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# Aanaar (Inari) Saami

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## 11.1 History and classification of Aanaar Saami

Aanaar (Inari) Saami (*sämikielâ* or *anarâškielâ*, spoken by *anarâšah* ‘Aanaar Saami (pl.)’) belongs to the eastern group of Saami languages. The language is spoken around Lake Aanaar (*Aanaarjävri*) in the large municipality of Aanaar (Finnish: Inari, Swedish: Enare) in the northernmost Finnish Lapland (Map 11.1). Historically, its nearest neighbours are Skolt Saami in the east and north-east, North Saami in the north, west, and since the migration of western North Saami reindeer herders in the 1880s, also in the south. Until the early nineteenth century, the now extinct Kemi Saami was spoken in the area south of Aanaar Saami. Finnish has been spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Aanaar Saami for centuries (especially from the nineteenth century on), and all adult speakers of the language have been bilingual in Finnish for generations. The estimated number of speakers at present is 450 and the number is growing, as a result of active language revitalization (see chapter 4).

**Map 11.1.** The traditional territories of Aanaar Saami around Lake Aanaar

The most prominent feature of Aanaar Saami grammar is the complex morphophonology in nominal and verbal inflection and derivation: metaphony, consonant gradation, and quantity type alternation in single vowels, diphthongs, and consonants. From a diachronic point of view, it seems

that most of these features emerged during the separate development of Aanaar Saami. The classification of Aanaar Saami is somewhat difficult, since it shares many typical morphophonological and morphosyntactic features with the eastern Saami languages, but from the perspective of the lexicon it is closer to North Saami than to Skolt Saami (see Rydving 2013). The reason for this most probably lies in cultural relations, since the northernmost border of Western and Eastern Christianity lies between the Aanaar Saami and the Skolt Saami.

In contrast to many other Saami languages, Aanaar Saami is relatively easy to define as an independent language in comparison to its neighbours. The above-mentioned religious, cultural, and, for most of the time, political border has kept the speakers of Aanaar and Skolt Saami apart from each other and prevented mixed marriages throughout centuries. As a result, the languages are mutually unintelligible. Although the speakers of Aanaar Saami and neighbouring dialects of North Saami can usually communicate without major difficulties, the phonological and morphophonological differences between the languages are prominent. Several researchers have suggested that the Eastern Inland dialects of North Saami may be a result of a merger of a North Saami expansion and a more original intermediate dialect resembling both North and Aanaar Saami, but no detailed analyses of this question have been published so far. The expansion of North Saami speakers towards the east would be plausibly explained with the expansion of large-scale reindeer herding by the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the Sea Saami dialect group of North Saami is a surviving fragment of the intermediate dialect(s), since it shares several features with the eastern group of Saami languages (Korhonen 1981: 18–19). The vivid contacts between Aanaar Saami and the Sea Saami of Várjavuonna (Varangerfjorden) in Norway have further deepened the similarities (Nilsen 2009: 29–30).

Earlier scholars (e.g. Äimä 1918: VI–VII) have divided Aanaar Saami into four dialects: West, North, East, and South. However, there is no systematic description of the distinctive features of these dialects. Present-day native speakers are unable to define systematic areal differences other than some variation in the case endings and differences in the vocabulary due to the different contact languages, Skolt Saami in the east and North Saami in the north and west. This might be related to the fact that the Aanaar Saami have been migrating inside their original territory since the 1850s, when the number of Finnish settlers rapidly increased. At present, it is obvious that the language revitalization has resulted in the increasing influence of the northern dialect, as most of the teachers and language activists are born in the sparsely populated North Aanaar, where the language survived better than in the southern parts of the municipality. Because the traditional vernaculars have fallen out of use in most contexts and many of the speakers have learned the language as a second language, some features of morphophonological variation have become rare and may go extinct in the near future. On

the other hand, the unusually liberal attitude towards new speakers of Aanaar Saami has undeniably been one of the positive factors for the success of the language revitalization.

Aanaar Saami is one of the three officially acknowledged Saami languages in Finland, and since the Sámi Language Act of 2003, all legally guaranteed public services must be available also in Aanaar Saami language in the Saami homeland region. Outside the homeland region the language has a low status. As a whole, Aanaar Saami must be considered severely endangered. In recent decades the successful revitalization of Aanaar Saami, supported by systematic research and language planning (see, e.g., Olthuis et al. 2013, Pasanen 2015), has attained worldwide renown. The language has now an established standard form, and its use has expanded from private in-group domains to education, media, church, and various other, albeit limited, domains of society; it is now proudly used in public even by non-native speakers. The change has been achieved with various revitalization activities, including language nests, two in Aanaar and one in Avveel (Ivalo) (see 4.2), the Aanaar Saami magazines *Anarâš* and *Loostâš*, specific adult language education for adults with professional education (such as primary and secondary teachers, and public servants), language technology tools, etc. The Aanaar Saami Association, *Anarâškielâ servi*, has been implementing active revitalization planning since it was founded in 1986.

It has been possible to study Aanaar Saami at school since 1979, and since 1997 it has been possible to take the Finnish matriculation examination in Aanaar Saami. The language is also taught at the Sámi Education Institute in Aanaar as well as at the University of Oulu, where it has been possible to obtain a master's degree since 2011. Since then, more than half a dozen master's theses have been completed. As of 2018, some thirty students are following the Aanaar Saami undergraduate curriculum, and there are doctoral students as well. The Aanaar Saami speech community is thus among the most language-conscious and highly educated minority groups within the Uralic family.

Unlike its neighbours, Aanaar Saami is a relatively homogeneous language with few significant dialect differences. However, there is a considerable amount of intergenerational variation. Even in the absence of detailed studies it is obvious that the extraordinarily successful revitalization efforts have led to the gradual loss of some of the most distinct features of the traditional Aanaar Saami phonology among the youngest generations.

The following sections are an attempt to provide a general description of Aanaar Saami as spoken in the latter part of the twentieth century. The present chapter draws from earlier studies as well as the authors' knowledge of the language. A crucially important source of information are the lectures and unpublished handouts by professor emeritus Pekka Sammallahti, who has worked on the language for decades in cooperation with native speakers, as well as personal communication with native speakers and scholars Marja-Liisa Olthuis, Matti Morottaja, and Ilmari Mattus.

## 11.2 Phonology

### 11.2.1 Vowels and diphthongs

The vowel system consists of short and long monophthongs as well as short and long diphthongs. Table 11.1 presents the first-syllable short and long monophthongs and their orthographic representations.

**Table 11.1** First-syllable short and long monophthongs in Aanaar Saami

	Front		Central	Back
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	i ⟨i⟩ i: ⟨ii⟩	(y ⟨y⟩) (y: ⟨yy⟩)		u ⟨u⟩ u: ⟨uu⟩
Mid	e ⟨e⟩ e: ⟨ee⟩	(ø ⟨ö⟩) (ø: ⟨öö⟩)	ə ⟨e⟩, ⟨â⟩ ə: ⟨ee⟩	o ⟨o⟩ o: ⟨oo⟩
Open	æ ⟨ä á⟩ æ: ⟨ää áá⟩			ɑ ⟨a⟩ ɑ: ⟨aa⟩

There are six unproblematic vowel phonemes that occur in the first syllable as both short and long phonemes: /i i: e e: æ æ: u u: o o: ɑ ɑ:/. The contemporary orthography distinguishes between the letters ⟨ä⟩ and ⟨á⟩ which nevertheless are in complementary distribution in almost all environments: ⟨ä⟩ appears before second-syllable vowels ⟨e⟩ /e/, and ⟨i⟩ /i/, and ⟨á⟩ before other second-syllable vowels. Both, however, occur in a handful of monosyllabic words such as ⟨tääl⟩ ‘now’, ⟨náál⟩ ‘like, in the manner of’, and ⟨táát⟩ ‘this’, but to what extent this reflects an actual phonological contrast is not clear. The oral equivalents of these allographemes were audibly distinct for native speakers and perhaps phonologically distinct in the first part of the twentieth century, but most of the contemporary native speakers do not perceive the difference, even though it can still be attested at the phonetic level.

The vowels /y y: ø ø:/ occur in relatively new, but /y/ also in older Finnish and international loan words such as *pygálys* /pygælys/ ~ *pygálus* /pygælus/ ‘reindeer roundup’ (← dialectal Finnish *pykällys* /pykælys/), *fyysiláš* /fy:siləʃ/ ‘physical’ or *mökki* : GEN *mööki* /møkki/ : /møøki/ ‘cabin’ (← Finnish *mökki* /møkki/).

The only partly problematic autochthonous vowel in Aanaar Saami is that represented by the character /ə ə:/ in Table 11.1 and throughout the present chapter, although other alternatives would also be possible. To begin with, the letter ⟨e⟩ is ambiguous in referring to both /e/ and to mid central vowels with considerable individual and other contextual variation [ə ~ ɤ ~ ɘ ~ ɜ ~ ɞ]. While the vowels /i e æ u o ɑ (y ø)/ and their long equivalents occur in all kinds of words and also in non-initial

syllables, ⟨e ee⟩ /ə ə:/ only occur in the initial syllables of non-monosyllabic words. However, non-initial syllables also have a central vowel written as ⟨â⟩, and approximately the same sound occurs in a handful of monosyllabic and often unstressed grammatical words such as the conjunctions *tâi* ‘or (inclusive)’ and *vâi* ‘or (exclusive interrogative); so that’. In other words, the vowels ⟨â⟩ and ⟨e⟩, both realized as [ə ~ ɤ ~ ə ~ ɜ ~ ɛ], virtually occur in complementary distribution, and this together with their phonetic similarity strongly suggest that the vowels in question can be economically described as representatives of a single phoneme. But then again, the first-syllable /ə ə:/ ⟨e ee⟩ are absent in at least the eastern dialects, where /e e:/ is used instead. In the northern dialect, first-syllable [ə ə:] and [e e:] are usually but not automatically governed by the vowel in the second syllable: [ə ə:] usually before vowels /ə/ ⟨â⟩ and /u/ ⟨u⟩, [e e:] elsewhere. However, the independence of /ə ə:/ from /e e:/ is quite evident in word pairs such as *ennuv* /ənnuv/ ‘much’ and *eidu* /ejdu/ ‘just’ as well as *peenuv* /pə:nuv/ ‘dog’ and *heetug* /he:jtug/ ‘poor; unworthy’ (Morottaja 2007: 18). Naturally enough, the vowel analysed as a single phoneme here is realized somewhat differently in stressed (⟨e ee⟩) and unstressed (⟨â⟩) contexts, and more research is needed in order to provide a fuller account of the vowel inventories in individual dialects.

There are also short and long diphthongs in Aanaar Saami. Table 11.2 presents the first-syllable short and long diphthongs and their orthographic representations that do not distinguish the length in the standard orthography. (In dictionaries and other linguistic sources, shortness of a diphthong can be indicated with ’ as seen in ⟨jyel’gi⟩ for *jyelgi* /jÿël<sup>1</sup>gi/ ‘foot; leg’ (NOM) vs ⟨jyelgi⟩ *jyelgi* /jyelgi/ (GEN, ACC).

**Table 11.2** First-syllable diphthongs in Aanaar Saami

ie ⟨ie⟩	ye ⟨ye⟩	uo ⟨uo⟩
ïë ⟨ie⟩	ÿë ⟨ye⟩	ũö ⟨uo⟩
iä ⟨iä⟩		uä ⟨uá⟩
ïä ⟨iä⟩		ũä ⟨uá⟩

Diphthongs occur mostly in initial syllables, and they may be best understood as independent phonemes instead of sequences of two vowels; the initial part of the diphthongs /ÿë ye/ ⟨ye⟩ is phonetically [y] or [ɥ], despite the absence of the corresponding monophthong in the autochthonous lexicon. However, diphthongs also occur regularly in compound-like derivatives in the first syllable of the second foot, usually following a disyllabic first foot, e.g. *nuorâvuotâ* ‘youth’ and *juvâškyettid* : *juvâškuádám* : *juvâškuođij* begin.to.drink.INF/.1SG/.PST.3SG.

In the earlier orthography created by Erkki Itkonen, the diphthong ⟨iä⟩ had two spellings (⟨eä⟩ vs ⟨iä⟩) according to their historical background: The present-day forms *piäsá* reach.3SG and *tiätá* know.3SG were written as ⟨peäsá⟩ and ⟨tiätá⟩, but it was later argued that since the difference was no

longer perceived by the majority of native speakers in the last decades of the twentieth century, it should be left unmarked in the orthography (Olthuis 2000a: 570). However, the difference is still clearly audible especially in recordings of speakers of the western dialect at least up to the 1970s. Similarly, Itkonen's orthography distinguished between the historical diphthongs \**oa* and \**uo* as seen in ⟨*poatá*⟩ come.3SG and ⟨*kuáđá*⟩ leave.3SG, respectively, corresponding to undifferentiated ⟨*uá*⟩ in the contemporary orthography (⟨*puátá*, ⟨*kuáđá*⟩).

### 11.2.2 Consonants

The consonant system consists of twenty-three consonant phonemes. Table 11.3 presents the Aanaar Saami consonant phonemes and their orthographic representations. The palato-alveolar nasal /*ɲ*/ ⟨*nj*⟩ is the only phoneme written with a digraph.

**Table 11.3** Consonants in Aanaar Saami

	Labial	Dental / Alveolar	Palato-alveolar / Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m ⟨m⟩	n ⟨n⟩	ɲ ⟨nj⟩		ŋ ⟨ŋ⟩	
Stop	p ⟨p⟩ b ⟨b⟩	t ⟨t⟩ d ⟨d⟩			k ⟨k⟩ g ⟨g⟩	
Affricate		tʃ ⟨c⟩ dʒ ⟨z⟩	tɕ ⟨č⟩ dʒ ⟨ž⟩			
Sibilant fricative		s ⟨s⟩	ʃ ⟨š⟩			
Non-sibilant fricative	f ⟨f⟩	ð ⟨đ⟩				h ⟨h⟩
Approximant	v ⟨v⟩			j ⟨j⟩		
Trill		r ⟨r⟩				
Lateral approximant		l ⟨l⟩				

The qualitative features of the Aanaar Saami consonant system are quite similar to those of North Saami's (10.2), but less so in comparison to Skolt Saami (12.2). Some of the differences from Skolt Saami are due to quite recent changes in Aanaar Saami, mainly in the course of the first half of the twentieth century. One such change is the loss of voicing opposition in sibilants: /*s*/ : /*z*/ has changed to /*s*/ ⟨*s*⟩ : /*s*/ ⟨*s*⟩, as seen in *keesi* summer.NOM : *keezi* summer.GEN > *keesi* : *keesi*. Another example is that the affricates /*tɕ*/ ⟨*č*⟩ and /*dʒ*/ ⟨*ž*⟩ that were used in word-final positions have been simplified to /*ʃ*/ ⟨*š*⟩ among contemporary speakers, e.g. *vuonjâč* > *vuonjâš* 'mallard; northern pintail', *moonjiž* > *moonjiš* 'daughter-in-law and mother-in-law (together)', *kuálááz* > *kuálááš* 'small fish (diminutive)'.

The consonants /*ð* ɲ *dʒ* *dʒ*/ ⟨*đ* ɲ *ž* *z*⟩ cannot occur in word-initial position, and /*ɲ* *dʒ*/ ⟨*nj* *z*⟩ cannot occur in word-final position. /*tʃ* f/ ⟨*c* *f*⟩ occur in word-final position only in somewhat recent loanwords such as *katastroof* 'catastrophe' and *pic* 'but'. In addition, the voiced stops /*b* *d* *g*/ ⟨*b* *d* *g*⟩

appear in word-initial position only in recent loanwords, e.g. *bakteer* ‘bacterium’, *dynámit* ‘dynamite’, and *goottilâš* ‘Gothic’, and even then, they are often substituted by /p t k/, not unlike the situation in Finnish, through which such international loans are transmitted. In word-internal and word-final positions, they are most often semi-voiced. There are some word-initial consonant clusters, but they are infrequent and mainly appear in relatively recent loans from Finnish or North Saami, such as *traktor* ‘tractor’ < Finnish *traktori* and *skaliijd-* ‘clatter’ < North Saami *skálaid-*, which in turn have most often been borrowed from Scandinavian languages.

The phoneme /v/ is realized as a fricative [v] in word-initial position and between vowels, but as an approximant (semivowel) [w ~ ʋ] at the end of the syllable. In the absence of closing diphthongs that are common in Finnish, the majority language known by all Aanaar Saami speakers, the difference between words like *auto* /avdo/ [awto] ‘car’ and Finnish *auto* /auto/ [awto] is virtually phonological only; a non-standard, but more phonological spelling <avdo> is actually also in use. In the same vein, /j/ is realized as an approximant [j] at the end of the syllable, but more like the fricative [j] elsewhere. After vowels other than /i/, /j/ that occurs in a syllable-final position or as the first member of a consonant cluster is written as <i>, e.g. *mij* /mij/ ‘we (plural)’ but *moi* /moj/ which.PL.GEN.

One of the most characteristic phonetic features of Aanaar Saami is the postaspiration of the voiceless stops /p t k/ before vowels in non-initial syllables and often also in word-final positions. This feature contrasts with preaspiration that has even developed into a distinct phonological segment /h/ in many other Saami languages. Compare, for example, Aanaar Saami *tiettiđ* /tiettiđ/ [tiet<sup>h</sup>iđ] know.INF (North Saami *diehtit* /ti·ehtih(t)/) and *tieđeet* /tieđe:t/ [tieđe:t<sup>h</sup>] inform.PRS.3SG (Eastern Inland North Saami *diediha* /ti·eđihta/).

Most word-internal consonants can be geminated, but some can also be half-long, which makes Aanaar Saami a language with three distinctive quantities (Q), as seen in Table 11.4. Quantity III is expressed with double letters, whereas Quantities I and II are differentiated only in dictionaries and other linguistic descriptions, where QII may be expressed with a diacritic mark (dot below), capitalization, or bold font weight (e.g. *piño*, *piNo*, or *pino* ‘pile’).

**Table 11.4** An example of the three phonologically contrastive quantities in Aanaar Saami

	Standard orthography	Scholarly orthographies	Phonology	Meaning
Quantity I (short)	<i>pino</i>	<i>pino</i>	/pi.no/	pile.GEN
Quantity II (half-long)	<i>pino</i> <i>tino</i>	<i>piño</i> , <i>piNo</i> , <i>pino</i> <i>tiño</i> , <i>tiNo</i> , <i>tino</i>	/pi <sup>n</sup> .no/ /ti <sup>n</sup> .no/	pile.NOM flint.GEN
Quantity III (long)	<i>tinno</i>	<i>tinno</i>	/tin.no/	flint.NOM

(Based on Sammallahti 2012b: 362.)

The lengths of phonetic realizations of the three quantities are also affected by the general make-up of the word, most importantly by the length of the vowel in the first syllable. The length of the first-syllable vowel and the following consonant(s) in a word in turn affect the length of the second-syllable vowel. The existence of the half-long consonants make the Aanaar Saami ternary quantity system different from that of North Saami, for example (cf. 10.2).

The phonemes that can contrast between short and half-long quantity are /m n ɲ v ð j h l r/ <m n nj ɲ v ð j h l r>, as well as /s ʃ/ <s š> at least in the northern dialect (Sammallahti, s.d.). According to Sammallahti (2012b), the half-long consonants and certain realizations of geminate consonants are produced with an extra subglottal pulse preceding the syllable boundary. Türk et al. (2015) have noticed that the absolute length varies from speaker to speaker, but there is always a clear relative difference between long, half-long and short phonemes. However, many second language speakers—usually with Finnish (see 15.2) as their first language—have difficulties in acquiring half-long consonants and they often substitute short consonants for them. This may be partly caused by the fact that the two quantities are not distinguished by the standard orthography.

### 11.2.3 Word structure

Aanaar Saami shares its general patterns of word structure with most other Saami languages. Most word-forms consist of two or more syllables, and monosyllabic word-forms are only permitted for function words but not for lexical words. The primary stress is on the first syllable, with secondary stress falling on odd non-final syllables, e.g. *hundârušah* /'hundə,ruʃah/ ponder.2SG. In Aanaar Saami even recent loanwords largely conform to this pattern, as direct loans from either Scandinavian or Russian with markedly different stress systems are lacking. However, some disyllabic inflectional and derivational suffixes are exceptional in having secondary stress on their first syllable regardless of their position in the word form: e.g. *-vettee* in *hundârušvettee* /'hundəruʃ,vette:/ ponder.2DU. On the other hand, compound words can also show exceptional stress patterns due to loss of unstressed syllable vowels in their modifiers: *ertpeeli* /'ert.pe:<sup>1</sup>li/ 'ribs (as food)' (<*ertti* 'rib' + *peeli* 'side; half').

### 11.2.4 Morphophonological phenomena

Aanaar Saami features an intricate system of morphophonological alternations, which is highly regular and productive across all domains of morphology. In its general principles the morphophonological system is rather similar to other—especially neighbouring—Saami languages, but it also includes some idiosyncratic features, most notably the so-called “quantity type alternation”

(see 11.2.4.4). As a whole, the morphophonology of the language is complex in the extreme, which makes Aanaar Saami a typologically remarkable language in this regard.

#### 11.2.4.1 Consonant gradation

Like most Saami languages, Aanaar Saami displays consonant gradation, i.e. a productive system of quantitative and qualitative alternations between “strong-grade” and “weak-grade” consonants or consonant clusters that follow a stressed syllable. In Aanaar Saami the general rule is that strong-grade consonants and clusters are longer and/or less voiced than their weak-grade counterparts, but also other kinds of qualitative differences play a role. The concrete instances of consonant gradation can be divided into two main types: a) single and geminate consonants; b) consonant clusters. In each of these, then, a couple of subtypes can be identified:

a1) Half-long single consonants alternating with short single consonants (/<sup>C</sup>C/ : /C/): e.g. *táálu* /tæ:<sup>h</sup>lu/ : *táálu* /tæ:lu/ (‘house’ NOM : GEN);

a2) Geminate consonants alternating with short single consonants (/CC/ : /C/): e.g. *sollâ* /sollə/ : *soolâ* /so:lə/ (‘arms (when embracing)’ NOM : GEN), *rippâ* /rippə/ : *riipâ* /ri:pə/ (‘Christian confirmation’ NOM : GEN);

a3) Geminate consonants alternating with half-long single consonants (/CC/ : /<sup>C</sup>C/): e.g. *jollâ* /jollə/ : *joolâ* /jo:<sup>h</sup>lə/ (‘crazy’ NOM : GEN);

a4) Single consonants with qualitative alternation:

/h/ : / <sup>h</sup> v/	e.g. <i>ihe</i> /ihe/ : <i>ive</i> /i <sup>h</sup> ve/ (‘year’ NOM : GEN)
/p/ : /v/	e.g. <i>tupe</i> /tupe/ : <i>tuve</i> /tuve/ (‘cabin’ NOM : GEN)
/t/ : /ð/	e.g. <i>neeti</i> /ne:ti/ : <i>neðe</i> /neðe/ (‘marten’ NOM : GEN)
/ts/ : /s/	e.g. <i>peeci</i> /pe:tsi/ : <i>peesi</i> /pe:si/ (‘pine’ NOM : GEN)
/tɕ/ : /j/	e.g. <i>keeçi</i> /ke:tɕi/ : <i>keji</i> /ke:ji/ (‘tip, end’ NOM : GEN)

a5) Geminate consonants with both quantitative and qualitative alternation:

/kk/ : /h/	e.g. <i>ákku</i> /ækku/ : <i>ááhu</i> /æ:hu/ (‘grandmother’ NOM : GEN)
/pp/ : /v/	e.g. <i>rippâ</i> /rippə/ : <i>riivâ</i> /ri:və/ (‘mote’ NOM : GEN)
/tt/ : /ð/	e.g. <i>pottâ</i> /pottə/ : <i>poodâ</i> /po:ðə/ (‘arse’ NOM : GEN)
/tts/ : /s/	e.g. <i>voccâ</i> /vottə/ : <i>voosâ</i> /vo:sə/ (‘new snow’ NOM : GEN)

/t̥e/ : /j/ e.g. *luččâ* /lut̥eə/ : *luujâ* /lu:jə/ ('diarrhoea' NOM : GEN);

b1) Clusters with a half-long initial component alternating with clusters with a short initial component (/C<sub>1</sub><sup>C</sup>C<sub>2</sub>/ : /C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>/): e.g. *alge* /al<sup>l</sup>ge/ : *alge* /alge/ ('son' NOM : GEN);

b2) Clusters with qualitative alternation, e.g.:

/hte/ : /vte/ *njuhčâ* /juhteə/ : *njuuvčâ* /ju:vteə/ ('swan' NOM : GEN)

/ks/ : /vs/ *uáksi* /ũæksi/ : *uávsi* /uævsi/ ('branch' NOM : GEN)

/tk/ : /ðh/ *kutkâ* /kutkə/ : *kuudhâ* /ku:ðhə/ ('ant' NOM : GEN);

b3) Clusters with an unvoiced geminate stop or affricate as a secondary member, alternating with a cluster with a single stop/affricate: e.g. *sältti* /sæltti/ : *säälti* /sæ:lti/ ('salt' NOM : GEN). Note that in most cases the velar stop /k/ also shows a concomitant qualitative alternation: e.g. *mielkki* /miëlkki/ : *mielhi* /mielhi/ ('milk' NOM : GEN).

In addition to the types listed above, relatively recent loanwords may contain clusters of three different consonants. Such clusters have generally been adapted to gradation patterns shown by similar clusters in native vocabulary, as in *tekstâ* /təkstə/ : *teevstâ* /təəvstə/ ('text' NOM : GEN; cf. /ũæksi/ : /uævsi/ above).

#### 11.2.4.2 *Metaphony*

Aanaar Saami has regular and productive metaphonical, *Umlaut*-type alternations that affect most (but not all) stressed syllable vowels. The alternations are similar to but not identical with those in South Saami and Skolt Saami. The alternations were historically conditioned by the quality of the vowel in the next syllable; the conditioning factors are even synchronically often present, though not always. The individual patterns of alternation are exemplified by means of selected verb forms in Table 11.5; the precise rules conditioning the alternations cannot be described in the present context, however.

**Table 11.5** An example of metaphonical alternations in Aanaar Saami

ALTERNATION	INF		3SG		3PL		GLOSS
/uo/ : /uæ/ : /ye/	<i>vuollâđ</i>	/vuolləð/	<i>vuálá</i>	/vuæ <sup>l</sup> æ/	<i>vyelih</i>	/vye <sup>l</sup> lih/	‘whittle’
/ie/ : /iæ/	<i>kierdâđ</i>	/kiēr <sup>r</sup> dəð/	<i>kiárdá</i>	/kiær <sup>r</sup> dæ/	<i>kierdih</i>	/kiēr <sup>r</sup> dih/	‘tolerate’
/ə/ : /iæ/ : /e/	<i>keččâđ</i>	/kæt <sup>t</sup> çəð/	<i>kiäččá</i>	/kiæt <sup>t</sup> çæ/	<i>keččih</i>	/kett <sup>t</sup> çih/	‘watch’
/o/ : /uæ/	<i>oppâđ</i>	/oppəð/	<i>uáppá</i>	/üæppæ/	<i>uáppih</i>	/üæppih/	‘learn’
/ɑ/ : /æ/	<i>kalgâđ</i>	/kal <sup>l</sup> gəð/	<i>kálgá</i>	/kæl <sup>l</sup> gæ/	<i>kálgih</i>	/kæl <sup>l</sup> gih/	‘untangle’
/o/ : /ɑ/	<i>kolgâđ</i>	/kol <sup>l</sup> gəð/	<i>kalga</i>	/kal <sup>l</sup> ga/	<i>kalgeh</i>	/kal <sup>l</sup> geh/	‘have to’
/u/ : /o/	<i>kulgâđ</i>	/kul <sup>l</sup> gəð/	<i>kolgá</i>	/kol <sup>l</sup> gæ/	<i>kolgeh</i>	/kol <sup>l</sup> geh/	‘flow’
(unalternating /u/)	<i>juksâđ</i>	/juksəð/	<i>juksá</i>	/juksæ/	<i>jukseh</i>	/jukseh/	‘catch up’
(unalternating /i/)	<i>ištâđ</i>	/iʃtəð/	<i>ištá</i>	/iʃtæ/	<i>išteh</i>	/iʃteh/	‘sit’

### 11.2.4.3 Stressed vowel length alternation

In addition to vowel quality, the quantity of both monophthongs and diphthongs can alternate in stressed syllables. The phenomenon is partially dependent on consonant gradation so that in certain inflectional classes short vowels occur before the strong grade and long vowels before the weak grade: e.g. *sollâ* /sollə/ : *soolâ* /so:lə/ (‘arms’ NOM : GEN), *mielli* /miĕlli/ : *mieli* /mie<sup>l</sup>li/ (‘high riverbank’ NOM : GEN). However, other phonological and morphological factors are involved in the conditioning of such alternations as well, producing quite different patterns as in *neeti* /ne:ti/ : *neđe* /neðe/ (‘marten’ NOM : GEN), *kyeli* /kye<sup>l</sup>li/ : *kyele* /kÿĕle/ (‘fish’ NOM : GEN).

The aforementioned alternations can be described as “primary” alternation of vowel quantity. In addition, the quantity of stressed vowels can be further affected by another completely distinct morphophonological process called “quantity type alternation”, described further in the next section. There is a hierarchic relationship between the two processes, as the outcome of “primary” alternation of vowel length may be subsequently modified by quantity type alternation.

### 11.2.4.4 Quantity type alternation

Aanaar Saami word-forms can be generally categorized as belonging to one of three “quantity types”: 1) the normal type, 2) the lengthened type, 3) the shortened type. Alternation between the three quantity types is a major source of paradigmatic morphophonological phenomena. At least in most cases the “normal type” can be viewed as representing the word-stem in its underlying form, whereas the “lengthened type” and the “shortened type” are derived from it by specific quantitative modifications that may apply to vowels in the first and the second syllables, as well as to the consonants between them. Some noun forms illustrating the effects of quantity type alternation are given in Table 11.6. As can be seen, the lengthened and shortened types differ from the normal type in a partially unintuitive manner because the rules determining lengthening and shortening of

particular segments are conditioned by multiple factors; the specifics are too complex to be described here.

**Table 11.6** An example of quantity type alternations in Aanaar Saami

	NORMAL TYPE		LENGTHENED TYPE		SHORTENED TYPE	
	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak
grade	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak
form	NOM	GEN	ESS	LOC	ESS.POSS.3	LOC.POSS.3
‘pig’	<i>šahe</i> /ʃahe/	<i>šave</i> /ʃaʷve/	<i>šahhee-n</i> /ʃahhe:n/	<i>šavvee-st</i> /ʃavve:st/	<i>šahe-n-is</i> /ʃahenis/	<i>šave-st-is</i> /ʃavestis/
‘bend’	<i>mokke</i> /mokke/	<i>mohe</i> /mohe/	<i>mokke-n</i> /mokken/	<i>mohhee-st</i> /mohhe:st/	<i>mokke-n-is</i> /mokkenis/	<i>mohe-st-is</i> /mohestis/
‘river’	<i>juuhâ</i> /ju:hə/	<i>juuvâ</i> /ju:ʷvə/	<i>juuhâ-n</i> /ju:hən/	<i>juuvâ-st</i> /ju:ʷvəst/	<i>juuhâ-n-is</i> /ju:hənis/	<i>juvâ-st-is</i> /juvəstis/
‘lock’	<i>lukkâ</i> /lukkə/	<i>luuhâ</i> /lu:hə/	<i>lukkâ-n</i> /lukkən/	<i>luuhâ-st</i> /lu:həst/	<i>lukkâ-n-is</i> /lukkənis/	<i>luhâ-st-is</i> /luhəstis/
‘cabin’	<i>tupe</i> /tupe/	<i>tuve</i> /tuve/	<i>tuppee-n</i> /tuppe:n/	<i>tuuvee-st</i> /tu:ve:st/	<i>tupe-n-is</i> /tupenis/	<i>tuve-st-is</i> /tuestis/
‘rag’	<i>sappe</i> /sappe/	<i>sape</i> /sape/	<i>sappe-n</i> /sappen/	<i>sappee-st</i> /sappe:st/	<i>sappe-n-is</i> /sappenis/	<i>sape-st-is</i> /sapestis/
‘pastor’	<i>pappâ</i> /pappə/	<i>paapâ</i> /pa:pə/	<i>pappâ-n</i> /pappən/	<i>paapâ-st</i> /pa:pəst/	<i>pappâ-n-is</i> /pappənis/	<i>paapâ-st-is</i> /papəstis/

The data in Table 11.6 serve to illustrate how the extreme complexity of Aanaar Saami morphophonology emerges as a cumulative result of a number of interacting rules. For example, the combination of consonant gradation and quantity type alternation produces as many as five different realizations of the intervocalic consonants (/h/ : /hh/ : /vv/ : /ʷv/ : /v/) in the word for ‘pig’. Moreover, sometimes the interaction of various rules has a seemingly paradoxical outcome: the geminate stop /pp/ in *sappe-n* (ESS) represents the strong grade, whereas the identical geminate stop /pp/ in *sappee-st* (LOC) represents a weak grade which has secondarily coincided with the strong grade due to the effects of lengthening. That *sappee-st* indeed does contain an underlying weak grade is shown by other instances of consonant gradation in nouns belonging to the same inflectional class (e.g. *mokke-n* ESS : *mohhee-st* LOC), as well as by the fact that consonant gradation resurfaces in the shortened type when a possessive suffix is added (*sappe-n-is* ESS.POSS.3 : *sape-st-is* LOC.POSS.3).

Historically, the three quantity types reflect the original syllable count of the word-form in question: the normal, lengthened, and shortened types represent earlier bisyllabic, trisyllabic, and quadrisyllabic word-forms, respectively. Synchronically, however, the original motivation of the alternation is completely opaque.

Some word-forms show quantity alternations that cannot be neatly categorized in one of the three types. Most notable is the SG.ILL of nouns, which shows partially idiosyncratic alternations. Another exception involves compound words, the modifiers of which regularly undergo vowel

shortening: e.g. *kamuvsyeyini* ‘shoehay’ < *kaamuv* ‘shoe’ + *syeyini* ‘hay’; *kyelipivdee* /kʏ̈ɛ̯<sup>h</sup>lipiv<sup>v</sup>de:/ ‘fisher’ < *kyeli* /kye<sup>h</sup>li/ ‘fish’ + *pivdee* ‘catcher, hunter’. The heads of compound words, on the other hand, regularly participate in quantity type alternation just like non-compound words.

#### 11.2.4.5 Other alternations

There are even other regular morphophonological alternations in Aanaar Saami, which affect segments in unstressed syllables. Most notable are various alternations of the second-syllable vowels, which also partially function as conditioning factors of the metaphysical alternations of first-syllable vowels described in the previous section; cf., e.g., the alternations /ə/ : /æ/ : /i/ and /ə/ : /ɑ/ : /e/ displayed by the verb-forms in Table 11.5.

There are also alternations affecting stem-final consonants. These mostly involve alternations between the presence and the absence of a consonant; there are several subtypes of consonant stems, the specific rules differing between them:

∅ : t	<i>čeve</i> /t̩eeve/ : <i>čičäppát</i> /t̩ɛ̯iäppæt/ (‘neck’ NOM : GEN)
∅ : m	<i>faaskâ</i> /fa:skə/ : <i>faskâm</i> /fas <sup>s</sup> kəm/ (‘snowdrift’ NOM : GEN)
∅ : n	<i>siemâ</i> /siemə/ : <i>siemmân</i> /siemmən/ (‘seed’ NOM : GEN)
i /j/ : ∅	<i>puásui</i> /puæsuj/ : <i>pocuu</i> /potts̩u:/ (‘reindeer’ NOM : GEN)
s : ∅	<i>väälis</i> /væ:lis/ : <i>vállá</i> /vællæ/ (‘whale’ NOM : GEN)
š : ∅	<i>olmooš</i> /olmo:ʃ/ : <i>ulmuu</i> /ul <sup>h</sup> mu:/ (‘person’ NOM : GEN)

Clitics beginning with stops have allomorphs with voiced and unvoiced stops, conditioned by voicing of the preceding segment:

- (1) a. *Jieh-pa*                      *tiättám-gin!*  
 NEG.2SG=DIP    know.PST.CNG=DIP  
 ‘You did not know after all!’
- b. *Jiem-ba*                              *kuulât-kin!*  
 NEG.1.SG=DIP                      announce.CNG=DIP  
 ‘I will not announce after all!’

## 11.3 Morphology

### 11.3.1 Nominal inflection

Aanaar Saami nouns are inflected for case and number. The same goes for most pronouns and adjectives, although the more characteristic inflectional categories for adjectives consist of attributive and predicative as well as comparative and superlative forms. All nouns may take possessive suffixes.

There are nine cases and two numbers in noun inflection. Nouns can be divided into various inflectional classes based on the number of syllables and the (historical) vowel quality of the second (for di- and trisyllabic nouns) or fourth syllable (for tetrasyllabic nouns, which are usually derivatives). A sample of noun paradigms is presented in Table 11.7.

**Table 11.7** Inflectional paradigms of the Aanaar Saami nouns *juuhâ* ‘river’, *kyeli* ‘fish’, and *kuálááš* ‘small fish’

	‘river’				‘small fish’	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>juuhâ</i>	<i>juuvah</i>	<i>kyeli</i>	<i>kyeleh</i>	<i>kuálááš</i>	<i>kuálááh</i>
Genitive	<i>juuvâ</i>	<i>juvâi ~ juuvâi</i>	<i>kyele</i>	<i>kuolij</i>	<i>kuáláá</i>	<i>kuálái ~ kuáláái</i>
Accusative	<i>juuvâ</i>	<i>juuvâid</i>	<i>kyele</i>	<i>kuolijd</i>	<i>kuáláá</i>	<i>kuáláid</i>
Illative	<i>juuhân</i>	<i>juvvâid</i>	<i>kuálán</i>	<i>kuolijd</i>	<i>kuálážân</i>	<i>kuáláid</i>
Locative	<i>juuvâst</i>	<i>juuvâin</i>	<i>kyeleest</i>	<i>kuolijn</i>	<i>kuáláást</i>	<i>kuáláin ~ kuálááin</i>
Comitative	<i>juvvâin</i>	<i>juvâiguin ~ -gijn</i>	<i>kuolijn</i>	<i>kuolijguin ~ -gijn</i>	<i>kuáláin</i>	<i>kuáláiguin ~ kuálááiguin ~ -gijn</i>
Abessive	<i>juvâttáá</i>	<i>juvâittáá</i>	<i>kyelettáá</i>	<i>kuolijttáá</i>	<i>kuáláttáá ~ kuálááttáá</i>	<i>kuáláittáá</i>
Essive	<i>juuhân</i>		<i>kyellin</i>		<i>kuálážin</i>	
Partitive	<i>juuhâd</i>		<i>kyellid</i>		<i>kuálážid</i>	

The inflectional paradigms of the disyllabic nouns *juuhâ* ‘river’ and *kyeli* ‘fish’, as well as that of the trisyllabic *kuálááš* fish.DIM, in Table 11.7 exemplify only a fraction of the variation within Aanaar Saami noun inflection. The paradigms show many instances of suffix allomorphy, stem-internal vowel changes, and opaque morpheme boundaries. For example, while the first-syllable vowel of *juuhâ* ‘river’ does not change except in length, the first-syllable diphthong of *kyeli* ‘fish’ may alternate with *-uo-* (e.g. *kuolij* fish.PL.GEN) in most forms, but the illative singular *kuálán* presents a third option. It must also be remembered that the standard orthography does not indicate the quantity oppositions between short and half-long consonants or short and long diphthongs. For example, the difference between *kyeli* fish.NOM and *kyele* fish.GEN/ACC is not only in the word-final vowel, but the quantities of the diphthong and gradating consonant as well (/kye’li/ and /kÿële/, respectively).

In the diminutive derivative *kuálááš* the vowels do not alternate, except for the length of the second syllable vowel that has two variants in many case-forms. However, the diminutive suffix *-š*

alternates with *-ž-* and zero, as seen in *kuálááš* NOM : *kuálázân* ILL : *kuálááh* PL.NOM. The questions of morpheme boundaries are open to alternative interpretations (e.g. *kuála-áh* or *kuáláá-h*). Although most oblique case plural forms contain /j/ (<i> or <j>), elements like the locative plural /-jn/ cannot be analysed as bimorphemic, i.e. a plural suffix followed by a case suffix (the locative suffix is *-st* in the singular).

Table 11.7 shows that Aanaar Saami does not display full syncretism of comitative singular and locative plural forms, in contrast to many other Saami languages. It is mainly a matter of taste and descriptive economy whether the essive and partitive forms such as *juuhân* and *juuhâd* are to be called plain (singular-cum-plural) essives and partitives or whether all such forms are better analysed as both a singular essive and partitive and a homonymous plural form.

The comitative plural in *-iguin ~ -igijn*, as well as the abessive singular and plural (*-ttáá* and *-ittáá*), differ from other case suffixes in having a weak secondary stress also in tetrasyllabic word forms such as *kaperijgijn* /'kaperij,kijn/ hat.PL.COM, *kappeerttáá* /kappe:rt,tæ:/ hat.ABE, and *kaperijttáá* /kaperijt,tæ:/ hat.PL.ABE. In the comitative, this appears to be a remnant of the postpositional origin of the case marker (see 7.3), whereas the analogous feature of the abessive may be related to the gradual degrammaticalization of the abessive suffix in the neighbouring North, Lule, as well as Skolt Saami (Ylikoski 2016c).

As for the functions of the cases, the labels “nominative”, “genitive”, and “accusative” are mostly self-explanatory. Occasionally, the genitive and the accusative may also be used in temporal meaning, such as in *táán peeivi* this.GEN day.GEN ‘today; in the course of this day’, or to refer to paths, e.g. *siämmáá kiäinu* same.ACC road.ACC ‘along the same road’. The locative case (‘at; in; from’) has a number of secondary non-spatial functions, and the comitative (‘with’) is also used as an instrumental case. The abessive (‘without’) is used much like adjectives or adverbs, but it does have more case-like properties than its cognates in other Saami languages. The essive (‘as’) expresses change of state and static, often temporary state (e.g. *juuhân* ‘as a river / rivers’), and the partitive is a marginal case used only in very limited contexts and fixed phrases (see 11.4.2).

Personal pronouns differ from nouns and other pronouns in one important respect: Unlike nouns but quite like verbs, personal pronouns distinguish three numbers: singular, dual and plural (Table 11.8). Inflection of personal pronouns is highly irregular.

**Table 11.8** Personal pronouns in Aanaar Saami

	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	<i>mun</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>sun</i>
Dual	<i>muoi</i>	<i>tuoi</i>	<i>suoi</i>
Plural	<i>mij</i>	<i>tij</i>	<i>sij</i>

Aanaar Saami nouns may also have possessive suffixes that are, in principle, a productive morphological category throughout inflection. Similarly to North Saami, they are rarely used, but their use is probably supported by the model of Finnish. The possessive suffixes do not distinguish possessor number but the three persons only: *-m* ~ *-n* POSS.1, *-d* POSS.2, and *-s* POSS.3. The morphological build-up of possessive forms is quite opaque, as seen in the following examples: *enni* mother.NOM : *eeni* mother.GEN/ACC : *iännád* mother.NOM/GEN/ACC.POSS.2; *iännán* mother.ILL : *iännásâd* mother.ILL.POSS.2; *eenist* mother.LOC : *enistâd* mother.LOC.POSS.2. In the comitative plural, the possessive suffix is added in between the case ending *-iguin*, e.g. *enijdâdguin* mother.PL.COM.POSS.2. Often, personal pronouns in the genitive are preferred over possessive suffixes—even with kinship terms that are the most prominent domain for possessive suffixes (e.g. *iännád* mother.POSS.2 ~ *tuu enni* 2SG.GEN mother ‘your mother’).

The boundary between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut in Aanaar Saami, and many adjectives may be used and inflected like nouns, e.g. *nuorâ* ‘young; young person’, PL.NOM *nuorah* ‘young ones; young people’.

Adjective inflection proper is one of the most complex areas of Aanaar Saami morphology. Many adjectives display the characteristically Saami dimorphism of predicative (e.g. *šonjâ lii pivvâl* ‘the (winter) weather is mild’) and attributive forms (*pivvâlis šonjâ* ‘mild (winter) weather’). This dimorphism concerns most underived adjectives (but not all: exceptions include, for instance, *nuorâ* ‘young’ and *putes* ‘clean’), but it is often impossible to predict which form is derived from which and how; compare *liegâ-s* PRED : *lieggâ* ATTR ‘warm’, but *assaa* PRED : *assaa-s* ATTR ‘thick (of flat objects)’. Some adjectives have only attributive forms (e.g. *šiev* ‘good’). Certain groups of derived adjectives such as *luándulâš* ‘natural’ (← *luándu* ‘nature’) and *ohtsâš* ‘common; collective’ (← *ohtâ* ‘one’) do not have separate attributive forms, but show partial agreement with their head nouns, unlike most underived adjectives (see 11.4.2).

Adjectives also have comparative and superlative forms, marked by *-b* and *-mus* ~ *muš* on disyllabic stems, and by *-ub* and *-umos* on trisyllabic stems. However, the choice of the suffix allomorphs is not obvious in all cases, and the adjective stems may show concomitant morphophonological alternations.

Finally, some few adjectives expressing physical properties such as thickness have specific equative forms, such as *kaso* (← *kossuv* ‘thick’) in the phrase *kyevti suormâ kaso* [two.GEN finger.GEN thick.EQU] ‘two fingers thick; as thick as two fingers’. Table 11.9 provides a condensed and simplified picture of the complexity of adjectival morphology in Aanaar Saami.

**Table 11.9** A sample of Aanaar Saami adjective inflection

Positive		Comparative	Superlative
Predicative	Attributive		
<i>nuorâ</i> ‘young’	= <i>nuorâ</i>	<i>nuorâb</i>	<i>nuorâmus</i>
<i>puáris</i> ‘old’	= <i>puáris</i>	<i>puárâsub</i>	<i>puárâsumos</i>
<i>kume</i> ‘hot’	= <i>kume</i>	<i>kuumeeb</i>	<i>kumemus</i>
<i>häänis</i> ‘greedy’	<i>hänis</i>	<i>hánâsub</i>	<i>hánâsumos</i>
<i>liegâs</i> ‘warm (of weather, clothes)’	<i>lieggâ</i>	<i>lieggâsub</i>	<i>lieggâsumos</i>
<i>muččâd</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>mučis</i>	<i>muččâdub</i>	<i>muččâdumos</i>
<i>njyebžil</i> ‘flexible’	<i>njyebžilis</i>	<i>njyebžilub</i>	<i>njyebžilumos</i>
<i>assaa</i> ‘thick (of flat objects)’	<i>assaas</i>	<i>assab</i>	<i>assaamus</i>
<i>kossuv</i> ‘thick (of round objects)’	<i>kossâ</i>	<i>kasseeb</i>	<i>kasemus</i>
<i>pelettem</i> ‘impartial’	<i>pelettemes</i>	<i>pelettemeb</i>	–

### 11.3.2 Verb inflection

Aanaar Saami verbs are inflected for three persons, three numbers, two tenses, and four moods. Not unlike nouns, verbs can be divided into inflectional classes based on the number of syllables, the (historical) vowel quality in the second (for di- and trisyllabic stems) or fourth syllable (for quadrisyllabic stems, usually derived verbs), and consonant gradation. A sample of two affirmative finite paradigms is presented in Table 11.10. Neither example, however, illustrates consonant gradation, which actually does occur in the conjugation of the verb *uásti-* ‘buy’, but is not orthographically marked in clusters such as *-st-*; there are, nevertheless, countless other prominent examples of gradation in verbs (such as *puátti-* ‘come’ : 3SG *puátá* : PST.3SG *poodij*).

**Table 11.10** Inflectional paradigms of verbs

Example verbs: *uásti-* ‘buy’ and *sámást-* ‘speak (Aanaar) Saami language’.

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Conditional	Potential	Imperative
1SG	<i>uástám</i>	<i>ostim</i>	<i>uástáččim</i>	<i>uásteem</i>	
2SG	<i>uástáh</i>	<i>ostih</i>	<i>uástáččih</i>	<i>uásteeh</i>	<i>uásti</i>
3SG	<i>uástá</i>	<i>oostij</i>	<i>uástáččij</i>	<i>oostiš</i>	<i>uástus</i>
1DU	<i>uásteen</i>	<i>ostijm</i>	<i>uástáččáim</i>	<i>ostižeen</i>	<i>uástoön</i>
2DU	<i>uástivettee</i>	<i>ostijd</i>	<i>uástáččáid</i>	<i>oostišvettee</i>	<i>uástee</i>
3DU	<i>uástiv</i>	<i>ostijn</i>	<i>uástáččáin</i>	<i>ostižává</i>	<i>uástus</i>
1PL	<i>uástip</i>	<i>oostijm</i>	<i>uástáččijm</i>	<i>ostižep</i>	<i>uástup</i>
2PL	<i>uástivetteđ</i>	<i>oostijd</i>	<i>uástáččijđ</i>	<i>oostišvetteđ</i>	<i>uástiđ</i>
3PL	<i>uástih</i>	<i>ostii</i>	<i>uástáččii</i>	<i>ostižeh</i>	<i>uástus</i>

	<b>Present indicative</b>	<b>Past indicative</b>	<b>Conditional</b>	<b>Potential</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
1SG	<i>sámástâm</i>	<i>sámástim</i>	<i>sámástiččim</i>	<i>sámástižžeam</i>	
2SG	<i>sámástah</i>	<i>sámástih</i>	<i>sámástiččih</i>	<i>sámástižžeeh</i>	<i>sámást</i>
3SG	<i>sámást</i>	<i>sámástij</i>	<i>sámástičij</i>	<i>sámástiš</i>	<i>sámástus</i>
1DU	<i>sámásteen</i>	<i>sámástáim</i>	<i>sámástiččijm</i>	<i>sámástižžeen</i>	<i>sámástoön</i>
2DU	<i>sámástvettee</i>	<i>sámástáid</i>	<i>sámástiččijd</i>	<i>sámástišvettee</i>	<i>sámásteē</i>
3DU	<i>sámástává</i>	<i>sámástáin</i>	<i>sámástiččijn</i>	<i>sámástižžává</i>	<i>sámástus</i>
1PL	<i>sámástep</i>	<i>sámástijm</i>	<i>sámástiččijm</i>	<i>sámástižžep</i>	<i>sámástop</i>
2PL	<i>sámástvetteđ</i>	<i>sámástijd</i>	<i>sámástiččijd</i>	<i>sámástišvetteđ</i>	<i>sámástiđ</i>
3PL	<i>sámásteh</i>	<i>sámástii</i>	<i>sámástiččii</i>	<i>sámástižžeh</i>	<i>sámástus</i>

Of the four moods in Aanaar Saami the indicative is further divided into present- and past-tense forms. The imperative expresses commands and adhortations and therefore lacks 1SG forms. The conditional, as in other Saami and Finnic languages, refers to unreal (hypothesized or wished) states of affairs. The most marginal mood is the potential, perhaps better characterized as a dubitative mood (see 10.3.2 for North Saami).

Unlike nouns, verbs make a tripartite number distinction between singular, dual, and plural. However, as in all Saami languages with the dual, the dual vs plural distinction usually applies to human referents only, whereas for non-humans, singular or plural forms are used (see 8.3.2 for examples from South Saami). Unlike noun declension, verb conjugation has very little syncretism, although forms like *sámást* may be either PRS.3SG or IMP.2SG of *sámást*- ‘speak (Aanaar) Saami language’ (IMP.2SG is always identical to the connegative form; see (5)). Stem alternations are typical especially of disyllabic verbs, which can display both consonant gradation and qualitative and quantitative alternations of both first- and second-syllable vowels and consonants (cf. Table 11.6 in 11.2.4.4). In addition to ordinary lexical verbs, there are two special verbs: the paradigms of the copula *le*- ‘be’ (infinitive *leđe*) and the negative auxiliary (which has no infinitive form) are presented in Tables 11.11 and 11.12.

**Table 11.11** Inflectional paradigm of the Aanaar Saami copula

	<b>Present indicative</b>	<b>Past indicative</b>	<b>Conditional</b>	<b>Potential</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
1SG	<i>lam</i>	<i>lijim</i>	<i>liččim</i>	<i>ležžeam</i>	
2SG	<i>lah</i>	<i>lijih</i>	<i>liččih</i>	<i>ležžeeh</i>	( <i>oro</i> )
3SG	<i>lii</i>	<i>lâi ~ lei</i>	<i>ličij</i>	<i>laš ~ leš</i>	<i>liävuš</i>
1DU	<i>láán</i>	<i>láim</i>	<i>liččijm</i>	<i>ležžeen</i>	
2DU	<i>leppee</i>	<i>láid</i>	<i>liččijd</i>	<i>lešvettee</i>	( <i>orroo</i> )
3DU	<i>lává ~ lava</i>	<i>lâin ~ lein</i>	<i>liččijn</i>	<i>ležžâv</i>	<i>liähus</i>
1PL	<i>lep</i>	<i>leim ~ lâim</i>	<i>liččijm</i>	<i>ležžâp</i>	
2PL	<i>leppedeđ</i>	<i>leid</i>	<i>liččijd</i>	<i>lešvetteđ</i>	( <i>orroođ</i> )
3PL	<i>lâá ~ laa</i>	<i>lijii</i>	<i>liččii</i>	<i>ležžeh</i>	<i>liähus</i>

**Table 11.12** Inflectional paradigm of the Aanaar Saami negation verb

	Present indicative	Imperative I (Prohibitive)	Imperative II (Apprehensive)
1SG	<i>jiem</i>		
2SG	<i>jieh</i>	<i>ele</i>	<i>iälu</i>
3SG	<i>ij</i>	<i>iälus</i>	
1DU	<i>iän</i>	<i>iälloon</i>	
2DU	<i>epee</i>	<i>ellee</i>	<i>iällu</i>
3DU	<i>iävá</i>	<i>iällus</i>	
1PL	<i>ep</i>	<i>iällup</i>	
2PL	<i>epped</i>	<i>elled</i>	<i>iällud</i>
3PL	<i>iä</i>	<i>iällus</i>	

The ‘be’ verb is inflected also in conditional and potential moods; in fact, the overwhelming majority of the actual occurrences of the potential mood consist of those of the ‘be’ verb. Imperative 2SG forms are suppletive, formed from the verb *oroo-* ‘be; stay; live’ (4):

- (2) *Liččii-uv*                      *tust*                      *käähvih*                      *luoihâttiđ?*  
 be.COND.3PL=Q                      2SG.LOC                      coffee.PL                      borrow.INF  
 ‘Do you happen to have ground coffee I could borrow?’
- (3) *Jiem*                      *tieđe,*                      *kost*                      *sij*                      *ležeh.*  
 NEG.1SG                      know.CNG                      where 3PL                      be.POT.3PL  
 ‘I don’t know where they might be.’
- (4) *Oro /*                      *oroo /*                      *orood*                      *joskâ!*  
 be.IMP.2SG                      be.IMP.2DU                      be.IMP.2PL                      quiet  
 ‘Be quiet!’

As in other Saami varieties east of Lule Saami, the negative auxiliary is only inflected for person and number but not for tense; furthermore, the negative auxiliary has a specific imperative (prohibitive) form. The negated lexical verb is in the connegative form, which is identical to the imperative second-person singular in the present tense (5a) and to the perfect participle in the past tense (5b) (except for the copula).

- (5) a. *Jiem*                      *sámáást*                      *ko*                      *tuin.*  
 NEG.1SG                      speak.Saami.CNG                      except                      2SG.COM  
 ‘I don’t speak Saami except with you.’
- b. *Jiem*                      *sámástâm*                      *ko*                      *tuin.*  
 NEG.1SG                      speak.Saami.PST.CNG                      except 2SG.COM  
 ‘I didn’t speak Saami except with you.’

- c. *Jiem sámástiččii ko tuin,*  
 NEG.1SG speak.Saami.COND.CNG except 2SG.COM  
*jos jiem oroččii Anarist.*  
 if NEG.1SG live.COND.CNG Aanaar.LOC  
 ‘I would not speak Saami except with you, if I didn’t live in Aanaar.’

Aanaar Saami also has a number of indisputably non-finite verb forms that include infinitives, participles and converbs. Table 11.13 shows eleven productive verb forms that can be described as the non-finites of the language.

**Table 11.13** The non-finite verb forms in Aanaar Saami

	‘buy’	‘speak Saami’
Infinitive	<i>uástiđ</i>	<i>sámástiđ</i>
Infinitive II	<i>uástimist</i>	<i>sámástmist</i>
Past participle	<i>uástám</i>	<i>sámástám</i>
Present participle	<i>uástee</i>	<i>sámásteijee ~ sámástijee</i>
Past passive participle	<i>ostum</i>	<i>sámástum</i>
Present passive participle	<i>uástimnáál</i>	<i>sámástemnáál</i>
Agentive passive participle	<i>uástim</i>	<i>sámástem</i>
Progressive (‘in the act of V-ing’)	<i>uástimin</i>	<i>sámástmin</i>
Negative participle and converb (‘un-V-ed; without V-ing’)	<i>uástihánnáá</i>	<i>sámásthánnáá</i>
Converb of simultaneity (‘while V-ing’)	<i>uástidijn</i>	<i>sámástdijn</i>
Instrumental converb (‘by V-ing’)	<i>uástimáin</i>	<i>sámástmáin</i>

The infinitive functions mostly as a complement to auxiliary-like modal and related verbs such as *sátti-* ‘can’, *uázžu-* ‘can, be permitted’, *pyehiti-* ‘can’, *kolgâ-* ‘must’, *fertti-* ‘must’, *perri-* ‘must’, *táttu-* ‘want’, and *halijd-* ‘want’, or together with motion verbs such as *puátti-* ‘come’ and *moonná-* ‘go’. The form labelled as the second infinitive here (cf. also 10.3 for North Saami) functions as a complement to still other verbs such as *joskâ-* ‘stop’ and *poollâ-* ‘fear’.

The past participle in *-m* is particularly frequent in periphrastic tense-aspect combinations with *le-* ‘be’. Along with perfect (6a) and pluperfect (6b), analogous present (7a) and past (7b) progressives are formed with the progressive in *-min*:

- (6) a. *Mun lam uástám uđđâ auto.*  
 I be.1SG buy.PST.PTCP new car.ACC  
 ‘I have bought a new car.’
- b. *Mun lijjim uástám uđđâ auto.*

I be.PST.1SG buy.PST.PTCP new car.ACC  
 ‘I had bought a new car.’

(7) a. *Mun lam uástimin uđđâ auto.*  
 I be.1SG buy.PROG new car.ACC  
 ‘I am buying a new car.’

b. *Mun lijjim uástimin uđđâ auto.*  
 I be.PST.1SG buy.PROG new car.ACC  
 ‘I was buying a new car.’

The (active) past participle has a passive counterpart in *-um*, a form that can be considered an independent part of the verb inflection, although etymologically related to passive derivations to be mentioned in 11.3.3:

(8) *Auto lii tääl ostum.*  
 car be.3SG now buy.PASS.PST.PTCP  
 ‘The car has been bought now.’

Both past participles also occur as adnominal modifiers in phrases like *prioristum pargo* [prioritize.PASS.PST.PTCP task] ‘a prioritized task’ and *hárjánâm máttáátteijee* [get.experienced.PST.PTCP teacher] ‘experienced teacher’. The so-called agentive passive participle is used only with an overt agent participant in the genitive, e.g. *eeni uástim auto* [mother.GEN buy.PASS.AG.PTCP car] ‘the car bought by mother’. Moreover, the somewhat curious non-finite that may provisionally be labelled as a present passive participle is etymologically composed of the action nominalization identical to the agentive passive participle (see 11.3.3) and the postposition *náál(á)* ‘like; in the manner of’, e.g. *seeini mild sirdemnáál (~ sirdem náál) uksâ* [wall.GEN along move.PASS.PRS.PTCP door] ‘a door that is moved along the wall; a sliding door’ (see Ylikoski 2009: 93–4, 159–60).

The present participle in *-ee/-eijee* is also used as a modifier, as in *hitásávt lihâdeijee kyeleh* [slow.ADV move.PRS.PTCP fish.PL] ‘fish that move slowly’, but mostly these forms are used as agent nouns, e.g. *máttáátteijee* ‘teacher’ from *máttáátt-* ‘teach’ or *miäcâsteijee* ‘hunter’ from *miäcâst-* ‘hunt’. The non-finite in *-hánnáá* functions as a negative counterpart to not only participles (*liihâdhánnáá kyeleh* [move.NEG.PTCP fish.PL] ‘motionless fish’) but also to the converbs of means and simultaneity (e.g. the state of affairs of ‘eating’ in *purâmáin* ‘by eating’ and *purâdijn* ‘when eating’ can be negated by *purâhánnáá* ‘without eating’).

### 11.3.3. Derivation

Like all Uralic languages, Aanaar Saami has a rich, almost exclusively suffixal derivational morphology. In derivation as well as in inflectional morphology, many suffixes have stress-conditioned variants (one allomorph is used with di- and quadrisyllabic stems and one with trisyllabic ones) and the boundary of stem and suffix is not always clear. Derivation can also trigger stem alternations, as seen in the diminutives (*kyeli* ‘fish’ → *kuálááš* ‘small fish’ and (*äämmir* ‘small hill’ → *ämmiráš* ‘very small hill’). Some derivational processes are manifested only as an alternation of stem and inflectional type (*passe-* ‘roast’ → *possu-* ‘be roasted’ and *kuullâ-* ‘hear’ → *kullu-* ‘be heard’). In what follows, some examples of characteristic derivations are given.

Denominal nouns: diminutives are productively formed with *-š* (see above). The suffix *-láš* is used to derive nouns and adjectives referring to ethnicity or locality, e.g. *Säämi* ‘Saami homeland’ → *sämmiláš* ‘Saami person; Saami (ADJ)’, *Avveel* (a town name) → *avveelláš* ‘person from Avveel’. Collective nouns in *-š* refer to pairs or groups of relatives or other closely connected people in relation to each other, e.g. *uábbi* ‘sister’ → *oobbiš* ‘woman with her sister(s)’, *käimi* ‘namesake’ → *kaaimiš* ‘two persons who are namesakes for each other’, *viljá* ‘brother’ → *viljáš* ‘man and his brother(s)’.

Deadjectival abstract nouns are most often formed using the suffix *-vuotâ*, e.g. *máhđuláš* ‘possible’ → *máhđulášvuotâ* ‘possibility’, *kievhi* ‘poor’ → *kievhivuotâ* ‘poverty’, and *räähis* ‘dear’ → *rähivuotâ* ‘love’; the same suffix also derives abstract denominal nouns: *kyeimi* ‘partner; friend’ → *kyeimivuotâ* ‘partnership; friendship’. The suffix *-s* is used to derive collective nouns from numerals, e.g. *kulmâ* ‘three’ → *kuulmâs* ‘three people (together)’ and *love* ‘ten’ → *loves* ‘ten people (together)’.

Deverbal nouns include those in *-o*, e.g. *mušte-* ‘remember’ → *mušto* ‘memory’ and *ostâ-* ‘have time’ → *asto* ‘(spare) time’. Action nominalizations in *-(e)m* and agent nouns in *-(eij)ee* can be formed from virtually all verbs: *pivde-* ‘hunt, fish’ → *pivdem* ‘hunting, fishing’, *pivdee* ‘hunter, fisher’; *normâd-* ‘standardize’ → *normâdem* ‘standardization’, *normâdeijee* ‘standardizer’; *uásti-* ‘buy’ → *uástim* ‘(act of) buying’, *uástee* ‘buyer’, and so on. As mentioned in 11.3.2, forms in *-ee/-eijee* are also used as present participles. Likewise, the action nominalization is identical to the so-called agentive passive participle and also serves as the origin of the so-called second infinitive in *-mist* and the instrumental converb in *-máin*, formally identical to the locative and comitative forms of action nominalizations.

New adjectives can be derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives as well as from an infinite number of numerals, if ordinals like *kulmâ* ‘three’ → *kuálmád* ‘third’ and *love* ‘ten’ → *lovváád* ‘tenth’ are regarded as denumeral adjectives. Denominal adjectives usually refer to either absence or

presence of the referent of the base noun. Caritive adjectives are formed with *-(e)ttem*, e.g. *kyeli* ‘fish’ → *kylettem* ‘fishless’, *äppi* ‘power, capacity’ → *äpitem* ‘powerless’, and *ruttâ* ‘money’ → *rudâttem* ‘penniless, without money’. The positive counterparts of such adjectives are more variegated and include suffixes such as *-áá/-ii* (*kyeli* ‘fish’ → *kuálláá* ‘rich in fish’, *jieš* ‘self’ → *jieččii* ‘selfish’), *-s* (*sovďâ* ‘drizzle’ → *soovďâs* ‘drizzly’), *-sâš* (*siämmáá nommâ* ‘same name’ → *siämmáánommâsâš* ‘having the same name’), and *-lâš* (*lukko* ‘luck, happiness’ → *luholâš* ‘lucky, happy’); note that the latter is not the same suffix as *-lâš* in *sämmilâš* ‘Saami’, as it triggers the weak grade in the derivative.

Deverbal adjectives usually refer to tendencies, abilities, or suitability as regards the events and actions described by the base word, and include suffixes such as *-vâš*, *-ttetee*, and *-l*, e.g. *kijtte* ‘thank’ → *kijteväš* ‘thankful’, *osko* ‘believe’ → *oskottettee* ‘credible, believable’, and *njulčče* ‘slip, slide’ → *njulččel* ‘slippery’.

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives were described as inflectional categories (see 11.3.1), but an alternative view is to regard those as deadjectival adjectives. In any case, the diminutive suffix *-š* can also be attached to comparatives, e.g. *kukke* ‘long, tall’ → *kuhheeb* ‘longer, taller’ → *kuhebuš* ‘slightly longer or taller’. In addition to these, the suffix *-lágán* is used to derive deadjectival adjectives with a similitive meaning, e.g. *puáris* ‘old’ → *puárislágán* ‘oldish’ and *ruškâd* (predicative) : *ruškis* (attributive) ‘brown’ → *ruškislágán* ‘brownish’.

Deadjectival adverbs are created by the suffix *-ht* that can be attached to positives, comparatives, and superlatives alike: for example, *älkkee* ‘easy’ yields adverbs such as *älkkeht* ‘easily’, *älkkebeht* ‘more easily’, and *älkkeemusâht* ‘most easily’. Deverbal adjectives in *-n* are sometimes regarded as non-finite verb forms, but their productivity is mostly limited to adverbs expressing the manner of motion and concomitant voices, e.g. *čuoigâ* ‘ski’ → *čuoigân* ‘(e.g. come) by skiing’, *čiärru* ‘cry’ → *čiärun* ‘(e.g. come) crying’.

As for verbs, deverbal verbs can be roughly divided into those causing changes in aspectual meaning and those causing changes in argument structure. The former group includes, among others, inchoative verbs in *-škyetti-*, e.g. *čuoigâ* ‘ski’ → *čuoigâškyetti-* ‘begin to ski’ and *čiärru* ‘cry’ → *čiäruškyetti-* ‘begin to cry’. Momentaneous aspect can be expressed with verbs in *-st-*, and frequentative verbs include those in *-âl-*, e.g. *uásti* ‘buy’ → *uástist-* ‘buy quickly or small amounts’ and *kijtte* ‘thank’ → *kijttâl-* ‘thank repeatedly or many times’. Deverbal derivatives that modify the argument structure of the base verb include causatives in *-tt-*, e.g. *puurrâ* ‘eat’ → *purâtt-* ‘feed; be eatable’ and *kuárru* ‘sew’ → *kuárutt-* ‘make someone to sew’. Unlike the rather fusional passive derivations such as *passee-* ‘roast’ → *possu-* ‘be roasted’ and *kuullâ* ‘hear’ → *kullu-* ‘be heard’, among the most productive passive verbs are those in *-stu-* and *-âšu-*, e.g. *saltti* ‘salt (v.)’ → *salttâšu-* ‘become salty’ and *nubbe* ‘another, second’ → *nubâstu-* ‘change, be changed’. Furthermore, there are specialized adversative passive verbs in *-tâttâ-*, referring to events that are unfortunate from the

patient's perspective, e.g. *fatti-* 'catch' → *fattiittâttâ-* 'get caught', but the same suffix can also have continuative meaning.

Denominal verbs include weakly productive verbs such as *lodde* 'bird, fowl' → *loddi-* 'hunt fowl' and *myerji* 'berry' → *muorji-* 'pick berries', but also somewhat more productive types such as instrumental verbs in *-st-*, e.g. *säämi* 'Saami' → *sámást-* 'speak (Aanaar) Saami'. Deadjectival verbs include transformative verbs in *-di-*, e.g. *pyeri* 'good' → *pyered-* 'make better; cure'; *-smiđ*, e.g. *ruonâs* 'green (of plants)' → *ruonâsm-* 'become green' and *vielgâd* 'white' → *viälgá-* 'shine white'.

In addition to fusional and suffixal derivations described above, Aanaar Saami has at least one fairly productive derivational prefix. The prefix *epi-* 'un-' is an obvious loan from Finnish (*epä-*) and it occurs in a number of more or less direct loans such as *epiloogâlâš* 'illogical' (cf. Finnish *looginen* 'logical' → *epälooginen* 'illogical'), but is also attached to autochthonous Saami words, e.g. *njuolgâd* 'straight, direct' → *epinjuolgâd* 'indirect'.

## 11.4. Syntax

Despite the fact that Aanaar Saami is traditionally classified in the eastern group of Saami languages, it is syntactically quite close to the North Saami varieties spoken in Finland. Aanaar Saami syntax is also strongly influenced by Finnish, and the impact of Finnish can be seen already in the earliest records. In what follows, special attention is given to features that distinguish the language from its neighbours, although most of the phenomena described in 10.4 for North Saami apply to Aanaar Saami as well.

### 11.4.1 Word order

The neutral basic word order in Aanaar Saami is SVO/SVX in most intransitive, transitive, and copular clauses, except for certain clause types, such as the existential clauses described in 10.4 for North Saami. Further, innumerable variations from the basic word order are possible for focusing and contrastive functions, and in this respect Aanaar Saami resembles most other Saami languages such as Lule Saami (cf. 9.4.1) as well as Finnic (see chapter 49). In content and polar questions, the interrogative pronoun (9) or the focused word with the interrogative clitic =*uv* (written with hyphen <-*uv*>) takes the initial position in a sentence. Examples (10)–(14) also demonstrate possibilities of word order change for focusing purposes:

- (9) *Maid tun tääbbin tääl lah juhâmin?*  
 what.PL.ACC 2SG here now be.2SG drink.PROG  
 'What are you drinking here now?'

- (10) *Lah=uv tun tääbbin tääl käähvi juhâmin?*  
 be.2SG=Q 2SG here now coffee.ACC drink.PROG  
 ‘Are you drinking coffee here now?’
- (11) *Käähvi=uv tun tääbbin tääl lah juhâmin?*  
 coffee.ACC=Q 2SG here now be.2SG drink.PROG  
 ‘Is it coffee you are drinking here now?’
- (12) *Tun=uv tääbbin tääl lah käähvi juhâmin?*  
 2SG=Q here now be.2SG coffee.ACC drink.PROG  
 ‘Is it you who are drinking coffee here now?’
- (13) *Tääbbin=uv tun tääl lah käähvi juhâmin?*  
 here=Q 2SG now be.2SG coffee.ACC drink.PROG  
 ‘Is it here that you are drinking coffee now?’
- (14) *Tääl=uv tun lah tääbbin käähvi juhâmin?*  
 now=Q 2SG be.2SG here coffee.ACC drink.PROG  
 ‘Is it now that you are drinking coffee here?’

#### 11.4.2 Phrase structure

In noun phrases, modifiers almost always precede their heads, e.g. *taah muu kulmâ ilolii nieidâ* [this.PL 1SG.GEN three cheerful.GEN daughter.GEN] ‘these three cheerful daughters of mine’. In the same vein, most of the adpositions are postpositions preceded by their complements (usually in the genitive), although prepositions and ambipositions also exist (e.g. *kaavpug pirrâ* [city.GEN around] ‘around (surrounding) the city’, but *pirrâ kaavpug* [around city.GEN] ‘all over the city’). Demonstratives, numerals, and some adjectives partly agree with their heads, but not with forms entirely identical to those in the absolute declension (Table 11.14).

**Table 11.14** Inflection of Aanaar Saami demonstratives, nouns and numerals

	‘that’		‘that house’		‘three fish’
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular
Nominative	<i>tot</i>	<i>toh</i>	<i>tot tupe</i>	<i>toh tuveh</i>	<i>kuilmâ kyele</i>
Genitive	<i>ton</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>ton tuve</i>	<i>toi tuuvij ~ tuvij</i>	<i>kuilmâ kyele</i>
Accusative	<i>tom</i>	<i>taid</i>	<i>ton tuve</i>	<i>taid tuuvijd</i>	<i>kuilmâ kyele</i>
Illative	<i>toos</i>	<i>toid</i>	<i>ton tupán</i>	<i>toid tuuvijd</i>	<i>kuilmâ kuálán</i>
Locative	<i>tast</i>	<i>tain</i>	<i>ton tuuveest</i>	<i>tain tuuvijn</i>	<i>kuilmâ kyeleest</i>
Comitative	<i>toin</i>	<i>toiguin</i>	<i>toin tuuvijn</i>	<i>toi(guin) tuvijguin</i>	<i>kulmáin kuolijn</i>
Abessive	<i>tontttáá</i>	<i>toittáá</i>	<i>ton tuvettáá</i>	<i>toi tuvijttáá</i>	<i>kuilmâ kyelettáá</i>

The essive and partitive as partly defective cases are omitted here.

Although all Saami languages have a largely identical phrase structure, there are certain remarkable differences, such as the occurrence of a specific partitive case in easternmost Saami, Aanaar Saami included. Nowadays, the use of the partitive is most prominent in numeral phrases with numerals higher than 6 (nominative singular is used with *ohtâ* ‘1’, genitive singular with the numerals from 2 to 6): *ohtâ ihe* [one year], *kuttâ ive* [six year.GEN] ‘six years’, but *čiččâm ihheed* [seven year.PART] ‘seven years’. Traditionally, the partitive has been used also to mark the standard of comparison in phrases such as *táválii uksâd stuárráb já vasteeb* [ordinary.GEN door.PART big.CPR and ugly.CPR] ‘bigger and uglier than an ordinary door’ (Koskimies and Itkonen 1917: 85; see Bartens 1972: 141), although the contemporary language clearly favours the locative or genitive instead (e.g. *táválii uuvsâst* (LOC) ~ *uuvsâ* (GEN) *stuárráb já vasteeb*). Traditionally, some postpositions have taken their complements in the partitive (e.g. *oinuđ almed vuástá* [be.seen.INF sky.PART against] ‘to be seen against the sky’), but in contemporary language the genitive case is usually used instead (*oinuđ alme vuástá* [be.seen.INF sky.GEN against]).

Another special feature shared by Aanaar Saami and Skolt Saami (see 12.4.1) is the fact that many adjectival modifiers are able to partly agree with their heads in case and number (see the inflection of demonstratives and numerals in Table 11.14). Although not possible in all case-number combinations, at least the adjective *pyeri* ‘good’, as well as the highly productive derived adjectives ending in *-lâš*, *-sâš*, and *-vâš* are commonly inflected along with their heads. For example, the phrases just mentioned, *táválii uksâd* [ordinary.GEN door.PART] and *táválii uuvsâst* [ordinary.GEN door.LOC] have their adjectives in the genitive case, their nominative equivalent being *táválâš uksâ* ‘an ordinary door’. In phrases like *táválijn uvssâin* [ordinary.COM door.COM] ‘with an ordinary door’ and *táválijn uuvsâin* [ordinary.PL.LOC door.PL.LOC] ‘at/from ordinary doors’) there is a full agreement. Moreover, many proadjectives, such as *taggaar* ‘such; like that’, indefinite pronouns such as *mottoom* ‘someone’, and numerals, as well as comparative and superlative forms, behave in the same manner (e.g. *tagarâin stuárrábâin uvssâin* [such.COM big.CPR.COM door.COM] ‘with a bigger door like that’).

### 11.4.3 Clause structure

The clause structure and clause types in Aanaar Saami are characterized by most pan-Saami phenomena described in chapters 7–10 and 12–13. The nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are used very much as their names suggest, and the two local cases express goals and recipients (illative) as well as location, source, and clausal possessor and source of possession (locative). The comitative marks concomitance and instruments (‘with’), the abessive its opposite (‘without’), and the essive is a secondary predication marker for mostly temporary roles and states. The subject and

the predicate agree in number and person, but the dual vs plural distinction in verbs (and personal pronouns) usually applies to animate, especially human, referents only, as already mentioned in 11.3.2.

The so-called passive verbs in Aanaar Saami are regarded as belonging to the realm of derivation rather than inflection. Passive clauses are ordinary intransitive clauses. Unlike the situation in most of North Saami (see 10.4.3), the agent is almost always deleted entirely, and unlike the situation in Skolt Saami and other sister languages in the east, a specialized indefinite fourth person is also lacking. However, there are two types of passive verbs and passive clauses: In addition to neutral passive verbs in *-u-*, there are adversative passives in *-tâttâ-*, and the latter may have an explicit agent in the illative:

- (15) *Pooliseh kavonii autosuolluid.*  
 police.PL find.PST.3PL car.thief.PL.ACC  
 ‘The police found the car thieves.’
- (16) *Auto kavnu.*  
 car find.PASS.PST.3SG  
 ‘The car was found.’
- (17) *Autosuolluuh kavnâttettii poolisáid.*  
 car.thief.PL find.PASS.ADV.PST.3PL police.PL.ILL  
 ‘The car thieves got caught by the police.’

As in all Saami languages, local cases may also code arguments of verbs denoting emotions and experiences, but clauses of this kind are often susceptible to interference from majority languages. For example, the most classical varieties of Aanaar Saami use illative complements for *lijkku-* ‘like’ and locatives for *poollâ-* ‘fear’. However, under the influence of Finnish *lijkku-* may also take the locative, whereas *poollâ-* may take the accusative (cf. 44.4.2):

- (18) *Lijkkuuh=uv tun munjin ~ must?*  
 like.2SG=Q 2SG 1SG.ILL 1SG.LOC  
 ‘Do you like me?’ (Olthuis 2009: 86)
- (19) *Poolah=uv tun must ~ muu?*  
 fear.2SG=Q 2SG 1SG.LOC 1SG.ACC  
 ‘Are you afraid of me?’ (Olthuis 2009: 86)

#### 11.4.4 Clause combining

Like all Saami languages and most of the entire Uralic family, Aanaar Saami makes use of both finite and non-finite clauses to form complex clauses. For clausal coordination, coordinating conjunctions such as *já* ‘and’, *mut(â)* ‘but’, or mere parataxis constitute the main strategy.

As for subordinate clauses, the major complementizer is *et ~ ete*, which can sometimes be omitted or replaced by *ko*, otherwise a temporal-cum-causal subordinator (‘when; because’): In addition to *ko*, adverbial subordinators include *jis ~ jos* ‘if’, *tegu* ‘as if; like’, *veik(kâ)* ‘although’, and etymologically compounded conjunctions *ovdil ko ~ ovdilgo* ‘before’ and *tast ko ~ tastko* ‘because’ (based on the adposition *ovdil* ‘before’ and *tast* that.LOC ‘from that; from there’). Finite relative clauses are usually marked with relative-cum-interrogative pronouns *mii* ‘what’ and *kii* ‘who’, and their use greatly exceeds that of adnominal participles as non-finite relative clauses (see 11.3.2).

As mentioned in 11.3.2, the most common non-finite complements include the infinitive in *-đ*, although certain verbs take the so-called second infinitive in *-mist*. The progressive non-finite in *-min* is also used, especially in complements to perception verbs. Perhaps the most characteristic non-finite verb form for Aanaar Saami is the instrumental converb in *-máin*. Quite obviously a calque of the Finnish converb in *-mAllA* (15.3.2; cf. the adessive case in *-llA*), the comitative form of the action nominalization has grammaticalized into an independent verb form that is able to take accusative objects, unlike the action nominalization in itself:

- (20) *Kájo*            *plaañeet*            *purâmáin*            *tiivriđ!*  
 save.IMP.2SG    planet.ACC            eat.INSTR.CVB    insect.PL.ACC  
 ‘Save the planet by eating insects!’

A special type of infinitival construction expressing negative purpose is seen in (21), where the infinitive is preceded by the conjunction-like *amas* ‘lest’:

- (21) *Puurâ*                            *tiivriđ*            *amas*    *plaañeet*            *tuššâđ!*  
 eat.IMP.2SG                            insect.PL.ACC    lest            planet            perish.INF  
 ‘Eat insects lest the planet perish!’

## 11.5 Glossed text example

Excerpt from an interview with Maria Nivasalo (née Mujo, born in 1926 Aanaar) recorded by Mikko Korhonen in the 1960s. Nivasalo speaks the northern dialect of Aanaar Saami. The original recording is much longer and includes hesitations, false starts, and other features of spoken language, which are normalized here. The tape is archived at the Archive of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus) as well as at the Saami Culture Archive of University of Oulu with signum 663: 1a.

*Na, táát puásui lii taggaar mučis ellee.*  
 well this reindeer be.3SG such beautiful.ATTR animal

‘Well, reindeer is such a beautiful (here: useful) animal.’

*Tot lii taggaar, ko tast finnee ennuv purrâmuš ko álgá rähtiđ.*  
 that be.3SG such as that.LOC get.3SG much food.ACC as begin.3SG make.INF

‘It is such, because you can get a lot of food of it when you begin to prepare it.’

*Lii tot poccuukäristys, mii lii taggaar purrâmuš,*  
 be.3SG that reindeer.sauté REL be.3SG such food,

*mast ulmuuh ennuv lijkkojeh.*  
 REL.LOC people(.PL) much like.3PL

‘There is sautéed reindeer, which is a dish that is much liked by people.’

*Já tot lii nuuvt hiälppu rähtiđ, et ij taarbâš muide*  
 and that be.3SG so easy make.INF so.that NEG.3SG need.CNG anything.else

*ko vuollâđ piärgust taggaar pittáid já paistpáánu siste passeed*  
 but carve.INF meat.LOC such piece.PL.ACC and frying.pan.GEN in fry.INF

*vuojáin.*

butter.COM

‘And that is so easy to prepare that you do not need anything else but to carve pieces of meat and fry those in butter in the frying pan.’

*Já addel vain possuđ nuuvt kuhháá, ko tot lii vaalmâš.*  
 and give.3SG just cook.INF so long so.that that be.3SG ready

‘And just let it cook until it is done.’

*Já ij muide ko potákkijd vuášá já álgá puurráđ.*  
 and NEG.3.SG anything.else but potato.PL.ACC boil.3SG and begin.3SG eat.INF

‘And then the only thing to do is to boil potatoes and start eating.’

*Puásuiulmuuh toh vyešeh nuhtán piärgu.*  
 reindeer.people(.PL) that.PL boil.3PL as.such meat.ACC

‘Reindeer herders, they boil the meat as such.’

*Ij muide ko piärgu vain vyeleh páátán já čääsi val*  
 NEG.3SG anything.else but meat.ACC just carve.3PL pot.ILL and water.ACC in.addition

*já saaltijd já adleh tuoldâđ nuuvt kuhháá, et*  
 and salt.PL.ACC and give.3PL boil.INF so long so.that

*kapša.*

become.cooked.3SG

‘They just carve the meat in the pot and add water and salt and let it boil until it is done.’

*Já ij muide ko piäjä váhá saaltijd, tommittáás*  
 and NEG.3.SG anything.else but put.3SG little salt.PL.ACC that.much

*et tot suuvrá ij lah meendu sálttáá,*  
 so.that that broth NEG.3SG be.CNG too salty

*já suvrâמיד val váhá toho.*  
 and goats.PL.ACC in.addition little there

‘And then one just adds a little salt, just enough to make sure that the broth does not get too salty, and then some groats in addition.’

*Talle tot lii vaalmâš.*  
 then that be.3SG ready

‘Then it is done.’

## 11.6 Further reading

There are no comprehensive scholarly grammars of Aanaar Saami. Olthuis (2000b) has written an unpublished grammar sketch *Kielâoppâ: Inarinsaamen kielen kielioppi*, and Morottaja (2007) has published a brief practical booklet for writers and other language users. The complex phonology and morphophonology of Aanaar Saami has raised interest amongst many scholars such as Äimä (1918), E. Itkonen (e.g., 1939, 1971a), and Sammallahti (e.g., 1984a, 2012b). The most important studies on Aanaar Saami syntax are included in Raija Bartens’ (1972, 1978) work on Saami cases and adpositions. Olthuis (e.g., 2000a, 2006, 2007, 2009) has focussed on lexicon planning and the history of written Aanaar Saami.

The most extensive scholarly account of Aanaar Saami lexicon is Itkonen’s (Itkonen et al. 1986–91) *Inarilappisches Wörterbuch I–IV*. The most comprehensive printed dictionaries in the contemporary orthography are the Aanaar Saami–Finnish dictionary by Sammallahti and Morottaja (1993) and Finnish–Aanaar Saami dictionary by Olthuis and Valtonen (2018). Itkonen’s and Sammallahti and Morottaja’s dictionaries also include morphological appendices showing inflectional paradigms. The most important lexicological resource in daily use is the online dictionary *Nettidigisäänih*, based on a dictionary manuscript of around 50,000 entries (Olthuis and Valtonen 2016). Idström and Morottaja (2006) have published a dictionary of Aanaar Saami idioms, and Sammallahti (2007) a reverse dictionary of the language. Mattus (2014) has published a unique collection of Aanaar Saami place names.

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