

**A corpus-based grammar of  
spoken Pite Saami**

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# Abbreviations and symbols

Table 1 below provides a list of abbreviations used in the present study and their full forms; grammatical categories are represented by text in SMALL CAPITALS. Table 2 on page xvii lists symbols used and what they indicate.

<i>abbreviation</i>	<i>full form</i>
ABESS	abessive
ACC	accusative
ADJZ	adjectivalizer
AdvP	adverbial phrase
ADVZ	adverbializer
AP	adjectival phrase
ATTR	attributive
C	consonant segment
CARD	cardinal number
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
CONNNEG	connegative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
ELAT	elative
ESS	essive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
INESS	inessive
INF	infinitive
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	nominal phrase
ORD	ordinal number
PL	plural

## *Abbreviations and Symbols*

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<i>abbreviation</i>	<i>full form</i>
PP	postpositional phrase
POT	potential
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfective aspect
PROG	progressive aspect
PROX	proximal
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
Q	question marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative pronoun
RMT	remote
SG	singular
str	strong grade (consonant gradation)
SUBORD	subordinator
SUPERL	superlative
V	vowel segment
VBLZ	verbalizer
VC	verbal complex
VH	vowel harmony
wk	weak grade (consonant gradation)

---

Table 1: List of abbreviations used in this study

<i>symbol</i>	<i>indicates</i>
-	segmentable morpheme boundary
\	morpheme via stem alternation (non-segmentable)
+	compound boundary
=	clitic boundary
.	syllable boundary
σ	syllable
Σ	morphological stem
*	ungrammatical form
<	source language
//	phonological representation
[ ]	phonetic form
< >	orthographic representation

Table 2: List of symbols used in this study



# Acknowledgements

A number of individuals played a vital role in enabling the research for and the writing of this dissertation.

I am particularly indebted to the Pite Saami community in Arjeplog for graciously allowing me to document their fascinating language and culture. Specifically, I would like to thank Nils-Henrik Bengtsson, Inger and Sven Anders Fjällås, Anders-Erling Fjällås, Elsy Rankvist, and Dagny and Edgar<sup>†</sup> Skaile.

*Gijtov adnet!*

My supervisor, Ulrike Mosel, who agreed to the task of guiding me quite late in the project after much of the data for the corpus had already been collected, provided invaluable criticism and played an essential role in the development of this dissertation – *mataa kurusu!*

My sincere thanks are also due to Michael Rießler for his motivation, comments and support, particularly concerning Saami linguistics; to the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project for supporting the Pite Saami Documentation Project for three years and the Department for Northern European Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin for hosting that project; and to Bruce Morén-Duolljá and Øystein Vangsnes for allowing me to participate in other Saami linguistics projects and financially survive my final year of writing.

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*Freiburg, Summer 2013*





# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The present chapter provides background information on Pite Saami. It includes an overview of the language and its speakers in Section 1.1, provides details about the documentation project which this study is based on in Section 1.2, and presents a typological profile in Section 1.3.

### 1.1 The Pite Saami language and its speakers

#### 1.1.1 Linguistic genealogy

The Saami languages form a sub-branch of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family. Pite Saami is classified as the southern-most Western Saami language in the Northern group. Together, the Saami languages form a dialect continuum; Pite Saami is therefore most closely related to Lule Saami and Ume Saami, the two languages spoken directly to the north and to the south, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Figure 1.1 on page 2 shows the Saami subbranch as a part of the Uralic family tree and Pite Saami's position in it.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Sammallahti (1985: 151, 1998: 20-24) and Larsson (1985: 161-162) for more discussion on the linguistic features which motivate the division of the dialect continuum into ten Saami languages.

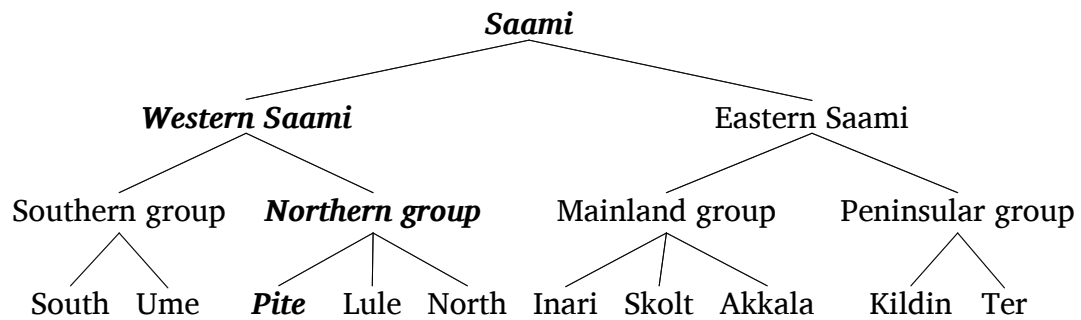


Figure 1.1: Pite Saami within the Saami sub-branch of the Uralic language family (based on Sammallahti 1998: 1-34)

### 1.1.2 Names for Pite Saami

While *Pite Saami*<sup>2</sup> is the term used in the present study to refer to the language spoken by the Pite Saami people, the language also has other names. It has been called *Arjeplog Saami* (cf. Lehtiranta 1992), referring to Arjeplog, the main municipality it is spoken in. The endonym is *bidumsáme giella* or *bisumsáme giella*, which literally means ‘Pite Saami’s language’, as shown in example (1).

- (1) *Bidumsáme giella*  
 bidum + sáme giella  
 Pite + Saami\GEN.SG language\NOM.SG  
 ‘the Pite Saami language’ [pit080621.41m10s (elic.)]

Nonetheless, speakers of Pite Saami and other Saami languages generally refer to themselves and the individual language they speak simply as ‘Saami’, without further specification. This is highlighted by the endonym having two forms (see above); indeed, some speakers are quite unsure that an endonym exists at all.

Germanic cultures have often referred to Saami peoples using the exonym *Lapps* (cf. the place name *Lapland*), and thus the language has also been referred to as *Pite Lappish* in the past. This term is no longer considered respectful by many Pite Saami individuals; the name *Saami* is preferred, as it is borrowed from the endonym *sábme* or *sáme*. Nonetheless, a number of speakers I have worked with still refer to their own language as *lapska* when speaking Swedish.

### 1.1.3 Geography

The Saami languages are spoken in an area traditionally referred to as *Sápmi*; this covers a territory stretching from south-central Norway and central Swe-

<sup>2</sup>In English, Saami is also spelled *Sámi* or *Sami*.

den, across northern Norway, Sweden and Finland and over most of the Kola Peninsula in the Russian Federation, as illustrated in Figure 1.2.



Figure 1.2: A map of Sápmi, the territory in which the Saami Languages were traditionally spoken, with Pite Saami shaded in (borrowed from Bull et al. 2007: 7, with permission)

There is no official geographic or political unit defining any Pite Saami linguistic or ethnic area, but the individuals (including both speakers and non-speakers) I have met, worked with or heard about who consider themselves to be Pite Saami (regardless of language abilities) all come from an area based roughly on the Arjeplog municipality<sup>3</sup> in Swedish Lapland and bordering areas in Norway. On the Swedish side, this has traditionally been referred to as *Pite lappmark* ‘Pite Saami territory’. For instance, Ruong, himself a native speaker of Pite Saami, claims that the “most genuine form” (Ruong 1943: iii; my translation) of the Pite Saami language is spoken by members of the Luokta-Mavas *sameby*,<sup>4</sup> whose summer reindeer grazing lands are located along the headwaters of the Pite River, and by settled Saamis in the same area.<sup>5</sup> Manker’s ethnography of the Saami populations in the Swedish mountains (Manker 1947)

<sup>3</sup>Note that Arjeplog *municipality* (*kommun* in Swedish) refers to the larger administrative district of ca. 15,000 km<sup>2</sup>, while the town of Arjeplog is the main village in the municipality.

<sup>4</sup>A *sameby* (Swedish, literally ‘Saami village’; *samebyar* in PLURAL) is a group of reindeer herding families who tend their reindeer together in the same territory.

<sup>5</sup>However, Ruong also included speakers from Semisjaur-Njarg *sameby* to the south as sources for his 1945 dissertation on verbal derivation in Pite Saami. It is clear that Ruong is very aware of the existence of the Saami dialect continuum and the difficulty of drawing distinct language

outlines the three *samebyar* Luokta-Mavas, Semisjaur-Njarg and Svaipa as part of *Pite lappmark*.<sup>6</sup> Sammallahti (1998: 22) corroborates this, and adds the forest *sameby* Ståkke to the list. Collinder (1960) and Bergsland (1962) also help delineate the southern border of Pite Saami territory. Collinder writes that the border “goes along the Pite River between the parishes of Jockmock [sic] and Arvidsjaur, and farther west through the parish of Arjeplog” (Collinder 1960: 23), while Bergsland further specifies that Ume Saami is spoken by “the forest Lapps in southern Arjeplog [...] and by the mountain Lapps in Sorsele” (Bergsland 1962: 27).

As for the Norwegian side, some Pite Saami reindeer herding families have had their summer reindeer grazing lands in the Norwegian territory adjacent to the international border (cf. Manker 1947). Lagercrantz (1926) worked with Pite Saami speakers whose families originated in the Arjeplog municipality but had resettled to the Beiarn area in Norway. Ethnic Pite Saami individuals still live in Norway, and are, for instance, still active in the local Pite Saami association, *Salten Pitesamisk Forening*.

As a result, one can say that Pite Saami was traditionally spoken in an area spanning both sides of the Norwegian-Swedish border around the municipality of Arjeplog on the Swedish side and across the border into Saltdal and Beiarn municipalities in Norway. On the Swedish side, the Pite Saami area is essentially limited to the Pite River drainage above the waterfall at Storforsen, and the sections of the Skellefte River drainage from the town of Arjeplog and farther upriver. The map in Figure 1.3 on page 5 gives a rough idea of the traditional geographic area, which is the light area on the map. It is based on Lagercrantz (1926), Ruong (1943), Manker (1947), Bergsland (1962) and Sammallahti (1998), as well as on my own knowledge gained by discussing family histories with Pite Saami individuals.

My own research indicates that Pite Saami is currently still spoken by a few members of the Luokta-Mavas, Semisjaur-Njarg and Ståkke *samebyar*, as well as by settled Saami families from the same areas. Furthermore there are a few individuals from the Arjeplog municipality who have since moved to other areas outside of Arjeplog municipality, even as far away as southern Sweden. Ethnic Pite Saami individuals from Norway have indicated to me that the last Pite Saami speakers on the Norwegian side died 2–3 generations ago.

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borders because he indicates that some areas on the north side of the Pite River drainage speak Lule Saami, while speakers along the Skellefte River drainage are more under the “influence of Southern Saami” (Ruong 1945: iii; my translation).

<sup>6</sup>Manker (1947: 473) includes a map of all Swedish *samebyar* as a fold-out, and a map of these three Pite Saami villages.

## 1.1 The Pite Saami language and its speakers

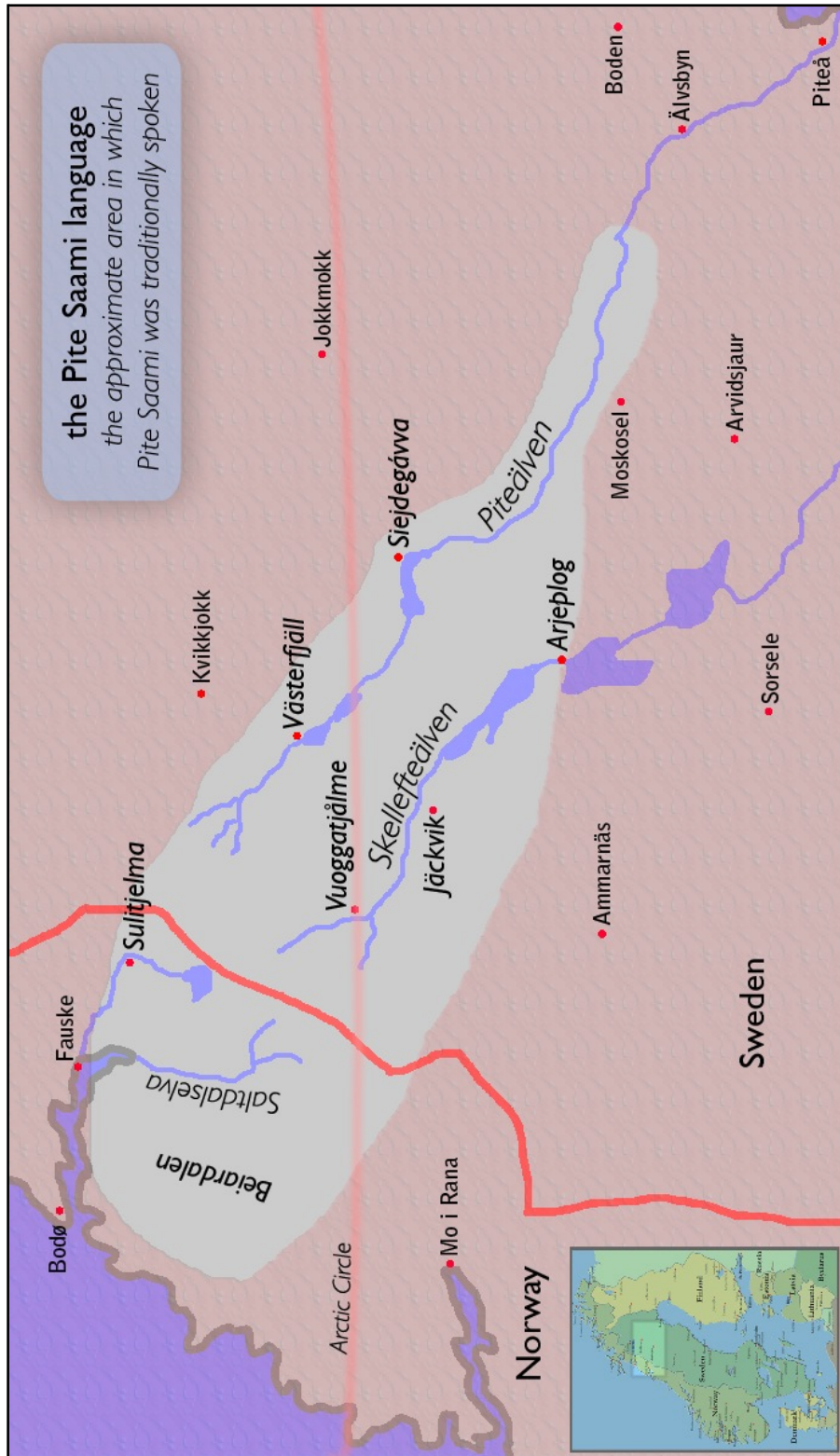


Figure 1.3: An approximate map of the territory in which the Pite Saami Language was traditionally spoken

### 1.1.4 The state of the Pite Saami language

Traditionally, most Pite Saami families lived either as semi-nomadic reindeer herders or as sedentary farmers, fishers and hunters. Despite having always been in contact, these two groups lived very different lifestyles, and spoke Saami in relative isolation from one another. While reindeer herding Saami have often been a topic of Saami studies, the settled Saami are neglected or even actively prejudiced against for not being ‘true’ Saami since they do not herd reindeer. The data supporting the present study and gathered as part of Pite Saami Documentation Project (cf. Section 1.2.2) originated from both groups.

By the eighteenth century, the Saami peoples had, in general, been converted from animistic polytheism to Christianity, marking the beginning of Saami assimilation to North Germanic culture (cf. Pulkkinen 2005). Strict policies in the mid-nineteenth century sent Pite Saami children to special ‘nomad schools’ where they were not allowed to speak Saami. Attending these schools also kept them away from their families and from regularly participating in Pite Saami life, while reinforcing the state’s drive to exclusively promote Swedish culture and social values (cf. Valijärvi and Wilbur 2011).

Accompanying this shift, traditional realms of Pite Saami experience are slowly being left behind in favor of Swedish ones. With the introduction of modern conveniences, most Pite Saami individuals have moved to permanent dwellings in populated communities, particularly Arjeplog, thereby leaving behind traditional ways of life. Along with this demographic shift, they are also losing the need to carry out traditional occupations using the Pite Saami language. As a result, all Pite Saami speakers today speak Swedish fluently, and indeed use Swedish significantly more often in everyday life (cf. Valijärvi and Wilbur 2011).

A gradual reverse in political and social policies in Sweden over the last decades led initially to the acceptance and then to the active promotion of multiculturalism, particularly concerning the Saami people. This has helped to positively change attitudes towards Pite Saami identity. However, concerning the Pite Saami language and many traditional cultural realms, this change seems inadequate for revitalization. For instance, the Swedish government’s minority language law from 2010 only applies the blanket term *samiska*, and, in doing so, completely disregards the reality that there are five different Saami languages in Sweden. Even within *Sápmi*, Pite Saami is threatened by its larger Saami neighbors, in particular by North Saami, which has an active speech community of around 30,000 speakers, regular television, radio, print and internet resources, and first-language instruction in public school (cf. Salminen 2007: 209-211). The robust status of North Saami in addition to the lack of an officially recognized Pite Saami orthography allow local government agencies to conveniently

support North Saami alone in fulfilling the language law's requirements; any positive effects on the Pite Saami language are essentially negated.

According to my own data collected from Pite Saami individuals during field-work, there are around 30 speakers left,<sup>7</sup> of around 2000 ethnic Pite Saami individuals (Krauss 1997: 24). With one exception, all speakers are older than 50.

For a more detailed description and analysis of the situation the language is currently in, see Valijärvi and Wilbur (2011).

## 1.2 Linguistic documentation of Pite Saami

The Pite Saami language has been the subject of academic research in the past; cf. Halász (1896), Lagercrantz (1926), Ruong (1943) and Lehtiranta (1992), which are summarized in Section 1.2.1 below. This extant body of research was consulted in coming to terms with Pite Saami linguistic structures in creating the present description; however, the ultimate source of data is found in the documentation corpus reflecting current Pite Saami language practices; this documentation is described in Section 1.2.2. Section 1.2.3 provides a short guide to using this description.

### 1.2.1 Previous studies

In the late 19th century the Hungarian scholar Ignác Halász studied Pite Saami, and wrote several books in Hungarian on the language. *Lule- és Pite-lappmarki nyelvmutatványok és szótár*<sup>8</sup> (Halász 1885) contains the Gospel of Matthew in Lule Saami, and a combined Lule Saami/Pite Saami wordlist with translations in Hungarian and German. *Népköltési gyűjtemény: a Pite Lappmark Arjeplogi egyházkerületéből*<sup>9</sup> (Halász 1893) consists of a significant text collection of short Pite Saami texts, transcribed in the traditional Finno-Ugric transcription. Each text is translated as a whole into Hungarian. The majority of the texts are traditional narratives, but a few poems and songs are also transcribed and translated. *Pite lappmarki szótár és nyelvtan*<sup>10</sup> (Halász 1896) includes morphological paradigms and a Pite Saami wordlist with translations into Hungarian and German.

*Sprachlehre des Westlappischen nach der Mundart von Arjeplog*<sup>11</sup> (Lagercrantz

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. Salminen (2007: 221), who claims there are only 10 speakers, while the English abstract in Lehtiranta (1992) erroneously claims that the Pite Saami language is “now extinct.”

<sup>8</sup>‘Linguistic examples and a wordlist from Lule and Pite Saami territory’.

<sup>9</sup>‘Collection of traditional verses from the bishopric of Arjeplog in Pite Saami territory’.

<sup>10</sup>‘Wordlist and grammatical description from Pite Saami territory’.

<sup>11</sup>‘A grammar of West Saami based on the Arjeplog dialect’.

1926) is a grammar in German. It is based on three months of fieldwork during which Lagercrantz consulted three Pite Saami individuals who had settled in the Beiarn district in Norway but who were originally from the Arjeplog municipality. The book covers semantically driven descriptions of clause structures, a limited description of morphology, and an extended analysis of the phonological system, based on phonetic acoustic experiments.

*Lappische Verbalableitung dargestellt auf Grundlage des Pitelappischen*<sup>12</sup> (Ruong 1943) is the dissertation of Israel Ruong, who later became professor of Saami languages and culture at Uppsala universitet. Ruong's native language was Pite Saami, but, with the exception of his dissertation, he did not produce any other studies specifically dealing with the Pite Saami language. His dissertation is an elaborate categorization of Pite Saami verb derivations.

*Arjeploginsaamen äänne- ja taivutusopin pääpiirteet*<sup>13</sup> (Lehtiranta 1992) is a Finnish-language description of Pite Saami phonology and inflectional patterns, and is based solely on recordings, publications and archived materials on Pite Saami from 1950 and earlier. Some useful paradigms can be found at the end of the book, as well as several Pite Saami texts with phonetic and orthographic transcriptions, as well as Finnish translations. The phonetic transcriptions are presented in the transcription standard used in Finno-Ugric studies.

Note that these studies deal with Pite Saami as it was spoken before 1950. Finno-Ugristics has traditionally dealt nearly exclusively with historic-comparative studies, and has not been particularly concerned with the synchronic state of Saami languages. Indeed, the distance some scholars keep from the synchronic situation is highlighted by the erroneous claim by Lehtiranta that Pite Saami is “now extinct” (Lehtiranta 1992: English abstract). Consequently, the present study is the first extensive description in English and for a general linguistic audience on the Pite Saami language.

Since the present study is intended to be a synchronic description of the Pite Saami language as used in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century as reflected by the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus, the previous studies mentioned above have for the most part played an indirect role in its creation. However, these works were referred to in detail particularly when the data from the corpus were not substantial enough to allow relatively certain conclusions to be drawn; data based at least partly on sources other than the documentation corpus are clearly marked as such in this description. Specifically, the sections in Lagercrantz (1926) concerning phrasal and sentence-level syntactic phenomena in Part A ‘*Ausdruckslehre*’ (pp. 19-99) were informative, while Part B ‘*Formenlehre*’ (pp. 103-141), the paradigms throughout Halász (1896) as well as

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<sup>12</sup>‘Saami verbal derivation as illustrated by Pite Saami’.

<sup>13</sup>‘The fundamentals of Arjeplog Saami phonology and inflection’.



the paradigms in the appendix to Lehtiranta (1992: 150-166) were consulted regarding morphology. In writing Chapter 11 on derivational morphology, Ruong's thesis (particularly Chapters 6 through 40, which present his data) provided valuable insights into the variety and complexity of Pite Saami derivation from both morphological and semantic perspectives.

In addition to the academic linguistic studies mentioned above, a number of other texts exist concerning the Pite Saami language and its people. Valijärvi and Wilbur (2011) describe the current state of the Pite Saami language from a language sociology point of view. Sjaggo (2010) deals with the etymology of a selection of Pite Saami place names along the river Piteälven in the Arjeplog municipality. A large number of Pite Saami *vuole*<sup>14</sup> (songs in the Saami singing tradition of *yoik*) were recorded in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These can be found transcribed in: Tirén (1942), which includes 139 transcriptions of Pite Saami melodies and lyrics, with German translations; in Grundström and Väisänen (1958), with 93 songs by Jonas Eriksson Steggo in the form of transcribed melodies and lyrics, with translations in Swedish and German; as well as in Grundström and Smedeby (1963), with 73 songs by a variety Pite Saami individuals in the form of transcribed melodies and lyrics, also with translations in Swedish and German. Wickman (1964) discusses a short Pite Saami text from a recording done in 1939 by Israel Ruong; the text is presented in three transcription standards (Finno-Ugric close phonetic standard, the author's own phonemic transcription, and a modified North Saami orthography) and includes an English translation. Lars Rensund's books (1982, 1986) detail personal recollections by the author, himself a Pite Saami, and are interspersed with sentences and occasionally an entire narrative in Pite Saami. Bylund (1956) provides an in-depth study of the colonization of Pite Saami territory by Swedish settlers up to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. No educational materials, bible translations or other common texts exist in the Pite Saami language. With the exception of the works by Lars Rensund, most Pite Saami speakers today are not aware of any of the works mentioned above.

### 1.2.2 The Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus

The data forming the basis for the present study were collected as a part of the Pite Saami Documentation Project. The present dissertation is also a part of that project, the main goal of which is the linguistic documentation of the Pite Saami language. The project has resulted in audio and video recordings documenting current language usage and grammatical structures and includes an archived corpus comprising 28,109 transcribed and translated Pite Saami

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<sup>14</sup>This is nominative plural; the nominative singular form is *vuolle*.

words (as of early July 2013; cf. the Appendix for a list of recordings). From June 2008 until July 2011, the project was carried out by Joshua Wilbur at the Nordeuropa-Institut at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, with support from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP; a part of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, with financial support from the Arcadia foundation and hosted by the School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London). A continuation of the project is underway in 2013 and 2014 at Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg thanks to generous continued funding from ELDP.

Current trends in documentary linguistics were taken into account.<sup>15</sup> Himmelmann's proposal that "a language documentation is a lasting multipurpose record of a language" (Himmelmann 2006: 1) is a defining motivation behind the project. Accordingly, the resulting documentation consists of a documentation corpus of a variety of linguistic genres, including Pite Saami situations potentially of interest to non-linguistic disciplines and to members of the Pite Saami language community themselves, as well as the present grammatical description. Initial results have been archived at five archives at international, national, regional and local levels:

- *the Endangered Languages Archive* (ELAR) in London, England,
- *the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics* in Nijmegen, the Netherlands,
- *Dialekt-, ortnamns och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå*<sup>16</sup> (DAUM) in Umeå, Sweden,
- *Ájtte: Svenskt Fjäll- och Samemuseum*<sup>17</sup> in Jokkmokk, Sweden,
- *Silvermuseet*<sup>18</sup> in Arjeplog, Sweden.

Selecting multiple archiving sites as well as having all data in a digital format and as open-access as possible help ensure the longevity of the data.

Access to the materials is available via the archives (in some cases, this is possible via the world wide web). Ideally, an archive should provide interested parties with access to archives materials, while respecting the privacy

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<sup>15</sup>Cf. Bird and Simons (2003), Gippert et al. (2006), Woodbury (2011), Austin and Sallabank (2011), Grenoble and Furbee (2010) the book series *Language Documentation and Description* series, and others.

<sup>16</sup>The Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Umeå'.

<sup>17</sup>'Ájtte: the Swedish Mountain and Saami Museum'; *ájtte* is the Lule Saami word for a traditional Saami storage shed.

<sup>18</sup>'The Silver Museum'.

and the wishes of recording participants as necessary; with this in mind, access rights to the data related to any given session reflect the wishes of speakers involved in a specific session concerning availability to the linguistics and other scientific communities, the Pite Saami and greater Saami communities, and other individuals and groups in general. Any commercial use of the materials is strictly prohibited. Specifically regarding the present grammatical description and the documentation corpus as scientifically sound linguistic outcomes produced in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the PhD program at Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, access to the corpus is available via the archive at the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands; see Section 1.2.3.2 for more details on accessing the archive.

### 1.2.2.1 Collection methods

Data were collected and recordings were transcribed during a total of 20 months at the field site in and around Arjeplog, Sweden, with the invaluable assistance of a number of Pite Saami speakers. They were compensated for their time and effort with a modest consultant honorarium.

The documentation corpus consists of more than 36 hours of recordings covering a variety of genres; cf. the Appendix for a list of recordings, including an indication of genre and medium. As the morphological structure of Pite Saami words is quite complex, it was necessary to rely on elicitation techniques to gather a sufficient number of word forms for a wide variety of lexemes as a basis for morphological analyses. As a result, the majority of recordings consist of elicitation sessions intended to gather specific details concerning the structure of the language. These were often conducted using Swedish as a metalanguage, but Pite Saami was used whenever efficient and useful, and more frequently in recordings done towards the end of the project. A variety of elicitation methods were used; to a large extent, elicitation sessions were conducted as translational interviews (particularly in early recordings to collect initial wordlists) and sentence completion (using both Swedish and Pite Saami triggers, mostly to complete morphology paradigms); however, other methods were used as well, such as vocabulary card ordering tasks to test syntactic structures, and tasks using toy blocks to gather data on spatial relations. Many non-elicitation linguistic situations were also recorded, covering genres such as conversations, explanations, narrations, performances, as well as songs and readings; in the current documentation corpus, such recordings comprise approximately 16,700 transcribed words. A few written texts were also collected to supplement recordings.

Each collection of materials<sup>19</sup> in the corpus corresponds to a recorded lin-

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<sup>19</sup>Note that the archive at the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the

guistic event. Each collection has a unique name based on the pattern:

pitYYMMDDabc

(pit = Pite Saami, YYMMDD = abbreviated date of recording with a two-digit year, abc = further disambiguation as needed).<sup>20</sup> All digital files related to a certain collection are named based on this pattern.

In almost all cases, the following recording equipment, standards and software were used for documentation. A small number of deviations exist, and are indicated in the metadata for the relevant sessions.

**Video:** a Panasonic NV-GS500EG-S video camera using miniDV cassettes in short play (SP) mode, using a wide-angle lens attachment and a tripod. In most cases, a RØDE SVM stereo video microphone was mounted on the camera for audio in place of using the built-in microphone.

**Audio:** an Edirol R-09 digital audio recorder set to record 16-bit WAVE format at 44.1 kHz. A variety of microphones was used, depending on the specific recording situation; these included a RØDE SVM stereo video microphone, a Sennheiser lapel microphone connected to a Sennheiser EW 112-p G2 wireless set and a Sennheiser MKE 300 shotgun microphone.

**Still images:** a Canon IXUS 80IS digital photo camera was used to take digital photographs to supplement documentation. Images are in JPEG format.

**Editing/Computing:** video/audio recordings were transferred to a Macintosh MacBook Pro for further editing, as necessary. Video was edited using Final Cut Express and Final Cut Pro software. Audio was archived in the original quality, while video was compressed to MPEG-4 format.

**Transcribing/annotating:** the multimedia annotation program ELAN<sup>21</sup> was used to transcribe and annotate recordings. Annotation/transcription files are archived in both ELAN format and in plain text format.

Initial transcriptions of recordings were completed with the help of native speaker assistants.<sup>22</sup> Transcriptions are written in various versions of the Pite Saami orthography under development by the wordlist project *Insamling av pite-samiska ord*.<sup>23</sup> All transcribed words are provided with annotations in the form of at least a translation into English or Swedish or as morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. Such glosses can serve as the sole translation of a transcribed word or

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Netherlands, refers to the entire collection of files concerning a single recording as a ‘session’, not a ‘collection’.

<sup>20</sup>Recordings done for the project from 2012 onwards use the ISO 639-3 code *sje* as a prefix for session names instead of *pit*, and a four-digit year; e.g.: *sje20121014b*.

<sup>21</sup>ELAN is free software developed by the Technical Group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (see [www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/](http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/)).

<sup>22</sup>I am particularly indebted to Elsy Rankvist for her invaluable transcription assistance.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Section 1.2.3.4.

utterance, particularly concerning transcribed elicitation sessions. Both glosses and free translations into English and/or Swedish may be provided, especially in non-elicited text genres. Relevant notes or commentary may also exist as annotations.

Metadata were collected in a database using the File Maker Pro program, then exported to XML and plain text formats for archiving. Information collected concerns participants, the recording situation, location, equipment used and a summary of contents, among other things.

Any given collection consists minimally of the following set of digital files:

- audio recording in WAVE format (16-bit, 44 kHz)
- transcription/annotation file in ELAN and in plain text format
- metadata concerning the session in XML and plain text formats
- metadata concerning the entire collection in XML and plain text formats

In addition to the above files, collections may also include the following files:

- video recording in MPEG-4 format
- digital images in JPEG format
- other supplementary files

The transcription/annotation files are divided into numbered, utterance-based units and include at least a transcription of Pite Saami spoken language use. A specific utterance can be referred to using the collection/session name and the utterance number. The Pite Saami original is translated into Swedish and/or English, and provided with linguistic glosses. Other comments are included as well, whenever deemed relevant or useful. Finally, in cases with code-switching, the language being used in a certain utterance, or part thereof, is indicated. Tiers in all ELAN files are organized hierarchically based on the template in Figure 1.4 on page 14 for each speaking participant in a recording.

A list of all recordings in the corpus can be found in the Appendix on page 253, including brief descriptions of content and an indication of the number of Pite Saami words transcribed and translated per recording.

### 1.2.3 Using this description

In partially fulfilling the requirements for a PhD at Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, this description of the grammar and the accompanying documentation corpus are intended to outline the structural features of the Pite

<i>hierarachy</i>	<i>tier name</i>	<i>purpose</i>
<pre> graph TD     root[root] --- ref     root --- text     root --- ftrLing     root --- ftrE     root --- ftrS     root --- nt     root --- lang     root --- notes </pre>	ref	Assigns each utterance a number and time alignment
	text	Transcription of utterance in Pite Saami orthography
	ftrLing	Linguistic glossing
	ftrE	Free translation in English
	ftrS	Free translation in Swedish
	nt	Notes on the utterance
	lang	Language used
	notes	General comments

Figure 1.4: ELAN tier hierarchy used in the documentation corpus

Saami language and provide an empirical foundation for such claims. In addition, the documentation should give interested individuals (linguists, Saami individuals, etc.) the opportunity to explore other aspects of the language as well. Finally, it should also secure a record of the language as spoken by those Pite Saami individuals who likely comprise the last generations of speakers for future generations of ethnic Pite Saami individuals.

The following sections are meant to assist in utilizing both the grammatical description and the accompanying documentation corpus. The first section (1.2.3.1) deals with accountability and verifiability, while the second section (1.2.3.2) provides brief instructions on how to access data from the corpus. Section 1.2.3.4 covers orthographic considerations and includes a list of phonemes and the graphemes used to represent these. Section 1.2.3.3 illustrates how examples from the corpus are presented. Note that a list of abbreviations and a list of symbols used in the present work are provided on pages xv and xvii, respectively.

### 1.2.3.1 Accountability and verifiability

Data in the present study are cited with a reference to the collection name followed by the specific utterance number or timecode within a recording. For instance, the reference *pit080924.366* refers to utterance number 366 on recording *pit080924*. This should allow the reader to easily find the evidence cited and make his/her own judgement about the conclusions made. References to specific recordings marked with ‘(elic.)’ indicate that the chosen utterance was attained during an elicitation session.

In order to verify, scrutinize or otherwise review the actual primary data on which the present study is based, the data can be accessed via one of the

archives listed in Section 1.2.2. Specific instructions are provided in the following section.

### 1.2.3.2 Accessing archived materials

The archivists at the IMDI archive located at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, have kindly agreed to host the Pite Saami Documentation Project spoken language corpus. For those interested in accessing the data in connection with the present grammatical description, I recommend using this archive. Pite Saami materials are available via the on-line IMDI-browser at:

`corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/`

under the hierarchical node:

Endangered Languages/Donated Corpora/Pan-Saami Language Archive/Pite Metadata can be accessed by anyone; in order to access the actual media files or transcription and annotation files, a user account is required and can be set up via the same website. Please contact the author by email at `joshwilbur@gmx.net` for more information.

### 1.2.3.3 Explaining examples

Examples from the corpus are numbered consecutively for easy reference, and consist of several lines of text. The spoken text is presented in the initial line in the orthographic standard in italics, followed by interpretive information in the form of a morpheme-for-morpheme breakdown in the second line and English glosses in the third line. Finally, the last line contains a free translation in English and a reference to the source recording in the corpus; this reference includes either the number of the specific utterance or its initial time code. Examples are formatted as shown in Figure 1.5.

(no.) *Pite Saami original text*  
Pite Saami text with morpheme boundarie-s  
Morpheme-for-morpheme glossing  
'free English translation' [source]

Figure 1.5: Formatting pattern used in examples of utterances

In Chapter 2 on prosody and Chapter 3 on segmental phonology, many examples of individual words are provided to illustrate phonological aspects of

Pite Saami. In most cases, the phonological representation and phonetic realization (both using IPA standards) and the orthographic representation (based on the current working version) are included, as well as a gloss and a reference to the source recording, as summarized in Figure 1.6. In such the examples, the phonemic representation also indicates any linear morpheme boundaries.

(no.)	/phonemic/ [phonetic]	orthography 'gloss'	[source]
-------	--------------------------	------------------------	----------

Figure 1.6: Formatting pattern used in examples for individual words

The source recording for these words indicates the recording name and utterance number or time code in most cases. However, when only a four-digit number is present (e.g.: [0457]), this indicates that the original recording is not from the documentation corpus, but from the Wordlist Project (cf. Section 1.2.3.4). The number refers to the record number of the word in the Wordlist Project's lexical database, and the accompanying recording of that specific wordlist item, as collected by the members of the Wordlist Project. Currently, the recordings of the entries in the wordlist have not been archived, but will likely be archived in the near future once the permission of the members of the Wordlist Project has been secured.

#### 1.2.3.4 Orthographic considerations

At the time of writing, Pite Saami does not have an officially recognized orthography. In the past, adapted versions of the Swedish orthographic standards<sup>24</sup> and Lule Saami orthographies<sup>25</sup> have been used to write Pite Saami for a non-technical, non-linguistic audience. However, from 2008 through 2011, *Arjeplogs sameförening* (the local Saami association in Arjeplog) received funding to complete a lexicographic project called *Insamling av pitesamiska ord*,<sup>26</sup> (cf. Bengtsson et al. 2011) and hereinafter referred to simply as 'the Wordlist Project'. One of the outcomes of this Wordlist Project was a working orthography for Pite Saami. I have attempted to adopt this working orthographic standard in writing Pite Saami data in this description and the transcriptions provided in the accompanying documentation. This orthography uses the Swedish

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<sup>24</sup>Cf. Lars Rensund's books (Rensund 1982, 1986).

<sup>25</sup>E.g., at literacy courses for Pite Saami individuals held in Arjeplog occasionally during the last decade and sponsored by the Swedish Saami Parliament.

<sup>26</sup>This translates roughly as "collecting Pite Saami words". A working version of the resulting lexical database is currently available online at: [http://gtweb.uit.no/webdict/index\\_sje-swe.html](http://gtweb.uit.no/webdict/index_sje-swe.html).



alphabet and many Swedish sound-to-grapheme correspondences, but also resembles to some extent Lule Saami orthographic systems, particularly the most recent one as found in O. Korhonen (2005). To help understand the orthography, the correlations between sounds and graphemes are discussed here and listed in Table 1.1 on page 19 for vowels and Table 1.2 on pages 20 and 21 for consonants.

It is important to note that this is a *working* orthography, i.e., it is still subject to inconsistencies and potentially to further refinement. Moreover, the following description and the implementation of the orthography is based on my interpretation of the recurring patterns used by the Wordlist Project. While I generally use the spellings found in the Wordlist Project's wordlist, some deviations may be found in this description and the accompanying transcriptions; these can be due to a variety of factors such as changes to the word list as it was developed, deviating analyses on my own behalf, or simple inconsistencies in spelling (a natural occurrence in the development of an orthography). However, I alone am ultimately responsible for the orthographic choices in the present work.

The affricate phonemes are based on a spelling using a combination of letters: <ts> or <tj>; this is illustrated in (2) and (3).

- |     |           |                |          |
|-----|-----------|----------------|----------|
| (2) | /tsig:et/ | <i>tsigget</i> | 'set up' |
| (3) | /almatʃ/  | <i>almatj</i>  | 'person' |

In general, geminate consonants are written by doubling the relevant letter, as illustrated in (4) through (6).

- |     |          |               |          |
|-----|----------|---------------|----------|
| (4) | /kɔ:tet/ | <i>gåddet</i> | 'kill'   |
| (5) | /ka:ffa/ | <i>káffa</i>  | 'coffee' |
| (6) | /manjel/ | <i>manjel</i> | 'after'  |

However, geminate segments represented by a combination of letters, such as <sj> for /ʃ/ or <tj> for /tʃ/ are written by doubling the initial letter, as in (7) through (9).

- |     |           |                |                   |
|-----|-----------|----------------|-------------------|
| (7) | /pɔʃ:o/   | <i>bássjo</i>  | 'kitchen'         |
| (8) | /manje/   | <i>mannje</i>  | 'daughter-in-law' |
| (9) | /kɔtʃ:ɔt/ | <i>gåttjåt</i> | 'urinate'         |

Preaspiration is represented by <h> when the preaspirated segment is the initial segment in the consonant center, as in (10) and (11).

- |      |                        |               |          |
|------|------------------------|---------------|----------|
| (10) | /pɔ <sup>h</sup> tet/  | <i>báhtet</i> | 'come'   |
| (11) | /a: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:e/ | <i>áhttje</i> | 'father' |

If a preaspirated segment is preceded by a sonorant consonant segment, then the preaspiration itself is not marked by a grapheme of its own, as in (12) through (14).

- (12) /mur:<sup>h</sup>ko/     *murrko*     ‘fog’  
(13) /kum:<sup>h</sup>pe/     *gummpe*     ‘wolf’  
(14) /vuan:<sup>h</sup>tʰsa/     *vuanntsa*     ‘hen’

For plosives, the preaspiration is evident nonetheless because the corresponding plain segments are spelled differently, using <b, d, g>. However, the current working version of the orthography does not provide a way to distinguish between preaspirated affricates preceded by a sonorant segment, e.g. (14), and plain affricates preceded by a sonorant segment.

In spoken Pite Saami, when the copula and auxiliary verb *lä* is preceded by a word ending in an open syllable, it is often encliticized as *l* on that preceding word. To reflect this in the orthography, *lä* is then written as *’l* immediately following the preceding word, as in (15) and (16).

- (15) *gunne lä dân*     →     *gunne’l dân*     ‘where are you?’  
(16) *dállke lä bivval*     →     *dállke’l bivval*     ‘the weather is warm’

<i>phoneme (IPA)</i>	<i>letter or letters</i>	<i>comments/context</i>
a:	á	default grapheme
a	a	default grapheme
ɛ	ä	default grapheme
e	e ie	default grapheme in V1
i	i	default grapheme
u	u	default grapheme
o	o uo	default grapheme in V1
ɔ	å	default grapheme
ua	ua uä	default grapheme allophone (umlaut)

Table 1.1: Vowel phonemes and their corresponding graphemes in the working-version of the Pite Saami orthography

<i>phoneme (IPA)</i>	<i>letter or letters</i>	<i>comments/context</i>
p	<b>b</b> <b>p</b>	default grapheme word-finally; in C-cluster except after sonorant C
<sup>h</sup> p	<b>hp</b> <b>p</b>	default grapheme after sonorant C in C-center
p:	<b>bb</b> <b>pp</b>	default grapheme before unvoiced or preaspirated C
<sup>h</sup> p:	<b>hpp</b>	default grapheme
t	<b>d</b> <b>t</b>	default grapheme word-finally; in C-cluster except after sonorant C
<sup>h</sup> t	<b>ht</b> <b>t</b>	default grapheme after sonorant C in C-center
t:	<b>dd</b> <b>tt</b>	default grapheme before unvoiced or preaspirated C
<sup>h</sup> t:	<b>htt</b>	default grapheme
k	<b>g</b> <b>k</b>	default grapheme word-finally; in C-cluster except after sonorant C
<sup>h</sup> k	<b>hk</b> <b>k</b>	default grapheme after sonorant C in C-center
k:	<b>gg</b> <b>kk</b>	default grapheme before unvoiced or preaspirated C
<sup>h</sup> k:	<b>hkk</b>	default grapheme
ts	<b>ts</b>	default grapheme
<sup>h</sup> ts	<b>hts</b> <b>ts</b>	default grapheme after sonorant C in C-center
ts:	<b>dts</b>	default grapheme
<sup>h</sup> ts:	<b>htts</b>	default grapheme
tʃ	<b>tj</b>	default grapheme
<sup>h</sup> tʃ	<b>htj</b> <b>tj</b>	default grapheme after sonorant C in C-center
tʃ:	<b>dtj</b>	default grapheme
<sup>h</sup> tʃ:	<b>httj</b>	default grapheme
f	<b>f</b>	default grapheme
f:	<b>ff</b>	default grapheme
v	<b>v</b>	default grapheme
v:	<b>vv</b>	default grapheme
s	<b>s</b>	default grapheme
s:	<b>ss</b>	default grapheme

<i>phoneme (IPA)</i>	<i>letter or letters</i>	<i>comments/context</i>
ʃ	<b>sj</b>	default grapheme
ʃ:	<b>ssj</b>	default grapheme
h	<b>h</b>	default grapheme
m	<b>m</b>	default grapheme
m:	<b>mm</b>	default grapheme
n	<b>n</b>	default grapheme
n:	<b>nn</b>	default grapheme
ɲ	<b>nj</b>	default grapheme
ɲ:	<b>nnj</b>	default grapheme
ŋ	<b>ŋ</b>	default grapheme
ŋ:	<b>ŋŋ</b>	default grapheme
r	<b>r</b>	default grapheme
r:	<b>rr</b>	default grapheme
l	<b>l</b>	default grapheme
l:	<b>ll</b>	default grapheme
j	<b>j</b>	default grapheme
j:	<b>jj</b>	default grapheme

Table 1.2: Consonant phonemes and their corresponding graphemes in the working-version of the Pite Saami orthography

### 1.3 Typological profile

Pite Saami is a Western Saami language in the Saamic branch of the Uralic language family. It is currently spoken by around thirty speakers in and around the Arjeplog municipality in Swedish Lapland. (Cf. Section 1.1 for more details on the current state of the language.)

With the exception of a limited number of grammatical items, Pite Saami words consist minimally of one trochaic foot. All non-final odd syllables are stressed, with the initial syllable being most prominent. (Cf. Chapter 2.)

There are 43 native consonant phonemes and 9 native vowel phonemes. With the exception of the glottal fricative /h/, there is a length distinction for all consonants (singleton and geminate pairs). There are both voiceless and preaspirated plosive and affricate phonemes. Geminate and preaspirated segments are restricted to foot-medial position. Vowel length is only distinctive in open front position (/a/ and /a:/). (Cf. Chapter 3.)

Linear morphology in Pite Saami is exclusively suffixing. However, grammatical categories are often expressed non-linearly as well. This can take the form of foot-internal consonant alternations, umlaut vowel of the initial foot, and regressive vowel harmony between both vowels of a foot.

Nouns inflect for nine cases and number. Verbs inflect for person, number, tense and mood. Adjectives come in sets of attributive and predicative forms that are not regularly derivable from one another; attributive adjectives do not inflect, while predicative adjectives inflect for number. Number distinctions are limited to singular and plural for nouns, non-personal pronouns and predicative adjectives, but also exhibit a dual form in pronouns and in verb agreement morphology. (Cf. Chapter 4 for a brief introduction to Pite Saami morphology; details on inflectional morphology can be found throughout Chapters 6 through 10.)

There are seven word classes (verbs, nominals, adjectivals, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions and interjections); these can be distinguished by syntactic criteria as well as their behavior concerning inflectional morphology. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs can be derived using linear and/or non-linear morphological processes. (Cf. Chapter 5 for a more detailed overview of the various word forms; Chapter 6 on nouns; Chapter 7 on pronouns; Chapter 8 on adjectivals; Chapter 9 on verbs; Chapter 10 on the other word classes; Chapter 11 provides some examples for derivational morphology.)

Nominal phrases, adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases and the verbal complex constitute the main components of Pite Saami clauses. (Cf. Chapter 12.)

Pite Saami has nominative/accusative argument alignment. Basic clauses

consist minimally of a single finite verb form and potentially a further non-finite verb form, as well as any arguments, complements, adjuncts and particles. Copular clauses require the fully inflected copular verb. Negation is expressed by the fully inflected verb of negation in combination with a special non-finite form of the negated lexical verb. Polar interrogatives can be identified by a question marker, but this is exceptionally rare in current Pite Saami usage. Clause-level possession can be expressed using a transitive verb with the possessor as the subject and the possessum as the object, or using a copula phrase with the possessum as the subject and the possessor in an oblique case. Relativization uses a relative pronoun embedded in a relative clause with a fully inflected finite verb; the relative pronoun is not restricted in the syntactic role it has in the relative clause. Constituent order is not determined syntactically, but by information structure. (Chapters 13 through 15 deal with clause-level syntax.)

The Pite Saami language exhibits a number of features which are potentially remarkable from a general typological point of view, even if most of these features are not particularly unusual among the Saami languages. A selection of such features and the sections they are dealt with in are listed in Table 1.3.

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Section</i>
utterance-final voicelessness	2.3.2
preaspirated phonemes	3.1.1.1
phonemic length distinction for all consonants	3.1.1.2
morphological categories commonly expressed by ablaut	4.2
three-way number distinction in personal pronouns and verb agreement	7.1, 9.1.1
irregular distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives	8.3
suppletion in the lexeme for 'small'	8.6
potential mood in verbal inflection	9.1.3.2
negation expressed by a finite negation verb	9.2.2
predicative possession expressed by either locative or 'have'-verb	14.1.4
no regular distinction between polar interrogatives and declaratives	14.2.2

Table 1.3: A selection of potentially interesting features in Pite Saami from a typological perspective





# Chapter 2

## Prosody

It may seem unusual to begin the description of a language's phonology with a discussion of prosodic structures before any segmental phonology has been described. However, this choice of ordering is motivated by the important role that prosodic positions play in the distribution of phonemes (in addition to morphophonology). It is thus useful to first understand the prosodic structure of Pite Saami words before looking at their segmental composition here, and later to better understand morphophonology.

While there are a number of monosyllabic functional words, all Pite Saami lexical forms and many functional words are minimally bisyllabic. The first two sections (2.1 and 2.2) describe the prosodic structures of these two groups of words. Then, utterance-level prosodic phenomena are dealt with in Section 2.3.

### 2.1 Monosyllabic word structure

While the majority of Pite Saami words are multisyllabic, a small set of functional words are monosyllabic. This set includes, for instance, some interjections, particles, conjunctions and pronouns. These monosyllabic words consist of at least one vowel<sup>1</sup> and one consonant. This consonant can be in either onset or coda position; it is also possible for both consonant positions to be filled. Consonant clusters are licensed in coda position as well. The possible segmental structure templates for monosyllabic words are listed with examples in Table 2.1 on page 26.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>All vowel phonemes except /*ua*/ are attested in monosyllabic words.

<sup>2</sup>Here and below, “C” stands for a consonant phoneme and “V” for a vowel phoneme in representations of prosodic template structures.

template	examples		
	IPA	orth	gloss
VC	aj	<i>aj</i>	‘also’
	ij	<i>ij</i>	‘isn’t’ (NEG\3SG.PRS)
CV	tɛ	<i>dä</i>	‘then’
	lɛ	<i>lä</i>	‘is’ (be\3SG.PRS)
	jo	<i>juo</i>	‘already’
CVC	jus	<i>jus</i>	‘if’
	ta:t	<i>dát</i>	‘that’ (NOM.SG)
	men	<i>men</i>	‘but’
	vaŋ	<i>vanj</i>	‘really’
CVCC	kujt	<i>gujt</i>	‘definitely’
	mejt	<i>mejd</i>	‘what’ (ACC.PL)
CVCCC	ta:jst	<i>dájst</i>	‘from these’ (DEM-PROX-ELAT.PL)

Table 2.1: Segmental templates for monosyllabic words, including examples

## 2.2 Multisyllabic word structure

All lexical forms and a large number of functional words in Pite Saami are minimally bisyllabic. The smallest prosodic segmental structure for multisyllabic words is:

VCV

but larger words are both possible and common, and expand upon this minimal foundation; examples are provided throughout the following discussion. Due to a number of phenomena, it is sensible to posit a phonological domain, which, in following basic phonological theory and the prosodic hierarchy, I will refer to as a *foot*. A Pite Saami foot is trochaic (counting from left to right) and essentially bisyllabic. Multisyllabic words with an odd number of syllables thus have a final (unstressed) syllable which falls outside of the last foot. Whether such a final syllable should belong to the preceding foot or not is a theoretical question which will not be addressed here, but it should be noted that the segments in such syllables are subject to highly restrictive phonotactics compared to the locations within a trochaic foot.<sup>3</sup> Evidence for the foot as a domain can be found in prosodic (intonation, minimal size restrictions), phonological (segmental restrictions, vowel harmony) and morphophonological (stem alternations) phenomena.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Section 3.2.1 on the phonotactics of vowel phonemes.

### 2.2.1 Word stress

The initial syllable of a Pite Saami foot always receives main stress. All other foot-initial syllables receive secondary stress. If a final syllable is odd, it does not receive any stress. As a result, the patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables presented in Figure 2.1 are attested in Pite Saami.

<sup>1</sup>σ  
<sup>1</sup>σσ  
<sup>1</sup>σσ<sub>1</sub>σ  
<sup>1</sup>σσ<sub>1</sub>σσ  
<sup>1</sup>σσ<sub>1</sub>σσ<sub>1</sub>σ  
<sup>1</sup>σσ<sub>1</sub>σσ<sub>1</sub>σσ

Figure 2.1: Trochaic rhythmic patterns in Pite Saami; here, σ stands for a syllable

The acoustic correlates for stress are intensity and pitch. Note that vowel length does not play a role in stress. Indeed, there are words with a short first vowel and a long second vowel that receive stress on the first syllable, as in the two examples in (17) and (18).

- |      |                           |                              |                  |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| (17) | /ˈanaː/<br>[anaː]         | <i>aná</i><br>‘have\2SG.PRS’ | [pit101208.246]  |
| (18) | /ˈkɔlaː-tʃ/<br>[kuɔlaːtʃ] | <i>guolátj</i><br>‘fish-DIM’ | [pit110413a.067] |

### 2.2.2 Relevant prosodic domains

Due to systematic restrictions on the distribution of a number of segments and consonant clusters as well as to the prosodic domains of morphophonological processes, it is useful to name and describe various prosodic positions for multisyllabic words. The domains themselves are described below, while the relevant phonological restrictions and morphophonological processes are described in the pertinent sections on consonant phonemes (Section 3.1), vowel phonemes (Section 3.2) and morphophonology (Section 4.2). Only a very limited number of recent loan words do not adhere to this structure. The illustration in Figure 2.2 on page 28 shows these prosodic positions, and they are described further below. In the illustration, only segments represented by bold capital letters are obligatory.

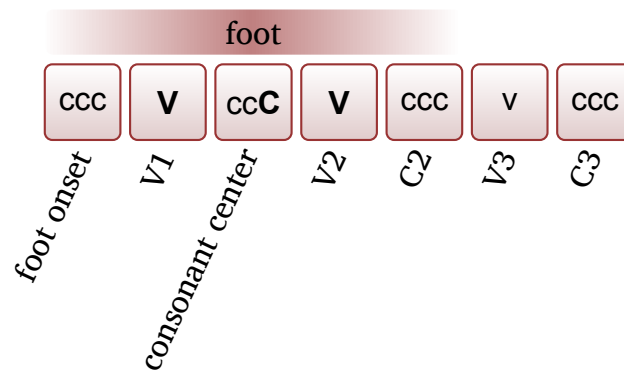


Figure 2.2: Illustration of prosodic domains for segments and the foot; segments represented by **C** and **V** are obligatory, while **c** and **v** are not.

### 2.2.2.1 Foot

A **foot** in Pite Saami is a prosodic unit consisting of a stressed syllable and the following unstressed syllable, and is thus trochaic. Every multi-syllabic Pite Saami word consists of at least one foot.

### 2.2.2.2 Foot onset

**Foot onset** position is the first consonant or consonant cluster of a foot. It is not obligatorily filled. In Saamic linguistics, this has typically been referred to as the ‘initium’.

### 2.2.2.3 V1

**V1** is the first vowel of a foot, and is the peak of the stress-carrying syllable for the foot. It can be long or short, and can be a monophthong or a diphthong. The vowel in the final V1 position<sup>4</sup> of a word is the location for umlaut and ablaut/*j*-harmony (cf. Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). In Saamic linguistics, this has been referred to as the ‘vowel center’.

### 2.2.2.4 The consonant center

The **consonant center** is the consonant or consonants that follow V1 (the initial vowel) and precede V2 (the second vowel), and essentially form the core of a foot. Every foot has a consonant center. The final consonant segment of the consonant center is the onset of the second syllable due to syllabification (cf.

<sup>4</sup>Only words of four or more syllables can have more than one V1 position.

Section 2.2.3). The final consonant center of a word is the location for consonant gradation. The term ‘consonant center’ is commonly used in Saami linguistics.

#### 2.2.2.5 V2

V2 is the second vowel of a foot. It never carries stress. Every foot has a vowel in this position. With the exception of the diphthong phoneme / $\widehat{u\bar{a}}$ /, all vowel phonemes are licensed here. In Saamic linguistics, this has been referred to as the ‘latus’.

#### 2.2.2.6 C2

C2 is the consonant or consonants following V2. It is not obligatorily filled. If it is followed by a V3, then its final segment is resyllabified as the onset of the following syllable. In Saamic linguistics, this has also been referred to as the ‘consonant margin’.

#### 2.2.2.7 V3

V3 is the unstressed vowel of any syllable following the final foot of a multisyllabic word form, and is thus the last syllable nucleus of a word (when present). Only a limited set of vowel phonemes can occur in this position. If the V3 position is filled, then there is always a consonant margin as well. In Saamic linguistics, this has been referred to as the ‘vowel margin’.

#### 2.2.2.8 C3

C3 is a consonant or one of a limited set of consonant clusters (cf. Section 3.1.2.2) following V3 of a multisyllabic word, and is thus always word-final (when present). It is not obligatorily filled. If the C3 position is filled, then there is always a vowel in V3 and a consonant margin as well. In Saamic linguistics, this has been referred to as the ‘finus’.

#### 2.2.2.9 Discussion and examples

Table 2.2 on page 30 provides several examples for Pite Saami multisyllabic words and how their segments fill the prosodic domains described above. Note that there are always segments in V1, the consonant center and V2, forming a sort of ‘minimal core.’

IPA	foot onset	prosodic domains						gloss
		minimal core			C2	V3	C3	
		V1	C-center	V2				
ane		a	n	e				have\SG.IMP
pena	p	e	n	a				dog\NOM.SG
atne-t		a	tn	e	t			have-INF
kol:e	k	o	l:	e				fish\NOM.SG
kol:a:j	k	o	l:	a:	j			fish-ILL.SG
va:jpmo	v	a:	jpm	o				heart\NOM.SG
luak:ta-j	l	ua	k:t	a	j			bay-ILL.SG
ʃner:a	ʃn	e	r:	a				rat\NOM.SG
uv:ata		u	v:	a	t	a		kiss\2SG.PRS
pu <sup>h</sup> tsu-jta	p	u	<sup>h</sup> ts	u	jt	a		reindeer-ILL.PL
sa:kasta-v	s	a:	k	a	st	a	v	say-1SG.PRS
petnaki-st	p	e	tn	a	k	i	st	dog-ELAT.SG

Table 2.2: Examples showing how the segments of Pite Saami words fill prosodic domains

Only the final foot of a word can be followed by a single, odd syllable with V3 and potentially C3 segments.

Similarly, only the final foot of a word is subject to morphophonological phenomena (cf. Section 4.2). For instance, *sálbmagirje* ‘book of psalms, hymnal’ is a compound consisting of *sálbma* ‘psalm’ and *girje* ‘book’. It consists of two feet: *sálbma-* and *-girje*. It is not possible to add another syllable (e.g. via suffixation) between these two feet because they belong to the same compound noun. Furthermore, the inflected form for ACC.SG is *sálbmagirjev*, in which consonant gradation (weakening of /jj/ to /j/) is only triggered in the second foot, even though the first foot undergoes gradation (weakening of the cluster /lpm/ to /lm/) in non-compound environments, cf. *sálmav* ‘psalm-ACC.SG’. This is illustrated by the word forms in Table 2.3.

NOM.SG	ACC.SG	gloss
sálbma	sálmav	‘psalm’
girje	girjev	‘book’
sálbmagirje	sálbmagirjev *sálmagirjev	‘hymnal’

Table 2.3: Examples showing how the scope of consonant gradation is limited to the final foot of a word

### 2.2.3 Syllabification

The distribution of vowel phonemes between consonant phoneme slots patterns clearly, particularly with respect to intonation and the distribution of vowel phonemes. This, along with the sonority sequencing principle, indicates that vowels are the nuclei of Pite Saami syllables. However, the location of syllable boundaries is not as easy to determine, and in fact does not seem to be highly relevant in Pite Saami prosody.

Because the consonant center has by far the widest variety of consonants and consonant combinations of any of the consonant positions, it is best to consider this position first. However, although the consonant center spans the preceding and following syllabic nuclei, there is no solid phonotactic or phonological evidence for where the syllable boundary is located inside the consonant center. The possible syllabification patterns for the consonant center are listed in Table 2.4.

<i>C-center segment count</i>	<i>possible patterns</i>
one C	V.CV VC.V
two Cs	V.CCV VC.CV VCC.V
three Cs	V.CCCV VC.CCV VCC.CV VCCC.V

Table 2.4: Possible syllabification patterns for the consonant center

Maximizing onsets, the patterns V.CCCV, VC.CCV and V.CCV would create highly unusual onsets (such as /vkŋ/, /pm/ or /vɲ/) unattested in any other onset positions. Similarly, trying to maximize codas, the patterns VCCC.V and VCC.V would also result in highly unusual codas (such as /vkŋ/ or /vɲ/) unattested in any other coda positions. While the pattern VCC.CV would also create some otherwise unattested codas (such as /vt/ or /rk/), these are phonologically similar to attested word-final codas such as /st/ or /jk/ (also fricative+plosive and oral-sonorant+plosive, respectively). The patterns VC.CV, V.CV and VC.V result in onsets and codas which are not unusual. However, keeping in mind the far greater diversity of single consonant phonemes licensed in word-initial onset position compared to word-final coda position, syllabification favoring singleton onset consonants results in onsets and codas which most resemble word-initial onsets and word-final codas. Note that even then, onsets and codas in positions other than the consonant center form subsets of the possibilities in consonant center position (with the exception of a few non-native word-onset clusters). It is therefore most plausible that syllables are assigned a single consonant segment as an onset in syllabification. The examples in (19) through (24)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Section 1.2.3.3 for an explanation of the sources in the examples in the current chapter.

show some results of this syllabification for a variety of consonant constellations in the consonant center.

- |      |   |                                 |                     |
|------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| (19) | /ana:/<br>[a.na:]                               | <i>aná</i><br>'have\2SG.PRS'    | [6278]              |
| (20) | /atne-t/<br>[at.net]                            | <i>adnet</i><br>'have-INF'      | [0006]              |
| (21) | /lokta/<br>[l <sup>h</sup> o <sup>h</sup> k.ta] | <i>luokta</i><br>'bay\NOM.PL'   | [pit080702b.54m38s] |
| (22) | /kisto-tʃ/<br>[kis.toʃ]                         | <i>gistotj</i><br>'box-DIM'     | [6048]              |
| (23) | /parka-v/<br>[par.kau]                          | <i>bargav</i><br>'work-1SG.PRS' | [6241]              |
| (24) | /tʃa:jpma-t/<br>[tʃa:jp.mat <sup>h</sup> ]      | <i>tjájmat</i><br>'laugh-INF'   | [pit100323a.001]    |

This syllabification preference for a single onset segment can be applied to syllable boundaries outside of the consonant center, as shown in (25) and (26).

- |      |   |                                     |        |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|--------|
| (25) | /sa:kasti-t/<br>[sa:.kas.tit <sup>h</sup> ] | <i>ságastit</i><br>'speak-INF'      | [1480] |
| (26) | /ɛvu-jna/<br>[ɛ.vuj.na]                     | <i>ävujna</i><br>'happiness-COM.SG' | [4372] |

When the consonant center consists of a geminate phoneme (cf. Section 3.1.1.2), there is no phonological test which indicates exactly where the syllable boundary is located. Despite this, the geminate is considered split somewhere down the middle, and symbolically divided into two component parts. The examples in (27) through (30) illustrate this.

- |      |                                      |                                       |                    |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (27) | /pɔt:ɔ/<br>[pɔt:tɔ]                  | <i>báddá</i><br>'while\NOM.SG'        | [0231]             |
| (28) | /nam:a/<br>[nam.ma]                  | <i>namma</i><br>'name\NOM.SG'         | [3433]             |
| (29) | /na: <sup>h</sup> p:e/<br>[na:hp:pe] | <i>náhppe</i><br>'milking_cup\NOM.SG' | [pit080621.54m38s] |
| (30) | /a: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:e/<br>[a:ht:tʃe] | <i>áhttje</i><br>'father\NOM.SG'      | [0016]             |

If a geminate precedes another consonant segment in the consonant cluster, the syllabification border is after the geminate, as in (31):



- |      |                       |                                 |        |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------|
| (31) | /pis:te/<br>[pis:.te] | <i>bisste</i><br>'spoon\NOM.SG' | [0190] |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------|

When the final consonant in the consonant center is preaspirated, the syllable boundary falls between the realization of preaspiration (cf. Section 3.1.1.1) and the rest of the preaspirated segment. The examples in (32) and (33) show a preaspirated plosive and affricate, respectively.

- |      |                                    |                                 |        |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------|
| (32) | /tɔ <sup>h</sup> pe/<br>[tɔh.pe]   | <i>dáhppe</i><br>'house\NOM.SG' | [0416] |
| (33) | /ke <sup>h</sup> tʃe/<br>[keh.tʃe] | <i>gehtje</i><br>'end\NOM.SG'   | [0594] |

The same is the case when a geminate precedes a preaspirated segment, as in (34).

- |      |                                     |                                  |        |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|
| (34) | /kir: <sup>h</sup> ko/<br>[kirɣ.ko] | <i>girrko</i><br>'church\NOM.SG' | [0640] |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|

Nonetheless, the actual position of syllable boundaries in Pite Saami does not seem to be particularly relevant in other areas of prosody. For this reason, the consonant center is a preferable prosodic domain to consider when describing prosody and phonotactics, and thus is referred to regularly in the following descriptions.

## 2.2.4 A note on syllables and feet

With the above description on stress in multisyllabic word structure in mind, it should become clear that syllables are only relevant for creating feet, while feet form a relevant unit on several levels (prosodic, phonological, morphophonological). As a result, it could be more useful to rephrase the 'bisyllabic minimal word structure' as 'obligatory footedness' for Pite Saami lexical items and many functional words. Furthermore, the choice of the term 'foot' to describe this minimal size requirement may not be ideal because the edges of the Pite Saami foot are quite irrelevant to morphophonological processes. Instead, the *V1 + Consonant-Center + V2* core is a vital domain for morphophonology, while segments at the edges are not relevant. Perhaps a better descriptive term would be 'minimal core'.

## 2.3 Utterance-level prosody

### 2.3.1 Intonation in utterances

While the following observations are of a preliminary nature, and a more thorough study must be left for future investigation, it seems that the relative intensity of stressed syllables in declarative utterances in Pite Saami tends to decrease towards the end of the utterance, with the final stressed lexical item, and particularly the final syllable, being realized with noticeably lower intensity than the beginning syllables. The wave form and intensity trace for the utterance in (35) are provided in Figure 2.3.

- (35) *da lä tjakttja ja gillgime sarvajt*  
*da lä tjakttja ja gillgi-jme sarva-jd*  
 then be\3<sub>SG.PRS</sub> autumn\NOM.SG and will-1<sub>PL.PST</sub> reindeer\_bull-ACC.PL  
*njuovvat*  
*njuovva-t*  
 slaughter-INF

‘it is autumn and we will slaughter the reindeer bulls’ [pit090826.003]

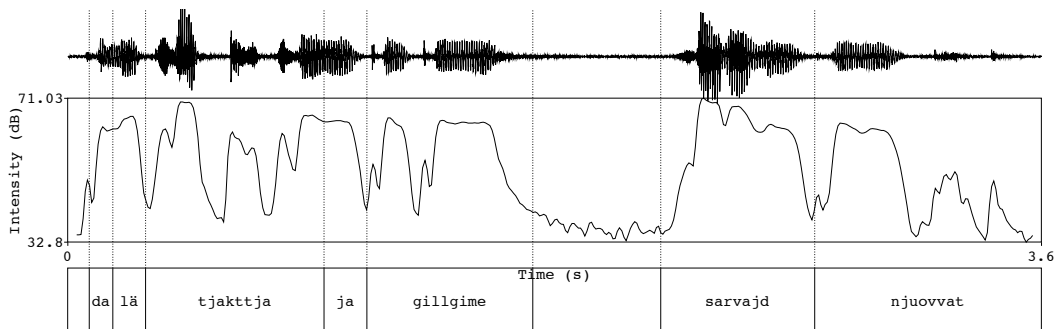


Figure 2.3: Waveform and intensity trace illustrating the drop in intensity at the end of an utterance

Here, the initial syllable nucleus of the first lexical item in the sentence *tjakttja* has an intensity of 69.7 dB, the other lexical items hover between 63.5 dB and 70.3 dB, while the final lexical item *njuovvat* begins at 64 dB on the initial syllable nucleus, and drops abruptly to 50 dB on the final syllable nucleus.





# Chapter 3

## Segmental Phonology

Pite Saami has 43 native consonant phonemes and 9 native vowel phonemes. In the present chapter, the first section (3.1) deals with consonant phonemes, their allophonic variation, and consonant clusters. The following section (3.2) covers vowel phonemes, their allophonic variation, and schwa-euphony.

### 3.1 Consonants

The consonant phoneme inventory of Pite Saami can be found in Table 3.1. There are plain and preaspirated phonemes for all plosive and affricate positions, and geminate and singleton pairs for all categories. Preaspirated, geminate and preaspirated geminate phonemes are restricted to the consonant center position.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p <sup>h</sup> p p: <sup>h</sup> p:		t <sup>h</sup> t t: <sup>h</sup> t:			k <sup>h</sup> k k: <sup>h</sup> k:	
affricate			ts <sup>h</sup> ts ts: <sup>h</sup> ts:	tʃ <sup>h</sup> tʃ tʃ: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:			
fricative		f f: v v:	s s:	ʃ ʃ:			h
nasal	m m:		n n:		ɲ ɲ:	ŋ ɳ:	
trill			r r:				
approx.			l l:		j j:		

Table 3.1: Consonant phoneme inventory for Pite Saami

A description of the consonant phonemes and the distribution of their relevant allophones can be found in Section 3.1.1 for each mode of articulation. This is followed by a discussion of consonant clusters. For the sake of clarity, the term *postaspiration* will be used here to refer to what is normally simply referred to as *aspiration* in most linguistic literature; this decision also emphasizes

the contrast to *preaspiration*, which is, in fact, more relevant for Pite Saami than postaspiration.

### 3.1.1 Consonant phonemes and allophonic variations

After a brief note on preaspiration in the following section (3.1.1.1) and a discussion of gemination in Section 3.1.1.2, the consonant phonemes and their allophones are described in the remaining sections (3.1.1.3 - 3.1.1.7). They are grouped based on manner of articulation.

#### 3.1.1.1 Preaspiration

In Pite Saami, preaspirated<sup>1</sup> phonemes only occur in consonant center position. While preaspirated phonemes can be plosives or affricates, the phenomenon that goes along with them is essentially the same. The period of aspiration, i.e., the voicelessness preceding the formation of the oral closure, is realized in different ways and depends on the preceding segment. If the preceding segment is a voiced continuant consonant, then the final part of that segment is devoiced.<sup>2</sup> When following a high front vowel /i/, preaspiration is realized as a voiceless palatal fricative [ç]. In all other cases, preaspiration is a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. This is summarized in Table 3.2.

<i>preceding segment</i>	<i>realization of preaspiration</i>	<i>example</i>
voiced consonant	end devoicing of voiced consonant	/m <sup>h</sup> p/ → [m̥mp]
high front vowel /i/	voiceless palatal fricative [ç]	/i <sup>h</sup> p/ → [içp]
other vowels	voiceless glottal fricative [h]	/a <sup>h</sup> p/ → [ahp]

Table 3.2: The phonetic realizations of preaspiration

<sup>1</sup>As is hopefully evident from this discussion on preaspiration, the term ‘preaspiration’ is not entirely accurate from a phonetic-acoustic point of view since the acoustic correlate of this phenomenon is not actually aspiration in all cases. Nonetheless, there are several reasons to select this term: 1. in the majority of cases, the acoustic correlate is in fact preaspiration, 2. this phonemic phenomenon has traditionally been referred to as preaspiration in the literature on Pite Saami and other Saami languages, and 3. preaspiration can be reconstructed for the half-long and long Proto-Saami plosive and affricate phonemes (cf. Sammallahti 1998: 54) that became the current Pite Saami preaspirated phonemes.

<sup>2</sup>While a minimal contrast between a voiceless obstruent preceding a preaspirated consonant phoneme and a voiceless obstruent preceding a plain counterpart phoneme (e.g.: /st/ vs. /s<sup>ht</sup>/) is theoretically possible, this cannot be detected because such a consonant cannot be devoiced as it is already voiceless (e.g.: /st/ → [st] and /s<sup>ht</sup>/ → [st]).

## 3.1.1.2 Geminates

The occurrence of geminate consonants is restricted to the consonant center. As can be seen in Table 3.1, only the glottal fricative /h/ does not have a comparable geminate phoneme. Geminate segments are realized with a longer overall duration than the corresponding singleton phonemes. This observation is based not only on speakers' observations that such sounds are 'longer', but also on my own observations and analyses, including an acoustic-phonetic comparison of duration in geminate phonemes; cf. Section 3.1.1.3.5 for a detailed comparison non-voiced plosive durations in the consonant center.

For plosives and affricates, only one stop closure is formed, and the overall duration of the stop closure is longer than the duration of a corresponding single consonant. Some examples are provided in (37) through (41).

(37)	/tap:en/ [tap:en]	<i>dabben</i> 'DEM\INESS.SG'	[3672]
(38)	/pat:ε/ [pat:ε]	<i>badde</i> 'ribbon\NOM.SG'	[pit080701b.082]
(39)	/pεk:a/ [pεk:a]	<i>bägga</i> 'wind\NOM.SG'	[pit080702b.067]
(40)	/va:ts:ε-t/ [va:ts:εt <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>vádtset</i> 'go-INF'	[2049]
(41)	/tʃitʃ:ε/ [tʃitʃ:ε]	<i>tjittje</i> 'mother\NOM.SG'	[3618]

Preaspirated plosive and affricate geminates also exist. In such cases, the duration of both the preaspiration phase and the following stop closure are longer than in the corresponding preaspirated single consonants. Some examples are found in (42) through (45).

(42)	/tʃ <sup>h</sup> p:ε/ [tʃ <sup>h</sup> p:ε]	<i>tjähppe</i> 'clever\PRED.SG'	[pit090930b.077]
(43)	/ma: <sup>h</sup> t:ε-t/ [ma: <sup>h</sup> t:εt <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>máhttet</i> 'can-INF'	[pit080926.03m21s]
(44)	/ma: <sup>h</sup> ts:a-j/ [ma: <sup>h</sup> ts:saj]	<i>máhttsaj</i> 'turn_around-3SG.PST'	[6613]
(45)	/a: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:ε/ [a: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:ε]	<i>áhttje</i> 'father\NOM.SG'	[0016]

For all other consonants, the overall duration of a geminate is longer than for the corresponding single consonant. Examples of such geminates are provided in (46) through (56).

### 3 Segmental Phonology

(46)	/ta:fo/ [ta:fo]	<i>dáffo</i> 'area\NOM.SG'	[2367]
(47)	/ra:v:e/ [ra:v:e]	<i>rávve</i> 'peace\NOM.SG'	[1366]
(48)	/ɔs:e/ [ɔs:e]	<i>ásse</i> 'part\NOM.SG'	[2269]
(49)	/ɔʃ:e/ [ɔʃ:e]	<i>ássje</i> 'horsetail\NOM.SG'	[2270]
(50)	/ɲam:a/ [ɲam:a]	<i>njamma</i> 'suck\3SG.PRS'	[pit080701b.005a]
(51)	/pin:a/ [pin:a]	<i>binna</i> 'little_bit\NOM.SG'	[2446]
(52)	/maɲ:e/ [maɲ:e]	<i>mannje</i> 'daughter_in_law\NOM.SG'	[pit080621.74m04s]
(53)	/maɲ:el/ [maɲ:el]	<i>mannel</i> 'after'	[pit080924.529]
(54)	/kɔr:oti-t/ [kɔr:otit <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>gárrodit</i> 'ice_over-INF'	[4693]
(55)	/tɔl:ɔ/ [tɔl:ɔ]	<i>dállå</i> 'fire\NOM.PL'	[0421]
(56)	/pa:j:a-t/ [pa:j:at <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>bájjat</i> 'let-INF'	[3439]

Due mostly to the nature of morphophonemic stem alternations, there are numerous minimal pairs differing only in the presence of a singleton versus a geminate consonant.

It is also possible to have geminate fricative or sonorant phonemes, as described above, followed by a plosive or affricate phoneme, as illustrated by the examples in (57) through (60).

(57)	/pɛv:te/ [pɛv:te]	<i>bävvdé</i> 'table\NOM.SG'	[0289]
(58)	/lus:pe/ [lus:pe]	<i>lusspe</i> 'rapids\NOM.SG'	[1077]
(59)	/kal:ka/ [kal:ka]	<i>gallga</i> 'will\3SG.PRS'	[6626]
(60)	/ka:rr <sup>h</sup> tʃe/ [ka:rr <sup>h</sup> tʃe]	<i>gárrtje</i> 'tight\PRED.SG'	[0554]



A series of two identical consonant phonemes can arise at the internal stem boundary of a compound. In such cases, the resulting duration can be longer than for a single plosive, but is not necessarily so, as the two phonemes are often realized as a singleton, as in (61).

- (61) /tʃepot+ta:k:te/    *tjebotdákkte*<sup>3</sup>    [3771]  
 [tʃi̯epota:k<sup>h</sup>te]    ‘cervical\_vertebra\NOM.SG’

Due to the morpheme boundary separating such segments, it is clear that this is not a case of geminate phonemes, even if the realization may resemble that of a geminate.

### 3.1.1.3 Plosives

The plosive series in Pite Saami consists of the phonemes and their phonetic realizations shown in Figure 3.1. The distribution of the allophones will be discussed here. As all three relevant places of articulation behave in much the same way, the various manners of articulation for each place will be treated together.

/p/	:	[p] [p <sup>h</sup> ] [p]
/p:/	:	[p:]
/ <sup>h</sup> p/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> p]
/ <sup>h</sup> p:/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> p:]
/t/	:	[t] [t <sup>h</sup> ] [t]
/t:/	:	[t:]
/ <sup>h</sup> t/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> t]
/ <sup>h</sup> t:/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> t:]
/k/	:	[k] [k <sup>h</sup> ] [k]
/k:/	:	[k:]
/ <sup>h</sup> k/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> k]
/ <sup>h</sup> k:/	:	[ <sup>h</sup> k:]

Figure 3.1: Plosive and affricate phonemes and their realizations

**3.1.1.3.1 Voiceless singleton plosives /p t k/** The segments /p t k/ are bilabial, alveolar and velar (respectively) voiceless singleton plosive phonemes. The voiceless singleton plosives can occur in all prosodic consonant positions

<sup>3</sup>The word *tjebotdákkte* literally means ‘throat-bone’, cf. *tjebot* ‘throat’ and *dákkte* ‘bone’.

and are subject to allophonic variation, depending on the prosodic environment. In syllable-onset position, a plain (unaspirated) voiceless plosive [p t k] is produced, as seen in examples (62) through (68).

(62)	/pēna/ [p̄iēna]	<i>bēna</i> 'dog\NOM.SG'	[pit090926.057]
(63)	/sa:v:a-pa/ [sa:v:apa <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>sávva<sup>h</sup>bah</i> 'wish-3DU.PRS'	[pit100323a.060]
(64)	/t̄j/ [t̄j]	<i>d̄j</i> '2SG.NOM'	[pit100323a.014]
(65)	/vosta/ [vūosta]	<i>vuosta</i> 'cheese\NOM.PL'	[pit080917c.09m47s]
(66)	/koptok/ [kop <sup>h</sup> tok <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>gåbdåk</i> 'wide\PRED.SG'	[pit091001.035]
(67)	/juka-v/ [jukav]	<i>jugav</i> 'drink-1SG.PRS'	[pit100323a.115]
(68)	/pora-kit/ [pūorakit <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>buoragit</i> 'good-ADV'	[pit100323a.213]

The plain voiceless singleton pronunciations [p t k] are also found in consonant clusters in word-onset position, an environment usually found in recent and older loan words from (North) Germanic, as in examples (69) and (70).

(69)	/trotnik/ [tro <sup>h</sup> tnik <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>drod<sup>h</sup>nik<sup>4</sup></i> 'queen\NOM.SG'	[0377]
(70)	/kla:s:a/ [kla:s:a]	<i>glássa<sup>5</sup></i> 'ice_cream\NOM.SG'	[0529]

The voiceless singleton plosives phonemes are postaspirated word-finally<sup>6</sup> as [p<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>], as in examples (71) through (73), as well as when preceding a non-homorganic plosive or affricate, as in examples (73) through (75). This is also the case across an internal compound boundary, as in (75).<sup>7</sup>

(71)	/or:o-p/ [or:op <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>årrop</i> 'be-1PL.PRS'	[pit100323a.158]
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<sup>4</sup>from Sw. *drottning*.

<sup>5</sup>from Sw. *glass* (< French *glace*).

<sup>6</sup>Note, however, that speakers from the northern parts of Pite Saami territory tend to voice the voiceless plosives phonemes as [b d g] in word-final position.

<sup>7</sup>The word *båktjanitgåssås* in (75) refers to the whooping cough, and is a compound composed of *båktjanit* 'to suffocate' and *gåssås* 'cough'.

(72)	/pora-kit/ [p̥u̯rakitʰ]	<i>buoragit</i> ‘good-ADV’	[pit100323a.213]
(73)	/iktok/ [ikʰtokʰ]	<i>iktuk</i> ‘alone’	[pit100323a.169]
(74)	/vopta/ [vuopʰta]	<i>vuopta</i> ‘hair\NOM.PL’	[pit080701b.092]
(75)	/p̥okʰʃanit+k̥s:ɔs/ [p̥okʰʃanitʰk̥s:ɔs]	<i>båktjanitgæssås</i> ‘whooping_cough\NOM.SG’	[5993]

For all three plosive singleton phonemes, the closure is not released when a homorganic consonant follows; they are then realized as [p̥ t̥ k̥]. Word-internally, this situation is only found in the consonant center and with a homorganic sonorant, as shown in examples (76) through (79).

(76)	/va:jp̥mo/ [va:jp̥mo]	<i>våjbmo</i> ‘heart\NOM.SG’	[pit080701b.115]
(77)	/et̥ni-t/ [et̥nitʰ]	<i>ednit</i> ‘have-2DU.IMP’	[pit100323a.251]
(78)	/jek̥ŋa/ [jek̥ŋa]	<i>jegŋa</i> ‘ice\NOM.SG’	[pit080702b.070]
(79)	/vot̥ja/ [vuot̥ja]	<i>vuodja</i> ‘butter\NOM.SG’	[pit080926.01m15s]

**3.1.1.3.2 Voiceless geminate plosives /p̥ t̥ k̥:/** The segments /p̥ t̥ k̥:/ are bilabial, alveolar and velar (respectively) geminate plosive phonemes. They are very restricted in their distribution as they only occur in the consonant center<sup>8</sup> and never occur word-initially or word-finally. Examples for the geminate plosive phonemes can be found in examples (80) through (83).

(80)	/top̥:en/ [top̥:en]	<i>dobben</i> ‘yonder’	[3581]
(81)	/pat̥:e/ [pat̥:e]	<i>badde</i> ‘ribbon\NOM.SG’	[090930a.215]
(82)	/p̥ek̥:a/ [p̥ek̥:a]	<i>bägga</i> ‘wind\NOM.SG’	[080621.77m27s]
(83)	/luak̥:ta/ [luak̥:ta]	<i>luak̥kta</i> ‘bay\NOM.SG’	[080917c.03m51s]

<sup>8</sup>Cf. 2.2.2.4 for a description of the *consonant center*.

**3.1.1.3.3 Preaspirated singleton plosives /<sup>h</sup>p <sup>h</sup>t <sup>h</sup>k/** The segments /<sup>h</sup>p <sup>h</sup>t <sup>h</sup>k/ are preaspirated bilabial, alveolar and velar (respectively) singleton plosive phonemes. They are only licensed as the final consonant segment in the consonant center. Examples can be found in (84) through (88).

(84)	/na: <sup>h</sup> pe/ [na: <sup>h</sup> pe]	<i>náhpe</i> 'milking_cup\NOM.PL'	[pit080621.55m16s]
(85)	/tə <sup>h</sup> pe/ [tə <sup>h</sup> pe]	<i>dáhpe</i> 'house\NOM.SG'	[pit100310b.083]
(86)	/nur: <sup>h</sup> tas/ [nur <sub>ɾ</sub> tas]	<i>nurr<sub>ɾ</sub>tas</i> 'towards_the_north'	[pit081011.177]
(87)	/ti <sup>h</sup> ke/ [ti <sub>ç</sub> ke]	<i>dihke</i> 'louse\NOM.SG'	[2359]
(88)	/kij <sup>h</sup> to-v/ [kij <sub>ɔ</sub> tov]	<i>gij<sub>ɔ</sub>to<sub>v</sub></i> 'thank-ACC.SG'	[pit080621.11m45s]

**3.1.1.3.4 Preaspirated geminate plosives /<sup>h</sup>p: <sup>h</sup>t: <sup>h</sup>k:/** The segments /<sup>h</sup>p: <sup>h</sup>t: <sup>h</sup>k:/ are preaspirated bilabial, alveolar and velar (respectively) geminate plosive phonemes. They are only licensed in the consonant center. Examples can be found in (89) through (93).

(89)	/tʃ <sup>h</sup> p:e/ [tʃ <sup>h</sup> p:e]	<i>tjáhppe</i> 'clever\PRED.SG'	[pit090930b.077]
(90)	/na: <sup>h</sup> p:e/ [na: <sup>h</sup> p:e]	<i>náhppe</i> 'milking_cup\NOM.SG'	[pit080621.54m38s]
(91)	/ma: <sup>h</sup> t:e-t/ [ma: <sup>h</sup> t:et <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>máhttet</i> 'can-INF'	[pit080926.03m21s]
(92)	/kum <sup>h</sup> p:e/ [kum <sub>ɱ</sub> p:e]	<i>gummppe</i> 'wolf\NOM.SG'	[0671]
(93)	/par <sup>h</sup> k:a-t/ [par <sub>ɾ</sub> k:at <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>barrgat</i> 'work-INF'	[pit101208.005]

**3.1.1.3.5 Comparison of non-voiced plosive durations in the consonant center** While a thorough study of length phenomena in Pite Saami is beyond the scope of the current study, it is worth noting the actual duration which the various plosive phonemes are realized with in the consonant center. Specifically, a plain geminate plosives and a singleton preaspirated plosive have approximately the same duration for the period of stop closure (around 300ms),

and are at least 100ms longer than plain singleton plosives and 100ms shorter than a preaspirated geminate plosive. In this respect, plain geminate plosives and preaspirated singleton phonemes seem to group together concerning stop closure duration. Table 3.3 shows some (near) minimal sets and duration measurements as a comparison. However, this alignment seems to be irrelevant phonologically.

	<i>plain single</i> /p/	<i>plain geminate</i> /pp/	<i>preasp. single</i> /ʰp/	<i>preasp. geminate</i> /ʰpp/
	145-150ms	320-340ms	280-340ms	460-490ms
	<i>short</i>	<i>medium</i>		<i>long</i>
<i>set 1</i>	t <sup>h</sup> pe 150ms <i>house</i> \ <i>GEN.SG</i> [pit100310b]	tuppen 320ms <i>outside</i> [3581]	t <sup>h</sup> pe 340ms <i>house</i> \ <i>NOM.SG</i> [pit100310b]	t <sup>h</sup> ppo 490ms <i>sheath</i> \ <i>NOM.SG</i> [3627]
<i>set 2</i>	na:perti-t 145ms <i>drill</i> - <i>INF</i> [3378]	nuppe 340ms <i>other</i> [1317]	na:ʰpe 280ms <i>milking bowl</i> \ <i>NOM.PL</i> [pit080917a]	na:ʰppe 460ms <i>milking bowl</i> \ <i>NOM.SG</i> [pit080917a]

Table 3.3: Minimal sets or near minimal sets for comparison of stop closure durations (in milliseconds) for plain and preaspirated singletons and geminates

### 3.1.1.4 Affricates

The affricate series in Pite Saami consists of the phones and their phonetic realizations shown in Figure 3.2. As affricates, they begin as a plosive stop, which is then released into a sibilant fricative. These are described below.

/ts/	:	[ts]
/ts:/	:	[t:s]
/ʰts/	:	[ʰts]
/ʰts:/	:	[ʰt:s]
/tʃ/	:	[tʃ]
/tʃ:/	:	[t:ʃ]
/ʰtʃ/	:	[ʰtʃ]
/ʰtʃ:/	:	[ʰt:ʃ]

Figure 3.2: Affricate phonemes and their phonetic realizations

**3.1.1.4.1 Plain singleton affricates /ts tʃ/** The segments /ts tʃ/ are unvoiced alveolar and postalveolar (respectively) singleton affricate phonemes. Both can occur in syllable onset position. Examples can be found in (94) through (97).

(94)	/tsis:a-t/ [tsis:at <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>tsissat</i> 'pee-INF'	[3700]
(95)	/pɔtsoj/ [pɔtsoj]	<i>båtsoj</i> 'reindeer\NOM.SG'	[0263]
(96)	/tʃa:tse-v/ [tʃa:tsev]	<i>tjátsev</i> 'water-GEN.SG'	[1861]
(97)	/pɔtʃesti-t/ [pɔtʃestit <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>båtjestic</i> 'wring-INF'	[0262]

The postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ can also occur in word-final<sup>9</sup> position, frequently as the diminutive suffix *-tj*, as in (98).

(98)	/petnaka-tʃ/ [petnakatʃ]	<i>bednagatj</i> 'dog-DIM\NOM.SG'	[5717]
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**3.1.1.4.2 Plain geminate affricates /ts: tʃ:/** The segments /ts: tʃ:/ are unvoiced alveolar and postalveolar (respectively) geminate affricate phonemes. As with all other geminates, the affricate geminates only occur in the consonant center. The duration of the stop closure is longer in geminate affricates compared to their singleton affricate counterparts, while the duration of the fricative element is not relevant. Examples can be found in (99) and (100).

(99)	/va:ts:e-t/ [va:tset <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>vádtset</i> 'go-INF'	[2049]
(100)	/tʃitʃ:e/ [tʃitʃe]	<i>tjítje</i> 'mother\NOM.SG'	[3618]

**3.1.1.4.3 Preaspirated singleton affricates /<sup>h</sup>ts <sup>h</sup>tʃ/** The segments /<sup>h</sup>ts <sup>h</sup>tʃ/ are preaspirated alveolar and postalveolar (respectively) singleton affricate phonemes. Just as with the preaspirated plosives, the preaspirated affricates only occur in the consonant center. Examples can be found in (101) through (103).

<sup>9</sup>There is one particle *guts* with the alveolar affricate in final position, but it is not clear what this is or whether it is /ts/ or /tts/ in the consonant center (it is spelled inconsistently, as well). Noticeably, it is monosyllabic, and could be an abbreviated form of a typical bisyllabic word which has been lexicalized in its rapid-speech form, in which case it was historically in word-medial position.

(101)	/pu <sup>h</sup> tsu/ [pu <sup>h</sup> tsu]	<i>buhtsu</i> 'reindeer\NOM.PL'	[pit110413b.085]
(102)	/pɔ <sup>h</sup> tʃe-t/ [pɔ <sup>h</sup> tʃet <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>båhtjet</i> 'milk-INF'	[0239]
(103)	/vuan: <sup>h</sup> tsa/ [vuan <sup>h</sup> ntsa]	<i>vuanntsa</i> 'hen\NOM.SG'	[2140]

**3.1.1.4.4 Preaspirated geminate affricates /<sup>h</sup>ts: <sup>h</sup>tʃ:/** The segments /<sup>h</sup>ts: <sup>h</sup>tʃ:/ are preaspirated alveolar and postalveolar (respectively) geminate affricate phonemes. Just as with the preaspirated geminate plosives, the preaspirated geminate affricates only occur in the consonant center. The duration of the preaspiration and stop closure is longer in geminate affricates compared to their singleton affricate counterparts, while the duration of the fricative element is not phonologically relevant. Examples can be found in (104) and (105).

(104)	/ma: <sup>h</sup> ts:a-j/ [ma: <sup>h</sup> tsaj]	<i>máhttsaj</i> 'turn_around-3SG.PST'	[6613]
(105)	/a: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:e/ [a: <sup>h</sup> tʃe]	<i>áhttje</i> 'father\NOM.SG'	[110415.19m16s]

### 3.1.1.5 Fricatives

The fricative series in Pite Saami consists of the phonemes and their phonetic realizations shown in Figure 3.3.

/f/	: [f]
/f:/	: [f:]
/v/	: [v] [v̥] [v̥]
/v:/	: [v:] [v̥:] [v̥:]
/s/	: [s]
/s:/	: [s:]
/ʃ/	: [ʃ]
/ʃ:/	: [ʃ:]
/h/	: [h]

Figure 3.3: Fricative phonemes and their realizations

**3.1.1.5.1 Singleton fricative consonants /f v s ʃ h/** The segments /f v s ʃ h/ are singleton labiodental (unvoiced and voiced), alveolar, postalveolar and glottal fricatives, all of which are attested in syllable onset and

word-internal coda position. Some examples are provided in (106) through (113).

(106)	/ta:fo-st/ [ta:fost <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>dáfost</i> 'area-ELAT.SG'	[6803]
(107)	/viva-v/ [vivav]	<i>vivav</i> 'son_in_law-ACC.SG'	[pit110415.08m08s]
(108)	/sa:kasti-t/ [sa:kastit <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>ságastit</i> 'speak-INF'	[1480]
(109)	/kese-n/ [ki̇esen]	<i>giesen</i> 'summer-INESS.SG'	[pit100310b.019]
(110)	/ʃul:o/ [ʃul:o]	<i>sjullo</i> 'ugly'	[1598]
(111)	/uʃuta-v/ [uʃutav]	<i>usjudav</i> 'think-1SG.PRS'	[6815]
(112)	/hɔl:ɔ-t/ [hɔl:ot <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>hállát</i> 'say-INF'	[0856]
(113)	/paha:/ [paha:]	<i>bahá</i> 'evil\NOM.SG'	[0101]

The phonemes /v s/ can also occur in word-final position, as in examples (114) and (115).

(114)	/ka:la:-v/ [ka:la:v]	<i>gáláv</i> 'ford\NOM.SG'	[4332]
(115)	/nevres/ [ni̇evres]	<i>nievres</i> 'bad'	[5101]

For some speakers from the north-eastern parts of Pite Saami territory, /ʃ/ is also possible word-finally because the diminutive suffix is sometimes -ʃ (instead of -tʃ); however there is not enough data in the corpus to determine when the diminutive suffix is /-ʃ/.

Two of these phonemes require further explanation. First of all, the bilabial voiced fricative /v/ is often realized as a labio-dental approximant [ʋ] when following an open front vowel /a/ or /a:/, as illustrated by examples (107) and (111) above.<sup>10</sup> In this case, the open front vowel is realized as a back vowel

<sup>10</sup>This fact is even evident in some Swedish place-name spellings which use the more open vowel-like spelling <au> instead of the fricative spelling <av>, such as in *Båtsjaur*, a small community near Arjeplog whose name is likely based on the (Pite) Saami words *båtsoj* 'reindeer' and *jávvre* 'lake'.





(122)	/ɔs:e/ [ɔs:e]	ásse 'part\NOM.SG'	[2269]
(123)	/ɔʃ:e/ [ɔʃ:e]	ássje 'horsetail\NOM.SG'	[2270]

**3.1.1.5.3 Fricatives and preaspiration** When preceding a preaspirated segment, the voiced fricative phoneme /v/ becomes devoiced towards the end of its realization as [v̥].<sup>12</sup> The near minimal pair illustrated by the examples in (124) and (125) shows a voiced fricative preceding a plain and a preaspirated plosive, respectively.

(124)	/na:v:te/ [na:v:te]	náv̥vde 'predator\NOM.SG'	[6042]
(125)	/na:v <sup>h</sup> tɛ/ [na:v̥tɛ]	náv̥te 'like this'	[1252]

Evidence for a preaspirated segment following the other fricatives is impossible to ascertain due to their inherent voicelessness.

### 3.1.1.6 Nasals

The nasal series in Pite Saami consists of the phones and their phonetic realizations shown in Figure 3.4. The distribution of the allophones will be discussed here; see Section 3.1.1.8 specifically for the devoiced allophones.

/m/	:	[m] [m̥]
/m:/	:	[m:] [m̥:]
/n/	:	[n] [n̥]
/n:/	:	[n:] [n̥:]
/ɲ/	:	[ɲ] [ɲ̥]
/ɲ:/	:	[ɲ:] [ɲ̥:]
/ŋ/	:	[ŋ] [ŋ̥]
/ŋ:/	:	[ŋ:] [ŋ̥:]

Figure 3.4: Nasal phonemes and their realizations

**3.1.1.6.1 Singleton nasal consonants /m n ɲ ŋ/** The segments /m n ɲ ŋ/ are singleton bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar (respectively) nasal consonant phonemes. They can be found in onset and coda positions, with the exception

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Section 3.1.1.8 for essentially the same phenomenon in sonorant phonemes.

of the velar nasal, which cannot appear word-initially<sup>13</sup> and is only attested once word-finally (shown in example (136)). Some examples for singleton nasal phonemes in various positions within words can be found in (126) through (136).

(126)	/mon/ [mon]	<i>mån</i> '1SG.NOM'	[pit100323a.004]
(127)	/ɔro-jmen/ [ɔrojməŋ]	<i>årojmen</i> 'reside-1DU.PST'	[pit100323a.181]
(128)	/pɔr:o-m/ [pɔr:om]	<i>bårrom</i> 'eat-PRF'	[pit100323a.103]
(129)	/nimki-t/ [nimkitʰ]	<i>njimgit</i> 'glue-INF'	[1287]
(130)	/nej:ta/ [nej:ta]	<i>näjida</i> 'girl\NOM.SG'	[pit110415.06m31s]
(131)	/pɛrtna/ [pɛrtʰna]	<i>bårdna</i> 'bear\NOM.SG'	[pit080926.01m19s]
(132)	/ɲiʰtʃ:e/ [ɲiʰtʃ:e]	<i>njiddtje</i> 'breast\NOM.SG'	[pit080701b.114]
(133)	/maɲe/ [maɲe]	<i>manje</i> 'daughter_in_law\NOM.PL'	[pit080621.74m26s]
(134)	/vaɲ/ [vaɲ]	<i>vanj</i> 'really'	[pit090702.035]
(135)	/jekŋa/ [jiekŋa]	<i>jegŋa</i> 'ice\NOM.SG'	[pit080702b.070]
(136)	/mudiŋ/ [mudiŋ]	<i>mudiŋ</i> 'sometimes'	[pit080708_Session02.026]

**3.1.1.6.2 Geminate nasal consonants /m: n: ɲ: ŋ:/** The segments /m: n: ɲ: ŋ:/ are geminate bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar (respectively) nasal consonant phonemes. As is the case for all other geminate phonemes, their distribution is restricted to the consonant center. Some examples with the geminate nasal phonemes can be found in (137) through (140).

(137)	/ɲam:a/ [ɲam:a]	<i>njamma</i> 'suck\3SG.PRS'	[pit080701b.01m38s]
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<sup>13</sup>A phonotactic restriction barring a phonemic velar nasal in word-initial position is a common trait for languages spoken in Europe and western Asia (cf. Anderson 2008).

(138)	/pin:a/ [pin:a]	<i>binna</i> 'little_bit\NOM.SG'	[2446]
(139)	/maj:e/ [maj:e]	<i>mannje</i> 'daughter_in_law\NOM.SG'	[pit080621.74m05s]
(140)	/maj:el/ [maj:el]	<i>majjel</i> 'after'	[pit080924.529]

### 3.1.1.7 Oral sonorants

Pite Saami has three oral sonorant phonemes; because their behavior is very similar, they will be described together in the rest of this section. Their phonetic realizations are shown in Figure 3.5. See Section 3.1.1.8 specifically for the devoiced allophones.

/r/	:	[r] [r̥] [r̥̥]
/r:/	:	[r:] [r̥:] [r̥̥:]
/l/	:	[l] [l̥] [l̥̥]
/l:/	:	[l:] [l̥:] [l̥̥:]
/j/	:	[j] [j̥] [j̥̥]
/j:/	:	[j:] [j̥:] [j̥̥:]

Figure 3.5: Oral sonorant phonemes and their realizations

**3.1.1.7.1 Singleton trill consonant /r/** The segment /r/ is a singleton alveolar trill. It can occur in syllable onset and coda positions. In rapid speech, it is often realized as an alveolar tap [r̥], particularly intervocalically. Some examples are found in (141) through (144). It becomes devoiced [r̥̥] towards the end of its realization when preceding a preaspirated phoneme. Word-finally, it is also optionally completely devoiced as [r̥̥̥].

(141)	/ra:ʃ:o/ [ra:ʃ:o]	<i>rássjo</i> 'rain\NOM.SG'	[1385]
(142)	/kɔrɔ/ [kɔrɔ]	<i>gårá</i> 'bad'	[0768]
(143)	/ɛr <sup>h</sup> po-jn/ [ɛrr̥pojn]	<i>ärpojn</i> 'wire-COM.SG'	[6794]
(144)	/felpar/ [felpar]	<i>fielbar</i> 'snowdrift\NOM.SG'	[0473]

**3.1.1.7.2 Geminate trill consonant /r:/** The segment /r:/ is a geminate alveolar trill. It only occurs in the consonant center, as in (145).

(145)	/kɔ:rɔti-t/ [kɔ:rɔtɪtʰ]	<i>gárrodit</i> 'ice_over-INF'	[4693]
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**3.1.1.7.3 Singleton lateral approximant /l/** The segment /l/ is a lateral approximant. It can occur in syllable onset and coda positions. Some examples are found in (146) through (149).

(146)	/lɔkev/ [lɔkev]	<i>lågev</i> 'ten'	[2313]
(147)	/pala/ [pala]	<i>bala</i> 'become_scared\2SG.PRS'	[6332]
(148)	/kalka-v/ [kalkav]	<i>galgav</i> 'will-1SG.PRS'	[6627]
(149)	/ɔlol/ [ɔlol]	<i>ålol</i> 'jaw\NOM.SG'	[2257]

**3.1.1.7.4 Geminate lateral approximant /l:/** The segment /l:/ is a singleton lateral approximant. It only occurs in the consonant center, as in (150).

(150)	/tɔ:lɔ/ [tɔ:lɔ]	<i>dållå</i> 'fire\NOM.PL'	[0421]
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**3.1.1.7.5 Singleton central approximant /j/** The segment /j/ is a central approximant phoneme. It can occur in syllable onset and coda positions. Some examples are found in (151) through (155).

(151)	/jekŋa/ [jiekŋa]	<i>jegŋa</i> 'ice\NOM.SG'	[0922]
(152)	/a:ja/ [a:ja]	<i>ája</i> 'spring\NOM.SG'	[2685]
(153)	/tijstak/ [tijstakʰ]	<i>dijstak</i> 'Tuesday\NOM.SG'	[pit081017.00m57s]
(154)	/a:jʰten/ [a:jjten]	<i>ájten</i> 'shed\INESS.SG'	[100310b.100]
(155)	/a:jʰta:-j/ [a:jj:ta:j]	<i>ájjtáj</i> 'shed-ILL.SG'	[6676]

**3.1.1.7.6 Geminate central approximant /j:/** The segment /j:/ is a geminate central approximant. It only occurs in the consonant center, as in (156).

(156)	/pa:j:a-t/ [pa:j:at <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>bájjat</i> 'let-INF'	[3439]
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### 3.1.1.8 Sonorants and preaspiration

All sonorant phonemes become devoiced towards the end of their realization when preceding a preaspirated plosive or affricate.<sup>14</sup> Since preaspiration is limited to the consonant center, this devoicing is (with the exception of word-final devoiced /r/) also limited to the consonant center. Some near minimal pairs are listed in (157) through (164).

(157)	/par:ko/ [par:ko]	<i>barrgo</i> 'job\NOM.SG'	[0146]
(158)	/pa:r <sup>h</sup> ko/ [pa:r <sup>h</sup> ko]	<i>bárrko</i> 'bark\NOM.SG'	[0147]
(159)	/ka:m:pal/ [ka:m:pal]	<i>gámbal</i> 'old'	[2493]
(160)	/kum: <sup>h</sup> pe/ [kum: <sup>h</sup> pe]	<i>gummpe</i> 'wolf\NOM.SG'	[0671]
(161)	/riŋ:ko/ [riŋ:ko]	<i>riŋŋgo</i> 'lasso_ring\NOM.SG'	[2326]
(162)	/ruŋ: <sup>h</sup> ka/ [ruŋ: <sup>h</sup> ka]	<i>ruŋŋka</i> 'raven\NOM.SG'	[1428]
(163)	/a:jto/ [a:jto]	<i>ájdo</i> 'path_in_snow\NOM.PL'	[0023]
(164)	/a:j <sup>h</sup> te/ [a:jjte]	<i>ájte</i> 'shed\NOM.PL'	[6677]

These examples all show an oral sonorant preceding a preaspirated plosive. In addition, a preaspirated affricate triggers the same devoicing.

## 3.1.2 Consonant clusters

In Pite Saami, it is frequently the case that up to three consonants can occur consecutively, particularly in the consonant center. Because syllabification does not

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Section 3.1.1.5.3 for essentially the same phenomenon in fricative phonemes.

cross word boundaries, consonant clusters in word-initial and word-final position are necessarily tautosyllabic. However, word-internally, syllabification of the final consonant as a syllable onset<sup>15</sup> creates a syllable boundary within a group of consecutive consonants. There are two ways of approaching such word-internal consecutive consonant groups: on the one hand, one can consider the syllable boundary to be a significant fissure dividing such a consonant grouping into two units, and then only study any tautosyllabic consonant clusters that result. On the other hand, one can disregard any syllable boundaries, and thus treat any consonant groupings, even those spanning a syllable boundary (heterosyllabic consonant clusters), as a unit. In determining whether syllable boundaries are a meaningful part of Pite Saami phonotactics, a discussion of the inventories for both tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic consonant clusters is provided below.

In the following, tautosyllabic consonant clusters will be described first, before moving on to heterosyllabic consonant groupings. Note that this does not include consecutive consonants which arise in compounding at the internal root-boundary.

### 3.1.2.1 Consonant clusters in syllable onset position

In syllable onset position, 21 CCs and 2 CCCs are attested, as listed in Table 3.4; all are in word-initial position.<sup>16</sup> Words with an onset cluster tend to be of either unknown or of Germanic origin, which helps explain why eleven of the word-initial CCs and both of the CCCs would not be attested in word-internal onsets even if syllabification allowed tautosyllabic consonant clusters word-internally.

C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	<i>attested CCs</i>	
plosive	+ sonorant	pr, pl, tr, kn, kr, kl	
sibilant	+ obstruent	sp, st, sk, sv, ʃk, ʃv	
fricative	+ sonorant	fr, fl, sm, sn, sɲ, sl, ʃm, ʃɲ, ʃl	
C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	<i>attested CCCs</i>
s	+ plosive	+ r	str, skr

Table 3.4: Consonant clusters in syllable onset position

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Section 2.2.3 on syllabification.

<sup>16</sup>This is because syllabification results in onsets consisting of a single consonant word-internally; there are therefore no tautosyllabic consonant clusters in onset position anywhere except word-initially.

### 3.1.2.2 Consonant clusters in syllable coda position

Because syllabification results in syllable onsets of a single consonant segment,<sup>17</sup> only the coda of the initial syllable can host tautosyllabic consonant clusters in the consonant center. These are listed in Table 3.5.

C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	attested CCs
fricative	+ plosive	vt, vk
oral sonorant	+ plosive	rp, lp, jp, rt, lt, jt, rk, lk

Table 3.5: Tautosyllabic CC clusters in the consonant center (all in coda position)

Syllable codas in word-final position are limited to only three CCs and one CCC that occur regularly, and four other CCs with very limited distribution; these clusters are listed in Table 3.6. All of the regularly occurring word-final coda clusters are in fact suffixes, and are thus quite common.<sup>18</sup> The clusters /rt rm lm jk/ are limited to a single, seemingly native lexical item each, but there is not enough data at this point to make any further conclusions.

CCs	st, jt, lt
CCC	jst
limited	rt, rm, lm, jk

Table 3.6: Word-final consonant clusters

### 3.1.2.3 Heterosyllabic consonant clusters in the consonant center

The inventories of tautosyllabic consonant clusters in various word positions detailed above are lacking any regularity concerning position within syllable structure (onset or coda). In other words, the sets of coda clusters licensed word-internally only overlap with the coda clusters licensed word-finally to a very limited extent.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the relatively large number of word-initial

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Section 2.2.3 on syllabification.

<sup>18</sup>The suffixes *-st* ELAT.SG, *-jst* ELAT.SG, *-jt* ACC.PL form an integral part of any noun paradigm. The suffix *-lt* is limited to a handful of directional particles and may be an old case suffix. It should also be noted that Pite Saami speakers from the northern side of Pite Saami territory use *-s* and *-js* for relative case marking.

<sup>19</sup>Specifically, only the clusters /jt lt rt/ are attested both word-internally and word-finally, while all the other clusters are unique to either word-internal or to word-final position.



consonant clusters, but complete lack of consonant clusters in other syllable-onset positions word-internally is also asymmetrical. These facts indicate that perhaps a different approach to explaining the data would be more fruitful.

Keeping the above in mind, as well as the exceptional role that the consonant center plays in morphophonology (consonant gradation) and phonotactics (geminate, preaspiration, overall length), an inventory of the possible heterosyllabic consonant clusters, e.g., disregarding syllable boundaries, that occur in the consonant center as a unit proves more insightful in describing Pite Saami phonology.

In addition to the 21 geminate consonants that can occur alone in the consonant center, there are a total of 213 heterosyllabic CCs attested in the consonant center. Table 3.7 on page 58 lists the 197 heterosyllabic CCs with either two consonants or a double ‘geminate’ consonant and a single consonant. Most combinations of various natural classes are found; however, it is striking that a nasal as the first element can only have an obstruent as the second element. It is also noteworthy that a single oral sonorant plus a nasal is attested, but no double oral sonorant plus a nasal.

Turning to heterosyllabic consonant clusters with three members (tripartite CCs), there are 16 attested in the consonant center; these are listed in Table 3.8 below. The heterosyllabic consonant clusters in the first two rows of this table are native and fairly common, and correspond paradigmatically to CCs lacking the plosive (see previous section on heterosyllabic CCs and Section 4.2.1 on consonant gradation). The other three tripartite CCs /jst mst rtm/ are only attested in one or two words each,<sup>20</sup> and there is not enough data to reach any further conclusions at this point.

C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	possible CCCs
fricative	+ plosive	+ sonorant	vtn, vtŋ, vkŋ
sonorant	+ plosive	+ sonorant	rpm, lpm, jpm, rtn, ltn, jtn, rtŋ, ltŋ, rkŋ, lkŋ
other limited CCCs			jst, mst, rtm

Table 3.8: Tripartite consonant clusters in the consonant center

Due to the morphophonological process of consonant gradation, which features paradigmatic stem allomorphy characterized by quantitative alternations in the consonant center in many cases,<sup>21</sup> almost all of the heterosyllabic CCs

<sup>20</sup>Recent loan words from Swedish may also contain non-native tripartite CCs, e.g.: *kɔnstɔ* ‘art’ < Sw. *konst*.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Section 4.2.1.

### 3 Segmental Phonology

C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	possible clusters
plosive +	plosive	pt, p:t, pk, p:k, tk, t:k, kt, k:t
	affricate	pts, p:ts, ptʃ, p:tʃ, kts, k:ts, ktʃ, k:tʃ
	fricative	ps, p:s, tv, t:v, ks, k:s, kʃ, k:ʃ
	nasal	pm, p:m, pn, p:n, pɲ, p:ɲ, tm, t:m, tn, t:n, tɲ, t:ɲ, kɲ, k:ɲ
	oral sonorant	pr, p:r, pl, p:l, pj, p:j, tj, t:j, kl, k:l
fricative +	plosive	vt, v:t, v <sup>ht</sup> , v: <sup>ht</sup> , vk, v:k, v <sup>hk</sup> , v: <sup>hk</sup> , sp, s:p, st, s:t, sk, s:k, ʃk, ʃ:k
	affricate	vts, v:ts, v <sup>hts</sup> , v: <sup>hts</sup> , vtʃ, v:tʃ, v <sup>htʃ</sup> , v: <sup>htʃ</sup>
	fricative	vs, v:s, vʃ, v:ʃ
	nasal	fn, f:n, vn, v:ɲ, vɲ, sm, s:m, sn, s:n, sɲ, ʃm
	oral sonorant	vr, v:r, vl, v:l, vj, v:j
nasal +	plosive	mp, m:p, m <sup>hp</sup> , m: <sup>hp</sup> , mk, m:k, m <sup>hk</sup> , m: <sup>hk</sup> , nt, nnt, n <sup>ht</sup> , n: <sup>ht</sup> , n <sup>hk</sup> , n: <sup>hk</sup> , ɲk, ɲ:k, ɲ <sup>hk</sup> , ɲ: <sup>hk</sup>
	fricative	ms, m:s, mʃ, m:ʃ
oral sonorant +	plosive	rp, r:p, r <sup>hp</sup> , r: <sup>hp</sup> , rt, r:t, r <sup>ht</sup> , r: <sup>ht</sup> , rk, r:k, r <sup>hk</sup> , r: <sup>hk</sup> , lp, l:p, l <sup>hp</sup> , l: <sup>hp</sup> , lt, l:t, l <sup>ht</sup> , l: <sup>ht</sup> , lk, l:k, l <sup>hk</sup> , l: <sup>hk</sup> , jp, j:p, j <sup>hp</sup> , j: <sup>hp</sup> , jt, j:t, j <sup>ht</sup> , j: <sup>ht</sup> , jk, j:k, j <sup>hk</sup> , j: <sup>hk</sup>
	affricate	r <sup>hts</sup> , r: <sup>hts</sup> , r <sup>htʃ</sup> , r: <sup>htʃ</sup> , l <sup>htʃ</sup> , l: <sup>htʃ</sup> , j <sup>hts</sup> , j: <sup>hts</sup>
	fricative	rf, r:f, rv, r:v, rs, r:s, rʃ, r:ʃ, lf, l:f, lv, l:v, ls, l:s, jv, j:v, js, j:s
	nasal	lm, ln, lɲ, l:ɲ, rm, rn, rɲ, jm, jn, jɲ
	oral sonorant	rj, r:j, lj, l:j, jr, j:r, jl, j:l

Table 3.7: Heterosyllabic consonant clusters in the consonant center

can be grouped into short ~ long pairs, e.g.: /pt ~ p:t/ or /j<sup>hts</sup> ~ j:<sup>hts</sup>/. There are only 16 heterosyllabic CCs which do not seem to have a corresponding quantitative partner; for reasons explained below, it is useful to divide these into two groups:

Group A: /vn vɲ vɲ lm ln lɲ lɲ rm rn rɲ jm jn jɲ/  
 Group B: /sɲ ʃm ɲk/

Members of the first and larger group all have a corresponding morphophonemic partner, but this corresponding partner is a consonant cluster consisting of three consonant segments, and differs qualitatively as well. Specifically, tripartite CCs consisting of /v l r j/ followed by a plosive+sonorant pair correspond to Group A (those lacking the plosive element of the relevant tripartite CC); these pairings are listed in Figure 3.6 on page 59.

CC	~	CCC	CC	~	CCC
vn	:	vtn	lm	:	lpm
vɲ	:	vɲn	ln	:	ltn
vŋ	:	vŋŋ	lɲ	:	ltɲ
rm	:	rpm	lŋ	:	lkŋ
rn	:	rtn	jm	:	jpm
rŋ	:	rŋŋ	jn	:	jtn

Figure 3.6: Quantitative and qualitative CC ~ CCC pairs

The remaining heterosyllabic CCs /sɲ ʃm ŋk/ (Group B) seem to lack a quantitative partner. It is likely that the corresponding long CCs /s:ɲ ʃ:m ŋ:k/ would be acceptable since CCs with very similar phonemic structures in quantitative pairs exist. However, a lack of data at this point prevents this from being ascertained for certain.

It is worth noting that the only consonant cluster which occurs in a word-medial position other than the consonant center is /st/ from the suffix *-st-*, a derivational morpheme<sup>22</sup> which derives a verb, e.g. *basestit* ‘to fry quickly’ (cf. *basset* ‘to fry’).

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Section 11.2.2 for more on this verbalizer.

## 3.2 Vowels

Pite Saami has eight monophthong vowel phonemes and one diphthong vowel phoneme. The monophthongs are listed in the vowel chart in Figure 3.7, and the diphthong is listed in Figure 3.8.

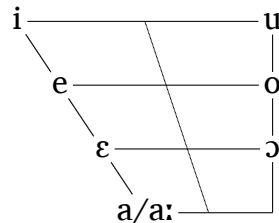


Figure 3.7: Monophthong vowel phoneme inventory

$\widehat{ua}$

Figure 3.8: The diphthong vowel phoneme

A discussion of these phonemes and the distribution of the relevant allophones follows. Note that there is a short open front vowel /a/ and a long open front vowel /a:/; for the latter case, length is marked with a triangular colon <a:> in phonemic transcription, as according to IPA standards, and with an acute accent <á> when represented in orthography.

As illustrated above, there are eight monophthong phonemes and one diphthong phoneme in Pite Saami. The monophthong phonemes /a a: ɛ i u ɔ/ are realized as monophthongs in all cases. The monophthong phonemes /e/ and /o/ are realized as slight diphthongs in V1 position, namely as  $\widehat{[ie]}$  and  $\widehat{[uo]}$ , respectively. They can be very short in duration. There is a relatively minimal difference between the beginning and ending positions of each of the  $\widehat{[ie]}$  and  $\widehat{[uo]}$  phones in the oral cavity, a closeness which is even reflected in inconsistencies in Pite Saami orthography: both <e> and <ie> are used for /e/, and <o> and <uo> for /o/.

The diphthong phoneme  $\widehat{ua}$  is restricted to V1 position. Due to vowel harmony,  $\widehat{ua}$  can be realized as  $\widehat{[u\epsilon]}$  or  $\widehat{[ua]}$ , and needs not be particularly long in duration.

Note that the farther north within the Pite Saami language territory, the more monophthong phones are slightly diphthongized. This is closer to Lule Saami within the Saami dialect continuum; indeed, many Lule Saami monophthong vowel phonemes are realized as slight diphthongs (cf., e.g., Spiik 1989: 11).

Because there is no significant difference in behavior between monophthongs and diphthongs which would justify treating them separately, all nine vowel phonemes are dealt with together in the following section.

### 3.2.1 Vowel phonemes and allophonic variations

The following sections describe the Pite Saami vowel phonemes and their allophonic realizations in the three vowel positions V1, V2 and V3. Table 3.9 summarizes the distribution of the vowel phonemes in these three prosodic vowel slots. All vowel phonemes are licensed in V1, and all except / $\varepsilon$ / and / $\widehat{ua}$ / occur in V2.<sup>23</sup> However, V3 position is the most restrictive and allows only /i  $\varepsilon$  a u/. This distribution reflects the fact that V1 is the most prosodically relevant slot, and V3 the least significant.

vowel	V1	V2	V3
i	+	+	+
e	+	+	-
$\varepsilon$	+	(-)	+
a	+	+	+
a:	+	+	-
ɔ	+	+	-
o	+	+	-
u	+	+	+
$\widehat{ua}$	+	-	-

Table 3.9: Distribution of vowel phonemes in the three prosodic vowel slots

#### 3.2.1.1 Closed front high vowel /i/

The segment /i/ is a closed front high vowel. In V1 position, it is not realized with a completely closed oral cavity, but closer to [ɪ], while in V2 and V3 position it is even less open and essentially [ɪ], and tends to be shorter in duration. When a palatal approximant /j/ immediately follows, this triggers a slight raising of /i/ so that it is closer to [i]. Some examples are found in (165) through (168).

- (165) /kartʃeti-t/                      *gartjedit*    [0555]  
           [kartʃetɪtʰ]                      ‘decrease-INF’

<sup>23</sup>The phoneme / $\varepsilon$ / only occurs in a limited phonological context in V2 of grammatical words, and is therefore in parentheses in Table 3.9.; cf. Section 3.2.1.3.

(166)	/jimki-t/ [jimkit <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>jimkit</i> 'blink-INF'	[2775]
(167)	/li-jin/ [lijn]	<i>lijin</i> 'be-3PL.PST'	[4114]
(168)	/tʃilmi-jt/ [tʃilmijt]	<i>tjilmijt</i> 'eye-ACC.PL'	[1877]

### 3.2.1.2 Closed-mid front vowel /e/

The segment /e/ is a closed-mid front vowel. In V1 position, it is realized as a slight diphthong [ie̯], while in V2 position it is normally the monophthong [e]. It is not attested in V3 position.<sup>24</sup> Some examples are found in (169) through (171).

(169)	/el:o/ [ie̯l:o]	<i>ello</i> 'reindeer_herd\NOM.SG'	[0449]
(170)	/re <sup>h</sup> pe-ha/ [rie̯hpeha]	<i>rehpeha</i> 'red_fox-NOM.PL'	[2790]
(171)	/kole/ [kuole]	<i>guole</i> 'fish\NOM.PL'	[pit110413a.002]

### 3.2.1.3 Open-mid front vowel /ɛ/

The segment /ɛ/ is a mid-open front vowel. It normally occurs in V1 position. Examples can be found in (172) and (173).

(172)	/pɛk:a/ [pɛk:a]	<i>bägga</i> 'wind\NOM.SG'	[2302]
(173)	/reʃ:me/ [reʃ:me]	<i>rässjme</i> 'ice_fishing_line\NOM.SG'	[2754]

The phoneme /ɛ/ can also be found in V2 position, but this is limited to grammatical words and it is never followed by a final consonant.<sup>25</sup> In such cases, /ɛ/ is realized slightly more open than when in V1 position. Examples can be found in (174) through (177).

<sup>24</sup>Note that, in the current orthography, the V3 position can contain the grapheme <e>, but this is in fact the phoneme /i/ realized as [i].

<sup>25</sup>The current Pite Saami orthography is rather inconsistent with the spelling of the /ɛ/ phoneme. In V1 position, it is spelled with <ä>, while in V2 (in grammatical words) it is spelled <e>.

(174)	/kɔn:ɛ/ [kɔn:ɛ]	<i>gånne</i> 'where'	[0759]
(175)	/a <sup>h</sup> tɛ/ [ahtɛ]	<i>ahte</i> 'in_order_to'	[0014]
(176)	/ta:lɛ/ [ta:lɛ]	<i>dále</i> 'now'	[2303]
(177)	/sin:ɛ/ [sin:ɛ]	<i>sinne</i> 'inside'	[pit080702b.144]

In a few recent loan words from Swedish which are originally French/Latin loans words in Swedish that have retained their second syllable stress, /ɛ/ can occur as the vowel of the second syllable, but, as this is the stressed syllable in such cases, it is, from a prosodic perspective, still in the V1 position of a normal Pite Saami trochaic foot. Two examples are provided in (178) and (179).

(178)	/adres:a/ [adres:a]	<i>adrässa</i> 'address\NOM.SG'	[2683]
(179)	/profes:or/ [profes:or]	<i>profässor</i> 'professor\NOM.SG'	[4268]

Due to the verbal suffixes *-jmä* '1PL.PST' and *-jdä* '2PL.PST', verbs with a bi-syllabic stem in these forms thus feature /ɛ/ in the third and final syllable, as in (180) and (181). Note also the inconsistent spelling as <e> or <ä> in these suffixes.

(180)	/juga-jmɛ/ [jukajmɛ]	<i>jugajmä</i> 'drink-1PL.PST'	[pit100323a.138]
(181)	/åro-jtɛ/ [ɔrojɛ <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>årojdä</i> 'reside-2PL.PST'	[pit100323a.223]

Otherwise, /ɛ/ is unattested in V3 position.

#### 3.2.1.4 Short open front vowel /a/

The segment /a/ is an open front vowel of short quantity. It can occur in V1, V2 and V3 positions. When preceding a /v/, such as before the suffix *-v* ACC.SG or *-v* 1SG.PRS/PST, /a/ is usually pronounced more to the back towards [ɑ].<sup>26</sup> Examples can be found in (182) through (185).

(182)	/sita-v/ [sitav]	<i>sidav</i> 'want-1SG.PRS'	[pit080926.03m14s]
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<sup>26</sup>Simultaneously, /v/ is optionally but frequently pronounced as [v] when following /a/.

(183)	/pala/ [pala]	<i>bala</i> 'become_scared\2SG.PRS'	[6332]
(184)	/kolatʃ/ [kʊolatʃ]	<i>guolatj</i> 'testicle-DIM\NOM.SG'	[pit110413a.150]
(185)	/sa:kasta/ [sa:kasta]	<i>ságasta</i> 'say\2SG.PRS'	[pit101208.228]

### 3.2.1.5 Long open front vowel /a:/

The segment /a:/ is an open front vowel of long quantity. It can occur in V1 and V2 positions. When preceding a /v/, such as before the suffix -v ACC.SG or -v 1SG.PRS/PST, /a/ is usually pronounced more to the back towards [ɑ].<sup>27</sup> Examples can be found in (186) through (190).

(186)	/pa:la/ [pa:la]	<i>bála</i> 'dig\2SG.PRS'	[6314]
(187)	/kola:tʃ/ [kʊola:tʃ]	<i>guolátj</i> 'fish-DIM\NOM.SG'	[pit110413a.066]
(188)	/ma:n:a:/ [ma:n:a:]	<i>mánná</i> 'child\NOM.SG'	[1129]
(189)	/ana:-v/ [ana:v]	<i>anáv</i> 'have-1SG.PRS'	[pit101208.263]
(190)	/ka:la:v/ [ka:la:v]	<i>gáláv</i> 'ford\NOM.SG'	[4332]

### 3.2.1.6 Open-mid back vowel /ɔ/

The segment /ɔ/ is a mid-open front vowel. It can occur in V1 or V2 position. However, if it is in V2 position, then V1 is also /ɔ/. examples can be found in (191) through (195).

(191)	/ɔktse/ [ɔk <sup>h</sup> tse]	<i>áktse</i> 'nine\CARD'	[2823]
(192)	/pɔt:je/ [pɔt:je]	<i>báddnje</i> 'husband\NOM.SG'	[0230]
(193)	/pɔj <sup>h</sup> tot/ [pɔj <sup>ɰ</sup> tot <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>bájtot</i> 'wrong'	[0242]

<sup>27</sup>Simultaneously, /v/ is optionally but frequently pronounced as [v] when following /a:/.



(194)	/pɔj: <sup>h</sup> tʃɔ/ [pɔj: <sup>h</sup> tʃɔ]	<i>bájjtjá</i> 'boy\NOM.SG'	[2569]
(195)	/jɔkɔtʃ/ [jɔkɔtʃ]	<i>jágátj</i> 'stream-DIM\NOM.SG'	[3435]

### 3.2.1.7 Closed-mid back vowel /o/

The segment /o/ is a closed-mid back vowel. In V1 position, it is realized as a slight diphthong [u̯o], while in V2 position it is the monophthong [o]. It is not attested in V3 position. Some examples are found in (196) through (199).

(196)	/pɔr:e/ [p <u>o</u> ɔr:e]	<i>buorre</i> 'good'	[0213]
(197)	/kɔl:e/ [k <u>o</u> ɔl:e]	<i>guolle</i> 'fish\NOM.SG'	[pit110413a.003]
(198)	/va:jpmo/ [va:jpmo]	<i>vájbmó</i> 'heart\NOM.SG'	[pit080701b.115]
(199)	/a:noti-p/ [a:notip <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>ánodip</i> 'request-1PL.PRS'	[6301]

### 3.2.1.8 Closed back vowel /u/

The segment /u/ is a closed back vowel. In V1 position, it is not realized with a completely open oral cavity, while in V2 position it is even less open and essentially [u], and tends to be shorter in duration. It does not occur in V3 position. Some examples are found in (200) through (204).

(200)	/juk:sa/ [juk:sa]	<i>jukksa</i> 'ski_binding\NOM.SG'	[0934]
(201)	/mur: <sup>h</sup> ko/ [mur: <sup>h</sup> ko]	<i>murrko</i> 'fog\NOM.SG'	[pit080702b.065]
(202)	/pu <sup>h</sup> tsu/ [pu <sup>h</sup> tsu]	<i>buhtsu</i> 'reindeer\GEN.SG'	[pit110413b.088]
(203)	/tsiptsu-t/ [tsip <sup>h</sup> tsut <sup>h</sup> ]	<i>tsibtsut</i> 'pinch-INF'	[5712]
(204)	/sul:utʃ/ [sul:utʃ]	<i>sullutj</i> 'island-DIM\NOM.SG'	[5148]

3.2.1.9 Closed back to open front vowel / $\widehat{ua}$ /

The segment / $\widehat{ua}$ / is a diphthong which begins as a closed but slightly centralized back vowel and opens to an open front vowel [ $\widehat{ua}$ ] in most cases. However, the vowel in V2 position can trigger vowel harmony<sup>28</sup> that slightly closes the end position of the oral closure so that it is realized as [ $\widehat{u\text{ɛ}}$ ],<sup>29</sup> but the triggering vowels vary between Pite Saami dialects. For southern dialects, only a closed /i/ or mid-closed vowel /e/ in V2 position can trigger this harmony. In northern dialects, an open front /a/ in V2 position<sup>30</sup> also triggers this vowel harmony. A few cognate pairs are provided in Table 3.10.

phonemic	dialect		orthography	gloss
	northern	southern		
/ $\widehat{ua}$ / → [ $\widehat{ua}$ ]				
$\widehat{kua}l:to$	$\widehat{kua}l:to$		<i>gualldo</i>	‘snow_flurry\NOM.SG’
$\widehat{t\text{ʃ}uar}:vo-t$	$\widehat{t\text{ʃ}uar}:vot^h$		<i>tjuarrvot</i>	‘call_out-INF’
/ $\widehat{ua}$ / → [ $\widehat{u\text{ɛ}}$ ]				
$\widehat{juat}ke-t$	$\widehat{j\text{u}\text{ɛ}t^h}ket^h$		<i>juätkit</i>	‘extend-INF’
$\widehat{puaj}:te$	$\widehat{p\text{u}\text{ɛ}j}:te$		<i>buäjjde</i>	‘fat\NOM.SG’
/ $\widehat{ua}$ / → [ $\widehat{u\text{ɛ}}$ ] / [ $\widehat{ua}$ ]				
$\widehat{luak}:ta$	$\widehat{l\text{u}\text{ɛ}kt}:a$	$\widehat{l\text{u}\text{a}kt}:a$	<i>luakkta</i>	‘bay\NOM.SG’
$\widehat{vuasta}$	$\widehat{v\text{u}\text{ɛ}sta}$	$\widehat{v\text{u}\text{a}sta}$	<i>vuasta</i>	‘cheese\NOM.SG’

Table 3.10: The diphthong / $\widehat{ua}$ / and its allophones

## 3.2.2 Epenthetic schwa

In some Pite Saami words, a vowel is inserted between two non-homorganic consonants in the consonant center position. This centralized vowel is exceptionally short in duration, and is transcribed here with a superscript schwa <<sup>ə</sup>>. Two examples are provided in (205) and (206).

(205)	/rip:re/ [rip <sup>ə</sup> re]	<i>ribbre</i> ‘liver\NOM.SG’	[1403]
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<sup>28</sup>This is purely phonological vowel harmony, as opposed to the vowel harmony described in Section 4.2.3 in the chapter on morphology, which is triggered morphologically.

<sup>29</sup>Despite the orthography being quite phonemic rather than phonetic, these two allophones of / $\widehat{ua}$ / are reflected in spelling: [ $\widehat{ua}$ ] is spelled <ua> and [ $\widehat{u\text{ɛ}}$ ] is spelled <uä>.

<sup>30</sup>There is not enough data at this time to know whether a long /a:/ also triggers this in northern dialects.

(206) /*ɲa:lka/*                      *njálga*    [1277]  
 [ɲa:l<sup>ə</sup>ka]                      ‘candy\NOM.PL’

The waveforms in Figure 3.9 illustrate the examples in (205) and (206). In both cases, the epenthetic schwa is clearly linked to more energy, and it stands out from the surrounding consonants. These waveforms also make visible the shorter duration of the epenthetic schwa (59ms and 47ms, respectively) compared to the other vowels (the shortest of which is 110ms).

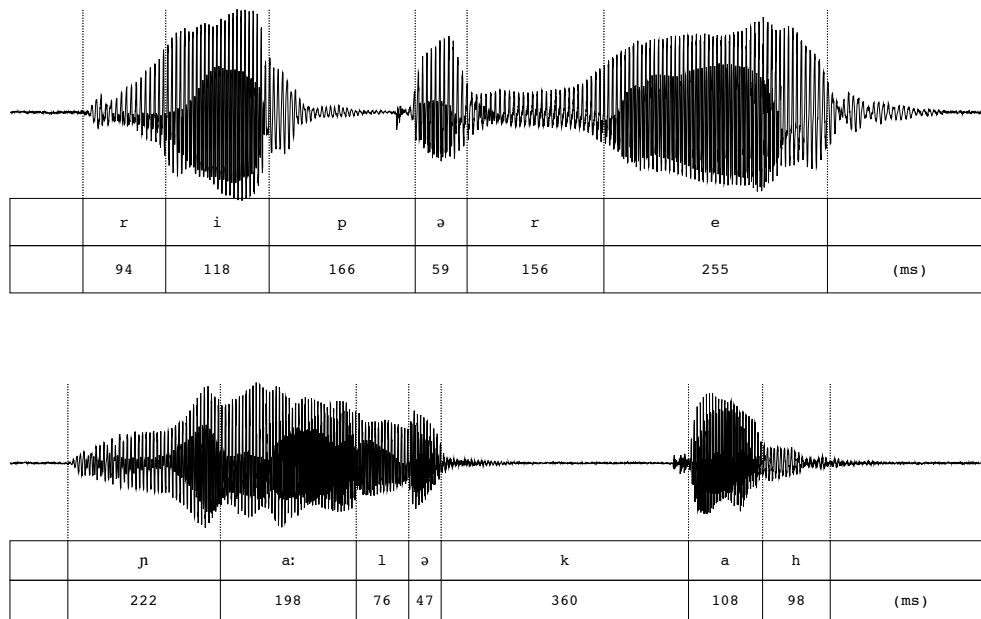


Figure 3.9: Waveforms of two words (*ribbre* ‘liver’ and *njálga* ‘candy’) with an epenthetic schwa, including segmental durations

Speakers are rarely conscious of this vowel, and it is not reflected in the orthography. In neighboring Lule Saami, a similar epenthetic vowel exists and is predictable based on the prosodic and phonological structure of a word (cf. Spiik 1989: 14-15). It therefore seems likely that this epenthetic schwa is not phonemic in Pite Saami either. However, more data is needed to confirm this and thoroughly describe its distribution. The fact that this epenthetic vowel seems to be significantly more prevalent in northern Pite Saami dialects complicates the situation further. The examples in (207) through (209) provide dialectal variants, with the more southern variant first (lacking the epenthetic vowel), and the more northern variant second (with the epenthetic schwa).

### 3 Segmental Phonology

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(207)	/spa:j:ta/	[spa:jj:ta]~ [spa:j <sup>ə</sup> ta]	<i>spájta</i> 'fast'	[1711] [pit110518a.3m22s]
(208)	/ɲal:ke/	[ɲal:ke]~ [ɲal <sup>ə</sup> k:e]	<i>ɲjallge</i> 'tasty'	[2323] [pit081111.2m59s]
(209)	/tʃuav:tʃa/	[tʃuav:tʃa]~ [tʃuov <sup>ə</sup> tʃa]	<i>tjuavvtja</i> 'whitefish\NOM.SG'	[1954] [pit0906_Ahka- javvre_a.168]

# Chapter 4

## Morphology

Morphology plays an essential role in Pite Saami, a highly synthetic language. Table 4.1 provides a summary of inflectional categories relevant for each word class or sub-category. Derivational morphology is commonly used to create nouns, verbs, and, to a lesser extent, adjectives and adverbs. Both derivational and inflectional morphology manifest themselves linearly (by suffixing) or non-linearly, via consonant gradation, umlaut and/or vowel harmony. More often than not, linear and non-linear morphological phenomena are combined.

<i>word classes</i>	<i>inflectional categories</i>
<i>verbs</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• finite forms</li> <li>• some non-finite forms</li> </ul>	person, tense, mood aspect, connegation, etc.
<i>nominals</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nouns</li> <li>• dem., indef., inter. pronouns</li> <li>• pers., refl., rel. pronouns</li> </ul>	case, number case, number case, number, person
<i>adjectivals</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• attributive adjectives</li> <li>• predicative adjectives</li> </ul>	comparative, superlative comparative, superlative, number

Table 4.1: Summary of inflectional categories across word classes and sub-categories of word classes

The present chapter only provides an overview of these various morphological phenomena. Because morphological behavior varies between the word classes, it is described in more detail individually in the relevant word class chapters. The current chapter is divided into Section 4.1 on linear morphology and Section 4.2 on non-linear morphological processes.

## 4.1 Overview of linear morphology

Concerning linearly separable morphology, Pite Saami is an exclusively suffixing language. Both inflectional and derivational suffixes exist. The general linear morphological structure of Pite Saami words has derivational suffixes attaching to a root before inflectional suffixes occur on the resulting stem, as illustrated by Figure 4.1.

[lexical root + derivational morphemes + inflectional morphemes]<sub>word</sub>

Figure 4.1: General structure of linear morphology composing Pite Saami words

## 4.2 Overview of non-linear morphology (morphophonology)

There are three ways in which non-linear morphology can be expressed in Pite Saami:

- stem consonant alternations (consonant gradation)
- stem vowel alternations in V1 position (umlaut)
- regressive vowel harmony between V1 and V2 vowels

These are triggered by a word's position within an inflectional paradigm, or by the specific behavior of a derivational process. All inflectional non-linear morphology is restricted to the final foot of a given word, while derivational non-linear morphology can also occur in a non-ultimate foot. Non-linear processes may apply simultaneously. The following sections describe these phenomena in more detail: Section 4.2.1 for consonant gradation, Section 4.2.2 for umlaut and Section 4.2.3 for vowel harmony.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. M. Korhonen (1969) for historical explanations of these morphophonological processes in Saami.

### 4.2.1 Consonant gradation

The term **consonant gradation** is commonly used in Saamic linguistics<sup>2</sup> and refers to regular alternations of the consonants in the consonant center.<sup>3</sup>

These alternations come in pairs of stem allomorphs that differ quantitatively, qualitatively, or in both respects, in the consonants in the consonant center. Quantitative differences are alternations between a geminate consonant and the corresponding singleton consonant; qualitative differences refer to alternations in features other than length to the consonants in the consonant center. In general, the alternation with more phonological material is called the **strong grade** (abbreviated ‘str’), while the alternation with less phonological material is referred to as the **weak grade** (abbreviated ‘wk’). In cases of qualitative differences only, one alternation is always a preaspirated segment, while the other is not; the preaspirated alternation is then considered to be in the strong grade, while the plain alternation is in the weak grade. Some examples to help illustrate this can be found below.

The minimal pair in (210) is an example of a purely quantitative consonant gradation pattern, as it alternates between a geminate /v:/ in the consonant center of the 3SG.PRS form, and a singleton /v/ in the 2SG.PRS form.

	/sa:v:va/	/sa:va/	
(210)	sávva	sáva	[pit100323a]
	wish\3SG.PRS	wish\2SG.PRS	

The minimal pair in (211) is an example of a qualitative consonant gradation pattern, as it alternates between the segment /<sup>h</sup>p/ in the consonant center of the NOM.SG form, and the segment /p/ in the GEN.SG form.

	/d <sup>h</sup> pe/	/dpe/	
(211)	dáhpe	dåbe	[pit100324]
	house\NOM.SG	house\GEN.SG	

Finally, the minimal pair in (212) is an example of a consonant gradation pattern that alternates in both quantity and quality, as it alternates between a consonant center consisting of the three segments /jpm/ in the NOM.SG form, and a consonant center consisting of the two segments /jm/ in the NOM.PL form.

	/va:jpmo/	/va:jmo/	
(212)	våjbmo	våjmo	[pit110413a]
	heart\NOM.SG	heart\NOM.PL	

<sup>2</sup>As much of the literature on Saami linguistics is in languages other than English, it may be useful to provide some translations of the term ‘consonant gradation’: German: *Stufenwechsel*, Swedish: *stadieväxling*, Finnish: *astevaihtelu*, Hungarian: *fokváltakozás* and Russian: *чередование ступеней*.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Section 2.2.2 on prosodic positions, including the consonant center.

As may be inferred from the examples above, paradigmatic alternations between NOM.SG and NOM.PL forms for nouns, or between 2SG.PRS and 3SG.PRS forms for verbs are often a good source of minimal pairs concerning consonant gradation alternations, and are a useful way to determine consonant gradation patterns.

A summary of consonant gradation patterns found in the corpus is provided in Table 4.2. Here, *x*, *y* and *z* represent different consonant segments in the consonant center.

<i>pattern</i>		
strong	:	weak
x	:	y
x:	:	x
x:y	:	xy
xy	:	x
xy	:	y
xyz	:	xz

Table 4.2: Attested consonant gradation patterns

## 4.2.2 Umlaut

The term **umlaut** refers to regular allomorphic alternations of the vowels in the V1 position of a stem.<sup>4</sup> The two umlaut patterns attested in the corpus are listed in Figure 4.2.<sup>5</sup> The umlaut alternations are qualitative and not quantitative. These alternations are not triggered by the phonological environment, but

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
$\varepsilon \rightarrow e$	$\widehat{u\bar{a}} \rightarrow o$

Figure 4.2: The two attested umlaut patterns

instead morphologically. The allomorph / $\varepsilon$ / from pattern *A* is found in the same paradigmatic slot as / $\widehat{u\bar{a}}$ /<sup>6</sup> from pattern *B*, just as the allomorphs /*e*/ and /*o*/

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Section 2.2.2 on prosodic positions, including V1 position.

<sup>5</sup>Due to the orthography being more phonetic than phonemic, particularly concerning umlaut, phonemic representations in IPA are used in Figure 4.2. However, these umlaut alternations are typically represented orthographically by the graphemes  $\ddot{a} \sim ie$  and  $ua \sim uo$ , respectively. Cf. Section 1.2.3.4 on the orthographic representation of Pite Saami.

<sup>6</sup>Note that / $\widehat{u\bar{a}}$ / has an allomorph [ $\widehat{u\bar{e}}$ ] triggered by purely phonological vowel harmony; cf. Section 3.2.1.9.



also correspond to the same paradigmatic slots. Word forms for *bägge* ‘wind’ in (213) and for *buälldet* ‘burn’ in (214) provide examples of the two umlaut patterns.

(213)	/bɛg:a/ <i>bägga</i> wind\NOM.SG	/bɛg:a/ <i>biegga</i> wind\NOM.PL	[pit080621]
(214)	/p <sup>u</sup> al:ta/ <i>buällda</i> ignite\3SG.PRS	/polta/ <i>buolda</i> ignite\2SG.PRS	[pit101208]

For lexemes subject to consonant gradation, forms featuring /ɛ/ or /<sup>u</sup>a/ are typically in the strong grade, while forms with /e/ or /o/ are normally in the weak grade; cf. the word forms in example (214).

### 4.2.3 Vowel harmony

The term **vowel harmony** (VH) refers to regressive phonological assimilation concerning the place of articulation of the V1 vowel of a stem in the context of certain V2 vowels.<sup>7</sup> Specifically, mid-high or high front vowels in V2 position in specific paradigmatic slots trigger raising of the vowel in V1 position. Because the paradigmatic slots that trigger vowel harmony differ between word classes and inflectional classes, and do not apply across the board, vowel harmony is not a purely phonological process, but morphophonological. Furthermore, the results of assimilation on the same underlying vowel are inconsistent, and may be due to a word’s membership in certain morphological classes concerning vowel harmony; however, future research must be conducted to come to a more thorough conclusion on this.

Verbs and nouns can be subject to vowel harmony, but the assimilation patterns vary both between these word classes and within them. Table 4.3 on page 74 summarizes the various patterns and the word classes that they are attested in based on the current corpus. It is possible that, as a result of more documentation and study, this table may need to be updated.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Section 2.2.2 on prosodic positions, including V1 and V2 positions.

VH pattern		nouns	verbs
ε/e	→ i	✓	✓
ūa/o	→ u	✓	✓
a:	→ ε	✓	✓
ɔ	→ u	✓	✓
a	→ ε	✓	
a	→ i		✓
a:	→ i		✓
a	→ e		✓

Table 4.3: Vowel harmony assimilation patterns and the word classes these are found in

The morphological categories that trigger vowel harmony also vary. This is the case not only between nouns and verbs (as these have different inflectional categories), but also between inflectional classes for verbs. These categories are presented in Table 4.4.

word class	inflectional class	forms triggering VH
nouns	class II	GEN.PL, ACC.PL, ILL.PL, INESS.PL, ELAT.PL, COM.SG, COM.PL
verbs	class II	1DU.PRS, 3PL.PRS, 1SG.PST, 2SG.PST, 3PL.PST, PL.IMP
	class III	1DU.PRS, 3PL.PRS, 1SG.PST, 2SG.PST, 3SG.PST, 1DU.PST, 2DU.PST, 3DU.PST, 1PL.PST, 2PL.PST, 3PL.PST, PL.IMP

Table 4.4: Summary of paradigm slots that trigger vowel harmony

Some examples for vowel harmony are provided here. In (215), an example is shown of vowel harmony in the Class II noun *guolle* ‘fish’, as it alternates between /o/ in the V1 vowel of the NOM.SG form, and /u/ in the NOM.PL form.

	/kole/	/kulij/	
(215)	<i>guole</i>	<i>guli-j</i>	[pit110413a]
	fish\NOM.PL	fish-GEN.PL	

In (216), an example of vowel harmony in the class II verb *bassat* ‘wash’ is provided. Here, a vowel harmony alternation between /a/ in the V1 vowel of the 2SG.PRS form, and /i/ in the 2SG.PST form is evident (in addition to a consonant gradation alternation).

## 4.2 Overview of non-linear morphology (morphophonology)

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(216)	/pasa/ <i>basa</i>	/bis:e/ <i>bisse</i>	[pit101208]
	wash\2SG.PRS	wash\2SG.PST	

Finally, (217) shows an example of vowel harmony in the class III verb *buälldet* ‘burn’. Here, a vowel harmony alternation between /o/ in the V1 vowel of the 2SG.PRS form, and /u/ in the 2SG.PST form is evident (in addition to a consonant gradation alternation).

(217)	/polta/ <i>buolda</i>	/pul:te/ <i>bullde</i>	[pit101208]
	ignite\2SG.PRS	ignite\2SG.PST	

See Section 6.4.2.1 for more details on vowel harmony in nouns, and Section 9.4.2.3 in verbs. Note that, for nouns, vowel harmony is also referred to as ‘j-suffix vowel harmony’.



# Chapter 5

## Overview of Word Classes

By characterizing the syntactic and morphological behavior of words in Pite Saami, and grouping such words based on that behavior, a total of seven word classes can be distinguished. These can be divided into two general categories containing generally *open* word classes and *closed* word classes, and are listed in Table 5.1. The specific syntactic criteria and inflectional categories defining these are summarized in Table 5.2 on page 78.

<i>open word classes</i>	<i>Ch./Sec.</i>	<i>closed word classes</i>	<i>Ch./Sec.</i>
<b>nominals</b>		<b>adpositions</b>	10.2
nouns	6	<b>conjunctions</b>	10.3
pronouns	7	<b>interjections</b>	10.4
<b>adjectivals</b>			
adjectives	8		
numerals	8.8		
<b>verbs</b>	9		
<b>adverbs</b>	10.1		

Table 5.1: Pite Saami word classes and the relevant chapter/section

Some word classes consist of two or more subclasses: *nominals* refer to *nouns* and *pronouns* (personal, reflexive, relative, demonstrative, indefinite, relative and interrogative), and *adjectivals* include both *adjectives* and *numerals*. Note that pronouns and numerals are closed subclasses belonging to open classes.

This categorization is intended to provide a broad starting point for classifying Pite Saami words; details for each word class can be found in the relevant chapters below. Chapter 6 concerns the nominal subclass *nouns*, which provide a fairly straightforward example of the morphophonological complexities involved in inflectional paradigms, while the nominal subclass *pronouns* is dealt

with in the following chapter (Ch. 7). Chapter 8 then covers the adjectival subclasses *adjectives* and *numerals*. Following this, Chapter 9 deals with *verbs*. Finally, the remaining small classes (*adverbials*, *adpositions*, *conjunctions* and *interjections*) are covered in Chapter 10.

<b>word class</b>	<b>syntactic criteria</b>	<b>inflectional categories</b>
nominals	head of an NP	case/number
verbs	head of VC	tense/mood/person/number, non-finite forms (negation, aspect)
adjectivals	head of an AP	number for predicate ADJs
adverbials	head of an AdvP	-
adpositions	head of a PP	-
conjunctions	connect words, phrases, clauses, texts	-
particles	independent words within clauses	-
interjections	independent words at clause-level	-

Table 5.2: Summary of syntactic and morphological criteria for word classes

# Chapter 6

## Nominals I: Nouns

**Nouns** in Pite Saami form an open class of words which are formally defined by their ability to head a nominal phrase. As the head of an NP, they inflect for case and number. Nouns consist of a lexical stem ( $\Sigma$ ) followed by a class marker and a portmanteau suffix indicating case and number, as illustrated in Figure 6.1.

$\Sigma$  + class-marker + case/number

Figure 6.1: The morphological structure of Pite Saami nouns

Pite Saami noun stems can have up to three allomorphic forms throughout the nominal paradigm due to a complex combination of morphophonological processes. Nouns form four inflectional classes. This chapter first describes number (Section 6.1), case (Section 6.2) and morphological case/number marking (Section 6.3), before moving on to an inventory of inflectional classes (Section 6.4) for nouns.<sup>1</sup> The last section (6.5) deals briefly with the possessive suffixes, an infrequent set of archaic suffixes that indicate number and case and signify the possessor of the head noun's referent.

### 6.1 Number in nouns

Pite Saami nouns inflect for singular and plural in all grammatical cases except the essive and possibly the abessive case. Dual is not a relevant category for nouns, despite being an integral category in verb morphology and for some pronoun classes. Number is expressed along with case by portmanteau suffixes, stem alternations, or a combination of both. Section 6.3 on number and case marking treats this in more detail.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Section 11.1 for derivational morphology creating nouns.

Note that there is no formal distinction between countable and mass nouns in Pite Saami, as illustrated by the example in (218), in which the words for ‘flour’, ‘sugar’ and ‘food’ are all inflected for plural.

- (218) *dán*                      *ájten*                      *inimä*                      *jáfojd*                      *ja*  
 d-á-n                      ájte-n                      ini-mä                      jáfo-jd                      ja  
 DEM-PROX-INESS.SG shed-INESS.SG have-1 PL.PST flour-ACC.PL and  
*suhkurijd*    *ja*    *gárvojd*                      *ja*    *iehtjá biebmojd*  
 suhkuri-jd    ja    gárvo-jd                      ja    iehtjá biebmo-jd  
 sugar-ACC.PL and clothing-ACC.PL and other food-ACC.PL  
 ‘in this shed we had flour and sugar and clothing and other food’  
 [pit100310b.100-104]

When the singular form is used, a noun’s referent is either general, as illustrated by both nouns in (219), or it refers to a single unit.

- (219) *men vuästa,*                      *del*                      *káfan*                      *njallge*  
 men vuästa                      del                      káfa-n                      njallge  
 but cheese\NOM.SG definitely coffee-INESS.SG tasty  
 ‘but cheese, (it’s) definitely tasty in coffee’                      [pit080924.139]

## 6.2 The nominal case system

Pite Saami has nine cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, illative, inessive, elative, comitative, abessive, and essive. Nouns inflect for these cases, in addition to number, via portmanteau suffixes, stem alternations, or a combination of both. A general description of the cases is provided here. Note that the case system is valid for pronouns (also a subclass of nominals) as well, but not for adjectives and numerals (cf. Chapter 8).

### 6.2.1 Nominative case

In addition to being used as the citation form, most commonly in singular, nominative case (glossed as NOM) marks the grammatical subject of a verbal clause (typically the most agent-like argument for transitive verbs) as in (220) and (221).

- (220) *dä*    *stuor sarves*                      *báhta*  
 dä    stuor sarves                      báhta  
 then big    moose\NOM.SG come\3SG.PRS  
 ‘then a big moose arrives’                      [pit090702.319]



- (221) *ja dä dáhka almatj dåláv*  
*ja dä dáhka almatj dåláv*  
 and then make\3SG.PRS person\NOM.SG fire-ACC.SG  
 ‘and then one makes a fire’ [pit100404.102]

The possessed noun in a possessive copular clause (cf. 14.1.4) is also in the nominative case, as in (222).

- (222) *muvne lä bijjla*  
*muvne lä bijjla*  
 1SG.INESS be\3SG.PRS car\NOM.SG  
 ‘I have a car’ (lit.: ‘at-me is car’) [pit080926.01m44s (elic.)]

### 6.2.2 Genitive case

The genitive case (glossed as GEN), the only adnominal case in Pite Saami, marks the possessor modifying the head of a noun phrase (the possessed noun), as in (223).

- (223) *gokt lä dan almatja namma*  
*gokt lä d-a-n almatj-a namma*  
 how be\3SG.PRS DEM-DIST-GEN.SG person-GEN.SG name\NOM.SG  
*majna ságasta*  
*ma-jna ságasta*  
 REL-COM.SG talk\2SG.PRS  
 ‘what is the name of the person who you are talking with?’  
 [pit110521b1.040 (elic.)]

Furthermore, the noun in a postpositional phrase occurs in the genitive case, as in (224).

- (224) *gåde sinne suovastit*  
*gåde sinne suovasti-t*  
 hut\GEN.SG in smoke-INF  
 ‘to smoke (something) inside a hut’ [pit100405a.157]

### 6.2.3 Accusative case

The accusative case (glossed as ACC) marks the object of a transitive verb, as illustrated by the monotransitive clause in (225).

- (225) *dä virtiv válldet giehpajt ja ribrev ja*  
*dä virti-v vállde-t giehpa-jt ja ribbre-v ja*  
 then must-1SG.PRS take-INF lung-ACC.PL and liver-ACC.SG and  
*dagarijt ulgos*  
*dagari-jt ulgos*  
 such-ACC.PL out  
 ‘then I have to take out the lungs, the liver and such things’  
 [pit080909.103]

In ditransitive clauses, the accusative marks the object referring to the theme while the recipient is marked by the illative, as in (226).

- (226) *mån vaddav gajka buhtsujda biebmov*  
*mån vadda-v gajka buhtsu-jda biebmo-v*  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS all\ILL reindeer-ILL.PL food-ACC.SG  
 ‘I give food to all the reindeer’ [pit110413b.137 (elic.)]

The accusative can also mark nouns functioning as a clause-level temporal adverbial phrase denoting a period of time, as in (227).

- (227) *jo dan vuolen udemä ijav*  
*jo d-a-n vuolen ude-mä ija-v*  
 YES DEM-DIST-GEN.SG under sleep-1PL.PST night-ACC.SG  
 ‘yes and we slept under that for a night’ [pit090702.305]

#### 6.2.4 Illative case

The illative case (glossed as ILL) marks nouns that are the goal of the action expressed by a verb of motion, as in (228).

- (228) *muhten båtsoj ij både gärrdáj*  
*muhten båtsoj ij både gärrdá-j*  
 some reindeer\NOM.PL NEG\3PL.PRS COME\CONNNEG corral-ILL.SG  
 ‘some reindeer don’t come into the corral’ [pit080909.007]

In addition, the illative case marks nouns that refer to the addressee of communication, as in (229), and the recipient of ‘giving’ actions, as in (230).

- (229) *muv áhttje hálloj sâmes raddnáj*  
*muv áhttje hállo-j sâmes raddná-j*  
 1SG.GEN father\NOM.SG say-3SG.PST some friend-ILL.SG  
 ‘my father said to some friend’ [pit090702.505]

- (230) *vadde Jåssjåj aj*  
 vadde Jåssjå-j also  
 give\SG.IMP Josh-ILL.SG also  
 ‘give (one) to Josh, too’ [pit090519.033]

Finally, familial relations can also be expressed using an illative construction. In such cases, the ‘ego’ of the family relation is in illative, as in (231).

- (231) *dån lä eddno munje*  
 dån lä eddno munje  
 2SG.NOM be\2SG.PRS maternal\_uncle\NOM.SG 1SG.ILL  
 ‘you are my maternal uncle’ (lit.: you are maternal uncle to me)  
 [pit110413b.035 (elic.)]

In this example, the illative nominal is a pronoun, but it is likely the case that full nouns are possible in this function as well, although there are no such tokens in the corpus.

### 6.2.5 Inessive case

The inessive case (glossed as *INESS*) marks nouns which function as adjuncts to verbal clauses indicating the location of the event or action, as in (232).

- (232) *nå, mav enabov dihki Áhkkabakten*  
 nå ma-v enabo-v dihki Ahkkabakte-n  
 well what-ACC.SG more-ACC.SG do\2SG.PST Ahkkabakte-INESS.SG  
 ‘well, what more did you do in Áhkkabakkte?’ [pit080924.021]

Similarly, as the complement of the copular verb, an inessive noun indicates the location of the subject referent, as in (233).

- (233) *vággen Sálvojáhkå’l*  
 vágge-n Sálvo-jåhkå =l  
 valley-INESS.SG Sálvo-creek\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS  
 ‘Sálvo Creek is in the valley’ [pit100404.007]

The possessor noun in a possessive copular clause (cf. 14.1.4) is also in the inessive case, as in (234).

- (234) *sámen lä bena*  
 sáme-n lä bena  
 Saami-INESS.SG be\3SG.PRS dog\NOM.SG  
 ‘The Saami has a dog’ (lit.: at Saami is dog) [pit080917a.068 (elic.)]

### 6.2.6 Elative case

The elative case (glossed as *ELAT*) marks nouns as the source of an action of transfer, as in (235), as well as the origin, as in (236) and (237).

- (235) *váldav*      *tjåjvev*      *ribrist*      *luovas*  
*válda-v*      *tjåjve-v*      *ribri-st*      *luovas*  
 take-1SG.PRS stomach-ACC.SG liver-ELAT.SG loose  
 ‘I loosen the stomach from the liver’ [pit080909.079]

- (236) *nå* *gåsse dija*      *ålgidä*      *Örnvikast*      *vuodjet*  
*nå* *gåsse dija*      *ållge-dä*      *Örnvika-st*      *vuodje-t*  
 well when 2PL.NOM begin-2PL.PST Örnvik-ELAT.SG drive-INF  
*vadnásav*  
*vadnása-v*  
 boat-ACC.SG

‘well when did you start taking the boat from Örnvik?’

[pit080924.563]

- (237) *dån*      *båda*      *Amerigist*  
*dån*      *båda*      *Amerig-ist*  
 2SG.NOM come\2SG.PRS America-ELAT.SG

‘you come from America’

[pit080621.28m02s (*elic.*)]

The elative also marks the addressee of a question (the source of information), as in (238).

- (238) *Edest*      *galgav*      *gatjadit*  
*Edest*      *galga-v*      *gatjadi-t*  
 Edgar-ELAT.SG will-1SG.PRS ask-INF

‘I will ask Edgar’

[pit090519.357]

Similarly, in a copula clause, the elative case can mark a noun whose referent is a source of pain, as in (239).

- (239) *mån*      *lev*      *åjvest*  
*mån*      *le-v*      *åjve-st*  
 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS head-ELAT.SG

‘I have a headache’ (lit.: ‘I am from head’)

[pit110331b.079 (*elic.*)]

The noun referring to the material that something consists of or is made of is in the elative case, as in (240) and (241).

- (240) *mån* *iv* *tuhtje* *dav* *färska*  
 mån *i-v* *tuhtje* *d-a-v* *färska*  
 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS like\CONNNEG DEM-DIST-ACC.SG fresh  
***málest***  
 mále-st  
 blood-ELAT.SG  
 ‘I don’t like that (made) of fresh blood’ [pit080924.271]
- (241) *dá* *lä* *sasnest* *gárrodivum*  
 d-á *lä* *sasne-st* *gárro-duvu-m*  
 DEM-PROX\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS furless\_leather-ELAT.SG SEW-PASS-PRF  
 ‘these are sewn out of furless leather’ [pit080708\_Session08.001]

The relative case can be used to mark the agent which carries out the action referred to by a passivized verb, as in (242).

- (242) *gåhte* *lä* *tsiggjduvvum* *mánájst*  
 gåhte *lä* *tsiggj-duvvu-m* *máná-jst*  
 hut\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS build-PASS-PRF child-ELAT.PL  
 ‘the hut has been built by children’ [pit110518a.28m41s (*elic.*)]

In comparative constructions, relative marks a noun whose referent is the standard in the comparison, as in (243).

- (243) *mån* *lev* *stuorab* *Svienast*  
 mån *le-v* *stuora-b* *Sviena-st*  
 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS big-COMP Sven-ELAT.SG  
 ‘I am bigger than Sven’ [pit110331b.087 (*elic.*)]

### 6.2.7 Comitative case

The comitative case (glossed as COM) marks nouns referring to someone or something participating in an action together with the agent as in (244), or some other participant, as in (245).

- (244) *men ádtjo* *sáme* *gielav* *ságastit* *duv*  
 men ádtjo *sáme* *giela-v* *ságasti-t* *duv*  
 but may\2SG.PST Saami\GEN.SG language-ACC.SG speak-INF 2SG.GEN  
***årbenij***  
 årbeni-j  
 sibling-COM.PL  
 ‘but were you allowed to speak the Saami language with your siblings?’  
 [pit080924.366]

- (245) *válda káfav suhkorijn jala suhkorahtha*  
*válda káfa-v suhkori-jn jala suhkor-ahta*  
 take\2SG.PRS coffee-ACC.SG sugar-COM.SG or sugar-ABESS  
 ‘Do you take your coffee with sugar or without sugar?’  
 [pit110509b.11m41s (elic.)]

The comitative also marks nouns referring to an instrument used to carry out an action, as in (246).

- (246) *del vuodja bijlajn Örnvikaj ja dä vádnasijn*  
*del vuodja bijla-jn Örnvika-j ja dä vádnasi-jn*  
 now drive\3SG.PRS car-COM.SG Örnvik-ILL.SG and then boat-COM.SG  
*Tjeggelvasa badjel*  
*Tjeggelvas-a badjel*  
 Tjeggelvas-GEN.SG over  
 ‘now one drives to Örnvik by car, then by boat over Lake Tjeggelvas’  
 [pit080924.471]

When two persons or things are equated with respect to a certain characteristic, the comitative marks the noun whose referent is the standard of comparison, as in (247).

- (247) *Svenna lä akta vuoras Ingerijn*  
*Svenna lä akta vuoras Inger-ijn*  
 Sven\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS one old Inger-COM.SG  
 ‘Sven is as old as Inger’ (lit.: Sven is one age with Inger)  
 [pit110331b.135 (elic.)]

### 6.2.8 Abessive case

The referent of a noun marked by the abessive case (glossed as ABESS) is lacking or missing, as illustrated by (248)<sup>2</sup> and (249).

- (248) *válda káfav suhkorijn jala suhkorahtha*  
*válda káfa-v suhkori-jn jala suhkor-ahta*  
 take\2SG.PRS coffee-ACC.SG sugar-COM.SG or sugar-ABESS  
 ‘Do you take your coffee with sugar or without sugar?’  
 [pit110509b.11m41s (elic.)]

<sup>2</sup>This example is also found in (245) above but is repeated here for convenience, as well as to focus on the abessive noun.

- (249) *dån lä vájmodak dal*  
*dån lä vájmo-dak dal*  
 2SG.NOM be\2SG.PRS heart-ABESS NOW  
 ‘You are heartless now’ [pit110413a.226 (elic.)]

Note that nouns in abessive are rare in natural speech, and limited to elicitation sessions in the corpus.<sup>3</sup> While the meaning of nouns in the abessive case is quite clear, their morphophonological behavior is problematic; see Section 6.3.3 for more details.

### 6.2.9 Essive case

The essive case (glossed as ESS) generally marks predicative nouns functioning as complements of certain verbs such as *sjaddat* ‘become’, as in (250) and (251), and *gáhtjoduvvat* ‘be called’, as in (252). Note that nouns in the essive case do not inflect for number.

- (250) *bednan sjaddav*  
*bedna-n sjadda-v*  
 dog-ESS become-1SG.PRS  
 ‘I become a dog’ [pit110509b.05m49s (elic.)]

- (251) *jegŋa sjaddá tjáhtsen*  
*jegŋa sjaddá tjáhtse-n*  
 ice\NOM.SG become\3SG.PRS water-ESS  
 ‘ice becomes water’ [pit110331b.160 (elic.)]

- (252) *dut sáhke vадnásan gáhtjoduvva*  
*d-u-t sáhke vadnása-n gáhtjo-duvva*  
 DEM-RMT-NOM.SG birch\NOM.SG boat-ESS call-PASS\3SG.PRS  
 ‘yonder birch is called a boat’ [pit110509b.14m02s (elic.)]

Furthermore, the complement of the particle *dugu* ‘like’ can be in the essive case, as illustrated by the example in (253).

- (253) *dat vuodja dugu goullen*  
*d-a-t vuodja dugu goulle-n*  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG swim\3SG.PRS like fish-ESS  
 ‘he swims like a fish’ [pit110413a.059 (elic.)]

<sup>3</sup>The Wordlist Project’s wordlist indicates that the word *ájnat* can also be used to express ‘without’, but the documentation corpus does not provide any tokens of this.

However, while my main consultant accepted constructions like in (253), her initial response normally consisted of nearly the same construction, only with the noun in nominative case, as in (254).

(254)	<i>vuodja</i>	<i>dugu</i>	<i>goulle</i>	
	<i>vuodja</i>	<i>dugu</i>	<i>goulle</i>	
	swim\3SG.PRS	like	fish-NOM.SG	
	'(he) swims like a fish'			[pit110413a.052 ( <i>elic.</i> )]

Finally, it should be pointed out that *essive* is not particularly common, and in the Pite Saami corpus, tokens for this case are only found in elicitation sessions. In summary, there is not enough data to come to any definitive conclusions concerning the status of *essive* in current Pite Saami usage.

### 6.3 Number and case marking on nouns

As indicated in the previous sections, Pite Saami nouns inflect for nine cases and two number categories (only the *essive* and possibly the *abessive* cases do not inflect for number). While case and number are generally marked by nominal suffixes, they are often supplemented by other morphophonological marking strategies, or even expressed solely by non-linear morphology. These other strategies are:

- stem-vowel alternations (*umlaut*)
- consonant alternations in the stem (also known as *consonant gradation*)
- vowel harmony

Concerning nouns, these are discussed in detail in sections 6.3.2 and 6.4.2.1. First, a short discussion of the nominal suffixes follows here.

#### 6.3.1 Nominal suffixes

Pite Saami has a number of portmanteau suffixes expressing the case and number. Only *NOM.SG*, *NOM.PL* and *GEN.SG* are generally not marked by any linear morphology (although even this has exceptions). The nominal suffixes marking case and number are listed in Table 6.1 on page 89. Note that the status of the *abessive* suffixes is unclear, including whether they inflect for number (cf. Section 6.3.3).



case	number		case
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
NOM	-	- (~ -h)	NOM
GEN	- (~ -h)	-j	GEN
ACC	-v	-jt	ACC
ILL	-j	-jda	ILL
INESS	-n	-jn	INESS
ELAT	-st	-jst	ELAT
COM	-jn(a)	-j	COM
ABESS	-dak, -daga, -gat, -gahta, -ahta		ABESS
ESS	-n		ESS

Table 6.1: Nominal case and number suffixes

In NOM.PL and GEN.SG, the *-h* suffix is optional in Pite Saami (and therefore appears in parentheses in Table 6.1).<sup>4</sup> The COM.SG suffix has two allomorphs: *-jn* and *-jna*, which seem to be in free variation in the Pite Saami corpus, and not determined phonologically.

### 6.3.1.1 Nominal suffixes and syncretism

Several of the nominal inflectional suffixes, considered by themselves, are homophonous:

- *-j* for ILL.SG, GEN.PL, and COM.PL
- *-jn* for INESS.PL and COM.SG
- *-n* for ESS and INESS.SG
- *-Ca* for NOM.PL and GEN.SG in Class IV nouns<sup>5</sup>
- (optional) *-h* for NOM.PL and GEN.SG<sup>6</sup>

For Class IV nouns which do not exhibit any stem allomorphy, the corresponding inflected noun forms within a paradigm are therefore syncretic. Two examples are listed in Table 6.2 on page 90.

<sup>4</sup>The paradigms in Lehtiranta (1992: 156-157) also indicate an optional *-h*, while Lagercrantz (1926: 104-105) does not indicate any *-h* at all.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Section 6.4 for inflectional classes for nouns; note that *C* stands for the final consonant of a Class IV stem.

<sup>6</sup>The alternative to the optional *-h* suffix for NOM.PL and GEN.SG forms is no suffix (except for Class IV nouns, which are marked by *-Ca*).

## 6 Nominals I: Nouns

ILL.SG/GEN.PL/COM.PL	INESS.PL/COM.SG	ESS/INESS.SG	NOM.PL/GEN.SG	<i>gloss</i>
almatjij	almatjijn	almatjin	almatja(h)	‘person’
ålolij	ålolijn	ålolin	ålola(h)	‘tool’

Table 6.2: Examples of syncretic inflectional form sets for Class IV nouns without stem allomorphy

However, for nouns which have stem allomorphy (consonant gradation, umlaut and/or *j*-suffix vowel harmony), different stem allomorphs are chosen for ILL.SG than for GEN.PL and COM.PL, for ESS than for INESS.SG, and for NOM.SG than for NOM.PL and GEN.SG. As a result, only the inflected forms for

- GEN.PL and COM.PL
- INESS.PL and COM.SG (the *-jn* variant of the latter)
- NOM.PL and GEN.SG

are syncretic in all noun paradigms. Some examples are provided in Table 6.3.

NOM.PL/GEN.SG	GEN.PL/COM.PL	INESS.PL/COM.SG	<i>class</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>luokta(-h)</i>	<i>luokta-j</i>	<i>luokta-jn</i>	Ia	‘bay’
<i>vajmå(-h)</i>	<i>vajmå-j</i>	<i>vajmå-jn</i>	Id	‘heart’
<i>guole(-h)</i>	<i>guli-j</i>	<i>guli-jn</i>	II	‘fish’
<i>vägge(-h)</i>	<i>väggi-j</i>	<i>väggi-jn</i>	II	‘valley’
<i>ålma(-h)</i>	<i>ålma-j</i>	<i>ålma-jn</i>	III	‘man’
<i>almatja(-h)</i>	<i>almatji-j</i>	<i>almatji-jn</i>	IVa	‘person’
<i>bednaga(-h)</i>	<i>bednagi-j</i>	<i>bednagi-jn</i>	IVb	‘dog’

Table 6.3: Examples for syncretic inflectional form pairs valid for all noun classes

### 6.3.1.2 Nominal suffixes with a *-j* component

When looking at the inflectional suffixes, it is noticeable that a number of suffixes contain a *-j* component, as highlighted by Table 6.4 on page 91.

It is tempting to posit a plural marking suffix *-j* because it occurs in GEN.PL, ACC.PL, ILL.PL, INESS.PL, ELAT.PL and COM.PL; however, the ILL.SG suffix *-j* and the COM.SG suffix *-jn(a)* both have a similar *-j* element, but are clearly not plural. As illustrated in Table 6.5 on page 91, the plural cases with a *-j* component in the

suffix trigger vowel harmony in stem consonants in Class II nouns,<sup>7</sup> but so does the COM.SG suffix, while the ILL.SG suffix does not trigger *j*-suffix vowel harmony (despite being segmentally identical to GEN.PL and COM.PL suffixes). Thus, *-j* suffixes that trigger vowel harmony also fail to align with number marking. As a result, I do not analyze any *-j* suffix as a plural marker, but do point out this nearly pervasive plural pattern.<sup>8</sup>

case	SINGULAR	PLURAL	case
NOM			NOM
GEN		-j	GEN
ACC		-jt	ACC
ILL	-j	-jda	ILL
INESS		-jn	INESS
ELAT		-jst	ELAT
COM	-jn(a)	-j	COM
ABESS			ABESS
ESS			ESS

Table 6.4: Nominal case and number suffixes with a *-j*- segment

case	<i>j</i> -VH	SG	<i>j</i> -VH	PL	case
NOM					NOM
GEN			✓	-j	GEN
ACC			✓	-jt	ACC
ILL	X	-j	✓	-jda	ILL
INESS			✓	-jn	INESS
ELAT			✓	-jst	ELAT
COM	✓	-jn(a)	✓	-j	COM
ABESS					ABESS
ESS					ESS

Table 6.5: Nominal case/number suffixes with a *-j*- segment and *j*-suffix harmony

### 6.3.2 Non-linear noun morphology

In addition to the suffixes described above, most nouns are also marked for case and number by non-linear stem allomorphy (cf. Section 4.2). Because NOM.SG,

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Section 6.4.2.1.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. ‘eidemic resonance’ in Bickel and Nichols (2007: 209-210).

NOM.PL and GEN.SG lack suffixes completely,<sup>9</sup> nouns in these three case/number categories can only be marked by non-linear morphology.

To illustrate this, the inflectional paradigm for the noun *bärrgo* ‘meat’ is provided in Table 6.6 and described here. Note that, due to the *-o-* vowel in V2 position in all forms being the inflectional class marker, the stem has two allomorphs: *bärrg-* and *biERG-*.

case	number	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	bärrgo	biERgo
GEN	biERgo	biERgoj
ACC	biERGov	biERgojd
ILL	bärrgoj	biERgojda
INESS	biERgon	biERgojn
ELAT	biERGost	biERgojst
COM	biERgojn	biERgo
ABESS	biERGodak	biERGodahta
ESS	bärrgon	

Table 6.6: The case/number paradigm for the noun *bärrgo* ‘meat’

In summary, the inflectional paradigm for *bärrgo* is characterized by both consonant gradation and umlaut in the stem, and the morphological environment determines which of these allomorphs is selected. As a result, the ACC.PL form *biERgojd* is marked for case/number by the weak *biERG-* stem and the *-jd* suffix simultaneously, and the ILL.SG form *bärrgoj* is marked by the strong *bärrg-* stem and the *-j* suffix. The most obvious evidence that the choice of stem allophone is morphologically meaningful can be found in a comparison of the NOM.SG form *bärrgo* and the NOM.PL<sup>10</sup> form *biERgo*. These forms differ exclusively in the choice of the strong versus the weak stem allomorph and in the choice of umlaut. Thus, the NOM.SG form *bärrgo* is marked for case/number by the fact that the stem is in the strong grade and features the vowel *ä*, while the NOM.PL stem is in the weak grade and features the vowel *ie*.

This pattern of non-linear case/number marking throughout the paradigm for *bärrgo* is illustrated in Table 6.7 on page 93. Here, two groups of patterns are manifest: the forms for NOM.SG, ILL.SG and ESS show one pattern, while all other case/number combinations exhibit the other pattern. This alignment of the

<sup>9</sup>As mentioned in Section 6.3.1 above, there is an optional *-h* suffix marking NOM.PL and GEN.SG.

<sup>10</sup>As the NOM.PL form is always syncretic with the GEN.SG form, a comparison of the latter with the NOM.SG form would be equally insightful.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	ä+str	ie+wk
GEN		
ACC		
ILL	ä+str	
INESS		
ELAT		
COM		
ABESS		
ESS	ä+str	

Table 6.7: Non-linear morphological case/number marking in the paradigm for the noun *bärrgo* ‘meat’

choice of stem allomorphs is prevalent throughout Pite Saami noun paradigms whenever stem allomorphy is a part of a noun’s inflectional paradigm. However, the specific consonant gradation and umlaut alternations that occur vary, and are described in the following two sections.

Note that there are numerous nouns lacking umlaut. Furthermore, a smaller number of nouns exist which lack consonant gradation. A few nouns lack both consonant gradation and umlaut.

### 6.3.2.1 Consonant gradation patterns

The attested stem consonant alternation (consonant gradation) patterns in Pite Saami nouns are summarized in Table 6.8 on page 94. Here, *x*, *y* and *z* stand for different consonant segments. The examples provided show minimal pairs differing only in the choice of stem allomorph (the NOM.SG form vs. the NOM.PL form).

### 6.3.2.2 Umlaut patterns

There are two attested umlaut patterns in the V1 vowel of a noun stem, as illustrated by Table 6.9 on page 94. There are only a few examples of noun paradigms that have umlaut and lack consonant gradation; in most cases of umlaut, consonant gradation is also present.

pattern strong : weak	examples		gloss
	strong	weak	
x : y	/t <sup>h</sup> pe/ <i>dåhpe</i>	/tpe/ <i>dåbe</i>	‘house’
xx : x	/kolle/ <i>guolle</i>	/kole/ <i>guole</i>	‘fish’
xxy : xy	/na:rrka/ <i>njárrga</i>	/na:rka / <i>njárga</i>	‘cape’ (geog.)
xy : x	/na: <sup>h</sup> ppe/ <i>náhppe</i>	/na: <sup>h</sup> pe/ <i>náhpe</i>	‘milking bowl’
xy : y	/etno/ <i>edno</i>	/eno/ <i>eno</i>	‘river’
xyz : xz	/va:jpmo/ <i>vájpmo</i>	/va:jmo/ <i>vájmo</i>	‘heart’
	NOM.SG	NOM.PL	

Table 6.8: Consonant gradation patterns for nouns

pattern A : B	examples		gloss
	A	B	
ε : e	/pek:a/ <i>bägga</i>	/pek:a/ <i>biegga</i>	‘wind’
uā : o	/luāk:ta/ <i>luakkta</i>	/lokta/ <i>luokta</i>	‘bay’
	NOM.SG	NOM.PL	

Table 6.9: Umlaut alternation patterns for nouns

### 6.3.3 Problematic case/number marking in abessive case

Unlike the other cases, the behavior of nouns in the abessive case is a bit of an enigma, even if its meaning, which typically translates as ‘without’, is quite clear.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to come to any certain conclusions about the relationship between abessive as a case *per se* and the morphophonological marking of nouns in the abessive case. It seems to be rarely used in natural speech, and is only attested in the corpus in elicitation sessions. Even in elicitation sessions, language consultants were often hesitant or uncertain of the word forms they produced, and often produced conflicting forms for a single item. Indeed, the slipperiness of the abessive case is nothing new, as both Lagercrantz (1926) and

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Section 6.2.8.

Lehtiranta (1992) only provide incomplete treatments of abessive.

One potential source of the confusion (even on speakers' behalf) is the fact that abessive suffixes are unique in two ways. First, there is significant allomorphy, and, secondly, some of the allomorphs are the only bisyllabic nominal inflection suffixes in Pite Saami. The attested forms are *-dak*, *-daga*, *-gat*, *-gahta* and *-ahta* (cf. examples (248) and (249) on page 86). Furthermore, the weak grade usually accompanies abessive, but sometimes the strong grade does. In some cases of Class II nouns, *j*-suffix vowel harmony is triggered, in others it is not. In some cases, number is clearly marked, in other cases, there is no distinction between singular and plural.

As a result, the following sections on inflectional noun classes are only able to provide a limited and preliminary description concerning abessive.

## 6.4 Inflectional classes for nouns

Nouns in Pite Saami can be grouped into four main inflectional classes, with several subclasses, based on recurring patterns across case/number inflectional paradigms. Each noun is marked by a class suffix<sup>12</sup> which is attached directly after the noun stem and precedes case/number suffixes (cf. Figure 6.1 on page 79). For the majority of nouns, this suffix consists only of a vowel (in V2 position); however, the class marking suffixes in the less frequent classes III and IV deviate from this pattern. Membership in a specific noun class does not seem to be semantically motivated.

The following sections present the four inflectional noun classes based on a preliminary analysis of the Pite Saami corpus; it is possible that, with more research, more noun classes may result, or that the present classes may need revision. Because each Pite Saami noun paradigm consists of seventeen inflectional forms, most of the data on which these classes are based comes from elicitation sessions, as it is far beyond realistic for a single, non-native-speaker linguist to collect a sufficiently large natural (i.e., un-elicited, spontaneous) spoken language corpus which includes all inflectional forms for a large variety of nouns.

There are three main criteria for positing the different noun classes:

- the regularity of the pattern of vowels occurring between the stem and case/number suffixes (i.e., the class marking suffix)
- the allomorphy of the NOM.SG form of a noun stem in relation to the rest of the inflectional paradigm (i.e., consonant gradation, umlaut)

<sup>12</sup>I am indebted to phonologist and Lule Saami scholar Bruce Morén-Duolljá for inspiring me to consider an approach to the data involving post-stem class marking morphology.

- whether a noun is subject to vowel harmony triggered by certain case/number suffixes (i.e., *j*-suffix vowel harmony)

To illustrate these differences, it is sufficient to look at the class suffix in NOM.SG, the alignment of consonant gradation allomorphs, and the existence of *j*-suffix vowel harmony, as summarized in Table 6.10. The header *grade alignment* refers to the choice of stem allomorph in NOM.SG versus NOM.PL, when consonant gradation is relevant for a specific noun paradigm: the value ‘str-wk’ indicates that NOM.SG is marked by the strong grade and NOM.PL by the weak grade, while ‘wk-str’ is the opposite, inverted pattern. The feature ‘*j*-suffix vowel harmony’ (abbreviated *j-VH*) indicates whether vowel harmony in V1 and V2 vowels exists in the presence of certain case/number suffixes with a *-j*-element (cf. Section 6.4.2.1 below). Here, **V** stands for a vowel phoneme.

<i>class</i>	<small>NOM.SG</small> <i>class suffix</i>	<i>grade</i> <i>alignment</i>	<i>j-VH</i>
I	-a/á/o/å	str-wk	-
II	-e	str-wk	+
III	-Vj	wk-str	-
IV	-	wk-str	-

Table 6.10: Summary of noun classes

Class I is a sort of default class and is therefore dealt with first in Section 6.4.1, while classes II, III and IV are described in sections 6.4.2, 6.4.3 and 6.4.4, respectively. The final section (6.4.5) provides a brief summary of the noun classes, including a table listing examples from each class.

### 6.4.1 Class I

Nouns in Class I are characterized by:

- lacking class suffix allomorphy within a paradigm
- lacking vowel harmony

Class I nouns can be divided into four subclasses, depending on the class-marking vowel they have, as illustrated in Table 6.11 on page 97. However, regardless of which class marking suffix is relevant for a Class I noun, this suffix is invariable throughout the paradigm.



<i>subclass</i>	<i>class marking suffix</i>
Ia	-a-
Ib	-á-
Ic	-o-
Id	-å-

Table 6.11: Subclasses of Class I nouns and their class marking suffixes

Four inflectional paradigms can be found in the tables on pages 98 and 99. The paradigm for the word *luakta* ‘bay’ is provided in Table 6.13 as an example for a Class Ia noun, while the Class Ib noun *mánná* ‘child’ is found in Table 6.14, Table 6.15 shows the paradigm for *bäbbmo* ‘food’, a Class Ic noun, and the Class Id noun *skåvvlå* ‘school’ is illustrated in Table 6.16.

For nouns with consonant gradation and/or umlaut in Class I, NOM.SG, ILL.SG and ESS are in the strong grade and have *ä* or *ua/uä* in V1 position, while other case/number slots in a paradigm have the weak grade and *ie* or *uo* in V1 position.

The gradation pattern and class marking suffixes for Class I are summarized in Table 6.12 below. Here, **V** stands for the vowel which comprises the suffix for each class (i.e., *a* for Class Ia, *á* for Class Ib, *o* for Class Ic, and *å* for Class Id).

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>
NOM	str	-V	wk	-V
GEN	wk	-V	wk	-V-
ACC	wk	-V-	wk	-V-
ILL	str	-V-	wk	-V-
INESS	wk	-V-	wk	-V-
ELAT	wk	-V-	wk	-V-
COM	wk	-V-	wk	-V-
ABESS	wk	-V-	wk	-V-
ESS	<i>C-grad</i>		<i>class suffix</i>	
	str		-V-	

Table 6.12: The consonant gradation pattern and inflectional noun class suffixes for Class I

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	luakkt-a	luokt-a
GEN	luokt-a	luokt-a-j
ACC	luokt-a-v	luokt-a-jd
ILL	luakkt-a-j	luokt-a-jda
INESS	luokt-a-n	luokt-a-jn
ELAT	luokt-a-st	luokt-a-jst
COM	luokt-a-jn	luokt-a-j
ABESS	luokt-a-dak	luokt-a-daga
ESS	luakkt-a-n	

Table 6.13: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class Ia noun *luakhta* ‘bay’

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	mánn-á	mán-á
GEN	mán-á	mán-á-j
ACC	mán-á-v	mán-á-jd
ILL	mánn-á-j	mán-á-jda
INESS	mán-á-n	mán-á-jn
ELAT	mán-á-st	mán-á-jst
COM	mán-á-jn	mán-á-j
ABESS	?	?
ESS	?	

Table 6.14: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class Ib noun *mánná* ‘child’

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	bäbbm-o	biebm-o
GEN	biebm-o	biebm-o-j
ACC	biebm-o-v	biebm-o-jd
ILL	bäbbm-o-j	biebm-o-jda
INESS	biebm-o-n	biebm-o-jn
ELAT	biebm-o-st	biebm-o-jst
COM	biebm-o-jn	biebm-o-j
ABESS	biebm-o-dak	biebm-o-daga
ESS	bäbbm-o-n	

Table 6.15: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class Ic noun *bäbbmo* ‘food’

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	skåvvl-å	skåvl-å
GEN	skåvl-å	skåvl-å-j
ACC	skåvl-å-v	skåvl-å-jd
ILL	skåvvl-å-j	skåvl-å-jda
INESS	skåvl-å-n	skåvl-å-jn
ELAT	skåvl-å-st	skåvl-å-jst
COM	skåvl-å-jn	skåvl-å-j
ABESS	skåvl-å-dak	skåvl-å-daga
ESS	skåvvl-å-n	

Table 6.16: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class Id noun *skåvvlå* ‘school’

### 6.4.2 Class II

Class II nouns are marked in particular by two features:

- *j*-suffix vowel harmony
- allophony in the class markers (*e, i, á*)

The inflectional paradigm for the word *guolle* ‘fish’ is provided as an example in Table 6.17 below. For nouns with consonant gradation and/or umlaut in Class II, NOM.SG, ILL.SG and ESS are in the strong grade and have *ä* or *ua/uä* in V1 position, while other case/number slots have the weak grade and *ie* or *uo* in V1 position.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	guoll-e	guol-e
GEN	guol-e	gul-i-j
ACC	guol-e-v	gul-i-jd
ILL	guoll-á-j	gul-i-jda
INESS	guol-e-n	gul-i-jn
ELAT	guol-e-st	gul-i-jst
COM	gul-i-jn	gul-i-j
ABESS	guol-e-dak	guol-e-daga
ESS	guoll-e-n	

Table 6.17: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class II noun *guolle* ‘fish’

The class marking suffixes and consonant gradation pattern for Class II are summarized in Table 6.18 on the follow page.

case	number			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>
NOM	str	-e	wk	-e
GEN	wk	-e	wk	-i-
ACC	wk	-e-	wk	-i-
ILL	str	-á-	wk	-i-
INESS	wk	-e-	wk	-i-
ELAT	wk	-e-	wk	-i-
COM	wk	-i-	wk	-i-
ABESS	wk	-e-	wk	-e-
ESS	<i>C-grad</i>		<i>class suffix</i>	
	str		-e-	

Table 6.18: The Class II consonant gradation pattern and inflectional noun class suffixes

#### 6.4.2.1 *j*-suffix vowel harmony

As mentioned above, nouns in Class II are subject to *j*-suffix vowel harmony. This refers to regressive vowel harmony triggered by the presence of *j* in certain case/number suffixes. In this, certain V1 vowels and the V2 vowel are raised in accommodating the palatal position of the *j* in the suffix. The vowel in V2, which is *e* in Class II nouns, is raised to *i*, while the vowel in V1 is raised depending on its initial value:  $\text{ä} \rightarrow \text{i}$ ,  $\text{uo/uä} \rightarrow \text{u}$ ,  $\text{a} \rightarrow \text{ä}$ ,  $\text{á} \rightarrow \text{ä}$  and  $\text{å} \rightarrow \text{u}$ . Other V1 vowels in Class II are not affected, but the V2 vowel is always raised.

In order to include another example of a Class II noun affected by *-j*-suffix vowel harmony (but without consonant gradation), the paradigm for *vágge* ‘valley’ is provided in Table 6.19 on page 102.

case	number	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	vágg-e	vágg-e
GEN	vágg-e	vágg-i-j
ACC	vágg-e-v	vágg-i-jd
ILL	vágg-á-j	vágg-i-jda
INESS	vágg-e-n	vágg-i-jn
ELAT	vágg-e-st	vágg-i-jst
COM	vágg-i-jn	vágg-i-j
ABESS	vágg-e-dak	vágg-e-daga
ESS	vágg-e-n	

Table 6.19: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class II noun *vágge* ‘valley’

### 6.4.3 Class III

Two features mark nouns in Class III:

- the class marking suffix for NOM.SG is *-Vj*, while for the other case/number slots, the class marker is *-V*
- the gradation pattern (when relevant) is inverted.

The inflectional paradigm for the words *båtsoj* ‘reindeer’ and *ålmaj* ‘man’ are provided as examples in Table 6.20.

case	number		case	number	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL		SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	båts- <i>oj</i>	buhts- <i>u</i>	NOM	ålm- <i>aj</i>	ålm- <i>a</i>
GEN	buhts- <i>u</i>	buhts- <i>u-j</i>	GEN	ålm- <i>a</i>	ålm- <i>a-j</i>
ACC	buhts- <i>u-v</i>	buhts- <i>u-jd</i>	ACC	ålm- <i>a-v</i>	ålm- <i>a-jd</i>
ILL	buhts- <i>u-j</i>	buhts- <i>u-jda</i>	ILL	ålm- <i>a-j</i>	ålm- <i>a-jda</i>
INESS	buhts- <i>u-n</i>	buhts- <i>u-jn</i>	INESS	ålm- <i>a-n</i>	ålm- <i>a-jn</i>
ELAT	buhts- <i>u-st</i>	buhts- <i>u-jst</i>	ELAT	ålm- <i>a-st</i>	ålm- <i>a-jst</i>
COM	buhts- <i>u-jn</i>	buhts- <i>u-j</i>	COM	ålm- <i>a-jn</i>	ålm- <i>a-j</i>
ABESS	buhts- <i>u-dak</i>	buhts- <i>u-daga</i>	ABESS	?	?
ESS	båts- <i>o-n</i>		ESS	ålm- <i>a-n</i>	

Table 6.20: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigms for the Class III nouns *båtsoj* ‘reindeer’ and *ålmaj* ‘man’

Note that the consonant gradation pattern in the *båtsoj* paradigm is for the most part inverted, i.e., the weak grade is found in NOM.SG and ESS, and the strong grade elsewhere. The lexical item *ålmaj* does not feature consonant gradation, and attempts to elicit the abessive forms resulted in three inconsistent forms. The gradation pattern and class marking suffixes for Class III are summarized in Table 6.21.

case	number			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	C-grad	class suffix	C-grad	class suffix
NOM	wk	-Vj	str	-V
GEN	str	-V	str	-V-
ACC	str	-V-	str	-V-
ILL	str	-V-	str	-V-
INESS	str	-V-	str	-V-
ELAT	str	-V-	str	-V-
COM	str	-V-	str	-V-
ABESS	str	-V-	str	-V-
ESS	C-grad		class suffix	
	wk		-V-	

Table 6.21: The Class III consonant gradation pattern and inflectional noun class suffixes

While there do not appear to be many words in Class III, the data in the corpus is ultimately inconclusive. There are some irregularities which cannot be explained, as for instance why the vowel in V2 position in *båtsoj* is only *o* in NOM.SG and ESS, but otherwise *u*, while the V2 vowel in *ålmaj* is consistently *a*. Furthermore, it is unclear why consonant gradation in the ILL.SG form in the *båtsoj* paradigm does not align with NOM.SG and ESS.

#### 6.4.4 Class IV

Three features mark nouns in Class IV:

- the stem is consonant-final
- the NOM.SG form lacks a class suffix
- the gradation pattern (when relevant) is inverted

Furthermore, this class consists of two sub-groups (IVa and IVb).

## 6.4.4.1 Class IVa

This, the more common Class IV sub-group, exhibits a NOM.SG form which lacks a class marker and ends in a closed syllable; in this case, the stem-final consonant is thus the word-final consonant. The word *sabek*<sup>13</sup> ‘ski’ is provided in Table 6.22 as an example for this sub-group. The word *vanás* ‘boat’ is similar to *sabek* ‘ski’, but is subject to consonant gradation. The *vanás*-paradigm is shown in Table 6.23 on page 105. Finally, denominal nouns derived by the diminutive suffix *-tj* are all in Class IVa. Table 6.24 on page 105 provides a nearly complete paradigm for *guolátj* ‘little fish’.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	sabek	sabeg-a
GEN	sabeg-a	sabeg-i-j
ACC	sabeg-a-v	sabeg-i-jd
ILL	sabeg-i-j	sabeg-i-jda
INESS	sabeg-i-n	sabeg-i-jn
ELAT	sabeg-i-st	sabeg-i-jst
COM	sabeg-i-jn	sabeg-i-j
ABESS	?	?
ESS	?	

Table 6.22: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class IVa noun *sabek* ‘ski’

<sup>13</sup>In adhering to Pite Saami orthographic conventions, word-final /k/ is spelled with <k>, while intervocalic /k/ is spelled <g>.



<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	vanás	vadnás-a
GEN	vadnás-a	vadnás-i-j
ACC	vadnás-a-v	vadnás-i-jd
ILL	vadnás-i-j	vadnás-i-jda
INESS	vadnás-i-n	vadnás-i-jn
ELAT	vadnás-i-st	vadnás-i-jst
COM	vadnás-i-jn	vadnás-i-j
ABESS	?	?
ESS	?	

Table 6.23: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class IVa noun *vanás* ‘boat’

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	guolátj	guolátj-a
GEN	guolátj-a	guolátj-i-j
ACC	guolátj-a-v	guolátj-i-jd
ILL	guolátj-i-j	guolátj-i-jda
INESS	guolátj-i-n	guolátj-i-jn
ELAT	guolátj-i-st	guolátj-i-jst
COM	guolátj-i-jn	guolátj-i-j
ABESS	?	?
ESS	?	

Table 6.24: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class IVa denominal noun *guolátj* ‘little fish’

#### 6.4.4.2 Class IVb

The less common sub-group of Class IV nouns exhibits a NOM.SG form which also lacks a class marker, but ends in an open syllable; thus, the stem-final consonant, which is present in all other slots in the paradigm, is lacking. The word *vena* ‘dog’ is provided in Table 6.25 on page 106 as an example for this second sub-group.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	bena	bednag-a
GEN	bednag-a	bednag-i-j
ACC	bednag-a-v	bednag-i-jd
ILL	bednag-i-j	bednag-i-jda
INESS	bednag-i-n	bednag-i-jn
ELAT	bednag-i-st	bednag-i-jst
COM	bednag-i-jn	bednag-i-j
ABESS	?	?
ESS	?	

Table 6.25: The class-marker suffix and case/number paradigm for the Class IVb noun *bena* ‘dog’

#### 6.4.4.3 Class IV summary

The gradation pattern and class marking suffixes for Class IV are summarized in Table 6.26. Note that the consonant gradation pattern for Class IV nouns is inverted, i.e., the weak grade is found in NOM.SG, and the strong grade elsewhere.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>class suffix</i>
NOM	wk	-	str	-a
GEN	str	-a	str	-i-
ACC	str	-a-	str	-i-
ILL	str	-i-	str	-i-
INESS	str	-i-	str	-i-
ELAT	str	-i-	str	-i-
COM	str	-i-	str	-i-
ABESS	str	?	str	?
ESS	<i>C-grad</i>		<i>class suffix</i>	
	?		?	

Table 6.26: The Class IV consonant gradation pattern and inflectional noun class suffixes

As with Class III words, the corpus only provides limited data on Class IV words, and attempts to elicit abessive and essive forms led to inconsistent re-

sults, partly due to uncertain native speaker intuition for these somewhat rare forms. However, elicited abessive forms were consistently in the strong grade, while elicited essive forms were sometimes in the strong grade, sometimes in the weak grade, without any seemingly consistent patterns. One language consultant fairly consistently produced ABESS.SG forms without the stem final consonant for some nouns in this class,<sup>14</sup> but still felt uncertain about this.

### 6.4.5 Summary of noun classes

Table 6.27 on page 108 is provided to facilitate cross-class comparison of paradigms for examples from the various noun classes. While the whole paradigm for each word is not listed due to a lack of space, the forms for NOM.SG, NOM.PL, ACC.SG, GEN.PL, ILL.SG and ELAT.SG are more than sufficient to convey the relevant morphological differences between the classes.

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<sup>14</sup>Specifically, this language consultant produced the forms *vadnádaga* ‘boat-ABESS.SG’, *bednadaga* ‘dog-ABESS.SG’ and *sabedaga* ‘ski-ABESS.SG’.

class	NOM.SG	NOM.PL	ACC.SG	GEN.PL	ILL.SG	ELAT.SG	gloss
I	a	luokkt-a	luokt-a	luokt-a-v	luokt-a-j	luokt-a-st	'bay'
	b	mánn-á	mán-á	mán-á-v	mán-á-j	mán-á-st	'child'
	c	bäbbm-o	bäbm-o	bäbm-o-v	bäbm-o-j	bäbm-o-st	'food'
	d	skåvvl-å	skåvl-å	skåvl-å-v	skåvl-å-j	skåvl-å-st	'school'
II	guoll-e	guol-e	guol-e-v	gul-i-j	guoll-á-j	guol-e-st	'fish'
	vágg-e	vágg-e	vágg-e-v	vágg-i-j	vágg-á-j	vágg-e-st	'valley'
	sábm-e	sám-e	sám-e-v	sám-i-j	sábm-á-j	sám-e-st	'Saami'
III	báts-øj	buhhts-u	buhhts-u-v	buhhts-u-j	buhhts-u-j	buhhts-u-st	'reindeer'
	álm-aj	álm-a	álm-a-v	álm-a-j	álm-a-j	álm-a-st	'man'
IV	a	sabek	sabeg-a	sabeg-a-v	sabeg-i-j	sabeg-i-st	'ski'
		vanás	vadnás-a	vadnás-a-v	vadnás-i-j	vadnás-i-st	'boat'
	b	vena	bednag-a	bednag-a-v	bednag-i-j	bednag-i-st	'dog'
	gáma	gábmag-a	gábmag-a-v	gábmag-i-j	gábmag-i-j	gábmag-i-st	'shoe'

Table 6.27: Comparison of noun class examples

## 6.5 Possessive suffixes

A special set of possessive suffixes exists in Pite Saami which indicate, in addition to case and number for the host noun, the person and number of the possessor of the referent of the host noun. While the possessive suffixes go back to Proto-Saami (Sammallahti 1998: 73), they seem to have nearly fallen out of use in contemporary Pite Saami, and are only attested in three recordings from the corpus. These examples from the corpus are presented initially, and a description follows.

While there are technically nine tokens of possessive pronouns in the corpus, these nine tokens can be grouped into two identical sets, so that effectively only two examples are evident. Specifically, there are three tokens of *áhttjes* ‘my father’ in nominative case by one speaker in two different recordings, and three tokens of the parallel construction *mammaset ja pappaset* ‘your mother and your father’ by another speaker in one recording. An example from the first speaker is provided in (255), and an example<sup>15</sup> from the second speaker in (256).

- (255) *áhttjes*                      *dá* *lä*                      *gähtjamin jus gävdnij*  
*áhttje-s*                      *dá* *lä*                      *gähtja-min jus gävdni-j*  
 father-1SG.POSS\NOM.SG then be\3SG.PRS look-PROG if exist-3SG.PST  
*aktak, nag gietjokmiesse*  
*aktak nagin gietjokmiesse*  
 any some unmarked\_calf\NOM.SG  
 ‘my father is looking if there is an unmarked calf’ [pit080909.004]

- (256) *nå dä hålij,*              *nå hälset*              *del mammaset*  
*nå dä håli-j*              *nå hälse-t*              *del mamma-set*  
 well then say-3SG.PST well greet-PL.IMP then mother-2PL.POSS\ILL.SG  
*ja pahppaset*  
*ja pahppa-set*  
 and father-2PL.POSS\ILL.SG  
 ‘well then she said “well, say hello to your mother and your father”’  
 [pit100703a.038]

<sup>15</sup>The example in (256) is essentially identical to the other utterance with four tokens of these same noun stems with possessive suffixes (pit100703a.034).

Just as with the other case/number suffixes, the possessive case/number suffixes follow the class marker, as illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Σ + class-marker + possessive-case/number

Figure 6.2: The morphological structure of Pite Saami nouns with possessive suffixes

The three examples from the corpus can thus be parsed morphologically as in (257) through (259):

- (257) *áhhtj-e-s*  
 father-II-1SG.POSS\NOM.SG  
 ‘my father’
- (258) *mamm-a-set*  
 mother-I-2PL.POSS\ILL.SG  
 ‘to your (PL) mother’
- (259) *pahpp-a-set*  
 father-I-2PL.POSS\ILL.SG  
 ‘to your (PL) father’

While these three examples do not provide enough evidence for case and number marking in addition to possession, the thorough paradigm for *ábba* ‘sister’ and a very partial paradigm for *áhhtje* ‘father’ in Lehtiranta (1992: 158-159)<sup>16</sup> indicate that the possessive suffixes are best described as portmanteau suffixes that indicate the number and case of the host noun as well as the person and number of the external possessor.<sup>17</sup> As substitutes for the external possessor NP, they fill a pronomial function, as well.

It should be pointed out that the possessive suffixes above do not correspond to the equivalent examples in the Lehtiranta paradigms: Lehtiranta has *aah'tjaam* for ‘father-1SG.POSS\NOM.SG’, while *aah'tjies* is listed as ‘father-3SG.POSS\NOM.SG’, a form which is much closer to the form in (257), but means ‘his/her father’.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, Lehtiranta indicates that *ááp'paasetieh* is ‘sister-2PL.POSS\ILL.SG’, which has an additional *-ieh* word-finally not found in (258) or (259).

<sup>16</sup>Note that Lehtiranta (1992) uses a different orthography: *ááp'paa* for ‘sister’ and *aah'tjie* for ‘father’.

<sup>17</sup>Lagercrantz (1926: 110) only lists six possessive suffixes (1/2/3SG.POSS, 3DU.POSS and 3PL.POSS), but he does not provide any further information concerning possessive suffixes.

<sup>18</sup>Lagercrantz (1926: 110) also indicates that the 3SG.POSS suffix is *-s*.

In all other cases in the corpus, NP-internal possession is expressed using a noun or pronoun in the genitive case, as in (260), which is from the same speaker and recording as in (256) above.

- (260) *ja dä lij mijan sessa Kärin*  
*ja dä li-j mijan sessa Kärin*  
 and then be-3SG.PST 1PL.GEN paternal\_aunt\NOM.SG Karin  
 ‘and then it was our paternal aunt Karin’ [pit100703a.014]

It is likely the case that alienability plays (or played) a role in which nouns can be marked with possessive suffixes. It is also possible that certain nouns with possessive suffixes have been lexicalized in current usage. While the lack of possessive suffixes in the corpus seems to indicate that they are no longer used regularly, the fact that the two obvious loan words in (258) and (259)<sup>19</sup> indicates that they may still be productive somehow, or at least retrievable via analogy. At any rate, the corpus does not provide nearly enough data on the possessive suffixes and any conclusions on their current state this topic must be left to future research.

<sup>19</sup>From Swedish *mamma* ‘mother’ and *pappa* ‘father’.





# Chapter 7

## Nominals II: Pronouns

Pite Saami has a closed class of pronouns consisting of personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative and relative pronouns. All pronouns inflect for case (cf. Section 6.2 on the case system); concerning number, personal and reflexive pronouns inflect for singular, dual and plural, while demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronouns only inflect for singular and plural. There is also a small class of non-nominal interrogative pro-forms which do not inflect for case or number; these are covered in Section 7.4.4. The Pite Saami pronouns will be discussed below, in the order listed above; paradigms for each pronoun class are also included. The pronouns are written using the working Pite Saami orthography. The corpus does not provide sufficient data about the status of any pronouns in the abessive and essive cases,<sup>1</sup> so this must be left for future study.

### 7.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns inflect for person and number (singular, dual or plural) as well as for case. They are listed in Table 7.1 on page 114. Personal pronouns do not inflect for the biological gender of their referents, but are restricted in referring only to humans (demonstrative pronouns are used when the referent is not human).

The nominative forms all have two possible forms, e.g. *mån* ~ *månnå* ‘1SG.NOM’. In general, the monosyllabic form is the default, while the bisyllabic form is typically used as a citation form and when the pronoun is emphasized.

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<sup>1</sup>Neither Lagercrantz (1926) nor Lehtiranta (1992) provide sufficient data, either.

case	person			num
	1 <sup>ST</sup>	2 <sup>ND</sup>	3 <sup>RD</sup>	
NOM	mån ~ männå	dån ~ dånå	sån ~ sånå	SINGULAR
GEN	muv	duv	suv	
ACC	muv	duv	suv	
ILL	munje	dunje	sunje	
INESS	muvne	duvne	suvne	
ELAT	muvvste	duvvste	suvvste	
COM	mujna	dujna	sujna	
NOM	måj ~ måjå	dåj ~ dåjå	såj ~ såjå	DUAL
GEN	munuo	dunuo	sunuo	
ACC	månov	dånov	sånov	
ILL	munnuj	dunnuj	sunnuj	
INESS	munuon	dunuon	sunuon	
ELAT	munuost	dunuost	sunuost	
COM	munujn	dunujn	sunujn	
NOM	mij ~ mija	dij ~ dija	sij ~ sija	PLURAL
GEN	mijá	dijá	sijá	
ACC	mijáv	dijáv	sijáv	
ILL	mijjaj	dijjaj	sijjaj	
INESS	miján	diján	siján	
ELAT	mijást	dijást	sijást	
COM	mijájn	dijájn	sijájn	

Table 7.1: Personal pronouns

The person marking morphemes in personal pronouns are completely systematic and are listed in Table 7.2.

person	morpheme
1 <sup>ST</sup>	<i>m-</i>
2 <sup>ND</sup>	<i>d-</i>
3 <sup>RD</sup>	<i>s-</i>

Table 7.2: Person morphemes in personal pronouns

Case and number marking is not quite as systematic, but certain segmental patterns are present which closely resemble the singular case/number suffixes for nouns.

## 7.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are based on the stem *d*. They inflect for case and number (singular and plural, but not dual), as well as the proximity of the entity they refer to. The data from the corpus indicates that there is a three-way distinction between referents close to the speaker (proximal), those away from the speaker (distal), and those particularly far away (remote). They are listed in Table 7.3. Note that due to a lack of sufficient data on the remote forms in the corpus, this part of the paradigm is not complete; forms based on tentative data are marked by a question mark.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>					
	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	PROX	DIST	RMT	PROX	DIST	RMT
NOM	dát	dat	dut	dá(h)	da(h)	du(h)
GEN	dán	dan	dun	dáj	daj	duj
ACC	dáv	dav	duv	dájt	dajt	dujt
ILL	dása	dasa	dun?	dájda	dajda	?
INESS	dán	dan	dun	dájtne	dajtne	duj?
ELAT	dásste	dasste	duj?	dájste	dajste	duj?
COM	dájna	dajna	dujn	dáj	daj	duj

Table 7.3: Demonstratives

Morphologically, demonstratives consist of the initial consonant *d*-, followed by *-á*-, *-a*- or *-u*- for proximal, distal and remote, respectively. This is then followed by a case/number suffix, as summarized in Table 7.4.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	-t	(-h)
GEN	-n	-j
ACC	-v	-jt
ILL	-sa	-j
INESS	-n	-jtne
ELAT	-sste	-jste
COM	-jna	-j

Table 7.4: Demonstrative case/number suffixes

Both distal and remote demonstratives have a referent which is away from the speaker, but remote demonstratives indicate a greater distance than distal

demonstratives. The referent of a remote demonstrative is clearly not located near the addressee. However, distal demonstratives do not necessarily denote a referent which is near the addressee, either, although this is certainly possible. Distal demonstratives are the most common in the corpus, and a sort of unmarked default demonstrative. A more precise description of when the various demonstrative forms are used must be left to future syntactic study.

Demonstratives can function as pronouns or as determiners within a noun phrase. These functions are described in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2, respectively.

### 7.2.1 Demonstratives as pronouns

When demonstratives function as pronouns, they typically have non-human referents, as in (261).

- (261) *muhtin sa del vuoptin dajt*  
 muhtin sa del vuopti-n d-a-jt  
 sometimes so then sell-1DU.PST DEM-DIST-ACC.PL  
 ‘so sometimes we sold those’ [pit080924.300]

However, they can also be used to refer to third-person human referents, as in (262).

- (262) *da lä jabmam, ber muv*  
 d-a lä jabma-m ber mu-v  
 DEM-DIST\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS die-PRF only 1SG.GEN  
*äddne’l viessomin dále*  
 äddne = 1 viesso-min dále  
 mother\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS live-PROG now  
 ‘they have died, only my mother is living today’ [pit100310b.145]

Distal demonstratives can also be used for anaphoric text deixis. For instance, *dat* in example (263) refers to the fact that the speaker has just dropped her ski pole.

- (263) *oj! ij dat aktagav dága*  
 oj ij d-a-t aktaga-v dága  
 oh NEG\3SG.PRS DEM-DIST-NOM.SG NONE-ACC.SG make\CONNeg  
 ‘oh! that’s no problem’ (lit.: that makes nothing) [pit100404.156]

### 7.2.2 Demonstratives as determiners

Demonstratives can function as a determiner in a noun phrase further specifying the head noun. Unlike adjectives, demonstratives always inflect for the number

of and agree in case with the noun they modify. Examples of demonstratives functioning as determiners are provided in (264) through (266).

- (264) *dajd*                      *gulijd*                      *giesijmä*                      *tjielkajn*                      *dik*  
 d-a-jd                      guli-jd                      giesi-jmä                      tjielka-jn                      dik  
 DEM-DIST-ACC.PL fish-ACC.PL pull-1PL.PST sled-COM.SG to\_here  
 ‘we pulled those fish here with a sled’                      [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.043]
- (265) *gu*    *lijmä*                      *vuodjam*    *dajna*                      *traktorijna*  
 gu    li-jmä                      vuodja-m d-a-jna                      traktor-ijna  
 when be-1PL.PST drive-PRF DEM-DIST-COM.SG tractor-COM.SG  
 ‘Grållåjn’  
 Grållå-jn  
 Grålle-COM.SG  
 ‘when we had driven that tractor ‘Grålle’                      [pit090702.287]
- (266) *men dut*                      *biehtse,*                      *men ånekatj*    *ja*    *gassak*  
 men d-u-t                      biehtse                      men åneka-tj    ja    gassa-k  
 but DEM-RMT-NOM.SG pine\NOM.SG but short-DIM and thick-NMLZ  
 ‘but yonder pine tree, how short and thick!’                      [pit090519.284]

## 7.3 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Pite Saami are based on the stem *etj-* and inflect for the number (singular, dual and plural) and person of the noun they are co-referential with. Reflexive pronouns also inflect for case. These are listed in Table 7.5 on page 118. The stem *etj-* can be translated as ‘self’, which could imply that it is a noun, but it is different from nouns for several reasons: 1) it is monosyllabic, 2) it has its own case and number marking suffixes, and 3) it inflects for dual number. For these reasons, it is glossed as ‘REFL’ instead of ‘self’. Note that reflexive pronouns are not common in the spontaneous language recordings in the corpus, but are mostly found in elicitation sessions. Even in elicitation sessions, my main consultant was not completely sure about some of the forms for less common cases (i.e., everything except nominative, accusative<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>However, note the form *etjav* ‘REFL-1SG.ACC’ was provided by a different speaker (A) than the speaker (B) who provided the forms in the rest of the paradigm, and speaker A was very uncertain of this form. Lehtiranta (1992: 162) lists *etjam* and *etjamav*, and I suspect that the form *etjav* indicates that a simplification of the system has taken place (at least for speaker A) in which the root *etj-* is simply treated as a noun (such as ‘self’) which inflects using standard nominal case/number suffixes (here the ACC.SG suffix -v), but ultimately a great deal more data is needed to verify this.

and genitive). Furthermore, a number of the elicited forms deviate from the forms provided in the complete paradigm in Lehtiranta (1992: 162).<sup>3</sup>

For these reasons, the forms in Table 7.5 should be considered preliminary at this point, and potentially subject to modification as a result of more thorough future study. My consultants were particularly uncertain about the forms in *italic* script, while forms listed in parenthesis are not attested in the corpus, but taken from the paradigms in Lehtiranta (1992: 162) and adapted to the current Pite Saami orthography.

case	person			num
	1 <sup>ST</sup>	2 <sup>ND</sup>	3 <sup>RD</sup>	
NOM	etj	etj	etj	SINGULAR
GEN	etjan	etjad	etjas	
ACC	<i>etjav</i>	etjavn	etjavns	
ILL	etjanij	etjasad	etjasis	
INESS	ehtjanen	etjanat	etjanis	
ELAT	ehtjanist	etjastit	etjastis	
COM	etjajnen	(etjajnat)	(etjajnis)	
NOM	etja	etja	etja	DUAL
GEN	etjanij	etjade	etjajsga	
ACC	(etjamenen)	etjajd	etjajdisa	
ILL	ehtjasimen	ehtjasiden	ehtjasijga	
INESS	(etjanenen)	<i>etjajdin</i>	(etjaneská)	
ELAT	etjanis	etjastit	etjastis	
COM	(etjajnenen)	(etjajneten)	(etjajneská)	
NOM	etja	etja	etja	PLURAL
GEN	etjajme	etjajde	etjajse	
ACC	(ehtjameh)	etjajd	etjajdisa	
ILL	etjasijme	etjasida	etjasise	
INESS	<i>ehtjanen</i>	<i>etjajdin</i>	<i>etjajnis</i>	
ELAT	<i>etjanist</i>	<i>etjastist</i>	<i>etjajstist</i>	
COM	(etjajnehh)	(etjajneteh)	(etjajneseh)	

Table 7.5: Reflexive pronouns

<sup>3</sup>But note also that the paradigm in Lehtiranta (1992: 162) indicates a lack of consensus in the reflexive pronouns across speakers, as well. Whether the forms found in the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus indicate a simplification of the system or simply another speaker's idiolect is impossible to determine at this point.

One example of a reflexive pronoun is shown in (267).

- (267) *mån ságastav etjan birra*  
*mån ságasta-v etja-n birra*  
 1SG.NOM speak-1SG.PRS REFL-1SG.GEN about  
 ‘I talk about myself’ [pit110521b2.010 (elic.)]

A reflexive pronoun is frequently used to add emphasis to the noun phrase it is coreferential with, as in (268).

- (268) *mån lev etj sábme*  
*mån le-v etj sábme*  
 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS REFL\1SG.NOM Saami\NOM.SG  
 ‘I myself am Saami’ [pit080703.023]

The noun phrase that a reflexive pronoun is coreferential with does not have to be realized overtly, as illustrated by the utterance in (269) (here as an emphatic).

- (269) *etj lä lerram*  
*etj lä lerra-m*  
 REFL\2SG.NOM be\2SG.PRS learn-PRF  
 ‘(you) yourself have learned’ [pit080924.407]

## 7.4 Interrogative pronouns

Pite Saami has several classes of interrogative pronouns as well as a set of interrogative pro-forms which do not refer to NPs. The pronouns can be divided into those with human referents (Section 7.4.1), which use the stem *ge-*, and those with non-human referents (Section 7.4.2), which use the stem *m-*. Furthermore, there are two classes of interrogatives which enquire about the selection of a particular item (semantically equivalent to English ‘which’; described in Section 7.4.3): the first refers to a choice from a selection in general and uses the stem *mikkir-*, while the other refers to a choice of one or two items and uses the stem *gáb-*. Interrogative pro-forms not referring to NPs feature the stem *g-* (Section 7.4.4). This classification is summarized in Figure 7.1 on page 120, which also indicates the stem for each type.

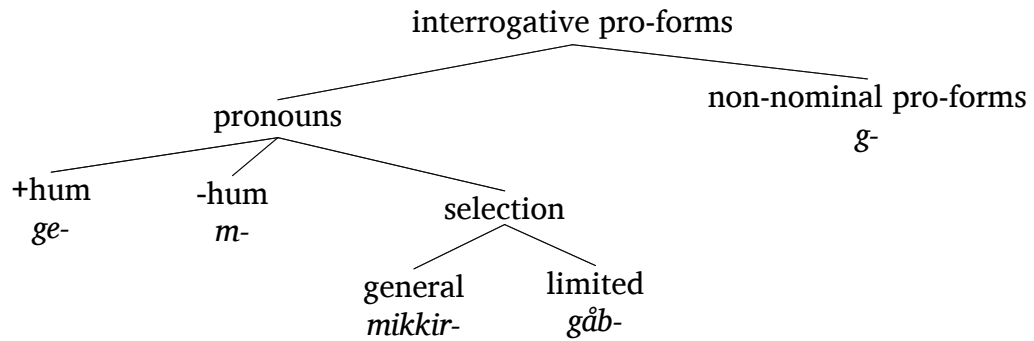


Figure 7.1: A taxonomy of interrogative pro-form types and their stems

### 7.4.1 Interrogative pronouns with human referents

Interrogative pronouns with human referents use the stem *ge-* and inflect for the number (singular or plural) of the intended referent and for case. These pronouns are listed in Table 7.6; examples are provided in (270) and (271).

case	number	
	SG	PL
NOM	ge	ge
GEN	gen	gej
ACC	gev	gejd
ILL	gesa	gejda
INESS	genne	gejdne
ELAT	gesste	gejsste
COM	gejna	gej

Table 7.6: Interrogative pronouns with human referents

- (270) *nã, gejna      dã tjuovo?*  
*nã ge-jna      dã tjuovo*  
 well who-COM.SG then accompany\2SG.PST  
 ‘well, who did you go with?’ [pit080924.071]
- (271) *gen      gabmaga      lä      dá?*  
*ge-n      gabmag-a      lä      d-á*  
 who-GEN.SG shoe-NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS DEM-PROX\NOM.PL  
 ‘whose shoes are these?’ [pit100404.326]



### 7.4.2 Interrogative pronouns with non-human referents

Interrogative pronouns with non-human referents use the stem *m-* and inflect for the number (singular or plural) of the intended referent and for case. These pronouns are listed in Table 7.7; an example is provided in (272).

case	number	
	SG	PL
NOM	mij	ma(h)
GEN	man	mej
ACC	mav	mejd ~ majd
ILL	masa	mejda
INESS	manne	majdne
ELAT	masste	majsste
COM	majna	mej

Table 7.7: Interrogative pronouns with non-human referents

- (272) *mav*            *dân*        *sida?*  
 ma-v            dân        sida  
 what-ACC.SG 2SG.NOM want\2SG.PRS  
 ‘what do you want?’

[pit090519.194]

### 7.4.3 Interrogative pronouns concerning a selection

The two selective interrogative pronouns are used to enquire about the selection or choice of an item. The stem *mikkir-* refers to a selection in general, while the stem *gâb-* limits the selection to one or two choices. These are described in the following two sections.

#### 7.4.3.1 General selection using *mikkir-*

Interrogative pronouns based on the stem *mikkir-* are used to enquire about a choice or selection in general. They inflect for the number (singular and plural) of their referent and for case. These forms are listed in Table 7.8 on page 122. Note that the illative forms are not attested in the corpus.

case	number	
	SG	PL
NOM	mikkir	mikkira
GEN	mikkira	mikkirij
ACC	mikkirav	mikkirijd
ILL	mikkirij	mikkirijda
INESS	?	?
ELAT	mikkirist	mikkirijst
COM	mikkirijna	mikkirij

Table 7.8: Interrogative pronouns with a demonstrative referent using the *mikkir*- stem

Two examples are provided in (273) and (274).

(273) *mikkirist lä dat dágaduvvum?*  
 mikkir-ist lä d-a-t dága-duvv-um  
 which-ELAT.SG be-3SG.PRS DEM-DIST-NOM.SG make-PASS-PRF  
 ‘what is that made of?’ [pit110521b1.203 (elic.)]

(274) *nå, mikkira lidjin dan Ákabakten?*  
 nå mikkir-a lidji-n d-a-n Ákabakte-n  
 well which-NOM.PL be-3PL.PST DEM-DIST-INESS.SG Ákkabakkte-INESS.SG  
 ‘well which (people) were in Ákkabakkte?’ [pit080924.032]

They can also modify the head of an NP, and are then a ‘pro-adjective’<sup>4</sup> enquiring after a further characterization of the referent. In this case, they do not inflect for number or case (as is true of all attributive adjectives), and so the form is always *mikkir*, as illustrated by the examples in (275) and (276).

(275) *mikkir málle lij?*  
 mikkir málle li-j  
 which blood-NOM.SG be-3SG.PST  
 ‘which (kind of) blood was it?’ [pit080924.256]

(276) *mikkir gulijd átjojde?*  
 mikkir guli-jd átjo-jde  
 which fish-ACC.PL buy-2PL.PST  
 ‘which (kinds of) fish did you buy?’ [pit080924.025]

Another possible form of the stem seems to be *makkar*-, but this is only attested twice in the corpus and by one speaker, while *mikkir*- was consistently

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Schachter and Shopen (2007: 31-34) for more on non-pronoun ‘pro-forms’.

preferred in elicitation sessions. An example with *makkar* is provided in (277); here, *makkar* is a pro-adjective modifying a noun in a subordinate interrogative clause.

- (277) *ja dä lä*                      *aj väha gähtjamin makkar*  
*ja dä lä*                      *aj väha gähtja-min makkar*  
 and then be\3SG.PRS also a\_little? look-PROG which  
*sarvaid*                      *gilgin*                      *njuovat*                      *aj*  
*sarva-jd*                      *gilgi-n*                      *njuova-t*                      *aj*  
 reindeer\_bull-ACC.PL will-3PL.PST slaughter-INF also  
 ‘and then he is also looking a little which reindeer bulls they should also  
 slaughter’ [pit080909.006]

#### 7.4.3.2 Limited selection using *gåb-*

A further interrogative pronoun used to limit a selection to only one or two is based on the stem *gåb-*. It inflects for case and for number (singular and plural), as described below. Table 7.9 lists the various forms.

case	number	
	SG	PL
NOM	<i>gåbba</i>	?
GEN	<i>gåban</i>	<i>gåbaj</i>
ACC	<i>gåbav</i>	<i>gåbajd</i>
ILL	<i>gåbbaj</i>	<i>gåbajda</i>
INESS	<i>gåban</i>	<i>gåbajn</i>
ELAT	<i>gåbast</i>	<i>gåbajst</i>
COM	<i>gåbajn(a)</i>	<i>gåbaj</i>

Table 7.9: Interrogative pronouns with a demonstrative referent using the *gåb-* stem

When marked for singular, it indicates a selection of one out of two possible choices, as in (278).

- (278) *gåban*                      *sajen*                      *lä*                      *dån*                      *årrom?*  
*gåba-n*                      *saje-n*                      *lä*                      *dån*                      *årro-m*  
 which-INESS.SG place-INESS.SG be\2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM be-PRF  
 ‘at which of the two places have you been?’ [pit110521b1.161 (elic.)]

When marked for PLURAL, it indicates a selection of two out of three or more choices, as in (279).

- (279) *gābaj*            *birra ságasta?*  
*gāba-j*            *birra ságasta*  
 which-GEN.PL about speak\2SG.PRS  
 ‘which two are you talking about?’ [pit110521b1.037 (*elic.*)]

This interrogative pronoun is only attested in elicitation sessions in the corpus. A more thorough description/understanding must be left to future research.

#### 7.4.4 Non-nominal interrogative pro-forms

There are a number of non-nominal interrogative pro-forms. These enquire about information typically expressed by a clause-level adverbial, an adjunct or a complement clause. They are listed and glossed in Table 7.10, and three examples are provided in (280) through (282).

<i>pro-form</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>gāsse</i>	when
<i>gusa ~ guse</i>	to where
<i>gānne</i>	where
<i>guste</i>	from where
<i>manen</i>	why
<i>man + adj.</i>	how (big)
<i>maktes ~ gukte</i>	how
<i>galla</i>	how many

Table 7.10: Non-nominal interrogative pro-forms

- (280) *gānne dajt*            *tjogjädä?*  
*gānne d-a-jt*            *tjogi-jdä*  
 where DEM-DIST-ACC.PL pick-2PL.PST  
 ‘where did you pick them?’ [pit080924.168]
- (281) *gukte almatj*            *hålla*            ‘*reta*?’  
*gukte almatj*            *hålla*            *reta*  
 how person\NOM.SG say\3SG.PRS ‘*reta*’  
 ‘how does one say ‘*reta*?’ (*reta* is Swedish for ‘tease’) [pit080924.377]

- (282) *man mälгат lij gu lij hiejman, iv*  
*man mälгат li-j gu li-j hiejm-an, i-v*  
 how far be-3SG.PST when be-3SG.PST home-INESS.SG neg-1SG.PRS  
*mån diede*  
*mån diede*  
 1SG.NOM know\CONNeg  
 ‘how far it was, when one was home, I don’t know’ [pit100404.317]

The list in Table 7.10 is likely not complete, as there are several other non-nominal interrogative pro-forms listed in the Pite Saami wordlist which are not attested in the corpus. Furthermore, the data does not indicate what the difference is between the various alternate forms for ‘to where’ and ‘how’, if there is any at all.

## 7.5 Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns in Pite Saami are identical in form to the interrogative pronouns with non-human referents (cf. Section 7.4.2). However, unlike interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns do not reflect the human-ness of their referents. They agree in number with their referent, and inflect for the case required by their syntactic function within the relative clause. The relative pronouns are listed in Table 7.11. See Section 15.2.3 for a number of examples with relative pronouns as well as a description of relative clauses.

<i>case</i>	<i>number</i>	
	SG	PL
NOM	mij	ma(h)
GEN	man	mej
ACC	mav	mejd ~ majd
ILL	masa	mejda
INESS	manne	majdne
ELAT	masste	majsste
COM	majna	mej

Table 7.11: Relative pronouns



# Chapter 8

## Adjectivals

**Adjectivals** in Pite Saami are defined syntactically by their ability to be the head of an adjectival phrase (AP). They can be divided into three sub-categories based on both syntactic position and morphological behavior concerning inflection, as summarized in Table 8.1.

	<i>syntax</i>	<i>morphology</i>
<i>attributive adjectives</i>	attributive position within an NP	no inflection (except in elliptic constructions)
<i>predicative adjectives</i>	predicative position (complement of <i>árrot</i> ‘be’)	inflect for number
<i>numerals</i>	attributive or predicative position	never inflect

Table 8.1: Summary of syntactic and morphological features for the three types of adjectivals

While attributive adjectives generally do not inflect, in elliptical phrases in which the head of an NP is not realized overtly, they do inflect for case and number. Predicative adjectives are marked for number, and are morphologically similar to nominals. Numerals, on the other hand, are consistently uninflected. Finally, the two types of adjectives form an open sub-class, while numerals are a closed sub-class.

The rest of this chapter covers adjectives and numerals as follows: Section 8.1 provides a description of attributive adjectives, while Section 8.2 deals with predicative adjectives, before Section 8.3 takes up the formal relationship between these two types. Section 8.4 then goes on to describe comparative and superlative forms, before Section 8.5 illustrates the implementation of such forms in making comparisons. Syntactic restrictions on the adjectives corresponding

to ‘small, little’ are described in Section 8.6. Finally, Sections 8.7 and 8.8 cover quantifiers (a semantic sub-class of adjectives) and numerals, respectively.

## 8.1 Attributive adjectives

**Attributive adjectives** form the head of an AP modifying the head of a nominal phrase in attributive position, and are not subject to inflectional morphology. As part of an attributive AP, an attributive adjective occurs before the head noun it modifies, but after a demonstrative, if present (cf. Section 12.2 on the structure of NPs). Examples are provided in (283) through (285).

- (283) *dat lä tjähppis båtsoj ja villges*  
 d-a-t lä tjähppis båtsoj ja villges  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS black reindeer\NOM.SG and white  
*åjve dä*  
 åjve dä  
 head\NOM.SG then  
 ‘it is a black reindeer and a white head then’ [pit100405b.043]
- (284) *guolle<sup>l</sup> nåv njalga bäbbmo*  
 guolle = l nåv njalga bäbbmo  
 fish\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS SO tasty food\NOM.SG  
 ‘fish is such tasty food’ [pit100310b.025]
- (285) *dat villges båtsoj*  
 d-a-t villges båtsoj  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG white reindeer\NOM.SG  
 ‘that white reindeer’ [pit090930a.014 (elic.)]

As the head of an AP, attributive adjectives can be modified by adverbs of grade, as illustrated by the AP *hoj buorak* ‘very good’ in (286).

- (286) *ja da lä årrom hoj buorak giesse*  
 ja da lä årro-m hoj buorak giesse  
 and then be\3SG.PRS be-PRF very good summer\NOM.SG  
 ‘and it has been a very good summer’ [pit080909.009]

A number of adjectives end in *-s* (cf. the two adjectives *tjähppes* ‘black’ and *villges* ‘white’ in (283)), which is often considered an ‘attribution’ marking suffix in the literature.<sup>1</sup> However, as *njalga* ‘tasty’ in (284) illustrates, not all adjectives

<sup>1</sup>Rießler (2011: 215-228) deals in detail with this final *-s*, which is common to all Saami languages. Rießler claims that it was grammaticalized from a 3SG possessive suffix, and originally





- (289) *dat*                    *tjábba*                    *máhtta*                    *sáme*  
 d-a-t                    tjábba                    máhtta                    sáme  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG beautiful\NOM.SG can\3SG.PRS Saami\GEN.SG  
*gielav*  
 giela-v  
 language-ACC.SG

‘That beautiful one can (speak) the Saami language’ (referring to ‘beautiful girl’) [pit090930a.148 (*elic.*)]

As the host of case/number inflection, such adjectives look morphologically like nouns. However, syntactically, these adjectives remain adjectives for two reasons. First, they can be modified by adverbs of grade, while nouns cannot be. Second, they generally have a referential antecedent that is the bearer of the property they denote.<sup>3</sup> Semantically, they do not denote an entity (as nouns do), but a property, as with all adjectives. A further example is provided in (290). Here, the choice of the attributive adjective form *tjábba* ‘beautiful’ (as opposed to the corresponding predicate adjective form *tjábbe*) indicates that this is indeed an elliptical NP construction, and not predication.

- (290) *lä*                    *huj* *tjábba*,                    *dat*,                    *dat*  
 lä                    huj *tjábba*                    d-a-t                    d-a-t  
 be\3SG.PRS quite beautiful\NOM.SG DEM-DIST-NOM.SG DEM-DIST-NOM.SG  
*lä*                    *jävvja*  
 lä                    jävvja  
 be\3SG.PRS white\_reindeer\NOM.SG

‘(it) is a quite beautiful one, it, it is a white reindeer’ (referring to ‘beautiful reindeer’) [pit100405b.036-037]

<sup>3</sup>The quantifier *aktak* ‘none, any’ can be used in an elliptic NP without a referential antecedent; cf. Section 8.7, specifically example (319).

## 8.2 Predicative adjectives

While attributive adjectives form the head of an attributive AP embedded in an NP, **predicative adjectives** form the head of an AP which is the complement of the copula verb *árrot* ‘be’ and ascribe a property to the subject referent. In (291) and (292), for instance, the predicative adjective corresponding to the attributive adjective *tjáhppis* ‘black’ (cf. (283) above) is *tjáhpat*.

(291) *fáhntsa*            *lä*            *tjáhpat*  
*fáhntsa*            *lä*            *tjáhpat*  
 mitten\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS black\SG  
 ‘the mitten is black’ [pit090930a.062 (elic.)]

(292) *fáhntsa*            *lä*            *tjáhpada*  
*fáhntsa*            *lä*            *tjáhpada*  
 mitten\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS black-PL  
 ‘the mittens are black’ [pit090930a.063 (elic.)]

Morphologically, predicative adjectives are much like nouns because they inflect for number. In fact, many predicative adjectives inflect for number in ways that clearly align with the NOM.SG ~ NOM.PL inflectional marking of certain noun classes. The case could be made that they also inflect for case, although they are always in nominative case (cf. Section 14.1.4 on copula clauses). However, because no paradigmatic opposition to other case forms exists for predicative adjectives (they are only attested in the corpus as a nominative complement to a copula clause), I conclude that they only inflect for number.

Nonetheless, these are syntactically adjectives, as they head adjectival phrases and can be modified by adverbs of grade, such as *nav* ‘so’ as in (293).

(293) *buhtsu*            *lä*            *nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
*buhtsu*            *lä*            *nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
 reindeer\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS so fat\PL and beautiful\PL  
 ‘the reindeer are so fat and beautiful’ [pit080703.014]

Table 8.2 on page 132 lists a number of attributive adjectives and the corresponding predicative adjectives; the latter clearly align with noun classes in their number marking. The table is divided into subgroups of word forms (indicated by small Roman numerals) that feature the same morphological relationship between attributive and predicative adjectives.

## 8 Adjectivals

no.	attributive adjective	predicative adjectives		corresp. N-class	gloss
		number			
		SINGULAR	PLURAL		
i	tjáhpis	tjáhpat	tjáhpada	IVa	'black'
	rusjgis	russjgat	russjgada	IVa	'red'
ii	nievres	nävvre	nievre	II	'bad'
	vastes	vasste	vaste	II	'ugly'
	buosjes	buossje	buosje	II	'fearless'
	fávros	fávvro	fávro	Ic	'attractive'
iii	dájges	dájges	dájgesa	IVa	'cowardly'
	ávros	ávros	ávrosa	IVa	'nervous'
	vuoras	vuoras	vuorasa	IVa	'old'
	gujos	gujos	gudjosa	IVa	'frozen solid'
	luvas	luvas	luvvasa	IVa	'wet'
	nanos	nanos	nannosa	IVa	'sturdy'
iv	sádnes	sádnes	sádna	III	'true'
v	bivvalis	bivval	bivvala	IVa	'warm' (weather)
	buoragis	buorak	buoraga	IVa	'good'
vi	ånegis	ådne	åne	II	'short'
vii	jallga	jallgat	jallgada	IVa	'flat'
	njuallga	njuallgat	njuallgada	IVa	'straight'
	lágga	lieggas	læggasa	IVa	'warm'
	galbma	galmas	galbmasa	IVa	'cold'

Table 8.2: Some attributive and predicative adjective sets, including the noun class corresponding to the number marking pattern exhibited by the predicate adjective

As is evident from the examples in Table 8.2, the attributive forms and the predicative forms correspond in a variety of ways. These correspondence patterns are described here:

- i* The attributive form differs from the predicative form in the choice of stem allomorph concerning V1, consonant center, V2 and the final consonant. Number marking like class IVa nouns.
- ii* The attributive form and the plural predicative form have the same V1 and consonant center, as opposed to the singular predicative adjective; the attributive form has a stem final -s, while the predicative forms have an open final syllable. Number marking like class I and II nouns.

- iii** The attributive form and the singular predicative form are syncretic and have a stem-final *-s*, while the plural predicative form's stem is also identical, but marked for plural by a final *-a*. Number marking like class IVa nouns.
- iv** The attributive form and the singular predicative form are syncretic and have a stem-final *-s*, while the plural predicative form is marked by a final *-a* instead of the final *es* in the other forms. Only one example in the corpus; number marking like a class II noun.
- v** The bare stem in the singular predicative form, an additional final *-is* for the attributive form and *-a* for the plural predicative form. Number marking like class IVa nouns.
- vi** The singular and plural predicative forms differ only in the choice of stem allomorph (in the consonant center), while the attributive form is in the 'weak' grade (like predicative plural) but with a stem-final *gis*. Only one example in the corpus; number marking like a class II noun.
- vii** The predicative forms have a stem-final *-t* or *-s*, which is lacking in the attributive form. The plural predicative form is marked with a final *-a*. In the case of *galbma*, the attributive form and plural predicative form have the 'strong' stem form, as opposed to the singular predicative form, which is 'weak'. Number marking like class IVa nouns.

Despite the similarities with nouns described above, it is important to point out that there are a number of predicative adjectives which do *not* inflect for number. Moreover, this lack of number marking cannot be assigned to any specific noun class, particularly since noun classes with similar phonological forms exhibit clear number marking strategies. Examples of such predicative adjectives are presented in Table 8.4 on page 134.

The paradigms in Table 8.4 are divided into two sub-groupings, again based on the relationship between the attributive form and the predicative forms. They are summarized here:

- viii** The attributive form ends in *-a*, while the predicative form ends in *-e*.<sup>4</sup>
- ix** All forms are syncretic. The first two examples have a closed final syllable, while the last three examples have an open final syllable.

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. Section 8.6 for more details on *unna/unna* and *smáve/smáve*, the words for 'small'.

no.	attributive adjective	predicative adjective		gloss
		SINGULAR	PLURAL	
viii	tjábba	tjábbe	tjábbe	‘beautiful’
	guhka	guhke	guhke	‘long’
	unna	unne	(unne)	‘small’
	smáva	-	smáve	‘small’
ix	tjåskes	tjåskes	tjåskes	‘cold’ (weather)
	låjes	låjes	låjes	‘tame’
	gårå	gårå	gårå	‘bad’
	räkta	räkta	räkta	‘correct’
	buorre	buorre	buorre	‘good’

Table 8.4: Some attributive and predicative adjective sets for which the predicative adjective does not inflect for number

The variety evident in morphological correlations between the attributive and the predicative forms indicates that there is no regular form-to-function relationship between the two attributive and predicative forms. Therefore, on formal grounds, the attributive and predicative forms of these property words are assigned to different, though formally and semantically related, adjectival lexemes, as argued for in the following section (8.3).

### 8.3 A note on attributive and predicative adjectives

In the literature on Saami languages, a convention prevails by which predicative adjectives are treated as having more or less derivable attributive forms.<sup>5</sup> From a historical point of view, this may be reasonable, particularly if there was a point in the history of the Saami languages at which attributive forms were derived by adding *-s* and selecting the phonologically relevant stem allomorph, and thus the attributive forms were derivable from the predicate forms. For Pite Saami, however, there is no clear or consistent morphological relationship synchronically between attributive adjectives and the corresponding predicative adjectives, as shown above. This is particularly exemplified by the existence of more than one acceptable attributive form, (as pointed out in Section 8.1 for the adjective *guhkes* ~ *guhka* ‘long’), as well as by the existence of a number of predicative forms ending in *-s*, but attributive forms lacking *-s* (cf. pattern

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Sammallahti (1998: 71), Svonni (2009: 74-76;98) and Feist (2010: 179).

vii above). Due to cases like those illustrated by subgrouping *ix* in Table 8.4, it is not clear that it is sensible to claim that *all* adjectives have corresponding predicative adjectives that differ at all. Because of the wide variety of and the inconsistencies in morphological patterns between corresponding attributive and predicative adjectives, it is ultimately more elegant to analyze these two sets of adjectives simply as semantically and etymologically related – but not morphologically derivable – adjectives.

## 8.4 Comparatives and superlatives

The **comparative** and **superlative** (abbreviated here as ‘C/S’) forms of attributive and predicative adjectives are derived using suffixes. It seems that, morphosyntactically speaking, comparative and superlative forms can be derived from all adjectives, even when a semantic restriction could lexically prevent such forms from occurring; cf., e.g., *guäktegierdakap* ‘more pregnant’ (pit090927.07m01s).

The singular C/S predicative form is always syncretic with the C/S attributive form, and the plural C/S predicative form is always marked by a suffix consisting of a single vowel (mostly *-a*). In many cases, the stem to which a C/S suffix is attached is syncretic with the stem of the positive plural predicative form, but a number of exceptions exist.

Table 8.6 on page 136 provides some example paradigms. To help illustrate the morphophonemic relationship to positive forms, the singular predicative adjective form is also indicated. Furthermore, the paradigms are divided into subgroupings (each marked with a Roman numeral) based on suffix allomorph patterns. The third and fifth columns in Table 8.6 provide the singular predicative comparative and superlative adjectives, respectively, while the fourth and sixth columns only indicate the suffix used to mark the plural predicative comparative and superlative adjectives, respectively. The allomorphic alternations in the superlative suffix for subgroupings *iii* and *iv* are indicated by italics.

Comparative adjectives are derived in a relatively straightforward way: the suffix *-p*<sup>6</sup> is added to an adjective root. If the root has a closed final syllable, then an epenthetic vowel *-u-* is inserted between the root and the suffix. In predicative position, plural is always marked by a suffix consisting of a vowel; in most cases (groups *i*, *ii* and *iv*), the vowel is *-a*, but sometime it is *-o* (group *iii*). It is not clear what determines the choice of plural suffix for comparative forms. While all forms marked by *-o* in the corpus have a stem final *-s*, not all

<sup>6</sup>Note that, in the current working orthography, the comparative suffix *-p* is written *-b-* when intervocalic, such as in plural predicative forms.

## 8 Adjectivals

no.	positive	comparative		superlative		gloss
	PRED.SG	ATTR/PRED.SG	PRED.PL	ATTR/PRED.SG	PRED.PL	
i	nävvre	nievre-p	-a	nievre-mus	-a	'bad'
	ådne	åne-p	-a	åne-mus	-a	'short'
	guhke	guhke-p	-a	guhke-mus	-a	'long'
ii	tjábbe	tjábba-p	-a	tjábba-jmus	-a	'beautiful'
	vasste	vasste-p	-a	vasste-jmus	-a	'ugly'
	gårå	gårå-p	-a	gårå-jmus	-a	'bad'
	fávvro	fávvro-p	-a	fávvro-jmus	-a	'attractive'
iii	luvas	luvasu-p	-o	luvasu-mos	-bmus-a	'wet'
	garras	garrasu-p	-o	garrasu-mos	-bmus-a	'hard'
iv	nanos	nanosu-p	-a	nanosu-mos	-bmus-a	'strong'
	bivval	bivvalu-p	-a	bivvalu-mos	-bmus-a	'warm'
	tjáhpát	tjáhpádu-p	-a	tjáhpádu-mus	-bmus-a	'black'
	galmas	galbmasu-p	-a	galbmasu-mos	-bmus-a	'cold'
	vuoras	vuorasu-p	-a	vuorasu-mos	-bmus-a	'old'
	njuallgat	njuallgadu-p	-a	njuallgadu-mos	-bmus-a	'correct'

Table 8.6: Some comparative and superlative adjective paradigms

forms with a stem final *-s* are marked by *-o* (cf. *nanos* 'strong').

The superlative suffix has four allomorphs. For the attributive and the singular predicative forms, the allomorph *-mos* is chosen when the root has a closed final syllable, as in groups *iii* and *iv*. Roots with an open final syllable have either the superlative suffix allomorph *-mus* or *-jmus*; however, it is not clear what drives the selection of these latter two allomorphs.

The allomorph *-bmus-* occurs whenever the resulting form has an odd number of syllables, as is the case for roots with a final odd syllable in the plural predicative form. Essentially, the superlative suffix always forms the final foot of a word, and thus is the location for consonant gradation alternations. If a final, odd syllable is present (e.g., for the plural predicative form), then the *-bmus-* allomorph is chosen. Cf. Section 2.2.2 on prosodic domains and Section 4.2.1 on consonant gradation.

Examples for C/S adjectives in attributive position can be found in (294) and (295), respectively. Instances for predicative usage can be found in (300) and (301) in the Section 8.5.

- (294) *bivvalup* *dállke*  
*bivvalu-p* *dállke*  
 warm-COMP weather\NOM.SG  
 'warmer weather'

[pit090926.23m22s (elic.)]



- (295) *så dä lä vuorasumos saddje*  
*så dä lä vuorasu-mos saddje*  
 so then be\3SG.PRS old-SUPERL place\NOM.SG  
 ‘So then it’s the oldest place’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.123]

As with positive adjectives, C/S adjectives can occur in elliptic NPs, in which case they inflect for case and number (cf. Section 8.1.1). Examples are provided in (296) and (297). Note that in the second example, the superlative suffix allomorph is *-bmus* because the adjective has an odd number of syllables.

- (296) *mån uvadav tjábbabuv*  
*mån uvada-v tjábba-b-uv*  
 1SG.NOM kiss-1SG.PRS beautiful-COMP-ACC.SG  
 ‘I kiss the more beautiful one’ (referring to ‘beautiful girl’)  
 [pit090930a.166 (elic.)]

- (297) *buhtsu lin mälgedubmusin*  
*buhtsu li-n mälgedu-bmus-in*  
 reindeer\3PL.NOM be-3PL.PST far-SUPERL-INESS.SG  
 ‘the reindeer were farthest away’ (lit.: in the farthest one (place))  
 [pit090927.88m34s (elic.)]

## 8.5 Comparing NP referents

Predicative adjectives can be used to compare the referents of nominal phrases. If both referents are considered equal concerning the characteristic of comparison, then the NP of comparison is the subject of a copula predicate which is complemented by a construction using the numeral *akta* ‘one’ and the relevant predicative adjective, while the NP of reference is in the comitative case. An example is provided in (298). In such constructions, *akta* can be shortened to *akt*.

- (298) *Svenna lä akta vuoras Ingerijn*  
*Svenna lä akta vuoras Ingeri-jn*  
 Sven\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS one old\SG Inger-COM.SG  
 ‘Sven is as old as Inger’ (lit.: Sven is one old with Inger)  
 [pit110331b.135 (elic.)]

Alternatively, both referents can be included in the subject NP, as in (299).

- (299) *mâj lin akta vuorasa*  
*mâj li-n akta vuoras-a*  
 1DU.NOM be-1DU.PRS one old-PL  
 ‘we two are the same age’ (lit.: we are one old) [pit080621.65m00s]

When comparing two referents that are not considered equal, the NP of comparison is the subject of a copula predicate which is complemented by a comparative predicative adjective and the NP of reference in the elative case, as in (300).

- (300) *Inger lä stuorap várest*  
*Inger lä stuora-p váre-st*  
*Inger\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS big-COMP\SG mountain-ELAT.SG*  
 ‘Inger is bigger than a mountain’ [pit110331b.144 (elic.)]

To indicate that a referent is the most extreme concerning the characteristic of comparison (at least within the group being compared), the relevant NP is the subject of a copula predicate which is complemented by the superlative predicative adjective. The quantifier *gajk* ‘all’ can be added for emphasis,<sup>7</sup> as in (301).

- (301) *dát lä vanj dä gajk vuorasumos*  
*d-á-t lä vanj dä gajk vuorasu-mos*  
 DEM-PROX-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS probably then all old-SUPERL\SG  
*dágaduvvum*  
*dága-duvvu-m*  
 make-PASS-PRF  
 ‘This was probably the absolute oldest made’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.120]

## 8.6 Restrictions on *smáva* and *unna* ‘small’

The paradigms for the two Pite Saami words for ‘small’ provided in Table 8.4 do not sufficiently indicate the restrictions placed on these specific adjectives. The root *smáv-*, a North Germanic loan word, only modifies plural nouns, while *unn-*, the native word,<sup>8</sup> usually only modifies singular nouns. Since no other Pite Saami adjectives underlie such a restriction, while the Swedish adjective

<sup>7</sup>The construction *gajk vuorasumos* ‘absolute oldest’ in (301) is possibly a calque based on North Germanic; cf. Swedish *allra äldst* ‘absolute oldest. In both cases, the adverbial modifier is based on the word for ‘all’ and precedes the superlative adjective.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Sammallahti (1998: 265).

*smá* (cognate with the source of *smáv-*) is also restricted to modifying plural nouns,<sup>9</sup> it seems that this syntactic restriction was also borrowed. While a few examples exist in the corpus of *unn-* modifying a plural noun, *smáv-* is the preferred item and much more frequent in the corpus.<sup>10</sup> Examples are provided in (302) through (305).

- (302) *jå, månnå aj mujhtav gu liv unna*  
*jå månnå aj mujhta-v gu li-v unna*  
 yes 1SG.NOM also remember-1SG.PRS when be-1SG.PST small  
*mánátj*  
*máná-tj*  
 child-DIM\NOM.SG  
 ‘yes, I also remember when I was a small child’ [pit080924.632]
- (303) *benä lä unne*  
*benä lä unn-e*  
 dog\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS small\SG  
 ‘the dog is small’ [pit080819a.126 (elic.)]
- (304) *ber akta bällge, ja smáva gisstä, dá*  
*ber akta bällge ja smáva gisstä d-á*  
 only one thumb\NOM.SG and small glove\NOM.PL DEM-PROX\NOM.PL  
 ‘only one thumb, and small gloves, these here’  
 [pit080708\_Session08.031]
- (305) *bednaga lä smáve*  
*bednag-a lä smáve*  
 dog-NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS small\PL  
 ‘dogs are small’ [pit080819a.129 (elic.)]

In non-elicited tokens from the corpus, nouns modified by the adjective *unna* are always diminutive nouns, as in (302) above and in (306) and (307) below.

- (306) *dát lä dåpe sin, unna*  
*d-á-t lä dåpe sin unna*  
 DEM-PROX-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS house\GEN.SG in small  
*dåpátja sin*  
*dåpá-tj-a sin*  
 house-DIM-GEN.SG in  
 ‘this is in the house, in the little house’ [pit100310b.070]

<sup>9</sup>The Swedish adjective stem *lite-* is used for singular nouns.

<sup>10</sup>A corpus search (including elicitation sessions) resulted in 1 token of *unn-* and 10 tokens of *smáv-* modifying a plural noun (carried out on 12<sup>th</sup> November 2012).

- (307) *ja danne vuojdniv unna jånåtjav*  
*ja danne vuojdni-v unna jånå-tj-av*  
 and there see-1SG.PST small lingonberry-DIM-ACC.SG  
 ‘and I saw a little lingonberry there’ [pit100404.353]

## 8.7 Quantifiers

While **quantifiers** are semantically similar to numerals, formally they are adjectives. Quantifiers include<sup>11</sup> *edna* ‘many, much’, *gajk* ‘all’, *omasse* ‘all kinds of’, *fårt* ‘every’, *nagin* ‘some’, *såmes* ‘some’, *suhta* ‘some, several’ and *binna* ‘a bit, a little’. Some examples of quantifiers in attributive APs are provided in (308) through (312).

- (308) *vuojdna edna guhkajuolgagijd?*  
*vuojdna edna guhka-juolga-gi-jd*  
 see\2SG.PST many long-leg-NMLZ-ACC.PL  
 ‘did you see many long-leggers?’ (referring to moose) [pit080924.007]
- (309) *fårt bájjve mij båröjmä gulijd*  
*fårt bájjve mij bårö-jmä guli-jd*  
 every day\NOM.SG 1PL.NOM eat-1PL.PST fish-ACC.PL  
 ‘every day we ate fish’ [pit100310b.024]
- (310) *ja dä vállda nijbev ja tjuolast nagin rägijt*  
*ja dä vállda nijbe-v ja tjuolast nagin rägi-jt*  
 and then take\3SG.PRS knife-ACC.SG and cut\3SG.PRS some hole-ACC.PL  
 ‘and then one takes a knife and cuts some holes’ [pit100404.098]
- (311) *gajk almatja lä Árjepluoven*  
*gajk almatj-a lä Árjepluove-n*  
 all person-NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS Arjeplog-INESS.SG  
 ‘all people are in Arjeplog’ [pit100310b.132]
- (312) *muvne lä binna vuopta*  
*muvne lä binna vuopta*  
 1SG.INESS be\3SG.PRS little\_bit hair\NOM.PL  
 ‘I have a little hair’ [pit080926.02m05s (elic.)]

As with any attributive adjectives, quantifiers do not inflect for case or number, as evidenced by the examples above. Note, however, that *gajk* ‘all’ can optionally be marked for PLURAL in attributive position by adding the suffix *-a*, as shown in (313).

<sup>11</sup>Here, the attributive form is provided.

- (313) *mån vaddav gajka buhtsujda biebmov*  
*mån vadda-v gajk-a buhtsu-jda biebmo-v*  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS all-PL reindeer-ILL.PL food-ACC.SG  
 ‘I give all the reindeer food’ [pit110413b.173 (elic.)]

However, when a quantifier is in an elliptic NP, it inflects for case and number (as with other attributive adjectives). This is illustrated by *enabu* ‘more’ in (314), by *gajk* ‘all’ in (315), and by *nagin* ‘some’ in (316)

- (314) *galgav enabuv biejat?*  
*galga-v ena-b-uv bieja-t*  
 shall-1SG.PRS much-COMP-ACC.SG put-INF  
 ‘shall I put in more?’ [pit090519.156]

- (315) *mana tjasskit dajt åjviyd ja gajkajd*  
*mana tjasski-t d-a-jt åjvi-jd ja gajk-ajd*  
 go\2SG.IMP throw-INF DEM-DIST-ACC.PL head-ACC.PL and all-ACC.PL  
*duhku*  
*duhku*  
 over\_there  
 ‘go throw those heads and all that over there’ [pit080909.146]

- (316) *hållå naginav mav galgav hållåt*  
*hållå nagina-v ma-v galga-v hållå-t*  
 say\2SG.IMP some-ACC.SG REL-ACC.SG shall-1SG.PRS say-INF  
 ‘say something that I should say’ [pit100304.001]

The quantifier *aktak* ‘none, any’ is used to emphasize a negated clause. It seems to be composed of the numeral *akta* ‘one’ and the suffix *-k*, which is a nominalizer in other cases; however, as illustrated by the examples in (317) and (318), it heads an attributive AP and does not inflect for case and number, unless it is in an elliptic NP, as in (319). It is thus considered an adjective.

- (317) *muvne ij lä aktak vuopta*  
*muvne ij lä aktak vuopta*  
 1SG.INESS NEG\3SG.PRS be\CONNEG none hair\NOM.PL  
 ‘I don’t have any hair’ (i.e.: I don’t have a single hair.)  
 [pit080926.02m02s (elic.)]

- (318) *gu itij almatj dåbdå aktak almatjid*  
*gu itji-j almatj dåbdå aktak almatji-jd*  
 when NEG-3SG.PST person\NOM.SG know\CONNEG none person-ACC.PL  
 ‘if one didn’t know any people’ [pit080924.342]

- (319) *itjij*            *almatj*            *åbbå hålå*            *aktagav*  
*itji-j*            *almatj*            *åbbå hålå*            *aktag-av*  
 NEG-3SG.PST person\NOM.SG at\_all say\CONNEG none-ACC.SG  
 ‘one didn’t say anything at all’ [pit080924.354]

Concerning the status of corresponding predicative quantifiers, there is not enough data in the corpus to come to a certain conclusion. However, at least the attribute adjective *edna* ‘many, much’ corresponds to the predicative adjective form *ednak*; this is illustrated by (320) and (321). This indicates that attributive and predicative forms of quantifiers also differ in form, just as with other attributive and predicative adjective sets.

- (320) *bärrgo*            *lä*            *ednak.*  
*bärrgo*            *lä*            *ednak*  
 meat\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS much\SG  
 ‘There is much meat’ (lit.: meat is much) [pit090926.113 (*elic.*)]

- (321) *biergo*            *bijta*            *lä*            *ednaga*  
*biergo*            *bijta*            *lä*            *ednag-a*  
 meat\GEN.SG piece\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS much-PL  
 ‘There are many pieces of meat’ (lit.: meat pieces are many)  
 [pit090926.114 (*elic.*)]

## 8.8 Numerals

**Numerals** in Pite Saami form a closed class and a distinct sub-category of adjectives. Syntactically, they are adjectives because they head an adjectival phrase; however, morphologically, they differ from other adjectives by never inflecting (neither for number in predicative APs, nor for case and number in ellipsis constructions). Furthermore, numerals do not consist of attributive/predicative sets differing in form. Instead, numerals are consistent in form, regardless of being in attributive or predicative position.

Pite Saami numerals form a decimal system consisting of the basic numerals for the numbers one through ten, hundred and thousand. All other numerals are compounds based on these basic terms, with the exception of *nolla* ‘zero’. Sections 8.8.1 and 8.8.2 deal with basic and complex numerals, respectively, including ordinal and cardinal numerals.

### 8.8.1 Basic numerals

The basic numerals for the numbers one through ten in Pite Saami are reconstructable native Saamic numerals, and *tjuohte* ‘hundred’ is at least from Proto-Saami.<sup>12</sup> The numerals *nolla* ‘zero’ and *tuvsan* ‘thousand’ are likely more recent borrowings, although it is not entirely clear whether they are from North Germanic or Finnic.<sup>13</sup> These basic cardinal numerals are listed on the left side of Table 8.7.

	<i>cardinal</i>	<i>ordinal</i>	
0	nolla	-	
1	akkta	vuostas aktát	1 <sup>st</sup> <i>n</i> 1 <sup>st</sup>
2	guäkte	mubbe guoktát	2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>n</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup>
3	gålbmå	gålmát	( <i>n</i> )3 <sup>rd</sup>
4	nällje	nielját	( <i>n</i> )4 <sup>th</sup>
5	vihta	vidát	( <i>n</i> )5 <sup>th</sup>
6	guhta	gudát	( <i>n</i> )6 <sup>th</sup>
7	gietjav	giehtjet	( <i>n</i> )7 <sup>th</sup>
8	gaktse	gáktsát	( <i>n</i> )8 <sup>th</sup>
9	åktse	åktsát	( <i>n</i> )9 <sup>th</sup>
10	lågev	lågát	( <i>n</i> )10 <sup>th</sup>
100	tjuohte	?	100 <sup>th</sup>
1000	tuvsan	?	1000 <sup>th</sup>

Table 8.7: Cardinal and ordinal numerals

In general, ordinal numerals, which are listed on the right side of Table 8.7, can be derived from the corresponding cardinal numeral by replacing the second vowel and any final consonant with the suffix *-át*. In addition, the weak stem allomorph is selected and umlaut of V1 occurs, if applicable.<sup>14</sup> The ordinal numerals corresponding to *tjuohte* ‘hundred’ and *tuvsan* ‘thousand’ are not attested in the corpus.

<sup>12</sup>Sammallahti (1998: 234-235) indicates that *tjuohte* ‘hundred’ was originally a borrowing from Proto-Indo-European into Proto-Finno-Ugric.

<sup>13</sup>The entries for the numerals ‘zero’ and ‘thousand’ in *Álgu: Etymological database of the Saami languages* only provide etymologies for North Saami and Inari Saami; however, while Finnic is unquestionably a contact language for North Saami and Inari Saami, North Germanic is a recent contact language for Pite Saami, and therefore also a potential source for these two numerals; cf. Swedish *nolla* ‘zero’ and *tusan* ‘thousand’.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Section 4.2 on stem allomorphy.

However, there are exceptions. First, the ordinals *vuostas* ‘first’ and *mubbe* ‘second’ are suppletive forms compared to the corresponding cardinal numerals *akkta* ‘one’ and *guäkte* ‘two’.<sup>15</sup> These two ordinals are used exclusively for the single-digit numbers ‘first’ and ‘second’; any ordinal numeral referring to a number of two or more digits uses a form derived from the cardinal numeral, as described above. This is illustrated in Table 8.8.

1	<b>akkta</b>	→	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>vuostas</b>
11	akta-låg- <b>akkta</b>	→	11 <sup>th</sup>	akta-låg- <b>aktát</b>
21	guäkte-låg- <b>akkta</b>	→	21 <sup>st</sup>	guäkte-låg- <b>aktát</b>
2	<b>guäkte</b>	→	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>mubbe</b>
12	akta-låg- <b>guäkte</b>	→	12 <sup>th</sup>	akta-låg- <b>guoktát</b>
22	guäkte-låg- <b>guäkte</b>	→	22 <sup>nd</sup>	guäkte-låg- <b>guoktát</b>

Table 8.8: Suppletive and derived ordinal numerals

Second, the cardinal numeral *giehtjav* ‘seven’ differs in the final two segments from the ordinal numeral *gietjet* ‘seventh’ (i.e., *-av* and *-et*).

### 8.8.2 Complex numerals

Any numerals other than those listed in Table 8.7 are complex numerals formed by combining the basic numerals. Multiples of ten are composed of the relevant cardinal numeral followed by *lågev* ‘ten’; examples are provided in Figure 8.1.

<i>guäkte-lågev</i>	<i>gålbmå-lågev</i>	<i>nällje-lågev</i>	<i>etc.</i>
two-ten	three-ten	four-ten	
20	30	40	

Figure 8.1: Multiples of ten

Note that *lågev* is often shortened to *låg* in fast speech, as in (322).

- (322) ... *gokt lij*                      *dánne giehtjavlåg*    *jage*                      *manņus*  
           *gokt li-j*                      *dánne giehtjav-låg* *jage*                      *manņus*  
           how be-3SG.PST here    seven-ten    year-NOM.PL ago  
           ‘...how it was here seventy years ago’                      [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.001]

There are two ways to compose two-digit numerals that are not multiples of ten. One method appends the relevant numeral representing the ‘ones-digit’

<sup>15</sup>Note that *vuostas* ‘first’ and *mubbe* ‘second’ are also reconstructable to at least Proto-Saami (Sammallahti 1998: 257;268).



to the multiple of ten, while *lågev* ‘ten’ is shortened to *låg*; this is illustrated in Figure 8.2.

<i>akta-låg-akkta</i>	<i>gålbmålåg-guhta</i>	<i>åktse-låg-gakktse</i> etc.
one-ten-one	three-ten-six	nine-ten-eight
11	36	98

Figure 8.2: Two-digit numerals, method A

Examples of two-digit numerals from the corpus are found in (323) and (324).

- (323) *dä lij del tjuojgadam ja gåddam nälljalåkgakktse*  
*dä li-j del tjuojgada-m ja gådda-m nällja-låk-gakktse*  
 then be-3<sub>SG.PST</sub> then ski-PRF and slay-PRF four-ten-eight  
*stalpe sájtejna*  
*stalpe sájte-jna*  
 wolf-GEN.PL? spear-COM.SG  
 ‘then he skied and slew forty-eight wolves with a spear’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.088-089]

- (324) *sån lä gakktselåggiehtjav jage*  
*sån lä gakktse-låg-giehtjav jage*  
 3<sub>SG.NOM</sub> be\3<sub>SG.PRS</sub> eight-ten-seven year\NOM.PL  
 ‘she is eighty-seven years old’  
 [pit100310b.146]

Alternatively, complex numerals may be formed phrasally. According to this strategy, the ‘ones-digit’ precedes a postpositional phrase headed by the postposition *nanne*<sup>16</sup> ‘on’ with the multiple of ten as the dependent *låge* (in <sub>GEN.SG</sub> case), as illustrated in Figure 8.3. However, this latter method was only attested in elicitation sessions with one consultant, and is not found in non-elicited data from the corpus.

<i>guåkte låge nan</i>	<i>guhta gålbmålåge nan</i>	<i>gakktse åktse-låge nan</i> etc.
two ten\GEN.SG on	six three-ten\GEN.SG on	eight nine-ten\GEN.SG on
12	36	98

Figure 8.3: Two-digit numerals, method B

Native ordinal numerals referring to numbers between ten and one hundred are only attested in the corpus in elicitation sessions, and speakers are quite

<sup>16</sup>Note that *nanne* is often shortened to *nan* in rapid speech.

inconsistent and unsure about them. The same is true for cardinal numerals larger than one hundred. The only example in the corpus for a numeral larger than one thousand is not native, but a Swedish borrowing (in an NP with Pite Saami case and number marking); this is provided in (325).<sup>17</sup>

- (325) *nittonhundraátlan*                      *álgon*                      *ja* *dä*  
 nitton-hundra-tála-n                      álgo-n                      ja    dä  
 nineteen-hundred-century-INESS.SG beginning-INESS.SG and then  
*viesoj*  
 vieso-j  
 live-3SG.PST  
 ‘in the nineteen-hundreds, at the beginning, he lived’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.070-072]

### 8.8.3 Numerals and morphosyntax

Numerals are generally not subject to inflectional morphology, even in elliptic constructions and in predicative position. This is illustrated by the examples (322) through (324) above as well as in (326) through (329) below.

- (326) *ja* *dä* *lä*                      *njeljád* *aprilla* *uddne*  
 ja    dä    lä                      njelj-ád    aprilla    uddne  
 and then be\3SG.PRS four-ORD April    today  
 ‘and it is the fourth of April today’  
 [pit100404.018]
- (327) *så* *dä* *lä*                      *guäkte*  
 så    dä    lä                      guäkte  
 so then be\3PL.PRS two  
 ‘so then it’s two’  
 [pit080924.011]
- (328) *mån*    *vaddav*                      *gålbmå* *buhtsujda*                      *biebmov*  
 mån    vadda-v                      gålbmå    buhtsu-jda                      biebmov  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS three    reindeer-ILL.PL food-ACC.SG  
 ‘I give food to three reindeer’  
 [pit110413b.156 (elic.)]
- (329) *ja* *gålmat*    *sjadda*                      *dä* *Stutjaj*  
 ja    gål-m-át    sjadda                      dä    Stutja-j  
 and three-ORD become\3SG.PRS then Stutja-ILL.SG  
 ‘and the third (net) then goes to Stutja’  
 [pit090702.026-027]

<sup>17</sup>With the exception of the case/number suffix *-n*, the entire phrase *nittonhundraátlan* ‘in the nineteen-hundreds’ in (325) is borrowed from Swedish *nittonhundratalet* ‘the nineteen-hundreds’.

However, there are at least two exceptions. First, the numeral *akta* ‘one’, which inflects for ACC.SG case when modifying a noun, as illustrated by (330), as well as when it is in a headless elliptical construction, as in (331).<sup>18</sup>

(330) *åttjåjmen aktav guolev*  
 åttjå-jmen akta-v guole-v  
 get-1DU.PST one-ACC.SG fish-ACC.SG  
 ‘we got one fish’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.182]

(331) *men vuotjiv mån aktav*  
 men vuotji-v mån akta-v  
 but shoot-1SG.PST 1SG.NOM one-ACC.SG  
 ‘but I shot one’ [pit080924.008]

Second, the example in (332) indicates that at least the ordinal numeral *vuostas* ‘first’ can be inflected as a superlative as *vuostamos*, meaning ‘the very first’.

(332) *dieda, mån vuotjev vuostamos*  
 dieda mån vuotje-v vuosta-mos  
 know\2SG.PRS 1SG.NOM shoot-1SG.PST first-SUPERL  
*guhkajuolgagav*  
 guhka-juolga-ga-v  
 long-leg-NMLZ-ACC.SG  
 ‘you know, I shot my very first long-legger’ (referring to a moose)  
 [pit080924.079]

<sup>18</sup>With this in mind, the word *akta* forms a word-class of its own, strictly speaking.



# Chapter 9

## Verbs

**Verbs** in Pite Saami form an open class of words which are defined syntactically by their ability to head a verbal complex, as well as morphologically by inflecting for person, number, tense and mood. Verbs consist of a stem ( $\Sigma$ ) which is followed by a class marker and an inflectional suffix or suffixes, as illustrated in Figure 9.1.

$\Sigma$  + class-marker + mood/tense/person/number

Figure 9.1: The morphological structure of Pite Saami verbs

Verb stems can have up to five allomorphic forms throughout the verbal paradigm due to a complex combination of morphophonological alternations. Verbs form at least five inflectional classes. The inflectional suffixes are exponents for person, number, tense and/or mood. Pite Saami distinguishes three number categories (singular, dual and plural), two tense categories (present and past), and the three modal categories (indicative, imperative and potential).

The first section of this chapter (9.1) discusses the inflectional categories number, tense and mood, before Section 9.2 goes on to discuss non-finite verb forms which are used to express aspect and negation in analytical constructions. Passive voice is described briefly in Section 9.3. In Section 9.4, linear and non-linear morphological marking strategies are discussed in order to then posit inflectional classes for verbs in Section 9.5.

### 9.1 Inflectional categories for verbs

Finite verbs in Pite Saami agree in person and number with the subject of the clause, and for tense and mood, as described in the following sections.

### 9.1.1 Person and number

All finite verbs agree in number with the subject of the clause, and inflect for singular, dual or plural. Finite verbs in the indicative and the potential mood also agree in person. For instance, in (333), the finite verbs *minne* and *gillge* both agree with *da*, the 3<sub>PL</sub> subject; in (334), the finite verb *lijmen* agrees with the 1<sub>dual</sub> subject *männå ja Jåssjå*.

- (333) *ja dä da*                      *tjåhken minne*      *gu*      *gillge*  
*ja dä d-a*                      *tjåhken minne*      *gu*      *gillge*  
 and then DEM-DIST\NOM.PL together go\3<sub>PL</sub>.PRS when will\3<sub>PL</sub>.PRS  
*gåddålit nagan juhtusav*  
*gåddåli-t nagan juhtusa-v*  
 kill-INF some animal-ACC.SG  
 ‘and then they go together when they are going to kill some animal’  
 (‘they’ refers to wolves) [pit080703.047-048]
- (334) *männå ja Jåssjå,*      *lijmen*      *ulgon*      *sirijd*  
*männå ja Jåssjå*      *li-jmen*      *ulgon*      *siri-jd*  
 1<sub>SG</sub>.NOM and Josh\NOM.SG be-1<sub>DU</sub>.PST outside blueberry-ACC.PL  
*tjåggemin*  
*tjågge-min*  
 pick-PROG  
 ‘Josh and I were picking blueberries outside’ [pit100310b.032]

Note that there are a few examples in the corpus in which speakers do not consistently inflect for dual, but instead use the corresponding plural suffix.

The imperative is not marked for person, but distinguishes the three number categories singular, dual and plural. For example, in (335) the finite verb *tjaske* is inflected for the implied (2<sup>nd</sup> person) singular subject.

- (335) *tjaske*              *munje sobev*  
*tjaske*              *munje sobe-v*  
 throw\SG.IMP 1<sub>SG</sub>.ILL pole-ACC.SG  
 ‘Throw a ski-pole to me’ [pit100404.206]

### 9.1.2 Tense

For indicative clauses, verbs can inflect for present tense, as in (333), or past, as in (334). Verbs marked for present tense generally signify that a situation is true in the present, as in (336) below, or they express general truths, as in example (333) above (which indicates a general truth about wolves’ behavior). However,

present tense can also be used to indicate historical present, as in (337), or planned future situations, as in (338). It is therefore not strictly a *present* tense, and could be considered *non-past*. Nonetheless, the glossing standard ‘PRS’ is chosen to mark this, as it covers the most common implementation.

- (336) *dale lä bar bievadak mij sudda*  
*dale lä bar bievadak mij sudda*  
 now be\3SG.PRS only sunshine\NOM.SG which\NOM.SG melt\3SG.PRS  
*muahtagav*  
*muahtaga-v*  
 SNOW-ACC.SG  
 ‘now it’s only the sun which melts the snow’ [pit100405a.036]
- (337) *tjävlav valdav ja dä tjanáv virbmev*  
*tjävla-v valda-v ja dä tjaná-v virbme-v*  
 bobber-ACC.SG take-1SG.PRS and then tie-1SG.PRS net-ACC.SG  
*dan tjävvlaj ja háláv raddnaj...*  
*d-a-n tjävvla-j ja hálá-v raddna-j*  
 DEM-DIST-?ILL.SG bobber-ILL.SG and say-1SG.PRS friend-ILL.SG  
 ‘I take the bobber and then I tie the net to the bobber and I say to my friend...’ [pit090702.029]
- (338) *ja dä mañjel dä vuolga Västerásaj*  
*ja dä mañjel dä vuolga Västerása-j*  
 and then after\_that then drive\2SG.PRS Västerås-ILL.SG  
 ‘and then after that you’ll drive to Västerås’ [pit080924.677]

### 9.1.3 Mood

Pite Saami has three moods: indicative, imperative and potential. Indicative mood is by far the most common, and considered the default, unmarked mood, as it is not overtly expressed morphologically or syntactically. The following two sections deal with imperative and potential mood.

#### 9.1.3.1 Imperative mood

Verbs inflected for imperative mood indicate that the speaker is instructing or commanding the addressee to carry out the action referred to by the verb; the implied subject is always 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Verbs in the imperative are not marked for person, but do inflect for number (singular, dual and plural), as in (335) above as well as in (339) and (340) below; see Table 9.1 in Section 9.4.1 for the imperative number suffixes.

- (339) *nå, giehto      naginav      dan*  
*nå giehto      nagina-v      d-a-n*  
 well tell\SG.IMP something-ACC.SG DEM-DIST-GEN.SG  
*Luoddauvre      birra*  
*Luoddauvre      birra*  
 Luoddauvre\GEN.SG about  
 ‘well, say something about this ‘Luoddauvre’” [pit080924.314]
- (340) *dáhken    dal    dav*  
*dáhke-n    dal    d-a-v*  
 do-DU.IMP NOW DEM-DIST-ACC.SG  
 ‘do that now’ [pit101208.188 (elic.)]

The example in (341) below indicates that imperative can also be used as a kind performative speech-act.

- (341) *gijtov      ednet*  
*gijtov      edne-t*  
 thank-ACC.SG have-PL.IMP  
 ‘thank you all’ (lit.: have thank) [pit101208.290 (elic.)]

Note that Lehtiranta (1992: 150-155) includes a second imperative category in his verb paradigms that inflects for all three person categories and is marked by a stem-final *-u-*; Lehtiranta terms this ‘imperative II’. Lagercrantz (1926: 22) mentions ‘imperative II’ in passing as well, explaining that it is “less severe and more like a wish” (my translation), but only Lagercrantz includes examples for 2SG. The Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus does not have any tokens of such verbs, so future research is needed to determine the usage of such verbs in current usage.

For the construction of modal verbs, see Section 12.1.

### 9.1.3.2 Potential mood

Verbs can also be inflected for potential mood, indicating that the action referred to by the verb is likely to happen. Verbs in the potential mood are marked by a linearly segmentable morpheme *-tj-* followed by a person/number suffix.<sup>1</sup> Examples are provided in (342) through (344).

- (342) *nå háláv,      vuolgetjip    del*  
*nå háláv-v      vuolge-tji-p    del*  
 well say-1SG.PRS go-POT-1PL obviously  
 ‘well then I say we should obviously go’ [pit090702.013]

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Section 14.4 for syntactic aspects of clauses in the potential mood.



- (343) *nä, virtitjav nuollat*  
*nä virti-tja-v nuolla-t*  
 no must-POT-1SG undress-INF  
 ‘oh no, I’ll probably have to take off some clothes’ [pit090519.029]
- (344) *ikeb dat vuosjatja káfav*  
*ikeb d-a-t vuosja-tj-a káfa-v*  
 maybe DEM-DIST-NOM.SG prepare\_coffee-POT-3SG coffee-ACC.SG  
 ‘perhaps he’ll make some coffee’ [pit110404.270 (elic.)]

As the examples in (345) and (346) illustrate, the potential mood can be used as a friendly request.

- (345) *vuosjatja káfav*  
*vuosja-tj-a káfa-v*  
 prepare\_coffee-POT-2SG coffee-ACC.SG  
 ‘perhaps you could make some coffee’ [pit110404.267 (elic.)]
- (346) *gulatja dav mav mán háláv*  
*gula-tj-a d-a-v ma-v mán háláv*  
 hear-POT-2SG DEM-DIST-ACC.SG REL-ACC.SG 1SG.NOM say-1SG.PRS  
 ‘please hear what I am saying’ [pit110404.056 (elic.)]

The person/number suffixes for potential mood are homophonous with those used in present tense for Class V verbs (cf. Section 9.5.5); cf. Section 9.4.3 for a discussion of the status of verbs in the potential mood concerning inflectional and derivational morphology.

## 9.2 Non-finite verb forms and periphrastically marked categories

The verbal categories of aspect and negation are marked periphrastically in Pite Saami. These are described in Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2, respectively. While other non-finite verb forms also exist, these are not a core part of predication, but rather function as adjuncts to a clause.

### 9.2.1 Aspect

Pite Saami features two aspects, perfect and progressive, which are formed periphrastically using a combination of the auxiliary verb *árrot* ‘be’ and the relevant non-finite verb form. The perfect verb form is marked by the suffix *-m*

(glossed as PRF); the verb stem is in the strong grade when consonant gradation is relevant. Verbs in the perfect generally indicate that an action in the past still has relevancy in the present situation. For instance, in (347) the speaker is slaughtering a reindeer, and is now able to cut out the stomach because the esophagus has been knotted, preventing the stomach's contents from running out.

- (347) *men mån lev tjåjjev ruhtastemin ullgus,*  
 men mån le-v tjåjve-v ruhtaste-min ullgus  
 but 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS stomach-ACC.SG cut-PROG out  
*tjådågov lev tjadnam tjeboten*  
 tjådågo-v le-v tjadna-m tjebote-n  
 esophagus-ACC.SG be-1SG.PRS knot-PRF neck-INESS.SG  
 'but I am cutting out the stomach, I have knotted the esophagus in the  
 neck' [pit080909.054-055]

In (348), the speaker indicates that one can dip potatoes in fish fat only after one has fried the fat, thus melting it.

- (348) *gu lä dav bassam, dä máhta*  
 gu lä d-a-v bassa-m dä máhta  
 when be\2SG.PRS DEM-DIST\ACC.SG fry-PRF then can\2SG.PRS  
*pironijd budnjut*  
 pironi-jd budnju-t  
 potato-ACC.PL dip-INF  
 'once you have fried it, you can dip potatoes (in it)' [pit090702.088]

Finally, in (349), the perfect form of the verb *jábmet* 'die' is used to mark the state of being dead resulting from the event of dying as opposed to the present state of being alive.

- (349) *da lä jábmam, ber muv*  
 d-a lä jábma-m ber muv  
 DEM-DIST\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS die-PRF only 1SG.GEN  
*äddne'l viessomin dále*  
 äddne = 1 viesso-min dále  
 mother\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS live-PROG now  
 'they have died, only my mother is still living now' [pit100310b.145]

Verbs in the progressive indicate that an activity is on-going. The progressive verb form is marked by the suffix *-min* (glossed as PROG) appended to the verb stem, which is in the strong grade when consonant gradation is relevant. In (347) above, the speaker is in the middle of cutting out the stomach as he

utters the sentence. In (349), the speaker's mother is still living, as opposed to the deceased. The action expressed by a progressive verb does not have to be simultaneous with the moment of the utterance, as shown by the example in (334) on page 150, and presented below again in (350). Here, the speaker is describing a picture which was taken while picking blueberries.

- (350) *mánnå ja Jássjá, lijmen ulgon siriid*  
*mánnå ja Jássjá li-jmen ulgon siri-jd*  
 1 SG.NOM and Josh\NOM.SG be-1 DU.PST outside blueberry-ACC.PL  
*tjággemin*  
*tjágge-min*  
 pick-PROG  
 'Josh and I were picking blueberries outside' [pit100310b.032]

See also Section 14.1.5.2 on the syntactic structure of clauses with perfective and progressive verbs.

### 9.2.1.1 Progressive verb forms used adverbially

The progressive form of a verb can also be used in an adverbial function. For instance, *tjájbmamin* 'laughing' is used in (351) as a modal adverbial to indicate a simultaneous activity.

- (351) *tjájbmamin vádtsa*  
*tjájbma-min vádtsa*  
 laugh-PROG go\3 SG.PRS  
 'she goes while laughing' [pit110522.29m10s (elic.)]

### 9.2.2 Negation

Negation in Pite Saami is expressed periphrastically by a finite negation verb and a non-finite verb form. The inflectional behavior of the negation verb is presented in Section 9.5.8, while syntactic aspects of negation in Pite Saami are covered in more detail in Section 14.1.5.3; however, a brief description of negation is provided here.

As with any finite verb, the negation verb agrees in person and number with the subject of the sentence, and inflects for tense or mood. The complement verb occurs in a special non-finite verb form called the connegative (glossed as CONNEG). Examples for present, past and imperative forms are provided in (352) through (354).

- (352) *mån iv vasja lipsusijd ja*  
*mån i-v vasja lipsusi-jd ja*  
 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS feel\_like\CONNNEG rumen\_fat-ACC.PL and  
*daggarijd válldet dán muddon*  
*daggari-jd vállde-t d-á-n muddo-n*  
 SUCH-ACC.PL take-INF DEM-PROX-INNESS.SG time-INNESS.SG  
 ‘I don’t feel like taking the rumen fat and stuff at this time’  
 [pit080909.091]

- (353) *nå ittjij Henning dä skihpá, gu*  
*nå ittji-j Henning dä skihpá gu*  
 well NEG-3SG.PST Henning\NOM.SG then become\_sick\CONNNEG when  
*lij nåv gállum*  
*li-j nåv gállu-m*  
 be-3SG.PST SO freeze-PRF  
 ‘well Henning didn’t get sick after he had been freezing like that’  
 [pit090702.373]

- (354) *ele tsábme!*  
*ele tsábme*  
 NEG\SG.IMP hit\CONNNEG  
 ‘don’t hit!’ (said to a child) [sje20121009.11m27s (elic.)]

### 9.3 Passive voice

Verbs in the passive voice can be derived from other verbs by the derivational suffix *-duvv*. Note that the vowel immediately following this suffix is the class marking morpheme for Class IV verbs; cf. Section 9.5.4. Examples are provided in (355) through (357).

- (355) *dat huvvsa bidtjiduvvuj Nisest*  
*d-a-t huvvsa bidtji-duvvu-j Nise-st*  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG house\NOM.SG build-PASS-3SG.PST Nils-ELAT.SG  
 ‘that house was built by Nils’ [pit110522.33m03s (elic.)]

- (356) *ja dat*                      *lä*                      *etjaláhkaj dä dat*  
*ja d-a-t*                      *lä*                      *etjaláhkaj dä d-a-t*  
 and DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS different then DEM-DIST-NOM.SG  
*lij*                      *dal navte*                      *gárroduvvum*  
*lij*                      *dal navte*                      *gárro-duvvu-m*  
 be\3SG.PST now like\_that SEW-PASS-PRF  
 ‘and that is different as it has been sewn like that’  
[pit080708\_Session08.011]
- (357) *men dá*                      *buhtsu*                      *ij*                      *lä*  
*men d-á*                      *buhtsu*                      *ij*                      *lä*  
 but DEM-PROX\NOM.PL reindeer\NOM.PL neg\3PL.PRS be\CONNeg  
*mierkeduvvum*  
*mierke-duvvu-m*  
 mark-PASS-PRF  
 ‘but these reindeer have not been marked’  
[pit080703.030]

The data from the corpus concerning passive verbs is quite limited, but indicates that passive verbs can be finite verbs inflecting for tense, person and number, or non-finite forms, such as the perfect. However, due to a lack of data, it is not clear whether passives can be used for progressive aspect, or inflect for either imperative or potential mood.

That being said, these examples do make clear that the passive marker is restricted to main lexical verbs, and does not necessarily occur on the finite verb of a clause (as the examples with perfect passive participles attest). Passives are therefore not considered to be part of inflectional paradigms, but instead valency-decreasing verbal derivations. See also Section 11.2.5 in the chapter on derivational morphology, and Section 14.1.1.1 on syntactic aspects of clauses in the passive voice.

Note that Ruong (1945) includes other derivational suffixes producing passive verbs which are not attested in the corpus.

## 9.4 Morphological marking strategies on verbs

As shown in Section 9.1 above, finite verbs can be marked for the following four inflectional categories:

- agreement in person with the subject
- agreement in number with the subject
- tense

- mood

Just as with nouns, inflectional categories for verbs can be expressed by suffixes and by non-linear morphology, and frequently a combination of both. In the following, Section 9.4.1 focusses on inflectional suffixes, while Section 9.4.2 goes on to describe the behavior of non-linear morphology found in stem-vowel alternations (umlaut), stem-consonant alternations (consonant gradation), bisyllabic stem allomorphy and vowel harmony. The final section (9.5) then uses the various morphophonological inflectional patterns found across verb paradigms to posit five preliminary inflectional classes for verbs.

### 9.4.1 Inflectional suffixes for verbs

The portmanteau suffixes expressing agreement in person and number as well as tense or mood on finite verbs are listed in Table 9.1. The second suffix listed for 2<sub>DU.PRS</sub>, 2<sub>PL.PRS</sub>, <sub>DU</sub>.IMP and <sub>PL</sub>.IMP is used when the stem allomorph it occurs with is bisyllabic. Note that this table does not include the deviant person/number suffixes for Class IV verbs; see Section 9.5.4 for more. The suffixes for the non-finite infinitive, connegative and perfect verb forms are included here and in the following sections because they are common verb forms in the corpus and useful in recognizing patterns in verb paradigms. A number of other non-finite forms also exist (cf. e.g. progressive and gerundium), but are uncommon and not considered here.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	-v	-n	-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-	-bähten/-hpen	-behtit/-hpit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	-	-ba	-
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	-v	-jmen	-jme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-	-jden	-jde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	-j	-jga	-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-	-n/-hten	-t/-htet
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		-t	CONNEG	-
PRF		-m		

Table 9.1: Inflectional verb suffixes

#### 9.4.1.1 Verbal suffixes and syncretism

Several of the verbal inflectional suffixes, considered by themselves, are homophonous (ignoring the deviant person/number suffixes for Class IV verbs):

- *-v* for 1SG.PRS and 1SG.PST
- *-n* for 1DU.PRS, 3PL.PST and DU.IMP
- *-t* for INF and PL.IMP
- *no suffix* for 2SG.PRS, 3SG.PRS, 3PL.PRS, 2SG.PST, SG.IMP and CONNEG

Despite these similarities, only the morphology of 1DU.PRS and 3PL.PST verb forms is syncretic in all verb classes because in most cases homophonous suffixes combine with different morphological processes and/or with different class marking suffixes.

#### 9.4.2 Non-linear morphology in verbs

In addition to using the inflectional suffixes described above, inflectional categories for verbs can be marked by one or more of the following stem allomorphy strategies:<sup>2</sup>

- stem consonant alternations (consonant gradation)
- V1 vowel alternations (umlaut)
- V1 vowel raising when followed by a high/mid-high V2 vowel (vowel harmony)

Because 2SG.PRS, 3SG.PRS, 3PL.PRS, 2SG.PST, 3SG.PST, SG.IMP and CONNEG forms lack suffixes, verbs in these inflectional categories can only be marked by these essentially non-linear morphological marking strategies.

To illustrate this, the inflectional paradigm for the verb *buälldet* ‘ignite, burn’ is provided in Table 9.2 on page 160 and described here. Note that the vowel in V2 position (*a*, *e* and *i*) in all forms is the inflectional class marker for Class III verbs (cf. Section 9.5.3); thus the stem has five allomorphs: *buälld-*, *buälld-*, *buold-*, *bulld-* and *buld-*.<sup>3</sup> This reflects a consonant gradation pattern that alternates between strong *lld* and weak *ld*, and an umlaut pattern that alternates

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Section 4.2 on non-linear morphology.

<sup>3</sup>The examples used in this description of non-linear verb morphology is based on the current Pite Saami orthography, which is still a work in progress. Because the orthography is to a great extent phonemic, orthographic representations are sufficient for the current discussion.

tense/ mood	person	number		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	buold-a-v	bulld-e-n	buälld-e-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	buold-a	buälld-e-bähten	buälld-e-behtet
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bualld-a	buälld-e-ba	bulld-e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	bulld-i-v	buld-i-jmen	buld-i-jmä
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bulld-e	buld-i-jden	buld-i-jdä
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	buld-i-j	buld-i-jga	bulld-e-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	buold-e	buälld-e-n	?
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		buälld-e-t	CONNEG	buold-e
PRF		bualld-a-m		

Table 9.2: The inflectional paradigm for the verb *buälldet* ‘ignite, burn’

between *ua/uä* and *uo* in the vowel in V1 position (note that *ua* and *uä* are allophones of /ua/; cf. Section 3.2.1.9). Furthermore, the forms for 1<sub>DU.PRS</sub>, 3<sub>PL.PRS</sub> and all past forms are subject to vowel harmony; here, the vowel in V1 position is raised to *u* in the presence of a mid-high (*e*) or a high front (*i*) vowel in V2 position. Note, however, that this vowel harmony is morphologically selected by these slots in the paradigms; the *e* in V2 in other inflected forms does not trigger vowel harmony (cf. 2<sub>DU.PRS</sub> or *DU.IMP* forms).

In summary, the inflectional paradigm for *buälldet* ‘ignite, burn’ is characterized by consonant gradation, umlaut and vowel harmony in the stem, and the morphological environment determines which of these allomorphs is selected. For instance, as a result, the 1<sub>SG.PRS</sub> form *buoldav* is marked for person, number and tense/mood by the weak *buold-* stem (with the *-uo-* umlaut form) and the *-v* suffix simultaneously, and the 1<sub>PL.PST</sub> form *buldijmä* is marked by the weak *buld-* stem subjected to vowel harmony, and the *-jmä* suffix.

The pattern of non-linear inflectional marking throughout the paradigm for *buälldet* is illustrated in Table 9.3 on page 161. The patterns for consonant gradation and for umlaut in verb classes subject to these morphophonological strategies align seamlessly. However, the two verbal inflection classes subject to vowel harmony each has a unique vowel harmony pattern. Note that not all verbs or verb classes exhibit consonant gradation, umlaut and/or vowel harmony.



tense/ mood	person	number		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	uo+wk	VH+str	uä+str
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	uo+wk	uä+str	uä+str
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ua+str	uä+str	VH+str
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	VH+str	VH+wk	VH+wk
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	VH+str	VH+wk	VH+wk
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	VH+wk	VH+wk	VH+str
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	uo+wk	uä+str	?
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
	INF	uä+str	CONNeg	uo+wk
	PRF	ua+str		

Table 9.3: Non-linear morphological marking in the paradigm for the verb *buälldet* ‘ignite, burn’

#### 9.4.2.1 Consonant gradation patterns for verbs

The attested stem consonant alternation (consonant gradation) patterns in Pite Saami verbs are summarized in Table 9.4 on page 162. Here, *x*, *y* and *z* stand for different consonant segments. The examples provided show minimal pairs differing only in the choice of stem allomorph (the 3<sub>SG.PRS</sub> form vs. the 2<sub>SG.PRS</sub> form).

#### 9.4.2.2 Umlaut patterns for verbs

There are two attested umlaut patterns in the V1 vowel of a verb stem, as illustrated by Table 9.5 on page 162. While most verb paradigms exhibiting umlaut also have consonant gradation, there are a few examples that have umlaut but lack consonant gradation. Note that *ua* and *uä* are allophones of /ua/; cf. Section 3.2.1.9.

<i>C-grad pattern</i> strong : weak	<i>examples</i>		<i>gloss</i>
	strong	weak	
x : y	/p <sup>h</sup> ta/ <i>báhta</i>	/p <sup>o</sup> ta/ <i>báda</i>	‘come’
xx : x	/pa:lla/ <i>bálla</i>	/pa:la/ <i>bála</i>	‘dig’
xy : xy	/parrka/ <i>barrga</i>	/parka/ <i>barga</i>	‘work’
xy : x	/ma: <sup>h</sup> ta/ <i>máhta</i>	/ma: <sup>h</sup> ta/ <i>máhta</i>	‘be able to’
xy : y	/atna:/ <i>adná</i>	/ana:/ <i>aná</i>	‘have’
xyz : xz	/tʃa:jpma/ <i>tjájbma</i>	/tʃa:jma/ <i>tjájma</i>	‘laugh’
	3SG.PRS	2SG.PRS	

Table 9.4: Consonant gradation patterns for verbs

<i>pattern</i> A : B	<i>examples</i>		<i>gloss</i>
	A	B	
ε : e	/kε <sup>h</sup> tʃa/ <i>gáhtja</i>	/ketʃa/ <i>gietja</i>	‘look’
ua : o	/pua:l:ta/ <i>buallda</i>	/polta/ <i>buolda</i>	‘ignite, burn’
	3SG.PRS	2SG.PRS	

Table 9.5: Umlaut alternation patterns for verbs

#### 9.4.2.3 Vowel harmony patterns for verbs

Vowel harmony in verb forms refers to the raising of the vowel in V1 position triggered by the presence – in specific, class-dependent morphological slots – of a mid-high (*e*) or a high front (*i*) vowel in V2 position (regressive assimilation of place of articulation). There are six attested vowel harmony patterns in the V1 vowel of a verb stem from Class II or Class III, as illustrated by Table 9.6 on page 163.

The data from the corpus indicate that Class I and Class IV verbs do not exhibit vowel harmony, but there are no tokens of Class I or Class IV verbs with one of vowels listed in Table 9.6 in V1 position. Consequently, the data must be considered inconclusive concerning whether Class I and Class IV verbs are subject to vowel harmony, pending further study. On the other hand, it is quite

<i>pattern</i>		<i>examples</i>		
A	→ B	A	→ B	<i>gloss</i>
uä	→ u	buälldet	→ bullde	‘ignite’
á	→ i	tjájbmat	→ tjjibme	‘laugh’
á	→ ä	sávvat	→ sävve	‘wish’
a	→ i	barrgat	→ birrge	‘work’
a	→ e	adnet	→ edne	‘have’
å	→ u	bårråt	→ burre	‘eat’
		INF	→ 2SG.PST	

Table 9.6: Vowel harmony alternation patterns for verbs (Class II and III)

evident that Class V verbs are not affected by vowel harmony because the V2 vowel in Class V verbs is never subject to the allomorphic alternations which trigger vowel harmony in the V1 vowel.

It is not clear why *á* and *a* each have two different vowel harmony alternations (*i/ä* and *i/e*, respectively); these alternation patterns do not align with verb classes. Further research is needed to come to a better understanding of this vowel harmony.

### 9.4.3 The potential mood: inflection or derivation?

The potential mood<sup>4</sup> is not attested very often in the corpus, particularly outside elicitation settings, and was not considered in most elicitation sessions focussing on verb paradigms. As a result, the amount of data from the corpus available to inform a description of the inflectional behavior of the potential forms is quite limited. Nonetheless, the paradigm for the potential forms of the verb *gullat* ‘hear’ is provided in Table 9.7.

<i>mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
POT	1 <sup>st</sup>	gulatjav	gulatjen	gulatjep
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	gulatja	gulatjähpen	gulatjehpit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	gulatja	gulatjäba	gulatje

Table 9.7: Potential forms for the verb *gullat* ‘hear’

Under consideration of the potential forms presented in the verb paradigms in Lehtiranta (1992: 150-155) and in the examples in Lagercrantz (1926: 22-

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Section 9.1.3.2 for a general description, including examples, of the potential mood.

24), the paradigm of class marking suffixes and person/number suffixes used for potential verb forms is presented in Table 9.8. The stem allomorph of the verb is in the weak stage, when applicable.

<i>mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
POT	1 <sup>st</sup>	-a-v	-e-n	-e-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	-a	-ä-hpen	-e-hpit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	-a	-ä-ba	-e

Table 9.8: Class marking suffixes and person/number suffixes for potential verb forms

In the literature on Saami languages, potential mood is normally treated as an inflectional category,<sup>5</sup> and, for this reason as well as due to its seeming opposition to imperative or tense-marked forms, is treated as such in the present study.

However, there are three morphosyntactic aspects of potential mood verb forms which make its classification as an inflectional category potentially questionable. First, verbs in the potential mood feature a segmentally separable marker (-*tj*-), rather than being part of a portmanteau morpheme simultaneously indicating mood/tense, number and normally person as is the case for other tenses/moods. Second, the stem allomorph chosen in all potential forms is consistently the weak form, which is quite consistent with the morphosyntactic behavior of other derived verbs, while the mood and tense paradigms for non-derived verbs contain both strong and weak stem allomorphs. Finally, it is striking that the potential mood class marking suffixes and person/number suffixes (listed in Table 9.8) are homophonous with the class marking and present tense person/number suffixes for Class V verbs (cf. Table 9.21 on page 176).<sup>6</sup> In all of these three aspects, the potential forms of verbs are identical in behavior to a number of derivational verb forms (cf. Sections 11.2.1, 11.2.2 and 11.2.3), and unlike other tense/mood forms. At this point, the only morphological motivation to classify the potential mood as an inflectional category is its complementary distribution with other tense and imperative mood forms. This is summarized in Table 9.9 on page 165.

<sup>5</sup>Cf., e.g., Sammallahti (1998), Lehtiranta (1992), Lagercrantz (1926) and Feist (2010).

<sup>6</sup>Note that 3<sub>SG</sub> potential forms in Lehtiranta (1992) and Lagercrantz (1926) do not have a class marker or person/number suffix, which deviates from the 3<sub>SG.PRS</sub> forms of Class V verbs. On the other hand, all instances of 3<sub>SG</sub> potential forms in the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus are marked with -*a*, just like the 3<sub>SG.PRS</sub> forms of Class V verbs. Perhaps this 3<sub>SG</sub> potential marker is a recent change to the Pite Saami potential verb forms based on analogy to these present tense forms.

<i>features of potential forms</i>	<i>consistent with</i>	
	<i>inflection</i>	<i>derivation</i>
consistently linearly segmentable marker		✓
consistently occurs with weak $\Sigma$ -allomorph		✓
person/number marking like Class-V verbs		✓
complementary distribution with tense/imperative forms	✓	

Table 9.9: Features of potential verb forms characterized as typical for inflectional or derivational forms

With these facts in mind, potential forms could be analyzed as derived verb forms consisting of a lexical verbal root plus a verbalizer (the potential mood morpheme) followed by Class V inflectional suffixes. This possible analysis is illustrated in Figure 9.2, in which the form *gulatjav* ‘I will likely hear’ is parsed morphologically.

<i>gula</i>	-	<i>tj</i>	-	<i>a</i>	-	<i>v</i>
hear	-	POT	-	V	-	1SG
$\Sigma$	-	mood	-	class	-	person/number

Figure 9.2: The morphological structure of the verb form *gulatjav* ‘I will likely hear’

In such an analysis, potential verbs no longer stand in opposition to tense and imperative mood forms, but instead are subject to a semantic restriction to a non-past time, and are thus only marked for present (i.e., non-past) tense, and are marked according to the present tense slots of the inflectional paradigm for Class V verbs.

It should be pointed out that the corpus contains insufficient data concerning the potential forms of any verbs in Class V. This is relevant because Class V verbs have bisyllabic stems that, together with the potential marker, may trigger allomorphy in other person/number suffixes, in which case not all potential forms would follow the standard Class V paradigm. Such information would be essential in fully evaluating the analysis proposed above. Due mainly to this lack of truly conclusive data, I continue to follow the standard classification of the potential mood as an inflectional category for the means of the present study, but point out this potentially problematic analysis for Pite Saami as described above as a topic worthy of future study.

## 9.5 Inflectional classes for verbs

Verbs in Pite Saami can be grouped into inflectional classes based on recurring patterns across inflectional paradigms.<sup>7</sup> Each verb is marked by a class suffix which is attached directly after the verb stem and precedes inflectional suffixes (cf. Figure 9.1 on page 149). Membership in a specific verb class does not seem to be semantically motivated.

As described in the previous section, Pite Saami verb paradigms present complex combinations of linear morphology (inflectional suffixes) and non-linear morphology (consonant gradation, umlaut, vowel harmony), and consist of a minimum of 21 finite forms and several non-finite forms. This minimum includes 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms for singular, dual and plural in both present and past, as well as singular, dual and plural forms for imperative.<sup>8</sup> These are by far the most common forms in non-elicited data from the corpus. Furthermore, the three non-finite forms infinitive, connegative and perfect were also considered in determining inflectional classes. The non-elicited portions of the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus are simply too limited to even come close to providing complete paradigms for even a single verb, and so a majority of the verb forms composing the paradigms for the current study are from elicitation sessions in the corpus. Approximately 30 more or less complete verb paradigms were recorded, which provides sufficient data to posit five inflectional classes. However, the true extent and finer details of the morphophonological patterns found across verb paradigms in Pite Saami must be left to future study; it is possible that, with more research, more verb classes may result, or that the present classes may need revision. As a result, what follows must be considered of a preliminary nature.

There are four main criteria for positing the different verb classes:

- the regularity of the pattern of vowels occurring between the stem and inflectional suffixes (i.e., the class marking suffix)
- the number of syllables in the infinitive form
- the presence of deviant person/number suffixes relative to the other verb classes
- whether a verb is subject to vowel harmony triggered by certain inflectional positions, and which forms are subject to such vowel harmony

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<sup>7</sup>I am indebted to phonologist and Lule Saami scholar Bruce Morén-Duolljá for inspiring me to consider an approach to the data involving post-stem class marking morphology.

<sup>8</sup>Because of insufficient data concerning the potential forms of verbs, but also due to their regular predictability across classes (cf. Section 9.4.3), these were not considered in determining inflectional classes for verbs.

To summarize these differences, it is sufficient to look at the class suffix and the syllable count in the infinitive form, the regularity of person/number suffixes across classes, the presence of consonant gradation ('C-grad') and umlaut, and the presence/absence of vowel harmony, as illustrated in Table 9.10.

class	INFINITIVE		deviant agr. sx.	C-grad / umlaut	VH (pattern)
	class suffix	σ-count			
I	o	2		✓	
II	a/ä	2		✓	✓(A)
III	e	2		✓	✓(B)
IV	V	2	✓		
V	i	3			

Table 9.10: Summary of inflectional classes for verbs

Class I is the least complex class, and is therefore dealt with first in Section 9.5.1, while classes II, III, IV and V are described in Sections 9.5.2 through 9.5.5. Section 9.5.6 briefly discusses the possibility of the existence of other verb classes. The verb *árrot* 'be' and the negation verb are dealt with in Sections 9.5.7 and 9.5.8. The final section (9.5.9) provides a brief summary of the verb classes, including a table listing examples from each of the verb classes.

### 9.5.1 Class I

Verbs in Class I are relatively simple, and characterized as follows:

- a bisyllabic infinitive form
- the class marking suffix is consistently *-o*
- potentially subject to consonant gradation and umlaut, but not vowel harmony

The verb *viessot* 'live, feel' is provided in Table 9.11 on page 168 as an example. Other examples of Class I verbs include: *árrot* 'reside', *gárrot* 'sew', *gähtjtot* 'tell', *lávvtot* 'sing', and *sággot* 'drown'.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	vies-o-v	viess-o-n	viess-o-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	vies-o	viess-o-bähten	viess-o-behtit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	viess-o	viess-o-ba	viess-o
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	viess-o-v	vies-o-jmen	vies-o-jme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	viess-o	vies-o-jden	vies-o-jde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	vies-o-j	vies-o-jga	viess-o-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	vies-o	viess-o-n	viess-o-t
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		viess-o-t	CONNEG	vies-o
PRF		viess-o-m		

Table 9.11: The inflectional paradigm for the Class I verb *viessot* ‘live, feel’

Table 9.12 summarizes the gradation pattern and class suffixes for Class I verbs. Note that umlaut alternations align with consonant gradation alternations.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>					
		SG		DU		PL	
		<i>C-grad</i>	<i>Cl. sx.</i>	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>Cl. sx.</i>	<i>C-grad</i>	<i>Cl. sx.</i>
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	wk	o	str	o	str	o
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	o	str	o	str	o
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	str	o	str	o	str	o
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	str	o	wk	o	wk	o
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	str	o	wk	o	wk	o
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	wk	o	wk	o	str	o
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	o	str	o	str	o
	INF	str	o	CONNEG		wk	o
	PRF	str	o				

Table 9.12: Summary of Class I verb paradigm features

There are a number of verbs which seem to be marked by *-u* as a class marker in infinitive, such as *gävdnut* ‘exist’ and *pruvkut* ‘use; usually do’. While the data in the corpus is incomplete, such verbs likely pattern in essentially the same way as the verbs mentioned above marked by *-o*, only they are consistently marked with *-u* as the class marking suffix.



## 9.5.2 Class II

The characteristics of verbs in Class II are:

- a bisyllabic infinitive form with a class suffix *-a* or *-å*
- potentially subject to consonant gradation, umlaut and vowel harmony

For most inflected forms, the class marking suffix is consistent with the class marking suffix in the infinitive form; however, eight forms are assigned a specific class-marking vowel, as listed in Table 9.13.

<i>form</i>	<i>Cl. sx.</i>	<i>form</i>	<i>Cl. sx.</i>
3SG.PRS	-a	1DU.PRS	-e
1SG.PST	-i	2SG.PST	-e
3PL.PRS	-e	3PL.PST	-e
2DU.IMP	-e	2PL.IMP	-i

Table 9.13: Specific class marking suffixes for all Class II verbs

Class II verbs can further be divided into two sub-classes, based on the class marking suffix in the infinitive form: Class IIa is marked by *a*, while Class IIb is marked by *å*. On page 170, the verb *bassat* ‘wash’ is provided in Table 9.14 as an example for a Class IIa verb, and *bårråt* ‘eat’ for a Class IIb verb in Table 9.15.

Other examples of Class IIa verbs include: *juhkat* ‘drink’, *tjájbmat* ‘write’, *barrgat* ‘work’, *gullat* ‘hear’, *gåhtjat* ‘look’, and *sávvat* ‘wish’. The corpus only provides sufficient data for the Class IIb verb *bårråt*; the verbs *dåbbdåt* ‘recognize’, *gåpptjåt* ‘close’, *hållåt* ‘say’ and *låhkåt* ‘read’ are also likely candidates for Class IIb. Verbs in Class IIb all have *å* as the initial stem vowel while the class marking post-stem vowel is also *å*, just as the nouns in noun Class Id (also marked by *å*). It is not clear whether this vowel harmony is triggered by the initial or second *å*.

Table 9.16 on page 171 summarizes the gradation pattern, class suffixes and locations for vowel harmony for Class II verbs; here, *V* stands for the vowel which marks the infinitive form (*a* for Class IIa and *å* for Class IIb). Note that umlaut alternations align with consonant gradation alternations.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	bas-a-v	biss-i-n	bass-a-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bas-a	bass-a-bähten	bass-a-behtet
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bass-a	bass-a-ba	biss-e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	biss-i-v	bas-a-jmen	bas-a-jmä
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	biss-e	bas-a-jden	bas-a-jdä
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bas-a-j	bas-a-jga	biss-i-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bas-a	bass-e-n	bess-i-t
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		bass-a-t	CONNEG	bas-a
PRF		bass-a-m		

Table 9.14: The inflectional paradigm for the Class IIa verb *bassat* ‘wash’

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	bår-å-v	burr-e-n	bårr-å-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bår-å	bårr-å-bähtin	bårr-å-behtet
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bårr-a	bårr-å-ba	burr-e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	burr-e-v	bår-å-jmen	bår-å-jme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	burr-e	bår-å-jden	bår-å-jde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bår-å-j	bår-å-jga	burr-e-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bår-å	bårr-e-n	burr-i-t
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		bårr-å-t	CONNEG	bår-å
PRF		bårr-å-m		

Table 9.15: The inflectional paradigm for the Class IIb verb *bårråt* ‘eat’

tense/ mood	person	number								
		SG		DU		PL				
		C-grad	Cl. sx.	VH	C-grad	Cl. sx.	VH	C-grad	Cl. sx.	VH
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	wk	V		str	i	✓	str	V	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	V		str	V		str	V	
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	str	a		str	V		str	e	✓
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	str	i	✓	wk	V		wk	V	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	str	e	✓	wk	V		wk	i	
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	wk	V		wk	V		str	i	✓
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	V		str	e		str	i	✓
	INF	str	V		CONNEG			wk	V	
	PRF	str	V							

Table 9.16: Summary of Class II verb paradigm features

### 9.5.3 Class III

Verbs in Class III are characterized as follows:

- a bisyllabic infinitive form with a class suffix *-e*
- potentially subject to consonant gradation, umlaut and vowel harmony

Twelve forms are subject to vowel harmony (the same six as for Class II verbs, plus six more). The verb *bassat* ‘wash’ is provided in Table 9.17 as an example for a Class III verb. Other examples of Class III verbs include: *vádtset* ‘go’, *adnet* ‘have, possess’, *diehtet* ‘know’, *báhtet* ‘come’, *buálldet* ‘ignite, burn’, and *máhttet* ‘can’.

tense/ mood	person	number		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	bas-á-v	biss-i-n	bass-e-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bas-á	bass-e-báhten	bass-e-behtet
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bass-a	bass-e-ba	biss-e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	biss-i-v	bis-i-jmen	bis-i-jmä
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	biss-e	bis-i-jden	bis-i-jdä
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bis-i-j	bis-i-jga	biss-i-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bas-e	bass-e-n	biss-i-t
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		bass-e-t	CONNEG	bas-e
PRF		bass-a-m		

Table 9.17: The inflectional paradigm for the Class III verb *basset* ‘fry’

When the consonant center of a Class III stem consists of a single segment in the 1<sub>SG.PRS</sub> and 2<sub>SG.PRS</sub> forms and the V1 vowel is neither *á* nor *ua/uä/uo*, the class marking vowel is *á* instead of *a*, as illustrated by the verb *basset* in Table 9.17.

Table 9.18 on page 173 summarizes the gradation pattern, class suffixes and locations for vowel harmony for Class III verbs. Note that umlaut alternations align with consonant gradation alternations.

tense/ mood	person	number								
		SG			DU					
		C-grad	Cl. sx.	VH	C-grad	Cl. sx.	VH	C-grad	Cl. sx.	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	wk	a/á		str	i	✓	str	e	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	a/á		str	e		str	e	
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	str	a		str	e		str	e	✓
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	str	i	✓	wk	i	✓	wk	i	✓
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	str	e	✓	wk	i	✓	wk	i	✓
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	wk	i	✓	wk	i	✓	str	i	✓
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	wk	e		str	e		str	i	✓
	INF	str	e		CONNEG			wk	e	
	PRF	str	a							

Table 9.18: Summary of Class III verb paradigm features

### 9.5.4 Class IV

Class IV verbs are characterized by:

- a bisyllabic infinitive form
- no allomorphic variation within a paradigm for the stem and class marker
- deviant person/number suffixes with a *-j-* element

The stem and the class marking suffix are consistent in all forms throughout a paradigm, i.e., there is no allomorphy in the stem or class marker. The person/number suffixes for 3<sub>SG</sub>.PRS, 1<sub>DU</sub>.PRS, 3<sub>PL</sub>.PRS, 1<sub>SG</sub>.PST, 2<sub>SG</sub>.PST and 3<sub>PL</sub>.PST deviate from the corresponding person/number suffixes in other verb classes in featuring an initial *-j-* element. A nearly complete paradigm for the verb *välldut* ‘marry’ is provided in Table 9.19.

<i>tense/ mood person</i>		<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	välld-u-v	välld-u-jin	välld-u-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	välld-u	välld-u-bähten	välld-u-behtit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	välld-u-ja	välld-u-ba	välld-u-je
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	välld-u-jiv	välld-u-jmen	välld-u-jme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	välld-u-je	välld-u-jden	välld-u-jde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	välld-u-j	välld-u-jga	välld-u-jin
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	?	?	?
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF		välld-u-t	CONNEG	välld-u
PRF		välld-u-m		

Table 9.19: The inflectional paradigm for the Class IV verb *välldut* ‘marry’

However, the data in the corpus are not nearly sufficient to provide much more than the paradigm in Table 9.19. Class IV is likely a relatively small class of verbs; other potential candidates are *árrat*<sup>9</sup> ‘fall asleep’, *ádnót* ‘request’ and *tjerrot* ‘cry’. Lehtiranta (1992: 154) includes a paradigm for *tjerrot*, which appears to pattern like *välldut*.<sup>10</sup> The class marking vowel in the infinitive form is not restricted to the *-u-* indicated in Table 9.19.

<sup>9</sup>The verb *árrat* ‘fall asleep’ should not be confused with the Class III verb *árrét* ‘sleep’.

<sup>10</sup>But even the paradigm in Lehtiranta (1992: 154) for *tjerrot* is marked by inconsistent forms across dialects; Furthermore, one of my main consultants from the northern side of the Pite Saami territory stated that her dialect does not use the lexeme *tjerrot*, but instead *vállut* ‘cry’.

Table 9.20 summarizes the preliminary class suffix pattern for Class IV verbs, as well as the presence of a person/number suffix which deviates from the corresponding person/number suffixes in other verb classes (abbreviated as *dev. agr. sx.* for ‘deviant agreement suffix’ in the table) This is based on the paradigm for *válldut* in Table 9.19 and the paradigm for *tjerrot* provided in Lehtiranta (1992: 154).<sup>11</sup>

tense/ mood	person	number					
		SG		DU		PL	
		Cl. sx.	dev. agr. sx.	Cl. sx.	dev. agr. sx.	Cl. sx.	dev. agr. sx.
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	V		V	✓	V	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	V		V		V	
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	V	✓	V		V	✓
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	V	✓	V		V	
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	V	✓	V		V	
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	V		V		V	✓
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	?	?	?	?	?	?
	INF	V		CONNEG		V	
	PRF	V					

Table 9.20: Preliminary summary of Class IV verb paradigm features

### 9.5.5 Class V

Verbs in Class V are characterized by

- a trisyllabic infinitive form with the class marking suffix *-i*
- absence of consonant gradation, umlaut and vowel harmony.

Many Class V verbs are derived verbs based on a bisyllabic verb (cf. *gullat* ‘hear’ and *gulladit* ‘be in touch’ (lit.: let someone hear from you)).<sup>12</sup> The paradigm in Table 9.21 on page 176 provides an example for the verb *ságastit* ‘speak’; other Class V verbs include *bargatjit* ‘work a little’, *gatjadit* ‘ask’, *gullalit* ‘listen’, *málestit* ‘cook, boil’, *gávnadit* ‘meet’ and *leradit* ‘teach’. Table 9.22 on page 176 summarizes the gradation pattern and class suffixes for Class V verbs.

<sup>11</sup>Note the difference in orthographic forms between those used here, with *tjerrot* for the infinitive form, and the forms used in Lehtiranta (1992), with *tjier'rut* for the infinitive form.

<sup>12</sup>Because many derived verbs are in Class V, the semantic aspects accompanying the relevant derivational suffixes align in Class V, but their membership in Class V is due to their (morpho-)phonemic structure, not their semantics. Cf. Section 11.2 on verbal derivation.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	ságast-a-v	ságast-e-n	ságast-e-p
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	ságast-a	ságast-ä-hpen	ságast-e-hpit
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ságast-a	ságast-ä-ba	ságast-e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	ságast-i-jiv	ságast-i-jmen	ságast-i-jme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	ságast-i-je	ságast-i-jden	ságast-i-jde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ságast-i-j	ságast-i-jga	ságast-e-n
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	ságast-e	ságast-ä-hten	ságast-ä-htet
<i>other non-finite verb forms:</i>				
INF	ságast-i-t		CONNeg	ságast-e
PRF	ságast-a-m			

Table 9.21: The inflectional paradigm for the Class V verb *ságastit* ‘speak’

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG <i>Cl. sx.</i>	DU <i>Cl. sx.</i>	PL <i>Cl. sx.</i>
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	a	e	e
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	a	ä	e
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	a	ä	e
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	i	i	i
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	i	i	i
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	i	i	e
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	e	ä	ä
	INF	i	CONNeg	e
	PRF	a		

Table 9.22: Summary of Class V verb paradigm features (only class suffix)



### 9.5.6 Other possible verb classes

The data in the corpus are unfortunately not sufficient to be entirely confident concerning the five inflectional classes for verbs proposed here. With this in mind, the data concerning several verbs seems unusual, but also contradictory and inconsistent. Specifically, limited data on the verbs *årret* ‘sleep’, *årrat* ‘fall asleep’ and *ádnót* ‘request’ exists in the corpus indicating that these may belong to Class IV or some subset of Class IV verbs. Furthermore, a number of verbs with bisyllabic infinitive forms marked by *-i-* as a post-stem class-marking suffix exist in the data from the wordlist; however, in many cases, it seems that these verbs in fact belong to Class III, and the *-i-* class marker is simply an inconsistent spelling of *e*, as the realizations of /i/ and /e/ in unstressed syllables are more centralized, and thus easily confusable, particularly when applying what are otherwise Swedish graphemes representing more distinctly front Swedish vowels. For instance, the verb *virrtit* ‘must’ should perhaps be spelled *virrtet* and likely belongs to Class III. More data on this and other bisyllabic verbs with the *-i-* spelling need to be gathered to determine whether another inflectional class exists, or if these are only subclasses for Class IV and perhaps Class I, II or III.

### 9.5.7 The verb *årrot* ‘be’

The verb *årrot* ‘be’ can be used as a copula (cf. Section 14.1.4) or as an auxiliary (cf. Section 14.1.5.2); its paradigm is presented in Table 9.23.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	lev	lin	lep
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	lä/’l	lähpen	lehpét
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	lä/’l	lähpa	lea/’l
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	lidjiv	lijmen	lijme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	lidje	lijden	lijde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	lij	lijga	lidjen
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	?	?	?
<i>other nonfinite verb forms:</i>				
INF		årrot	CONNÉG	lä
PRF		urrum/lam		

Table 9.23: The inflectional paradigm for the verb *årrot* ‘be’

It is an unusual verb in a number of ways:

- It is suppletive, featuring the two stems *árr-* and *l-*.
- Many of the *l-* stem forms are monosyllabic.
- The 2SG.PRS, 3SG.PRS and 3PL.PRS forms can be shortened to *’l* and encliticized onto the preceding word of an utterance if the preceding word has an open final syllable, as in (358).

(358) *duvne’l*                      *aj* ‘*svála*’                      *båkså*  
 duvne=l                      aj svála                      båkså  
 2SG.INESS = be\3PL.PRS also arctic\_fox\GEN.SG pant\NOM.PL  
 ‘you also have *Fjällräven*<sup>13</sup> pants on’                      [pit090519.073]

- The 1SG.PST form *lidjiv* is often shortened to *lijiv*, and the 3PL.PST form *lidjin* is often shortened to *lin*.
- The infinitive and perfect forms are the only forms in this basic paradigm which use the *árr-* stem, which is homophonous (and cognate) with the verb *árr-* ‘reside, live’.
- Finally, the verb *árr-* ‘be’ is unique in having a contracted connegative and perfect form: *lam* ‘be-PRF\CONNNEG’ is a shortened form of *lä* ‘be\CONNNEG’ and *urrum* ‘be-PRF’, and is thus only used in conjunction with the verb of negation, as illustrated by the example in (359).

(359) *men iv*                      *lam*                      *dä männå del*  
 men i-v                      l-am                      dä männå del  
 but NEG-1SG.PRS be-PRF\CONNNEG then 1SG.NOM then  
*skålån*                      *giesen*  
 skålå-n                      giese-n  
 school-INESS.SG summer-INESS.SG  
 ‘but I haven’t been in school during the summer’ [pit080924.622]

### 9.5.8 The negation verb

The negation verb is unique because it only exists as a finite verb; there are no non-finite forms. Table 9.24 on page 179 presents the paradigm for the negation verb. Concerning the imperative forms, both forms indicated for each number slot are attested in the corpus.

<sup>13</sup>*Fjällräven* refers to a Swedish clothing company named after ‘the arctic fox’ (lat.: *Vulpes lagopus*); in (358), the speaker literally translates the company’s name into Pite Saami.

<i>tense/ mood</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>number</i>		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1 <sup>st</sup>	iv	en	ep
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	i	ehpen	ehpet
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ij	eba	eh
PST	1 <sup>st</sup>	ittjiv	ettjijmen	ittjijme
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	ittje	ettjijden	ittjijde
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ittjij	ettjijga	ittjin
IMP	2 <sup>nd</sup>	ele/ilu	ellen/illun	ellet/illut

Table 9.24: The inflectional paradigm for the negation verb

### 9.5.9 Summary of verb classes

Table 9.25 on page 180 is provided to facilitate a cross-class comparison of paradigms with examples from the various inflectional classes for verbs, as well as the verb *ârrot* ‘be’ and the negation verb. While the whole paradigm for each word is not listed due to a lack of space, the forms for *INF*, *2SG.PRS*, *3SG.PRS*, *2SG.PST*, *3SG.PST* and *CONNNEG* are sufficient to convey the relevant morphological differences between the classes.

<i>class</i>	INF	2SG.PRS	3SG.PRS	2SG.PST	3SG.PST	CONNEG	<i>gloss</i>
I	viess-o-t	vies-o	viess-o	viess-o	vies-o-j	vies-o	'live, feel'
	årr-o-t	år-o	årr-o	årr-o	år-o-j	år-o	'live, reside'
	gårr-o-t	går-o	gårr-o	gårr-o	går-o-j	går-o	'sew'
II a	tjåjbm-a-t	tjåjm-a	tjåjbm-a	tjijbm-e	tjåjm-a-j	tjåjm-a	'laugh'
	gåhtj-a-t	gietj-a	gåhtj-a	gihjtj-e	gietj-a-j	gietj-a	'look'
	bass-a-t	bas-a	bass-a	biss-e	bas-a-j	bas-a	'wash'
	bårr-å-t	bår-å	bårr-a	burr-e	bår-å-j	bår-å	'eat'
	bass-e-t	bas-å	bass-a	biss-e	bis-i-j	bas-e	'fry'
III	buålld-e-t	buold-a	buålld-a	bulld-e	buld-i-j	buold-e	'ignite, burn'
	adn-e-t	an-å	adn-a	edn-e	en-i-j	an-e	'have'
	vådts-e-t	våts-a	vådts-a	vådts-e	våts-i-j	våts-e	'go'
IV	vålld-u-t	vålld-u	vålld-u-ja	vålld-u-je	vålld-u-j	vålld-u	'marry'
V	sågst-i-t	sågst-a	sågst-a	sågst-e	sågst-i-j	sågst-e	'say'
	målest-i-t	målest-a	målest-a	målest-e	målest-i-j	målest-e	'cook, boil'
	bargatj-i-t	bargatj-a	bargatj-a	bargatj-e	bargatj-i-j	bargatj-e	'work a little'
cop.	årrot	lä	lä	lidje	lij	lä	'be'
neg.	-	i	ij	ittje	ittij	-	'NEG'

Table 9.25: Comparison of verb class examples

# Chapter 10

## Other Word Classes

This chapter describes the word classes:

- adverbs in Section 10.1
- adpositions in Section 10.2
- conjunctions in Section 10.3
- interjections in Section 10.4

The information provided here is of a preliminary nature due to limited data in the corpus, and stands to gain much from future research.

### 10.1 Adverbs

**Adverbs** compose an open word class and are defined by their ability to head an adverbial phrase; they can be further divided into two main groups:

- derived adverbs
- lexical adverbs

Section 10.1.1 deals with the former, while Section 10.1.2 deals with the latter.

#### 10.1.1 Derived adverbs

The data in the corpus is very limited concerning derived adverbs, but at least one derivational affix seems to exist which derives an adverb from an adjective: the suffix *-git*, as illustrated by Table 10.1 on page 182; this adverbializing suffix triggers the weak consonant grade, when applicable. Two examples from the corpus are provided in (360) and (361) below.

ATTR <i>adjective</i>	→	<i>adverb</i>		<i>gloss</i>
várogis	→	várogit		‘careful(ly)’
buorre	→	buoragit		‘good/well’

Table 10.1: Derived adverbs and their adjectival roots

- (360) *dån virte várogit válldet*  
*dån virte várog-it vállde-t*  
 2SG.NOM must\2SG.PRS careful-ADVZ take-INF  
 ‘you have to take it carefully’ [pit080909.062]
- (361) *viesojmä vanj ganska buoragit dajna*  
*vieso-jmä vanj ganska<sup>1</sup> buorag-it d-a-jna*  
 live-1PL.PST definitely quite good-ADVZ DEM-DIST-COM.SG  
*guollemijn aj*  
*guollemi-jn aj*  
 fishing-COM.SG also  
 ‘we definitely lived pretty well with the fishing, too’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.164]

### 10.1.2 Lexical adverbs

A group of lexical items exclusively used as adverbs in Pite Saami forms a subset of adverbs. A list of some lexical adverbs is provided in Table 10.2<sup>2</sup> on page 183. Examples containing the sentence adverbs *ber* ‘only’, *kan* ‘maybe’, *aj* ‘too’ and *vanj* ‘definitely’ are provided in (362) through (365).

- (362) *buhtsu mielkest ijten ber vuostajt*  
*buhtsu mielke-st ittj-in ber vuosta-jt*  
 reindeer\GEN.SG milk-ELAT.SG NEG-3PL.PST only cheese-ACC.PL  
*dága*  
*dága*  
 make\CONNEG  
 ‘they didn’t only make cheese from reindeer milk’  
 [pit080708\_Session03.001]

<sup>1</sup>Note that *ganska* is a nonce borrowing from Swedish; cf. Sw. *ganska* ‘quite’.

<sup>2</sup>The adverbs *ber* ~ *bar*, *kan* and *så* are Swedish loans; cf. Swedish *bara* ‘only’, *kanske* ‘maybe’ and *så* ‘so’.

<i>lexical adverb</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>aj</i>	‘also, too’
<i>ber ~ bar</i>	‘only’
<i>del</i>	‘obviously’
<i>dä</i>	‘then’
<i>gal</i>	‘actually’
<i>ihkep</i>	‘maybe’
<i>ilá</i>	‘too’
<i>kan</i>	‘maybe’
<i>mudiŋ</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>sá</i>	‘so’
<i>vanj</i>	‘really’
<i>åbbå</i>	‘quite’

Table 10.2: A selection of lexical adverbs

- (363) *kan Edde diehta*  
 kan Edde diehta  
 maybe Edgar\NOM.SG know\3SG.PRS  
 ‘maybe Edgar knows’ [pit090519.355]
- (364) *ja dä bedja dun nubbe bielen aj*  
 ja dä bedja d-u-n nubbe biele-n aj  
 and then put\3SG.PRS DEM-RMT-INNESS.SG other side-INNESS.SG also  
*risijd*  
 risi-jd  
 twig-ACC.PL  
 ‘and then one puts twigs on the other side, too’ [pit100404.228]
- (365) *gajk vuorasumos saddje'l vanj*  
 gajk vuoras-umos saddje=l vanj  
 all old-SUPERL place\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS definitely  
*dát urrum dulutjist*  
 d-á-t urru-m dulutji-st  
 DEM-PROX-NOM.SG be-PRF old\_days-ELAT.SG  
 ‘this was definitely the absolute oldest place from the old days’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.059]

A further lexical adverb is *gal* ‘actually’, which can be used to emphasize a contradiction or surprise, as in (366). The interjection *nä* ‘no’, a borrowing

from Swedish,<sup>3</sup> is also used in this example, in addition to the native Saamic negation verb.

- (366) A: *udtju*                      *sáme*                      *gielav*                      *danne*  
           *udtju*                      *sáme*                      *giela-v*                      *danne*  
           be\_allowed\2SG.PST Saami\GEN.SG language-ACC.SG there  
           *sagastit?*  
           *sagasti-t*  
           speak-INF  
           ‘were you allowed to speak the Saami language there?’

- B: *nä, ij*                      *gal,*                      *ittjiv*                      *åtjo*  
       *nä ij*                      *gal*                      *i-ttjiv*                      *åtjo*  
       no NEG\3SG.PRS actually NEG-1SG.PST be\_allowed\CONNEG  
       ‘no, actually no, I wasn’t allowed to’                      [pit080924.351-352]

In (367), the adverb *ilá* ‘too’ modifies the adjective *nuora* ‘young’.

- (367) *ilá nuora*    *lijme*  
           *ilá nuora*    *li-jme*  
           too young\PL be-1PL.PST  
           ‘we were too young’                      [pit080924.437]

### 10.1.2.1 The question marker *gu* ~ *gus*

In several Saami languages, including closely related Lule Saami, a grammatical unit typically referred to in the literature as a ‘question particle’ is used to mark polar interrogative clauses.<sup>4</sup> For Pite Saami, Lagercrantz (1926: 20-21) indicates that Pite Saami also has a question marker *gu* identifying polar interrogatives, although he shows that it is not obligatory.<sup>5</sup> In the entire Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus, there are only three clear tokens of a polar interrogative with the question marker, and even then, the marker has two forms: *gu* and *gus*. These tokens are provided in examples (368)<sup>6</sup> through (370).

<sup>3</sup> < Sv. *nej* ‘no’; cf. local dialect pronunciation [ne:].

<sup>4</sup>Cf. North Saami *-go* (cf. Svonni 2009: 90) and Lule Saami *-ga/-k/-ge* (cf. Spiik 1989: 94-94), which are cognate with Pite Saami *gu* ~ *gus*. According to Sammallahti (1998: 245), the question marker was originally borrowed from Finnish. Skolt Saami also has a question marker *-a* (cf. Feist 2010: 319-320), which is not cognate.

<sup>5</sup>Lagercrantz (1926: 21) notes that polar questions often are only marked by being verb-initial, so even in 1921 (when he conducted fieldwork for his book) the question marker was not obligatory in Pite Saami.

<sup>6</sup>Note that the question marker in example (368) was recorded unintentionally in an elicitation session concerning a different topic.



- (368) *lä gu nällgomin?*  
*lä gu nällgo-min*  
 be\2SG.PRS Q hunger-PROG  
 ‘are you hungry?’ (lit.: are you hungering) [pit110518a.18m36s (elic.)]
- (369) *aná gus dân naginav, mujtojt?*  
*aná gus dân nagina-v mujt-o-jt*  
 have\2SG.PRS Q 2SG.NOM something-ACC.SG remember-NMLZ1-ACC.PL  
 ‘do you have something, memories?’ [pit090702.483]
- (370) *nå juga gu guäsmagav?*  
*nå juga gu guäsmaga-v*  
 well drink\2SG.PRS Q coffee-ACC.SG  
 ‘well, do you drink coffee?’ [sje20130530b.015]

Based on this lack of data, and on the description provided in Lagercrantz (1926), one can only conclude that the question marker is no longer required to identify polar interrogative clauses, and has all but disappeared from current Pite Saami usage.

In determining which word class the question marker belongs to, several facts should be considered. Most importantly, like the adverbs in examples (362) through (365) above, the scope of the question marker is the entire sentence; *gu* ~ *gus* indicates an epistemic lack on behalf of the speaker concerning the proposition expressed by the interrogative clause it marks. While its monosyllabicity is remarkable, and implies a strong degree of grammaticalization (since lexical items in general are minimally bisyllabic), a number of other monosyllabic lexical adverbs also exist (cf. Table 10.2). On this basis, the question marker can be classified as a lexical adverb.

However, although the data are much too limited to be certain, the question marker in all three examples occurs directly after the finite verb. If it indeed can only occur here, then this may be sufficient reason to consider the question marker to be the sole member of a unique word class (perhaps best named ‘particle’) defined by its clause-level scope and syntactic position restriction.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, until more data are available, this status of the question marker’s membership in a specific word class must remain a preliminary classification.

<sup>7</sup>Note that the brief description of the cognate Lule Saami ‘question particle’ in Spiik (1989: 95) indicates that the Lule Saami equivalent may in fact be a focus particle used exclusively in polar interrogatives, as it “is placed near the word on which the most emphasis rests”, while always occurring “after the helping verb” (my translations).

## 10.2 Adpositions

**Adpositions** in Pite Saami constitute a closed class of words that are defined syntactically by their ability to head a postpositional or prepositional phrase (abbreviated ‘PP’). Postpositions, which are clearly preferred over prepositions, are covered in Section 10.2.1. The limited data on prepositions are described in Section 10.2.2.

### 10.2.1 Postpositions

Table 10.3 provides a selection of postpositions found in the corpus, and includes English translation equivalents. It is possible that other postpositions also exist, but were not attested to in the corpus; however, postpositions remain a closed class, as new postpositions cannot be created.

<i>postposition</i>	<i>translation equivalent</i>
<i>baddjel</i>	‘above’
<i>birra</i>	‘about; around’
<i>duogen</i>	‘behind’
<i>gaskan</i>	‘between’
<i>guoran</i>	‘next to; near’
<i>lahka</i>	‘near’
<i>nala</i>	‘upon, up, towards’
<i>nanne / nan</i>	‘on’
<i>sidån</i>	‘next to; beside’
<i>sinne / sin</i>	‘inside’
<i>sissa / sis</i>	‘into’
<i>siste</i>	‘out of’
<i>tjadá</i>	‘throughout’
<i>vuolen</i>	‘under’
<i>vusste</i>	‘against’
<i>åvdon</i>	‘in front of’
<i>åvdost</i>	‘for’

Table 10.3: A selection of postpositions and their English translation equivalents

Postpositions are complemented by NPs in the genitive case. One example is provided in (371); for more on the syntactic behavior of postpositions in postpositional phrases as well as more examples, see Section 12.5.

- (371) *ja tsáhpat biergov káfa sis*  
*ja tsáhpa-t biergo-v káfa sis*  
 and cut-INF meat-ACC.SG coffee\GEN.SG into  
 ‘and to cut meat into the coffee’ [pit100405a.136]

### 10.2.2 Prepositions

With the exception of *dugu* ‘like’, which governs a noun in either the essive or the nominative case,<sup>8</sup> a few words that are normally used as postpositions may also occur as prepositions. The corpus provides only a very limited amount of data concerning the existence and behavior of prepositions; the two examples are presented here.

In (372), *birra* ‘about, around’ is used as a preposition, and governs the genitive case on the complement demonstrative.

- (372) *ja badde, ásto badde birra*  
*ja badde ást-o badde birra*  
 and ribbon\NOM.SG buy-NMLZ1\NOM.SG ribbom\NOM.SG around  
*danne*  
*d-a-nne*  
 DEM-DIST-GEN.SG  
 ‘and ribbon, purchased ribbon around that’ [pit080708\_Session08.012]

In (373), *badjel* ‘over’ is used as a preposition. However, the complement *nällje kronor* ‘four crowns’ (referring to the Swedish currency) consists of the Pite Saami numeral *nällje* and a Swedish borrowing *kronor* which is inflected according to Swedish grammar (*kron-or* ‘crown-PL’), and not Pite Saami grammar, so it is impossible to know with this data which case *badjel* governs as a preposition.

- (373) *så átjojmä badjel nällje kronor tjilos dalloj*  
*så átjo-jmä badjel nällje kronor tjilos dalloj*  
 so receive-1PL.PST over four crowns kilogram at that time  
 ‘so we received more than four Swedish crowns per kilogram back then’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.159]

Note that there are numerous examples for both *birra* and *badjel* as postpositions. It is not surprising that prepositions are infrequent and marginal in Pite Saami as other Saami languages also only have a small set of prepositions with significant restrictions in frequency and meaning.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Section 6.2.9.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Spiik (1989: 91-92) for Lule Saami, Svonni (2009: 84-85) for North Saami and Feist

### 10.3 Conjunctions

**Conjunctions** in Pite Saami form a closed class that connect phrases or clauses. A list of some conjunctions and their English translation equivalents can be found in Table 10.4. Note that the conjunctions *eller*, *men* and *att* are borrowings from Swedish.

conjunction	connects		translation equivalent
	phrases	clauses	
att		✓	'(in order) to'
eller	✓	✓	'or'
gu		✓	'when'
ja	✓	✓	'and'
jala	✓	✓	'or'
jus		✓	'if'
maŋnel		✓	'after'
men		✓	'but'
vaj	?	✓	'or'
åvdål		✓	'before'

Table 10.4: Some Pite Saami conjunctions and their English translation equivalents

Conjunctions connecting clauses are discussed in Section 15.1 (coordination) and Section 15.2 (subordination). Conjunctions connecting phrases are briefly described here. NPs, APs and verbs can be connected to another phrase of the same type by a conjunction; however, it is not clear from the data whether PPs or AdvPs can be connected. Some examples can be found in (374) through (379).

In (374) and (375), *ja* 'and' connects NPs and APs, respectively.

- (374) *dájste*                      *átjojmä*      *mielkev,*      *vuojav,*      *vuostav*  
*d-á-jste*                      *átjo-jmä*      *mielke-v*      *vuoja-v*      *vuosta-v*  
 DEM-PROX-ELAT.PL    get-1PL.PST    milk-ACC.SG    butter-ACC.SG    cheese-ACC.SG  
*ja*    *biergov*  
*ja*    *biergo-v*  
 and meat-ACC.SG  
 'we got milk, butter, cheese and meat from these'      [pit080825.015]

(2010: 314-317) for Skolt Saami. As for Pite Saami, neither Lagercrantz (1926) nor Lehtiranta (1992) mention anything about prepositions or the syntactic behavior (constituent order) of adpositions in general.

- (375) *buhtsu lä nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
*buhtsu lä nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
 reindeer\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS SO fat\PL and beautiful\PL  
 ‘the reindeer are so fat and beautiful’ [pit080703.014]

In (376) and (377) *jala* ‘or’ connects numeral-APs and NPs, respectively.

- (376) *men mån jahkav gu lidjiv mån*  
*men mån jahka-v gu li-djiv mån*  
 but 1SG.NOM believe-1SG.PRS when be-1SG.PST 1SG.NOM  
*aktalåkneldje jala aktalåkvihta jáge...*  
*akta-låk-nelldje jala akta-låk-vihta jáge*  
 one-ten-four or one-ten-five year\NOM.PL  
 ‘but I believe when I was fourteen or fifteen years (old)...’  
 [pit100404.273-274]

- (377) *válda káfav suhkorijn jala suhkorahtha*  
*válda káfa-v suhkor-ijn jala suhkor-ahta*  
 take\2SG.PRS coffee-ACC.SG sugar-COM.SG OR sugar-ABESS.SG  
 ‘do you take coffee with or without sugar?’ [pit110509b.11m42s (elic.)]

The conjunction *jala* ‘or’ can also connect verbs, as in (378).

- (378) *ja dásalj ájgen ij almatj, aktak*  
*ja dásalj ájge-n ij almatj aktak*  
 and nowadays time-INESS.SG NEG\3SG.PRS person\NOM.SG none  
*almatj danne vieso jala áro*  
*almatj danne vieso jala áro*  
 person\NOM.SG there live\CONNEG OR reside\CONNEG  
 ‘and nowadays no one lives or resides there’ [pit100310b.131]

Finally, in (379), the loan conjunction *eller* ‘or’<sup>10</sup> connects NPs.

- (379) *inimä eller båröjmä sirijd ja láddagijd*  
*inimä eller båröjmä sirijd ja láddagijd*  
 have-1PL.PST OR eat-1PL.PST blueberry-ACC.PL and cloudberry-ACC.PL  
 ‘we had or ate blueberries and cloudberryes’ [pit100310b.035]

<sup>10</sup> < Swedish *eller* ‘or’.

## 10.4 Interjections

An **interjection** is an individual word that is syntactically an utterance of its own (syntactically at the same level as entire clauses). As such, interjections are not a part of another clause. Interjections often indicate a speaker's feelings or attitude towards an event. The data in the corpus is quite limited, and it is beyond the scope of the current study to describe interjections in detail, so the list of interjections and their English translation equivalents provided in Table 10.5 is preliminary and subject to amendment pending future research. Nonetheless, examples from the corpus of *nå* and *jå* are provided below. Note that the interjections *jå*, *nå*, *så*, *å/oj*, *mmm* and *jaha* are borrowings from Swedish.

<i>interjection</i>	<i>translation equivalent</i>
<i>burist</i>	'hello' (greeting)
<i>jaha</i>	'ok, I see' (understanding)
<i>jå</i>	'yes, definitely'
<i>mmm</i>	'hmmm' (pondering)
<i>nå</i>	'well, yes'
<i>nå</i>	'no'
<i>så</i>	'so'
<i>å / oj</i>	'oh' (surprise)

Table 10.5: Some Pite Saami interjections and their English translation equivalents

The interjection *nå* 'well, yes, ok' is very common in the corpus. It has at least three possible meanings. At the beginning of the conversation presented in (380), *nå* is a kind of declaration that a speaker is beginning to speak. As in the final utterance in this example, *nå* also indicates a switch to a new topic.

- (380) A: *nå buris Henning*  
*nå buris Henning*  
 well hello Henning  
 'well, hello, Henning'
- B: *nå buris dä*  
*nå buris dä*  
 well hello then  
 'well hello there'

A: *nå, guste dån bådá?*  
*nå guste dån bådá*  
 well from\_where 2SG.NOM come\2SG.PRS

‘well, where are you coming from?’ [pit080924.001-003]

The interjection *nå* can also be a confirmation of the preceding utterance, as in (381).

(381) A: *ja dä muv biena Rahka*  
*ja dä muv biena Rahka*  
 and then 1SG.GEN dog\NOM.SG Rahka  
 ‘and then my dog Rahka’

B: *nå, duv biena aj*  
*nå duv biena aj*  
 well 2SG.GEN dog\NOM.SG also

‘ok, your dog, too’ [pit080924.037-038]

Finally, *nå* can be used to indicate that a speaker is finished speaking, usually at the conclusion of a narrative and after a pause. One example can be found in the narrative in the recording ‘pit100404’ between utterance ‘.324’ and utterance ‘.361’; due to space constraints, only the last two utterances of this long narrative are presented in (382).

(382) a. *så dä måj mähtijmen, måj Jåsjåjn mähtijmen*  
*så dä måj mähti-jmen måj Jåsjå-jn mähti-jmen*  
 so then 1DU.NOM can-1DU.PST 1DU.NOM Josh-COM.SG can-1DU.PST  
*dä tjuäjiggat dán Stuornjárga nalá.*  
*dä tjuäjjga-t d-á-n Stuor-njárga nalá*  
 then ski-INF DEM-PROX-GEN.SG big-point\GEN.SG onto

‘so then we were able to, Josh and I were able to ski up to this here Big Point’

b. *nå.*  
*nå*  
 yes

‘that’s all’ [pit100404.360-361]

The interjection *já* ‘yes’, also a Swedish borrowing,<sup>11</sup> is often used to confirm something, or contradict a negative utterance, as in (383), in which two speakers debate about what the correct Pite Saami word for ‘esophagus’ is.

<sup>11</sup> < Sv. *ja*, a common pronunciation of *ja* ‘yes’.

(383) A: 'tjåddjåk',           nä, ij           lä           'tjåddjåk'  
tjåddjåk           nä ij           lä           tjåddjåk  
esophagus\NOM.SG no NEG\3SG.PRS be\CONNNEG esophogus\NOM.SG

“tjåddjåk’, no, it’s not ‘tjåddjåk”

B: ja, lä           tjåddjåk  
ja lä           tjåddjåk  
yes be\3SG.PRS esophogus\NOM.SG

‘yes, it’s ‘tjåddjåk”

[pit080909.115-116]



# Chapter 11

## Derivational Morphology

Pite Saami is rich in derivational morphology. While it is beyond the scope of the present work to provide a thorough description of all the various derivational processes and of their semantic nuances and productivity,<sup>1</sup> the following should provide a general impression of how derivational morphology works in Pite Saami, as well as an overview of some of the more common derivational morphemes attested in the corpus and apparent in the Pite Saami word list (Bengtsson et al. 2011; cf. Section 1.2.3.4).

In the following, derivational meanings are assigned to suffixes for simplicity in classification; however, as with inflectional suffixes, derivational suffixes coincide with non-linear morphology as well when the derivational base can be subject to non-linear morphological alternations. There are many nominalizing and verbalizing derivational processes, and derivations can apply to already derived forms. On the other hand, there are only two adjectivalizers and one adverbializer.

Nominal derivation and verbal derivation are especially complex because the semantics of a derived word do not consistently equal the sum of the meanings of its components. Furthermore, the borderline between polysemy and homonymy of suffixes cannot always be clearly determined, and the decision whether two formally identical, but semantically different forms are ascribed to the same morpheme or to distinct morphemes seems arbitrary. This is reflected in the glossing standards used here in which nominalizers and verbalizers are often simply allotted numbers, as in *NMLZ1* or *VBLZ3*, as opposed to more meaningful glosses such as *DIM*.

In the following, nominal derivation is dealt with first, in Section 11.1, before moving on to verbal derivation in 11.2, while adjectival and adverbial

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<sup>1</sup>Israel Ruong (himself a native speaker of Pite Saami) dedicated his entire PhD thesis to verbal derivation in Pite Saami (Ruong 1943).

derivation are described briefly in Sections 11.3 and 11.4, respectively. The final section (11.5) provides a summary of the derivational morphemes discussed here.

Note that examples in the present chapter include references to either the documentation corpus or an entry in the database from the Wordlist Project (Bengtsson et al. 2011). Nearly all references to the documentation corpus are for elicitation sessions, and these are marked accordingly. Unlike examples in the other chapters, in which references indicate a particular utterance of a recording, references here are not more specific than the recording name alone because the relevant data were obtained during the course of a longer discussion, and not just in a single utterance. References referring to the Wordlist Project's database consist only of the four-digit entry number.

## 11.1 Nominal derivation

Nouns can be derived from verbs, adjectives, or other nouns. Some of the more common derivational suffixes are *-tj*, *-o*, *-k*, *-däddje*, *-vuohta*, and these are discussed in the following sections. The bases they can be applied to are summarized in Table 11.1.

suffix	type of base		
	nominal	verbal	adjectival
<i>-tj</i>	✓		
<i>-k</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>-o</i>		✓	
<i>-däddje</i>	✓	✓	
<i>-vuohta</i>	✓		✓

Table 11.1: Summary of the types of bases accessible to the nominal derivation suffixes discussed here

### 11.1.1 The diminutive suffix *-tj*

The diminutive suffix *-tj* (glossed as DIM) can be affixed to a nominal base to form a denominal noun with a diminutive meaning. Examples can be found in (384) through (389).

- (384) *vájbmo* → *vájmu-tj* 'little heart'  
heart\NOM.SG → heart-DIM\NOM.SG [pit110413a (elic.)]

(385)	<i>guolla</i> testicle\NOM.SG	→	<i>guola-tj</i> testicle-DIM\NOM.SG	‘little testicle’ [pit110413a ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(386)	<i>guolle</i> fish\NOM.SG	→	<i>guolá-tj</i> fish-DIM\NOM.SG	‘little fish’ [pit110413a ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(387)	<i>bátsoj</i> reindeer\NOM.SG	→	<i>buhtsu-tj</i> reindeer-DIM\NOM.SG	‘little reindeer’ [pit110413b ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(388)	<i>sabek</i> ski\NOM.SG	→	<i>sabega-tj</i> ski-DIM\NOM.SG	‘little ski’ [pit090525b ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(389)	<i>bená</i> dog\NOM.SG	→	<i>bednaga-tj</i> dog-DIM\NOM.SG	‘little dog’ [pit080819a ( <i>elic.</i> )]

The diminutive form features the same stem as found in the NOM.PL form of a noun paradigm (differences in the segments occurring between the consonant center and the right edge of the nominal base in these examples are due to regular alternations in inflectional noun class suffixes on the base). The resulting diminutive nouns are class IVa nouns; a nearly complete paradigm for the derived noun *guolátj* ‘little fish’ is provided in Table 6.24 in Section 6.4.4 in the chapter on nouns. Note also that there is a diminutive verbalizer suffix *-tj*; cf. Section 11.2.1.

### 11.1.2 The general nominalizer suffix *-k*

The nominalizer suffix *-k* (spelled *-g*- intervocalically; glossed as NMLZ<sup>2</sup>) can be affixed to a noun, a verb or an adjective. The resulting derived nouns have a wide variety of meanings, but generally have a referent which is someone or something with a property referred to by the base. A number of examples are provided in (390) through (400) below, but this is hardly an exhaustive sample.

In (390) the derived noun *guhkajuolgagijd* ‘long-legger.ACC.PL’ is based on a compound noun *guhka-juállge* ‘long-leg’, and is used several times in the corpus to refer to moose.

(390)	<i>vuojdne</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>guhkajuolgagijd?</i>	
	<i>vuojdne</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>guhka-juolga-g-ijj</i>	
	see\2SG.PST	some	long-leg-NMLZ-ACC.PL	
	‘did you see some moose?’			[pit080924.007]

The derivation of the base compound’s head *guhka-juállge* ‘long-leg’ into the derived form is illustrated in (391).

<sup>2</sup>Due to its frequency and extensive use as a general nominalizer, the nominalizer *-k* is glossed simply as NMLZ without any additional number to specify it, unlike the other, less frequent nominalizers described in sections 11.1.3 through 11.1.5.

- (391) *guhka-juällge* → [*guhka-juolga*]-*k* ‘long-legger’  
 long-leg\NOM.SG [long-leg]-NMLZ\NOM.SG

Two other examples of denominal nouns derived with *-k* are the word *jagak* ‘yearling, one-year-old’, which is derived from the nominal base *jahke* ‘year’, as given in (392), and the word *nástak* ‘police’, which is derived from the nominal base *násste* ‘star’:

- (392) *jahke* → *jaga-k* ‘yearling’  
 year\NOM.SG year-NMLZ\NOM.SG [4911]
- (393) *násste* → *nástak* ‘police, police officer’  
 star\NOM.SG star-NMLZ\NOM.SG [1249]

The word *máhtak* ‘knowledgable person’ is derived from the verb *máhttet* ‘can’:

- (394) *máhtte-t* → *máhta-k* ‘knowledgable person’  
 can-INF can-NMLZ\NOM.SG [1110]

The word *villguk* ‘white reindeer’ is based on a form *vällg-* ‘white’ (cf. the attributive adjective *villgis* and predicative adjective *vällgat* ‘white’):

- (395) *vällg-* → *villgu-k* ‘white reindeer’  
 white white-NMLZ\NOM.SG [2219]

Similarly, the word *suojmek* ‘slow person’ is derived from the stem *suajbm-* ‘slow’ (cf. the attributive adjective *suojmas* and the predicative adjective *suajbma* ‘slow’):

- (396) *suajbm-* → *suojmek* ‘slow person’  
 slow slow-NMLZ\NOM.SG [2650]

The word *vidak* ‘five-crown coin’ is derived from the numeral base *vihta* ‘five’, while *vidalågåk* ‘fifty-crown bank note’ is derived from the numeral base *vidalåhkå* ‘fifty’:

- (397) *vihta* → *vida-k* ‘five-crown coin’  
 five five-NMLZ\NOM.SG [4051]
- (398) *vidalåhkå* → *vidalågåk* ‘fifty-crown banknote’  
 fifty fifty-NMLZ\NOM.SG [4053]

There are still other cases of nouns derived by *-k* which are based on a verb form at the deepest level, but feature subsequent derivational affixes between the root lexeme and the final nominalizing suffix *-k*, so that it is not clear what base lexeme *-k* is directly attached to. For instance, the noun *gaskaldak* ‘bite, bit’ is ultimately based on the verb *gassket* ‘bite’, but it is not clear what the derivational affix or affixes expressed by the segments *-alda-* could indicate:

- (399) *gasske-t* → *gask-alda-k* ‘bite, bit’  
 bite-INF bite-VBLZ?-NMLZ\NOM.SG [3278]

Finally, several place names are also likely derived using *-k*. For instance, the name *Tjårvek* ‘Lake Hornavan’<sup>3</sup> is derived from the nominal base *tjårve* ‘horn, antler’:

- (400) *tjårve* → *tjårve-k* ‘Lake Hornavan’  
 antler\NOM.SG antler-NMLZ\NOM.SG [110517b2.083]

It is clear that, morphophonologically, the suffix *-k* triggers the weak consonant grade, when applicable. The vowel immediately preceding the suffix *-k* is not consistent; this could be due to various noun class bases, or perhaps there are in fact more than one nominalization suffixes of the form *-Vk*. These questions as well as other questions concerning the variety of uses of this very flexible and common derivational morpheme must be left for future research.

### 11.1.3 The action nominalizer suffix *-o*

The nominalizer suffix *-o* (glossed as NMLZ1) can be affixed to a verbal base to form a deverbal noun. In general, the resulting noun refers to the action or the result of the action denoted by the stem, as in (401) through (406).

- (401) *barrga-t* → *barrg-o* ‘job, work’  
 work-INF work-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [pit110404 (elic.)]
- (402) *bivvde-t* → *bivvd-o* ‘catch (fishing)’  
 catch-INF catch-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [6574]
- (403) *gähtto-t* → *gähtt-o* ‘story, report’  
 tell-INF tell-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [6686]
- (404) *lávvlo-t* → *lávvl-o* ‘song, hymn’  
 sing-INF sing-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [080825.030]
- (405) *dårro-t* → *dårr-o* ‘fight, battle’  
 fight-INF fight-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [080701b (elic.)]
- (406) *dårrjo-t* → *dårrj-o* ‘support’  
 support-INF support-NMLZ1\NOM.SG [4732]

However, as (407) and (408) indicate, the deverbalized noun does not have to refer exactly to the action or result of the verb, but to only a related concept.

<sup>3</sup>*Tjårvek* is the large lake on which Arjeplog, the main Pite Saami community, is located. Even the Swedish name *Hornavan* seems to refer to antlers or horns, and could be the result of a loan translation.

- |       |                                |   |                                       |                             |
|-------|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (407) | <i>gájjká-t</i><br>dry-INF     | → | <i>gájjk-o</i><br>dry-NMLZ1\NOM.SG    | ‘drought; thirst’<br>[4225] |
| (408) | <i>jáhkke-t</i><br>believe-INF | → | <i>jáhk-o</i><br>believe-NMLZ1\NOM.SG | ‘belief’<br>[0909]          |

In all the examples, the deverbal noun is in the strong stage of consonant gradation, and belongs to the nominal inflectional class Ic.

#### 11.1.4 The agent nominalizer suffix *-däddje*

The nominalizing suffix *-däddje* (glossed as NMLZ2) creates an agent noun, indicating that the referent of the noun is involved in the activity denoted by the base. Examples are provided in (409) through (413).

- |       |                              |   |   |                         |
|-------|------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|
| (409) | <i>vuäjdne-t</i><br>see-INF  | → | <i>vuojna-däddje</i><br>see-NMLZ2\NOM.SG            | ‘clairvoyant’<br>[6532] |
| (410) | <i>áhpa-t</i><br>learn-INF   | → | <i>áhpa-däddje</i><br>learn-NMLZ2\NOM.SG            | ‘teacher’<br>[2243]     |
| (411) | <i>málesti-t</i><br>cook-INF | → | <i>máles-däddje</i><br>cook-NMLZ2\NOM.SG            | ‘cook, chef’<br>[5377]  |
| (412) | <i>gieles</i><br>lie\NOM.SG  | → | <i>gieles-däddje</i><br>lie-NMLZ2\NOM.SG            | ‘liar’<br>[4826]        |
| (413) | <i>jáhhta-t</i><br>drive-INF | → | <i>báhko+jáde-däddje</i><br>word+drive-NMLZ2\NOM.SG | ‘chairperson’<br>[0109] |

The base is typically a verb, but can be a noun, as in (412). The stem of the derived agent noun is in the weak grade. As illustrated by (410) and (411), the resulting agent noun (with a root *máles* and *áhpa*) may no longer be directly derivable from the comparable verb (there is no verb *\*málle-t* ‘cook-INF’, only *málesti*, nor a verb *\*áhpa-t* ‘teach/learn-inf’).

Note that the noun *báhkojadedäddje* ‘chairperson’ in (411) is a compound calque based on the Swedish equivalent *ordförande*, which literally means ‘word-driver’. It is not clear whether *?jadedäddje* ‘driver’ exists on its own.

#### 11.1.5 The state nominalizer suffix *-vuohta*

The nominalizing suffix *-vuohta* (glossed as NMLZ3) typically derives nouns from adjectives, as in (414) through (416).

- |       |                            |   |  |                      |
|-------|----------------------------|---|--|----------------------|
| (414) | <i>vassjalis</i><br>active | → | <i>vassjalis-vuohta</i><br>active-NMLZ3\NOM.SG | ‘activity’<br>[3082] |
|-------|----------------------------|---|--|----------------------|

- |       |                         |   |   |                        |
|-------|-------------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| (415) | <i>sádnēs</i><br>true   | → | <i>sádnēs-vuohta</i><br>true-NMLZ3\NOM.SG   | ‘truth’<br>[1476]      |
| (416) | <i>luossis</i><br>heavy | → | <i>luossis-vuohta</i><br>heavy-NMLZ3\NOM.SG | ‘melancholy’<br>[2519] |

The suffix *-vuohta* can also be applied to a derived adjectival base. In (417), the stem *máhtelis* ‘possible’ is itself a derived adjectival based on the verb *máhttet* ‘can’. The deepest derivational base in the example in (418) is roughly analogous, but one step farther removed from the final derived form: the highest-level base *bargodis* ‘unemployed’ is an adjectival form of the noun *bargo* ‘work’, which itself is a deverbal form based on the verb *barrgat* ‘work’ (cf. example (401) in Section 11.1.3 above).

- |       |                               |   |   |                          |
|-------|-------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------|
| (417) | <i>máhtelis</i><br>possible   | → | <i>máhtelis-vuohta</i><br>possible-NMLZ3\NOM.SG   | ‘possibility’<br>[6533]  |
| (418) | <i>bargodis</i><br>unemployed | → | <i>bargodis-vuohta</i><br>unemployed-NMLZ3\NOM.SG | ‘unemployment’<br>[3131] |

Much as with (418) above, the base *tjalmedis* ‘blind’ in (419) is itself based on the noun *tjalbme* ‘eye’ derived by the suffix *-dis* indicating a lack of the base referent. Thus, *tjalmedisvuohta* could be literally translated as ‘eye-less-ness’.

- |       |                           |   |   |                       |
|-------|---------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| (419) | <i>tjalmedis</i><br>blind | → | <i>tjalmedis-vuohta</i><br>blind-NMLZ3\NOM.SG | ‘blindness’<br>[6201] |
|-------|---------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|

However, as (420) indicates, the base from which *-vuohta* derives a new noun can also be a noun.

- |       |                              |   |   |                       |
|-------|------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| (420) | <i>mánná</i><br>child\NOM.SG | → | <i>mánná-vuohta</i><br>child-NMLZ3\NOM.SG | ‘childhood’<br>[3221] |
|-------|------------------------------|---|---|-----------------------|

## 11.2 Verbal derivation

Verbal derivation in Pite Saami is a particularly complex area, and the interested reader is first and foremost referred to Israel Ruong’s PhD thesis *Lappische Verbalableitung dargestellt auf Grundlage des Pitelappischen*<sup>4</sup> (Ruong 1943). This work presents a comprehensive typology of non-derived verbs and verbal derivation suffixes in Pite Saami. It includes an extensive semantic sub-classification of the derivational suffixes into the varied and overlapping meanings each one can have. The forty suffixes Ruong presents, and the myriad functions he assigns them to, further attest to the complicated nature of verbal derivation in Pite Saami.

<sup>4</sup>Saami verbal derivation as illustrated by the Pite Saami language’ (my translation).

The present discussion cannot hope to improve on Ruong’s work, and instead attempts to use the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus to achieve the following:

- Using the diminutive verbalizer *-tj* as a starting point, illustrate the complexity of verbal derivation in Pite Saami due to the persistent irregularities between forms and functions (Section 11.2.1);
- Present a sample of verbal derivations (Section 11.2.2 through 11.2.4);
- Provide a basic description of the important valency-decreasing verbal derivation creating passive verb forms (Section 11.2.5).

### 11.2.1 The diminutive verbalizer suffix *-tj* and the complexities of Pite Saami derivational verb morphology

The diminutive verbalizing suffix *-tj* (glossed as DIM) expresses doing the activity referred to by the verbal base a little bit or to a limited extent, as in (421) through (423).<sup>5</sup>

(421)	<i>barrga-t</i> work-INF	→	<i>barga-tji-t</i> work-DIM-INF	‘work a little bit’ [pit110404 ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(422)	<i>vádtse-t</i> walk-INF	→	<i>vádtsa-tji-t</i> walk-DIM-INF	‘walk slowly’ [2047]
(423)	<i>bállke-t</i> quarrel-INF	→	<i>bielka-tji-t</i> quarrel-DIM-INF	‘have a small quarrel’ [4698]

The weak form of the base verb is selected by *-tj*, and the final vowel in the base becomes *a*. The *i* following the *-tj* suffix is the verb class marker for the resulting Class V verb.

Note, however, that other derivational suffixes can produce diminutive meanings as well, as illustrated by the examples in (424) through (426).

(424)	<i>gähtja-t</i> see-INF	→	<i>gietja-sti-t</i> see-VBLZ1-INF	‘glance’ [2530]
(425)	<i>gåsså-t</i> cough-INF	→	<i>gåsså-di-t</i> cough-VBLZ2-INF	‘cough a little bit’ [4898]
(426)	<i>rassjo-t</i> rain-INF	→	<i>råssjo-dalla-t</i> rain-VBLZ3-INF	‘rain lightly’ [5073]

---

<sup>5</sup>Note the similarity in form and semantics to the diminutive nominalizing suffix *-tj* discussed in Section 11.1.1.



In these three examples, the derivational suffixes *-st*, *-d* and *-dall*, respectively,<sup>6</sup> also derive deverbal verbs which add similar diminutive meanings to the base.

If these suffixes were restricted to a diminutive meaning, then this would simply be a case of many forms corresponding to a single function. However, these suffixes, which are all quite common, only occasionally carry a diminutive meaning. In other instances, they impart a variety of different meanings to the base form. This is illustrated by just a few examples below, and is even more obvious in Ruong (1943). Despite the variety of and inconsistencies in the meanings that verbal derivational suffixes express, their limited number relative to the number of functions they fulfill is reason enough to describe each of these suffixes as a single derivational affix with multiple functions, rather than multiple, homonymous affixes, each aligned to a separate function.

### 11.2.2 The verbal derivational suffix *-st*

In addition to the diminutive meaning in (424) above, the derivational suffix *-st* (glossed as *vblz1*) is applied to a postposition in (427), and functions as a verbalizer. In (428), the nominal base is not only verbalized, but has a causative or perhaps an inchoative meaning. The derived verb in (429) is a figurative extension of the verbal base's meaning. Furthermore, *-st* can indicate that an action is carried out briefly or for a short period of time, as in (430).

(427)	<i>birra</i> around	→	<i>bira-sti-t</i> around- <i>vblz1</i> -INF	'cruise around' [0185]
(428)	<i>dållå</i> fire\NOM.SG	→	<i>dållå-sti-t</i> fire- <i>vblz1</i> -INF	'start a fire' [0422]
(429)	<i>båhtje-t</i> milk-INF	→	<i>båtje-sti-t</i> milk- <i>vblz1</i> -INF	'wring out' [0262]
(430)	<i>basse-t</i> fry-INF	→	<i>base-sti-t</i> fry- <i>vblz1</i> -INF	'fry quickly' [5501]

Note that the *i* following the *-st* suffix is the verb class marker for the resulting Class V verb.

### 11.2.3 The verbal derivational suffix *-d*

In addition to the diminutive meaning in (425) above, the two examples of the verbalizer *-d* (glossed as *vblz2*) in (431) and (432) each has a reflexive meaning; note that the base in (432) is a noun, not a verb. The example in (433) has a

<sup>6</sup>The vowel following each of these verbalizers is a class marker.

transitivizing effect on the verbal base, while there is no clear difference in meaning between the base and the resulting derived form in (434) and (435). The last example, *sykel* ‘bicycle’ in (436), illustrates that this suffix is quite productive, as it is used as a verbalizer for a loanword serving as a nominal base. Note that the *i* following the *-d* suffix is the verb class marker for the resulting Class V verb.

(431)	<i>bassa-t</i> wash-INF	→	<i>basá-di-t</i> wash-VBLZ2-INF	‘wash oneself’ [pit090910 ( <i>elic.</i> )]
(432)	<i>gárrvo</i> clothing\NOM.SG	→	<i>gárvo-di-t</i> clothing-VBLZ2-INF	‘dress oneself’ [0793]
(433)	<i>busso-t</i> blow-INF	→	<i>buso-di-t</i> blow-VBLZ2-INF	‘blow out’ [4704]
(434)	<i>bulle-t</i> ignite-INF	→	<i>bulle-di-t</i> ignite-VBLZ2-INF	‘ignite’ [2664]
(435)	<i>tjájbma-t</i> laugh-INF	→	<i>tjájma-di-t</i> laugh-VBLZ2-INF	‘laugh, smile’ [1865]
(436)	<i>sykel</i> bicycle\NOM.SG	→	<i>sykel-di-t</i> bicycle-VBLZ2-INF	‘ride a bicycle’ [1810]

#### 11.2.4 The verbal derivational suffix *-dall*

In addition to the diminutive meaning in (426) above, the first two examples (437-438) of the verbalizer *-dall* (glossed as *vblz3*) show deadjectival verbs which express being characterized by the base adjective (and semantically restricted in derived form in Example (438)). Similarly, the denominal verb in (439) is based on the 3SG.NOM reflexive pronoun *etjas* ‘oneself’, and expresses a more forceful state of being the meaning of the base noun. The final two examples also restrict the semantic scope of the verbal base. The *a* following the *-dall* suffix is the verb class marker for the resulting Class IIa verb.

(437)	<i>lajjkes</i> lazy	→	<i>lajkas-dalla-t</i> lazy-VBLZ3-INF	‘be lazy’ [2959]
(438)	<i>bahás</i> evil	→	<i>bahás-dalla-t</i> evil-VBLZ3-INF	‘be against something’ [4705]
(439)	<i>etjas</i> oneself\NOM.SG	→	<i>etjas-dalla-t</i> oneself-VBLZ3-INF	‘be stubborn’ [0460]
(440)	<i>gähtja-t</i> see-INF	→	<i>giehtja-dalla-t</i> see-VBLZ3-INF	‘check out, look into’ [3875]

- (441) *tjehka-t* → *tjehka-dalla-t* ‘play hide and seek’  
 hide-INF hide-VBLZ3-INF [1889]

### 11.2.5 Passivization with the derivational suffix *-duvv*

Transitive verbs can be passivized using the suffix *-duvv* (glossed as PASS). The resulting derived verb belongs to the inflectional verb Class IV, and thus features the class marker *-a* following the passivizing suffix in the infinitive form, and *-u* in the perfect form. For instance, compare the verb in (442) (in the active voice) with the equivalent passivized verb in (443), including the oblique agent (in ELATIVE CASE).

- (442) *máná* *lä* *tsiggim* *gådev*  
*máná* *lä* *tsiggi-m* *gåde-v*  
 child\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS build-PRF hut-ACC.SG  
 ‘children have built the hut’ [pit110518a.28m14s (elic.)]
- (443) *gåhte* *lä* *tsiggjduvvum* *mánájst*  
*gåhte* *lä* *tsiggj-duvvu-m* *máná-jst*  
 hut\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS build-PASS-PRF child-ELAT.PL  
 ‘the hut has been built by children’ [pit110518a.28m41s (elic.)]

Passivization is a valency-decreasing device because the resulting verb is intransitive, as it only features the patient-like argument as its sole core argument in nominative case. Note that Svonni (2009: 92) claims, for North Saami, that “one cannot indicate the agent in any way” (my translation) in passive clauses using the cognate North Saami passivizing suffix. Pite Saami differs significantly from North Saami in this respect, as even Ruong - himself a native speaker of Pite Saami - verifies (cf. Ruong 1943: 41). It is very possible that the Pite Saami strategy of placing the agent in an oblique case could be due to extended language contact with Swedish, a language which clearly allows the agent in a passivized clause to be expressed obliquely using a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *av* ‘of, from’. Swedish PPs headed by *av* are best translated into Pite Saami as an NP in elative case, the same oblique case in which the agent NP in a passive Pite Saami sentence is found.

Some other examples of transitive verbs and their passivized equivalents using *-duvv* are shown in (444) through (446).

- (444) *tjåvvde-t* → *tjåvde-duvva-t* ‘be liberated’  
 untie-INF untie-PASS-INF [3233]
- (445) *dahka-t* → *daga-duvva-t* ‘be made’  
 make-INF make-PASS-INF [pit110331b (elic.)]

(446)	<i>adne-t</i> utilize-INF	→	<i>ane-duvva-t</i> utilize-PASS-INF	‘be used’ [2682]
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There is not sufficient data in the corpus to state any more about passive derivation, particularly concerning morphophonological effects of passivization on verb stems, and this and other related topics must be left for future research. The reader is referred to Ruong (1943) for a more thorough morphological and semantic account of Pite Saami passives. Inflectional aspects of passivized verbs are treated in 9.3, while syntactic aspects of clauses with passive verbs are presented briefly in 14.1.1.1.

The derivational suffix *-duvv* can have meanings other than passive when attached to a nominal or adjectival base. Typically it then expresses a change of state that is related to the referent of the root involved. A few examples are provided in (447) through (450).

(447)	<i>vuoras</i> old	→	<i>vuoras-duvva-t</i> old-PASS-INF	‘age (verb)’ [2188]
(448)	<i>bevas</i> sweat\NOM.SG	→	<i>bevas-duvva-t</i> sweat-PASS-INF	‘become sweaty’ [6084]
(449)	<i>giella</i> language\NOM.SG	→	<i>giella-duvva-t</i> language-PASS-INF	‘become hoarse’ [3876]
(450)	<i>tjálbme</i> eye\NOM.SG	→	<i>tjálme-duvva-t</i> eye-PASS-INF	‘become blind’ [1876]

## 11.3 Adjectival derivation

Only two derivational processes exist for adjectivals: the non-productive derivation of adjectives by *-s*, and the productive derivation of ordinal numerals from cardinal ones. These are described below.

### 11.3.1 Adjective derivation

It seems conceivable that adjectives can be derived by the suffix *-s* (glossed as ADJZ). For instance, *bahá* is a nominal meaning ‘evil’, as in (451), and *bahás* is the equivalent attributive adjective form, as in (452).

(451)	<i>dat</i>	<i>almatj</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>bahá</i>
	d-a-t	almatj	lä	bahá
	DEM-DIST-NOM.SG	person\NOM.SG	be\3SG.PRS	evil\NOM.SG
	‘that person is evil’			[pit090926.13m36s (elic.)]

- (452) *bahás almatj*  
*bahá-s almatj*  
 evil-ADJZ person\NOM.SG  
 ‘evil person’ [pit090926.13m40s (elic.)]

In addition, the nominalized form *bahá-k* ‘evil’ can be further derived into an adjective *bahágis* ‘painful’ as in (453).

- (453) *bahá-k* → *bahá-gi-s* ‘painful’  
 evil-NMLZ evil-NMLZ-ADJZ [0102]

However, as pointed out in detail in Sections 8.1 through 8.3, not all adjectives follow this pattern. In fact, based on the current data, the *-s* suffix marks attributive adjectives (as in (452)) and as well as predicative adjectives, and, synchronically, it is not considered to be productive for either attributive or predicative forms at all.

### 11.3.2 Ordinal numeral derivation with *-at* ~ *et*

Numerals, a sub-category of adjectivals (cf. Section 8.8), are subject to derivation. The basic ordinal numerals (a sub-category of adjective) for the numbers 3 through 10 are derived by applying the derivational suffix *-át* to the respective cardinal numeral. This is discussed in Section 8.8.1 in more detail.

## 11.4 Adverbial derivation

Adverbs are not common in the corpus (as opposed to other word classes and phrase types with adverbial functions), but do appear to be derivable from an adjective base using the suffix *-git*. This is dealt with in more detail in Section 10.1.1.

## 11.5 Summary of derivational morphology

Table 11.2 on page 206 provides an overview of the derivational morphology discussed in this chapter.

<i>type</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>base</i>	<i>result</i>	<i>section</i>
nominal	- <i>tj</i>	noun	diminutive	11.1.1
	- <i>o</i>	verb	the action itself	11.1.3
	- <i>k</i>	noun adjective verb	characterized by base referent	11.1.2
	- <i>däddje</i>	verb noun	person involved in state of affairs	11.1.4
	- <i>vuohta</i>	adjective noun	characterized by base referent	11.1.5
verbal	- <i>tj</i>	verb	diminutive	11.2.1
	- <i>st</i>	verb noun	causative; inchoative	11.2.2
	- <i>d</i>	verb noun	reflexive; other	11.2.3
	- <i>dall</i>	verb noun	?	11.2.4
	- <i>duvv</i>	verb	passive	11.2.5
		adjective noun	change of state	11.2.5
adj.	- <i>s</i>	noun	attributive adjective	11.3
adv.	- <i>git</i>	adjective	adverb	11.4

Table 11.2: Summary of derivational morphology discussed in this chapter

# Chapter 12

## Phrase Types

There are five types of phrases in Pite Saami which form syntactic constituents of other phrases or of clauses:

- verb complex (VC)
- nominal phrases (NP)
- adjectival phrases (AP)
- adverbial phrases (AdvP)
- postpositional phrases (PP)

Table 12.1 summarizes the main syntactic functions of the various phrase types, and the sections of this chapter that deal with them.

	<i>predicate</i>	<i>argument/adjunct/ complement</i>	<i>modifier in NP</i>	<i>modifier in AP</i>	<i>section</i>
VC	✓				12.1
NP	✓	✓	✓		12.2
AP		✓	✓		12.3
AdvP		✓		✓	12.4
PP		✓			12.5

Table 12.1: Summary of phrase types and their syntactic functions

## 12.1 Verb complex

The Pite Saami **verb complex** (abbreviated ‘VC’) consists minimally of a finite verb, and maximally of a finite verb and one or two non-finite verb forms. With the exception of the imperative, the finite verb inflects for tense or mood, number and person, and agrees with the subject. The imperative only inflects for number, which cannot be regarded as an agreement suffix in this case because imperatives do not have subject arguments. In combination with non-finite verb forms, the verbal categories negation, mood, and aspect can also be expressed.

To better describe the distribution of finite and non-finite verbs forms in VCs, verbs are divided into two groupings:

- lexical verbs and the copula verb *árrot* ‘be’
- grammatical verbs (the negation verb, the aspectual auxiliary verb *árrot* ‘be’, and the modal verbs<sup>1</sup>)

In VCs featuring only one verb form, the finite verb is a lexical verb or the copula verb. In VCs with two or three verb forms, the finite verb is a grammatical verb, while the selection of each non-finite form is determined by the type of verb governing it: the verb of negation triggers the connegative form, the aspectual auxiliary verb triggers either the perfect or the progressive form, and the modal verbs trigger the infinitive form. This is summarized in Table 12.2.

### qty. verb forms

1	<i>finite verb</i> (lexical/copula)				
2	<i>finite verb</i> (grammatical)	+	<i>non-finite form</i> (lexical/copula)		
	negation verb	+	CONNÉG		
	aspectual auxiliary	+	PRF or PROG		
	modal verb	+	INF		
3	<i>finite verb</i> (grammatical)	+	<i>non-finite form</i> (grammatical)	+	<i>non-finite form</i> (lexical/copula)
	negation verb	+	asp. auxiliary/CONNÉG	+	PRF or PROG
		+	modal/CONNÉG	+	INF
	aspectual auxiliary	+	modal/PRF or PROG	+	INF

Table 12.2: Verb complex structures with one, two or three verbs

The constituent order of the individual verbal components is not strictly set,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Section 14.1.5 for more on these grammatical verbs.



although the ordering indicated in Table 12.2 is most common. Furthermore, other clause-level components may occur between these verb forms.<sup>2</sup>

For instance, the examples in (454) and (455) each feature a VC consisting solely of a finite verb. In (454) it is the singular imperative form of the lexical verb *vädtjat* ‘fetch’, while in (455) it is the encliticized 3SG.PRS form of the copula verb.

(454) *vietja pahparav!*  
 [vietja]<sub>VC</sub> pahpara-v  
 fetch\SG.IMP paper-ACC.SG  
 ‘get some paper!’ [pit090519.316]

(455) *dun váre namma'l*  
 d-u-n váre namma = [l]<sub>VC</sub>  
 DEM-RMT-GEN.SG mountain\GEN.SG name\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS  
*Sállvo*  
 Sállvo  
 Sállvo\NOM.SG  
 ‘the name of that mountain is Sállvo’ [pit100404.005]

In (456), there are two VCs. The first VC is *ij...dága*<sup>3</sup> and consists of the finite negation verb and the lexical verb *dáhkát* ‘make, do’ in its connegative form, but is split by the particle *dä* and the NP argument *aktaġav*. The second VC is the verb *váhtjat* ‘fetch’, now in its 1SG.PRS finite form.

(456) *ij dä aktaġav dága, mán*  
 [i-j]<sub>VC1</sub> dä aktaġa-v [dága]<sub>VC1</sub> mán  
 NEG-3SG.PRS then nothing-ACC.SG make\CONNNEG 1SG.NOM  
*viehtjav dav mañġel*  
 [viehtja-v]<sub>VC2</sub> d-a-v mañġel  
 fetch-1SG.PRS DEM-DIST-ACC.SG after  
 ‘it doesn’t matter, I’ll get that later’ [pit100404.157]

The example in (457) consists of three VCs. The first, *lin báltam* ‘had come’, is headed by the 3PL.PST form of the auxiliary verb *árrót* ‘be’ and combines with the perfect form of the main lexical verb *báltet* ‘come’. The second and third VCs are both simple VCs consisting only of a finite verb form.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Sections 13.2 and 14.1.5 on constituent ordering.

<sup>3</sup>The complete phrase *ij aktaġav dága* is likely a calque of the Swedish phrase *det gör ingenting* ‘that doesn’t matter’ (lit.: ‘that does nothing’).

- (457) *jus stalpe lin bāhtam elo sissa,*  
*jus stalpe [li-n bāhta-m]<sub>VC1</sub> elo sissa*  
 if wolf\NOM.PL be-3PL.PST come-PRF reindeer\_herd\GEN.SG into  
*dä vuolgin ja vitjin davva*  
*dä [vuolgi-n]<sub>VC2</sub> ja [vitji-n]<sub>VC3</sub> d-a-vva*  
 then drive-3PL.PST and fetch-3PL.PST DEM-DIST-ACC.SG  
 ‘if wolves had entered the reindeer herd, they went and got him’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.091]

A modal verb<sup>4</sup> and a non-finite verb form are illustrated by the VC *máhtta...bāhtet* ‘can come’ in (458). Here, the modal *máhtta* ‘can’ is the finite verb, and *bāhtet* ‘come’ is in the infinitive form.

- (458) *bátsoj máhtta duv nala bāhtet*  
*bátsoj [máhtta]<sub>VC</sub> du-v nala [bāhte-t]<sub>VC</sub>*  
 reindeer\NOM.SG can\3SG.PRS 2SG.GEN upon come-INF  
 ‘the reindeer can attack you’ (lit: ‘come upon you’) [pit080909.048]

Similarly, in (459), the VC *virrten mārket* ‘have to mark’ contains the finite verb *virrten* ‘must’ and the infinitive verb form *mārket* ‘mark’.

- (459) *dä virrten mārket dajt miesijt dále*  
*dä [virrte-n mārke-t]<sub>VC</sub> d-a-jt miesi-jt dále*  
 then must-1DU.PRS mark-INF DEM-DIST-ACC.PL calf-ACC.PL now  
*tjaktjan*  
*tjaktja-n*  
 autumn-INESS.SG  
 ‘then we have to mark those calves now in the autumn’  
 [pit080909.008]

Formally, clauses featuring a modal verb are identical to complement clauses featuring an infinite predicate; cf. Section 15.2.1.2.

Finally, the clauses in (460) through (462) provide examples of VCs with three verb forms. In (460), the VC consists of the finite negation verb in 1SG.PRS (*iv*), the aspectual auxiliary *ārrot* in connegative form (*lä*), and the lexical verb *gullat* ‘hear’ in its perfect form (*gullam*). The VC in example (461) contains the finite negation verb 3SG.PRS (*ij*), the modal verb *máhttet* in connegative form (*máhte*), and the lexical verb *adnet* ‘have’, its infinitive form. Finally, in (462), the finite aspectual auxiliary *lev* combined with the perfect form of the modal verb *máhttet* ‘can’ and the infinite complement *ságastit* ‘speak’ constitute the VC.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Section 14.1.5.1 for a list of modal verbs.

- (460) ... *dä iv lä åbå gullam dav*  
*dä [i-v lä]<sub>VC</sub> åbå [gulla-m]<sub>VC</sub> d-a-v*  
 then NEG-1SG.PRS be\CONNNEG at\_all hear-PRF DEM-DIST-ACC.SG  
 ‘... since I haven’t heard that at all’ [pit090702.203]
- (461) *ij vanj dä mahte ilá stuor dåláv adnet*  
*[i-j]<sub>VC</sub> vanj dä [mahte]<sub>VC</sub> ilá stuor dåláv [adne-t]<sub>VC</sub>*  
 NEG-3SG.PRS really then can\CONNNEG too big fire-ACC.SG have-INF  
 ‘one cannot really have too big of a fire’ [pit090702.176]
- (462) *mån lev máhttam sámev ságastit*  
*mån [le-v máhtta-m]<sub>VC</sub> sáme-v [ságasti-t]<sub>VC</sub>*  
 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS can-PRF Saami-ACC.SG speak-INF  
 ‘I have been able to speak Saami’ [sje20121009.46m27s (elic.)]

The corpus does not provide any evidence for three-verb VCs with a modal verb as the finite verb, so whether this logically possible structures is acceptable must be left to future research. However, it is clear that the negation verb is only attested as a finite verb, and can never occur as the second or third verb in a multi-verb VC.

## 12.2 Nominal phrases

**Nominal phrases** (abbreviated ‘NP’) in Pite Saami are divided into two groups:

- full NPs
- pronouns

NPs can function as arguments, adjuncts, predicates, adverbials, dependents of postpositions and possessors or modifiers of other NPs. They consist of at least one nominal component that inflects for case and number. Note that NPs can also be modified by postpositional phrases and non-finite verb forms, but due to a lack of sufficient data, a description of these NP modifiers must be left for future study. Finally, relative clauses also modify an NP; these are covered in Section 15.2.3.

NPs have the structure illustrated in Figure 12.1, with optional components in parentheses. Either a noun or a pronoun forms the head of an NP. The deter-

[(determiner) + (other modifier<sub>(s)</sub>) + nominal + (reflexive)]<sub>NP</sub>

Figure 12.1: The structure of nominal phrases

miner, the nominal and any attributive reflexive pronoun always inflect for case and number, while generally the other modifiers do not. Other modifiers may be an adjectival phrase, a numeral or an NP in genitive case. Some examples for possible NP structures are found below.

The only NP in (463) consists solely of the noun *Tjeggelvasav* ‘Lake Tjeggelvas’.

- (463) *ja dä vuojnav Tjeggelvasav*  
*ja dä vuojna-v [Tjeggelvasa-v]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 and then see-1SG.PRS Lake\_Tjeggelvas-ACC.SG  
 ‘and then I see Lake Tjeggelvas’ [pit100404.013]

In the example in (464), the NP *dat ello* ‘that reindeer herd’ consists of a determiner and the head noun, and is the subject of the clause. In (465), the subject NP consists of the head noun *ello* ‘reindeer herd’ and the genitive NP *dáj Skailej* ‘of these Skailes’<sup>5</sup> which modifies the head noun.

- (464) *ja dä såkoj dat ello*  
*ja dä såko-j [d-a-t ello]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 and then drown-3SG.PST DEM-DIST-NOM.SG reindeer\_herd\NOM.SG  
 ‘and then that reindeer herd drowned’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.010]
- (465) *dáj Skailej ello såkoj*  
 [[d-á-j Skaile-j]<sub>NP1</sub> ello]<sub>NP2</sub> såko-j  
 DEM-PROX-GEN.PL Skaile-GEN.PL reindeer\_herd\NOM.SG drown-3SG.PST  
 ‘these Skailes’ reindeer herd drowned’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.002]

An NP marked for genitive case can also function as a modifier that narrows the reference of the head noun by signifying some characteristic of the head noun’s referent, as in (465) above. Similarly, in (466) the genitive NP *mále* ‘blood’ modifies the head noun *gamsajt* ‘dumplings’.

- (466) *ja dágaj mále gamsajt*  
*ja dága-j [[mále]<sub>NP1</sub> gamsa-jd]<sub>NP2</sub>*  
 and make-3SG.PST blood\GEN.SG dumpling-ACC.PL  
 ‘and one made blood dumplings’ [pit080924.253]

In the example in (467), the NP *náv edna båtsoj* ‘so many reindeer’<sup>6</sup> consists of the AP *náv edna* ‘so many’ and the head noun *båtsoj* ‘reindeer’.

<sup>5</sup>*Skaile* is a family name.

<sup>6</sup>Note that the word *båtsoj* ‘reindeer’ is often marked for singular, even when referring to more than one reindeer.

- (467) *dä lij nåv edna båtsoj*  
*dä li-j [nåv edna båtsoj]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 then be-3SG.PST so much reindeer\NOM.SG  
 ‘there were so many reindeer’ (lit.: ‘so much reindeer’)  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.013]

As the example in (468) illustrates, it is possible for more than one modifier to be included in an NP. Here, both APs *guäkte* ‘two’ and *stuor* ‘big’ modify the noun head, which is the derived compound *guhka juolga-gijd* ‘long-leggers’ (referring to moose).

- (468) *dä inijmä guäkte stuora guhka juolga-gijd*  
*dä ini-jmä [guäkte stuora guhka-juolga-gi-jd]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 then have-1PL.PST two big long-leg-NMLZ-ACC.PL  
 ‘then we had two big moose’ (lit.: ‘long-leggers’) [pit090702.331]

If the context is sufficiently clear, it is possible that the head noun is not realized when a determiner and/or modifier is present; such cases are referred to as elliptical constructions. Numerals, for instance, can be in elliptical constructions, as in (469), in which the noun referring to nets is not realized, so *gålmaid* ‘third’ is the NP.

- (469) *ja gålmaid sjadda dä Stutjaj*  
*ja [gålmaid]<sub>NP1</sub> sjadda dä [Stutja-j]<sub>NP2</sub>*  
 and third become\3SG.PRS then Stutja-ILL.SG  
 ‘and the third one is then placed at Stutja’ (referring to ‘fishing net’)  
 [pit090702.026-027]

With the exception of *akta* ‘one’, numerals do not inflect for case and number.<sup>7</sup>

Less commonly, an adjectival phrase can be in an elliptical construction, either with or without a determiner. In the absence of a head noun, the adjective in the AP is the host for case and number, and is morphologically a nominal. In the example in (470), the head noun referring to a piece of candy is not realized, and the NP consists only of the adjective *rupsisav* ‘red’, which inflects for case and number.<sup>8</sup> The sentence in (471) illustrates a similar construction including a determiner; here, the head noun referring to a girl is not overt, and the NP only contains the determiner *dat* ‘that’ and the adjective *tjábba* ‘beautiful’.

- (470) *bårov rupsisav*  
*båro-v [rupsisa-v]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 eat-1SG.PRS red-ACC.SG  
 ‘I eat the red one’ [pit090930a.119 (elic.)]

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Section 8.8 for more on numerals.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Section 8.1.1 for more details about adjectives in elliptical structures.

- (471) *dat*                      *tjábba*                      *máhtta*                      *sáme*  
 [d-a-t                      *tjábba*]<sub>NP1</sub>                      *máhtta*                      [sáme  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG beautiful\NOM.SG can\3SG.PRS Saami\GEN.SG  
*gielav*  
*giela-v*]<sub>NP2</sub>  
 language-ACC.SG  
 ‘That beautiful one can (speak) the Saami language’ (referring to ‘beautiful girl’) [pit090930a.148 (elic.)]

There are many examples in the corpus of NPs consisting only of a demonstrative, as in *dajd* in (472), or other pronoun, as in *mån* in (473).

- (472) *bisij*                      *dajd*                      *såbe*                      *nanne*  
*bisi-j*                      [d-a-jd]<sub>NP1</sub>                      [såbe]<sub>NP2</sub>                      *nanne*  
 fry-3SG.PST DEM-DIST-ACC.PL stick\GEN.SG on  
 ‘he fried them on a stick’ [pit100404.125]
- (473) *mån*                      *mähtiv*                      *ráhpat*                      *uksav*  
 [mån]<sub>NP1</sub> *mähti-v*                      *ráhpa-t*                      [uksa-v]<sub>NP2</sub>  
 1SG.NOM can-1SG.PST open-INF door-ACC.SG  
 ‘I could open the door’ [pit100404.347]

The second NP in (472), *såbe* ‘stick’, also illustrates a genitive NP functioning as the complement of a PP.

When the head of an NP is a pronoun, it is also possible to modify it. For instance, in (474), the 1SG.NOM reflexive pronoun *etj* modifies the 1SG.NOM personal pronoun *mån* as an intensifier. Note that this ordering (modifier following the head) deviates from the general pattern, in which the modifier occurs before the head of the NP.

- (474) *mån*                      *etj*                      *hålv*                      *dále navte*  
 [mån                      *etj*]<sub>NP</sub>                      *hålv-v*                      *dále navte*  
 1SG.NOM REFL\1SG.NOM say-1SG.PRS now like\_that  
 ‘I myself say it like that’ [pit090910.29m05s (elic.)]

### 12.2.1 NPs in adverbial function

Nominal phrases, particularly referring to time or place, and thus inflected for one of the locative cases (illative, inessive or relative), are often used as temporal or locational adverbials, as in *giesen* ‘in summer’ in (475), and in *hieman* ‘at home’ in (476), respectively. Furthermore, the word *vahkov* ‘week’ in (476) shows that an accusative NP can function as a temporal adverbial indicating a period of time.

- (475) *men jáhkav minniv giesen*  
 men jáhka-v minni-v [giese-n]<sub>NP</sub>  
 but believe-1SG.PRS go-1SG.PST summer-INESS.SG  
 ‘I believe I went in the summer’ [pit100404.163]
- (476) *ja Henning lij jou hieman urrum*  
 ja [Henning]<sub>NP1</sub> li-j jou [hiema-n]<sub>NP2</sub> urru-m  
 and Henning\NOM.SG be-3SG.PST well home-INESS.SG be-PRF  
*vahkov*  
 [vahko-v]<sub>NP3</sub>  
 week-ACC.SG  
 ‘and Henning had been home for a week’ [pit090702.285]

Finally, the deverbal noun *diedon* literally translates as ‘in knowledge’, and can be used as a modal adverbial meaning ‘of course’, as in (477).

- (477) *etja diedon ednen mielkev ja*  
 [etj-a]<sub>NP1</sub> [died-o-n]<sub>NP2</sub> edne-n [mielke-v]<sub>NP3</sub> ja  
 self-NOM.PL know-NMLZ1-INESS.SG have-3PL.PST milk-ACC.SG and  
*vuostav*  
 [vuosta-v]<sub>NP4</sub>  
 cheese-ACC.SG  
 ‘they themselves of course had milk and cheese’  
 [pit080708\_Session02.034]

## 12.3 Adjectival phrases

**Adjectival phrases** (abbreviated ‘AP’) in Pite Saami are divided into three groups based on the type of adjective required as head:

- attributive APs (headed by attributive adjectives)
- predicate APs (headed by predicative adjectives)
- numeral APs (headed by numerals)

In the first case, the attributive AP is syntactically embedded in an NP whose head noun it modifies. In the second case, the predicative AP ascribes the property it concerns to the entire NP which is the subject of the copula clause that the AP is embedded in. Numeral APs can occur both attributively and predicatively.

The possible constituent structures of APs are presented in Figure 12.2. The only difference in internal structure between the two adjective APs is the choice of adjective: attributive vs. predicative. Numeral APs normally consist only of a numeral, but can be further modified by an adverbial.

attributive AP: [(AdvP) + attributive adjective]<sub>AP</sub>  
 predicative AP: [(AdvP) + predicative adjective]<sub>AP</sub>  
 numeral AP: [(AdvP) + numeral]<sub>AP</sub>

Figure 12.2: The three possible structures of adjectival phrases

Adverbial phrases are not common in APs. The data is quite limited concerning which type of AdvPs are acceptable, and future research is needed in this respect. Examples from the corpus include *ilá* ‘too’, *náv* ‘so’, *huj* ‘really’, *åbbå* ‘completely’ and *gajk* ‘all’.

Several examples of APs are provided here. In (478), the AP consists only of the attributive adjective *njalga* ‘tasty’ and modifies *biebmov* ‘food’, the head of the NP.

(478) *ja danna lip båråm njalga biebmov*  
*ja danna li-p bårå-m [njalg]\_AP biebmo-v*  
 and there be-1PL.PRS eat-PRF tasty food-ACC.SG  
 ‘and we ate tasty food there’ [pit110517b2.005]

The example in (479) illustrates an attributive adjective modified by an AdvP.

(479) *da lä urrum huj buorak giesse*  
*da lä urru-m [huj buorak]\_AP giesse*  
 then be\3SG.PRS be-PRF really good summer\NOM.SG  
 ‘it has been a really good summer’ [pit080909.009]

In (480), the predicative adjective *nuorra* ‘young’ agrees with the subject NP *mánná* ‘child’ in number.

(480) *mánná lä nuorra*  
*mánná lä [nuorra]\_AP*  
 child\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS young\SG  
 ‘the child is young’ [pit090930a.310 (elic.)]

As the example in (481) shows, predicative adjectives are syntactically adjectives, as the predicate adjective *buojde* ‘fat’ is the head of an AP modified by an AdvP (*náv* ‘so’).



- (481) *dä lä vusjkona nåv buojde*  
*dä lä vusjkona [nåv buojde]<sub>AP</sub>*  
 then be\3<sub>PL.PRS</sub> perch-NOM.PL SO fat\PL  
 ‘then the perch are so fat’ [pit090702.080]

Finally, examples of the numeral APs are provided in (482) through (484). In the first example, *guäkte* ‘two’ modifying the NP *dåpe* ‘houses’ is provided in (482).

- (482) *dä guäkte dåpe lä danne*  
*dä [guäkte]<sub>AP</sub> dåpe lä danne*  
 then two house\NOM.PL be\3<sub>PL.PRS</sub> there  
 ‘then two houses are there’ [pit080924.385]

The example in (483)<sup>9</sup> is noteworthy because it shows how a numeral can be inflected as a superlative; here the ordinal numeral *vuostas* is in the superlative form *vuostamos* meaning ‘very first’, and modifies the NP *guhkajuolgak* ‘moose’.

- (483) *dieda, mån vuotjev vuostamos*  
*dieda mån vuotje-v [vuosta-mos]<sub>AP</sub>*  
 know\2<sub>SG.PRS</sub> 1<sub>SG.NOM</sub> shoot-1<sub>SG.PST</sub> first-SUPERL  
*guhkajuolgagav*  
*guhka-juolga-ga-v*  
 long-leg-NMLZ-ACC.SG  
 ‘you know I shot my very first long-legger’ (referring to a moose)  
 [pit080924.079]

Numeral APs can include an adverbial modifier. The adverb *ber* ‘only’ modifies the numeral *akkta* ‘one’ in (484).

- (484) *vuostak lij ber akkta rommå*  
*vuostak li-j [ber akkta]<sub>AP</sub> råmmå*  
 first be-3<sub>SG.PST</sub> only one room\NOM.SG  
 ‘initially there was only one room’ [pit100310b.051]

### 12.3.1 APs with an adverbial function

While the data in the corpus is quite limited, it appears that APs headed by an attributive adjective can be used adverbially. This is illustrated by *njuallga* ‘correct’ in (485).

<sup>9</sup>This example is also provided in example (332) in Section 8.8.3, but is repeated here for convenience.

- (485) *jus galga njuallga dajd njuovvat dä*  
*jus galga [njuallga]<sub>AP</sub> d-a-jd njuovva-t dä*  
 if will\3SG.PRS correct DEM-DIST-ACC.PL slaughter-INF then  
*galga dajd valldet ulgus åvdål gádtsastij*  
*galga d-a-jd valldet ulgus åvdål gádtsasti-j*  
 will\3SG.PRS DEM-DIST-ACC.PL take-INF out before hang\_up-3SG.PST  
 ‘If one slaughtered them correctly, then one would take them out before  
 one hung them up’ [pit080909.105]

## 12.4 Adverbial phrases

An **adverbial phrase** (abbreviated ‘AdvP’) has an adverb as its head, and can potentially be modified by a further AdvP, as illustrated in Figure 12.3

[(AdvP) + adverb]<sub>AdvP</sub>

Figure 12.3: The structure of adverbial phrases

The AdvP in example (486) consists only of the adverb *buoragit* ‘well’ (derived from *buorre* ‘good’).

- (486) *dalloj dä lij, manaj buoragit*  
*dalloj dä li-j mana-j [buoragi-t]<sub>AdvP</sub>*  
 at\_that\_time then be-3SG.PST go-3SG.PST good-ADVZ  
 ‘at that time it was, it went well’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.023]

The sentence in (487) shows that an adverb can be further modified by another, preceding adverb. Here, the AP head *buoragit* ‘well’ is further modified by the adverb *ganska* ‘quite’.<sup>10</sup>

- (487) *viesojmä vanj ganska buoragit*  
*vieso-jmä vanj [[ganska]<sub>AdvP1</sub> buoragi-t]<sub>AdvP2</sub>*  
 live-1PL.PST definitely quite good-ADVZ  
*dajna guollemijn aj*  
*d-a-jna guollemi-jn aj*  
 DEM-DIST-COM.SG fishing-COM.SG also  
 ‘we definitely lived quite well with the fishing, too’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.164]

The example in (488) illustrates a AdvP (*åbbå* ‘quite’) which modifies the head of an AP (*vuoras* ‘old’).

<sup>10</sup>The adverb *ganska* is a nonce borrowing from Swedish (cf. Swedish *ganska* ‘quite’).

- (488) *men åbbå vuoras lä del dát*  
 men [åbbå]<sub>AdvP</sub> vuoras lä del d-á-t  
 but quite old\SG be\3SG.PRS obviously DEM-PROX-NOM.SG  
 ‘but this one is obviously quite old’ [pit080708\_Session07.006]

Other forms also frequently fulfill an adverbial function; cf. Section 12.2.1 for nominal phrases, Section 12.3.1 for adjectival phrases, Section 12.5 for postpositional phrases and Section 9.2.1.1 for non-finite verb forms.

## 12.5 Postpositional phrases

A **postpositional phrase** (abbreviated ‘PP’) is headed by a postposition, which is always preceded by an NP complement. Any components in this complementing NP which are subject to case inflection inflect for genitive (as well as number). This structure is illustrated in Figure 12.4. See Section 10.2.1 on 186 for a list of postpositions.

[NP<sub>[GEN]</sub> + post-position]<sub>PP</sub>

Figure 12.4: Syntactic structure of postpositional phrases

The complement in a PP can be any valid nominal phrase. A number of examples for various NPs complementing the head of a PP are provided below: a noun with a determiner in (489), a single noun in (490), a demonstrative in (491), a personal pronoun in (492), an interrogative pronoun in (493), and an interrogative NP (494).

- (489) *mån gillgiv daj gusaj birra ságastit*  
 mån gillgi-v [d-a-j gusa-j birra]<sub>PP</sub> ságastit  
 1SG.NOM will-1SG.PST DEM-DIST-GEN.PL COW-GEN.PL about say-INF  
 ‘I was going to talk about those cows’ [pit080924.089]
- (490) *dä mån tjuotjuv Stuornjárga nanne*  
 dä mån tjuotju-v [Stuor-njárga nanne]<sub>PP</sub>  
 then 1SG.NOM stand-1SG.PRS big-point\GEN.SG on  
 Álesgiehtjen  
 Álesgiehtje-n  
 Västerfjäll-INESS.SG  
 ‘I am standing on ‘Big Point’ in Västerfjäll’ [pit100404.012]

- (491) *mån virtev tjáhtsev bejat dan sisa*  
*mån virte-v tjáhtse-v beja-t [d-a-n sisa]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 1SG.NOM must-1SG.PRS water-ACC.SG put-INF DEM-DIST-GEN.SG into  
 ‘I have to put water into that’ [pit080909.164]
- (492) *da lin duv gugu báhram*  
*d-a li-n [du-v gugu]<sub>PP</sub> báhram*  
 DEM-DIST\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS 2SG.GEN to come-PRF  
 ‘they have come to you’ [pit110329.35m03s (elic.)]
- (493) *mej nanne lä da?*  
*[me-j nanne]<sub>PP</sub> lä d-a*  
 what-GEN.PL on be\3PL.PRS DEM-DIST\NOM.PL  
 ‘what are those on?’ [pit110331a.27m28s (elic.)]
- (494) *mikkir gierge nanne?*  
*[mikkir gierge nanne]<sub>PP</sub>*  
 which rock\GEN.SG on  
 ‘on which rock?’ [pit110331a.110 (elic.)]

Postpositional phrases can function as clause-level adverbials, often indicating the location of an action, as in *dan giedge nanne* ‘on that stone’ in (495).

- (495) *dä Kataridna ja månnå dan giedge*  
*dä Kataridna ja månnå [d-a-n giedge*  
 then Katarina\NOM.SG and 1SG.NOM DEM-DIST-GEN.SG rock\GEN.SG  
*nanne pruvkojin ståhkåt*  
*nanne]<sub>PP</sub> pruvko-jin ståhkå-t*  
 on used\_to-3PL.PST play-INF  
 ‘Katarina and I used to play on that rock’ [pit100404.159]

Note that, to a very limited extent, some postpositions can be used as prepositions, in which case they head a prepositional phrase. However, the data in the corpus concerning prepositional phrases is so limited that no conclusions can be made at this point. See Section 10.2.2 for the two examples from the corpus.

## Chapter 13

# Overview of the Syntax of Sentences

In describing Pite Saami clauses, it is useful to begin with basic clauses that contain a full predicate and its arguments, complements and/or adjuncts, before moving on to describing complex clauses which consist of more than one clause linked through coordination or subordination. Therefore, basic clauses are described in Chapter 14, including declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. Chapter 15 then deals with complex clauses, covering coordination and subordination.

However, in order to better understand the syntax of sentences, it is sensible to begin with two general discussions that provide a framework for understanding the syntactic descriptions that follow. The first of these, in Section 13.1 below, covers grammatical relations in Pite Saami. This leads to the second discussion in Section 13.2, which concerns clause-level constituent ordering, and the role that information structure likely has in determining this.

### 13.1 Grammatical relations

Pite Saami is an accusative language because the only argument of an intransitive verb (S) is marked in the same way as the most-agent-like argument of a transitive verb (A): by the nominative case. The most-patient-like argument of a transitive verb (P) is marked differently: by the accusative case. This is illustrated by the following examples, with an intransitive verb in (496) and a (mono-)transitive verb in (497).

(496) *så mån tjielka sinne vällahiv*  
*så mån tjielka sinne vällahi-v*  
 SO 1SG.NOM sled\GEN.SG in lie-1SG.PST  
 ‘so I lay in the sled’ [pit100404.303]

(497) *dä almatj biejjaj risev dále nåvte*  
*dä almatj bieja-j rise-v dále nåvte*  
 then person\NOM.SG put-3SG.PRS stick-ACC.SG now so  
 ‘then one puts the stick like this’ [pit100404.216]

The direct object of a ditransitive verb is also in the accusative case, while the indirect object of a ditransitive verb is in an oblique case (usually in the illative case, which prototypically indicates that the noun refers to the goal of a movement), as illustrated in (498).

(498) *mån vaddav suhta buhtsujda biebmov*  
*mån vadda-v suhta buhtsu-jda biebmo-v*  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS several reindeer-ILL.PL food-ACC.SG  
 ‘I give food to several reindeer’ [pit110413b.157 (elic.)]

Grammatical relations in Pite Saami are thus marked by morphological means. Constituent ordering does not indicate grammatical relations in any way. For instance, in (499) the object precedes the subject.

(499) *sågijd mån anav*  
*sågi-jd mån ana-v*  
 birch-ACC.PL 1SG.NOM have-1SG.PRS  
 ‘I use birch wood’ [pit090702.149]

The following section provides more examples illustrating the flexibility of constituent ordering.

## 13.2 Constituent order at clause level

Clause-level constituent ordering in Pite Saami is not determined syntactically. That being said, in elicited clauses from the corpus, some ordering patterns do occur more frequently than others, and indicate that SVO ordering is a preferred ordering in context free elicited clauses, everything else being equal. This is illustrated by the examples in (500) through (502).

(500) *sån usjuda*  
*sån usjuda*  
 3SG.NOM think\3SG.PRS  
 ‘he thinks’ [pit081011.154 (elic.)]

- (501) *mån vuojnav bierdnav*  
*mån vuojna-v bierdna-v*  
 1SG.NOM see-1SG.PRS bear-ACC.SG  
 ‘I see a bear’ [pit080926.01m24s (elic.)]
- (502) *ålmaj vaddá blåmåv kuijdnej*  
*ålmaj vaddá blåmå-v kuijdna-j*  
 man\NOM.SG give\3SG.PRS flower-ACC.SG woman-ILL.SG  
 ‘the man gives the flower to the woman’ [pit100324.65m25s (elic.)]

However, it is possible that this ordering is triggered by typical Swedish constituent ordering, which is generally SVO, as Swedish was often used as the meta-language in elicitation sessions.

More significantly, the part of the Pite Saami corpus consisting of natural language situations confirms the lack of any set constituent ordering based on syntactic criteria.<sup>1</sup> To illustrate this syntactic flexibility, examples of SOV and OSV constituent ordering are provided in (503) and (504), respectively.

- (503) *mån vuostasj vierbmev biejav Áktjuotjålbmáj*  
*mån vuostasj vierbme-v bieja-v Áktjuotjålbmá-j*  
 1SG.NOM first net-ACC.SG put-1SG.PRS Áktjuotjålme-ILL.SG  
 ‘first I’ll put out the net in Áktjuotjålme’ [pit090702.024]
- (504) *sågijd mån anav*  
*sågi-jd mån ana-v*  
 birch-ACC.PL 1SG.NOM use-1SG.PRS  
 ‘I use birchwood’ [pit090702.149]

The example in (505) has VSO constituent order, and additionally has the non-finite verb complement (with OV ordering) in clause-final position.

<sup>1</sup>Note that Sammallahti claims that, at least for North Saami (although it is not entirely clear whether he means North Saami or is generalizing for all Saami languages here), the “order of the main constituents [...] is largely free from formal restrictions and guided by pragmatic principles”, but then states that the “basic order is SVO” (Sammallahti 1998: 95). This seems to reflect the data from the Pite Saami corpus to the extent that context-free elicited clauses tend to be SVO, while in fact no syntactic criteria for constituent ordering can be ascertained in natural language. Lagercrantz takes several pages to describe a variety of tendencies in constituent ordering for Pite Saami declarative clauses, even after describing ordering preferences concerning topic and focus within a discourse and summarizing the actual situation: “Die Stellung des Satzgegenstandes hat eine gewisse stilistische Wirkung” (Lagercrantz 1926: 46). Perhaps current descriptions of syntax in the Saami languages would be better served if linguists would cease trying to force these languages into an inaccurate (but typologically neat) label such as SVO.

- (505) *dä galgav mån gávåjd vuosedit*  
*dä galga-v mån gávå-jd vuosedit-t*  
 then will-1SG.PRS 1SG.NOM picture-ACC.PL show-INF  
 ‘then I will show some pictures’ [pit080825.036]

Attempting to determine constituent order patterns is further complicated by the fact that it is sometimes impossible to tell what the constituent ordering is because NPs referring to presupposed information are frequently not realized overtly, as in (505) above and (506) through (509) below.

- (506) *ber aktak tjårvev adna*  
*ber aktak tjårve-v adna*  
 only one antler-ACC.SG have\3SG.PRS  
 ‘(the reindeer) only has one antler’ [pit100405b.019]

- (507) *gallga giesset ulgus*  
*gallga giesse-t ulgus*  
 will\3SG.PRS pull-INF out  
 ‘(the reindeer herder) will pull (the reindeer buck) out’  
 [pit080909.017]

- (508) *mån biejav dut*  
*mån bieja-v dut*  
 1SG.NOM put-1SG.PRS there  
 ‘I’ll put (the pole) there’ [pit100404.218]

- (509) *ja vadde, Eva-Karin!*  
*ja vadde Eva-Karin*  
 and give\2SG.IMP Eva-Karin  
 ‘and give (me) (a sausage), Eva-Karin!’ [pit090519.208]

While person and number markers on the finite verb indicate grammatical information about the subject, there is no overt subject in (506) or (507). The clauses in (507) through (509) are lacking overt objects. The final example is also missing the indirect object.

Indeed, a complete clause can consist of nothing more than an inflected verb, as in the response in (510),<sup>2</sup> which consists only of nothing more than the copula verb inflected for 3SG.PRS.

<sup>2</sup>The source of the example in (510) is the recording ‘pit05HilpertDialog’, which was collected by linguist Martin Hilpert during a pilot project he completed on Pite Saami in 2005. I am very grateful to him for providing me with his recordings and annotations. Note that Martin’s recordings are not included in the Pite Saami documentation corpus.



- (510) A: *ja tjáppa dálle!*  
*ja tjáppa dálle*  
 and beautiful weather\NOM.SG  
 ‘and such beautiful weather!’

B: *lä.*  
*lä*  
*be\3SG.PRS*

‘yes, it is’ (lit.: ‘is’)

[pit05HilpertDialog.00m38s]

However, there are no examples in the corpus of verb-initial clauses featuring an overt subject and a VC with one verb. While there are plenty of examples of the finite verb preceding the subject and most other clausal constituents, some constituent always precedes the verb. Frequently, it is the adverb *dä*, as in (511).

- (511) *ja dä báhta reksak*  
*ja dä báhta reksak*  
 and then come\3SG.PRS ptarmigan\NOM.SG

‘and then a ptarmigan comes’

[pit100404.241]

If the subject is not realized overtly, or if the VC contains more than one verb form, then the finite verb can be clause initial, as in (512) and (513), respectively.

- (512) *bisij dajd dä såbe nanne*  
*bisi-j d-a-jd dä såbe nanne*  
 grill-3SG.PST DEM-DIST-ACC.PL then stick\GEN.SG on

‘he grilled them then on a stick’

[pit100404.125]

- (513) *ittjiv mán mujte*  
*ittji-v mán mujte*  
 NEG-1SG.PST 1SG.NOM remember-\CONNEG

‘I didn’t remember’

[pit100404.227]

### 13.2.1 Information structure

Considering the syntactic flexibility described above, it is only reasonable to consider information structure as a constituent ordering strategy. While a thorough investigation of information structure in Pite Saami is beyond the scope of the present study and must be left for more thorough future research, some preliminary observations can be made.

Specifically, declarative clauses typically begin with the topic (frequently the subject in the nominative case) and end with a comment on that topic; if the comment involves a transitive verb, the object or complement clause (the focus) normally follows the verb, as in (501) and (502) above. However, clausal elements in focus can be moved from their ‘default’ position, which results in significant deviations from the preferred SVO constituent order. This is reflected in constituent interrogative clauses; here, the interrogative pronoun in focus and always in clause-initial position (cf. Section 14.2.1).

The short example text in (514) below should serve to give an impression of how information structure may be the driving force behind constituent ordering at clause-level. Here, the speaker is talking about looking inside her mother’s shoes after discovering that a mouse had been in them.

(514) a. *ja danne vuojdniv unna jånåtjav.*  
 ja danne vuojdni-v unna jånå-tja-v  
 and there see-1SG.PST small\ATTR lingonberry-DIM-ACC.SG  
 ‘and there I saw a little lingonberry’

b. *jahkav skafferijav lä danne adnam,*  
 jahka-v skafferija-v lä danne adna-m  
 believe-1SG.PRS pantry-ACC.SG be\3SG.PRS there have-PRF

‘I think (the mouse) had a pantry there’ [pit100404.353-354]

In (514a) the topic is *danne* ‘there’, which refers to the shoes (the topic of the anecdote at this point) and is clause-initial. The constituent *jånåtjav* ‘lingonberry’ is the focus, but it is not particularly significant in the anecdote, and it follows the finite verb *vuojdni* ‘I saw’. However, when particular emphasis is placed on the focus, as in the following clause in (514b), the constituent in focus can be fronted. Here, *skafferijav* ‘pantry’ is in focus, and receives particular emphasis<sup>3</sup> by occurring before the verbal complex *lä danne adnam* ‘has had there’, while the topic (the mouse) is not realized overtly at all, but implied by the context and by the finite verb form inflected for 3SG. This fronting of a constituent is often accompanied by higher acoustic intensity, as is the case here.

<sup>3</sup>The NP *skafferijav* ‘pantry’ probably receives special emphasis because it personifies the behavior of the mouse in a light-hearted way by claiming that a mouse can have a pantry.

# Chapter 14

## Basic clauses

A basic clause is a syntactic unit at text-level consisting minimally of a finite verb. In declarative clauses and interrogative clauses, this finite verb is marked morphologically for person, number, tense and/or mood. Aspect can be expressed analytically at the clause level using an auxiliary verb and a non-finite verb form. In all basic clauses, the finite verb agrees in number and, with the exception of imperative mood, in person with the syntactic subject of the sentence, which is a nominal phrase in the nominative case. NPs referring to presupposed information are not necessarily realized overtly; as a result, the syntactic subject and other verbal arguments are often not overtly present.

The following sections first present basic declarative clauses with intransitive and transitive verbs, existential clauses, copula clauses and complex verbal constructions consisting of more than one verb (Section 14.1). Section 14.2 then deals with interrogative clauses, before Section 14.3 and 14.4 cover syntactic aspects of the imperative mood and the potential mood, respectively.

### 14.1 Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses are the most common type of clause in the Pite Saami corpus. In the following, declarative clauses with a single verb are dealt with first, covering intransitive and transitive verbs, and two special cases (existential clauses and copula clauses). Then, declarative clauses featuring a modal or auxiliary verb in addition to the lexical head verb are described; because negation is expressed by an auxiliary verb, it is covered in the same section. While constituent ordering is mentioned in the following sections, it mostly refers to tendencies only, and the flexible nature of Pite Saami constituent ordering should always be kept in mind, as discussed in Section 13.2.

### 14.1.1 Basic intransitive declaratives

The subject of an intransitive declarative clause is in the nominative case, as in (515) through (517).

- (515) *almatj usjut ja...*  
 almatj usjut ja  
 person\NOM.SG think\3SG.PRS and  
 ‘one thinks, and...’ [pit100404.172]
- (516) *mån tjájmav*  
 mån tjájma-v  
 1SG.NOM laugh-1SG.PRS  
 ‘I laugh’ [pit100323a.005]
- (517) *dáj Skaile ello sákoj*  
 d-á-j Skaile ello sáko-j  
 DEM-PROX-GEN.PL Skaile\GEN.PL reindeer\_herd\NOM.SG drown-3SG.PST  
 ‘The Skaile family’s reindeer herd drowned’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.002]

#### 14.1.1.1 Clauses with a passive verb

When a transitive verb is passivized,<sup>1</sup> its valency is reduced, and it becomes intransitive. In this, the patient is the subject of the verbal complex, and therefore marked by nominative case; the agent may be left out. This is illustrated by the pair of elicited examples in (518) and (519), and the example from a narrative in (520).

- (518) *máná lä tsiggim gádev*  
 máná lä tsiggi-m gáde-v  
 child\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS build-PRF hut-ACC.SG  
 ‘children have built the hut’ [pit110518a.28m14s (elic.)]
- (519) *dat lä tsiggiduvvum*  
 d-a-t lä tsiggi-duvvu-m  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS build-PASS-PRF  
 ‘that (hut) was built’ [pit110518a.27m41s (elic.)]

<sup>1</sup>Transitive verbs can be passivized using the derivational suffix *-duvv*; cf. Section 11.2.5 on derivational morphology and Section 9.3 on inflectional morphology for passives.

- (520) *dát*                    *lä*                    *vanj*                    *dä*    *gajk vuorasumos*  
 d-á-t                    lä                    vanj                    dä    gajk vuorasu-mos  
 DEM-PROX-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS probably then all    old-SUPERL\SG  
*dágaduvvum*  
 dága-duvvu-m  
 make-PASS-PRF  
 ‘This was probably the absolute oldest made’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.120]

The NP referring to the agent of an event can optionally occur obliquely in the relative case if the verb is passivized, as in (521).

- (521) *gåhte*                    *lä*                    *tsiggiduvvum*                    *mánájst*  
 gåhte                    lä                    tsiggi-duvvu-m                    máná-jst  
 hut\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS build-PASS-PRF    child-ELAT.PL  
 ‘the hut has been built by children’                    [pit110518a.28m41s (*elic.*)]

### 14.1.2 Basic transitive declaratives

In declarative clauses featuring a monotransitive verb, the subject is in nominative and is typically the agent, while the object is in the accusative case and is typically the patient of the predicate. Examples can be seen in (522) through (524).

- (522) *ja mán vuojnav muähtagav danne*  
 ja mán vuojna-v muähtaga-v danne  
 and 1SG.NOM see-1SG.PRS SNOW-ACC.SG here  
 ‘and I see snow here’                    [pit100404.020]
- (523) *danne sáme edne båtšujd giesen*  
 danne sáme edne båtšujd giese-n  
 there Saami\NOM.PL have\3PL.PRS reindeer-ACC.PL summer-INESS.SG  
 ‘the Saami keep the reindeer there in the summer’                    [pit100404.011]
- (524) *almatj bedja virbmijd ehket*  
 almatj bedja virbmi-jd ehket  
 person\NOM.SG put\3SG.PRS fishing\_net-ACC.PL evening  
 ‘one puts out fishing nets in the evening’                    [pit100310b.020]

In declarative clauses with a ditransitive verb, the direct object is also in the accusative case and is typically theme, while the indirect object, typically recipient, is normally in the illative case. Examples can be seen in (525) and (526).

(525) *mån vaddav gålbmå buhtsujda biebmov*  
*mån vadda-v gålbmå buhtsu-jda biebmo-v*  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS three reindeer-ILL.PL food-ACC.SG  
 ‘I give food to three reindeer’ [pit110413b.156 (elic.)]

(526) *mån vaddav dunje fahtsajt*  
*mån vadda-v dunje fahtsa-jt*  
 1SG.NOM give-1SG.PRS 2SG.ILL glove-ACC.PL  
 ‘I give gloves to you’ [pit080926.01m01s (elic.)]

### 14.1.3 Existential clauses

The verb *gävdnut* is used as an existential verb.<sup>2</sup> The item whose existence is posited is the syntactic subject of the sentence and thus in the nominative case, which *gävdnut* agrees in person and number with. Examples can be found in (527) and (528).

(527) *váren gävndu aj juomo*  
*váre-n gävndu aj juomo*  
 mountain-INESS.SG exist\3PL.PRS also sorrel\NOM.PL  
 ‘there is sorrel in the mountains, too’ (lit.: there are sorrels...)  
 [pit080924.178]

(528) *dal itij gävndoj aktak tjårvebielle*  
*dal itji-j gävndoj aktak tjårve-bielle*  
 NOW NEG-3SG.PST exist\CONNEG any horn-half\NOM.SG  
 ‘there isn’t a single *tjårvebielle*<sup>3</sup> now’ [pit100405b.021]

The subject frequently follows the verb because the subject is often the focus of the clause, but as the clause in (529) shows, the subject may occur before the verb if it is the topic and/or presupposed knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Much like its Swedish counterpart *finnas*, which is a derivation of the verb *finna* ‘find’, the Pite Saami verb *gävdnut* is derived from the verb *gävndat* ‘find’.

<sup>3</sup>A *tjårvebielle* (lit.: horn-half) is the Pite Saami term used to describe a reindeer with only one antler remaining after the other antler has broken off.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Section 13.2.1 on information structure.

- (529) *...ja motora vadnasij. ‘motora’ ij gävdu*  
*ja motora vadnasi-j motora ij gävdu*  
 and motor\GEN.SG boat-COM.PL ‘motor’ NEG\3SG.PRS EXIST\CONNEG  
*sáme gielan*  
*sáme giela-n*  
 Saami\GEN.SG language-INESS.SG  
 ‘...and with motor boats. There is no (word for) “motor” in the Saami language’ [pit080924.482,484]

#### 14.1.4 Copula clauses

There are several types of copula clauses in Pite Saami. All of these feature the copula verb *árrot* ‘be’, which inflects for number and person of the subject and is marked for tense, aspect and/or mood (see Section 9.5.7 for more details). Copula clauses can be used to express a variety of information about the subject referent, and these are discussed below.

When the complement of the copula is an NP in nominative case, it identifies or classifies the subject referent, as in (530) and (531), respectively.

- (530) *Mattijá lij morbror munje*  
*Mattijá li-j morbror<sup>5</sup> munje*  
 Matthias\NOM.SG be-3SG.PST uncle\NOM.SG 1SG.ILL  
 ‘Matthias was my maternal uncle’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.007]

- (531) *mån lev sábme*  
*mån le-v sábme*  
 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS Saami\NOM.SG  
 ‘I am a Saami’ [pit080813.00m35s]

The complement of a copula clause can be one or more adjectival phrases headed by a predicative adjective which ascribes properties to the subject referent, as in (532).

- (532) *buhtsoj lä nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
*buhtsoj lä nav buojde ja tjábbe*  
 reindeer\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS SO fat\PL and beautiful\PL  
 ‘the reindeer are so fat and beautiful’ [pit080703.014]

The complement of a copula clause can be an NP in the inessive case in which case it describes the location of the subject referent, as in (533).

<sup>5</sup>Note that *morbror* ‘maternal uncle’ is a nonce borrowing from Swedish.

- (533) *måj lijmen Fuordnagin*  
*måj lij-men Fuordnagi-n*  
 1DU.NOM be-1DU.PST Fuordnak-INESS.SG  
 ‘we two were in Fuordnak’ [pit080924.590]

The complement of a copula clause can be an NP in the relative case in which case it describes the material which the subject referent is made of, as in (534).

- (534) *ja dát lä aj struvdast*  
*ja d-á-t lä aj struvda-st*  
 and DEM-PROX-NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS also cloth-ELAT.SG  
 ‘and this is also (made) of cloth’ [pit080708\_Session08.015]

If the complement of a copula clause is a temporal adverb, then the copula clause functions as an existential clause, positing the existence of the subject referent at that particular time. Pragmatically, this usually announces an event connected to the subject referent. Typically, the temporal referent occurs first in the sentence, then the copula verb, and the subject is last (just as with the existential verb *gädvnut*; cf. Section 14.1.3), as it is usually the focus. This is illustrated by the example in (535).

- (535) *ja dále'l káffa*  
*ja dále=1 káffa*  
 and now = be\3SG.PRS coffee-NOM.SG  
 ‘and now it’s coffee (time)’ [pit090519.313]

Possession can also be expressed by a copula construction. In such a construction, the possessed NP is the subject of the clause in the nominative case, which the finite verb agrees with in person and number. The possessor NP is in the inessive case. Such a construction is illustrated by the example in (536).

- (536) *muvne lä akta mánná*  
*muvne lä akta mánná*  
 1SG.INESS be\3SG.PRS one child\NOM.SG  
 ‘I have one child’ [pit080621.30m54s (elic.)]

In the corpus, such possessive constructions always have this constituent order:

POSSESSOR + COPULA + POSSESSED

While this type of possessive construction is the native Saamic structure,<sup>6</sup> it is very uncommon in the Pite Saami corpus, and almost exclusively limited to

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Bergsland (1977: 9).



elicitation sessions. The elicitation scenario may have had an effect on the constituent order,<sup>7</sup> but it is more likely the case that the constituent order reflects information structure preferences, specifically the tendency for the topic (more often the possessor, which is animate) to come before the focus (more often the possessed, which is inanimate).<sup>8</sup>

In any case, a clause-level construction using the monotransitive verb *ádnēt* ‘have’<sup>9</sup> expressing possession, as in (537), is now the standard in Pite Saami.

- (537) *ja dä inijmä gusajt*  
*ja dä ini-jmä gusa-jt*  
 and then have-1<sub>PL.PST</sub> COW-ACC.PL  
 ‘and then we had cows’ [pit080924.091]

### 14.1.5 Multi-verb declarative clauses

Verbs governing non-finite verbal complements can be classified into three groups based on the type of non-finite complement verb form they co-occur with, as illustrated in Table 14.1. The finite verb occurs before the non-finite

<i>verb type</i>	<i>non-finite form of complement</i>
modal verbs	INFINITIVE
aspectual auxiliary verb	PERFECT / PROGRESSIVE
negation verb	CONNegative

Table 14.1: Verbs accompanied by a non-finite complement verb

lexical complement verb, unless the complement is in focus, in which case it can occur before the finite verb. These verb types are dealt with in Sections 14.1.5.1, 14.1.5.2 and 14.1.5.3, respectively.

#### 14.1.5.1 Modal verbs

Modal verbs are used to express modality for the event denoted by the verbal complement. The complementing verb is in the infinitive (marked by the

<sup>7</sup>The equivalent Swedish structure is also normally POSSESSOR + VERB + POSSESSED.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Section 13.2.1.

<sup>9</sup>Historically, *ádnēt* meant ‘use’ or ‘keep’ (cf. Lehtiranta 2001: 10), but synchronically it is most frequently used to indicate possession in a transitive verb construction which is essentially identical to the equivalent Swedish verb *ha* or the English verb *have*.

suffix *-t*). Modal verbs include *máhttat* ‘can, be able to’, *ádtjot*<sup>10</sup> ‘may, be allowed to’, *virrtit* ‘must’, *háhttut*<sup>11</sup> ‘must’, *sihtat* ‘want’ and *gallgat* ‘will/shall’. Some examples are provided in (538) through (540).

- (538) *tjátsev ádtjobihtet juhgat dasste*  
*tjátse-v ádtjo-bihtet juhga-t d-a-sste*  
 water-ACC.SG may-2PL.PRS drink-INF DEM-DIST-INNESS.SG  
 ‘You all may drink water from that’ [pit090519.022]
- (539) *ja dä del virrtin allget bäbbmat*  
*ja dä del virrti-n allge-t bäbbma-t*  
 and then well must-3PL.PST begin-INF feed-INF  
 ‘and then they had to start to feed (the reindeer)’ [pit100405a.029]
- (540) *mij máhtep ságastit Bidumsáme gielav*  
*mij máhte-p ságasti-t Bidum-sáme giela-v*  
 1PL.NOM can-1PL.PRS speak-INF Pite-Saami\GEN.SG language-ACC.SG  
 ‘we can speak the Pite Saami language’ [pit110517b2.022]

The modal verb *sihtat* ‘want’ behaves the same when the subject of the complementing verb complex is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, as in (541).

- (541) *mån sidav gulijd adnet*  
*mån sida-v guli-jd adne-t*  
 1SG.NOM want-1SG.PRS fish-ACC.PL have-INF  
 ‘I want to have fish’ [pit090702.012]

However, when the subject of the modal verb *sihtat* is not coreferential with the subject of the complementing verbal complex, then a finite verb clause is the complement to the modal verb, as in the interrogative clause in (542).

- (542) *mav sida galgav enabujt ságastit*  
*ma-v sida galga-v ena-bu-jt ságasti-t*  
 what-ACC.SG want\2SG.PRS will-1SG.PRS much-COMP-ACC.PL say-INF  
 ‘what more do you want me to say?’ [pit100404.179]

The modal verb *gallgat* ‘will’ can also be used to locate events in the future, as in (543) through (545) below.

<sup>10</sup>The modal verb *ádtjot* ‘be allowed to’ is homophonous with the full verb *ádtjot* ‘get, receive’. This pattern is found in Swedish, as well, with the verb *få* ‘be allowed to’ and ‘receive’, and in English, e.g.: ‘I get to go to the movies’.

<sup>11</sup>The word *háhttut* ‘must’ is likely limited to northern dialects of Pite Saami.

- (543) *dä galgav sâmes mujjtemuv sâgastit*  
*dä galga-v sâmes mujjtemu-v sâgasti-t*  
 then will-1SG.PRS some memory-ACC.SG say-INF  
 ‘then I will tell (you) a memory’ [pit100703a.001]
- (544) *jo, da lä akta vuoberis,<sup>12</sup> gallga giesset ulgus*  
*jo da lä akta vuoberis gallga giesse-t ulgus*  
 yes then be\3SG.PRS one buck\NOM.SG will\3SG.PRS pull-INF out  
 ‘yes, it’s a 3-year old reindeer buck, (he) will pull (it) out’  
 [pit080909.016-017]
- (545) *gallgap dav girjev âdtjot*  
*gallga-p d-a-v girje-v âdtjo-t*  
 will-1PL.PRS DEM-DIST-ACC.SG book-ACC.SG get-INF  
 ‘we will get that book’ [pit110517b2.022]

The modal verb *gallgat* ‘will’ is often used in counterfactual conditional clauses, as in (546).

- (546) *jus galga sâme viesuv valldet, dä*  
*jus galga sâme viesu-v valldet-t dä*  
 if will\3SG.PRS Saami\GEN.SG life?-ACC.SG take-INF then  
*galga mielagav dal navt rutastit*  
*galga mielaga-v dal navt rutasti-t*  
 should\3SG.PRS sternum-ACC.SG then so pull-INF  
 ‘if I did this in the Saami way, then I would pull the sternum like this’  
 [pit080909.097]

#### 14.1.5.2 The aspect-marking auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verb *ârrot* ‘be’ together with a non-finite complement verb is used to mark the perfective and progressive aspects. This auxiliary verb is homophonous with the copula verb, and is also glossed as ‘be’. In the perfective aspect, the complement verb is in a non-finite form marked by the suffix *-m* as in (547) and (548), while the progressive non-finite verb is marked by the suffix *-min* as in (549) and (550), respectively.

- (547) *denne liv riegadam*  
*denne li-v riegada-m*  
 there be-1SG.PRS be\_born-PRF  
 ‘I was born there’ [pit090702.008]

<sup>12</sup>Specifically, a *vuoberis* is a three-year-old reindeer buck, but the gloss has been shortened to save space.

- (548) *lä*            *dån*            *mannam* *nagin* *bále*            *ja* *tjuvvum*  
*lä*            *dån*            *manna-m* *nagin* *bále*            *ja* *tjuvvu-m*  
 be\2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM go-PRF    some time\GEN.SG and accompany-PRF  
*Vistekij?*  
*Vistek-ij*  
*Vistek-ILL.SG*  
 ‘Have you ever gone and accompanied (them) to Vistek’  
 [pit080924.630]
- (549) *men* *mån*    *lev*            *tjåjvev*            *ruhtastemin* *ullgus*  
*men* *mån*    *le-v*            *tjåjve-v*            *ruhtaste-min* *ullgus*  
 but 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS stomach-ACC.SG cut-PROG    out  
 ‘but I’m cutting out the stomach’  
 [pit080909.054]
- (550) *nå*, *mav*            *lä*            *låhkåmin?*  
*nå* *ma-v*            *lä*            *låhkå-min*  
 well what-ACC.SG be\3SG.PRS read-PROG  
 ‘well, what is he studying?’ (lit: reading)  
 [pit080924.667]

### 14.1.5.3 The negation verb

Pite Saami clause negation is expressed by a special finite negation verb. Unlike other verbs, the negation verb does not have an infinitive or any other non-finite form, but is always a finite verb. As such, it always agrees in person and number with the subject of the clause, and inflects for tense and mood as well.<sup>13</sup> The complement verb occurs in a special non-finite form called the connegative. Examples for the negative verb can be found in (551) through (553).

- (551) *iv*            *jáhke*  
*i-v*            *jáhke*  
 NEG-1SG.PRS believe\CONNEG  
 ‘I don’t believe so’  
 [pit090702.411]
- (552) *men* *ijtjin*            *del* *bårå*            *dan*            *sisste*  
*men* *ijtji-n*            *del* *bårå*            *d-a-n*            *sisste*  
 but NEG-3PL.PST then eat\CONNEG DEM-DIST-GEN.SG out  
 ‘but they didn’t eat from this’  
 [pit080708\_Session03.019]

<sup>13</sup>In this respect, Pite Saami differs significantly from for instance North Saami negative clauses in which the main verb and not the finite negation verb inflects for tense (cf. Svonni 2009: 92).

- (553) *ittji*      *åbbå gävdno*      *vuodja*      *åsstet*  
 ittji-j      åbbå gävdno      vuodja      åsste-t  
 NEG-3SG.PST at\_all exist\CONNEG butter\NOM.SG buy-INF  
 ‘there wasn’t any butter to buy’ [pit080708\_Session03.006]

In the examples above, the non-finite complement to the connegative verb is a lexical verb. In the following examples in (554) through (556), the complement connegative verb is a modal or auxiliary verb whose own complement then follows in the appropriate non-finite form.

- (554) *ij*      *vanj dä máhte*      *ilá stuor däláv*      *adnet*  
 ij      vanj dä máhte      ilá stuor däláv-v      adne-t  
 NEG\3SG.PRS well then can\CONNEG too big fire-ACC.SG have-INF  
 ‘but you can’t have too big of a fire’ [pit090702.176]

- (555) *dä iv lä*      *åbbå gullam dav*  
 dä i-v      lä      åbbå gulla-m d-a-v  
 PTCL NEG-1SG.PRS be\CONNEG at\_all hear-PRF DEM-DIST-ACC.SG  
 ‘I haven’t heard that at all’ [pit090702.203]

- (556) *nej, mån iv lä*      *bårråm, men*  
 nej mån i-v      lä      bårrå-m men  
 no 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS be\CONNEG eat-PRF but  
*Jåssjål*      *bårråm*  
 Jåssjål = I      bårrå-m  
 Josh\NOM.SG = be\3SG.PRS eat-PRF  
 ‘no, I haven’t eaten (it), but Josh has eaten (it)’ [pit090519.147]

While Pite Saami constituent order is generally flexible,<sup>14</sup> there are no examples in Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus of the verb of negation occurring after the negated complement, but instead the connegative complement verb always follows the finite negation verb in a clause.

## 14.2 Interrogative clauses

Constituent interrogative clauses in Pite Saami are consistently marked as such syntactically, and thus are distinct from declarative clauses. Polar interrogative clauses, on the other hand, do not consistently differ from declarative clauses, although some syntactic constructions are more common than others. The following sections deal first with constituent interrogative clauses, then polar interrogative clauses in more detail.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Section 13.2.

### 14.2.1 Constituent interrogative clauses

Constituent interrogative clauses are the only type of independent clause in Pite Saami which is consistently marked syntactically as a clause type. Specifically, every constituent interrogative clause is marked as such by having an interrogative word in clause-initial position. This interrogative word can be an interrogative pronoun, which, as with any pronoun, inflects for case and number consistent with its grammatical role in the clause, while the humanness of its (expected) referent determines the choice of the root.<sup>15</sup> Some examples can be found in (557) through (559).

- (557) *mav*            *dån*        *hålå?*  
 ma-v            dån        hålå  
 what-ACC.SG 2SG.NOM say\2SG.PRS  
 ‘what are you saying?’ [pit090519.329]
- (558) *majd*            *dä*        *viehkedi?*  
 ma-jd            dä        viehkedi  
 what-ACC.PL then help\2SG.PST  
 ‘what then did you help (with)?’ [pit080924.615]
- (559) *gejna*            *dä*        *tjuovvo*  
 ge-jna            dä        tjuovvo  
 who-COM.SG then accompany\2SG.PST  
 ‘who did you go with?’ [pit080924.071]

Alternatively, the interrogative can be an adverb, as in (560) through (562).

- (560) *gukt* *lä*            *dát*  
 gukte lä            d-á-t  
 how be\3SG.PRS DEM-PROX-NOM.SG  
 ‘how is it?’ [pit080924.130]
- (561) *guste*            *dån*        *bådá*  
 guste            dån        bådá  
 where\_from 2SG.NOM come\2SG.PRS  
 ‘where are you coming from?’ [pit080924.003]
- (562) *gånne* *dajt*            *tjogidä*  
 gånne d-a-jt            tjogi-dä  
 where DEM-DIST-ACC.PL pick-2PL.PST  
 ‘where did you all pick them?’ [pit080924.168]

<sup>15</sup>Interrogative pronouns referring to non-human NPs all feature a *ma-* root, while those referring to human NPs have a *ge-* root. Interrogative adverbs also begin with *g-*. Cf. Section 7.4.

Assuming that any constituent which is the pragmatic focus can be marked by fronting, as preliminarily asserted in Section 13.2.1, then the fronting of the interrogative word is consistent with focus-marking. However, for constituent interrogative clauses, fronting is then obligatory. The rest of the clause is constructed syntactically just as freely as any declarative clause would be. While subject-verb inversion can occur, the flexible nature of Pite Saami constituent ordering prevents this from necessarily marking a clause as interrogative.

It is worth noting that the particle *nå*, which can be translated as ‘well’ or sometimes ‘yes’, frequently precedes constituent interrogative clauses, as in (563). However, it is not obligatory, nor is it restricted to interrogative clauses. It is likely a discourse particle, perhaps simply indicating the speaker’s active interest in the conversation.

- (563) *nå gokte lij Áhkkabákten gu dånå*  
*nå gokte li-j Áhkkabákte-n gu dånå*  
 well how be-3SG.PST Áhkkabákkte-INESS.SG when 2SG.NOM  
*lidje manna?*  
*lidje manna*  
 be\2SG.PRS child\NOM.SG

‘well what was Áhkkabákkte like when you were a child?’

[pit080924.063]

### 14.2.2 Polar interrogative clauses

Because of flexible constituent ordering in Pite Saami, there is no reliable syntactic test for whether a clause is a polar interrogative. The intonation of polar questions does not seem to differ significantly from any other types of clauses, either. However, polar interrogative clauses frequently have a constituent order in which the finite verb occurs before the subject. Furthermore, this finite verb is generally the first element in a clause. The examples in (564) through (566) illustrate this.

- (564) *galga dån ságastit enabuv?*  
*galga dån ságasti-t ena-bu-v*  
 will\2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM say-INF much-COMP-ACC.SG

‘are you going to say more?’

[pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.041]

- (565) *suovade dån?*  
*suovade dån*  
 smoke\2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM

‘do you smoke?’

[pit080702b.073]

- (566) *lij sǎn uktu jala lij Halvar aj manjen*  
*li-j sǎn uktu jala li-j Halvar aj manjen*  
 be-3SG.PST 3SG.NOM alone or be-3SG.PST Halvar\NOM.SG also along  
 ‘was he alone or was Halvar also along?’ [pit080924.308]

As with any Pite Saami clause, the syntactic subject does not have to be realized overtly. In such cases, the finite verb is still usually word initial, as in (567).

- (567) *udtju sáme gielav danne sagastit?*  
*udtju sáme giela-v danne sagasti-t*  
 may\2SG.PST Saami\GEN.SG language-ACC.SG there speak-INF  
 ‘were you allowed to speak Saami there?’ [pit080924.351]

However, it is also possible to front other elements which normally occur after the finite verb, as in (568) and (569). Here, the non-finite perfect form of the complement verb immediately precedes the aspect-marking auxiliary verb.

- (568) *juhku-m lä gajtsa mielkiev?*  
*juhku-m lä gajtsa mielkie-v*  
 drink-PFT be\2SG.PRS goat\GEN.SG milk-ACC.SG  
 ‘have you ever drunk goat’s milk?’ [pit080924.128]
- (569) *bárrám lä dǎn biergov danne?*  
*bárrám lä dǎn biergo-v danne*  
 eat-PFT be\2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM meat-ACC.SG there  
 ‘have you eaten meat there?’ [pit090519.130]

#### 14.2.2.1 Polar interrogatives and the question marker

It is possible for polar interrogative clauses to be identified as such by a question marker *gu ~ gus* following the finite verb. However, the use of the question marker in polar interrogatives is exceptionally uncommon and can hardly be considered obligatory in current Pite Saami usage; this is reflected in the data from the Pite Saami Documentation Project corpus, which contain only three tokens. See Section 10.1.2.1 for a preliminary discussion of the question marker, including the three tokens from the corpus.

### 14.3 Clauses in the imperative mood

Clauses in the imperative mood stand out syntactically by lacking an overt subject NP. Furthermore, they are marked by special portmanteau morphemes on



the finite verb; these morphemes express imperative mood as well as the number of the implied subject of the clause. The finite verb tends to be in clause-initial position, as shown by the examples in (570) and (571).

(570) *giehto*      *naginav*      *dan*      *Luodaure*      *birra*  
 giehto      nagina-v      d-a-n      Luodaure<sup>16</sup>      birra  
 tell\SG.IMP something-ACC.SG DEM-DIST-GEN.SG Luodaure\GEN.SG about  
 ‘say something about this Luodaure’      [pit080924.314]

(571) *bieja*      *pirunav*      *bävvdaj*  
 bieja      piruna-v      bävvdaj  
 put\SG.IMP potato-ACC.SG table-ILL.SG  
 ‘put the potato on the table’      [pit101208.478 (elic.)]

Nonetheless, the standard phrase for ‘thank you’, shown in (572) in dual person, indicates that a constituent other than the finite verb may occur before a finite verb in imperative mood.

(572) *gijtov*      *adnen*  
 gijto-v      adne-n  
 thank-ACC.SG have-DU.IMP  
 ‘thank you (two)’ (lit: have thanks!)      [pit101208.292 (elic.)]

However, no other examples for such constructions are found in the corpus, and this constituent ordering is likely due to this phrase being a common and non-productive lexicalized expression calqued from the Swedish expression *tack ska du ha!* (literally ‘thanks you shall have!’).

The adverb *dále* ‘now’ is common in imperative clauses, and is frequently abbreviated to *dál*, as in (573).

(573) *årren*      *dál*  
 årre-n      dál  
 sleep-DU.IMP now  
 ‘go to sleep now!’      [pit110518a.06m55s (elic.)]

## 14.4 Clauses in the potential mood

Aside from featuring a finite verb inflected for the potential mood<sup>17</sup> by the *-tj* suffix, clauses in the potential mood generally lack an overt subject argument, as in (574) and (575).

<sup>16</sup>*Luodaure* is the name of a lake.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Section 9.1.3.2 on the usage and the morphology of the potential mood.

- (574) *nå hålv, vuolgetjip del*  
*nå hålv-v vuolge-tji-p del*  
 well say-1SG.PRS go-POT-1PL obviously  
 ‘well then I say we really should probably go’ [pit090702.013]
- (575) *nä, virtitjav nuollat*  
*nä virti-tja-v nuolla-t*  
 no must-POT-1SG undress-INF  
 ‘oh no, I’ll probably have to take off some clothes’ [pit090519.029]

However, as the clause in (576) makes clear, it is possible to have an overt subject argument.

- (576) *jus sån vuosjatja káfav*  
*jus sån vuosja-tj-a káfa-v*  
 if 3SG.NOM prepare\_coffee-POT-3SG coffee-ACC.SG  
 ‘if he will perhaps make some coffee’ [pit110404.269 (*elic.*)]

With this in mind, clauses in the potential mood do not differ syntactically from declarative clauses.

As mentioned in Section 9.1.3.2, the potential mood can also be used as a less severe command. This resembles clauses in the imperative voice, which never occur with an overt subject. In the corpus, tokens of such commands marked by the potential mood never occur with an overt subject, as shown in example (577).

- (577) *vuosjatja káfav*  
*vuosja-tj-a káfa-v*  
 prepare\_coffee-POT-2SG coffee-ACC.SG  
 ‘perhaps you could make some coffee’ [pit110404.267 (*elic.*)]

Future research could be used to shed more light on the potential syntactic constraints on clauses in the potential mood.

# Chapter 15

## Complex Clauses

Two or more clauses can be conjoined by coordination or subordination. After describing coordination in Section 15.1, several types of subordination are described; specifically, complement clauses are covered in Section 15.2.1, and adverbial clauses are dealt with in Section 15.2.2. Finally, relative clauses which do not form a constituent of a matrix clause, but instead modify a nominal phrase, are described in detail in this chapter as well (in Section 15.2.3).

### 15.1 Clausal coordination

There are several coordinating conjunctions that are used to syntactically join the basic clauses described in Chapter 14. In such cases, a coordinating conjunction occurs between the two clauses it connects. The clauses themselves are otherwise not marked in any way for coordination. The coordinating conjunctions are *ja* ‘and’, *vala* ‘but’, *men*<sup>1</sup> ‘but’, *jala* ‘or’ and *eller*<sup>2</sup> ‘or’. The examples in (578) and (579) illustrate clausal coordination using the coordinators *ja* and *men*, respectively.

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<sup>1</sup>Note that *men* is a borrowing from Swedish (< *men* ‘but’) and is used almost exclusively in the corpus, while the native Saamic word *vala* is only found in a Pite Saami reading based on a Lule Saami translation of the New Testament (recording pit100403). Several examples in Lagercrantz (1926) include *men* (e.g. on p. 20), so it has been part of Pite Saami for around a century or longer.

<sup>2</sup>Just as with *men*, *eller* is a borrowing from Swedish (< *eller* ‘or’); however, the native Saamic word *jala* is rather common as well in the corpus. Furthermore, unlike *men*, *eller* is not mentioned in Lagercrantz (1926). So it seems that *eller* is likely a more recent word-choice development, perhaps due to increased dominance of the Swedish language over the last century.

- (578) *mån anav Árjepluove gaptev nanne, ja Ivan*  
*mån ana-v Árjepluove gapte-v nanne ja Ivan*  
 1SG.NOM have-1SG.PRS Arjeplog\GEN.SG frock-ACC.SG on and Ivan  
*adna Arrvehavre gáptev*  
*adna Arrvehavre gapte-v*  
 have-3SG.PRS Arvidsjaur\GEN.SG frock-ACC.SG  
 ‘I have an Arjeplog frock on, and Ivan has an Arvidsjaur frock’  
 [pit080825.047]
- (579) *men ijtin del bårå dan siste, men*  
*men ijti-n del bårå d-a-n siste men*  
 but NEG-3PL.PST obviously eat\CONNNEG DEM-DIST-GEN.SG out but  
*ednen biebmojt biergojt ja dále návte deggara*  
*edne-n biebmo-jt biergo-jt ja dále návte deggara*  
 have-3PL.PST food-ACC.PL meat-ACC.PL and now like\_this such\GEN.PL  
*sinne*  
*sinne*  
*in*  
 ‘but they obviously didn't eat from this, but they had food, meat and so  
 on in such things’  
 [pit080708\_Session03.019]

When *jala* or *eller* function as clausal coordinators in the corpus, they are mostly used to indicate meta-language commentary showing that the second clause is an alternate or amended version of the first clause, as in (580), rather than to provide clause-level alternatives.

- (580) *dále'l gámbal dáhpe, äää, jala almatj*  
*dále = 1 gámbal dáhpe äää jala almatj*  
 now = be\3SG.PRS old house\NOM.SG mmm or person\NOM.SG  
*hállå ‘unna dábátj’*  
*hállå unna dábá-tj*  
 say\3SG.PRS small house-DIM\NOM.SG  
 ‘now this is the old house, mmm, or one says “the little house”’  
 [pit100310b.047-049]

## 15.2 Clausal subordination

A Pite Saami clause can be subordinate to another clause or to a nominal phrase. When embedded at clause-level, the subordinate clause can be either a complement clause or an adverbial clause, depending on whether it fills an argument or an adverbial role. When embedded in an NP, then the subordinate clause

is a relative clause. These three types of subordinate clause are described in Sections 15.2.1, 15.2.2 and 15.2.3, respectively.

### 15.2.1 Complement clauses

A complement clause fills an argument slot of the verbal predicate in the matrix clause it belongs to. There are a variety of complement clause constructions, and both finite and infinite predicates are possible. Complement clauses can be marked by a complementizer or can stand in juxtaposition to the matrix clause. The different complement clause marking strategies are summarized in Table 15.1 and described in the following sections.

<i>predicate type</i>	<i>subordination strategy</i>
finite	complementizer <i>att</i>
	juxtaposition
infinite	juxtaposition

Table 15.1: Types of complement clause marking

#### 15.2.1.1 Complement clauses with a finite predicate

Complement clauses with a fully inflected finite predicate are attested using one of two strategies. First, the borrowed complementizer *att*<sup>3</sup> can mark a complement clause. In such cases, the complement clause typically follows the matrix clause. The complementizer is in clause-initial position in the complement clause. Examples can be found in (581) and (582).

(581) *ja dä mån hålv att sidav bajket*  
 ja dä mån hålv-att sida-v bajke-t  
 and then 1SG.NOM say-1SG.PRS SUBORD want-1SG.PRS poop-INF  
 ‘and then I say that I want to poop’ [pit080924.591]

(582) *men mån diedav att háre lä*  
 men mån dieda-v att háre lä  
 but 1SG.NOM know-1SG.PRS SUBORD greyling\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS  
*jávren*  
 jávre-n  
 lake-INESS.SG  
 ‘but I know that there are greyling in the lake’ [pit100404.052]

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the Swedish particle *att*, which is, among other things, also a complementizer.

Secondly, complement clauses with a finite predicate may be juxtaposed to the matrix clause they belong to. The complement clause typically follows the matrix clause. Verbs hosting such complements include *jáhkket* ‘believe’, *diehtet* ‘know’, *hállát* ‘say’ and *tuhtjet* ‘like’. Examples can be found in (583) through (585).

- (583) *mån jáhkav stuor tjuovtja lä danne*  
*mån jáhka-v stuor tjuovtj-a lä danne*  
 1SG.NOM believe-1SG.PRS big whitefish-NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS there  
 ‘I believe there are big whitefish there’ [pit090702.123]

- (584) *men mån tuhtjiv dat lij nav suohtas*  
*men mån tuhtji-v d-a-t lij nav suohta-s*  
 but 1SG.NOM think-1SG.PRS DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be\3SG.PST so nice-SG  
*tieltajn viessot*  
*tielta-jn viesso-t*  
 tent-INESS.PL stay-INF  
 ‘but I think it was so nice to stay in tents’ [pit080924.644]

- (585) *men háláv, vuhtijmä mija sárvav*  
*men háláv-v vuhtji-jmä mija sárva-v*  
 but say-1SG.PRS shoot-1PL.PST 1PL.NOM moose-ACC.SG  
 ‘but then I say we shot a moose’ [pit090702.404]

Constituent interrogative clauses can also be a juxtaposed complement clause. As with any such interrogative clause, an interrogative pronoun or other question word occurs as the initial element of the complement clause. This strategy typically coincides with complements for epistemic verbs such as *diehtet* ‘know’ or *skenit* ‘understand’. Some examples are provided in (586) through (588).

- (586) *mån iv diede gásse gillgin gávnadit*  
*mån i-v diede gásse gillgi-n gávnadi-t*  
 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS know\CONNEG when will-1DU.PRS meet-INF  
*maŋep bále*  
*maŋe-p bále*  
 after-COMP time\GEN.SG  
 ‘I don’t know when we’ll meet next time’ [pit081011.183]

- (587) *mån iv skene mav dân*  
*mån i-v skene ma-v dân*  
 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS understand\CONNEG what-ACC.SG 2SG.NOM  
*hålå*  
*hålå*  
 say\2SG.PRS  
 ‘I don’t understand what you’re saying’ [pit080926.05m14s (elic.)]
- (588) *mån diedav gie lä*  
*mån dieda-v gie lä*  
 1SG.NOM KNOW-1SG.PRS who\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS  
 ‘I know who she is’ [pit090702.460]

While the complement clause typically follows the matrix clause, this does not necessarily have to be the case, as illustrated by (589).

- (589) *man mälгат lij gu lij hiejman, iv*  
*man mälгат li-j gu li-j hiejma-n i-v*  
 how far be-3SG.PST when be-3SG.PST home-INESS.SG NEG-1SG.PRS  
*mån diede*  
*mån diede*  
 1SG.NOM KNOW\CONNEG  
 ‘I don’t know how far it was to be home’ [pit100404.317]

### 15.2.1.2 Complement clauses with an infinite predicate

Complement clauses with an infinite predicate can be juxtaposed to the matrix clause they belong to. The complement clause typically follows the matrix clause. While not particularly common in the corpus, verbs such as *állget* ‘begin’ and *vajáldahtet/ájaldahtet*<sup>4</sup> ‘forget’ are accompanied by complement clauses headed by an infinitive verb, as in (590) through (593).

- (590) *nå gosse dijá älgjädä Örnvikast vuodjet*  
*nå gosse dijá älgi-jdä Örnvika-st vuodje-t*  
 well when 2PL.NOM begin-2PL.PST Örnvik-ELAT.SG drive-INF  
*vadnasav?*  
*vadnasa-v*  
 boat-ACC.SG  
 ‘well when did you start to take the boat from Örnvik?’  
 [pit080924.563]

<sup>4</sup>The word *vajáldahtet* ‘forget’ is likely limited to the northern dialects of Pite Saami, while *ájaldahtet* is preferred in the south.

- (591) *ja dä del virrtin allget biebmat, fodderijt*  
*ja dä del virrti-n allge-t biebma-t fodderi-jt*  
 and then obviously must-3PL.PST begin-INF feed-INF feed-ACC.PL  
*vuodjet*  
*vuodje-t*  
 drive-INF  
 ‘and so they obviously had to start to feed, to transport the feed’  
 [pit100405a.029]
- (592) *nä, mån liv åjaldaham valldet manen*  
*nä mån li-v åjaldahata-m vallde-t manen*  
 no 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS forget-PRF take-INF with  
 ‘no, I forgot to take it along’ [pit090519.322]
- (593) *vajálduhtiv hållåt, gu vusjkonijt dihkiiv...*  
*vajálduhti-v hållå-t gu vusjkoni-jt dihki-v*  
 forget-1SG.PRS say-INF when perch-ACC.PL do-1SG.PST  
 ‘I am forgetting to say, when I did the perch...’ [pit090702.079]

### 15.2.2 Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause is a subordinate clause that fills an adverbial function in the matrix clause. Adverbial clauses begin with a subordinating particle such as *gu* ‘when, once’, *jus* ‘if’, *manjel* ‘after’, *åvdål* ‘before’, *innan*<sup>5</sup> ‘before’ or *gukte* ‘how’, but otherwise are not marked syntactically as subordinate clauses. The adverbial clause itself is headed by a fully inflected finite verb.

For instance, the example in (594) shows that the adverbial clause can follow the matrix clause.

- (594) *hihtu vanj dä baktjat innan mån stärtiv*  
*hihtu vanj dä baktja-t innan mån stärti-v*  
 must\2SG.PRS well then back-INF before 1SG.NOM start-1SG.PRS  
*motorav*  
*motora-v*  
 motor-ACC.SG  
 ‘well you have to back up then before I start the motor’  
 [pit090702.018-019]

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<sup>5</sup>Note that the particle *innan* is a borrowing from Swedish and is only attested once in the corpus.



In the example in (595), the dependent complement clause *gu lidjin sladjim* ‘once they had harvested’ precedes the matrix clause *dä bāhtin da bajás* ‘then they came up’.

- (595) *gu lidjin sladjim, dä bāhtin da*  
*gu lidji-n sladji-m dä bāhti-n d-a*  
 when be-3PL.PST harvest-PRF then come-3PL.PST DEM-DIST\SG.NOM  
*bajás*  
*bajás*  
 up  
 ‘once (the farmers) had harvested, then they (the plants) came up’  
 [pit080924.173]

Adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinating particle *jus* ‘if’ set a condition for the matrix sentence. Other than this particle, there is no special marking for the conditional. The conditional clause can occur before or after the matrix clause, as shown in (596) through (598).

- (596) *jus gussa dajd ulli, dä bārre*  
*jus gussa d-a-jd ulli dä bārre*  
 if COW\NOM.PL DEM-DIST-ACC.PL reach-3PL.PRS then eat\3PL.PRS  
*dajd, dija gabmasuijnid*  
*d-a-jd dija gabma-suijni-jd*  
 DEM-DIST-ACC.PL 2PL.GEN shoe-hay-ACC.PL  
 ‘if the cows reach up to it, then they eat it, your shoe hay<sup>6</sup>’  
 [pit080924.221]

- (597) *ja dat lij samma, jus del lij*  
*ja d-a-t li-j samma jus del lij*  
 and DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be-3SG.PST same if then be-3SG.PST  
*gualpana vaj biodaka vaj smav*  
*gualpana vaj biodaka vaj smav*  
 flat\_pine\_heath\NOM.SG or high\_ground\NOM.SG or small\ATTR  
*biedtsastak*  
*biedtsastak*  
*pine\_forest\NOM.SG*  
 ‘and that was the same whether it was flat-pine-heath or higher-ground or small pine-forests’  
 [pit100405a.009]

<sup>6</sup>Note that in example (596), ‘hay’ and both pronouns referring to ‘hay’ are plural; however, for ease of reading, these are singular in the English translation.

- (598) *jus galga njuallga dajd njuovvat dä*  
*jus galga njuallga d-a-jd njuovva-t dä*  
 if will\2SG.PRS CORRECT DEM-DIST-ACC.PL slaughter-INF then  
*galga dajd valdet olgus ávdál gádsastam*  
*galga d-a-jd valde-t olgus ávdál gádsasta-m*  
 will-2SG.PRS DEM-DIST-ACC.PL take-INF out before hang-PRF  
 ‘If you slaughtered them correctly, then you would take them out before  
 hanging (them) up’ [pit080909.105]

### 15.2.3 Relative clauses

Pite Saami relative clauses are marked by a clause-initial relative pronoun. The fact that this relative pronoun is always the initial constituent in the relative clause is the only internal syntactic marking for relative clauses; otherwise, relative clauses are ordinary clauses with a fully inflected finite verb. The relative pronoun inflects for case according to the syntactic function it fills within the relative clause, and for the number of the NP that it modifies, as illustrated by (599) through (601).

- (599) *dä inijmä aktav vuoksav majna vuojadijmä*  
*dä ini-jmä akta-v vuoksa-v ma-jna vuojadi-jmä*  
 then have-1PL.PST one-ACC.SG bull-ACC.SG REL-COM.SG drive-1PL.PST  
*muorajt*  
*muora-jt*  
 WOOD-ACC.PL  
 ‘we had one bull with which we transported firewood’  
 [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.020]
- (600) *...ja dä manjemus skoterijd majd iniga*  
*ja dä manje-mus skoteri-jd ma-jd ini-ga*  
 and then after-SUPERL snowmobile-ACC.PL REL-ACC.PL have-3DU.PST  
 ‘...and the last snowmobiles which they had’ [pit100404.281]
- (601) *dä lä ájge ma lä urrum*  
*dä lä ájge ma lä urru-m*  
 then be\3PL.PRS time\NOM.PL REL\NOM.PL be\3PL.PRS be-PRF  
 ‘those are times which have been’ (i.e.: ‘those were the good old days’)  
 [pit090702.409]

Just as demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns only inflect for singular and plural, but not for dual number, as illustrated by the example in (602).

- (602) *mâj ma lin båtã*  
*mâj ma li-n båtã-m*  
 1DU.NOM REL\NOM.PL be-3PL.PST COME-PRF  
 ‘we two who had come’ [pit110329.32m45s (elic.)]

Note that the relative pronouns are homophonous with the set of interrogative pronouns referring to non-human NPs.<sup>7</sup> However, not only do relative pronouns have a different syntactic function than interrogative pronouns in general, they are not sensitive to the humanness of the referent, unlike interrogative pronouns. For instance, the relative pronoun *ma* is the same in both (601) above and (603) below, although the former has ‘times’ as an antecedent and the latter refers to ‘young people’.

- (603) *dä lin nuora álmatja ma lin*  
*dä li-n nuora álmatj-a ma li-n*  
 then be-3PL.PST young\PRED.PL people-NOM.PL REL\NOM.PL be-3PL.PST  
*riejjdnohimen*  
*riejjdnohi-men*  
 herd-PROG  
 ‘they were young people who were watching (the herd)’ [pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_b.017]

In the previous examples, relative clauses immediately follow the head of the noun phrase they modify. However, it is possible for a postposition to occur between the modified NP and the relative clause, as illustrated by (604).

- (604) *dat lij duv gugu masa båtã*  
*d-a-t li-j du-v gugu ma-sa båtã-n*  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be-3SG.PST 2SG.GEN TO REL-ILL.SG COME-3PL.PST  
 ‘it was to you to whom they came’ [pit110329.37m04s (elic.)]

This shows that a relative clause may not be embedded syntactically in the modified NP, as the relative clause can occur outside the postpositional phrase which the modified NP is a constituent of. It should be emphasized that only a postposition can split a relative clause from the matrix NP it modifies.

There does not appear to be any restriction on the syntactic function that a relative pronoun can fill within the relative clause. With the exception of abessive and essive, which are rare in the corpus for all nominals, relative pronouns are attested for all grammatical cases, as well as being the dependent NP in a postpositional phrase (in genitive case), as in (605), or similarly as the possessor NP (also in genitive case) modifying a noun, as in (606).

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Sections 7.4 and 7.5 for more on interrogative and relative pronouns, respectively.

- (605) *dat*                    *lä*                    *náhppe*                    *man*                    *sisá*  
d-a-t                    lä                    náhppe                    ma-n                    sisa  
DEM-DIST-NOM.SG be-3SG.PRS milking\_bowl\NOM.SG REL-GEN.SG into  
*báhtjen*                *buhtsujt*  
báhtje-n                buhtsu-jt  
milk-3PL.PST reindeer-ACC.PL  
‘this is a milking bowl into which (they) milked reindeer’  

[pit080708\_Session02.003]
- (606) *men dä lä*                    *danne urrum dat*                    *pluovve*  
men dä lä                    danne urru-m d-a-t                    pluovve  
but then be\3SG.PRS there be-PRF DEM-DIST-NOM.SG pond\NOM.SG  
*man*                    *namma*                    *lä,*                    *mij*                    *lä*  
ma-n                    namma                    lä                    mij                    lä  
REL-GEN.SG name\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS REL\NOM.SG be\3SG.PRS  
*namma*                    *dan,*                    *dáv*                    *mijá*  
namma                    d-a-n                    d-á-v                    mijá  
name\NOM.SG DEM-DIST-GEN.SG DEM-PROX-ACC.SG 1PL.GEN  
*Árjepluovev*  
Árjepluove-v  
Arjeplog-ACC.SG  
‘but here was the pond whose name was, which was the name of that,  
this, our Arjeplog’  

[pit090915b.013]

This latter example is a clear evidence for such a structure, but it is part of a false-start, as it also contains a semantically-driven self-correction just after the targeted example; however, as the single instance in the corpus for a relative pronoun modifying a noun, it must provide the only evidence until further research is done.

A summary of the syntactic functions that relative pronouns can fulfill within a relative clause is provided in Table 15.2, and includes the numbers of examples which provide evidence for these functions.

<i>syntactic function</i>	<i>possible for relative pronoun</i>	<i>see example</i>
argument NP	✓	(600)
adjunct NP	✓	(604)
dependent of PP	✓	(605)
possessor of NP	✓	(606)

Table 15.2: Possible syntactic functions of relative pronouns

# Appendix:

## Inventory of Pite Saami Recordings

The inventory on pages 254 through 261 lists recordings collected for the Pite Saami Documentation Project by Joshua Wilbur. Not all recordings have provided examples which are included in this grammatical description, but they were all nonetheless essential in the process of coming to terms with the Pite Saami language, and thus relevant for the present study. The information provided reflects the state of the corpus in early July 2013.

These 117 recordings are listed in the order they were created. In the vast majority of cases, the name of each recording indicates the date of recording as well (cf. section 1.2.2.1); when this is not the case, the date is indicated in the brief description. To keep the inventory simple, abbreviations are used for the columns ‘genre’ and ‘medium’; the explanations for these abbreviations are listed in the table below. The column ‘words’ indicates the minimum number of transcribed and translated Pite Saami words for each recording; some have been only partly transcribed or not at all. The column ‘brief description’ provides a concise summary of the content of each recording; more detailed descriptions are provided in the metadata available from the archives hosting the materials.

<i>column</i>	<i>abbreviation</i>	<i>explanation</i>
<i>media</i>	A	audio only
	A/V	audio and video
<i>genre</i>	conv.	conversation
	elic.	elicitation
	expl.	explanation
	narr.	narration
	perf.	performance
	read.	reading
	writ.	written text

Abbreviations used in the inventory of recordings

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit080621	elic.	A	119	Basic phrases, wordlist
pit080622a	elic.	A	168	Verb paradigms (PRS); numbers 1–1000
pit080622b	elic.	A	6	Phrase: “thank you”
pit080627	elic.	A	39	More exact numbers
pit080701a	elic.	A	4	Phrase: "how do you say __ in Saami"
pit080701b	elic.	A	116	Swadesh list - words: 7–15, 17–21, 27–90, 91–114
pit080702a	elic.	A	25	A few short words/phrases (landscape words etc.)
pit080702b	elic.	A	226	Swadesh list - words: 115–207; a few short phrases
pit080703	explan.	A/V	334	Descriptions of two pictures: 1: Saami camp 2: Reindeer in the tundra
pit080708_Session01	explan.	A/V	0	Description of reindeer saddle carriers
pit080708_Session02	explan.	A/V	202	Description of reindeer milking
pit080708_Session03	explan.	A/V	136	Description of making butter, butter dishes and other dishes
pit080708_Session04	explan.	A/V	151	Description of a Saami chest
pit080708_Session05	explan.	A/V	14	Description of some traditional Pite Saami objects
pit080708_Session06	explan.	A/V	0	Description of a Saami shirt design, reindeer-skin shoes
pit080708_Session07	explan.	A/V	74	Description of some traditional Saami tools: a weaving reed (a sort of mini-loom), a lasso ring and an unfinished sheath
pit080708_Session08	explan.	A/V	164	Description of Saami kids' shoes, two hats, reindeer-fur gloves
pit080708_Session09	explan.	A/V	124	Description of animal traps
pit080708_Session10	explan.	A/V	0	Description of how animal traps work
pit080803a	elic.	A	11	Reindeer antler terms
pit080803b	elic.	A	118	Ordinal numbers 1–10, > 10
pit080811b1	elic.	A	4	Numerals (CARD+ORD), some verb paradigms

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit080811b2	elic.	A	9	Pronouns (NOM), and other random words
pit080813	elic.	A	163	Verb paradigms
pit080818	elic., explan.	A/V	0	Reindeer-related words; numbers 1–10+ (CARD), 1–9 (ORD)
pit080819a	elic.	A	448	Adjective paradigms
pit080819b	elic.	A	1	Word: “sárrge”
pit080819c	elic.	A	17	Phrase: “thank you for today”
pit080825	narr., song	A/V	270	Description of speaker’s family and her life in her childhood home; Singing of two hymns
pit080909	explan.	A/V	736	Film of reindeer roundup/slaughter, including footage of reindeer being selected, caught, slaughtered, and commentary on butchering a reindeer
pit080917a	elic.	A	201	Some question words; some noun paradigms
pit080917b	elic.	A	8	Numerals 20–30, 40, 50, 60, 1000, 2000
pit080917c	elic.	A	36	Some noun paradigms; some of question word paradigms “what” and “who”
pit080924	conv.	A/V	2440	Conversation about old times in Ákkapakte
pit080926	elic.	A	107	Word list from Pite-saami lessons from 25/26 september 2008
pit081011	elic.	A	355	Random words collected during a previous Pite Saami lesson
pit081012a	narr.	A	0	Descriptions of pictures from photo album, mostly of reindeer and calf marking
pit081012b	elic.	A	0	Random words, mostly resulting from pit081012a
pit081017	elic.	A	8	Days of the week; months; seasons
pit081021a_Story	read.	A/V	0	Reading of a story by Lars Rensund
pit081021b	elic.	A	0	Demonstratives; some vocab from pit080708_Session08

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit081028	elic.	A	29	Words beginning with “sjnj-” (/ʃn/)
pit081106	explan.	A/V	0	Description of objects from Saami exhibit at Silvermuseet
pit081111	elic.	A	55	Adjective paradigms; some lexical items
pit090411	song, read., perf., writ.	A/V	0	Reading of scripture, singing of hymn
pit090513	elic.	A	18	Paradigm for noun <i>sábme</i> ‘Saami’
pit090519	conv.	A/V	1247	A group of language activists have a picnic around a campfire, sometimes discussing words for a word list, but also just chatting
pit090525a	elic.	A	24	Noun paradigms for: <i>sábme</i> (Saami), <i>bena</i> (dog)
pit090525b	elic.	A	77	Six noun paradigms; short discussion of (near) minimal pairs
pit090525c	conv.	A	1	Word <i>buris(t)</i>
pit0906_Ahkajavvre_a	explan., narr.	A/V	1105	Description of the history and buildings at Ahkajavvre; performance of how to retrieve fishing nets and fish, and how to gut and wash fish; recorded on 9/10 June 2009
pit0906_Ahkajavvre_b	explan.	A/V	301	Description of the history of Ahkajavvre; recorded on 9/10 June 2009
pit090625	elic.	A	0	A few words from the loanword typology list, mostly about geographic features
pit090630	conv., narr.	A/V	103	Conversation about a trip to Västerfjäll, driving across Tjeggelvas, going to school in Arjeplog; telling of a ghost story
pit090702	conv., narr.	A/V	2245	Conversation about fishing, hunting moose and preparing food in Västerfjäll/Álesgiehtje and Áhkkabakkte



<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit090705	explan., narr.	A/V	0	On the way to and at reindeer calf marking the night of 5-6 July 2009
pit090821	elic., explan.	A	0	A variety of words relating to berries, insects, house, etc.
pit090822	explan., narr.	A/V	0	Description of a variety of places around the speaker's family homestead
pit090823	explan.	A/V	0	Description of the old house at the speaker's family homestead
pit090826	explan.	A	301	Description of how reindeer herders look for unmarked calves
pit090910	elic.	A	101	Reflexive pronouns; some verb paradigms
pit090912	explan., conv., narr.	A/V	0	Video of reindeer slaughter, including first stages of butchering a reindeer
pit090915a	narr.	A/V	131	Speaker talks about the hill on which Samegården stands
pit090915b	narr.	A/V	115	Speaker talks about a pond that used to be in central Arjeplog, and how the Pite Saami name 'Árjepluovve' got its name from that pond
pit090915c	narr.	A/V	312	Speaker talks about 'Saami hill' in central Arjeplog
pit090915d	narr.	A/V	103	Speaker talks about 'Knabben'-hill in central Arjeplog
pit090915e	narr.	A/V	116	Speaker talks about the lake Hornavan/Tjårvek
pit090915f	narr.	A/V	225	Speaker talks about the Skeppsviken/Hakksaluakkta in Arjeplog
pit090915g	narr.	A/V	201	Speaker talks about the Skeppsholmen/Hakksasuolo in Arjeplog
pit090915h	narr.	A/V	87	Speaker talks about a 'njalla' (raised storage shed) on Skeppsholmen in Arjeplog

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit090915i	narr.	A/V	123	Speaker talks about a 'luäppte'-storage shed on Skeppsholmen in Arjeplog
pit090915j	narr.	A/V	195	Speaker talks about how reindeer and calves used to swim across the bay to Kraja
pit090915k	narr.	A/V	207	Speaker talks about the location of the original market-place in Arjeplog
pit090926	elic.	A	494	Adjective paradigms
pit090927	elic.	A	445	Adjective paradigms
pit090930a	elic.	A	829	Adjectives in elliptical NPs; some color adjectives; more adjective paradigms
pit090930b	elic.	A	120	Adjective paradigms
pit091001	elic.	A	281	Adjective paradigms
pit100304	elic.	A	62	Basic random wordlist (from the Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary)
pit100308a	elic.	A	10	Some basic elicitation forms, NOM.SG and ACC.SG noun paradigms
pit100310b	narr., explan.	A/V	0	Description of a slide show concerning life in Álesgiehtje/Västerfjäll
pit100323a	elic.	A	481	Verb paradigms
pit100323b	song	A	28	Singing of a lullaby
pit100324	elic.	A/V	291	Expressions for spatial relations (mostly postpositions)
pit100326	elic.	A	0	Postpositions; some basic elicitation of existentials and demonstratives
pit100403	perf., read., writ.	A/V	227	Reading of scripture for Easter church service

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit100404	explan.	A/V	1704	Description of the winter landscape around Västerfjäll/Ålesgiehtje, skiing, snowmobiles, playing there as a child, trapping ptarmigan, etc.
pit100405a	explan., narr.	A	758	Description of the current winter from a reindeer herder's perspective and of the activities that went on at the recording location near Blavvtajåhkå
pit100405b	explan.	A/V	461	Description of different kinds of reindeer
pit100703a	narr.	A	312	Story about waiting for the bus with the narrator's aunt
pit101208	elic.	A	674	Verb paradigms
pit110329	elic.	A	112	Pronoun paradigms (personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative); a few Saami village lexical items
pit110331a	elic.	A	405	Pronoun paradigms (personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive) for NOM,ACC, GEN,ILL
pit110331b	elic.	A	371	Pronoun paradigms (personal, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive) for INESS, ELAT, COM
pit110404	elic.	A	530	Verb paradigms
pit110413a	elic.	A	394	Some noun paradigms
pit110413b	elic.	A	382	Noun paradigms; 'båtsoj' includes numerals and quantifiers
pit110415	elic.	A	158	Kinship vocabulary; paradigm for ålmaj (man)
pit110421	elic.	A	89	Noun paradigms for juällge (leg/foot) and rejjdo (tool)
pit110509a	elic.	A	239	Random verbs; random questions about subordinate clause linking; some noun paradigms
pit110509b	elic.	A	111	Noun paradigms
pit110517a	elic.	A	870	Some verb paradigms; includes some potential forms of verbs
pit110517b1	elic.	A	0	Some verb paradigms

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
pit110517b2	narr.	A	380	Short narrative about the orthography workshop on the previous weekend
pit110518a	elic.	A	187	Verb paradigms; discussion of passives
pit110518b	elic.	A	0	Some aspects in verbs; verbs for scratch/dig
pit110519a	elic.	A	0	Some partial verb paradigms; some verbal derivations
pit110519b	elic.	A	47	Some conjunction/subordinators; question particle discussion; some partial noun paradigms
pit110521a	elic.	A	150	Pronoun paradigms: NOM, ACC for personal, most reflexive, demonstrative, question, selection, relative pronouns
pit110521b1	elic.	A	529	Some pronoun paradigms; a short narrative about what speaker did yesterday in Piteå
pit110521b2	narr.	A	8	A short narrative about what speaker did yesterday in Piteå
pit110522	elic.	A	213	Some verb and noun paradigms
sje20121009	elic.	A	252	Random collection of grammatical topics
sje20121014a	elic.	A	1	Questions meant to elicit suspected differences between Pite Saami dialects
sje20121014b	conv.	A/V	0	Conversation about the old days, topics such as reindeer calves, coffee cheese, eating bear meat, seeing a bear, etc.
sje20121011	elic.	A	178	Questions about DIM suffix allomorphy in nouns; ‘contracted’ verb paradigm; imperative of negation verb; possessive suffixes, etc.
sje20121014d1	elic.	A	3	NP-syntax, gapping; COMP for Adj; coordination, complementizers

<i>name</i>	<i>genre</i>	<i>medium</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>brief description</i>
sje20130530b	conv.	A	1067	a discussion about words, coffee and other topics while preparing and drinking coffee in the kitchen



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# Deutsche Zusammenfassung

## Einführung

Pitesaamisch ist eine westsaamische Sprache in der uralischen Sprachfamilie. Die Sprache bildet zusammen mit den anderen saamischen Sprachen ein Dialektkontinuum; so verstehen Sprecher des Pitesaamischen ohne großes Bemühen Sprecher des benachbarten Lulesaamischen im Norden und des Umesaamischen im Süden. Die Abbildung in 1 zeigt die genealogische Zuordnung des Pitesaamischen innerhalb des saamischen Zweiges der uralischen Sprachfamilie.

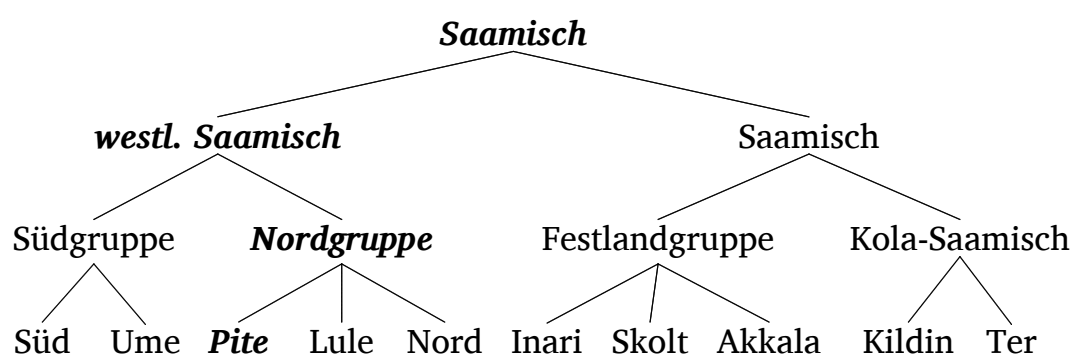


Abbildung 1: das Pitesaamische innerhalb des saamischen Zweigs der uralischen Sprachfamilie (nach Sammallahti 1998: 1-34)

Das Pitesaamische wird auch manchmal 'Arjeplogssaamisch' genannt. Bis Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde meistens das Exonym 'Lappisch' gebraucht, jedoch wird heute in der Regel den Begriff 'Saamisch' bevorzugt, da dieser vom Endonym *sábme* bzw. *sáme* abgeleitet ist. Sprecher des Pitesaamischen nennen ihre Sprache *bidumsáme giella* 'Sprache der Pitesaamen', wie im Beispiel (607).

- (607) *Bidumsáme*                    *giella*  
bidum + *sáme*                    *giella*  
Pite + Saami\GEN.SG language\NOM.SG  
‘die pitesaamische Sprache’                    [pit080621.41m10s (elic.)]

Früher wurde das Pitesaamische sowohl auf der norwegischen als auch auf der schwedischen Seite der skandinavischen Gebirgskette ungefähr auf der Höhe von der Gemeinde Arjeplog gesprochen. Heutzutage hat das Pitesaamische nur ca. 30 Sprecher. Die meisten davon leben in bzw. um die Gemeinde Arjeplog im schwedischen Lappland. Auf der norwegischen Seite gibt es keine Sprecher mehr. Insbesondere besteht die aktuelle Sprachgemeinschaft aus Rentierzüchtern von den Saamendörfern (*Siidas*) Semisjaur-Njarg, Luokta-Mavas und Stokke bzw. aus Kleinbauern- und Fischerfamilien von den Seen entlang des Piteflusses und Skellefteflusses. Das historische pitesaamische Sprachgebiet ist in Abbildung 2 abgebildet.



Abbildung 2: Das ungefähre historische Gebiet der pitesaamischen Sprache

Durch die geringe Anzahl der Sprecher und Sprecherinnen und dadurch, dass fast alle Sprecher älter als 50 Jahre sind, gilt das Pitesaamische als extrem bedroht. Dazu kommt, dass ethnische pitesaamische Kinder nicht zweisprachig, sondern einsprachig (Schwedisch) aufwachsen – trotz der jüngsten positiven Entwicklungen bezüglich der staatlichen Unterstützung der Minderheitensprachen Schwedens.

Frühere Forschung hat sich auch dem Pitesaamischen gewidmet (vgl. Halász 1896, Lagercrantz 1926, Ruong 1943 und Lehtiranta 1992), aber diese Studien behandeln ältere Stadien der Sprache vor 1950. Im Gegensatz dazu wird der Schwerpunkt in dieser Dissertation auf den aktuellen Gebrauch des Pitesaamischen gelegt. Aussagen bezüglich der phonologischen und grammatikalischen Regeln der pitesaamischen Sprache basieren auf einem annotierten digitalen Sprachkorpus aus ca. 28.000 pitesaamischen Wörtern, das im Zuge des Pite Saami Documentation Projects von Joshua Wilbur mit finanzieller Unterstützung vom Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project erstellt wurde. Aufnahmen und dazu gehörige Dateien sind im Endangered Languages Archive in London und in drei Spracharchiven in Schweden archiviert und teilweise on-line zugänglich.

Das Pitesaamische hat keine offiziell anerkannte Orthographie. Eine Arbeitsgruppe von Muttersprachlern arbeitet aber seit 2008 daran, eine solche zu entwickeln (vgl. Bengtsson u. a. 2011); Beispiele in dieser Dissertation sind nach dieser vorläufigen Orthographie geschrieben; da die Regeln aber noch in Entwicklung sind, können zukünftige Versionen der Orthographie von den hiesigen abweichen.

## **Prosodie**

Fast alle pitesaamischen Wörter sind mindestens zweisilbig, aber es gibt eine kleine Gruppe von Funktionswörtern, die einsilbig sind und aus mindestens einem Vokal und einem Konsonanten bestehen.

Alle anderen Wörter sind mindestens zweisilbig und bestehen mindestens aus einem ersten Vokal, einem Konsonanten und einem zweiten Vokal (VCV). Ein pitesaamischer Fuß ist trochäisch (von links nach rechts) und zweisilbig; das heißt, die erste Silbe eines Fusses wird betont, und die zweite Silbe wird nicht betont. Eine letzte ungerade Silbe liegt außerhalb des Fußes und wird ebenfalls nicht betont. Auf dem ersten Fuß eines Wortes liegt die Hauptbetonung; andere Füße tragen eine Nebenbetonung. Vokallänge korreliert nicht mit Betonung; ein langer Vokal wird nicht zwangsläufig betont.

Eine wichtige prosodische Domäne des Pitesaamischen ist das sogenannte ‘Konsonantenzentrum’, welches den Kern eines Fußes bildet. Das Konsonantenzentrum besteht aus dem Konsonant oder den Konsonanten, die zwischen dem Vokal einer betonten Silbe und dem Vokal der darauf folgenden unbetonten Silbe realisiert werden, und ist ein wichtiger Ort der Stammallomorphie.

Äußerungen im Pitesaamischen verlieren im Verlauf der Realisierung an Intensität, so dass das Ende einer Äußerung spürbar tiefer ist als der Anfang. Häufig werden die letzten zwei bis drei Silben eines deklarativen Satzes vollständig

stimmlos realisiert.

## Segmentalische Phonologie

Das Pitesaamische verfügt über 43 native Konsonantenphoneme und 9 native Vokalphoneme. Tabelle 4 zeigt das Konsonanteninventar. Präaspierte Einfachphoneme, Geminaten und präaspierte Geminaten kommen nur im Konsonantenzentrum vor.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Plosive	p <sup>h</sup> p p: <sup>h</sup> p:		t <sup>h</sup> t t: <sup>h</sup> t:			k <sup>h</sup> k k: <sup>h</sup> k:	
Affricaten			ts <sup>h</sup> ts ts: <sup>h</sup> ts:	tʃ <sup>h</sup> tʃ tʃ: <sup>h</sup> tʃ:			
Fricative		f f: <sup>v</sup> v v:	s s:	ʃ ʃ:			h
Nasale	m m:		n n:		ɲ ɲ:	ŋ ɳ:	
Trill			r r:				
Approx.			l l:		j j:		

Tabelle 4: Konsonanteninventar des Pitesaamischen

Die Realisierung von Präaspiration hängt vom vorangehenden Segment ab. Ist dieses ein stimmhafter kontinuierlicher Konsonant, wird dieser durch die Präaspiration gegen Ende stimmlos, ist dieser ein hoher vorderer Vokal /i/, wird ein stimmloser palataler Frikativ /ç/ realisiert. In allen anderen Fällen erscheint Präaspiration als ein glottaler Frikativ /h/.

Das Pitesaamische verfügt über eine große Anzahl von Konsonantenverbindungen, jedoch kommen die meisten nur im Konsonantenzentrum vor.

Es gibt 8 Monophthonge und einen Diphthong im Pitesaamischen; vgl. Abbildungen 3 und 4.

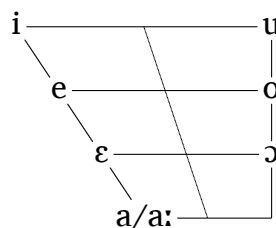


Abbildung 3: das Monophthonginventar

ua

Abbildung 4: das Diphthongphonem

Meistens werden alle Monophthonge als solche realisiert, aber die Monophthongphoneme /e/ und /o/ werden in der ersten Silbe häufig als Diphthonge [ie] bzw. [uo] ausgesprochen. Das Diphthongphonem /ua/ kann als [ue] oder [oa] realisiert werden, je nach Dialekt und vorhergehendem Vokal; dieser Diphthong wird nicht wesentlich länger realisiert als die Monophthonge. Ein epenthetischer Schwalaut [ə] wird manchmal zwischen zwei nicht-homorganische Konsonanten eingefügt.

## Morphologie

Derivation und Flexion werden im Pitesaamischen durch sowohl lineare als auch nicht-lineare morphologische Prozesse zum Ausdruck gebracht. Bei Substantiven und Verben existieren Flexionsklassen, die unter anderem Person, Tempus und Modus an Verben bzw. Kasus und Numerus an Substantiven ausdrücken. Die linear-morphologische Form von pitesaamischen Wörtern wird in Abbildung 5 gezeigt.

[lexikalische Wurzel + Derivation + Flexion]<sub>Wort</sub>

Abbildung 5: Allgemeine Struktur von linearer Morphologie in pitesaamischen Wörtern

Nicht-lineare Morphologie wird durch die folgenden morphologischen Prozesse realisiert:

- Konsonantenwechsel im Stamm (Stufenwechsel)
- Vokalwechsel im betonten Vokal des letzten Fußes eines Wortes (Umlaut)
- regressive Vokalharmonie zwischen den zwei Vokalen eines Fußes

Der Begriff *Stufenwechsel* bezeichnet konsonantische Alternationen zwischen verschiedenen Stammallomorphen eines Wortes. Die ‘starke’ Stufe beinhaltet mehr phonologisches Material als die ‘schwache’ Stufe, mit der diese wechselt. Dieser Wechsel kann rein quantitativ sein, wie in (608), rein qualitativ, wie in (609), oder gleichzeitig quantitativ als auch qualitativ, wie in (610).

(608)	/sa:v:a/	/sa:va/	
	sávva	sáva	[pit100323a]
	wish\3SG.PRS	wish\2SG.PRS	
(609)	/dɔ <sup>h</sup> pe/	/dɔpe/	
	dáhpe	dábe	[pit100324]
	house\NOM.SG	house\GEN.SG	

	/va:jpmo/	/va:jmo/	
(610)	vájbmó	vájmo	[pit110413a]
	heart\NOM.SG	heart\NOM.PL	

Umlaut betrifft den ersten Vokal eines Stammes, und bezeichnet eine qualitative Alternation. Es gibt zwei Umlautalternationen ( $\epsilon \rightarrow e$  bzw.  $\widehat{u\bar{a}} \rightarrow o$ ); diese sind in (611) und (612) dargestellt.

	/bɛg:a/	/bɛg:a/	
(611)	bägga	biegga	[pit080621]
	wind\NOM.SG	wind\NOM.PL	

	/pua:l:ta/	/polta/	
(612)	buallda	buolda	[pit101208]
	ignite\3SG.PRS	ignite\2SG.PRS	

## Übersicht der Wortklassen

Pitesaamische Wörter lassen sich aufgrund ihres syntaktischen und morphologischen Verhaltens in acht Wortklassen einteilen. Tabelle 5 zeigt die syntaktischen Kriterien und gegebenenfalls die Flexionskategorien, die die Wortklassen ausmachen.

Wortklasse	syntaktische Kriterien	Flexionskategorien
Nominalien	Kopf einer NP	Kasus/Numerus
Verben	Kopf eines VC	Zeit/Modus/Perosn/Numerus, nicht-finite Formen (Negation, Aspekt)
Adjektivalien	Kopf einer AP	Numerus bei prädikativen ADJ
Adverbialien	Kopf einer AdvP	-
Adpositionen	Kopf einer PP	-
Konjunktionen	verbinden Wörter, Phrasen, Sätze, Texte	-
Interjektionen	unabhängige Wörter auf Satzebene	-

Tabelle 5: Zusammenfassung der syntaktischen und morphologischen Kriterien für Wortklassen



## Nominale I: Substantive

Substantive bilden eine offene Wortklasse, deren Mitglieder Kopf einer Nominalphrase sein können. Als Kopf einer NP flektieren diese nach Kasus und Numerus.

Substantive bestehen aus einem lexikalischen Stamm ( $\Sigma$ ), auf den ein Klassenmarker und ein Portmanteau-Suffix folgt, das Kasus und Numerus angibt, wie Abbildung 6 zeigt.

$$\Sigma + \text{Klassenmarker} + \text{Kasus/Numerus}$$

Abbildung 6: Die morphologische Struktur von pitesaamischen Substantiven

Durch eine komplexe Kombination morphophonologischer Prozesse haben pitesaamische Substantive bis zu drei allomorphische Formen innerhalb eines Nominalparadigmas. Zusammen bilden Substantive vier Flexionsklassen.

Substantive flektieren für Singular bzw. Plural in allen grammatischen Kasus außer im Essiv und möglicherweise im Abessiv. Im Gegensatz zu Verbkongruenz spielt die Numeruskategorie des Duals keine Rolle bei Substantiven. Numerus wird, zusammen mit Kasus, durch Portmantau-Suffixe, Stammalternationen oder die Kombination beider Verfahren zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Das Pitesaamische verfügt über neun Kasus: den Nominativ, den Genitiv, den Akkusativ, den Illativ, den Inessiv, den Elativ, den Komitativ, den Abessiv und den Essiv. Diese gelten auch für Pronomen.

Unter anderem markiert der Nominativ die Elizitationsform wie auch das Subjekt eines Satzes, wie in (613).

- (613) *dä stuor sarves bähä*  
*dä stuor sarves bähä*  
 then big moose\NOM.SG come\3SG.PRS  
 ‘dann kommt ein großer Elch’ [pit090702.319]

Der Genitiv markiert den Besitzer, welcher den Kopf einer NP modifiziert (vgl. (614)), oder den Dependents einer Postposition, wie im Beispiel (615).

- (614) *gokt lä dan almatja namma*  
*gokt lä d-a-n almatj-a namma*  
 how be\3SG.PRS DEM-DIST-GEN.SG person-GEN.SG name\NOM.SG  
*majna ságasta*  
*ma-jna ságasta*  
 REL-COM.SG talk\2SG.PRS  
 ‘wie heißt der Mensch, mit dem du sprichst?’ [pit110521b1.040 (elic.)]

- (615) **gåde**        *sinne suovastit*  
gåde        sinne suovasti-t  
hut\GEN.SG in    smoke-INF  
‘(etwas) in einer Hütte räuchern’ [pit100405a.157]

Im Allgemeinen markiert der Akkusativ das (direkte) Objekt eines transitiven Verbs, wie in (616).

- (616) **dä** *virtiv*        *válldet* **giehpajt** *ja* **ribrev** *ja*  
dä *virtiv*-v        *vállde*-t *giehpa*-jt *ja* *ribbre*-v *ja*  
then must-1SG.PRS take-INF lung-ACC.PL and liver-ACC.SG and  
**dagarijt** *ulgos*  
dagari-jt *ulgos*  
such-ACC.PL out  
‘dann muss ich die Lunge, die Leber und so etwas heraus nehmen’  
[pit080909.103]

Der Illativ markiert Substantive, die das Ziel einer Handlung sind, wie im Beispiel (617).

- (617) **muhten** *bátsoj*        *ij*        *både*        **gärrdáj**  
muhten *bátsoj*        *ij*        *både*        *gärrdá*-j  
some reindeer\NOM.PL NEG\3PL.PRS come\CONNEG corral-ILL.SG  
‘manche Rentiere kommen nicht in den Korral’ [pit080909.007]

Der Inessiv markiert Substantive, die den Ort einer Handlung oder eines Ereignisses angeben, wie in (618)

- (618) **nå**, *mav*        *enabov*        *dihki*        **Áhkkabakten**  
nå *ma*-v        *enabo*-v        *dihki*        *Ahkkabakte*-n  
well what-ACC.SG more-ACC.SG do\2SG.PST Ahkkabakte-INESS.SG  
‘na, was hast du sonst noch in Áhkkabakkte gemacht?’  
[pit080924.021]

Der Elativ markiert unter Anderem Substantive, die die Quelle oder den Ursprung einer Handlung angeben, wie in (619).

- (619) **váldav**        *tjájvev*        **ribrist**        *luovas*  
vál~~d~~a-v        *tjájve*-v        *ribri*-st        *luovas*  
take-1SG.PRS stomach-ACC.SG liver-ELAT.SG loose  
‘ich löse den Magen von der Leber ab’ [pit080909.079]

Der Stoff oder Material, aus dem etwas beschaffen ist, wird auch durch den Essiv markiert, wie in (620).

- (620) *mån iv tuhtje dav färska*  
*mån i-v tuhtje d-a-v färska*  
 1SG.NOM NEG-1SG.PRS like\CONNNEG DEM-DIST-ACC.SG fresh  
**málest**  
 mále-st  
 blood-ELAT.SG

‘ich mag die aus frischem Blut nicht gerne’ [pit080924.271]

Der Komitativ markiert Substantive, die auf einen an einer Handlung teilnehmenden Gegenstand oder Menschen hinweisen, wie in (621).

- (621) *men ádtjo sáme gielav ságastit duv*  
*men ádtjo sáme giela-v ságasti-t duv*  
 but may\2SG.PST Saami\GEN.SG language-ACC.SG speak-INF 2SG.GEN  
**árbenij**  
 árbeni-j  
 sibling-COM.PL

‘aber durftest du die saamische Sprache mit deinen Geschwistern sprechen?’ [pit080924.366]

Des Weiteren markiert der Komitativ auch Substantive, die das Instrument darstellen, das in der Ausführung einer Handlung benutzt wird, wie in (622).

- (622) *del vuodja bijlajn Örnvikaj ja dä vádnasijn*  
*del vuodja bijla-jn Örnvika-j ja dä vádnasi-jn*  
 now drive\3SG.PRS car-COM.SG Örnvik-ILL.SG and then boat-COM.SG  
*Tjeggelvasa badjel*  
*Tjeggelvas-a badjel*  
 Tjeggelvas-GEN.SG over

‘jetzt fährt man mit dem Auto nach Örnvik, dann mit dem Boot über den Tjeggelvas-See’ [pit080924.471]

Der Abessiv markiert ein Substantiv, dessen Referent in der Handlung mangelt oder fehlt, wie in (623).

- (623) *válda káfav suhkorijn jala suhkorahtha*  
*válda káfa-v suhkori-jn jala suhkor-ahta*  
 take\2SG.PRS coffee-ACC.SG sugar-COM.SG OR sugar-ABESS

‘Trinkst du Kaffee mit Zucker oder ohne Zucker?’

[pit110509b.11m41s (elic.)]

Im Allgemeinen markiert der Essiv prädikative Substantive, die als Komplemente bestimmter Verben, wie etwa *sjaddat* ‘werden’ oder *gähtjoduvvat* ‘heißen’,

gebraucht werden, wie in (624). Substantive im Essiv flektieren nicht nach Numerus.

- (624) *bednan sjaddav*  
 bedna-n sjadda-v  
 dog-ESS become-1SG.PRS  
 ‘ich werde zum Hund’ [pit110509b.05m49s (elic.)]

Das Pitesaamische verfügt über einige Portmanteau-Suffixe, die Kasus und Numerus des Stamms gleichzeitig ausdrücken. Diese Suffixe sind in der Tabelle 6 aufgelistet. Kasus und Numerus können zusätzlich bzw. lediglich durch nicht-lineare Morphologie angegeben.

Kasus	Numerus		Kasus
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
NOM	-	- (~ -h)	NOM
GEN	- (~ -h)	-j	GEN
ACC	-v	-jt	ACC
ILL	-j	-jda	ILL
INESS	-n	-jn	INESS
ELAT	-st	-jst	ELAT
COM	-jn(a)	-j	COM
ABESS	-dak, -daga, -gat, -gahta, -ahta		ABESS
ESS	-n		ESS

Tabelle 6: Kasus- und Numerussuffixe für Substantive

Pitesaamische Substantive lassen sich in vier Hauptflexionsklassen und einige kleinere Unterklassen einteilen. Diese Einteilung basiert auf den sich wiederholenden Mustern zwischen Flexionsparadigmen. Auf den Stamm eines Substantivs folgt unmittelbar ein Klassenmarkersuffix. Die Einteilung in Flexionsklassen ist rein morphophonologisch bedingt; die Semantik hat keinen Einfluss darauf.

Die drei Hauptkriterien, die der Einteilung zugrunde liegen, sind:

- die Regelmäßigkeit der Muster der Vokale, die zwischen Stamm und Kasus/Numerus-Suffixen realisiert werden (Klassensuffix)
- die Allomorphie der NOM.SG-Form eines Stammes im Verhältnis zum Rest eines Flexionsparadigms (Stufenwechsel-Ausrichtung)
- ob ein Substantiv eine durch Kasus/Numerus-Suffixe ausgelöste Vokalharmonie aufweist (sogenannte ‘j-suffix vowel harmony’)

Die Tabelle in 7 fasst die vier Flexionsklassen und ihre Kriterien zusammen.

<i>Klasse</i>	NOM.SG <i>Klassensuffix</i>	<i>Stufen- wechsel</i>	<i>j-VH</i>
I	-a/á/o/å	str-wk	-
II	-e	str-wk	+
III	-Vj	wk-str	-
IV	-	wk-str	-

Tabelle 7: Zusammenfassung der Kriterien der nominalen Flexionsklassen

Die NOM.SG-, NOM.PL-, ACC.SG-, GEN.PL-, ILL.SG- und ELAT.SG-Formen einiger Beispielswörter aus den verschiedenen (Unter-)Flexionsklassen der Substantive sind der Tabelle 8 auf Seite 278 zu entnehmen.

Die sogenannten Possessivsuffixe, welche nicht nur Kasus und Numerus des Stamms, sondern auch Person und Numerus des Possessors vom Referenten des Stamms angeben, werden, im Gegensatz zu früheren Stadien der pitesaamsichen Sprache, nur noch selten benutzt. Ein Beispiel ist in (625) aufgeführt.

- (625) *áhttjes*                      *dá* *lä*                      *gähtjamin* *jus* *gävdnij*  
*áhttje-s*                      *dá* *lä*                      *gähtja-min* *jus* *gävdni-j*  
 father-1SG.POSS\NOM.SG then be\3SG.PRS look-PROG if exist-3SG.PST  
*aktak, nag* *gietjokmiesse*  
*aktak* *nagin* *gietjokmiesse*  
 any some unmarked\_calf\NOM.SG  
 ‘mein Vater schaut, ob es ein unmarkiertes Kalb gibt’ [pit080909.004]

Klasse	NOM.SG	NOM.PL	ACC.SG	GEN.PL	ILL.SG	ELAT.SG	Glosse	
I	a	luakkt-a	luokt-a	luokt-a-v	luokt-a-j	luokt-a-st	'Buch'	
	b	mánn-á	mán-á	mán-á-v	mán-á-j	mán-á-st	'Kind'	
	c	bäbbm-o	bäbm-o	bäbm-o-v	bäbm-o-j	bäbm-o-st	'Essen'	
	d	skåvvl-å	skåvl-å	skåvl-å-v	skåvl-å-j	skåvl-å-st	'Schule'	
II		guoll-e	guol-e	guol-e-v	gul-i-j	guoll-á-j	guol-e-st	'Fisch'
		vágg-e	vágg-e	vágg-e-v	vágg-i-j	vágg-á-j	vágg-e-st	'Tal'
		sábm-e	sám-e	sám-e-v	sám-i-j	sábm-á-j	sám-e-st	'Saame'
III		báts-øj	buhts-u	buhts-u-v	buhts-u-j	buhts-u-st	'Rentier'	
		álm-aj	álm-a	álm-a-v	álm-a-j	álm-a-st	'Mann'	
IV	a	sabek	sabeg-a	sabeg-a-v	sabeg-i-j	sabeg-i-st	'Ski'	
		vanás	vadnás-a	vadnás-a-v	vadnás-i-j	vadnás-i-st	'Boot'	
	b	bená	bednag-a	bednag-a-v	bednag-i-j	bednag-i-st	'Hund'	
		gáma	gábmag-a	gábmag-a-v	gábmag-i-j	gábmag-i-st	'Schuh'	

Tabelle 8: Vergleich von Beispielen aus den vier nominalen Flexionsklassen

## Nominale II: Pronomina

Das Pitesaamische hat eine geschlossene Pronomenklasse, die aus Personal-, Demonstrativ-, Reflexiv-, Interrogativ- und Relativpronomina besteht. Alle Pronomina flektieren nach Kasus (siehe Abschnitt 15.2.3). Bezüglich Numerus werden Personal- und Reflexivpronomina für Singular, Dual und Plural flektiert, aber Demonstrativ-, Interrogativ- und Relativpronomina werden nur für Singular und Plural markiert. Dazu gibt es auch eine kleine Gruppe der nicht-nominalen interrogativen Pro-Formen, die weder nach Kasus noch nach Numerus flektiert werden.

Die Personalpronomina sind in Tabelle 9 aufgelistet.

<i>Kasus</i>	<i>Person</i>			<i>Num</i>
	1.	2.	3.	
NOM	mån ~ männå	dån ~ dånå	sån ~ sånå	SINGULAR
GEN	muv	duv	suv	
ACC	muv	duv	suv	
ILL	munje	dunje	sunje	
INESS	muvne	duvne	suvne	
ELAT	muvvste	duvvste	suvvste	
COM	mujna	dujna	sujna	
NOM	måj ~ måjå	dåj ~ dåjå	såj ~ såjå	DUAL
GEN	munuo	dunuo	sunuo	
ACC	månov	dånov	sånov	
ILL	munnuj	dunnuj	sunnuj	
INESS	munuon	dunuon	sunuon	
ELAT	munuost	dunuost	sunuost	
COM	munujn	dunujn	sunujn	
NOM	mij ~ mija	dij ~ dija	sij ~ sija	PLURAL
GEN	mijå	dijå	sijå	
ACC	mijáv	dijáv	sijáv	
ILL	mijjaj	dijjaj	sijjaj	
INESS	mijån	dijån	sijån	
ELAT	mijást	dijást	sijást	
COM	mijájn	dijájn	sijájn	

Tabelle 9: Personalpronomen

Die Demonstrative haben alle einen gemeinsamen Stamm *d-* und flektieren sowohl nach Kasus und Numerus (nur Singular und Plural) als auch nach der

Entfernung des Referents (Proximal, Distal und Remote). Tabelle 10 listet die Demonstrative auf.

Kasus	Numerus					
	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	PROX	DIST	RMT	PROX	DIST	RMT
NOM	dát	dat	dut	dá(h)	da(h)	du(h)
GEN	dán	dan	dun	dáj	daj	duj
ACC	dáv	dav	duv	dájt	dajt	dujt
ILL	dása	dasa	dun?	dájda	dajda	?
INESS	dán	dan	dun	dájtne	dajtne	duj?
ELAT	dásste	dasste	duj?	dájste	dajste	duj?
COM	dájna	dajna	dujn	dáj	daj	duj

Tabelle 10: Demonstrative

Demonstrative können sowohl als Pronomina als auch Determinierer eingesetzt werden, wie in (626) bzw. (627).

- (626) *muhtin sa del vuoptin dajt*  
 muhtin sa del vuopti-n d-a-jt  
 sometimes so then sell-1DU.PST DEM-DIST-ACC.PL  
 ‘also haben wir diese manchmal verkauft’ [pit080924.300]

- (627) *gu lijmä vuodjam dajna traktorijna*  
 gu li-jmä vuodja-m d-a-jna traktor-ijna  
 when be-1PL.PST drive-PRF DEM-DIST-COM.SG tractor-COM.SG  
 ‘Grállåjn’  
 Grállå-jn  
 Grälle-COM.SG  
 ‘als wir diesen Traktor ‘Grälle’ gefahren sind’ [pit090702.287]

## Adjektivale

Adjektive im Pitesaamischen sind Köpfe einer Adjektivalphrase und können aus syntaktischen und morphologischen Gründen in drei Unterkategorien eingeteilt werden, wie in Abbildung 11 auf Seite 281.



	Syntax	Morphologie
<i>attributive Adjektive</i>	attributive Stellung innerhalb einer NP	ohne Flexion (außer in elliptischen Konstruktionen)
<i>prädikative Adjektive</i>	prädikative Stellung (Komplement von <i>árrot</i> 'sein')	flextieren nach Numerus
<i>Numeralien</i>	attributive oder prädikative Stellung	ohne Flexion

Tabelle 11: Zusammenfassung der syntaktischen und morphologischen Eigenschaften der drei Unterkategorien der Adjektive

Als Konstituente einer AP wird ein attributives Adjektiv vor dem Kopf der NP realisiert und ggf. nach einem Demonstrativ, wie in (628).

(628)	<i>dat</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tjähppis</i>	<i>båtsoj</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>villges</i>
	d-a-t	lä	tjähppis	båtsoj	ja	villges
	DEM-DIST-NOM.SG	be\3SG.PRS	black	reindeer\NOM.SG	and	white
	<i>åjje</i>	<i>dä</i>				
	åjje	dä				
	head\NOM.SG	then				

'das ist ein schwarzes Rentier und ein weißer Kopf' [pit100405b.043]

Prädikative Adjektive bilden den Kopf einer AP, die als Komplement des Kopulaverbs *árrot* 'sein' funktioniert, und bestimmen die Eigenschaften des Subjektreferenten, wie in (629).

(629)	<i>fáhntsa</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tjáhpát</i>
	fáhntsa	lä	tjáhpát
	mitten\NOM.SG	be\3SG.PRS	black\SG

'der Fäustling ist schwarz'

[pit090930a.062 (elic.)]

Wie aus den unterschiedlichen Formen des Adjektivs für 'schwarz' in (628) und (629) hervorgeht, müssen die attributive Form und die prädikative Form eines Adjektivs keine identischen Stämme aufweisen. Synchron betrachtet, scheint es kein regelmäßiges morphologisches Verhältnis zwischen diesen zwei Adjektivformen zu geben.

Pitesaamische Zahlwörter bilden eine geschlossene Unterklasse der Adjektive. Als Kopf einer AP sind diese syntaktisch Adjektive, aber im Gegensatz zu anderen Adjektiven flektieren Numeralien nicht, auch nicht nach syntaktischer Stellung (Attribution vs. Prädikation). Die Zahlwörter bilden ein dezimales System. Zahlen größer als 10 sind Komposita. Ordinalzahlen werden in den meisten

Fällen durch das Suffix *-át* von den Kardinalzahlen abgeleitet. Tabelle 12 listet die Zahlwörter auf.

	Kardinalzahlen		Ordinalzahlen	
0	nolla		-	
1	akkta		vuostas aktát	1. n1.
2	guäkte		mubbe guoktát	2. n2.
3	gålbmå		gålmát	(n)3.
4	nällje		nielját	(n)4.
5	vihta		vidát	(n)5.
6	guhta		gudát	(n)6.
7	gietjav		giehtjet	(n)7.
8	gaktse		gáktsát	(n)8.
9	åktse		åktsát	(n)9.
10	lågev		lågát	(n)10.
100	tjuohte		?	100.
1000	tuvsan		?	1000.

Tabelle 12: Kardinal- und Ordinalzahlen

## Verben

Die Verben im Pitesaamischen bilden eine offene Wortklasse, die dadurch definiert ist, dass Verben syntaktisch als Kopf eines Verbalkomplexes (VC) funktionieren, und morphologisch nach Person, Numerus, Zeit oder aber Modus flektieren können. Verben bestehen aus einem Stamm ( $\Sigma$ ), auf den Klassenmarker und Flexionssuffix(e) folgen, wie in Abbildung 7 dargestellt.

$\Sigma$  + Klassenmarker + Person/Numerus/Zeit/Modus

Abbildung 7: Die morphologische Struktur von pitesaamischen Verben

Durch eine komplexe Kombination morphophonologischer Prozesse haben Verbstämme bis zu fünf allomorphische Formen innerhalb eines Verbparadigmas, und so bilden sie mindestens fünf Flexionsklassen. Das Pitesaamische unterscheidet zwischen drei Numeruskategorien (Singular, Dual und Plural), zwei

Tempuskategorien (Präsens und Präteritum) und drei Moduskategorien (Indikativ, Imperativ und Potential).

Finite Verben kongruieren im Numerus mit dem Subjekt des Satzes, wie in (630). Im Indikativ- bzw. im Potentialmodus stimmen diese auch mit dem Subjekt in Person überein.

- (630) *ja dä da tjåhken minne gu gillge*  
*ja dä d-a tjåhken minne gu gillge*  
 and then DEM-DIST\NOM.PL together go\3PL.PRS when will\3PL.PRS  
*gåddålit nagan juhtusav*  
*gåddåli-t nagan juhtusa-v*  
 kill-INF some animal-ACC.SG  
 ‘und dann gehen sie zusammen wenn sie ein Tier töten werden’ (‘sie’  
 bezieht sich auf Wölfe) [pit080703.047-048]

Der Potential wird eingesetzt, um die große Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Handlung zu betonen. Verben im Potential werden durch das Potentialsuffix *-tj-* markiert, wie in (631).

- (631) *nå hålåv, vuolgetjip del*  
*nå hålå-v vuolge-tji-p del*  
 well say-1SG.PRS go-POT-1PL obviously  
 ‘also sage ich, wir werden selbstverständlich gehen’ [pit090702.013]

Die zwei Aspektkategorien Perfekt und Progressiv werden periphrastisch ausgedrückt. Das Auxiliarverb *årrot* ‘sein’ und die entsprechende nicht-finite Verbform bilden dann zusammen den Aspekt, wie das Beispiel in (632) zeigt.

- (632) *men mån lev tjåjvev ruhtastemin ullgus,*  
*men mån le-v tjåjve-v ruhtaste-min ullgus*  
 but 1SG.NOM be-1SG.PRS stomach-ACC.SG cut-PROG out  
*tjådågov lev tjadnam tjieboten*  
*tjådågo-v le-v tjadna-m tjiebote-n*  
 esophagus-ACC.SG be-1SG.PRS knot-PRF neck-INESS.SG  
 ‘aber ich schneide gerade den Magen heraus, ich habe die Speiseröhre  
 im Hals schon geknotet’ [pit080909.054-055]

Negation wird ebenfalls periphrastisch ausgedrückt, indem das Negationsverb zusammen mit dem Konnegativ (einer besonderen nicht-finiten Verbform) realisiert wird, wie Beispiel (633) zeigt.

- (633) *nå ittjij Henning dä skihpá, gu*  
*nå ittji-j Henning dä skihpá gu*  
 well NEG-3SG.PST Henning\NOM.SG then become\_sick\CONNNEG when

*lij*            *náv gállum*  
*li-j*           *náv gállu-m*  
 be-3SG.PST SO freeze-PRF

‘also, Henning ist nicht krank geworden, nachdem er so gefroren hat’  
 [pit090702.373]

Passivverben können durch das Derivationsuffix *-duvv* abgeleitet werden, wie im Beispiel (634).

(634) *dat*                    *huvvsa*                    *bidtjiduvvuj*                    *Nisest*  
 d-a-t                    huvvsa                    bidtji-duvvu-j                    Nise-st  
 DEM-DIST-NOM.SG house\NOM.SG build-PASS-3SG.PST Nils-ELAT.SG  
 ‘dieses Haus wurde von Nils gebaut’                    [pit110522.33m03s (elic.)]

Die Tabelle in 13 listet die Portmaneau-Suffixe auf, die Person und Numerus an finiten Verben markieren.

Zeit/ Modus	Person	Numerus		
		SG	DU	PL
PRS	1.	-v	-n	-p
	2.	-	-bähten/-hpen	-behtit/-hpit
	3.	-	-ba	-
PST	1.	-v	-jmen	-jme
	2.	-	-jden	-jde
	3.	-j	-jga	-n
IMP	2.	-	-n/-hten	-t/-htet
<i>andere nicht-finite Verbformen:</i>				
INF		-t	CONNNEG	-
PRF		-m		

Tabelle 13: Flexionssuffixe für Verben

Die fünf Flexionsklassen für Verben werden aufgrund von fünf Kriterien aufgestellt:

- die Regelmäßigkeit der Muster der Vokale zwischen dem Stamm und den Flexionssuffixen (Klassenmarker)
- die Anzahl der Silben der infiniten Verbform
- die Existenz von abweichenden Personen/Numerus-Suffixen verglichen mit allen anderen Verbklassen

- die Existenz von Stammallomorphie (Stufenwechsel und Umlaut)
- Ob ein Verb eine paradigmatisch ausgelöste Vokalharmonie aufweist, und in welchen Formen diese vorkommt

Die Tabelle in 14 fasst die fünf Flexionsklassen und ihre Kriterien zusammen.

Klasse	INFINITIV		abweich. Kongr.	Stufe / Umlaut	VH (Muster)
	Klassensuffix	$\sigma$ -Zahl			
I	o	2		✓	
II	a/å	2		✓	✓(A)
III	e	2		✓	✓(B)
IV	V	2	✓		
V	i	3			

Tabelle 14: Zusammenfassung der Kriterien der verbalen Flexionsklassen

Die INF-, 2SG.PRS-, 3SG.PRS-, 2SG.PST-, 3SG.PST- und CONNEG-Formen einiger Beispielswörter aus den verschiedenen (Unter-)Flexionsklassen der Verben sind der Tabelle 15 auf Seite 286 zu entnehmen.

## Andere Wortklassen

Das Pitesaamische hat vier andere, kleinere Wortklassen. Adverbien sind Kopf einer Adverbialphrase und bestehen aus lexikalischen Adverbien und von Adjektiven abgeleiteten Adverbien. Konjunktionen verbinden Phrasen oder Sätze. Postpositionen funktionieren als Kopf einer Postpositionalphrase; einige wenige Postpositionen können auch als Präpositionen auftreten. Interjektionen funktionieren syntaktisch auf Satzebene aber sind nicht in einen Satz eingebettet, sondern stehen alleine.

## Derivationsmorphologie

Das Pitesaamische zeichnet eine sehr flexible und weitreichende Derivationsmorphologie aus. Vor allem Substantive und Verben können produktiv von anderen Wortformen abgeleitet werden, aber auch im geringeren Umfang Adjektive und Adverbien.

Klasse	INF	2SG.PRS	3SG.PRS	2SG.PST	3SG.PST	CONNEG	Glosse	
I	viess-o-t	vies-o	viess-o	viess-o	vies-o-j	vies-o	'leben, sich fühlen'	
	årr-o-t	år-o	årr-o	årr-o	år-o-j	år-o	'leben, wohnen'	
	gårr-o-t	gå-r-o	gårr-o	gårr-o	gå-r-o-j	gå-r-o	'nähen'	
II	a	tjåjbm-a-t	tjåjm-a	tjåjbm-a	tjijbm-e	tjåjm-a-j	tjåjm-a	'lachen'
		gåhtj-a-t	gietj-a	gåhtj-a	gihtj-e	gietj-a-j	gietj-a	'gucken'
	b	bass-a-t	bas-a	bass-a	biss-e	bas-a-j	bas-a	'waschen'
		bårr-å-t	bår-å	bårr-a	burr-e	bår-å-j	bår-å	'essen'
III	bass-e-t	bas-å	bass-a	biss-e	bis-i-j	bas-e	'braten'	
		buålld-e-t	buold-a	buålld-a	bulld-e	buld-i-j	buold-e	'anzünden, brennen'
	adn-e-t	an-å	adn-a	edn-e	en-i-j	an-e	'haben'	
	vådts-e-t	våts-a	vådts-a	vådts-e	våts-i-j	våts-e	'gehen'	
IV	vålld-u-t	vålld-u	vålld-u-ja	vålld-u-je	vålld-u-j	vålld-u	'heiraten'	
V	sågst-i-t	sågst-a	sågst-a	sågst-e	sågst-i-j	sågst-e	'sagen'	
	målest-i-t	målest-a	målest-a	målest-e	målest-i-j	målest-e	'kochen'	
	bargatj-i-t	bargatj-a	bargatj-a	bargatj-e	bargatj-i-j	bargatj-e	'ein bisschen arbeiten'	
Kop.	årrot	lä	lä	lidje	lij	lä	'sein'	
Neg.	-	i	ij	itje	ittij	-	'NEG'	

Tabelle 15: Vergleich von Beispielen aus den verschiedenen verbalen Flexionsklassen

## Phrasentypen

Es gibt fünf Arten von Phrasen im Pitesaamischen, die als syntaktische Konstituenten in anderen Phrasen oder Sätzen funktionieren können:

- Verbalkomplex (VC)
- Nominalphrasen (NP)
- Adjectivalphrasen (AP)
- Adverbialphrasen (AdvP)
- Postpositionalphrasen (PP)

In der Tabelle 16 werden die syntaktischen Funktionen der verschiedenen Phrasentypen zusammengefasst.

	<i>Prädikat</i>	<i>Argument/Adjunkt/ Komplement</i>	<i>Modifizierer einer NP</i>	<i>Modifizierer einer AP</i>
VC	✓			
NP	✓	✓	✓	
AP		✓	✓	
AdvP		✓		✓
PP		✓		

Tabelle 16: Zusammenfassung der Phrasentypen und ihrer syntaktischen Funktionen

Der pitesaamische Verbalkomplex besteht mindestens aus einem finiten Verb und höchstens aus einem finiten Verb und einer oder zwei nicht-finiten Verbformen. Nominalphrasen können als Argumente, Adjunkte, Prädikate, Adverbien, Dependents von Adpositionen wie auch Possessor oder Modifizierer von anderen NP:s funktionieren, und bestehen in der Regel aus mindestens einem Substantiv oder einem Pronomen. Attributive Adjektive, prädikative Adjektive und Numeralien bilden den Kopf einer AP und können von einer AdvP weiter bestimmt werden. Eine Adverbialphrase hat ein Adverb als Kopf und kann unter Umständen von einer weiteren AdvP modifiziert werden. Eine NP im Genitiv funktioniert als Dependent eines Postpositionalkopfs in einer PP.

## Übersicht über die Syntax von Sätzen

Das Pitesaamische ist eine akkusativische Sprache, weil das einzige Argument eines intransitiven Verbs (S) die gleiche Markierung trägt wie das Agens-Argument eines transitiven Verbs (A), d.h. den Nominativ. Das Patiens-Argument wird dagegen durch den Akkusativ markiert.

In der Regel ist die Stellung von Konstituenten auf Satzebene nicht syntaktisch bedingt, sondern durch pragmatische bzw. informationsstrukturelle Umstände. Deklarativsätze fangen normalerweise mit dem Topik an und enden mit einem Kommentar über das Topik. Im Allgemeinen wird eine SVO-Stellung bevorzugt, aber Abweichungen davon sind häufig und, wenn der Sinnzusammenhang dies erlaubt nicht sonderlich markant.

Wenn bestimmte Informationen über den Inhalt eines Satzes durch den Kontext ausreichend eindeutig sind, kann ein beliebiges Argument vollständig wegfallen. In den Beispielen in (635) und (636) fehlen Kernargumente des monotransitiven bzw. ditransitiven Verbs, die nur durch den vorangehenden Kontext mit verstanden werden können.

- (635) *mån biejav dut*  
*mån bieja-v dut*  
1SG.NOM put-1SG.PRS there  
'ich stelle (den Stock) dorthin' [pit100404.218]
- (636) *ja vadde, Eva-Karin!*  
*ja vadde Eva-Karin*  
and give\2SG.IMP Eva-Karin  
'und gib (mir) (eine Wurst), Eva-Karin!' [pit090519.208]

## Einfache Sätze

In einem gewöhnlichen transitiven Satz ist das Subjekt durch Nominativ und das Objekt durch Akkusativ markiert, wie in Beispiel (637).

- (637) *ja mån vuojnav muähtagav danne*  
*ja mån vuojna-v muähtaga-v danne*  
and 1SG.NOM see-1SG.PRS SNOW-ACC.SG here  
'und ich sehe hier Schnee' [pit100404.020]

Existenz wird durch das Verb *gävnut* ausgedrückt, und der Gegenstand, dessen Existenz festgestellt wird, steht im Nominativ.



Kopulasätze im Pitesaamischen verwenden das suppletive Kopulaverb *árrot* ‘sein’. Komplement davon kann eine NP im Nominativ, Inessiv oder Elativ, eine AP mit einem prädikativen Adjektiv, oder ein Zeitadverb sein.

Possession kann auch durch einen Kopulasatz ausgedrückt, wie in Beispiel (638). Hier ist der Possessor im Inessiv und das Possessum im Nominativ, welches auch Kongruenz am Kopulaverb auslöst.

- (638) *muvne lä akta mánná*  
*muvne lä akta mánná*  
 1SG.INESS be\3SG.PRS one child\NOM.SG  
 ‘ich habe ein Kind’ [pit080621.30m54s (elic.)]

Solche Konstruktionen sind selten im modernen Sprachgebrauch. Stattdessen wird meistens ein transitiver Satz mit dem Verb *ádnét* ‘haben’ benutzt, wie im Beispiel (639).

- (639) *ja dä inijmä gusajt*  
*ja dä ini-jmä gusa-jt*  
 and then have-1PL.PST COW-ACC.PL  
 ‘und dann hatten wir Kühe’ [pit080924.091]

Verben, die ein nicht-finites Verbalkomplement regieren, lassen sich in drei Gruppen einteilen, je nach Typ des nicht-finiten Verbalkomplements, wie in Tabelle 17 aufgelistet.

Verbtyp	nicht-finite Form des Komplements
Modalverben	INFINITIV
Auxiliarverb für Aspekt	PERFEKT / PROGRESSIV
Negationsverb	KONNEGATIV

Tabelle 17: Verbtypen mit nicht-finiten Verbalkomplementen

Konstituentenfragesätze werden immer als solche syntaktisch durch ein Fragewort am Anfang des Satzes markiert. Im Gegensatz dazu werden Polarfragesätze oft weder syntaktisch noch prosodisch markiert, sondern lediglich durch Kontext. In einigen wenigen Fällen wird eine archaische ‘Fragepartikel’ *gu ~ gus* noch verwendet, um Polarfragesätze zu markieren, wie im Beispiel (640).

- (640) *aná gus dân naginav, mujtojt?*  
*aná gus dân nagina-v mujt-o-jt*  
 have\2SG.PRS Q 2SG.NOM something-ACC.SG remember-NMLZ1-ACC.PL  
 ‘hast du etwas, Erinnerungen?’ [pit090702.483]

## Komplexe Sätze

Koordinierte Sätze werden lediglich durch eine koordinierende Konjunktion aneinander gebunden, aber nicht weiter für Koordination markiert.

Subordination ist auch möglich: ein Satz kann als Komplement oder Adverbial in einen übergeordneten Satz eingebettet sein. Wenn es sich im untergeordneten Satz um ein finites Verb handelt, kann der Satz durch den Komplementierer *att* eingeleitet sein, oder allein durch Juxtaposition und ohne weitere Markierung. Wenn der untergeordnete Satz ein infinites Verb als Hauptverb hat, ist Subordination nur durch Juxtaposition möglich.

Untergeordnete Sätze mit einer Adverbialfunktion werden durch einen Subordinierer wie *gu* 'als, wenn', *jus* 'wenn, falls', *manjel* 'nachdem', *åvdål* 'bevor' oder *gukte* 'wie', eingeleitet und so auch markiert, wie in Beispiel (641).

- (641) *gu lidjin sladjim, dä båhtin da*  
*gu lidji-n sladjim dä båhti-n d-a*  
 when be-3PL.PST harvest-PRF then come-3PL.PST DEM-DIST\SG.NOM  
*bajás*  
*bajás*  
*up*

'als (die Bauern) geerntet hatten, dann kamen die (Pflanzen) heraus'

[pit080924.173]

Wenn ein Satz ein Komplement einer NP ist, dann handelt es sich um einen Relativsatz. Pitesaamische Relativsätze haben ein finites Verb und werden lediglich durch ein Relativpronomen als erstes Satzelement als Relativsatz markiert. Das Relativpronomen wird nach dem Kasus flektiert, das vom Relativsatz verlangt wird, und nach dem Numerus der NP, die es im Hauptsatz modifiziert. Dies wird vom Beispiel (642) gezeigt.

- (642) *dä inijmä aktav vuoksav majna vuojadijmä*  
*dä ini-jmä akta-v vuoksa-v ma-jna vuojadi-jmä*  
 then have-1PL.PST one-ACC.SG bull-ACC.SG REL-COM.SG drive-1PL.PST  
*muorajt*  
*muora-jt*  
 wood-ACC.PL

'wir hatten einen Bullen, mit dem wir Feuerholz gefahren haben'

[pit0906\_Ahkajavvre\_a.020]

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