne-me*
        then   LOG.GEN.SG   man-ACC.SG   find-PTCP

        dubpene   Amerika
        ADV.DEM.DIST.LOC   America

        'Then [she] found her (own) husband, over there in America.'

        [sma20180804g]

(4.35) *men dah   baahtj-h   dan öövre väjkele*
        but   DEM.NOM.PL   boy-NOM.PL   so   very   brave

        lin   mah   sijjien   voelpe-m
        be.PST.3PL   REL.NOM.PL   LOG.GEN.PL   friend-ACC.SG

        readtad-i-n   dedtie   bierne-ste
        save-PST-3PL   ADN.DEM.ELA.SG   bear-ELA-SG

        'But these boys they were so very brave which saved their friend
        from that bear.' [sma20180612t]

The pronoun is glossed as LOG in these examples as well, even if the use
is reflexive.

Sometimes, the form *satne* is viewed by heritage learners to be the third
person pronoun in the northern dialects of South Saami. The data do not sup-
port this view; in all examples, *satne* is used logophorically, regardless of the
dialect of the speaker.

4.8   Reciprocal pronouns

South Saami has a bipartite reciprocal pronoun *sinsitn-* 'one another, each
other'. It inflects for case but lacks a nominative form. In addition, *gaskemsh*
'between themselves, each other', is used as a reciprocal pronoun. It is not
inflected for number.

Table 4.14: The reciprocal pronoun *sinsitnie* 'each other'

GEN	*sinsitnien*
ACC	*sinsitniem*
ILL	*sinsätnan*
LOC	n/a
ELA	*sinsitneste*
COM	*sinsitnine*

Examples of the use of *sinsitn-* and *gaskemsh* are given below:

(4.36) *dah   sinsitn-ine soptsestie-n fierhte-n   biejjie-n*
       3PL.NOM   REC-COM   talk.PRS-DU each-GEN.SG day-GEN.SG
       'They [these two] talk with each other every day.' [sma20170926d]e

Note that the third person dual and plural pronouns are identical, and that *dah* in (4.36) refers to two entities, as dual verb morphology is used. The speaker in (4.36) uses a generic dual suffix *-n* in verbal inflection. This strategy has been observed amongst several speakers in my data. The suffix *-n* otherwise marks the first person dual. See a more detailed description in § 6.4.8 on the use of the dual. Instead of *sinsitnine* 'with each other', *gaskemsh* can be used:

(4.37) *dah   gaskemsh soptsest-h   fierhte-n   biejjie-n*
       3PL.NOM   REC   talk.PRS-3PL every-GEN.SG day-GEN.SG
       'They talked with each other every day.' [sma20170921d]e

(4.38) *dah   gaskemsh vuejnie-h*
       3PL.NOM   REC   see.PRS-3PL
       'They see each other.' [sma20190114a]e

(4.39) *monnah   gaskemsh laejpie-h   smååhk-i-mh*
       1DU.NOM   REC   bread-NOM.PL taste-PST-1PL
       'We ate/tasted each other's sandwiches.' [sma20190114]e

The reciproce *gaskemsh* can be segmented into a postposition *gaske* 'between' or a noun *gaske* 'gap, space in between' (Swe. *mellanrum*). The suffix *-sh* is formally identical with the collective numeral marker. A grammaticalization process from the notion "gap, space" into a reciprocal marker, however, is not known according to Kouteva *et al.* (2019).

4.9   Interrogative and relative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are also used as relative pronouns. South Saami, like other Saamic languages, can distinguish between human and non-human referents. The initial segments, /k/ for human reference and /m/ for (primarily) non-human reference, are the same as in other Saamic and Finnic languages (compare for instance (Feist, 2011, p. 348) (Skolt Saami) and (Karlsson, 2018, p. 283) (Finnish)). The pro-forms in South Saami are *gie* 'who' and *mij* 'what' and they are inflected for case and number (singular and plural), see Tables 4.15 and 4.16. The forms in parentheses are taken from other sources than the

corpus.[42] The pro-forms are glossed INT.HUM (*gie*) as interrogative pronoun with human referent and as INT (*mij*) with non-human referents, and as REL in its use as a relative pronoun. The distinction between human (*gie*) and non-human (*mij*) is made in the use as an interrogative pronoun but not as a relative pronoun. In the latter, *mij* covers both human and non-human referents.

Table 4.15: The interrogative pronoun *gie* 'who'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*gie*	*gieh, (geah)*
GEN	*gien, (gean)*	*giej, (geaj)*
ACC	*giem, (geam)*	*(giejtie)*
ILL	*(giese, gease)*	*(giejtie)*
LOC	*(giesnie)*	*(giejnie)*
ELA	*(giestie)*	*(giejstie)*
COM	*(giejnie)*	*(giejgujmie, geajgujmie)*

Table 4.16: The interrogative pronoun *mij* 'what; who'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*mij*	*mah; meh*
GEN	*man*	*maj, (mej)*
ACC	*maam*	*mejtie; maj?*
ILL	*misse*	*mejtie*
LOC	*mesnie*	*mejnie*
ELA	*mestie*	*(mejstie)*
COM	*mejnie*	*(majgujmie, mejgujmie)*

The following examples (4.40) and (4.41) illustrate the difference between *gij* and *mij* in their use as interrogative pronouns:

(4.40)   *gie*   *dihte?*
         INT.HUM.NOM.SG   DEM.NOM
         'Who is this?' [sma20170921a]e

(4.41)   *mij*   *daate?*
         INT.NOM.SG   DEM.PROX.NOM.SG
         'What is this?' [sma20170921a]e

[42]Forms not attested in the data are cited from either Magga & Magga (2012) or Bergsland (1994).

Note that much fewer forms are attested in the paradigm for *gie* than for *mij*. This imbalance can possibly be explained by the function of *mij*: As a relative pronoun, *mij* is not only used with inanimate referents, but frequently occurs with animate referents as well. See the use of *mij* as a relative pronoun which refers back to a human being in example (4.42):

(4.42)   *dihte*   *akte-m*   *aahkove-m*   *utn-ija,*
        3SG.NOM   one-ACC.SG   grandchild-ACC.SG   have-PST.3SG

        aktem   *niejte-m,*   *mij*   *aaj*   *lij*
        one-ACC.SG   girl-ACC.SG   REL.NOM.SG   also   be.PST.3SG

        seamma   *båeries*   *goh*   *manne*
        same   old   than   1SG.NOM

        'She had a grandchild, a girl, which also was the same age as me.' [sma20170923d]

No animacy distinction is made in the use of the pro-form *mij* as relative pronoun. It is therefore glossed solely REL for 'relative'. Both *gie* and *mij* agree with the subject in number, see the examples with plural subjects in (4.43) and (4.44) below:

(4.43)   *gieh*   *båetie-h?*
        INT.HUM.NOM.PL   come.PRS-3PL

        'Who are coming?' [sma20170913k]e

(4.44)   *men*   *dah*   *baahtj-h*   *dan*   *öövre*   *väjkele*   *lin*
        but   3PL.NOM   boy-NOM.PL   so   very   brave   be.PST.3PL

        mah   *sijjien*   *voelpe-m*   *readtad-i-n*
        REL.NOM.PL   LOG.GEN.PL   friend-ACC-SG   save-PST-3PL

        dedtie   *bierne-ste*
        ADN.DEM.ELA.SG   bear-ELA.SG

        'But these boys they were so very brave which saved their friend from that bear.' [sma20180612t]

However, like the reciprocal pronoun *jijtje*, the singular form *mij* occurs frequently with plural reference in the data. See examples (4.45) and (4.46) below:

(4.45)   *daah*   *Rutfjelle-n*   *maana-h*
        DEM.PROX.NOM.PL   Rutfjell-GEN.SG   child-NOM.PL

        mij   *olgene*
        REL.NOM.SG   outside

        'These are Rutfjell's chidren who are outside.' [sma20170922i]

(4.46)   *gieh*   *dah*   *mij*
            INT.HUM.NOM.PL   3PL.NOM   REL.NOM.SG

            duennie   *gåete-sne*   *hööltest-h?*
            ADN.DEM.MED.LOC   house-LOC.SG   dwell.PRS-3PL

            'Who are these which live in that house over here?' [sma20180606b]

The relative pronouns inflect for case, as the following example (4.47) demonstrates; *mij* 'what' is in the comitative which also functions to mark instrumental:

(4.47)   *jih*   *duesnie*   *akte* — *jaa* *stoerre* *sliejva*
            and   DEM.MED.LOC.SG   one — yes   big   spade

            mejnie   *maahta*   *lopme-m*   *aaj*   *gåajvedh*
            REL.COM.SG   can.PRS.3SG   snow-ACC.SG   also   dig.INF

            'And over there is a snow spade yes a big spade with which one can also dig in the snow.' [sma20170922a]

Another interrogative pro-form that is also based on the m-element is *magkere* 'what kind of'. An example is given below (4.48):

(4.48)   *magkeres*   *telefovne*   *datne*   *atnah?*
            what.kind   telephone   2SG.NOM   have.PRS.2SG

            'What kind of telephone do you have?' [sma20170508d]

4.10   Indefinite pronouns

In this section I provide an overview of the different series of indefinite pronouns in South Saami. There are many different indefinites in South Saami, and this area needs more investigation. Most indefinite pronouns can be inflected to some degree, usually for case and number, and some seem to be used mainly as modifiers. However, many of these pro-forms occur seldom in free speech and data have proven difficult to elicit. Speaker's responses to stimuli in elicitation sessions indicate that some indefinites listed in dictionaries, e.g. in Bergsland & Mattsson Magga (1993), are not (or no longer?) in use in daily, spoken language.

     The organization of this section is based on Haspelmath's approach to indefinite pro-forms and the semantic map of these (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 65ff). The idea behind the map is to distinguish between nine different functions of indefinite pronouns in the world's languages. Not all functions are formally

distinguished in a given language; overlap of uses of one pro-form is common, and an indefinite pro-form usually has some kind of "series" of uses. However, among the world's languages, these nine uses were identified to be formally distinguished from each other. Furthermore, the semantic map groups the functions of indefinites in a way that one indefinite pro-form or its series is always used for adjacent functions, i.e. for instance, a pro-form can be used for function 1, 2 and 3, but not for 1 and 3 (leaving function 2 as a "gap"). South Saami has two main series of indefinite pronouns, the *gie-* and the *mij*-series. The negative indefinites are formed with the negative auxiliary *ij* 'it.not.be' plus *gie* or *mij*. A minor series with a syntactically more restricted use is the naan-series. Some of the other uses are expressed by *gie/mij* plus other indefinites. The *gie-* ('someone') and the *mij*-series ('something') both function for the six uses 'specific known', 'specific unknown', 'irrealis', 'question', 'conditional' and 'comparative' and 7. free choice (see semantic map below). The difference between the series is human (*gie*) vs. non-human/animate referent (*mij*). The pro-forms show formal overlap with the interrogative/ relative pronouns. The naan-series ('some') functions as a modifier only. No animacy distinction is made in this series. The pro-form shows formal similarities with the Scandinavian indefinite pronoun *noe/noen* 'some' (Norwegian) and *någon/nån* 'some' (Swedish) (cf. (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 68)) and can be assumed to be a loan from these languages. The pro-forms can be placed on the semantic map (Figure 4.1) for indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath, 1997, p.65) as follows:
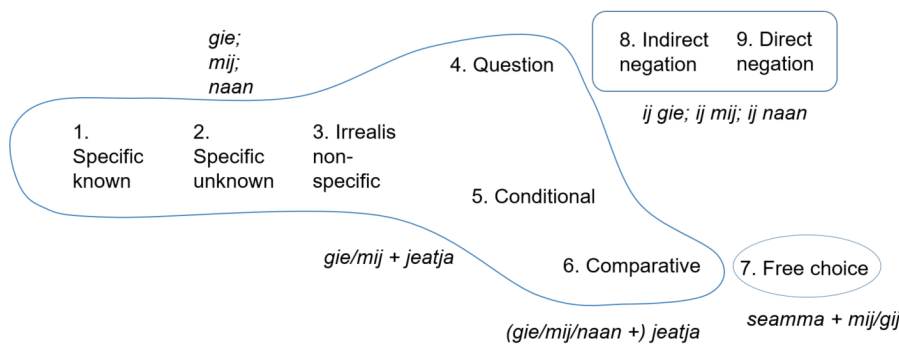
Figure 4.1: Semantic map for the indefinite pronouns.

Whereas the indefinites *gie* and *mij* are inflected for case and number, *naan* is invariable and does not agree with its head in a noun phrase. Examples for the nine different uses of the indefinite pronouns are presented below. As the semantic map indicates, there is considerable functional overlap of both *gie* 'someone' and *mij* 'something'.

120

4.10.1 Type 1 and 2: Specific known & unknown

No formal distinction between a specific known and unknown reading is made. Compare the following examples (4.49) and (4.50), the latter in which the referent is assumed to be an unknown person:

(4.49) *gie(-akt)*   *maam*   *datne*   *damt-h*
some(-one).NOM.SG   REL.ACC.SG   2SG.NOM   know.PRS-2SG

munnan   *ringk-i*
1SG.ILL   call-PST.3SG

'Someone which you know called me.' [sma20190118]e

(4.50) *gie-akt'*   *munnan*   *ringk-i*
someone.NOM.SG.-one   1SG.ILL   call-PST.3SG

'Someone [unknown] called me.' [sma20190118]e

     Instead of *gie/gie akt* 'some(one)' in example (4.50) above, the indefinite *naakene* 'some(one)' can be used. However, according to one speaker, this is not used in the southern dialects and *naakene* is viewed to belong to a standardized use of language. Cf. also Swedish *någon* 'someone'. Note that *akt(e)* 'one' is not obligatory in the phrase, exemplified in (4.49) and (4.50) above, but it is frequently used.
     The indefinite pronoun for inanimate referents is *mij* or *mij-akt'* 'something':

(4.51) *manne*   *tjoere-m*   *maam-akt'*   *dutnan*
1SG.NOM   must.PRS-1SG   something.ACC.SG-one   2SG.ILL

saarnedh
tell.INF

'I need to tell you something.' [sma20190118]e

(4.52) *jaa*   *maam*   *vielie*
yes   what.ACC.SG   more

'Well, what else [can I say].' [sma20170508d]

     The indefinite *naan* 'some' is mainly used as a modifier:

(4.53) *jih*   *naan*   *govs-h*   *utn-i-n*
and   some   cow-NOM.PL   have-PST-3PL

'And they had some cows.' [sma20171002e]

4.10.2   Type 3: Irrealis non-specific

Irrealis non-specific indefinites are formed with *gie* plus *jeatja* 'another' for human referents:

(4.54) *prööv-h   gie-m   jeatjebe-m   ringkij*
           try-IMP   someone-ACC.SG   another-ACC.SG   call.INF

           'Try to call someone else.' [sma20190121]e

For reference to a non-specific place, *jeatja* 'another' plus *lehkie* 'part, half part, place' is used:

(4.55) *vaedtjie-h jeatja   lehkan*
           go-IMP   another   place.ILL.SG

           'Go somewhere else!' [sma20190121]e

4.10.3   Type 4: Question

Indefinites in questions are expressed with *gie* (akt'), *mij* or *naan*:

(4.56) *mah   datne   giem-akt'*   *staare-sne*
           Q   2SG.NOM   somebody.ACC.SG-one   city-LOC.SG

           vööjn-i
           see-PST.3SG

           'Did you see anybody in town?' [sma20190121]e

(4.57) *mah   maam   vuajna-h*
           Q   something.ACC.SG   see.PRS-2SG

           'Do you see anything?' [sma20190121]e

(4.58) *mejtie lidie   åasteme   naan   beapmoe-b*
           Q   be.PRS.2PL   buy.PTCP   some   food-ACC.SG

           'Did you buy any food?' [sma20170920a]e

The indefinite pronoun *naan* is a modifier and may not be used as a head. It is a loan from Swedish/Norwegian *någon/noen* (where *någon/noen* may function as a head). Its typical use as 'some' is illustrated in (4.59) and its use as 'any' in (4.60).

(4.59) *aahka   aajja   hov   spidtjetje-m   utn-i-n*
           grandmother   grandfather   EMP   little.farm-ACC.SG   have-PST-PL

           jaa   naan   govs-h   jih   sirv-h   utn-i-n
           yes   some   cow-NOM.PL   and   sheep-NOM.PL   have-PST.3PL

'Grandmother and grandfather had a little farm and some cows and sheep.' [sma20171002e]

(4.60) *ijje, ij*   *leah*   *mov*   *naan aahkove*
no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG 1SG.GEN any   grandchild
man   *nomme Hilje*
REL.GEN.SG name   Eliah

'No, I don't have any grandchild by the name of Eliah.'
[sma20170926d]

Naan is not attested to take any morphological marking, and may modify heads both in plural and singular number.

4.10.4   Type 5: Conditional

(4.61) *jis gie-akt*   *viehkehte*   *dillie buer-ebe*
if   someone.NOM.SG help.PRS.3SG then   good-COM
gåarede
go.PRS.3SG

'If someone helps it will go better.' [sma20190121]e

(4.62) *luvn-i*   *gie-akt'*   *gaavne-me*
be.COND.PRS-3SG someone.NOM.SG-one exist-PTCP
mij   *maahta*   *mannem* *viehkiehtidh*
REL.NOM.SG can.PRS.3SG 1SG.ACC help.INF

'If only there was someone who can help me.' [sma20190121]e

(4.63) *jis maam-akt*   *vuajna-h*   *dle*   *saarna-h*
if   something.ACC.SG-one see.PRS-2SG then tell.PRS-2SG

'If you see anything then tell me.' [sma20190121]e

4.10.5   Type 6: Comparative

The indefinite *jeatja* 'another' is used in comparative constructions referring to places:

(4.64) *laateg-h*   *Bienjedaele-sne*   *buer-ebe*   *enn*
skiing.track-NOM.PL Funäsdalen-LOC.SG good-COMP than
jeatja   *lehke-sne*
another place-LOC.SG

'The skiing tracks in Funäsdalen are better than anywhere else.'
[sma20190121]e/f

4.10.6 Type 7: Free choice

Free choice ('anybody, anything') is expressed by a compound of *seamma* 'same' and the indefinite pronouns *gie/mij*:

(4.65) *seamma* *gie* *daam* *daajra*
        same someone.NOM.SG DEM.PROX.ACC.SG know.PRS.3SG

'Anybody knows this.' [sma20190121]e

(4.66) *seamma* *giejnie* *tjopta-h*
        same someone.COM.SG marry.PRS-3PL

'One can marry whoever [one likes].' [sma20190121]e

(4.67) *seamma* *maam* *vaeltedh*
        same something.ACC.SG take.INF

'You [can] take whichever.' [sma20190121]e

4.10.7 Type 8 & 9: Indirect and direct negation

Both indirect and direct negative indefiniteness is expressed by the negative auxiliary plus *gie*, *mij* or *naan*. They could thus possibly be described as the *ij*-series. However, as the negative auxiliary is inflected for person, number and tense, the negative indefinites are composed of two free morphemes which furthermore may occur discontinuously. The negative indefinite usually co-occurs with the connegative form of the main verb, see example (4.68) below.

(4.68) **ij** **mij** *gååvnes-h*
        NEG.AUXPRS.3SG something exist-CNG

'There exists/is nothing.' [sma20170926n]e

Sometimes, the positive form of the main verb is used, as in example (4.69) which demonstrates the use for indirect negation:

(4.69) *manne* *vienht-em* **ij** **gie**
        1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG someone.NOM.SG

dam *daajra*
DEM.ACC.SG know.PRS.3SG

'I think nobody knows it.' [sma20190121]e

An example of the discontinuous use of the direct negative indefinite pro-form is given in (4.70):

(4.70) **im**   *manne*   **maam**   *utnie-h*
NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM something.ACC.SG have-CNG
'I have nothing.' [sma20170926n]e

As mentioned above, the negative auxiliary can be inflected for tense (4.71):

(4.71) **idtji**   *gie*   *båetie-h*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG someone.NOM.SG come-CNG
'Nobody came.' [sma20190118]e

(4.72) **idtjin**   **naan** *daaroe-n-almetj-h*
NEG.AUX.PST.3PL some Scandinavian-GEN.SG-people-NOM.PL

mijjiem   *nöödt-h*
1PL.ACC   reach-CNG
'No Scandinavians reached us [there].' [sma20170924b]

The indefinite pro-form consisting of *ij* + *naan* 'not any' occurs frequently. Examples are given below:

(4.73) *ijje,* **ij**   *leah*   *mov*   **naan** *aahkove*
no NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG 1SG.GEN some grand.child

man   *nomme* *Hilje*
REL.GEN.SG name   Elias
'No, I don't have any grandchild whose name is Elias.'
[sma20170926d]

There are tendencies of an expansion in use of this pro-form, and the use is similar to *inte någon/något* 'not anything' in Swedish. However, more comparative data is necessary to describe its use.

Cross-linguistically, indefinite pronouns are usually derived from interrogative pronouns or from "generic ontological-category nouns such as 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time', 'manner'" (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 26). In South Saami, both the base *g-* and *m-* is found in interrogative pronouns and in the indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 21ff). There are also indefinite pronouns that are not related to any other form in the scheme, such as *såemies* or *muvhtie* 'some (few)'. Based on the ontological categories compiled by Haspelmath (1997, p. 29f.), the following scheme can be set up for South Saami indefinite pro-forms (Table 4.17):

Table 4.17: Ontological categories of pro-forms in South Saami.

Ontological category	Indefinite pronoun	Interrogative pronoun	Relative pronoun	Dem. pronoun
Person	*gie; naan; guhte; naakene; nåavede* 'someone'	*gie;* [*guhte?*] 'who?'	*gie*	*daate* 'this'
Thing	*naan; mij* 'something'	*mij* 'what?'	*mij* 'which'	*daate* 'this'
Property	*dagkere; dogkere* 'some kind'	*magkere* 'what kind of?'	n/a 'which kind'	n/a 'this kind'
Place	*jeatja lehkie*(?) 'somewhere'	*gubpene; gusnie* 'where?'	n/a 'where'	*dubpene* 'there'
Time	*naan aejkien* 'some time'	*gåessie* 'when?'	*goh* 'when'	*daan* 'then'
Manner	(*geesjele*) 'somehow'	*guktie; gumhtie* 'how?'	n/a 'as'	n/a 'like this'
Amount	*muvhtie; naan; gille; såemies* 'some few'	*man gellie?* 'how many, how much?'	n/a 'how much'	n/a 'this much'

Several other indefinite pronouns are listed in the scheme above which present minor series with a more restricted function. Examples of forms attested in the data are presented in the following: The property indefinite *dagkere* 'such' can be used as in (4.74):

(4.74) *beapma-h   jih   dagkeres aat-h*
       food-NOM.PL and   such   thing-NOM.PL
       'Food and such things [. . .]' [sma20170922a]

The universal indefinite pronoun is *gaajhke* 'all':

(4.75) *jih   gaajhke dah   vaerie-h   bijrejärgan*
       and   all   DEM.NOM.PL   mountain-NOM.PL   around
       '[. . .] and all these mountains around [here].' [sma20180614a]

(4.76) *dellie gaajhke-sh båetie-h*
       now   all-COLL   come.PRS-3PL
       'Now all people come.' [sma20170921a]e

South Saami does not distinguish between the indefinites 'each' and 'every':

(4.77) *fierhte hus-båanta   sov   fuelhkie-m   dijp-i-n*
       every   house-farmer   LOG.3SG family-ACC.SG   take-PST-3PL
       meatan
       with
       'Every man took with him his (own) family.' [sma20170924c]

The indefinite pronoun *mubpie/nubpie* 'other' is also used as 'second'; see § 8.2 in the chapter on numerals.

(4.78) *dihte   mov   mubpie baernie dihte   utn-i*
       3SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   other   boy   3SG.NOM   have-PST.3SG
       voelpe-m   Tysklaante-sne
       friend-ACC.SG Germany-LOC.SG
       'My other son, he had a friend in Germany.' [sma20170927c]

The indefinite *muvhte* 'some' usually refers to amounts, but it can be used for temporal reference as well in the genitive:

(4.79) *men muvhte-n   guhkiebasse   tjoejk-ij-o*
       but   some-GEN.SG   long.COM.ADV ski-PST-1PL
       'But sometimes we skied further.' [sma20180614g]

Yet another, although invariable indefinite pro-form is *såemies* 'a certain; some, a few':

(4.80) *jih   dellie   aahka   sijht-i   ahte   såemies*
        and then   grandmother want-PST.3SG that   a.certain

        dejtie   sov   daktar-ijstie   edtj-i-n   båetedh
        3PL.ELA   LOG.3SG   daughter-ELA.PL shall-PST-3PL   come.INF

        gåatan   jih   viehkiedidh
        home   and   help.INF

        'And then grandmother wanted one of her daughters to come home and help.' [sma20171002e]

The pro-form *jeatja/jeatjebe* 'another' can be used in a specific unknown context; in (4.81), the person referred to is not known to the addressee (the speaker starts in Swedish (square brackets) and switches to South Saami):

(4.81) *[nej det är]   akte jeatja   Rickarde*
        (no   it   be.PRS)   one   another Richard

        'It is another Richard.' [sma20180607a]

The pro-form *fiere guhte* 'each own's' is attested once in the data; see the following example (4.82):

(4.82) *maana-h   åadtj-i-n   fiere guhte tjiehtjele-m*
        child-NOM.PL   get-PST-3PL   each   which room-ACC.SG

        'The children got each their own room.' [sma20170926n]e

The following pro-forms were listed in the dictionary by Bergsland & Mattsson Magga (1993) and recognized by speakers, but the speakers did not provide examples in full sentences (Table 4.18):

Table 4.18: Other indefinite pro-forms

Pro-form	Gloss
måedtie	'some'
aajnes	'some'
guhte	'some (person) (of many)'
mij-gih	'whatever' (NOM)
maam-gih	'whatever' (ACC)
gåabpa	'one of two things or persons'
dihte guhte	'each and every one'
ij guhte	'no-one'
ij giehkt	'no-one'
ij guhtegh	'no-one'
ij maamkh	'nothing'
ij mejtegh	'nothing'

According to speakers, *måedtie* is used "only for inanimate, not person or animate referents". *Guhte* is "not used so much in our southern dialect.", and does not occur in spontaneous speech in the data. In *mij-gih*, "*gih* is a focus/emphatic particle and not obligatory.". *Naan aajnesh* is used as a phrase for 'some few'.

5. Nouns

The subject matter of this chapter is nouns as a word class in South Saami. The chapter is structured as follows: Section 5.1 serves as a short introduction to nouns in South Saami. The most relevant categories for nouns in South Saami are number and case marking, treated in § 5.2 and § 5.3. The count-mass distinction of nouns is addressed in § 5.2.3. Section 5.4 presents the inflectional classes of nouns and the distribution of the classes in the data. Section 5.5 deals with the function of the cases. In § 5.6, idiosyncratic behaviour of kinship terms and the associative plural are presented. (Derivational morphology is dealt with in Chapter 17.)

5.1 Introduction

Nouns form a large and open class in South Saami. Nouns inflect for number (singular and plural) and for eight cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, illative, locative, elative, comitative and essive. South Saami has no grammatical gender. Definiteness is not marked on the noun. However, in plural objects, definiteness may be expressed by case (either the nominative or accusative plural), see § 12.2.1 on Differential Object Marking. South Saami does not use possessive suffixes regularly; however, some kinship terms, especially the terms for *mother* and *father*, show idiosyncratic behaviour and can take possessive suffixes and another marker that expresses relation.

South Saami nouns consist minimally of the noun stem, which is identical with the nominative singular. An example paradigm is presented in Table 5.1. The stem (*voelpe-*) consists of the root (*voelp-*) plus a thematic vowel, which is either *e* (as in the paradigm presented in 5.1), *ie* (/iː/), *a* or *oe* (/ɔ/). Most nouns have a disyllabic stem. Trisyllabic noun stems, which all end on *e*, are less common. (Compare this to the verb classes, which end in *e*, *ie* (/iː/) or *a* and are also mostly disyllabic.)

The case markers are suffixed to the stem. The suffixes are portmanteau-suffixes which encode both case and number. The relational suffix *-be* can be combined with case suffixes; the order is stem + relational suffix + case marker.

Table 5.1: Example paradigm for nouns: *voelpe-* 'friend'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*voelpe*	*voelp-h*
ACC	*voelpe-m*	*voelp-ide*
GEN	*voelpe-n*	*voelp-i*
ILL	*voelpe-se*	*voelp-ide*
LOC	*voelpe-sne*	*voelp-ine*
ELA	*voelpe-ste*	*voelp-iste*
COM	*voelp-ine*	*voelp-igujmie*
ESS	*voelp-ine*	

5.2   Number

Nouns in South Saami distinguish two values, singular and plural. This applies to all count nouns as well as most mass nouns (for a discussion on mass nouns, see § 5.2.3). Singular refers to one entity and plural to two or more. Number systems with these two values, singular and plural, are cross-linguistically most common (Corbett, 2000, pp. 20, 39); cf. also the proposed *number hierarchy* of Greenberg (1966, p. 94).

The singular is zero-marked (that is, the noun stem represents the singular) and plural is marked with the suffix *-h*. Examples are provided in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Examples for nouns in the singular and plural

Singular		Plural	
vaerie	'mountain'	*vaerie-h*	'mountains'
näjga	'mosquito'	*näjga-h*	'mosquitos'
baakoe	'word'	*baakoe-h*	'words'
moere	'tree'	*moer-h*	'trees'
almetje	'person'	*almetj-h*	'people'
laatege	'ski track'	*laateg-h*	'ski tracks'
gaamege	'shoe'	*gaameg-h*	'shoes'

The plural forms are formed regularly for all nouns in the data. Suppletive patterns, that is, "unpredictable encoding of otherwise regular semantic or grammatical relations" (Veselinova, 2017) are not attested for nouns in the data.

5.2.1 Singular number

Singular number is zero-marked. This non-inflected form is used as a reference form for nouns in general and represents the noun stem. Examples are given in Table 5.3 below:

Table 5.3: Examples of singular forms

Noun stem/ Nom. sing.	Gloss
gärja-	'book'
aahka-	'grandmother'
moere-	'tree'
tjahke-	'mountain top'
baakoe-/baaka-	'word'
gåetie-	'house'
daelvie-	'winter'
gaamege-	'shoe'

For cases other than nominative, singular number is expressed with portmanteau suffixes that encode both number and case. An exception is the essive case; nouns in the essive do not inflect for number.

5.2.2 Plural number

Plural refers to a quantity of two or greater. The marker for the plural is *-h*, which is added to the noun stem. (Note that the subject marker for third person plural on verbs is also *-h*.) The realization of the phoneme /h/[43] is subject to variation and depends on the noun stem, the speech rate and to some degree on the phonetic environment. Examples for plural forms together with a broad phonetic transcription are given in Table 5.4.

When the plural marker is added to nouns of class II, (*ie*-stems: *daelvie-h* 'mountains'), class III (*a*-stems: *gärja-h* 'children') and class IV (*oe*-stems: *baakoe-h* 'words'), in isolated or utterance final position, it is optional: it can be realized as a glottal fricative [h], particularly in lower speech rates and in articulated speech, or it can be dropped (Ø).[44]

In cases other than the nominative, number and case are expressed with portmanteau suffixes (except the essive case). However, a segment *-i-* in the

---

[43]The plural marker *-h* originates in a Proto-Uralic plural marker **-t* (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 68)

[44]Compare Pite Saami, in which the plural suffix *-h* is described as "optional"(Wilbur, 2014, p. 93).

Table 5.4: Examples of plural forms

Noun stem	Nominative Plural	Phonetic transcr.	Gloss
gärja-	*gärja-h*	[kærja], [kærjah]	'books'
aahka-	*aahka-h*	[ɑːxka], [ɑːxkah]	'grandmothers'
moere-	*moer-h*	[moe̥r]	'trees'
tjahke-	*tjahk-h*	[ɕaxkʰ]	'mountain peaks'
baakoe-	*baakoe-h*	[pɑːkɔ], [pɑːkɔh]	'words'
gåetie-	*gåetie-h*	[koetiᵊ], [koetiᵊh]	'houses'
daelvie-	*daelvie-h*	[tælviᵊ], [tælviᵊh]	'winters'
gaamege-	*gaameg-h*	[kɑːmək ʰ]	'shoes'

suffixes represents a former plural number marking, see section *Case suffixes with the i-segment*.

Plural number plays an important role in the differential object marking (DOM) that South Saami uses, see § 12.2.1 in Chapter 12 on grammatical relations.

5.2.3   Mass nouns

Mass nouns, as opposed to count nouns, are nouns that denote entities that cannot be counted and of which a portion of it still represents the same entity (for example *milk*) (Corbett, 2000, p. 78f). Usually, mass nouns do not have plural forms (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2004b). However, languages may also use the plural form to refer to mass; example languages are Swahili and Sinhalese (Allan, 1980, p. 542) – and, as will be shown, South Saami.

Mass nouns cannot be combined with numerals or indefinite quantifiers like English *many*, but can take quantifiers like *much* or *little* (as English *mud* – ?*two muds* but *much mud*) (Wisniewski, 2010, p167). This is the formal criterion I will use to determine a mass noun.

Many languages make a grammatical distinction between mass and count nouns (Wisniewski, 2010). Information about the distinction of count and mass nouns in Saamic languages is sparse; a brief section in Wilbur's grammar of Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 82) mentions that there is no formal difference between count and mass nouns in that language. Mass nouns in South Saami can also take plural marking. However, the topic requires more discussion than that. The issue is complex and the data do not always present a coherent picture. Still, it is possible to outline several tentative generalizations.

5.2.3.1 Number marking on mass nouns

South Saami has a group of mass nouns that occur both in the singular and plural form in the data. They can combine with the quantifier *jeenje/jeene/jeenh* 'much' but not with the quantifier *gellie* 'many' nor with numerals. See the following Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Singular and plural forms of mass nouns

Singular	Plural	Gloss
tjaetjie	*tjaetjieh*	'water'
prihtjege	*prihtjegh*	'coffee'
virre	*virrh*	'blood' (human)
maelie	*maelieh*	'blood' (animal)
lopme	*lopmh*	'snow'
mielhkie	*mielkhieh*	'milk'
voeje	*voejh*	'butter'
sierke	*sierkh*	'brushwood' (small; birch or willow)
gäjhtoe	*gäjhtoeh*	'thanks'

A note on the data gathering process seems due at this point. Most of the nouns above are attested in free speech, and the language examples in this section are mainly taken from recordings of natural speech, which present stronger cases than elicited data. Elicitation, however, is important to confirm or refute a hypothesis, but in these contexts, speakers may come up with ad hoc-explanations or their intuition might be overridden by the dominant Scandinavian language. For instance, a speaker said in elicitation that she would not accept the plural of for instance *water*, but used the plural form in free speech; see example (5.1) below. Another speaker did not accept a plural form of *blood*, whereas others commented that the plural form simply indicates *a lot of* the mass. Thus, there is variation in the speaker's use of mass nouns, and between the speakers whether they accept the plural forms or not in elicitation.

This section is based on data from the corpus, and has been supplemented by elicited data from three different speakers (one northern and two southern). The examples are primarily taken from spontaneous, unplanned speech.

5.2.3.2 Function of number marking on mass nouns

In short, general masses are often referred to in the plural. The singular can also be used to yield the mass reading, but has several other functions as well. Example (5.1) has a compound (*tjaetjie-gaaldie* 'water-spring') with *water* in the singular in the first clause, and *water* in the plural in the second clause,

where it refers to the (general) mass "water":

(5.1) *mijjien*   *tjaetjie-gaaldie*   *daesnie* *gusnie*
1PL.GEN water.NOM.SG-spring.NOM.SG there   where

mijjieh   ***tjaetjie-h***   *veedtj-i-mh*
1PL.NOM water-NOM.PL take-PST-1PL

'Our water spring was there, where we took our water.' (Our water.SG spring was there, where we took water.PL.) [sma20180605c]

Another example for mass nouns in the plural to refer to the general mass is brushwood, traditionally used to be laid out as floor in a hut. See example (5.2):

(5.2) *gosse mijjieh*   *bööt-ij-o*   *Bavle-se*   *mijjieh*
when 1PL.NOM come-PST-1PL Baula-ILL.SG 1PL.NOM

gåetie-m   *jåava-j-o*   *orre* ***doerk-h***
goahti-ACC.SG clean-PST-1PL new brushwood-NOM.PL

tjuohp-ij-o
chop-PST-1PL

'When we came to Baula [place name] we cleaned the hut and we chopped new brushwood.' [sma20180605c]

General masses are often referred to with the plural form, but there are also cases in which the singular is used for the general mass, see *prihtjege* 'coffee' in example (5.3) and *lopme* 'snow' in (5.4):

(5.3) *jih* *monnah*   *aehtjie muedtie-n*   *aejkie-n*
and 1DU.NOM father some-GEN.SG time-GEN.SG

liebo   ***prihtjege-m***   *doelte-me* *daan*
be.PST.1PL coffee-ACC.SG cook-PTCP DEM.PROX.GEN.SG

gaaltije-n   *jarge*
spring-GEN.SG around

'And some times me and father have cooked coffee around this spring.' [sma20170929a]

(5.4) *jih* *duesnie*   *akte stoerre sliejva mejnie*
and DEM.MED.LOC.SG one big   spade REL.COM.SG

maahta   ***lopme-m***   *gåajvedh*
can.PRS.3SG snow-ACC.SG scoop.INF

'And over here is a big spoon with which you scoop snow.' [sma20170922a]

The singular of mass nouns, however, can also be used to refer to a **specific** mass or a portion of it. Contrast *doerkh* 'brushwood' in example (5.3) above and in (5.5) below:

(5.5) *veertj-h   ahte   dihte   **doerke***   *hijven*
       look-IMP   that   DEM.NOM.SG   brushwood.NOM.SG   good

       sjädta
       become.PRS.3SG

       'Make sure that the brushwood (SG) [in the hut] will be good.'

       [sma20200301n]

In this context, *brushwood* is used in the singular and its reading is specific and refers to a defined (portion of) brushwood. Likewise, *milk* in example (5.6) has a specific referent (and has been introduced in the previous clauses). Definiteness of the mass is marked with a demonstrative in the noun phrase in both (5.5) and (5.6).

(5.6) *aerede-n   gujht   aalk-i-b   da   lienedidn*
       morning-GEN.SG   EMP   start-PST-1SG   PTCL   warm.INF

       *dam   **mielhkie-m***
       DEM.ACC.SG   milk-ACC.SG

       'In the morning, I started warming that milk.' [that the speaker just explained had been milked the day before] [sma20180615a]

With awareness for exceptions, the following is an observable tendency in the data: plural marking can be said to entail generic/non-specific reading while the use of the singular entails individuation and specificity. **general masses** are often marked with the plural, masses with a (context-) **specific referent** are marked with the singular. The singular form may function as an individuating device. The mass can, but does not have to be, definite. Definite referents of masses can also be marked with the plural: In example (5.7), the mass 'milk' is in the plural and marked for definiteness with the demonstrative in the noun phrase:

(5.7) *så   da   majhta-m   akte-m   stoerre   kasserolle-m*
       so   then   remember.PRS-1SG   one-ACC.SG   big   pot-ACC.SG

       gujht   utn-i-bh   gusnie   man   sisnie
       PTCL   have-PST-1PL   where   REL.GEN.SG   inside

       *edtje-b   guetedh   dah   **mielhkie-h***
       shall.PRS-1SG   carry.INF   3PL.NOM   milk-NOM.PL

       'So then I remember we had a big pot in which I can carry the milk.'
       [sma20180615a]

Another function of plural marking of mass nouns is to refer to a **great quantity** of the mass in question. This could explain the use in (5.7), in which *a lot of milk* caused trouble to find containers for it. Perhaps a better translation would therefore be "[...] in which I can carry *all that milk*.".

5.2.3.3 "Mass nouns": Both count and mass

To better understand the use of mass nouns, I elicited a list with mass nouns and asked speakers whether they accept both numbers, to explain their meaning and to give examples for their use. The plural forms of the nouns in Table 5.5 above were accepted by at least one speaker in elicitation. The nouns in Table 5.6 on the other hand were considered to be grammatical in both numbers by all speakers. Some nouns have a different reading in the singular. For instance, the singular of *sohkere* 'sugar' can either refer to the mass or to a **piece** of sugar. The plural form yields a reading either as general mass, great quantity, or different kinds of the mass. As such, several of these nouns function both as mass nouns and as count nouns.

Table 5.6: Mass nouns as count nouns

Singular	gloss	Plural	gloss
beetnege	'(one) crown'	*beetneg-h*	'money'
dijnehke	'sugar; a sugar bit'	*dijnehk-h*	'sugar'; 'many s. bits'
sohkere	'sugar; a sugar bit'	*sohker-h*	'sugar'; 'many s. bits'
gullie	'(a piece of) gold'	*gullie-h*	'gold'
jaavva	'flour'	*jaavva-h*	'flour (a lot; diff.)'
voepte	'(a single) hair'	*voept-h*	'hair'
geasngese	'a juniper scrub'	*geasnges-h*	'juniper brushwood'
doerke	'brushwood' (spec.?)	*doerk-h*	'brushwood'
suejnie	'grass; one straw'	*suejnieh*	'grass'
eejhtege	'(one) parent'	*eejhteg-h*	'parents'
bearka	'meat' (a piece(?))	*bearka-h*	'meat'
beapma	'food'	*beapma-h*	'food (a lot; diff.)'
saedtie	'sand'	*saedtie-h*	'sand'
voeje	'butter'	*voej-h*	'butter' (a lot)
vaarjoe	'an outfit'	*vaarja-h*	'clothes'

It is generally accepted that a noun can be a member of both count nouns and mass nouns (Allan, 1980; Tovena, 2001). South Saami presents a case in which a group of nouns can be used both as mass and as count nouns. Mass nouns in South Saami can therefore be part of two systems and pose both as "count noun" and "mass noun". Their use is schematized in Table 5.7. As

count nouns, the singular form can refer to one item of the mass M (e.g. a sugar bit), type (e.g. one type of flour) or portion (e.g. one parent). The plural refers to many of these items. As mass nouns, the singular refers to the general mass, the plural can refer to the general mass or to a great quantity of that mass.

Table 5.7: Meanings of singular and plural forms of mass nouns

Count noun		Mass noun		Example
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
one item of M	many items of M			'money', 'hair', 'sugar'
one type of M	different types of M	mass	general mass; large quantity	'flour', 'meat'
one portion of M	several portions of M			'food', 'meat', 'brushwood'

The reading depends highly on pragmatics. Variation between the speakers can be observed, and the form and function of some mass nouns is not entirely clear. The proposed types above are not exclusive, and the system as a whole is not entirely predictable or coherent. Mass nouns in the singular have several functions. Specifically, singular may, but does not have to, function as an implicational classification (*one money* as "one crown"), and achieve some kind of countability of the mass. Furthermore, singular forms often have a specific referent.

5.2.3.4 Further examples for mass nouns

In the following, the different uses of mass nouns are further illustrated. Several of the examples below problematize the analysis above. Many times, a clear-cut translation is difficult to give, which underlines the importance of context for an accurate analysis. Example (5.8) uses the singular form of a mass noun to refer to the general mass, but as a bounded entity:

(5.8)   *desnie*   ***mielhkie-m***   *utn-i-n*   *gosse*   *buhtjie-ji-n*
        DEM.LOC.SG   milk-ACC.SG   have-PST-3PL   when   milk-PST-3PL

'In this [barrel] you had the milk when you had milked.'

[sma20170922a]

The nouns for *food* and *meat* are used in a way similar to *brushwood* in (5.2) and (5.5). However, in isolated sentences, this nuance is much less clear. Both example (5.9) and (5.10) can be translated into 'I am cutting meat', but

'meat' in (5.9) can also refer to a bounded entity, whereas it refers to the general mass (5.10):

(5.9) *manne   bearka-m   tjaape-m*
       1SG.NOM   meat-ACC.SG   cut.PRS-1SG

       'I am cutting (a piece of(?)) meat.' [sma20200219a]

(5.10) *manne   bearka-h   tjaape-m*
       1SG.NOM   meat-NOM.PL   cut.PRS-1SG

       'I am cutting meat.' [sma20200219a]

'Meat' in example (5.9) was translated into a 'piece of meat' by one speaker – but the exact difference between the singular and plural form was difficult to describe for speakers. Similarly, *gullie* 'gold' in the singular was translated into 'a piece of' the mass, see (5.11):

(5.11) *manne   gullie-m   åaste-me*
       1SG.NOM   gold-ACC.SG   buy-PTCP

       'I bought (a lump of) gold.' [sma20200219a]

Here, the singular is clearly used as an individuating device. When *food* and *meat* were used as mass nouns, a difference in terms of absolute quantity between the singular and the plural form could not be pointed out, but when asked to describe a difference, speakers explained that mass nouns in the plural refers to "more" of that mass (5.12):

(5.12) *jeenjh jaavva-h;   jeenjh beapma-h*
       much   flour-NOM.PL   much   food-NOM.PL

       'a lot of flour, a lot of food.' [sma20200219a]

Berries occur in the singular and in the plural in South Saami. Important berries are *laadtegh* 'cloudberries', *jokngh* 'lingon berries' and *sirrieh* 'blueberries'. The singular forms denote a single berry, the plural refers to '(a lot of) berries'. They can combine with numerals, and the plural form can be combined with either the mass quantifier 'much' or the count quantifier 'many' (5.13); a combination with the latter count quantifier 'many', however, is semantically less felicitous.

(5.13) *dan   gaaltije-n   bijre   jeen-h*
       DEM.GEN.SG   spring-GEN.SG   around   many-NOM.PL

       laadteg-h   gååvnes-i-n
       cloudberry-NOM.PL   exist-PST-3PL

       'Around this spring there were many cloudberries.'
       [sma20190729a]

140

South Saami has a diminutive suffix (see § 17.1.2.1). In the northern/central dialects, mass nouns are also attested with the diminutive suffix (5.14), (5.15):

(5.14) *mov   aehtjie [...] vuelnie lij   dej*
       1SG.GEN father [...] down   be.PST.3SG DEM.GEN.PL

       gaerten-i   nelnie jah doek-i   ohtje bearke-tje
       farm-GEN.PL on   and sell-PST.3SG little meat-DIM

       'My father was down to the farms and sold a little meat.'

       [sma20170927b]

(5.15) *kaffe jih dijnehk-h   jih ohtje jaavve-tje*
       coffee and sugar-NOM.PL and little flour-DIM

       'Coffee and sugar and a little flour.'

       [sma20170927b]

5.2.3.5 Mass nouns, definiteness and differential object marking

South Saami uses differential object marking, that is, the accusative plural marks direct objects that are definite, the nominative plural for indefinite objects (see § 12.2.1). In the singular, this opposition does not exist; direct objects always occur in the accusative. However, several speakers commented that they associate "definiteness" with the accusative (singular) form in the context of (5.9) and (5.11) above and (5.16) below. An analysis as *definiteness marking* might be questionable. Note that the (bilingual) speaker's comments on definiteness might be due to interference from Swedish and Norwegian, in which definiteness is marked on the noun.

(5.16) *manne   suejnie-m   tjoehpe-me*
       1SG.NOM grass-ACC.SG cut-PTCP

       'I have cut the grass.' (Swe. *Jag har skurit skohöet.*)

       [sma20200219a]e

Contrast the translation of (5.13) with (5.17):

(5.17) *manne   suejnie-h   tjoehpe-me*
       1SG.NOM grass-NOM.PL cut-PTCP

       'I have cut grass.' (Swe. *Jag har skurit gräs.*)

       [sma20200219a]e

The examples of mass nouns in the singular that provided a clear context (see (5.5) and (5.6)) indicate that *referentiality* might be a relevant feature for

the use of the singular forms. Apart from *a piece of X*, the denoted mass can also be *a set of X* that is defined in the context. See example (5.18) below, in which *vaarjoe* 'clothe' (SG) does not denote 'one piece of clothing' or 'a garment', but as a (contextually defined) 'set of clothes' or an 'outfit':

(5.18) *tseegkie-h   vaarjoe-b!*
   set.up-CNG   clothes-ACC.SG

   'Put your clothes on!' [sma20200301notes]

Again, this is an observable tendency, but not an exclusive rule. Pragmatics, the referential content of the "mass" and the conceptualization of the event, play an important role in the interpretation of number marking of mass nouns.

5.2.3.6 Mass nouns: Conclusions

In conclusion, mass nouns in South Saami can take plural morphology. A morphological distinction between count and mass nouns does not exist in the language. The same has been said of other Saamic languages. The phenomenon that mass nouns can take number marking has been attested in other languages as well; an example language is Modern Greek (Chierchia, 2010). Pluralia tantum were not found in the data. Irregular plural forms denoting a mass of a count noun, such as the Swedish *mygg* 'mosquitos' (mass) contra the count noun forms *(en) mygga* 'one mosquito' (SG) and *(flera) myggor* (PL) 'many mosquitos' have not been attested in South Saami.

A tentative analysis, based on the current data and state of knowledge, is that mass nouns in South Saami can denote both mass and a bounded entity. As such, these nouns figure both as count and as mass nouns. See (Payne, 1997, p. 41) for a general description of this use of count/mass nouns. However, the combination with numerals is not always felicitous, and they generally do not combine with count classifiers like *gellie* 'many'.

General masses can be referred to with the plural (*beapma-h* 'food', *doerk-h* 'brushwood') or with the singular (*tjaetjie* 'water', *mielhkie* 'milk'). Whether aggregates or an "individuation" of the mass as discussed in Wisniewski (2010) plays a role is hard to determine at present.

As count nouns, the singular of these nouns can function as an *implicit classification* ('a *piece* of X', e.g. *beetnege* money.SG = 'a coin'). The singular can either make the mass countable and refer to a part of that mass, or refer to a contextually defined portion of the mass. However, this is a tendency and counterexamples exist. The plural can denote either a larger quantity of the individuated portions (e.g. 'lots of coins') or different kinds (*jaavva-h* flour-NOM.PL 'different kinds of flour').

With this section I tried to shed light on a matter that has previously not received much attention in Saamic studies. At the same time, it has to be noted that the system is not always consistent. There is variation between idiolects, and even if generalizations can be made, there are exceptions to the rules.

5.2.3.7 A lot of good luck in South Saami – a little sidenote

The English word *luck* is a mass noun which does not take plural morphology; thus, we have either *good luck*, *lots of luck* or *not much luck* but not **many luck(s)*.

In South Saami, the word *lahkoe*, *lahka* or *lähka* means 'luck' and is generally used as a mass noun in the singular. You can wish someone *lähka biejjine* 'Happy birthday', literally 'luck with the day' (cf. Norwegian *til lykke med dagen*), talk about *stoerre lahkoe* 'great luck' or *jeenjh lahkoe* 'a lot of luck', or, on February 6th, the Saami National Day, you can write *lahkoe åålmege-biejjine* 'Happy Indigenous People's Day' to your Saami friends or on social media.

Interestingly, the plural form *lahkoe-h* 'luck-PL' also appears regularly in the media, often in combination with the mass quantifier 'much' in a plural form: *jeenj-h lahkoe-h*, *jijnj-h lahkoe-h*, but *lahkoeh biejjine*, literally 'lucks with the day', are all attested. This ties in well with the observations about other mass nouns.

The case of the spelling with the plural-*h* of *lahkoe* has created several debates. A general consensus in the language community is that *lahkoe biejjine* ('luck' in the singular) is more accepted. However, based on the analysis of mass nouns above, a plural form does make sense.

The plural form would, according to the analysis, simply imply 'a lot of, even more luck'. The same is true for *thanks* – *gäjhtoe* 'thanks' as well as *gyjhteles* 'thanks' has attested plural forms: *jeenjh gäjhtoe-h* and *gyjhtelass-h* is 'lots of thanks'.

5.2.4 Proper names

In South Saami, proper names are inflected for case. South Saami equivalents of Scandinavian names that end in a consonant usually end in a vowel in South Saami. Examples for names with an added vowel are given in Table 5.8 below, along with other examples of proper names.

Table 5.8: Proper names in South Saami

Proper name	Scandinavian translation or equivalent
Hilje	*Elias*
Astride	*Astrid*
Mikaele	*Mikael*
Sagka	*Sigrid*
Haandskine	*Handskinnsvålen* (place: mountain)
Röösjöe	*Rödsjön* (place: lake)
Vualtjere	*Vilhelmina* (place: town)
Bavla	*Baula* (place: hut site)

South Saami names without Scandinavian equivalent exist but are sparse. The Christianization of the Saami since the Middle Age and the discrimination of culture and language (*assimileringspolitik*, *fornorskningspolitikk*) has led to a degradation, neglect and loss of many proper names. See Frändén (2010) for a study on the topic.

5.3   Case formation

In this section, I first present the case suffixes, then I address the following issues: *syncretism* in the case paradigm and a brief historical note on the matter; the *j-element* in plural case suffixes, which reflects a former Proto-Finno-Saamic plural marker; *allomorphy* of the "long" case suffixes in the paradigm; and finally a brief *comparative note* on the case systems in Saamic languages.

There are eight cases in South Saami: two core cases (nominative and accusative) which encode the grammatical roles of subject and object, and six peripheral cases (I use the terminology used in Blake (2001)).[45] The peripheral cases include the genitive, the illative, locative and elative, the comitative and the essive. The locative and elative are primarily locational (or *spatial*, see Haspelmath (2009b)) cases. The illative (see § 5.5.4) encodes both spatial and grammatical roles (of indirect objects). The genitive, in combination with adpositions, also encodes indirect objects. A rigid line between core and non-core cases should therefore not be drawn; see e.g. Blake (2001, p. 32) for discussion on that matter. Number is distinguished for all cases except in the essive. From a typological viewpoint, eight cases are classified as a "large" inventory (Iggesen, 2013).

Cases are formed with portmanteau suffixes which mark both case and number. With the exception of the illative singular, the suffixes are generally the same for all nouns; allomorphy in the suffixes is due to phonotactic constraints. However, the thematic vowels show different behaviour in inflection. Based on that, five inflectional patterns are identified. These are called *inflectional classes* and presented in § 5.4. The function of cases is presented in § 5.5.

5.3.1   The case suffixes

The suffixes are added to the noun stem (see Table 5.9). Clear morpheme boundaries between stem and suffix are sometimes difficult to set due to vowel reduction of the thematic vowel and a few forms that trigger umlaut (see § 5.4 on noun inflection below).

The following generalizations about the suffixes can be made:

- The accusative singular *-m* shows dialectal variation; the northern dialects may also use the suffix *-b* instead of *-m*.

---

[45] Another term used for core cases are *grammatical* cases (Blake, 2001, p. 31), and another term used for peripheral cases are semantic (Blake, 2001, p. 32) or concrete cases (Jespersen, 1924, p. 185). See (Blake, 2001, p. 33) for a schematic overview and Haspelmath (2009b) for further discussion of the terminology for cases.

Table 5.9: The case suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-Ø	-h
Accusative	-m/-b	-ide/-idie
Genitive	-n	-j/-i
Illative	-n; -se/-sse	-ide/-idie
Locative	-sne/-snie	-ine/-inie
Elative	-ste/-stie	-iste/-istie
Comitative	-ine/-inie	-igujmie
Essive	-ine/-inie	

- The illative singular has two allomorphs *-se/-sse* and *-n*. This allomorphy depends on the inflectional class of the noun. Whereas the *-n* is found in other Saamic languages as well, the *-se/-sse* suffix is a reflect of an uncontracted Proto-Finno-Saamic illative marker (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 66).

- Like in all other Saamic languages, the essive does not distinguish number.

- As with subject suffixes, case suffixes have a set of "short" and "long" forms in the illative (*-se* and *-sse*), the locative (*-sne* and *-snie*; *-ine* and *-inie*), the elative (*-ste* and *-stie*; *-iste* and *-istie*) and in the comitative and essive (*-ine* and *-inie*). These allomorphs occur in different environments. See further comments in (5.3.3) below.

- The paradigm shows syncretism in several cases: the comitative singular, locative plural and essive (*-ine*), and in the accusative and illative plural (*-ide*).

Some of these points are discussed in more detail below.

5.3.2 Syncretism in the case suffixes

Whereas South Saami has eight cases and two number categories, there are fewer case *markers* or *forms* due to case syncretism. There are several instances of syncretism in the case paradigm in South Saami, which can be classified according to Baerman's typology (Baerman & Brown, 2009). South Saami shows all of the four types of syncretism that are set up:

- Type 1: "syncretism of the core cases": Plural subjects and plural direct objects can both be marked with the nominative; one form is used

for two functions. We can thus describe this as case syncretism in the system. However, plural objects can also be marked with the accusative (see DOM).

- Type 2: "syncretism of a core case with some non-core case", typically "marked" core cases such as the accusative: In South Saami, the core case accusative plural and the non-core case illative plural are syncretic.

- Type 3: "syncretism between non-core cases", which is less frequent in Baerman's sample and which in these cases implies syncretism of type 1 & 2: The comitative singular, the essive and the locative plural are syncretic.

- Type 4: "case syncretism compounded with some other feature, such as number": The comitative singular, the essive and the locative plural are syncretic.

However, with the exception of the comitative singular and the essive, syncretic forms are only found in the plural.

5.3.2.1 A brief historical note

A detailed overview of the suffixes' etymology and diachronic development in the Saamic languages is found in Sammallahti (1998, p. 66ff) and in Korhonen (1981). Here, some brief notes regarding the suffixes in South Saami are given.

The accusative plural *-ide/idie* points back to a Proto-Uralic suffix *-ta/-tä* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 215). The accusative and illative plural coincide "probably [...] due to the narrow phonological margin between the two" (Sammallahti, 1998), (Korhonen, 1981, p. 220). South Saami has kept the Proto-Finno-Saamic distinction between the locative *-sna* and elative *-sta*. The *s* in the locational suffixes reflects a former lative case element (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 66). The South Saami elative *-ste/-stie* (SG), *-iste/-istie* (PL) points back to a Proto-Finno-Saamic partitive case *-ta/tä* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 230). The incongruity between the locative singular (*-sne/-snie*) and plural (*-ine/-inie*) suggests that the plural suffix has developed from a general locative case (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 56), (Korhonen, 1981, p. 222). Similarly, the essive suffix is said to originate in a Proto-Uralic locative marker *-nA* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 227), (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 67). The comitative singular closely reflects the Proto-Finno-Saamic case marker *-jna* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 224) and is identical with the essive and the locative plural (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 67). The essive derives from a Proto-Finno-Saamic locative marker *-nA*. Historically, the essive is also related to the progressive marker *-minie* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 227).

5.3.2.2   Case suffixes with the *i*-element

All case suffixes in the plural except the nominative have an *-i-* as their first element. The genitive plural is marked either by the suffix *-j* or *-i*, depending on the inflectional class. This segment, phonologically best described as /i/, is realized as an *-i-* after consonants and as a *-j-* after vowels to avoid hiatus.

The *i*-element reflects a Proto-Uralic plural marker *-j* (Korhonen, 1981, p. 209). According to Sammallahti, both plural markers *-h* (nominative plural) and *-j* (in the oblique cases) originate in a Proto-Finno-Saamic plural marker *-t* (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 68). Korhonen on the other hand describes these two markers, *h* and *j*, as two different plural markers with a separate history (Korhonen, 1981, p. 208). I will adopt Korhonen's view here.

Reflections of the plural marker *-j* are found in all Saamic languages. Traditionally, and diachronically, this can be described as a plural marker. In descriptions of other Saamic languages, the i-element has been treated both as a segmentable plural marker (Feist, 2011) and as part of a portmanteau suffix (Wilbur, 2014, p. 94). In South Saami, from a synchronic point of view, the element is best described as a part of the suffix and not segmentable. The plural suffixes are segmented as follows (5.19):

(5.19)   *gärja-h,*   *gärja-j,*   *gärj-ide*
       book-NOM.PL,   book-GEN.PL,   book-ACC.PL
       'books, books', books.'

Furthermore, the *i*-element also occurs in the suffixes for the comitative singular and the essive (which are syncretic; both *-ine*), but do not encode plural. If described as portmanteau suffixes, the analysis avoids that a 'plural marker' also occurs in the singular. Note that the comitative singular and the essive are syncretic with the locative plural.

5.3.3   The "long" and "short" case suffixes

Like the subject markers for verbs, the case suffixes are similar for all nouns but show a set of "short" and "long" allomorphs in the illative, locative , elative and comitative. Similar to verbs, most nouns have a disyllabic stem, but trisyllabic stems exist as well. Disyllabic verb stems usually take "short" case suffixes, trisyllabic stems take "long" suffixes. There is a strong tendency that suffix pairs line up with number of syllables (cf. Ch. 3):

"short"	*-ide*	*-se*	*-sne*	*-ste*	*-ine*
"long	*-idie*	*-sse*	*-snie*	*-stie*	*-inie*

Some examples are given in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10: Examples for "long" and "short" case suffixes

Case	Suffix	Example noun	Gloss
Illative	*-se*	*maane-se*	'child-ILL.SG'
	-sse	*gaaltija-sse*	'spring-ILL.SG
Locative	*-sne*	*sijte-sne*	'site-LOC.SG'
	-snie	*tjiehtjeli-snie*	'room-LOC.SG'
Elative	*-ste*	*giedte-ste*	'reindeer.field-ELA.SG'
	-stie	*Haandskeni-stie*	'Handskinnsvålen-ELA.SG'
Accusative	*-ide*	*gärj-ide*	'book-ACC.PL'
	-idie	*gieretj-idie*	'sledge-ACC.PL'
Comitative	*-ine*	*aehtj-ine*	'father-COM.SG'
	-inie	*Mikael-inie*	'Michael-COM.SG

While this is the rule and true for almost all cases, there are exceptions to this in the data. In southern dialects, long suffixes are also attested with disyllabic noun stems. An alternative analysis would be the following: Disyllabic noun stems are more frequent and could thus be said to represent the "unmarked" form. The long suffixes would be the "original" or "underlying" suffixes, which have been shortened in some environments (i.e. in nouns with disyllabic stems). However, such an analysis would add little explanatory value, which is why it is discarded. Very few examples of trisyllabic nouns in the data that take "short" suffixes would pose counterexamples to such a description.

5.3.4 A comparative note on the case system

Similar to Ume and Pite Saami, South Saami formally distinguishes between accusative (*-m*) and genitive (*-n*). In North Saami and the eastern Saamic languages, the accusative and genitive are formally not distinct.

South Saami has three locational cases (illative *-se/-n*, locative *-sne*, elative *-ste*), as do the other western Saamic languages Ume (illative *-j/-esse/-n*, inessive *-esne*, elative *-este*), Pite (illative *-j*, inessive *-n*, elative *-st*), and Lule Saami (illative *-j*, inessive *-n*, elative *-s*). The central North Saami and other eastern Saamic languages such as Skolt (Feist, 2011, p. 138) or Kildin (Rießler, 2022) have two locational cases (illative and locative-elative).

5.4 Noun inflection classes

The data provides evidence for five different inflectional classes,[46] which are based on the thematic vowel and the number of syllables of the stem. The noun classes are mainly motivated by phonological criteria. Case suffixes are generally the same in all classes and cases, with the exception of Class II which takes a different illative suffix (*-n* instead of *-se*). An overview of the case suffixes of the five classes is given in Table 5.11. The nominative is represented by the thematic vowel.

Table 5.11: Overview of the noun classes and their case suffixes.

		Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
SG	NOM	*-e*	*-ie*	*-a*	*-oe*	*-e*
	ACC	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*	*-m*
	GEN	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*
	ILL	*-se*	*-n*	*-se*	*-se*	*-sse*
	LOC	*-sne*	*-sne*	*-sne*	*-sne*	*-snie*
	ELA	*-ste*	*-ste*	*-ste*	*-ste*	*-stie*
	COM	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-inie*
	ESS	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-jne*	*-inie*
PL	NOM	*-h*	*-h*	*-h*	*-h*	*-h*
	ACC	*-ide*	*-ide*	*-ide*	*-jde*	*-idie*
	GEN	*-i*	*-ij*	*-j*	*-j*	*-i*
	ILL	*-ide*	*-ide*	*-ide*	*-jde*	*-idie*
	LOC	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-ine*	*-jne*	*-inie*
	ELA	*-iste*	*-ijste*	*-iste*	*-jste*	*-istie*
	COM	*-igujmie*	*-igujmie*	*-jgujmie*	*-jgujmie*	*-igujmie*

Four of the five classes consist of nouns with a disyllabic stem, one class of trisyllabic stems. Four-syllabic nouns/noun stems exist as well; these are usually results of derivational operations (see Chapter 17 on word formation). Four-syllabic noun stems behave like disyllabic stems with the respective thematic vowel (usually *-a* or *-e*). Members of Class II, the second largest class, take a different illative singular suffix: *-n* instead of *-se/-sse*.[47]

---

[46]As all nouns behave similarly and generally take the same case suffixes (see above in (5.3), I will use the term *inflection* to avoid talking about *declension* classes.

[47]The following paradigms have been completed by elicitation with a speaker of the southern dialect. All case forms have been documented in the data in free speech in some nouns, but complete paradigms for a single noun need to be elicited. Whereas speakers clearly know all forms of a paradigm, they are usually less willing to produce forms that are semantically less meaningful, such as "as fish" or "in the powers".

In the following section (5.4.1), the distribution of noun types as well as loan words in the data is discussed. In sections (5.4.2) through (5.4.6), the inflectional classes of nouns are presented, in descending order according to their size.

5.4.1 Distribution in the data

Nouns that belong to different inflection classes differ in their type frequency. The distribution presented is based on a sample of roughly three hours of recordings of free speech, produced by eight different speakers. With respect to this comparatively limited sample, the following pattern emerges:

Of the 232 different nouns in the sample, about a third of all nouns inflect according to Class I (e-stems) and another third according to Class II (ie-stems). The three remaining classes make up around 13 percent each. See Table 5.12 below. Most nouns have a disyllabic stem (similar to verbs, cf. Chapter 6).

Table 5.12: Distribution of nouns according to the inflectional patterns

Class	Count	Percent	Example
I (e-stems)	76	33	*voelpe* 'friend'
II (ie-stems)	68	29	*vaerie* 'mountain'
III (a-stems)	30	13	*gärja* 'book'
IV (oe-stems)	27	12	*baakoe* 'word'
V (trisyllabic)	31	13	*laadtege* 'cloudberry'
	total: 232	100	

In the data, there is a clear preference with respect to the integration of loan words into the classes. Of 232 nouns, 54 nouns were identified as Germanic (Scandinavian) loan words, that is, 23 percent. In Class I (disyllabic e-stems) 40 percent are loan words in the data and in Class III (a-stems) 37 percent. In Class II (ie-stems), only three percent are loans. Class IV (oe-stems) also have a relatively low percentage of loan words (15%). See Table 5.13 below, which presents the classes in order of decreasing frequency:

Class II (ie-stems) shows umlaut in the illative singular, whereas Class I ("evensyllabic" e-stems) is more regular. Loan words favour a more linear and regular inflection pattern.

The percentage of loans in nouns (23 percent) is higher than in verbs (eight percent). This ties in with general observations about borrowability and borrowing hierarchies: Nouns are "much more likely to be borrowed than verbs" Tadmor *et al.* (2010), and Matras *et al.* (2007) set up the borrowing hierarchy

Table 5.13: Distribution of loan words per noun class

Class	Loans	Percent per class	Example
I (e-stems)	33 of 76	40	*bijle* 'car'
III (a-stems)	11 of 30	37	*peara* 'potato'
V (trisyllabic)	8 of 31	25	*skovhtere* 'snow mobile'
IV (oe-stems)	4 of 27	15	*gärhkoe* 'church'
II (ie-stems)	2 of 68	3	*straejmie* 'stream; power'
	total: 54		

nouns >verbs: whereas there are usually no constraints to borrow verbs, nouns are much more easily integrated.

5.4.2 Noun Class I: e-stems

Nouns with disyllabic stems that end in *-e* belong to Class I. The stem is identical with the nominative singular. The case endings are attached to the stem. The stem remains unchanged in the singular except in the comitative singular and in the essive, where the vowel is dropped. In the plural, the thematic vowel is dropped in all cases. See the following Table 5.14:

Table 5.14: Class I: e-stems. Example: *moere-* 'tree'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*moere*	*moer-h*
ACC	*moere-m*	*moer-ide*
GEN	*moere-n*	*moer-i*
ILL	*moere-se*	*moer-ide*
LOC	*moere-sne*	*moer-ine*
ELA	*moere-ste*	*moer-iste*
COM	*moer-ine*	*moer-igujmie*
ESS	*moer-ine*	

Nouns in Class I follow a regular pattern; the thematic vowel *-e* remains either unaltered or is dropped.

Other nouns that are inflected according to this pattern are for instance *aate* 'thing', *tjohpe* 'hat', *vielle* 'brother', *bovre* 'shop'. Loan words often (but not always) belong to this group as well: *bijle* 'car', *fylhke* 'province'.

5.4.3 Noun Class II: ie-stems

Nouns with disyllabic stems that end in *-ie* belong to Class II. This group of nouns differs from the other groups as it takes a different illative singular suffix *-n* instead of *-se/sse*. Thus, the genitive and illative singular are both marked with the suffix *-n*. However, whereas the genitive *-n* is simply attached to the stem, the illative *-n* triggers umlaut in this class:

Table 5.15: Class II: ie-stem. Example: *guelie-* 'fish'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*guelie*	*guelie-h*
ACC	*guelie-m*	*guel-ide*
GEN	*guelie-n*	*guel-ij*
ILL	*guala-n*	*guel-ide*
LOC	*guele-sne*	*guel-ine*
ELA	*guele-ste*	*guel-ijste*
COM	*guel-ine*	*guel-igujmie*
ESS	*guel-ine*	

In the plural, Class II shows similarities with Class I; the thematic vowel is dropped before *-i-*.

Other nouns that are inflected according to this pattern are for instance *vaerie* 'mountain', *tjidtjie* 'mother', *gåetie* 'house', *aernie* 'fire place', *biejjie* 'day; sun', *daelvie* 'winter', *buertie* 'table'.

5.4.4 Noun Class III: a-stems

Nouns with disyllabic stems that end in *-a* belong to Class III. As the following Table 5.16 shows, the case endings are suffixed to the stem (*maana-*). The stem is identical with the nominative singular. The thematic vowel *-a* changes to *-e* in the oblique cases in the singular, and it is dropped in the oblique cases in the plural. The thematic vowel is also dropped in the comitative singular and in the essive to avoid hiatus, as both case suffixes have an *i-* as their first segment.

Other nouns that are inflected according to this pattern are for instance *aahka* 'grandmother', *aajja* 'grandfather', *gärja* 'bok', *peara* 'potato'.

5.4.5 Noun Class IV: oe-stems

Nouns with disyllabic stems that end in *-oe/* southern dialects *-å* belong to Class IV. Suffixes attach to the stem both in the singular and in the plural; however, the thematic vowel is shortened in the oblique cases in the singular

Table 5.16: Class III: a-stems. Example: *maana-* 'child'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*maana*	*maana-h*
ACC	*maana-m*	*maan-ide*
GEN	*maana-n*	*maana-j*
ILL	*maane-se*	*maan-ide*
LOC	*maane-sne*	*maan-ine*
ELA	*maane-ste*	*maan-iste*
COM	*maan-ine*	*maana-jgujmie*
ESS	*maan-ine*	

and in all plural forms. The plural suffixes have /j/ and not /i/ as they follow a vowel.

Table 5.17: Class IV: oe-stems. Example: *faamoe* 'power'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*faamoe*	*faamo-h*
ACC	*faamoe-m*	*faamo-jde*
GEN	*faamoe-n*	*faamo-j*
ILL	*faamo-se*	*faamo-jde*
LOC	*faamo-sne*	*faamo-jne*
ELA	*faamo-ste*	*faamo-jste*
COM	*faamo-jne*	*faamo-jgujmie*
ESS	*faamo-jne*	

Other nouns that are inflected according to this pattern are for instance *aaltoe* 'reindeer cow', *aaloe* 'sap, juice', *baakoe* 'word', *bearkoe* 'meat', *daajroe* 'knowledge', *gaahkoe* 'cake'.

5.4.6   Noun Class V: trisyllabic stems

Nouns with a trisyllabic stem belong to Class V. All nouns in this group end in the vowel *-e*. This group of nouns takes the "long" suffixes (see § 5.3.3 above). Furthermore, the illative singular suffix shows a geminated consonant (*-sse*). This allomorphy can be explained by phonotactic restrictions (see Chapter 3 on phonology). See also the inflection of verb group 1b, which takes "long" suffixes for the 1PL and 2PL subject suffixes, and the perfect participle, which also shows gemination). In the plural, the thematic vowel is dropped.

Table 5.18: Class V: trisyllabic noun stems. Example: *gieretje* 'pulka, animal-drawn sledge'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*gieretje*	*gieretj-h*
ACC	*gieretje-m*	*gieretj-idie*
GEN	*gieretje-n*	*gieretj-i*
ILL	*gieretja-sse*	*gieretj-idie*
LOC	*gieretji-snie*	*gieretj-inie*
ELA	*gieretji-stie*	*gieretj-istie*
COM	*gieretj-inie*	*gieretj-igujmie*
ESS	*gieretj-inie*	

Examples for nouns that inflect according to this pattern are *laatege* 'ski trail', *gaamege* 'shoe', *aajege* 'born, spring', *almetje* 'human'.

In some nouns, there are vowel changes of the the second vowel *-e-* into *-a-*, as in *daktere* 'daughter' (nominative) and *daktarijstie* (elative plural).

5.5 Functions of the cases

In this section, the function of the cases is discussed and examples for their use are presented. By *case* I mean "a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads" (Blake, 2001).

5.5.1 Nominative

The grammatical subject and agent of a clause, i.e the subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses, occurs in the nominative case (NOM), as *bierne* in (5.20) and *tjidtjie* in (5.21). The nominative singular is uninflected, it represents the citation form for nouns and is identical with the noun stem.

(5.20) **bierne** *bill-i* *jih* *olkese* *vealka*
bear.NOM.SG be.scared-PST.3SG and out go.PRS.3SG
'The bear was scared and goes out.' [sma20180612t]

(5.21) **tjidtjie** *jeeht-i* *ga* *tjoehpe-m*
mother.NOM.SG say-PST.3SG shall.PRS.3SG hat-ACC.SG
gåaredh
sew.INF
'Mother said that she will sew a hat.' [sma20170923j]e

The nominative plural is frequently used to mark (plural) objects; see § 12.2.1 on differential object marking. The reading of objects in the nominative plural is generic, like *vaejsieh* 'moose' in (5.22):

(5.22) *jih* *desnie* *aehtjie* *gellieh* **vaejsie-h** *vuatje-me*
and there father.NOM.SG many elk-NOM.PL shoot-PTCP
'And father shot many elks there.' [sma20190729a]

The nominative marks the possessed in the genitive predicative possession construction (Kowalik, 2016):

(5.23) *mov* *lea* **bijle**
1SG.GEN be.PRS.3SG car.NOM.SG
'I have a car.' (Lit.: 'My is a car.') [sma20170913h]e

In clauses with numerals (all numbers/quantities), the noun is in the nominative regardless of syntactic function, as in (5.24) and (5.25).

(5.24) *jih* *desnie* *libie* *tjijhtje* **maana-h**
and there be.PRS.1PL seven child-NOM.PL
'And there we are [were] seven children.' [sma20170919a]

(5.25) *mov*   *bååarasommes* *elkie-n*   *leah*   *golme*
        1SG.GEN   old.SUP   son-GEN.SG be.PRS.3PL three

        bienj-h
        dog-NOM.PL

        'My oldest son has three dogs.' [sma20170913h]

An exception is the noun for *year*, which may be in the genitive. Age is usually indicated with the genitive, see example (5.40) in § 5.5.3 below.

5.5.2 Accusative

The direct object occurs in the accusative case (ACC) in a transitive clause (5.26):

(5.26) *jih* *tjiejtie-gåetie-m*   *aaj* *utnie-j-o*
        and   goat-house-ACC.SG also have-PST.1PL

        'And we also had a goat hutch.' [sma20180605c]

If the object is in the plural and accusative, it receives a specific reading (see § 12.2.1), see *guelide* 'the fish' in example (5.27):

(5.27) *dillie aehtjie tjahkasj-i*   *gåetie-n*   *sisnie dejtie*
        then   father sit-PST.3SG house-GEN.SG inside DEM.ACC.PL

        guel-ide   *såålht-i*
        fish-ACC.PL salt-PST.3SG

        'Then father sat in the house and salted these fish.' [sma20171002f]

In the data, plural objects marked with the accusative are less frequent (= fewer tokens) than plural objects with the nominative. Note that in example (5.27), the noun phrase 'these fish' also contains the demonstrative *dejtie* 'these'. Specificity (or definiteness?) is thus double marked in this construction, both with the accusative and with the demonstrative. Compare the Swedish and Norwegian double definite marking in e.g. *de fiskarna* 'these fish.PL.DEF' or *denne turen* 'this trip.DEF'. (Demonstratives can also be used with plural objects in the nominative.)

The complements of some verbs that usually occur in the illative can also occur in the accusative; compare (5.28) and (5.47) below:

(5.28) *Hilje Mikaele-m*   *jaahka*
        Hilje Michael-ACC.SG believe.PRS.3SG

        'Hilje believes in/trusts Michael.' [sma20180604b]e

In the northern dialects, the suffix for the accusative singular is often *-b* instead of *-m* (the *b/m-allomorphy*), as in example (5.29):

(5.29)　*manne*　　　*riepie-b*　　*vööjn-i-b*
　　　　1SG.NOM　fox-ACC.SG　see-PST-1SG
　　　　'I saw a fox.' [sma20170920e]e

The accusative is also the case used together with most prepositions, as *dåaresth* 'across' in the noun phrase *dam stoerre Trondheimsfjorden* 'the big Trondheim-fjord' in example (5.30) (The accusative is marked only on the demonstrative in that noun phrase):

(5.30)　*abpe*　*dah*　　　　*dåehkie-h*　　*voeje-h*　　　*dåaresth*
　　　　whole　DEM.NOM.PL　herd-NOM.PL　swim.PRS-3PL　across

　　　　dam　　　　*stoerre*　*Trondheimsfjorden*
　　　　DEM.ACC.SG　big　　　Trondheim.fjord
　　　　'The whole herd swims across the big Trondheim-fjord.'
　　　　[sma20170516a]

In general, there are only a few prepositions in South Saami. Sometimes the same adposition can govern both the accusative and the genitive, and can be used as both as a preposition and postposition. See Chapter 10 on adpositions for further discussion.

5.5.3　Genitive

The genitive case (GEN) marks the possessor in adnominal possession constructions and is used in adpositional clauses and temporal expressions. These functions are discussed in this order below.

5.5.3.1　Adnominal possession

Adnominal possessive constructions express "various relations by which the head's referent is identified via the possessor's referent" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2004a). Typical relations expressed are legal ownership (*the girl's house*), kinship (*the girl's mother*) and body part relations (*the girl's head*). The possessor and the possessee form one (possessive) noun phrase (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2002).

In South Saami, adnominal possession has a dependent-marking structure: The possessor is marked with the genitive, the possessed has no overt marking. In (5.31), an example of legal ownership is given. Example (5.32) expresses a kinship relation and (5.33) illustrates a body part relation. Inalienable and

alienable possession is not formally distinguished in South Saami. Examples (5.31) and (5.33) illustrate this:

(5.31) *jih dle doete   Rutfjelle-n   gåetie*
        and then DEM.MED.NOM.SG Rutfjell-GEN.SG house
        'And there is Rutfjell's house' [sma20181025a]

(5.32) *dihte   lij   aahtj-aahka-n   vielle*
        3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG father-grandmother-GEN.SG brother
        'He was (the paternal) grandmother's brother.' [sma20181025c]

(5.33) *biene-n   siejpie*
        dog-GEN.SG tail
        'The dog's tail' [sma20170516c]e

The marking of the possessor also applies for pronominal possessors, which also occurs in the genitive, illustrated in (5.34):

(5.34) *mijjien   tjaetjie-gaaldie desnie*
        1PL.GEN water-spring   DEM.LOC.SG
        'Our water spring was there.' [sma20180605c]

The examples above denote "anchoring relations" in which the noun marked with the genitive serves as identification of the head (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2004a, p. 155). The other type of relation is "non-anchoring", such as for instance MATERIAL (*gold's ring* for 'golden ring) or PURPOSE (*bread's knife* for 'bread knife') (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2004a, p. 156). In these relations, the dependent is not individualized. Most "non-anchoring relations" are not expressed with the genitive in South Saami but with compounds instead (see § 17.2 on compounds).

5.5.3.2 Genitive in adpositional phrases

The genitive is also used in most adpositional phrases, as postpositions require the genitive. An example is presented in (5.35): The postposition *sisnie* 'inside' requires the noun to occur in the genitive:

(5.35) *dihte   skoerhtj-h   utn-ija   dan*
        3SG.NOM cub-NOM.PL have-PST.3SG DEM.GEN.SG
        gaavma-n   sisnie
        den-GEN.SG inside.POSTP
        'It [the bear] had bear cubs inside that den.' [sma20180612t]

See § 10 for more examples and a detailed description of adpositions.

5.5.3.3 Temporal expressions

The quantitative relations DURATION and AGE are expressed with the genitive. In expressions like *today*, *in winter*, *in August*, *one time*, *long time*, etc., these noun phrases are in the genitive. See examples (5.36) through (5.39) below:

(5.36) *daan*   *biejjie-n*   *lea*   *mearhka jih*
        DEM.PROX.GEN.SG day-GEN.SG be.PRS.3SG fog   and
        mullie
        cloudy.weather
        'Today it is foggy and cloudy.' [sma20180614a]

The noun phrase *daan biejjien* 'today' is often contracted to *daanbien* in spoken language.

(5.37) *numhtie mijjieh*   *hööltest-i-bo*   *abpe*   *giesie-n*
        this.way 1PL.NOM dwell-PST-1PL whole summer-GEN.SG
        'We lived this way the entire summer.' [sma20180605c]

(5.38) *årroe-ji-m*   *daesnie*   *akte-n*   *daelvie-n*
        live-PST-1SG DEM.PROX.LOC.SG one-GEN.SG winter-GEN.SG
        jih   *giesie-n*
        and summer-GEN.SG
        'I lived there one winter and summer.' [sma20171002e]

(5.39) *mijjieh*   *hov* *libh*   *barre olkene abpe*
        1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL. just   outside whole
        biejjie-n   *stååkedi-bie*
        day-GEN.SG play.PRS-1PL
        'We were just outside the whole day playing.' [sma20170919a]

Age is often expressed using the genitive of *jaepie* 'year', see example (5.40):

(5.40) *dellie goh*   *manne*   *lim*   *maana*   *vijhte*
        then   when 1SG.NOM be.PST.1SG child.NOM five
        jaepie-n   *båeries*
        year-GEN.SG old
        'When I was a child, five years old' [sma20170923d]

(5.41) *gosse manne*   *luhkie-göökte jaepie-n*   *båeries*
        when 1SG.NOM ten-two   year-GEN.SG old
        'When I was twelve years old.' [sma20170922h]

5.5.4 Illative

The illative case (ILL) expresses a broad range of both syntactic and spacial relations in South Saami. The following functions are covered by the illative in South Saami: the encoding of indirect objects of three-place verbs, i.e., the recipient – often described as a "main function" of a case labelled dative (Blake, 2001, p. 6); see the discussion in § 5.5.4.1 below – illustrated in example (5.42), of a beneficiary, see example (5.43), and destination (or goal), see examples (5.44) through (5.46). Several two-place verbs mark their complement with the illative, such as (5.47).

(5.42) *manne*   ***maane-se***   *tjaste-m*   *vadtam*
      1SG.NOM child-ILL.SG ice.cream-ACC.SG give.PRS.1SG

      'I give ice cream to the child.' [sma20190723]e

(5.43) ***bovtje-se***   *hijven* *gaala*
      reindeer-ILL.SG good   coolish.summer.weather

      'For reindeer, coolish weather in summer is good.' [sma20170921b]e/f

(5.44) *dah*   *sijjien*   *maanah*   ***skovle-se***
      3PL.NOM LOG.GEN.PL child-NOM.PL school-ILL.SG

      vuelked-i-n
      drive.TRANS-PST-3PL

      'They drove their children to school.' [sma20190114b]e

(5.45) *jååktan*   *aehtje-tje* *guaktah* ***staare-se*** *vöölk-i-n*
      yesterday father-DIM two.COLL city-ILL.SG go-PST-3PL

      'Yesterday, father and his son went to town.' [sma20170915c]e

(5.46) *aehtjie* *tjidtjie* *dah*   *hov* *ussjed-i-n*   *ja*
      father   mother   3PL.NOM EMP think-PST-3PL yes

      maehte-be   *gujht* *stååante-tje-n*   *daesnie* *åarjel*
      can.PRS-1PL sure   short.time-DIM-GEN.SG here   south

      jih *dle* *vuelkedh* *bååstede* ***Sveerje-se***
      and then go.INF   back   Sweden-ILL.SG

      'Father and mother they though, well, we can stay a little bit here in the South and then go back to Sweden.' [sma20171002e]

(5.47) *Hilje* ***Mikaele-se***   *jaahka*
      Hilje Michael-ILL.SG believe.PRS.3SG

      'Hilje believes in/trusts Michael.' [sma20180604b]e

5.5.4.1 A discussion of the label *illative*

All of the functions listed above are typically covered by a case most commonly labelled **dative** (Blake, 2001, p. 142). However, the label of that case in South Saami has traditionally been *illative* in Uralic linguistics, and in fact in all other literature on South Saami.

An **illative** case (depending on the research tradition sometimes also labelled **allative**) is primarily understood as a *locational* case (Blake, 2001, p. 33), encoding spatial relations. In South Saami, however, this case encodes a number of grammatical functions (see above) that are usually ascribed prototypical functions of a **dative**, discussed in inter alia (Næss, 2009, p. 573) and (Blake, 2001, p. 142). There are, therefore, arguments in favour of a labelling as *dative* in South Saami.

In the end, labelling a case *dative* or *illative* is a plain matter of terminology, and different solutions are possible: The case in South Saami is derived from a locational case, a fact that the term *illative* reflects. On the other hand, a the label *dative* indicates the syntactic functions of the case better, and would probably be favoured from a synchronic, typological point of view. *Dative* would also better indicate that this case "straddle[s] the structural-semantic divide" (Næss, 2009, p. 573) and does not follow the dichotomy of core "grammatical" and "semantic" cases as arranged by e.g. Blake (2001, p. 33), as it is used for encoding both grammatical and spatial relations. Lastly, an *allative/illative* has been described as a source for a dative case, cf. Kouteva *et al.* (2019, p. 37).

However, I decided to keep the label *illative* for the grammatical case in this study. The reasons are pedagogic accessibility and comparability: for readers from the South Saami language community, the label is presumably easier to understand,[48] and it is easier to compare with other literature on South Saami and on other Saamic languages.

5.5.4.2 Form and function of the illative

In the remainder of this section, the form and function of the illative is further discussed.

The illative has three allomorphs: *-se* as in examples (5.42) through (5.47) above and *-sse* as in (5.48),[49] as well as *-n*, see example (5.49). As a rule,

---

[48]I know of several teachers who use the label *illative* with a witty Swedish twist: *tillative* 'to-lative', from the Swedish/Norwegian preposition till/til 'to(wards)'. This makes it easier for students to understand the function of the case.

[49]Some speakers perceive the locational suffixes as reduced and suffixed adpositions. For instance, the suffix *-se* is linked to the postposition *sijse* 'into'.

the marker *-se* is suffixed to disyllabic noun stems and the marker *-sse* to tri-syllabic (there are exceptions to this rule, on an individual and not systematic level; compare (5.47) and (5.50)). The illative marker *-n* appears with nouns of inflectional Class II (*ie*-stems) and causes umlaut of the stem.

(5.48) *så manne veedtj-i-m olkese dan*
         so 1SG.NOM walk-PST-1SG out ADN.DEM.ILL.SG

         gaaltija-sse *jih desnie tjåatja-ji-m*
         spring-ILL.SG and there stand-PST-1SG

         'So I walked out into that spring and stood there.' [sma20180605c]

(5.49) *jih dle* ***aahtjan*** ***tjaedtjan*** *saarna-ji jih gosse*
         and so father.ILL.SG mother.ILL.SG tell-PST.3SG and when

         dah ***gåatan*** *bööt-i-n*
         3PL.NOM house.ILL.SG come-PST-3PL

         'And so he told father and mother when they got home.'

         [sma20180605c]

Examples for transitive verbs that mark their complements with the illative are given in (5.50) through (5.52):

(5.50) *Hilje Mikaela-sse ussjede*
         Hilje Michael-ILL.SG think.PRS.3SG

         'Hilje is thinking of/about Michael.' [sma20180608b]e

(5.51) *Hilje Mikaele-se jeeht-i ringk-h munnjen*
         Hilje Michael-ILL.SG say-PST.3SG call-IMP 1SG.ILL

         daan iehkede-n
         DEM.PROX.GEN.SG evening-GEN.SG

         'Hilje said to Michael: Call me tonight.' [sma20180608a]e

(5.52) *klaase buartan dabran-i*
         glass table.ILL.SG get.stuck-PST.3SG

         'The glass got stuck to the table.' [sma20180611q]e

In its locational use, the dative usually expresses motion towards a goal, as in (5.53). In some constructions, however, the dative can also mark stative location, as in (5.54)

(5.53) *Hilje gåatan veedtj-i*
         Hilje house.ILL.SG go-PST.3SG

         'Hilje went home/to the house.' [sma20180604b]e

(5.54) *jih   monnah   luajte-se   liegkied-i-bo*
        and   1DU.NOM   hut.floor-ILL.SG   rest-PST-1PL

'And we two rested on the hut floor.' [sma20180605c]

As already discussed in § (5.3.2), the illative plural is syncretic with the accusative plural (*-ide*). Examples of the use of the form as illative plural are given in (5.55) and (5.56):

(5.55) *dusnie   maan-ide   beapma-h   darja-ji-n*
        DEM.PROX.LOC.SG   child-ILL.PL   food-NOM.PL   make-PST-3PL

'(This is where) they made food for the children.' [sma20181025a]

(5.56) *almetj-idie   guelie-jaevrie-h   gååvnes-h*
        human-ILL.PL   fish-lake-NOM.PL   exist.PRS-3PL

'For the people there are fishing lakes.' [sma20170924b]

The illative can express movement "towards" something or someone, but spacial postpositions are often preferred by the speakers.[50]

5.5.5 Locative

The locative case (LOC) is usually used for stative location. Examples are given in (5.57) and (5.58). This case has been labelled *inessive* in previous literature on South Saami. However, since the case has rather broad locational semantics, and since *locative* is generally understood as a broader label than *inessive*, I choose the label *locative*. The label is also found in the description of other Saamic languages (e.g. North Saami (Kahn & Valijärvi, 2017) and Skolt Saami (Feist, 2011)).

(5.57) *daennie   laante-sne   aaltoe-h*
        ADN.DEM.PROX.LOC.SG   land-LOC.SG   reindeer.cow-NOM.PL
        sööhpie-h   miesie-h   reakasuvvie-h
        calve.PRS-3PL   calve-NOM.PL   be.born.PRS-3PL

'In that land/area, the reindeer cows calve, the calves are born.'
[sma20170924b]

(5.58) *gaaloe-n   betne-sne   smaave   gierkie-h*
        ford-GEN.SG   bottom-LOC.SG   small   stone-NOM.PL

'On the ford's bottom there are small stones.' [sma20190723a]e/f

[50]There can be strong opinions among native speakers about the correct use of the locational cases. It seems to be a general opinion of both native speakers and teachers that locational cases are used 'too often' and 'incorrect' in the revitalized language.

One motion verb requires the locative, namely *minnedh* 'go, visit, take a trip'. See example (5.59):

(5.59) *dihte   buvre-sne   minn-i*
        3SG.NOM shop-LOC.SG go-PST.3SG
        'He went to the shop.' [sma20170913j]e

The locative is used with place names to refer to location, as in (5.60) and (5.61):

(5.60) *så manne   gujht reakadovve-me Mihte-sne*
        so 1SG.NOM EMP   be.born-PTCP   Mittådalen-LOC.SG
        'So I was born in Mittådalen.' [sma20170516a]

(5.61) *jih Höjvååle-sne   aaj giedtie-m*
        and Högvålen-LOC.SG also reindeer.field-ACC.SG
        utn-i-n
        have-PST-3PL
        'And they had a reindeer field in Högvålen as well.' [sma20170924g]

Wheras the locative in most uses refers to *location* in a broad and general sense, it can also be used for location *inside* a place as in (5.62):

(5.62) *jih dennie   gåete-sne   manne*
        and ADN.DEM.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG 1SG.NOM
        reakasuvvuj-i-m
        be.born-PST-1SG
        'And I was born in this house.' [sma20170914a]

However, more specific locations such as "inside" are preferably expressed with postpositions (see example (5.35)). The use of the locative with the meaning "inside" or "on(top) of something" depends also on pragmatics, as (5.63) and (5.64) demonstrates:

(5.63) *kyyle-sne   mielhkie*
        fridge-LOC.SG milk
        'There is milk **in** the fridge.' [sma20170921h]

(5.64) *peanna buerte-sne*
        pen   table-LOC.SG
        'The pen is **on** the table.' [sma20170220a]

In contrast to other Saamic languages, South Saami has no locational possessive; thus, the locative is not used in predicative possessive constructions. However, it is used to express part-whole relation and existential constructions (see § 13.5), as in (5.65) and (5.66):

(5.65) *ij*   *leah*   *tjiejtege-gåete-sne*   *naan*
       NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.cng   goat-house-LOC.SG   some

       riehpene   *dihte*   *maskas*
       smoke.hole   DEM.NOM.SG   whole
       'The goat shed does not have a smoke hole, it is whole.'
       [sma20180605c]

(5.66) *dennie*   *tjiehtjeli-snie* *göökte* *klaas-h*
       ADN.DEM.LOC.SG room-LOC.SG   two   glas-NOM.PL
       'The room has two windows/There are two windows in the room.'
       [sma20170913h]

5.5.5.1 Locative in possessive constructions

Predicative possession can be encoded with a locational possessive construction in all Saamic languages except South Saami. In such a construction, the possessor is encoded by a locational case, the possessee occurs in the nominative. A copula is generally part of the construction. An example from North Saami is presented in (5.67) (my glossing):

(5.67) **North Saami:**

       Máhtes   *leat*   *ođđa* *sabehat*
       Mathew.LOC.SG   be.PRS.3PL   new   ski.NOM.PL

       'Mathew has new skies.' (Nickel, 1990, p. 395)

In northern and eastern Saamic languages, the locational possessive is the sole[51] strategy to encode predicative possession. In Pite Saami, another western Saamic language and closely related to South Saami, locational possessive constructions are also attested. However, they are not common in Wilbur's corpus and do not occur in natural language use (Wilbur, 2014, p. 236). An example from Pite Saami is given in (5.68); the possessor is marked with the inessive, a locational case.

---

[51]In southern North Saami varieties, have-possessives are also attested (Eriksen, 2009, p. 62).

(5.68)   **Pite Saami:**

> *muvne*   *lä*   *akta*   *mánná*
> 1SG.INESS   be.3SG.PRS   one   child.NOM.SG

'I have one child.' (Wilbur, 2014, p. 236)

Inaba & Blokland and Kowalik argue for the presence of a similar construction in South Saami. Both studies point out that the construction is restricted to "inanimate possession" (Kowalik, 2016, p. 44); (Inaba & Blokland, 2019, p. 114). An example is provided in (5.69).

(5.69)   *dan*   *tjiehtjeli-snie*   *göökte*   *klaas-h*
         ADN.DEM.LOC.SG   room-LOC.SG   two   glass-NOM.PL
         'The room has two windows; There are two windows in the room.'
         (Kowalik, 2016, p. 45)

While the domain of possession is conceptually linked to location, the domains should nevertheless be kept apart Heine (1997, p. 7). Stassen (2009, p. 5) points out that possessives are perhaps a subdomain of locational constructions. The examples of inanimate possession provided in the two referred studies of South Saami are in my view better described as existential (locational) constructions. This thought is also raised by Kowalik (2016, p. 45) and expressed by Inaba & Blokland (2019, p. 114) as follows: "This type of possessive clause is formally a 'somewhere is something' locative-existential clause, and the difference between the two expressions ultimately depends on the situation and semantics." While inanimate possessive relations may be expressed with a have-possessive in languages like English, Swedish or German (*Ein Auto **hat** vier Räder* 'A car **has** four wheels'), these relations are expressed with existential constructions in South Saami (see § 13.5).

5.5.6   Elative

The elative case (ELA) is a spatial case with a variety of functions. It usually marks source or movement from a location as in (5.70) and (5.71):

(5.70)   *aahke-ste*   *libo*   *akte-n*   *ohtje*
         grandmother-ELA.SG   be.PST.1PL   one-ACC.SG   little

         näjpie-n   *lööne-me*
         knive-ACC.SG   borrow-PTCP
         'We had borrowed a little knife from grandmother.' [sma20181025b]

(The speaker in (5.70) uses final *-n* instead of *-m* as accusative marker.)

(5.71) *dihte   Sveerje-n   raedte-ste   bööt-i*
        3SG.NOM Sweden-GEN.SG side-ELA.SG come-PST.3SG

        juhtien
        move.CVB

        'She came moving from the Swedish side.' [sma20170926k]

In passive constructions, if the agent is expressed overtly, it is marked with the elative, see *aarhtseste* 'by the eagle' in (5.72):

(5.72) *miesie aarhtse-ste   tjåagke-ldh   sjidt-i*
        calf   eagle-ELA.SG take-PASS.PTCP become-PST.3SG

        'The calf gets taken by the eagle.'[sma20180611k]

In comparative constructions (§ 7.1.3.2) (5.73), the elative is used to mark the standard:

(5.73) *[mov   vielle]   [...] göökte jaepie-h   bååras-obpoe*
        1SG.GEN brother [...] two   year-NOM.PL old-COMP

        manneste
        1SG.ELA

        'My brother is two years older than me.' [sma20170919a]

The elative is used in partitive constructions as in (5.74) and (5.75). (Historically, the elative reflects a Proto-Finno-Saamic partitive, see § 5.3.2.)

(5.74) *dihte   skeelie   golme tjahta-h   peara-jste*
        3SG.NOM peel.PRS.3SG three   kilo-NOM.PL potatoe-ELA.PL

        'He peeled three kilos of potatoes.' [sma20170927g]e

(5.75) *dle akte dejstie   baern-iste   gahtja   våålese*
        then one DEM.ELA.PL boy-ELA.PL fall.PRS.3SG downwards

        jih akte-n   bierne-gaavma-n sijse gahtj-i
        and one-GEN.SG bear-den-GEN.SG into   fall-PST.3SG

        'Then one of the boys falls down into a bear's den.' [sma20180612t]

Some source relations cannot be expressed with the elative; for instance, **heelsegh manneste* 'greetings from me' is generally not accepted by speakers. Here, an adpositional phrase is preferred: *heelsegh mov luvhtie* 'greetings from me'.

5.5.7 Comitative

The comitative case (COM) is used to express *participation* in an action in a broad sense in South Saami. The comitative is used in a variety of constructions and has a wide range of functions compared to other cases. In these respects, it is different from other grammatical cases. A central function of the comitative is to express "accompaniment" (Malchukov *et al.*, 2012b, p. 602). Per definition, the comitative is used to "encode the relation between two participants in an event such that one of them is the accompanee and the other the companion[;] [a]ccompanee and companion are prototypically human beings" (Malchukov *et al.*, 2012b, p. 602). On the other hand, a case with a similar function, the instrumental, is defined as marking the "semantic role of an instrument" (Malchukov *et al.*, 2012a). The comitative can be called a "concrete non-spatial case" (Haspelmath, 2009b, p. 514). Other labels that have been used for the case are "associative', "sociative" or "accompanitive" (Haspelmath, 2009b, p. 514).

In South Saami, the comitative is used to express both accompaniment and instrumental, and both animate and inanimate nouns can be marked by this case. However, accompaniment can also be expressed with a comitative construction consisting of the comitative case and an adverb 'together'.

In the following, the primary functions of the comitative, accompaniment and instrumental, are presented and discussed. Then, other uses of the comitative in South Saami are listed. Many examples in this section are elicited, since the comitative is less frequent in spontaneous speech.

Example (5.76) is a comitative phrase and demonstrates the use of "accompaniment". Examples (5.77) and (5.78) demonstrate typical uses of the comitative as an instrumental.

(5.76)   *manne*   *edtje-b*   *staare-se*   *minnedh* *mov*
        1SG.NOM shall.PRS-1SG town-ILL.SG visit.INF 1SG.GEN
        aehtj-ine
        father-COM.SG
        'I am goingt into town with my father.' [sma20200320notes]e

(5.77)   *manne*   *näjp-ine*   *tjoehpe-b*
        1SG.NOM knife-COM.SG cut.PRS-1SG
        'I am cutting with a knife' [sma20200320notes]e

(5.78)   *manne*   *gieretj-inie* *vualka-m*   *vaaran*
        1SG.NOM pulk-COM.SG drive.PRS-1SG mountain.ILL.SG
        'I go to the mountain with a pulk.' [sma20190725]e

Comitative phrases (accompaniment of animate entities/human persons, *person A with person B*) can be expressed with the comitative, as shown in (5.76) above or in (5.79) below:

(5.79)   *manne   stååkede-minie dejnie   mov*
         1SG.NOM play-PROG   DEM.COM.SG 1SG.GEN

         voelp-ine
         friend-COM.SG

         'I am playing with my friend.' [sma20171002d]e

However, some speakers commented that they would interpret a sentence like (5.79) as "playing with my friend as a toy [rather than a companion]", compare the instrumental reading in (5.80):

(5.80)   *manne   tjööne-minie dåahk-ine*
         1SG.NOM play-PROG   doll-COM.SG

         'I am playing with a doll.' [sma20171002d]e

In this context, accompaniment, some speakers preferred a comitative construction with either the comitative or the genitive case plus an adverb 'together', as in (5.81):

(5.81)   *manne   stååkede-mine mov   voelpe-n   ektesne*
         1SG.NOM play-PROG   1SG.GEN friend-GEN.SG together

         'I am playing together with a friend.' [sma20171002d]e

Several speakers on the other hand agreed that the adverb *ektesne* 'together' is not obligatory. During elicitation, speakers commented that the adverb *ektesne* 'together' puts emphasis on the fact that two people are physically in the same place. This can be illustrated with the following example (5.82), taken from spontaneous speech:

(5.82)   *dellie lim   aehtjie-n   ektesne   daan*
         then   be.PST.1SG father-GEN.SG together DEM.PROX.GEN.SG

         voestes jaepie-n
         first   year-GEN.SG

         'Then I was together with father the first year.' [sma20171002f]

In example (5.83), the adverb *ektesne* is used to express accompaniment and the comitative is used to express instrumental:

(5.83)   *dihte*   *tuhtj-i*   *buerie* *dihte*   *Knut*
        3SG.NOM consider-PST.3SG good   3SG.NOM Knut

        Bergslaante *sov*   *gåajka* *bööt-i*   *jih*
        Bergsland   LOG.GEN.SG to   come-PST.3SG and

        dah   *ektesne* *giel-ine*   *bark-i-n*
        3PL.NOM **together** language-COM.SG work-PST-3PL

        'She thought it was good that Knut Bersland came to her and they
        worked together with the language.' [sma20170923b]

Pronouns show, with the exception of the essive, the same categories as
nouns, and can also be inflected for the comitative:

(5.84)   *dellie* *manne*   *datnine*   *sijhte-m*   *saemiestidh*
        now   1SG.NOM 2SG.COM want.PRS-1SG talk.Saami.INF

        barre   *saemiestidh*
        only   talk.Saami.INF

        'Now I want to talk Saami with you, only Saami.' [sma20180607a]

(5.85)   *jih*   *dihte*   *Nöörje-n*   *giele-m*
        and 3SG.NOM Norway-GEN.SG language-ACC.SG

        utn-ija   *jih*   *mannine*   *soptsest-i*
        use-PST.3SG and 1SG.COM talk-PST.3SG

        'And she used Norwegian and talked with me.' [sma20170923d]

The comitative plural suffix is listed as *-igujmie* in Table 5.9 above. It con-
sists of the historical plural marker *-i-* and the postposition *gujmie* 'with'. The
etymology of *gujmie* points back to a noun meaning 'companion' (Sammal-
lahti, 1998, p. 70). An example is given in (5.86):

(5.86)   *aehtjie* *hov* *giehtel-i*   *bovts-igujmie*
        father   EMP be.occupied-PST.3SG reindeer-COM.PL

        'Father worked with reindeer.' [sma20171002e]

Comitative phrases in the plural are encoded with the comitative; no addi-
tional adverb is needed (5.87):

(5.87)   *manne*   *staare-se*   *vualka-m*   *mov*
        1SG.NOM town-ILL.SG travel.PRS-1SG 1SG.GEN

        voelp-igujmie
        friend-COM.PL

        'I am going to town with my friends.' [sma20200320notes]e

The suffix *-gujmie* does not always form a phonological unit with the noun. In the recording of the following example (5.88), the noun *guel-ij* 'fish-GEN.PL' and *gujmie* form two separate phonological words:

(5.88) *jih   gosse   gööle-me   dellie   guel-ij   gujmie*
        and   when   fish-PTCP   then   fish-GEN.PL   with

         bööt-i-n
         come-PST-3PL

        'And when [someone] has fished, they came with fish.'

        [sma20170924b]

It could thus be questioned whether the comitative plural truly is a case, or rather a transparent "fused postposition" (Spencer, 2008).

As a side note, the adverb *gujmie* 'with' also occurs in combination with singular nouns, as in (5.89):

(5.89) *Hilje   ussjede   guktie   Mikaele-n   gujmie*
        Hilje   think.PRS.3SG   how   Michael-GEN.SG   with

        'Hilje is thinking how things are with Michael.' [sma20180608b]e

In the remaining part of this section, a few other uses of the comitative case are presented and discussed. In example (5.90) *mielhkie* 'milk' is marked with the comitative; it does not express instrumental but rather "accompaniment" in a broad sense:

(5.90) *datne   jovhk-h   prihtjege-m   mielhk-ine?*
        2SG.NOM   drink.PRS-2SG   coffee-ACC.SG   milk-COM.SG

        'Do you drink the coffee with milk?' [sma20170927e]e

In example (5.91), a human referent is marked with the comitative; the clause, however, does not express accompaniment. This use of the comitative could possibly reflect the Swedish and Norwegian construction *hur är det **med** honom?* 'how is he doing? or *hvordan ble det **med** det?* 'what happened to this?'.

(5.91) *jah   jeenj-h   jaepie-h   dåara-n   männgan*
        and   many-NOM.PL   year-NOM.PL   war-GEN.SG   after

         aahka   såemies   aejkie-n   funhterd-i   guktie
         grandmother   some   time-GEN.SG   think-PST.3SG   how

         sån   sjidt-i   dejnie   noere   baahtj-ine
         PTCL   become-PST.3SG   DEM.COM.SG   young   boy-COM.SG

         gåabph   amma   sjidt-i
         where   PTCL   become-PST.3SG

'And many years after the war grandmother thought how it went with
that young boy, where he got to.' [sma20170927a]

The phrase "Happy Birthday" is expressed with the comitative and can be
assumed to be a calque from Norwegian:

(5.92) *lahkoe   biejj-ine*
     luck   day-COM.SG
     'Happy birthday!' (Lit.: 'Luck with the day!' Cf. Norwegian *grat-*
     *ulerer **med** dagen*)' [sma20170913c]

A more idiomatic use of the comitative is shown in example (5.93):

(5.93) *dihte   aaj provhk-i   jeehtedh ahte*
     3SG.NOM also use.to-PST.3SG say.INF   that
     ij   daate   maahta   numhtie
     NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG DEM.PROX.NOM.SG can.PRS.3SG like.this
     jeehtedh gosse beapmo-jne
     say.INF   when food-COM.SG
     'She [mother] also used to say that you can't talk like this [Swedish]
     when it comes to food' [sma20180804g] (The speaker explained the
     use of Saami and Swedish in different domains in her family; in the
     food domain, South Saami was used.)

(Note the use of the indicative form *maahta* instead of the connegative
form *maehtieh* in negation. See § 16.2.1.2.)

5.5.8   Essive

The essive case (ESS) marks a state or a function (i.e. a temporary state), or
a result. The essive does not distinguish number, which is a trait all Saamic
languages have in common (Korhonen, 1981, p. 227). Pronouns and pro-forms
are not inflected for the essive.

Typical examples for its use are given below; the referent of (5.94) is sin-
gular and the referent of (5.95) is plural:

(5.94) *aehtjie provhk-i   giesege   Nöörje-sne   arredh*
     father   use.to-PST.3SG summer.ADV Norway-LOC.SG be.INF
     jih triengk-ine   arrij
     and farm.hand-ESS be.INF
     'Father used to be in Norway as a farm hand during summer.'
     [sma20170923d]

(5.95) *mijjieh   guess-ine orreme   Julie Axman'n   luvne*
1PL.NOM guest-ESS be.PTCP Julie Axman.GEN.SG at
'We were there as guests at Julie Axman's place.' [sma20170923d]

The state (*farm hand, guest*) is temporary. Duration of the state is not relevant. In example (5.95), the period of time is defined; in (5.94), the state is repetitive (e.g. working as a farmhand several summers or each summer), and in (5.96) below, the work as an interpreter is carried out if the occasion is given.

(5.96) *manne   tolk-ine   barka-minie*
1SG.NOM interpreter-ESS work-PROG
'I work as an interpreter.' [sma20170915d]

Beside state, the essive denotes "function", cf. the following example (5.97), which can translate into 'I work *as* a farmhand':

(5.97) *manne   triengk-ine*
1SG.NOM farmhand-ESS
'I work as a farmhand.' [sma20200301notes]

The temporality of the function is further illustrated in (5.98) by the temporal adverb *dellie* 'now':

(5.98) *dellie datne   lohketäjj-ine*
now   2SG.NOM teacher-ESS
'Now you are (in the role of) [my] teacher.' [sma20200301notes]

The essive can also express the process of becoming something, see (5.99) and (5.100). The goal of the process is marked with the essive.

(5.99) *manne   liere-m   lohketäjj-ine*
1SG.NOM learn.PRS-1SG teacher-ESS
'I am studying to become a teacher.' [sma20200301notes]

(5.100) *manne   **aehtj-ine** sjidte-m*
1SG.NOM father-ESS become.PRS-1SG
'I am becoming/will be(come) father.' [sma20200301notes]

The speaker commented on the use in (5.100) that the essive expresses the transition into the role of becoming a father, and contrasted its use with a past tense construction as in (5.101). In the past tense, this transition is completed, and the nominative is used instead:

174

(5.101) *manne* **aehtje** *sjidt-i-m*
         1SG.NOM father become-PST-1SG
         'I became a father.' [sma20200301notes]

The essive can also mark inanimate entities to express their "function":

(5.102) *manne* *daejtie* *vaarj-ide* *åtna-m* *dåvv-ine*
         1SG.NOM these clothes-ACC.PL use.PRS-1SG pillow-ESS
         'I use these clothes as a pillow.' [sma20200301notes]

For a comprehensive survey of the use and function of the essive in South Saami, see also Siegl (2017).

5.6   Idiosyncratic nouns: possessive marking and relational suffix

Kinship terms, especially the nouns for *mother* and *father*, show some idiosyncratic features in terms of their morphology. They are attested with markers that do not appear with other nouns. These markers are remnants of *possessive* marking as well as a so-called *relational suffix*.

Possessive suffixes are usually a characteristic feature of Uralic languages. In South Saami however, possessive suffixes are no longer in use in spoken language. Some nouns with possessive suffixes can be elicited, but a speaker commented that "I don't see myself using these forms that often." The attested forms are presented in Table 5.19 below and are restricted to the nominative and the first and second person nominative:

Table 5.19: Possessive suffixes

Suffix	Example	Gloss	Nominative
-me	*tjaedtje-me*	'my mother'	*tjidtjie*
(1SG.NOM)	*aahtje-me, aehtje-me*	'my father'	*aehtjie*
	vielle-me	'my brother'	*vielle*
	åabpe-me	'my sister'	*åabpa*
	aahke-me	'my grandmother'	*aahka*
	aajje-me	'my grandfather'	*aajja*
	maane-me	'my child'	*maana*
-dh	*aehtje-dh*	'your father'	*aehtjie*
(2SG.NOM)	*tjaedtje-dh*	'your mother'	*tjidtjie*

Two of very few spontaneously (albeit in an elicitation setting) produced examples of a possessive suffix in the data are the following (5.103) and (5.104)

(the possessive suffix used in (5.104) is usually used as a first person singular possessive suffix, but occurs here with third person reference):

(5.103) *guktie aehtje-dh?*
       how   father-PX.2SG
       'How is your father?' [sma20170926h]e/f

(5.104) *dihte*   *aehtje-me-n*   *plieres*
       3SG.NOM father-PX-GEN.SG like
       'He looks like his father.' [sma20170926g]e

In the data, possessive suffixes are restricted to the above listed kinship terms, Table 5.19. Possessive marking on e.g. uncle *?jööneme* 'my uncle' or *?voelpeme* 'my friend' "would sound weird" [sma20170914c]. Possessive suffixes are therefore fossilized and not productive in South Saami.

Given the limited number of types attested with possessive marking, it is more reasonable to describe possessive markers as idiosyncrasy or residual features rather than regular inflection. Therefore, from a pure synchronic perspective based on language use, the above nouns have a "possessive form" that speakers can produce, but rarely use. See also Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) on kinship terms and possessive constructions.

The other marker is the so-called relational suffix *-be*, which is identical with the comparative marker of adjectives (see § 7.1.3.1 and Ylikoski (2018)). Relational marking is a restricted phenomenon in the data and occurs almost exclusively with the terms for *mother* and *father*. In the literature, it is called "relation form" (Ylikoski, 2018) and (Norwegian) *forholdsform* ('relational form') (Bergsland, 1982, p. 110). Whereas Ylikoski and Bergsland can account for a total of four different relational forms (*-be* and *-åbpoe*; *-mes* and *-ommes* (Ylikoski, 2018, p. 6)) (all identical with the comparative and superlative suffixes), only one form (*-be*) is attested in the present data. The form on *-mes* was recognized by speakers, but I have not obtained examples for their use. The relational form *-be* is not frequent in the data in general. Most tokens (see Table 5.13) are attested in elicitation contexts. In Table 5.13, "Number of recordings" refers to the number of individual recordings/contexts of language documentation in which the suffix is attested. The relational suffix is glossed RELA and attaches to the noun stem with a shortened/altered thematic vowel (*ie* → *e*).

In the data, relational forms are more common in dialogues than in narratives or monologues. An explanation for this could be the need to organize discourse, which is greater in dialogues than in narratives. For instance, in a recording of a dialogue of a duration of about 40 minutes, *aehtjebe* was used four times.

Table 5.20: Nouns with the relational suffix

Type	Gloss	Tokens (total)	Number of recordings
aehtje-be	father-RELA	15	6
tjidtje-be	mother-RELA	6	4
baerne-be	boy-RELA	1	1
gåmme-be	wife-RELA	1	1

The form of the suffix reflects the comparative marker of adjectives, see Ylikoski (2018) and section § 7.1.3.1 in Ch. 6 Adjectives.

The function of the suffix resembles possessive marking and can also function as such – see the following example (5.105), which resembles the possessive function – but the relational suffix also covers other functions and differs in its syntactic distribution. In short, the relational form refers to the topic in the discourse.

(5.105) *Pååle jih   aehtje-be   lyjhkie-n   prihtjege-m   jovkedh*
         Paul   and   father-RELA like.PRS.DU   coffee-ACC.SG drink.INF

         'Paul and his father like to drink coffee.' [sma20170926g]

(The relational suffix and the third person singular possessive suffix differ in form; the possessive suffix is *-se*.)

Apart from the possessive use, the suffix can have the function of a wider discourse topic marker, or add "identifiability". In the following example (5.106), the relational suffix refers to a topic from earlier in the discourse. The context is the following: The speakers are talking about a child, a boy. Then, they talk about an object (a bucket and what it contains), and yet another person, a guest. After that, they mention the mother of the previously mentioned child again, using the relational suffix:[52]

(5.106) *jih   akte guessie båata   jih   tjidtje-be*
         and   one   guest   come.PRS.3SG and   mother-RELA

         laejpie-h   faarhme-sne   atna
         bread-NOM.PL arms-LOC.SG   have.PRS.3SG

         'And one guest comes and his [the boy's] mother has breads in her arms.' [sma20181025u]

Speakers also commented that they perceive a difference between the possessive and the relational form, which gives "another nuance" [sma20170926g].

---

[52]The stimuli used for these data are pictures from the *Family Problem Picture Task*, see Barth & Evans (2017b).

A syntactic difference between the possessive suffix and the relational suffix is its ability to combine with personal pronouns as in (5.107). Adding personal pronouns to possessive marking on the other hand would be redundant.

(5.107) *A: Guktie dan eejhteg-h vease-minie? B: Hijven,*
A: How 3SG.GEN parent-NOM.PL live-PROG B: good

dihte aehtje-be vaaran vöölk-i jih
3SG.NOM father-RELA mountain.ILL.SG go-PST.3SG and

tjidtje-be gåete-sne
mother-RELA house-LOC.SG

'A: How are his parents doing? B: Good, his father went to the mountains and his mother is home.' [sma20200320notes]

The example was provided by the speaker without stimulus; while speaking of other topics, she had asked me if I was aware of the form and wanted to demonstrate its use. The speaker commented that the relational suffixes are optional, but for her, they gave "clarity and make the sentence better understandable and stronger, and I think it sounds nicer; to be honest, I think they should be there".

In the following, examples for typical uses of the suffix in the data are given.

(5.108) *daate sån aehtje-be leaga enn gie*
DEM.PROX.NOM.SG PTCL father-RELA be.PRS.3SG but who

daate?
DEM.PROX.NOM.SG

'This is his [the boy's] father, but who is that?' [sma20181025t]

The relational suffix can be combined with case markers, which follow after the relational suffix (5.109):

(5.109) *guktie dov voelpe-n aehtje-be-ne?*
how 2SG.GEN friend-GEN.SG father-RELA-COM.SG

'How is your friend's father?' [sma20170926g]

The usage of the suffix with *baernie* 'boy', presented in (5.110), was attested in elicitation.

(5.110)   *Hilje   Maajj-ine   ektine,   baerne-be   ga*
          Hilje   Maja-COM.SG   together   boy-RELA   shall.PRS.3SG

          saemien   lohkij
          Saami   read.INF

          'Hilje agrees with Maaja, [their] son shall study/learn Saami.'

          [sma20180612b]

However, data on the suffix is limited, and a complete picture of its use and function cannot be accounted for here. An analysis as a "topic marker" requires more data and further investigation. It seems that the form is more frequent in dialogues between (first language) speakers. This type of data is less frequent in the corpus, for simple methodological issues.

Interestingly, second language speakers of South Saami are often fond of the suffix and use it often as a kind of "general possessive" suffix.

5.7   Associative plural

The referent of an *additive* plural form is understood as a homogeneous set, such as *gärjah* 'books'. An associative plural on the other hand designates a heterogeneous set (Corbett, 2000, p. 101) (Daniel & Moravcsik, 2013). Associative plurals are usually constructions consisting that mean "X and other people associated with X" and consist of a human referent plus another item/word. The named referent *X* is called *focal referent*, the other referents are called *associates* (Daniel & Moravcsik, 2013).

South Saami has an associative plural that is formed with plural pronouns. This seems to be restricted to proper names as focal referent, like in the following example (5.111):

(5.111)   *Edvin-en   doh*
          Edwin-GEN.SG   DEM.DIST.NOM.PL

          'Edwin and his family.' (Lit.: 'Edwin and they.' [sma20181025b]

This is in line with general observations, which show a "clear preference for associative plurals formed from proper names over kin terms over non-kin human common nouns over non-human nouns" (Daniel & Moravcsik, 2013). The associative plural in South Saami represents the type labeled 'special non-bound associative plural marker', combined with a plural pronoun; see Daniel & Moravcsik (2013).

While example (5.111) has been produced in free speech, speakers generally agree that the noun phrase should consist of a conjunction *jih* 'and' as well, e.g. *Mikaelen jih doh* 'Michael and his family'.

5.8   Noun phrase structure

In this section I offer a brief overview of the structure of a noun phrase (NP). A noun phrase consists minimally of a pronoun, as *manne* 'I ' in (5.112) or an unmodified noun, as *aehtjie* 'father' in (5.113). NPs are indicated with square brackets [NP] in the examples.

(5.112)   *[manne]   jeel-i-m   desnie*
        1SG.NOM   live-PST.1SG   there

        'I lived there.' [sma20170516a]

(5.113)   *desnie [aehtjie] gellie-h   vaejsie-h   vuatje-me*
        there   father   many-NOM.PL moose-NOM.PL shoot-PTCP

        'Father has shot many moose there.' [sma20190729a]

    Nominalized clauses (as in e.g. English *The milking of the cow*) are not attested in the corpus.

    The suffix *-sh* functions as a collective suffix or nominalizer. Like the plural suffix *-h*, it is used as a head marker on members of other word classes. Numerals, as well as some quantifiers, are attested with this suffix, illustrated in example (5.114) (numeral), (5.115) and (5.116) (quantifiers).

(5.114)   *mijjieh   hov libh   barre sleakte [mijjieh*
        1PL.NOM   EMP be.PST.1PL only   related 1PL.NOM

        tjijhtj-h]
        seven-NOM.PL

        'The seven of us were all related.' [sma20170919a]

(5.115)   *[jeene-sh]   dabpene aaj man   sijht-i-n*
        many-COLL there   also REL.GEN.SG want-PST-3PL

        triengke-m   utnedh
        farmhand-ACC.SG   have.INF

        'There (were) also many who wanted to have a farmhand.'
        [sma20171002e]

(5.116)   *[gaajhke-sh] bäjjese vaaran   juhtie-ji-n*
        all-COLL   up.to   mountain.ILL.SG move-PST-3PL

        'Everybody moved up into the mountains.' [sma20170924c]

    There are a few examples of adjectives with a head marker in the data, as in (5.117).

(5.117) *gåmma-h   maana-h   [noere-sh]   jih   båeries*
         woman-NOM.PL child-NOM.PL young-COLL and   old

         almetj-h   gaajhke-sh   bäjjese   vaaran
         human-NOM.PL   all-COLL   up.to   mountain.ILL.SG

         juhtie-ji-n
         move-PST-3PL

         'Women, children, youths and old people, all moved up into the
         mountain.' [sma20170924c]

Another alternative to segment *noeresh* is *noeres-h* 'young-NOM.PL'. How-
ever, plural marking (or the head marker *-sh*) on adjectives is only accepted
with a few adjectives; **båeriesh* 'old ones' for instance was rejected.

Any modifiers precede the head noun, like *gellieh* 'many' in the noun
phrase *gellieh vaejsieh* 'many moose' in (5.113). When several modifiers oc-
cur in the same noun phrase, the order follows the scheme in (A):

(A)	DEM	–	PX.PRON	–	QUANTIFIER OR NUMERAL	–	ADJ	–	HEAD

Usually, a noun phrase contains either a demonstrative (DEM)*or* a posses-
sive pronoun (PX.PRON), but these two modifiers are not mutually exclusive;
see example (5.118).

(5.118) *[dihte   mov   nööre-mes   jyöne]*
         DEM.NOM.SG   1SG.GEN young-SUP   mother's.brother

         gåete-sne
         house-LOC.SG

         '(As for/This) my youngest uncle, he [was] home.' [sma20171002e]

This construction and its function is discussed in detail in § 5.8.3.

5.8.1 Possessive NPs

A head may be modified by a noun, pronoun or demonstrative in the genitive,
which indicates the possessor (see also § 5.5.3 for possessive constructions).
The order of possessor and noun is POSSESSOR-NOUN. The following exam-
ple (5.119) includes a possessive noun phrase modified by a personal pronoun
(*mov maadtar-aajja* 'my great-grandfather'), a noun (*aahkan aehtjie* 'grand-
mother's father') and the suppletive pronoun *altese* (*altese gåmmine* 'with his
wife'):

(5.119) *dihte*   *[mov   maadtar-ajja]*   *[mov*
DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN great-grandfather 1SG.GEN

aahka-n   aehtjie] jih [altese   gåmm-ine]
grandmother-1SG.GEN father   and 3SG.GEN wife-COM.SG

diekie bööt-i-n   juhtie-n
hither come-PST-3PL move-CVB

'My great-grandfather, my grandmother's father, moved here with his wife.' [sma20170914a]

As illustrated in (5.119), a noun may be modified by more than one genitive (*mov aahkan aehtjie* 'my grandmother's father'; *don miesien ietnie* 'that calf's mother').

5.8.2   Numerals as modifiers in a NP

The order of a numeral and noun is NUM-NOUN in a noun phrase where the numeral acts as a determiner, as illustrated in (5.120).

(5.120) *golme baernie-h   lin   gierestalle-minie*
three boy-NOM.PL be.PST.3PL dowhill.ski-PROG

'Three boys were skiing.' [sma20180612t]

Numerals do not agree in case with the head.

5.8.3   *Dihte mov [X]* – 'This my [X]': a focus construction?

South Saami has a type of noun phrase in which both a demonstrative and a possessive pronoun co-occur as modifiers of a head noun. I call this construction 'This my [X]'. The primary functions of the construction are to introduce new referents into the discourse, or to bring an earlier referent into special focus. The construction is rather frequent, with about 30+ examples in the data of natural language. However, the results presented in this section are perhaps somewhat tentative and explorative.

The most frequent construction in the data is the combination of the neutral or anaphoric demonstrative 'this' plus the possessive pronoun in the first person singular and a human referent. This is illustrated in (5.121), in which a new referent is introduced into the discourse. The speaker tells where her children live; the existence of the children had previously not been established.

(5.121) jih **dihte** **mov** **niejte** dihte lea
     and DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN girl 3SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG

     Staare-sne
     Östersund-LOC.SG

     'And as for my daughter, she is in Östersund.' [sma20170913h]

The referent is usually human or animate, but inanimates may also take this slot, illustrated in (5.122). The function here is to focus on the narrator's 'belongings', which had been the subject earlier in the story and which have now gone missing:

(5.122) så manne mahte gahkes sjidt-i-m gosse
     so 1SG.NOM almost dumb become-PST-1SG when

     desnie *tjåatj-i-m* *'tj-i-m* *soptsestedh* *guktie*
     DEM.LOC.SG stand-PST-1SG shall-PST-1SG talk.INF when

     dah **mov** **tjåenie-h** *vååjn-i-n*
     DEM.NOM.PL 1SG.GEN thing-NOM.PL look-PST-3PL

     'So I became almost dumb when I stood there and should explain what [these] my belongings looked like.' [sma20170927c]

In the data, the following referents occur (Table 5.21):

Table 5.21: Referents in the construction *This my [X]*

fuelhkie	'family'
niejte	'daughter'
maadtar-aajja	'great-grandfather'
aahka	'grandmother'
tjidtj-aajja	'grandfather (mother's father)'
elkie	'son; married son'
maana	'child'
baernie	'son'
jyöne	'younger uncle'
voelpe	'friend'
kraana	'neighbour'
bijle	'car'
tjåenieh	'things'

The construction is a combination of an adnominal possessive construction and a demonstrative noun phrase. The demonstrative is not necessarily used anaphorically, since the referent may be new in the discourse. Further examples of the use of the construction are given in (5.123) through (5.125):

(5.123) *juo* **dihte**   *mov*   **mubpie baernie** *dihte*
yes DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN other son 3SG.NOM

utn-i   *voelpe-m*   *Tysklaante-sne*   *[i Hamburg]*
have-PST-3SG friend-ACC.SG Germany-LOC.SG [in Hamburg]

'Yes, this my other son, he had a friend in Germany in Hamburg.'
[sma20170927c]

(5.124) *dan*   *männgan dellie leah*   *barre aahka*
DEM.GEN.SG after   then be.PRS.3PL only grandmother

jih **dihte**   *mov*   **nööre-mes** *jyöne* *gåete-sne*
and DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN young-SUP uncle home-LOC.SG

'After this, only my grandmother and this my youngest uncle were
home.' [sma20171002e]

(5.125) *gosse dam*   *lim*   *peehke-minie dle*
when DEM.ACC.SG be.PST.1SG packPROG   then

dihte   *mov*   **kraanna** *bööt-i*
DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN neighbour come-PST-3SG

gihtji   *mejtie voesse-m*   *daarpesj-i-m*
ask-PST-3SG if sack-ACC.SG need.PST-1SG

'When I was packing, my neighbour came and asked whether I
needed a suitcase.' [sma20170927c]

More data is needed in order to establish the function and use of the con-
struction in more detail.

5.9   Noun-like quantifiers

There are two quantifiers which show more morphology than other quantifiers:
jeene 'much, many' and *gaajhke* 'all'. They behave similar to nouns as they
may take number and case marking. They are therefore presented here in the
noun chapter. (For the quantifiers *gellie* 'many', *fierhte* 'every, each' and *naan*
'some', see § 7.2.)

5.9.1   *Jeene* 'much, many'

The quantifier *jeene* 'much, many' is a frequent item in the data and may mod-
ify both count and mass nouns. Examples are provided in (5.126) and (5.127).

(5.126) *dusnie jeene alma-h   lijjin*
there   many human-NOM.PL be.PST.3PL
'There were many people.' [sma20181025c]

(5.127) *manne   dan jeene mujhtes-h   atna-m*
1SG.NOM so   many memory-NOM.PL have.PRS-1SG
gaalo-istie
ford-ELA.PL
'I have so many memories from fords.' [sma20190723a]e/f

The quantifier is often, but not obligatorily, marked for plural (*jeen-h* 'many-PL') and agree with the head in number. In the data, this is the most frequent pattern. This is illustrated in example (5.128):

(5.128) *dah   dan jeenj-h   kaart-h   utn-i-n*
3PL.NOM so   many-NOM.PL map-NOM.PL have-PST-3PL
gärja-h   gusnie kaart-h   lin   jeenj-h
book-NOM.PL where map-NOM.PL be.PST.3PL many-NOM.PL
kaart-h   månnoeh Pia idtibh   maam
map-NOM.PL 1DU.NOM Pia NEG.AUX.PST.1PL what.ACC.SG
gän'   utnie-h
NEG.EMP have-CNG
'They had so many maps and books in which there were many maps, me and Pia did not have any.' [sma20170927d]

The quantifier may also be used as a head as in (5.129)[53] and receive case marking as in (5.130):

(5.129) *jaa dan sån jeene så dannasinie manne   tuhtje-m*
yes so so   many so therefore 1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG
maahta   bijle jiehtij
can.PRS.3SG car   say.INF
'Yes, there are so many [of them], so therefore I think one can say *bijle* "car" [=using the loan word].' [sma20181025a]

(5.130) *jis datne   jeene-m   jovk-h   dillie jovkeds*
if 2SG.NOM much-ACC.SG drink.PRS.2SG then   drunk
sjidt-h
become.PRS-2SG
'If you drink much then you get drunk.' [sma20180611j]e/f

[53]The use here could also be considered elliptical.

This form (*jeenem*) is attested to be used adverbially, illustrated in example (5.131):

(5.131) *Julie Axmanne Knut Bergslaant-ine   bark-ija*
        Julie Axman   Knut Bergsland-COM.SG work-PST.3SG

        daejnie   giel-ine   jeene-m
        ADN.DEM.PROX.COM.SG language-COM.SG much-ACC.SG

        'Julie Axman worked together with Knut Bergsland with this language a lot.' [sma20170923c]

Jeene may also take a nominalizer suffix *-me* as in (5.132) or the numeral collective suffix *-sh* as a head (5.133).

(5.132) *mah naan jeene-me   datne   atna-h*
        Q   some more-NMLZ 2SG.NOM have.PRS-2SG

        dan   bijre jeehtij?
        DEM.GEN.SG about say.INF

        'Do you have anything more to say about this?' [sma20181025b]

(5.133) *jeene-sh   dabpene aaj man   sijht-i-n*
        many-COLL there   also REL.GEN.SG want-PST-3PL

        triengke-m   utnedh
        farmhand-ACC.SG have.INF

        'There (were) also many who wanted to have a farmhand.' [sma20171002e]

The quantifier may appear in the comparative as in (5.134):

(5.134) *gosse jeene-be   dle   doerk-h*
        when many-COMP then brushwood-NOM.PL

        'When it is more/many [(brushwood)], then (you say) brushwoods.' [sma20200902a]

5.9.2 *Gaajhke* 'all'

The collective quantifier *gaajkhe* 'all' is attested with and without the plural marker, see examples (5.135) and (5.136).

(5.135) *gaajhk-h   dah   tjuenie-h   åatj-i-n   dah*
        all-NOM.PL 3PL.NOM thing-NOM.PL get-PST-3PL 3SG.NOM

        råantja-h   guedtedh
        draft.reindeer-NOM.PL carry.INF

        'The draft reindeer got to carry all these things.' [sma20180615a]

(5.136) *aahka   gaajhke bien-h   dijp-ija   gåatan*
   grandmother all   dog-NOM.PL take-PST.3SG home

   'Grandmother took all dogs home.' [sma20181025c]

Gaajhke 'all' may also head a noun phrase and act as a noun, where it is marked for case, illustrated in example (5.137) with the accusative:

(5.137) *manne   gaajhke-m   beapmeda-mme*
   1SG.NOM   all-ACC.SG eat-PTCP

   'I have eaten everything.' [sma20200219a]

Like numerals, *gaajhke* may also take the collective suffix *-sh*. Items with this marker may function as a head, illustrated in (5.138).

(5.138) *jih gaajhke-sh bienj-h   jih tjiejt-h   utn-iji-n*
   and all-COLL   dog-NOM.PL and goat-NOM.PL have-PST-3PL

   'And all (everyone) had dogs and goats.' [sma20180605c]

6. Verbs

Verbs are typically the largest and most complex class in a language. Issues discussed here include the inventory of verb forms, the conjugational patterns that emerge from the data, and inflectional categories. The chapter has two parts: The verb **forms** are presented in the first part of the chapter (§§ 6.1–6.6), their **function** is presented in the second part (§ 6.7).

I differentiate between the inflectional categories (the verb forms) and verbal categories (their function, such as TMA-categories) typographically by writing the inflectional categories in lower case, and the functional categories in UPPER CASE.

6.1   The verb and its properties

Verbs form a large and open class in South Saami. All verbs consist of a stem and an inflectional suffix. The stem consists of a root that includes a root vowel and a thematic vowel. The root vowel is phonetically often a diphthong. A typical verb in South Saami may look like in example (6.1), with an /e/ as the thematic vowel:

(6.1)   *loh.ke.be*
        CVC.CV.CV
        'we read.'

Verbs inflect for person and for the number categories singular and plural. Dual marking exists but is neither regularly used nor obligatory.

South Saami has finite and non-finite verb forms. Verbal categories, such as various tenses can be encoded in different ways, in bound and periphrastic expressions. Finite verb forms are used for the encoding of PRESENT and PAST. Non-finite verb forms are used in periphrastic expressions that encode PERFECT, PLUPERFECT and PROGRESSIVE. The FUTURE is expressed with present tense or with modal verbs. Mood includes the indicative and imperative. Conditional forms occur only with the copula verb.

South Saami can be described as having fusional morphology in that one morpheme may encode several grammatical features. Verbs are in general agglutinative, apart from meta-phony/umlaut in especially one verb class (see

below in this chapter and Chapter 3 on phonology). Morphology is generally linear and based on suffixes. The following can be said about the distribution of verbs in the data:

- About two thirds of all verb *types* have a disyllabic stem.

- About a third of all verb types have a trisyllabic stem.

- Only three verbs in South Saami are monosyllabic (both in their stem and their finite forms); They are the copula verb (functioning as copula and as auxiliary), the negative auxiliary and a contracted form of the modal verb *galkedh* 'shall', i.e. *gam, gah, ga* (1, 2, 3SG present tense) (see § 6.6).

- Verbs with four, five and six syllables can be derived; however, these are less frequent in the data.

- Umlaut is important for one of three verb classes, which has fewer types but a high token frequency.

In contrast to other Saamic languages, South Saami has no consonant gradation/stem-internal changes of consonants. Instead, verb stems can change due to metaphony/ umlaut. This process is complex, synchronically often not transparent, and less prominent in the current data than previous sources describe (see § 3.4 in Ch. 3 on Phonology).

Transitivity is morphologically not distinguished on verbs. Verbs with the same structure can be both intransitive and transitive. However, there are transitivizing suffixes with limited productivity. See example (6.2) for an intransitive verb (*veedtsim* 'I walked') and example (6.3) for a transitive verb (*tjuahpa* 's/he chops'). Both verbs have the same structure:

(6.2) *jih   dellie veedts-i-m   bijjelen vaerie-b*
     and   then   walk-PST-1SG   over   mountain-ACC.SG

     'And then I walked over these mountains.' [sma20170919a]

(6.3) *dihte   moer-h   tjuahpa*
     3SG.NOM wood-NOM.PL chop.PRS.3SG

     'S/he chops wood.' [sma20170923a]e

Below are paradigms of these verbs, the intransitive verb *vaedtsie-/* 'walk' and the transitive verb *tjoehpe-* 'chop' (Table 6.1), in the present and the past.

Table 6.1: Paradigms of the intransitive verb *vaedtsie-* 'walk' (verb class 2) and the transitive verb *tjoehpe-* 'chop'

	Present tense			Past tense		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*vaadtsa-m*	*vaedtsie-n*	*vaedtse-be*	*veedts-i-m*	*veedts-i-men*	*veedts-i-mh*
2	*vaadtsa-h*	*vaedtse-den*	*vaedtse-de*	*veedts-i-h*	*veedts-i-den*	*veedts-i-dh*
3	*vaadtsa*	n/a	*vaedtsie-h*	*veedts-i*	n/a	*veedts-i-n*
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*tjoehpe-m*	*tjoehpie-n*	*tjoehpe-be*	*tjoehp-i-m*	*tjoehp-i-men*	*tjoehp-i-mh*
2	*tjoehp-h*	*tjoehpe-den*	*tjoehpe-de*	*tjoehp-i-h*	*tjoehp-i-den*	*tjoehp-i-dh*
3	*tjuahpa*	n/a	*tjoehpie-h*	*tjoehp-i*	n/a	*tjoehp-i-n*

In addition to the finite verb forms introduced above, South Saami uses several non-finite verb forms. These are frequent and play an important role in Saamic languages, cf. e.g. Ylikoski (2009). The forms are the *perfect participle*, the *progressive*, and the *connegative and imperative* (which are identical in form). The *converb* is restricted to a small number of verbs. It is an unproductive form and best described on a lexical level. Furthermore, there are two different forms of the *infinitive*, distinguished by different suffixes. One reflects the standard/northern form and the other the southern form (the latter is

restricted to disyllabic verbs). The non-finite verb forms for the verbs *vaedtsie-* and *tjoehpe-* are presented in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Non-finite forms of the verbs *vaedtsie-* 'walk' and *tjoehpe-* 'chop'

	vaedtsie- 'walk'	*tjoehpe-* 'chop'
Infinitive (northern)	*vaedtse-dh*	*tjoehpe-dh*
Infinitive (southern)	*vaedtj-ij*	*tjoehp-ij*
Perfect Participle	*vaadtse-me*	*tjoehpe-me*
Progressive	*vaedtsie-minie*	*tjoehpe-minie*
Connegative–Imperative	*vaedtsie-h*	*tjoehp-h*

Depending on the inflectional pattern, there can be further syncretism of the forms for the second person singular indicative and the third person plural indicative (see verb class 3). Dual and plural imperative are identical with the respective indicative forms. A detailed description of the forms follows in the sections below.

6.1.1 A short but important note on the dual

Before presenting the grouping of verbs and their forms, I need to make a brief remark on the dual verb forms. The dual category is a feature that is often associated with Saamic languages and it is a category that is often focused on in teaching and language revitalization contexts.

However, dual verb morphology is in general not used among older speakers of South Saami. This was already noted by Bergsland (1946, p. 171), and a collapse of dual number is cross-linguistically common. Many heritage speakers have a meta-linguistic awareness of this, and I have recorded comments like "we don't use these [dual] forms" several times (e.g. [sma20170508d]).

In the data, two strategies regarding the dual have emerged: a neutralization of *number* (DU = PL, i.e. plural verb morphology is used for dual reference, combined with dual pronouns) and a neutralization of *person* (one dual form, the 1DU suffix, is used for all persons in the dual). See § 6.4.8 where this matter is discussed in detail.

6.2 The basis for classification into verb inflection classes

In this section, I present a classification of the verbs attested in the data into classes based on their morphological behaviour. The basis for the classification presented here are forms of 296 different lexical verbs that are documented in the corpus. There are 768 unique forms attested in the corpus, plus another

roughly 100 allomorphic forms which are alternative forms to some of the 768 verb forms.[54] The patterns that emerge are presented below.

Current descriptions and teaching material (such as the verb handbook *Verbh* ('Verbs') by Fränsén *et al.* (2007)) for South Saami suggest a division into two "main verb groups" based on the number of syllables of the stem (roughly, disyllabic vs. trisyllabic verbs), with six respectively five "verb groups". The system presented in these works fits standardized South Saami and is valid for verbs in prescriptive language use and sources.

However, that system presented in e.g. Fränsén *et al.* (2007) does not always match the data collected in this study. Instead, a slightly different pattern emerges and a grouping into three inflectional patterns (or verb classes) is proposed.

The classification of verbs based on number of syllables has a long tradition in Saamic linguistics, but the corpus data did not show evidence for such a classification. Differences between these two "main" groups can be explained on a phonotactic level instead. All of the aforementioned six subgroups of disyllabic verbs could not be verified empirically, but three of these previously established groups matter for the present grouping. Umlaut is found primarily in one verb group. The data also contain variation and some morphological patterns that cannot be explained fully at this point.

Verb forms in South Saami are formed by attaching suffixes to a stem. The suffixes are the same for all verbs; some minor variation in the suffixes is related to phonotax and the presence of umlaut. The stems to which the suffixes attach, however, may change, depending on two parameters: umlaut patterns and phonotactic restrictions. Based on this behaviour, verbs in the data are divided into three inflectional classes (n.b. **not** conjugational classes).

Class 1 is the largest verb class. Its inflection is linear but shows vowel reduction in some forms. The class has two subgroups, one for disyllabic stems (1a) and one for trisyllabic stems (1b).

Class 2 verbs have a disyllabic stem and show umlaut in the present tense singular and in the entire past. The class is not large but contains verbs with high frequency. The thematic vowel is *-ie* but is altered in most verb forms.

Class 3 verbs have a disyllabic stem. The inflection is linear, i.e shows no umlaut. It is the smallest class but its verbs are also frequent. The thematic vowel is *-a*.

(The monosyllabic copula verb and the negative auxiliary are treated separately, see § 6.4.10.)

Examples of verbs of each class are given below in Table 6.3.

---

[54]These forms include verbs documented in spontaneous speech and in elicitation.

Table 6.3: Example verbs for the three verb inflection classes

Class	Stem	Present 1SG	Past 1SG
1(a)	*lohke-* 'read'	*lohke-m*	*lohk-i-m*
1(b)	*vaestede-* 'answer'	*vaestede-m*	*vaested-i-m*
2	*båetie-* 'come'	*båata-m*	*bööt-i-m*
3	*darja-* 'do'	*darja-m*	*darja-ji-m*

The changes in the verb stems caused by umlaut and vowel reduction sometimes make a segmentation into a stem plus suffix difficult. Therefore, morphemes in those forms that are subject to umlaut are generally not segmented in this thesis. However, in this chapter and in the following example paradigms for each verb group, the forms are segmented to better demonstrate the changes that happen in the verb stems.

The distribution of the different groups in the data is presented in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Distribution of verb groups in the data

Class	Amount	Percentage
1a	134/296	44 %
1b	94/296	32 %
2	46/296	16 %
3	22/296	8 %

Whereas Class 1 is the largest class and has the highest type frequency, verbs in the two smaller groups 2 and 3 usually have a high token frequency.[55]

Of 296 verbs, only 25 were identified as loan words, that is, around eight percent of verbs in total are loans. This can be compared to the word class of nouns, in which around 23 percent constitute loans. All loan verbs are members of Class 1; more specifically, 21 of 25 verbs belong to Class 1a and four verbs belong to Class 1b.

---

[55]N.B. that this distribution includes verbs documented both in spontaneous speech and in elicitation. However, elicited verbs did not, with very few exceptions, target any specific verb group. I therefore believe that the overall distribution is still valuable.

6.3 The verb groups

6.3.1 Subject marking

Before presenting each verb class in detail, the subject suffixes should be introduced. Whereas most suffixes are the same for all verb groups, allomorphs do exist. See Table 6.5 below for the present and past tense subject suffixes.

Table 6.5: Subject suffixes for present and past

	Present			Past		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*-m*	*-n*	*-be/-bie, -o*	*-m*	*-men*	*-mh*; -o; *-bo*
2	*-h*	(*-den*)	*-de/-die*	*-h*	*-den*	*-dh*
3	*-Ø*	(*-gan*)	*-h*	*-Ø*	(*-gan*)	*-n*

The singular suffixes (*-m*, *-h*, *-Ø*) are identical for both tenses. Plural marking is entirely different in the two tenses (*-be*, *-de*, *-h* in present tense, *-mh*, *-dh*, *-n* in past tense). The southern first person plural suffix *-o* is used in both tenses.

The dual requires a few more remarks, and is discussed in more detail in § 6.4.8. In short, dual verb morphology is in general not used in free speech by the speakers I worked with (an exception is the first person dual). The dual suffixes in parentheses are only attested in elicitation, whereas the suffixes for first person present (*-n*) and first and second person past (*-men*, *-den*) are attested in free speech. That is, third person dual forms are not attested in authentic, free speech in the data.

In the present tense, there are two suffixes listed for first and second person plural. Class 1a, 2 and 3 verbs take 1PL *-be/* 2PL *-de* and Class 1b 1PL *-bie/* 2PL *-die*. These suffixes are allomorphs which occur in different environments: Their use is triggered by the phonotactic properties; more simply put, *-be/-de* attach to disyllabic verb stems and follow thus an unstressed syllable (e.g. ˈ*ut.ne-be* 'we have'), *-bie/die* attach to trisyllabic verb stems and follow thus a syllable with a secondary stress (e.g. ˈ*ståå.ke.ˌdi-bie* 'we play'). See §§ 6.4.1 and 6.3.2.2 below.

In the past tense, there is free allomorphic variation of the marker for the first person plural (-mh/-o/-bo). However, there is an areal restriction of the suffix *-o/-bo*. Whereas the most frequent suffix is 1PL *-mh* (also used in the standard language), the suffixes *-o/-bo* are attested in southern dialects only. See § 6.4.9 on variation in the subject markers below.

6.3.2   Verb class 1: e-stems

This class is the largest and consists of verbs with the stem-final vowel -*e*. The class includes both even-syllabic and odd-syllabic (i.e. trisyllabic) verbs. Common for all verbs in this class is that the past tense stems do not show any umlaut and the stem final vowel is dropped before the past tense marker -*i*-. However, the di- and tri-syllabic verbs each form a subgroup: Whereas the stems of both subgroups show the same patterns in the inflection, the vowels in the suffixes of odd-/tri-syllabic verbs in the present tense plural are lengthened due to the phonotactic structure of a word in South Saami. Example verbs for subclass (1a) are *lohke-* 'read' and *gööle-* 'fish'; example verbs for subclass (1b) are *vaestiede-* 'answer' and *tjihtede-* 'push one's way forward'. See the paradigms in Tables 6.6, 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 below.

Table 6.6: Class 1a verb *lohke-* 'read'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*lohke-m*		*lohke-be*
	2	*lohk-h*	*lohkie-n*	*lohke-de*
	3	*låhka-Ø*		*lohkie-h*
Past	1	*lohk-i-m*	*lohk-i-men*	*lohk-i-mh*, *lohk-i-o*
	2	*lohk-i-h*		*lohk-i-dh*
	3	*lohk-i-Ø*		*lohk-i-n*
Infinitive		*lohke-dh; lohkij*		
Participle		*lohke-me*		
Progressive		*lohke-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*lohk-h*		

The thematic vowel -*e* disappears in the second person singular present tense when it meets the suffix -*h* (i.e. *lohke+h* becomes *lohkh*).

The two modal verbs *edtjedh* 'shall' and *galkedh* 'shall' belong to this verb group. However, both verbs show morphological peculiarities and are discussed in detail in § 6.6.

Verbs that originate in Scandinavian loans, as well as newer loanwords, are usually inflected according to this inflectional pattern (usually 1a). Example verbs are *provhke-* 'use to' (Swe/Nor *bruka/bruke*), *skeele-* 'peel' (Swe/Nor *skala/skrelle*), *bigke-* 'built' (Swe/Nor *bygga/bygge*), *tuhtje-* 'think, consider' (Swe *tycka*), *lyjhke-* 'like' (Nor *like*), *rååke-* 'meet' (Swe/Nor *råka/råke*). The other pattern, 1b, is less usual but occurs as well: *heannede-* 'happen', cf. Swe/Nor *hända/hende*.

Verbs of subclass 1b can be shortened by syncope; the coda of the second syllable is omitted. For instance, the verb *sop.tses.tidh* 'talk' is contracted to

Table 6.7: Class 1a verb *gööle-* 'fish'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*gööle-m*		*gööle-be*
	2	*gööl-h*	*göölie-n*	*gööle-de*
	3	*göölie-Ø*		*göölie-h*
Past	1	*gööl-i-m*	*gööl-i-men*	*gööl-i-mh,* *gööli-ji-bo*
	2	*gööl-i-h*	*gööl-i-dh*	
	3	*gööl-i-Ø*	*gööl-i-n*	
Infinitive		*gööle-dh; göölij*		
Participle		*gööle-me*		
Progressive		*gööle-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*gööl-h*		

Table 6.8: Class 1b verb *vaestede-* 'answer'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*vaestede-m*		*vaestiedi-bie*
	2	*vaested-h*	*vaestiedie-n*	*vaestiedi-die*
	3	*vaestede-Ø*		*vaestiedie-h*
Past	1	*vaestied-i-m*	*vaestied-i-men*	*vaestied-i-mh*
	2	*vaestied-i-h*	*vaestied-i-dh*	
	3	*vaestied-i-Ø*	*vaestied-i-n*	
Infinitive		*vaestiedi-dh*		
Participle		*vaestieda-mme*		
Progressive		*vaestede-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*vaested-h*		

soptstidh [sopts.tit], i.e. *-es-* disappears (the nucleus and coda of the second syllable).

6.3.2.1 Class 1a: disyllabic e-stems

Subclass 1a consists of disyllabic verbs with the thematic vowel *-e*. As the example verbs *lohke-* and *gööle-* demonstrate, some differences within the class are found in the third person singular present tense.

The third person singular is generally zero-marked (= the verb stem). Verbs with a front vowel such as /i/, /e/, /ø/ in the root take the third person singular suffix *-ie*. Verbs with a back vowel such as /u/, /o/, /a/ in the root take the third person singular suffix *-a/-oe*, and thus show an umlaut pattern. The process

Table 6.9: Class 1b verb *tjihtede-* 'push oneself forward'

		Singular	Plural
Present	1	*tjihtede-m*	*tjihtedi-bie*
	2	*tjihted-h*	*tjihtedi-die*
	3	*tjihtede-Ø, -a*	*tjihted-h*
Past	1	*tjihted-i-m*	*tjihted-i-mh*
	2	*tjihted-i-h*	*tjihted-i-dh*
	3	*tjihted-i-Ø*	*tjihted-i-n*
Infinitive		*tjihtedi-dh*	
Participle		*tjihteda-mme*	
Progressive		*tjihtede-minie*	
Cng & Imp		*tjihte-dh*	

behind this cannot be explained further synchronically based on the current data. Examples are given in Table 6.10:

Table 6.10: Third person singular forms of Class 1a

	Verb stem	Root vowel	3SG present tense
Front V	*ringke-* 'ring'	/i/	*ringkie*
	gihtje- 'ask'	/i/	*gihtjie*
	leege- 'hurt'	/e/	*leegie*
	gööle- 'fish'	/ø/	*göölie*
Back V	*lohke-* 'read'	/u/	*låhka*
	provhke- 'use to'	/u/	*pråvhka*
	bååhke- 'bake'	/o/	*bååhka*
	goeke- 'shine'	/o/	*guaka*
	baske- 'sting'	/a/	*baska*

Verbs with front vowels have a zero-marked third person form. The verbs with back vowels in the root on the other hand align with umlaut patterns as found in Class 3 verbs. However, a few instances of zero-marked, non-umlauted forms of such verbs in the data might indicate that the umlaut system is possibly undergoing changes – for instance, the third person singular form *pråvhka* 's/he uses to' has the parallel form *provhke*.

6.3.2.2 Class 1b: trisyllabic e-stems

The second subclass contains verbs with a trisyllabic stem with a stem final vowel *-e*.[56] Two remarks have to be made on this subgroup.

The first remark concerns the suffixes. The person suffixes for the first and second person plural are 1PL *-bie* and 2PL *-die*, which thus differ from the suffixes that other verb groups take (1PL *-be* and 2PL *de*). This allomorphy can be explained as follows: Verb forms of 1b-verbs are four-syllabic (*vaes.te.de+be*). In line with the stress patterns, the word has fixed stress on the first syllable and receives a secondary stress on the third syllable. The final vowel *-e* is lengthened into *-ie*, as *'CV.CV is avoided and 'CV.CV: is preferred. Thus, *vae.ste.de+be* becomes *vaes.tie.di.bie*.[57]

The perfect participle is formed with the suffix *-mme* (instead of *-me* as in other groups). A similar explanation can solve this allomorphy: the four-syllabic form (trisyllabic stem plus suffix) has a secondary stress on the penultimate syllable, that is, 'vae.stie.ˌde+me*. Again, the structure *'CV.CV is avoided. Here, however, the consonant of the suffix is geminated, resulting in the form *vae.stie.dam.me* 'have answered'. This also triggers a change of the stem final vowel *-e* into *-a*. All these forms also reflect an alternation of the second vowel *-e-* into *-ie* (*vaestede-* vs. *vaestiede-*), which brings us to the second remark.

The second remark concerns the alternation of the second vowel (V-2) in this subgroup. This vowel undergoes change in some verb forms: As can be seen in the example above, the vowel *-e-* (*vaestede-*) becomes *-i-* in the present plural and in the past tense, e.g. *vaestiedibie* (cf. also Table 6.1). Vowels in this position can either be *-ie-*, *-e-*, *-a-* or *-oe-*. See the following Table 6.11:

Whereas pattern (a) (*no vowel change*) is the most frequent one in the data, pattern (b) and (c) are also common. Pattern (d) occurs least in the data. A clear synchronic explanation for this vowel change is not found at this moment.

---

[56]Note that different analyses have been put forward as to what the stem of these verbs should be. Whereas Frändén *et al.* (2007) offer two different stems (e.g. both *vaestede-* and *vaestied-*), other scholars operate with consonant final stems instead. While different analyses all have their advantages and drawbacks, I believe the analysis chosen here fits the present data best from a synchronic perspective.

[57]An alternative analysis would be to introduce the long suffixes *-bie/-die* as the original underlying, or default suffixes. The suffixes *-be/-de* would then represent shortened versions of these long ones. This view, that the long suffixes are the "default" forms, would be supported by the fact that some (especially southern) speakers use the "long" suffixes even with disyllabic verbs. The short suffixes could be explained by a reduction in unstressed syllables.

Table 6.11: Vowel change in trisyllabic verbs

Pattern	V2 change	Example verb stem	Example verb form
a	e	*tjihtede-* 'push'	*tjihtedim* (1SG past)
b	e ⇒ ie	*vaestede-* 'answer'	*vaestiedim* (1SG past)
c	e ⇒ a	*vuartesje-* 'see'	*vuartasjim* (1SG past)
d	a/o	*daaraste-*, *daaroste-* 'talk Scand.'	*daarastim* (1SG past), *daaroestim* (1SG past)

6.3.3 Verb class 2: ie-stems

Verb class 2 consists of verbs with an even number of syllables in the stem that end in the vowel *-ie*, such as *båetie-* 'come', *tjaelie-* 'write', *juhtie-* 'move' or *vedtie-* 'give'. The stem remains the same in the first person dual and third person plural present tense, in the progressive, the connegative and the southern infinitive. The present singular, first and second person plural present, the entire past, the standard infinitive and the perfect participle show stem alternation due to umlaut or reduction of the stem final vowel. Example paradigms for the class 2 verbs *båetie-* 'come' and *juhtie-* 'move' are given in Tables 6.12 and 6.13 below. Verb class 2 includes about 20 percent of all verbs in the data and has thus a somewhat lower type-frequency compared to class 1, but the the token-frequency for these verbs is rather high.

Table 6.12: Class 2 verb *båetie-* 'come'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*båata-m*		*båete-be*
	2	*båata-h*	*båetie-n*	*båete-de*
	3	*båata-Ø*		*båetie-h*
Past	1	*bööt-i-m*	*bööt-i-men*	*bööt-i-mh, bööt-i-o*
	2	*bööt-i-h*	*bööt-i-dh*	
	3	*bööt-i-Ø*	*bööt-i-n*	
Infinitive		*båete-dh; båetij*		
Participle		*båate-me*		
Progressive		*båetie-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*båetie-h*		

For *båetie-* 'come', the thematic vowel *åe* is affected by umlaut in the present tense singular (*åe* changes into *åa*) and in the entire past tense (*åe* changes into *öö*). The thematic vowel *-ie* changes into *-a* in the present singular (*båatam* etc.) and is reduced to *-e* in first and second person plural and in

Table 6.13: Class 2 verb *juhtie-* 'move'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*jahta-m*		*juhte-be*
	2	*jahta-h*	*juhtie-n*	*juhte-de*
	3	*jahta-Ø*		*juhtie-h*
Past	1	*juht-i-m*	*juht-i-men*	*juht-i-mh, -o, -jibo*
	2	*juht-i-h*	*juht-i-dh*	
	3	*juhti-Ø, juhtie-ji-Ø*	*juht-i-n, juhtie-ji-n*	
Infinitive		*juhte-dh; juhtij*		
Participle		*jahte-me*		
Progressive		*juhtie-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*juhtie-h*		
Converb		*juhtie-n*		

second person dual (*båetebe* etc.). In the past tense, the thematic vowel is dropped and the past tense marker *-i-* is attached directly to the root of the verb (*bööt-i-m* etc.).

Another pattern for forming the past tense attested in the data is suffixing the past tense marker *-i-* to the stem. To avoid hiatus, a semi-vowel *j* is inserted before. The open syllable *-ie* is closed into *-ij*. Then, the subject markers are suffixed. This results in the so called "long" past tense forms of the verbs (cf. the past tense of verb class 3).

For *juhtie-* 'move', the thematic vowel *u* is only affected for the singular forms of the present tense and in the perfect participle (*u* into *a*); there is no umlaut taking place in the past tense.

The past tense paradigm also shows alternating forms; both regular and "long" forms are attested in the data, exemplified in the table with the third person singular ("*juhtie-ji*" corresponds to *juht-i*) and third person plural ("*juhtie-ji-n*" corresponds to *juht-i-n*). This variation is characteristic for Class 1 verbs in the data. It supports the view that the past tense marker is *-i-*, and that the thematic vowel cannot be analysed as a present tense marker.

Umlaut patterns are the defining characteristic of this verb class. However, several non-umlauted forms in the data suggest that the umlaut patterns might not be as important for morphology, or not completely productive in spoken language. Examples are: 3SG PST of *vuejnedh* 'see', attested forms are *vööjni* (umlauted) and *vuajni* (non-umlauted, i.e. no vowel change) (cf. long form: *vuejnieji*).

6.3.4   Verb class 3: a-stems

Verb class 3 is a small class and comprises about 10 percent of the verbs in the data. However, verbs of class 2 can also be inflected according to the past tense scheme of this class.Whereas verb type frequency is low, token frequency of class members is usually high. Verb class 3 consists of even-syllabic verbs with the thematic vowel -a. In the northern dialects, this vowel can also be -*oe*.[58] Examples are given below.

Table 6.14: Class 3 verb *dåaja-* 'cut'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*dåaja-m*		*dåaje-be*
	2	*dåaja-h*	*dåajie-n*	*dåaje-de*
	3	*dåaja-Ø, dååjo-Ø*		*dåaja-h*
Past	1	*dåaja-ji-m*	*dåaja-ji-men*	*dåaja-ji-mh*
	2	*dåaja-ji-h*	*dåaja-ji-dh*	
	3	*dåaja-ji-Ø*	*dåaja-ji-n*	
Infinitive		*dåaje-dh; dåaji*		
Participle		*dååje-me*		
Progressive		*dåaja-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*dåaja-h*		

Table 6.15: Class 3 verb *guarka-* 'understand'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*guarka-m*		*guarke-be*
	2	*guarka-h*	*guarkie-n*	*guarke-de*
	3	*guarka-Ø, gårkå-Ø*		*guarka-h*
Past	1	*guarka-ji-m*	*guark-i-men*	*guarka-ji-mh*
	2	*guarka-ji-h*	*guarka-ji-dh*	
	3	*guarka-ji-Ø*	*guarka-ji-n*	
Infinitive		*guarke-dh; guarkij*		
Participle		*guarke-me*		
Progressive		*guarka-minie*		
Cng-Imp		*guarka-h*		

Class 3 verbs show no umlaut. Both the present and past tense are formed by suffixing the subject markers to the stem. In the present tense, the final

[58]Some northern speakers are attested to use -*a* instead of -*oe*.

vowel *-a* is changed to *-e* in the 1PL and 2PL and to *-ie* in the 1DU. The past tense is formed regularly by adding the past tense marker *-i-* to the stem (i.e. *dåaja+i*), resulting in the extra syllable -ji- (*dåaja-ji-*). See the paradigms in Tables 6.14 and 6.15 for *dåaja-* 'cut' and *guarka-* 'understand'.

Class 3 verbs show syncretism in 2SG and 3PL present tense. In the data, an alternative form with the suffix *-ieh* (e.g. *dåajieh*), is attested in the southern dialects.

Other examples for verbs in this class are *dåaja-* 'cut', *guarka-* 'understand', *tjåadtja-* 'stand', *darja-* 'do'.

6.4 Inventory of verb forms

Verbs are inflected for subject agreement – singular, dual and plural – and tense – present and past. This section is concerned with the morphology of verbs in South Saami. The different verb forms and suffixes are presented in the remaining sections of this chapter. Labels of verb forms are written in lower case (e.g. *present*, *imperative*), whereas labels of the verbal categories, i.e. the function, will be written in capital letters (e.g. PRESENT, IMPERATIVE).

6.4.1 Present tense forms

The present tense is formed by suffixing the subject markers to the verb stem. The present is not morphologically marked with a dedicated, segmentable morpheme.

The singular suffixes *-m*, *-h* and *-Ø* [zero] are attached to the verb stem in Class 1 and 3 verbs. In Class 2 however, the stem-final vowel *-ie* is changed into an *-a*: *båetie-* 'come' is thus *båatam*, *båatah*, *båata* in the present singular (see § 6.3.3). As a rule, Class 2 verbs, with the stem-final vowel *-ie*, change this vowel into *-a* before the subject markers in the present tense singular. The present tense singular forms of the different conjugational patterns are summarized in Table 6.16 below.

Table 6.16: Present tense verb forms

	Class 1a	Class 1b	Class 2	Class 3
	'read'	'answer'	'come'	'cut'
1SG	*lohke-m*	*vaestede-m*	*båata*-m	*dåaja-m*
2SG	*lohk-h*	*vaested-h*	*båata*-h	*dåaja-h*
3SG	*låhka-Ø*	*vaestede-Ø*	*båata-Ø*	*dåaja-Ø*
DU	*lohkie-n*	*vaestiedie-n*	*båetie-n*	*dåajie-n*
1PL	*lohke-be*	*vaestiedi-bie*	*båete-be*	*dåaje-be*
2PL	*lohke-de*	*vaestiedi-die*	*båete-de*	*dåaje-de*
3PL	*lohkie-h*	*vaestiedie-h*	*båetie-h*	*dåaja-h*

6.4.1.1 Variation in 1PL and 2PL present tense

As mentioned above, there are two allomorphs each for marking the 1PL and 2PL, *-be*/*-de* and *-bie*/*die*. The latter suffixes usually go with trisyllabic verb stems (class 3b). However, disyllabic stems can also be lengthened with an extra syllable *-ji-* that is attached to the stem. This makes the verb trisyllabic, and it thus receives the suffixes *-bie*/*die* instead of *-be*/*-de*. I call these forms the **long verb forms** of disyllabic verbs. Examples are provided in Table 6.17. They are less commonly used in the data than the regular forms, but they occur spontaneously throughout the data. An areal distribution could not be observed in the data.

Table 6.17: Variation in 1PL present tense forms

Class	Stem + gloss	"Standard" form	Alternative form
1a	*edtje-* 'shall'	*edtje-be*	*edtjieji-bie*
2	*utnie-* 'have'	*utne-be*	*utnieji-bie*
2	*tjaelie-* 'write'	*tjaele-be*	*tjaelieji-bie*
2	*åerie-* 'sleep'	*åere-be*	*åerieji-bie*

As the subject suffixes for the plural differ between the present and past tense, there is no formal overlap of these forms.

An identical suffix *-ji-* that lengthens the verbs is used to mark the past tense of class 2 verbs (see the following § 6.4.2). Its occurrence in the present tense cannot be explained further at this stage.

6.4.2 Past tense forms

The past is marked by the segmentable morpheme *-i-/-ji-*, which is attached to the verb stem, followed by the subject marker (1):

(1) STEM − TENSE MARKER − SUBJECT MARKER

This order aligns with patterns generally observed in languages (cf. Bybee (1985). In verb class 1 and 3, the preceding (stem-final) vowel is dropped before this marker. In verb class 2, a semi-vowel /j/ is inserted between the stem-final vowel and the past tense marker, to avoid hiatus. The result is an extra syllable *-ji-*. The following Table 6.18 gives an overview of the past tense forms in the different verb classes:

Table 6.18: Past tense verb forms

	Class 1a	Class 1b	Class 2	Class 3
1SG	*lohk-i-m*	*vaestied-i-m*	*bööt-i-m*	*dåaja-ji-m*
2SG	*lohk-i-h*	*vaestied-i-h*	*bööt-i-h*	*dåaja-ji-h*
3SG	*lohk-i-Ø*	*vaestied-i-Ø*	*bööt-i-Ø*	*dåaja-ji-Ø*
DU	*lohk-i-men*	*vaestied-i-men*	*bööt-i-men*	*dåaja-ji-men*
1PL	*lohk-i-mh*	*vaestied-i-mh*	*bööt-i-mh*	*dåaja-ji-mh*
2PL	*lohk-i-dh*	*vaestied-i-dh*	*bööt-i-dh*	*dåaja-ji-dh*
3PL	*lohk-i-n*	*vaestied-i-n*	*bööt-i-n*	*dåaja-ji-n*

The past marker *-i-* can be found in other Saamic and Finnic languages as well (cf. e.g Feist (2011, p. 115) or Wilbur (2014, p. 160)). Class 3 verbs show a more 'agglutinative' pattern in the past, where the past tense marker is added to the stem without any changes of the verb stem.

In general, verbs behave according to their inflectional group, and past tense forms are regular and predictable. However, there is some movement between the verb classes that is noteworthy. See the following § 6.4.2.1.

6.4.2.1 Variation in the past tense

Verbs of Class 1 and 2 can also be inflected according to the pattern of Class 3 in the past tense. They can thus have both a regular (short) and a long form in the past tense (cf. also § 6.4.1.1). This variation can occur in the same idiolect, and no apparent semantic or pragmatic difference between the forms could been attested. This variation is attested with most forms in the verb paradigm, and is fairly common.

Furthermore, there are also *short* past tense forms of Class 3 verbs attested in the data. Instead of adding the past tense marker *-ji-* to the stem (ending in -*a*), this vowel is dropped, and the marker *-i-* is suffixed to the root. This second type of variation (i.e. short forms of Class 3 verbs) is much less frequent in the data than the first variation (i.e verbs of Class 1 and 2 being inflected according to the pattern of Class 3).

Examples for the two variations are given in Table 6.19 below. Any distribution of the variations such as area or dialect could not be observed in the data.

Table 6.19: Variation in the past tense

Type	Class	Stem + gloss	Standard form	Alternative form
1, 2 → 3	1	*fahke-* 'wake'	*fahk-i-m*	*fahka-ji-m*
	1	*sjidte-* 'become'	*sjidt-i-Ø*	*sjidti-j-a*
	2	*juhtie-* 'move'	*juht-i-m*	*juhtie-ji-m*
	2	*utnie-* 'have'	*utn-i-Ø*	*utni-j-a; utnie-ji-Ø*
	2	*juekie-* 'split'	*juek-i-n*	*juekie-ji-n*
	2	*vuejnie-* 'see'	*vööjn-i-m*	*vuejnie-ji-m*
3 → short	3	*åadtja-* 'may'	*åadtja-ji-m*	*åadtj-i-m*
	3	*dåaja-* 'cut'	*dåaja-ji-m*	*dåaj-i-m*

Usually, the third person singular is unmarked (like in *utni* 's/he had'. In the long forms however, speakers sometimes add an *-a* to the (otherwise unmarked) third person form. There seems to be an association between the *-a* and the third person singular (cf. third singular present tense forms which end in *-a* for most verb classes).

In summary, finite forms in South Saami show variation which is not always transparent, and there is movement between the inflectional groups, with a tendency towards a more agglutinative pattern .

6.4.3 Perfect participle forms

The perfect participle is marked by the suffix *-me*, which is suffixed to the verb stem. The suffix causes umlaut of the thematic vowel in Class 2 verbs. The stem-final vowel is changed to *-e* in verb class 2 and 3, and from *-e* to *-a* in verbs of Class 1b. The suffix for verbs of Class 1b is *-mme*. Examples are given in Table 6.20 below.

The outcome for Class 1b verbs is a four-syllable word form. It therefore receives a secondary stress on the penultimate syllable. The suffix for 1b verbs is thus *-mme* (geminated consonant).

Table 6.20: Perfect participle: example verbs

Class	Stem	Perfect participle
1a	*miele-* 'know'	*miele-me*
	lohke- 'read'	*loke-me*
1b	*vaestede-* 'answer'	*vaestieda-mme*
	tjihtede- 'push forward'	*tjihteda-mme*
2	*båetie-* 'come'	*båate-me*
	tjaelie- 'write'	*tjaale-me*
3	*dåaja-* 'cut'	*dåaje-me*; *dååj-eme*
	guarka- 'understand'	*guarke-me*

As the verb form *dåajeme* shows, umlaut is not always realized.

6.4.4 Progressive forms

The progressive is formed with the suffix *-minie*, which is attached to the stem of the verb. Examples are given in Table 6.21 below.

Table 6.21: Progressive: example forms

Class	Stem	Progressive
1a	*miele-* 'know'	*miele-minie*
	lohke- 'read'	*lohke-minie*
1b	*vaestede-* 'answer'	*vaestede-minie*
	tjihtede- 'push forward'	*tjihtede-minie*
2	*båetie-* 'come'	*båetie-minie*
	tjaelie- 'write'	*tjaelie-minie*
3	*dåaja-* 'cut'	*dåaja-minie*
	guarka- 'understand'	*guarka-minie*

The progressive suffix does not cause any umlaut, changes of thematic vowel or stem final vowel. The suffix is identical for all verb classes.

6.4.5 Connegative–Imperative

Similar to other Saamic and Finno-Ugric langugages, South Saami has a non-finite verb form that is used in verbal negation together with the negative auxiliary (see Chapter 16 on Negation). This non-finite verb form is usually called

connegative, a term that is widely used in the description of Saamic and Uralic languages. The label *connegative* is also adopted in this thesis. However, in South Saami, the connegative form is always identical with the imperative form of verbs (which would open up for a common label – see also the discussion under § 16.2.4). Since I treat verb **forms** in this section, I also cover the imperative form and refer to the form as Connegative–Imperative or CNG–IMP.

The connegative/imperative is formed by adding *-h* to the verb stem. For Class 1 verbs, the thematic vowel (*-e*) is dropped. Examples are given in Table 6.22 below.

Table 6.22: Connegative–Imperative verb forms

Class	Stem	Connegative–Imperative
1a	*miele-* 'know'	*miel-h*
	lohke- 'read'	*lohk-h*
1b	*vaestede-* 'answer'	*vaested-h*
	tjihtede- 'push forward'	*tjihted-h*
2	*båetie-* 'come'	*båetie-h*
	tjaelie- 'write'	*tjaelie-h*
3	*dåaja-* 'cut'	*dåaja-h*
	guarka- 'understand'	*guarka-h*

Depending on the verb class, there is further syncretism in form of this form and other finite verb forms: in verb classes 1 and 2, the connegative is identical with with the 2SG present tense; in verb class 3 with the 3PL present tense.

In the examples, the form is glossed according to its function (CNG in negation, IMP in imperatives).

6.4.6 Converb

There is a group of verbs in South Saami that can form a converb by adding the suffix *-n* to the verb stem. A converb is defined as a "nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination" (Haspelmath & König, 1995, p. 5). In the literature for South Saami, the form has also been called "deverbal adverb" (Wiklund, 1928; Ylikoski, 2009), "verb genitive", "instructive", or "manner form" (Bergsland, 1946) (cf. also Ylikoski (2003, p. 195) for a summary on terminology for converbs). It is an unproductive verb form which appears with a limited number of verbs. It is not an inflectional category but is best described as a lexical phenomenon. The following verbs (in Table 6.23) are attested with this form in the data:

Table 6.23: Converb: example verbs

Converb	Verb stem	Gloss
juhtie-n	*juhtie-*	'moving(ly)'
tjoejke-n	*tjoejke-*	'skiing(ly)'
roehte-n	*roehte-*	'running(ly) (two-legged)'
tjåadtja-n	*tjåadtja-*	'standing(ly); standing'
tjahka-n	*tjahkasje-*	'sitting(ly); sitting'

As the verb form is infrequent in the data and has thus a rather marginal status, its function is presented in this section here instead of under the TAM-SECTION later in this chapter.

6.4.6.1 The use of converbs

A defining characteristic of converbs is their function in subordination, that is, converbs being "incorporated into the superordinate clause" (Haspelmath & König, 1995, p.8). Haspelmath goes on to say that "[c]onverbal clauses can often be paraphrased by means of coordinate constructions" (Haspelmath & König, 1995, p.8). The attested forms in the data fit well into what Haspelmath & König (1995, pp. 17–20) call copredicative participles in an adverb-like function. Two examples from the data are given in (6.4) and (6.5):

(6.4) *mubpie-n   aerede-n   dle   vöölk-i   tjoejke-n*
       other-GEN.SG morning-GEN.SG then   travel-PST.3SG ski-CVB
       'Next morning he left by skies' (Lit.: 'Next morning he travelled
       on skiingly.' [sma20170927a]

(6.5) *dle båata   råete-n dahka jih mannem*
       so   come.PRS.3SG   run-CVB thither and 1SG.ACC
       tjååkeste   destie
       take.up.PRS.3SG   DEM.ELA.SG
       'So he comes running there and lifts me up from there.'
       [sma20180605c]

In the examples above, the converb appears with another verb and modifies it. Its syntactic function is *adverbial* (Ylikoski, 2003, p.191).

The converb *tjahkan* 'sitting' has a special role. It is often used as the single predicate in a sentence, see example (6.6) and (6.7). Note that the form is not directly derived from the verb stem of 'sit', which is the trisyllabic verb *tjahkesje-*.

(6.6) *monnah   daesnie tjahka-n gosse jijje sjädta*
       1DU.NOM here   sit-CVB when night become.PRS.3SG

       'We two sit here when it becomes night.' [sma20170921h]

(6.7) *gosse monnah   dubpene   bijjene tjahka-n monnah*
       when 1DU.NOM over.there up.there sit-CVB 1DU.NOM

       doll-h   veejne-be   daej   jaevrie-j
       fire-NOM.PL see.PRS-1PL DEM.PROX.GEN.PL lake-GEN.PL

       baakta jih dan tjaebpie lij
       along and so nice   be.PST.3SG

       'When we two were sitting up there we two saw (see) fires around
       the lakes and it was so nice.' [sma20180614a]

This form and use of *tjahkan* is frequent in the data (35+ occurrences). It
is a form that has been reanalysed by the speakers and is used as a no-finite
predicate. Furthermore, when appearing with other verbs, *tjahkan* 'sit' does
not necessarily modify the finite verbs (like in (6.4) above), as the following
example (6.8) demonstrates:

(6.8) *dle manne   tjahka-n goltel-i-m   gumhtie lievies*
       so 1SG.NOM   sit-CVB listen-PST-1SG how   be.PRS.3PL

       manne-m dööpme-minie
       1SG.ACC judge-PROG

       'So I (was) sitting and I heard how they are judging me.'
       [sma20181025k]e/f

This use is possibly influenced by Swedish constructions with posture
verbs like *jag satt och hörde* 'I sat and listened' etc., described as "pseudo-
coordinations" (Kvist Darnell, 2008).

    Usually, the subject is expressed overtly in constructions with converbs,
but it can also be omitted and is thus inferred from the context as in example
(6.9):

(6.9) *jaa daelie tjahka-n ussjede-minie*
       yes here   sit-CVB think-PROG

       'Well, here [he] sits and is thinking.' [sma20181025k]e/f

Similar to *tjahkan* 'sitting', the converb form of *tjåadtedh* 'stand', *tjåadt-
jan*, can also be used as the single predicate, see (6.9):

(6.10) *jih dihte   gåetie ohtje bahke-n   nelnie tjåadtja-n*
       and 3SG.NOM house little hill-GEN.SG on.top stand-CVB

       'and that hut stood on top of a little hill.' [sma20180605c]

6.4.7 Infinitive forms

South Saami has two infinitive forms, ending in /t/ *-dh* and in /ij/ *-ij*. The marker *-dh* is more frequent and also used in the (written) standard language. Hence, it is called *standard* infinitive form. The marker *-ij* is only attested in the southern dialects and is labelled a *southern* variant. Examples are given in Table 6.24:

Table 6.24: Infinitive: example verbs

Class	Stem	Standard INF	Southern INF
1a	*råake-* 'meet'	*råake-dh*	*råak-ij*
	tjoejke- 'ski'	*tjoejke-dh*	*tjoejk-ij*
2	*tjaelie-* 'write'	*tjaele-dh*	*tjael-ij*
	aelkie- 'start'	*aelke-dh*	*aelk-ij*
3	*guarka-* 'understand'	*guarke-dh*	*guark-ij*

The southern variant does not occur with Class 1b verbs in the data (i.e. *vaestied-ij 'answer' as southern infinitive). In the examples throughout this work, I decided not to segment the infinitive.

6.4.8 The dual: two strategies in a system in flux

The dual is an interesting inflectional category in South Saami, as it reflects language change quite directly. Dual verb morphology is often said to be a characteristic feature of Saamic languages. However, descriptive work on different Saamic languages shows that dual verb forms are in fact often not in use – see for instance Skolt Saami (Feist, 2011, p. 115) or southwestern North Saami (Kejonen, 2017, p. 36).

In the data for South Saami, the dual category is handled in two different ways by the speakers, which I will describe as two different neutralization strategies.

The first strategy is a **neutralization of number**. Instead of dual verb morphology, plural forms are used for two referents as well. Note that the use of dual pronouns is not affected; their use is stable in the data. An example is given in (6.11):

(6.11)   *monnah*   *moer-h*   *tjoehpe-be*
       1DU.NOM wood-NOM.PL chop.PRS-1PL
       'We two chop(PL) wood.' [sma20170923a]e

Dual personal pronouns (*monnah* 'we two' in the example) trigger the use of plural verb morphology (*tjoehpebe* 'we(PL) chop'). Thus, with respect to the

verbal system, dual and plural number are no longer distinguished. This use of plural verb morphology has already been noted by (Bergsland, 1946, p.171) in 1946. The strategy is also found in other Saamic languages, e.g. Skolt as well as North Saami, mentioned above. It is furthermore a development in verbal inflectional systems that is attested in the surrounding Scandinavian languages; in this case, plural verb morphology disappeared during the last century. Neutralization of number in verb morphology is known from other unrelated languages as well, like Faroese and Swedish.

To my knowledge, the second strategy, however, has not been mentioned in previous literature about Saamic languages, or South Saami in particular. In this second strategy, speakers use the same suffix for marking dual in all persons. If the speaker chooses this strategy, dual personal pronouns or dual number of subjects trigger the use of a "generic dual suffix" that does not mark person but only number. See the following examples (6.12) and (6.13):

(6.12) *monnah   maehtie-n   soptsestidh*
        1DU.NOM   can.PRS-DU   talk.INF
        'We two can talk.' [sma20170508d]e

(6.13) *Pååle jih aehtje-be   lyjhkie-n   prihtjege-m   jovkedh*
        Paul   and father-RELA like.PRS-DU   coffee-ACC.SG drink.INF
        'Paul and his father like to drink coffee.' [sma20170926g]e

I will call this strategy a **neutralization of person**: dual marking is retained, but different persons are not distinguished.

The strategy is attested with speakers from different dialectal areas. It is usually more prominent in the present tense than in the past tense. In the past tense, the first person dual suffix is attested, but for second and third person dual, speakers tend to use plural verb morphology. Again, this does not affect the use of personal pronouns.

The dual form that is used in examples (6.12) and (6.13) is the first person dual suffix. Of the three dual suffixes (1DU *-n*, 2DU *-den* and 3DU *-gan*), the 1DU is the shortest, and the most frequent one in the data. This may favour the promotion of the first person dual form. The forms are glossed "DU" in the two examples above. However, as the form still contrasts with other dual forms in the data as a whole, I choose to include person in the glossing ("1DU") throughout the thesis.

The two strategies (for the present tense) are schematized in Table 6.25 below.
Both strategies, the neutralization of number and the neutralization of person, may occur in one and the same idiolect; they do not exclude each other. Number neutralization is the more common strategy in the data.

Table 6.25: The two strategies of dual reference/marking.

	Number neutralization		Person neutralization		
	Singular	Dual/Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*-m*	*-be*	*-m*		*-be*
2	*-h*	*-de*	*-h*	*-n*	*-de*
3	*-Ø*	*-h*	*-Ø*		*-h*

6.4.9 Allomorphy of subject suffixes: areal variation

Some person and number suffixes in South Saami show dialectal, i.e. areal, variation. Of interest are the first person singular and the first person plural suffixes.

First, there are the southern dialect's (Härjedalen) first person plural past tense marker *-mh/-o/-bo*. See also section (6.3.1). Examples for these suffixes are given in (6.14) and (6.15):

(6.14) *mijjieh*   **provhk-i-o**   *tjoejkij* *Haandskina-sse*
        1PL.NOM use.to.do-PST-1PL ski.INF Handskinnsvålen-ILL.SG

        'We used to ski to Handskinnsvålen.' [sma20180614a]

(6.15) *jih*   *bijjien* *Rödfjäll-sne*   *giedtie*   *lij*   *gusnie*
        and   ontop   Rödfjäll-LOC.SG reindeer.field be.PST.3SG where

        mijjieh   *miesie-h*   **mierhkiesj-i-bo**
        1PL.NOM   calf-NOM.PL   mark-PST-1PL

        'And up on Rödfjäll was the field where we marked the reindeer calves.' [sma20180605c]

However, the *-o/bo* suffix is not used consistently by speakers of the southern dialect, probably due to the influence of the standard language.

Second, there is a systematic allomorphy attested in the data of the suffix *-m* in southern and standard South Saami, and *-b* in the northern dialects. I refer to this as the **-m/-b-allomorphy**: In northern dialects, final *-m* has the allomorph *-b*. This can affect the first person singular present and past tense, and the first person plural past tense. See the following examples: (6.16) and (6.18) represent the southern dialects (*eelki-m, doeki-mh*), and (6.17) and (6.19) (*eelki-b, lohki-bh*) the northern dialects:

(6.16)   *manne*   **eelk-i-m**   *skovle-m*   *desnie*
        1SG.NOM   start-PST-1SG   school-ACC.SG   DEM.LOC.SG

        Mihte-sne
        Mittådalen-LOC.SG

        'I started school there in Mittådalen.' [sma20170516a]

(6.17)   *goh*   *manne*   *lim*   *tjijhtje*   *jaepie-n*   *båeries*
        when   1SG.NOM   be.PST.1SG   seven   year-GEN.SG   old

        dellie   **eelk-i-b**   *skovle-sne*
        then   start-PST-1SG   school-LOC.SG

        'When I was seven years old then I started in school.'
        [sma20170919a]

(6.18)   *dah*   *ledtie-h*   *mijjieh*   **doek-i-mh**
        3PL.NOM   bird-NOM.PL   1PL.NOM   sell-PST-1PL

        'We sold these birds.' (These birds, we sold.') [sma20170614d]

(6.19)   *jih*   *dihte*   *learare*   *idtji*   *dihte*
        and   3SG.NOM   teacher   NEG.AUX.PST.3SG   3SG.NOM

        guarka-h   *maam*   *mijjieh*   **lohk-i-bh**
        understand-CNG   what.ACC.SG   1PL.NOM   read-PST-1PL

        'And that teacher, he didn't understand what we read.'
        [sma20170926j]

The suffix *-b-* as 1SG marker is attested with all speakers from the northern area in the data. However, its use does not have to be consistent and speakers may also use *-m*. This might be due to the influence from the standard variety of South Saami. The **-m/-b-allomorphy** pertains to case suffixes as well (see § 6.17).

Another variation of the first person singular suffix is attested in the data: In other Saamic languages, a Proto-Saamic first person singular marker **-m* has become *-n* (cf. e.g. North Saami *mon boađá**n*** 'I come'). In South Saami, it is generally *-m* (or *-b*, in northern dialects). However, one speaker of the southern dialect frequently uses *-n* as a first person singular suffix.

6.4.10   The copula verb

The copula verb (and the negative auxiliary) are the only fully inflected mono-syllabic verb in South Saami. It inflects for three moods: the indicative, the imperative, and a conditional. The copula is based on the segment *l-* in all tenses and moods. Subject suffixes are the same as for verbs (see § (6.5)). The

standard indicative forms reflect the "long" suffixes in first and second person plural (cf. CLASS 1B VERBS); the southern forms are less regular. The conditional behaves like a CLASS 1A-VERB.

The paradigm of the copula verb shows suppletion: the infinitive is *arredh* 'to be' (cf. the verb *arredh* 'to be, live, dwell'). This stem is also used to form the perfect participle, which ties in with general patterns of suppletion being found especially in tense-aspect categories (Veselinova, 2006, p. 64). Whereas the infinitive and the participle of the copula show strong suppletion, the finite forms have weak suppletion (Veselinova, 2006, p. 15): the stem to which the subject suffixes attach is irregular and not predictable, but all forms share the same phonological material.

6.4.10.1 Indicative forms of the copula

A paradigm for the standard forms in the indicative is presented in Table 6.26. In the present tense, a stem *lea-* can be identified for most forms (see Table 6.26 below). In the past tense, the past tense marker *-i-* is added to the initial segment *l-*.

Table 6.26: The copula verb *lea-/ arredh* 'be'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*leam*	*lean*	*libie*
	2	*leah*	*lidien*	*lidie*
	3	*lea*	*lägan*	*leah*
Past	1	*lim*	*limen*	*limh*
	2	*lih*	*liden*	*lidh*
	3	*lij*	*ligan*	*lin*
Infinitive		*arredh, arrij*; *årrodh*		
Participle		*orreme*		

Note that also the dual forms are attested in the data. However, there is also variation in the copula, in particular in the southern dialects. The following paradigm in Table 6.27 reflects the copula forms attested in the southern dialect (Härjedalen). The forms deviate much more from the standard subject suffixes:

First, the dual and plural present tense do not distinguish person (*person neutralization*). Second, several forms are disyllabic instead of monosyllabic: whereas the 1SG present *leam* 'I am' has one syllable, the southern *liem* [lij.em] 'I am' has two syllables. See also the 3SG present *läjja*, DU present *lien*, 3PL present *lievies* and 3PL past *lijjien*. In the 1PL past tense, the typical southern 1PL suffix *-bo/-o* is used. Whereas we have person neutralization for the dual

Table 6.27: Variation of the copula verb *lea-* 'be'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*liem*	*lien*	*lievies*
	2	*lea*	*lien*	*lievies*
	3	*leaga*; *lie, liega*	*lien*	*lievies*; *löövies*
Past	1	*lim*	*lio, libo/libio*	
	2	*lij*	n/a	*lidh*
	3	*läjja*	*lijjes, lagan*	*lijjien*

in the present tense (one form *lien* for the entire dual), the past tense shows number neutralization (see the 1PL form *lio*). See also (Hasselbrink III, 1981, p. 171) who documented a similar paradigm for the copula verb from that area.

6.4.10.2 Connegative–Imperative form of the copula

The connegative/imperative form of the copula is *leah*. It is used as the imperative (*leah!* 'be!') and is only distinct for the second person singular, and as the connegative (((*ij) leah* 'isn't').

(6.20) ijje ij   leah   mov   naan bienje
        no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG   1SG.GEN   some dog

       'No, I don't have a dog.' [sma20170921h]

6.4.10.3 Conditional forms of the copula

The conditional forms are attested only in the southern dialects. See also Bergsland (1946, p. 168). The more frequent forms (1SG, 3SG present) are attested in free speech; other forms are elicited. In elicitation, both aforementioned dual strategies, i.e. the *person neutralization* and the *number neutralization*, are attested with the conditional forms of the copula. The conditional forms of the copula verb reflect the inflectional pattern of disyllabic CLASS 1A verbs. The stem of the conditional is *luvne-*.

Table 6.28: Conditional forms of *lea-* 'be'

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*luvnem*	*luvnien*	*luvnebe*
2	*luvnh*	*luvneden*	*luvnede*
3	*luvni*	*luvnien*	*luvnien* (?)

The northern dialects do not use the conditional forms (see also Bergsland (1946) who made similar observations). Instead, a modal verb *luvthedh* 'need to, should' can be used.

The use of the conditional

The copula is the only verb that has special forms for the conditional. They are used in periphrastic constructions. Conditional forms are not frequent in the data. Therefore, the use of the forms is presented here instead of under the TAM-SECTION later in this chapter.

The conditional usually appears in a paraphrastic construction with a perfect participle of another lexical verb, such as *ringkeme* 'have rung' in example (6.21) or *dalveme* 'have come' in (6.22):

(6.21) *datne*   *luvnh*   *monnan*   *ringke-me*   *åvtelen*
        2SG.NOM   be.COND.2SG   2SG.ILL   call-PTCP   before

        bööt-i-h
        come-PST-2SG

        'You should have called me before you came.' [sma20181020a]e

(6.22) *manne*   *luvnem*   *dov*   *gåajka*   *dalve-me*   *jih*
        1SG.NOM   be.COND.1SG   2SG.GEN   towards   come-PTCP   and

        viehkie-m   *fihke-me*   *dejtie*   *mov*
        help-ACC.SG   get-PTCP   DEM.ACC.PL   1SG.GEN

        voedteg-igujmie
        shoe.ribbon-COM.PL

        'I should have come to you and gotten help with these my shoe ribbons.' [sma20181020a]

The examples above were provided freely on the initiative by the speaker in an elicitation setting. The data are thus classified as "monitored" (an intermediate data form between elicitation task and free speech).

There is a clear morphosyntactic difference between the conditional copula and the modal verb *luvhtedh* 'need to, should'. Whereas the conditional copula is part of a periphrastic construction, the modal verb *luvhtedh* is usually combined with another lexical verb in the infinitive as in example (6.23) – and thus follows the pattern of other modal verbs – but it can also function as single predicate as in example (6.24):

(6.23) *manne*   *luvhtieb*   *dahkoe*   *vuelkedh*
        1SG.NOM   shall.1SG   thither   travel.INF

        'I should go there.' [sma20190303notes]

(6.24) *manne*   *luvhtieb*   *dahkoe*
   1SG.NOM shall.1SG thither

   'I should (go) there.' [sma20190303notes]

In contrast, the conditional copula cannot appear without a lexical verb; compare the previous example (6.24) with (6.25):

(6.25) *dihte*   *luvni*   *hellebe* *gåata-n*   *båate-me*
   3SG.NOM be.COND.3SG rather house-ILL.SG come-PTCP

   'S/he should rather have come home.' [sma20181020a]m

The conditional shows a mix of present and past suffixes. The tense of the forms of the modal verb *luvhtedh* is therefore not entirely clear either.

6.5   The negative auxiliary

South Saami has a negative auxiliary that is inflected for person, number, and – in contrast to most other Saamic languages – tense. It has no infinitive, but the connegative form of the COPULA *(ij) leah* 'isn't' is used as a reference form here. A paradigm is presented in Table 6.29. Forms in parentheses are not attested in the data.

Table 6.29: The negative auxiliary verb *leah* 'not.be'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Present	1	*im*	(*ean*)	*ibie*
	2	*ih*	(*idien*)	(*idie*)
	3	*ij*	(*eagan*)	*eah*
Past	1	*idtjim*	(*idtjimen*)	*idtjimh*, *idtjio*
	2	(*idtjih*)	(*idtjide*)	(*idtjidh*)
	3	*idtji*	(*idtjigan*)	*idtjin*

The negative auxiliary consists in the present tense of a vowel segment *i-* or *ea-* plus the subject suffixes of the conjugational pattern of CLASS 1B verbs. Parallel to the copula, the present tense forms have an unpredictable stem but share some phonological material.

The stem for the past tense (*idtj-*) is suppletive with respect to the present tense, but the past tense is more regular and the past tense marker *-i-* can be identified. In the southern dialects, the stem is *edtj-* instead. (Which makes the negative auxiliary in the past tense homophonous to the modal verb *edtje-* 'shall'!)

The negative auxiliary is used in standard negation (see Ch. 14). The negative auxiliary can be inflected for mood: apart from the indicative, two negative imperatives are attested in the data.

6.5.1 Prohibitive auxiliary

Declarative and prohibitive negation differs in South Saami. The suppletive stem *aellie-* 'don't!' is used as a prohibitive.

(6.26) *aellieh   bill-h!*
          PROHIB   be.afraid-IMP
          'Don't be afraid!' [sma20170913k]

6.5.2 Admonitive auxiliary

Another suppletive stem *olle-* '(one) should not', sometimes also called the "second negative imperative", is used as an admonitive (ADMON).

(6.27) *ollesh   gahtj-h!*
          ADMON   fall-IMP
          'Be careful so you don't fall!' [sma20180608k]

6.6 The modal verbs *galkedh* and *edtjedh* 'shall'

The two modal verbs *galkedh* and *edtjedh* 'shall' are used to indicate future time reference. The forms of both verbs show tendencies towards grammaticalization.

The modal verb *galkedh* 'shall', used for future reference (see § 6.7.3) has a somewhat special status in the inflectional system of verbs: It has a set of reduced or shortened, monosyllabic forms, and is thus the third monosyllabic verb in South Saami. The verb *galkedh* is mainly used in its contracted form in the data.[59] The attested forms are presented in Table 6.30. The vowel quality in /gam/ 'I shall' can vary.

As can be seen in the paradigm, there is person neutralization in the dual forms (the uncontracted first person dual form is *gelkien*) – and the dual form is used even in the plural: There is an expansion in the use of the dual form into plural number. Second and third person plural of the shortened forms are not attested in the data.

---

[59]In fact, the uncontracted forms (i.e. *galkam* 'I shall') are only attested in elicitation in the corpus.

Table 6.30: So-called 'contracted' forms of the modal verb *galkedh* 'shall'

	Present			Past	
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	*gam*, *gom*	*gien*	*gien*	*gim*, *gym*	*gimh*
2	*gah*; *gagh*	*gien*	n/a		
3	*ga/gaa*	*gien*	*gah*		

The other modal verb *edtjedh* 'shall' usually shows no reduction in the data. However, one speaker systematically shortens the verb by omitting its first syllable. The following forms are attested (the regular forms in parentheses):

Table 6.31: The 'contracted' forms of the modal verb *edtjedh* 'shall'

	Singular	Plural
1	*tjib* (*edtjib*)	*tjibh* (*edtjibh*)
2	n/a	n/a
3	*tje* (*edtji*)	*tjin* (*edtjin*)

It is unclear what tense the contracted forms should be analysed as, or if they can be analysed with respect to tense. The forms clearly reflect past tense verb forms, but their use is less clear in that respect.

Whereas the reduction of *edtjedh* is restricted to one idiolect only in the present material, the reduced forms have been recognized by several speakers from the northern dialects, and they are also used in written language by some South Saami writers, such as Ando Andersson 2017.

6.7 Tense, aspect and mood

There are six TMA-categories in South Saami: the PRESENT, PAST, FUTURE, PERFECT, PLUPERFECT and PROGRESSIVE (present and past). The function and use of the categories are explained and exemplified in the following sections.

Of these categories, only the PRESENT and PAST correspond to inflectional verb forms. The PERFECT, PLUPERFECT and PROGRESSIVE are expressed periphrastically.

6.7.1 PRESENT

The PRESENT in South Saami has a variety of uses and its function extends into aspectual readings as well. The attested uses are general truth, a situation that is true in the present, progressive, habitual, future time reference and historical present. Examples for each use are given below.

Example (6.28) is a general truth statement:

(6.28) *gosse båeries sjädta   dillie mojhtese*
      when old   become.PRS.3SG then   memory

      geerve-be   sjidtija
      difficult-COMP become.PRS.3SG

      'When you become old, then memory becomes more difficult.'

      [sma20181025b]e/f

Note that in example (6.28) above, the speaker inflects the verb (*sjidte-* 'become' (Class 1a)) according to two different inflectional patterns; first, according to Class 1a, then according to the pattern of Class 3. No further explanation of this variation can be given at this point, apart from that Class 1a and 2 also can be inflected according to pattern 3. However, usually this variation is not observed in the same clause.

The PRESENT can describe a situation that is true for the present, the moment of utterance, as in ex. (6.29) (Recorded while the speaker talks to her sister on the phone):

(6.29) *manne   govle-m   dijjien   tjaebpies vearelde*
      1SG.NOM hear.PRS-1SG 2PL.GEN nice   weather.NOM

      'I hear you have nice weather.' [sma20180607a]

The progressive reading is exemplified in (6.30):

(6.30) *manne*   *lohke-m*   *akte-m*   *gärja-m*
        1SG.NOM read.PRS-1SG one-ACC.SG book-ACC.SG

        'I am reading a book.' [sma20170926e]e

The habitual reading of the PRESENT is exemplified in ex. (6.31) and (6.32):

(6.31) *Pååle jih aehtje-be   lyjhkie-n   prihtjege-m*
        Paul and father-RELAT like.PRS-1DU coffee-ACC.SG
        jovkedh
        drink.INF

        'Paul and his father like to drink coffee.' [sma20170926h]e

(6.32) *dah*   *sinsitnine soptsestie-n fierhte-n   biejjie-n*
        3PL.NOM REC.COM   talk.PRS-1DU each-GEN.SG day-GEN.SG

        'They talk with each other every day.' [sma20170926d]e

In addition to a habitual reading of the present tense, habituality can be expressed lexically by the verb *provhkedh* 'use to' in South Saami (and as such, it is not considered a grammatical category). The verb *provhkedh* is a loan word from Scandinavian (Norw. *bruke*/ Swe. *bruka* 'use, use to'), and its use in South Saami is similar to the use in the two Scandinavian languages, see examples (6.33) and (6.34):

(6.33) *provhke-m*   *biene-m*   *meatan vaeltedh*
        use.to.PRS-1SG dog-ACC.SG with   take.INF

        'I usually take the dog with me.' (Swe. *Jag brukar ta hunden med mig*) [sma20160315a]e

(6.34) *[...] dam   geajna-m   [...] maam   mijjieh*
        [...] 3SG.ACC road-ACC.SG [...] REL.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM
        provhke-be   vaadtjij   eejnegen
        use.to.PRS-1PL walk.INF always

        'This road that we always use to go.' [sma20190729a]

Quite frequently, present tense verb forms are used in narratives or narration that took place in the past, as in example (6.35) and (6.36):

(6.35) *jih   dle tjahkasji-bie dennie   gåate-sne*
        and so sit.PRS-1PL ADN.DEM.PROX.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG
        boelv-i   nelnie
        knee-GEN.PL ontop

        'And so we sit (sat) in that house on knees.' [sma20170919a]

222

(6.36) *vuelke-be   dan   skåage-se   jih*
        travel.PRS-1PL   ADN.DEM.ILL.SG   forest-ILL.SG   and

        tseegk-i-n   dagkeres   laanoe-gåetie-h   jih   dejtie
        set.up-PST-3PL   such   needle-house-NOM.PL   and   3PL.ILL

        ledtie-n-biesie-h   aaj   vaaksjoeji-bie
        bird-GEN.SG-nest-NOM.PL   also   examine.PRS-1PL

        'We go (=went) to the forest and built such branch-houses and we
        examine (=examined) these bird nests.' [sma20170919a]

Such a use of the present tense is found in other languages, for instance
English or Swedish. It is sometimes described as *historical present* (Quirk
et al., 1985, p.181), and renders the narrative in a more vivid manner.

Another function of the present is future reference as in example (6.37),
which is also known from other languages, such as English (Quirk *et al.*, 1985,
p.182):

(6.37) *dellie   manne   datnine   sijhte-m   saemiestidh*
        now   1SG.NOM   2SG.COM   want.PRS-1SG   talk.Saami.INF

        barre   saemiestidh
        only   talk.saami

        'Now I want to talk Saami with you, only talk Saami.'

        [sma20180607a]

6.7.2   PAST

The PAST is used to refer to events and actions in the past, which are completed
before the time of utterance. Remoteness in time is not relevant for the use of
the PAST. Example (6.38) refers to an action that took place yesterday, whereas
example (6.39) refers to an action that took place several decades ago:

(6.38) *jååktan   aehtje-tje   guakta-h   staare-se   vöölk-i-n*
        yesterday   father-DIM   two-COLL   city-ILL.SG   travel-PST-3PL

        'Yesterday, father and child went into town.' [sma20170915c]e

(6.39) *daalvege   dah   göökte   daelvie-h   manne*
        during.winter   3PL.NOM   two   winter-NOM.PL   1SG.NOM

        snarra-h   tseegk-i-m   ledtie-h   biks-i-m
        trap-NOM.PL   build-PST-1SG   bird-NOM.PL   take-PST-1SG

        'During winter, these two winters, I set up traps and took birds.'
        [sma20170516a]

Example (6.40) refers to a state in the past:

(6.40) *aahka   gon   aajja   desnie   hööltest-i-n*
        grandmother CONJ grandfather DEM.LOC.SG live-PST-3PL

        dennie   gåete-sne
        ADN.DEM.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG

        'Grandmother and Grandfather lived here in that house.'

        [sma20170922i]

Habituality in the past can be expressed with the verb *provhkedh* in the past tense, as in (6.41):

(6.41) *mijjieh   provhk-ij-o   tjoejkij   Haandskina-sse*
        1PL.NOM   use.to-PST-1PL ski.INF   Handskinnsvålen-ILL.SG

        'We used to ski to Handskinnsvålen.' [sma20180614a]

6.7.3 FUTURE

Future time reference is encoded in two different ways: (i) with the present tense, see § 6.7.1 above; and (ii) by periphrastic expressions which involve the modal verbs *edtjedh* 'shall' and *galkedh* 'shall'. These verbs show inflectional irregularities (see § 6.6 above) and reflect an ongoing process of grammaticalization. Whereas *edtjedh* is attested both in its full and its contracted form, *galkedh* is only attested in its contracted forms in the data.

Based on the current data, there is no semantic difference between the verb *edtjedh* and *galkedh*. They can occur in the same idiolect, and one and the same speaker may alternate between them (example (6.42) and (6.48) are produced by the same speaker). There is, however, a regional difference: *galkedh* is attested in the southern dialects only.

Examples (6.42) and (6.43) show the uncontracted forms of *edtjedh*:

(6.42) *daelie **edtje-m**   soptsestidh guktie mijjieh*
        now   shall.PRS-1SG talk.INF   how   1PL.NOM

        veasa-minie geasege
        live-PROG   summer.ADV

        'Now I will tell how we (were)[60] living during summer.'

        [sma20180605c]

---

[60]This is an example of the past progressive with an omitted auxiliary, cf. the pluperfect construction, and shows that even the distinction progressive/past progressive depends on the context.

(6.43) *daelie ibie   åadtjoe-h daelie tjoere-bie*
        now   NEG.AUX.PRS.1PL get-CNG   now   must.PRS-1PL

        *söökedh   kommun   jis **edtje-be**   sijhte-be*
        apply.INF (municipality) if   shall.PRS-1PL want.PRS-1PL

        dahkoe bäjjese gööledh
        thither up   fish.INF

        'Nowadays we are not allowed [to fish there], now we must apply
        at the municipality if we are going to, if we want to fish up there.
        [sma20171002f]

Below, examples for the contracted forms of *edtjedh* are given:

(6.44) *så aahka   gujht tjuvtjied-i   vuesieht-i   gåapbh*
        so grandmother EMP   point-PST.3SG show-PST.3SG where.to

        ***tje**   dan vuelkedh*
        shall.3SG so   travel.INF

        'So grandmother pointed and showed in which direction he had to
        go.' (*About a young German deserter during WWII, who came ski-
        ing across the mountains and asked what direction Sweden was.*)
        [sma20170927a]

(6.45) *akte-n   jaepie-n   månnoeh Pia majhta-ji-b*
        one-GEN.SG year-GEN.SG 1DU.NOM Pia remember-PST-1SG

        ***tjibh**   vuelkedh jih dle **tjibh**   dej*
        shall.PST.1PL go.INF   and so   shall.PST.1PL DEM.GEN.PL

        såål-i   mietie nulhtjedh
        island-GEN.PL along   hop.INF

        'One year me and Pia, I remember, we went to travel and went island-
        hopping.' [sma20170927d]

(6.46) *gosse lea   jeamkelde sjidte-me   dellie*
        when be.PRS.3SG dark   become-PTCP then

        *aangken-h   **tjin**   sjeavedh arredh*
        child-NOM.PL shall.PST.3PL quiet   be.INF

        'When it has gotten dark then the children need to be quiet.'
        [sma20170926l]

The modal verb *galkedh* is only attested in its contracted form in the data:

(6.47) *manne   **gam**   dam   darjedh*
        1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG 3SG.ACC do.INF

        'I shall do this.' [sma20170516c]

225

(6.48) *tjidtjie* *jeeht-i* *dihte* **gah** *tjohpe-m*
mother say-PST.3SG 3SG.NOM shall.PRS.3SG hat-ACC.SG

gåaredh
sew.INF

'Mother said she will sew a hat.' [sma20170923j]

There is furthermore variation of the vowel in /gam/ (shall.PRS.1SG). As a rule, it is pronounced [kam] (see example 6.47), but [ku-] *gom* is also attested (as in example (6.49):

(6.49) *im* *manne* *daejrie-h* *mij* *dihte*
NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM know-CNG what DEM.NOM.SG

'eeledh' *manne* **gom** *baakoe-gärja-m*
raise.INF 1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG word-book-ACC.SG

veetjedh
fetch.INF

'I don't know what this verb *eeledh* means, I will get the dictionary.' [sma20180605a]

The future time is subsequent to the reference time, which can also be the past. In the data, the modal verbs usually occur in the past tense in such contexts, as in example (6.44), (6.45) and (6.46) above. However, they may also occur in the present tense, as examples (6.50) and (6.51) below demonstrate (code switching to Swedish is indicated with square brackets in (6.51)).

(6.50) *jih* *mannem* *aaj* *noerhk-i* *manne* **gom**
and 1SG.ACC also force-PST.3SG 1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG

åaranidh *jih* *leekedidh*
lay.down.INF and rest.INF

'And he forced me as well I shall lay down and rest.' [sma20180605c]

(6.51) *nää* *mijjieh* *barre* *ussjeda-mme* *jaa* *numhtie*
no 1PL.NOM only think-PTCP yes this.way

edtja *årrodh,* *jaa* *mijjieh* **edtje-be** *numhtie*
shall.PRS.3SG be.INF yes 1PL.NOM shall.PRS.1PL this.way

darjodh, *vaedtsedh* *skuvle-se* *[och så]* *vuelkedh*
do.INF go.INF school-ILL.SG (and so) travel.INF

numhtie
this.way

'Nah we just thought well now it is going to be like this, yes now we do it like that, go to school and travel like that.'[sma20180804g]

Distance from time of reference is not fixed; the future time referred to can be immediate and follow directly, as in example (6.52).

(6.52)   *nov* *maam*   *edtje-m*   *dellie* *maam*   *vielie*
        well what.ACC.SG shall.PRS-1SG now   what.ACC.SG more
        joo *dle* *[...]*
        yes well [...]
        'So what shall I [say] more now yes well [...].' [sma20171002e]

6.7.4 PERFECT

The PERFECT is commonly used to refer to events of the past that are still true or relevant at present. It is a category that is often expressed by a periphrastic construction (consisting of a personal pronoun or noun, the finite auxiliary *lea-* 'be' in present tense and the main verb in the non-finite perfect participle), as in example (6.53) below, or simply with a non-finite verb form, as the auxiliary is omitted more often than not (example (6.54):

(6.53)   *manne*   **leam**   **vuajne-me** *jeenj-h*   *riepie-h*
        1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG see-PTCP   many-NOM.PL fox-NOM.PL
        'I have seen many foxes.' [sma20170920e]

(6.54)   *men* *gosse* **vaadtje-me** *manne*   *ussjede-m*
        but when walk-PTCP 1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG
        gom   *akte-m*   *riekte* *geajna-m*   *vaadtjij*
        shall.PRS.1SG one-ACC.SG direct way-ACC.SG walk.INF
        'But when I had walked I think I shall take a shortcut.'
        [sma20190729a]

The construction without auxiliary is the most frequent pattern in the data. Thus, a description as a *periphrastic* construction might not be entirely accurate; instead, the perfect can be described as being expressed simply with a non-finite verb form.

Overt subject marking is not obligatory either in the PERFECT construction. Usually, we will find the auxiliary in such constructions, as in example (6.55):

(6.55)   *ijje* *ij*   *leah*   *mov*   *naan* *bienje*
        no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG 1SG.GEN some dog.NOM
        men *bienje-m*   **leam**   **atne-me**
        but dog-ACC.SG be.PRS.1SG have-PTCP
        'No, I don't have a dog, but I had a dog.' [sma20170921h]

However, both the auxiliary and any overt marking of the subject can be omitted. Here, the subject needs to be inferred from discourse. In example (6.54), the subject (the pronoun *manne* 'I'), is omitted in the first phrase (*men gosse vaadtjeme* 'but when (I had) gone'). A clearer example is the question posed in (6.56) and the narrative in (6.57):

(6.56)　*mah gaahto-se beapma-h   vadte-me?*
　　　　 Q   cat-ILL.SG food-NOM.PL give-PTCP

　　　　 '(Have you) given food to the cat?' [sma20170921e]

(6.57)　*jih   gosse gööle-me dellie guelie-gujmie bööt-i-n*
　　　　 and   when fish-PTCP then   fish-COM.PL   come-PST-3PL

　　　　 'And when (people/someone) had fished then they came with fish.'
　　　　 [sma20170924b]

The subject needs to be inferred from context. Such omissions seem to be typical for spoken South Saami. (The subject in the latter example (6.57) is not impersonal, as the speaker is talking about the village community and thus referring to the members of the village. Impersonal constructions are usually expressed with the third person singular or plural present tense.)

There is no difference in the reading of the perfect between actions (as in (6.57) or (6.58)) or states (as in (6.59)).

(6.58)　*aehtjie lea   fealloe-h   vaalte-me meatan jih*
　　　　 father   be.PRS.3SG plank-NOM.PL take-PTCP with   and

　　　　 dle dihte   darjoe-ji   aajroe-h
　　　　 so   3SG.NOM make-PST.3SG oar-NOM.PL

　　　　 'Father had taken planks with him and so he made oars.'
　　　　 [sma20171002f]

(6.59)　*jaa dellie Anna guhkien gåate-sne   orreme*
　　　　 yes now   Anna long   house-LOC.SG be.PTCP

　　　　 'Yes now Anna has been home a long time.' [sma20180607a]

Furthermore, there seems to be no restriction in using the perfect for consecutive states of the past. In the following example 6.60, the state of "having two brothers" (perfect of *atneme* 'have') is no longer true at present:

(6.60) *na   mov   lea   akte-m   vielle-m*
        well 1SG.GEN   be.PRS.3SG one-ACC.SG   brother-ACC.SG

        manne   hov   göökte   viell-h   atne-me   men
        1SG.NOM   EMP   two   brother-NOM.PL   have-PTCP   but

        dihte   bååras-ommes   sealada-mme
        3SG.NOM   old-SUP   die-PTCP

        'Well I have one brother hmm well I had two brothers but the older
        has died.' [sma20170913h]

This shows that the categories PERFECT and the PLUPERFECT are mor-
phosyntactically not kept apart (see § (6.7.5)).

6.7.5 PLUPERFECT

The PLUPERFECT is used to refer to events of the past that were relevant in the
past or for a situation in the past. The pluperfect is expressed in a periphrastic
construction with the perfect participle and the auxiliary in the past tense. An
example is given in 6.61 below.

(6.61) *jaa* **lim**   *manne*   *tjädtjan*   **jeahta-mme**
        yes   be.PST.1SG   1SG.NOM   mother.ILL.SG   say-PTCP

        im   *leah*   *manne*   *suure*
        NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   be.CNG   1SG.NOM   grumpy

        im   *manne*   *guarka-h*
        NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM   understand-CNG

        dom   *niejte-m*
        DEM.DIST.ACC.SG   girl-ACC.SG

        'Well, I had said to mother, "I am not grumpy, I don't understand
        that girl".' [sma20170923d]

The pluperfect is used in narratives to refer to an event (in example (6.62)
below: taming reindeer) that took place prior to another event (using the rein-
deer as pack animals, Swe. *klövja*).

(6.62) *dellie gujht tjoer-i-bh   da   tjimkedh   ja   sån*
       now sure must-PST-1PL PTCL pack.animal.INF yes PTCL

       sjlyöp-i-bh   guetedh   gaajke-m   göökte golme
       escape-PST-1PL carry.INF everything-ACC.SG two   three

       *ruantja-h   mah   **lin**   **deeme-me***
       tame.reindeer-NOM.PL REL.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL tame-PTCP

       dah   dejtie   gujht tjimk-i-bh
       3PL.NOM 3PL.ACC sure pack.animal-PST-1PL

       'Now well we had to use pack animals so we didn't have to carry everything, two three tame reindeer which we had tamed, we packed these.' [sma20180615a]

Example 6.63 demonstrates that the pluperfect is used for events that are no longer or not true for the present.

(6.63) *jis **limh**   bovhtse-gujmie   **giehtela-mme**   dellie*
       if be.PST.1PL reindeer-COM.PL be.occupied-PTCP then

       lim   gujht maahte-me vuelkedh   dahkoe gööledh
       be.PST.1SG sure can-PTCP travel.INF thither fish.INF

       guktie sijhte-m
       how   want.PRS-1SG

       'If we had been working with reindeer then I had been able to go there and fish how I want.' [sma20171002f]

Even if the auxiliary (in the past form) is needed to distinguish the PLU-PERFECT from the PERFECT, it is not obligatory and can be omitted (cf. section (6.7.4) on the perfect). Thus, the morphosyntactic contrast between PERFECT and PLUPERFECT may depend on context alone. An example for this is (6.57) above and (6.64) below.

(6.64) *jih   muvhtene gåetie goehpe-me   aaj*
       and   sometimes house mould-PTCP also

       'And sometimes the hut (had) moulded also.' [sma20180607a]

Example (6.64) is semantically past perfect, but does not differ from a PERFECT construction.

The issue whether these language examples reflect a possibly imperfect use of a highly endangered (and discontinued) language is a relevant question. All examples in this section, however, are produced in free speech by speakers of the language that are regarded as very active, reliable and skilful speakers by the South Saami community. I therefore dare say that the examples are sound,

and they rather make a strong point in the variation that South Saami allows. Omitting the auxiliary, which leads to an unclear morphosyntactic distinction between PERFECT and PLUPERFECT, are obviously possible in South Saami. Constructions **with** the auxiliary (in the past tense) still occur frequently in the data (code switching to Norwegian is indicated with square brackets), as shown in (6.65) and (6.66).

(6.65) *dah*   ***lin***   ***vearada-mme*** *noerhtene* *Tromsø*
        3PL.NOM be.PST.3PL stay-PTCP   in.the.north Tromsø
        [årsmøte]
        (annual.meeting)

        'They **had been** up north in Tromsø at an annual meeting.' [sma20171002e] (About a delegation of South Saami reindeer herders, who in post war times crashed with a poorly maintained bus on their way back from a meeting. The fatal incident had a big impact on the small South Saami community.)

(6.66) *såemies* *tjaktje-n*   *joo* ***lij***   ***sjidte-me***
        a.certain autumn-GEN.SG yes be.PST.3SG become-PTCP
        lopme *ja* *daelhkie*   *lij*   *gujht*   *så*
        snow yes skiing.conditions be.PST.3SG certainly so
        tjoer-i-n   *tjoejkedh*
        must-PST-3PL ski.INF

        'One autumn, snow **had fallen** and it was skiing conditions (Swed/Nor. *före/føre*) so you had to ski.' [sma20170927a]

6.7.6 PROGRESSIVE

The category PROGRESSIVE is difficult to define, but "could be labelled as an 'ongoing activity'" (Dahl, 1985, p.91). In South Saami, it is a paraphrastically expressed category and usually consists of a subject (a noun, pronoun or a proper name), a finite form of the auxiliary *lea-* and the non-finite progressive form of the lexical verb. The subject is not obligatory and can be omitted if pragmatics allow for it. The auxiliary is almost always omitted. A bold analysis could describe the progressive form becoming a finite form (the same could be said for the perfect). Examples are provided in 6.67 (from elicitation) and 6.68 (from spontaneous speech; the speaker was talking to her sister on the phone):

(6.67) *Hilje* *Mikaele-m*   *vuertie-minie*
        Hilje Michael-ACC.SG wait-PROG

        'Eliah is waiting for Michael.' [sma20180608b]e

(6.68) *Richarde daesnie jih månnoeh saemien gieli-ne*
Richard   here   and 1DU.NOM Saami   language-COM.SG

giehtele-minie   jih dle manne   akte-m
be.occupied-PROG and now 1SG.NOM one-ACC.SG

gyhtjelasse-m   atna-m   dutnan
question-ACC.SG have.PRS-1SG 2SG.ILL

'Richard is here and we are working with South Saami and now I have a question for you.' [sma20180607a]

As these examples show, the progressive in South Saami is used for an 'ongoing activity'. On the other hand, the present tense has a progressive reading as well (see § 6.7.1). In elicited sentences (that provided a clear context of an ongoing activity), speakers use both the progressive and the present. This is illustrated below with the same sentence elicited with three different speakers: In example (6.69), the progressive is used with both verbs in the clause. In ex. (6.70), the present is used for 'read' and the progressive for 'prepare'. In example (6.71), the progressive is used for 'read' and the present for 'prepare'.

(6.69) *manne   gärja-m   lohke-minie jih Piere lea*
1SG.NOM book-ACC.SG read-PROG   and Per   be.PRS.3SG

beapmo-jde   jurjehte-minie
food-ACC.PL   prepare-PROG

'I am reading a book and Per is making food.' [sma20170920b]e

(6.70) *manne   akte-m   gärja-m   lohke-m   jih*
1SG.NOM one-ACC.SG book-ACC.SG read.PRS-1SG and

Piere beapmoe-h   jurjehte-minie
Per   food-NOM.PL   prepare-PROG

'I am reading a book and Per is making food.' [sma20179615b]e

(6.71) *manne   gärja-m   lohke-minie jih Piere beapmoe-h*
1SG.NOM book-ACC.SG read-PROG   and Per   food-NOM.PL

jurjehte
prepare.PRS.3SG

'I am reading a book and Per is making food.' [sma20170921e]e

The progressive does not seem to be an obligatory category and the "distinction between progressive and nonprogressive meaning by means of progressive and nonprogressive forms" (Comrie, 1976, p. 33) is not obligatory. However, it is a frequently occurring verb form in South Saami, and two arguments for the progressive as a category are put forwad here:

First, the progressive does not occur with stative verbs such as *know, can, love*; **daejrieminie*, **maehtieminie* for instance are not attested in the corpus. The form does, however, occur with the other verb types of Vendler, cf. Vafaeian (2018, p. 6), i.e. activities (*barkaminie* 'working'), accomplishments or achievements.

Second, the use of the progressive can be triggered by pragmatics: When there is a *contrast* between an ongoing activity ("durative event") and a "punctual reference time" (Vafaeian, 2018, p. 8), the progressive is strongly preferred, see the following examples (6.72) (elicited) and (6.73) (spontaneous speech; the speaker tells about a journey to Hamburg, Germany, over Christmas). In both examples, the past progressive construction (the auxiliary in past tense) is used:

(6.72)   *gosse Jåvva bööt-i   Anne lij   annje*
           when Johan come-PST.3SG Ann be.PST.3SG still

           barka-minie
           work-PROG

           'When John came [home], Ann was still working.' [sma20170927g]e

(6.73)   *gosse dam   lim   peehke-minie dle dihte*
           when 3SG.ACC be.PST.1SG pack-PROG   so   3SG.NOM

           mov   graanna bööt-i   gijhtj-i   mejtie
           1SG.GEN neighbour come-PST.3SG ask-PST.3SG Q/whether

           voesse-m   daarpesj-i-m
           sack-ACC.SG need-PST-1SG

           'When I was packing it [the suitcase] then my neighbour came and asked whether I needed a sack.' [sma20170927c]

These examples use the periphrastic PAST PROGRESSIVE construction, formed with the auxiliary in the past tense. One could argue that the past progressive thus is more stable than the present progressive. However, in the following example (6.74), the auxiliary is omitted, despite the fact that the event that took place in the past. Similarly to the pluperfect (see § 6.7.5), this omission is reoccurring in the data.

(6.74) *manne*   *olkese*   *vealke-me* *dihte*   *olkese*   *vaadtja-ji*
        1SG.NOM   outside   go-PTCP   3SG.NOM   outside   walk-PST.3SG

        manne-m   *ohtj-i*   *jih* *dle* *vuajn-i*   *manne*
        1SG.ACC   search-PST.3SG   and   so   see-PST.3SG   1SG.NOM

        gaaldie-n   *sisnie* *tjåadtja-minie*
        spring-GEN.SG   inside   stand-PROG

'I had gone outside, he went outside and looked for me and then he saw (that) I (am/was) standing inside the spring (Swe. *kallkälla*).' [sma20180605c]

Note that the progressive is used with the verb for 'to stand' (not a stative, but an event). There is, again, a contrast between 'he sees' and 'she is standing', where *standing* is the durative event in this context.

In summary, the use of the progressive seems to be strongly preferred in contrastive events, such as described in the three examples (6.72), (6.73) and (6.74) above. The auxiliary is not obligatory, neither in the present nor in the past progressive.

If the context does not provide a contrast, the speaker can choose either the progressive or the present tense. Other pragmatic explanations for the use of the progressive in non-contrastive contexts are possible (such as a "degree of language genuinity") but cannot be accounted for at this point.

An initial hypothesis that there is a difference in the use of the progressive in activities involving unspecific objects as opposed to specific objects could not be confirmed. See example (6.75) where an unspecific object ('potatoes') align with the progressive, as opposed to example (6.76), where the present in its progressive reading is used with a specific object:

(6.75) *dihte*   *peara-h*   *skeele-minie*
        3SG.NOM   potatoe-NOM.PL   peel-PROG

        'S/he is peeling potatoes.' [sma20170927g]e

(6.76) *dihte*   *gaajhkh* *pear-ide*   *skealie*
        3SG.NOM   all   potatoe-ACC.PL   peel.PRS.3SG

        'S/he peels all potatoes.' [sma20170927g]e

However, non-specific atelic activity ('forest work') as in example (6.77) can also be expressed with the present, and specific objects are frequently paired with present tense as in example (6.78):

(6.77) *dan*   *aehtjie* *skåajje-sne*   *barka*
        3SG.GEN   father   forest-LOC.SG   work.PRS.3SG

        'His father works in the forest.' [sma20170923g]e

(6.78) *manne   gärja-m   lohke-minie*
       1SG.NOM   book-ACC.SG   read-PROG

       'I am reading a book.' [sma20170921e]e

The progressive can be juxtaposed to a converb form as in the following examples (6.79) and (6.80):

(6.79) *manne   tjåadtja-n   tjöönghke-minie frukt-h*
       1SG.NOM   stand-CVB   gather-PROG   fruit-NOM.PL

       'I stand gathering fruits.' [sma20181025k]

(6.80) *men åvtelen dah   lievies   tjahka-n jovhke-minie*
       but   before   3PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   sit-CVB   drink-PROG

       'But before they were sitting (and) drinking.' [sma20181025u]

The combination of the converb form of 'sit' and a progressive is a reoccurring pattern in the data. This probably tells more about the use of the form *tjahkan* than about the progressive, and possibly indicates an ongoing process of *grammaticalization* of *tjahkan* (see the section about converbs).

Two progressive verb forms in juxtaposition are possible. The following example – *giehteleminie lohkeminie*, 'being occupied reading' in (6.81) – was freely provided in elicitation:

(6.81) *dihte   giehtele-minie   lohke-minie*
       3SG.NOM   be.occupied-PROG   read-PROG

       'S/he is occupied reading.' [sma20170927h]e/f

Whereas such constructions as the one shown in (6.81) are not ungrammatical, they are judged to sound "too heavy" and unneccessary by the speakers. (Juxtaposition of present tense verb forms on the other hand are attested frequently.)

6.7.7   IMPERATIVE

There is one main non-indicative mood in South Saami, the IMPERATIVE. It is formally distinct from indicative forms for the second person singular only and is used for commands. The form is presented in § 6.4.5. Examples are given in (6.82) and (6.83) below. The latter is a greeting rather than a prototypical command, but it is one of few examples of an imperative used in spontaneous speech in the data.

(6.82) **vuartesj-h** *dom*   *tjoejhke-m*   *dihte*
see-IMP   DEM.DIST.ACC.SG   insect-ACC.SG   3SG.NOM

baska!
sting.PRS.3SG

'Watch that mosquito over there, it stings!' [sma20180606a]e/f

(6.83) **utnie-h** *dellie hijven jih* **heels-h**!
have-IMP now   good   and   greet-IMP

'Have a good one and say hi!' Swe. 'Ha det bra och hälsa!'
[sma20180607a]

Plural and dual imperative uses the indicative form, see example (6.84):

(6.84) *dellie* **fihke-de**   *murredem utnedh!*
now   get-PRS.2PL   pleasant   have.INF

'Have a good one!' (Swe. 'Nu får ni ha det bra!') [sma20180607a]

Hortative and jussive forms or constructions are not attested in the data.

6.7.7.1 Negative imperative: Prohibitive and admonitive

As mentioned in § 6.5, there are two imperative forms of the negative auxiliary. They are used for prohibition (*aellieh*!) and an admonitive mood (*ollh*!), in combination with the irrealis form (in its function as the connegative) of the lexical verb. See the following examples:

(6.85) *aellieh*   *bill-h!*
PROHIB   be.scared-CNG

'Don't be scared!' [sma20170913k]

Whereas *aellieh*! is used for prohibition, the admonitive form *olles*! expresses warning or refers to something one should not do:

(6.86) *geeht-h*   *olles*   *gahtj-h!*
watch.out-IMP   ADMON   fall-CNG

'Watch out so that you don't fall!' [sma20180608k]

(6.87) *tjoer-i*   *staaran steeredh olles*   *idtji*
must-PST.3SG   steady   hold.INF   ADMON   NEG.AUX.PST.3SG

leejhk-h
spill-CNG

'You needed to hold [the milk can] steady so that you didn't spill.'
[sma20180615a]

7. Adjectives and quantifiers

7.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are an open and relatively large word class in South Saami. The class of adjectives is smaller than both verbs and nouns in the language, but still large.[61] Compared to the same sample of the data, the number of adjectives (types) is about one third of the number of nouns. Furthermore, the word class has comparatively few loans. Adjectives differ from other word classes as they cannot be classified into inflectional groups, but are rather characterized by their formal variation. They may end on different vowels or consonants, and some few adjectives present stem vowel alternation in the comparative form.

This chapter is organized as follows. The current section serves as an introduction and overview of relevant categories of adjectives in South Saami. In section (7.1.1), the distribution of adjectives in the data is discussed, such as *frequency*, *semantic properties expressed by adjectives* and *loans* in the word class. In § 7.1.2, the following morpho-syntactic issues are addressed: The matter of *attributive and predicative adjective forms*, *predicative adjectives*, the *order of adjectives* in a NP, *agreement* in a NP, *adjectives in elliptic NPs*, *restrictions* of a loan adjective for small and a comment on the *four attested words for 'good'* in the language. In § 7.1.3, the encoding of comparison is presented.

There are two issues that require further attention: first, attributive and predicative forms of adjectives, or rather a discussion of the remnants of that system (§ 7.1.2.2), and second, a group of adjectives that only occur as predicates (§ 7.1.2.3) but cannot be used as attributive modifiers. While most adjectives have only one form in South Saami, a number of adjectives have different forms in attributive and predicative position in the positive degree. Historically, there is a morphological relation between these forms, but synchronically, no systematic relation can be described. Instead, a complex system of variation in form and use emerges in the data, which is discussed below. The subset of adjectives which only occur in predicative position mainly express properties that are prone to change, that is, are temporally unstable.[62]

---

[61] See Dixon (1977) for a discussion on the word class *adjectives*.
[62] Similar ideas have been articulated before, see e.g. Stassen (2003, p. 171).

Adjectives do not inflect for case or number, and do not agree with their heads in South Saami. In a noun phrase, the noun is preceded by the adjective, that is, the order of an attributive adjective and noun is ADJ-N. Comparative and superlative degrees are formed with suffixes. Comparative constructions can be formed either with a locational comparative (§ 7.1.3.2) or with particles (§ 7.1.3.2).

New members to the word class of adjectives can be borrowed or derived. Adjectives can be derived from other parts of speech such as nouns and verbs. All properties associated with core adjectives (e.g. AGE, DIMENSION, VALUE, COLOUR, SHAPE, SPEED etc., cf. e.g. (Dixon, 1977, p. 46ff) or (Payne, 1997, p. 63)) can be expressed by adjectives in South Saami. Most adjectives can function as attributive modifiers; all adjectives can be used to state or specify a property. Temporary properties can also be encoded by verbs instead of using adjectival constructions, e.g. *billedh* 'be scared', *måarahtovvedh* 'be(come) angry', *naelkedh* 'be hungry', *gojhkelovvedh* 'be thirsty' (see also § 13.1 on verbal encoding of predicates).

In contrast to the other major word classes, adjectives present considerable variation in their lexical form. It is therefore not possible to establish different groups of adjectives, based on e.g. a certain stem or thematic vowel (see also Bergsland (1946, p. 115)). However, many adjectives end on the vowels *-ie* or *-e*, or on *-s*.

7.1.1 Distribution of adjectives in the data

The basis for the present description of adjectives are 104 different adjectives attested in the corpus. Most of these occurred in spontaneous speech. Of these 104 adjectives, 38 are attested in both attributive and predicative position. A subset of adjectives can function only predicatively; at least 14 adjectives were confirmed to occur in predicative position only (e.g. *gallas* 'full (of food)' (non-derived adjective) or *jovhkeds* 'drunk' (derived adjective); see § 7.1.2.3 below. Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives were partly obtained in elicitation.

7.1.1.1 Frequent adjectives

The ten most frequent adjectives in the corpus are listed in Table (7.1). The most frequent semantic properties expressed are DIMENSION, AGE and VALUE. This ties in with hierarchies of properties usually expressed by adjectives, see for instance Dixon (1977) or Payne (1997, p. 63).

Note that *buerie* 'good' is considerably less frequent than *hijven* 'good', as *buerie* is semantically more restricted (see § 7.1.2.7 below).

Table 7.1: The 10 most frequent adjectives in the data

	Adjective	Gloss	Tokens
1	*ohtje; onne*	'little'	80
2	*stoere*	'big, large'	45
3	*båeries*	'old'	42
4	*hijven*	'good'	37
5	*guhkie(s)*	'long'	21
6	*luste(s)*	'fun, nice'	18
7	*noere(s)*	'young'	14
8	*tjaebpie(s)*	'nice'	11
9	*väjkele(s)*	'smart, skillful'	10
10	*buerie*	'good'	9

7.1.1.2 Semantic properties of adjectives

A sample of 90 adjectives[63] (types) was classified into semantic domains (Dixon, 1977, p. 16). The large body of adjectives is formed by adjectives denoting PHYSICAL PROPERTY and HUMAN PROPENSITY; together, they constitute about 70 percent. The remaining properties are significantly less populated: Ten adjectives were found to describe VALUE, eight describe DIMENSION, seven are COLOUR words, three adjectives cover AGE and one adjective in the data describes SPEED. See Table 7.2 for percentages and examples.

Table 7.2: Semantic properties of adjectives

Property	Percent	Examples
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	39%	*gejhkie* 'dry', *jorpe* 'round'
HUMAN PROPENSITY	30%	*giefies* 'poor', *feejjene* 'happy'
VALUE	11%	*buerie* 'good', *nåake* 'bad'
DIMENSION	9%	*åenehks* 'short', *guhkies* 'long'
COLOUR	8%	*veelkes* 'white', *provne* 'brown'
AGE	2%	*båeries* 'old', *noere* 'young', *orre* 'new'
SPEED	1%	*sööjmes* 'slow'

While such a disposition may give an informative indication of the size of the groups, it is important not to draw too many conclusions on the numbers here. Adjectives in the less populated domains are often more basic (or the domains may even be finite, such as colours); therefore, the groups are smaller.

---

[63]Not all of the 104 attested adjectives are possible to directly classify into semantic domains. Therefore, the sample used here is slightly smaller.

The domain of dimension (see § 7.1.1.1) above) for instance has few, but fre-
quent adjectives. The larger domains contain more specialized adjectives and
those that denote temporally unstable properties.

7.1.1.3   Loan words in the adjective class

Of all adjective types in the data, 14 adjectives (approx. 14 percent) are loan
words from Scandinavian languages. This is slightly more than loans in verbs
(8%) but less than in nouns (23 %). Loans are usually incorporated in South
Saami phonotactics and morphology. For instance, the adjective *luste* 'fun,
nice', a frequent word, has both an attributive and a predicative form. Such
a pattern is associated with Saamic languages historically (see § 7.1.2.2). In
line with the morphology of borrowed verbs and nouns, most adjectives that
originate in loans end in the vowel -*e*. See Table 7.3 for examples.

Table 7.3: Loan adjectives

Loan	Gloss	Swe/Nor source
stoere	'big, large'	*stor*
tyske	'German'	*tysk*
säkere	'certain, sure'	*säker*
riktie	'right'	*riktig*
luste	'fun, nice'	*lustig*
sienhte	'late'	*sen(t)*
vearrebe	'better; more' (only COMP!)	*värre*

The loan *vearrebe* (also attested as *vierrebe*) is only attested in the com-
parative form; a corresponding positive form is not attested. Unlike the source
värre 'worse', *vierrebe* is only used positively in the data and is therefore
glossed 'better; more'. Note that the form is based on a form that is already in
the comparative degree (*värre*) in the source language Swedish. In Swedish,
värre 'worse' can also be used positively, meaning 'better, more daring'; cf.
e.g. *det var värst* 'that was great', literally 'that was worst', using the superla-
tive of 'bad'.[64] In the South Saami data, however, it is generally used positively
or as an intensifier 'more' (see also the periphrastic comparative constructions
in § 7.1.3.2).

---

[64]Note that this use of 'bad' is idiomatic and not the regular use in Swedish. In
Swedish, the superlative of 'bad' can be used in its literal sense as well as ironically.
The calque shows that irony is cross-linguistically common and a driving force of
change.

7.1.2 Morpho-syntactic behaviour of adjectives

The issue of attributive and predicative forms of adjectives is discussed in §
7.1.2.2. Adjectives that only occur in predicative position are presented in §
7.1.2.3. The order of adjectives in the noun phrase is presented in § 7.1.2.4,
agreement with heads in § 7.1.2.5, and adjectives in elliptic noun phrases in §
7.1.2.6. Two language specific features, the restriction of *smaave* 'small' and
four adjectives for 'good' are briefly covered in § 7.1.2.7 and § 7.1.2.8.

7.1.2.1 Adjectives as modifiers in the NP

Adjectives do not agree with the NP head in number or case, illustrated with
the adjective *båeries* 'old' in example (7.1) and (7.2):

(7.1) *båeries jih skiemtje almetj-h   viehkie-h*
   old and sick human-NOM.PL help-NOM.PL

   fihk-i-n
   get-PST-3PL

   'Old and sick people got help.' [sma20170924b]

  (*Viehkie* 'help' is marked for plural number; see § 5.2.3 on mass nouns in
South Saami.)

(7.2) *manne gujht da åadtj-i-m akte-m **båeries***
   1SG.NOM EMP PTCL get-PST-1SG one-ACC.SG old

   jovje-råahke-m
   light.grey-castrated.reindeer.buck-ACC.SG

   'I got an old reindeer.' [sma20180615a]

  The verb *fihkedh* 'to get, receive' is a Scandinavian loan word (*att få – jag
fick* 'to get, receive – I got'. The verb *åadtjedh* means 'to get, be allowed'.

7.1.2.2 Attributive and predicative forms of adjectives

Most adjectives in South Saami have one form only that is used in both attribu-
tive and predicative position. Five adjectives in the data have clearly distinct
forms in these positions. Another group are adjectives where these forms ap-
pear in flux. Finally, there is a group of predicative adjectives only. These
groups are illustrated and discussed in that order in this section here. Predica-
tive adjectives are presented in § 7.1.2.3.

  The large majority of adjectives in South Saami use the same form in at-
tributive and predicative position. About two thirds of all adjectives in the data

have identical forms in these two positions; see Table 7.4 for example adjectives. (The remaining adjectives, roughly one third, have either different forms or are restricted to predicative use only. No adjectives are attested to be used attributively only.)

Table 7.4: Example adjectives with one form only

Adjective	Gloss
ohtje (southern)	'little'
onne (standard)	'little'
jalle	'high'
geerve	'bad; difficult; grown-up'
nåake	'bad'
buerie	'good'
provne	'brown'
orre	'new'
båeries	'old'
kraevies	'grey'
rööpses	'red'
baahkes	'warm'
giemhpes	'kind'
låemties	'tame'
naskas	'irritating'
hijven	'good'

In the corpus, we find five out of 104 adjectives that regularly[65] show different forms in attributive and predicative position. These five adjectives are presented in Table 7.5. In the (synchronic) data, a clear morphological relationship between attributive and predicative forms cannot be established. Note that both attributive and predicative forms can end in *-s*. As such, the forms are erratic and impossible to predict.

Another group of adjectives are adjectives with different forms but with no clear distribution of their attributive and predicative use. Examples are listed in Table 7.6. In this respect, the different forms of these adjectives have a tendency to occur in free variation. Based on the data, a distinction between "attributive" and "predicative" form is not possible.

---

[65]By regularly I mean that one form is always used attributively and the other predicatively. Some of these adjectives have only a few tokens in the data, and variation in their use should therefore not be excluded.

Table 7.5: Adjectives with consistently different attributive and predicative forms in the data.

Attributive	Predicative	Gloss
guhkies	*guhkie*	'long'
murreds	*murrede*	'pleasant'
galme	*galmes*	'cold'
dieve	*dieves*	'full'
sjaavehts	*sjeavedh*	'quiet, still'

Table 7.6: Adjectives with different forms

Attributive and predicative	gloss
väjkeles, väjkele	'smart'
noere, noeres	'young'
luste, lustes	'fun'
tjaebpie, tjaebpies	'nice'
naelkies, naelkie	'tasty'
noerhte, noerhtes	'north'
plaave, plaaves	'blue'
bestele, besteles	'sharp'

The historical context

A feature that is often ascribed to adjectives in Saamic languages is different forms of adjectives in attributive versus predicative position (in the positive degree); see for instance Sammallahti (1998, p. 71). Prescriptive literature on South Saami also focuses on this trait (see e.g. Magga & Magga (2012, p. 66)), but this issue is far from clear in the data and needs discussion. In spoken South Saami, i.e. the corpus data, the use of attributive and predicative forms of adjectives shows variation and no clear distribution.

Historically, the attributive form is usually derived from the predicative form (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 71), often by a suffix *-s*. There is no semantic difference in adjectives in attributive or predicative position.

However, a "general tendency is noticeable in all Saamic languages [that] the distinct morphological marking of predicative and attributive adjectives is being abolished" (Rießler, 2016, p. 135). Also compare Pite Saami, in which there is "no clear or consistent morphological relationship synchronically between attributive adjectives and the corresponding predicative adjectives" (Wilbur, 2014, p. 134). In South Saami, the view (and usage) that adjectives have different forms in attributive and predicative position prevails

in general in normative, prescriptive language.[66]

Below, examples that demonstrate the use of the different adjective groups are presented. Examples of the use of adjectives with **different** attributive and predicative forms are presented in (7.3) and (7.4), respectively.

(7.3) *tjaelieji-bie   lohke-be   så* **guhkies**   *skovle-biejjie*
write.PRS-1PL read.PRS-1PL so long.ATTR school-day

hov   lea
EMP be.PRS.3SG

'We write and read so it is [was] certainly a long school day.'

[sma20170919a]

(7.4) *dellie lij   gujht* **guhkie**   *men ij*
then   be.PST.3SG EMP long.PRED but   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG

badth daelie gosse bijl-h   gååvnes-h
EMP   now   when   car-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

'Back then it was certainly long [distance] but not nowadays where there are cars.' [sma20171002e]

Often, the (historically) "attributive" form can also be used in predicative position (the other way around, the predicative form being used attributively, is not attested in the corpus).

Examples for adjective forms in flux are presented in (7.5) through (7.9). The above mentioned tendency for free variation is here exemplified with the adjectives *tjaebpies/tjaebpie* 'nice' and *naelkies/naelkie* 'tasty'. In (7.5) and (7.6), they are used attributively:

(7.5) *jaa dihte   lij* **tjaebpies**   *bienje*
yes   3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG nice(ATTR) dog

'Yes, that was a nice dog.' [20170921h]

(7.6) *manne* **naelkies**   *bearka-h   byöpmeda-mme*
1SG.NOM tasty(ATTR) meat-NOM.PL eat-PTCP

'I have eaten tasty meat.' [sma20200219c]

In (7.8), (7.7) and (7.9), their predicative use is demonstrated. In (7.7), the same form is used predicatively and attributively (7.5). The forms of *njaelkie* differ between the examples – *naelkie–naelkies* are both used predicatively.

[66]That is, the predicative form of an adjective is to be used as a predicate, and the attributive form as an adnominal modifier. There is no formal unity; both can end in -*s* or in a vowel.

(7.7) *gåetie   lea   **tjaebpies***
house   be.PRS.3SG nice(PRED)

'The house is nice.' [sma20180606b]

(7.8) *jaa men tjåammadahke gujht aaj **naelkie***
yes but shoulder   EMP also tasty(PRED)

'Yes, but reindeer shoulder is also tasty.' [sma20200219e]

(7.9) *gosse lin   jijtje dorje-me   dam*
when be.PST.3PL self   make-PTCP DEM.ACC.SG

*ostelöpe-m   dah   veasta-h   dan **naelkies***
rennet-ACC.SG 3PL.NOM cheese-NOM.PL so   tasty(PRED)

sjidtie-h
become.PRS-3PL

'When you had made that cheese rennet yourself these cheese were so tasty.' [sma20180615a]

The form *tjaebpie* is also used adverbally (7.10):

(7.10) *dihte   maa   lij   dan **tjaebpie***   *goltelidh*
3SG.NOM certainly be.PST.3SG so   nice(PRED) listen.INF

'It was so nice to listen to.' [sma20170927c]

The Scandinavian loan *luste(s)* 'nice, fun' (Qvigstad, 1893, p. 227) is fully integrated in South Saami phonotactics and morphology: it ends on *-e* and has two attested forms, *luste* and *lustes*, i.e. a "derived" form ending on *-s*. However, there is variation in the forms that are used in predicative position, see (7.11) through (7.13):

(7.11) *dihte   **lustes** leaga*
3SG.NOM nice   be.PRS.3SG

'This is nice.' [sma20200219e]

(7.12) *jaa **luste** dihte*
yes nice   DEM.NOM.SG

'Yes, this is nice.' [sma20200219e]

(7.13) ***luste** dijjieh   munnjen ringke-me*
nice   2PL.NOM 1SG.ILL   call-PTCP

'Nice that you called me.' [sma20200219e]

The same type of variation of the forms used in predicative position is attested in different idiolects; examples (7.5) through (7.13) represent several idiolects. The data show that the use of (historical) attributive and predicative forms of many of adjectives is not obligatory, but that both forms can be used predicatively. However, the fact that this variation is not attested for *all* adjectives suggests that the system is not stable and most probably undergoing change.

In summary, no clear or consistent morphological relationship between attributive and predicative forms is observed in South Saami. A similar picture is described for Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 134). Wilbur states for Pite Saami that "it is ultimately more elegant to analyze these two sets of adjectives simply as semantically and etymologically related – but not morphologically derivable – adjectives." (Wilbur, 2014, p. 134).

For South Saami, one could say that historically, a subset of adjectives occurred in pairs of attributive and predicative forms. A distinction in attributive and predicative use, however, is no longer productive and for many adjectives not obligatory. Today, adjectives mainly have one form in the positive degree, and a subset of adjectives have two possible forms that are not necessarily determined by syntactic function.

However, there is a group of adjectives in South Saami which are used as predicates only. These are presented in § 7.1.2.3.

7.1.2.3 Predicative adjectives

In the data, there is a set of adjectives which only occur in predicative position. This is the "third option" for the relation between attributive and predicative adjectives listed in Sammallahti (1998); adjectives that have only a predicative form and no attested attributive form. A list with such adjectives is given in Table 7.7. For examples, see e.g. (7.40), (5.130), (14.8), (5.122) or (35).

Table 7.7: Adjectives with predicative form only

Predicative adjective	Gloss
tjohkehts	'hungry'
feejjene	'happy'
gallas	'full (food)'
jovkeds	'drunk'
riejries	'complete, ready'
dalhtjoe	'bad'
gahkes?	'stuttering'
aerkie	'frightened'

Attributive use of these adjectives is rejected. For instance, *gallas maana* 'a full child' or *aerkie maana* 'a scared child' is not accepted; instead, a predicative construction is used: *maana gallas* 'the child is full' or *maana aerkie* 'the child is scared'.

Adjectives that belong to this group tend to refer to states or properties prone to change. However, more data and research on this matter is necessary for reliable claims.

7.1.2.4 Order of adjectives in the noun phrase

Attributive adjectives stand before the noun (ADJ-N), see e.g. example (7.27) above. This order is common in Eurasian languages.[67]

South Saami is highly prone to drop the copula. The position of an adjective with respect to the noun therefore indicates whether the adjective is used as an attributive modifier or as a predicate.[68] Compare *båeries* 'old' in (7.14) and (7.15) below:

(7.14)　*daate*　*mov*　　*soerme* **båeries** *jih*　*gähtjoes*　*sjidte-me*
　　　　　this　　1SG.GEN　finger　old　　and　stiff　　　become-PTCP

　　　　　'This finger of mine is old and has become stiff.' [sma20180606a]

(7.15)　*manne*　　*gujht*　*da*　　*åadtj-i-m*　　*akte-m*　　　**båeries**
　　　　　1SG.NOM　EMP　PTCL　get-PST-1SG　one-ACC.SG　old

　　　　　jovje-råahke-m
　　　　　light.grey-castrated.reindeer.buck-ACC.SG

　　　　　'I got an old reindeer.' [sma20180615a]

If a noun phrase contains several adjectives, the order of adjectives denoting different properties may vary, depending on focus and emphasis. However, DIMENSION is preferably mentioned before other properties, as in (7.16):

(7.16)　*ij*　　　　　　　　*gujht*　*da*　　*dihte*　　　　*Tjahtaravve*
　　　　　NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG　EMP　PTCL　DEM.NOM.SG　T.

　　　　　präjjed-h　*naan*　**onne**　*sjaavets*　*niejte-m*
　　　　　care-CNG　some　little　quiet　　girl-ACC.SG

　　　　　'The Tjahtaravve [*legendary figure*] doesn't care about some little, quiet girl.' [sma20170926l]

---

[67]General correlations of the order of modifying adjective and noun with respect to basic word order of object and verb can not be observed (Dryer, 1992).

[68]The order of noun and possessive modifier/pronoun that is commonly found in Norwegian and certain (northern) Swedish dialects, i.e. *bror(en) min* 'my brother', literally '(the) brother my', is not attested in South Saami.

Likewise, AGE is preferably mentioned before other properties, see (7.17):

(7.17)   *dihte*   *mov*   *mubpie baernie dihte*
DEM.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN other   son   3SG.NOM

utn-i   *voelpe-m*   *Tysklaante-sne*   *i* *Hamburg*
have-PST.3SG friend-ACC.SG Germany-LOC.SG in Hamburg

noere *lustes niejte-m*   *desnie utn-i*
young nice   girl-ACC.SG there   have-PST.3SG

'My other son, he had a friend in Hamburg, Germany; a nice young girl.' [sma20170927c]

7.1.2.5   Agreement with heads

Adjectives do not agree in number with their heads in South Saami, neither in attributive nor in predicative position. An example with a NP in the plural is given in (7.18).

(7.18)   *men dah*   *baahtj-h*   *dan öövre* ***väjkele***
but   DEM.NOM.PL boy-NOM.PL so   very   brave

lin
be.PST.3PL

'But these boys were very brave.' [sma20180612t]

South Saami differs here from its related languages: In other Saamic languages such as Pite (Wilbur, 2014, p. 132) or Skolt (Feist, 2011, p. 211), as well as in Finnish (Karlsson, 2018, p. 197), adjectives agree with their heads, that is, they take plural marking in predicative position. However, plural marking on the comparative form of adjectives is attested in South Saami, with one token in the data, see example (7.19), in which *stoerebh* 'bigger' receives plural marking:

(7.19)   *daej*   *baeli-j*   *hov dah*
DEM.PROX.GEN.PL time-GEN.PL EMP DEM.NOM.PL

stoerre-b-h *maana-h*   *provhk-i-n*   *gaerten-i*
big-COMP-PL child-NOM.PL use.to-PST-3PL farm-GEN.PL

luvnie jeatadidn(sic!) govhsie-h   *jah gaajhtsie-h*   *jah*
at   herd.INF   cow-NOM.PL and goat-NOM.PL and

sirv-h
sheep-NOM.PL

'In these times, the older children used to be at the farms herding cows and goats and sheep.' [sma20180615a]

248

Adjectives do not inflect for case. In example (7.20) and (7.21) below, the demonstrative and the noun are marked for the accusative, but the modifier receives no marking:

(7.20) *manne*   *liere-me*   *gaajhk-h*   *dejtie*   ***orre***
        1SG.NOM   learn-PTCP   all-NOM.PL   DEM.ACC.PL   new
        baak-ide
        word-ACC.PL

        'I have learned all these new words.' [sma20181025a]

(7.21) *akte* *ohtje* *johke* *mij*   *dan*   ***stoerre-be***
        one   little   river   REL.NOM.SG   DEM.ILL.SG   big-COMP
        johke-se   *båata*   *dle* *akte* *nuana*
        river-ILL.SG   come.PRS.3SG   so   one   foreland
        sjädtja   *desnie*
        become.PRS.3SG   there

        'A small river that flows into the bigger river, so a foreland is created there.' [sma20190723a]

7.1.2.6   Adjectives in elliptic noun phrases

Depending on the discourse, if the referent is known from the context, the head of a noun phrase can be omitted (sometimes called *headless NPs*). An example is given in (7.22):

(7.22) *ja* *mijjien*   *learere* *dihte*   *bööt-i*   *di'*
        yes   1PL.GEN   teacher   3SG.NOM   come-PST.3SG   3SG.NOM
        lea   ***noere*** ***tråjjes*** *jah* *bööt-i*   *åarjede*
        be.PRS.3SG   young   pleasant   and   come-PST.3SG   from.south
        Bergene-n   *luvhtie*
        Bergen-GEN.SG   from

        'Yes our teacher, he came, he was a young nice [one/man] and he came from the south from Bergen.' [sma20170929j]

Adjectives remain unmarked for number (7.23) and case (7.24) in these positions (an exception is the quantifier *jeene* 'many', see § 5.9).

249

(7.23) *dah   jeenj-h   noeres vuelhtie   Käringsjöe-ste*
        3PL.NOM many-NOM.PL young   from.below K.-ELA.SG

        tjåangkan-i-n   jih tjoejki-ji-n   ektesne dohka   bäjjese
        gather-PST-3PL and ski-PST-3PL together thither.DIST up

        'There were many young (people) down from Käringsjön that gath-
        ered and skied together up there.' [sma20180614a]

(7.24) *vaeltie-h   dab   stoerre*
        take-CNG DEM.ACC.SG big

        'Take the big [one].' [sma20200616notes]

Case is not marked on adjectives in elliptic noun phrases, but case is still
marked on other determiners in the noun phrase, like the demonstrative *dab* in
(7.24).

7.1.2.7   Restrictions of *smaave* 'small'

The adjective *smaave* 'small', a Scandinavian loan, only modifies plural nouns,
see examples (7.25) and (7.26). The Swedish and Norwegian *små* 'small' is
a suppletive plural form of *liten* 'little', and is restricted to modifying plural
nouns. It has been incorporated in the target language with the same restric-
tions.

(7.25) *mijjieh   jeenj-h   smaave maana-h   jih dle*
        1PL.NOM many-NOM.PL small   child-NOM.PL and so

        gihtj-i   dam   Jåvna-n   tjidtjie-m
        ask-PST.3SG DEM.ACC.SG Jonah-GEN.SG mother-ACC.SG

        mejtie   manne   åadtj-i-m   debpene   dej
        whether 1SG.NOM get-PST-1SG over.there DEM.GEN.PL

        luvnie arredh
        at   be.INF

        'We were many small children and so she [mother] asked Jonah's
        mother if I could stay with them.' [sma20171002e]

(7.26) *gaaloe-n   betne-sne   smaave gierkie-h*
        wade-GEN.SG bottom-LOC.SG small   stone-NOM.PL

        'On the bottom of the wade, there are small stones.' [sma20190723a]

The native adjective *onne* 'little' (standard language and northern dialects)
usually modifies singular nouns, and can thus be said to be in complementary
distribution with *smaave* 'small'. The native *ohtje* 'little' (southern dialects)

on the other hand can also modify plural nouns. A clear complementary distribution like the one observed in Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 138) is therefore not found in South Saami. Frequency for the use of *smaave* 'small' in contrast to *onne* or *ohtje* 'little' for plural cannot be accounted for and depends on idiolectal preferences.

7.1.2.8 Four times 'good' in South Saami

There are four different adjectives attested in the data that all reflect the concept of 'good' in English (see Table 7.8). An apparent syntactic difference cannot be pointed out, but there are semantic differences and dialectal distribution. Whereas *buerie* is compared regularly (*buere-be*, *bööre-mes* (umlaut)), *hijven* and *stijven* are compared with the forms of *buerie*, i.e., by suppletive forms. While suppletion in adjectival comparison is generally not overwhelmingly common (Veselinova, 2017), languages of Europe often show some suppletive patterns, especially for the adjective *good* (Vafaeian, 2013, p. 126). The fourth (and mainly southern) variant *heerven* can be compared regularly or by the suppletive forms. All four adjectives can be found in the same idiolect, i.e. in use by the same speaker.

Table 7.8: Adjectives for 'good'

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Lg variety	Distribution
hijven 'good'			standard	mainly PRED
buerie 'good'	*buere-be*	*bööre-mes*	all variet.	ATTR & PRED
stijven 'good'			southern	ATTR & PRED
heerven 'good'	*heerve-be*	*heerve-mes*	southern	mainly PRED

All four adjectives can be used attributively and predicatively. *Hijven* is much more frequent than *buerie* in the data. Whereas *hijven* can be used for both inanimates and animates, *buerie* is preferably used for animates. *Heerven* is primarily used for inanimates. *Stijven* can also be used as being *good **at*** something. (*Good taste* is expressed with another adjective *naelkies* 'tasty; good'.)

A tentative analysis of semantic differences is that *buerie* 'good' is primarily used for human character or quality of something, as in *buerie almetje* 'a good person', and *hijven* is primarily used for properties of non-human or inanimate entities. A *hijven biene* is a 'good dog', i.e., a dog that does a good job; a *hijven biejjie* is a 'good, productive, enjoyable day'. *Hijven* is also used in the phrase *mannine hijven* 'I'm good' ('I'm doing fine'), but it is not possible to say *mannine buerie 'I'm good'. If, on the other hand, one has become better (after being ill), the comparative form *buerebe* 'better' is fine to use (7.27).

Various semantic differences of 'good' are neutralized in the comparative and the superlative.

(7.27) *mannine*   *buere-be*   *dan*   *biejjie-n*
        1SG.COM   better-COMP   ADN.DEM.GEN.SG   day-GEN.SG

'I am (feeling) better today.' [sma20200623notes]

The question *how are you*? can be formulated with *hijven*, but not with *buerie* or *stijven*:

(7.28) *gah*   *hijven*   *atna-h?*
        Q   good   have.PRS-2SG

'How are you?' Lit. 'Do you have it good?.' [sma20200902a] (Compare Swe/Nor *Har du det bra?*)

One speaker commented that *buerie* refers to a "deeper quality" – *buerie almetje* is a 'good(-hearted) person' – than *hijven*, which can be a more shallow evaluation – *hijven almetje* can be a 'good, nice, enjoyable person', without necessarily referring to their character. (Cars, for that matter, were said to be able to be both *buerie* – "safe, economic, good storage" and *hijven* – "nice colour, good price, no problems with it".) *Buerie* seems to express an evaluation of "good" on a deeper qualitative, personal level (7.29):

(7.29) *dihte*   *tuhtj-i*   *buerie*   *dihte*   *Knuts*
        3SG.NOM   consider-PST.3SG   good   DEM.NOM.SG   Knut

        Bergslaante   *sov*   *gåajka*   *bööt-i*   *jih*
        Bergsland   LOG.GEN.SG   to   come-PST.3SG   and

        dah   *ektesne*   *giel-ine*   *barki-ji-n*
        3PL.NOM   together   language-COM.SG   work-PST-3PL

'She considered it good that Knut Bergsland came to her and they worked with the language together.' [sma20170923b]

Another speaker compared *buerie* to Swedish *god* 'good' and *hijven* to Swedish *bra* 'good; fine'. The distribution of *god* in Swedish and *buerie* in South Saami shows parallels. A more in-depth description of the distinction between *buerie* 'good' and *hijven* 'good' and the other adjectives requires further investigation.

7.1.3   Encoding of comparison constructions

This part part of the chapter is concerned with **comparative** and **superlative** forms of adjectives (§ 7.1.3.1) and **comparative constructions** (§ 7.1.3.2).

South Saami has morphological forms for both the comparative (e.g. *tjaebpe-be* 'nice-r') and the superlative (e.g. *tjaebpe-mes* 'nice-st'); that is, the degree is expressed on the adjective.

South Saami uses two different comparative constructions: A locational comparative construction in which the standard (i.e. the ""yardstick" of comparison" (Stassen, 2013)) is marked with the elative case, and a particle comparative (Stassen, 2013) in which the standard is unmarked. The comparee is unmarked in both constructions.

Whereas some speakers view the particle construction as a Scandinavian calque and "a new construction" and prefer the locational construction, other speakers prefer the particle construction and find it more natural.

Comparative constructions without standard (e.g. (7.30)) are more common in the data than constructions with a standard (e.g. (7.31). The particle construction (e.g. (7.32)) is furthermore more common than the locational construction (7.31).

7.1.3.1 Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives

Adjective comparison is possible in South Saami. Comparative and superlative forms are formed[69] by suffixes attached to the positive degree form of the adjective. The comparative has two allomorphs *-be* and *-åbpoe* (southern dialects: *-abpa*), the superlative has two allomorphs *-mes* and *-ommes*. As a rule, the "shorter" suffixes *-be* and *-mes* are attached to adjectives ending on a vowel, and the "longer" suffixes *-åbpoe* and *-ommes* are attached to adjectives ending on *-s*, or on adjectives with a trisyllabic form in the positive.[70] A schematic overview is given in Table 7.9 and examples of adjectives are presented in Table 7.10. Almost all adjectives can form comparative and superlative forms. An exception is a subset of those adjectives that only occur in predicative position, such as *jovhkeds* 'drunk' or *gallas* 'full (with food)', which cannot compare. Comparative degrees of these adjectives can be expressed with periphrastic constructions, see § 7.1.3.2.

For instance, the comparative forms of *onne* 'little' are *onne-be* and *onne-mes*; the comparative forms of *båeries* 'old' (also disyllabic) are *båaras-åbpoe* and *båaras-ommes*. If the positive degree has different forms (e.g. *guhkie* and

---

[69]The discussion whether adjective comparison falls under inflection or derivation is on a theoretical level that lies outside the scope of the current project.

[70]The description given by Magga & Magga (2012) that the short suffixes *-be/-mes* attach to, i.e. are primarily triggered by, disyllabic adjectives and the long suffixes *-åbpoe/-ommes* to trisyllabic adjectives could not be confirmed in the data. That rule also does not explain the comparative forms of the disyllabic *båeries*, which is *båaras-åbpoe* and not **båere-be.*

Table 7.9: Comparative and superlative suffixes

	Comparative	Superlative
Adjectives on V	*-be*	*-mes*
Adjectives on C	*-åbpoe*	*-ommes*

Table 7.10: Examples of compared adjectives

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
onne	*onne-be*	*onne-mes*	'little'
geerve	*geerve-be*	*geerve-mes*	'difficult; bad'
jalle	*jalle-be*	*jalle-mes*	'high'
guhkie(s)	*guhke-be*	*guhke-me*	'long'
tjaebpie(s)	*tjaebpe-be*	*tjaebpe-mes*	'nice'
baahke(s)	*baahke-be*	*baahke-mes*	'warm'
noere(s)	*noere-be*	*nööre-mes*	'young'
båeries	*båaras-åbpoe*	*båaras-ommes, båeries-ommes*	'old'
väjkele(s)	*väjkele-be*	*väjkel-ommes*	'smart'

guhkies 'long'), there is a preference to base the comparative forms on the vowel; therefore *guhke-be* etc. and not **guhkies-åbpoe* etc; see also *tröjjes* in Table 7.12.

The comparative and superlative degree forms of some high frequency adjectives trigger umlaut, for instance *nööremes* 'youngest' or *båarasåbpoe* 'older'. Frequent forms are more prone to retain conservative features. However, variation in form of non-umlauted forms has been attested; the form for 'oldest' is attested both as *båarasommes* and *båeriesommes*.

Some adjectives can have two different comparative and superlative forms, based on either the final vowel or the consonant of the positive degree. According to the speakers, there is no semantic difference in the meaning of the alternative forms, or their use. See example (7.30):

(7.30) *gosse   manne   lim   noeres-åbpoe/noer-ebe*
       when   1SG.NOM   be.PST-1SG   young-COMP/young-COMP

       'When I was younger.' [sma20200515notes]

Examples for adjectives that show this variation are given in Table 7.11.

Comparative and superlative forms do not have different forms in predicative or attributive position.

A few adjectives in the data show irregularities in their comparative forms,

Table 7.11: Alternative comparative forms

Positive attr.	Positive pred.	Comparative	Superlative
noere 'young'	*noere, noeres*	*noere-be, noeres-åbpoe*	*nööre-mes, noeres-ommes*
stoerre 'big'	*stoere*	*stoere-be, stoeres-åbpoe*	*stoere-mes, stööre-mes*
åenehks 'short'	*åenehke*	*åene-be, åenehks-åbpoe*	*åene-mes*
liegkes 'hot'	n/a	*liegke-be, liegkes-åbpoe*	*liegke-mes*

see Table 7.12. (Suppletive patterns are only recognized for adjectives for *good*, see *above*.) By irregularities, I mean here that the stem used in comparative forms differs from the one used in the positive degree. It can either be shortened (*murrede – murre-be*), or an additional segment added (*dalhtjoe – dalhtjege-be*):

Table 7.12: Irregular adjective comparation

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
murreds,murrede	*murre-be*	*murre-mes*	'pleasant'
dalhtjoe	*dalhtjege-be*	*dalhtjege-mmes*	'bad'
tröjjes	*tröjje-be*	*tröjje-mes*	'pleasant'
feejjene	*feejne-be, feejje-be*	*feejne-mes, feejje-mes*	'glad'
åenehks, åenehke	*åene-be*	*åene-mes*	'short'
hojnan	*hojne-be*	*hojne-mes*	'sad'

These smaller irregularities are a further indication of the variation that characterizes the word class of adjectives.

7.1.3.2   Comparative constructions

By *comparative constructions* I mean the encoding of comparison of inequality (Stassen, 2013). This involves a gradable predicate and two objects, the standard and the comparee.

There are two different comparative constructions in use in South Saami; a so-called **locational** comparative (a) using the elative to mark the standard, and a **particle** comparative (b) (Stassen, 2013). They can be schematized as follows:

(a) **locational** comparative: *comparee* ADJ-COMP *standard*-ELA

(b) **particle** comparative: *comparee* ADJ-COMP *than*.PTCL *standard*

Examples of each of these constructions are given in the sections below. Examples of comparative constructions without a standard of comparison are presented in § 7.1.3.2 and periphrastic constructions in § 7.1.3.2. Comparison of equality is presented in § 7.1.3.2.

Locational comparative

In the locational comparative, the comparee is in the nominative and the standard is in the elative case (that is, a locational case). The adjective is in the comparative form. An example is given in (7.31). The standard is a pronoun (*manneste* 'than me'). Examples with a referential noun as the standard are not attested in the data.

(7.31) *dihte   lea   bååaras-obpoe manneste, göökte*
        3SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG old-COMP   1SG.ELA   two

        jaepie-h   bååaras-obpoe manneste
        year-NOM.PL old-COMP   1SG.ELA

        'He is older than me, two years older than me.' [sma20170919a]

Locational comparatives are cross-linguistically common Stassen (2013) and widely used in Uralic languages.

Particle comparative-construction

The particle comparative is frequently used in South Saami. Both the comparee and the standard is in the nominative. The comparative particle is *enn* 'than', a loan from Swedish/Norwegian *än/enn*. Examples are given in (7.32) and (7.33):

(7.32) *manne   bååeries-abpa enn   dihte*
        1SG.NOM old-COMP   than 3SG.NOM

        'I am older than him.' [sma20181023a]

(7.33) *dan   tijje-n   giete lea   guhke-be*
        DEM.GEN.SG time-GEN.SG hand be.PRS.3SG long-COMP

        enn   siejpie
        than tail

        'That time the hand was longer than the tail.' (A saying about generosity.) [sma20170914e]

This construction is a calque from Swedish/Norwegian, in which comparative constructions follow this pattern (the standard may appear in the oblique form as well: *du är äldre än jag/mig* 'you are older than I/me). In light of this, the following example is interesting as the construction is a calque and the adjective a loan as well (7.34):

(7.34) *datne   lih   **vearre-be**   enn   manne*
        2SG.NOM   be.PST.2SG bad-COMP   than 1SG.NOM

      'You were better than me.' [sma20190729a] (A comment made by the speakers sister about their skiing skills)

The adjective *vearrebe* is a Swedish loan (*värre* 'worse'); in this context, it means 'better, more daring/skillful'. *Värre* 'worse' is a (suppletive) comparative form of *dålig* 'bad' in Swedish. The comparative form *vearre-be* is thus based on a comparative of the source language. The adjective has no documented positive form in South Saami (*vearre). An alternative form attested in the data is *vierrebe* 'worse'.

Often, the particle *goh* 'as, like, than' is also used in the construction, as in (7.35):

(7.35) *dihte   tjaebpe-be **enn goh** dohte*
        DEM.NOM.SG   nice-COMP   than as   DEM.DIST.NOM.SG

      'This one is nicer than that one.' [sma20200623notes]

In several examples in comparative constructions with adjectives that do not form a comparative degree, the adjective can be used in its positive form, see (7.36):

(7.36) *daate   nejpie besteles **enn goh***
        DEM.PROX.NOM.SG   knife   sharp   than as

      dohte
      DEM.DIST.NOM.SG

      'This knife is sharper than that one.' [sma20200616notes]

Comparative phrases without standard

In the data, comparative constructions without a standard such as (7.37) and (7.38) are quite common.

(7.37) *tuhtj-i-n   tjaebpe-be nomme*
        consider-PST-3PL   nice-COMP   name

      'They thought it was a nicer name.' [sma20170924b]

(7.38) *dillie åejjie giehpe-be sjädta*
        then   head   light-COMP become.PRS.3SG
        'Then the head becomes lighter.' [sma20190730a]

If an adjective cannot form a comparative degree, the positive degree can also be used; speakers commented that the standard of the comparative construction is implied from context,[71] such as in (7.39):

(7.39) *daate   nejpie besteli*
        DEM.PROX.NOM.SG knife   sharp
        'This knife is sharp(er?) (than the other one).' [sma20200902a]e

The form of *besteli* 'sharp' differs from the form used in other examples, which is *besteles*. This form is probably a variant of *bestele*, which is an alternative predicative form of *besteles*.

Periphrastic comparison of adjectives

By *periphrastic* comparative constructions I mean comparative constructions in which the degree of the adjective predicate is not marked morphologically, but degree is expressed by another, free element such as the adverb *more*, as in *more exciting*.

If an adjective in South Saami cannot form a comparative degree, a periphrastic construction can be used. In example (7.40) and (7.41), the speaker uses *vierrebe* to express the comparative 'more full (with food)' and 'more drunk'. In this context, *vierrebe* is best glossed as an adverb meaning 'more'. (Compare example (7.34) above for another use of *vierrebe*.)

(7.40) *dihte   kaarre **vierrebe** gallas enn   goh manne*
        DEM.NOM.SG man   more   full   than as   1SG.NOM
        'This man is fuller than me.' [sma20200616notes]e

(7.41) *dihte   **vierrebe** jovhkeds enn   goh manne*
        3SG.NOM   more   drunk   than as   1SG.NOM
        'This [man] is more drunk than I am.' [sma20200616notes]e

In examples (7.42) and (7.43), another speaker uses the adverb *vielie* 'more' to express the comparative degree:

(7.42) *manne   **vielie** gallas enn   datne*
        1SG.NOM more   full   than 2SG.NOM
        'I am fuller than you.' [sma20200902a]e

[71]Whether only context indicates the comparative, or whether prosody plays a role, cannot be accounted for.

(7.43) *dihte* **vielie** *jovhkeds leaga*
3SG.NOM more drunk be.PRS.3SG
'He is more drunk.' [sma20200902a]e

There is variation in the data regarding this construction. Two speakers produced these periphrastic constructions spontaneously in elicitation and judged them to be proper language use; a third speaker, however, did not accept such a construction (*more* + ADJ).

Comparison of equality

Comparison of equality is expressed with the particle *goh* 'as, like', which can either be used by itself (7.44), in combination with *seamma* 'same' (7.45), (7.46) or with *lijke* 'like' (7.47). The latter two are loan words from Swedish/Norwegian *samma/samme* and *lika/like*, with the same meanings.

(7.44) *dihte* *tjaebpies* **goh** *dohte*
DEM.NOM.SG nice as DEM.DIST.NOM.SG
'This one is as nice as that one.' [sma20200616notes]

(7.45) *mijjieh* *guess-ine* *orre-me* *Julie Axman'n* *luvne*
1PL.NOM guest-ESS be-PTCP Julie Axman.GEN.SG at
dihte *akte-m* *aahkove-m* *utn-ija*
3SG.NOM one-ACC.SG grandchild-ACC.SG have-PST.3SG
mij **seamma** *båeries* **goh** *manne*
which same old as 1SG.NOM
'We were at Julie Axman's place/with J.A. as guests and she had a grandchild which was the same age as me.' [sma20170923d]

(7.46) *tjaebpies* *laateg-h* *sjidt-i-n* **seamma goh**
nice ski.track-NOM.PL became-PST-3PL same as
dah *[moderne transitspår]*
3PL.NOM [modern transit.track.PL]
'They were nice ski tracks, the same as these modern transit tracks.' [sma20170922i]

(7.47) *daate* **lijke** *besteles* **goh** *dohte*
DEM.PROX.NOM.SG like sharp as DEM.DIST.NOM.SG
'This one is as nice as that one.' [sma20200616notes]

The construction with *seamma goh* 'same as' is the most common one in the data. The construction with *lijke* 'like' is only attested with a northern speaker. The particle *goh* 'as' is also used as a discourse particle in negative contexts (see § 11.1), and as a temporal particle 'when'.

7.2   Attributive quantifiers

South Saami has several quantifiers, some of which inflect and may thus agree with the head and others that do not inflect. In this section, the three quantifiers *gellie* 'many', *fierhte* 'each' and *naan* 'some' are presented. They usually do not receive any morphological marking.

Gellie 'many'

The quantifier *gellie* 'many' is used to modify countable masses (in contrast to the quantifier *jeene* 'many, much', which may modify both count and mass nouns), illustrated in (7.48):

(7.48) *men   daate   gierehtse   dihte*
       but   DEM.PROX.NOM.SG   pulk   DEM.NOM.SG

       *peehke-ldh   desnie   naehpie   jih   **gellie***
       pack-PASS.PTCP   DEM.LOC.SG   milk.pot   and   many

       voess-h   gusnie   aat-h   utn-i-n
       sack-NOM.PL   in.which   thing-NOM.PL   have-PST-3PL

       'But this pulk, it is packed, here is a milking pot and many sacks in which you had things.' [sma20170922a]

   Gellie may take plural marking, as illustrated in example (7.49):

(7.49) *desnie   aehtjie   gellie-h   vaejsie-h   vuatje-me*
       there   father   many-NOM.PL   moose-NOM.PL   shoot-PTCP

       'Father has shot many moose there.' [sma20190729a]

   In the data, *gellie* is not attested as head of a noun phrase, or with other morphology than plural marking.

Fierhte 'every, each'

The quantifier *fierhte* is used for 'every, each' (7.50):

(7.50) *fierhte-n   daelvie-n   mijjieh   juht-ij-o   gosse*
       every-GEN.SG   winter-GEN.SG   1PL.NOM   move-PST.1PL   when

       bovtje   vuelnie   skååjelaante-snie
       reindeer   down   forest-land-LOC.SG

       'We moved every winter, when the reindeer (were/was) down in the woodlands.' [sma20181025b]

Naan **'some; any'**

In contrast to *jeene*, the quantifier *naan* may only act as a modifier and does usually not head a noun phrase, like in example (7.51).[72]

(7.51) *jih   naan   govs-h   utn-i-n*
       and   some   cow-NOM.PL   have-PST-3PL

       'And they had some cows.' [sma20171002e]

---

[72]There is one counterexample in the data where *naan* is used as a head noun. However, the speaker was speaking hesitatingly and commented himself that he was searching for words while speaking. In written language, the pronoun *naakene* 'some-one' is sometimes used as a head.

8. Numerals

8.1 Cardinal numerals

Numerals are a closed class in South Saami. The numeral system has a decimal base, the word for 'ten' is *luhkie*. The basic cardinal numerals are listed in Table 8.1:

Table 8.1: The most common numerals

0	*nolla*	20	*göökte luhkie*
1	*akte*	21	*göökte luhkie akte*
2	*göökte*	30	*golme luhkie*
3	*golme*	40	*njeljie luhkie*
4	*njeljie*	50	*vijhte luhkie*
5	*vijhte*	60	*govhte luhkie*
6	*govhte*	70	*tjijhtje luhkie*
7	*tjijhtje*	80	*gaektsie luhkie*
8	*gaektsie*	90	*uktsie luhkie*
9	*uktsie*	99	*uktsie luhkie uktsie*
10	*luhkie*	100	*stoerre luhkie; nimme; tjuetie*
11	*luhkie akte*	[...]	[...]
12	*luhkie göökte*	135	*stoerre luhkie golme luhkie vijhte*
13	*luhkie golme*	[...]	[...]
14	*luhkie njeljie*	200	*geekte stoerre-luhkie; geekte nimmh*
15	*luhkie vijhte*	300	*golme stoerre-luhkie; golme nimmh*
16	*luhkie govhte*	1000	*stoerre-tjuetie, stoerre-nimme, tåvsene*
17	*luhkie tjijhtje*	2000	*göökte stoerre-tjuetie*
18	*luhkie gaektsie*		
19	*luhkie uktsie*		

Higher numerals are formed according to the following scheme: x10 + y. The numerals before and after the base *luhkie* 'ten' are juxtaposed without any conjunction:

(8.1) *göökte luhkie golme*
two   ten   three
'Twenty-three (23)'

Numerals are not inflected for case or number (8.2):

(8.2) *så dle veelj-i-bh   nieljie såål-h*
so then choose-PST-1PL four   islands-NOM.PL
'So then we chose four islands' [sma20170927d]

Historically, and in conservative (written) language, examples of inflected numerals can be found. For illustrative purposes, an example is presented in (8.3), taken from SIKOR:

(8.3) *Jeesuse dejtie   luhkie göökt-ide   jeahta*
Jesus   DEM.ILL.PL ten   two-ILL.PL say.PRS.3SG
'Jesus speaks to the twelve.' (Bible/SIKOR)

This generally does not occur in contemporary spoken (nor in written language), and is not attested in the data. An exception are the numerals *akte* 'one' and *göökte* 'two', which can occur with a genitive singular marker in expressions of time and frequence, see *göökten* in (8.4). While this may look lite case marking and its source may be inflectional, these items are lexicalized and best described as frequentative adverbials.

(8.4) *manne   edtje-m   jeehtidh göökte-n   aejkie-n*
1SG.NOM   shall.PRS-1SG say.INF two-GEN.SG   time-GEN.SG
'I'm going to say it twice.' [sma20170913a]

Some forms of inflected numerals have become lexicalized, such as *aktesne* 'together', the locative form of *akte* 'one' (8.5):

(8.5) *manne   tröjjes utn-i-m   dej   akte-sne*
1SG.NOM   nice   have-PST-1SG 3PL.GEN one-LOC.SG
'I had a good time together with them.' [sma20171002e]

Usually, a speaker of South Saami would switch to Scandinavian for higher numerals, especially for dates and years. The loss of this domain is common in language contact with another dominant language and also attested in

other Saamic languages. The following example (8.6), in which a speaker uses Saami numerals in free speech for the year 1953 is rather uncommon. The second base is in the genitive:

(8.6) *manne   daesnie reakasuvvuj-me jaepie-n*
1SG.NOM here   born-PTCP   year-GEN.SG

luhkie-uktsie-vijhte-luhkie-n-golme
ten-nine-five-ten-GEN.SG-three

'I was born here in the year 1953' [sma20170914a]

A more common strategy in the data is code switching (to Swedish/Norwegian), as in the following example (8.6):

(8.7) *gosse skåvle daesnie orri-ji*
when   school there   stop-PST.3SG

nitton-hundra-fyrtio-fem   *dillie jååne*
nineteen-hundred-forty-five then   mothers.brother

skåvle-gåetie-m   åestie-ji
school-house-ACC.SG buy-PST.3SG

'When the school there stopped in 1945 [year in Swedish], uncle bought the school house.' [sma20170922h]

Speakers are generally aware that they are not using Saami higher numerals, and some relate this to the restricted and suppressed language use during their childhood.

An exception is the numeral *akte* 'one', which may be used as an indefinite article and may take accusative marking, illustrated in (8.8):

(8.8) *så Knut Bergsland heav-ija   akte-m*
so   Knut Bergsland manage-PST.3SG one-ACC.SG

grammatihke-gärja-m   darjedh
grammar-book-ACC.SG make.INF

'So Knut Bergsland was able to make a grammar book.'

[sma20170923c]

A numeral may head a noun phrase. The numeral often receives a collective suffix or nominalizer -*sh* or -*h* in this context (see also § 8.2.1 below) as illustrated in example (8.9) and (8.10):

(8.9) *jaa dijjieh   göökte-sh saemien soptseste-minie gaskemsh*
jaa 2PL.NOM two-COLL Saami   talk-PROG   each.other

'Yes, you two are talking in Saami with each other.' [sma20200219e]

(8.10) *mijjieh   hov libh   barre sleakte mijjieh*
       1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL only   related 1PL.NOM

       tjijhtj-h
       seven-COLL

       'The seven of us were all related.' [sma20170919a]

8.2 Ordinal numerals

The system of ordinal numerals in South Saami shows suppletion for 'first' and 'second', ordinals from three and above are derivations formed by the suffix *-de*. Derivation of ordinals by means of a suffix is a common pattern in the world's languages (Veselinova, 1997, p. 434). Suppletion for 'first' is cross-linguistically extremely common while suppletion for both 'first' and 'second' is very common in the languages of Europe and the pattern also fits South Saami. Suppletion for 'first' and 'second' and derivation for 'third' and above is a pattern common in Uralic languages (Stolz & Veselinova, 2013), and it is also found in languages adjacent to Saamic languages.

Table 8.2: The ordinal numerals in South Saami

1.	First	*voess*, *voestes*; *aktede*
2.	Second	*mubpie*, *nubpie*
3.	Third	*gålmede*
4.	Fourth	*njealjede*
5.	Fifth	*vijhtede*
6.	Sixth	*govhtede*
7.	Seventh	*tjijhtjede*
8.	Eighth	*gaaktsede*
9.	Ninth	*åktsede*
10.	Tenth	*låhkede*
11.	Eleventh	*luhkie voestes*
12.	Twelfth	*luhkie mubpie*
13.	Thirteenth	*luhkie golmede*
...	...	...
20.	Twentieth	*göökte låhkede*

The lexical source for *voestes* 'first' seems to be related to a Proto-Uralic word **wasta* '(place) across', 'against' (Rédei *et al.*, 1986, p. 815). Common sources for 'first' are usually 'front' or 'beginning' (Veselinova, 1997, p. 441). The lexical source for 'second' in South Saami is the pronoun 'other', which

is a common source for this ordinal numeral (Veselinova, 1997, p. 443), and which is in line with other Uralic languages.

In the following sections, other derivations of numerals that are attested in the data are presented.

8.2.1 Group numerals and collectives

The suffix *-h*, identical with the nominative plural, can be used with numerals to refer to a *pair* of objects (code switching to Swedish is indicated with square brackets):

(8.11) *[det är ju]   akt-h   gaameg-h   dusnie*
that is   PTCL   one-NOM.PL   shoe-NOM.PL   DEM.DIST.LOC.SG

'[That is] a pair of shoes over there.' [sma20181025t]

The suffix *-sh* refers usually to a *group* of people (8.12). As the example demonstrates, the suffix *–sh* can be attached to quantifiers (*gaajhke* 'all', *dovne* 'all') as well.

(8.12) *luhkie-govhte-sh batnan-i-n   men njelje-sh   dah*
ten-six-COLL   drown-PST-3PL but   four-COLL   3PL.NOM

dah   gujht ij   gujht gaajhke-sh
3PL.NOM   EMP   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   EMP   all-COLL

dovne-sh batnan-i-n   dellie
all-COLL   drown-PST-3PL then

'Sixteen people drowned but four people they, well they, not all people drowned then.' [sma20171002e]

The suffix is also attested with an inanimate referent as shown in (8.13). However, the recording is not entirely clear here and it remains uncertain whether the use of the suffix in *aktesh* is the targeted form or not.

(8.13) *leehp-i   dah   sov*
leave-PST.3SG   DEM.NOM.PL   LOG.GEN.SG

skåahtija-h   jah revolver   jah jammedh jah
ammunition-NOM.PL   and revolver-NOM.PL   and well   and

sov   akte-sh
LOG.GEN.SG   one-COLL

'He left his ammunition and pistol and well and his stuff.'
[sma20170927a]

Another suffix that indicates a group of something is *-ege*, which may refer to a group of reindeer: *golmege* 'three reindeer'. This suffix is not attested in the data but was recognized by speakers in elicitation settings.

8.2.2 Multiplicatives

Cardinal numerals with the suffix -h function as multiplicatives: *ikth* 'once' (derived from *akte* 'one), *göökth* 'twice' (from *göökte* 'two' (but also *göökten aejkien* 'two times'), and so forth. An example with *golmh* 'thrice' in combination with aejkieh 'times' is given in (8.14):

(8.14) *minngemes giesie-n Jåvva mijjien   gåajka golm-h*
        last   summer Jåvva 1PL.GEN to   three-NOM.PL
        aejkie-h   bööt-i
        time-NOM.PL   come-PST.3SG
        'Jåvva came to us three times last summer.' [sma20170927g]e

As the examples above show, the suffix *-h* is polyfunctional and requires more attention from a synchronic perspective.

8.2.3 Distributives

There are several distributives, such as *fierhte* 'each; every', illustrated in 8.15:

(8.15) *fierhte hus-båanta   sov   fuelhkie-m*
        every   house-farmer LOG.GEN.SG family-ACC.SG
        dijp-i-n   meatan
        take-PST-3PL with
        'Every man took with him his (own) family.' [sma20170924c]

Other distributives are *göööktesi gööktesi* 'two and two, pairwise'; fractions are *bielie* 'half' (divided lengthwise) and *lehkie* 'half' (divided across). These are not attested in the data but recognized by speakers.

The quantity of *one and a half* (1.5) may be expressed with *akte jih biele* 'one and a half' or with *akt-akt' biele* 'one-one half'. This numeral agrees with singular number. See example (8.16):

(8.16) *akt-akt' biele såále lea   mov*
        one-one half island be.PRS.3SG 1SG.GEN
        'One and a half islands are mine.' [sma20200320notes]e

A half is referred to with *akte biele* 'one half'; 'half a year' may be expressed with *gaske-jaepien* (lit. 'middle-year').

9. Adverbs

In this chapter, I cover the relevant issues for adverbs in South Saami. Adverbs cover a broad range of concepts and function mainly on the "clause or discourse level" (Payne, 1997, p. 69). A usual definition of adverbs describes them as "modifiers of verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs" (Shopen, 2007b, p. 20). An even more general definition is that an adverb may modify everything that is not a nominal (Hengeveld, 1992, p. 58). As Hallonsten Halling (2018, p. 7) points out, adverbs are often defined "based on exclusion".

South Saami has derived and non-derived adverbs, loan adverbs, and adverbs may be specified for degree. In the following sections of this chapter, adverbs are presented based on **semantic grouping**, that is, **manner** (§ 9.1), **temporal** (§ 9.2), **spatial** (§ 9.3) and **degree** adverbs (§ 9.4).

Adverbs are an open word class in South Saami. There are **non-derived** (or lexical) adverbs and **derived** adverbs. Loan words are attested in both groups. An approximate estimation is that about half of the adverbs in the data are derived and half are non-derived. Non-derived adverbs have no morpheme or morphological form in common that would identify them as adverbs. However, they can be monosyllabic and may end on a consonant (*aaj*, *dan*, *vihth*) – in contrast to nouns, verbs and adjectives, which are usually disyllabic and end on a vowel. Examples for both monosyllabic and disyllabic non-derived adverbs are given in Table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1: Examples of non-derived adverbs

Adverb	Translation
aaj	'also'
barre	'only'
dan	'so'
vihth	'again'
viele	'more'
riekte	'directly'
öövre	'very'
naa	'quite'
tjarke	'strongly'

Derived adverbs have no formal properties in common, and there are several suffixes used for adverb formation. Bases for derived adverbs can be adjectives and nouns. Productivity of the derivational suffixes, however, is limited. Examples for derived adverbs are given in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Examples of derived adverbs

Suffix	Example	Gloss	Base
-n	*guhkie-n*	'long'	ADJ *guhkie* 'long'
-ne	*guhke-ne*	'long (temporal)'	ADJ *guhkie* 'long'
-gh	*voeste-gh*	'first'	ADJ *voestes* 'first'
	oktegh	'alone'	NUM *akte* 'one'
-th	*ik-th*	'once'	ADJ *akte* 'one'
	heahkes-th	'hastily'	*(no synchronic base)*
-ge	*giese-ge*	'during summer'	N *giesie* 'summer'
	daelve-ge	'duing winter'	N *daelvie* 'winter'
-se	*åarje-se*	'southwards'	N *åarjel* 'south'
-de	*noerhte-de*	'from north'	N *noerhte* 'north
-len	*noerhte-len*	'north of'	N *noerhte* 'north'
-laakan	*hijven-laakan*	'in a good way'	ADJ *hijven* 'good'
	geerve-laakan	'in a bad/difficult way'	ADJ *geerve* 'difficult'
-ligkie	*heerven-ligkie*	'in a good way'	ADJ *heerven* 'good'

The suffixes *-laakan* and *-ligkie* are used exclusively for the derivation of adverbs. Most of the remaining suffixes are not restricted to the derivation of adverbs and also occur with other word classes. For instance, the suffixes *-se*, *-de* and *-len* reflect spatial case markers or remnants of these.

The groups of **manner**, **temporal**, **spatial** and **degree** adverbs are open groups and contain members that are both non-derived and derived.

Some adverbs in South Saami can be specified for degree. Examples are given in Table 9.3. Some adverbs can further take markers of direction, such as *guhkiebasse* 'longer', which is marked with the illative (-*sse*).

Adverbs specified for degree use the same suffixes as in adjective comparison. Examples are given in (9.1) and (9.2). The adverb *hellebe* 'rather' in (9.2) is a loan from Swedish *hellre* and formally a comparative, but has no positive form (just like its Swedish counterpart).

(9.1) *så aahka   gujht **minnge-mes** veedtj-i*
       so   grandmother EMP   later-SUP   fetch-PST.3SG

       beapmoe-h
       food-NOM.PL

Table 9.3: Adverbs specified for degree

Adverb	Gloss	Translation
varke-be	early-COMP	'sooner, earlier'
öövte-be	very-COMP	'very, utterly'
öövte-mes	very-SUP	'very, most, uttermost'
minnge-mes	next-SUP	'lastly'
guhkie-ba-sse	long-COMP-ILL	'longer'
jillie-ba-ssa	west-COMP-ILL	'further westwards'
hellebe		'rather'

'So at last, grandmother fetched [him] some food.' [sma20170927a]

(9.2)   *manne*   **helle-be**   *aahka-n*   *aajja-n*
     1SG.NOM   rather-COMP   grandma-GEN.SG   grandpa-GEN.SG

     luvnie   *daesnie*   *murried-i-m*
     at   there   be.happy-PST-1SG

     'I was rather at grandma's and grandpa's, I was happy there.'

     [sma20181025a]

Loan adverbs from Swedish and Norwegian usually end on *-e*, such as *barre – bara* 'only', *kaanne – kanske* 'maybe', *riekte – rätt* 'right; straight; directly', *reenhte – rent* 'entirely'.

Among the adverbs attested in the data, spatial adverbs stand out in their frequency and diversity. It is reasonable to assume that such adverbs, along with other deictic elements such as demonstratives, play an important role in navigation and orientation in the Scandinavian highlands.

9.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are "property words that are modifiers within predicating expressions" (Hallonsten Halling, 2018, p. 201). Examples for manner adverbs are listed in Table 9.4 below. The suffixes *-laakan* and *-ligkie* 'in the manner of (X)' are judged to be productive. The suffix *-leejnie* 'in the manner of (X) is attested in the southern dialect with one type (*jeatj-leejnie*). The different forms of *nimhtie* and *gumhtie* have no propositional differences but may add variation in pragmatics[73] and are used slightly differently in different dialects

---

[73] See for instance the Facebook group *Numhtie naemhtie soptsestibie* ('This is how we talk'), where language users of South Saami discuss language matters.

(there is a preference to use *nimhtie* and *gimhtie* in the southern dialects).

Table 9.4: Manner adverbs

Adverb	Translation
heerven-ligkie	'well-behaved, in a good manner'
geerve-laakan	'in a bad/difficult way'
jeatj-leejnie	'differently'
ektesne	'together'
varki/varke/varken	'quickly'
tjarke	'strongly'
nimhtie/nemhtie/naemhtie/numhtie	'that way'
demhtie	'that way' (southern dialect)
gumhtie/gimhtie	'what way?'

When modifying a verb, manner adverbs usually precede the verb as in (9.3) and (9.4) below. In (9.3), we also see an example of adverbs (*dan så*) modifying another adverb (*tjarke*)

(9.3) *men dihte   bierne **dan så tjarke***
       but   DEM.NOM.SG bear   so   so strongly

       bill-i   så edtji   dihte   bååstede
       be.scared-PST.3SG. so NEG.AUX.PST.3SG 3SG.NOM back

       sov   skoerhtj-h   båetie-h
       LOG.GEN.SG pup-NOM.PL   come-CNG

       'But that bear got **so strongly** scared that it didn't come back to its pups.' [sma20180612t]

(9.4) *datne   dan **väjkeles-ligkie** saemest-h*
       2SG.NOM so   smart-way   talk.Saami.PRS-2SG

       'You speak really good Saami.' [sma20181025b]

The (unproductive) converb (§ 6.4.6), a "deverbal adverb form" of verbs, function in a way similar to manner adverbs.

9.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs indicate when something takes place. Suffixes that are characteristic for derived adjectives that are members of this type are *-n*, *-ge*, *-gh*. The suffix *-n* is also the marker for the genitive singular, and the genitive is generally used when indicating temporal aspects such as time or year. Examples of temporal adverbs are listed in Table 9.5).

Table 9.5: Temporal adverbs

Adverb	Gloss	Adverb	Translation
dellie, dle (short)	'then'	*daanbien*	'today'
dillie	'then'	*jirreden*	'tomorrow'
daelie	'now(adays)'	*jååktan*	'yesterday'
joe	'already'	*barre*	'only'
ennje	'still'	*männgan*	'later'
avtesne	'before'	*varke*	'early; fast'
muvhten	'now and then'	*eejnegen*	'always'
muettien	'now and then'	*eelhtin*	'always (only southern)'
däjman	'last year'	*aadtjegh*	'recently'
dallegh	'soon'	*giesege*	'during summer'
daelvege	'during winter'		

Another case suffix that occurs with adverbs is the locative singular (*-sne*), as in *avtesne/åvtesne* 'before' (*åvte* is a noun meaning 'front'). Examples of the use of temporal adverbs are given in (9.5), (9.6) and (9.7). They often occur in the beginning of a clause, but can take other positions as well.

(9.5)   **_jååktan_**   *jienge*   *lij*
       yesterday   ice   be.PST.3SG
       'Yesterday there was ice.' [sma20181025e]

(9.6)   *datne*   **_eejnegen_**   *nemhtie*   *dååped-h*
       2SG.NOM   always   like.this   behave.PRS-2SG
       'You always behave that way.' [sma20180605b]e/f

(9.7)   *manne*   *fihk-i-m*   *tjiejt-h*   *buhtjedh*   **_muvhtene_**
       1SG.NOM   get-PST-1SG   goat-NOM.PL   milk.INF   sometimes
       'Sometimes I got to milk the goats.' [sma20180605c]

Examples of the phasal adverbs *joe* 'already' and *ennje* 'still' are given in (9.8) through (9.13) below.

(9.8)   *gosse*   *dahkoe*   *jakse-be*   **_joe_**   *priejhke*   *aalke-me*
       when   there   arrive.PRS-1PL   already   sermon   start-PTCP
       'When we get [=got] there, the sermon has [or had] already stared.'
       [sma20170913j]e

(9.9) *Max **joe** ringke-me?*
       Max already call-PTCP

       'Has Max already called?' [sma20170913k]e

(9.10) *dillie **joe** siente iehkede-n   gosse bööt-i-bh*
       then already late evening-GEN.SG when come-PST-1PL

       don   gåatan
       DEM.DIST.ILL.SG home.ILL.SG

       'It was already late in the evening when we got to that house.'

       [sma20171002f]

(9.11) *ij   leah **ennje** doelte-me*
       NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG yet   cook-PTCP

       'It is not cooked yet.' [sma20170913k]e

(9.12) *men idtji   maa mij destie*
       but NEG.AUX.PST.3SG PTCL some DEM.ELA.SG

       *sjidt-h   så mijjieh   libie   **ennje***
       become-CNG so 1PL.NOM be.PRS.1PL still

       Nöörje-sne
       Norway-LOC.SG

       'But nothing of this happened, so we are still in Norway.'

       [sma20171002e]

No longer is expressed with the negative auxiliary in the third person singular and the adverb *vielie* 'more', see (9.13):

(9.13) *daajra-m   ij   vielie lopme bijjene*
       know.PRS-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG more snow up

       vaere-sne
       mountain-LOC.SG

       'I know that there is no longer snow up in the mountains.'

       [sma20170913g]

9.3 Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs, or locational adverbs, indicate *where* something happens, including relative and cardinal directions. South Saami uses many deictic expressions (both adverbs and demonstratives). Interestingly, the words for *left* and *right* are not documented in the corpus. Suffixes that occur often with

spatial adverbs are *-ne*, *-se*, *-len*, *-de*. Spatial adverbs may use case suffixes from the illative, such as *olke-se* 'out' and *åarje-se* 'southwards'. In the data, a few instances are documented where spatial adverbs are specified for degree and receive an illative marker, e.g. *guhkie-ba-sse* long-COMP-ILL 'further' or *jillie-ba-ssa* west-COMP-ILL 'more westwards'. Examples of spatial adverbs are listed in Table 9.6).

Table 9.6: Spatial adverbs

Adverb	Translation
guhkene	'far away'
guhkie-ba-sse	long-COMP-ILL = 'further'
bijjene	'up, of, above'
bäjjese	'upwards'
ålkene	'outside'
olkese	'out'
åarjese	'southwards'
noerhtede	'from north'
bååstede	'back'
noerhtelen	'north of'
åarjelen	'south of'
vuelelen	'below, down below'
vuelegen	'down'
jilliebassa	'more westwards'

These adverbs can be compared to relational nouns considering that many bases are nouns and some of the suffixes identical to spatial case markers (like *åarjel* 'the south' – *åarje-se* 'southwards'). However, most bases are not transparent as independent nouns, such as *bijjie 'the upside' or *alke 'the outside'. The suffixes that occur on spatial adverbs, such as *-ne* in *olke-ne* 'outside', do not occur in the regular case inventory of nouns. In that respect, most of the items here are lexicalized as adverbs, and not inflected nouns, but likely nominal in origin.

Examples of the use of spatial adverbs are given in (9.14) and (9.15). (Regarding the realization of *olkene*: remember that /o/ can be realized as both /u/ /o/ and /ɔ/. The official orthography uses *ålkene*.)

(9.14) *mijjieh   hov   libh   barre **olkene** abpe*
         1PL.NOM   EMP be.PST.1PL. just   outside   whole

         biejjie-n   stååkedi-bie
         day-GEN.SG   play.PRS-1PL

         'We were just outside the whole day playing.' [sma20170919a]

(9.15) *men muvhten **guhkie-ba-sse** tjoejk-ij-o*
        but   sometimes long-COMP-ILL ski-PST-1PL

        'But sometimes we skied further.' [sma20180614a]

(9.16) *gaajhke-sh bäjjese vaaran   juhtie-ji-n*
        all-COLL   upwards mountain.ILL.SG move-PST-3PL

        'Everybody moved up(wards) to the mountains.' [sma20170924c]

There is a set of adverbial demonstratives (§4.5) which exist in symmetry to spatial adverbs. Spatial adverbs and adverbial demonstratives can take the same suffixes; compare for instance *noerhte-de* 'from north' and *dubpe-de* 'from over there'.

9.4 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs usually modify adjectives in their intensity, as in (9.17) or (9.18) below. Examples of degree adverbs in South Saami are given in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7: Degree adverbs

Adverb	Translation
öövre	'very'
joekoen	'completely, especially'
vielie	'more'
reenhte	'entirely'
nuekies	'enough'

(9.17) *dah   hov lin   **öövre** orre*
        3PL.NOM EMP be.PST.3PL very   new

        'They were so very new.' [sma20170927c] (*The speaker has been travelling with suitcases that she had borrowed from her neighbour. The suitcases got lost in the airport in Hamburg. A security person checked on her, asking where she was heading and what the lost suitcases looked like. The address where she was going to was in the suitcases, and she could not remember what the suitcases looked like, since they were new.*)

(9.18) ***joekoen***   *hijven datnine*
        completely   good   2SG.COM

        'Things are completely fine with you.' [sma20200219e]

However, some instances are documented where the adverb *öövre* 'very' modifies a noun, as in (9.19) and (9.20):

(9.19) *men   dagka   **öövre**   aarege-laante*
        but   there   very   stony.land-land
        'But the land was very stony there.' [sma20190729a]

(9.20) ***öövre**   lahkoe   dihte*
        very   luck   this
        'That is great luck.' [sma20170921b]

278

10. Adpositions

Adpositions constitute a closed word class in South Saami. Several lexemes that belong to adpositions are also members of the adverb class, and there may be functional overlap between these classes. However, syntactically, there is a distinction: adpositions can constitute a phrase, that is, head an **adpositional phrase** (PP). An adpositional phrase consists of an adposition (e.g. *on top*) and a complement (e.g. *stone*), as in (10.1). The complements are marked either for the genitive or the accusative in South Saami. There are mostly **postpositions** in South Saami, but some **prepositions** exist as well. As a rule, postpositions require the complement to be in the genitive and prepositions require the accusative.

(10.1) *biss-ij-o   dan   gierkie-n   **nelnie***
        bake-PST-1PL DEM.GEN.SG stone-GEN.SG ontop

        'We baked [the bread] ontop of that stone.' [sma20181025b]

Whereas adpositions are obligatory in constructions like (10.1) or (10.2) and head the adpositional phrase, as adverbs, they are not. Compare *bäjjese* 'upwards' in (10.2) below and in (9.16) above, repeated for convenience in (10.3):

(10.2) *dellie manne   ussjed-i-m   im   daelie*
        then   1SG.NOM think-PST-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG now

        *maehtie-h bååstede jargij   manne   **bäjjese** tjahke-m*
        can-CNG   back   turn.INF 1SG.NOM   upwards   top-ACC.SG

        goegkerd-i-m
        crawl-PST-1SG

        'Then I thought, I can't [go] back now, I crawled up[onto] the top.'
        [sma20190729a]

(10.3) *gaajhke-sh (bäjjese)   vaaran   juhtie-ji-n*
        all-COLL   (upwards)   mountain.ILL.SG move-PST-3PL

        'Everybody moved up(wards) to the mountains.' [sma20170924c]

Example (10.3) is grammatical even without the adverb *bäjjese*, whereas (10.2) would not be grammatical without the adposition *bäjjese*.

Most adpositions have **spatial functions** and are used to express more fine-grained spatial concepts than those encoded by the locational cases.

In this chapter, I first introduce the system of adpositions that encode the spatial relations GOAL, SOURCE and LOCATION (section (10.1)). Some adpositions occur in so-called *sets*; they share the same base but reflect different spatial case suffixes, or remnants of these. These are called **sets** here. I continue with a brief section on the overlap between the parts of speech of adverbs and adpositions (10.2). Then, I present postpositions (section (10.3)) and prepositions (section (10.4)) and give examples for their use. I conclude with a discussion on **ambipositions** (10.4.1), as many adpositions are used both as post- and prepositions in South Saami.

10.1 Adpositions encoding GOAL, SOURCE and LOCATION

Adpositions are frequently used to specify GOAL as in (10.2) above, SOURCE as in (10.4) or LOCATION (10.5) in South Saami:

(10.4)   *jih   akte   krovhte   gavna   rigke-sne*
           and   one   pot   hang.PRS.3SG   chain-LOC.SG

           *aernie-n   **bijjelen***
           fireplace-GEN.SG   above

           'And a pot is hanging on the chain above the fireplace.'

           [sma20181025c]

(10.5)   *jih   dle   vuajn-i   manne   gaaltie-n   **sisnie***
           and   then   see-PST.3SG   1SG.NOM   spring-GEN.SG   inside

           tjåatja-minie
           stand-PROG

           'And then he saw that I was standing inside the spring [i.e., *in* the water].' [sma20180605c]

In examples 10.2 and 10.4 we see a postposition that occurs in a set (*bäjjese* – 'upwards'; *bijjelen* – 'up, above'). By **sets** I mean adpositions that share the same base but have different suffixes. The suffixes reflect spatial case markers. The base here is *bijje-*, a set is for instance *bijje-len* 'up' (location), *bijje-de* 'from above' (source) or *bäjje-se* (umlauted base) (goal). Many adpositions can be grouped according to their function to express GOAL, SOURCE and LOCATION, with a recurring set of suffixes. These suffixes are of two kinds. The first are the spatial case suffixes for the ILLATIVE (-*se*), LOCATIVE (-*sne*)

and ELATIVE (-*ste*) that are also used in nominal inflection. The second are remnants of historical Uralic spatial cases which are not found in the nominal system (e.g. -*len* or -*de*). See Table 10.1 for a scheme of the suffixes and their functions. The suffixes are segmented for clarity in Table 10.1, but adpositions are generally not segmented in the examples. The sets are not mutually exclusive; that is, the same base can occur with for instance both -*se* and -*len* as GOAL marker, such as *alke-se/olkese* 'out' and *alke-len* 'outside'.

Table 10.1: Spatial suffixes on adpositions

GOAL	LOCATION	SOURCE	Example bases
-*se*	-*sne/-snie*	-*ste/-stie*	*åvte-* 'front'; *alke-* 'out'
-*len*, -*ge*		-*de*	*bijje-* 'up'; *alke* 'out'
-*n*	-*ne/-nie*	-*tie*	*nualan* 'down into'; *luvnie* 'at', *luvhtie* 'from'
-*le*			*nille* 'down onto'

The suffixes -*se* and -*n*, -*sne/-snie* and -ste/-stie also occur with nouns and are identical with the illative, locative and elative case markers. The other suffixes in Table 10.1 are not part of the nominal system, but are found on adverbial demonstratives (§ 4.5), e.g. *dubpe-len* 'to over there', *dubpe-ne* 'over there', *dubpe-de* 'from over there'. Note that these items can also function as spatial adverbs – especially *alkene* 'outside', *åvtesne* 'before; in front' etc.

Examples of adpositions occurring in sets are presented in Table 10.2 below. Not all sets have forms for all three notions. Others, such as *bijj-*, are attested with more than three forms. As shown in Table 10.1, some suffixes (-*len, -le, -ge*) show overlap in their function. A clear semantic difference between for instance *bijjene* and *bijjege* is not evident in the data.

The PATH of an action can also be expressed with adpositions. Those adpositions attested in the data that express PATH do not show any formal similaritiy. Examples are listed in Table 10.3. Of these, the adposition *nueliem* does fit into the set based on *nuele-* above.

Söder (2020) has described adposition sets with the suffix -*li* to express PATH, e.g. *vueleli* or *bijjeli*. In the corpus data, such adpositions are not attested.

Table 10.2: Examples of adposition sets

Base	GOAL	LOCATION	SOURCE
luv-		*luvnie* 'at'	luvhtie 'from'
si-	*sijse* 'in(to)'	*sisnie* 'in(side)'	*sistie* 'out of'
bijje-	*bäjjese* 'up(wards)'	*bijjene* 'up'	*bijjede* 'from above'
bijje-	*bijjelen* 'over'	*bijjege* 'up'	
alke-	*alkese* 'out'	*olkene/alkene* 'outside'	*alkelistie* 'from outside'
alke-		*alkelen* 'outside'	
vuele-		*vuelelen* 'down there'	
vuele-		*vuelege* 'down there'	
nel-	*nille* 'on(to)'	*nelnie* 'up(on)'	*nelhtie* 'down/away from'
nuele-	*nualan* 'down into'		*nueleste* 'from below'

Table 10.3: Adpositions encoding PATH

Adposition	Translation
mietie	'along'
vuestie	'towards'
gåajka	'to'
nueliem	'alongside under'
dåaresth	'across'
tjirrh	'through'

Spatial adpositions indicating movement and elevation (GOAL, SOURCE) are usually used with a relative reference of the speaker's own position. In (10.2) above, the action implied that people were moving higher up than where they were. In (10.4) above, the speaker uses a motion verb (*båetedh* 'come') and was at a lower altitude than the source. In locative predication, such as (10.6) below, adpositions for *location* are used, i.e. they do not index movement, and the relative position of the speaker is not relevant.

(10.6) *gosse mijjieh limh mijjien giesie-laante-sne*
when 1PL.NOM be.PST.1PL 1PL.GEN summer-land-LOC.SG

***bijjene** Bavle-sne*
up.there Baula-LOC.SG

'When we were in our summer land up there at Baula.'

[sma20180605c]

The scheme presented in Table 10.1 above shows some overlap of GOAL and SOURCE. There are some adpositions that are not easily classified according to their spatial functions. For instance, the suffix *-len* usually implies GOAL, as in (10.7). In (10.8), however, it is used for location; the speaker is on a hill and describes the surroundings.

(10.7) *jih dellie veedts-i-m **bijjelen** dam*
and then walk-PST-1SG upwards DEM.ACC.SG

vaerie-m
mountain-ACC.SG

'And then I went up-and-over/across that mountain.'

[sma20170919a]

(10.8) *manne olkese veedts-i-m jih dihte gåetie*
1SG.NOM outside go-PST-1SG and DEM.NOM.SG house

*ohtje bahke-n nelnie tjåadtja-n jih **vuelelen** bahke*
little hill-GEN.SG onto stand-CVB and downwards hill

lea pluevie
be.PRS.3SG swamp

'I went outside and that hut was standing on a little hill and

down(wards?) [of it] is a swamp.' [sma20180605c]

In the following example (10.9), *vuelege* 'down(side); downwards' is used in a similar setting as (10.8). Both examples were produced by the same speaker. She commented that *vuelelen* and *vuelege* are not interchangeable here and express different notions.

(10.9) *jih lea vuajna-m doll-h buelie-h dagka*
and so see.PRS-1SG fire-NOM.PL burn.PRS-3PL there

***vuelege** bijrejärgan*
down around

'And I see [saw] fires burning down there around.' [sma20190729a]

The fine-tuned semantic differences between the use of adpositions such as *bijjene* 'up there' and *bijjege* 'up there; upwards' and *bijjelen* 'up there; upwards' and the encoding of spatial relations remain to be explored in further research.

10.2 Overlap between adverbs and adpositions

There are regularly overlaps between the class of adpositions and adverbs. In other words, the same item can be used as an adposition (heading a PP) or as an adverb. One "pair" of examples, with *bäjjese* 'upwards', is presented above in (10.19) and (10.2). Another is *avtesne/åvtesne* 'before, earlier; in front', which is used as a temporal adverb in (10.10), modifying a verb (*before you came*)– and as a preposition with spatial function in (10.11), heading the PP *in front of the shed*:

(10.10)   *datne   luvnh   monnan   ringke-me **åvtelen***
          2SG.NOM   be.COND.2SG 1SG.ILL   call-PTCP   before
          bööt-i-h
          come-PST-2SG
          'You should have called me before you came.' [sma20181020a]e

(10.11)   *jaa iengt-snie   buvrie-n   **avtelen***
          yes   meadow-LOC.SG   shed-GEN.SG   in   front
          'Yes, on the meadow in front of the shed.' [sma20181025c]

Other examples for items that are used both as adpositions and adverbs in the data are *gaskem* 'between', *bijrejärgan* 'around', *åvtesne* 'before', *vuelelen* 'down below',

In conclusion, many adpositions can take locational case markers, but do not admit any of the core grammatical cases.[74] In many instances, a formal (morphological) distinction between adverbs and adpositions cannot be established, but they can be distinguished by syntactic behaviour.

10.3 Postpositions

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the majority of adpositions in the data are mainly used as postpositions. However, as many adpositions function

---

[74]Adpositions could possibly be described as *adverbs inflected for case*. However, the "inflectional" elements are lexicalized along with their nominal base. Furthermore, adpositions occur only with spatial case markers.

as ambipositions, it is not possible to present an estimate of postpositions in the language. A list over attested postpositions, together with examples for adpositional phrases, is presented in Table 10.4 below.

Postpositions usually require the complement to occur in the genitive. Examples are given in (10.12) through (10.14).

(10.12) *monnah*   *doll-h*   *veejne-be*   *daej*
         1DU.NOM   fire-NOM.PL   see.PRS-1PL   DEM.PROX.GEN.PL

         jaevrie-j   ***baakta***
         lake-GEN.PL   by

         'We see [saw] fires by/around these lakes.' [sma20180614a]

(10.13) *dan*   *gaaltije-n*   ***bijre***   *jeen-h*
         DEM.GEN.SG   spring-GEN.SG   around   many-NOM.PL

         laadteg-h   *gååvnes-i-n*
         cloudberry-NOM.PL   exist-PST-3PL

         'There were many cloudberries around that spring.' [sma20190729a]

(10.14) *dihte*   *beetnege-n*   ***namhtan***
         3SG.NOM   money-GEN.SG   without

         'He has no money (Lit: He is without money.)' [sma20170927e]e

10.4   Prepositions

There are fewer prepositions than postpositions in South Saami, but, as mentioned above, many adpositions are used as ambipositions. There is a slight tendency in the data that adpositions which historically are described as postpositions are being used as prepositions.[75] Prepositions usually require the complement in the accusative, as in (10.15) through (10.17).

(10.15) *jih* *daelie* *giedtie*   *aaj* ***gaska***   *sijtie-m*
         and   here   reindeer.field   also in.middle   site-ACC.SG

         'And here was also a reindeer field in the middle of the site.'
         [sma20170922h]

(10.16) *båata*   *namhtah* *tjohpe-m*
         come.PRS.3SG   without   hat-ACC.SG

         'He comes without a hat.' [sma20170914c]e

[75]A shift under the influence of Scandinavian languages is a possible explanation for this tendency.

Table 10.4: Postpositions

Postposition	Gloss	Example PP
avtelen, åvtelen	'before'	buvrien avtelen 'in front of the shed'
baalte	'by; alongside'	daan bietsien baalte 'by this pine'
baakta	'by, alongside, past'	baakta Fosenhalvöya 'along Fosen'
bijjelen	'above, over'	aernien bijjelen 'above the fire place'
bijre	'around; about'	mov bijre 'about me'
		gåetij bijre 'around the houses'
dåaresth	'across'	johken dåaresth 'across the river'
duekesne	'behind'	bahken duekesne 'behind the hill'
gaskh	'between; middle'	diihte Preahkan jih Suguddaelien gaskh 'It is between P. and S.'
gåajka	'towards'	Dearnan gåajka 'to Tärnaby'
gujmie	'with'	Mikaelen gujmie 'with Michael'
luvnie	'at, with, by'	gaerteni luvnie 'at the farms'
luvhtie	'from'	Bergenen luvhtie 'from Bergen'
männgan	'after'	dåaran männgan 'after the war'
mietie	'after; along'	daan bahken mietie 'along that hill'
namhtan	'without'	dijnehken namhtan 'without sugar'
sisnie	'inside, in'	gåetien sisnie 'inside the house'
tjirrh	'through'	klaasen tjirrh 'through the window'
vuestie	'towards, against'	dej tjahki vuestie 'towards these peaks'
vööste	'towards, opposite'	mov vööste 'opposite of me'

(10.17) abpe   dah   dåehkie-h   voejie-h   dåaresth
         whole   DEM.NOM.PL   flock-NOM.PL   swim.PRS-3PL across

         dam   stoere   Trondheimsfjorden
         DEM.ACC.SG   big   Trondheim-fjord.DEF

         'The entire herd swam across the big Trondheim fjord.'

         [sma20170516c]

Prepositions are also attested with complements in the nominative and the genitive. See example (10.8) above for a complement in the nominative singular, example (10.10) above for a preposition with a complement in the genitive, and (10.18) below for a complement in the nominative plural.

(10.18) mohte gaska   dah   dåaroe-h   laante-dåaroe-h
         but   between DEM.NOM.PL   war-NOM.PL   land-war-NOM.PL

         dellie vihth juht-i-n   Nöörje-se
         then   back   move-PST-3PL   Norway-ILL.SG

         'But between the wars, the world wars, they moved back to Norway.'
         [sma20170516a]

A list over attested prepositions is presented in Table 10.5:

Table 10.5: Prepositions

Preposition	Gloss	Example PP
baakta	'past, over, by, along'	*baakta Fosenhalvöya*
		'along Fosen peninsula'
bijrejärgan	'around'	*bijrejärgan dam laantem*
		'around that land'
dåaresth	'over, across'	*dåaresth johkem*
		'across the river'
gaska	'between; middle'	*gaska sijtiem*
		'in the middle of the site'
namhtah	'without'	*namhtah tjohpem*
		'without hat'
sontere	'against'	*sontere vieggen*
		'against the wall'
vuelelen	'down below'	*vuelelen bahke*
		'below the hill'
åvtelen	'before; earlier'	*åvtelen jovnesåhkaj*
		'before midsummer'

The ambipositions *bijre* and *bijrejärgan* in their spatial use 'around' are in general interchangeable. Both occur with the accusative and the genitive. The postposition *bijre* can also be used more abstractly, as in 'think/dream/talk *about* sth'.

10.4.1   Adpositions in South Saami - ambipositions?

As mentioned above, several adpositions are attested in both pre- and postposition, i.e. as ambipositions. As prepositions, these adpositions usually govern the accusative (10.19):

(10.19)   *Hilje* **dååresth johke-m**   *sovk-i*
          Eliah across   river-ACC.SG row-PST.3SG
          'Eliah rowed across the river.' [sma20180608b]e

If the same adposition is used as postposition, they usually govern the genitive (10.20):

(10.20)   *Hilje* **johke-n**   **dååresth** *sovka*
          Eliah river-GEN.SG across   row.PRS.3SG
          'Eliah rows across the river.' [sma20180608b]e

Other ambipositions used as prepositions govern the genitive in both cases. This indicates that these ambipositions originate in postpositions, and indicates that the system is maybe undergoing change. Possibly, postpositions might not be preferred over prepositions to the same degree.

11. Discourse markers and interjections

11.1 Discourse markers

There is a small and closed word class that is categorized as *discourse particles* (or *markers*, which I choose to call them here; see also Zwicky (1985) on that matter).[76] In this section, I will survey their **function**, **frequency** and **form** and briefly discuss the difference between discourse markers and adverbs.

The **function** of discourse markers is primarily to express an attitude towards an action or state, and to provide a pragmatic context to a clause. Discourse markers can be high in **frequency** – the emphatic particle *gujht* occurs 141 times in the data. Compare this for instance to the most frequent adjective 'little' which has 80 tokens. The **form** of discourse markers is often monosyllabic (*gujht*, *hov*) and consists minimally of a CV-syllable (*se*, *la*). In this respect, they stand out from other word classes which tend to have disyllabic members. However, disyllabic particles exist as well (*amma*, *gännah*). Discourse markers are usually unstressed (*gännah* for instance is always unstressed in the data), but if more than one discourse particle co-occur sentence-initial, they can be stressed as in example (11.7).

The function of discourse markers may overlap with those of adverbs. Both may modify an entire phrase or clause, but the pragmatic scope of discourse particles is generally wider than those of adverbs. Discourse markers often express an epistemic stance (e.g. certainty, assumption or hesitation). They "serve to indicate speaker's state of mind with respect to the content [...] [and] their estimate of the speaker/addressee relationship" (Zwicky, 1985, p.304) – that is, they have pragmatic functions, rather than semantic ones like adverbs.

In contrast to adverbs, some discourse markers have a restricted semantic context in which they may appear; the negative polarity particle *gännah* for

---

[76]A theoretical discussion on the category of (modal/discourse/pragmatic) *markers* is outside the scope of this thesis. See e.g. Degand *et al.* (2013) on this issue. I chose to group the markers listed in the present section as they exhibit similar or overlapping (pragmatic) functions. However, these functions are diverse and require further research in order to do them justice. Ultimately, each marker would need its own section describing its form and their function (cf. e.g. Panov (2020)).

instance occurs only in negation (see e.g. (11.7)). If a discourse marker occurs in combination with an adverb, the order is usually DISCOURSE MARKER – ADVERB, as in (11.1) and (11.2).

While adverbs may be derived, there are no discourse markers that are derived. There is little difference in their syntactic distribution; both often occur clause-medial and pre-verbal, but some markers can also stand clause-initially. Discourse markers are not bound to any particular word class, that is, they may appear with members of different word classes.

(11.1) *manne* **gujht** *aaj goh doh   jeatjeb-h*
       1SG.NOM EMP   also like DEM.DIST.3PL other-NOM.PL

       'I [did] just like the others.' [sma20170927c]

(11.2) *så aahka   gujht minnge-mes veedtj-i*
       so grandmother EMP   last-SUP   fetch-PST.3SG

       beapmoe-h
       food-NOM.PL

       'So at last, grandmother fetched [him] food.' [sma20170927a]

In Table 11.1, the discourse markers attested in the data are presented, with a rough description of their function and an index about their frequency in the corpus. Examples are provided in (11.1) through (11.9). The markers *gujht* and *hov*[77] mark personal assessment or "uncontroversial information" (the latter function is coined **enimitive** by Panov (2020)), and both markers are frequent in the data (141 and 103 tokens, respectively). The particle *nov*, which in contrast to most other particles may also occur clause-initially, marks an assumption or uncertain information/hedge. Some discourse markers can have several, contrasting functions, like *sån*, which may express both questioning/surprise (11.8) and personal assurance (11.9). The particle *goh* is used both as a discourse marker, as a conjunction ('when') and as an comparative particle ('than'). As a discourse marker, it occurs only in negation. *Badth* always occurs in contexts of uncontroversial or factual information. *Naa* may occur both clause initial and medial, and serves as a filler or marks hesitation. The other markers are attested with only few tokens. *Nov amma* comes close to an interjection and may occur as an independent phrase. The particle *så* 'so, a loan from Swedish/Norwegian *så* 'so', functions as an adverb (11.6), a conjunction (9.12) and as a discourse marker; *dan* and *kaanne* (from Swe/Nor kankse/kanskje 'maybe') are primarily adverbs but are used as discourse markers as well (see e.g. examples (9.4) or (11.6)).

[77]For a detailed description on the particle *hov*, see Jonasson (2006).

Table 11.1: Discourse markers

Marker	Function and gloss	Count
gujht	personal assessment, uncontroversial information	141
hov	emphasis, uncontroversial information	103
nov	assumption; 'well'	32
sån	questioning; surprise; personal judgement	27
goh	emphatic in negated context; 'neither'	25
badth	uncontroversial information, assurance	13
gännah	negative polarity; 'neither'	9
naa	hesitation	6
maa	certainty	3
amma	certainty; 'surely'	3
mån	relativizing; 'well'	1
se	hesitation; filler?	1
la	hesitation; filler?	1
så	'so' (conjunction)	n/a
dan	'so (very)' (ADV)	n/a
kaanne	'maybe' (ADV)	n/a

What follows below are examples of discourse markers, along with a brief description of the context they occur in.

In (11.3), I asked the speaker if the boarding school she attended as a child was far away. She answered with the following phrase, reflecting her judgement as a child:

(11.3)   *jaa nov lea*   **gujht**   *guhkie gåate-ste*
       yes well be.PRS.3SG certainly long   home-ELA.SG
       'Well yes, it was certainly far from home.' [sma20170919a]

Later she added that it was maybe around 30 kilometers – which is a long distance by foot and as a child, but not necessarily for an adult, or by car.

A similar context is found in (11.4). The speaker was staying with another family for some time as a child. I asked if he missed home and if it was far away. His answer is provided in (11.4):

(11.4)   *dellie lij*   **gujht** *guhkie men ij*
       then   be.PST.3SG EMO long   but   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG
       badth *daelie gosse bijl-h*   *gååvnes-h*
       PTCL   now   when car-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL
       'Back then it was certainly far but surely not today where there are cars.' [sma20171002e]

Here, *gujht* assesses the personal experience and contrasts with *badth*, which marks uncontroversial or factual information.

The general function of *hov* is to express emphasis or to mark uncontroversial information as in (11.5) below; see also (9.17) above.

(11.5) *mijjieh* **hov** *libh* *barre* *sleakte* *mijjieh*
        1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL only related 1PL.NOM

        tjijhtj-h
        seven-COLL

        'We were all related, the seven of us.' [sma20170919a]

Another function of *hov* is to establish a common ground[78] in the discourse, as in (11.6). The context was that different lakes were compared with respect to their quality for fishing.

(11.6) *å* *desnie* **hov** *lea* *hijven* *göölies* *jaevrie*
        and there EMP be.PRS.3SG good rich.in.fish lake

        'And there was a good and fish-rich lake.' [sma20171002f]

The particle *gännah* (11.7) is restricted to occurrences in negated contexts and reinforces the negative construction (a negative polarity item, see § 16.4), but it does not encode negation. In (11.5), the speaker is telling about the village *Käringsjön* in Härjedalen, Sweden. The inhabitants were forced by the state to abandon their houses and relocated to "modern" (but poorly built) barracks.

(11.7) *edtji* *gie* **gännah** *Käringsjöe-sne*
        NEG.AUX.PST.3SG someone NEG.EMP Käringsjön-LOC.SG

        baetjie-h
        stay.behind-CNG

        'No-one stayed behind in Käringsjön.' [sma20170924c]

Gännah is not attested in negative questions.

Some particles can co-occur; for instance the following *nov se la* (11.8), *nov sån* or *nov amma* 'well surely' (11.9). In these positions, particles can be stressed.

---

[78]In many contexts, *hov* can be translated by the Swedish/Nowegian particle *ju/jo*.

(11.8) **nov   se   la   im   manne   så**
PTCL PTCL PTCL NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM so

mujhtie-h   man guhkie men kaanna naan golme mijle
remember-CNG how long but maybe some three mile

'Well, so now I don't remember exactly, but maybe it was some thirty kilometers.' [sma20170919a]

(11.9) **nov   amma** *vaadts-h barre olkese datne*
well surely go-IMP   just   out   2SG.NOM

'Well well, you just go outside!' [sma20170926l]

The markers *nov* and *sån* express both assumption and uncertainty. In (11.10) below, the speaker talks about what the reindeer may feel or think, marked by these particles:

(11.10) *nov   sån tuhtjie-h   hijven dejtie   dassij*
well so consider.PRS-3PL good DEM.ACC.PL lose.INF

'They [the reindeer] probably consider it good to get rid of them [the antlers].' [sma20190730a]

The speaker is telling about the reindeer's cycle of growing and losing antlers. The reindeer bucks must feel lighter and more agile after having dropped their big and heavy antlers in late autumn.

In example (11.11), *sån* functions as a marker of questioning or wondering. Two speakers are discussing a picture from the Family Problem Picture Task Barth & Evans (2017a) and need to assess what they are looking at, namely a hut or shelter that is rather atypical for arctic conditions.

(11.11) *mij   sån   dohte?*
what PTCL DEM.DIST.NOM.SG

'What might that be?' [sma20181025t]

(11.12) *mah datne   majhta-h   men dihte   sån*
Q   2SG.NOM remember.PRS-2SG but 3SG.NOM PTCL

sealana-mma
die-PTCP

'Do you remember, but she has died.' [sma20181025c]

The marking of epistemic stance with discourse particles requires further research. The corpus is too limited to explore the full function of the less frequent particles, or account for any dialectal (or systematic idiolectal) preferences. However, the particle *hov* occurs more often in the central and northern dialects documented in the corpus.

11.2 Interjections

Interjections are "words which [...] express a speaker's current mental state or reaction or attitude towards an element in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context"; they are "holophrastic in the sense that they are forms that stand for a whole 'sentence' or proposition." (Ameka, 1992).

The following interjections (Table 11.2) are attested in the data. They are used to express various emotions in more informal situations. Examples are provided in (11.13)–(11.15). The interjections *aellieh* and *aellede* are forms of the negative auxiliary (see § 6.7.7.1); *aellieh* 'beware!' is described as a prohibitive form. It is also used as an interjection 'oh dear; oh no'.

Table 11.2: Interjections

Interjection	Translation	Occurences
aellieh	'Beware; Oh no'	3
aellede	'Beware; Oh no'	1
hammedebielien	'Good lord'	1
jämmedebielien	'Good lord'	1
jöödtedh	'Oh dear'	3
åå, ååh	'Oh'	6

(11.13) A: *Buvrie-m   lievies   raejve-me   jih*
         A: granary-ACC.SG be.PRS.3PL   tear.down-PTCP   and

         dejnie   jahte-me   men   gåetie tjåådtjå   jih
         DEM.COM.SG   move-PTCP   but   house   stand.PRS.3SG and

         *dihte   slaame-me   B: **aellieh   aellieh***
         DEM.NOM.SG   collapse-PTCP   B: oh.no   oh.no

         A: 'They took down the granary and moved with that one, but the house stands there and has collapsed.' B: 'Oh no, what a shame.' [sma20181025c] (*granary* = Swe. *härbre*, Nor. *stabbur*)

(11.14) *jih   dle aerede-n   mijjieh   edtje-be*
         and   so   morning-GEN.SG   1PL.NOM   shall.PRS-1PL

         *viermie-h   giesedh   **åå jämmedebielien**   man   stoerre*
         net-NOM.PL   pull.INF   oh good.lord   what   big

         guelie-h
         fish-NOM.PL

         'And so in the morning, we were going to pull in the nets and good lord such big fish we got!' [sma20171002f]

(11.15) **åå jöödtedh** *dihte*   *dam*   *byöpmed-i*
         oh dear   3SG.NOM   DEM.ACC.SG   eat-PST.3SG

         'Oh no he has eaten it!' [sma20170913j]

Interjections are defined as an open word class which can easily gain new members; an example is *jöödtedh*, most probably a loan from Swe/Nor *jösses/jøss*. Interjections are not frequent in the data. Most attested interjections are *secondary interjections* which have an "independent semantic value" (Ameka, 1992), such as *aellieh*. *Primary interjections* (such as *wow*!, *ouch*!, *oops*!) found in the data are *uj* (cf. Swe. *uj*) and *åå/ååh* (cf. Swe. *åh*).

12. Grammatical relations

Grammatical relations (GR) are encoded by (a) constituent order, (b) the assignment of cases and (c) by verb agreement. These three strategies are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

12.1 Constituent order

The constituent order in pragmatically neutral intransitive clauses is **SV** (that is, SUBJECT-VERB) and in transitive clauses **SOV** (SUBJECT-OBJECT-VERB). **SVO** is also attested. South Saami has thus a somewhat "flexible" constituent order (Payne, 1997, p.78), but the subject always precedes the verb and the object. Examples for both orders, SOV and SVO, are given in (12.1) and (12.2). There is no difference in word order with respect to whether the subject is pronominal or expressed by a full noun phrase.

(12.1) *[Hilje]$_S$ [guelie-m]$_O$ [biss-i]$_V$*
        Eliah.NOM   fish-ACC.SG   fry-PST.3SG

        'Eliah fried a fish.' [sma20180608b]e

(12.2) *[manne]$_S$ [vööjn-i-b]$_V$ [riepe-b]$_O$*
        1SG.NOM   see-PST-1SG   fox-ACC.SG

        'I saw a fox.' [sma20170920e]e

The order SVO is attested in the data but is less common than SOV. In the context of the study, both word orders are pragmatically neutral. The order may reflect an influence of the dominant contact languages Norwegian and Swedish, in which the basic word order is SVO. Note, however, that all other Saamic languages (except Skolt Saami (Feist, 2011, p. 278)) use the order SVO.[79] Co-variation in word order with other factors such as for instance tense was not found in the data.

[79]Interestingly, the standardized (and revitalized) language more rigidly follows an SOV-pattern than the language of older first language speakers, who may alternate more freely. Basic word order marks an obvious difference between South Saami and the (dominant) contact languages Swedish and Norwegian. Possibly heritage learners use the order SOV to indicate the status of South Saami as a different, independent language.

Like in almost any language, the word order in a language may be changed under specific conditions, and allows for pragmatic flexibility (Payne, 1997, p. 82). In example (12.3), the order of S and O is reversed due to a topicalization of the object:

(12.3)   *[gaajhk-h   dah   tjåenie-h]*_{OBJ}   *åadtj-i-n*
             all-NOM.PL   DEM.NOM.PL   thing-NOM.PL   get-PST-3PL

             *[dah   ruantja-h]*_{SUBJ}   *göötedh*
             DEM.NOM.PL   tame.reindeer-NOM.PL   carry.INF

             'All these things, the draft reindeer got to carry.' [sma20180615a]

Pragmatic and semantic factors are therefore indispensable for a feasible interpretation.

With respect to correlations of word order described in Greenberg's universals (1963), redefined in Dryer (2008), South Saami mainly follows structures observed in OV-languages, but also shows traits of VO-languages. Features that are found in South Saami that are typical for OV-languages are postpositions, the order GENITIVE-NOUN in adnominal possession, MODIFIER-HEAD and suffixes. Features found in South Saami that are typical for OV-languages on the other hand are the order AUXILIARY-VERB and sentence-initial question words.

As discussed in §§ 6.7.4 and 6.7.5, South Saami uses periphrastic constructions for the perfect and the pluperfect, which consist of an auxiliary and the perfect participle. In these constructions, the auxiliary occurs in the second position and the lexical verb usually occurs clause-finally (SUBJECT – AUX – OBJECT – VERB), as illustrated in (12.4).

(12.4)   *[aehtjie]*_{SUBJ} *[lij]*_{AUX}   *[fealloe-h]*_{OBJ}   *[vaalte-me]*_V
             father   be.PST.3SG   plank-NOM.PL   take-PTCP

             *[meatan]*_{ADV}
             with

             'Father had taken planks with him.' [sma20171002f]

Just as with the copula, the auxiliary is not obligatory (see § 6.7.4 on the perfect and pluperfect). Direct or indirect objects are usually placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verb. However, we find variation in this pattern as well. The direct and indirect object may follow the lexical verb, as illustrated in (12.5):

(12.5)   *manne   leam   vuajneme jeenj-h   riepie-h*
             1SG.NOM   be.PRS.1SG   see-PTCP   many-NOM.PL   fox-NOM.PL

             'I have seen many foxes.' [sma20170920e]e

12.2 Case assignment

South Saami is a language with nominative-accusative alignment both in the nominal and the pronominal system. The argument of an intransitive clause (S) is encoded the same way as the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause (A), namely the nominative, which does not receive any overt marking. This is illustrated in examples (12.6) and (12.7):

(12.6) *desnie*   *aahka*   *aajja*   *hööltest-i-n*
        DEM.LOC.SG grandma.NOM grandpa.NOM dwell-PST-3PL
        'Grandmother and grandfather lived there.' [sma20181025b]

(12.7) *manne*   *gaajhtje-m*   *buhtjie-ji-m*
        1SG.NOM goat-ACC.SG milk-PST-1SG
        'I milked the goat.' [sma20180608b]e

The object (O) is marked for the accusative in the singular, as illustrated in (12.7). Plural objects are either marked with the accusative as in (12.8), or with the nominative as in e.g. example (12.5) above.

(12.8) *biene*   *govs-ide*   *voejede*
        dog.NOM cow-ACC.PL drive.PRS.3SG
        'The dog drives the cows.' [sma20180604b]e

The indirect object (IO, identical with the recipient R (Dryer, 2007)), is marked with the illative, as in example (12.9). (The suffixes for accusative and illative plural are syncretic.) The subject is indexed on the verb, the direct object (or theme argument T) is marked with the nominative (plural) and the recipient is marked with the illative. South Saami groups the theme argument and the direct object (marked with the accusative), and the indirect object or recipient (marked with the illative) in marking. Therefore, I use the labels *direct* and *indirect object*.

(12.9) *dusnie*   *maan-ide*   *beapma-h*   *darja-ji-n*
        DEM.DIST.LOC.SG child-ILL.SG food-NOM.PL make-PST-3PL
        'There, they made food for the chilren.' [sma20181025a]

Recipients of ditransitive verbs are marked with a different case than the patient of a monotransitive verb (illative resp. accusative). The suffixes of these two cases differ in the singular but are syncretic in the plural (-*ide*).

Pronouns follow the same alignment patterns as nouns, with pronominal subjects being encoded with the nominative and pronominal objects with the accusative, see example (12.10):

(12.10) *dihte*   *dam*   *majhta-ji*
         3SG.NOM DEM.ACC.SG remember-PST.3SG

         'She remembered it.' [sma20170927c]

Adjuncts are usually marked with adpositions, or other oblique cases. South Saami mainly uses postpositions, which govern the genitive. Two examples, for the postposition *luvnie* 'at, with' and *gåajka* 'to' are presented in (12.11) and (12.12):

(12.11) *manne*   *hellebe* *aahka-n*   *aajja-n*   *luvnie*
         1SG.NOM rather   grandma-GEN.SG grandpa-GEN.SG at

         daesnie   *murried-i-m*
         DEM.PROX.LOC.SG be.happy-PST-1SG

         'I was rather at grandma's and grandpa's, I liked it there.'

         [sma20181025a]

(12.12) *dotnah*   *luvnede*   *mov*   *gåajka* *båate-me*
         2DU.NOM be.COND.2PL 1SG.GEN to   come-PTCP

         'You two should have come to me.' [sma20181020a]e

12.2.1 Differential object marking

Differential object marking (DOM) is the overt marking of direct objects which are "mapped into different GRs" (Bickel, 2011, p. 5). The phenomenon is cross-linguistically widespread (Bossong, 1991; Sinnemäki, 2014). The different mappings are often based on the semantic or pragmatic context; common notions that are encoded by DOM are definiteness or animacy of the patient (Comrie, 1989).[80] On a general level, DOM can be characterized as "[t]he higher in prominence a direct object, the more likely it is to be overtly case-marked" (Aissen, 2003, p. 436).

In South Saami, Differential Object Marking is used to encode definiteness of plural objects.[81] Indefinite plural objects are encoded with the nominal as in (12.13); the reading of the objects (*snares*, *birds*) is non-specific/generic or indefinite:

---

[80]For a typological study that challenges the view that animacy and definiteness are driving factors for differential object marking, see Sinnemäki (2014).

[81]See also Kroik (2016) and Wickman (1954).

(12.13) *daalvege*   *manne*   ***snarra-h***   *tjeegk-i-m*
         winter.ADV 1SG.NOM snare-NOM.PL set.up-PST-1SG

         ledtie-h   *biks-i-m*
         bird-NOM.PL take-PST-1SG

         'During winter I set up **traps** and caught **birds**.' [sma20170516a]

Plural objects that are definite on the other hand are encoded by the accusative as in (12.14) and (12.15). The objects (the *cows* and the *fish*) receive a specific/definite reading. Demonstratives like *dejtie* 'these' in example (12.15) are optional.

(12.14) *bienje*   ***govs-ide***   *voejede*   *gåatema-sse*
         dog.NOM cow-ACC.PL drive.PRS.3SG pasture-ILL.SG

         'The dog chases **the cows** to the pasture.' [sma20180604b]e

(12.15) *dillie aehtjie*   *tjahkasj-i*   *gåetie-n*   *sisnie*
         then father.NOM sit-PST.3SG house-GEN.SG inside

         dejtie   ***guel-ide***   *såålht-i*
         DEM.ACC.PL fish-ACC.PL salt-PST.3SG

         'Then father sat in the hut and salted **these fish**.' [sma20171002f]

The following examples (12.16) and (12.17) constitute minimal semantic pairs:

(12.16) *manne*   *gärja-h*   *lohke-me*
         1SG.NOM book-NOM.PL read-PTCP

         'I have read **books**.' [sma20200301n]e

(12.17) *manne*   *gärj-ide*   *lohke-me*
         1SG.NOM book-ACC.PL read-PTCP

         'I have read **the books**.' [sma20200301n]e

The direct object *books* in (12.16) can be given only an indefinite, non-specific reading, while the direct object *books* in (12.17) receive a definite/specific reading.

Animacy of the object is not relevant for the case marking strategy. In the corpus, the marking of objects with the nominative is more frequent.

Demonstratives may also be used to mark specificity. This may occur with plural objects in the nominative as in (12.18):

(12.18) *vedtie-h* *munnjan dah*   *kruana måvhka-h*
         give-IMP 1SG.ILL DEM.NOM.PL green pants-NOM.PL

         'Give me the green pants.' [sma20200301notes]e

12.3 Verb agreement

Grammatical relations are indexed on the verb in South Saami. Subjects are indexed on the verb while objects are not. An example is presented in (12.19):

(12.19) *riepie   hajk-i*
        fox.NOM   run-PST.3SG

        'The/A fox ran.' [sma20170920e]

The subject (the fox) triggers verb agreement. Animacy or any other hierarchy does not play a role for agreement.

South Saami allows for "pro-drop". The subject may be indexed on the verb only, as in example (12.20):

(12.20) *tjoejk-ij-o   jih dle gierest-ij-o   våålese*
        ski-PST-1PL   and so   downhill.ski-PST-1PL   down

        'We skied and then we skied downhill.' [sma20181025b]

(The verb *tjoejkedh* 'to go by ski' is used for Nordic skiing and the verb *gierestalledh* 'to go/slide/ski downhill' for downhill/slalom.)

The subject is obligatorily indexed on finite verbs. South Saami also uses non-finite verb forms; in such constructions, the subject is not marked on the verb, as in (12.21):

(12.21) *mijjieh   aaj jakse-me   dujtie   jeatjabi-die*
        1PL.NOM also reach-PTCP DEM.DIST.ILL.PL other-ILL.PL

        'We (had) also reached the others.' [sma20180615a]

If both the subject and the object are in the plural, pragmatic factors are important for the interpretation of a clause. This is exemplified in (12.22) and (12.23): The personal pronoun for the third person plural (*dah*) (in (12.22)) is also used as a demonstrative (in 12.23). In the transitive clause (12.22), *dah* is the subject and *doerkh* the object, while in the intransitive clause in (12.23), *dah maanah* form the subject noun phrase. There is also a prosodic difference between the nominal and adnominal use.

(12.22) *[dah]ₛᵤʙⱼ [doerk-h]ₒʙⱼ   dåaja-ji-n*
        NOM.3PL brushwood-NOM.PL cut-PST-3PL

        'They cut brushwood.' [sma20190729a]e

(12.23) *[dah   maana-h]ₛᵤʙⱼ hujhkes-i-n*
        DEM.NOM.PL child-NOM.PL shout-PST-3PL

        'The children shouted.' [sma20190612t]

12.4 Summary

In summary, grammatical relations are encoded by a combination of constituent order, case assignment and verb agreement; see Table 12.1:

Table 12.1: Encoding of grammatical relations

Constituent order	Intransitive clauses: SV
	Transitive clauses: SOV; SVO
Case assignment	NOM-ACC alignment
	Differential Object Marking (plural objects
	may occur in the nominative)
Verb agreement	Subject triggers agreement with verbs

13. Simple clauses

A simple clause usually consists of a predicate, its arguments and possible adjuncts (cf. e.g. Dixon (2010, Vol.1 p. 93)). In all types of clauses, the subject occurs in the nominative in South Saami.

First, I describe intransitive clauses in § 13.1. Transitive clauses are presented in § 13.2, followed by ditransitive clauses in section 13.3. I discuss non-verbal predicates (§ 13.4) and existential clauses (§ 13.5).

13.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are defined as having only one argument. In this section, I present different types of intransitive clauses. For this purpose, the section is organized in two parts. In the first part (§ 13.1.1), I look at lexicalization patterns for the encoding of agentives, states and properties (experiencer subjects). The part concludes with a short section on weather predicates and verbs with dummy subjects. In the second part (§ 13.1.2), I present the intransitive genitive possessive.

13.1.1 Encoding of agentives and experiencers

Syntactically, agentives and experiencer subjects are encoded identically in South Saami, but there are differences in lexicalization patterns between South Saami and its (Germanic) contact languages. In South Saami, several perceptory experiences and states are encoded by verbs while in the surrounding North Germanic languages, where they are encoded by stative predicates in copula constructions.

Agentive subjects refer to "an agent or 'doer' of an action [...] [t]he 'doer' is typically human, and is the deliberate or self-activating initiator of the action" (Quirk *et al.*, 1985, p. 207). Thus, an agentive subject represents a semantic role, in contrast to the grammatical role of an agent. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number, see examples (13.1) through (13.3) below. The subject is usually omitted in unmarked clauses when the referent can be inferred from context (South Saami allows for "pro-drop"), as in (13.3).

(13.1) *aehtjie   skååjje-sne   barka*
        father.NOM   forest-LOC.SG   work.PRS.3SG
        'Father works in the forest.' [sma20170923g]e

(13.2) *olkene   mijjieh   stååked-ij-o*
        outside   1PL.NOM   play-PST-1PL
        'We played outside.' [sma20181025b]

(13.3) *tjaelieji-bie   lohke-be   så guhkies   skovle-biejjie   hov*
        write.PRS-1PL   read.PRS-1PL   so long   school-day   EMP

        lea
        be.PRS.3SG
        'We write and read so it is [was] certainly a long school day.'
        [sma20170919a]

Subjects with "perceptual, cognitive, and emotive verbs" have the (semantic) role of an experiencer (Quirk *et al.*, 1985, p. 746) and, as mentioned above, they may be encoded verbally in South Saami. This constitutes a syntactic difference between South Saami and its contact languages Swedish and Norwegian, in which such predicates are encoded with adjectives and in non-verbal predication instead. An experiencer in Germanic languages is usually an animate subject of a copular verb "followed by an emotive complement" (Quirk *et al.*, 1985, p. 746), as in English *Tom is cold* or *Josh is happy*. (This construction is also found in South Saami, e.g. *manne feejjene* – 'I am glad'.) Examples of verbally encoded experiencer subjects are given in (13.4) through (13.8) and discussed below.

(13.4) *manne   gajhke-m*
        1SG.NOM   thirst.PRS-1SG
        'I am thirsty.' (Lit: 'I thirst/I am thirsting' – cf. German *mich dürstet (es)*) [sma20190820notes]

In (13.4), *being thirsty* is expressed with the verb *gajhkedh* 'to dry; thirst'. In (13.5), *to be hungry* is expressed with a verbal predicate:

(13.5) *manne   dan nealke-m   daelie*
        1SG.NOM   so be.hungry.PRS-1SG now
        'I am so hungry now.' [sma20170516c]e/f

In (13.6), *being angry* is encoded verbally:

(13.6) *dillie   måarahtåvva*
        then   be.angry.PRS.3SG
        'Then he is/got angry.' (Lit: 'Then he angers.') [sma20181025u]

The act of *enjoying* something is typically expressed verbally, exemplified in a negated clause in (13.7):

(13.7) *idtim*   *reakta   murred-h*
        NEG.AUX.PST.1SG really   be.happy-CNG

        dunnie   *gåete-snie*
        ADN.DEM.DIST.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG

        'I wasn't really happy in that house.' (Lit: 'I wasn't really nice-ing in that house.') [sma20181025a]

The verb *murredh* 'to enjoy; like' is intransitive and does not require a second argument (contrast English *I like but *I like **it***, but compare Swedish *jag trivs* 'I thrive').

(13.8) *dejstie*   *hävvi   bill-i-n*   *aaj*
        DEM.ELA.PL certainly be.scared-LPST-3PL also

        'They were certainly also afraid of them.' (Lit: 'They frightened of them as well.') [sma20170927a]

As the examples show, syntactically, agentives and experiencer subjects are encoded identically in South Saami, but there are differences in lexicalization patterns between South Saami and its (Germanic) contact languages. In South Saami, several perceptory experiences and states are encoded by verbs while in the surrounding North Germanic languages, where they are encoded by stative predicates in copula constructions. Experiencer subjects (in both verbal and non-verbal constructions – see 13.4 below) are always encoded by the nominative in South Saami (unlike e.g. German, in which the experiencer may be encoded by the dative as in *Mir ist kalt, so kalt* – 'I am cold, so cold.')

A restricted number of weather predicates may occur without argument, such as *tjuetsedh* 'to snow' or *abredh* 'to rain' in 13.9. These predicates may therefore constitute a clause without any implied or omitted argument. Weather verbs have been pointed out to behave similarly in other languages (Bauer, 2000, p. 100).

(13.9) *abra*
        rain.PRS.3SG

        'It rains.' [sma20190303notes]

Some verbs are attested to be used with the dummy subject *det* 'it', a loan from the contact languages Swedish and Norwegian. An example with the verb *råhkedh* 'to be enough' is given in (13.10), and with the verb *batnedh* 'to sink' in (13.11). Square brackets indicate code switching to Swedish.

(13.10)   *[så det] råhkå*
          (so   it)   be.enough.PRS.3SG
          'So it is enough.' [sma20180604b]

(13.11)   *dihte   moere lea   suure [så det] batnese*
          3SG.NOM tree   be.PRS.3SG sour   so   it   sink.PRS.3SG
          'This wood is wet so it sinks.' [sma20180612d]e

13.1.2   Genitive possessive

Predicative possessive constructions express "asymmetric" relations between
a possessor and a possessee (Stassen, 2009, p. 11) and *establishes* a relation
of possession. South Saami makes use of two different constructions: an in-
transitive genitive possessive, presented in the current section, and a transitive
have-possessive, presented in §13.2.1. A functional difference between the
two constructions is not attested (see also Kowalik (2016)). The two construc-
tions are equally frequent in the data.

   The genitive possessive in South Saami is an intransitive construction where
the possessor is in the genitive and the possessee in the nominative. A copula
is often, but not obligatorily, part of the construction. An example is given in
(13.12). The copula (*leah* 'are') agrees with the possessed (*bienjh* 'dogs'):

(13.12)   *mov   elkie-n   leah   golme bienj-h*
          1SG.GEN son-GEN.SG be.PRS.3PL three   dog-NOM.PL
          'My son has three dogs.' [sma20170913h]

   The genitive possessive is unique for South Saami among the Saamic lan-
guages. However, South Saami does not have a locational possessive (see
§5.5.5). The copula is not obligatory in genitive possessives. If the copula is
omitted, the construction may be identical to adnominal possessives.

   Heine (1997, p. 25) points out that "all languages we are familiar with have
a morphosyntactic distinction between attributive and predicative possession."
However, since the copula is not obligatory in the construction, a predicative
possessive clause may be identical in structure with an adnominal possessive
noun phrase. Pragmatic factors determine the reading as either adnominal or
predicative.[82] Compare the following examples. In (13.13), there are two
genitive possessives (and a have-possessive). In contrast, example (13.14) is
best understood as an adnominal possessive. In both examples, the copula is
omitted.

---

[82]There is very likely also a prosodic contrast; however, this needs to be investigated
further.

(13.13) *mijjien golme tjiejht-h jih aahka-n jih*
1PL.GEN three goat-NOM.PL and grandma-GEN.SG and

aajja-n göökte tjiejht-h så då vijhte
grandpa-GEN.SG two goat-NOM.PL so then five

tjiejht-h jih tjiejte-gåetie-m aaj utn-ij-o
goat-NOM.PL and goat-house-ACC.SG also have-PST-1PL

'We [had] three goats and grandmother and grandfather [had] two goats so then [that were] five goats, and we had a goat shed as well.' [sma20180605c]

(13.14) *mijjien tjaetjie-gaaldie desnie*
1PL.GEN water-spring there

'Our water spring was there.' [sma20180605c]

There is no difference in the encoding of different possessions, compare the following examples: Ownership of animates is illustrated in (13.12) and (13.13), ownership of inanimates is illustrated in (13.15) (oast time reference is encoded by the copula). "Human" possession/kinship is illustrated in (13.16).

(13.15) *mov lij sygkele*
1SG.GEN be.PST.3SG bicycle

'I had a bicycle.' [sma20170913h]e

(13.16) *mov lea akte åabpa*
1SG.GEN be.PRS.3SG one sister

'I have a sister.' [sma20170926g]e

Alienability is not marked in possessive constructions, compare (13.15) and (13.17):

(13.17) *mov åenehks voept-h jih mov åabpa-n*
1SG.GEN short hair-NOM.PL and 1SG.GEN sister-GEN.SG

aaj
also

'I have short hair and my sister [has short hair] as well.'

[sma20170921h]e

13.2   Transitive clauses

There are two attested word orders in transitive clauses: SOV and SVO. The order SOV is more frequent in the data. The two word orders are illustrated in (13.18) and (13.19) below, two pragmatically unmarked, transitive declarative clauses:

(13.18)   *aahka   aajja   hov   spidtjetje-m   utnie-h*
   grandma grandpa EMP   small.farm-ACC.SG   have.PRS-3PL
   'Grandmother and grandfather have [had] a little farm.'
   [sma20171002e]

(13.19)   *mijjieh   de   utn-i-bh   bovts-h*
   1PL.NOM   PTCL   have-PST-1PL   reindeer-NOM.PL
   'We had reindeer.' [sma20170927b]

The latter order SVO in (13.19) may reflect an influence from the (dominant) contact languages Swedish and Norwegian, where this order is common.

There is no formal distinction in verb morphology between intransitive and transitive verbs in South Saami. Valency-changing suffixes are not productive or obligatory, and there is no class of transitive verbs to be distinguished in South Saami. The difference between an intransitive and a transitive clause in South Saami is the presence of a second argument, an object, like *faamoe-vierkiem* 'power plant' in (13.20) or *balvide* 'clouds' in (13.21):

(13.20)   *mijjieh   hov   jijtje   dagkeres   faamoe-vierkie-m*
   1PL.NOM   EMP   REFL   such   power-station-ACC.SG
   tseegk-i-mh
   build-PST-1PL
   'We built such a power plant ourselves.' [sma20170914b]

(13.21)   *Hilje   balv-ide   vuartesje*
   Eliah   clould-ACC.PL   look.PRS.3SG
   'Eliah looks at the clouds.' [sma20180612a]e

The typical pattern for transitive clauses in South Saami are verbs that take as arguments a subject noun phrase and a direct object noun phrase. The subject NP is always encoded for the nominative, which is unmarked in the singular. The object NP is encoded either for the accusative (as in (13.20) and (13.21)) or the nominative plural (this is used to differentiate between indefinite and definite objects). An example for a plural object in the nominative is given in (13.19). For details on DOM, see § 12.2.1 above.

Like in many other languages, South Saami allows for "indefinite object deletion", that is, the argument that is syntactically the direct object does not have to be expressed (Næss, 2007, p. 124) (see Næss (2007, p. 129ff) for an overview of approaches to this matter). Object deletion is typically a lexical property of a group of verbs in a language.[83] In South Saami, clauses with transitive verbs like 'see', 'eat', 'hear', 'write' or 'read' do not require an overt object. This is predominantly, but not exclusively, attested with the non-finite progressive form of verbs, illustrated in (13.22) and (13.23):

(13.22) *jih dihte   kaarre tjahka-n barre govle-minie*
   and DEM.NOM.SG man   sit-CVB   only   hear-PROG
   'And that man just sits there and is listening.' [sma20181025t]

(13.23) *dihte   låhka*
   3SG.NOM read.PRS.3SG
   'He reads/ is reading.' [sma20170927h]e

A number of verbs attested in the data are labile (Kulikov & Lavidas, 2014), that is, they may alternate in their valency. By labile (or inchoative/causative) verbs I mean a "pair of verbs which express the same basic situation [...] and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes excludes a causing agent" (Haspelmath, 1993), e.g. *I broke the vase – the vase broke*. An example pair in South Saami is *gajhkedh* 'to dry, to be thirsty (intrans.); to dry (trans.)'. Its intransitive use is discussed in (13.4) above, repeated in (13.24) for convenience. Its intransitive use is illustrated in (13.25):

(13.24) *manne   gajhke-m*
   1SG.NOM thirst.PRS-1SG
   'I am thirsty.' (Lit: 'I thirst/I am thirsting') [sma20190820notes]

(13.25) *manne   gajhke-m   bearka-h*
   1SG.NOM dry.PRS-1SG   meat-NOM.PL
   'I am drying meat.' [sma20190820notes]

However, whether the verb is used transitively or intransitively also depends on context. The clause *manne gajhkem* may be given a transitive reading if the object is inferred from context. The valency changing morphology that exists is not/no longer productive.

---

[83]Another possibility is to refer to verbs as ambitransitive.

While transitivizing suffixes are not obligatory, they may be used with some verbs: *gajhkedh* 'to dry' may be both intransitive and transitive, *gajhke-didh* 'to dry' is only used as a transitive verb. (See Chapter 17 on derivational morphology and transitivizing suffixes for more details.)

Transitive constructions are also used for the encoding of perceptory/experience predicates. The experiencer subject is always in the nominative, while marking of the stimulus may vary. This is similar to other Saamic languages, compare Kittilä *et al.* (2018). South Saami has thus "agent-like" experiencers (as opposed to dative-like and patient-like experiencers, cf. Haspelmath *et al.* (2001)). The object (the stimulus) may be encoded for the accusative (13.26) or for the dative (13.27):

(13.26) *Hilje prihtjege-m   lyjhkoe*
   Eliah coffee-ACC.SG like.PRS.3SG

   'Eliah likes coffee.' [sma20180612m]e

(13.27) *dohte   måaratåvva   dosse*
   DEM.DIST.NOM.SG get.angry.PRS.3SG DEM.DIST.ILL.SG

   'He gets angry at her.' (Lit: 'He angers at her.') [sma20181025u]

Some predicates allow variation in the marking of the stimulus, such as the verb *jaekedh* 'to believe, trust', which may govern either the dative (13.28) or the accusative (13.29):

(13.28) *Hilje Mikaele-se   jaahka*
   Eliah Michael-ILL.SG believe.PRS.3SG

   'Eliah believes in/trusts Michael.' [sma20180604b]e

(13.29) *Hilje Mikaele-m   jaahka*
   Eliah Michael-ACC.SG believe.PRS.3SG

   'Eliah believes in/trusts Michael.' [sma20180604b]e

13.2.1 *Have*-possessive

Predicative possessive constructions express "asymmetric" relations between a possessor and a possessed (Stassen, 2009, p. 11) and *establish* a relation of possession. South Saami makes use of two different constructions to express predicative possession: a transitive *have*-possessive, presented in the current section, and an intransitive genitive possessive, presented in § 13.1.2. A functional difference between the *have*- and the genitive possessive is not attested

(see also Kowalik (2016)). All different subdomains of possession can be expressed by both constructions. By subdomains I mean here physical, temporary, permanent, abstract and (in)alienable possession (Heine, 1997, pp. 34–41).

In contrast to most other Saamic languages, South Saami has no locational possessive. This matter is discussed in § 5.5.5.1.

For another, comprehensive account on predicative possession in South Saami, see Inaba & Blokland (2019).

Have-possessives are transitive constructions based on a verb 'to have, own'. The possessor is marked as the subject and the possessee as the direct object of the clause. The possessive construction is based on the verb *utnedh* 'to have; use; consider'. The possessor is in the nominative and the possessee in the accusative singular or in the nominative plural (for differential object marking, see § 12.2.1).

13.2.1.1 Examples of predicative possession

Examples of possession are presented in (13.30) and (13.31):

(13.30) *mov   aahka   jih aajja   gåetie-m*
        1SG.GEN grandmother and grandfather house-ACC.SG

        utn-i-n   desnie
        have-PST-3PL   there

        'My grandmother and grandfather had a house there.'

        [sma20190723a]

(13.31) *manne   dan jeene mujhtes-h   atna-m*
        1SG.NOM so many memory-NOM.PL have.PRS-1SG

        gaalo-istie
        ford-ELA.PL

        'I have so many memories from fords (wading places).'

        [sma20190723a]

All plural possessees in the data are in the nominative plural. A possessee in the accusative plural is not attested in natural speech in the data.[84] Plural objects in the accusative receive a definite reading, and in the data, they are less frequent than indefinite plural objects. Since predicative possessive relations "establish" a relation, it is reasonable that definite plural possessees are even less frequent than plural objects.

---

[84]Examples of plural possessees in the accusative are found in e.g. (Inaba & Blokland, 2019, p. 105).

All notions of possessive relations can be expressed with the verb *utnedh*. Physical ownership is illustrated in (13.30) and abstract possession in (13.31). Possession of human beings (kinship relations or other) and animals may also be expressed with the have-possessive, see 'friend' in (13.32) and 'cows and goats' in (13.33):

(13.32)   *dihte*   *utn-i*   *voelpe-m*   *Tysklaante-sne*
          3SG.NOM   have-PST.3SG   friend-ACC.SG   Germany-LOC.SG

          'He had a friend in Germany.' [sma20170927c]

(13.33)   *jaa naan govs-h*   *jih   sirv-h*   *utn-i-n*
          yes   some   cow-NOM.PL   and   goat-NOM.PL   have-PST-3PL

          'Yes and they had some cows and goats.' [sma20171002e]

In the data, the verb is also used in abstract constructions where there is no item marked as the possessed, as in (13.34):

(13.34)   *manne*   *tröjjes*   *utn-i-m*   *dej*   *ektesne*
          1SG.NOM   pleasant   have-PST-1SG   ADN.DEM.COM.PL   together

          'I had good times with them.' (Lit.: 'I had it nice') [sma20171002e]

The use of the have-possessive is not an innovation in South Saami and is attested in early records of the language, compare e.g. (Halász, 1891, p. 13).

Any functional differentiation between the have-possessive and the genitive possessive is not attested in the data. A possible semantic difference between the two constructions is that the have-possessive is perhaps favoured when the possession involves physical control over the possessed, but the data are not conclusive here.

13.2.1.2   The verb *utnedh* 'to have'

The verb *utnedh* is a polyfunctional verb in South Saami. Cognates of the verb are found in all Saamic languages and its earlier sense meaning is 'hold, keep; use' (Lehtiranta, 2001, p. 10). In South Saami, it is primarily used in the meaning *to have* but may also express the semantics of *use* and *consider*. In the examples in the data, the function of 'to use' often overlaps with 'to have', see (13.35) and (13.36).

(13.35) *jih   dihte   Nöörje-n   giele-m*
and   3SG.NOM Norway-GEN.SG language-ACC.SG

utn-ij-a
have-PST-3SG

'And she used (*had/possessed?*) the Norwegian language.'

[sma20170923d]

(13.36) *å   duelie tjahkan vuebnie-n   avtelen*
and   there sit.CVB stove-GEN.SG infron

prihtjege-giebnie-m **atna**   *dusnie*
coffee-kettle-ACC.SG have.PRS.3SG there

'And there she sits infront of the stove and she has a coffee kettle there.' [sma20181025c]

When *utnedh* is used in the meaning 'to consider', the object is usually a clause. An example is the clausal object 'she is so old and grown-up' in (13.37):

(13.37) *daellie gujht manne   **utn-i-b**   [dihte   dan*
then   EMP 1SG.NOM consider-PST-1SG 3SG.NOM.SG so

sån båeries jih   geerve]
so   old   and grown.up

'Back then I considered she [is/was] so old and grown-up.'

[sma20170919a]

However, the use of the verb as a *have*-verb is much more frequent in the data than the use of *to use* and *to consider utnedh*.

13.3 Ditransitive clauses

Predications with a more complex argument structure are the subject of this section. Both ditransitive clauses and other verbs with with three arguments are presented in this section.

A prototypical ditransitive clause is "a construction with a verb denoting transfer of an entity or theme (T) from an agent (A) to a recipient (R)" (Haspelmath, 2015), cf. also Dryer (2007). The recipient R is generally human and often definite or "more topical"; the theme T is generally inanimate, indefinite and less topical (Haspelmath, 2015, p. 22). In examples (13.38)–(13.42) below, all recipients are human.

Recipients are always marked with the dative in South Saami. The theme T is usually marked like the object in mono-transitive clauses, that is, with

the accusative. T may, however, also be an adpositional phrase as in (13.42), where it is marked with the genitive.

Constituent order is not fixed; the order of agent (A), theme (T) and recipient (R) is either NP$_A$–NP$_T$–NP$_R$ or NP$_A$–NP$_R$–NP$_T$. The verb may occur between subject (agent) and object (theme) (SVO) as in (13.38), after the object (SOV) as in (13.40) or clause-finally after the recipient as in (13.39). Typologically, there is a "strong tendencey" for R and T "to occur on the same side of the verb, next to each other" (Haspelmath, 2015, p.31). This tendency is confirmed by South Saami, with the exception of example (13.42), where the theme is an adpositional phrase that does not occur adjacent to R.

(13.38) *dihte   vedte-minie krahtse-m   maane-se*
         3SG.NOM give-PROG   porridge-ACC.SG child-ILL.SG
         'He is giving the child porridge.' [sma20170927h]e

(13.39) *manne   maane-se   tjaste-m   vadta-m*
         1SG.NOM child-ILL.SG ice.cream-ACC.SG give.PRS-1SG
         'I give ice cream to the child.' [sma20190723]e

(13.40) *Piere beapmoe-b   gaahte-se   vedt-i   daan aereden*
         Piere food-ACC.PL cat-ILL.SG give-PST.3SG this morning
         'Piere gave the cat food this morning.' [sma20170920b]e

(13.41) *vielle-me   dam   munnjan soptsesta-mme*
         brother-PX DEM.ACC.SG 1SG.ILL   talk-PTCP
         'My brother has told me this.' [sma20170913g]e

(13.42) *manne   dutnan   såårne-me dan   bijre*
         1SG.NOM 1SG.ILL   tell-PTCP   DEM.GEN.SG around
         'I had told you about this.' [sma20180607a]

Examples (13.43) and (13.44) are locative constructions with verbs that take three arguments. Similar to the recipient in ditransitive constructions, the locatives are marked with the dative. In these constructions in the data, the direct and indirect object do not occur on the same side of the verb.

(13.43) *Hilje sohker-h   gurkie   kåahpe-se*
         Hilje sugar-NOM.PL pour.PRS.3SG cup-ILL.SG
         'Hilje pours sugar into the cup.' [sma20180612d]e

(13.44) *biene govs-ide   voejede   gåatema-sse*
         dog   cow-ACC.PL drive.PRS.3SG pasture-ILL.SG
         'The dog is driving the cows to the pasture.' [sma20180604b]e

South Saami does not have any benefactive verb morphology or means to mark the recipient of an action on the verb. Special morpho-syntactic marking of verbs or different verb classes in ditransitive constructions are not attested in the data.

13.4   Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are clauses that "lack a typical verb" (Haspelmath, 2021). A non-verbal predicate "consists in the association of a particular, individual entity with a general state of affairs" (Stassen, 2003, p.15). Hengeveld 1992, p.25 defines non-verbal predication as "the application of a non-verbal predicate to an appropriate number of arguments"; in other words, non-verbal predicates involve a non-verbal predicate and an argument. Non-verbal **predicates** are predicates that are "not a verb. A verb may be defined as a predicate which [...] has a predicative use only." (ibid.). Copulas are therefore "not (part of) the main predicate of those predications." (Hengeveld, 1992, p. 30). The "most salient feature of the copula is that it makes no independent contribution to the meaning of the sentence. This feature is reflected in the fact that [...] the copula can be left out without affecting the meaning of the sentence" (Hengeveld, 1992, p. 32). As will be shown, this is true for South Saami. Stassen (2003, p. 612) refers to copulas as "nonverbal supportive item[s], which can [...] be zero (a 'zero copula').)

Dryer (2007) distinguishes between three types of non-verbal predicates: adjectival, nominal and locational predicates. (cf. also Stassen (2003, p. 15ff)), in which (per definition) a copula may or may not be obligatory. In South Saami, all three non-verbal predicate types may occur with a copula, but the copula is optional. That is, the predicate may be juxtaposed with their subjects and does not require any verbal element. Examples are given in (13.45) through (13.47):

(13.45)   *dihte*   *ståabpa*   *mov*   *vööste*   *dihte*
        DEM.NOM.SG house   1SG.GEN   towards   DEM.NOM.SG

        lea   *rööpses*
        be.PRS.3SG   red

        'That house in front of me, it/that [one] is red.' [sma20170926m]e/f

(13.46)   *tjidtjie*   *aaj*   *lohketäjja*
        mother   also   teacher

        'Mother is also a teacher.' [sma20170921g]e

(13.47)   *skåvla-maana-h*   *olkene*
          school-child-NOM.PL   outside

          'The school children are outside.' [sma20181025b]

In all types of non-verbal predication, the predicate follows the subject, and the same copula (if it is present) is used for all types of predication. The copula is usually between subject and predicate, but there are exceptions where it occurs in final position. The copula is not obligatory, and a clear semantic or pragmatic function of its use has not been found in the data.[85] Possibly, in some contexts, the copula may have an emphatic function (however, more data is needed to investigate this matter).

The copula is more frequently used in the past tense (but again, not obligatorily), illustrated in (13.48) and (13.49):

(13.48)   *dah*   *lin*   *oktegims*
          3PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   alone

          'They were alone.' [sma20180605c]e

(13.49)   *mijjieh*   *hov*   *libh*   *barre* *olkene* *abpe* *biejjie-n*
          1PL.NOM   EMP   be.PST.1PL   only   outside   all   day-GEN.SG
          stååkedi-bie
          play.PRS-1PL

          'We were simply outside all day, we play[ed].' [sma20170919a]

Non-verbal predicates with a past time reference are also attested with the copula in the present tense. An example is (13.50):

(13.50)   *naa* *dihte*   *hov*   *lea*   *aaj* *saemie* *nysenäjja* *jaa*
          well 3SG.NOM   EMP   be.PRS.3SG   also Saami   woman   yes

          'Well, she is [was] also a Saami woman, yes.' [sma20170919a]

Hengeveld (1992) distinguishes between several semantic relations that are expressed in different types of non-verbal predications, such as: *identificational, ascriptive, property assignment, locative* and *existential* (1992:106). In the remaining part of this section, I follow his division and provide examples for these types.

Identificational non-verbal predication
An example for identificational non-verbal predication is given in (13.51). The predicate (*shaggy dogs*) is indefinite. The semantic relation expresses identification (as *dogs*) or membership to a category.

[85]A speaker once commented on the use of the copula: "Man skriver *leah* men man pratar inte så. ("You write *leah* but you don't talk like that") [sma20170921h].

318

(13.51) *dah*   *leah*   *tjeehpes* *lårhvoeh-bienj-h*
         DEM.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL black   shaggy-dog-NOM.PL

         'These are black shaggy dogs.' [sma20170913h]

This type of predication usually includes the copula. Without copula, the construction may be read as a noun phrase (e.g., *these black shaggy dogs*).

Ascriptive non-verbal predication

Ascriptive non-verbal predications "build up a picture of some entity [...] by ascribing some property [...] to that entity." (Hengeveld, 1992, p. 103), illustrated in (13.45) (with an adjective) and (13.46) (with a noun) above.

Property assignment

Property assignments have either a nominal or an adjective as predicate, as in example (13.52), and are attested with and without copula.

(13.52) *dah*   *hov* *leah*   *sån* *giemhpes*
         DEM.NOM.PL EMP be.PRS.3PL so   kind

         'They are [were] so kind.' [sma20171002e]

A distinction between permanent and temporary properties is not found in the data.

Locational non-verbal predication

Locational non-verbal predicates are usually constructed without a copula in the data. Examples for locational non-verbal predicates are given in (13.53) through (13.55).

(13.53) *dihte*   *dusnie*
         3SG.NOM   DEM.DIST.LOC.SG

         'He is over there.' [sma20190721c]

(13.54) *peanna* *buerte-sne*
         pen   table-LOC.SG

         'The pen is on the table.' [sma20170220a]e

(13.55) *nov*   *monnen*   *tjidtjie* *gåete-sne*
         PTCL 1DU.GEN   mother   house-LOC.SG

         'Well our mother is home.' [sma20170921g]e

An example for a locational predicate with the copula is given in (13.56) and (13.57). There is no difference in pragmatic markedness.

(13.56) *dihte   lea   Staare-sne*
       3SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG Östersund-LOC.SG

       'She is [lives] in Östersund.' [sma20170913h]

(13.57) *mijjien   tjidtjie skiemtje-gåete-sne läjja*
       1PL.GEN   mother   sick-house-LOC.SG   be.PST.3SG

       'Our mother was in hospital.' [sma20181025a]

In example (13.57), the copula is clause final. This is a trait common for the southern dialect, especially for the speakers that did not have any contact with the standard language, but a final copula is unusual in other idiolects in the data. The copula usually occurs in clause medial position.

13.5 Existential clauses

Existential clauses are introducing a new entity (an existent) into a discourse. The existent (also called *pivot*) is usually indefinite and placed within a location (Haspelmath, 2021).

Creissels (2014) defines existential clauses as "inverse locational predication" equivalent to the English structure *There is N (Loc)* where *N* is a noun phrase and *Loc* a locational predicate. (Despite its name, existential clauses do not (necessarily) contain a verb 'to exist'; see Creissels (2014) for a discussion on that matter.) In his view, existential clauses are used to "identify an entity present at a certain location" but are "not adequate answers to questions about the location of an entity" (Creissels, 2014).

Dryer's definition is broader than the previous: existential clauses are "stating the existence of something", the "primary function of such clauses is apparently to introduce into the discourse a participant that is new" (Dryer, 2007, p. 241). He also notes that existential and locational clauses may overlap "as a type of clause".

Similarly, Veselinova's & Hamari's (2022) understanding of existential clauses is that of a "general communicative function in that that they bring up a novel entity in context". Clauses that merely state the existence of something (like Eng. *Zebras exist.*) are therefore not existential constructions, as opposed to the existential clause (Eng.) *There are zebras in the Africa*.

Existential clauses may furthermore have different functions such as *permanent* presence (*There are tigers in Thailand*) and *temporary* location of an existent (*There are flowers on the table*) (Haspelmath, 2021).

In the data of South Saami, two kinds of existential clauses are identified; a non-verbal (§ 13.5.0.1) and a verbal construction (§ 13.5.0.2). The difference in use between these two is not entirely clear in the data, but it may be a

pragmatic one. In the data, the non-verbal construction is primarily used for episodic presence and availability, while the verbal one is primarily used for permanent presence, but there is overlap between the two constructions.

The pivot (the existent) occurs in the nominative in South Saami and is generally an indefinte NP. However, specific pivots do occur – cf. e.g. example (13.61); usually, there is one specific reindeer fence.

13.5.0.1 Non-verbal existential clauses

The non-verbal existential predication consists of a locational phrase and a noun phrase, as in (13.58). The order of the constituents differs from a locational predication. Compare the existential predication in example (13.58) and the locational predication in (13.59): (The copula *lea-* 'be' is not obligatory in either of the clauses.)

(13.58) *tjööle-sne*   *mielhkie*
        fridge-LOC.SG milk.NOM.SG

        'There is milk in the fridge.' [sma20170921h]e

(13.59) *peanna*   *buerte-sne*
        pen.NOM.SG table-LOC.SG

        'The pen is on the table.' [sma20170220a]e

In non-verbal existential predicates, the locative phrase precedes the pivot, while it follows the subject in locational predication. This is similar to other Uralic languages (cf. e.g. Finnish). This existential construction is not "dedicated existential predication" (that is, it does not have any grammaticalized item). Typologically, this is "the most common situation in the languages of the world." (Creissels, 2014, p. 18). The construction found in South Saami is furthermore typical for languages with flexible constituent order. It is also used in Finnish, compare e.g. (Creissels, 2014, p. 20). More examples for non-verbal existential predications of that type are provided in (13.60) through (13.62):

(13.60) *tjiehtjeli-snie* *buertie*
        room-LOC.SG table.NOM.SG

        'There is a table in the room.' [sma20170921h]e

(13.61) *jih* *bijjien* *Rödfjäll-sne*   *giedtie* *lij*
        and upon   Rödfjäll-LOC.SG fence   be.PST.3SG

        'And up on Rödfjäll, there was the reindeer fence.' [sma20180605c]

(13.62) *gaaloe-n*   *betne-sne*   *smaave* *gierkie-h*
         ford-GEN.SG bottom-LOC.SG small   stone-NOM.PL

         'There are small stones on the ford's bottom.' [sma20190723a]

Non-verbal existential predicates are also used to express part-whole relationships, illustrated in (13.63) and (13.64):

(13.63) *tjiehtjeli-snie* *göökte* *klaas-h*
         room-LOC.SG   two   glass-NOM.PL

         'There are two windows in the room/The room has two windows.' [sma20170220a]e

(13.64) *daennie*   *geegke-sne*   *akte* *luehkie*
         ADN.DEM.LOC.SG keg-LOC.SG   one   lid

         'There is a lid on this keg/This keg has a lid.' [sma20180604a]

These constructions are best translated as inanimate possessive constructions in English (or Swedish/Norwegian: *rummet har två fönster*). Part-whole constructions and their relationship to predicative possession are also discussed in § 5.5.5.1.

13.5.0.2   Verbal existential clauses

The other existential construction in South Saami uses the existential verb *gååvnese-* 'exist'. The verb *gååvnese-* is related to the verb *gaavnesje-/gaavnede-* 'to meet, find'. It behaves regularly and is also used in intransitive clauses. Examples for its use as existential are provided in (13.65) through (13.67):

(13.65) *jueskiedahke-sne* *mielhkie* *gååvnese*
         fridge-LOC.SG   milk   exist.PRS.3SG

         'There is milk in the fridge.' [sma20170921h]e

(13.66) *Sveerje-sne*   *vaejsie-h*   *gååvnes-h*
         Sweden-LOC.SG moose-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

         'There are moose in Sweden.' [sma20210811notes]e

(13.67) *Aafrika-sne*   *lejjon-h*   *gååvnes-h*
         Africa-LOC.SG lion-NOM.PL   exist.PRS-3PL

         'There are lions in Africa.' [sma20210811notes]e

The extent to which the verb *gååvnese-* 'exist-' is obligatory in the three examples above is unclear. The phrasing like (13.65) was judged to be "very

elaborated" (*väldigt välomskrivet*) by one speaker, but the same speaker preferred the existential verb to be present in sentences like (13.66). The clause is grammatical without *gååvnesh* 'exist', but was judged to be "a little short without any context". More examples with the existential verb are (13.68) through (13.72):

(13.68) *Härjedal-sne jeenj-h jaevrie-h gååvnes-h*
    Härjedalen-LOC.SG many-NOM.PL lake-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

    'There are many lakes in Härjedalen county.' [sma20200219c]e

(13.69) *biblioteek-sne jeenj-h gärja-h gååvnes-h*
    library-LOC.SG many-NOM.PL book-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

    'There are many books in the library.' [sma20170921h]e

(13.70) *jih dagka bijjege desnie akte tjaetjie-gaaltije*
    and there up DEM.LOC.SG one water-spring
    gååvnese
    exist.PRS.3SG

    'And up there, there is a water spring.' [sma20190729a]

(13.71) *gåetie-h gååvnes-i-n bijrejärgan*
    house-NOM.PL exist-LPST-3PL around

    'There were houses around [that place].' [sma20170922h]

(13.72) *dellie lij gujht guhkie men ij*
    then be.PST.3SG EMP long but NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG
    badth daelie gosse bijl-h gååvnes-h
    PTCL now when car-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

    'Back then it was certainly long but not today when there are cars.'
    [sma20171002e]

Based on the current data, it is difficult to determine what exactly governs the usage of the existential verb. The following example (13.73) was judged to be equally good with and without verb:

(13.73) *buertie-n nelnie gärja-h (gååvnes-h)*
    table-GEN.SG ontop book-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

    'There are books on the table.' [sma20210811notes]e

Possibly, the encoding of existential predication with the existential verb *gååvnese-* 'exist-' is used for permanent existence/presence (such as (13.67) above), while the non-verbal construction requires more context, or is primarily used for episodic presence and availability.

(13.74) *almetj-idie*   *guelie-jaevrie-h*   *gååvnes-h*
        human-ILL.PL fish-lake-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL

        'There are [were] fishing lakes for the people.' [sma20170924b]

(For negative existential constructions, see Chapter 16 on Negation.)

Scandinavian calque construction of existential predication
In Swedish and Norwegian, existential predication is expressed with an impersonal construction (a dummy subject) and a predicate 'to exist' (*det finns* 'it exists' N (Loc)) or with a copula (*det er* 'it is' N (Loc)). (In Creissels' typology, these are called id-existentials, cf. Creissels (2014).) In example 13.75, the speaker uses a Scandinavian dummy subject *det* 'it' (indicated with square brackets) in South Saami:

(13.75) *[det]* *gååvnese*   *jeenj-h*   *dagkere* *baakoe-h*
        [it]   exist.PRS.3SG many-NOM.PL such   word-NOM.PL

        åarjelsaemien *gogkoe* *beaja*   *ov-*   *åvtelen*
        South.Saami   where   put.PRS.3SG 'un-' in   front of

        'There are many words in South Saami where you put an 'un-' infront of.' [sma20170913l]

This strategy is, however, not common for the data.

13.6   Impersonal clauses

Impersonal constructions are defined as "constructions lacking a referential subject" (Malchukov & Siewierska, 2011, p. 20). In South Saami, there are two different impersonal constructions. The first one uses the third person plural of the verb (a frequent strategy according to Malchukov & Siewierska (2011, p. 28)). The second one uses the third person singular of the verb (also called "*man*-impersonals"), which "seem to be more restricted cross-linguistically" (ibid.). The first construction is illustrated in (13.76):

(13.76) *aerebe* *provhk-i-n*   *svaal-h*   *vijredh*
        earlier use.to-LPST-3PL arctic.fox-NOM.PL hunt.INF

        'Earlier, one used to hunt arctic foxes.' [sma20170913g]e

The second construction is illustrated in (13.77):

(13.77) *daesnie* *maahta*   *gööledh?*
        here   can.PRS.3SG fish.INF

        'Can you fish here?' [sma20190820notes]e

The second strategy with the third person singular is more frequent in the data than the other strategy. Examples from natural language for both strategies are presented below. In (13.79), the third person plural is used. The speaker explains the habits in her village when she was young; when someone had been fishing, they would share the catch. Note that 'fishing' is impersonal and expressed with a participle. The remaining examples illustrate the second strategy, which is based on the third person singular. In (13.79), the speaker describes a situation (a calm lake) in which "one" can be reflected like a mirror. In (13.80), the speaker points at a pulk that she had been using herself in her childhood. In (13.81), the speaker explains how to make dough.

(13.78) *gosse gööle-me dellie guelie-gujmie bööt-i-n*
       when fish-PTCP then fish-COM.PL come-PST-3PL
       'When someone had been fishing, then they came with fish.'
       [sma20170924b]

(13.79) *dihte Rooje öövre låedtjie lea dan sån*
       3SG.NOM Rogen very calm be.PRS.3SG so so
       låedtjie desnie maahta spejlidh
       calm DEM.LOC.SG can.PRS.3SG reflect.INF
       'The Rogen lake was very calm, so calm that one could reflect (oneself) in it.' [sma20190729a]

(13.80) *duelie akte gieretje jih dejnie maahta vuejedh*
       here one pulk and DEM.COM.SG can.PRS.3SG drive
       'Here is a pulk and with that one you can drive.' [sma20170922a]f

(13.81) *gosse dejje-m darjedh dellie gaajhk-h – både*
       when dough-ACC.SG make.INF then all-NOM.PL – both
       javva-h sohker-h jih mielkie-h gjär-h
       flour-NOM.PL sugar-NOM.PL and milk-NOM.PL yeast-NOM.PL
       gaajhke-m pleentie
       all-ACC.SG mix.PRS.3SG.'
       'When make[ing] dough then one mixes everything – both flour, sugar, milk and yeast.' [sma20180612a]

Furthermore, in the data, a few impersonal constructions based on the infinitive of the verb are attested. An example is presented in (13.82):

(13.82)   *gosse* *dålle-m*   *biejedh*   *dellie* *voestegh*
               when   fire-ACC.SG make.INF then   first

               gaara-h   *voeledh*
               kindling-NOM.PL   whittle.INF
               'When making fire, you first have to make kindling .' [sma20170614c]

A pragmatic difference between the two strategies (3SG and 3PL) is not attested in the data.

14. Complex clauses

Syntactic complexity is defined here as "the embedding of one clause inside another" (Givón, 2001, p. 40). A complex clause may consist of several simple clauses which may either be of the same status (coordinated clauses) or of different status (main and subordinate clauses). Examples for these two clause types are given in (14.1) and (14.2). The different clauses are indicated by square brackets throughout the chapter.

(14.1)   [*abpe biejjie nåhk-i*   *barre*] [*vierm-ide*
           whole day   get.used.up-PST.3SG just   net-ACC.PL

           giesedh bäjjese] *jih* [*vaaltedh dejtie*   *guel-ide*
           pull.INF up   and take.INF   DEM.ACC.PL fish-ACC.PL

           vierm-ieste] *jih*   [*tjööledh*]
           net-ELA.PL   and   gut.fish.INF

           'The whole day passed by by pulling up the nets and taking the fish out of the nets and gutting [them].' [sma20171002f]

(14.2)   [*ij*   *gavlas-h*] [*datne*   *soptsest-h*]
           NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG hear-CNG 2SG.NOM talk.PRS-2SG

           'One can't hear that you are talking.' [sma20180607a]

Example (14.1) consists of four coordinate clauses. The first and the second one are juxtaposed,[86] the third and the fourth (which consists of a verb in the infinitive only) are linked with the conjunction *jih* 'and'. In (14.2), the complement of 'hearing' is a subordinate clause that is juxtaposed to the main clause.

Coordinate and subordinate clauses may also be viewed as a continuum; see Givón (2001, p. 327) for a discussion. No clause "in connected, coherent discourse is functionally 100% independent of its [...] context." Example (14.1 illustrates this to some extent: the three last clauses depend on the first clause ('The whole day passed by ...') even if there is no clear subordination. Furthermore, the "grammatical bonds of inter-clausal dependence" may be looser

---

[86]However, I am not entirely sure about the function of *barre* 'only' (compare the Swedish/ Norwegian *bara/bare* as well as the many functions of the discourse marker *ba*). Possibly, *barre* has some kind of subordinating function here.

for some clause types. Usually, coordinate clauses are the least dependent, followed by adverbial clauses, relative clauses and finally complements (as in (14.2)), which are the most dependent clause types. The sections in this chapter are organized according to the degree of dependency.

Coordinated clauses are discussed in § 14.1. For lack of a better suited place, the coordination of noun phrases is also discussed in the current chapter, in § 14.1.1. Section 14.2 is dedicated to subordinated clauses: adverbial clauses are presented in § 14.2.1, relative clauses in § 14.2.2 and complement clauses in § 14.2.3. The chapter concludes with a brief reflection on complex clauses and their status in the data and in South Saami in § 14.2.4.

14.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordination is understood as a symmetric construction with two parts that have the same status (Haspelmath *et al.*, 2004). A coordinate clause consists of two main clauses that are linked to each other. These two clauses have "more or less the same function in terms of the event structure [...] and they are presented as being conceptually linked in some way" (Payne, 1997, p. 337).[87] An equal event structure means that the coordinated clauses both express the same type of discourse, for instance "events, [...] non-events, [...] foreground information [or] background information."

In South Saami, coordinated main clauses are usually frequent in spontaneous narratives, and a narrative can consist of many clauses linked together with coordinators like *jih* 'and' or *jih dle/ji'lä* 'and so'. Coordinate clauses are usually linked with the coordinating conjunction *jih* 'and', illustrated in (14.3) and (14.4). They may either describe simultaneous events as in (14.3 or events that occur in a chronological order as in (14.4.

(14.3) [*manne   staare-se   vualka-m*] ***jih*** [*mov   voelpe*
1SG.NOM town-ILL.SG walk.PRS-1SG and 1SG.GEN friend

aaj   båata]
also come.PRS.3SG

'I went into town and my friend came as well.' [sma20170921g]e

---

[87]Payne (1997, p. 337) notes that the distinction between juxtaposition and coordination is "sometimes difficult" and that "in spoken discourse some kind of morphosyntactic clause linkage, either coordination or subordination, may be evident at nearly all clause junctures."

328

(14.4) [*vuelke-be   dan   skåake-se*]   ***jih***
        travel.PRS-1PL   ADN.DEM.ILL.SG   forest-ILL.SG   and

        [*tseegk-i-mh   dagkeres laanoe-gåetieh*]   ***jih***
        build-PST-1PL   such   branch-house-NOM.PL   and

        [*ledtie-n-biesie-h   aaj   vaaksje-be*]
        bird-GEN.SG-nest-NOM.PL   also   examine.PRS-1PL

        'We went into the forest and built such huts and examined bird nests.'
        [sma20170920a]

Juxtaposition as a means of coordination is attested in the data, illustrated in (14.5) and (14.6). This strategy is less frequent.

(14.5) [*numhtie dam   mijjieh   vöölk-i-mh*
        that.way   DEM.ACC.SG   1PL.NOM   travel-PST-1PL

        Nöörje-se]   [*bööt-i-bh   diekie*]
        Norway-ILL.SG   come-PST-1PL   here

        'That way we travelled to Norway and we came here.'

        [sma20171002e]

(14.6) [*tjidtjie ringkie*]   [*gihtjie   maam   månnoeh*
        mother   call.PRS.3SG   ask.PRS.3SG   what.ACC.SG   1DU.NOM

        darjoen]
        do.PRS.1DU

        'Mother called (and) asked what we two are doing.' (Mother called; she asked what we two are doing.) [sma20171002e]

While the examples (14.3) and (14.4) above describe events (two actions), (14.7), describes "non-events" (two locatives):

(14.7) [*dihte   geajna jahta   Haandskine-n*
        DEM.NOM.SG   road   go.PRS.3SG   Handskinnsvålen-GEN.SG

        noerhte raedte-sne]   *jih*   [*desnie akte ohtje jaevrie*
        north   side-LOC.SG   and   there   one   little lake

        lea]
        be.PRS.3SG

        'This path goes/is on the northern side of Handskinnsvålen and there is a little lake.' [sma20190729a]

An alternative form of *jih* 'and' is *jah* 'and', attested in northern dialects of South Saami (cf. even other varieties of Saamic languages, e.g. Ume Saami *jah* 'and', Pite Saami *ja* 'and', North Saami *ja* 'and'):

(14.8) [*aahka*   *lij*   *gujht* *aalkene*] ***jah*** [*vööjn-i*
       grandmother   be.PST.3SG   EMP   outside   and   see-PST.3SG

       dalhtjoe *lij*   *tjoejkedh*]
       bad   be.PST.3SG   ski.INF

       'Grandmother was outside and saw that he was bad at skiing.'

       [sma20170927a]

The examples above express addition (or *conjunctive* coordination (Haspelmath *et al.*, 2004, p. 3)) of simple clauses into a larger unit. Contrast in coordinated clauses, or *adversative* coordination (Haspelmath *et al.*, 2004, p. 3) is expressed with the conjunctions *men* 'but' and *bene* 'but', illustrated in (14.9) and (14.10). There are no obvious semantic differences between the two conjunctions; however, they do differ in terms of frequency. *Men* is a Swedish/Norwegian loan (Swe/Nor *men* 'but') and is much more frequent than *bene* 'but' in the data (which, in fact, is only attested with one token in elicitation the corpus).

(14.9) [*manne*   *fihk-i-m*   *gaerie-h*   *bissedh*] ***men***
       1SG.NOM   get-PST-1SG   bowl-NOM.PL   wash.INF   but

       [*idtjim*   *manne*   *tuhtj-h*   *dihte*   *naan*
       NEG.AUX.PST.1SG   1SG.NOM   think-CNG   DEM.NOM.SG   some

       luste]
       fun

       'I got to do the dishes, but I didn't think that was fun.'

       [sma20180605c]

(14.10) [*mijjieh*   *provhk-i-bh*   *gåetie-m*   *sjeakedh*
       1PL.NOM   use.to-PST-1PL   house-ACC.SG   clean.INF

       laavadahk-ij] ***bene*** [*daelie* *mijjieh*   *duarsta-n*
       saturdat-GEN.PL   but   now   1PL.NOM   Thursday-GEN.SG

       sjeake-be]
       clean.PRS-1PL

       'We used to clean the house on Saturdays but now we clean it on Thursday.' [sma20170927g]e

It is typical for languages in a contact situation like South Saami to borrow conjunctions from the dominant language, and the conjunction *but* conforms to previously noted tendencies (Matras *et al.*, 2007, p. 54).

Disjunctive clauses are coordinated with the disjunctive conjunction *jallh* 'or' (14.11). The Scandinavian loan word *eller* 'or' is also attested in the data (14.12). In general, there are only a few examples of disjunctive clauses in spontaneous speech in the data.

(14.11) *im*   *manne*   *mujhtie-h*   *jis*
NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM   remember-CNG   if
[*tjoer-i-n*   *dejtie*   *skoerht-jide*   *vaeltedh*   *jih*
must-PST-3PL   DEM.ACC.PL   cub-ACC.PL   take.INF   and
buvvedh] ***jallh*** [*djurparke-se*   *seedtedh*]
kill.INF   or   ZOO-ILL.SG   send.INF
'I don't remember if they had to take those cubs and kill them or if they were sent to a zoo.' [sma20180612t]

(14.12) [*straejmie hov diekie bööt-i*]   ***eller*** [*mijjieh*   *hov*
electricity EMP here   come-PST.3SG   or   1PL.NOM   EMP
jijtje dagkeres vierhkie-m faamoe-vierkie-m   *tseegk-i-mh*]
REFL   such   plant   power-plant-ACC.SG   build-PST-1PL
'Electricity got certainly here or well, we build such a plant, a power plant, ourselves.' [sma20170912b]

Conclusive clauses are linked with the Scandinavian loan word *så* 'so'. This clause type is frequent in the data, illustrated in (14.13), (14.14) and (14.15).

(14.13) *joo lij*   *sjidte-me*   *lopme jah daelhkie*
well be.PST.3SG   become-PTCP   snow   and   weather
lij   *gujht så* [*tjoer-i-n*   *tjoejkedh*]
be.PST.3SG   EMP   so   must-PST-3PL   ski.INF
'Well, snow had come and it was skiing conditions so one had to ski.' [sma20170927a]

(14.14) *dellie da*   *tjoer-i-n*   *jijjie-n*   *geehtedh*
then   PTCL   must-PST-3PL   night-GEN.SG   watch-INF
dejtie   *så* [*idtjin*   *dah*   *saajen-h*]
DEM.ACC.PL   so   NEG.AUX.PST.3PL   3PL.NOM   spread.PRS-3PL
'Then you had to watch them [the reindeer calf] during night so they didn't spread.' [sma20180615a]

(14.15) *jis heama*   *baahkes dillie beark-ide*
if   butchered.animal   warm   then   meat-ACC.PL
beaja   *olkene lopme-j*   *sijse* [*så det*
put.PRS.3SG   outside   snow-GEN.PL   into   so   it
dah   *jueskie-h*]
DEM.NOM.PL   freeze.PRS.3PL
'If the butchered animal corpse is warm then you put the meat out in the snow so it freezes.' [sma20200219e]

Explanations are constructed with *dannasinie* 'therefore' (compare the interrogative *mannasinie?* 'why?').

(14.16) [*edtjin* *naan* *daaroe-n-almetj-h*
NEG.AUX.PST.3PL some Scandinavian-GEN.SG-people-NOM.PL

mijjiem *nöödt-h*] ***dannasinie*** [*mijjien*
1PL.ACC reach-CNG therefore 1PL.GEN

ietnie-n-giele *staaran* *sjidt-i*]
mother-GEN.SG-language strong become-PST.3SG

'No Scandinavians reached us there, therefore our mother tongue was strong.' [sma20170924b]

14.1.1   NP coordination

While nominal phrases are clearly not clauses, NP coordination is discussed here for lack of a more appropriate place in this thesis.[88] I follow Haspelmath's semantically based definition of coordination, which "refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements" (Haspelmath *et al.*, 2004). Coordinated noun phrases describe a "single occurrence of an event" that is "predicated simultaneously of two participants" Stassen (2008). Stassen (ibid.) distinguishes two different strategies: a coordinate strategy and a comitative strategy. The latter strategy is not used for coordination in South Saami.

In the NP coordinate strategy, both participants have "equal structural rank" and "the same thematic role" (Stassen, 2008), and they trigger number agreement with the verb. Usually, a coordinating particle such as the conjunction *and* is used as in (14.17). The coordinated NPs are placed in square brackets.

(14.17) *dam* *sijjie-m* [*aehtjie* ***jih*** *mov* *jååna*]
DEM.ACC.SG site-ACC.SG father and 1SG.GEN uncle

åestie-ji-n
buy-PST-3PL

'Father and my uncle bought that site.' [sma20170922h]

A variant of the coordinate strategy is juxtapostion of the noun phrases. Typologically, this is usually attested with kinship terms. We find this construction in South Saami, exemplified in (14.18) and (14.19). These coordinations can be described as co-compounds, that is, "word-like tight units consisting of two parts [...] which express natural coordination" (Wälchli, 2015, p. 707).

---

[88]I focus here on NP coordination and leave a description of other types of coordination, such as adjective phrases, for future work.

(14.18) *jaa desnie* [*aahka   aajja*]   *hööltest-i-n*
         yes there   grandma grandpa dwell-PST-3PL

         'Yes, grandmother and grandfather lived there.' [sma20181025b]

(14.19) [*aahka   aajja*]   *hov spidtje-tje-m*
         grandmother grandfather EMP farm-DIM-ACC.SG

         utnie-h
         have.PRS-3PL

         'Grandmother and grandfather have [had] a little farm.'

         [sma20171002e]

The juxtaposition strategy (or *asyndeton/asyndetic*) is typical for partici-
pants which form a "conceptual unit", such as siblings or (grand)parents, as in
(14.18). According to Stassen, this strategy is usually "absent from [...] the
western part of Europe". The juxtaposition strategy is usually well established
in spoken language and "basically intonational" Stassen (2008).

Another coordinating particle attested in the data is the conjunction *gon*
'and'. It is restricted to NP coordination, more specifically, the coordination of
NPs that contain related persons or kinship terms, as in (14.20). *Gon* is there-
fore clearly different from the other coordinating conjunctions *jih/jah* 'and'.

(14.20) [*Stina* **gon** *maaka Jakob*] *aaj dusnie seasa*
         Stina   and uncle Jacob also there aunt

         Lassba-n   *ektesnie höltest-ie-n*
         Elisabeth-GEN.SG together dwell-PST-3PL

         dunnie   *gåete-sne*
         ADN.DEM.DIST.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG

         'Stina and uncle Jacob lived also there with aunt Elisabeth in that
         hut.' [sma20181025a]

The dual pronouns in combination with a kinship term or a personal name
can also encode coordination, see 'me and my father' in (14.21):

(14.21) [*monnah   aehtjie*] *muettien aejkie-n   liebo*
         1DU.NOM father   some   time-GEN.SG be.PST.1PL

         prihtjege-m   doelte-me daan
         coffee-ACC.SG cook-PTCP ADN.DEM.PROX.GEN.SG

         gaaltije-n   jarge
         spring-GEN.SG around

         'Me and my father have cooked coffee at this spring several times.'
         [sma20190729a]

14.2 Subordinate clauses

A subordinate clause is usually defined on a morpho-syntactic basis: A subordinate clause is a clause that functions as constituent of another main clause (the head, of which it is dependent) (cf. e.g. Givón (2001)). This definition can be broadened to a more functional and conceptual, and therefore language independent, definition as proposed by Cristofaro (2005, p. 2):

> "*Subordination will be regarded as a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event).*"

A benefit of such a semantic definition is that it is independent of the way the clausal linkage is realized in a language. While a morphosyntactic definition would be sufficient in most cases in South Saami, the functional definition encompasses for instance purpose clauses (see § 14.2.1) more clearly.

There are generally three types of subordinate clauses: clauses that function as noun phrases (complements), clauses that function as modifiers of nouns (relative clauses) and clauses that function as modifiers of another clause (adverbial clauses) (cf. the classification offered by Thompson *et al.* (1985)).

South Saami uses either subordinating morphemes to mark subordinate clauses, or, in some clause types, juxtaposition. Relative clauses in South Saami are marked by a relative pronoun; complement clauses may be constructed with a complementizer; adverbial clauses are marked with subjunctions. Special verb forms or word order are not used. While almost all subordinate clause types contain finite verb forms, some subordinate clauses in the data contain only non-finite verb forms (either the infinitive or the perfect participle). Examples are purpose adverbial clauses and complement clauses; coordinated clauses are also attested (see example (14.1).

This section is organized as follows: I discuss adverbial clauses in § 14.2.1, relative clauses in § 14.2.2 and complement clauses in § 14.2.3.

14.2.1 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that modify another clause. As mentioned above, they are "less subordinate" than other subordinate clauses and are usually not embedded in a main clause (Thompson *et al.*, 1985). Adverbial clauses in South Saami are usually marked with subjunctions.

Adverbial clauses can be divided into clauses that can be substituted by a single word and those that cannot Thompson *et al.* (1985). The first type

comprise time, location and manner; the latter comprise e.g. purpose, reason and conditional adverbial clauses. In the following paragraphs, examples of these types are given. The adverbial clause is indicated with square brackets.

Time

Time adverbial clauses are usually marked with subordinators like *gosse* 'when', *avtelen* 'before' or *männgan* 'after'.

(14.22) *dihte   viehkieht-i   [gosse maana reakasovv-i*
         3SG.NOM help-PST.3SG when   child   be.born-PST.3SG

         Käringjöe-sne]
         Käringsjö-LOC.SG

         'She helped when a child was born in Käringsjön.' [sma20170922i]

(14.23) *datne   luvnh   monnan ringke-me [åvtelen*
         2SG.NOM be.COND.2SG 1SG.ILL call-PTCP   before

         bööt-i-h]
         come-PST-2SG

         'You should have called me before you came.' [sma20181020a]m

Location

Locational adverbial clauses are introduced by *gusnie* 'where'.

(14.24) *dagkeres fealloe-b   boelv-ine   utn-i-b   [gusnie*
         such   plank-ACC.SG knee-LOC.PL have-PST-1SG where

         gärja-h]   gosse edtje-be   tjaeledh
         book-NOM.PL when write.PRS-1PL write.INF

         'I had a kind of plank on my knees, where the books were, when we should write.' [sma20170919a]

(14.25) *desnie [gusnie dihte   skovle] desnie lij*
         there   where DEM.NOM.SG school there be.PST.3SG

         golme gåetie-h   derhvie-gåetie-h
         three house-NOM.PL turf-house-NOM.PL

         'There where that school was, there were three houses, turf-houses.' [sma20170919a]

Purpose

Purpose adverbial clauses in South Saami are usually formed without a subordinator and therefore differ from other adverbial clauses. Either, a finite

form of the modal verb *edtjedh* 'shall' plus another verb is used (illustrated in (14.26)) or the subordinate clause contains an infinitive (and no finite verb form), as illustrated in (14.27):

(14.26) *dah*   *vöölk-i-n*   [*edtj-i-n*   *haandeldidh*]
         3PL.NOM   travel-PST-3PL   shall-PST-3PL   shop.INF
         'They went (in order) to shop.' [sma20170926f]

(14.27) *manne*   *diekie bööt-i-m*   [*datne-m råakedh*]
         1SG.NOM   here   come-PST-1SG   2SG.ACC meet.INF
         'I came here (in order) to meet you.' [sma20170915d]e

Another construction of a purpose clause is given in (14.28). Here, the conjunction *jih* 'and' is used as an infinitive marker:

(14.28) *dah*   *vöölk-i-n*   [*jih åestedh*]
         3PL.NOM   travel-PST-3PL   to   buy.INF
         'They went (in order) to buy/shop.' [sma20170921e]e

This phenomenon was also noted by Bergsland (1946) and was described in detail by Ylikoski (2017). In my data, the use of *jih* as an infinitive marker is not frequent, and restricted to subordinate clauses as in (14.28).

Reason
Reason clauses are expressed with the subjunction *juktie* 'because', illustrated in (14.29).

(14.29) [*juktie*   *leam*   *mådtan*] *im*   *manne*
         because   bePRS.1SG   sick   NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM
         båetie-h
         come-CNG
         'I don't come because I am sick.' [sma20170927e]e

Conditional
The subjunction *jis* 'if' is used in conditional clauses, illustrated in (14.30) and (14.31):

(14.30) [*jis bovhtje gah*   *geadta-n*]   *dillie*
         if   reindeer shall.PRS.3PL   reindeer.fence-ILL.SG   then
         tjuerie   *bijvele*
         must.PRS.3SG   mild.weather
         'If the reindeer shall [go] into the fence, then it needs to be mild weather.' [sma20180608b]

(14.31) [*jis dejtie   tjööpkie-h*]   *dle   dillie maelie*
       if   DEM.ACC.PL   break.PRS-3PL   then   then   animal.blood

       gaarkese
       flow.PRS.3SG

       'If they break them [the antlers] then blood flows.' [sma20180608b]

Conditional adverbial clauses may differentiate between the semantics of "*reality* conditionalis and *unreality*" Thompson *et al.* (1985). Interestingly, *jis* also appears in questions in the data – see 15.2 – that is, another irrealis clause type.

14.2.2   Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) is defined here as "a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC." Andrews (2007).

To set off the RC from the NP, South Saami uses the relative pronoun *mij* 'that; who'. In the data, there is no distinction between human and animate/inanimate; *mij* is used for both.[89] See § 4.9 for more details about the relative pronoun and human/non-human distinction.

Relative clauses in South Saami are postnominal (the RC occurs after the head), which is the most common type typologically (Payne, 1997, p. 326). SOV-languages tend to have prenominal RCs (Andrews, 2007). All relative clauses in the data are externally headed (the NP occurs outside the RC). An example is provided in (14.32).

(14.32) *gieh   dah   *[*mij   duennie*
       INT.NOM.PL   3PL.NOM   REL.NOM.SG   AD.DEM.MED.LOC.SG

       gåete-sne   hööltest-h?]
       house-LOC.SG   dwell.PRS-3PL

       'Who are these that live in that house over here?' [sma20180606b]f

A more complex example is found in (14.33),[90] which contains two RCs that modify the same argument (the "tame reindeer").

---

[89]A similar situation is described for Pite Saami, see Wilbur (2014, p. 125).

[90]The speaker uses discourse particles frequently and also has a unique infinitive ending in *-tn*.

(14.33) *göökte golme ruantja-h*   *la*   [*mah*
         two   three   tame.reindeer-NOM.PL   PTCL   REL.NOM.PL

         lin   *deeme-me*] *da*   *dejtie*   *gujht*
         BE.PST.3PL   tame-PTCP   PTCL   DEM.ACC.PL   EMP

         tjimk-i-bh   [*maj*   *mujseditn sjvahka-jgujmie*   *ja*
         pack-PST-1PL   REL.ACC.PL   pack.INF   birch.stick-COM.PL   yes

         aaj   *gajsa-jgujmie*]
         also   basket-COM.PL

         'We had two-three tame reindeer that we had packed birch sticks and
         baskets on.' (Literal: '[We had] Two-three tame reindeer that had
         been tamed, (it was) these we packed on, that we had packed with
         birch sticks and yes with baskets as well.') [sma20180615a]

Such constructions are typical for spoken language and might have possibly been more frequent at the time when the language was more widely used. The particle *la* is a discourse marker and has no subordinating function.

Non-restrictive RCs such as (14.34) make "a comment about an NP or other constituent, without delimiting its reference background information" (Andrews, 2007). The RC is embedded in the main clause:

(14.34) *svaale*   [*mij*   *onne*] *goets-i*
         arctic.fox   REL.NOM.SG   little   run.off-PST.3SG

         'The arctic fox, that was little, ran off.' [sma20170913g]e

As the examples illustrate, the relative clause is always marked with the relative pronoun *mij*. Non-finite relative clauses (compare Shagal (2021)) are not attested in South Saami.

14.2.3 Complement clauses

Complementation is a clause or predication that functions as an argument of a predicate (Noonan, 2007). This clause may either be the subject or the object. Complement clauses in South Saami usually follow the order SVO, illustrated in (14.35) where the O argument is a clause.

(14.35) *manne*   *vööjn-i-m*   [*Piere dam*
         1SG.NOM   see-PST-1PL   Piere   DEM.ACC.SG

         daan   *aerede-n*   *darja-ji*]
         DEM.PROX.GEN.SG   morning-GEN.SG   do-PST.3SG

         'I saw (that) Piere did this this morning.' sma20170915b]

Complement clauses may be constructed without complementizer ("that") as in (14.35), or with the complementizers *ahte* 'that' or *igke* 'that'. *Ahte* is commonly used in the data (and probably a Scandinavian loan, cf. Swe/Nor *att/at*); *igke* (or *ihkie*) on the other hand is in fact attested only twice.

(14.36)　*dihte*　　*guarka-ji*　　　　[***ahte*** *vejkeli*　*maehtij*
　　　　　3SG.NOM　understand-PST.3SG　that　important　be.able.INF

　　　　　lieredh　*tjaelij*　　*dam*　　　　　*giele-m*]
　　　　　learn.INF　write.INF　DEM.ACC.SG　language-ACC.SG

　　　　　'She understood that it was important to be able to learn to write that language.' [sma20170923b]

(14.37)　*jih*　*dellie*　*aahka*　　　*sijht-i*　　　　[***ahte*** *såemies*
　　　　　and　then　　grandmother　want-PST.3SG　that　a.certain

　　　　　dejtie　　*sov*　　　　*daktar-ijstie*　　*edtj-i-n*　　　*båetedh*
　　　　　3PL.ELA　LOG.GEN　daughter-ELA.PL　shall-PST-3PL　come.INF

　　　　　gåatan　*jih*　*viehkiedidh*]
　　　　　home　　and　help.INF

　　　　　'And then grandmother wanted that one of her daughters should come home and help.' [sma20171002e]

The complement clause in (14.38) consists of the complementizer and the non-finite verb form perfect participle.

(14.38)　*ij*　　　　　　　　*leah*　　*goh*　*vuajne-me* [***igke***
　　　　　NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG　be.CNG　PTCL　see-PTCP　　　that

　　　　　tjuatse-me?]
　　　　　snow-PTCP

　　　　　'Didn't you see that it was snowing?' [sma20190303notes]e

Usually, verbs that take complements are grouped into three semantic classes (Givón, 2001, p. 40). These are: **modality verbs** ('want', 'begin', ...), **manipulation verbs** ('make', 'tell', 'ask', ...) and **PCU-verbs** (*perception-cognition-utterance*, such as 'see', 'know', 'think', 'say').

A complement with a modality verb is illustrated in (14.37) above ('want'); another is given in (14.39) ('begin'). The verb *aelkedh* 'to start' is used to express the inchoative in South Saami.

(14.39) *jih   dah   tjeajt-h   aalk-i-n   [dåeriedidh*
         and   DEM.NOM.PL   goat-NOM.PL   start-PST-3PL   follow.INF

         tjietjie-m]
         uncle-ACC.SG

         'And the goats started to follow uncle.' [sma20180605c]

Examples for a complement with a manipulation verb are given in (14.40)
('tell') and (14.41) ('ask'):

(14.40) *saarna-h [mejnie   guvv-ine   gien*
         tell-IMP   REL.COM.SG   picture-COM.SG   shall.PRS.1DU

         aelkij]
         start.INF

         'Tell [me] with which picture we shall start.' [sma20180605c]

(14.41) *gosse dam   lim   peehke-minie dle   dihte*
         when   3SG.ACC   be.PST.1SG   pack-PROG   then   DEM.NOM.SG

         mov   kraanna   bööt-i   gihtj-i   [mejtie
         1SG.GEN   neighbour   come-PST.3SG   ask-PST.3SG   if

         voesse-m   daarpesj-i-m]
         sack-ACC.SG   need-PST-1SG

         'When I was packing then my neighbour came and asked whether I
         needed a suitcase.' [sma20170927c]

As for PCU-verbs; example (14.38) represents a perception verb ('see')
and (14.36) a cognition verb ('understand'). Another example, with the verb
'to know', is presented in (14.42).

(14.42) *daajra-m   [ij   vielie lopme bijjene*
         know.PRS-1SG   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   more   snow   up

         vaere-sne]
         mountain-LOC.SG

         'I know that there is no more snow up in the mountains.'
         [sma20170913g]e

14.2.4 A brief reflection and concluding discussion on subordinate clauses

One may ask: how usual are subordinate clauses in South Saami? What kind of
subordinate clauses are predominantly used in the language? There are three

points that I want to address in this context: the data, the speakers, and the character of a language that is mainly spoken.

About the data and subordinate clauses: Since this is a corpus-based grammar, the present description here reflects the collected data. I mentioned above that coordinate clauses are very common in the data. Relative clauses are a stable and frequent type of subordinate clauses but follow mainly one pattern. Complement clauses are maybe somewhat less prominent in the data. One may get the impression that the data do not include a great variety of complex subordinate clauses. This may possibly be due to a bias in data gathering: Speakers might have wanted to express themselves in a way that was easier for me to understand; the stimuli that I used might not have been sufficient, or some complex clauses may have been overlooked in the process of transcription and annotation. This issue can be solved by a more balanced and fully annotated corpus in which clause types are tagged as well.[91]

About the speakers: since many speakers do not use their language frequently, a potential issue might be that the speakers have lesser proficiency in subordinate clauses, simply because they are not used to using such constructions. Maybe their language use would be different if the language had a lively, vibrant speaker community. However, I feel quite comfortable to rule out this second issue. In elicitation of complex clauses (and other constructions, e.g. passive voice), some speakers commented that in South Saami, one does not use subordinate clauses (or a passive voice) but prefers coordinate complex clauses (and an active voice) instead.[92] Speakers which I have been working more intensely together with pointed out to me that such a language use is typical for South Saami. This brings me to the third point.

The structure of a language that is primarily spoken in informal contexts usually differs from a language that is (also) exceedingly written and used in formal contexts. A language has different registers (e.g. intimate, informal, formal) which are used whenever they are required, that is, fill a function (Maas, 2009). If a language is predominantly used orally, it is therefore typical that the language exhibits a structure that reflects the needs in this type of discourse. When formal registers are needed, and a language is being written, a more "complex" structure has a function, and the language may adapt such a structure. Maas (2009) illustrates this with German – today a language often known to be written in a bit of a convoluted style with many subordinate

---

[91]The corpus in its current state unfortunately does not allow for any advanced searches such as clause type frequency.

[92]With respect to the morphological inventory South Saami can make use of, there are only a few non-finite forms (the infinitive, the progressive and the perfect participle). Relative clauses are always post-nominal and externally-headed, and may show less variation than other Uralic languages (see e.g. Shagal (2021)).

clauses. Until the late middle ages, German was mainly a spoken language and the difference between main and subordinate clauses was, in fact, blurry (Maas, 2009, p. 170). In many written contexts, Latin was used instead. When German was introduced into formal contexts, it was modelled on Latin and the complex constructions that characterized Latin. South Saami was historically and until recent mainly a spoken language, and writing the language was limited to a small number of actors, several of them within academia.[93] Coordinated clauses are typical for South Saami in the data; the coordinator *jih* 'and', as well as *jih dle* 'and so' (usually pronounced [jilæ]) are used very frequently in narratives by all speakers. Maybe this type of clause coordination is a characteristic of South Saami of the past, and perhaps we will be able to witness a similar development in South Saami as described for German above, since South Saami is increasingly being used as a written language and in formal contexts.

---

[93]Its primary use as a spoken language has probably shifted in the last few years, as the younger generation is using South Saami in a written form much more frequently, not least in social media. Writing is furthermore facilitated by the availability of spell checks (and, for some Saamic languages, grammar checks).

15. Questions

There are two major types of interrogative clauses: polar questions (or *yes/no-*questions) and constituent interrogative clauses (also called open or *Wh-* questions) (Givón, 2001, p. 291). The two types are discussed in §§ 15.1 and 15.2 below. Since a question often demands an answer, I will conclude the chapter with § 15.3 on how answers are formed in South Saami. Interrogative clauses show regular word order and use finite indicative verb forms in South Saami.

15.1 Polar questions

Polar questions can be formed in two ways: either by the use of one of three clause-initial question particles, or by intonation. The use of question particles is not obligatory, but it is the more frequent strategy in the data.

15.1.1 Question particles

There are three question particles attested in the data, all of which occur clause-initially: *mah*, *mejtie* and *gah*, illustrated in (15.1), (15.2) and (15.3), respectively:

(15.1) *mah   guarka-h?*
      Q   understand.PRS-2SG

      'Do you understand?' [sma20170921h]

(15.2) *mejtie datne   maahta-h   dab   otnelidh?*
      Q   2SG.NOM can.PRS-2SG DEM.ACC.SG hold.INF

      'Can you hold this for a bit?' [sma20170919d]e/f

(15.3) *gah   dihte   dov   gärja?*
      Q   DEM.NOM.SG 2SG.GEN book

      'Is this your book?' [sma20180606a]e

   Gah is a regional variant of *mah* and attested in the southern dialects (15.4). These two question particles, *gah* and *mah*, occur in free variation and may both be used in the same idiolect, even in the same clause, illustrated in (15.5).

(15.4) *gah datne vienht-h aehtje-be don*
        Q   2SG.NOM think.PRS-2SG father-RELA ADN.DEM.ILL.SG

        baahtje-se?
        boy-ILL.SG

        'Do you think this is the boy's father?' [sma20181025u]

(15.5) *gah datne mah datne majhta-h?*
        Q   2SG.NOM Q   2SG.NOM remember.PRS-2SG

        'Do you — do you remember?' [sma20181025c]

One speaker from the northern area (Vualtjere/Vilhelmina) uses the question particle *mahte* instead of *mah*:

(15.6) *mahte obre-me?*
        Q   rain-PTCP

        'Has it rained?' [sma20190303notes]

Mejtie probably has a slightly different function than the previous question particles. The working hypothesis is that it expresses a less confident epistemic stance or greater uncertainty, see example (15.7):

(15.7) *gaameg-h hellh slubpeg-h **mejtie** slubpege?*
        shoe-NOM.PL or slippers-NOM.PL Q slippers

        'Shoes or slippers, maybe these are slippers?' [sma20181025t] (Two speakers discussed objects shown on a picture and how to best describe a pair of shoes.)

In (15.3) above, the question particle *mejtie* may possibly add politeness. The particle is also used in reported questions, see for instance the complement clause in (14.41) above, repeated in (15.8) for convenience. Here, *mejtie* is best translated with 'if; whether':

(15.8) *gosse dam lim peehke-minie dle dihte*
        when 3SG.ACC be.PST.1SG pack-PROG then 3SG.NOM

        *mov kraanna bööt-i gihtj-i **mejtie***
        1SG.GEN neighbour come-PST.3SG ask-PST.3SG if

        voesse-m daarpesj-i-m
        sack-ACC.SG need-PST-1SG

        'When I was packing then my neighbour came and asked whether I needed a suitcase.' [sma20170927c]

Furthermore, the data contain examples in which *mejtie* is used in a way similar to 'maybe' in a declarative clause, or like 'whether' in subordinate clauses. *Mejtie* is much less frequent than *mah* in the data. A more thorough look at the use and function of *mejtie* and a possible role in epistemic marking is an interesting issue for future research.

All three question particles have syncretic forms with interrogative pronouns: *mah* and *gah* are identical with the nominative plural of *mij* 'what' and *gie* 'who' and *mejtie* is the accusative and illative plural form of *mij*.

In negative questions, the particle *goh* is used to mark questions whose truth value is expected to be positive:

(15.9) *ij*　　　　　　　*goh*　*obre-me?*
　　　　NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG　Q　　rain-PTCP

　　　　'Hasn't it rained?' [sma20190303notes]

15.1.2　Polar questions marked with intonation

Polar questions may also be formed by a rising pitch in the intonation of the clause as in (15.10). This pattern is less frequent in the data.

(15.10)　*vuasta-m*　　　*åeste-den?*
　　　　　cheese-ACC.SG　buy.PRS-2DU

　　　　　'Did you two buy cheese?' [sma20170915c]e

The word order in declarative and interrogative clauses is identical (and may be both VO or OV).

15.2　Open questions

Open questions, or constituent interrogative clauses, are formed by a variety of indefinite interrogative pronouns and pro-forms (see § 4.9). These are always in clause-initial position in the data.

The most frequent interrogative pronouns are *mij* 'what' and *gie* 'who'. South Saami distinguishes between human (15.11) and animate/inanimate constituents (15.12):

(15.11)　**gie**　　　　　*dan*　　　　　　*mearan*　　　　*båate-me?*
　　　　　INT.NOM.SG　ADN.DEM.ILL.SG　amount.ILL.SG　come-PTCP

　　　　　'Who has come so far?' [sma20170913k]e

(15.12)　**mij**　　　　　*dunnie*　　　　　*bahte-sne?*
　　　　　INT.NOM.SG　ADN.DEM.LOC.SG　bucket-LOC.SG

　　　　　'What is in this bucket?' [sma20181025t]

The interrogative pronouns are inflected for number and case, as shown in (15.13) and (15.14):

(15.13) **maam**   datne   daajhta-h?
         INT.ACC.SG 2SG.NOM   make.PRS-2SG

         'What are you making?' [sma20180608c]e

(15.14) **misse**   daam   jis   utnedh?
         INT.ILL.SG DEM.PROX.ACC.SG PTCL   have.INF

         'For what is this used?' [sma20170913i]e/f

Jis ('if') in (15.14) has no subordinate function here (compare its use as a subjunction in 14.2.1) but is rather used as a particle that occurs in interrogative clauses. Another example is provided in (15.15).

(15.15) **magkeres** telefovne **jis**   datne   atna-h?
         what.kind telephone PTCL 2SG.NOM have.PRS-2SG

         'What kind of telephone do you have?' [sma20170508d]

However, more data is required in order to fully understand the function of *jis*, and to what extent it is an irrealis marker.

Example (15.15) also illustrates the use of another interrogative, *magkeres* 'what kind of?'. The most frequent interrogative adverb is *guktie* 'how?' (15.16), others are *mannasinie* 'why?' (15.17) and *gumhtie* 'in which way, how?' (15.18):

(15.16) **guktie** dijjine?
         how   2PL.COM

         'How are you?' [sma20200219e] (May also function as greeting)

(15.17) jaa **mannasinie** måarehks vient-h?
         yes why   angry   believe.PRS.-2SG

         'Yes, why [is he] angry do you think?' [sma20181025t]

(15.18) jaa **gumhtie** gam   jeehtij?
         yes what.way shall.PRS.1SG say.INF

         'Yes, in what way shall I tell?' [sma20181025a]

15.3 Answers

Given that questions are a language universal (Dryer, 2013), answering questions is a speech act that is probably equally universal (compare e.g. Moser (2018); Enfield *et al.* (2019)). I present polar answers in § 15.3.1 and illustrate answers to open questions, for the sake of symmetry, briefly in § 15.3.2.

15.3.1 Polar answers

Polarity questions can be answered in many ways (Enfield *et al.*, 2019), also in South Saami. Sadock & Zwicky (1985, p. 189) propose three alternatives for polar answers: (1) a *yes/no* system; (2) an *agree-disagree* system, which responds to the truth value of a proposition; (3) an *echo* system, in which the verb of the question is repeated (Q: *Do you see it?* A: *I see it.*).

In South Saami, we find type (1) and (3). The particles are *jaa*; *jaavoe* 'yes' and *ijje* 'no', which can be used to answer polar questions affirmatively or negatively, respectively. In the data, the particles are usually paired with a repetition of the verb. See examples (15.19–15.22):

(15.19) Q: *har   du   barn?*   – A: ***jaa mov   leah***
        Q: (have you   children?) – A: yes 1SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL
        golme   maana-h.
        three   child-NOM.PL

        Q (In Swedish): 'Do you have children?' – A: Yes, I have three children. [sma20170913h]

(15.20) Q: *ööst-i-dh   vuastam?*   – A: ***jaavoe mijjieh***
        Q: buy-PST-2PL cheese-ACC.SG – A: yes   1PL.NOM
        vuasta-m   ööst-i-mh.
        cheese-ACC.SG buy-PST-1PL

        Q: 'Did you buy cheese?' – A: Yes, we bought cheese.
        [sma20170926f]e

(15.21) Q: *dijjieh   lea   åerpen-h?*   – A: ***ijje***
        Q: 2PL.NOM be.PRS.3SG sibling-NOM.PL – A: no
        mijjieh   lea   viene.
        1PL.NOM be.PRS.3SG friend

        Q: 'Are you siblings?' – A: No, we are friends. [sma20170920a]e

(15.22) Q: *[har   du   hund?]* – A: **ijje** *ij*   *leah*
         Q: (have you   dog)   – A: no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.IRR

mov   *naan* *biene* *men* *biene-m*   *leam*
1SG.GEN some   dog   but   dog-ACC.SG   be.PRS.1SG

atne-me   *jaa* *dihte*   *lij*   *tjaebpies* *biene.*
have-PTCP   yes   DEM.NOM.SG be.PST.3SG   fine   dog

Q (In Swedish): 'Do you have a dog?' – A: 'No, I don't have a dog, but I had a dog, yes, it was a fine dog.' [sma20170921h]

Jaavoe is attested only in elicitation (it is, however, used more frequently among heritage learners of the language). *Jaa* also possibly has a discourse function and is frequently used in narratives when the speaker wants to confirm their own judgement or affirm some part in a story, illustrated in (15.22) above and (15.23) below:

(15.23) *dah*   *geerve*   *almetj-h*   *guk'* *dah*
         DEM.NOM.PL grown.up human-NOM.PL how   DEM.NOM.PL

soptest-i-n   *dej*   *tysker-i*   *bijre*   *jah*
talk-PST-3PL DEM.GEN.PL German-GEN.PL around and

jijnj-h   *dejtie*   *laejht-i-n*   *jah*
many-NOM.PL DEM.ACC.PL talk.bad-PST-3PL and

dejstie   *hävvi* *bill-i-n*   *aaj* **jaa** *numhtie*
DEM.ELA.PL PTCL   be.afraid-PST-3PL also   yes   like.this

lij   *mov*   *aaj* *fuelhke-sne*   *men*
be.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN also   family-LOC.SG but

idtji   *mov*   *aahka*   *idtji*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN grandmother   NEG.AUX.PST.3SG

mov   *tjidtj-aahka*   *sijht-h*   *govledh*
1SG.GEN mother-grandmother want-IRR   hear.INF

'The grown-up people, how they talked about the Germans, and many of them talked bad about them and were also afraid of them of course, **yes** it was like this in my family as well, but my grandmother, my mother's mother, she didn't want to hear [such things].' [sma20170921h]

The Swedish particles *nej/nä* 'no', *ja* 'yes' and *jo* 'yes' are also attested in South Saami.

15.3.2 Answers to open questions

Open questions can, of course, be answered in any plausible way. However, there are several question-answer interrogative "pairs" in South Saami:

Dagkeres 'such a kind' may answer a question formed with *magkeres* 'what kind of?'. *Dannasinie* 'therefore' may answer a question *mannasinie* 'why?'. *Nimhtie* (or *nemhtie*, *namhtie*, *numhtie*) 'like this, this way' may answer a question based on *gumhtie* 'how?' or *guktie* 'how?'. *Dubpede* may answer a question *gubpede* 'from where?'. The most frequent interrogative is *guktie* 'how', illustrated in (15.24) with an example from a dialogue between sisters on the telephone:

(15.24) Q: *guktie dijjine?* – A: *(jooda) mijjine gujht'n hijven*
         Q: how 2PL.COM – A: well.yes 1PL.COM PTCL good

         manne beapma-h dorje-me
         1SG.NOM food-NOM.PL make-PTCP

         Q: 'How are you?' – A: 'Well, we are doing fine, I have prepared food.' [sma20190219e]

16. Negation

16.1 Introduction

Clausal negation in South Saami is encoded by a **negative auxiliary** that inflects for person, number and tense. There are three different constructions attested in the data, which have different distributional properties. The most frequent construction used to express standard negation is the negative auxiliary in combination with a non-finite form of the lexical verb traditionally labelled *connegative* in Uralic linguistics. Person, number and tense are indexed on the auxiliary in the construction. This construction is illustrated in example (16.1). A less well-established construction for standard negation is the negative auxiliary in combination with the *indicative* form of the lexical verb. This construction is somewhat floating, but regularly attested. Tense may be expressed on the lexical verb and not on the negative auxiliary in this construction. An example is given in (16.10). The third construction is used often, but not exclusively, in non-verbal (stative) predications. It is the least established construction, in which the negative auxiliary looks very much like a negative particle; see example (16.12). The distribution of the three constructions differs, and the two latter constructions might be up to debate from the perspective of the standard language. However, I will show that the constructions are systematic occurrences in the data and not idiosyncratic phenomena. These three constructions, and other strategies of negation in South Saami, are presented in this chapter.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. **Clausal negation** is presented in § 16.2; standard negation is discussed in § 16.2.1; negation in stative predications in § 16.2.2, and negation in non-declarative clauses in § 16.2.3. The section concludes with a discussion of the label *connegative* in § 16.2.4. Since the same negation construction may be relevant in different clause types, examples of the same construction may be discussed in different places in the chapter. In § 16.3, **non-clausal negation** is dealt with: Constituent negation is presented in § 16.3.1, the abessive adposition *namhtah* 'without' in § 16.3.2, the abessive suffix *-hts* '-less' in § 16.3.3 and the prefix *ov-* 'un-' in § 16.3.4. **Negative polarity** items are discussed in § 16.4. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the different negation strategies in § 16.5.

For this chapter I have been inspired by the questionnaire on negation by Miestamo (2016),[94] and the questionnaire has provided guidelines for the analysis of negation constructions. The data currently available lead to an organization of the presentation that differs from the one found in the questionnaire.

Some aspects of negation are also treated in other parts of this thesis. For negative replies, see § 15.3.1. For negative indefinites, see § 4.10. Furthermore, for another, comprehensive account of negation in South Saami, see Blokland & Inaba (2015).

16.2 Clausal negation

16.2.1 Standard negation

Standard negation (SN) refers to the negation of declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo, 2005, p.1). In South Saami, standard negation is encoded by a negative auxiliary that inflects for person, number and tense (see § 6.5 for a paradigm of the negative auxiliary). As mentioned above, there are three constructions of SN attested in the data. The most frequent, "Uralic" construction to express standard negation is presented in § 16.2.1.1. Two alternative strategies are presented in § 16.2.1.2.

16.2.1.1 The standard, "Uralic", construction

Negation in the simple tenses (present and past) differs from negation in categories that are expressed in periphrastic constructions (perfect, pluperfect, progressive). These are therefore presented in sections of their own, in that order.

Standard negation in simple tenses
In the simple tenses present and past, negation is most frequently expressed by the finite negative auxiliary that co-occurs with a non-finite form of the lexical verb labelled *connegative* (CNG). Standard negation in South Saami is constructionally *asymmetric* (Miestamo, 2005, p. 3), since it involves more changes to the clause than just the addition of a negative marker only. An example of this construction is given in (16.1). The construction is the most frequent strategy in the data. An affirmative clause is provided in (16.2) to illustrate the contrasts between the negative and affirmative constructions.

---

[94]The version used here is a revised version of the 2016 version, from February 2019, revisions done together with Ljuba Veselinova.

(16.1) ***im***   ***mujhtie-h***   *daelie*
NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG remember-CNG now

'I don't remember now.' [sma20170516c]

(16.2) *manne*   *majhta-m*   *dam*
1SG.NOM remember.PRS-1SG DEM.ACC.SG

'I remember that.' [sma20170923d]

The auxiliary agrees with the subject in person and number, see *eah* in (16.3), which encodes the third person plural and therefore agrees with *sarvah* 'reindeer bucks':

(16.3) *dah*   *sarva-h*   ***eah***   *naan*
DEM.NOM.PL male.reindeer-NOM.PL NEG.AUX.PRS.3PL some

tjoervie-h   *utnie-h*
antler-NOM.PL have-CNG

'These reindeer bucks don't have any antlers.' [sma20190730a]

Examples for negation in the past tense are found in (16.4) and (16.5):

(16.4) *jih* ***idtjibh***   *gujht* *dam*   *mijjieh*
and NEG.AUX.PST.1PL EMP DEM.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM

maehtie-h *lohkedh*
can-CNG   read.INF

'And we were not able to read that.' [sma20170927c]

(16.5) *dellie* *da*   *tjoer-i-n*   *jijjie-n*   *geehtedh*
then   PTCL must-PST-3PL night-GEN.SG watch.INF

dejtie   *så* ***idtjin***   *dah*   *saajen-h*
DEM.ACC.PL so NEG.AUX.PST.3PL 3PL.NOM spread-CNG

'Then you had to watch them [the reindeer] during night so they didn't spread.' [sma20180615a]

The negative auxiliary usually occurs before the subject as in (16.5) (*idtjin dah* 'not.they they'), but word order may vary. Pronominal subjects may be dropped as in (16.1). Pronominal objects are also attested clause-initially as in (16.6); however, this requires additional intonational marking and is a means of information structure/focus:

(16.6) *dam*   *im*   *riektie* *daejrie-h*
DEM.ACC.SG NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG really   know-CNG

'This I don't really know.' [sma20170913h]

In addition to constructional asymmetry, negation in South Saami shows *paradigmatic* asymmetry (Miestamo, 2005, p. 3). The negative auxiliary distinguishes grammatical categories other than its positive counterpart, the copula verb *lea-* 'to be': The copula inflects for the indicative tenses present and past and the conditional mood. The negative auxiliary inflects for tense (present and past) as well as two negative imperative forms, the admonitive and the prohibitive. (The latter two are also described in § 6.7.7.)

Standard negation with periphrastic tense and aspect categories
In clauses where the predicate is in any of the periphrastic tenses/aspects, standard negation is complex. The constructions differ from standard negation in the present and past tense. Unlike in standard negation in the present and past tense (NEG.AUX+CNG), the lexical verb is not in the connegative but in the perfect participle or the progressive, both non-finite forms. Person and number are marked on the negative auxiliary. Like in the positive, the copula may be part of the construction (as in example (16.7)) (compare *manne* **leam** *lohkeme* 'I have read'), but it is not obligatory (see e.g. example (16.8)) (compare *manne lohkeme* 'I have read'). If the auxiliary is included, it occurs in the connegative form *leah*. The constructions can be schematized as NEG.AUX(+AUX.CNG)+PTCP for negated perfect and NEG.AUX(+AUX.CNG) +PROG for negated progressive.

(16.7) *ij*   *leah*   *starne-me*
        NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG   recover-PTCP
        'He hasn't recovered.' [sma20180913h]e

(16.8) *mov*   *fuelhkie* *ij*   *goh*   *daesnie*
        1SG.GEN   family   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   PTCL   here
        årroe-minie
        be-PROG
        'My family doesn't (=didn't?) live there.' [sma20180804g]

In negated pluperfect constructions and in negated past progressive, the negative auxiliary is in the past tense (see example (16.9)), but it may also be omitted if contexts provides sufficient cues to the tense (this is similar to the copula's use in positive constructions; compare the presence of the copula in pluperfect constructions, § 6.7.5).

(16.9) *idtjim*   *manne*   *dam*   *gännah*
        NEG.AUX.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM DEM.ACC.SG   neither
        maahte-me *men* *manne*   *liere-me*   *gaajkh*
        can-PTCP   but   1SG.NOM   learn-PTCP   all-NOM.PL

dejtie	*orre*	*baak-ide*	
DEM.ACC.PL	new	word-ACC.PL	

'I didn't know this one either, but I learned all these new words.'
[sma20181025a]

16.2.1.2   Two alternative SN constructions

Negative auxiliary plus indicative form of the lexical verb
In the first alternative SN construction attested in the data, the **indicative** form
is used together with the negative auxiliary, instead of the connegative form
of the lexical verb. This construction is schematized as NEG.AUX+IND and
illustrated in (16.10):

(16.10)   *njaa*   *manne*   *jeeht-i-m*   *nov*   **im**   *gujht*
           well   1SG.NOM   say-PST-1SG   PTCL   NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   PTCL

           daarpesje-m   *voesse-m*
           need.PRS-1SG   sack-ACC.SG

           'Well, I said, I don't really need a backpack.' [sma20170927c]

The finite negative auxiliary co-occurs with the finite indicative form of
the verb. Person and number are thus marked twice. Tense may be expressed
on the lexical verb, as in (16.11): while the negative auxiliary is in the present
tense, the lexical verb (*batnanin* 'they drowned') is marked for past tense:

(16.11)   *men*   *dah*   *lin*   *nieljie-sh*   *mij*
           but   DEM.NOM.PL   be.PST.3PL   four-COLL   REL.NOM

           eah   **batnan-i-n**
           NEG.AUX.PRS.3PL   drown-PST-3PL

           'But there were four people who did not drown.' [sma20171002e]

This strategy is attested with several speakers from different areas and oc-
curs in free variation with the "Uralic" SN construction. South Saami speakers
explicitly judge this construction to be "correct" South Saami.[95] Examples of
this construction are also described in Blokland & Inaba (2015) and attested
in written language. This is a strong argument against idiosyncratic varia-
tion. Therefore we can conclude that the construction with the connegative
(NEG.AUX+CNG) is not the only way to encode standard negation in South
Saami.

---

[95]I noted meta-linguistic comments by two different (heritage) speakers along the
lines that "Yes, you can say it like that, that is the way we used to say it, this is how
we talked."

Particle-like use of the negative auxiliary

The other alternative construction of Standard Negation is a particle-like use of the negative auxiliary: The third person present tense form *ij* is used with other person/number categories; that is, the negative auxiliary does not agree with the subject.[96] The lexical verb occurs in the connegative form. This construction is not frequent in the data. Most examples for this use are stative predications (see § 16.2.2 below), but there are a few examples from verbal predications as well. These are presented in this section. In example (16.12), in the phrase *ij dah maehtieh* 'they are not able', *ij* is used with a plural subject (*dah* 'they'):

(16.12)   *Ante-n   doh   ij*
          Ante-GEN.SG   DEM.DIST.NOM.PL   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG

          dah   maehtie-h
          DEM.NOM.PL   can-CNG

          'Ante and they, they are not able to.' [sma20181025b]

The phrase was recorded in a dialogue between two sisters who regularly speak South Saami with each other. The level of confidence for this example is therefore high. Another example is given in (16.13), with perfect reference. (Past time reference is not attested with this construction.) Similarly to example (16.12), the third person singular form of the negative auxiliary (*ij*) is used with a plural subject (*almetjh* 'people'). The copula is omitted; the lexical verb (*bygkeme* '(have) built') is in the perfect participle.[97]

(16.13)   *muvhth båeries almetj-h   mejtie*
          some   old   people-NOM.PL   REL.ILL.PL

          ij   naan   orre gåetie-h   bygke-me
          NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   some   new   house-NOM.PL   buil-PTCP

          Brändåse-sne   [...] dah   oktegh beedtj-i-n
          Brändåsen-LOC.SG   [...] 3PL.NOM   alone   remain-PST-3PL

          Käringsjöe-sne
          Käringsjön-LOC.SG

          'Some old people, for which one had not built new houses in Bränd-
          åsen, they remained alone in Käringsjön.' [sma20170924e]

---

[96]The following meta-linguistic comment about the matter was recorded: *När du använder **ij** då är den som 'icke' [...] då böjs inte ordet [...]* 'When you use *ij*, then it is like 'not', then you don't inflect the verb.' [sma20170913k].

[97]The construction could possibly also be an impersonal passive construction ('...for which it was not build new houses...').

The use of this construction might be just emerging among the generation of heritage speakers. In standard negation, it is the least frequent construction in the data, and the current state of knowledge does not allow for any comprehensive conclusions. Compare, however, the historical development of the negative particle *ei* 'not' in Estonian, which originates in the third person singular form of the former negative auxiliary (Tamm, 2015); see also Helle (1732).

16.2.2   Negation in stative predications

Stative (or non-verbal) predications include predications make statements on equation, proper inclusion, attribution, locative predication, possessive and existential constructions (see e.g. Payne (1997, p. 111ff) and Hengeveld (1992). Examples for these predication types attested in the data are presented in paragraphs 16.2.2 through 16.2.2.

There is no special negation construction in South Saami for stative predications. Both the "Uralic" construction and the particle-like use are attested. The particle-like use is attested more frequently in this domain than in standard negation. However, the present section is not structured based on the construction type but on the different types of stative predications instead.

Negation of equation

Equation ("X is not Y") is illustrated in (16.14). The negative auxiliary agrees with the subject and the connegative form of the copula is used. (In positive examples, the copula is optional. See for instance example 7.8.) (The speaker code-switches between Swedish and South Saami – the square brackets indicate Swedish) and in (16.15).

(16.14) *nej det är ij   leah   Rickard Fjellgren*
         [no it is] NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG Richard Fjellgren

         det är akte jeatja Richard
         [it is] one other Richard

         'No, it is not Richard Fjällgren, it is another Richard.'

         [sma20180607a]

(16.15) *ij   leah   gujht   då   riekte almetje*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG certainly PTCL real   human

         akte nåvsere
         one

         'It is not a real human, it is a ghost.' [sma20170926l]

Negation of class inclusion

An example for proper inclusion ("*She is not a teacher*") is given in (16.16). In this complex clause, the speaker uses the indicative (*leaga*), and not the connegative form (*leah*) of the copula (the speaker uses furthermore the southern variant *leaga* instead of *lea*)

(16.16) *manne   tuhtje-n   ij   murrede*
         1SG.NOM consider.PRS-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG pleasant
         leaga
         be.PRS.3SG
         'I think this is not nice.' [sma20200219e]

Negation of property

Attribution, property assignment, is illustrated in (16.17) and (16.18) ('I am not grumpy'; 'She was not old'). In all three examples below, the subject is expressed with a pronoun and pertinent person and number categories are indexed on the negative auxiliary. The connegative form of the copula is used in (16.17) and (16.18). There is no difference between temporary and permanent property assignments in South Saami.

(16.17) *im   leah   manne   suure*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG be.CNG 1SG.NOM grumpy
         im   manne   guarka-h
         NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG 12G.NOM understand-CNG
         dom   niejte-m
         DEM.DIST.ACC.SG girl-ACC.SG
         'I'm not grumpy, I don't understand that girl.' [sma20170923d]

(16.18) *ij   hov   leah   dihte   naa   båeries*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG EMP be.CNG 3SG.NOM PTCL old
         dihte   sån   lea   barre luhkie govhte
         3SG.NOM PTCL be.PRS.3SG only   ten   six
         jaepien   barre
         year-GEN.SG   only
         'But she wasn't old at all, she was just twenty-six years old.'
         [sma20170919a]

Example (16.19) has past time reference. The phrase 'I was not' is expressed with a combination of the negative auxiliary *ij* NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG and the copula *lim* be.PST.1SG:

(16.19) *men* **ij** **lim** *hov* *manne*
      but   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   be.PST.3SGEMP   1SG.NOM   really

riektie säkere mejtie dihte dam
sure   whether   3SG.NOM   DEM.ACC.SG   remember-PST.3SG

majhta-ji

'But I was not really sure whether he had remembered this.'

[sma20170927c]

All examples of this construction follow this pattern ("*ij lim*"). Other attested examples are *ij lib* 'I was not' and *ij lij* 'he was not'. Any other possible combinations (e.g. *im lim* 'I was not') have not been attested in the data. Variation of the expression of the negation of the copula in the past tense was described in more detail and with more examples by Blokland & Inaba (2015, p. 386).

Negation of location

Examples for negated location are found in (16.20) and (16.21). In the first example, the connegative form of the copula is used; in the latter example, the copula is omitted. Note the particle-like use of the negative auxiliary in (16.20); the negative auxiliary (*ij*) does not agree with the subject (*manne*) in person.

(16.20) *[nej]* *ij* *leah* *manne* *gåete-sne*
      [no]   NEG.AUX.PST.3SG   be-CNG   1SG.NOM   house-LOC.SG
      'No, I am not home.' [sma20171002e]

(16.21) *ij* *dihte* *gåete-sne* *dihte* *golme*
      NEG.AUX.PST.3SG   3SG.NOM   house-LOC.SG   3SG.NOM   three
      luhkie jaepie-h dubpene orre-me
      ten   year-NOM.PL   over.there   be-PTCP
      'She is not home, she has been living there for thirty years.'

[sma20180804g]

Negation of possession

Possession may either be expressed with an intransitive genitive possessive or with a transitive habeo-verb in South Saami. Negated examples for both possessive constructions are given in (16.22–16.24). Note the particle-like use in example (16.24).

(16.22) *ijje ij   leah   mov   naan*
         no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG 1SG.GEN some

         aahkove   man   nomme Hilje
         grandmothers.grandchild REL.GEN.SG   name   Hile
         'No, I don't have a grandchild whose name is Hilje.'
         [sma20170923d]

(16.23) *idtjibh   utnie-h   naan aajroeh*
         NEG.AUX.PST.1PL   have-CNG   some oar-NOM.PL
         'We didn't have any oars.' [sma20171002f]

(16.24) *ij   leah   mov   naan beetneg-h*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   be-CNG   1SG.GEN some money-NOM.PL
         'I don't have any money.' [sma20170921h]e

In all three examples, the object/possessed is modified by the indefinite *naan* 'some; any' (see also § 7.2 on *naan*). This is a frequent construction in negated possessives. It might reflect the Scandinavian phrase *inte någon/något; ikke noe(n)* 'not any'.

Negation of existential constructions
Negative existential constructions can be expressed by the negative auxiliary plus either the copula in the connegative as in (16.25) or the existential verb *gååvnese-* 'exist- in the connegative as in (16.26). The copula may also be omitted as in (16.27).

(16.25) *ij   leah   jueskiedahke-sne naan mielhkie*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   be.CNG   fridge-LOC.SG   some milk
         'There is no milk in the fridge.' [sma20170921h]

(16.26) *ij   dagkere baaka-h   gååvnes-h*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   such   word-NOM.PL exist-CNG
         'There are no such words.' [sma20180608b]

(16.27) *ij   tjiehtjeli-snie naan klaas-h*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG   room-LOC.SG   some glass-NOM.PL
         'The room has no windows; there are no windows in the room.'
         [sma20180913h]e

Generally, it seems to be that the particle-like use is common in negative existential constructions, like in (16.26) and (16.27). A similar construction is found in (16.28), where a plural predicate is negated with *ij*, but without the copula or the indefinite *naan*:

(16.28) *desnie barre saemien aaj   ij   goh*
         there   only   Saami   also NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG PTCL

         angkeren-h   men saemien noere-h
         child-NOM.PL but Saami   young- NOM.PL

         'There [in Jokkmokk] were also only Saami, not children but youths.'
         [sma20160516a]

16.2.3   Negation in non-declaratives

In this section, negative imperatives and negative questions are discussed. The
constructions are based on the negative auxiliary. An example of a negative
imperative is given in (16.29):

(16.29) *barre ih   dam   dast-h!*
         just   NEG.AUX.PRS.2SG DEM.ACC.SG lose-CNG/IMP

         'Just don't lose it!' [sma20170927c]

The clause includes the negative auxiliary in the second person (*ih*) and a
non-finite verb form, which could be described either as the connegative (since
it is negation) or as an imperative (since it is an imperative). These two forms
are always is identical in South Saami (see §16.2.4 for a discussion on that
matter). For reasons of comparison, an example of a positive imperative is
provided in (16.30) below. In (16.29), the form is probably better described
as an imperative, since this category would otherwise not be marked in the
construction. Negation, however, is marked by the negative auxiliary. With
this analysis negation in imperatives appears almost symmetric since only the
negative auxiliary is added to the construction.

(16.30) *skodt-h   varke mijjieh   sööjmes!*
         hurry-IMP fast   1PL.NOM late

         'Hurry up, we are late!' [sma20170913j]e

Furthermore, South Saami has special negative imperative forms of the
auxiliary, called the **prohibitive** and the **admonitive**, illustrated in (16.31) and
(16.32). These forms are also discussed in § 6.7.7.1.

(16.31) *aellieh   jiehtie-h!*
         NEG.AUX.PROHIB say-CNG/IMP

         'Don't say [it]!' [sma20181025t]

(16.32) *ollesh   gahtj-h!*
         NEG.AUX.ADMON fall-CNG/IMP

         'Be careful so you don't fall!' [sma20180608k]e

Negative questions are formed by the negative auxiliary. In the data, there are examples for negative questions in the perfect and in the past progressive, illustrated in (16.33) and (16.34). The discourse marker *goh* has an emphatic function in negation and occurs both in questions and in declarative clauses (its function as a negative polarity item is discussed in § 16.4 below). Note that the particle *goh* also occurs in other contexts: there is a subordinating conjunction *goh* 'when' in subordinate clauses and a comparative particle *goh* 'as, like'.

(16.33) *ih*   *goh*   *vuajne-me* *igke* *tjuatse-me?*
         NEG.AUX.PRS.2SG NEG.EMP see-PTCP   that   snow-PTCP
         'Haven't you seen that it has snowed?' [sma20190303notes]e

(16.34) *idtji*   *goh*   *abre-minie?*
         NEG.AUX.PST.3SG PTCL rain-PROG
         'Wasn't it raining?' [sma20190303notes]e

Negative questions are only attested in elicitation in the data.

16.2.4   A discussion of the label *connegative*

The non-finite form of the lexical verb that co-occurs with the negative auxiliary is traditionally called *connegative* in the context of Uralic languages. For reasons of comparability and accessibility, this label is also adopted in the present study. In South Saami, the *connegative* form is always identical with the *imperative*; see the verb paradigms in Chapter 6. (The similarity in form in Saamic languages had also been noted by Korhonen (1981, p. 257).) That is, one form is used in two domains. There are, of course, many other cases where one form has many functions, for instance the suffix *-m* (1st person singular marker; accusative singular suffix) or the marker *-h* (the plural marker on nouns, the second person singular marker, the third person plural marker.) While it would make little sense to label most of the suffixes that have the same form but different functions identically, there are arguments that would favour to house the connegative and the imperative form under one label, that is, postulate that they express one and the same category. First, this solution would make verb paradigms more elegant and economical in the description, since we would only have one domain to refer to. Second, in glossed examples, this solution would not have to be bound to one of the forms, connegative or imperative, in examples like (16.29) above, repeated for convenience in (16.35). In such a solution, I propose the term *irrealis* (IRR) as a common label for the form.

(16.35) *barre ih   dam   dast-h!*
         just   NEG.AUX.PRS.2SG DEM.ACC.SG lose-IRR
         'Just don't lose it!' [sma20170927c]

Third, and perhaps most central, both negation and imperative mood extend into the non-declarative domain or, broadly speaking, into the modality of **irrealis**. Here, irrealis is understood as a domain of "unreal situations" (Bybee, 1998, p. 264) or "non-actualized contexts" (Mauri & Sansò, 2016, p. 178) at the time of utterance. The label "irrealis" is used in similar ways in descriptions of other languages, cf. Mauri & Sansò (2016). However, an excessively broad use of "irrealis", and its understanding as a "grammatical category", has been criticised by Bybee (1998). In South Saami, from a student's perspective, distinct labels for the connegative and the imperative are in most cases more meaningful than a common label (compare Bybee (1998, p. 269): "[...] a more specific characterization would be more useful [...] it appears that the term 'irrealis' is simply too general to be useful"). In South Saami, however, and as argued for above, there are reasons to combine imperative and connegative under one label in South Saami from a descriptive point of view. The use of this label would not be "too broad" and would not interfere with other domains in the modal system, since South Saami only has one verbally marked mood (the imperative).

16.3   Non-clausal negation

Negation of constituents is illustrated in § 16.3.1, the abessive adposition(s) *namhtah/namhtan* 'without' in § 16.3.2, the abessive suffix *-hts* in § 16.3.3 and the prefix *ov-* 'un-' in § 16.3.4.

16.3.1   Constituent negation

Constituents are attested to be negated with the negative auxiliary in the third person singular, which reflects the particle-like use, see example (16.36) and (16.37):

(16.36) *nää [ij   åvtelen jovnesåhka-j]*
         no   NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG before   midsummer-GEN.PL
         'No, not before Midsummer' [sma20180607a]

(In (16.36), two speakers were discussing when they would see each other next time. The clause is an answer to a question; the question was asked by a speaker on the phone and is therefore not recorded.)

(16.37)   *mohte   gaska   dah   dåaroe-h*
              but   between DEM.NOM.PL war-NOM.PL

              laante-dåaroe-h   dellie vihth juht-i-n
              country-war-NOM.PL then   again move-PST-3PL

              *Nöörje-se   gaske- jaa [**ij**   goh*
              Norway-ILL.SG middle- well NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG NEG.EMP

              gaske-Nöörje-se]   men Oppdalen jah daj
              middle-Norway-ILL.SG but   Oppdal   and DEM.GEN.PL

              vaerie-j   dusnie
              mountain-GEN.PL DEM.DIST.LOC.SG

              'But between the wars, the world wars, they moved back to Norway
              again, to middle-, well, not to middle-Norway, but to Oppdal and the
              mountains around there.' [sma20170516a]

16.3.2   The abessive adposition(s) *namhtan/namhtah* 'without'

The adpositions *namhtan, namhtah* as well as *nämhta* all mean 'without' and
are used to express the abessive (or privative, or caritive) – that is, the absence
of an object. In the data, *namhtah* is used as a preposition and *namhtan* as
a postposition. *Nämhta* is a variant of *namhtan* that is attested in a northern
dialect. An example for the abessive use of the adposition is given in (16.38):

(16.38)   *datne   jovhk-h   prihtjege-m   dijnehke-n*
              2SG.NOM drink.PRS-2SG coffee-ACC.SG sugar-GEN.SG

              namhtan?
              without
              'Do you drink the coffee without milk?' [sma20170927e]e

There is variation between speakers in the use of the adpositions versus the
suffix (see § 16.3.3 below). Possibly, the adposition has semantic or pragmatic
restrictions, but the data are not conclusive here. While one speaker used the
adposition in a construction like (16.39), another speaker preferred the abessive
suffix in such a context (cf. example (16.42) below):

(16.39)   *dle båata   namhtah tjohpe-m*
              so   come.PRS.3SG without   hat-ACC.SG
              'He comes without a hat.' [sma20170914c]e

The phrase *guelie nämhta* for instance was translated as 'without fish',
while the privative suffix *gööledh/gueledh* was preferred in the noun phrase
gööledh jaevrie 'a fish-less lake; lake without fish'. 'Without (a) hat; hatless'
on the other hand was judged equally possible as *tjohpe nämhta* and *tjohpedh*.

In order to arrive at more certain conclusions about the usage of *namhtah/namhtan*, more data of natural language use are needed.

16.3.3 The abessive suffix *-hts* '-less'

The abessive (or privative, or caritive) suffix *-hts* (glossed PRIV), illustrated in (16.40), shows some variation in form and can also be realized as *-ht*, as in (16.41). The suffix is best described as nominal derivational morphology and is not a part of nominal inflection.

(16.40) *dihte   lij   juelke-hts*
         3SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   leg-PRIV
         'It was legless; It had no legs.' [sma20170914c]e

(16.41) *mov   lea   barko-ht*
         1SG.GEN   be.PRS.3SG   work-PRIV
         'I am without work; I have no work.' [sma20170914c]e

The previous examples are obtained in elicitation; an example from natural language use is provided in (16.42):

(16.42) *daelie gujht maehte-be   jeehtedh ibie   gujht*
         then   EMP   can.PRS-1PL say.INF NEG.AUX.PRS.1PL   EMP
         gåessie beabme-hts sjidt-h
         when   food-PRIV   become-CNG
         'Then we could certainly say, now we will never have no food.' (Lit.: 'Now we will never be foodless/without food.') (Free transl.: 'Now we will always have food.') [sma20171002f]

More data from natural language use are needed in order to fully understand the function of the suffix.

16.3.4 The prefix *ov-* 'un-'

The prefix *ov-* 'un-' can be used to derive the antonym of adjectives. The prefix is a loan from the neighbouring languages Swedish (*o-*) and Norwegian (*u-*) (Blokland & Inaba, 2015, p. 390). An example is provided in (16.43).

(16.43) *daelie ov-murreds tijjie*
         now   un-pleasant time
         'Now it is an unpleasant time.' [sma20200518a]e/f

The prefix *ov-* is productive and speakers may use it to form new adjectives. Speakers perceive the prefix as frequent, commented on in (16.44):

(16.44) *det gååvnese   jeenj-h   dagkere baakoe-h*
         (it) exist.PRS.3SG many-NOM.PL such   word-NOM.PL

         åarjelsaemien gogkoe beaja   'ov-'   åvtelen
         South.Saami   where   put.PRS.3SG 'un-'   in.front.of
         'There are many words in South Saami where you put an 'un-' in
         front of.' [sma201709131]

However, despite the view expressed in (16.44), the number of items with
the prefix in the data is rather low (about 15 tokens). There are also derivations
which are judged less felicitous by speakers or perceived as ironic, such as
ovluste 'un-nice'.

16.4   Negative polarity items

There are two particles attested in the data that may classify as negative po-
larity items: *gänn(ah)* and *goh*. The particle *gännah* is restricted to negative
constructions and emphasizes negation. In fast speech, it may be shortened to
gänn'. Examples are provided in (16.45–16.47).[98]

(16.45) *idtji   dihte   **gännah**   maam jeeht'*
         NEG.AUX.PST.3SG 3SG.NOM NEG.EMP what   say.CNG

         'He didn't say anything.' [sma20170927a]

(16.46) *edtji   gie   **gännah**   Käringsjöe-sne*
         NEG.AUX.PST.3SG someone NEG.EMP Käringsjön-LOC.SG

         baetjie-h
         stay.behind-CNG

         'No-one stayed behind in Käringsjön.' [sma20170924c]

---

[98]In the story in (16.47), a young teacher from south-western Norway was in-
structed to teach "Saami" to a class with South Saami pupils. However, the text book
was in North Saami, and neither the children nor the teacher understood a word of
what they were reading.

(16.47) *jih dihte   learare idtji   dihte*
and 3SG.NOM teacher NEG.AUX.PST.3G NOM.3SG

guarka-h   maam mijjieh   lohk-i-bh
understand-CNG what 1PL.NOM read-PST-1PL

*idtjibh   mijjieh   hell   **gännah***
NEG.AUX.PST.1PL 1PL.NOM neither NEG.EMP

guarka-h   maam mijjieh   lohk-i-bh   jih
understand-CNG what 1PL.NOM read-PST-1PL and

lohk-i-bh   jih lohk-i-bh
read-PST-1PL and read-PST-1PL

'And that teacher, he didn't understand what we were reading, and neither did we understand what we were reading and we read and we read.' [sma20170926j]

The other negative polarity item is *goh*. It is used both in negated questions and in declaratives (see also examples (16.33) and (16.34) above). Note that a particle with the same form is also used as a subjunction (*goh* 'when') and as a comparative particle (*goh* 'as, like'). Blokland & Inaba (2015) describe *goh* as a dialectal variant of *gännah*. However, the two items differ in use in the data: *gännah* is only attested in declaratives; *goh* on the other hand is also attested in non-declaratives. An example for *goh* in a declarative clause is provided in (16.48); in a negative imperative construction in (16.49) and in a negative question in (16.50) (repeated for convenience from (16.19) above). Note the particle-like use of *ij* in (16.49).

(16.48) *men idtjibh   **goh**   gosse libh*
but NEG.AUX.PST.1PL NEG.EMP when be.PST.1PL

dunnie   klasse-sne   idtjibh   gujht
ADN.DEM.DIST.LOC.SG class-LOC.SG NEG.AUX.PST.1PL EMP

desnie saemest-h
there   talk.Saami-CNG

'But not in the class, there we didn't talk in Saami.' [sma20170926j]

(16.49) *ij   **goh**   minnie-h juhtij!*
NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG NEG.EMP may-IMP move.INF

'You may not move!' [sma20181020b]e/f

(16.50) *ih   **goh**   vuajne-me igke tjuatse-me?*
NEG.AUX.PRS.2SG NEG.EMP see-PTCP   that snow-PTCP

'Haven't you seen that it has snowed?' [sma20190303notes]e

16.5 Conclusions and summary of negation

Negation in South Saami is rather complex when taking into account different tenses, moods and clause types. Standard negation is typically expressed with the negative auxiliary in co-occurrence with a non-finite verb form of the lexical verb called the connegative (the "NEG.AUX+CNG"-construction). However, there are other constructions attested as well. In an alternative construction, the indicative form of the lexical verb may be used (the "NEG.AUX+IND"-construction). This construction, however, is less frequent and occurs in free variation with the "standard" construction in the data. Furthermore, the negative auxiliary is attested in a particle-like use in different types of negation, both in standard negation and in stative predications. However, any conclusions about this use are tentative. More data is needed to classify the particle-like use as a properly established construction. On the other hand, there is a meta-linguistic awareness (and grammatical acceptance) among speakers for this construction.

South Saami has two negative polarity items; *gännah*, that occurs exclusively in negation, and *goh*, which has a broader semantic and several functions, among them negative polarity in non-declarative clauses.

A more in-depth study of the particle-like use of the negative auxiliary *ij* and the negative polarity items pose relevant subjects for future studies.

The different strategies for negation in South Saami are summarized[99] in Table 16.1.

---

[99]This table has been inspired by the one in Blokland & Inaba (2015).

Table 16.1: Summary of negation strategies in South Saami

Clausal negation	
Standard negation	"Standard constr.": NEG.AUX + conneg. form of verb
	Periphrastic tenses: NEG.AUX + conneg. form of AUX + perfect participle or progressive form of verb
	"Alternative constr.": NEG.AUX + indicative form
	"Particle-like use": 3SG of NEG.AUX + connegative
Stative preds.	Either "Standard constr." or "particle-like use". Connegative is often optional.
Imperatives	Neg.aux + connegative/imperative (irrealis?)
	Prohibitive form of NEG.AUX + connegative
	Admonitive form of neg.aux + connegative
Non-clausal negation	
Constituents	Particle-like use of NEG.AUX
Abessives	Adpositions *namhtah*/*namhtan* 'without'
	Suffix *-hts*/*-ht* 'less'
Prefix	*ov-* 'un-'
Other	
Indefinites	No special forms; based on NEG.AUX+'who/what'
Neg. polarity	*gännah*: restricted to NEG in standard negation
	goh: standard negation and non-declaratives
Neg. replies	*ijje* 'no'; *nää* 'no'

17. Word formation

For the purposes of this chapter, word formation is understood to include derivation and compounding.[100]

The first part of this chapter deals with derivational morphology in South Saami (§ 17.1) and the second part with compounding (§ 17.2). Words that are products of derivational operations are numerous in the data, but productive derivational operations are less frequent. Nominal derivation is the most common productive type. Verbal derivations are often not transparent. Compounding is rare and mainly restricted to noun-noun compounds.

17.1 Derivational morphology

In this part, I present an overview of suffixes attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs in the data. In addition, I aim to account for their productivity and for the semantic transparency in derivational operations. In § 17.1.2, nominal derivation is presented, § 17.1.3 deals with verbal derivation, § 17.1.4 with adjectival derivation and § 17.1.5 with adverbial derivation. The use of the diminutive suffix is presented in § 17.1.2.1. This suffix encodes both the diminutive ('small') and a number of other functions, which is why I dedicate a separate section to it.

In principle all derivation in South Saami is carried out by suffixes; exceptions are some less frequent derivations that involve stem alternations (umlaut) and the negative prefix *ov-* 'un-' which occurs with adjectives. Derivational suffixes can be applied to already derived forms (i.e., multiple derivational suffixes may co-occur), such as *bihked-asse* 'explanation' ← *bihkede-* 'to explain' ← *bihke-* 'pick, gather'.

South Saami, like other Saamic languages, has often been described as having a large repertoire of derivational suffixes – see for instance Bergsland (1946, p. 177ff), Hasselbrink III (1981, p. 166ff) or Magga & Magga (2012, pp. 93–169). These sources offer a comprehensive overview of derivational suffixes identified in the language. However, they generally do not provide

---

[100]A discussion on the theoretical issue of demarcation (or overlap) of compounding and derivation is outside the scope of this work. See e.g. Booij (2005) or Ralli (2010) on the matter.

any information about the *transparency* of the suffixes or the *productivity* of derivational operations. Transparency is understood as the "one-to-one relationship between meaning and form" (Hengeveld *et al.*, 2011). Derivation is generally regular in South Saami; the base and the suffix in derivations are usually recognizable and segmentable. The semantics of especially verbal suffixes are, however, often ambiguous. While the concepts of transparency and productivity are no measurements or requirements for derivation itself, I believe they are still worth addressing as they add to our understanding of the language. This is discussed further in § 17.1.1.

Nominal derivation is in general productive in South Saami; verbal derivation on the other hand is usually not productive. In a broad sense, derived verbs are not frequent in spontaneous, spoken language. They are somewhat more common in planned, pre-processed speech (both oral and written language).

17.1.1 The status of derivation, its productivity and semantic transparency

The goal in this section is to discuss the status of derivation in the data. It aims at providing a context to claims that the derivational system of South Saami is rich and constitutes an important part of word formation, a statement that reflects a common view on derivation in Saamic languages.[101]

First, "rich" should be viewed as relative, and complexity in a language should be described in relation to other languages. Second, in the corpus, derivation does not appear to have a central role in (productive) word formation. As mentioned above, most verbal derivation is not productive in the data.

The concept of **productivity** entails a comprehensive discussion in its own right, see e.g. Bauer (2001). I follow Bauer and divide *productivity* into its *availability* and *profitability* (Bauer, 2001, p. 205) in word formation. The derivational operations are in general available in South Saami; suffixes can be readily combined with new bases. An exception might be derivations that are based on umlaut alone, such as *vuejne-* 'see' (V) – *vuajnoe* 'opinion, view' (N). This probably reflects a diachronic change in availability. *Profitability*

---

[101]I became interested in this issue when I encountered different views and weighting of derivation in the literature on one side and by the consultants on the other. In the literature for instance, Magga & Magga (2012) dedicate 77 of 220 pages to derivational morphology; Bergsland (1946) deals with "derivatives and bases" on 63 out of 300 pages. Several heritage speakers on the other hand commented that they see derivations "over-used" or used "falsely" in the language of heritage learners, and in the standard language. In general, derivations are not prominently frequent in the data. Speakers commented that the notion of the diminutive for example is often expressed with the adjective 'little', inchoatives are expressed with the verb 'begin' and passive constructions are usually expressed in periphrastic constructions.

assesses how profitable the available derivations are with respect to different constraints. A word might not be formed because another word for the same or similar notion already exists.Due to different constraints, all "possible words are not all equally probable" (Bauer, 2001, p. 207).

The concept of **transparency** is defined as a "one-to-one relationship between meaning and form" (Hengeveld *et al.*, 2011) (see also § 17.1 above). Also, one of the main functions of derivation is to create "new words for new concepts" (Haspelmath & Sims, 2013, p. 87). The meaning of derived items may therefore not show "any apparent connection with one or all of its elements" (Bauer, 2001, p. 44). Transparency (or predictability) is therefore no criterion for derivation.

While there are indeed a great number of suffixes in the data that can be identified as derivations, especially for verbalization and verbal derivation, many of these have a very limited productivity. One and the same suffix may cover a variety of functions, and different suffixes may overlap in their function (this is not a new phenomenon in the language and has already been noted by Bergsland (1946)). Predictability is therefore especially low in verbal derivations, while it is higher in nominal derivation. Productive suffixes are mainly found in a restricted set of nominalizational operations. There is furthermore a small number of adjectivizers and adverbializers in South Saami.

Derivation in South Saami can be viewed from at least two perspectives: (1) as a complex and manifold system with (relatively) many suffixes that are used in word formation, or as (2) a system in which (relatively) many derivations can be identified but suffixes are often fossilized, and semantics of derivations tend to be lexicalized. The first view is reflected in other literature on South Saami and also presented for the closely related Pite Saami (Wilbur, 2014, p. 195). The data presented above, however, favours the latter perspective (2) and this view presents a more synchronic perspective of the language. I will therefore adopt this view in this description. Bybee's quote fits the data for South Saami well (Bybee, 1985, p. 18):

> "*When many of the words resulting from a morphological process become lexicalized, it becomes more and more difficult for speakers to learn to apply the process productively, and the process might eventually lose its productivity.*"(Bybee)

Derivation is part of both grammar and lexicon. In South Saami, its part in the lexicon is probably greater.

In elicitation, all speakers are able to produce and discuss derivations (and provide examples like *gearhke-stidh* 'to go to church', based on *gearhkoe* 'church'), but these types of derivations are usually not frequent in spontaneous speech. Derivation can maybe best be described as a scale reaching

from *fully productive* to *analysable* to *entirely fossilized*.[102] While most derived items in South Saami are analysable, many are fossilized and only few are truly productive. Those suffixes that are productive are furthermore cross-linguistically widespread, such as the diminutive suffix or different kinds of nominalizations.

From a synchronic point of view, we can describe derivation in South Saami as a language with manifold suffixes but with limited productivity. Many verbal suffixes that are usually found in Saamic languages (cf. e.g. Skolt Saami in which verbal suffixes are found to be fully productive (Feist, 2011, p. 184)), such as causatives, inchoatives or reflexives, are either not attested or rare in South Saami. Language standardisation may play a role in the use of several, competing derivational suffixes (Bauer, 2001, p. 208). The linguistic style may play a role as well – the usage of derivations is higher in prepared spoken language and in written language than in spontaneous speech.

17.1.2 Deriving nouns

Nouns in South Saami can be derived from other major word classes by means of suffixation. In Table 17.1, examples of the most common derivations are given. Most of the suffixes in Table 17.1 are productive. The forms that are listed as the *base* are cited in the infinitive form for deverbal nouns and in the nominative singular for denominal nouns. Deverbal nouns are most common in the data.

South Saami has cross-linguistically common derivations such as agent nouns (e.g. *bark-ije* 'worker'), action/state nouns (e.g. *rohke-lasse* 'prayer') or object nouns (e.g. *tjaale-ge* 'text') (Haspelmath & Sims, 2013, p. 87).

Other means of nominal derivation include stem alternation (umlaut), like *tjuahpa* 'the clearing', from *tjoehpe-dh* 'to cut'. Such derivations are less frequent in the data.

The concept of *frequency* in the data is somewhat problematic as the data are limited and might be biased by for instance elicitation. However, this is likely similar in other descriptions for any language. Therefore, I believe an indication about frequency, or distribution, is still of value. With this limitation in mind, one of the more frequent suffixes in the data is *-dahke*. It occurs in productive and transparent derivations (such as *galme-dahke* 'freezer') as well as in semantically less transparent items that come close to lexicalisation (such as *tjåammadahke* 'brisket (meat)'. Note that the (productive) use of that suffix may be highly individual. An example is the following episode: Two speakers (who are sisters) were discussing the South Saami word for 'fridge'. Speaker A said she uses *kyyle*, a Swedish loan word (*kylen, kylskåp*). Speaker B said

---

[102]I would like to thank Mikael Parkvall for his input on this matter.

Table 17.1: Nominal suffixes

Suffix	Derived noun	Type	Base
Deverbal			
-ge	*tjaale-ge* 'text'	Object	*tjaele-* 'write'
-ge	*saadte-ge* 'broadcast'	Action	*seedte-* 'send'
-me	*gåate-me* 'pasturage'	Object	*gåate-* 'graze'
-me	*vijre-me* 'the hunting'	Action	*vijre-* 'hunt'
-lasse	*rohke-lasse* 'prayer'	Action	*rohkeli-* 'pray'
-dasse	*bihke-dasse* 'explanation'	Action	*bihkedi-* ' explain'
-täjja	*ööhpe-täjja* 'teacher'	Agent	*ööhpehti-* 'teach'
-misnie	*båetie-misnie* 'the coming'	Action	*båetie-* 'come'
-dahke	*rihke-dahke* 'rut'	State	*rihke-* 'be in rut'
-dahke	*jarre-dahke* 'car'	Object	*jarre-* 'spin, turn'
Denominal			
-ije	*bark-ije* 'worker'	Agent	*barkoe* 'work'
-dahke	*låvna-dahke* 'sunrise'	Action	*låvnes* 'sunrise'
-dahke	*tjåamma-dahke* 'brisket'	Object	**tjåamma*
-hke	*learo-hke* 'student'	Agent	*leara* 'science'
-ve	*aahko-ve* 'grandchild'	Agent	*aahka* 'grandma'
Deadjectival			
-dahke	*galme-dahke* 'freezer'	Object	*galme* 'cold'
-lasse	*skiemtje-lasse* 'sickness'	Quality	*skiemtje* 'sick'
-me	*tjåetske-me* 'cold weather'	State	**tjåetske* 'cold'

that, well, you can also use *jueskie-dahke* 'cold-DAHKE'. Speaker A didn't know the word from before and did not instantly like it, but agreed shortly afterwards that yes, this is indeed a word that works. Interestingly, the speaker prefers to use the word *jarre-dahke* 'spin-DAHKE for 'car', whereas speaker B uses the loan word *bijle* 'car'.

The suffix *-me* is polyfunctional and is used both as the marker for the perfect participle and as a nominalizer (cf. *manne vijre-me* 'I have hunted' and *vijre-me* 'the hunting'). In its function as the participle form of verbs, it is a frequent suffix; in its function as nominalizer, it is less frequent in the data. Other less common suffixes in the data are *-hke* and *-ve*.

Most of these suffixes are *transparent* as defined above (one form, one meaning). That is, each suffix has a designated (semantically transparent) function. For instance, the agent nominalizer *-äjja* denotes a person *doing X* as in *ööhpet-äjja* 'teacher (someone who teaches). It is also found in newer words like *leenen-rååresj-äjja* 'governor', lit. the *county's counsellor*, found

in SIKOR). There are, however, also examples in which the semantics of the suffix is not clear, such as *nyjsenäjja* 'woman' or *gaarmanäjja* 'man'.

The least transparent (and productive) derivation mentioned above is probably *tjuahpa* 'cutting place; a place where it has been cut' from *tjoehpedh* 'to cut', which involves stem alternation; it is also an infrequent type of derivation in the data.

Examples for the object nominalizers *-ge* and *-asse* are given in (17.1) and (17.2):

(17.1)   *dihte*   *tjaelie-minie* *såemies* **tjaale-ge-m**
        3SG.NOM write-PROG   some   text-NMLZ-ACC.SG

        'She is writing some text.' [sma20170927g]

(17.2)   *im*   *ennje* *guarka-h*   *dejtie*
        NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG yet   understand-CNG DEM.ACC.PL
        bihked-ass-ide
        explain-NMLZ-ACC.PL

        'I don't understand these explanations yet.' [sma20170913k]

An example of a less transparent use of *-dahke* is (17.3). In *rihkedahke* 'rut', *rihke is not attested as a free morpheme.

(17.3)   *tjaktjege*   **rihkedahke-n** *männgan* *dillie* *tjåervie-h*
        autumn.ADV rut-GEN.SG   after   then   antler-NOM.PL
        gahtjie-h
        drop.PRS-3PL

        'In autumn, after the rut, they drop their antlers.' [sma20190730a]

An example for a less transparent use of *-äjja* is presented in (17.4). In *nyjsenäjja*, the base itself, *nysene*, means 'woman'.

(17.4)   *dan*   *avteste* *leaga*   *soptsesta-mme* *dejnie*
        DEM.GEN.SG before   be.PRS.SG talk-PTCP   DEM.COM.SG
        nyjsenäjj-ine
        woman-COM.SG

        'Therefore he has been talking to that woman.' [sma20181025u]

The suffix *-äjja* usually occurs in derivations denoting animates or humans.

17.1.2.1 The diminutive suffix *-tje*

Diminutives often present a "complex semantic category", which may express a "variety of meanings" (Jurafsky, 1996, p. 534). Amongst these are for instance *small type, relatedness, partitive, approximation* or *hedges* (Jurafsky, 1996, p. 542). See also Di Garbo (2014, p. 27) for an overview of pragmatic uses of diminutives.

South Saami has a suffix *-tje*, which is primarily used in its meaning *small type of X*. The suffix is also used in a number of non-canonical or idiosyncratic constructions (see (17.8) and the following examples). I start by describing its canonical use.

In most idiolects documented in the data, especially from the central and northern area, the use of the diminutive suffix is productive and somewhat frequent. Examples are *gärjetje* 'little book' or *gåatetje* 'little house'. On the other hand, in some southern idiolects, it is perceived as less productive. Speakers commented that they prefer to use *onne/ohtje* 'little' + NOUN instead of a derived diminutive form. Examples of diminutive forms attested in the data are given in Table 17.2.

Table 17.2: Examples of diminutives

Derived diminutive	Gloss	Base
najpe-tje	'little knife'	*nejpie* 'knife'
ladte-tje	'little bird'	*laedtie* 'bird'
riepe-tje, reape-tje	'little fox'	*riepie* 'fox'
niejte-tje, neate-tje	'little girl'	*niejtie* 'girl'
gåate-tje	'little house'	*gåetie* 'house'
gärje-tje	'little book'	*gärja* 'bok'
såehke-tje	'little birch'	*såehkie* 'birch'
bearke-tje	'a little meat'	*bearkoe* 'meat'
jaavve-tje	'a little flour'	*jaavva* 'flour'
ståante-tje	'a little while'	*ståante* 'a while' (cf. Swe *stund*)
spidtje-tje	'little little farm'	*spidtjie* 'little farm'

Examples of the use of the diminutive are found in (17.5) through (17.10).

(17.5) *aahka   aajja   hov   **spidtje-tje-m***
        grandmother   grandfather EMP   farm-DIM-ACC.SG

        utnie-h
        have.PRS-3PL

        'Grandmother and grandfather have [=had] a little farm.'

        [sma20171002e]

The combination of the modifier 'little' and the diminutive is grammatical in South Saami:

(17.6) *vuelnie lij   dej   gaerten-i   nelnie jah*
        down   be.PST.3SG DEM.GEN.PL farm-GEN.PL on   and

        *doek-i   ohtje **bearke-tj-h***
        sell-PST.3SG little meat-DIM-NOM.PL

        'He was down at the farms and sold a little meat' [sma20170927b]

The diminutive suffix can also be attached to the adjective 'little', where it has a reinforcing function in a redundant construction:

(17.7) *jih dle vints-h   dåeried-i-bh   dej*
        and so boat-NOM.PL take-PST-1PL   DEM.GEN.PL

        *sååli-j   gaskem jih dle akte **onne-tje** sååle-tje*
        island-GEN.PL between and so one little-DIM island-DIM

        'And we took boats between the islands and there was a tiny little island.' [sma20170927d]

A less canonical use is the suffixing on **jååkte* or *jååktan* 'yesterday', expressing that something belongs to 'yesterday' (17.8):

(17.8) *dihte   **jååkte-tje**   biejjie-n   bööt-i*
        3SG.NOM yesterday-DIM day-GEN.SG come-PST-3SG

        'He came yesterday.' [sma20170920e]

The suffix may also express human relations. Often, it refers to relatives of a younger generation (cf. Jurafsky (1996) who states that diminutives may be linked to offspring pragmatically) such as in (17.9), but it can also refer to relations within the same generation (17.10):

(17.9) *jååktan   **aehtje-tje** guakta-h   staare-se   vöölk-i-n*
        yesterday father-DIM two-COLL   town-ILL.SG   go-PST-3PL

        'Yesterday, father and his child went into town.' [sma20170915c]e

(17.10) *doh   **vielle-tje** guaktah*
         DEM.DIST.NOM.PL brother-DIM two.COLL

         'These two brothers.' [sma20170920f]e

Example (17.10) refers to a *pair* of brothers (and not 'little' or 'young' brothers). The suffix in the plural refers to several of the offspring in relation to the noun: *aahke-tj-h* grandmother-DIM-NOM.PL is a grandmother with her

378

grandchildren. (Other languages in which the diminutive refers to offspring are e.g. Miao (Sino-Tibetan), Ojibwa (Algonquian) or Tibetan (Jurafsky, 1996, 536).)

The suffix is also reflected in the word *almetje* 'human being', which is derived from the noun *alma* 'man', plus the diminutive suffix *-tje*. The first element *alme-* originates in **elme-* 'air, world' (Sammallahti, 1998, p. 259), making a human being something that belongs to this world.

17.1.3 Deriving verbs

Verbs in South Saami reflect manifold[103] suffixes that have been diachronically productive items of derivation. In the data, however, most verbal derivation is not productive. A possible explanation is the fact that the majority of suffixes are not transparent: synchronically, one and the same suffix may have many different functions,[104] and applying it productively may cause confusion. For instance, the suffix *-didh* can function as a transitivizing suffix, as a passive marker, iterative, or temporal restriction. Many derivations, such as transitivization, are often optional (see example (17.16) below). An inchoative suffix (listed as *-gåetedh* in the literature) is not attested in the data.

Verbs that end in *-idh*, *-didh*, *-tidh*, *-stidh*, *-lidh*, *-sjidh* in the infinitive (see sections on transitive marking, § 17.1.3.1, and passive marking, § 17.1.3.2, below) typically originate from the univerbation of derivational suffixes with forms of the major open word classes. Most verbs of verb class 1b (trisyllabic stems) are of this type, but verb stems with two or four syllables are also attested. Examples are provided in Table 17.3 below. The first three examples (noun + infinitive marker) are zero-derivations. In the remaining examples, the derivational element is *-di-*, *-hti-*, *-sti-* etc.

Examples are provided in (17.11), (17.12) and (17.13); see also *murriedidh* 'to be happy' in (9.2) above.

(17.11) *jijmie Johanna tjidtjie-m   viehked-i   gosse*
        aunt   Johanna mother-ACC.SG help-PST.3SG when

        manne   ***reakadievie-ji-n***
        1SG.NOM be.born-PST-1SG

        'Aunt Johanna helped mother when I was born.' [sma20181025c]

---

[103]See for instance the detailed description of verbal derivation in closely related Pite Saami by Ruong (1943).

[104]See also Bergsland (1946, p. 178) who notes that there is overlapping in the function of verbal suffixes.

Table 17.3: Verbal suffixes

Suffix	Base	Derived verb
-dh	*snjeara* 'mouse' (N)	*snjeara-dh* 'to hunt a mouse'
-dh	*hujnie* 'sadness' (N)	*hujne-dh* 'to be(come) sad'
-dh	*luste* 'fun' (ADJ)	*luste-dh* 'to have fun'
-didh	*tjoejkij* 'to ski' (V)	*tjoejke-di-dh* 'to ski a little'
-didh	*doeldedh* 'to cook' (V)	*doelde-di-dh* 'to cook a little'
-didh	*råakedh* 'to meet' (V)	*råake-di-dh* 'to meet shortly'
-didh	*murreds* 'pleasant' (ADJ)	*murrie-di-dh* 'to be/feel happy'
-htedh	**tjiervede-* (n/a)	*tjiervede-hte-dh* 'to get drunk'
-htidh	*viehkie* 'help' (N)	*viehkie-hti-dh* 'to help'
-nidh	*gallas* 'full'(ADJ)	*galla-ni-dh* 'to become full'
-stidh	*gärhka* 'church' (N)	*gearhke-sti-dh* 'to go to church'
-stidh	*åeredh* 'to sleep' (V)	*åerie-sti-dh* 'to sleep a little'
-dievedh	hypoth. **reake* 'birth' (?)	*reaka-dieve-dh* 'to be born'
-dovvedh	hypoth. **reake* 'birth' (?)	*reaka-dovve-dh* 'to be born'
-lovvedh	*gejhkie* 'dry' (ADJ)	*gajhke-lovve-dh* 'to be thirsty'
-sovvedh	*jijjie* 'night' (N)	*jijje-sovve-dh* 'to stay over'
-tovvedh	*måarehks* 'angry' (ADJ)	*måarah-tovve-dh* 'to be angry'
-stalledh	*luste* 'fun' (ADJ)	*luste-stalle-dh* 'to have fun'

(17.12) *dohte*   **_måaratåvva_**   *dosse*
       DEM.DIST.NOM.SG be.angry.PRS.3SG DEM.DIST.ILL.SG
       'He is angry at her.' [sma20181025u]

(17.13) *jih* *monnah* **_gajhkelööve-be_**   *monnah*   *göökte*
       and   1DU.NOM   be.thirsty.PRS-1PL   1DU.NOM   two
       vååleg-h   *åaste-me*
       beer-NOM.PL   buy-PTCP
       'And we are [=were] thirsty, we had bought two beers.'
       [sma20180614a]

Verbal suffixes can be attached to already derived forms as in (17.14): the verb *åajal-de-htedh* 'to forget' is based on another derivation *åajal-didh* 'to forget'. There is no apparent semantic difference between these two verbs.

(17.14)   *åå jöödtedh åajaldeht-i-m   dam   tjaste-m*
           oh no   forget-PST-1SG   DEM.ACC.SG   ice.cream-ACC.SG

           gilme-dahke-se   biejedh   dihte   sjalka
           cold-NMLZ-ILL.SG   put.INF   3SG.NOM   melt.PRS.3SG

           'Oh no, I forgot to put the ice cream in the freezer, it melts.'

           [sma20170913j]e/f

Several speakers mentioned that they experience an over-usage of productive verbal derivation amongst the generation of heritage learners. In some instances, using suffixes can lead to misunderstandings. The following example, reported by a heritage speaker, demonstrates a rather drastic semantic difference: while *vuelie* is a 'joik melody', the verb *vueliedidh* means 'to kill, murder someone' – and not, as one might think, *'sing a little'. The speaker reported to have heard the verb used in a radio program in the context of music and not in a lethal crime, causing confusion and misunderstanding.[105] (See also § 17.1.3.3 on frozen suffixes below).

17.1.3.1   Transitivizing suffix

In some cases, the above mentioned suffix *-di-* functions as a transitivizing marker, as in *gajhke-dh* 'to dry' (intransitive & transitive) and *gajhke-di-dh* 'to dry' (transitive). However, the suffixes are not obligatory, as the following example pair (17.15) and (17.16) demonstrates:

(17.15)   *manne   vaarja-h   gajhke-de-m*
           1SG.NOM   clothes-NOM.PL   dry.PRS-TRANS-1SG

           'I am drying clothes' [sma20190820notes]

(17.16)   *manne   mov   vaarja-h   gajhke-m*
           1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   clothes-NOM.PL   dry.PRS-1SG

           'I am drying my clothes' [sma20190820notes]

The resulting verb may be used with an explicit or implied object, for instance *byöpmedidh* 'to eat'.

17.1.3.2   Passive marking

The passive may be marked by the verbal suffix *-ldh*, which was attested to be a productive suffix in the southern dialect. The *-ldh*-form is a non-finite

---

[105](Bauer, 2001, p.208) notes that "[w]ords are not coined in a pragmatic vacuum, but to fulfil a pragmatic demand". The episode about *vueliedidh* might indicate the generation gap between first language users and second language users/New Speakers.

form and can be described as a passive participle (Labj, 2021, p. 89). Occasionally, *-di-* may also function as a passive marker, but verbs containing this suffix are in general lexicalized. Other passive markers are *-sovve-* and *-dovve-* (see Table 17.3). These suffixes are not productive in the data; whereas for instance *reakasovvedh* means 'to be born', *jovkesovvedh* 'to be drunk' was not accepted.

Table 17.4: Passive suffixes

Suffix	Derived passive	Active verb (infinitive)
-ldh	*dyövde-ldh* 'be(come) filled'	*dyövdedh* 'to fill'
-ldh	*baske-ldh* 'be(come) stung'	*baskij* 'to sting'
-ldh	*peehke-ldh* 'be packed'	*peehkedh* 'to pack'
-ldh	*gaektje-ldh* 'be bitten'	*gaektjedh* 'to bite'
-ldh	*jovke-ldh* 'be drunk'	*jovkedh* 'to drink'
-ldh	*björme-ldh* 'be eaten'	*byöpmedh* 'to eat'
-ldh	*tjågke-ldh* 'be eaten (prey)'	*tjågkledh* 'to eat (raptors)'
-ldh	*bisse-ldh* 'be fried'	*bissedh* 'to fry'
-ldh	*doelde-ldh* 'be(come) cooked'	*doeldedh* 'to cook'
-didh	*doelde-di-dh* 'to be(come) cooked'	*doeldedh* 'to cook'
-didh	*reaka-di-dh* 'to be born'	n/a

Morphological passives are not frequent in the data. In general, there is a preference to avoid passive constructions in South Saami. If they occur, passives are usually expressed with periphrastic constructions containing the passive participle *-ldh* and the verb *sjidtedh* 'be(come)'. Examples are given in (17.17) and (17.18):

(17.17) *dihte*   *laejpie* *gålde-ldh*   *sjidti*
         DEM.NOM.SG   bread   bake-PASS.PTCP become-PST.3SG

         'The bread got baked.' [sma20181025b]

(17.18) *dihte*   *bearka* *björme-ldh*   *sjidte-me*
         DEM.NOM.SG   meat   eat-PASS.PTCP   become-PTCP

         'This meat got eaten.' [sma20180611k]

17.1.3.3 Frozen suffixes

There are several verbal suffixes that can be identified as such, but which are not productive and do not have an apparent function. Here, these are described as *frozen* or *fossilized* suffixes, and appear in a number of verbs. An example is the reciprocal verb *viehkesath* 'to help each other' (17.19). The verb consists

of the base *viehke-* 'help-' which is used in other contexts as well (e.g. *viehkie* 'help', *viehkiehtidh* 'to help'). The element *-sath* adds the semantics of reciprocity but it does not function as a productive reciprocal suffix; **vuejnesath* 'to see each other' for instance is not accepted.

(17.19) *monnah*   *provhkien*   **viehkesath**
        1DU.NOM   use.to.PRS.1DU   help.REC

        'We use to help each other' [sma20190820notes]

Such verbs are best described as lexicalization. However, the base morpheme is analysable and usually occurs as a free morpheme elsewhere. The suffixed morpheme on the other hand is not associated with a particular function and cannot be applied productively.[106] Many derivational suffixes do not carry a meaning synchronically, and are best understood from a historical perspective. For instance, the verb *viehkesath* 'help each other' contains a (frozen) reciprocal suffix *-sath*. The suffix is not productive.

See also the polyfunctional suffixes listed in Table 17.3 above and the discussion of the matter of productivity and transparency in § 17.1.1 above.

17.1.4 Deriving adjectives

Adjectives can be derived from verbs and nouns by suffixes such as *-s*, *-ges*, *-ds* and *-hts*. The suffix *-ds* usually refers to the quality that the base denotes, *-hts* denotes the absence of the referent of the base ('-less'). However, the phonetic realization of these suffixes is identical – [ts] – and the semantics of the derived item is therefore not predictable; compare for instance *viehkeds* 'helpful' to *baenehts* 'teethless'. The suffix in its absence meaning '-less' is productive.

The negative prefix *ov-* 'un' is a productive suffix and is attested with adjectives like 'fun' and 'pleasant'. It is also attested on a base that itself is not attested as a free morpheme (**novhkens* 'known').

The matter of derivation of adjectives by the suffix *-s* is discussed in detail in § 7.1.2.2. In short, it is problematic to classify this suffix as an adjectivizer, and it is not used productively.

---

[106]A difference between revitalized language and that of (older) heritage speakers can be observed here. While heritage speakers do not use these suffixes productively, heritage learners may be prone to form new words with them. This can at times lead to misunderstanding, see e.g. *vueliedidh* 'to murder'.

Table 17.5: Adjectival derivation

Affix	Derived adjective	Base
-ds	*viehke-ds* 'helplful'	*viehkie* 'help' (N)
-ds	*jovke-ds* 'drunk'	*jovkedh* 'to drink' (V)
-ds	*lahke-ds* 'fortunate'	*lahkoe* 'luck' (N)
-s	*lahka-s* 'lucky'	*lahkoe* 'luck' (N)
-s	*gööle-s, göölie-s* 'rich in fish'	*guelie* 'fish' (N)
-ges	*faamo-ges* 'powerful'	*faamoe* 'power' (N)
-hts	*baene-hts* 'teethless'	*baenie* 'tooth' (N)
-hts	*tjohpe-hts* 'hatless, withouth a hat'	*tjohpe* 'hat' (N)
-hts	*faamo-hts* 'powerless'	*faamoe* 'power' (N)
ov-	*ov-luste* 'un-nice' (cf. Swe. *olustig*)	*luste* 'fun' (ADJ)
ov-	*ov-murreds* 'unpleasant'	*murreds* 'pleasant' (ADJ)
ov-	*ov-geahpan* 'disagreeing' (cf. Swe. *sams/osams*)	*geahpa* 'united' (ADJ)
ov-	*ov-novhkens* 'unknown, strange'	**novhkens* 'known'

17.1.5   Deriving adverbs

Adverbs can be derived from adjectives and nouns. See Table 9.2 in section § 9 on adverbs above for more details and examples. Productive derivational suffixes are *-laakan* (standard/northern) and *-ligkie* (southern dialects) meaning 'in the manner/way of [the base]'. Examples are *hijven-laakan* 'in a good way', *geerve-laakan* 'in a difficult way' *heerven-ligkie* 'in a good way', *väjkeles-ligkie* 'in a smart/clever way'. The word *ligkie* is also used as an independent noun meaning 'way, manner' in the southern dialects.

17.2   Compounding

Compounding exists in South Saami, but it is not very frequent. In the following sections 17.2.1, 17.2.2, 17.2.3 and 17.2.4, I present lists of compounds attested in the data. The lists are nearly exhaustive with respect to the data.

Criteria used for identifying compounds here are primarily **phonological** and **morphological** (Bauer, 2017): Compounds are realized as one phonological word. As most compounds are quadrisyllabic, they receive a primary stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the penultimate syllable, like *gärja-gåetie* [ˈkærjaˌkoeti:] 'library', lit. 'book house'. Some compounds show **morphological** changes in the modifying lexeme, like *laadt-pluevie* 'cloudberry swamp', consisting of *laadtege* 'cloudberry' and *pluevie*

'swamp'. Compounds furthermore act as one unit in **syntax**, where only the head receives any further marking. Finally, a compound can be identified on **semantic** grounds, where the compound refers to a new entity, like *gånka-kaarre* 'soldier, recruit', lit. 'king-man'.

Most compounds are of the type NOUN-NOUN (see § 17.2.1 below) with both words (or lexemes) in the nominative. Adjective-noun compounds are less common than noun-noun compounds. In the data, there are a few compounds of other word classes, such as adverb-adjective, adverb-adverb and pro-form/pronoun-numeral. These will be discussed below. Verb compounding is not attested.

An example for compounds is given in (17.20):

(17.20) *Julie Axman dihte   lij   **öövre-vejkele***
         Julie Axman 3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG very-skilful

 giele-barkije
 language-worker

 'Julie Axman, she was a very skilful language worker.'

 [sma20170923b] (Julie Axman was Knut Bergsland's primary consultant for his 1946 grammar.)

17.2.1 Noun-noun compounds

There are about 80 different noun-noun compounds attested in the data. The majority are compounds of the type NOM-NOM, i.e. the compounds represent juxtaposed nouns in the nominative. Significantly less frequent are compounds of the type GEN-NOM, with the first noun in the genitive. Examples for the first type are given in Table 17.6, examples for the latter are given in Table 17.9. With the exception of *sohkerh-dijneke* 'sugar bit', all modifiers are in the singular. Compounds with a shortened first lexeme are the kinship terms *aehtj-aajja* 'paternal grandfather' (from *aehtjie* 'father') etc., *laadt-pluevie* 'cloudberry swamp' (from *laadtege* 'cloudberry').

Most compounds consist of non-derived nouns, but compounds may contain derived items as well. Both the modifier and the head can be derivations. An example for the first is the compound *åaremsh-gaarvoeh* 'bedclothes', consisting of a derivation of the participle of *åeredh* 'to sleep' plus a collective suffix, *åareme-sh*. An example for the latter is the compound *geajnoe-bihkedasse* 'travel/road directions', in which *bihkedasse* is a nominal derivation of the (derived) verb *bihkedidh* 'to explain'.

Among compounds, a group of cultural specific calendaric expressions are found. In addition to the seasons[107] *winter*, *spring*, *summer* and *autumn*, "in-

---

[107]Months are less commonly used in the data to refer to time. Some names for

between seasons" are used, such as *gijre-daelvie* 'spring winter' (cf. Swe. *vårvinter*)[108].

The items in Tables 17.6, 17.8 and 17.8 below are listed according to semantic domains (*people and animals*, *geography/nature*, *dwelling places*, *seasons and time*, *objects and things*).

Table 17.6: Noun-noun compounds (1): NOM-NOM

Compound	Gloss	Translation
People and animals		
aehtj-aahka	father-grandmother	'paternal grandmother'
maadtar-aajja	grand-grandfather	'great-grandfather'
bovtje-kaarre	reindeer-man	'reindeer herder'
giele-barkije	language-worker	'language worker'
gånka-kaarre	king-man	'recruit'
hus-båanta	house[Swe]-farmer	'farmer'
		(cf. Swe. *husbonde*)
paarre-bielie	pair-half	'life companion'
reajnoe-maennie	herd-man	'reindeer herder'
skåvla-maanah	school-children	'pupils'
tjidtj-aahka	mother-grandmother	'maternal grandmother'
vijreme-bienje	hunting-dog	'hunting dog'
Seasons		
gaske-daelvie	middle-winter	'midwinter'
giese-biejjie	summer-day	'summer day'
giesie-jijjie	summer-night	'summer night'
gijre-daelvie	spring-winter	'spring winter'
		(cf. Swe. *vårvinter*)
gijre-giesie	spring-summer	'spring summer'
jåvlie-iehkede	Christmas-evening	'Christmas evening'
tjaktje-giesie	autumn-summer	'autumn summer'
Objects and abstract entities		
aalkoe-bielie	start-page	'starting page'
aernie-gierkie	fireplace-stone	'fireplace stone'

months refer to the action that traditionally characterizes this time of the year, such as *suehpede* 'May; calving time'.

[108]There are strong indications that Swedish *vårvinter* 'spring winter', and the concept of that season, is a loan translation from Saami into the Scandinavian language (Kusmenko, 2008).

Table 17.7: Noun-noun compounds (2): NOM-NOM

Compound	Gloss	Translation
Objects and abstract entities (cont.)		
bearkoe-stuhtje	meat-piece	'piece of meat'
båassja-gierkie	food.place-stone	'food place stone'
englaante-giele	England-language	'English'
faamoe-viekie	power-factory	'power plant'
geajnoe-bihkedasse	road-explanation	'road/travel directions'
grammatihke-gärja	grammar-book	'grammar'
gullie-ringke	gold-ring	'gold ring'
gullie-bähta	gold-piece	'gold nugget'
jåvle-goese	Christmas-fir	'Christmas tree' (cf. Swe. *julgran*)
laante-dåaroe	land-war	'world war'
laejpie-gierkie	bread-stone	'bread stone'
mielhkie-boehtele	milk-bottle	'milk bottle'
mielhkie-pakeete	milk-pack	'milk pack'
naemie-goelkh	antler.skin-animal.hair	'antler's skin hair'
prihtjege-giebnie	coffee-pot	'coffee pot'
reaksja-bearga	steak-meat	'rump steak'
ruevtie-geajna	iron-road	'railway'
sjijlie-laejpie	ember-bread	'ember bread'
sohkerh-dijnehke	sugar.PL-sugar	'sugar bit'
tjaetjie-bahte	water-bucket	'water bucket'
tjeajte-bealla	goat-bell	'goat bell'
vaajese-gärja	tale-book	'fairy-tale book'
åaremsh-gaarvoeh	sleeping-clothes	'bedclothes'
Dwelling- and human-made places		
aernie-siejje	fireplace-place	'fire place'
bierne-gaavma	bear-earth	'bear earth'
bijle-geajna	car-road	'road'
derhvie-gåetie	turf-house	'turf hut'
giesie-sijjie	summer-site	'summer site'
giesie-skåvle	summer-school	'summer school'
gijre-laante	spring-land	'spring land'
gärja-gåetie	book-house	'library'
skuvle-gåetie	school-house	'school house'
skåvla-sijjie	school-site	'school site'
tjiejte-gåetie	goat-house	'goat shed'

Table 17.8: Noun-noun compounds (3): NOM-NOM

Compound	Gloss	Translation
Geography and nature places		
aaksj-aavtja	axe?-birch.forest	'young, dense birch forest'
aarege-laante	stony.area-land	'stony land'
bajhke-jaevrie	filth-lake	'shitty lake' (for e.g. fishing)
Fosen-njaarka	Fosen-peninsula	'Fosen peninsula' (toponym)
gaske-Nöörje	middle-Norway	'Mid-Norway'
guelie-jaevrie	fish-lake	'fishing lake'
laadt-pluevie	cloudberry-swamp	'cloudberry swamp'
noerhte-bielie	north-side	'northern side'
suejnie-tjuahpa	grass-cutting.site	'shoe grass cutting site'
tjaetjie-gaaltije	water-spring	'spring, born'
åarjel-Njaarke	south-Njaarke	'south Njaarke (reindeer district)'
åarjel-Nöörje	south-Norway	'south Norway'
vijreme-laante	hunting-land	'hunting grounds'

Noun-noun compounds of the type genitive-nominative are less common in the data. The attested compounds are presented in Table 17.9.

Table 17.9: Noun-noun compounds: GEN-NOM

Compound	Gloss	Translation
båantan-gåetie	farmer.GEN-house	'farm house'
bovtjen-bearka	reindeer.GEN-meat	'reindeer meat'
vaejsien-bearka	moose.GEN-meat	'moose meat'
Frankrijken-giele	France.GEN-language	'French (language)'
daaroen-giele	Scand.GEN-language	'Scandinavian language'
saemien-giele	Saami.GEN-language	'Saami language'
vaajesen-gärja	tale.GEN-book	'fairy tale book'

The pattern of GEN-NOM or NOM-NOM of some compounds is not fixed; for instance, one speaker used both *vaajese-gärja* (NOM-NOM) 'fairy tale book' and *vaajesen-gärja* (GEN-NOM) 'fairy tale book'. A reason for this variation is not obvious in the data.

17.2.2 Adjective-noun compounds

Compounds of the type ADJECTIVE-NOUN are the second most common in the data. Table 17.10 is an exhaustive list of the compounds encountered in the data.

Table 17.10: Adjective-noun compounds

Compound	Gloss	Translation
aereds-låvne	morning-sunrise	'sunrise'
aereds-beapmoe	morning-food	'breakfast'
buejtes-bearka	fat-meat	'fat meat'
gorre-aangkene	bad-kid	'rascal'
iehkeds-tjeara	evening-twilight	'dawn'
jille-skåvle	high-school	'high school'
jorpe-gåetie	round-house	'round hut'
jovje-råahke	light.grey-castrated.reindeer	'light grey castrated reindeer'
jååkts-biejjie	yester-day	'yesterday'
lihke-kraanah	close-neighbours	'close neighbours'
lårhvoe-biene	shaggy-dog	'shaggy dog' (cf. Swe. *lurvig*)
njaalmeldh-giele	oral-language	'spoken language'
orre-jaepie	new-year	'New Year'
pliehtje-gierkie	flat-stone	'flat stone'
skiemtje-gåetie	sick-house	'hospital'

The compounds containing **aereds-* and **iehkeds* are placed in this category as these items are derived adjectives from *aerede* 'morning' and *iehkede* 'evening'; however, **aereds-* and **iehkeds* are not used as independent, free morphemes or adjectives. *Jååkts-biejjie* presents a similar case; the noun *jååktan* is used as 'yesterday'. In the compound, a derived adjective **jååkts* *'yester' is used.

17.2.3 Verb-noun compounds

There is one compound in the data that consists of a VERB stem plus NOUN: *stååke-saakerh* 'toys', lit. 'play things' (cf. Swe *leksaker*). The part *stååke-* is based on the verb *stååkedh* or *stååkedidh* 'to play'; *saakere* (PL *saakerh*) is a loan from Swedish *sak* 'thing'.

17.2.4   Miscellaneous compounds

Compounds for the adjectives *South Saami* and *North Saami* (also referring to the languages) can be classified as NOUN-ADJECTIVE compounds: *noerhte-saemien* 'North Saami', *åarjel-saemien* 'South Saami'.

In the data, there are several compounds which consist of adverbs, adverbial demonstratives, adpositions and indefinite pronouns and derivations of numerals.

Table 17.11: Miscellaneous compounds

Compound	Gloss	Translation
aktese-vyöki	*together-*help	'reciprocal help'
dohk-dahka	thither-hither	'hither and thither'
dohkoe-dahkoe	thither-hither	'hither and thither'
dupbene-dabpene	over.there-over.here	'criss-cross'
gie-akt	who-one	'someone'
maam-akt	some-one	'something'
sis-bielie	in-side/half	'inside'

The compound (or phrase) *aktese-vyöki* 'together; with joint forces; in reciprocal help' consists of the numeral *akte* 'one' in a form that can be analysed as dative singular, and a derived form of *viehkie* 'help'. None of the forms are attested as free morphemes elsewhere.

18. Lexical profile

The following word lists provide a short overview of some semantic domains in South Saami, such as kinship terminology, colours and weather. The lists are not exhaustive. All words listed here are attested in the data.

Kinship terms

South Saami has a rich terminology for kinship terms. The following have been documented in the data. The few instances where possessive suffixes are used in spontaneous speech are with close kinship terms such as *father* or *mother*. Kinship terms, especially uncle/aunt relations, occur often in combination with proper names. The order is *kinship term + proper name*, for instance *jijmie Johanna* 'aunt Johanna'. A peculiarity is perhaps the term for 'grandchildren', which distinguishes the sex of the grandparent but not the sex of the grandchild (compare for instance German, which marks the sex of the grandchild: *Enkelin* 'granddaughter').

South Saami	English translation
fuelhkie	family
tjidtjie	mother
aehtjie	father
maana	child
niejte	girl; daughter
baahtje	boy
baernie	son, boy
daktere	daughter (also: married daughter)
elkie	son (also: married son)
nyjsenäjja	woman
gaarmenäjja; *kaarre*; *olma*	man; husband

South Saami	English translation
åerpenh	siblings
vielle	brother
åabpa	sister
onne-vielle	younger brother
stoerre-vielle	older brother
onne-åabpa	younger sister
stoerre-åabpa	older sister
aahka	grandmother
tjidtj-aahka	grandmother (maternal)
aehtj-aahka	grandmother (paternal)
aajja	grandfather
tjidtj-aajja	grandfather (maternal)
aehtj-aajja	grandfather (paternal)
maadter-aajja	great-grandfather
maadter-aahka	great-grandmother
aahkove	grandmother's grandchildren
aajjove	grandfather's grandchildren
gåmma	woman; wife
jyöne/jååne/jööne	uncle (mother's brother)
muahra	aunt (mother's younger sister)
maake	uncle (married to aunt or uncle)
seasa	uncle (father's sister)
jiekie	uncle (father's older brother)
tjietsie/tjietjie	uncle (father's younger brother)
jijmie	aunt (father's brother's wife)
gåeskie	mother's older sister
aajkohke	cousin
laevie	second cousin
åerpele, åerpile	cousin (f)
jilpele	cousin (m)
gåmmor	godmother
gåffor	godfather

Geographic directions

Cardinal directions are often used in narratives when describing movement or locations. The directions function as a base for derivations, such as *åarjese* 'southwards', *noerhtede* 'from North', *noerhtelen* 'north of' etc. The words for 'right' and 'left' are not attested in the data.

South Saami	English translation
åarjel	South
noerhte	North
jillie	West
luvlie	East

Color terms

South Saami	English translation
veelkes	white
tjeehpes	black
rööpses	red
viskes	yellow
plaave	blue
kruana	green
provne	brown
kraevies	grey
jovje	light-grey

Weather terminology

South Saami	English translation
vearelde	weather
baahke	warm (weather)
bijvele	mild/warm weather
daelhkie	'skiing conditions' (Swe/Nor *føre*)
mullie	cloudy weather
mearhka	fog
gaaloe	cold, rainy weather
jueskie	cold, chilly
tjåetskeme	cold weather
galme	cold
ebrie	rain
biejjie	sun; day
aske	moon; month

Sample texts

The following narratives are part of the corpus data. The level of confidence in transcription for the narratives presented here is high.

1. A close encounter with an elk

Narrated by Iréne Dorra on 29 July 2018 in Funäsdalen, Härjedalen (southern dialect area).

(1)　*joo　akte-n　　aejkie-n　　gosse　manne　　lim*
　　well　one-GEN.SG　time-GEN.SG　when　1SG.NOM　be.PST.1SG
　　Röösjö-sne　　mijjieh　giesie-n　　　dennie
　　Rödsjö-LOC.SG　1PL.NOM　summer-GEN.SG　DEM.ADN.LOC.SG
　　Röösjö-sne　　lio　　　jih　Bruno　aaj　lij
　　Rödsjö-LOC.SG　be.PST.1PL　and　Bruno　also　be.PST.3SG
　　desnie
　　DEM.LOC.SG

　　'Well, one time, when I was at Rödsjön, we used to be there at Rödsjön during summer, and Bruno was also there'

(2)　*jih　dihte　　tjuer-i-a　　　våålese　　jih　sov*
　　and　3SG.NOM　must-PST-3SG　downwards　and　LOG.GEN.SG
　　barko-se　　veelk-i.　　Dillie　manne　　dam
　　work-ILL.SG　go-PST.3SG　then　1SG.NOM　3SG.ACC
　　doeried-i-m　　　Käringjöe-se
　　accompany-PST-1SG　Käringsjön-ILL.SG

　　'and he had to go down to his work. So I went with him to Käringsjön'

(3)　*jih　destie　　manne　　vihth　jark-i-m　　　gåatan*
　　and　from.there　1SG.NOM　again　return-PST-1SG　house.ILL.SG
　　vihth　Röösjöe-se　　men　edtjim　　　dellie
　　again　Rödsjön-ILL.SG　but　NEG.AUX.PST.1SG　then
　　dam　　　geanjna-m　　mij
　　DEM.ACC.SG　road-ACC.SG　REL.NOM.SG

Haandskin'   *åarjel raedte-sne vaadtja*
Handskinnsvålen.GEN.SG south side-LOC.SG go.PRS.3SG

'and from there I returned home to Rödsjön, but I did not go the path that is on the south side of Handskinnsvålen'

(4) *maam*   *mijjieh*   *provhke-be*   *vaadtj-ij eejnegen*
REL.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM use.to.PRS-1PL walk-INF always

'that we always used to go'

(5) *manne*   *sijtj-i-m*   *vaedt-jij mijjien*   *geajna-m*
1SG.NOM want-PST-1SG 1PL.GEN road-ACC.SG REL.GEN.SG

man mietie   *mijjieh*   *juht-i-o gosse*
along 1PL.NOM move-PST-1PL when 1SG.NOM

manne   *lim maana*
be.PST.1SG child

I wanted to go "our" path, along which we travelled when I was a child

(6) *dihte*   *geajna jahta*   *Haandskine-n*
DEM.NOM.SG road roll.PRS.3SG Handskinnsvålen-GEN.SG

noerhte raedte-sne   *jih desnie akte ohtje jaevrie*
north side-LOC.SG and there one little lake

lea
be.PRS.3SG

This path goes on the north side of Handskinnsvålen and there is a little lake

(7) *jih dan*   *geakh biele-sne*   *akte geajna*
and DEM.GEN.SG both side-LOC.SG one road

jahta   *jih manne veedtj-i-m*   *dam*
roll.PRS.3SG and 1SG.NOM walk-PST-1SG DEM.ACC.SG

åarje-mes geajna-m
south-SUP road-ACC.SG

and on both sides of it is a path and I went the southernmost path

(8) *dihte*   *mij*   *reente Haandskine-n*
DEM.NOM.SG REL.NOM.SG directly Handskinnsvålen-GEN.SG

nueliem   *men dagka öövre aarege-laante*
alongside.under but there very stony-land

the one that goes directly under Handskinnsvålen, but this is stony land

(9) *men manne gujht dej gierkie-j mietie*
but 1SG.NOM EMP DEM.GEN.PL stone-GEN.PL along

nulhtj-i-m goh dellie manne noere lim
jump-PST-1SG since then 1SG.NOM young be.PST.1SG

but I jumped between the stones since I was young then

(10) *så dellie maehtie-ji-m nulhtj-ij*
so then can-PST-1SG jump-INF

so then I was able to jump

(11) *men gosse vaadtje-me dle manne ussjed-em*
but when walk-PTCP then 1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG

gom akte-m riekte geajna-m vaadtj-ij
shall.PRS.1SG one-ACC.SG direct road-ACC.SG walk-INF

stoerre Haandskin' jih ohtje Haandskin' gisskh
big H.GEN.SG and little H.GEN.SG between

but when I walked there, I thought I will take a shortcut between Little and Big Handskinnsvålen

(12) *jih dagka bijjege desnie akte tjaetjie-gaaltije*
and there up DEM.LOC.SG one water-spring

gååvnese
exist.PRS.3SG

and up there is a water spring

(13) *jih desnie aehtjie gellie-h vaejsie-h vuatje-me*
and there father many-NOM.PL moose-NOM.PL shot-PTCP

and there father had shot many moose

(14) *jih gosse mijjieh provhk-i-o olgene arrrij*
and when 1PL.NOM use.to-PST-1PL outside be.INF

laadteg-h bihk-ij dagka dan
cloudberry-NOM.PL pick.INF DEM.GEN.SG spring-GEN.SG

gaaltije-n bijre
around

and when we used to be outdoors we picked cloudberries around that spring

(15) *jeen-h laadteg-h gååvnes-i-n jih stijven*
many-NOM.PL cloudberry-NOM.PL exist-PST-3PL and good

laadt-pluevie-h aaj
cloudberry-swamp-NOM.PL also

[there] were many clouldberries and good cloudberry-swamplands as well

(16) *jih   monnah   aehtjie muettien aejgie-n   liebo*
      and 1DU.NOM father some   time-GEN.SG be.PST.1PL

      prihtjege-m   doelte-me daan   gaaltije-n
      coffee-ACC.SG cook-PTCP DEM.PROX.GEN.SG spring-GEN.SG

      jarge
      around

      and me and my father have cooked coffee many times at this spring

(17) *så dihte   munnjan akte aejlies sjijjie sjidte-me*
      so DEM.NOM.3SG 1DU.ILL one   holy   place   become-PTCP

      so this place had become a sacred place for me

(18) *så manne ussjede-m   manne   dagka vaadtja-m*
      so 1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG 1SG.NOM there walk.PRS-1SG

      daan   iehkede-n   men manne   dillie
      DEM.PROX.GEN.SG evening-GEN.SG but 1SG.NOM then

      för varge sveehk-i-m   bäjjese dam   tjahke-m
      too soon turn-PST-1SG upwards DEM.ACC.SG peak-ACC.SG

      So I thought I will go there that evening, but I went too early off to the side up that mountain top

(19) *men gosse lim   jakse-me   dan*
      but when BE.PST.1SG reach-PTCP ADN.DEM.ILL.SG

      tjahke-n   sjäjre-se   dillie vueptiest-i-m   manne
      peak-GEN.SG side-ILL.SG then   realize-PST-1SG 1SG.NOM

      för varge sveehk-i-m
      too early turn-PST-1SG

      but when I reached the side of the peak then I realized that I had turned too early

(20) *dellie manne   ussjed-i-m   im   daelie*
      then   1SG.NOM think-PST-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG now

      maehtie-h bååstede jarkij   manne   bäjjese
      can-CNG   back   turn.INF 1SG.NOM upwards

      tjahke-m   guekerde-m
      peak-ACC.SG climb.PRS-1SG

      then I thought, I can't turn back now, I will climb to the top

(21) *jih dle bäjjese båata-m   dillie lim*
      and then up   come.PRS-1SG then   be.PST.1SG

jallatjommes tjahke-n   nelnie
highest   peak-GEN.SG ontop

and then I come up and I was on the highest peak

(22) *jih   dihte   iehkede lij   akte bååredh*
and   DEM.NOM.SG evening be.PST.3SG one beautiful

giesie-iehkede   aalkanaejme-ste   miektjie-n
summer-evening beginning-ELA.SG August-GEN.SG

askie-ste
month-ELA.SG

and that evening was a beautiful summer-evening in the beginning of
the month August

(23) *jih   dle gosse manne   bååta-m   bäjjese*
and then when 1SG.NOM come.PRS-1SG up

dan   tjahke-se   dillie tjahkene-m   dagka
ADN.DEM.ILL.SG peak-ILL.SG then sit.PRS-1SG there

gogka jallatjommes lea
where highest   be.PRS.3SG

and when I come up that top then I sit there where the highest peak
is

(24) *jih desnie turista-h   akte-m–   jeene gierkie-h*
and there tourist-NOM.PL one-ACC.SG many stone-NOM.PL

movre-me bäjjese dihte   akte vaaloe sjidte-me
brick-PTCP up   DEM.NOM.SG one cairn become-PTCP

and there tourists had a – had built many rocks up there, they had
made a stone cairn

(25) *turista-h   tjeegke-me jeen-h   gierkie-h*
tourist-NOM.PL build-PTCP many-NOM.PL stone-NOM.PL

bäjjese desnie dellie   jallatjommes-en nelnie
up   there highest.peak-GEN.SG ontop

tourists had built many rocks up there, there on the highest peak

(26) *jih manne   tjahkesje-m desnie vuartesje-m   bijrejärgan*
and 1SG.NOM sit.PRS-1SG there look.PRS-1SG around

dam   laante-m,   dillie Roojen vuajna-m
DEM.ACC.SG land-ACC.SG then Rogen see.PRS-1SG

and I sat there and looked out over the land, I saw [the lake] Rogen

(27) *dihte   Rooje öövre låedtjie lea,   dan sån*
DEM.NOM.SG Rogen very   calm   be.PRS.3SG so so

399

låedtjie	*desnie*	*maahta*	*spejlidh*
calm	DEM.LOC.SG	can.PRS.3SG	mirror.INF

Rogen was very calm, so calm that one could mirror oneself in it

(28)
jih	*dle*	*vuajna-m*	*doll-h*	*buelij*	*dagka*	*vuelege*
and	then	see.PRS-1SG	fire-NOM.PL	burn.INF	there	down

bijrejärgan	*det är kanotister*	*stoara-h*	*dah*
around	[it is canoeists]	tourist-NOM.PL	DEM.NOM.PL

mij	*olkene*	*dan*	*giesie-jijjie-n*
REL.NOM.SG	outside	DEM.GEN.SG	summer-night-GEN.SG

iehkede-n
evening-GEN.SG

and I saw bonfires burning around down there, it was canoeists, tourists, those who where outside this summer night, evening

(29)
nå	*manne*	*gujht*	*aalka-m*	*vihth*	*vaadtjij*
well	1SG.NOM	EMP	start.PRS-1SG	again	walk.INF

well, I started walking again

(30)
tjuara-m	*vaadtjij*	*våålese*	*stoerre*	*Haandskin'*	*jih*
must.PRS-1SG	walk.INF	downwards	big	H.GEN.SG	and

ohtje	*Haandskin'*	*gisskh*
little	H.GEN.SG	between

I need to go down between the big and little Handskinnsvålen

(31)
jih	*gosse*	*våålese*	*båata-m*	*dan*
and	when	downwards	come.PRS-1SG	DEM.ILL.SG

leagke-se	*dagka*	*söökes*	*aaksj-aavja*	*skååje*
valley-ILL.SG	there	thick	thick.birch.forest	forest

and when I came down to that valley, there is a dense birch-forest

(32)
jih	*hammedebielien*	*gosse*	*manne*	*dagka*	*båata-m*
and	good.lord	when	1SG.NOM	there	come.PRS-1SG

vaadtja-m
go.PRS-1SG

and good lord when I came there go there

(33)
dle	*lea*	*akte*	*vaejsie*	*desnie*	*tjuatjan,*	*tjuatjan*
then	be.PRS.3SG	one	elk	there	stand.CVB	stand.CVB

daesnie	*munnan*	*vuartesje*
DEM.PROX.LOC.SG	1SG.ILL	look.PRS.3SG

there is an elk standing, standing there, looking at me

(34) *barre akte metere monnen gisskh jih manne*
only one meter 1DU.GEN between and 1SG.NOM

reente tjuatjan sjidt-i-m
entirely stand.CVB become-PST-1SG

it was just a meter between the two of us and I stood entirely still

(35) *manne aerkie sjidte-m, edtjim*
1SG.NOM scared NEG.AUX.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM

manne heavie-h vaadtjij barre desnie
accomplish-CNG walk.INF only there stand.CVB

tjuatjan vuartasja-mme
watch-PTCP

I became afraid, I was not able to move, I just stood there looking

(36) *jih vaejsie aaj munnan vuartesje*
and elk also 1SG.ILL look.PRS.3SG

and the elk is also looking at me

(37) *nemhtie monnah tjuatja-ji-o ohjte boelhke-n*
like.this 1DU.NOM stand-PST-1PL little period-GEN.SG

we two stood like this a little while

(38) *men destelen vaejsie jarkele jih soekie-j sijse*
but afterwards elk turn.PRS.3SG and birch-GEN.PL into

haajpan-i
vanish-PST.3SG

but then the moose turned around and vanished into the birches

(39) *dan männgan manne håajsa-ji-m vihth*
DEM.GEN.SG after 1SG.NOM be.able-PST-1SG again

aalkij vaadtji jih gåatan veedtj-i-m. Ja, det
start.INF walk.INF and house.ILL walk-PST-1SG. [Yes, that

var dihte dihte.
was] DEM.NOM.SG DEM.NOM.SG

after that I was able to start walking again and I went home. Yes, that
was it.

2. About a young German deserter during WW2.

Narrated by Jonhild Joma on 27 September 2017 in Steinkjer. Central area

(40) *Manne*   *leam*   *reakasa-mme* *dåara-n*   *männgan*
1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG bord-PTCP   war-GEN.SG after

'I am born after the war [World War 2]'

(41) *jih* *im*   *manne*   *maam*
and NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM some.ACC.SG

mujhtie-h   *dejtie*   *dåaro-ste*   *men* *nov*
remember-CNG DEM.ELA.SG war-ELA.SG but   PTCL

govl-i-m   *gujht* *dah*   *geerve*   *almetj-h*
hear-PST-1SG EMP grown.up human-NOM.PL

'and I don't remember anything from the war but I have heard the grown-up people'

(42) *guk'* *dah*   *soptest-i-n*   *dej*   *tysker-i*
how 3PL.NOM talk-PST-3PL DEM.GEN.PL German-GEN.PL

bijre *jah* *jijnj-h*   *dejtie*   *laejht-i-n*   *jah*
about and many-NOM.PL DEM.ACC.PL criticize-PST-3PL and

dejstie   *hävvi*   *bill-i-n*   *aaj*
DEM.ELA.PL certainly be.afraid-PST-3PL also

'how they talked about the Germans and many criticized them and they were also afraid of them'

(43) *jaa* *numhtie* *lij*   *mov*   *aaj* *fuelhke-sne*   *men*
well like.this be.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN also family-LOC.SG but

idtji   *mov*   *aahka*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN grandmother

'well, it was like this in my family too, but my grandmother'

(44) *idtji*   *mov*   *tjidtj-aahka*   *sijht-h*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG 1SG.GEN mother-grandma want-CNG

govledh *att* *gaajhk-h*   *tysker-h*   *lin*   —
hear.INF that all-NOM.PL German-NOM.PL be.PST.3PL —

dejstie   *tjuerie-h*   *billedh*
DEM.ELA.PL must.PRS-3PL be.afraid.INF

'my grandmother on my mother's side, she did not want to hear that all Germans were – that you had to be afraid of them'

(45) *idtji*   *dam*   *aahka*   *sijhth*   *govledh*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG   ACC.SG   grandmother   want-CNG   hear.INF

'my grandmother did not want to hear that'

(46) *dihte*   *provhk-i*   *majhtajidh*   *söemies*
3SG.NOM   use.to-PST.3SG   remember.INF   some

tjaktje-n   *joo*   *lij*   *sjidte-me*   *lopme*   *jah*
autum-GEN.SG   well   be.PST.3SG   become-PTCP   snow   and

daelhkie   *lij*   *gujht så tjoer-i-n*   *tjoejkedh*
snow.condition   be.PST.3SG   EMP   so   must-PST-3PL   ski.INF

'she used to remember, some autumn, yes, it had fallen snow and it was skiing conditions so you had to ski'

(47) *dle*   *akte*   *noere*   *tyske*   *bööt-i*   *tyske*   *baernie*
then   one   young   german   come-PST.3SG   german   boy

bööt-i   *aahka-n*   *gåatan*   *gåajka*
come-PST.3SG   grandmother-GEN.SG   house.ILL.SG   to

'a young German came, a German boy came to grandmother's house'

(48) *jah* *tjaang-i*   *gujht* *dan*   *gåatan*   *jah*
and   enter-PST.3SG   EMP   ADN.DEM.ILL.SG   house.ILL.SG   and

leehp-i   *dah*   *sov*
leave-PST.3SG   DEM.NOM.PL   LOG.GEN.SG

skåahtie-h   *jah revolvere jah jammedh jah*
ammunition-NOM.PL   and   revolver   and   well   and

sov   *aktesh*   *im*   *manne*
LOG.GEN.SG   one-COLL   NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM

daejrie-h   *jah*   *da*   *barre* *tjaang-i*   *gåatan*
know-CNG   and   PTCL   only   enterPST.3SG   house.ILL.SG

'and he entered the house and left his ammunition and pistol and what not and his things, I don't know, and so he just entered the hut'

(49) *jah* *aahka*   *lij*   *gujht* *vaanedh*   *provhk-i-n*
and   grandmother   be.PST.3SG   EMP   be.used.to   use.to-PST-3PL

tååkedh *dell'*
beg.INF   then

'grandmother was used that they [soldiers/Germans] used to beg then'

(50) *jiehtedh* *maam*   *idtjin*   *utnie-h*
say.INF   what.ACC.SG   NEG.AUX.PST.3PL   have-CNG

idtji   *dihte*   *gänna*   *maam*   *jeeht'*
NEG.AUX.PST.3SG   3SG.NOM   NEG.EMP   what.ACC.SG   say.CNG

'they did not have anything to say, he did not say anything'

(51) *så aahka gujht minngemes veedt-i beapmoe-h*
so grandmother EMP lastly give-PST.3SG food-NOM.PL

jah idtji gujht da gåared-h
and NEG.AUX.PST.3SG EMP PTCL be.possible-CNG

dejnie soptsestidh
3SG.COM talk.INF

'so grandmother gave [him] some food at last and it was not possible to speak with him'

(52) *jeahte-me lij sov tjidtjie Tysklaante-sne*
say-PTCP be.PST.3SG LOG.GEN.SG mother Germany-LOC.SG

damhte lij guarka-ji
that.kind be.PST.3SG understand-PST.3SG

'he had said that his mother is in Germany, so much did she understand'

(53) *jah dihte desnie jijjie-m*
and DEM.NOM.SG DEM.LOC.SG night-ACC.SG

sjidt-i
become-PST.3SG

'and then it was night'

(54) *jah varki mubpie-n aerede-n dle vöölk-i*
and early next-GEN.SG morning-GEN.SG then travel-PST.3SG

tjoejke-n
ski-CVB

'and early next morning he skied away'

(55) *aahka lij gujht aalkene jah vööjn-i*
grandmother be.PST.3SG EMP outside and see-PST.3SG

dalhtjoe lij tjuejkedh
bad be.PST.3SG ski-INF

'grandmother was outside and she saw that he was bad at skiing'

(56) *men vöölk-i gujht jah de sijht-i*
but travel-PST.3SG EMP and PTCL want-PST.3SG

daejre-dh gubpene Sveerje lij
know-INF where Sweden be.PST.3SG

'but he travelled away anyway and he wanted to know in what direction Sweden was'

(57) *så aahka   gujht tjuvtjied-i   vuesieht-i   gåapb'*
so grandmother EMP point-PST.3SG show-PST.3SG whereto

'tje   dan   vuelke-dh
shall.PRS.3SG PTCL travel-INF

'so grandmother pointed and showed him where he had to go'

(58) *jah jeenj-h   jaepie-h   dåara-n   männgan*
and many-NOM.PL year-NOM.PL war-GEN.SG after

aahka   söemies aejkie-n   funhterd-i   guktie
grandmother some   time-GEN.SG wonder-PST.3SG how

sån   sjidt-i   dejnie   noere baahtj-ine
PTCL become-PST.3SG DEM.COM.SG young boy-COM.SG

gåabp'   amma sjidt-i
whereto EMP   become-PST.3SG

'and many years after the war, grandmother sometimes wondered how it was with that boy, what had become of him.'

Summaries in South Saami, Swedish and German

Iktedimmie åarjelsaemien gielesne

Daate tjaalege lea akte grammatihke-gärja åarjelsaemien gielen bijre. Åarjel-saemien giele lea uraalske giele jih jeenebe saemien gielh gååvnesh, Nöör-jesne, Sveerjesne, Soemesne jih Russlaantesne. Medtie 500 almetjh maehtieh åarjelsaemien gielem soptsestidh. Åarjelsaemieh hööltestieh gaske-Nöörjesne jih gaske-Sveerjesne, Eajresne jih Dearnan fylhki vuestie Sveerjen raedtsesne, jih Engerdaelesne jih Aarborten fylhki vuestie Nöörjen raedtesne.

Daate laante stoerre lea, jih guhkies geajna lea almetji gaskh. Domto goh gielem nehketeminie, väjkele gujht gielem eensiligkie lieredh.

Daennie barkosne luhkie almetjh soptsestamme, noerhtelde jih åarjel rad-tan, luhkie sjiere dajveste båetieh. Dah mij dejnie barkome leah 75 jaepien båeries jih båarasåbpoe. Gaajhkesh sov "ietniengielem" utnieh. Manne dejnie åarjel gieline stoerre barkoem atneme. Båeries saemiej giele maam maanabea-leste soptsestamme, dihte saemiengiele stoerrebe variasjovnebe atna.

Daennie gärjesne åarjelsaemien gielem nuhtjem guktie båeries saemieh soptsestieh. Giele jeatjaligkie tjuaja juktie skovlesne luhkieh jih tjaelieh. Tjaa-leldh jih njaelmeldh giele ij seammaligkie tjuejieh.

Daennie voesstes kapitelisnie vuesete gusnie giele gåvnese, guktie sopt-seste jih historiem jih dam sosolingvistiska situasjovnem vuesete. Männgan åenehks översikte vuesete forskningen bijre. Kapitele nahka metoode miejtie, teorie jih data mij nuhtjesovveme. Nubpie kapitele vuesete typologisk översikt åarjelsaemien giele. Gåalmede kapitele fonologije. Njealjede jih akte luhkie aktede kapitelh dah stoerre baakoeh-klassh vuesete. Kapitelisnie akte luhkie vijhte vuesete guktie gyhtjedh jih svååredh saemien gielesne. Luhkie govhtede kapitelisnie negasjovnen bijre. Luhkie tjijtjede kapitelisnie guktie orre baakoe-eh sjidtieh. Luhkie gaektjede kapitelisnie baakoeh-lästah gååvnesh. Minngie-gietjesne daennie tjaalegisnie geekte tjaalegh daatamateriaali bijre.

Jarkoestamme: Iréne Dorra

Sammanfattning på svenska

Den här avhandlingen är en grammatisk beskrivning av sydsamiska. Sydsamiska tillhör den uraliska språkfamiljen och är ett av flera samiska språk i Norden. Det finns ingen officiell statistik över antal talare men man brukar utgå ifrån att sydsamiska har ungefär 500 talare/språkbrukare. Området där sydsamiska traditionellt talas är mellersta Norge och Sverige, mellan norra Dalarna och Tärnaby i Västerbotten i Sverige och mellan kommunerna Engerdal och Hattfjelldal i Norge. Det är ett stort område och avstånden mellan talarna är ofta långa. Språket är hotat men det pågår en aktiv revitalisering av språket.

Till denna studie har tio olika talare från olika sydsamiska dialektområden bidragit. De allra flesta av dessa talare är idag äldre än 75 år. Det är något större fokus på den sydliga dialekten (*härjedalssamiska*) i studien. Alla talarna har vuxit upp med sydsamiska som sitt första språk och de flesta började sig lära svenska/norska i skolåldern.

I den här boken beskriver jag talad sydsamiska så som det används av äldre talare idag. Det betyder i korthet att den sydsamiska varieteten som är dokumenterad och beskriven här i vissa fall kan skilja sig från det språk man möter i skrift och i skol- och läroböcker för sydsamiska. Skriftspråk och talspråk är olika språkliga register och uppvisar som sådana alltid skillnader. Sydsamiskan är inget undantag och skriven sydsamiska bär ofta en prägel av standardisering. I undervisningssammanhang och i revitaliseringssyften är det ofta en mer standardiserad varietet som används. Unga talare använder ofta en mera preskriptiv språkform. Äldre talare däremot uppvisar större variation. Häri ligger en av motivationerna för denna studie: att dokumentera och beskriva variation som vi kan se i (det talade) språket. Kännetecken kan vara större variation i morfologin (vilka böjningsformer som används av den enskilde talaren), variation i ordföljd, fler diskurspartiklar och andra drag som kännetecknar talat språk som exempelvis förkortade former. Kanske de mest intressanta dragen är flera konstruktioner som tidigare inte varit lika kända eller som "strider mot" standardspråket, men som kan ses som pågående processer av grammatikalisering i språket.

Avhandlingen består av följande delar: I det första kapitlet introduceras först språket i allmänhet, dess utbredning, talargemenskap, dess historiska kontext samt språkets sociolingvistiska situation. Sedan följer en kort översikt över tidigare forskning. Kapitlet avslutas med avsnitt om den metod, teori och data som används i studien, om de olika talargrupperna av sydsamiska, om mitt fältarbete och om konsulterna (talarna) som har bidragit till studien. I kapitel 2 ges en typologisk översikt över sydsamiska. I kapitel 3 avhandlas fonologin. I kapitel 4–11 beskrivs de stora ordklasserna, deras morfologi och deras funktion: pronomen och demonstrativa pronomen (kap. 4), substantiv (kap. 5),

verb (kap. 6), adjektiv (kap. 7), räkneord (kap. 8), adverb (kap. 9), adpositioner (kap. 10) samt diskursmarkörer och interjektioner (kap. 11). Kapitel 12, 13 och 14 handlar om syntax (grammatiska relationer, enkla och komplexa satser). I kapitel 15 beskrivs hur frågor och svar bildas i sydsamiska, och i kapitel 16 beskrivs negation. Ordbildning och avledningsmorfologi behandlas i kapitel 17. I kapitel 18 presenteras ordlistor som representerar några semantiska områden. Avhandlingen avslutas med två exempeltexter ur datamaterialet.

Avhandlingen innehåller flera hundra sydsamiska exempel och många tabeller. Alla exempel, ordformer och klassificeringar i den här studien är baserade på datamaterial som jag har samlat in i samarbete med de medverkande talarna. Det har varit ett mål att samla in och presentera ord och satser som är producerade i spontant, oplanerat tal. Detta betyder att det finns exempelmeningar för alla fenomen och former som tas upp i beskrivningen, men det kan också betyda att väldigt sällsynta former inte har dokumenterats.

Sydsamiska är inget obeskrivet språk och det finns flera läroböcker, undervisningsmaterial samt äldre grammatiska beskrivningar. Från detta perspektiv är mycket av innehållet i den här beskrivningen inte "nytt". Från ett annat perspektiv däremot är det mycket "nytt": Jag har närmat mig språket på ett modernt, allmänspråkvetenskapligt sätt, där jag fokuserar på att beskriva språket "som det är", och funktionen av olika grammatiska fenomen. Avhandlingen innehåller också flera fenomen som inte har beskrivits tidigare, till exempel ämnesnamn (massubstantiv). Vidare har varieteten av sydsamiska som är beskriven här, äldre talares talspråk, tidigare inte fått lika stor uppmärksamhet i den samtida litteraturen. Således ger den här beskrivningen en röst till en grupp talare som inte är representerad i lika stor utsträckning i andra sammanhang.

Målet med avhandlingen är, utöver att dokumentera och beskriva språkvarieteten, att producera ett bidrag till forskningsfältet allmän språkvetenskap. Avhandlingen är skriven på engelska för att även kunna ingå i typologisk (språkjämförande) forskning utanför Norden.

Den här beskrivningen är ett avhandlingsprojekt, som har sina begränsningar i tid och omfång. Med detta i beaktande är inte alla aspekter av språket studerade lika ingående, och det finns mycket som framtida forskning kan ägnas åt.

Fonologi

Sydsamiska har 15 konsonantfonem och 11 vokalfonem (fonem är ljud som är betydelseskiljande, som /u/ och /a/ i /kulme/ 'tre (3)' och /kalme/ 'kallt'). Deras fonetiska realisering (uttal) kan uppvisa stor variation och skiljer sig även mellan olika dialekter. Bland vokalfonemen finns fyra vokaler som skiljer sig i längd. Tre vokaler är inte fonematiskt långa eller korta, men stavelsestrukturen

bestämmer om de realiseras som långa eller korta ljud. Bland konsonanterna utgör tonlös/tonande ingen fonologisk kontrast förutom för /v/ och /f/. Alla konsonanter kan uppträda som korta och långa ljud, men långa uppträder enbart ordmedialt.

Det typiska ordet i sydsamiska har två stavelser och slutar på en vokal, till exempel ordet *baakoe* /paːko/ 'ord'. Tryck/betoning är bunden till den första stavelsen.

Kapitlet om fonologin är troligen det mest innovativa i avhandlingen. Sydsamisk fonologi har inte tidigare beskrivits lika omfattande utifrån ett modernt, deskriptivt perspektiv inom Allmän språkvetenskap. Samtidigt behöver sydsamisk fonologi vidare forskning för att kunna ge svar på alla frågeställningar inom området.

Morfologi

Sydsamiska skiljer mellan substantiv, verb, pronomen, demonstrativa pronomen, adjektiv, adverb, räkneord och andra mindre ordklasser som diskursmarkörer.

Substantiv böjs i åtta olika kasus: nominativ, ackusativ, genitiv, illativ, lokativ, elativ, komitativ och essiv. Språket har inget grammatiskt genus. Det finns fem olika böjningsklasser (grupper), men kasusändelserna är mer eller mindre de samma. Substantiv böjs i två numerus: singular (ental) och plural (flertal), förutom i essiv (som inte gör någon numerusdistinktion).

Personliga pronomen har fristående former för singular, dual (tvåtal) och plural, och böjs i alla kasus (förutom essiv). Sydsamiska har många demonstrativa pronomen, som böjs i kasus och numerus (singular och plural).

Verb böjs i person och numerus (singular, dual och plural). Dualformerna är inte obligatoriska. I regel kombineras dual-pronomen med plural-verbformer. Det finns två enkla tempus: presens och preteritum, och två sammansatta tempus: perfekt och pluskvamperfekt. Det finns vidare flera infinita verbformer, som perfekt particip, progressiv (pågåendeform) och imperativ. Verben delas in i tre böjningsgrupper.

Adjektiv har formerna positiv (t.ex. *onne* 'liten'), komparativ (*onnebe* 'mindre') och superlativ (*onnemes* 'minst').

Sydsamiska har många avledningsändelser (derivationssuffix) som kan återfinnas på substantiv, verb och adjektiv. En del av dessa är "produktiva", dvs. man kan forma nya ord med hjälp av dem, medan andra är mindre produktiva och återfinns mest i etablerade (lexikaliserade) ord.

Syntax

Subjektet markeras med nominativ. Nominativ kan också markera objektet om det står i plural. Ackusativ markerar det direkta objektet. Indirekta objekt markeras med illativ (man skulle därför också kunna kalla detta kasus för dativ). Genitiv markerar ägaren (som på svenska i *mammas bil*). Illativ, lokativ och elativ är "lokalkasus" och anger huvudsakligen en rörelse till eller från något, eller en position i eller på en plats. Komitativ uttrycker deltagande eller att något utförs med något, eller tillsammans med någon. Essiv används för att uttrycka ett tillstånd.

Ordföljden i sydsamiska är huvudsakligen SOV (subjekt-objekt-verb), men den är inte fast, så SVO kan också förekomma.

I sydsamiska finns två möjligheter att uttrycka ägande: med en genitivkonstruktion (*mov lea bjile* "min är en bil" = 'jag har en bil') eller med verbet *utnedh* 'att ha' (*manne bijlem atnam* 'jag har en bil'). Frågor bildas antingen med hjälp av intonation eller med frågepartiklarna *mah*, *gah* eller *mejtie*, som alla står satsinitialt: *mah datne guarkah?* 'förstår du?'. Negation uttrycks med ett negativt hjälpverb, som böjs i person, numerus och tempus (tex. *idtjin* 'de-inte-då', som i *idtjin bijlem utnieh* 'de hade ingen bil').

Zusammenfassung in Deutsch

Die vorliegende Doktorarbeit ist eine grammatische Beschreibung von Südsamisch. Südsamisch gehört zur uralischen Sprachfamilie und ist eine von mehreren samischen Sprachen in Skandinavien. Die Sprache ist vom Aussterben bedroht, es existieren aber verschiedene Initiativen zur Revitalisierung. Es gibt keine offiziellen Zahlen über die Anzahl der Sprecher, aber man geht meist von ungefähr 500 Sprechern/Sprachnutzern aus. Das Gebiet, in dem Südsamisch traditionell gesprochen wird, liegt in Mittelnorwegen und Mittelschweden, zwischen der Region Dalarna und Västerbotten in Schweden und zwischen Engerdal und Hattfjelldal in Norwegen (Nördlichste Hedmark, gesamt Trøndelag und südlichstes Nordland). Das Gebiet ist groß, oft auch die Entfernungen zwischen den Sprechern.

Zur Studie haben zehn verschiedene Sprecher (Konsultanten) des Südsamischen aus verschiedenen Dialektgebieten beigetragen. Fast alle sind heute älter als 75 Jahre. Alle Konsultanten sind mit Südsamisch als erster Sprache aufgewachsen, und haben mit dem Schulbeginn angefangen, Schwedisch bzw. Norwegisch zu lernen.

In dieser Grammatik beschreibe ich die Struktur von gesprochenen Südsamisch, wie es die älteren Sprecher heutzutage benutzen. Gesprochene und geschriebene Sprache sind unterschiedliche Register und unterscheiden sich generell; Südsamisch bildet hier keine Ausnahem. Die Sprachvarietät, die in der Arbeit beschrieben ist, weist somit in einigen Bereichen Untertschiede zu geschriebenem Südsamisch auf. Südsamisch hat eine offizielle Rechtschreibung und wird in Medien und Unterricht an Schulen regelmässig in geschriebener Form genutzt. Diese Varietät spiegelt oft eine Standardsprache wieder. Jüngere Sprecher benutzen auch oft eine Sprache, die sich an einer präskriptiven Norm orientiert. Gesprochenes Südsaamisch weist oft mehr Variation auf. Hierin liegt eine der Hauptmotivationen für die vorliegende Studie: die gesprochenes Südsamisch älterer Sprecher zu dokumentieren und zu beschreiben. Charakteristiken sind beispielsweise eine grössere Variation in Morphologie (welche Wortformen ein Sprecher verwendet), Variation in der Wortfolge, Diskurspartikel, und eine Reihe syntaktische Konstruktionen, die von der Standardsprache, oder bisher bekannten Strukturen, abweichen.

Die Grammatik besteht aus folgenden Teilen: Im ersten Kapitel wird zuerst Südsamisch im Allgemeinen präsentiert, unter anderem die geographische Ausbreitung der Sprache, die Sprechergemeinschaft, eine kurze historische Einordnung und die heutige Sprachsituation. Darauf folgt ein kurzer Überblick über frühere Forschung. Der dritte Teil des ersten Kapitels enthält Abschnitte zur Methode, Theorie und zum Datenmaterial, über meine Feldforschung und über die Konsultanten, die zur Studie beigetragen haben. Kapitel 2 enthält eine

typologische Übersicht über Südsamisch. Phonologie wird in Kapitel 3 präsentiert. In den Kapiteln 4–11 werden grossen Wortklassen, deren Morphologie und Funktion präsentiert: Pronomina und Demonstrativa (Kap. 4), Substantiv (Kap. 5), Verben (Kap. 6), Adjektiv (Kap. 7), Zahlwörter (Kap. 8), Adverbien (Kap. 9), Adpositionen (Kap. 10) und Diskurspartikel (Kap. 11). Kapitel 12, 13 und 14 handeln um Syntax (grammatikalische Verbindungen, einfache und komplexe Sätze). In Kapitel 15 wird präsentiert, wie Fragen und Antworten gebildet werden. Kapitel 16 behandelt Negation. Wortbildung und Ableitungen sind in Kapitel 17 präsentiert. Kapitel 18 enthält eine kleinere Anzahl Wortlisten zu verschiedenen semantische Domänen. Den Abschluss bilden zwei Textproben aus dem Datenmaterial.

Die Grammatik enthält mehrere hundert südsamische Beispiele und Tabellen. Alle Beispiele, Wortformen und Klassifizierungen basieren auf Datenmaterial, was der Verfasser in Zusammenarbeit mit den Konsultanten erhoben hat. Ziel war es, Wortformen und Beispiele zu präsentieren, die in freier, ungeplanter Sprache dokumentiert wurden. Das bedeutet unter anderem folgendes: Für alle behandelten Themen gibt es Beispielsätze, die die Funktion näher beschreiben. Es bedeutet aber auch, dass eventuell nicht alle möglichen Formen eines Wortes dokumentiert sind (beispielsweise, weil die entsprechende Form sehr selten benutzt wird).

Südsamisch ist keine unbeschriebene Sprache, und es gibt verschiedene Lehrbücher, Unterrichtsmaterial sowie ältere Grammatiken für die Sprache. Aus dieser Perspektive mag einiger Inhalt dieser Studie nicht "neu" sein. Aus einer anderen Perspektive allerdings ist vieles "neu": Ich habe mich der Sprache auf einer modernen, allgemeinsprachwissenschaflichen Weise genähert, in der ich Fokus auf die Funktion von grammatischen Elementen lege, und versuche die Sprache zu beschreiben "wie sie ist". Weiterhin hat die Sprachvarietät, die hier beschrieben ist – die gesprochene Sprache älterer Sprecher – bislang nur wenig Raum in der existierenden Litteratur bekommen. Somit richtet diese Grammatik Fokus auf eine Gruppe Sprecher, der bisland in den meisten Zusammenhängen nur begrenzt Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde.

Ziel mit der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, abgesehen von der Dokumentation und Beschreibung der Sprachvarietät, einen Beitrag zur Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft zu leisten. Die Dissertation ist daher in Englisch verfasst, um Eingang in typologische (sprachvergleichende) Forschung auch ausserhalb Skandinaviens finden zu können.

Mit Hinsicht darauf, dass diese Grammatik das Resultat eines Doktorandprojektes ist, welches zeitlichen Begrenzungen unterlegt ist, sind nicht alle Aspekte der Sprache gleich eingehend untersucht und beschrieben. Hier ist noch viel Raum für Forschung in der Zukunft.

Phonologie

Südsamisch hat 15 Konsonantphoneme und 11 Vokalphoneme (ein Phonem ist ein Laut, der einen Unterschied in der Bedeutung von zwei Wörtern macht, wie /u/ und /a/ in /kulme/ 'drei (3)' und /kalme/ 'kalt'). Die phonetische Realisierung der Phoneme (die "Aussprache") kann grosse Variation aufweisen, und dialektale Unterschiede zeigen. Die Vokale haben vier Phoneme, die sich in Länge unterscheiden. Die restlichen drei Phoneme sind nicht phonematisch markiert für Länge, jedoch bestimmt die Silbenstruktur in einem Wort, ob die Vokale lang oder kurz realisiert werden. Bei den Konsonanten ist Stimmhaftigkeit nicht phonematisch, ausser für /f/ und /v/. Alle Konsonanten treten als lange und kurze Laute auf; die langen jedoch nur in Wortmitte.

Das typische Wort im Südsamischen ist zweisilbig und endet auf einen Vokal, wie z.B. *baakoe* /pa:ko/ 'Wort'. Die Betonung ist fest und liegt auf der ersten Silbe.

Das Kapitel zu Phonologie macht wahrscheinlich den innovativsten Teil der Arbeit aus. Es gab bislang keine moderne, umfassende Beschreibung der Phonologie im Südsamischen aus Allgemein-Sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht. Im Feld der Phonologie bedarf es aber noch viel Forschung, um Antworten auf alle relevanten Fragestellungen zu finden.

Morphologie

Südsamisch unterscheidet die Wortklassen Substantiv, Verben, Pronomina, Demonstrativpronomina, Adjektive, Adverben, Numeralen samt einige andere kleinere Wortklassen wie Diskurspartikel.

Sunstantiv werden in acht Kasus dekliniert: Nominativ, Akkusativ, Genitiv, Illativ, Lokativ, Elativ, Komitativ und Essiv. Die Substantive werden eingeteilt in fünf Deklinationsgruppen, die Endungen für die Kasus sind aber weitgehend die gleichen in allen Gruppen. Man unterscheidet zwischen den zwei Numerus Singular und Plural, ausser im Essiv. Südsamisch hat kein grammatisches Genus.

Die persönlichen Pronomen haben freistehende Formen für Singular, Dual ("Zweizahl") und Plural, und werden für alle Kasus dekliniert (ausser dem Essiv). Südsamisch hat viele verschiedene Demonstratipronomina, die ebenfalls dekliniert werden können.

Verben werden nach Person und Numerus (Singular, Dual, Plural) konjugiert. Die Verwendung der Dualformen ist nicht obligatorisch; oft werden Pronomen im Dual mit Verbformen im Plural kombiniert. Es gibt zwei einfache Tempus: Präsens und Präteritum, und zwei zusammengesetzte: Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt. Weiterhin gibt es mehrere infinite Verbformen wie das Perfekt Partizip, die Progressivform und eine Imperativform.

Adjektive haben die Formen Positiv (z.B. *onne* 'klein'), Komparativ (*onnebe* 'kleiner') und Superlativ (*onnemes* '(am) kleinsten').

Südsamisch hat viele Ableitungsendungen (Derivationssuffixe), die man an Substantiven, Verben und Adjektiven wiederfinden kann. Einige dieser Endungen sind "produktiv" (man kann mit ihnen neue Wörter schaffen), andere sind weniger produktiv und tauchen vorwiegend in lexikalisierten Wörtern auf.

Syntax

Das Subjekt steht im Nominativ. Der Nominativ wird auch für Objekte im Plural verwendet. Der Akkusativ markiert das direkte Objekt. Indirekte Objekte stehen im Illativ (diesen Kasus könnte man somit auch Dativ in der Sprache nennen). Der Genitiv markiert den Besitzer (wie in *tjidtjien bijle* 'Mutters Auto'). Die Kasus Illatic, Lokativ und Elativ sind "Lokalkasus" und bezeichnen hauptsächlich eine Bewegung zu oder von etwas oder eine Position in oder auf etwas. Der Komitativ bezeichnet die Teilnahme an etwas oder dass eine Handlung mit jemandem, oder mit etwas/einem Gegenstand ausgeführt wird. Der Essiv drückt einen Zustand aus.

Die Wortfolge im Südsamischen ist hauptsächlich SOV (Subjekt-Objekt-Verb), sie ist aber nicht fest und SVO kann auch vorkommen.

Es gibt im Südsamischen zwei Möglichkeiten, Besitz auszudrücken: mit einer Genitivkonstruktion (*mov lea bijle* "Mein ist ein Auto" = 'Ich habe ein Auto') oder mit dem Verb *utnedh* 'haben, besitzen' (*manne bijlem atnam* 'Ich habe ein Auto'). Fragen werden entweder mithilfe von Intonation gebildet oder mit einem der Fragepartikel mah, gah, mejtie, welche alle satzinitial stehen: *mah datne guarkah?* 'Verstehst du?'. Verneinung wird mit einem Hilfsverb ausgedrückt, welches nach Person, Numerus und Tempus flektiert wird (z.B. *idtjin* 'sie-nicht-damals', wie in *idtjin bijlem utnieh* 'sie hatten kein Auto').

Appendix

List over recordings

The first column ('file') indicates the date and number of recording. The speaker that has been recorded is listed in the second column ('speaker'); the initials of the names are used (see § 1.3.4 for information about the speakers). The third column ('type') indicates whether the file contains a recording of an elicitation session ('E') or sponatneous speech/ naturalistic language ('S'). The abbreviation 'SWE' is used to indicate if a recording contains mostly Swedish or Norwegian and for instance meta-linguistic comments. The fourth column contains a note about the content of the recording. The duration of the recording is indicated in the final column.

Table 18.1: List over recordings

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20170508a	HT	E	minimal pairs	00:04:20
sma20170508b	HT	SWE	meta	00:13:20
sma20170508c	HT	E	manne 10 jaepieh båeries	00:04:00
sma20170508d	HT	E	minimal pairs	00:42:20
sma20170516a	HT	S	about his family + places	00:16:30
sma20170516b	HT	SWE	meta	00:19:45
sma20170516c	HT	E	minimal pairs; Swadesh	01:03:30
sma20170516d	HT	E	Swadesh	00:17:50
sma20170614a	HT	SWE	meta; some SaS words	00:12:20
sma20170614b	HT	E	meta; Swadesh	00:09:50
sma20170614c	HT	E	checking sma20170516a.	00:59:00
sma20170614d	HT	E	DOM; some phrases.	00:35:00
sma20170913a	PP	E	Swadesh	00:12:00
sma20170913b	PP	E	Swadesh	00:01:00
sma20170913c	PP	E	minimal pairs	00:07:30

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20170913d	PP	E	minimal pairs	00:07:30
sma20170913e	PP	E	long vs short /a/	00:02:00
sma20170913f	PP	E	bissedh, gööledh	00:00:40
sma20170913g	PP	E	"Jag ser räven"	00:03:00
sma20170913h	PP	E	Quest.: Pred poss	00:20:00
sma20170913i	PP	E	utnedh	00:01:50
sma20170913j	PP	E	NOT YET quest. (1)	00:10:30
sma20170913k	PP	E	NOT YET quest. (2)	00:22:50
sma20170913l	PP	E	not yet (1 example)	00:00:40
sma20170914a	PP	S	Childhood + family	00:10:00
sma20170914b	PP	S	Hosjöbottnarna bijre	00:08:40
sma20170914c	PP	E	Poss Suffix	00:08:00
sma20170914d	PP	E	also S. px suff	00:06:00
sma20170914e	PP	S	Proverb	00:00:25
sma20170915a	PP	E	Dual story 1	00:01:30
sma20170915b	PP	E	Dual story 2	00:00:40
sma20170915c	PP	E	Dual story 3	00:01:00
sma20170915d	PP	E	"för att"-meningar	00:03:00
sma20170915e	PP	S	Nomadskolan	00:25:00
sma20170918a	GA	E	SWADESH	00:45:50
sma20170918b	GA	E	SWADESH	00:01:20
sma20170918c	GA	E	Minimal pairs	00:16:30
sma20170919a	GA	S	Nomadskolan	00:11:25
sma20170919b	GA	E	om verbet tuhtjedh	00:01:30
sma20170919c	GA	E	utnedh "anse"; meta	00:04:20
sma20170919d	GA	E	utnedh, otnelidh	00:02:50
sma20170920a	GA	E	Dual Story 1	00:01:50
sma20170920b	GA	E	Dual Story 2	00:01:30
sma20170920c	GA	E	Dual Story 3	00:01:10
sma20170920d	GA	E	Dual	00:01:30
sma20170920e	GA	E	"Jag ser räven"	00:28:00
sma20170921a	ID	E	SWADESH	00:22:10
sma20170921b	ID	E	minimal pair list	00:21:00
sma20170921c	ID	E	bissedh - biessedh	00:03:00
sma20170921d	ID	E	Dual Story 1	00:02:40
sma20170921e	ID	E	Dual Story 2 and 3	00:05:10
sma20170921f	ID	E	Dual	00:04:30
sma20170921g	ID	E	Adnom Poss	00:08:15

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20170921h	ID	E	Questionnaire pred poss	00:19:40
sma20170922a	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum: ackj	00:03:30
sma20170922b	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum: skid	00:03:00
sma20170922c	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum: novh	00:01:20
sma20170922d	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum: olik	00:02:15
sma20170922e	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum: tjohpe	00:03:15
sma20170922f	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum, tjohpe	00:03:00
sma20170922g	ID	S	Härjedalsmuseum, olika	00:03:30
sma20170922h	ID	S	Käringsjön bildspel	00:04:30
sma20170922i	ID	S	Käringsjön bildspel	00:19:00
sma20170922j	ID	S	Käringsjön bildspel	00:11:00
sma20170922k	ID	S	Käringsjön bildspel	00:10:30
sma20170923a	ID	E	jag hugger ved	00:02:20
sma20170923b	ID	S	Julie Axman bijre	00:01:00
sma20170923c	ID	S	Julie Axman bijre	00:01:25
sma20170923d	ID	S	goh manne lim maana	00:03:05
sma20170923e	ID	E	Adnom poss	00:00:40
sma20170923f	ID	E	Adnom poss, refl pron	00:03:20
sma20170923g	ID	E	Adnom poss, refl pron	00:01:00
sma20170923h	ID	E	Adn, refl, px pron	00:02:30
sma20170923i	ID	E	Adnom poss, refl. pron	00:03:15
sma20170923j	ID	E	reflexive pron	00:04:10
sma20170924a	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:02:40
sma20170924b	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:05:40
sma20170924c	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:08:00
sma20170924d	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:06:00
sma20170924e	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:02:15
sma20170924f	ID	S	Käringsjön	00:00:30
sma20170924g	ID	S	Käringsjön bijre	00:09:50
sma20170924h	ID	S	Käringsjön	00:00:20
sma20170926a	JJ	E	SWADESH	00:11:00
sma20170926b	JJ	E	minimal pairs	00:14:30
sma20170926c	JJ	E	bissedh	00:00:45
sma20170926d	JJ	E	Dual story 1	00:01:40
sma20170926e	JJ	E	Dual story 2	00:00:50
sma20170926f	JJ	E	Dual story 3	00:01:20
sma20170926g	JJ	E	Adn.px, refl. pron.	00:06:45
sma20170926h	JJ	E	poss suffix	00:02:30

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20170926i	JJ	E	Comitative constr	00:01:30
sma20170926j	JJ	S	Nordsamiska i skolan	00:02:00
sma20170926k	JJ	S	fuelhkien &skoveln bijre	00:03:00
sma20170926l	JJ	S	Tjahtaravve.	00:03:00
sma20170926m	JJ	E	"mov dihte X"	00:03:30
sma20170926n	JJ	E	Pred poss, exist clauses	00:05:30
sma20170927a	JJ	S	tysk desertör under WW2	00:02:30
sma20170927b	JJ	S	Resor till Sverige (WW2)	00:02:50
sma20170927c	JJ	S	Resa till Tyskland	00:08:20
sma20170927d	JJ	S	Resa till Grekland	00:03:40
sma20170927e	JJ	E	privative	00:03:00
sma20170927f	JJ	E	privative	00:00:50
sma20170927g	JJ	E	SWADESH	00:07:30
sma20170927h	JJ	E	Progressive	00:05:00
sma20170927i	JJ	E	Progressive	00:04:40
sma20170927j	JJ	E	Progressive	00:01:10
sma20170927k	JJ	E	Progressive	00:01:20
sma20170927l	JJ	E	Progressive	00:06:00
sma20170927m	JJ	E	Progressive	00:02:00
sma20170927n	JJ	E	Progressive	00:06:50
sma20170927o	JJ	E	Progressive	00:12:30
sma20170927p	JJ	E	Progressive	00:00:30
sma20170927q	JJ	E	Progressive	00:02:30
sma20170927r	JJ	E	nallege(?)	00:00:15
sma20170927s	JJ	E	Progressive	00:05:00
sma20171002a	JT	E	Swadesh	00:11:30
sma20171002b	JT	E	minimal pairs	00:02:30
sma20171002c	JT	E	minimal pairs	00:12:30
sma20171002d	JT	E	refl pron; px suffix	00:13:20
sma20171002e	JT	S	manne leam reakadamme	00:12:00
sma20171002f	JT	S	Fisketur till Byrkjie	00:11:00
sma20171002g	JT	E	bissedh	00:00:25
sma20180604a	ID	E	minimal pairs	00:01:00
sma20180604b	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 1	00:20:00
sma20180604c	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:07:00
sma20180604d	ID	E	"snoerhtjedh"	00:02:50
sma20180605a	ID	E	mimimal pairs	00:16:00
sma20180605b	ID	E	minimal pairs	00:12:40

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20180605c	ID	S	Bavlen bijre, giesegen	00:15:30
sma20180605d	ID	E	dihte-satne; log	00:00:30
sma20180605e	ID	E	partitivkonstruktioner	00:04:30
sma20180605f	ID	E	FUT NEG; pron	00:04:00
sma20180606a	ID	E	DEM questionnaire 1/2	00:10:00
sma20180606b	ID	E	DEM questionnaire 2/2	00:07:00
sma20180607a	ID	S	Dialog; telefon med AA	14:30:00
sma20180607b	ID	S	Efter samtal med AA	00:00:15
sma20180607c	ID	E	Verb paradigm "skära ris"	00:02:00
sma20180608a	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:01:50
sma20180608b	ID	E	Bivalent constr. -34	00:22:00
sma20180608c	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 35-37	00:08:00
sma20180608d	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 38-40	00:02:00
sma20180608e	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 41-44	00:04:20
sma20180608f	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 45 - 47	00:01:30
sma20180608g	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 48 - 51	00:05:30
sma20180608h	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 52	00:00:45
sma20180608i	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:02:00
sma20180608j	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:03:45
sma20180608k	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:05:00
sma20180608l	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:02:00
sma20180608m	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:08:00
sma20180608n	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:00:30
sma20180608o	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:03:50
sma20180608p	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:00:30
sma20180608q	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:01:20
sma20180611a	ID	E	Demonstrativa	00:06:40
sma20180611b	ID	E	dah guaktah	00:00:15
sma20180611c	ID	E	Demonstrativa	00:01:50
sma20180611d	ID	E	Refl. pronouns	00:02:20
sma20180611e	ID	E	Reciprocal	00:00:40
sma20180611f	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:02:20
sma20180611g	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:15:00
sma20180611h	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:05:30
sma20180611i	ID	E	Minimal pairs	00:05:10
sma20180611j	ID	E	Passive suffix	00:02:20
sma20180611k	ID	E	Passive constuctions	00:04:45
sma201806111	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 53-56	00:02:00

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20180611m	ID	E	Komposita "kakform"	00:00:50
sma20180611n	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 57-59	00:02:30
sma20180611o	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 60-65	00:07:15
sma20180611p	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:04:40
sma20180611q	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:11:30
sma20180612a	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:04:20
sma20180612b	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:01:00
sma20180612c	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:02:20
sma20180612d	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:03:00
sma20180612e	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:03:15
sma20180612f	ID	E	paradigm "sahkadij"	00:03:30
sma20180612g	ID	E	paradigm "sahkadij"	00:01:10
sma20180612h	ID	E	Verbparadigm "leah"	00:03:15
sma20180612i	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 105 -	00:05:15
sma20180612j	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 112	00:00:40
sma20180612k	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 110+114	00:02:20
sma20180612l	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:02:15
sma20180612m	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 118	00:01:15
sma20180612n	ID	E	Bivalent constr. 113	00:00:20
sma20180612o	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:02:35
sma20180612p	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:00:15
sma20180612q	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:00:15
sma20180612r	ID	E	Bivalent constr.	00:00:30
sma20180612s	ID	S	Tre pojkar och en björn	00:01:00
sma20180612t	ID	S	Tre pojkar och en björn	00:04:40
sma20180613a	ID	E	DEM: duesnie	00:01:00
sma20180613b	ID	S	Käringsjön	00:01:00
sma20180614a	ID	S	Video: På Haandskine	00:06:10
sma20180614b	ID	S	Video: Käringsjön	00:00:50
sma20180614c	ID	S	Video: Käringsjön	00:00:30
sma20180614d	ID	S	Video: Päråkern	00:00:30
sma20180614e	TD	S	Video: flytt på våren	00:01:50
sma20180614f	TD	S	Video: gåetie	00:00:50
sma20180614g	ID	SWE	Video: getkur.	00:00:40
sma20180614i	ID	S	Käringsjön. Någon fras	00:00:40
sma20180614j	ID	S	Video: Käringsjön	00:00:30
sma20180614k	ID	S	Video: gåetiesijjie	00:04:30
sma20180614l	ID	S	Video: aerniesijjie	00:02:00

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20180614m	ID	S	Video: ved	00:02:30
sma20180614n	ID	SWE	Video: Käringsjön	00:01:50
sma20180614o	ID	SWE	Video: Käringsjön	00:00:30
sma20180614p	ID & TD	S:Video	Käringsjön	00:01:50
sma20180614q	ID & TD	S:Video	Käringsjön	00:00:30
sma20180614r	ID	S:Video	Flyttleder	00:17:00
sma20180614s	ID	S:Video	Flyttleder	00:10:00
sma20180614t	ID	S:Video	Kartan. Svenska	00:06:50
sma20180614u	ID	S:Video	IDs föräldrars hus.	00:03:20
sma20180615a	AG	S	Mjölka renar	00:08:45
sma20180804a	SS	E	Swadesh	00:11:00
sma20180804b	SS	E	Minimal pairs	00:03:00
sma20180804c	SS	E	Swad. kompl. gåaje	00:00:20
sma20180804d	SS	E	satne/jijtje	00:04:00
sma20180804e	SS	E	Dual story 1	00:02:30
sma20180804f	SS	E	Dual story 2 & 3	00:02:20
sma20180804g	SS	S	fuelhkien bijre	00:14:30
sma20180804h	SS	S	skovlen bijre	00:01:00
sma20180804i	SS	S	skovlen bijre	00:03:30
sma20180804j	SS	E	Vokaler, variation	00:06:30
sma20180804k	SS	S	Renflyttningsvägar.	00:19:00
sma20180804l	SS	S:Video	Renflyttningsvägar	00:18:00
sma20181020a	ID	E	COND luvnem	00:05:00
sma20181020b	ID	E	Verb para galkedh	00:12:00
sma20181021a	ID	E	Verb para maehtedh	00:03:40
sma20181023a	ID	E	PRON	00:03:10
sma20181025a	ID & AA	S	Käringsjön	00:11:00
sma20181025b	ID & AA	S	Käringsjön	00:11:00
sma20181025c	ID & AA	S	Käringsjön; laahkoe	00:19:00
sma20181025d	ID & AA	S	Käringsjön	00:19:00
sma20181025e	ID & AA	E	läjja "be"	00:03:00
sma20181025f	ID & AA	E	lea "be"	00:01:00
sma20181025g	ID & AA	S	Käringsjön	00:18:00
sma20181025h	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task 1	00:04:00
sma20181025i	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task 2	00:39:00
sma20181025j	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task 3	00:08:45
sma20181025k	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task 4	00:04:45

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma201810025l	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task 4	00:06:50
sma20181025m	ID & AA	E/S	Fam. probl. task	00:02:00
sma20181025n	ID & AA	S	Dialekten bijre	00:10:00
sma20181025o	ID & AA	S: Video	Käringsjön (1)	00:52:20
sma20181025p	ID & AA	S : video	Käringsjön (2)	00:10:50
sma20181025q	ID & AA	S : video	Käringsjön (3)	00:00:45
sma20181025r	ID & AA	S : video	Käringsjön (4)	00:16:20
sma20181025s	ID & AA	S : video	Käringsjön (5)	00:06:30
sma20181025t	ID & AA	S : video	Fam. probl. task (1)	00:14:30
sma20181025u	ID & AA	S : video	Fam. probl. task (2)	00:59:20
sma20181025v	ID & AA	S : video	Fam. probl. task (3)	00:03:30
sma20181026a	ID & TW	S	Dialog	00:03:10
sma20181026b	ID & TW	S	Dialog.	00:03:20
sma20181026c	ID & TW	S	Dialog	00:07:30
sma20181026d	ID & TW	S	Dialog	00:31:20
sma20190114a	ID	E	jijtje.	00:10:30
sma20190114b	ID	E	Indef pron	00:14:40
sma20190114c	ID	E	jijtje.	00:14:30
sma20190114d	ID	E	numeraler, jijtje	00:18:50
sma20190722a	ID	E	verb paradigm	00:09:00
sma20190722b	ID	E	verb paradigm	00:08:25
sma20190722c	ID	E	verb paradigm	00:01:45
sma20190722d	ID	E	verb paradigm	00:16:35
sma20190723a	ID	E/S	noun paradigm	00:11:50
sma20190723b	ID	E	noun paradigm	00:08:20
sma20190723c	ID	E	noun paradigm	00:08:35
sma20190723d	ID	E	noun paradigm	00:06:20
sma20190724a	ID	E	B-rulle:)	00:00:17
sma20190724b	ID	E	verb para: lohkedh	00:09:00
sma20190724c	ID	E	verb para: gööledh	00:07:00
sma20190724d	ID	E	verb p.: svihtjedh	00:10:00
sma20190724e	ID	E	verb: INF, vaest.	00:06:45
sma20190724f	ID	E	verb para: vaest.	00:03:30
sma20190725a	ID	E	noun para: gieretje	00:09:40
sma20190725b	ID	E	noun para: laadtege	00:10:40
sma20190725c	ID	E	en setning	00:00:50
sma20190729a	ID	S	Älgen i skogen	00:08:30
sma20190730a	ID	S	Om renhorn.	00:08:50

file	speaker	type	content	length
sma20190730b	ID	S	bovhtjen bijre	00:02:10
sma20190814a	ID	S	sajve-jaevriej bijre	00:00:45
sma20190814b	ID	E	NEG past	00:04:30
sma20200219a	ID	E	mass nouns	00:09:40
sma20200219b	ID	E	mass nouns. Svenska	00:01:10
sma20200219c	ID	E	mass nouns.	00:26:00
sma20200219d	ID	E	mass nouns	00:01:20
sma20200219e	ID & AA	S	Phone call: Mass N	00:15:30
sma20200518a	ID	E	Phone call: misc Qs	00:23:55

References

AIKHENVALD, ALEXANDRA Y. 2014. *The Art of Grammar: A Practical Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 111

AIKIO, ANTE (LUOBBAL SÁMMOL SÁMMOL ÁNTE). 2012. An essay on Saami ethnolinguistic prehistory. In *Grünthal, Riho and Petri Kallio (eds.): A linguistic map of prehistoric Northern Europe*, 69–117, Helsinki: Finno-Ugric Association. 16

AIKIO, ANTE (LUOBBAL SÁMMOL SÁMMOL ÁNTE). 2022. Proto-Uralic. In *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3, 4, 51

AISSEN, JUDITH. 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, **21**, 435–483. 300

ALLAN, KEITH. 1980. Nouns and countability. *Language*, 541–567. 134, 138

AMEKA, FELIX. 1992. Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech. *Journal of pragmatics*, **18**, 101–118. 294, 295

ANDERSSON, ANDO. 2017. *Maam dah soptsestamme!*. Røyrvik: Gïeleaernie. 220

ANDREWS, AVERY D. 2007. Relative clauses. *Language typology and syntactic description*, **2**, 206–236. 337, 338

AUER, PETER, GILLES, PETER & SPIEKERMANN, HELMUT. 2002. *Silbenschnitt und Tonakzente*, vol. 463 Linguistische Arbeiten. Berlin, Boston: Max Niemeyer. 85

BAERMAN, MATTHEW & BROWN, DUNSTAN. 2009. Case syncretism. *The Oxford Handbook of Case. Oxford: Oxford University Press.*, 219–230. 146

BAKRÓ-NAGY, MARIANNE, LAAKSO, JOHANNA & SKRIBNIK, ELENA. 2022. *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 23

BARTH, DANIELLE & EVANS, NICHOLAS. 2017a. Scopic design and overview. *Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication No. 12*. 29, 43, 293

BARTH, DANIELLE & EVANS, NICHOLAS. 2017b. Social cognition parallax interview corpus (SCOPIC). *Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication No. 12*. 177

BAUER, BRIGITTE. 2000. *Archaic syntax in Indo-European: The spread of transitivity in Latin and French*. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, New York. 307

BAUER, LAURIE. 2001. *Morphological productivity*, vol. 95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 372, 373, 374, 381

BAUER, LAURIE. 2017. *Compounds and compounding*, vol. 155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 384

BERGSLAND, KNUT. 1946. *Røros-Lappisk Grammatikk: Et forsøk på strukturell språkbeskrivelse*. Oslo: Aschehoug. 2, 20, 22, 25, 27, 79, 105, 114, 192, 208, 212, 216, 217, 238, 336, 371, 372, 373, 379

BERGSLAND, KNUT. 1982. *Sydsamisk grammatikk*. Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget. 22, 23, 176

BERGSLAND, KNUT. 1994. *Sydsamisk grammatikk*. Karasjok: Davvin. 22, 23, 117

BERGSLAND, KNUT. 1995. *Bidrag til sydsamenes historie*. Tromsø: Tromsø universitet, Senter for samiske studier. 20

BERGSLAND, KNUT & MATTSSON MAGGA, LAJLA. 1993. *Åarjelsaemien-daaroen baakoegærja*. Idut. 24, 119, 128

BERGSTØL, JOSTEIN. 2008. Samer i Østerdalen?: En studie av etnisitet i jernalderen og middelalderen i det nordøstre hedmark. *Oslo: UiO Universitetet i Oslo*. 18

BHAT, DN SHANKARA. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford University Press. 99, 100, 104, 105

BICKEL, BALTHASAR. 2011. *Grammatical Relations Typology*. Draft of a chapter for The Oxford Handbook of Language Typology, ed. Jae Jung Song. 300

BLAKE, BARRY J. 2001. *Case*. Cambridge University Press. 145, 156, 161, 162

BLOKLAND, ROGIER & HASSELBLATT, CORNELIUS. 2003. The endangered Uralic languages. *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 4*, 107–142. 51

BLOKLAND, ROGIER & INABA, NOBUFUMI. 2015. Negation in South Saami. *Negation in Uralic languages*, 377–398. 23, 84, 352, 355, 359, 365, 367, 368

BOOIJ, GEERT. 2005. Compounding and derivation: evidence for construction morphology. *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 4.*, **Vol. 264.**, Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 109–132. 371

BOSSONG, GEORG. 1991. Differential object marking in romance and beyond. *New analyses in Romance linguistics*, 143–170. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 300

BOWERN, CLAIRE. 2015. *Linguistic fieldwork: A practical guide*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 27, 36

BYBEE, JOAN L. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*, vol. 9 in Typological Studies in Language. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. 205, 373

BYBEE, JOAN L. 1998. "Irrealis" as a grammatical category. *Anthropological linguistics*, 257–271. 363

BYBEE, JOAN L & HOPPER, PAUL J. 2001. *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure*, vol. 45. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. 88

CHELLIAH, SHOBHANA L & DE REUSE, JULES WILLEM. 2010. *Handbook of descriptive linguistic fieldwork*. Springer Science & Business Media. 27

CHENG, LAURETTA SP, BURGESS, DANIELLE, VERNOOIJ, NATASHA, SOLÍS-BARROSO, CECILIA, MCDERMOTT, ASHLEY & NAMBOODIRIPAD, SAVITHRY. 2021. The problematic concept of native speaker in psycholinguistics: Replacing vague and harmful terminology with inclusive and accurate measures. *Frontiers in Psychology*, **12**. 32, 33

CHIERCHIA, GENNARO. 2010. Mass nouns, vagueness and semantic variation. *Synthese*, **174**, 99–149. 142

COLLINDER, BJÖRN. 1942. *Lappische Sprachproben aus Härjedalen*, vol. 50. Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-a.-b. 22

COMRIE, BERNARD. 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 232

COMRIE, BERNARD. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. Chicaco: University of Chicago press. 300

COMRIE, BERNARD, HASPELMATH, MARTIN & BICKEL, BALTHASAR. 2008. The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. *Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig.*, **28**. 31

CORBETT, GREVILLE. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 101, 132, 134, 179

CREISSELS, DENIS. 2014. Existential predication in typological perspective. *Ms., Université Lyon*. 320, 321, 324

CRISTOFARO, SONIA. 2005. *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 334

CROFT, WILLIAM. 2002. *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 103

DAHL, ÖSTEN. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford, New York: Basil Blackwell. 231

DAHL, OSTEN & KOPTJEVSKAJA-TAMM, MARIA. 2001. Kinship in grammar. *Typological studies in language*, **47**, 201–226. 176

DANIEL, MICHAEL & MORAVCSIK, EDITH. 2013. The associative plural. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 179

DEGAND, LIESBETH, CORNILLIE, BERT & PIETRANDREA, PAOLA. 2013. *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, vol. 234. John Benjamins Publishing. 289

DI GARBO, FRANCESCA. 2014. *Gender and its interaction with number and evaluative morphology: An intra-and intergenealogical typological survey of Africa*. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Linguistics, Stockholm University. 377

DIESSEL, HOLGER. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalization*, vol. 42. John Benjamins Publishing. 99, 106, 109, 111

DIXON, ROBERT MW. 1977. Where have all the adjectives gone? *Studies in Language. International Journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language"*, **1**, 19–80. 237, 238, 239

DIXON, ROBERT MW. 2010. *Basic linguistic theory volume 1: Methodology*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 27, 57, 106, 111, 305

DRYER, MATTHEW S. 1992. The Greenbergian word order correlations. *Language*, 81–138. 247

DRYER, MATTHEW S. 2007. Clause types. *Language typology and syntactic description*, **1**, 224–275. 299, 315, 317, 320

DRYER, MATTHEW S. 2008. Word order typology. In *2. Halbband*, 1050–1065, De Gruyter Mouton. 298

DRYER, MATTHEW S.. 2013. Polar questions. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 347

ENFIELD, NICHOLAS J, STIVERS, TANYA, BROWN, PENELOPE, ENGLERT, CHRISTINA, HARJUNPÄÄ, KATARIINA, HAYASHI, MAKOTO, HEINEMANN, TRINE, HOYMANN, GERTIE, KEISANEN, TIINA, RAUNIOMAA, MIRKA *et al.*. 2019. Polar answers. *Journal of Linguistics*, **55**, 277–304. 347

ERIKSEN, ARDIS EVELYN. 2009. *"Mon val vuorrástuvam duoinna nuortasámegielain": Ufuohta ja Oarje Romssa suopmana gullevašvuohta davvisámegillii ja julevsámegillii*. Master's thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø. 166

FEIST, TIMOTHY. 2011. *A grammar of Skolt Saami*. Ph.D. thesis, The University of Manchester (United Kingdom). 27, 79, 84, 104, 116, 148, 149, 164, 205, 211, 248, 297, 374

FJELLGREN, PATRICIA & HUSS, LEENA. 2019. Overcoming Silence and Sorrow: Sami Language Revitalization in Sweden. *International Journal of Human Rights Education*, **3**, 4. 10, 36

FJELLHEIM, SVERRE. 2012. *Gåebrien sijte-en sameby i Rørostraktene*. Sverre Fjellheim. 18

FRÄNDÉN, MÄRIT. 2010. *" Att blotta vem jag är": Släktnamnsskick och släktnamnsbyten hos samer i Sverige 1920–2009*. Ph.D. thesis, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, Institutionen för nordiska språk. 144

FRÄNDÉN, MÄRIT, LUNDQVIST, BJÖRN & WILSON, KARIN. 2007. *Verbh: en sydsamisk verbhandbok*. Konsultförlaget/Uppsala Publishing House. 193, 199

GIVÓN, TALMY. 2001. *Syntax: an introduction. Vol. 1*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. 27, 327, 334, 339, 343

GOOD, JEFF & CYSOUW, MICHAEL. 2013. Languoid, doculect, and glossonym: Formalizing the notion'language'. *Language documentation & conservation*, **7**. 28

GREENBERG, JOSEPH HAROLD. 1963. *Universals of language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT press. 298

GREENBERG, JOSEPH H.. 1966. *Universals of language : report of a conference held at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., April 13-15, 1961*. The M.I.T. Press: Cambridge, Mass., 2nd edn. 132

GROSS, STEVEN. 2004. A modest proposal explaining language attrition in the context. *First language attrition: Interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*, 281–297. 14

HALÁSZ, IGNÁC. 1881. *Svéd-lapp nyelvtan és olvasmányok*. 3, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia kiadása. 21

HALÁSZ, IGNÁCZ. 1886. *Svéd-lapp nyelv. II. Jemtlandi lapp nyelvmutatványok*. 8, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. 21

HALÁSZ, IGNÁCZ. 1891. *Svéd-lapp nyelv. IV. Déli-lapp szótár*. 10, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. 21, 23, 314

HALLONSTEN HALLING, PERNILLA. 2018. *Adverbs: A typological study of a disputed category*. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Linguistics, Stockholm University. 269, 271

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. *Causatives and transitivity*, **23**, 87–121. 311

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 119, 120, 125

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2009a. Framework-free grammatical theory." in: The Oxford Handbook of Grammatical Analysis, ed. by Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog, 341–365. 26, 27, 28

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2009b. Terminology of case. *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, 505–517. 145, 169

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2015. Ditransitive constructions. *Annu. Rev. Linguist.*, **1**, 19–41. 315, 316

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2021. Nonverbal clause constructions. *WIP*. 317, 320

HASPELMATH, MARTIN & KÖNIG, EKKEHARD. 1995. *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms–adverbial participles, gerunds*, vol. 13. Mouton de Gruyter. 208, 209

HASPELMATH, MARTIN & SIMS, ANDREA D. 2013. *Understanding morphology*. London: Routledge. 373, 374

HASPELMATH, MARTIN *et al.*. 2001. Non-canonical marking of core arguments in european languages. *Typological Studies in Language*, **46**, 53–84. 312

HASPELMATH, MARTIN *et al.*. 2004. Coordinating constructions: An overview. *Coordinating constructions*, **58**, 3–40. 328, 330, 332

HASSELBRINK, GUSTAV. 1944. *Vilhelminalapskans ljudlära: med särskild hänsyn till första stavelsens vokaler*. Almqvist & Wiksells boktr. 11, 22

HASSELBRINK, GUSTAV. 1965. *Alternative analyses of the phonemic system in Central South-Lappish*, vol. 49. Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies. 22

HASSELBRINK III, G. 1981. Südlappisches wörterbuch i-iii. *Skr Dialekt-och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala, ser C*, **1985**, 1–1488. 22, 23, 216, 371

HEINE, BERND. 1997. Possession: Cognitive sources, forces, and grammaticalization. *Cambridge studies in linguistics*. 167, 308, 313

HELGASON, PÉTUR. 2002. *Preaspiration in the Nordic languages: Synchronic and diachronic aspects*. Ph.D. thesis, Institutionen för lingvistik. 68

HELLE, ANTON THOR. 1732. *Kurtzgefaßte Anweisung zur Ehstnischen Sprache: in welcher mitgetheilet werden I. Eine Grammatica, II. Ein Vocabularium*. Halle: Orban. 357

HENGEVELD, KEES. 1992. Non-verbal predicability. *Meaning and Grammar, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter*, 77–94. 269, 317, 318, 319, 357

HENGEVELD, KEES *et al.*. 2011. Transparency in functional discourse grammar. *Linguistics in Amsterdam*, **4**, 1–21. 372, 373

HIMMELMANN, NIKOLAUS P. 1996. A taxonomy of universal uses. *Studies in anaphora*, **33**, 205–254. 105

HIMMELMANN, NIKOLAUS P. 2008. Language documentation: What is it and what is it good for? In *Essentials of language documentation*, 1–30, De Gruyter Mouton. 28, 29

IGGESEN, OLIVER A.. 2013. Number of cases. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 145

INABA, NOBUFUMI & BLOKLAND, ROGIER. 2019. Predicative possession in south saami. *Possession in Languages of Europe and North and Central Asia*, **206**, 103. 23, 167, 313

ISRAELSSON, PER-MARTIN. 2015. *Svensk-sydsamisk, sydsamisk-svensk ordbok*. Sametinget. 24

JESPERSEN, OTTO. 1924. The philosophy of language. *London: G. Allen*. 145

JONASSON, DAVID. 2006. *Den sydsamiska partikeln hov*. Master's thesis, Uppsala: Magisteruppsats, Uppsala University. 290

JONASSON, DAVID. 2011. *Åarjelsaemien ovagkusatijvh jïh kausatijve molsedimmie*. Master's thesis, Tromsø: Universitetet i Tromsø. 26

JURAFSKY, DANIEL. 1996. Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive. *Language*, 533–578. 377, 378, 379

JUVONEN, PAIVI. 2000. *Grammaticalizing the Definite Article. A study of definite adnominal determiners in a genre of spoken Finnish.*. Ph.D. thesis, Stockholm University. 106

KAHN, LILY & VALIJÄRVI, RIITTA-LIISA. 2017. *North Sámi: An Essential Grammar*. Taylor & Francis. 104, 164

Karlsson, Fred. 2018. *Finnish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge. 116, 248

Kejonen, Olle. 2017. *Dual number in the North Saami dialect of Ofoten and Sør-Troms*. Master's thesis. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. 211

Kibrik, Andrej A. 2011. *Reference in discourse*. Oxford University Press. 105

Kittilä, Seppo, Ylikoski, Jussi *et al.*. 2018. Some like it transitive: Remarks on verbs of liking and the like in the saami languages. *Diachrony of differential argument marking*, **19**, 455. 312

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2002. Adnominal possession in the european languages: form and function. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals*, **55**, 141–172. 158

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2004a. Maria's ring of gold: adnominal possession and non-anchoring relations in the european languages. In *The International Workshop on the Semantics/Syntax of Possessive Constructions, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, May 6-8, 2002*, 155–181, GLSA Publications. 158, 159

Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2004b. Mass and collection. In *Morphology 2. Halbband*, 1067–1073, De Gruyter Mouton. 134

Korhonen, Mikko. 1981. *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan*. SKS: Helsinki. 147, 148, 173, 362

Kouteva, Tania, Heine, Bernd, Hong, Bo, Long, Haiping, Narrog, Heiko & Rhee, Seongha. 2019. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 116, 162

Kowalik, Richard. 2013. *Phonologie der Präaspiration im Südsaamischen*. Freiburg i. Br.: University of Freiburg. 58

Kowalik, Richard. 2016. *Predicative possession in South Saami*. Master's thesis, Stockholm: Stockholm University. 37, 156, 167, 308, 313

Kroik, David. 2016. *Differential object marking in South Saami*. Licentiate thesis. Umeå: Umeå universitet. 300

Kulikov, Leonid I & Lavidas, Nikolaos. 2014. Typology of labile verbs: focus on diachrony. *Typology of labile verbs: Focus on diachrony*, **52**. 311

Kusmenko, Jurij. 2008. Der samische einfluss auf die skandinavischen sprachen: Ein beitrag zur skandinavischen sprachgeschichte (berliner beiträge zur skandinavistik 10). *Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. 17, 68, 85, 386

Kvist Darnell, Ulrika. 2008. *Pseudosamordningar i svenska: särskilt sådana med verben sitta, ligga och stå*. Ph.D. thesis, Institutionen för lingvistik. 210

Labj, Anja. 2021. *Åarjelsaemien infinihte veerbehaemieh*. Master's thesis, tromsø: Tromsø University UiT. 26, 382

Lagercrantz, Eliel. 1923. *Sprachlehre des Südlappischen nach der Mundart von Wefsen*. Kristiania: Kristiania Etnografiske Museum. 21, 31, 105

Lagercrantz, Eliel. 1926. *Wörterbuch des Südlappischen nach der Mundart von Wefsen*, vol. 4. H. Aschehoug & Company. 23

Larsson, Lars-Gunnar. 2018. *Per Holmberger och sockenlapparnas språk*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. 6, 17, 18

Lehtiranta, Juhani. 2001. Yhteissaamelainen sanasto, volume 200 of suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia. *Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki*. 314

LILJEGREN, HENRIK. 2016. *A grammar of Palula*. Language Science Press. 27

LINDSTRÖM, ANDERS & EKLUND, ROBERT. 2000. How foreign are "foreign" speech sounds? implications for speech recognition and speech synthesis. In *Workshop on Multi-lingual Interoperability in Speech Technology (MIST), Leusden, The Netherlands, September 13-14, 1999*, vol. 28, 15–19. 58

LORENTZ, OVE. 1973. *Towards a generative phonology of Southern Lappish*. Magistergradsavhandling. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo. 23

MAAS, UTZ. 2009. Orality versus literacy as a dimension of complexity. In *Sampson G, Gil D, Trudgill P, editors. Language Complexity as an Evolving Variable*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 341, 342

MADDIESON, IAN. 2013a. Consonant inventories. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 57

MADDIESON, IAN. 2013b. Vowel quality inventories. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 72

MAGGA, LAJLA MATTSSON. 2009. *Norsk-sydsamisk ordbok*. Iđut. 19, 24

MAGGA, OLE HENRIK. 1975. Samisk språk og samisk språknämnds arbeid. *Sprog i Norden*. 18

MAGGA, OLE HENRIK. 1994. Hvordan den nyeste nordsamiske rettskrivingen ble til. *Festskrift til Ørnulv Vorren*, 269–281. 18

MAGGA, OLE HENRIK & MAGGA, LAJLA MATTSSON. 2012. *Sørsamisk grammatikk*. Davvi girji. 23, 25, 26, 79, 100, 101, 107, 108, 109, 117, 243, 253, 371, 372

MALCHUKOV, ANDREJ & SIEWIERSKA, ANNA. 2011. *Impersonal constructions: A cross-linguistic perspective*, vol. 124. John Benjamins Publishing. 324

MALCHUKOV, ANDREJ L., SPENCER, ANDREW & NARROG, HEIKO. 2012a. Varieties of instrumental. 169

MALCHUKOV, ANDREJ L., SPENCER, ANDREW, STOLZ, THOMAS, STROH, CORNELIA & URDZE, AINA. 2012b. Varieties of comitative. 169

MATRAS, YARON *et al.*. 2007. The borrowability of structural categories. *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*, **3173**. 151, 330

MAURI, CATERINA & SANSÒ, ANDREA. 2016. The linguistic marking of (ir) realis and subjunctive. *Handbook of Modality and Mood*, 166–195. 363

MIESTAMO, MATTI. 2005. *Symmetric and asymmetric standard negation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 352, 354

MIESTAMO, MATTI. 2016. Questionnaire for describing the negation system of a language. 352

MINDE, HENRY. 2005. *Fornorskinga av samene: hvorfor, hvordan og hvilke følger*. Kompetansesenteret for urfolks rettigheter. 9

MOSER, ELENA VERA. 2018. *Answers to Polarity Questions: A Typological Study*. Master's thesis. Stockholm: Stockholm University. 347

NÆSS, ÅSHILD. 2007. *Prototypical transitivity*, vol. 72. John Benjamins Publishing. 311

NÆSS, ÅSHILD. 2009. Varieties of dative. In *The Oxford handbook of case*, Oxford: Oxford Academic. 162

NICKEL, KLAUS PETER. 1990. *Samisk grammatikk*. Davvi girji. 166

NILSSON-MANKOK, ERIK. 1975. *Systematik i sydsamiskan: Vilhelmina-Vefsen*. Self-publication. 22, 23

NOONAN, MICHAEL. 2007. Complementation. In *Language typology and syntactic description. Vol. 2, Complex constructions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 338

PANOV, VLADIMIR. 2020. The marking of uncontroversial information in europe: presenting the enimitive. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, **52**, 1–44. 289, 290

PAVLENKO, A. 2004. L2 influence and l1 attrition in adult bilinguals. *First language attrition: Interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*, 1–43. 15

PAYNE, THOMAS EDWARD. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 27, 142, 238, 269, 297, 298, 328, 337, 357

PIHA, MINERVA. 2020. Archaeological and lexical perspectives on indigenous south saami religion. *Entangled Rituals and Beliefs: Religion in Finland and Sápmi from Stone Age to Contemporary Times. Edited by Tiina Äikäs and Sanna Lipkin. Monographs of the Archaeological Society of Finland*, **8**, 110–57. 16, 17

PIHA, MINERVA. 2021. *Kielitieteellis-arkeologinen näkökulma*. Ph.D. thesis, Turku: University of Turku. 14, 17

PIHA, MINERVA & HÄKKINEN, JAAKKO. 2020. Kantasaamesta eteläkantasaameen: Lainatodisteita eteläsaamen varhaisesta eriytymisestä. *Sananjalka*, **62**, 102–124. 17

POLINSKY, MARIA. 2018. *Heritage Languages and Their Speakers*, i–i. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 32, 33, 34, 35

QUIRK, RANDOLPH, GREENBAUM, SIDNEY, LEECH, GEOFFREY & SVARTVIK, JAN. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of contemporary English*. London: Longman. 223, 305, 306

QVIGSTAD, JUST. 1893. *Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen*. Christiania: Grøndahl & Søn, In commission bei J. Dybwad. 245

RALLI, ANGELA. 2010. Compounding versus derivation. *The John Benjamins Handbook of Compounding. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company*. 371

RANTANEN, TIMO, VESAKOSKI, OUTI, YLIKOSKI, JUSSI & TOLVANEN, HARRI. 2021. Geographical database of the Uralic languages. xiii, 5, 6

RÉDEI, KÁROLY *et al.*. 1986. *Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. Bd. I-III. Akadémiai Kiadó. 266

RIAD, TOMAS. 2014. *The phonology of Swedish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 85

RIESSLER, MICHAEL. 2016. *Adjective attribution*. Language Science Press. 243

RIESSLER, MICHAEL. 2022. Kildin saami. In *Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*, 219–239, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 149

RUONG, ISRAEL. 1943. *Lappische Verbalableitung dargestellt auf Grundlage des Pitelappischen.*. Uppsala universitet. 379

RYDVING, HÅKAN. 2013. *Words and varieties: Lexical variation in Saami*. Société Finno-Ougrienne. 4, 20

SAARIKIVI, JANNE. 2022. The divergence of proto-uralic and its offspring: A descendant reconstruction. In *Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*, 28–58, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 18

SADOCK, JERROLD M & ZWICKY, ARNOLD M. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. *Language typology and syntactic description*, **1**, 155–196. 347

SAMMALLAHTI, PEKKA. 1998. *The Saami languages: an introduction*. Davvi girji. 4, 51, 84, 88, 90, 111, 133, 146, 147, 148, 171, 243, 246, 379

SCHMID, MONIKA S. 2004. *First language attrition: Interdisciplinary perspectives on methodological issues*, vol. 28. John Benjamins Publishing. 13, 14, 15

SCHMID, MONIKA S. 2013. First language attrition. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, **3**, 94–115. 15

SCHMIDT, ANNETTE *et al.*. 1983. *Young people's Dyirbal: An example of language death from Australia*. The Australian National University. 12

SHAGAL, KSENIA. 2021. Relative clauses in Uralic. In *The Uralic Languages*, Routledge. 338, 341

SHOPEN, TIMOTHY. 2007a. Language typology and syntactic description. vol. iii (grammatical categories and the lexicon). 27

SHOPEN, TIMOTHY. 2007b. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description Volume 1. Clause Structure.*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 269

SIEGL, FLORIAN. 2013. *Materials on Forest Enets, an indigenous language of Northern Siberia*. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. 27

SIEGL, FLORIAN. 2017. The essive in South Saami. In *Uralic essive and the expression of impermanent state*, 185–215, John Benjamins. 175

SIKOR. 2022. SIKOR, uit the arctic university of norway and the norwegian saami parliament's saami text collection, version 06.11.2018. `http://gtweb.uit.no/korp`, accessed: 2018-11-06. 376

SILVERMAN, DANIEL. 2003. On the rarity of pre-aspirated stops. *Journal of linguistics*, 575–598. 68

SINNEMÄKI, KAIUS. 2014. A typological perspective on differential object marking. *Linguistics*, **52**, 281–313. 300

SLOETJES, HAN. 2017. Elan. In *The Oxford handbook of corpus phonology*, Oxford Academic. 30

SPENCER, ANDREW. 2008. Does Hungarian have a case system? *Case and grammatical relations*, 35–56. 172

STASSEN, LEON. 2003. *Intransitive predication*. Oxford University Press. 237, 317

STASSEN, LEON. 2008. Noun phrase coordination. In *2. Halbband Language Typology and Language Universals 2. Teilband*, 1105–1111, De Gruyter Mouton. 332, 333

STASSEN, LEON. 2009. *Predicative possession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 167, 308, 312

STASSEN, LEON. 2013. Comparative constructions. In M.S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, eds., *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: Leipzig. 253, 255, 256

STOLZ, THOMAS & VESELINOVA, LJUBA. 2013. Ordinal numerals. *The world atlas of language structures online*. 266

SÖDER, TORBJÖRN. 2020. *Seriella adpositioner i sydsamiska*, 147–156. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2020. 23, 281

TADMOR, URI, HASPELMATH, MARTIN & TAYLOR, BRADLEY. 2010. Borrowability and the notion of basic vocabulary. *Diachronica*, **27**, 226–246. 151

TAMM, ANNE. 2015. Negation in Estonian. *Negation in Uralic languages*, 399–432. 357

THOMPSON, SANDRA A, LONGACRE, ROBERT E & HWANG, SHIN JA J. 1985. Adverbial clauses. *Language typology and syntactic description*, **2**, 171–234. 334, 337

TOVENA, LUCIA. 2001. Between mass and count. In *Proceedings of WCCFL*, vol. 1, 565–578, Cascadilla Press Medford. 138

VAFAEIAN, GHAZALEH. 2013. Typology of nominal and adjectival suppletion. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals*, **66**, 112–140. 251

VAFAEIAN, GHAZALEH. 2018. *Progressives in use and contact: A descriptive, areal and typological study with special focus on selected Iranian languages*. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Linguistics, Stockholm University. 233

VENNEMANN, THEO. 2012. Structural complexity of consonant clusters: A phonologist's view. *Consonant clusters and structural complexity*, 11–31. 94

VESELINOVA, LJUBA. 1997. Suppletion in the derivation of ordinal numerals: A case study. In *Proceedings of the 8th Student Conference in Linguistics*, 429–447. 266, 267

VESELINOVA, LJUBA. 2006. Suppletion in verb paradigms. *Typological Studies in Language*, **67**. 215

VESELINOVA, LJUBA. 2017. Suppletion. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 132, 251

VESELINOVA, LJUBA & HAMARI, ARJA. 2022. *The Negative Existential Vycle*. Research on Comparative Grammar 2: Language Science Press. 320

WÄLCHLI, BERNHARD. 2015. Co-compounds. In *Volume 1 Word-Formation*, 707–727, De Gruyter Mouton. 332

WICKMAN, BO. 1954. Objektets kasus i pluralis i sydlapskan. *Scandinavica et fenno-ugrica, ed. Dag Strömbäck and Björn Collinder*, 99–112. 300

WIKLUND, KARL BERNHARD. 1893. Die südlappischen Forschungen des Herrn Dr Halász. *JSFOu*, **11:2**, 1–27. 21

WIKLUND, KARL BERNHARD. 1928. *Das lappische Verbaladverbium und einige andere Kasus des Verbalstammes.*. Festskrift til rektor J. Qvigstad 1853 4. april 1928. Tromsø Museums Skrifter 2. Oslo. 208

WILBUR, JOSHUA. 2014. *A grammar of Pite Saami*. Language Science Press. 27, 64, 69, 72, 79, 84, 104, 133, 134, 148, 166, 167, 205, 243, 246, 248, 251, 337, 373

WISNIEWSKI, EDWARD J. 2010. On using count nouns, mass nouns, and pluralia tantum: What counts. *Kinds, things, and stuff: Mass terms and generics*, 1–24. 134, 142

YLIKOSKI, JUSSI. 2003. Defining non-finites: action nominals, converbs and infinitives. *SKY Journal of linguistics*, **16**, 185–237. 208, 209

YLIKOSKI, JUSSI. 2009. *Non-finites in North Saami*. Ph.D. thesis, Oulu: University of Oulu. 191, 208

YLIKOSKI, JUSSI. 2017. What made proto-germanic* jah 'and'an infinitive marker in westernmost Uralic? Observations from the Saami-Scandinavian border. *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift*, **35**. 23, 336

YLIKOSKI, JUSSI. 2018. The so-called relation forms of nouns in South Saami: A byproduct or remnant of uralic*-mpv? *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, **64**, 6–71. 23, 176, 177

436

Ylikoski, Jussi. 2021. South Saami. In *Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages*, 113–129, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 114

Zachrisson, Inger. 2012. Samer i syd i gången tid - till Uppland och Oslotrakten i söder: Ny forskning från Norge och Sverige. *Uppsala mitt i Sápmi: rapport från ett seminarium arrangerat av Föreningen för samiskrelaterad forskning i Uppsala / [ed] Håkan Tunón, Märit Frändén, Carl-Gösta Ojala, May-Britt Öhman, Uppsala: Centrum för biologisk mångfald, CBM , 2012, 1, s. 8-12.* 17

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and particles. *Language*, 283–305. 289

Department of Linguistics

Stockholm
University