

A Grammar of Skolt Saami

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Timothy Feist

School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures.

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ABSTRACT

A Grammar of Skolt Saami

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Timothy Feist

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This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Skolt Saami, a Finno-Ugric language spoken primarily in northeast Finland by less than 400 people. The aim of this thesis 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 appended.

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 theoretically interesting features of the language, which are covered in this thesis, 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, (iii) the marking of negation with a negative auxiliary verb and (iv) the apparent verb-second phenomenon which is observed in clauses displaying an 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.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Timothy Feist
December 2010

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Skolt Saami people.

ABBREVIATIONS

+	BREAK IN COMPOUND WORDS
1	FIRST PERSON
2	SECOND PERSON
3	THIRD PERSON
4	INDEFINITE PERSON
ABE	ABESSIVE
ACC	ACCUSATIVE
ACT	ACTION (VERBAL PARTICIPLE)
ADJ	ADJECTIVE
ADV	ADVERB
ATTR	ATTRIBUTIVE
AUX	AUXILIARY
CMPRT	COMPARATIVE
COM	COMITATIVE
COMP	COMPLEMENTISER
COND	CONDITIONAL
CONT	CONTINUATIVE
D.P.	DISCOURSE PARTICLE
DIM	DIMINUTIVE
DIST	DISTAL
DU	DUAL
EE	EVAN EVAŅĢĒLIUM (DATA SOURCE)
EMP	EMPHATIC PARTICLE
ESS	ESSIVE
FI	OF FINNISH ORIGIN
GEN	GENITIVE
ILL	ILLATIVE
IMP	IMPERATIVE
INCP	INCEPTIVE
INF	INFINITIVE

INSTR	INSTRUMENTAL
INTER	INTERROGATIVE
KK	KOLTANSAAMEN KOULUKIELIOPPI (DATA SOURCE)
LEX	LEXICAL
LOC	LOCATIVE
MDL	MIDDLE
MM	MAADDÂRÄÄ'JJI MAINNÂZ (DATA SOURCE)
NEG	NEGATIVE AUXILIARY (WHEN MARKED FOR PERSON AND NUMBER)
NEG	NEGATIVE CONVERB (WHEN MARKED ON A LEXICAL VERB)
NEG2	SECOND FORM OF NEGATIVE CONVERB
NMLZ	NOMINALISER
NOM	NOMINATIVE
O	OBJECT
OBL	OBLIQUE
PART	PARTITIVE
PASS	PASSIVE
PL	PLURAL
POT	POTENTIAL
PRED	PREDICATIVE
PROG	PROGRESSIVE
PROX	PROXIMAL
PRS	PRESENT
PST	PAST
PTCP	PARTICIPLE
REFL	REFLEXIVE
REL	RELATIVISER
RU	OF RUSSIAN ORIGIN
S	SUBJECT
SG	SINGULAR
SKNA	SUOMEN KIELEN NAUHOITEARKISTON (DATA SOURCE)
SUB	SUBITIVE
SUPL	SUPERLATIVE
TEMP	TEMPORAL
V	VERB

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis provides a grammatical description of Skolt Saami, an under-described, under-documented Finno-Ugric language, spoken primarily in northeast 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 thesis is outlined. Fourthly, the orthography of the language is presented, and finally, the organisation of the following chapters of this thesis 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 Illustration 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 Sevetijärvi, from Kirakkajärvi, some 15 kilometres northeast, as far south as Nitsijärvi.

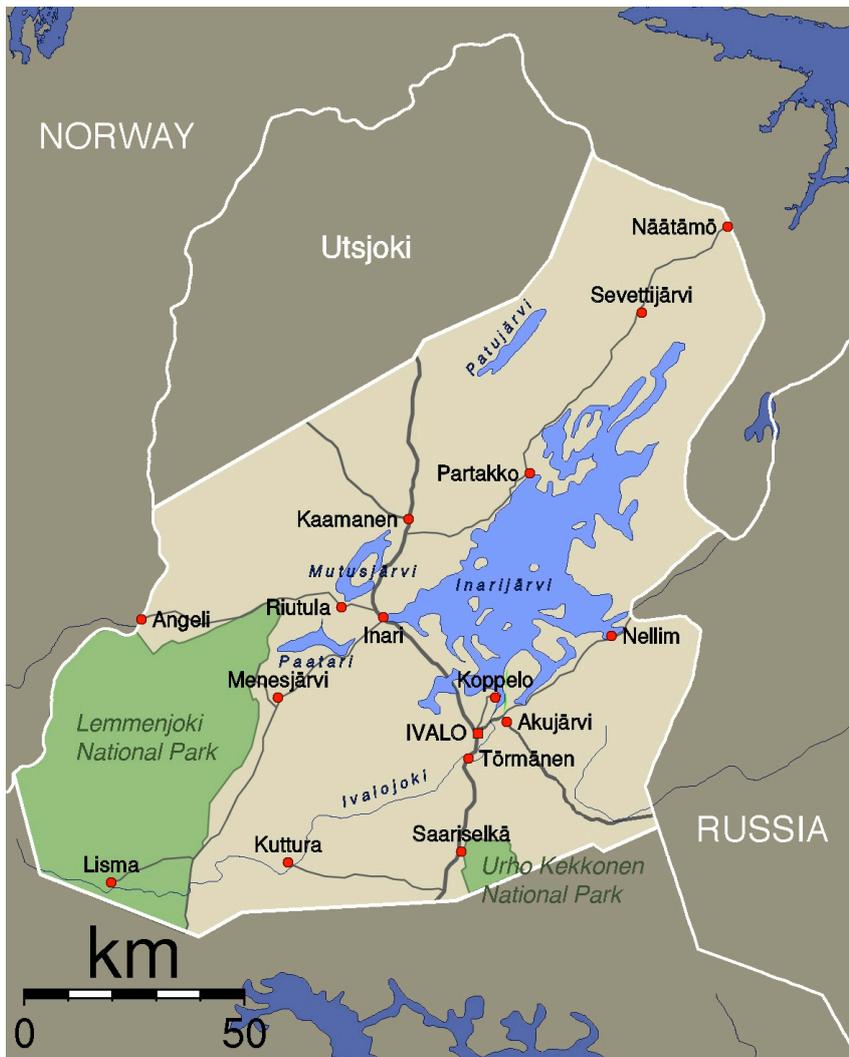


Illustration 1. Map of the Municipality of Inari¹

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

¹ This map is an edited version of a map taken from <http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiedosto:Inari.png> [accessed 3-Nov-2009] and is not subject to copyright restrictions.

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.

In addition to the three Skolt Saami villages of Sevettijärvi, Nellim and Keväjärvi, and the smaller settlements north of Lake Inari, Skolt Saami speakers also live in the villages of Inari, Ivalo, Pikku-Petsamo and Akujärvi. In particular, a number of elderly speakers live in Ivalo due to it being the nearest town with facilities for the elderly.

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.

1.2.2 NUMBER OF SPEAKERS

The estimated number of speakers in Finland ranges from 300 (Kulonen *et al.* 2005: 396) to 400 (Lewis 2009), although 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 estimates of speaker numbers do not give any indication of the degree of fluency of those accounted for, so the total number of fluent speakers could be much fewer, depending on the criteria used in determining the figures. A report on the Skolt Saami by Jefremoff (2005) does attempt to address this issue, however, as mentioned in §1.2.4. The ethnic population of Skolt Saami in Finland is reported to be around 500 (Lewis 2009).

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 people (Lewis 2009).

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 siida², 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 Paččjokk (Paatsjoki), Peäccam (Petsamo) and Mue'tkĕĕ (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.

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 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 Illustration 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, for obvious reasons. 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

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 thesis the corresponding Skolt Saami word *sijdd* has been translated as 'village', since this is the closest English equivalent.

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 thesis 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 it being a Paatsjoki form. Where possible dialectal differences have been indicated.

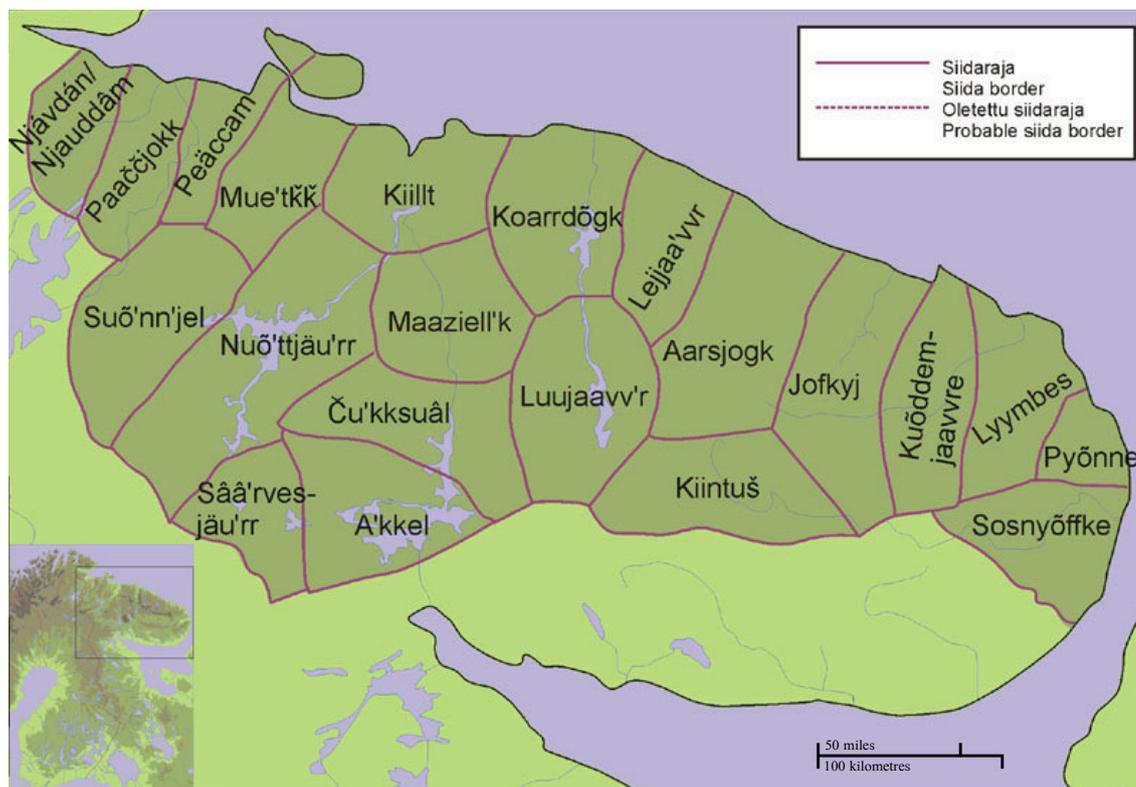


Illustration 2. Former siidas of the Kola Peninsula³

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': *påáttak* (Suõ'nn'jel) ~ *kartoška* (Paatsjoki, Russian = *kartoška*). An example phonological

³ © Irja Seurujärvi-Kari et al. 2003-2004. *The Saami: A cultural encyclopaedia*. University of Helsinki. www-db.helsinki.fi/saami [accessed 3-Nov-2009].

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 [ʃɛpʃʃ] (Suõ'nn'jel) and [ʃɛfʃʃ] (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 represents a diachronic sound change. Speakers typically refer to others as "speaking a distinct dialect" with regard this type of variation.

1.2.4 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

1.2.4.1 **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 do not appear to be any 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 official 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 Sevettijärvi 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 Adult Education Centre in Inari (Linkola 2003: 204) and more recently as an interactive, internet-based distance-learning course. A pedagogical grammar of Skolt Saami was published in August 2009, which will no doubt elevate the status of Skolt Saami and provide further impetus to those wishing to learn the language.

1.2.4.2 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 1.

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.

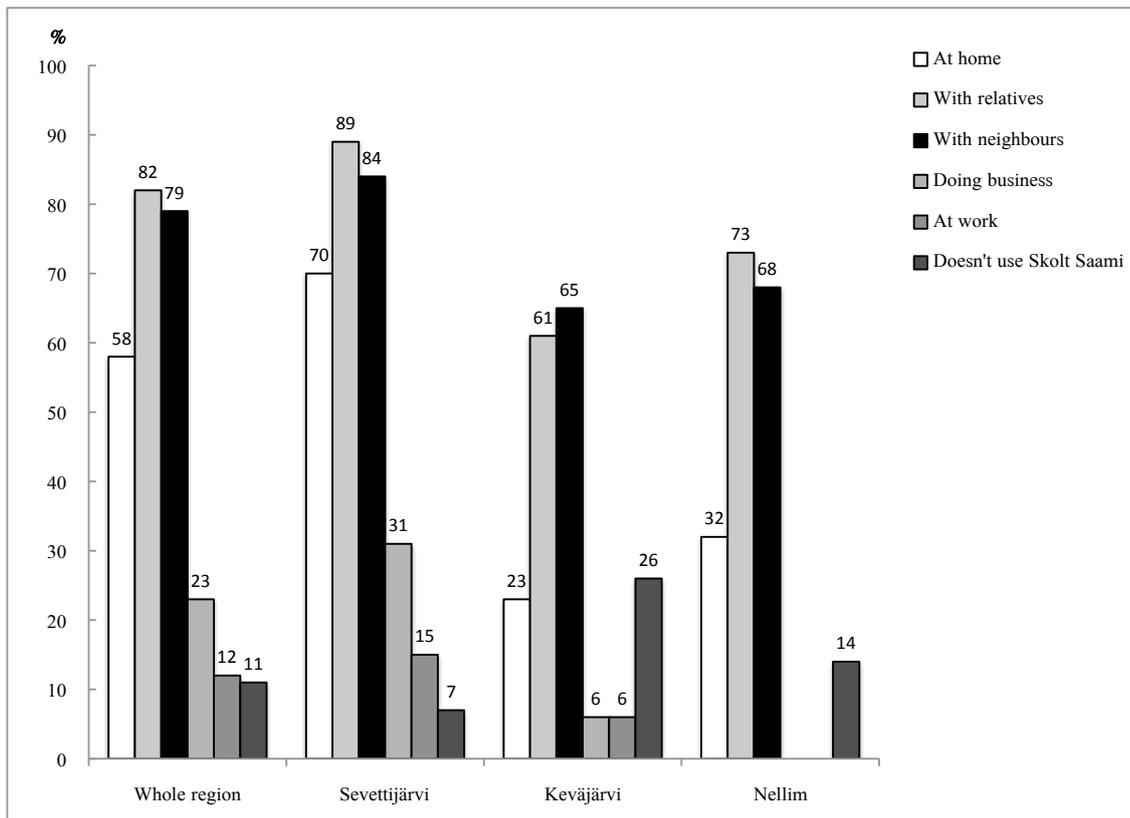


Figure 1. Graph showing contexts of language use among the Skolt Saami

Community events, such as village meetings and church services are often conducted primarily in Finnish. Special events, such as the recent 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 late 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 below in Figure 2.

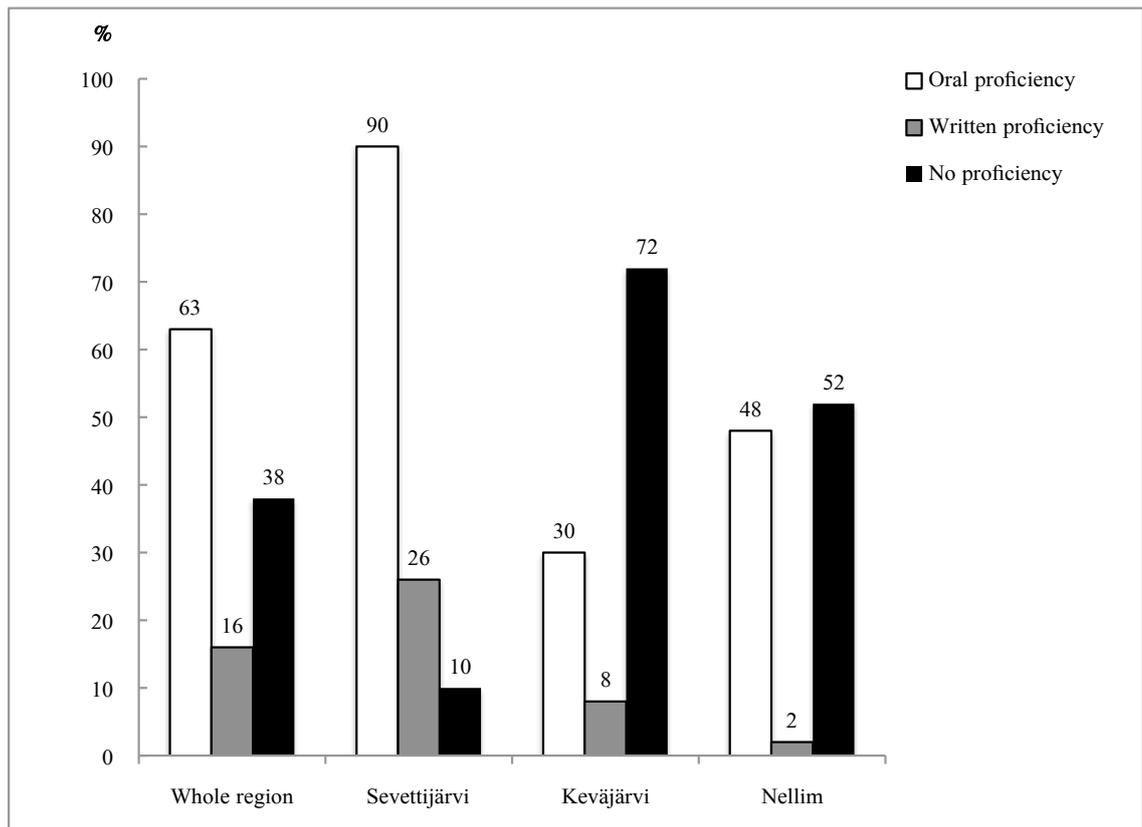


Figure 2. Graph showing levels of oral and written language proficiency among the Skolt Saami

1.2.4.3 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 *Maaddâää'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.

1.2.4.4 Viability

The outlook for Skolt Saami is rather bleak. UNESCO classifies the language as severely endangered⁵ 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 reality is that the language is not being transmitted in any meaningful way to the younger generations. The issue is 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.

The youngest fluent speakers are said to be two children of around ten years of age, but this is certainly not the norm. Unfortunately, these children have recently moved away from the Skolt Saami speaking area. 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, both in terms of comprehension and speech, it is probable that the next youngest speaker is in his or her 30s.

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 to the future viability of the language. However, if the language is to have any real chance of survival in the long term it is paramount that it is once again transmitted to the younger generations. Whether or not it is already too late only time will tell.

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/culture/en/ endangeredlanguages>) – accessed 6-Nov-2009].

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: Sami and Sámi, the latter marking the long vowel with an acute accent. The spelling adopted in this grammar, *Saami*, is more widely used in more recent literature (e.g. Toivonen and Nelson 2007, Nelson and 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 Illustration 3). 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 Skolts. 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 and Linkola 2005).



Illustration 3. Map showing the Petsamo region⁶

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 Skolts 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

⁶ This map was taken from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Petsamo.png> [accessed 6-Nov-2009] and is not subject to copyright restrictions.

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 reverberate to this day.

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 3.

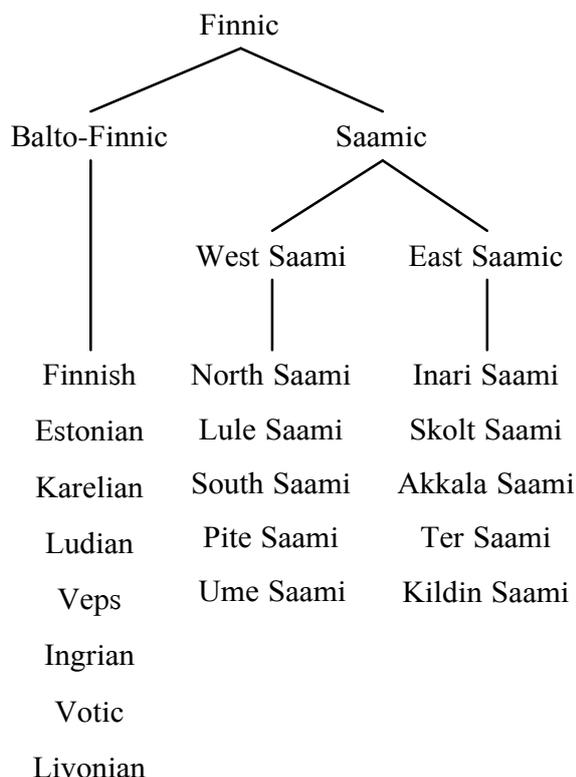


Figure 3. Family tree of the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family

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. This debate is, however, irrelevant to the topic of this thesis, but the interested reader can consult Marcantonio 2002 and Abondolo 1998 among others.

The Saami languages, as seen in Figure 3, 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.

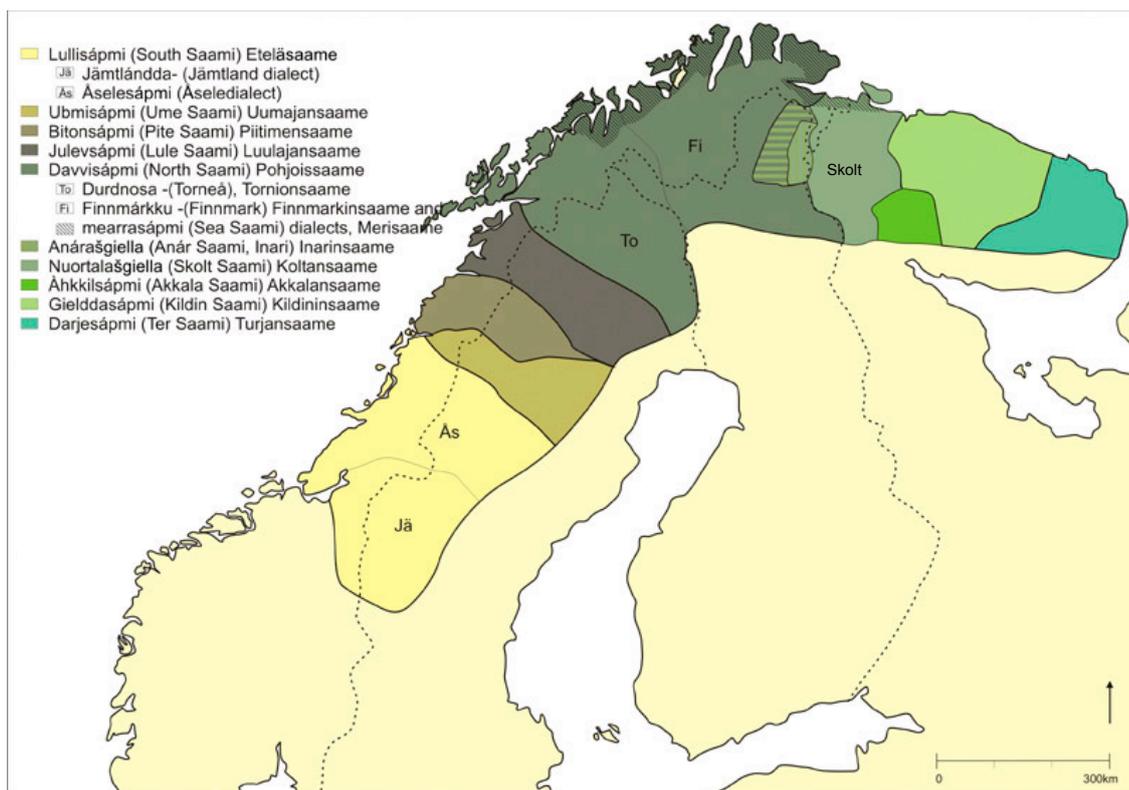


Illustration 4. The geographical distribution of the Saami languages⁸

⁸ © Irja Seurujärvi-Kari *et al.* 2003-2004. *The Saami: A cultural encyclopaedia*. University of Helsinki. www-db.helsinki.fi/saami [accessed 3-Nov-2009].

The geographical relation of Skolt Saami to the other Saami languages is shown in Illustration 4. 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.

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'mkiöl kiöllvuä'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 plentiful 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 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 and Sammallahti (1988) and Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991), the latter of which includes some grammatical notes. In addition, a huge lexicon, compiled by Jouni Moshnikoff, exists in an unpublished form and is under continual development. More information on this unpublished lexical database is provided in §1.6.

There exists a considerable number of 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) *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 and 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 and Nelson (2007: 259–303).

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The methodology used in preparing this thesis 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 within the community. A number of shorter field trips were made, instead of a single prolonged visit, to allow a 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 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 a final checking of 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 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 and instructed to provide a word-by-word transcription, including any speech errors.

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 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 textual 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 indeed I myself, 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

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

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,

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 it belongs.

Additional data sources are Sammallahti and Mosnikoff's (1991) Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary and Mosnikoff and 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 dialects or Proto-Saami reconstructed forms was taken from the *Álgu* online etymological database¹¹ of Saami languages provided by the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland. Transcriptions of 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 Fieldworks¹² (version 5.4.1) integrated set of software tools for linguistic fieldwork. Acoustic analyses were done using Praat¹³ (version 5.1.17) (Boersma 2009) and spectrograms presented in this thesis were produced with this software.

The sources of examples given throughout this grammar are marked as follows: SKNA = *Suomen kielen nauhoitearkiston* 'The Audio Recordings Archive'; MM = *Maaddâráá'jji Mainnâz* 'Great-grandfather's Tales' (Mosnikoff 1992); KK = *Koltansaamen koulukielioppi* 'Skolt Saami School Grammar' (Moshnikoff *et al.* 2009) and EE = *Evvan Evanġe'lium* 'John's Gospel'. Examples without any source given are elicited examples.

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/alg/> [accessed 6-Nov-2009].

¹² Available for download at <http://www.sil.org/computing/fieldworks/> [accessed 6-Nov-2009].

¹³ Available for download at <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/> [accessed 6-Nov-2009].

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this thesis 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 also 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 phenomena crosslinguistically, 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 official Skolt Saami orthography is used throughout this grammar, with phonetic transcriptions only given where necessary, so it is therefore necessary to explain the features of the orthography before going any further.

The reasons for choosing to use the orthography for writing this grammar are three-fold. Firstly, it means that the information will be more readily accessible to Skolt Saami speakers, who will not be required to decode phonemic or phonetic transcriptions of examples given. Secondly, the official orthography is a reasonably close representation of the actual pronunciation of words, making a phonemic transcription of lesser importance. Thirdly, several lexicons, both published and unpublished, together with a certain amount of other written material, including school textbooks and an anthology of fairy tales, already exist in the language, hence the use of the official orthography builds on the material already available.

A proposal for an official orthography was made in 1971 (Korhonen 1971: 69) and introduced in 1973 (Korhonen 1981: 64). While this has undergone a small number of revisions, it has for the most part remained the same and been widely accepted. The number of Skolt Saami speakers who are able to read and write the language using this orthography is, however, limited, as shown earlier in Figure 2. Naturally, those speakers who are not proficient in the use of the orthography find it much easier to attempt reading in Skolt Saami than they do writing.

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.

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

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).

/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 corresponding to a high front rounded vowel, represented with the same character /y/ in the IPA. A list of the Unicode codes corresponding to the unfamiliar orthographical characters is appended to this thesis.

CHARACTER	IPA	CHARACTER	IPA
Aa	/ɑ/	Ǟǟ	/c/ {/c̥/}
Ââ	/æ/	Ll	/l/ [ʎ/ /w/]
Bb	/b/	Mm	/m/
Cc	/ts/	Nn	/n/
Čč	/tʃ/ {/ʃ/}	Ŋŋ	/ŋ/
ƷƷ	/dʒ/	Oo	/o/
Žž	/dʒ/	Õõ	/ə/
Dd	/d/	Pp	/p/
Ðđ	/ð/ {/z/}	Rr	/r/
Ee	/e/	Ss	/s/
Ff	/f/	Šš	/ʃ/
Gg	/g/	Tt	/t/
Ǧǧ	/ʝ/ {/j̥/}	Uu	/u/ or /w/
Ǩǫ	/ɣ/	Vv	/v/ [ʋ/] or /w/
Hh	/x/ [h/ /ç/]	Zz	/z/
Ii	/i/	Žž	/ʒ/
Jj	/j/ or /j̥/	Åå	/ɔ/
Kk	/k/	Ää	/a/

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

There are two digraphs used in Skolt Saami writing. These are presented in Table 2 with their corresponding IPA symbols.

DIGRAPH	IPA
lj	/ɫ/
nj	/ɲ/

Table 2. Digraphs used in the Skolt Saami orthography

There are two important points to make about these digraphs. Firstly, while a long vowel or consonant is indicated with a double consonant, and a long consonant cluster is represented with a single first consonant and a double second consonant, a long /ɫ:/ or /ɲ:/ is represented with a double first consonant and a single second consonant <llj> or <nnj>. Secondly, /ɫ/ and /ɲ/ are distinguished from the sequence /l/ + /j/ or /n/ + /j/ by means of an apostrophe inserted between the two graphemes when the two graphemes represent individual sounds. This apostrophe is not used, however, when the sequences /l/ + /j/ or /n/ + /j/ occur as a result of compounding. This is shown in the examples below.

villj (brother) = /viɫ:/

jäll'jed (recover) = /jæɫ:jed/

jee'el (lichen) + jeä'ğğ (swamp) → jee'eljeä'ğğ (lichen swamp)

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 /d͡ʒ/. These correspondences are shown below.

PHONEME	IPA SYMBOL	ORTHOGRAPHICAL FORM
voiced, post-alveolar fricative	ʒ	ž
voiced, post-alveolar affricate	d͡ʒ	ʒ

1.8.2 ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS

In addition to the characters presented in Table 1, three diacritics are used—<'> marks palatalisation,¹⁵ <'> indicates an overshoot consonant or breath or is used as already outlined above to differentiate between /k/ and /l/ + /j/ or /ɲ/ and /n/ + /j/,¹⁶ and <'> appears between two consonants to mark a long geminate,¹⁷ although this latter symbol is typically reserved for linguistic literature and not used in the everyday orthography.

The diacritic marking palatalisation <'> is placed between the vowel and the consonant of the disyllabic stress group which is palatalised (see §2.5 for a discussion on palatalisation and §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'lggve'ted (leave.PRS.2PL)	vue'lgg + 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 symbol represents an approximant which belongs to a consonant cluster (as discussed in §1.8.4).

päi'kk̃ (place)	nei'bb (knife)	neu'll (needle)
-----------------	----------------	-----------------

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 in 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.

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) ← kääkar (dropping.PL.NOM)

The apostrophe <'> has two purposes. The first of these—to differentiate between a palatal <lj> or <nj> and a sequence of <l> or <n> followed by <j>—has already been explained in the preceding section. Its second purpose is to indicate an overshort vowel or breath. This may be used, for example, 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.

jäämm'mõš (death) ← (jää'mmed die.INF + -mõš NOMINALISING SUFFIX)
 mätt'ted (teach) ← (mätt education + -t- CAUSATIVE + -ed INFINITIVE)
 ķiöll'laž (linguistic) ← (ķiöll 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 cases, a definite release of the first /t/ is heard.

Previously, <'> 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.

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

The third diacritic, the vertical line <'>, is only typically used in linguistic literature on the language, such as in grammars or dictionaries, when a distinction needs to be made between two otherwise identically written forms. The vertical line is used to mark long geminates—which contrast with short geminates in Skolt Saami—and is placed between the two graphemes of the geminate in question, e.g. *muõ'r're* tree.SG.ILL. 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.

The vertical line is only used to mark a long geminate appearing after a diphthong, since the length of a consonant after a monophthong can be deduced by the length of the preceding vowel, which is marked in the orthography (see §1.8.3). A short vowel is followed by a long geminate and a long vowel by a short geminate.

1.8.3 PHONOLOGICAL LENGTH

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) **jor**dd**** (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 than 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, however, 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, hence the use of the vertical line <'> mentioned in §1.8.2.

siõr (play.IMP.2SG) long diphthong – short consonant
siõrrâd (play.INF) half-long 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 4 and 5), 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.

1.8.4 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 (unless it is <llj> or <nnj> as mentioned in §1.8.1). Phonetically, there is sometimes an overshoot vowel or breath separating the two, not expressed in the written form, hence $C_1C_1^vC_2$, for example *vuâppmõš* 'supervision' (*vuâppâd* 'to supervise' + *-mõš* nominalising suffix) is pronounced [vuõ^hp^hməʃ].

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 preceding the consonant cluster is either /i/ or /u/, respectively, then the approximants are written as <j> and <v> to avoid the appearance of a long vowel.

säi'mm (net)	=	s + ä + jmm
sijdd (village)	=	s + i + jdd
neu'll (needle)	=	n + e + wll
ku'vdd (snake)	=	k + u + wdd

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>.

1.8.5 PHONEMES OR ALLOPHONES?

Sammallahti and Moshnikoff (1991), in their dictionary, make use of a combining diacritic dot under the grapheme <e> to give <ẹ>. This is not a feature of the orthography, but simply used in the dictionary to distinguish between two phones. The reason given for using this diacritic is to indicate an open-mid front vowel /ɛ/ in cases where it might otherwise be mistaken for a more close-mid front vowel /e/.

However, in §2.3, the question of whether /ɛ/ and /e/ are phonemic, or instead simply allophonic, is discussed in depth. It is argued that there is reason to believe this contrast is only allophonic and if this is indeed the case it renders it unnecessary to mark this distinction in the orthography.

This theory is strengthened by the fact that this diacritic is only to be found in the dictionary in two environments. In the first environment, <ẹ> always constitutes the second syllable of a diphthong in a palatalised stress group, <ue'ẹ> or <ie'ẹ>. These two diphthongs are in complementary distribution with <uä'> and <eä'> (see §3.1.2), so it would seem more appropriate to represent them as <uä'> and <eä'> and thus avoid potential 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 *vuejjad* 'to drive' and *vuęččõs* 'paralysis'. Based on the analysis in this thesis, 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 <uɛ>. If this is the case, this too could be another argument for analysing this as an allophone.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THIS THESIS

The remainder of this thesis is organised into three main sections: phonology, morphology and syntax. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the phonology of the language, 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 and 5 introduce inflectional morphology, outlining the internal structure of various different inflectional classes of nouns, adjectives and verbs. In many ways an understanding of these chapters relies on an understanding of the morphophonological processes described in Chapter 3. Chapter 6 discusses word formation.

Chapter 7 presents a number of nominal categories, beginning with an overview of noun phrase structure and covering nominal modification, grammatical case marking and pronouns. Chapter 8 covers the verbal categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation.

The remaining two chapters are given over to syntax. Chapter 9 covers the clause structure of declarative clauses, beginning with a discussion on constituent order, followed by the topic of voice and valence and ending with a section on adverbials. Chapter 10 looks at non-declarative clauses 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 overshoot vowels which are not represented in the orthography. By covering these two features §2.1 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. The topic of palatalisation is discussed in §2.5 and finally, in §2.6 a number of diachronic sound changes are briefly mentioned.

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 thesis 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 (e.g. Sammallahti 1998) 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 centres 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 LATERAL VOWEL and a vowel in the vowel margin is referred to as MARGINAL VOWEL. This is represented with the word *kuuskõõzzid* 'northern.lights.PL.ACC'.

k–	uu–	sk–	õõ–	zz–	i–	d
INITIUM	VOWEL	CONSONANT	LATUS	CONSONANT	VOWEL	FINIS
	CENTRE	CENTRE		MARGIN	MARGIN	

An overshoot 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 analysis considers the overshoot vowel as belonging to a degenerate syllable. If the word is palatalised then the overshoot vowel has an /e/-quality, but otherwise it has an /a/-quality.

kaupp [kawp:ǎ] 'shop'
 sue'kk̃ [sue^hc·ě] 'birch'

An overshoot 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 overshoot vowel or short burst of aspiration. In the example below, the word *kkiugan* 'oven' consists of a single, disyllabic stress group. The illative form of the word, *kkiugna*, however, although appearing to be disyllabic, can be more accurately considered a trisyllabic stress group, when taking the overshoot vowel into account.

ĸiiugan [ci:wyan] 'oven.SG.NOM' → ĸiuggna [ciwg:ǎna] '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 overshoot 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 overshoot lateral vowel being realised as a full vowel.

juurdčed [ju:rdǎtʃed] 'think.INF' → juurdač [ju:rdatʃ] 'think.PRS.3SG'

It is often possible to predict from the written form of a word whether or not an overshoot 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 overshoot vowel. In the examples below, the overshoot vowel is represented with a superscript A.

mainsted 'talk.INF' = main^Asted <jnst> not a permitted consonant centre
 reäggčëm 'cry.COND.1SG' = reägg^Ačëm <ggč> not a permitted consonant centre

västtal 'slap.PRS.3SG' = västtal <stt> permitted consonant centre
 vuõ'lğğëm 'leave.PST.1SG' = vuõ'lğğëm <lğğ> permitted consonant centre

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 of a word 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 belongs to 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 overshoot vowels is important in Skolt Saami, since the suprasegmental feature of palatalisation (see §2.5) 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 *k̄k̄*. 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 overshoot vowel, represented by the superscript capital A.

2.2 CONSONANTS

Table 3 presents the consonant phonemes of Skolt Saami using the International Phonetic Alphabet [IPA].

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental	Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
Plosive	p	b				t	d			c	ç	k	g
Nasal		m					n				ɲ		ŋ
Trill							r						
Fricative			f	v	ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ		j	x	ɣ
Affricate						ts̄	dz̄	tʃ̄	dʒ̄				
Approximant											j		w
Lateral							l				ʎ		

Table 3. Skolt Saami phoneme inventory

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 3

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, as presented in Table 4.

Note that the voiced labio-velar approximant [w] is presented in Table 3 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.

IPA SYMBOL	ORTHOGRAPHICAL FORM
c	ķ
tʃ	č
ɲ	nj
ð	đ
ʃ	š
ʒ	ž
j	j
w	v
x	h
ɣ	g
\overline{ts}	c
\overline{dz}	z
$\overline{tʃ}$	č
$\overline{dʒ}$	ž
ʌ	lj

Table 4. Correspondences between IPA symbols and orthographical forms.

Many speakers' idiolects display consonant inventories differing from that presented in Table 3, either employing a single phoneme where other speakers may use two or else employing a different phoneme altogether. This issue will be discussed in §2.6.

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 (mold)
t	tuärr (fight)	mättad (be able)	kue'tt (den)
c	ķe'rres (sledge)	kââ'ķķed (rub)	päättâķ (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 <ķ> and <ğ>, have been treated in the literature as palatalised, velar plosives /k^j/ and /g^j/, often seen transcribed in the Uralic Phonetic Alphabet as /k̟/ and /g̟/, respectively—see for example Itkonen (1958). Korhonen, Mosnikoff and Sammallahti (1973: 18) provide the following description of <ķ> :

"<ķ> is a palatalised, very forward /k/. The front of the tongue touches the front area of the palate or even the alveolar ridge. <ķ> 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 <ǰ> 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 a language with which the target audience might be familiar, such as Finnish.

The reference to occurrences of <ǰ> strongly resembling <č>—the voiceless, postalveolar affricate $\widehat{tʃ}$ —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 <ǰ> 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 <ǰ> often resembles a postalveolar 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/ → $\widehat{cç}$.

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 <ǰ> 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.

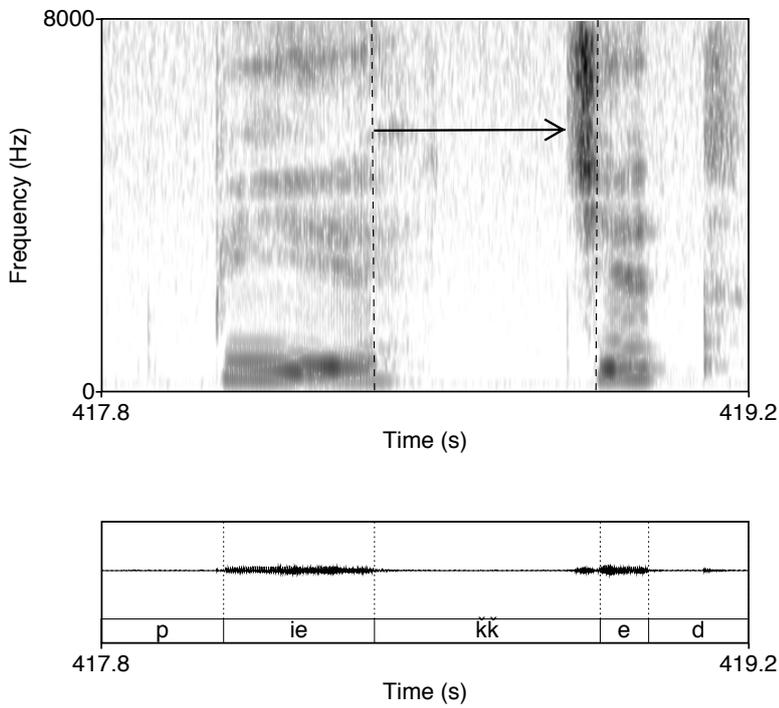


Figure 4. Spectrogram of older speaker saying *pie'kked* 'crawl'

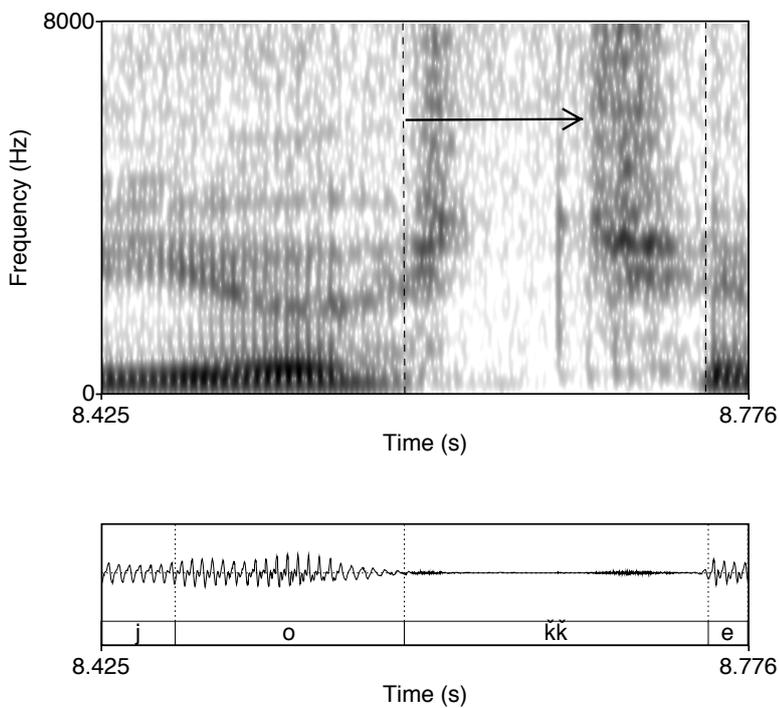


Figure 5. Spectrogram of younger speaker saying *jo'kke* 'to the river'

Compare Figure 4, a spectrogram of an older speaker saying *pie'k̄k̄ed* 'crawl' with Figure 5, a spectrogram of a younger speaker saying *jo'k̄k̄e* 'to the river'. Figure 4 shows the release phase of the plosive as very compact, while the same is not true of Figure 5 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 5, corresponds to preaspiration and is included as part of the plosive.

Based on the above facts, it does seem relatively clear that <k̄> and <ġ> 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 /cç/ and /jġ/.

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 can be summarised as follows:

$$[+ \text{PALATAL}] \rightarrow [+ \text{VELAR}] / \text{_____} [\text{depalatalisation}_{\text{STRESS GROUP}}]$$

$$[+ \text{VELAR}] \rightarrow [+ \text{PALATAL}] / \text{_____} [\text{palatalisation}_{\text{STRESS GROUP}}]$$

Examples of each of these are given below.

PALATAL → VELAR

sue'k̄k̄ (birch.SG.NOM) → suäkka (birch.SG.ILL)
 kââ'k̄k̄ed (gnaw.INF) → kââkk (gnaw.PRS.3SG)

VELAR → PALATAL

jokk (river.SG.NOM) → jo'k̄k̄e (river.SG.ILL)
 sââkk (row.PRS.3SG) → sâ'k̄k̄e (row.PRS.3PL)

Secondly, <ǰ> 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> → <ǰ> and a low or back vowel can trigger a change from <ǰ> → <k>, as exemplified.

pááttak̃ (potato.SG.NOM) → páattka (potato.SG.ILL)
 sââ'vek̃ (ski.SG.NOM) → sââ'vka (ski.SG.ILL)
 kââlvak (reindeer.SG.NOM) → kââlvkin (reindeer.SG.COM)

Although this distribution of phonemes is an extremely common feature, it is not an absolute, and therefore /k/-/c/ and /g/-/j/ cannot be considered as allophones in complementary distribution. For example, the agent nominalising suffix *i*, does not trigger a change from <k> → <ǰ> 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	—	kâ'dded (believe)	kâ'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 [B, D, G] 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 preaspiration and voicing 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 6), 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 7), on the other hand, shows a short period of aspiration between *ii* and *kk*, visible as high frequency aperiodic noise prior to the closure.

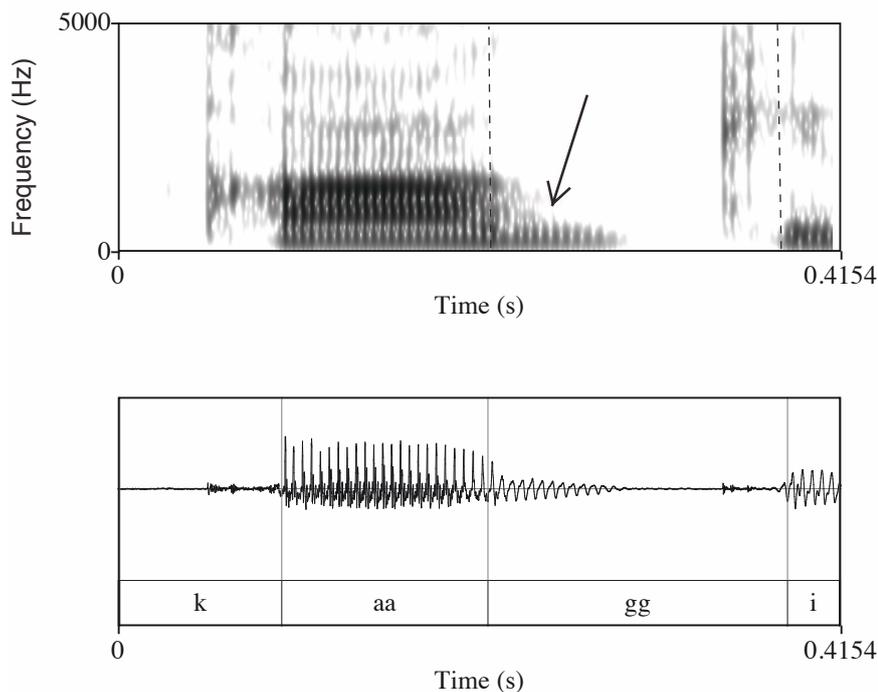


Figure 6. Spectrogram of *kaaggi* 'lift.PST.3SG'

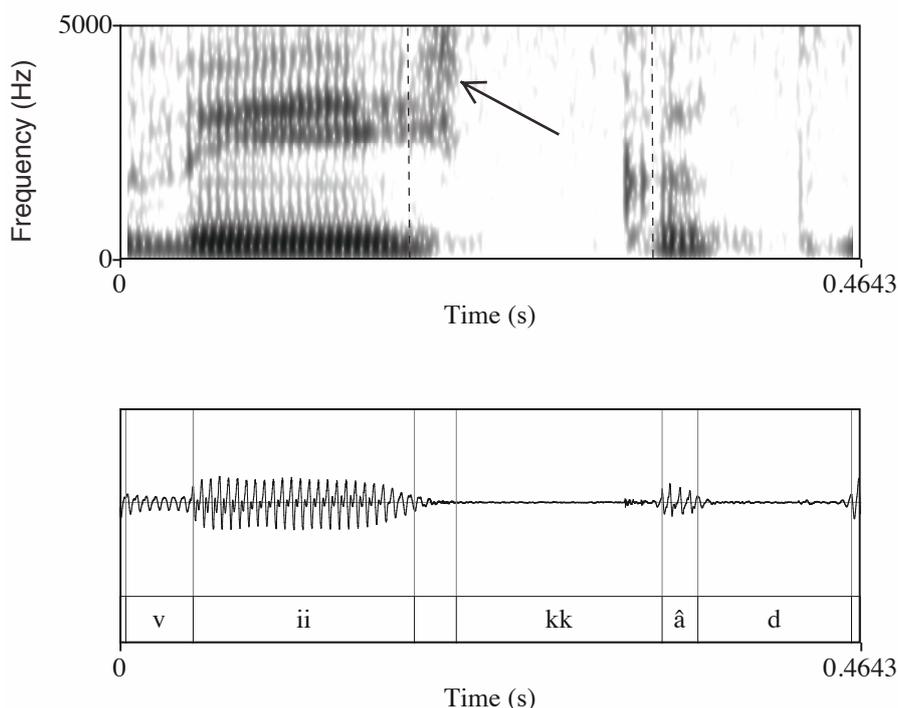


Figure 7. Spectrogram of *viikkâd* 'take.INF'

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)

2.2.2 FRICATIVES

There are ten fricatives in Skolt Saami. These are a voiceless and voiced labiodental 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)	kaa'ff (coffee)
v	veä'kk̃ (help)	râvvad (hurry)	pei'vv (sun)

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

IPA	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
ð	—	kää'dðed (weave)	ķidd̃ (spring)

The voiceless alveolar and postalveolar fricatives /s, ʃ/ occur in all three word positions. 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	šiõgg̃ (good)	riâššâd (organise)	pue'šš (eager)
ʒ	—	rââ'žžes (weak)	ķiâžž̃ (cotton cloth)

IPA	INITIAL	RUSSIAN
z	zoo'bbel (sable)	soboľ'
z	zaklaad (bet)	zaklad
ʒ	žaar (fever)	žar
ʒ	žu'leätka (waistcoat)	žilet

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 8. In the

unstressed, final syllable of *vuälže* 'ground.SG.ILL', shown in Figure 9, voicing of <ž>, indicated by the arrow, is almost nonexistent.

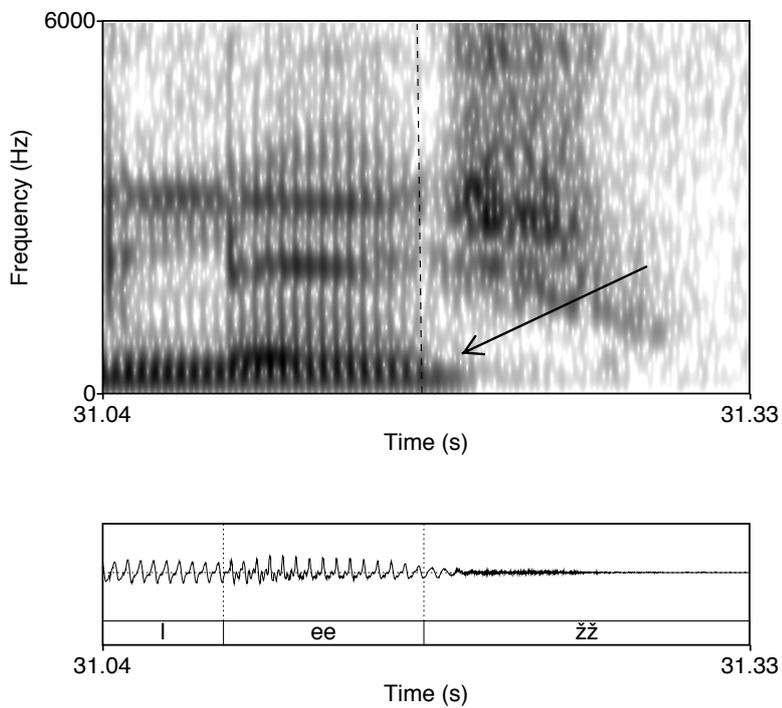


Figure 8. Spectrogram of the word *leežž* 'be.POT.3SG'

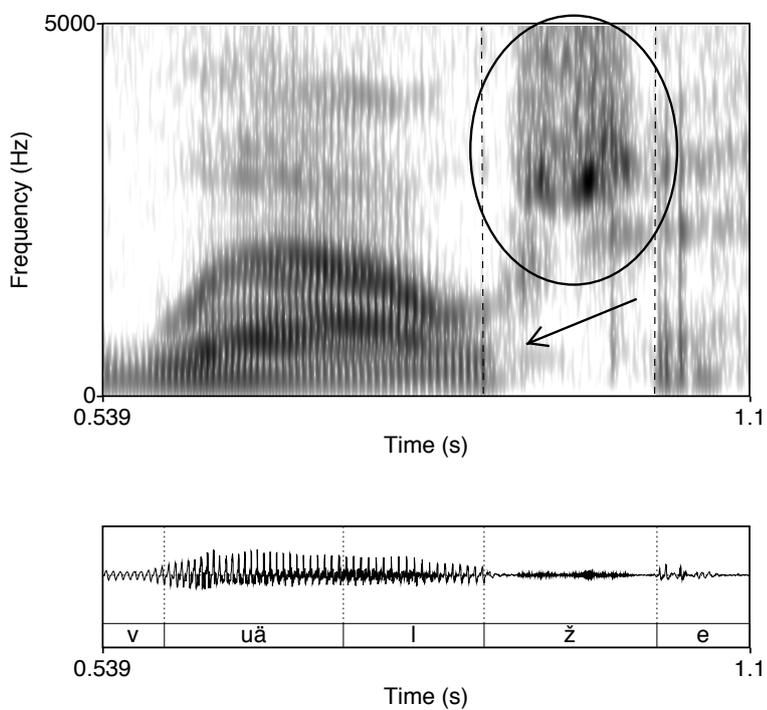


Figure 9. Spectrogram of the word *vuälže* 'ground.SG.ILL'

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 10, 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.

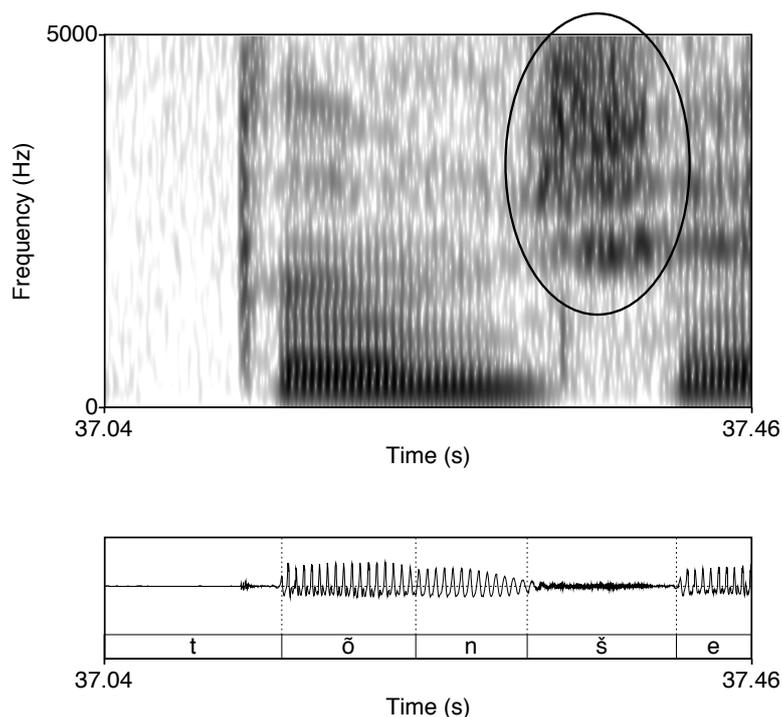


Figure 10. Spectrogram of the sequence *tõn še* 'this also'

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 (encircled in both Figure 9 and Figure 10) 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 then be a more useful way of describing the contrast between these consonants in Skolt Saami.

The voiced palatal fricative /j̥/ 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
j	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 11. An informant 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.

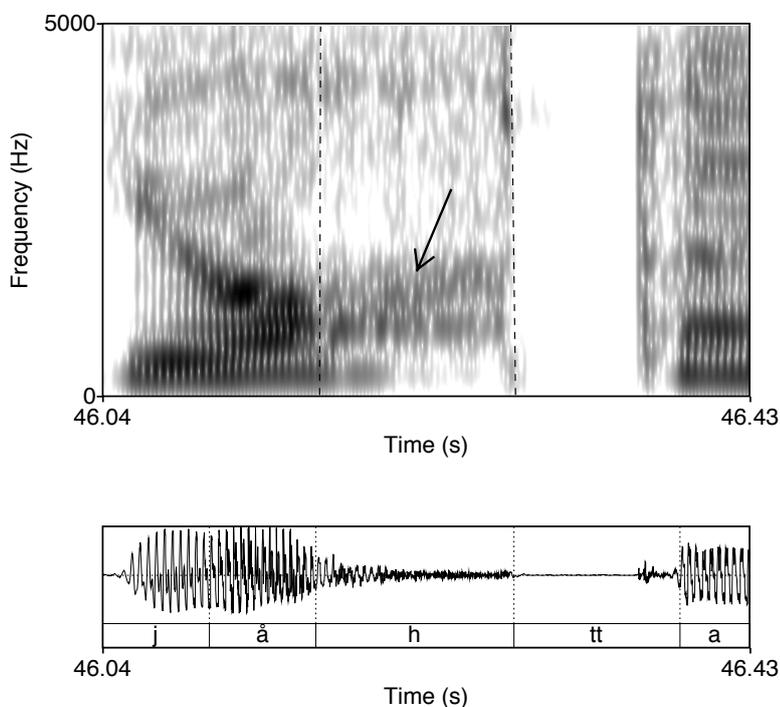


Figure 11. Spectrogram of *jåhtta* 'yesterday'

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] or even, 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 12 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 13 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 14 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.

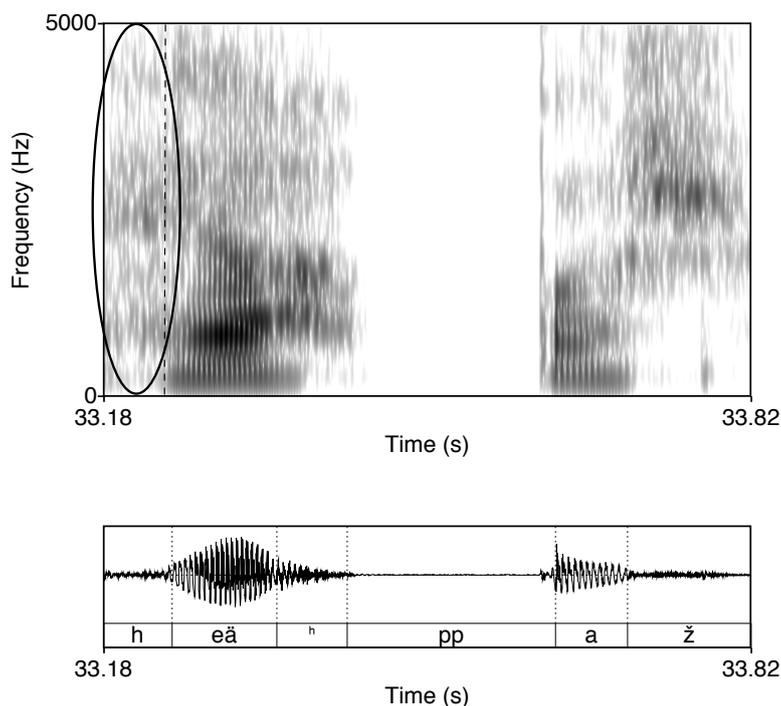


Figure 12. Spectrogram of *heäppaž* 'horses'

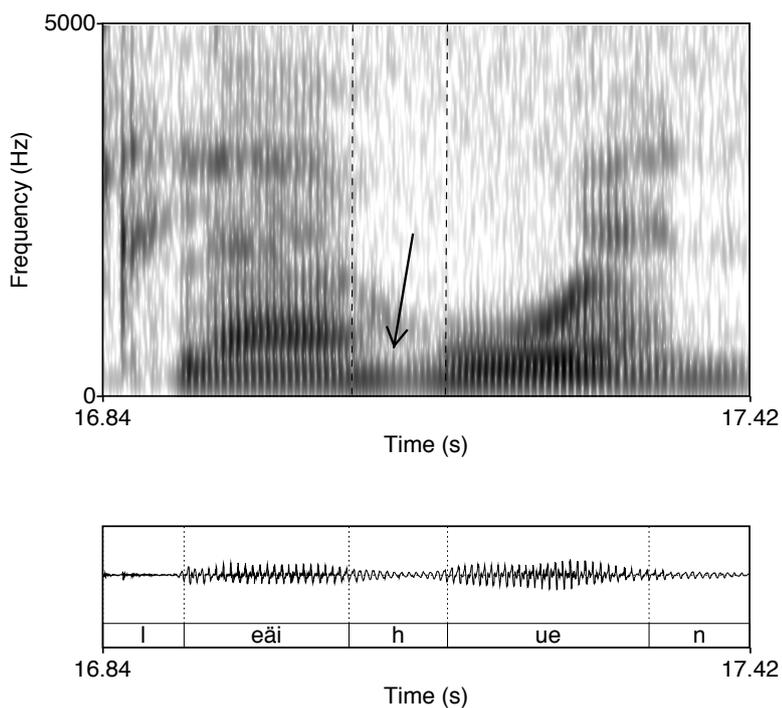


Figure 13. Spectrogram of the sequence *leäi hue'nn* 'it was bad'

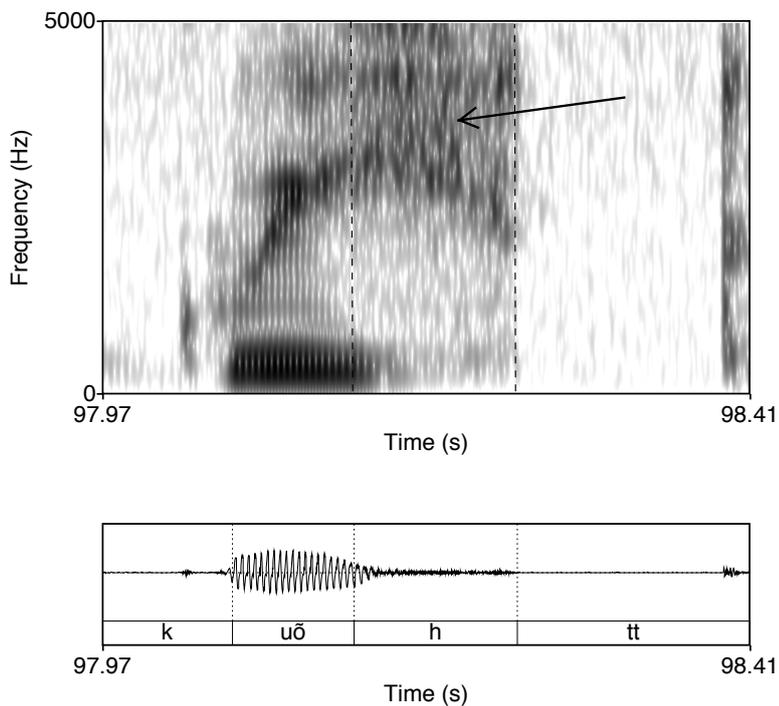


Figure 14. Spectrogram of the word *kuõ'htt* 'two'

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 example of these words are presented below with their Russian transliterations.

IPA	LOAN WORD	RUSSIAN
x	säähhar (sugar)	saxar
x	såähhar (rusk)	suxar'
x	smiõhh (laughter)	smex
x	åå'reh (nut)	orex

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

IPA	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
ɣ	-	čååggam (comb)	šiõgg (good)

Like the palatal fricative /j/, this phoneme appears to exist in free variation with a voiced velar approximant [ɥ]. Figure 15, a spectrogram of the word *jooggâst* 'river.SG.LOC', does not display any aperiodic noise associated with the segment <gg>.

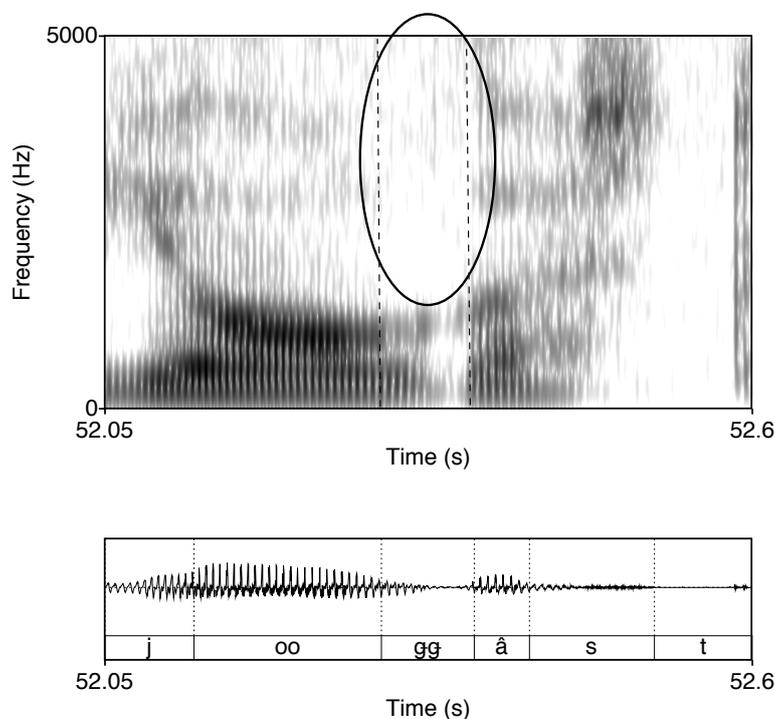


Figure 15. Spectrogram of the word *jooggâst* 'at the river'

2.2.3 AFFRICATES

There are four affricates in Skolt Saami. These are a voiceless alveolar affricate \widehat{ts} and its voiced counterpart \widehat{dz} and a voiceless postalveolar affricate $\widehat{tʃ}$ and its voiced counterpart $\widehat{dʒ}$. As mentioned already in §2.2.1 the palatal plosives $/c/$ and $/ɟ/$ are often produced as the voiceless palatal affricate $\widehat{cç}$ and its voiced counterpart $\widehat{jǰ}$, 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
\widehat{ts}	cie'kk̄es (degree)	aicc̄âd (perceive)	čää'cc (water)
\widehat{dz}	—	ķee'z̄zeed (taper)	puäz̄z̄ (reindeer)
$\widehat{tʃ}$	čuä'rvv (antler)	pääččad (shoot)	ee'čč (father)
$\widehat{dʒ}$	—	vižžâd (fetch)	luäžž̄ (loose)

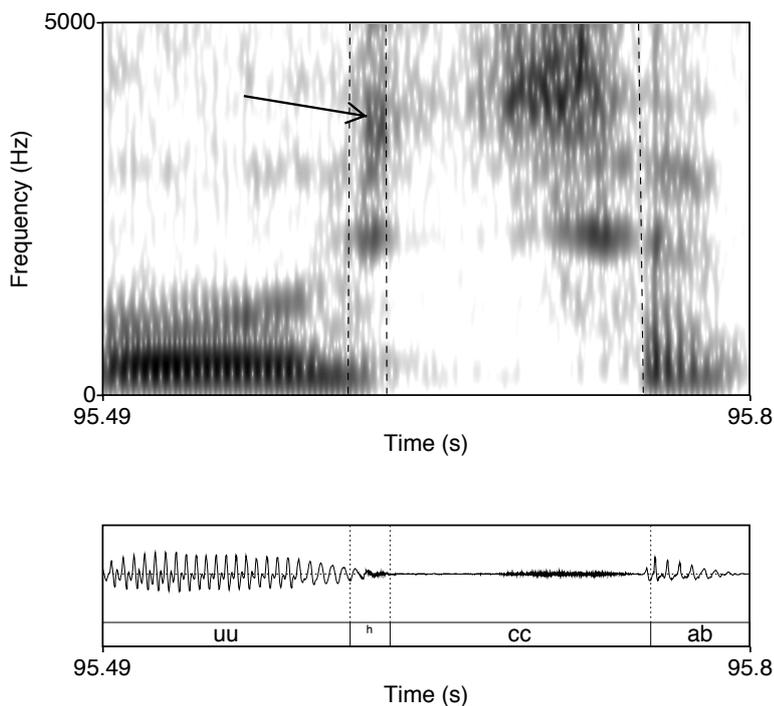


Figure 16. Spectrogram of *uu'ccab* 'smaller'

As with plosives, voiceless affricates are associated with preaspiration, while voiced affricates are only partially voiced. Figure 16 shows preaspiration occurring before the voiceless affricate $/tʃ/$, indicated by the arrow. Although Figure 17 shows a voiced affricate, $/dʒ/$, voicing is only maintained for a relatively short proportion of the affricate, indicated by the arrow.

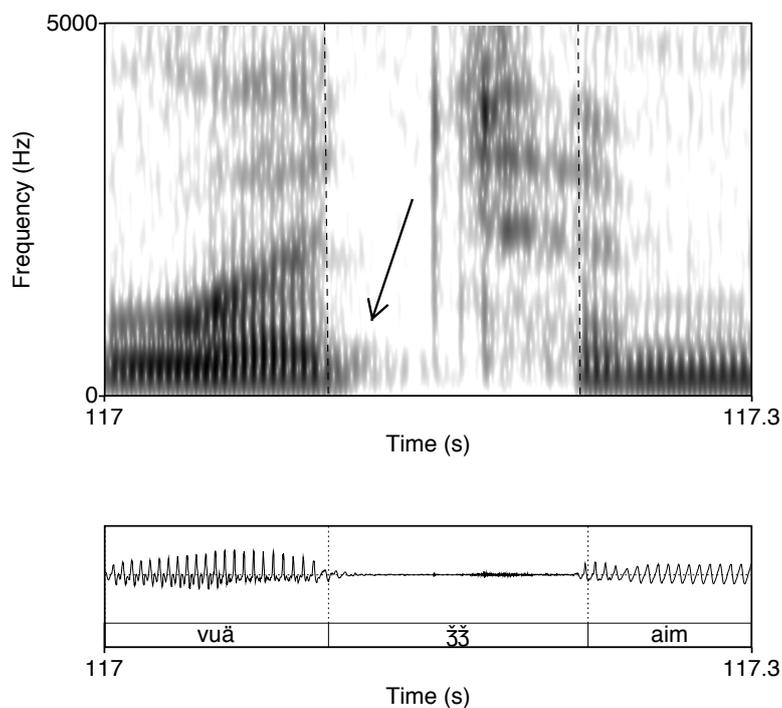


Figure 17. Spectrogram of *vuãʒʒaim* 'we were able'

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 the voiced labiodental, palatal and velar approximants— $[v]$, $[j]$ and $[u]$. 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 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>.

saakk (message.SG.NOM) → saagg (message.PL.NOM)
 ǰeâlkk (sled.SG.NOM) → ǰeâlk (sleg.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 recall 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>.

joukk (group.SG.NOM) → jooik (group.PL.NOM)
 njoikk (jump.SG.NOM) → njooik (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.

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

joukk (group.SG.NOM) → *jougg (group.PL.NOM)
 njoikk (jump.SG.NOM) → *njoigg (jump.PL.NOM)
 viõkk (strength.SG.NOM) → viõgg (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)
 sijdd (village.SG.NOM) → siid (village.PL.NOM)

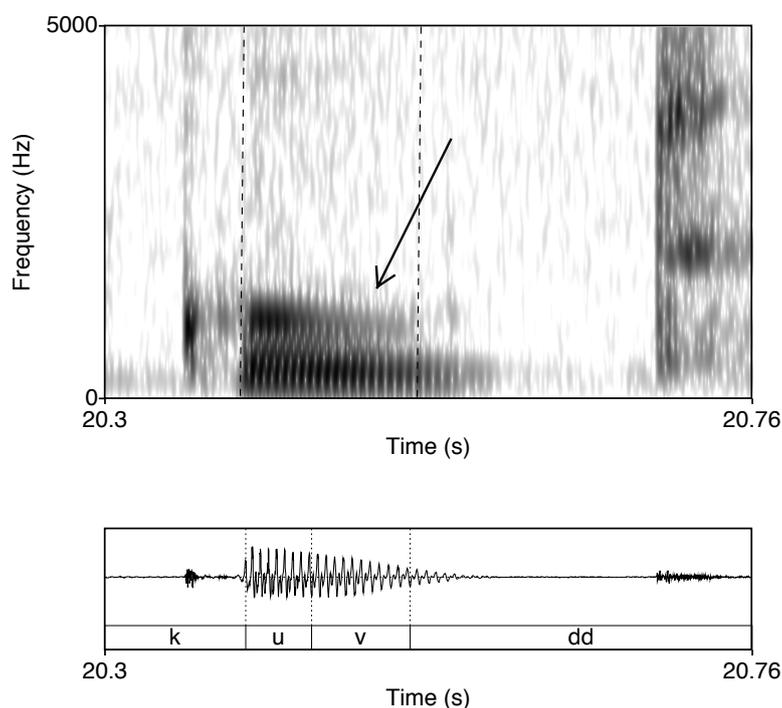


Figure 18. Spectrogram of the word *ku'vdd* 'snake.SG.NOM'

Spectrographic evidence of this is presented in Figure 18 and Figure 19. In Figure 18, 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 19 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.

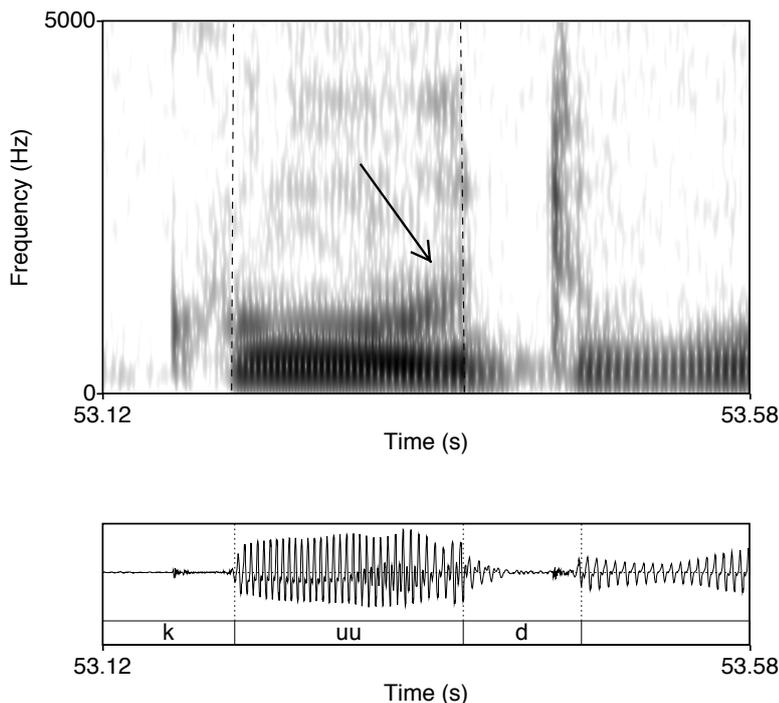


Figure 19. Spectrogram of the word *kuu'd* 'snake.SG.GEN'

A second reason for not considering these approximants to form a diphthong 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) → câunn (awake.PRS.3SG)
 vōõidâd (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.

IPA	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
l	lee'd (be)	tue'lääž (morning)	naartâl (wigeon)
ʎ	-	njää'ljes (sweet)	čič'lj (spine)

L-vocalisation is extremely prevelant 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 /c/ (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 §2.5).

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 20, where /r/, which is in the strong⁺ grade (see §3.2), begins as three clear occlusions before turning into frication.

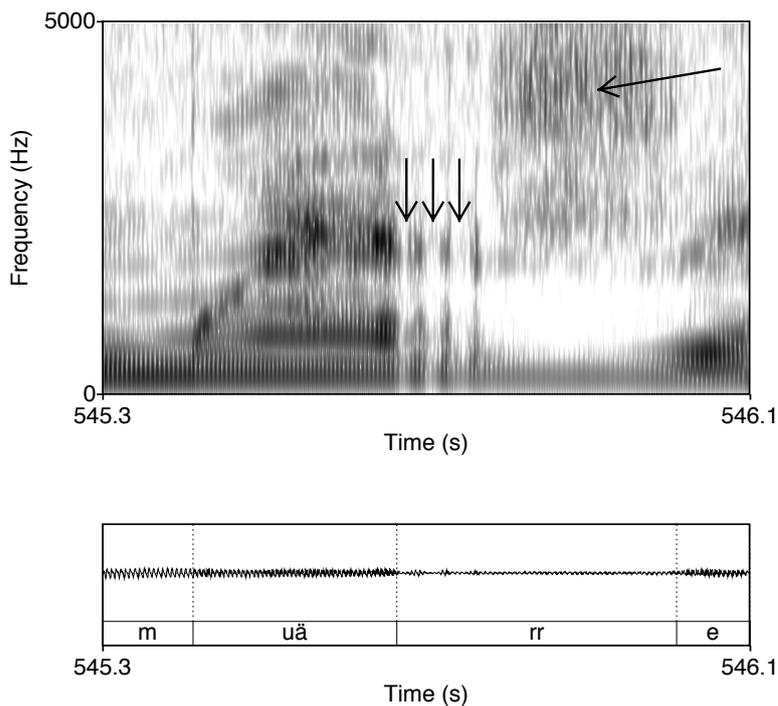


Figure 20. Spectrogram of the word *muá'rrre* 'break.PRS.3PL'

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)	suána (3DU.NOM)	mään (moon)
ɲ	ɲjiimmâd (suck)	ruánjas (track)	čue'ɲj (goose)
ŋ	-	suâŋač (snow)	jiõŋ (ice.SG.ACC)

2.3 VOWELS

Figure 21 presents a schematic diagram of the nine vowel phonemes of Skolt Saami. This diagram does not show the precise positions of Skolt Saami vowels within the vowel space, but rather serves to show the 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.

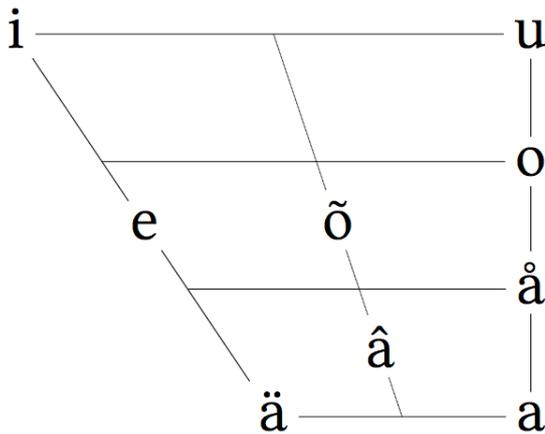


Figure 21. Skolt Saami vowel phonemes

Since palatalisation in Skolt Saami is considered to be a suprasegmental feature (see §2.5), vowels occurring in a palatalised stress group are considered to be allophones of the non-palatalised vowel and are not therefore presented as separate phonemes. When in a palatalised stress group vowels are typically produced with a slightly more raised and forward articulation.

Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991) make reference to the existence of both a close-mid, front vowel /e/ and an open-mid, front vowel /ɛ/, which if it were the case would add a tenth vowel to the Skolt Saami vowel inventory and would make the above diagram symmetrical. However, the distribution of /e/ and /ɛ/ appears to be tied to one of two factors. The first of these is the presence or absence of palatalisation, with open-mid /ɛ/ occurring in non-palatalised words and close-mid /e/ occurring in palatalised words. Since palatalisation is understood to affect the vowel centre in addition to the consonant centre, 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/.

The lack of any true minimal pairs, where the only distinguishing feature is /e/~ε/, does not assist in proving the existence of these as two separate phonemes. Sammallahti (p.c.) mentions one close minimal pair: *pe'llj* 'ear' ~ *nellj* 'four', since if the initial consonant is ignored the only distinguishing feature is the vowel centre, /eʌ:/~/εʌ:/. As is apparent from the orthographical representation of these two lexemes, however, the word *pe'llj* 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.

The second factor which relates to the distribution of [e] and [ε] is seen in diphthongs, where [ue] contrasts with [uε]. However, [uε] appears to be an allophone of <uä'> and only occurs in some idiolects. This topic will be discussed in §2.4, but here it will suffice to say that the absence of any real evidence for /e/ and /ε/ as separate monophthongs and the apparent non-universal use of a /e/~ε/ contrast in diphthongs has led to the present analysis of there being a single underlying mid, front vowel (cf. §1.8.5).

In some idiolects, the open-mid back vowel <å> undergoes a slight change in quality, whereby the vowel undergoes a transition from open-mid to open—[ɔɒ]—and is therefore more reminiscent of a diphthong. However, it is not considered a diphthong from a phonological viewpoint for two reasons, firstly, because this is not 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).

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.

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 Illustration 5.

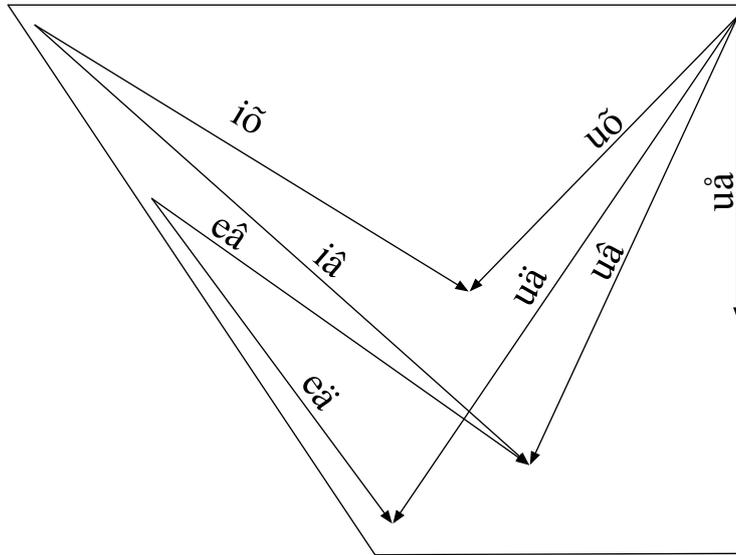


Illustration 5. Schematic diagram of diphthong trajectories in Skolt Saami

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 a back vowel or the low central vowel <â>, this is represented in the orthography: the palatalised counterparts of <uâ>, <uâ>, <iâ> and <eâ> are <ue'>, <ue'>, <ie'> and <eä'>, 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—<ii'> and <ui'>, 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 thesis. 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 5.

PLAIN	PALATALISED
iõ	iõ'
iâ	ie'
eâ	eä'
eä	eä'
uõ	uõ'
uâ	ue'
uâ	ue'
uä	uä'

Table 5. 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'	tiõ'tt (mark.SG.NOM)	→	tiõ't'te (mark.SG.ILL)
iâ→ie'	piâckk (fur.coat.SG.NOM)	→	pie'ckke (fur.coat.SG.ILL)
eâ→eä'	teâtt (know.PRS.3SG)	→	teä't'te (know.PRS.3PL)
eä→eä'	seäv (wave.PRS.3SG)	→	seä'v've (wave.PRS.3PL)
uõ→uõ'	čuõškk (mosquito.SG.NOM)	→	čuõ'škke (mosquito.SG.ILL)
uâ→ue'	vuâšš (horsetail.SG.NOM)	→	vue'sše (horsetail.SG.ILL)
uâ→ue'	kuâđđ (leave.PRS.3SG)	→	kue'đde (leave.PRS.3PL)
uä→uä'	vuäđđ (sleep.PRS.3SG)	→	vuä'đde (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 thesis due to space and time restraints, 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 /a/, 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.

SHORT CONSONANT (x)	/ua/	/ea/
LONG GEMINATE (x'x)	/ua/	/ea/
LONG CLUSTER (xyy)	/ua/	/ea/
SHORT GEMINATE (xx)	/uɛ/	/iɛ/
SHORT CLUSTER (xy)	/uɛ/	/iɛ/

Below are some examples of the complementary distribution of /ua/ and /uɛ/. A broad IPA transcription is given next to the orthographical form. As can be seen from

¹⁹ As discussed in the chapters 4 and 5 on morphology, 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 the chapter on morphophonology, 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 (which may be a diphthong) of the citation form, and any other forms where vowel height is not a feature of the paradigm cell, are treated as being unspecified for height.

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 [si·ɛ·vʲ:ed] 'wave.INF'	→	seä'v [se:ä·vʲ] 'wave.IMP.2SG'
xx→x	vue'dded [vu·ɛ·ðʲ:ed] 'sleep.INF'	→	vuä'd [vu:ä·ðʲ] 'sleep.IMP.2SG'
xyy→xy	peä'stted [peä:sʲ:tʲ:ed] 'free.INF'	→	pie'st [pi:ɛ:sʲtʲ] 'sleep.IMP.2SG'
xyy→xy	suä'rdded [suä:rʲ:dʲ:ed] 'topple.INF'	→	sue'rd [su:ɛ:rʲdʲ] 'topple.IMP.2SG'

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

Although in this thesis [uɛ] and [iɛ] are analysed as allophones of /ua/ and /ea/ in complementary distribution with each other, this fact is obscured by the orthography; 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'>.²⁰

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. 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 6. (Note that this same table is repeated in §3.1.2 where the issue of vowel height is discussed in greater detail).

²⁰ In Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991) this problem was addressed by placing a diacritic dot below those occurrences of <ue'> which represent [uɛ], i.e. <ue'·>, but this is not a standard feature of the orthography.

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

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 centre. Some examples of this are given below.

UNSPECIFIED VOWEL CENTRE		HIGH, PALATALISED VOWEL CENTRE		LOW, PLAIN VOWEL CENTRE
ku e'ððed (leave.INF)	→	ku õ'ððe (leave.PST.3PL)	→	ku âðð (leave.PRS.3SG)
su ä'rdded (topple.INF)	→	su e'rdded (topple.PST.3PL)	→	su ârdd (topple.PRS.3SG)
vu e'ððed (sleep.INF)	→	vu e'ððe (sleep.PST.3PL)	→	vu äðð (sleep.PRS.3SG)

As the three examples above demonstrate, *vue'ððed* '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 *ku*e'ððed 'leave'. This is because in *vue'ððed* the vowel centre is underlyingly /ua/, but since it is followed by a short geminate it is realised as [ue].

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'ððed* 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

kuē'ddēd (leave.INF) → **kuē'd** (leave.IMP.2SG)

suä'rddēd (topple.INF) → **sue'rd** (topple.IMP.2SG)

vue'ddēd (sleep.INF) → **vuä'd** (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 [ua] and [uɛ] pronounced as /ua/ and both [ea] and [iɛ] pronounced as /ea/.

In other idiolects a three-way distinction is clearly present, but the distinction appears to be between [ui]~[uɛ]~[ua] as opposed to [ue]~[uɛ]~[ua]; 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 /ea/~iɛ/, a similar pattern is observed, but in this case the distinction between close, mid and open, [ii]~[iɛ]~[ia], brings about a long monophthong. The occurrence of an [i]~[ɛ]~[a]–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], [ɛ] and [a]. This then would lend further support to the idea of there being only a single mid front vowel /ɛ/.

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]~[ɛ]~[a]–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, but is unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis.

2.5 PALATALISATION

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	/mæ:n/	go.PRS.3SG
PALATALISED	mââ'nn	/mæ:nʲ/	egg.SG.NOM
PALATAL	mââ'nnj	/mæ:ɲ/	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 *męńē* (where <ń> is 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 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

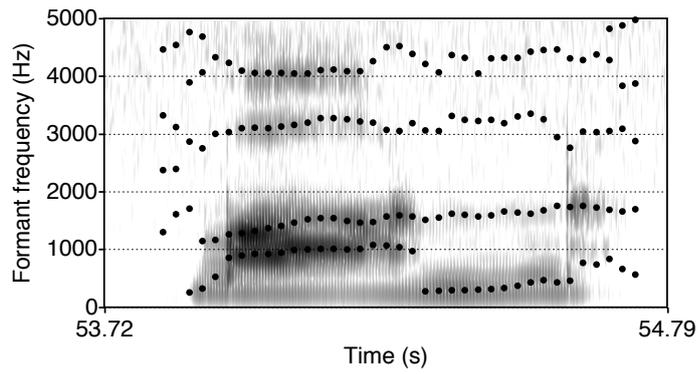
²¹ It is worth noting that palatalised consonants have often been referred to in the literature as "half palatalised", while palatal consonants have been referred to as "fully palatalised" (e.g. Korhonen *et al.* 1973: 21). However, in this grammar the term *palatal* is used in place of "fully palatalised", 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".

articulation. For the purpose of describing a three-way distinction between /n/ /nⁱ/ 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.

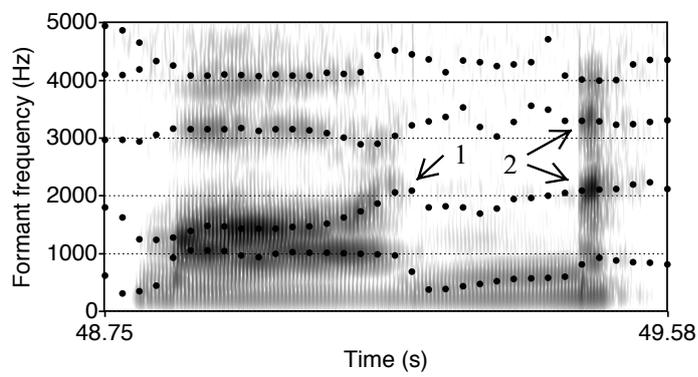
Spectrograms of the minimal triplet referred to above are presented in Figure 22, as produced by a female speaker. The second formant frequency, F2, is relatively stable throughout the production of *mâânn*, with a frequency of approximately 1500 Hz. During the production of the palatalised word *mââ'nn*, 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 overshoot vowel, following the release of the nasal, both F2 and F3 display higher frequencies than observed in *mâânn*, indicated by the arrow 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 overshoot 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 overshoot 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.

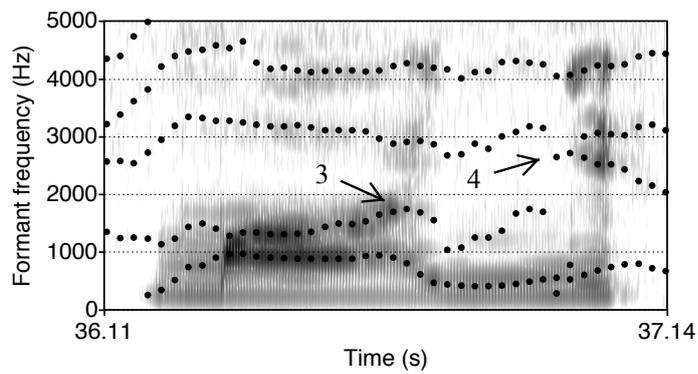
Figure 23 shows spectrograms of the same three words, produced by a male speaker. These spectrograms show the same features as described for Figure 22: (i) an increase in F2 in both the palatalised and palatal word, but more pronounced in the former, (arrows [1] and [3], respectively); (ii) a higher F2 and F3 at the voicing onset, following release of the nasal, in *mââ'nn* (arrow [2]), and (iii) a separation of F2 and F3 at the voicing onset, following release of the nasal, in *mââ'nnj* (arrow [4]).



mâânn

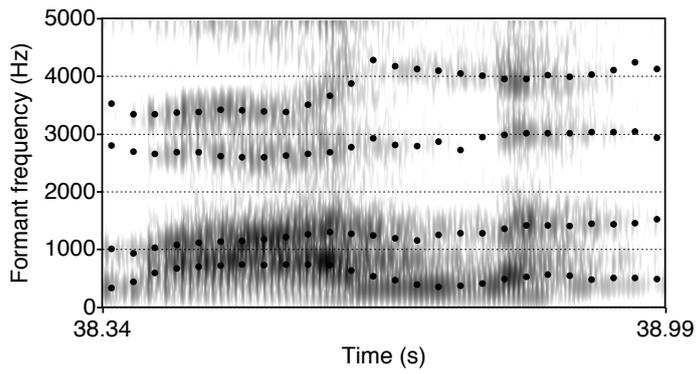


mââ'nn

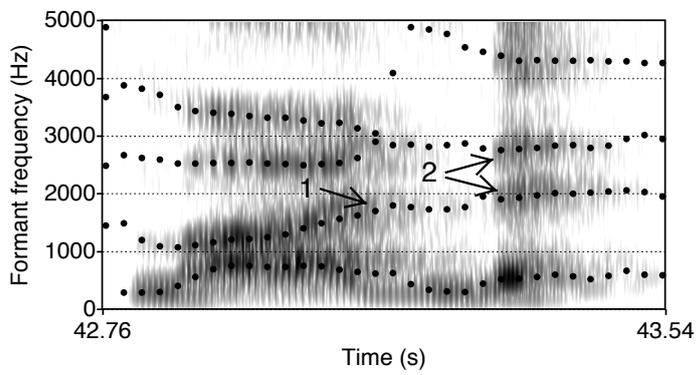


mââ'nnj

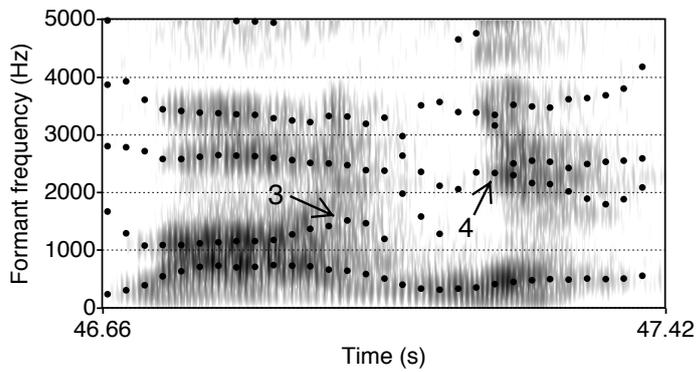
Figure 22. Spectrograms of the minimal triplet *mâânn–mââ'nn–mââ'nnj* – as produced by speaker A



mâânn



mââ'nn



mââ'nnj

Figure 23. Spectrograms of the minimal triplet *mâânn–mââ'nn–mââ'nnj* – as produced by speaker B

Although minimal triplets are possible, as exemplified above, 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 7.

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)
välld (take.PRS.3SG)	vä'lld (power.SG.NOM)
råått (birch.grove.SG.NOM)	råå'tt (ugly)
reen (quarrel.PL.NOM)	ree'n (soot.SG.NOM)

Table 7. List of plain vs. palatalised minimal pairs

Figure 24 shows spectrograms of the minimal pair *juurd* 'thought.SG.NOM' and *juu'rd* 'think.IMP.2SG'. As observed in Figure 22 and Figure 23, 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 overshoot 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.

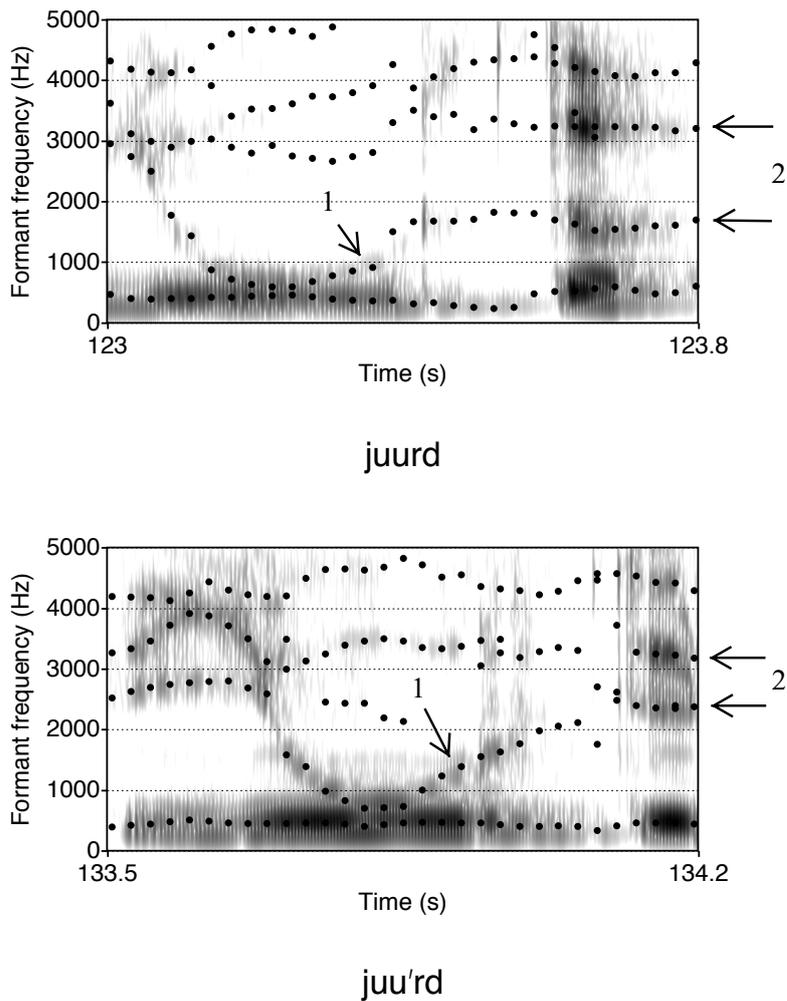


Figure 24. Spectrograms of the minimal pair *juurd–juu'rd*

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 *ká'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 §5.2), as exemplified below.

jokk (river.SG.NOM) → jo'kǰke (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 §5.2), as exemplified below.

lâ'dd (bird.SG.NOM) → lâdda (bird.SG.ILL)
 päi'kk̃ (place. SG.NOM) → päikka (place.SG.ILL)

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 8 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
lâ'dd (bird)	lodde	loddi	ledtie	lontē
te'kk̃ (louse)	tikke	dihkki	dihkie	tikkē
čuä'rvv (horn)	čuárvi	čoarvi	tjåervie	č̃rvē
â'brr (rain)	arve	arvi	ebrie	ēprē
sei'bb (tail)	seibi	seaibi	siejpie	sējpē
vuei'vv (head)	uáivi	oaivi	åejjie	̃jvē
pe'llj (ear)	pelji	beallji	bieljje	pēljē
mââ'nn (egg)	mane	monni	munnie	monē
pei'vv (sun)	peivi	beaivi	biejjie	pējvē

Table 8. Cognates of ten palatalised words in Skolt Saami

Although the word-final vowel in such examples has undergone apocope, an overshort vowel is often heard following such words. 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 overshoot 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 overshoot vowel its /e/-quality, due to a higher F2, or the /e/-quality of the overshoot 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 than it would otherwise be. Itkonen *et al.* (1971: 73) provide the following explanation:

"Koltassa suprasegmentaalinen palatalisaatio koskee painollisen tavun vokaalia, sitä seuraavaa konsonantistoa ja eräissä tapauksissa vielä seuraavan tavun vokaalia. Tässä esityksessä palatalisaatiota on merkitty painollisen tavun vokaalin ja seuraavan konsonantin rajalle sijoitetulla liudennuksen merkillä '/'. Merkin edellä oleva vokaali ääntyy etisempänä ja/tai suppeampana kun vastaava vokaali silloin, kun '/' ei seuraa." (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 [mɤ:n^j] and [mɤ:ɲ^j], where the diacritic below the vowel marks it as being advanced.

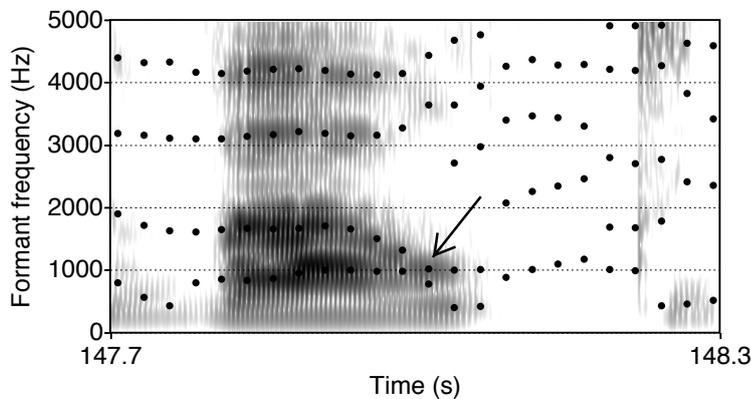
It could be argued that the advanced or raised articulation of a vowel in the environment of a palatalised consonant is simply a natural phonetic feature at the surface level and therefore palatalisation in Skolt Saami should be analysed as segmental. Indeed, in all the spectrograms presented above illustrating 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 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, or else a type of anticipatory assimilation, 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, which unfortunately is not within the scope of this thesis.

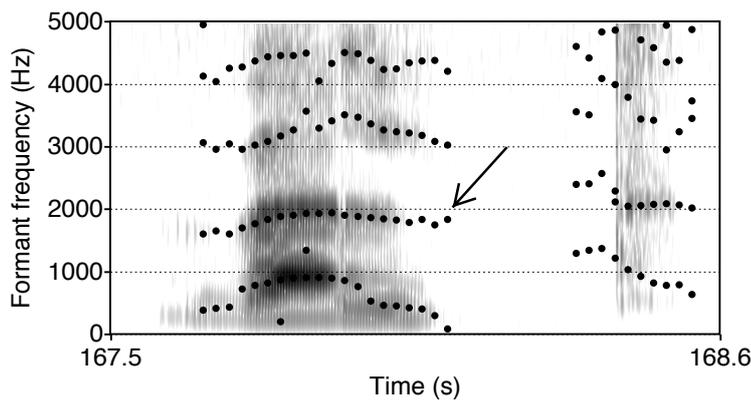
There are, however, two factors which lend support for considering palatalisation as a suprasegmental. The first of these concerns the effect that palatalisation has on the second component of diphthongs, most notably on the mid, central vowel <õ> of the diphthong <uõ>, which becomes closer to /ui/ when 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), display the greatest degree of palatalisation, even if this were to spread to the preceding consonant.



välld



vä'ldd

Figure 25. Spectrograms of the words *välld* 'take.PRS.3SG' and *vä'ldd* 'power'

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 25, which shows spectrograms of the words *välld* 'take.PRS.3SG' and *vä'ldd* 'power', produced by a speaker who exhibits l-vocalisation. The l-vocalisation seen in *välld* 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.

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 /j/, 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'lgğe (get through.PST.3PL)

Having discussed some of the issues in the classification of palatalisation and provided possible 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 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 *peʹllj* 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.

2.6 INTERSPEAKER VARIATION

A number of phonemes in Skolt Saami are undergoing sound changes. These changes appear to be diachronic 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. 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 /tʃ/ → /ʃ/; (iii) approximation of /j/ → /j̥/; 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.

OLDER SPEAKERS	YOUNGER SPEAKERS	TYPE OF SOUND CHANGE
ð	z	place of articulation
tʃ	ʃ	spirantisation
j	j̥	approximation
ɥ	ɥ̥	approximation
l	w	l-vocalisation
c	cç	affrication
ʃ	ʃj̥	affrication

This chapter on Skolt Saami phonology assumes the phonemes of the older speakers to be the more conservative and therefore throughout this grammar words are transcribed in the form used by older speakers, so a word such as 'water' will be written in its official orthographical form *čää'cc*, produced by older speakers as [tʃæ:^hts^c], even though younger speakers produce the same word as [ʃæ:^hts^c].

3 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Inflection in Skolt Saami is being incredibly complex due to a wide range of morphophonological processes which give rise to the different inflectional forms, including changes in vowel quality, vowel length, consonant quality and consonant length as well as palatalisation and epenthesis. Historically, these sound changes were motivated by a number of factors, including grade alternation, 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 changes opaque, hence from a synchronic viewpoint these sound changes 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. The example given below shows how the stem of a verb occurring in different syntactic contexts has a variety of realisations. Consider the verb *tie'tted* 'to know':

tie'tted	INF
teâtt	PRS.3SG
teä't'te	PRS.3PL
tiõ't'te	PST.3PL
tie'd	IMP.2SG
tiõ'dež	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 undergoes changes (*t't*→*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':

<i>muõrr</i>	tree.SG.NOM
<i>muõr</i>	tree.PL.NOM
<i>muõ'r're</i>	tree.SG.ILL

This example also shows a three-way length distinction in the consonant centre (*r'r*→*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 9.

HIGH	LOW
i	e
õ	â
u	o
o	â
a	ä

Table 9. Vowel high–low 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 1, Group A verbs, where the PRS.3PL requires a low vowel and the PST.3PL requires a high vowel.

kā'sse (cough.PRS.3PL) → ko'sse (cough.PST.3PL)
 sâ'kķe (row.PRS.3PL) → sō'kķe (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 *ā ~ o* pair while at the same time the low member of the *o ~ u* pair; although this vowel is phonetically neither a high nor low vowel, but 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 1, Group B 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* belongs to the LOW set, and therefore its high counterpart is *u*, while, in the case of *pollu*, *o* is a high vowel and its low counterpart is therefore *ā*.

LOW VOWEL CENTRE	HIGH VOWEL CENTRE
jokk (yoke.SG.NOM)	→ jukku (yoke.SG.ILL)
pāll (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.

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 ~ ā* pair, as presented in Table 9, and does not necessarily entail a phonetically high vowel.

A visual representation of these vowel changes in relation to a vowel quadrilateral is given in Figure 26.

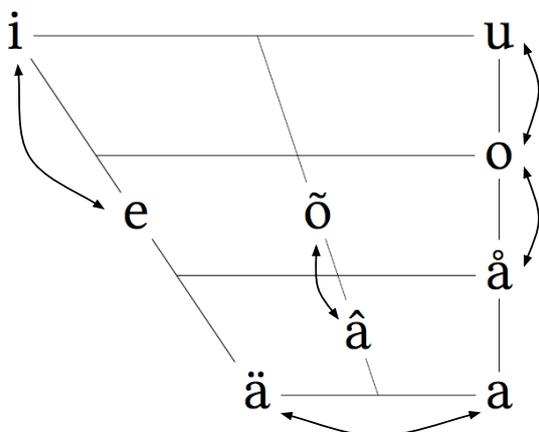


Figure 26. Schematic diagram of vowel pairings

As already illustrated with Class 1, Group A 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 1, Group A and B verbs.

Class 1, Group A

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

Class 1, Group B

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 consonant centre no change is observed. Note in particular the behaviour of the vowel *o*. When it occurs in the Class 1A verb *joorrâd* it is the high member of the *o ~ â* pair, but when it occurs in the Class 1B verb *roossad* 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. Changes in diphthong quality are, understandably, not as straightforward as changes in monophthong quality, since the diphthong itself already exhibits a change in quality from a close to 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 10.

HIGH	LOW
iõ	eâ
iâ	eä
uõ	uâ
uâ	uä

Table 10. Diphthong high–low pairs

Examples of the changes involved in 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)
 muârrâd (break.INF) → muär (break.PRS.3SG)

The palatalised counterparts of each diphthong can therefore also be placed in either the high or low group, as presented in Table 11.

HIGH		LOW	
PLAIN	PALATALISED	PLAIN	PALATALISED
iõ	iõ'	eâ	eä'
iâ	ie'	eä	eä'
uõ	uõ'	uâ	ue'
uâ	ue'	uä	uä'

Table 11. Diphthong high–low pairs, including 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 a Group C word displays changes in line with the *uõ ~ uâ* pair, despite being the high palatalised diphthong of the *uâ ~ uä* pair. These correspondences are summarised in Table 12.

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')	uâ	ue'	uä	uä'

Table 12. Diphthong high–low pairs, including palatalised counterparts

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

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.

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 thesis as a feature of individual paradigm forms and not as an automatic phonological process of regressive vowel height assimilation. As Sammallahti (1998: 61) states, "after the Proto-Saami stage, metaphony affecting stressed syllable vowels and reduction of unstressed positions (such as the loss of final sounds) have made sound symbolism in Saami morphology more and more important."

3.2 CONSONANT GRADATION

Consonants in Skolt Saami are subject to processes of consonant gradation. While historically the application of consonant gradation rules was phonetically conditioned, the phonetic 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 phonetic 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

kue's's (guest.SG.NOM)	→	kue'ss (guest.PL.NOM)
pâáll (fear.SG.NOM)	→	pââl (fear.PL.NOM)
veârr (trust.PRS.3SG)	→	veâr (trust.IMP.2SG)
reäkk (cry.PRS.3SG)	→	reägg (cry.IMP.2SG)

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 the following section.

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

siörrâd (play.INF) → siör (play.IMP.2SG)
 pööllâd (fear.INF) → pööl (fear.IMP.2SG)

xx-series

viž'žâd (fetch.INF) → viižž (fetch.IMP.2SG)
 kuäl'l (sour.milk.SG.NOM) → kuäll (sour.milk.SG.ACC)

xy-series

ķeälkk (sledge.SG.NOM) → ķeälk (sledge.SG.ACC)
 čuõškk (mosquito.SG.NOM) → čuõšk (mosquito.PL.NOM)

Consonants appearing as an element of a consonant cluster (xy-series) behave differently to those which do not (xx-series). The example below shows how *ķķ* undergoes a change in quantity (*ķķ* → *ķ*), 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 (*ķķ* → *jj*) in the weak grade.

päi'ķķ (place.SG.NOM) → pääi'ķ (place.PL.NOM)
 sue'ķķ (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. When 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—then 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
x-series	C	C:C (overlong)
xx-series	CC	C:C

The above diagram shows that 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 of 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 duration contrast, as exemplified below.

WEAK		STRONG		OVERLONG
veâr (trust.IMP.2SG)	→	veârrad (trust.INF)	→	veâr'ra (trust.PRS.3PL)
ee'ď (appear.IMP.2SG)	→	ee'tted (appear.INF)	→	e'tte (appear.PRS.3PL)
ķiõď (hand.PL.NOM)	→	ķiõtt (hand.SG.NOM)	→	ķiõ't'te (hand.SG.ILL)

A word containing a consonant of the xx–series, on the other hand, only displays a two-way duration 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 is observed, as exemplified below.

WEAK	STRONG	OVERLONG
vii žž (collect.IMP.2SG) →	ve žž (collect.PRS.3SG) →	ve' žž e (trust.PRS.3PL)
piõ gg (blow.IMP.2SG) →	peâ g'g (blow.PRS.3SG) →	peä' g'g e (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 *kiõđ* → *kiõtt* 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 13.

STRONG	WEAK
cc	33
čč	jj
kk ~ 'kk̆	gg ~ 'jj
pp	v
ss	zz
šš	žž
tt	đ

Table 13. Consonants displaying qualitative gradation

Note that *đ* is both the weak counterpart of the geminates *tt* and *đđ* and *v* is both the weak counterpart of *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 *'kk̆* when palatalised. These facts are illustrated in the following examples.

STRONG OR STRONG +	WEAK
ǰiǰǰ (spring.SG.NOM)	→ ǰiiǰ (summer.SG.ACC)
ǰiǰtt (hand.SG.NOM)	→ ǰiǰǰ (hand.SG.ACC)
kââ'pp (hole.SG.NOM)	→ kââ'v (hole.SG.ACC)
pei'vv (sun.SG.NOM)	→ peei'v (sun.SG.ACC)
ve'ǰ'ǰe (take.PRS.3PL)	→ viigg (take.IMP.2SG)
kââkkam (rub.PST.PCPL)	→ kǰǰǰji (rub.PST.3SG)
e'ǰǰ (father.SG.NOM)	→ ee'jj (father.PL.NOM)

Before going further, it is necessary to point out that, as opposed to using the term OVERLONG when referring to those x-series consonants which are quantitatively equal to the strong grade of the xx-series, the term STRONG+ has been used throughout this thesis; this term also reflects the fact that this is a case of strengthening (Sammallahti 1998: 48). In the chapters on inflection, then, the terms WEAK, STRONG and STRONG+ are used to indicate the grade in which the consonant of a stem appears. Paradigm forms specifying for STRONG+ 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 are represented in the following table.

SERIES ²⁵	WEAK	STRONG	STRONG +
x-series	x	xx	x'x
x-series ₂	xx	xx	x'x
xx-series	xx	x'x	—
xy-series	xy	xyy	—

Table 14. Relationship between consonant series and WEAK/STRONG/STRONG+ stems

When the terms GRADE I, GRADE II and GRADE III are used, this more closely reflects the relative durations of each grade, hence the strong grade of x-series

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 *ǰ*, respectively. It thus includes the following grade II consonants as presented in Table 13: *cc*, *ǰǰ*, *kk*, *ss* and *šš*.

consonants and the weak grade of xx-series consonants are both considered as GRADE II; likewise, the overlong grade of x-series consonants and the strong grade of xx-series consonants are treated together as GRADE III consonants. The only exception to this is treating the weak grade of those x-series consonants which display qualitative gradation as belonging to GRADE I, despite the fact that quantitatively they are close to GRADE II consonants. The relationships between consonant series and Grade I, II and III are represented in the following table.

SERIES	GRADE I	GRADE II	GRADE III
x-series	x	xx	x'x
x-series ₂	xx	xx	x'x
xx-series	—	xx	x'x
xy-series	—	xy	xyy

Table 15. Relationship between consonant series and Grade I/II/III consonants

As mentioned in the section on the Skolt Saami orthography (§1.8) 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 $ğğ$, display a qualitative change in the weak grade. 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 16, where x and y represent the first and second elements of a cluster, in keeping with the name xy-series. Examples of both these changes are then presented.

STRONG	WEAK
$xgg \sim 'xğğ$	$xg \sim 'xj$
hyy	uy

Table 16. Consonant clusters displaying qualitative gradation

$\text{vue}^1\text{ğğed}$ (leave.INF) → vue^1j (leave.IMP.2SG)
 $\text{ķeäl}^1\text{ggan}$ (forest.soil.SG.ACC) → $\text{ķeäl}^1\text{g}$ (forest.soil.SG.NOM)

leähšš (damp.place.SG.NOM) → leäuš (damp.place.SG.ACC)
 tä'htt (bone.SG.NOM) → tääu't (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
käk'kar (animal.dropping.PL.NOM)	→	kää'er (animal.dropping.SG.NOM)
jeäk'kal (lichen.PL.NOM)	→	jee'el (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 §5.2), are presented below.

WEAK		STRONG		STRONG +
joogg (river.PL.NOM)	→	jokk (river.SG.NOM)	→	jo'kke (river.SG.ILL)
tool (fire.PL.NOM)	→	toII (fire.SG.NOM)	→	to'IIe (fire.SG.ILL)
kuuzz (cow.PL.NOM)	→	kuss (cow.SG.NOM)	→	ku'sse (cow.SG.ILL)
kuun (ash.PL.NOM)	→	kunn (ash.SG.NOM)	→	ku'ne (cow.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 whose consonant centre alternates between C and C:C typically come from a Proto-

Saami word exhibiting a consonant of the x-series, while words whose consonant centre alternates between CC and C:C are typically derived from a Proto-Saami word 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 17 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 18 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 17 and Table 18 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.

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 ²⁷ SG.NOM	SS PL.NOM	PS SG.NOM	NS SG.NOM
curve (e.g. at front of skis)	čimm	čiim	ćime	čibmâ
river	jokk	joogg	joke	jokkâ
name	nõmm	nõõm	neṃe	nâmmâ
blood	võrr	võõr	veṛe	vârrâ
handle, knob	nõđđ	nõõđ	neḍe	nâđđâ
spring (season)	ķiđđ	ķiĩđ	kiḍe	giđđâ
buttocks, bum	põtt	põõđ	peṭe	bâttâ
scab	kõnn	kõõn	keṇe	gâdnâ
phloem, inner bark	njõll	njõõl	neḷe	njâllât
(camp) fire	toll	tool	toḷe	dollâ
family, relatives	sokk	soogg	sokē	sokkâ
cough	koss	koozz	koṣe	gossât
room	lõnnj	lõõnj	leṇe	lâdnjâ

Table 17. Words displaying gradation alternations between Grade I and III

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

Table 18. Words displaying gradation alternations between Grade II and III

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

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 $\hat{x}x$ —where \hat{x} represents a so-called half-long consonant and $\hat{x}x$ represents a half-long geminate—and geminates derived from Proto-Saami geminates are transcribed $\bar{x}x$ —where \bar{x} represents a long consonant and $\bar{x}x$ represents a long geminate. This difference in phonetic length however, if indeed it does exist, does not appear to be a phonological difference 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' ($jo^{\circ}kk^A$) and *jokk* 'yoke (of animal)' ($jo^{\circ}kk^A$) to be homophonous, 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 inflectional 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
<i>jokk</i> (river.SG.NOM)	$jo^{\circ}kk^A$	<i>joogg</i> (river.PL.NOM)	III > I
<i>jokk</i> (yoke.SG.NOM)	$jo^{\circ}kk^A$	<i>jookk</i> (yoke.PL.NOM)	III > II
<i>sokk</i> (family.SG.NOM)	$s\underset{\circ}{q}kk^A$	<i>soogg</i> (family.PL.NOM)	III > I
<i>sokk</i> (sock.SG.NOM)	$s\underset{\circ}{q}kk^A$	<i>sookk</i> (sock.PL.NOM)	III > II

While the three distinct consonant grades play an important role in the morphology 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 minimal triplets where the only distinguishing feature is consonant grade.

3.3 PHONOLOGICAL QUANTITY

The previous section was concerned only with the phenomenon of consonant gradation 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 marking 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 consonant 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 associated with the vowel centre and consonant centre of verbs in different inflectional forms. Figure 27 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.

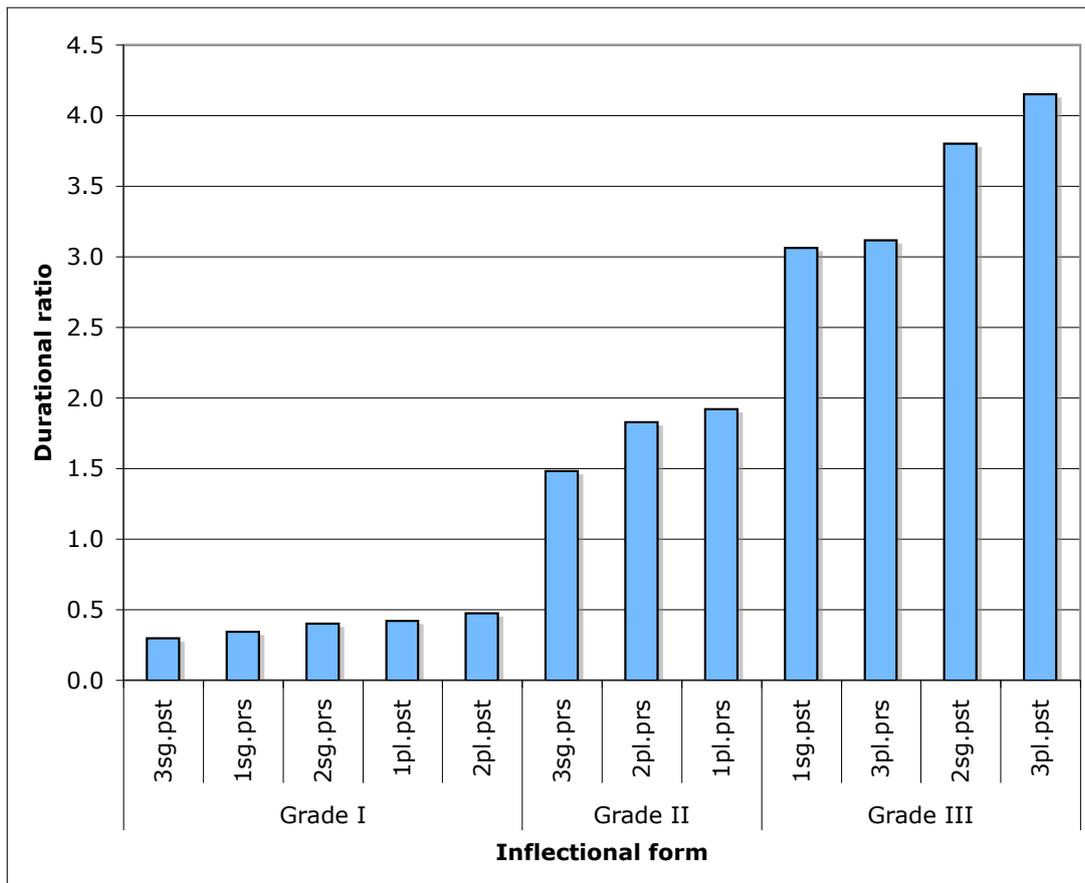


Figure 27. Durational ratios of VC sequence of inflectional forms of *tie'tted* 'know'

²⁸ This analysis was carried out with recordings made on an Edirol-R09 recorder and durational measurements were taken 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 27 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, *ɖ*, 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 19.

INFLECTIONAL FORM	CONSONANT GRADE	DURATIONAL RATIO
PST.3SG <i>tiõ'đi</i>	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.3
PRS.1SG <i>teâđam</i>	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.3
PRS.2SG <i>teâđak</i>	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.4
PST.1PL <i>tiõ'đim</i>	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.4
PST.2PL <i>tiõ'đid</i>	WEAK (GRADE I)	0.5
PRS.3SG <i>teât</i>	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.5
PRS.2PL <i>tie'ttve'ted</i>	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.8
PRS.1PL <i>tie'ttep</i>	STRONG (GRADE II)	1.9
PST.1SG <i>tiõt'tem</i>	STRONG + (GRADE III)	3.1
PRS.3PL <i>teä't'te</i>	STRONG + (GRADE III)	3.1
PST.2SG <i>tiõ't'tik</i>	STRONG + (GRADE III)	3.8
PST.3PL <i>tiõ't'te</i>	STRONG + (GRADE III)	4.2

Table 19. Durational ratios of twelve inflectional forms of *tie'tted* 'know'

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 the above table, which are presented in Figure 28.

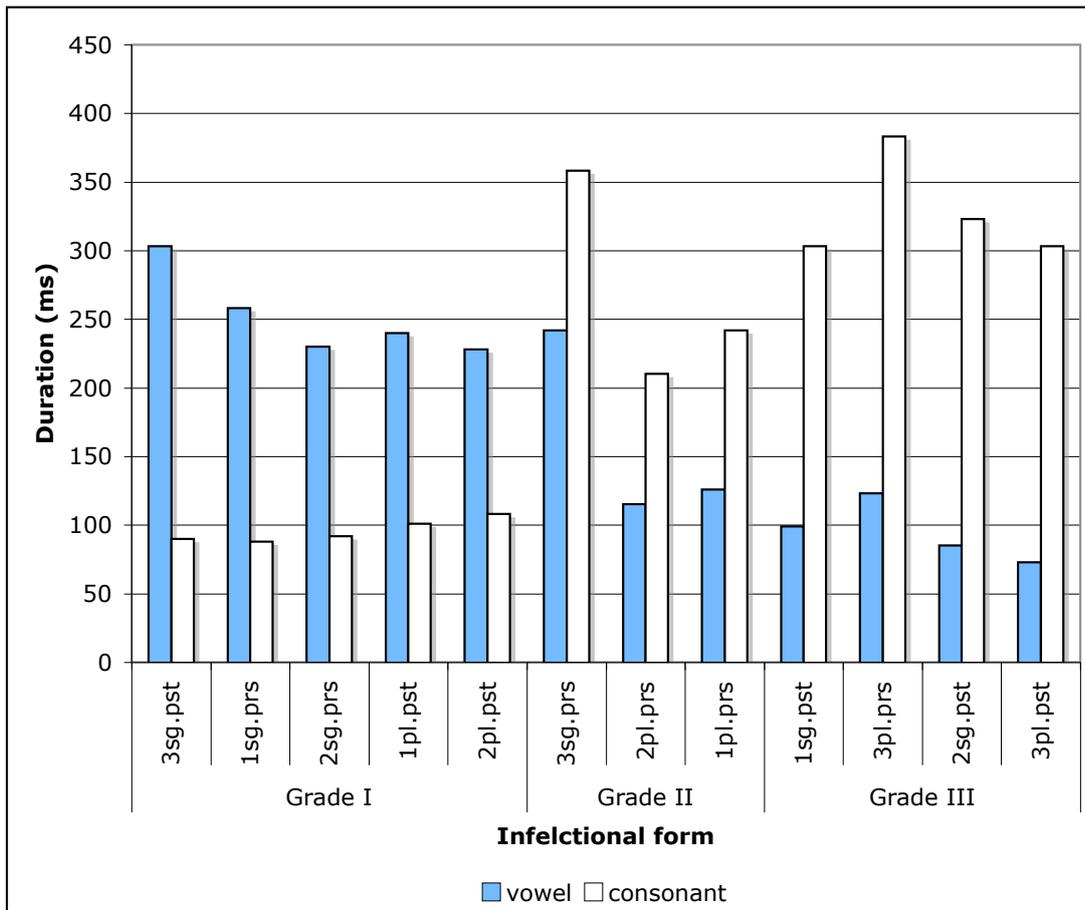


Figure 28. Absolute durations of VC sequence of inflectional forms of *tie'tted* 'know'

Figure 28 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 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 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 29 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.

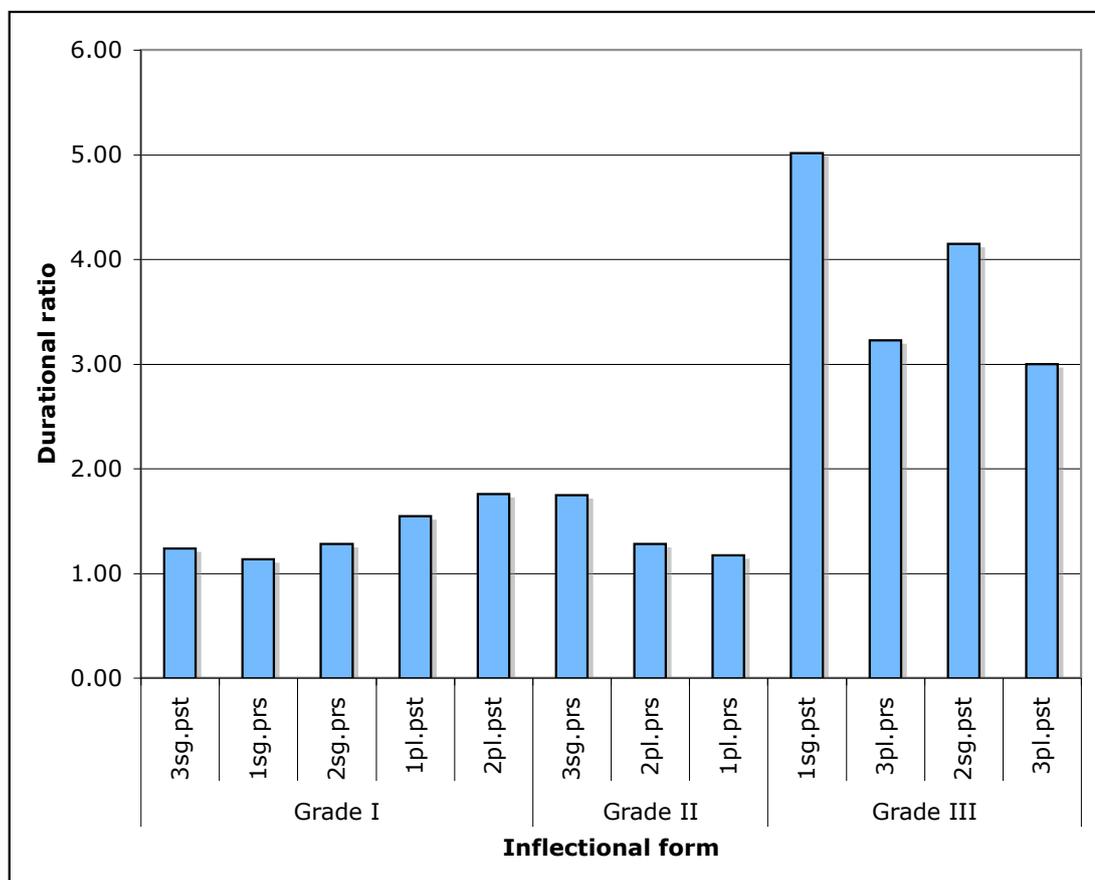


Figure 29. Durational ratios of VC sequence of inflectional forms of *pää'cced* 'stay'

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 grade and therefore three-way durational distinctions are irrelevant.

4 VERBAL INFLECTION

Verbs in Skolt Saami inflect for person (first, second, third and a fourth, indefinite person), number (singular and plural), tense (past and non-past) and mood (indicative, potential and conditional). Verbs also inflect for twelve participial and converb forms and five imperative 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 20 showing the verb forms which are marked for person: the non-past, past, potential, conditional and imperative forms. Table 21 presents the participial and converb forms of the same verb.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	kuulam	ku'llem	kuulžem	kuulčem	
2SG	kuulak	ku'llič	kuulžič	kuulčič	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 20. 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	kullee'1
ABESSIVE PARTICIPLE	kuulkani
NEGATIVE CONVERB	kuul ~ kullu ~ kuulže ~ kuulče

Table 21. Participial and converb 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. 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 21. This verb exhibits a total of eighteen unique suffixes (-am, -ak, -âp, -ve'ted, -e, -ât, -em, -iĳ, -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-).

4.1 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 Group 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 better considered to be part of the stem.

INFINITIVE		INFLECTIONAL STEM
maaššâd (feel happy)	→	maašš–
pâhssad (grease, oil)	→	pâhss–
čêâk'kjed (be buried)	→	čêâk'kj–
vaaldšed (rule)	→	vaaldš–
ää'veed (open)	→	ää've–

Note how in the case of some verbs (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 22, highlighting the relevant part of the stem.

	INFINITIVE	INFLECTIONAL STEM
	joorrâd (revolve, turn)	joorr
1	kuârηηad (climb)	kuârηη
	põsslõõččâd (wash the clothes)	põsslõõčč
	mainsted (tell)	mainst
2	västtled (slap)	västtl
	näärved (wait)	näärv
	rätkkjed (separate, come apart)	rätkkj
3	võ'lljed (jump up)	võ'llj
	sedggjed (be dimly visible)	sedggj
	siltteed (be able)	siltte
4	kârreed (curse)	kârre
	ää'veed (open)	ää've

Table 22. 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. When a paradigm cell specifies for a high vowel all forms show a high vowel and the same applies when a paradigm cell specifies for a low vowel. However, 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 inflection 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	EXPLANATION
Class 1, Group A	kaggâd (raise)	<i>a</i> is high vowel, ends <i>-âd</i>
Class 1, Group B	mâccad (fold)	<i>ä</i> is low vowel, ends <i>-ad</i>
Class 1, Group C	pää'cced (stay)	palatalised, ends <i>-ed</i>
Class 2, Group A	juurdčed (consider)	<i>u</i> is high vowel
Class 2, Group B	määjjmed (smile)	<i>å</i> is low vowel
Class 2, Group C	ķee'rted (write)	palatalised
Class 4, Group A	vaulleed (brake)	<i>a</i> is high vowel, ends <i>-eed</i>
Class 4, Group B	âskkeed (hug)	<i>â</i> is low vowel, ends <i>-eed</i>
Class 4, Group C	oi'ğgeed (push)	palatalised

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	EXPLANATION	2SG IMPERATIVE
Class 3, non-palatalised	čâuddjed (come loose)	not palatalised	čouddu
Class 3, palatalised	võ'lljed (jump up)	palatalised	võ'llje

4.2 INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

Suffixes of person-marked verb forms

Table 23 presents the inflectional suffixes of person-marked verb forms, which are affixed to the relevant inflectional stem (see §4.3 for information relating to stem formation). Where two suffixes are given, the first pertains to Class 1 verbs and the second pertains to Class 2, 3 and 4 verbs.²⁹

²⁹ Successive affixes are separated by an en dash '-', while alternate affixes are separated by a tilde '~'.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	am	em	ž-em	č-em	
2SG	ak	iĥ	ž-iĥ	č-iĥ	[* ³]
3SG	[* ¹]	i	^ž	č-i	as ~ ââggas
1PL	^p	im	ž-ep	č-im	^p ~ âkap
2PL	ve'ted ~ e'ped	id	ž-id	č-id	^d ~ e'ked
3PL	[* ²]	e	ž-e	č-e	az ~ âkaz
4	^t	eš	ž-et	č-eš	

Table 23. Inflectional suffixes of person-marked verbs³⁰

[*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 1, Group B 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. 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

³⁰ Alternate forms of a small number of inflectional suffixes exist, as indicated below.

	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL
1PL	in	žim ~ žin	čin ~ čep
2PL			če'ped

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 23 prior to the inflectional suffix.

In addition, Class 1, Group B 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 *k̃* → *k*. These variant forms of the past tense inflectional suffixes of Class 1, Group B verbs are presented in Table 24.

	PAST
1SG	um
2SG	uk
3SG	a-i
1PL	a-im
2PL	a-id
3PL	u
4	uš

Table 24. Forms of past tense suffixes for Class 1, Group B verbs

As is evident from Table 23 the potential marker is *-ž-* and the conditional marker is *-č-*; these morphemes could, therefore, have been presented separately from the person and number marking, but for the sake of simplicity the two are presented together. The person and number markings in the conditional forms are identical to those of the past tense, while in the potential they are identical to most, but not all forms of the past tense.

In addition to those forms which retain the stem vowel, as indicated by the circumflex in Table 23, verbs belonging to Class 2 and Class 3 also retain the stem

vowel prior to the application of a potential or conditional suffix.³¹ 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'ked* 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'ked* (IMP.2PL). When any other vowel-initial suffix is added it triggers the following sound changes.

$$\begin{aligned} e + a &\rightarrow \text{ää} \\ e + i &\rightarrow \text{ii} \end{aligned}$$

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 25 to illustrate the aforementioned points relating to this inflectional class.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	ää'vääm	ää'veem	ää've'žem	ää've'čem	
2SG	ää'vääk	ää'viik	ää've'žik	ää've'čik	ää'ved
3SG	ää'vad	ää'vii	ää'veež	ää've'či	ää'vâaggas
1PL	ää'veep	ää'viim	ää've'žep	ää've'čep	ää'vâkap
2PL	ää've'ped	ää'viid	ää've'žid	ää've'čid	ää've'ked
3PL	ää'vee	ää'vee	ää've'že	ää've'če	ää'vâkaz
4	ää'veet	ää'veeš	ää've'žet	ää've'češ	

Table 25. Inflectional paradigm of Class 4, Group C verb *ää'veed* 'open'

³¹ 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.

Suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms

The suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms are presented in Table 26. 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	^m
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	ǰâni [* ²]
NEGATIVE CONVERB	[* ⁴]
NEGATIVE CONVERB 2	u ~ uku
NEGATIVE CONVERB POT	že [* ²]
NEGATIVE CONVERB COND	če [* ²]

Table 26. Inflectional suffixes of non-person-marked verb forms

[*¹] — In Class 1, Group A 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'llje'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 [1] 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.

4.3 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 27.

	NON-PAST	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 27. Consonant grade of Class 1 inflectional stems

Certain paradigm cells require a vowel to be either high or low. Vowel height specifications for Class 1 verbs, which are relevant to all subgroups, are presented in Table 28. 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 specified 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.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG		[+HIGH]			
2SG		[+HIGH]			
3SG	[+LOW]				[+LOW]
1PL					
2PL					
3PL	[+LOW]	[+HIGH]			[+LOW]
4		[+HIGH]			

Table 28. Vowel height of Class 1 inflectional stems

In addition to those features shared by all three subgroups of verbs, the features presented in Table 29 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 inflectional suffix contains either the vowel *e* or *i*.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG		[+ PALATAL]			
2SG		[+ PALATAL]			
3SG					
1PL					
2PL					
3PL	[+ PALATAL]	[+ PALATAL]			
4		[+ PALATAL]			

Table 29. Inflectional features of Class 1, Group A verbs

In addition to those features shared by all three subgroups of verbs, the features presented in Table 30 are only relevant for Class 1C nouns.

	NON-PAST	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 30. Inflectional features of Class 1, Group C verbs

The loss of palatalisation 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 the table above, however, since it can be considered an automatic process related to the loss of palatalisation.

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'lgǰged (leave)
DESIRED FORM	=	PRS.1SG
VERB INFLECTIONAL CLASS	=	Class 1C (<i>ed</i> -final, palatalised)
CLASS 1C FEATURES	=	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 recall that (ii), the change in the duration of a diphthong, is not represented in the orthography):

- (i) WEAK GRADE long geminate ('lgǰ) → 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)

Table 31 – Table 33 show how the features presented in Table 27 – Table 30 combine to produce the inflectional stems of a Class 1A, 1B and 1C verb.

	NON-PAST	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 31. Inflectional stems of *kuullâd* 'hear', a Class 1A verb

	NON-PAST	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 32. Inflectional stems of *njorggad* 'whistle', a Class 1B verb

	NON-PAST	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 33. Inflectional stems of *ju'rdded* 'think', a Class 1C verb

Table 31 illustrates how, for Class 1A verbs, the combination of morphophonological processes gives rise to seven different stem forms, which are presented in Table 34.

	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 ⁺ [-PALATAL]	ko'll

Table 34. The seven inflectional stems *kuullâd* 'hear', a Class 1A verb

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.

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 35.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	teâvõõđam	teâvõ'ttem	teâvõõđzem	teâvõõđčem	
2SG	teâvõõđak	teâvõ'ttik	teâvõõđžik	teâvõõđčik	teâvõõđ
3SG	teâvâatt	teâvõõđi	teâvõõđâž	teâvõõđči	teâvõõđas
1PL	teâvõõttâp	teâvõõđim	teâvõõđžep	teâvõõđčim	teâvõõttâp
2PL	teâvõõttve'ted	teâvõõđid	teâvõõđžid	teâvõõđčid	teâvõõttâd
3PL	teâvâ'tte	teâvõ'tte	teâvõõđže	teâvõõđče	teâvâttaz
4	teâvõõđât	teâvõ'tteš	teâvõõđžet	teâvõõđčeš	

Table 35. Inflectional paradigm of *teâvõõttâd* 'dress oneself', a Class 1A verb

Class 1 inflectional stems (non-person-marked verb forms)

Table 36 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.

	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		
NEG CONVERB	WEAK		
NEG CONVERB 2	STRONG +	[+ HIGH]	[+ HIGH][–PALATAL]
NEG CONVERB POT	WEAK		
NEG CONVERB COND	WEAK		[–PALATAL]

Table 36. Features of Class 1 inflectional stems (non-person-marked verb forms)

Table 37 gives examples of the non-person-marked forms of a Class 1A, 1B and 1C verb—*viikkâd* 'take, carry', *kuärrad* 'sew' and *kââ'kked* 'gnaw at', respectively—to illustrate the stem-internal changes relevant to these forms. The inflectional suffixes of these verb forms were presented in Table 26.

	CLASS 1A	CLASS 1B	CLASS 1C
INFINITIVE	viikkâd	kuärrad	kââ'kĳed
ACTION PTCP	viikkâm	kuärram	kââ'kĳem
PRESENT PTCP	viikki	kuärrai	kõõ'kĳi
PAST PTCP	viikkâm	kuärram	kââ'kĳam
PASSIVE PTCP	vikkum	kuâr'rum	kõkkum
PROGRESSIVE PTCP	viikkmen	kuärrmen	kââ'kĳmen
TEMPORAL PTCP	viiggeen	kuäreen	kââ'jjeen
INSTRUMENTAL PTCP	viiggee'l	kuäree'l	kââ'jjeel
ABESSIVE PTCP	viiggĳâni	kuârĳâni	kââ'jĳâni
NEG CONVERB	viigg	kuâr	kââ'jj
NEG CONVERB 2	vikku	kuâr'ru	kõkku
NEG CONVERB POT	viiggže	kuârže	kââ'jže
NEG CONVERB COND	viiggče	kuârče	kââ'gĳče

Table 37. 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 23 and Table 26.

The PRS.3SG form, however, warrants a more detailed explanation. In the PRS.3SG forms of Class 2 verbs, which do 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)	→	vaaldaš
juurdčed (think)	→	juurdač
mainsted (tell)	→	maainast
veä'lšted (be nervous)	→	veä'lašt
oudlded (precede)	→	oudald
râdsķed (become breathless)	→	rââddask
äjšmed (be enthusiastic)	→	äjäšm

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*; *râdsķed* 'become breathless' → *rââddask*.

In the other forms which do not take an inflectional suffix, namely the IMP.2SG and CONNEGATIVE forms, the epenthetic vowel quality depends on the subgroup to which the verb belongs, as explained in section 4.2. 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-* word-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 section 4.2, 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 §6.1.1) the expected IMP.2SG ending is *-u* or *-e*, whereas if *-j-* is simply a denominalising marker (see §6.1.2) 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 *-Vd* is disregarded. As mentioned in section 4.2, when this final vowel of the inflectional stem is conjoined to 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 25. A second Class 4 inflectional paradigm, the verb *pue'reed* 'improve', is presented in Table 38.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	pue'rääm	pue'reem	pue're'žem	pue're'čem	
2SG	pue'rääk	pue'riik	pue're'žik	pue're'čik	pue'ređ
3SG	pue'rad	pue'rii	pue'reež	pue're'či	pue'râggas
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'ked
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 38. Inflectional paradigm of *pue'reed* 'improve', a Class 4 verb

4.4 LOAN VERBS

A number of loan verbs, typically from Russian, are given in Table 39.

SKOLT SAAMI	RUSSIAN	ENGLISH
võõidâd	vyjti	go out
sluužad	služit'	serve
čiiistâd	čistit'	clean
laaddâd	latat'	patch up
suudâd	sudi'	judge

Table 39. 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, such as *škoou'ljed* 'educate' (← Russian *škola* 'school'), *kruu'njed* '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 39, 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. Examples of some verbs belonging to this group are presented in Table 40. 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 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
čiiistâd	čeeest	čee'ste	čii'ste	čiiist
laaddâd	läädd	lää'dde	laa'dde	laadd
suudâd	sooud	soou'de	suu'de	suud

Table 40. Five paradigm forms of five loan verbs

In section 4.1 it was noted that for Class 1A verbs palatalisation occurred in those 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 PRS.3PL and PST.3PL, despite the absence of consonant gradation in these forms.

4.5 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 41.

	NON-PAST	PAST	POTENTIAL	CONDITIONAL	IMPERATIVE
1SG	leäm	le'jjem	le'žžem	le'ččem	
2SG	leäk	le'jjik	le'žžik	le'ččik	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 41. Inflectional paradigm of *lee'd*

The auxiliary verb has a number of uses, each of which is discussed in the relevant section of this thesis—predicate constructions are discussed in §9.3; periphrastic tenses and progressive aspect are discussed in §8.1 and §8.2; and the passive voice is discussed in §8.3.

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 Table 42. The use of the negative auxiliary verb is discussed in §8.4.

	INDICATIVE	IMPERATIVE
1SG	jiõm	
2SG	jiõk	jeä'1
3SG	ij	jeälas
1PL	jeä'p	jeäl'lap
2PL	jeä'ped	jeä'l'led
3PL	jie ~ jiâ	jeäl'las
4	jeät	

Table 42. Inflectional paradigm of the negative auxiliary verb

5 NOMINAL INFLECTION

Due to the complex nature of morphology in Skolt Saami, this chapter on nominal morphology is concerned only with the morphological structure of the open word classes of nouns and adjectives—other nominals, such as pronouns, are covered separately in chapter 7. The syntactic distribution of the different morphological forms presented in this chapter is also dealt with in chapter 7.

Section 5.1 begins by outlining the case and number suffixes common to all nominals. Section 5.2 introduces the different inflectional classes to which a nominal may belong. This section explains (i) the features of the SG.NOM form of a nominal which can be used in determining its class membership; (ii) the morphophonological features relevant to each paradigm cell and (iii) any other features unique to each inflectional class.

The following sections cover loan words (§5.3) and irregular nouns (§5.4). The section on inflection ends with an explanation of the possessive suffixes (§5.5) and the phonological effects these have on the stem. Finally, section 5.6 covers adjectives.

Nominal inflection 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, 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 noun *čüäcc* 'rotten snag' is given in Table 43 as an example of a fully inflected noun in its non-possessive form.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	čuäcc	čuä33
ACC	čuä33	čuä33aid
GEN	čuä33	čuä33ai
ILL	cuâc'cu	čuä33aid
LOC	čuä33ast	čuä33ain
COM	čuä33ain	čuä33aivui'm
ABE	čuä33tää	čuä33aitää
ESS	čuäccan	
PART	čuäccad	

Table 43. Inflectional paradigm of *čuäcc* 'rotten snag'

Note that in the above paradigm there are three distinct stems—*čuäcc*, *čuä33*, and *cuâc'c*. Note also the syncretism observed in the PL.NOM, SG.ACC and SG.GEN forms, between the PL.ACC and PL.ILL forms and between the PL.LOC and SG.COM forms.

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.

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. The sub-group determines what kind of sound change the vowels will undergo.

5.1 CASE AND NUMBER MARKING

Table 44 gives the inflectional suffixes for Skolt Saami nominals.

	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 44. Nominal inflectional suffixes for case and person

As the table above 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 grammatical difference between the latter three and the SG.NOM is often marked through differences in consonant gradation, while other times it is marked through the occurrence of a vowel not present in the SG.NOM and sometimes all four 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, SG.ESS and SG.PART represents a vowel of varying quality. In nominals where the SG.NOM is monosyllabic, this vowel is dependent upon the group which the noun 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 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.

The plural marker *i* occurs in all plural forms except the PL.NOM. It is inserted between the inflectional stem and the case marker, except for the PL.GEN, which has no suffix, where it is simply appended to the inflectional stem. The main reason for defining *i* as a plural marker rather than simply as part of the plural case markers, despite its absence in the nominative plural, is due to it being the only distinguishing feature between the singular and plural forms of the abessive. Treating *i* as a plural marker also provides an explanation for the apparent syncretism between the PL.LOC and the SG.COM, where the SG.COM ending *in* is identical to the combination of the plural marker *i* and the PL.LOC case marker *n*.

In Class 1, Group B nominals the stem vowel is retained before vowel-initial suffixes, in addition to those marked with a circumflex in Table 44. The fully-inflected noun presented in Table 43 is reproduced below in Table 45 showing the morpheme breaks relevant to nominal inflection.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	č <u>ü</u> äcc	č <u>ü</u> ä33
ACC	č <u>ü</u> ä33	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i-d
GEN	č <u>ü</u> ä33	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i
ILL	cuäc'c-u	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i-d
LOC	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-st	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i-n
COM	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-in	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i-vui'm
ABE	č <u>ü</u> ä33-tää	č <u>ü</u> ä33-a-i-tää
ESS	č <u>ü</u> äcc-a-n	
PART	č <u>ü</u> äcc-a-d	

Table 45. Inflectional paradigm of *čüäcc* 'rotten snag', showing morpheme breaks

5.2 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, together with tables showing the formation of the other inflectional stems. Note that the numbering of classes seen here does not correspond to numbered inflectional classes seen in other literature on Skolt Saami.

Class 1 nominals

The SG.NOM form of Class 1 nominals is monosyllabic³² 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. Considering only monosyllabic words this percentage is nearer to ninety percent.³³

³² 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 a reduced, or overshort, vowel. 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 question whether non-phonological vowels form syllable nuclei or not.

³³ These figures are based on an analysis of almost 3,000 nominal forms taken from a much larger corpus. Compound words where the inflecting element was already represented in the corpus were ignored to avoid duplication. Adjectives were also disregarded in this analysis.

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 46.

SUFFIX VOWEL	
Group A	â
Group B	a
Group C	e

Table 46. Suffix vowels of Class 1, Group A, B and C, nouns

In addition to the SG.LOC, SG.ESS and SG.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 47.

	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 47. 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 48. 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 49 presents the combined features attached to each paradigm cell of a Class 1, Group C noun and Table 50 shows how these features combine to produce the different inflectional stems of *kää'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 49. Features associated with the inflection of Class 1, Group C 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 50. Paradigm forms of the inflectional stem of *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'

Table 50 shows how the combination of features, together with a three-way gradation contrast, combine to produce four distinct inflectional stems, *kåå'pp*, *kåå'v*, *koo'v* and *kåpp*. These inflectional stems with their respective inflectional suffixes are presented in Table 51 as an example of a fully-inflected Class 1C noun, *kåå'pp* 'hole, pit'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	kää'pp	kää'v
ACC	kää'v	koo'vid
GEN	kää'v	koo'vi
ILL	kåppa	koo'vid
LOC	kää'vest	koo'vin
COM	koo'vin	koo'vivui'm
ABE	kää'vtää	koo'vitää
ESS	kää'ppen	
PART	kää'pped	

Table 51. Fully-inflected paradigm of *kää'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, SG.ESS and SG.PART forms. A fully-inflected example of one of these nouns, *võrr* 'blood', is presented in Table 52.

	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 52. Fully-inflected 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

subgroups 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 53.

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

Table 53. Examples of Class 2, Group A and B nominals

Group A nominals, which display a high vowel in the SG.NOM, have *i*-final inflectional stems, which becomes syllable-initial *j* before a vowel-initial suffix. The illative vowel is *a* and the suffix vowel is *e*. An example of a fully-inflected Class 2, Group A noun, *maadd* 'base, butt (e.g. of tree)', is presented in Table 54.

	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 54. Fully-inflected 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 SG.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 SG.ESS and SG.PART a syllable-initial *-j-* may also be inserted. An example of a fully-inflected Class 2B noun, *puär* 'horsefly', is presented in Table 55, 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 SG.ESS and SG.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'rust* ~ *puär'rjest*.

	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 55. Fully-inflected 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 seen 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, grouped into Groups A, B and C and then grouped based on whether the final consonant is *m* or *n*.³⁴

GROUP		SG.NOM	PL.NOM	ENGLISH	
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	mother-in-law ³⁵	
		–n	siõm	siõmmân	seed
			kuõlb	kuõlbbân	firm forest land
B	–n	vuâsk	vuâskkan	perch (fish)	
		seäm	seämman	beard	
		sââv	sâvvan	quiet waters	
		ķeälg	ķeälggan	firm forest land	
C	–n	lue'm	luâmman	cloudberry	
	–m	vue'n	vuân'nam	mother-in-law	
		čââ'đ	čâđđam	heart	

Table 56. List of nouns belonging to inflectional Class 3

An example of a fully-inflected Class 3 noun, *vue'n* 'mother-in-law', is presented in Table 57.

³⁴These 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.

³⁵ The word *laajj* is used when referring to a child's biological grandmother, but means that child's mother's or father's mother-in-law. The word *äkk* is used when referring to a grandmother, regardless of whether she is the child's blood relative, so it can also be used when referring to a step-parent's mother.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	vue'n	vuân'nam
ACC	vuân'nam	vuân'nmid
GEN	vuân'nam	vuân'nmi
ILL	vuân'nma	vuân'nmid
LOC	vuân'nrest	vuân'nmin
COM	vuân'nmin	vuân'nmivui'm
ABE	vuân'namtää	vuân'nmitää
ESS	vuân'nmen	
PART	vuân'nmed	

Table 57. Fully-inflected 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 eighteen nouns listed in Table 56 have been identified as belonging to this inflectional class, which is a rather small number of nouns for which to posit an inflectional class. Thirdly, Sammallahti and 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 58, all *n*- or *m*-final.

SKOLT SG.NOM	SKOLT PL.NOM	PROTO-SAAMI SG.NOM	OTHER SAAMI VARIETY
põõus (lip)	põhssâm	peŋseŋ	paksim (Lule)
sõõus (fur, hair)	sõhssâm	seŋveŋ	
õõđ (bone marrow)	õđđâm	eđeŋ	ađđam (Pite)
njuuč (tongue)	njuhččâm	ńokćeŋ	ńuhtšeŋ (Akkala)
siõm (seed)	siõmmân	siemeŋ	siebmân (North)
kuõlb (firm forest land)	kuõlbbân	kõlpeŋ	gualban (Ume)
vuâsk (perch)	vuâskkan	võsŋñn	vuoskun (Pite)
seâm (beard)	seâmman	sēmōn	séaman (Ter)
sââv (quite waters)	sâvvan	seŋvñn	savvan (Ter)
lue'm (cloudberry)	luâmman	luomēn	l _o amman (Akkala)
čââ'd (heart)	čâđđam	ćeđeŋ	

Table 58. Class 3 nominal cognate forms in Proto-Saami and other Saami varieties

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 nominals are disyllabic, with the second syllable belonging 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, the consonant alternates between a single consonant—or a short geminate where this is the Grade I counterpart of a Grade II short geminate, see §3.2—and a long geminate.

In all Class 4 nominals, the phonemes *s* and *š* are voiced, becoming *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 or 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
SG.ABE	čeurraztää
PL.ABE	čeurrsitää

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 59.

	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 59. Features associated with the inflection of Class 4, Group C nominals

An example of a fully-inflected Class 4, Group C adjective, *puu'ttes* 'clean', is presented in Table 60.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	puu'ttes	pottaz
ACC	pottaz	pottsid
GEN	pottaz	pottsi
ILL	pottsä	pottsid
LOC	pottsest	pottsin
COM	pottsin	pottsi'vui'm
ABE	pottzätää	pottsitää
ESS	pottsen	
PART	pottsed	

Table 60. Fully-inflected Class 4, Group C nominal, *puu'ttes* 'clean'

Class 5 nominals

Table 61 presents a fully-inflected paradigm of a Class 5 nominal, *porrmõš* 'food'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	porrmõš	porrmõšš
ACC	porrmõšš	porrmõššid
GEN	porrmõšš	porrmõšši
ILL	porrmõšše	porrmõššid
LOC	porrmõššâst	porrmõššin
COM	porrmõššin	porrmõššivui'm
ABE	porrmõššitää	porrmõššitää
ESS	porrmõššan	
PART	porrmõššäd	

Table 61. Fully-inflected Class 5 nominal, *porrmõš* 'food'

Class 5 nominals are mostly disyllabic, although trisyllabic nominals of 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, SG.ESS and SG.PART forms the addition of an inflectional suffix co-occurs with a lengthening of the final consonant. This final consonant 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*.

Class 6 nominals

Class 6 nominals are disyllabic or trisyllabic and *i*-final. Nouns belonging to Class 6 are mostly deverbal agent nominalisations, see §6.1.4. An example of a fully-inflected Class 6 noun, *lookki* 'reader' (from *lookkâd* 'to read'), is presented in Table 62.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	lookki	looggi
ACC	lookki	lookkjid
GEN	lookki	lookkji
ILL	lookkja	lookkjid
LOC	lookkjest	lookkjin
COM	lookkjin	lookkjivui'm
ABE	lookkitää	lookkjitää
ESS	lookkjen	
PART	lookkjed	

Table 62. Fully-inflected Class 6 nominal, *lookki* 'reader'

An example of a fully-inflected trisyllabic Class 6 noun, *čäññõõtti* 'intruder' (from *čäññõõttâd* 'to intrude'), is presented in Table 63.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	čäŋŋõõtti	čäŋŋõõđi
ACC	čäŋŋõõtti	čäŋŋõõttjid
GEN	čäŋŋõõtti	čäŋŋõõttji
ILL	čäŋŋõõttja	čäŋŋõõttjid
LOC	čäŋŋõõttjest	čäŋŋõõttjin
COM	čäŋŋõõttjin	čäŋŋõõttjivui'm
ABE	čäŋŋõõttitää	čäŋŋõõttjitää
ESS	čäŋŋõõttjen	
PART	čäŋŋõõttjed	

Table 63. Fully-inflected, tri-syllabic Class 6 nominal, *čäŋŋõõtti* 'intruder'

The SG.NOM is in the strong grade, as are all the singular forms. The PL.NOM is in the weak grade, while the remaining plural forms usually occur in the strong grade but can also occur 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 B verbs—e.g. *särnnai* 'speaker' → *särnn'ja* 'speaker.SG.ILL'.

The illative vowel is *a*. The suffix vowel is *e*.

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. An example of a fully-inflected Class 7 noun, *hõ'ppi* 'owl', is presented in Table 64.

	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 64. Fully-inflected 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, *koodđâm* 'spawning.ACT.PTCP' from *koodđâd* 'spawn.INF')
- (iii) the consonant centre of the SG.NOM form is in the strong grade (for example, *čüä'čkĕm* '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 *ĕ, m, n* or *t*. As with other classes, this group of Class 8 nominals belong to 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 show syncope of the second-syllable vowel. The illative vowel is *a*. The suffix vowel is *e*. SG.NOM stem-final *s* and *š* are voiced, changing to *z* and *ž* respectively, when syllable-final.

An example of a fully-inflected Class 8 noun of this type, *kaappâst* 'ladle, scoop', is presented below.

	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 65. Fully-inflected Class 8 nominal, *kaappâst* 'ladle'

Disyllabic nouns which end in *k̃* show *k* in the SG.ILL, while those ending in *k* show *k̃* in all forms except the SG.NOM, PL.NOM and the SG.ILL. For example, *kåålvak* 'reindeer.bull.SG.NOM' ~ *kåålvkest* SG.LOC ~ *kåålvka* SG.ILL, *sââ'vek̃* 'ski.SG.NOM' ~ *sââ'vkest* SG.LOC ~ *sââ'vka* SG.ILL. As mentioned in §2.5, this change is an automatic phonological process dependent on the environment—*k̃* 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, as shown in Table 66, an example of a fully-inflected Class 8 noun of this type, *pååttåk̃* 'potato'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	pááttak̃	pááttak̃
ACC	pááttak̃	pááttki
GEN	pááttak̃	pááttkid
ILL	pááttka	pááttki
LOC	pááttkest	pááttkin
COM	pááttkin	pááttkivui'm
ABE	pááttaktää	pááttkitää
ESS	pááttken	
PART	pááttked	

Table 66. Fully-inflected Class 8 noun, displaying $k \sim \check{k}$ alternation

An example of some of the loan words which fall into this inflectional class are presented in Table 67. 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
gåárad	gorod	city
dáhttar	doktor	doctor
pe'sser	biser	bead
kää'lez	koleso	wheel
jee'lez	gil'za	case, shell

Table 67. Examples of loan words belonging to Class 8

An example of a fully-inflected Class 8 noun of foreign origin, *gåárad* 'city', is presented in Table 68.

	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 68. Fully-inflected 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*, *âž*, *ež* or *už*. Among other nouns, this class includes nominals ending in the derivational suffixes for diminutives, *až*, and the adjective-forming suffix *laž* (see §6.1.5).

These nominals do not exhibit grade alternation in any inflectional form. (In the case of diminutives, as explained in §6.1.3, 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, SG.ESS and SG.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, SG.ESS and SG.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, SG.ESS and SG.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, SG.ESS and SG.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
Group	jooggâž (stream)	joo'jje	jooggže
A	siidâž (little village)	siide	siidžš
	muõrâž (small tree)	muõ're	muõrže
Group	ķiõlkuž (little sledege)	ķiõlku	ķiõlkže
B	paalluž (small ball)	paallu	paallže
	aaiduž (small enclosure)	aaidu	aaidže
Group	kaammgaž (little bear)	kaammga	kaammgi'žže
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 table below shows 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.
ķiõlkuž (little sledge)	ķiõlk–že	*ķiõl–ki’žže
päärnaž (child)	päärn–že	*päär–ni’žže
aaiduž (small enclosure)	aa(j)d–že	*aa(j)–di’žže

An example of a fully-inflected Class 9 noun, *ķiõlkuž* 'little sledge' (from *ķealkk* 'sledge'), is presented in Table 69.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	ķiõlkaž	ķiõlku
ACC	ķiõlku	ķiõlkuid
GEN	ķiõlku	ķiõlkui
ILL	ķiõlkže	ķiõlkuid
LOC	ķiõlkust	ķiõlkuin
COM	ķiõlkuin	ķiõlkuivui’m
ABE	ķiõlkutää	ķiõlkuitää
ESS	ķealkžen	
PART	ķealkžed	

Table 69. Fully-inflected Class 9 nominal, *ķealkaž* 'little sledge'

Class 10 nominals

Class 10 nominals are two or more syllables in length, with a final syllable *šeķ*, *neķ* or *neķķ*, which incorporates all those words ending in the derivational suffix *neķķ* (see §6.1.3). 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
jäämšėķ (driver)	jäämšėe'ķķ	jäämšėk'ka
oo'bbdneķ (southeast)	oo'bbdnee'ķķ	oo'bbdnek'ka
prekkšėķ (assistant)	prekkšėe'ķķ	prekkšėk'ka

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

An example of a fully-inflected Class 10 noun, *škooulne'ķķ* '(school) pupil', is presented in Table 70.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	škooulne'ķķ	škooulnee'ķķ
ACC	škooulnee'ķķ	škooulnee'ķķid
GEN	škooulnee'ķķ	škooulnee'ķķi
ILL	škooulnekka	škooulnee'ķķid
LOC	škooulnee'ķķest	škooulnee'ķķin
COM	škooulnee'ķķin	škooulnee'ķķivui'm
ABE	škooulnee'ķķtää	škooulnee'ķķitää
ESS	škooulne'ķķen	
PART	škooulne'ķķed	

Table 70. Fully-inflected Class 10 nominal, *škooulne'ķķ* '(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. An example of a fully-inflected Class 11 adjective, *viskkâd* 'yellow.SG.NOM', is presented in Table 71.

	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	
PART	viskkeed	

Table 71. Fully-inflected Class 11 nominal, *viskkâd* 'yellow'

Class 12 nominals

Class 12 comprises disyllabic, *b*-final, nominals, made up 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 belongs to 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, SG.ESS and SG.PART forms. For *ab*-final nominals, the suffix vowel is either *â* or *u*. The illative vowel is *e* for both types, triggering palatalisation.

An example of two fully-inflected Class 12 nominals, *uu'ccab* 'small.CMPRT' and *moččääb* 'beautiful.CMPRT', are presented in Table 72 and Table 73.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	uu'ccab	uu'ccab
ACC	uu'ccab	uu'ccōbid
GEN	uu'ccab	uu'ccōbi
ILL	uu'ccō'bbe	uu'ccōbid
LOC	uu'ccōbâst	uu'ccōbin
COM	uu'ccōbin	uu'ccōbivui'm
ABE	uu'ccabtää	uu'ccōbitää
ESS	uu'ccōbân	
PART	uu'ccōbâd	

Table 72. Fully-inflected Class 12 nominal, *uu'ccab* 'smaller'

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	moččäab	moččäab
ACC	moččäab	moččubuid
GEN	moččäab	moččubui
ILL	močču'bbe	moččubuid
LOC	moččubust	moččubuin
COM	moččubuin	moččubuivui'm
ABE	moččääbtää	moččubuitää
ESS	moččubun	
PART	moččubud	

Table 73. Fully-inflected Class 12 nominal, *moččäab* 'more beautiful'

Summary of inflectional classes

Table 74 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.

CLASS	SG.NOM SYLLABLES	SG.NOM FEATURES	PL.NOM FEATURES	SG.NOM GRADE	PL.NOM GRADE	SG.ILL GRADE	SUFFIX VOWEL	ILLATIVE VOWEL
1	monosyllabic			STRONG	WEAK	STRONG +	A-â; B-a; C-e	A-e; B-u; C-a
2	monosyllabic		V-final; disyllabic	WEAK	STRONG +	STRONG +	A-e; B-a~e	A-a; B-a
3	monosyllabic		C-final; disyllabic	WEAK	STRONG +	STRONG +	e	a
4	disyllabic	VC-final		WEAK	STRONG +	STRONG +	e	a
5	≥ disyllabic	ōC-final		—	WEAK	STRONG +	â	e
6	≥ disyllabic	í-final; AGENT		STRONG	WEAK	STRONG	e	a
7	disyllabic	í-final	same as SG.NOM	STRONG	STRONG	STRONG	e	a
8	≥ disyllabic	see §5.2		—	—	—	e	a
9	≥ disyllabic	ž-final	ž not present	—	—	—	e	e
10	≥ disyllabic	eċ-final		—	STRONG	STRONG +	e	a
11	disyllabic	d-final	same as SG.NOM	—	—	—	e~ee	ä~ää
12	disyllabic	b-final	same as SG.NOM	—	—	STRONG +	u or â	e

Table 74. Summary of salient features of nominal inflectional classes

5.3 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 §5.2, 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.³⁶ 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 75, with their probable source.

³⁶ 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
GROUP	kloopp	klop (Russian)	bedbug
A	šaarf	šarf (Russian)	scarf
	voozz	voz (Russian)	load
GROUP	meer	mir (Russian)	world
B	steehl	ʔsteklo (Russian)	glass
	peehl	ʔpeel (English)	(baker's) peel
GROUP	stuu'1	stul (Russian)	stool, chair
C	žaa'11	žalost' (Russian)	pity
	põõ'1	pyl' (Russian)	dust

Table 75. Examples of monosyllabic loan nouns

An example of a fully-inflected monosyllabic loan noun, *kloopp* 'bedbug', is presented in Table 76, 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	klooppitää	klooppitää
ESS	klooppân	
PART	klooppâd	

Table 76. Fully-inflected 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 nominals of foreign origin.

dåhttar (doctor ← Russian *doktor*) → dåhtrest (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’kāt (parcel ← Russian *paket*) → *pâ’ḳttest (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 77. 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.

SG.NOM.	RUSSIAN	PL.NOM	SG.ILL
juri’stt (lawyer)	jurist	jurii’st	juri’stte
dokumentt (document)	dokument	dokumeent	dokumentta
ho’zje’n (owner)	xozjain	ho’zjee’n	ho’zjenna
narod (people)	narod	narood	naroo’de
durak (fool)	durak	duraak	durakka
alfabet (alphabet)	alfavit	alfabeet	alfabetta
direvtiv (directive)	direktiv	directiiv	directii’ve
manah (monk)	monax	manaah	manaha
kolhoss (kolkhoz)	kolxoz	kolhoozz	kolh’osse

Table 77. Examples of the PL.NOM and SG.ILL forms of loan 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 77. 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.

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 *čiziham* 'wolf' (*čizihaam* PL.NOM, *čizihamma* 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)
 voronka (funnel ← Russian *voronka*) → voronkast (SG.LOC)
 → voronka (SG.LOC)
 → voronkain (SG.COM)

5.4 IRREGULAR NOUNS

There are number of nouns which cannot be easily fitted into any of the inflectional classes outlined in §5.2. The irregularity in the inflection of these nouns is observed in the stem-internal changes; all inflectional suffixes however are regular, as presented in §5.1. Those nouns which have been identified as irregular are presented below, taken from Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991: 193).

čëäk'kli (dwarf)	vuei'vv (head)	träåika (uniform)
sä'ppli (mouse)	puäzz (reindeer)	lääi'j (woollen yarn)
nijdd (girl)	čuenj (goose)	jeä'ves (provisions)
e'mm (aunt)	šuåbârj (goosander)	čääggam (comb)
e'čč (father)	čuâras (fly)	čuâggas (road)
åaum (man)	piännai (dog)	kaammi (shoe)
ooumaž (person)	čee (tea)	bukva (character)

5.5 POSSESSIVE 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 inflection tables in Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991: 160–164).

The possessive markers are presented in Table 78, 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, in all other cases being *n*. Dual possession is marked with the corresponding plural possessive marker.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST PERSON	–*n [–*m]	– ^ˆ n [– ^ˆ m]
2ND PERSON	–*d	– ^ˆ d
3RD PERSON	– ^ˆ s	– ^ˆ z

Table 78. 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. This information regarding the linear position of possessive suffixes in relation to other inflectional morphemes is summarised in Table 79.

SINGULAR	NOM	lexical stem + possessive
	ACC / GEN	lexical stem + possessive
	ILL	lexical stem + case + possessive
	LOC	lexical stem + case + possessive
	COM	lexical stem + case + possessive
	ABE	lexical stem + possessive + case
	ESS	lexical stem + number/case + possessive
PLURAL	NOM	lexical stem + possessive
	ACC / GEN / ILL	lexical stem + number/case + possessive
	LOC	lexical stem + number/case + possessive
	COM	lexical stem + number + possessive + case
	ABE	lexical stem + number + possessive + case

Table 79. 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)

põörtstâd (+ SG.LOC.2PL) → põört + st (CASE) + âd (POSS)

põrttâstää (+ SG.ABE.3SG) → põrtt + âs (POSS) + tää (CASE)

põörteedvui'm (+ PL.COM.2PL) → põört + i (NUMBER) + ed (POSS) + vui'm (CASE)

The realisation of the possessive suffix vowel, indicated in Table 78 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 80.

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
LATUS	-an [-am]	- ^h n [- ^h m]	-ad	- ^h d	- ^h s	- ^h z
VOWEL MARGIN	-an [-am]	- een [- eem]	-ad	- eed	- es	- eez

Table 80. 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)	→ äkk	as
ääkkstes (+ SG.LOC.3SG)	→ ääkk	- stes
ääkksteez (+ SG.LOC.3PL)	→ ääkk	- steez
ääkkastää (+ SG.ABE.3SG)	→ ääkk	as - tää

	LATUS	MARGIN
põrtt (house)		
põrttâs (+ SG.NOM.3SG)	→ põrtt	âs
põõrtstes (+ SG.LOC.3SG)	→ põõrt	- stes
põõrtâstää (+ SG.ABE.3SG)	→ põõrt	âs - 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.³⁷

³⁷ It is possible the change from *a* to *ää* in the former case is due to a form of phonological interpolation when the high front vowel, *i*, coalesces with the low back vowel *a*, producing a low front vowel.

$i + a \rightarrow \text{ää} \sim aa$

$i + \hat{\ } \rightarrow ee$

Some examples of this are presented below.

põrtt (house)

põõrti (+PL.GEN) + an \rightarrow põõrtään (+PL.GEN.1SG)

põõrtid (+PL.ILL) + es \rightarrow põõrtees (+PL.ILL.3SG)

põõrtitää (+PL.ABE) + ad \rightarrow 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 \rightarrow vuäb'bam (SG.NOM.1SG)

vuä'bb (SG.NOM) + es \rightarrow vuä'b'bes (SG.NOM.3SG)

vue'bbi (PL.GEN) + an \rightarrow vue'bbään (PL.GEN.1SG)

vue'bbivui'm (PL.COM) + ad \rightarrow 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 §5.1, 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 not a stem vowel and hence is retained.

ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõđâst (hand.SG.LOC) → ķiõđstan (hand.SG.LOC.1SG)
 ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõđin (hand.SG.COM) → ķiõđinan (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

ķiiugân (oven) → ķiuggnam (oven.SG.NOM.1SG)
 → ķiuggninad (oven.SG.COM.2SG)
 → ķiuggnäântää (oven.PL.ABE.1SG)

Note also, that the loss of the stem vowel in disyllabic nominals triggers the strong⁺ grade in SG.NOM possessed form, as observed in all other non-possessed forms.

võõnâs (boat) → võõnsam (boat.SG.NOM.1SG)

When a possessive suffix occurs on a noun inflected for SG.ILL an epenthetic *s* appears before the possessive suffix.

ķiiugân (oven) → ķiuggna (oven.SG.ILL) → ķiuggnasad (oven.SG.ILL.2SG)
 → ķiuggne'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, but the *s* mentioned above does appear. The loss of the front vowel *e* present in some inflectional classes also triggers depalatalisation.

ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõ't'te (hand.SG.ILL) → ķiõ't'ses (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 SG.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 possessive forms. While the SG.ILL also loses the illative vowel, it is already in the strong⁺ grade, so no change in consonant gradation is seen.

ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõttân (hand.SG.ESS) → ķiõt'tnad (hand.SG.ESS.2SG)
 muõrr (tree) → muõrrân (tree.SG.ESS) → muõr'rnes (tree.SG.ESS.3SG)

In 1SG and 1PL possessive forms the addition of the possessive suffix in the position of 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, filling the positions of latus and consonant margin.

ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõđ (hand.SG.ACC) → ķiõttan ~ ķiõđan (hand.SG.ACC.1SG)
 ķiõtt (hand) → ķiõđtää (hand.SG.ABE) → ķiõttantää ~ ķiõđantää (hand.SG.ABE.1SG)
 muõrr (tree) → muõr (tree.PL.NOM) → muõrrân ~ muõrân (tree.PL.NOM.1PL)

An example of a fully-inflected Class 1 noun, *muõrr* 'tree', marking possession is presented in Table 81.

		POSSESSOR						
		1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	
POSSESSED	SINGULAR	NOM	muõrram	muõrrám	muõrrad	muõrrád	muõrrás	muõrráz
		ACC/GEN	muõrran	muõrrán	muõrad	muõrád	muõrás	muõráz
		ILL	muõr'san	muõr'seen	muõr'sad	muõr'seed	muõr'ses	muõr'seez
		LOC	muõrstan	muõrsteen	muõrstad	muõrsteed	muõrstes	muõrsteez
		COM	muõrinan	muõrineen	muõrinad	muõrineed	muõrines	muõrineez
		ABE	muõrrántiäa	muõrrántiäa	muõradtiäa	muõrádtiäa	muõrástiäa	muõráziäa
		ESS	muõr'nan	muõr'neen	muõr'nad	muõr'need	muõr'nes	muõr'neez
	PLURAL	NOM	muõrran	muõrrán	muõrad	muõrád	muõrás	muõráz
		ACC/GEN/ILL	muõrään	muõreen	muõrääd	muõreed	muõrees	muõreez
		LOC	muõrinan	muõrineen	muõrinad	muõrineed	muõrines	muõrineez
		COM	muõräänvui'm	muõreenvui'm	muõräädvui'm	muõreedvui'm	muõreesvui'm	muõreezvui'm
		ABE	muõrääntiäa	muõreentiäa	muõräädtiäa	muõreedtiäa	muõreestiäa	muõreeztiäa

Table 81. Inflectional paradigm of *muõrr* 'tree', marked for possession

Class 1, Group B nominals optionally display the suffix vowel *a* in the SG.COM and PL.LOC.

pešš (gun) → peššain (gun.SG.COM) → peššainan (gun.SG.COM.1SG)
ššâłkk (sled) → ššâłkain (sled.PL.LOC) → ššâłkaines (sled.PL.LOC.3SG)

Palatalisation in the possessive forms of Class 1, Group C 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 give *ää* or *ee*) retains palatalisation if part of the initial stress group.

sie'sš (aunt) → seâššam (aunt.SG.NOM.1SG) → sie'sšes (aunt.SG.NOM.3SG)
kue's's (guest) → kuâš'sad (guest.SG.NOM.2SG) → kue'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 1, Group C 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 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'sš (aunt) → seâš'sa (aunt.SG.ILL) → seâš's'san (aunt.SG.ILL.1SG)
kue's's (guest) → kuâš'sa (guest.SG.ILL) → kuâš's'ses (guest.SG.ILL.3SG)

In a similar manner, the SG.LOC form of Class 1, Group C 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 possessive 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*, as seen in 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* in 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.

ǰiiugân (oven) → ǰiuggna (oven.SG.ILL) → ǰiuggnasad (oven.SG.ILL.2SG)
 → ǰiuggne'sed (oven.SG.ILL.2PL)

ǰiiugân (oven) → ǰiuggnest (oven.SG.LOC) → ǰiuggnastan (oven.SG.LOC.1SG)
 → ǰiuggne'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*.³⁸

³⁸ When a noun such as *võõnâs* 'boat' inflects for possession, the second syllable vowel undergoes syncope, and the final *s* becomes syllable-initial and is either the third syllable of a trisyllabic stress group or begins a second stress group if the word is parisyllabic. So, for example, in the 1SG possessive form of the SG.COM, *võõnsi'nen*, the final *s* is the beginning of the second stress group and a short breath (or reduced vowel) between the *n* and *s* is in essence the second syllable nucleus of the first stress group. So, the division of this noun into two stress groups would be CVVC^v-CVCVC or *võõn^hsi'nen*. This explains why the possessive suffix vowel *ee* is not shortened in words such as the 1SG

These variations can be more clearly understood by means of an example. Presented below are a number of 3SG, 1PL and 3PL possessive forms of the inflectional paradigm of *ķiigan* 'oven'. Note, firstly, the SG.ILL ending in the 3SG forms. 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 belongs to the second syllable of a second stress group.

		3SG	1PL	3PL
SINGULAR	NOM	ķiuggnes	ķiuggne em	ķiuggne ez
	ACC/GEN	ķiuggnes	ķiuggne en	ķiuggne ez
	ILL	ķiuggnas as	ķiuggne' sen	ķiuggne' sez
	LOC	ķiuggne' stes	ķiuggne' sten	ķiuggne' stez
	COM	ķiuggni' nes	ķiuggni' nen	ķiuggni' nez
	ABE	ķiuggnestää	ķiuggne entää	ķiuggne eztää
	ESS	ķiuggnes	ķiuggne en	ķiuggne ez

In addition to these variations seen in disyllabic nominals, the possessive declension 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 declension. Recall that the SG.ABE case marker occurs after the possessive suffix.

ķeâlkaž (sled.DIM) → ķiõlku (sled.PL.NOM) → ķiõlkžan (sled.PL.NOM.1SG)
 → ķiõlkutää (sleg.SG.ABE) → ķiõlkžantää (sled.SG.ABE.1SG)

possessive form of the SG.COM of *lääddaž* 'bird.DIM', which is *lääddaineen*, since here it is only the first syllable of the second stress group. The division of the latter word into stress groups is CVVCCVV-CVVC or *lääddai-nee*n.

5.6 ADJECTIVES

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 82, where the circumflex represents the suffix vowel, but for more details on the inflection of these classes the reader is referred to section 5.2.

CLASS	SYLLABLES	GRADE	ENDING
1	monosyllabic	STRONG	—
4	disyllabic	WEAK	ˆs-final
8	≥ disyllabic	—	VC-final
11	disyllabic	—	ˆd-final

Table 82. 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 $-\hat{s}$, where the circumflex represents a vowel which is dependent on the stem—if the vowel centre is a high vowel, the suffix vowel is \hat{a} ; 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 $-\hat{s}$ 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 $-m\hat{o}s$, 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
cue'kǰ	cue'jjes	cue'jjab	cue'jjmōs	shallow
jōll	jōöllâs	jōöllab	jōöllmōs	unwise
luäž'ž	luäžžas	luäžžab	luäžžmōs	loose
čëä'p'p	čie'ppes	čie'ppab	čie'ppmōs	chilly

Class 4 adjectives

In section 5.2 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 $-\hat{s}$.

The attributive form of Class 4 adjectives, then, mirrors the predicative form of Class 1 adjectives since it loses the $-\hat{s}$ suffix of the predicative form and 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. The comparative and superlative markers also trigger depalatalisation.

A number of examples of the different forms of Class 4 adjectives are presented below.

PREDICATIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE	GLOSS
jōōskâs	jōskk	jōskksab	jōskksumus	quiet
čââvas	čââpp	čââppsab	čââppsumus	durable
vuä'mes	vuä'mm	vuämmsab	vuämmsumus	old
oođâs	ođđ	ođđsab	ođđsumus	new

Class 8 adjectives

Class 8 adjectives do not undergo consonant gradation. The attributive is formed with the suffix *-ōs*, 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 and trigger depalatalisation.

A number of examples of forms of Class 8 adjectives are presented below.

PREDICATIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE	GLOSS
vååstar	vååstrõs	vååstrab	vååstrumus	courageous
läåskav	läåskvõs	läåskvab	läåskvumus	heartfelt
loolâč	loolčõs	loolčab	loolčumus	jealous
tie'ľlev	tie'ľlvõs	tiellvab	tiellvumus	polite

Class 11 adjectives

Class 11 adjectives are \hat{d} -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'kked	â'kkes	â'kkääb	â'kkumus	monotonous
šiålggåd	šie'ľgges	šiålggääb	šiålggumus	pale
viskkåd	vi'skkes	viskkääb	viskkumus	yellow
šõllåd	šõ'ľles	šõllääb	šõllumus	smooth

An exception is observed with the adjective *mooččåd* 'beautiful', whose attributive form is either *moo'ččes* (as expected) or *mooččås*.

5.6.1 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.

PREDICATIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	SUPERLATIVE	COMPARATIVE	GLOSS	FINNISH
ķeāhn	ķeāhnas	ķeāhnab	ķeāhnmōs	bad	kehno
ää'hn	ää'hnes	ää'hnab	ää'hnmōs	greedy	ahne
hää'sķ	hää'sķes	hää'sķab	hää'sķmōs	fun	hauska
ķeeu'h	ķeeu'hes	ķeeu'hab	ķeeu'hmōs	poor	köyhä

5.6.2 ADJECTIVES DISPLAYING NO SPECIAL ATTRIBUTIVE FORM

There are 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
nuōrr	nuōrr	nuōrab	nuōrmōs	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, but these are considered separately in chapter 6.

5.6.3 IRREGULAR ADJECTIVES

The adjectives *pue'rr* 'good' and *šiōgg* 'good' show irregular behaviour. The adjective *pue'rr* 'good' can only be used predicatively, hence in attributive constructions the adjective *šiōgg* 'good', which can appear both predicatively and attributively, is used. On the other hand, the comparative and superlative forms of *šiōgg* 'good' are those of the adjective *pue'rr* 'good'. A similar thing is observed with the adjectives *jōnn* 'big' and *šurr* 'big'. Only *jōnn* '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

6 WORD FORMATION

Derivation and compounding are two 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 (§6.1.1), denominal verbs (§6.1.2), denominal nouns (§6.1.3), deverbal nouns (§6.1.4) and denominal and deverbal adjectives (§6.1.5). 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. Compounding is covered in §6.2.

6.1 DERIVATION

6.1.1 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. Some examples of causative verbs are presented below.

reäkkad (cry)	→ reäggted (make cry)
ceäggad (rise, stand up)	→ ciäggted (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)
mõnnâd (go)	→ mõõnted (make...go)
jää'tted (travel)	→ jää'dted (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)
ĵie'ssed (pull)	→ ĵie'zzted (have...pull)
teä'dded (print)	→ tie'ddted (have...printed)
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.

čárreed (isolate, cut off)	→	čárrõõttâd (cut o.s. off)
čâu'dded (free)	→	čâuddõõttâd (free o.s.)
paakkeed (warm)	→	paakkõõttâd (warm o.s.)
mätt'ted (teach)	→	mätt'tõõttâd (study)
põõssâd (wash)	→	põõzzõõttâd (wash o.s.)
luē'stted (lower)	→	luâšttõõttâd (descend)
teâvted (dress, clothe)	→	teâvõõttâd (dress o.s.)
peälšted (save)	→	peälštõõttâd (save o.s.)
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 *čâuddõõttâd* '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*).

Note also 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.

An interesting reflexive verb is *mätt'tõõttâd* 'study' which is formed from the verb *mätt'jed* '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. Middle voice is covered in section 9.4.3.

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)	→ pä'šttjed (be fried, roasted)
mu'rdded (break)	→ morddjed (break)
mu'štted (remember)	→ moštjed (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 §6.1.2. The inflection of middle verbs and denominal verbs marked with *-j-* is identical in all but one paradigm form. In this thesis both are treated as belonging to a single inflectional class, Class 3 (see §4.3).

–škie'tt– [inceptive]

The suffix *–škie'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 *logškie'tted* 'begin to read' and *tie'dškie'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)
kâ'dded (kill)	→	kâ'dškue'tted (begin to kill)
noorrâd (gather)	→	norškue'tted (begin to gather)
lookkâd (read)	→	logškue'tted (begin to read)
tie'tted (know)	→	tie'dškue'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'ješkie'tted (begin to be heard)
siõrrâd (play)	→	siõrtõõllâd (be playing)	→	siõrtõõllškue'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)
puijjâd (put)	→	puijjled (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)
ļe'rdded (fly) → ļe'rddled (fly off)
vā'z3ed (walk) → vā'z3led (walk off)
vuōjjād (swim) → vuōjjled (swim off)
suukkād (row) → suukkled (row off)
tiārrād (gallop) → tiārrled (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.

vā'z3led (walk off) ~ vā'z3skue'tted (begin walking)
tiārrled (gallop off) ~ tiārskue'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 *kā'dsted* 'kill quickly', where a diminutive reading is not semantically possible. The diminutive suffix attaches to the weak stem of the verb.

vue'dđed (sleep) → vuā'dsted (nod off, have a short sleep)
vue'rdded (wait) → vue'rdsted (wait a while)
kā'dded (kill) → kā'dsted (kill quickly)
čiōppād (sink) → čiōpsted (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–* becomes long *–stt–*.

kuvddled (listen) → kuvddlâ'stted (listen for a while)
ķiččled (try) → ķiččlâ'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, are 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) → kõõjttõõllâd (be asking, question)
mainsted (tell) → mainstõõllâd (chat, tell stories)
lookkâd (count) → looggtõõllâd (enumerate, itemise)
siõrrâd (play) → siõrtõõllâd (be playing)
ârsted (stop) → ârstõõllâd (keep stopping)

6.1.2 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 (name)
čappâd (black)	→	čäppeed (blacken)
siâkk (sack)	→	siâkkeed (sack, bag up)
saakk (message)	→	sakkeed (signal, communicate)
eu'nn (colour)	→	eu'need (colour, tinge)
paakkâs (warm)	→	paakkeed (warm, heat up)

–õõvv– [translative]

The suffix *–õõvv–* is used to form a verb which expresses a change of state to become more like the nominal stem. 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'e'l'õõvvâd (become lichened)
jaamm (gangrene)	→	jammõõvvâd (become gangreous)
kõbbj (scurf, scale)	→	kõbbjõõvvâd (scale/peel off)
ķiâllâs (pliable)	→	ķeâllšõõvvâd (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 nouns (see §6.1.5), 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)
po33	→	po33te'm (featherless)	→	po033tõõvvâd (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'.

čâ'lmm (eye)	→	čââ'lmtē'm (blind)	→	čââ'lmtõõvvâd (become blind)
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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) → ellõövvâd (char) → ellstõövvâd (grill)

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

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

-j-

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*. Some examples are presented below.

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

Where a corresponding loan noun is present, the verbal stem may undergo a change in form prior to the suffix *-j-*, as seen in the examples above of *prää'znej̋*

'party (noun)' → *prääzkjed* 'party (verb)' and *alfabet* 'alphabet' → *aa'lfjed* 'arrange alphabetically'.

6.1.3 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)	→	viõlggâd <u>vuõtt</u> (whiteness)
na'zvaan (friend)	→	na'zvaan <u>vuõtt</u> (friendship)
puärraz (parents)	→	puärraz <u>vuõtt</u> (parenthood)
jiõglvaž (spiritual)	→	jiõglvaž <u>vuõtt</u> (spirituality)
e'čč (father)	→	e'čč <u>vuõtt</u> (fatherhood)
tiõrvâs (healthy)	→	tiõrvâs <u>vuõtt</u> (health)
õlli (high)	→	õll <u>vuõtt</u> (height)

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

na'zvaanvuõtt → na'zvaanvuõđ (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 grade of the 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 *ķeârjaž* 'booklet'.

ķe'rijj (book)	→	ķeerjaž (booklet)
ku'e'll (fish)	→	kuâlaž (little fish)
nijdd (girl)	→	niõđâž (little girl)
põrtt (house)	→	põõrtâž (cottage)
šââ'kk (pig)	→	šââggaž (piglet)
kuõbžž (bear)	→	kuõbžâž (small bear)
piânnai (dog)	→	piânngaž (small dog)
suâl (island)	→	suállgaž (islet)

–ne'kk [indicates a person]

The derivational suffix *–ne'kk* 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'kk (farm owner, freeholder)
njuhččâm (tongue)	→	njuhččâmne'kk (gossipmonger, telltale)
Â'vvel (Ivalo)	→	â'vvelne'kk (resident of Ivalo)
kurss (course)	→	kurssne'kk (course member)
piâr (family)	→	piârne'kk (family member)
mäddtääl (farming, agriculture)	→	mäddtäälne'kk (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.

čëäppõs (art) → čëäppne'čk (artist)
Jaappan (Japan) → jaappne'čk (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, character) → alfabetõs (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, as shown below, where the vowel of the comparative suffix undergoes syncope.

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

6.1.4 DEVERBAL NOUNS

–∅

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)	→	pâall (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 attached 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 attached 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

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)
niõggēed (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'ğğ (money) ruõkkâd (to save) → teä'ğğruõkkõs (fund)

6.1.5 DENOMINAL AND DEVERBAL 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 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

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—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'rggi (systematic)
jiõnn (noise)	→	jiõ'nni (noisy)
ķiõpp (soot)	→	ķiõ'ppi (sooty)
luõss (salmon)	→	luõ'ssi (salmon-rich)
piõgg (wind)	→	piõ'ggi (windy)

CLASS 1B NOUNS

reäbžž (dent)	→	reäbžžai (dented)
päärr (wave)	→	pärrai (–waved <i>e.g. short-waved</i>)

CLASS 1C NOUNS

čää'cc (water)	→	čacca (SG.ILL)	→	čaccai (watery)
äü'kk (benefit)	→	äukka (SG.ILL)	→	äukkai (beneficial, profitable)
sä'ltt (salt)	→	sältta (SG.ILL)	→	sälttai (salty)
teä'gg (money)	→	teägga (SG.ILL)	→	teäggai (wealthy)
te'kk (louse)	→	tekka (SG.ILL)	→	tekkai (louse-infested)
mu'ldd (soil)	→	moldda (SG.ILL)	→	molddai (soiled)

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)	→	njämma (SG.ILL)	→	njämmai (talkative, chatty)
njuu'nn (nose)	→	njonna (SG.ILL)	→	njonnai (cheeky, impertinent)
vuei'vv (head)	→	vuäivva (SG.ILL)	→	vuäivvai (thick-headed)

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

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

In the attributive form of denominal adjectives 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 become *j*, while those adjectives ending in *-ai* also lose the vowel *a*.

PREDICATIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE	GLOSS
jie'rġġi	jie'rġġes	jie'rġġjab	jie'rġġjumus	systematic
jiō'nni	jiō'nnes	jiō'nnjab	jiō'nnjumus	noisy
ķiō'ppi	ķiō'ppes	ķiō'ppjab	ķiō'ppjumus	sooty
luō'ssi	luō'sses	luō'ssjab	luō'ssjumus	salmon-rich
piō'ġġi	piō'ġġes	piō'ġġjab	piō'ġġjumus	windy
reābžžai	reābžžas	reābžžjab	reābžžjumus	dented
pārrai	pārras	pārrjab	pārrjumus	–waved
čāccai	čāccas	čāccjab	čāccjumus	watery
āukkai	āukkas	āukkjab	āukkjumus	beneficial
sālttai	sālttas	sālttjab	sālttjumus	salty
teāggai	teāggas	teāggjab	teāggjumus	wealthy
tekkai	tekkas	tekkjab	tekkjumus	louse-infested
molddai	molddas	molddjab	molddjumus	soiled
njālmmai	njālmmas	njālmmjab	njālmmjumus	talkative
njonnai	njonnas	njonnjab	njonnjumus	cheeky
vuāivvai	vuāivvas	vuāivvjab	vuāivvjumus	thick-headed
smiāhhai	smiāhhas	smiāhhjab	smiāhhjumus	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 <i>gluxoj</i>)	→ kluuggâs (deaf)

–te'm [privative]

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

lää'kk (law)	→ lää'jj	→ lää'jje'm (lawless, illegal)
jiōg'g (spirit)	→ jiōgg	→ jiōggte'm (lifeless, dead)
čuōškk (mosquito)	→ čuōšk	→ čuōškte'm (mosquito-free)
siōmāž (small child)	→ siō'me	→ siō'mete'm (barren)
teä'ğğ (money)	→ tie'ğğ	→ tie'ğğte'm (penniless)
mähss (payment)	→ määu's	→ määu'ste'm (free of charge)
eu'nn (colour)	→ eeu'n	→ eeu'nte'm (colourless)
tåbdd (feeling)	→ tåabd	→ tåabdte'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'jje'm	lää'jje'mes	lää'jjtab	lää'jjetumus	lawless
jiōggte'm	jiōggte'mes	jiōggtab	jiōggtumus	lifeless
čuōškte'm	čuōškte'mes	čuōšktab	čuōšktumus	mosquito-free
siō'mete'm	siō'mete'mes	siō'metab	siō'metumus	barren
tie'ğğte'm	tie'ğğte'mes	tie'ğğtab	tie'ğğtumus	penniless
eeu'nte'm	eeu'nte'mes	eeu'ntab	eeu'ntumus	colourless
tåabdte'm	tåabdte'mes	tåabdtab	tåabdtumus	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'k̄ked (divide)	→	jue'jj	→	jue'jjte'm (indivisible)
vuei'nned (see)	→	vuei'n	→	vuei'nte'm (invisible)
lookkâd (count)	→	loogg	→	looggkte'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)
Israeel (Israel)	→	israeelaž (Israeli)
histoor (history)	→	histoorlaž (historical)
kâ'dd (community)	→	kââddlaž (communal)
ķiõll (language)	→	ķiõll'laž (linguistic)
heedâlm (fruit)	→	heedâlm'laž (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'mķiõllsaž* 'Saami-speaking'. Compare in particular the derived adjectives *ķiõll'laž* 'linguistic' (=pertaining to language) and *ķiõllsaž* '-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)
ķiõll (language)	→	ķiõllsaž (–speaking)
äi'ğğ (time)	→	äiggasaž (–time)
miõll (mind)	→	miõllsaž (–minded)
podd (moment)	→	poddsaž (momentary)
koumm (three) + vuä'ss (part)	→	kooumvuäss'saž (triple, three-part)

–nallšem

The derivational suffix *–nallšem* can be attached to nouns or adjectives and gives rise to an adjective with a meaning which conveys something as being similar to or characteristic of the properties possessed by the stem noun. Its use is better explained by way of several examples.

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'ķes (long)	→	ku'ķesnallšem (oblong)

Adjectives appear in the attributive form in these derived adjectives, as seen in the examples of *ku'ķes* and *ođđ*, 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)
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6.2 COMPOUNDING

Compound words in Skolt Saami may result in (i) endocentric compounds, consisting of a head and a modifier, (ii) exocentric compounds, which lack a head and whose meaning is often not able to be determined from their constituent parts, and (iii) appositional compounds, where both constituents contribute different meanings for a single referent. Examples of each of these types are given Table 83.

TYPE	SKOLT SAAMI		ENGLISH
endocentric	ǰe'ŗjji'lđđi	ǰe'ŗjj (book) i'lđđi (shelf)	bookshelf
endocentric	kaa'ffkopp	kaa'ff (coffee) kopp (cup)	coffee cup
exocentric	čâ'lmmbie'll	čâ'lmm (eye) bie'll (half)	one-eyed person
exocentric	jobblōkvuei'vv	jobblōk (short) vuei'vv (head)	idiot, oaf
appositional	nijđdpâ'rnn	nijđđ (girl) pâ'rnn (child)	daughter
appositional	neežzanpâ'les	neežzan (woman) pâ'les (police)	policewoman

Table 83. 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. Appositional compounds tend to occur, as seen in the examples above, with the first element marking the sex of the referent, while exocentric compounds 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.

kuõbžž (bear.SG.NOM) peärtam (trap)	→	kuõbžžpeärtam (bear trap)
puäžž (reindeer.SG.NOM) tuâjj (work)	→	puäžžtuâjj (reindeer husbandry)
mie'lkķ (milk.SG.NOM) poottâl (bottle)	→	mie'lkķpoottâl (milk bottle)
kue'll (fish.SG.NOM) veärr (soup, food)	→	kue'llveärr (fish soup)
põrtt (house.SG.NOM) uhss (door)	→	põrttuhss (door of the house)
taalkâs (medicine.SG.NOM) škaapp (cupboard)	→	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) ķiõll (language)	→	sää'mķiõll (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) põörtâž (little house)	→	pie'nnepõörtâž (kennel)
kuuzz (cow.SG.GEN) mie'lkķ (milk)	→	kuuzzmie'lkķ (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'mķiõll* 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 *puäžžtuâjj* '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) kǎä'ppel (paw) → kaazzkǎä'ppel (catsfoot)
 kǐōgg (cuckoo.SG.GEN) njuuč (tongue) → kǐōggnjuuč (wood sorrel)
 puōccu (reindeer.SG.GEN) jee'el (lichen) → puōccujee'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

Compounds whose first element is an adjective often have a meaning which cannot be deduced from their individual constituent parts, since if the adjective were simply modifying the following noun this would form a noun phrase made up of an adjective and noun as opposed to a compound noun. The adjective is always in the attributive form in compound words. 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.

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

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

pue'rr (good) tuejjei (maker) → pue'rrtuejjei (benefactor)

Numeral + noun compounds

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

koumm (three.SG.NOM) lääu'k (jump) → koummlääu'k (triple jump)
lääi (ten.SG.NOM) sōōđi (spine) → lääisōōđi (ten-spined stickleback)

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

kooum (three.SG.GEN) čiočk (angle) → kooumčiočk (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)
čuōvvâd (glow) määtt (worm) → čuō'vvimäätt (glow worm)

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) kōskksaž (mutual) → meeraikōskksaž (international)
sää'm (Saami.SG.GEN) k̄iōllsaž (–speaking) → sää'mk̄iōllsaž (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'kes (long) äiggsaž (time)	→	ku'kesäiggsaž (long-term)
ku'kes (long) miõllsaž (minded)	→	ku'kesmiõllsaž (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'jjjiõgglaž (supernatural)

Numeral + adjective compounds

As with numeral–noun compounds, the first element of numeral–adjective compounds appears in the genitive form.

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

7 NOMINAL CATEGORIES

This chapter is concerned with three important categories of nouns: nominal modification, grammatical case marking and pronouns. 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. Section 7.3 provides an overview of the uses of the nine grammatical cases and, finally, §7.4 considers different types of pronominal forms.

7.1 NP STRUCTURE

The most basic noun phrase in Skolt Saami consists of a single, unmodified head noun. 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. Some examples are given in (1) which exemplify this ordering of elements within a noun phrase.

			QUANTIFIER		ADJECTIVE		
DEMONSTRATIVE	+	POSSESSIVE		+	AND/OR	+	HEAD
		NOUN OR NP	OR		PARTICIPLE		NOUN
			NUMERAL				

and the head noun are marked in the accusative case, while the intervening possessor is marked in the genitive. If it were the case that the demonstrative determiner is modifying the possessor, then we should expect to see it marked in the genitive case, as seen above in (2).

- (3) a. de bo'htter ju'rdškue'di, što mōõn viõusâs
 then giant.SG.NOM think.INCP.PST.3SG COMP what.SG.GEN strong
 tõt leäi [tõt suu triâᅇgg]
 DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG [DIST.SG.NOM 3SG.ACC helper.SG.NOM]
then the giant started to wonder how strong that helper of his was [MM:23]
 [demonstrative + possessive + head noun]
- b. rottu [tõid saa'mi puõccid]
 tear.PST.3PL [DIST.PL.ACC Saami.PL.GEN reindeer.PL.ACC]
they tore the reindeer of those Saami to pieces [SKNA 17462:1, 9:7.5]
 [demonstrative + possessive + head noun]

NPs typically display head marking in Skolt Saami, with case marking occurring only on the NP head, and the dependent displaying no form of agreement. The exceptions to this are (i) the comparative form of adjectives, (ii) demonstrative determiners and (iii) numerals, all of which, when occurring in a dependent role, display a declension, referred to in Moshnikoff *et al.* (2009: 67), as a 'weak declension'. In the weak declension the SG.ILL, SG.LOC and SG.ABE forms are identical to the SG.GEN form and the PL.COM and PL.ABE forms are identical to the PL.GEN form. 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 case markers are less closely associated with the host noun and behave in a more clitic-like manner. Further evidence for this is seen in §5.5, 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 §7.3.7 an elicited example is presented of two coordinated nouns, 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. It therefore seems entirely plausible that the so-called 'weak declension' is simply a manifestation of this phenomenon, whereby the case marker occurs only on the final word, in this case the NP head, with all preceding words appearing in the genitive case. The reason for the SG.ILL and SG.LOC being identical in form to the SG.GEN form is less clear, however, hence these forms have been glossed accordingly as SG.ILL and SG.LOC despite the fact they are identical in form to the SG.GEN.

This weak declension may provide evidence that Skolt Saami displays a type of edge inflection (see Bermúdez-Otero and Payne (forthcoming) for a discussion relating to edge inflection) whereby only the edge-most word of a phrase, in this case of a NP, inflects for properties which pertain to the entire phrase. This would explain why an adjective fulfilling the syntactic role of a noun inflects for case and number (as explained in §7.2.1), since it becomes the right-most word of the noun phrase. However, in the case of determiners, numerals and the comparative form of adjectives, both the modifier and the head noun inflect for case and number, albeit in a restricted number of grammatical cases.

7.2 NOMINAL MODIFICATION

As already stated above, modifiers may appear in 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) or quantifiers (§7.2.6).

7.2.1 ADJECTIVES

When functioning in a predicate adjective construction, or as an NP head, adjectives behave in the same way as nouns, inflecting for both case and number. When occurring as an NP dependent, as a nominal modifier, however, adjectives do not inflect for case or number, but instead the adjective appears in a special attributive form. This is exemplified in (4). The attributive form does not agree with the head noun, hence all case and number marking appears on the head noun.

are the same regardless of whether or not they occur in attributive or predicative positions.

- (6) tōk [reggsab oummu] vuä'stte
 DIST.PL.NOM [rich.CMPRT person.PL.NOM] buy.PRS.3PL
- jäänab da [kallšab aunnsid]
 more and [expensive.CMPRT material.PL.ACC]
- those richer people bought more (quantity) and more expensive material*
- [4:9.2]

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 participle, (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 syntactic roles: the present participle is identical in form to agent nominalisations (see §6.1.4); the past participle is used in the formation of the perfect tenses; the passive participle is used in passive constructions; 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 4. 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).

tuõliddâd (boil)	→	tuõliddi (boiling)
mottjed (change)	→	mottjeei (changeable, variable)
särnnad (speak)	→	särnnai (speaking)
juâmmjõõvvâd (calm down)	→	juâmmjõõvvi (calming)
čââ'łmtõõvvâd (go blind)	→	čââ'łmtõõvvi (blinding)
njâ'dded (taste)	→	njõ'ddi (tasty, delicious)
kuõppjed (grow mouldy)	→	kuõppjeei (moulding)

(7) a. tōk lie [čââ'cctuõ'łl'jeei pihttâz]
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL [water + keep.PRS.PTCP clothes.PL.NOM]
those are waterproof (= water keeping) clothes [MM:106]

b. go le'jjem [šõddi niõđâz]
 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 4. 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 §8.1). 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'ddešõddâm 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 puállam 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 4. As already mentioned, this participle is also used in passive constructions, when occurring together with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be' (see §8.3). Two examples of the passive participle functioning as a modifier are presented in (9). In example (9a) it can be seen that the passive participle which modifies the noun *põrtt* 'house' is itself modified by a prepositional phrase *kie'dj sizz* 'into the rock'.

- (9) a. Pâ'ss Treffnest leäi to'ben Spa'site'lpääutast
 Holy Tryphon.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG there Redeemer + rock.SG.LOC
 nåkam [kie'dj sizz rajjum põrtt,]
 such.kind [rock.SG.GEN into build.PASS.PTCP house.SG.NOM]
 ko'st son vuäitt räühast jälsted
 REL.SG.LOC 3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG peace.SG.LOC live.INF
*There at Redeemer's Rock, Saint Tryphon 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 kiõlddum 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]

d. mij siidâst leäi še [ruõkkâm
 1PL.GEN siida.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG also [bury.ACT.PTCP
 sââ'jj]
 place.SG.NOM]
there was also a burial (= burying) place in our siida [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 õhtna
 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 precedes 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 number 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'stem autt] lij já'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 kã'ddem
forest.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG [wolf.SG.GEN kill.ACT.PTCP

kã'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

As already mentioned, demonstratives functioning as modifiers appear in the so-called 'weak declension'. The inflectional paradigms of the three demonstrative determiners are presented in Table 84. (Compare this to inflectional paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns, in §7.4.3). Some examples of demonstrative determiners are presented in (14).

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	DISTAL (SEE §7.4.3)	
SINGULAR	NOM	tät	tõt	tut
	ACC	tän	tõn	tun
	GEN	tän	tõn	tun
	ILL	tän	tõn	tun
	LOC	tän	tõn	tun
	COM	täin	tõin	tuin
	ABE	tän	tõn	tun
	ESS	tää'den	tââ'den	tuu'den
	PART	tää'd(ed)	tââ'd(ed)	tuu'd(ed)
PLURAL	NOM	täk	tõk	tuk
	ACC	täid	tõid	tuid
	GEN	täi	tõi	tui
	ILL	täid	tõid	tuid
	LOC	täin	tõin	tuin
	COM	täi	tõi	tui
	ABE	täi	tõi	tui

Table 84. Inflectional paradigm of the demonstrative determiners

- (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] 3PL.NEG 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.ILL person.SG.ILL]

ceäłkk: "Koll'ješkie'đež pue'ttem, de muu
 say.PRS.3SG be.heard.POT.3SG come.ACT.PTCP and 1SG.ACC

õõlgak counned
 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] jáätt
 [DIST.SG.COM stick.SG.COM] travel.PRS.3SG
he travels with that stick [4:25.9]

f. son ráännäald 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 or it too may be modified, 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 [3:2.11]

- (16) määngi u'čtee'li nōōmid mon kuuleem
 many.PL.GEN teacher.PL.GEN name.PL.ACC 1SG.NOM hear.PST.1SG
I heard many teachers' names [4:29.6]

A noun may be modified by more than one possessive noun or NP and these may be coordinated, as shown below.

- (17) saauž da puōccu mie'lkin
 sheep.SG.GEN and reindeer.SG.GEN milk.SG.COM
with sheep's and reindeer's milk [4:5.16]

The reflexive pronoun may also act as a nominal modifier where it expresses coreference between the possessor of an NP head and the subject of a clause—i.e. 'own'.

- (18) a. jiōččan nōōm le'jjem ķee'rjted
 REFL.SG.GEN.1SG name.SG.ACC be.PST.1SG write.INF
I would have written my own name [4:15.11]

- 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 in Skolt Saami are of particular interest due to their rather unusual behaviour from a cross-linguistic perspective. This is because they display a split between numerals six and seven with regard to the case marking of the following noun in subject and object NPs, which, under most syntactic theories would not be possible, if it is believed that a grammar cannot involve counting (see Nelson and Toivonen 2003 for a discussion on this issue). While this is an extremely interesting fact about Skolt Saami, however, the split is no longer as clearly defined as it once was, with many speakers now marking the noun following all numbers with the same case. Nevertheless, the remainder of this section will discuss nominals based on this split.

When a numeral between two and six appears before a noun which is either the subject or direct object of the clause, the numeral appears in its SG.NOM form and the noun is marked in the SG.GEN case. Despite the noun being marked in the singular, the verb must still agree with the plural referent of the numeral+noun, in contrast to Finnish where numeral+noun constructions display a verb marked for a singular referent. When a numeral seven or higher appears in the same environment, the numeral is also in its SG.NOM form but the noun appears in the PART case (although nowadays also in the SG.GEN case, eliminating the split). Compare the examples given in (19).

- (19) a. oummu mō'nne tuōddra
 man.PL.NOM go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
 the men went to the fell
- b. nellj oummu mō'nne tuōddra
 four.SG.NOM men.SG.GEN go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
 four men went to the fell
- c. lāāi ooumžed mō'nne tuōddra
 ten.SG.NOM men.PART go.PST.3PL fell.SG.ILL
 ten men went to the fell
- d. ooumaž čuōppi sue'jjid
 man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG birch.tree.PL.ACC
 the man felled the birch trees
- e. ooumaž čuōppi kue'htt sue'jj
 man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG two.SG.NOM birch.tree.SG.GEN
 the man felled two birch trees
- f. ooumaž čuōppi āāuc sue'kķed
 man.SG.NOM fell.PST.3SG eight.SG.NOM birch.tree.PART
 the man felled eight birch trees

The same behaviour occurs with predicate constructions, as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. mu'st lie puä33
 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL reindeer.SG.NOM
I have a reindeer
- b. mu'st lie kue'htt puõccu
 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL two.SG.NOM reindeer.SG.GEN
I have two reindeer
- c. mu'st lie låái puä33ad
 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL ten.SG.NOM reindeer.PART
I have ten reindeer

When functioning as an oblique object, however, this effect is not seen and instead the noun receives the expected case marking, while the numeral preceding it inflects in the weak declension, as explained below. However, the noun is still marked in the singular, despite having a plural referent. Consider the examples in (21).

- (21) a. jeä'nn uu'di leei'bid päärnaid
 mother.SG.NOM give.PST.3SG bread.PL.ACC boy.PL.ACC
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.ILL 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.ILL boy.SG.ILL
mother gave bread to the seven boys

In the weak declension, numerals display syncretism between the ACC, GEN, ILL, ABE. The LOC is either identical in form to the ESS or GEN form. In numerals greater than one, the ACC form patterns with the NOM form, in contrast to all other nominals

c. sij mō'ne 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]

(23) d. son õõutin käärbín vuõ'lji
 3SG.NOM one.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 (24a) and as an NP head (24b). A list of the most common quantifiers in Skolt Saami are presented in Table 86.

(24) a. tok mâ'ne ķiččâd [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.NEG [**much**] eat.INF
you mustn't eat much [MM:98]

SKOLT SAAMI	ENGLISH
mãᅅgg	many
muä'dd	several
jiânnai	a lot
occanj	a few
puk	all

Table 86. Skolt Saami quantifiers

The quantifiers *jiânnai* 'much' and *occanj* 'little, few' also have comparative and superlative forms as with adjectives.

SKOLT SAAMI	ENGLISH
jiânnai	much, many
jäänab	more
jäänmõsân	the most
occanj	little, few
uu'ccab	less, fewer
uu'ccmõsân	the least, the fewest

Some quantifiers do not inflect, as seen in the case of *jiânnai* 'much' in the examples, but other quantifiers, such as *män̄gg* 'many' and *puk* 'all', do inflect for case and number, both when functioning as a modifier (25) and when functioning as a head (26). Note also how in (25a) the quantifier *män̄gg* 'many' can govern the partitive case, in the same way as numerals greater than six (see §7.2.5).

- (25) a. to'ben jâl̄stiim [män̄gg piâr̄rjed]
there live.PST.1PL [many.SG.NOM family.PART]
there we lived, many families [MM:116]
- b. [mään̄gi 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 [4:29.6]
- c. nääi't [män̄ggan män̄ggan sââ'jest] ašt̄tõ'lle
like.that [many.SG.LOC many.SG.LOC 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]
- (26) a. mu'st lie [män̄gg] kõõččâm
1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL [many.SG.NOM] ask.PST.PTCP
many (people) have asked me [MM:108]

- b. mon leäm [mänggsest] kuâđđjam
 1SG 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 marked *-id* on *pukid* 'all.PL.ACC'.

- (27) a. ko [puk puõccid] vi'kke
 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 låá'dd
 1SG.NOM go.PRS.1SG guard.INF COMP bird.PL.NOM
 jie poorče mee'st [puk mue'rjid]
 NEG.3PL eat.NEG: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 (28) shows the comparative form of *jiânnai* 'many' and *occanj* 'few' being used.

- (28) ķeä'st le'jje jäänab, ķeä'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]

7.3 GRAMMATICAL CASE

Many grammatical functions of nominals in Skolt Saami are marked by means of grammatical case. Chapter 5 outlines the inflectional processes by which each grammatical function is morphologically encoded. This section therefore deals solely with how each case is used in the language.

There are nine grammatical cases in Skolt Saami—the nominative, accusative, genitive, illative, locative, comitative, abessive, essive and partitive. The essive and partitive cases are only seen in the singular, while all other cases occur in both singular and plural forms.

An inflectional paradigm of the noun *sie'ss* 'aunt (father's sister)' is provided in Table 87 to serve as a reference for the examples to follow, although this paradigm only represents a single inflectional class. See Chapter 5 for more example paradigms.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	sie'ss	sie'zz
ACC	sie'zz	siõ'zzid
GEN	sie'zz	siõ'zzi
ILL	seâ's'sa	siõ'zzid
LOC	sie'zzest	siõ'zzin
COM	siõ'zzin	siõ'zzivui'm
ABE	sie'zztää	siõ'zzitää
ESS	sie'ssen	
PART	sie'ssed	

Table 87. Paradigm showing the case markings of the word *sie'ss* 'aunt'

- b. tōk pō'mmai le'jje siidi
 DIST.PL.NOM paper.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL village.PL.GEN
- ä'sšpō'mmai
 affair.SG.NOM + paper.PL.NOM
- those papers were the official papers of the villages* [MM:96]

The nominative plural form is syncretic with the accusative and genitive singular forms, hence in (32a) *puõccu* is the PL.NOM form of 'reindeer', while in (32b) it is the SG.ACC. Where this syncretism might give rise to ambiguities, the context and word order (typically SOV) serve to distinguish one from the other.

- (32) a. puõccu mâ'nne luõttu
 reindeer.PL.NOM go.PRS.3PL nature.SG.ILL
- the reindeers run free* [4:3.61]

- b. õ'htešt kuuskõõzz liâ poorrâm
 once aurora.borealis.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL eat.PST.PTCP
- puõccu
 reindeer.SG.ACC
- once the northern light ate a reindeer* [2:2.1]

Predicate nominals and the subject of other predicate constructions appear in the nominative case, such as in the following existential clause (33a), and the possessee of a possessive construction appears in the nominative case (33c).

- (33) a. tä'lvv lij
 winter.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG
- it is winter* [MM:45]

- b. jäu'rr lij jõnn
 lake.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG big.SG.NOM
- the lake is big* [MM:77]

- c. su'st leäi mooččäs kaav
 3SG.LOC be.PST.3SG beautiful wife.SG.NOM
he had a beautiful wife [MM:84]

The nominative singular form of a noun is unmarked and does not undergo inflection. Throughout this grammar any reference to the *basic* form of a noun refers to its nominative singular form. The nominative singular is also treated as the lemma, or canonical form of a lexeme, and is used as the citation form in dictionaries of Skolt Saami.

7.3.2 ACCUSATIVE CASE

The accusative case is used to mark the object of a transitive clause (34). As seen in chapter 5, the accusative singular is syncretic with the nominative plural and thus does not display any overt inflectional marking. Instead it is often, but not always, marked by phonological changes within the inflectional stem. The accusative plural marker is *-d*, which occurs together with the plural marker *-i-*, giving *-id*.

- (34) piõgg muõrid da čää'33 liikktâäll
 wind.SG.NOM tree.PL.ACC and water.SG.ACC move.PRS.3SG
the wind moves the trees and the water [4:13.12]

The accusative plural form of a noun may also appear in interrogatives commencing with the question word *mii* 'what', as exemplified in (35). The reason for this, however, is unclear.

- (35) a. mii lij Nääskast nåkam ruõ'psses
 what.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG Naska.LOC such red
 kääutid nue'ttest?
 skirt.PL.ACC seine.net.SG.LOC
how come Naska has such a red skirt on while seine-fishing? [4:9.32]

The genitive singular is syncretic with the nominative plural and the accusative singular. Although the genitive plural does not take an overt inflectional marker, it does nevertheless occur with the plural marker *-i-*, which is absent from the nominative plural, and can therefore be distinguished from the nominative plural form.

Nouns following cardinal numbers two to six also appear in the genitive case⁴⁰, and, despite conveying a meaning of plurality, the genitive singular form of the noun is used (see §7.2.5). When functioning as subject or object, the genitive singular overrides any other case and number markings these nouns would take if not appearing as part of a numeral construction. This is most salient in a plural noun appearing as the object of a clause, when it would usually appear in the accusative plural, but instead appears in the genitive singular, aptly exemplified in (37), where both the PL.ACC and SG.GEN forms of the same referent appear. The same distinction is not apparent in singular objects since the accusative and genitive singular forms are syncretic.

- (37) triâṅgg vuâlgg kaammgaid vižžâd
 helper.SG.NOM leave.PRS.3SG little.bear.PL.ACC fetch.INF
- ij ni kuu'kk̃ jaukkâm, ju'n pue'di
 NEG.3SG even far.away disappear.PST.PTCP already come.PST.3SG
- mââust da lai'ddai kuõ'htt kaammga aau'livui'm
 back and lead.PRS.3SG two little.bear.SG.GEN chain.PL.COM
- the helper left to fetch the little bears. He had barely disappeared, already
 he returned and he is leading two little bears with chains* [MM:70]

⁴⁰ Since the PL.NOM, SG.ACC and SG.GEN are syncretic in Skolt Saami, it is not possible to say with any certainty that nouns following numerals 2-6 appear in the SG.GEN, since it could be the PL.NOM or SG.ACC which is in fact occurring after these numerals. However, the very fact these forms are syncretic makes it less important to determine precisely which case is responsible for nominal marking following the numerals 2-6 (and nowadays usually all numerals from 2 upwards). Stating that nouns following numerals 2-6 appear in the SG.GEN is, however, in keeping with Korhonen *et al.* (1973) and Moshnikoff *et al.* (2009). Sammallahti (1998: 7), on the other hand, states that Skolt Saami nouns appear in the PL.NOM when appearing after numerals 2-6, but goes on to explain that the PL.NOM marker has been lost from nouns appearing in these numeral constructions in Inari, Pite, Lule and North Saami and "from the point of view of the present language the noun is in the genitive singular after numerals higher than one".

Although nouns following cardinal numbers higher than six have tended to appear in the partitive singular case, this construction is becoming less common and instead is being replaced with the genitive singular form, replacing the once clearly-defined split between numerals two to six and numerals seven and above. Those who still use the partitive form for nouns occurring with numerals above six tend to belong to the older generation, hence it is likely that within a few generations this contrast will have become neutralised.

All prepositional and postpositional phrases also govern the genitive case. See §9.5.3 for a list of pre- and postpositions.

- (38) a. tool piiji ě'mn vuâlla
 fire.SG.ACC put.PST.3SG pot.SG.GEN under.ILL
he made a fire under the pot [MM:85]
- b. koumm njuuč ě'rddle suõv mie'ldd
 three swan.SG.GEN fly.off.PST.3PL smoke.SG.GEN through
three swans flew off through the smoke [MM:10]
- c. Laa'rkaž pâi pirr tool â'te vaa'ẓzi
 (NAME) just around fire.SG.GEN then walk.PST.3SG
then Laa'rkaž just walked around 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 (39), show how these constructions do indeed govern the SG.GEN case and not the SG.ACC or PL.NOM.

- (39) a. veärr kuuni sizz kâmmni
 soup.SG.ACC ash.PL.GEN into spill.out.PST.3SG
the soup spilt out into the ashes [MM:85]

b. kue'lid jue'kķe pōōrti mie'ldd
 fish.PL.ACC divide.PRS.3PL house.PL.GEN among
they divided the fish among the households [4:11.10]

c. son kããđđ fiin säai'mid juō'vve
 3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL
 da sue'jji kō'skķe
 and birch.PL.GEN between.ILL
he spins fine webs on rocky ground and between birch trees [3:2.8]

The word *diōtt* 'for the sake of', and other words such as *vääras* 'for (the purpose of)', govern the genitive case in the same way as the aforementioned pre- and postpositional phrases.

(40) åå'n mij jea'p mäacc
 now 1PL.NOM NEG.1PL return.NEG
 tōōi sãã'vki diōtt
 DIST.PL.GEN ski.PL.GEN for.the.sake.of
we're not going back for the sake of those skis [SKNA 17462:1, 3:1.18]

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.⁴¹

⁴¹ 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 (41a) and (41c) are in fact marked with the ACC as they refer to delimited events, while (41b) and (41d) 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).

- (41) 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'vķid
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'kk 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. tõi'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'kkäai vää'r seeičâ'stte
evening.PL.GEN mountain.PL.NOM be.reflected.PRS.3PL
tõn kue'lkes čää'žž 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]

7.3.4 ILLATIVE CASE

The illative case is used when a noun functions as the indirect object of a clause and expresses the recipient or destination of an entity or communicative event (42).

- (42) a. suäna mõ'ne meäcca
3DU.NOM go.PST.3PL forest.SG.ILL
the two of them went to the forest [MM:40]

- b. sōrgg pue'đi tōōzz čuâr da čaari
soon come.PST.3SG DIST.SG.ILL fly.SG.NOM and go.in.PST.3SG
čiōrmik pellja
young.reindeer.SG.GEN ear.SG.ILL
soon a fly came there and went into the young reindeer's ear [3:2.22]
- c. vii'tjep juō'kk̄ 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'l̄ki kussnekka: "Ku kaammgaž
then Arsha say.PST.3SG cow.herd.SG.ILL when little.bear.SG.NOM
pue'đež kuälmad peei'v, säärn tōōzz,
come.POT.3SG third day.SG.GEN say.IMP.2SG DIST.SG.ILL
što igumee'n káčč 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 often marked with the illative, as the following examples demonstrate. In (43a) the place where a building is constructed, or comes into being, is marked in the illative. In (43b) 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 *tōt*, the place where that mosquito dies.

- (43) a. ra'jje tok Petsikko tuoddra pikalõspäai'k̄
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'mjânma, leä'sa õhtt hiâvvni
 Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL but one drown.PST.3SG
- mie'lkknäppa, nu'bb tōpplõõvi
 milk.SG.NOM + bowl.SG.ILL other.SG.NOM be.choked.PST.3SG
- kuä'd suõvâst da kuälmad sârrji
 Lapp.hut.SG.GEN smoke.SG.LOC and third become.tangled.PST.3SG
- vuä'mm ää'kk kohttu da jaa'mi tōõzz
 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 Lapp hut and a third
 became tangled in an old crone's skirt and died there* [3:5.20]

7.3.5 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 (44a), while occurring with a dynamic verb typically conveys movement away from a location (44b).

- (44) a. Pâ'ss Treffan oummu sami liâ
 Holy Trifon.SG.GEN person.PL.NOM quite be.PRS.3PL
- ceerkvest služvmen
 church.SG.LOC worship.PROG.PTCP
Holy Trifon's people are just in the church worshipping [MM:10]

- b. e'čč da jeä'nn puõ'tte
 father.SG.NOM and mother.SG.NOM come.PST.3PL
 ceerkvest pōrttseez
 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 (45).

- (45) a. leä'ppčää'zgest tuõlddeem tōn
 alder.SG.NOM + water.SG.LOC boil.PST.1SG DIST.SG.ACC
 káhttan
 skirt.SG.ACC.1SG
I boiled that skirt of mine in alder water (to dye it) [4:9.27]

- b. seämmanalla ķeätt di päšt 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 [4:5.22]

- c. nu'bb tōpplõõvi kuä'd 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 [3:2.26]

The locative is also used to mark the source or origin of some object or action (46).

- (46) a. kaammgaž leäi oummust kaappi vâlddam
 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 vuäžžam ee'jjest odd
 1SG.NOM be.PST.1SG receive.PST.PTCP father.SG.LOC new
 sââ'vķid
 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 (47).

- (47) a. ooumaž [...] kōōjji paappâst "koozz jââđak?"
 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
 pãåssnja
 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 (48).

- (48) tõi'n pie'zzin ra'jje aaunâsmuõrid
 DIST.PL.LOC pine.PL.LOC make.PST.3PL timber.PL.ACC
from those pine trees they made timber [4:7.25]

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* 'to be'. The copular verb agrees in number with the possessee and not with the possessor. Examples of this construction are given in (49).

- (49) a. mōõn määust, ku niõđstad lij â'lgǵ
 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'lgǵed
 3SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL seven son.PART
he has seven sons [MM:61]
- c. mee'st še leäi õhtt â'lgǵ
 1PL.LOC also be.PST.3SG one son.SG.NOM
we also had one son [4:27.16]

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 (50).

- (50) juõ'kk̄ 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 (51).

- (51) a. nue'ttest lij vââ'kk̄
 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
 1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG also
 ruõkkâmsââ'jj
 bury.ACT.PTCP + place.SG.NOM
there was also a burial place in our village [4:17.9]

A use of the locative that requires further investigation, which came to light while studying texts, is presented in the examples in (55). This appears to be some sort of possessor-raising construction, since the possessor of the noun, which is usually in the genitive case, becomes an argument of the verb and is marked in the locative case.

- (55) a. čičormiċ čââ'lmes veärggteškue'di de
 young.reindeer.SG.NOM eye.SG.ACC.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG and
 čuõškâst jue'lġġ ränn'ji
 mosquito.SG.LOC leg.SG.NOM be.injured.PST.3SG
the young reindeer started to blink its eyes and the mosquito's leg was injured [3:2.19]

- b. Arša pue'di šillju kaammga luzz da
 Arša come.PST.3SG yard.SG.ILL little.bear.SG.GEN near.to and
 kōõjji: "Mōõzz ton po'rriċ mu'st tōn
 ask.PST.3SG why 2SG.NOM eat.PST.2SG 1SG.LOC DIST.SG.LOC
 vuõssmōs 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. ĳeâđđä tōn še ee'jj see'st pä'rnn
 in.spring DIST.SG.GEN also year.SG.GEN 3PL.LOC son.SG.NOM
 kâddji vâäinast
 kill.MDL.PST.3SG war.SG.LOC
also in spring that year their son was killed in the war [MM:117]

7.3.6 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 (56).

(56) a. son sklädndeei'bin ħiõ'tte čuõ'ğġii
 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 hãmm, 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 (57).

(57) 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 jiã jãã'd
 and scooter.PL.COM and what.PL.COM NEG.3PL travel.NEG
*(they travel) always by car and by bike and motor boat and scooter and
 what don't they travel by!?* [4:13.3]

b. räädain jeäll vižžmen
 reindeer.train.SG.COM go.PRS.3SG fetch.PROG.PTCP
he goes fetching it (food) by reindeer train [4:3.106]

Another use of the comitative is to express accompaniment (58).

(58) a. šelljpõõrtâst 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 vuäššid
 1DU.NOM mother.SG.COM be.PST.1PL horsetail.PL.ACC
 vižžmen
 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

(59).

(59) a. nâkam nozvairee'ppiĭ kâ'llbukvivui'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]

7.3.7 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 large

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 (60) show the use of the abessive case when expressing the lack of an instrument. The elicited example, (60b), 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 §5.5 relating to the marking of possession on nouns, where the possessive suffix appears before the case marker).

- (60) a. vōõnâs ij jáâ'd ääirtää
boat.SG.NOM NEG.3SG travel.NEG 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.NEG 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 (61).

- (61) a. saauzitää 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.NEG nothing.SG.NOM become.PST.PTCP
without him, nothing was made [EE:1.3]

7.3.8 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 (62) show how the essive can be used to express the function that something performs.

- (62) 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 [4:3.88]

- 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'nmed
 formerly Skolt.Saami.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL start.PST.PTCP use.INF
 tõn ĳie'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 (63).

- (63) te'1 E'mmel muu'tti si'jjid lå'dden: paa'rnid
 then God.SG.NOM change.PST.3SG 3PL.ACC bird.ESS boy.PL.ACC
 čuâňjan 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]

7.3.9 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 (64) show, although this has been replaced with the genitive singular in many cases, particularly in the speech of the younger generation.

- (64) a. mon ve't pukkveezz le'jjem låái 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 puäzzad da
 DIST.PL.LOC kill.PST.4 hundred.SG.GEN about reindeer.PART and
 pa'cce koummčue'đčiččmlo
 remain.PST.3PL three.SG.NOM + hundred.SG.GEN + seventy.SG.NOM
 puäzzad
 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 postpositions also occur in the partitive singular, although no examples of this were

found in the primary text corpus used. The example given by Moshnikoff *et al.* is *ķeä'dǵǵed vuâstta* 'against the rock'.

Quantifiers (see §7.2.6) may also require the partitive, such as the word *muä'dd* 'several' and *mängg* 'many' (65).

(65) a. A'rttjääu'rest [...] jälstim muä'dd ee'ķķed
 A'rtt.lake.SG.LOC live.PST.1PL several year.PART
we lived at Lake A'rtt for several years [SKNA 17462:1, 3:1.1]

b. to'b mij mängg ee'ķķed leei'm
 there 1PL.NOM many year.PART be.PST.1PL
we were there for many years [SKNA 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 (66).

(66) dragacennai ķeä'dǵǵ lij kallšab
 precious[RU] stone.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG expensive.CMPT
 samasvetnai ķeä'dǵǵed
 self-luminous[RU] stone.PART
a precious stone is more expensive than a self-luminous stone [MM:97]

7.4 PRONOUNS

Noun phrases may be replaced by a number of different pronouns, outlined in the sections below.

7.4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are nine personal pronouns in Skolt Saami, presented in Table 88.

	1ST PERSON	2ND PERSON	3RD PERSON
SINGULAR	mon	ton	son
DUAL	muäna	tuäna	suäna
PLURAL	mij	tij	sij

Table 88. Skolt Saami personal pronouns (nominative singular forms)

As can be seen from Table 88, the singular–dual–plural distinction seen in the verbal morphology of other Saami varieties (see Sammallahti 1998: 76) has been retained in Skolt Saami pronominals, despite the disappearance of the dual in Skolt Saami verbal inflection. Dual pronouns instead occur with the corresponding plural forms of the verb, as shown in (67).

- (67) muäna vue'lggëp muõrid kaggâd
 1DU.NOM leave.PRS.1PL wood.PL.ACC lift.INF
 the two of us are going to collect (fire)wood [SKNA 17462:1, 1:2.5]

All pronouns in Skolt Saami inflect for case. The singular pronouns inflect for all nine cases, as seen in singular nominals. The dual pronominals inflect for all cases except the partitive. The plural pronominals inflect for all cases except the essive and partitive, as seen in plural nominals. Table 89–Table 91 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'ne	tu'ne	su'ne
LOC	mu'st	tu'st	su'st
COM	muin	tuin	suin
ABE	muutää	tuutää	suutää
ESS	muu'nen	tuu'nen	suu'nen
PART	muu'ded	tuu'ded	suu'ded

Table 89. Inflectional paradigm of singular 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 90. Inflectional paradigm of dual 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 91. Inflectional paradigm of plural pronouns

Since person, number and tense are encoded on the verb in Skolt Saami, the pronoun may be optionally omitted, although this does not happen to the extent seen in other pro-drop languages (e.g. Spanish). The 3rd 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, appended to this thesis, 3rd person pronouns are generally retained, in contrast to Text 4, where pro-drop of 3rd person pronouns is much more evident.

Many examples of how pronouns are used are available in the interlinear glossed texts at the end of this thesis. Note that, in discourse, demonstrative pronouns are commonly used in place of personal pronouns, particularly when used anaphorically.

7.4.2 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 §5.5. The singular forms are given in Table 92 and the plural forms in Table 93.

	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 92. 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'ceed	jiõc'ceez
LOC	jijsteen ~ jiijjineen	jijsteed ~ jiijjineed	jijsteez ~ jiijjineez
COM	jiijjeenvui'm	jiijjeedvui'm	jiijjeezvui'm
ESS	jiõččneen	jiõččneed	jiõččneez

Table 93. Plural forms of the reflexive pronoun

Some examples of the use of the reflexive pronoun are presented in (68).

- (68) a. *tõid* *oummu* *a'lgge* *laaddâd* *jiõccee*
 DIST.PL.ACC person.PL.NOM begin.PST.3PL repair.INF REFL.ILL.3PL
jälstempõrttân
 dwelling.house.SG.ESS
people started to repair those (barracks) for themselves as residential houses [MM:118]
- b. *jiijjineez* *leäi* *jõnn* *põrtt*
 REFL.LOC.3PL be.PST.3SG big house.SG.NOM
they themselves had a big house [MM:117]
- c. *jiõčč* *pâi* *ķe'rrez* *vuâlla* *oi'gğõõđi*
 REFL.SG.NOM only "ahkio".sled.SG.GEN to.under throw.REFL.PST.3SG
he just threw himself under the sled [MM:9]

Note how, in (68c), the reflexive pronoun is present as the subject of the clause despite the fact the verb itself already indicates reflexivity through the reflexive derivational suffix *-õđtt-* (see §6.1.1). In (69) and (70) both an overt personal pronoun and the reflexive pronoun are simultaneously present as the subject of the clause and thus function as emphatic pronouns.

- (69) *son* *jiõčč* *mõõni* *ouddķeâčča* *vuâņņad*
 3SG.NOM REFL.SG.NOM go.PST.3SG front + end.SG.ILL rest.INF
he himself went to the bow (of the boat) to rest [MM:20]

Example (70) is a possessive construction and thus the possessor, which here is the reflexive pronoun, is marked in the locative case. Although the personal pronoun *mij* 'we' is also present, as an emphatic pronoun, this is not marked in the locative case. It is likely that this is a case of a personal pronoun displaying the weak declension, as seen with demonstrative determiners, where only the head noun inflects for case, while dependents are marked in the genitive (see §7.1).

- (70) Vuâspå'd kâ'1 mij jijsteen lij
 God.SG.NOM yes 1PL.GEN REFL.LOC.1PL be.PRS.3SG
we ourselves have a God [MM:59]

7.4.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two demonstratives in Skolt Saami in common usage, one for proximal objects, *tät*, and one for distal objects, *tõt*. Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991) and Moshnikoff *et al.* (2009) mention a third demonstrative, *tut*, although evidence of its use was found to be limited.

It is likely the case that these three demonstratives correspond to the three demonstratives used in Finnish—*tämä* 'this', corresponding to *tät*, used for referents near to the speaker; *tuo* 'that', corresponding to *tut*, used for not such close referents; and *se* 'it', corresponding to *tõt*, used for relatively distant referents. This idea is supported by the fact that in Finnish the third demonstrative, *se*, is more often used in an anaphoric or cataphoric sense than as a demonstrative (Sulkala and Karjalainen 1992: 282). This is precisely the behaviour which is observed in Skolt Saami, since the demonstrative *tõt* is used frequently as a deictic marker in discourse, often with an anaphoric sense (71). This would also explain the difficulty in finding examples of the use of *tut* in texts, since a true demonstrative would only be expected to occur in direct or reported speech.

- (71) tōk le'jje pâi Lää'ddjânnmest
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL only Finland.LOC
they (the mosquitos) were only in Finland [MM:67]

The three demonstrative pronouns in Skolt Saami may thus be thought of as outlined below. However, it appears that *tõt* and *tut* are being merged into a single form, *tõt*, which J. Moshnikoff (p.c.) agrees is probably the case.

this (proximal)	tät
that (distal spatial marker)	tut
that (distal discourse marker)	tõt

Demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in both the singular and plural as with other nominals. The full paradigms of the demonstrative pronouns *tāt*, *tut* and *tōt* are presented in Table 94.

		PROXIMAL	DISTAL (DISCOURSE)	DISTAL (SPATIAL)
SINGULAR	NOM	tāt	tōt	tut
	ACC	tān	tōn	tun
	GEN	tān	tōn	tun
	ILL	tääzz	tōōzz	tuuzz
	LOC	tā'st	tō'st	tu'st
	COM	tāin	tōin	tuin
	ABE	tāntää	tōntää	tuntää
	ESS	tää'den	tāā'den	tuu'den
	PART	tää'd(ed)	tāā'd(ed)	tuu'd(ed)
PLURAL	NOM	tāk	tōk	tuk
	ACC	tāid	tōid	tuid
	GEN	tāi	tōi	tui
	ILL	tāid	tōid	tuid
	LOC	tāin	tōin	tuin
	COM	tāivu'im	tōivu'im	tuivui'm
	ABE	tāitää	tōitää	tuitää

Table 94. Inflectional paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same syntactic functions and distribution as the noun phrases which they replace. A number of examples are given in (72).

- (72) a. tōt pāarr te'l ti'jjid pukid
DIST.SG.NOM eat.PRS.3SG then 2PL.ACC all.PL.ACC
then that (snake) will eat you all

[MM:12]

- b. son lij tuejjääm tõn, mii
 3SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG do.PST.PTCP **DIST.SG.ACC** what.SG.NOM
 leäi su'st ķiõlddum
 be.PST.3SG 3SG.LOC forbid.PASS.PTCP
he has done that, which had been forbidden him [MM:16]
- c. ku kaammgaž pue'dež kuälmad peei'v,
 when little.bear.SG.NOM come.POT.3SG third day.SG.GEN
 säärn tõõzz, što igumee'n kääčč
 say.IMP.2SG **DIST.SG.ILL** COMP hegumen.SG.NOM invite.PRS.3SG
 suu namstra
 3SG.ACC monastery.SG.ILL
*when Little Bear might come on the third day, say to him that the hegumen
 invites him to the monastery* [MM:64]
- d. vuõžžuk-a sätt-tie'ğğ tõ'st
 get.PST.2PL-INTER lift-money.SG.ACC **DIST.SG.LOC**
did you get some money for your transport from that (work)?
 [SKNA 17462:1, 5:6.1]
- e. Sä'mmlaž tuārai tõin čää'žžest
 Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM struggle.PST.3SG **DIST.SG.COM** water.SG.LOC
 kutt čiâssâd
 six hour.PART⁴²
the Saami man struggled with that (seal) in the water for six hours [MM:21]

⁴² Note the use of the partitive case with the numeral 'six', which is usually only seen after numerals 'seven' and above (see §7.3.9).

b. leei'd-go tij tuejjääm mâi'd-ne
 be.PST.2PL-INTER(FIN) 2PL.NOM do.PST.PTCP **something**.SG.ACC

avi muđoi pâi årstõ'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]

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	mii-ne	mõõk-ne
ACC	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'ded-ne	

Table 96. Inflectional paradigm of the indefinite pronoun *mii-ne*

When a negative pronoun is used in a negative clause the negative auxiliary must still be used to negate the verb, as the examples in (75) illustrate.

(75) a. ku'vdd ij vuäittam su'nne ni mâi'd
 snake.SG.NOM **NEG**.3SG can.PST.PTCP 3SG.ILL **nothing**.SG.ACC

ķeähn tuejjeed

bad make.INF

the snake couldn't do anything bad to him

[MM:12]

b. vuõššân ij ni ķii teâttam, što
 at.first NEG.3SG **nobody**.SG.NOM know.PST.PTCP COMP
 mõõk tāk le'jje jie'l'jid
 what.PL.NOM PROX.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL animal.PL.ACC⁴³
at first nobody knew what these animals were [3:2.32]

c. i'lla ni ķeä'st tõt pječat
 NEG.3SG + be.NEG **nobody**.SG.LOC DIST.SG.NOM seal[RU].SG.NOM
nobody had that seal [MM:54]

As with demonstratives, indefinite, distributive and negative pronouns can also assume an adverbial function, particularly when marked with the illative or locative cases. Also, as (76) highlights, more than one indefinite adverb can occur in a single clause.

(76) son mä'htt-ne koozz-ne vuâlgg
 3SG.NOM **somehow** **somewhere**.SG.ILL leave.PRS.3SG
he somehow set off somewhere [4:29.8]

7.4.5 RELATIVE PRONOUNS AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Relative pronouns are covered in §10.3.4, which discusses relative clauses. Interrogative pronouns are covered in §10.1.3, which discusses interrogative clauses.

⁴³ This is a fourth example of the construction referred to in §7.3.2, whereby a noun is marked in the PL.ACC when appearing in a question containing the question word *mii* 'what'. There are two differences with this example, however. Firstly, the form appears in an indirect question as opposed to a direct question and, secondly, the object of the question is plural, whereas in the examples in §7.3.2 the objects of the questions were singular but nevertheless marked in the PL.ACC.

The present tense is often used in subordinate clauses with a subjunctive meaning. For example, it may be used to express an event which has not yet taken place, as in the temporal clause in (78a), or an event that it is hoped will happen, as in the complement clause (78b).

- (78) a. säimma ku čuõšk pâššne ħidd,
 web.SG.ILL when mosquito.PL.NOM get.caught.PRS.3PL closed
 te'1 son jičč orčč kuâŋŋa lääi'j
 then 3SG.NOM self run.PRS.3SG along thread.SG.GEN
 da vuäǰǰ 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* [3:2.9]

- b. tõt täättai, što čuõšk
 DIST.SG.NOM want.PST.3SG COMP mosquito.PL.NOM
 vue'lggë Sää'mjânma
 leave.PRS.3PL Saami.GEN + land.SG.ILL
he wanted the mosquitos to go to Lapland [3:2.6]

The present tense is used to denote habitual events as shown in example (79).

- (79) sami âlgg võõrâs kue'lin jie'lled ħeassa
 quite must.PRS.3SG fresh fish.SG.COM live.INF in.summer
one basically has to live off fresh fish in the summer [4:3.5]

In narratives the present tense is often used when recounting past events. This can clearly be seen in the texts appended to this thesis.

The past tense encodes the time of an event as occurring in the past. The past tense may denote a completed action (80a), but can also be used to denote past habitual events (80b).

(80) 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 [4:13.6]

b. mie'lķ vuäžžaim mue'dd ķilomettar tue'ķķen
 milk.SG.ACC get.PST.1PL several.SG.GEN kilometre.SG.GEN behind
 juõ'ķķ 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, while the past perfect requires that the auxiliary verb appear in the past tense.

(81) a. mu'st liâ mäᅇgg kōõččâm
 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL many ask.PST.PTCP
many (people) have asked me (to wail) [4:17.16]

b. ju'n eeunaž leäi si'jjid mainstam
 already spider be.PST.3SG 3PL.ILL tell.PST.PTCP
Spider had already told them [3:2.33]

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 (82), 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 tense cannot be used in this context, as it would convey the idea that the speaker is dead.

- (82) mon leäm mǎnggsest kuâđđjam
 1SG be.PRS.1SG many.people.SG.LOC remain.PST.PTCP
I have outlived many people [4:17.19]

In example (83), 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 past tense is not appropriate in this context.

- (83) vuõ'ni, što ääldast leäi
 see.PST.3SG COMP female.reindeer.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG
 pâi võrrpääikaž pääccam kuuskõõzz
 only blood + place.DIM remain.PST.PTCP aurora.borealis.PL.NOM
 le'jje ääld poorrâm
 be.PST.3PL female.reindeer.SG.ACC eat.PST.PTCP
he saw that only a patch of blood had remained of the reindeer;
the northern lights had eaten the reindeer [2:2.18]

In the same way as the present tense can encode a future event, so too can the present perfect encode the future perfect. Although examples of this were not found in texts, the following example was discussed with consultants.

- (84) jâđđa mon leäm ĵe'rtam ĵee'rtj
 tomorrow 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG write.PST.PTCP letter.SG.ACC
tomorrow I will have written the letter

8.2 ASPECT

Aspect is expressed in three ways in Skolt Saami: (i) periphrastically with an auxiliary verb, (ii) periphrastically by means of a participial aspectual construction or (iii) by a morphological marker on the verb.

- (87) jõ'skķe tōn toopp speállmen
 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 aspects 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 aspect, which is expressed by the derivational suffix *-škie'tt-* (see §6.1.1). By virtue of the fact they are marked verb-internally, those aspects that are marked through derivation can easily appear in any tense or mood.

- (88) a. nã'de junstōlškuätt
 then ice.fish.with.net.INCP.PRS.3SG
then he begins fishing with a net under the ice [4:3.23]
- b. čiormik čâ'lmes veärgteškie'di
 (one-year-old).reindeer eye.PL.NOM.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG
the young reindeer started to blink her eyes [3:2.19]

In (89) the inceptive aspect co-occurs with the potential mood to express a future, uncertain event.

- (89) jiâ poppâd ouddâl ku tue'leskuâus
 NEG.3PL stick.NEG until red.of.dawn.SG.NOM
 čuõvvneškie'dež
 grow.clear.INCP.POT.3SG
they won't stick until the red of dawn begins to clear [MM:46]

Other aspects which are marked morphologically by means of a derivational suffix are listed in section 6.1.1, such as the subitive (90a), the diminutive (90b) and the continuative (90c). A number of examples are presented below.

- (90) a. vue'lǧǧep domoi, ko aa'lji seu'ηɲlded
 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. ko'lmešt õõlgak sie'lj njauksted
 three.times must.PRS.2SG back.SG.ACC stroke.DIM.INF
you must gently stroke the (horse's) back three times [MM:52]
- c. tõt seei'bes liikktâäll
 DIST.SG.NOM tail.SG.ACC.3SG move.CONT.PRS.3SG
he (the dog) is wagging (moving about) his tail [MM:49]

8.3 MOOD

Skolt Saami distinguishes between one realis mood—the indicative—and two irrealis moods—the conditional and the potential. The conditional mood is marked with the phoneme *č* which occurs after the verbal stem before all other verbal inflection (see §4.2), as shown in (91).

- (91) 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? [4:13.39]

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 (92). See §10.3.3 for more information on conditional structures.

- (92) ku mâka son piâzzče jie'llmen,
 if 3SG.NOM get.out.COND.3SG live.PROG.PTCP
 veâl-a ton vääldčik̃ suu ěkidd
 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, progressive aspect and perfect progressive aspect 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 97. Some examples are given in (93).

PERSON	CONDITIONAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	le'ččem	le'žžem
2SG	le'ččik̃	le'žžik̃
3SG	le'čči	leežž
1PL	le'ččep	le'žžep
2PL	le'ččid	le'žžve'ted
3PL	le'čče	le'žže
4	le'ččeš	le'žžet

Table 97. Paradigm showing the conditional and potential forms of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be'.

- (93) a. jiõm â'te mon ni kōõjjče, jos mon
 NEG.1SG then 1SG.NOM even ask.NEG: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 mōõnnmen
 well (D.P.) 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]

- b. a ķēän jeät valddu, su'st viõkk
 well (D.P.) who.SG.ACC NEG.4 take.NEG2 3SG.LOC strength.SG.NOM
 mä'htt leežž ij vuälže, mett
 how be.POT.3SG NEG.3SG reach.NEG:POT height.SG.NOM
 ij vuälže le'be mii leežž,
 NEG.3SG reach.NEG: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* [4:27.7]

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.

- (96) a. to'ben â'te jäälast, mõõn kuu'kk jälste'žže
 there.LOC then (D.P.) live.PRS.3SG what.SG.GEN long live.POT.3PL
so, there he lives, for however long they might live (there) [4:3.11]
- 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'di 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* [4:27.19]
- (97) jã'tte, mõõn kuu'kk 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 (98).

- (98) ääkkaz ceälkk: "hå't mii kuälkteežž, jiök
 old.woman say.PRS.3SG whatever knock.POT.3SG NEG.2SG
 õõlg ceä'lkked, što piânnai pue'di
 must.NEG 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"* [4:27.7]

The potential often occurs after the conjunction *ouddâl gu* (~*ouddâl ku*) 'until'. This has already been seen in above in example (89), and is also seen below in (99). 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.

- (99) mon â'te jiôm väjldââ'tt ouddâl tön
 1SG.NOM then (D.P.) NEG.1SG forget.NEG before DIST.SG.ACC
 pääi'k gu tunâmma mõõnžem
 place.SG.ACC when after.life.SG.ILL go.POT.1SG
I won't forget that place until I go to the afterlife [4:13.35]

8.4 NEGATION

Negative clauses in Skolt Saami employ a negative auxiliary verb which agrees in person and number with the subject as shown in (100). Table 98 provides the inflectional forms of this auxiliary verb. 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, as will be explained below.

- (100) mon jiõm näittlõõđ, ku jeännam
 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG marry.NEG when mother.SG.NOM.1SG
 lij paasnek̃
 be.PRS.3SG angry
I won't get married, while mother is angry [MM:31]

PERSON	NEGATIVE AUXILIARY
1SG	jiõm
2SG	jiõk
3SG	ij
1PL	jeä'p
2PL	jeä'ped
3PL	jie ~ jiâ
4	jeät

Table 98. Paradigm showing the inflection forms of the negative auxiliary verb

As with lexical verbs, dual personal pronouns take the corresponding plural form of the negative auxiliary (101).

- (101) suäna jiâ luâšttam ni vue'žž poorräd
 3DU.NOM NEG.3PL allow.PST.PTCP even meat.SG.ACC eat.INF
the two of them didn't even let us eat meat [4:19.2]

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 NEG), in all persons except the 4th person, which instead takes a different CONNEGATIVE form (glossed as NEG2), as exemplified in (102b).

(102) a. ko'st son vuäitt räühast jälsted,
 where 3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG peace.LOC live.INF
 što jie kaaun suu
 COMP NEG.3PL find.NEG 3SG.ACC
...where he can live in peace, so that they do not find him [MM:59]

b. tōk a'lğge päärn oocâd, jeät kaunnu
 DIST.PL.NOM begin.PST.3PL boy.SG.ACC seek.INF NEG.4 find.NEG2
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 (101). 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 NEG:COND and NEG:POT), which exhibit the *č* and *ž* markers of the conditional and potential mood, respectively (103). The formation of all these forms is covered in §4.2.

(103) a. mon mōõnam vârdjed, što lââ'dd jiâ
 1SG.NOM go.PRS.1SG guard.INF COMP bird.PL.NOM NEG.3PL
 poorče mee'st puk muõ'rjid
 eat.NEG: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.NEG: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]

The verb *lee'd*, whether acting as an auxiliary verb, a copular verb or in an existential or possessive construction, has irregular forms in negative constructions. In present negative constructions it takes the form *leäk'ku*. In past negative constructions,

negative auxiliary + connegative form of *lee'd* + past participle.

- (105) mon jiõm leäkku ää'vääm
 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG be.NEG 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 + past participle + past participle + progressive
 auxiliary of *lee'd* of *lee'd* participle

The 3rd person forms of the negative auxiliary and the auxiliary verb *lee'd* are often contracted, as presented in Table 100. A number of examples of these contracted forms are presented in (106).

UNCONTRACTED FORM	CONTRACTED FORM
ij leäk'ku	i'lla ~ i'llä ~ i'llää ~ i'lleäk ~ i'lleäkku
ij leäm'maş	i'lleäm
ij le'čče	i'lle'čče
ij le'žže	i'lle'žže
jie leäk'ku	jeä'la

Table 100. Contracted forms of negative auxiliary and connegative forms of *lee'd* 'be'

- (106) a. tääzz **i'lle'žže** pâššned sijdd
 PROX.SG.ILL NEG.3SG + be.NEG:POT stay.INF village.SG.NOM
here may not be (a good place) to set up a village [MM:118]

- b. **i'leäk** leäm mu'st jeännam
 NEG.3SG + be.NEG be.PST.PTCP 1SG.LOC mother.SG.NOM.1SG
- paasneċ, leāša kaav mu'st lij
 angry.person.SG.NOM but wife 1SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG
- paasneċ, mon ju'rddem, što
 angry.person.SG.NOM 1SG.NOM think.PST.1SG COMP
- jeännam muu viårtâäll, son
 mother.SG.NOM.1SG 1SG.ACC scold.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM
- i'leäm** viårtõõlli 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 §8.3, 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 (107). 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 (107) provides an example of both an affirmative and negative form of this type of conditional construction.

- (107) tōn muõ'rre leäi ċirggned mōõnnâd,
 DIST.SG.ILL tree.SG.ILL be.PST.3SG hurry.INF go.INF
- te'l i'le'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]

9 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

This chapter is concerned with the basic clause structure of declarative clauses. Non-declarative clauses, namely interrogative clauses and imperative clauses, are dealt with in the following chapter on complex clause structure, as are subordinate clauses.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the basic word order in Skolt Saami, beginning with the core constituents of subject, verb and object (§9.1.1), and then turning to an interesting effect observed in clauses where an auxiliary verb is present (§9.1.2). Following on directly from word order, the topic of grammatical relations is briefly touched upon (§9.2). Section 9.3 outlines the different types of predicate constructions.

The following section (§9.4) considers voice and other valence-adjusting operations, covering causatives, reflexives and reciprocals, middle verbs and passive clauses. Finally, section 9.5 is given over to clausal modification and covers the different grammatical elements that can assume an adverbial function including adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verbal participles and adverbial clauses.

9.1 CONSTITUENT ORDER

9.1.1 CORE ARGUMENTS

In Skolt Saami clauses, case marking is used to indicate grammatical relations between noun phrases, while person and number marking on the verb agree 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. The predominant word order, however, in pragmatically unmarked clauses, appears to be SOV, as illustrated in (108). This analysis is based on an observation of the frequency of different word orders in textual

- (113) kaammgaž kagstõõđi oummu vuâstta da
 bear.SG.NOM get.up.quickly.PST.3SG man.SG.GEN towards and
 ceälkk, što [son suu päärr]
 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]

Likewise, non-finite dependent clauses typically involve OV order, and in elicitation this was the most consistently given order. In the non-finite clauses in (114), the object of the dependent clause precedes the non-finite verb form, giving an OV order.

- (114) a. mie'ccjääu'rest älgg [säai'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 hâiddad]
 affair.PL.ACC look.after.INF
 [O V_{NON-FINITE}]
they chose three men, before the people, to look after the (village) affairs
 [4:25.21]

Verb-initial clauses appear to be pragmatically marked and two examples found of this order, given in (115), also involve the particle *kâ'l* 'yes'. It would seem that this ordering of arguments, coupled with the particle *kâ'l* 'yes', is used as a focus

marking *Lää'ddkiõl* 'Finnish language' as the topic of the clause, as in the corresponding English translation.

- (117) Lää'ddkiõl mon jiõm fi'tte ni mõõn
 Finnish.SG.ACC 1SG.NOM 1SG.NEG understand.NEG nothing.SG.ACC
 O S V_{AUX:NEG} V_{CONNEGATIVE}
Finnish, I don't understand at all [MM:108]

Existential constructions are also usually verb-final, where the entity being referred to precedes the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be'. An example existential construction is given in (118). This is also the case with predicate constructions where the subject has been omitted, as shown in (119), where the adjective, which would normally follow the verb, instead precedes it. However, see the following section (§9.1.2) for a possible explanation for the word order in (119), related to the verb-second phenomenon.

- (118) cuânj lij mâtam ee'jj, jõnn
 snow.crust.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG some year.PL.NOM big
 S V_{AUX}
 muõtt lij mâtam 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]

- (119) na viõlggâd lij
 well white be.PRS.3SG
 ADJ_{PRED} V_{AUX}
well, it (the skirt) is white [MM:106]

verb and this separation occurs to a lesser extent than that which is observed with *lee'd* 'be' (122).

(122) a. mon jiõm muu'št puk tõiđ
 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG remember.NEG all DIST.PL.ACC
 S V_{AUX:NEG} V_{LEX} O
I don't remember all those (people) [4:5.7]

b. tõiđ jiâ õhttna kue'dđ
 DIST.PL.NOM NEG.3PL at.once calve.NEG
 S V_{AUX:NEG} V_{LEX}
those (reindeer) do not all calve at once [4:3.54]

A plausible explanation for this apparent closer bond between the negative auxiliary verb and the lexical verb, which would be in keeping with the V2 hypothesis proposed above for Skolt Saami, is that the (finite) auxiliary verb is obliged to occupy the second position but when the auxiliary verb is not marked for tense, as in the case of the negative auxiliary, the connegative verb form, which serves to indicate tense (see §8.4), is attracted to the position directly after the auxiliary. Further evidence of this is given in (123), where in the presence of the connegative form of *lee'd* 'be', which appears directly after the negative auxiliary, the lexical verb resumes clause-final position.

(123) tõiñ jiõm leäkku vuäivvvan piijjâm
 DIST.SG.ACC NEG.1SG be.NEG head.SG.ILL.1SG put.PST.PTCP
 O V_{AUX:NEG} V_{AUX} OBL V_{LEX}
I haven't put that in my head (= remembered) [4:27.15]

The reason why example (117), seen earlier in this chapter, does not follow the order stipulated by the V2 hypothesis proposed above may be related to the fact that the object of the clause is fronted in a process of topicalisation.

An affirmative clause marking both the progressive aspect and a perfect tense will result in two occurrences of the auxiliary verb *lee'd* 'be', since both are periphrastic. In the example given in (124), the first auxiliary occupies the second

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 (§7.3.4), while a source is marked in the locative case (§7.3.5).

9.3 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 (127). 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 (128). 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.

(127) Evvan lij Peäccam sä'mmlaž
 John be.PRS.3SG Petsamo Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM
John is a Petsamo Skolt [MM:91]

(128) ton leäk muu kaa'ffki'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 (129), tend to occur before the verb. As mentioned in §9.1.2 this order may be related to the verb-second phenomenon.

- (129) 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.

- (130) a. nijdd lij ä'rğğ
 girl.SG.NOM PRS.3SG shy.SG.NOM
 the girl is shy
- b. niõđ lie ää'rij
 girl.PL.NOM PRS.3PL shy.PL.NOM
 the girls are shy

In §7.2.1 the attributive forms of adjectives was 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. 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 (131).

- (131) a. 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 (132a), 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. Example (132b) shows a predicate adjective as an object complement, also in the essive, to denote a change in state.

- (132) a. á'Immredd lij jeä'kkää ruõpsseen
 horizon.SG.NOM PRS.3SG in.the.evening red.SG.ESS
in the evening, the horizon is red [KK:43]
- b. åålm kälkkii põõrt čappeen
 man.SG.NOM paint.PST.3SG house.SG.ACC black.SG.ESS
the man painted the house black

Existentials predicate the existence of some entity while predicate locatives predicate the location of an entity. The only difference in form between the two is the word order. In existentials the entity purported to exist often follows the verb (133) while in predicate locatives the location often follows the verb (134).

- (133) reeddast leäi suõ'kkes miõst
 shore.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG thick shrub.SG.NOM
there was a thick shrub on the shore [MM:20]
- (134) ääkkaz lij kuä'dest
 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 a prepositional phrase or noun phrase as its argument.

- (135) mooččas nijdd lij uus tue'kken
 beautiful girl.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG door.SG.GEN behind
the beautiful girl is behind the door [MM:37]

where a list of examples is also provided. The causative marker results in an increase in valence of one argument.

Example (137) shows how an otherwise intransitive verb *vä'zzed* 'to walk' becomes a transitive verb and takes a direct object when marked with the causative marker to become *vää'zzted* 'to walk, to lead'.

- (137) saauzeez mie'ldd vä'ldde di tōid
 sheep.PL.GEN.3PL with take.PRS.3PL and DIST.PL.ACC
- vää'zzte
 walk.CAUS.PRS.3PL
- they took their sheep with them and led them among (lit. caused to walk)*
- [4:3.10]

In example (138), 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.

- (138) u'čtee'1 looggat škooulnee'kkid
 teacher.SG.NOM read.CAUS.PRS.3SG school.pupil.PL.ACC
- the teacher gets the pupils to read*
- [KK:135]

In example (139), two transitive verbs are marked with the causative marker: *kie'ssed* 'to pull' > *kie'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.

- (139) jie'rij liâ su'st veâl ǰidd, što tõõivui'm
 bull.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL 3SG.LOC still tied.up COMP **DIST.PL.COM**
 son ǰee'zzat ǰe'rrsid da ku ǰe'rrez
 3SG.NOM pull.CAUS.PRS.3SG sled.PL.ACC and when sled.PL.NOM
 liâ occanj, mâtmid kue'ddat kâddsivui'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* [4:3.68-69]

Example (140) shows how a causee may be omitted from a causative clause if it is implicit.

- (140) puõccu tää'vat de vuâlgg, ǰee'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* [4:3.16]

9.4.2 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCAL

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 morphological reflexives is covered in §6.1.1 where a list of examples is also provided. Analytical reflexives are formed from a transitive verb which is followed by the relevant form of the reflexive pronoun *jiõčč*. Some examples of morphological reflexives are presented in (141).

(141) a. pu'htte pihttsid da oumaž teävõõđi
 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]

Sometimes the reflexive pronoun is used for emphasis (142). Note that the reflexive pronoun is in the nominative case.

(142) jiõčč pâi ķ'rezz vuâlla oi'ğğõõđi
 REFL.SG.NOM only Skolt.sled.SG.GEN under.ILL throw.REFL.PST.3PL
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 (143).

(143) de suäna näittlõ'tte
 and 3DU.NOM marry.REFL.PST.3PL
the two of them got married [MM:14]

In example (144), 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 information with regard to the people who met each other and this is thus expressed in an oblique case, the comitative.

- (144) mājŋa 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]

9.4.3 MIDDLE VOICE

A middle construction is one which 'expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by a PATIENT, rather than as an action carried out by an AGENT' (Payne 1997: 216). They are referred to as middle constructions since they are neither passive nor active. A passive treats a situation as an action carried out by an agent, but the role of the agent is downplayed, while a middle construction treats the situation as a process and ignores the role of the agent. Middle constructions are therefore valence decreasing operations, since they ignore the agent of a transitive situation.

Middle constructions are marked morphologically in Skolt Saami, through the addition of the affix *j* to the verbal stem. Section 6.1.1 describes the formation of middle verbs in more detail and provides a list of examples.

Middle verbs such as *morddjed* 'break' are prototypical middle verbs, in that they are semantically distinct from reflexive and passive constructions. However, many middle verbs semantically resemble reflexives and passives. Middle verbs such as *levvjed* 'grow tired', however, cannot be classified as reflexives, since they do not express the scene as an action, but as a process.

Middle verbs such as *kåddjed* 'be killed' are semantically close to passives, since the nature of the event indicates that an agent must be present on the scene, but in the case of *kåddjed* the agent is less relevant than it is in the corresponding passive construction. For example, in (145), the man fell, or was killed, in battle. The agent is more than likely an unknown entity and is therefore even less relevant than in a passive clause where the agent is simply downplayed.

- (145) $\check{k}e\hat{a}d\check{d}a$ $t\check{o}n$ $\check{s}e$ $ee'jj$ $see'st$ $p\check{a}'rnn$
 in.spring DIST.SG.GEN also year.SG.GEN 3PL.LOC son.SG.NOM
- $k\check{a}ddji$ $v\check{a}\check{a}inast$
 kill.MDL.PST.3SG war.SG.LOC
- also in spring that year their son (got) killed in the war* [MM:117]

This distinction between passive and middle voice could also be seen as marking the degree of volition exhibited by the agent. In a passive clause the action is much more likely to be volitional, while in the middle clause in (145) the killing may have been non-volitional, for example, if the man had been killed by shrapnel.

A number of verbs do not fit neatly with Payne's (1997: 216) definition of a middle construction as being one which 'expresses a semantically transitive situation', since they involve intransitive verbs, hence the middle verb does not result in a decrease in the valence of the predicate. Instead, the middle voice marker, *j*, attaches to a verb expressing a state and the new meaning acquired is that of a process which brings about that state—in this sense then, the marker *j* still indicates a process. Two examples of these verbs are presented below.

$pue'lled$ 'burn' → $pu\check{a}ll'jed$ 'catch fire'
 $pu\check{o}cc\hat{a}d$ 'be ill' → $pu\check{a}ccjed$ 'fall ill'

The verb *pue'lled* 'burn' refers to an intransitive state, while the middle verb *pu\check{a}ll'jed* 'catch fire' refers to a process which leads to burning. Likewise, *pu\check{a}ccjed* 'fall ill' is a process which leads to the state of being ill, *pu\check{o}cc\hat{a}d* 'be ill'.

9.4.4 PASSIVE VOICE

The passive construction in Skolt Saami is formed analytically with the auxiliary verb *lee'd* followed by the passive participle. The passive participle ends in *-um* (see §4.2 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, that is it appears in the nominative case. Examples of its use are given below.

- (146) 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 (146), *kuõrbb* 'forest fire' is marked with the SG.NOM making it the syntactic 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 §9.4.1, the causee is often left unspecified in causative constructions, suggesting it is the least important argument.

Example (147) shows a passive construction functioning as part of an adverbial clause. This is a common use of the passive, whereby the passive construction is subordinate to an active matrix clause.

- (147) mõõni tok ko'st leäi e'ččes
 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 (148) demonstrates, if it has already been expressed earlier in the clause.

- (148) čõhččtuei lie tuejjum suei'n
autumn.work.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL do.PASS.PTCP hay.PL.NOM
- lie rajjum vuášš 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]

9.5 ADVERBIALS

This section covers the different ways in which a clause may be modified in Skolt Saami. Section 9.5.1 covers adverbs, followed in §9.5.2 by a brief look at noun phrases acting as adverbials. Prepositions and postpositions are the subject of §9.5.3 while §9.5.4 is given to a discussion on verbal participles. Finally, §9.5.5 considers adverbial clauses.

A clause may be modified by more than one adverbial. Example (149) consists of a matrix and complement clause displaying three adverbials, two of which are adverbs and one of which is a noun phrase.

- (149) te'1 sä'mmlaž e'pet sollad kue'1
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]

9.5.1 ADVERBS

There are two main groups of adverbs: (i) an open class of derived adverbs and (ii) a closed class of adverbs.

9.5.1.1 Derived adverbs

The open class of adverbs are primarily derived from adjectives, but may also be derived from nouns. This derivation creates adverbs of manner. Adverbs formed from adjectives belonging to Class 1 typically end in the suffix *-ʎd*, where the circumflex represents the stem vowel (see chapter 5), 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 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	čëä'pp (skilful)	→ čie'ppeld (skilfully)
1	neu'rr (bad)	→ neeu'reld (badly)
1	ää'hñ (greedy)	→ ää'hñeld (greedily)
1	ķëähñ (bad)	→ ķëähñald (badly)
4	čiõlgas (clear)	→ čiõlggsânji (clearly)
8	sme'llak (courageous)	→ smellkânji (courageously)
8	jâ'ttel (quick)	→ jâ'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 §5.5).

ķee'jite'm (continuous)	→	ķee'jite'meld (continuously)
jiõ'nni (noisy)	→	jiõnnsânji (noisily)
automaattlaž (automatic)	→	automaattsânji (automatically)

state of something or, in the case of adverbs, the manner in which something is carried out. These forms are not particularly common, however, and it was difficult to find many good examples from the text corpus used. An example of a comparative adverb is presented in (152).

- (152) âlgg lee'd samai jõnn puõlâšinn, de
 must.PRS.3SG be.INF quite big subzero + night.SG.NOM and

 te'1 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]

No examples of superlative adverbs could be found from texts, hence the only example provided is from elicited data.

- (153) tât nijdd läull močmõsân
 PROX.SG.NOM girl.SG.NOM sing.PRS.3SG beautiful.SUPL.ESS
 this girl sings most beautifully

9.5.1.2 Non-derived 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, although this does not purport to be an exhaustive list.

Temporal adverbs express the time when an action takes place and have a tendency to appear at the beginning of a clause.

ââ'n	now	e'pet	again
ei'dde	just (now)	pâi	only, always
ju'n	already	tâujja	often
sõrgg	soon	jâhtta	yesterday
te'1	then	tâ'bbe	today
tuâl-aa	a long time ago	jâđđa	tomorrow

A number of temporal adverbs are clearly derived from other word forms, such as the examples given below, but may be considered to have become grammaticalised forms.

mââimõs	final	→	mââimõsân	finally
mâtam	some, a few, certain	→	mâtmin	sometimes
õ'htt	one	→	õ'htešt	once

Many temporal adverbs, particularly those relating to times of the day, the week or the year, are in fact nouns displaying different grammatical case markings, such as the genitive (*kõskkpei'vv* middle + day.SG.NOM → *kõskkpei'v* middle + day.SG.GEN 'at midday'), illative (*pei'vv* day.SG.NOM → *peivva* day.SG.ILL 'during the day') or locative (*lopponeä'ttel* end + week.SG.NOM → *lopponeä'ttlest* end + week.SG.LOC 'during the day'). Despite this, these forms are nevertheless treated here as adverbs for the following reasons: (i) not all of this group of temporal adverbs can be explained by grammatical case—for example *ee'deld* 'early in the morning' and *ekka* 'at night'; (ii) the use of a particular case does not appear to have relevance to the meaning—for example *peivva* 'during the day' is marked with the illative case, but does not express movement—suggesting these are grammaticalised forms; and (iii) there does not appear to be much consistency with regards to which grammatical case is used.

Adverbs denoting times of day

<i>ee'deld</i>	early in the morning
<i>tue'lää</i>	in the morning
<i>peivva</i>	during the daytime
<i>kõskkpei'v</i>	at midday
<i>jeä'kkespei'v</i>	in the afternoon
<i>jeä'kkää</i>	in the evening
<i>kõskkekka</i>	at midnight
<i>ekka</i>	at night

Adverbs denoting weeks, months and years

teimma	last year
ta'nni	this year
toou'ni	the year after next
tunee'jj	the other year

Adverbs denoting seasons

ĵeässa	in summer
čõhčĵkeässa	in late summer / early autumn
čähčča	in autumn
čõhčĵtälvva	in late autumn / early winter
tälvva	in winter
ĵiddĵtälvva	in late winter / early spring
ĵeâĵĵa	in spring
ĵiddĵkeässa	in late spring / early summer

Adverbs denoting occasions

odĵpei'v	on New Year's Day
rosttvi	at Christmas

Spatial adverbs express the place where an action takes place, the place from which an action proceeds or the place towards which an action is directed. As with temporal adverbs, a number of spatial adverbs are formed from case-marked nouns. Again, these appear to be grammaticalised forms; for example, it would appear that the essive case was used in the formation: *kuu'ĵĵ* 'long' (adjective) → *ku'ĵĵen* 'far away' (adverb).

täâi'b ~ täâi'ben	here / from here
tii'ĵ	to here
to'b ~ to'ben	there / from there
tok	to there
ku'ĵĵen	far away (location)
kookkas	far (goal)

Spatial adverbs denoting relative or cardinal directions make use of the locative and illative cases, as the following lists show. Adverbs denoting relative direction are formed from an adjective and the word *pieʹll* 'side', although in all forms the initial consonant of *pieʹll* has become voiced. So, for example 'downwards' is formed from the adjective 'low' and the word 'side' marked in the illative case; 'behind' is formed from the adjective 'back' and the word 'side'. Many of these directional adverbs listed below can also be used as postpositions in adpositional phrases, as will be seen in §9.5.3.

Adverbs denoting relative directions

čičsbeäʹlñn	on/from the left
čičsbeälla	to the left
vuäʹljsbeäʹlñn	on/from the right
vuäʹljsbeälla	to the right
oudbeäʹlñn	infront
oudbeälla	forwards
mââibeäʹlñn	behind
mââibeälla	backwards
pââibeäʹlñn	above
pââibeälla	upwards
vuâlbeäʹlñn	below
vuâlbeälla	downwards

Adverbs denoting cardinal directions

tâʹvven	in/from the north
tââʹvest	from the north
tââvas	to the north
saujâst	in/from the south
sauʹjje	to the south
nuõrttjest	in/from the east
nuõrttja	to the east
viõsttrest	in/from the west
viõsttra	to the west

An example of a clause displaying spatial adverbs is presented in (154).

- (154) kuälmad rõõvvi nuõrttja, Â'vverjääu'r
 third fall.PST.3SG east.SG.ILL Lake Imandra.SG.GEN
 čičspeälla
 left + side.SG.ILL
the third fell to the east, on the left of Lake Imandra [MM:50]

9.5.2 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 (155), or a modified noun.

- (155) puk oummu noorõ'tte põ'rtte
 all person.PL.NOM gather.together.PST.3PL house.SG.ILL
all the people gathered together in the house [1:8.1]

9.5.3 ADPOSITIONS AND ADPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Skolt Saami is predominantly a postpositional language, but a small number of prepositions also exist which are restricted to occurring before the noun they govern. All adpositions govern the genitive case. There are also 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.

Note that all of the examples presented in this section are of adpositional phrases. However, not all adpositions need to belong to an adpositional phrase to be able to modify a clause, as some can instead function alone as an adverbial. Compare the two examples given in (156).

(156) a. vue'lj muu mie'ldd [POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE]
 leave.IMP.2SG 1SG.GEN with
leave with me! [MM:97]

b. tuk te'be puä'tte mie'ldd [POSTPOSITION ALONE]
 DIST.NOM.PL EMP come.PRS.3PL with
they just come along [MM:39]

9.5.3.1 Postpositions

This section provides a list of the postpositions of Skolt Saami, together with at least one example of each forming part of a postpositional phrase. In each example the postpositional phrase is underlined.

ââlda [near, close]

(157) mij leei'm tä'st Ciuttajoogg ââlda
 1PL.NOM be.PST.1PL PROX.SG.LOC Siutta + river.SG.GEN near
we were here, near the River Siutta [SKNA 17462:1]

â'lñn [on (top of), (from) off]

(158) a. vuâñškue'di čiõrmik čââ'lm â'lñn
 rest.INCP.PST.3SG (1-year-old)reindeer.SG.GEN eye.SG.GEN on
(the mosquito) began to rest on the young reindeer's eye [MM:67]

b. Ri'mjj.SG.NOM rõõvvi ķe'rrez â'lñn
 Fox.SG.NOM fall.PST.3SG Lapp.sled.SG.GEN from.off
Mr. Fox fell off the Lapp sled [MM:45]

kõõskâst (SG.LOC of *kõskk* 'middle') [between, in the middle of]

- (159) a. mä'tkĕ leäi ku'kĕ, 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 in the middle of it
(or. ...grew weary 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 between one and two o'clock [KK:144]

kõ'skĕ (SG.ILL of *kõskk* 'middle') [between, into the middle of]

- (160) son kääđđ fiin säi'mid juõ'vve
3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL
da sue'jji kõ'skĕ
and birch.PL.GEN between
he spins fine webs on the rocky ground and between the birch trees
[MM:67]

ĕäcca [to the end]

- (161) son piiji riistid juõ'kĕ njaarg
3SG.NOM put.PST.3SG cross.PL.ACC each headland.SG.GEN
ĕäčča da tõnnalla tõt jõnn ku'vdd
to.the.end and in.that.way DIST.SG.NOM big snake.SG.NOM
läppi
disappear.PST.3SG
he put crosses at the end of each headland and in that way the big snake
disappeared [MM:30]

Ķee'jjest [in...time, later]

- (162) ee'jj Ķee'jjest nijdd vuäžžai päa'rn
year.SG.GEN later girl.SG.NOM get.PST.3SG boy.SG.ACC
a year later the girl had a boy [MM:14]

lu'nn [at, close to, next to]

- (163) tō'st-i jälste tōōi
DIST.SG.LOC-EMP live.PRS.3PL DIST.PL.GEN
ääldi lu'nn
female.reindeer.PL.GEN next.to
they lived right there, next to the female reindeers [MM:103]

luzz [close to, near (expressing movement)]

- (164) pue'di tōn muõr luzz
come.PST.3SG DIST.SG.GEN tree.SG.GEN near.to
he came near to that tree [MM:19]

mââibeä'lnn [behind, at the rear (e.g. following along behind)]

- (165) jiõk-go ton kuul le'be vuei'n ni mâid
NEG.2SG-INTER[FI] 2SG.NOM hear.NEG or see.NEG nothing.SG.ACC
muännai mââibeä'lnn?
2DU.GEN behind
don't you hear or see anything behind us? [MM:24]

mââibeälla [behind, to the rear]

- (166) suännai mââibeälla šõõddi õll tuõddâr
3DU.GEN behind come.into.existence.PST.3SG tall fell.SG.NOM
a tall fell appeared behind them [MM:25]

mie'ldd [(together) with, along, through]

(167) a. koumm njuuč ě'rddle suõv mie'ldd
three swan.SG.GEN fly.off.PST.3PL smoke.SG.GEN through
three swans flew off through the smoke [MM:10]

b. ikkân mie'ldd ě'csti
window.SG.GEN through glance.PST.3SG
he glanced through the window [MM:10]

c. mij ku koo'ddi mie'ldd vue'lgǵep
1PL.NOM when (unmarked).reindeer.PL.GEN with leave.PRS.1PL
when we left with the unmarked reindeers [MM:38]

d. jāäu'ri mie'ldd joo'di, pälggaz mie'ldd
lake.PL.GEN across travel.PST.3SG path.SG.GEN along
vaa'33i
walk.PST.3SG
he travelled across the lakes and walked along the path [MM:59]

oudâst [in front of, from in front of, on behalf of]

(168) koumm oummu va'lljee meer oudâst
three person.SG.GEN choose.PRS.3PL people.SG.GEN in.front.of
they choose three people in front of the people [MM:111]

ou'dde [in front of (expressing movement)]

(169) sij puk čõ'ne ree'ppkid čõõ'lmi ou'dde
3PL.NOM all tie.PST.3PL scarf.PL.ACC eye.PL.GEN in.front.of
they all tied scarves in front of their eyes [MM:29]

paaldâst [next to, from next to]

- (170) čueʒam tuu paaldâst
stand.PRS.1SG 2SG.GEN next.to
I am standing next to you

[KK:145]

pa'ldde [next to (expressing movement)]

- (171) mōõni jiõčč kää'mmkie'đj pa'ldde
go.PST.3SG REFL.SG.NOM hearth.stone.SG.GEN next.to
he himself went next to the hearthstone

[MM:28]

puõtt [opposite]

- (172) autt årsti mij pōõrt puõtt
car.SG.NOM stop.PST.3SG 1PL.GEN house.SG.GEN opposite
the car stopped opposite our house

[KK:146]

päai'k [through, via]

- (173) mōõnim tääig Silisjoogg
go.PST.1PL through.here Silis.River.SG.GEN

äidsâai päai'k
fence.SG.NOM + place.SG.GEN through
we went through here, through the Silis River herding place

[SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.14]

räjja [until]

- (174) a. ee'jjpeei'v räjja škooul pešt
Easter.SG.GEN until school.SG.NOM last.PRS.3SG
school lasted until Easter

[MM:111]

- b. mij kuåstim kuuitåg tií'k
 1PL.NOM manage.to.get.to.PST.1PL anyway to.here
 Če'vetjääu'r räija
 Sevettijärvi.GEN until
anyway, we managed to get here, as far as Sevettijärvi [SKNA 17462:1]

räai [past]

- (175) vaa'33i caar põört räai
 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]

- (176) a. tōn vōōrās kue'1 [...] paa'sti ĵie'mn se'st
 DIST.SG.ACC fresh fish.SG.ACC fry.PST.3SG saucepan.SG.GEN inside
that fresh fish...he fried (it) in a saucepan [4:5.20]

- b. puõcci se'st jälste
 reindeer.PL.GEN among live.PST.3PL
they lived among the reindeer [MM:103]

sizz [in (expressing movement), into]

- (177) son piiji tä'vrees siâkk sizz
 3SG.NOM put.PST.3SG belonging.PL.ACC.3SG sack.SG.GEN into
he put his belongings into a sack [MM:56]

tuâgg [behind (expressing passing behind an object)]

- (178) jie'rij tie'rre muu tuâgg
 bull.reindeer.PL.NOM run.PST.3PL 1SG.GEN behind
the reindeer bulls ran past behind me [KK:147]

tuâkka [behind (expressing movement)]

- (179) leäi suõ'kkes 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 behind it to lie down [MM:20]

tue'kķen [behind (expressing location), after, at a distance of]

- (180) a. tob son åârr [...] miõstti tue'kķen
there 3SG.NOM be.situated.PRS.3SG shrub.SG.GEN behind
there he is, behind the shrub [MM:37]
- b. mie'lķ vuâžžaim mue'dd ķilomettar tue'kķen
milk.SG.ACC get.PST.1PL several.SG.GEN kilometre.SG.GEN after
we got milk from several kilometres away [MM:114]

vuâlla [under (expressing movement to below an object)]

- (181) a. nijdd pue'di ikkân vuâlla
girl.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG window.SG.GEN under
the girl came under (= to below) the window [MM:12]
- b. tool piiji ķie'mn vuâlla
fire.SG.ACC put.PST.3SG saucepan.SG.GEN under
he lit a fire under the saucepan [MM:85]

vue'lñn [under (expressing location), from under]

- (182) a. son vuõjjli čää'žž vue'lñn riddu
3SG.NOM swim.off.PST.3SG water.SG.GEN under shore.SG.ILL
he swam off under water to the shore [MM:20]

- b. son ħe'rrez vue'lnn vŏ'll'ji
 3SG.NOM Saami.sled.SG.GEN under jump.PST.3SG
he jumped (out) from under the "ahkio" sled [MM:10]

vuâstta [facing, towards, against]

- (183) a. kaammgaž kagstŏđi oummu vuâstta
 bear.SG.NOM raise.quickly.REFL.PST.3SG man.SG.GEN facing
bear quickly got up facing the man [MM:84]

- b. priins vuâstta mŏñi
 prince.SG.GEN towards go.PST.3SG
she went towards the prince [MM:36]

9.5.3.2 Prepositions

This section lists the prepositions of Skolt Saami and provides an example of each.

kâskka [in the middle of, into the middle of]

- (184) Semman ištŏđi kâskka miŏut
 Simo sit.REFL.PST.3SG middle tussock.SG.GEN
Simo sat himself down in the middle of a tussock [KK:148]

ouddâl [before]

- (185) nue'đđ ku leäi šurr da pei'vv paakkâs,
load.SG.NOM when be.PST.3SG big and day.SG.NOM warm
son veâl ouddâl tön pie'llmäätķ
3SG.NOM even before DIST.SG.GEN half.SG.NOM + journey.SG.GEN
vuâju nu'tt ķilomettar pie'llne'b ištłlâstt
stream.SG.GEN so kilometre.PL.NOM one-and-a-half sit.DIM.PRS.3SG
suõ'bddi maddga
stump.SG.GEN base.SG.ILL
when the load is heavy and it's a warm day, even before that half-way stream, about a kilometre and a half (before), he sits down briefly at the base of a tree stump [MM:62-63]

9.5.3.3 Pre- or postpositions

The following adpositions can appear either before or after the noun they govern.

čõõđ [through]

- (186) a. son puu'ti ääuš da aa'lji čuõppâd
3SG.NOM bring.PST.3SG axe.SG.ACC and start.PST.3SG fell.INF
muõrid, što piâzzçi 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 through the forest [MM:24]
- b. pãassnja caa'jji tok čõõđ kuä'd
little.blowpipe.SG.ACC push.PST.3SG to.there through hut.SG.GEN
she pushed the little blowpipe through (the wall of) the hut [MM:85]

- b. vuõlttee suu miâr rââst
 send.PST.3PL 3SG.ACC sea.SG.GEN across
they sent him across the sea [MM:70]

9.5.4 VERBAL PARTICIPLES

There are three verbal participles which function as adverbials. They are referred to in this thesis as the temporal participle (ending in *-een*), the instrumental participle (ending in *-eeʹl*) and the abessive participle (ending in *-kani*). Their formation is covered in chapter 4.

The temporal participle is used to express an action which takes place simultaneously with the action expressed by the main clause, as demonstrated in (191). 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. A temporal adverbial clause, headed by the word *ku* 'when' is a much more common way of expressing the same concept.

- (191) pieʹnnʹjid vueʹjilõõčceen veâl paacctõʹstte
 dog.PL.ACC drive.off.TEMP even shoot.DIM.PST.3PL
as they were driving off, they even quickly shot the dogs [MM:113]

The instrumental participle is used to express the means by which an action is accomplished.

- (192) nueʹtteeʹl võõrâs kueʹl šiʹlleš
 seine.fish.INSTR fresh fish.SG.ACC catch.PST.4
by fishing with a seine net, one would catch fresh fish [4:3.2]

- (193) suuggeeʹl mon pieʹssem domoi
 row.INSTR 1SG.NOM get.(to.a.place).PST.1SG to.home
I got home by rowing [SKNA 17462:1, 5:9.6]

10 COMPLEX CLAUSE STRUCTURE

This chapter follows on from the previous chapter on basic clause structure and covers two topics: non-declarative clause types and complex clauses. Section 10.1 looks at interrogatives, section 10.2 discusses imperatives and finally section 10.3 considers the different types of complex clauses.

10.1 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 of the scope of this thesis.

10.1.1 POLAR QUESTIONS⁴⁵

Polar questions 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 word of the clause, and at a syntactic level, by moving the verb, or another clausal

⁴⁵ 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.

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 (196).

- (196) vue'lǧǧve'ted–a tuāna muu ooudāst
 leave.PRS.2PL–INTER 2DU.NOM 1SG.GEN behalf
 eččan 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]

The subject may not be present, although the verb is still clause-initial.

- (197) vuāžžuk–a sätt–tie'ǧǧ tō'st, što
 get.PST.2SG–INTER ride.SG.NOM + money.SG.ACC DIST.SG.LOC COMP
 mājŋa Če'vetjäurra piāzziĭ?
 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, progressive aspect or passive voice, 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 (198) would appear to suggest.

- (198) a. leäk–a ton tōn kāmmar
 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 (199).

- (199) 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 (200).

- (200) 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 (201).

- (201) 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'lğğik?
 far.away–INTER leave.PST.2SG
was it far away that you went? [MM:95]

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 (204) or affirming a negative question (205). As with an echo response in the affirmative, if the question refers to either speaker or listener, then the negative auxiliary inflects for the appropriate person depending on the focus of the question.

- (204) 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 årstõ'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
 1PL.NEG 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]

- (205) Q ij-a kōskklumâs 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.

(206) Q lij-a õõmâs?
 be.PRS.3SG-INTER strange
is it strange? [MM:69]

A ij leäkku, ceälkk papp
 NEG.3SG be.NEG say.PRS.3SG priest.SG.NOM
"(no) it isn't," says the priest [MM:69]

10.1.2 TAG QUESTIONS

Tag questions do not appear to be a common feature of Skolt Saami, although during elicitation informants responded with a direct translation of the Finnish equivalent of tag questions. However, one example was found in a text which does appear to be a true tag question and is presented in (207). It is clear that this is not an inversion of the lexical verb and the negative auxiliary, as the lexical verb does not appear in its connegative form.

(207) mooštak jiök
 remember.PRS.2SG NEG.2SG
you do remember, don't you? [MM:98]

Example (208) shows the same negative auxiliary appearing at the end of a clause. In this instance, however, this cannot be considered a true tag question, as the 'tag' is added to the end of what is already an interrogative clause, rather than turning a declarative clause into a question. The negative auxiliary is perhaps added for emphasis.

(208) teâđak-a ton tõn jiök?
 know.PRS.2SG-INTER 2SG.NOM DIST.SG.ACC NEG.2SG
do you know that, no? [MM:98]

10.1.3 INFORMATION QUESTIONS⁴⁶

Information questions 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 indicates what information is required in the response. In example (209), this 'gap' is shown with the symbol Ø.

(209)	mii	tõt	lij	Ø	
	what.SG.NOM	DIST.SG.NOM	be.PRS.3SG		
	<i>what is that?</i>				[MM:75]

Many question words are inflected forms of the three interrogative pronouns: *mii* 'what', *ķii* '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 102. While the meaning of most of these interrogative pro-forms is apparent, note that the SG.ILL form of *mii*, *mõõzz*, is used to ask 'why'.

⁴⁶ 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.

	WHAT	WHO	WHICH	
SINGULAR	NOM	mii	ǰii	kuäbbaž
	ACC	mâi'd	ǰeän	kuäbba
	GEN	mõõn	ǰeän	kuäbba
	ILL	mõõzz (why)	ǰeäzz	kuäbbže
	LOC	mâ'st	ǰeä'st	kuäbbast
	COM	mõin	ǰeäin	kuäbbain
	ABE	mõntää	ǰeäntää	kuäbbatää
	ESS	mââ'den	ǰeä'den	kuäbbžen
	PART	mââ'ded	ǰeä'ded	kuäbbžed
PLURAL	NOM	mõõk	ǰeäk	
	ACC	mâid	ǰeäid	
	GEN	mââi	ǰeäi	
	ILL	mâid	ǰeäid	
	LOC	mâin	ǰeäin	
	COM	mââivui'm	ǰeäivui'm	
	ABE	mââitää	ǰeäitää	

Table 102. Inflectional paradigms of interrogative pro-forms

A number of examples of the different inflectional forms of *mii* are presented in (210).

- (210) a. mâi'd reäggak
 what.SG.ACC cry.PRS.2SG
what are you crying about? [MM:32]
- b. mõõzz pue'ttik
 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]

An example of each of these question words in use is given in the examples in (212).

- (212) a. mii leäi ee'kk
what.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG year.SG.NOM
what year was it? [SKNA 17462:1, 4:2.1]
- b. ko'st ton leäk šöddâm
where 2SG.NOM be.PRS.2SG born.PST.PTCP
where were you born? [SKNA 17462:1, 1:1.2]
- c. 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]
- d. koozz vuõ'lğgik
to.where leave.PST.2SG
where did you go? [MM:40]
- e. kuä'ss tők juõ'kke tön
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]
- f. mä'htt tu'st laukk i'llä
how 2SG.LOC bag.SG.NOM NEG.3SG + be.NEG
how come you don't have a bag? [SKNA 17462:1, 7:1.17]
- g. måkam tuejjaid mânja a'lğgik
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]

10.2 IMPERATIVES

Verbs in Skolt Saami have five imperative forms, corresponding to the 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL. For more details on their formation refer to chapter 4. 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 (213c).

(213) a. puä'đ mij árra kuâssa
 come.IMP.2SG 1PL.GEN way 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. mōõn 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.

(214) a. vue'lğğep eejjad árra kuâssa
 leave.IMP.1PL father.SG.GEN.2SG way on.a.visit
 let's go and visit your father! [MM:100]

b. ä'lğğep 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.

(215) a. Peâtt mainstââggas tu'nne, što mä'htt tõ'st
 Pekka tell.IMP.3SG 2SG.ILL COMP how DIST.SG.LOC
 ķiâvi
 happen.PST.3SG
let Pekka tell you how things went there [KK:100]

b. jõs ķeän-ne jugstâtt da puâdas son
 if anyone thirst.PRS.3SG then come.IMP.3SG 3SG.NOM
 da jooggas
 and drink.IMP.3SG
if anyone thirst, then let him come and let him drink [EE:7.37]

c. kuärñgaz 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 §8.4) are listed below in Table 103.

PERSON	NEGATIVE AUXILIARY	CONNEGATIVE FORM USED
2SG	jeä'1	NEG
3SG	jeälas	NEG2
1PL	jeäl'lap	NEG2
2PL	jeä'l'led	NEG OR NEG2
3PL	jeäl'laz	NEG2

Table 103. Imperative forms of the negative auxiliary

Presented below in (216) are examples of the use of the negative imperatives.

- (216) a. jeä'1 jeä'1 muâr muännai vönnâz
 NEG.IMP.2SG NEG.IMP.2SG break.NEG 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.NEG:2
do not let your hearts be troubled [EE:14.1]
- c. jeä'lled oskku muu
 NEG.IMP.2PL believe.NEG:2 1SG.ACC
do not believe me [EE:10.37]

Note how in example (216b) 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 103, is taken from the existing literature on Skolt Saami, although examples of its use were not found.

10.3 COMPLEX CLAUSES

This section covers complement clauses (§10.3.1), adverbial clauses (§10.3.2), conditional clauses (§10.3.3), relative clauses (§10.3.4) and coordination (§10.3.5).

10.3.1 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 (217) shows a complement clause functioning as an object complement of the verb *ceä'lkķe* '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.

- (217) *ceä'lkķe* [što kuuskõõzzid ij õõlg njorggad]
say.PRS.3PL [COMP aurora.PL.ILL NEG.3SG must.NEG whistle.INF]
they say that one mustn't whistle at the northern lights [2:2.20]

Recursion makes it possible to embed multiple complement clauses within a matrix clause. In example (218), the finite clause beginning *ton cie'lkķik* '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 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.

- (218) mon [što no ton cie'lkkiĭ [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 controlled by the subject of the matrix clause. The examples in (219) show a non-finite complement clause in a declarative (a), imperative (b) and interrogative (c) clause.

- (219) a. Mie'ččjääu'rest älgg [säai'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 [4:3.17]
- b. ton ää'lj [čee ě'tted]
 2SG.NOM begin.IMP.2SG [tea.SG.ACC boil.INF]
you begin to make tea! [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.17]
- c. mōõn kuukĭ 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 (220) demonstrate how non-finite complement clauses can also function recursively.

(220) a. pâi kuõ'htt čuõšk pie'sse mååusat Lää'ddjânma
 only two mosquito.SG.GEN get.PST.3PL back Finland.ILL
 da vuei'tte [mainsted járrsid [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* [3:2.27]

b. Evvan älgg [särnnad [što Pâ'ss Treffan
 John begin.PRS.3SG [say.INF [COMP Holy Trifon.GEN
 oummu su'st puõccid suålee]]
 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]

A complement clause does not necessarily have to be embedded in a matrix clause. Example (221) shows a complement clause embedded within an adverbial clause of purpose, which itself is embedded within another complement clause, all of which are embedded in the matrix clause, as shown below.

(221) muá'dd čuõškkâd a'lğge [vue'lğged [kiččâd
 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
 [3:2.12]

The structure of this complex sentence is as follows:

[MATRIX [COMPLEMENT [ADVERBIAL [COMPLEMENT]]]]
 [several mosquitos started [to set off [to see [what life is like in Lapland]]]]

- (225) a. Ri'mjj-kää'lles vuõ'lji tõn
 Mr. Fox.SG.NOM leave.PST.3SG DIST.SG.ACC
 tollsââ'jes ķiččâd, [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. nâ'de čuõšk smiõ'tte, [što
 then.(D.P.) mosquito.PL.NOM ponder.PST.3PL [COMP
 â'lğğe-a sij puk õhttna vue'lğğed]
 must.PRS.3PL-INTER 3PL.NOM all at.once leave.INF]
*then the mosquitos wondered whether or not they should all
 leave at once* [3:2.29]
- c. sij kõ'čče su'st, [što ku'ķķen-a
 3PL.NOM ask.PST.3PL 3SG.LOC [COMP far.away-INTER
 lij sää'msijdd]
 be.PRS.3SG Skolt.Saami.SG.GEN + village.SG.NOM]
they asked if the Skolt Saami village was far away [MM:28]

10.3.1.2 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 (226). Note again, that, as seen in these examples of quoted speech, the matrix clause verb is sometimes omitted, although an auxiliary verb is retained to mark tense and aspect if required (227b).

- (226) a. mon e'pet [što ton e'pet ro'ttjik]
 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.NEG]
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 (227b) is given below in (227).

- (227) 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.NEG]
mother had said to me that I'm not going

10.3.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses are not an argument of the clause, but rather they serve an adverbial function; that is, they modify a verb phrase or an entire clause by adding information to the proposition. This section covers adverbial clauses which express time, location, manner, purpose and reason as well as concessive clauses. Although they are also adverbial clauses, the different types of conditional clauses are covered separately in §10.3.3.

10.3.2.1 Time

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 (229a), before the matrix clause (229b) or it may occur between clausal constituents of the matrix clause (229d).

- (228) a. mii leäi ee'kk ko pue'did
 what.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG year.SG.NOM when come.PST.2PL
 tääzz Če'vetjaurra?
 PROX.SG.ILL Sevettijärvi.ILL
what year was it, when you came here to Sevettijärvi?
 [SKNA 17462:1, 4:2.1]
- b. mij gu tuäl'jõžääi'jest Suõ'njlest jälstiim
 1PL.NOM when past.time.SG.LOC Suonikylä.LOC live.PST.1PL
 mee'st le'jje näkam siõr
 1PL.LOC be.PRS.3PL this.kind game.PL.NOM
in the olden days when we lived in Suoni Village, we had these kind of
games [1:2.1]
- c. ku pue'ttve'ted kuâssa niõđstad lij
 when come.PRS.2PL on.a.visit daughter.SG.LOC.2PL be.PRS.3SG
 â'lğğ
 son.SG.NOM
when you come to pay a visit your daughter will have a boy [MM:40]
- d. Kunnpeeipuž tiõttlõs ku jeä'kkääž 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 ħilomettar leäi väzzam
 3SG.NOM fifteen kilometre.SG.GEN be.PST.3SG walk.PST.PTCP
ouddâl ku son ââ'n â'te ištllöõ'sti
 before 3SG.NOM now then sit.down.PST.3SG
he had walked fifteen kilometres before he (now, then) sat down [MM:63]

A temporal adverbial clause may have a more complex internal structure, as seen in example (229).

(229) nääi't sij jo'tte šee'llmen kuu'kk ääi'j
 like.that 3PL.NOM go.PST.3PL fish.PROG.PTCP long time.SG.GEN
 sami tõn räjjä ku Ruõššjânimest pue'di
 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 for a long time, right until when that holy
 person, called Trifon, came from Russia* [MM:30]

Temporal adverbial clause can also express simultaneous action, as shown in (230). Note, however, that when the subject of the adverbial clause and the matrix clause are the same, this can sometimes be expressed by the temporal participle as explained in §9.5.4.

(230) õhtt päärnaž leäi kuâđđjam dääma ko
 one boy.DIM.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG stay.PST.PTCP at.home while
 jeärraz le'jje mõõnnâm muõ'rjid uussäd
 other.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL go.PST.PTCP berry.PL.ACC pick.INF
one little boy had stayed at home, while the others went to pick berries
 [MM:66]

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'.

10.3.2.2 Location

Adverbial clauses expressing a location consist of a spatial adverb (§9.5.1.2), 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 *kää'tt* (see §10.3.4). Since *ko'st* is in the locative case, it expresses a location (232a), while movement towards a location requires a relative clause headed by *koozz*, as shown in (232b). Adverbial clauses expressing location typically occur after the matrix clause.

- (231) a. Kunpeeipuš tiöttlõs jeä'kkääž 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'ččes čiočkum
 father.SG.ACC.3SG bury.PASS.PTCP
Cinderella of course, when it was evening, left (and) went there, where
her father had been buried [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'ğğstam suu peess da
 throw.PST.PTCP 3SG.GEN gun.SG.ACC and
 se'lljčuer'v
 gunpowder.SG.NOM + horn.SG.ACC
he crawled there, to where bear had thrown his gun and gunpowder horn
 [MM:55]

10.3.2.3 Manner

A manner clause can be formed by using the progressive participial form of a verb as (232) illustrates.

- (232) son kuõ'lid viižžõõttmen puätt
3SG.NOM fish.PL.ACC fetch.PROG.PTCP come.PRS.3SG
he comes fetching (his) fish [MM:45]

10.3.2.4 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 (233).

- (233) a. jâkkoummin 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 [4:13.23]

- b. son åarai sami liikkeekâni,
3SG.NOM be.situated.PST.3SG quite move.ABE
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 põõliim
person.SG.LOC fear.PST.1PL
we didn't fear a bear as much as how we feared a person [4:13.23]

10.3.2.5 Purpose

Adverbial clauses expressing a purpose are typically non-finite clauses, headed by an infinitive verb form (234).

- (234) sij vue'lǧǧe ǧiččâd tõn pue'rr jânnam
 3PL.NOM set.off.PST.3PL see.INF DIST.SG.ACC good land.SG.ACC
they set off to see that good land [3:2.3]

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 (235).

- (235) a. tõiđ pe'jje nu'tt, što šâđđ kruugg
 DIST.PL.ACC put.PRS.3PL so COMP become.PRS.3SG circle.SG.NOM
they put them so as to create a circle [MM:38]

- b. tõi'st čičormik pâ'33lõõđi da
 DIST.SG.LOC young.reindeer.SG.NOM shake.REFL.PST.3SG and
 vuei'ves pu'stškue'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 in
 such a way that the mosquito fell down far away in between some fallen
 branches* [3:2.23]

Yet another means of expressing a purpose is to use the word *diõtt* 'in order to, for the sake of', illustrated in (236). This word governs the genitive case in nouns or the action participle if appearing with a verb.

- (236) son kááđđ fiin sääi'mid juõ'vve da
 3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL and
 sue'jji kō'skķe 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 shelters in order to catch
the mosquitos [3:2.8]

10.3.2.6 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 (237). 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 (238c).

- (237) a. ku sij le'jje šeellam sij jie
 when 3PL.NOM be.PST.3PL fish.PST.PTCP 3PL.NOM NEG.3PL
 tuõsttâm mōõnnâd čää'33 mie'ldd domoi
 dare.PST.PTCP go.INF water.SG.GEN with to.home
 ku sij pō'lle tōn kuu'dest
 because 3PL.NOM fear.PST.3PL DIST.SG.LOC snake.SG.LOC
when they had fished they didn't dare go home with that water, because
they were afraid of that snake [MM:30]

- b. su'st šōõddi kuärgg ku čōõ'lmid
 3SG.LOC become.PST.3SG joy.SG.NOM because eye.PL.ACC
 vuä33ai
 get.PST.3SG
he became happy because he got eyes [MM:44]

- c. Ee'ljaz-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, because he was a six-and-a-half-year-old,
 what was going on* [SKNA 17462:1, 1:2.9]

In example (238c), 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.

10.3.2.7 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are headed by a conjunction such as *hã't* which has a meaning equating to 'even if', 'although'.

- (238) a. su'st leäi pâi tue'leskaa'ff hã'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, even if he drank at night or during the day*
 [SKNA 17462:1, 11:4.51]

- (239) b. hã't su'kke da su'kke ij ni
 even.though row.PST.3PL and row.PST.3PL NEG.3SG even
 jááttam
 move.PST.PTCP
even though they rowed and they rowed, it didn't even move [MM:10]

10.3.3 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*).

10.3.3.1 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 non-past 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 non-past tense.

- (240) 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
 tāk 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]

10.3.3.2 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 §8.3). Often the apodosis is also in the conditional mood (242a) and (242b), but this is not always the case (242c).

- (241) a. ku mâka ton vuäitčik äâ'n kâ'dded tän
 if 2SG.NOM be.able.COND.2SG now kill.INF PROX.SG.ACC
 bo'htter muäna čõ'kke'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 vääldčik suu ķidd
 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 ķidd
 NEG.1SG 1SG.NOM take.NEG 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]

10.3.3.3 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 (242) 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.

- (242) jiôm â'tte mon ni kōōjjče što jos mon
 NEG.1SG then 1SG.NOM even ask.NEG: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]

10.3.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses function as nominal modifiers. The relativiser in Skolt Saami is a relative pronoun, *kää'tt*, which inflects for case and number, thereby marking certain properties of the NP_{REL}. The full inflectional paradigm of *kää'tt* is given below in Table 104. The words *mii* 'what' and *kii* 'who' can also function as relative pronouns.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	kää'tt	kook
ACC	koon	koid
GEN	koon	kooi
ILL	koozz	kooid
LOC	ko'st	koin
COM	koin	kooivui'm
ABE	koontää	kooitää
ESS	kää'đen	
PART	kää'đed	

Table 104. Inflectional paradigm of the relative pronoun *kää'tt*

Relativised object (singular)

- (245) ooudam tu'nne määus 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)

- (246) jõs son ceälkk Vuâspää'den tõid, [kooid
if 3SG.NOM say.PRS.3SG God.ESS DIST.PL.ILL [REL.PL.ILL
Vuâspää'd sää'nn pue'di]
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

- (247) a. heävaš da pä'rnn mâ'nne tõn gäärda
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. määust muä'dd ħilomettar leäi Tolosen
back several kilometre.SG.GEN be.PST.3SG Tolonen.GEN[FI]
kaupp [ko'st mij vue'žž vuäžžaim
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'ʔ ǰie'dǰ vue'lɩn leäi jõnn pä'hträi'ǰǰ
 there stone.SG.GEN under be.PST.3SG big rock.hole.SG.NOM
- [koozz sää'm liâ piijjâm kää'dd
 [REL.SG.ILL Saami.PL.NOM be.PST.3SG put.PST.PTCP reindeer.SG.GEN
- vuei'vid čue'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)

- (248) ku Ruõššjânnmest pue'di 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 (248) 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 §9.3), can also be relativised by using the relative pronoun *kää'tt* in the locative case, as exemplified in (249).

- (249) le'jje puõccu pie'nne saau3 kaaic
 be.PST.3PL reindeer.PL.NOM dog.PL.NOM sheep.PL.NOM goat.PL.NOM
- da juõ'kknallšem siõm jie'lli [koin jie
 and each.kind small animal.SG.NOM [REL.PL.LOC NEG.3PL
- leäkku ni måkam põõrt jie-ga
 be.NEG 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* [3:2.4]

As mentioned above, in addition to the relative pronoun *kää'tt*, the word *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 (250) the relativised noun is inanimate. In example (251a), however, the relative pronoun *mii* 'what' is used for an animate being, a snake, albeit one that is likely to be quite low on any animacy hierarchy.

- (250) a. leäi õhtt jõnn ku'vdd [mii
 be.PST.3SG one.SG.NOM big snake.SG.NOM [what.SG.NOM
- leäi čää'33est] tän päai'kest miârâst
 be.PST.3SG water.SG.LOC] PROX.SG.LOC 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 ķiõlddum]
 be.PST.3SG 3SG.LOC forbid.PASS.PTCP]
- he did that, which he had been forbidden* [MM:16]

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 (255). 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.

- (255) juõ'kknallšem siõm jie'lli koin jie leäkku
 each.kind small animal.SG.NOM REL.PL.LOC NEG.3PL be.NEG
- ni måkam põõrt **jie-ga** 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 nor shelters*
- [3:2.4]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, it is hoped that this grammar will be of interest to two main audiences; firstly, it is hoped that it will serve as a tool to linguistic researchers—both those working on Saami and Finno-Ugric languages, as well as those working in the field of Linguistic Typology—and, secondly, it is hoped that this work will be a reference aid to the speech community—both to those individuals wanting to learn more about their native language and in any future revitalisation efforts. As the first grammatical description of a Saami language written in English, this thesis is accessible to a wider academic community than much of the previous literature on Saami. A translation of this work into Finnish would, however, be necessary to make its contents more readily accessible to the speech community.

While it may be the case that this thesis provides the most in-depth study of Skolt Saami to date, it is by no means a fully comprehensive grammar of the language and many areas of the grammar have, unfortunately, due to constraints of both time and space, either been touched on only very briefly or else have been left out of this thesis altogether. Furthermore, this grammar has thrown light on a number of interesting aspects of the language which certainly merit further research. Listed below, then, are a number of areas of the language which fell outside the scope of this thesis and might serve as the basis for future research on Skolt Saami.

- Statistical analysis of constituent order, with particular focus on (i) the ordering of constituents in clauses containing an auxiliary verb vs. those clauses containing only a lexical verb, (ii) the ordering of constituents in main clauses vs. subordinate clauses and (iii) the adherence of Skolt Saami to the V2 hypothesis proposed in this thesis.
- Statistical analysis of pro-drop to determine the extent to which this is pragmatically determined and the extent to which it is down to speaker choice.
- A more in-depth analysis of the possible possessor-raising construction seen in §7.3.5.

- A more in-depth analysis of the unusual use of the PL.ACC form seen in the interrogatives seen in §7.3.2.
- An acoustic analysis of palatalisation.
- An acoustic analysis of diphthongs and the extent to which they vary from speaker to speaker and from dialect to dialect.
- A more in-depth look at causative constructions.

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Text 1

TUÂL'JÕŽÄÄI'J SIÖR – OLD-FASHIONED GAMES

(told by Jaakko Sverloff, taken from Mosnikoff 1992: 121)

1.1. TUÂL'JÕŽÄÄI'J SIÖR

former + time.SG.GEN game.PL.NOM

Old-fashioned games.

2.1. Mij gu tuâl'jõžääi'jest Suõ'nn'jlest jälstiim , mee'st

1PL.NOM when former + time.SG.LOC Suoni.village.LOC live.PST.1PL 1PL.LOC

le'jje näkam siör .

be.PST.3PL such game.PL.NOM

In the olden days when we lived in Suoni village, we had such games.

3.1. Nue'rrsiörr

rope.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM

The rope game.

4.1. Leäi ku'kes nue'rr , tõi'st leäi rajjum

be.PST.3SG long rope.SG.NOM DIST.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG make.PASS.PTCP

kruugg .

circle.SG.ACC

There was a long rope which was formed into a circle.

4.2. Puk le'jje tön pirr da nue'rest tuõ'll'je .

all.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL DIST.SG.GEN around and rope.SG.LOC hold.PST.3PL

Everyone was around the circle and held onto the rope.

4.3. **Õhtt mõõni tõn kruugg sizz .**

one.SG.NOM go.PST.3SG DIST.SG.ACC circle.SG.GEN into

One person went into the circle.

4.4. **Son õõlgči tää'vteškue'tted tōid , kook le'jje**

3SG.NOM must.COND.3SG grab.INCP.INF DIST.PL.ACC REL.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL

tõ'st pirr .

DIST.PL.LOC around

He would have to catch those that were around it (the rope).

4.5. **Ķeän son poppõõ'tti , õõlgči mõõnnâd kruugg**

who.SG.ACC 3SG.NOM catch.PST.3SG must.COND.3SG go.INF circle.SG.GEN

sizz suu sâjja .

into 3SG.GEN place.SG.ILL

Whoever he caught would have to go into the circle in his place.

4.6. **Kook jeä leäm siõrrmen , tōk čuõžžu pirr**

REL.PL.NOM NEG.3PL be.NEG play.PROG.PTCP DIST.PL.NOM stand.PST.3PL around

ķiččmen .

watch.PROG.PTCP

Those who were not playing stood around watching.

4.7. **Näkam leäi nue'rrsiõrr .**

such be.PST.3SG rope.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM

That's what the rope game was like.

4.8. Tõn mij Suõ'nn'jelsiidâst ķeâđđa âlggan

DIST.SG.ACC 1PL.NOM Suoni + Saami.village.SG.LOC in.spring outside

siõrim .

play.PST.1PL

We played this game outside in the spring in Suoni village.

5.1. Suõnnsiõrr

string.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM

The string game.

6.1. Suõnnsiõr mij siõrim gu leei'm

string.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM 1PL.NOM play.PST.1PL when be.PST.1PL

põõrtâst išttdâd âårmen .

house.SG.LOC sit.INF be.situated.PROG.PTCP

We played the string game when we were sitting at home.

6.2. Tõt leäi nâkam , što le'jje jiânnai suõn ,

DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG that.kind COMP be.PST.3PL much string.PL.NOM

mõõn jiânnai šâ'dde .

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.

6.3. Tõid pe'jje õõutsâjja da ħii-ne

DIST.PL.ACC put.PRS.3PL one.GEN + place.SG.ILL and someone.SG.NOM

tuõ'll'ji tõi kōōskâst õhttân sââ'jest nu'tt što
hold.PST.3SG DIST.PL.GEN middle.SG.LOC one.ESS place.SG.LOC like.that COMP
suõnnĳee'jj le'jje tō'st pirr .
string.SG.NOM + end.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL DIST.SG.LOC 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.

6.4. Juõ'ĳĳkaž tää'vti suõnnses di kōōskâst

everyone.SG.NOM grab.PST.3SG string.SG.ILL.3SG and middle.SG.LOC

tue'll'jeei luõ'sti tōid .
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.

6.5. Nääi't kuõ'htt oummu šō'dde vuâsttlōõžži .

in.this.way two.NOM man.PL.NOM become.PST.3PL face.to.face

In this way two people ended up facing each other.

6.6. De tōid kook vuâsttlōõžži šō'dde , tōk

and DIST.PL.ACC REL.PL.NOM face.to.face become.PST.3PL DIST.NOM.PL

kuei'mm kwei'mes cu'mmste .
each.other kiss.PST.3PL

And those who ended up facing each other had to kiss each other.

6.7. **Nåkam leäi töt suõnnsiõrr .**
that.kind be.PST.3SG DIST.SG.NOM string.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM

That's what the string game was like.

7.1. **Suõrmâssiõrr**

ring.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM

The ring game.

8.1. **Tuâl'jõžääi'jest puk oummu noorõ'tte**
former + time.SG.LOC all.PL.NOM person.PL.NOM gather.together.PST.3PL
põ'rtte , le'jje vuä'mm oummu da nuõrr oummu .
house.SG.ILL be.PST.3PL old person.PL.NOM and young person.PL.NOM

In the olden days everyone used to get together in someone's house. There were old people and young people.

8.2. **Te'1 leäi veâl nåkam siõrr , mõõn põõrtâst**
at.that.time be.PST.3SG still such game.SG.NOM what.SG.ACC house.SG.LOC
siõ'rre , suõrmâssiõrr .
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.

8.3. **Tõn siõ'rre ku le'jje jiännai 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.

8.4. **Ķii-ne leäi suõrmmâz mie'tti da su'st**
 someone.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG ring.SG.GEN place.NMLZ.SG.NOM and 3SG.LOC
leäi suõrmâs kuä'mmer se'st .
 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.

8.5. **Jee'res oummu ištât orru õõutsââ'jest , pâi**
 other person.PL.NOM sit.INF be.situated.PST.3PL one.GEN + place.SG.LOC only
õhtt leäi čäärast .
 one.NOM be.PST.3SG separate.(LOC)

The other people were sat together, only one was apart.

8.6. **Tõt leäi mie'tti , son suõrmmâz jââ'dti**
 DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG place.NMLZ.SG.NOM 3SG.NOM ring.SG.ACC take.PST.3SG
oummust ooumže .
 person.SG.LOC person.SG.ILL

The person responsible for placing the ring took the ring from one person to the next.

8.7. **Tõt , kââ'tt leäi čäärast , õõlgi**
 DIST.SG.NOM REL.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG separate.(LOC) have.to.PST.3SG
a'rvveed što ķeän kuä'mmer se'st suõrmâs ââ'n lij .
 guess.INF COMP who.SG.GEN palm.SG.GEN inside ring.SG.NOM now be.PRS.3SG

The person who was apart from the rest had to guess whose palm the ring was now in.

8.8. **Kooum vuâra vuäžžai a'rvveed .**
 three.GEN time get.PST.3SG guess.INF

S/he got three guesses.

8.9. **Ku tiõ'di vuõi'ğğest , piâzzi jičč mie'ttjen .**
when know.PST.3SG right pass.PST.3SG self.SG.NOM place.NMLZ.ESS

When s/he guessed correctly, s/he him/herself became the person responsible for placing the ring.

8.10. **Ku ij teâttam , õõlgi sârnad kaavsõõzzâs**
when NEG.3SG know.PST.PTCP have.to.PST.3SG say.INF bride.SG.GEN.3SG
le'be vuõddmes nõõm .
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.

8.11. **A nâkam mee'st leäi suõrmâssiõrr .**
well (D.P.) 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

(told by Anastasia Mosnikoff, taken from Mosnikoff 1992: 9)

1.1. Kuuskõõzz

northern.light.PL.NOM

The northern lights.

2.1. **Õ’htešt kuuskõõzz liâ poorrâm puõccu .**
once northern.light.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL eat.PST.PTCP reindeer.SG.ACC

Once upon a time the northern lights ate a reindeer.

2.2. **Ooumaž leäi vuejjmen .**
man.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG drive.PROG.PTCP

A man was driving.

2.3. **De son-a pâi kuuskõõzzid ķeäčč da njorgg ,**
and 3SG-EMP only northern.light.PL.ACC watch.PRS.3SG and whistle.PRS.3SG
ķeäčč da njorgg .
watch.PRS.3SG and whistle.PRS.3SG

And he just looks at the northern lights and whistles, he looks and whistles.

2.4. **Lij jõnn puõlâšinn .**
be.PRS.3SG big subzero + night.SG.NOM

It was a freezing night.

2.5. Son vuejj , kuuskõzzid ĵeäčč da
3SG.NOM drive.PRS.3SG northern.light.PL.ACC watch.PRS.3SG and
njorgg .
whistle.PRS.3SG

He drives as he watches the northern lights and whistles.

2.6. 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.

2.7. Njorggam jiâ säávaž sij .
whistle.ACT.PTCP NEG.3PL tolerate.NEG 3PL.NOM

They do not allow whistling.

2.8. Samai ool luäštto'tte .
quite towards descend.PST.3PL

They came down right towards him.

2.9. Ooumaž ij ni koozz piâssâm , põlškue'di .
man.SG.NOM NEG.3SG NEG + REL.SG.ILL escape.PST.PTCP fear.INCP.PST.3SG

The man didn't have anywhere to escape, he began to be afraid.

2.10. Sörgg son ääldas årstöõ'tti .
quickly 3SG.NOM female.reindeer.SG.ACC.3SG stop.PST.3SG

He quickly stopped his reindeer.

2.11. Äldd lij leäm su'st vuâjnen .
female.reindeer.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP 3SG.LOC draught.animal.ESS

He had the female reindeer as a draught reindeer.

2.12. Jiõčč pâi ķe'rrez vuâlla oi'ğğõõdi .
self.SG.NOM only Lapp.sled.SG.GEN under.(ILL) throw.REFL.PST.3SG

He just threw himself under the sled.

2.13. Ääldas veâl jokkläbžža čõnsti .
female.reindeer.SG.ACC.3SG still [?] + strap.SG.ILL strap.quickly.PST.3SG

He quickly strapped his reindeer to the (sled?) strap.

2.14. De nu'tt âârai tue'lää räjja .
and like.that be.situated.PST.3SG morning.SG.GEN until

So he stayed like that until the morning.

2.15. Pei'vv šõõddi .
day.SG.NOM become.PST.3SG

The day broke.

2.16. Na te'l jeä leäm kuuskõõzz .
well (D.P.) at.that.time NEG.3PL be.PST.PTCP northern.light.PL.NOM

Well, at that time there were no northern lights.

2.17. **Son** **ķe'rrez** **vue'lnn vō'1l'ji** , **vuōi'ni** , **što**
 3SG.NOM Lapp.sled.SG.GEN under jump.PST.3SG see.PST.3SG COMP
äaldast **leäi** **pâi vōrrpäiikaž**
 female.reindeer.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG only blood.SG.NOM + place.SG.NOM
päaccam .
 remain.PST.PTCP

He jumped from under the sled and saw that only a patch of blood remained of the reindeer.

2.18. **Kuuskōōzz** **le'jje** **äald** **poorrâm** .
 northern.light.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL female.reindeer.SG.ACC eat.PST.PTCP

The northern lights had eaten the reindeer.

2.19. **Ooumaž** **jičč** **piâzzi** **jie'llmen** , **ku**
 man.SG.NOM self.SG.NOM escape.PST.3SG live.PROG.PTCP when
ķe'rrez **vue'lnn aārai** , **to'b jiâ** **poorrâm** .
 Lapp.sled.SG.GEN under be.situated.PST.3SG there NEG.3PL eat.PST.PTCP

The man escaped alive because he stayed under the sled and they don't eat people there.

2.20. **Ceä'lkķe** , **što** **kuuskōōzzid** **ij** **ōōlg** **njorggad** .
 say.PRS.3PL COMP northern.light.PL.ILL NEG.3PL must.NEG whistle.INF

It is said that you should not whistle at the northern lights.

2.21. **Tōk** **luāštā'tte** **ool** **da pā'rre** .
 DIST.PL.NOM descend.PRS.3PL towards and eat.PRS.3PL

They will come down and eat you.

Text 3

MÄ'HTT ČUŮŠK PUE'TTE SÄÄ'MJÂNNMA – HOW THE MOSQUITOS CAME TO LAPLAND

(told by Anni Feodoroff, taken from Mosnikoff 1992: 65)

1.1. MÄ'HTT ČUŮŠK PUE'TTE SÄÄ'MJÂNNMA
how mosquito.PL.NOM come.PST.3PL Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL

How mosquitos came to be in Lapland.

2.1. Tuu'1 Sää'mjânnmest jiâ leäm ni voops
in.former.times Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.LOC NEG.3PL be.PST.PTCP not.one
čuõšk .
mosquito.SG.GEN

In times gone by, not a single mosquito lived in Lapland.

2.2. Tök le'jje pâi Lää'ddjânnmest .
DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL only Finn.SG.GEN + land.SG.LOC

They only lived in Finland.

2.3. Nä'de čuõšk a'lğge smiöttâd , što sij
then (D.P.) mosquito.PL.NOM begin.PST.3PL ponder.INF COMP 3PL.NOM
vue'lğge ěiččâd tön pue'rr jânnam , ko'st si'jjid
leave.PRS.3PL see.INF DIST.SG.ACC good land.SG.ACC REL.SG.LOC 3PL.ILL
eeunaž leäi mainstam .
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.

2.4. Töt leäi jeállam Säá'mjânnmest da
 DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG visit.PST.PTCP Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.LOC and
 kuärggti , što mōõn pue'rr leäi to'ben jie'llem :
 brag.PST.3SG COMP what.SG.GEN good be.PST.3SG there life.SG.NOM
 le'jje puõccu , pie'nne , saauz , kaaic da
 be.PST.3PL reindeer.PL.NOM dog.PL.NOM sheep.PL.NOM goat.PL.NOM and
 juõ'kknallšem siõm jie'lli , koin jiâ leäkku
 each + kind small animal.SG.NOM REL.PL.LOC NEG.3PL be.NEG
 ni måkam pōõrt jiâga suâj .
 NEG + what.kind.of house.PL.NOM NEG.3PL + CONJ 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.

2.5. Da sä'mmla-õs vuä'dde åuggan päälljas ââ'lm vue'lnn .
 and Saami.PL.NOM-as.for sleep.PRS.3PL outside bare sky.SG.GEN under

And as for the Saami, they sleep under the bare sky.

2.6. Leäša eeunaž mainsti puk pâi tön diött ,
 but spider.SG.NOM tell.PST.3SG all.SG.ACC only DIST.SG.GEN for.the.sake.of
 što tõt täättai , što čuõšk vue'lğge
 COMP DIST.SG.NOM want.PST.3SG COMP mosquito.PL.NOM leave.PRS.3PL
 Säá'mjânnma .
 Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL

But Spider told all this just because he wanted the mosquitos to leave and go to Lapland.

2.7. **Ku sij p̄ai ̄askka suu da tuejee nu'tt , što**
 when 3PL.NOM only believe.PRS.3PL 3SG.ACC and do.PRS.3PL like.that COMP
m̄a'htt son t̄att , son jičč vūäžžči pūarast
 how 3SG.NOM want.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM self.SG.NOM get.COND.3SG well
p̄agsted 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.

2.8. **Su'st ku lij n̄akam mall , što son k̄āađđ**
 3SG.LOC when be.PRS.3SG that.kind plan.SG.NOM COMP 3SG.NOM spin.PRS.3SG
fiin s̄äi'mid jūo'vve da sue'jji k̄o'sk̄ke
 fine web.PL.ACC rocky.ground.SG.ILL and birch.tree.PL.GEN middle.SG.ILL
čūoškid šee'llem diōtt .
 mosquito.PL.ACC catch.ACT.PTCP 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.

2.9. **S̄aimma ku čūošk p̄ășšne ĳidd , te'l son**
 web.SG.ILL when mosquito.PL.NOM get.caught.PRS.3PL closed then 3SG.NOM
jičč orčč kūaŋŋa läi'j da vūäžž n̄äi't šiōgg
 self.SG.NOM run.PRS.3SG along thread.SG.GEN and get.PRS.3SG in.this.way good
porrm̄ōžž .
 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.

2.10. Nă'de čuõšk smiõ'tte , što â'lğge-a
 then (D.P.) mosquito.PL.NOM ponder.PST.3PL COMP must.PRS.3PL-INTER
 sij puk õhttna vue'lğged .
 3PL.NOM all.SG.NOM at.once leave.INF

Then the mosquitos started to wonder whether or not they should all leave at once.

2.11. Čuõški maaddâräkk cie'lki , što puk
 mosquito.PL.GEN great.grandmother.SG.NOM say.PST.3SG COMP all.SG.NOM
 jiâ õõlgče vue'lğged seämma ääi'jest .
 NEG.3PL must.COND:NEG leave.INF same time.SG.LOC

The mosquitos' great-grandmother said that they mustn't all leave at the same time.

2.12. Vuõššân muä'dd čuõškkâd â'lğge vue'lğged kiččâd , što
 first several mosquito.PART must.PRS.3PL leave.INF see.INF COMP
 måkam lij jie'llem Sää'mjânnmest .
 what.kind.of 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 Lapland.

2.13. Tök le'jje kutt čuõšk , kook vuõ'lğge .
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL six mosquito.SG.GEN REL.PL.NOM leave.PST.3PL

They were six mosquitos that left.

2.14. Mä'tkķ leäi ku'kķ .
 journey.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG long.SG.NOM

The journey was long.

2.15. **Õhtt čuoškk levvji ju'n tön**
 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.

2.16. **Tõt kaauni laanõkvie'lttest vuäddjam**
 DIST.SG.NOM find.PST.3SG sunny + slope.SG.LOC fall.asleep.PST.PTCP
čiormiķ , kää'tt leäi čõ'kkääm saa'mi
 young.reindeer.SG.ACC REL.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG run.away.PST.PTCP Saami.PL.GEN
čioĳkrest , ku sij mõ'ne tâ'vvtuõddra .
 herd.SG.LOC when 3PL.NOM go.PST.3PL north + fell.SG.ILL

He found a young reindeer that had fallen asleep on a sunny slope, which had run away from the Saami herd when they had gone to a northern fell.

2.17. **Čuoškk seeivai sami čiormiķ piõjjnja da**
 mosquito.SG.NOM land.PST.3SG quite young.reindeer.SG.GEN tail.SG.ILL and
aa'lji poorrâd tõi'st .
 begin.PST.3SG eat.INF DIST.SG.LOC

The mosquito landed right on the young reindeer's tail and started to eat from there.

2.18. **Ku leäi čääu'jes tiudd poorrâm , ķe'rddli da**
 when be.PST.3SG stomach.SG.ACC.3SG full eat.PST.PTCP fly.off.PST.3SG and
vuâņškie'di čiormiķ čââ'lm â'lñn .
 rest.INCP.PST.3SG young.reindeer.SG.GEN 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.

2.19. Tõ'st čičormiķ čāā'lmes veārggteškie'di de
 DIST.SG.LOC young.reindeer.SG.NOM eye.SG.ACC.3SG blink.INCP.PST.3SG and
 čuōškāst jue'lģģ rānn'ji .
 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.

2.20. Tōt äāigai vue'lģģed jee'res ārra , leāša
 DIST.SG.NOM begin.PST.3SG leave.INF different direction.SG.ILL but
 jooudi čičormiķ njuu'nseārrma .
 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.

2.21. Čičormiķ ku vuōiqast , te'l čuōškk
 young.reindeer.SG.NOM when take.breath.PRS.3SG then mosquito.SG.NOM
 jordd , što pakk ķie'sspiōgg pāāss .
 believe.PRS.3SG COMP warm 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.

2.22. Sōrgg pue'di tōōzz čuār da čaāni
 soon come.PST.3SG DIST.SG.ILL fly.SG.NOM and go.in.PST.3SG
 čičormiķ pellja .
 young.reindeer.SG.GEN ear.SG.ILL

Soon a fly came there and went into the young reindeer's ear.

2.23. Tõ'st čïõrmik pã'33lõõdi da vwei'ves
 DIST.SG.LOC young.reindeer.SG.NOM shake.oneself.PST.3SG and head.SG.ACC.3SG
 pu'stškue'di nu'tt što čuõškk rõõvvi kookkas
 shake.INCP.PST.3SG like.that COMP mosquito.SG.NOM fall.PST.3SG far.away
 ree'ssi sizz .
 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.

2.24. Mânŋa tõ'st ij ni kii leäku tõn
 later DIST.SG.LOC NEG.3SG nobody.SG.NOM be.NEG DIST.SG.ACC
 vuäinnam .
 see.PST.PTCP

After that, nobody has seen him.

2.25. Čïõrmik võ'll'ji da tiârškue'di nu'tt što
 young.reindeer.SG.NOM jump.PST.3SG and gallop.INCP.PST.3SG like.that COMP
 piõjjânj pâi veärgg , ku tõt mâänn jokkriddu
 tail.SG.NOM only swing.PRS.3SG when DIST.SG.NOM go.PRS.3SG river.bank.SG.ILL
 suõi'nid poorrâd .
 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.

2.26. Vitt jee'res čuoškkâd peä'sse Säa'mjânma ,
 five.NOM different mosquito.PART make.it.PRS.3PL Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL
 leäš-a õhtt hiâvvni mie'lkknäppa , nu'bb
 but one.NOM drown.PST.3SG milk.SG.NOM + bowl.SG.ILL other.SG.NOM
 tōplõõvi kuä'd suõvâst da kuälmad
 be.choked.PST.3SG Lapp.hut.SG.GEN smoke.SG.LOC and third.NOM
 sârrji vuä'mm ää'kk kohttu da jaa'mi
 become.tangled.PST.3SG old crone.SG.GEN skirt.SG.ILL and die.PST.3SG
 tōõzz .
 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.

2.27. Pâi kuõ'htt čuošk pie'sse määusat
 only two.NOM mosquito.SG.GEN make.it.PST.3PL back
 Lää'ddjânma da vuõi'tte mainsted järnsid , što
 Finn.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL and be.able.PST.3PL tell.INF other.PL.ILL COMP
 muđoi kâ'l lij Säa'mjânmmest pue'rr , leäša čuu't
 otherwise yes be.PRS.3SG Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.LOC good but very
 jiännai liâ sâ'rmmpäi'k .
 much be.PRS.3PL death.SG.NOM + place.PL.NOM

Only two mosquitos made it back to Finland and were able to tell the others that Lapland was indeed a good place, although there were too many places of death.

2.28. Čuõški maaddâräkk cie'lkï te'1 : "

mosquito.PL.GEN great.grandmother.SG.NOM say.PST.3SG then

Sää'mjânma älgg mōõnnäd čuâr õhttu , ku
Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL must.PRS.3SG go.INF fly.SG.NOM alone when
tõt lij nokk vaarõõtti ."
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."

2.29. Leäša tōk , kook le'jje Sää'mjânmmest

but DIST.PL.NOM REL.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.LOC

jeällam , cie'lkķe : " Kâ'1 mij pi'rğğeeškue'ttep , ku pâi
visit.PST.PTCP say.PST.3PL yes 1PL.NOM manage.INCP.PRS.1PL when only
puk õhttna vue'lğğep ."
all.PL.NOM at.once leave.PRS.1PL

But those who had visited Lapland say: "We will manage when we all leave at once."

2.30. Nä'de puk čuõšk vue'lğğe .

then (D.P.) all.PL.NOM mosquito.PL.NOM leave.PRS.3PL

Then all the mosquitos left.

2.31. Ku puä'tte Sää'mjânma , kâu'nne obb

when come.PRS.3SG Saami.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL find.PRS.3PL all

puä33čiōkkâr liäššmen ráåđast .
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.

2.32. Vuõššân ij ni kii teâttam , što mõõk
 first NEG.3SG nobody.SG.NOM know.PST.PTCP COMP what.PL.NOM
 ták le'jje jie'l'jid .
 PROX.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL animal.PL.ACC

At first nobody knew what kind of animal these were.

2.33. Teä ho'hssje , što ták teâđast liâ
 then notice.PST.3PL COMP PROX.PL.NOM of.course be.PRS.3PL
 puõccu , mä'htt ju'n eeunaž leäi si'jjid mainstam .
 reindeer.PL.NOM how already spider.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG 3PL.ILL tell.PST.PTCP

Then they noticed that these were of course reindeer, as Spider had already told them.

2.34. Sij puk ķe'rddle tõi ool da sõrgg puk
 3PL.NOM all.PL.NOM fly.off.PST.3PL DIST.PL.GEN towards and soon all.PL.NOM
 puõccu le'jje tiârrlam päälljas tuõddâr la'ķķe .
 reindeer.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL gallop.off.PST.PTCP bare 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'JŌŽÄÄI'J JIE'LLMEST –

ABOUT LIFE IN THE OLDEN DAYS

(told by Anastasia Mosnikoff, taken from Mosnikoff 1992: 102)

1.1. TUÂL'JŌŽÄÄI'J JIE'LLMEST

former + time.SG.GEN life.SG.LOC

About life in the olden days.

2.1. 1. Sää'mjie'llem pirr

Saami.SG.GEN + life.SG.GEN around

About Saami life.

3.1. Sää'mjie'llem i'lleäm nău'ddem tăt-aa

Saami.SG.GEN + life.SG.NOM NEG.3SG + be.PST.PTCP this.kind this-here

jie'llem , ōōlgi ĩeässa pāi nue'tted da
life.SG.NOM have.to.PST.3SG in.summer only fish.with.seine.nets.INF and
säai'mid ââ'nned , suukkâd da vä'33ed .

gill.net.PL.ACC use.INF row.INF 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.

3.2. Nue'ttee'l vōôrâs kue'l ši'lleš , säai'mivui'm

seine.fish.INSTR fresh fish.SG.ACC catch.PST.4 gill.net.PL.COM

seämmanalla .

in.the.same.way

By fishing with a seine net one could catch fresh fish, in the same way with gill nets.

3.3. Tue'lää kaccješ säai'mi árra , vuõ'lğgeš , jålstet
 in.the.morning awake.PST.4 gill.net.PL.GEN next.to leave.PST.4 spend.PRS.4
 peei'v .
 day.SG.ACC

In the morning one would wake up next to the gill next, leave, and spend the day there.

3.4. Jeä'kkääž šâdd , e'pet nuatta vue'ljet .
 evening become.PRS.3SG again seine.net.SG.ILL leave.PRS.4

Evening comes, again one heads over to the seine net. [NB. does narrator mean gill nets?]

3.5. Sami ålgg vöörås kue'lin jie'lled keassa .
 quite must.PRS.3SG fresh fish.SG.COM live.INF in.summer

We basically had to live off fresh fish in the summer.

3.6. A tøn päai'kest ij kå'dškuä'd kue'l , de
 well (D.P.) DIST.SG.LOC place.SG.LOC NEG.3SG catch.INCP.NEG fish.SG.ACC and
 nuu'bb sâjja mõõnât .
 other.SG.ILL 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.

3.7. Keä'st liâ jäänab nue'tt da säai'm ,
 who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL more seine.net.PL.NOM and gill.net.PL.NOM
 nuu'bb jääu'rest pâi mâänn jiijjås jeävvsivui'm .
 other.SG.LOC lake.SG.LOC just go.PRS.3SG own.SG.GEN.3SG provision.PL.COM

He who has more seine nets and gill nets just goes from the other lake with his own provisions.

3.8. A kää'tt ää'pptab leäi fe'rttji vue'lğged puk
 well (D.P.) REL.SG.NOM poor.CMPRT be.PST.3SG have.to.PST.3st leave.INF all
 piärrjines da jåå'dat puk nue'ttes di
 family.SG.COM.3SG and transport.PRS.3SG all seine.net.SG.ACC.3SG and
 sääi'mees di vönnses ķeäss de kuâdd .
 gill.net.PL.ACC.3SG 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 transport everything, his seine net and his gill nets and he pulls and carries his boat.

3.9. De päärna liâ de kaazz da pie'ne .
 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.

3.10. Måtam liâ , kuu'ķķab kō'sķķe vue'lğge di
 some be.PRS.3PL far.CMPRT distance.SG.ILL leave.PRS.3PL and
 saauzeez mie'ldd vä'ldde di tōid vää'z3te .
 sheep.PL.GEN.3PL with (s.o.) take.PRS.3PL and DIST.PL.ACC walk.CAUS.PL.3PL

Some people went on longer trips and they took their sheep with them and lead them along.

3.11. To'ben â'te jåålast , mōön kuu'ķķ jålste'zže .
 there then (D.P.) live.PRS.3SG what.SG.GEN long live.POT.3PL

So, there he lived, however long they might have lived there.

3.12. Kue'l ij kâ'dšķuä'd , de e'pet tōōzz vä'stt
 fish.SG.ACC NEG.3SG catch.INCP.NEG and again DIST.SG.ILL back
 puätt .
 come.PRS.3SG

If he didn't catch any fish then again he would come back to there.

3.13. Tõn jääu'r riddu mâânn jâlsted .

DIST.SG.GEN lake.SG.GEN shore.SG.ILL go.PRS.3SG live.INF

He goes to live on the shore of a lake.

3.14. De čõhčč šâdd .

and autumn.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG

Then autumn arrives.

3.15. Ââ'n pããđjãäu'rin älgg jãã'tted .

now forest.lake.PL.LOC begin.PRS.3SG travel.INF

Now he starts to travel from forest lakes.

3.16. Puõccu täã'vet de vuâlgg , ķee'zzat

reindeer.SG.ACC grab.PRS.3SG and leave.PRS.3SG pull.CAUS.PRS.3SG

võnnsid säãi'mivui'm .

boat.PL.ACC gill.net.PL.COM

He catches a reindeer and sets off, having the boats pulled with the gill nets.

3.17. Mie'ččjãäu'rest älgg säãi'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.

3.18. Säãi'mid âânn nu'tt kuu'ķķ äãi'j , ku

gill.net.PL.ACC use.PRS.3SG like.that long time.SG.GEN when

kãdd kue'lid .

catch.PRS.3SG fish.PL.ACC

He uses gill nets for as long as he catches fish.

3.19. Jääu'rest jäurra nu'tt-i jáätt .

lake.SG.LOC lake.SG.ILL like.that-just travel.PRS.3SG

From lake to lake, just like that he travels.

3.20. Máânn máânn , de tä'lvv puä'dškuätt .

go.PRS.3SG go.PRS.3SG and winter.SG.NOM come.INCP.PRS.3SG

And so he goes, and the winter begins (lit. starts to come).

3.21. De vuâlgg máâust , ij mōõn kie'sspäikka ,

and leave.PRS.3SG back NEG.3SG go.NEG summer.SG.NOM + place.SG.ILL

pâi čõhčpäikka , to'b lij

only autumn.SG.NOM + place.SG.ILL there be.PRS.3SG

čõhčpõrtt , tõi'st älgg jâlsted .

autumn.SG.NOM + house.SG.NOM DIST.SG.LOC 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.

3.22. Jäälast tõi'st čõõuč , di jääu'r kâ'lmme .

live.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.LOC autumn.SG.GEN and lake.PL.NOM freeze.PRS.3PL

He lives there for the autumn and then the lakes freeze.

3.23. Nä'de junstõlškuätt .

then (D.P.) ice.fish.with.net.INCP.PRS.3SG

Then he begins fishing with a net under the ice.

3.24. **Juņšid peejj mâ'mmet su'st liâ säai'm .**

ice.net.PL.ACC put.PRS.3SG to.what.extent 3SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL gill.net.PL.NOM

He sets as many ice nets as he has gill nets 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.]

3.25. **Juõ'kksâjja juņstâall .**

each + place.SG.ILL ice.fish.with.net.PRS.3SG

He fishes everywhere with a net under the ice.

3.26. **Ei'dde de jäu'rrjiõŋŋ pâi pââ'jad , te'lles**

just and lake.SG.NOM + ice.SG.NOM only bear.PRS.3SG immediately

juņstõlškuätt .

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.

3.27. **Mâtam 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.

3.28. **Di tä'lvv šâdd .**

and winter.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG

And so winter arrives.

3.29. **Rosttvi poodd vue'lğge si'jdde se'rdde .**

Christmas.PL.GEN moment.SG.GEN leave.PRS.3PL village.SG.ILL transfer.INF

At Christmas time they set off to move to the village.

3.30. **Si'jdde** **âlgg** **vue'lğged tøn** **diött** , **što**
 village.SG.ILL must.PRS.3SG leave.INF DIST.SG.GEN for.the.sake.of COMP
škooul **âlgg** .
 school.SG.NOM begin.PRS.3SG

It is necessary to go to the village because the school will begin.

3.31. **Ķeä'st** **liâ** **škooulpäärna** , **na** **tõk**
 who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL school.SG.NOM+ child.PL.NOM well (D.P.) DIST.PL.NOM
õ'lğge **škoou'le** **kuåstteed** .
 must.PRS.3PL school.SG.ILL send.INF

Those who have school children, well, they must send (them) to school.

3.32. **Nu'bb tuejj** **lij** **sååbbar** .
 other work.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG village.council.SG.NOM

Another job is the village council.

3.33. **Sååbbar** **šâdd** **de oummu**
 village.council.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG and person.PL.NOM
õõlgškuä'tte , **de ee'žžiin** **i'lla** **ku'kk mõõnnâd**
 be.obliged.INCP.PRS.3PL and trustee.PL.LOC NEG.3SG+ be.NEG far go.INF
sååbra .
 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.

3.34. Ne teä tōk se'rdde , mâ'ne seämmanalla
 well (D.P.) then DIST.PL.NOM transfer.PRS.3PL go.PRS.3PL in.the.same.way
 puõccivui'm de čičökkri'nez mâ'ne .
 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.

3.35. Ķeä'st lij ku'ķķ kōskk , kuä'ss Ķeä'st
 who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG long distance.SG.NOM when who.SG.LOC
 lij vuä'nkab kōskk .
 be.PRS.3SG short.CMPRT distance.SG.NOM

Some have a long distance to travel, while others have a shorter distance to go.

3.36. Siidâst jâlste nu'tt kuu'ķķ ku škooul peštt .
 village.SG.LOC live.PRS.3PL like.that long as school.SG.NOM last.PRS.3SG

They live in the village for as long as school lasts.

3.37. Na ee'jpei'vv poodd â'te
 well (D.P.) year.SG.GEN + day.SG.NOM(=Easter) moment.SG.GEN then (D.P.)
 liâ mâtam veâl siidâst .
 be.PRS.3PL some still village.SG.LOC

Well, at Easter time there are still some people in the village.

3.38. Teä vue'lğge se'rdded piârrjeezvui'm di čičökkri'nez .
 then leave.PRS.3PL transfer.INF family.PL.COM.3PL and herd.SG.COM.3PL

Then they set off to move their families and their herd.

3.39. **Cuâᅇ** **lij** **mâtam ee'jj** , **jõnn muõtt**
 snow.crust.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG some year.PL.NOM big snow.SG.NOM
lij **mâtam ee'jj** .
 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.

3.40. **Jõnn muõtt** **lij** , **i'lla**
 big snow.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG NEG.3SG + be.NEG
puä33poorrâmpiull .
 reindeer.SG.NOM + eat.ACT.PTCP + bare.spot.SG.NOM (where snow has melted)

(If) there is a lot of snow, there aren't any bare spots in the snow where the reindeer can eat.

3.41. **De nu'tt-i** **jo'tte** .
 and like.that-just travel.PST.3PL

And just like that they travelled.

3.42. **Mâtmin** **ku** **lij** **ku'kk kōskk** , **nie'ttel**
 some.PL.LOC when be.PRS.3SG long distance.SG.NOM week.SG.GEN
peei'vid **ja'tte** .
 day.PL.ACC go.PRS.3PL

Some people who have a long distance, they travel for about a week.

3.43. **Mâ'nne** **mâ'nne** **de** **tää'lv** **õnnum** **puõccu**
 go.PRS.3PL go.PRS.3PL and winter.SG.GEN use.PASS.PTCP reindeer.PL.NOM
liâ , **mâtam levvje** .
 be.PRS.3PL some tire.PRS.3PL

On they go and there are reindeer which had been used through the winter, some grow weary.

3.44. **Levvje** , **leáš-a kââ'lm sami jiâ** .

tire.PRS.3PL but die.NEG quite NEG.3PL

They tire, but they do not quite die.

3.45. **Na däs poorte de e'pet jättje** .

well (D.P.) again eat.CAUS.PRS.3PL and again set.off.PRS.3PL

Well, again they feed (the reindeers) and again they set off.

3.46. **Mee'st leäi ku'kk se'rddemkõskk** , **ku**

1PL.LOC be.PST.3SG long transfer.ACT.PTCP + distance.SG.NOM when

ķeâđđä âlgg mååusat pâ'jppäikka

in.spring must.PRS.3SG back upper + place.SG.ILL (= summer dwelling place)

vue'lğğed .

leave.INF

We had a long distance to move when we had to head back to the summer village in spring.

3.47. **De nie'ttel jåätt sami ķiddpuõccivui'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.

3.48. **Teä puätt de jâlsteškuätt** .

then come.PRS.3SG and live.INCP.PRS.3SG

Then he arrives and settles down to live.

3.49. **Jäälast** .

live.PRS.3SG

And so he lives.

3.50. Tõt jeällsââ'jj lij
DIST.SG.NOM being.SG.NOM + place.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG

ĵiddjeällsââ'jj , ij veâl puättam
spring.SG.NOM + being.SG.NOM + place.SG.NOM NEG.3SG still come.PST.PTCP

ĵie'ssjeällsâjja , leâš-a
summer.SG.NOM + being.SG.NOM + place.SG.ILL but

ĵiddjeällsâjja pue'di de tō'st
spring.SG.NOM + being.SG.NOM + place.SG.ILL come.PST.3SG and DIST.SG.LOC

ĵälsteškue'di .
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.

3.51. Čiöggâr lij su'st .
herd.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG 3SG.LOC

He has a herd.

3.52. Tõn čõõni ĵidd de puõcci se'st jâlsti .
DIST.SG.ACC tie.up.PST.3SG closed and reindeer.SG.GEN among live.PST.3SG

He tied it (the herd) up and he lived among the reindeer.

3.53. Puõccu ääld kue'dškuä'tte .
reindeer.SG.GEN female.reindeer.PL.NOM calve.INCP.PRS.3PL

The female reindeers begin to calve.

3.54. Tõk jiâ õhttna kue'dd : tõn peei'v

DIST.PL.NOM NEG.3PL at.once calve.NEG DIST.SG.GEN day.SG.GEN

kuâdd õhtt , måtam peei'v nu'bb , a sami pää'res
calve.PRS.3SG one some day.SG.GEN (an)other well (D.P.) quite well.timed
kue'ddempodd ku lij nie'ttel se'st ,
calve.ACT.PTCP + moment.SG.NOM when be.PRS.3SG week.SG.GEN inside
te'l kue'dde jiânnai õhttna .
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.

3.55. Ä'n vue'ss tõõrgasm , kïdd âânn mue'ddid

let calf.SG.NOM gain.strength.PRS.3SG tied.up keep.PRS.3SG several.PL.ACC

suutkid , teä eman luâštt .
day(24-hour-period).PL.ACC then not.before 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.

3.56. Tõ'st-i jâlsti tõõi ääldi lu'nn

DIST.SG.LOC-just live.PRS.3SG DIST.PL.GEN female.reindeer.PL.GEN next.to

nu'tt kuu'kk , ku puk kue'dde .
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.

3.57. Måtam vuâra äldd kuâddai kue'ddkâni , ku

some time female.reindeer.SG.NOM remain.PRS.3SG calve.ABE when

lij mââjak .
be.PRS.3SG late

Sometimes a female reindeer does not calve when it's late.

3.58. Nu'tt-i fe'rttai lue'stted .
like.that-just must.PRS.3SG free.PRS.3SG

He just has to let it go like that.

3.59. Na kue'ddte tōn diōtt , ku vuō'zzid
well (D.P.) calve.CAUS.PRS.3PL DIST.SG.GEN for.the.sake.of as calf.PL.ACC
meārka .

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).

3.60. Māŋŋa luāštt â'te .
later free.PRS.3SG then (D.P.)

So later he frees (them).

3.61. De puōccu mā'nne luōttu .
and reindeer.PL.NOM go.PRS.3PL nature.SG.ILL

And the reindeers run free (lit. goes to nature).

3.62. Tōn kie'zz liâ tob mie'cest hoi'ddjekâni .
DIST.SG.GEN summer.SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL there forest.SG.LOC care.ABE

During that summer they are in the forest unattended.

3.63. Mättam lij , piárrji'nes lij to'b puõccees
 certain be.PRS.3SG family.SG.COM.3SG be.PRS.3SG there reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG
 á'rnn , kávvsest jäälast .
 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.

3.64. Obbkávvsaz , tó'st väärj liâ
 closed.lean.to.shelter.DIM.SG.NOM DIST.SG.LOC tarpaulin.SG.ACC be.PRS.3PL
 pirr pijjum .
 around put.PASS.PTCP

A small closed lean-to shelter, around which a tarpaulin has been put.

3.65. Kõskkpäi'kest lij toll .
 middle + place.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG fire.SG.NOM

There is a fire in the middle.

3.66. Mátmin lij lâu'ŋŋkuädaž .
 some.PL.LOC be.PRS.3SG turf.SG.NOM + hut.DIM.SG.NOM

Some people have a little turf hut.

3.67. Ku puõccees luõ'sti , kirggni de vuõ'lji
 when reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG let.go.PST.3SG hasten.PST.3SG and leave.PST.3SG
 kie'sspäikka se'rdded .
 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.

3.68. **Jie'rij liâ su'st veâl ĵidd , ŝto tōōivui'm son**
 bull.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL 3SG.LOC still tied.up COMP DIST.PL.COM 3SG.NOM
ĵee'zzat ĵe'rrsid .
 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.

3.69. **Da ku ĵe'rrez liâ occanj , måtmid**
 and when "ahkio".sled.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL few some.PL.ACC
kie'ddat kâddsivui'm .
 carry.CAUS.PRS.3SG load.PL.COM

When there are just a few sleds, he makes some (bull reindeer) carry the loads.

3.70. **Nu'tt puätt jäu'rr'riddu le'be**
 like.that come.PRS.3SG lake.SG.NOM + shore.SG.ILL or
jokkriddu .
 river.SG.NOM + shore.SG.ILL

So he comes to the shore of the lake or the river bank.

3.71. **Tō'st liâ vōnnâz .**
 DIST.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL boat.PL.NOM

There are some boats.

3.72. **De jie'rjees luâŝtt de sollad**
 and bull.PL.ACC.3SG free.PRS.3SG and row.off.PRS.3SG
ĵie'sspäikka 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.

3.73. **Teä jälsteškue'di** .

then live.INCP.PST.3SG

Then he settles down to live.

3.74. **Ķie'ss šõõddi di jääu'r jiõᅇ 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.

3.75. **Teä jälsteškuätt , nuätt di sääi'mid**

then live.INCP.PRS.3SG fish.with.seine.net.PRS.3SG and gill.net.PL.ACC

âânn .

use.PRS.3SG

Life goes on and he fishes with a seine net and uses the gill nets.

3.76. **Kõskkie'sspodd ij kää'dd**

middle.SG.NOM + summer.SG.NOM + moment.SG.GEN NEG.3SG catch.fish.NEG

sääi'mivui'm , pâi nuätt .

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.

3.77. **Jeä'kkää nuätt de ķeätt veär ,**

in.the.evening fish.with.seine.net.PRS.3SG and cook.PRS.3SG meal.SG.ACC

päär da vuäddai .

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.

3.78. **Nuu'bb peivvže kuâđđai kue'll .**
other.SG.ILL day.DIM.SG.ILL remain.PRS.3SG fish.SG.NOM

Some fish is left for another day.

3.79. **Tõn sa'lttai ĵe'ttemsältta .**
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].

3.80. **Na mâtmin kâ'l leäi tõt leei'bte'mes
well (D.P.) some.PL.LOC yes be.PST.3SG DIST.SG.NOM bread.without
jie'tt .
worry.SG.NOM**

Well, yes, some people had nothing to eat (lit. some people had the worry of being without bread).

3.81. **Muu muu'steest 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)).

3.82. **Mon jiõm teättam tõn leei'bte'mes jeä'd ,
1SG.NOM NEG.1SG know.PST.PTCP DIST.SG.ACC bread.without worry.SG.ACC
ni säähhar , porrmõõžžte'mes jeä'd .
even sugar.SG.NOM food.without worry.SG.ACC**

I didn't know that worry of not having bread, nor sugar, the worry of not having food.

3.83. A **måtam le'jje** **ää'ppteem** **de**
 well (D.P.) some be.PST.3PL help.without.PL.NOM (= poor) and
õõlgi **sami pâi** **čää'zgest** **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 had to catch fish from the water.

3.84. **Tâ'mmet lij** **jäv** , **tâ'mmet lij** , **kääkk**
 enough be.PRS.3SG flour.SG.NOM enough be.PRS.3SG flatbread.SG.ACC
vuäitt **tuejjeed** .
 can.PRS.3SG make.INF

There was enough flour, there was enough, one could make some flatbread.

3.85. **Te'l** **veäl pie'z3** **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.

3.86. **Te'l** **ruõššlast** **i'lleäm** **nu'tt** **kõõrâs** , **što**
 at.that.time Russian.SG.LOC NEG.3SG + be.PST.PTCP like.that severe COMP
ij **õlggâm** **liikktõõllâd muõrid** .
 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).

3.87. Na te'1 čärrmeä'cc leäi de tō'st
 well (D.P.) at.that.time distant + forest.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG and DIST.SG.LOC
 vuõ'i'ti vä'ldded pie'33in kōör .
 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.

3.88. Koon muõr va'ldde , tōn mǎṅṅa puä'ldde le'be
 REL.SG.ACC tree.SG.ACC take.PST.3PL DIST.SG.ACC later burn.PRS.3PL or
 aunnsen õ'ne .
 material.ESS use.PST.3PL

Whatever tree they took, they later burnt it or used it as material.

3.89. Na pie'33ivui'm jääv kuu'kkab pe'stte .
 well (D.P.) pine.bark.PL.COM flour.PL.NOM far.CMPRT last.PL.3PL

Well, with the pine bark the flour lasted longer.

3.90. Meä'cc uu'di leei'b .
 forest.SG.NOM give.PST.3SG bread.SG.ACC

The forest gave (=provided us with) bread.

3.91. A kook liâ vuõi'ttjab oummu , tōin
 well (D.P.) REL.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL wealthy.CMPRT person.PL.NOM DIST.PL.LOC
 jävv lij de säähhar lij .
 flour.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG and sugar.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG

Well, those who are wealthier people, they have flour and sugar.

3.92. Nu'tt jeäll tõn ěie'zz ěee'jjmie'ldd ,
 like.that live.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.GEN summer.SG.GEN until.the.end
 jåått jååu'rest jåurra .
 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.

3.93. Te'1 i'lleäm mä'htt tä'st åå'n lij , što
 at.that.time NEG.be.PST.3SG how PROX.SG.LOC now be.PRS.3SG COMP
 mõõn kue'1 kådd , tõn kau'ppe veekk .
 what.SG.ACC fish.SG.ACC catch.PRS.3SG 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.

3.94. Tob leäi mie'ccest , põi noori da tåå'lv
 there be.PST.3SG forest.SG.LOC only gather.PST.3SG and winter.SG.GEN
 vääras månŋa čõhčěkeässa
 for.purpose.of later autumn.SG.NOM + in.summer (= in.late.summer)
 noori .
 gather.PST.3SG

There he was (living) in the forest, he just gathered and for the winter he gathered during the late summer.

3.95. A ěeåđda de ěeässa kuškkii , kå'šěkkue'llen
 well (D.P.) in.spring and in.summer let.dry.PST.3SG dry + fish.ESS
 raaji hã't leežž nu'kěš , hã't vuâsk , hã't siõm
 make.PST.3SG even be.POT.3SG pike.SG.NOM even perch.SG.NOM even small
 kuålaž , hã't takai kue'll .
 fish.DIM.SG.NOM 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.

3.96. **Ku** **ká'škkue'llen** **raaji** , **te'1** **jiâ** **kuõccâg** .
when dry + fish.ESS make.PST.3SG at.that.time NEG.3PL rot.NEG

When he made dried fish, then they don't rot.

3.97. **Te'1** **le'jje** **lää'dd** **tiudd** .
at.that.time be.PST.3PL bird.PL.NOM full

At that time there were lots of birds (lit. birds full).

3.98. **Te'1** **loo'ddid** **ši'lle** .
at.that.time bird.PL.ACC catch.PST.3PL

Then they caught birds.

3.99. **Kook** **le'jje** **takai** **joo'tti** **oummu** , **tõk**
REL.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL habitual wander.PRS.PTCP person.PL.NOM DIST.PL.NOM
loo'ddid **pu'htte** , **čää'ččloo'ddid** .
bird.PL.ACC bring.PST.3PL water.SG.NOM + bird.PL.ACC

Those who were habitual wandering people, they brought back birds, waterbirds.

3.100. **Reeppaid** **da** **ká'škkloo'ddid** **ko'ddeš** **tâ'mmet**
willow.grouse.PL.ACC and dry + bird.PL.ACC kill.PST.4 to.such.an.extent
poorrâd .
eat.INF

People killed as many willow grouse and land birds as they would eat.

3.101. Čõhčtää'lvest

puõccees

autumn.SG.NOM + winter.SG.LOC (= in.late.autumn) reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG

koo'ddi .

kill.PST.3SG

In late autumn he killed (some of) his reindeer.

3.102. Tõid tälvva viiggi kaupjõõzzi årra hå't

DIST.PL.ACC in.winter carry.PST.3SG shop.keeper.PL.GEN to.one's.place even

Ta'rre , hå't Kuâlõ'kķe .

Norway.ILL even Kuola.ILL

He would take them in winter to shopkeepers, be they in Norway or even the Kola Peninsula.

3.103. Le'jje måttam kaupjõõzz , što pirr ee'jj

be.PST.3PL certain shop.keeper.PL.NOM COMP around year.SG.GEN

vie'ljid ou'dde .

debt.PL.ACC give.PRS.3PL

There were certain shopkeepers who gave debts throughout the year.

3.104. Vuä'mm vie'ljid mä'hsse , ođđ vie'ljid ou'dde .

old debt.PL.ACC pay.PRS.3PL new debt.PL.ACC give.PRS.3PL

They paid old debts and gave new debts.

3.105. E'pet pirr ee'jj porrmõõžž vålđđ mä'mmet son

again around year.SG.GEN food.SG.ACC take.PRS.3SG to.what.extent 3SG.NOM

jiõčč tätt .

self.SG.NOM want.PRS.3SG

Again, throughout the year he can take as much food as he wants.

3.106. 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).

3.107. Ku vie'ljid ij määu's , te'l kauppjös
when debt.PL.ACC NEG.3SG pay.NEG at.that.time shopkeeper.SG.NOM
ij vuei't teänab u'vded odđ vie'ljid .
NEG.3SG can.NEG (any)more give.INF new debt.PL.ACC

When the debts are not paid, then the shopkeeper cannot give more new debts.

3.108. Nu'tt-i jie'lle .
like.that-just live.PST.3PL

That's how they lived.

3.109. Te'l leäi oudpeä'lnn muu šöddmest
at.that.time be.PST.3SG before 1SG.GEN birth.ACT.PTCP.LOC
ää'ppte'mes äi'ğğ , aštö'lle .
poor time.SG.NOM remember.PRS.3PL

Before I was born they were poor times, so they say. [Note use of locative form of ACT.PTCP].

3.110. A mon gu šö'ddem , Nikola-caarr leäi
well (D.P.) 1SG.NOM when be.born.PST.1SG Nicholas-tsar.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG
muu muu'steest tän vääin vuâstta .
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.

3.111. Son vääinast â'te mōõni .

3SG.NOM war.SG.LOC then (D.P.) go.PST.3SG

So he died (lit. went) in the war.

3.112. Tăt leäi , ašttō'lle , ree'gges caarr .

PROX.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG remember.PRS.3PL rich tsar.SG.NOM

He was, they say, a rich tsar.

3.113. Nu'tt-i leäi , vuõ'i'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.

4.1. 2. Porrmōõžžâst

food.SG.LOC

About food.

5.1. Porrmōõžž tōk le'jje .

food.PL.NOM DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL

Those were the foods.

5.2. Vi'lğges jäävv le'jje di kuä'llec le'jje .

white flour.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL and pretzel.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL

There was white flour and pretzels.

5.3. Kuä'llec le'jje , mon moštjem , pâi nâkam , što
 pretzel.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL 1SG.NOM recall.PST.1SG always such COMP
 roggše'm leeigas le'jje neullum kuä'lleckiõmrdõõzz
 bast.fibre.SG.NOM spare be.PST.3PL thread.PASS.PTCP pretzle.SG.NOM+ bunch.SG.ACC
 , liâ mâ'ta â'nn'jõž čâustõõggid vuälggid
 be.PRS.3PL like present lasso.PL.ACC (over).shoulder.PL.ACC
 lue'sttled .
 lower.quickly.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. [Very uncertain of the translation of this sentence].

5.4. Nu'tt liâ kuä'llec , leâš-a nâkam-i le'jje mu'vddem
 like.that be.PRS.3PL pretzel.PL.NOM but such-just be.PST.3PL what.kind
 ââ'n liâ .
 now be.PRS.3PL

The pretzels are like that, but they were just like the kind we have now.

5.5. Ķiõmrdõõzzi mie'ldd le'jje di siâkki mie'ldd le'jje .
 bunch.PL.GEN by be.PST.3PL and sack.PL.GEN by be.PST.3PL

They came in bunches and in sacks.

5.6. De suurâm le'jje , juõ'kknallšem suurâm .
 and grain.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL each + kind grain.PL.NOM

And there were grains, all kinds of grains.

5.7. Talkkân le'jje , le'jje kâaraċ , puk
 dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL be.PST.3PL pea.PL.NOM all
 le'jje tob juo'kċnallšem porrmōōžž tōn ääi'jest , mon
 be.PST.3PL there each+kind food.PL.NOM DIST.SG.LOC time.SG.LOC 1SG.NOM
 jiōm muu'st puk tōid .
 NEG.1SG remember.NEG 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.

5.8. A suurâm le'jje , tōk sami le'jje siōm
 well (D.P.) grain.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL DIST.PL.NOM quite be.PST.3PL small
 mâ'ta vi'sċċkes pe'sser , prâssan kočċu .
 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.

5.9. Tä'st mon jiōm leäċku vuäinnam tōid
 PROX.SG.LOC 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG be.NEG see.PST.PTCP DIST.PL.ACC
 ni ko'st .
 NEG + REL.SG.LOC

I hadn't seen them anywhere here.

5.10. Prâsshutt , huttaunnâz
 millet.SG.NOM + porridge.SG.NOM porridge.SG.NOM + ingredient.PL.NOM
 le'jje .
 be.PST.3PL

Millet porridge, they were porridge ingredients.

5.11. Talkkân liâ , de
 dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL and
 e'ččepokainek tōid pāi siäksi mie'ldd
 father.SG.NOM + deceased.SG.NOM DIST.PL.ACC always sack.PL.GEN by
 pohtt .
 bring.PRS.3SG

There is dry barley and oat flour mix and my late father always brings it in sacks.

5.12. Â'nn'jōžäi'jest liâ še talkkân .
 present + time.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL also dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.PL.NOM

Nowadays there is also dry barley and oat flour mix.

5.13. Tāin â'te lij rajjum hã't mâid .
 PROX.PL.LOC then (D.P.) be.PRS.3SG make.PASS.PTCP even what.SG.ACC

All kinds of things are made from these (NB. flour mix = PLURAL).

5.14. 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.

5.15. Tōid po'rreš juõ'kknalla : täi'ggen po'rre de mue'rji
 DIST.PL.ACC eat.PST.4 each + way dough.ESS eat.PST.3PL and berry.PL.GEN
 sizz ra'jje de nu'tt le'jje šiõgg .
 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.

5.16. **Mon mooštam go jeä'nn puâccji de**
 1SG.NOM remember.PRS.1SG when mother.SG.NOM become.ill.PST.3SG and
mon ruõ'kkem pie'llekksaž pää'rn , Evvan ,
 1SG.NOM care.for.PST.1SG half.SG.NOM + year.old.SG.NOM boy.SG.ACC John
talkkânve'll'jin di jävv've'll'jin
 dry.barley.and.oat.flour.mix.SG.NOM + gruel.SG.COM and flour.SG.NOM + gruel.SG.COM
, saauz da puõccu mie'lkin .
 sheep.SG.GEN and reindeer.SG.GEN milk.SG.COM

I remember when mother became ill and I looked after a half-year-old boy, John, with fine barley and oat flour gruel, flour gruel, sheep's milk and reindeer's milk.

5.17. **A kuuzz mie'lk vi'žžeš Taarâst tälvva .**
 well (D.P.) cow.SG.GEN milk.SG.ACC fetch.PST.4 Norway.LOC in.winter

Well, people got cow's milk from Norway in winter.

5.18. **A ââ'n tä'st i'lla ni mii**
 well (D.P.) now PROX.SG.LOC NEG.3SG + be.NEG nothing.SG.NOM
läi'ttemnalla , porrmõš lij puk kaaupâst , lij
 criticise.ACT.PTCP + like food.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG all shop.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG
hâ't mii .
 even what.SG.NOM

Well, now here there is nothing to criticise, there is food in all the shops, all kinds of food.

5.19. **Leâš-a mon jiõm poor kaaup puõ'rid porrmõõžžid ,**
 but 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG eat.NEG shop.SG.GEN good.PL.ACC food.PL.ACC
pâi âlgg lee'd kue'll , tõt lij porrmõš .
 always must.PRS.3SG be.INF fish.SG.NOM 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!

5.20. **Da tōn vōōrās kue'1 raaji hā't mā'htt**
 and DIST.SG.ACC fresh fish.SG.ACC make.PST.3SG even how
sä'mmlaž : paa'sti njipččsest , paa'sti kie'mn
 Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM grill.PST.3SG skewer.SG.LOC fry.PST.3SG saucepan.SG.GEN
se'st , kuu'rnkid paa'sti , kuškkii de sa'lttji
 inside Finnish.fish.pasty.PL.ACC bake.PST.3SG let.dry.PST.3SG and salt.PST.3SG
de mā'htt son ij raajjâm tōn kue'les .
 and how 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 pasties, he let it dry and salted it and how didn't he prepare his fish!?

5.21. **Hā't lij siōm kuâlaž , tōid kuškkad de**
 even be.PRS.3SG small fish.DIM.SG.NOM DIST.PL.ACC let.dry.PRS.3SG and
šiōgg kue'1 ku liâ , nu'tt kâ'skķe ku mâ'ta
 good fish.PL.NOM when be.PRS.3PL so become.dry.PRS.3PL when like
kuä'llec šâ'dde digo .
 pretzel.PL.NOM become.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.

5.22. **De tälvva seämmanalla ķeätt di päšt toolâst**
 and in.winter in.the.same.way cook.PRS.3SG and grill.PRS.3SG fire.SG.LOC
de sa'lttje .
 and salt.PRS.3PL

And in winter in the same way he cooks (them) and grills (them) on the fire and they salt them.

5.23. **Tõk le'jje tuâl'ja vuä'mm saa'mi**
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL former.[?] old Saami.PL.GEN
arggpormõõžž .
 weekday.SG.NOM + food.PL.NOM

Those (foods) were the olden day everyday foods of the Saami.

5.24. **Ââ'n mij tä'st jeä'p ni tie'd** .
 now 1PL.NOM PROX.SG.LOC NEG.1PL even know.NEG

Now we don't even know about this.

5.25. **Jeä'p ni pää'st kue'1 , vuei't pä'stted , i'lla**
 NEG.1PL even grill.NEG fish.SG.ACC can.NEG grill.INF NEG.3SG + be.NEG
ni mõõn pä'stted .
 nothing.SG.ACC grill.INF

We don't even grill fish, we can't grill, there is nothing to grill.

5.26. **Na tän sijddpäi'kest mõök liâ**
 well (D.P.) PROX.SG.LOC village.SG.NOM + place.SG.LOC what.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL
kue'lid .
 fish.PL.ACC

Well, in this village, what fish are there?

5.27. **Kåå'tt olgglakkše kuåstâž , paa'stež to'ben** .
 REL.SG.NOM farther.off get.to.POT.3SG grill.POT.3SG there

He who might go further away, might grill there.

6.1. 3. Pie'ccraajmõš

pine.flour.SG.NOM + make.NMLZ

Making pine flour.

7.1. Pie'z3id â'te gu raajât , âlgg lee'd
pine.flour.PL.ACC then (D.P.) when make.CAUS.PRS.3SG must.PRS.3SG be.INF
njââ'lläi'gğ .

cambium.SG.NOM + time.SG.NOM

When making pine (bark) flour, it must be the 'inner-bark time' (= the start of summer, when the bark is looser and easier to remove from the tree).

7.2. Vuõššân âlgg vä'ldded kõõr muõrrmaddjest
first must.PRS.3SG take.INF bark.SG.ACC tree.SG.NOM + base.SG.LOC
vue'tkkmin .

chisel.SG.COM

First one must remove the bark from the base of the tree with a chisel.

7.3. Vue'tkkmin pirr vää'ldet de mâḅḅa pie'33 viirtet .
chisel.SG.COM around take.PRS.4 and later pine.SG.ACC fell.PRS.4

With the chisel one takes (the bark) (from) around (the tree) and later fells the pine.

7.4. Tõn k̄ee'jjmie'ldd kõõr puk vää'ldet , nu'tt što
DIST.SG.GEN until.the.end bark.SG.ACC all take.PRS.4 like.that COMP
mettar kookka kõõr pirr pie'33 vue'tk̄et .
metre.SG.GEN[?] in.length bark.SG.ACC around 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.

7.5. De ve'kke pörttseez de koorâst tön vi'lğges
 and take.PRS.3PL house.SG.ILL.3PL and bark.SG.LOC DIST.SG.ACC white
 njââ'llvaaldöözz vä'ldde .
 phloem.SG.ACC take.PRS.3PL

And they take (the bark) to their house and they take that white phloem from the bark.

7.6. De čuä'rvvkåallmin källa de rä'jje da
 and horn.SG.NOM + scraper.SG.COM scrape.off.PRS.3PL and prepare.PRS.3PL and
 kuškkâd pe'jje de ellsest iŋgee ; kirggan
 dry.INF put.PRS.3PL and embers.SG.LOC dry.out.PRS.3PL become.ready.PRS.3SG
 de čuäckk , pâi norddmöözzin nordškuätt .
 and grow.cold.PRS.3SG only 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).

7.7. De norddmöözzin mo'ttai tön tue'llj le'be
 and spud.SG.COM crush.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.GEN hide.SG.GEN or
 möön-ne â'lnn de nu'tt šâ'dde mâ'ta suurâm digu .
 something.SG.GEN on.top.of and so become.PRS.3PL like 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.

7.8. De tön mâŋŋa jäävvaivui'm sie'jjat de veär
 and DIST.SG.GEN after flour.PL.COM mix.PRS.4 and soup.SG.ACC
 keätt .
 cook.PRS.3SG

And then one mixes it with flour and makes soup.

7.9. **Veärast liöm kuäivv de tōin ru'vvai de**
 soup.SG.LOC stock.SG.ACC ladle.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.COM beat.PRS.3SG and
rääjj da tō'st šō'dde pie'33 .
 produce.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.LOC become.PST.3PL pine.flour.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.

7.10. **Tōn raaji nu'tt .**
 DIST.SG.ACC make.PST.3SG like.that

That's how one made that.

7.11. **De kue'llvuōjj ku lij , porškuä'tte de**
 and fish.SG.NOM + fat.SG.NOM when be.PRS.3SG eat.INCP.PRS.3PL and
tōn peejj tōōzz vuälla mâ'ta huutt digu .
 DIST.SG.ACC put.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.ILL under.ILL like 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.

7.12. **De nu'tt-i kâ'3ze tōn 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.

7.13. **A jäävv ku le'jje occanj , kook jäävtee'm**
 well (D.P.) flour.PL.NOM when be.PST.3PL few REL.PL.NOM flour.without
le'jje , de tōk leei'b sâjja tōn ra'jje .
 be.PST.3PL then DIST.PL.NOM 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.

7.14. **Te'1 jäävv kuu'kkab pe'stte .**
at.that.time flour.PL.NOM far.CMPRT last.PL.3PL

Then the flour lasted for longer.

7.15. **Jävv nu'tt ij pee'st kuu'kk ku occanj lij ,**
flour.SG.NOM like.that NEG.3SG last.NEG long when few be.PRS.3SG
tõin-i gu ij sie'jjet .
DIST.SG.COM-just when NEG.3SG mix.NEG

Flour didn't last for long when there was a little and when they didn't mix it with that (bark).

7.16. **Veärriöm kuäivai de tõi'n so'tkkii ,**
soup.SG.NOM + stock.SG.ACC ladle.PST.3SG and DIST.SG.COM mix.PST.3SG
tõ'st šõõddi mâ'ta lei'bbtäi'ğğ 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.

7.17. **De tõi'n poori leei'b sâjja , juuggi**
and DIST.SG.ACC eat.PST.3SG bread.SG.GEN place.SG.ILL drink.PST.3SG
liõmin .
stock.SG.COM

And one ate that in place of bread, and drank (it) with stock.

7.18. **Kue'1 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.flour.SG.NOM

One ate fish and in place of bread there was pine flour.

7.19. **To'ben leäi ruõššäi'jest luõvâs meä'cc** .
 there be.PST.3SG Russian + time.SG.LOC free forest.SG.NOM

There, in Russian times, there was a free forest (= one could freely fell trees for fuel, building and so on).

7.20. **Na seämmanalla ħe'ldde , što ceäggmuõrid**
 well (D.P.) in.the.same.way forbid.PRS.3PL COMP standing + tree.PL.ACC
igõl vue'tkĳked .
 NEG.3SG + must.NEG strip.bark.INF

Well, in the same way (as in Finland) they (the Russians) forbid people from stripping the bark from standing trees.

7.21. **Vuâtkk ku koon , di vä'ldded älgg**
 strip.bark.PRS.3SG when REL.SG.ACC then take.INF must.PRS.3SG
muõr meädda .
 tree.SG.ACC away

One must take away the tree from which one has stripped bark.

7.22. **Aunnsen älgg ää'nned , kue'dded igõl nu'tt** .
 material.ESS must.PRS.3SG use.INF leave.INF NEG.3SG + must.NEG like.that

One must use it as material and not just leave it there like that.

7.23. Tõnt vue'tkkempie'ccen va'lljee šõ'lles pie'3zid .
 that.is.why strip.bark.ACT.PTCP + pine.ESS choose.PRS.3PL smooth pine.PL.ACC

That's why they choose smooth pine trees from which to strip the bark (lit. as bark-stripping pines).

7.24. Tõin jeä'la ååu's nu'tt jiännai .
 DIST.PL.LOC NEG.3PL + be.NEG branch.PL.NOM so much

Those don't have so many branches.

7.25. Tõin pie'33in ra'jje aaunâsmuõrid :
 DIST.PL.LOC pine.PL.LOC make.PST.3PL timber.PL.ACC
 nue'ttoolgid , säi'mmoolgid ,
 seine.SG.NOM + drying.rack.PL.ACC gill.net.SG.NOM + drying.rack.PL.ACC
 võõnâstealaid , moostid , kaartid da nu'tt
 boat.SG.NOM + stocks.PL.ACC jetty.PL.ACC sheep's.trough.PL.ACC and so
 ooudâs .
 further

*From those pine trees they made timber: seine drying racks, gill net drying racks, boat stocks
 (= wooden structure for supporting boats out of water), jetties, sheep's troughs and so on.*

8.1. 4. Pihttsin
 clothes.PL.LOC

About clothes.

9.1. Mon p̄ai mošt̄tjem , te'1 jeä leämma kaaup
 1SG.NOM only recall.PST.1SG at.that.time NEG.3PL be.PST.PTCP shop.PL.NOM
 âalda , ko'st-a puu'tze Taarâst hã't Lää'dd
 nearby REL.SG.LOC-EMP bring.POT.3PL Norway.LOC even Finland.SG.GEN
 kaaupin vää'ldet .
 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).

9.2. Tök reggsab oummu vuä'stte jäänab da kallšab
 DIST.PL.NOM rich.CMPRT man.PL.NOM buy.PRS.3PL more and expensive.CMPRT
 aunnsid .
 material.PL.ACC

Those richer people bought more things and more expensive cloth.

9.3. A koin i'lla vää'rr , vuä'stte
 well (D.P.) REL.PL.LOC NEG.3SG + be.NEG 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.

9.4. P̄ai jiijj kuärra jiijjâznallšem pihttsid ,
 always self.PL.NOM sew.PRS.3PL self.GEN.3PL + like clothes.PL.ACC
 tuâl'jõžmaall pihttsid .
 former + model.SG.GEN clothes.PL.ACC

They always sew clothes themselves according to their own design, old-fashioned clothes.

9.5. De mon mošttjem , go le'jjem šöddi niöđäž
 and 1SG.NOM recall.PST.1SG when be.PST.1SG grow.PRS.PTCP girl.DIM.SG.NOM
 , e'čč da jeä'nn jie'lle Peäccmest .
 father.SG.NOM and mother.SG.NOM visit.PST.3PL Petsamo.LOC

And I remember when I was a growing girl, father and mother visited Petsamo.

9.6. To'ben pu'htte mu'nne
 there bring.PST.3PL 1SG.ILL
 säi'mmčâ'lmmgaa'restkåaut da
 net.SG.NOM + eye.SG.NOM (=checked) + wool.cloth.SG.NOM + skirt.SG.ACC and
 čäpstökkuurta .
 band.SG.NOM + blouse.SG.ACC

From there they bought a checked woollen skirt and a banded blouse for me.

9.7. O'hsnti leäi kauppjös , su'st leäi
 Oksenti (= man's name) be.PST.3SG shopkeeper.SG.NOM 3SG.LOC be.PST.3SG
 niöđäž , de täk pihttâz jiâ su'nne
 girl.DIM.SG.NOM and PROX.PL.NOM clothes.PL.NOM NEG.3PL 3SG.ILL
 čagškuättam .
 fit.INCP.PST.PTCP

Oksenti was the shopkeeper, he had a little girl, and these clothes didn't fit her anymore.

9.8. Töid pu'htte mu'nne .
 DIST.PL.ACC bring.PST.3PL 1SG.ILL

They brough those for me.

9.9. Nä'de mu'st šööddi kuärgg : mu'ne mooččäs
 then (D.P.) 1SG.LOC become.PST.3SG joy.SG.NOM 1SG.ILL beautiful
 pihttsid pu'htte .
 clothes.PL.ACC bring.PST.3PL

Then I was really happy: they brought beautiful clothes for me.

9.10. A nu'tt le'jje , pâi jiiij kuärra
 well (D.P.) so be.PST.3PL always oneself.PL.NOM sew.PRS.3PL
 pihttsid .
 clothes.PL.ACC

So it was, they always sewed their own clothes.

9.11. Mij jiiij kuäraim di nu'tt hä't kook le'jje .
 1PL.NOM oneself.PL.NOM sew.PST.1PL and so even REL.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL

We sewed ourselves and so did those who were there.

9.12. Kook va'ldde gallmaantid , kook faa'nliid ,
 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.

9.13. Tõin jiiij-i ra'jje mä'htt silttee ,
 DIST.PL.LOC self.PL-EMP make.PST.3PL how be.able.PST.3PL
 jie'nstез mu'vddem mall lij , nu'tt-i ra'jje .
 mother.SG.LOC.3PL that.kind pattern be.PRS.3SG 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.

9.14. **Jiijj-i kuârra tōin aunnsin .**

self-EMP sew.PRS.3PL DIST.PL.LOC material.PL.LOC

They themselves sewed from those materials.

9.15. **Måttam vuârâ â'nne pakk pihttsid .**

certain time use.PRS.3PL warm clothes.PL.ACC

Sometimes they used warm clothes.

9.16. **A faa'nal le'jje ââ'zztee'm , a gallmaant ,**

well (D.P.) flannel.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL thin well (D.P.) [?]

tōk liâ âssas da ravvsab .

DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL thick and firm.CMPRT

Well, flannel was thin, well, [unknown material], that was thick and firmer.

9.17. **Tōid Taarâst pu'hte , tōin e'pet**

DIST.PL.ACC Norway.LOC bring.PST.3PL DIST.PL.LOC again

heä'rvvkåautid raajât .

decoration.SG.NOM + skirt.PL.ACC make.PRS.4

They brought those from Norway, and from those they made decorative skirts.

9.18. **Nue'ttempihttâz le'jje .**

fish.with.seine.net.ACT.PTCP + clothes.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL

There were seine fishing clothes.

9.19. **Kook le'jje reggsab oummu , tők vuä'stte**
REL.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL rich.CMPRT man.PL.NOM DIST.PL.NOM buy.PRS.3PL
värjjaunnsid de tōin neezzan
tarpaulin.SG.NOM + material.PL.ACC and DIST.PL.LOC woman.PL.NOM
suäjkkååutid kuårru mâ'ta mäacckid digu .
protection.SG.NOM + skirt.PL.ACC sew.PST.3PL 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.

9.20. **Tők liâ čää'cctuõ'lljēei pihttâz , što**
DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL water.SG.NOM + keep.PRS.PTCP clothes.PL.NOM COMP
nue'ttmen ij kaast .
seine.fish.PROG.PTCP NEG.3SG get.wet.NEG

They are waterproof clothes, (so) that (when) seine fishing one does not get wet.

9.21. **Tõn-aa puägganj veâl pirr âânn .**
DIST.SG.GEN-EMP belt.SG.NOM[?] still around use.PRS.3SG

*One uses a belt around it. [Would expect SG.ACC form of 'belt', **puäkkanj**]*

9.22. **Mu'ne lij leäm e'ččpokaineċ**
1SG.ILL be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP father.SG.NOM + deceased.SG.NOM
pohttam vi'lğges väärij .
bring.PST.PTCP white tarpaulin.SG.ACC

My late father had brought me a white tarpaulin.

9.28. E'čč i'lleäkku leäm tō'st .
father.SG.NOM NEG.3SG + be.NEG be.PST.PTCP DIST.SG.LOC

Father was not there.

9.29. Mij nue'ttest puõ'dim vuânak .
1PL.NOM seine.net.SG.LOC come.PST.1PL you see (D.P.)

We came from the net, you see.

9.30. E'čč ij tie'd , što mu'vddem mu'st ââ'n
father.SG.NOM NEG.3SG know.NEG COMP what.kind 1SG.LOC now
kâhtt lij šöddâm .
skirt.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG become.PST.PTCP

Father doesn't know, what kind my skirt has now become.

9.31. E'čč ceälkk : " Mii lij Nääskast nâkam
father.SG.NOM say.PRS.3SG what.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG Naska.LOC such
ruõ'psses kââutid nue'ttest ?"
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]

9.32. Jeä'nn ceälkk : " Mii lij kââutid ?
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]

9.33. **Årstökkååutas** **päainai** **lie'ppin** **."**
tarpaulin.SG.NOM + skirt.SG.ACC.3SG dye.PST.3SG alder.SG.COM

She dyed her tarpaulin skirt with alder."

9.34. " **No** **tuõdi** , **viõlggâd** **lij** **še** **teâđast** **sâhss** **."**
well[FI] really white be.PRS.3SG also of.course get.dirty.PRS.3SG

"Well really, it is white, of course it gets dirty."

10.1. **5. Piidi** **pirr**
tax.PL.GEN around

About taxes.

11.1. **Tuállâmsiidâst** **puk** **le'jje** **kue'llšii'li** **."**
Tuuloma + village.SG.LOC all be.PST.3PL fish.SG.NOM + catch.NMLZ.PL.NOM

In Tuuloma village everyone was a fisherman.

11.2. **Pâi** **juõ'kķe** **peäl'lõõžži** **kue'l** **hâ't** **mii** **."**
always divide.PST.3PL in.half fish.SG.ACC even what.SG.NOM

They always divided the fish or whatever in half.

11.3. **Kaupše** **kue'lid** **di** **tie'ğğid** **puk** **juõ'kķe** **peäl'lõõžži** **."**
sell.PST.3PL fish.PL.ACC and money.PL.ACC all divide.PST.3PL in.half

They sold the fish and divided all the money in half.

11.4. Jõnn piid le'jje di tōid puk mähss Tuallâm di
 big tax.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL and DIST.PL.ACC all pay.PRS.3SG Tuuloma and
 teä'ğğ pääcc veâl .
 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.

11.5. Nâkam leäi luõssjokk tōt .
 such be.PST.3SG salmon.SG.NOM + river.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM

Such was that salmon river.

11.6. A kue'lid kaaupše .
 well (D.P.) fish.PL.ACC sell.PST.3PL

Well, they sold fish.

11.7. Čõhčč šâdd de tōt
 autumn.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG and DIST.SG.NOM
 kauppkue'llšee'llemäi'ğğ 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.

11.8. Še'lle še'lle , leâš-a teänab jiâ kaaupâž .
 fish.PRS.3PL fish.PRS.3PL but (any)more NEG.3PL sell.NEG

They fished and they fished, but they didn't sell anymore (fish).

11.9. De tōid kue'lid sa'lttje .

and DIST.PL.ACC fish.PL.ACC salt.PRS.3PL

They salted those fish.

11.10. De kue'lid jue'kķe pōōrti mie'ldd .

and fish.PL.ACC divide.PRS.3PL house.PL.GEN among

And they divided the fish among the households.

11.11. Leāš-a te'1 leäi nijdd vuä'zzpie'll

but at.that.time be.PST.3SG girl.SG.NOM portion.SG.GEN + half.SG.NOM

ooumaž , a āāumpä'rnn leäi

person.SG.NOM well (D.P.) man.SG.NOM + child.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG

tiuddvuāzzlaž .

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).

11.12. De ķeä'st liā āāumpää'rn jäänab ,

and who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL man.SG.NOM + child.PL.NOM more

tōt jäänab vuāžž .

DIST.SG.NOM more get.PRS.3SG

Those who have more boys, they get more.

11.13. A **ķēā'st** **liâ** **niōđ** , **tōt** **uu'ccab**
 well (D.P.) who.SG.LOC be.PRS.3PL girl.PL.NOM DIST.SG.NOM small.CMPRT
vuāžž .
 get.PRS.3SG

Well, those who have girls, they get less.

11.14. A **ââ'n Lää'ddest** **liâ** **kuhttu õõutnalla** ,
 well (D.P.) now Finland.LOC be.PRS.3PL both one.SG.GEN + like (= equal)
ååumai **da neezzan** , **ij** **ni kuäbbaž**
 man.PL.NOM and woman.PL.NOM NEG.3SG neither.SG.NOM
vuä'zzpie'll .
 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)).

11.15. **Tuällâmjokk** **tōt** **leäi** : **poorti** **da**
 Tuuloma + river.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG eat.CAUS.PST.3SG and
piidid **maau'si** .
 tax.PL.ACC pay.PST.3SG

That was the River Tuuloma: it fed and it paid the taxes.

11.16. A **måtmin** **siidin** **jōnn piid** **le'jje** **de**
 well (D.P.) certain.PL.LOC village.PL.LOC big tax.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL and
mä'hssed jiâ **vuei't** .
 pay.INF NEG.3PL can.NEG

Well, some village had big taxes and are unable to pay.

11.17. **Piidva'lddi** see'st **kie'mn** vä'ldde ,
 tax.SG.GEN + take.NMLZ.PL.NOM 3PL.LOC saucepan.SG.ACC take.PRS.3PL
määccaĵ **lij** **â'lnn de tön** **jä'hsse** **piidâst** .
 Saami.coat.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG on and DIST.SG.ACC 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.

11.18. **Piid** **päkk** **lij** **mä'hssed** .
 tax.SG.ACC obligation be.PRS.3SG pay.INF

It was compulsory to pay tax.

11.19. **Måtmin** **i'lla** **ni mii** , **di**
 certain.PL.LOC NEG.3SG + be.NEG nothing.SG.NOM and
ĵe'ttemkie'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.

11.20. **Hå't-i** **ââ'n â'te** **lij** **de mä'hssed ij** **vuei't** ,
 even-EMP now then (D.P.) be.PRS.3SG and pay.INF NEG.3SG can.NEG
nârrai **nârrai** , **ĵeäin** **liâ** **põört** , **ĵeäin**
 gather.PST.3SG gather.PST.3SG who.PL.LOC be.PRS.3PL house.PL.NOM who.PL.LOC
mõök **le'žže** , **puk mâ'nne** .
 what.PL.NOM 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).

11.21. Tõ'st mij ku kuä'ss leei'm
DIST.SG.LOC 1PL.NOM when when/at.which.time be.PST.1PL

Ruõššjännmest , te'l leäi piid .
Russian + land.SG.LOC at.that.time be.PST.3SG tax.SG.NOM

There, at that time when we were in Russia, then there was tax.

11.22. Ku Tuállâmjokkšee'llem peäl'lõõžži , te'l
when Tuuloma + river.SG.NOM + catch.SG.NOM in.half at.that.time

Tuállâmjokk puk kaa'tti tōid piidid .
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.

11.23. Kaallâš jokk paa'žži .
rich river.SG.NOM remain.PST.3SG

It remained a rich river.

12.1. 6. Juõ'kkpeivvsaž jie'llem
each + day.SG.NOM life.SG.NOM

Everyday life.

13.1. **Â'nn'jözäi'jest sää'mjie'llem i'lla ni voops**
present + time.SG.LOC Saami.SG.GEN + life.SG.NOM NEG.3SG + be.NEG not.at.all

tuâl'jöz saa'minallsem jie'llem , töt leäi jee'res
former Saami.PL.GEN + like life.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG different
jie'llem saa'min , meä'ccjie'llem leäi .
life.SG.NOM Saami.PL.LOC 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.

13.2. **Tä'st ään lij mä'ta digu gäärad , igöl**
PROX.SG.LOC now be.PRS.3SG like like city.SG.NOM NEG.3SG + must.NEG
ni vä'zged , igöl ni suukkâd koozz ku
even walk.INF NEG.3SG + must.NEG even row.INF REL.SG.ILL when
vuâlgg .
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.

13.3. **Pâi aautin de pyöräivui'm de motorivui'm de**
always car.SG.COM and bike[FI].PL.COM and motor.boat.PL.COM and
skotrivui'm di mōōivui'm jiâ jää'd .
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!?

13.4. **A tuu'l töt leäi jee'res jie'llem .**
well (D.P.) in.former.times DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG different life.SG.NOM

Well, life was different back then.

13.5. Puk tuejje jiiĵ : nuõ'ttid , sääi'mid ,
 all make.PST.3PL self.PL.NOM seine.net.PL.ACC gill.net.PL.ACC
 vönnsid , ķe'rrsid , ķeâlkaid di saanid .
 boat.PL.ACC "ahkio".sled.PL.ACC "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.

13.6. Puõccid hoi'ddĵe 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.

13.7. Tõt leäi jie'llem .
 DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG life.SG.NOM

That was life.

13.8. Mon veâl šõ'ddem tõn ääi'jest de tõn
 1SG.NOM still be.born.PST.1SG DIST.SG.LOC time.SG.LOC and DIST.SG.ACC
 mooštam .
 remember.PRS.1SG

I was born when it was still that time and I remember it.

13.9. Mij jeäp teättam maai'lm jie'llem ni mõõn .
 1PL.NOM NEG.1PL know.PST.PTCP world.SG.GEN life.SG.ACC nothing.SG.ACC

We didn't know about the life of the world at all.

13.10. Pue'rr leäi da hää'sk leäi .

good be.PST.3SG and fun be.PST.3SG

It was good and it was fun.

13.11. Mij leei'm ĵee'rjte'mes oummu .

1PL.NOM be.PST.1PL letter.SG.GEN + without (=illiterate) person.PL.NOM

We were illiterate people.

13.12. Tõn tiõ'di ku pei'vv pirr ââ'lm

DIST.SG.ACC know.PST.3SG when sun.SG.NOM around sky.SG.GEN

ĵåått da piõgg muõrid da čää'33 liikktååll da

travel.PRS.3SG and wind.SG.NOM tree.PL.ACC and water.SG.ACC move.PRS.3SG and

tää'sn ââ'lmest ĵå'tte de kuå'ss oumaž räåi mâånn .

star.PL.NOM sky.SG.LOC go.PRS.3PL and 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.

13.13. A ĵåkkoumaž puått , pâ'lle nu'tt mâ'ta

well (D.P.) strange.person.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG fear.PRS.3PL so like

såå'rimest digu .

death.SG.LOC like

Well, if a strange person came, they were scared to death.

13.14. Nu'tt pâåll .

like.that fear.PRS.3SG

Like that one fears.

13.19. Nu'tt siidâst â'te jâlste pâi koumm oummu .
So village.SG.LOC then (D.P.) live.PRS.3PL only three person.PL.NOM

So only three people live in the village.

13.20. Te'1 liâ õõoutsââ'jest .
at.that.time be.PRS.3PL one.LOC + place.SG.LOC

At that time they are together.

13.21. Mân̄ṅa liâ puk õõuti , kââ'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").

13.22. Pâi kuä'ss ko'st ĩii kuei'mes â'rnn
only when REL.SG.LOC who.SG.NOM other.(person).SG.GEN.3SG to.one's.place
jeäll .
go.PRS.3SG

Only sometimes somebody visits his neighbour. [?]

13.23. A jâkkoumm̄in nu'tt põ'lle gu mâ'ta kaamm̄gast .
well (D.P.) strange.person.PL.LOC so fear.PST.3PL as like bear.SG.LOC

Well, they feared strange people like they feared a bear.

13.24. A kaammgast jeä'p nu'tt pōöllâm gu mä'htt
 well (D.P.) bear.SG.LOC NEG.1PL so fear.PST.PTCP as how
 oummust pōōliim .
 person.SG.LOC fear.PST.1PL

Well, we didn't fear a bear as much as we feared a person.

13.25. Ââ'n ij pōōl ni mâ'st .
 now NEG.3SG fear.NEG nothing.SG.LOC

Now one doesn't fear anything.

13.26. Mon â'te šō'ddem di jie'llem di nu'tt leäi
 1SG.NOM then (D.P.) be.born.PST.1SG and life.SG.NOM and so be.PST.3SG
 hää'sk da pue'rr .
 fun and good

So I was born and life and all that was fun and good.

13.27. Mōön vuõi'ti da mōön ķirggni
 what.SG.ACC be.able.PST.3SG and what.SG.ACC have.time.PST.3SG
 rōsseed , tōn-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.

13.28. Kooum vuâra peei'vest vōörâs kue'l vâldd jâäu'rest
 three.SG.GEN time day.SG.LOC fresh fish.SG.ACC take.PRS.3SG lake.SG.LOC
 , kâgg , pâârr .
 pick.up.PRS.3SG eat.PRS.3SG

Three times a day one takes fresh fish from the lake, picks (it) up, and eats it.

13.29. **Tä'lvv šööddi , junstá'le .**
winter.SG.NOM become.PST.3SG fish.with.ice.net.PRS.3PL

Winter arrives and one fishes with ice nets.

13.30. **Ķidd šádd , seämanalla .**
spring.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG in.the.same.way

Likewise when spring arrives.

13.31. **Di tōōivui'm jeäll .**
and DIST.PL.COM live.PRS.3SG

And with those one lives.

13.32. **Kää'tt lij reggsab ooumaž de jäänab**
REL.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG rich.CMPRT person.SG.NOM and more
zavoot lij , kádd jäänab kue'1 ,
site[RU].PL.NOM be.PRS.3SG catch.PRS.3SG more fish.SG.ACC
tä'lvvkue'1 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.

13.33. **Leáš-a mátam liâ ää'pptab nu'tt še .**
but some be.PRS.3PL help + without.CMPRT (= poorer) like.that also

But some are also poorer.

13.34. Tök-õs kuei'mm kuei'mes vie'kkte , sie'bri
 DIST.PL.NOM-as.for each.other.SG.ACC.3SG help.PRS.3PL in.a.group
 še'lle .
 fish.PRS.3PL

As for those, they help each other, they fish together in a group.

13.35. Mon â'te jiõm väjldââ'tt ouddâl tõn pääi'k
 1SG.NOM then (D.P.) NEG.1SG forget.NEG before DIST.SG.ACC place.SG.ACC
 gu tunâlmma mõiõžem .
 when after.life.SG.ILL go.POT.1SG

I won't forget that place until I might go to the afterlife.

13.36. Âân mon jiõm pââ'st ni koozz , vuei't
 now 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG be.able.NEG NEG + REL.SG.ILL can.NEG
 ni koozz .
 NEG + REL.SG.ILL

Now I'm not able to go anywhere, I can't go anywhere.

13.37. Mu'st kâl ârra še kue'l tob , ko'st liâ .
 1SG.LOC yes towards also fish.PL.NOM there REL.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).

13.38. Jiõm vuei't di jiõm kuâst .
 NEG.1SG can.NEG and NEG.1SG be.capable.of.going.NEG

I can't and I am not capable of going (to fish).

13.39. Poorčem mon kâ'1 vōōrâs kue'1 , leâš-a ko'st tōn
 eat.COND.1SG 1SG.NOM yes fresh fish.SG.ACC but REL.LOC DIST.SG.ACC
 vääldak .
 take.PRS.2SG

I could eat fresh fish, yes, but where do you take it from.

13.40. Ķii pohtt de te'1 lij šiõgg .
 who.SG.NOM bring.PRS.3SG and at.that.time be.PRS.3SG good

If someone brings (me fish) it will be nice.

13.41. Puä'resvuõtt tōn âma ceä'lkķe , što tōt
 old.age.SG.NOM DIST.SG.ACC probably say.PRS.3PL COMP DIST.SG.NOM
 i'lla rääda'st .
 NEG.3SG + be.NEG in.high.spirits

People say that old age is not a joyful time.

13.42. Leâš-a tōn âma vuäitt pågsted , što kää'tt
 but DIST.SG.ACC probably can.PRS.3SG laugh.INF COMP REL.SG.NOM
 puärasm , tōt juâkksi'žže puätt .
 grow.old.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.NOM each.one.SG.ILL come.PRS.3SG

But he can laugh at that, the one who grows old, (because) that (old age) comes to everyone.

13.43. Äi'ğğ 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).

13.44. **Ķeäzz** **ââ'kk** **lij** **puä'respei'vv** .
who.SG.ILL age.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG old + day.SG.NOM

[Unsure of translation].

14.1. 7. **Sää'mkiöl** **pirr**
Saami.SG.GEN + language.SG.GEN around

About the Skolt Saami language

15.1. **Mättam jõöll** **liä** **nu'tt** **što** **säämas**
certain lunatic.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL like.that COMP in.Saami.language
igöl **särnnad** , **aštõ'lle** .
NEG.3SG + must.NEG speak.INF remember.PRS.3PL

There are certain lunatics (who say) that one mustn't speak in Skolt Saami, they say.

15.2. **Mee'st kâ'1 tők** **jeä** **leämmaš** , **što** **igöl**
1PL.LOC yes DIST.PL.NOM NEG.3PL be.PST.PTCP COMP NEG.3SG + must.NEG
säämas **särnnad** .
in.Saami.language speak.INF

At ours (= in our family) there were none of those (who said) that we mustn't speak Skolt Saami.

15.3. **Kuhttu kiõ'lle** **säärnat** .
both language.SG.ILL speak.4

We spoke both languages. [Note use of illative].

15.4. A mon gu Lää'ddjânma puõ'ttem , jiõm
 well (D.P.) 1SG.NOM when Finn.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL come.PST.1SG NEG.1SG
 silttääm lääddas ni čää'33 raukkâd .
 be.able.PST.PTCP in.Finnish.language even water.SG.ACC ask.for.INF

Well, when I came to Finland I wasn't even able to ask for water in Finnish.

15.5. Nu'tte le'jjem , hã't le'jjem nelljlo-ekksaž ,
 like.that-just be.PST.1SG even.though be.PST.1SG forty + year.old.SG.NOM
 pâ'jjel .
 over

That's how I was, even though I was over forty years old.

15.6. Kã'1 lää'ddkiõll ij jáattam .
 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).

15.7. Ruõššãs kã'1 siltteem , leãš-a âã'n leãm puk
 in.Russian.language yes be.able.PST.1SG but now be.PRS.1SG all
 väjldâttam .
 forget.PST.PTCP

I was able to speak Russian, yes, but now I have forgotten it all.

15.8. Ķee'rij pann'nalla vuäinam .
 book.SG.ACC bad + like see.PRS.1SG

I can't see a book very well.

15.9. **Â'lgge lee'd nâkam ââ'sk lookkâd ruõšškee'rij .**
 must.PRS.3PL be.INF such glasses.PL.NOM read.INF Russian + book.SG.ACC

I must use (lit. there must be) such a kind of glasses to read a Russian book.

15.10. **Lää'ddkiõl mon jiõm fi'tte**
 Finn.SG.GEN + language.SG.ACC 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG understand.NEG
ni mõõn .
 nothing.SG.ACC

I don't understand Finnish at all.

15.11. **Ei'dde tâma kâ'1 tâttad le'jjem , jiõččan nõõm**
 just [?] certainly want.INF be.PST.1SG self.GEN.1SG name.SG.ACC
le'jjem kee'rjted , leâš-a jiõm huõllâm .
 be.PST.1SG write.INF 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.

15.12. **Pue'rab lij , jiõm silttâd .**
 good.CMPRT be.PRS.3SG NEG.1SG be.able.NEG

It is better that I am not able.

16.1. 8. **Ceerkav pirr**
 church.SG.GEN around

About church.

17.1. 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.

17.2. Škooul leäi de tön-i õ'ne ceerkven ,
school.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG and DIST.SG.NOM-just use.PST.3PL church.ESS

kuä'ss papp puätt .
when priest.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG

There was a school and they used just that as a church when the priest comes.

17.3. Ceerkav leäi tob Risttkee'ddest .
church.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG there Ristikenttä.SG.LOC

There was a church there at Ristikenttä.

17.4. To'ben já'tte ku mee'st i'lleäm ceerkav .
from.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.

17.5. Papp kuä'ss puätt põõ'zzid le'be veäncčõöttâm
priest.SG.NOM when come.PRS.3SG holy.day.PL.ILL[?] or marry.ACT.PTCP

diött káčča , de škooulâst-i õ'ne .
for.the.sake.of be.called.PRS.3SG and 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.

17.6. Tõ'st leäi â'te škoolâst tuâggpeä'lnn zää'vešk
 DIST.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG then (D.P.) school.SG.LOC back+side curtain.SG.ACC
 pijjum kō'skķe .
 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"].

17.7. Kuä'ss päärnain ku lij mätt'tōsäi'ğģ , tob
 when child.PL.LOC when be.PRS.3SG teaching.SG.NOM+time.SG.NOM there
 tue'kķen liâ kavvâz , pāi zää'vešk ou'dde ro'ttješ .
 behind.(ESS) be.PRS.3PL icon.PL.NOM only 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).

17.8. A sluu'žbid â'nškuä'tte , te'1 zää'vešk
 well (D.P.) service.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.

17.9. Mij siidâst leäi še ruõkkâmsââ'jj de
 1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG also bury.ACT.PTCP+place.SG.NOM and
 Risttķee'ddest leäi .
 Ristikenttä.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG

There was also a burial site in our village and it was in Ristikenttä.

17.10. Leáš-a tuâl'jõžääi'jest le'jje , de ko'st ju'n
 but former + time.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL and REL.LOC already
 pâ'jjpääi'kin lij jälstemen , keä'st-a
 summer.dwelling.area.PL.LOC be.PRS.3SG live.PROG.PTCP each.SG.LOC
 mâ'mmet liâ jälstemsââi , koozz jäämm ,
 to.what.extent be.PRS.3PL live.ACT.PTCP + place.PL.NOM REL.SG.ILL die.PRS.3SG
 de tõe'zz-i rue'kke .
 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.

17.11. Tõ'st ââlda vuä'mm jaa'mi ku liâ ,
 DIST.SG.LOC nearby old deceased.PL.NOM when be.PRS.3PL
 te'l ve'kke õõutsâjja .
 at.that.time take.PRS.3PL one.ILL + place.SG.ILL

If there were some old graves nearby (lit. old deceased), then they buried them together.

17.12. A kuu'kkab kōskk lij , de koozz
 well (D.P.) far.CMPRT distance.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG and REL.SG.ILL
 jäämm , de tõe'zz-i pe'jje .
 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.

17.13. **Kook** **â'te** **aau'did** **kuäivva** , **kook** **tuejje**
REL.PL.NOM then (D.P.) grave.PL.ACC dig.PRS.3PL REL.PL.NOM do.PRS.3PL
lee'tt , **kook** **pihttsid** **rä'jje** **da** **pâ'sse** **da**
coffin.SG.ACC REL.PL.NOM clothes.PL.ACC make.PRS.3PL and wash.PRS.3PL and
maddu **pe'jje** , **te'1** **pâi** **tõk** **puõ'tte**
ground.SG.ILL put.PRS.3PL at.that.time only DIST.PL.NOM come.PST.3PL
ruõkkâmpoodd .
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.

17.14. **Te'1** **leäi** , **jiõnnsa** **reäggee'1** **prâ'sšjõ'tte** .
at.that.time be.PST.3SG aloud cry.INSTR say.goodbye.PST.3PL

Back then people said their farewell by crying aloud.

17.15. **Silttääm** **mon** **kâ'1** **virsseed** , **leâš-a** **jiõm** **vuei't**
be.able.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM certainly wail.INF but NEG.1SG can.NEG
ku **pâi** **te'1** , **gu** **leäm** **jaa'mmja** **prâ'sšjõöttmen** .
when only at.that.time 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 saying goodbye to someone who has died.

17.16. A tä'st gu rue'kke , tok ruåd
 well (D.P.) PROX.SG.LOC when bury.PRS.3PL to.there relative.PL.NOM
 kuâddje , päärna , hã't jeä'nn , hã't niõđ , hã't
 remain.PST.3PL child.PL.NOM even mother.SG.NOM even girl.PL.NOM even
 kää'lles , hã't äkk , hã't mõök , mu'st
 grandfather.SG.NOM even grandmother.SG.NOM even what.PL.NOM 1SG.LOC
 liâ mängg kõõčâm , jiõm vuei't .
 be.PRS.3PL many ask.PST.PTCP NEG.1SG can.NEG

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).

17.17. Grååm gu kuä'ss reäggam de kää'tt lij jäämmam de
 only.then when cry.PRS.1SG and REL.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG die.PST.PTCP and
 tõn ã'lñn leäm reäkkam .
 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.

17.18. Teänab mon jiõm vuei't virsseed .
 (any)more 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG can.NEG wail.INF

I can't wail any more.

17.19. Mon leäm mänggsest kuâddjam .
 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG many.people.SG.LOC remain.PST.PTCP

I have outlived many people.

17.20. **Kuõ'htt källaz liâ möönnâm .**
two husband.(old).SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL go.PST.PTCP

Two husbands (of mine) have gone (= died).

17.21. **Piârân leäi õhtt nijdd , töt leäi**
family.ESS be.PST.3SG one girl.SG.NOM DIST.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG

kuudnie'ttlõõzzâž , teä jaa'mi .
six.SG.GEN + week.old.SG.NOM then die.PST.3SG

As a family [?] there was one girl, she was a six-week-old and then she died.

17.22. **Jeä'nn jaa'mi da mon kuâddjem**
mother.SG.NOM die.PST.3SG and 1SG.NOM remain.PST.1SG

kutmloekksi'žžen .
sixteen + year.old.ESS

Mother died and I was left as a sixteen-year-old.

17.23. **Koummân jie'nnest leäm puärrsumus kuâddjam .**
three.SG.LOC mother.SG.LOC be.PRS.1SG old.SUPL remain.PST.PTCP

From three mothers, I am the oldest who has remained.

17.24. **Ee'jjest le'jje koumm ää'kk de mon leäm**
father.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL three wife.SG.GEN and 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG

vuõssmõs ää'kk puärrsumus nijdd .
first wife.SG.GEN old.SUPL girl.SG.NOM

Father had three wives and I am the first wife's oldest daughter.

17.25. **Kâ'1 tō'st lij mātamuâra reäkkmuš**
really DIST.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG some + time (= once) cry.NMLZ.SG.NOM

puättam , ku tōk mō'ne puk ruãđ .
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).

17.26. **Ouddâl tob Risttkee'ddest jo'tte .**

before there Ristikenttä.SG.LOC travel.PST.3PL

In earlier times they travelled there, to Ristikenttä.

17.27. **Papp leäi to'ben ââldmōõzzâst .**

priest.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG there near[?].SG.LOC

The nearest priest was there. [Unsure of exact meaning].

17.28. **A päärnaž kuä'ss lij šōddâm tälvva ,**

well (D.P.) child.DIM.SG.NOM when be.PRS.3SG be.born.PST.PTCP in.winter

papp ku si'jdde puätt , de te'1
priest.SG.NOM when village.SG.ILL come.PRS.3SG and at.that.time

re'stte .

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).

17.29. **A ķeassa papp vaa'33i pōõrti mie'ldd**

well (D.P.) in.summer priest.SG.NOM walk.PST.3SG house.PL.GEN among

päärnaid risttâm diōtt .

child.PL.ACC christen.ACT.PTCP for.the.sake.of

Well, in summer the priest walked from house to house in order to christen the children.

17.30. **Te'1 le'jje mâtmin ju'n kuõi'tes riistkeânnai**
 at.that.time be.PST.3PL sometimes already couple.(of.people) christen.ABE
de suännaid õhttna ri'stte .
 and 3DU.PL.ACC at.once christen.PST.3PL

Then there were sometimes already a couple of unchristened (children) and they christened the two of them at the same time.

17.31. **Papp ku lij ku'kkën di ku'kk lij risttâd**
 priest.SG.NOM when be.PRS.3SG far.ESS and long be.PRS.3SG christen.INF
jåå'tted , de ku rââ'sš liâ siômâž , de te'lles
 travel.INF then when weak be.PRS.3PL child.DIM.SG.NOM then immediately
vuäitt risttâd .
 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) immediately.

17.32. **Tõ'st lij nâkam ooumaž , go risttâd**
 DIST.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG such person.SG.NOM when christen.INF
vuäitt .
 can.PRS.3SG

There is a certain person who can (= is permitted to) christen. [Unsure of exact meaning].

17.33. **Sää'mriistâst restt .**
 Saami.SG.GEN + christening.SG.LOC christen.PRS.3SG

He christens (using) the Skolt Saami christening. [Unsure of exact meaning; note use of locative].

17.34. **Mån̄ṅa papp ku puätt , te'1 teänab ij**
 later priest.SG.NOM when come.PRS.3SG at.that.time (any)more NEG.3SG
čää'zgest kasttâd , pâi miramâstt .
 water.SG.LOC christen.NEG only anoint.PRS.3SG

Later when the priest comes, then he doesn't christen with water any more, but anoints (with oil).

17.35. **A riistkeännai i'lleäm lå'pp ââ'ned ,**
 well (D.P.) christen.ABE NEG.3SG + be.PST.PTCP permission.SG.NOM keep.INF
što risttâd âlgg te'lles-i .
 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.

17.36. **E'čč ij vuei't risttâd go ei'dde lij**
 father.SG.NOM NEG.3SG can.NEG christen.INF when just be.PRS.3SG
šöddâm .
 be.born.PST.PTCP

A father cannot christen when (a child) has just been born.

17.37. **Jee'res ku lij , son vuäitt risttâd tön**
 different when be.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM can.PRS.3SG christen.INF DIST.SG.ACC
ei'ddešöddâm siõ'me .
 just + born.PST.PTCP small.child.SG.ACC

When it's a different (person), he can christen that new-born child.

17.38. De sää'mriistâst ri'stte .
then Saami.SG.GEN + christening.SG.LOC christen.PST.3PL

Then they christened (using) the Skolt Saami christening. [Unsure of exact meaning; note use of locative].

17.39. De te'1 leäi pâi sä'mmlaž ku
then at.that.time be.PST.3SG always Skolt.Saami.SG.NOM when
restt .
christen.PRS.3SG

At that time there was always a Skolt Saami person present when he christens.

17.40. Sää'mriistâst leäi nōmm Evvan da
Saami.SG.GEN + christening.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG name.SG.NOM John and
Mä'rjj .
Mary

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"].

17.41. Papp leäi mie'rrääm nu'tt .
priest.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG order.PST.PTCP like.that

The priest had ordered like that.

17.42. De mâŋŋa ku re'stte , ku ķii tätt
then later when christen.PST.3PL when who.SG.NOM want.PRS.3SG
vaajted , de vaajat nōöm .
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.

17.43. Ku ij täätt , de tōid-i pe'jje .
when NEG.3SG want.NEG then 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)).

17.44. Te'l leäi ruõššäi'jest nu'tt .
at.that.time be.PST.3SG Russian + time.SG.LOC like.that

That's how it was in the Russian times.

18.1. 9. Rosttov pirr
Christmas.SG.GEN around

About Christmas.

19.1. Mon gu šõõddim , de mu'st jeä'nn le'jje ,
1SG.NOM when be.born.PST.1SG and 1SG.LOC mother.SG.NOM be.PST.3PL
te'l leäi roostpââ'ss .
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.

19.2. 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.

19.3. Kutt nie'ttel âlgg pâi pââ'zzted , pâi õõlgi
 six week.SG.GEN must.PRS.3SG only fast.INF only have.to.PST.3SG
 kue'l poorrâd .
 fish.SG.ACC eat.INF

For six weeks one had to just fast, one had to eat only fish.

19.4. De tők kutt neä'ttel ku mâ'nne
 and DIST.PL.NOM six week.SG.GEN when go.PRS.3PL
 rosttovkäänan puätt .
 Christmas.SG.NOM + eve.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG

And when those six weeks are over then Christmas eve arrives.

19.5. Rosttovkäänan jiâ poor ni kue'l .
 Christmas.SG.NOM + eve.SG.GEN NEG.3PL eat.NEG even fish.SG.ACC

On Christmas eve they don't even eat fish.

19.6. Õõut leei'b pâ'rre tõn käänanpei'v .
 one.SG.ACC bread.SG.ACC eat.PRS.3PL DIST.SG.GEN eve.SG.NOM + day.SG.GEN

They eat one bread on that (Christmas) eve.

19.7. De rosttovpei'vv puätt , de pââ'ss
 and Christmas.SG.NOM + day.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG and holy.day.SG.NOM
 puätt , see'st šâdd rääda'st .
 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.

19.8. Kuärgg šâdd , što pââ'ss pue'di .

joy.SG.NOM become.PRS.3SG COMP holy.day.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG

There is joy that a holy day has come.

19.9. De vue'žž pâi rä'jje , vue'žžid ěee'ttet , ěeä'st

and meat.SG.ACC only make.PRS.3PL meat.PL.ACC cook.PRS.4 who.SG.LOC

lij puõi'dd da vuä'žž .

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.

19.10. De kue'ss puä'tte , de vue'žžin ä'lğge

and visitor.PL.NOM come.PRS.3PL and meat.SG.COM begin.PRS.3PL

kuâsted .

entertain.INF

Then the visitors come and they begin to entertain (them) with meat.

19.11. Di vei'nn lij de jugškuä'tte , jeä'lškuä'tte .

and alcohol.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG and drink.INCP.PRS.3PL live.INCP.PRS.3PL

And there is alcohol and they start to drink and start to have a good time (lit. start to live).

19.12. Kuõ'htt peei'v liâ rosttovpeei'v .

two day.SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL Christmas.SG.NOM + day.PL.NOM

There are two days of Christmas.

19.13. **Te'1 tōid pōō'zzid nu'tt-i mō'ne .**
 at.that.time DIST.PL.ACC holy.day.PL.ACC like.that-just go.PST.3PL

Like that those holidays went by. [Unsure of exact meaning and why accusative case is used].

19.14. **De tō'st lij , mä'htt lij ââ'n še ,**
 and DIST.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG how be.PRS.3SG now also
vee'restkōskk .
 Epiphany.SG.NOM + middle.SG.NOM

Then there is, like nowadays also, the time between Christmas Day and Epiphany.

19.15. **Tät mâânn â'te kuō'htt nie'ttled , te'1**
 PROX.SG.NOM go.PRS.3SG then (D.P.) two week.PART at.that.time
lij pâi argg , jeä'la kue'llpeei'v .
 be.PRS.3SG only weekday.SG.NOM NEG.3PL + be.NEG 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).*

19.16. **Di tō'st vee'rest ku mâ'ne , de vâ'stt**
 and DIST.SG.LOC Epiphany.PL.NOM when go.PRS.3PL then back
argg vuâlgg .
 weekday.SG.NOM leave.PRS.3SG

And from there when Epiphany is over, then it's back to everyday life.

19.17. Tõt lij

DIST.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG

tä'lvvargg .

winter.SG.NOM + weekday.SG.NOM (= time following Epiphany)

That was the time following Epiphany.

19.18. Leãš-a kuõ'htt peei'v liâ kue'llpeei'v

but two day.SG.GEN be.PRS.3PL fish.SG.NOM + day.PL.NOM

kõskknie'tlest : 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.

19.19. Te'1 jiâ poor vue'žž .

at.that.time NEG.3PL eat.NEG meat.SG.ACC

Then they don't eat meat.

19.20. Jeä'nn leäi de te'1 jeät vue'žž porrum

mother.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG and at.that.time NEG.4 meat.SG.ACC eat.PASS.PTCP

de puk kärldõöggid pââss tõn peei'v .

and all dish.PL.ACC wash.PRS.3SG DIST.SG.GEN day.SG.GEN

(When) mother was (alive), then meat was not eaten (on those days) and she washes all the dishes that day.

19.21. **Ku mij peittast mõõn poorrâp de mi'jjid**
 when 1PL.NOM secret.SG.LOC what.SG.ACC eat.PRS.1SG then 1PL.ACC
reängg , što mõõzz vue'žž poorrve'ted .
 scold.PRS.3SG 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.

19.22. **De e'pet neljdpei'vv mâänn , piâtnâc**
 and again fourth + day.SG.NOM (= Thursday) go.PRS.3SG Friday
puätt .
 come.PRS.3SG

And again Thursday goes and Friday comes.

19.23. **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.

19.24. **Sue'vet di pâ'sspei'vv di**
 Saturday and holy + day.SG.NOM (= Sunday) and
vuõssargg di mââibargg
 first + weekday.SG.NOM (= Monday) and back + weekday.SG.NOM (= Tuesday)
tök liâ arggpeei'v , vue'žžid te'l
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PRS.3PL weekday.SG.NOM + day.PL.NOM meat.PL.ACC at.that.time
pâ'rre .
 eat.PRS.3PL

Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, those are weekdays and they eat meat then.

20.1. 10. **Maiddpââ'zzlâšttam**

Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM

Shrove Tuesday.

21.1. **Maiddpââ'zzlâšttam puätt .**

Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG

Shrove Tuesday comes.

21.2. **De te'1 vuâjsteš di siõ'rreš .**

and at.that.time drive.around.PST.4 and play.PST.4

Then one would drive around and play.

21.3. **Maiddpââ'zzlâšttampeei'v nu'tt vuâjat saanivui'm**

Shrove.Tuesday.SG.NOM + day.SG.GEN like.that drive.PST.4 "sani".sled.PL.COM

di ke'rrsivui'm .

and "ahkio".sled.PL.COM

On Shrove Tuesday one drives with a "sani" sled and an "ahkio" sled.

21.4. **Siõrât de vuâjat , ta'nssjet de nue'r siõrat**

play.PRS.4 and drive.PRS.4 dance.PRS.4 and rope.SG.ACC play.PRS.4

tue'lää räjja .

in.the.morning until

One plays and drives, dances and plays the rope (game) until morning.

21.5. De e'pet pãâ'ss puätt , jönn pãâ'ss
 and again holy.day.SG.NOM come.PRS.3SG big holy.day.SG.NOM
 puätt .
 come.PRS.3SG

And again it's a holy day, a big holy day arrives.

21.6. De tok tõt hää'skes podd mõiini .
 and to.there DIST.SG.NOM fun time.SG.NOM go.PST.3SG

And there that fun time went by.

21.7. Pãâ'zzlãšt tampei'v jeä'kkää vä'zškuä'tte
 fast.SG.NOM + day.SG.GEN in.the.evening walk.INCP.PRS.3PL
 pro'sttjööttmen kuei'mm kuei'mez å'rnn puk pööri
 ask.forgiveness.PROG.PTCP each.other.SG.GEN.3PL at.one's.place all house.PL.GEN
 puärraz : " Pro'sttje'ked muu pã'jjel jönn pãâ'zz jie'lled ."
 old.person.PL.NOM forgive.IMP.2PL 1SG.ACC over big fast.SG.GEN live.INF

On the day of fasting, in the evening, they start to walk asking for forgiveness at each other's homes, all the old people from the houses (say): "Forgive me (in order) to live through this big fast."

22.1. 11. Ee'jjpei'vv

year.SG.GEN + day.SG.NOM (= Easter)

Easter day.

23.1. **Teä jōnn pāā'ss pue'di de tōt lij čiččām**
 then big fast.SG.NOM come.PST.3SG and DIST.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG seven
nie'ttled .
 week.PART

Then a big fast arrived, which lasts seven weeks.

23.2. **Čiiččad lij sträāznainie'ttel** .
 seventh be.PRS.3SG passionate[RU] + week.SG.NOM (=Holy Week)

The seventh was Holy Week.

23.3. **Pâi liâ kue'llpeei'v , pâi poorât kue'l** .
 only be.PRS.3PL fish.SG.NOM + day.PL.NOM only eat.PRS.4 fish.SG.ACC

There are only fish days, one only eats fish.

23.4. **Teä ee'jjpeei'v puä'tte de e'pet šâdd see'st**
 then Easter.day.PL.NOM come.PRS.3PL and again become.PRS.3SG 3PL.LOC
hää'sk .
 fun

Then the days of Easter arrive and again they have fun.

23.5. **A takai siōr â'te see'st le'jje :**
 well (D.P.) common game.PL.NOM then (D.P.) 3PL.LOC be.PST.3PL
nue'rriōrr , pälliōrr ,
 rope.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM ball.SG.NOM + game.SG.NOM
põ'ttepiâčkklemsiōrr .
 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.

23.6. De tōn aarg ķee'jjmie'ldd pāi seä'rre .
and DIST.SG.GEN weekday.SG.GEN until.the.end always play.PRS.3PL

And they always play until the end of Eastertide. [Here 'argg' (weekday) refers to the Easter period following Lent].

23.7. Leäš-a le'jje te'1
but be.PST.3PL at.that.time

pââ'zztemsluu'žvpoodd , de te'1
fast.ACT.PTCP + church.service[RU].SG.NOM + time.PL.NOM and at.that.time
igōl siōrrād .
NEG.3SG + must.NEG play.INF

But there were church service times of fasting, and then one was not allowed to play.

23.8. Staarōst ij lue'st .
village.elder.SG.NOM NEG.3SG allow.NEG

The village elder doesn't allow (it).

23.9. Sluu'zvääi'j mō'ne de mânia e'pet
church.service[RU].SG.NOM + time.PL.NOM go.PST.3PL and later again
seä'rre .
play.PRS.3PL

The church service times go by and later they play again.

24.1. 12. Siidsåbbri pirr
village.SG.GEN + meeting.PL.GEN around

About the village meetings.

25.1. **Te'1 leäi tuu'1 meersååbbar** ,
 at.that.time be.PST.3SG in.former.times nation.SG.NOM + meeting.SG.NOM
ku päärna õ'lgge škoou'le pu'htted .
 when child.PL.NOM must.PRS.3PL school.SG.ILL bring.INF

In days gone by there used to be a public meeting [?]. [Unsure of exact meaning].

25.2. **Siidâst le'jje tøk di'seâckai** ,
 village.SG.LOC be.PST.3PL DIST.PL.NOM tithe.collector.PL.NOM
ceerkavstaarâst da o'bjee'ččik .
 church.SG.NOM + keeper.SG.NOM (= verger) and overseer.PL.NOM

In the village there was a tithe collector, a verger and an overseer.

25.3. **Koumm le'jje jiijjâz siidâst mie'rrummu** .
 three be.PST.3PL self.GEN.3PL village.SG.LOC appoint.PASS.PTCP

The three (men) were appointed from their own village.

25.4. **Muu kää'lles še leäi**
 1SG.GEN husband.(old).SG.NOM also be.PST.3SG
ceerkavstarsten , tät nu'bb , kää'tt
 church.SG.NOM + keeper(= verger).ESS PROX.SG.NOM (an)other REL.SG.NOM
jaa'mi , Kiurrâl .
 die.PST.3SG Kiureli

My husband was also a verger, this other (husband), who died, (was) Kiureli.

25.5. **De mânŋa leäi Jääkk** .
 and later be.PST.3SG Jaakko

And later on it was Jaakko.

25.6. **Ķiurrâl ku puârsmi de Jääkk šööddi suu**
 Kiureli when grow.old.PST.3SG then Jaakko become.PST.3SG 3SG.GEN
sâjja ceerkavstarsten .
 place.SG.ILL church.SG.NOM + keeper.ESS (= verger)

When Kiureli grew old, then Jaakko became the verger in his place.

25.7. **A di'seâckai leäi** .
 well (D.P.) tithe.collector.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG

Well, there was the tithe collector.

25.8. **Sâbbar šõ'dde de di'seâckai risttsue'bbin**
 meeting.PL.NOM become.PST.3PL and tithe.collector.SG.NOM crosier.SG.COM
jeäll oummid kâččmen pöörtin , što sâåbbar
 travel.PRS.3SG person.PL.ILL call.PROG.PTCP house.PL.LOC COMP assembly.SG.NOM
lij to'ben .
 be.PRS.3SG there

When it is time for a meeting, the tithe collector goes with a crosier calling people from the houses to come to the meeting (lit. that the meeting is there).

25.9. **De tōin sue'bbin jāått da te'1 son**
 and DIST.SG.COM stick.SG.COM travel.PRS.3SG and at.that.time 3SG.NOM
lij šurr .
 be.PRS.3SG official.SG.NOM

When he travels with that crosier then he is an official.

25.10. 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.

25.11. A ceerkavstarstest lij nâkam
 well (D.P.) church.SG.NOM + keeper.SG.LOC be.PRS.3SG such
 veä'škkmeârkk , koozz lij ķee'rjtum ,
 copper.SG.NOM + symbol.SG.NOM REL.SG.ILL be.PRS.3SG write.PASS.PTCP
 pijjum kâhttan suâjju .
 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.

25.12. E'pet son kuä'ss täin jāätt , son lij
 again 3SG.NOM when PROX.SG.COM travel.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG
 te'l šurr .
 at.that.time official.SG.NOM

Again, when he travels with this, then he is an official.

25.13. O'bjee'ččik le'jje de leâsnai le'jje , tōk
 overseer.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL and forester.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL DIST.PL.NOM
 meä'ccšuur .
 forest.SG.NOM + official.PL.NOM

There are overseers and foresters, they are the forest officials.

25.14. Tök **jiâ** **nu'tt** **jâattam** **tärkka** , **kuä'ss**
 DIST.PL.NOM NEG.3PL so travel.PST.PTCP precisely when
jeä'lle **ee'jjest** .
 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. [Note use of kuä'ss as an indefinite adverb].

25.15. **Jiõm** **muu'st** **kââ'll** **vuâra** **jeä'lle**
 NEG.1SG remember.NEG how.many time go.visiting.PRS.3PL
ķiččmen , **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.

25.16. **Mie'ceez** **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).

25.17. **A** **Kuâlõõggâst** **tob** **le'jje** **šuu'rab** **šuur** ,
 well (D.P.) Kuola.SG.LOC there be.PST.3PL big.CMPRT official.PL.NOM
juõ'ķķnallšem **šuur** .
 each + kind official.PL.NOM

Well, on the Kola Peninsula there were more important (lit. bigger) officials, all kinds of officials.

25.18. **Tök** **le'jje** **ruõšš** **šuur** .
 DIST.PL.NOM be.PST.3PL Russian official.PL.NOM

They were Russian officials.

25.19. Tääi'ben tän sábbrest mâid ju'n riõ'sše
 here PROX.SG.LOC meeting.SG.LOC what.SG.ACC already deal.with.PST.3PL
 , ku mii lij ä'sš , jiâ vwei't tääi'b
 when what.SG.NOM be.PRS.3SG affair.SG.ACC NEG.3PL can.NEG here.LOC
 se'lvvjed , de tōid pō'mmjid jee'res sâjja vuõlttee
 sort.out.INF then DIST.PL.ACC paper.PL.ACC different place.SG.ILL send.PST.3PL
 Risttkeâdda le'be Kuâlõ'kķe le'be koozz .
 Ristikenttä.ILL 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.

25.20. Leâš-a le'jje te'l , koumm oummu pe'jje tok ,
 but be.PST.3PL at.that.time three man.SG.GEN put.PRS.3PL to.there
 ku mij meerää'sš diött âlgg .
 when 1PL.GEN nation.SG.GEN + affair.SG.GEN for.the.sake.of must.PRS.3SG

But there was at that time (the custom whereby) they put three men forward (as representatives) when it was necessary for the sake of the affairs of the people.

25.21. De koumm oummu va'lljee meer ooudâst
 and three man.SG.GEN choose.PRS.3PL population.SG.GEN in.front.of
 aa'sšid hâiddad .
 affair.PL.ACC look.after.INF

And they choose three men in front of the people to look after the affairs.

26.1. 13. Sääldatsluu'žvest

soldier.SG.NOM + service.SG.LOC

About military service.

27.1. Ruõšš peä'lnn säaldten mõ'nne puk .

Russian side soldier.ESS go.PST.3PL all

On the Russian side everyone became soldiers.

27.2. Mä'htt ää'n lij " kutsunta ", nu'tt-i te'1

how now be.PRS.3SG invitation[FI].SG.NOM like.that-just at.that.time

mõ'nne .

go.PST.3PL

How now it's an "invitation", back there they went just like that.

27.3. Te'1 leäš-a vuõ'i'gğest mâânn gu ĵeän vä'ldde .

at.that.time but directly go.PRS.3SG when who.SG.ACC take.PRS.3PL

But at that time the one they take (= call) goes directly (to military service).

27.4. Te'lles-i mâânn , ij ni puä'd pörttses nu'tt

right.away-just go.PRS.3SG NEG.3SG even come.NEG house.SG.ILL.3SG so

kuu'kk ku sloožb to'ben .

long when be.in.service.PRS.3SG there

One goes right away and doesn't even come home for as long as one is serving there.

27.5. Kuâhttlokue'htten ee'jjest kâčča de te'1

twenty + two.LOC year.SG.LOC be.called.PRS.3SG and at.that.time

naraaz-i mâ'nne .

at.once-EMP go.PRS.3PL

At twenty-two years of age one is called and back then they went at once.

27.6. Tälvva má'nne .

in.winter go.PRS.3PL

They went in winter.

27.7. A ěeän jeät valddu , su'st viökk mä'htt

well (D.P.) who.SG.ACC NEG.4 take.NEG2 3SG.LOC strength.SG.NOM how

leežž ij vuälže , mett ij vuälže le'be

be.POT.3SG NEG.3SG reach.NEG:POT height.SG.NOM NEG.3SG reach.NEG:POT or

mii leežž , son nuu'bb ee'jj e'pet jeäll .

what.SG.NOM be.POT.3SG 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.

27.8. E'pet ij ää'net , kuälmad ee'jj peäss

again NEG.3SG be.suitable.NEG third year.SG.GEN go.through.PRS.3SG

le'be välddai .

or be.accepted.PRS.3SG

Again he is not suitable, the third year he will go through or be accepted.

27.9. Tälvva jo'tte , puöccin vuõjju tok .

in.winter travel.PST.3PL reindeer.SG.COM drive.PST.3PL to.there

In winter they travelled, by reindeer they drove there.

27.10. Mij siidâst mō'nne puk .

1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC go.PST.3PL all

From our village, everyone went.

27.11. **Muu muu'steest leäi mij siidâst õhtt oumaž**
 1SG.GEN memory.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG 1PL.GEN village.SG.LOC one man.SG.NOM
čiččâm ee'kked säaldatsluu'žvest .
 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.

27.12. **Ku mâänn de čiččâm ee'kked leäi to'ben , ij ni**
 when go.PRS.3SG and seven year.PART be.PST.3SG there NEG.3SG even
kõõskâst õ'htešt jeällam pörtstes .
 middle.SG.LOC once 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.

27.13. **Mij ku Lää'ddjânnma puõ'dim , son leäi**
 1PL.NOM when Finn.SG.GEN + land.SG.ILL come.PST.1PL 3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG
veäl jie'llmen di jaa'mi .
 still live.PROG.PTCP and die.PST.3SG

When we came to Finland he was still living, and then he died.

27.14. **Väinnäi'jest mõ'ne nu'tt jiännai tok di ja'mme**
 war.SG.NOM + time.SG.LOC go.PST.3PL so much to.there and die.PST.3PL
di kâddje di läppje .
 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.

27.15. **Jiõm muu'št , mõõn kuu'kk leäi tõt**
 NEG.1SG remember.NEG what.SG.GEN long be.PST.3SG DIST.SG.NOM
sääldatvuõtt , tõn jiõm leäkku vuäivvsan piijjâm .
 soldier.service.SG.NOM DIST.SG.ACC NEG.1SG be.NEG head.SG.ILL.1SG put.PST.PTCP
*I don't remember how long that soldier service time was, I haven't committed that to memory
 (lit. put that in my head).*

27.16. **Mee'st še leäi õhtt â'lgg .**
 1PL.LOC also be.PST.3SG one boy.SG.NOM
We also had one boy.

27.17. **Vuõššân jie'li säaldten de mænna näittlõõdi .**
 first go.PST.3SG soldier.ESS and later marry.PST.3SG
First he went as a soldier and then he got married.

27.18. **Väinn šõõddi , de e'pet kočçu .**
 war.SG.NOM become.PST.3SG and again be.called.PST.3PL
War started and again they were called.

27.19. **Mõõni de mõõn leežž leämmaž peä'l avi pirr**
 go.PST.3SG and what.SG.GEN be.POT.3SG be.PST.PTCP half.SG.GEN or around
ee'jj , de ränn'ji da pue'di põ'rtte .
 year.SG.GEN and be.wounded.PST.3SG and come.PST.3SG house.SG.ILL
*He went and how long might he have been (there), half (the year) or around the year, and
 he was wounded and came home.*

27.20. Mättam kōõvid , ķeäpnõskōõvid vuäžža
certain disease.PL.ACC lung.SG.NOM + disease.PL.ACC get.PRS.3PL
sluužvest .
service.SG.LOC

Some get diseases, lung diseases, during service.

27.21. Puä'tte de pue'cce de pue'cce de nu'tt-i
come.PRS.3PL and suffer.PRS.3PL and suffer.PRS.3PL and like.that-just
jä'mme kōummâz ķee'jjest da lossõõzzâst .
die.PRS.3PL coldness.SG.GEN after and exertion.SG.LOC

They come back and they suffer, they suffer, and just like that they die after (= because of) coldness and from exertion.

27.22. Na to'ben Ruõššâst leäi kōõrâs sääldatvuõtt .
well (D.P.) there Russia.SG.LOC be.PST.3SG severe soldier.service.SG.NOM

Well, there in Russia the soldier service was harsh.

28.1. 14. Škooul pirr
school.SG.GEN around

About school.

29.1. Ouddâl leäi Potkklassiidâst škooul .
before be.PST.3SG Potkkla + village.SG.LOC school.SG.NOM

In the olden days there was a school in Potkkla village.

29.2. I'lleäm ħeässa 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.

29.3. Ooudpeä'lnn rosttvi see'rdet si'jdde , ku škooul
before Christmas.PL.GEN move.PRS.4 village.SG.ILL as school.SG.NOM

älgg .

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).

29.4. De ee'jjpeei'v räjjä škooul peštt .

and Easter.SG.GEN until school.SG.NOM last.PRS.3SG

And school lasted until Easter.

29.5. Teä e'pet pââjas vue'lğge se'rdded .

then again up leave.PRS.3PL transfer.INF

Then again they set off to move up (to the summer dwelling place).

29.6. Määngi määngi u'čtee'li nōōmid mon
many.PL.GEN many.PL.GEN teacher.PL.GEN name.PL.ACC 1SG.NOM

kuuleem , määng määng tōk le'jje .

hear.many.times.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.

29.7. Tõn ee'jj lij õhtt le'be måttam ee'jj
 DIST.SG.GEN year.SG.GEN be.PRS.3SG one or certain year.SG.GEN
 le'jje muänn .
 be.PST.3PL couple

That year there was one or some years there were a couple.

29.8. Son mä'htt-ne koozz-ne vuâlgg .
 3SG.NOM somehow REL.SG.ILL-INDEF leave.PRS.3SG

Somehow he (the teacher) left for somewhere.

29.9. E'pet šâdd jee'res u'čtee'1 .
 again become.PRS.3SG different teacher.SG.NOM

Again, another teacher came.

29.10. Škooul leäi , leâša jiõm šõddâm jåå'tted .
 school.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG but NEG.1SG be.able[?].PST.PTCP travel.INF

There was school, but I wasn't able to go.

29.11. Mon õõut tää'lv le'jjem go jeä'nn
 1SG.NOM one.SG.GEN winter.SG.GEN be.PST.1SG when mother.SG.NOM
 puâccji .
 become.ill.PST.3SG

I was(there) one winter when mother fell ill.

29.12. Te'1 leäi Ruõššâst nâkam mall , što
 at.that.time be.PST.3SG Russia.SG.LOC such pattern.SG.NOM COMP
 vie'kk go jeä'la , de puärrsõmmâz lue'stte
 help.PL.NOM when NEG.3PL + be.NEG then old.SUPL.SG.ACC be.allowed.PST.3PL
 škooulâst .
 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.

29.13. De nu'tt-i säaldten jiâ vâlddam puärrsõmmâz .
 and so-just soldier.ESS NEG.3PL take.PST.PTCP old.SUPL.SG.ACC

And so they didn't take the oldest (son) as a soldier.

29.14. Na jeä'nn puâccji de nellj ee'jj
 well (D.P.) mother.SG.NOM become.ill.PST.3SG and four year.SG.GEN
 puõzji de mon jiõm šõddâm škoou'le .
 be.ill.PST.3SG and 1SG.NOM NEG.1SG 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.

29.15. Nu'tt-i kuâddjem škooutää .
 so-just remain.PST.1SG school.SG.ABE

That is why I ended up unschooled.

29.16. Jiõm šõddâm ni mõõn k̄ee'rij k̄iččâd di
 NEG.1SG progress.PST.PTCP even what.SG.ACC book.SG.ACC see.INF and
 k̄iõl tie'tted .
 language.SG.ACC know.INF

I didn't learn how (lit. progress) to read (lit. look at) at any books or know any languages.