Timothy Feist

A Grammar of Skolt Saami

Skolt Saami is an Eastern Saami language within the Uralic family. It is spoken in the far northeast of Finland, in the villages of Sevettijärvi and Nellim and the surrounding area, by around 150–300 people. This grammar presents an overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Skolt Saami, paying particular attention to its highly complex morphophonological and inflectional systems. Insight into the structure of Skolt Saami discourse is provided by four glossed texts. This grammar will serve as an important tool for theoretical linguists and typologists as well as a resource for the language community and others interested in Saami languages.

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Layout Katriina Ketola, Timothy Feist
Cover photograph *The River Näätämö flowing through the Skolt Saami
homeland* © Timothy Feist

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This work is dedicated to the Skolt Saami people.

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Abbreviations

~	break in gloss of contraction	INF	infinitive
+	break in compound words	INSTR	instrumental
1	first person	INTER	interrogative
2	second person	LEX	lexical
3	third person	LOC	locative
4	indefinite person	MDL	middle
ABE	abessive	NEG	negative auxiliary
ACC	accusative	NMLZ	nominaliser
ACT	action (verbal participle)	NOM	nominative
ADJ	adjective	O	object
ADV	adverb	OBL	oblique
ATTR	attributive	PART	partitive
AUX	auxiliary	PASS	passive
CMPRT	comparative	PL	plural
CNG	connegative	POT	potential
CNG2	2nd form of connegative	PRED	predicative
COM	comitative	PROG	progressive
COMP	complementiser	PROX	proximal
COND	conditional	PRS	present
CONT	continuative	PST	past
DIM	diminutive	PTCP	participle
DIST	distal	REFL	reflexive
DM	discourse marker	REL	relativiser
DU	dual	RU	of Russian origin
EMP	emphatic particle	S	subject
ESS	essive	SG	singular
FI	of Finnish origin	SUB	subitive
GEN	genitive	SUPL	superlative
ILL	illative	TEMP	temporal
IMP	imperative	V	verb
INCP	inceptive		

Data sources

EE	Evvan evaŋǧeʹlium
KK	Koltansaamen koulukielioppi
MM	Maaddârääʹjji mainnâz
SKNA	Suomen kielen nauhoitearkisto

Abstract

Skolt Saami is a Finno-Ugric language spoken primarily in northeast Finland by less than 300 people. The aim of this descriptive grammar is to provide an overview of all the major grammatical aspects of the language. It comprises descriptions of Skolt Saami phonology, morphophonology, morphology, morphosyntax and syntax. A compilation of interlinearised texts is provided in Chapter 11.

Skolt Saami is a phonologically complex language, displaying contrastive vowel length, consonant gradation, suprasegmental palatalisation and vowel height alternations. It is also well known for being one of the few languages to display three distinctive degrees of quantity; indeed, this very topic has already been the subject of an acoustic analysis (McRobbie-Utasi 1999).

Skolt Saami is also a morphologically complex language. Nominals in Skolt Saami belong to twelve different inflectional classes. They inflect for number and nine grammatical cases and may also mark possession, giving rise to over seventy distinct forms. Verbs belong to four different inflectional classes and inflect for person, number, tense and mood. Inflection is marked by suffixes, many of which are fused morphemes.

Other typologically interesting features of the language, which are covered in this grammar, include (i) the existence of distinct predicative and attributive forms of adjectives, (ii) the case-marking of subject and object nominals which have cardinal numerals as determiners, and (iii) the marking of negation with a negative auxiliary verb.

Skolt Saami is a seriously endangered language and it is thus hoped that this grammar will serve both as a tool to linguistic researchers and as an impetus to the speech community in any future revitalisation efforts.

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This grammar provides a grammatical description of Skolt Saami, an under-described, under-documented Finno-Ugric language, spoken primarily in north-east Finland. The aim of this grammar is to provide a descriptive overview of the major elements of the language from the level of the phoneme to the level of the clause, thus covering the topics of phonology, morphophonology, morphology, morphosyntax and syntax.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is fivefold. Firstly, it introduces the Skolt Saami language, providing information relating to the location and number of speakers, the genetic affiliation of Skolt Saami and its sociolinguistic status. Secondly, it provides a brief review of previous literature on Skolt Saami. Thirdly, the methodology and data used in the research for this grammar are outlined. Fourthly, the orthography of the language is presented, and finally, the organisation of the following chapters of this grammar is outlined.

1.2 The language

1.2.1 Distribution of speakers

Skolt Saami is spoken primarily in Finland, in the Municipality of Inari, in the northeast of Finland. The language is spoken in a number of villages and smaller settlements both northeast and south of Lake Inari, a number of which can be seen in Figure 1. The main village, and cultural hub of Skolt Saami life, which also has the greatest number of Skolt Saami speakers, is Sevettijärvi, a small village of approximately 300 inhabitants in the northeast of the Municipality of Inari, thirty kilometres from the Norwegian border. A number of smaller settlements are strung along an approximately 60-kilometre stretch of the main road both to the northeast and southwest of Sevettijärvi, from Kirakkajärvi, some 15 kilometres northeast, as far south as Nitsijärvi.

South of Lake Inari, Skolt Saami is spoken primarily in the villages of Keväjärvi, thirteen kilometres east of Ivalo, and Nellim, around forty kilometres east of Ivalo and less than fifteen kilometres from the Russian border. The village of Nellim also has about 300 inhabitants, but, unlike in Sevettijärvi, the Skolt Saami make up only a small fraction of this number; the rest of the inhabitants are either Inari Saami or Finns.

Figure 1. Map of the Municipality of Inari[1]

A number of Skolt Saami families and individuals have moved away from the Municipality of Inari, either permanently or temporarily, in search of employment or to further their education, mostly to larger cities in Finland, such as Helsinki, Oulu and Rovaniemi, but in some cases overseas.

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1. This map is an edited version of a map taken from <http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiedosto:Inari.png> [accessed 21-Sep-2015] and is not subject to copyright restrictions.

1.2.2 Number of speakers

The number of Skolt Saami speakers in Finland has previously been estimated at around 300 (Kulonen et al. 2005: 396) although more conservative estimates would place the number of speakers at around 150 (Satu Moshnikoff, p.c.). A discussion, in October 2012, which took place on the UraList forum on LinguistList, supports this estimate, placing the number of speakers at around 150 (Siegl 2012), although Riessler (2012), also partaking in the discussion, sees this figure as overly conservative and reflecting only the minimum number of speakers possible.

The reality is, given the sociolinguistic status of the language (see §1.2.4), that it is difficult to clearly define the number of speakers since knowledge and use of the language ranges along a continuum from fluency to only a basic grasp of the language. In this regard, it should be noted that these estimates of speaker numbers do not give any indication of the degree of fluency of those accounted for, which may vary considerably.

The ethnic population of Skolt Saami in Finland is reported to be around 600 (Satu Moshnikoff, p.c.). In addition to the Skolt Saami living in Finland, a small number of Skolt Saami speakers live on the Russian side of the border, on the Kola Peninsula, estimated to number around twenty, although the ethnic population in Russia is around 400 (Lewis et al. 2015).

1.2.3 Dialectal variation

Sammallahti (1998) recognises four Skolt Saami dialects, two belonging to a northern group and two to a southern group. The northern group comprises the Neiden (Näätämö) and Paatsjoki dialects and the southern group comprises the Suõ′nn'jel (Suonikylä) and Njuõ′ttjäu′rr (Notozero-Girvasozero) dialects. Of these, the Neiden dialect is extinct. The Neiden dialect was formerly spoken in the Njauddâm siida[2], around the village of Neiden, on the Norwegian side of the border near Näätämö, and was unique among the Skolt Saami dialects in displaying the marker *k* in the nominative plural of nouns, a feature Sammallahti (1998: 31) suggests was borrowed from North Saami.

The Paatsjoki dialect was formerly spoken in the siidas of Paaččjokk (Paatsjoki), Peäccam (Petsamo) and Mue′tǩǩ (Muotka) in what was the Petsamo area of Finnish Lapland, now the Pechengsky District of Murmansk Oblast in Russia. The Suõ′nn'jel dialect was formerly spoken in the siida of Suõ′nn'jel (Suonikylä) in the south of the Petsamo region. Following the Second World War the speakers of the Paatsjoki dialect were resettled in the village of Nellim, south of Lake Inari, while speakers of the Suõ′nn'jel dialect were resettled in, and around, the village of Sevettijärvi.

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2. The Saami term *siida* refers to a 'reindeer-herding community, together with its grazing lands, reindeer herds and camping places' (Kulonen et al. 2005: 392). In Skolt Saami it was used more in reference to the winter village where the community lived during the winter months. In many places in this grammar the corresponding Skolt Saami word *sijdd* has been translated as 'village', since this is the closest English equivalent.

The Njuõ′ttjäu′rr dialect is spoken around, and to the south of, Lake Notozero in the former siidas of Njuõ′ttjäu′rr (Nuortijärvi) and Sââ′rvesjäu′rr (Hirvasjärvi), although as mentioned in §1.2.2 speaker numbers are dwindling and are probably below twenty. It is nowadays the only dialect of Skolt Saami spoken in Russia.

A map showing the location of the former Skolt siidas is presented in Figure 2, together with the former siidas of the neighbouring Saami languages, Kildin, Akkala and Ter Saami.

This grammar is only concerned with the Paatsjoki and Suõ′nn′jel dialects, the two dialects spoken in Finland. Around the 1970s, during the time the Skolt Saami orthography was being developed, a decision was made to consider the Suõ′nn′jel dialect as the standard dialect (Kulonen et al. 2005: 399) and so the Suõ′nn′jel dialect is used as the basis for this grammar in terms of orthography and grammatical analysis. This does not, however, mean that data in this grammar is exclusively from the Suõ′nn′jel dialect; lexical items from the Paatsjoki dialect, for example, may appear in examples taken from texts with or without an indication of being Paatsjoki forms. Where possible dialectal differences have been indicated.
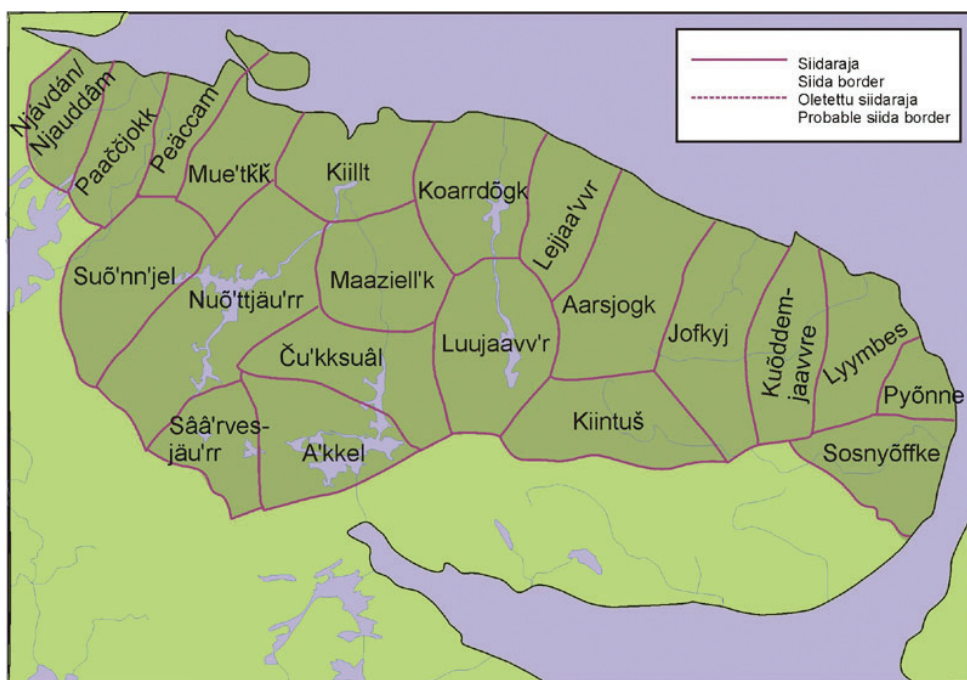
Figure 2. Former siidas of the Kola Peninsula[3]

Dialectal differences, however, appear to be minor, limited primarily to a number of lexical differences, but also consisting of a small number of differences at the phonological and morphological levels. These differences are not great enough to pose any particular obstacle to the mutual intelligibility between dialects and there is a general awareness among speakers of the dialectal differences so as to render any potential communicative barrier irrelevant.

An example of a lexical difference is that of the word for 'potato': *pååttak̆* (Suõ′nn'jel) ~ *kartoška* (Paatsjoki, Russian=*kartoška*). An example of a phonological difference between the two dialects concerns a change from the bilabial stop /p/ to the labiodental fricative /f/ when followed by the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/, as seen in a consonant cluster, expressed as the phonological rule /p/ → /f/ /___/ʃ/, seen only in the Paatsjoki dialect. This means *šapšš* 'whitefish' is pronounced both [ʃɐpˑʃ] (Suõ′nn'jel) and [ʃɐfˑʃ] (Paatsjoki).

In addition to dialectal differences between the two dialects referred to above, there is also a great deal of minor idiolectal variation. In particular, there are a number of phonological differences (for example, *đ~z* and *č~š*) even between family members, which likely represent diachronic changes. Speakers typically refer to others as "speaking a distinct dialect" with regard this type of variation.

1.2.4 The sociolinguistic situation

Multilingualism and language attitudes

In recent times Finnish has had, and continues to have, a significant influence on Skolt Saami. Since the Second World War, bilingualism in Finnish and Skolt Saami has been the norm and nowadays there are no monolingual Skolt Saami speakers living in Finland. Monolingualism in Finnish, or partial bilingualism with Finnish as the first language, is also common, particularly so among the younger generations.

The resettlement of the Skolt Saami after the Second World War (see §1.3), and the subsequent cultural upheaval, had a particularly negative impact on the Skolt Saami language and cultural identity. Finnish was the language used in schools and children were thus forced to assimilate to the dominant Finnish culture. The effects of this can still be felt today; in some Skolt Saami households the parents communicate with each other in Skolt Saami, but address their children in Finnish. One of the reasons given for this is the fact that they do not want their children to suffer the same discrimination that they went through and, either consciously or subconsciously, feel that speaking to their children in Finnish will give them a better chance in life.

Attitudes to the language are changing, however, fuelled by the introduction of an orthography in 1973 (McRobbie-Utasi 1995) and by a growing sense of cultural identity among the Skolt Saami and the Saami people as a whole.

Skolt Saami has, for many years, been taught at the primary schools in Sevet-tijärvi and Nellim and funding has also been provided for a language-immersion nursery for pre-school children. Language courses have also been offered at the Sámi Education Centre in Inari (Linkola 2003: 204) and more recently as an inter-active, internet-based distance-learning course. A pedagogical grammar of Skolt Saami was published in August 2009 (Moshnikoff et al. 2009), which will no doubt elevate the status of Skolt Saami and provide further impetus to those wishing to learn the language.

Contexts of use and language choice

Skolt Saami is spoken primarily by those who are over the age of forty to other members of the community over the age of forty. Jefremoff (2005: 42) shows that the main contexts of language use are among relatives and with neighbours. The next largest context is at home, although in some areas showing a much lower level of usage. Having a Finnish spouse is likely to be one of the main reasons for fewer people speaking Skolt Saami at home, as is being a widow or widower. Jefremoff's findings are presented below in Figure 3.
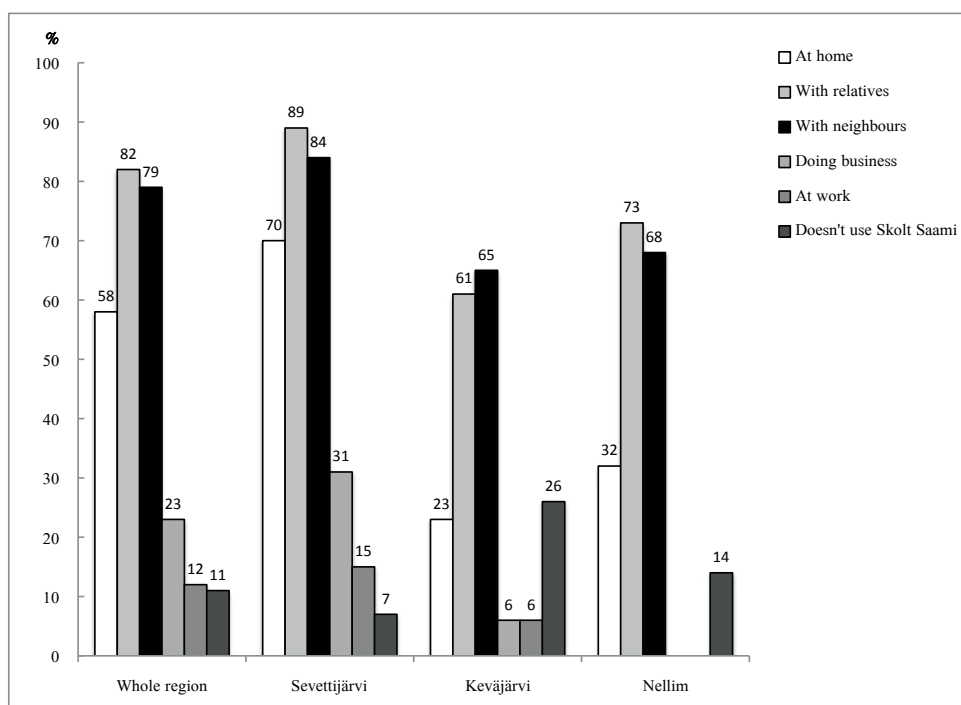
Figure 3. Graph showing contexts of language use among the Skolt Saami
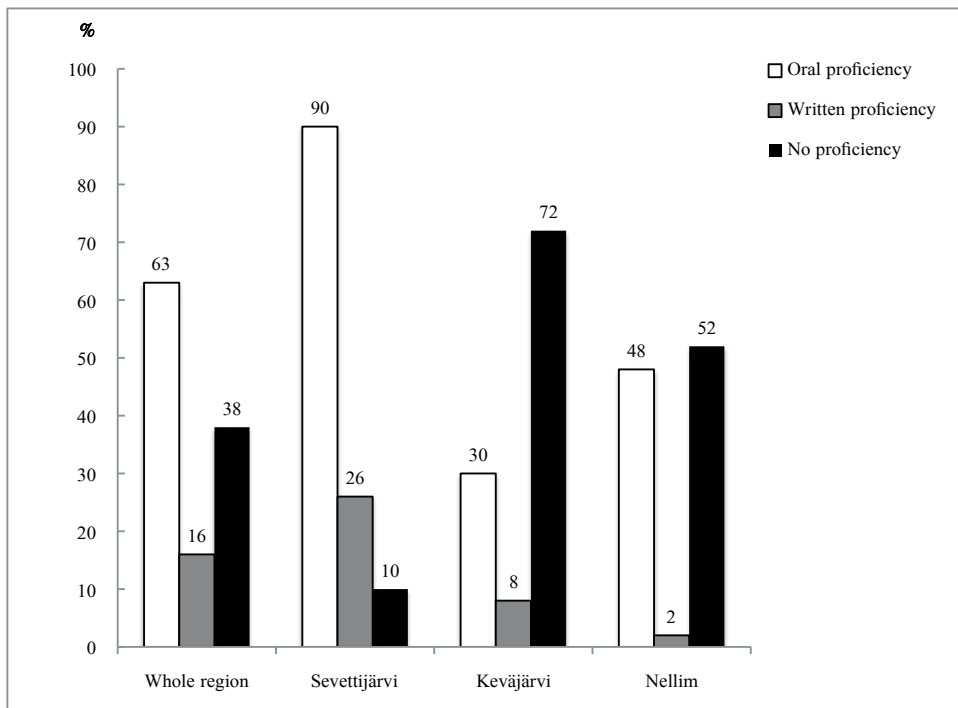
Figure 4. Graph showing levels of oral and written language proficiency among the Skolt Saami

Code switching is extremely common, occurring even in a conversation between two fluent speakers. If a non-speaker is present it is likely that the entire conversation will be in Finnish, even if all other speakers are fluent in Skolt Saami.

Younger speakers, from around the ages of thirty to forty, display varying grasps of the language, from near fluent speakers to semi-speakers. Speakers below the age of thirty are more likely to have studied the language at school and Skolt Saami may be a second language for them if they were not exposed to it in the home, meaning a younger speaker may have a relatively good grasp of the language but lack the native-speaker abilities and intuitions. In both cases, speakers are typically better at understanding than speaking.

It would appear that on occasions younger speakers may have the ability to speak, but lack the confidence to do so, as their mother tongue is Finnish. As mentioned in the previous section, there are cases where the parents speak almost exclusively in Skolt Saami to each other, but with their children in Finnish. This is an example of a situation where a person can understand everything being said but lacks the opportunity to make use of the language and practice speaking it.

Community events, such as village meetings and church services are often conducted primarily in Finnish. Special events, such as the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the resettlement of the Skolts in Sevettijärvi, are more likely to be

conducted in Skolt Saami and translated into Finnish, perhaps more so as a display of cultural identity than because of the linguistic needs of the audience. Outside of the community, the language is heard on the local Saami radio station, although only for one hour per week.

A large proportion of the older generation are unable to write in Skolt Saami because the orthography was only developed in the early 1970s. Younger speakers, on the other hand, who learnt the language at school, are likely to have a much better understanding of the writing system, while simultaneously having a much worse grasp of speaking the language. Some people also experience difficulty in reading, brought about by the number of characters not found in Finnish, with which they are more familiar. Jefremoff (2005: 41) also gives an indication of the areas of language proficiency among the Skolt Saami, reproduced in Figure 4.

Literature and other works in Skolt Saami

Since the development of the orthography a growing number of books and primers have been produced in the language, a large number of which are translations from Finnish or another Saami language.

One significant work is a collection of Skolt fairy tales entitled *Maaddârää'jji Mainnâz* 'Great-grandfather's tales' (Mosnikoff 1992), accompanied by cassette-tape recordings of all stories. In 2006, a translation of another collection of short stories was published, entitled *Mannu Meä'cc* 'The forest of the moon' (Crottet 2006). This collection of texts, written by a man named Robert Crottet, who lived among the Skolts for some time, was also published in English, entitled 'The enchanted forest' (Crottet 1949).

In addition to these, a number of primers and exercise books for teaching Skolt Saami at school have been produced and a number of children's storybooks translated. The Gospel of John was also translated into the language by a small group of Skolt Saami.

A variety of music in Skolt Saami is available on CD, ranging from traditional leudds[4] to the rock music of Tiina Sanila. A few short feature-films have also been produced, showcasing aspects of Skolt Saami life.

Viability

The outlook for Skolt Saami is rather bleak. UNESCO classifies the language as severely endangered[5] on the scale vulnerable–definitely endangered–severely endangered–critically endangered–extinct. Despite increased cultural identity and renewed efforts to elevate the status of the language, the language is not being transmitted in any meaningful way to the younger generations. The issue is

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4. A *leudd* is a traditional Skolt Saami form of chant, often a sung narrative. An in-depth description of chanting in the Saami languages is given in Kulonen et al. 2005: 46.
5. Information taken from the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger [online version – available at <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas> – accessed 21-Sep-2015].

exacerbated by the fact there are very few babies and young children living in the villages to whom the language could be transmitted, assuming the intention were there. Families of childbearing age are those who are most likely to have moved elsewhere in Finland in search of work.

On a more positive note, the recent introduction of a language immersion playgroup, referred to in Finnish as a "kielipesä" or "language nest", is proving to be very popular and successful. It gives very young children the opportunity to be exposed exclusively to Skolt Saami and to interact with other children and adults in the language.

As of September 2014, the youngest reported speakers were thought to be a seven-year-old boy, whose father speaks to him in Skolt Saami at home, but whose mother is a Finnish speaker, and a 6-year-old boy who attended the language nest and whose mother is a Skolt Saami speaker (Satu Moshnikoff, p.c.). It is difficult to say the age of the next youngest fluent speakers since this depends on how one defines fluency, but in terms of native-speaker fluency it is probable that the next youngest speaker is in his or her 30s.

Aside from those with native-speaker fluency, there is a growing number of second-language speakers among the community, who in most cases grew up speaking Finnish in Skolt–Finnish households, but who have since studied Skolt Saami both at school and in some cases at the Sámi Education Centre in Inari. There are currently around 20 of these speakers, aged approximately from 20–25 years of age, who have an excellent grasp of the language, even if not fluent.

The number of fluent speakers still alive, the increased awareness of issues relating to linguistic and cultural identity and the newly available language resources are all positive factors in the maintenance of the language, which provide some hope for the future viability of the language. However, if the language is to have any real chance of survival in the long term it is of paramount importance that it is once again transmitted to the younger generations.

1.2.5 The name of the language

The term *Skolt Saami* is used throughout this grammar in reference to both the language and the ethnic population. References to the Skolt Saami as a population entail both those who speak the Skolt Saami language and those who do not; any exclusive reference to those who speak the Skolt Saami language will be made clear by appending the word *speakers* to the reference being made.

Much of the older literature (e.g. Collinder 1957, Hajdu 1975, Korhonen 1988) refers to the Saami languages as the Lapp or Lappish languages, hence the terms *Skolt Lapp* or *Skolt Lappish*. This term is now considered to be derogatory and is falling out of use, with authors occasionally making reference to both terms for the sake of clarity (e.g. McRobbie-Utasi 1999). The term *Lapp* is an exonym which was assigned long ago to the Saami population by outside observers bringing with it

negative stereotypes, whereas *Saami* is the anglicised form of the word the Saami have always used as a self-referent (Jones-Bamman 2001: 190).

In their own language the Skolt Saami refer to themselves as simply *sää'm* 'the Saami', or, when differentiating themselves from other Saami groups, as *nuõ'rttsää'm* 'the East Saami'. The Finnish term is *Koltta* 'Skolt' or *Koltansaame* 'Skolt Saami'.

In English, two alternative spellings exist, Saami and Sámi, the latter marking the long vowel with an acute accent. The spelling adopted in this grammar, *Saami*, is more widely used in recent literature (e.g. Toivonen & Nelson 2007, Nelson & Manninen 2003) and is preferred due to its representation of the long vowel in the pronunciation of the name.

1.3 Recent history of the Skolt Saami

As already mentioned in §1.2.3, the Skolt Saami previously inhabited the western part of the Kola Peninsula, centred on the region of Petsamo (see Figure 5). The region of Petsamo belonged to Russia from 1533–1920 and this no doubt accounts for the extensive number of Russian loan words which occur in Skolt Saami.

In the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, the area of Petsamo became part of Finland together with three Skolt Saami siidas: the Paatsjoki, Petsamo and Suonikylä siidas. However, in 1944, following the Second World War, Finland was finally forced to cede the Petsamo region to the Soviet Union, taking with it the traditional homeland of the Skolt Saami. The Skolt Saami, who had been evacuated from Petsamo during the war years and had fought alongside the Finns, opted to remain in Finland and were resettled on the Finnish side of the border in the Municipality of Inari (Linkola & Linkola 2005).

These recent events in history have had an enormous impact on the Skolt Saami, both culturally and linguistically. Following the Tartu Peace Treaty, the change in citizenship for most Skolt Saami meant they would no longer have a need for Russian, but instead be required to learn Finnish. Following the resettlement in Finland, right up until the 1970s, Skolt Saami children were only taught in Finnish. Due to the distance they lived from school many students stayed in dormitories and were therefore under a greater influence from Finnish and had considerably less contact with their own mother tongue.

While this section provides only a brief summary of events which took place in the twentieth century, it is indisputable that these events were of great and lasting significance to the Skolt Saami language and culture and they reverberate to this day.

Figure 5. Map showing the Petsamo region[6]

1.4 Genetic affiliation of Skolt Saami

The traditional view taken in the literature (Collinder 1957, Hajdu 1975, Sinor 1988, Abondolo 1998, Sammallahti 1998) is that the Saami languages belong to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family.[7] The relation of Skolt Saami to the other Saami languages and the Balto-Finnic languages, under this view, is presented in Figure 6.

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6. This map was taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Petsamo.png> [accessed 21-Sep-2015] and is not subject to copyright restrictions.
7. The precise nature of the Uralic language family – including attempts to establish external genetic connections and the question of whether all the languages it encompasses are indeed genetically related – has been the subject of a fair amount of debate. The interested reader can consult Abondolo 1998 among others.

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                              Finnic
                           /          \
                   Balto-Finnic        Saami
                       |              /      \
                            West Saami     East Saami
                                |              |
         Finnish        North Saami        Inari Saami

         Estonian        Lule Saami        Skolt Saami

         Karelian       South Saami       Akkala Saami

         Ludian          Pite Saami         Ter Saami

          Veps           Ume Saami        Kildin Saami

         Ingrian

          Votic

        Livonian
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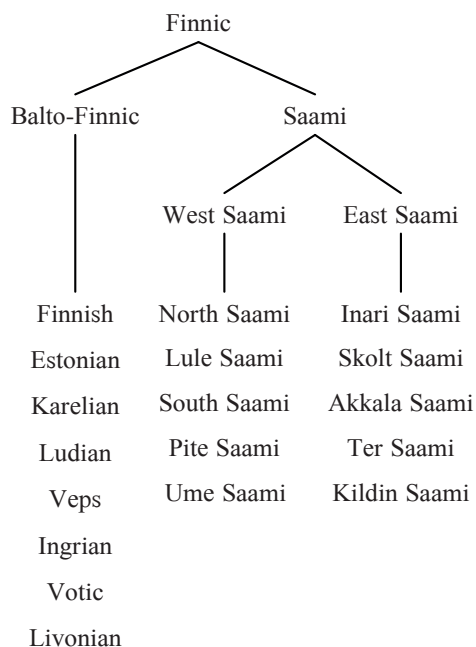
Figure 6. Family tree of the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family

The Saami languages, as seen in Figure 6, can be further sub-divided into two main groups: the Western Saami languages and the Eastern Saami languages. The Western Saami languages comprise South, Ume, Pite, Lule and North Saami and the Eastern Saami languages comprise Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami. Skolt Saami is therefore classified as an Eastern Saami language.

   All the Saami languages are somewhat similar in terms of basic vocabulary and grammatical structure, but differ sufficiently from each other to have been classified as separate languages. According to Sammallahti (1998: 1), the degree of separation between the Saami languages is at least equivalent to the degree of separation between Germanic or Romance languages. Nevertheless, speakers on either side of a language boundary usually share a degree of mutual intelligibility, so that it may be possible to think of the Saami languages as a dialectal continuum. In fact, Collinder (1957: vi) refers to Skolt Saami as a sub-dialect of Eastern Saami.

   The geographical relation of Skolt Saami to the other Saami languages is shown in Figure 7. As will be evident from this map, the majority of the Skolt Saami homeland is on the Kola Peninsula, with only a small proportion on the Finnish side of the border, where it overlaps with the region inhabited by the Inari Saami. The historical reasons for this were explained in §1.3.
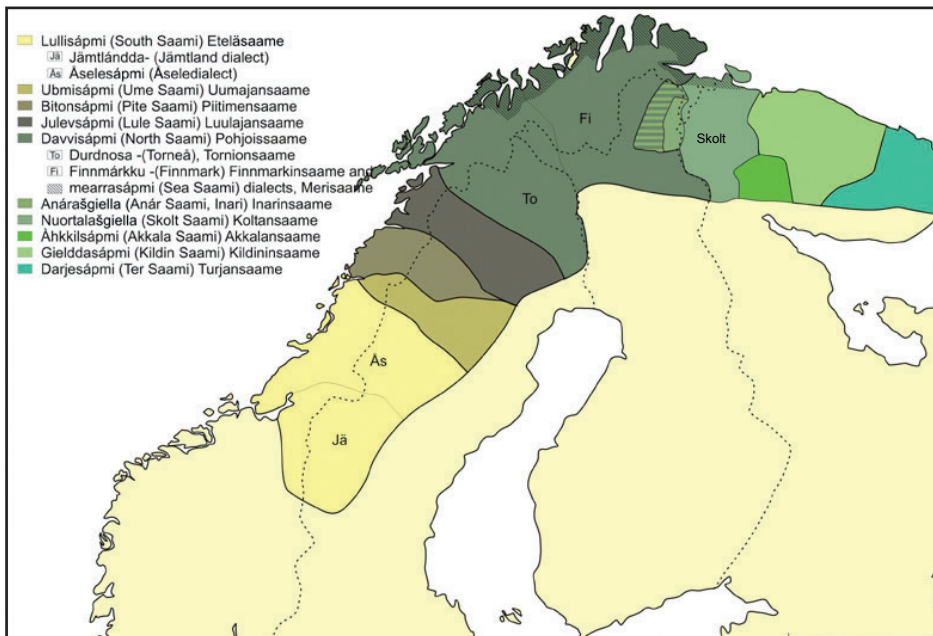
Figure 7. The geographical distribution of the Saami languages[8]

1.5 Previous research

The last century has seen a growing amount of research carried out on the Skolt Saami language, although up until now no comprehensive grammatical description of the language has ever been written. A short grammatical sketch and a pedagogical grammar have, however, been published. In 1973, *Koltansaamen Opas* 'A Guide to Skolt Saami' (Korhonen et al. 1973) was published, and included a presentation of the newly-developed orthography, a small glossary, some grammatical information and two short texts. In 2009, *Koltansaamen koulukielioppi* (*Sää'm̌kiõl ǩiõllvuä'ppes škoou'li vääras*) 'A Skolt Saami pedagogical grammar' (Moshnikoff et al. 2009) was published, incorporating many aspects of the 1973 *Koltansaamen Opas* in a much more accessible, easy-to-read and updated format. This pedagogical grammar is aimed at school children and adult learners of the Skolt Saami community, who may already possess some knowledge of the language. It thus contains many examples of grammatical constructions, avoiding the need for the reader to get bogged down in complex linguistically-oriented explanations and analyses.

The first dictionary available for Skolt Saami, issued in two volumes, was T. I. Itkonen's 1958 dictionary *Koltan- ja Kuolanlapin sanakirja*. The Skolt Saami words in this publication are given in the Finno-Ugric transcription system, because at the

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time there was no established orthography. Translations are given in both Finnish and German. The entries in this substantial work also include information on dialectal variation and provide several paradigm forms for many words. Other dictionaries, which use the official orthography, are Mosnikoff & Sammallahti (1988) and Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991), the latter of which includes some grammatical notes. In addition, a huge lexicon, compiled by Jouni Moshnikoff, exists in an unpublished electronic form. More information on this unpublished lexical database is provided in §1.6.

There also exist several publications relating to the issues of consonant gradation and phonological quantity in Skolt Saami. This began with a publication on consonant gradation by T. Itkonen (1916) and was followed by publications by E. Itkonen (1939, 1946) in which he views various structural types of Skolt Saami disyllabic words from a diachronic perspective. More recently, further research on phonological quantity was conducted for a doctoral thesis by McRobbie-Utasi (1991a) entitled *An acoustic analysis of duration in Skolt Sami disyllabics*, whose findings were later incorporated into her 1999 publication *Quantity in the Skolt (Lappish) Saami language: An acoustic analysis*. A chapter entitled *The instability of systems with ternary length distinction: The Skolt Saami evidence* (McRobbie-Utasi 2007) also appeared in a recently published volume on Saami linguistics (Toivonen & Nelson 2007).

McRobbie-Utasi has also written on other topics relating to the phonology and phonetics of Skolt Saami, including preaspiration (1991b, 2003) and vowel reduction (2000, 2001), and a paper by Korhonen (1967) discusses the morphological functions of stem-internal sound changes in Saami languages, including examples from Skolt Saami.

There is a considerable amount of literature pertaining to other Saami languages and to Finno-Ugric languages as a whole, often written in German, Finnish or one of the Scandinavian languages. Included in this literature are many articles and other publications on issues relating to common features of all Saami languages, and therefore also of relevance to Skolt Saami. However, space does not permit a full exposition of the extensive literature available on all Saami-related matters; instead the reader is referred to the excellent Saami bibliography provided in Toivonen & Nelson (2007: 259–303).

1.6 Methodology and data

The methodology used in preparing this grammar belongs to the field of descriptive field linguistics. This involved visiting the speech community on a number of occasions to work with native speakers living in the community. A number of shorter field trips were made, instead of a single prolonged visit, to allow time for reflection, to analyse the data collected and to highlight areas where more research was

required. Subsequent trips therefore permitted the checking of tentative hypotheses and the collection of more data.

In total six field trips were made with a combined duration of just over eight months. The first visit in November 2006, lasting only one week, acted as a preliminary visit to establish contact with the speech community, become acquainted with the area and find possible language consultants and it proved to be a great success in achieving these aims. The second trip took place in the summer of 2007, from July–September, and lasted ten weeks. The third trip, lasting six weeks, was carried out from August–October 2008 and a fourth, lasting five weeks, from March–April 2009. The fifth visit during the summer of 2009, from July–September, lasted twelve weeks and a final sixth visit was made in November 2009 for one week to allow for final checking of the data.

Work was conducted with a varying number of speakers on each visit. In earlier visits work was carried out with a greater number of consultants, but this number gradually decreased on subsequent trips as it became clear that it was easier to carry out linguistic work with certain speakers. The total number of speakers with whom I worked was 22, comprised of seven male and fifteen female speakers. However, a number of these speakers were only visited on one occasion for a number of reasons while eleven of these speakers were visited on a more regular basis.

Consultation work involved both direct elicitation and translation of texts from Skolt Saami to Finnish (which I could later translate into English). Certain speakers had more metalinguistic knowledge than others and therefore were more apt at providing the expected form in direct elicitation, while other speakers were more readily able to provide word-by-word translations for texts. I attempted to focus consultation sessions so that they would make maximum use of the speakers' abilities.

The texts, which were translated with speakers, came from two sources. Firstly, they came from a collection of published Skolt Saami fairy tales (Mosnikoff 1992), which I was granted permission to use in my research. The stories in this publication have two origins. Some of the stories were compiled from texts originally recorded by Finnish linguist Mikko Korhonen during the 1960s and 1970s. These texts were transcribed and edited to make suitable for publication; speech errors and repetitions were thus omitted. A subsequent recording of all the published texts was then produced to accompany the book. Other stories included in the book are translations from Finnish into Skolt Saami by Jouni Moshnikoff and originate from Ravila (1931).

The second source of texts used for linguistic analysis was the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (= Kotimaisten Kielten Tutkimuskeskus [KOTUS]), based in Helsinki,[9] who kindly supplied me with audio and video recordings of interviews with Skolt Saami speakers made during the last few years by researchers at this institute. Researchers at KOTUS have arranged these recorded interviews

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9. Any examples taken from recordings made by KOTUS will be indicated with the initials SKNA (=Suomen kielen nauhoitearkisto), The Audio Recordings Archive of KOTUS.

with the aim of growing a corpus of data on the language, to act in part as a form of language documentation while at the same time providing data for researchers. A Skolt Saami speaker was contracted to transcribe these texts into Finnish and instructed to provide a word-by-word transcription, including any speech errors. Two of these recordings were analysed in detail – the first, a lengthy interview with a male speaker [SKNA 17462: 1], in which he relates stories from his childhood through to adulthood, including work as a reindeer herder and the move to Sevettijärvi; and the second, a shorter interview with a female speaker [SKNA 17448: 1] in which she talks about learning the traditional Skolt dance and tells a ghost story.

These two sources of data are particularly complementary. The former provides recordings and transcribed texts which are considered to comprise grammatically well-formed sentences, yet for the most part are based on naturally-occurring speech. The latter provides much more natural recordings of the language than the recordings made to accompany Mosnikoff (1992), including speech errors, hesitations and other features of natural speech such as interjections which may have been omitted in Mosnikoff (1992).

There are two additional advantages with the latter of these two sources of data – firstly, these interviews were recorded on video, providing information on gestures and other extralinguistic information. Secondly, the interviews, though arranged by KOTUS, were conducted by a native speaker of Skolt Saami, removing the negative effects of bilingual interviewing techniques that would have been present had the KOTUS researcher or I attempted to conduct similar interviews.

In addition to data collected during elicitation and the extensive textual data to which I had access, a vital source of data was generously provided to me by Jouni and Satu Moshnikoff in the way of a huge lexical database which has been compiled over the course of many years. This remarkable database contains over 30,000 entries.[10] A large number of lexical entries for nouns are provided with other paradigm forms – namely the PL.NOM and SG.ILL – to aid a speaker in recognising the inflectional class to which they belong.

Additional data sources are Sammallahti & Mosnikoff's (1991) Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary and Mosnikoff & Sammallahti's (1988) Skolt Saami–Finnish dictionary. The orthography used in Sveloff's (1989) Finnish–Skolt Saami word list differs significantly from the standard form and has therefore not been used in any significant way.

Information relating to other Saami languages or Proto-Saami reconstructed forms was taken from the *Álgu* online etymological database[11] of Saami languages provided by the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland. Transcriptions of

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10. It should be pointed out that a considerable number of lexical entries are duplicates, which were included to aid a user in finding a particular word. For example the word *vuõssargg* 'Monday' appears under entries for "Monday" and for "weekday: Monday". This use of duplicates is important when distributing the database on paper, while in digital form a word can easily be found by conducting a search, removing the need for duplicates. The database also contains a large number of inflected forms, not all of which would typically be included in a dictionary. The number of unique lexical forms given is, nevertheless, an astonishing accomplishment
11. Accessible at <http://kaino.kotus.fi/algu/> [accessed 21-Sep-2015].

any examples given in this grammar from other Saami languages or Proto-Saami forms are based on the transcriptions provided in the *Álgu* database and may not represent the current orthography of the language in question.

Elicitation recordings were made using an Edirol R-09 (Roland Corporation) WAVE/MP3 solid-state digital recorder, with recordings made onto a Secure Digital (SD) memory card. A Sony ECM-MS907, uni-directional digital stereo microphone was also used.

Texts were transcribed using Language Explorer (version 2.4.1), part of the SIL Fieldworks[12] (version 5.4.1) integrated set of software tools for linguistic fieldwork. Acoustic analyses were done using Praat[13] (version 5.1.17) (Boersma 2009) and spectrograms presented in this grammar were produced with this software.

The sources of examples given throughout this grammar are marked as follows: SKNA = *Suomen kielen nauhoitearkisto* 'The Audio Recordings Archive'; MM = *Maaddârää'jji Mainnâz* 'Great-grandfather's Tales' (Mosnikoff 1992); KK = *Koltansaamen koulukielioppi* 'Skolt Saami School Grammar' (Moshnikoff et al. 2009) and EE = *Evvan Evaŋǧe'lium* 'John's Gospel'. Numbers given after a colon refer to the page number in the source in the case of MM and KK, but the chapter and verse in the case of EE. The texts presented in Chapter 11 are from Mosnikoff (1992); where an example is taken from one of these four texts, the number of the text as it appears in Chapter 11 is given (following a hyphen) rather than the page number (e.g. [MM-3] indicates that the example is from Text 3). Examples without any source given are elicited examples.

1.7 Theoretical framework

The aim of this grammar is to describe the structure of the Skolt Saami language in a way which will make it accessible to the widest possible audience and useful to scholars regardless of their particular theoretical framework. It is hoped that, by doing so, it will also be useful to future generations. It therefore avoids focusing on a particular theory or school of thought that would otherwise render this grammar inaccessible to some or useless, should that theory go out of fashion.

While it could be said, therefore, that this grammatical description is atheoretical in nature, no descriptive work can be entirely void of theory, since one cannot describe a language without making some theoretical assumptions. This work, then, follows the framework known as "Basic Linguistic Theory". Dryer (2001) defines Basic Linguistic Theory as "a cumulative framework that has slowly developed over the past century as linguists have learned how to describe languages better [which] is grounded in traditional grammar and can be seen as having evolved out of traditional grammar". Dryer explains that Basic Linguistic Theory has been informed and influenced by linguistic typology and the recognition of recurrent

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12. Available for download at <http://fieldworks.sil.org/> [accessed 21-Sep-2015].
13. Available for download at <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/> [accessed 21-Sep-2015].

phenomena cross-linguistically, incorporating many of the concepts found in the typological literature, as well as aspects of early generative grammar.

It is clear, then, that by following this framework, which is referred to as theory-neutral or atheoretical by some, this grammatical description is in fact founded upon elements of linguistic typology, generative grammar and other theories which contributed to the evolution of Basic Linguistic Theory.

For the most part this grammar has attempted to give a language-internal, synchronic perspective on the language as it is today. It has at times, however, been necessary to move into the realm of historical and comparative linguistics to provide an explanation for a particular observation, where looking at reconstructed Proto-Saami data or data from the other Saami languages has proved enlightening.

1.8 The orthography

The present orthography was developed by Mikko Korhonen, Pekka Sammallahti and Jouni Moshnikoff and, in 1973, a Skolt Saami primer was published in the new orthography (Kulonen et al. 2005: 441). Since 1973, there has been a growing number of publications appearing in Skolt Saami, including a dictionary, school textbooks, children's storybooks, a translation of John's Gospel, an anthology of fairy tales and a novel. Nowadays, with the significantly-improved situation regarding the ability to easily input Skolt Saami characters on computers, combined with the increase in revitalisation efforts, the orthography is widely used, including in social media discussions. The number of Skolt Saami speakers who are able to read and write the language is, nevertheless, limited to some degree, as shown earlier in Figure 4.

The Skolt Saami orthography is used throughout this grammar, with phonetic transcriptions only given where it is deemed necessary in order to illustrate a point being made. Although the orthography is a reasonably close representation of the actual pronunciation of words, it is necessary to explain some of the features of the orthography before going any further.

1.8.1 The characters

Presented below in Table 1 are the official characters of the Skolt Saami alphabet, given in the alphabetical order which has been agreed upon for Skolt Saami,[14] together with the corresponding IPA symbol. The IPA vowel symbols are based on the closest cardinal vowel, and are not precise phonetic representations.

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14. A Skolt Saami locale, which supports this alphabetical order in sort order algorithms, now exists in Microsoft Windows Vista. (In computing, a *locale* is a set of parameters that defines the user's language, country and any special variant preferences that the user wants to see in their user interface).

Character	IPA	Character	IPA
Aa	/ɑ/	Ǩǩ	/c/ {/c͡ç/}
Ââ	/ɐ/	Ll	/l/ [/ɫ/ /w/]
Bb	/b/	Mm	/m/
Cc	/t͡s/	Nn	/n/
Čč	/t͡ʃ/ {/ʃ/}	Ŋŋ	/ŋ/
Ʒʒ	/d͡z/	Oo	/o/
Ǯǯ	/d͡ʒ/	Õõ	/ə/
Dd	/d/	Pp	/p/
Đđ	/ð/ {/z/}	Rr	/r/
Ee	/e/	Ss	/s/
Ff	/f/	Šš	/ʃ/
Gg	/g/	Tt	/t/
Ǧǧ	/ʝ/ {/ɟ͡ʝ/}	Uu	/u/ or /w/
Ǧǧ	/ɣ/	Vv	/v/ [/ʋ/] or /w/
Hh	/x/ [/h/ /ç/]	Zz	/z/
Ii	/i/	Žž	/ʒ/
Jj	/j/ or /j̊/	Åå	/ɔ/
Kk	/k/	Ää	/æ/

Table 1. Characters of the official orthography with the corresponding IPA symbols

Where a single grapheme is used for two different sounds then both IPA symbols are given. It is usually possible to differentiate each phoneme by context – for example, the grapheme ‹u› corresponds to /u/ when in the nucleus of a word, but /w/ when part of a consonant cluster. Allophones are indicated by square brackets, while variations observed between speakers are indicated in braces.

The character ‹y›, omitted from this list, occurs only in words of Finnish origin and corresponds to a high front rounded vowel, represented with the same character /y/ in the IPA.

In addition to the characters listed in Table 1, there are two digraphs used in Skolt Saami writing. These are presented in Table 2 with their corresponding IPA symbols.

Digraph	IPA
lj	/ʎ/
nj	/ɲ/

Table 2. Digraphs used in the Skolt Saami orthography

It is worth noting that a potential confusion exists between the IPA symbol /ʒ/, for a voiced post-alveolar fricative, which is represented in the orthography by the character ‹ž›, and the orthographic character ‹ʒ›, which represents a voiced

post-alveolar affricate, corresponding to the IPA symbol /d͡z/. These correspondences are shown below in Table 3.

Phoneme	IPA	Orthographical form
voiced, post-alveolar fricative	ʒ	ž
voiced, post-alveolar affricate	d͡z	ʒ

Table 3. Potential confusion between IPA and orthographical characters

1.8.2 Additional symbols

In addition to the characters presented in Table 1 and Table 2, three diacritics are used, as presented in Table 4, as well as a hyphen in certain compound words.

Diacritic	Use	Further details
ʹ	palatalisation[15]	§2.6
ʼ	overshort consonant or breath[16]	§2.1.1
ˈ	long geminate[17]	§2.5

Table 4. Diacritics used in the Skolt Saami orthography

Previously, the apostrophe ‹ ' › was also used when a compound word resulted in a sequence of three identical consonants. However, with the publication of Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 158) came the decision to use a hyphen to separate strings of identical consonants which arise through compounding. The use of the hyphen is not limited to strings of three consonants, but may occur between two identical consonants which have arisen through compounding. Examples are presented below.

kaupp-põrtt (trading house)   ← (*kaupp* shop + *põrtt* house)
sää'm-maainâs (Saami fairy tale) ← (*sää'm* Saami.SG.GEN + *maainâs* fairy tale)
ǩiõtt-tel (mobile phone)   ← (*ǩiõtt* hand + *tel* ← *te'lfon* telephone)

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15. No official Unicode symbol has been agreed upon to represent the symbol for palatalisation. Often U+00B4 ACCUTE ACCENT has been used, and while this symbol is probably the most versatile from a cross-platform point of view since it is present is almost all Unicode and non-Unicode fonts, it has the disadvantage of effectively splitting a word in two making it more difficult to read Skolt Saami. A more appropriate symbol, used throughout this grammar, is U+02B9 MODIFIER LETTER PRIME, which aesthetically looks much better but is limited to mainly Unicode fonts.
16. The most appropriate Unicode symbol is U+02BC MODIFIER LETTER APOSTROPHE as it is treated as part of the word.
17. The most appropriate Unicode symbol is U+02C8 MODIFIER LETTER VERTICAL LINE. This diacritic is typically reserved for linguistic literature and not used in the every-day orthography.

1.9 Organisation of this grammar

The remainder of this grammar is organised as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the phonology of the language, covering the consonant and vowel inventories and palatalisation. This chapter also touches on the area of acoustic phonetics by providing spectrographic data where this is pertinent to the discussion at hand and useful in illustrating a point.

Chapter 3 covers morphophonology – the interface between the phonology presented in Chapter 2 and the morphological analysis in the following chapters – looking at consonant gradation (and its relation to phonological quantity) and vowel height alternations.

Chapter 4 provides a short introduction to the word classes of Skolt Saami, although the open word classes of nouns, adjectives and verbs are only discussed briefly, since they are dealt with in greater depth in following chapters. Chapter 5 follows on from this in discussing word formation, covering both derivational processes and compounding.

The following two chapters are concerned with nominals, beginning in Chapter 6 with an in-depth look at their inflectional morphology, namely the marking of number, case and possession. Particular attention is also given to the various inflectional classes they fall into. Chapter 7 moves on to discuss the internal structure of NPs describing the ways in which an NP head may be modified. Nouns and adjectives, as well as pronominal forms, as treated together in these two chapters due to their many morphological and syntactic similarities.

Chapter 8 covers the inflectional morphology of verbs, describing how person, number, tense and mood are marked across the four verbal inflectional classes. The formation of the various non-finite verb forms, which have diverse functions within the language, is also covered in this chapter. Chapter 9 discusses the verbal categories of tense, mood, aspect and polarity.

Finally, in Chapter 10, syntax is discussed, covering a wide range of topics, including constituent order, the syntactic functions of the nine grammatical cases, non-declarative clauses, voice and valence, clausal modification and complex clauses.

2   Phonology

This chapter begins with an overview of two aspects of Skolt Saami word structure (§2.1), namely the concept of the disyllabic stress group and the existence of overshort vowels which are not represented in the orthography. By covering these two features, this section introduces terminology which is necessary for a fuller understanding of the following sections. The segmental features of Skolt Saami phonology are then introduced, beginning with the consonant inventory in §2.2, moving to the vowel inventory in §2.3 and ending with diphthongs in §2.4. Phonological length is introduced in §2.5, although a more in-depth discussing of this is found in Chapter 3. The suprasegmental feature of palatalisation is covered in §2.6 and finally, in §2.7, a number of sound changes are briefly discussed.

Although this chapter aims to introduce the phonology of Skolt Saami, and does not attempt to give a detailed acoustic phonetic analysis, it has at times been deemed helpful to provide spectrographic evidence. The majority of the spectrograms are of words extracted from the recorded texts which accompany Mosnikoff (1992), thereby avoiding some of the issues associated with analysing words recorded in isolation.

2.1 Word structure

The literature on Saami languages makes use of a number of special terms when describing the structure of words. These same terms are used throughout this grammar and it is therefore necessary to begin this chapter by introducing them. Definitions of these terms are taken from Sammallahti (1998: 39).

Saami words are said to comprise one or more stress groups. A STRESS GROUP is composed of at least one stressed syllable and may be followed by either one or two unstressed syllables. A word which contains more than three syllables will typically form more than one stress group, where odd syllables are stressed.

In the literature, the nucleus of the stressed syllable is referred to as the vowel centre and the consonant between it and the next syllable nucleus is known as the consonant centre. The first unstressed nucleus which follows the consonant centre is called the latus and the consonant or consonant cluster between the latus and a second unstressed nucleus (in trisyllabic stress groups) is known as the consonant margin. In trisyllabic stress groups the second unstressed nucleus is called the vowel margin. The initial and final consonants of a stress group are referred to as the initium and finis. Note that a vowel in the latus is referred to as a lateral vowel and a vowel in the vowel margin is referred to as a marginal vowel. This is represented with the word *ǩiiǩǩeʹped* 'watch.PRS.2PL'.

ǩ-	ii-	čč-	eʹ-	p-	e-	d
initium	vowel centre	consonant centre	latus	consonant margin	vowel margin	finis

2.1.1 Overshort vowels

An 'overshort' vowel sound or short burst of aspiration is present at the end of many monosyllabic words in Skolt Saami, and corresponds historically to a lateral vowel which has been lost. McRobbie-Utasi (1999) refers to these words as disyllabics, although this grammar considers the overshort vowel as belonging to a degenerate syllable. If the word is palatalised then the overshort vowel has an *e*-quality, but otherwise it has an *a*-quality.

kaupp [kɑwpːă̆] 'shop'
sueʹǩǩ [suɛʰcˑĕ̆] 'birch'

An overshort vowel may also be present word-medially at the end of a stress group. Often the addition of an inflectional or derivational suffix will cause a lateral vowel to undergo syncope, but a phonetic trace of it will still be present as an overshort vowel or short burst of aspiration. In the example below, the word *ǩiugan* 'oven' consists of a single, disyllabic stress group. The illative form of the word, *ǩiuggna*, however, although appearing to be disyllabic, can be more accurately considered a trisyllabic stress group, when taking the overshort vowel into account.

ǩiugan [ciːwɣɑn] 'oven.SG.NOM'   →   *ǩiuggna* [ciwgːă̆nɑ] 'oven.SG.ILL'

A lateral vowel, present in a citation form (i.e. SG.NOM form of a noun or INF form of a verb) only as an overshort vowel, may surface as a full vowel in other forms where a suffix is lost. In the example below, the loss of the infinitive marker *-ed* from the trisyllabic stress group of *juurdčed* results in the overshort lateral vowel being realised as a full vowel.

juurdčed [juːrdă̆tʃed] 'think.INF'   →   *juurdač* [juːrdɑtʃ] 'think.PRS.3SG'

It is often possible to predict from the written form of a word whether or not an overshort vowel is present. This is due to the fact that in Skolt Saami a consonant centre can only be filled by a simple consonant (either a short consonant, short geminate or long geminate) or a restricted number of consonant clusters which are permitted to form syllable codas. Clusters of consonants which are unable to form the consonant centre must necessarily belong to separate stress groups, or the third syllable of a trisyllabic stress group, indicating the likely presence of an overshort

vowel. In the examples below, the overshort vowel is represented with a superscript A.

mainsted 'talk.INF'   =   main^Asted   ‹jnst› not a permitted consonant centre
reäggčem 'cry.COND.1SG'   =   reägg^Ačem   ‹ggč› not a permitted consonant centre

västtal 'slap.PRS.3SG'   =   västtal   ‹stt› permitted consonant centre
vuõ'lǧǧem 'leave.PST.1SG' =   vuõ'lǧǧem   ‹lǧǧ› permitted consonant centre

In two environments, an overshort vowel or short burst of aspiration is represented in the orthography by way of an apostrophe, ‹ ’ ›, either to avoid ambiguity or to improve readability. In the first of these, the apostrophe is used to differentiate between a palatal ‹lj› (/ʎ/) or ‹nj› (/ɲ/) and a sequence of ‹l› or ‹n› followed by ‹j›. Compare, for example, *villj* 'brother', which consists of a long palatal lateral /ʎː/, with *jäll'jed* 'recover', which consists instead of a long alveolar lateral followed by a palatal approximant /lːj/, as indicated by the apostrophe. This apostrophe is not used, however, when the sequences /l/+/j/ or /n/+/j/ occur as a result of compounding, as seen for example in *jee'eljeä'ǧǧ* 'lichen swamp', which is a compound of *jee'el* 'lichen' and *jeä'ǧǧ* 'swamp' and which gives rise to the sequence of consonants /lj/, but not /ʎ/.

The second purpose of the apostrophe is to indicate an overshort vowel or breath where an original vowel has been lost and is no longer marked in the orthography, but where the addition of a derivational suffix, which begins with an identical consonant to the final consonant of the stem, renders it necessary. Some examples of this use are given below.

jäämm'mõš (death)   ←   (*jää'mmed* die.INF + *-mõš* NOMINALISING SUFFIX)
mätt'ted (teach)   ←   (*mätt* education + *-t-* CAUSATIVE + *-ed* INFINITIVE)
ǩiõll'laž (linguistic) ←   (*ǩiõll* language + *-laž* ADJECTIVAL SUFFIX)

In the case of some words the overshort vowel represented by the apostrophe may be the only thing differentiating a word from an otherwise identical word. Consider the following two examples.

lue'štted (set.free.INF)
lue'št'ted (set.free.CAUS.INF) ←   (*lue'št-* STEM + *-t-* CAUSATIVE + *-ed* INFINITIVE)

In the first of these, *lue'štted* 'set free', ‹štt› forms a consonant cluster. Since it is a long consonant cluster the duration of the closure of /t/ is prolonged. In the second, *lue'št'ted* 'have…set free', ‹štt› does not form a long consonant cluster, but instead ‹št› forms a short consonant cluster which is followed by /t/. In the latter of these, a definite release of the first /t/ is heard.

2.1.2 Relationship between the vowel centre and the latus

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, vowels and diphthongs in Skolt Saami can be treated as belonging to either a HIGH or LOW group (see §3.1 for more information and a definition of HIGH and LOW in this context). In many words the vowel centre and latus are in a relationship with each other whereby a vowel centre which contains a vowel from the high group co-occurs with ‹â› in the latus, a vowel centre which contains a vowel from the low group co-occurs with ‹a› in the latus, and a vowel centre which forms part of a palatalised stress group co-occurs with ‹e› in the latus. These are referred to as Groups A, B and C, respectively.

While this is a useful way of determining the quality of a lateral vowel from the vowel centre of a word – for example, where the lateral vowel is not present in the citation form – it is by no means universal and does not apply to inflectional or derivational suffixes. Several inflectional forms, such as the SG.ILL of nouns, require a different vowel in the latus, hence for these forms this general rule does not hold.

An understanding of the stress group and overshort vowels is important in Skolt Saami, since the suprasegmental feature of palatalisation (see §2.6) has scope over the vowel centre and consonant centre of a stress group, but does not affect surrounding stress groups. By way of illustration, consider the verb *reäkkve'ted* 'cry.PRS.2PL'. The PRS.2PL suffix, -*v'eted*, which itself is palatalised, does not affect the preceding *kk* since it belongs to a separate stress group – if it did *kk* would become *ǩǩ*. This verb form does not form a trisyllabic stress group but rather two disyllabic stress groups, *reäkk^A–ve'ted*, where the former ends with an overshort vowel, represented by the superscript A.

2.2 Consonants

Table 5 presents the consonant phonemes of Skolt Saami using the International Phonetic Alphabet [IPA]. Throughout this grammar the official orthography is used, except where the IPA is necessary to clarify a point. About half of the phonemes presented in Table 5 employ the same character as that seen in the IPA, while a number of these phonemes are represented by distinct characters in the official orthography. Table 6 presents the phoneme inventory using the Skolt Saami orthography; those characters which are not equivalent to the IPA symbol are highlighted.

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
Plosive	p	b					t	d			c	ɟ	k	g
Nasal		m						n				ɲ		ŋ
Trill								r						
Fricative			f	v		ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ʝ		x	ɣ
Affricate							t͡s	d͡z	t͡ʃ	d͡ʒ				
Approximant											j		w	
Lateral								l			ʎ			

Table 5. Skolt Saami phoneme inventory [IPA]

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
Plosive	p	b					t	d			ǩ	ǧ	k	g
Nasal		m						n				nj		ŋ
Trill								r						
Fricative			f	v		đ	s	z	š	ž	j		h	g
Affricate							c	ʒ	č	ǯ				
Approximant											j		v	
Lateral								l			lj			

Table 6. Skolt Saami phoneme inventory [official orthography]

Note that the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ is presented in Table 5 together with velar consonants, although this is a coarticulated approximant and therefore does not fit neatly into the IPA consonant chart. Note also that the orthographical representation of this phoneme is identical to the labio-dental fricative /v/, although it has a distinct distribution.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ only occurs in loan words, but is nevertheless fairly widespread and thus included in the phoneme inventory. (A small number of other phonemes, such as the high front rounded vowel /y/ and the mid front rounded vowel /ø/ of Finnish, occur in recent loan words but are not as widespread and therefore are not presented in the vowel inventory of this chapter.)

Many speakers' idiolects display consonant inventories differing from that presented in Table 5, either employing a single phoneme where other speakers may use two or else employing a different phoneme altogether. This issue will be discussed in §2.7.

2.2.1 Plosives

There are four voiceless plosives in Skolt Saami, a bilabial plosive /p/, an alveolar plosive /t/, a palatal plosive /c/ and a velar plosive /k/, all of which have a voiced counterpart /b/, /d/, /ɟ/ and /g/.

The voiceless plosives occur in word-initial, medial and final positions. Examples of each of these are given below. Note that, due to the structure of Skolt Saami words and the consonant centre, consonants appearing word-medially or word-finally are usually geminates.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
p	*päärr* (wave)	*rääppad* (ladle)	*kuõpp* (mould)
t	*tuärr* (fight)	*mättad* (be able)	*kue'tt* (den)
c	*ǩe'rres* (sledge)	*kââ'ǩǩed* (rub)	*pååttâǩ* (potato)
k	*kõõrâs* (severe)	*viikkâd* (take)	*tukk* (herd)

Voiceless plosives are preaspirated after vowels and sonorant consonants either word-medially or word-finally, although this is not phonologically distinctive.

The palatal plosives /c/ and /ɟ/, represented in the orthography as ‹ǩ› and ‹ǧ›, have been treated in the literature as palatalised, velar plosives /kʲ/ and /gʲ/, often seen transcribed in the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet as /ḱ/ and /ǵ/, respectively – see for example Itkonen (1958). Korhonen et al. (1973: 18) provide the following description of ‹ǩ›:

> "‹ǩ› is a palatalised, very forward /k/. The front of the tongue touches the front area of the palate or even the alveolar ridge. ‹ǩ› is considerably further forward than /k/, but clearly further back than /t/, so that it sounds as if there were features of both /k/ and /t/ in the same sound. Many individual occurrences of ‹ǩ› strongly resemble ‹č›." [Translation my own].

This description of the position of the tongue, combined with the reference to its sounding intermediate in quality between /t/ and /k/, would seem to indicate that the authors are in fact describing the palatal plosive /c/ – albeit in a rather cumbersome manner, due to the fact that this sound could not be compared to a similar sound in Finnish, the language with which the target audience would be familiar.

The reference to occurrences of ‹ǩ› strongly resembling ‹č› – the voiceless, postalveolar affricate /t͡ʃ/ – is also significant. Ladefoged (1993: 162), in discussing different types of palatal sounds, explains how palatal plosives often become affricates:

> "because of the shape of the roof of the mouth, the contact between the front of the tongue and the hard palate often extends over a fairly large area… [and] … as a result, the formation and release of a palatal stop is often not as rapid as in the case of other stops, and they tend to become affricates."

Ladefoged's explanation of the less rapid release of a palatal plosive when compared to other plosives coincides with measurements provided by McRobbie-Utasi (1999: 40), who, as with the analysis put forward in this grammar, regards ‹ǩ› and ‹ǧ› as the palatal plosives /c/ and /ɟ/. McRobbie-Utasi provides average durational measurements for the burst of all voiceless plosives – 1.5 cs. for /p/, 1.8 cs. for /t/, 2.6 cs. for /k/ and 3.6 cs. for /c/. The fact that the longest burst of all voiceless plosives was seen in the case of /c/ is to be expected from Ladefoged's explanation.

The observation of Korhonen et al. (1973: 18) that ‹ǩ› often resembles a post-alveolar affricate might be attributed solely to this slower release involving phonetic affrication, but might also be attributed to a sound change in progress from a plosive to a phonological affricate, /c/ → /c͡ç/.

Indeed, spectrographic evidence from recordings made during field work for this grammar do seem to suggest the latter, whereby the ratio of closure to burst of ‹ǩ› varies between younger and older speakers. Older speakers typically display a much longer closure phase in relation to the burst phase, while the ratio between the two phases for younger speakers is typically closer to 50:50 and thereby more characteristic of an affricate.

Compare Figure 8, a spectrogram of an older speaker saying *pie′ǩǩed* 'crawl' with Figure 9, a spectrogram of a younger speaker saying *jo′ǩǩe* 'to the river'. Figure 8 shows the release phase of the plosive as very compact, while the same is not true of Figure 9 where the frication is spread over a much larger proportion of the production of the plosive. The vertical lines indicate the start and end points of the plosive while the arrows indicate the duration of the closure prior to release. The high frequency noise at the beginning of each plosive, much more evident in Figure 9, corresponds to preaspiration and is included as part of the plosive.

Based on the above facts, it does seem relatively clear that ‹ǩ› and ‹ǧ› are in fact palatal plosives in Skolt Saami. However, while the older generation appear to consistently produce these phonemes as plosives, they appear to be undergoing a process of affrication in the speech of the younger generation, giving rise to the affricates /c͡ç/ and /ɟ͡ʝ/.

Despite the evidence pointing towards positing these sounds as *palatal* plosives, as opposed to *palatalised* (velar) plosives, there is nevertheless a close relationship between palatal and velar plosives in Skolt Saami, on two accounts. Firstly, a velar plosive becomes a palatal plosive if the stress group it appears in undergoes palatalisation, and likewise, if a palatalised stress group becomes depalatalised a palatal plosive becomes a velar plosive. This is summarised below and followed by examples of each.

[+PALATAL] → [+VELAR] / _____ [depalatalisation STRESS GROUP]

[+VELAR] → [+PALATAL] / _____ [palatalisation STRESS GROUP]
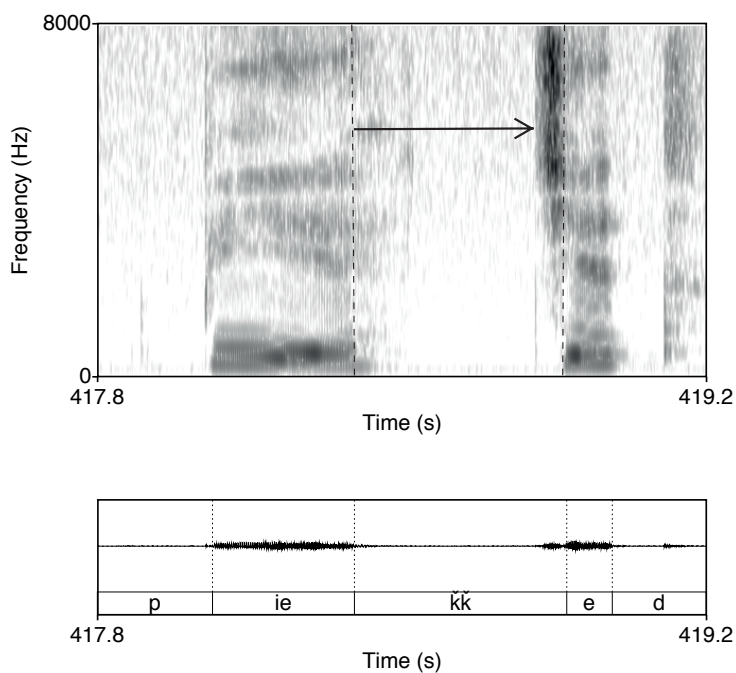
Figure 8. Spectrogram of older speaker saying *pie'ǩǩed* 'crawl'
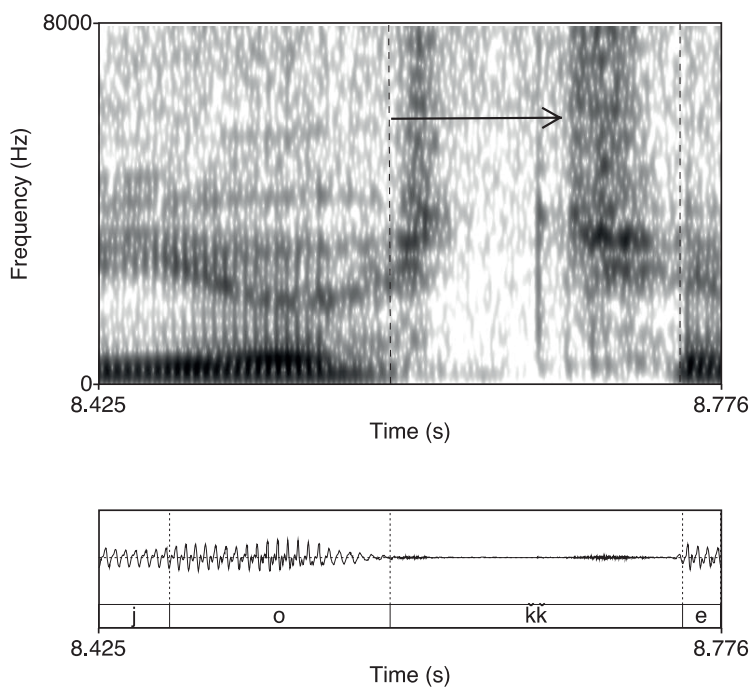
Figure 9. Spectrogram of younger speaker saying *jo'ǩǩe* 'to the river'

Palatal → velar

sue'ǩǩ (birch.SG.NOM)	→	*suäkka* (birch.SG.ILL)
kââ'ǩǩed (gnaw.INF)	→	*kââkk* (gnaw.PRS.3SG)

Velar → palatal

jokk (river.SG.NOM)	→	*jo'ǩǩe* (river.SG.ILL)
sââkk (pant.PRS.3SG)	→	*sâ'ǩǩe* (pant.PRS.3PL)

Secondly, ‹ǩ› is typically seen when preceding or following the high, front vowels ‹i› and ‹e›, while ‹k› is typically seen in all other contexts. In certain environments a high, front vowel can trigger a change from ‹k› → ‹ǩ› and a low or back vowel can trigger a change from ‹ǩ› → ‹k›, as exemplified.

pååttaǩ (potato.SG.NOM)	→	*pååttka* (potato.SG.ILL)
sââveǩ (ski.SG.NOM)	→	*sââ'vka* (ski.SG.ILL)
kåålvak (reindeer.SG.NOM)	→	*kåålvǩin* (reindeer.SG.COM)

Although this distribution of phonemes is an extremely common feature, it is not an absolute, and therefore /k/ and /c/ cannot be considered as allophones in complementary distribution. For example, the agent nominalising suffix *i*, does not trigger a change from ‹k› → ‹ǩ› in *suukki* 'rower'.

suukkâd (row.INF)	→	*suukki* (row.NMLZ.SG.NOM)

The above two factors – firstly, the relationship between palatalisation, as a secondary articulation, and the palatal plosives and secondly, the distribution of the palatal plosives in relation to high, front vowels – may provide an explanation as to why the palatal plosives have often been regarded as simply palatalised variants of the velar plosives. Indeed, it is possible that at some point this is precisely what they were and it is not difficult to imagine how a palatalised velar plosive might have developed into a palatal plosive, particularly given the physiological constraints of creating a closure at both the velum and the palate almost simultaneously.

Having discussed the voiceless plosives, attention now turns to the voiced plosives. These can occur either as geminates or as a part of a consonant cluster in word-medial and final positions, or additionally as a short consonant word-finally.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
b	–	*njabbâd* (grope)	*suä'bb* (stick, rod)
d	–	*kä'dded* (believe)	*kå'dd* (reindeer)
g	–	*viggâd* (suppose)	*jiõgg* (life)

The voiced plosives in Skolt Saami are not fully voiced, and they have been referred to in the literature (e.g. Korhonen et al. 1973: 19) as being 'half-voiced'. These phonemes are transcribed as [ʙ, ᴅ, ɢ] in the Finno-Ugric transcription system.

That the voiced plosives in Skolt Saami are only partially voiced is less critical from a perception standpoint given that their voiceless counterparts usually occur with preaspiration, which may serve as a phonetic cue of voicelessness. An example of the degree of voicing and preaspiration seen in a voiced and voiceless plosive, respectively, is illustrated below by way of two spectrograms. In the spectrogram of the word *kaaggi* 'lift.PST.3SG' (Figure 10), the voicing of the intervocalic velar plosive is only sustained for approximately half the duration of the closure, as indicated by the arrow. The spectrogram of the word *viikkâd* 'to take' (Figure 11), on the other hand, shows a short period of aspiration between *ii* and *kk*, visible as high frequency aperiodic noise prior to the closure.

The voiced plosives may also occur word-initially or as a short consonant in word-medial positions, but this is limited to loan words.

IPA	Initial	Medial
b	*bakter* (bacteria)	*abortt* (abortion)
d	*dåhttar* (doctor)	*adoptteed* (adopt)
g	*greipp* (grapefruit)	*biologii* (biology)
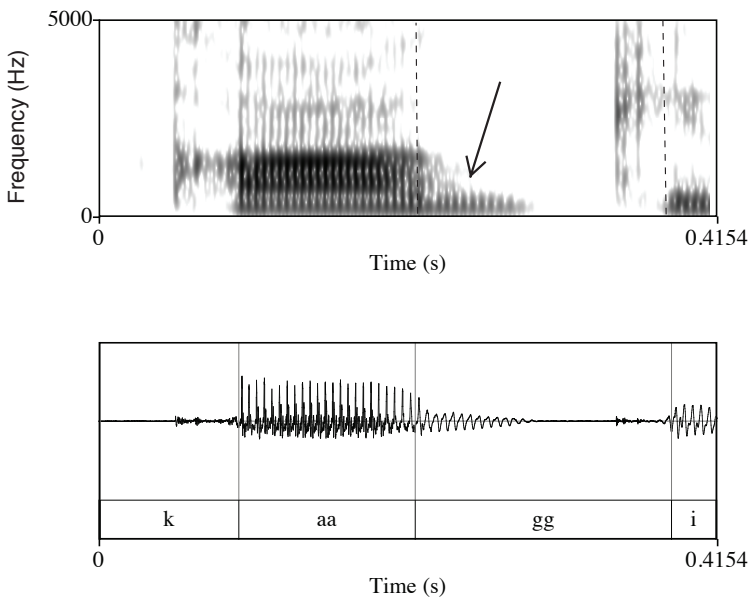
Figure 10. Spectrogram of *kaaggi* 'lift.PST.3SG'
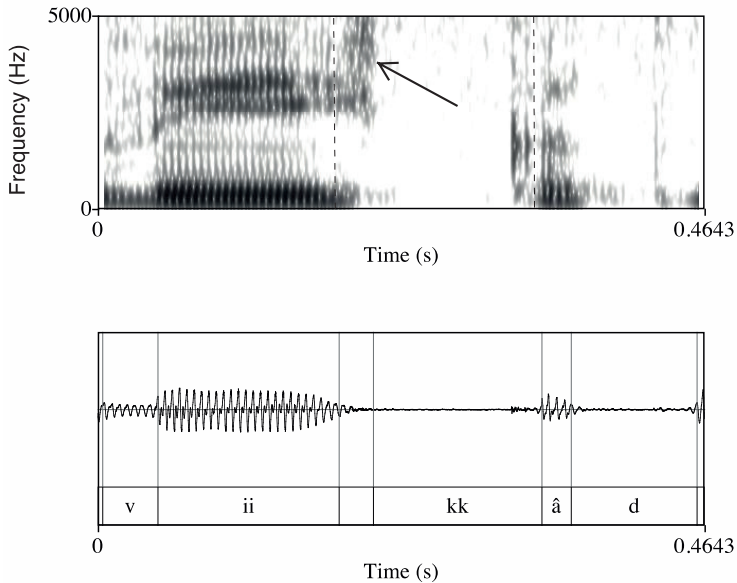
Figure 11. Spectrogram of *viikkâd* 'take.INF'

2.2.2 Fricatives

There are ten fricatives in Skolt Saami. These are a voiceless and voiced labio-dental fricative /f, v/, a voiced dental fricative /ð/, a voiceless and voiced alveolar fricative /s, z/, a voiceless and voiced postalveolar fricative /ʃ, ʒ/, a voiced palatal fricative /j/ and a voiceless and voiced velar fricative /x, ɣ/.

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ only occurs in loan words, and may appear in all positions. Likewise its voiced counterpart /v/, which also occurs in native words, may appear in all positions. The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is often produced with no apparent frication. An allophone of /v/ is therefore the voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ], most commonly observed before back vowels.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
f	*fakss* (facsimile)	*surffeed* (surf)	*kaaʹff* (coffee)
v	*veäʹǩǩ* (help)	*râvvad* (hurry)	*peiʹvv* (sun)

The voiced dental fricative /ð/ is limited to word-medial and word-final positions.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
ð	–	*kååʹđđed* (weave)	*ǩiđđ* (spring)

The voiceless alveolar and postalveolar fricatives /s, ʃ/ occur in all three word posi-
tions. Their voiced counterparts /z, ʒ/ occur only in medial or final positions, except
for a handful of Russian loan words where they occur at the beginning of a word.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
s	*siõrr* (game)	*čuässad* (get cold)	*pess* (gun)
z	–	*neezzan* (woman)	*rää'zz* (plants)
ʃ	*šiõgg* (good)	*riâššâd* (organise)	*pue'šš* (eager)
ʒ	–	*rââ'žžes* (weak)	*ǩiâžž* (cotton cloth)

IPA	Initial	Russian
z	*zoo'bbel* (sable)	*sobol'* (sable)
z	*zaklaad* (bet, wager)	*zaklad* (wager)
ʒ	*žaar* (fever)	*žar* (fever)
ʒ	*žu'leätka* (waistcoat)	*žilet* (waistcoat)

As with voiced plosives, voiced fricatives are only weakly voiced, and in unstressed
syllables may even be unvoiced. When voicing occurs it usually does not persist
throughout the entire duration of the fricative, as illustrated in Figure 12. In the
unstressed, final syllable of *vuälže* 'ground.SG.ILL', shown in Figure 13, voicing of
‹ž›, indicated by the arrow, is almost non-existent.
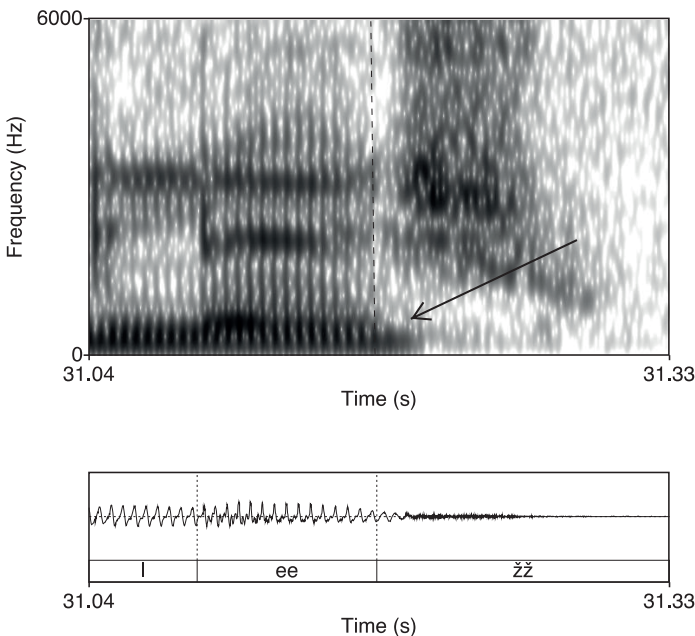
Figure 12. Spectrogram of the word *leežž* 'be.POT.3SG'
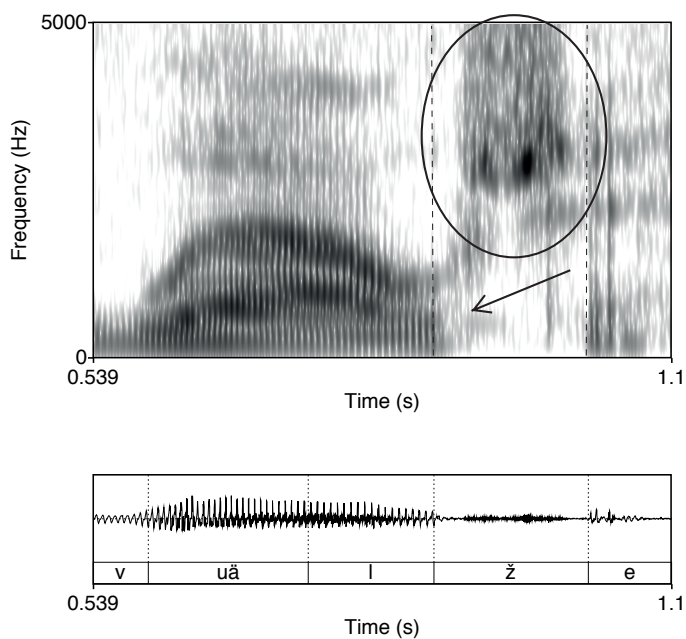
Figure 13. Spectrogram of the word *vuälže* 'ground.SG.ILL'
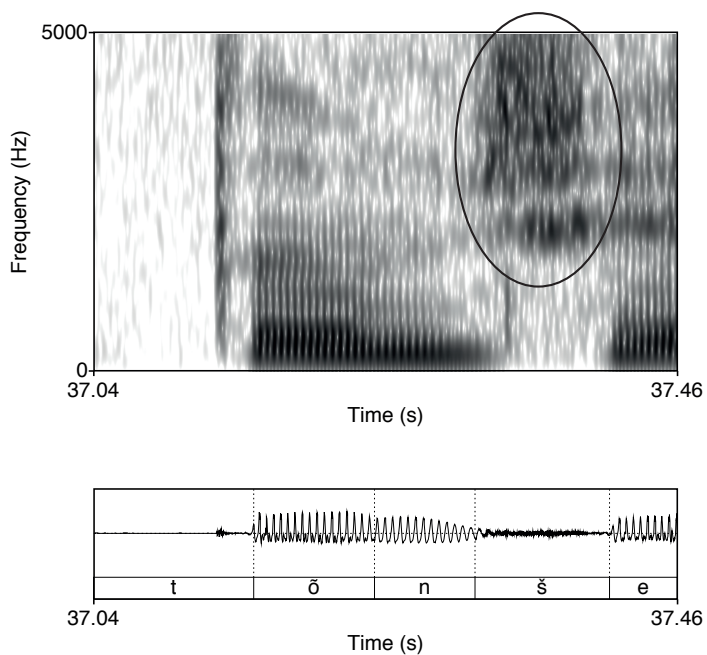
Figure 14. Spectrogram of the sequence *tõn še* 'this also'

In terms of the physiological correlate of vocal fold vibration typically associated with voicing, the voiced fricatives in Skolt Saami do not therefore differ to a great extent from the voiceless fricatives. Consider the spectrogram of the sequence *tõn še* 'this also' in Figure 14, which illustrates how the voiced alveolar fricative /ʒ/ seen above in *vuälže*, is similar to its voiceless counterpart /ʃ/, in that it does not show a low frequency voice bar indicative of voicing, apart from a brief interval at the beginning of the fricative most likely carried over from the preceding vowel or nasal.

The distinction in phonologically 'voiced' and 'unvoiced' fricatives in Skolt Saami might therefore be better attributed to other acoustic dimensions, such as the intensity of the high frequency noise associated with the respective phonemes (see discussion relating to cross-linguistic acoustic dimensions of voicing contrasts in Haywood 2000: 196). The high frequency noise (circled in both Figure 13 and Figure 14) is more intense in the case of the voiceless fricative /ʃ/ as represented by the darkness of the spectrogram. The terms fortis and lenis might be a more useful way of describing the contrast between these consonants in Skolt Saami.

The voiced palatal fricative /ʝ/ occurs in all word positions. It is often pronounced with barely any perceivable frication and therefore might be considered as a palatal approximant [j], or at least it should be considered that these two sounds are allophones in free variation with each other.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
ʝ	*jå'ttel* (fast)	*vuejjad* (drive)	*tuejj* (deed)

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ occurs in word-medial positions as the first element of a consonant cluster, such as in the word *jåhtta* 'yesterday', shown in Figure 15. A consultant noted how younger speakers tend to produce this as more of a glottal fricative [h], making it occasionally difficult for the older generation to understand.

The realisation of /x/ varies to a great deal depending on its environment. If the stress group is palatalised then it occurs as a voiceless palatal fricative [ç]. In word-initial or stress group-initial positions it occurs as a voiceless glottal fricative [h] and, intervocalically, as a voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]. The phones [x], [ç], [h] and [ɦ] can therefore be considered allophones of the phoneme /x/, occurring in complementary distribution.

Figure 16 shows a spectrogram of the word *heäppaž* 'horses', where the allophone [h] occurs in word-initial position – this can be seen from the lack of any dark band in the portion of the spectrogram corresponding to [h]. Figure 17 shows a spectrogram of the word *hue'nn* 'bad', where the allophone [ɦ] occurs in word-initial position – its position intervocalically more than likely accounts for the maintenance of voicing throughout. Figure 18 shows a spectrogram of the word *kuõ'htt* 'two', displaying the effect of palatalisation which gives rise to the allophone [ç], evidenced by the high frequency aperiodic noise.
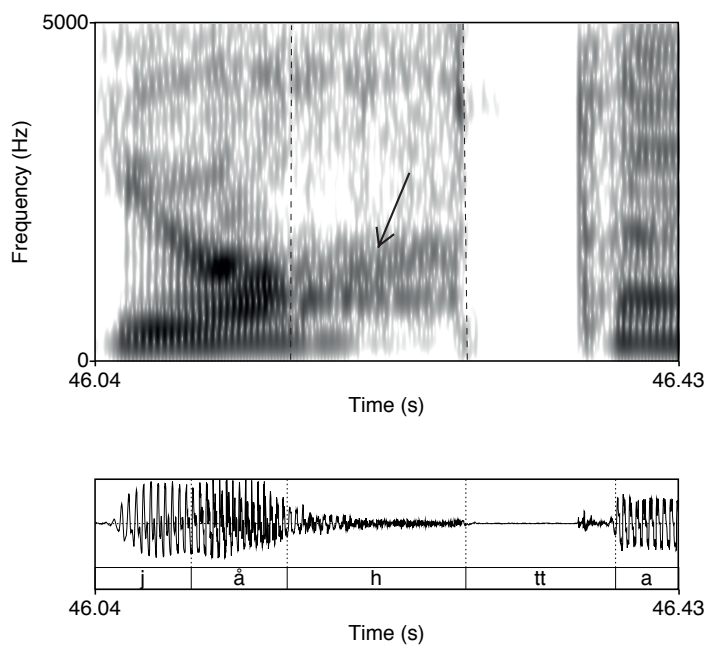
Figure 15. Spectrogram of *jåhtta* 'yesterday'
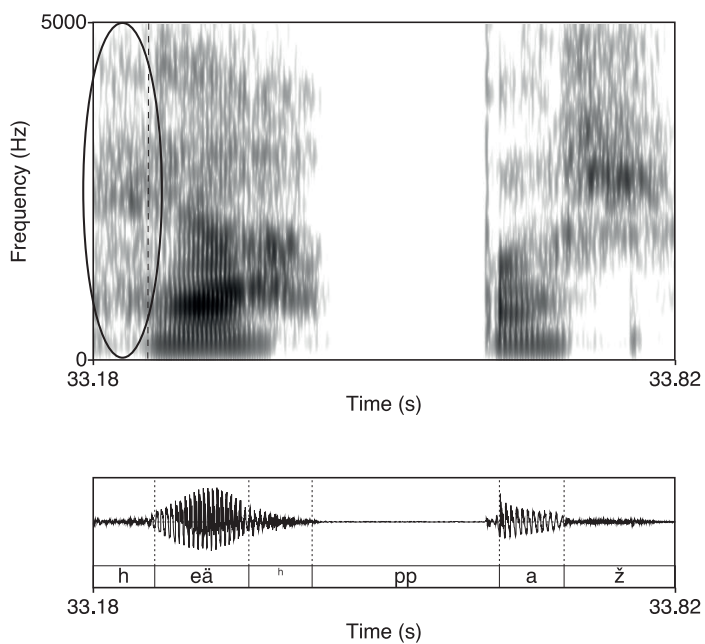
Figure 16. Spectrogram of *heäppaž* 'horses'
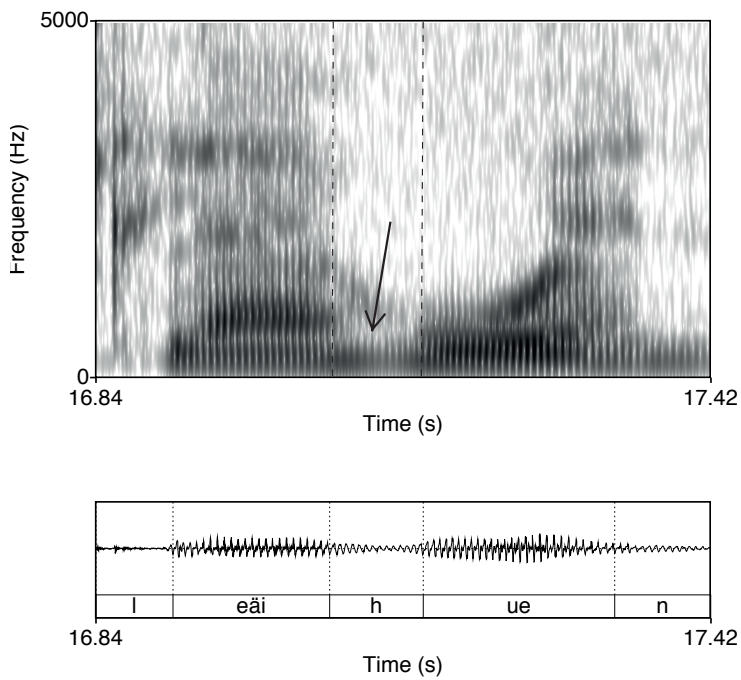
Figure 17. Spectrogram of the sequence *leäi hue'nn* 'it was bad'
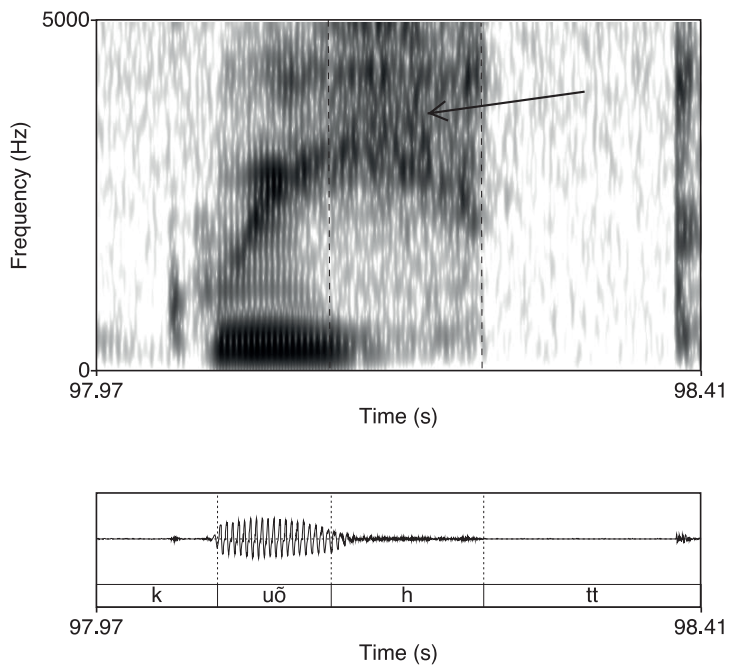
Figure 18. Spectrogram of the word *kuõ'htt* 'two'

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ also occurs word-medially (although not as the first element of a consonant cluster) and word-finally in a number of loan words, although again younger speakers typically produce this as [h]. Some examples of these words are presented below with their Russian transliterations.

IPA	Initial or medial	Russian
x	*säähhar* (sugar)	*saxar* (sugar)
x	*sååhhar* (rusk)	*suxar'* (rusk)
x	*smiõhh* (laughter)	*smex* (laughter)
x	*åå'reh* (nut)	*orex* (nut)

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ occurs in word-medial and word-final positions.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
ɣ	–	*čåå̊ggam* (comb)	*šiõgg* (good)

Like the palatal fricative /j/, this phoneme appears to exist in free variation with a voiced velar approximant [ɯ]. Figure 19, a spectrogram of the word *jooggâst* 'river. SG.LOC', does not display any aperiodic noise associated with the segment ‹gg›, which would be expected for a fricative.
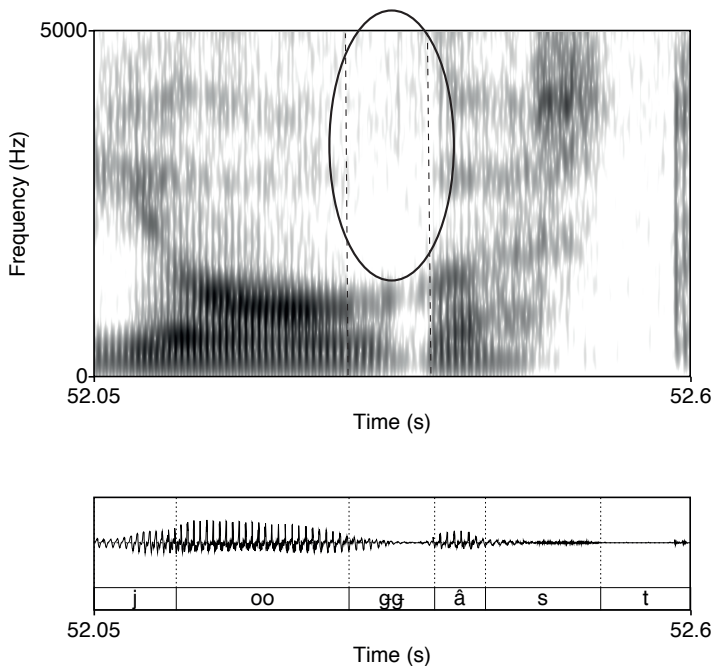
Figure 19. Spectrogram of the word *jooggâst* 'at the river'

2.2.3 Affricates

There are four affricates in Skolt Saami. These are a voiceless alveolar affricate /t͡s/ and its voiced counterpart /d͡z/ and a voiceless postalveolar affricate /t͡ʃ/ and its voiced counterpart /d͡ʒ/. As mentioned already in §2.2.1 the palatal plosives /c/ and /ɟ/ are often produced as the voiceless palatal affricate /c͡ç/ and its voiced counterpart /ɟ͡ʝ/, but these will not be covered here for the reasons given previously. All four affricates may occur in word-medial and word-final positions. Only the voiceless affricates can appear word-initially.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
t͡s	*cie'ǩǩes* (degree)	*aiccâd* (perceive)	*čää'cc* (water)
d͡z	–	*ǩee'ʒʒeed* (taper)	*puäʒʒ* (reindeer)
t͡ʃ	*čuä'rvv* (antler)	*pääččad* (shoot)	*ee'čč* (father)
d͡ʒ	–	*viǯǯâd* (fetch)	*luäǯǯ* (loose)

As with plosives, voiceless affricates are associated with preaspiration, while voiced affricates are only partially voiced. Figure 20 shows preaspiration occurring before the voiceless affricate /t͡s/, indicated by the arrow. Figure 21 shows a voiced affricate, /d͡ʒ/, where voicing is only maintained for a relatively short proportion of the affricate, indicated by the arrow.
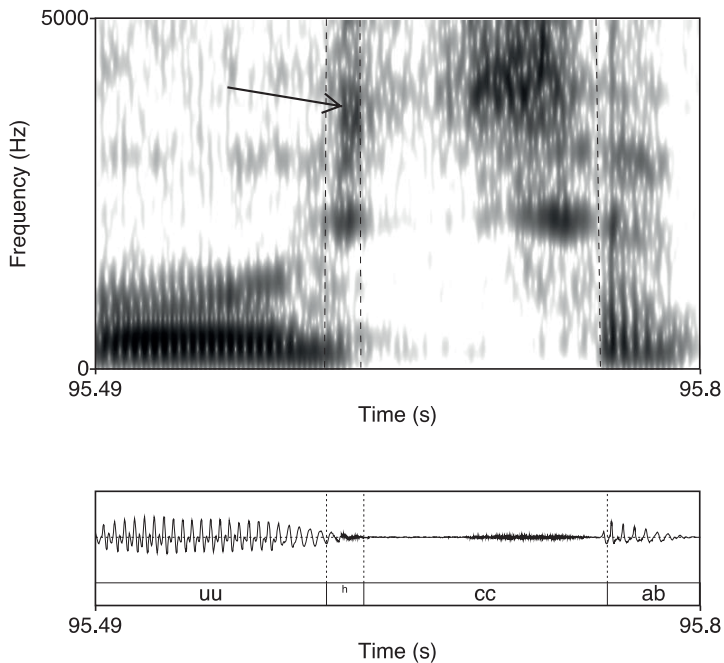
Figure 20. Spectrogram of *uu'ccab* 'smaller'
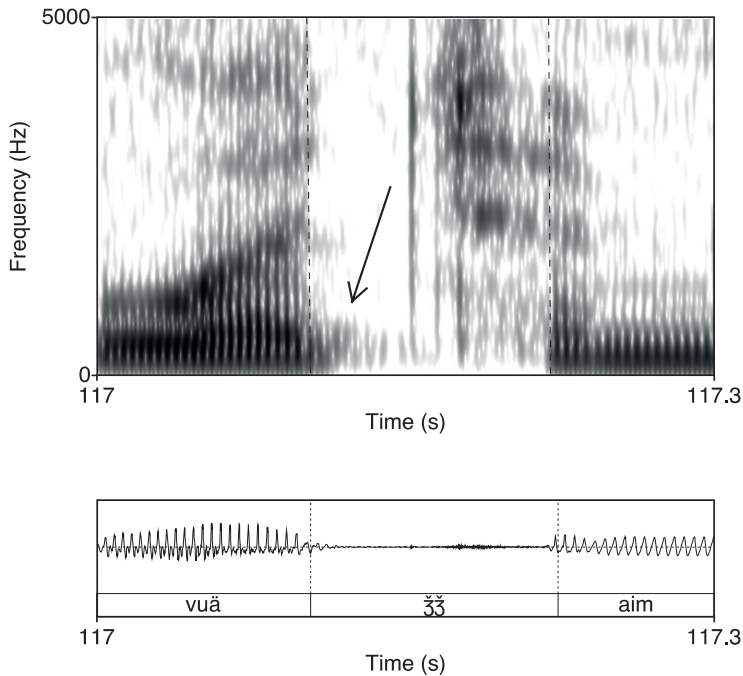
Figure 21. Spectrogram of *vuäžžaim* 'we were able'

2.2.4 Approximants

There are four approximants in Skolt Saami. These are a voiced palatal approximant /j/, a voiced labio-velar approximant /w/, a voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and a voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/. As mentioned in §2.2.2, the voiced labiodental, palatal and velar fricatives – /v/, /j/ and /ɣ/ – are often produced as voiced labiodental, palatal and velar approximants – [ʋ], [j] and [ɰ]. However, these allophones are not considered in this section.

The non-lateral approximants /j/ and /w/ have been referred to in previous literature (e.g. McRobbie-Utasi 1999: 46) as semi-vowels. While the terms *semi-vowel* and *approximant* are sometimes used interchangeably, the former is often used when the phoneme in question becomes an element of a diphthong and thereby appears in the nucleus of a syllable with the latter being reserved for when the phoneme behaves as a consonant appearing either in the syllable onset or coda.[18] These two phonemes are restricted to the initial position of consonant clusters in Skolt Saami and are therefore treated accordingly as approximants.

The gradation behaviour of consonants following /j/ and /w/ lends support to the treatment of these sound sequences as vowel + approximant-initial consonant

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18. A more detailed discussion on the problems associated with the classification of approximants can be found in Martínez-Celdrán 2004.

cluster as opposed to diphthong + consonant. A number of consonants undergo qualitative gradation, as explained in §3.2, such as *pp → v* and *kk → gg*. However, this is only observed when the consonant appears alone. If the consonant is the second element of a consonant cluster, only quantitative gradation occurs. The example below shows how ‹kk› becomes ‹gg› in the weak grade, but when ‹kk› forms part of the consonant cluster ‹lkk› it does not undergo qualitative gradation in the weak grade, instead undergoing quantitative gradation to become ‹lk›.

*saa**kk*** (message.SG.NOM)   →   *saa**gg*** (message.PL.NOM)
*ǩeâ**lkk*** (sled.SG.NOM)   →   *ǩeâ**lk*** (sled.PL.NOM)

The same behaviour is also observed after /j/ and /w/, hence the reason they are treated as part of a consonant cluster. It is important to note here that these two phonemes are represented in the orthography as ‹i› and ‹u› respectively, unless occurring immediately after a vowel of the same quality, in which case they are represented as ‹j› and ‹v›.

*jo**ukk*** (group.SG.NOM)   →   *joo**uk*** (group.PL.NOM)
*njo**ikk*** (jump.SG.NOM)   →   *njoo**ik*** (jump.PL.NOM)

Were it the case that /j/ or /w/ form a diphthong with the preceding vowel then the following consonants would be expected to undergo qualitative gradation. This, however, is not the case, as shown from the grammatically incorrect examples presented below, compared with *viõkk* 'strength', where ‹kk› follows a diphthong and therefore undergoes qualitative gradation.

*jo**ukk*** (group.SG.NOM)   →   **jo**ugg*** (group.PL.NOM)
*njo**ikk*** (jump.SG.NOM)   →   **njo**igg*** (jump.PL.NOM)
*viõ**kk*** (strength.SG.NOM)   →   *viõ**gg*** (strength.PL.NOM)

If the approximants /j/ and /w/ occur after their vocalic counterparts /i/ or /u/ – represented in the orthography as ‹ij› and ‹uv› – they are omitted if this vowel is lengthened, for example in the weak grade. This is also reflected in the orthography, as shown below. Despite this, a word can still be identified as being in the weak grade through the appearance of the second element of the consonant cluster in the weak grade.

*ku'**vdd*** (snake.SG.NOM)   →   *kuu**'d*** (snake.PL.NOM)
*si**jdd*** (village.SG.NOM)   →   *sii**d*** (village.PL.NOM)

Spectrographic evidence of this is presented in Figure 22 and Figure 23. In Figure 22, a spectrogram of the word *ku'vdd* 'snake', the second formant, F2, displays both a decrease in intensity and a fall in frequency, indicated by means of an arrow. This

is due to the greater degree of constriction of the vocal tract involved in the production of an approximant when compared to the production of a vowel. Figure 23 on the other hand, where the vowel /u/ is lengthened in the weak grade, does not show a decrease in frequency or intensity of F2, suggesting that the approximant /w/ is not present. The rise in F2 likely corresponds to the effect of palatalisation.

A second reason for not considering these approximants as forming diphthongs with the preceding vowel is due to the fact that they do not behave in the same way as other diphthongs. As explained in §3.1.2, diphthongs, like vowels, have a high and a low counterpart, with the second component of the diphthong always undergoing a change in quality. In words where /j/ or /w/ are present, only the vowel preceding them undergoes a change in quality, as shown below, providing further evidence that these phonemes do not form diphthongs.

counnâd (awake.INF)   →   *cåunn* (awake.PRS.3SG)
võõidâd (go.out.INF)   →   *vââid* (go.out.PRS.3SG)

The voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/ occurs in all positions, while the voiced palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ occurs in word-medial and word-final positions. As mentioned in §1.8.1, the phoneme /ʎ/ is represented in the orthography by means of a digraph ‹lj›. In cases where these two graphemes represent individual sounds, an apostrophe is inserted between them.
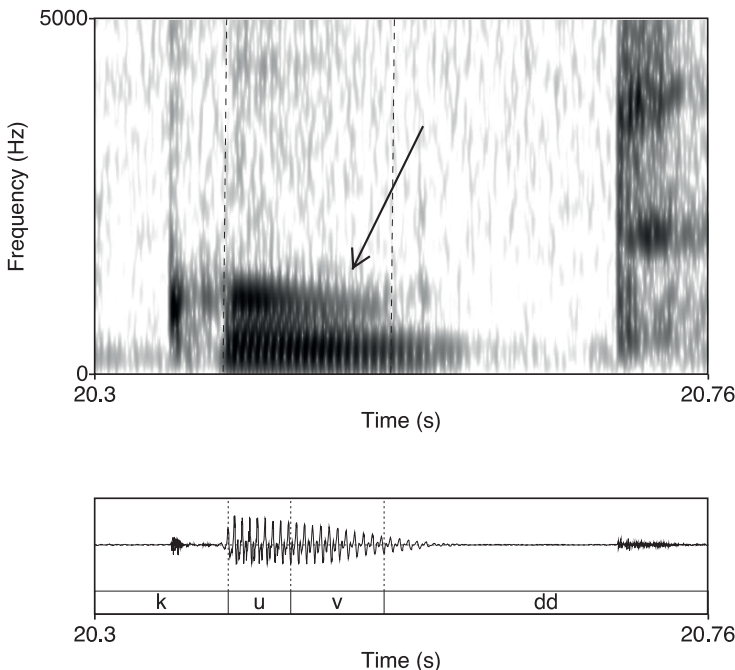
Figure 22. Spectrogram of the word *ku'vdd* 'snake.SG.NOM'
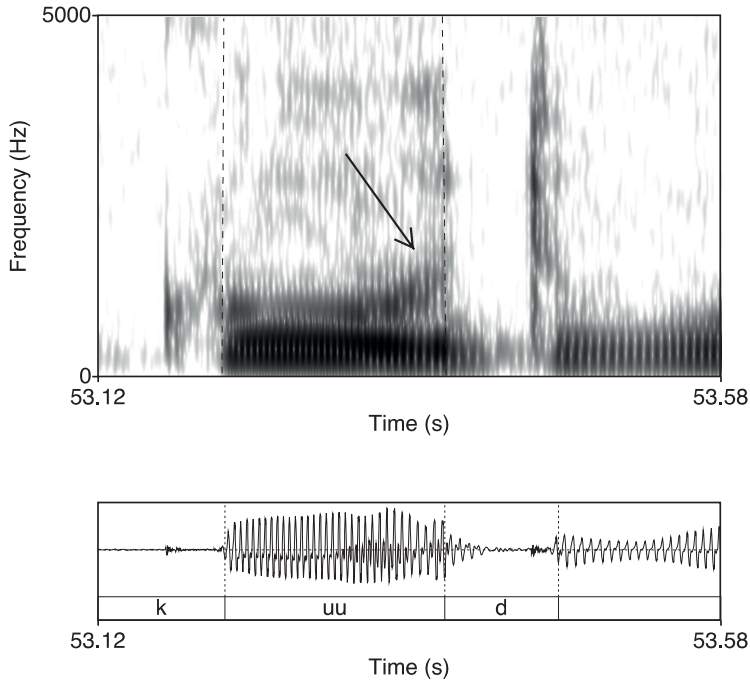
Figure 23. Spectrogram of the word *kuu'd* 'snake.SG.GEN'

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
l	*lee'd* (be)	*tue'lääž* (morning)	*naartâl* (wigeon)
ʎ	–	*njää'ljes* (sweet)	*čiõ'lj* (spine)

L-vocalisation is extremely prevalent in the speech of the younger generation and occurs in all positions except when it is part of a palatalised stress group or precedes the high, front vowels ‹i› and ‹e› – a similar distribution to that seen between ‹k› and ‹ǩ› (see §2.2.1). This therefore means that the consonant clusters ‹vdd› and ‹ldd› are pronounced in the same way, /wd:/, unless the latter is palatalised, in which case it is always pronounced as /ld:/ (see §2.6).

2.2.5 Trills

A voiced alveolar trill /r/ occurs in all word positions.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
r	*ri'mjj* (fox)	*moorâs* (aorta)	*puär* (horsefly)

The number of periods of the trill varies depending on the duration of the consonant and speed of speech, but can be as little as one. It is also possible that the vibrations

are not maintained throughout the entire duration of the trill, causing frication to be produced, as seen in Figure 24, where /r/, which is in the STRONG+ grade (see §3.2), begins as three clear occlusions (indicated by arrows) before turning into frication.
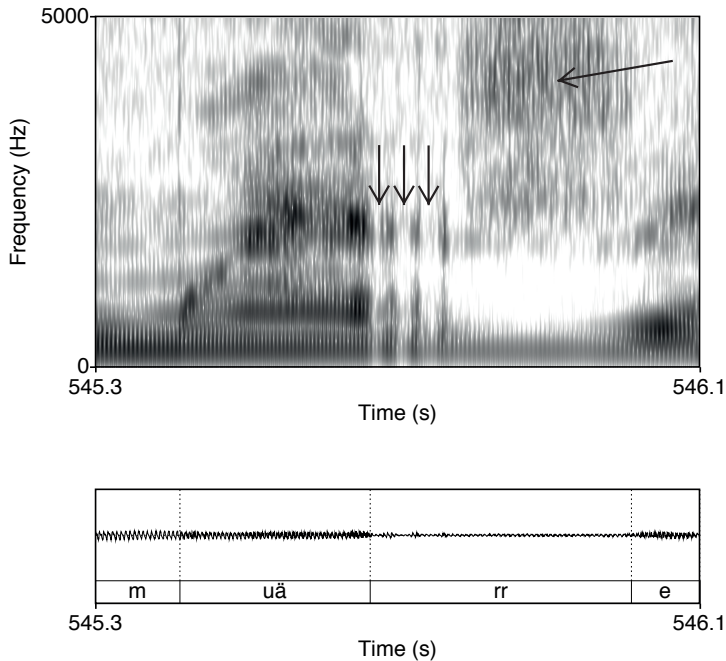
Figure 24. Spectrogram of the word *muä'rre* 'break.PRS.3PL'

2.2.6 Nasals

The four nasals seen in Skolt Saami, all of which are voiced, are a bilabial nasal /m/, an alveolar nasal /n/, a palatal nasal /ɲ/ and a velar nasal /ŋ/. The bilabial, alveolar and palatal nasals can occur in all word positions, while the velar nasal is limited to word-medial and -final positions.

IPA	Initial	Medial	Final
m	*meä'cc* (forest)	*säämas* (Skolt)	*čiččâm* (seven)
n	*noorrâd* (collect)	*suäna* (3DU.NOM)	*mään* (moon)
ɲ	*njiimmâd* (suck)	*ruänjas* (track)	*čue'nj* (goose)
ŋ	–	*suâŋač* (snow)	*jiõŋ* (ice.SG.ACC)

2.3 Vowels

There are nine vowel phonemes in Skolt Saami, represented in the vowel quadrilateral given in Figure 25. This diagram does not show the precise positions of Skolt Saami vowels within the vowel space, but rather serves to show the approximate relative properties of each vowel in terms of vowel height and front-back position. For this reason the graphemes used in the orthography are given as opposed to IPA symbols.
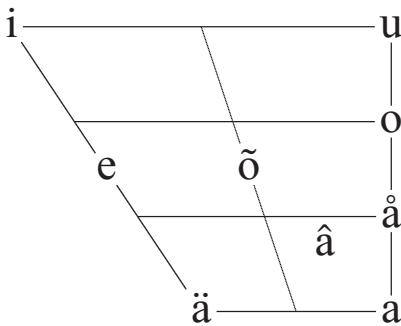
Figure 25. Skolt Saami vowel phonemes

The nine vowels comprise three front, unrounded, vowels (i, e, ä), three back, rounded vowels (u, o, å), a back, unrounded, vowel (a), a central-mid vowel (õ), and a vowel (â) which is somewhere mid-way between the central-mid vowel and the back-open vowel. All vowels in Skolt Saami are oral vowels; nasal vowels do not occur in the language. Vowels may be either plain in quality or palatalised. A more detailed description of plain vowels is given in §2.3.1, and palatalised vowels are covered in §2.3.2.

2.3.1 Plain vowels

In order to gain a better insight into the quality of Skolt Saami vowels, a small-scale acoustic analysis was carried out. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 26, which displays the average F1 and F2 values of each vowel.

The measurements used for this vowel plot were taken from recordings of an adult female speaker. Ten measurements were taken of the F1 and F2 values for each vowel from which the mean values were then calculated. Measurements were taken from long vowels occurring in the vowel centre of words, as these were the ones produced which sufficient intensity and duration to achieve the most reliable results. In order to achieve even greater accuracy when taking measurements, a portion of the vowel was selected in Praat and the average F1 and F2 values over

the duration selected were logged, rather than taking the values at a single point in time. In addition, vowels from different words were chosen to mitigate the risk of F1 and F2 readings being skewed by effects of assimilation to surrounding consonants. Finally, the mean values were plotted using the R statistics package (R Core Team 2014). Despite taking these steps, it should be noted that the results are intended to serve a purely impressionistic purpose and do not represent a thorough acoustic analysis.
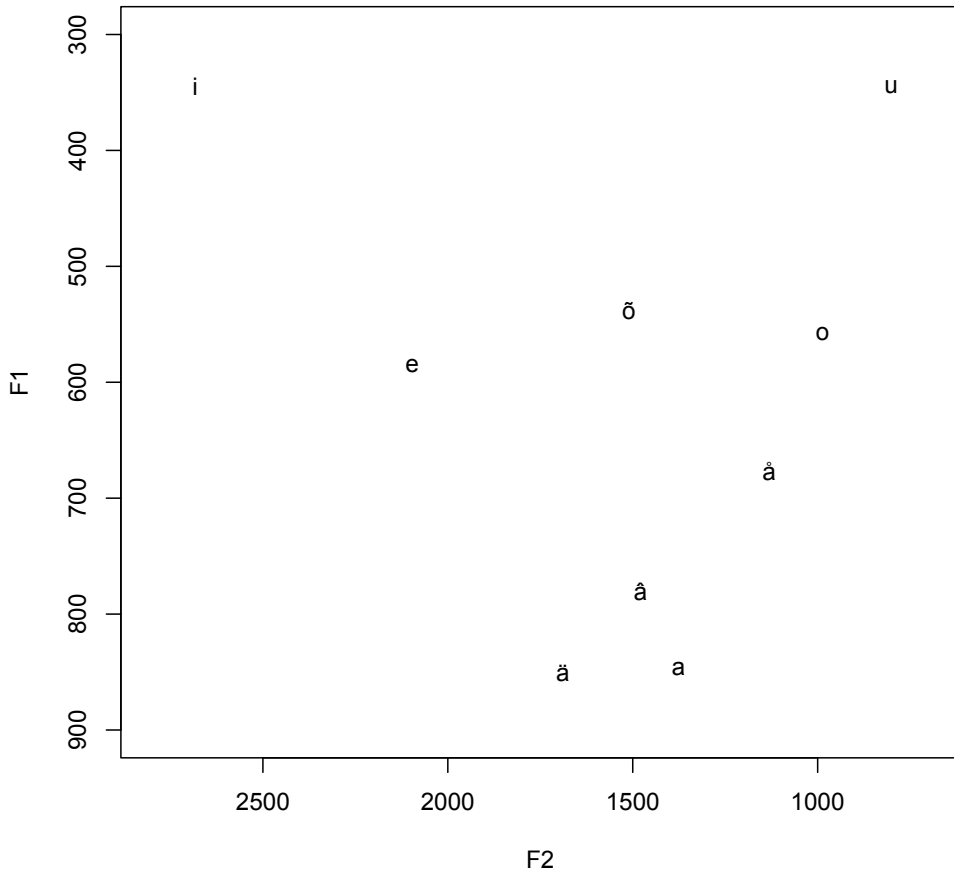
Figure 26. Vowel plot showing mean F1 and F2 values of the nine vowel phonemes as uttered by an adult female speaker

As can be seen in Figure 26, the results of this acoustic analysis present a picture not dissimilar from the schematic vowel quadrilateral presented in Figure 25. Of particular note, however, is the proximity of the vowel ‹â› to the low-back vowel ‹a›; as opposed to what was stated above, ‹â› appears to be much closer in quality to ‹a› than it does to ‹õ› and thus it is perhaps not accurate to describe it as being mid-way between the two. However, a more thorough acoustic analysis, using a

greater number of tokens and comparing results from a number of speakers, would be needed to determine the precise phonetic correlates of Skolt Saami vowels and is thus outside the scope of this grammar.

The open-mid back vowel ‹å› deserves a special mention. In many idiolects, this vowel undergoes a noticeable change in quality, beginning with a quality closer to the IPA vowel [o] and ending with a quality somewhere between the back, rounded IPA vowels [ɔ] and [ɒ]. Phonetically, then, it is more reminiscent of a diphthong. However, it is not treated as a diphthong from a phonological viewpoint for two reasons: firstly, because this does not appear to be a universal feature among all speakers; and secondly, because it alternates with a monophthong, ‹o›, when subject to vowel height variations (see §3.1.1) and for all other purposes shares the same distribution and behaviour as other monophthongs.

This change in quality is illustrated in the spectrogram of the word *påårr* 'eat. PRS.3SG' in Figure 27, where a rise in F1 and F2 over the duration of the vowel is clearly visible (note that the y-axis displaying frequency has been adjusted to show only up to 2500 Hz to make this effect clearer). For this speaker, a rise in F1 and F2 is visible with this vowel in all contexts, suggesting is it not just a by-product of assimilation to the surrounding consonants in the example presented.
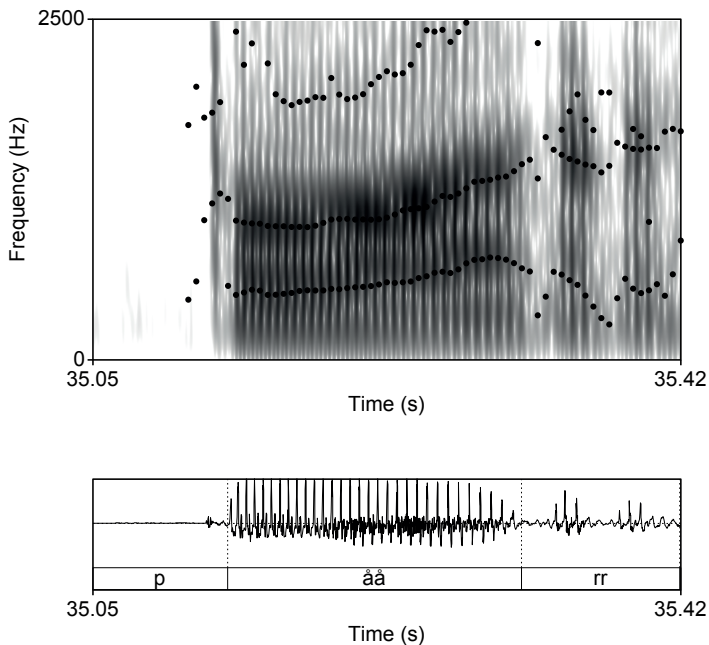
Figure 27. Spectrogram of a female speaker saying *påårr* 'eat.PRS.3SG'

In order to gain a clearer picture of the phonetic realisation of this vowel, separate F1 and F2 measurements were taken from both the first half and second half of this vowel in five different environments, avoiding any obvious effects of assimilation

to preceding or following consonants. The mean F1 and F2 values taken from the first half of this vowel were then plotted alongside those of the second half of the vowel. The resulting vowel plot is presented in Figure 28. As can be seen, ‹å› still sits within the space between ‹o› and ‹a› and does not overlap with either of them, yet it does show a marked change in quality.
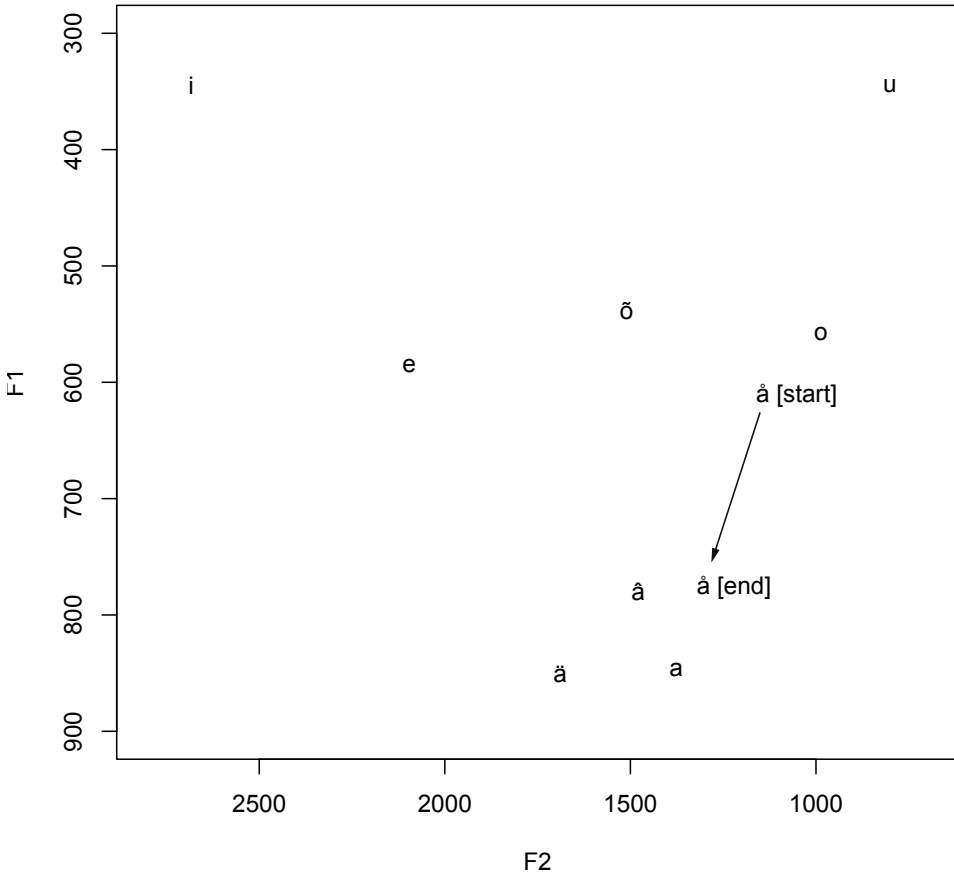
Figure 28. Vowel plot showing mean F1 and F2 values of the first half and second half of the vowel ‹å›, as uttered by an adult female speaker

2.3.2 Palatalised vowels

When a vowel appears in a palatalised stress group (see §2.1), it is produced with a slightly more raised and/or forward articulation than its non-palatalised counterpart and is referred to as a palatalised vowel. Since palatalisation in Skolt Saami is considered to be a suprasegmental feature (see §2.6), vowels occurring in a palatalised

stress group are considered to be allophones of the non-palatalised vowel and are not therefore presented here as separate phonemes.
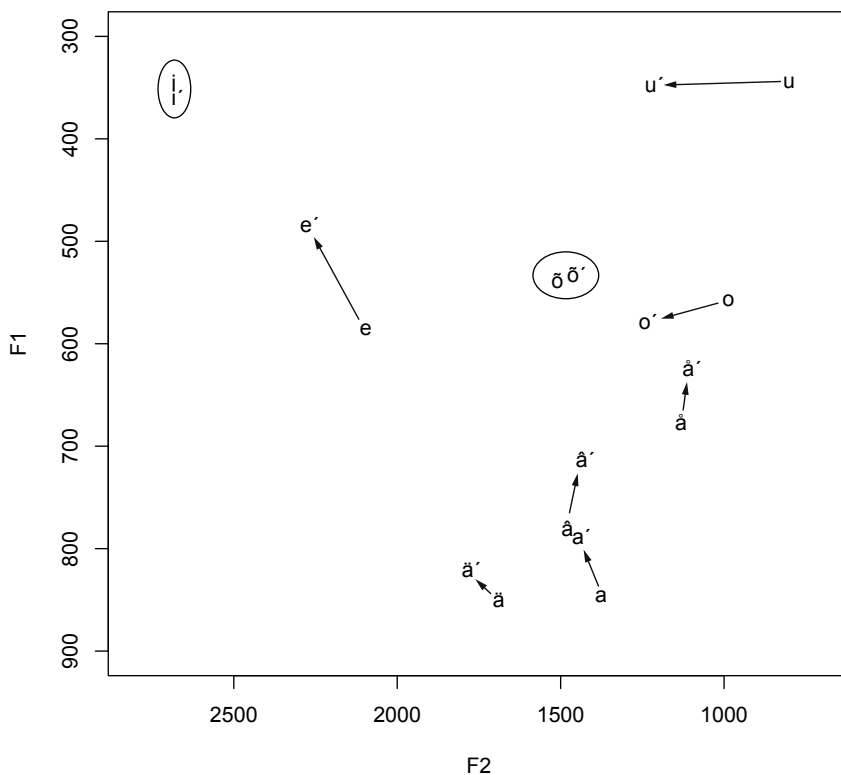
Figure 29. Vowel plot showing mean F1 and F2 values of the nine vowel pho-
nemes and their palatalised counterparts, as uttered by an adult female speaker

The acoustic analysis carried out for plain vowels was also carried out for palatalised vowels, applying the same methodology and using recordings from the same speaker. The results are presented in Figure 29, together with the corresponding plain vowels.

With the caveat that these results are purely impressionistic, there are, nevertheless, a number of observations that can be made from this acoustic analysis of palatalised vowels. Firstly, it appears that the effect of palatalisation varies considerably from vowel to vowel, with some vowels showing only a minor change in quality and others showing a more marked change. Secondly, the nature of the change also varies considerably – in the case of ‹e› the palatalised vowel is produced with a clearly more front and close articulation, as is the case with ‹ä›, albeit to a lesser extent; in the case of ‹u› and ‹o› palatalisation seems to have only a fronting effect, while in the case of ‹a›, ‹â› and ‹å› the effect is predominantly one of raising; and in the case of ‹i› and ‹õ› there is barely any change. Finally, it is worth

noting that the palatalised counterpart of ‹a› ends up in close proximity to the plain counterpart of the vowel ‹â›, although this does not represent a problem, since in a palatalised context the vowel ‹â› is also produced with a more close articulation.

2.3.3 Is there a tenth vowel?

Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991) make reference to the existence of both a close-mid, front vowel /e/ and an open-mid, front vowel /ɛ/, which if true would add a tenth vowel to the Skolt Saami vowel inventory. However, the distribution of a phonetic /e/ and /ɛ/ appears to be closely tied to the presence or absence of pala-talisation, with open-mid /ɛ/ occurring in non-palatalised words and close-mid /e/ occurring in palatalised words, as exemplified above in §2.3.2. Indeed, Sammal-lahti & Mosnikoff (1991) explicitly state that "typically, the *e* preceding the pala-talisation mark is close […and…] the open, more /ɛ/-like, vowel is observed when it isn't followed by the palatalisation mark" [Translation my own]. This of course fits the description of palatalised vowels being produced with a slightly more raised and forward articulation. However, if close-mid /e/ is only present in palatalised words then this is not reason enough to posit a separate vowel phoneme, since it can simply be considered an allophone of /ɛ/, with which it is in complementary distribution.

In their dictionary, Sammallahti & Moshnikoff (1991) make use of a combin-ing diacritic dot under *e*, ‹ẹ›, to represent the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/. This is not a feature of the orthography, but simply used in the dictionary to distinguish between the two phones. Interestingly, the diacritic is only found in the dictionary in two environments and this provides yet more compelling evidence that strengthens the hypothesis laid out above.

In the first environment, ‹ẹ› always constitutes the second syllable of a diph-thong in a palatalised stress group, ‹uẹ′› or ‹iẹ′›. These two diphthongs are in com-plementary distribution with ‹uä′› and ‹eä′› (see §3.1.2), so it is plausible that they are instances of ‹ä› being produced with a more raised articulation in which case it might be more appropriate to represent them as ‹uä′› and ‹iä′› and thus avoid poten-tial confusion with ‹ue′› and ‹ie′›.

The second environment where ‹ẹ› can be found is also as an element of a diphthong, but this time in a non-palatalised stress group, such as in the words *vuẹjjad* 'to drive' and *vuẹččõs* 'paralysis'. Based on the analysis in this grammar, however, the diphthong ‹ue› only occurs as part of a palatalised stress group, as the palatalised counterpart of ‹uå› (see §3.1.2), but in the two examples given above this diphthong appears to occur in a non-palatalised stress group. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in both cases it occurs before a high, front consonant produced at or near the palate, ‹j› and ‹č›. It therefore seems plausible that the underlying diphthong is in fact ‹uä›, but the high, front consonant has a slight raising effect on the second element leading to ‹uẹ›. If this is the case, this too could be another argument for analysing this as an allophone.

Finally, the lack of any true minimal pairs, where the only distinguishing feature is /e/~/ɛ/, does not assist in proving the existence of these as two separate phonemes. Sammallahti (p.c.) mentions one close minimal pair: *peˈllj* 'ear' ~ *nellj* 'four', since if the initial consonant is ignored the only distinguishing feature is the vowel centre, /eʎː/~/ɛʎː/. As is apparent from the orthographical representation of these two lexemes, however, the word *peˈllj* is palatalised, hence this is the likely cause of the difference in vowel quality. The fact that the following consonant is an inherently palatal sound means that suprasegmental palatalisation cannot have any observable effect on the consonant, rendering the vowel centre the only exponent of palatalisation. In other near minimal pairs like these, palatalisation would also have an effect on the consonant and it would therefore not be possible to say that the vowel centre is the only distinguishing feature.

2.4 Diphthongs

All diphthongs in Skolt Saami are opening diphthongs, beginning with a high vowel and moving towards a lower vowel. Sequences of a low or mid vowel followed by either ‹i› or ‹u› are not treated as diphthongs, but rather ‹i› and ‹u› in these environments are treated as the onset of a consonant cluster, as /j/ and /w/ respectively, as discussed in §2.2.4.
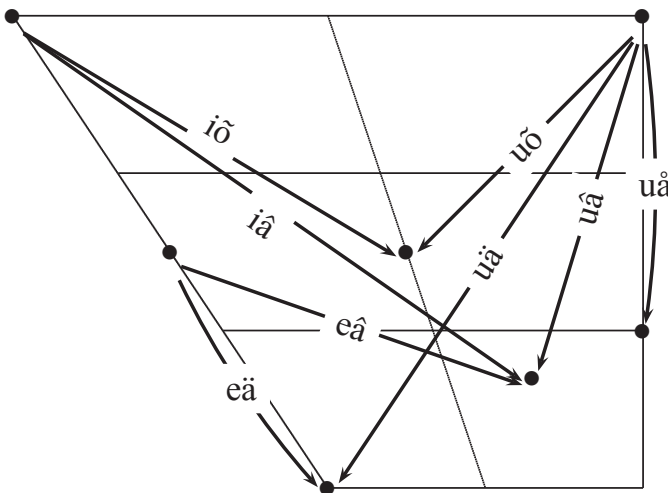
Figure 30. Schematic diagram of diphthong trajectories in Skolt Saami

Eight diphthongs can be recognised in Skolt Saami, when treating palatalisation as a suprasegmental feature; other diphthongs are thus considered to be palatalised

allophones of these eight diphthongs. A schematic diagram of the trajectories of these eight diphthongs within a vowel quadrilateral is presented in Figure 30.

Palatalisation has a more pronounced effect on diphthongs whose second element is a back or central vowel than it does on the corresponding back or central monophthongs. In the case of diphthongs whose second element is either the back vowel ‹å› or the low central vowel ‹â›, this is represented in the orthography: the palatalised counterparts of ‹uå›, ‹uâ›, ‹iâ› and ‹eâ› are ‹ueʹ›, ‹ueʹ›, ‹ieʹ› and ‹eäʹ›, respectively.

In the case of diphthongs whose second element is the mid central vowel ‹õ›, however, this fact is not represented in the orthography, even though their palatalised counterparts are particularly distinctive, ending with a high front quality, closer to ‹i›. While these diphthongs, ‹iõ› and ‹uõ›, would thus merit a distinct representation in the orthography – ‹iiʹ› and ‹uiʹ›, respectively – in the same way as the diphthongs which end in a back or low central vowel, the official orthography is nevertheless adhered to throughout this grammar. Moreover, since these palatalised variants are considered as allophones of the plain diphthongs, rather than as separate phonemes, it is in fact unnecessary that they have a distinct representation in the orthography.

The second element of the two remaining diphthongs, ‹eä› and ‹uä›, are front vowels and therefore in the orthography the palatalised allophones are represented identically. The eight diphthongs and their palatalised allophones are presented in Table 7.

Plain	Palatalised
iõ	iõʹ
iâ	ieʹ
eâ	eäʹ
eä	eäʹ
uõ	uõʹ
uå	ueʹ
uâ	ueʹ
uä	uäʹ

Table 7. Plain and palatalised allophones of Skolt Saami diphthongs

Presented below are words which display each of these plain diphthongs, together with an inflectional form of the same word which is palatalised.

iõ → iõ'	*tiõt't* (mark.SG.NOM)	→	*tiõ't'te* (mark.SG.ILL)
iâ → ie'	*piâckk* (fur.coat.SG.NOM)	→	*pie'ckǩe* (fur.coat.SG.ILL)
eâ → eä'	*teâtt* (know.PRS.3SG)	→	*teä't'te* (know.PRS.3PL)
eä → eä'	*seävv* (wave.PRS.3SG)	→	*seä'v've* (wave.PRS.3PL)
uõ → uõ'	*čuõškk* (mosquito.SG.NOM)	→	*čuõ'šǩǩe* (mosquito.SG.ILL)
uå → ue'	*vuåš'š* (horsetail.SG.NOM)	→	*vue'š'še* (horsetail.SG.ILL)
uâ → ue'	*kuâđđ* (leave.PRS.3SG)	→	*kue'đđe* (leave.PRS.3PL)
uä → uä'	*vuäđđ* (sleep.PRS.3SG)	→	*vuä'đđe* (sleep.PRS.3PL)

Diphthongs in Skolt Saami are somewhat more problematic than other phonemes of the language in that they display a considerable degree of interspeaker variation. In the idiolect of some speakers, the diphthong ‹ue'› is closer in quality to /ui/, while some speakers produce the *e*-initial diphthongs as closer to *i*-initial diphthongs. A thorough investigation of the acoustic qualities of Skolt Saami diphthongs and the significance of the observed interspeaker variation is, unfortunately, not possible in this grammar due to space and time constraints, but certainly warrants a more detailed analysis.

Diphthongs in complementary distribution

Aside from the interspeaker variation mentioned above, there are two palatalised diphthongs, ‹uä'› and ‹eä'›, which display allophonic variation in the inflectional forms of words (belonging to inflectional Class 1C of both nouns and verbs) which are unspecified for height.[19] When occurring before a short geminate or a short consonant cluster the second element of these diphthongs is often produced as being closer in quality to an open-mid front vowel /ɛ/, while the open front vowel /æ/, or ‹ä› in the orthography, occurs as the second element of the diphthong before a single consonant, long geminate or long consonant cluster. In the case of ‹eä'›, the first element is also often higher. This is summarised below.

	uä'	eä'
Short consonant (x)	/uæ/	/eæ/
Long geminate (x'x)	/uæ/	/eæ/
Long cluster (xyy)	/uæ/	/eæ/
Short geminate (xx)	**/uɛ/**	**/iɛ/**
Short cluster (xy)	**/uɛ/**	**/iɛ/**

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19. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 8 on inflection, nominals and verbs in Skolt Saami can be classified into inflectional classes and further divided into sub-groups A, B and C based on certain features which they possess; words which are palatalised in their citation forms (SG.NOM for nouns or INF for verbs) belong to Group C. As discussed in Chapter 3, diphthongs and vowels can be classified as belonging to either a high group or low group, where certain inflectional forms require a diphthong or vowel from the high group while other inflectional forms require a diphthong or vowel from the low group. In Groups A and B, the vowel or diphthong of a citation form can be classified as belonging to either the high group or low group, but in the case of Class C words the vowel centre of the citation form (which may be a diphthong), and any other forms where vowel height is not a feature of the paradigm cell, are treated as being unspecified for height.

Below are some examples of the complementary distribution of /uæ/ and /eæ/. A broad IPA transcription is given next to the orthographical form. As can be seen from these examples, the allophones /uɛ/ and /iɛ/ are represented in the orthography as ‹ue′› and ‹ie′› respectively. The issue of the orthographical representation of these allophones is the topic of the following section.

xx → x   *sie′vved* [siˑɛˑvʲˑed] 'wave.INF'   → *seä′v* [seːæˑvʲ] 'wave.IMP.2SG'
xx → x   *vue′đđed* [vuˑɛˑðʲˑed] 'sleep.INF'   → *vuä′đ* [vuːæˑðʲ] 'sleep.IMP.2SG'
xyy → xy   *peä′stted* [peæsʲˑtʲˑed] 'free.INF'   → *pie′st* [piːɛˑsʲtʲ] 'free.IMP.2SG'
xyy → xy   *suä′rdded* [suærʲˑdʲˑed] 'topple.INF' → *sue′rd* [suːɛˑrʲdʲ] 'topple.IMP.2SG'

Problems with the orthographical representation of /uɛ/ and /iɛ/

Although in this grammar [uɛ] and [iɛ] are analysed as allophones of /uæ/ and /eæ/ in complementary distribution with each other, this fact is obscured by the orthography[20]; in the orthography the graphemes ‹ue′› and ‹ie′› are used when ‹uä′› or ‹eä′› occur before a short geminate or short consonant cluster, to reflect the higher articulation of the second element of the diphthong. This has the unfortunate effect of rendering opaque the distinction between a Class 1C word whose vowel centre is ‹ue′› and a Class 1C word whose underlying vowel centre is ‹uä′› but, being followed by a short geminate or short consonant cluster, is also represented as ‹ue′›.

The vowel centre of a Class 1C citation form, although itself unspecified for height, is important since it indicates which high–low diphthong pair is observed in those inflectional forms which do specify for vowel height (see Chapters 6 and 8). When an inflectional form requires a high or low vowel, Class 1C citation forms displaying ‹ue′› in their vowel centre alternate with ‹uõ› and ‹uâ› (or their palatalised counterparts), while forms displaying ‹uä′› in the vowel centre alternate with ‹uå› and ‹uä› (or their palatalised counterparts). The correspondences between the vowel centre of a Group C citation form and the high–low sets of diphthongs, together with their palatalised counterparts, are presented in Table 8. (Note that this same table is repeated in §3.1.2 where the issue of vowel height is discussed in greater detail).

Group C	High		Low	
	Plain	Palatalised	Plain	Palatalised
ie′	*iõ*	*iõ′*	*eâ*	*eä′*
eä′ (~ ie′)	*iâ*	*ie′*	*eä*	*eä′*
ue′	*uõ*	*uõ′*	*uâ*	*ue′*
uä′ (~ ue′)	*uå*	*ue′*	*uä*	*uä′*

Table 8. Correspondences between Group C vowel centres and diphthong high–low pairs and their palatalised counterparts

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20. In Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991) this problem was addressed by placing a diacritic dot below those occurrences of ‹ue′› which represent [uɛ], i.e. ‹ue̦′›, but this is not a standard feature of the orthography.

If, therefore, ‹ue′› in the vowel centre of a form unspecified for height is in fact an allophone of ‹uä′›, then this alternates with ‹uå› and ‹uä› despite appearing to group with other words displaying ‹ue′› in their vowel centres. Some examples of this are given below.

Unspecified vowel centre		High, palatalised vowel centre		Low, plain vowel centre
kue'đđed (leave.INF)	→	*kuõ'ď́de* (leave.PST.3PL)	→	*kuâđđ* (leave.PRS.3SG)
suä'rdded (topple.INF)	→	*sue'rdde* (topple.PST.3PL)	→	*suärdd* (topple.PRS.3SG)
vue'đđed (sleep.INF)	→	*vue'đđe* (sleep.PST.3PL)	→	*vuäđđ* (sleep.PRS.3SG)

As the three examples above demonstrate, *vue'đđed* 'sleep' undergoes the same changes in vowel quality as *suä'rdded* 'topple', despite the fact the vowel centre of its citation form is represented in the orthography as being identical to that of *kue'đđed* 'leave'. This is because in *vue'đđed* the vowel centre is underlyingly /uæ/, but since it is followed by a short geminate it is realised as [uɛ].

The IMP.2SG form of Class 1C verbs is also unspecified for height, but displays a change in consonant grade from the infinitive forms presented above, and is therefore a useful way to illustrate this case of complementary distribution. In the examples below it can be seen that the vowel centre ‹uä′› appears in the IMP.2SG of *vue'đđed* because it is now followed by a short consonant; in the same manner, the IMP.2SG of *suä'rdded* now displays ‹ue′› as it is followed by a short consonant cluster.

Unspecified		Unspecified + Grade change
kue'đđed (leave.INF)	→	*kue'đ* (leave.IMP.2SG)
suä'rdded (topple.INF)	→	*sue'rd* (topple.IMP.2SG)
vue'đđed (sleep.INF)	→	*vuä'đ* (sleep.IMP.2SG)

Interspeaker variation

The issue of the allophones [uɛ] and [iɛ] is further compounded by the fact that they are also subject to interspeaker variation. It would appear that in some idiolects the distinction between the two allophones has been neutralised, with both [uæ] and [uɛ] pronounced as /uæ/ and both [eæ] and [iɛ] pronounced as /eæ/.

In other idiolects a three-way distinction is clearly present, but the distinction appears to be between [ui]~[uę̈]~[uæ] as opposed to [ue]~[uɛ]~[uæ]; that is to say, the distinctive second element of the diphthong appears to alternate between a close, a mid and an open front vowel, as opposed to a close-mid, an open-mid and an open front vowel. In the case of /eæ/~/iɛ/, a similar pattern is observed, but in this case the distinction between close, mid and open, [ii]~[ię̈]~[iæ], brings about a long monophthong. The occurrence of an [i]~[ę̈]~[æ]-distinction in the second element of diphthongs might be understood by considering that the target values

of these diphthongs have been aligned with the monophthongs [i], [ẹ] and [æ]. This then would lend further support to the idea of there being only a single mid front vowel /ẹ/ (see §2.3.3).

As is now apparent, the interspeaker variation presents numerous difficulties in deciding the most appropriate way to represent them in the orthography. While the previous section outlined the problems of representing [uɛ] as ‹ue› and [iɛ] as ‹ie›, the alternative of simply representing both allophones in the same way – that is, to use only ‹uä› and ‹eä› before all consonant grades – does not account for the three-way [i]~[ẹ]~[æ]-distinction that some speakers appear to have developed.

A more in-depth analysis of the acoustic nature of these allophones, as produced by different speakers, is required to fully understand what is happening.

2.5 Phonological length

Contrastive length is an important feature of Skolt Saami phonology, affecting not only vowels and consonants, but also diphthongs and consonant clusters. Phonological length is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, while the function of phonological length in marking grammatical distinctions will become particularly apparent in Chapters 6 and 8 relating to nominal and verbal inflection. This section is primarily concerned with the representation of phonological length in the orthography, since this will help in understanding the following chapters.

Contrastive length, both in vowels and consonants, is marked in most cases in the orthography. A long vowel is represented with a double grapheme of the vowel in question, while a short vowel is represented with a single grapheme.

põrtt (house.SG.NOM)   *põõrt* (house.PL.NOM)

Likewise, a short consonant is represented with a single grapheme and a geminate with a double grapheme.

kuul (hear.IMP.2SG)   *kuullâd* (hear.INF)

A short consonant cluster is represented as C_1C_2, while a long consonant cluster is represented with a doubling of only the final consonant, $C_1C_2C_2$.

juu'rd (think.IMP.2SG)   *jordd* (think.PRS.3SG)

It is, however, not quite that simple, since phonetically there is a three-way length contrast between both vowels and consonants. Nevertheless, a variation in vowel length occurs together with a variation in consonant length, in a complementary relationship (see §3.3). In the orthography, therefore, it is not necessary to mark a three-way contrast between vowels. Instead, it should be noted that a long

orthographical vowel followed by a short consonant is phonetically longer that a long vowel followed by a short geminate. A long geminate, then, which has the same orthographical representation as a short geminate, can be recognised by the fact it follows a short vowel.

põõl (fear.IMP.2SG)   long vowel – short consonant
põõllâd (fear.INF)   mid-length vowel – short geminate
põ'lle (fear.PST.3PL)   short vowel – long geminate

In the literature (e.g. Itkonen 1958) these vowels have been referred to as short, half-long and long. The use of the term 'half-long' is generally avoided here, since vowel length is tied to the grade of the following consonant and no instances of minimal triplets were found where the only distinguishing factor is a three-way contrast in vowel length.

One problem arises in the orthography, however, when one considers the case of diphthongs. Although it can be deduced that a diphthong is long if followed by a single consonant, the length of a diphthong is not marked in the orthography, rendering it impossible to determine whether a following double grapheme represents a short or a long geminate. In linguistic literature on Skolt Saami, a vertical line ‹ ' › is sometimes used to overcome this problem. The vertical line is placed between the two graphemes of the geminate in question, e.g. *muõ'r're* tree.SG.ILL, and represents a long geminate. In the case of the digraphs ‹llj› and ‹nnj›, the vertical line is placed between the double consonant, e.g. *suõn'nju* marsh.SG.ILL. An example of a vertical line being used to represent a long geminate is presented below.

siõr (play.IMP.2SG)   long diphthong – short consonant
siõrrâd (play.INF)   mid-length diphthong – short geminate
siõ'r're (play.PST.3PL)   short diphthong – long geminate

Despite this contrast in length not being marked in the orthography it is perhaps not as significant as it sounds, since certain morphological forms always require a Grade II consonant, while others require a Grade III consonant (see Chapter 3 for more on consonant grades and Chapters 6 and 8 for more on the forms which require each grade), so when the morphological form is known, the length of the consonant often goes without saying. In the example above, for instance, the PST.3PL form (of verbs belonging to the same class as *siõrrâd* 'play') always takes a Grade III consonant. Other morphological markings, such as the inflectional suffix *-e* and the absence of any change in the stem vowel, together with context, can be used to identify this form as the PST.3PL and therefore the absence of marking to indicate a long geminate does not, at least in cases like this, pose any significant problem.

2.5.1 Consonant sequences

As already seen, in the orthography a long consonant cluster is always written $C_1C_2C_2$, where the second component is represented by means of two graphemes. Nevertheless, both components are usually produced with similar durations (Korhonen et al. 1973: 22). However, in a long consonant cluster beginning with a plosive (e.g. *vuõptt* 'hair.SG.NOM'), the closure of the initial plosive may be held for longer than the remainder of the cluster, resulting in a longer duration for the first component of the cluster.

Where a sequence $C_1C_1C_2$ occurs in the written form of a word, this is simply the juxtaposition of a syllable-final geminate and the initial consonant of the following syllable or word. Phonetically, there is sometimes an overshort vowel or breath separating the two, not expressed in the written form, hence $C_1C_1{}^vC_2$, for example *vuåppmõš* 'supervision' (*vuåppâd* 'to supervise' + *-mõš* nominalising suffix) is pronounced [vuɔʰpːʰməʃ]. An exception to this is in the case of the digraphs ‹lj› and ‹nj›, where the long counterpart is represented by a doubling of the first consonant, hence ‹llj› = /ʎː/, ‹nnj› = /ɲː/.

The approximants /j/ and /w/, which occur as the first element of consonant clusters, are usually written as ‹i› and ‹u›. However, if the vowel centre which precedes the consonant cluster is either ‹i› or ‹u›, respectively, then the approximants are written as ‹j› and ‹v› to avoid what would otherwise appear to be a long vowel.

*sä**i**'mm* (net)	←	*s + ä + **j**mm*
*si**j**dd* (village)	←	*s + i + **j**dd*
*ne**u**'ll* (needle)	←	*n + e + **w**ll*
*ku**'v**dd* (snake)	←	*k + u + **w**dd*

The use of ‹v› in these cases is somewhat misleading, due to the existence of the phoneme /v/ in Skolt Saami. It is possible that the grapheme ‹v› was chosen to represent /w/ in this instance due to the absence of the phoneme /w/ or grapheme ‹w› in Finnish – in fact, the grapheme ‹w› does occur sporadically in old-fashioned Finnish words, but is homophonous with ‹v›.

2.6 Palatalisation

Before discussing palatalisation further it is necessary to briefly explain how the palatalisation mark is used. The diacritic marking palatalisation ‹ ′ › is placed between the vowel and the consonant of the disyllabic stress group which is palatalised (see §2.1 for a definition of a stress group). As the palatalisation mark affects only the stress group it appears in, in polysyllabic words more than one palatalisation mark may occur.

vue'lğğve'ted   (leave.PRS.2PL)   ←   *vue'lğğ + ve'ted*
sue'jjivui'm   (birch.tree.PL.COM)   ←   *sue'jji + vui'm*

This orthographical rule relating to the position of the palatalisation mark applies to any orthographic vowel, even if phonologically the character represents an approximant which belongs to a consonant cluster (as discussed in §2.2.4 and §2.5.1).

päi'ǩǩ (place)   *nei'bb* (knife)   *neu'll* (needle)

There are also a handful of words where the consonant centre (see §2.1) is omitted, resulting in a palatalisation mark occurring between two vowels. This is not very common, however.

jee'el (lichen.SG.NOM)   ←   *jeäkkal* (lichen.PL.NOM)
nââ'er (dream.SG.NOM)   ←   *nâkkar* (dream.PL.NOM)
kää'er (dropping.SG.NOM)   ←   *käkkar* (dropping.PL.NOM)

Palatalisation is a distinctive feature of Skolt Saami phonology. The term palatalisation, as used here, refers to a secondary articulation involving the raising of the body of the tongue toward the hard palate during the articulation of a consonant. In Skolt Saami, palatalised consonants contrast with palatal consonants, such as /ɲ/ and /ʎ/, whose primary place of articulation is the hard palate.[21] This contrast means that minimal triplets, where the only distinguishing feature is that between a plain, a palatalised and a palatal consonant, are possible. An example of such a minimal triple is provided below.

Plain	*mâânn*	[mɐːnː]	go.PRS.3SG
Palatalised	*mââ'nn*	[mɐːnːʲ]	egg.SG.NOM
Palatal	*mââ'nnj*	[mɐːɲː]	daughter-in-law.SG.NOM

It should be noted here that the orthographical representation of the word *mââ'nnj* 'daughter-in-law' displays both a palatal consonant ‹nnj› and the palatalisation mark ‹ ' ›. The corresponding Proto-Saami word for daughter-in-law is *mẹńē* (where ‹ń› corresponds to the IPA symbol /ɲ/), the North Saami word is *mânnje* and the Inari Saami word is *manje*. As will be explained in greater detail below, word-final, long /e/ in Proto-Saami often corresponds to /e/ in many Saami varieties, but corresponds to palatalisation in Skolt Saami. The loss of word-final /e/ in the Skolt Saami word therefore triggers palatalisation, as indicated by ‹ ' ›, while the presence of the palatal consonant /ɲ/ corresponds to the same sound in Proto-Saami and other Saami

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21. It is worth noting that palatalised consonant have often been referred to in the literature as "half palatalised", while palatal consonants have been referred to as "fully palatalised" (e.g. Korhonen et al. 1973: 21). However, in this grammar the term *palatal* is used in place of "fully palatalised", since reference is made to a consonant which is inherently palatal. This, in turn, means it is no longer necessary to describe consonants where palatalisation is a secondary articulation as being "half palatalised".

varieties. However, an inherently palatal consonant cannot, by definition, be palatalised, since the primary articulation already involves the tongue moving toward the hard palate, eliminating the possibility of palatalisation occurring as a secondary articulation. For the purpose of describing a three-way distinction between /n/, /nʲ/ and /ɲ/, therefore, the presence of palatalisation (as a secondary articulation), as marked in the orthography for the word *mââ'nnj* 'daughter-in-law', is irrelevant. Whether or not palatalisation resulting from the loss of word-final /e/ is manifested in any other way on this word will be discussed at the end of this section.

Spectrograms of the minimal triplet referred to above are presented in Figure 31, as produced by a female speaker. The second formant frequency, F2, is relatively stable throughout the production of *mâânn*, with a frequency of approximately 1500 Hz. During the production of the palatalised word *mââ'nn*, F2 shows a rise in frequency, beginning at around two thirds of the way into the production of the vowel and reaching approximately 2000 Hz, indicated by the arrow labelled [1]. At the onset of voicing of the overshort vowel, following the release of the nasal, both F2 and F3 display higher frequencies than observed in *mâânn*, indicated by the arrows labelled [2].

An increase in the frequency of F2 is also observed in the spectrogram of *mââ'nnj*, as indicated by the arrow labelled [3], although seemingly to a lesser degree than in its palatalised counterpart *mââ'nn*. At the onset of voicing of the overshort vowel, following the release of the nasal, F2 and F3 display similar frequencies but quickly move away from each other, indicated by the arrow labelled [4]. This rapid separation of F2 and F3 following the release of the nasal corresponds to the moving apart of the articulators – the body of the tongue moving away from the hard palate – which would have been in contact during the production of a palatal nasal. The fact that F2 and F3 do not display this separation during the production of the palatalised word *mââ'nn*, but are instead already separate at the voicing onset of the overshort vowel, shows that the body of the tongue moved towards the hard palate but did not make a closure. This is to be expected, since the primary place of articulation is the alveolar ridge, with palatalisation occurring as a secondary articulation.

Figure 32 shows spectrograms of the same three words, produced by a male speaker. These spectrograms show the same features as described for Figure 31: (i) an increase in F2 in both the palatalised and palatal word, but more pronounced in the former, (arrows [1] and [3], respectively); (ii) a higher F2 and F3 at the voicing onset, following release of the nasal, in *mââ'nn* (arrows [2]), and (iii) a separation of F2 and F3 at the voicing onset, following release of the nasal, in *mââ'nnj* (arrow [4]).
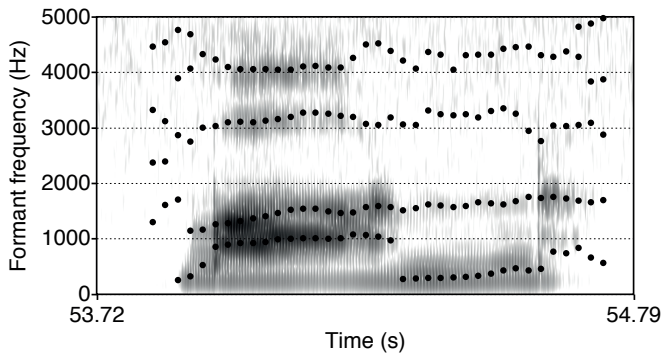
mâânn
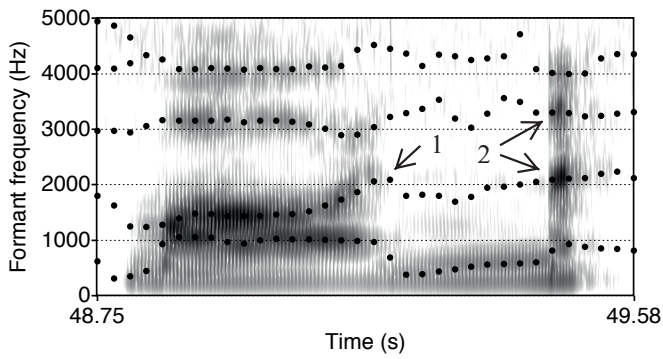
mââ'nn
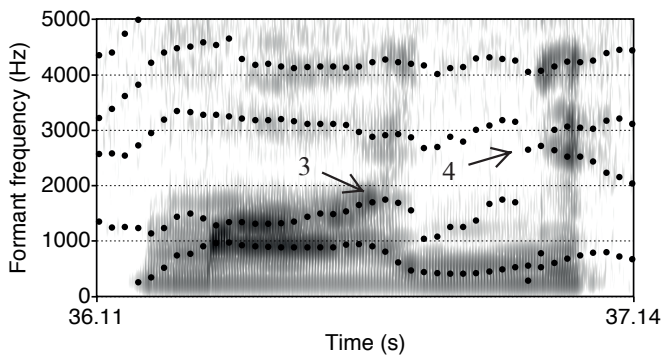
mââ'nnj

Figure 31. Spectrograms of the minimal triplet *mâânn–mââ'nn–mââ'nnj* – as produced by speaker A (female, Paatsjoki dialect)
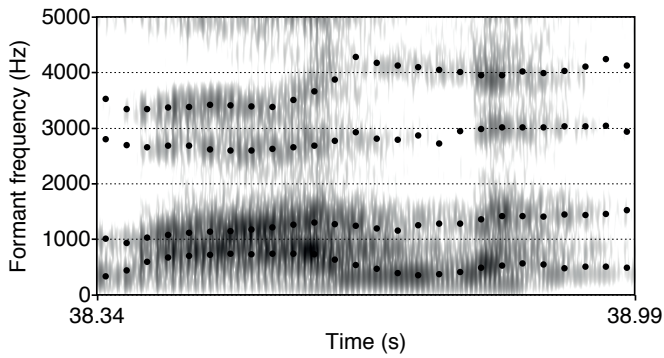
mâânn
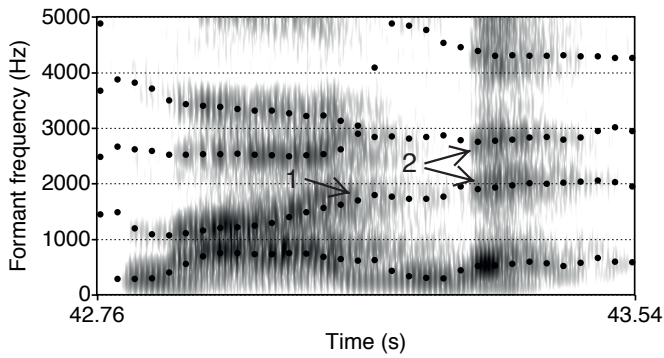
mââ'nn
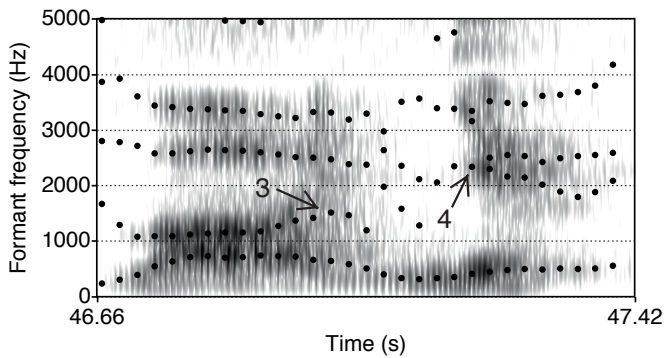
mââ'nnj

Figure 32. Spectrograms of the minimal triplet *mâânn–mââ'nn–mââ'nnj* – as produced by speaker B (male, Suõ'nnˑjel dialect)

Although minimal triplets are possible, as exemplified in Figure 31 and Figure 32, this is of course limited to those consonants which have a palatal counterpart – i.e. /ɲ/ and /ʎ/. Minimal pairs, where the only distinctive feature is the absence or presence of palatalisation, are more plentiful, as shown by the examples in Table 9.

Plain	Palatalised
âbrr (rain.PRS.3SG)	*â'brr* (rain.SG.NOM)
juurd (thought.SG.NOM)	*juu'rd* (think.IMP.2SG)
kååss (cough.PRS.3SG)	*kåå'ss* (braid.PL.NOM)
kådd (kill.PRS.3SG)	*kå'dd* (unmarked.reindeer.SG.NOM)
käunn (find.PRS.3SG)	*käu'nn* (belonging.SG.NOM)
lädd (wetland.SG.NOM)	*lä'dd* (Finn.SG.NOM)
lett (agreement.SG.NOM)	*le'tt* (dish.SG.NOM)
mäcc (return.PRS.3SG)	*mä'cc* (fold.SG.NOM)
pââss (wash.PRS.3SG)	*pââ'ss* (holy)
saani (Skolt.sledge.PL.GEN)	*saa'ni* (word.PL.GEN)
veär (soup.SG.ACC)	*veä'r* (cause.PL.NOM)
väldd (take.PRS.3SG)	*vä'ldd* (power.SG.NOM)
råått (birch.grove.SG.NOM)	*råå'tt* (ugly)
reen (quarrel.PL.NOM)	*ree'n* (soot.SG.NOM)

Table 9. List of plain vs. palatalised minimal pairs

Figure 33 shows spectrograms of the minimal pair *juurd* 'thought.SG.NOM' and *juu'rd* 'think.IMP.2SG'. As observed in Figure 31 and Figure 32, an increase in the frequency of F2 can be observed in the palatalised word. F2 is indicated by the arrows labelled [1] in both spectrograms. Also, after the release of /d/, the overshort vowel which follows displays a higher F2 in the palatalised word *juu'rd* and F2 and F3 are closer together, as indicated by the arrows labelled [2] in both spectrograms.

As alluded to previously, palatalisation is closely tied to the presence of a high or mid front vowel – ‹i› or ‹e› – in the following syllable. This is seen for example in verbs with the infinitive ending –*ed* such as *kå'dded* 'kill', *tie'tted* 'know' and *pue'tted* 'come'. The addition of an inflectional suffix where ‹i› or ‹e› is present can also trigger palatalisation in an otherwise non-palatalised stem, thus making palatalisation a morphophonological process. This is seen, for example, when the illative vowel ‹e› is affixed to a Class 1A noun (see §6.2.1), as exemplified below.

jokk (river.SG.NOM)   →   *jo'ǩǩe* (river.SG.ILL)
toll (fire.SG.NOM)   →   *to'lle* (fire.SG.ILL)

Likewise, the addition of a vowel other than ‹i› or ‹e› can trigger a loss of palatalisation from an otherwise palatalised stem. This is seen, for example, when the illative vowel ‹a› is affixed to a Class 1C noun (see §6.2.1), as exemplified below.

lå'dd (bird.SG.NOM)   →   *lådda* (bird.SG.ILL)
päi'ǩǩ (place. SG.NOM)   →   *päikka* (place.SG.ILL)
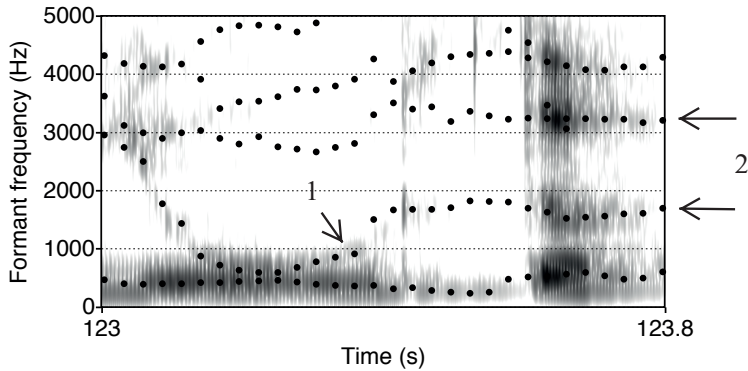
juurd
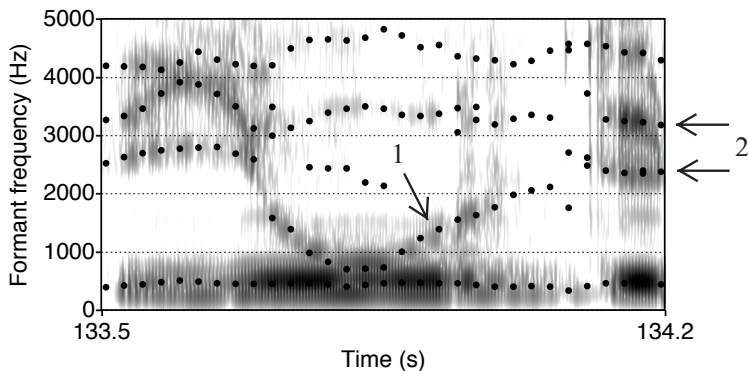
juu'rd

Figure 33. Spectrograms of the minimal pair *juurd–juu'rd* (female speaker, Paatsjoki dialect)

However, as already mentioned in the case of *mââ'nnj* 'daughter-in-law' and observed in other examples given above, this phonological conditioning is often absent from many words. This is due to an original word-final ‹i› or ‹e› having undergone apocope. Table 10 provides examples of ten words where this is the case, together with cognates from Inari Saami, North Saami and South Saami, all of which retain word-final /i/ or /e/, and the corresponding Proto-Saami words which display a long /e/. Despite the loss of the word-final vowel, the Skolt Saami

words are nevertheless palatalised. (Note that this list includes *mââ'nn* 'egg', given above as an example of a member of a minimal triplet).

Skolt	Inari	North	South	Proto-Saami
kue'll (fish)	*kyeli*	*guolli*	*guelie*	*kōlē*
lå'dd (bird)	*lodde*	*loddi*	*ledtie*	*lontē*
te'ǩǩ (louse)	*tikke*	*dihkki*	*dihkie*	*tikkē*
čuä'rvv (horn)	*čuárvi*	*čoarvi*	*tjåervie*	*ćᴀ̄rvē*
â'brr (rain)	*arve*	*arvi*	*ebrie*	*ɛprē*
sei'bb (tail)	*seibi*	*seaibi*	*siejpie*	*sējpē*
vuei'vv (head)	*uáivi*	*oaivi*	*åejjie*	*ᴀ̄jvē*
pe'llj (ear)	*pelji*	*beallji*	*bieljie*	*pēljē*
mââ'nn (egg)	*mane*	*monni*	*munnie*	*monē*
pei'vv (sun)	*peivi*	*beaivi*	*biejjie*	*pējvē*

Table 10. Cognates of ten palatalised words in Skolt Saami

Although the word-final vowel in such examples has undergone apocope, an over-short vowel is often heard in its place. Where a word is palatalised this overshort vowel has an *e*-quality, corresponding to the higher frequency F2, also observed in the spectrograms above. If a word is not palatalised, this overshort vowel has an *a*-quality, corresponding to the lower frequency F2. It may be more accurate to refer to the word-final vowel as having undergone a reduction, as opposed to apocope, but in either case the effect, from a synchronic viewpoint, would be the same – either a palatalised stem gives an overshort vowel its *e*-quality, due to a higher F2, or the *e*-quality of the overshort vowel is in fact the remnant of a reduced word-final /i/ or /e/ which triggers palatalisation.

Whilst the phonological conditioning of palatalisation in Skolt Saami seems to be transparent, its phonological realisation is less straightforward. Palatalisation in Skolt Saami has been analysed in the literature as a suprasegmental – that is, the effects of palatalisation have a scope which is greater than just a segment. The reason given for this is the fact that the effect of palatalisation is observed not only on the consonant centre, but also on the vowel preceding it, whereby the vowel is produced as slightly more forward or close that it would otherwise be. Korhonen (1971: 73) provides the following explanation:

> "In Skolt Saami, suprasegmental palatalisation affects the vowel of the stressed syllable, the consonants which follow it and in certain cases also the vowel of the following syllable. In this presentation palatalisation is marked between the vowel of the stressed syllable and the following consonant by means of the palatalisation mark ‹ ' ›. A vowel preceding this mark sounds more forward and/or close than the corresponding vowel when ‹ ' › does not follow." [Translation my own].

Taking this into account, from the examples of the palatalised words presented above as a minimal triplet, *mââ'nn* 'egg' and *mââ'nnj* 'daughter-in-law', would have narrow transcriptions [me̞ːnːʲ] and [me̞ːɲː], where the diacritic below the vowel marks it as being advanced.

It could be argued that the advanced or raised articulation of a vowel in the environment of a palatalised consonant is simply a natural phonetic feature at the surface level and therefore palatalisation in Skolt Saami should be analysed as segmental. Indeed, in all the spectrograms presented above illustrating palatalisation, the tendency was to observe a rise in F2 commencing at some point during the production of the vowel. The steady state of the vowel prior to this rise in F2 did not appear to be significantly different from that observed in the non-palatalised word. Since it does not appear that the entire duration of a vowel is affected by palatalisation, any fronting or raising of the vowel could therefore be attributed to a type of anticipatory assimilation or else attributed to physiological constraints imposed by the speech organs, which must in any case move from their position in producing a vowel into the position required for a palatalised consonant, rather than considering palatalisation as having scope over the entire vowel.

It is also plausible, however, that palatalisation is, indeed, a suprasegmental which has scope over the vowel, but does not line up with the onset of the vowel, being triggered instead later on in the production of the vowel – since a suprasegmental, by definition, is not tied to a particular segment. This would explain the steady state of the vowel prior to the rise in F2, as seen in the above spectrograms. While the entire vowel may not be affected by palatalisation, it may be the case that the rise in F2 commences earlier on in the vowel than it would were it simply a result of a physiological constraint or assimilation. If this is so, then this would be an argument for treating palatalisation as a suprasegmental. This, however, is speculation; further research is required to determine the precise nature of palatalisation in Skolt Saami.

There are, however, two factors which lend support for considering palatalisation as a suprasegmental. The first of these concerns the effect that palatalisation has on the second component of diphthongs, most notably on the mid, central vowel ‹õ› of the diphthong ‹uõ›, which becomes closer to /ui/ when subject to palatalisation. This is less in keeping with the idea of an anticipatory rise in F2 and more in line with the idea of palatalisation affecting, at least a portion of, the preceding vowel, as suggested in the preceding paragraph.

The second factor relates to the effect of palatalisation on consonant clusters, where typically the effect of palatalisation is more observable on the first consonant of the cluster. If palatalisation were a segmental feature then it might be expected that the final consonant of the cluster, closest to the final ‹i› or ‹e› (which may have undergone apocope), would display the greatest degree of palatalisation, even if this were to spread to the preceding consonant. This behaviour is particularly noticeable in cases where the consonant cluster begins with /l/. When palatalisation is not present, this segment undergoes l-vocalisation, becoming [w], in the idiolects

of many speakers, while all speakers produce this as a clear /l/ when palatalisation is present. This can be seen in Figure 34, which shows spectrograms of the words *väldd* 'take.PRS.3SG' and *vä'ldd* 'power', produced by a speaker who exhibits l-vocalisation. The l-vocalisation seen in *väldd* corresponds to the observed lowering of the second formant, F2, while the clear /l/ in the palatalised word *vä'ldd* shows no lowering of F2.

väldd

vä'ldd
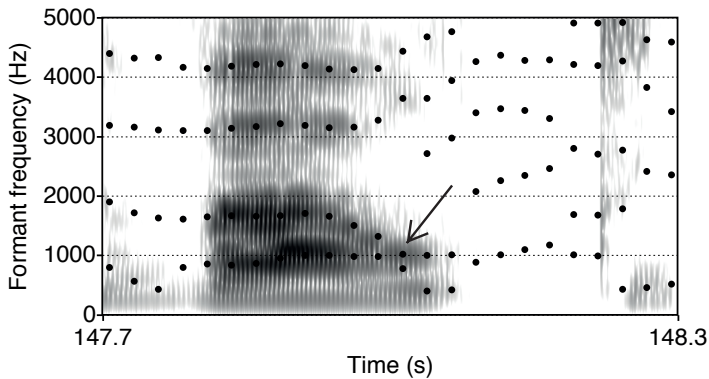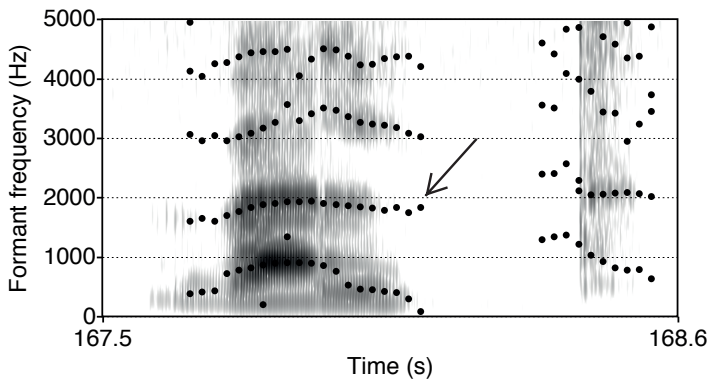
Figure 34. Spectrograms of the words *väldd* 'take.PRS.3SG' and *vä'ldd* 'power' (female speaker, Suõ'nn'jel dialect)

Although the behaviour observed with consonant clusters does not, perhaps, provide sufficient evidence by itself for treating palatalisation as a suprasegmental, the fact that palatalisation can affect both the first consonant of a consonant cluster as well as the vowel preceding it does reinforce the notion of palatalisation as a

suprasegmental in Skolt Saami, since it becomes less plausible to attribute this to assimilation.

A particularly good example of the effects of palatalisation can be seen in the word *siâlggâd* 'get through (e.g. work)'. The second consonant of the consonant cluster, ‹gg›, represented in the orthography with two graphemes to indicate a long consonant cluster, changes to the phoneme /ɟ/, or ‹ğğ› in the orthography; the first consonant of the consonant cluster is produced as a clear /l/ and is not subject to l-vocalisation; and the diphthong experiences a change in quality from ‹iâ› to ‹ie›.

siâlggâd (get through.INF)   →   *sie'lğğe* (get through.PST.3PL)

Having discussed some of the issues involving the classification of palatalisation and provided evidence in favour of the suprasegmental theory, attention is now returned to the question of whether palatalisation (as a secondary articulation) is manifested on words which themselves end in a palatal consonant, which was touched upon in the explanation as to why the word *mââ'nnj* 'daughter-in-law' is both palatalised and ends in a palatal consonant.

The case of the close minimal pair *pe'llj* 'ear' and *nellj* 'four' was discussed in §2.3.3 in relation to whether both a close-mid and open-mid front vowel, /e/ and /ɛ/, should be posited for Skolt Saami or whether only one mid front vowel need be posited and the difference in vowel quality attributed to the effect of palatalisation. If palatalisation were segmental, affecting only the consonant, then there would be no apparent difference between the two words (except, that is, for the word-initial consonant), unless /e/ and /ɛ/ were separate phonemes. This is the case because the final consonant in both words is inherently palatal and cannot be further palatalised, so any assimilatory effect on the vowel would necessarily be caused by /ʎ/, which is identical in both words, and would thus have an identical effect on both vowels.

If, on the other hand, palatalisation is suprasegmental and affects both the consonant and the preceding vowel, then this can provide an explanation for the difference in quality between the vowels in these two words, without the need to posit two separate vowel phonemes, since only *pe'llj* 'ear' is palatalised. In other words, both the vowel and the consonant can be considered subject to palatalisation at an underlying level, while a change can only be observed in the vowel at the surface representation of the word.

2.7 Interspeaker variation

A number of phonemes in Skolt Saami appear to be undergoing sound changes, with older speakers using the phoneme inventory as presented in §2.2 and younger generations of speakers, those who are approximately fifty years old or younger, exhibiting a number of changes, as listed in Table 11. A word such as *čää'cc*

'water' is thus produced by older speakers as [t͡ʃæːʰt͡sˑᵉ], but by younger speakers as [ʃæːʰt͡sˑᵉ].

Older speakers	Younger speakers	Type of sound change
ð	z	place of articulation
t͡ʃ	ʃ	spirantisation
ɟ	j	approximation
ɣ	ɰ	approximation
l	w	l-vocalisation
c	c͡ç	affrication
ɟ	ɟ͡ʝ	affrication

Table 11. Diachronic changes in the phonemes of Skolt Saami

In most cases the sound change is a process of lenition. In the case of four sound changes – (i) a change in the place of articulation /ð/ → /z/; (ii) spirantisation of /t͡ʃ/ → /ʃ/; (iii) approximation of /ɟ/ → /j/; and (iv) l-vocalisation of /l/ → /w/ – the end result is a phoneme which already exists in the language, hence there is an overall reduction in the phoneme inventory for these speakers.

3   Morphophonology

Inflection in Skolt Saami is incredibly complex due to a wide range of morphophonological processes which give rise to the different inflectional forms, including alternations in vowel quality, vowel length, consonant quality and consonant length, as well as palatalisation and epenthesis. Historically, these sound alternations were motivated by a number of factors, including grade alternations, unstressed vowel contractions and lateral vowel alternations, which were usually due to the phonological properties of the suffixed morphemes. However, diachronic changes in Skolt Saami, such as the loss of word-final consonants, have removed the conditioning environments and rendered many of these sound alternations opaque, hence from a synchronic viewpoint these sound alternations may be treated as being morphologically conditioned (Sammallahti 1998: 56).

The abovementioned morphophonological processes apply to all word classes, primarily affecting the inflectional stems of both verbs and nouns, generating a number of distinct stem forms. Consider the verb *tieʹtted* 'to know', which shows how the stem of a verb occurring in different syntactic contexts has a variety of realisations.

tieʹtted	INF
teâtt	PRS.3SG
teäʹtʹte	PRS.3PL
tiõʹtʹte	PST.3PL
tieʹđ	IMP.2SG
tiõʹđež	POT.3SG

In this example it can be seen that the diphthong is realised in four distinct ways (*ie*, *eâ*, *eä*, *iõ*), while the length and quality of the stem-final consonant also alternates (*tʹt→tt→đ*). Furthermore, palatalisation is absent from the PRS.3SG form.

The following example shows how the stem of a noun has a variety of realisations. Consider the noun *muõrr* 'tree'.

muõrr	tree.SG.NOM
muõr	tree.PL.NOM
muõʹrʹre	tree.SG.ILL

This example shows a three-way length distinction in the consonant centre (*rʹr→rr→r*) and the presence of palatalisation in the SG.ILL form.

This chapter covers three topics in morphophonology – section 3.1 covers vowel height alternations; section 3.2 is concerned with consonant gradation and section 3.3 looks at phonological quantity.

3.1 Vowel height

3.1.1 Monophthongs

Vowels in Skolt Saami form alternating pairs where the realisation of one member of a pair over another is morphologically conditioned. In all but one case, these pairs contrast with each other with regard to vowel height, hence vowels are referred to as being either HIGH or LOW. The exception is the pairing *a ~ ä* where the contrast is instead between a front and back vowel. These vowel pairs are presented in Table 12.

High	Low
i	*e*
õ	*â*
u	*o*
o	*å*
a	*ä*

Table 12. High–low vowel pairs

A variation in vowel height within a stem is sometimes the only differentiating factor between two paradigm forms. This is the case, for example, between the PRS.3PL and PST.3PL forms of Class 1A verbs, where the PRS.3PL requires a low vowel and the PST.3PL requires a high vowel.

kå'sse (cough.PRS.3PL)	→	*ko'sse* (cough.PST.3PL)
sâ'ǩǩe (row.PRS.3PL)	→	*sõ'ǩǩe* (row.PST.3PL)
e'tte (appear.PRS.3PL)	→	*i'tte* (appear.PST.3PL)

Note that, in referring to a 'high' or 'low' vowel in this analysis, reference is made to the relative height of a vowel in relation to its counterpart and not to its absolute height.[22] As a result, the high member of one vowel pair may be phonetically lower than, or equal to, the low vowel of another vowel pair. This is illustrated with the vowel *o*, which is simultaneously the high member of the *å ~ o* pair and the low member of the *o ~ u* pair; although this vowel is phonetically neither a high nor low vowel, but rather a mid or close-mid back vowel, it is referred to in this analysis as either high or low, depending on which pair it belongs to.

In Class 1B nominals, the SG.NOM form displays the low member of a given vowel pair, while the SG.LOC form specifies for the high member of the pair. In the example below, *o* in *jokk* 'yoke' belongs to the low set, and therefore its high

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22. Henceforth, the term 'high' or 'high vowel', or any reference to a paradigm cell specifying for [+HIGH], will be used to refer to the higher vowel of each pair, or the back vowel in the *a ~ ä* pair, as presented in Table 12, and does not necessarily entail a phonetically high vowel.

counterpart is *u*, while the *o* in *pollu* 'float' is a high vowel and its low counterpart is therefore *å*.

Low vowel centre		High vowel centre
jokk (yoke.SG.NOM)	→	*jukku* (yoke.SG.ILL)
påll (float.SG.NOM)	→	*pollu* (float.SG.ILL)

In verbal and nominal inflection it is often possible to determine which subgroup a word belongs to from the vowel occurring in the vowel centre. In the case of words exhibiting *o*, however, it is not possible to determine from the vowel centre alone whether this vowel belongs to the high set of vowels or the low set.

A visual representation of these vowel alternations in relation to a vowel quadrilateral is given in Figure 35.
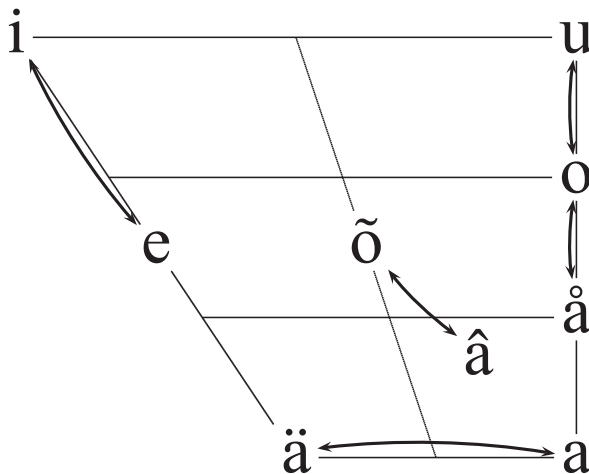
Figure 35. Schematic diagram of vowel pairings

As already illustrated with Class 1A verbs, certain forms of an inflectional paradigm may specify for either a high or low member of a vowel pair. A word exhibiting the opposite member of that vowel pair in the vowel centre will therefore undergo a change in vowel height to comply with the height specification pertaining to that paradigm form. If a word already displays the member of a vowel pair which the paradigm form specifies for, however, no change is observed. This can be illustrated with the PRS.3SG forms of Class 1A and Class 1B verbs.

Class 1A

vižžâd (fetch.INF)	→	*vežž* (fetch.PRS.3SG)
suukkâd (row.INF)	→	*sookk* (row.PRS.3SG)
joorrâd (spin.INF)	→	*jåårr* (spin.PRS.3SG)

Class 1B

neessad (blow.nose.INF)	→	*neess* (blow.nose.PRS.3SG)
roossad (splash.INF)	→	*rooss* (splash.PRS.3SG)
väällad (pour.INF)	→	*vääll* (pour.PRS.3SG)

In the examples presented above, Class 1A verbs display a change in vowel quality in the PRS.3SG, which is not observed in the same form of Class 1B verbs. This difference can be accounted for by stating that the PRS.3SG specifies for a low vowel but since Class 1B verbs already display a low vowel by default in the vowel centre no change is observed. Note in particular the behaviour of the vowel *o*. When it occurs in the Class 1A verb *joorrâd* 'spin' it is the high member of the *o ~ å* pair, but when it occurs in the Class 1B verb *roossad* 'splash' it is the low member of the *u ~ o* pair and therefore undergoes no change.

3.1.2 Diphthongs

Like monophthongs, diphthongs also form alternating pairs where the realisation of each member is morphologically conditioned. Alternations in diphthong quality are not as straightforward as alternations in monophthong quality, since the diphthong itself already exhibits a change in quality from a close to an open vowel. Nevertheless, since at least one element of the diphthong exhibits a change in vowel height, the use of the terms **high** and **low** can still be applied in the same fashion to diphthongs. The high–low diphthong pairs are given in Table 13.

High	Low
iõ	*eâ*
iâ	*eä*
uõ	*uâ*
uå	*uä*

Table 13. High–low diphthong pairs

Examples of alternations involving diphthongs can be illustrated by way of the INF and PRS.3SG forms of Class 1A verbs.

piõg'gâd (blow.INF)	→	*peâg'g* (blow.PRS.3SG)
liâššâd (lie.INF)	→	*leäšš* (lie.PRS.3SG)
kuõskkâd (touch.INF)	→	*kuâskk* (touch.PRS.3SG)
muårrâd (break.INF)	→	*muärr* (break.PRS.3SG)

The palatalised counterparts of each diphthong can also be placed in either the high or low group, as presented in Table 14.

High		Low	
Plain	Palatalised	Plain	Palatalised
iõ	*iõ′*	*eâ*	*eä′*
iâ	*ie′*	*eä*	*eä′*
uõ	*uõ′*	*uâ*	*ue′*
uå	*ue′*	*uä*	*uä′*

Table 14. High–low diphthong pairs, including their palatalised counterparts

In Group C words – i.e. those words which are inherently palatalised and have an *e*-final stem – the diphthong in the vowel centre of the citation form (the SG.NOM form of nouns or the INF form of verbs) does not belong to either the HIGH group or the LOW group of diphthongs. Instead, forms displaying *ie′* in the vowel centre belong to the *iõ ~ eâ* pair, despite the fact that *ie′* is also the high palatalised diphthong of the *iâ ~ eä* pair. Likewise, the diphthong *ue′* in the vowel centre of any Group C word is unspecified for height and displays changes in line with the *uõ ~ uâ* pair, despite being the high palatalised diphthong of the *uå ~ uä* pair. These correspondences are summarised in Table 15.

Group C vowel centre	High		Low	
	Plain	Palatalised	Plain	Palatalised
ie′	*iõ*	*iõ′*	*eâ*	*eä′*
eä′ (~ ie′)[23]	*iâ*	*ie′*	*eä*	*eä′*
ue′	*uõ*	*uõ′*	*uâ*	*ue′*
uä′ (~ ue′)	*uå*	*ue′*	*uä*	*uä′*

Table 15. Correspondences between Group C diphthongs (unspecified for height) and the high–low diphthong pairs

3.1.3 Metaphony

The literature on Saami makes mention of metaphony (e.g. Sammallahti 1998), whereby the vowel centre is influenced by the vowel of a suffix in a process of regressive assimilation. While it may be the case that the vowel height alternations in Skolt Saami stem from a process of height assimilation with a suffix vowel, it is clearly no longer possible to use metaphony as an explanation for all vowel height alternations due to the loss of final vowels in many Skolt Saami words.

As illustrated in the previous section, the PRS.3SG form of Class 1 verbs requires a low vowel in the absence of any suffix vowel. While the low specification in this form may have originated in a height assimilation with a low suffix vowel, the fact that no suffix occurs in the present-day form necessitates an explanation which does not involve metaphony. In this light, then, vowel height is seen throughout this

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23. See §2.4 for a discussion on the diphthongs of the vowel centre of Group C nominals and verbs which are in complementary distribution.

thesis as a feature of individual paradigm forms and not as an automatic phonological process of regressive vowel height assimilation.

3.2 Consonant gradation

Consonants in Skolt Saami are subject to processes of consonant gradation. While historically the application of consonant gradation rules was phonologically conditioned, the phonological motivation has disappeared as a result of historical processes, including the loss of many word-final consonants, and Skolt Saami consonant gradation has become completely morphologised (McRobbie-Utasi 1999: 89). However, the very loss of these word-final consonants which led to the loss of the phonological conditioning for consonant gradation in turn gave the gradational status of consonants an important grammatical role, whereby certain inflectional forms of a paradigm are differentiated one from another entirely on the basis of consonant gradation, as the examples below demonstrate.[24]

kueʹss (guest.SG.NOM)	→	*kueʹss* (guest.PL.NOM)
pââll (fear.SG.NOM)	→	*pââl* (fear.PL.NOM)
veârr (trust.PRS.3SG)	→	*veâr* (trust.IMP.2SG)
reäkk (cry.PRS.3SG)	→	*reägg* (cry.IMP.2SG)

Consonant gradation is not limited to stops and affricates, but also applies to sonorants and fricatives, as the example *kueʹss* 'guest' shows. A number of consonants are subject to both quantitative and qualitative gradation, as seen in the case of *reäkk ~ reägg* 'cry', while others only undergo quantitative gradation.

   Consonants undergoing gradation have traditionally been grouped into three series, the x-series, the xx-series and the xy-series. Consonants belonging to the x-series are single consonants in the weak grade which alternate with short geminates in the strong grade. Those belonging to the xx-series are short geminates in the weak grade alternating with long geminates in the strong grade. Consonants in the xy-series are short constant clusters in the weak grade and these alternate with long consonant clusters in the strong grade. Examples of each are given below.

x-series

siõr (play.IMP.2SG)	→	*siõrrâd* (play.INF)
põõl (fear.IMP.2SG)	→	*põõllâd* (fear.INF)

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24. This statement is not strictly true, since the duration of the vowel also varies in these minimal pairs. Nevertheless, this can be seen as an automatic process which occurs together with variations in consonant duration. This issue will be discussed in §3.3.

xx-series

viiǯǯ (fetch.IMP.2SG)	→	*viǯ'ǯâd* (fetch.INF)
kuäll (sour.milk.SG.ACC)	→	*kuäl'l* (sour.milk.SG.NOM)

xy-series

ǩeâlk (sledge.SG.ACC)	→	*ǩeâlkk* (sledge.SG.NOM)
čuõšk (mosquito.PL.NOM)	→	*čuõškk* (mosquito.SG.NOM)

Consonants appearing as an element of a consonant cluster (xy-series) behave differently to those which do not (xx-series). The examples below show how *ǩǩ* undergoes a change in quantity (*ǩǩ → ǩ*), but not in quality, when appearing in the weak grade if it forms part of a consonant cluster (and hence belongs to the xy-series). The same consonant, when belonging to the xx-series, displays a change in quality (*ǩǩ → jj*) in the weak grade.

Strong		Weak
päi'ǩǩ (place.SG.NOM)	→	*pääi'ǩ* (place.PL.NOM)
sue'ǩǩ (birch.SG.NOM)	→	*sue'jj* (birch.PL.NOM)

It may be noted that the above definition of the three series only made mention of a two-way distinction between a strong grade and a weak grade. This is because the third grade, often referred to as the overlong grade, developed independently of the weak–strong contrast. There were cases where consonants belonging to the x-series occur in the strong grade with a long geminate as opposed to a short geminate – i.e. equalling the strong grade of the xx-series – and this is referred to as the overlong grade (McRobbie-Utasi 1999: 29). This relationship is shown in the following diagram (reproduced from McRobbie-Utasi 1999: 29).

	Weak grade	Strong grade
x-series	C	CC
	C	C:C (overlong)
xx-series	CC	C:C

Even before the development of the overlong grade, there already existed three distinct consonant durations (C, CC and C:C), with an overlap of the strong grade of the x-series and the weak grade of the xx-series. However, the inflectional paradigm of any given word would only have exhibited a two-way distinction between the weak and strong grade depending on which series the consonant(s) of the stem belonged to, whereas now the inflectional paradigm of a word containing a consonant of the x-series may display a three-way durational contrast, as exemplified below.

Weak		Strong		Overlong
veâr (trust.IMP.2SG)	→	*veârrad* (trust.INF)	→	*veâr'ra* (trust.PRS.3PL)
ee'đ (appear.IMP.2SG)	→	*ee'tted* (appear.INF)	→	*e'tte* (appear.PRS.3PL)
ǩiõđ (hand.PL.NOM)	→	*ǩiõtt* (hand.SG.NOM)	→	*ǩiõ't'te* (hand.SG.ILL)

A word containing a consonant of the xx-series, on the other hand, only displays a two-way durational contrast. The PRS.3PL form of verbs and the SG.ILL form of nouns specify for an overlong consonant and since the strong grade of xx-series consonants is already a long geminate no contrast it observed, as exemplified below.

Weak		Strong		Overlong
viiǯǯ (collect.IMP.2SG)	→	*veǯ'ǯ* (collect.PRS.3SG)	→	*ve'ǯ'ǯe* (collect.PRS.3PL)
piõgg (blow.IMP.2SG)	→	*peâg'g* (blow.PRS.3SG)	→	*peä'ǧ'ǧe* (blow.PRS.3PL)

A number of consonants belonging to the x-series also exhibit qualitative gradation, where the weak counterpart is voiced and the qualitatively distinct strong counterpart is voiceless – this has already been seen in the example of *ǩiõđ* → *ǩiõtt* 'hand' given above. Two of these consonants display both qualitative and quantitative gradation, namely *pp* → *v* and *tt* → *đ*. Most, however, display a short geminate in both the strong grade and the weak grade, contrary to the previous definition which stated that a weak consonant of the x-series is a single consonant. Nevertheless, these consonants can be classed as belonging to the x-series because they display a short geminate in the strong grade, and therefore are subject to overlength in certain forms of their inflectional paradigms, giving a three-way grade contrast even though there is only a two-way durational contrast. The consonants displaying qualitative gradation are presented in Table 16.

Strong	Weak
cc	*ʒʒ*
čč	*jj*
kk ~ 'ǩǩ	*gg ~ 'jj*
pp	*v*
ss	*zz*
šš	*žž*
tt	*đ*

Table 16. Consonants displaying qualitative gradation

Note that *đ* is the weak counterpart of both *tt* and *đđ* and *v* is the weak counterpart of both *pp* and *vv*. The weak counterpart of *kk* is *'jj* when palatalised, like the palatalised weak counterpart of *čč*, and the strong counterpart of *gg* is *'ǩǩ* when palatalised. These facts are illustrated in the following examples.

Strong or Strong+		Weak
ǩiđđ (spring.SG.NOM)	→	*ǩiiđ* (spring.SG.ACC)
ǩiõtt (hand.SG.NOM)	→	*ǩiõđ* (hand.SG.ACC)
kåå'pp (hole.SG.NOM)	→	*kåå'v* (hole.SG.ACC)
pei'vv (sun.SG.NOM)	→	*peei'v* (sun.SG.ACC)
ve'ǩǩe (take.PRS.3PL)	→	*viigg* (take.IMP.2SG)
kââkkam (rub.PST.PTCP)	→	*kõõ'jji* (rub.PST.3SG)
e'čč (father.SG.NOM)	→	*ee'jj* (father.PL.NOM)

It is worth noting that, while the term OVERLONG is used in this chapter to refer to the longest of the three consonant grades, the term STRONG+ will be used when referring to inflectional stems which call for the overlong grade of x-series consonants. The term STRONG+ has been chosen to avoid giving the misleading impression that these inflectional stems always display an overlong consonant, since this is not the case if the consonant belongs to the xx-series, whose strong counterpart is, by definition, a long geminate. Paradigm forms which are formed using a STRONG+ stem thus display the strong grade of xx-series consonants, but the overlong grade of x-series consonants. The relationship between consonant series and WEAK, STRONG and STRONG+ stems is represented in Table 17.

Series	Weak	Strong	Strong+
x-series	x	xx	x'x
x-series₂	xx	xx	x'x
xx-series	xx	x'x	← (x'x)
xy-series	xy	xyy	← (xyy)

Table 17. Relationship between consonant series and WEAK/STRONG/STRONG+ stems[25]

As well as referring to WEAK, STRONG and STRONG+ stems from a morphological viewpoint, it can be helpful to be able to refer to the shared phonological characteristics of weak, strong and overlong consonants, since these terms by themselves only represent the **relative** consonant grade of a given consonant series (e.g. a short geminate is considered strong if it is an x-series consonant but weak if it is an xx-series consonant). Thus, in order to capture the shared property of consonant duration between weak, strong and overlong consonants, the terms GRADE I, GRADE II and GRADE III are used. The relationships between consonant series and GRADES I, II and III are represented in Table 18.

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25. x-series₂ refers to those consonants, belonging to the x-series, whose weak form is a short geminate. This includes all the consonants which display qualitative gradation, apart from *pp* and *tt* which alternate with the single consonants *v* and *đ*, respectively. It thus includes the following grade II consonants as presented in Table 16: *cc, čč, kk, ss* and *šš*

Series	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III
x-series	x (WEAK)	xx (STRONG)	xˈx (STRONG+)
xx-series	–	xx (WEAK)	xˈx (STRONG)
xy-series	–	xy (WEAK)	xyy (STRONG)

Table 18. Relationship between consonant series and Grade I/II/III consonants

As mentioned in section 2.5.1, consonant clusters – which belong to the xy-series – are represented orthographically as $C_1C_2C_2$ in the strong grade, although both elements are long, and C_1C_2 in the weak grade, when both elements are short. Consonant clusters ending in *gg* in the strong grade, or its palatalised counterpart *ǧǧ*, display a qualitative change in the weak grade to *g* and *j* respectively. Also, when the first element of a consonant cluster is *h* in the strong grade, this becomes *u* in the weak grade. These two facts are summarised in Table 19, where *x* and *ɣ* represent the first and second elements of a cluster, in keeping with the name xy-series. Examples of both of these changes are then presented.

Strong	Weak
xgg ~ ˈxǧǧ	xg ~ ˈxj
hɣɣ	uɣ

Table 19. Consonant clusters displaying qualitative gradation

vueˈlǧǧed (leave.INF)	→	*vueˈlj* (leave.IMP.2SG)
ǩeälggan (forest.soil.SG.ACC)	→	*ǩeälg* (forest.soil.SG.NOM)

leähšš (damp.place.SG.NOM)	→	*leäuš* (damp.place.SG.ACC)
täˈhtt (bone.SG.NOM)	→	*tääuˈt* (bone.PL.NOM)

While the majority of verbs and nouns display gradation as outlined above, two exceptions are observed. The first of these concerns words which display a grade III consonant in the strong grade which undergoes elision in the weak grade, although this does not appear to be particularly frequent. Examples of two words undergoing this form of gradation are presented below.

Strong		Weak
käkˈkar (animal.dropping.PL.NOM)	→	*kääˈer* (animal.dropping.SG.NOM)
jeäkˈkal (lichen.PL.NOM)	→	*jeeˈel* (lichen.SG.NOM)

The second group of words which do not fit the gradation pattern outlined above – which are also nouns – display a consonant centre which alternates between a grade III consonant in the strong grade and a grade I consonant in the weak grade,

with no occurrence of grade II. A number of examples of this type of noun, which are Class 1 nominals (see §6.2.1), are presented below.

Weak		Strong		Strong+
*joo**gg*** (river.PL.NOM)	→	*jo**kk*** (river.SG.NOM)	→	*jo'**ǩǩ**e* (river.SG.ILL)
*too**l*** (fire.PL.NOM)	→	*to**ll*** (fire.SG.NOM)	→	*to'**ll**e* (fire.SG.ILL)
*kuu**zz*** (cow.PL.NOM)	→	*ku**ss*** (cow.SG.NOM)	→	*ku'**ss**e* (cow.SG.ILL)
*kuu**n*** (ash.PL.NOM)	→	*ku**nn*** (ash.SG.NOM)	→	*ku'**nn**e* (ash.SG.ILL)

The PL.NOM form of Class 1 nouns occurs in the weak grade and the examples above display a grade I consonant in this form. The SG.ILL of Class 1 nouns occurs in the strong+ grade and the examples above display a grade III consonant. However, the SG.NOM of Class 1 nouns only specifies for the strong grade, but the examples above nevertheless display a grade III consonant.

It would appear that the reason for this is due to the development of Skolt Saami phonology from Proto-Saami, where the loss of a word-final vowel resulted in a consonant of the x-series being realised as overlong C:C in the strong grade. Words with consonant centres which alternate between C and C:C typically come from Proto-Saami words exhibiting a consonant of the x-series, while words whose consonant centre alternates between CC and C:C are typically derived from Proto-Saami words exhibiting a consonant of the xx-series. This can be contrasted with North Saami where the same words developed into words displaying short geminates (CC) and long geminates (C:C), respectively.

Table 20 shows a list of Skolt Saami words which alternate between a single consonant (grade I) and a long geminate (grade III) together with their Proto-Saami and North Saami counterparts. Table 21 shows a list of Skolt Saami words which alternate between a short geminate (grade II) and a long geminate (grade III), again with their Proto-Saami and North Saami counterparts.[26]

As Table 20 and Table 21 demonstrate, the Skolt Saami words presented which display a long geminate in the nominative singular and a single consonant in the nominative plural (grade III → grade I) are all derived from Proto-Saami forms displaying a single consonant in the nominative singular, while in North Saami these have evolved into short geminates. The Skolt Saami words which alternate between a long geminate in the nominative singular and a short geminate in the nominative plural (grade III → grade II) are all derived from Proto-Saami forms displaying a short geminate or a nasal + plosive consonant cluster in the nominative singular, while the North Saami forms display a long geminate.

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26. All Proto-Saami and North Saami examples were taken from the online *Álgu* database, accessible at <http://kaino.kotus.fi/algu/>, of the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (KOTUS) <http://www.kotus.fi/>. The transcription of the Proto-Saami examples utilises the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet, while the North Saami examples are given in the orthography used by Konrad Nielsen in his extensive dictionary series published between 1932 and 1962. While this orthography differs somewhat from the official orthography of today, it does show the contrast between short and long geminates (as indicated by a vertical line between consonants).

	SS SG.NOM	SS PL.NOM	PS SG.NOM	NS SG.NOM
curve (e.g. at front of skis)	*čimm*	*čiim*	*ćimę̆*	*čibmâ*
river	*jokk*	*joogg*	*jokę̆*	*jokkâ*
name	*nõmm*	*nõõm*	*nę̆m̀ę̆*	*nâmmâ*
blood	*võrr*	*võõr*	*vę̆r̀ę̆*	*vârrâ*
handle, knob	*nõđđ*	*nõõđ*	*nę̆ðę̆*	*nâđđâ*
spring (season)	*ǩiđđ*	*ǩiiđ*	*kiðę̆*	*giđđâ*
buttocks, bum	*põtt*	*põõđ*	*pę̆tę̆*	*bâttâ*
scab	*kõnn*	*kõõn*	*kę̆nę̆*	*gâdnâ*
phloem, inner bark	*njõll*	*njõõl*	*ńę̆lę̆*	*njâllât*
(camp) fire	*toll*	*tool*	*tolę̆*	*dollâ*
family, relatives	*sokk*	*soogg*	*sok̀ę̆*	*sokkâ*
cough	*koss*	*koozz*	*kosę̆*	*gossât*
room	*lõnnj*	*lõõnj*	*lę̆ńę̆*	*lâdnjâ*

Table 20. Words displaying gradation alternations between Grade I and III[27]

	SS SG.NOM	SS PL.NOM	PS SG.NOM	NS SG.NOM
thigh (animal's front leg)	*tabb*	*taabb*	*ðāmpę̆*	*dab'bâ*
wool	*oll*	*ooll*	*ull⌐*	*ul'lo*
ball	*päll*	*pääll*	*pāll⌐*	*bal'lo*
bird	*lå'dd*	*låå'dd*	*lontē*	*lod'de*
tendon, sinew	*läpp*	*lääpp*	*lāpp⌐*	*lap'po*
dry land (e.g. in swamp)	*kä'dd*	*kää'dd*	*kāntē*	*gad'de*
cake	*käkk*	*kääkk*	*kākk⌐*	*gak'ko*
louse	*te'ǩǩ*	*tee'ǩǩ*	*tikkē*	*dik'ke*
skull (front)	*käll*	*kääll*	*kāll⌐*	*gal'lo*
[fire]brand	*rä'dd*	*rää'dd*	*rāntē*	*rad'de*
argument	*nägg*	*näägg*	*nāŋkē*	*nag'git*
scoop	*nä'pp*	*nää'pp*	*nāppē*	*nap'pe*
mitten	*vacc*	*vaacc*	*vāccę̆*	*fac'câ*

Table 21. Words displaying gradation alternations between Grade II and III

In the case of those nouns whose consonant centre varies between grade III and grade II, it is not possible to determine from the SG.NOM form alone whether or not the consonant in question belongs to the x-series or the xx-series, so in order to correctly inflect a noun it is necessary to also know the PL.NOM form. It is worth noting in this regard, however, that in Itkonen (1958) geminates which are derived from Proto-Saami single consonants are transcribed *ẋx* – where *ẋ* represents a so-called half-long consonant and *ẋx* represents a half-long geminate – and geminates derived from Proto-Saami geminates are transcribed *x̄x* – where *x̄* represents a long consonant and *x̄x* represents a long geminate. This difference in phonetic

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27. SS = Skolt Saami, PS = Proto-Saami, NS = North Saami.

length however, if indeed it does exist, does not appear to be a phonological differ-
ence and Skolt Saami speakers do not distinguish between words containing either
a half-long or long geminate – for example, speakers consider the SG.NOM forms of
the nouns *jokk* 'river' (*joˀk̀kA*) and *jokk* 'yoke (of animal)' (*joˀk̄kA*) to be homopho-
nous, even though Itkonen (1958: 67) transcribes one as having a long geminate
and the other as having a half-long geminate.

   The need to know the PL.NOM form to be able to correctly inflect a word is
exemplified by the following two pairs of words, which are homophonous in the
SG.NOM, but differ in their nominative plural forms (and therefore in their inflection-
al class membership). The examples are given with Itkonen's phonetic transcription
to show the possible difference in phonetic length referred to above.

Strong	Itkonen's transcription	Weak	Change in grade
jokk (river.SG.NOM)	joˀk̀kᴬ	*joogg* (river.PL.NOM)	III → I
jokk (yoke.SG.NOM)	joˀk̄kᴬ	*jookk* (yoke.PL.NOM)	III → II
sokk (family.SG.NOM)	soˀk̀kᴬ	*soogg* (family.PL.NOM)	III → I
sokk (sock.SG.NOM)	soˀk̄kᴬ	*sookk* (sock.PL.NOM)	III → II

While the three distinct consonant grades play an important role in the morphol-
ogy of Skolt Saami, these interact with the duration of the preceding vowel, as
explained in the following section, and so there do not appear to be any true mini-
mal triplets where the only distinguishing feature is consonant grade.

3.3 Phonological quantity

The previous section was concerned only with the phenomenon of consonant gra-
dation and therefore related only to changes in duration and quality of consonants
at the segmental level. The domain of quantity in Skolt Saami, however, has been
shown to be greater than the segment, involving not only the durational properties
of the consonant centre but also the vowel centre and latus, in addition to pitch and
intensity of second-syllable vowels (McRobbie-Utasi 1999).

   An in-depth acoustic analysis of the prosodic correlates of Skolt Saami
quantity is outside the scope of this thesis, and somewhat less relevant given the
research already carried out, and the reader is therefore referred to McRobbie-Utasi
(1999) for further information pertaining to the role of pitch and intensity in mark-
ing quantity alternations. However, the durational interdependencies between the
vowel centre and consonant centre are discussed in more detail below.

   An inverse durational relationship exists between the varying degrees of con-
sonant gradation and the preceding vowel. A consonant in the strong grade will co-
occur with a short vowel centre and a consonant in the weak grade will co-occur
with a long vowel centre. Where the consonant in question belongs to the x-series,

a long vowel co-occurs with a single consonant (grade I), a short vowel co-occurs with a long geminate (grade III) and the vowel co-occurring with a short geminate (grade II) has a duration which is mid-way between the two other vowels. The sum of the duration of the vowel and consonant in a VC sequence will therefore be similar in all three grades.

The absolute durations of the vowel centre and consonant centre are, however, not as relevant as the ratios between these two durations. This might be expected given that absolute durational values vary with speech tempo in such a way that a short vowel pronounced at a slow tempo may be uttered with a longer duration than a long vowel pronounced at a faster tempo. The phenomenon of durational ratios was elaborated on and shown to be relevant in Skolt Saami disyllabics in McRobbie-Utasi (1999: 122) where she showed how the durational ratios are maintained even when the first syllable undergoes compensatory lengthening after the loss of a word-final vowel.

A somewhat superficial analysis of recordings made during my field trips to Lapland would appear to confirm this hypothesis.[28] Graphs are presented below showing the durational ratios (i.e. the duration of the consonant centre, divided by the duration of the preceding vowel) associated with the vowel centre and consonant centre of verbs in different inflectional forms. Figure 36 shows the durational ratios associated with twelve different inflectional forms of the verb *tie'tted* 'to know', which exhibits a consonant of the x-series and therefore shows a three-way contrast in consonant duration.

Figure 36 clearly shows the three-way contrast in durational ratios. The PRS.1SG, PRS.2SG, PST.3SG, PST.1PL and PST.2PL forms, where the consonant centre is in the weak grade, *đ*, all show a durational ratio of less than 0.5. The PRS.3SG, PRS.1PL and PRS.2PL, where the consonant centre, *tt*, is in the strong grade (or grade II), all show a durational ratio between around 1.5 and 2.0, while the PRS.3PL, PST.1SG, PST.2SG and PST.3PL, where the consonant centre, *t't*, is in the strong+ grade (or grade III), all show durational ratios of 3.0 and above. The inflectional forms are presented in Table 22.

While the durational ratios show a clear split between the three consonant grades, the absolute durations of the vowel centre and consonant centre are less transparent, providing evidence for the claim that the durational ratios are indeed more relevant than the absolute durations. This can be clearly exemplified by observing the absolute durations of the vowel centre and consonant centre of the inflectional forms seen in Table 22, as presented in Figure 37.

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28. This analysis was carried out with recordings made on an Edirol-R09 recorder and durational measurements were taking using Praat 5.1. The duration of the vowel was measured from the moment when periodic sound waves, associated with the vowel, began to when they ended. A similar method was used when measuring the duration of the consonant, i.e. by looking at a magnified portion of the sound wave to identify where the consonant began and ended. In cases where a word-final consonant was followed by a period of silence and therefore the consonant faded away, a drop in intensity was used to signal the end of the consonant. Preaspiration was associated with the consonant it preceded and not with the vowel it followed; the basis for doing this can be seen in McRobbie-Utasi (1999: 130).
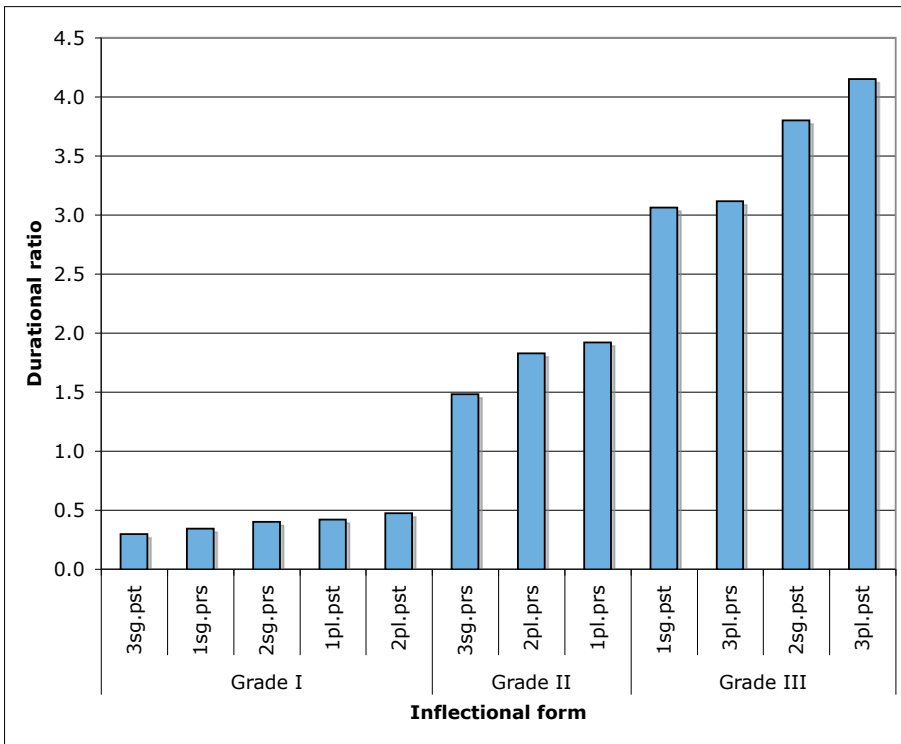
Figure 36. Durational ratios of VC sequence of inflected forms of *tie'tted* 'know'

Inflected form		Consonant grade	Durational ratio
PST.3SG	*tiõ'ḍi*	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.3
PRS.1SG	*teâḍam*	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.3
PRS.2SG	*teâḍak*	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.4
PST.1PL	*tiõ'ḍim*	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.4
PST.2PL	*tiõ'ḍid*	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.5
PRS.3SG	*teâtt*	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.5
PRS.2PL	*tie'ttve'ted*	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.8
PRS.1PL	*tie'ttep*	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.9
PST.1SG	*tiõt'tem*	STRONG+ (GRADE III)	3.1
PRS.3PL	*teä't'te*	STRONG+ (GRADE III)	3.1
PST.2SG	*tiõ't'tiǩ*	STRONG+ (GRADE III)	3.8
PST.3PL	*tiõ't'te*	STRONG+ (GRADE III)	4.2

Table 22. Durational ratios of twelve inflected forms of *tie'tted* 'know'
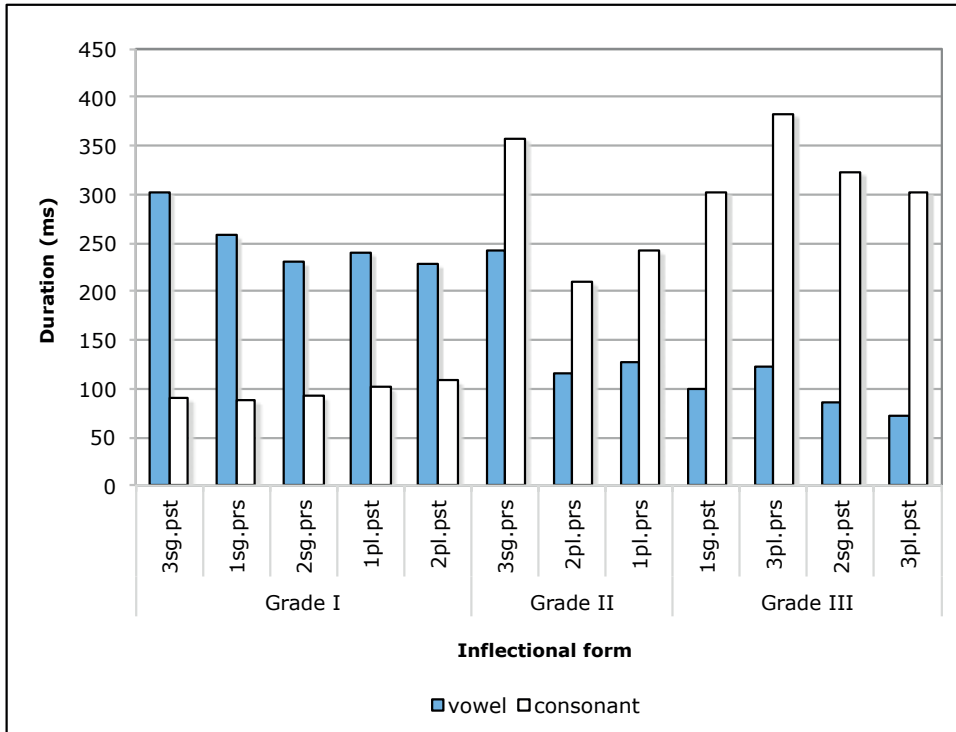
Figure 37. Absolute durations of VC sequence of inflected forms of *tie'tted* 'know'

Figure 37 shows how the absolute duration of the grade II consonant in the PRS.3SG form is in fact longer than the absolute duration of almost all of the grade III consonants – only the PRS.3PL is longer. However, the absolute duration of the diphthong occurring with this grade II consonant is also markedly longer than diphthongs occurring with grade III consonants, resulting in a durational ratio which places it with the other grade II consonants. Likewise, the length of the diphthong in the PRS.3SG form is of a similar duration to diphthongs occurring with grade I consonants, but the consonant has a longer duration than the diphthong it occurs with as opposed to a shorter duration, resulting in a durational ratio which sets it apart from grade I consonants.

The reason for the overall greater duration of both the vowel centre and consonant centre in the PRS.3SG can be explained by the fact that this is the only monosyllabic form and therefore it undergoes compensatory lengthening, compensating for the loss of an original second-syllable vowel. McRobbie-Utasi (1999: 115) has shown how the durational ratios of the consonant centre and vowel centre remain the same even when the absolute durations of both are increased when a second-syllable vowel is reduced or lost.

This three-way pattern is not observed in paradigms where there is a qualitative alternation between the strong (grade II) and weak (grade I) forms of a word,

but no quantitative alternation. As Figure 38 shows, an increase in durational ratios is only observed in forms where a grade III consonant occurs. The durational ratios of the same inflectional forms given for *tie'tted* are given below for *pää'cced* 'stay', where the consonant alternates between *cc* in grade II and *ʒʒ* in grade I.

Here it can be seen that forms exhibiting grade III consonants and grade II consonants pattern in a similar way to those forms seen in *tie'tted*, with durational ratios of 3.0 and over for grade III consonants and from 1.0–2.0 for grade II consonants. Durational ratios for forms exhibiting grade I consonants, however, are comparable to forms exhibiting grade II consonants. Despite this, the durational ratios in these forms may be considered less significant since the qualitative alternation itself serves to mark changes in the consonant grade.

Inflectional forms containing consonants of the xx-series or xy-series only show a two-way contrast between the strong and weak grades and therefore three-way durational distinctions are irrelevant for these forms.
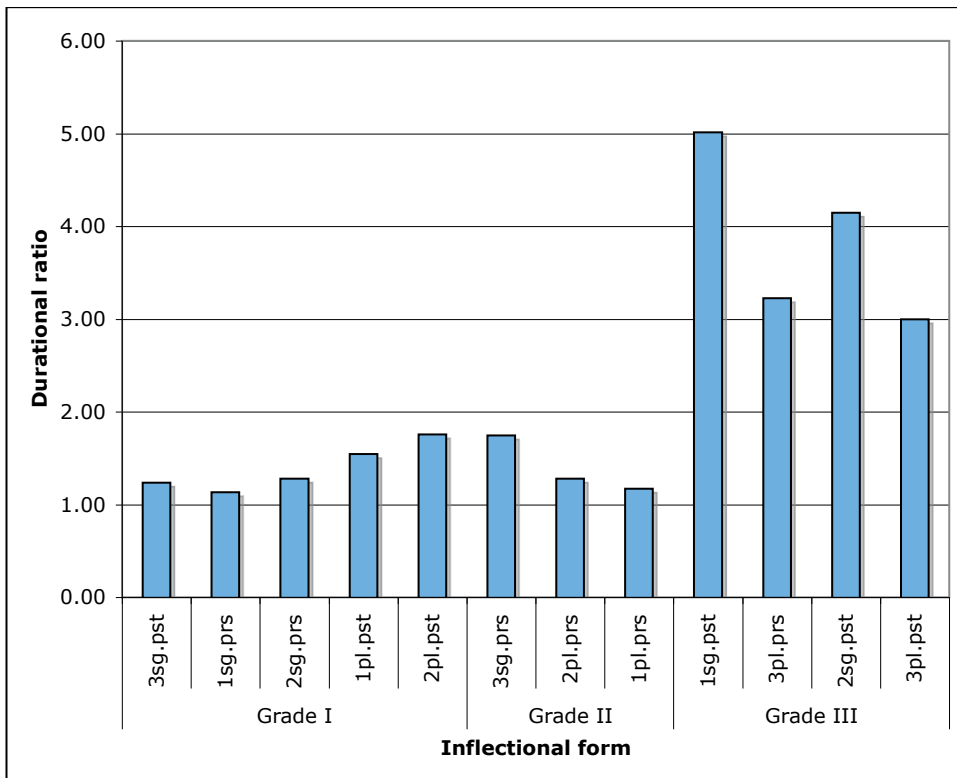
Figure 38. Durational ratios of VC sequence of inflected forms of *pää'cced* 'stay'

4 Word classes

This chapter provides a short overview of each of the word classes of Skolt Saami. The three open word classes, namely verbs, nouns and adjectives, are briefly introduced in Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, respectively. The following sections cover the closed word classes of pronouns (§4.4), numerals (§4.5), quantifiers (§4.6), adverbs (§4.7), adpositions (§4.8) and particles (§4.9).

4.1 Verbs

Verbs inflect for person (first, second, third and a fourth, indefinite person), number (singular and plural), tense (past and present) and mood (indicative, potential, conditional and imperative). They also inflect for twelve non-finite forms, including participial and connegative forms. While other Saami languages show a three-way distinction in inflection for number between the singular, dual and plural, the dual form is not observed in Skolt Saami inflection. Instead, the dual pronouns occur together with the corresponding plural form of the verb.

Verbs belong to one of four distinct inflectional classes, according not only to stem internal changes but also to the inflectional suffixes they select. Chapter 8, on verbal inflection, presents a full description of verbal inflectional classes.

4.1.1 The auxiliary verbs

There are two auxiliary verbs in Skolt Saami. The paradigms of these are presented in §8.5. The first of these is *lee'd*, glossed as 'be', which has a number of uses, each of which is discussed in the relevant section of this grammar – predicate constructions are discussed in §10.3; periphrastic tenses and progressive constructions are discussed in §9.1 and §9.2; and the passive voice is discussed in §10.4.3.

The second auxiliary verb is the negative auxiliary verb, which does not have an infinitive form. The negative auxiliary verb inflects only for person and number, while tense and mood are marked on a connegative form of the lexical verb which occurs with the auxiliary verb. The negative auxiliary also has imperative forms. The inflectional paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb is presented in §8.5. The use of the negative auxiliary verb is discussed in §9.4.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns inflect for number (singular and plural) and nine cases. They may also optionally inflect to mark a possessor. Nouns fall into twelve inflectional classes. In many cases, the inflectional class to which a noun belongs can be determined by phonological features associated with the SG.NOM form. Unlike verbs, the inflection

of nouns in each class differs only with regard to stem-internal changes (involving changes in vowel quality, vowel length, consonant quality, consonant length, palatalisation and epenthesis), while the inflectional suffixes are shared by all classes. The inflectional suffixes are presented in Chapter 6 together with a full description of the twelve inflectional classes.

Nouns function as the heads of noun phrases, which may serve both as an argument of the predicate or in a predicate construction. Nouns can be modified by adjectives, verbal participles, demonstrative determiners, possessors (genitive-marked nouns), numerals and quantifiers. Noun phrase syntax is covered in Chapter 7.

4.3 Adjectives

While adjectives serve primarily to modify nouns, there are some cases where an adjective can function as the head of a noun phrase. Where this is the case, they take case and number marking in the same way as nouns. However, they differ in one key regard and are therefore considered a word class in their own right; namely, they have special attributive forms, which unlike their noun-like predicative forms do not inflect.

Most non-derived adjectives can be classified into four inflectional classes, based on the structure of their predicative form. These inflectional classes correspond to the nominal inflectional classes 1, 4, 8 and 11, and so for case- and number-marking of adjectives, the reader is referred to Chapter 6. Features unique to each class of adjectives are also dealt with in Chapter 6 (§6.4), where the formation of the attributive form, as well as the comparative and superlative forms, is covered.

4.4 Pronouns

This section introduces the different pronominal forms, beginning with personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun and demonstrative pronouns and then introducing the indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns.

4.4.1 Personal pronouns

There are nine personal pronouns in Skolt Saami, which are presented in Table 23. Full paradigms for all nine personal pronouns are presented in §6.3.1.

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	*mon*	*ton*	*son*
Dual	*muäna*	*tuäna*	*suäna*
Plural	*mij*	*tij*	*sij*

Table 23. Skolt Saami personal pronouns (nominative singular forms)

As can be seen from Table 23, the singular–dual–plural distinction seen in the verbal morphology of other Saami varieties (see Sammallahti 1998: 76) has been retained in Skolt Saami personal pronouns, despite the disappearance of the dual in Skolt Saami verbal inflection. Dual pronouns occur instead with the corresponding plural forms of the verb.

Since person, number and tense are encoded on the verb in Skolt Saami, the pronoun may be optionally omitted. The third person pronouns are omitted more often than other personal pronouns, although the extent to which this occurs varies from one speaker to another. In Text 2, in Chapter 11, third person pronouns are generally retained, in contrast to Text 4, where third person pronouns are often omitted.

Note that, in discourse, demonstrative pronouns are commonly used in place of personal pronouns, particularly when used anaphorically.

4.4.2 Reflexive pronouns

There is one reflexive pronoun in Skolt Saami, *jiõčč* 'self', which inflects for case in the same way as a noun. Person is marked by way of the nominal possessive suffixes, as outlined in §6.2.4. The inflectional paradigm of the reflexive pronouns is given in §6.3.2.

4.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

There are three demonstratives in Skolt Saami, *tät* 'this', *tut* 'that' and *tõt* 'it, that'. The demonstratives *tät* and *tut* are generally only used when pointing at the object in question or when the object is in view, whereas *tõt* is used for referring to an object not in view. In addition, *tõt* is frequently used as a deictic marker in discourse, substituting for third person pronouns, and is thus encountered much more frequently than *tät* and *tut*. The three demonstrative pronouns in Skolt Saami are summarised below.

tät	this (proximal)
tut	that (distal)
tõt	it / that (used when object not in view / discourse marker)

Demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in both the singular and plural as with other nominals. The full paradigms of the demonstrative pronouns *tät, tut* and *tõt* are presented in §6.3.3.

4.4.4 Indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns

The suffixes *-ne* and *-a* may be appended to certain relative pronouns to produce indefinite and distributive pronouns, respectively. In the orthography, these suffixes are separated from their host by means of a hyphen, as presented below. The negative particle, *ni*, can also stand before a relative pronoun to produce a negative pronoun. In the orthography this particle is written separately from the pronoun it occurs with. Examples of some indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns are presented in Table 24 together with their meanings. For details relating to the inflection of these pronouns, see §6.3.4.

	Pronoun	Gloss
	mii-ne	something; anything
	ǩii-ne	someone; anyone
-ne	*kuäbbaž-ne*	either
	kåå'tt-ne	something; anything
-a	*ǩii-a*	everyone
	kuäbbaž-a	both; each
	ni mii	nothing
ni	*ni ǩii*	no-one
	ni kuäbbaž	neither

Table 24. Examples of indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns

4.4.5 Relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns

The relative pronoun, *kåå'tt*, is covered in §7.2.7, which discusses relative clauses. The interrogative pronouns *mii* 'what', *ǩii* 'who', and *kuäbbaž* 'which' are presented in §6.3.5, where their inflectional paradigms are given, and in §10.5.2, which discusses interrogative clauses.

4.5 Numerals

Numerals in Skolt Saami are based on a decimal system. There are basic terms for the values one through to ten, and additional terms for 'hundred' and 'thousand'. These are presented in Table 25. Larger numerals can also be expressed with borrowed terms, such as *miljon* 'million'.

All other numerals are built using these twelve terms, although the forms of some of the basic numerals undergo significant pronunciation changes when they are part of a compound numeral. The numerals 11–19 are formed by affixing both the consonant -m- and -lo (a shortened form of *lååi* 'ten') to a reduced form of the basic numerals 1–9. Multiples of ten are also formed by affixing -lo to the basic numerals 1–9, but the numeral is not reduced in the same manner and it attaches directly to the numeral with no intervening consonant. Nevertheless, the similarity in how these two sets of numerals are formed gives rise to some very close sounding numerals; note, in particular, the difference between '15' and '50', as well as the difference between '16' and '60'. These two sets of numerals are presented alongside the basic numerals in Table 25 to aid comparison.

	Basic numerals		Numerals 11–19		Multiples of ten
1	*õhtt*	11	*õtmlo*	–	
2	*kue'htt*	12	*kuâtmlo*	20	*kuâhttlo*
3	*koumm*	13	*konmlo*	30	*koummlo*
4	*nellj*	14	*nenjmlo*	40	*nelljlo*
5	*vitt*	15	*vittmlo*	50	*vittlo*
6	*kutt*	16	*kuttmlo*	60	*kuttlo*
7	*čiččâm*	17	*činmlo*	70	*čičmlo*
8	*kääu'c*	18	*käcmlo*	80	*kä'hcclo*
9	*ååu'c*	19	*åcmlo*	90	*å'hcclo*
10	*lååi*	–		–	
100	*čue'tt*	–		–	
1000	*dohat*	–		–	

Table 25. The basic numerals, numerals 11–19 and multiples of ten (cardinal)

Numerals above '20' are formed simply by adding an unchanged form of the basic numeral to the relevant base, as the following examples illustrate. Note that the numeral '10' is not in its reduced form when it is a constituent part of a compound numeral in its own right (e.g. '110', '1310', '10,000').

'23'	*kuâhttlo + koumm*	→	*kuâhttlokoumm*
'87'	*kä'hcclo + čiččâm*	→	*kä'hccločiččâm*
'110'	*čue'tt + lååi*	→	*čue'ttlååi*
'157'	*čue'tt + vittlo + čiččâm*	→	*čue'ttvittločiččâm*
'10,102'	*lååi + dohat + čue'tt + kue'htt*	→	*lååidohatčue'ttkue'htt*

In multiples of '100', the term for '100' appears in its sg.gen form *čue'đ*, as illustrated in the examples below.

'240'	*kue'htt + čue'đ + nelljlo*	→	*kue'httčue'đnelljlo*
'312'	*koumm + čue'đ + kuâtmlo*	→	*koummčue'đkuâtmlo*

Ordinal numerals add the suffix *-ad* to their cardinal counterparts, with the exception of the terms *vuõss* or *vuõssmõs* 'first', *nu'bb* 'second' and *kuälmad* 'third' and all compound ordinals in which these numerals are a component. For all the remaining basic numerals, the addition of the suffix *-ad* triggers a stem change, which involves selecting the weak stem (e.g. *vitt → viiđ-*). The basic ordinal numerals ('1st'–'10th', '100th' and '1000th') are presented in Table 26.

The ordinal numerals 11th–19th are built from the same reduced form of the basic numeral as their cardinal counterparts, to which the consonant *m* and the ordinal form of the numeral '10' are affixed. Likewise, the ordinal numerals for multiples of ten are built on the same forms of the basic numerals as their cardinal counterparts. Note that there is no reduced form for the component '10' in these ordinal numerals, as there is in the cardinal numerals (i.e. *lååi → lo*). Table 26 presents the ordinal numerals for 11th–19th and multiples of '10' alongside the basic ordinal numerals.

	Basic numerals		Numerals 11–19		Multiples of ten
1	*vuõss, vuõssmõs*	11	*õtmlååggad*	–	
2	*nu'bb*	12	*kuâtmlååggad*	20	*kuâhttlååggad*
3	*kuälmad*	13	*konmlååggad*	30	*koummlååggad*
4	*neelljad*	14	*nenjmlååggad*	40	*nelljlååggad*
5	*viiđad*	15	*vittmlååggad*	50	*vittlååggad*
6	*kuuđad*	16	*kuttmlååggad*	60	*kuttlååggad*
7	*čiiččad*	17	*činmlååggad*	70	*čičmlååggad*
8	*kääucad*	18	*käcmlååggad*	80	*kä'hcclååggad*
9	*ååucad*	19	*åcmlååggad*	90	*å'hcclååggad*
10	*lååggad*	–		–	
100	*čuâđad*	–		–	
1000	*dohttad*	–		–	

Table 26. The basic numerals, numerals 11–19 and multiples of ten (ordinal)

Ordinal numerals above '20' are formed by adding the ordinal form of the basic numeral to the relevant base, as the following examples illustrate. Only the final component of a compound numeral takes the *-ad* suffix. Recall that compound ordinal numerals which have *first*, *second* or *third* as a component require the special forms corresponding to these values.

'21st'	*kuâhttlo + vuõssmõs*	→	*kuâhttlovuõssmõs*
'23rd'	*kuâhttlo + kuälmad*	→	*kuâhttlokuälmad*
'87th'	*kä'hcclo + čiiččâd*	→	*kä'hccločiiččâd*
'110th'	*čue'tt + lååggad*	→	*čue'ttlååggad*
'157th'	*čue'tt + vittlo + čiiččâd*	→	*čue'ttvittločiiččâd*
'10,102nd'	*lååi + dohat + čue'tt + nu'bb* →		*lååidohatčue'ttnu'bb*

4.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Skolt Saami can function both as determiners and as an NP head (see §7.2.6). A list of the most common quantifiers in Skolt Saami is presented in Table 27.

	Gloss
mäŋgg	many
muä'dd	several
jiânnai	much, a lot
occanj	little, a few
puk	all

Table 27. Skolt Saami quantifiers

The quantifiers *jiânnai* 'much' and *occanj* 'little, few' also have comparative and superlative forms, which are presented below.

jiânnai (much, a lot)	→	*jäänab* (more)
	→	*jäänmõsân* (the most)
occanj (little, a few)	→	*uu'ccab* (less, fewer)
	→	*uu'ccmõsân* (the least, the fewest)

4.7 Adverbs

There are two main groups of adverbs – an open class of adverbs and a closed class of adverbs. The open class of adverbs are primarily derived from adjectives, and are therefore discussed in §5.1.6. The current section is concerned with the closed class of adverbs.

   While adverbs of manner are usually derived from adjectives or nouns, most temporal or spatial adverbs belong to a closed class of adverbs. These are presented below in Table 28 and Table 29, respectively, although these do not purport to be exhaustive lists.

   Note that some of the spatial adverbs listed below can also be used as postpositions in adpositional phrases, as will be seen in §4.8. Note also that there are a number of case-marked noun forms in Skolt Saami which have special adverbial functions. A few examples are presented below:

peivva 'during the day'	(← SG.ILL of *pei'vv* 'day')
kõskkpeei'v 'at midday'	(← SG.GEN of *kõskkpei'vv* 'midday')
jeä'ǩǩespeei'v 'in the afternoon'	(← SG.GEN of *jeä'ǩǩespei'vv* 'afternoon')
loppneä'ttlest 'at the weekend'	(← SG.LOC of *loppneä'ttel* 'weekend')
ǩeässa 'in summer'	(← SG.ILL of *ǩie'ss* 'summer')

tälvva 'in winter'   (← SG.ILL of *tä'lvv* 'winter')
nuõrttjest 'in/from the east'   (← SG.LOC of *nuõrti* 'east')
nuõrttja 'to the east'   (← SG.ILL of *nuõrti* 'east')

	Gloss		Gloss
ââ'n	now	*õ'httešt*	once
ei'dde	just (now)	*jåhtta*	yesterday
ju'n	already	*tä'bbe*	today
sõrgg	soon	*jââða*	tomorrow
te'l	then	*ee'ďeld*	early in the morning
tuâl-aa	a long time ago	*tue'lää*	in the morning
mââimõsân	finally	*kõskkekka*	at midnight
måtmin	sometimes	*ekka*	at night
måtmešt	sometimes	*teimma*	last year
e'pet	again	*ta'nni*	this year
pâi	only, always	*toou'ni*	the year after next
täujja	often	*tunee'jj*	the other year

Table 28. Temporal adverbs

	Gloss		Gloss
tääi'b	here	*vuä'ljsbeä'lnn*	on/from the right
tääi'ben	here / from here	*vuä'ljsbeälla*	to the right
tii'ǩ	to here	*ooudbeä'lnn*	in front
to'b	there	*ooudbeälla*	forwards
to'ben	there / from there	*mââibeä'lnn*	behind
tok	to there	*mââibeälla*	backwards
ku'ǩǩen	far away (location)	*pââibeä'lnn*	above
kookkas	far (goal)	*pââibeälla*	upwards
či'ǯsbeä'lnn	on/from the left	*vuâlbeä'lnn*	below
či'ǯsbeälla	to the left	*vuâlbeälla*	downwards

Table 29. Spatial adverbs

4.8 Adpositions

A list of adpositions is presented in Tables 30–32. All of these adpositions gov-
ern the genitive case. While predominantly a postpositional language, there are
two adpositions which are restricted to occurring before the noun they govern (see
Table 30) and five which can be placed optionally before or after the noun they gov-
ern (see Table 31). It is not known if the choice of position has any semantic effect
on the adpositional phrase.

Note that, in addition to functioning as the head of adpositional phrases,
a number of these adpositions can function alone as an adverbial. Compare the
following:

a. *vue'lj*   *muu*   *mie'ldd*   [POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE]
    leave.IMP.2SG   1SG.GEN   with

    leave <u>with me</u>!   [MM:97]

b. *tuk*   *te'be*   *puä'tte*   *mie'ldd*   [POSTPOSITION ALONE]
    DIST.PLNOM   EMP   come.PRS.3PL   with

    they just come <u>along</u>   [MM:39]

	Gloss
kâskka	in the middle of, into the middle of
ouddâl	before

Table 30. Prepositions

	Gloss
čõõđ	through
mâŋŋa	after
pâ'jjel	over
pirr	around
rââst	across, through

Table 31. Pre- or postpositions

	Gloss
ââlda	near, close
â'lnn	on (top of), (from) off
diõtt	for the sake of, because of, due to
kõõskâst	between, in the middle of (SG.LOC of *kõskk* 'middle')
kõ'sǩǩe	between, into the middle of (SG.ILL of *kõskk* 'middle')
ǩeäcca	to the end
ǩee'jjest	in…time, later
lu'nn	at, close to, next to
luzz	close to, near (expressing movement)
mââibeä'lnn	behind, at the rear (e.g. following along behind)
mââibeälla	behind, to the rear
mie'ldd	(together) with, along, through
ooudâst	in front of, from in front of, on behalf of
ou'dde	in front of (expressing movement)
paaldâst	next to, from next to
pa'ldde	next to (expressing movement)
puõtt	opposite
pääi'k	through, via
räjja	until
rääi	past
se'st	in, inside, from in, within, among
sizz	in (expressing movement), into
tuâgg	behind (expressing passing behind an object)
tuâkka	behind (expressing movement)
tue'ǩǩen	behind (expressing location), after, at a distance of
vääras	for, for the purpose of
vuâlla	under (expressing movement to below an object)
vue'lnn	under (expressing location), from under
vuâstta	facing, towards, against

Table 32. Postpositions

4.9 Particles

The final section of this chapter presents, in Tables 33–36, both the grammatical and discourse particles of Skolt Saami. While on one level these may be thought of as individual word classes, they are presented together for convenience.

	Gloss
da	and
avi	or
de	and so, then
di	and also, as well as
le'be	so
leâ'ša	but
a, nâga, pe'ce, seâša	but, but rather

Table 33. Coordinating conjunctions

	Gloss
što	that (COMP)
ko	because
poka	until, as long as
hå't mâka	if
ko mâka	if
hå't	even though, even if

Table 34. Subordinating conjunctions

	Gloss
beâddaa	alas!
nä, no, nu, a, ne	well!
nä'de	well, then!
oi	oi!
tiõrv	hi!
vot	alright!
vuõi, vui, voi, oi	oh!

Table 35. Interjections

	Function
-go [with noun]	question particle
-son [with noun]	question particle
-šât [with noun]	question particle
-a [with verb]	question particle
-ba [with noun]	emphatic particle
-i [with noun]	emphatic particle
-ve't [with noun]	emphatic particle
-âs	emphatic particle or 'as far as *x* is concerned' / 'as for *x*'
-tâma	question particle or emphatic particle

Table 36. Clitics

5 Word formation

This chapter covers word formation in Skolt Saami. Section 5.1 deals with derivational processes of word formation, while section 5.2 covers compounding.

5.1 Derivation

Derivation is an extremely productive features of Skolt Saami nominals and verbs. All derivational suffixes occur between the stem of a word and any inflectional suffixes. More than one derivational suffix may appear on a single stem.

The following sections cover the main derivational suffixes, divided into deverbal verbs (§5.1.1), denominal verbs (§5.1.2), denominal nouns (§5.1.3), deverbal nouns (§5.1.4), derived adjectives (§5.1.5) and derived adverbs (§5.1.6). Included in the section on deverbal verbs are those suffixes which bring about a change in the valence of the verb, such as the causative marker and the reflexive marker.

5.1.1 Deverbal verbs

-t- [causative]

The causative marker, *-t-*, is affixed to the weak form of the verbal stem before the infinitive ending. The infinitive ending of causative verbs is *-ed*, regardless of the infinitive ending of their non-causative counterparts. Examples are given below.

reäkkad (cry)	→	*reäggted* (make…cry)
ceäggad (rise, stand up)	→	*ciâggted* (set up, erect)
poorrâd (eat)	→	*poorted* (feed)
juukkâd (drink)	→	*juuggted* (water, make drink)
joorrâd (revolve, turn)	→	*joorted* (roll, twirl)
koossâd (cough)	→	*koozzted* (make cough)
aassâd (live)	→	*aazzted* (house, put up)
mõõnnâd (go)	→	*mõõnted* (make…go)
jåå'tted (travel)	→	*jåå'đted* (transport)
kolggâd (flow)	→	*koolgted* (strain, let run)
viirrâd (fall e.g. tree)	→	*viirted* (fell e.g. tree)
raajjâd (do, make)	→	*raajted* (have…make)
njiimmâd (suck)	→	*njiimted* (suckle, breastfeed)
suukkâd (row)	→	*suuggted* (have…row)
reâuggad (work)	→	*reâugted* (make…work)
ǩie'ssed (pull)	→	*ǩie'zzted* (have…pull)
mättjed (learn)	→	*mätt'ted* (teach)

If the derivational stem crosses a stress group boundary then an epenthetic vowel, *â*, is inserted before the causative marker, the causative marker is geminated, and the infinitive suffix vowel triggers palatalisation in the second stress group. If the derivational stem already displays a derivational suffix, this may be lost prior to the application of the causative marker. These points are exemplified below.

årsted (stop)	→	*årstâ'tted* (cause to stop)
pågsted (laugh)	→	*pågstâ'tted* (make…laugh)
tõpplõõvvâd (suffocate)	→	*tõpplâ'tted* (suffocate)
ku'mmlõõvvâd (become red-hot)	→	*ku'mmlâ'tted* (heat to red-hot)

-õõtt- [reflexive/reciprocal]

The morphological reflexive or reciprocal marker, *-õõtt-*, is added to the stem of the verb before the infinitive ending. The infinitive ending is *-âd* regardless of the infinitive ending of the verb from which it is formed. A number of examples of morphological reflexives are presented below alongside the non-reflexive verbs from which they are formed.

čårreed (isolate, cut off)	→	*čårrõõttâd* (cut oneself off)
čåu'dded (free)	→	*čåuddõõttâd* (free oneself)
paakkeed (warm)	→	*paakkõõttâd* (warm oneself)
mätt'ted (teach)	→	*mätt'tõõttâd* (study)
põõssâd (wash)	→	*põõzzõõttâd* (wash oneself)
lue'štted (lower)	→	*luâšttõõttâd* (descend)
teâvted (dress, clothe)	→	*teâvõõttâd* (dress oneself)
peälšted (save)	→	*peälštõõttâd* (save oneself)
pro'sttjed (forgive)	→	*pro'sttjõõttâd* (ask forgiveness)
kaggâd (raise)	→	*kaggõõttâd* (rise, stand up)

As seen from the examples above, the reflexive marker typically attaches to the unaltered lexical stem of the verb. Note, however, how the loss of the infinitive ending of Group C verbs, *-ed*, triggers depalatalisation, as seen in *čåuddõõttâd* 'free oneself' and *luâšttõõttâd* 'descend', if the reflexive suffix is in the same stress group as the lexical stem. Where the reflexive suffix belongs to a second stress group the loss of the infinitive ending *-ed* does not trigger depalatalisation, as seen in *pro'sttjõõttâd* 'ask for forgiveness' (*pro'stt-jõõttâd*).

There are two other changes worthy of mention. Firstly, the change from *ss → zz* in *põõzzõõttâd* 'wash oneself". The lack of consonant gradation in other verb forms taking the reflexive suffix suggests this change may arise through voicing between two long vowels, rather than as a result of gradation. Secondly, *teâvted* 'dress, clothe' is marked with the causative *t*, which is dropped before the application of the reflexive suffix.

An interesting reflexive verb is *mätt'tõõttâd* 'study' which is formed from the verb *mättjed* 'learn' by both a causative suffix and a reflexive suffix and therefore could be literally translated as 'cause oneself to learn'.

-*j*- [middle verb]

Middle constructions are marked morphologically in Skolt Saami, through the addition of the affix -*j*- to the verbal stem. The infinitive ending of such verbs is -*ed*, regardless of the infinitive stem of the verb from which they are derived. Listed below are a number of middle verbs and the verbs from which they are derived. As can be seen, the loss of the original infinitive marker, -*ed*, in Group C verbs, typically triggers depalatalisation in the lexical stem, as seen in *kättjed* 'be covered' and *kåddjed* 'be killed', despite the presence of the same infinitive marker on the derived form. The addition of the middle marker -*j*- also triggers the strong grade and a low vowel, as seen in *kuullâd* 'hear' → *koll'jed* 'be heard'.

kuullâd (hear)	→	*koll'jed* (be heard)
kå'dded (kill)	→	*kåddjed* (be killed)
pä'štted (fry, roast)	→	*päšttjed* (be fried, roasted)
mu'rdded (break)	→	*morddjed* (break)
mu'štted (remember)	→	*mošttjed* (come to mind)
njiimmâd (soak, suck up)	→	*njâmmjed* (be absorbed)
livvted (tire)	→	*levvjed* (grow tired)
tiuddeed (fill)	→	*teâuddjed* (fill, become full)
kä'tted (cover)	→	*kättjed* (be covered, hidden)

Note that the middle marker -*j*- is identical in form to the denominal verb marker -*j*-, discussed in §5.1.2. The inflection of middle verbs and denominal verbs marked with -*j*- is identical in all but one paradigm form. In this grammar both are treated as belonging to a single inflectional class, Class 3 (see §8.3).

-*škue'tt*- [inceptive]

The suffix -*škue'tt*- is used to express the beginning of the action expressed by the lexical stem and changes the lexical aspect of the verb it is derived from. This suffix is used extensively. Some examples are presented below. As the examples show, the lexical stem is reduced and both the vowel centre and consonant centre are short when the inceptive suffix is present. As evidenced from the words *logškue'tted* 'begin to read' and *tie'ðškue'tted* 'begin to know', this reduced stem is underlyingly in the weak grade.

siõrrâd (play)	→	*siõrškue'tted* (begin to play)
poorrâd (eat)	→	*porškue'tted* (begin to eat)
kå'dded (kill)	→	*kå'dškue'tted* (begin to kill)
noorrâd (gather)	→	*norškue'tted* (begin to gather)
lookkâd (read)	→	*logškue'tted* (begin to read)
tie'tted (know)	→	*tie'đškue'tted* (begin to know)
tobddâd (feel)	→	*tobdškue'tted* (begin to feel)

This suffix can also be added to another derivational suffix, as the following examples show. In the first example, the verb *poorrâd* 'eat' takes both the causative suffix *-t-* and the inceptive suffix *-škue'tt-*, with the resulting meaning 'begin to feed'. In the second example the inceptive suffix is added to the middle verb suffix and, in the third, to the continuative suffix. In all cases the inceptive suffix appears last.

poorrâd (eat)	→ *poorted* (feed)	→ *poorteškue'tted* (begin to feed)
kuullâd (hear)	→ *koll'jed* (be heard)	→ *koll'ješkue'tted* (begin to be heard)
siõrrâd (play)	→ *siõrtõõllâd* (be playing)	→ *siõrtõlškue'tted* (begin to be playing)

-l- [subitive]

In the literature (e.g. Sammallahti 1998), the term *subitive* has been used to refer to an action which takes place suddenly or quickly. The subitive marker is *-l-* and is added to the unaltered infinitive stem. The infinitive marker of verbs taking the subitive suffix is *-ed* as the examples below show. Like the inceptive suffix, the subitive changes the lexical aspect of the verb.

lue'štted (set free)	→	*lue'šttled* (set free suddenly)
ju'rdded (think)	→	*ju'rddled* (think quickly)
piijjâd (put)	→	*piijjled* (put quickly)
counnâd (wake up)	→	*counnled* (wake up suddenly)
jaukkâd (disappear)	→	*jaukkled* (disappear suddenly)
meä'tted (cram)	→	*meä'ttled* (cram quickly)

The subitive suffix is used with verbs of motion to express the beginning of motion from a state of motionless, as the examples below illustrate.

vuejjad (drive)	→	*vuejjled* (drive off)
ǩe'rdded (fly)	→	*ǩe'rddled* (fly off)
vä'ʒʒed (walk)	→	*vä'ʒʒled* (walk off)
vuõjjâd (swim)	→	*vuõjjled* (swim off)
suukkâd (row)	→	*suukkled* (row off)
tiârrâd (gallop)	→	*tiârrled* (gallop off)

These verbs of motion marked with the subitive differ from the inceptive in that they do not express any sense of continuity, while the inceptive expresses the beginning of an ongoing action. Compare the following examples.

vä'ʒʒled (walk off)   ~   *vä'ʒškue'tted* (begin walking)
tiârrled (gallop off)   ~   *tiârškue'tted* (begin galloping)

-st- [diminutive]

The diminutive suffix *-st-* is used to express a diminished action, such as an action taking place for only a short time or having limited effect. The meaning can sometimes overlap with that of the subitive, where an action takes place quickly, as seen in the case of *kå'dsted* 'kill quickly', where a diminutive reading is not semantically possible. The diminutive suffix attaches to the weak stem of the verb.

vue'đđed (sleep)   →   *vuä'đsted* (nod off, have a short sleep)
vue'rdded (wait)   →   *vue'rdsted* (wait a while)
kå'dded (kill)   →   *kå'dsted* (kill quickly)
čiõppâd (sink)   →   *čiõpsted* (sink a little e.g. into snow)
vuejjad (drive)   →   *vuejsted* (drive a short distance)

If the derivational stem cannot be affixed directly to the verbal stem due to phonotactic constraints then an epenthetic vowel, *â*, is inserted and the diminutive suffix *-st-* is lengthened to *-stt-*.

kuvddled (listen)   →   *kuvddlâ'stted* (listen for a while)
ǩiččled (try)   →   *ǩiččlâ'stted* (try a little)

If another derivational suffix is present, such as the denominal suffix *-j-*, then this may be lost before the diminutive suffix.

leu'dd (Skolt yoik)   →   *leu'ddjed* (sing yoiks)   →   *leu'ddsted* (sing a few yoiks)

-tõõll- [continuative verb]

The suffix *-tõõll-* typically adds a continuative meaning to a verb, indicating an action is ongoing or lasts longer than might be expected from the meaning of the lexical stem. This derivational suffix, together with the infinitive ending of the verb, is typically affixed to the weak stem of the verb. The infinitive ending of verbs taking the continuative suffix is *-âd*, by virtue of the fact that the first syllable of the stress group contains a vowel from the high group, *õ*.

kõõččâd (ask)	→	*kõõjjtõõllâd* (be asking, question)
mainsted (tell)	→	*mainstõõllâd* (chat, tell stories)
lookkâd (count)	→	*looggtõõllâd* (enumerate, itemise)
siõrrâd (play)	→	*siõrtõõllâd* (be playing)
årsted (stop)	→	*årstõõllâd* (keep stopping)

5.1.2 Denominal verbs

-Ø- [causative]

A number of verbs are formed from nouns by a process of zero derivation and usually belong to inflectional Class 4, taking the infinitive ending *-eed*. Nominals belonging to Class 11, which includes *d*-final adjectives, lose the final *-Vd* of the SG.NOM prior to the affixation of the *-eed* infinitive ending. As the examples below illustrate, however, there does not appear to be much consistency with regard to the consonant grade of the derivational stem, since in *nõõmeed* 'to name' the weak stem is selected, while in *sakkeed* 'to signal' the strong stem is selected.

nõmm (name)	→	*nõõmeed* (to name)
čappâd (black)	→	*čääppeed* (to blacken)
siâkk (sack)	→	*siâkkeed* (to sack, bag up)
saakk (message)	→	*sakkeed* (to signal, communicate)
eu'nn (colour)	→	*eu'nneed* (to colour, tinge)
paakkâs (warm)	→	*paakkeed* (to warm, heat up)

-õõvv- [translative]

The suffix *-õõvv-* is used to form a verb which expresses a change of state. The infinitive marker of the derived verb is *-âd*. Some examples are given below. Again, as the examples below illustrate, there is a lack of consistency with regard to the grade of the derivational stem.

ill (ember)	→	*ellõõvvâd* (char, become charred)
jee'el (lichen)	→	*jee'el'lõõvvâd* (become lichened)
jaamm (gangrene)	→	*jammõõvvâd* (become gangrenous)
kõbjj (scurf, scale)	→	*kõbbjõõvvâd* (scale/peel off)
ǩiâllâs (pliable)	→	*ǩeâllšõõvvâd* (become pliable)
lokk (lock)	→	*lokkõõvvâd* (become locked)

The translative suffix can also occur with other derivational suffixes. For example, it can combine with the privative suffix, *-te'm*, seen on adjective (see §5.1.5), in which case only *-t-* remains.

pie'cc   → *pie'ccte'm* (pine-free)   → *pie'cctõõvvâd* (become pine-free)
čuõškk → *čuõškte'm* (mosquito-free)   → *čuõšktõõvvâd* (become mosquito-free)
poʒʒ   → *pooʒʒte'm* (featherless)   → *pooʒʒtõõvvâd* (become featherless)

An interesting non-compositional use of the translative and privative suffixes is seen in the adjective 'blind' and the verb 'become blind', which could be translated literally as 'become eyeless'.

čââ'lmm (eye)   →   *čââ'lmte'm* (blind)   →   *čââ'lmtõõvvâd* (become blind)

An example of the translative suffix used with the diminutive suffix is provided below, where the diminutive suffix *-st-* leads to a literal meaning of 'become a little charred', but is used to mean 'be grilled'.

ill (ember)   →   *ellõõvvâd* (char)   →   *ellstõõvvâd* (grill)

Consider also the following example of this suffix on a loan noun, although it does differ from the other examples given that it does not express a change of state to become more like that which is denoted by the nominal stem, but nevertheless is semantically related.

skorlo'b (eggshell ← Russian *skorlupa*)   →   *skorlõõvvâd* (hatch)

-j- [denominalisation]

The suffix *-j-* is a common way of forming a verb from a noun. This suffix is particularly common in verbs derived from loan words, as the following list exemplifies. In these verbs the infinitive marker is *-ed*.

meä'cc (forest)   →   *meäccjed* (hunt)
maal (mill)   →   *maa'ljed* (mill, grind)
naau'ri (drill)   →   *nau'rrjed* (drill)
au'rr (plough ← Finnish *aura*)   →   *au'rrjed* (plough)
alfabet (alphabet ← Russian *alfavit*)   →   *aa'lfjed* (arrange alphabetically)
prää'zneǩ (party ← Russian *prazdnik*)   →   *prääzkjed* (party)
fi'lmm (film ← Russian *fil'm*)   →   *fi'lmmjed* (film)
škooul (school ← Russian *škola*)   →   *škoou'l'jed* (educate)
näu'll (nail ← Finnish *naula*)   →   *nau'll'jed* (nail)
kruun (crown ← Finnish *kruunu*)   →   *kruu'n'jed* (crown)
håidd (care ← Finnish *hoito*)   →   *hoi'ddjed* (care for)
pro'sttjõs (forgiveness ← Russian *proščat'*) → *pro'sttjed* (forgive)

Where a verb is derived from a loan noun, the verbal stem may undergo a change in form prior to the suffix *-j-*, as seen in the examples above of *prää'zneǩ* 'party (noun)' → *prääzkjed* 'party (verb)' and *alfabet* 'alphabet' → *aa'lfjed* 'arrange alphabetically'.

5.1.3 Denominal nouns

-vuõtt [abstract noun]

The derivational suffix *-vuõtt* is affixed to nouns or adjectives to form abstract nouns. Some examples are given below.

viõlggâd (white)	→	*viõlggâdvuõtt* (whiteness)
na'zvaan (friend)	→	*na'zvaanvuõtt* (friendship)
puärraz (parents)	→	*puärrazvuõtt* (parenthood)
jiõglvaž (spiritual)	→	*jiõglvažvuõtt* (spirituality)
e'čč (father)	→	*e'ččvuõtt* (fatherhood)
tiõrvâs (healthy)	→	*tiõrvâsvuõtt* (health)
õlli (high)	→	*õllivuõtt* (height)

Nominals formed from this derivational suffix belong to Class 1 and only the derivational suffix undergoes stem gradation, as it forms a new stress group.

*na'zvaanvuõ**tt*** → *na'zvaanvuõ**đ*** (PL.NOM) → *na'zvaanvuõ'**t**te* (SG.ILL)

-âž / -až [diminutive]

The derivational suffix *-âž* (or the variant *-až*) serves as a diminutive suffix. Some examples of its use are given below. This suffix is also added to proper names to give a diminutive reading. This derivational suffix requires the weak stem of a noun. If the weak stem is monosyllabic then this suffix forms a disyllabic stress group with the stem, due to the fact that this suffix is vowel-initial. Also, the derivational suffix vowel, *â* or *a*, triggers a loss of palatalisation as seen in *kuâlaž* 'little fish' and *ǩeârjaž* 'booklet'.

ǩe'rjj (book)	→	*ǩeerjaž* (booklet)
kue'll (fish)	→	*kuâlaž* (little fish)
nijdd (girl)	→	*niõđâž* (little girl)
põrtt (house)	→	*põõrtâž* (cottage)
šââ'ǩǩ (pig)	→	*šââggaž* (piglet)
kuõbžž (bear)	→	*kuõbžâž* (small bear)
piânnai (dog)	→	*piânngaž* (small dog)
suâl (island)	→	*suâllgaž* (islet)

-ne'ǩǩ [indicates a person]

The derivational suffix *-ne'ǩǩ* is used to express the name of a person, connected in some way or another to the derivational stem. This includes expressing a person who is a resident of the place indicated by the stem (e.g. 'resident of Ivalo'), a person who practices the activity indicated by the stem (e.g. 'artist'), or a person who possesses that indicated by the stem (e.g. 'freeholder'). Sometimes the meaning of the stem and derivational suffix is lexicalised, such as the example of 'gossipmonger', where the stem is the word 'tongue'. Some examples of its use are presented below.

põrtt (house)	→	*põrttne'ǩǩ* (farm owner, freeholder)
njuhččâm (tongue)	→	*njuhččâmne'ǩǩ* (gossipmonger, tell-tale)
Â'vvel (Ivalo)	→	*â'vvelne'ǩǩ* (resident of Ivalo)
kurss (course)	→	*kurssne'ǩǩ* (course member)
piâr (family)	→	*piârne'ǩǩ* (family member)
mäddtääl (farming, agriculture)	→	*mäddtäälne'ǩǩ* (farmer)

While the derivational suffix typically attaches to the SG.NOM stem of a word, occasionally this is not the case. In the examples below the ending *-õs* on the word *čeäppõs* 'art' is omitted before the derivational suffix. In the disyllabic word *Jaappan* 'Japan', the second syllable is omitted, although this is not usually the case for disyllabic words, as exemplified by *njuhččâm* 'tongue', above.

čeäppõs (art)	→	*čeäppne'ǩǩ* (artist)
Jaappan (Japan)	→	*jaappne'ǩǩ* (Japanese person)

-õs [collective]

The derivational suffix *-õs*, when affixed to a noun, gives a collective meaning to the derived noun, as shown from the examples below, although it is not overly productive. The word *sa'nnõs* 'vocabulary' appears to be irregular in its formation due to the fact it undergoes both a change in grade and stem vowel quality.

alfabet (letter of the alphabet)	→	*alfabettõs* (alphabet)
teâtt (knowledge)	→	*teâttõs* (file, data set)
äimm (air, weather)	→	*äimmõs* (climate)
sää'nn (word)	→	*sa'nnõs* (vocabulary)

This suffix is also seen on the following two comparative adjectives, where the vowel of the comparative suffix undergoes syncope.

jeänab (more)	→	*jeä'nbõs* (majority)
uu'ccab (less)	→	*uu'ccbõs* (minority)

5.1.4 Deverbal nouns

-Ø [conversion]

Nouns can be formed from the inflectional stems of verbs, as exemplified below. Although there is no overt derivational suffix present in these deverbal nominalisations, this cannot strictly be regarded as a case of zero derivation since the stem vowel undergoes a change in height in the case of Group A verbs (from high to low) and there is a loss of palatalisation observed in Group C verbs.

kuullâd (to hear)	→	*kooll* (hearing)
põõllâd (to fear)	→	*pââll* (fear)
tie'tted (to know)	→	*teâtt* (knowledge)
tuejjeed (to do)	→	*tuejj* (deed, act)
šõddâd (to grow)	→	*šâdd* (plant)

-mõš [action nominalisation]

The deverbal suffix *-mõš* (or the variants *-muš* or *-mõs*) is an extremely productive derivational suffix which produces an action nominalisation when affixed to the inflectional stem of a verb. As the following examples demonstrate, it is usually affixed to the unaltered stem of the verb.

čuõiggâd (to ski cross-country)	→	*čuõiggmõš* (cross-country skiing)
põõllâd (to fear)	→	*põõllmõš* (fearing)
tie'tted (to know)	→	*teâttmõš* (cognition)
juurdčed (to think)	→	*juurdčumuš* (thinking, reasoning)
seillad (to be preserved)	→	*seillmõs* (conservation)

-i [agent nominalisation]

A second very productive deverbal suffix is *-i*, which produces an agent nominalisation when affixed to the inflectional stem of a verb. Note how in *njiimteei* 'wet nurse' the stem from which the new verb is formed is a causative verb and in *laaugõõtti* 'bather' the stem displays the reflexive suffix.

čuõiggâd (to ski cross-country)	→	*čuõiggi* (cross-country skier)
kâ'lvved (to sow)	→	*kõ'lvvi* (sower)
u'vdded (to give)	→	*u'vddi* (giver)
njiimted (to breastfeed)	→	*njiimteei* (wet nurse)
laaugõõttâd (to bathe)	→	*laaugõõtti* (bather)

-õs [nominalisation]

The deverbal suffix *-õs* attaches to the inflectional stem of the verb and, as with the previous two deverbal suffixes, is very productive. It appears that this derivational suffix may be a general nominalising suffix. Some examples of its use are presented below.

čuä'jted (to present)	→	*čuäjtõs* (presentation)
vuä'psted (to instruct)	→	*vuä'pstõs* (instructions)
niõggeed (to dream)	→	*niõggõs* (dream)
leeujted (to wave)	→	*leeu'jtõs* (wave)
šõddâd (to grow)	→	*šâddõs* (growth)

In the following example the derivational suffix *-õs* is affixed to the head of a compound word.

teä'ǧǧ (money) *ruõkkâd* (to save)   →   *teä'ǧǧruõkkõs* (fund)

5.1.5 Derived adjectives

Most adjectives formed by the derivational suffixes listed below are denominal, since the majority of verbal forms which function as modifiers in Skolt Saami are analysed as participial verb forms (see §7.2.2) and therefore do not fit into this section on derived adjectives. However, some of the derivational suffixes presented below, such as *-te'm*, can derive adjectives from both nouns and verbs.

-i [adjectivalisation]

The suffix *-i* is a particularly productive denominal adjective suffix seen primarily on Class 1 nouns. In Class 1A nouns, the suffix *-i* triggers palatalisation in the stem. In Class 1B nouns, the stem is in the strong grade and the stem vowel *-a-* is retained. In Class 1C nouns, the stem is identical to that of the SG.ILL – i.e. it is in the strong grade, it specifies for a low vowel, and it ends in *-a-* which triggers depalatalisation. A number of examples of each are provided below.

Class 1A nouns

jiârgg (system)	→	*jie'rǧǧi* (systematic)
jiõnn (noise)	→	*jiõ'nni* (noisy)
ǩiõpp (soot)	→	*ǩiõ'ppi* (sooty)
luõss (salmon)	→	*luõ'ssi* (salmon-rich)
piõgg (wind)	→	*piõ'ǧǧi* (windy)

Class 1B nouns

reäbǯǯ (dent)	→	*reäbǯǯai* (dented)
päärr (wave)	→	*pärrai* (-wave *e.g. short-wave*)

Class 1C nouns

čää'cc (water)	→	*čäccai* (watery)	cf. *čäcca* (SG.ILL)
äu'ǩǩ (benefit)	→	*äukkai* (beneficial, profitable)	cf. *äukka* (SG.ILL)
sä'ltt (salt)	→	*sälttai* (salty)	cf. *sältta* (SG.ILL)
teä'ǧǧ (money)	→	*teäggai* (wealthy)	cf. *teägga* (SG.ILL)
te'ǩǩ (louse)	→	*tekkai* (louse-infested)	cf. *tekka* (SG.ILL)
mu'ldd (soil)	→	*molddai* (soiled)	cf. *moldda* (SG.ILL)

In most cases, as the examples above demonstrate, the suffix *-i* forms an adjective used to describe something which possesses the properties expressed by the stem. In other cases, however, the meaning of the derived adjective is somewhat removed from the meaning of the stem and has become lexicalised, as the following examples, all involving body parts, show.

njä'lmm (mouth)	→	*njälmmai* (talkative, chatty)	cf. *njälmma* (SG.ILL)
njuu'nn (nose)	→	*njonnai* (cheeky, impertinent)	cf. *njonna* (SG.ILL)
vuei'vv (head)	→	*vuäivvai* (thick-headed)	cf. *vuäivva* (SG.ILL)

The same suffix is also used to form adjectives from certain loan nouns.

smiâhh (laughter ← Russian *smex*)   →   *smiâhhai* (ridiculous, laughable)

In the attributive form of denominal adjectives (see §6.4) ending in *-ai*, the suffix *-i* is replaced with *-s*. In the attributive form of denominal adjectives ending in *-Ci*, where *C* is any consonant, the suffix *-i* is replaced with *-es*. In the comparative and superlative forms, the final *i* assumes syllable onset position and therefore becomes *j*, while those adjectives ending in *-ai* also lose the vowel *a*.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
jie'rǧǧi	*jie'rǧǧes*	*jie'rǧǧjab*	*jie'rǧǧjumus*	systematic
jiõ'nni	*jiõ'nnes*	*jiõ'nnjab*	*jiõ'nnjumus*	noisy
k̆iõ'ppi	*k̆iõ'ppes*	*k̆iõ'ppjab*	*k̆iõ'ppjumus*	sooty
luõ'ssi	*luõ'sses*	*luõ'ssjab*	*luõ'ssjumus*	salmon-rich
piõ'ǧǧi	*piõ'ǧǧes*	*piõ'ǧǧjab*	*piõ'ǧǧjumus*	windy
reäbžžai	*reäbžžas*	*reäbžžjab*	*reäbžžjumus*	dented
pärrai	*pärras*	*pärrjab*	*pärrjumus*	-wave
čäccai	*čäccas*	*čäccjab*	*čäccjumus*	watery
äukkai	*äukkas*	*äukkjab*	*äukkjumus*	beneficial
sälttai	*sälttas*	*sälttjab*	*sälttjumus*	salty
teäggai	*teäggas*	*teäggjab*	*teäggjumus*	wealthy
tekkai	*tekkas*	*tekkjab*	*tekkjumus*	louse-infested
molddai	*molddas*	*molddjab*	*molddjumus*	soiled
njälmmai	*njälmmas*	*njälmmjab*	*njälmmjumus*	talkative
njonnai	*njonnas*	*njonnjab*	*njonnjumus*	cheeky
vuäivvai	*vuäivvas*	*vuäivvjab*	*vuäivvjumus*	thick-headed
smiâhhai	*smiâhhas*	*smiâhhjab*	*smiâhhjumus*	ridiculous

In addition to derived adjectives, an adjective may also be a loan word and therefore lack a noun counterpart, but nevertheless resemble an *i*-final derived adjective by virtue of the fact that it is *i*-final in its predicative form and *as*-final in its attributive form.

Predicative	Attributive
kluuggai (deaf ← Russian *gluxoj*) →	*kluuggâs* (deaf)

-te'm [privative]

The privative derivational suffix *-te'm* forms a denominal adjective, expressing an absence of that which is expressed by the stem. The stem of the derived form is in the weak grade, as indicated in the examples below.

lää'k̆k̆ (law)	→	*lää'jj*	→	*lää'jjte'm* (lawless, illegal)
jiõg'g (spirit)	→	*jiõgg*	→	*jiõggte'm* (lifeless, dead)
čuõškk (mosquito)	→	*čuõšk*	→	*čuõškte'm* (mosquito-free)
siõmâž (small child)	→	*siõ'me*	→	*siõ'mete'm* (barren)
teä'ǧǧ (money)	→	*tie'ǧǧ*	→	*tie'ǧǧte'm* (penniless)
mähss (payment)	→	*määu's*	→	*määu'ste'm* (free of charge)
eu'nn (colour)	→	*eeu'n*	→	*eeu'nte'm* (colourless)
tåbdd (feeling)	→	*tååbd*	→	*tååbdte'm* (insensitive)
smäkk (taste)	→	*smäägg*	→	*smääggte'm* (tasteless)

The attributive form of these adjectives takes the ending -*es*. The comparative marker -*ab* and the superlative marker -*umus* replace the final -*e'm* of the derivational suffix.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
lää'jjte'm	*lää'jjte'mes*	*lää'jjtab*	*lää'jjtumus*	lawless
jiõggte'm	*jiõggte'mes*	*jiõggtab*	*jiõggtumus*	lifeless
čuõškte'm	*čuõškte'mes*	*čuõšktab*	*čuõšktumus*	mosquito-free
siõ'mete'm	*siõ'mete'mes*	*siõ'metab*	*siõ'metumus*	barren
tie'ğğte'm	*tie'ğğte'mes*	*tie'ğğtab*	*tie'ğğtumus*	penniless
eeu'nte'm	*eeu'nte'mes*	*eeu'ntab*	*eeu'ntumus*	colourless
tååbdte'm	*tååbdte'mes*	*tååbdtab*	*tååbdtumus*	insensitive
smääggte'm	*smääggte'mes*	*smääggtab*	*smääggtumus*	tasteless

The suffix -*te'm* can also be affixed to a verb where the resulting adjective negates the action expressed by the verb. If the verb belongs to Class 1, as is the case in the first three examples below, the inflectional stem is in the weak grade.

jue'ǩǩed (divide)	→	*jue'jj*	→	*jue'jjte'm* (indivisible)
vuei'nned (see)	→	*vuei'n*	→	*vuei'nte'm* (invisible)
lookkâd (count)	→	*loogg*	→	*looggte'm* (innumerable)
läppjed (fade away, die out)	→			*läppjete'm* (unfading)
ââ'nted (be suitable)	→			*ââ'nte'm* (unsuitable)

-*laž*

The derivational suffix -*laž* forms an adjective from a noun, as illustrated in the examples below. The derived adjective typically expresses something of, or pertaining to, the noun from which it is formed. This derivational suffix attaches to the weak stem of the base word and triggers a loss of palatalisation. There is no special attributive form of these adjectives. These adjectives inflect as Class 9 nominals.

kaupp (shop)	→	*kaauplaž* (commercial)
Israel (Israel)	→	*israeelaž* (Israeli)
histoor (history)	→	*histoorlaž* (historical)
kå'dd (community)	→	*kååddlaž* (communal)
ǩiõll (language)	→	*ǩiõll'laž* (linguistic)
heeđâlm (fruit)	→	*heeđâlmlaž* (fertile, fruitful)
vu'vdd (region, area)	→	*vooudlaž* (regional)
bukva (letter, character)	→	*bukvaalaž* (literal)

-saž

The suffix *-saž* affixes to either a noun or adjective and forms an adjective. The derived adjective typically expresses something as having or possessing that of the stem noun and these derived adjectives are often seen in compound words, e.g. *sää'mǩiõllsaž* 'Saami-speaking'. Compare in particular the derived adjectives *ǩiõll'laž* 'linguistic' (=pertaining to language) and *ǩiõllsaž* '-speaking' (=having/ speaking *x* language). There is no special attributive form of these adjectives. These adjectives inflect as Class 9 nominals.

kõskk (middle)	→	*kõskksaž* (mutual)
ǩiõll (language)	→	*ǩiõllsaž* (-speaking)
äi'ǧǧ (time)	→	*äiggsaž* (-time)
miõll (mind)	→	*miõllsaž* (-minded)
podd (moment)	→	*poddsaž* (momentary)
koumm (three) + *vue'ss* (part)	→	*kooumvuäss'saž* (triple, three-part)

-nallšem [expresses similitude]

The derivational suffix *-nallšem* can be attached to nouns or adjectives and produces an adjective with a meaning which conveys something as being similar to, or characteristic of, the properties expressed by the stem noun.

jee'res (separate, different)	→	*jee'resnallšem* (different, dissimilar)
šlaajj (sort, kind)	→	*šlaajjnallšem* (typical)
seämma (same)	→	*seämmanallšem* (similar)
ođđ (new)	→	*ođđnallšem* (like new)
jiijjâs (self)	→	*jiijjâsnallšem* (unique)
ku'ǩes (long)	→	*ku'ǩesnallšem* (oblong)

Adjectives appear in the attributive form (see §6.4) in these derived adjectives, as seen in the examples of *ku'ǩes* 'long' and *ođđ* 'new', above, and the stem occurs in the weak stem as the examples below illustrate.

person (person)	→	*persoon*	→	*persoon'nallšem* (individual)
luândd (character, nature)	→	*luând*	→	*luândnallšem* (characteristic)
nu'bb (other)	→	*nuu'bb*	→	*nuu'bbnallšem* (different)

Other derivational suffixes may be omitted in the presence of this derivational suffix.

hää'vjumuš (defeat, loss)	→	*hää'vjumnallšem* (unprofitable)

5.1.6 Derived adverbs

The open class of adverbs are primarily deadjectival in nature, although adverbs derived from other word classes also exist. These derived adverbs denote manner, while temporal and spatial adverbs belong to a closed class of adverbs, which were presented in §4.7.

As will be explained in §6.4, the majority of adjectives belong to four inflectional classes. The inflectional class to which an adjective belongs influences the form of the adverb derived from it. Adverbs formed from adjectives belonging to Class 1 typically end in the suffix -ˆld, where the circumflex represents the stem vowel (see chapter 6), while those formed from adjectives belonging to other classes typically end in the suffix -ânji. However, as with adjectives, there appears to be a certain amount of interspeaker variation with regards to the precise formation of adverbs. Examples of a number of adverbs are presented below together with the adjectives from which they are formed.

Class	Adjective		Adverb
1	*čeä'pp* (skilful)	→	*čie'ppeld* (skilfully)
1	*neu'rr* (bad)	→	*neeu'reld* (badly)
1	*ää'hn* (greedy)	→	*ää'hneld* (greedily)
1	*ǩeähn* (bad)	→	*ǩeähnald* (badly)
4	*čiõlgas* (clear)	→	*čiõlggsânji* (clearly)
8	*sme'llak* (courageous)	→	*smellkânji* (courageously)
8	*jå'ttel* (quick)	→	*jå'ttlânji* (quickly)
11	*ilbbâd* (malicious)	→	*ilbbânji* (maliciously)
11	*mooččâd* (beautiful)	→	*moččânji* (beautifully)
11	*čuõvvâd* (bright)	→	*čuõvvânji* (brightly)

Adverbs can also be formed from derived adjectives, whereupon certain derivational suffixes are often lost. This is the case with the derivational suffixes -*i* and -*laž*, but not with the suffix -*te'm*, as exemplified below. Note, however, that an epenthetic -*s*- may appear with the loss of these derivational suffixes, as it does when a possessive suffix is affixed to a noun in the sg.ill case (see §6.2.4).

ǩee'jjte'm (continuous)	→	*ǩee'jjte'meld* (continuously)
jiõ'nni (noisy)	→	*jiõnn**s**ânji* (noisily)
automaattlaž (automatic)	→	*automaatt**s**ânji* (automatically)

Adverbs of manner can also be derived from other words using the suffix -*nalla* which can be loosely translated as 'in a manner pertaining to'. Some examples are presented below.

majesteett (majesty)	→	*majesteettnalla* (majestically)
õhtt (one)	→	*õõutnalla* (evenly)
juõ'ǩǩ (each)	→	*juõ'ǩǩnalla* (commonly, generally)
nu'bb (other)	→	*nuu'bbnalla* (the other way)
tõt (that)	→	*tõnnalla* (in that way)

Deadjectival adverbs, like their adjective counterparts, can also be expressed in three degrees: the positive, comparative and superlative. However, comparative and superlative adverbs do not make use of a special adverbial marker, as in the positive degree, but are in fact the essive forms of the respective adjectives, as shown below. Note, however, that these forms are extremely rare.

Degree	Adjective		Adverb
Positive	*jå'ttel* (quick)	→	*jå'ttlânji* (quickly)
Comparative	*jå'ttlab* (quicker)	→	*jå'ttlubun* (more quickly)
Superlative	*jå'ttlumõs* (quickest)	→	*jå'ttlumsen* (most quickly)

5.2 Compounding

Compound words in Skolt Saami may result in both endocentric compounds, consisting of a head and a modifier, and exocentric compounds, which lack a head and whose meaning is often not able to be determined from their constituent parts. Examples of each of these types are given Table 37.

Type	Skolt Saami		English
endocentric	*ǩe'rjji'lddi*	*ǩe'rjj* (book) *i'lddi* (shelf)	bookshelf
endocentric	*kaa'ffkopp*	*kaa'ff* (coffee) *kopp* (cup)	coffee cup
endocentric	*nijddpä'rnn*	*nijdd* (girl) *pä'rnn* (child)	daughter
exocentric	*čâ'lmmbie'll*	*čâ'lmm* (eye) *bie'll* (half)	one-eyed person
exocentric	*jobblõkvuei'vv*	*jobblõk* (short) *vuei'vv* (head)	idiot, oaf

Table 37. Types of compound words in Skolt Saami

Endocentric compounds are by far the most common form of compound, with the second element always the head and the first element its modifier. Exocentric compounds, on the other hand, are usually non-compositional. Different word classes may be compounded to form new words, which are outlined in the following subsections.

Noun + noun compounds

Words formed by the compounding of two non-derived nouns make up the majority of compounds in Skolt Saami. When the first and second elements of a compound are in a modifier–modified relationship, the first element appears in its SG.NOM form and the second element is subject to inflection.

kuõbǯǯ (bear.SG.NOM) *peärtam* (trap)   → *kuõbǯǯpeärtam* (bear trap)
puäǯǯ (reindeer.SG.NOM) *tuâjj* (work)   → *puäǯǯtuâjj* (reindeer husbandry)
mie'lǩǩ (milk.SG.NOM) *poottâl* (bottle)   → *mie'lǩǩpoottâl* (milk bottle)
kue'll (fish.SG.NOM) *veärr* (soup)   → *kue'llveärr* (fish soup)
põrtt (house.SG.NOM) *uhss* (door)   → *põrttuhss* (door of the house)
taalkâs (medicine.SG.NOM) *škaapp* (cabinet) → *taalkâsškaapp* (medicine cabinet)

When the first and second elements of a compound are in a possessor–possessed relationship, the first element appears in the SG.GEN form.

sää'm (Saami.SG.GEN) *ǩiõll* (language)   → *sää'mǩiõll* (Saami language)
lää'dd (Finn.SG.GEN) *jânnam* (state)   → *Lää'ddjânnam* (Finland)
koongõõzz (king.SG.GEN) *kaav* (wife)   → *koongõõzzkaav* (queen)
pie'nne (dog.SG.GEN) *põõrtâž* (little house) → *pie'nnepõõrtâž* (kennel)
kuuzz (cow.SG.GEN) *mie'lǩǩ* (milk)   → *kuuzzmie'lǩǩ* (cow's milk)
puõccu (reindeer.SG.GEN) *tue'llj* (skin)   → *puõccutue'llj* (reindeer hide)

The use of the genitive in these possessor–possessed compounds means the word *sää'mǩiõll* literally means 'language of the Saami' and likewise the word for 'Finland' is literally 'land of the Finns'. Note how this possessor–possessed relationship is seen in the word for 'queen', which is a compound literally meaning 'king's wife'.

As is evident from the examples above, the first element, the possessor, is always animate. Note, however, that the first element of a compound also appears in the SG.GEN form even if lexically, as the sum of its constituent parts, the word refers to a non-possessed object, provided the first element is nevertheless animate and the constituent parts are in a possessor–possessed relationship. These compounds, usually seen in plant names, are often opaque and the meaning cannot be deduced from their constituent parts. Compare these to compounds such as *puäǯǯtuâjj* 'reindeer husbandry' and *kue'llveärr* 'fish soup' where the first element is indeed animate, but the two constituent parts are not in a possessor–possessed relationship.

kaazz (cat.SG.GEN) *ǩeä'ppel* (paw)   → *kaazzǩeä'ppel* (catsfoot)
ǩiõgg (cuckoo.SG.GEN) *njuuč* (tongue)   → *ǩiõggnjuuč* (wood sorrel)
puõccu (reindeer.SG.GEN) *jee'el* (lichen)   → *puõccujee'el* (reindeer moss)

Semantically, in the examples above, 'cat' is the animate possessor of its own 'paw', 'cuckoo' is the animate possessor of its own 'tongue' and 'reindeer' is the possessor of the 'lichen', although lexically these words refer, respectively, to the plants Antennaria dioica (also known as catsfoot), Oxalis (wood sorrel) and Cladonia (reindeer moss).

Adjective + noun compounds

In compounds where the first element is an adjective, the adjective is always in the attributive form. As the following examples show, this form of compound is commonly seen in plant and animal names. Also, as seen in the examples of 'January' and 'black alpine-sedge', compounds are not limited to two elements.

viõ'lǧǧes (white) *tä'snn* (star) → *viõ'lǧǧestä'snn* (wood anemone)
viõ'lǧǧes (white) *hõppi* (owl) → *viõ'lǧǧeshõppi* (snowy owl)
ođđ (new) *ee'jj* (year) *mään* (month) → *ođđee'jjmään* (January)
smavv (fine) *teä'ǧǧ* (money) → *smavvteä'ǧǧ* (small change)
ča'ppes (black) *lu'htt* (cove) *suei'nn* (hay)→ *ča'ppeslu'httsuei'nn* (black alpine-sedge)

An adjective can also form a compound with a deverbal noun, as the following example shows.

pue'rr (good) *tuejjeei* (maker) → *pue'rrtuejjeei* (benefactor)

Numeral + noun compounds

A numeral can also take the place of the first element of a compound.

koumm (three.SG.NOM) *lääu'ǩ* (jump) → *koummlääu'ǩ* (triple jump)
lååi (ten.SG.NOM) *sõõđi* (spine) → *lååisõõđi* (ten-spined stickleback)

With certain nominal heads the numeral appears in the SG.GEN form.

kooum (three.SG.GEN) *čiõkk* (angle) → *kooumčiõkk* (triangle)

Verb + noun compounds

The stem of a verb can combine with a noun to give a compound word. The verb acts as the modifier of the nominal head.

adoptted (adopt) *päärnaž* (child) → *adopttpäärnaž* (adopted child)
čuõvvâd (glow) *määtt* (worm) → *čuõ'vvimäätt* (glow worm)

In the second example, *čuõ'vvimäätt* 'glow worm', the first element in the compound is in fact the present participial form of the verb (see §7.2.2).

Noun + adjective compounds

Compound words formed from a noun and an adjective are common, appearing with a derived adjective as the second element. The first element appears in the genitive form.

meerai (nation.PL.GEN) *kõskksaž* (mutual)   →   *meeraikõskksaž* (international)
sää'm (Saami.SG.GEN) *ǩiõllsaž* (-speaking) →   *sää'mǩiõllsaž* (Saami-speaking)

Adjective + adjective compounds

Like noun–adjective compounds, the second element of adjective–adjective compounds is a derived adjective. The first element of these compounds is an adjective in its attributive form.

ku'ǩes (long) *äiggsaž* (time)   →   *ku'ǩesäiggsaž* (long-term)
ku'ǩes (long) *miõllsaž* (minded)   →   *ku'ǩesmiõllsaž* (tolerant)
šiõgg (good) *smakksaž* (flavoured)   →   *šiõggsmakksaž* (tasty)
vuä'mm (old) *äiggsaž* (time)   →   *vuä'mmäiggsaž* (old-fashioned)

Adverb + adjective compounds

A derived adjective also forms the head of adverb–adjective compounds.

vue'll (under) *âkksaž* (aged)   →   *vue'llâkksaž* (under-aged)
pâ'jj (over) *jiõgglaž* (spiritual) →   *pâ'jj'jiõgglaž* (supernatural)

Numeral + adjective compounds

A final type of compound word consists of a numeral and an adjective. The first element of numeral–adjective compounds appears in the genitive form.

õõut (one.GEN) *miõllsaž* (minded)   →   *õõutmiõllsaž* (unanimous)
kuõi't (two.GEN) *ekksaž* (-year-old) →   *kuõi'tekksaž* (two-year-old)

6   Nominal inflection

This chapter is concerned with the morphology of all nominals, covering nouns, pronouns and adjectives. The chapter begins by presenting the case and number suffixes which pertain to all nominals. Section 6.2 looks at nominals in depth, starting off by outlining the features associated with each inflectional class, before turning to loan nouns, irregular nouns and possessor marking on nouns. The following section (§6.3) covers the morphology of the different types of pronouns, and the chapter ends with the morphology of adjectives (§6.4).

6.1 Case and number marking

The inflectional suffixes for Skolt Saami nominals are presented in Table 38. The circumflex in the SG.LOC, ESS and PART and the asterisk in the SG.ILL represent two distinct vowels whose quality varies according to inflectional class. This will be expounded on below.

     The suffix -*i*- is present in all plural forms except the PL.NOM and occurs closest to the stem, before any case marking. It is thus treated as a plural marker. There are two advantages in defining -*i*- as a plural marker rather than simply as part of the plural case markers, despite its absence in the PL.NOM. Firstly, this marker is the only distinguishing feature between the singular and plural forms of the abessive. Secondly, treating -*i*- as a plural marker provides an explanation for the apparent syncretism between the PL.LOC and the SG.COM; in this case it is not so much syncretism as a convergence of forms, since the SG.COM is -*in*, while the PL.COM is -*n*, which, combined with the plural marker -*i*-, results in the same surface realisation.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	—	—
ACC	—	*i-d*
GEN	—	*i*
ILL	*	*i-d*
LOC	*ˆst*	*i-n*
COM	*in*	*i-vui'm*
ABE	*tää*	*i-tää*
ESS	*ˆn*	
PART	*ˆd*	

Table 38. Nominal inflectional suffixes for case and person

As Table 38 shows, the SG.NOM and SG.ACC – together with the SG.GEN and PL.NOM which are syncretic with the SG.ACC – do not take an inflectional suffix. The SG.NOM can often be distinguished from the SG.ACC–SG.GEN–PL.NOM form as a result of differences in consonant gradation, or sometimes through the occurrence of a vowel

not present in the SG.NOM, but in some cases both forms are identical. Likewise, the PL.GEN does not take a unique case suffix, although it can be distinguished from other inflectional forms by virtue of the fact it takes the plural marker -*i*-, and is the only inflectional form which occurs with this suffix alone.

The circumflex in the SG.LOC, ESS and PART represents a vowel of varying quality. In nominals where the SG.NOM is monosyllabic, this vowel is dependent upon the group which the nominal belongs to; Group A, B and C nominals display *â*, *a* and *e*, respectively, in these positions. In the case of monosyllabic words, this vowel can be referred to as the STEM VOWEL, since it corresponds to an original vowel of the stem which has been lost in open syllables. In other cases, however, especially in disyllabics where the stem vowel is still present, the addition of inflectional suffixes causes the stem vowel to undergo syncope and the vowel occurring in the position indicated by the circumflex is *e*. Since the vowel indicated by the circumflex does not always refer to the stem vowel, the term SUFFIX VOWEL will be used instead. The SUFFIX VOWEL will be specified for each of the inflectional classes presented. Inflectional classes where the PL.NOM ends in a vowel other than *i* employ that final vowel in the SG.LOC, even if this differs from the suffix vowel specified for that class.

The asterisk in the SG.ILL also resembles a vowel of varying quality, although this is independent of the aforementioned suffix vowel, despite the fact they are sometimes identical. This vowel will also be specified for each inflectional class and will be referred to as the ILLATIVE VOWEL.

Table 39 shows the morpheme breaks which pertain to the inflection of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'. The STEM VOWEL in the SG.LOC, ESS and PART is represented here as part of the inflectional suffix, since these are the forms where it surfaces, even though technically this should be considered as part of the stem.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'pp*	*kåå'v*
ACC	*kåå'v*	*koo'v-i-d*
GEN	*kåå'v*	*koo'v-i*
ILL	*kåpp-a*	*koo'v-i-d*
LOC	*kåå'v-est*	*koo'v-i-n*
COM	*koo'v-in*	*koo'v-i-vui´m*
ABE	*kåå'v-tää*	*koo'v-i-tää*
ESS	*kåå'pp-en*	
PART	*kåå'pp-ed*	

Table 39. Inflectional paradigm of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit', showing morpheme breaks

6.2 Nouns

Nominal inflection[29] in Skolt Saami involves changes in vowel quality, vowel length, consonant quality, consonant length, palatalisation and epenthesis. These morphophonological processes apply to the inflectional stem of a noun (or adjective), generating a number of distinct stem forms, to which inflectional suffixes are added. The stem of a noun occurring in different syntactic contexts therefore has a variety of realisations.

The paradigm of the noun *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit' is reproduced in Table 40 as an example of a noun inflected in its non-possessive form.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'pp*	*kåå'v*
ACC	*kåå'v*	*koo'vid*
GEN	*kåå'v*	*koo'vi*
ILL	*kåppa*	*koo'vid*
LOC	*kåå'vest*	*koo'vin*
COM	*koo'vin*	*koo'vivui˝m*
ABE	*kåå'vtää*	*koo'vitää*
ESS	*kåå'ppen*	
PART	*kåå'pped*	

Table 40. Inflectional paradigm of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'

Note that in the above paradigm there are four distinct stems – *kåå'pp*, *kåå'v*, *koo'v* and *kåppa*, although not all nouns display this number of stems. Note also the syncretism observed in the PL.NOM, SG.ACC and SG.GEN forms, and between the PL.ACC and PL.ILL forms. These syncretisms are observed across all inflectional classes. The apparent syncretism between the PL.LOC and SG.COM forms will be addressed below.

Most nominals in Skolt Saami fall into a discrete number of different inflectional classes, although a number of irregular nouns also exist. The inflectional class to which a nominal belongs can often be determined by its nominative singular form, although this is not always a reliable indicator.

Although all nominals belonging to the same inflectional class exhibit the same patterns of inflection, the actual realisation of a nominal's inflectional forms may also depend on the inflectional sub-class to which it belongs. Class 1 nominals, for example, are divided into three sub-classes referred to as Group A, B and C. The group to which a nominal belongs can also, usually, be determined by its nominative singular form.

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29. In Skolt Saami, adjectives which function predicatively inflect as nouns and therefore this section treats them together. As such, the terms 'noun' and 'nominal' are used interchangeably throughout this section. Nevertheless, adjectives form a word class of their own, having a unique attributive form, as well as comparative and superlative forms, and so adjectives are discussed further in §6.4.

The inflectional class stipulates which inflectional stem must be employed for each paradigm cell as well as determining the set of inflectional affixes relevant to that inflectional class (i.e. the suffix and illative vowel that must be used). The subgroup determines what kind of sound change the vowels will undergo.

6.2.1 Inflectional classes

This section outlines the different inflectional classes of Skolt Saami nominals, highlighting the salient features of the SG.NOM form, which can often be used as a method for determining class membership, and providing tables showing the formation of the other inflectional stems.

The numbering of inflectional classes in this grammar is such that it begins with the most common class (Class 1) and then continues with smaller classes of monosyllabic nominals (Classes 2 and 3), before moving on to classes which include consonant-final disyllabic (or longer) nominals (Classes 4 and 5) and vowel-final disyllabic (or longer) nominals (Classes 6 and 7). Class 8 is somewhat of a miscellaneous class, while Classes 9–12 are predominately lexically-specified classes, in many cases due to a derivational or inflectional suffix which has the effect of changing the class membership.

It should be noted that the numbers assigned to each inflectional class in this grammar do not reflect any numbering used in earlier literature and listing correspondences between the two would prove to be of limited success, since this grammar employs a number of significant reanalyses with regard to inflectional class membership. For example, *kaav* 'wife', is given as an example of a Class III noun in Korhonen et al. (1973: 48), which in most cases would be indicative of it belonging to Class 3 under this analysis. Nevertheless, in this grammar it is treated as a Class 2 nominal. Class 3 nominals, as defined in this grammar, appear to be historically related to Class 4 nominals, yet this hypothesis would not hold if *kaav* 'wife' were treated as a Class 3 noun.

Class 1 nominals

The SG.NOM form of Class 1 nominals is monosyllabic and occurs in the strong grade, ending in either a long geminate, short geminate or long consonant cluster. This class accounts for a large percentage of Skolt Saami nouns, well over fifty per cent when loan nouns and nouns derived by means of a derivational suffix are excluded. As a proportion of monosyllabic nominals this percentage is nearer to ninety.[30]

While Class 1 nominals are treated here as monosyllabics, a short breath follows the final consonant of these words, which phonetically may be interpreted as

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30. These figures are based on an analysis of almost 3,000 nominal forms taken from a much larger word list. Compound words, where the inflecting element was already represented in the list, were ignored to avoid duplication. Adjectives were also disregarded in this analysis.

a reduced, or overshort, vowel (see §2.1.1). This is often voiceless, although after a voiceless consonant may also be voiced. This is particularly noticeable in words terminating in a plosive, since they are fully released as a result of the following reduced vowel. The reduced vowel has an *e*-like quality when following a palatalised word, otherwise it has an *a*- or *â*-like quality.

The reason for the overshort vowel at the end of Skolt Saami monosyllabics is likely due to the fact that they are derived from Proto-Saami disyllabics and in fact the cognates in most of the other Saami languages are usually disyllabics. It is worth noting here that McRobbie-Utasi (1999: 111), in her analysis on quantity in Skolt Saami, treats these words as disyllabics but makes reference to an optional phonological rule of word-final vowel reduction or deletion. However, during fieldwork which I conducted I was unable to elicit these forms as disyllabics, even in slow speech.

It is debatable whether or not this reduced vowel is phonological or not. It would appear that Skolt Saami speakers consider these words to be monosyllabic and indeed the reduced vowel does not appear in the orthography, although this fact in itself is not a reliable indicator of whether the vowel has phonological status or not. The reader is referred to Nancy Hall's (2006) article on intrusive vowels. Although this article relates to intrusive vowels due to articulatory timing as opposed to a vowel which is a historical remnant from an earlier word form, it does nevertheless pose the question of whether non-phonological vowels form syllable nuclei or not.

Class 1 nouns can be divided into three groups, A, B and C. The group to which a noun belongs can be determined by its SG.NOM form. Those nouns which display a high vowel (see §3.1) in the vowel centre and are not palatalised belong to Group A; those which display a low vowel and are not palatalised belong to Group B; and those forms which are palatalised, regardless of vowel height, belong to Group C.

The suffix vowel of Class 1 nouns differs depending on the group to which it belongs. These are presented in Table 41.

	Suffix vowel
Group A	*â*
Group B	*a*
Group C	*e*

Table 41. Suffix vowels of Class 1, Group A, B and C, nouns

In addition to the SG.LOC, ESS and PART forms, the suffix vowel also manifests itself before any vowel-initial suffix, including the plural marker *i*, in Group B nominals.

As explained in §3.2, consonant gradation in Skolt Saami has lost its phonological conditioning, but nevertheless plays an important role in distinguishing different morphological forms, since each paradigm cell is associated with a specific grade. Those for Class 1 nouns are presented in Table 42.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	STRONG	WEAK
ACC	WEAK	WEAK
GEN	WEAK	WEAK
ILL	STRONG+	WEAK
LOC	WEAK	WEAK
COM	WEAK	WEAK
ABE	WEAK	WEAK
ESS	STRONG	
PART	STRONG	

Table 42. Stem gradation observed in Class 1 nominal inflection

The illative singular stem, while always in the STRONG+ grade, varies depending on the sub-group to which the noun belongs, with vowel height being specified for Group B and C nouns. The illative vowel is also distinct in each sub-group, in Group A nouns triggering palatalisation and in Group C nouns triggering depalatalisation. These additional features are presented below.

	Vowel height	Illative vowel
Group A		e [+PALATAL]
Group B	[+HIGH]	u
Group C	[+LOW]	a [−PALATAL]

Table 43. Features associated with SG.ILL forms of Class 1 nominals

Group A nouns are thus palatalised in the SG.ILL form only, while Group C nouns are palatalised in all forms except the SG.ILL. Since Group C nouns are palatalised forms by default it is not necessary to present palatalisation as a feature attached to each paradigm cell, but rather present it as the loss of palatalisation in a single form. Likewise, both Group A and Group B nouns display a high vowel in the SG.ILL, but this is not presented as a feature associated with Group A nouns since they display a high vowel by virtue of belonging to Group A. However, the fact that Group C nouns display a low vowel in the same paradigm cell suggests it is not a universal feature of Class 1 nouns.

Group C nouns also have the feature [+HIGH] in the SG.COM and all forms of the plural except the PL.NOM. Table 44 presents the combined features of each paradigm cell of a Class 1C noun and Table 45 shows how these features combine to produce the different inflectional stems of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	STRONG	WEAK
ACC	WEAK	WEAK [+HIGH]
GEN	WEAK	WEAK [+HIGH]
ILL	STRONG+ [+LOW][−PALATAL]	WEAK [+HIGH]
LOC	WEAK	WEAK [+HIGH]
COM	WEAK [+HIGH]	WEAK [+HIGH]
ABE	WEAK	WEAK [+HIGH]
ESS	STRONG	
PART	STRONG	

Table 44. Features associated with the inflection of Class 1C nominals

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'pp*	*kåå'v*
ACC	*kåå'v*	*koo'v-*
GEN	*kåå'v*	*koo'v-*
ILL	*kåpp-*	*koo'v-*
LOC	*kåå'v-*	*koo'v-*
COM	*koo'v-*	*koo'v-*
ABE	*kåå'v-*	*koo'v-*
ESS	*kåå'pp-*	
PART	*kåå'pp-*	

Table 45. Inflectional stems of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'

Table 45 shows how the combination of features, together with a three-way grada-tion contrast, combine to produce four distinct inflectional stems, *kåå'pp-*, *kåå'v-*, *koo'v-* and *kåpp-*. These inflectional stems with their respective inflectional suf-fixes are presented in Table 46 (reproduced from Table 40) as an example of a Class 1C noun, *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'pp*	*kåå'v*
ACC	*kåå'v*	*koo'vid*
GEN	*kåå'v*	*koo'vi*
ILL	*kåppa*	*koo'vid*
LOC	*kåå'vest*	*koo'vin*
COM	*koo'vin*	*koo'vivui'm*
ABE	*kåå'vtää*	*koo'vitää*
ESS	*kåå'ppen*	
PART	*kåå'pped*	

Table 46. Inflectional paradigm of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'

As discussed in §3.2 there is a small group of words which alternate between a short consonant in the weak grade and a long geminate in the strong grade. These can be grouped under Class 1, with the only difference being that they occur in the STRONG+ grade in the SG.NOM, ESS and PART forms. The inflectional paradigm of one of these nouns, *võrr* 'blood', is presented in Table 47.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*võrr*	*võõr*
ACC	*võõr*	*võõrid*
GEN	*võõr*	*võõri*
ILL	*võ'rre*	*võõrid*
LOC	*võõrâst*	*võõrin*
COM	*võõrin*	*võõrivui'm*
ABE	*võõrtää*	*võõritää*
ESS	*võrrân*	
PART	*võrrâd*	

Table 47. Inflectional paradigm of *võõr* 'blood'

Class 2 nominals

Class 2 nominals are also monosyllabic but their SG.NOM form is in the weak grade, while all other stems are in the STRONG+ grade. Class 2 nominals exhibit only sub-groups A and B and these nouns account for approximately ten per cent of monosyllabic nouns. All Class 2 nominals have vowel-final inflectional stems in all forms except the SG.NOM. Some examples are presented in Table 48.

		SG.NOM	PL.NOM
Group A	high vowel centre i-final stem	*kaađ* (envious)	*katti*
		poous (lubricant)	*pohssi*
		kõõlv (sowing)	*kõlvvi*
		suõl (thief)	*suõl'li*
Group B	low vowel centre u-final stem	*suâl* (island)	*suõl'lu*
		kuâus (dawn)	*kuõhssu*
		puär (horsefly)	*puâr'ru*
		mään (moon)	*mannu*

Table 48. Examples of Class 2, Group A and B nominals

Group A nominals, which display a high vowel in the SG.NOM, have inflectional stems ending in *-i*, which becomes syllable-initial *j* before a vowel-initial suffix. The illative vowel is *a* and the suffix vowel is *e*. The inflectional paradigm of a Class 2A noun, *maadd* 'base, butt (e.g. of tree)', is presented in Table 49.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*maadd*	*maddi*
ACC	*maddi*	*maddjid*
GEN	*maddi*	*maddji*
ILL	*maddja*	*maddjid*
LOC	*maddjest*	*maddjin*
COM	*maddjin*	*maddjivui'm*
ABE	*madditää*	*maddjitää*
ESS	*maddjen*	
PART	*maddjed*	

Table 49. Inflectional paradigm of *maadd* 'base, butt'

Group B nominals, which display a low vowel in the SG.NOM, have *u*-final inflectional stems in all forms except the SG.NOM, SG.ILL and ESS. Whenever this stem-final *u* is present it triggers a high vowel in the vowel centre. Before a vowel-initial suffix, the stem-final *u* may be optionally replaced with syllable-initial *-j-*, in which case the vowel centre remains unaffected. In the ESS and PART a syllable-initial *-j-* may also be inserted. The inflectional paradigm of a Class 2B noun, *puär* 'horsefly', is presented in Table 50, showing these variant forms.

In the SG.ILL of Class 2B nominals, the *u* is replaced by either a syllable-initial *g* or *j* and is followed by the illative vowel *a*. The suffix vowel is not consistent in Class 2B nominals: when the suffix vowel appears in the latus (see §2.1), it is *a* in the ESS and PART and *u* in the SG.LOC; when it does not appear in the latus, the suffix vowel is *e*, as seen in the variant forms *puär'r**u**st* ~ *puär'rj**e**st*.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*puär*	*puär'ru*
ACC	*puär'ru*	*puär'ruid ~ puär'rjid*
GEN	*puär'ru*	*puär'rui ~ puär'rji*
ILL	*puär'rga ~ puär'rja*	*puär'ruid ~ puär'rjid*
LOC	*puär'rust ~ puär'rjest*	*puär'ruin ~ puär'rjin*
COM	*puär'ruin ~ puär'rjin*	*puär'ruivui'm ~ puär'rjivui'm*
ABE	*puär'rutää*	*puär'ruitää ~ puär'rjitää*
ESS	*puäran ~ puär'rjen*	
PART	*puärad ~ puär'rjed*	

Table 50. Inflectional paradigm of *puär* 'horsefly'

Class 3 nominals

Class 3 nominals are a small group, which, like Class 2 nominals, are in the weak grade in the SG.NOM. However, they differ from Class 2 nominals in that their PL.NOM form is disyllabic and consonant-final, ending either in *m* or *n*, with a second syllable vowel *â* or *a* depending on the subgroup to which the nominal belongs.

All forms except the SG.NOM are in the STRONG+ grade and if palatalisation is present in the SG.NOM it is not present in other forms. The illative vowel is *a*. The suffix vowel is *e*. The second syllable vowel seen in the PL.NOM undergoes syncope before a vowel-initial suffix.

The nouns which fall into this class are given below in Table 51, divided into Groups A, B and C and then grouped based on whether the final consonant is *m* or *n*.[31]

Group		SG.NOM	PL.NOM	Gloss
A	−m	*poous*	*pohssâm*	cream, ointment
		põõus	*põhssâm*	lip
		laaur	*laurrâm*	ice floe
		sõõus	*sõhssâm*	fur, hair
		õõđ	*õđđâm*	bone marrow
		njuuč	*njuhččâm*	tongue
		lõõut	*lõhttâm*	joint
		laajj	*laččâm*	in-law
	−n	*siõm*	*siõmmân*	seed
		kuõlb	*kuõlbbân*	firm forest land
B	−n	*vuâsk*	*vuâskkan*	perch (fish)
		seäm	*seämman*	beard
		sââv	*sâvvan*	quiet waters
		ǩeälg	*ǩeälggan*	firm forest land
C	−n	*lue'm*	*luâmman*	cloudberry
	−m	*vue'n*	*vuân'nam*	mother-in-law
		čââ'đ	*čâđđam*	heart

Table 51. List of nouns belonging to inflectional Class 3[32]

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 3 noun, *vue'n* 'mother-in-law', is presented in Table 52.

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31. These are all the nouns found to belong to this group from the available corpus of over 10,000 words, but more unidentified nouns belonging to this inflectional class may exist.
32. The word *laajj* is used to refer to the parents of one's daughter- or son-in-law.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*vue'n*	*vuân'nam*
ACC	*vuân'nam*	*vuân'nmid*
GEN	*vuân'nam*	*vuân'nmi*
ILL	*vuân'nma*	*vuân'nmid*
LOC	*vuân'nmest*	*vuân'nmin*
COM	*vuân'nmin*	*vuân'nmivui'm*
ABE	*vuân'namtää*	*vuân'nmitää*
ESS	*vuân'nmen*	
PART	*vuân'nmed*	

Table 52. Inflectional paradigm of *vue'n* 'mother-in-law'

There are reasons to believe that Class 3 nominals were originally Class 4 nominals which have lost the final syllable. Firstly, in every regard apart from the SG.NOM form they are identical to Class 4 nominals. Secondly, only the seventeen nouns listed in Table 51 have been identified as belonging to this inflectional class. Thirdly, Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991: 185) present the word *kuõlb* 'firm forest land' as having the alternative form *kuõlbân* in the SG.NOM. The *Álgu* database (see footnote 26) provides even more compelling evidence to support this theory. Consider the cognate forms in Proto-Saami and other Saami varieties presented in Table 53, which are all *n-* or *m*-final.

Skolt SG.NOM	Skolt PL.NOM	Proto-Saami SG.NOM	Other Saami language
põõus (lip)	*põhssâm*	*pęŋsęm*	*paksim* (Lule)
sõõus (fur, hair)	*sõhssâm*	*sęvsęm*	
õõđ (bone marrow)	*õđđâm*	*ęδęm*	*aδδam* (Pite)
njuuč (tongue)	*njuhččâm*	*ńõkćęm*	*ńuhtšem* (Akkala)
siõm (seed)	*siõmmân*	*siemęn*	*siebmân* (North)
kuõlb (firm forest land)	*kuõlbbân*	*kōlpęn*	*gualban* (Ume)
vuâsk (perch)	*vuâskkan*	*vōsŋ͡n*	*vuoskun* (Pite)
seäm (beard)	*seämman*	*sēm͡n*	*sėaman* (Ter)
sââv (quite waters)	*sâvvan*	*sęv͡n*	*sǫvvan* (Ter)
lue'm (cloudberry)	*luâmman*	*luomēn*	*ḷamman* (Akkala)
čââ'đ (heart)	*čââđđam*	*ćęδēm*	

Table 53. Cognate forms of Class 3 nouns in Proto-Saami and other Saami languages

The fact that the lost syllable in the SG.NOM is always *n-* or *m*-final could be explained by the fact that nasals are lower on the sonority hierarchy than other consonants appearing word-finally in Class 4 nominals, apart from *s* and *z*, where frication may make these sounds more salient and thus less susceptible to being lost.

Class 4 nominals

Class 4 comprises disyllabic nominals, whose second syllable belongs to the same stress group as the first. The final consonant is either *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *z* or *ž*, and in a few cases *nj*, although words ending in *nj* could also belong to Class 8. Class 4 nominals can also be subdivided into Groups A, B and C in the same manner as seen in Class 1 nouns, exhibiting the corresponding stem vowel in each case – either *â*, *a* or *e*. The suffix vowel, however, is *e*, differing from the stem vowel, since the stem vowel undergoes syncope. The illative vowel is *a*.

　　The consonant centre of Class 4 nominals is in the weak grade in the SG.NOM and the STRONG+ grade in all other forms. This means that for nouns where the consonant centre is of the x-series (see §3.2), the consonant alternates between a single consonant and a long geminate.

　　In all Class 4 nominals, the phonemes *s* and *š* become voiced (*z* and *ž*, respectively) in all forms where they occur in syllable-final position, except the SG.NOM. The fact that this occurs in syllable-final position means *z* and *ž* occur in the SG.ABE, before the suffix *tää*. This is not seen in the PL.ABE, since the presence of the plural marker causes the *s* to become syllable-initial. The second syllable vowel undergoes syncope before the addition of a vowel-initial inflectional suffix, including the plural marker *i*. Both of the two abovementioned behaviours are exemplified with the word *čeeu'res* 'otter'.

SG.NOM	*čeeu'res*	PL.NOM	*čeurraz*
PL.ABE	*čeurrsitää*	SG.ABE	*čeurraztää*

Class 4 nouns belonging to Group C exhibit a change in the stem vowel from *e*, in the SG.NOM, to *a*, in all other forms where this vowel is present (also evident in the example presented above). Group C nouns also specify for a low vowel in all forms except the SG.NOM and are palatalised in the SG.NOM only. These features are summarised in Table 54.

	Singular	Plural
NOM		[+LOW][−PALATAL] e>a
ACC	[+LOW][−PALATAL] e>a	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
GEN	[+LOW][−PALATAL] e>a	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
ILL	[+LOW][−PALATAL]	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
LOC	[+LOW][−PALATAL]	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
COM	[+LOW][−PALATAL]	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
ABE	[+LOW][−PALATAL] e>a	[+LOW][−PALATAL]
ESS	[+LOW][−PALATAL]	
PART	[+LOW][−PALATAL]	

Table 54. Features associated with the inflection of Class 4C nominals

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 4C adjective, *puu'ttes* 'clean', is presented in Table 55.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*puu'ttes*	*pottaz*
ACC	*pottaz*	*pottsid*
GEN	*pottaz*	*pottsi*
ILL	*pottsa*	*pottsid*
LOC	*pottsest*	*pottsin*
COM	*pottsin*	*pottsivui'm*
ABE	*pottaztää*	*pottsitää*
ESS	*pottsen*	
PART	*pottsed*	

Table 55. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 4C nominal, *puu'ttes* 'clean'

Class 5 nominals

Class 5 nominals are mostly disyllabic, although trisyllabic nominals belonging to this class also exist. The final syllable vowel is *õ*, and the final consonant is either *k*, *s* or *š*. Class 5 nominals differ from Class 4 nominals in that it is the final syllable which is subject to consonant gradation, rather than the consonant centre.

In the SG.ILL, ESS and PART forms the addition of an inflectional suffix co-occurs with a lengthening of the final consonant, which is in the strong grade. The inflectional stem of all other forms display the weak grade of the same consonant and thus the preceding vowel is lengthened, i.e. *õkk → õõgg*, *õss → õõzz*, *õšš → õžž*.

The illative vowel is *e*, which triggers palatalisation in the SG.ILL form. The suffix vowel is *â*. Table 56 presents the inflectional paradigm of a Class 5 nominal, *porrmõš* 'food'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*porrmõš*	*porrmõõžž*
ACC	*porrmõõžž*	*porrmõõžžid*
GEN	*porrmõõžž*	*porrmõõžži*
ILL	*porrmõ'šše*	*porrmõõžžid*
LOC	*porrmõõžžâst*	*porrmõõžžin*
COM	*porrmõõžžin*	*porrmõõžživui'm*
ABE	*porrmõõžžtää*	*porrmõõžžitää*
ESS	*porrmõššân*	
PART	*porrmõššâd*	

Table 56. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 5 nominal, *porrmõš* 'food'

Class 6 nominals

Class 6 nominals are disyllabic or trisyllabic and *i*-final. The illative vowel is *a*; the suffix vowel is *e*. Nouns belonging to Class 6 are mostly deverbal agent nominalisations, see §5.1.4. The inflectional paradigm of a Class 6 noun, *lookki* 'reader' (from *lookkâd* 'to read'), is presented in Table 57.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*lookki*	*looggi ~ lookki*
ACC	*looggi ~ lookki*	*looggjid ~ lookkjid*
GEN	*looggi ~ lookki*	*looggji ~ lookkji*
ILL	*lookkja*	*looggjid ~ lookkjid*
LOC	*lookkjest*	*looggjin ~ lookkjin*
COM	*looggjin ~ lookkjin*	*looggjivui'm ~ lookkjivui'm*
ABE	*looggitää ~ lookkitää*	*looggjitää ~ lookkjitää*
ESS	*lookkjen*	
PART	*lookkjed*	

Table 57. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 6 nominal, *lookki* 'reader'

The inflectional paradigm of a trisyllabic Class 6 noun, *čäŋŋõõtti* 'intruder' (from *čäŋŋõõttâd* 'to intrude'), is presented in Table 58.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*čäŋŋõõtti*	*čäŋŋõõtti*
ACC	*čäŋŋõõtti*	*čäŋŋõõttjid*
GEN	*čäŋŋõõtti*	*čäŋŋõõttji*
ILL	*čäŋŋõõttja*	*čäŋŋõõttjid*
LOC	*čäŋŋõõttjest*	*čäŋŋõõttjin*
COM	*čäŋŋõõttjin*	*čäŋŋõõttjivui'm*
ABE	*čäŋŋõõttitää*	*čäŋŋõõttjitää*
ESS	*čäŋŋõõttjen*	
PART	*čäŋŋõõttjed*	

Table 58. Inflectional paradigm of a trisyllabic Class 6 nominal, *čäŋŋõõtti* 'intruder'

In Class 6 nominals grade alternation appears to be optional. In Table 57 both forms are given, giving an indication of those forms which may appear in the weak grade. If palatalisation is present in the nominative singular, it is present in all forms, otherwise it is absent from all forms.

The addition of a vowel-initial inflectional suffix causes resyllabification and the final *i* becomes syllable-initial *j*. Any vowel occurring before the final *i* is also dropped, as seen in nouns derived from Class 1B verbs which retain the stem vowel *a* (e.g. *särnnai* 'speaker' → *särnn'ja* 'speaker.SG.ILL').

Class 7 nominals

Class 7 nominals are also disyllabic and *i*-final, but unlike Class 6 nominals do not display any grade alternation. The PL.NOM, which is in the strong grade, is therefore identical to the SG.NOM form, as well as the SG.ACC and SG.GEN forms. All other features are shared with Class 6 nominals. The inflectional paradigm of a Class 7 noun, *hõ'ppi* 'owl', is presented in Table 59.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*hõ'ppi*	*hõ'ppi*
ACC	*hõ'ppi*	*hõ'ppjid*
GEN	*hõ'ppi*	*hõ'ppji*
ILL	*hõ'ppja*	*hõ'ppjid*
LOC	*hõ'ppjest*	*hõ'ppjin*
COM	*hõ'ppjin*	*hõ'ppjivui'm*
ABE	*hõ'ppitää*	*hõ'ppjitää*
ESS	*hõ'ppjen*	
PART	*hõ'ppjed*	

Table 59. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 7 nominal, *hõ'ppi* 'owl'

Class 8 nominals

Class 8 comprises most of the remaining disyllabic and trisyllabic nominals, including some disyllabic loan words. They are all consonant-final in the SG.NOM and share the fact that no gradation changes are observed in their inflectional paradigms, hence there is no difference between the SG.NOM, SG.ACC, SG.GEN and PL.NOM.

They can be distinguished from Class 5 nouns, since the vowel *õ* is not present in the final syllable. They differ from Class 4 nouns since either:

(i)   the final syllable has the structure CVCC;
(ii)   the noun is a derived noun, such as an action participle (for example, *koođđâm* 'spawning.ACT.PTCP' from *koođđâd* 'spawn.INF');
(iii) the consonant centre of the SG.NOM form is in the strong grade (for example, *čuä'cǩǩem* 'coldness'); or
(iv)   in the case of other nouns with a final CVC syllable, the final consonant is not *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *z* or *ž*, usually indicating it is a foreign loan.

In disyllabics with a final CVCC syllable, the final CC is a weak consonant cluster. The second syllable vowel is either *a*, *â* or *e*; the first consonant in the final consonant cluster is either *l*, *s* or *š*; and the final consonant is either *ǩ*, *m*, *n* or *t*. As with other classes, Class 8 nominals fall into three subgroups, although in Class 8 this has no bearing on their inflection. However, as might be expected, nouns where the

second syllable vowel is *â* display a high vowel centre, those where it is *a* display a low vowel centre, and those where the second syllable vowel is *e* are palatalised.

Stems followed by a vowel-initial suffix undergo syncope of the second-syllable vowel. The illative vowel is *a*; the suffix vowel is *e*. Where the SG.NOM stem ends in *s* and *š*, these are voiced, becoming *z* and *ž* respectively, when syllable-final.

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 noun of this type, *kaappâst* 'ladle, scoop', is presented in Table 60.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kaappâst*	*kaappâst*
ACC	*kaappâst*	*kaappstid*
GEN	*kaappâst*	*kaappsti*
ILL	*kaappsta*	*kaappstid*
LOC	*kaappstest*	*kaappstin*
COM	*kaappstin*	*kaappstivui'm*
ABE	*kaappâst'tää*	*kaappstitää*
ESS	*kaappsten*	
PART	*kaappsted*	

Table 60. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 nominal, *kaappâst* 'ladle'

Disyllabic nouns which end in *ǩ* in the SG.NOM show *k* in the SG.ILL, while those ending in *k* show *ǩ* in all forms except the SG.NOM, PL.NOM and the SG.ILL. For example, *kåålvak* 'reindeer.bull.SG.NOM' ~ *kåålvǩest* SG.LOC ~ *kåålvka* SG.ILL, *sââ'veǩ* 'ski.SG.NOM' ~ *sââ'vǩest* SG.LOC ~ *sââ'vka* SG.ILL. As mentioned in §2.2.1, this change is a quasi-automatic phonological process dependent on the environment – *ǩ* occurs when belonging to a syllable which contains a mid or high front vowel, *i* or *e*, although this rule does not apply to the SG.NOM form and those forms which are syncretic with the SG.NOM. Table 61 presents the inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 noun of this type, *pååttâǩ* 'potato'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*pååttaǩ*	*pååttaǩ*
ACC	*pååttaǩ*	*pååttǩid*
GEN	*pååttaǩ*	*pååttǩi*
ILL	*pååttka*	*pååttǩid*
LOC	*pååttǩest*	*pååttǩin*
COM	*pååttǩin*	*pååttǩivui'm*
ABE	*pååttaǩtää*	*pååttǩitää*
ESS	*pååttǩen*	
PART	*pååttǩed*	

Table 61. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 noun, displaying *k* ~ *ǩ* alternation

An example of some of the loan words which fall into this inflectional class are presented in Table 62. Although two of the examples are *r*-final in the nominative singular, they have a strong consonant centre and therefore cannot belong to Class 4.

Skolt Saami	Russian	English
gåårad	*gorod*	city
dåhttar	*doktor*	doctor
pe'sser	*biser*	bead
kåå'lez	*koleso*	wheel
jee'lez	*gil'za*	case, shell

Table 62. Examples of loan words belonging to Class 8

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 noun of foreign origin, *gåårad* 'city', is presented in Table 63.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*gåårad*	*gåårad*
ACC	*gåårad*	*gåårdid*
GEN	*gåårad*	*gåårdi*
ILL	*gåårda*	*gåårdid*
LOC	*gåårdest*	*gåårdin*
COM	*gåårdin*	*gåårdivui'm*
ABE	*gååradtää*	*gåårditää*
ESS	*gåården*	
PART	*gåårded*	

Table 63. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 8 noun of foreign origin

Class 9 nominals

Class 9 nominals are predominantly disyllabic, although trisyllabic nouns also occur, and end in either *až*, *âz*, *ež* or *už*. This class includes nominals ending in the derivational suffixes for diminutives, *až*, and the adjective-forming suffix *laž* (see §5.1.5).

These nominals do not exhibit grade alternation in any inflectional form. (In the case of diminutives, as explained in §5.1.3, the derivational suffix requires the weak stem of its host, although the derived noun itself does not undergo grade alternation in its inflection). The final *ž* is present only in the SG.NOM, SG.ILL, ESS and PART forms. The illative vowel is *e*, as too is the suffix vowel. The locative suffix vowel is overridden by the second syllable vowel of the PL.NOM.

Class 9 nominals can be subdivided into three groups. Group A nominals end in *âž*, have a high vowel centre and are palatalised in all forms except the SG.NOM,

SG.ILL, ESS and PART. The PL.NOM, SG.ACC and SG.GEN are *e*-final. Some Class 9A nominals end in *ež*, in which case all forms are palatalised.

Group B nouns end in *už*, are not palatalised in any form and are *u*-final in the PL.NOM. The stem-final *u* is also seen in all forms except where it undergoes syncope in the SG.ILL, ESS and PART forms. In all forms the stem-final *u*, whether present or having undergone syncope, triggers a high vowel in the vowel centre.

Group C nouns end in *až*, are not palatalised in any form and are *a*-final in the PL.NOM, although Group C nouns ending in the derivational suffix -*laž* may be palatalised, as in the case of *sä'mmlaž* 'Skolt Saami (person)'. The stem-final *a* is seen in the same environments as the stem-final *u* of Group B nouns.

As already stated, the SG.ILL, ESS and PART forms result in syncope of the second-syllable vowel of the SG.NOM. However, due to rules of syllabification, an epenthetic *i* is often inserted before *ž*, creating a new stress group. This new stress group is also palatalised due to the presence of the final *e*.

	SG.NOM	PL.NOM	SG.ILL
	jooggâž (stream)	*joo'jje*	*jooggže*
Group A	*siidâž* (little village)	*sii'de*	*siidže*
	muõrâž (small tree)	*muõ're*	*muõrže*
	ǩiõlkuž (little sledge)	*ǩiõlku*	*ǩiõlkže*
Group B	*paalluž* (small ball)	*paallu*	*paallže*
	aaiduž (small enclosure)	*aaidu*	*aaidže*
	kaammgaž (little bear)	*kaammga*	*kaammgi'žže*
Group C	*källsaž* (old man)	*källsa*	*källsi'žže*
	sä'mmlaž (Skolt Saami)	*sä'mmla*	*sä'mmli'žže*

As can be seen from the examples above, certain words in the SG.ILL end in *že* while others end in *i'žže*. This is due to the fact that two successive consonants cannot form the beginning of a syllable, apart from *s* followed by a plosive. The examples below show where the stress group boundaries would fall, showing how certain forms would be incorrect.

SG.NOM	SG.ILL	SG.ILL
kaammgaž (little bear)	**kaamm-gže*	*kaamm-gi'žže*
källsaž (old man)	**käll-sže*	*käll-si'žže*
sä'mmlaž (Skolt Saami)	**sä'mm-lže*	*sä'mm-li'žže*

In other cases, where the syncope of the second syllable vowel leaves a cluster of consonants, *že* is permitted, due to the fact that the middle consonant belongs to a consonant cluster and is therefore permitted to form part of the first syllable. This occurs, for example, when a liquid is followed by a nasal or plosive, or the consonant cluster begins with a glide.

SG.NOM	SG.ILL	SG.ILL
ǩiõlkuž (little sledge)	*ǩiõlk-že*	**ǩiõl-ki'žže*
päärnaž (child)	*päärn-že*	**päär-ni'žže*
aaiduž (small enclosure)	*aa(j)d-že*	**aa(j)-di'žže*

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 9 noun, *ǩiõlkuž* 'little sledge' (from *ǩeâlkk* 'sledge'), is presented in Table 64.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*ǩiõlkuž*	*ǩiõlku*
ACC	*ǩiõlku*	*ǩiõlkuid*
GEN	*ǩiõlku*	*ǩiõlkui*
ILL	*ǩiõlkže*	*ǩiõlkuid*
LOC	*ǩiõlkust*	*ǩiõlkuin*
COM	*ǩiõlkuin*	*ǩiõlkuivui'm*
ABE	*ǩiõlkutää*	*ǩiõlkuitää*
ESS	*ǩiõlkžen*	
PART	*ǩiõlkžed*	

Table 64. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 9 nominal, *ǩiõlkuž* 'little sledge'

Class 10 nominals

Class 10 nominals are two or more syllables in length, with a final syllable *šeǩ*, *neǩ* or *ne'ǩǩ*, which incorporates all those words ending in the derivational suffix *ne'ǩǩ* (see §5.1.3). It is the derivational suffix, as opposed to the lexical stem, which is subject to consonant gradation. In the PL.NOM, and all forms except the SG.NOM and SG.ILL, the final stress group is palatalised, the final syllable vowel is lengthened and the final consonant becomes a geminate if not already a geminate in the singular. The second stress group of the SG.ILL is in the STRONG+ grade.

SG.NOM	PL.NOM	SG.ILL
jäämšeǩ (driver)	*jäämšee'ǩǩ*	*jäämšeǩˈka*
oo'bbdneǩ (southeast)	*oo'bbdnee'ǩǩ*	*oo'bbdneǩˈka*
prekkšeǩ (assistant)	*prekkšee'ǩǩ*	*prekkšeǩˈka*

The illative vowel is *a*, which triggers a loss of palatalisation resulting in a change from *ǩǩ → kk*; the suffix vowel is *e*.

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 10 noun, *škooulne'ǩǩ* '(school) pupil', is presented in Table 65.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*škooulne'ǩǩ*	*škooulnee'ǩǩ*
ACC	*škooulnee'ǩǩ*	*škooulnee'ǩǩid*
GEN	*škooulnee'ǩǩ*	*škooulnee'ǩǩi*
ILL	*škooulnekka*	*škooulnee'ǩǩid*
LOC	*škooulnee'ǩǩest*	*škooulnee'ǩǩin*
COM	*škooulnee'ǩǩin*	*škooulnee'ǩǩivui'm*
ABE	*škooulnee'ǩǩtää*	*škooulnee'ǩǩitää*
ESS	*škooulne'ǩǩen*	
PART	*škooulne'ǩǩed*	

Table 65. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 10 nominal, *škooulne'ǩǩ* '(school) pupil'

Class 11 nominals

Class 11 comprises disyllabic, *d*-final, nominals, which includes the predicative form of some adjectives. They do not undergo gradation, but the final *d* and the preceding vowel are lost in forms taking vowel-initial suffixes and instead the initial vowel of the inflectional suffix is lengthened.

The illative vowel is *ä* (lengthened to *ää*), triggering depalatalisation in the SG.ILL. The suffix vowel is *e* (lengthened to *ee*), triggering palatalisation in the SG.LOC form. The inflectional paradigm of a Class 11 adjective, *viskkâd* 'yellow.SG.NOM', is presented in Table 66.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*viskkâd*	*viskkâd*
ACC	*viskkâd*	*viskkiid*
GEN	*viskkâd*	*viskkii*
ILL	*viskkää*	*viskkiid*
LOC	*viskkee'st*	*viskkiin*
COM	*viskkiin*	*viskkiivui'm*
ABE	*viskkâdtää*	*viskkiitää*
ESS	*viskkeen*	

Table 66. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 11 nominal, *viskkâd* 'yellow'

Class 12 nominals

Class 12 comprises disyllabic, *b*-final, nominals, consisting of the comparative form of adjectives. The final *b* is lengthened in the SG.ILL and the second syllable vowel changes to either *õ* or *u* in certain inflectional forms depending on the group to which the nominal belongs.

When the comparative form is formed from a *d*-final adjective the ending of the comparative form is *ääb*, which changes to *ub* in all forms except the SG.NOM, PL.NOM, SG.ACC, SG.GEN and SG.ABE. In comparative forms where the SG.NOM ending is *ab*, this becomes either *õb* or *ub* in the corresponding inflectional forms.

The suffix vowel is *u* for *ääb*-final nominals, which is present before any vowel-initial suffix, in addition to the SG.LOC, ESS and PART forms. For *ab*-final nominals, the suffix vowel is either *â* or *u*. The illative vowel is *e* for both types, triggering palatalisation.

The inflectional paradigm of two Class 12 nominals, *uu'ccab* 'small.CMPRT' and *močᄒääb* 'beautiful.CMPRT', are presented in Table 67 and Table 68.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*uu'ccab*	*uu'ccab*
ACC	*uu'ccab*	*uu'ccõbid*
GEN	*uu'ccab*	*uu'ccõbi*
ILL	*uu'ccõ'bbe*	*uu'ccõbid*
LOC	*uu'ccõbâst*	*uu'ccõbin*
COM	*uu'ccõbin*	*uu'ccõbivui'm*
ABE	*uu'ccabtää*	*uu'ccõbitää*
ESS	*uu'ccõbân*	
PART	*uu'ccõbâd*	

Table 67. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 12 nominal, *uu'ccab* 'smaller'

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*močᄒääb*	*močᄒääb*
ACC	*močᄒääb*	*močᄒubuid*
GEN	*močᄒääb*	*močᄒubui*
ILL	*močᄒu'bbe*	*močᄒubuid*
LOC	*močᄒubust*	*močᄒubuin*
COM	*močᄒubuin*	*močᄒubuivui'm*
ABE	*močᄒääbtää*	*močᄒubuitää*
ESS	*močᄒubun*	
PART	*močᄒubud*	

Table 68. Inflectional paradigm of a Class 12 nominal, *močᄒääb* 'more beautiful'

Summary of inflectional classes

Table 69 provides a summary of some of the most salient features of each inflectional class, although it is impossible to highlight all relevant facts pertaining to each inflectional class in such a simple table. Vowels separated by slashes correspond to the vowels for Group A, B and C verbs, respectively; or, in the case

of Class 2 verbs, to Groups A and B, respectively. The tilde is used to indicate variation.

Class	SG.NOM syllables	SG.NOM features	PL.NOM features	SG.NOM grade	PL.NOM. grade	SG.ILL. grade	Suffix vowel	Illative vowel
1	one			STRONG	WEAK	STRONG+	*â/a/e*	*e/u/a*
2	one		V-final; 2σ	WEAK	STRONG+	STRONG+	*e/a~e*	*a*
3	one		C-final; 2σ	WEAK	STRONG+	STRONG+	*e*	*a*
4	two	VC-final		WEAK	STRONG+	STRONG+	*e*	*a*
5	≥ two	*õ*C-final		–	WEAK	STRONG	*â*	*e*
6	≥ two	*i*-final; AGENT		STRONG	WEAK	STRONG	*e*	*a*
7	two	*i*-final	= SG.NOM	STRONG	STRONG	STRONG	*e*	*a*
8	≥ two	see §6.2.1		–	–	–	*e*	*a*
9	≥ two	*ž*-final	*ž* dropped	–	–	–	*e*	*e*
10	≥ two	*eǩ*-final		–	STRONG	STRONG+	*e*	*a*
11	two	*d*-final	= SG.NOM	–	–	–	*e~ee*	*ä~ää*
12	two	*b*-final	= SG.NOM	–	–	STRONG+	*u~â*	*e*

Table 69. Summary of salient features of nominal inflectional classes

6.2.2 Loan nouns

All loan nouns are marked with identical inflectional suffixes to those seen on native nouns and may be subject to the same morphophonological processes of vowel height alternations and palatalisation as native nouns. However, loan nouns differ from native nouns in one important regard – namely, the absence, or irregular behaviour, of consonant gradation. Note that a subset of loan nouns were included in the definition of Class 8 nominals, in §6.2.1, by virtue of the fact that Class 8 nominals are not subject to gradation.

Monosyllabic loan words behave in many respects like Class 1 nominals but are not subject to vowel height alternations or consonant gradation.[33] Since consonant gradation is such a prevalent feature in the inflection of Class 1 nominals, it is not particularly advantageous to include these loan nouns in the section on Class 1 nominals.

As with Class 1 nominals, loan nouns can also be divided into Groups A, B and C, which can be determined from the vowel height and absence or presence of palatalisation in the SG.NOM form. The suffix vowel and illative vowel used for each group also correspond to those seen in Class 1 nominals. Some examples of monosyllabic loan nouns are given in Table 70, with their probable source.

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33. Note, however, the exception, whereby loss of palatalisation in the SG.ILL of *stuu'l* 'chair' and *škuu'l* 'school' leads to a change in vowel height in the consonant centre, resulting in *stooula* 'chair.SG.ILL' and *škooula* 'school.SG.ILL', but *u* is nevertheless retained.

	Skolt Saami	Probable source	English
	kloopp	*klop* (Russian)	bedbug
Group A	*šaarf*	*šarf* (Russian)	scarf
	voozz	*voz* (Russian)	load
	meer	*mir* (Russian)	world
Group B	*steehl*	*ˀsteklo* (Russian)	glass
	peehl	*ˀpeel* (English)	(baker's) peel
	stuu'l	*stul* (Russian)	stool, chair
Group C	*žaa'll*	*žalost'* (Russian)	pity
	põõ'l	*pyl'* (Russian)	dust

Table 70. Examples of monosyllabic loan nouns

The inflectional paradigm of a monosyllabic loan noun, *kloopp* 'bedbug', is presented in Table 71, illustrating the absence of consonant gradation.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kloopp*	*kloopp*
ACC	*kloopp*	*klooppid*
GEN	*kloopp*	*klooppi*
ILL	*kloo'ppe*	*klooppid*
LOC	*klooppâst*	*klooppin*
COM	*klooppin*	*klooppivui'm*
ABE	*kloopptää*	*klooppitää*
ESS	*klooppân*	
PART	*klooppâd*	

Table 71. Inflectional paradigm of a monosyllabic loan noun, *kloopp* 'bedbug'

As mentioned already, some disyllabic loan nouns can be regarded as belonging to Class 8. This is due to the fact that the structure of those words permits syncope of the vowel in the latus and resyllabification of the final consonant with the following inflectional suffix. Compare the SG.NOM and SG.LOC forms of the following Class 8 loan nouns.

dåhttar (doctor ← Russian *doktor*) → *dåhttrest* (SG.LOC)   *dåhtt-rest*
gåårad (city ← Russian *gorod*)   → *gåårdest* (SG.LOC)   *gåår-dest*
pe'sser (bead ← Russian *biser*)   → *pe'ssrest* (SG.LOC)   *pe'ss-rest*

The structure of other disyllabic loan nouns does not permit this behaviour, as illustrated by the examples below. These nouns must therefore be treated differently.

jarplan (aeroplane ← Russian *aèroplan*) →   **jarplnest* (SG.LOC)
ho'zje'n (owner ← Russian *xozjain*)   →   **ho'zjnest* (SG.LOC)
pâ'ǩat (parcel ← Russian *paket*)   →   **pâ'ǩtest* (SG.LOC)

In disyllabic loan words like these, the second syllable vowel is lengthened where a weak stem might have been expected. This is exemplified by the PL.NOM forms given in Table 72. Also worth noting is that if the loan noun ends in a consonant cluster or geminate this may be shortened, resembling consonant gradation in native nouns.

In the SG.ILL, where the STRONG+ grade might be expected, the final consonant of the loan noun may undergo gemination, mimicking consonant gradation in native nouns, as shown in Table 72. However, two factors distinguish this from true gradation as seen in native nouns – firstly, gemination does not always occur, as seen in the case of *narod* 'people', *manah* 'monk' and *direktiv* 'directive'; secondly, the gemination of *k* observed in the SG.ILL of *durak* 'fool' does not mirror consonant gradation, since the Grade I form of *kk* is *gg* and not *k*, unless it is part of a consonant cluster.

SG.NOM	Russian	PL.NOM	SG.ILL
juri'stt (lawyer)	*jurist*	*jur**ii'st***	*juri'st**t**e*
dokumentt (document)	*dokument*	*dokum**eent***	*dokum**entt**a*
ho'zje'n (owner)	*xozjain*	*ho'zj**ee'n***	*ho'zj**enn**a*
narod (people)	*narod*	*nar**ood***	*naroo'de*
durak (fool)	*durak*	*dur**aak***	*dur**akk**a*
alfabet (letter of alphabet)	*alfavit*	*alfab**eet***	*alfab**ett**a*
direktiv (directive)	*direktiv*	*direkt**iiv***	*direktii've*
manah (monk)	*monax*	*man**aah***	*manaha*
kolhoss (kolkhoz)	*kolxoz*	*kolh**oozz***	*kolh**'oss**e*

Table 72. Examples of the PL.NOM and SG.ILL forms of loan nouns

Disyllabic loan nouns which are palatalised require a high vowel in the second syllable in the SG.COM and all plural forms except the PL.NOM.

päärhå'd (ship ← Russian *paroxod*)   →   *päärhoo'di* (PL.GEN)
kastrå'll (saucepan ← Russian *kastrjulja*)   →   *kastroo'llin* (SG.COM)

A number of other nouns behave in the same way as described above, but their origin is uncertain. These include the nouns *čiʒiham* 'wolf' (*čiʒihaam* PL.NOM, *čiʒihamma* SG.ILL) and *aiham* 'bear' (*aihaam* PL.NOM, *aihamma* SG.ILL), both of which are restricted to use in fairy tales.

In vowel-final loan nouns, such as *truuba* 'pipe (for smoking)', the PL.NOM form is identical to the SG.NOM and the final vowel acts as both the suffix vowel and illative vowel.

truuba   (pipe ← Russian *truba*)   →   *truubast* (SG.LOC)
                                    →   *truuba* (SG.ILL)
                                    →   *truubain* (SG.COM)

voroŋka (funnel ← Russian *voronka*)   →   *voroŋkast* (SG.LOC)
                                          →   *voroŋka* (SG.ILL)
                                          →   *voroŋkain* (SG.COM)

6.2.3 Irregular nouns

There are a number of nouns which cannot be easily fitted into any of the inflectional classes outlined in §6.2.1. The irregularity in the inflection of these nouns is observed in the stem-internal changes; all inflectional suffixes however are regular, as presented in §6.1. Those nouns which have been identified as irregular are presented below. For each noun, five forms are presented, from which the remaining forms can be deduced. Note that this list differs somewhat from that found in Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991: 194), since a small number of verbs listed there as irregular can in fact be incorporated into the inflectional classes outlined in §6.2.1.

	Dwarf	Mouse	Girl	Reindeer	Father
SG.NOM	*čeäkˈkli*	*säˈppli*	*nijdd*	*puäʒʒ*	*eˈčč*
SG.ILL	*čeäkˈkleeja*	*säˈppleeja*	*niˈjdde*	*puäcˈcja*	*ečča*
SG.LOC	*čeäkˈkleeˈst*	*säˈppleeˈst*	*niõðâst*	*puõcˈcust*	*eeˈjjest*
SG.COM	*čeäkˈkleeiˈn*	*säˈppleeiˈn*	*niõðin*	*puõcˈcuin*	*eeˈjjin*
PL.NOM	*čeäkˈklee*	*säˈpplee*	*niõð*	*puõcˈcu*	*eeˈjj*

	Comb	Road	Shoe	Man	Person
SG.NOM	*čååggam*	*čuâggas*	*kaammi*	*ååum*	*ooumaž*
SG.ILL	*čååkkma*	*čuâkˈksa*	*kammga*	*åummja*	*oummže*
SG.LOC	*čååkkmest*	*čuõkˈkust*	*käˈmmest*	*åummast*	*oummust*
SG.COM	*čååkkmin*	*čuõkˈkuin*	*käˈmmin*	*åummain*	*oummuin*
PL.NOM	*čååkkam*	*čuõkˈku*	*käˈmme*	*åumma*	*oummu*

	Fly	Dog	Tea	Character	Uniform
SG.NOM	*čuâras*	*piânnai*	*čee*	*bukva*	*trååika*
SG.ILL	*čuârˈrsa*	*piânˈnga*	*ceeˈa*	*bukvaaˈjje*	*trååikže*
SG.LOC	*čuõrˈrust*	*pieˈnˈnest*	*čeeˈest*	*bukvaast*	*trååikast*
SG.COM	*čuõrˈruin*	*pieˈnˈnin*	*čeeˈin*	*bukvain*	*trååikain*
PL.NOM	*čuõrˈru*	*pieˈnˈne*	*čee*	*bukva*	*trååika*

	Provisions	Woollen yarn
SG.NOM	*jeäˈves*	*lääiˈj*
SG.ILL	*jeäˈvˈvsa*	*lääiga*
SG.LOC	*jeäˈvˈvsest*	*lääiˈjest*
SG.COM	*jeäˈvˈvsin*	*laaiˈjin*
PL.NOM	*jeäˈvˈvez*	*lääiˈj*

6.2.4 Possessor marking

As well as inflecting for number and case, nominals in Skolt Saami also optionally inflect for possession. This seems to be disappearing, however, despite the existence of the same grammatical feature in Finnish. Instead, speakers tend to show a preference for a possessive pronoun together with a noun unmarked for possession. Although possessive marking on the noun is clearly still in use to a certain extent it proved extremely difficult to elicit during field work, even when presenting the consultant with the equivalent possessive-marked form in Finnish. The analysis presented in this section is therefore based on data taken from the paradigms given in Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991: 160–164).

The possessive markers are presented in Table 73, where the asterisk represents the vowel *a* and the circumflex represents a vowel of varying quality, which will be explained in due course. The variant *m* is seen only in the SG.NOM form of nominals marked for 1SG or 1PL possession, while in all other cases this is *n*. Dual possession is marked with the corresponding plural possessive marker.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-*n [-*m]	-ˆn [-ˆm]
2nd person	-*d	-ˆd
3rd person	-ˆs	-ˆz

Table 73. Possessive suffixes in nominal inflection

The possessive suffixes follow the number and case suffixes when present except in the SG.ABE – where they are inserted between the lexical stem and the case suffix – and the PL.ABE and PL.COM – where they occur between the plural marker *i* and the case suffix. When referring to the inflectional stem with regards to possessive marking, therefore, this can either mean (i) the lexical stem, (ii) the lexical stem together with the plural marker *i*, or (iii) the lexical stem marked for both case and number. The linear position of possessive suffixes in relation to other inflectional morphemes is summarised in Table 74.

	NOM / ACC / GEN	lexical stem + possessive
Singular	ILL / LOC / COM / ESS	lexical stem + case + possessive
	ABE	lexical stem + possessive + case
Plural	NOM	lexical stem + possessive
	ACC / GEN / ILL / LOC	lexical stem + number/case + possessive
	COM / ABE	lexical stem + number + possessive + case

Table 74. Position of possessive suffix in nominal inflection

Some examples of the variation in the linear position of the possessive suffixes are provided below.

põrtt (house.SG.NOM)
põrttam (+SG.NOM.1SG)   →   *põrtt + am* (POSS)
põõrtstâd (+SG.LOC.2PL)   →   *põõrt + st* (CASE) + *âd* (POSS)
põõrtâstää (+SG.ABE.3SG)   →   *põõrt + âs* (POSS) + *tää* (CASE)
põõrteedvui'm (+PL.COM.2PL)   →   *põõrt + i* (NUMBER) + *ed* (POSS) + *vui'm* (CASE)

The realisation of the possessive suffix vowel, indicated in Table 73 by means of a circumflex, is determined by its position in a word. If the vowel of the possessive suffix is in the position of the latus (see §2.1) it corresponds to the suffix vowel specified for each inflectional class earlier in this chapter; if the vowel of the possessive suffix is in the position of the vowel margin (see §2.1) then it is realised as *e* when the possessor is in the singular or *ee* when the possessor is in the plural. This is summarised in Table 75.

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Latus	*-an* [*-am*]	*-ˆn* [*-ˆm*]	*-ad*	*-ˆd*	*-ˆs*	*-ˆz*
Vowel margin	*-an* [*-am*]	**-een** [**-eem**]	*-ad*	**-eed**	**-es**	**-eez**

Table 75. Possessive suffixes in relation to person, number and position in word

Some examples of the variation in the possessive suffix vowel based on its position in a word are presented below.

		Latus	Margin
äkk (grandmother)			
äkkas (+SG.NOM.3SG)	→	*äkkas*	
ääkkstes (+SG.LOC.3SG)	→	*ääkk*	**-stes**
ääkksteez (+SG.LOC.3PL)	→	*ääkk*	**-steez**
ääkkastää (+SG.ABE.3SG)	→	*ääkkas*	*-tää*

		Latus	Margin
põrtt (house)			
põrttâs (+SG.NOM.3SG)	→	*põrttâs*	
põõrtstes (+SG.LOC.3SG)	→	*põõrt*	**-stes**
põõrtâstää (+SG.ABE.3SG)	→	*põõrtâs*	*-tää*
põõrtines (+PL.LOC.3SG)	→	*põõrtin*	**-es**

Where the possessive suffix directly follows the plural marker *i*, the plural marker and the initial vowel of the possessive suffix coalesce. In the case of 1SG and 2SG *a*-initial possessive suffixes following the plural marker *i*, these vowels coalesce to produce *ää* or *aa*; in the case of any other possessive suffixes, these coalesce with the plural marker *i* to produce *ee*, as represented below.

i + a	→	*ää ~ aa*
i + ˆ	→	*ee*

Some examples of this are presented below.

põrtt (house)

põõrti (+PL.GEN) + *an*	→	*põõrtään* (+PL.GEN.1SG)
põõrtid (+PL.ILL) + *es*	→	*põõrtees* (+PL.ILL.3SG)
põõrtitää (+PL.ABE) + *ad*	→	*põõrtäädtää* (+PL.ABE.2SG)

Note that analysing this as a coalescence of the plural marker *i* and the possessive suffix vowel also fits with the behaviour observed with regard to palatalisation. Palatal stems become depalatalised if the possessive suffix vowel is *a* and belongs to the same stress group, as observed below, and retained if the possessive suffix vowel is *e*. However, this is not seen in the presence of *ää* or *aa*, supporting the idea that there is an underlying *i* present.

vuä'bb (sister.SG.NOM)

vuä'bb (SG.NOM) + *am*	→	*vuäb'bam* (SG.NOM.1SG)
vuä'bb (SG.NOM) + *es*	→	*vuä'b'bes* (SG.NOM.3SG)
vue'bbi (PL.GEN) + *an*	→	*vue'bbään* (PL.GEN.1SG)
vue'bbivui'm (PL.COM) + *ad*	→	*vue'bbaadtää* (PL.COM.2SG)

The case marker -*d* of the PL.ACC and PL.ILL is omitted before a possessive suffix, rendering these two forms vowel-final, since the plural marker *i* is retained, and identical to the PL.GEN. The PL.COM and PL.ABE are also vowel-final stems for the purpose of possessive marking, since the possessive suffix directly follows the plural marker *i*.

The addition of a possessive suffix also causes the syncope of the stem vowel in the inflectional stem. Note that this only affects the stem vowel, as defined in §6.1, and does not affect other vowels in the latus. Compare, for example the effect of a possessive suffix on a word inflected for SG.LOC case, where the stem vowel *â* undergoes syncope, while in the same word inflected for SG.COM case the vowel in the latus belongs to the case marker and is therefore retained since it is not a stem vowel.

ǩiõtt (hand)	→	*ǩiõđâst* (hand.SG.LOC)	→	*ǩiõđstan* (hand.SG.LOC.1SG)
ǩiõtt (hand)	→	*ǩiõđin* (hand.SG.COM)	→	*ǩiõđinan* (hand.SG.COM.1SG)

The syncope of the stem vowel is thus observed in all possessed forms of disyllabic nominals. In the examples given below, the stem vowel *â* is absent in all forms marked for possession.

ǩiiugân (oven)   →   *ǩiuggnam* (oven.SG.NOM.1SG)
                   →   *ǩiuggninad* (oven.SG.COM.2SG)
                   →   *ǩiuggnääntää* (oven.PL.ABE.1SG)

Note also, that the loss of the stem vowel in disyllabic nominals triggers the STRONG+ grade in the SG.NOM possessed form, as observed in all other non-possessed forms.

võõnâs (boat)   →   *võnnsam* (boat.SG.NOM.1SG)

When a possessive suffix occurs on a noun inflected for SG.ILL an epenthetic *s* appears before the possessive suffix.

ǩiiugân (oven) → *ǩiuggna* (oven.SG.ILL)   →   *ǩiuggnasad* (oven.SG.ILL.2SG)
                                                →   *ǩiuggne'sez* (oven.SG.ILL.3PL)

In Class 1 nominals, the illative vowel is in the latus position and is lost in the same way as the suffix vowel, being replaced by *s*. The loss of the front vowel *e* present in some inflectional classes also triggers depalatalisation.

ǩiõtt (hand)   →   *ǩiõ't'te* (hand.SG.ILL)   →   *ǩiõt'tses* (hand.SG.ILL.3SG)

Possessive marking – stem alternations

The addition of a possessive suffix can also lead to changes in the stem, particularly with regard to consonant gradation as a result of resyllabification.

In Class 1 nominals, the resyllabification of the ESS, due to the loss of the suffix vowel in the latus and the essive marker *n* becoming syllable-initial, results in a grade change in the inflectional stem from STRONG to STRONG+ in all possessed forms. While the SG.ILL also loses the illative vowel, it is already in the STRONG+ grade, so no change in consonant gradation is observed.

ǩiõtt (hand)   →   *ǩiõttân* (hand.ESS)   →   *ǩiõt'tnad* (hand.ESS.2SG)
muõrr (tree)   →   *muõrrân* (tree.ESS)   →   *muõr'rnes* (tree.ESS.3SG)

In 1SG and 1PL possessed forms the addition of the possessive suffix in the position of the latus and consonant margin optionally results in the strong grade. Note that this includes the SG.ABE since the possessive suffix precedes the case marker, occupying the positions of latus and consonant margin.

ǩiõtt (hand)   → *ǩiõđ* (hand.SG.ACC)   → *ǩiõttan~ǩiõđan* (hand.SG.ACC.1SG)
ǩiõtt (hand)   → *ǩiõđtää* (hand.SG.ABE) → *ǩiõttantää~ǩiõđantää* (hand.SG.ABE.1SG)
muõrr (tree)   → *muõr* (tree.PL.NOM)   → *muõrrân~muõrân* (tree.PL.NOM.1PL)

			Possessor					
			1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Possessed	**Singular**	NOM	*muõrram*	*muõrrâm*	*muõrrad*	*muõrrâd*	*muõrrâs*	*muõrrâz*
		ACC/GEN	*muõrran*	*muõrrân*	*muõrad*	*muõrâd*	*muõrâs*	*muõrâz*
		ILL	*muõrˈrsan*	*muõrˈrseen*	*muõrˈrsad*	*muõrˈrseed*	*muõrˈrses*	*muõrˈrseez*
		LOC	*muõrstan*	*muõrsteen*	*muõrstad*	*muõrsteed*	*muõrstes*	*muõrsteez*
		COM	*muõrinan*	*muõrineen*	*muõrinad*	*muõrineed*	*muõrines*	*muõrineez*
		ABE	*muõrran-tää*	*muõrrân-tää*	*muõrad-tää*	*muõrâd-tää*	*muõrâs-tää*	*muõrâz-tää*
		ESS	*muõrˈrnan*	*muõrˈrneen*	*muõrˈrnad*	*muõrˈrneed*	*muõrˈrnes*	*muõrˈrneez*
	Plural	NOM	*muõrran*	*muõrrân*	*muõrad*	*muõrâd*	*muõrâs*	*muõrâz*
		ACC/GEN/ILL	*muõrään*	*muõreen*	*muõrääd*	*muõreed*	*muõrees*	*muõreez*
		LOC	*muõrinan*	*muõrineen*	*muõrinad*	*muõrineed*	*muõrines*	*muõrineez*
		COM	*muõrään-vui'm*	*muõreen-vui'm*	*muõrääd-vui'm*	*muõreed-vui'm*	*muõrees-vui'm*	*muõreez-vui'm*
		ABE	*muõrään-tää*	*muõreen-tää*	*muõrääd-tää*	*muõreed-tää*	*muõrees-tää*	*muõreez-tää*

Table 76. Inflectional paradigm of *muõrr* 'tree', marked for possession

The inflectional paradigm of a Class 1 noun, *muõrr* 'tree', marking possession is presented in Table 76.

Class 1B nominals optionally display the suffix vowel *a* in the SG.COM and PL.LOC.

pess (gun)   → *peessain* (gun.SG.COM)   → *peessainan* (gun.SG.COM.1SG)
ǩeâlkk (sled)   → *ǩeâlkain* (sled.PL.LOC)   → *ǩeâlkaines* (sled.PL.LOC.3SG)

Palatalisation in the possessive forms of Class 1C nominals is affected by the possessive suffix vowel, if this vowel occurs in the latus of the first stress group. The vowel *a*, as seen in the 1SG and 2SG possessive suffixes, will trigger depalatalisation if part of the initial stress group, while the vowel *e* in other possessive suffixes or the underlying plural marker *i* (coalesced to produce *ää* or *ee*) retains palatalisation if part of the initial stress group.

sie'ss (aunt)   → *seâssam* (aunt.SG.NOM.1SG) →   *sie'sses* (aunt.SG.NOM.3SG)
kue's's (guest) → *kuâs'sad* (guest.SG.NOM.2SG) →   *kue's's'sez* (guest.SG.NOM.3PL)

If the possessive suffix belongs to the second stress group, then the vowel has no effect on the palatalisation of the first stress group. Instead, the palatalisation of the inflectional stem is identical to the corresponding non-possessed form of the word, even if the addition of a possessive suffix triggers the loss of the latus vowel which may have been the conditioning factor affecting palatalisation. For example, the SG.ILL suffix of Class 1C nominals is *a* which triggers depalatalisation. When marked for possession, the vowel *a* is not present, but the stem remains unpalatalised despite the absence of the vowel which triggered it, and it is unaffected by the possessive suffix which belongs to the second stress group, as evidenced by the fact that *e* does not trigger palatalisation in the second example given below.

sie'ss (aunt)   →   *seâs'sa* (aunt.SG.ILL)   →   *seâs's'san* (aunt.SG.ILL.1SG)
kue's's (guest) →   *kuâs'sa* (guest.SG.ILL)   →   *kuâs's'ses* (guest.SG.ILL.3SG)

In a similar manner, the SG.LOC form of Class 1C nominals marked for possession remains palatalised, despite the loss of the latus vowel *e*, since the possessive suffix vowel is in the second stress group and therefore has no effect on the first stress group.

sie'ss (aunt)   →   *sie'zzest* (aunt.SG.LOC)   →   *sie'zzstan* (aunt.SG.LOC.1SG)
kue's's (guest) →   *kue'ssest* (guest.SG.LOC)   →   *kue'ss'stes* (guest.SG.LOC.3SG)

If, however, the second stress group is disyllabic – as in the case of many possessed forms of disyllabic nominals – the possessive suffix vowel will affect both the palatalisation of the second stress group and the vowel height of the preceding syllable. The vowel *a*, of the 1SG and 2SG possessive suffixes, will trigger a change in vowel height from *e* → *a* in the first syllable of the second stress group, while the vowel *e* of other possessive suffixes will trigger palatalisation in the second stress group and a change in vowel height from *a* → *e*. This is best exemplified by way of the SG.ILL and SG.LOC forms, since the former displays *a* in the non-possessed form and the latter displays *e* in the non-possessed form, while both display both *a* and *e* in their possessed forms due to the effect of the possessive suffix.

ǩiugân (oven) →   *ǩiuggna* (oven.SG.ILL)   →   *ǩiuggnasad* (oven.SG.ILL.2SG)
                                                →   *ǩiuggne'sed* (oven.SG.ILL.2PL)

ǩiugân (oven) →   *ǩiuggnest* (oven.SG.LOC)   →   *ǩiuggnastan* (oven.SG.LOC.1SG)
                                                →   *ǩiuggne'sten* (oven.SG.LOC.1PL)

Possessive inflection – disyllabic nominals

The possessive suffixes of disyllabic nominals differ in two regards from that which is set out above. Firstly, the 3SG possessive marker of the SG.ILL is -*as*, in place of -*es*. Secondly, if the possessive suffix is the second syllable of the second stress group, *ee* is realised as short *e*. These variations can be more clearly understood by means of an example. Presented below are a number of 3SG, 1PL and 3PL possessed forms of the inflectional paradigm of *ǩiiugan* 'oven'. Note, firstly, the SG.ILL ending in the 3SG form. Note also how the vowel of the possessive suffix on nominals inflected for plural possession, which is realised as long *ee* when in the position of the vowel margin, is shortened when it occurs in the second syllable of a second stress group.

		Possessor		
		3SG	1PL	3PL
	NOM	*ǩiuggnes*	*ǩiuggneem*	*ǩiuggneez*
	ACC/GEN	*ǩiuggnes*	*ǩiuggneen*	*ǩiuggneez*
	ILL	*ǩiuggnasas*	*ǩiuggne'sen*	*ǩiuggne'sez*
Possessed (SG)	LOC	*ǩiuggne'stes*	*ǩiuggne'sten*	*ǩiuggne'stez*
	COM	*ǩiuggni'nes*	*ǩiuggni'nen*	*ǩiuggni'nez*
	ABE	*ǩiuggnestää*	*ǩiuggneentää*	*ǩiuggneeztää*
	ESS	*ǩiuggnenes*	*ǩiuggne'nen*	*ǩiuggne'nez*

In addition to these variations seen in disyllabic nominals, the possessive inflection of Class 9 nominals differs from their non-possessive counterparts since the final *ž* of the SG.NOM is retained in the PL.NOM – as well as the syncretic SG.ACC and SG.GEN – and the SG.ABE, the four forms which are vowel-final with regard to the possessive inflection. Recall that the SG.ABE case marker occurs after the possessive suffix.

ǩeâlkaž (sled.DIM) → *ǩiõlku* (sled.PL.NOM)   → *ǩiõlkžan* (sled.PL.NOM.1SG)
                       → *ǩiõlkutää* (sled.SG.ABE) → *ǩiõlkžantää* (sled.SG.ABE.1SG)

6.3 Pronouns

In this section, the paradigms of all the different types of pronouns are presented. Pronouns, like nouns, inflect for all case and number distinctions.

6.3.1 Personal pronouns

The singular personal pronouns inflect for all nine cases, as seen in singular nominals. The dual personal pronouns inflect for all cases except the partitive. The plural personal pronouns inflect for all cases except the essive and partitive, as seen in plural nominals. Tables 77–79 present the full paradigms for all nine personal pronouns.

	1SG	2SG	3SG
NOM	*mon*	*ton*	*son*
ACC	*muu*	*tuu*	*suu*
GEN	*muu*	*tuu*	*suu*
ILL	*mu'nne*	*tu'nne*	*su'nne*
LOC	*mu'st*	*tu'st*	*su'st*
COM	*muin*	*tuin*	*suin*
ABE	*muutää*	*tuutää*	*suutää*
ESS	*muu'nen*	*tuu'nen*	*suu'nen*
PART	*muu'đed*	*tuu'đed*	*suu'đed*

Table 77. Inflectional paradigms of singular personal pronouns

	1DU	2DU	3DU
NOM	*muäna*	*tuäna*	*suäna*
ACC	*muän'naid*	*tuän'naid*	*suän'naid*
GEN	*muän'nai*	*tuän'nai*	*suän'nai*
ILL	*muän'naid*	*tuän'naid*	*suän'naid*
LOC	*muän'nast*	*tuän'nast*	*suän'nast*
COM	*muän'nain*	*tuän'nain*	*suän'nain*
ABE	*muän'naitää*	*tuän'naitää*	*suän'naitää*
ESS	*muän'nan*	*tuän'nan*	*suän'nan*

Table 78. Inflectional paradigms of dual personal pronouns

	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	*mij*	*tij*	*sij*
ACC	*mi'jjid*	*ti'jjid*	*si'jjid*
GEN	*mij*	*tij*	*sij*
ILL	*mi'jjid*	*ti'jjid*	*si'jjid*
LOC	*mee'st ~ mi'jjin*	*tee'st ~ ti'jjin*	*see'st ~ si'jjin*
COM	*mi'jjivui'm*	*ti'jjivui'm*	*si'jjivui'm*
ABE	*mi'jjitää*	*ti'jjitää*	*si'jjitää*

Table 79. Inflectional paradigms of plural personal pronouns

6.3.2 Reflexive pronouns

There is one reflexive pronoun in Skolt Saami, *jiõčč* 'self', which inflects for case in the same way as a noun. Person is marked by way of the nominal possessive suffixes, as presented in §6.2.4. The singular forms are given in Table 80 and the plural forms in Table 81.

	1SG	2SG	3SG
NOM	*jiõčč*	*jiõčč*	*jiõčč*
ACC	*jiõččan*	*jiijjad*	*jiijjâs*
GEN	*jiõččan*	*jiijjad*	*jiijjâs*
ILL	*jiõc'csan*	*jiõc'csad*	*jiõc'cses*
LOC	*jijstan*	*jijstad*	*jijstes*
COM	*jiijjinan*	*jiijjinad*	*jiijjines*
ESS	*jiõččnan*	*jiõččnad*	*jiõččnes*

Table 80. Singular forms of the reflexive pronoun

	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	*jiijj*	*jiijj*	*jiijj*
ACC	*jiijjân*	*jiijjâd*	*jiijjâz*
GEN	*jiijjân*	*jiijjâd*	*jiijjâz*
ILL	*jiõc'cseen*	*jiõc'cseed*	*jiõc'cseez*
LOC	*jijsteen*	*jijsteed*	*jijsteez*
COM	*jiijjeenvui'm*	*jiijjeedvui'm*	*jiijjeezvui'm*
ESS	*jiõččneen*	*jiõččneed*	*jiõččneez*

Table 81. Plural forms of the reflexive pronoun

6.3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in both the singular and plural as with other nominals. The full paradigms of the demonstrative pronouns *tät*, *tut* and *tõt* are presented in Table 82.

		'this'	'that'	'it' / 'that'
Singular	NOM	*tät*	*tut*	*tõt*
	ACC	*tän*	*tun*	*tõn*
	GEN	*tän*	*tun*	*tõn*
	ILL	*tääzz*	*tuuzz*	*tõõzz*
	LOC	*tä'st*	*tu'st*	*tõ'st*
	COM	*täin*	*tuin*	*tõin*
	ABE	*täntää*	*tuntää*	*tõntää*
	ESS	*tää'ðen*	*tuu'ðen*	*tââ'ðen*
	PART	*tää'ð(ed)*	*tuu'ð(ed)*	*tââ'ð(ed)*
Plural	NOM	*täk*	*tuk*	*tõk*
	ACC	*täid*	*tuid*	*tõid*
	GEN	*täi*	*tui*	*tõi*
	ILL	*täid*	*tuid*	*tõid*
	LOC	*täin*	*tuin*	*tõin*
	COM	*täivu'im*	*tuivui'm*	*tõivu'im*
	ABE	*täitää*	*tuitää*	*tõitää*

Table 82. Inflectional paradigms of the demonstrative pronouns

6.3.4 Indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns

Indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns were introduced in Chapter 4 (see §4.4.4). Indefinite and distributive pronouns are identical in their inflection to the corresponding interrogative pronouns (see §6.3.5). However, it should be noted that in the SG.ABE, PL.COM and PL.ABE, the morphemes -*ne* and -*a* are infixed between the pronoun and the case marker, as seen with the possessive inflectional suffixes of nouns (see §6.2.4). This is exemplified in Table 83 with the indefinite pronoun *mii-ne* 'something, anything'.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*mii-ne*	*mõõk-ne*
ACC	*mõõn-ne ~ mâid-ne*	*mâi'd-ne*
GEN	*mõõn-ne*	*mââi-ne*
ILL	*mõõzz-ne*	*mâi'd-ne*
LOC	*mâ'st-ne*	*mâin-ne*
COM	*mâin-ne*	*mââi-ne-vui'm*
ABE	*mõõn-ne-tää*	*mââi-ne-tää*
ESS	*mââ'den-ne*	
PART	*mââ'ðed-ne*	

Table 83. Inflectional paradigm of the indefinite pronoun *mii-ne* 'something'

6.3.5 Relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns

Many question words are inflected forms of the three interrogative pronouns: *mii* 'what', *ǩii* 'who' and *kuäbbaž* 'which (of two)'. For example, *mâi'd*, the SG.ACC form of *mii*, is an interrogative pronoun used when the direct object of a clause is that which is being questioned; *mõin*, the SG.COM form of *mii*, is an interrogative pronoun (or pro-adverb) used to question with what an action is accomplished, or with whom an action is carried out.

The inflectional paradigms of these three interrogative pro-forms are presented in Table 84. While the meaning of most of these is apparent, note that the SG.ILL form of *mii* – i.e. *mõõzz* – is used to ask 'why'.

		'what'	'who'	'which'
Singular	NOM	*mii*	*ǩii*	*kuäbbaž*
	ACC	*mõõn ~ mâid*	*ǩeän*	*kuäbba*
	GEN	*mõõn*	*ǩeän*	*kuäbba*
	ILL	*mõõzz (why)*	*ǩeäzz*	*kuäbbže*
	LOC	*mâ'st*	*ǩeä'st*	*kuäbbast*
	COM	*mõin*	*ǩeäin*	*kuäbbain*
	ABE	*mõntää*	*ǩeäntää*	*kuäbbatää*
	ESS	*mââ'den*	*ǩeä'den*	*kuäbbžen*
	PART	*mââ'đed*	*ǩeä'đed*	*kuäbbžed*
Plural	NOM	*mõõk*	*ǩeäk*	
	ACC	*mâid*	*ǩeäid*	
	GEN	*mââi*	*ǩeäi*	
	ILL	*mâid*	*ǩeäid*	
	LOC	*mâin*	*ǩeäin*	
	COM	*mââivui'm*	*ǩeäivui'm*	
	ABE	*mââitää*	*ǩeäitää*	

Table 84. Inflectional paradigms of interrogative pro-forms

Relative clauses function as nominal modifiers. The relativiser in Skolt Saami is a relative pronoun, *kåå'tt*, which inflects for case and number, thereby marking certain properties of the NP_REL. The full inflectional paradigm of *kåå'tt* is given below in Table 85. The words *mii* 'what' and *ǩii* 'who' can also function as relative pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'tt*	*kook*
ACC	*koon*	*koid*
GEN	*koon*	*kooi*
ILL	*koozz*	*koid*
LOC	*ko'st*	*koin*
COM	*koin*	*kooivui'm*
ABE	*koontää*	*kooitää*
ESS	*kåå'đen*	
PART	*kåå'đed*	

Table 85. Inflectional paradigm of the relative pronoun *kåå'tt*

6.4 Adjectives

As mentioned in §4.3, adjectives have both an attributive form and a predicative form. Most non-derived adjectives can be classified into four groups, based on the structure of their predicative form, which correspond to the nominal inflectional classes 1, 4, 8 and 11, as presented in the preceding sections. The relevant features of each of these inflectional classes are summarised in Table 86, where the circumflex represents the suffix vowel, but for more details on the inflection of these classes the reader is referred to §6.2.1.

Class	Syllables	Grade	Ending
1	monosyllabic	STRONG	–
4	disyllabic	WEAK	$\hat{}$*s*-final
8	≥ disyllabic	–	VC-final
11	disyllabic	–	$\hat{}$*d*-final

Table 86. Features of predicative adjectives in SG.NOM form

The following sections provide examples of adjectives belonging to each inflectional class and an explanation of the formation of their attributive, comparative and superlative forms.

Class 1 adjectives

The attributive form of Class 1 adjectives is marked with the suffix -*ˆs*, where the circumflex represents a vowel which is dependent on the stem – if the vowel centre is a high vowel, the suffix vowel is *â*; if the vowel centre is a low vowel, the suffix vowel is *a*; if the stem is palatalised, the suffix vowel is *e*. In all attributive forms, the suffix -*ˆs* triggers a stem change from the strong grade to the weak grade.

The comparative marker is -*ab*, placing the comparative form of Class 1 adjectives into nominal inflectional Class 12. The superlative marker is -*mõs*, placing the

superlative form of Class 1 adjectives into nominal inflectional Class 5. In both cases the suffix triggers the weak grade.

A number of examples of the predicative, attributive, comparative and superlative forms of Class 1 adjectives are presented below.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
cueʹǩǩ	*cueʹjjes*	*cueʹjjab*	*cueʹjjmõs*	shallow
jõll	*jõõllâs*	*jõõllab*	*jõõllmõs*	unwise
luäžʹž	*luäžžas*	*luäžžab*	*luäžžmõs*	loose
čeäʹpʹp	*čieʹppes*	*čieʹppab*	*čieʹppmõs*	chilly

Class 4 adjectives

In §6.2.1, Class 4 nominals were defined as ending in a restricted number of consonants; it is important to note in this regard, however, that all the adjectives which belong to Class 4 are *s*-final. This results in the predicative form of Class 4 adjectives resembling the attributive form of Class 1 adjectives since the stem is in the weak grade and ends in -ˆ*s*.

In turn, the attributive form of Class 4 adjectives, then, mirrors the predicative form of Class 1 adjectives since it loses the -ˆ*s* suffix of the predicative form which triggers the strong grade.

In the comparative, the marker -*ab* affixes to the predicative form, while in the superlative the marker -*umus* occurs. In both instances, the stem vowel undergoes syncope, triggering the strong grade in the consonant centre.

A number of examples of the different forms of Class 4 adjectives are presented below.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
jõõskâs	*jõskk*	*jõskksab*	*jõskksumus*	quiet
čââvas	*čââpp*	*čââppsab*	*čââppsumus*	durable
vuäʹmes	*vuäʹmm*	*vuäʹmmsab*	*vuäʹmmsumus*	old
oođâs	*ođđ*	*ođđsab*	*ođđsumus*	new

Class 8 adjectives

Class 8 adjectives do not undergo consonant gradation. The attributive is formed with the suffix -*õs*, which causes the lateral vowel (see §2.1) to undergo syncope. The comparative marker -*ab* and the superlative marker -*umus* also cause the lateral vowel to undergo syncope.

A number of examples of forms of Class 8 adjectives are presented below.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
vååstar	*vååstrõs*	*vååstrab*	*vååstrumus*	courageous
lääskav	*lääskvõs*	*lääskvab*	*lääskvumus*	heartfelt
loolâč	*loolčõs*	*loolčab*	*loolčumus*	jealous
tie'llev	*tie'llvõs*	*tie'llvab*	*tie'llvumus*	polite

Class 11 adjectives

Class 11 adjectives are *ˆd*-final, where the circumflex represents the stem vowel. In the attributive, the stem vowel and the final consonant are dropped, and the suffix -*es* is added. The vowel *e* in the suffix triggers palatalisation in the stress group.

The comparative marker of Class 11 adjectives is -*ääb*, differing from the other inflectional classes. As with the attributive form, the stem vowel and the final -*d* are dropped in the comparative and superlative forms. The superlative marker is -*umus*, as with most other inflectional classes.

A number of examples of the forms of Class 11 adjectives are presented below.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
â'ǩǩed	*â'ǩǩes*	*â'ǩǩääb*	*â'ǩǩumus*	monotonous
šiâlggâd	*šie'lǧǧes*	*šiâlggääb*	*šiâlggumus*	pale
viskkâd	*vi'sǩǩes*	*viskkääb*	*viskkumus*	yellow
šõllâd	*šõ'lles*	*šõllääb*	*šõllumus*	smooth

An exception is observed with the adjective *mooččâd* 'beautiful', whose attributive form is either *moo'ččes* (as expected) or *mooččâs*.

6.4.1 Loan adjectives

There are a number of adjectives which are monosyllabic in the predicative SG.NOM form but nevertheless do not fit with Class 1 adjectives since they are in the weak grade. However, they take the same attributive, comparative and superlative suffixes as Class 1 adjectives, but show no gradation. The adjectives appear to be loan words, which would account for the fact they are not subject to the usual processes of consonant gradation. A number of examples are presented below together with the probable source of the word. It is interesting to note here that all the examples of loan adjectives given below are from Finnish, whereas almost all the examples of loan nouns given in §6.2.2 were from Russian.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss	Finnish
ǩeähn	*ǩeähnas*	*ǩeähnab*	*ǩeähnmõs*	bad	*kehno*
ää'hn	*ää'hnes*	*ää'hnab*	*ää'hnmõs*	greedy	*ahne*
hää'sǩ	*hää'sǩes*	*hää'sǩab*	*hää'sǩmõs*	fun	*hauska*
ǩeeu'h	*ǩeeu'hes*	*ǩeeu'hab*	*ǩeeu'hmõs*	poor	*köyhä*

6.4.2 Adjectives displaying no special attributive form

There is also a small number of adjectives where the attributive form is identical to the predicative form. The comparative and superlative forms, however, are marked in the same way as Class 1 adjectives. Example of these are presented below.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
nuõrr	*nuõrr*	*nuõrab*	*nuõrmõs*	young
re'ttev	*re'ttev*	*re'ttvab*	*re'ttvumus*	hard-working
feertak	*feertak*	*feertkab*	*feertkumus*	swift

In addition to these adjectives, a large number of derived adjectives do not display a special attributive form (see §5.1.5).

6.4.3 Irregular adjectives

The adjectives *pue'rr* 'good' and *šiõgg* 'good' show irregular behaviour. The adjective *pue'rr* 'good' can only be used predicatively, hence in attributive constructions the adjective *šiõgg* 'good', which can appear both predicatively and attributively, is used. On the other hand, the comparative and superlative forms of *šiõgg* 'good' are those of the adjective *pue'rr* 'good'. A similar thing is observed with the adjectives *jõnn* 'big' and *šurr* 'big'. Only *jõnn* 'big' is used attributively, while the comparative and superlative forms of both adjectives are those of the adjective *šurr* 'big'.

Predicative	Attributive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
šiõgg	*šiõgg*	*pue'rab*	*pue'rmõs*	good
pue'rr	*šiõgg*	*pue'rab*	*pue'rmõs*	good
jõnn	*jõnn*	*šuurab*	*šuurmõs*	big
šurr	*jõnn*	*šuurab*	*šuurmõs*	big

7   Noun phrase syntax

This chapter is concerned with the syntax of noun phrases, covering NP structure and NP modification. The chapter begins with a brief description of the internal structure of NPs (§7.1). Section 7.2 looks at the different ways of modifying a head noun, covering adjectives, participial modifiers, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers.

7.1 NP structure

The most basic noun phrase in Skolt Saami consists of a single, unmodified head noun. Pronouns share the same syntactic functions and distribution as nouns and as such they also function as the head of NPs. In addition to nouns and pronouns, some adjectives or quantifiers may function as an NP head.

   The head noun may be optionally modified by an adjective, participle, demonstrative, possessive NP, quantifier or numeral. It may be modified by more than one adjective or participle, but only one demonstrative, one possessive NP and one of either a quantifier or numeral. All the aforementioned means of modifying a noun appear before the head. Demonstratives precede possessive NPs, which precede quantifiers or numerals, which in turn precede adjectives or participles, as represented below. This ordering appears to be quite rigid, with speakers considering other orders to be ungrammatical. Some examples are given in (1) which exemplify this ordering of elements within a noun phrase.

DEMONSTRATIVE	+	POSSESSIVE NOUN OR NP	+	QUANTIFIER OR NUMERAL	+	ADJECTIVE AND/ OR PARTICIPLE	+	HEAD NOUN

In addition to these premodifiers, a noun may also be modified by a relative clause, which follows the head noun. Relative clauses are covered at the end of this chapter, in §7.2.7.

(1)   a.   *tõid   kue'htt sue'jj*
            DEM.PL.ACC two   birch.SG.GEN
            'those two birch trees'   [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.67][34]
            [demonstrative + numeral + head noun]

       b.   *leäi   [õhtt jõnn ku'vdd   ]*
            be.PST.3SG [one big   snake.SG.NOM]
            'there was one big snake'   [MM:29]
            [numeral + adjective + head noun]

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34. A list of the sources of these examples is provided in §1.6.

c. *teä võ'll'ji*   [*vuõssmõs ča'ppes heäppaž*] *ool*
then jump.PST.3SG [first   black   horse.SG.GEN] onto
'then he jumped onto the first black horse'   [MM:53]
[numeral + adjective + head noun]

The possessive NP slot may be filled by either a possessive pronoun or the genitive form of a noun. In the case of the latter, the possessor may itself be premodified (2) or possessed.

(2)   [*tõn   põõrt   nõmm*] *leäi   Jänkälä*
[DIST.SG.GEN house.SG.GEN name.SG.NOM] be.PST.3SG Jänkälä
'that house's name was Jänkälä'   [MM:114]
[[demonstrative + possessor] + head noun]

Demonstratives and possessive NPs are not mutually exclusive in Skolt Saami, as exemplified in (3). This is clearest in (3b), where both the demonstrative determiner and the head noun are marked in the accusative case, while the intervening possessor is marked in the genitive. If the demonstrative determiner were modifying the possessor, then we would expect to see it marked in the genitive case, as seen above in (2).

(3)   a. *de   bo'htter   ju'rdškue'đi,   što   mõõn   viõusâs*
then giant.SG.NOM think.INCP.PST.3SG COMP what.SG.GEN strong

tõt   leäi [*tõt   suu   triâŋgg*   ]
DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG [DIST.SG.NOM 3SG.GEN helper.SG.NOM]
'then the giant started to wonder how strong that helper of his was'
[demonstrative + possessive + head noun]   [MM:23]

b. *rottu* [*tõid   saa'mi   puõccid*   ]
tear.PST.3PL [DIST.PL.ACC Saami.PL.GEN reindeer.PL.ACC]
'they tore those reindeer of the Saami to pieces' [SKNA 17462:1, 9:7.5]
[demonstrative + possessive + head noun]

Syntactic relations are marked on the NP head only, by means of case marking, while NP dependents typically display no form of agreement with the head noun. The exceptions to this are (i) the comparative form of adjectives, (ii) demonstrative determiners and (iii) numerals, which, when occurring as dependents, display partial agreement with the head. In this partial agreement, a subset of paradigm forms agree in case with the NP head, while the remaining forms (SG.ILL, SG.LOC, SG.ABE, PL.COM, PL.ABE) adopt the form of the genitive to which they correspond in number. This will be exemplified and expounded on later in this chapter.

In the case of the SG.ABE, PL.COM and PL.ABE forms, the appearance of a demonstrative or numeral in the genitive case, when functioning as a modifier, suggests that these cases are less closely associated with the NP and behave in a more clitic-like manner. Further evidence for this was seen in §6.2.4, where possessive suffixes are shown occurring before the case markers in the same three forms, but after the case markers in all other forms. In §10.2.7 an elicited example is presented of two coordinated NPs, the first marked in the genitive case and the latter marked in the abessive, but both having an abessive meaning, again showing the clitic-like nature of the abessive case.

7.2 Nominal modification

Nominal modifiers may take the form of adjectives (§7.2.1), participial verb forms (§7.2.2), demonstrative determiners (§7.2.3), possessive pronouns or genitive nouns (§7.2.4), numerals (§7.2.5) quantifiers (§7.2.6) or relative clauses (§7.2.7).

7.2.1 Adjectives

When occurring as a nominal modifier, adjectives do not inflect for case or number, but instead the adjective appears in a special attributive form (see §6.4). Contrast (4a/b) with (4c). In (4c) the head noun is marked for case and number, while the adjective appears in the attributive form and does not agree with the head.

(4)   a.   *nijdd   lij   ä'rǧǧ*
            girl.SG.NOM PRS.3SG shy.SG.NOM
            'the girl is shy'

       b.   *niõđ   lie   ää'rj*
            girl.PL.NOM PRS.3PL shy.PL.NOM
            'the girls are shy'

       c.   *sij   lie   [ää'rjes   niõđ   ]*
            3PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL [shy.ATTR girl.PL.NOM]
            'they are shy girls'

More than one adjective may modify a noun. These may be simply juxtaposed, as in (5a), or, if the two adjectives relate to the same quality or relate to multiple entities with different characteristics, as in (5b), they may be coordinated.

(5)   a.   *to'ben leäi   måttmin   oummin*
              there   be.PST.3SG several.PL.LOC person.PL.LOC

              ǩie'ss+põrtt,   [*jõnn šiõgg põrtt*   ]
              summer.SG.NOM+house.SG.NOM [big   good house.SG.NOM]
              'there several people had a summer house, a good, big house'
                                                                    [MM:116]

       b.   *tõn   diõtt   liâ   su'st   õinn veâl*
              DIST.SG.GEN for.the.sake.of be.PRS.3PL 3SG.LOC yet   still

              måttam sõõ'jin   [*ča'ppes da rää'nes pooʒʒ*   ]
              certain place.PL.LOC [black   and grey   feather.PL.NOM]
              'that's why, even today, he has black and grey feathers in certain
              places'   [MM:29]

Adjectives functioning attributively can appear in three degrees: the positive, com-
parative and superlative degrees. Unlike in the positive degree, the comparative
and superlative forms of adjectives do not have a special attributive form, hence
they are the same regardless of whether or not they occur in attributive or predica-
tive positions.

(6)   *tõk*   [*reggsab   oummu*   ] *vuä'stte*
             dist.PL.NOM [rich.CMPRT person.PL.NOM] buy.PRS.3PL

             [*jäänab   da kallšab   aunnsid*   ]
             [more.CMPRT and expensive.CMPRT material.PL.ACC]
             'those richer people bought more (quantity) and more expensive
             material'   [MM-4]

7.2.2 Participial modifiers

Participial verb forms can function as modifiers. The forms which can function as
modifiers are (i) the present participle, (ii) the past participle, (iii) the passive parti-
ciple, (iv) the abessive participle and (v) the action participle. Participial verb forms
are restricted to an attributive position in their role as modifiers and are not subject
to inflection. When not occurring attributively, these modifiers assume other syn-
tactic roles: the present participle is identical in form to agent nominalisations (see
§5.1.4); the past participle is used in the formation of the perfect tenses; the passive
participle is used in passive constructions; and the abessive participle functions as
an adverbial. Examples of each of these participles is provided below, together with
a number of examples of their use.

Present participle

When the suffix *-i* is affixed to the inflectional stem of a verb it forms the present (or attributive) participle. For more details on the formation of the present participle see Chapter 8. As already mentioned, this is the same suffix seen in agent nominalisations, the only difference being that agent nominalisations fulfil the syntactic role of NP head, and as such undergo inflection, while the present participle is limited to functioning as a modifier and does not inflect. Some examples of the present participle being used as a nominal modifier are presented in (7).

tuõlddâd (boil)	→	*tuõlddi* (boiling)
mottjed (change)	→	*mottjeei* (changeable, variable)
särnnad (speak)	→	*särnnai* (speaking)
juâmmjõõvvâd (calm down)	→	*juâmmjõõvvi* (calming)
čââ'lmtõõvvâd (go blind)	→	*čââ'lmtõõvvi* (blinding)
njâ'dded (taste)	→	*njõ'ddi* (tasty, delicious)
kuõppjed (grow mouldy)	→	*kuõppjeei* (moulding)

(7)   a.   *tõk   lie   [čää'cc+tuõ'll'jeei   pihttâz   ]*
           DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL [water.SG.NOM+keep.**PRS.PTCP** clothes.PL.NOM]
           'those are waterproof (=water keeping) clothes'   [MM:106]

      b.   *go   le'jjem   [šõddi   niõđâž   ]*
           when   be.PST.1SG [grow.**PRS.PTCP** girl.DIM.SG.NOM]
           'when I was a growing girl'   [MM:106]

      c.   *le'jje   [takai   joo'tti   oummu   ]*
           be.PST.3PL [habitual wander.**PRS.PTCP** person.PL.NOM]
           'they were habitual wandering people'   [MM:104]

Past participle

The past participle suffix is *-am* (or *-âm* in the case of Class 1A verbs). For more details on the formation of the past participle see Chapter 8. As already mentioned, this participle is also used in the formation of the perfect tenses, when occurring together with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' (see §9.1). Some examples of the past participle functioning as a modifier are presented in (8).

(8)   a.   *son   vuäitt   risttâd   [tõn*
           3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG christen.INF [DIST.SG.ACC

           ei'dde+šõddâm   siõ'me   ]
           just+born.**PST.PTCP** small.child.SG.ACC]
           'he can christen that newborn baby'   [MM:109]

      b.   *Ri'mjj-kää'lles noori   siâkk   sizz*
           Mr.Fox.SG.NOM gather.PST.3SG sack.SG.GEN into

           [*tõid   puâllam   tääu'tid*   ]
           [DIST.PL.ACC burn.**PST.PTCP** bone.PL.ACC]
           'Mr. Fox gathered those burnt bones into a sack'   [MM:43]

Passive participle

When the suffix *-um* is affixed to the inflectional stem of a verb it forms the passive participle. For more details on the formation of the passive participle see Chapter 8. This participle is also used in passive constructions, when occurring together with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' (see §10.4.3). Two examples of the passive participle functioning as a modifier are presented in (9). In example (9a) the passive participle which modifies the noun *põrtt* 'house' is itself modified by a prepositional phrase *ǩie'đj sizz* 'into the rock'.

(9)   a.   *Pâ'ss Treffnest   leäi   to'ben Spa'site'l+pääutast*
           Holy Trifon.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG there Redeemer+rock.SG.LOC

           nåkam   [ǩie'đj   sizz rajjum   põrtt,   ]
           such.kind [rock.SG.GEN into build.**PASS.PTCP** house.SG.NOM]

           ko'st   son   vuäitt   rääuhast   jälsted
           REL.SG.LOC 3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG peace.SG.LOC live.INF

           'There at Redeemer's Rock, Saint Trifon had a house, which had
           been built into the rock, where he could live in peace (lit. an
           into-the-rock-built house)'   [MM:59]

b. *son   säärnai,   što leäi   puästtad tuejjääm,*
3SG.NOM say.PST.3SG COMP be.PST.3SG wrong do.PST.PTCP

ku   ää'vii   [tõn   ǩiõlddum   uus   ]
when open.PST.3SG [DIST.SG.ACC forbid.**PASS.PTCP** door.SG.ACC]

'he said that he had done wrong, when he opened that forbidden door'   [MM:16]

Abessive participle

The abessive participle is formed by adding *-kani* (or a variant, including *-ǩani* or *-ǩeâni*) to the weak stem of the infinitive (see Chapter 8). The abessive participle functions as a modifier within a noun phrase (§7.2.2). A noun modified by an abessive participle is understood to have not undergone the action of the verb. Some examples of the meaning of the abessive participle are presented below, followed by an example of its use in (10).

čiistâd (to tidy)   → *čiist-*   → *čiistkani* (not tidied)
lookkâd (to read)   → *loogg-*   → *looggkani* (unread)
mä'hssed (to pay)   → *määu's-*   → *määu'skani* (unpaid)
vuei'nned (to see)   → *vuei'n-*   → *vuei'nkani* (unseen)
jue'ǩǩed (to divide)   → *jue'jj-*   → *jue'jjkani* (undivided)

(10)   [*paaccǩani   poomm   ] le'jje   jiânnai*
            [explode.**ABE.PTCP** bomb.PL.NOM] be.PST.3PL many
            'there were many unexploded bombs'   [MM:115]

Action participle

The action participle is formed by adding *-m* to the inflectional stem of a verb (see Chapter 8). The action participle, when modifying a noun, indicates the action for which the entity expressed by the head noun is used, or, if the referent of the head noun is a location in space or time, then it indicates where or when the action of the participle takes place.

It should be noted that, in the official orthography, nouns modified by the action participle are written together as single words, as seen in the texts appended to this grammar. However, it does not appear to be the case that they are true compound words, since it is possible to modify a head noun with two coordinated action participles, hence in this section they are written separately as in (11).

(11)   a.   *reâuggam   da nue'ttem   pihttâz*
             work.**ACT.PTCP** and fish.with.seine.net.**ACT.PTCP** clothes.PL.NOM
             'working and fishing clothes (=clothes for working and fishing in)'

       b.   *sei'lleem   da ǩe'ttem   sä'ltt*
             preserve.**ACT.PTCP** and cook.**ACT.PTCP** salt.SG.NOM
             'preserving and cooking salt (=salt for preserving and cooking with)'

Some examples taken from texts are presented below. In the original text of example (12a) not only the action participle, but also the noun *puäʒʒ* 'reindeer', which modifies it, are written together with the head noun as *puäʒʒpoorrâmpiull*. Note also that the noun *puäʒʒ* is in the nominative case. This is also true of the noun *kauppkue'll* 'fish for selling' in example (12b).

(12)   a.   *jõnn muõtt   lij,   i'lla   [puäʒʒ*
             big snow.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG NEG.3SG~be.CNG [reindeer.SG.NOM

             poorrâm   piull   ]
             eat.**ACT.PTCP** bare.spot(where snow has melted).SG.NOM]
             'there is a lot of snow, there isn't a "reindeer eating spot"'   [MM:103]

       b.   *čõhčč   šâdd   de tõt*
             autumn.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.NOM

             [kaupp+kue'll   šee'llem   äi'ǧǧ   ] poott
             [shop.SG.NOM+fish.SG.NOM catch.**ACT.PTCP** time.SG.NOM] end.PRS.3SG
             'autumn arrives and that time when they catch fish for the purpose of selling comes to an end (=sales-fish catching time)'   [MM:106]

       c.   *[ǩe'ttem   ǩie'mn   ] vä'ldde*
             [cook.**ACT.PTCP** saucepan.SG.ACC] take.PRS.3PL
             'they take the cooking saucepan'   [MM:107]

d. *mij   siidâst   leäi   še   [ruõkkâm*
    1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG also [bury.**ACT.PTCP**

    sââ'jj   ]
    place.SG.NOM]
    'there was also a burial (=burying) place in our village'   [MM:108]

e. *sami pää'res   [kue'ddem   podd   ] ku*
    quite well.timed [calve.**ACT.PTCP** time.SG.NOM] when

    lij   nie'ttel   se'st, te'l kue'dde   jiânnai õhttna
    be.PRS.3SG week.SG.GEN inside then calve.PRS.3PL many   at.once
    'it's quite a well-timed calving time when within a week many calve
    at once'   [MM:103]

A second use of the action participle as a nominal modifier is in what has been
referred to in the literature as the 'agent construction' (Moshnikoff et al. 2009:
121). In the agent construction, the agent of an action is in the genitive case and pre-
cedes the action participle, both of which precede the modified noun. The resulting
noun phrase indicates both the action which the modified noun has experienced
and the agent who carried out the action. This is best illustrated by way of a num-
ber of examples (13). The English translation of an agent construction typically
involves a relative clause, although a similar construction in English would be a
noun phrase such as 'man-made lake', where both an agent and a participial verb
form modify the noun, indicating the action the head noun has experienced and the
agent who carried out the action.

(13)   a. [*Eellja   vuä'sttem   autt   *] *lij*   *jå'ttel*
            [Elias.SG.GEN buy.ACT.PTCP car.SG.NOM] be.PRS.3SG fast
            'the car, which Elias bought, is fast'

        b. *mie'ccest   leäi   [kuu'mp   kå'ddem*
            forest.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG [wolf.SG.GEN kill.ACT.PTCP

            kå'dd   ]
            reindeer.SG.NOM]
            'in the forest was a reindeer, which was killed by a wolf'

Tense and aspect are not marked in the agent construction, although the English
translations to the examples provided above might appear to suggest otherwise.
Closer translations would be 'the-Elias-bought-car is fast' and 'in the forest there

was a wolf-killed-reindeer'. The tense and aspect can be inferred from the rest of the clause, but typically the action which the agent construction refers to has already taken place regardless of the tense or aspect of the rest of the clause.

7.2.3 Demonstrative determiners

Unlike adjectives and verbal participles, demonstratives inflect for case and number when functioning as determiners (see §6.3.3 for the inflectional paradigms of the three demonstrative pronouns). However, they display what can be referred to as *partial agreement* with the NP head, agreeing in case with the head noun only in part of the paradigm, with the remaining forms marked in the genitive. This is summarised below in Table 87.

		Demonstrative	NP head
Singular	NOM	SG.NOM	SG.NOM
	ACC	SG.ACC	SG.ACC
	GEN	SG.GEN	SG.GEN
	ILL	SG.GEN	SG.ILL
	LOC	SG.GEN	SG.LOC
	COM	SG.COM	SG.COM
	ABE	SG.GEN	SG.ABE
	ESS	ESS	ESS
	PART	PART	PART
Plural	NOM	PL.NOM	PL.NOM
	ACC	PL.ACC	PL.ACC
	GEN	PL.GEN	PL.GEN
	ILL	PL.ILL	PL.ILL
	LOC	PL.LOC	PL.LOC
	COM	PL.GEN	PL.COM
	ABE	PL.GEN	PL.ABE

Table 87. Case marking of demonstrative determiners, showing partial agreement

Some examples of demonstrative determiners are presented in (14). Note, in particular, the use of the SG.GEN form of the demonstrative with a head noun in the SG.ILL in (14d), and the use of the PL.GEN form of the demonstrative with a head noun in the PL.COM in (14f).

(14)   a.   [tõt   ku'vdd   ] leäi   oummid   vaarlaž
               [DIST.SG.NOM snake.SG.NOM] be.PST.3SG person.PL.ILL dangerous
               'that snake was dangerous for people'   [MM:29]

b. [*täk   pihttâz   ] *jiâ   su'nne čagškuättam*
    [PROX.PL.NOM clothes.PL.NOM] NEG.3PL 3SG.ILL fit.INCP.PST.PTCP
    'these clothes didn't fit her anymore'   [MM:106]

c. *leäk-a   ää'vääm   [tõn   uus   ]*
    be.PRS.2SG-INTER open.PST.PTCP [DIST.SG.ACC door.SG.ACC]
    'have you opened that door?'   [MM:15]

d. *pâi son vuäđđai   da [tõn   ooumže   ]*
    only 3SG.NOM go.to.sleep.PRS.3SG and [DIST.SG.GEN person.SG.ILL]

    ceälkk: "Koll'ješkue'đež   pue'ttem,   de muu
    say.PRS.3SG be.heard.INCP.POT.3SG come.ACT.PTCP and 1SG.ACC

    õõlgak   counnled
    must.PRS.2SG wake.INF
    'he just goes to sleep and says to that person: "(The sound of
    someone) coming might start to be heard, and then you must
    wake me up"'   [MM:79]

e. [*tõin   sue'bbin   ] *jåått*
    [DIST.SG.COM stick.SG.COM] travel.PRS.3SG
    'he travels with that stick'   [MM-4]

f. *son   råånnääld   vaajti*
    3SG.NOM barren.female.reindeer.SG.ACC swap.PST.3SG

    [*tõi   taau'tivui'm   ]
    [DIST.PL.GEN bone.PL.COM]
    'he swapped the barren female reindeer with those bones'   [MM:43]

7.2.4 Possessives

The genitive form of a noun or pronoun can modify a head noun and serves to
express the possessor of that noun. The possessor may be expressed as a single
genitive noun (15) or it too may be modified (16), resulting in a head noun which is
modified by a possessive NP.

(15)   *čuõški   maaddâräkk*
         mosquito.PL.GEN great.grandmother.SG.NOM
         'the mosquitos' great-grandmother'   [MM-3]

(16)   *määŋgi   u'čtee'li   nõõmid   mon   kuuleem*
         many.PL.GEN teacher.PL.GEN name.PL.ACC 1SG.NOM hear.PST.1SG
         'I heard many teachers' names'   [MM-4]

A noun may be modified by more than one possessive noun or NP and these may
be coordinated, as shown in (17).

(17)   *saauʒ   da puõccu   mie'lǩin*
         sheep.SG.GEN and reindeer.SG.GEN milk.SG.COM
         'with sheep's and reindeer's milk'   [MM-4]

The reflexive pronoun may also act as a nominal modifier where it expresses coref-
erence between the possessor of an NP head and the subject of a clause (i.e. 'own')
(18).

(18)   a. *jiõččan   nõõm   le'jjem   ǩee'rjted*
           REFL.SG.GEN.1SG name.SG.ACC be.PST.1SG write.INF
           'I would have written my own name'   [MM-4]

       b. *pâi mâânn jiijjâs   jeävvsivui'm*
           only go.PRS.3SG REFL.GEN.3SG provision.PL.COM
           'he just goes with his own provisions'   [MM:102]

7.2.5 Numerals

Numerals may function as determiners in Skolt Saami forming a numeral phrase
(NumP). The case marking received by both the numeral and the modified noun
in a NumP is rather unusual in that it depends both on the grammatical role of the
NumP and the value of the numeral.

    In the case of a NumP which is the subject or direct object of a clause, as
well as in predicate nominal constructions involving a NumP, there is a three-way
split in the case marking of the noun. When the noun follows the numeral '1' the
expected case is observed (i.e. SG.NOM for the subject, SG.ACC for the direct object).
However, when a noun follows a numeral from '2'–'6' it appears in its SG.GEN form
(both in the case of a subject and object NumP) and when a noun follows a numeral
from '7' onwards the noun is in the PART case (again, regardless of grammatical

role). When the NumP is not the subject or direct object of a clause, the relevant case marking is observed. (See Nelson & Toivonen 2003 for a discussion on a similar phenomenon in Inari Saami.)

Note that the noun always appears in the singular, even if the referent of the NumP is plural. Note also that, despite the noun occurring in the singular, the verb must agree with the plural referent of the NumP. (This contrasts with Finnish where a NumP with a plural referent controls singular marking on the predicate.)

With regard to the case marking of the numeral, this too contributes a layer of complexity to the situation. If the NumP is the subject of the clause, the numeral appears in the SG.NOM. If it is the object of the clause there is a two-way split with the numeral '1' in the SG.ACC and numerals '2' and above in their SG.NOM form. Meanwhile, in the case of a NumP which is an oblique object, the case marking of the numeral follows a pattern of partial agreement with the noun (as seen with demonstrative determiners in §7.2.3), taking the respective case marking for COM, ESS and PART, but genitive marking in the ILL and ABE. In the case of the LOC, the numeral appears either in the GEN or, rather oddly, in the ESS.

The facts relating to NumP case marking are summarised below in Table 88 and Table 89.

	1		2–6		7+	
	Numeral	Noun	Numeral	Noun	Numeral	Noun
Subject	SG.NOM	SG.NOM	SG.NOM	SG.GEN	SG.NOM	PART
Object	SG.ACC	SG.ACC				

Table 88. Subject and object NumP case marking

	Numeral	NP head
GEN	SG.GEN	SG.GEN
ILL	SG.GEN	SG.ILL
LOC	SG.GEN ~ ESS	SG.LOC
COM	SG.COM	SG.COM
ABE	SG.GEN	SG.ABE
ESS	ESS	ESS
PART	PART	PART

Table 89. NumP case marking, showing partial agreement (all numerals)

The forms of the numerals 'one', 'two' and 'eight', when functioning as determiners are presented in Table 90 to illustrate partial agreement. Note that this table is not showing the paradigms of these numerals, but rather the forms of the numeral that occur with a given case-marked noun. For example, *õhttân* is not the LOC form of 'one', but rather the form in which the numeral appears when the noun is in the LOC. The shaded cells indicate forms which do not agree in case with the noun, as in the case of *õhttân*. The dark shaded cell highlights the fact that numerals greater

than one are in the SG.NOM when the head noun is the direct object and thus in the SG.ACC (the corresponding cell for 'eight' is not shaded, since the respective forms are syncretic and therefore this distinction is rendered opaque). Note that numerals greater than one, although having plural referents, display inflectional suffixes which correspond to singular nouns, for example, the SG.COM marker *-in*.

		Form of numeral in NumP		
		'one'	'two'	'eight'
Case of noun	NOM	*õhtt*	*kue'htt*	*kääu'c*
	ACC	*õõut*	*kue'htt*	*kääu'c*
	GEN	*õõut*	*kuei't*	*kääu'c*
	ILL	*õõut*	*kuei't*	*kääu'c*
	LOC	*õõut ~ õhttân*	*kuei't~kue'htten*	*kääu'c ~ kä'hccen*
	COM	*õõutin*	*kuei'tin*	*kääu'cin*
	ABE	*õõut*	*kuei't*	*kääu'c*
	ESS	*õhttân*	*kue'htten*	*kä'hccen*
	PART	*õhttâd*	*kue'htted*	*kä'hcced*

Table 90. Forms of the numerals *õhtt* 'one', *kue'htt* 'two' and *kääu'c* 'eight' when functioning as determiners

Compare the examples given in (19). In (19a) the subject has a plural referent and is therefore in its PL.NOM form. In (19b–d), the subject is preceded by a numeral determiner. Since the NumP is the subject of the clause, the numeral takes the subject case marking and is in the SG.NOM. The case marking of the noun, on the other hand, varies according to the value of the numeral – if the numeral is one, the noun appears in the SG.NOM; if the numeral is from two to six, the noun appears in the SG.GEN; and if the numeral is seven or above, the noun appears in the PART. The verb, nevertheless, displays semantic agreement with the referent.

(19) a. *oummu   mõ'nne   tuõddra*
          man.**PL.NOM** go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
          'the men went to the fell'

      b. *õhtt   ooumaž   mõõni   tuõddra*
          one.**SG.NOM** men.**SG.NOM** go.PST.3SG fell.SG.ILL
          'one man went to the fell'

      c. *nellj   oummu   mõ'nne   tuõddra*
          four.**SG.NOM** men.**SG.GEN** go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
          'four men went to the fell'

d. *lååi   ooumžed mõ'nne   tuõddra*
  ten.**SG.NOM** men.**PART** go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
  'ten men went to the fell'

Now compare the examples given in (20). In these examples, the NumP is the direct object of the clause. In (20a) the object has a plural referent and is therefore in its PL.ACC form. In (20b–d), the object is preceded by a numeral determiner. Since the NumP is the object of the clause, the numeral is in the SG.ACC following the numeral '1' and the SG.NOM after higher numerals. Again, the case marking of the noun varies according to the value of the numeral [1 → SG.ACC; 2–6 → SG.GEN; 7+ → PART]. Recall that nouns following the numeral '1' are in SG.ACC when the NumP is the object of the clause.

(20)   a. *ooumaž   čuõppi   sue'jjid*
         man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG birch.tree.**PL.ACC**
         'the man felled the birch trees'

       b. *ooumaž   čuõppi   õõut   sue'jj*
         man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG one.**SG.ACC** birch.tree.**SG.ACC**
         'the man felled one birch tree'

       c. *ooumaž   čuõppi   kue'htt   sue'jj*
         man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG two.**SG.NOM** birch.tree.**SG.GEN**
         'the man felled two birch trees'

       d. *ooumaž   čuõppi   ååuc   sue'kǩed*
         man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG nine.**SG.NOM** birch.tree.**PART**
         'the man felled nine birch trees'

Now consider the following examples in (21) where the NumP does not function as a core argument of the clause. In (21a) the indirect object of the clause, which has a plural referent, appears in the PL.ILL as expected. In (21b–c), where the indirect object is part of a NumP, the noun is still marked for the illative, but now it appears in the singular. The numeral, meanwhile, displays partial agreement, as shown in Table 89.

(21)   a. *jeä'nn   uu'di   leei'bid   päärnaid*
         mother.SG.NOM give.PST.3SG bread.PL.ACC boy.**PL.ILL**
         'mother gave bread to the boys'

b. *jeä'nn   uu'di   leei'bid   kooum   päärnže*
mother.SG.NOM give.PST.3SG bread.PL.ACC three.**SG.GEN** boy.**SG.ILL**
'mother gave bread to the three boys'

c. *jeä'nn   uu'di   leei'bid   čiččâm   päärnže*
mother.SG.NOM give.PST.3SG bread.PL.ACC seven.**SG.GEN** boy.**SG.ILL**
'mother gave bread to the seven boys'

Further examples of nouns modified by numerals taken from texts are given in (22), in all cases showing examples where the NumP is an oblique object or part of an adpositional phrase. Examples (a) and (b) illustrate the variation between the SG.GEN and ESS case marking of a numeral occurring with a noun in the LOC.

(22) a. *nue'rjj   da käärnõs   jälste   tuu'l*
seal.SG.NOM and raven.SG.NOM live.PST.3PL formerly

õõut   kuä'đest
one.**GEN**   lair.**SG.LOC**
'the seal and the raven used to live in one lair'   [MM:28]

b. *Suä'đj'lest   instiim   õhttân   škooulâst*
Sodänkylä.LOC stay.overnight.PST.1PL one.**ESS** school.**SG.LOC**
'we stayed overnight in Sodänkylä in one school'   [MM:115]

c. *sij   mõ'nne   õõut   õll vää'r   ool*
3PL.NOM go.PST.3PL one.**GEN** tall hill.**SG.GEN** onto
'they went to the top of one tall hill'   [MM:20]

d. *son   õõutin   käärbin   vuõ'lji*
3SG.NOM one.**SG.COM** ship.**SG.COM** leave.PST.3SG
'he left by one (a certain) ship'   [MM:99]

7.2.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Skolt Saami can function both as modifiers (23a) and as an NP head (23b). A list of the most common quantifiers in Skolt Saami is given in §4.6.

(23) a. *tok   mâ'nne   ǩiččâd*   [*jiânnai oummu*   ]
          to.there go.PRS.3PL look.INF [**much**   person.PL.NOM]
          'a lot of people went there to look'   [MM:52]

      b. *jiõk   õõlg*   [*jiânnai*] *poorrâd*
          NEG.2SG   must.CNG   [**much**] eat.INF
          'you mustn't eat much'   [MM:98]

The quantifiers *mäŋgg* 'many' and *puk* 'all' inflect for case and number, both when
functioning as a determiner (24) and when functioning as a head (25). Note also
how in (24a) the quantifier *mäŋgg* 'many' can govern the partitive case, in the same
way as numerals greater than six (see §7.2.5).

(24) a. *to'ben jälstiim*   [*mäŋgg   piârrjed*   ]
          there   live.PST.1PL [many.SG.NOM family.**PART**]
          'there we lived, many families'   [MM:116]

      b. [*määŋgi   u'čtee'li   nõõmid*] *mon   kuuleem*
          [many.PL.GEN teacher.PL.GEN name.PL.ACC] 1SG.NOM hear.PST.1SG
          'I heard many teacher's names'   [MM-4]

      c. *nääi't* [*mäŋggan mäŋggan sââ'jest*   ] *ašttõ'lle*
          like.that [many.ESS many.ESS place.SG.LOC] tell.PRS.3PL
          'like that, in many places, so they tell'   [MM:84]

      d. *son   mainsti*   [*pukid   oummid*   ]
          3SG.NOM   tell.PST.3SG [all.PL.ILL person.PL.ILL]
          'he told everyone (=to all people)'   [MM:16]

(25) a. *mu'st   lie*   [*mäŋgg   *] *kõõččâm*
          1SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL [many.SG.NOM] ask.PST.PTCP
          'many (people) have asked me'   [MM:108]

      b. *mon   leäm*   [*mäŋggsest*] *kuâđđjam*
          1SG.NOM   be.PRS.1SG [many.SG.LOC] remain.PST.PTCP
          'I have remained from many (=outlived many people)'   [MM:108]

Note that, as with numerals greater than one, the ACC form of the quantifier *puk* 'all' patterns with the NOM when functioning attributively. However, this quantifier differs from these numerals in that it takes the plural case and number suffixes, as seen in the PL.ACC marker *-id* on *pukid* 'all.PL.ACC'.

(26)   a.   *ko*   [*puk puõccid*   ]   *vi'ǩǩe*
            when   [all   reindeer.PL.ACC]   take.PST.3PL
            'when they took all the reindeer there'   [SKNA 17462:1, 9:3.8]

       b.   *mon   mõõnam   värddjed,   što   låå'dd*
            1SG.NOM   go.PRS.1SG   guard.INF   COMP   bird.PL.NOM

            jie   poorče   mee'st   [puk mue'rjid   ]
            NEG.3PL   eat.CNG.COND   1PL.LOC   [all   berry.PL.ACC]
            'I will go there to guard, so that the birds could not eat all our
            berries (=all the berries from us)'   [MM:66]

Example (27) shows the comparative form of the quantifiers *jiânnai* 'many' and *occanj* 'few' being used.

(27)   *ǩeä'st   le'jje   jäänab,   ǩeä'st   [uu'ccab*
       who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL   much.CMPRT   who.SG.LOC   [few.CMPRT

       puõccu   ]
       reindeer.PL.NOM]
       'some people have more, some people have fewer reindeer'
                                                        [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.18]

7.2.7 Relative clauses

Relative clauses function as nominal modifiers which follow the NP head. The relativiser in Skolt Saami is a relative pronoun, *kåå'tt*, which inflects for case and number, thereby marking certain properties of the NP$_{REL}$. The full inflectional paradigm of *kåå'tt* is given below in Table 91. The words *mii* 'what' and *ǩii* 'who' can also function as relative pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
NOM	*kåå'tt*	*kook*
ACC	*koon*	*koid*
GEN	*koon*	*kooi*
ILL	*koozz*	*koid*
LOC	*ko'st*	*koin*
COM	*koin*	*kooivui'm*
ABE	*koontää*	*kooitää*
ESS	*kåå'đen*	
PART	*kåå'đed*	

Table 91. Inflectional paradigm of the relative pronoun *kåå'tt*

All elements on the relativisation hierarchy set out by Keenan & Comrie (1977) can be relativised. This hierarchy is reproduced below.

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor

The role of the NP_{REL} in the relative clause can be recovered easily through the case marking of the relative pronoun. For example, if the relative pronoun is in the nominative case this is usually indicative that the NP_{REL} has the role of subject; if the relative pronoun is in the accusative case this is usually indicative that the NP_{REL} has the role of direct object; and if the relative pronoun is in the illative case this is typically indicative that the NP_{REL} is an indirect object. Examples of each relativised element are given below.

Relativised subject (singular)

(28)   *mon*   *vääldam*   *tu'st*   *tän*   *pää'rn*
        1SG.NOM take.PRS.1SG 2SG.LOC PROX.SG.ACC boy.SG.ACC

        [*kåå'tt*   *lij*   *šõddâm*   ]
        [**REL.SG.NOM** be.PRS.3SG be.born.PST.PTCP]
        'I'll take from you this boy, who has been born'   [MM:14]

Relativised subject (plural)

(29)   *tõk*   *le'jje*   *kutt* *čuõšk*   [*kook*
        DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL six   mosquito.SG.GEN [**REL.PL.NOM**

        vuõ'lǧǧe   ]
        leave.PST.3PL]
        'they were six mosquitos, which left'   [MM-3]

Relativised object (singular)

(30)   *ooudam   tu'nne mååus tõn   pää'rn*
         give.PRS.1SG 2SG.ILL back DIST.SG.ACC boy.SG.ACC

         [*koon   mon   vue'ššen va'lddem*]
         [REL.SG.ACC 1SG.NOM first   take.PST.1SG]
         'I'll give back to you the boy, which I took first'   [MM:15]

Relativised indirect object (plural)

(31)   *jõs son   ceälkk   Vuâsppåå'den tõid,*   [*kooid*
         if   3SG.NOM say.PRS.3SG God.ESS   DIST.PL.ILL [REL.PL.ILL

         Vuâsppåå'd sää'nn   pue'đi   ]
         God.SG.GEN word.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG]
         'if he called them 'Gods', to whom the word of God came' [EE:10.35]

Relativised oblique object

(32) a. *heävaš   da pä'rnn   mâ'nne   tõn   gåårda*
         horse.SG.NOM and boy.SG.NOM go.PRS.3PL DIST.SG.GEN city.SG.ILL

         [*ko'st   caarr   jälsti*]
         [REL.SG.LOC tsar.SG.NOM live.PST.3SG]
         'the horse and the boy went to that city, where the tsar lived' [MM:27]

      b. *mååust muä'dd ǩilomettar   leäi   Tolosen*
         back   several kilometre.SG.GEN be.PST.3SG Tolonen.GEN[FI]

         kaupp   [ko'st   mij   vue'žž   vuäǯǯaim
         shop.SG.NOM [REL.SG.LOC 1PL.NOM meat.SG.ACC get.PST.1PL

         vuä'stted]
         buy.INF   ]
         'several kilometres back there was Tolonen's shop from where we
         could buy meat'   [MM:114]

c. *to'b   ǩie'đj   vue'lnn leäi   jõnn pä'htträi'ǧǧ*
   there stone.SG.GEN under   be.PST.3SG big rock.hole.SG.NOM

   [*koozz   sää'm   liâ   piijjâm   kåå'dd*
   [**REL.SG.ILL** Saami.PL.NOM be.PST.3SG put.PST.PTCP reindeer.SG.GEN

   vuei'vid   ču̇e'rveezvui'm]
   head.PL.ACC antler.PL.COM.3PL]

   'there under the stone was a big hole in the rock, where the Saami
   used to put the heads of reindeer, with their antlers'   [MM:55]

Relativised possessor (singular)

(33)   *ku   Ruõššjânnmest pue'đi   tõt   pââ'ss*
       when Russian.LOC   come.PST.3SG DIST.SG.NOM holy

       ooumaž   [koon   nõmm   leäi   Treffan]
       man.SG.NOM [**REL.SG.GEN** name.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG Treffan]

       'when that holy man, whose name was Trifon, came from Russia'
                                                              [MM:30]

Example (33) shows how a possessor can be relativised by using the genitive form
of the relative pronoun. The alternative way of marking possession, whereby the
possessor is marked with the locative case and is followed by the copular verb *lee'd*
'be' and the possessee (see §10.2.5), can also be relativised by using the relative
pronoun *kåå'tt* in the locative case, as exemplified in (34).

(34)   *le'jje   puõccu   pie'nne   saauʒ   kaaic*
       be.PST.3PL reindeer.PL.NOM dog.PL.NOM sheep.PL.NOM goat.PL.NOM

       da juõ'ǩǩnallšem siõm jie'lli   [koin   jie
       and each.kind   small animal.SG.NOM [**REL.PL.LOC** NEG.3PL

       leäkku ni måkam põõrt   jiega
       be.CNG no.kind   house.PL.NOM NEG.3PL~and

       *suâj   *]
       protection.PL.NOM]

       'there were reindeer, dogs, sheep, goats and all kinds of small
       animal who didn't have any kind of houses or shelters'   [MM-3]

As mentioned above, in addition to the relative pronoun *kåå'tt*, the interrogative pronoun *mii* 'what' can also function as a relative pronoun. The issue of whether the animacy hierarchy plays any role in the choice of the relative pronoun has not been looked into, although in all but one of the examples given in (35) the relativised noun is inanimate. In example (35a), however, *mii* 'what' is used for an animate being, a snake, albeit one that is typically quite low on most animacy hierarchies.

(35) a. *leäi   õhtt   jõnn ku'vdd   [mii*
          be.PST.3SG one.SG.NOM big   snake.SG.NOM [**what.SG.NOM**

          leäi   čää'ʒʒest] tän   pääi'ǩest   miârâst
          be.PST.3SG water.SG.LOC] PROX.SG.GEN place.SG.LOC sea.SG.LOC

          'there was a big snake, which was in the water in this place in the sea'   [MM:29]

      b. *son   lij   tuejjääm   tõn   [mii*
          3SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   do.PST.PTCP   DIST.SG.ACC [**what.SG.NOM**

          leäi   su'st   ǩiõlddum   ]
          be.PST.3SG 3SG.LOC   forbid.PASS.PTCP]

          'he did that, which he had been forbidden'   [MM:16]

      c. *caar+â'lǧǧ   vaa'ldi   jõnn+neei'bes   da*
          tsar.SG.GEN+boy.SG.NOM take.PST.3SG big+knife.SG.ACC.3SG   and

          čuõppi   ree'ssid   [mõõk   le'jje
          chop.down.PST.3SG twig.PL.ACC [**what.PL.NOM** be.PST.3PL

          niõđ   pirr   ]
          girl.SG.GEN around]

          'the tsar boy took his big knife and cut down the twigs, which were around the girl'   [MM:13]

      d. *te'l leäi   veâl näkam   siõrr   [mõõn*
          then be.PST.3SG still such.a.kind game.SG.NOM   [**what.SG.ACC**

          põõrtâst   siõ'rre   ]
          house.SG.LOC play.PST.3PL]

          'then there was another kind of game, which was played indoors'
                                                                         [MM-1]

Relative clauses may also occur recursively, as exemplified in (36). Here the relative clause 'which ate people' modifies 'snake', but is at the same time part of the longer relative clause 'where there was that kind of snake, which ate people' which modifies 'the shore of a certain big lake'.

(36)   *niõđ*   *pakku*   *viikkâd* *õõut*   *jõnn jääu'r*
             girl.SG.ACC order.PST.3PL take.INF one.GEN big lake.SG.GEN

             riddu   [*ko'st*   *leäi*   *nåkam*   *ku'vdd*
             shore.SG.ILL [**REL.SG.LOC** be.PST.3SG that.kind snake.SG.NOM

             [*kåå'tt*   *poori*   *oummid*   ]]
             [**REL.SG.NOM** eat.PST.3SG person.PL.ACC]]
             'they ordered the girl to be taken to the shore of a certain big lake, where there was that kind of snake, which ate people'   [MM-1]

8 Verbal inflection

Verbs in Skolt Saami inflect for person (first, second, third and a fourth, indefinite person), number (singular and plural), tense (past and present) and mood (indicative, potential, conditional and imperative). Verbs also inflect for twelve non-finite forms, including participial and connegative forms.

While other Saami languages show a three-way distinction in inflection for number between the singular, dual and plural, the dual form is no longer observed in Skolt Saami inflection. Instead, the dual pronouns occur together with the corresponding plural form of the verb.

Verbal inflection involves both stem-internal sound changes and inflectional suffixes, resulting in a highly complex inflectional paradigm. The paradigm of the verb *kuullâd* 'to hear' is presented in Table 92 showing the verb forms which are marked for person: the present, past, potential, conditional and imperative forms. Table 93 presents the participial and connegative forms of the same verb.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*kuulam*	*ku'llem*	*kuulžem*	*kuulčem*	
2SG	*kuulak*	*ku'lliǩ*	*kuulžiǩ*	*kuulčiǩ*	*kuul*
3SG	*kooll*	*kuuli*	*kuulâž*	*kuulči*	*koolas*
1PL	*kuullâp*	*kuulim*	*kuulžep*	*kuulčim*	*kuullâp*
2PL	*kuullve'ted*	*kuulid*	*kuulžid*	*kuulčid*	*kuullâd*
3PL	*ko'lle*	*ku'lle*	*kuulže*	*kuulče*	*kollaz*
4	*kuulât*	*ku'lleš*	*kuulžet*	*kuulčeš*	

Table 92. Inflectional paradigm of person-marked forms of *kuullâd* 'hear'

	Verb form
Infinitive	*kuullâd*
Action participle	*kuullâm*
Present participle	*kuulli*
Past participle	*kuullâm*
Passive participle	*kullum*
Progressive participle	*kuullmen*
Temporal participle	*kuuleen*
Instrumental participle	*kuulee'l*
Abessive participle	*kuulkani*
Connegative forms	*kuul ~ kullu ~ kuulže ~ kuulče*

Table 93. Participial and connegative forms of *kuullâd* 'hear'

As can be seen, the PRS.1PL and the IMP.1PL forms are syncretic, as are the INF and IMP.2PL forms, and the IMP.2SG and CNG forms. All other forms are distinct from each other, except for the past and action participles if the verb belongs to Class 1A or

1B, as in Table 93. This verb exhibits a total of eighteen unique suffixes (-*am*, -*ak*, -*âp*, -*ve'ted*, -*e*, -*ât*, -*em*, -*iǩ*, -*i*, -*im*, -*id*, -*eš*, -*âž*, -*ep*, -*et*, -*as*, -*âd*, -*az*) and a total of seven distinct inflectional stems (*kuul-*, *kool-*, *kuull-*, *kooll-*, *koll-*, *ku'll-*, *ko'll-*).

The terms employed for non-finite verb forms in this grammar were chosen with clarity in mind, but this has meant that for a sub-set of forms the terminology diverges from that used in earlier literature. For the sake of comparability, it should be noted that Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991) use the following terms (the corresponding terminology used in this grammar is given in parentheses): Gerund I (temporal participle); Gerund II (progressive participle); "Aktio" or Action (action participle); Negative I (connegative); Negative II (connegative 2); Negative Conditional (conditional connegative); Negative Potential (potential connegative); Perfect participle (past participle). In their pedagogical grammar, Moshnikoff et al. (2009) use the terms *een*-gerund and *ee'l*-gerund, for the temporal and instrumental participles, respectively, and the term "action essive" for the progressive participle. Ylikoski (2009) provides a thorough treatment of non-finites in North Saami and touches on some of the terminological issues surrounding them.

8.1 Inflectional classes

Verbs in Skolt Saami fall into four inflectional classes, referred to here as Class 1, 2, 3 and 4. Inflectional classes 1, 2 and 4 can be further subdivided into three groups, based on the vowel height of the vowel centre and the absence or presence of palatalisation, referred to as Groups A, B and C. This subdivision is not applicable to Class 3 verbs.

The infinitive form of all Skolt Saami verbs ends in either -*âd*, -*ad* or -*ed*. While it is perhaps more correct to consider the final -*d* as the infinitive marker and the vowel preceding it as part of the stem, this vowel is absent in many forms and it is more convenient to treat both -*d* and the preceding vowel together. The term INFLECTIONAL STEM used throughout this chapter, therefore, refers to the part of the verb preceding the final -*Vd*. In forms where the vowel preceding -*d* is retained this is made explicit, and is referred to as the STEM VOWEL, reflecting the fact it is technically part of the stem.

Infinitive		Inflectional stem
maaššâd (feel happy)	→	*maašš-*
påhssad (grease, oil)	→	*påhss-*
čeâkˈkjed (be buried)	→	*čeâkˈkj-*
vaaldšed (rule)	→	*vaaldš-*
ää'veed (open)	→	*ää've-*

Note how in the case of *ää'veed* 'open' and all other Class 4 verbs, whose infinitive form is *eed*-final, treating only the final *-Vd* as the infinitive marker renders the inflectional stem vowel-final.

Features of Class 1, 2, 3 and 4 verbs

The inflectional stems of Class 1 verbs end in either a short or long geminate consonant or a long consonant cluster, although in the case of loan words may also end in a single consonant. Class 1 verbs, nevertheless, always consist of a single stress group. The inflectional stems of Class 2 verbs end in a series of consonants which do not form a cluster – hence when no inflectional suffix is applied a vowel must be inserted into the stem to create a well-formed word – except for stems ending with *j*, which belong to Class 3. The infinitive forms of Class 4 verbs end in *-eed*, hence the inflectional stem ends in *-e* after the final *-ed* is removed. Examples of all these inflectional classes are presented in Table 94, highlighting the relevant part of the stem.

	Infinitive	Inflectional stem
	joorrâd (revolve, turn)	*joo**rr***
1	*kuärŋŋad* (climb)	*kuär**ŋŋ***
	põsslõõččâd (wash clothes)	*põsslõõ**čč***
	mainsted (tell)	*mai**nst***
2	*västtled* (slap)	*vä**sttl***
	näärved (wait)	*näär**v***
	rätkkjed (separate, come apart)	*rätkk**j***
3	*võ'll'jed* (jump up)	*võ'll'**j***
	sedggjed (be dimly visible)	*sedgg**j***
	siltteed (be able)	*siltt**e***
4	*kârreed* (curse)	*kârr**e***
	ää'veed (open)	*ää'v**e***

Table 94. Examples of verbs belonging to Class 1, 2, 3 and 4

Features of Group A, B and C verbs

Group A verbs exhibit vowels from the high group of the high–low vowel pairs (see §3.1) in their inflectional stem and also by default when neither high nor low is specified by a paradigm cell. Palatalisation is not present in the infinitive form.

Group B verbs exhibit vowels from the low group of vowels in the same environments mentioned above for Group A verbs. The infinitive form is not palatalised.

Group C verbs exhibit vowels from both the high and low groups, but differ in that the inflectional stem is palatalised. Palatalisation is the default form, only absent when stipulated by a paradigm cell. A paradigm cell may also specify for a

high or a low vowel, but if a paradigm cell is unspecified for vowel height the vowel will be the same as that seen in the infinitive form.

The final vowel of the infinitive of Class 1 verbs also indicates the group to which a verb belongs. Verbs ending in -*âd* belong to Group A, those ending in -*ad* belong to Group B and those ending in -*ed* belong to Group C. While this method of group identification does not hold for verbs from inflectional Class 2, since all Class 2 verbs end in -*ed*, the relationship observed above is nevertheless relevant. Verbs belonging to Class 2A display *â* in a number of forms (e.g. IMP.2SG), despite it not appearing in the infinitive; likewise, Class 2B verbs display *a* and Class 2C verbs display *e* in the same environments.

Below are a number of examples of verbs from each of the abovementioned groups for inflectional Classes 1, 2 and 4 and the features used to identify their class membership.

Classification	Example	Identifying features
Class 1, Group A	*kaggâd* (raise)	*a* is high vowel, ends -*âd*
Class 1, Group B	*mäccad* (fold)	*ä* is low vowel, ends -*ad*
Class 1, Group C	*pää'cced* (stay)	palatalised, ends -*ed*
Class 2, Group A	*juurdčed* (consider)	*u* is high vowel
Class 2, Group B	*mååjjmed* (smile)	*å* is low vowel
Class 2, Group C	*ǩee'rjted* (write)	palatalised
Class 4, Group A	*vaulleed* (brake)	*a* is high vowel, ends -*eed*
Class 4, Group B	*âskkeed* (hug)	*â* is low vowel, ends -*eed*
Class 4, Group C	*oi'ǧǧeed* (push)	palatalised, ends -*eed*

Class 3 verbs are not subdivided into groups, although palatalisation in the infinitive form results in *e* in the IMP.2SG, instead of *u*.

Classification	Example	Identifying features	2SG imperative
Class 3	*čåuddjed* (come loose)	not palatalised	*čoudd**u***
Class 3	*võ'll'jed* (jump up)	palatalised	*võ'll'j**e***

8.2 Inflectional suffixes

Suffixes of person-marked verb forms

Table 95 presents the inflectional suffixes of person-marked verb forms, which are affixed to the relevant inflectional stem (see §8.3 for information relating to stem formation). Where two suffixes are given, separated by a tilde, the first pertains to Class 1 verbs and the second pertains to Class 2, 3 and 4 verbs. Where two affixes are given, separated by a vertical line, the two are dialectal variants, the former pertaining to the Suõ′nn'jel dialect.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*am*	*em*	*ž-em*	*č-em*	
2SG	*ak*	*iǩ*	*ž-iǩ*	*č-iǩ*	[*3]
3SG	[*1]	*i*	*ˆ-ž*	*č-i*	*as* ~ *ââggas*
1PL	*ˆp*	*im*	*ž-ep* | *ž-im*	*č-im* | *č-ep*	*ˆp* ~ *âkap*
2PL	*ve'ted* ~ *e'ped*	*id*	*ž-id*	*č-id*	*ˆd* ~ *e'ǩed*
3PL	[*2]	*e*	*ž-e*	*č-e*	*az* ~ *âkaz*
4	*ˆt*	*eš*	*ž-et*	*č-eš*	

Table 95. Inflectional suffixes of person-marked verbs

[*1] — The PRS.3SG is not marked with a suffix in Class 1 verbs, although the stem is subject to sound changes. In Class 2 and Class 3 verbs, the loss of the final vowel and consonant of the infinitive render it necessary to insert an epenthetic vowel, *a*, in the stem, since the consonant centre does not allow multiple consonants, which do not belong to a cluster, to appear in the same syllable (for example, *mainsted* 'tell.INF' → *maainast* 'tell.PRS.3SG' → **maainst*). In Class 4 verbs the final vowel of the stem, which remains after the loss of the final -*ed* of the infinitive, is replaced with the suffix -*ad*.

[*2] — The asterisk in the PRS.3PL represents a vowel which varies depending on the inflectional class of the verb – for Class 1B verbs this vowel is *a*; for all other classes this vowel is *e*.

[*3] — The IMP.2SG is marked in different ways depending on the inflectional class of the verb. Class 1 verbs do not take a suffix and occur in the weak grade. Class 2 verbs insert a vowel in the same position as the epenthetic vowel seen in the PRS.3SG, although in this case the vowel corresponds to the subgroup the verb belongs to – Group A verbs display *â* in this position, Group B verbs display *a* and Group C verbs display *e*. Class 3 verbs do not insert a vowel into the stem, but instead the final *j* of the inflectional stem is replaced with the vowel *u*, or, in the case of palatalised stems, the vowel *e*. Class 4 verbs replace the final *e* of the stem with the suffix -*âd*, -*ad* or -*ed*, depending on the subgroup to which the verb belongs.

In most paradigm forms the final vowel and consonant of the infinitive form is lost before the application of the relevant inflectional suffix. The forms where the stem vowel is retained have been indicated with a circumflex in Table 95 prior to the inflectional suffix.

In addition, Class 1B verbs also retain the stem vowel *a* in the PST.3SG, PST.1PL and PST.2PL forms, while in all other past forms the vowel of the inflectional suffix is replaced with *u*. Note also that the change from *i* → *u* in the PST.2SG triggers a change from *ǩ* → *k*. These variant forms of the past tense inflectional suffixes of Class 1B verbs are presented in Table 96.

	Past
1SG	*um*
2SG	*uk*
3SG	*a-i*
1PL	*a-im*
2PL	*a-id*
3PL	*u*
4	*uš*

Table 96. Forms of past tense suffixes for Class 1B verbs

As is evident from Table 95 the potential marker is *ž* and the conditional marker is *č*; these morphemes could, therefore, have been presented separately from person and number marking, but for the sake of simplicity the two are presented together. The person and number suffixes in the conditional forms are identical to those of the past tense, while in the potential they are identical to most, but not all of them.

In addition to those forms which retain the stem vowel, as indicated by the circumflex in Table 95, verbs belonging to Class 2 and Class 3 also retain the stem vowel prior to the application of a potential or conditional suffix.[35] In all forms, apart from POT.3SG, this leads to a change from a trisyllabic stress group to two disyllabic stress groups, and the vowel present in these suffixes – *i* or *e* – causes the second stress group to be palatalised, for example *mainsted* 'tell' → *mainste'či* 'tell.COND.3SG'.

The IMP.2PL suffix of Class 3 and Class 4 verbs shows variation between the suffixes *-e'ǩed* and *-ed*.

The application of the inflectional suffixes to the *e*-final stem of Class 4 verbs results in a long *ee* when an *e*-initial suffix is added, except in the case of the suffixes *-e'pet* (PRS.2PL) and *-e'ǩed* (IMP.2PL). When any other vowel-initial suffix is added it triggers the following sound changes.

e + a	→	*ää*
e + i	→	*ii*

The *e*-final stem also means that an epenthetic vowel is unnecessary in the potential and conditional forms of Class 4 verbs, although the potential and conditional suffixes do trigger palatalisation in the final two syllables.

An example paradigm of a Class 4 verb, *ää'veed* 'open', is presented in Table 97 to illustrate the aforementioned points relating to this inflectional class.

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35. An alternative explanation could consider this an epenthetic vowel inserted after the loss of the final vowel of the infinitive, since the potential and conditional suffixes would not otherwise be able to attach to the consonant-final stem of the verb.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	ää'v**ää**m	ää'v**ee**m	ää've'žem	ää've'čem	
2SG	ää'v**ää**k	ää'v**ii**ǩ	ää've'žiǩ	ää've'čiǩ	ää'v**e**d
3SG	ää'v**a**d	ää'v**ii**	ää'v**ee**ž	ää've'či	ää'vââggas
1PL	ää'v**ee**p	ää'v**ii**m	ää've'žep	ää've'čep	ää'vâkap
2PL	ää've'ped	ää'v**ii**d	ää've'žid	ää've'čid	ää've'ǩed
3PL	ää'v**ee**	ää'v**ee**	ää've'že	ää've'če	ää'vâkaz
4	ää'v**ee**t	ää'v**ee**š	ää've'žet	ää've'češ	

Table 97. Inflectional paradigm of Class 4C verb *ää'veed* 'open'

Suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms

The suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms are presented in Table 98. Again, the circumflex represents the stem vowel. Where two suffixes are presented the first pertains to Class 1 verbs and the second to Class 2, 3 and 4 verbs.

	Inflectional suffix
Infinitive	âd / ad / ed
Action participle	ˆm
Present participle	i ~ eei
Past participle	am [*1]
Passive participle	um [*3]
Progressive participle	men [*2]
Temporal participle	een
Instrumental participle	ee'l
Abessive participle	ǩâni [*2]
Connegative	[*4]
Connegative (second form)	u ~ uku
Connegative (potential form)	že [*2]
Connegative (conditional form)	če [*2]

Table 98. Inflectional suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms

[*1] — In Class 1A verbs this ending is -*âm*. In Class 4 verbs the combination of the stem final *e* and the suffix -*am* becomes -*ääm*.

[*2] — The application of consonant-initial suffixes to Class 2, 3 and 4 verbs necessitates the retention of the final *e* of the infinitive. Also in Classes 2, 3 and 4, the *e* in the suffix of the potential and conditional connegative forms, as well as the progressive participle, triggers palatalisation in the second stress group. In the progressive participle the -*m*- of the suffix is also geminated – e.g. *võ'll'je'mmen* 'jump.PROG.PTCP'.

[*3] — The passive participle of Class 4 verbs is realised as -*ummu*, and sometimes also in Class 2 and 3 verbs.

[*4] — In all verb classes the connegative verb (first form) is identical in form to the IMP.2SG form. That is to say, Class 1 verbs do not take a suffix and occur in the weak grade; Class 2 verbs insert a vowel in the inflectional stem, based on the subgroup they belong to; Class 3 verbs replace the final *j* of the inflectional stem with the vowel *u*, or, in the case of palatalised stems, the vowel *e* ; Class 4 verbs replace the final *e* of the stem with the suffix *-âd*, *-ad* or *-ed*, depending on the subgroup to which the verb belongs.

8.3 Inflectional stems

Class 1 inflectional stems (person-marked verb forms)

Verbs belonging to inflectional Class 1 undergo the most complex sound changes of all the inflectional classes in Skolt Saami, giving rise to a number of distinct verbal stems. The complexity arises from the fact that up to three sound change processes may occur concurrently, although due to the effect changes in consonant grade have on the preceding vowels this can be perceived as four independent sound changes operating together.

The morphophonological processes which an inflectional stem may undergo are: (i) an alternation in consonant grade between a Grade I, II or III consonant, or between a simple and complex consonant cluster; (ii) an alternation between a short and long stem vowel, which varies in accordance with (i); (iii) an alternation between a high or low stem vowel; and (iv) the presence or absence of palatalisation.

Vowel length is not specified in this section, since this is predictable from the consonant grade specified, as explained in §3.3. The default stem is the inflectional stem of the infinitive form and so when consonant grade, vowel height or palatalisation are not specified for a given paradigm cell, the relevant feature will be identical to that of the infinitive stem.

As explained in §3.2, consonant gradation in Skolt Saami has lost its phonological conditioning, but nevertheless plays an important role in distinguishing different morphological forms. Each paradigm cell is associated with a specific grade; those for Class 1 verbs are presented in Table 99.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	WEAK	STRONG+	WEAK	WEAK	
2SG	WEAK	STRONG+	WEAK	WEAK	WEAK
3SG	–	WEAK	WEAK	WEAK	WEAK
1PL	–	WEAK	WEAK	WEAK	–
2PL	–	WEAK	WEAK	WEAK	–
3PL	STRONG+	STRONG+	WEAK	WEAK	STRONG+
4	WEAK	STRONG+	WEAK	WEAK	

Table 99. Consonant grade of Class 1 inflectional stems

Certain paradigm cells require a vowel to be either high or low. Vowel height speci-
fications for Class 1 verbs, which are relevant to all subgroups, are presented in
Table 100. Note that in Group A verbs the vowel centre consists of a high vowel by
default, so the only change observed is in those paradigm cells which specify for a
low vowel; likewise in Group B verbs the vowel centre is a low vowel by default,
so only a change to a high vowel is observed.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG		[+HIGH]			
2SG		[+HIGH]			
3SG	[+LOW]				[+LOW]
1PL					
2PL					
3PL	[+LOW]	[+HIGH]			[+LOW]
4		[+HIGH]			

Table 100. Vowel height of Class 1 inflectional stems

In addition to those features shared by all three subgroups of verbs, the features
presented in Table 101 are relevant only to Class 1A verbs. Note, however, that this
feature of palatalisation does not appear to be an independent feature, but rather
occurs in all inflectional stems which are in the STRONG+ grade and whose inflec-
tional suffix contains either the vowel *e* or *i*.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG		[+PALATAL]			
2SG		[+PALATAL]			
3SG					
1PL					
2PL					
3PL	[+PALATAL]	[+PALATAL]			
4		[+PALATAL]			

Table 101. Inflectional features of Class 1A verbs

In addition to those features shared by all three subgroups of verbs, the features
presented in Table 102 are only relevant for Class 1C verbs. The loss of palatalisa-
tion co-occurs with a change in vowel height from high to low if applicable, hence
all conditional forms, as well as the present singular forms and the IMP.3SG and
IMP.3PL forms, of Class 1C verbs occur with a low vowel. This is not stipulated in
Table 102, however, since it can be considered an automatic process related to the
loss of palatalisation.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	[−PALATAL]	[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	
2SG	[−PALATAL]	[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	
3SG	[−PALATAL]	[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	[−PALATAL]
1PL		[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	
2PL		[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	
3PL		[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	[−PALATAL]
4		[+HIGH]	[+HIGH]	[−PALATAL]	

Table 102. Inflectional features of Class 1C verbs

The inflectional stem of a verb for a given paradigm cell is thus formed by the combined application of the consonant grade and other features relevant to the verb and paradigm cell in question on the infinitive stem. The following provides an illustration of this.

Given verb (infinitive form)	=	*vue'lğğed* (leave)
Desired form	=	PRS.1SG
Verb inflectional class	=	Class 1C (*ed*-final, palatalised)
Class 1C features for PRS.1SG stem	=	weak grade [−PALATAL][+LOW]
Stem form	=	*vuâlg-*
Class 1 PRS.1SG suffix	=	*-am*
Paradigm form	=	*vuâlgam*

In the example presented, the following changes take place (although with regard to (ii), recall that a change in the duration of a diphthong is not represented in the orthography (see §2.5)):

(i)	weak grade	long geminate (*'lğğ*) → short geminate (*'lj*)
(ii)	weak grade	short diphthong → long diphthong
(iii)	[−PALATAL]	change in consonant quality (*'lj → lg*)
(iv)	[−PALATAL]	palatalised diphthong (*ue'*) → plain diphthong (*uõ~uâ*)
(v)	[−PALATAL]	unspecified height (*uõ~uâ*) → low diphthong (*uâ*)

Tables 103–105 show how the features presented in Tables 99–102 combine to produce the inflectional stems of a Class 1A, 1B and 1C verb.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*kuul*	*ku'll*	*kuul*	*kuul*	
2SG	*kuul*	*ku'll*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuul*
3SG	*kooll*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kool*
1PL	*kuull*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuull*
2PL	*kuull*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*kuull*
3PL	*ko'll*	*ku'll*	*kuul*	*kuul*	*koll*
4	*kuul*	*ku'll*	*kuul*	*kuul*	

Table 103. Inflectional stems of *kuullâd* 'hear', a Class 1A verb

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*njoorg*	*njurgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	
2SG	*njoorg*	*njurgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*
3SG	*njorgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*
1PL	*njorgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njorgg*
2PL	*njorgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njorgg*
3PL	*njorgg*	*njurgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	*njorgg*
4	*njoorg*	*njurgg*	*njoorg*	*njoorg*	

Table 104. Inflectional stems of *njorggad* 'whistle', a Class 1B verb

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*joord*	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	
2SG	*joord*	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	*juur'd*
3SG	*jordd*	*juu'rd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	*joord*
1PL	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	*ju'rdd*
2PL	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	*ju'rdd*
3PL	*jo'rdd*	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	*jordd*
4	*juu'rd*	*ju'rdd*	*juu'rd*	*joord*	

Table 105. Inflectional stems of *ju'rdded* 'think', a Class 1C verb

Table 103 illustrates how, for Class 1A verbs, the combination of morphophonological processes gives rise to seven different stem forms, which are presented in Table 106.

It is worth recalling that certain paradigm cell features are not apparent in all verbs, since a paradigm cell may specify for a feature that a verb inherently possesses. For example, the PRS.3SG form of Class 1 verbs always displays a low vowel, but this is not apparent in verbs belonging to Class 1B, since the vowel centre already displays a low vowel.

	Feature set	Resulting stem
1	INFINITIVE STEM	*kuull*
2	WEAK	*kuul*
3	WEAK [+LOW]	*kool*
4	[+LOW]	*kooll*
5	STRONG+ [+PALATAL]	*ku'll*
6	STRONG+ [+LOW]	*koll*
7	STRONG+ [+LOW] [+PALATAL]	*ko'll*

Table 106. The seven inflectional stems of *kuullâd* 'hear', a Class 1A verb

Verbs with a disyllabic infinitive stem behave in the same way as described for monosyllabic inflectional stems, save for the fact that the vowel in the IMP.3SG form does not undergo the change to a low vowel seen in other Class 1 verbs. The morphophonological processes affect the final syllable and have no effect on the first syllable. The inflectional paradigm of *teâvõõttâd* 'dress oneself', a Class 1A verb, is presented in Table 107.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*teâvõõđam*	*teâvõ'ttem*	*teâvõõdžem*	*teâvõõđčem*	
2SG	*teâvõõđak*	*teâvõ'ttiǩ*	*teâvõõdžiǩ*	*teâvõõđčiǩ*	*teâvõõđ*
3SG	*teâvâátt*	*teâvõõđi*	*teâvõõđâž*	*teâvõõđči*	*teâvõõđas*
1PL	*teâvõõttâp*	*teâvõõđim*	*teâvõõdžep*	*teâvõõđčim*	*teâvõõttâp*
2PL	*teâvõõttve'ted*	*teâvõõđid*	*teâvõõdžid*	*teâvõõđčid*	*teâvõõttâd*
3PL	*teâvâ'tte*	*teâvõ'tte*	*teâvõõđže*	*teâvõõđče*	*teâvâttaz*
4	*teâvõõđât*	*teâvõ'tteš*	*teâvõõđžet*	*teâvõõđčeš*	

Table 107. Inflectional paradigm of *teâvõõttâd* 'dress oneself', a Class 1A verb

Class 1 inflectional stems (non-person-marked verb forms)

Table 108 presents the consonant grade which pertains to the forms of all Class 1 verbs not marked for person, together with a number of features which are only relevant to Class 1B and Class 1C verbs.

Table 109 gives examples of the non-person-marked forms of a Class 1A, 1B and 1C verb – *viikkâd* 'take, carry', *kuärrad* 'sew' and *kââ'ǩǩed* 'gnaw at', respectively – to illustrate the stem-internal changes relevant to these forms. The inflectional suffixes of these verb forms were presented in Table 98.

	Stem grade	Class 1B	Class 1C
Action PTCP	–		
Present PTCP	–	stem vowel retained	[+HIGH]
Past PTCP	–		[−PALATAL]
Passive PTCP	STRONG+	[+HIGH]	[+HIGH][−PALATAL]
Progressive PTCP	–		
Temporal PTCP	WEAK		
Instrumental PTCP	WEAK		
Abessive PTCP	WEAK		
Connegative	WEAK		
Connegative 2	STRONG+	[+HIGH]	[+HIGH][−PALATAL]
Connegative POT	WEAK		
Connegative COND	WEAK		[−PALATAL]

Table 108. Features of Class 1 inflectional stems (non-person-marked verb forms)

	Class 1A	Class 1B	Class 1C
Infinitive	*viikkâd*	*kuärrad*	*kââʹǩǩed*
Action PTCP	*viikkâm*	*kuärram*	*kââʹǩǩem*
Present PTCP	*viikki*	*kuärrai*	*kõõʹǩǩi*
Past PTCP	*viikkâm*	*kuärram*	*kââkkam*
Passive PTCP	*vikkum*	*kuårʹrum*	*kõkkum*
Progressive PTCP	*viikkmen*	*kuärrmen*	*kââʹǩǩmen*
Temporal PTCP	*viiggeen*	*kuäreen*	*kââʹjjeen*
Instrumental PTCP	*viiggeeʹl*	*kuäreeʹl*	*kââʹjjeeʹl*
Abessive PTCP	*viiggǩâni*	*kuärǩâni*	*kââʹjjǩâni*
Connegative	*viigg*	*kuär*	*kââʹjj*
Connegative 2	*vikku*	*kuårʹru*	*kõkku*
Connegative POT	*viiggže*	*kuärže*	*kââʹjjže*
Connegative COND	*viiggče*	*kuärče*	*kââggče*

Table 109. Non-person-marked forms of three Class 1 verbs

Class 2 inflectional stems

In comparison to Class 1 verbs, the inflection of Class 2, 3 and 4 verbs is a surprisingly straightforward process of affixing the relevant inflectional suffix onto the inflectional stem, which is the same for all paradigm forms, taking into account the notes accompanying Table 95 and Table 98.

The PRS.3SG form, however, warrants a more detailed explanation. In the PRS.3SG form of Class 2 verbs, which does not display an inflectional suffix, the infinitive stem requires an epenthetic vowel, *a*, to create a disyllabic form, as the

final consonant or consonants of the infinitive stem cannot belong to the preceding syllable due to phonotactic constraints. This epenthetic vowel is inserted immediately before the stem-final consonant unless the penultimate consonant of the stem is *s*, *š*, *l* or *r* and preceded by at least one other consonant, in which case the epenthetic vowel is inserted directly before *s*, *š*, *l* or *r*. This is illustrated below.

Infinitive		PRS.3SG
vaaldšed (govern)	→	*vaalda**š***
juurdčed (think)	→	*juurda**č***
mainsted (tell)	→	*maain**a**st*
veä'lšted (be nervous)	→	*veä'la**št***
oudlded (precede)	→	*ooud**a**ld*
râdsǩed (become breathless)	→	*rââdd**a**sk*
äjšmed (be enthusiastic)	→	*ääj**a**šm*

Often the resyllabification of the inflectional stem results in a lengthening of either the vowel centre, consonant centre or both – e.g. *mainsted* 'tell' → *maainast*; *râdsǩed* 'become breathless' → *rââddask*.

   In the other forms which do not take an inflectional suffix, namely the IMP.2SG and CONNEGATIVE, the epenthetic vowel quality depends on the subgroup to which the verb belongs, as explained in §8.2. In these forms the epenthetic vowel is *â* for Group A verbs, *a* for Group B verbs and *e* for Group C verbs.

   In all other paradigm forms, which have an inflectional suffix, the inflectional stem is identical to the infinitive stem.

Class 3 inflectional stems

Verbs of inflectional Class 3 have a similar structure to those of Class 2, except that their infinitive stem ends with the consonant *j*. In the PRS.3SG, the epenthetic vowel *a*, as seen in Class 2 verbs, is present. The insertion of the epenthetic vowel makes *j* syllable-final, which is then represented in the orthography as *-i*, for example *koll'jed* 'be heard.INF' → *kollai* 'be heard.PRS.3SG'.

   As mentioned in §8.2, the final *j* is omitted in the IMP.2SG – and the identical connegative verb – prior to the application of the suffix *u*, or *e* if the infinitive form is palatalised. The IMP.2SG form also specifies for a high vowel in Class 3 verbs.

   In all other paradigm forms, which have an inflectional suffix, the inflectional stem is identical to the infinitive stem.

   Note that there are a number of *jed*-final verbs whose IMP.2SG form does not end in *u* or *e*, but instead ends in *-âg* or *-ag*. It seems that the split between *u/e* on the one hand and *-âg/-ag* on the other is based on the semantic properties of *j*. If *j* is marking a verb as a middle verb (see §5.1.1) the expected IMP.2SG ending is *u* or *e*, whereas if *j* is simply a denominalising marker (see §5.1.2) the expected IMP.2SG ending is likely to be *-âg* or *-ag*.

Class 4 inflectional stems

Verbs belonging to Class 4 differ from the other three inflectional classes since their infinitive form is *eed*-final. As a consequence their underlying inflectional stems are *e*-final, after the final *-ed* is disregarded. As mentioned in §8.2, when the final vowel of the inflectional stem is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, certain changes in vowel quality at the stem–suffix interface take place. Verbs of Class 4 are subject to no other morphophonological processes.

An example Class 4 inflectional paradigm was presented in Table 97. A second Class 4 inflectional paradigm, the verb *pue'reed* 'improve', is presented in Table 110.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	*pue'rääm*	*pue'reem*	*pue're'žem*	*pue're'čem*	
2SG	*pue'rääk*	*pue'riiǩ*	*pue're'žiǩ*	*pue're'čiǩ*	*pue'red*
3SG	*pue'rad*	*pue'rii*	*pue'reež*	*pue're'či*	*pue'rââggas*
1PL	*pue'reep*	*pue'riim*	*pue're'žep*	*pue're'čep*	*pue'râkap*
2PL	*pue're'ped*	*pue'riid*	*pue're'žid*	*pue're'čid*	*pue're'ǩed*
3PL	*pue'ree*	*pue'ree*	*pue're'že*	*pue're'če*	*pue'râkaz*
4	*pue'reet*	*pue'reeš*	*pue're'žet*	*pue're'češ*	

Table 110. Inflectional paradigm of *pue'reed* 'improve', a Class 4 verb

8.4 Loan verbs

A number of loan verbs, typically from Russian, are given in Table 111.

Skolt Saami	Russian	English
võõidâd	*vyjti*	go out
sluužad	*služit'*	serve
čiistâd	*čistit'*	clean
laaddâd	*latat'*	patch up
suudâd	*sudi'*	judge

Table 111. Examples of loan verbs

The majority of loan verbs can be grouped together with one of the four inflectional classes outlined in the previous section. This is the case, for example, with denominal *j*-final verbs derived from loan nouns (see §5.1.2), such as *škoou'l'jed* 'educate' (← Russian *škola* 'school'), *kruu'n'jed* 'crown' (← Finnish *kruunu* 'crown') and *prääzkjed* 'party' (← Russian *prazdnik* 'party'), which belong to Class 3.

Other loan verbs, however, such as those presented in Table 111, behave in most respects as Class 1A verbs, except for the fact they are not subject to consonant gradation. Other processes which pertain to the inflection of Class 1A verbs,

such as palatalisation and changes in vowel quality, are maintained. The verbs from Table 111 belonging to this group are presented again in Table 112, where the PRS.3SG and PRS.3PL forms illustrate how the change in vowel height is maintained in loan verbs. The PRS.3PL and PST.3PL forms, which specify for the STRONG+ grade, and the IMP.2SG form, which specifies for the WEAK grade, illustrate the fact that no change in consonant grade takes place.

Infinitive	PRS.3SG	PRS.3PL	PST.3PL	IMP.2SG
võõidâd	vââid	vââi'de	võõi'de	võõid
sluužad	sloož	sloo'že	sluu'že	sluuž
čiistâd	čeest	čee'ste	čii'ste	čiist
laaddâd	läädd	lää'dde	laa'dde	laadd
suudâd	sooud	soou'de	suu'de	suud

Table 112. Partial paradigms of five loan verbs

In §8.1 it was noted that for Class 1A verbs palatalisation occurred in forms which were both in the STRONG+ grade and took an inflectional suffix containing either *i* or *e*. However, the feature of palatalisation is maintained in these loan verbs, as seen in the PRS.3PL and PST.3PL, despite the absence of consonant gradation in these forms.

8.5 The auxiliary verbs

There are two auxiliary verbs in Skolt Saami. The first of these is the verb *lee'd*, glossed as 'be', which is irregular in a number of forms and cannot therefore be classified as belonging to any of the previously mentioned inflectional classes. The inflectional paradigm of *lee'd* is presented in Table 113.

	Present	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1SG	leäm	le'jjem	le'žžem	le'ččem	
2SG	leäk	le'jjiǩ	le'žžiǩ	le'ččiǩ	leäk'ku
3SG	lij	leäi	leežž	le'čči	leäggas
1PL	leä'p	leei'm	le'žžep	le'ččim	leäk'kap
2PL	leä'ped	leei'd	le'žžve'ted	le'ččid	leäk'ku
3PL	lie ~ liâ	le'jje	le'žže	le'čče	leäk'kaz
4	leät	le'jješ	le'žžet	le'ččeš	

Table 113. Inflectional paradigm of the auxiliary verb *lee'd*

This auxiliary verb has a number of uses, each of which is discussed in the relevant section of this grammar – predicate constructions are discussed in §10.3; periphrastic tenses and progressive constructions are discussed in §9.1 and §9.2; and the passive voice is discussed in §10.4.3.

The verb *lee'd*, whether acting as an auxiliary verb, a copular verb or in an existential or possessive construction, also has irregular forms in negative constructions. In present negative constructions it takes the form *leäk'ku* (including in the 4th person, i.e. the verb *lee'd* does not have a distinct CNG2 form). In past negative constructions, like other lexical verbs in negative constructions, it appears in its past participial form, *leäm'maš* (~*leäm'ma*) or sometimes shortened to *leäm* (rendering it identical in form to the PRS.1SG indicative form). In negative conditional and negative potential constructions it appears as *le'čče* and *le'žže*, respectively. These forms are summarised in Table 114.

Negative construction	Form of *lee'd*
Negative present	*leäk'ku*
Negative past	*leäm'maš* (past participle)
Negative conditional	*le'čče*
Negative potential	*le'žže*

Table 114. Forms of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* appearing in negative constructions

The second auxiliary verb is the negative auxiliary verb, which does not have an infinitive form. The negative auxiliary verb inflects only for person and number, while tense and mood are marked on a connegative form of the lexical verb which occurs with the auxiliary verb. The negative auxiliary also has imperative forms. The inflectional paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb is presented in Table 115. Its use is discussed in §9.4.

	Indicative	Imperative
1SG	*jiõm*	
2SG	*jiõk*	*jeä'l*
3SG	*ij*	*jeälas*
1PL	*jeä'p*	*jeäl'lap*
2PL	*jeä'ped*	*jeä'l'led*
3PL	*jie ~ jiâ*	*jeäl'las*
4	*jeät*	

Table 115. Inflectional paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb

9   Tense, aspect, mood and polarity

9.1 Tense

Skolt Saami distinguishes between four tenses – two absolute tenses, the present
and past, which are marked morphologically, and two relative tenses, the present
perfect and past perfect, which are marked periphrastically.

Affirmative clauses in the present or past mark tense on the main verb, while
clauses in the perfect tenses mark tense on the auxiliary verb *lee'd*. The verb mark-
ing tense agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause.

The present tense, which could also be referred to as a non-past tense, encodes
the time of an event as occurring in the present or future. Since the present tense
can refer to both present or future time, the time of the event is either inferred from
the context or expressed by a temporal adverbial, as seen in example (37b).

(37)   a. *puõccu   mâ'nne   luõttu*
              reindeer.PL.NOM go.**PRS**.3PL nature.SG.ILL

              the reindeers run free (lit. go to nature)   [MM-4]

       b. *jâđđa   muäna vue'lǧǧep   meäcca*
              tomorrow 1DU.NOM leave.**PRS**.1PL forest.SG.ILL

              'tomorrow the two of us will go to the forest'   [MM:23]

The present tense is often used in subordinate clauses with an irrealis reading. For
example, it may be used to express an event which has not yet taken place, as in the
temporal clause in (38a), or an event that it is hoped will happen, as in the comple-
ment clause (38b).

(38)   a. *säimma   ku   čuõšk   pâššne   ǩidd,*
              web.SG.ILL when mosquito.PL.NOM get.caught.**PRS**.3PL closed

              te'l son   jičč   orčč   kuâŋŋa lääi'j
              then 3SG.NOM REFL.SG.NOM run.**PRS**.3SG along   thread.SG.GEN

              da vuäǯǯ   nääi't   šiõgg porrmõõžž
              and get.**PRS**.3SG in.this.way good food.SG.ACC

              'when the mosquitos get caught in the web, then he (Spider) will
              run along the thread and in that way get a good meal'   [MM-3]

b. *tõt   täättai,   što   čuõšk*
DIST.SG.NOM want.**PST**.3SG COMP mosquito.**PL**.NOM

vue'lǧǧe   Sää'm+jânnma
leave.**PRS**.3PL Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL
'he wanted the mosquitos to go to Lapland'   [MM-3]

The present tense is used to denote habitual events as shown in example (39).

(39) *sami âlgg   võõrâs kue'lin   jie'lled ǩeässa*
quite must.**PRS**.3SG fresh   fish.SG.COM live.INF in.summer
'one basically has to live off fresh fish in the summer'   [MM-4]

The past tense encodes the time of an event as occurring in the past. The past tense may denote a completed action (40a), but can also be used to denote past habitual events (40b).

(40) a. *puõccid   hoi'ddje   di kue'l   ši'lle*
reindeer.PL.ACC look.after.**PST**.3PL and fish.SG.ACC catch.**PST**.3PL
'they looked after reindeer and they caught fish'   [MM-4]

b. *mie'lǩ   vuäǯǯaim mue'dd   ǩilomettar   tue'ǩǩen*
milk.SG.ACC get.**PST**.1PL several.SG.GEN kilometre.SG.GEN behind

juõ'ǩǩ peei'v
each   day.SG.GEN
'each day we got milk from several kilometres away'   [MM:114]

The present perfect and past perfect tenses are formed periphrastically with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' marking person and number. In both the present perfect and the past perfect the lexical verb appears in its past participial form. The present perfect requires that the auxiliary verb appear in the present tense (41a), while the past perfect requires that the auxiliary verb appear in the past tense (41b).

(41) a. *mu'st liâ   mäŋgg kõõččâm*
1SG.LOC be.**PRS**.3PL many ask.**PST.PTCP**
'many (people) have asked me (to wail)'   [MM-4]

b. *ju'n   eeunaž   leäi   si'jjid mainstam*
already spider.SG.NOM be.**PST**.3SG 3PL.ILL tell.**PST.PTCP**
'Spider had already told them'   [MM-3]

The perfect tenses are used to refer to an event (E) which occurred prior to some other reference point in time (R), the result of which has continuing relevance to that reference point (R). In (42), the reference point (R) corresponds to the moment of the utterance (S), and the event (E) is the act of outliving some other person. The present perfect must be used as the act of outliving another person (E) is still relevant at the time of the utterance (S), as the speaker is still alive. The past perfect cannot be used in this context, as it would convey the idea that the speaker is dead.

(42) *mon   leäm   mäŋggsest   kuâđđjam*
1SG.NOM be.**PRS**.1SG many.SG.LOC remain.**PST.PTCP**

'I have outlived many (people)' [MM-4]

In example (43), taken from a story (see Text 2), the past perfect is used because the reference point (R), the moment the man in the story noticed that his reindeer was dead, is prior to the speech time (S). The event (E), which precedes (R), is the act of the northern lights eating the reindeer. The event (E) is still relevant at the time of (R) and therefore the (simple) past tense is not appropriate in this context.

(43) *vuõi'ni,   što   ääldast   leäi   pâi*
see.PST.3SG COMP female.reindeer.SG.LOC be.**PST**.3SG only

võrr+pääikaž   pääccam
blood.SG.NOM+place.DIM.SG.NOM   remain.**PST.PTCP**

kuuskõõzz   le'jje   ääld
northern.lights.PL.NOM be.**PST**.3PL female.reindeer.SG.ACC

poorrâm
eat.**PST.PTCP**

'he saw that only a patch of blood had remained of the reindeer;
the northern lights had eaten the reindeer' [MM-2]

9.2 Aspect

Verbs in Skolt Saami inflect for tense and mood, but not for aspect. Instead, aspectual meanings can be expressed by means of various verbal constructions or derivational suffixes, including (i) periphrastically with an auxiliary verb, (ii) periphrastically by means of a participial aspectual construction or (iii) by a morphological marker on the verb.

Progressive events are marked periphrastically with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' followed by the progressive participle of the lexical verb. Progressive events can occur in any of the four tenses, which are marked by the auxiliary verb, giving

rise to present progressive (44a), past progressive (44b), present perfect progressive and past perfect progressive (45) meanings.

(44)   a.   *õõlgči   ǩiõrggned põ'rtte   mõõnnâd, što   ko*
           must.COND.3SG hurry.INF   house.SG.ILL go.INF   COMP when

           ođđ ooumaž   lij   šõddmen
           new person.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG be.born.PROG.PTCP
           'she would have to hurry to go to the house as a new person is being born'   [SKNA 17462:1, 1:2.4]

     b.   *bie'ss   leäi   lossânji   vue'đđmen*
          devil.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG heavy.ADV sleep.PROG.PTCP
          'the devil was sleeping deeply'   [MM:79]

Present perfect and past perfect progressive events require the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' twice, since the perfect tenses are themselves formed periphrastically.

(45)   *son   leäi   leämma   tuâl-aa ju'n*
       3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG be.PST.PTCP long.ago already

       vä'ʒʒmen
       walk.PROG.PTCP
       'already long ago, he had been walking'   [SKNA 17448:1]

Completed events also make use of the progressive participle, but not in the same way as progressive events. While progressive events use the auxiliary verb in a periphrastic verbal construction, completed events instead make use of a lexical verb, which expresses completion or termination of an unspecified activity, combined with the progressive participial form of the verb which expresses the activity itself, thus expressing completion by way of a participial aspectual construction.

(46)   *jõ'sǩǩe   tõn   toopp   speâllmen*
       finish.PST.3PL DIST.SG.ACC sheath.SG.ACC play.PROG.PTCP
       'they finished playing that sheath (game)'   [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.38]

A number of other aspectual meanings are marked morphologically in Skolt Saami by means of a derivational suffix on the verb, which occurs between the lexical stem and any inflectional suffixes. The most frequently used is the inceptive, which is expressed by the derivational suffix *-šǩue'tt-* (see §5.1.1). Derived verbs which take the inceptive suffix can appear in any tense or mood.

(47) a. *nä'de juŋstõlškuätt*
then ice.fish.with.net.**INCP**.PRS.3SG
'then he begins fishing with a net under the ice' [MM-4]

b. *čiõrmiǩ čââ'lmes veärggteškue'đi*
young.reindeer.SG.NOM eye.SG.ACC.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG
'the young reindeer started to blink her eyes' [MM-3]

In (48) a derived verb which takes the inceptive suffix appears in the potential mood to express a future, uncertain event.

(48) *jiâ poppâd ouddâl ku tue'leskuâus*
NEG.3PL stick.CNG until red.of.dawn.SG.NOM

čuõvvneškue'đež
grow.clear.**INCP**.POT.3SG
'they won't stick until the red of dawn begins to clear' [MM:46]

Other derivational suffixes which can be used to express aspectual meanings are listed in §5.1.1, such as the subitive (49a) and the continuative (49b).

(49) a. *vue'lǧǧep domoi, ko aa'lji seu'ŋŋlded*
leave.PRS.1PL homeward when begin.PST.3SG grow.dark.**SUB**.INF
'we set off towards home when it began to quickly grow dark'
[SKNA 17462:1, 1:2.17]

b. *tõt seei'bes liikktââll*
DIST.SG.NOM tail.SG.ACC.3SG move.**CONT**.PRS.3SG
'he (the dog) is wagging (moving about) his tail' [MM:49]

9.3 Mood

Skolt Saami distinguishes between one realis mood – the indicative – and three irrealis moods – the conditional, the potential and the imperative. The formation of all four moods is covered in Chapter 8.

9.3.1 Conditional mood

The conditional mood is marked with the phoneme *č* which occurs after the verbal stem before all other verbal inflection (see §8.2), as shown in (50).

(50)   *poorčem   mon   kâ'l võõrâs kue'l,*
         eat.**COND**.1SG 1SG.NOM yes fresh   fish.SG.ACC

         leâ'ša ko'st   tõn   vääldak
         but   REL.LOC DIST.SG.ACC take.PRS.2SG
         'I would eat fresh fish, yes, but where can you get that from?'
                                                        [MM-4]

A common use of the conditional mood is in hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses, where the predicates of both the matrix clause and the conditional clause appear in the conditional mood (51). See §10.7.2 for more information on conditional structures.

(51)   *ku mâka son   piâzzče   jie'llmen,*
         if   3SG.NOM get.out.**COND**.3SG live.PROG.PTCP

         veâl-a   ton   vääldčiǩ   suu   ǩidd
         still-INTER 2SG.NOM take.**COND**.2SG 3SG.ACC closed
         'if he were to escape alive, would you still catch him?'   [MM:20]

Lexical verbs marked with the conditional and potential moods do not express tense. Instead, the conditional forms of the perfect tense and the progressive and perfect progressive aspectual constructions can be formed by combining the relevant participial form of the lexical verb with the conditional or potential form of the auxiliary verb *lee'd*, which are presented in Table 116 (see also §8.5). Some examples are given in (52).

	Conditional	Potential
1SG	*le'ččem*	*le'žžem*
2SG	*le'ččiǩ*	*le'žžiǩ*
3SG	*le'čči*	*leežž*
1PL	*le'ččep*	*le'žžep*
2PL	*le'ččid*	*le'žžve'ted*
3PL	*le'črče*	*le'žže*
4	*le'ččeš*	*le'žžet*

Table 116. Paradigm showing the conditional and potential forms of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be'

(52) a. *jiõm â'te mon   ni   kõõjjče,   jos   mon*
          NEG.1SG then 1SG.NOM even ask.CNG.COND if [FI] 1SG.NOM

          teâđčem,   le'ččem   veär   raajjâm   ouddâl
          know.COND.1SG be.**COND**.1SG soup.SG.ACC make.**PST.PTCP** before
          'I wouldn't even ask if I knew, if I had made soup before!'
                                                        [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.51]

      b. *a   tok-i   mon   še le'ččem   mõõnnmen*
          well (DM) to.there-EMP 1SG.NOM also be.**COND**.1SG go.**PROG.PTCP**
          'well, I would also (happen to) be going there' [SKNA 17462:1, 7:1.16]

A second way of forming a perfect conditional clause is to use the past tense form of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' together with the infinitive form of the lexical verb, as shown in (53). Note that the lexical verb usually follows the auxiliary verb, although in this example the first instance of a conditional formed in this way shows the lexical verb appearing first. However, this appears to be a focus mechanism and appears with the particle *kâ'l* 'yes', which is seen in other clauses as part of a focus mechanism (see §10.1.1). The second instance of a conditional which appears in the same example does show the lexical verb appearing after the auxiliary.

(53)   *kâ'l tättad   le'jjem,   jiõččan   nõõm*
          yes want.**INF** be.**PST**.1SG REFL.SG.GEN.1SG name.SG.ACC

          le'jjem   ǩee'rjted, leâš-a jiõm huõllâm
          be.**PST**.1SG write.**INF** but   NEG.1SG bother.PST.PTCP
          'yes, I <u>would have wanted</u> (to be able to read Finnish),
          I <u>would have written</u> my own name, but I didn't bother'   [MM-4]

It is unclear, however, whether or not the two ways of forming the perfect conditional serve different functions or are used in different contexts and therefore this is a matter for further investigation.

9.3.2 Potential mood

The potential mood is marked with the phoneme *ž* which occurs after the verbal stem before all other verbal inflection (see §8.2). The potential mood is typically used to express a hypothetical event or situation, while events which are simply uncertain (e.g. 'I may go to the shop tomorrow, but I'm not sure') are either expressed with the conditional mood or by beginning a statement with a word such as *možât* 'maybe'.

The following examples show the potential mood being used in fused relative constructions, where the entire relative clause serves as the subject of the matrix clause. Since the relative clause has no overt head, the indeterminate nature of the referent in these examples lends itself to using the potential mood, as they express hypothetical events.

(54)   a.   *kåå'tt   olgglakkše kuåstâž,   paa'štež   to'ben*
            REL.SG.NOM farther.off get.to.POT.3SG grill.POT.3SG there

            'whoever might get further away, might grill (fish) there'   [MM-4]

       b.   *a   ǩeän   jeät valddu,   su'st   viõkk*
            well (DM) who.SG.ACC NEG.4 take.CNG2 3SG.LOC strength.SG.NOM

            mä'htt leežž   ij   vuälže,   mett
            how   be.POT.3SG NEG.3SG reach.CNG.POT height.SG.NOM

            ij   vuälže   le'be mii   leežž,
            NEG.3SG reach.CNG.POT or   what.NOM.SG be.POT.3SG

            son   nuu'bb   ee'jj   e'pet jeäll
            3SG.NOM other.SG.GEN year.SG.GEN again go.PRS.3SG

            'well, whoever they do not take, he might not have enough strength, might not be tall enough, or whatever might be the reason, another year he will go again'   [MM-4]

The potential mood is also seen in references to indeterminate entities, for example of time or distance, and may be used to form a type of indeterminate adverbial clause.

(55)   a.   *to'ben â'te   jäälast,   mõõn   kuu'ǩǩ jälste'žže*
            there then (DM) live.PRS.3SG what.SG.GEN long   live.**POT**.3PL

            'so, there he lives, for however long they might live (there)'   [MM-4]

       b.   *mõõni   de mõõn   leežž   leämmaž   peä'l*
            go.PST.3SG and what.SG.GEN be.**POT**.3SG be.PST.PTCP half.SG.GEN

            avi pirr   ee'jj,   de ränn'ji   da
            or   around year.SG.GEN and be.wounded.PST.3SG and

            pue'đi   põ'rtte
            come.PST.3SG house.SG.ILL

            'he went, for however long he might he have been (there), half (the
            year) or around the year, and he was wounded and came home'

                                                                           [MM-4]

(56)   *jå'tte,   mõõn   kuu'ǩǩ leežž   mõõnnâm*
            go.PRS.3PL what.SG.GEN long   be.**POT**.3SG go.PST.PTCP

            'they travel, for however long they might be gone'   [MM:42]

Another similar use of the potential is in an exhaustive conditional adjunct, as
exemplified in (57).

(57)   *ääkkaž   ceälkk: "hå't mii   kuälkteežž,   jiõk*
            old.woman say.PRS.3SG whatever.SG.NOM knock.**POT**.3SG NEG.2SG

            õõlg   ceä'lǩǩed, što piânnai   pue'đi
            must.CNG say.INF COMP dog.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG

            'the old woman says: "whoever might come knocking, you must
            not say that the dog came"'   [MM-4]

The potential often occurs after the conjunction *ouddâl gu* (~*ouddâl ku*) 'until'.
This has already been seen in example (48), and is also seen below in (58). Since
ouddâl gu 'until' expresses an unknown or unspecified time in the future, this
too is compatible with the use of the potential mood to express hypothetical or
unknown situations.

(58)   *mon*   *â'te*   *jiõm*   *väjldââ'tt*   *ouddâl*   *tõn*
         1SG.NOM   then (DM)   NEG.1SG   forget.CNG   before   DIST.SG.ACC

         pääi'ǩ   *gu*   *tunâlmma*   *mõõnžem*
         place.SG.ACC   when   after.life.SG.ILL   go.**POT**.1SG
         'I won't forget that place until I go to the afterlife'   [MM-4]

9.3.3 Imperative mood

Verbs in Skolt Saami have five imperative forms, namely the 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL. For more details on their formation refer to Chapter 8. The term 'imperative' is used here to refer to any kind of directive, including those used to give a command, make a request or express an exhortation. The most common forms of the imperative are the 2SG and 2PL forms. The subject does not typically occur with 2nd person imperatives, although it may be present, as seen in (59c).

(59)   a.   *puä'đ*   *mij*   *årra*   *kuâssa*
            come.**IMP**.2SG   1PL.GEN   at.one's.place   on.a.visit
            'come and visit us at our place!'   [MM:40]

         b.   *pue'tted*   *kuâssa*
            come.**IMP**.2PL   on.a.visit
            'come [PL] and visit!'   [MM:40]

         c.   *mõõn*   *ton*   *vižžâd*   *muännai*   *ääuš*
            go.**IMP**.2SG   2SG.NOM   fetch.INF   1DU.GEN   axe.SG.ACC
            'go, you, and fetch our axe!'   [MM:21]

The 1PL form of the imperative (typically seen in hortative constructions) incorporates both the speaker and the listener and never takes a subject.

(60)   a.   *vue'lǧǧep*   *eejjad*   *årra*   *kuâssa*
            leave.IMP.1PL   father.SG.GEN.2SG   at.one's.place   on.a.visit
            'let's go and visit your father!'   [MM:100]

         b.   *ä'lǧǧep*   *heibbad*
            start.IMP.1PL   wrestle.INF
            'let's start to wrestle!'   [MM:80]

The 3SG and 3PL forms of the imperative (seen in jussive constructions) typically occur with an overt subject. The subject often appears after the imperative form of the verb, although it may also appear before the verb. Examples of the 3SG and 3PL imperative forms were not found in the collection of fairy tales, hence the examples provided below are taken from Moshnikoff et al. (2009) and from the Skolt Saami translation of John's Gospel.

(61)   a.   *Peâtt mainstââggas tu'nne, što   mä'htt tõ'st*
               Pekka tell.**IMP**.3SG   2SG.ILL COMP how   DIST.SG.LOC

               ǩiâvi
               happen.PST.3SG
               'let Pekka tell you how things went there'   [KK:100]

    b.   *jõs ǩeän-ne   jugstâtt   da puäđas   son*
               if   anyone.ACC thirst.PRS.3SG then come.**IMP**.3SG 3SG.NOM

               da   jooggas
               and drink.**IMP**.3SG
               'if anyone thirsts, then let him come and let him drink'   [EE:7.37]

    c.   *kuärŋŋaz   sij   tie'rm   ool*
               climb.**IMP**.3PL 3PL.NOM hill.SG.GEN onto
               'let them climb to the top of the hill'   [KK:100]

Negative imperatives are formed using the appropriate imperative form of the negative auxiliary verb together with either of two connegative forms of the lexical verb. The imperative forms of the negative auxiliary, together with the connegative form used (see §8.5) are listed below in Table 117.

	Negative auxiliary	Connegative form used
2SG	*jeä'l*	CNG
3SG	*jeälas*	CNG2
1PL	*jeäl'lap*	CNG2
2PL	*jeä'l'led*	CNG or CNG2
3PL	*jeäl'laz*	CNG2

Table 117. Imperative forms of the negative auxiliary

Presented below in (62) are examples of the use of the negative imperatives.

(62)   a.   *jeä'l*   *jeä'l*   *muår*   *muännai võnnâz*
           NEG.IMP.2SG   NEG.IMP.2SG   break.CNG   2DU.GEN   boat.SG.ACC

           'don't, don't break our boat!'   [MM:22]

     b.   *jeälas*   *tij*   *čâđđmeed*   *pe'cclõššu*
           NEG.IMP.3SG   2PL.GEN   heart.PL.NOM.2PL   be.anxious.CNG2

           'do not let your hearts be troubled'   [EE:14.1]

     c.   *jeä'lled*   *oskku*   *muu*
           NEG.IMP.2PL   believe.CNG2   1SG.ACC

           'do not believe me'   [EE:10.37]

Note how in example (62b) the imperative form of the negative auxiliary appears in its 3SG form (*jeälas*), although it has a 3PL referent (hearts). It is unclear whether this is a typographical error in the text or simply the case that both the 3SG and 3PL forms are so similar, and so rare, that both forms are acceptable. The 3PL form *jeällaz*, presented in Table 117, is taken from the existing literature on Skolt Saami, although examples of its use were not found.

9.4 Polarity

Negative clauses in Skolt Saami employ a negative auxiliary verb which agrees in person and number with the subject as shown in (63). The paradigm of the negative auxiliary is presented in §8.5, and is reproduced below in Table 118 for convenience. Tense, aspect and mood are encoded by the choice of the lexical verb form which follows, which does not inflect for either person or number.

(63)   *mon*   *jiõm*   *näittlõõđ,*   *ku*   *jeännam*
           1SG.NOM   **NEG.1SG**   marry.CNG   when   mother.SG.NOM.1SG

           lij   *paasneǩ*
           be.PRS.3SG   angry

           'I won't get married, while mother is angry'   [MM:31]

	Negative auxiliary
1SG	*jiõm*
2SG	*jiõk*
3SG	*ij*
1PL	*jeä'p*
2PL	*jeä'ped*
3PL	*jie ~ jiâ*
4	*jeät*

Table 118. Indicative forms of the negative auxiliary verb

As with lexical verbs, dual personal pronouns take the corresponding plural form of the negative auxiliary (64).

(64) *suäna   jiâ   luâšttam   ni   vue'ǯǯ   poorrâd*
      3DU.NOM **NEG.3PL** allow.PST.PTCP even meat.SG.ACC eat.INF

      'the two of them didn't even let us eat meat'   [MM-4]

Since person and number are marked on the negative auxiliary verb in negative constructions and are no longer marked on the lexical verb or the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be', these latter two have different forms than those seen in affirmative constructions, often referred to as connegatives (Ylikoski 2009: 19). The lexical verb in a present negative construction, in the indicative mood, occurs in what will be referred to here as its CONNEGATIVE form (glossed as CNG), in all persons except the 4th person, which instead takes a different CONNEGATIVE form (glossed as CNG2), as exemplified in (65b).

(65) a. *ko'st   son   vuäitt   rääuhast   jälsted,*
        where 3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG peace.SG.LOC live.INF

        što   jie   kaaun   suu
        COMP **NEG.3PL** find.CNG 3SG.ACC

        '…where he can live in peace, so that they do not find him'   [MM:59]

     b. *tõk   a'lǧǧe   pää'rn   ooccâd, jeät   kaunnu*
        DIST.PL.NOM begin.PST.3PL boy.SG.ACC seek.INF **NEG.4** find.CNG2

        'they start to look for the boy, (one) does not find (him)'   [MM:14]

In past negative constructions, in the indicative mood, the lexical verb occurs in its past participial form, as seen above in example (64). In negative conditional and negative potential constructions, the lexical verb appears in what will be referred to as the verb's connegative conditional form and connegative potential form (glossed as CNG.COND and CNG.POT), which exhibit the *č* and *ž* markers of the conditional and

potential mood, respectively (66). The formation of all these forms is covered in Chapter 8.

(66)   a.   *mon   mõõnam   värddjed, što   låå'dd   jiâ*
            1SG.NOM go.PRS.1SG guard.INF COMP bird.PL.NOM **NEG.3PL**

            poorče   mee'st   puk muõ'rjid
            eat.**CNG.COND** 1PL.LOC all   berry.PL.ACC
            'I will go to watch (so) that the birds would not eat all our berries'
                                                                        [MM:66]

       b.   *tuu   jiâ   kaaunže,   te'l   možât*
            2SG.ACC **NEG.3PL** find.**CNG.POT** at.that.time maybe

            piâzzak   jie'llmen
            escape.PRS.2SG live.PROG.PTCP
            'they might not find you, so then maybe you'll escape alive
                                                                        [MM:75]

Negative existential constructions (67a), negative possessive constructions (67b) and negative copular constructions (67c) all require the connegative form of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' (see §8.5 for details about the connegative forms of *lee'd* 'be').

(67)   a.   *ij   leäkku maai'lmest   nu'bb*
            NEG.3SG be.**CNG** world.SG.LOC other.SG.NOM
            'there is no other in the world'   [MM:17]

       b.   *ij   leäkku see'st   ni måkam jie'tt*
            NEG.3SG be.**CNG** 3PL.LOC no.kind   worry.SG.NOM
            'they aren't worried about anything (lit. on them is no worry)'
                                                                        [MM:66]

       c.   *jiõm   leäkku sami činmloekksaž*
            NEG.1SG be.**CNG** quite seventeen.year.old.SG.NOM
            'I am not quite seventeen'   [SKNA 17462:1, 5:5.4]

In negative clauses expressing the perfect tense, a progressive aspectual meaning, or a combination of these, the relevant participial form of the lexical verb is used,

as with the corresponding affirmative verb phrases. So, for example, the negative present perfect, illustrated in (68), is formed as follows:

NEGATIVE AUXILIARY   +   CONNEGATIVE FORM OF *lee'd*   +   PAST PARTICIPLE

(68)   *mon   jiõm   leäkku   ää'vääm*
             1SG.NOM **NEG.**1SG be.**CNG** open.**PST.PTCP**
             'I haven't opened (it)'   [MM:15]

The negative form of the past perfect progressive would be even more complex and be formed as follows:

NEGATIVE AUXILIARY	+	PAST PARTICIPLE OF *lee'd*	+	PAST PARTICIPLE OF *lee'd*	+	PROGRESSIVE PARTICIPLE

The third person forms of the negative auxiliary and the auxiliary verb *lee'd* are often contracted, as presented in Table 119. A number of examples of these contracted forms are presented in (69).

Uncontracted form	Contracted form
ij leäkˈku	*i'lla ~ i'llä ~ i'llää ~ i'lleäk ~ i'lleäkku*
ij leämˈmaš	*i'lleäm*
ij le'čče	*i'lle'čče*
ij le'žže	*i'lle'žže*
jie leäkˈku	*jeä'la*

Table 119. Contractions of the negative auxiliary verb and the connegative forms of the auxiliary verb *lee'd*

(69)   a.   *tääzz   **i'lle'žže**   pâššned sijdd*
            PROX.SG.ILL NEG.3SG~be.CNG.POT stay.INF village.SG.NOM
            'here may not be (a good place) to set up a village'   [MM:118]

b. ***i'lleäk***   *leäm*   *mu'st*   *jeännam*
NEG.3SG~be.CNG be.PST.PTCP 1SG.LOC mother.SG.NOM.1SG

paasneǩ,   *leâša kaav mu'st   lij*
angry.person.SG.NOM but   wife   1SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG

paasneǩ,   *mon   ju'rddem,   što*
angry.person.SG.NOM 1SG.NOM think.PST.1SG COMP

jeännam   *muu   viârtââll,   son*
mother.SG.NOM.1SG 1SG.ACC scold.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM

i'lleäm   *viârtõõlli*   *ni voops*
NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP scold.NMLZ.SG.NOM at.all

'my mother was not (lit. has not been) angry with me, but (my) wife
is angry with me; I thought that my mother scolds me, she wasn't a
person who scolds at all'   [MM:31]

As mentioned in §9.3, an alternative way of forming a perfect conditional clause is
to use the past tense of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' with the infinitive form of the
lexical verb. In this type of construction, then, the negative auxiliary can contract
with the past tense form of *lee'd* 'be', as shown in (70). Note, however, that in this
example the PST.3PL form of *lee'd* 'be' contracts, unexpectedly, with the 3SG form
of the negative auxiliary, although the reason for this is not clear. Note also that
example (70) provides an example of both an affirmative and negative form of this
type of conditional construction.

(70)   *tõn   muõ'rre   leäi   ǩirggned mõõnnâd,*
DIST.SG.GEN tree.SG.ILL be.**PST**.3SG hurry.**INF** go.INF

te'l   i'lle'jje   poppâ'tted
then NEG.3SG~be.**PST**.3PL catch.**INF**

'(she) would have hurried to get to that tree, then (they) would not
have caught (her)'   [MM:57]

10   Clausal syntax

This chapter provides a rather broad overview of Skolt Saami syntax. It begins in §10.1 with a discussion of the basic word order in Skolt Saami, following on from which, in §10.2, case marking and the role case plays in the marking of grammatical relations is addressed.

    The remaining sections cover a wide range of topics, including predicate constructions (§10.3), voice and other valence-adjusting operations, including causatives, reflexives and reciprocals, and passive clauses (§10.4), interrogative clauses (§10.5) and clausal modification (§10.6), before turning to complex clauses and coordination in sections 10.7 and 10.8, respectively.

10.1 Constituent order

10.1.1 Core arguments

In Skolt Saami clauses, case marking is used to convey syntactic relations, while person and number marking on the verb agrees with the subject of the clause. As a result, the relative ordering of subject, verb and object is less rigid than it might otherwise be. Nevertheless, an observation of the frequency of different word orders in textual data points to the existence of strong tendencies with regard to the ordering of constituents. Figure 39 shows the frequency of all possible orderings of S, V and O in the four texts in Chapter 11, from a sample of 254 clauses. In conducting this analysis, non-finite dependent clauses, interrogatives and predicative expressions were ignored, in an attempt to identify the most pragmatically-neutral clauses possible. It should be noted, however, that this is by no means intended as a thorough statistical analysis, but is instead rather impressionistic in nature.

    The data presented in Figure 39 can be summarised as follows: (i) intransitive clauses account for 34% of the sample; (ii) transitive clauses with no overt subject account for 49% of the sample (or 74% when considering only the transitive clauses of the sample); (iii) transitive clauses with an overt subject account for 17% of the sample (or 26% of the transitive clauses of the sample); and (iv) there are two particularly prominent peaks in the frequency of the various constituent orders, namely SV and OV.

    With regard to intransitive clauses, the SV order accounts for 97% of clauses containing only a subject and a verb, and it is thus evident that intransitive clauses are overwhelmingly subject-initial as illustrated in (71).
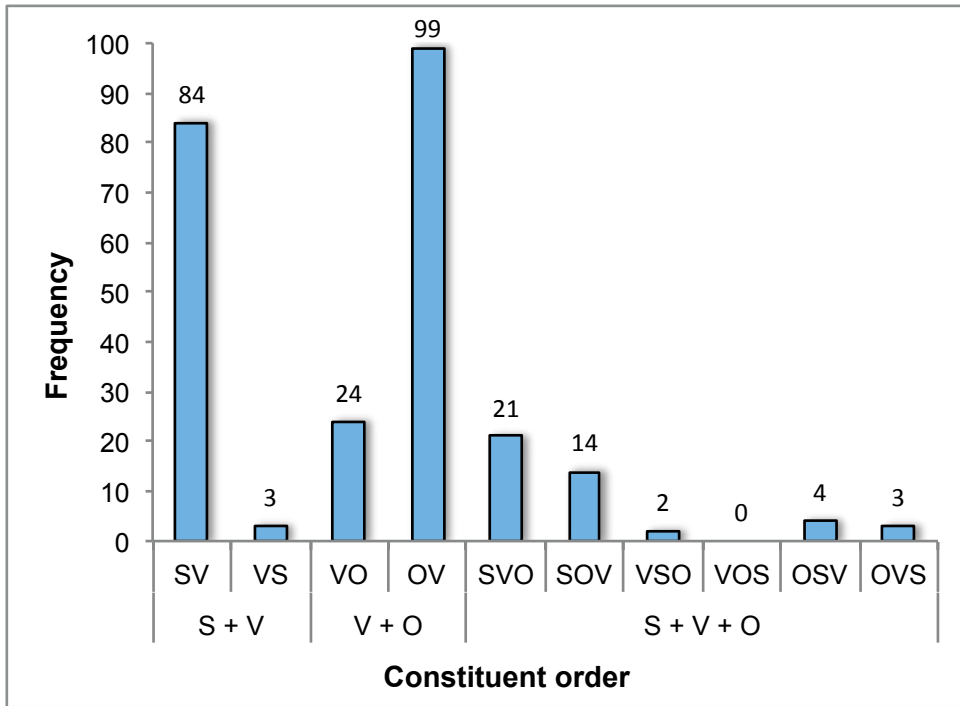
Figure 39. Frequency distribution of constituent orders in 254 clauses

(71)   a.   *jääu'r*   *kâ'lmme*
            lake.PL.NOM freeze.PRS.3PL
            S   V

            'the lakes freeze'   [MM:103]

       b.   *puõccu*   *ääld*   *kue'dškuä'tte*
            reindeer.SG.GEN female.reindeer.PL.NOM calve.INCP.PRS.3PL
                             S   V

            'the female reindeers begin to calve'   [MM:103]

With regard to transitive clauses, it is particularly striking that 74% of all transitive
clauses in the sample have no overt subject. This is possible due to the fact that
the verb is marked for the person and number of the subject, but it is also worth
pointing out that once a participant in a discourse has been introduced, subjects are
frequently elided in Skolt Saami and context usually serves to disambiguate where
necessary.

     In transitive clauses with no overt subject, which include subjectless clauses
where the verb is marked for the indefinite (so-called fourth) person, the data pre-
sented in Figure 39 indicate a strong tendency for the object to precede the verb,

with 80% of this subset of transitive clauses displaying this ordering. Examples of this ordering are presented in (72). This tendency is not as strong as the SV order in intransitive clauses, however, as evidenced by the 20% of transitive clauses which display the alternative VO ordering.

(72) a. *nue'ttee'l*   *võõrâs kue'l   ši'lles*
          fish.with.seine.net.INSTR   fresh   fish.SG.ACC   catch.PST.4
                                              O   V

          'by fishing with a seine net one caught fresh fish'   [MM:102]

      b. *juŋŋsid*   *peejj*   *mâ'mmet*   *su'st*
          net.for.ice.fishing.PL.ACC set.PRS.3SG   to.the.extent   3SG.LOC
          O   V

          lie   *sääi'm*
          be.PRS.3PL   net.PL.NOM
          'he sets as many ice nets as he has available'   [MM:103]

Having observed such strong tendencies for SV and OV, one might expect to see the order SOV in transitive clauses with an overt subject. Indeed, this ordering of constituents does exist, as illustrated in (73), as well as in the example given in (74) of two coordinated objects appearing before the verb.

(73) a. *neezzan*   *suâjj+kååutid*   *kuårru*
          woman.PL.NOM   protection.SG.NOM+skirt.PL.ACC sew.PST.3PL
          S   O   V
          'the women sewed protective skirts'   [MM:106]

      b. *piiđ+vaa'ldi*   *see'st*   *ǩie'mn*   *vä'ldde*
          tax.SG.NOM+take.NMLZ.PL.NOM 3SG.LOC   saucepan.SG.ACC   take.PRS.3PL
          S   O   V
          'the tax collectors take a saucepan from them'   [MM:107]

(74) a. *piõgg*   *muõrid*   *da* *čää'ʒʒ*   *liikktââll*
          wind.SG.NOM   tree.PL.ACC   and water.SG.ACC   move.PRS.3SG
          S   O   O   V
          'the wind moves the trees and the water'   [MM:107]

Nevertheless, the data in Figure 39 point to a more variable constituent order, with both SOV and SVO occurring in relatively equal measures – of the 44 transitive

clauses with an overt subject, SOV accounts for 32% and SVO accounts for 48%. The remaining 20% of these clauses are instantiated by VSO, OSV and OVS orders, although it is likely these clauses are pragmatically marked.

Although they did not form part of the analysis outlined above, similar tendencies are observed in dependent clauses. In example (75), the order SOV is observed in a finite complement clause, but SVO is equally possible.

(75)   *kaammgaž   kagstõõđi*   *oummu   vuâstta   da*
        bear.SG.NOM get.up.quickly.PST.3SG man.SG.GEN   towards   and

        ceälkk,   što   [*son   suu   påårr*   ]
        say.PRS.3SG   COMP   3SG.NOM 3SG.ACC eat.PRS.3SG
                             [S   O   V   ]
        'bear got up quickly facing the man and says that he will eat him'
                                                                        [MM:84]

Perhaps more interesting is the fact that the OV order is also observed in non-finite dependent clauses comprising a non-finite verb and its object, where we might otherwise expect a closer association between the two verbs. In these cases, the object of the dependent clause stands between the finite verb of the matrix clause and the non-finite verb of the dependent clause, as illustrated in (76). This order was consistently given during elicitation, despite the potential interference from Finnish. However, again it should be noted that this order is by no means obligatory and even in non-finite dependent clauses the order VO is attested.

(76)   a.   *mie'cc+jääu'rest*   *älgg*   [*sääi'mid   ââ'nned*   ]
              forest.SG.GEN+lake.SG.LOC begin.PRS.3SG   gill.net.PL.ACC use.INF
                                         V_FINITE   [O   V_NON-FINITE]
              'he begins to use a gill net at the forest lakes'   [MM:103]

        b.   *pâi   õõlgi*   [*kue'l   poorrâd*   ]
              just   have.to.PST.3SG   fish.SG.ACC eat.INF
                     V_FINITE   [O   V_NON-FINITE]
              'one just had to eat fish'   [MM:109]

c. *koumm oummu   va'lljee   meer   ooudâst*
   three man.SG.GEN choose.PRS.3PL people.SG.GEN in.front.of
          O   V_FINITE

   [*aa'ššid   håiddad   *]
   affair.PL.ACC look.after.INF
   [O   V_NON-FINITE]
   'they chose three men, before the people, to look after the (village)
   affairs'   [MM-4]

Other than in transitive clauses with no overt subject, verb-initial clauses appear
to be pragmatically marked and the two examples of verb-initial clauses, given in
(77), also involve the particle *kâ'l* 'yes'. It would seem that this ordering of argu-
ments, coupled with the particle *kâ'l* 'yes', is used as a focus mechanism.

(77)   a. *poorčem   mon   kâ'l võõrâs kue'l*
           eat.COND.1SG 1SG.NOM yes fresh fish.SG.ACC
           V   S   O

           'I <u>would eat</u> fresh fish, yes, (…but where can you get it from)'
                                                                      [MM:107]

        b. *silttääm   mon   kâ'l virsseed*
           be.able.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM yes wail.INF
           V   S   O_COMPLEMENT
           'yes, I am <u>able</u> to wail (…but…)'   [MM:108]

Examples in which the object occurs before the subject are scarce and also appear
to be pragmatically marked. An example of a negative clause displaying OSV con-
stituent order is presented in (78). This divergence from SOV/SVO appears to be
a focus strategy to draw attention to *Lää'ddǩiõl* 'Finnish language', although it is
unclear whether this is a case of left-dislocation (as the English free translation
might suggest), or rather a true example of an OSV clause.

(78)   *Lää'ddǩiõl   mon   jiõm   fi'tte   ni mõõn*
        Finnish.SG.ACC 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG understand.CNG nothing.SG.ACC
        O   S   V_AUX   V_LEX
        'Finnish, I don't understand at all'   [MM:108]

Existential constructions are typically verb-final, where the entity being referred to
precedes the copular verb *lee'd* 'be'. An example existential construction is given in
(79). This is also the case with predicate constructions where the subject has been

omitted, as shown in (80), where the adjective, which would normally follow the verb, instead precedes it.

(79)   *cuâŋ*   *lij*   *måtam ee'jj,*   *jõnn*
         snow.crust.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG some   year.PL.NOM big
         S   V_AUX

         muõtt   *lij*   *måtam ee'jj*
         snow.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG some   year.PL.NOM
         S   V_AUX
         'some years there is a crust on the snow, some years there is a lot
         of snow'   [MM:103]

(80)   *na   viõlggâd lij*
         well white   be.PRS.3SG
               ADJ_PRED V_AUX
         'well, it (the skirt) is white'   [MM:106]

10.1.2 Auxiliary verbs

The auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' consistently appears before the lexical verb, although the two are not closely bound and are often separated by an intervening object, adverbial, or even a subject, as shown by the examples of the perfect tenses in (81).

(81) a. *kuuskõõzz*   *le'jje*   *ääld*   *poorrâm*
          aurora.borealis.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL female.reindeer.SG.ACC eat.PST.PTCP
          S   V_AUX   O   V_LEX
          'the northern lights had eaten the female reindeer'   [MM-2]

      b. *ju'n   eeunaž leäi   si'jjid mainstam*
          already spider be.PST.3SG 3PL.ILL tell.PST.PTCP
                   S   V_AUX   OBL   V_LEX
          'Spider had already told them'   [MM-3]

      c. *mu'st   liâ   mäŋgg kõõččâm*
          1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL many   ask.PST.PTCP
          OBL   V_AUX   S   V_LEX
          'many (people) have asked me (to wail)'   [MM-4]

The lexical verbs in the above three examples, which are always non-finite by virtue of the fact they occur with an auxiliary verb, are in clause-final position, which is similar to the pattern observed above for non-finite dependent clauses. Likewise, when an auxiliary verb occurs in a subordinate clause, the lexical verb remains in clause-final position, as the example in (82) illustrates.

(82) *sij*   *vue'lǧǧe*   *ǩiččâd*   *tõn*   *pue'rr*   *jânnam*
      3PL.NOM   leave.PRS.3PL see.INF   DIST.SG.ACC good   land.SG.ACC

      ko'st   [*si'jjid*   *eeunaž*   *leäi*   *mainstam*]
      REL.LOC   3PL.ILL   spider   be.PST.3SG tell.PST.PTCP
                [OBL   S   V_{AUX}   V_{LEX}   ]

      'they left to see that good land, which Spider had told them about'

                                                                    [MM-3]

10.2 Case marking

While constituent order plays a part in encoding grammatical relations, the primary marker of grammatical relations in Skolt Saami is case marking. The nine grammatical cases are outlined below.

The subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses is marked with the nominative case (§10.2.1) and the direct object of a clause is typically marked with the accusative case (§10.2.2). Although the SG.ACC and SG.GEN are syncretic, the marking of a direct object in the plural, where the PL.ACC contrasts with the PL.GEN, reveals the case used to mark direct objects.

Oblique objects are marked with a number of different grammatical cases, depending on the semantic role of the participant. For example, a recipient is marked in the illative case (§10.2.4), while a source is marked in the locative case (§10.2.5).

10.2.1 Nominative case

The nominative case is used to express the subject of a clause – both the subject of an intransitive verb (83a) and the agent of a transitive verb (83b).

(83) a. *heävaš*   *da* *pä'rnn*   *mâ'nne*   *tõn*   *gåårda,*
          horse.**SG.NOM** and boy.**SG.NOM** go.PRS.3PL DIST.SG.GEN city.SG.ILL

          ko'st   *caarr*   *jälsti*
          REL.SG.LOC tsar.SG.NOM live.PST.3SG

          'the horse and the boy go to that city, where the tsar lived'   [MM:27]

b.   *čiõrmiǩ*   *čââ'lmes*   *veärggteškue'đi*
     young.reindeer.**SG.NOM** eye.SG.ACC.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG
     'the young reindeer started to blink its eye'   [MM-3]

If the subject of a clause is a pronoun, this too appears in the nominative case (84).

(84)   *mon*   *kååut*   *kuärstem*
       1SG.**NOM** skirt.SG.ACC sew.quickly.PST.1ST
       'I quickly sewed a skirt'   [MM-4]

In certain inflectional classes the nominative singular and nominative plural forms are identical, in which case the number can be inferred from the verb (85).

(85)   a.   *tut*   *põ'mmai*   *leäi*   *rââst*   *čuõppum*
            DIST.SG.NOM paper.**SG**.NOM be.PST.**3SG** across cut.PASS.PTCP
            'that piece of paper had been cut in two'   [MM:96]

       b.   *tõk*   *põ'mmai*   *le'jje*   *siidi*
            DIST.PL.NOM paper.**PL**.NOM be.PST.3PL village.PL.GEN

            ä'šš+põ'mmai
            affair.SG.NOM+paper.**PL**.NOM
            'those papers were the official papers of the villages'   [MM:96]

10.2.2 Accusative case

The accusative case is used to mark the object of a transitive clause (86).

(86)   *piõgg*   *muõrid*   *da* *čää'ʒʒ*   *liikktââll*
       wind.SG.NOM tree.**PL.ACC** and water.**SG.ACC** move.PRS.3SG
       'the wind moves the trees and the water'   [MM-4]

The accusative plural form of a noun may also appear in interrogatives commencing with the question word *mii* 'what', as exemplified in (87). The reason for this, however, is unclear.

(87) a. *mii   lij   Nääskast   nåkam ruõ'psses*
          what.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG Naska.LOC   such   red

          kååutid   nue'ttest?
          skirt.**PL.ACC** seine.net.SG.LOC

          'how come Naska has such a red skirt on while seine-fishing?'

                                                              [MM-4]

      b. *mii   tät   oummid   lij*
          what.SG.NOM PROX.SG.NOM man.**PL.ACC** be.PRS.3SG

          'who is this man?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.10]

      c. *silttii-go   dåhttar   särnnad, että*
          be.able.PST.3SG-INTER[FI]   doctor.SG.NOM say.INF   COMP[FI]

          mii   lij   tõt   määđaid
          what.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.NOM worm.**PL.ACC**

          'was the vet able to say what that worm was?' [SKNA 17462:1, 9:20.1]

10.2.3 Genitive case

The genitive case is primarily used to mark possession within a noun phrase (see §7.2.4). The possessor is marked in the genitive case and precedes the possessee, while the possessee takes the case marking relevant to the syntactic role of the entire noun phrase. The genitive is used to mark kin relationships (88a), possession (88b) and part–whole relationships (88c).

(88) a. *čuõški   maaddâräkk   cie'lǩi,   što   puk*
          mosquito.**PL.GEN** great.grandmother.SG.NOM say.PST.3SG COMP all

          jiâ   õõlgče   vue'lǧǧed seämma ääi'jest
          NEG.3PL have.to.CNG.COND leave.INF   same   time.SG.LOC

          'the mosquitos' great-grandmother said that they wouldn't all have to leave at the same time'   [MM-3]

      b. *leäi   čõ'ǩǩääm   saa'mi   čiõkkrest*
          be.PST.3SG run.away.PST.PTCP Skolt.Saami.**PL.GEN** herd.SG.LOC

          '(the reindeer) had run away from the Skolt Saami herd'   [MM-3]

    c. *tõn   jääu'r   riddu   mâânn   jälsted*
       DIST.SG.GEN lake.**SG.GEN** shore.SG.ILL go.PRS.3SG live.INF
       'he goes to the shore of that lake to live'   [MM-4]

All prepositional and postpositional phrases also govern the genitive case. See §4.8 for a list of pre- and postpositions.

(89) a. *tool   piiji   ǩie'mn   vuâlla*
         fire.SG.ACC put.PST.3SG pot.**SG.GEN** under.ILL
         'he made a fire <u>under</u> the pot'   [MM:85]

       b. *koumm njuuč   ǩe'rddle   suõv   mie'ldd*
         three   swan.SG.GEN fly.off.PST.3PL smoke.**SG.GEN** through
         'three swans flew off <u>through</u> the smoke'   [MM:10]

       c. *Laa'rkaž pâi pirr   tool   â'te vaa'ǯǯi*
         Laa'rkaž just around fire.**SG.GEN** then walk.PST.3SG
         'then Laa'rkaž just walked <u>around</u> the fire'   [MM:89]

Although the SG.GEN is syncretic with the SG.ACC and PL.NOM, constructions where the head of the postpositional phrase is in the plural, as exemplified in (90), show how these constructions do indeed govern the SG.GEN case and not the SG.ACC or PL.NOM.

(90) a. *veärr   kuuni   sizz kåmmni*
         soup.SG.NOM ash.**PL.GEN** into spill.out.PST.3SG
         'the soup spilt out <u>into</u> the ashes'   [MM:85]

       b. *kue'lid   jue'ǩǩe   põõrti   mie'ldd*
         fish.PL.ACC divide.PRS.3PL house.**PL.GEN** among
         'they divided the fish <u>among</u> the households'   [MM-4]

       c. *son   kååđđ   fiin sääi'mid   juõ'vve*
         3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL

         da sue'jji   kõ'sǩǩe
         and birch.**PL.GEN** between.ILL
         'he spins fine webs on rocky ground and <u>between</u> birch trees' [MM-3]

Expressions of time are also marked with the genitive case. Again, the appearance of the PL.GEN in expressions of time is used as evidence of the case used in singular expressions of time, which otherwise would be indistinguishable from the PL.NOM or SG.ACC.[36]

(91) a. *tõn*   *tää'lv*   *mon*   *le'jjem*   *vuäžžam*
          DIST.**SG.GEN** winter.**SG.GEN** 1SG.NOM be.PST.1SG receive.PST.PTCP

          ee'jjest   *ođđ* *sââ'v̌kid*
          father.SG.LOC new ski.PL.ACC
          'that winter I had received new skis from father'

                                                                    [SKNA 17462:1, 3:1.7]

      b. *to'b* *kuu'ǩǩ* *ääi'j*   *leei'm*   *lõõmmâm*
          there long   time.**SG.GEN** be.PST.1PL hide.away.PST.PTCP
          'we were hiding there for a long time'   [SKNA 17462:1, 2:1.9]

      c. *tõ'st*   *leei'm*   *õõut*   *iinn*   *da* *peei'v*
          DIST.SG.LOC be.PST.1PL one.**GEN** night.**SG.GEN** and day.**SG.GEN**
          'we were there for one night and day'   [MM:113]

      d. *jeä'ǩǩääi*   *vää'r*   *seeič̌â'stte*
          evening.**PL.GEN** mountain.PL.NOM be.reflected.PRS.3PL

          tõn   *kue'lǩes* *čää'ʒʒ*   *â'lnn*
          DIST.SG.GEN calm   water.SG.GEN on
          'in the evenings, the mountains are reflected on the surface of its
          (Lake Inari's) calm water'   [MM:16]

10.2.4 Illative case

One of the primary uses of the illative case is to express the direction or goal of an action (92a,b). The person or object that an action or speech is directed at is also expressed with the illative case (92c,d).

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36. The appearance of the PL.GEN in one expression of time may not, in fact, be sufficient evidence that all temporal expressions are marked in the genitive case, since temporal expressions may display different case marking depending on whether an event is +bounded or −bounded. If this is the case, it may be that the temporal expressions in (91a) and (91c) are in fact marked with the ACC as they refer to delimited events, while (91b) and (91d) are marked in the GEN as they do not refer to delimited events. Thanks to Diane Nelson (p.c.) for pointing this out. See also Nelson (2003).

(92)   a.   *suäna   mõ'nne   meäcca*
             3DU.NOM   go.PST.3PL   forest.**SG.ILL**
             'the two of them went to the forest'   [MM:40]

       b.   *sõrgg pue'đi   tõõzz   čuâr   da   čaaŋi*
             soon   come.PST.3SG   DIST.**SG.ILL**   fly.SG.NOM   and   go.in.PST.3SG

             čiõrmiǩ   pellja
             young.reindeer.SG.GEN   ear.**SG.ILL**
             'soon a fly came there and went into the young reindeer's ear'
                                                                      [MM-3]

       c.   *vii'ttjep   juõ'ǩǩ au'tte   årstâ'tted*
             motion.PRS.1PL   each   car.**SG.ILL**   stop.CAUS.INF
             'we motioned to each car to stop'   [SKNA 17462:1, 2:1.5]

       d.   *te'l Arša cie'lǩi   kussnekka: "Ku kaammgaž*
             then   Arsha   say.PST.3SG   cow.herd.**SG.ILL**   when   little.bear.SG.NOM

             pue'đež   kuälmad peei'v,   säärn   tõõzz,
             come.POT.3SG   third   day.SG.GEN   say.IMP.2SG   DIST.**SG.ILL**

             što igumee'n   kåčč   suu   namstra
             COMP   hegumen.SG.NOM   invite.PRS.3SG   3SG.ACC   monastery.**SG.ILL**
             'then Arsha said to the cowherd: "When Little Bear might come on
             the third day, say to him that the hegumen invites him to the
             monastery"'   [MM:64]

The location of a change of state or situation is also marked with the illative, as
the following examples demonstrate. In (93a) the place where a building is con-
structed, or comes into being, is marked in the illative. In (93b) three examples of
the illative marking the location of a change in state or situation are given – the
bowl of milk, where a mosquito dies, or ceases to exist; the old crone's skirt, where
a mosquito becomes tangled; and finally the demonstrative pronoun *tõt*, referring
back to the skirt, where the mosquito died. Note that, although the locative case is
used to mark location (see §10.2.5), it cannot be used to express the location where
a change of state occurs, which obligatorily requires the use of the illative.

(93)   a.   *ra'jje   tok   Petsikko tuoddra   pikalõspääi'ǩ*
             build.PST.3PL to.there Petsikko fell.SG.ILL herding.pen.place.SG.ACC
             'they built a herding pen there on Petsikko Fell'

[SKNA 17462:1, 9:3.12]

       b.   *vitt jee'res   čuõškkâd   peä'sse*
             five different mosquito.PART   make.it.PRS.3PL

             Sää'm+jânnma,   leâ'ša õhtt hiâvvni
             Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL but   one drown.PST.3SG

             mie'lǩǩ+näppa,   nu'bb   tõpplõõvi
             milk.SG.NOM+bowl.SG.ILL other.SG.NOM be.choked.PST.3SG

             kuä'đ   suõvâst   da kuälmad sårrji
             hut.SG.GEN smoke.SG.LOC and third   become.tangled.PST.3SG

             vuä'mm ää'ǩǩ   kohttu   da jaa'mi   tõõzz
             old   crone.SG.GEN skirt.SG.ILL and die.PST.3SG DIST.SG.ILL
             'five different mosquitos make it to Lapland, but one drowned in a
             bowl of milk, another was choked in the smoke from a hut and a
             third became tangled in an old crone's skirt and died there'   [MM-3]

10.2.5 Locative case

The locative case performs two primary functions. Firstly, it is used to express
location at or in a place or object and, secondly, it is used to express movement
away from or out of a place or object. Nevertheless, the meaning is often clear
from the predicate used. When a noun in the locative case occurs with a stative
verb it typically conveys the location at or in a place (94a), while occurring with a
dynamic verb typically conveys movement away from a location (94b).

(94)   a.   *Pâ'ss Treffan   oummu   sami liâ*
             Holy Trifon.SG.GEN person.PL.NOM quite be.PRS.3PL

             ceerkvest   sluužvmen
             church.SG.LOC worship.PROG.PTCP
             'Holy Trifon's people are just in the church worshiping'   [MM:10]

b.   *e'čč   da jeä'nn   puõ'tte*
    father.SG.NOM and mother.SG.NOM come.PST.3PL

    ceerkvest   põrttseez
    church.**SG.LOC** house.SG.ILL.3PL

    'father and mother came from the church to their house'   [MM:65]

As well as indicating the location of an object in space, or the movement of an object away from some other reference point in space, the locative is also used to mark the space or substance in which an action occurs (95).

(95)   a.   *leä'pp+čää'ʒʒest   tuõlddeem tõn*
           alder.SG.NOM+water.**SG.LOC** boil.PST.1SG DIST.SG.ACC

           kåhttan
           skirt.SG.ACC.1SG

           'I boiled that skirt of mine in alder water (to dye it)'   [MM-4]

    b.   *seämmanalla   ǩeâtt   di päštt   toolâst*
           in.the.same.way cook.PRS.3SG and grill.PRS.3SG fire.**SG.LOC**

           'in the same way he cooks and grills (the fish) in the fire'   [MM-4]

    c.   *nu'bb   tõpplõõvi   kuä'đ   suõvâst*
           other.SG.NOM be.choked.PST.3SG Saami.hut.SG.GEN smoke.**SG.LOC**

           'another (mosquito) was choked in the smoke from a Saami hut'

                                                      [MM-3]

The locative is also used to mark the source or origin of certain objects or actions (96).

(96)   a.   *kaammgaž   leäi   oummust   kaappi   välddam*
           little.bear.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG man.**SG.LOC** wife.SG.ACC take.PST.PTCP

           'Little Bear had taken a wife from a man'   [MM:84]

    b.   *mon   leei'm   vuäʒʒam   ee'jjest   ođđ*
           1SG.NOM be.PST.1SG receive.PST.PTCP father.**SG.LOC** new

           sââ'vǩid
           ski.PL.ACC

           'I had received new skis from father'   [SKNA 17462:1, 3:1.7]

Verbs used to request an object or information from someone are followed by nouns in the locative case (97).

(97) a. *ooumaž*   […] *kõõjji*   *paappâst*   *"koozz   jåååđak?"*
          man.SG.NOM   ask.PST.3SG pope.**SG.LOC** to.where go.PRS.2SG

          'the man asked the pope "where are you going?" '   [MM:69]

      b. *kaammgaž*   *jie'nstes*   *räukk*
          bear.DIM.SG.NOM mother.**SG.LOC**.3SG ask.for.PRS.3SG

          pååssnja
          little.blowpipe.SG.ACC

          'Little Bear asks his mother for the little blowpipe'   [MM:85]

The material from which an object is produced is also marked with the locative case (98).

(98) *tõi'n*   *pie'ʒʒin*   *ra'jje*   *aaunâsmuõrid*
      DIST.**PL.LOC**   pine.**PL.LOC** make.PST.3PL timber.PL.ACC

      'from those pine trees they made timber'   [MM-4]

Another important use of the locative is in predicate constructions conveying possession, whereby the possessor is marked with the locative case and the possessee follows as a complement, joined by the copular verb *lee'd* 'be'. The copular verb agrees in number with the possessee and not with the possessor. Examples of this construction are given in (99).

(99) a. *mõõn*   *mååust, ku niõđstad*   *lij*   *â'lǧǧ*
          go.IMP.2SG back   as girl.**SG.LOC**.2SG be.PRS.3SG son.SG.NOM

          'go back, for your daughter has a son!'   [MM:40]

      b. *su'st*   *liâ*   *čiččâm* *â'lǧǧed*
          3SG.**LOC**   be.PRS.3PL   seven   son.PART

          'he has seven sons'   [MM:61]

      c. *mee'st*   *še*   *leäi*   *õhtt* *â'lǧǧ*
          1PL.**LOC**   also be.PST.3SG   one   son.SG.NOM

          'we also had one son'   [MM-4]

In addition to marking possession, this locative construction is also used to express properties which are inherent to an object, although not semantically possessed in the same way, such as in whole–part relationships (100).

(100)   *juõ'ǩǩ parakâst   le'jje   kuõ'htt jõnn lõõnj*
         each   barrack.**SG.LOC** be.PST.3PL two   big room.SG.GEN
         'each barrack had two big rooms'   [MM:117]

Existential constructions also make use of the locative (101).

(101) a. *nue'ttest   lij   vââ'ǩǩ*
           seine.net.**SG.LOC** be.PRS.3SG flaw.SG.NOM
           'there is a flaw in the seine net'   [MM:76]

       b. *mij   siidâst   leäi   še   ruõkkâm+sââ'jj*
           1PL.GEN village.**SG.LOC** be.PST.3SG also bury.ACT.PTCP+place.SG.NOM
           'there was also a burial place in our village'   [MM-4]

Existential constructions differ from locative constructions with regard to their word order. In a locative construction, such as (102), the noun typically follows the auxiliary verb *lee'd*.

(102)   *tõn   ǩie'zz   liâ   tob   mie'ccest*
         DIST.SG.GEN summer.SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL there forest.**SG.LOC**

         hoi'ddjeǩâni
         care.ABE.PTCP
         'during that summer they are in the forest unattended' [MM-4]

The verb *fe'rttjed* 'must, be obliged to' requires the subject to occur in the locative case while the verb itself occurs in the 3SG, as shown in (103).

(103) a. *tu'st   fe'rttai   čuõppâd muu   vuei'v   meädda*
           2SG.**LOC** must.PRS.3SG chop.INF 1SG.GEN head.SG.ACC away
           'you must chop my head off'   [MM:27]

b. *see'st fe'rttai mõõnnâd mååust seämma čuõkku*
3PL.**LOC** must.PRS.3SG go.INF back same road.SG.GEN

mie'ldd ku le'jje še puättam
with as be.PST.3PL also come.PST.PTCP

'they have to go back by the same road they have come by' [MM:30]

Arguments of the verb *põõllâd* 'to fear something' also appear in the locative case (104).

(104) *kaammgast jeä'p nu'tt põõllâm gu mä'htt*
bear.**SG.LOC** NEG.1PL so fear.PST.PTCP as how

oummust põõlim ââ'n ij põõl ni mâ'st
person.**SG.LOC** fear.PST.1PL now NEG.3SG fear.CNG nothing.**SG.LOC**

'we didn't fear a bear as much as how we were afraid of a person; now one doesn't fear anything' [MM-4]

A use of the locative that requires further investigation, which came to light while studying texts, is presented in the examples in (105). In all these examples, a noun which is acting as a possessor, and is thus expected to occur in the genitive case, instead occurs in the locative case. It is interesting to note that in all three examples, the event being described happens to the detriment of the possessor and therefore this may well be a way of forming a malefactive construction.[37]

(105) a. *čiõrmiǩ čââ'lmes veärggteškue'đi de*
young.reindeer.SG.NOM eye.SG.ACC.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG and

čuõškâst jue'lǧǧ ränn'ji
mosquito.**SG.LOC** leg.SG.NOM be.injured.PST.3SG

'the young reindeer started to blink its eye and the mosquito's leg was injured' [MM-3]

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37. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for highlighting this possible explanation.

b. *Arša pue'đi   šillju   kaammga   luzz da*
Arša come.PST.3SG yard.SG.ILL little.bear.SG.GEN near.to and

kõõjji: "Mõõzz ton   po'rriǩ   mu'st   tõn
ask.PST.3SG why   2SG.NOM eat.PST.2SG **1SG.LOC** DIST.SG.ACC

vuõssmõs kuuzz
first   cow.SG.ACC
'Arsha came to the yard, near to Little Bear, and asked: "Why did
you eat that first cow of mine?"'   [MM:64]

c. *ǩeâđđa tõn   še ee'jj   see'st pä'rnn*
in.spring DIST.SG.GEN also year.SG.GEN **3PL.LOC** son.SG.NOM

kåddji   vääinast
kill.MDL.PST.3SG war.SG.LOC
'also in spring that year their son was killed in the war'   [MM:117]

10.2.6 Comitative case

The comitative case is used for expressing a number of semantic roles. One of these
uses is to express the instrument of a clause, as seen in (106).

(106) a. *son   skläddneei'bin ǩiõ'tte   čuõ'ǧǧii*
3SG.NOM penknife.**SG.COM** hand.SG.ILL prick.PST.3SG
'he pricked the hand with a penknife'   [MM:36]

b. *tõt   leäi   lo'sses håmm,   jõnn saakknjivui'm*
DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG heavy work.SG.NOM big saw.**PL.COM**
'that was heavy work, with big saws'   [SKNA 17462:1, 8:2.10]

Somewhat similar in semantic role to that of instrument, the comitative is also
used to express the means of an action, particularly when referring to a mode of
transport (107).

(107) a. *pâi   aautin   de pyöräivui'm   de motorivui'm*
           always car.**SG.COM** and bike[FI].**PL.COM** and motor.boat.**PL.COM**

           de skotrivui'm   di mõõivui'm   jiâ   jåå'đ
           and scooter.**PL.COM** and what.**PL.COM** NEG.3PL travel.CNG

           '(they travel) always by car and by bike and motor boat and scooter
           and what don't they travel by!?'   [MM-4]

       b. *rääidain   jeäll   viǯǯmen*
           reindeer.train.**SG.COM** go.PRS.3SG fetch.PROG.PTCP

           'he goes fetching it (food) by reindeer train'   [MM-4]

Another use of the comitative is to express accompaniment (108).

(108) a. *šellj+põõrtâst   le'jje   Dimitri Moshnikoff*
           yard.SG.NOM+house.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL Dimitri Moshnikoff

           piârrji'nes   da Ida Fofanoff päärneesvui'm
           family.**SG.COM**.3SG and Ida Fofanoff child.**PL.COM**.3SG

           'in the rear building were Dimitri Moshnikoff with his family and
           Ida Fofanoff with her children'   [MM:114]

       b. *muäna   jie'nnin   leei'm   vuåššid*
           1DU.NOM mother.**SG.COM** be.PST.1PL horsetail.PL.ACC

           viǯǯmen
           fetch.PROG.PTCP

           'the two of us were fetching horsetail with mother'   [MM:113]

The comitative can also be used to describe features which an object possesses
(109).

(109) a. *nåkam   nozvairee'ppiǩ   kå'll+bukvivui'm*
           that.kind handkerchief.SG.NOM gold.SG.NOM+letter.**PL.COM**

           'that kind of handkerchief with gold letters'   [MM:36]

b. *jõnn pääu'test rajjum   põrtt   puk i'lddjivui'm*
   big   rock.SG.LOC make.PASS.PTCP house.SG.NOM all   shelf.**PL.COM**

   di škaappivui'm   di uusivui'm
   and cupboard.**PL.COM** and door.**PL.COM**

   'a big house made from rock all with shelves and with cupboards
   and with doors'   [MM:83]

10.2.7 Abessive case

The abessive is used to express the opposite of what the comitative is able to
express, hence the absence of an instrument or the absence of a person or object
accompanying another are all expressed with the abessive case. However, it is far
less common than the comitative and only four examples of it were found in the
corpus of texts used. Some of the examples given below are therefore examples
taken from Moshnikoff et al. (2009) or elicited examples which have been checked
with a consultant.

The examples in (110) show the use of the abessive case when expressing the
lack of an instrument. The elicited example, (110b), clearly reveals the clitic-like
nature of the abessive suffix, by governing the genitive case in the first of two
conjoined nouns, as opposed to appearing on both nouns (see §6.2.4 relating to the
marking of possession on nouns, where the possessive suffix appears before certain
case markers).

(110) a. *võõnâs   ij   jåå'đ   ääirtää*
          boat.SG.NOM NEG.3SG travel.CNG oar.**SG.ABE**
          'the boat won't move without an oar'   [KK:39]

       b. *jeät vuei't   poorrâd veelk   da neei'btää*
          NEG.4 be.able.CNG eat.INF fork.**SG.GEN** and knife.**SG.ABE**
          'you (one) can't eat without a knife and fork'

Further examples of the abessive taken from texts are presented in (111).

(111) a. *saauʒitää   nu'tt še lij   pu'vrr*
          sheep.**PL.ABE** so also be.PRS.3SG pen.SG.NOM
          'the pen was also without sheep'   [MM:31]

  b. *teä určsti,   kä'mmitää lij*
    then run.off.PST.3SG shoe.**PL.ABE** be.PRS.3SG

    'then she ran off, she is without shoes'   [MM:57]

  c. *suutää i'llä   ni mii   šõddâm*
    3SG.**ABE** NEG.3SG~be.CNG nothing.SG.NOM become.PST.PTCP

    'without him, nothing was made'   [EE:1.3]

10.2.8 Essive case

The essive case is used to refer to the state, function or character that someone or something possesses. Although morphologically the essive occurs only in a singular form, plural meanings can also be conveyed, for example through plural marking on the verb, and usually the meaning is unambiguous. The examples in (112) show how the essive can be used to express the function that something performs.

(112) a. *koon muõr va'ldde, tõn   mâŋŋa*
     REL.SG.ACC tree.SG.ACC take.PST.3PL DIST.SG.ACC later

     puä'ldde le'be aunnsen õ'nne
     burn.PRS.3PL or material.**ESS** use.PST.3PL

     'whichever tree they took, they later burnt it or used it as material'
                          [MM-4]

    b. *äldd   lij leäm su'st*
     reindeer.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP 3SG.LOC

     vuâjnen
     draught.reindeer.**ESS**

     'the (female) reindeer was his draught reindeer' [MM:9]

    c. *tuu'l sää'm   le'jje älggam   ââ'nned*
     formerly Skolt.Saami.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL start.PST.PTCP use.INF

     tõn   ǩie'đj Vuâsppåå'den
     DIST.SG.ACC rock.SG.ACC god.**ESS**

     'formerly the Skolt Saami started to use that rock as a god' [MM:55]

The essive is also used when conveying a change in state, as seen in (113).

(113)   *te'l E'mmel   muu'tti   si'jjid   lå'dden: paa'rnid*
          then God.SG.NOM change.PST.3SG 3PL.ACC bird.ESS boy.PL.ACC

          čuânjan   da niõđid   njuhččân
          goose.ESS and girl.PL.ACC swan.ESS

          'then God changed them into birds: the boys (he turned) into geese
          and the girls (he turned) into swans'   [MM:65]

10.2.9 Partitive case

The partitive is only seen in a small number of constructions and hence is relatively
rare. Like the essive case, the partitive does not display singular and plural forms,
but instead has a single form which serves for both singular and plural referents.
As mentioned in §7.2.5 nouns appearing after numerals greater than six occur
in the partitive, as the examples in (114) show, although this has been replaced
with the genitive singular in many cases, particularly in the speech of the younger
generation.

(114)   a.   *mon   ve't pukkveezz le'jjem   lååi   pei'vved*
              1SG.NOM EMP in.all   be.PST.1SG ten.SG.NOM day.PART
              'altogether I was there for ten days!'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:2.38]

         b.   *tõin   ko'ddeš čue'đ   vee'rd puäʒʒad   da*
              DIST.PL.LOC kill.PST.4 hundred.SG.GEN about reindeer.PART and

              pa'cce   koumm+čue'đ+čiččmlo
              remain.PST.3PL three.SG.NOM+hundred.SG.GEN+seventy.SG.NOM

              puäʒʒad
              reindeer.PART

              'from those, they killed about one hundred reindeer and three
              hundred and seventy reindeer remained'   [SKNA 17462:1, 9:13.8]

According to Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 41), nouns occurring before certain postpo-
sitions also occur in the partitive, although no examples of this were found in the
primary text corpus used. The example given by Moshnikoff et al. is *ǩeä'dǧǧed
vuâstta* 'against the rock'.

     Quantifiers (see §7.2.6) may also require the partitive, such as the word *muä'dd*
'several' and *mäŋgg* 'many' (115).

(115) a. *A'rttjääu'rest*   [...] *jälstim   muä'dd ee'ǩǩed*
           A'rtt.lake.sg.loc   live.pst.1pl several year.**part**
           'we lived at Lake A'rtt for several years'   [sᴋɴᴀ 17462:1, 3:1.1]

       b. *to'b mij   mäŋgg ee'ǩǩed   leei'm*
           there 1pl.nom many   year.**part** be.pst.1pl
           'we were there for many years'   [sᴋɴᴀ 17462:1, 6:6.2]

The partitive is also used in comparative constructions, where the standard of comparison is in the partitive and occurs after the comparative adjective (116).

(116)   *dragacennai ǩeä'dǧǧ   lij   kallšab*
          precious[ʀᴜ] stone.sg.nom be.prs.3sg expensive.cmprt

          samasvetnai   ǩeä'dǧǧed
          self.luminous[ʀᴜ] stone.**part**
          'a precious stone is more expensive than a self-luminous stone'
                                                               [ᴍᴍ:97]

10.3 Predicate constructions

There are five types of predicate constructions in Skolt Saami: (i) predicate nominals (proper inclusion, equative clauses); (ii) predicate adjectives (attributive clauses); (iii) existential constructions; (iv) predicate locatives (locational constructions) and (v) possessive clauses. All predicate constructions in Skolt Saami lack a semantically-rich verb; instead the auxiliary verb *lee'd* functions as a copula. Examples of all these constructions are presented below.

A proper inclusion construction is one in which an entity, the subject of the clause, is among a group of items specified by the predicate nominal, as exemplified in (117). An equative clause is one in which an entity, the subject of the clause, is the same entity as that expressed by the predicate nominal, as exemplified in (118). In both proper inclusion and equatives, both the subject of the clause and the predicate nominal appear in the nominative case and agree in number. The verb *lee'd* 'be' must also agree in number.

(117)   *Evvan lij   Peäccam sä'mmlaž*
          John be.prs.3sg Petsamo Skolt.Saami.sg.nom
          'John is a Petsamo Skolt'   [ᴍᴍ:91]

(118)   *ton   leäk   muu   kaa'ff+ǩi'tti*
          2SG.NOM be.PRS.2SG 1SG.GEN coffee.SG.NOM+cook.NMLZ.SG.NOM
          'you are my coffee maker'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:1.34]

Subjectless predicate nominals, such as that presented in (119), tend to occur before the verb.

(119)   *tä'lvv   lij*
          winter.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG
          'it is winter'   [MM:45]

Predicate adjectives are identical in form to predicate nominals in that they appear in the nominative case and agree with the subject of the clause in number. The copula also agrees in number with the subject of the clause.

(120) a. *nijdd   lij   ä'rǧǧ*
           girl.**SG**.NOM   PRS.**3SG**   shy.**SG**.NOM
           'the girl is shy'

       b. *niõđ   lie   ää'rj*
           girl.**PL**.NOM   PRS.**3PL**   shy.**PL**.NOM
           'the girls are shy'

In §7.2.1 the attributive forms of adjectives were discussed in relation to their role as nominal modifiers. It is important to point out here that there is a great deal of both interspeaker and intraspeaker variation with the attributive form often being used in predicate adjective constructions. However, this is not the case for all classes of adjective, but seems to be limited to Class 4 and Class 11 adjectives (see §6.4). In their use of these adjectives, certain speakers alternate between the predicative and attributive forms in predicate constructions, while it appears that other speakers have lost the predicative forms completely, using only the attributive form in both predicative and attributive positions.

     Predicate adjectives may appear in three degrees: the positive, comparative and superlative degrees. Unlike in the positive degree, the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are the same regardless of whether or not they function attributively or predicatively (121).

(121)   *tät   på'rdd lij   viõlggääb*
          PROX.SG.NOM   table   PRS.3SG   white.CMPRT
          'this table is whiter'

Although predicate adjective constructions typically display the nominative form of adjectives, particularly when the adjective is a subject complement, this is not always the case. Example (122), taken from Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 43), shows the essive form of an adjective being used to express a state, rather than an inherent property of the subject.

(122)   *â'lmmredd   lij   jeä'ǩǩää   ruõpsseen*
        horizon.SG.NOM   PRS.3SG   in.the.evening   red.ESS

        'in the evening, the horizon is red'   [KK:43]

Existentials predicate the existence of some entity while predicate locatives predicate the location of an entity. The only difference between the two is the word order. In existentials the entity purported to exist typically follows the verb (123) while in predicate locatives the location often follows the verb (124).

(123)   *reeddast   leäi   suõ'ǩǩes   miõst*
        shore.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   thick   shrub.SG.NOM

        'there was a thick shrub on the shore'   [MM:20]

(124)   *ääkkaž   lij   kuä'đest*
        old.woman.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   Saami.hut.SG.LOC

        'the old woman is in the Saami hut'   [MM:94]

A predicate locative construction often takes an adpositional phrase or noun phrase as its argument.

(125)   *mooččâs   nijdd   lij   uus   tue'ǩǩen*
        beautiful   girl.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   door.SG.GEN   behind

        'the beautiful girl is behind the door'   [MM:37]

The possessive construction requires the locative case and was thus briefly discussed in §10.2.5. In the possessive construction the possessor is marked in the locative case and the possessee is marked in the nominative case. The copula *lee'd* 'be' agrees in number with the possessee.

(126)   *puõccin   leäi   tõt   ku'ǩes*
        reindeer.PL.LOC   be.PST.**3SG**   DIST.**SG**.NOM   long

        suõnn+määtt
        vein.SG.NOM+worm.**SG**.NOM

        'the reindeers had that long vein worm'   [SKNA 17462:1, 9:15.7]

10.4 Voice and valence

This section discusses valence adjusting operations, covering causatives (§10.4.1), reflexives and reciprocals (§10.4.2) and passives (§10.4.3). Valence adjusting operations are often marked morphologically on verbs and are very productive in Skolt Saami. Table 120 gives some examples of the different types of valence adjusting operations which can be encoded on the verb.

Skolt Saami	English	Type
kå'dded	kill	active
kåå'ddted	have…killed	causative
kå'ddšõõttâd	commit suicide	reflexive
kåddjed	get killed	middle
(lee'd) koddum	be killed	passive

Table 120. Valence adjusting operations marked on the verb *kå'dded* 'kill'

10.4.1 Causatives

Causatives in Skolt Saami are predominantly expressed morphologically, through the addition of the causative marker *t*. The formation of causatives is covered in §5.1.1 where a list of examples is also provided. The causative marker results is an increase in valence of one argument.

Example (127) shows how an otherwise intransitive verb *vä'ʒʒed* 'to walk' becomes a transitive verb and takes a direct object when marked with the causative marker to become *vää'ʒʒted* 'to walk, to lead'.

(127)　　*saauʒeez*　　　*mie'ldd*　*vä'ldde*　　*di*　*tõid*
　　　　sheep.PL.GEN.3PL　with　　take.PRS.3PL　and　DIST.PL.ACC

　　　　vää'ʒʒte
　　　　walk.CAUS.PRS.3PL

　　　　'they took their sheep with them and led them among (lit. caused
　　　　to walk)'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[MM-4]

In example (128), the verb *lookkâd* 'to read' becomes a causative verb *looggted* 'to have…read' and the causee, the pupils, is marked accordingly as the direct object in the accusative case.

(128)　　*u'čtee'l*　　　　*looggat*　　　*škooulnee'ǩǩid*
　　　　teacher.SG.NOM　read.CAUS.PRS.3SG　school.pupil.PL.ACC

　　　　'the teacher gets the pupils to read'　　　　　　　　　　　　[KK:135]

In example (129), two transitive verbs are marked with the causative marker: *ǩie'ssed* 'to pull' → *ǩee'zzted* 'have…pulled' and *kue'dded* 'to carry' → *kue'ddted* 'have…carried'. In the first example both the causee (the reindeer) and the object of the predicate of cause (the loads) are present. The object (the loads) is marked as the direct object in the accusative case, while the causee (the reindeer) is marked in an oblique case, the comitative. This would appear to suggest that Skolt Saami forbids doubling on the syntactic positions of subject and object (see Comrie 1976: 265).

Further evidence for this is provided in the second clause in the same example. Here, the causee (several (reindeer)) is marked as the direct object, in the accusative case, while the patient of the caused event (the loads) is marked as an oblique object in the comitative case. This also shows that the object of the predicate of cause does not have to be obligatorily marked in the accusative case. Indeed, if the causee is marked in the accusative case it would appear that the object of the predicate of cause is prohibited from being marked likewise.[38]

(129)   *jie'rj*   *liâ*   *su'st*   *veâl ǩidd,*   *što*   *tõõivui'm*
         bull.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL 3SG.LOC   still tied.up COMP **DIST.PL.COM**

         son   *ǩee'zzat*   *ǩe'rrsid*   *da ku*   *ǩe'rrez*
         3SG.NOM   pull.CAUS.PRS.3SG sled.PL.ACC   and when   sled.PL.NOM

         liâ   *occanj,*   *måtmid*   *kue'ddat*   *käddsivui'm*
         be.PRS.3PL   few   several.**PL.ACC**   carry.**CAUS.PRS.3SG** load.**PL.COM**
         'he still has the male (bull) reindeer tied up, so that he can have
         them pull the sleds and when there are just a few sleds, he has
         several (reindeer) carry the loads'   [MM-4]

Example (130) shows how a causee may be omitted from a causative clause if it is implicit.

(130)   *puõccu*   *tää'vat*   *de*   *vuâlgg,*   *ǩee'zzat*
         reindeer.SG.ACC grab.PRS.3SG   and   leave.PRS.3SG   pull.**CAUS.PRS.3SG**

         võnnsid   *sääi'mivui'm*
         boat.**PL.ACC**   gill.net.PL.COM
         'he catches a reindeer and sets off, (he) has (the reindeer) pull the
         boats, together with the gill nets'   [MM-4]

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38. Unfortunately, further examples of this type of causative construction could not be found, so this is only a tentative hypothesis based on a single example. Further investigation is required to ascertain if this hypothesis is indeed correct or if there is some other explanation for the observed behaviour.

10.4.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexive constructions are those where the agent and the patient of an action are
the same entity. In Skolt Saami, reflexives are expressed both morphologically and
analytically. Morphological reflexives take the affix -*õõtt*-. The formation of mor-
phological reflexives is covered in §5.1.1 where a list of examples is also provided.
Analytical reflexives are formed from a transitive verb which is followed by the rel-
evant form of the reflexive pronoun *jiõčč*. Two examples of morphological reflex-
ives are presented in (131).

(131)   a.   *pu'htte   pihttsid   da oõumaž   teâvõõđi*
             bring.PST.3PL clothes.PL.ACC and man.SG.NOM dress.REFL.PST.3SG
             'they brought clothes and the man got dressed'   [MM:83]

        b.   *samai ool   luâšttõ'tte*
             quite   down   lower.REFL.PST.3PL
             'they (northern lights) descended quite far'   [MM:9]

Morphological reflexives and the reflexive pronoun are permitted to co-occur, as
shown in (132). Note that the reflexive pronoun is in the nominative case.

(132)   *jiõčč   pâi   ǩe'rrez   vuâlla   oi'ǧǧõõđi*
           REFL.SG.NOM only Skolt.sled.SG.GEN under.ILL   throw.REFL.PST.3SG
           'he just threw himself (into a lying position) under the sled'   [MM:9]

Reciprocals are identical in form to reflexives, but differ in that both participants
act equally on each other as in (133).

(133)   *de suäna   näittlõ'tte*
           and 3DU.NOM marry.REFL.PST.3PL
           'the two of them got married'   [MM:14]

In example (134), the fact that the verb is reciprocal means that the syntactic subject
acts simultaneously as both the semantic subject and object. This prohibits the verb
from taking a direct object. However, the speaker chooses to add additional infor-
mation with regard to the people who met each other and this is thus expressed in
an oblique case, the comitative.

(134)   *mâŋŋa mij   tobdstõõđim   tõõi   tääl*
        later   1PL.NOM get.to.know.**REFL**.PST.1PL   DIST.PL.GEN house.SG.GEN

        nuõrivui'm
        young.PL.COM
        'later we got to know each other (those young people from the
        house)'   [MM:117]

10.4.3 Passive voice

Passive constructions in Skolt Saami are formed analytically with the auxiliary
verb *lee'd* followed by the passive participle. It is important to note that passive
constructions are restricted to the past tense. Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 128) refer to
the passive participle as the "passive perfect participle", which captures this restric-
tion in its use.

The passive participle ends in *-um* (see §8.2 for information relating to its
formation). The agent of a passive construction is omitted from the clause and
the other core participant acquires the properties of a subject, i.e. it appears in the
nominative case. An example of a passive clause is given in (135).

(135)   *ko   kuõrbb   leäi   puk čaacktum*
        when forest.fire.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG all   go.out.CAUS.**PASS.PTCP**
        'when the forest fire was completely extinguished'
                                                                  [SKNA 17462:1, 7:2.37]

In example (135), *kuõrbb* 'forest fire' is marked with the SG.NOM making it the syn-
tactic subject and no agent is present. Interestingly, the verb used by the speaker is
the causative form of the verb *čackkâd* 'go out', as opposed to the transitive verb
čackkeed 'extinguish'. This may just be the verb selected by the speaker at the
time of the utterance, although using the causative marker on an intransitive verb
may be a strategy used to further remove the role of the agent from the scene. As
explained in §10.4.1, the causee may be left unspecified in causative constructions,
suggesting it is the least important argument.

Example (136) shows a passive construction functioning as part of an adver-
bial clause. This is a common use of the passive, whereby the passive construction
is subordinate to an active matrix clause.

(136)   *mõõni   tok   ko'st   leäi   e'čces*
         go.PST.3SG to.there REL.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG father.SG.NOM.3SG

         čiõkkum
         bury.**PASS.PTCP**

         'she went there, where her father had been buried'   [MM:51]

In speech the auxiliary verb is sometimes omitted, as (137) demonstrates, if it has already been expressed earlier in the clause.

(137)   *čõhččtuei   lie   tuejjum   suei'n*
         autumn.work.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL do.**PASS.PTCP** hay.PL.NOM

         lie   rajjum   vuåšš   čuõppum
         be.PRS.3PL do.**PASS.PTCP** horsetail.PL.NOM cut.**PASS.PTCP**

         jeäkkal   koccum
         lichen.PL.NOM collect.lichen.**PASS.PTCP**

         'the autumn work has been done, the hay has been made, the
         horsetail cut, the lichen gathered'   [MM:113]

It should be noted that Moshnikoff et al. do not make any mention of passive voice constructions, instead only providing examples of the passive participle functioning as a nominal modifier (2009: 128) (cf. §7.2.2). In a later section discussing verbal derivatives, including the inceptive and causative, they explicitly state that "the passive does not occur in Skolt Saami as a main inflectional class as it does in Finnish" (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 136). The direct comparison made with Finnish suggests that they are perhaps referring to the absence of a morphological passive in Skolt Saami, since Finnish does not require an auxiliary verb in the passive voice.

Nevertheless, there are numerous examples in the data, such as those provided above, where (1) the agent of the clause is omitted, (2) the semantic object possesses the properties of a subject and (3) the passive participle is used, all of which are indicative of a prototypical passive voice construction.

10.5 Interrogatives

This section on interrogatives considers polar questions, tag questions and information questions. This section is only concerned with those interrogative constructions used to pose questions, hence the terms 'interrogative' and 'question' are used interchangeably. Interrogative constructions used in other speech acts are outside the scope of this grammar.

10.5.1 Polar questions

Polar questions[39] are those which expect as a response either an affirmation or disaffirmation. Skolt Saami polar questions are marked simultaneously at a morphological level, by the use of an interrogative particle which is affixed to the first constituent of the clause, and at a syntactic level, by moving the verb, or another clausal element which is the scope of the question, to the beginning of the clause. If the verb is fronted, this results in subject–predicate inversion, as seen in example (138).

(138) *vue'lǧǧve'ted-a   tuäna   muu   ooudâst*
       leave.PRS.2PL-**INTER** 2DU.NOM 1SG.GEN behalf

       ečcan   ääu'd   ool?
       father.SG.GEN.1PL grave.SG.GEN onto
       'will the two of you go, on my behalf, to our father's grave?'

       [MM:52]

In cases where the subject is not present, the verb is still clause-initial.

(139) *vuåžžuk-a   sätt+tie'ǧǧ   tõ'st,   što*
       get.PST.2SG-INTER ride.SG.NOM+money.SG.ACC DIST.SG.LOC COMP

       mâŋŋa Če'vetjäurra   piâzziǩ?
       later   Sevettijärvi.ILL get.(to.a.place).PST.2SG?
       'did you get some money from that (work) for your ride, so that later you (could) get to Sevettijärvi?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 5:6.1]

In clauses where an auxiliary verb is used, such as in the perfect tenses, the passive voice or for expressing progressive aspect, the auxiliary verb – the finite verb of the clause – is fronted to clause-initial position and takes the interrogative particle. The subject, when present, typically follows the auxiliary verb, although the relative position of the lexical verb and object appear to be less fixed, as the examples in (140) would appear to suggest.

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39. Traditionally in linguistics these are referred to as yes–no questions, but the use of this term has been purposefully avoided for two reasons. Firstly, this term is Anglocentric in nature by using the responses to English polar questions in the terminology, but secondly, and more importantly, because in Skolt Saami (and indeed, in other languages) the response is not always a straightforward 'yes' or 'no' as implied by the term.

(140)   a.   *leäk-a*   *ton*   *tõn*   *kämmar*
             be.PRS.2SG-INTER   2SG.NOM   DIST.SG.ACC   bedroom.SG.ACC

             kiččâm?
             see.PST.PTCP
             'have you seen that bedroom?'   [MM:13]

        b.   *leäk-a*   *ää'vääm*   *tõn*   *uus?*
             be.PRS.2SG-INTER   open.PST.PTCP   DIST.SG.ACC   door.SG.ACC
             'have you opened that door?'   [MM:15]

Predicate constructions, which all make use of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' as a copula, can also form interrogatives by fronting the auxiliary verb and adding the interrogative particle, as shown in (141).

(141)   a.   *liâ-a*   *tu'st*   *čââ'lm?*
             be.PRS.3PL-INTER   2SG.LOC   eye.PL.NOM
             'do you have eyes?'   [MM:44]

        b.   *leäk-a*   *ton*   *Jefremoff?*
             be.PRS.2SG-INTER   2SG.NOM   Jefremoff
             'are you Mr. Jefremoff?'   [MM:20]

The fronting of the auxiliary verb also applies to the negative auxiliary, as shown in (142).

(142)   *ij-a*   *kõskklumâs*   *villjad*   *puättam?*
        NEG.3SG-INTER   middle   brother.SG.NOM.2SG   come.PST.PTCP
        'didn't your middle brother come?'   [MM:52]

As already stated, the interrogative particle is not limited to being affixed to a verb, but almost any clausal element can become the scope of the question by fronting it and marking it with the interrogative particle (143).

(143)   a.   *võl-a*   *lie*   *mainnâz?*
             still-INTER   be.PRS.3PL   story.PL.NOM
             'are there still stories (to tell)?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 11:1.1]

b. *kookkas-a   vuõ'lǧǧiǩ?*
    far.away-INTER   leave.PST.2SG
    'was it far away that you went?'   [MM:95]

When the constituent hosting the interrogative particle is a verb, it uses the inter-
rogative particle *-a*, as seen in the examples above, although the use of this particle
is not limited to verbs, as seen in (143). In addition to *-a*, a number of other inter-
rogative particles exist, with slight differences in distribution, namely *-go*, *-son*
(both used with nominals), *-tâma* and *-šât* (see §4.9).

A second type of polar interrogative observed in Skolt Saami, albeit rarely,
is one in which the predicate is followed by the negative auxiliary, both of which
are inflected for the same person and number. In a survey of polar interrogatives in
Uralic languages, Miestamo (2011: 3) treats this type of interrogative as an A-not-A
construction – a construction that, among Uralic languages, appears to be restrict-
ed to Skolt Saami and Komi-Zyrian.[40] An example of this type of construction is
presented below in (144). Note that this is not simply an inversion of the lexical verb
and the negative auxiliary, as the lexical verb does not appear in its connegative
form.

(144)   *mooštak   jiõk*
         remember.PRS.2SG NEG.2SG
         'do you remember or don't you?'   [MM:98]

Although the example in (144) may appear to be an example of a tag question,
Miestamo (2011: 7) presents an example, reproduced below in (145) with the cur-
rent orthography, where the negative auxiliary occurs before the direct object, pro-
viding stronger evidence in favour of the A-not-A analysis. A-not-A interrogatives
differ from tag questions in that the speaker posing the question does not typi-
cally assume a truth value. Furthermore, A-not-A type questions favour an echo
response, which is a common feature of question responses in Skolt Saami.

(145)   *vuõi'nniǩ   jiõk   peei'v*
         see.PST.2SG NEG.2SG sun.SG.ACC
         'did you, or didn't you, see the sun?'   [Miestamo 2011: 7]

A similar example is presented in (146), but the negative auxiliary again appears at
the end of a clause. However, in this instance the clause it follows is already a polar
interrogative. This cannot therefore be considered a prototypical example of an
A-not-A construction, but neither is it a tag question, since the negative auxiliary

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40. In discussing polar interrogatives in Komi-Zyrian, Miestamo (2011: 16) points out that Bartens (2000: 346)
translates examples of the so-called A-not-A construction as alternative questions, rather than as simple polar
interrogatives. Since responses to polar questions in Skolt Saami often involve the interlocutor, to whom the
question is addressed, repeating back the predicate or the negative auxiliary, a similar argument could hold for
Skolt Saami, i.e. that these are in fact a type of alternative question.

does not follow a declarative clause. It may be appropriate, therefore, to view this as a blend of the two types of polar questions, perhaps as a result of the speaker changing his or her opinion with regard to the assumed truth value of the proposition.

(146)   *teâđak-a*   *ton*   *tõn*   *jiõk?*
          know.PRS.2SG-INTER   2SG.NOM   DIST.SG.ACC   NEG.2SG
          'do you know that, no?'   [MM:98]

Responses to polar questions

In responding affirmatively to a polar question the answer can be *naa* 'yes', used only in response to a question, or *kâ'l* 'yes', which is not limited to this use. This is typically the answer given when the question refers to an argument of the verb, rather than the predicate itself. The second way of responding to a polar question in the affirmative is to repeat back the predicate to the person asking the question, without the interrogative particle or any accompanying arguments, as illustrated in (147). This is referred to as an echo response (Lehnert and Stucky 1988: 224). The particle *kâ'l* may also co-occur with an echo response.

(147) Q *teâđak-a*   *ton*   *tõn*   *jiõk?*
          know.PRS.2SG-INTER   2SG.NOM   DIST.SG.ACC   NEG.2SG
          'do you know that, no?'   [MM:98]

       A *mon*   **teâđam**
          1SG.NOM   know.PRS.1SG
          '(yes) I know'   [MM:98]

The same applies to questions formed from predicate constructions.

(148) Q *liâ-a*   *tu'st*   *čââ'lm?*
          be.PRS.3PL-INTER   2SG.LOC   eye.PL.NOM
          'do you have eyes?'   [MM:44]

       A **liâ**   *mu'st*
          be.PRS.3PL   1SG.LOC
          '(yes) I do have (eyes)'   [MM:44]

If the question involves either the speaker or the listener then the person marking on the predicate in the echo response must, of course, change accordingly, as the above examples illustrate.

In responding to a polar question in the disaffirmative, a similar type of echo response is given, but using the negative auxiliary verb, marked accordingly for

person and number. This response may be given either when disaffirming a positive question (149) or affirming a negative question (150). As with an echo response in the affirmative, if the question refers to either the speaker or listener, then the negative auxiliary inflects for the appropriate person depending on the focus of the question.

(149) Q *leei'd-go*   *tij*   *tuejjääm* *mâi'd-ne*
           be.PST.2PL-INTER[FI] 2PL.NOM do.PST.PTCP something.SG.ACC

           avi muđoi   pâi   årstõõ'ttid?
           or   otherwise only stop.PST.2PL
           'had you done something or did you otherwise only stop (the car)?'
                                                                    [SKNA 17462:1, 2:2.1]

       A ***jeä'p**, pâi   årstâ'ttem   diõtt   aaut*
           NEG.1PL only stop.ACT.PTCP for.the.sake.of car.SG.ACC
           '(no) we hadn't, (we did it) just for the sake of stopping the car'
                                                                    [SKNA 17462:1, 2:3.1]

(150) Q *ij-a*   *kõskklumâs* *villjad*   *puättam?*
           NEG.3SG-INTER middle   brother.SG.NOM.2SG come.PST.PTCP
           'didn't your middle brother come?'   [MM:52]

       A ***ij**,   muu   vuõlttii   ouddses*
           NEG.3SG 1SG.ACC send.PST.3SG behalf.3SG
           'no, he sent me on his behalf'   [MM:52]

A response in the disaffirmative may also incorporate the connegative form of the verb.

(151) Q *lij-a*   *õõmâs?*
           be.PRS.3SG-INTER strange
           'is it strange?'   [MM:69]

       A ***ij   leäkku**, ceälkk   papp*
           NEG.3SG be.CNG   say.PRS.3SG priest.SG.NOM
           '"(no) it isn't," says the priest'   [MM:69]

10.5.2 Information questions

Information questions[41] expect as a response some form of information. They are formed with a question word, appearing in clause-initial position, which marks the clause as a question. The question word occurs together with a corresponding 'gap' in the clause indicating what information is required in the response. In example (152), this gap is shown with the symbol Ø.

(152)   *mii*   *tõt*   *lij*   Ø
         what.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG
         'what is that?'   [MM:75]

Many question words are inflected forms of the three interrogative pronouns: *mii* 'what', *ǩii* 'who' and *kuäbbaž* 'which (of two)'. For example, *mâi'd*, the SG.ACC form of *mii*, is an interrogative pronoun used when the direct object of a clause is that which is being questioned; *mõin*, the SG.COM form of *mii*, is an interrogative pronoun (or pro-adverb) used to question with what an action is accomplished, or with whom an action is carried out. The inflectional paradigms of these three interrogative pro-forms are given in §6.3.5.

   A number of examples of the different inflectional forms of *mii* are presented in (153).

(153) a. *mâi'd*   *reäggak*
           what.SG.ACC cry.PRS.2SG
           'what are you crying about?'   [MM:32]

       b. *mõõzz*   *pue'ttiǩ*
           what.SG.ILL come.PST.2SG
           'why did you come?'   [MM:40]

       c. *mâ'st*   *teä'tte,*   *što* *ko'st* *leäi*
           what.SG.LOC know.PRS.3SG COMP where   be.PST.3SG
           'how (lit. from what) do they know where he was?'   [MM:77]

       d. *mõin*   *vuästam,*   *mu'st*   *jeä'la*   *tie'ǧǧ*
           what.SG.COM buy.PRS.1SG 1SG.LOC NEG.3PL~be.CNG money.PL.NOM
           'with what can I buy, I don't have any money?'   [MM:97]

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41. Traditionally in linguistics these interrogatives are referred to as wh-questions, but the use of this term has been purposefully avoided for the simple reason that this term is Anglocentric, based on the fact that most information questions in English begin with a word beginning with the letters *wh*, such as *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*. Since question words in Skolt Saami do not commence with the letters *wh*, this term is inappropriate.

Two examples of the different inflectional forms of *ǩii* and one example of the interrogative pronoun *kuäbbaž* are presented in (154). Examples of other forms of these two interrogative words were difficult to find in the available text corpus.

(154) a. *ǩii   tu'st   leäi   risttjeä'nn*
           who.SG.NOM 2SG.LOC be.PST.3SG god.mother.SG.NOM
           'who was your godmother?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 5:2.1]

       b. *ǩeän   šât leäk   pä'rnn*
           who.SG.GEN EMP be.PRS.2SG son.SG.NOM
           'just whose son are you?!'   [MM:37]

       c. *kuäbbaž   alttad   heibbad*
           which.one.SG.NOM begin.PRS.3SG wrestle.INF
           'which one (of you) will being to wrestle?'   [MM:81]

A number of other question words, not related to the interrogative pro-forms described above, are listed below. Note that when the location or origin of an entity is questioned, the question word used is *ko'st*, identical in form to the SG.LOC form of the relative pronoun *kåå'tt*. Likewise, where the destination of an entity is questioned, the question word used is *koozz*, identical to the SG.ILL form of *kåå'tt*.

ko'st	where, from where
koozz	to where
kuä'ss	when
mä'htt	how
måkam	what kind

An example of each of these question words in use is given in the examples in (155).

(155) a. *ko'st ton   leäk   šõddâm*
           where 2SG.NOM be.PRS.2SG born.PST.PTCP
           'where were you born?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 1:1.2]

       b. *ko'st   ton   täid   leäk*
           from.where 2SG.NOM PROX.PL.ACC be.PRS.2SG
           'where did you (get) these from?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:2.7]

c. *koozz   vuõ'lǧǧiǩ*
    to.where   leave.PST.2SG
    'where did you go?'   [MM:40]

d. *kuä'ss tõk   juõ'ǩǩe   tõn*
    when   DIST.PL.NOM divide.PST.3PL DIST.SG.ACC

    palggâz
    reindeer.pasturage.SG.ACC
    'when did they divide up that reindeer pasturage?'
                                                 [SKNA 17462:1,9:10.1]

e. *mä'htt tu'st   laukk   i'llä*
    how   2SG.LOC bag.SG.NOM NEG.3SG~be.CNG
    'how come you don't have a bag?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:1.17]

f. *måkam   tuejjaid   mâŋŋa a'lǧǧiǩ*
    what.kind work.PL.ACC after   begin.PRS.2SG
    'what kind of work did you begin to do afterwards?'
                                               [SKNA 17462:1, 6:1.1]

10.6 Clausal modification

This sections covers the different manners in which a clause may be modified, including adverbs, noun phrases, adpositional phrases and adverbial clauses.

A clause may be modified by more than one adverbial. Example (156) consists of a matrix and complement clause displaying three adverbials, two of which are adverbs and one of which is a noun phrase.

(156) *te'l   sä'mmlaž   e'pet sollad   kue'l*
       at.that.time Skolt.SG.NOM again set.off.rowing.PRS.3SG fish.SG.ACC

       šee'lled   sääi'mivui'm
       catch.INF   gill.net.PL.COM
       'then the Skolt Saami again sets off rowing to catch fish
       with the gill nets'   [MM:16]

10.6.1 Adverbs

See §4.7 for a list of adverbs and §5.1.6 for information pertaining to derived adverbs. Examples of adverbs as clausal modifiers are presented in (157).

(157) a. *sue'leld   son   vuäinn*
           in.secret.**ADV** 3SG.NOM see.PRS.3SG

           'he secretly sees'   [MM:85]

       b. *to'ben mij   hää'rviim   tõid,   ko leigga suõkkânji*
           there   1PL.NOM thin.out.PST.1PL DIST.PL.ACC as too   thick.**ADV**

           le'jje   šõddâm   de   vaa'ldim
           be.PST.3PL   become.PST.PTCP and take.PST.1PL

           lei'ǧǧ+muõrid   meädda
           excess.SG.NOM+tree.PL.ACC away

           'there we thinned them out as they had grown too thickly and then
           we took the excess trees away'   [SKNA 17462:1, 6:8.4]

(158)   *mij   puk-i   leäp   vääin'nalla teâvõõttâm*
           1PL.NOM all-EMP be.PRS.1PL war.**ADV**   dress.PST.PTCP

           'we are all dressed in preparation for war (lit. war-like dressed)'
                                                                       [MM:102]

Comparative and superlative adverbs are not particularly common and it was difficult to find many good examples from the text corpus used. An example of a comparative adverb is presented in (159). No examples of superlative adverbs could be found in texts, hence the example provided in (160) is from elicited data.

(159)   *âlgg   lee'd samai jõnn puõlâš+inn,   de*
           must.PRS.3SG be.INF quite big subzero+night.SG.NOM and

           te'l   pue'rben   poppad
           at.that.time good.**CMPRT.ESS** stick.INF

           'it must be a severe freezing night and then they will stick better'
                                                                        [MM:46]

(160)   *tät   nijdd   läull   moččmõsân*
         PROX.SG.NOM   girl.SG.NOM sing.PRS.3SG beautiful.SUPL.ESS

         'this girl sings most beautifully'

10.6.2 Noun phrases

Noun phrases which do not assume the role of one of the core arguments of a clause often have an adverbial function. Due to the rich grammatical case system of Skolt Saami, information that would be expressed, in many languages, by means of a prepositional phrase is instead expressed by means of a noun phrase. A noun phrase functioning adverbially may consist of a single head-noun, as in (161), or a modified noun.

(161)   *puk oummu   noorõ'tte   põ'rtte*
         all   person.PL.NOM gather.together.PST.3PL house.SG.ILL

         'all the people gathered together <u>in the house</u>'   [MM-1]

10.6.3 Adpositions and adpositional phrases

Clauses are frequently modified by prepositional or postpositional phrases, as exemplified by the many examples presented below. While Skolt Saami is predominantly a postpositional language, a small number of prepositions also exist which are restricted to occurring before the noun they govern. In addition, there are a number of adpositions which can appear either before or after the noun they govern, although it is not known if the choice of position has any semantic effect. All adpositions govern the genitive case.

Postpositions

A list of postpositions is provided in §4.8, while this section presents at least one example for each of them. In all examples, the postpositional phrase in the translation is underlined.

— *ââlda* 'near, close'

(162)   *mij   leei'm   tä'st   Ciutta+joogg   ââlda*
         1PL.NOM   be.PST.1PL PROX.SG.LOC Siutta+river.SG.GEN near

         'we were here, <u>near the River Siutta</u>'   [SKNA 17462:1]

— *â'lnn* 'on (top of), (from) off'

(163) a. *vuâŋškue'đi   čiõrmiǩ   čââ'lm   â'lnn*
           rest.INCP.PST.3SG young.reindeer.SG.GEN eye.SG.GEN   on
           '(the mosquito) began to rest <u>on the young reindeer's eye</u>'   [MM:67]

       b. *Ri'mjj   rõõvvi   ǩe'rrez   â'lnn*
           Fox.SG.NOM   fall.PST.3SG Saami.sled.SG.GEN from.off
           'Mr. Fox fell <u>off the Saami sled</u>'   [MM:45]

— *diõtt* 'for the sake of, because of, due to'

(164)   * åå'n mij   jea'p   määcc*
           now 1PL.NOM   NEG.1PL   return.CNG

           tõõi   sââ'vǩi   diõtt
           DIST.PL.GEN   ski.PL.GEN   for.the.sake.of
           'we're not going back <u>for the sake of those skis</u>'
                                                                       [SKNA 17462:1, 3:1.18]

— *kõõskâst* (SG.LOC of *kõskk* 'middle') 'between, in the middle of'

(165) a. *mä'tǩǩ   leäi   ku'ǩǩ,   õhtt čuõškk*
           journey.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG long   one   mosquito.SG.NOM

           levvji   ju'n   tõn   kõõskâst
           grow.weary.PST.3SG already   DIST.SG.GEN between
           'the journey was long; one mosquito already grew weary <u>in the
           middle of it</u> (i.e. half-way there)'   [MM:67]

       b. *son   puätt   õõut   da   kuei't kõõskâst*
           3SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG   one.GEN and two.GEN between
           'he is coming <u>between one and two o'clock</u>'   [KK:144]

— *kõ'sǩǩe* (SG.ILL of *kõskk* 'middle') 'between, into the middle of'

(166)   *son   kååđđ   fiin sääi'mid   juõ'vve*
          3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL

          da   sue'jji   kõ'sǩǩe
          and birch.PL.GEN between
          'he spins fine webs on the rocky ground and <u>between the birch
          trees</u>'   [MM:67]

— *ǩeäcca* 'to the end'

(167)   *son   piji   riistid   juõ'ǩǩ njaarg*
          3SG.NOM put.PST.3SG cross.PL.ACC each   headland.SG.GEN

          ǩeäčča   da tõnnalla   tõt   jõnn ku'vdd
          to.the.end and in.that.way DIST.SG.NOM big   snake.SG.NOM

          läppji
          disappear.PST.3SG

          'he put crosses <u>at the end of each headland</u> and in that way the big
          snake disappeared'   [MM:30]

— *ǩee'jjest* 'in...time, later'

(168)   *ee'jj   ǩee'jjest nijdd   vuäǯǯai   pää'rn*
          year.SG.GEN later   girl.SG.NOM get.PST.3SG boy.SG.ACC
          '<u>a year later</u> the girl had a boy'   [MM:14]

— *lu'nn* 'at, close to, next to'

(169)   *tõ'st-i   jälste   tõõi*
          DIST.SG.LOC-EMP live.PST.3PL DIST.PL.GEN

          ääldi   lu'nn
          female.reindeer.PL.GEN next.to
          'they lived right there, <u>next to the female reindeers</u>' [MM:103]

— *luzz* 'close to, near (expressing movement)'

(170) *pue'đi   tõn   muõr   luzz*
       come.PST.3SG DIST.SG.GEN tree.SG.GEN near.to
       'he came <u>near to that tree</u>'   [MM:19]

— *mââibeä'lnn* 'behind, at the rear (e.g. following along behind)'

(171) *jiõk-go   ton   kuul   le'be vuei'n   ni mâid*
       NEG.2SG-INTER[FI] 2SG.NOM hear.CNG or   see.CNG nothing.SG.ACC

       muännai   mââibeä'lnn?
       2DU.GEN   behind
       'don't you hear or see anything <u>behind us</u>?'   [MM:24]

— *mââibeälla* 'behind, to the rear'

(172) *suännai mââibeälla šõõddi   õll tuõddâr*
       3DU.GEN   behind   come.into.existence.PST.3SG   tall fell.SG.NOM
       'a tall fell appeared <u>behind them</u>'   [MM:25]

— *mie'ldd* '(together) with, along, through'

(173) a. *koumm njuuč   ǩe'rddle   suõv   mie'ldd*
           three   swan.SG.GEN fly.off.PST.3PL smoke.SG.GEN through
           'three swans flew off <u>through the smoke</u>'   [MM:10]

       b. *ikkân   mie'ldd ǩi'csti*
           window.SG.GEN   through glance.PST.3SG
           'he glanced <u>through the window</u>'   [MM:10]

       c. *mij   ku   koo'ddi   mie'ldd vue'lǧǧep*
           1PL.NOM when (unmarked).reindeer.PL.GEN   with   leave.PRS.1PL
           'when we left <u>with the unmarked reindeers</u>'   [MM:38]

   d.   *jääu'ri*   *mie'ldd*   *joo'đi,*   *pälggaz*   *mie'ldd*
       lake.PL.GEN across travel.PST.3SG path.SG.GEN along
       'he travelled <u>across the lakes</u> and walked <u>along the path</u>'   [MM:59]

— *ooudâst* 'in front of, from in front of, on behalf of'

(174)   *koumm* *oummu*   *va'lljee*   *meer*   *ooudâst*
          three   person.SG.GEN choose.PRS.3PL people.SG.GEN in.front.of
          'they choose three people <u>in front of the people</u>'   [MM:111]

— *ou'dde* 'in front of (expressing movement)'

(175)   *sij*   *puk* *čõ'nne*   *ree'ppǩid*   *čõõ'lmi*   *ou'dde*
          3PL.NOM all   tie.PST.3PL scarf.PL.ACC eye.PL.GEN in.front.of
          'they all tied scarves <u>in front of (their) eyes</u>'   [MM:29]

— *paaldâst* 'next to, from next to'

(176)   *čueʒʒam*   *tuu*   *paaldâst*
          stand.PRS.1SG 2SG.GEN next.to
          'I am standing <u>next to you</u>'   [KK:145]

— *pa'ldde* 'next to (expressing movement)'

(177)   *mõõni*   *jiõčč*   *kää'mmǩie'đj*   *pa'ldde*
          go.PST.3SG REFL.SG.NOM hearth.stone.SG.GEN next.to
          'he himself went <u>next to the hearthstone</u>'   [MM:28]

— *puõtt* 'opposite'

(178)   *autt*   *årsti*   *mij*   *põõrt*   *puõtt*
          car.SG.NOM stop.PST.3SG 1PL.GEN house.SG.GEN opposite
          'the car stopped <u>opposite our house</u>'   [KK:146]

— *pääi'k* 'through, via'

(179)   *mõõnim   tääig   Silisjoogg*
          go.PST.1PL   through.here   Silis.River.SG.GEN

          äidd+sââi   pääi'ǩ
          fence.SG.NOM+place.SG.GEN   through
          'we went through here, <u>through the Silis River herding place</u>'
                                                              [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.14]

— *räjja* 'until, as far as, up to'

(180) a. *ee'jjpeei'v   räjja   škooul   peštt*
           Easter.SG.GEN   until   school.SG.NOM   last.PRS.3SG
           'school lasted <u>until Easter</u>'   [MM:111]

       b. *mij   kuåstim   kuuitâg tii'ǩ*
           1PL.NOM   manage.to.get.to.PST.1PL   anyway   to.here

           Če'vetjääu'r   räjja
           Sevettijärvi.GEN   until
           'anyway, we managed to get here, <u>as far as Sevettijärvi</u>'
                                                              [SKNA 17462:1]

— *rääi* 'past'

(181)   *vaa'ʒʒi   caar   põõrt   rääi*
          walk.PST.3SG   tsar.SG.GEN   house.SG.GEN   past
          'he walked past the tsar's house'   [MM:27]

— *se'st* 'in, inside, from in, within, among'

(182) a. *tõn   võõrâs kue'l […] paa'šti   ǩie'mn   se'st*
           DIST.SG.ACC   fresh   fish.SG.ACC   fry.PST.3SG   saucepan.SG.GEN   inside
           'that fresh fish…he fried (it) <u>in a saucepan</u>'   [MM-4]

       b. *puõcci   se'st   jälste*
           reindeer.PL.GEN   among   live.PST.3PL
           'they lived <u>among the reindeer</u>'   [MM:103]

— *sizz* 'in (expressing movement), into'

(183)   *son   piiji   tä'vvrees   siâkk   sizz*
             3SG.NOM   put.PST.3SG   belonging.PL.ACC.3SG   sack.SG.GEN   into
             'he put his belongings <u>into a sack</u>'   [MM:56]

— *tuâgg* 'behind (expressing passing behind an object)'

(184)   *jie'rj   tie'rre   muu   tuâgg*
             bull.reindeer.PL.NOM   run.PST.3PL   1SG.GEN   behind
             'the reindeer bulls ran <u>past behind me</u>'   [KK:147]

— *tuâkka* 'behind (expressing movement)'

(185)   *leäi   suõ'ǩǩes   miõst   da   son   mõõni*
             be.PST.3SG   thick   shrub.SG.NOM   and   3SG.NOM   go.PST.3SG

             tõn   tuâkka   liâššâd
             DIST.SG.GEN   behind   lie.down.INF
             'there was a thick shrub and he went <u>behind it</u> to lie down'   [MM:20]

— *tue'ǩǩen* 'behind (expressing location), after, at a distance of'

(186) a.   *tob   son   åårr* […]   *miõstti   tue'ǩǩen*
             there   3SG.NOM   be.situated.PRS.3SG   shrub.SG.GEN   behind
             'there he is, <u>behind the shrub</u>'   [MM:37]

       b.   *mie'lǩ   vuäǯǯaim   mue'dd   ǩilomettar   tue'ǩǩen*
             milk.SG.ACC   get.PST.1PL   several.SG.GEN   kilometre.SG.GEN   after
             'we got milk <u>from several kilometres away</u>'   [MM:114]

— *vääras* 'for, for the purpose of'

(187)   *tää'lv   vääras   mâŋŋa   čõhččǩeässa   noori*
             winter.SG.GEN   for   later   in.late.summer   gather.PST.3SG
             'later, in the late summer, he gathered <u>for the winter</u>'   [MM-4]

— *vuâlla* 'under (expressing movement to below an object)'

(188) a. *nijdd   pue'đi   ikkân   vuâlla*
           girl.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG window.SG.GEN under
           'the girl came <u>under (=to below) the window</u>'   [MM:12]

       b. *tool   piiji   ǩie'mn   vuâlla*
           fire.SG.ACC put.PST.3SG saucepan.SG.GEN under
           'he lit a fire <u>under the saucepan</u>'   [MM:85]

— *vue'lnn* 'under (expressing location), from under'

(189) a. *son   vuõjjli   čää'ʒʒ   vue'lnn riddu*
           3SG.NOM swim.off.PST.3SG water.SG.GEN under   shore.SG.ILL
           'he swam off <u>under water</u> to the shore'   [MM:20]

       b. *son   ǩe'rrez   vue'lnn võ'll'ji*
           3SG.NOM Saami.sled.SG.GEN under   jump.PST.3SG
           'he jumped (out) <u>from under the sled</u>'   [MM:10]

— *vuâstta* 'facing, towards, against'

(190) a. *kaammgaž kagstõõđi   oummu   vuâstta*
           bear.SG.NOM raise.quickly.REFL.PST.3SG man.SG.GEN facing
           'bear quickly got up <u>facing the man</u>'   [MM:84]

       b. *priins   vuâstta mõõni*
           prince.SG.GEN towards go.PST.3SG
           'she went <u>towards the prince</u>'   [MM:36]

Prepositions

There are two prepositions in Skolt Saami which, like all postpositions, govern the genitive case. An example of each of these is provided below.

— *kâskka* 'in the middle of, into the middle of'

(191)   *Semman išttõõđi   kâskka miõut*
          Simo   sit.REFL.PST.3SG middle tussock.SG.GEN
          'Simo sat himself down <u>in the middle of a tussock</u>'   [KK:148]

— *ouddâl* 'before'

(192)   *nue'đđ   ku leäi   šurr da pei'vv   paakkâs,*
          load.SG.NOM as be.PST.3SG big   and day.SG.NOM warm

          son   veâl ouddâl tõn   pie'll+mää'tǩ
          3SG.NOM even before DIST.SG.GEN half.SG.NOM+journey.SG.GEN

          vuåju   nu'tt ǩilomettar   pie'llne'b
          stream.SG.GEN so   kilometre.PL.NOM one-and-a-half

          išttlâstt   suõ'bddi   maddga
          sit.DIM.PRS.3SG stump.SG.GEN base.SG.ILL
           'as the load was heavy and it was a warm day, even <u>before that
           half-way stream</u>, about a kilometre and a half (before), he sits down
           briefly at the base of a tree stump'   [MM:62–63]

Pre- or postpositions

Finally, there are a few adpositions which can appear either before or after the noun they govern, as illustrated by the following pairs of examples of each of these.

— *čõõđ* 'through'

(193)   a.   *pååssnja   caa'jji   tok   čõõđ   kuä'đ*
               little.blowpipe.SG.ACC push.PST.3SG to.there through hut.SG.GEN
               'she pushed the little blowpipe <u>through (the wall of) the hut</u>' [MM:85]

b. *son   puu'ti   ääuš   da aa'lji   čuõppâd*
3SG.NOM bring.PST.3SG axe.SG.ACC and start.PST.3SG fell.INF

muõrid,   što piâzzči   mie'cc   čõõđ
tree.PL.ACC COMP get.(to.a.place).COND.3SG forest.SG.GEN through
'he brought an axe and started to fell trees, (so) that he could get <u>through the forest</u>'   [MM:24]

— *mâŋŋa* 'after'

(194) a. *tõn   mâŋŋa puä'ldde   le'be aunnsen   õ'nne*
DIST.SG.GEN after   burn.PRS.3PL or   material.ESS use.PST.3PL
'<u>after that</u>, they burn (the tree) or they used (it) as material'   [MM-4]

b. *škooul   poott   mâŋŋa kuei't ääi'j*
school.SG.NOM finish.PRS.3SG after   two   time.SG.GEN
'school finishes <u>after two o'clock</u>'   [KK:149]

— *pâ'jjel* 'over'

(195) a. *ton   õõlgak   njui'ǩǩeed pâ'jjel tue'llj*
2SG.NOM must.PRS.2SG jump.INF   over hide.SG.GEN
'you must jump <u>over the hide</u>'   [MM:75]

b. *tää'lv   pâ'jjel jälstiim   tõn*
winter.SG.GEN over   live.PST.1PL DIST.SG.GEN

Tauriaisen   põõrtâst
Tauriainen.GEN house.SG.LOC
'we lived in the Taurianen family's house <u>over (through) winter</u>'
[MM:114]

— *pirr* 'around'

(196) a. *Ǩiurrâl   põõrt   pirr le'jje   teltta*
Kiureli.GEN house.SG.GEN around be.PST.3PL tent[FI]
'there were tents <u>around Kiureli's house</u>'   [SKNA 17462:1]

b. *Laa′rkaž pâi pirr   tool   â′te vaa′ʒʒi*
    Laa′rkaž just around fire.SG.GEN then walk.PST.3SG
    'so Laa′rkaž just walked <u>around the fire</u>'   [MM:89]

— *rââst* 'across, through'

(197) a. *pâi vuõjjal   kå′dd   rââst jääu′r*
          just set.off.swimming.PRS.3SG reindeer.SG.NOM across lake.SG.GEN
          'the reindeer just swims off <u>across the lake</u>'   [MM:77]

b. *vuõlttee   suu   miâr   rââst*
    send.PST.3PL 3SG.ACC sea.SG.GEN across
    'they sent him <u>across the sea</u>'   [MM:70]

10.6.4 Adverbial clauses

This section covers clauses used to express time, location, manner, purpose and reason as well as concessive clauses, and includes details of both finite and non-finite adverbial clauses.

Temporal

A temporal adverbial clause is usually headed by a conjunction with a temporal meaning, including *ko* (or the variants *ku*, *gu*) 'when', *poka* 'until' (from Russian), and *ou′ddelgo* (or *ouddâl ku*) 'before'. A temporal adverbial clause can appear after the matrix clause (198a), before the matrix clause (198b) or it may occur between clausal constituents of the matrix clause (198d).

(198) a. *mii   leäi   ee′ǩǩ   **ko**   pue′đid*
          what.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG year.SG.NOM when come.PST.2PL

tääzz   Če′vetjäurra?
PROX.SG.ILL Sevettijärvi.ILL
'what year was it, <u>when you came here to Sevettijärvi</u>?'

[SKNA 17462:1, 4:2.1]

b. *mij* **gu** *tuâl'jõžääi'jest Suõ'nnjlest*   *jälstiim*
1PL.NOM when past.time.SG.LOC Suonikylä.LOC live.PST.1PL

mee'st le'jje   näkam   siõr
1PL.LOC be.PST.3PL this.kind game.PL.NOM

'in the olden days when we lived in Suoni Village, we had these
kind of games'   [MM-1]

c. **ku** *pue'ttve'ted kuâssa niõðstad*   *lij*
when come.PRS.2PL on.a.visit daughter.SG.LOC.2PL be.PRS.3SG

â'lğǧ
son.SG.NOM

'when you come to pay a visit your daughter will have a boy'
                                                            [MM:40]

d. *Kunnpeeipuž tiõttlõs* **ku** *jeä'ǩǩääž   šõõddi*
Cinderella.NOM of.course when evening.SG.NOM become.PST.3SG

mõõni   e'pet ee'jjes   ääu'd   ool
go.PST.3SG again father.SG.GEN.3SG grave.SG.GEN towards

'Cinderella of course, when it was evening, went again to her
father's grave'   [MM:52]

e. *son   vitmlå ǩilomettar   leäi   väʒʒam*
3SG.NOM fifteen kilometre.SG.GEN be.PST.3SG walk.PST.PTCP

ouddâl ku *son   ââ'n â'te išttlõõ'sti*
before   3SG.NOM now then sit.down.PST.3SG

'he had walked fifteen kilometres before he sat down'
                                                            [MM:63]

A temporal adverbial clause may have a more complex internal structure, as seen
in example (199).

(199)   *nääi't   sij   jo'tte   šee'llmen   kuu'k̃k̃ ääi'j*
         like.that 3PL.NOM go.PST.3PL fish.PROG.PTCP long   time.SG.GEN

         sami tõn   räjja ku   Ruõššjânnmest pue'đi
         quite DIST.SG.GEN until when Russia.LOC   come.PST.3SG

         tõt   pââ'ss ooumâž   koon   nõmm
         DIST.SG.NOM holy   person.SG.NOM REL.SG.GEN name.SG.NOM

         leäi   Treffan
         be.PST.3SG Trifon

         'like that they went fishing <u>for a long time, right until when that</u>
         <u>holy person, called Trifon, came from Russia</u>'   [MM:30]

It is important to note that not all clauses headed by *ku* (or one of its variants) are
temporal clauses, since *ku* also has different meanings, including 'since', 'because'
or 'so that'.

   Another type of temporal adverbial clause is one headed by the temporal par-
ticiple, ending in *-een* (see §8.2 for details regarding its formation). The temporal
participle is used to express an action which takes place simultaneously with the
action expressed by the main clause, as demonstrated in (200). The agent of the
action expressed by the temporal participle is necessarily the subject of the main
clause. Examples of this form were, however, difficult to find in the text corpus
used, suggesting this is not a particularly commonly-used form and speakers are
more likely to employ a temporal adverbial clause headed by the word *ku* 'when' as
a way of expressing the same concept.

(200)   *pie'nn'jid   vue'jjlõõččeen veâl paacctõ'stte*
         dog.PL.ACC   drive.off.TEMP even shoot.DIM.PST.3PL
         'as they were driving off, they even quickly shot the dogs'   [MM:113]

Location

Adverbial clauses expressing a location consist of a spatial adverb (§4.7), modified
by a relative clause. The relative clause which modifies the spatial adverb is headed
by either *ko'st* or *koozz*, the SG.LOC and SG.ILL forms, respectively, of the relative
pronoun *kåå'tt* (see §7.2.7). Since *ko'st* is in the locative case, it expresses a loca-
tion (201a), while movement towards a location requires a relative clause headed
by *koozz*, as shown in (201b). Adverbial clauses expressing location typically occur
after the matrix clause.

(201) a. *Kunnpeeipuž   tiõttlõs   jeä'ǩǩääž   ku   šõõddi*
Cinderella.NOM of.course evening.SG.NOM when become.PST.3SG

vuõ'lji   mõõni   tok   ko'st   leäi
leave.PST.3SG go.PST.3SG to.there REL.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG

e'čSes   čiõkkum
father.SG.ACC.3SG bury.PASS.PTCP
'Cinderella of course, when it was evening, left (and) went
<u>there, where her father had been buried</u>'   [MM:51]

b. *son   pie'jji   tok   koozz   kuõbžž   leäi*
3SG.NOM crawl.PST.3SG to.there REL.SG.ILL bear.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG

la'ǧǧstam   suu   peess   da
throw.PST.PTCP 3SG.GEN gun.SG.ACC and

se'llj+čuer'v
gunpowder.SG.NOM+horn.SG.ACC
'he crawled <u>there, to where bear had thrown his gun and gunpowder
horn</u>'   [MM:55]

Manner

A manner clause can be formed by using the progressive participial form of a verb
as (202) illustrates.

(202)   *son   kuõ'lid   viižžõõttmen   puätt*
3SG.NOM fish.PL.ACC fetch.PROG.PTCP come.PRS.3SG
'he comes <u>fetching (his) fish</u>'   [MM:45]

Means

The instrumental participle, ending in *-ee'l* (see §8.2 for details relating to its for-
mation), is used to express the means by which an action is accomplished. The
proposition in the main clause can be seen as a result of the action described in the
subordinate (adverbial) clause.

(203)   *nue'ttee'l   võõrâs kue'l   ši'lleš*
           seine.fish.INSTR fresh   fish.SG.ACC catch.PST.4
           'by fishing with a seine net, one would catch fresh fish'   [MM-4]

(204)   *suuggee'l mon   pie'ssem   domoi*
           row.INSTR 1SG.NOM get.(to.a.place).PST.1SG to.home
           'I got home by rowing'   [SKNA 17462:1, 5:9.6]

Example (205) shows an instrumental converb which is itself premodified by an
adverb.

 (205)   *jiõnnsa reäggee'l prå'ššjõ'tte*
           aloud   cry.INSTR say.goodbye.PST.3PL
           'they said goodbye by crying aloud'   [MM-4]

Comparative

A comparative adverbial clause may be formed using the particle *mâ'ta ~ mâ'te*
'like' or *gu* 'as' (or both) or some other word which draws a comparison, as shown
in (206).

(206) a. *jâkk+oummin   nu'tt põ'lle   gu mâ'ta*
           strange+person.SG.LOC so   fear.PST.3PL as like

           kaammgast
           bear.SG.LOC
           'they feared a strange person, like (they feared) a bear'   [MM-4]

       b. *son   åårai   sami liikkeeǩâni,*
           3SG.NOM be.situated.PST.3SG quite move.ABE.PTCP

           ku le'čči   mâ'te jäämmam
           as be.COND.3SG like   die.PST.PTCP
           'he was quite motionless, as if he had died'   [MM:55]

   c.   *kaammgast jeä'p   nu'tt põõllâm   gu mä'htt*
       bear.SG.LOC NEG.1PL so   fear.PST.PTCP as how

      oummust   põõlim
      person.SG.LOC fear.PST.1PL

      'we didn't fear a bear <u>how we feared a person</u>'   [MM-4]

Purpose

Adverbial clauses expressing a purpose are typically non-finite clauses, headed by an infinitive verb form (207).

(207)   *sij   vue'lǧǧe   ǩiččâd tõn   pue'rr jânnam*
        3PL.NOM set.off.PST.3PL see.INF DIST.SG.ACC good land.SG.ACC

        'they set off <u>to see that good land</u>'   [MM-3]

Other adverbial clauses of purpose are headed by the marker *nu'tt* 'so, like that, in such a way' followed by the complementiser *što* as shown in (208).

(208) a. *tõid   pe'jje   nu'tt, što šâdd   kruugg*
        DIST.PL.ACC put.PRS.3PL so   COMP become.PRS.3SG circle.SG.NOM

        'they put them <u>so as to create a circle</u>'   [MM:38]

    b. *tõ'st   čiõrmiǩ   på'ʒʒlõõđi   da*
        DIST.SG.LOC young.reindeer.SG.NOM shake.REFL.PST.3SG and

       vuei'ves   pu'štškue'đi   nu'tt što čuõškk
       head.SG.ACC.3SG shake.INCP.PST.3SG so   COMP mosquito.SG.NOM

       rõõvvi   kookkas ree'ssi   sizz
       fall.PST.3SG far.away fallen.branch.PL.GEN into

       'there the young reindeer shook himself and started to shake his head <u>in such a way that the mosquito fell down far away in between some fallen branches</u>'   [MM-3]

Yet another means of expressing a purpose is to use the word *diõtt* 'in order to, for the sake of', illustrated in (209). This word governs the genitive case in nouns or the action participle if appearing with a verb.

(209)   *son   kååđđ   fiin sääi'mid   juõ'vve   da*
         3SG.NOM   spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL and

         sue'jji   kõ'skǩe   čuõškid   šee'llem   diõtt
         birch.PL.GEN between.ILL   mosquito.PL.ACC catch.ACT.PTCP   in.order.to

         'he spins fine webs on rocky ground and between birch trees <u>in order to catch mosquitos</u>'   [MM-3]

Reason

Adverbial clauses indicating a reason are usually headed by the marker *ku* (or the variants *ko* and *gu*), which in this context means 'since' or 'because', as seen in (210). Although this is the same conjunction used to head temporal adverbial clauses, the meaning is usually clear from the context. Adverbial clauses expressing a reason usually occur after the matrix clause, but can also occur between major clausal constituents, as shown in example (210c).

(210) a. *ku   sij   le'jje   šeellam   sij   jie*
           when 3PL.NOM be.PST.3PL fish.PST.PTCP 3PL.NOM NEG.3PL

           tuõsttâm   mõõnnâd čää'ʒʒ   mie'ldd domoi
           dare.PST.PTCP go.INF   water.SG.GEN with   to.home

           ku   sij   põ'lle   tõn   kuu'dest
           because 3PL.NOM fear.PST.3PL DIST.SG.GEN snake.SG.LOC

           'when they had fished they didn't dare go home with that water, <u>because they were afraid of that snake</u>'   [MM:30]

       b. *su'st   šõõddi   kuärgg   ku   čõõ'lmid*
           3SG.LOC become.PST.3SG joy.SG.NOM because eye.PL.ACC

           vuäʒʒai
           get.PST.3SG

           'he became happy <u>because he got eyes</u>'   [MM:44]

c. *Ee'lljaž-ât ij   fi'ttjam   te'l   ko   son*
    Elijas-EMP NEG.3SG understand.PST.PTCP then because 3SG.NOM

    leäi   kuuđ   da peä'l   ekksaž   na
    be.PRS.3SG six.GEN and half.SG.GEN year-old.SG.NOM well

    mii   tä'st   lij
    what.SG.NOM PROX.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG

    'Elias didn't understand then, <u>because he was a six-and-a-half-year-old</u>, what was going on'   [SKNA 17462:1, 1:2.9]

In example (210c), the adverbial clause could be interpreted with a temporal meaning, in which case the marker *ko* would be glossed 'when', but the context makes it clear that the adverbial clause is providing a reason for why Elias did not understand what was going on, rather than specifying the time in his life when he did not understand what was happening.

Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are headed by a conjunction such as *hå't* which has a meaning equating to 'even if', 'although'.

(211) a. *su'st   leäi   pâi   tue'leskaa'ff   hå't   ekka*
           3SG.LOC be.PST.3SG always morning.coffee.SG.NOM even.if at.night

           juuggi   le'be peivva
           drink.PST.3SG or   in.the.day
           'he always had morning coffee, <u>even if he drank at night or during the day</u>'   [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.51]

       b. *hå't   su'ǩǩe   da su'ǩǩe   ij   ni*
           although row.PST.3PL and row.PST.3PL NEG.3SG even

           jååttam
           move.PST.PTCP
           '<u>although they rowed and they rowed</u>, it didn't even move'
                                                                    [MM:10]

10.7　Complex clauses

This section covers complement clauses (§10.7.1) and conditional clauses (§10.7.2).

10.7.1　Complement clauses

A complement clause is one which functions as an argument of some other clause. Skolt Saami complement clauses typically function as object complements. Complement clauses may be finite or non-finite. Finite complement clauses are headed by the complementiser *što* (a borrowing from Russian *što*), while non-finite clauses do not require a complementiser.

　　　Example (212) shows a complement clause functioning as an object complement of the verb *ceä'lǩǩe* 'they say'. The complement clause, which follows the complementiser *što*, can function as a fully independent clause, since it is marked for person, number and tense, and is independent of the subject marking of the matrix clause.

(212)　　　*ceä'lǩǩe*　　[*što*　*kuuskõõzzid ij*　　*õõlg*　　*njorggad*]
　　　　　　　say.PRS.3PL　[COMP aurora.PL.ILL NEG.3SG must.CNG whistle.INF]
　　　　　　　'they say that one mustn't whistle at the northern lights'　　　　[MM-2]

Recursion makes it possible to embed multiple complement clauses within a matrix clause. In example (213), the finite clause beginning *ton cie'lǩǩiǩ* 'you said' is at the same time a complement of the matrix clause and the matrix clause of a second complement clause. It is interesting to note in this example, however, that the predicate of the first matrix clause and the predicate and the object of the final complement clause are left implicit. The meaning of the sentence, however, is perfectly clear from its context within a narrative. The full meaning of the sentence, with the omitted parts underlined, is: "I said 'Well, you said that I should put one handful of salt per person'". Although the predicate is absent from the final complement clause, it does nevertheless correspond to a finite clause, hence the complementiser *što* is obligatory.

(213)　　　*mon*　　[*što*　*no*　*ton*　　*cie'lǩǩiǩ*　[*što*　*kuä'mmertiudd*
　　　　　　　1SG.NOM [COMP well 2SG.NOM say.PST.2SG [COMP handful

　　　　　　　ooumže　　　　]]
　　　　　　　person.SG.ILL]]
　　　　　　　'I said "Well, you said that one handful per person"'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.48]

Non-finite complement clauses differ from finite complement clauses in two ways – they are not headed with the complementiser *što* and they are unable to stand

alone as an independent clause. Tense, mood and aspect are marked on the predicate of the matrix clause and the subject of the non-finite complement clause is co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. The examples in (214) show a non-finite complement clause in a declarative (a), imperative (b) and interrogative (c) clause.

(214) a. *Mie′čč+jääu′rest   älgg   [sääi′mid   ââ′nned]*
           Mie′čč+lake.SG.LOC begin.PRS.3SG [net.PL.ACC use.INF]
           'he begins to use nets at Lake Mie′čč'   [MM-4]

       b. *ton   ää′lj   [čee   ǩe′tted]*
           2SG.NOM begin.IMP.2SG [tea.SG.ACC boil.INF]
           'you, begin to make tea!'   [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.17]

       c. *mõõn   kuuǩǩ ton   haa′lääk   [reâuggad]*
           what.SG.GEN long   2SG.NOM want.PRS.2SG [work.INF]
           'how long do you want to work?'   [SKNA 17462:1, 5:5.8]

The examples in (215) demonstrate how non-finite complement clauses can also function recursively.

(215) a. *pâi kuõ′htt čuõšk   pie′sse   mååusat Lää′ddjânnma*
           only two   mosquito.SG.GEN get.PST.3PL back   Finland.ILL

           da   vuei′tte   [mainsted järrsid   [što   mudoi
           and be.able.PST.3PL [tell.INF   other.PL.ILL [COMP otherwise

           kâ′l lij   Sää′mjânnmest pue′rr]]
           yes be.PRS.3SG Lapland.LOC   good]]
           'only two mosquitos got back to Finland and were able to tell the others that otherwise, yes, Lapland was good'   [MM-3]

       b. *Evvan älgg   [särnnad [što   Pâ′ss Treffan*
           John   begin.PRS.3SG [say.INF [COMP Holy Trifon.GEN

           oummu   su′st   puõccid   suâlee   ]]
           person.PL.NOM 3SG.LOC reindeer.PL.ACC steal.PRS.3PL]]
           'John begins to say that Saint Trifon's people steal reindeer from him'   [MM:10]

Example (216) shows a complement clause embedded within an adverbial clause
of purpose, which is embedded within another complement clause, all of which are
embedded in the matrix clause, as shown below.

(216)   *muä'dd čuõškkâd   a'lǧǧe*   [*vue'lǧǧed* [*ǩiččâd*
         several mosquito.PART begin.PST.3SG [set.off.INF [look.INF

         [*što   måkam   lij   jie'llem   Sää'mjânnmest*]]]
         [COMP what.kind be.PRS.3SG life.SG.NOM Lapland.LOC   ]]]
         'several mosquitos started to set off to see what life is like in
         Lapland'   [MM-3]

If a matrix clause takes two coordinated complement clause arguments, then the
complementiser *što* is repeated before each complement clause, which themselves
are joined with a coordinating particle.

(217)   *aa'lji   si'jjid mätt'ted* [*što   mä'htt čõõ'lmid*
         begin.PST.3SG 3PL.ILL teach.INF [COMP how   eye.PL.ACC

         re'stte   da kåmrdâ'lle] *da*
         christen.PRS.3PL and bow.PRS.3PL] and

         [*što   Vuâsppå'd lij   *]
         [COMP God.NOM   be.PRS.3SG]
         'he began to teach them how to make the sign of the cross
         (lit. christen their eyes) and bow and that there is a God'   [MM:10]

Note that the Finnish complementiser *että* is also prevalent in everyday speech as
seen in (218). It is able to replace the complementiser *što* in all the constructions
outlined above.

(218)   *Sverloov Jääkk   jordd*   [*että   mon*
         Sverloff.GEN Jaakko.NOM think.PRS.3SG [COMP[FI] 1SG.NOM

         sǩiõlddõõđam]
         joke.PRS.1SG   ]
         'Jaakko Sverloff thinks that I'm joking'   [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.31]

Indirect questions

A complement clause may be an indirect information question. Indirect question complement clauses are headed by the complementiser *što*, in the same way as finite complement clauses, and a question word is present (219).

(219) a. *mon   jiõm   leäk'ku vuäinnam* [*što   måkam*
             1SG.NOM NEG.1SG be.CNG see.PST.PTCP [COMP what.kind

             lå'dd   ǩiõkk   lij   ]
             bird.SG.NOM cuckoo.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG]
             'I haven't seen what kind of bird the cuckoo is'   [MM:19]

      b. *mââ'nnj   teâtt*   [*što   koon*
             daughter.in.law.SG.NOM know.PRS.3SG [COMP REL.SG.GEN

             å'rnn   â'lǧǧ   puätt   puõccivui'm   ]
             from.beside boy.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG reindeer.PL.COM]
             'the daughter-in-law knows where the boy is coming from with the reindeer'   [MM:82]

      c. *son   mainsti pukid   oummid*   [*što   mä'htt*
             3SG.NOM tell.PST.3SG all.PL.ILL person.PL.ILL [COMP how

             su'nne leäi   ǩiâvvâm   ]
             3SG.ILL be.PST.3SG happen.PST.PTCP]
             'she told everyone how it had happened to her'   [MM:16]

Note how, in example (219c), since the matrix clause is in the past tense, the indirect question necessarily appears in the past perfect tense, even though the corresponding direct question would be in the past tense.

    An indirect polar question may also appear as a complement clause. Again, the complementiser *što* is used. The word order of this type of complement clause is the same as that of the corresponding polar question and the question particle is also present, as the examples in (220) show.

(220)   a.   *Ri'mjj-kää'lles   vuõ'lji   tõn*
             Mr.Fox.SG.NOM   leave.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.ACC

             toll+sââ'jes   ǩiččâd, [*što   lij-a*
             fire.SG.NOM+place.SG.ACC.3SG   see.INF   [COMP   be.PRS.3SG-INTER

             aiham   piâssâm   le'be   puâllam   avi   mâi'd   ]
             bear.SG.NOM   escape.PST.PTCP   or   burn.PST.PTCP   or   what.SG.ACC   ]
             'Mr. Fox left to see that fire place, (to see) whether Bear has
             escaped or burnt or what'   [MM:42]

        b.   *nä'de   čuõšk   smiõ'tte,*   [*što*
             then (DM)   mosquito.PL.NOM   ponder.PST.3PL   [COMP

             â'lǧǧe-a   sij   puk   õhttna   vue'lǧǧed]
             must.PRS.3PL-INTER   3PL.NOM   all   at.once   leave.INF   ]
             'then the mosquitos wondered whether or not they should all
             leave at once'   [MM-3]

        c.   *sij   kõ'čče   su'st,*   [*što   ku'ǩǩen-a*
             3PL.NOM   ask.PST.3PL   3SG.LOC   [COMP   far.away-INTER

             lij   sää'm+sijdd   ]
             be.PRS.3SG   Skolt.Saami.SG.GEN+village.SG.NOM]
             'they asked if the Skolt Saami village was far away'   [MM:28]

Direct and indirect speech

Direct, or quoted, speech is treated as a complement clause in Skolt Saami and
is thus marked with the complementiser *što*, as seen in (221). Note again, that, as
seen in these examples of quoted speech, the lexical verb of the matrix clause is
sometimes omitted, although an auxiliary verb is retained to mark tense and aspect
if required (221b).

(221)   a.   *mon   e'pet*   [*što   ton   e'pet   ro'ttjiǩ*   ]
             1SG.NOM   again   [COMP   2SG.NOM   again   pull.PST.2SG   ]
             'I (said) again: "You pulled again"'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:2.24]

b. *jeä'nn*   *leäi*   *mu'nne* [*što*   *ton*   *jiõk*
    mother.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG 1SG.ILL [COMP 2SG.NOM NEG.2SG

    vue'lj   ]
    leave.CNG]
    'mother had (said) to me: "You're not going"'   [SKNA 17462:1, 7:1.7]

Indirect, or reported, speech is likewise treated as a complement clause, headed by the complementiser *što*. The corresponding indirect speech of (221b) is given below in (222).

(222)   *jeä'nn*   *leäi*   *säärnam*   *mu'nne* [*što*   *mon*
             mother.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG say.PST.PTCP 1SG.ILL [COMP 1SG.NOM

             jiõm   *vue'lj*   ]
             NEG.1SG leave.CNG]
             'mother had said to me that I'm not going'

10.7.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are syntactically a type of adverbial clause, but semantically they are distinct and are therefore treated separately here. Non-conditional adverbial clauses modify a verb phrase or an entire clause by adding information to the proposition, but the truth value of the matrix clause is not affected by the presence or absence of such an adverbial clause. On the other hand, the truth value of the matrix clause in conditional constructions is dependent on the truth value of the conditional clause.

This section covers simple conditionals, hypothetical conditionals and counterfactual conditionals. All three types of conditional clauses are headed by the conditional marker *ku mâka* 'if', or the Finnish equivalent *jos* (or a Skolt Saami variant of it, *jõs*).

Simple conditionals

Simple conditionals are those where the truth of the protasis (the condition clause) is unverified. The predicate of the protasis can be in the past, with reference to a past event, or in the present tense, with reference to either a current or future event. The predicate of the apodosis (the result clause) can also be in the past or present tense.

(223) a. *ku mâka ton   kuäđak   tõn   tõõzz   mon*
if   2SG.NOM leave.PRS.2SG DIST.SG.ACC DIST.SG.ILL 1SG.NOM

vääldam   tõn   da viiggam   meäcca
take.PRS.1SG DIST.SG.ACC and carry.PRS.1SG forest.SG.ILL

'if you leave that there, I'll take it and carry it to the forest' [MM:24]

b. *ku mâka mon   vääldam   da äälgam   suukkâd*
if   1SG.NOM take.PRS.1SG and begin.PRS.1SG row.INF

täk   ääir   mâ'nne rââst
PROX.PL.NOM oar.PL.NOM go.PRS.3PL in.two

'if I take (the oars) and start rowing, these oars will break'   [MM:22]

Hypothetical conditionals

In hypothetical conditionals, the protasis expresses a condition which has an unknown truth value. The predicate of the protasis is in the conditional mood (see §9.3.1). Often the apodosis is also in the conditional mood (224a) and (224b), but this is not always the case (224c).

(224) a. *ku mâka ton   vuäitčiǩ   ââ'n kå'dded tän*
if   2SG.NOM be.able.COND.2SG now kill.INF   PROX.SG.ACC

bo'htter   muäna čõ'ǩǩe'čep
giant.SG.ACC 1DU.NOM run.away.COND.1PL

'if you were able to kill this giant now, we could run away'   [MM:24]

b. *ku mâka son   piâzzči   jie'llmen   veâl-a*
if   3SG.NOM remain.COND.3SG live.PROG.PTCP still-INTER

ton   vääldčiǩ   suu   ǩidd
2SG.NOM take.COND.2SG 3SG.ACC closed

'if he were to survive, would you still go and catch him?'   [MM:20]

c. *jiõm   mon   vää'ld   suu   teänab   ǩidd*
   NEG.1SG   1SG.NOM take.CNG 3SG.ACC anymore   closed

ku mâka son   piâzzči   jie'llmen
if   3SG.NOM remain.COND.3SG live.PROG.PTCP
'I won't catch him anymore, if he were to survive'   [MM:20]

Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals are used to express contrary-to-fact past events. Typically the predicate of the protasis occurs in the conditional perfect while the predicate of the apodosis occurs in the conditional mood. In (225) there are in fact two protases, the first of these, 'if I knew', is simply marked in the conditional mood while the second, 'if…I had prepared food before', is marked in the conditional perfect.

(225)   *jiõm   â'tte mon   ni   kõõjjče   što   jos mon*
         NEG.1SG   then 1SG.NOM even   ask.CNG.COND COMP   if 1SG.NOM

         teâđčem   le'ččem   veär   raajjâm   ouddâl
         know.COND.1SG   be.COND.1SG   food.SG.ACC prepare.PST.PTCP before
         'I wouldn't even ask, if I knew, if I had prepared food before'
                                                        [SKNA 17462:1, 10:2.51]

10.8 Coordination

Coordination is marked with the coordinating conjunctions *da* 'and' (or the variants *de* or *di*), *le'be* or *avi* 'or', and *leâša* (or *leša*) 'but'. The conjunctions *da* 'and' and *le'be* 'or' can be used to coordinate both clauses and NPs.

When subject NPs are coordinated (226a) they must all be marked for case and number and together agree with the verb. Likewise, coordinated object NPs (226b) or coordinated oblique objects (226c) must all be marked for case and number.

(226)   a. *aiham   da čiʻʒiham   pe'jje   see'ibez*
            bear.SG.NOM **and** wolf.SG.NOM put.PRS.3PL tail.PL.ACC.3PL

            ka'lddja
            ice.hole.SG.ILL
            'bear and wolf put their tails into the hole in the ice'   [MM:46]

b. *Kunnpeeipuž   viiǯǯi   to'ben   heäppšees   da*
   Cinderella.NOM fetch.PST.3SG from.there horse.PL.ACC.3SG **and**

   tä'vvrees
   belonging.SG.ACC.3SG
   'Cinderella fetched her horses and her belongings from there'

                                                              [MM:54]

c. *puätt   jäu'rr+riddu   le'be*
   come.PRS.3SG lake.SG.NOM+shore.SG.ILL **or**

   jokk+riddu
   river.SG.NOM+shore.SG.ILL
   'he comes to the shore of the lake or the river bank'   [MM-4]

At the clausal level, coordination may be between two clauses, which share the same subject, observed in (227a) and (227b), or between two clauses which have distinct subjects (227c). In both cases the coordinating conjunction is the same (i.e. there is no switch-reference strategy in Skolt Saami). The Finnish coordinating conjunction *ja* 'and' is also used extensively, as seen in (227d)

(227) a. *son-a   pâi kuuskõõzzid   ǩeäčč   da*
          3SG.NOM-EMP only aurora.borealis.PL.ACC watch.PRS.3SG **and**

          njorgg
          whistle.PRS.3SG
          'he just watches the northern lights and whistles'   [MM:9]

       b. *tõn   mâŋŋa puä'ldde   le'be aunnsen   õ'nne*
          DIST.SG.ACC later burn.PRS.3PL **or** material.ESS use.PST.3PL
          'they later burn it or they used it as material'   [MM-4]

       c. *son   aa'lji   vuäggad da kue'll   tää'vti*
          3SG.NOM start.PST.3SG angle.INF **and** fish.SG.NOM grab.PST.3SG

          ǩidd
          closed
          'he started to angle and the fish took the bait'   [MM:22]

d. *čee'estõõlim   kõskkrää'jest   ja   e'pet   jue'tǩim*
    prepare.tea.PST.1PL   half.way.SG.LOC **and**[FI] again   continue.PST.1PL

    mää'tǩ
    trip.SG.ACC

    'we prepared tea when we were half-way and again we continued
    the trip'   [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.39]

An example of the coordinating conjunction *leâ'ša* is given in (228).

(228)   *i'lleäk   leäm   mu'st   jeännam   paasneǩ,*
        NEG.3SG~be.CNG be.PST.PTCP 1SG.LOC mother.SG.NOM.1PL angry

        leâ'ša kaav   mu'st   lij   paasneǩ
        but   wife.SG.NOM 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG angry

        'my mother wasn't angry with me, but my wife is angry with me'
                                                                  [MM:31]

Negative clauses or constituents can be coordinated in Skolt Saami by adding the
coordinating suffix -*ga* to the negative auxiliary verb. This is exemplified in (229).
This construction is probably a borrowing of the Finnish particle -*ka* ~ -*kä*, which
is also affixed to the negative auxiliary verb and behaves in the same way.

(229)   *juõ'ǩǩnallšem siõm jie'lli   koin   jie   leäkku*
        each.kind   small animal.SG.NOM REL.PL.LOC NEG.3PL be.CNG

        ni måkam põõrt   jiega   suâj
        no.kind   house.PL.NOM **NEG.3PL**~**and** protection.PL.NOM

        'all kinds of small animal who didn't have any kind of houses <u>nor</u>
        shelters'   [MM-3]

11   Interlinear texts

What follows is a selection of four texts, taken from *Maaddârää'jji Mainnâz* 'Great-grandfather's tales' (Mosnikoff 1992). (See §1.6 for further information relating to this publication.) The texts presented below were first translated into Finnish with the help of a Skolt Saami consultant and then an interlinear gloss and English translation were added. The four texts presented here represent two different genres: two are fictional tales, while two are factual accounts of Skolt Saami life.

Text 1, 'Old-fashioned games', is a factual account of three games that Skolt Saami children used to play. The three games are the rope game, the string game and the ring game.

Text 2, 'The Northern Lights', is a short fairy tale about a Skolt Saami man who was driving a sleigh across the snow one night when the Northern Lights appeared. The man watched the lights and whistled, without realising that the Northern Lights do not take kindly to whistling. As a result the Northern Lights came down to earth and the man hid underneath his sleigh in fear until the morning. When the next day dawned, the man came out from under the sleigh and saw that the Northern Lights had eaten the reindeer that had been pulling his sleigh.

Text 3, entitled 'How the mosquitos came to Lapland', is a fairy tale which tells of how Lapland came to be inhabited by mosquitos. The story tells of how Spider wanted the mosquitos to leave (southern) Finland and so convinced them that Lapland was a nice place to live. Several mosquitos went to check the place out, although the journey was perilous and several of them died on the way. The mosquitos who made it back told the other mosquitos that Lapland was indeed a wonderful place, but that the journey would be safer if they all left together, and so that is what they decided to do.

Text 4, 'About life in the olden days', is a long factual text which gives an account of Skolt Saami life around 60–70 years ago when the Skolt Saami people lived in the Petsamo region. The topics covered in this text include details about food, clothing, the payment of taxes, the Skolt Saami language, church life, school life, Christmas, Easter and New Year traditions, village meetings, and military service.

Text 1. *Tuâl'jõžääi'j siõr*
'Old-fashioned games'

1. *Tuâl'jõž+ääi'j   siõr*
   former+time.SG.GEN   game.PL.NOM
   'Old-fashioned games.'

2. *Mij   gu   tuâl'jõž+ääi'jest   Suõ'nn'jlest   jälstiim,*
   1PL.NOM   when   former+time.SG.LOC   Suoni.village.LOC   live.PST.1PL

   mee'st   le'jje   näkam   siõr.
   1PL.LOC   be.PST.3PL   such   game.PL.NOM
   'In the olden days when we lived in Suoni village, we had such games.'

'The rope game'

Nue'rr+siõrr
rope.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
'The rope game.'

1. *Leäi   ku'ǩes   nuõrr,   tõ'st   leäi*
   be.PST.3SG   long   rope.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG

   rajjum   kruugg.
   make.PASS.PTCP   circle.SG.ACC
   'There was a long rope which was formed into a circle.'

2. *Puk   le'jje   tõn   pirr   da   nue'rest*
   all   be.PST.3PL   DIST.SG.GEN   around   and   rope.SG.LOC

   tuõ'll'je.
   hold.PST.3PL
   'Everyone was around the circle and held onto the rope.'

3. *Õhtt   mõõni   tõn   kruugg   sizz.*
   one.SG.NOM   go.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.GEN   circle.SG.GEN   into
   'One person went into the circle.'

4. *Son*   *õõlgči*   *tää'vteškue'tted*   *tõid,*   *kook*
    3SG.NOM   must.COND.3SG   grab.INCP.INF   DIST.PL.ACC   REL.PL.NOM

    le'jje   *tõ'st*   *pirr.*
    be.PST.3PL   DIST.SG.LOC   around
    'He would have to catch those that were around it (the rope).'

5. *Ǩeän*   *son*   *poppõõ'tti,*   *õõlgči*   *mõõnnâd*
    who.SG.ACC   3SG.NOM   catch.PST.3SG   must.COND.3SG   go.INF

    kruugg   *sizz*   *suu*   *sâjja.*
    circle.SG.GEN   into   3SG.GEN   place.SG.ILL
    'Whoever he caught would have to go into the circle in his place.'

6. *Kook*   *jeä*   *leäm*   *siõrrmen,*   *tõk*
    REL.PL.NOM   NEG.3PL   be.PST.PTCP   play.PROG.PTCP   DIST.PL.NOM

    čuõǯǯu   *pirr*   *ǩiččmen.*
    stand.PST.3PL   around   watch.PROG.PTCP
    'Those who were not playing stood around watching.'

7. *Näkam*   *leäi*   *nue'rr+siõrr.*
    such   be.PST.3SG   rope.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
    'That's what the rope game was like.'

8. *Tõn*   *mij*   *Suõ'nn'jel+siidâst*   *ǩeâđđa*   *ålggan*
    DIST.SG.ACC   1PL.NOM   Suoni+village.SG.LOC   in.spring   outside

    siõrim.
    play.PST.1PL
    'We played this game outside in the spring in Suoni village.'

'The string game'

Suõnn+siõrr
string.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
'The string game.'

1. *Suõnn+siõr*   *mij*   *siõrim*   *gu*   *leei'm*
    string.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM   1PL.NOM   play.PST.1PL   when   be.PST.1PL

    põõrtâst   *išttâd*   *åårrmen.*
    house.SG.LOC   sit.INF   be.situated.PROG.PTCP
    'We played the string game when we were sitting at home.'

2. *Tõt*   *leäi*   *nåkam,*   *što*   *le'jje*
    DIST.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   that.kind   COMP   be.PST.3PL

    jiânnai   *suõn,*   *mõõn*   *jiânnai*   *šâ'dde.*
    much   string.PL.NOM   what.SG.GEN   much   happen.PRS.3PL
    'It was that kind of game where there were a lot of strings, however many
    there happened to be.'

3. *Tõid*   *pe'jje*   *õõut+sâjja*   *da*   *ǩii-ne*
    DIST.PL.ACC   put.PRS.3PL   one.GEN+place.SG.ILL   and   someone.SG.NOM

    tuõ'll'ji   *tõõi*   *kõõskâst*   *õhttân*   *sââ'jest*
    hold.PST.3SG   DIST.PL.GEN   between.SG.LOC   one.ESS   place.SG.LOC

    nu'tt   *što*   *suõnn+ǩee'jj*   *le'jje*   *tõ'st*
    like.that   COMP   string.SG.NOM+end.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   DIST.SG.LOC

    pirr.
    around
    'They put all the strings together and someone held them in the middle in
    one place so that the ends of the strings (dangled) from his hand.'

4. *Juõ'ǩǩkaž*   *tää'vti*   *suõnnses*   *di*   *kõõskâst*
    everyone.SG.NOM   grab.PST.3SG   string.SG.ILL.3SG   and   middle.SG.LOC

    tue'll'jeei   *luõ'šti*   *tõid.*
    hold.NMLZ.SG.NOM   let.go.PST.3SG   DIST.PL.ACC
    'Everyone grabbed his own string and the one keeping hold of them in the
    middle let go of them.'

5. *Nääi't   kuõ'htt   oummu   šõ'dde   vuâsttlõõžži.*
    in.that.way   two.NOM   man.PL.NOM   become.PST.3PL   face.to.face
    'In this way two people ended up facing each other.'

6. *De   tõid   kook   vuâsttlõõžži   šõ'dde,*
    and   DIST.PL.ACC   REL.PL.NOM   face.to.face   become.PST.3PL

    tõk   kuei'mm kuei'mes   cu'mmste.
    DIST.PL.NOM   each.other   kiss.PST.3PL
    'And those who ended up facing each other had to kiss each other.'

7. *Nåkam   leäi   tõt   suõnn+siõrr.*
    that.kind   be.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.NOM   string.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
    'That's what the string game was like.'

'The ring game'

Suõrmâs+siõrr
ring.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
'The ring game.'

1. *Tuâl'jõž+ääi'jest   puk   oummu   noorõ'tte*
    former+time.SG.LOC   all   person.PL.NOM   gather.together.PST.3PL

    põ'rtte,   le'jje   vuä'mm   oummu   da   nuõrr
    house.SG.ILL   be.PST.3PL   old   person.PL.NOM   and   young

    oummu.
    person.PL.NOM
    'In the olden days everyone used to get together in someone's house.
    There were old people and young people.'

2. *Te'l   leäi   veâl   näkam   siõrr,   mõõn*
    at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   still   such   game.SG.NOM   what.SG.ACC

    põõrtâst   siõ'rre: suõrmâs+siõrr.
    house.SG.LOC   play.PST.3PL   ring.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
    'In those days there was still such a game which they used to play in the
    house: the ring game.'

3. *Tõn   siõ'rre   ku   le'jje   jiânnai   oummu.*
    DIST.SG.ACC play.PST.3PL when   be.PST.3PL much   person.PL.NOM
    'They used to play that game when there were a lot of people.'

4. *Ǩii-ne   leäi   suõrmmâz   mie'tti   da*
    someone.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   ring.SG.GEN place.NMLZ.SG.NOM   and

    su'st   leäi   suõrmâs   kuä'mmer   se'st.
    3SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   ring.SG.NOM   palm.SG.GEN   inside
    'Someone was responsible for placing the ring and s/he had the ring in
    the palm of his/her hand.'

5. *Jee'res   oummu   išttâd   orru*
    other   person.PL.NOM   sit.INF   be.situated.PST.3PL

    õõut+sââ'jest,   pâi   õhtt   leäi   čåårast.
    one.GEN+place.SG.LOC   only   one.NOM   be.PST.3SG   separate(LOC)
    'The other people were sat together, only one was sat apart.'

6. *Tõt   leäi   mie'tti,   son   suõrmmâz*
    DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG   place.NMLZ.SG.NOM   3SG.NOM   ring.SG.ACC

    jåå'đti   oummust   ooumže.
    take.PST.3SG   person.SG.LOC   person.SG.ILL
    'The person responsible for placing the ring took the ring from one person
    to the next.'

7. *Tõt,   kåå'tt   leäi   čåårast,*
    DIST.SG.NOM   REL.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   separate(LOC)

    õõlgi   a'rvveed   što   ǩeän   kuä'mmer   se'st
    have.to.PST.3SG guess.INF   COMP   who.SG.GEN   palm.SG.GEN   inside

    suõrmâs   ââ'n   lij.
    ring.SG.NOM   now   be.PRS.3SG
    'The person who was sat apart from the rest had to guess whose palm the
    ring was now in.'

8.   *Kooum*   *vuâra*   *vuäǯǯai*   *a'rvveed.*
       three.GEN   time   get.PST.3SG   guess.INF
       'S/he got three guesses.'

9.   *Ku*   *tiõ'đi*   *vuõi'ǧǧest,*   *piâzzi*   *jičč*
       when   know.PST.3SG   right   pass.PST.3SG   REFL.SG.NOM

       mie'ttjen.
       place.NMLZ.ESS
       'When s/he guessed correctly, s/he him/herself became the person
       responsible for placing the ring.'

10.   *Ku*   *ij*   *teâttam,*   *õõlgi*   *särnnad*
       when   NEG.3SG   know.PST.PTCP   have.to.PST.3SG   speak.INF

       kaavsõõzzâs   *le'be*   *vuõddmes*   *nõõm.*
       bride.SG.GEN.3SG   or   bridegroom.SG.GEN.3SG   name.SG.ACC
       'If s/he didn't know, then s/he had to say the name of his bride or her
       bridegroom.'

11.   *A*   *näkam*   *mee'st*   *leäi*   *suõrmâs+siõrr.*
       well (DM)   such   1PL.LOC   be.PST.3SG   ring.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM
       'Well, that's what the ring game we had was like.'

Text 2. *Kuuskõõzz*
'The Northern Lights'

Kuuskõõzz
aurora.borealis.PL.NOM
'The northern lights.'

1. *Õ'httešt   kuuskõõzz   liâ   poorrâm*
   once   aurora.borealis.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL   eat.PST.PTCP

   puõccu.
   reindeer.SG.ACC
   'Once upon a time the northern lights ate a reindeer.'

2. *Ooumaž   leäi   vuejjmen.*
   man.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG drive.PROG.PTCP
   'A man was driving.'

3. *De   son-a   pâi   kuuskõõzzid   ǩeäčč   da*
   and   3SG.NOM-EMP   only aurora.borealis.PL.ACC watch.PRS.3SG and

   njorgg,   ǩeäčč   da   njorgg.
   whistle.PRS.3SG   watch.PRS.3SG   and   whistle.PRS.3SG
   'And he just looks at the northern lights and whistles, he looks and whistles.'

4. *Lij   jõnn   puõlâš+inn.*
   be.PRS.3SG   big   subzero+night.SG.NOM
   'It was a freezing night.'

5. *Son   vuejj,   kuuskõõzzid   ǩeäčč   da*
   3SG.NOM   drive.PRS.3SG aurora.borealis.PL.ACC   watch.PRS.3SG and

   njorgg.
   whistle.PRS.3SG
   'He drives as he watches the northern lights and whistles.'

6. *De   nu'tt-a   puä'tte   samai   ool.*
    and   like.that-EMP   come.PRS.3PL   quite   towards
    'And like that they come right towards him.'

7. *Njorggam   jiâ   sååvaž   sij.*
    whistle.ACT.PTCP   NEG.3PL   tolerate.CNG   3PL.NOM
    'They do not allow whistling.'

8. *Samai   ool   luâšttõ'tte.*
    quite   towards   descend.PST.3PL
    'They came right down towards him.'

9. *Ooumaž   ij   ni koozz   piâssâm,   põlškue'đi.*
    man.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   nowhere.ILL   escape.PST.PTCP   fear.INCP.PST.3SG
    'The man didn't have anywhere to escape, he began to be afraid.'

10. *Sõrgg   son   ääldas   årstõõ'tti.*
    quickly   3SG.NOM   female.reindeer.SG.ACC.3SG   stop.PST.3SG
    'He quickly stopped his reindeer.'

11. *Äldd   lij   leäm   su'st*
    female.reindeer.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   be.PST.PTCP   3SG.LOC

    vuâjnen.
    draught.animal.ESS
    'He had the female reindeer as a draught reindeer.'

12. *Jiõčč   pâi   ǩe'rrez   vuâlla   oi'ǧǧõõđi.*
    REFL.SG.NOM   only   Lapp.sled.SG.GEN   under(ILL)   throw.REFL.PST.3SG
    'He just threw himself under the sled.'

13. *Ääldas   veâl   jokk+läbǯǯa   čõnsti.*
    female.reindeer.SG.ACC.3SG   still   [?]+strap.SG.ILL   strap.quickly.PST.3SG
    'He quickly strapped his reindeer to the (sled?) strap.'

14. *De   nu'tt   åårai   tue'lää   räjja*
    and   like.that   be.situated.PST.3SG   morning.SG.GEN   until
    'So he stayed like that until the morning.'

15. *Pei'vv   šõõddi.*
    day.SG.NOM   become.PST.3SG
    'The day broke.'

16. *Na   te'l   jeä   leäm   kuuskõõzz.*
    well (DM)   at.that.time   NEG.3PL   be.PST.PTCP   aurora.borealis.PL.NOM
    'Well, at that time there were no northern lights.'

17. *Son   ǩe'rrez   vue'lnn   võ'll'ji,   vuõi'ni,   što*
    3SG.NOM   Lapp.sled.SG.GEN   under   jump.PST.3SG   see.PST.3SG   COMP

    ääldast   leäi   pâi
    female.reindeer.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   only

    võrr+pääikaž   pääccam.
    blood.SG.NOM+place.DIM.SG.NOM   remain.PST.PTCP
    'He jumped from under the sled and saw that only a patch of blood
    remained of the reindeer.'

18. *Kuuskõõzz   le'jje   ääld   poorrâm.*
    aurora.borealis.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   female.reindeer.SG.ACC   eat.PST.PTCP
    'The northern lights had eaten the reindeer.'

19. *Ooumaž   jičč   piâzzi   jie'llmen,   ku*
    man.SG.NOM   REFL.SG.NOM   escape.PST.3SG   live.PROG.PTCP   when

    ǩe'rrez   vue'lnn   åårai,   to'b   jiâ
    Lapp.sled.SG.GEN   under   be.situated.PST.3SG   there   NEG.3PL

    poorrâm.
    eat.PST.PTCP
    'The man escaped alive because he stayed under the sled and they don't
    eat people there.'

20. *Ceä'lǩǩe,*   *što*   *kuuskõõzzid*   *ij*   *õõlg*
     say.PRS.3PL   COMP   aurora.borealis.PL.ILL   NEG.3SG   must.CNG

     njorggad.
     whistle.INF
     'It is said that you should not whistle at the northern lights.'

21. *Tõk*   *luâšttâ'tte*   *ool*   *da*   *på'rre.*
     DIST.PL.NOM   descend.PRS.3PL   towards   and   eat.PRS.3PL
     'They will come down and eat you.'

Text 3. *Mä'htt čuõšk pue'tte Sää'mjânnma*
'How mosquitos came to Lapland'

Mä'htt	*čuõšk*	*pue'tte*	*Sää'm+jânnma*
how	mosquito.PL.NOM	come.PST.3PL	Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL

'How mosquitos came to Lapland.'

1. | *Tuu'l* | *Sää'm+jânnmest* | *jiâ* | *leäm* |
   |---|---|---|---|
   | in.former.times | Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC | NEG.3PL | be.PRS.PTCP |

ni voops	*čuõšk.*
not.one	mosquito.SG.GEN

   'In times gone by, not a single mosquito lived in Lapland.'

2. | *Tõk* | *le'jje* | *pâi* | *Lää'dd+jânnmest.* |
   |---|---|---|---|
   | DIST.PL.NOM | be.PST.3PL | only | Finn.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC |

   'They only lived in Finland.'

3. | *Nä'de* | *čuõšk* | *a'lǧǧe* | *smiõttâd,* | *što* |
   |---|---|---|---|---|
   | then (DM) | mosquito.PL.NOM | begin.PST.3PL | ponder.INF | COMP |

sij	*vue'lǧǧe*	*ǩiččâd*	*tõn*	*pue'rr*	*jânnam,*
3PL.NOM	leave.PRS.3PL	see.INF	DIST.SG.ACC	good	land.SG.ACC

ko'st	*si'jjid*	*eeunaž*	*leäi*	*mainstam.*
REL.SG.LOC	3PL.ILL	spider.SG.NOM	be.PST.3SG	tell.PST.PTCP

   'Then the mosquitos began to think about going to see that good land, which Spider had told them about.'

4. *Tõt*   *leäi*   *jeällam*   *Sää'm+jânnmest*   *da*
    DIST.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   visit.PST.PTCP   Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC   and

    kuärggti,   *što*   *mõõn*   *pue'rr*   *leäi*   *to'ben*
    brag.PST.3SG   COMP   what.SG.GEN   good   be.PST.3SG   there

    jie'llem: *le'jje*   *puõccu,*   *pie'nne,*   *saauʒ,*
    life.SG.NOM   be.PST.3PL   reindeer.PL.NOM   dog.PL.NOM   sheep.PL.NOM

    kaaic,   *da*   *juõ'ǩǩnallšem*   *siõm*   *jie'lli,*
    goat.PL.NOM   and   each.kind   small   animal.SG.NOM

    koin   *jiâ*   *leäkku*   *ni måkam*   *põõrt*
    REL.PL.LOC   NEG.3PL   be.CNG   no.kind.of   house.PL.NOM

    jiâga   *suâj.*
    NEG.3PL~and   protection.PL.NOM
    'He had visited Lapland and bragged about how good life was there: there
    were reindeer, dogs, sheep, goats and all kinds of small animals, who
    didn't have any kind of houses or protection.'

5. *Da*   *sä'mmla-õs*   *vuä'đđe*   *åuggan*   *päälljas*
    and   Saami.PL.NOM-as.for   sleep.PRS.3PL   outside   bare

    ââ'lm   *vue'lnn.*
    sky.SG.GEN   under
    'And as for the Saami, they sleep under the bare sky.'

6. *Leâš-a*   *eeunaž*   *mainsti*   *puk*   *pâi*   *tõn*
    but   spider.SG.NOM   tell.PST.3SG   all   only   DIST.SG.GEN

    diõtt,   *što*   *tõt*   *täättai,*
    for.the.sake.of   COMP   DIST.SG.NOM   want.PST.3SG

    što   *čuõšk*   *vue'lǧǧe*   *Sää'm+jânnma.*
    COMP   mosquito.PL.NOM   leave.PRS.3PL   Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC
    'But Spider told all this just because he wanted the mosquitos to leave and
    go to Lapland.'

7. | *Ku* | *sij* | *pâi* | *åskka* | *suu* | *da* |
   |------|-------|-------|---------|-------|------|
   | when | 3PL.NOM | only | believe.PRS.3PL | 3SG.ACC | and |

tuejjee	*nu'tt,*	*što*	*mä'htt*	*son*
do.PRS.3PL	like.that	COMP	how	3SG.NOM

tätt,	*son*	*jičč*	*vuäžžči*	*puârast*
want.PRS.3SG	3SG.NOM	REFL.SG.NOM	get.COND.3SG	well

pågsted	*si'jjid.*
laugh.INF	3PL.ILL

   'When they just believe him and do as he wants them to, he will really be able to laugh at them.'

8. | *Su'st* | *ku* | *lij* | *nåkam* | *mall,* | *što* |
   |---------|------|-------|---------|---------|-------|
   | 3SG.LOC | when | be.PRS.3SG | that.kind | plan.SG.NOM | COMP |

son	*kååđđ*	*fiin*	*sääi'mid*	*juõ'vve*	*da*
3SG.NOM	spin.PRS.3SG	fine	web.PL.ACC	rocky.ground.SG.ILL	and

sue'jji	*kõ'sǩǩe*	*čuõškid*	*šee'llem*
birch.tree.PL.GEN	middle.SG.ILL	mosquito.PL.ACC	catch.ACT.PTCP

diõtt.
for.the.sake.of

   'Because he has a plan to spin fine webs on rocky ground and between the birch trees in order to catch the mosquitos.'

9. | *Säimma* | *ku* | *čuõšk* | *pâššne* | *ǩidd,* |
   |----------|------|---------|----------|---------|
   | web.SG.ILL | when | mosquito.PL.NOM | get.caught.PRS.3PL | closed |

te'l	*son*	*jičč*	*orčč*	*kuâŋŋa*
at.that.time	3SG.NOM	REFL.SG.NOM	run.PRS.3SG	along

lääi'j	*da*	*vuäžž*	*nääi't*	*šiõgg*	*porrmõõžž.*
thread.SG.GEN	and	get.PRS.3SG	in.that.way	good	food.SG.ACC

   'When the mosquitos get caught in the web, then he will run along the thread and in that way get a good meal.'

10. *Nä'de   čuõšk   smiõ'tte,   što   â'lǧǧe-a*
    then (DM)   mosquito.PL.NOM   ponder.PST.3PL   COMP   must.PRS.3PL-INTER

    sij   puk   õhttna   vue'lǧǧed.
    3PL.NOM   all   at.once leave.INF
    'Then the mosquitos started to wonder whether or not they should all
    leave at once.'

11. *Čuõški   maaddâräkk   cie'lǩi,   što   puk*
    mosquito.PL.GEN   great.grandmother.SG.NOM   say.PST.3SG   COMP   all

    jiâ   õõlgče   vue'lǧǧed seämma   ääi'jest.
    NEG.3PL   must.COND.CNG   leave.INF   same   time.SG.LOC
    'The mosquitos' great-grandmother said that they mustn't all leave at the
    same time.'

12. *Vuõššân   muä'dd   čuõškkâd   â'lǧǧe   vue'lǧǧed ǩiččâd,*
    first   several   mosquito.PART   must.PRS.3PL   leave.INF   see.INF

    što   måkam   lij   jie'llem   Sää'm+jânnmest.
    COMP   what.kind   be.PRS.3SG   life.SG.NOM   Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC
    'First several mosquitos should leave to check out what life is like in Lap-
    land.'

13. *Tõk   le'jje   kutt   čuõšk,   kook*
    DIST.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   six   mosquito.SG.GEN   REL.PL.NOM

    vuõ'lǧǧe.
    leave.PST.3PL
    'They were six mosquitos that left.'

14. *Mä'tǩǩ   leäi   ku'ǩǩ.*
    journey.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   long.SG.NOM
    'The journey was long.'

15. *Õhtt*   *čuõškk*   *levvji*   *ju'n*   *tõn*
one.NOM   mosquito.SG.NOM   grow.weary.PST.3SG   already   DIST.SG.GEN

    kõõskâst.
    middle.SG.LOC
    'One mosquito grew weary when only half-way there.'

16. *Tõt*   *kaauni*   *laanõk+vie'ltest*   *vuäđđjam*
DIST.SG.NOM   find.PST.3SG   sunny+slope.SG.LOC   fall.asleep.PST.PTCP

    čiõrmiǩ,   *kåå'tt*   *leäi*   *čõ'ǩǩääm*
    young.reindeer.SG.NOM   REL.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   run.away.PST.PTCP

    saa'mi   *čiõkkrest,*   *ku*   *sij*   *mõ'nne*
    Saami.PL.GEN   herd.SG.LOC   when   3PL.NOM   go.PST.3PL

    tâ'vv+tuõddra.
    north+fell.SG.ILL
    'He found a young reindeer that had fallen asleep on sunny slope, which had run away from the Saami herd when they had gone to a northern fell.'

17. *Čuõškk*   *seeivai*   *sami*   *čiõrmiǩ*
mosquito.SG.NOM   land.PST.3SG   quite   young.reindeer.SG.GEN

    piõjjnja   *da*   *aa'lji*   *poorrâd*   *tõ'st.*
    tail.SG.ILL   and   begin.PST.3SG   eat.INF   DIST.SG.LOC
    'The mosquito landed right on the young reindeer's tail and started to eat from there.'

18. *Ku*   *leäi*   *čååu'jes*   *tiudd*   *poorrâm,*
when   be.PST.3SG   stomach.SG.ACC.3SG   full   eat.PST.PTCP

    ǩe'rddli   *da*   *vuâŋškue'đi*   *čiõrmiǩ*
    fly.off.PST.3SG   and   rest.INCP.PST.3SG   young.reindeer.SG.GEN

    čââ'lm   *â'lnn.*
    eye.SG.GEN   on
    'When he had eaten until his stomach was full, he flew off and came to rest on the young reindeer's eye.'

19. *Tõ'st*   *čiõrmiǩ*   *čââ'lmes*   *veärggteškue'đi*
     DIST.SG.LOC   young.reindeer.SG.NOM   eye.SG.ACC.3SG   blink.INCP.PST.3SG

     de   čuõškâst   jue'lǧǧ   ränn'ji.
     and   mosquito.SG.LOC   leg.SG.NOM   be.injured.PST.3SG
     'There the young reindeer started to blink its eyes and the mosquito's leg
     was injured.'

20. *Tõt*   *ääigai*   *vue'lǧǧed*   *jee'res*   *årra,*
     DIST.SG.NOM   begin.PST.3SG   leave.INF   different   direction.SG.ILL

     leâša   jooudi   čiõrmiǩ   njuu'nnseârrma.
     but   fall.into.PST.3SG   young.reindeer.SG.GEN   nostril.SG.ILL
     'The mosquito began to set off elsewhere, but ended up falling into the
     nostril of the young reindeer.'

21. *Čiõrmiǩ*   *ku*   *vuõiŋast,*   *te'l*
     young.reindeer.SG.NOM   when   take.breath.PRS.3SG   at.that.time

     čuõškk   *jordd,*   *što*   *pakk*
     mosquito.SG.NOM   believe.PRS.3SG   COMP   warm

     ǩie'ss+piõgg   *pååss.*
     summer.SG.NOM+wind.SG.NOM   blow.PRS.3SG
     'When the young reindeer took a breath, then the mosquito thought it
     was a warm summer wind which was blowing.'

22. *Sõrgg*   *pue'đi*   *tõõzz*   *čuâr*   *da*   *čaaŋi*
     soon   come.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.ILL   fly.SG.NOM   and   go.in.PST.3SG

     čiõrmiǩ   *pellja.*
     young.reindeer.SG.GEN   ear.SG.ILL
     'Soon a fly came there and went into the young reindeer's ear.'

23. *Tõ'st   čiõrmiǩ   på'ʒʒlõõđi   da*
    DIST.SG.LOC young.reindeer.SG.NOM shake.oneself.PST.3SG and

    vuei'ves   pu'štškue'đi   nu'tt   što   čuõškk
    head.SG.ACC.3SG shake.INCP.PST.3SG like.that COMP mosquito.SG.NOM

    rõõvvi   kookkas   ree'ssi   sizz.
    fall.PST.3SG far.away twig.PL.GEN into
    'There the young reindeer shook himself and shook his head in such a way
    that the mosquito fell down far away in between some twigs.'

24. *Mâŋŋa   tõ'st   ij   ni ǩii   leäkku   tõn*
    later   DIST.SG.LOC NEG.3SG nobody.SG.NOM be.CNG DIST.SG.ACC

    vuäinnam.
    see.PST.PTCP
    'After that, nobody has seen him.'

25. *Čiõrmiǩ   võ'll'ji   da   tiârškue'đi*
    young.reindeer.SG.NOM jump.PST.3SG and gallop.INCP.PST.3SG

    nu'tt   što   piõjjânj   pâi   veärgg,   ku
    like.that COMP tail.SG.NOM only swing.PRS.3SG when

    tõt   mâânn   jokk+riddu   suõi'nid   poorrâd.
    DIST.SG.NOM go.PRS.3SG river.SG.NOM+bank.SG.ILL hay.PL.ACC eat.INF
    'The young reindeer jumped up and started galloping in such a way that
    the tail just swung as he went to the riverbank to eat hay.'

26. *Vitt   jee'res   čuõškkâd   peä'sse*
     five.NOM   different   mosquito.PART   make.it.PRS.3PL

     Sää'm+jânnma,   leâš-a   õhtt   hiâvvni
     Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC   but   one.NOM   drown.PST.3SG

     mie'lǩǩ+näppa,   nu'bb   tõpplõõvi
     milk.SG.NOM+bowl.SG.ILL   other.SG.NOM   be.choked.PST.3SG

     kuä'đ   suõvâst   da   kuälmad   sårrji
     Lapp.hut.SG.GEN   smoke.SG.LOC   and   third.NOM   become.tangled.PST.3SG

     vuä'mm   ää'ǩǩ   kohttu   da   jaa'mi   tõõzz.
     old   crone.SG.GEN   skirt.SG.ILL   and   die.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.ILL
     'Five different mosquitos made it to Lapland, but one drowned in a bowl
     of milk, another was choked in the smoke from a Lapp hut and a third
     became tangled in an old crone's skirt and died there.'

27. *Pâi   kuõ'htt   čuõšk   pie'sse   mååusat*
     only   two.NOM   mosquito.SG.GEN   make.it.PST.3PL   back

     Lää'dd+jânnma   da   vuõi'tte   mainsted   järrsid,
     Finn.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL   and   be.able.PST.3PL   tell.INF   other.PL.ILL

     što   mudoi   kâ'l   lij   Sää'm+jânnmest   pue'rr,
     COMP   otherwise   yes   be.PRS.3SG   Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC   good

     leâš-a   čuu't   jiânnai   liâ   så'rmm+pääi'ǩ.
     but   very   much   be.PRS.3PL   death.SG.NOM+place.PL.NOM
     'Only two mosquitos made it back to Finland and were able to tell the oth-
     ers that Lapland was indeed a good place, although there were too many
     places of death.'

28. *Čuõški   maaddâräkk   cie'lǩi   te'l:*
     mosquito.PL.GEN   great.grandmother.SG.NOM   say.PST.3SG   at.that.time

     "Sää'm+jânnma   âlgg   mõõnnâd   čuâr   õhttu,
     Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC   must.PRS.3SG   go.INF   fly.SG.NOM   alone

     ku   tõt   lij   nokk   vaarõõtti."
     when   DIST.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   enough   take.care.PST.3SG
     'Then the mosquitos' great grandmother said: "A fly must go to Lapland
     alone, when he takes enough care."'

29. | *Leâš-a* | *tõk,* | *kook* | *le'jje* | *Sää'm+jânnmest* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| but | DIST.PL.NOM | REL.PL.NOM | be.PST.3PL | Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC |

jeällam,	*cie'lkǩe:*	*"Kâ'l*	*mij*	*pi'rǧǧeeškue'ttep,*
visit.PST.PTCP	say.PST.3PL	yes	1PL.NOM	manage.INCP.PRS.1PL

ku	*pâi*	*puk*	*õhttna*	*vue'lǧǧep."*
when	only	all	at.once	leave.PRS.1PL

'But those who had visited Lapland said: "We will manage when we all leave at once."'

30. | *Nä'de* | *puk* | *čuõšk* | *vue'lǧǧe.* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| then (DM) | all | mosquito.PL.NOM | leave.PRS.3PL |

'Then all the mosquitos left.'

31. | *Ku* | *puä'tte* | *Sää'm+jânnma,* | *käu'nne* | *obb* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| when | come.PRS.3PL | Saami.SG.GEN+land.SG.LOC | find.PRS.3PL | all |

puäʒʒ+čiõkkâr	*liâššmen*	*rååđast.*
reindeer.SG.NOM+herd.SG.ACC	rest.PROG.PTCP	birch.grove.SG.LOC

'When they came to Lapland they found a whole herd of reindeer resting in a birch grove.'

32. | *Vuõššân* | *ij* | *ni ǩii* | *teâttam,* | *što* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| first | NEG.3SG | nobody.SG.NOM | know.PST.PTCP | COMP |

mõõk	*täk*	*le'jje*	*jie'l'jid.*
what.PL.NOM	PROX.PL.NOM	be.PST.3PL	animal.PL.ACC

'At first nobody knew what kind of animal these were.'

33. | *Teä* | *ho'hssje,* | *što* | *täk* | *teâđast* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| then | notice.PST.3PL | COMP | PROX.PL.NOM | of.course |

liâ	*puõccu,*	*mä'htt*	*ju'n*	*eeunaž*
be.PRS.3PL	reindeer.PL.NOM	how	already	spider.SG.NOM

leäi	*si'jjid*	*mainstam.*
be.PST.3SG	3PL.ILL	tell.PST.PTCP

'Then they noticed that these were of course reindeer, as Spider had already told them.'

34. *Sij*   *puk*   *ǩe'rddle*   *tõõi*   *ool*   *da*
     3PL.NOM   all   fly.off.PST.3PL   DIST.PL.GEN   towards   and

     sõrgg *puk*   *puõccu*   *le'jje*   *tiârrlam*   *päälljas*
     soon   all   reindeer.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   gallop.off.PST.PTCP   bare

     tuõddâr   *la'ǩǩe.*
     fell.SG.GEN   summit.SG.ILL

     'They all flew towards the reindeer and soon all the reindeer had galloped
     off up to the top of a bare fell.'

Text 4. *Tuâl'jõžääi'j jie'llmest*
'About life in the olden days'

Tuâl'jõž+ääi'j   jie'llmest
former+time.SG.GEN   life.SG.LOC
'About life in the olden days.'

'About Saami life'

Sää'm+jie'llem   pirr
Saami.SG.GEN+life.SG.GEN   around
'About Saami life.'

1.   *Sää'm+jie'llem   i'lleäm   näu'ddem*
   Saami.SG.GEN+life.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   this.kind

   tät-aa   jie'llem,   õõlgi   ǩeässa   pâi
   PROX.SG.NOM-EMP   life.SG.NOM   have.to.PST.3SG   in.summer   only

   nue'tted   da   sääi'mid   ââ'nned,   suukkâd
   fish.with.seine.net.INF   and   gill.net.PL.ACC   use.INF   row.INF

   da   vä'ʒʒed.
   and   walk.INF
   'Saami life wasn't like life nowadays. In summer we just had to fish with seine nets and use gill nets, row and walk.'

2.   *Nue'ttee'l   võõrâs   kue'l   ši'lleš,*
   fish.with.seine.net.INSTR   fresh   fish.SG.ACC   catch.PST.4

   sääi'mivui'm   seämmanalla.
   gill.net.PL.COM   in.the.same.way
   'By fishing with a seine net one could catch fresh fish, in the same way with gill nets.'

3. *Tue'lää*   *kåccješ*   *sääi'mi*   *årra*   *vuõ'lǧǧeš,*
    in.the.morning   awake.PST.4   gill.net.PL.GEN   next.to   leave.PST.4

    jälstet   *peei'v.*
    spend.PRS.4   day.SG.ACC
    'In the morning one would wake up next to the gill next, leave, and spend
    the day there.'

4. *Jeä'ǩǩääž*   *šâdd,*   *e'pet*   *nuâtta*   *vue'ljet.*
    evening.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG   again   seine.net.SG.ILL leave.PRS.4
    'Evening comes, again one heads over to the seine net.'

5. *Sami*   *âlgg*   *võõrâs*   *kue'lin*   *jie'lled*   *ǩeässa.*
    quite   must.PRS.3SG   fresh   fish.SG.COM   live.INF   in.summer
    'We basically had to live off fresh fish in the summer.'

6. *A*   *tõn*   *pääi'ǩest*   *ij*   *kå'dškuä'đ*
    well (DM) DIST.SG.GEN   place.SG.LOC   NEG.3SG   catch.INCP.CNG

    kue'l,   *de*   *nuu'bb*   *sâjja*   *mõõnât.*
    fish.SG.ACC   and   other.SG.GEN   place.SG.ILL   go.PRS.4
    'Well, if one didn't start to catch any fish in that place, one would go to
    another place.'

7. *Ǩeä'st*   *liâ*   *jäänab*   *nue'tt*   *da*
    who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL   more   seine.net.PL.NOM and

    sääi'm,   *nuu'bb*   *jääu'rest*   *pâi*   *mâânn*
    gill.net.PL.NOM   other.SG.GEN   lake.SG.LOC   just   go.PRS.3SG

    jiijjâs   *jeävvsivui'm.*
    own.SG.ACC.3SG   provision.PL.COM
    'He who has more seine nets and gill nets just goes from the other lake
    with his own provisions.'

8. *A   kåå'tt   ää'pptab   leäi*
    well (DM)   REL.SG.NOM   needy.CMPRT(=poor)   be.PST.3SG

    fe'rttji   vue'lǧǧed   puk   piârrjines   da
    have.to.PST.3SG   leave.INF   all   family.SG.COM.3SG   and

    jåå'ďat   puk   nue'ttes   di   sääi'mees
    transport.PRS.3SG   all   seine.net.SG.ACC.3SG   and   gill.net.PL.ACC.3SG

    di   võnnses   ǩeäss   de   kuâdd.
    and   boat.SG.ACC.3SG   pull.PRS.3SG   and   carry.PRS.3SG
    'Well, he who was poorer had to set off with his whole family and trans-
    port everything, his seine net and his gill nets and he pulls and carries his
    boat.'

9. *De   päärna   liâ   de   kaazz   da   pie'nne.*
    and   child.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   and   cat.PL.NOM   and   dog.PL.NOM
    'And then there are the children and the cats and the dogs.'

10. *Måtam   liâ,   kuu'ǩǩab   kõ'sǩǩe   vue'lǧǧe*
    some   be.PRS.3PL   far.CMPRT   distance.SG.ILL   leave.PRS.3PL

    di   saauʒeez   mie'ldd   vä'ldde   di   tõid
    and   sheep.PL.GEN.3PL   with   take.PRS.3PL   and   DIST.PL.ACC

    vää'ʒʒte.
    walk.CAUS.PRS.3PL
    'Some people went on longer trips and they took their sheep with them
    and lead them along.'

11. *To'ben   â'te   jäälast,   mõõn   kuu'ǩǩ   jälste'žže.*
    there   so   live.PRS.3SG   what.SG.GEN   long   live.POT.3PL
    'So, there he lived, however long they might have lived there.'

12. *Kue'l   ij   kå'dškuä'ď,   de   e'pet*
    fish.SG.ACC   NEG.3SG   catch.INCP.CNG   and   again

    tõõzz   vä'stt   puätt.
    DIST.SG.ILL   back   come.PRS.3SG
    'If he didn't catch any fish then again he would come back to there.'

13. *Tõn   jääu'r   riddu   mâânn   jälsted.*
    DIST.SG.GEN lake.SG.GEN shore.SG.ILL go.PRS.3SG live.INF
    'He goes to live on the shore of a lake.'

14. *De   čõhčč   šâdd.*
    and   autumn.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG
    'Then autumn arrives.'

15. *Ââ'n   pââđjääu'rin   älgg   jåå'tted.*
    now   forest.lake.PL.LOC begin.PRS.3SG travel.INF
    'Now he starts to travel from forest lakes.'

16. *Puõccu   tää'vet   de   vuâlgg,   ǩee'zzat*
    reindeer.SG.ACC grab.PRS.3SG and   leave.PRS.3SG pull.CAUS.PRS.3SG

    võnnsid   sääi'mivui'm.
    boat.PL.ACC   gill.net.PL.COM
    'He catches a reindeer and sets off, having the boats pulled with the gill nets.'

17. *Mie'čč+jääu'rest   älgg   sääi'mid   ââ'nned.*
    forest.SG.GEN+lake.SG.LOC begin.PRS.3SG gill.net.PL.ACC use.INF
    'At the forest lake he begins to use the gill nets.'

18. *Sääi'mid   âânn   nu'tt   kuu'ǩǩ ääi'j,*
    gill.net.PL.ACC use.PRS.3SG like.that long   time.SG.GEN

    ku   kådd   kue'lid.
    when   catch.PRS.3SG fish.PL.ACC
    'He uses gill nets for as long as he catches fish.'

19. *Jääu'rest   jäurra   nu'tt-i   jåått.*
    lake.SG.LOC lake.SG.ILL like.that-just travel.PRS.3SG
    'From lake to lake, just like that he travels.'

20. *Mâânn   mâânn,   de   tälvva   puä'đškuätt.*
    go.PRS.3SG go.PRS.3SG and   in.winter   come.INCP.PRS.3SG
    'And so he goes, and in winter he starts to come back.'

21. *De   vuâlgg   mååust,   ij   mõõn*
    and   leave.PRS.3SG   back   NEG.3SG   go.CNG

    ǩie'ss+päikka,   pâi   čõhčč+päikka,
    summer.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL   only   autumn.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL

    to'b   lij   čõhčč+põrtt,   tõ'st
    there   be.PRS.3SG   autumn.SG.NOM+house.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.LOC

    älgg   jälsted.
    begin.PRS.3SG   live.INF
    'He heads back, he doesn't go to the summer dwelling place, but rather the autumn dwelling place. There is an autumn house there and there he starts living.'

22. *Jäälast   tõ'st   čõõuč,   di   jääu'r*
    live.PRS.3SG   DIST.SG.LOC   autumn.SG.GEN   and   lake.PL.NOM

    kâ'lmme.
    freeze.PRS.3PL
    'He lives there for the autumn and the lakes freeze.'

23. *Nä'de   juŋstõlškuätt.*
    then (DM)   ice.fish.with.net.INCP.PRS.3SG
    'Then he begins fishing with a net under the ice.'

24. *Juŋŋsid   peejj   mâ'mmet   su'st   liâ*
    ice.net.PL.ACC   put.PRS.3SG   to.what.extent   3SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL

    sääi'm.
    gill.net.PL.NOM
    'He sets as many ice nets as he has at his disposal.' [NB. An "ice net" is a gill net which is fed under the ice and held between two holes in the ice.]

25. *Juõ'ǩǩ+sâjja   juŋstââll.*
    each+place.SG.ILL   ice.fish.with.net.PRS.3SG
    'He fishes everywhere with a net under the ice.'

26. *Ei'dde   de   jäu'rr+jiõŋŋ   pâi   pââ'jad,*
    just   and   lake.SG.NOM+ice.SG.NOM   only   bear.PRS.3SG

    te'lles   juŋstõlškuätt.
    immediately   ice.fish.with.net.INCP.PRS.3SG

    'As soon as the lake ice is able to support his weight, he starts fishing with ice nets right away.'

27. *Måtam   čiõkkrest   liâ   de   se'rdde   puõccid.*
    some   herd.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL   and   transfer.PRS.3PL   reindeer.PL.ACC

    'Some people are with the herd and they transfer the reindeer.'

28. *Di   tä'lvv   šâdd.*
    and   winter.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG

    'And so winter arrives.'

29. *Rosttvi   poodd   vue'lǧǧe   si'jdde*
    Christmas.PL.GEN   moment.SG.GEN   leave.PRS.3PL   village.SG.ILL

    se'rdded.
    transfer.INF

    'At Christmas time they set off to move to the village.'

30. *Si'jdde   âlgg   vue'lǧǧed   tõn   diõtt,*
    village.SG.ILL   must.PRS.3SG   leave.INF   DIST.SG.GEN   for.the.sake.of

    što   škooul   älgg.
    COMP   school.SG.NOM   begin.PRS.3SG

    'It is necessary to go to the village because the school will begin.'

31. *Ǩeä'st   liâ   škooul+päärna,   na*
    who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL   school.SG.NOM+child.PL.NOM   well (DM)

    tõk   õ'lǧǧe   škoou'le   kuåstteed.
    DIST.PL.NOM   must.PRS.3PL   school.SG.ILL   send.INF

    'Those who have school children, well, they must send (them) to school.'

32. *Nu'bb   tuejj   lij   sååbbar.*
    other.SG.NOM   work.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   village.council.SG.NOM
    'Another job is the village council.'

33. *Sååbbar   šâdd   de   oummu*
    village.council.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG   and   person.PL.NOM

    õõlgškuä'tte,   de   ee'žžiin   i'lla
    be.obliged.INCP.PRS.3PL   and   trustee.PL.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.CNG

    ku'ǩǩ   mõõnnâd   såbbra.
    far   go.INF   village.council.SG.ILL
    'The village council is held and people are obliged to go, and the trustees do not have far to go to the village council.'

34. *Ne   teä   tõk   se'rdde,   mâ'nne*
    well (DM)   then   DIST.PL.NOM   transfer.PRS.3PL   go.PRS.3PL

    seämmanalla   puõccivui'm   de   čiõkkri'nez   mâ'nne.
    in.the.same.way   reindeer.PL.COM   and   herd.SG.COM.3PL   go.PRS.3PL
    'Well, then they move, they go in the same way with the reindeer and they go with their herd.'

35. *Ǩeä'st   lij   ku'ǩǩ   kõskk,   kuä'ss*
    who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   long   distance.SG.NOM   when

    ǩeä'st   lij   vuä'nkab   kõskk.
    who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   short.CMPRT   distance.SG.NOM
    'Some have a long distance to travel, while others have a shorter distance to go.'

36. *Siidâst   jälste   nu'tt   kuu'ǩǩ   ku   škooul*
    village.SG.LOC   live.PRS.3PL   like.that   long   as   school.SG.NOM

    peštt.
    last.PRS.3SG
    'They live in the village like that as long as school lasts.'

37. *Na*   *ee'jj+pei'vv*   *poodd*   *â'te*
     well (DM)   year.SG.NOM+day.SG.NOM(=Easter)   moment.SG.GEN   so

     liâ   *måtam*   *veâl*   *siidâst.*
     be.PRS.3PL   some   still   village.SG.LOC
     'Well, at Easter time there are still some people in the village.'

38. *Teä*   *vue'lğğe*   *se'rdded*   *piârrjeezvui'm*   *di*
     then   leave.PRS.3PL   transfer.INF   family.PL.COM.3PL   and

     čiõkkri'nez.
     herd.SG.COM.3PL
     'Then they set off to move their families and their herd.'

39. *Cuâŋ*   *lij*   *måtam*   *ee'jj,*   *jõnn*
     snow.crust.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   some   year.PL.NOM   big

     muõtt   *lij*   *måtam*   *ee'jj.*
     snow.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   some   year.PL.NOM
     'Some years there is a hard crust on the snow, some years there is a lot of snow.'

40. *Jõnn*   *muõtt*   *lij,*   *i'lla*
     big   snow.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   NEG.3SG~be.CNG

     puäʒʒ+poorrâm+piull.
     reindeer.SG.NOM+eat.ACT.PTCP+bare.spot(where snow has melted).SG.NOM
     '(If) there is a lot of snow, there aren't any bare spots in the snow where the reindeer can eat.'

41. *De*   *nu'tt-i*   *jo'tte.*
     and   like.that-just   travel.PST.3PL
     'And just like that they travelled.'

42. *Måtmin*   *ku*   *lij*   *ku'ǩǩ*   *kõskk,*
     some.(people).PL.LOC   when   be.PRS.3SG   long   distance.SG.NOM

     nie'ttel   *peei'vid*   *jå'tte.*
     week.SG.GEN   day.PL.ACC   go.PRS.3PL
     'Some people who have a long distance, they travel for about a week.'

43. *Mâ'nne   mâ'nne   de   tää'lv   õnnum*
    go.PRS.3PL   go.PRS.3PL   and   winter.SG.GEN   use.PASS.PTCP

    puõccu   liâ,   måtam   levvje.
    reindeer.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   some   tire.PRS.3PL
    'On they go and there are reindeer which had been used through the winter, some grow weary.'

44. *Levvje,   leâš-a   kââ'lm   sami   jiâ.*
    tire.PRS.3PL   but   die.CNG   quite   NEG.3PL
    'They tire, but they do not quite die.'

45. *Na   däs   poorte   de   e'pet   jåttje.*
    well (DM)   again   eat.CAUS.PRS.3PL   and   again   set.off.PRS.3PL
    'Well, again they feed (the reindeers) and again they set off.'

46. *Mee'st   leäi   ku'ǩǩ   se'rddem+kõskk,   ku*
    1PL.LOC   be.PST.3SG   long   transfer.ACT.PTCP+distance.SG.NOM   when

    ǩeâđđa   âlgg   mååusat   pâ'jj+päikka   vue'lǧǧed.
    in.spring   must.PRS.3SG   back   upper+place.SG.ILL   leave.INF
    'We had a long distance to move when we had to head back to the summer village in spring.'

47. *De   nie'ttel   jåått   sami   ǩiđđ+puõccivui'm.*
    and   week.SG.NOM   travel.PRS.3SG   quite   spring.SG.NOM+reindeer.PL.COM
    'And he travels for a week with the spring reindeer.'

48. *Teä   puätt   de   jälsteškuätt.*
    then   come.PRS.3SG   and   live.INCP.PRS.3SG
    'Then he arrives and settles down to live.'

49. *Jäälast.*
    live.PRS.3SG
    'And so he lives.'

50.   *Tõt*   *jeäll+sââ'jj*   *lij*
      DIST.SG.NOM   life.SG.NOM+place.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG

      ǩiđđ+jeäll+sââ'jj,   *ij*   *veâl*   *puättam*
      spring.SG.NOM+life.SG.NOM+place.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   still   come.PST.PTCP

      ǩie'ss+jeäll+sâjja,   *leâš-a*
      summer.SG.NOM+life.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL   but

      ǩiđđ+jeäll+sâjja   *pue'đi*   *de*
      spring.SG.NOM+life.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL   come.PST.3SG   and

      tõ'st   *jälsteškue'đi.*
      DIST.SG.LOC   live.INCP.PST.3SG

      'That dwelling place is the spring dwelling place. He didn't yet arrive at the
      summer dwelling place, but he got to the spring dwelling place and there
      he sets up home.'

51.   *Čiõggâr*   *lij*   *su'st.*
      herd.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   3SG.LOC

      'He has a herd.'

52.   *Tõn*   *čõõni*   *ǩidd*   *de*   *puõcci*   *se'st*
      DIST.SG.ACC   tie.up.PST.3SG   closed   and   reindeer.SG.GEN   among

      jälste.
      live.PRS.3PL

      'He tied it (the herd) up and he lived among the reindeer.'

53.   *Puõccu*   *ääld*   *kue'dškuä'tte.*
      reindeer.PL.NOM   female.reindeer.PL.NOM   calve.INCP.PRS.3PL

      'The female reindeers begin to calve.'

54. *Tõk   jiâ   õhttna   kue'dd: tõn*
    DIST.PL.NOM   NEG.3PL   at.once   calve.CNG   DIST.SG.GEN

   peei'v   kuâdd   õhtt,   måtam   peei'v
   day.SG.GEN   calve.PRS.3SG   one.NOM   some   day.SG.GEN

   nu'bb,   a   sami   pää'res
   other.SG.NOM   well (DM)   quite   well.timed

   kue'ddem+podd   ku   lij   nie'ttel
   calve.ACT.PTCP+moment.SG.NOM   when   be.PRS.3SG   week.SG.GEN

   se'st,   te'l   kue'dde   jiânnai   õhttna.
   inside   at.that.time   calve.PRS.3PL   much   at.once

   'They don't all calve at once: on one day one calves, another day another,
   well, it's a well-timed calving time when many calve within the space of a
   week.'

55. *Ä'n   vue'ss   tõõrgasm,   ǩidd   âânn*
    let   calf.SG.NOM   gain.strength.PRS.3SG   tied.up   keep.PRS.3SG

   mue'ddid   suutkid,   teä   eman
   several.PL.ACC   day(24-hour-period).PL.ACC   then   not.before

   luâštt.
   free.PRS.3SG

   'He lets the calf gain strength, keeping (the female reindeer) tied up for
   several days and nights and then finally sets them free.'

56. *Tõ'st-i   jälste   tõõi   ääldi*
    DIST.SG.LOC-EMP   live.PRS.3PL   DIST.PL.GEN   female.reindeer.PL.GEN

   lu'nn   nu'tt   kuu'ǩǩ,   ku   puk   kue'dde.
   next.to   like.that   long   when   all   calve.PRS.3PL

   'Right there he lived next to the female reindeer as long as needed until all
   have calved.'

57. *Måtam   vuâra   äldd   kuâđđai*
     some   time   female.reindeer.SG.NOM   remain.PRS.3SG

     kue'ddk̆âni,   ku   lij   mââjak.
     calve.ABE.PTCP   when   be.PRS.3SG   late
     'Sometimes a female reindeer does not calve when it's late.'

58. *Nu'tt-i   fe'rttai   lue'štted.*
     like.that-just   must.PRS.3SG   free.PRS.3SG
     'He just has to let it go like that.'

59. *Na   kue'ddte   tõn   diõtt,   ku*
     well (DM)   calve.CAUS.PRS.3PL   DIST.SG.GEN   for.the.sake.of   as

     vuõ'zzid   meârkka.
     calf.PL.ACC   mark.PRS.3PL
     'Well, they have the female reindeer calve so that they can mark the
     calves.' (NB. Since the female reindeer is tied up, the calf will stay by her
     side, facilitating the ear-marking of the newborn calf).

60. *Mâŋŋa   luâštt   â'te.*
     later   free.PRS.3SG   then (DM)
     'So later he frees (them).'

61. *De   puõccu   mâ'nne   luõttu.*
     and   reindeer.PL.NOM   go.PRS.3PL   nature.SG.ILL
     'And the reindeers run free (lit. go to nature).'

62. *Tõn   k̆ie'zz   liâ   tob   mie'ccest*
     DIST.SG.GEN   summer.SG.GEN   be.PRS.3PL   there   forest.SG.LOC

     hoi'ddjek̆âni.
     care.ABE.PTCP
     'During the summer they are in the forest unattended.'

63. *Måttam   lij,   piârrji'nes   lij   to'b*
    certain   be.PRS.3SG   family.SG.COM.3SG   be.PRS.3SG   there

    puõccees   å'rnn,   kåvvsest   jäälast.
    reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG   close.to   lean.to.shelter.SG.LOC   live.PRS.3SG
    'A certain person might be there, with his family, close to his reindeer, living in a lean-to shelter.'

64. *Obbkåvvsaž,   tõ'st   väärj*
    closed.lean.to.shelter.DIM.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.LOC   tarpaulin.SG.ACC

    liâ   pirr   pijjum.
    be.PRS.3PL   around   put.PASS.PTCP
    'A small closed lean-to shelter, around which a tarpaulin has been put.'

65. *Ǩõskk+pääi'ǩest   lij   toll.*
    middle.SG.NOM+place.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   fire.SG.NOM
    There is a fire in the middle.'

66. *Måtmin   lij   lâu'ŋŋ+kuäđaž.*
    some.(people).PL.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   turf.SG.NOM+hut.DIM.SG.NOM
    'Some people have a little turf hut.'

67. *Ku   puõccees   luõ'šti,   ǩirggni   de*
    when   reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG   let.go.PST.3SG   hasten.PST.3SG   and

    vuõ'lji   ǩie'ss+päikka   se'rdded.
    leave.PST.3SG   summer.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL   transfer.INF
    'When he let his reindeer go free he hastened (to finish his work) and then set off to move to the summer dwelling place.'

68. *Jie'rj   liâ   su'st   veâl   ǩidd,*
    bull.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   3SG.LOC   still   tied.up

    što   tõõivui'm   son   ǩee'zzat   ǩe'rrsid.
    COMP   DIST.PL.COM   3SG.NOM   pull.CAUS.PRS.3SG   "ahkio".sled.PL.ACC
    'He still has the bull reindeers tied up, so that he can get them to pull the sleds.'

69. *Da   ku   ǩe'rrez   liâ   occanj,*
    and   when   "ahkio".sled.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL few

    måtmid   kue'ddat   käddsivui'm.
    several.PL.ACC carry.CAUS.PRS.3SG load.PL.COM
    'When there are just a few sleds, he makes some (bull reindeer) carry the loads.'

70. *Nu'tt   puätt   jäu'rr+riddu   le'be*
    like.that come.PRS.3SG lake.SG.NOM+shore.SG.ILL or

    jokk+riddu.
    river.SG.NOM+shore.SG.ILL
    'So he comes to the shore of the lake or the river bank.'

71. *Tõ'st   liâ   võnnâz.*
    DIST.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL boat.PL.NOM
    'There are some boats.'

72. *De   jie'rjees   luâštt   de   sollad*
    and   bull.PL.ACC.3SG   free.PRS.3SG and   row.off.PRS.3SG

    ǩie'ss+päikka   piârrjines.
    summer.SG.NOM+place.SG.ILL   family.SG.COM.3SG
    'And he sets his male reindeer free and rows off to the summer dwelling place with his family.'

73. *Teä   jälsteškue'đi.*
    then   live.INCP.PST.3SG
    'The he settles down to live.'

74. *Ǩie'ss   šõõddi   di   jääu'r   jiõŋ   puk*
    summer.SG.NOM   become.PST.3SG   and   lake.SG.GEN ice.PL.NOM all

    võõi'de.
    leave.PRS.3PL
    'Summer arrived and all the lake ice melts.'

75. *Teä   jälsteškuätt,   nuâtt   di*
     then   live.INCP.PRS.3SG   fish.with.seine.net.PRS.3SG   and

    sääi'mid   âânn.
    gill.net.PL.ACC   use.PRS.3SG

    'Life goes on and he fishes with a seine net and uses the gill nets.'

76. *Kõskk+ǩie'ss+poodd   ij*
     middle.SG.NOM+summer.SG.NOM+moment.SG.GEN   NEG.3SG

    kåå'dd   sääi'mivui'm,   pâi   nuâtt.
    catch.fish.CNG   gill.net.PL.COM   only   fish.with.seine.net.PRS.3SG

    'During midsummer he doesn't get any fish with gill nets, so he fishes with a seine net.'

77. *Jeä'ǩǩää   nuâtt   de   ǩeâtt*
     in.the.evening   fish.with.seine.net.PRS.3SG   and   cook.PRS.3SG

    veär,   påårr   da   vuäđđai.
    meal.SG.ACC   eat.PRS.3SG   and   go.to.sleep.PRS.3SG

    'In the evening he fishes with the seine net, then cooks a meal, eats and goes to sleep.'

78. *Nuu'bb   peivvže   kuâđđai   kue'll.*
     other.SG.GEN   day.DIM.SG.ILL   remain.PRS.3SG   fish.SG.NOM

    'Some fish is left for another day.'

79. *Tõn   sa'lttai   ǩe'ttem+sältta.*
     DIST.SG.ACC   salt.PRS.3SG   cook.ACT.PTCP+salt.SG.ILL

    'He cures it with cooking salt.' [Unsure of the reason that the illative case is used here].

80. *Na   måtmin   kâ'l   leäi   tõt*
     well (DM)   some.(people).PL.LOC   yes   be.PST.3SG   DIST.SG.NOM

    leei'bte'mes   jie'tt.
    bread.without   worry.SG.NOM

    'Well, yes, some people had nothing to eat (lit. some people had the worry of being without bread).'

81. *Muu   muu'šteest   mu'st   i'lleäm.*
     1SG.GEN   memory.SG.LOC   1SG.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP
     'As far as I remember I always had food (lit. I didn't have (that worry)).'

82. *Mon   jiõm   teâttam   tõn   leei'bte'mes*
     1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG   know.PST.PTCP   DIST.SG.ACC   bread.without

     jeä'đ,   ni   säähhar,   porrmõõžžte'mes   jeä'đ.
     worry.SG.ACC   even   sugar.SG.NOM   food.without.PL.NOM   worry.SG.ACC
     'I didn't know that worry of not having bread, nor sugar, the worry of not
     having food.'

83. *A   måtam   le'jje   ää'pptee'm   de*
     well (DM)   some   be.PST.3PL   help.without.PL.NOM(=poor)   and

     õõlgi   sami   pâi   čää'ʒʒest   vuäžžad   kue'l.
     have.to.PST.3SG   quite   always   water.SG.LOC   catch.INF   fish.SG.ACC

     'Well, some people were poor and they just have to catch fish from the
     water.'

84. *Tâ'mmet   lij   jävv,   tâ'mmet   lij,*
     enough   be.PRS.3SG   flour.SG.NOM   enough   be.PRS.3SG

     kääkk   vuäitt   tuejjeed.
     cake.SG.ACC   can.PRS.3SG   make.INF
     'There was enough flour, there was enough, one could make a cake.'

85. *Te'l   veâl   pie'ʒʒ   po'rreš.*
     at.that.time   still   pine.SG.ACC   eat.PST.4
     'People still ate pine (=flour made from inner bark of pine trees) then.'

86. *Te'l   ruõššlast   i'lleäm   nu'tt   kõõrâs,*
     at.that.time   Russian.SG.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   like.that   severe

     što   ij   õlggâm   liikktõõllâd   muõrid.
     COMP   NEG.3SG   must.PST.PTCP   touch.INF   tree.PL.ACC
     'The Russian [note use of singular] didn't have such severe (orders) back
     then that one must not touch the trees (to get food).'

87. *Na*   *te'l*   *čårr+meä'cc*   *leäi*   *de*
    well (DM)   at.that.time   distant+forest.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG   and

    tõ'st   *vuõi'ti*   *vä'ldded*   *pie'ʒʒin*   *kõõr.*
    DIST.SG.LOC   be.able.PST.3SG   take.INF   pine.PL.LOC   bark.SG.ACC
    'Well, there was a distant forest and from there it was possible to take bark
    from the pine trees.'

88. *Koon*   *muõr*   *va'ldde,*   *tõn*   *mâŋŋa*
    REL.SG.ACC   tree.SG.ACC   take.PST.3PL   DIST.SG.ACC   later

    puä'ldde   *le'be*   *aunnsen*   *õ'nne.*
    burn.PRS.3PL   or   material.ESS   use.PST.3PL
    'Whatever tree they took, they later burnt it or used it as material.'

89. *Na*   *pie'ʒʒivui'm*   *jäävv*   *kuu'ǩǩab*   *pe'štte.*
    well (DM)   pine.PL.COM   flour.PL.NOM   far.CMPRT   last.PRS.3PL
    'Well, with the pine bark the flour lasted longer.'

90. *Meä'cc*   *uu'di*   *leei'b.*
    forest.SG.NOM   give.PST.3SG   bread.SG.ACC
    'The forest gave (=provided us with) bread.'

91. *A*   *kook*   *liâ*   *vuõi'ttjab*   *oummu,*
    well (DM)   REL.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   wealthy.CMPRT   person.PL.NOM

    tõi'n   *jävv*   *lij*   *de*   *säähhar*   *lij.*
    DIST.PL.LOC   flour.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   and   sugar.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG
    'Well, those who are wealthier people, they have flour and sugar.'

92. *Nu'tt*   *jeäll*   *tõn*   *ǩie'zz*   *ǩee'jjmie'ldd,*
    like.that   live.PRS.3SG   DIST.SG.GEN   summer.SG.GEN   until.the.end

    jåått   *jääu'rest*   *jäurra.*
    travel.PRS.3SG lake.SG.LOC   lake.SG.ILL
    'That's how he lives until the end of that summer, he travels from lake to
    lake.'

93. *Te'l*   *i'lleäm*   *mä'htt*   *tä'st*   *ââ'n*
at.that.time   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   how   PROX.SG.LOC   now

    lij,   *što*   *mõõn*   *kue'l*   *kådd,*
    be.PRS.3SG   COMP   what.SG.ACC   fish.SG.ACC   catch.PRS.3SG

    tõn   *kau'ppe*   *veekk.*
    DIST.SG.ACC   shop.SG.ILL   take.PRS.3SG
    'Back then it wasn't like it is now, that he takes whatever fish he catches to the shop.'

94. *Tob*   *leäi*   *mie'ccest,*   *pâi*   *noori*
there   be.PST.3SG   forest.SG.LOC   only   gather.PST.3SG

    da   *tää'lv*   *vääras*   *mâŋŋa*
    and   winter.SG.GEN   for.purpose.of   later

    čõhčč+ǩeässa   *noori.*
    autumn.SG.NOM+in.summer(=late.summer)   gather.PST.3SG
    'There he was (living) in the forest, he just gathered and for the winter he gathered during the late summer.'

95. *A*   *ǩeâđđa*   *de*   *ǩeässa*   *kuškkii,*
well (DM)   in.spring   and   in.summer   let.dry.PST.3SG

    kå'šǩǩ+kue'llen   *raaji*   *hå't*   *leežž*   *nu'ǩǩeš,*
    dry+fish.ESS   make.PST.3SG   even   be.POT.3SG   pike.SG.NOM

    hå't   *vuâsk,*   *hå't*   *siõm*   *kuâlaž,*
    even   perch.SG.NOM   even   small   fish.DIM.SG.NOM

    hå't   *takai*   *kue'll.*
    even   common   fish.SG.NOM
    'Well, in spring and in summer he let the fish dry, he made dried fish, be it pike, be it perch, be it a small fish or be it a common fish.'

96. *Ku*   *kå'šǩǩ+kue'llen*   *raaji,*   *te'l*   *jiâ*
when   dry+fish.ESS   make.PST.3SG   at.that.time   NEG.3PL

    kuõccâg.
    rot.CNG
    'When he made dried fish, then they don't rot.'

97. *Te'l   le'jje   låå'dd   tiudd.*
    at.that.time be.PST.3PL   bird.PL.NOM   full
    'At that time there were lots of birds (lit. birds full).'

98. *Te'l   loo'ddid   ši'lle.*
    at.that.time bird.PL.ACC   catch.PST.3PL
    'Then they caught birds.'

99. *Kook   le'jje   takai   joo'tti   oummu,*
    REL.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   habitual   wander.PRS.PTCP   person.PL.NOM

    tõk   loo'ddid   pu'htte,   čää'čč+loo'ddid.
    DIST.PL.NOM bird.PL.ACC   bring.PST.3PL water.SG.NOM+bird.PL.ACC
    'Those who were habitual wandering people, they brought back birds,
    waterbirds.'

100. *Reeppaid   da   kå'šǩ̌+loo'ddid   ko'ddeš*
     willow.grouse.PL.ACC   and   dry+bird.PL.ACC   kill.PST.4

     tâ'mmet   poorrâd.
     to.such.an.extent   eat.INF
     'People killed as many willow grouse and land birds as they would eat.'

101. *Čõhčč+tää'lvest   puõccees*
     autumn.SG.NOM+winter.SG.LOC(=late.autumn)   reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG

     koo'ddi.
     kill.PST.3SG
     'In late autumn he killed (some of) his reindeer.'

102. *Tõi'd   tälvva   viiggi   kauppjõõzzi   årra*
     DIST.PL.ACC   in.winter   carry.PST.3SG   shop.keeper.PL.GEN   to.one's.place

     hå't Ta'rre,   hå't   Kuâlõ'ǩǩe.
     even Norway.ILL   even   Kuola.ILL
     'He would take them in winter to shopkeepers, be they in Norway or even
     the Kola Peninsula.'

103. *Le'jje   måttam   kauppjõõzz,   što   pirr*
     be.PST.3PL   certain   shop.keeper.PL.NOM   COMP   around

     ee'jj   vie'ljid   ou'dde.
     year.SG.GEN   debt.PL.ACC   give.PRS.3PL
     'There were certain shopkeepers who gave debts throughout the year.'

104. *Vuä'mm   vie'ljid   mä'hsse,   ođđ   vie'ljid*
     old   debt.PL.ACC   pay.PRS.3PL new   debt.PL.ACC

     ou'dde.
     give.PRS.3PL
     'They paid old debts and gave new debts.'

105. *E'pet   pirr   ee'jj   porrmõõžž   väldd*
     again   around   year.SG.GEN food.SG.ACC   take.PRS.3SG

     mâ'mmet   son   jiõčč   tätt.
     to.what.extent 3SG.NOM   REFL.SG.NOM   want.PRS.3SG
     'Again, throughout the year he can take as much food as he wants.'

106. *Rääidain   jeäll   vižžmen.*
     reindeer.train.SG.COM go.PRS.3SG   fetch.PROG.PTCP
     'He goes to fetch it with a train of reindeer and sleds (tied together).'

107. *Ku   vie'ljid   ij   määu's,   te'l*
     when   debt.PL.ACC   NEG.3SG   pay.CNG   at.that.time

     kauppjõs   ij   vuei't   teänab   u'vdded
     shopkeeper.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   can.CNG   (any)more   give.INF

     ođđ   vie'ljid.
     new   debt.PL.ACC
     'When the debts are not paid, then the shopkeeper cannot give more new
     debts.'

108. *Nu'tt-i   jie'lle.*
     like.that-just   live.PST.3PL
     'That's how they lived.'

109. *Te'l   leäi   ooudpeä'lnn   muu   šõddmest*
     at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   before   1SG.GEN   birth.ACT.PTCP.LOC

   ää'ppte'mes   äi'ǧǧ,   ašttõ'lle.
   poor   time.SG.NOM   remember.PRS.3PL
   'Before I was born they were poor times, so they say.'

110. *A   mon   gu   šõ'ddem,   Nikola-caarr*
     well (DM)   1SG.NOM   when   be.born.PST.1SG   Nicholas-tsar.SG.NOM

   leäi   muu   muu'šteest   tän   vääin   vuâstta.
   be.PST.3SG   1SG.GEN   memory.SG.LOC   PROX.SG.GEN   war.SG.GEN   against
   'Well, when I was born, Tsar Nicholas was, as I remember, against this war.'

111. *Son   vääinast   â'te   mõõni.*
     3SG.NOM   war.SG.LOC   then (DM)   go.PST.3SG
   'So he died (lit. went) in the war.'

112. *Tät   leäi,   ašttõ'lle,   ree'ǧǧes*
     PROX.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   remember.PRS.3PL   rich

   caarr.
   tsar.SG.NOM
   'He was, they say, a rich tsar.'

113. *Nu'tt-i   leäi,   vuõi'ttjab   oummu   le'jje,*
     like.that-just   be.PST.3SG   wealthy.CMPRT   person.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL

   jie'lle   puârast.
   live.PST.3PL   well
   'So it was, wealthier people lived well.'

'About food'

Porrmõõžžâst
food.SG.LOC
'About food.'

1.   *Porrmõõžž   tõk   le'jje.*
     food.PL.NOM   DIST.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL
     Those were the foods.'

2.   *Vi'lǧǧes   jäävv   le'jje   di   kuä'llec*
     white   flour.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   and   pretzel.PL.NOM

     le'jje.
     be.PST.3PL
     'There was white flour and pretzels.'

3.   *Kuä'llec   le'jje,   mon   mošttjem,   pâi   nåkam,*
     pretzel.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   1SG.NOM   recall.PST.1SG   only   such

     što   roggše'm   leeigas   le'jje   neullum
     COMP   bast.fibre.SG.NOM   spare   be.PST.3PL   thread.PASS.PTCP

     kuä'llec+ǩiõmrdõõzz,   liâ   mâ'ta   â'nn'jõž
     pretzle.SG.NOM+bunch.SG.ACC   be.PRS.3PL   like   present

     čâustõõggid   vuälggtid   lue'šttled.
     lasso.PL.ACC   (over).shoulder.PL.ACC   lower.INF
     'There were pretzels, I recall, always such that the surplus had been
     threaded into a bunch of pretzels with a bast fibre, like quickly putting a
     present-day lasso over one's shoulders.' [Translation uncertain].

4.   *Nu'tt   liâ   kuä'llec,   leâš-a   nåkam-i*
     like.that   be.PRS.3PL   pretzel.PL.NOM   but   such-just

     le'jje   mu'vddem   ââ'n   liâ.
     be.PST.3PL   what.kind   now   be.PRS.3PL
     'The pretzels are like that, but they were just like the kind we have now.'

5.   *Ǩiõmrdõõzzi*   *mie'ldd*   *le'jje*   *di*   *siâkki*   *mie'ldd*
     bunch.PL.GEN   by   be.PST.3PL   and   sack.PL.GEN   by

     le'jje.
     be.PST.3PL
     'They came in bunches and in sacks.'

6.   *De*   *suurâm*   *le'jje,*   *juõ'ǩǩnallšem*   *suurâm.*
     and   grain.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   each.kind   grain.PL.NOM
     'And there were grains, all kinds of grains.'

7.   *Talkkân*   *le'jje,*   *le'jje*   *kååraǩ,*
     dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   be.PST.3PL   pea.PL.NOM

     puk   *le'jje*   *tob*   *juõ'ǩǩ+nallšem*   *porrmõõžž*   *tõn*
     all   be.PST.3PL   there   each+kind   food.PL.NOM   DIST.SG.GEN

     ääi'jest,   *mon*   *jiõm*   *muu'št*   *puk*   *tõi'd.*
     time.SG.LOC   1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG   remember.CNG   all   DIST.PL.ACC
     'There was dry barley and oat flour mix, there were peas, there were all
     kinds of food there at that time, I don't remember all of them.'

8.   *A*   *suurâm*   *le'jje,*   *tõk*   *sami*   *le'jje*
     well (DM)   grain.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   DIST.PL.NOM   quite   be.PST.3PL

     siõm   *mâ'ta*   *vi'sǩǩes*   *pe'sser,*   *prååsan*   *koččšu.*
     small   like   yellow   bead.PL.NOM   millet.ESS   call.PST.3PL
     'Well, there were grains, they were quite small like yellow beads, they
     called it millet.'

9.   *Tä'st*   *mon*   *jiõm*   *leäkku*   *vuäinnam*   *tõid*
     PROX.SG.LOC   1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG   be.CNG   see.PST.PTCP   DIST.PL.ACC

     ni ko'st.
     nowhere.LOC
     'I hadn't seen them anywhere here.'

10. *Pråss+hutt,*   *hutt+aunnâz*
     millet.SG.NOM+porridge.SG.NOM   porridge.SG.NOM+ingredient.PL.NOM

     le'jje.
     be.PST.3PL
     'Millet porridge, they were porridge ingredients.'

11. *Talkkân*   *liâ,*   *de*
     dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   and

     e'čč+pokaineǩ   *tõid*   *pâi*   *siâkki*
     father.SG.NOM+deceased.SG.NOM DIST.PL.ACC   only   sack.PL.GEN

     mie'ldd   pohtt.
     with   bring.PRS.3PL
     'There is dry barley and oat flour mix and my late father always brought it
     in sacks.'

12. *Â'nn'jõž+ääi'jest*   *liâ*   *še*
     present+time.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3PL   also

     talkkân.
     dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM
     'Nowadays there is also fine barley and oat flour mix.'

13. *Täin*   *â'te*   *lij*   *rajjum*   *hå't*   *mâid.*
     PROX.PL.LOC   so   be.PRS.3SG   make.PASS.PTCP   even   what.PL.ACC
     'All kinds of things are made from these (NB. flour mix = plural).'

14. *Talkkân*   *le'jje*   *nu'tt*   *pue'r.*
     dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   so   good.PL.NOM
     'Dry barley and oat flour mix was so good.'

15. *Tõid*   *po'rreš*   *juõ'ǩǩ+nalla:*   *täi'ǧǧen*   *po'rre*   *de*
     DIST.PL.ACC eat.PST.4   each+way   dough.ESS   eat.PST.3PL   and

     muõ'rji   *sizz*   *ra'jje*   *de*   *nu'tt*   *le'jje*   *šiõgg.*
     berry.PL.GEN   into   put.PST.3PL   and   so   be.PST.3PL   good
     'That was eaten in all kinds of ways: people ate it as dough and put it with
     berries, and so it was good.'

16. | *Mon* | *mooštam* | *go* | *jeä'nn* | *puâccji* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.NOM | remember.PRS.1SG | when | mother.SG.NOM | become.ill.PST.3SG |

de	*mon*	*ruõ'k̆kem*	*pie'llekksaž*	*pää'rn,*
and	1SG.NOM	care.for.PST.1SG	half.SG.NOM+year.old.SG.NOM	boy.SG.ACC

Evvan,	*talkkân+ve'll'jin*	*di*
John	dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM+gruel.SG.COM	and

jävv+ve'll'jin,	*saauʒ*	*da*	*puõccu*
flour.SG.NOM+gruel.SG.COM	sheep.SG.GEN	and	reindeer.SG.GEN

mie'lǩin.
milk.SG.COM

'I remember when mother became ill and I looked after a half-year-old boy, John, with dry barley and oat flour gruel, flour gruel, sheep's milk and reindeer's milk.'

17. | *A* | *kuuzz* | *mie'lǩ* | *vi'ǯǯeš* | *Taarâst* | *tälvva.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| well (DM) | cow.SG.GEN | milk.SG.ACC | fetch.PST.4 | Norway.LOC | in.winter |

'Well, people got cow's milk from Norway in winter.'

18. | *A* | *ââ'n* | *tä'st* | *i'lla* | *ni mii* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| well (DM) | now | PROX.SG.LOC | NEG.3SG~be.CNG | nothing.SG.NOM |

läi'ttem+nalla,	*porrmõš*	*lij*	*puk*
criticise.ACT.PTCP+like	food.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	all

kaaupâst,	*lij*	*hå't*	*mii.*
shop.SG.LOC	be.PRS.3SG	even	what.SG.NOM

'Well, now there is nothing to critisise here, there is food in all the shops, all kinds of food.'

19. | *Leâš-a* | *mon* | *jiõm* | *poor* | *kaaup* | *puõ'rid* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | 1SG.NOM | NEG.1SG | eat.CNG | shop.SG.GEN | good.PL.ACC |

porrmõõžžid,	*pâi*	*âlgg*	*lee'd*	*kue'll,*
food.PL.ACC	always	must.PRS.3SG	be.INF	fish.SG.NOM

tõt	*lij*	*porrmõš.*
DIST.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	food.SG.NOM

'But I don't (like to) eat good food from shops, it must always be fish, that's food!'

20. *Da   tõn   võõrâs   kue'l   raaji   hå't*
    and DIST.SG.ACC fresh   fish.SG.ACC make.PST.3SG even

    mä'htt   sä'mmlaž: paa'šti   njipččsest,
    how   Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM grill.PST.3SG skewer.SG.LOC

    paa'šti   ǩie'mn   se'st,   kuu'rnǩid
    fry.PST.3SG saucepan.SG.GEN inside Finnish.fish.pasty.PL.ACC

    paa'šti,   kuškkii   de   sa'lttji   de   mä'htt
    bake.PST.3SG let.dry.PST.3SG and salt.PST.3SG and how

    son   ij   raajjâm   tõn   kue'les.
    3SG.NOM NEG.3SG make.PST.PTCP DIST.SG.ACC fish.SG.ACC.3SG
    'And a Skolt Saami (person) prepared that fresh fish in many ways: he
    grilled it on a skewer, he fried it in a saucepan, he baked Finnish fish past-
    ies, he let it dry and salted it and how didn't he prepare his fish!?'

21. *Hå't   lij   siõm   kuâlaž,   tõi'd*
    even be.PRS.3SG small fish.DIM.SG.NOM DIST.PL.ACC

    kuškkad   de   šiõgg   kue'l   ku   liâ,
    let.dry.PRS.3SG and good   fish.PL.NOM when be.PRS.3PL

    nu'tt kå'šǩǩe   ku   mâ'ta kuä'llec
    so   become.dry.PRS.3PL when like   pretzel.PL.NOM

    šâ'dde   digo.
    happen.PRS.3PL like
    'Even if there is a small little fish, he lets them dry and when they are good
    fish, so they dry and become like pretzels.'

22. *De   tälvva   seämmanalla   ǩeâtt   di   päštt*
    and in.winter in.the.same.way cook.PRS.3SG and grill.PRS.3SG

    toolâst   de   sa'lttje.
    fire.SG.LOC and salt.PRS.3PL
    'And in winter in the same way he cooks (them) and grills (them) on the
    fire and they salt them.'

23. *Tõk   le'jje   tuâl'ja   vuä'mm   saa'mi*
    DIST.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   former.[?]   old   Saami.PL.GEN

    argg+porrmõõžž.
    daily.SG.NOM+food.PL.NOM
    'Those (foods) were the olden day everyday foods of the Saami.'

24. *Ââ'n mij   tä'st   jeä'p   ni   tie'đ.*
    now 1PL.NOM   PROX.SG.LOC   NEG.1PL   even know.CNG
    'Now we don't even know about this.'

25. *Jeä'p   ni   pää'št   kue'l,   vuei't   pä'štted,*
    NEG.1PL   even grill.CNG   fish.SG.ACC can.CNG   grill.INF

    i'lla   ni mõõn   pä'štted.
    NEG.3SG~be.CNG   nothing.SG.ACC   grill.INF
    'We don't even grill fish, we can't grill, there is nothing to grill.'

26. *Na   tän   sijdd+pääi'ǩest   mõõk*
    well (DM)   PROX.SG.GEN   village.SG.NOM+place.SG.LOC   what.PL.NOM

    liâ   kue'lid.
    be.PRS.3PL   fish.PL.ACC
    'Well, in this village, what fish are there?'

27. *Kåå'tt   olgglakkše   kuåstâž,   paa'štež   to'ben.*
    REL.SG.NOM   farther.off   get.to.POT.3SG   grill.POT.3SG   there
    'He who might go further away, might grill there.'

'Making pine flour'

Pie'cc+raajjmõš
pine.SG.NOM+make.NMLZ.SG.NOM
'Making pine flour.'

1. *Pie'ʒʒid   â'te   gu   raajât,   âlgg*
    pine.PL.ACC   so   when   make.CAUS.PRS.3SG   must.PRS.3SG

    lee'd   njââ'll+äi'ǧǧ.
    be.INF   cambium.SG.NOM+time.SG.NOM
    'When making pine (flour), it must be the 'inner-bark time' (= the start of summer, when the bark is looser and easier to remove from the tree).'

2. *Vuõššân   âlgg   vä'ldded   kõõr*
    first   must.PRS.3SG   take.INF   bark.SG.ACC

    muõrr+maddjest   vue'tǩǩmin.
    tree.SG.NOM+base.SG.LOC   chisel.SG.COM
    'First one must remove the bark from the base of the tree with a chisel.'

3. *Vue'tǩǩmin   pirr   vää'ldet   de   mâŋŋa   pie'ʒʒ*
    chisel.SG.COM around   take.PRS.4   and   later   pine.SG.ACC

    viirtet.
    fell.PRS.4
    'With the chisel one takes (the bark) (from) around (the tree) and later fells the pine.'

4. *Tõn   ǩee'jjmie'ldd   kõõr   puk   vää'ldet,*
    DIST.SG.GEN   until.the.end   bark.SG.ACC   all   take.PRS.4

    nu'tt   što   mettar   kookka   kõõr   pirr
    like.that COMP   metre.SG.GEN   in.length   bark.SG.ACC   around

    pie'ʒʒ   vue'tǩet.
    pine.SG.GEN   loosen.PRS.4
    'One takes off all the bark, by loosening bark which is a metre in length from around the pine.'

5. *De   ve'ǩǩe   põrttseez   de   kõõrâst   tõn*
    and   take.PRS.3PL   house.SG.ILL.3PL   and   bark.SG.LOC   DIST.SG.ACC

    vi'lǧǧes   njââ'llvaaldõõzz   vä'ldde.
    white   phloem.SG.ACC   take.PRS.3PL
    'And they take (the bark) to their house and they take that white phloem
    from the bark.'

6. *De   čuä'rvv+kåållmin   kålla   de*
    and   horn.SG.NOM+scraper.SG.COM   scrape.off.PRS.3PL   and

    rä'jje   da   kuškkâd   pe'jje   de   ellsest
    prepare.PRS.3PL   and   dry.INF   put.PRS.3PL   and   embers.SG.LOC

    iŋŋee;   ǩirggan   de   čuäckk,   pâi
    dry.out.PRS.3PL   become.ready.PRS.3SG   and   grow.cold.PRS.3SG   only

    norddmõõzzin   nordškuätt.
    spud.SG.COM   chop.INCP.PRS.3SG
    'And with a horn scraping tool they scrape and prepare and they put (the
    phloem) to dry and they dry it out (=roast) in the embers; (when) it is
    ready and grows cold, he begins to just chop it with a spud (= bark spud, a
    chisel-like tool used for removing bark).'

7. *De   norddmõõzzin   mo'ttai   tõn   tue'llj   le'be*
    and   spud.SG.COM   crush.PRS.3SG   DIST.SG.ACC   hide.SG.GEN   or

    mõõn-ne   â'lnn   de   nu'tt   šâ'dde   mâ'ta
    something.SG.GEN   on.top.of   and   so   become.PRS.3PL   like

    suurâm   digu.
    grain.PL.NOM   like
    'And with the spud he crushes (the phloem) on top of a hide or something
    and like that it becomes like grains.'

8. *De   tõn   mâŋŋa   jäävvaivui'm   sie'jjat   de*
    and   DIST.SG.GEN   after   flour.PL.COM   mix.PRS.4   and

    veär   ǩeâtt.
    soup.SG.ACC   cook.PRS.3SG
    'And then one mixes it with flour and makes soup.'

9. | *Veärast* | *liõm* | *kuäivv* | *de* | *tõin* | *ru'vvai* |
    |-----------|--------|---------|------|--------|----------|
    | soup.SG.LOC | stock.SG.ACC | ladle.PRS.3SG | and | DIST.SG.COM | beat.PRS.3SG |

de	*rääjj*	*da*	*tõ'st*	*šõ'dde*	*pie'ʒʒ.*
and	produce.PRS.3SG	and	DIST.SG.LOC	become.PST.3PL	pine.PL.NOM

    'One ladles out some stock from the soup and with that one beats and makes (=mixes) and from that the pine flour is born.'

10. | *Tõn* | *raaji* | *nu'tt.* |
    |-------|--------|---------|
    | DIST.SG.ACC | make.PST.3SG | like.that |

    'That's how one made that.'

11. | *De* | *kue'll+vuõjj* | *ku* | *lij,* | *porškuä'tte* |
    |------|----------------|------|--------|--------------|
    | and | fish.SG.NOM+fat.SG.NOM | when | be.PRS.3SG | eat.INCP.PRS.3PL |

de	*tõn*	*peejj*	*tõõzz*	*vuâlla*	*mâ'ta*
and	DIST.SG.ACC	put.PRS.3SG	DIST.SG.ILL	under.ILL	like

huutt	*digu.*
porridge.SG.ACC	like

    'And when there is fish fat, they start to eat and they put it (the pine flour) there under (the fish fat) like porridge.'

12. | *De* | *nu'tt-i* | *kâ'ʒʒe* | *tõn* | *pâ'sttmin.* |
    |------|-----------|---------|-------|-------------|
    | and | like.that-just | eat.with.spoon.PRS.3PL | DIST.SG.ACC | spoon.SG.COM |

    'And just like that they eat it with a spoon.'

13. | *A* | *jäävv* | *ku* | *le'jje* | *occanj,* |
    |-----|--------|------|----------|----------|
    | well (DM) | flour.PL.NOM | when | be.PST.3PL | few |

kook	*jäävvtee'm*	*le'jje,*	*de*	*tõk*
REL.PL.NOM	flour.without	be.PST.3PL	then	DIST.PL.NOM

leei'b	*sâjja*	*tõn*	*ra'jje.*
bread.SG.GEN	place.SG.ILL	DIST.SG.ACC	make.PST.3PL

    'Well, when there was not much flour, those who were without flour then they made that in place of bread.'

14. *Te'l   jäävv   kuu'ǩǩab   pe'štte.*
    at.that.time flour.PL.NOM long.CMPRT   last.PST.3PL
    'Then the flour lasted for longer.'

15. *Jävv   nu'tt   ij   pee'št   kuu'ǩǩ   ku*
    flour.SG.NOM   like.that   NEG.3SG last.CNG   long   when

    occanj   lij,   tõin-i   gu   ij   sie'jjet.
    few   be.PRS.3SG   DIST.SG.COM-just   when   NEG.3SG mix.CNG
    'Flour didn't last for long when there was a little and when they didn't mix
    it with that (bark).'

16. *Veärr+liõm   kuäivai   de   tõi'n   so'tǩǩii,*
    soup.SG.NOM+stock.SG.ACC   ladle.PST.3SG and   DIST.SG.COM   mix.PST.3SG

    tõ'st   šõõddi   mâ'ta   lei'bb+täi'ǧǧ   digu.
    DIST.SG.LOC   become.PST.3SG   like   bread.SG.NOM+dough.SG.NOM   like
    'One ladled out some stock and mixed it with that (bark) and from that it
    became like bread dough.'

17. *De   tõn   poori   leei'b   sâjja,*
    and   DIST.SG.ACC   eat.PST.3SG   bread.SG.GEN   place.SG.ILL

    juuggi   liõmin.
    drink.PST.3SG   stock.SG.COM
    'And one ate that in place of bread, and drank (it) with stock.'

18. *Kue'l   poori   de   leei'b   sâjja   leäi*
    fish.SG.ACC eat.PST.3SG   and   bread.SG.GEN place.SG.ILL   be.PST.3SG

    pie'cc.
    pine.SG.NOM
    'One ate fish and in place of bread there was pine flour.'

19. *To'ben*　*leäi*　*ruõšš+ääi'jest*　　　　*luõvâs*
　　there　　be.PST.3SG　Russian.SG.NOM+time.SG.LOC　free

　　meä'cc.
　　forest.SG.NOM
　　'There, in Russian times, there was a free forest (= one could freely fell trees for fuel, building and so on).'

20. *Na*　　　*seämmanalla*　　*ǩe'ldde,*　　*što*
　　well (DM)　in.the.same.way　fordid.PRS.3PL　COMP

　　ceägg+muõrid　　*iõl*　　　　　　*vue'tǩǩed.*
　　standing+tree.PL.ACC　NEG.3SG~must.CNG　strip.bark.INF
　　'Well, in the same way (as in Finland) they (the Russians) forbid people from stripping the bark from standing trees.'

21. *Vuâtkk*　　　　*ku*　　*koon,*　　*di*　　*vä'ldded*
　　strip.bark.PRS.3SG　when　REL.SG.ACC　and　take.INF

　　âlgg　　　　*muõr*　　　*meädda.*
　　must.PRS.3SG　tree.SG.ACC　away
　　'One must take away the tree from which one has stripped bark.'

22. *Aunnsen*　　*âlgg*　　　　*ââ'nned,*　*kue'đđed*　*iõl*
　　material.ESS　must.PRS.3SG　use.INF　　leave.INF　NEG.3SG~must.CNG

　　nu'tt.
　　like.that
　　'One must use it as material and not just leave it there like that.'

23. *Tõnt*　　　*vue'tǩǩem+pie'ccen*　　*va'lljee*　　　*šõ'lles*
　　that.is.why　strip.bark.ACT.PTCP+pine.ESS　choose.PRS.3PL　smooth

　　pie'ʒʒid.
　　pine.PL.ACC
　　'That's why they choose smooth pine trees from which to strip the bark (lit. as bark-stripping pines).'

24. *Tõi'n*   *jeä'la*   *ååu's*   *nu'tt*   *jiânnai.*
     DIST.PL.LOC   NEG.3PL~be.CNG   branch.PL.NOM   so   much

     'Those don't have so many branches.'

25. *Tõi'n*   *pie'ʒʒin*   *ra'jje*   *aaunâsmuõrid:*
     DIST.PL.LOC   pine.PL.LOC   make.PST.3PL   timber.PL.ACC

     nue'tt+oolgid,   *säi'mm+oolgid,*
     seine.SG.NOM+drying.rack.PL.ACC   gill.net.SG.NOM+drying.rack.PL.ACC

     võõnâs+tealaid,   *moostid,*   *kaartid*
     boat.SG.NOM+stock.PL.ACC   jetty.PL.ACC   sheep's.trough.PL.ACC

     da   *nu'tt*   *ooudâs.*
     and   so   further

     'From those pine trees they made timber: seine drying racks, gill net dry-
     ing racks, boat stocks (= wooden structure for supporting boats out of
     water), jetties, sheep's troughs and so on.'

'About clothes'

Pihttsin
clothes.PL.LOC
'About clothes.'

1. *Mon*   *pâi*   *mošttjem,*   *te'l*   *jeä*
    1SG.NOM   only   recall.PST.1SG   at.that.time   NEG.3PL

    leämma   *kaaup*   *ââlda,*   *ko'st-a*   *puu'tže*
    be.PST.PTCP   shop.PL.NOM   nearby   REL.SG.LOC-EMP   bring.POT.3PL

    Taarâst   *hå't*   *Lää'dd*   *kaaupin*   *vää'ldet.*
    Norway.LOC   even   Finland.SG.GEN   shop.PL.LOC   take.PRS.4

    'I just remember at that time there were no shops nearby from where they
    might bring (things), from Norway or even from Finnish shops they took
    (bought).'

2. *Tõk*   *reggsab*   *oummu*   *vuä'stte*   *jäänab*   *da*
DIST.PL.NOM   rich.CMPRT   man.PL.NOM   buy.PRS.3PL   more   and

   kallšab   *aunnsid.*
   expensive.CMPRT   material.PL.ACC
   'Those richer people bought more things and more expensive cloth.'

3. *A*   *koi'n*   *i'lla*   *vää'rr,*   *vuä'stte*
well (DM)   REL.PL.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.CNG   allowance.SG.NOM   buy.PRS.3PL

   hää'lb'bid   *aunnsid.*
   cheap.CMPRT.PL.ACC   material.PL.ACC
   'Well, those who didn't have an allowance, they bought cheaper material.'

4. *Pâi*   *jiijj*   *kuärra*   *jiijjâz+nallšem*   *pihttsid,*
always   REFL.PL.NOM   sew.PRS.3PL   REFL.GEN.3PL+type   clothes.PL.ACC

   tuâl'jõž+maall   *pihttsid.*
   old.type+model.SG.ACC   clothes.PL.ACC
   'They always sew clothes themselves according to their own design, old-fashioned clothes.'

5. *De*   *mon*   *mošttjem,*   *go*   *le'jjem*
and   1SG.NOM   recall.PST.1SG   when   be.PST.1SG

   šõddi   *niõđâž,*   *e'čč*   *da*   *jeä'nn*
   grow.PRS.PTCP   girl.DIM.SG.NOM   father.SG.NOM   and   mother.SG.NOM

   jie'lle   *Peäccmest.*
   visit.PST.3PL   Petsamo.LOC
   'And I remember when I was a growing girl, father and mother visited Petsamo.'

6. *To'ben   pu'htte   mu'nne*
    there   bring.PST.3PL   1SG.ILL

    säi'mm+čâ'lmm+gaa'rest+kååut
    net.SG.NOM+eye.SG.NOM(=checked)+wool.cloth.SG.NOM+skirt.SG.ACC

    da   čeäpstõk+kuurta.
    and   band.SG.NOM+blouse.SG.ACC
    'From there they bought a checked woollen skirt and a banded blouse for me.'

7. *O'hssnti   leäi   kauppjõs,   su'st*
    Oksenti(=man's name)   be.PST.3SG   shopkeeper.SG.NOM   3SG.LOC

    leäi   niõđâž,   de   täk   pihttâz
    be.PST.3SG   girl.DIM.SG.NOM   and   PROX.PL.NOM   clothes.PL.NOM

    jiâ   su'nne   čagškuättam.
    NEG.3PL   3SG.ILL   fit.INCP.PST.PTCP
    'Oksenti was the shopkeeper, he had a little girl, and these clothes didn't fit her anymore.'

8. *Tõid   pu'htte   mu'nne.*
    DIST.PL.ACC   bring.PST.3PL   1SG.ILL
    'They brought those for me.'

9. *Nä'de   mu'st   šõõddi   kuärgg: mu'nne*
    then (DM)   1SG.LOC   become.PST.3SG   joy.SG.NOM   1SG.ILL

    mooččâs   pihttsid   pu'htte.
    beautiful   clothes.PL.ACC   bring.PST.3PL
    'Then I was really happy: they brought beautiful clothes for me.'

10. *A   nu'tt   le'jje,   pâi   jiijj*
    well (DM)   like.that   be.PST.3PL   only   oneself.PL.NOM

    kuärra   pihttsid.
    sew.PRS.3PL   clothes.PL.ACC
    'So it was, they always sewed their own clothes.'

11. *Mij*   *jiijj*   *kuäraim*   *di*   *nu'tt*   *hå't*   *kook*
    1PL.NOM   REFL.PL.NOM   sew.PST.1PL   and   so   even   REL.PL.NOM

    le'jje.
    be.PST.3PL
    'We sewed ourselves and so did those who were there.'

12. *Kook*   *va'ldde*   *gallmaantid,*   *kook*   *faa'nlid,*
    REL.PL.NOM   take.PST.3PL   [?]   REL.PL.NOM   flannel.PL.ACC

    kook   *see'tcid,*   *kook*   *mâi'd.*
    REL.PL.NOM   cotton.cloth.PL.ACC   REL.PL.NOM   what.SG.ACC
    'Some took [unknown material], some flannel, some cotton cloth, whatever there was.'

13. *Tõi'n*   *jiijj-i*   *ra'jje*   *mä'htt*   *silttee,*
    DIST.PL.LOC   REFL.PL.NOM-EMP   make.PST.3PL   how   be.able.PST.3PL

    jie'nstez   *mu'vddem*   *mall*   *lij,*
    mother.SG.LOC.3PL   that.kind   pattern.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG

    nu'tt-i   *ra'jje.*
    like.that-just   make.PST.3PL
    'From those (materials) they themselves made (clothes) however they were able, their mother had a certain pattern and they made them just like that.'

14. *Jiijj-i*   *kuärra*   *tõi'n*   *aunnsin.*
    REFL.PL.NOM-EMP   sew.PRS.3PL   DIST.PL.LOC   material.PL.LOC
    'They themselves sewed from those materials.'

15. *Måttam*   *vuârâ*   *â'nne*   *pakk*   *pihttsid.*
    certain   time.SG.NOM   use.PRS.3PL   warm   clothes.PL.ACC
    'Sometimes they used warm clothes.'

16. *A   faa'nal   le'jje   ââ'zztee'm,   a*
    well (DM)   flannel.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   thin   well (DM)

    gallmaant,   tõk   liâ   âssas   da
    [?]   DIST.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   thick   and

    ravvsab.
    firm.CMPRT
    'Well, flannel was thin, well, [unknown material], that was thick and firmer.'

17. *Tõid   Taarâst   pu'htte,   tõin   e'pet*
    DIST.PL.ACC   Norway.LOC   bring.PST.3PL   DIST.PL.LOC   again

    heä'rvv+kååutid   raajât.
    decoration.SG.NOM+skirt.PL.ACC   make.PRS.4
    'They brought those from Norway, and from those they made decorative skirts.'

18. *Nue'ttem+pihttâz   le'jje.*
    fish.with.seine.net.ACT.PTCP+clothes.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL
    'There were seine fishing clothes.'

19. *Kook   le'jje   reggsab   oummu,   tõk*
    REL.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   rich.CMPRT   man.PL.NOM   DIST.PL.NOM

    vuä'stte   värjj+aunnsid   de   tõin
    buy.PRS.3PL   tarpaulin.SG.NOM+material.PL.ACC   and   DIST.PL.LOC

    neezzan   suâjj+kååutid   kuårru
    woman.PL.NOM   protection.SG.NOM+skirt.PL.ACC   sew.PST.3PL

    mâ'ta   määcckid   digu.
    like   Saami.coat.PL.ACC   like
    'Those who were richer people, they bought tarpaulin materials and from those the women sewed protective skirts like Saami coats.'

20. *Tõk   liâ   čää'cc+tuõ'll'jeei   pihttâz,*
     DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL water.SG.NOM+keep.PRS.PTCP clothes.PL.NOM

     što   nue'ttmen   ij   kaast.
     COMP   fish.with.seine.net.PROG.PTCP NEG.3SG   get.wet.CNG
     'They are waterproof clothes, (so) that (when) seine fishing one does not get wet.'

21. *Tõn-aa   puägganj   veâl   pirr   âânn.*
     DIST.SG.ACC-EMP   belt.SG.NOM still   around use.PRS.3SG
     'One uses a belt around it.' [Translation uncertain].

22. *Mu'nne   lij   leäm   e'čč+pokaineǩ*
     1SG.ILL   be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP father.SG.NOM+deceased.SG.NOM

     pohttam   vi'lǧǧes   väärj.
     bring.PST.PTCP white   tarpaulin.SG.ACC
     'My late father had brought me a white tarpaulin.'

23. *A   mon   kååut   kuärstem,   tõn*
     well (DM)   1SG.NOM   skirt.SG.ACC sew.quickly.PST.1SG   DIST.SG.ACC

     suäjj+kååut.
     protection.SG.NOM+skirt.SG.ACC
     'Well, I quickly sewed a skirt, that protective skirt.'

24. *Na   viõlggâd   lij.*
     well (DM)   white   be.PRS.3SG
     'Well, it is white.'

25. *Mä'htt   mon   vuäitam   nue'tted,   sähss*
     how   1SG.NOM   can.PRS.1SG fish.with.seine.net.INF   get.dirty.PRS.3SG

     čuu't.
     hard
     'How can I fish with a seine net, it will get really dirty.'

26.   *Mon   mooštam,   jõnn   nijdd   ju'n*
      1SG.NOM   remember.PRS.1SG   big   girl.SG.NOM   already

      le'jjem.
      be.PST.1SG
      'I remember, I was already a big girl.'

27.   *Mon   va'lddem   pâi   lie'ppid   vižžlem   de*
      1SG.NOM   take.PST.1SG just   alder.PL.ACC bring.quickly.PST.1SG and

      leä'pp+čää'ʒʒest   tuõlddeem   tõn   kåhttan
      alder.SG.NOM+water.SG.LOC boil.PST.1SG DIST.SG.ACC skirt.SG.ACC.1SG

      de   šõõddi   mâ'ta   ruõ'psses   koomačkåhtä.
      and   become.PST.3SG   like   red   [?].skirt.SG.[?]
      'I just took alder trees and quickly brought (them) and boiled that skirt of
      mine in alder water and it become like a red [?] skirt.'

28.   *E'čč   i'lleäkku   leäm   tõ'st.*
      father.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG~be.CNG   be.PST.PTCP   DIST.SG.LOC
      'Father was not there.'

29.   *Mij   nue'ttest   puõ'đim   vuânak.*
      1PL.NOM   seine.net.SG.LOC   come.PST.1PL   you see (DM)
      'We came from the net, you see.'

30.   *E'čč   ij   tie'đ,   što   mu'vddem*
      father.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   know.CNG   COMP   what.kind

      mu'st   ââ'n   kåhtt   lij   šõddâm.
      1SG.LOC   now   skirt.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   become.PST.PTCP
      'Father doesn't know, what kind my skirt has now become.'

31.   *E'čč   ceälkk: "Mii   lij*
      father.SG.NOM   say.PRS.3SG   what.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG

      Nääskast   nåkam   ruõ'psses   kååutid   nue'ttest?"
      Naska.LOC   such   red   skirt.PL.ACC   seine.net.SG.LOC
      'Father says: "How come Naska (= Anastasia) has such a red skirt (when we
      are) at the seine net?"' [Note use of PL.ACC]

32. *Jeä'nn   ceälkk: "Mii   lij   kååutid?*
    mother.SG.NOM   say.PRS.3SG   what.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   skirt.PL.ACC
    'Mother says: "What kind of skirt?' [Note use of PL.ACC]

33. *Årstõk+kååutas   pääinai   lie'ppin."*
    tarpaulin.SG.NOM+skirt.SG.ACC.3SG   dye.PST.3SG   alder.SG.COM
    'She dyed her tarpaulin skirt with alder."'

34. *"No   tuõđi,   viõlggâd   lij   še   teâđast   sähss."*
    well.FI   really   white   be.PRS.3SG   also   of.course   dirty
    '"Well really, it is white, of course it gets dirty."'

    ## 'About taxes'

    Piiđi   pirr
    tax.PL.GEN   around
    'About taxes.'

1. *Tuållâm+siidâst   puk   le'jje*
   Tuuloman+village.SG.LOC   all   be.PST.3PL

   kue'll+šii'li.
   fish.SG.NOM+catch.NMZL.PL.NOM
   'In Tuuloma village everyone was a fisherman.'

2. *Pâi   juõ'ǩǩe   peäl'lõõžži   kue'l   hǎ't   mii.*
   always   divide.PST.3PL   in.half   fish.SG.ACC   even   what.SG.NOM
   'They always divided the fish or whatever in half.'

3. *Kaaupše   kue'lid   di   tie'ǧǧid   puk   juõ'ǩǩe*
   sell.PST.3PL   fish.PL.ACC   and   money.PL.ACC   all   divide.PST.3PL

   peäl'lõõžži.
   in.half
   'They sold the fish and divided all the money in half.'

4. *Jõnn piiđ le'jje di tõid puk*
big tax.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL and DIST.PL.ACC all

mähss Tuållâm di teä'ǧǧ pääcc veâl.
pay.PRS.3SG Tuuloma and money.SG.NOM remain.PRS.3SG still
'There were big taxes and Tuuloma (River) paid all those and there was still some money left over.'

5. *Nåkam leäi luõss+jokk tõt.*
such be.PST.3SG salmon.SG.NOM+river.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM
'Such was that salmon river.'

6. *A kue'lid kaaupše.*
well (DM) fish.PL.ACC sell.PST.3PL
'Well, they sold fish.'

7. *Čõhčč šâdd de tõt*
autumn.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.NOM

kaupp+kue'll+šee'llem+äi'ǧǧ poott.
shop.SG.NOM+fish.SG.NOM+catch.ACT.PTCP+time.SG.NOM end.PRS.3SG
'Autumn came and that time when they caught fish they could sell to shops came to an end.'

8. *Še'lle še'lle, leâš-a teänab jiâ kaaupâž.*
fish.PRS.3PL fish.PRS.3PL but (any)more NEG.3PL sell.CNG
'They fished and they fished, but they didn't sell anymore (fish).'

9. *De tõi'd kue'lid sa'lttje.*
and DIST.PL.ACC fish.PL.ACC salt.PRS.3PL
'They salted those fish.'

10. *De kue'lid jue'ǩǩe põõrti mie'ldd.*
and fish.PL.ACC divide.PRS.3PL house.PL.GEN among
'And they divided the fish among the households.'

11. *Leâš-a* *te'l* *leäi* *nijdd*
    but   at.that.time be.PST.3SG girl.SG.NOM

    vuä'zz+pie'll *ooumaž,* *a*
    portion.SG.GEN+half.SG.NOM person.SG.NOM well (DM)

    ååum+pä'rnn *leäi* *tiudd+vuäzzlaž.*
    man.SG.NOM+child.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG full+shareholder.SG.NOM
    'But back then a girl was only given half the amount of whatever (e.g. fish/money) was distributed to boys (lit. a girl was a half-portion person, a male child was a full shareholder).'

12. *De* *ǩeä'st* *liâ* *ååum+pää'rn* *jäänab,*
    and who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL man.SG.NOM+child.PL.NOM more

    tõt *jäänab* *vuäǯǯ.*
    DIST.SG.NOM more get.PRS.3SG
    'Those who have more boys, he gets more.'

13. *A* *ǩeä'st* *liâ* *niõđ,* *tõt*
    well (DM) who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL girl.PL.NOM DIST.SG.NOM

    uu'ccab *vuäǯǯ.*
    small.CMPRT get.PRS.3SG
    'Well, those who have girls, she gets less.'

14. *A* *ââ'n* *Lää'ddest* *liâ* *kuhttu*
    well (DM) now Finland.LOC be.PRS.3PL both

    õõut+nalla, *ååumai* *da* *neezzan,* *ij*
    one.GEN+like(=equal) man.PL.NOM and woman.PL.NOM NEG.3SG

    ni kuäbbaž *vuä'zz+pie'll.*
    neither.SG.NOM portion.SG.GEN+half.SG.NOM
    'Now in Finland both are equal, men and women, they get the same share (lit. neither of them is a half portion (person)).'

15.   *Tuållâm+jokk*   *tõt*   *leäi:*   *poorti*
Tuuloma+river.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   feed.CAUS.PST.3SG

da   *piiđid*   *maau'si.*
and   tax.PL.ACC   pay.PST.3SG
'That was the River Tuuloma: it fed and it paid the taxes.'

16.   *A*   *måtmin*   *siidin*   *jõnn*   *piiđ*   *le'jje*
well (DM)   some.PL.LOC   village.PL.LOC   big   tax.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL

de   *mä'hssed*   *jiâ*   *vuei't.*
and   pay.INF   NEG.3PL   can.CNG
'Well, some villages had big taxes and are unable to pay.'

17.   *Piiđ+va'lddi*   *see'st*   *ǩie'mn*   *vä'ldde,*
tax.SG.GEN+take.NMLZ.PL.NOM   3PL.LOC   saucepan.SG.ACC   take.PRS.3PL

määccaǩ   *lij*   *â'lnn*   *de*   *tõn*
Saami.coat.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   on   and   DIST.SG.ACC

jä'hsse   *piiđâst.*
take.off.PRS.3PL   tax.SG.LOC
'The tax collectors take a saucepan from them, they have their Saami coat on and they take that off (and discount it) from the tax.'

18.   *Piiđ*   *päkk*   *lij*   *mä'hssed.*
tax.SG.ACC   obligation   be.PRS.3SG   pay.INF
'It was compulsory to pay tax.'

19.   *Måtmin*   *i'lla*   *ni mii,*   *di*
some.(people).PL.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.CNG   nothing.SG.NOM   and

ǩe'ttem+ǩie'mn   *vä'ldde.*
cook.ACT.PTCP+saucepan.SG.ACC   take.PRS.3PL
'Some people don't have anything and they (the tax collectors) took the saucepan used for (everyday) cooking.'

20. | *Hå't-i* | *ââ'n* | *â'te* | *lij* | | *de* | *mä'hssed* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | even-EMP | now | then (DM) | be.PRS.3SG | | and | pay.INF |

ij	*vuei't,*	*nårrai*		*nårrai,*
NEG.3SG	can.NEG	gather.PST.3SG		gather.PST.3SG

ǩeäi'n	*liâ*	*põõrt,*	*ǩeäi'n*	*mõõk*
who.PL.LOC	be.PRS.3PL	house.PL.NOM	who.PL.LOC	what.PL.NOM

le'žže,	*puk*	*mâ'nne.*
be.POT.3PL	all	go.PRS.3PL

   'Even in the case one can't pay, he (the tax collector) gathers and gathers, (there are) those who have houses, those who might have whatever, they all go (to pay the taxes).'

21. | *Tõ'st* | *mij* | *ku* | *kuä'ss* | *leei'm* | *Ruõšš+jânnmest,* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | DIST.SG.LOC | 1PL.NOM | when | when | be.PST.1PL | Russia+land.SG.LOC |

te'l	*leäi*	*piiđ.*
at.that.time	be.PST.3SG	tax.SG.NOM

   'There, at that time when we were in Russia, then there was tax.'

22. | *Ku* | *Tuållâm+jokk+šee'llem* | | *peäl'lõõžži,* | *te'l* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | when | Tuuloma+river.SG.NOM+catch.SG.NOM | | in.half | at.that.time |

Tuållâm+jokk		*puk*	*kaa'tti*	*tõi'd*	*piiđid.*
Tuuloma+river.SG.NOM		all	cover.PST.3SG	DIST.PL.ACC	tax.PL.ACC

   'When the catch from the Tuuloma River was (divided) in half, then the River Tuuloma covered all those taxes.'

23. | *Kaallâš* | *jokk* | *paa'ʒʒi.* |
    |---|---|---|
    | rich | river.SG.NOM | remain.PST.3SG |

   'It remained a rich river.'

'Everyday life'

Juõ'ǩǩ+peivvsaž   jie'llem
each+day.SG.NOM   life.SG.NOM
'Everyday life.'

1. *Â'nn'jõž+ääi'jest   sää'm+jie'llem   i'lla*
    present+time.SG.LOC   Saami.SG.GEN+life.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG~be.CNG

    ni voops   tuâl'jõž   saa'minallšem   jie'llem,   tõt
    not.at.all   former   Saami.like   life.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.NOM

    leäi   jee'res   jie'llem   saa'min,
    be.PST.3SG   different   life.SG.NOM   Saami.PL.LOC

    meä'cc+jie'llem   leäi.
    forest.SG.NOM+life.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG
    'Nowadays, the Skolt Saami life is not at all like the former Skolt Saami life, the Skolt Saami had a different life, it was a life in the forest.'

2. *Tä'st   ââ'n   lij   mâ'ta   digu   gåårad,*
    PROX.SG.LOC   now   be.PRS.3SG   like   like   city.SG.NOM

    igõl   ni   vä'ȝȝed,   igõl
    NEG.3SG~must.CNG   even   walk.INF   NEG.3SG~must.CNG

    ni   suukkâd   koozz   ku   vuâlgg.
    even   row.INF   REL.SG.ILL   when   leave.PRS.3SG
    'Now it's like some kind of city here, you don't even have to walk or row where you go somewhere.'

3. *Pâi   aautin   de   pyöräivui'm   de   motorivui'm*
    always   car.SG.COM   and   bike[FI].PL.COM   and   motor.boat.PL.COM

    de   skotrivui'm   di   mõõivui'm   jiâ   jåå'đ.
    and   scooter.PL.COM   and   what.PL.COM   NEG.3PL   travel.NEG
    '(People) always (go) by car and with bikes and with motor boats and with scooters and what don't people travel with!?'

4.   *A   tuu'l   tõt   leäi   jee'res*
     well (DM) in.former.times DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG different

     jie'llem.
     life.SG.NOM
     'Well, life was different back then.'

5.   *Puk   tuejjee   jiijj: nuõ'ttid,*
     all   make.PST.3PL REFL.PL.NOM   seine.net.PL.ACC

     sääi'mid,   võnnsid,   ǩe'rrsid,
     gill.net.PL.ACC boat.PL.ACC   "ahkio".sled.PL.ACC

     ǩeâlkaid   di   saanid.
     "reki".sled.PL.ACC   and   "sani".sled.PL.ACC
     'They made everything themselves: seine nets, gill nets, boats, "ahkio"
     sleds, "reki" sleds and "sani" sleds.'

6.   *Puõccid   hoi'ddje   di   kue'l   ši'lle.*
     reindeer.PL.ACC look.after.PST.3PL and   fish.SG.ACC catch.PST.3PL
     'They looked after reindeer and they caught fish.'

7.   *Tõt   leäi   jie'llem.*
     DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG   life.SG.NOM
     'That was life.'

8.   *Mon   veâl šõ'ddem   tõn   ääi'jest   de*
     1SG.NOM   still be.born.PST.1SG DIST.SG.GEN time.SG.LOC   and

     tõn   mooštam.
     DIST.SG.ACC   remember.PRS.3SG
     'I was born when it was still that time and I remember it.'

9.   *Mij   jeäp   teâttam   maai'lm   jie'llem*
     1PL.NOM   NEG.1PL know.PST.PTCP world.SG.GEN   life.SG.ACC

     ni mõõn.
     nothing.SG.ACC
     'We didn't know about the life of the world at all.'

10. *Pue'rr   leäi   da   hää'sǩ   leäi.*
     good   be.PST.3SG and   fun   be.PST.3SG
     'It was good and it was fun.'

11. *Mij   leäi'm   ǩee'rjte'mes   oummu.*
     1PL.NOM   be.PST.1PL   letter.SG.GEN+without(=illiterate)   person.PL.NOM
     'We were illiterate people.'

12. *Tõn   tiõ'đi   ku   pei'vv   pirr   ââ'lm*
     DIST.SG.ACC know.PST.3SG   when   sun.SG.NOM   around   sky.SG.GEN

     jåått   da   piõgg   muõrid   da   čää'ʒʒ
     travel.PRS.3SG   and   wind.SG.NOM   tree.PL.ACC   and   water.SG.ACC

     liikktââll   da   tää'sn   ââ'lmest   jå'tte   de
     move.PRS.3SG   and   star.PL.NOM   sky.SG.LOC   go.PRS.3PL   and

     kuä'ss   ooumaž   rääi   mâânn.
     when   person.SG.NOM   past   go.PRS.3SG
     'One knew when the sun travels around the sky and the wind moves the
     trees and the water and the stars travel in the sky and when a person goes
     past.'

13. *A   jâkkooumaž   puätt,   pâ'lle*
     well (DM) strange.person.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG fear.PRS.3PL

     nu'tt   mâ'ta   såå'rmest   digu.
     so   like   death.SG.LOC   like
     'Well, if a strange person came, they were scared to death.'

14. *Nu'tt   pââll.*
     so   fear.PRS.3SG
     'Like that one fears.'

15. *Mon   le'jjem   nu'tt põõlâč,   da   nu'tt-i*
     1SG.NOM   be.PST.1SG   so   fearful   and   so-just

     le'jje   še   måtam,   põõlee.
     be.PST.3PL   also   some   fear.PST.3PL
     'I was so fearful, and so too there were others who also feared.'

16. *Nu'tt   liâ   kuu'ǩǩ   kue'tt+kõõsk,*
    so   be.PRS.3PL long   Lapp.hut.SG.NOM+space.PL.NOM

    måtmin   kue'tt+kõõskin   kollai
    some.PL.LOC Lapp.hut.SG.NOM+space.PL.LOC be.heard.PRS.3SG

    piânnai   uukkâm,   jäänaš   ij   kullu.
    dog.SG.NOM   bark.ACT.PTCP mostly   NEG.3SG   be.heard.CNG
    'There is a big space between some Lapp huts, a dog barking can be
    heard from between the huts, but mostly it can't be heard.'

17. *Tõk   ju'n   liâ   âlddlõõžži,   go*
    DIST.PL.NOM already   be.PRS.3PL close.together when

    pie'nne   jiõnn   kollai.
    dog.SG.GEN sound.SG.ACC   be.heard.PRS.3SG
    'They are already close together, when the sound of a dog can be heard.'

18. *Jäänab   kue'tt+kõõskin   jiâ   kullu,*
    more   Lapp.hut.SG.NOM+space.PL.LOC   NEG.3PL be.heard.CNG

    nu'tt le'jje   ku'ǩǩen   kuei'msteez.
    so   be.PST.3PL far(ESS)   other.SG.LOC.3PL
    'Nothing else can be heard from between the huts, they were so far away
    from each other.'

19. *Nu'tt siidâst   â'te   jälste   pâi   koumm*
    so   village.SG.LOC then (DM)   live.PRS.3PL only   three

    oummu.
    person.PL.NOM
    'So only three people live in the village.'

20. *Te'l   liâ   õõut+sââ'jest.*
    at.that.time be.PRS.3PL one.GEN+place.SG.LOC
    'At that time they are together.'

21. *Mâŋŋa   liâ   puk õõuti,   kåå'tt   ko'st.*
     later   be.PRS.3PL   all alone   REL.SG.NOM   REL.SG.LOC
     'Later (= when they move to their summer dwelling places) they are all
     alone, each one in a different place (lit. "whoever, wherever").'

22. *Pâi   kuä'ss ko'st   ǩii   kuei'mes*
     always when   REL.SG.LOC who.SG.NOM   other.(person).SG.GEN.3SG

     å'rnn   jeäll.
     to.one's.place   go.PRS.3SG
     'Only sometimes somebody visits his neighbour.' [Translation uncertain].

23. *A   jâkkoummin   nu'tt põ'lle   gu mâ'ta*
     well (DM)   strange.person.PL.LOC   so   fear.PST.3PL as like

     kaammgast.
     bear.SG.LOC
     'Well, they feared strange people like they feared a bear.'

24. *A   kaammgast   jeä'p   nu'tt põõllâm   gu*
     well (DM)   bear.SG.LOC NEG.1PL   so   fear.PST.PTCP   as

     mä'htt oummust   põõliim.
     how   person.SG.LOC   fear.PST.1PL
     'Well, we didn't fear a bear as much as we feared a person.'

25. *Ââ'n   ij   põõl   ni mâ'st.*
     now   NEG.3SG   fear.CNG   nothing.SG.LOC
     'Now one doesn't fear anything.'

26. *Mon   â'te   šõ'ddem   di   jie'llem   di*
     1SG.NOM   then (DM) be.born.PST.1SG and   life.SG.NOM   and

     nu'tt   leäi   hää'sǩ da   pue'rr.
     like.that be.PST.3SG fun   and   good
     'So I was born and life and all that was fun and good.'

27. *Mõõn*   *vuõi'ti*   *da*   *mõõn*   *ǩirggni*
what.SG.ACC   be.able.PST.3SG   and   what.SG.ACC   have.time.PST.3SG

    rõsseed,   *tõn-i*   *tuejjii.*
keep.busy.INF   DIST.SG.ACC-just   do.PST.3SG
'What one was able and what one had time to do, just that one did.'

28. *Kooum*   *vuâra*   *peei'vest*   *võõrâs*   *kue'l*
three.SG.GEN   time   day.SG.LOC   fresh   fish.SG.ACC

    väldd   *jääu'rest,*   *kägg,*   *påårr.*
take.PRS.3SG   lake.SG.LOC   pick.up.PRS.3SG   eat.PRS.3SG
'Three times a day one takes fresh fish from the lake, picks (it) up, and eats it.'

29. *Tä'lvv*   *šõõddi,*   *juŋstâ'lle.*
winter.SG.NOM   become.PST.3SG   fish.with.ice.net.PRS.3PL
'Winter arrives and one fishes with ice nets.'

30. *Ǩiđđ*   *šâdd,*   *seämmanalla.*
sping.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG   in.the.same.way
'Likewise when spring arrives.'

31. *Di*   *tõõivui'm*   *jeäll.*
and   DIST.PL.COM   live.PRS.3SG
'And with those one lives.'

32. *Kåå'tt*   *lij*   *reggsab*   *ooumaž*   *de*   *jäänab*
REL.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   rich.CMPRT   person.SG.NOM   and   more

    zavoot   *lij,*   *kådd*   *jäänab*   *kue'l,*
site[RU].PL.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   catch.PRS.3SG   more   fish.SG.ACC

    tä'lvv+kue'l   *vuäžž.*
winter.SG.NOM+fish.SG.ACC   get.PRS.3SG
'He who is a richer people and has more sites (where he can fish), he catches more fish and gets fish for winter.'

33. | *Leâš-a* | *måtam* | *liâ* | *ää'pptab* | | *nu'tt* | *še.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | some | be.PRS.3PL | helpless.CMPRT(=poorer) | | so | also |

'But some are also poorer.'

34. | *Tõk-õs* | *kuei'mm kuei'mes* | *vie'ǩǩte,* |
|---|---|---|
| DIST.PL.NOM-as.for | each.other.SG.ACC.3SG | help.PRS.3PL |

sie'bri	*še'lle.*
in.a.group	fish.PRS.3PL

'As for those, they help each other, they fish together in a group.'

35. | *Mon* | *â'te* | *jiõm* | *väjldââ'tt* | *ouddâl* | *tõn* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.NOM | then (DM) | NEG.1SG | forget.CNG | before | DIST.SG.ACC |

pääi'ǩ	*gu*	*tunâlmma*	*mõõnžem.*
place.SG.ACC	when	after.life.SG.ILL	go.POT.1SG

'I won't forget that place until I might go to the afterlife.'

36. | *Ââ'n* | *mon* | *jiõm* | *pââ'st* | *ni koozz,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| now | 1SG.NOM | NEG.1SG | be.able.CNG | nowhere.ILL |

vuei't	*ni koozz.*
can.CNG	nowhere.ILL

'Now I'm not able to go anywhere, I can't go anywhere.'

37. | *Mu'st* | *kâl* | *årra* | *še* | *kue'l* | *tob,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.LOC | yes | towards | also | fish.PL.NOM | there |

ko'st	*liâ.*
REL.SG.LOC	be.PRS.3PL

'I am not even able to fish any more (lit. as far as I'm concerned, the fish can be where they are).'

38. | *Jiõm* | *vuei't* | *di* | *jiõm* | *kuåst.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG.1SG | can.CNG | and | NEG.1SG | be.capable.of.going.CNG |

'I can't and I am not capable of going (to fish).'

39. *Poorčem   mon   kâ'l võõrâs kue'l,*
     eat.COND.1SG 1SG.NOM yes   fresh   fish.SG.ACC

     leâš-a ko'st   tõn   vääldak.
     but   REL.SG.LOC DIST.SG.ACC   take.PRS.2SG
     'I could eat fresh fish, yes, but where do you take it from.'

40. *Ǩii   pohtt   de   te'l   lij   šiõgg.*
     who.SG.NOM   bring.PRS.3PL and at.that.time be.PRS.3SG   good
     'If someone brings (me fish) it will be nice.'

41. *Puä'resvuõtt   tõn   âma   ceä'lǩǩe,   što*
     old.age.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.ACC   probably   say.PRS.3PL COMP

     tõt   i'lla   rääda'st.
     DIST.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG~be.CNG in.high.spirits
     'People say that old age is not a joyful time.'

42. *Leâš-a tõn   âma   vuäitt   pågsted,*
     but   DIST.SG.LOC   probably   can.PRS.3SG laugh.INF

     što   kåå'tt   puärasm,   tõt   juâkksi'žže
     COMP   REL.SG.NOM   grow.old.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.NOM   each.one.SG.ILL

     puätt.
     come.PRS.3SG
     'But he can laugh at that, the one who grows old, (because) that (old age) comes to everyone.'

43. *Äi'ǧǧ   lij   nu'tt pijjum.*
     time.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   so   put.PASS.PTCP
     'That is how time is destined (lit. time has been put like that).'

44. *Ǩeäzz   ââ'ǩǩ   lij   puä'res+pei'vv.*
     who.SG.ILL   age.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   old+day.SG.NOM
     [Translation uncertain].

'About the Skolt Saami language'

Sää'm+ǩiõl   *pirr*
Saami.SG.GEN+language.SG.GEN   around
'About the Skolt Saami language.'

1.   *Måttam*   *jõõll*   *liâ*   *nu'tt*   *što*
      some   lunatic.PL.NOM   be.PRS.3PL   so   COMP

      säämas   *igõl*   *särnnad,*   *ašttõ'lle.*
      in.Saami.language   NEG.3SG~must.CNG   speak.INF   remember.PRS.3PL
      'There are certain lunatics (who say) that one mustn't speak in Skolt Saami, they say.'

2.   *Mee'st*   *kâ'l*   *tõk*   *jeä*   *leämmaš,*
      1PL.LOC   yes   DIST.PL.NOM   NEG.3PL   be.PST.PTCP

      što   *igõl*   *säämas*   *särnnad.*
      COMP   NEG.3SG~must.CNG   in.Saami.language   speak.INF
      'At ours (= in our family) there were none of those (who said) that we mustn't speak Skolt Saami.'

3.   *Kuhttu*   *ǩiõ'lle*   *säärnat.*
      both   language.SG.ILL   speak.4
      'We spoke both languages.' [Note use of illative].

4.   *A*   *mon*   *gu*   *Lää'dd+jânnma*   *puõ'ttem,*
      well (DM)   1SG.NOM   when   Finn.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL   come.PST.1SG

      jiõm   *silttääm*   *lääddas*   *ni*
      NEG.1SG   be.able.PST.PTCP   in.Finnish.language   even

      čää'ʒʒ   *raukkâd.*
      water.SG.ACC   ask.for.INF
      'Well, when I came to Finland I wasn't even able to ask for water in Finnish.'

5. *Nu'tte   le'jjem,   hå't   le'jjem*
   so-just   be.PST.1SG   even.though   be.PST.1SG

   nelljlo+ekksaž,   pâ'jjel.
   forty+year.old.SG.NOM   over
   'That's how I was, even though I was over forty years old.'

6. *Kâ'l   lää'dd+ǩiõll   ij   jååttam.*
   yes   Finn.SG.GEN+language.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   travel.PST.PTCP
   'Yes, I couldn't speak Finnish at all (lit. Finnish language didn't flow).'

7. *Ruõššâs   kâ'l   siltteem,   leâš-a   ââ'n*
   in.Russian.language   yes   be.able.PST.1SG   but   now

   leäm   puk   väjldâttam.
   be.PRS.1SG   all   forget.PST.PTCP
   'I was able to speak Russian, yes, but now I have forgotten it all.'

8. *Ǩee'rj   pann'nalla   vuäinam.*
   book.SG.ACC   bad.like   see.PRS.1SG
   'I can't see a book very well.'

9. *Â'lǧǧe   lee'd   nåkam   åå'šk   lookkâd*
   must.PRS.3PL   be.INF   such   glasses.PL.NOM   read.INF

   ruõšš+ǩee'rj.
   Russian+book.SG.ACC
   'I must use (lit. there must be) such a kind of glasses to read a Russian book.'

10. *Lää'dd+ǩiõl   mon   jiõm   fi'tte*
    Finn.SG.GEN+language.SG.ACC   1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG   understand.CNG

    ni mõõn.
    nothing.SG.ACC
    'I don't understand Finnish at all.'

11.   *Ei'dde*   *tâma*   *kâ'l*   *tättad*   *le'jjem,*   *jiõččan*   *nõõm*
        just   [?]   yes   want.INF   be.PST.1SG   REFL.SG.GEN.1SG   name.SG.ACC

        le'jjem   *ǩee'rjted,*   *leâš-a*   *jiõm*   *huõllâm.*
        be.PST.1SG   write.PST.PTCP   but   NEG.1SG   bother.PST.PTCP
        'I certainly would have wanted (to be able to read Finnish), I would have
        written my own name, but I didn't bother.'

12.   *Pue'rab*   *lij,*   *jiõm*   *silttâd.*
        good.CMPRT   be.PRS.3SG   NEG.1SG   be.able.INF
        'It is better that I am not able.'

'About church'

Ceerkav   *pirr*
church.SG.GEN   around
'About church.'

1.   *Ceerkav*   *mij*   *siidâst*   *i'lleäm.*
       church.SG.NOM   1PL.GEN   village.SG.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP
       'There was no church in our village.'

2.   *Škooul*   *leäi*   *de*   *tõn-i*   *õ'nne*
       school.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   and   DIST.SG.ACC-just   use.PST.3PL

       ceerkven,   *kuä'ss*   *papp*   *puätt.*
       church.ESS   when   priest.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG
       'There was a school and they used just that as a church when the priest
       comes.'

3.   *Ceerkav*   *leäi*   *tob*   *Risttǩee'ddest.*
       church.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   there   Ristikenttä.SG.LOC
       'There was a church there at Ristikenttä.'

4.   *To'ben*   *jå'tte*   *ku*   *mee'st*   *i'lleäm*   *ceerkav.*
       there   travel.PRS.3PL   as   1PL.LOC   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   church.SG.NOM
       'They travel from there as we didn't have a church.'

5. *Papp*   *kuä'ss*   *puätt*   *põõ'zzid*   *le'be*
    priest.SG.NOM   when   come.PRS.3SG holy.day.PL.ILL   or

    veänccõõttâm   *diõtt*   *kåčča,*   *de*
    marry.ACT.PTCP   for.the.sake.of   be.called.PRS.3SG   and

    škooulâst-i   *õ'nne.*
    school.SG.LOC-just   use.PST.3PL

    'When the priest comes for holy days or is called for a marriage, then they had the service in the school.'

6. *Tõ'st*   *leäi*   *â'te*   *škooulâst*   *tuâgg+peä'lnn*
    DIST.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   then (DM)   school.SG.LOC   back+side.SG.NOM

    zää'vešǩ   *pijjum*   *kõ'sǩǩe.*
    curtain.SG.ACC   put.PASS.PTCP   middle.ILL

    'So, there in the school, at the back, a curtain had been put up in the middle.' [The school in the story was one large classroom, hence the reference to "the back"].

7. *Kuä'ss*   *päärnain*   *ku*   *lij*   *mätt'tõs+äi'ǧǧ,*
    when   child.PL.LOC   when   be.PRS.3SG   teaching.SG.NOM+time.SG.NOM

    tob   *tue'ǩǩen*   *liâ*   *kavvâz,*   *pâi*
    there   behind(ESS)   be.PRS.3PL   icon.PL.NOM   only

    zää'vešǩ   *ou'dde*   *ro'ttješ.*
    curtain.SG.ACC   in.front.ILL   pull.PST.4

    'When the children had study time, the icons were there behind (the curtain), one only pulled the curtain in front (of them).'

8. *A*   *sluu'žbid*   *â'nškuä'tte,*   *te'l*   *zää'vešǩ*
    well (DM)   serive.PL.ACC   hold.INCP.PRS.3PL   at.that.time   curtain.SG.ACC

    meädda   *vää'ldet.*
    away   take.PRS.4

    'Well, when a church service began, at that time one would take the curtain away.'

9. *Mij siidâst leäi še ruõkkâm+sââ'jj*
1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG also bury.ACT.PTCP+place.SG.NOM

de Risttǩee'ddest leäi.
and Ristikenttä.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG

'There was also a burial site in our village and it was in Ristikenttä.'

10. *Leâš-a tuâl'jõž+ääi'jest le'jje, de ko'st ju'n*
but former+time.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL and REL.SG.LOC already

pâ'jjpääi'ǩin lij jälstemen,
summer.dwelling.area.PL.LOC be.PRS.3SG live.PROG.PTCP

ǩeä'st-a mâ'mmet liâ jälstem+sââi,
who.SG.LOC-EMP to.what.extent be.PRS.3PL live.ACT.PTCP+place.PL.NOM

koozz jäämm, de tõõzz-i rue'ǩǩe.
REL.SG.ILL die.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.ILL-just bury.PRS.3PL

'But they were the olden days and where (a person) is already living in the summer dwelling places, to the extent that each one has dwelling places, wherever he dies so they bury (him) there.'

11. *Tõ'st ââlda vuä'mm jaa'mi ku*
DIST.SG.LOC nearby old deceased.person.PL.NOM when

liâ, te'l ve'ǩǩe õõut+sâjja.
be.PRS.3PL at.that.time take.PRS.3PL one.GEN+place.SG.ILL

'If there were some old graves nearby (lit. old deceased), then they buried them together.'

12. *A kuu'ǩǩab kõskk lij, de*
well (DM) far.CMPRT distance.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG and

koozz jäämm, de tõõzz-i pe'jje.
REL.SG.ILL die.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.ILL-just put.PRS.3PL

'Well, if there is a longer distance (to go), so where one dies, then they put (= bury him) right there.'

13. *Kook*   *â'te*   *aau'did*   *kuäivva,*   *kook*
     REL.PL.NOM   then (DM)   grave.PL.ACC   dig.PRS.3PL   REL.PL.NOM

     tuejjee   *lee'tt,*   *kook*   *pihttsid*   *rä'jje*
     do.PRS.3PL   coffin.SG.ACC   REL.PL.NOM   clothes.PL.ACC   make.PRS.3PL

     da   *pâ'sse*   *da*   *maddu*   *pe'jje,*   *te'l*
     and   wash.PRS.3PL   and   ground.SG.ILL   put.PRS.3PL   at.that.time

     pâi   *tõk*   *puõ'tte*   *ruõkkâm+poodd.*
     always   DIST.PL.NOM   come.PST.3PL   bury.ACT.PTCP+time.PL.NOM

     'So, some people dig graves, some people make a coffin, some make
     clothes and wash (the corpse) and put it into the ground, back then only
     those burial times came.'

14. *Te'l*   *leäi,*   *jiõnnsa*   *reäggee'l*   *prå'ššjõ'tte.*
     at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   aloud   cry.INSTR   say.goodbye.PST.3PL

     'Back then people said their farewell by crying aloud.'

15. *Silttääm*   *mon*   *kâ'l*   *virsseed,*   *leâš-a*
     be.able.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM   yes   wail.INF   but

     jiõm   *vuei't*   *ku*   *pâi*   *te'l,*
     NEG.1SG   can.CNG   when   only   at.that.time

     gu   *leäm*   *jaa'mmja*   *prå'ššjõõttmen.*
     when   be.PRS.1SG   deceased.SG.ILL   say.goodbye.PROG.PTCP

     'I am certainly able to wail, but I can't do it except at times when I am say-
     ing goodbye to someone who has died.'

16. *A   tä'st   gu   rue'ǩǩe,   tok   ruåđ*
    well (DM) PROX.SG.LOC when   bury.PRS.3PL to.there relative.PL.NOM

   kuâđđje,   päärna,   hå't   jeä'nn,   hå't   niõđ,
   remain.PST.3PL child.PL.NOM even   mother.SG.NOM   even   girl.PL.NOM

   hå't   kää'lles,   hå't   äkk,   hå't
   even   grandfather.SG.NOM even   grandmother.SG.NOM even

   mõõk,   mu'st   liâ   mäŋgg   kõõččâm,
   what.PL.NOM 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL many   ask.PST.PTCP

   jiõm   vuei't.
   NEG.1SG   can.CNG

   'Well, here when they bury (someone), the relatives who are left behind, the children, mother, the girls, grandfather, grandmother, any relative, many have asked me (to wail), but I can't (any more).'

17. *Grååm gu   kuä'ss   reäggam   de   kåå'tt   lij*
    only.then   when   cry.PRS.1SG and   REL.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG

   jäämmam   de   tõn   â'lnn   leäm   reäkkam.
   die.PST.PTCP and   DIST.SG.GEN on   be.PRS.1SG   cry.PST.PTCP

   'It is only then when I cry when someone has died and I have cried for him/her.'

18. *Teänab   mon   jiõm   vuei't   virsseed.*
    (any)more   1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG can.CNG   wail.INF

   'I can't wail any more.'

19. *Mon   leäm   mäŋggsest   kuâđđjam.*
    1SG.NOM   be.PRS.1SG many.people.SG.LOC remain.PST.PTCP

   'I have outlived many people.'

20. *Kuõ'htt   källaz   liâ   mõõnnâm.*
    two   old.man.SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL go.PST.PTCP

   'Two husbands (of mine) have gone (= died).'

21. *Piârân   leäi   õhtt   nijdd,   tõt*
    family.ESS   be.PST.3SG one   girl.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.NOM

    leäi   kuuđ+nie'ttlõõzzâž,   teä   jaa'mi.
    be.PST.3SG six.SG.GEN+week.ADJ.SG.GEN   then   die.PST.3SG
    'As a family [?] there was one girl, she was a six-week-old and then she died.'

22. *Jeä'nn   jaa'mi   da   mon   kuâđđjem*
    mother.SG.NOM die.PST.3SG   and   1SG.NOM   remain.PST.1SG

    kutmlo+ekksi'žžen.
    sixteen+year-old.ESS
    'Mother died and I was left as a sixteen-year-old.'

23. *Koummân   jie'nnest   leäm   puärrsõmâs   kuâđđjam.*
    three.SG.LOC mother.SG.LOC be.PRS.1SG old.SUPL   remain.PST.PTCP
    'From three mothers, I am the oldest who has remained.'

24. *Ee'jjest   le'jje   koumm   ää'ǩǩ   de   mon*
    father.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL   three   wife.SG.GEN and   1SG.NOM

    leäm   vuõssmõs   ää'ǩǩ   puärrsumâs   nijdd.
    be.PRS.1SG first   wife.SG.GEN old.SUPL   girl.SG.NOM
    'Father had three wives and I am the first wife's oldest daughter.'

25. *Kâ'l   tõ'st   lij   måtam+vuâra   reäkkmuš*
    yes   DIST.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG certain+time.SG.NOM   cry.NMLZ.SG.NOM

    puättam,   ku   tõk   mõ'nne   puk   ruåđ.
    come.PST.PTCP when   DIST.PL.NOM   go.PST.3PL   all   relative.PL.NOM
    'Once it really made me cry, as all those relatives have gone (died).'

26. *Ouddâl   tob   Risttǩee'ddest   jo'tte.*
    before   there   Ristikenttä.SG.LOC   travel.PST.3PL
    'In earlier times they travelled there, to Ristikenttä.'

27. *Papp   leäi   to'ben   ââldmõõzzâst.*
    priest.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG   there   near[?].SG.LOC
    'The nearest priest was there.' [Translation uncertain].

28. *A   päärnaž   kuä'ss   lij   šõddâm*
    well (DM)   child.DIM.SG.NOM   when   be.PRS.3SG   be.born.PST.PTCP

    tälvva,   papp   ku   si'jdde   puätt,
    in.winter   priest.SG.NOM   when   village.SG.ILL   come.PRS.3SG

    de   te'l   re'stte.
    and   at.that.time   christen.PST.3PL
    'Well, when a child was born in winter, when the priest came to the village,
    then at that time they christened (him).'

29. *A   ǩeässa   papp   vaa'ǯǯi   põõrti*
    well (DM)   in.summer   priest.SG.NOM   walk.PST.3SG   house.PL.GEN

    mie'ldd   päärnaid   risttâm   diõtt.
    among   child.PL.ACC   christen.ACT.PTCP   for.the.sake.of
    'Well, in summer the priest walked from house to house in order to chris-
    ten the children.'

30. *Te'l   le'jje   måtmin   ju'n   kuõi'tes*
    at.that.time   be.PST.3PL   some.(people).PL.LOC   already   couple.SG.NOM

    riistǩeânnai   de   suännaid   õhttna   ri'stte.
    christen.ABE   and   3DU.ACC   at.once   christen.PST.3PL
    'At that time some people had unchristened (children) and they christened
    the two of them at the same time.'

31. *Papp   ku   lij   ku'ǩǩen   di   ku'ǩǩ   lij*
    priest.SG.NOM   when   be.PRS.3SG   far(ESS)   and   long   be.PRS.3SG

    risttâd   jåå'tted,   de   ku   rââ'šš   liâ
    christen.INF   travel.INF   and   when   weak   be.PRS.3PL

    siõmâž,   de   te'lles   vuäitt   risttâd.
    child.DIM.SG.NOM   then   immediately   can.PRS.3SG   christen.INF
    'If the priest is far away and it's a long way to travel to christen (someone),
    then when a small child is weak, so then you can christen (the child) imme-
    diately.'

32. *Tõ'st*   *lij*   *nåkam*   *ooumaž,*   *go*
     DIST.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   such   person.SG.NOM   when

     risttâd   *vuäitt.*
     christen.INF   can.PRS.3SG

     'There is a certain person who can (= is permitted to) christen.' [Translation uncertain].

33. *Sää'm+riistâst*   *restt.*
     Saami.SG.GEN+christening.SG.LOC   christen.PRS.3SG

     'He christens (using) the Skolt Saami christening.' [Translation uncertain; note use of locative].

34. *Mâŋŋa*   *papp*   *ku*   *puätt,*   *te'l*
     later   priest.SG.NOM   when   come.PRS.3SG   at.that.time

     teänab   *ij*   *čää'ǯǯest*   *kasttâd,*   *pâi*
     (any)more   NEG.3SG   water.SG.LOC   christen.CNG   only

     miramaas.
     anoint.PRS.3SG

     'Later when the priest comes, then he doesn't christen with water any more, but anoints (with oil).'

35. *A*   *riistǩeânnai*   *i'lleäm*   *låå'pp*
     well (DM)   christen.ABE.PTCP   NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   permission.SG.NOM

     ââ'nned,   *što*   *risttâd*   *âlgg*   *te'lles-i.*
     keep.INF   COMP   christen.INF   must.PRS.3SG   right.away-just

     'It was not permitted to have an unchristened (child), but he/she had to be christened immediately.'

36. *E'čč*   *ij*   *vuei't*   *risttâd*   *go*   *ei'dde*
     father.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   can.CNG   christen.INF   when   just

     lij   *šõddâm.*
     be.PRS.3SG   be.born.PST.PTCP

     'A father cannot christen when (a child) has just been born.'

37. *Jee'res   ku   lij,   son   vuäitt*
    different   when   be.PRS.3SG   3SG.NOM   can.PRS.3SG

    risttâd   tõn   ei'dde+šõddâm   siõ'me.
    christen.INF   DIST.SG.ACC   just+born.PST.PTCP   small.child.SG.ACC
    'When it's a different (person), he can christen that new-born child.'

38. *De   sää'm+riistâst   ri'stte.*
    and   Saami.SG.GEN+christening.SG.LOC   christen.PST.3PL
    'Then they christened (using) the Skolt Saami christening.' [Translation
    uncertain; note use of locative].

39. *De   te'l   leäi   pâi   sä'mmlaž   ku*
    and   at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   only   Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM   when

    restt.
    christen.PRS.3SG
    'At that time there was always a Skolt Saami person present when he chris-
    tens.'

40. *Sää'm+riistâst   leäi   nõmm   Evvan*
    Saami.SG.GEN+christening.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   name.SG.NOM   John

    da   Mä'rjj.
    and   Maria
    'In the Skolt Saami christening there was the name John and Mary.
    [In Skolt Saami christenings it was only permitted to call a boy "John" and
    a girl "Mary"].'

41. *Papp   leäi   mie'rrääm   nu'tt.*
    priest.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   order.PST.PTCP   like.that
    'The priest had ordered like that.'

42. *De   mâŋŋa   ku   re'stte,   ku   ǩii*
    and   later   when   christen.PST.3PL   when   who.SG.NOM

    tätt   vaajted,   de   vaajat   nõõm.
    want.PRS.3SG   change.INF   and   change.PRS.4   name.SG.ACC
    'Then when they christened (the child) again, when someone wants to
    change (his/her name), then one changes (his/her) name.'

43. *Ku   ij   täätt,   de   tõid-i   pe'jje.*
     when   NEG.3SG   want.CNG   and   DIST.PL.ACC-just   put.PRS.3PL
     'If one doesn't want (to change names), then those (previously given
     names) remain (lit. they put those (names)).'

44. *Te'l   leäi   ruõšš+ääi'jest   nu'tt.*
     at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   Russian+time.SG.LOC   like.that
     'That's how it was in the Russian times.'

'About Christmas'

Rosttov   pirr
Christmas.PL.GEN   around
'About Christmas.'

1. *Mon   gu   šõõddim,   de   mu'st   jeä'nn*
    1SG.NOM   when   be.born.PST.1SG   and   1SG.LOC   mother.SG.NOM

    le'jje,   te'l   leäi   roostpââ'ss.
    be.PST.3PL   at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   Christmas.fast.SG.NOM
    'When I was born, and I had mothers (NB. the narrator's father had two
    wives)...at that time there was a Christmas fast.'

2. *De   suäna   jiâ   luâšttam   ni   vue'žž   poorrâd.*
    and   3DU.NOM   NEG.3PL   allow.PST.PTCP   even   meat.SG.ACC   eat.INF
    'The two of them didn't even let (us) eat meat.'

3. *Kutt   nie'ttel   âlgg   pâi   pââ'zzted,*
    six   week.SG.GEN   must.PRS.3SG   only   fast.INF

    pâi   õõlgi   kue'l   poorrâd.
    only   have.to.PST.3SG   fish.SG.ACC   eat.INF
    'For six weeks one had to just fast, one had to eat only fish.'

4. *De   tõk   kutt   neä'ttel   ku   mâ'nne*
    and   DIST.PL.NOM   six   week.SG.GEN   when   go.PRS.3PL

    rosttov+käänan   puätt.
    Christmas.PL.NOM+eve.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG
    'And when those six weeks are over then Christmas eve arrives.'

5.   *Rosttov+käänan*   *jiâ*   *poor*   *ni*   *kue'l.*
Christmas.PL.NOM+eve.SG.GEN   NEG.3PL   eat.CNG   even   fish.SG.ACC
'On Christmas eve they don't even eat fish.'

6.   *Õõut*   *leei'b*   *på'rre*   *tõn*
one.SG.ACC   bread.SG.ACC   eat.PRS.3PL   DIST.SG.GEN

    käänan+peei'v.
eve.SG.NOM+day.SG.GEN
'They eat one bread on that (Christmas) eve.'

7.   *De*   *rosttov+pei'vv*   *puätt,*   *de*
and   Christmas.PL.NOM+day.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG   and

    pââ'ss   *puätt,*   *see'st*   *šâdd*   *rääda'st.*
holy.day.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG   3PL.LOC   become.PRS.3SG   in.high.spirits
'Then Christmas day comes, the holy day arrives, and they are in high spirits.'

8.   *Kuärgg*   *šâdd,*   *što*   *pââ'ss*   *pue'đi.*
joy.SG.NOM   become.PRS.3SG   COMP   blessing.SG.NOM   come.PST.3SG
'There is joy that a holy day has come.'

9.   *De*   *vue'žž*   *pâi*   *rä'jje,*   *vue'žžid*   *ǩee'ttet,*
and   meat.SG.ACC   only   make.PRS.3PL   meat.PL.ACC   cook.PRS.4

    ǩeä'st   *lij*   *puõi'dd*   *da*   *vuä'žž.*
who.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   fat.SG.NOM   and   meat.SG.NOM
'And they only prepare meat, they cook meats, those who have some fat and meat.'

10.   *De*   *kue'ss*   *puä'tte,*   *de*   *vue'žžin*
and   visitor.PL.NOM   come.PRS.3PL   and   meat.SG.COM

    ä'lǧǧe   *kuâssted.*
begin.PRS.3PL   entertain.INF
'Then the visitors come and they begin to entertain (them) with meat.'

11. *Di   veei'n   lij   de   jugškuä'tte,*
     and   alcohol.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG   and   drink.INCP.PRS.3PL

     jeä'lškuä'tte.
     live.INCP.PRS.3PL

     'And there is alcohol and they start to drink and start to have a good time
     (lit. start to live).'

12. *Kuõ'htt   peei'v   liâ   rosttov+peei'v.*
     two   day.SG.GEN   be.PRS.3PL   Christmas.SG.NOM+day.PL.NOM

     'There are two days of Christmas.'

13. *Te'l   tõi'd   põõ'zzid   nu'tt-i   mõ'nne.*
     at.that.time DIST.PL.ACC   holy.day.PL.NOM like.that-just go.PST.3PL

     'Like that those holidays went by.' [Translation uncertain; unsure why accu-
     sative case is used].

14. *De   tõ'st   lij,   mä'htt   lij*
     and   DIST.SG.LOC   be.PRS.3SG   how   be.PRS.3SG

     ââ'n   še,   vee'rest+kõskk.
     now   also   Epiphany.SG.NOM+middle.SG.NOM

     'Then there is, like nowadays also, the time between Christmas Day and
     Epiphany.'

15. *Tät   mâânn   â'te   kuõ'htt   nie'ttled,*
     PROX.SG.NOM   go.PRS.3SG   then (DM)   two   week.PART

     te'l   lij   pâi   argg,   jeä'la
     at.that.time be.PRS.3SG   only   weekday.SG.NOM   NEG.3PL~be.CNG

     kue'll+peei'v.
     fish.SG.NOM+day.PL.NOM

     'Two weeks go by and then it is a (normal) weekday, it isn't a fish day
     (= day of fasting).' [Note irregular use of partitive following the numeral
     two].

16. *Di   tõ'st   vee'rest   ku   mâ'nne,*
    and   DIST.SG.LOC   Epiphany.PL.NOM   when   go.PRS.3PL

    de   vä'stt   argg   vuâlgg.
    and   back   weekday.SG.NOM   leave.PRS.3SG
    'And from there when Epiphany is over, then it's back to everyday life.'

17. *Tõt   lij   tä'lvv+argg.*
    DIST.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   winter.SG.NOM+weekday.SG.NOM
    'That was the time following Epiphany.'

18. *Leâš-a   kuõ'htt   peei'v   liâ   kue'll+peei'v*
    but   two   day.SG.GEN   be.PRS.3PL   fish.SG.NOM+day.PL.NOM

    kõskk+nie'ttlest: seärad   da   piâtnâc.
    middle.SG.NOM+week.SG.LOC   Wednesday   and   Friday[RU]
    'But two days are fish days in the middle of the week: Wednesday and
    Friday.'

19. *Te'l   jiâ   poor   vue'ǯǯ.*
    at.that.time   NEG.3PL   eat.CNG   meat.SG.ACC
    'Then they don't eat meat.'

20. *Jeä'nn   leäi   de   te'l   jeät   vue'ǯǯ*
    mother.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   and   at.that.time   NEG.4   meat.SG.ACC

    porrum   de   puk   kärldõõggid   pââss   tõn
    eat.PASS.PTCP   and   all   dish.PL.ACC   wash.PRS.3SG   DIST.SG.GEN

    peei'v.
    day.SG.GEN
    '(When) mother was (alive), then meat was not eaten (on those days) and
    she washes all the dishes that day.'

21. *Ku   mij   peittast   mõõn   poorrâp   de*
    when   1PL.NOM   secret.SG.LOC   what.SG.ACC   eat.PRS.1SG   and

    mi'jjid   reäŋgg,   što   mõõzz   vue'ǯǯ   poorrve'ted.
    1PL.ACC   scold.PRS.3   COMP   why   meat.SG.ACC   eat.PRS.2PL
    'When we eat something in secret, then (mother) scolds us (and asks) why
    are you eating meat.'

22.　*De　　e'pet　　neljd+pei'vv　　　　　　mâânn,　　piâtnâc*
　　　and　　again　　fourth+day.SG.NOM(=Thursday)　　go.PRS.3SG　　Friday[RU]

　　　puätt.
　　　come.PRS.3SG
　　　'And again Thursday goes and Friday comes.'

23.　*E'pet　　seämmanalla　　　kärldõõggid　　pââss.*
　　　again　　in.the.same.way　　dish.PL.ACC　　wash.PRS.3SG
　　　'Again, in the same way she washes the dishes.'

24.　*Sue'vet　　di　　pâ'ss+pei'vv　　　　　　　di*
　　　Saturday　　and　　holy+day.SG.NOM(=Sunday)　　and

　　　vuõss+argg　　　　　　　　　di　　mââibargg　　tõk
　　　first+weekday.SG.NOM(=Monday)　　and　　Tuesday　　DIST.PL.NOM

　　　liâ　　　　argg+peei'v,　　　　　　vue'žžid
　　　be.PRS.3PL　　weekday.SG.NOM+day.PL.NOM　　meat.PL.ACC

　　　te'l　　　　på'rre.
　　　at.that.time　　eat.PRS.3PL
　　　'Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, those are weekdays and they eat meat then.'

'Shrove Tuesday'

Maiddpââ'zzlâšttam
Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM
'Shrove Tuesday.'

1.　*Maiddpââ'zzlâšttam　　puätt.*
　　　Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM　　come.PRS.3SG
　　　'Shrove Tuesday comes.'

2.　*De　te'l　　　vuâjsteš　　　　　di　　siõ'rreš.*
　　　and　at.that.time　　drive.around.PST.4　　and　　play.PST.4
　　　'Then one would drive around and play.'

3. *Maiddpââ'zzlâšttam+peei'v*   *nu'tt*   *vuâjat*
   Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM+day.SG.GEN   like.that   drive.PST.4

   saanivui'm   *di*   *ǩe'rrsivui'm.*
   "sani".sled.PL.COM   and   "ahkio".sled.PL.COM
   'On Shrove Tuesday one drives with a "sani" sled and an "ahkio" sled.'

4. *Siõrât*   *de*   *vuâjat,*   *ta'nssjet*   *de*
   play.PRS.4   and   drive.PRS.4   dance.PRS.4   and

   nue'r   *siõrat*   *tue'lää*   *räjja.*
   rope.SG.ACC   play.PRS.4   in.the.morning   until
   'One plays and drives, dances and plays the rope (game) until morning.'

5. *De*   *e'pet*   *pââ'ss*   *puätt,*   *jõnn*
   and   again   holy.day.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG   big

   pââ'ss   *puätt.*
   holy.day.SG.NOM   come.PRS.3SG
   'And again it's a holy day, a big holy day arrives.'

6. *De*   *tok*   *tõt*   *hää'sǩes*   *podd*   *mõõni.*
   and   to.there   DIST.SG.NOM   fun   time.SG.NOM   go.PST.3SG
   'And there that fun time went by.'

7. *Pââ'zzlâšttam+peei'v*   *jeä'ǩǩää*   *vä'ʒškuä'tte*
   fast.SG.NOM+day.SG.GEN   in.the.evening   walk.INCP.PRS.3PL

   pro'sttjõõttmen   *kuei'mm kuei'mez*   *å'rnn*
   ask.forgiveness.PROG.PTCP   each.other.SG.GEN.3PL   at.one's.place

   puk   *põõrti*   *puärraz:*   *"Pro'sttje'ǩed*
   all   house.PL.GEN   old.person.PL.NOM   forgive.IMP.2PL

   muu   *pâ'jjel*   *jõnn*   *pââ'zz*   *jie'lled."*
   1SG.ACC   over   big   fast.SG.GEN   live.INF
   'On the day of fasting, in the evening, they start to walk asking for for-
   giveness at each other's homes, all the old people from the houses (say):
   "Forgive me (in order) to live through this big fast."'

'Easter day'

Ee'jj+pei'vv
year.SG.GEN+day.SG.NOM(=Easter)
'Easter day.'

1. *Teä   jõnn   pââ'ss   pue'đi   de   tõt*
   then   big   holy.day.SG.NOM   come.PST.3SG   and   DIST.SG.NOM

   lij   čiččâm   nie'ttled.
   be.PRS.3SG   seven   week.PART
   'Then a big holy day arrived, which lasts seven weeks.'

2. *Čiiččad   lij   strääznai+nie'ttel.*
   seventh   be.PRS.3SG   passionate[RU]+week.SG.NOM(=Holy Week)
   'The seventh was Holy Week.'

3. *Pâi   liâ   kue'll+peei'v,   pâi   poorât*
   only   be.PRS.3PL   fish.SG.NOM+day.PL.NOM   only   eat.PRS.4

   kue'l.
   fish.SG.ACC
   'There are only fish days, one only eats fish.'

4. *Teä   ee'jj+peei'v   puä'tte   de*
   then   year.SG.GEN+day.SG.GEN(=Easter)   come.PRS.3PL   and

   e'pet   šâdd   see'st   hää'sǩ.
   again   become.PRS.3SG   3PL.LOC   fun
   'Then the days of Easter arrive and again they have fun.'

5. *A   takai   siõr   â'te   see'st   le'jje:*
   well (DM)   common   game.PL.NOM   then (DM)   3PL.LOC   be.PST.3PL

   nue'rr+siõrr,   päll+siõrr,
   rope.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM   ball.SG.NOM+game.SG.NOM

   põ'tte+piâčkklem+siõrr.
   bottom.SG.ILL+smack.ACT.PTCP+game.SG.NOM
   'Well, common games that they had were: the rope game, the ball game, the bottom smacking game.'

6. *De*   *tõn*   *aarg*   *ǩee'jjmie'ldd*
   and   DIST.SG.GEN   weekday.SG.GEN   until.the.end

   pâi   *seä'rre.*
   always   play.PRS.3PL

   'And they always play until the end of Eastertide.' [Here *argg* (weekday) refers to the Easter period following Lent].

7. *Leâš-a*   *le'jje*   *te'l*
   but   be.PST.3PL   at.that.time

   pââ'zztem+sluu'žv+poodd,   *de*
   fast.ACT.PTCP+church.service[RU].SG.NOM+time.PL.NOM   and

   te'l   *igõl*   *siõrrâd.*
   at.that.time   NEG.3SG~must.CNG   play.INF

   'But there were church service times of fasting, and then one was not allowed to play.'

8. *Staarõst*   *ij*   *lue'št.*
   village.elder.SG.NOM   NEG.3SG   allow.CNG

   'The village elder doesn't allow it.'

9. *Sluu'žv+ääi'j*   *mõ'nne*   *de*
   church.service[RU].SG.NOM+time.PL.NOM   go.PST.3PL   and

   mâŋŋa   *e'pet*   *seä'rre.*
   later   again   play.PRS.3PL

   'The church service times go by and later they play again.'

'About the village meetings'

Siid+såbbri   *pirr*
village.SG.GEN+meeting.PL.GEN   around
'About the village meetings.'

1.   *Te'l*   *leäi*   *tuu'l*
     at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   in.former.times

     meer+sååbbar,   *ku*   *päärna*
     community.SG.NOM+meeting.SG.NOM   when   child.PL.NOM

     õ'lǧǧe   *škoou'le*   *pu'htted.*
     must.PRS.3PL   school.SG.ILL   bring.INF
     'In days gone by there used to be community meetings [?].' [Translation
     uncertain].

2.   *Siidâst*   *le'jje*   *tõk*   *di'seâckai,*
     village.SG.LOC   be.PST.3PL   DIST.PL.NOM   tithe.collector.SG.NOM

     ceerkav+staarâst   *da*   *o'bjee'ččiǩ.*
     church.SG.GEN+keeper.SG.GEN(=verger)   and   overseer.SG.NOM
     'In the village there was a tithe collector, a verger and an overseer.'

3.   *Koumm*   *le'jje*   *jiijjâz*   *siidâst*   *mie'rrummu.*
     three   be.PST.3PL   REFL.GEN.3PL   village.SG.LOC   appoint.PASS.PTCP
     'The three (men) were appointed from their own village.'

4.   *Muu*   *kää'lles*   *še*   *leäi*
     1SG.GEN   husband.(old).SG.NOM   also   be.PST.3SG

     ceerkav+starsten,   *tät*   *nu'bb,*
     church.SG.NOM+keeper.ESS(=verger)   PROX.SG.NOM   (an)other.SG.NOM

     kåå'tt   *jaa'mi,*   *Ǩiurrâl.*
     REL.SG.NOM   die.PST.3SG   Kiureli
     'My husband was also a verger, this other (husband), who died, (was) Kiu-
     reli.'

5. *De   mâŋŋa   leäi   Jääkk.*
   and   later   be.PST.3SG   Jaakko
   'And later on it was Jaakko.'

6. *Ǩiurrâl   ku   puärsmi   de   Jääkk   šõõddi*
   Kiureli   when   grow.old.PST.3SG   and   Jaakko   become.PST.3SG

   suu   sâjja   ceerkav+starsten.
   3SG.GEN   place.SG.ILL   church.SG.NOM+keeper.ESS(=verger)
   'When Kiureli grew old, then Jaakko became the verger in his place.'

7. *A   di'seâckai   leäi.*
   well (DM)   tithe.collector.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG
   'Well, there was the tithe collector.'

8. *Såbbar   šõ'dde   de   di'seâckai*
   meeting.PL.NOM   become.PST.3PL   and   tither.collector.SG.NOM

   ristt+sue'bbin   jeäll
   cross.SG.NOM+stick.SG.COM(=crosier)   travel.PRS.3SG

   oummid   kåǯǯmen   põõrtin,   što   sååbbar
   person.PL.ILL   call.PROG.PTCP   house.PL.LOC   COMP   meeting.SG.NOM

   lij   to'ben.
   be.PRS.3SG   there
   'When it is time for a meeting, the tithe collector goes with a crosier call-
   ing people from the houses to come to the meeting (lit. that the meeting
   is there).'

9. *De   tõin   sue'bbin   jåått   da   te'l*
   and   DIST.SG.COM   stick.SG.COM   travel.PRS.3SG   and   at.that.time

   son   lij   šurr.
   3SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   official.SG.NOM
   'When he travels with that crosier then he is an official.'

10.　*Tõt*　　　　*lij*　　　*šuur*　　　　*meârkk,*　　　*tõt*
　　　DIST.SG.NOM　be.PRS.3SG　official.SG.GEN　symbol.SG.NOM　DIST.SG.NOM

　　　suä'bb.
　　　staff.SG.NOM
　　　'That is the symbol of an official, that staff.'

11.　*A*　　　　*ceerkav+starstest*　　　　　　　*lij*
　　　well (DM)　church.SG.NOM+keeper.SG.LOC(=verger)　be.PRS.3SG

　　　nåkam　*veä'šǩǩ+meârkk,*　　　　*koozz*　　　*lij*
　　　such　　copper.SG.NOM+symbol.SG.NOM　REL.SG.ILL　be.PRS.3SG

　　　ǩee'rjtum,　　　*pijjum*　　　*kähttan*　　　*suåjju.*
　　　write.PASS.PTCP　put.PASS.PTCP　jacket.SG.GEN　sleeve.SG.ILL
　　　'Well, the verger has a certain copper symbol, which has been written on
　　　and which has been put on the sleeve of his jacket.'

12.　*E'pet*　*son*　　　*kuä'ss*　*täin*　　　　*jåått,*
　　　again　3SG.NOM　when　　PROX.SG.COM　travel.PRS.3SG

　　　son　　　*lij*　　　*te'l*　　　　*šurr.*
　　　3SG.NOM　be.PRS.3SG　at.that.time　official.SG.NOM
　　　'Again, when he travels with this, then he is an official.'

13.　*O'bjee'ččiǩ*　　*le'jje*　　*de*　*leâsnai*　　　*le'jje,*
　　　overseer.PL.NOM　be.PST.3PL　and　forester.PL.NOM　be.PST.3PL

　　　tõk　　　　*meä'cc+šuur.*
　　　DIST.PL.NOM　forest.SG.NOM+official.PL.NOM
　　　'There are overseers and foresters, they are the forest officials.'

14.　*Tõk*　　　　*jiâ*　　　*nu'tt*　*jååttam*　　　*tärkka,*
　　　DIST.PL.NOM　NEG.3PL　like.that　travel.PST.PTCP　precisely

　　　kuä'ss　*jeä'lle*　　　　*ee'jjest.*
　　　when　　go.visiting.PRS.3PL　year.SG.LOC
　　　'They didn't travel so precisely (i.e. on a specific date), whenever during the
　　　year they visited.'

15. *Jiõm   muu'št   kââ'll   vuâra   jeä'lle*
    NEG.1SG   remember.CNG   how.many   time   go.visiting.PRS.3PL

    ǩiččmen,   mä'htt   meä'cc   tõt   lij.
    watch.PROG.PTCP   how   forest.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG
    'I don't remember how many times they go to see how the forest is.'

16. *Mie'ccez   diõtt   jo'tte.*
    forest.SG.GEN.3PL   for.the.sake.of   travel.PST.3PL
    'They (=the overseers and the foresters) travel for the sake of their forest.'
    (Note, the forest was state-owned, hence the reference to "their" forest, as
    they were working for the state).'

17. *A   Kuâlõõggâst   tob   le'jje   šuu'rab   šuur,*
    well (DM)   Kuola.SG.LOC   there   be.PST.3PL   big.CMPRT   official.PL.NOM

    juõ'ǩǩnallšem   šuur.
    each.kind   official.PL.NOM
    'Well, on the Kola Peninsula there were more important (lit. bigger) offi-
    cials, all kinds of officials.'

18. *Tõk   le'jje   ruõšš   šuur.*
    DIST.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   Russian   official.PL.NOM
    'They were Russian officials.'

19. *Tääi'ben   tän   såbbrest   mâid   ju'n*
    here   PROX.SG.GEN   meeting.SG.LOC   what.SG.ACC   already

    riõ'šše,   ku   mii   lij   ä'šš,
    deal.with.PST.3PL   when   what.SG.NOM   be.PRS.3SG   affair.SG.ACC

    jiâ   vuei't   tääi'b   se'lvvjed,   de   tõid
    NEG.3PL   can.CNG   here   sort.out.INF   and   DIST.PL.ACC

    põ'mmjid   jee'res   sâjja   vuõlttee   Risttǩeâdda
    paper.PL.ACC   different   place.SG.ILL   send.PST.3PL   Riisikenttä.ILL

    le'be   Kuâlõ'ǩǩe   le'be   koozz.
    or   Kuola.ILL   or   REL.SG.ILL
    'Here in this village meeting some things they already dealt with, (but)
    if there is some kind of affair that can't be resolved here, then they sent
    those papers to different places, to Ristikenttä or to the Kola Peninsula or
    to wherever.'

20. *Leâš-a   le'jje   te'l,   koumm   oummu   pe'jje*
    but   be.PST.3PL at.that.time three   man.SG.GEN put.PRS.3PL

    tok,   ku   mij   meer+ää'šš
    to.there   when   1PL.NOM   people.SG.GEN+affair.SG.GEN

    diõtt   âlgg.
    for.the.sake.of   must.PRS.3SG

    'But there was at that time (the custom whereby) they put three men for-
    ward (as representatives) when it was necessary for the sake of the affairs
    of the people.'

21. *De   koumm   oummu   va'lljee   meer*
    and   three   man.SG.GEN choose.PRS.3PL   people.SG.GEN

    ooudâst   aa'ššid   håiddad.
    in.front.of   affair.PL.ACC   look.after.INF

    'And they choose three men in front of the people to look after the affairs.'

'About military service'

Sääldat+sluu'žvest
soldier.SG.NOM+service.SG.LOC

'About military service.'

1. *Ruõšš   peä'lnn   sääldten   mõ'nne   puk.*
   Russian   side   solider.ESS   go.PST.3PL   all

   'On the Russian side everyone became soldiers.'

2. *Mä'htt   ââ'n   lij   "kutsunta",   nu'tt-i*
   how   now   be.PRS.3SG   invitation[FI].SG.NOM   like.that-just

   te'l   mõ'nne.
   at.that.time   go.PST.3PL

   'Now it's an "invitation", back then they went just like that.'

3. *Te'l   leâš-a   vuõi'ǧǧest   mâânn   gu   ǩeän*
   at.that.time but   directly   go.PRS.3SG   when   who.SG.ACC

   vä'ldde.
   take.PRS.3PL
   'But at that time the one they take (=call) goes directly (to military service).'

4. *Te'lles-i   mâânn,   ij   ni   puä'đ*
   right.away-just   go.PRS.3SG   NEG.3SG   even   come.CNG

   põrttses   nu'tt   kuu'ǩǩ   ku   sloožb   to'ben.
   house.SG.ILL.3SG   like.that   long   when   serve.PRS.3SG   there
   'One goes right away and doesn't even come home for as long as one is serving there.'

5. *Kuâhttlo+kue'htten   ee'jjest   kåčča   de*
   twenty+two.ESS   year.SG.LOC   be.called.PRS.3SG   and

   te'l   naraaz-i   mâ'nne.
   at.that.time   at.once-EMP   go.PRS.3PL
   'At twenty-two years of age one is called and back then they went at once.'

6. *Tälvva   mâ'nne.*
   in.winter   go.PRS.3PL
   'They went in winter.'

7. *A   ǩeän   jeät   valddu,   su'st   viõkk*
   well (DM)   who.SG.ACC   NEG.4   take.CNG2   3SG.LOC   strength.SG.NOM

   mä'htt   leežž   ij   vuälže,   mett
   how   be.POT.3SG   NEG.3SG   reach.POT.CNG   height.SG.NOM

   ij   vuälže   le'be   mii   leežž,
   NEG.3SG   reach.POT.CNG   or   what.SG.NOM   be.POT.3SG

   son   nuu'bb   ee'jj   e'pet   jeäll.
   3SG.NOM   other.SG.GEN   year.SG.GEN   again   go.PRS.3SG
   'Well, he who they didn't take, he might not have enough strength, might not be tall enough, or whatever might be the reason, another year he will go again.'

8. *E'pet*   *ij*   *ââ'net,*   *kuälmad*   *ee'jj*
    again   NEG.3SG   be.suitable.CNG   third   year.SG.GEN

    peäss   *le'be*   *välddai.*
    go.through.PRS.3SG   or   be.accepted.PRS.3SG
    'Again he is not suitable, the third year he will go through or be accepted.'

9. *Tälvva*   *jo'tte,*   *puõccin*   *vuõjju*   *tok.*
    in.winter   travel.PST.3PL   reindeer.SG.COM   drive.PST.3PL   to.there
    'In winter they travelled, by reindeer they drove there.'

10. *Mij*   *siidâst*   *mõ'nne*   *puk.*
    1PL.GEN   village.SG.LOC   go.PST.3PL   all
    'From our village, everyone went.'

11. *Muu*   *muu'šteest*   *leäi*   *mij*   *siidâst*   *õhtt*
    1SG.GEN   memory.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   1PL.GEN   village.SG.LOC   one.SG.NOM

    ooumaž   *čiččâm*   *ee'ǩǩed*   *sääldat+sluu'žvest.*
    man.SG.NOM   seven   year.PART   soldier.SG.NOM+service.SG.LOC
    'From my memory, there was one man from our village who was serving
    as a soldier for seven years.'

12. *Ku*   *mâânn*   *de*   *čiččâm*   *ee'ǩǩed*   *leäi*
    when   go.PRS.3SG   and   seven   year.PART   be.PST.3SG

    to'ben,   *ij*   *ni*   *kõõskâst*   *õ'httešt*
    there   NEG.3SG   even   middle.SG.LOC   once

    jeällam   *põrtstes.*
    visit.PST.PTCP   house.SG.LOC.3SG
    'When he goes and is there for seven years, he didn't even once in
    between visit his home.'

13. *Mij*   *ku*   *Lää'dd+jânnma*   *puõ'ďim,*   *son*
    1PL.NOM   when   Finn.SG.GEN+land.SG.ILL   come.PST.1PL   3SG.NOM

    leäi   *veâl*   *jie'llmen*   *di*   *jaa'mi.*
    be.PST.3SG   still   live.PROG.PTCP   and   die.PST.3SG
    'When we came to Finland he was still living, and then he died.'

14. *Väinn+ääi'jest*   *mõ'nne*   *nu'tt*   *jiânnai*   *tok*
war.SG.NOM+time.SG.LOC   go.PST.3PL   like.that   much   to.there

    di   *ja'mme*   *di*   *kåddje*   *di*   *läppje.*
    and   die.PST.3PL   and   be.killed.PST.3PL   and   be.lost.PST.3PL
'During the war so many went there and they died, they were killed, they were lost.'

15. *Jiõm*   *muu'št,*   *mõõn*   *kuu'ǩǩ*   *leäi*
NEG.1SG   remember.CNG   what.SG.GEN   long   be.PST.3SG

    tõt   *sääldatvuõtt,*   *tõn*   *jiõm*   *leäkku*
    DIST.SG.NOM   soldier.service.SG.NOM   DIST.SG.ACC   NEG.1SG   be.CNG

    vuäivvsan   *piijjâm.*
    head.SG.ILL.1SG   put.PST.PTCP
'I don't remember how long that solider service time was, I haven't committed that to memory (lit. put that in my head).'

16. *Mee'st*   *še*   *leäi*   *õhtt*   *â'lǧǧ.*
1PL.LOC   also   be.PST.3SG   one.SG.NOM   boy.SG.NOM
'We also had one boy.'

17. *Vuõššân*   *jie'li*   *sääldten*   *de*   *mâŋŋa*   *näittlõõđi.*
first   go.PST.3SG   soldier.ESS   and   later   marry.PST.3SG
'First he went as a soldier and then he got married.'

18. *Väinn*   *šõõddi,*   *de*   *e'pet*   *koččhu.*
war.SG.NOM   become.PST.3SG   and   again   be.called.PST.3PL
'War started and again they were called.'

19. *Mõõni*   *de*   *mõõn*   *leežž*   *leämmaž*   *peä'l*
go.PST.3SG   and   what.SG.GEN   be.POT.3SG   be.PST.PTCP   half.SG.GEN

    avi   *pirr*   *ee'jj,*   *de*   *ränn'ji*
    or   around   year.SG.GEN   and   be.wounded.PST.3SG

    da   *pue'đi*   *põ'rtte.*
    and   come.PST.3SG   house.SG.ILL
'He went and how long might he have been (there), half (the year) or the whole year, and he was wounded and came home.'

20. *Måttam   kõõvid,   ǩeäppnõs+kõõvid   vuäǯǯa*
     certain   disease.PL.ACC   lung.SG.NOM+disease.PL.ACC   get.PRS.3PL

     sluuʹžvest.
     service.SG.LOC

     'Some get diseases, lung diseases, during service.'

21. *Puäʹtte   de   pueʹcce   de   pueʹcce   de*
     come.PRS.3PL   and   suffer.PRS.3PL   and   suffer.PRS.3PL   and

     nuʹtt-i   jäʹmme   kõummâz   ǩeeʹjjest   da
     like.that-just   die.PRS.3PL   coldness.SG.GEN   after   and

     lossõõzzâst.
     exertion.SG.LOC

     'They come back and they suffer, they suffer, and just like that they die
     after (=because of) coldness and from exertion.'

22. *Na   toʹben   Ruõššâst   leäi   kõõrâs*
     well (DM)   there   Russia.SG.LOC   be.PST.3SG   severe

     sääldatvuõtt.
     soldier.service.SG.NOM

     'Well, there in Russia the soldier service was harsh.'

'About school'

Škooul   pirr
school.SG.GEN   around

'About school.'

1. *Ouddâl   leäi   Potkkla+siidâst   škooul.*
    before   be.PST.3SG   Potkula+village.SG.LOC   school.SG.NOM

    'In the olden days there was a school in Potkula village.'

2. *Iʹlleäm   ǩeässa   ku   tälvva   leäi.*
    NEG.3SG~be.PST.PTCP   in.summer   when   in.winter   be.PST.3SG

    'There wasn't (school) in summer, but there was (school) in winter.'

3. *Ooudpeä'lnn*   *rosttvi*   *see'rdet*   *si'jdde,*   *ku*
before   Christmas.PL.GEN   move.PRS.4   village.SG.ILL   when

    škooul   *älgg.*
    school.SG.NOM   begin.PRS.3SG

    'Before Christmas everyone moves to the village, because the school begins.' (Note "Christmas" is in the plural, since it refers to the Christmas holidays, not just one day).

4. *De*   *ee'jj+peei'v*   *räjja*   *škooul*
and   year.SG.GEN+day.SG.GEN(=Easter)   until   school.SG.NOM

    peštt.
    last.PRS.3SG

    'And school lasted until Easter.'

5. *Teä*   *e'pet*   *pââjas*   *vue'lǧǧe*   *se'rdded.*
then   again   up   leave.PRS.3PL   transfer.INF

    'Then again they set off to move up (to the summer dwelling place).'

6. *Määŋgi*   *määŋgi*   *u'čtee'li*   *nõõmid*   *mon*
many.PL.GEN   many.PL.GEN   teacher.PL.GEN   name.PL.ACC   1SG.NOM

    kuuleem,   *määŋg*   *määŋg*   *tõk*   *le'jje.*
    hear.PST.1SG   many.SG.NOM   many.SG.NOM   DIST.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL

    'I often heard many, many teachers' names, there were many of them.'

7. *Tõn*   *ee'jj*   *lij*   *õhtt*   *le'be*   *måttam*
DIST.SG.GEN   year.SG.GEN   be.PRS.3SG   one.SG.NOM   or   certain

    ee'jj   *le'jje*   *muånn.*
    year.PL.NOM   be.PST.3PL   couple

    'That year there was one or some years there were a couple.'

8. *Son*   *mä'htt-ne*   *koozz-ne*   *vuâlgg.*
3SG.NOM   somehow.SG.NOM   somewhere.SG.NOM   leave.PRS.3SG

    'Somehow s/he (the teacher) left for somewhere.'

9. *E'pet   šâdd   jee'res   u'čtee'l.*
    again   become.PRS.3SG   different   teacher.SG.NOM
    'Again, another teacher came.'

10. *Škooul   leäi,   leâša   jiõm   šõddâm*
    school.SG.NOM   be.PST.3SG   but   NEG.1SG   be.able[?].PST.PTCP

    jåå'tted.
    travel.INF
    'There was school, but I wasn't able to go.'

11. *Mon   õõut   tää'lv   le'jjem   go*
    1SG.NOM   one.GEN   winter.SG.GEN   be.PST.1SG   when

    jeä'nn   puâccji.
    mother.SG.NOM   become.ill.PST.3SG
    'I was (there) one winter when mother fell ill.'

12. *Te'l   leäi   Ruõššâst   nåkam   mall,*
    at.that.time   be.PST.3SG   Russia.SG.LOC   such   pattern.SG.NOM

    što   vie'ǩǩ   go   jeä'la,   de
    COMP   help.PL.NOM   when   NEG.3PL~be.CNG   and

    puärrsõmmâz   lue'štte   škooulâst.
    old.SUPL.PL.NOM   be.allowed.PST.3PL   school.SG.LOC
    'Then in Russia they had such a system, whereby if there was no help they allowed the oldest (child) to be away from school.'

13. *De   nu'tt-i   sääldten   jiâ   välddam   puärrsõmmâz.*
    and   like.that-just   soldier.ESS   NEG.3PL   take.PST.PTCP   old.SUPL.SG.ACC
    'And so they didn't take the oldest (son) as a soldier.'

14. *Na*   *jeä'nn*   *puâccji*   *de*   *nellj*
well (DM)   mother.SG.NOM   become.ill.PST.3SG   and   four

    ee'jj   *puõʒʒi*   *de*   *mon*   *jiõm*
    year.SG.GEN   be.ill.PST.3SG   and   1SG.NOM   NEG.1SG

    šõddâm   *škoou'le.*
    be.involved.in.PST.PTCP   school.SG.ILL

    'Well, mother became ill and for four years she was ill and I didn't attend school.'

15. *Nu'tt-i*   *kuâđđjem*   *škooultää.*
like.that-just   remain.PST.1SG   school.SG.ABE

    'That is why I ended up unschooled.'

16. *Jiõm*   *šõddâm*   *ni mõõn*   *ǩee'rj*
NEG.1SG   be.involved.in.PST.PTCP   nothing.SG.GEN   book.SG.ACC

    ǩiččâd   *di*   *ǩiõl*   *tie'tted.*
    see.INF   and   language.SG.ACC   know.INF

    'I didn't learn how (lit. progress) to read (lit. look at) any books or know any languages.'

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