

CHAPTER 12

# Skolt Saami

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

## 12.1 History and classification of Skolt Saami

Skolt Saami belongs to the eastern group of Saami languages together with its neighbours Aanaar (Inari) Saami to the west, Kildin Saami to the east, and the now extinct Akkala Saami to the south-east. The latter has sometimes been considered a dialect of Skolt Saami. The group of Eastern Saami languages further includes Ter Saami, spoken to the east of Kildin Saami. In the north-west, the neighbour of Skolt Saami was the Sea Saami dialect of North Saami.

Skolt Saami was originally spoken in an area that is today divided between Norway, Finland and Russia (see Map 12.1). In the Tartu peace treaty of 1920, the Petsamo (Pečenga) area (Map 12.2) became part of Finland, and most of the Skolt Saami became Finnish citizens. In the Njauddâm (Neiden) Skolt village on the Norwegian side, the language was already on the verge of extinction at that time. The inhabitants of the Mue'tkk (Muotka) and Njuõ'ttjäu'rr (Notozero) villages on the Soviet Russian side were moved to population centres in the Kola Peninsula and were assimilated with the Russian, Kildin Saami, and Komi populations. After the Second World War, Finland had to cede the Petsamo area to the Soviet Union, and the Skolt Saami population was evacuated to Finland and settled in the municipality of Inari (Map 12.2). The inhabitants of the villages Paččjokk (Paatsjoki) and Peäccam (Petsamonkylä) were settled in Njeä'llem (Nellim) to the south-east of Lake Inari, while the inhabitants of the village of Suõ'nn'jel (Suonikylä) were assigned new homes in Če'vetjäu'rr (Sevettijärvi) to the north-west of Lake Inari. The total number of Skolt Saami that had moved from Petsamo to Inari by the early 1950s was around one thousand, and almost all of them were native speakers of Skolt Saami. Today the language has some 200–300 speakers in Finland out of an ethnic population of around 600, and a few speakers also remain on the Russian side.<sup>1</sup> In terms of religion, the Skolt Saami have had close ties to Russian Orthodox traditions since the time of

their Christianization in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Whereas the other Saami groups in Finland are mainly Lutheran, the Skolt Saami have preserved their traditional Orthodox religion despite the growing Finnish cultural influences since the first half of the twentieth century.

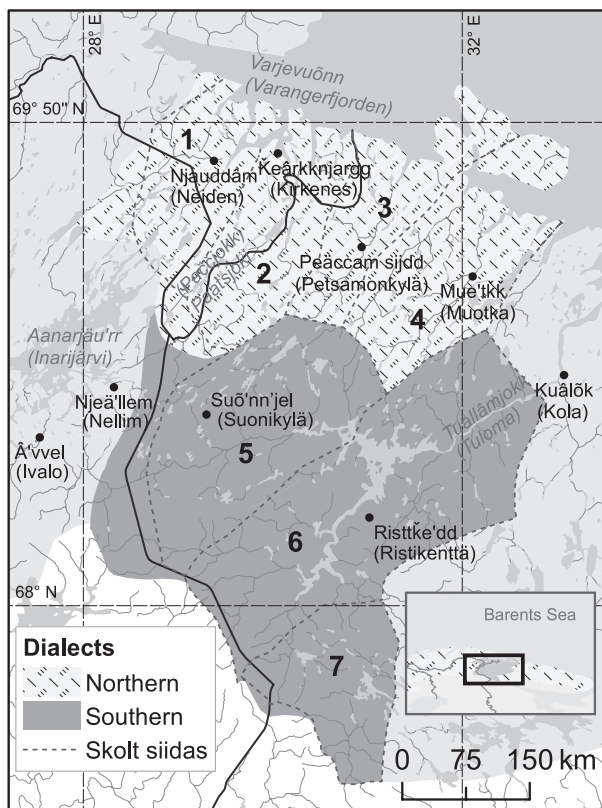
A literary language was created in the 1970s by the linguists Mikko Korhonen and Pekka Sammallahti, with the help of Jouni Moshnikoff, a native speaker, and Satu Moshnikoff, a teacher at the Če'vetjäu'rr school. The cooperation between these people later resulted in dictionaries and learning materials for schools and other contexts of learning. In addition to the schools of Če'vetjäu'rr and Ivalo (earlier also Njeä'llem and Keväjäu'rr [Keväjärvi]), it is possible to study Skolt Saami at the Sámi Education Institute in Inari as well as at the University of Oulu, where approximately ten students were following the Skolt Saami undergraduate curriculum in 2021.

The literary language is based on the old Suõ'nn'jel dialect. The differences between the Suõ'nn'jel and Paččjokk-Peäccam dialects were small to begin with and the common standard language has brought them even closer to each other. The language of the younger generations has a lot of influence from Finnish making it clearly different from the speech of the older generations.

The language can be considered to be severely endangered. Today there is, however, a growing interest in the Skolt Saami culture and language, and various revitalization activities are taking place, including language nests, one in Če'vetjäu'rr and one in Ivalo, in which pre-school children learn the language from their grandparents' generation who still speak the language (see 4.2). Similarly, the Skolt Saami in Norway and Russia who have lost their language are showing growing interest in their ethnic and linguistic roots.

Skolt Saami and its varieties have been the object of scholarly interest since the nineteenth century. However, especially in earlier works, the language has rarely been investigated separately but rather as one of the Eastern Saami varieties in a comparative perspective (T. Itkonen 1916 and E. Itkonen 1939). The first structural description created for practical purposes is the short grammar sketch by Mikko Korhonen (1973b). The grammars by Moshnikoff et al. (2009;

<sup>1</sup> The numbers cited by Feist (2015: 22) from the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2016) concerning Skolt Saami in Russia are probably overestimated.

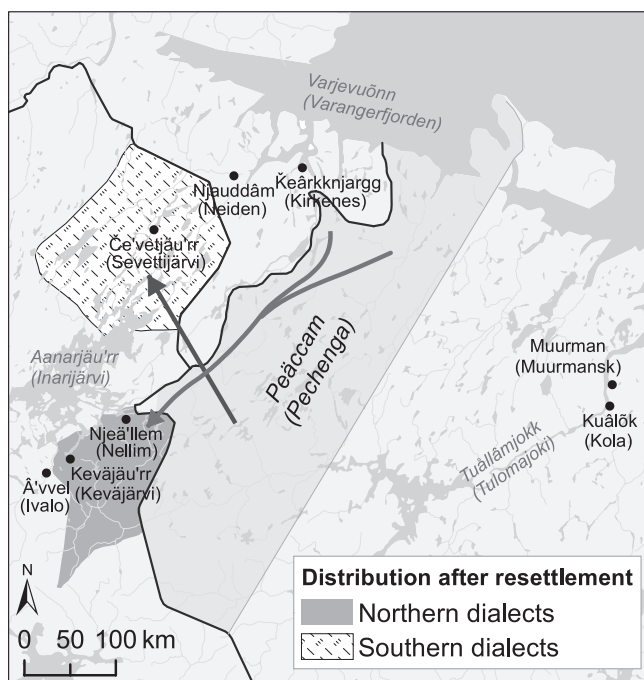


Map 12.1 Traditional Skolt Saami area

2020) are largely based on the earlier sketch by Korhonen. These [two](#) focus on phonology and morphology. The descriptive grammar by Feist (2015) includes some syntax as well, and is partly based on these predecessors and partly on new fieldwork by the author. Further research literature focusing on Skolt Saami includes McRobbie-Utasi's (1999) work on phonological quantity, Miestamo's (2014) typological profile of the language, Miestamo and Koponen's (2015) paper on negation, as well as Juutinen's (2019) study of Skolt Saami focus particles and Lehtinen's (2018) study of word order in Skolt Saami.

The first and the most extensive account of the Skolt Saami lexicon is included in the Skolt and Kola Saami dictionary by T. I. Itkonen (1958a). The largest dictionary of standard Skolt Saami is the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary by Satu and Jouni Moshnikoff (2020) which is based on the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary by Sammallahti and Mosnikoff (1991) but is more extensive. The dictionary by Sammallahti and Mosnikoff also includes model paradigms of different inflectional classes of nouns and verbs.

The present chapter draws from these sources as well as the authors' knowledge of the language and from text materials such as the Skolt Saami Documentation Corpus (SSDC-2016<sup>2</sup>), compiled by the authors. A more comprehensive presentation of Skolt Saami text materials can be found in 12.6 at the end of this chapter.



Map 12.2 Distribution of Skolt Saami after resettlement

## 12.2 Phonology

### 12.2.1 Segmental inventories

This section will introduce the phoneme inventory of Skolt Saami, looking first at vowels and then at consonants. Graphemes are given in the tables in angle brackets after the phonemes they mark. The Skolt Saami orthography can be characterized as phonological in its main traits. The discussion will include some notes on less straightforward cases in the orthography.

#### 12.2.1.1 Vowels

The Skolt Saami vowel system comprises nine or ten (monophthong) vowels, as shown in Table 12.1.

The phonological status of [ɛ] is unclear, and it is possible to analyse it as an allophone of /e/.<sup>3</sup> In any case, it does not

<sup>2</sup> The corpus is accessible through the Language Bank of Finland, <http://www.kielipankki.fi>.

<sup>3</sup> Korhonen (1971) and Feist (2015: 69–70) treat [ɛ] as an allophone of /e/, whereas Sammallahti (1998a: 142–3) considers it an independent phoneme. One argument for seeing them as separate phonemes comes from the

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

**Table 12.1** Skolt Saami vowel system

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ⟨i⟩		u ⟨u⟩
Close-mid	e ⟨e⟩	ə ⟨õ⟩	o ⟨o⟩
Open-mid	(ɛ ⟨e̞⟩)	ɜ ⟨â⟩	ɔ ⟨â⟩
Open	æ ⟨ä⟩		ɑ ⟨a⟩

have a dedicated grapheme in the standard orthography, and both [e] and [ɛ] are written using the same grapheme ⟨e⟩. In a more detailed orthography, the so-called dictionary orthography, ⟨e̞⟩ can be used for [ɛ].

Following this analysis, the Skolt Saami vowel system would be classified as Type 9:2 in Crothers' (1978) typology, i.e. a nine-vowel system with two non-peripheral vowels. Such systems are relatively common in the world's languages, and they are mostly found in the South-east Asian and Meso-American languages. In Maddieson's (2013a) survey of the size of vowel quality inventories, the Skolt Saami system falls in the category "large" (seven to fourteen vowel qualities).

In addition to the monophthongs, Skolt Saami features ten or twelve diphthongs (the graphemes used in different contexts are given in angle brackets). They are shown in Table 12.2.

**Table 12.2** Diphthongs in Skolt Saami

iə ⟨iõ⟩ ⟨iõ'⟩	uə ⟨uõ⟩ ⟨uõ'⟩
eä ⟨eä'⟩ ⟨eä'⟩	uä ⟨uä'⟩ ⟨uä'⟩
eɜ ⟨eâ⟩ ⟨eâ'⟩	uɜ ⟨uâ⟩ ⟨uâ'⟩
ie ⟨ie'⟩	ue ⟨ue'⟩
(iɛ ⟨ie̞'⟩)	(uɛ ⟨ue̞'⟩)
iɜ ⟨iâ⟩	uɔ ⟨uâ⟩

The number of diphthongs depends on whether they are analysed as independent phonemes or sequences of two phonemes, and whether some of them are analysed as allophones of another diphthong rather than self-standing phonemes. Since the question is intimately tied to the suprasegmental palatalization feature, we will postpone that discussion to 12.2.4.2. From an orthographic point of view, it can be noted that some grapheme sequences used to

treatment of diphthongs (see below in this section and in 12.2.4.2): if diphthongs were analysed as sequences of two vowels, the opposition between /iɛ/ vs /ie/ and /uɛ/ vs /ue/ could be taken as support for /ɛ/ and /e/ being separate phonemes.

mark diphthongs in the standard orthography are ambiguous between two different diphthong phonemes.

One visible feature of Skolt Saami, especially as compared to Western Saami languages, is the extensive loss of unstressed vowels. The final vowels have been lost in all historically two- and three-syllable word forms (even when the vowel has become word-final owing to the loss of a following consonant). Word-internal second-syllable vowels have been lost when the third-syllable vowel has been retained (owing to secondary stress). The lost second-syllable vowel may in careful speech be heard as an overshoot vowel, which is, according to Korhonen (1971), an overshoot allophone of a vowel phoneme (more on this in 12.2.3). The only unstressed vowels that can appear word-finally in Skolt Saami are thus the contracted<sup>4</sup> vowels /ɑ, u, e/, as well as /i/ resulting from the sequence Vj. Before a consonant in an unstressed syllable, the contracted vowels /ɑ, u, e, i/, as well as the non-contracted vowels /a, e, ɜ, i/ (but not /ə, æ, ɔ, o/) appear. These constraints do not apply to recent, unadapted loanwords. The examples in Tables 12.3 and 12.4 illustrate the Skolt Saami developments and its differences with respect to North Saami (see 7.3).

**Table 12.3** Development of the singular case forms of Skolt Saami *jokk* and North Saami *johka* 'river'

	Skolt Saami		Proto-Saami		North Saami
Nominative	<i>jokk</i>	<	* <i>jokə</i>	>	<i>johka</i>
Genitive	<i>joogg</i>	<	* <i>jokən</i>	>	<i>joga</i>
Accusative	<i>joogg</i>	<	* <i>jokəm</i>	>	<i>joga</i>
Illative	<i>jo'kke</i>	<	* <i>jokəssən</i>	>	<i>johkii</i>
Locative	<i>jooggâst</i>	<	* <i>jokə/sne, ste</i>	>	<i>jogas</i>
Comitative	<i>jooggin</i>	<	* <i>jokəjne</i>	>	<i>jogain</i>
Essive	<i>jokkân</i>	<	* <i>jokəne</i>	>	<i>johkan</i>
Partitive	<i>jokkâd</i>	<	* <i>jokəte</i>		

### 12.2.1.2 Consonants

Skolt Saami features twenty-seven consonant phonemes plus four consonants whose phonological status is unclear (cf. Korhonen 1971: 83, Feist 2015: 45). The twenty-seven consonant phonemes of Skolt Saami are presented in Table 12.5.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sammallahti (1998a: 45) "Contracted vowels arise when an intervocalic consonant disappears and adjacent vowels collapse into a single syllable nucleus." See *ibid.* 45–6 for more details.

**Table 12.4** Development of the present and connegative forms of Skolt Saami *juukkâd* and North Saami *juhkat* drink.INF

	Skolt Saami		Proto-Saami		North Saami
1SG	<i>juuggam</i>	<	* <i>jukom</i>	>	<i>jugan</i>
2SG	<i>juuggak</i>	<	* <i>jukok</i>	>	<i>jugat</i>
3SG	<i>jookk</i>	<	* <i>juka</i>	>	<i>juhka</i>
1PL	<i>juukkâp</i>	<	* <i>jukope</i>	>	<i>juhkat</i>
2PL	<i>juukkve'ted</i>	<	* <i>jukopetete</i>	>	<i>juhkahtet</i>
3PL	<i>jo'kke</i>	<	* <i>juojek</i>	>	<i>juhket</i>
CNG	<i>juugg</i>	<	* <i>jukok</i>	>	<i>juga</i>

The phoneme /k/ always occurs as a geminate. The phonemes /k ŋ j d̥z d̥z/ do not occur word-initially; /ð/ and /ɣ/ are found initially only in variants of words beginning with /d/ or /g/. The phonemes /b d g z z/ are found initially only rarely (mostly in relatively recent loans and some variants of native words). In initial position, the phoneme /x/ is often realized as a voiced or voiceless laryngeal fricative [h ~ ɦ]. The fricative /v/ has an approximant allophone [ʋ] in word-final position as well as between a vowel and a consonant. A similar relationship can be found between the fricative /j/ and the approximant [j], but there seems to be a phonemic contrast between [j] and [j] in cases like *ää'jjest* /æ:'jjest/ grandfather.LOC and *ääi'jest* /æ:'jjest/ time.LOC. We will come back to allophonic realizations of consonants in connection with suprasegmental palatalization in 12.2.3.2.

**Table 12.5** Skolt Saami consonants

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Dental	Alveolar		Postalveolar		Alveolopalatal		Palatal		Velar	
voicing	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
Stop	p	b				t	d					c	ɟ	k	g
	<p>	<b>				<t>	<d>					<č>	<ğ>	<k>	<g>
Nasal		m					n					ɲ		ŋ	
		<m>					<n>					<ɲ>		<ŋ>	
Trill							r								
							<r>								
Fricative			f	v	ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ				j	x	ɣ
			<f>	<v, u>	<ð>	<s>	<z>	<š>	<ž>				<j, i>	<h>	<ɣ>
Affricate						t̪s	d̪z			t̪ç	d̪ʒ				
						<t̪s>	<d̪z>			<t̪ç>	<d̪ʒ>				
Approximant													j		w
													<i>		<ɰ>
Lateral							l						ɭ		
							<l>						<ɭj>		

Stops, affricates, sibilants, and certain fricatives (labial and velar) form pairs of phonemes contrasting in voicing. Nasals, laterals, and the trill, as well as the alveolar and palatal fricative, do not have a voiceless counterpart. After a voiced segment, the phonemes /p t c k t̪s t̪ç/ receive preaspiration. The presence vs absence of preaspiration is an important part of the realization of the voicing contrast: the voiced stops and affricates are realized as semi-voiced without preaspiration.

Many speakers realize the alveolar lateral almost or completely like a semi-vowel [ɰ ~ w] in certain environments (before a back vowel and/or when it is in the central consonant component of a non-palatalized foot, see 12.2.3.2). Many speakers realize the alveolar-palatal affricate /t̪ç/ as an alveolar-palatal fricative [ç]. Especially younger speakers also tend to pronounce the palatal stop /c/ as an affricate [t̪ç]. The phonemes /t̪ç/ [ç] and /c/ [t̪ç] are, however, usually kept distinct from each other. For some speakers (or in

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

some words) /t̪/ [t̪] can merge with /ʃ/ (e. g. [t̪i3ʃ:3d] for *kiõččäd* /ci3t̪ɛ:3d/ look.INF). Young speakers with a strong influence of Finnish in their pronunciation may also show different degrees of neutralization in the oppositions /s, z/ and /t̪, d̪/, as well as /s, z/ and /ʃ, ʒ/.

Post-vocalic *i* and *u* do not form a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Rather, they form a sequence with the following consonant, which (e.g. in terms of consonant gradation) behaves similarly to consonant clusters. On this basis, they can be called semi-consonants.

As regards the marking of consonants in the orthography, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the palatal lateral /ʎ/ do not have dedicated graphemes. Since /ʎ/ always occurs as a (long or short) geminate, the sequence <lj> does not stand for /ʎ/ but for the cluster /lj/. To better distinguish /ɲ(n)/ <(n)nj>, /ʎʎ/ <llj>, and /lj/ <lj> from cases in which there is a foot boundary (and an overshoot vowel) between the phonemes /n/ or /l/ and /j/, the sign ' marks the foot boundary, e.g.

/viʎʎam/ *villjam* brother.POSS.1SG, /vuə:'ljim/ *vuõ'ljim*  
leave.PRS.1PL,  
/vølljjam/ *vøll'jam* jump.PRS.1SG, /væ:'ljjam/ *vää'l'jam*  
bake.PRS.1SG,  
/mə:'jin/ *mõõ'njin* daughter\_in\_law.COM, /mɜ:ɲn:a/ *mânja*  
daughter\_in\_law.ILL,  
/mə:nj'in/ *mõõ'njin* goer.PL.LOC, /mə:nnj'in/ *mõõnn'jin*  
goer.COM.

Between a vowel and a consonant as well as word-finally, the phonemes /v/ and /j/ (or their allophones [v] and [j]) are written <u> and <i>. This orthographic rule does, however, not apply to phoneme sequences /ij/ and /uv/ or to the geminates /vv/ and /jj/, e.g.

/a:vt3st/ *aautâst* car.LOC, /kuvd:/ *kuvdd* grass,  
/væjn:/ *vänn* war, /sijd:/ *sijdd* Saami village,  
/jä:vvast/ *jäävvast* flour.LOC, /æ:'jjest/ *ää'jjest*  
grandfather.LOC,  
(but /æ:'jjest/ *ääi'jest* time.LOC, cf. /æ:'j:/: *äi'gǧ* time).

## 12.2.2 Word structure and rhythmic type

Skolt Saami words consist of one or more syllables. Maximal syllable structure comprises three consonants in the onset and two in the coda: CCCVCC. A sequence of three consonants in the onset is rare, restricted to the most recent Russian or international loans. Two-consonant sequences are more common, but even they tend to be found mostly in loanwords and expressive words. Typically, two-consonant sequences consist of sibilant+stop, stop+sonorant, or sibilant

+sonorant. Three-consonant sequences are typically sibilant+stop+sonorant.

In terms of rhythmic structure, the language exhibits a trochaic rhythm type, which means that the left-hand syllable in the disyllabic foot is more prominent. In contrast with, e.g., North Saami, where a foot (or stress group) may also consist of three syllables, in Skolt Saami the maximal foot is disyllabic, containing the following parts: C0 (initium), V1 (vowel centre), C1 (consonant centre), V2 (latus), C2 (finis), see Koponen and Rueter 2016 for details.<sup>5</sup> The minimal foot only includes the V1 component, but in most cases at least C0 or C1 is included. Components C0, C1, and C2 may be either single consonants or clusters and C1 may also be a geminate. V1 may be a monophthong or a diphthong, V2 only a monophthong. An orthographic *i* or *u* following a vowel (V1 or V2) belongs to the consonantal component. Examples are shown in Table 12.6.

**Table 12.6** Examples of rhythmic structure types in Skolt Saami

1 FOOT	2 FEET
<i>tuõddâr</i> fell (COV1C1V2C2)	<i>tuõdd/rest</i> fell.LOC
<i>ääldast</i> reindeer_cow.LOC	(COV1C1 COV1C1),
(V1C1V2C2)	<i>tuõdd/ra</i> fell.ILL
<i>alldu</i> reindeer_cow.ILL	(COV1C1 COV1),
(V1C1V2)	<i>main/ste'ped</i> tell.PRS.2PL
<i>älld</i> reindeer_cow (V1C1)	(COV1C1 COV1C1V2C2)

When the last component of a one-foot word is C1, an overshoot vowel may be heard after it. The overshoot vowel is not considered a full phonological segment here, but only a juncture signalling the end of a foot. The same is true of C1 as the last component of the first foot of a multi-foot word in case the following foot begins with a C0. The overshoot vowel is not usually indicated in writing, but the ' sign is used when the preceding consonantal component (C1) or part of it is the same as the following consonantal component (C0), or when the preceding consonantal group is *n* or *l* and the following one is *j*. Examples: *lue'st'ted* /lue:'st|ted/ loose.CAUS.INF, *poonn'ja* /po:nn|ja/ braider.ILL, *poonnj'ja* /po:ɲn|ja/ bender.ILL (cf. *lue'stted* /lue:'st:ed/ let\_loose.INF, *poonnâd* /po:nn3d/ braid.INF, *poonnjâd* /po:ɲn3d/ bend.INF).

It is also possible for the second foot of a word to start with the component V1. In this case the overshoot vowel does not occur. Examples: *vâ'stt/eed* answer (v.).INF, *vâ'stt/õõzzâst* answer (n.).LOC, *vâ'stt/õ'sse* answer (n.).ILL. Words of this structural type result especially from the so-called

<sup>5</sup> Note that Feist (2015: 41–3) presents a different view of foot structure, see Koponen and Rueter 2016 for discussion.

*d*-contraction, i.e. the loss of the *d*-consonant in the beginning of the original third syllable (cf. NS *vástidit*, *vástádusas*, *vástádussii*).

### 12.2.3 Suprasegmental phonology

Skolt Saami has two suprasegmental phonological phenomena whose scope is the foot: length and palatalization. They will be treated in 12.2.3.1 and 12.2.3.2, respectively.

#### 12.2.3.1 Length

All Skolt Saami vowels (monophthongs and diphthongs) can be phonologically either short or long in V1 position. Long monophthongs could perhaps be analysed as sequences of two identical vowels, but such an analysis would not work for long diphthongs. Of course diphthongs could be analysed as sequences of two vowels with different quality, but the opposition between a long and short diphthong cannot be reduced to a length opposition between the component vowels. In terms of quantity, a short diphthong corresponds to a short monophthong and a long diphthong to a long monophthong. Thus, long and short vowels are either different phonemes or—in case their occurrence can be shown to be dependent on the environment—allophones of one phoneme.

Consonant clusters are long or short in C1 position, but it may be debatable whether length is a property of the whole cluster or of just one of the components. Although both components in a long cluster may be longer than in the corresponding short cluster, a clearer difference is almost always found in the latter component. On this basis it might be said that length is a property of the latter component. Similarly to consonant clusters, even geminates can be short or long in C1 position. Geminates are thus most naturally interpreted as sequences of two identical phonemes. If length is taken as the property of the latter component, as was done for clusters, long geminates can be seen as consisting of two identical consonants, except that the latter is either a long phoneme different from the first one or a long allophone of the same phoneme as the first one.

Alternatively, length (not only in geminates but also in consonant clusters and vowels) can be interpreted as a suprasegmental phonemic feature. This analysis is attractive in that it avoids doubling the number of segmental phonemes, and it is also supported by the fact that the quantity of a phoneme depends on the quantity of the other phonemes in the same foot in a way that is easiest to describe on the basis of this interpretation. One foot can contain only one length feature; that is carried either by V1 or C1 (provided C1 is a

cluster or a geminate). The foot containing the length feature will be called long, i.e. a largo foot. It is also possible that a foot does not contain a length feature and in this case V1 and C1 (if it occurs) are both short; such a foot is called short, i.e. an allegro foot.

In writing, a long monophthong is marked with two consecutive letters and a long consonant cluster is marked by doubling the latter component of the cluster. The length of a diphthong or geminate is not marked in writing, but the length of the diphthong can often be seen from the following consonant cluster (a diphthong is always short before a long cluster and usually long before a short cluster) and the length of a geminate can be seen in the length of the preceding monophthong (a geminate is short after a long monophthong and long after a short one). In dictionaries and grammars and otherwise when higher phonological precision is needed, the shortness of a diphthong of a long foot and the length of a geminate can be indicated with the ' sign between the parts of the geminate. The same sign after a diphthong shows that the diphthong is short, because it is situated within a short foot. Examples follow:

Largo foot, phonemic length feature on V1

/pæ:ll/ *pääll* ball.GEN, /pæ:llast/ *päällast* ball.LOC, /jo:kk/ *jookk* drink.PRS.3SG, /ju:yyam/ *juuggam* drink.PRS.3SG, /æ:ld/ *äald* reindeer\_COW.GEN, /peæ:ldast/ *peäldast* field.LOC, /kue:'sset/ *kue'sset* guest.LOC, /kue:'ll/ *kue'll* fish, /kue:'lest/ *kue'lest* fish.LOC

Largo foot, phonemic length feature on C1

/pæ:ll:/ *päll* ball, /pall:u/ *pallu* ball.ILL, /ju'cc:e/ *ju'kķe* drink.PST.3PL, /ald:u/ *alddu* reindeer\_COW.ILL, /piäld:u/ *piälddu* field.ILL, /ku3ss:a/ *kuäs'sa* guest.ILL, /ku3ll:a/ *kuäl'la* fish.ILL

Allegro foot

/tət/ *tõt* DIST, /nəkam/ *nəkam* such, /muæna/ *muä'na* 1DU

The main stress is always on the V1 vowel in the first foot of a word regardless of whether the foot is largo or allegro. The other feet in the word have weak or strong secondary stress on the V1 vowel depending on whether the foot is allegro or largo. A V2 vowel is always unstressed. In words that consist of two (or more) feet, the length of an individual foot (largo or allegro) is independent of the length of the other feet in the word.

In words and word forms that comprise more than one foot, it is normal for the second (or third) foot, which contains inflectional suffixes, to be allegro. A second foot is usually largo when its V1 and C1 consist of derivational elements. The first foot of a word (the one containing the lexical morpheme) is generally largo, but it can also be allegro. Some inflectional types have a paradigmatic variation

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

allegro/largo in the first foot, which can be obligatory or optional. Examples follow:

/ma:jnast/ (L) *maainast* tell.PRS.3SG, /majn|sted/ (A|A) *mainsted* tell.INF, /majn|ste'ped/ (A|A) *mainste'ped* tell.PRS.2PL, /majn|stə:lɑm/ (A|L) *mainstöölam* ~ /ma:jn|stə:lɑm/ (L|L) *maainstöölam* tell.FREQ.PRS.1SG  
/nəkɑm/ (A) *nəkɑm*, ~ /nək:kɑm/ (L) *nək:kɑm*

The paradigmatic variation allegro/largo is intertwined with another alternation dealing with C1 length, called consonant gradation, and therefore we will revisit it in 12.2.4.1.

Some newer (and even a bit older) loan words have not been (fully) adapted to the prosodic structure of Skolt Saami. They do not (fully) conform to the foot structure described here, e.g. *kapitalistt* (?|L) 'capitalist', *turašk|a* (?|A) 'cotton reel'.

On the phonetic realizations of vowels and consonants in various environments see McRobbie-Utasi 1999.

### 12.2.3.2 Palatalization

In a palatalized foot, most phonemes in both V1 and C1 receive palatal coarticulation. In writing, palatalization is indicated with the sign ' (U+02B9 modifier letter prime) appearing between the vowel and consonant as seen in many examples above and sometimes also between vowels, e.g. *jee'el* 'lichen', *nââ'er* 'dream'.<sup>6</sup> If the palatalization is analysed as a suprasegmental phoneme, most consonant phonemes in C1 position receive palatal coarticulation in a palatalized foot. Thus, they have both palatalized and non-palatalized allophones. The palatal phonemes /c/ and /j/ occur in C1 position only in feet that have suprasegmental palatalization. The palatal phonemes /ɲ/ /j/ /t͡ɕ/ /d͡ɕ/ /ʎ/ occur both with and without suprasegmental palatalization, but they do not have separate palatalized and non-palatalized allophones (the distinction is then seen only in the vowel or it is completely neutralized). The velar phonemes /k/ /g/ /ŋ/ do not occur in C1 position in feet that have suprasegmental palatalization. The velar phonemes /x/ and /ŋ/ have both a palatalized and a non-palatalized allophone; the allophone [ɲ] may at least in some words and/or with some speakers fall together with the phoneme /ɲ/.

The voiced palatal stop [j] does not occur anywhere else than in C1 position in a palatalized foot. Since [j] is in complementary distribution with the velar stop [g], it is possible

<sup>6</sup> The same sign is used here also in phonological and phonetic transcription to indicate a palatalized allophone of a vowel. Since this palatalization is a feature of the whole foot instead of just one phoneme, we have, even when using the IPA, chosen not to use the IPA palatalization sign <sup>h</sup>, which would have scope only over the character it attaches to. The IPA palatalization sign is, however, used in some cases when talking about individual palatalized sounds.

to interpret both sounds as allophones of the phoneme /g/. The corresponding voiceless stops /c/ and /k/ are, however, separate phonemes, because both of them can occur in positions other than C1 as well (even for them there are restrictions that come close to complementary distribution). Many speakers have the labiovelar approximant sound [w] as the allophone of the alveolar lateral /l/ in C1 position in a non-palatalized foot. At least in some words it may fall together with the labiodental approximant [ʋ] that occurs as an allophone of /v/, which can also be reflected in orthographic variants, e.g. *ålggan* [ɔwg:ɑn] ~ *åuggan* [ɔvg:ɑn] outside.

Vowels, too, have two allophones in V1 position, according to whether or not suprasegmental palatalization is present in the foot. The palatalized allophone is somewhat more fronted and/or more closed than the non-palatalized one. The monophthong vowel [ɛ] occurs in non-palatalized feet only, whereas the monophthong vowel [e] occurs in palatalized feet only, which conforms to the analysis of these sounds as allophones of the same phoneme.

Since suprasegmental palatalization is a property of the foot and not of the word, a word consisting of several feet may have several palatalized or non-palatalized feet independent of each other. Note that palatalization is (usually) not marked on a monosyllabic allegro foot, unless the foot is word-initial. Examples follow:

/jɔ:'ð|te'ped/ *jää'dte'ped* travel.CAUS.PRS.2PL, /jɔ:'ð|te'p/  
*jää'dtep* travel.CAUS.PRS.1PL, /jɔ:'ð|tam/ *jää'dtam*  
travel.CAUS.PRS.1SG.

From a diachronic point of view, suprasegmental palatalization comes from the front vowel (*e* or *i*) of the second syllable of an originally disyllabic foot. At later stages of the language, this vowel has often been lost, but sometimes it has only changed and sometimes even remained intact. If V2 has been preserved, its quality (front or back) can often still give us a clue as to whether or not the foot has palatalization, but this rule is not exceptionless in contemporary Skolt Saami. For example, in the form /jɔ:'ðat/ *jää'dat* travel.CAUS.PRS.3SG, V2 is /a/ in contemporary Skolt Saami, but the foot has palatalization, because the original second-syllable phoneme was a front vowel, as shown by the corresponding North Saami form *jod̥iha*.

As regards the relationship between diphthongs and palatalization, Skolt Saami has six diphthongs that are found in both palatalized and non-palatalized sequences, four that are only found in palatalized sequences, and two that are found in non-palatalized sequences only, see Table 12.2. If diphthongs are analysed as independent phonemes and not sequences of two vowels, /iɛ/ <iɛ> and /ue/ <ue> can be interpreted, following Korhonen (1971: 74–6), as palatalized

allophones of /i3/ <iâ> and /uɔ/ <uâ>, respectively. In this analysis, there are ten diphthong phonemes, eight of which occur in both palatalized and non-palatalized feet and two in palatalized feet only. This is the analysis adopted in 12.2.1.1.

In addition to the above-described diphthong system based on the old Suõ'nn'jel dialect, there are various idiolectal systems that may incorporate influences from other dialects (Paččjokk-Peäccam), from Standard Skolt Saami and from Finnish. Feist (2015: 70–5) interprets [iɛ] and [uɛ] as allophones of /eæ/ and /uæ/ and [ie] and [ue] as allophones of /i3/ and /uɔ/, ending up with a system of eight diphthong phonemes, each of which has a palatalized and a non-palatalized allophone (/eæ/ and /uæ/ have two different palatalized allophones each). It is possible that some speakers possess such a system. A somewhat different eight-diphthong system results from the merger of [iɛ] and [uɛ] with [ie] and [ue], respectively, possibly due to the influence of orthography.

### 12.2.4 Morphophonological phenomena

Alongside South and Inari Saami, Skolt Saami is one of the most complex Saami languages in terms of morphophonology. Like most Saami languages, Skolt Saami features consonant gradation affecting the consonant centre (C1) in a foot. Another morphophonological alternation that occurs in most Saami languages and has become extremely complicated in Skolt Saami is the metaphony of the vowel centre (V1) in a foot. Both alternations have developed in Proto-Saami, first as allophonic variation which has then become phonematic through the blurring of the original conditioning factors. Both phenomena occupy a central position in Skolt Saami inflectional and derivational morphology.

#### 12.2.4.1 Consonant gradation

Consonant gradation refers to the morphophonematic alternation affecting partly the quantity and partly the quality of the C1 consonants of a largo foot. The occurrence of the so-called strong and weak grades in consonant gradation was originally dependent on the structure of the following syllable, so that the consonant was then “stronger” at the beginning of an open syllable and “weaker” at the beginning of a closed syllable. As a general rule, C1 is longer and/or less voiced in the strong grade than in the weak grade. The quantity alternation may be manifested as the suprasegmental length of the strong grade shifting from C1 to V1 or the change of a geminate to a single consonant in the weak grade.

In addition to strong and weak grade, C1 can, in specific circumstances, be in what is called the “extra strong” or lengthened grade. In the broadest of terms gradation can

also be applied to the largo/allegro variation (see 12.2.3.1). C1 in an allegro foot will be called in this case the shortened grade.

Consonant gradation can be divided into the following main types.

1. (as in Table 12.7): Long geminate in the strong grade, short geminate in the weak grade, single consonant in the the shortened grade. No lengthened grade attested. V1 is long in the weak grade and short in the strong and shortened grades. There is no quality alternation in C1.

**Table 12.7** Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 1

Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>käll</i> forehead	<i>käll</i> forehead.GEN	<i>kälstan</i> forehead.LOC. POSS.1SG
<i>papp</i> priest	<i>paapp</i> priest.GEN	<i>papstan</i> priest.LOC. POSS.1SG
<i>vuä'b'b</i> sister	<i>vue'bb</i> sister. GEN	<i>vue'bstan</i> sister.LOC. POSS.1SG

2. Long consonant cluster in the strong grade, and short in the weak and shortened grades. No lengthened grade attested. V1 is long in the weak grade and short in the strong and shortened grades.
  - a. No quality alternation in C1 (Table 12.8)

**Table 12.8** Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 2a

Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>ärpp</i> thread	<i>äärp</i> thread.GEN	<i>ärpstan</i> thread.LOC.POSS.1SG

- b. Quality alternation in C1 (Table 12.9)

**Table 12.9** Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 2b

Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>algg</i> beginning	<i>aalg</i> beginning.GEN	<i>algstan</i> beginning. LOC.POSS.1SG
<i>mähss</i> payment	<i>määus</i> payment.GEN	<i>mäus'stan</i> payment. LOC.POSS.1SG

3. Short geminate in the strong grade, long geminate in the lengthened grade, and single consonant in the weak and shortened grades. V1 is long in the strong and weak grades, but short in the lengthened and shortened grades.



a. No quantity alternation in C1 (Table 12.10)

Table 12.10 Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 3a

Lengthened grade	Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>kuâl'la</i> fish.ILL	<i>kue'll</i> fish	<i>kue'l</i> fish.GEN	<i>kue'lstan</i> fish. LOC. POSS.1SG
<i>viâr'ru</i> soup.ILL	<i>veärr</i> soup	<i>veär</i> soup.GEN	<i>veä'rstan</i> soup.LOC. POSS.1SG
<i>võrr</i> blood		<i>võör</i> blood.GEN	<i>võrstan</i> blood.LOC. POSS.1SG

b. Quality alternation in C1 (Table 12.11)

Table 12.11 Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 3b

Lengthened grade	Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>kiõ't'te</i> hand.ILL	<i>kiõtt</i> hand	<i>kiõđ</i> hand.GEN	<i>kiõ'đstan</i> hand.LOC.POSS.1SG
<i>lâppa</i> permission.ILL	<i>lââ'pp</i> permission	<i>lââ'v</i> permission.GEN	<i>lâ'vstan</i> permission.LOC.POSS.1SG
<i>põtt</i> buttocks		<i>põđđ</i> buttocks.GEN	<i>põđstan</i> buttocks.LOC.POSS.1SG

4. Short geminate in the strong and weak grades, long geminate in the lengthened grade, and single consonant in the shortened grade. V1 is long in the strong and weak grades, but short in the lengthened and shortened grades. There is quality alternation in C1.

Table 12.12 Skolt Saami consonant gradation: Type 4

Lengthened grade	Strong grade	Weak grade	Shortened grade
<i>čäcca</i> water.ILL	<i>čää'cc</i> water	<i>čää'zz</i> water.GEN	<i>čä'zstan</i> water. LOC.POSS.1SG
<i>kieč'ča</i> end.ILL	<i>kie'čč</i> end	<i>kie'jj</i> end.GEN	<i>kie'jstan</i> end.LOC.POSS.1SG
<i>ekka</i> year.ILL	<i>ee'kk</i> year	<i>ee'jj</i> year.GEN	<i>e'jstan</i> year.LOC. POSS.1SG
<i>jokk</i> river		<i>joogg</i> river.GEN	<i>jogstan</i> river.LOC. POSS.1SG

In Types 1 and 2 the suprasegmental length feature found on C1 in the strong grade shifts to V1 in the weak grade, whereas in Types 3 and 4 the length feature is on V1 in both the strong and the weak grade, but shifts to C1 in the lengthened grade (see Tables 12.12, 12.13).

Table 12.13 Quality alternation in C1

Type	Strong grade	Weak grade
2b	<i>hss, hšš, hcc, hčč</i> <i>lgg/'lğğ, rgg/'rğğ, dgg/'dğğ</i>	<i>us, uš, uc, uč</i> <i>lg/'lj, rg/'rj, đg/'đj</i>
3b	<i>tt, pp</i>	<i>đ, v</i>
4	<i>ss, šš, cc, čč, kk/'kč</i>	<i>zz, žž, zz, jj, gg/'jj</i>

Type 2 comprises also consonant clusters whose first component is a semivowel *u* /*v*/ or *i* /*j*/, e.g. *kaunnâđ* find.INF: *kaunnam* find.PRS.1SG, *äiggad* intend.INF: *ääigam* intend.1SG. Note especially the following cases in which the strong grade has *ij* or *uv*, but the weak grade has *ii* or *uu* (the first component in a cluster fuses with the preceding long vowel), e.g. *sijdd* Saami\_village: *siid* Saami\_village.GEN, *u'vdded* give.INF: *uu'di* give.PST.3SG.

#### 12.2.4.2 Vowel metaphony

In Skolt Saami vowel metaphony, the vowel of the first syllable of a foot (V1) alternates in different inflectional forms of a lexeme. The alternation affects all vowels (although there are also words that do not show this alternation). The alternation dates back to pre-Skolt Saami, and it originally depended on the vowel of the second syllable of the word. At a later stage, the second-syllable vowel has often been lost, but sometimes (as in verb forms *mõ'nnem* go.PST.1SG < pre-Skolt Saami \**mõ'nnim* and *jää'dat* travel.PRS.3SG < pre-Skolt Saami \**jää'det*) it has changed to another vowel and quite often it has even remained the same. There were five different second-syllable vowels (corresponding to present-day *a, â, u, i, e*) and in pre-Skolt Saami they alternated according to rules specific to each inflectional type. Before *â* and *u* the first-syllable vowel has, however, developed in the same way in all types, and before *e* the first-syllable vowel has, in one class of forms (present tense 3PL) in certain cases developed in diverging ways.

Table 12.14 shows the vowels that alternate in specific pairs (rows in the table) grouped into five series (columns in the table). The quality of the diphthongs in the last two rows depends on the structure of the foot. If suprasegmental length is on C1 or if C1 is a single consonant, the diphthong to the left of the slash occurs, otherwise (length is on V1 and C1 is a geminate or a cluster) the diphthong to the right of

the slash occurs. (Cf. also Korhonen 1971: 78 and Feist 2015: 90–3.)

**Table 12.14** Metaphonic vowel alternations

1. (a)	2. (â/u)	3. (i)	4. (e)	5. (PRS.3PL)
ä	a	a'	ä'	ä'
â	o	o'	â'	â'
â	õ	õ'	â'	â'
o	u	u'	u'	o'
e	i	i'	e'	e'
uâ	uõ	uõ'	ue'	ue' [u3']
eâ	iõ	iõ'	ie'	eä' [e3']
uä	uâ	ue'	uä'/ue'	uä'
eä	iâ	ie'	eä'/ie'	eä'

Examples follow (numbers refer to columns in the table): (1) *vuâstam* buy.PRS.1SG, (2) *vuâsttum* buy.PASS.PTCP, (3) *vue'sttik* buy.PST.2SG, (4) *vuâ'sttep* buy.PRS.1PL, (4) *vue'st* buy.IMP.2SG; (1) *joordam* think.PRS.1SG, (4) *ju'rddep* think.PRS.1PL, (5) *jo'rdde* think.PRS.3PL; (1) *älgg* begin.PRS.3SG, (3) *aa'lji* begin.PST.3SG, (5) *ä'ljje* begin.PRS.3PL; (1) *juâlqga* foot.ILL, (3) *juõ'lji* foot.PL.GEN, (5) *jue'ljje* foot(NOM); (2) *kiõdâst* hand.LOC, (3) *kiõ'tte* hand.ILL; (1) *teätt* knowledge, (2) *tiõttu* knowledge.ILL.

As Table 12.14 shows, the vowel in series 2 is one articulation degree more close (or more “high”, following Feist’s terminology) than the vowel in series 1; an exception to this is provided by the open front vowel /æ/ <â> that has the open back vowel /a/ <a> as its counterpart in series 2. In series 2 and 3, the vowel is usually the same, but suprasegmental palatalization is always found in 3. In a similar way, series 4 has usually and series 5 always the same vowel as series 1, but series 4 and 5 always have suprasegmental palatalization.

In addition to the regular cases shown in the table, the language exhibits some forms in which vowels deviate from these. For example, series 3 vowels can be analogically replaced by series 4 vowels and the diphthongs <uõ> and <ue> are often found in almost completely free variation, similarly <iõ> and <ie>, e.g. *kii'rji* ~ *kee'rji* book.PL.GEN, *kuõ'li* ~ *kue'li* fish.PL.GEN, *pue'di* ~ *puõ'di* come.PST.3SG.

Since vowel metaphony is connected to suprasegmental palatalization, too, it causes alternation in C1 consonants as well. In most cases this is allophonic, but because of the restrictions of occurrence of palatal and velar consonants in palatalized vs non-palatalized contexts, it sometimes results in alternations between different phonemes, e.g. *pie'kked* crawl.INF: *peäkk* crawl.PRS.3SG; *peäggam* crawl.PRS.1SG: *pie'jjim* crawl.PST.1PL.

## 12.3 Morphology

Even though Proto-Saami morphology can be characterized as predominantly agglutinative, all contemporary Saami languages have become more or less fusional in their morphology. Skolt Saami is one of the languages in which this development has gone the furthest. In addition to or instead of suffixes, inflectional forms are often distinguished by morphophonological changes, and even when an inflectional form contains a suffix, morpheme boundaries are often unclear.

Both nouns and verbs have several inflectional classes and types. In this presentation, the main division into inflectional classes is made on the basis of the structure of the final foot of the word in certain inflectional forms. For verbs, the relevant forms are the infinitive and the third-person singular, and for nouns they are the singular locative, singular genitive, and singular nominative. For alternative classifications, see Korhonen 1973b: 35–56, 70–94, Feist 2015: 140–61, 201–15 and Moshnikoff et al. 2020: 134–210, cf. also Koponen and Rueter 2016.

### 12.3.1 Nominal inflection

The case inflection of nominals follows the same basic pattern as in other Saami languages. There are nine cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, illative, locative, comitative, abessive, essive, and partitive. As in other Saami languages, the essive does not make a distinction between singular and plural. The same is true for the partitive case, which is, however, only found in Eastern Saami languages, and its use is rather limited in all of them.

Owing to the loss of original case suffixes, the singular genitive and accusative are identical to each other and (with certain exceptions) also to the plural nominative. The suffix has exceptionally been retained in some monosyllabic pronouns either in the original (*tõ-n* DIST-GEN, *tõ-k* DIST-PL) or a modified (*tõ-n* DIST-ACC; <\*-m> form). Furthermore, owing to the loss of the suffix, these three forms have sometimes even merged with the (originally suffixless) singular nominative, but often the latter differs from them by morphophonological alternations. Table 12.15 shows the endings for all nine cases.

The first inflectional class of nouns is formed by lexemes in which the last foot of the singular locative form is disyllabic (LOC *kiõdâst* ‘hand’, *kue'lest* ‘fish’, *peessast* ‘gun’, *nuõrr|vuõdâst* ‘youth’, *porr|mõõžžâst* ‘food’, *ho'zjee'nest* ‘householder’, *dur|aakast* ‘idiot’) and the final foot of the singular genitive form is monosyllabic (GEN *kiõd*, *kue'l*, *peess*, *nuõrr|vuõd*, *porr|mõõžž*, *ho'zjee'n*, *dur|aak*). These can be further divided into two subclasses according to whether the

**Table 12.15** Nominal inflectional suffixes for case and number

	Singular	Plural
Nominative		-Ø <sup>a</sup>
Genitive	-Ø <sup>a</sup>	-i
Accusative	-Ø <sup>a</sup>	-id
Illative	-a, -e, -u	-id
Locative/illative	-st	-in
Comitative	-in	-ivui'm
Abessive	-taa ~ -tää	-itaa ~ -itää
Essive	-d	
Partitive	-n	

<sup>a</sup> original suffix is lost but the form is often distinguished by stem alternations

final foot of the singular nominative form is largo (*k̄iött*, *kue'll*, *pess*, *nuörr|vuött*) or allegro (*porr|möš*, *ho'z|je'n*, *dur|ak*).

The second inflectional class has a monosyllabic final foot in the singular locative form (*könnj|lest* 'tear', *pälgg|sest* 'footpath', *höpp|jest* 'eagle owl', *čeäpp|test* 'neck', *čög|lmest* 'support', *main|stumm|šest* 'narration', *madd|jest* 'base', *vuäskk|nest* 'perch') and a disyllabic final foot in the singular genitive form (*könnjäl*, *pälggaz*, *čeäppat*, *čöög|galm*, *höppi*, *main|stummuž*, *maddi*, *vuäskkan*). This class is further divided into subclasses according to whether the singular nominative form has a disyllabic final foot (*könnjäl*, *pää'ljes*, *čeäppat*, *čöög|galm*, *höppi*, *main|stummuž*) or a monosyllabic one (*maadd*, *vuäsk*).

The third class consists of words in which the final foot of singular locative is monosyllabic (*sä'mm|last* 'Skolt Saami person', *sä'pp|lee'st* 'mouse') and the final foot of the singular genitive form is also monosyllabic (*sä'mm|la*, *sä'pp|lee*), as is the final foot of the singular nominative (*sä'mm|laž*, *sä'pp|li*).

The fourth class consists of words in which the final foot of the singular locative is disyllabic (LOC *kuu'zzest* 'little cow', *lääddast* 'little bird', *sä'mm|löö'žžest* 'small Skolt Saami person'; *särvvast* 'male reindeer', *mannust* 'moon') and the final foot of the singular genitive is disyllabic (GEN *kuu'zze*, *läädda*, *sä'mm|löö'žže*, *särvva*, *mannu*). These are further divided into subclasses according to whether or not there is a parallel singular locative form with a monosyllabic final foot (LOC *särvv|sest*, *määnn'jest*); in the words of the first subclass the final foot of the singular nominative is disyllabic (*kuuzzäž*, *lääddaž*, *sä'mm|lööžžäž*) and in the second subclass it is either disyllabic (*säärves*) or monosyllabic (*mään*).

It is possible to identify a fifth class consisting of nouns ending in a vowel in singular nominative and genitive (e.g.,

*carstv|a* 'nation', *kruuš|ka* 'mug', *radi|lo* 'radio', *truub|a* 'pipe'), in which the final vowel forms a foot of its own. Also the final foot of the singular locative is monosyllabic (e.g., *carstv|ast*, *kruuš|kast*, *radi|ost*); earlier grammatical descriptions have mentioned such nouns only in passing and have not recognized them as a separate inflectional class (see Feist 2015: 160–1; Moshnikoff et al. 2020: 160–1).

**Table 12.16** Inflection classes and numbers of syllables in the last foot

inflection class	number of syllables in the last foot		
	SG.LOC	SG.GEN	SG.NOM
1A	2	1	1 (L)
1B	2	1	1 (A)
2A	1	2	2
2B	1	2	1
3	1	1	1
4A	2	2	2
4B	2 (~ 1)	2	2/1
5	1	1	1

All inflection classes (shown in Table 12.16) contain several different inflectional types and there are also words and inflectional types that cannot be assigned into any of the four inflectional classes without problems. Both consonant gradation and vowel metaphony are found especially in class 1 as well as in classes 2 and 4. Examples are given in Table 12.17.

**Table 12.17** Examples of noun inflection

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	<i>kue'll</i>	<i>kue'l</i>	<i>sä'mmlaž</i>	<i>sä'mmla</i>
GEN	<i>kue'l</i>	<i>kuõ'li</i>	<i>sä'mmla</i>	<i>sä'mmlai</i>
ACC	<i>kue'l</i>	<i>kuõ'lid</i>	<i>sä'mmla</i>	<i>sä'mmlaid</i>
ILL	<i>kuålla</i>	<i>kuõ'lid</i>	<i>sä'mmlö'žže</i>	<i>sä'mmlaid</i>
LOC	<i>kue'lest</i>	<i>kuõ'lin</i>	<i>sä'mmlast</i>	<i>sä'mmlain</i>
COM	<i>kuõ'lin</i>	<i>kuõ'livui'm</i>	<i>sä'mmlain</i>	<i>sä'mmlaivui'm</i>
ABE	<i>kue'ltää</i>	<i>kuõ'litää</i>	<i>sä'mmlatää</i>	<i>sä'mmlaitää</i>
ESS	<i>kue'llen</i>		<i>sä'mmlö'žžen</i>	
PAR	<i>kue'lled</i>		<i>sä'mmlö'žžed</i>	
	'fish' CLASS 1		'Skolt Saami person' CLASS 3	

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	<i>kõõnjâl</i>	<i>kõnnjâl</i>	<i>kuuzzâž</i>	<i>kuu'zze</i>
GEN	<i>kõnnjâl</i>	<i>kõnnjli</i>	<i>kuu'zze</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)i</i>
ACC	<i>kõnnjâl</i>	<i>kõnnjliid</i>	<i>kuu'zze</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)id</i>
ILL	<i>kõnnjla</i>	<i>kõnnjliid</i>	<i>kuuzzže</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)id</i>
LOC	<i>kõnnjlest</i>	<i>kõnnjlin</i>	<i>kuu'zzest</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)in</i>
COM	<i>kõnnjlin</i>	<i>kõnnjlivui'm</i>	<i>kuu'zzin</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)ivui'm</i>
ABE	<i>kõnnjâltää</i>	<i>kõnnjlitää</i>	<i>kuu'zzetää</i>	<i>kuu'zz(e)itää</i>
ESS	<i>kõnnjlen</i>		<i>kuuzzžen</i>	
PAR	<i>kõnnjled</i>		<i>kuuzzžed</i>	
	'tear' CLASS 2		'little cow' CLASS 4	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
NOM	<i>truuba</i>	<i>truuba</i>		
GEN	<i>truuba</i>	<i>truubai</i>		
ACC	<i>truuba</i>	<i>truubaid</i>		
ILL	<i>truuba ~ truubaaje</i>	<i>truubaid</i>		
LOC	<i>truubast</i>	<i>truubain</i>		
COM	<i>truubain</i>	<i>truubaivui'm</i>		
ABE	<i>truubatää</i>	<i>truubaitää</i>		
ESS	<i>truuban</i>			
PAR	<i>truubad</i>			
	'pipe' CLASS 5			

Adjectives follow the same system of inflectional classes as nouns, but they are less commonly used in cases other than the nominative (singular and plural) and essive. This is due to the fact that modifying adjectives do not usually agree with the head noun but occur in the so-called attributive form instead. The attributive form often has the ending *-s* but may also be identical to the singular nominative. In some words that end in *s* in the singular nominative, the *s* is dropped in the attributive form. Examples are given in Table 12.18.

A comparative form can usually be formed from adjectives using the comparative marker *-b* and a superlative using the superlative marker *-mõs*, *-um(m)us*, as shown in Table 12.19.

Independent (non-modifying) pronouns are inflected in the same cases as nouns. In contrast to other nominals, the monosyllabic demonstratives *tât*, *tut*, *tõt* and the interrogatives *kii* and *mii* have the ending *-n* in singular accusative and genitive

**Table 12.18** Examples of adjectives and their attributive forms

SG.NOM	PL.NOM	ATTR	
<i>ku'kk</i>	<i>kuu'kk</i>	<i>ku'kes</i>	'long'
<i>jâ'ttel</i>	<i>jâ'ttel</i>	<i>jâ'ttlõs</i>	'fast'
<i>čââ'lmte'm</i>	<i>čââ'lmtee'm</i>	<i>čââ'lmte'mes</i>	'blind'
<i>čappâd</i>	<i>čappâd</i>	<i>ča'ppes</i>	'black'
<i>nuõrr</i>	<i>nuõr</i>	<i>nuõrr</i>	'young'
<i>puä'res</i>	<i>puärraz</i>	<i>puä'res</i>	'old'
<i>vuä'mes</i>	<i>vuämmaz</i>	<i>vuä'mm</i>	'old'
<i>oodâs</i>	<i>ođđâz</i>	<i>ođđ</i>	'new'

**Table 12.19** Examples of comparative and superlative forms

	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE	
<i>ku'kk</i>	<i>kuu'kkab</i>	<i>kuu'kkmõs</i>	'long'
<i>nuõrr</i>	<i>nuõrab</i>	<i>nuõrmõs</i>	'young'
<i>jâ'ttel</i>	<i>jâ'ttlab</i>	<i>jâ'ttlum(m)us</i>	'fast'
<i>čappâd</i>	<i>čappääb</i>	<i>čappum(m)us</i>	'black'
<i>puä'res</i>	<i>puärrsab</i>	<i>puärrsum(m)us</i>	'old'
<i>leekklvaž</i>	<i>leekklvab</i>	<i>leekklvum(m)us</i>	'happy'

forms *tân*, *tun*, *tõn*, *keän*, *mõõn* and the ending *-k* in plural nominative forms *täk*, *tuk*, *tõk*, *keäk*, *mõök*. In modifier position, demonstrative pronouns follow the system of partial agreement, as do some other types of modifiers (see 12.4.1).

In addition to singular and plural forms, personal pronouns also distinguish a dual number. Otherwise the dual category known in more western Saami varieties has been replaced by plural forms in Skolt Saami. The inflectional paradigms of personal pronouns are given in Table 12.20.

In noun inflection, case and number marking can be combined with the marking of possessor person and number (possessive suffixes), giving rise to what have traditionally been called possessive inflectional paradigms. These forms have the same meaning as a non-possessed noun preceded by the genitive form of a personal pronoun. The first- and second-person possessive suffixes do not distinguish number. The first-person suffix is *-n* (or *-m* in the nominative) and the second-person possessive suffix is *-d*. In the third person we find *-s* for the singular and *-z* for the plural and dual. Some combinations of case suffix and possessive suffix are agglutinative and the possessive suffix attaches to the case ending (*võnnse'stes* boat.LOC.POSS.3SG, cf. *võnnsest* boat.LOC)

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

**Table 12.20** Inflection of personal pronouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL	1DU	2DU	3DU
NOM	<i>mon</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>tij</i>	<i>sij</i>	<i>muäna</i>	<i>tuäna</i>	<i>suäna</i>
GEN	<i>muu</i>	<i>tuu</i>	<i>suu</i>	<i>mij</i>	<i>tij</i>	<i>sij</i>	<i>muännai</i>	<i>tuännai</i>	<i>suännai</i>
ACC	<i>muu</i>	<i>tuu</i>	<i>suu</i>	<i>mi'jjid</i>	<i>ti'jjid</i>	<i>si'jjid</i>	<i>muännaid</i>	<i>tuännaid</i>	<i>suännaid</i>
ILL	<i>mu'ne</i>	<i>tu'ne</i>	<i>su'ne</i>	<i>mi'jjid</i>	<i>ti'jjid</i>	<i>si'jjid</i>	<i>muännaid</i>	<i>tuännaid</i>	<i>suännaid</i>
LOC	<i>mu'st</i>	<i>tu'st</i>	<i>su'st</i>	<i>mee'st ~ mi'jjin</i>	<i>tee'st ~ ti'jjin</i>	<i>see'st ~ si'jjin</i>	<i>muännast</i>	<i>tuännast</i>	<i>suännast</i>
COM	<i>muin</i>	<i>tuin</i>	<i>suin</i>	<i>mi'jjivui'm</i>	<i>ti'jjivui'm</i>	<i>si'jjivui'm</i>	<i>muännain</i>	<i>tuännain</i>	<i>suännain</i>
ABE	<i>muutää</i>	<i>tuutää</i>	<i>suutää</i>	<i>mi'jjitää</i>	<i>ti'jjitää</i>	<i>si'jjitää</i>	<i>muännaitää</i>	<i>tuännaitää</i>	<i>suännaitää</i>
ESS	<i>muu'nen</i>	<i>tuu'nen</i>	<i>suu'nen</i>				<i>muännan</i>	<i>tuännan</i>	<i>suännan</i>
PAR	<i>muu'ded</i>	<i>tuu'ded</i>	<i>suu'ded</i>						

or the case ending attaches to the possessively inflected form which is homonymous with the singular genitive (*võnnsestää* boat.POSS.3SG.ABE, cf. *võnnses* boat.GEN.POSS.3SG). Some forms are not synchronically (and not always even diachronically) segmentable into separate case endings and possessive suffixes. Some forms are ambiguous (e.g. *äkkam* grandmother.POSS.1SG or grandmother.POSS.1PL); in some cases ambiguity arises only in some inflectional types (cf. *vuäbbam* sister.POSS.1SG but *vuäbbem* sister.POSS.1PL). Full paradigms of the possessive inflectional system can be found in Sammallahti and Moskunikoff 1991: 160–4.

### 12.3.2 Verb inflection

Skolt Saami verbs have four moods: indicative (unmarked), potential, conditional, and imperative. In the indicative, two simple tenses are distinguished: present and past. Personal forms of verbs are largely similar to those of contemporary North and Inari Saami, but dual forms are not found, and plural forms of verbs are used with dual pronouns. This is true particularly of the old Suõ'nn'jel dialect, which forms the basis for the literary language. In the old Paččjokk-Peäccam dialect, verbs have had dual forms similar to those of Inari Saami. In addition, Skolt Saami (as well as Kildin (see 13.3.5.) and Ter Saami) features the so-called indefinite fourth person corresponding to the Finnic passive/impersonal (see 14.3.2.4 and 54.2.6. for diathetic changes across Uralic in general) and borrowed from Karelian (for more details on indefinite fourth person see Juutinen and Ylikoski forthcoming). The personal endings are given in Table 12.21 (the vowel in brackets can also be analysed as a marker of tense).

The potential marker is *-ž-*, and the conditional marker is *-č-*. The personal endings in both of these moods are largely

**Table 12.21** Person suffixes in present and past tense

	PRESENT	PAST
1SG	<i>-(a)m</i>	<i>-(e)m, -(u)m</i>
2SG	<i>-(a)k</i>	<i>-(i)k̄, -(u)k</i>
3SG	<i>-</i>	<i>-(i)</i>
1PL	<i>-p</i>	<i>-(i)m</i>
2PL	<i>-ve'ted, -e'ped</i>	<i>-(i)d</i>
3PL	<i>-e, -a</i>	<i>-(e), -(u)</i>
4	<i>-t</i>	<i>-(e)š, -(u)š</i>

similar to the past-tense endings described in the previous section. The ending of the potential singular third-person form is, however, similar to the present, and in the plural first person both present- and past-tense personal endings can be used in both conditional and potential moods.

In verbs, one inflectional class is formed by words in which the final foot of the infinitive form is disyllabic (*mõõnnâd* 'go', *vue'lğğed* 'set off', *âskkad* 'believe', *main|stõõllâd* 'chat'), another class by words in which the final foot is a monosyllabic largo (*vä'stt|eed* 'answer'), and a third class by words in which the final foot is a monosyllabic allegro (*main|sted* 'tell'). Words of the type *koll'jed* 'be heard', *fi'ttjed* 'understand' might be seen as forming an inflectional class of their own, but in Skolt Saami they differ from the words of type *mainsted* only in the second-person imperative form and in the homonymous connegative form *kullu, fi'tte*. In the present-tense ~~third singular~~ form of the first inflectional class the final foot is a monosyllabic largo (*mâänn, vuälğg, âskk, main|stâäll*) and in other cases a disyllabic largo (*vä'sttad, maainast, kollai, fi'ttai*). Consonant gradation is

**Table 12.22** Example paradigms: *mõõnnâd* ‘go’, *vue’lğged* ‘set off’, *vä’sst|eed* ‘answer’, *main|sted* ‘tell’, and *fi’tt|jed* ‘understand’

	PRS	PST	POT	COND	IMP
1SG	<i>mõõnam</i>	<i>mõ’nnem</i>	<i>mõõnzem</i>	<i>mõõnčem</i>	
2SG	<i>mõõnak</i>	<i>mõ’nnik</i>	<i>mõõnzik</i>	<i>mõõnčik</i>	<i>mõõn</i>
3SG	<i>mâânn</i>	<i>mõõni</i>	<i>mõõnâž</i>	<i>mõõnči</i>	<i>mâânnas</i>
1PL	<i>mõõnnâp</i>	<i>mõõnim</i>	<i>mõõnzim ~ mõõnzep</i>	<i>mõõnčim ~ mõõnčep</i>	<i>mõõnnâp</i>
2PL	<i>mõõnnve’ted</i>	<i>mõõnid</i>	<i>mõõnzid</i>	<i>mõõnčid</i>	<i>mõõnnâd</i>
3PL	<i>mâ’nne</i>	<i>mõ’nne</i>	<i>mõõnže</i>	<i>mõõnče</i>	<i>mânnaz</i>
4	<i>mõõnât</i>	<i>mõ’nneš</i>	<i>mõõnzet</i>	<i>mõõnčeš</i>	
1SG	<i>vuâlgam</i>	<i>vuõ’lğgem</i>	<i>vuõ’ljzem</i>	<i>vuâlgčem</i>	
2SG	<i>vuâlgak</i>	<i>vuõ’lğgik</i>	<i>vuõ’ljzik</i>	<i>vuâlgčik</i>	<i>vue’lj</i>
3SG	<i>vuâlgg</i>	<i>vuõ’lji</i>	<i>vuõ’ljež</i>	<i>vuâlgči</i>	<i>vuâlgas</i>
1PL	<i>vue’lğjep</i>	<i>vuõ’ljim</i>	<i>vuõ’ljzim ~ vuõ’ljzep</i>	<i>vuâlgčim ~ vuâlgčep</i>	<i>vue’lğjep</i>
2PL	<i>vue’lğve’ted</i>	<i>vuõ’ljid</i>	<i>vuõ’ljzid</i>	<i>vuâlgčid</i>	<i>vue’lğjed</i>
3PL	<i>vue’lğje</i>	<i>vuõ’lğje</i>	<i>vuõ’lježe</i>	<i>vuâlgče</i>	<i>vuâlggaz</i>
4	<i>vue’ljet</i>	<i>vuõ’lğješ</i>	<i>vuõ’ljzet</i>	<i>vuâlgčeš</i>	
1SG	<i>vä’sstääm</i>	<i>vä’ssteem</i>	<i>vä’sste’žem</i>	<i>vä’sste’čem</i>	
2SG	<i>vä’sstääk</i>	<i>vä’sstiiķ</i>	<i>vä’sste’žik</i>	<i>vä’sste’čik</i>	<i>vä’ssted</i>
3SG	<i>vä’sttad</i>	<i>vä’sstii</i>	<i>vä’sstež</i>	<i>vä’sste’če</i>	<i>vä’sstâaggas</i>
1PL	<i>vä’ssteep</i>	<i>vä’sstiiim</i>	<i>vä’sste’žim ~ vä’sste’žep</i>	<i>vä’sste’čim ~ vä’sste’čep</i>	<i>vä’sstâkap</i>
2PL	<i>vä’sste’ped</i>	<i>vä’sstiid</i>	<i>vä’sste’žid</i>	<i>vä’sste’čid</i>	<i>vä’sste’(ķ)ed</i>
3PL	<i>vä’sstee</i>	<i>vä’sstee</i>	<i>vä’sste’že</i>	<i>vä’sste’če</i>	<i>vä’sstâkaz</i>
4	<i>vä’ssteet</i>	<i>vä’ssteesh</i>	<i>vä’sste’žet</i>	<i>vä’sste’češ</i>	
1SG	<i>mainstam</i>	<i>mainstem</i>	<i>mainste’žem</i>	<i>mainste’čem</i>	
2SG	<i>mainstak</i>	<i>mainstik</i>	<i>mainste’žik</i>	<i>mainste’čik</i>	<i>maainâst</i>
3SG	<i>maainast</i>	<i>mainsti</i>	<i>mainstež</i>	<i>mainste’če</i>	<i>maainstâaggas</i>
1PL	<i>mainstep</i>	<i>mainstim</i>	<i>mainste’žim ~ mainste’žep</i>	<i>mainste’čim ~ mainste’čep</i>	<i>maainstâkap</i>
2PL	<i>mainste’ped</i>	<i>mainstid</i>	<i>mainste’žid</i>	<i>mainste’čid</i>	<i>maainste’ked</i>
3PL	<i>mainste</i>	<i>mainste</i>	<i>mainste’že</i>	<i>mainste’če</i>	<i>maainstâkaz</i>
4	<i>mainstet</i>	<i>mainsteš</i>	<i>mainste’žet</i>	<i>mainste’češ</i>	
1SG	<i>fi’ttjam</i>	<i>fi’ttjem</i>	<i>fi’ttje’žem</i>	<i>fi’ttje’čem</i>	
2SG	<i>fi’ttjak</i>	<i>fi’ttjik</i>	<i>fi’ttje’žik</i>	<i>fi’ttje’čik</i>	<i>fi’tte</i>
3SG	<i>fi’ttai</i>	<i>fi’ttji</i>	<i>fi’ttjež</i>	<i>fi’ttje’če</i>	<i>fi’ttjâaggas</i>
1PL	<i>fi’ttjep</i>	<i>fi’ttjim</i>	<i>fi’ttje’žim ~ fi’ttje’žep</i>	<i>fi’ttje’čim ~ fi’ttje’čep</i>	<i>fi’ttjâkap</i>
2PL	<i>fi’ttje’ped</i>	<i>fi’ttjid</i>	<i>fi’ttje’žid</i>	<i>fi’ttje’čid</i>	<i>fi’ttje’(ķ)ed</i>
3PL	<i>fi’ttje</i>	<i>fi’ttje</i>	<i>fi’ttje’že</i>	<i>fi’ttje’če</i>	<i>fi’ttjâkaz</i>
4	<i>fi’ttjet</i>	<i>fi’ttješ</i>	<i>fi’ttje’žet</i>	<i>fi’ttje’češ</i>	

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

found in the first inflectional class only, and vowel metaphony is found in the first inflectional class as well in the type *koll'jed* with forms *kullu* etc. mentioned above.

As regards negative forms of verbs, the negative auxiliary inflects for person and the lexical verb is in the connegative form (*jiöm mōön* NEG.1SG GO.CNG ‘I don’t go’; homonymous with the imperative second-person singular form) in the present tense and in the past participle (*jiöm mōōnnâm* NEG.1SG GO.PTCP. PST ‘I didn’t go’; the same form as is used in the periphrastic tenses perfect and pluperfect) in the past tense. The potential and the conditional use the same forms of the negative auxiliary as the indicative and the mood marker shows on the lexical verb, which is in the connegative identical to the third-person plural of the respective mood. The imperative has its own dedicated form of the negative auxiliary and a partly dedicated connegative form (-*u* or -*uku*). (For more on negation, see Miestamo and Koponen 2015.)

Non-finite forms include the infinitive (marked with -*d*), as well as converbs and participles. The simultaneous temporal converb (-*een*), the converb of means and manner (-*ee'l*), and the negative converb (-*kâni*) are used to form non-finite adverbial clauses. The progressive converb (-*men*) is used with the copula in a periphrastic construction with progressive aspectual meaning. The latter form, actually the essive of action nouns in -*m* (see examples (1)–(5)), can be used as a complement of verbs with meaning ‘to stop’ or ‘to forbid’; in this function locative forms of action nouns (in -*mest*) are possible too. There are two participles with past time reference: active (-*m*) and passive (-*um*). The former is used in the formation of periphrastic tenses (perfect (1) and pluperfect (2)–(3)). Similar constructions with a passive participle (4)–(5) also occur, but whether they can be considered real tense forms or just nominal predicate constructions with a copula may be open to debate.

- (1) *Mooččâs puäkknjid leäk raajjâm*  
beautiful.ATTR belt.PL.ACC be.PRS.2SG make.PTCP.PST  
‘You have made beautiful belts.’ (SSDC-2016\_17463\_1d: 00:03)
- (2) *Son leäi čiččâm ee'jj sluuzžâm*  
3SG be.PST.3SG seven.ACC year.ACC serve.PTCP.PST  
‘He had served (in the army) for seven years.’ (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1a: 03:18)
- (3) *Tōōzz le'jje reei'jid pookkâm.*  
DIST.ILL be.PST.3PL hole.PL.ACC drill.PST.PTCP  
‘They had drilled holes there.’ (Constructed examples)

- (4) *Tōōzz le'jje reei'j pokkum.*  
DIST.ILL be.PST.3PL hole.PL drill.PASS.PTCP  
‘Holes were drilled there.’ (Constructed examples)

- (5) *Kä'lbv vâl lij mie'ldd valddum.*  
calf yet be.PRS.3SG along\_with take.PASS.PTCP  
‘The calf has been taken along too.’ (SSDC-2016\_12744\_1a: 02:39)

There is also a present participle, which can also be analysed as an agent derivative (e.g. *kō'lvvi* ‘sower’, *njiimteei* ‘wet nurse’ in Table 12.27) with complete declension and an attributive form with -*s*. The action nouns in -*m* can have complete declension, but with the exception of some lexicalized derivatives (such as *jie'llem* ‘life’, *jää'mmem* ‘death’), another type of derivation for action nouns (*pōōllmōš* ‘(the act of) fearing’, *juurdčum(m)uš* ‘(the act of) thinking’, see Table 12.27) is more common.

Past participles (particularly the passive one) can also function as modifiers in noun phrases. Moreover, action nouns (in this function also called “agent participle”, cf. 15.3.2.3) and negative converbs (“negative participles”) can modify nouns. The former is always, the latter sometimes, modified by a genitive noun expressing the agent. Examples of the uses of the non-finite forms in various syntactic constructions are given in the relevant subsections of 12.4.

### 12.3.3 Derivation

Skolt Saami exhibits a rich system of derivational suffixes. The suffixes differ in their degree of productivity. Derivational suffixes can be attached to a non-derived basic stem or to a stem that already contains a derivational suffix. In the latter case, the adjacent suffixes may fuse into a derivational complex. Deverbal verbs can be divided into two subgroups according to whether the suffix affects the aspectual meaning or the argument structure of the base. Examples of derivations belonging to the different classes can be found in Tables 12.23–28 (verb-deriving suffixes are followed by the infinitive ending and the preceding epenthetic vowel in parentheses).

It may also be noted that, somewhat removed from the core derivational system, Skolt Saami also has an associative plural construction with the suffix -*i'33e* (< *kä'33* ‘companion’), e.g. *Tiinai'33e* ‘Tiina and her company’ (see Miestamo 2014: 121).

**Table 12.23** Deverbal verbs, aspectual modification

inchoative	-škie'tt(ed)	logškie'tted 'begin to read'	← lookkâd 'read'
subitive	-l(ed)	pijjed 'put quickly'	← pijjâd 'put'
diminutive	-st(ed)	vue'rdsted 'wait a while'	← vue'rdded 'wait'
	-â'stt(ed)	tiörvtâ'stted 'greet briefly'	← tiörvted 'greet'
continuative	-ðöll(âd)	ää'vðöllâd 'keep opening'	← ää'veed 'open'
		ârstðöllâd 'keep stopping'	← ârsted 'stop'
	-tðöll(âd)	köjjetðöllâd 'be asking'	← kööččâd 'ask'

**Table 12.24** Deverbal verbs, modification of argument structure

causative	-t(ed)	reäggted 'make cry'	← reäkkad 'cry'
	-â'tt(ed)	ârstâ'tted 'cause to stop'	← ârsted 'stop'
reflexive	-ðött(âd)	čâuddðöttâd 'free oneself'	← čâu'dded 'free'
		pro'stjðöttâd 'ask forgiveness'	← pro'sttjed 'forgive'
middle	-j(ed)	kâddjed 'be killed'	← kâ'dded 'kill'

**Table 12.25** Denominal verbs

translative	-ðövv(âd)	jeärrmmðövvâd 'become sensible'	← jeä'rmm 'sense'
verbalizer	-e(ed)	nðömeed 'name'	← nðömm 'name'
verbalizer	-j(ed)	nau'lljed 'nail'	← nâu'll 'nail'

**Table 12.26** Denominal nouns

abstract	-vuött	viölggâdvuött 'whiteness'	← viölggâd 'white'
diminutive	-ž	kuâlaž 'little fish'	← kue'll 'fish'
person	-ne'kk	kurssne'kk 'course member'	← kurss 'course'
collective	-ðs	äimmðs 'climate'	← äimm 'air, weather'
		jeä'nbðs 'majority'	← jeä'nab 'more'

**Table 12.27** Deverbal nouns

action	-mðš	pðöllmðš 'fearing'	← pðöllâd 'be afraid'
	-um(m)uš	juurdčum(m)uš 'thinking'	← juurdčed 'think'
agent	-i	kõ'lvvi 'sower'	← kâ'lvved 'to sow'
	-eei	njiimteei 'wet nurse'	← njiimted 'breastfeed'
nominalizer	-ðs	čuäjtðs 'presentation'	← čüä'jtet 'present'
nominalizer	∅	teätt 'knowledge'	← tie'tted 'know'



**Table 12.28** Denominal adjectives

privative	-te'm	jiōggte'm 'lifeless, dead'	← jiōgg 'spirit'
abundance	-i	luō'ssi 'salmon-rich'	← luōss 'salmon'
		sälttai 'salty'	← sä'tt 'salt'
adjectivalizer	-laž	kiōl'laž 'linguistic'	← kiōll 'language'
	-allaš	suu'lmalláš 'poisonous'	← suu'lem 'poison'
adjectivalizer	-saž	kōskksaž 'mutual'	← kōskk 'middle'
adjectivalizer	-nallšem	luândnallšem 'characteristic'	← luândd 'character'

Furthermore, besides derivation, compounding is a frequent means of forming new words in Skolt Saami (see Feist 2015: 133–6 for an overview).

## 12.4 Syntax

In its syntactic characteristics, Skolt Saami resembles especially North and Inari Saami but also Finnish and Karelian. The features it has in common with Finnish are largely due to the strong influence of Finnish especially on the standard language (this is the case with other Saami languages spoken in Finland as well). Furthermore, Skolt Saami syntax contains traits that are traceable to Russian influence, either directly or through Karelian.

### 12.4.1 Phrase structure

Noun phrases are head-final. Possessive modifiers appear in the genitive case (see example (6)). Modifying adjectives do not agree with the head noun but appear in the attributive form instead (7). Demonstratives as modifiers show partial agreement with the head word: the modifier agrees with the head noun in case and number except for the singular illative, locative and abessive, and the plural comitative and abessive, in which the modifier appears in the singular/plural genitive (8).

- (6) *sä'mmlai* *puōccu*  
 Skolt\_Saami\_person.PL.GEN reindeer.PL  
 'the reindeers of the Skolt Saami'  
*ääkk* *da* *ää'jj* *pōrtt*  
 grandma.GEN and grandpa.GEN house.NOM  
 'the house of Grandma and Grandpa'

- (7) a. *puä'res* *vōñnâs*  
 old.ATTR boat.NOM  
 'an/the old boat'

- b. *puä'res* *vōñnsest*  
 old.ATTR boat.LOC  
 'in an/from an/the old boat'

- (8) *tät* *vōñnâs*  
 PROX.NOM boat.NOM  
 'this boat'  
*tän* *vōñnsest*  
 PROX.SG.GEN boat.SG.LOC  
 'in this boat/from this boat'  
*täin* *vōñnsin*  
 PROX.COM boat.COM  
 PROX.PL.LOC boat.PL.LOC  
 'with this boat/in these boats'

Adjectives formed with the derivational suffixes *-laž*, *-važ*, *-lvaž*, and *-saž* as well as comparative forms of adjectives may, in modifier position, appear either in an attributive form similar to the singular nominative or they may inflect according to the partial agreement system, see examples (9)–(11).

- (9) *Sä'mmlai* *kiōl'laid* (*~kiōl'laž*)  
 Skolt\_Saami\_person.PL.GEN language.DER\_ADJ.PL.ACC  
 language.DER\_ADJ.ATTR  
*vuōiggâdvuōđid* *âlgg* *ōin* *pue'reed*.  
 right.PL.ACC must.PRS.3SG still good.CAUS.INF  
 'The linguistic rights of the Skolt Saami must be promoted even further.' (Constructed examples)

- (10) *Son* *lij* *pue'rbi* (*~pue'rab*)  
 3SG be.3SG good.CPR.PL.GEN good.CPR.ATTR  
*oummi* *â'lğğ*.  
 person.PL.GEN son  
 'He is a son of better people.' (Constructed examples)

- (11) *Son* *vue'sti* *hää'lb'bid* (*~hää'lbab*)  
 3SG buy.PST.3SG cheap.CPR.PL.ACC cheap.ATTR  
*vaaccid*.  
 mitten.PL.ACC  
 'S/he bought cheaper mittens.' (Constructed examples)

As mentioned at the end of 12.3.2, participles and some other non-finite forms occur as modifiers in noun phrases. Examples of participles in this function are given in (12)–(14).

- (12) *Imandrajääu'r njarggkē'jjest åarra*  
 Imandrajäu<sup>TT.GEN</sup> cape\_end<sup>LOC</sup> be<sup>PTCP.PRS</sup>  
*pöölteei pääu't kām̄rde*  
 be\_afraid<sup>CAUS.PTCP.PRS</sup> cliff<sup>ACC</sup> bow<sup>3PL</sup>  
*räiddoummu*  
 team\_of\_reindeer-person<sup>PL</sup>  
 'The terrifying rock wall at the end of the headland of Lake Imandra was worshipped by those travelling by reindeer.' (Fofonoff 2010: 55)

- (13) *Di tōid-a pokkum reei'jid puk*  
 and DIST<sup>PL.ACC-DIP</sup> drill<sup>PASS.PTCP</sup> hole<sup>PL.ACC</sup> all<sup>ACC</sup>  
*tō'ppe.*  
 block<sup>PST.3PL</sup>  
 'And they plugged all those drilled holes.' (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1bz: 06:51)

- (14) *Noori siâkk sizz tōid tääutaid,*  
 gather<sup>PST.3SG</sup> sack<sup>GEN</sup> into DIST<sup>PL.ACC</sup> bone<sup>PL.ACC</sup>  
*puâllam tääutaid.*  
 burn<sup>PTCP.PST</sup> bone<sup>PL.ACC</sup>  
 'The fox gathered those burnt bones into a sack.' (Kotus 9836\_1bz: 23:55)

In subject or object position, numerals (other than 'one') are in the unmarked accusative or nominative singular and the noun is either in the partitive (when the numeral is higher than six) or (when it is between two and six) in a form that is, in a synchronic perspective, possible to analyse as either genitive singular (as in North Saami) or nominative plural (as in South Saami) owing to the merger of these forms in Skolt Saami. In other positions, numerals are found as partly agreeing attributes headed by singular nouns (or plural nouns in the case of pluralia tantum) appearing in the case form required by clause structure.

Adpositional phrases typically exhibit a postposition preceded by a genitive noun. Most postpositions are historically fossilized case forms of spatial etc. nouns, and many of them can also be used independently without a noun. See examples (15)–(17).

- (15) *Ikkân tue'kken joo'di tōt ooumaž.*  
 window<sup>GEN</sup> behind travel<sup>PST.3SG</sup> DIST man  
 'Behind the window, that man was walking.' (SSDC-2016\_17448: 39:54)

- (16) *Vue'lj muu mie'ldd kō'lljed,*  
 go<sup>OFF.IMP.2SG</sup> 1SG<sup>GEN</sup> along\_with visit<sup>INF</sup>  
 'Come with me to visit...' (SSDC-2016\_11722\_1bz: 14:41)

- (17) *Pikalōōzzin jää'dti mie'ldd.*  
 reindeer\_round-up<sup>PL.LOC</sup> travel<sup>CAUS.PST.3SG</sup> along\_with  
 '(He) took (me) with (him) to reindeer round-ups.'  
 (SSDC-2016\_17460\_1b: 2:30)

## 12.4.2 Clause structure

Core syntactic functions are indicated by case marking on the noun and subject agreement on the verb. In nominal predication, the copula is obligatory; in this respect Skolt Saami patterns with Inari, North, and Lule Saami and differs from South Saami and Ter Saami.

Both case marking and agreement follow nominative-accusative alignment. More peripheral functions are expressed mainly by case marking and adpositions. The main functions of the nine cases are as follows. The nominative marks subjects in both transitives and intransitives, including existential and possessive stative relation clauses, as well as predicate nominals in equative and class inclusion clauses, see examples (18)–(21), (26), (27). The accusative expresses objects in transitive clauses (21), (22). The functions of the genitive are phrase-internal (18)–(20) and have been mentioned in 12.4.1. The main function of the illative is to mark the goal of an action including an animate recipient (19), (21)–(22), (26), whereas the locative mainly expresses location and source as well as animate possessor (18), (19). The comitative marks accompaniment and instrument (23), (24), and the abessive basically expresses the opposite of these, i.e. absence (25). The essive used in secondary predication indicates a temporary state or function of a person or object (26). The partitive has some marginal functions on the phrasal level (27) and can also be used to mark the standard of comparison. For more details on the functions of the cases and adpositions, see Feist 2015: 239–57, 270–82.

- (18) *Ääkkaz jeälast kuä'dest,*  
 old\_woman<sup>DIM</sup> reside<sup>PRS.3SG</sup> hut<sup>LOC</sup>  
*pä'rnn jâätt mie'ccest.*  
 boy travel<sup>PRS.3SG</sup> forest<sup>LOC</sup>  
 'The old woman lives in the hut, the boy walks in the forest.' (Semenoja 1994: 38)

- (19) *Hōō, mu'st leäi â'ljǰ,*  
 EXCL 1SG<sup>LOC</sup> be<sup>PST.3SG</sup> son  
*tät â'te mu'st ââ'lj sâjja paa'zzi.*  
 PROX then 1SG<sup>LOC</sup> son<sup>GEN</sup> place<sup>ILL</sup> remain<sup>PST.3SG</sup>  
 'Ho, I had a son, this remained with me instead of the son.' (Semenoja 1994: 39)

- (20) *Tōt lij Aaccek̄ niōdāž, jeä'ğgaaccek̄.*  
 DIST be<sup>PRS.3SG</sup> Ogress<sup>GEN</sup> girl<sup>DIM</sup> bog\_cricket  
 'That's the Ogress's daughter, the bog cricket.'  
 (Semenoja 1994: 39)

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

- (21) *Nei'bb mōōni ķe'rrez liōkku, son*  
knife go.PST.3SG sledge.GEN backrest.ILL 3-SG  
*pāi njaamsti nāāi't ķe'rrez*  
just grab.DIM.PST.3SG this\_way sledge.GEN  
*leākkast neei'b.*  
backrest.LOC knife.ACC  
'The knife went into the backrest of the sledge, s/he  
just pulled the knife out of the backrest of the sledge.'  
(Semenoja 1994: 37)
- (22) *tōin vōnnsin mi'jjid ui'ddeēš*  
DIST.COM boat.COM 1PL.ACC take\_away.PST.4  
*tā'lvv-si'jdde.*  
winter-village.ILL  
'with that boat they took us away to the winter vil-  
lage' (SSDC-2016\_12744\_1a: 02:09)
- (23) *Tāt ääkkaz jeälast niōdīnes*  
PROX old\_woman.DIM reside.PRS.3SG girl.COM.POSS.3SG  
'This old woman lives with her daughter.'  
(Semenoja 1994: 42)
- (24) *Tō'st ā'te ķie'đjivui'm čōckleškuō'tte.*  
DIST.LOC then hand.PL.COM beat.FREQ.INCH.PST.3PL  
'Then they started beating with their hands.'  
(Semenoja 1994: 32)
- (25) *Tōt lāāggtaa hā't-i ōinn vōl nu'tt-i leežž.*  
DIST roof.ABE although-DIP still yet SO-DIP be.POT.3SG  
'Could be it's still there without a roof.' (SSDC-  
2016\_17461\_1d: 19:05)
- (26) *Son mōōni pō'rtte,*  
3SG go.PST.3SG house.ILL  
*pei'vv puō'đi su'ne taaurōššān.*  
SUN COME.PST.3SG 3SG.ILL companion.ESS  
'S/he went into the house, the sun came to keep him/  
her company ("came to him/her as companion").'  
(Semenoja 1994: 43)
- (27) *Tō'st ā'te mō'nne kolmmlo ee'kked pīrr.*  
DIST.LOC then go.PST.3PL thirty year.PART around  
'So thirty years went by.' (Semenoja 1994: 32)

The normal word order in intransitive clauses is SV. In transitive clauses the object usually precedes the verb when no overt subject is present, and this also applies to objects of non-finites. When both an overt subject and an overt object are found, the word order is either SVO or SOV, the former being more common in Feist's (2015: 234–6) preliminary analysis based on somewhat limited text material. It is possible that SOV has earlier been the dominant word order and the SVO word order, now dominant in written Skolt Saami, is due to recent influence from Finnish. In a more

pragmatic perspective, it may be noted that the common word order in Skolt Saami is topic + finite verb + focus (as in Finnish). If the subject is not the topic or focus of the clause, it occurs (after the topic) before the finite verb. The object is often focal and therefore follows the finite verb. What is left open is the position of the object (pre- or postverbal) when it is neither topical nor focal.

Personal subject pronouns can be dropped, and the generic or fourth-person clauses never have an overt subject. Third-person plural forms without overt subjects refer to generic person as well. In imperatives, first- and second-person subject pronouns are always missing unless they are contrastive (or otherwise stressed). Clauses with the modal verbs *fe'rttjed* must.INF, *ōlggād* have\_to.INF, *vuei'ted* can.INF as predicates have generic reference and lack overt subjects. The verb *fe'rttjed* may also put the argument expressing the entity under the obligation in the locative (28a) or nominative (28b) case. The object of the verb governed by *ōlggād* may be in the nominative (29a) in a generic clause, and then the modal verb shows agreement with it, which in fact makes it the grammatical subject of the modal verb.

- (28) a. *Mu'st fe'rttai āā'n mōōnnād.*  
1SG.LOC have\_to.PRS.3SG now go.INF  
b. *Mon fe'rttjam āā'n mōōnnād.*  
1SG.NOM have\_to.PRS.1SG now go.INF  
'I have to go now.'
- (29) a. *Kuuzz ō'lģģe kād'ded.*  
COW.PL have\_to.PST.3PL kill.INF  
b. *Kuuzzid ōō'lji kād'ded.*  
COW.PL.ACC have\_to.PST.3SG kill.INF  
'The cows had to be killed.'

Clausal negation is expressed by a negative auxiliary construction (30), see 12.3.2 for the morphological details and Miestamo and Koponen 2015 for more on negation. Commands are marked by a second-person imperative form of the verb that usually occurs initially without an overt subject (31), (32). Polar interrogatives are typically expressed by enclitic question markers, *-a* (33) or *-ko ~ -go* (34), appearing on the first constituent (normally the verb); the latter is a borrowing from Finnic languages either directly or (partly) through North Saami. An A-not-A type of polar interrogative construction has also been attested (35), see Miestamo 2011: 7 for more details. A polar interrogative may begin with the focused constituent (36), but this seems to be less common in Skolt Saami than in Finnish (in both languages the focused constituent in polar interrogatives may occur finally as well). Information questions are formed by question words that appear initially in the interrogative sentence (37).

- (30) *Jiõm vue'lj vuä'mm oummin.*  
 NEG.1SG go.CNG old.ATTR person.SG.COM  
 'I won't go there with an old person.' (SSDC-2016\_12744\_1a: 19:20)
- (31) *Puä'd, puä'd ää'n sizz.*  
 come.IMP.2SG come.IMP.2SG now in.ILL  
 'Come, come in now.' (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1bz: 21:18)
- (32) *Jeä'l čuu't uus spoukkâl.*  
 NEG.IMP.2SG very door.ACC slam.DIM.CNG  
 'Don't slam the door too hard.' (SSDC-2016\_12744\_1bz: 04:50)
- (33) *Altiiĸ-a ton to'b škooul jáåttmõõžž?*  
 begin.PST.2SG-Q 2SG there school.GEN attend.NMLZ.ACC  
 'Did you start school there?' (SSDC-2016\_17461\_1d: 14:37)
- (34) *Ra'jje-go ođđ škooul tok?*  
 build.PST.3PL-Q new.ATTR school.ACC thither  
 'Did they build a new school there?' (SSDC-2016\_17461\_1c: 25:22)
- (35) *Čää'zz kuõ'ddik̄ jiõk?*  
 water.ACC carry.PST.2SG NEG.2SG  
 'Did you bring water?' (Kotus 9839\_1a: 33:09)
- (36) *No mõ'nniĸ-a tuõjju tok?*  
 Well go.PST.2SG-Q work.ILL thither  
 'Did you go to work there?' (Kotus 17462\_1c: 14:03)
- (37) *Di kii tu'st leäi risttjeä'nn te'l?*  
 And who 2SG.LOC be.PST.3SG godmother then  
 'Who was your godmother?' (Kotus 17462\_1c: 13:55)

### 12.4.3 Clause combining

Finite clauses are combined into complex sentences with the help of conjunctions. Most conjunctions are borrowings of different ages from neighbouring Finnic languages or Russian. Examples of coordination are given in (38), (39) and subordination in (40), (41).

- (38) *Jiõčč určsti meädda di ääkkaz*  
 self run.DIM.PST.3SG away and old\_woman.DIM  
*určsti.*  
 run.DIM.PST.3SG  
 'Herself she started running away and the old lady started running.'  
 (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1bz: 25:15)
- (39) *Te'l pi'jje čiččâm ekka sluuz̄ba,*  
 at\_that\_time put.PST.3PL seven [year.ILL service.ILL]

*leša te'l jiä välldam*  
 but at\_that\_time NEG.3PL take.PTCP.PST  
*pä'jjilaviõgg.*  
 over.ADVZ.force.ADVZ  
 'Then they put you for seven years into service, but then they didn't take by force.'  
 (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1a: 02:38)

- (40) *Tän-a kää'll ton vuäžžak, jos*  
 PROX.ACC-DIP gold.ACC 2SG get.PRS.2SG if  
*vuõ'ğgest säärnak.*  
 right.ADVZ say.PRS.2SG  
 'This gold you will get, if you tell us right.' (SSDC-2016\_11308\_1a 16:58)

- (41) *Cie'lki, što to'ben le'čče šiõgg*  
 say.PST.3SG that there be.COND.3PL good.ATTR  
*puäzzpääi'ĸ.*  
 reindeer\_place.PL.NOM  
 '(He) said that ~~there~~ there'd be good places for reindeer.' (SSDC-2016\_6749\_2az: 02:28)

Another means of building complex sentences is provided by non-finite forms. Non-finite complement clauses use the infinitive (42). The simultaneous temporal converb expresses simultaneous action (43), the converb of means and manner marks the means of an action (44), and the negative converb indicates lack of action (45).

- (42) *Nijdd vuõ'lj puõccid*  
 girl set\_off.PST.3SG reindeer.PL.ACC  
*se'rdded.*  
 change\_location.INF  
 'The girl set off to move the reindeer to another place.'  
 (SSDC-2016\_11722\_1bz: 08:15)
- (43) *Mõõneen vuâjam Aanar pääi'ĸ.*  
 go.TMP.CVB drive.PRS.1SG Inari via  
 'On my way there (lit. "going"), I (will) drive via Inari.'
- (44) *Mij čuõigee'l mõõnim Če'vetjåurra.*  
 1PL ski.INS.CVB go.PST.1PL Če'vetjåu'rr.ILL  
 'We went to Sevettijärvi skiing.' (SSDC-2016\_17464: 21:16)
- (45) *Måŋŋa nu't tie'dkani puä'tte*  
 later that.way know.CVB.NEG come.3PL  
*suõnid päâ'nned.*  
 thread.PL.ACC spin.INF  
 'Later, that way, without knowing, they came to act as match makers.' (lit. 'came to spin threads') (SSDC-2016\_11723\_1a: 10:29)

For more details and examples of complex clauses, see Feist 2015: 282–99.

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

## 12.5 Glossed text example

This text excerpt is the beginning of the dog fairy tale, well-known among the Skolt Saami, as told by Åâjjaž Fofanoff (Kotus\_9839\_1bz: 12:27–14:59; Koponen et al. 2010: 19–20).

*Piėnne maainâs*  
dog.GEN story  
The story of the dog.

*Ääkkaz da källsaž jälste.*  
old\_woman.DIM and old\_man.DIM reside.PRS.3PL/  
reside.PST.3PL

There lived an old woman and an old man.

*De oummin teâdast liâ pärna*  
so person.PL.LOC of\_course PRS.3PL child.DIM.PL  
Well, people of course have children,

*Ja seėst jeä̇la pärna.*  
and 3PL.LOC be.NEG.3PL child.DIM.PL  
and they didn't have children.

*Ääkkaz ceäkk, ä̇kk̄ ceäkk što:*  
old\_woman.DIM say.PRS.3SG old\_woman say.PRS.3SG COMP  
The old woman says, the old woman says:

*"Mu̇nne lėçi nu̇t šiõgg hä̇t*  
1SG.ILL be.COND.3SG so good even

*piėnneallšem pä̇rnn šõõddci.*  
dog.MNR.ADJZ.ATTR child come\_to\_be.COND.3SG  
"It would be so good for me if even a dog-like child were born.

*Da ij ni tõt leäku."*  
and NEG.3SG NPM DIST be.CNG  
And there isn't even that."

*Jälste, jälste de suännast*  
reside.PST.3PL reside.PST.3PL then 3DU.LOC  
*šõõddi pä̇rnn.*  
come\_to\_be.PST.3SG child  
They lived, they lived, and then a child was born to them.

*Di piėnne torkk lij.*  
and dog.GEN fur be.3SG  
And (the child) has fur like a dog.

*Jiõm tiėđ kuu̇kk̄ tâm jiėlle,*  
NEG.1SG know.CNG long.ACC DIP live.PST.3PL  
I don't know, (how) long they lived,

*de källsaž âma jaȧmi ja ä̇kk̄*  
so old\_man.DIM DIP die.PST.3SG and old\_woman  
*kuâdđji.*  
leave.REFL.PST.3SG  
then the old man died, and the old woman survived.

*Pä̇rnn ceäkk:*  
child say.PRS.3SG  
The son says:

*"Jeännam mu̇nne õõk kaappi vižžäd.*  
mother.POSS.1SG 1SG.ILL have\_to.PRS.2SG wife.ACC fetch.INF  
"Mother, you must fetch a wife for me.

*Tõi-a tõi-a vaȧri tuėk̄ken*  
DIST.PL.GEN-DIP DIST.PL.GEN-DIP large\_hill.PL.GEN behind.LOC  
*liâ,*  
be.PRS.3PL

Behind those, those hills they are,

*ä̇kk̄ lij de koumm niõđ liâ."*  
old\_woman be.PRS.3SG and three girl.GEN/PL be.PRS.3PL  
an old woman is (there) and there are three daughters."

*Jiõčč vuõ̇lji meäcca.*  
self set\_off.PST.3SG forest.ILL  
*She went into the forest.*

*Ääkkaz tõt vuõ̇lji.*  
old\_woman.DIM DIST set\_off.PST.3SG  
The old woman, she went.

*Mõõni, mõõni de kuä̇đ kaauni*  
go.PST.3SG go.PST.3SG then hut.ACC find.PST.3SG  
She went, went, so she found a hut

*di nijdd-kuėtt lij.*  
and girl-hut be.PRS.3SG  
and it is a hut with daughters'.

*Ceäkk, nuu̇bb ääkkze*  
say.PRS.3SG one\_of\_the\_two.GEN old\_woman.DIST.ILL  
*ceäkk:*  
say.PRS.3SG

She says, she says to the other old woman:

*"Mu̇nne õõlgçi peigg, mon vääldčem*  
1SG.ILL have\_to.COND.3SG maid 1SG take.COND.1SG  
*peeig."*  
maid.ACC

"I would need a maid, I would take a maid."

– "A mii lij," *ceäkk,*  
well what be.PRS.3SG say.PRS.3SG  
– "So what then", she says,

*"vuäitt-han mõõnnâd puärrsômâs nijdd."*  
be\_able.PRS.3SG-DIP go.INF old.SUP.ATTR girl  
"the eldest girl can go, can't she?"

*De vuõ̇lgge, nõ̇lgge suäna.*  
then set\_off.PST.3PL set\_off.PST.3PL 3DUAL  
So they set off, those two.

Vuõ'ljǵje di mō'ñne tōn kuättses.  
set\_off.PST.3PL and go.PST.3PL DIST.GEN hut.ILL.POSS.3SG  
They set off, and went to her hut.

Vuõssmõõzzâst pääkkai låaid kie'ssed  
first.ADVZ.LOC order.PST.3SG hut\_side.ACC pull.INF  
kuä'dest.  
hut.LOC

First of all, she told the girl to clean up (“pull”) the (sleeping) places beside the wall.

Låaid kie'zzskuõ'di.  
hut\_side.ACC pull.INCH.PST.3SG

She started cleaning up the place beside the wall.

”Mii lij,” ceälkk,  
what be.PRS.3SG say.PRS.3SG  
“What is (this),” she says,

”mii lij tät kuä'did?  
what be.PRS.3SG PROX hut.PL.ACC  
“what (kind of a) hut is this?”

Låaidast pie'ñne-põškk âpsš.”  
hut\_side.LOC dog.GEN-excrement smell.PRS.3SG  
The sleeping place by the wall smells of dog shit.”

Ij ni mâi'd,  
NEG.3SG NPM what.ACC  
(There's) nothing at all,

ääkkaž ij ättat ni  
old\_woman.DIM NEG.3SG know\_how.CAUS.CNG NPM  
mâi'd,  
what.ACC

the old woman doesn't give any advice at all,

pâi ceälkk: “Nâkkam ve't-i ooumaž lij.”  
just say.PRS.3SG such.ATTR DIP-DIP person be.PRS.3SG  
she just says: “You see, there's such a person (here).”

Nä'de mōõn le'žže kuu'kk jälstam.  
so\_then what.ACC be.POT.3PL long.ACC reside.PST.PTCP  
So then, however long they may have lived.

Leäi leäi de see'st puõ'di ooumaž.  
be.PST.3SG be.PST.3SG then 3PL.LOC come.PST.3SG person  
It was, it was, a person came to them.

Uus kuälkkli, nijdd tōt uus  
door.ACC knock.SUB.PST.3SG girl DIST door.ACC  
ää'võõsti,  
open.MOM.PST.3SG

He knocked on the door, the girl, she opened the door,

ceälkk: ”Mii lij, piânmai lij  
say.PRS.3SG what be.PRS.3SG dog be.PRS.3SG  
puättam.”

come.PST.PTCP

says: “What is (this), a dog has come.”

Tut ij ni mâi'd,  
DIST.SPAT NEG.3SG NPM what.PL.ACC  
That's nothing at all,

pâi vue'žž puu'ti.  
just meat.ACC bring.PST.3SG  
(he) just brought some meat.

Veär ki'tte â'tte di po'rre  
meal.ACC cook.PST.3PL DIP and eat.PST.3PL  
They cooked a meal and ate,

di ääkkaz ceälkk:  
and old\_woman.DIM say.PRS.3SG  
and the old woman says:

”Tuäna äitta-i vuäddje'ked.”  
2DUAL storehouse.ILL-DIP sleep.INCH.IMP.2PL  
“You two, go to the storehouse to sleep.”

Mō'ñne â'tte äitta vuäddjed.  
go.PST.3PL DIP storehouse.ILL sleep.INCH.INF  
So they went to the storehouse to sleep.

## 12.6 Further reading

The most important research literature on Skolt Saami was discussed in 12.1. In this section we focus on text collections, recordings and fiction. T. I. Itkonen's work *Koltan- ja kuolanlappalaisia satuja* (1931) includes Skolt Saami fairy tales collected by the author. *Toben mädd mä'te vuädd*, edited by Semenoja (1994) is a collection of texts transcribed from recordings collected by Erkki Itkonen and Mikko Korhonen. Materials collected by these linguists and also by the Skolt Saami themselves are included in the text collection *Sää'mkiöll, ä'rbkiöll* (Koponen et al. 2010). The transcriptions have undergone some degree of standardization in both works. The original recordings are also available either on CD or online.

The Skolt Saami Documentation Corpus (SSDC-2016), archived in the Language Bank of Finland, currently contains some twenty hours of annotated recordings. These come from the archives of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus), in which an estimated eighty hours of Skolt Saami recordings are available. Further audio recordings exist in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) and in the archive of the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore (SOFI); audio material from Soviet-time fieldwork on the Russian side (mainly representing the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect) is also stored at the Institute for Language, Literature, and History of the Karelian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk and at the Estonian Language Institute (EKI) in Tallinn. Most of the recordings have not yet been transcribed or analysed, but at the Giellagas Institute of the University of

EINO KOPONEN, MATTI MIESTAMO, AND MARKUS JUUTINEN

Oulu, there is currently a project for transcription, translation, and analysis of archived material. Furthermore, Skolt Saami material exists in documents of regional administration and in texts and broadcasts produced by the national broadcasting company YLE (Yle Sápmi).

Authentic recordings and other materials have served as the basis for several further Skolt Saami text collections, in which the text has been edited to conform to the standard language. These include the Skolt Saami parts in *Skabmatolak*, a Saami literature anthology compiled by Aikio, Itkonen, and Sammallahti (1974), the readers *Maaddârää'ji mainnâz* and *Pââibužskooull sää'mkiöll. Lookkâmke'rrji* edited by Moshnikoff (1992, 1998), and the reader *Vuõ'lgge jáá'tted oudâs* by Sammallahti (2017).

Little fiction has been written in Skolt Saami. The Skolt Saami writer Kati-Claudia Fofonoff has published the collection of poems *Jânnam muttum nuu'bbioo'ri* (1998) and two collections of short stories *Vuã'mm Jee'elvuei'vv* (2004) and *Suõ'nn'jel pälggsin* (2010). In 2006, Robert Crottet's book based on fairytales and stories collected in Petsamo in the 1930s and originally published in French, appeared in Skolt Saami translation (*Mannu meä'cc*). *Kå'llmuõrâž* (Pacija 2012) is a translation of a Skolt Saami fairy-tale collection originally published in Russian. Other pieces of Skolt Saami literature include partly translated, partly original Skolt Saami children's books, learning material, and religious texts.