Towards a grammar of spoken South Saami

Richard Kowalik
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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.

Keywords: South Saami, Saamic languages, grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, language description, language documentation, fieldwork, heritage language, minority language.

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TOWARDS A GRAMMAR OF SPOKEN SOUTH SAAMI
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Richard Kowalik
Daate tjaalege gaajhkhh almetjide mah åarjelsaemien soptsesth.

This thesis is dedicated to all speakers of South Saami.
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<td>particle</td>
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<td>subject</td>
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<td>theme, generally inanimate and less topical than R</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (only in the phonology chapter)</td>
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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 underdescribed language, but it is far from undescribed. 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 (unwanted) 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 presented 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’).

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.](image)

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)
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. The seasonal movement of reindeer herding Saami can be several hundred kilometres long. In some parts of the South Saami area, however,

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

\(^3\)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: Staaare) with the cultural centre Gaaltije, Umeå (Ume Saami: Ubmeje) and its research centre at the university, and the township Lycksele (South Saami: Liksjoje), 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 Aajeghe 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).
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. 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. South Saami have also been relocated by the state. These relocations 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. Relocations 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. 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-

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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.
language’s vitality and revitalization efforts. 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 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.

7Compare 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.

8This 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.
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) 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. 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

9The 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’.

10In 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). 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 archaeological 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 Hárfager 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. 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, Raarvihe/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.
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 [i]. For affricates, the orthography uses digraphs (e.g. <tj> for [tf]), which is similar to Norwegian and Swedish orthographies but unlike for instance North Saami, which uses special characters such as <ć and š> for [tf] 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). I do not use the letter <i> 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 [talːa], dårle [tolːa] or dolle [dulːa]. 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 Nededi- gibaakoeh, 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 municipalities Røros and Engerdalen/Drevsjo (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 [tʃ] instead of [ts] in the southern dialects: tseegkedh ‘to build’ is pronounced [tʃe:kːedːh], another is the fricative /s/ which is often pronounced [ʃ] instead of [s] in the southern area: desnie ‘there’ [taɲniː:]. 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. Ignác 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 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).

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. 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 orthography, 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 sørsmisk språk. Den er ikke ment som en beskrivelse av all bruk av sørsmisk. 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/
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 handbooks of the language, phonology is generally not covered\footnote{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”.

\footnote{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.}

\footnote{A number of master theses on South Saami at Tromsø University have been published in South Saami, e.g. Jonasson (2011); Labj (2021).}. In this study, I offer my analysis of the phonological system (Chapter 3). This analysis is based on spoken data, corroborated by acoustic analyses\footnote{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.}. Furthermore, this study covers a number of morpho-syntactic features that have previously not been described in detail.

While several scholars (e.g. Bloklund & 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\footnote{A number of master theses on South Saami at Tromsø University have been published in South Saami, e.g. Jonasson (2011); Labj (2021).}. 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

\footnote{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”.

\footnote{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.}

\footnote{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 grunlaget
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

21With 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
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous</td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>12h 44min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elicitation</td>
<td>13,300</td>
<td>22h 44min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,384</strong></td>
<td><strong>35h 28min</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. However, I believe the ‘big picture’ presented here is important for understanding the language variety that

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22I do not wish to make mistakes similar to those made by previous researchers almost a century ago and falsely 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.
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 sporadically 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 families 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 different 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 environment 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 proficiency, and the generation is sometimes also referred to as “the lost generation”. 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 prevailed at this time. Today, several language activists and teachers come from this group, which is in line with Polinsky’s observations (2018, p. 4). Typically, 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.\footnote{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.}

1.3.4.6 A new group of heritage speakers?

There are children that acquire South Saami in a first-language-like environment.\footnote{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.} 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...
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Place of residence and fieldwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astrid Anselius</td>
<td>Käringsjön</td>
<td>Grycksbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunhild Anderson</td>
<td>Vilhelmina</td>
<td>Storsättern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iréne Dorra</td>
<td>Käringsjön</td>
<td>Funäsdalen, Grycksbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Granefjell</td>
<td>Røyrvik</td>
<td>Røros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonhild Joma</td>
<td>Røyrvik</td>
<td>Steinkjer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Klemetsson</td>
<td>Vilhelmina</td>
<td>Dikanäs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pia Persson</td>
<td>Hosjöbottnarna</td>
<td>Hosjöbottnarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonar Thomasson</td>
<td>Vilhelmina</td>
<td>Røyrvik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias Torkelsson</td>
<td>Mittådalen</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigrid Stångberg</td>
<td>Tärnaby</td>
<td>Tärnaby</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-
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. The

25It 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” (*Gieleviermie*) 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; Storsättern, Dalarna, Sweden; Funäsdalen, Härjedalen, Sweden; Steinkjer, 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.

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.

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 February 2020 in Funäsdalen with Iréne, before the Covid-19 pandemic hit in March 2020. Since then, most of my contact with the consultants 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.  

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

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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](image)

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”).
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 Käringjsön 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.
Gunhild Anderson

Gunhild was born in 1935 and lives in Storsätern (Grövelsjön), Dalarna, Sweden, 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 dialect 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,
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”.

45
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 epenthetic schwa in words like [kierɔki³] ‘stone’. In some words, Paul used affricates where I expected geminate /sl/: /pitsket/ <bitskedh> ‘fry’ (instead of /pis:et/ <bissedh>); /petsket/ <betskedh> ‘wash’ (instead of /pis:et/ <bissedh> ‘wash’). He used an uvular [R] 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 southwest 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 åhpadusguovdâsj, 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 *Gallegiella* 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](image)

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 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–i, e–e; a–a; u–u) 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. /pa:ko/ ‘word’. Functional words, as well as the copula and the negative auxiliary, are monosyllabic. Stress is fixed and always word

---

Table 2.2: South Saami vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>moere</td>
<td>moer-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>moere-m</td>
<td>moer-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>moere-n</td>
<td>moer-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>moere-se</td>
<td>moer-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>moere-sne</td>
<td>moer-ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>moere-ste</td>
<td>moer-iste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>moer-ine</td>
<td>moer-igujnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>moer-ine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>manne</td>
<td>monnah</td>
<td>mijjieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>datne</td>
<td>dotnah</td>
<td>dijjieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dihte</td>
<td></td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-m</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-h</td>
<td><em>lohkie</em>-n</td>
<td><em>lohkie</em>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>låhka</em>-Ø</td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-de</td>
<td><em>lokkie</em>-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-m</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-men</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-mh, -o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-h</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-dh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-dh; <em>lohki</em>-j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect participle</td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td><em>lohke</em>-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connegative-Imperative</td>
<td><em>lohk-i</em>-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Reading of object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ACC.SG</td>
<td>definite or indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ACC.PL</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>NOM.PL</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>person/number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>person/number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>2SG (only one form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>person/number (with AUX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUPERFECT</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>pers/number (with AUX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROGRESSIVE</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>pers/number (with AUX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST PROG.</td>
<td>non-finite</td>
<td>pers/number (with AUX)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2.2) aehhtieSUBJ lijAUX fealloe-hOBJ vaalte-meV 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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilab.</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Denti-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

The glottal fricative /h/ has several allophones [h], [x], [c] 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. aabpa ‘sister’.

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

---

### Table 3.2: Words illustrating consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>/pori:s/</td>
<td>båeries</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>/tori:tit/</td>
<td>dåeriedidh</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>/koti:/</td>
<td>gåetie</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>/tʃaxke/</td>
<td>tjahke</td>
<td>‘peak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>/mæli:/</td>
<td>maelie</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>/næli:/</td>
<td>naelie</td>
<td>‘race’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>/ŋi:ŋe/</td>
<td>jienge</td>
<td>‘ice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>/ri:pi:/</td>
<td>riepie</td>
<td>‘fox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>/sjipj:/</td>
<td>siejpie</td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>/ʃitʃet/</td>
<td>sjidtedh</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>/fa:mo/</td>
<td>faamoe</td>
<td>‘power’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>/va:jmo/</td>
<td>vaajmoe</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>/laejpi:/</td>
<td>laejpie</td>
<td>‘bread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>/jaepi:/</td>
<td>jaepie</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>/hi:rki:/</td>
<td>hierkie</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/pa:хke/</th>
<th>[pa:xk]</th>
<th>baahke</th>
<th>‘warmth’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ka:хka/</td>
<td>[kaxk]</td>
<td>gaahka</td>
<td>‘cake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:хka/</td>
<td>[txk]</td>
<td>dahka</td>
<td>‘thereto’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pa:жко/</td>
<td>[pa:ξk]</td>
<td>baajkoe</td>
<td>‘cold weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta:жро/</td>
<td>[ta:ξro]</td>
<td>daajroe</td>
<td>‘knowledge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pa:жро/</td>
<td>[ka:ξro]</td>
<td>gaajroe</td>
<td>‘wedge’ (garments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka:tʃe/</td>
<td>[kutsξ]</td>
<td>gadtse</td>
<td>‘claw, nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pa:tʃe/</td>
<td>[putξ]</td>
<td>badtse</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medial /p/</td>
<td>/epri:/</td>
<td>[ɛpriʰ]</td>
<td>ebrie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial /t/</td>
<td>/giːte/</td>
<td>[giːtʰ]</td>
<td>gite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial /k/</td>
<td>/galket/</td>
<td>[ɡalkʰɛ]</td>
<td>galkedh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /p/</td>
<td>/etʃep/</td>
<td>[ɛtʃʰ]</td>
<td>edtʃeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /t/</td>
<td>/tarjet/</td>
<td>[tʰrjʰ]</td>
<td>darjedh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /k/</td>
<td>/laːtek/</td>
<td>[lɐːtʰkʰ]</td>
<td>laategh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 allo-morph /m/).

Examples of geminates are given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Plosive geminates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/oppa/</td>
<td>[ɔpʰə]</td>
<td>åabpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tuiːtti:/</td>
<td>[duetːiʰ]</td>
<td>duedtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/piːkke/</td>
<td>[biːkʰ积极探索]</td>
<td>biege</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [kaːmːako] or [ɡaːmːako]. Furthermore, speakers attach importance to not postaspirating plosives preceding vowels: /kaːmeke/ may never be *[kʰaːmːako] (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/ [kalkʰɛ].

In clusters of PLOSIVE + /t/, plosives are also postaspirated in initial position; see Table 3.6 (the trill /t/ is usually realized as a devoiced denta-alveolar tap [ɾ] 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

32Due 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/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonol.</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Swe/Nor source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kri:vvi:/</td>
<td>[kʰɾιːvːiə]</td>
<td>krievvie</td>
<td>‘reindeer flock’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tre:vkα/</td>
<td>[tʰɾeavkα]</td>
<td>treavka</td>
<td>‘ski’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/prihtjeke/</td>
<td>[pʰɾihtʃəkə]</td>
<td>prihtjege</td>
<td>‘coffee’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Postaspirated plosives in loan words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonol.</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Swe/Nor source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pe:ra/</td>
<td>[pʰeːɾə]</td>
<td>pēara</td>
<td>pärer (dial. for potatis)</td>
<td>‘potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/toge/</td>
<td>[tʰɔːkə]</td>
<td>tååge</td>
<td>tåg</td>
<td>‘train’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaarrhte/</td>
<td>[kʰʔɛɾtə]</td>
<td>kaarhte</td>
<td>kart(a)</td>
<td>‘map’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unaspirated realizations. However, there is variation in their realization (unaspi-
rated 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonol.</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Swe/Nor source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pa:hke/</td>
<td>[pʰeːɾkə]</td>
<td>baahke</td>
<td>‘warmth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰa:hke/</td>
<td>[pʰeːɾkə]</td>
<td>paahke</td>
<td>‘package’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In consonant clusters before plosives or an affricate with a different man-
ner of articulation, /p t k/ are realized with a slight postaspiration, as in the se-
quence /kt/ in /nuoktja/ [nuokh Uint] 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 /poemp-
met/ [poempmetʰ] boemmedh ‘to eat’.

3.1.2 Affricates

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

Table 3.9: Contrasts for the affricate /ʃ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonol.</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Swe/Nor source</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃahke/</td>
<td>[ʃaxkə]</td>
<td>tfahke</td>
<td>‘mountain top’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tahke/</td>
<td>[təxkə]</td>
<td>dahke</td>
<td>‘hither’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sahkete/</td>
<td>[səxkətə]</td>
<td>sahkedede</td>
<td>‘sink.PRS.3SG’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phoneme occurs word initially, medially and finally. Examples are
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 /o\Uhpe/ [oAt].

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

### Table 3.11: Allophones of the affricate /tf/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/tf/</th>
<th>[t]</th>
<th>[ts]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ti\æl/</td>
<td>t\æl:</td>
<td>tjæledh ‘to write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t\Uhpet/</td>
<td>\Uhpet:</td>
<td>t\uhpet: ‘hatless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\alme/</td>
<td>\alme:</td>
<td>almejh ‘people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o\tfet/</td>
<td>o\tfet:</td>
<td>åadjet ‘to get; be allowed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [tf] 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]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘water’</th>
<th>‘to set up’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[t\æ\ti]</td>
<td>[t\æ\ti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t\æ\ti]</td>
<td>[t\æ\ti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allophones [ts] and [tf] 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 *[tʃiɛtʃiɛ], *[tʃiɛtʃiɛ] and *[tsiɛtʃiɛ]*. The pronunciation of /ʃ/ as [ts] in southern dialects has probably been influenced by the standard language; the official orthography uses *ts* in words like *tseegkedh* [tsɛːkəθh] ‘build, set up’. The affricate [ts] can be substituted with [kɛ] in most contexts; [kɛ] on the other hand cannot be substituted for [ts]. For instance, /ʃæːtʃiː/ ‘water’ cannot be realized as *[tsæːtsiɔ*.

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 [ʃ] and [tʃ]. There are furthermore a few words where the affricate can only be realized [ts]. Examples from the data are /arhtse/ [aɾʦɔ*] *aarhtse* ‘eagle’ or /supstestit/ [supʦɛʦiθ] *sopstesitdɪh* ‘to talk’. The privative suffix -*ts* is usually realized [ts] as well, as in /peapmets/ [peapmats] *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

| /mæli:/ | [mæːliɔ] | maelie | ‘blood (animal)’ |
| /næli:/ | [næːliɔ] | naelie | ‘race’ |
| /jeːne/ | [jeːnɔ] | jeene | ‘much; many’ |
| /jiːŋɛ/ | [jiːŋɛ] | 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:/ | [maːnɔ] | maana | ‘child’ |
| Medial /m/ | /numme/ | [numːɔ] | nomme | ‘name’ |
| Final /n/ | /maːnan/ | [maːnɔn] | maanan | ‘child.*GEN.*SG’ |
| Final /m/ | /maːnam/ | [maːnam] | 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 /N/ – a cluster or a marginal phoneme?
The phoneme /N/ 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 [N]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PoS</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>/jukne/</td>
<td>‘lingon berry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>/jarne/</td>
<td>‘centre’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>/kasnese/</td>
<td>‘juniper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun (loan)</td>
<td>/pontke/</td>
<td>‘wallet’ (cf. Swe/Nor pengepung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>/kruknetit/</td>
<td>‘to be bent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adposition</td>
<td>/manjan/</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal name</td>
<td>/ina/</td>
<td>‘Inga’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toponym</td>
<td>/xe:riŋŋon/</td>
<td>‘Käringsjön’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phoneme /N/ 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 /N/ could possibly be analysed as a cluster of /n+k/ (resulting in /mænnkan/ [mæːŋːan]). An argument against the cluster analysis, however, is a number of native words in the data where [N] does not assimilate with [k]: /ʃeŋkere/ [tʃiŋkɔrɔ] ‘ball’; /ʃoŋkenit/ [ʃoŋkɔnit] ‘gather, meet’. An interpretation as an independent phoneme is therefore favoured.

The cluster /N+k/ also appears in several loan words such as /riŋket/ ‘call’ (Swe/Nor ringa/ringe), /tɾiŋke/ ‘farm hand’ (Swe/Nor dräng), /lkoŋka/ ‘king’ (Swe/Nor kung/konge), /sɛŋkɔ/ ‘bed’ (Swe/Nor säng) – and in a limited number of native words like /ʃeŋkere/ ‘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/ [piɐŋɐ] ‘dog’ or /nælkies/ [ɲælkias] ‘tasty’. In the southern dialects, [ɲ] is is less common, and the words are pronounced [pienə] and [ɲælkias]. 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:/  | [rætːi̯] | raedtie | ‘side’ |
| /lætti:/  | [lætːi̯] | laedtie | ‘Scandinavian; non-Saami’ |
| /sætti:/  | [sætːi̯] | 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/ | [urːr] | orre | ‘new’ |
| Cluster with /r/ | /pe:rkːo/ | [pealkːɔ] | bearkoe | ‘meat’ |

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

As a singleton, /r/ is often realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ], e.g. /rætti/ [rætːi] ‘side’ or /epri/ [ɛpri] ‘rain’. As a geminate, it is usually realized as a voiced, apical alveolar trill [ɾ], e.g. /urre/ [urːr].

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 /sʰ/ 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 [kʰarːe] ‘man’* in South Saami.
Table 3.18: Fricatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/felet/</td>
<td>[fe:lθʰ]</td>
<td>feeledh</td>
<td>‘to travel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/velet/</td>
<td>[ve:lθʰ]</td>
<td>veeledh</td>
<td>‘to tilt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/helset/</td>
<td>[he:lɔθʰ]</td>
<td>heelsedh</td>
<td>‘to greet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fi:re/</td>
<td>[fiɔɾə]</td>
<td>fiere</td>
<td>‘every’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/vijre/</td>
<td>[vijrə]</td>
<td>vijre</td>
<td>‘game (animal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sætti/</td>
<td>[sætθʰ]</td>
<td>saedtie</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fætti/</td>
<td>[fætθʰ]</td>
<td>sjaedtie</td>
<td>‘track (of grazing reindeer)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medial /v/</td>
<td>/puvvet/</td>
<td>[puv:ət]</td>
<td>bovvedh</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /v/</td>
<td>/muv/</td>
<td>[muv]</td>
<td>mov</td>
<td>‘my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial /s/</td>
<td>/pi:si/</td>
<td>[piɔsiə]</td>
<td>biesie</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /s/</td>
<td>/kalmes/</td>
<td>[kalməs]</td>
<td>galmes</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial /h/</td>
<td>/a:ha/</td>
<td>[a:ha]</td>
<td>aaha</td>
<td>‘inlet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final /h/</td>
<td>/ma:nah/</td>
<td>[ma:nah]</td>
<td>maanah</td>
<td>‘child.NOM.PL’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [ɔ] (a voiced labiodental approximant); see examples (1–2) in Table 3.20. The approximant [ɔ] 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 [u] 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, /sæmi:/ ‘Saami’ cannot be realized *[ʃæmi:ɔ]. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>transcription</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>意义</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/viːlle/</td>
<td>vielle</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/kuvːiː/</td>
<td>guvvie</td>
<td>‘picture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/kuvhte/</td>
<td>guvhte</td>
<td>‘six’ (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/skeːvle/</td>
<td>skuule</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/treavka/</td>
<td>treavka</td>
<td>‘ski’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/muv/</td>
<td>mov</td>
<td>‘my’ (1SG.GEN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sɔːrme/</td>
<td>soermə</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/laste/</td>
<td>lastə</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/porrǐes/</td>
<td>bæeries</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/tɛʃniː/</td>
<td>desnie</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/seːmma/</td>
<td>seamə</td>
<td>‘same’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sijhtet/</td>
<td>sijhtedh</td>
<td>‘to want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sæmiː/</td>
<td>saemie</td>
<td>‘Saami’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/suptstetst/</td>
<td>suptstetstidh</td>
<td>‘to talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/saetːiː/</td>
<td>saetːiː</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃitːət/</td>
<td>sjidtedh</td>
<td>‘to become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/væʃʃiː/</td>
<td>væʃʃiː</td>
<td>‘moose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/taːɾpeʃə/</td>
<td>daarpesjh</td>
<td>‘need.CNG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/hajkelit/</td>
<td>hajkelidh</td>
<td>‘to disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/ɑːhə/</td>
<td>aaha</td>
<td>‘inlet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/paχə/ [paxːə], [pahːə]</td>
<td>bahha</td>
<td>‘devil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/atnə/</td>
<td>atna</td>
<td>‘have.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/almeʃːl/ [alməʃː]</td>
<td>almetjh</td>
<td>‘human.NOM.PL’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), [c] (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. Preaspiration 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 [c]. 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 [f]. The different realizations are exemplified in Table 3.21:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Real.</th>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All V except /i/</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>/aːht/ → [aːht]</td>
<td>/maːhtam/ [maːhtam] ‘I can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ before /k/</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>/aːk/ → [aːxk]</td>
<td>/aːhka/ [aːxka] ‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>/iːht/ → [ict]</td>
<td>/tiːte/ [tictə] ‘s/he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [r̞k], as in /kiːrkiː/ [kˈiːrki³] ‘wolverine’. Contrasts for clusters with /h/, that is, preaspirated and non-aspirated plosives, and for devoiced sonorants, are presented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>naehpie /næhpi:/</th>
<th>[næhpi³]</th>
<th>‘milking pot’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naepie /næpi:/</td>
<td>[næpi³]</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baalhka /paːlka/</td>
<td>[paːlka]</td>
<td>‘salary; stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baalka /paːlka/</td>
<td>[paːlka]</td>
<td>‘path’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gierhkie /kiːrhkːiː/</td>
<td>[kierk³]</td>
<td>‘wolverine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gierkie /kiːrkiː/</td>
<td>[kierk³]</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /tərviː/ | [tərvi³] | ‘turf’ |
| deervie /tərvːiː/ | [tərv³] | ‘tar’ |
| maarhna /mərhnːa/ | [muːrhn] | ‘market’ |
| jeahna /jəahna/ | [jeahnə] | ‘giant’ |
| muahra /muahra/  | [muahrə] | ‘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: [nʊmti³] and [numti³].

### 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>ie-stem</th>
<th>a-stem</th>
<th>oe-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>daelvie</td>
<td>gärja</td>
<td>baakoeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>‘winter’</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>daelvie-h</td>
<td>gärja-h</td>
<td>baakoeh-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articulated/ slow</td>
<td>[tælvi’h]</td>
<td>[kærja]</td>
<td>[pako:h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal speech rate</td>
<td>[tælvi’]</td>
<td>[kærja]</td>
<td>[pako]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before voiceless C</td>
<td>[tælvi’]</td>
<td>[kærja]</td>
<td>[pako]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tjakhk ‘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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disyll. e-stem (Class 1a)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Before voiced C or V</th>
<th>Before voiceless C or utterance final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tjahke voelpe tjejte moere</td>
<td>‘peak’ ‘friend’ ‘goat’ ‘tree’</td>
<td>tjahk-h voelp hjth moer-h</td>
<td>[tæk] [vulp] [tejt] [moer]</td>
<td>[tækʰ] [vulpʰ] [tejtʰ] [moer]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trisyll. e-stem (Class 1b)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Before voiced C or V</th>
<th>Before voiceless C or utterance final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaamege gieretje</td>
<td>‘shoe’ ‘pulk’</td>
<td>gaameg-h gieretj-h</td>
<td>[ga:mæk] [gi:ɾæk]</td>
<td>[ga:mækʰ] [gi:ɾækʰ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/jæmet/</th>
<th>[jæmət]</th>
<th>jaemedh</th>
<th>‘to die’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/læket/</td>
<td>[lækət]</td>
<td>laekedh</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aijja/</td>
<td>[aijːə]</td>
<td>aajja</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/alla/</td>
<td>[alːa]</td>
<td>alla</td>
<td>‘wool’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both approximants occur in word initial and medial position. In initial position, /l/ is realized as a dento-alveolar approximant [l], as in /letti:/ [letːi:ə] ‘bird’. In medial position, /l/ can also be realized as a retroflex approximant or tap [], as in /kuːli:/ [kuɾːiːə] ‘fish’ or /kalo/ [kaːlo] ‘ford’.³⁵

³⁵The 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 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.

![Figure 3.1](image)

**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i i:</td>
<td>u u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e e:</td>
<td>ø o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
While the long vowel /e:/ 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 /u:/ 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/-/i:/) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Contr.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/pisset/</td>
<td>‘fry’</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/pesset/</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pissi:/</td>
<td>‘holy’</td>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>/pii:ssi:/</td>
<td>‘birch bark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ (V-2)</td>
<td>/kalkim/</td>
<td>‘I should’</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/kalkem/</td>
<td>‘I shall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/juhtin/</td>
<td>‘they moved’</td>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>/juhtin:/</td>
<td>‘movingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ (V-3)</td>
<td>/hołtesti/</td>
<td>‘s/he dwelled’</td>
<td>/e:/</td>
<td>/hołteste/</td>
<td>‘s/he dwells’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/elki:/</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>/ka:let/</td>
<td>‘to chew’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/a:let/</td>
<td>‘non-Saami’</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/lettie/</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/ajmos/</td>
<td>‘snow-clad’</td>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>/a:ajmos/</td>
<td>‘bad weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ (V-2)</td>
<td>/kalka/</td>
<td>‘s/he shall’</td>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>/kalki/</td>
<td>‘s/he should’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a:/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/lahko/</td>
<td>‘kinship’</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/la:ho/</td>
<td>‘luck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/sole/</td>
<td>‘island’</td>
<td>/æ:/</td>
<td>/se:lo/</td>
<td>‘soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/kulme/</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>/kalme/</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ (V-1)</td>
<td>/luhki:/</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>/u:/</td>
<td>/lu:hki:/</td>
<td>‘lid’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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, /koti/ [korti] ‘house’ may also be [ko:ti]; /vøjnimi/ [vœjnimi] ‘I saw’ also [vejnimi]; /vulkepe/ [vœlkœpe] ‘we travel’ also [vœlœpe]; /oret/ [oerœ] ‘to sleep’ also [uœrœ], /kotan/ [ko:ta:na] also [ko:ta:n]
Table 3.27: Openness vs. roundness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Openness</td>
<td>[ɛ] ≠ [æ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roundness</td>
<td>[i] ∼ [y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[eː] ∼ [œː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel /ø/ is a more marginal phoneme and often overlaps with /e/ (e.g. in /køkte/ [kœːktɔ] ∼ [keːktɔ] ‘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: [pisːɔt] ‘fry’ – [pysːɔt] ‘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/ [tɔlːɔ] ∼ [talːɔ] ‘fire’). The back vowels /u/ and /o/ can also be neutralized in the southern dialects (/tulːɔ] ‘fire’, or /olkene/ [olkɔnɔ] ∼ [ulkɔnɔ] ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>V-1</th>
<th>V-2</th>
<th>V-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eː/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uː/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>V-1</th>
<th>V-2</th>
<th>V-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/sijjiː/</td>
<td>/jeːhti/</td>
<td>/suptsesti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/lettiː/</td>
<td>/urre/</td>
<td>/suptseste/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>alma</td>
<td>alma</td>
<td>/utnija/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/kotiː/</td>
<td>/pakko/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>/kiːleː/</td>
<td>/tælviː/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/guhkiː/</td>
<td>/tarjut/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/vaeriiː/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td>/trojjes/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eː/</td>
<td>/eːlki/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>/aːhka/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uː/</td>
<td>/guːliː/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Half-long</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i], [ɨ]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>[iɛ]</td>
<td>[iːɨ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[ɛ], [ə]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eː/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>[ɛː], [ɛa]</td>
<td>[ɛː], [ɛːa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td>[œ]</td>
<td>[œː]</td>
<td>[œː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>[æː]</td>
<td>[æː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a], [u]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>[aː], [a]</td>
<td>[aː], [aː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>[ɔː], [ɔa]</td>
<td>[ɔː], [ɔːa], [ɔː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u], [u]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uː/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>[uː]</td>
<td>[uː], [uːə], [uːə], [uːa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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. [ko:tan] = [ko:tan] ‘home’. Diphthongs
are furthermore restricted to the first syllable, and they are never short, but al-
ways half-long or long. Therefore, phonetic diphthongs are analysed as diph-
thongized 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 para-
graph, 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/ [ikt’e] ‘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/ [pɪlI] ‘s/he was scared’ or /ufseti/ [uf’sëti] ‘s/he thought’.

The close front long vowel /iː/ is realized as a half-long diphthong [iɐ] as in /viːlle/ [viI’læ] ‘brother’. This realization [iɐ] is always stressed on the second segment [ɐ]. The vowel is realized as a long diphthong [iə] as in /viːle/ [viIæ] ‘more’. This realization [iə] bears stress on the first segment [i].

In unstressed position (V-2), /iː/ is realized as a slight diphthong [iɔ]/[iɔ] as in /kiːti:/ [kiI’tiɔ] ‘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/ [ɛprio] ‘rain’. In unstressed position (V-2 and V-3), /e/ is realized as a mid central vowel or schwa [ə], as in /hølteste/ [hœltstə] ‘s/he dwells’ (see also section (3.2.5) on vowel reduction).

The mid front long vowel /eː/ may be realized as a long monophthong [eː] as in /jene/ [jɛnə] ‘many, much’. The monophthongal realization occurs usually if the V-2 vowel is an /e/ or /i/.

The long /eː/ may be realized as a half-long diphthong [e’a] as in /pearko/ [pearKo] ‘meat’ (with the stress on the second segment [a]), or as a long diphthong [e’a] 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/ [trøj’es], an example for a half-long realization is /nørje/ [nœrjø] ‘Norway’ or /førhketit/ [fœr’hkøtit] ‘laugh’, and an example for a long realization is /kølet/ [kœløt] ‘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 /naehpi:/ [næhpi:] ‘milking pot’, an example for a long realization is /väri:/ [väri:] ‘mountain’.
The short open back vowel /a/ is often realized as a central vowel [ə] or back open [ɑ] as in /kalme/ [kɛlma]/[kalma] ‘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/ [ɑːjokə] ‘spring, born’ or /aːhkal/ [aːxkə] ‘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/ [kɔrkɔ] ‘s/he understands’. As a long allophone, it is realized as a close-mid back rounded vowel [ɔː] as in /joktan/ [joːktan] ‘yesterday’. It may also be realized as a diphthong [œː] as in /orpene/ [œːrpənə] ‘sibling’, or as a diphthong [oa] as in /kotan/ [koːtan] ‘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 [oː] as in /kaːlo/ [kɛːloː] or [kɛːloː] ‘ford’.

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 [ʊ] as in /kulliː/ [kuliː] ‘gold’. The realization as central vowel [u] may appear both if the following vowel V-2 is /i/ (as in /kulliː/) or /e/ (as in /pruvres/ [pruvrəs] ‘married’; its condition is therefore not obvious.

The close back rounded long vowel /uː/ may be realized as a long close back rounded vowel [ʊ] – 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 [ʊ] is attested are /uːl/ like in /mov/ [muː]/[muː] ‘mine’. These are analysed as a sequence /uː+əl/ where [ʊ] is an allophone of /əl/.

In all other instances, the long vowel /uː/ is realized as a half-long diphthong [ʊɛ] as in /fuːliːkliː/ [fuːliːkliː] ‘family’, as a long diphthong [ʊə] as in /kuːliː/ [kuːliː] ‘fish’ (before front vowels) or as a long diphthong [ʊə] as in /nuana/ [nuːana] ‘nose’.

In central-northern dialects, this diphthong can also be [œː]: [œːrpənə] ‘sibling’.

This is indicated with <œ> in the official orthography.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/kaːmeke/</th>
<th>[kəːməkə]</th>
<th>gaamege</th>
<th>‘shoe’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/paːhkes/</td>
<td>[pəːxkos]</td>
<td>baahkes</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Consonant</th>
<th>/N/</th>
<th>/C/</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES /short/ /long/</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>/pil.let/ [pil:æt] ‘be frighthened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES /long/ /long/</td>
<td>V:</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>/ve:l.le/ [ve‘l:ɔ] ‘courtyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES /long/ /short/</td>
<td>V:</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>/a:.te/ [a:ta] ‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no /short/ /short/</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/-io/, /e/-e:/, /a/-a:/ and /ue/-ue:. Therefore, we find the (phonological) combination of long vowel – long consonant/geminate as in /ve:lle/ [ve:l:ɔ] ‘courtyard’. The realization of that long vowel, however, is half-long. More examples for possible combinations are presented in Table 3.33. The symbol [\*] indicates half-long
vowels in diphthongs; superscript vowels [\^] indicate short vowels in diphthongs.

**Table 3.33:** Examples for distributions of quantity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vièle</td>
<td>/vi:le/</td>
<td>[viːlø]</td>
<td>‘more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vielle</td>
<td>/viːlle/</td>
<td>[viːlø]</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gièle</td>
<td>/kiːle/</td>
<td>[kiːlø]</td>
<td>‘language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gille</td>
<td>/kille/</td>
<td>[kilø]</td>
<td>‘some few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guelie</td>
<td>/kuːlie/</td>
<td>[kuɛlø]</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gullie</td>
<td>/kullie/</td>
<td>[kulø]</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaaloe</td>
<td>/kaːlo/</td>
<td>[keːlø]</td>
<td>‘ford’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaalloe</td>
<td>/kallø/</td>
<td>[kɛlø]</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bået-edh ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Alternated form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/luhke-</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>/lohka/</td>
<td>‘read.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/boti:/</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>/bota/</td>
<td>‘come.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/boti:/</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>/bøti/</td>
<td>‘come.PST.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/væri:/</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
<td>/va:ran/</td>
<td>‘mountain.ILL.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gu:li:/</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>/gu:lan/</td>
<td>‘fish.ILL.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pu:ri:/</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>/pøremes/</td>
<td>‘good.SUP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi:tti:/</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td>/mæ:jan/</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.35: Inflection of the verb båetie ‘come’ (stem)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>båatam</td>
<td>båetebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>båatah</td>
<td>båetien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>båata</td>
<td>båetede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>böötim</td>
<td>böötimh, böötio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>böötih</td>
<td>böötidh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bööti</td>
<td>böötin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Infinitive | båetedh; båetij |
| Participle  | båateme |
| Progressive | båetieminie |
| CNG/IMP   | båetieh |

Table 3.36: Case paradigm of the noun vaerie ‘mountain’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>vaerie</td>
<td>vaerieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>vaeriem</td>
<td>vaeride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>vaerien</td>
<td>vaerij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>vaaran</td>
<td>vaeride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>vaeresne</td>
<td>vaerine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>vaereste</td>
<td>vaerijste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>vaerine</td>
<td>vaerigujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>vaerine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/ pruvke ‘to be used to’ (cf. Swe/Nor bruka) with a third singular 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 /píssi:/ ‘fry, burn’, the alternated form has a stem vowel /æ/ as in /pæssa ‘fry.PRS.3SG’. The alternations are illustrated in Figure 3.6.
All vowel alternations in South Saami pertain to vowel height, even if alteration 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i – æ/ a</td>
<td>/pissi/ ‘fry’ /pêssa/ ‘fry.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u – a/ a</td>
<td>/juhti/ ‘move’ /jahta/ ‘move.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u – o/ o</td>
<td>/pruhke/ ‘use.to’ /provghko/ ‘use.to.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a – o/ o</td>
<td>/tarja/ ‘do’ /torjo/ ‘do.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o – ø/ i</td>
<td>/poti/ ‘come’ /pøti/ ‘come.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The changes represent *alternations* and not necessarily phonological rules. Several forms have parallel forms (for instance, in addition to /juhti/-/jahta/, /juhti/-/johta/ is also attested, or /pruhke/-/provghko/ in addition to /pruhke/-/provghko/).

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. These are illustrated on a phonetic level in Figure 3.7.

![Figure 3.7: Alternations of diphthongs in the stem](image)

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] – [œ:]. (cf. also what Sammallahti (1998, p. 42) calls diphthong simplification).

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

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 [veje] – [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-

40Diphthongs 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ie] [ea]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ue] [œː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ue] [əː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ua] [əː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o:/ – /u:/ /i:/</td>
<td>/pɔtii:/ ‘come’ /pɔtii /pə:ti ‘come.PST.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oe] [œː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o:/ – /o:/ /a/</td>
<td>/pɔtii:/ ‘come’ /pɔtii /pə:ta ‘come.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oe] [oa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, polysyllabic 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

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3.5.1.1 Disyllabic words

A typical syllable structure is /CV.CV/ [cv:cv] or [cv:cv:], either with a long first vowel or a long consonant word medial (see § 3.3), as in /ka:lɔ/ [ka:lɔ] ‘ford’ or /numme/ [num:ɔ] ‘name’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td>/a:te/</td>
<td>aate</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC.CV</td>
<td>/ak.te/</td>
<td>akte</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td>/je:ne/</td>
<td>jeene</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ma:na/</td>
<td>maana</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ko:ti/</td>
<td>gåetie</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CVC</td>
<td>/ti:ves/</td>
<td>dievies</td>
<td>‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CV</td>
<td>/kul.me/</td>
<td>golme</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC.CVC</td>
<td>/kal.mes/</td>
<td>galmes</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV.CV</td>
<td>/klæ:ri:/</td>
<td>klaerie</td>
<td>‘colour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CVC</td>
<td>/snur.ke/</td>
<td>snurke</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC.CVC</td>
<td>/snar.ret/</td>
<td>snarredh</td>
<td>‘to snare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC.CV</td>
<td>/stræj.mi:/</td>
<td>stræjmie</td>
<td>‘stream; power’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /fuj.les.tit/ ‘to ski a little’ or CVC.CV.CV as in /ka:v.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
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 themselves (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>/aːj/</td>
<td>aaj</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/iːj/</td>
<td>ijj</td>
<td>‘NEG.PRS.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/iːm/</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>‘NEG.PRS.1SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCCC</td>
<td>/uːlːh/</td>
<td>ollh</td>
<td>‘NEG.IMP.2SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/la/</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>(Discourse PTCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>/tːlː/</td>
<td>dle</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/kij/</td>
<td>gij</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jih/</td>
<td>jih</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tan/</td>
<td>dan</td>
<td>‘hers/his’ (3SG.GEN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/men/</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/læm/</td>
<td>leam</td>
<td>‘be.PRS.1SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>/saːht/</td>
<td>saaht</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCC</td>
<td>/kuːjht/</td>
<td>gujht</td>
<td>‘certainly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word initial</th>
<th>Word medial</th>
<th>Word final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>CC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 3.43: Examples of the possible consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word initial</th>
<th>Word medial</th>
<th>Word final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/stræj.mi/</td>
<td>/snu:rh.tjɛt/</td>
<td>/las.th/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/skrovva/</td>
<td>/vienh.tɛt/</td>
<td>/luh.kh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/skre:let/</td>
<td>/mærh.na/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/krævi:s/</td>
<td>/as.ke/</td>
<td>/pi:nh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kri:vit/</td>
<td>/par.ko/</td>
<td>/a:th/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pruv.res/</td>
<td>/tes.ni/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/stor.re/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sta:.re/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /sta:re/ ‘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 /stræjmi: ‘power’ or /skrovva/ ‘feeding hinder (to prevent calves from breast feeding) (Swe. dihin-der’)).

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 /vienh.th/ ‘believe.PRS.2SG’. However, the phonetic realization is a continuum rather than a sequence of discrete consonants (a possible realization would be [vιentʰ] ‘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 ([kuɔ:liə] ‘fish’ and [piɑnə] ‘dog’), trisyllabic ([kɔ:mɔkɔ] ‘shoe’) and quadrisyllabic words ([luhktæjɔ]/ ‘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.

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 [je:n] jeenh ‘much’ is more
stressed than the previous and following words; note also the rise in pitch (blue line).

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...
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>manne</td>
<td>monnah</td>
<td>mijjieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>datne</td>
<td>dotnah</td>
<td>dijjieh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dihte</td>
<td></td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 DUAL</th>
<th>2 DUAL</th>
<th>1 PLURAL</th>
<th>2 PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the data, the forms monnah/dotnah and mijzieh/dijzieh 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>manne; man, màn</em></td>
<td><em>datne; dan, dàn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><em>mov</em></td>
<td><em>dov</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td><em>manne-m</em></td>
<td><em>datne-m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illative</td>
<td><em>munnjan/ munnan</em></td>
<td><em>dutnan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>manne-sne</em></td>
<td><em>datne-sne</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
<td><em>manne-ste</em></td>
<td><em>datne-ste</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td><em>mann-ine</em></td>
<td><em>datn-ine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>monnah, månnoeh</em></td>
<td><em>dotnah, dâtnoeh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><em>monne-n</em></td>
<td><em>dotne-n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td><em>monne-m</em></td>
<td><em>dotne-m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illative</td>
<td><em>monne-se</em></td>
<td><em>dotne-se</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>monne-sne</em></td>
<td><em>dotne-sne</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
<td><em>monne-ste</em></td>
<td><em>dotne-ste</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td><em>monni-ne</em></td>
<td><em>dotni-ne</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td><em>mijjieh, màjjah</em></td>
<td><em>dijjieh, dâjjah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><em>mijjie-n; min</em></td>
<td><em>dijjie-n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td><em>mijjie-m</em></td>
<td><em>dijjie-m</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illative</td>
<td><em>mijje-se; mijj-ide</em></td>
<td><em>dijje-se</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>mijje-sne</em></td>
<td><em>dijje-sne</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
<td><em>mijje-ste</em></td>
<td><em>dijje-ste</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td><em>mijj-ine</em></td>
<td><em>dijj-ine</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 vearele jih dijjieh alkene
2PL.GEN nice weather and 2PL.NOM outside
‘You have nice weather and you are outside’ [sma20180607a]

(4.3) monnah maehie-n soptsestidh
1DU.NOM can.PRS-DU talk.INF
‘We two can talk.’ [sma20170508d]

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 dihteldah are identical with demonstratives in South Saami. Thus, the animacy hierarchy is of no relevance here, and dihteldah 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Pite</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Skolt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>dihte</td>
<td>sån</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>dah</td>
<td>såj</td>
<td>soai</td>
<td>suäna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>sij</td>
<td>sii</td>
<td>sij</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /\(\varepsilon\)/ for the proximal, a long vowel /u/ (realized as [u\(\varepsilon\)] or [u\(\varepsilon\)]) 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:

\[
\text{(4.11)} \quad \text{daate} \quad \text{gierkie} \quad \text{jorpe} \\
\text{DEM.PROX} \quad \text{stone} \quad \text{round}
\]

‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dihte</td>
<td>daate</td>
<td>doete</td>
<td>dohte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dihte</td>
<td>dah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>dejtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>dan</td>
<td>daaj, dej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>dass, disse</td>
<td>dejtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>desnje</td>
<td>dejnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>destie</td>
<td>dejstie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>desnje</td>
<td>dejgujmie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7: The proximal demonstrative daate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>daate</td>
<td>daah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>daam</td>
<td>daejtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>daan</td>
<td>daaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>(daase)</td>
<td>(daejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>daesnie</td>
<td>daejnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>daestie (daestie)</td>
<td>daej (daestie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>daejnie</td>
<td>(daejgujmie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>doete</td>
<td>doeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>doem</td>
<td>(duejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>doen</td>
<td>doej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>(doese)</td>
<td>(duejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>duesnie</td>
<td>duejnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>(duestie)</td>
<td>(duejstie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>duejnie</td>
<td>(doejgujmie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9: The distal demonstrative *dohте*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dohte</td>
<td>doh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>(dujtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>don</td>
<td>doj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>dosse</td>
<td>(duejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>dusnie</td>
<td>(dujnie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>(dustie)</td>
<td>(dujstie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>dujnie</td>
<td>(dojgujmie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.12)  

`mij`  

geajna     daesnie

road        DEM.PROX.LOC.SG

jeahta       dihte   

REL.NOM.SG        òövre  

go.PRS.3SG     DEM.NOM.SG  gaertjies

‘This road over there which goes over there, it/this one is very narrow.’ [sma20180606b]ef

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral (dihte)</td>
<td>Illative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal (daate)</td>
<td>Illative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial (doete)</td>
<td>Illative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal (dohte)</td>
<td>Illative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dabp- (proximal)</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>dabpene</td>
<td>dabpene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debp- (medial)</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>debpene</td>
<td>debpene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubp- (distal)</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
<td>dubpene</td>
<td>dubpene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

Adverbal demonstratives can be combined into phrases like *dubpene-dapbene* ‘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 jijtjemdhd biesse-m*
1SG.NOM REFL.ACC wash.PRS-1SG
‘I wash myself.’ [sma20190114a]e

(4.26) *manne jijtjemdhd 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 spontaneous 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
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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td><em>jijtje</em></td>
<td><em>jijtje</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td><em>jijtjedh</em></td>
<td><em>jijtjedh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td><em>jijtjen</em></td>
<td><em>jijtjash</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td><em>jijtsene</em></td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td><em>satne</em></td>
<td><em>sijjieh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td><em>sov</em></td>
<td><em>sijjien</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/he 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.
‘Then [she] found her (own) husband, over there in America.’

‘But these boys they were so very brave which saved their friend from that bear.’

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 support 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 sinsitin- ‘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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>sinsitnien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>sinsitniem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>sinsätnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>sinsitneste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>sinsitnine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the use of sinsitin- and gaskemsh are given below:
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 -\textit{n} in verbal inflection. This strategy has been observed amongst several speakers in my data. The suffix -\textit{n} otherwise marks the first person dual. See a more detailed description in §6.4.8 on the use of the dual. Instead of *sinsitin\-ne* ‘with each other’, *gaskem\-sh* can be used:

(4.37) $dah$ \textit{gaskem\-sh} \textit{soptsest-h} \textit{fierhte-n} \textit{biejjie-n}$
\begin{itemize}
\item 3PL.NOM REC PRS-3PL each-GEN.SG day-GEN.SG
\end{itemize}
‘They talked with each other every day.’ [sma20170921d]e

(4.38) $dah$ \textit{gaskem\-sh} \textit{vuejnie-h}$
\begin{itemize}
\item 3PL.NOM REC see-PRS-3PL
\end{itemize}
‘They see each other.’ [sma20190114a]e

(4.39) $monnah$ \textit{gaskem\-sh} \textit{lae pie-h} \textit{smååhk-i-mh}$
\begin{itemize}
\item 1DU.NOM REC bread-NOM.PL taste-PST-1PL
\end{itemize}
‘We ate/tasted each other’s sandwiches.’ [sma20190114]e

The reciprocal *gaskem\-sh* can be segmented into a postposition *gaske* ‘between’ or a noun *gaske* ‘gap, space in between’ (Swe. mellanrum). The suffix -\textit{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 \textit{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
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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>gie</td>
<td>gieh, (geah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>gien, (gean)</td>
<td>giej, (geaj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>giem, (geam)</td>
<td>(giejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>(giese, gease)</td>
<td>(giejtie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>(giesnie)</td>
<td>(giejnie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>(giestie)</td>
<td>(giejstie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>(giejnie)</td>
<td>(giejgjumie, geajgjumie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16: The interrogative pronoun \(mij\) ‘what; who’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>mij</td>
<td>mah; meh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>maj, (mej)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>maam</td>
<td>mejtie; maj?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>missie</td>
<td>mejtie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>mesnie</td>
<td>mejnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>mestie</td>
<td>(mejstie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>mejnie</td>
<td>(majgjumie, mejgjumie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\((4.40)\)  
\[ gie \quad \text{dihte?} \]  
INT.HUM.NOM.SG  DEM.NOM  
‘Who is this?’ \([\text{sma20170921a}]\)

\((4.41)\)  
\[ mij \quad \text{daate?} \]  
INT.NOM.SG  DEM.PROX.NOM.SG  
‘What is this?’ \([\text{sma20170921a}]\)

\(^{42}\)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):

\begin{verbatim}
(4.42) dihte akt-e-ak one-ACC-ACC aahkove-m have-PST.3SG
aktem nieje-m, mij aaj lij
one-ACC girl-ACC REL.NOM.SG also be.PST.3SG
seamma båeriesz goh manne
same old than 1SG.NOM
‘She had a grandchild, a girl, which also was the same age as me.’ [sma20170923d]
\end{verbatim}

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:

\begin{verbatim}
(4.43) gieh båetie-h?
INT.HUM.NOM.PL come.PRS-3PL
‘Who are coming?’ [sma20170913k]

(4.44) men dah baahtj-h dan öövre väijkele 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]
\end{verbatim}

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:

\begin{verbatim}
(4.45) daah Ruttfelle-n maana-h
DEM.PROX.NOM.PL Rutfjell-GEN.SG child-NOM.PL
mij olnge
REL.NOM.SG outside
‘These are Rutfjell’s children who are outside.’ [sma20170922i]
\end{verbatim}
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
mejnje 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 telefovné 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:

![Semantic Map for Indefinite Pronouns](image)

**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’.
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  
jtoere-m  
maam-akt’  

dutnan

1SG.NOM  
must.PRS-1SG  
something.ACC.SG-one  
2SG.ILL

saarnddh

tell.INF

‘I need to tell you something.’ [sma20190118]e

(4.52)  
ja  
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]

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]

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]

(4.57) mah maam vuajna-h
Q something.ACC.SG see.PRS-2SG
‘Do you see anything?’ [sma20190121]

(4.58) mejtie lidie åasteme naan beapmoe-b
Q be.PRS.2PL buy.PTCP some food-ACC.SG
‘Did you buy any food?’ [sma20170920a]

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, iy 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 mahta 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 gâåvnes-h
NEG.AUX.PRS.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
daam 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):
As mentioned above, the negative auxiliary can be inflected for tense (4.71):

(4.71)  
\[
\text{\textit{idtji}} \quad \text{\textit{gie}} \quad \text{\textit{båetie-h}} \\
\text{NEG.AUX.PST.3SG} \quad \text{someone.NOM.SG} \quad \text{come-CNG} \\
\]  
‘Nobody came.’ [sma20190118]e

(4.72)  
\[
\text{\textit{idtjin}} \quad \text{\textit{naan}} \quad \text{\textit{daaroe-n-almetj-h}} \\
\text{NEG.AUX.PST.3PL} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{Scandinavian-GEN.SG-people-NOM.PL} \\
mijjim \quad nöödt-h \\
1PL.ACC \quad \text{reach-CNG} \\
\]  
‘No Scandinavians reached us [there].’ [sma20170924b]

The indefinite pro-form consisting of \textit{ij} + \textit{naan} ‘not any’ occurs frequently. Examples are given below:

(4.73)  
\[
\text{\textit{ijje, ij}} \quad \text{\textit{leah}} \quad \text{\textit{mov}} \quad \text{\textit{naan}} \quad \text{\textit{aahkove}} \\
\text{no} \quad \text{NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG} \quad \text{be.CNG} \quad 1SG.GEN \quad \text{some} \quad \text{grand.child} \\
\text{\textit{man}} \quad \text{\textit{nomme}} \quad \text{\textit{Hilje}} \\
\text{REL.GEN.SG} \quad \text{name} \quad \text{Elias} \\
\]  
‘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 \textit{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 \textit{g-} and \textit{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 \textit{såemies} or \textit{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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ontological Category</th>
<th>Dem. Pronoun</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Relative Pronoun</th>
<th>Interrogative Pronoun</th>
<th>Interrogative Pronoun</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>gie</td>
<td>gie (gie)</td>
<td>gie (gie)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17: Ontological categories of pro-forms in South Saami.
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 dagkeres ‘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 bijrejårgan
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]

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 tjoeqk-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 båtedh
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 jeatjaljeatjebe ‘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 àadti-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]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro-form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>måedtie</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aajnes</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guhte</td>
<td>‘some (person) (of many)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mij-gih</td>
<td>‘whatever’ (NOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maam-gih</td>
<td>‘whatever’ (ACC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåabpa</td>
<td>‘one of two things or persons’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dihte guhte</td>
<td>‘each and every one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij guhte</td>
<td>‘no-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij giehkt</td>
<td>‘no-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij guhtegh</td>
<td>‘no-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij maamkh</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ij mejtegh</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’.

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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 (/ii:/), a or oe (/o/). 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 (/ii:/) 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>voelpe</td>
<td>voelp-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>voelpe-m</td>
<td>voelp-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>voelpe-n</td>
<td>voelp-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>voelpe-se</td>
<td>voelp-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>voelpe-sne</td>
<td>voelp-ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>voelpe-ste</td>
<td>voelp-iste</td>
</tr>
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<td>COM</td>
<td>voelpe-ine</td>
<td>voelp-igujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td></td>
<td>voelp-ine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaerie</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>näjga</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baakoe</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moere</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almetje</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laatge</td>
<td>‘ski track’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaamege</td>
<td>‘shoe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem/ Nom. sing.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gärja-</td>
<td>‘book’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahka-</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moere-</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjahke-</td>
<td>‘mountain top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baakoe-/baaka-</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåetie-</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daelvie-</td>
<td>‘winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaamege-</td>
<td>‘shoe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>Nominative Plural</th>
<th>Phonetic transcr.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gärja-</td>
<td>gärja-h</td>
<td>[kærja], [kærjah]</td>
<td>‘books’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahka-</td>
<td>aahka-h</td>
<td>[a:xa], [a:xa:h]</td>
<td>‘grandmothers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moere-</td>
<td>moer-h</td>
<td>[moer]</td>
<td>‘trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjahke-</td>
<td>tjahk-h</td>
<td>[t:axk]</td>
<td>‘mountain peaks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baakoe-</td>
<td>baakoe-h</td>
<td>[p:ako], [p:ako:h]</td>
<td>‘words’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåetie-</td>
<td>gåetie-h</td>
<td>[koeti], [koeti:h]</td>
<td>‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daelvie-</td>
<td>daelvie-h</td>
<td>[tælvi], [tælvi:h]</td>
<td>‘winters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaamege-</td>
<td>gaameg-h</td>
<td>[ko:ma:k]</td>
<td>‘shoes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 jeenie/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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tjaetjie</td>
<td>tjaetjeh</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prihtjege</td>
<td>prihtjeh</td>
<td>‘coffee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virre</td>
<td>virrh</td>
<td>‘blood’ (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maelie</td>
<td>maelieh</td>
<td>‘blood’ (animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopme</td>
<td>lopmh</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mielhkie</td>
<td>mielkhieh</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voeje</td>
<td>voejh</td>
<td>‘butter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sierke</td>
<td>sierkh</td>
<td>‘brushwood’ (small; birch or willow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gäjhtoe</td>
<td>gäjhtoeh</td>
<td>‘thanks’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\begin{align*}  
mijjieh &\quad \text{i}j\text{aetjie-gaaldie} &\quad \text{daesnie gusnie} \\
1\text{PL.GEN} &\quad \text{water.NOM.SG} &\quad \text{spring.NOM.SG} &\quad \text{there} &\quad \text{where}  
mijjieh &\quad \text{tjaetjie-h} &\quad \text{veedtj-i-mh} \\
1\text{PL.NOM} &\quad \text{water-NOM.PL} &\quad \text{take-PST-1PL}  
\end{align*}

‘Our water spring was there, where we took our water.’ (Our wa-
ter.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)  
\begin{align*}  
gosse &\quad mijjieh &\quad \text{bööt-ij-o} &\quad \text{Bavle-se mijjieh} \\
1\text{PL.NOM} &\quad \text{father.NOM.PL} &\quad \text{come-PST-1PL} &\quad \text{Baula-ILL.SG} &\quad 1\text{PL.NOM}  
gåetie-m &\quad \text{jāava-j-o} &\quad \text{orre doerk-h} \\
goahti-\text{ACC.SG} &\quad \text{clean-PST-1PL} &\quad \text{new brushwood-NOM.PL}  
tjuohp-ij-o &\quad \text{chop-PST-1PL} 
\end{align*}

‘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)  
\begin{align*}  
jih &\quad \text{monnah aehjtjie muedtie-n aejkie-n} 
\text{and} &\quad 1\text{DU.NOM} &\quad \text{father some-GEN.SG} &\quad \text{time-GEN.SG}  
liebo &\quad \text{prihtjege-m doelte-me daan} 
\text{be.PST.1PL} &\quad \text{coffee-ACC.SG} &\quad \text{cook-PTCP} &\quad \text{DEM.PROX.GEN.SG}  
gaaltij-e-n &\quad \text{jure} 
\text{spring-GEN.SG} &\quad \text{around} 
\end{align*}

‘And some times me and father have cooked coffee around this spring.’
[sma20170929a]

(5.4)  
\begin{align*}  
jih &\quad \text{duesnie akte stoerre slieja mejnie} 
\text{and} &\quad \text{DEM.MED.LOC.SG} &\quad \text{one big spade} &\quad \text{REL.COM.SG}  
maahta &\quad \text{lopme-m gāajvedh} 
\text{can.PRS.3SG} &\quad \text{snow-ACC.SG} &\quad \text{scoop.INF} 
\end{align*}

‘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
 sjädda
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beetnege</td>
<td>‘(one) crown’</td>
<td>beetneg-h</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dijnnehke</td>
<td>‘sugar; a sugar bit’</td>
<td>dijnhek-h</td>
<td>‘sugar’; ‘many s. bits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohkere</td>
<td>‘sugar; a sugar bit’</td>
<td>sohker-h</td>
<td>‘sugar’; ‘many s. bits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gullie</td>
<td>‘(a piece of) gold’</td>
<td>gullie-h</td>
<td>‘gold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaavva</td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
<td>jaavva-h</td>
<td>flour (a lot; diff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voepte</td>
<td>‘(a single) hair’</td>
<td>voept-h</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geasngese</td>
<td>‘a juniper scrub’</td>
<td>geasnges-h</td>
<td>‘juniper brushwood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doerke</td>
<td>‘brushwood’ (spec.?))</td>
<td>doerk-h</td>
<td>‘brushwood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suejnie</td>
<td>‘grass; one straw’</td>
<td>suejnieh</td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eejhtegge</td>
<td>‘(one) parent’</td>
<td>eejhteg-h</td>
<td>‘parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearka</td>
<td>‘meat’ (a piece(??))</td>
<td>bearka-h</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beapma</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
<td>beapma-h</td>
<td>‘food (a lot; diff.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saedtie</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
<td>saedtie-h</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voeje</td>
<td>‘butter’</td>
<td>voej-h</td>
<td>‘butter’ (a lot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaarjoe</td>
<td>‘an outfit’</td>
<td>vaarja-h</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count noun</th>
<th>Mass noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one item of M</td>
<td>many items of M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one type of M</td>
<td>different types of M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one portion of M</td>
<td>several portions of M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.’

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) \text{manne} \text{ bearka-m} \text{ tjaape-m} \\
1SG.NOM meat-ACC.SG cut.PRS-1SG \\
‘I am cutting (a piece of(?)) meat.’ [sma20200219a]

(5.10) \text{manne} \text{ bearka-h} \text{ 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, \text{gullie} ‘gold’ in the singular was translated into ‘a piece of’ the mass, see (5.11):

(5.11) \text{manne} \text{ gullie-m} \text{ 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 \text{food} and \text{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) \text{jeenjh} \text{ jaavva-h; jeenjh} \text{ 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 \text{laadtegh} ‘cloudberries’, \text{jokngh} ‘lingon berries’ and \text{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) \text{dan} \text{ gaaltije-n} \text{ bijre} \text{ jeen-h} \\
DEMGEN.SG spring-GEN.SG around many-NOM.PL \\
\text{laadteg-h} \text{ gåâvnes-i-n} \\
cloudberry-NOM.PL exist-PST-3PL \\
‘Around this spring there were many cloudbERRIES.’ [sma20190729a]
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) moy aehtje [...] vuelnie lij dej
1SG.Gen father [...] down be.PST.3SG Dem.Gen.PL
garten-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]

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]

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 (flea) 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 *làhka* means ‘luck’ and is generally used as a mass noun in the singular. You can wish someone *làhka 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 åålmegebiejjine* ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper name</th>
<th>Scandinavian translation or equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hilje</td>
<td>Elias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astride</td>
<td>Astrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikaele</td>
<td>Mikael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagka</td>
<td>Sigrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haandskine</td>
<td>Handskinnsvålen (place: mountain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Röösjöe</td>
<td>Rödsjön (place: lake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vualtjere</td>
<td>Vilhelmina (place: town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bavla</td>
<td>Baula (place: hut site)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-m/-b</td>
<td>-ide/-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-j/-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illative</td>
<td>-n; -se/-sse</td>
<td>-ide/-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-sne/-snie</td>
<td>-ine/-inie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elative</td>
<td>-ste/-stie</td>
<td>-iste/-istie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-ine/-inie</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ine/-inie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• 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/ide points back to a Proto-Uralic suffix *-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 -iste/istie (SG), -istie (PL) points back to a Proto-Finno-Saamic partitive case *-tältä (Korhonen 1981 p. 230). The incongruity between the locative singular (-snel-snie) and plural (-inel-inie) suggests that the plural suffix has developed from a general locative case (*-sna and elative *-sta). The *s in the locational suffixes reflects a former lative case element (Sammallahti 1998, p. 66). The South Saami elative -iste/istie (SG), -istie (PL) points back to a Proto-Finno-Saamic partitive case *-tältä (Korhonen 1981 p. 230). The incongruity between the locative singular (-snel-snie) and plural (-inel-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
‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illative</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>maane-se</td>
<td>’child-ILL.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sse</td>
<td>gaaltija-sse</td>
<td>’spring-ILL.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-sne</td>
<td>sijte-sne</td>
<td>’site-LOC.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nie</td>
<td>tjehtjeli-snie</td>
<td>’room-LOC.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elative</td>
<td>-ste</td>
<td>giedte-ste</td>
<td>’reindeer.field-ELA.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-stie</td>
<td>Haandskeni-stie</td>
<td>’Handskinnsvålen-ELA.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>gärj-ide</td>
<td>’book-ACC.PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-idie</td>
<td>gieretj-idie</td>
<td>’sledge-ACC.PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>aehjt-jine</td>
<td>’father-COM.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-inie</td>
<td>Mikael-inie</td>
<td>’Michael-COM.SG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -sel-n, locative -sne, elative -ste), as do the other western Saamic languages Ume (illative -j/-essel-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\textsuperscript{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ie</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-oe</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-mie</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-sse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-sne</td>
<td>-sne</td>
<td>-sne</td>
<td>-sne</td>
<td>-snie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>-ste</td>
<td>-ste</td>
<td>-ste</td>
<td>-ste</td>
<td>-stie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-inie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-jne</td>
<td>-inie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-jde</td>
<td>-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ij</td>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-jde</td>
<td>-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-ide</td>
<td>-jde</td>
<td>-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-ine</td>
<td>-jne</td>
<td>-inie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>-iste</td>
<td>-ijste</td>
<td>-iste</td>
<td>-jste</td>
<td>-istie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
<td>-igujmie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -sel/-sse\textsuperscript{47}.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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”.

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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 reflect 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class (inflection)</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (e-stems)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>voelpe ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (ie-stems)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>vaerie ‘mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (a-stems)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>gärja ‘book’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (oe-stems)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>baakoe ‘word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (trisyllabic)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>laadtege ‘cloudberry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Percent per class</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (e-stems)</td>
<td>33 of 76</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>bijle ‘car’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (a-stems)</td>
<td>11 of 30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>pearsa ‘potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (trisyllabic)</td>
<td>8 of 31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>skovhtere ‘snow mobile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (oe-stems)</td>
<td>4 of 27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>gärhkoe ‘church’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (ie-stems)</td>
<td>2 of 68</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>straejmie ‘stream; power’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total: 54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>moere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>moere-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>moere-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>moere-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>moere-sne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>moere-ste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>moer-ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -selse. 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>guelie</td>
<td>guelie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>guelie-m</td>
<td>guel-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>guelie-n</td>
<td>guel-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>guala-n</td>
<td>guel-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>geule-sne</td>
<td>guel-ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>geule-ste</td>
<td>guel-ijste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>guel-ine</td>
<td>guel-igujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>guel-ine</td>
<td>guel-ine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’, gårja ‘bok’, peara ‘potato’.

5.4.5 Noun Class IV: oe-stems

Nouns with disyllabic stems that end in -oe/ -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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>maana</td>
<td>maana-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>maana-m</td>
<td>maan-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>maana-n</td>
<td>maana-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>maane-se</td>
<td>maan-ide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>maane-sne</td>
<td>maan-ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>maane-ste</td>
<td>maan-iste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>maan-ine</td>
<td>maana-jujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>maan-ine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>faamoe</td>
<td>faamo-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>faamoe-m</td>
<td>faamo-jde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>faamoe-n</td>
<td>faamo-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>faamo-se</td>
<td>faamo-jde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>faamo-sne</td>
<td>faamo-jne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>faamo-ste</td>
<td>faamo-jste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>faamo-jne</td>
<td>faamoe-jujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td>faamo-jne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other nouns that are inflected according to this pattern are for instance *aal-toe* ‘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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>gieretje</td>
<td>gieretj-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>gieretje-m</td>
<td>gieretj-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>gieretje-n</td>
<td>gieretj-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILL</td>
<td>gieretja-sse</td>
<td>gieretj-idie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>gieretji-snie</td>
<td>gieretj-inie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>gieretji-stie</td>
<td>gieretj-istie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>gieretj-inie</td>
<td>gieretj-igujmie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESS</td>
<td></td>
<td>gieretj-inie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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)  
\[ \text{bierne} \quad \text{bill-i} \quad \text{jih olkese vealka} \]
\[ \text{bear.NOM.SG} \quad \text{be.scared-PST.3SG} \quad \text{and out} \quad \text{go.PRS.3SG} \]
‘The bear was scared and goes out.’ [sma20180612t]

(5.21)  
\[ \text{tjidtjie} \quad \text{jeeht-i} \quad \text{ga} \quad \text{tjoehpe-m} \]
\[ \text{mother.NOM.SG} \quad \text{say-PST.3SG} \quad \text{shall.PRS.3SG} \quad \text{hat-ACC.SG} \]
\[ \text{gåaredh} \quad \text{INF} \]
‘Mother said that she will sew a hat.’ [sma20170923j]

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)  
\[ \text{jih desnie aehjtjie} \quad \text{gellieh} \quad \text{vaejsie-h} \quad \text{vuatje-me} \]
\[ \text{and there} \quad \text{father.NOM.SG} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{elk-NOM.PL} \quad \text{shoot-PTCP} \]
‘And father shot many elks there.’ [sma20190729a]

The nominative marks the possessed in the genitive predicative possession construction (Kowalik, 2016):

(5.23)  
\[ \text{mov} \quad \text{lea} \quad \text{bijle} \]
\[ \text{1SG. GEN} \quad \text{be.PRS.3SG} \quad \text{car.NOM.SG} \]
‘I have a car.’ (Lit.: ‘My is a car.’) [sma20170913h]

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)  
\[ \text{jih desnie libie} \quad \text{tijhtje} \quad \text{maana-h} \]
\[ \text{and there} \quad \text{be.PRS.1PL} \quad \text{seven} \quad \text{child-NOM.PL} \]
‘And there we are [were] seven children.’ [sma20170919a]
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 guel-ide såålht-i*

then father sit-PST.3SG house-GEN.SG inside DEM.ACC.PL 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]

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  dâehkie-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 aahj-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]

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
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 ståente-tje-n daesnie årjel
can.PRS-1PL sure short.time-DIM.GEN.SG here south
jih dle vuelkedh bååstede Sweerje-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

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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 “straddles 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, 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) as well as *-n*, see example (5.49). As a rule, 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.

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-
yllabic (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]

(5.51) Hilje Mikaele-se jeeht-i ringk-h munnjen
daan iehkede-n
Hilje Michael-ILL.SG say-PST.3SG call-IMP 1SG.ILL
DEM.PROX.GEN.SG evening-GEN.SG
‘Hilje said to Michael: Call me tonight.’ [sma20180608a]

(5.52) klaase buartan dabran-i
glass table.ILL.SG get.stuck-PST.3SG
‘The glass got stuck to the table.’ [sma20180611q]

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]
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.

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  rekasuvvie-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

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]

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]

 Whereas 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)  
\[
\text{ij} \quad \text{leah} \quad \text{tjiejtegåete-sne} \quad \text{naan} \\
\text{NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG} \quad \text{be.cng} \quad \text{goat-house-LOC.SG} \quad \text{some} \\
\text{riehpen} \quad \text{dihte} \quad \text{maskas} \\
\text{smoke.hole} \quad \text{DEM.NOM.SG} \quad \text{whole} \\
\text{‘The goat shed does not have a smoke hole, it is whole.’} \\
\text{[sma20180605c]}
\]

(5.66)  
\[
\text{dennie} \quad \text{tjiehtjeli-snie} \quad \text{göökte} \quad \text{klaas-h} \\
\text{ADN.DEM.LOC.SG} \quad \text{room-LOC.SG} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{glas-NOM.PL} \\
\text{‘The room has two windows/There are two windows in the room.’} \\
\text{[sma20170913h]}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{Máhtes} \quad \text{leat} \quad \text{odda} \quad \text{sabehat} \\
\text{Mathew.LOC.SG} \quad \text{be.PRS.3PL} \quad \text{new} \quad \text{ski.NOM.PL} \\
\text{‘Mathew has new skies.’} \quad \text{[Nickel 1990 p. 395]}
\]

In northern and eastern Saamic languages, the locational possessive is the sole 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.

\footnote{In southern North Saami varieties, have-possessives are also attested (Eriksen, 2009 p. 62).}

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Pite Saami:

\[muvne \quad lä \quad akta \quad mánná\]

1SG.INESS \quad be.3SG.PRS \quad one \quad 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) \[dan \quad tjehtjeli-snie \quad göökte \quad klaas-h\]

ADN.DEM.LOC.SG \quad room-LOC.SG \quad two \quad 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) 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) \[aahke-ste \quad libo \quad akte-n \quad ohtje\]

grandmother-ELA.SG \quad be.PST.1PL \quad one-ACC.SG \quad little

näjpie-n \quad lööne-me

knife-ACC.SG \quad 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.)
In passive constructions, if the agent is expressed overtly, it is marked with the elative, see *aarhtse-ste ‘by the eagle’ in (5.72):

(5.72)  
\[
\text{miesie aarhtse-ste t\aaagke-ldh sjidt-i} \\
\text{calf eagle-ELA.SG take-PASS.PTCP become-PST.3SG} \\
\text{‘The calf gets taken by the eagle.’[sma20180611k]}
\]

In comparative constructions (§ 7.1.3.2) (5.73), the elative is used to mark the standard:

(5.73)  
\[
[\text{mov vielle}] [...] \text{göökte jaepie-h båaras-obpoe} \\
1SG.GEN brother [...] two year-NOM.PL old-COMP \\
\text{manneste} \\
1SG.ELA \\
\text{‘My brother is two years older than me.’ [sma20170919a]}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{dihte skeelie golme tjahta-h peara-jste} \\
3SG.NOM peel.PRS.3SG three kilo-NOM.PL potatoe-ELA.PL \\
\text{‘He peeled three kilos of potatoes.’ [sma20170927g]e}
\]

(5.75)  
\[
\text{dle akte dejstie baern-istie gahtja v\aa\alese} \\
then one DEM.ELA.PL boy-ELA.PL fall.PRS.3SG downwards \\
jih akte-n bierne-gaavma-n sjisj gahtj-i \\
and one-GEN.SG bear-den-GEN.SG into fall-PST.3SG \\
\text{‘Then one of the boys falls down into a bear’s den.’ [sma20180612t]}
\]

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, \textit{person A with person B}) can be expressed with the comitative, as shown in (5.76) above or in (5.79) below:

(5.79) \text{manne stååkede-minie dejnie mov}  
\hspace{1cm} 1SG.NOM play-PROG DEM.COM.SG 1SG.GEN  
\hspace{1cm} voelp-ine  
\hspace{1cm} friend-COM.SG  
\hspace{1cm} ‘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) \text{manne tjööne-minie dåahk-ine}  
\hspace{1cm} 1SG.NOM play-PROG doll-COM.SG  
\hspace{1cm} ‘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) \text{manne stååkede-mine mov voelpe-n ektesne}  
\hspace{1cm} 1SG.NOM play-PROG 1SG.GEN friend-GEN.SG together  
\hspace{1cm} ‘I am playing together with a friend.’ [sma20171002d]e

Several speakers on the other hand agreed that the adverb \textit{ektesne} ‘together’ is not obligatory. During elicitation, speakers commented that the adverb \textit{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) \text{dellie lim aehtjie-n ektesne daan}  
\hspace{1cm} then be.PST.1SG father-GEN.SG together DEM.PROX.GEN.SG  
\hspace{1cm} voestes jaepie-n  
\hspace{1cm} first year-GEN.SG  
\hspace{1cm} ‘Then I was together with father the first year.’ [sma20171002f]

In example (5.83), the adverb \textit{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 gâajka bööt-**i** jih
Bergsländ 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 consists 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 additional 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 dâara-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)  

\textit{lakhoe biejj-ine} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{luck day-COM.SG} \hspace{1cm}  

‘Happy birthday!’ (Lit.: ‘Luck with the day!’ Cf. Norwegian \textit{gratulerer med dagen})’ [sma20170913c]

A more idiomatic use of the comitative is shown in example (5.93):

(5.93)  

\textit{dihte aaj provhk-i jeehtedh ahte} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{3SG.NOM also use.to-PST.3SG say.INF that} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{ij daate maahta numhtie} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG DEM.PROX.NOM.SG can.PRS.3SG like.this} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{jeehtedh gosse beapmo-jne} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{say.INF when food-COM.SG} \hspace{1cm}  

‘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 \textit{mahta} instead of the connegative form \textit{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 singular and the referent of (5.95) is plural:

(5.94)  

\textit{aehtjie provhk-i giesege Nöörje-sne arreddh} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{father use.to-PST.3SG summer.ADV Norway-LOC.SG be.INF} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{jih triengk-ine arrij} \hspace{1cm}  

\textit{and farm.hand-ESS be.INF} \hspace{1cm}  

‘Father used to be in Norway as a farm hand during summer.’

[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 aehj-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:

(5.101) manne aehj lohketäjj
1SG.NOM father-ESS teacher-ESS
‘I became a teacher.’ [sma20170915d]
The essive can also mark inanimate entities to express their “function”:

\[(5.102) \text{manne } \text{daejtie} \text{ vaarj-ide } \text{åtna-m } \text{dåvv-ine} \quad 1\text{SG.NOM } \text{these } \text{clothes-ACC.PL } \text{use.PRS-1SG } \text{pillow-ESS} \]

‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td><em>tjaedtje-me</em></td>
<td>‘my mother’</td>
<td><em>tjidtje</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1SG.NOM)</td>
<td><em>aaultje-me, aehjtje-me</em></td>
<td>‘my father’</td>
<td><em>aehtjie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>vielle-me</em></td>
<td>‘my brother’</td>
<td><em>vielle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>åabpe-me</em></td>
<td>‘my sister’</td>
<td><em>åabpa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>aahke-me</em></td>
<td>‘my grandmother’</td>
<td><em>aahka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>aajje-me</em></td>
<td>‘my grandfather’</td>
<td><em>aajja</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>maane-me</em></td>
<td>‘my child’</td>
<td><em>maana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dh</td>
<td><em>aehjtje-dh</em></td>
<td>‘your father’</td>
<td><em>aehtjie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2SG.NOM)</td>
<td><em>tjaedtje-dh</em></td>
<td>‘your mother’</td>
<td><em>tjidtjie</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[
guktie \ aehtje-dh? \\
\text{how father-PX.2SG} \\
\text{‘How is your father?’ [sma20170926h]e/f}
\]

(5.104)  
\[
dihte \ aehtje-me-n \ plieres \\
3SG.NOM father-PX-GEN.SG like \\
\text{‘He looks like his father.’ [sma20170926g]e}
\]

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 -ommenes (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 \text{RELA} and attaches to the noun stem with a shortened/altered thematic vowel (\text{i}e → 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, \text{aehtjebe} was used four times.
Table 5.20: Nouns with the relational suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tokens (total)</th>
<th>Number of recordings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aehťje-be</td>
<td>father-RELA</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidtje-be</td>
<td>mother-RELA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baerne-be</td>
<td>boy-RELA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåmme-be</td>
<td>wife-RELA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Pâåle jih aehťje-be lyjkie-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 bàata 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, 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 voelp-e-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.
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) Edwin-en doch

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 doch ‘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
tjiehtj-h]
1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL only related 1PL.NOM
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] büjjese 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).
Another alternative to segment noeres is noeres-h ‘young-NOM.PL’. However, 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 occur 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 possessive 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 example (5.119) includes a possessive noun phrase modified by a personal pronoun (mov maadtar-aajja ‘my great-grandfather’), a noun (aahkan aechtjie ‘grandmother’s father’) and the suppletive pronoun altese (altese gåmmine ‘with his wife’):
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 downhill.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.
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 ’tji-m sortstedh 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]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fuelhkie</td>
<td>‘family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niejte</td>
<td>‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadtar-aajja</td>
<td>‘great-grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahka</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidtj-aajja</td>
<td>‘grandfather (mother’s father)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elkie</td>
<td>‘son; married son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maana</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baernie</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jyöne</td>
<td>‘younger uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voelpie</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraana</td>
<td>‘neighbour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijle</td>
<td>‘car’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjåenieh</td>
<td>‘things’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\textit{juo dihte mov mubpie baernie dihte}  
yes DEM.NOM.SG 1SG GEN other son 3SG NOM  
\textit{utn-i voelpie-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)  
\textit{dan männgan dellie leah barre aahka}  
DEM.GEN.SG after then be.PRS.3PL only grandmother  
\textit{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)  
\textit{gosse dam lim peehke-minie dle}  
when DEM.ACC.SG be.PST.1SG packPROG then  
\textit{dihte mov kraanna bööt-i}  
DEM.NOM.SG 1SG GEN neighbour come-PST-3SG  
\textit{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 construction in more detail.

5.9 Noun-like quantifiers

There are two quantifiers which show more morphology than other quantifiers: 
\textit{jeene} ‘much, many’ and \textit{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 \textit{gellie} ‘many’, \textit{fierhte} ‘every, each’ and \textit{naan} ‘some’, see §7.2)

5.9.1 \textit{Jeene} ‘much, many’

The quantifier \textit{jeene} ‘much, many’ is a frequent item in the data and may modify both count and mass nouns. Examples are provided in (5.126) and (5.127).
There were many people.’ [sma20181025c]

‘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):

‘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) and receive case marking as in (5.130):

‘Yes, there are so many [of them], so therefore I think one can say bijle “car” [=using the loan word].’ [sma20181025a]

‘If you drink much then you get drunk.’ [sma20180611j]e/f

53The 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 guettedh
draft.reindeer-NOM.PL carry.INF

‘The draft reindeer got to carry all these things.’ [sma20180615a]
‘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)  

\[ \text{loh.ke.be} \]  
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 \text{PAST}. Non-finite verb forms are used in periphrastic expressions that encode \text{PERFECT}, \text{PLUPERFECT} and \text{PROGRESSIVE}. The \text{FUTURE} is expressed with present tense or with modal verbs. Mood includes the indicative and imperative. Conditional forms occur only with the \text{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 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. 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]

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vaadtsa</td>
<td>vaedtsie-n</td>
<td>veedts-i-m</td>
<td>veedts-i-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vaadtsa-h</td>
<td>vaedtse-den</td>
<td>veedts-i-h</td>
<td>veedts-i-den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vaadtsa</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>veedts-i</td>
<td>veedts-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjuahpa</td>
<td>tjoehpie-n</td>
<td>tjoehp-i-m</td>
<td>tjoehp-i-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>tjoehp-i-den</td>
<td>tjoehp-i-den</td>
<td>tjoehp-i-den</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vaedtsie- ‘walk’</th>
<th>tjoehpe- ‘chop’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive (northern)</td>
<td>vaedtse-dh</td>
<td>tjoehpe-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive (southern)</td>
<td>vaedtj-ij</td>
<td>tjoehp-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Participle</td>
<td>vaadtse-me</td>
<td>tjoehpe-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>vaedtsie-minie</td>
<td>tjoehpe-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connegative–Imperative</td>
<td>vaedtsie-h</td>
<td>tjoehp-h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. The patterns that emerge are presented below.

Current descriptions and teaching material (such as the verb handbook Verbh (‘Verbs’) by Frändén 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. Frändén 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Present 1SG</th>
<th>Past 1SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>lohke- ‘read’</td>
<td>lohke-m</td>
<td>lohk-i-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(b)</td>
<td>vaestede- ‘answer’</td>
<td>vaestede-m</td>
<td>vaested-i-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>båetie- ‘come’</td>
<td>båata-m</td>
<td>bööt-i-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>darja- ‘do’</td>
<td>darja-m</td>
<td>darja-ji-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>134/296</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>94/296</td>
<td>32 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>46/296</td>
<td>16 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22/296</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-be/-bie, -o</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-men</td>
<td>-mh; -o; -bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>(-den)</td>
<td>-del/-die</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-den</td>
<td>-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>(-gan)</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>(-gan)</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -bel/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, -bel/-de attach to disyllabic verb stems and follow thus an unstressed syllable (e.g. ’ut.ne-be ‘we have’), -bie/die attach to trisyllabic verb stems and follow thus a syllable with a secondary stress (e.g. ’ståå.ke,di-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 gööl- ‘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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present 1</td>
<td>lohke-m</td>
<td></td>
<td>lohke-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lohk-h</td>
<td>lohkie-n</td>
<td>lohke-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>låhka-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>lohkie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past   1</td>
<td>lohk-i-m</td>
<td>lohk-i-men</td>
<td>lohk-i-mh, lohk-i-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lohk-i-h</td>
<td></td>
<td>lohk-i-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lohk-i-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>lohk-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>lohke-dh; lohkij</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>lohke-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>lohke-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>lohk-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 brukalbruke), skeele- ‘peel’ (Swe/Nor skala/skrelle), bigke- ‘built’ (Swe/Nor byggalbygge), tuhtje- ‘think, consider’ (Swe tycka), lyjhke- ‘like’ (Nor like), rååke- ‘meet’ (Swe/Nor råkalråke). The other pattern, 1b, is less usual but occurs as well: heannede- ‘happen’, cf. Swe/Nor händalhende.

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1 gööle-m</td>
<td></td>
<td>gööle-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 gööl-h</td>
<td>göölie-n</td>
<td>gööle-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 göölie-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>göölie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>1 gööl-i-m</td>
<td>gööl-i-men</td>
<td>gööl-i-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 gööl-i-h</td>
<td></td>
<td>gööl-i-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 gööl-i-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>gööl-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>gööle-dh; göölij</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>gööle-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>gööle-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>gööl-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.8: Class 1b verb vaestede- ‘answer’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1 vaestede-m</td>
<td></td>
<td>vaestiedi-bie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 vaested-h</td>
<td>vaestiedie-n</td>
<td>vaestiedi-die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vaestede-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>vaestiedie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>1 vaestied-i-m</td>
<td>vaestied-i-men</td>
<td>vaestied-i-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 vaestied-i-h</td>
<td></td>
<td>vaestied-i-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 vaestied-i-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>vaestied-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>vaestiedi-dh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>vaestieda-mme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>vaestede-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>vaested-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -al-oe, and thus show an umlaut pattern. The process
Table 6.9: Class 1b verb *tjihtede-* ‘push oneself forward’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*tjihtede-*m</td>
<td><em>tjihtedi-bie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>tjihted-h</em></td>
<td><em>tjihtedi-die</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tjihtede-Ø, -a</em></td>
<td><em>tjihted-h</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-m</em></td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-mh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-h</em></td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-dh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-Ø</em></td>
<td><em>tjihted-i-n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tjihted-dh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tjihteda-mme</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tjihtede-minie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng &amp; Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tjihte-dh</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Root vowel</th>
<th>3SG present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Front V</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ringke-</em> ‘ring’</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ringkie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gihtje-</em> ‘ask’</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>gihtjie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leege-</em> ‘hurt’</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>leegie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gööle-</em> ‘fish’</td>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td>göölle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Back V</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lohke-</em> ‘read’</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>lähka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>provhke-</em> ‘use to’</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>pråvhka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bååhke-</em> ‘bake’</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>bååhka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>goeke-</em> ‘shine’</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>guaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bask- ‘sting’</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>bask</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.

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.de+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.

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 vaestiede-), 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.

An alternative analysis would be to introduce the long suffixes -biel-die as the original underlying, or default suffixes. The suffixes -bel-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>V2 change</th>
<th>Example verb stem</th>
<th>Example verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>tjihtede- ‘push’</td>
<td>tjihtedim (1SG past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>e ⇒ ie</td>
<td>vaestede- ‘answer’</td>
<td>vaestiedim (1SG past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>e ⇒ a</td>
<td>vuartesje- ‘see’</td>
<td>vuartasjim (1SG past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>a/o</td>
<td>daaraste-, daaroeste- ‘talk Scand.’</td>
<td>daaroestim (1SG past)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1 båata-m</td>
<td>båete-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 båata-h</td>
<td>båete-de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 båata-Ø</td>
<td>båete-h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>1 bööt-i-m</td>
<td>bööt-i-men</td>
<td>bööt-i-mh, bööt-i-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 bööt-i-h</td>
<td>bööt-i-dh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 bööt-i-Ø</td>
<td>bööt-i-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>båete-dh; båetij</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>båate-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>båetie-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>båetie-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.13: Class 2 verb juhtie- ‘move’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Examples are given below.

Table 6.14: Class 3 verb dåaja- ‘cut’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present 1</td>
<td>dåaja-m</td>
<td>dåaje-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dåaja-h</td>
<td>dåaje-n</td>
<td>dåaje-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dåaja-Ø, dååjo-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>dåaja-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past     1</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-m</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-men</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-h</td>
<td></td>
<td>dåaja-ji-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>dåaja-ji-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dåaje-dh; dåaji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dåâje-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dåaja-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>dåaja-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.15: Class 3 verb guarka- ‘understand’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present 1</td>
<td>guarka-m</td>
<td>guarke-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>guarka-h</td>
<td>guarkie-n</td>
<td>guarke-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>guarka-Ø, gårkå-Ø</td>
<td>guarka-h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past     1</td>
<td>guarka-ji-m</td>
<td>guark-i-men</td>
<td>guarka-ji-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>guarka-ji-h</td>
<td></td>
<td>guarka-ji-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>guarka-ji-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>guarka-ji-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarke-dh; guarkij</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarke-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarka-minie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cng-Imp</td>
<td>guarka-h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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. dâaja+i), resulting in the extra syllable -ji- (dâaja-ji-). See the paradigms in Tables 6.14 and 6.15 for dâaja- ‘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. dâajieh), is attested in the southern dialects.

Other examples for verbs in this class are dâaja- ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem + gloss</th>
<th>“Standard” form</th>
<th>Alternative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>lohke-m</td>
<td>våestede-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘answer’</td>
<td>vaestede-m</td>
<td>båata-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>våasted-h</td>
<td>båata-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td>våasted-Ø</td>
<td>båata-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>‘shall’</td>
<td>lohkie-Ø</td>
<td>våestiedie-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>‘have’</td>
<td>lohke-be</td>
<td>våestiedi-bie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
<td>våestiedi-die</td>
<td>båete-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>våestiedi-h</td>
<td>båete-h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, -bel-de and -bieldie. 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 -bieldie instead of -bel-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem + gloss</th>
<th>“Standard” form</th>
<th>Alternative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>‘shall’</td>
<td>edtje-be</td>
<td>edtjiei-bie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘have’</td>
<td>utnie-be</td>
<td>utnieji-bie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
<td>tjaelie-be</td>
<td>tjaelieji-bie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>ãerie-be</td>
<td>ãerieji-bie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 1b</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>lohk-i-m</td>
<td>vaestied-i-m</td>
<td>bööt-i-m</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>lohk-i-h</td>
<td>vaestied-i-h</td>
<td>bööt-i-h</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>lohk-i-Ø</td>
<td>vaestied-i-Ø</td>
<td>bööt-i-Ø</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>lohk-i-men</td>
<td>vaestied-i-men</td>
<td>bööt-i-men</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>lohk-i-mh</td>
<td>vaestied-i-mh</td>
<td>bööt-i-mh</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-mh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>lohk-i-dh</td>
<td>vaestied-i-dh</td>
<td>bööt-i-dh</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>lohk-i-n</td>
<td>vaestied-i-n</td>
<td>bööt-i-n</td>
<td>dåaja-ji-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem + gloss</th>
<th>Standard form</th>
<th>Alternative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2 → 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>fahke- ‘wake’</td>
<td>fahk-i-m</td>
<td>fahka-ji-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>sjidte- ‘become’</td>
<td>sjidt-i-Ø</td>
<td>sjidti-j-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>juhtie- ‘move’</td>
<td>juht-i-m</td>
<td>juhtie-ji-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>utnie- ‘have’</td>
<td>utn-i-Ø</td>
<td>utni-j-a; utnie-ji-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>juekie- ‘split’</td>
<td>juek-i-n</td>
<td>juekie-ji-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>vuejnie- ‘see’</td>
<td>vööjn-i-m</td>
<td>vuejnie-ji-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 → short</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>åadtja- ‘may’</td>
<td>åadtja-ji-m</td>
<td>åadtj-i-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>dâaja- ‘cut’</td>
<td>dâaja-ji-m</td>
<td>dâaj-i-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Perfect participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>miele- ‘know’</td>
<td>miele-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lohe- ‘read’</td>
<td>loke-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>vaestede- ‘answer’</td>
<td>vaestieda-mme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjihtede- ‘push forward’</td>
<td>tjihteda-mme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>båetie- ‘come’</td>
<td>båate-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjaelie- ‘write’</td>
<td>tjaale-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dåaja- ‘cut’</td>
<td>dåaje-me; dåaj-eme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarka- ‘understand’</td>
<td>guarke-me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>miele- ‘know’</td>
<td>miele-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lohe- ‘read’</td>
<td>lohe-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>vaestede- ‘answer’</td>
<td>vaestede-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjihtede- ‘push forward’</td>
<td>tjihtede-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>båetie- ‘come’</td>
<td>båetie-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjaelie- ‘write’</td>
<td>tjaelie-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dåaja- ‘cut’</td>
<td>dåaja-minie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarka- ‘understand’</td>
<td>guarka-minie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 languages, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Connegative–Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>miele- ‘know’</td>
<td>mieL-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lohke- ‘read’</td>
<td>lohk-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>vaestede- ‘answer’</td>
<td>vaested-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjihtede- ‘push forward’</td>
<td>tjihted-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>båetie- ‘come’</td>
<td>båetie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjaelie- ‘write’</td>
<td>tjaelie-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dåaja- ‘cut’</td>
<td>dåaja-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarka- ‘understand’</td>
<td>guarka-h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Converb</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juhtie-n</td>
<td>juhtie-</td>
<td>‘moving(ly)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjoekje-n</td>
<td>tjoekje-</td>
<td>‘skiing(ly)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roehte-n</td>
<td>roehte-</td>
<td>‘running(ly) (two-legged)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjåådtja-n</td>
<td>tjåådtja-</td>
<td>‘standing(ly); standing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjahka-n</td>
<td>tjahkasje-</td>
<td>‘sitting(ly); sitting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tjoekje-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 râete-n dahka jih mannem
so come.PRS.3SG run-CVB thither and 1SG.ACC
mjååkteste 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 sjädt*

    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*

    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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Standard INF</th>
<th>Southern INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>råake- ‘meet’</td>
<td>råake-dh</td>
<td>råak-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tjojke- ‘ski’</td>
<td>tjojke-dh</td>
<td>tjoj-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tjaelie- ‘write’</td>
<td>tjaele-dh</td>
<td>tjael-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aelkie- ‘start’</td>
<td>aelke-dh</td>
<td>aelk-ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>guarka- ‘understand’</td>
<td>guarke-dh</td>
<td>guark-ij</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 soppsestidh
1DU.NOM can.PRS-DU talk.INF
‘We two can talk.’ [sma20170508d]

(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]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number neutralization</th>
<th>Person neutralization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual/Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -m/h/-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 eelki-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 tjihtje jaepie-n bàeries
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 learae 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-alломорfy 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 boaán ‘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 monosyllabic 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 areddh ‘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 (Vešelinova 2006, p. 64). Whereas the infinitive and the participle of the copula show strong suppletion, the finite forms have weak suppletion (Vešelinova 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-l arredh ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>leam</td>
<td>lean</td>
<td>libie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>leah</td>
<td>lidien</td>
<td>lidie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>lägan</td>
<td>leah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>lim</td>
<td>limen</td>
<td>limh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lih</td>
<td>liden</td>
<td>lidh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lij</td>
<td>ligan</td>
<td>lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>arredh, arrij; årrødh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>orreme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 lijjen. In the 1PL past tense, the typical southern 1PL suffix -bol-o is used. Whereas we have person neutralization for the dual
Table 6.27: Variation of the copula verb *lea*- ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>liem</td>
<td>lien</td>
<td>lievies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>lien</td>
<td>lievies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>leaga; lie, liega</td>
<td>lien</td>
<td>lievies; löövies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>lim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lij</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>lidh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>läjja</td>
<td>lijjes, lagan</td>
<td>lijjien</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.28: Conditional forms of *lea*- ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>luvnem</td>
<td>luvnien</td>
<td>luvnebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>luvnh</td>
<td>luvneden</td>
<td>luvnede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>luvni</td>
<td>luvnien</td>
<td>luvnien (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (((*ije* leah ‘isn’t’)).

(6.20) *ije* 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*.
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]

(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]
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]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>1 <em>im</em></td>
<td><em>(ean)</em></td>
<td><em>ibie</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 <em>ih</em></td>
<td><em>(idien)</em></td>
<td><em>(idie)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 <em>ij</em></td>
<td><em>(eagan)</em></td>
<td><em>eah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>1 <em>idtjim</em></td>
<td><em>(idtjimen)</em></td>
<td><em>idtjimh, idtjio</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 <em>(idtjih)</em></td>
<td><em>(idtjide)</em></td>
<td><em>(idtjidh)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 <em>idtji</em></td>
<td><em>(idtjigan)</em></td>
<td><em>idtjin</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[
\text{aellie} \quad \text{bill-h!}
\]
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)  
\[
\text{ollesh} \quad \text{gahtj-h!}
\]
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. 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.

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>gam, gom</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>gah; gagh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>gal/gaa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>tjib</em> (<em>edtjib</em>)</td>
<td><em>tjibh</em> (<em>edtjibh</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tje</em> (<em>edtjï</em>)</td>
<td><em>tjin</em> (<em>edtjin</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.’

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 govelle-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):
I am reading a book. (6.30)

The habitual reading of the PRESENT is exemplified in ex. (6.31) and (6.32):

(6.31) Pååle jih aehtje-be lyhkie-n prihtjege-m
coffee-ACC.SG

jovkedh
drink.INF

‘Paul and his father like to drink coffee.’ (6.31)

(6.32) dah sinsitnine soptsestie-n fierhte-n biejjie-n
each-GEN.SG
day-GEN.SG

‘They talk with each other every day.’ (6.32)

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. brukel 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) provhk-m biene-m meatan vaeltedh
use.to.PR.SG dog-ACC.SG with take.INF

‘I usually take the dog with me.’ (Swe. Jag brukar ta hunden med mig) (6.33)

(6.34) [...] dam geajn-m [...] maam mijjieh
road-ACC.SG 1PL.NOM

provhk-be vaadtjij eejnegen
use.to.PR.1PL walk.INF always

‘This road that we always use to go.’ (6.34)

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.PR.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.’ (6.35)
(6.36) *vuelke-be dan skåage-se jih*

travel.PRS-1PL ADN.DEM.ILL.SG forest-ILL.SG and

tsee-gk-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 vaaksjo-jeji-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) *jåäktan 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]

(6.39) *daalvege dah gööktet daelvie-h manne*

during.winter 3PL.NOM two winter-NOM.PL 1SG.NOM

snarra-h tsee-gk-i-m leddie-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:
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 soptsesidh 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) 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) dælie ibie åadtjoe-h dælie 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 bæjjese 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.

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 skiing across the mountains and asked what direction Sweden was.)

(6.45) akte-n jaepie-n mànnoeh 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.’

(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.’

(6.47) manne gam dam darjedh
1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG 3SG.ACC do.INF

‘I shall do this.’
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)):

(6.48)  
\[ \text{tjidtjie } \text{jeeht-i } \text{dihte } \text{gah} \text{ tjohpe-m} \]
\[ \text{mother say-PST.3SG 3SG.NOM shall.PRS.3SG hat-ACC.SG} \]
\[ \text{gåaredh sew. INF} \]
\[ \text{‘Mother said she will sew a hat.’ [sma20170923j]} \]

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)  
\[ \text{jih mannem aaj noerhk-i manne gom} \]
\[ \text{and 1SG.ACC also force-PST.3SG 1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG} \]
\[ \text{åaranidh jih leekedidh} \]
\[ \text{lay.down-INF and rest.INF} \]
\[ \text{‘And he forced me as well I shall lay down and rest.’ [sma20180605c]} \]

(6.51)  
\[ \text{nää mijjieh barre ussjeda-mme jaa numhtie} \]
\[ \text{no 1PL.NOM only think-PTCP yes this.way} \]
\[ \text{edtja årrodh, jaa mijjieh edtje-be numhtie} \]
\[ \text{shall.PRS.3SG be.INF yes 1PL.NOM shall.PRS.1PL this.way} \]
\[ \text{darjodh, vaedtsedh skuvle-se [och så] vuelkedh} \]
\[ \text{do.INF go.INF school-ILL.SG (and so) travel.INF} \]
\[ \text{numhtie this.way} \]
\[ \text{‘Nah we just thought well now it is going to be like this, yes now we do it like that, go to school and travel like that.’ [sma20180804g]} \]
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 edije-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 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 vaadije-me manne ussjede-m
      but when walk-PTCP 1SG.NOM think.PRS-1SG
      gom akte-m riekte geajna-m vaadtij
      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) iije 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 vaadťjeme ‘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:
‘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 morphosyntactically 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.

\[
(6.61) \quad \text{jaa} \quad \text{lim} \quad \text{manne} \quad \text{tjädtjan} \quad \text{jeahta-mme}
\]

\[
\text{yes} \quad \text{be.PST.1SG} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{mother.ILL.SG} \quad \text{say-PTCP}
\]

\[
\text{im} \quad \text{leah} \quad \text{manne} \quad \text{suure}
\]

\[
\text{NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG} \quad \text{be.CNG} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{grumpy}
\]

\[
\text{im} \quad \text{manne} \quad \text{guarka-h}
\]

\[
\text{NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} \quad \text{understand-CNG}
\]

\[
\text{dom} \quad \text{niejte-m}
\]

\[
\text{DEM.DIST.ACC.SG} \quad \text{girl-ACC.SG}
\]

‘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 reindeer as pack animals, Swe. klövja).
‘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.

‘If we had been working with reindeer then I had been able to go there and fish how I want.’ [sma20171002f]

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)  
\[dah \text{ lin } \text{ yearada-mme } \text{ noerhtene } \text{ Tromsø}\]
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)  
\[såemies \text{ tjaktje-n } \text{ joo lij sjidte-me}\]
\{a.certain autumn-GEN.SG yes be.PST.SG become-PTCP\}
\{lopme ja daelhkie lij gujht så\}
\{snow yes skiing.conditions be.PST.SG certainly so\}
\{tjoer-i-n tjoekkedh\}
\{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)  
\[Hilje \text{ Mikaele-m } \text{ vuertie-minie}\]
\{Hilje Michael-ACC.SG wait-PROG\}

‘Eliah is waiting for Michael.’ [sma20180608b]
(6.68) **Richard 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]

(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]

(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]

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 forward 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]

(6.73) gosse dam lim peehke-minie dle dihte
when 3SG.ACC be.PST.1SG pack-PROG so 3SG.NOM
mov graanna bööt-i gihtj-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.
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).'

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) \( \text{dihte peara-h skeele-minie} \)
\( 3SG.NOM \text{ potatoe-NOM.PL peel-PROG} \)
‘S/he is peeling potatoes.’ [sma20170927g]

(6.76) \( \text{dihte gaajkhk pear-ide skealie} \)
\( 3SG.NOM \text{ all potatoe-ACC.PL peel.PRS.3SG} \)
‘S/he peels all potatoes.’ [sma20170927g]

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) \( \text{dan aehtjie skåajje-sne barka} \)
\( 3SG.GEN \text{ father forest-LOC.SG work.PRS.3SG} \)
‘His father works in the forest.’ [sma20170923g]
The progressive can be juxtaposed to a converb form as in the following examples (6.79) and (6.80):

(6.79) *manne* tjàadtdja-*n* tjoönghe-*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* jovhhe-*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 recurring 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 unnecessary 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 tjoejke-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. 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.

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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 jovhked ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ohtje; onne</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stoere</td>
<td>‘big, large’</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. båeries</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. hijven</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. guhkie(s)</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. luste(s)</td>
<td>‘fun, nice’</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. noere(s)</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. tjaebpie(s)</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. väjkele(s)</td>
<td>‘smart, skillful’</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. buerie</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>gejhkie ‘dry’, jorpe ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUMAN PROPENSITY</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>giefies ‘poor’, feejene ‘happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALUE</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>buerie ‘good’, nåake ‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>âenehks ‘short’, guhkies ‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOUR</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>veelkes ‘white’, provne ‘brown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>båeries ‘old’, noere ‘young’, orre ‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEED</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>sööjmes ‘slow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 frequent 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Swe/Nor source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stoere</td>
<td>‘big, large’</td>
<td>stor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyske</td>
<td>‘German’</td>
<td>tysk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>säkere</td>
<td>‘certain, sure’</td>
<td>säker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riktie</td>
<td>‘right’</td>
<td>riktig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luste</td>
<td>‘fun, nice’</td>
<td>lustig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sienhnte</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
<td>sen(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vearrebe</td>
<td>‘better; more’ (only COMP!)</td>
<td>värre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The loan vearrebe (also attested as vierrebe) is only attested in the comparative 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 superlative of ‘bad’ 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).

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 fikhedh ‘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 attributive and predicative position. Five adjectives in the data have clearly distinct forms in these positions. Another group are adjectives where these forms appear in flux. Finally, there is a group of predicative adjectives only. These groups are illustrated and discussed in that order in this section here. Predicative adjectives are presented in §7.1.2.3.

The large majority of adjectives in South Saami use the same form in attributive 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohtje (southern)</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onne (standard)</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalle</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geerve</td>
<td>‘bad; difficult; grown-up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâake</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buerie</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provne</td>
<td>‘brown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orre</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båeries</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraevies</td>
<td>‘grey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rööpses</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baahkes</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjemhpes</td>
<td>‘kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>låemties</td>
<td>‘tame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naskas</td>
<td>‘irritating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hijven</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the corpus, we find five out of 104 adjectives that regularly 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.

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.

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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) \texttt{tjaelieji-bie} \texttt{lohke-be} \texttt{så guhkies skovle-biejjie}
\texttt{write.PRS-1PL read.PRS-1PL so long.ATTR school-day}
\texttt{hov} \texttt{lea}
\texttt{EMP} \texttt{be.PRS.3SG}

‘We write and read so it is [was] certainly a long school day.’

[sm20170919a]

(7.4) \texttt{dellie} \texttt{lij} \texttt{gujht guhkie men ij}
\texttt{then be.PST.3SG EMP long.PRED but NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG}
\texttt{badth daelie gosse bijl-h gååvnes-h}
\texttt{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 \texttt{tjaebpies/tjaebpie} ‘nice’ and \texttt{naelkies/naelkie} ‘tasty’. In (7.5) and (7.6), they are used attributively:

(7.5) \texttt{jaa dihte lij tjaebpies bienje}
\texttt{yes 3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG nice(ATTR) dog}

‘Yes, that was a nice dog.’ [20170921h]

(7.6) \texttt{manne naelkies bearka-h byöpmeda-mme}
\texttt{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 \texttt{naelkie} differ between the examples – \texttt{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 \texttt{-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 tjàammadahke 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 dahl 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 adverbially (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicative adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tjohkehts</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feejjene</td>
<td>‘happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gallas</td>
<td>‘full (food)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jovkeds</td>
<td>‘drunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riejries</td>
<td>‘complete, ready’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalhjoe</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gahkes?</td>
<td>‘stuttering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aerkie</td>
<td>‘frightened’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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. Compare båeries ‘old’ in (7.14) and (7.15) below:

(7.14) daate mov soerme båeries jih gähtjoes sjidte-me
this 1SG.DEF 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.
präijed-h naan onne sjaavets nieje-m
care-CNG some little quiet girl-ACC.SG
‘The Tjahtaravve [legendary figure] doesn’t care about some little, quiet girl.’ [sma20170926l]

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).

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 muppie 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 nieje-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 baaht-j-h dan öövre väijkele
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 lan-
guages 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 mark-
ing 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 gajhtsje-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]
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 bâata 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 1PLGEN teacher 3SG.NOM come-PST.3SG 3SG.NOM
lea noere träjjes 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).
‘There were many young (people) down from Käringsjön that gathered and skied together up there.’ [sma20180614a]

‘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 restrictions.

‘We were many small children and so she [mother] asked Jonah’s mother if I could stay with them.’ [sma20171002e]

‘On the bottom of the wade, there are small stones.’ [sma20190723a]
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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Lg variety</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hijven ‘good’</td>
<td>buere-be</td>
<td>bööre-mes</td>
<td>standard</td>
<td>mainly PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buerie ‘good’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all variet.</td>
<td>ATTR &amp; PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stijven ‘good’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>southern</td>
<td>ATTR &amp; PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heerven ‘good’</td>
<td>heerve-be</td>
<td>heerve-mes</td>
<td>southern</td>
<td>mainly PRED</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bieżjże-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 gąajka bōöt-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 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.

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

69The discussion whether adjective comparison falls under inflection or derivation is on a theoretical level that lies outside the scope of the current project.

70The description given by Magga & Magga (2012) that the short suffixes -*bel-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives on V</td>
<td>-be</td>
<td>-mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives on C</td>
<td>-åbpoe</td>
<td>-ommes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.10: Examples of compared adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>onne</td>
<td>onne-be</td>
<td>onne-mes</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geerve</td>
<td>geerve-be</td>
<td>geerve-mes</td>
<td>‘difficult; bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalle</td>
<td>jalle-be</td>
<td>jalle-mes</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guhkie(s)</td>
<td>guhke-be</td>
<td>guhke-me</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjaebpie(s)</td>
<td>tjaebpe-be</td>
<td>tjaebpe-mes</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baahke(s)</td>
<td>baahke-be</td>
<td>baahke-mes</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noere(s)</td>
<td>noere-be</td>
<td>nööre-mes</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båeries</td>
<td>båaras-åbpoe</td>
<td>båaras-ommes</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>väjkele(s)</td>
<td>väjkele-be</td>
<td>väjkel-ommes</td>
<td>‘smart’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive attr.</th>
<th>Positive pred.</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noere ‘young’</td>
<td>noere, noeres</td>
<td>noere-be</td>
<td>nööre-mes, noeres-ommes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>noeres-åbpoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>støerre ‘big’</td>
<td>støere</td>
<td>støere-be</td>
<td>støerre-mes, stööre-mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>støeres-åbpoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åenehks ‘short’</td>
<td>åenehke</td>
<td>åene-be, åenehks-åbpoe</td>
<td>åene-mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liegkes ‘hot’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>liegke-be, liegkes-åbpoe</td>
<td>liegke-mes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murreds, murrede</td>
<td>murre-be</td>
<td>murre-mes</td>
<td>‘pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalhtjoe</td>
<td>dalhtjege-be</td>
<td>dalhtjege-mmes</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tröjjes</td>
<td>tröjje-be</td>
<td>tröjje-mes</td>
<td>‘pleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feejne</td>
<td>feejne-be, feejne-mes</td>
<td>feejje-mes</td>
<td>‘glad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åenehks, åenehke</td>
<td>åene-be</td>
<td>åene-mes</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hojnan</td>
<td>hojne-be</td>
<td>hojne-mes</td>
<td>‘sad’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
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.

\[(7.31)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{dihte} & \text{lea} & \text{båaras-obpoe} & \text{manneste, göökте} \\
3\text{SG.NOM} & \text{be.PRS.3SG} & \text{old-COMP} & 1\text{SG.ELA} & \text{two} \\
\text{jaepie-h} & \text{båaras-obpoe} & \text{manneste} \\
\text{year-NOM.PL} & \text{old-COMP} & 1\text{SG.ELA} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He is older than me, two years older than me.’ [sma20170919a]

Locational comparatives are cross-linguistically common \[\text{Stassen} (2013)\] 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 *änlen*. Examples are given in (7.32) and (7.33):

\[(7.32)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{manne} & \text{båeries-abpa} & \text{enn} & \text{dihte} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} & \text{old-COMP} & \text{than} & 3\text{SG.NOM} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I am older than him.’ [sma20181023a]

\[(7.33)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllll}
\text{dan} & \text{tijje-n} & \text{giete} & \text{lea} & \text{guhke-be} \\
\text{DEM.GEN.SG} & \text{time-GEN.SG} & \text{hand be.PRS.3SG} & \text{long-COMP} \\
\text{enn} & \text{siejpie} \\
\text{than} & \text{tail} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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) \( \text{datne lih vearre-be enn manne} \)  
\[
\begin{align*}
2\text{SG.NOM} & \quad \text{be.PST.2SG} \quad \text{bad-COMP} \quad \text{than} \quad 1\text{SG.NOM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \( \text{dihte tjaebpe-be enn goh dohte} \)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{DEM.NOM.SG} & \quad \text{nice-COMP} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{as} \quad \text{DEM.DIST.NOM.SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \( \text{daate nejpie besteles enn goh} \)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{DEM.PROX.NOM.SG} & \quad \text{knife sharp} \quad \text{than} \quad \text{as} \quad \text{dohte} \\
\text{DEM.DIST.NOM.SG} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) \( \text{tuhtj-i-n tjaebpe-be nomme} \)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{consider-PST-3PL} & \quad \text{nice-COMP} \quad \text{name} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They thought it was a nicer name.’ [sma20170924b]
(7.38)  dillie ãejjie 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]

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]

(7.41)  dihte vierrebe jovhked enn goh manne
3SG.NOM more drunk than as 1SG.NOM
‘This [man] is more drunk than I am.’ [sma20200616notes]

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]

\(^{71}\) 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
mi **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 §[II.I]), and as a temporal particle ‘when’.

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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) \[
\text{men daate} \quad \text{gierehtse dihte} \\
\text{but} \quad \text{DEM.PROX.NOM.SG pulk} \quad \text{DEM.NOM.SG} \\
\text{peehe-ldh} \quad \text{desnie} \quad \text{naehpie} \quad \text{jih} \quad \text{gellie} \\
\text{pack-PASS.PTCP} \quad \text{DEM.LOC.SG milk.pot} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{many} \\
\text{voess-h} \quad \text{gusnie} \quad \text{aat-h} \quad \text{utn-i-n} \\
\text{sack-NOM.PL} \quad \text{in.} \quad \text{thing-NOM.PL} \quad \text{have-PST-3PL}
\]

‘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) \[
\text{desnie} \quad \text{aehtjie} \quad \text{gellie-h} \quad \text{vaejsie-h} \quad \text{vuatje-me} \\
\text{there} \quad \text{father} \quad \text{many-NOM.PL} \quad \text{moose-NOM.PL} \quad \text{shoot-PTCP}
\]

‘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) \[
\text{fierhte-n} \quad \text{daelvie-n} \quad \text{mijjieh} \quad \text{juht-ij-o} \quad \text{gosse} \\
\text{every-GEN.SG} \quad \text{winter-GEN.SG} \quad \text{1PL.NOM move-PST.1PL when} \\
\text{bovtje} \quad \text{vuelnie} \quad \text{skååjelaante-snie} \\
\text{reindeer} \quad \text{down} \quad \text{forest-land-LOC.SG}
\]

‘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).  

(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 ‘someone’ 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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>nolla</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>akte</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>göökte</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>golme</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>njeljie</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vijhte</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>govhte</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tjihtje</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>gaektsie</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>uktsie</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>luhkie</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>luhkie akte</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>luhkie göökte</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>luhkie golme</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>luhkie njeljie</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>luhkie vijhte</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>luhkie govhte</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>luhkie tjihtje</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>luhkie gaektsie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>luhkie uktsie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Higher numerals are formed according to the following scheme: \(x \times 10 + y\). The numerals before and after the base \(luhkie\) ‘ten’ are juxtaposed without any conjunction:

(8.1) \(göökte\) \(luhkie\) \(golme\)
   two \hspace{1em} ten \hspace{1em} 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 \hspace{1em} then \hspace{1em} choose-PST-1PL \hspace{1em} four \hspace{1em} 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) \(Jeesuse\) \(dejtie\) \(luhkie\) \(göök-ide\) \(jeahta\)
   Jesus \hspace{1em} DEM.ILL.PL \hspace{1em} ten \hspace{1em} two-ILL.PL \hspace{1em} 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 like 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 \hspace{1em} shall.PRS-1SG \hspace{1em} say.INF \hspace{1em} two-GEN.SG \hspace{1em} 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 \hspace{1em} nice \hspace{1em} have-PST-1SG \hspace{1em} 3PL.GEN \hspace{1em} 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

skåve-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 Bergslan heav-ija akte-m
so Knut Bergslan 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.’

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 soptsese-minie gaskemsh
jaa 2PL.NOM two-COLL Saami talk-PROG each.other

‘Yes, you two are talking in Saami with each other.’ [sma20200219e]
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. First</td>
<td>voess, voestes; aktede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Second</td>
<td>mubpie, nubpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Third</td>
<td>gålmede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fourth</td>
<td>njealjede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fifth</td>
<td>vijhtede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sixth</td>
<td>govhtede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seventh</td>
<td>tjijhtjede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Eighth</td>
<td>gaaktsede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ninth</td>
<td>åktsede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tenth</td>
<td>låhkede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Eleventh</td>
<td>luhkie voestes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Twelfth</td>
<td>luhkie mubpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Thirteenth</td>
<td>luhkie gålmede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Twentieth</td>
<td>göökte låhkede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \[\text{[det är ju] akt-h gaameg-h dusnie}\]

\[
\text{that is PTCL one-NOM.PL shoe-NOM.PL DEM.DIST.LOC.SG}
\]

‘[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) \[luhkie-govhte-sh batnan-i-n men njelje-sh dah\]

\[
\text{ten-six-COLL drown-PST-3PL but four-COLL 3PL.NOM}
\]

\[
\text{dah gujht ij gujht gaajhke-sh 3PL.NOM EMP NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG EMP all-COLL}
\]

\[
\text{dovne-sh batnan-i-n dellie all-COLL drown-PST-3PL then}
\]

‘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) \[leehp-i dah sov\]

\[
\text{leave-PST.3SG DEM.NOM.PL LOG.GEN.SG}
\]

\[
\text{skåahtija-h jah revolver jah jammedh jah ammunition-NOM.PL and revolver-NOM.PL and well and sov akte-sh LOG.GEN.SG one-COLL}
\]

‘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 mijjen 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]
```

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 *gööktesi 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 sååle lea mov
one-one half island be PRS 3SG 1SG GEN

‘One and a half islands are mine.’ [sma20200320notes]
```

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaj</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barre</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vihth</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viele</td>
<td>‘more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riekte</td>
<td>‘directly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öövre</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>‘quite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjarke</td>
<td>‘strongly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>guhkie-n</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>ADJ guhkie ‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>guhke-ne</td>
<td>‘long (temporal)’</td>
<td>ADJ guhkie ‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gh</td>
<td>voeste-gh</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
<td>ADJ voestes ‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oktegh</td>
<td>‘alone’</td>
<td>NUM akte ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-th</td>
<td>ik-th</td>
<td>‘once’</td>
<td>ADJ akte ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heahkes-th</td>
<td>‘hastily’</td>
<td>(no synchronic base)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ge</td>
<td>giese-ge</td>
<td>‘during summer’</td>
<td>N giesie ‘summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daelve-ge</td>
<td>‘during winter’</td>
<td>N daelvie ‘winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se</td>
<td>åarje-se</td>
<td>‘southwards’</td>
<td>N åarje ‘south’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-de</td>
<td>noerhte-de</td>
<td>‘from north’</td>
<td>N noerhte ‘north’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-len</td>
<td>noerhte-len</td>
<td>‘north of’</td>
<td>N noerhte ‘north’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-laakan</td>
<td>hijven-laakan</td>
<td>‘in a good way’</td>
<td>ADJ hijven ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>geerve-laakan</td>
<td>‘in a bad/difficult way’</td>
<td>ADJ geerve ‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ligkie</td>
<td>heerven-ligkie</td>
<td>‘in a good way’</td>
<td>ADJ heerven ‘good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>varke-be</td>
<td>early-COMP</td>
<td>‘sooner, earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öövte-be</td>
<td>very-COMP</td>
<td>‘very, utterly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öövte-mes</td>
<td>very-SUP</td>
<td>‘very, most, uttermost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minnge-mes</td>
<td>next-SUP</td>
<td>‘lastly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guhkie-ba-ssa</td>
<td>long-COMP-ILL</td>
<td>‘longer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jillie-ba-ssa</td>
<td>west-COMP-ILL</td>
<td>‘further westwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hellebe</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘rather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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]

[73]See for instance the Facebook group *Numhtie naemhtie soptsestibie* (‘This is how we talk’), where language users of South Saami discuss language matters.

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(there is a preference to use nimhtie and gimhtie in the southern dialects).

**Table 9.4: Manner adverbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>heerven-ligkie</strong></td>
<td>‘well-behaved, in a good manner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>geerve-laakan</strong></td>
<td>‘in a bad/difficult way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jeatj-leejnie</strong></td>
<td>‘differently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ektesne</strong></td>
<td>‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>varki/varke/varken</strong></td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tjarke</strong></td>
<td>‘strongly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nimhtie/nemhtie/naemhtie/numhtie</strong></td>
<td>‘that way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>demhtie</strong></td>
<td>‘that way’ (southern dialect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gumhtie/gimhtie</strong></td>
<td>‘what way?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 väijkeles-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dellie, dle</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
<td>daanbien</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dallie</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
<td>jirreden</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daelie</td>
<td>‘now(adays)’</td>
<td>jääktan</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joo</td>
<td>‘already’</td>
<td>barre</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enjje</td>
<td>‘still’</td>
<td>männan</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avtesne</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
<td>varke</td>
<td>‘early; fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muvhten</td>
<td>‘now and then’</td>
<td>eejnegen</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muettien</td>
<td>‘now and then’</td>
<td>eelhtin</td>
<td>‘always (only southern)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dåjman</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
<td>aadtjegh</td>
<td>‘recently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalliegh</td>
<td>‘soon’</td>
<td>giesège</td>
<td>‘during summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daelvege</td>
<td>‘during winter’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) **jääktan** 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 **joo** ‘already’ and **ennje** ‘still’ are given in (9.8) through (9.13) below.

(9.8) **gosse** dahkoe jakse-be **joo** priejhke aalke-me

when there arrive.PRS-1PL already sermon start-PTCP

‘When we get [=got] there, the sermon has [or had] already stared.’ [sma20170913]e
(9.9) Max **joe** ringke-me?
Max already call-PTCP
‘Has Max already called?’ [sma20170913k]

(9.10) **dillie** **joe** siente iehkede-n gosse bōät-i-bh
then already late evening-GEN.SG when come-PST-1PL
don gāatan
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]

(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guhkene</td>
<td>‘far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guhkie-ba-sse</td>
<td>long-COMP-ILL = ‘further’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bįjjene</td>
<td>‘up, of, above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bąjjese</td>
<td>‘upwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âlkene</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olkese</td>
<td>‘out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åarjese</td>
<td>‘southwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noerhtede</td>
<td>‘from north’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bąåstede</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noerhtelen</td>
<td>‘north of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åarjelen</td>
<td>‘south of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vueelen</td>
<td>‘below, down below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuelegen</td>
<td>‘down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilliebassa</td>
<td>‘more westwards’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *bįjjie ‘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 /ø/. The official orthography uses âlkene.)

(9.14) mijjieh hov lihb barre olkene abpe
1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL. just outside whole
biejjie-n stąåkedi-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.7: Degree adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öövre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joekoen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vielie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reenhte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuekies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 lahkoе dihte
      very luck this
      ‘That is great luck.’ [sma20170921b]
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) \textit{biss-ij-o dan gierkie-n nelnie}  
\textit{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 \textit{bäjjese} ‘upwards’ in (10.2) below and in (9.16) above, repeated for convenience in (10.3):

(10.2) \textit{dellie manne ussjed-i-m im daelie}  
then 1SG.NOM think-PST-1SG NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG now  
\textit{maechtie-h bååstede jargij manne bäjjese tjakhe-m}  
can-CNG back turn.INF 1SG.NOM upwards top-ACC.SG  
\textit{goegkerd-i-m}  
crawl-PST-1SG  
‘Then I thought, I can’t [go] back now, I crawled up[onto] the top.’ [sma20190729a]

(10.3) \textit{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 \textit{bäjjese}, whereas (10.2) would not be grammatical without the adposition \textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOAL</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>Example bases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-sne/snie</td>
<td>-sne/stie</td>
<td>åvte- ‘front’; alke- ‘out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-len, -ge</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>bijje- ‘up’; alke ‘out’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-nie</td>
<td>-tie</td>
<td>nualan ‘down into’; luvnie ‘at’, luvhtie ‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-le</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nille ‘down onto’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The suffixes -se and -n, -sne/snie and -sne/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 similarity. Examples are listed in Table 10.3. Of these, the adposition nuleiem 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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>GOAL</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luv-</td>
<td>sjse</td>
<td>luvnie ‘at’</td>
<td>luvhtie ‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijje-</td>
<td>bijje</td>
<td>bijjege ‘up’</td>
<td>bijjede ‘from above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bijjelen ‘over’</td>
<td>bijjede ‘up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alke-</td>
<td>alke-</td>
<td>alkene ‘outside’</td>
<td>alkelistie ‘from outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alkese ‘out’</td>
<td>alkene ‘outside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vuele-</td>
<td>vuelelen ‘down there’</td>
<td>nelhtie ‘down/away from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vuelege ‘down there’</td>
<td>nuela `down into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nuel-</td>
<td>nille ‘on(to)’</td>
<td>nelpnie ‘up(on)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nule-</td>
<td>nule-</td>
<td>nualan ‘down into’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10.3:** Adpositions encoding PATH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adposition</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mietie</td>
<td>‘along’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuestie</td>
<td>‘towards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåajka</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nueliem</td>
<td>‘alongside under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dăaresth</td>
<td>‘across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjirrh</td>
<td>‘through’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (băetedh ‘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) \textit{gosse mijjieh limh mijjien giesie-laante-sne}  
when 1PL.NOM be.PST.1PL 1PL.GEN summer-land-LOC.SG  
\textit{bijjene Bavle-sne}  
up.there Bavla-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 \textit{GOAL} and \textit{SOURCE}. There are some adpositions that are not easily classified according to their spatial functions. For instance, the suffix -\textit{len} usually implies \textit{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) \textit{jih dellie veedts-i-m bijjelen dam}  
and then walk-PST-1SG upwards DEM.ACC.SG  
\textit{vaerie-m}  
mountain-ACC.SG  
‘And then I went up-and-over/across that mountain.’  
\[sma20170919a\]

(10.8) \textit{manne olkese veedts-i-m jih dihte gåetie}  
1SG.NOM outside go-PST-1SG and DEM.NOM.SG house  
\textit{ohtje bahke-n nelnie tjåadtja-n jih vuelelen bahke}  
little hill-GEN.SG onto stand-CVB and downwards hill  
\textit{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), \textit{vuelege} ‘down(side); downwards’ is used in a similar setting as (10.8). Both examples were produced by the same speaker. She commented that \textit{vuelelen} and \textit{vuelege} are not interchangeable here and express different notions.

(10.9) \textit{jih lea vuajna-m doll-h buelie-h dagka}  
and so see.PRS-1SG fire-NOM.PL burn.PRS-3PL there  
\textit{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) \[ \text{datne} \quad \text{luvnh} \quad \text{monnan} \quad \text{ringke-me} \quad \text{åvte} \]
2SG.NOM be.COND.2SG 1SG.ILL call-PTCP before
\[ \text{bööt-i-h} \]
come-PST-2SG

‘You should have called me before you came.’ [sma20181020a]

(10.11) \[ \text{jaa} \quad \text{iengt-snie} \quad \text{buvrie-n} \quad \text{avtelen} \]
\[ \text{yes} \quad \text{meadow-LOC.SG} \quad \text{shed-GEN.SG} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{front} \]

‘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’, *bijrejärge* ‘around’, *åvtesne* ‘before’, *vuele* `down below’,

In conclusion, many adpositions can take locational case markers, but do not admit any of the core grammatical cases. 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

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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. Ex-
amples are given in (10.12) through (10.14).

(10.12) monnah doll- h veejne- be daej
DU.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 cloudberrries 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]

10.4 Prepositions

There are fewer prepositions than postpositions in South Saami, but, as men-
tioned above, many adpositions are used as ambipositions. There is a slight
tendency in the data that adpositions which historically are described as post-
positions are being used as prepositions. 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]

A shift under the influence of Scandinavian languages is a possible explanation
for this tendency.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avtelen</td>
<td>'before'</td>
<td>buvre avtelen 'in front of the shed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baalte</td>
<td>'by; alongside'</td>
<td>daan bietsien baalte 'by this pine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baakta</td>
<td>'by, alongside, past'</td>
<td>baakta Fosenhalvöya 'along Fosen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijjelen</td>
<td>'above, over'</td>
<td>aernien bijjelen 'above the fireplace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijre</td>
<td>'around'</td>
<td>mov bijre 'about me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåetij</td>
<td>'around the houses'</td>
<td>gåetij bijre 'around the houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dåaresth</td>
<td>'across'</td>
<td>johken dåaresth 'across the river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duekesne</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
<td>bahken duekesne 'behind the hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaskh</td>
<td>'between; middle'</td>
<td>dihte Preahkan jih Stugudaelien gaskh 'It is between P. and S.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåajka</td>
<td>'towards'</td>
<td>Dearnan gåajka 'to Tärnaby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gujmie</td>
<td>'with'</td>
<td>Mikaelen gujmie 'with Michael'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luvnie</td>
<td>'at, with, by'</td>
<td>gaerteni luvnie 'at the farms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luvhtie</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>Bergenen luvhtie 'from Bergen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>männgan</td>
<td>'after'</td>
<td>dåaran männgan 'after the war'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mietie</td>
<td>'after; along'</td>
<td>daan bahken mietie 'along that hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namhtan</td>
<td>'without'</td>
<td>dijnehken namhtan 'without sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisnie</td>
<td>'inside, in'</td>
<td>gåetien sisnie 'inside the house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjirrh</td>
<td>'through'</td>
<td>klaasen tjirrh 'through the window'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuestie</td>
<td>'towards, against'</td>
<td>dej tjahki vuestie 'towards these peaks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vööste</td>
<td>'towards, opposite'</td>
<td>mov vööste 'opposite of me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(10.17)  abpe  dah  dâehkie-h   voejie-h  dâaresth
whole  DEM.NOM.PL  flock-NOM.PL  swim.PRS-3PL across

dam  störe  Trondheimsfjorden
DEM.ACC.SG  big  Trondheim-fjord.DEF

‘The entire herd swam across the big Trondheim fjord.’

[sm20170516c]

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  dâaroe-h  laante-dâaroe-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.’

[sm20170516a]

A list over attested prepositions is presented in Table 10.5:

Table 10.5: Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baakta</td>
<td>‘past, over, by, along’</td>
<td>baakta Fosenhalvöya ‘along Fosen peninsula’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijrejärgan</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
<td>bijrejärgan dam laantem ‘around that land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâaresth</td>
<td>‘over, across’</td>
<td>dâaresth johkem ‘across the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaska</td>
<td>‘between; middle’</td>
<td>gaska sijtem ‘in the middle of the site’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namhtah</td>
<td>‘without’</td>
<td>namhtah tjohpem ‘without hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sontere</td>
<td>‘against’</td>
<td>sontere vieggen ‘against the wall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuelelen</td>
<td>‘down below’</td>
<td>vuelelen bahke ‘below the hill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âvtelen</td>
<td>‘before; earlier’</td>
<td>âvtelen jovesåhkaj ‘before midsummer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 dāaresth 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 dāaresth 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). 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

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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* 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 a 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)).

77For a detailed description on the particle *hov*, see Jonasson [2006].
### Table 11.1: Discourse markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Function and gloss</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gujht</td>
<td>personal assessment, uncontroversial information</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hov</td>
<td>emphasis, uncontroversial information</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nov</td>
<td>assumption; ‘well’</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sån</td>
<td>questioning; surprise; personal judgement</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goh</td>
<td>emphatic in negated context; ‘neither’</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badth</td>
<td>uncontroversial information, assurance</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gännah</td>
<td>negative polarity; ‘neither’</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa</td>
<td>hesitation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>certainty</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma</td>
<td>certainty; ‘surely’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màn</td>
<td>relativizing; ‘well’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>hesitation; filler?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>hesitation; filler?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>så</td>
<td>‘so’ (conjunction)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan</td>
<td>‘so (very)’ (ADV)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaanne</td>
<td>‘maybe’ (ADV)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[ \text{jaa nov lea gujht guhkie gåate-ste} \]
\[ \text{yes well be.PRS.3SG certainly long home-ELA.SG} \]
\[ \text{‘Well yes, it was certainly far from home.’ [sma20170919a]} \]

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)  
\[ \text{dellie lij gujht guhkie men ij} \]
\[ \text{then be.PST.3SG EMO long but NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG} \]
\[ \text{badth daelie gosse bijl-h gååvnes-h} \]
\[ \text{PTCL now when car-NOM.PL exist.PRS-3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Back then it was certainly far but surely not today where there are cars.’ [sma20171002e]} \]
Here, *gūght* 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)  
\[ \text{mijjieh hov libh barre sleakte mijjieh} \]
\[ \text{1PL.NOM EMP be.PST.1PL only related 1PL.NOM} \]
\[ \text{tjiijhtj-h seven-COLL} \]

‘We were all related, the seven of us.’ [sma20170919a]

Another function of *hov* is to establish a common ground in the discourse, as in (11.6). The context was that different lakes were compared with respect to their quality for fishing.

(11.6)  
\[ \text{å desnie hov lea hijven göölies jaevrie} \]
\[ \text{and there EMP be.PRS.3SG good rich.in.fish lake} \]

‘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)  
\[ \text{edtji gie gännah Käringsjöe-sne} \]
\[ \text{NEG.AUX.PST.3SG someone NEG.EMP Käringsjön-LOC.SG} \]
\[ \text{baetjie-h stay.behind-CNG} \]

‘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 sän* or *nov amma* ‘well surely’ (11.9). In these positions, particles can be stressed.

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78 In many contexts, *hov* can be translated by the Swedish/Nowegian particle *ju/fo*.
`Well, so now I don’t remember exactly, but maybe it was some thirty kilometers.’ [sma20170919a]

‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Occurences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aellieh</td>
<td>‘Beware; Oh no’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aellede</td>
<td>‘Beware; Oh no’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammedebielien</td>
<td>‘Good lord’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jämmedebielien</td>
<td>‘Good lord’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jöödtedh</td>
<td>‘Oh dear’</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åå, ååh</td>
<td>‘Oh’</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 storerre
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]
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/jõss. Interjections are not frequent in the data. Most attested interjections are secondary interjections which have an “independent semantic value” (Ameeka, 1992), such as aellieh. Primary interjections (such as wow!, ouch!, oops!) found in the data are uj (cf. Swe. uj) and åålååh (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. Co-variation in word order with other factors such as for instance tense was not found in the data.

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.

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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 \quad dah \quad tjåenie-h]_{OBJ} \quad áadtj-i-n
all-NOM.PL \quad DEM.NOM.PL \quad thing-NOM.PL \quad get-PST-3PL
\[dah \quad ruantja-h]_{SUBJ} \quad göötedh
DEM.NOM.PL \quad tame.reindeer-NOM.PL \quad 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} \quad [lij]_{AUX} \quad [fealloe-h]_{OBJ} \quad [vaalte-me]_{V}
father \quad be.PST.3SG \quad plank-NOM.PL \quad 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 \quad leam \quad vuajneme \quad jeenj-h \quad riepie-h
1SG.NOM \quad be.PRS.1SG \quad see-PTCP \quad many-NOM.PL \quad fox-NOM.PL
‘I have seen many foxes.’ [sma20170920e]
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]

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]

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 children.’ [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) \( \text{dihte} \) \( \text{dam} \) \( \text{majhta-ji} \)
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 \( \text{luvie} \) ‘at, with’ and \( \text{g\aa ajka} \) ‘to’ are presented in (12.11) and (12.12):

(12.11) \( \text{manne} \) \( \text{hellebe} \) \( \text{aahka-n} \) \( \text{aajja-n} \) \( \text{luvie} \)
1SG.NOM rather grandma-GEN.SG grandpa-GEN.SG at
\( \text{daesnie} \) \( \text{murried-i-m} \)
DEM.PROX.LOC.SG be.happy-PST-1SG

‘I was rather at grandma’s and grandpa’s, I liked it there.’
[sma20181025a]

(12.12) \( \text{dotnah} \) \( \text{luvnede} \) \( \text{mov} \) \( \text{g\aa ajka} \) \( \text{b\aa ate-me} \)
2DU.NOM be.COND.2PL 1SG.GEN to come-PTCP

‘You two should have come to me.’ [sma20181020a]

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]). 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. 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:

80For a typological study that challenges the view that animacy and definiteness are driving factors for differential object marking, see Sinnemäki (2014).
81See also Kroik (2016) and Wickman (1954).
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.

The following examples (12.16) and (12.17) constitute minimal semantic pairs:

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):

‘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 maana-h* form the subject noun phrase. There is also a prosodic difference between the nominal and adnominal use.

(12.22) **[dah]SUBJ [doerk-h]OBJ dâaja-ji-n**
    NOM.3PL brushwood-NOM.PL cut-PST-3PL
    ‘They cut brushwood.’ [sma20190729a]e

(12.23) **[dah maana-h]SUBJ 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) aehjtie skāāje-sne barka
father.NOM forest-LOC.SG work.PRS.3SG
‘Father works in the forest.’ [sma20170923g]e

(13.2) olkene mijjieh stāaked-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
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 feejene – ‘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 māarahtāvva
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*
\[ \text{NEG.AUX.PST.1SG really be.happy-CNG} \]
\[ \text{dunnie} \text{ gâete-snie} \text{ ADN.DEM.DIST.LOC.SG house-LOC.SG} \]

‘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* *hâvvi* *bill-i-n* *aaj*
\[ \text{DEM.ELA.PL certainly be.scared-LPST.3PL also} \]

‘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*
\[ \text{rain.PRS.3SG} \]

‘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 *råkhkedh* ‘to be enough’ is given in (13.10), and with the verb *bamedh* ‘to sink’ in (13.11). Square brackets indicate code switching to Swedish.
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 intransitive 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 constructions 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 languages. 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.

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.

There is very likely also a prosodic contrast; however, this needs to be investigated further.
‘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]

‘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).

Alienability is not marked in possessive constructions, compare (13.15) and (13.17):

‘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. 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) \[ \text{jih dihte kaarre tjaha-n barre govle-minie} \]
\[ \text{DEM.NOM.SG man sit-CVB only hear-PROG} \]

‘And that man just sits there and is listening.’ [sma20181025t]

(13.23) \[ \text{dihte lâhka} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM read.PRS.3SG} \]

‘He reads/ is reading.’ [sma20170927h]

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 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) \[ \text{manne gajhke-m} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM thirst.PRS-1SG} \]

‘I am thirsty.’ (Lit: ‘I thirst/I am thirsting’) [sma20190820notes]

(13.25) \[ \text{manne gajhke-m bearka-h} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM dry.PRS-1SG meat-NOM.PL} \]

‘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, *gajhkedidh* ‘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 perpectory/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 lyhkoe*

Eliah coffee-ACC.SG like.PRS.3SG

‘Eliah likes coffee.’ [sma20180612m]

(13.27) *dohte māaratāvva 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]

(13.29) *Hilje Mikaele-m jaahka*

Eliah Michael-ACC.SG believe.PRS.3SG

‘Eliah believes in/trusts Michael.’ [sma20180604b]

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.

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.

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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) \( jaa \ naan \ govs-h \ jih \ sirv-h \ utn-i-n \)
\[ \text{yes} \ \text{some} \ \text{cow-NOM.PL} \ \text{and} \ \text{goat-NOM.PL} \ \text{have-PST-3PL} \]
‘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).
And she used (had/possessed?) the Norwegian language.'

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):

‘Back then I considered she [is/was] so old and grown-up.’

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 tendency” 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)  
bienie   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

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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 lohetäjja
mother also teacher
‘Mother is also a teacher.’ [sma20170921g]e
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. 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]

(13.49) mijjieh hov libh barre oklene 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.

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].
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.

‘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).

‘He is over there.’ [sma20190721c]

‘The pen is on the table.’ [sma20170220a]e

‘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.
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 indefinite 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) *tjöölle*-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*-sne *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) 
\[ \text{gaarden-} \quad \text{betne-sne} \quad \text{smaave} \quad \text{gierkie-h} \]
\[ \text{ford-GEN.SG} \quad \text{bottom-LOC.SG} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{stone-NOM.PL} \]
\[ \text{‘There are small stones on the ford’s bottom.’} \quad [\text{sma20190723a}] \]

Non-verbal existential predicates are also used to express part-whole relationships, illustrated in (13.63) and (13.64):

(13.63) 
\[ \text{tjiehtjeli-snie} \quad \text{göökte} \quad \text{klaas-h} \]
\[ \text{room-LOC.SG} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{glass-NOM.PL} \]
\[ \text{‘There are two windows in the room/The room has two windows.’} \quad [\text{sma20170220a}] \]

(13.64) 
\[ \text{daennie} \quad \text{geegke-sne} \quad \text{akte} \quad \text{luehkie} \]
\[ \text{ADN.DEM.LOC.SG} \quad \text{keg-LOC.SG} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{lid} \]
\[ \text{‘There is a lid on this keg/This keg has a lid.’} \quad [\text{sma20180604a}] \]

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 *gaaynesje/-gaavnedee*- ‘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) 
\[ \text{jueskiedahke-sne} \quad \text{mielhkie} \quad \text{gååvnese} \]
\[ \text{fridge-LOC.SG} \quad \text{milk} \quad \text{exist.PRS.3SG} \]
\[ \text{‘There is milk in the fridge.’} \quad [\text{sma20170921h}] \]

(13.66) 
\[ \text{Sveerje-sne} \quad \text{vaejsie-h} \quad \text{gååvnes-h} \]
\[ \text{Sweden-LOC.SG} \quad \text{moose-NOM.PL} \quad \text{exist.PRS-3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘There are moose in Sweden.’} \quad [\text{sma20210811notes}] \]

(13.67) 
\[ \text{Aafrika-sne} \quad \text{lejjon-h} \quad \text{gååvnes-h} \]
\[ \text{Africa-LOC.SG} \quad \text{lion-NOM.PL} \quad \text{exist.PRS-3PL} \]
\[ \text{‘There are lions in Africa.’} \quad [\text{sma20210811notes}] \]

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 gååvnes-h ‘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 existPRS-3PL
‘There are many lakes in Härjedalen county.’ [sma20200219c]e

(13.69) biblioteek-sne jeenj-h gårja-h gååvnes-h
library-LOC.SG many-NOM.PL book-NOM.PL existPRS-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 gååvnes
existPRS.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 existPRS-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 gårja-h (gååvnes-h)
table-GEN.SG ontop book-NOM.PL existPRS-3PL
‘There are books on the table.’ [sma20210811notes]e

Possibly, the encoding of existential predication with the existential verb gååvnes-h- ‘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.
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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[det]} & \text{ gååvnese jeenj-h dagkere baakoe-h} \\
\text{[it]} & \text{ exist.PRS.3SG many-NOM.PL such word-NOM.PL} \\
\text{åarjelsaemien gogkoe beaja ov- åvtelen} \\
\text{South.Saami where put.PRS.3SG ‘un-’ in front of} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘There are many words in South Saami where you put an ‘un-’ in front 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
aerebe & \text{ provhk-i-n svaal-h vijredh} \\
earlier & \text{ use.to-LPST-3PL arctic.fox-NOM.PL hunt.INF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Earlier, one used to hunt arctic foxes.’ [sma20170913g]

The second construction is illustrated in (13.77):

(13.77)  
\[
\begin{align*}
daesnie & \text{ maahta gōoledh?} \\
\text{here} & \text{ can.PRS.3SG fish.INF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Can you fish here?’ [sma20190820notes]
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 låëdjie lea dan sån**
3SG.NOM Rogen very calm be.PRS.3SG so so
låëdjie desnie mahta 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 mahta vuejedh**
here one pulk and DEM.COM.SG can.PRS.3SG drive
‘Here is a pulk and with that one you can drive.’ [sma20170922a]

(13.81) **gosse dejje-m darjedh dellie gaajhk-h – bâde**
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
gaabkhe-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):
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 biejje nåhk-i barre] [vierm-ide]
whole day get.used.up-PST.3SG just net-ACC.PL
giesedh bājjese 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, 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.

However, I am not entirely sure about the function of barre ‘only’ (compare the Swedish/ Norwegian baralbare 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 adverbal 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).

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 dlejįlā ‘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 bāata]
also come.PRS.3SG

‘I went into town and my friend came as well.’ [sma20170921g]e

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.”
‘We went into the forest and built such huts and examined bird nests.’

Juxtaposition as a means of coordination is attested in the data, illustrated in (14.5) and (14.6). This strategy is less frequent.

While the examples (14.3) and (14.4) above describe events (two actions), (14.7), describes “non-events” (two locatives):

‘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’):
‘Grandmother was outside and saw that he was bad at skiing.’

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) \[
\text{[manne fikh-i-m gaerie-h bissedh]} \quad \text{men} \\
\text{1SG.NOM get-PST-1SG bowl-NOM.PL wash.INF but} \\
\text{[idtjim manne tuhtj-h dihte naan]} \\
\text{NEG.AUX.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM think-CNG DEM.NOM.SG some luste]} \\
\text{fun} \\
\text{‘I got to do the dishes, but I didn’t think that was fun.’} \\
\text{[sma20180605c]}
\]

(14.10) \[
\text{[mijjieh provhk-i-bh gåetie-m sjeakedh]} \\
\text{1PL.NOM use.to-PST-1PL house-ACC.SG clean.INF} \\
\text{laavadahk-ij]} \quad \text{bene} \quad \text{[daelie mijjieh duarsta-n]} \\
\text{saturdat-GEN.PL but now 1PL.NOM Thursday-GEN.SG} \\
\text{sjeake-be]} \\
\text{clean.PRS-1PL} \\
\text{‘We used to clean the house on Saturdays but now we clean it on Thursday.’} \text{[sma20170927g]}\]

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* [djurparke-se seededh]
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) [stræjmie hov diekie bōōt-i] **eller** [mijjieh hov]
electricity EMP here come-PST.3SG or 1PL.NOM EMP

*jijtje dagkeres vierkemie-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 tjoekkedh]*
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 daaroer-n-almeitj-h
NEG.AUX.PST.3PL some Scandinavian-GEN.SG-people-NOM.PL
mijjem nöödt-h] dannasinie [mijjen
1PL.ACC reach-CNG therefore 1PL.GEN
iethnie-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. 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
âestie-ji-n
buy-PST-3PL
‘Father and my uncle bought that site.’ [sma20170922h]

A variant of the coordinate strategy is juxtaposition 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).

88I focus here on NP coordination and leave a description of other types of coordination, such as adjective phrases, for future work.
‘Yes, grandmother and grandfather lived there.’ [sma20181025b]

‘Grandmother and grandfather have [had] a little farm.’
[sma20171002e]

The juxtaposition strategy (or asyndeton/asyndetic) is typical for participants 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 therefore clearly different from the other coordinating conjunctions jihljah ‘and’.

‘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):

‘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 (Cristofaro, 2005). 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 *männan* ‘after’.

(14.22)  
\[
\text{dihte viehkieht}-i \ [\text{gosse maana rekasovv-i}]
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
3\text{SG.NOM help-PST.3SG when child be.born-PST.3SG} \\
\text{Käringsjöe-sne} \\
\text{Käringsjö-LOC.SG}
\end{array}
\]

‘She helped when a child was born in Käringsjön.’ [sma20170922i]

(14.23)  
\[
\text{datne luvnh monnan ringke-me [åvtelen}}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
2\text{SG.NOM be.COND.2SG 1SG.ILL call-PTCP before} \\
böö-t-i-h} \\
\text{come-PST-2SG}
\end{array}
\]

‘You should have called me before you came.’ [sma20181020a]

**Location**

Locational adverbial clauses are introduced by *gusnie* ‘where’.

(14.24)  
\[
\text{dagkeres fealloe-b boelv-ine utn-i-b [gusnie}}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
such plank-ACC.SG knee-LOC.PL have-PST-1SG where} \\
gärja-h} \\
gosse edtje-be tjaeledh book-NOM.PL when write.PRS-1PL write.INF
\end{array}
\]

‘I had a kind of plank on my knees, where the books were, when we should write.’ [sma20170919a]

(14.25)  
\[
\text{desnie [gusnie dihte skovle] desnie lij}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{there where DEM.NOM.SG school there be.PST.3SG} \\
golme gåetie-h derhvie-gåetie-h three house-NOM.PL turf-house-NOM.PL
\end{array}
\]

‘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 râakedh]*
1SG.NOM here come-PST-1SG 2SG.ACC meet.INF
‘I came here (in order) to meet you.’ [sma20170915d]
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]

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]

**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]
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).

\[(14.32) \text{gieh} \quad \text{dah} \quad \text{[mij} \quad \text{duennie]}
\]

\[
\text{INT.NOM.PL} \quad \text{3PL.NOM} \quad \text{REL.NOM.SG} \quad \text{AD.DEM.MED.LOC.SG}
\]

\[
\text{gåete-sne} \quad \text{hööltest-h?} \quad \text{house-LOC.SG} \quad \text{dwell.PRS-3PL}
\]

‘Who are these that live in that house over here?’ [sma20180606b]

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.
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]

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-jii]
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/lat*); *igke* (or *ikhie*) 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 vieillekheididh]*  
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-mé [igke]*  
NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG PTCL see-PTCP that  
tjuatse-mé?)  
snow-PTCP  

‘Didn’t you see that it was snowing?’ [sma20190303notes]

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  biijene
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]

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.

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. 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. 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.

93Its 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).
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 peehe-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)  
\[ \text{ij} \quad \text{goh} \quad \text{obre-me?} \]  
\begin{tabular}{lll}
NEG & AUX & PRS 3SG Q rain-PTCP \\
\end{tabular}  
‘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)  
\[ \text{vuasta-m} \quad \text{åeste-den?} \]  
\begin{tabular}{lll}
cheese-ACC.SG buy.PRS-2DU \\
\end{tabular}  
‘Did you two buy cheese?’ [sma20170915c]

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)  
\[ \text{gie} \quad \text{dan} \quad \text{mearan} \quad \text{bâate-me?} \]  
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
INT & NOM & SG & ADN & DEM ILL & SG amount & ILL & SG come-PTCP \\
\end{tabular}  
‘Who has come so far?’ [sma20170913k]

(15.12)  
\[ \text{mij} \quad \text{dunnie} \quad \text{bahte-sne?} \]  
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
INT & NOM & SG & ADN & DEM LOC & SG bucket & LOC & SG \\
\end{tabular}  
‘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?’ [sma20180608e]

(15.14) **misse** daam jis utnedh?
INT.ILL.SG DEM.PROX.ACC.SG PTCL have.INF
‘For what is this used?’ [sma20170913e/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]

(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: iije 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 elitication (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
jjnj-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 *nemhtiie*, *namhtiie*, *numhtiie*) ‘like this, this way’ may answer a question based on *gumhtiie* ‘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)\(^\text{94}\) 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.
The auxiliary agrees with the subject in person and number, see eah in (16.5), which encodes the third person plural and therefore agrees with sarvah ‘reindeer bucks’:

(16.3)  
dah sarva-\textit{h} \quad \textit{eah} \quad naan  
DEM.NOM.PL male.reindeer-NOM.PL NEG.AUX.PRS.3PL some  
tjoervie-\textit{h} utnie-\textit{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)  
\textit{jih} \quad \textit{idtjibh} \quad gujht dam mijjieh  
and NEG.AUX.PST.1PL EMP DEM.ACC.SG 1PL.NOM  
maehtie-\textit{h} lohkедh  
can-CNG read.INF  
‘And we were not able to read that.’ [sma20170927c]

(16.5)  
dellie da tjoer-i-n jijjie-n geehtедdh  
then PTCL must-PST-3PL night-GEN.SG watch.INF  
dejtie så \textit{idtjin} dah saajen-\textit{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) (\textit{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-\textit{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 admonitve 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]

(16.8)  
mov fuelhkie ij goh daesnie  
1SG.GEN family NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG PTCL here  
årroeminie  
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)  
iddjit 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
gen.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 occurs 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 variation. 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. 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.

(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 Brändåsen, 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) \[ \text{nej det är } \text{i} \] \text{leah Rickard Fjellgren}  
\[ \text{[no it is]} \] \text{NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG Richard Fjellgren}  
\[ \text{det är akte jeatja Richard} \]  
\[ \text{[it is]} \] \text{one other Richard}  
‘No, it is not Richard Fjällgren, it is another Richard.’  
\[ \text{sma20180607a} \]

(16.15) \[ \text{i} \] \text{leah gujht då riekte almetje}  
\[ \text{NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG be.CNG certainly PTCL real human} \]  
\[ \text{akte nåvser} \] \text{one}  
‘It is not a real human, it is a ghost.’ \[ \text{sma20170926l} \]
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 con-
negative 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 in-
dexed 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 bâeries
     NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG EMP be.CNG 3SG.NOM PTCL old
dihte sân 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 ex-
pressed with a combination of the negative auxiliary ij NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG and
the copula lim be.PST.1SG:
‘But I was not really sure whether he had remembered this.’

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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(16.20)</th>
<th>nen</th>
<th></th>
<th>leah</th>
<th>manne</th>
<th>gåete-sne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>NEG.AUX.PST.3SG</td>
<td>be-CNG</td>
<td>1SG.NOM</td>
<td>house-LOC.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘No, I am not home.’</td>
<td>[sma20171002e]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16.21)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(16.21)</th>
<th></th>
<th>dihte</th>
<th>gåete-sne</th>
<th>dihte</th>
<th>golme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG.AUX.PST.3SG</td>
<td>3SG.NOM</td>
<td>house-LOC.SG</td>
<td>3SG.NOM</td>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luhkie</td>
<td>jaepli-h</td>
<td>dubpene</td>
<td>orre-me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>year-NOM.PL</td>
<td>over.there</td>
<td>be-PTCP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘She is not home, she has been living there for thirty years.’</td>
<td>[sma20180804g]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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).
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 gāåvnes-h ‘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 gāåvnes-h  
NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG such word-NOM.PL exist-CNG  
‘There are no such words.’  [sma20180608b]

(16.27)  

ij tjehtjeli-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]

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]

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]
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.
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 [iʃ] 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.)
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-hhts
3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG leg-PRIV
‘It was legless; It had no legs.’ [sma20170914c]e

(16.41) mov lea barko-hht
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 maekte-be jeehtedh ibie gujht
then EMP can.PRS.1PL say.INF NEG.AUX.PRS.1PL EMP
gåessie beabme-hhts 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):
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 polarity 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).\footnote{In the story in (16.47), a young teacher from south-western Norway was instructed 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.}

\begin{itemize}
\item (16.45)  
\textit{idtji} \quad \textit{dihte} \quad \textit{gännah} \quad \textit{maam} \quad \textit{jeeht’}
\textit{NEG.AUX.PST.3SG} \quad \textit{3SG.NOM} \quad \textit{NEG.EMP} \quad \textit{what} \quad \textit{say.CNG}
\end{itemize}
‘He didn’t say anything.’ [sma20170927a]

\begin{itemize}
\item (16.46)  
\textit{edtji} \quad \textit{gie} \quad \textit{gännah} \quad \textit{Käringsjöe-sne}
\textit{NEG.AUX.PST.3SG} \quad \textit{someone} \quad \textit{NEG.EMP} \quad \textit{Käringsjön-LOC.SG}
\textit{baetjie-h}
\end{itemize}
‘No-one stayed behind in Käringsjön.’ [sma20170924c]
‘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 in Table 16.1.

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99 This table has been inspired by the one in Blokland & Inaba (2015).
Table 16.1: Summary of negation strategies in South Saami

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Clausal negation</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard negation</strong></td>
<td>“Standard constr.”: NEG.AUX + conneg. form of verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Periphrastic tenses: NEG.AUX + conneg. form of AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ perfect participle or progressive form of verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Alternative constr.”: NEG.AUX + indicative form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Particle-like use”: 3SG of NEG.AUX + connegative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative preds.</strong></td>
<td>Either “Standard constr.” or “particle-like use”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Connegative is often optional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperatives</strong></td>
<td>Neg.aux + connegative/imperative (irrealis?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prohibitive form of NEG.AUX + connegative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Admonitive form of neg.aux + connegative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Non-clausal negation</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constituents</strong></td>
<td>Particle-like use of NEG.AUX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abessives</strong></td>
<td>Adpositions <em>namhtah/namhtan</em> ‘without’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suffix <em>-hts/-ht</em> ‘less’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prefix</strong></td>
<td><em>ov-</em> ‘un-’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Other</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indefinites</strong></td>
<td>No special forms; based on NEG.AUX+‘who/what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neg. polarity</strong></td>
<td><em>gännah</em>: restricted to NEG in standard negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>goh</em>: standard negation and non-declaratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neg. replies</strong></td>
<td><em>ijje</em> ‘no’; <em>nää</em> ‘no’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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17. Word formation

For the purposes of this chapter, word formation is understood to include derivation and compounding. 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-asæ ‘explanation’ ← bihked-as ‘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

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.

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

101I 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.

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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*\(^\text{102}\) 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 *tjua-hpa* ‘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

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\(^{102}\)I would like to thank Mikael Parkvall for his input on this matter.
Table 17.1: Nominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deverbal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ge</td>
<td>tjaale-ge ‘text’</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>tjaele- ‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ge</td>
<td>saadte-ge ‘broadcast’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>seedte- ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td>gåate-me ‘pasturage’</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>gåate- ‘graze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td>vijre-me ‘the hunting’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>vijre- ‘hunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lasses</td>
<td>rohke-lasse ‘prayer’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>rohkeli- ‘pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dasse</td>
<td>bihke-dasse ‘explanation’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>bihkedi- ‘explain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-täjja</td>
<td>ööhpe-täjja ‘teacher’</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>ööhpelti- ‘teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-misnie</td>
<td>båetie-misnie ‘the coming’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>båetie- ‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dahke</td>
<td>rihke-dahke ‘rut’</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>rihke- ‘be in rut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dahke</td>
<td>jarre-dahke ‘car’</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>jarre- ‘spin, turn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Denominal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ije</td>
<td>bark-ije ‘worker’</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>barkoe ‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dahke</td>
<td>länna-dahke ‘sunrise’</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>lávnes ‘sunrise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dahke</td>
<td>tjåamma-dahke ‘brisket’</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>*tjåamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hke</td>
<td>learo-hke ‘student’</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>leara ‘science’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ve</td>
<td>aahko-ve ‘grandchild’</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>aahka ‘grandma’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deadjectival</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dahke</td>
<td>galme-dahke ‘freezer’</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>galme ‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lasses</td>
<td>skiemtje-lasse ‘sickness’</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>skiemtje ‘sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td>tjåetske-me ‘cold weather’</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>*tjåetske ‘cold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
There are, however, also examples in which the semantics of the suffix is not clear, such as *nyjsenäjjja ‘woman’ or *gaarmanäjjja ‘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) \text{dihte tjaelie-minie såemies tjaale-ge-m} \\
3SG.NOM write-PROG some text-NMLZ-ACC.SG \\
‘She is writing some text.’ [sma20170927g]

(17.2) \text{im ennje guarka-h dejtie} \\
NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG yet understand-CNG DEM.ACC.PL \\
\text{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) \text{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 *nyjsenäjjja, the base itself, *nysene, means ‘woman’.

(17.4) \text{dan avteste leaga soptsesta-mme dejnie} \\
DEM.GEN.SG before be.PRS.SG talk-PTCP DEM.COM.SG \\
\text{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 table 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived diminutive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>najpe-tje</td>
<td>‘little knife’</td>
<td>nejpie ‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladte-tje</td>
<td>‘little bird’</td>
<td>laedtie ‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riepe-tje, reape-tje</td>
<td>‘little fox’</td>
<td>riepie ‘fox’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niejte-tje, neate-tje</td>
<td>‘little girl’</td>
<td>niejtie ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåate-tje</td>
<td>‘little house’</td>
<td>gåetie ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gärje-tje</td>
<td>‘little book’</td>
<td>gärja ‘bok’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>såehke-tje</td>
<td>‘little birch’</td>
<td>såehkie ‘birch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearke-tje</td>
<td>‘a little meat’</td>
<td>bearkoe ‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaavve-tje</td>
<td>‘a little flour’</td>
<td>jaavva ‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ståante-tje</td>
<td>‘a little while’</td>
<td>ståante ‘a while’ (cf. Swe stund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spidtje-tje</td>
<td>‘little little farm’</td>
<td>spidtje ‘little farm’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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]

(17.10) **doh vielle-tje guaktah**
DEM.DIST.NOM.PL brother-DIM two.COLL
‘These two brothers.’ [sma20170920f]

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
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 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 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]

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dh</td>
<td>snjeara ‘mouse’ (N)</td>
<td>snjeara-dh ‘to hunt a mouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dh</td>
<td>hujnie ‘sadness’ (N)</td>
<td>hujne-dh ‘to be(some) sad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dh</td>
<td>luste ‘fun’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>luste-dh ‘to have fun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-didh</td>
<td>tjoekij ‘to ski’ (V)</td>
<td>tjoekje-di-dh ‘to ski a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-didh</td>
<td>doeldedh ‘to cook’ (V)</td>
<td>doelde-di-dh ‘to cook a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-didh</td>
<td>råakedh ‘to meet’ (V)</td>
<td>råake-di-dh ‘to meet shortly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-didh</td>
<td>murreds ‘pleasant’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>murrie-di-dh ‘to be/feel happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-htedh</td>
<td>*tjiervede- (n/a)</td>
<td>tjiervede-hte-dh ‘to get drunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-htidh</td>
<td>viehkie ‘help’ (N)</td>
<td>viehkie-hti-dh ‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nidh</td>
<td>gallas ‘full’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>galla-ni-dh ‘to become full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stidh</td>
<td>gärhka ‘church’ (N)</td>
<td>gearhke-sti-dh ‘to go to church’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stidh</td>
<td>åeredh ‘to sleep’ (V)</td>
<td>åerie-sti-dh ‘to sleep a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dievedh</td>
<td>hypoth. *reake ‘birth’ (?)</td>
<td>reaka-dieve-dh ‘to be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dovvedh</td>
<td>hypoth. *reake ‘birth’ (?)</td>
<td>reaka-dovve-dh ‘to be born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lovvedh</td>
<td>gajhkie ‘dry’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>gajhke-lovve-dh ‘to be thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sovvedh</td>
<td>jijje ‘night’ (N)</td>
<td>jijje-sovve-dh ‘to stay over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tovvedh</td>
<td>måarehks ‘angry’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>måarah-tovve-dh ‘to be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-stalledh</td>
<td>luste ‘fun’ (ADJ)</td>
<td>luste-stalle-dh ‘to have fun’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17.12) dohte måratåvva 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-hthedh ‘to forget’ is based on another derivation åajal-didh ‘to forget’. There is no apparent semantic difference between these two verbs.
[64x611]åå
[106x598]oh
[125x611]jöödtedh
[125x598]no
[171x611]åajaldeht-i-m
[171x598]forget-
PST
-1
SG
[201x598]DEM.ACC.SG
[246x598]ice.cream-ACC.SG
[247x598]tjaste-m
[247x598]ACC
[271x598]SG
[293x598]ice.cream-
[313x598]put-INF
3SG.NOM
[359x598]ACC
melt.PRS.3SG
[106x582]gilme-dahke-se
[106x569]cold-NMLZ-ILL.SG
[129x569]SG
[160x569]NMLZ
[160x569]-ILL
[179x569]put.
[198x569]INF
[215x569]dihte
3
SG
[238x569]NOM
[257x569]sjalka
[312x569]PRS.3
[338x569]SG
[106x552]'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. (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[Bauer2001] 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.

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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 lexialized. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Derived passive</th>
<th>Active verb (infinitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>dyövde-ldh ‘be(come) filled’</td>
<td>dyövdedh ‘to fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>baske-ldh ‘be(come) stung’</td>
<td>baskij ‘to sting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>peehke-ldh ‘be packed’</td>
<td>peehkedh ‘to pack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>gaektje-ldh ‘be bitten’</td>
<td>gaektjedh ‘to bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>jovke-ldh ‘be drunk’</td>
<td>jovkedh ‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>bjöpm-ldh ‘be eaten’</td>
<td>byöpmedh ‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>tjägke-ldh ‘be eaten (prey)’</td>
<td>tjäagkedh ‘to eat (raptors)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>bisse-ldh ‘be fried’</td>
<td>bissedh ‘to fry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ldh</td>
<td>doelde-ldh ‘be(come) cooked’</td>
<td>doeldedh ‘to cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-didh</td>
<td>doelde-di-dh ‘to be(come) cooked’</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\begin{verbatim}
dihte laejpie gålde-ldh sjidti
DEm NOM SG bread bake-PASS.PTCP become-PST.3SG
\end{verbatim}

‘The bread got baked.’ [sma20181025b]

(17.18)  
\begin{verbatim}
dihte bearka bjöpm-ldh sjidte-me
DEm NOM SG meat eat-PASS.PTCP become-PTCP
\end{verbatim}

‘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 *vиеhк*– ‘help’ which is used in other contexts as well (e.g. *vиеhкі* ‘help’, *vиеhкіеhtид* ‘to help’). The element -**sath** adds the semantics of reciprocity but it does not function as a productive reciprocal suffix; *вueфнeсath* ‘to see each other’ for instance is not accepted.

\[(17.19) \textit{monnah provhkien viehkesath} \]
\[1DU.NOM use.to.PRS.1DU help.REC \]
\>`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. Many derivational suffixes do not carry a meaning synchronically, and are best understood from a historical perspective. For instance, the verb *vиеhkesath* ‘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 *виеhkeds* ‘helpful’ to *баenehts* ‘toothless’. 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 (*новhkens* ‘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.

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Derived adjective</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ds</td>
<td>viehke-ds ‘helpful’</td>
<td>viehkie ‘help’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ds</td>
<td>jovke-ds ‘drunk’</td>
<td>jovkedh ‘to drink’ (V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ds</td>
<td>lahekke-ds ‘fortunate’</td>
<td>lahkoe ‘luck’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>lahkoe-s ‘lucky’</td>
<td>lahkoe ‘luck’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>gööle-s, göölie-s ‘rich in fish’</td>
<td>guelie ‘fish’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ges</td>
<td>faamo-ges ‘powerful’</td>
<td>faamoe ‘power’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hts</td>
<td>baene-hts ‘teethless’</td>
<td>baenie ‘tooth’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hts</td>
<td>tjohpe-hts ‘hatless, withouth a hat’</td>
<td>tjohpe ‘hat’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hts</td>
<td>faamo-hts ‘powerless’</td>
<td>faamoe ‘power’ (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov-</td>
<td>ov-luste ‘un-nice’ (cf. Swe. olustig)</td>
<td>luste ‘fun’ (ADJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov-</td>
<td>ov-mredds ‘unpleasant’</td>
<td>mredds ‘pleasant’ (ADJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov-</td>
<td>ov-geahpan ‘disagreeing’ (cf. Swe. sams/osams)</td>
<td>geahpa ‘united’ (ADJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov-</td>
<td>ov-novhken ‘unknown, strange’</td>
<td>*novhken ‘known’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [ˈkærja,koetiː] ‘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 gänka-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 aehjtj-aajja ‘paternal grandfather’ (from aehjtj ‘father’) etc., laadt-pluevie ‘cloudberry swamp’ (from laadtiege ‘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 bihedassed 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 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*).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>People and animals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aehjt-aahka</td>
<td>father-grandmother</td>
<td>‘paternal grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadtar-aajja</td>
<td>grand-grandfather</td>
<td>‘great-grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bontje-kaarre</td>
<td>reindeer-man</td>
<td>‘reindeer herder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giele-barkije</td>
<td>language-worker</td>
<td>‘language worker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gånka-kaarre</td>
<td>king-man</td>
<td>‘recruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hus-båanta</td>
<td>house [Swe]-farmer</td>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paarre-bielie</td>
<td>pair-half</td>
<td>‘life companion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reajnoe-maennie</td>
<td>herd-man</td>
<td>‘reindeer herder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skåvla-maanah</td>
<td>school-children</td>
<td>‘pupils’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidlj-aahka</td>
<td>mother-grandmother</td>
<td>‘maternal grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijreme-bienje</td>
<td>hunting-dog</td>
<td>‘hunting dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaske-daelvie</td>
<td>middle-winter</td>
<td>‘midwinter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giese-biejjie</td>
<td>summer-day</td>
<td>‘summer day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giesie-jijjie</td>
<td>summer-night</td>
<td>‘summer night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gijre-daelvie</td>
<td>spring-winter</td>
<td>‘spring winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gijre-giesie</td>
<td>spring-summer</td>
<td>‘spring summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jävli-iehkede</td>
<td>Christmas-evening</td>
<td>‘Christmas evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjaktje-giesie</td>
<td>autumn-summer</td>
<td>‘autumn summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects and abstract entities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aalkoe-bielie</td>
<td>start-page</td>
<td>‘starting page’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aernie-gierkie</td>
<td>fireplace-stone</td>
<td>‘fireplace stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Months refer to the action that traditionally characterizes this time of the year, such as *suehpede* ‘May; calving time’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects and abstract entities (cont.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bearkoe-stuhtje</td>
<td>meat-piece</td>
<td>‘piece of meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>båassja-gierkie</td>
<td>food.place-stone</td>
<td>‘food place stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>englaante-giele</td>
<td>England-language</td>
<td>‘English’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faamoe-viekie</td>
<td>power-factory</td>
<td>‘power plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geajnoe-bihkedasse</td>
<td>road-explanation</td>
<td>‘road/travel directions’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammatihke-gärja</td>
<td>grammar-book</td>
<td>‘grammar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gullie-ringke</td>
<td>gold-ring</td>
<td>‘gold ring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gullie-bähta</td>
<td>gold-piece</td>
<td>‘gold nugget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jåvle-goese</td>
<td>Christmas-fir</td>
<td>‘Christmas tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. Swe. julgran)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laante-dåaroe</td>
<td>land-war</td>
<td>‘world war’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laejpie-gierkie</td>
<td>bread-stone</td>
<td>‘bread stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mielhkie-boehtele</td>
<td>milk-bottle</td>
<td>‘milk bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mielhkie-pakeete</td>
<td>milk-pack</td>
<td>‘milk pack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naemie-goelkh</td>
<td>antler.skin-animal.hair</td>
<td>‘antler’s skin hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prihtjege-giebnie</td>
<td>coffee-pot</td>
<td>‘coffee pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reaksja-bearga</td>
<td>steak-meat</td>
<td>‘rump steak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruevtie-geajna</td>
<td>iron-road</td>
<td>‘railway’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sijjlie-laejpie</td>
<td>ember-bread</td>
<td>‘ember bread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sohkerh-dijnehke</td>
<td>sugar.PL-sugar</td>
<td>‘sugar bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjaetjie-bahte</td>
<td>water-bucket</td>
<td>‘water bucket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjeajte-bealla</td>
<td>goat-bell</td>
<td>‘goat bell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åaremsh-gaarvoeh</td>
<td>sleeping-clothes</td>
<td>‘bedclothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dwelling- and human-made places</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aernie-siejje</td>
<td>fireplace-place</td>
<td>‘fire place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bierne-gaavma</td>
<td>bear-earth</td>
<td>‘bear earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijle-geajna</td>
<td>car-road</td>
<td>‘road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derhvie-gåetie</td>
<td>turf-house</td>
<td>‘turf hut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giesie-sijjie</td>
<td>summer-site</td>
<td>‘summer site’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giesie-skåvle</td>
<td>summer-school</td>
<td>‘summer school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gijre-laante</td>
<td>spring-land</td>
<td>‘spring land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gärja-gåetie</td>
<td>book-house</td>
<td>‘library’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skuvel-gåetie</td>
<td>school-house</td>
<td>‘school house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skåvla-sijjie</td>
<td>school-site</td>
<td>‘school site’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjiejte-gåetie</td>
<td>goat-house</td>
<td>‘goat shed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 17.8: Noun-noun compounds (3): **NOM-NOM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Geography and nature places</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaksj-aavtja</td>
<td>axe?-birch.forest</td>
<td>‘young, dense birch forest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aarege-laante</td>
<td>stony.area-land</td>
<td>‘stony land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajhke-jaevrie</td>
<td>filth-lake</td>
<td>‘shitty lake’ (for e.g. fishing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fosen-njaarka</td>
<td>Fosen-peninsula</td>
<td>‘Fosen peninsula’ (toponym)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaske-Nöörje</td>
<td>middle-Norway</td>
<td>‘Mid-Norway’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guelie-jaevrie</td>
<td>fish-lake</td>
<td>‘fishing lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laadt-pluevie</td>
<td>cloudberry-swamp</td>
<td>‘cloudberry swamp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noerhte-bielie</td>
<td>north-side</td>
<td>‘northern side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suejnie-tjuahpa</td>
<td>grass-cutting.site</td>
<td>‘shoe grass cutting site’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjaetjie-gaaltije</td>
<td>water-spring</td>
<td>‘spring, born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åarjel-Njaarke</td>
<td>south-Njaarke</td>
<td>‘south Njaarke (reindeer district)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åarjel-Nöörje</td>
<td>south-Norway</td>
<td>‘south Norway’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vijreme-laante</td>
<td>hunting-land</td>
<td>‘hunting grounds’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>båantan-gåetie</td>
<td>farmer.GEN-house</td>
<td>‘farm house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bovtjen-bearka</td>
<td>reindeer.GEN-meat</td>
<td>‘reindeer meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaejsien-bearka</td>
<td>moose.GEN-meat</td>
<td>‘moose meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankrijken-giele</td>
<td>France.GEN-language</td>
<td>‘French (language)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daaroen-giele</td>
<td>Scand.GEN-language</td>
<td>‘Scandinavian language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saemien-giele</td>
<td>Saami.GEN-language</td>
<td>‘Saami language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaajesen-gärja</td>
<td>tale.GEN-book</td>
<td>‘fairy tale book’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of **GEN-NOM** or **NOM-NOM** of some compounds is not fixed; for instance, one speaker used both *vaajesen-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aereds-låvne</td>
<td>morning-sunrise</td>
<td>‘sunrise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aereds-beapmoe</td>
<td>morning-food</td>
<td>‘breakfast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buejtes-bearka</td>
<td>fat-meat</td>
<td>‘fat meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorre-aangkene</td>
<td>bad-kid</td>
<td>‘rascal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iehkeds-tjeara</td>
<td>evening-twilight</td>
<td>‘dawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jille-skåvle</td>
<td>high-school</td>
<td>‘high school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jorpe-gåetie</td>
<td>round-house</td>
<td>‘round hut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jovje-råahke</td>
<td>light.grey-</td>
<td>‘light grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>castrated.reindeer</td>
<td>castrated reindeer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jååkts-biejjie</td>
<td>yester-day</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lihke-kraanah</td>
<td>close-neighbours</td>
<td>‘close neighbours’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lårhvoe-biene</td>
<td>shaggy-dog</td>
<td>‘shaggy dog’ (cf. Swe. lurvig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njaalmelg-giele</td>
<td>oral-language</td>
<td>‘spoken language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orre-jaepte</td>
<td>new-year</td>
<td>‘New Year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pliehtje-gierkie</td>
<td>flat-stone</td>
<td>‘flat stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skiemtje-gåetie</td>
<td>sick-house</td>
<td>‘hospital’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aktese-v yöki</td>
<td>*together-*help</td>
<td>‘reciprocal help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dohk-dahka</td>
<td>thither-hither</td>
<td>‘hither and thither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dohkoe-dahkoe</td>
<td>thither-hither</td>
<td>‘hither and thither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupbene-dabpene</td>
<td>over.there-over.here</td>
<td>‘criss-cross’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gie-akt</td>
<td>who-one</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maam-akt</td>
<td>some-one</td>
<td>‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sis-bielie</td>
<td>in-side/half</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound (or phrase) *aktese-v yöki* ‘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’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Saami</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fuelhkie</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidtjie</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aehtjie</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maana</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niejte</td>
<td>girl; daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baahtje</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baernie</td>
<td>son, boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daktere</td>
<td>daughter (also: married daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elkie</td>
<td>son (also: married son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyjsenäjja</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaarmenäjja</td>
<td>man; husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaarre; olma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Saami</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åerpenh</td>
<td>siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vielle</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åabpa</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onne-vielle</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoerre-vielle</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onne-åabpa</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoerre-åabpa</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahka</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidtj-aahka</td>
<td>grandmother (maternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aehjt-aahka</td>
<td>grandmother (paternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aajja</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjidtj-aajja</td>
<td>grandfather (maternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aehjt-aajja</td>
<td>grandfather (paternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadter-aajja</td>
<td>great-grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maadter-aahka</td>
<td>great-grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aahkove</td>
<td>grandmother’s grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aajjove</td>
<td>grandfather’s grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåmma</td>
<td>woman; wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jyöne/jååne/jööne</td>
<td>uncle (mother’s brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muahra</td>
<td>aunt (mother’s younger sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maake</td>
<td>uncle (married to aunt or uncle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seasa</td>
<td>uncle (father’s sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiekie</td>
<td>uncle (father’s older brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjietsie/tjietjie</td>
<td>uncle (father’s younger brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jijmie</td>
<td>aunt (father’s brother’s wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåeskie</td>
<td>mother’s older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aajkohke</td>
<td>cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laevie</td>
<td>second cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>åerpele, åerpile</td>
<td>cousin (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilpele</td>
<td>cousin (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåmmor</td>
<td>godmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gåffor</td>
<td>godfather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.
### Color terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Saami</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>åarjel</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noerhte</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jillie</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luvlie</td>
<td>East</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Weather terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Saami</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vearelde</td>
<td>weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baahke</td>
<td>warm (weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijvele</td>
<td>mild/warm weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daelhkie</td>
<td>‘skiing conditions’ (Swe/Nor føre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mullie</td>
<td>cloudy weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mearkha</td>
<td>fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaaloe</td>
<td>cold, rainy weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jueskie</td>
<td>cold, chilly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjåetskeme</td>
<td>cold weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galme</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebrie</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biejje</td>
<td>sun; day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aske</td>
<td>moon; month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 väälese 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’ áarjel raedte-sne vaadtja
Handskinssvålen.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 Handskinssvålen’

(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 sitj-i-m vaedt-ij mijjien geajna-m
1SG.NOM want-PST-1SG 1PL.GEN road-ACC.SG REL.GEN.SG
man mietie mijjieh juht-i-o gose
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 Handskinssvålen.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 Handskinssvålen 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 Handskinssvålen.GEN.SG
nueliem men dagka öövre aarege-laante
alongside.under but there very stony-land
the one that goes directly under Handskinssvålen, 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 Handskinnvålen

(12) *jih dagka bijjege desnie akte tjætjæ- gaaltjæ*  
and there up DEM.LOC.SG one water-spring  
gååvnese  
exist.PRS.3SG  
and up there is a water spring

(13) *jih desnie aehtjæ 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 mijjeh provhk-i-o olgene arrij*  
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  
gaaltjæ-n bijre  
around  
and when we used to be outdoors we picked cloudberrries around that spring

(15) *jeen-h laadteg-h gååvnæs-i-n jih stijven*  
many-NOM.PL cloudberry-NOM.PL exist-PST-3PL and good  
laad-pluevie-h aaj  
cloudberry-swamp-NOM.PL also
[there] were many cloudberries and good cloudberry-swamplands as well

(16) jih monnah aehjtie muettien aejgie-n liebo
and 1DU.NOM father some time-GEN.SG be.PST.1PL
prihtjiege-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
für 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
für 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 bååstedee 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
and then I come up and I was on the highest peak

(22) jih dihte iehkede lij akte båaredh 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 bâata-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 lâedtjie lea, dan sån DEM.NOM.SG Rogen very calm be.PRS.3SG so so
Rogen was very calm, so calm that one could mirror oneself in it.

I saw bonfires burning around down there, it was canoeists, tourists, those who were outside this summer night, evening.

I need to go down between the big and little Handskinnsvålen

and good lord when I came there go there

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 vaadtij 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 hâajsa-ji-m viith
    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 gaaajhk-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’
‘my grandmother did not want to hear that’

‘she used to remember, some autumn, yes, it had fallen snow and it was skiing conditions so you had to ski’

‘a young German came, a German boy came to grandmother’s house’

‘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’

‘grandmother was used that they [soldiers/Germans] used to beg then’

‘grandmother was used that they [soldiers/Germans] used to beg then’
‘they did not have anything to say, he did not say anything’

(51) så aahka gujht minngemes veedt-i beapmoe-h
so grandmother EMP lasty give-PST.3SG food-NOM.PL
jah idji gujht da gåared-h
and NEG.AUX.PST.3SG EMP PTCL be.possible-CNG
deajnie 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 funhterdi-g 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
gåapb’ 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 åarrjelsaemien gielesne


Daate laante stoerre lea, jih guhkies geajna lea almetji gaskh. Domto goh gielem nehkehteminie, väjkele gujht gielem eensilikgie lieredh.


Jarkoestamme: Iréne Dorra

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 (härjedalsamiska) 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 revitaliseringsstycken 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 discurspartiklar 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 sociolinguistiska 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, ordförmer 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 exempelmängder 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 närmast mig språket på ett modernt, allmänpräg avladkemiskt 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 varietet 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 fonematskilt långa eller korta, men stavelsestrukturen


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 pronomener, adverb, räkneord och andra mindre ordklasser som diskursmarkörer.


Personliga pronomener har fritående former för singular, dual (tvåtal) och plural, och böjs i alla kasus (förutom essiv). Sydsamiska har många demonst-rativa pronomener, som böjs i kasus och numerus (singular och plural).


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


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 Grammatik besteht aus folgenden Teilen: Im ersten Kapitel wird zu- erst 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

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).


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.

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Phonologie


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, Demonstrativpronominia, Adjektive, Adverben, Numeralen samt einige andere kleinere Wortklassen wie Diskurspartikel.


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 Demonstrativpronominia, die ebenfalls dekliniert werden können.

Adjektive haben die Formen Positiv (z.B. onne ‘klein’), Komparativ (on-nebe ‘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


Die Wortfolge im Südsamischen ist hauptsächlich sov (Subjekt-Objekt-Verb), sie ist aber nicht fest und svo kann auch vorkommen.

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 spontaneous 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>file</th>
<th>speaker</th>
<th>type</th>
<th>content</th>
<th>length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sma20170508a</td>
<td>HT</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>minimal pairs</td>
<td>00:04:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma20170508b</td>
<td>HT</td>
<td>SWE</td>
<td>meta</td>
<td>00:13:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma20170508c</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>manne 10 jaepieh bâeries</td>
<td>00:04:00</td>
</tr>
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<td>E</td>
<td>minimal pairs</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>about his family + places</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>SWE</td>
<td>meta</td>
<td>00:19:45</td>
</tr>
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<td>HT</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>minimal pairs; Swadesh</td>
<td>01:03:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Swadesh</td>
<td>00:17:50</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>meta; Swadesh</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>DOM; some phrases.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Swadesh</td>
<td>00:12:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Swadesh</td>
<td>00:01:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma20170913c</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>minimal pairs</td>
<td>00:07:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>speaker</td>
<td>type</td>
<td>content</td>
<td>length</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>E</td>
<td>minimal pairs</td>
<td>00:07:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>E</td>
<td>long vs short /a/</td>
<td>00:02:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>bissedh, gööledh</td>
<td>00:00:40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>&quot;Jag ser räven&quot;</td>
<td>00:03:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Quest.: Pred poss</td>
<td>00:02:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>utnedh</td>
<td>00:01:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma20170913j</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>NOT YET quest. (1)</td>
<td>00:10:30</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>NOT YET quest. (2)</td>
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<td>Childhood + family</td>
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<td>PP</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>&quot;för att&quot;-meningar</td>
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<td>Nomadskolan</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>om verbet tuhtjedh</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>utnedh &quot;anse&quot;; meta</td>
<td>00:04:20</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>utnedh, ontelidh</td>
<td>00:02:50</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>00:01:30</td>
</tr>
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<td>GA</td>
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<td>&quot;Jag ser räven&quot;</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Dual</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ID</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Adnom Poss</td>
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<td>Härjedalsmuseum: ackj</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Härjedalsmuseum: olik</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Härjedalsmuseum: tjohpe</td>
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<tr>
<td>sma20170922f</td>
<td>ID</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Härjedalsmuseum, tjohpe</td>
<td>00:03:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma20170922g</td>
<td>ID</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Härjedalsmuseum, olika</td>
<td>00:03:30</td>
</tr>
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<td>ID</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Käringsjön bildspel</td>
<td>00:04:30</td>
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<td>ID</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Käringsjön bildspel</td>
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