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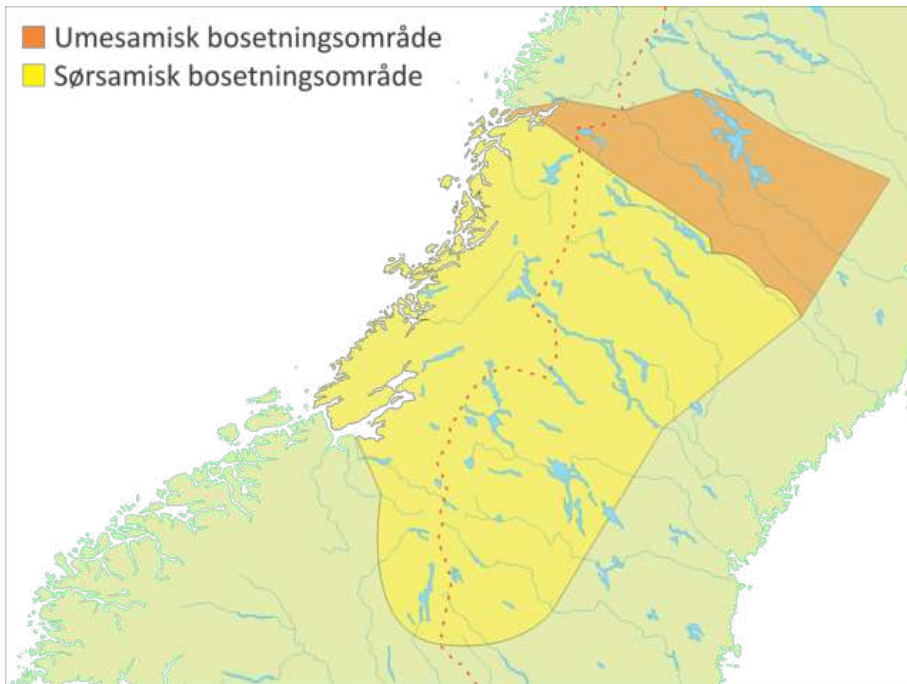
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8.1 History and classification of South Saami

South Saami (*áarjelsaemien giële* or *saemien giële*, spoken by (*áarjel*)*saemieh* ‘(South) Saami (pl.)’) is the westernmost language of the westernmost branch of the Uralic language family. The language is spoken in a relatively large area in the central regions of Norway and Sweden – the distance between the northernmost settlements in Nordland County of Norway to the South Saami of Dalarna in Sweden is more than 400 kilometres (Map 8.1). Estimates of the number of speakers vary as much as from 300 to 1000. As the westernmost Saami vernaculars have been spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Scandinavian languages for centuries, all adult speakers of the language have been bilingual in Norwegian/Swedish for generations.

South Saami differs from the rest of the Saami languages in many respects. The most emblematic features of the language include complex metaphony in nominal and verbal inflection and derivation, while the consonant gradation typical of other Saami languages is absent in South Saami. The morphology and syntax as well as lexicon also have many properties that distinguish the language from its sisters. From a diachronic point of view, such features can be explained as both language-internal innovations and foreign influences; on the other hand, South Saami can also be considered to have archaic features that have not been preserved to similar extent in other Saami languages or even other westernmost languages of the Uralic family.

Although South Saami clearly differs from the rest of the Saami branch, the language belongs to the Saami language chain, and most of the links of this chain have survived to our days. As many local Saami varieties have been lost and the present-day South Saami is mutually unintelligible even with the nearest relatively vital Saami language in the north, viz. Lule Saami, the question of the northern border of South Saami is still unsettled. Put concretely, the varieties known as Ume Saami (with only a few native speakers in Sweden) have at times been included in the concept of “South Saami in the wide sense”. In this perspective, “South Saami in the wide sense” is bordered by Pite Saami, which in turn has been considered as a variety of Lule Saami or even “North Saami in the wide sense”. None of these languages have been clearly defined, but the traditional criterion for distinguishing South Saami proper from Ume Saami has been the isogloss of consonant gradation, a feature of nearly all Saami, that occurs in various degrees in Ume Saami, too, but is absent in the Saami varieties south of the Ume river in Västerbotten County of Sweden. On the other hand, this continuum-like feature alone cannot serve as the sole criterion, and the historical relationships between South Saami and Ume Saami are still best left without a definitive answer (cf. Larsson 2012, Rydving 2013). This chapter concentrates on South Saami as spoken by the southernmost Saami who call themselves and their languages South Saami. The traditional territories of South Saami and the closely related Ume Saami are shown in Map 8.1 according to Hasselbrink (1981–1985).



Map 1. The traditional territories of South Saami and the closely related Ume Saami. (Wikimedia Commons)

Within South Saami in the strict sense, two or three main dialects are generally distinguished: If divided in two, the most commonly accepted dialect groupings are known as the southern (Jämtland) dialect and the northern (Sjeltie/Åsele) dialect. On the other hand, there is no consensus on the exact border of the two main dialects, and other scholars and many of the South Saami themselves divide the language into three main dialects instead (Rydving 2013). However, the traditional dialect divisions are predominantly based on phonological and morphological criteria that have gradually lost their justification due to the fact that certain groups of semi-nomadic South Saami settled in new areas during the 20th century. It has been remarked that paradoxically, the dialect of the southernmost South Saami settlement in Eajra/Idre (Dalarna County, Sweden), does not belong to the southernmost main dialect. Another important factor is the fact that while traditional vernaculars have fallen out of use, many modern South Saami speakers are strongly influenced by the young literary standard that often serves as the instrument of language revitalization.

Due to the similarity of Norwegian and Swedish as well as the mobile lifestyle of the South Saami, the state border has not been considered a dialect boundary. However, the two dominant societies and their languages do increasingly influence South Saami especially on a lexical level, resulting in parallel terms such as *jåarhkeskuvle* (Norwegian *videregående skole* “continuation school”) and *gymnaase(skuvle)* (Swedish *gymnasieskola* “gymnasium”) for ‘secondary school’. In the same vein, words like Norwegian *data* (*datamaskin*) and Swedish *dator* for ‘computer’ have been adopted as *daata* and *daatovre*, respectively.

The research history of South Saami vernaculars goes back to the early 19th century, but the earliest South Saami texts were already published in the 17th century. The first established literary traditions for the Saami in general were largely based on varieties that can be identified as Ume Saami. The heyday of this tradition was in the late 18th and early 19th century, but present-day literary South Saami is based on the dialects spoken in the central areas of the South Saami

territory. The contemporary orthography – using the letters *abdefghijklmnoprstuvyæöå* (in practice, *æ* and *ö* are usually realized as *æ* and *ø* in Norway, and as *ä* and *ö* in Sweden) – was created by Knut Bergsland (1914–1998), the paramount scholar of South Saami, and Ella Holm Bull (1929–2006), a dedicated teacher and language activist, in the 1970s.

In the beginning of the 21st century, South Saami is one of the officially acknowledged Saami languages in Norway and Sweden. Despite the low number of speakers, the language is being transmitted to new generations and it has an established status as a literary language that is used in education and modern media as well as various other, albeit limited, domains of society.

8.2 Phonology

South Saami phonology is quite distinct from those of other Saami languages in the north. In a nutshell, the vowel system has diverged farther from that of Proto-Saami, while the consonant system seems to have experienced fewer changes in comparison with the rest of the Saami branch. Moreover, the complexities of South Saami morphophonology lie predominantly in metaphony rather than consonant gradation (the absence of which, as mentioned above, is usually seen as the main criterion distinguishing South Saami from Ume Saami). On the other hand, as most of the word-final vowels have only changed but not been lost, South Saami word forms are generally much closer to the original forms than those of North Saami, as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Development of the singular case forms of South Saami *johke* ‘river’ and (Eastern) North Saami *johka* id.

	South Saami		Proto-Saami	North Saami	
Nominative	<i>johke</i>	/juhkə/	< *jokə >	<i>johka</i>	/jo:hka/
Genitive	<i>johken</i>	/juhkən/	< *jokən >	<i>joga</i>	/jo:a/
Accusative	<i>johkem</i>	/juhkəm/	< *jokəm >	<i>joga</i>	/jo:a/
Illative	<i>johkese</i>	/juhkəsə/	< *jokəsən >	<i>johkii</i>	/jo:hki/
Inessive	<i>johkesne</i>	/juhkəsne/	< *jokəsna >	<i>jogas</i>	/jo:a:s/
Elative	<i>johkeste</i>	/juhkəstə/	< *jokəsta >		
Comitative	<i>johkine</i>	/juhkinə/	< *jokəjna >	<i>jogain</i>	/jo:a:n/
Essive	<i>johkine</i>	/juhkinə/	< *jokəna >	<i>johkan</i>	/jo:hkan/

8.2.1 Vowels and diphthongs

The vowel system consists of short and long monophthongs as well as diphthongs. Table 8.2 presents the first-syllable short and long monophthongs and their orthographical representations.

Table 8.2. First-syllable short and long monophthongs in South Saami.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Illabial	Labial	Illabial	Labial	Illabial	Labial
Close	i <i>	y <y>	ɨ <ï>	ʉ <u>		u <o>
Mid	e <e> e: <ee>	ø: <öö>				o <å> o: <åå>
Near-open	æ <æ> æ: <ee>					
Open	a: <ae>				ɑ <a> ɑ: <aa>	ɒ <a>

As seen in Table 8.2, there are nine short monophthongs, /i ɨ u e o æ ɑ ɒ/, that occur in the first syllable. Of these, the most characteristic vowel to South Saami is the close central unrounded vowel /ɨ/, which is a southern innovation shared only with Ume Saami. However, /ɨ/ seems to be merging with /y/ and /i/ among many speakers, and can also be written as <i> instead of the special character <ï>. In the southernmost dialects, the short monophthong /o/ has merged to /ɑ/ and partly to /u/, e.g. /dal:ə/ or /dul:ə/ instead of /dol:ə/ <dålle> ‘fire’.

The distinction of long monophthongs and diphthongs is rather unclear and their qualities are subject to dialectal variation. The most monophthongal long vowels are /e: o: æ: a: ɑ:/ <ee åå ee ae öö>; the phonological qualities of the remaining diphthongs, written as <oe ue yö ie ie ua åå æe ea>, vary considerably, but their rough values can be understood as combinations of the above-mentioned short monophthongs. It is notable that <ae> and <öö> stand for long vowels that can be described as /a:/ and /ø:/, although the language lacks corresponding short vowels and the actual pronunciation of <ae> and <öö> is not always strictly monophthongal. In general, the diphthong sequences are opening, centring, and widening, whereas phonetic equivalents of closing diphthongs are sequences of vowels and the semivowels /j v/. In non-first syllables, there are only five short monophthongs, /u ɨ u ɨ ə/ <o i u i e>; the long monophthong /ɑ:/ <a>; and the diphthongs /ue ie/ <oe ie>. Some grammarians have remarked that /ə/ <e> has fronted and backed allophones, but it does not seem necessary to regard these as distinct phonemes.

It must be noted that the vowels /o u ʉ/ are written in accord with the conventions of Norwegian and Swedish orthography as <å o u>. The character <i> may stand for /ɨ/ (<ï>) in the first syllable. It is unclear as to what extent the /i/ vs. /ɨ/ distinction exists in non-initial syllables in which it is never marked in writing. The characters <a> and <ee> are ambiguous, as they refer to both /ɑ/ and /ɒ/ and both /e:/ and /æ:/, respectively. The character <e> represents /e/ in the first syllable and /ə/ elsewhere.

8.2.2 Consonants

The consonant system consists of twenty-three consonants, most of which can be geminated. Table 8.3 presents the South Saami consonant phonemes and their orthographical representations.

Table 8.3 Consonants in South Saami

	Labial	Dental / Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m <m>	n <n>		(ŋ <rn>)	ɲ <nj>	ŋ <ng>	
Stop	b 	d <d>		(d̥ <rd>)	ɟ <g>	g <g>	
	p <p>	t <t>		(t̥ <rt>)	c <k>	k <k>	
Affricate		ts̥ <ts>	tʃ̥ <tj>				
Sibilant fricative		s <s>	ʃ̥ <sj>				
Non-sibilant fricative	f <f>						h <h>
Approximant	v <v>				j <j>		
Trill		r <r>					
Lateral approximant		l <l>		(l̥ <rl>)			

As mentioned above, the South Saami consonant system is quite conservative in comparison to those of other Saami languages. Word-internal consonants and consonant clusters have experienced fewer changes due to the absence of many northern innovations, and many word-final consonants have retained their Proto-Saami form.

As for stops, the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops is in the process of changing. Word-initial /p t k/ are aspirated and they mainly occur in relatively recent loanwords (e.g. *paagke* /pɑ:kə/ ‘package’ < Norwegian *pakke*) as well as expressive or affective vocabulary (e.g. *paakh* /pɑ:kəh/ ‘shit’). Historically, word-initial /b d ɟ g/ have not necessarily been voiced, but due to bilingualism in Norwegian and Swedish and the increasing number of loanwords, /b d ɟ g/ are becoming more and more voiced.

The phoneme /v/ is realized as a fricative in word-initial position and between vowels, for example, but as a semivowel (approximant) at the end of the syllable, e.g. in *juvsem jovkem* [jʷsəm juvkəm] /jʷsəm juvkəm/ juice.ACC drink.1SG ‘I drink juice’. There is apparently only one lateral approximant, /l/, but it has two notably distinct allophones, [l] and [l̥], in complementary distribution, e.g. *gille* [gil:ə] /gil:ə/ ‘some; a few’ vs. *sille* [si:l̥:ə] /sil:ə/ ‘fathom’. However, there seem to be two pairs of palatal vs. velar stops, /g ɟ/ and /k c/, e.g. *gille* /gil:ə/ ‘some; a few’ vs. *gilledi-* /jil:əd̥it/ ‘lay down’. On the other hand, this distinction is not visible in the standard orthography, the distribution appears somewhat complementary, and their phonemic status has not been exhaustively discussed; scholars have paid attention to the fact that /j/ occurs in front of an “ordinary” /i/, but in words with /gi/, the vowel has an extraordinarily high allophone [i̯]. It appears unnatural to regard [i̯] as an independent phoneme, though.

The retroflexes /ŋ d ʈ ʃ/ <rn rd rt rl> in Table 8.3 occur in recent Scandinavian loanwords such as *journaliste* /œu(:)ŋalistə/, *standarde* /standa(:)də/, *artiste* /a(:)tistə/ and *parlameente* /pa(:)lame:ntə/, but unlike in Scandinavian, in which such sounds can be regarded as a regular sandhi phenomenon, the new retroflexes of South Saami contrast with the corresponding consonant clusters in more original words such as *baernie* /ba:rn̩ie/ ‘boy; son’ and *vuartasji-* /vuartaçit/ ‘watch; look after’.

Among the most notable dialectal differences is the lack of the affricate /tʃ/ in the southernmost dialects in which it has merged with /tʃ̥/, as seen in /tʃ̥o:ppə/ instead of /tʃo:ppə/ <tsååbpe> ‘frog’. The northernmost dialects differ detectably from the rest of the language (and are similar to Ume Saami) in that word-final /-m/ has denasalized into /-p/, a feature frequently noticeable in inflectional forms such as the accusative singular and verbs in the first person singular, e.g. /jʌv̩səp juvkəp/ juice.ACC drink.1SG ‘I drink juice’.

As seen in Table 8.3, some consonants are written with digraphs. The geminates /j: ŋ: tʃ: tʃ̥: ç:/ are written as <nnj nng dts dtsj dsj>, and the geminates /p: t: c: k:/ are written as <bp dt gk gk>.

8.2.3 Prosody

As in Saami languages in general, the primary stress is almost always on the first syllable, with secondary stresses on odd non-last syllables, e.g. *ussjedidien* /'œç:ə, didien/ think.2DU. However, many new loanwords such as *institusjovne* /'institu, çuvnə/ ‘institution’ and *prioriteradi-* /'pri.u.ri, te:radit/ ‘prioritize’ – but also older loans such as *kaamraate* /'ka:m, ra:tə/ ‘friend, comrade’ – have brought new phonotactic combinations and unoriginal stress patterns to South Saami. Some inflectional suffixes, such as the comitative plural *-igujmie/-jgujmie* /-i(j), gʊjmie/ and the progressive non-finite in *-minie* /-, minie/, seem to have the secondary stress on their first syllables regardless of the number of syllables, e.g. *lohkeminie* /'luhkə, minie/ ‘(in the act of) reading’ and *ussjedeminie* /'œç:ədə, minie/ ‘(in the act of) thinking’.

8.2.4 Word and syllable structure

With the exception of a few monosyllabic word stems, most words have two or more syllables centred on the monophthongs and diphthongs described above. In comparison to other Saami languages, South Saami is relatively rich in word-initial and word-internal consonant clusters such as *sprinterdehte-* /sprintərdəhtət/ ‘disperse a reindeer flock’ and *stråmhpojste* /stromhpjujstə/ bush.PL.ELA ‘from bushes’.

As regards word structure, given the abundance of possible combinations of a number of syllables following one another, it is notable that while a large part of the basic vocabulary consists of words and word forms of the type (C)VVC.CV(C), (C)VC.CV(C) and (C)VVC.CV(C), such as *jienge* /j̩ie.ŋə/ ‘ice’, *lopme* /lup.mə/ ‘snow’, and *biegke* /biek.kə/ ‘wind’, the word structure (C)V.CV (e.g. */j̩i.ŋə/ and */lu.mə/) does not belong to the language.

The mid central vowel /ə/ may be significantly reduced between homorganic stops and nasals (*jienebem* [j̩ienəb̩m] /j̩ienəb̩m/ more.ACC, *gieten* [gi̩et̩n̩] /gi̩et̩n̩/ hand.GEN), stops and sibilants (*gietese* [gi̩et̩se] /gi̩et̩sə/ hand.ILL), and sibilants and nasals, at least. In some contexts, /ə/ may be altogether lost before /s/ (*aamhtesen* [a:mht̩(ə)sən] theme.GEN) and /h/ (*giet(e)h* [gi̩et̩(ə)h] hand.PL). (Many nominative plurals such as *gieth* are generally written without a stem-final <e>.)

8.2.5 Morphophonological phenomena

Within the Saami branch, one of the most emblematic features of South Saami is the complex metaphony that comprises both nominal and verbal inflection and many areas of derivation. At the same time, the language lacks the consonant gradation otherwise characteristic of the Saami branch. In the disputed border area between South Saami and other Saami vernaculars in the north, the morphophonology of Ume Saami is a complex and variegated mixture of both the southern metaphony and the northern consonant gradation.

South Saami metaphony is quite different from the various systems of vowel harmony in other Uralic languages. South Saami has a regressive metaphony that can be characterized as a kind of *umlaut* (Norwegian *omlyd* in the South Saami grammar tradition). The origins of the phenomenon lie in the multifaceted history of Saami phonology, but from a synchronic perspective, the morphophonological processes are rather opaque and without doubt among the most complex of their kind within the entire Uralic family. The phenomenon can be illustrated with a sample of inflectional forms of six verbs, presented here in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4. A sample of South Saami verb conjugation

	‘wash’	‘roast’	‘be roasted’	‘blow’	‘drink’	‘sell’
INF	<i>bissedh</i>	<i>bissedh</i>	<i>byssedh</i>	<i>bussedh</i>	<i>jovkedh</i>	<i>doekedh</i>
PRS.1SG	<i>bissem</i>	<i>bæssam</i>	<i>byssem</i>	<i>bussem</i>	<i>jovkem</i>	<i>doekem</i>
PRS.2SG	<i>bissh</i>	<i>bæssah</i>	<i>bysssh</i>	<i>busssh</i>	<i>jovkh</i>	<i>doekh</i>
PRS.3SG	<i>bæsssa</i>	<i>bæsssa</i>	<i>byssoe</i>	<i>bussie</i>	<i>jåvka</i>	<i>duaka</i>
PRS.1DU	<i>bissien</i>	<i>bissien</i>	<i>byssoen</i>	<i>bussien</i>	<i>juvkien</i>	<i>duekien</i>

Of the six verbs in Table 8.4 (repeated below in Section 8.3.2), *bisse-* ‘wash’, *bisse-* ‘roast’, *jovke-* ‘drink’, and *doeke-* ‘sell’ show significant alterations in the first syllable. The stem-internal consonants remain unaltered, whereas in languages like Lule Saami, the situation is the opposite; compare South Saami *jovkem* ‘I drink’, *jåvka* ‘s/he drinks’, and *juvkien* ‘we (2) drink’ and Lule Saami *jugáv*, *juhká*, and *juhkin* ‘id.’. While many words such as *bysse-* ‘be roasted’ and *busse-* ‘blow’ do not undergo metaphonic changes, a significant part of native verb, noun and adjective stems are affected by metaphony. To give only a condensed outline of the processes in question, Table 8.5, based on Magga and Magga 2012: 27, presents the metaphonic patterns of two-syllable stems, which can be divided into eight groups.

Table 8.5. Metaphony in South Saami disyllabic stems

First syllable								Second syllable
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
i	e	u	u	ie	ae	âe	ue	ie
æ	a	â	â	ea	aa	ââ	ââ	oe
æ	a /a/	â	â	ea	aa	ââ	ua	a
ï	a /ɔ/	o	â	ïe	aa	ââ	oe	e/i
y	o	o	o	yö	ââ	ââ	ââ	e
i	i	u	u	ee /e:/	ee /æ:/	öö	öö	e/i

As seen in the right-hand column of Table 8.5, the synchronic value of the second-syllable vowel /i/ <i> or /ə/ <e> cannot determine the value of the first-syllable vowel alone; the explanation lies in the fact that such vowels stem from three different vowels of Proto-Saami verb stems (see Chapter 7). Thus, the verbs *bisse-* ‘wash’, *bisse-* ‘roast’, *joŋke-* ‘drink’, and *doeke-* ‘sell’ (Table 8.4) belong to metaphony series 1, 1, 3, and 8, as numbered in Table 8.5.

The entire picture of South Saami metaphony and other word-internal changes is considerably more complex. Inflectional and derivational suffixes that make word forms longer than two syllables may affect the stem-final vowel in yet other ways: while the PRS.3DU form of *bisse-* ‘wash’ is *bissijægan*, the corresponding form for *bisse-* ‘roast’ is *bissiejægan*. Alternatively, such forms have served as a basis for classifying verbs like *bisse-* ‘wash’ and *bisse-* ‘roast’ as belonging to different verb classes and thus being inflected differently (e.g. *bissem* but *bæssam* in PRS.1SG) in spite of belonging to the same metaphony series.

As for three-syllable stems, comparable alterations affect the second syllable: *daktere* ‘daughter’, *tjengkere* ‘ball’, and *skovtere* ‘snowmobile’ have analogous accusatives *dakterem*, *tjengkerem*, and *skovterem*, for example, but the illative marker *-(a)sse* affects the second syllable, too, yielding *daktarasse*, but *tjengkierasse* as well as *skovterasse*, in which the second syllable remains intact. As might be expected, morphophonological processes do not affect new loanwords to the same extent as they affect the more original vocabulary: *sjaangere* ‘genre’ (< Norwegian *sjanger*) is inflected like *skovtere* (< Norwegian *scooter*), and the verb *blogge-* /bloggə-/ ‘blog’ has forms *bloggem* ‘I blog’, *bloggie* ‘s/he blogs’ and *bloggien* ‘we (2) blog’.

8.3 Morphology

8.3.1 Nominal inflection

South 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. Some nouns may take possessive suffixes, but such forms are very marginal in the present-day language.

There are eight 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 8.6.

Table 8.6. Inflectional paradigms of the South Saami nouns *johke* ‘river’, *guelie* ‘fish’, and *gualetje* ‘small fish’

	‘river’		‘fish’		‘small fish’	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>johke</i>	<i>johkh</i> (<i>johkeh</i>)	<i>guelie</i>	<i>guelieh</i>	<i>gualetje</i>	<i>gualetjh</i>
Genitive	<i>johken</i>	<i>johki</i>	<i>guelien</i>	<i>gueliej</i> (<i>gööli</i>)	<i>gualetjen</i>	<i>gualetji</i>
Accusative	<i>johkem</i>	<i>johkide</i>	<i>gueliem</i>	<i>guelide</i> (<i>göölide</i>)	<i>gualetjem</i>	<i>gualatjidie</i>
Illative	<i>johkese</i>	<i>johkide</i>	<i>gualan</i>	<i>guelide</i> (<i>göölide</i>)	<i>gualatjasse</i>	<i>gualatjidie</i>
Inessive	<i>johkesne</i>	<i>johkine</i>	<i>gueliesne</i>	<i>gueline</i> (<i>gööline</i>)	<i>gualatjisnie</i>	<i>gualatjinie</i>
Elativ	<i>johkeste</i>	<i>johkijste</i>	<i>gueleste</i>	<i>guelijste</i> (<i>göölijste</i>)	<i>gualatjistie</i>	<i>gualatjijstie</i>
Comitative	<i>johkine</i>	<i>johkigujmie</i>	<i>gueline</i> (<i>gööline</i>)	<i>gueliejgujmie</i> (<i>gööligujmie</i>)	<i>gualatjinie</i>	<i>gualetjigujmie</i>
Essive	<i>johkine</i>		<i>gueline</i> (<i>gööline</i>)		<i>gualatjinie</i>	

The inflectional paradigms of the disyllabic nouns *johke* ‘river’ and *guelie* ‘fish’ as well as that of the trisyllabic *gualetje* ‘small fish’ (a diminutive derivation of *guelie*) in Table 8.6 exemplify only a fraction of the fusionality and irregularity of South Saami noun inflection. There are only two invariant case endings that are attached to an unaltered stem identical to the nominative singular: the genitive singular in *-n* and the accusative singular in *-m*. The nominative plural suffix *-(e)h /-(ə)h/* may often be written without the vowel (e.g. *johkh* /juhk(ə)h/ ‘rivers’). Otherwise, the paradigms show many instances of suffix allomorphy, stem-internal vowel changes, and unclear morpheme boundaries. For example, while the first-syllable vowel of *johke* ‘river’ does not change, the first-syllable diphthong of *guelie* ‘fish’ may alternate with *-öö-* (*gööli* fish.PL.GEN) in most forms, but the illative singular *gualan* presents a third alternative. In other words, *guelie* belongs to metaphony series 8 of Table 8.5.

In trisyllabic stems, the alternating vowel is usually that of the second syllable as seen in *gualetje* small.fish.NOM : *gualatjasse* small.fish.ILL. Furthermore, many case suffixes show allomorphy conditioned by the number of syllables, as seen in the inessive singulars *johkesne* and *gueliesne* but *gualatjisnie*. The questions of morpheme boundaries are open to many interpretations (e.g. *gualatjisnie* or *gualatj-isnie*). Although most oblique case plural forms contain the element *-i-*, elements like *-ine/-inie* cannot be analysed as a plural suffix followed by an inessive marker (*-sne/-i)snie* in

singular). For disputed historical reasons (Sammallahti 2009; Larsson 2012: 131–133), the illative singular has as many suffixes as *-se*, *-(a)sse*, and *-(a)n*.

Table 8.6 also shows important systematic features of the South Saami case system: despite the existence of different singular forms, the accusative and illative plural forms are always syncretic (the marker *-ide/-idie* being formally distinct from both the accusative and illative singular). It is mainly a matter of taste and descriptive economy whether the essive forms such as *johkine* are to be called plain (singular-cum-plural) essives or whether all such forms are better analysed as both a singular essive and a homonymous plural essive. In any event, such essives are always syncretic with both the comitative singular and the inessive plural. As for the comitative plural, the marker *-igujmie/-jgujmie* differs from other case suffixes in having the secondary stress on syllable /gʊj/ also in pentasyllabic word forms such as *gualetjigujmie* /'gʊalətɛi.gʊjmie/. Alternatively, the comitative plural is occasionally written as a postpositional phrase from which it originates (*gualetji gujmie* little.fish.PL.GEN with).

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 *daan biejjien* this.GEN day.GEN ‘today; in the course of this day’ and *daam biejjiem* this.ACC day.ACC ‘for this day’ (of duration), or to refer to paths, e.g. *dam geajnoem* that.ACC road.ACC ‘along that road’. Sometimes genitive modifiers resemble denominal adjectives such as in *saemien gïele* Saami(person).GEN language ‘Saami language’ and *daaroen skuvlh* Norwegian(person).GEN school.PL ‘Norwegian schools’. The three local cases illative (‘to’), inessive (‘at; in’), and elative (‘from’) have a number of secondary non-spatial functions; the comitative (‘with’) is also used as an instrumental case, and the essive (‘as’) expresses change of state and static, often temporary state (e.g. *johkine* ‘as a river / rivers’; cf. Chapter 7).

South Saami does not have possessive suffixes as a productive morphological category, but especially some kinship terms do have possessive forms. For example, *tjædtjeme* ‘my mother’, *tjædtjedh* ‘your mother’, and *tjïdtjese* ‘his/her mother’ are possessive suffixed forms of the nominative *tjïdtjie* ‘mother’. The morphological build-up of possessive forms is quite unpredictable as seen in the following examples: *tjïdtjiem* mother.ACC : *tjædtjemdh* mother.ACC.POSS.2SG; *tjædtjan* mother.ILL : *tjædtjasadth* mother.ILL.POSS.2SG; *tjïdtjeste* mother.ELA : *tjïdtjeadth* mother.ELA.POSS.2SG. Usually, personal pronouns in the genitive are preferred (e.g. *mov tjïdtjie* 1SG.GEN mother).

Personal pronouns differ from nouns and other pronouns in one important respect: Unlike nouns but quite like verbs, personal pronouns have distinct dual forms. As a consequence, the plural personal pronouns refer to more than two persons. However, the most original third person pronouns have given way to the demonstrative pronoun *dïhte* ‘it; that’ and its plural form *dah* that have become the default third person pronouns. In line with other demonstratives, *dïhte* does not have a dual form, but *dah* refers to two persons as well. From the morphological point of view, the dual and plural personal pronouns are “singular” forms of their own, as their case forms follow the pattern of singular case forms of nouns (and other pronouns) instead of having plural case markers seen in Table 8.6 above (e.g. the accusatives of *mânnoeh* ‘we 2’ and *mijjïeh* ‘we 3+’ are *monnem* and *mijjem*, respectively). It is noteworthy that while the original pan-Saami third person pronouns *satne*, *sâtnoeh*, and *sijjïeh* have been largely replaced by *dïhte* (and dual-cum-plural *dah*), the former are used as specifically logophoric third person pronouns (Table 8.7; see Section 8.4.4 below).

Table 8.7. Personal pronouns in South Saami

	First person	Second person	Third person	(Third person, logophoric)
Singular	<i>manne</i>	<i>datne</i>	<i>dih̄te</i>	(<i>satne</i>)
Dual	<i>m̄annoeh</i>	<i>d̄atnoeh</i>	<i>dah</i>	(<i>s̄atnoeh</i>)
Plural	<i>mijjeh</i>	<i>dijjeh</i>		(<i>sijjeh</i>)

The boundary between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut in South Saami, and many adjectives may be used and inflected like nouns, e.g. *noere* ‘young; youngster’, nominative plural *noerh* ‘young ones; youngsters’, and *noerine* young.ESS/young.SG.COM/young.PL.INE.

Adjective inflection proper is one of the most complex areas of South Saami morphology. Most adjectives have three degrees: the positive, the comparative, and the superlative. In the positive, most autochthonous adjectives have distinct forms in predicative and attributive positions (e.g. *Biegke bijvele* ‘(the) wind (is) warm’ but *bijveles biegeke* ‘warm wind’). However, the mutual relations of the four categories do not lend themselves easily to generalization. To begin with, some adjectives have identical forms for both predicative and attributive positions (e.g. *noere* ‘young’, *b̄aeries* ‘old’), but most underived adjectives have distinct predicative and attributive forms, and one can seldom automatically derive one from the other. Many adjectives such as *b̄aeries* ‘old’ end in *-s*, but for some, *-s* occurs in the predicative form only (e.g. predicative *baahkes* vs. attributive *baahke* ‘hot’), whereas for other adjectives, the situation is reversed (e.g. predicative *bijvele* vs. attributive *bijveles* ‘warm’). Predicative and attributive forms may also be quite dissimilar from one another (e.g. *vȳlkehke* vs. *veelkes* ‘white’ or *aeblihtadtje* vs. *aeblehts* ‘lazy’).

The comparative and superlative markers are *-be* and *-mes*, respectively, for stems that are regarded as disyllabic, but for the trisyllabic stems *-̄abpoe* and *-ommes* are used. However, the choice of the suffix it is not always obvious, the stems may undergo vowel changes, and for some adjectives, comparatives and superlatives are based on the attributive forms, whereas for other adjectives, predicative forms (or both forms) are used. Furthermore, some adjectives lack comparatives and superlatives altogether. Finally, some few adjectives expressing physical properties such as thickness have specific equative forms, such as *jassoe* (← *jassije* ‘thick’) in the phrase *soermen jassoe* [finger.GEN thick.EQU] ‘as thick as a finger’. Table 8.8 provides a condensed and simplified picture of the complexity of adjectival morphology in South Saami.

Table 8.8. A sample of South Saami adjective inflection

Positive		Comparative	Superlative
Predicative	Attributive		
<i>noere</i> ‘young’	= <i>noere</i>	<i>nuerebe</i>	<i>nööremes</i>
<i>b̄aeries</i> ‘old’	= <i>b̄aeries</i>	<i>b̄aaras̄abpoe</i>	<i>b̄aarasommes</i>
<i>baahkes</i> ‘hot’	<i>baahke</i>	<i>baahkebe (baahkes̄abpoe)</i>	<i>baahkemes (baahkesommes)</i>
<i>bijvele</i> ‘warm (of weather, clothes)’	<i>bijveles</i>	<i>bijvel̄abpoe</i>	<i>bijvelommes</i>
<i>vȳlkehke</i> ‘white’	<i>veelkes</i>	<i>veelkebe</i>	<i>veelkemes</i>
<i>fleksijbele</i> ‘flexible’	<i>fleksijbeles</i>	<i>fleksijbel̄abpoe</i>	<i>fleksijbelommes</i>
<i>jassije</i> ‘thick (of flat objects)’	<i>jassijes</i>	<i>jassaj̄abpoe</i>	<i>jassajommes</i>
<i>gissege</i> ‘thick (of round objects)’	<i>gisse</i>	<i>gissebe</i>	<i>gissemes</i>
<i>aeblihtadtje</i> ‘lazy’	<i>aeblehts</i>	–	–

Given the complexity of adjectival morphology, it is somewhat understandable that in the actual

use of this endangered language, many attributive forms tend to be used at the expense of predicative forms in predicative functions as well. On the other hand, some forms such as the “predicative” *baahkes* and the “attributive” *baahke* ‘hot’ are used interchangeably for both functions in actual use. Furthermore, especially recent loan adjectives such as *fleksijbele* ‘flexible’ often occur in analytic comparative and superlative constructions instead of synthetic forms: *jienebe fleksijbele* ‘more flexible’ for *fleksijbelåbpoe* and *jienemes fleksijbele* ‘most flexible’ for *fleksijbelommes*. For the peculiar comparative- and superlative-like noun forms in definite noun phrases, see Section 8.4.2 below.

8.3.2 Verb inflection

South Saami verbs are inflected for three persons, three numbers, two tenses, and two moods. Not unlike nouns, verbs can be divided to inflectional classes based on the number of syllables and the vowel quality in the second (for di- and trisyllabic stems) or fourth syllable (for tetrasyllabic stems, usually derived verbs). A sample of two affirmative finite paradigms is presented in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9. Inflectional paradigms of the South Saami verbs *åeste*- ‘buy’ and *saemiesti*- ‘speak South Saami’

	Present indicative	Past indicative		Imperative
1SG	<i>åastam</i>	<i>ööstim</i>	<i>(åestiejim)</i>	
2SG	<i>åastah</i>	<i>ööstih</i>	<i>(åestiejih)</i>	<i>åestieh</i>
3SG	<i>åasta</i>	<i>öösti</i>	<i>(åestieji)</i>	
1DU	<i>åestien</i>	<i>ööstimen</i>	<i>(åestiejimen)</i>	
2DU	<i>åesteden (åestiejidien)</i>	<i>ööstiden</i>	<i>(åestiejiden)</i>	<i>åesteden</i>
3DU	<i>åestiejægan</i>	<i>ööstigan</i>	<i>(åestiejigan)</i>	
1PL	<i>åestebe (åestiejibie)</i>	<i>ööstimh</i>	<i>(åestiejimh)</i>	
2PL	<i>åestede (åestiejidie)</i>	<i>ööstidh</i>	<i>(åestiejidh)</i>	<i>åestede</i>
3PL	<i>åestieh</i>	<i>ööstin</i>	<i>(åestiejin)</i>	

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Imperative
1SG	<i>saemestem</i>	<i>saemiestim</i>	
2SG	<i>saemesth</i>	<i>saemiestih</i>	<i>saemesth</i>
3SG	<i>saemeste</i>	<i>saemiesti</i>	
1DU	<i>saemiestien</i>	<i>saemiestimen</i>	
2DU	<i>saemiestidien</i>	<i>saemiestiden</i>	<i>saemiestidien</i>
3DU	<i>saemiestægan</i>	<i>saemiestigan</i>	
1PL	<i>saemiestibie</i>	<i>saemiestimh</i>	
2PL	<i>saemiestidie</i>	<i>saemiestidh</i>	<i>saemiestidie</i>
3PL	<i>saemiestieh</i>	<i>saemiestin</i>	

As can be seen in Table 8.9, South Saami has two productive moods, indicative and imperative, the former being further divided into present and past tense forms. The three imperative forms refer to second persons only and are often identical to the corresponding indicative forms.

Unlike nouns, verbs make a tripartite number distinction between singular, dual, and plural.

However, the dual vs. plural (‘more than two’) distinction generally applies to human referents only (1), whereas for non-humans (2), only singular or plural forms can be used:

- (1) a. *Akte turiste skåakese haajpani.*
 one tourist forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3SG
- b. *Göökte turisth skåakese haajpanigan.*
 two tourist.PL forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3DU
- c. *Golme turisth skåakese haajpanin.*
 three tourist.PL forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3PL
 ‘One/two/three tourist(s) got lost in the forest.’
- (2) a. *Akte tjengkere skåakese haajpani.*
 one ball forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3SG
- b. *Göökte tjengkerh skåakese haajpanin.*
 two ball.PL forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3PL
- c. *Golme tjengkerh skåakese haajpanin.*
 three ball.PL forest.ILL get.lost.PST.3PL
 ‘One/two/three ball(s) got lost in the forest.’

Unlike noun declension, verb conjugation has only little syncretism, although forms like *åestieh* may be either PRS.3PL or IMP.2SG of *åeste-* ‘buy’ and *saemesth* may be PRS.2SG or IMP.2SG of *saemiesti-* ‘speak South Saami’ (IMP.2SG also being always identical to the connegative form; see below). Stem-internal mutations are less preponderant than they are within noun declension, but forms like *åasta* buy.PRS.3SG vs. *öösti/åestieji* buy.PST.3SG and *saemeste* speak.Saami.PRS.3SG vs. *saemiesti* speak.Saami.PST.3SG nevertheless make the paradigm quite fusional. The choice of suffix is dependent on the stem, and morpheme boundaries are often unclear, as seen in the paradigms in Table 8.9.

The entire paradigm of a given verb is seldom obvious on the basis of individual word forms such as *saemestem* speak.Saami.PRS.1SG and *saemeste* speak.Saami.PRS.3SG. While the past tense counterparts of these forms are *saemiestim* and *saemiesti* (Table 8.9), verbs like *soptsesti-* ‘talk; tell’ do not have similar vowel changes: the past tense counterparts of *soptsestem* talk.PRS.1SG and *soptseste* talk.PRS.3SG are *soptsestim* and *soptsesti*. When it comes to disyllabic stems, the situation is even more complicated; in addition to the vowel mutations *åe : åa : öö* seen in Table 8.9 for *åeste-* ‘buy’ (metaphony series 7 of Table 8.5), Table 8.4 in Section 8.2.5 above describes the variation occurring with six other verbs.

In accord with what was said about metaphony in Section 8.2.5 above, the reasons for the variety of inflectional classes lie in the language history. For example, the verbs go back to earlier (Proto-Saami) verb stems with six different combinations of first- and second-syllable vowels. In addition to ordinary lexical verbs, there are two particularly special verbs: the paradigms of the copula and the negation verb, neither of which has an infinitive form, are presented in Tables 8.10 and 8.11.

Table 8.10. Inflectional paradigm of the South Saami copula

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Imperative
1SG	<i>leam</i>	<i>lim</i>	
2SG	<i>leah</i>	<i>lih</i>	(<i>leah, årroeh</i>)
3SG	<i>lea</i>	<i>lij</i>	
1DU	<i>lean</i>	<i>limen</i>	
2DU	<i>lidien</i>	<i>liden</i>	(<i>lidien, årroden</i>)
3DU	<i>lægán</i>	<i>ligan</i>	
1PL	<i>libie</i>	<i>limh</i>	
2PL	<i>lidie</i>	<i>lidh</i>	(<i>lidie, årrode</i>)
3PL	<i>leah</i>	<i>lin</i>	

Table 8.11. Inflectional paradigm of the South Saami negation verb

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Imperative I (Prohibitive)	Imperative II (Apprehensive)
1SG	<i>im</i>	<i>idtjim</i>	<i>alliem</i>	<i>ollem</i>
2SG	<i>ih</i>	<i>idtjih</i>	<i>aellieh</i>	<i>ollh</i>
3SG	<i>ij</i>	<i>idtji</i>	<i>aellies</i>	<i>olles</i>
1DU	<i>ean</i>	<i>idtjimen</i>	<i>aellien</i>	<i>ollen</i>
2DU	<i>idien</i>	<i>idtjiden</i>	<i>aelleden</i>	<i>olleden</i>
3DU	<i>eakan</i>	<i>idtjigan</i>	(?)	(?)
1PL	<i>ibie</i>	<i>idtjimh</i>	<i>aellebe</i>	<i>ollebe</i>
2PL	<i>idie</i>	<i>idtjidh</i>	<i>aellede</i>	<i>olledede</i>
3PL	<i>eah</i>	<i>idtjin</i>	<i>aellies</i>	<i>olles</i>

For the copula, true imperative forms are missing, but the second person indicative present or the three imperative forms of the verb *årro-* ‘be; stay, live’ can be used as suppletive forms. Unlike the negation verbs in the northernmost Saami languages, the equivalent in South Saami expresses not only the person and number but also the tense of the periphrastic negative predicate. The negative verb may occur elliptically without the lexical main verb in discourse, but most commonly the negative verb has the function of an auxiliary, which is followed by the lexical verb in the so-called connegative form. The connegative is fully identical to the second person singular imperative. In other words, combining the negative auxiliary with the connegative lexical verb yields negative phrases like *im saemesth* [NEG.1SG speak.Saami.CNG] ‘I don’t speak Saami’ and *idtjiden åstieħ* [NEG.PST.2DU buy.CNG] ‘you (2) didn’t buy’.

The negative imperative forms are likewise combined with the connegative, but it is noteworthy that while there are only three (2SG, 2DU, and 2PL) affirmative imperatives, there are as many as sixteen negative imperatives. Interestingly, 3DU imperatives seem to be missing from the language, but all other persons do have imperative forms (Blokland & Inaba 2015: 382–383). What is more, there are two distinct sets of imperatives, conventionally labelled as Imperative I and Imperative II. The semantic difference between the two is that of prohibitive proper (3a) and apprehensive warnings (3b):

- (3)a. *Aellede daan dovres gærjam åestieh!*
 NEG.IMP1.2PL this.GEN expensive book.ACC buy.CNG
 ‘Don’t buy a book as expensive as this!’
- b. *Ollede daan dovres gærjam åestieh!*
 NEG.IMP2.2PL this.GEN expensive book.ACC buy.CNG
 ‘Beware of buying a book as expensive as this!’

The verb forms described above are finite in the sense that they express the person and number of the subject as well as the tense (present or past) and mood (indicative or imperative) of the predicate and are able to occur as predicates on their own. From this perspective, the connegative must be regarded as a non-finite and the negative auxiliary must always be regarded as finite. However, the remaining verb forms of the language cannot all be straightforwardly labelled as non-finite. Table 8.12 shows the four verb forms usually described as the non-finites of the language.

Table 8.12. Non-finite verb forms in South Saami

	‘buy’	‘speak Saami’	copula ‘be’	negation verb
Infinitive	<i>åestedh</i>	<i>saemiesticdh</i>	(<i>årrodh</i> ‘be’)	–
Perfect participle	<i>åasteme</i>	<i>saemiesticamme</i>	(<i>orreme</i>)	–
Progressive	<i>åestiminie</i>	<i>saemesteminie</i>	(<i>årroeminie</i>)	–
Connegative	<i>åestieh</i>	<i>saemesth</i>	<i>leah</i>	–

The infinitive is the only indisputably non-finite form, and it almost always functions as a complement to auxiliary-like modal and related verbs such as *edtje-* ‘shall’, *maehte-* ‘can’, *galke-* ‘must’, *åadtjo-* ‘can, be permitted’, *tjoeveri-* ‘must’, and *sijhte-* ‘want’ or to motion verbs such as *båete-* ‘come’ and *minne-* ‘go’ (see Examples 19, 21 and 23 below). However, the perfect participle is not quite like a typical participle, as it is only seldom used as an adnominal modifier in phrases like *prijoriteradamme barkoe* ‘a prioritized task’ or *kristeme maana* ‘a christened child’. Instead, both the perfect participle and the so-called progressive form are predominantly used in predicative position with or without the copula as a finite auxiliary:

- (4)a. *Manne (leam) orre bijlem åasteme.*
 I be.1SG new car.ACC buy.PST.PTCP
 ‘I have bought a new car.’
- b. *Manne lim orre bijlem åasteme.*
 I be.PST.1SG new car.ACC buy.PST.PTCP
 ‘I had bought a new car.’

(5)a. *Manne (leam) orre bijlem åestieminiē.*
 I be.1SG new car.ACC buy.PROG
 ‘I am buying a new car.’

b. *Manne lim orre bijlem åestieminiē.*
 I be.PST.1SG new car.ACC buy.PROG
 ‘I was buying a new car.’

As can be seen in the translations, the perfect participle and progressive are used in tense-aspect combinations that can be termed the perfect (4a), pluperfect (4b), present progressive (5a), and past progressive (5b). In perfect and present progressive functions, the present-tense copula is usually omitted in the affirmative or, alternatively, the presence of the copula may often be interpreted as a means of emphasis or even as Scandinavian interference. The optionality of the present-tense copula is fully in line with the general use of the copula (see Section 8.4.3 below). As a significant part of the actual occurrences of the perfect participle and progressive function as the sole verb in a clause, they could also be characterized as finite tense-aspect forms unmarked for person and number.

Especially for the copula there are also remnants of the moods known as potential (6) and conditional (7) in other Saami languages in which they are more productive. The former is better labelled as the dubitative; the conditional seems to be confined to the southernmost dialects and does not generally belong to the literary standard:

(6) *Mejtie daate lidtjie reaktoe?*
 I.wonder this be.DUB.3SG right
 ‘I wonder whether this is right?’

(7) *Luvnem båateme, jus luvnem asteme.*
 be.COND.1SG come.PST.PTCP if be.COND.1SG have.time.PST.PTCP
 ‘I would have come, if I had had time.’

8.3.3 Derivation

Like all Uralic languages, South Saami has relatively many derivational morphemes, and such morphemes are almost exclusively suffixes. However, derivation often means more than a mere agglutination of an affix to a stem in South Saami: even many of the most transparent and productive suffixes such as the diminutive marker *-(e)tje/-(a)dtje* are similar to many inflectional suffixes in that the choice of the allomorph is dependent on the stem to which it is attached – the former for di- and tetrasyllabic stems and the latter for trisyllabic ones – and it is not obvious whether the suffix can be clearly distinguished from the stem.

Derivation often also affects the internal structure of the base word, as seen in the diminutives (*guelie* ‘fish’ → *gualetje* ‘small fish’ and *(tjengkere* ‘ball’ → *tjengkieradtje* ‘small ball’. Some derivational processes affect the stem only, as seen in the inflectional patterns of verbs *bisse-* ‘roast’ and its passive counterpart *bysse-* ‘be roasted’ in Table 8.4. The verbs *govle-* ‘hear’ and *govle-* ‘be heard’ have distinct forms in less than half of the finite forms, e.g. *govlem* hear.1SG/hear.PASS.1SG and *govleh* hear.2SG/hear.PASS.2SG, but *gávla* hear.3SG vs. *govloe* hear.PASS.3SG. In the same vein, the stems of denominal verbs like *gööl(e)-* ‘fish (v.)’ and *möörj(e)-* ‘pick berries’ are quite different

from the nominatives *guelie* ‘fish (n.)’ and *muerjie* ‘berry’. Fusionality of derivatives tends to correlate with productivity, though: it is possible to turn the noun *buehkie* ‘goat buck’ into the diminutive *buahketje* ‘small goat buck’, but hardly into a hypothetical verb **bööhh(e)-* ‘gather/hunt goat bucks’.

The following list presents a sample of various kinds of derivations characteristic of South Saami. It is notable that cognates of some morphemes are regarded as inflectional suffixes in other, closely related Saami languages.

Denominal nouns: Diminutives are productively formed with *-(e)tje/-(a)dtje* (see above). The suffix *-(l)adtje* is used to derive nouns that refer to persons who are somehow characterized by the referent of the base word, e.g. *jaahkoe* ‘faith’ → *jaahkoladtje* ‘believer’, *læhkoe* ‘luck, happiness’ → *læhkoeladtje* ‘lucky, happy person’ and *æjvie* ‘head, manager’ → *åajvaladtje* ‘leader, chief’. Nouns in *-se/-asse* are used to refer to potential material for making a referent of the base word, e.g. *treavka* ‘ski’ → *treavkese* ‘material for a ski’ and *gaamege* ‘shoe’ → *gaamegasse* ‘material for a shoe’. Nouns for prospective relatives are derived with the suffix *-(s)assa*, e.g. *vijve* ‘son-in-law’ → *vijvesassa* ‘prospective son-in-law’ and *vuanove* ‘mother-in-law’ → *vuanavassa* ‘prospective mother-in-law’. Pluralia tantum in *-(d)tjh* refer to pairs or groups of relatives in relation to each other, e.g. *vielle* ‘brother’ → *vielletjh* ‘brothers (to each other)’, *tjdtjie* ‘mother’ → *tjdtjetjh/tjædtjetjh* ‘mother and her child(ren)’, and *vuanove* ‘mother-in-law’ → *vuanavadtjh* ‘mother-in-law and her child-in-law’.

Deadjectival nouns are most often formed using the suffix *-voete*, e.g. *gieries* ‘dear, loved’ → *gieriesvoete* ‘love’, *giefies* ‘poor’ → *giefiesvoete* ‘poverty’, and *seksuelle* ‘sexual’ → *seksuellevoete* ‘sexuality’; the same suffix is also used to make abstract denominal nouns like *guejmie* ‘partner; friend’ → *guejmievoete* ‘partnership; friendship’. The suffix *-sh* is used to derive collective nouns from numerals, e.g. *golme* ‘three’ → *golmesh* ‘three people (together)’ and *luhkie* ‘ten’ → *lâhkesh* ‘ten people (together)’.

Deverbal nouns include those in *-oe*, e.g. *jaehke-* ‘believe’ → *jaahkoe* ‘belief, faith’ and *aste-* ‘have time’ → *astoe* ‘(spare) time’. However, the most productive deverbal nouns are the action nominalizations in *-me/-immie* and the actor nouns in *-(i)je/-æjja*, which can be formed from virtually all verbs: *gööle-* ‘fish’ → *gööleme* ‘fishing’, *göölje* ‘fisher’; *normeere-* ‘standardize’ → *normeereme* ‘standardization’, *normeerije* ‘standardizer’; *jarkoesti-* ‘translate’ → *jarkoestimmie* ‘translation, translating’, *jarkoestæjja* ‘translator’, and so on. It is notable that the cognates of the action nominalization have given rise to many non-finite verb forms in other Saami languages, and cognates of the actor noun are usually regarded as present participles, a category that is missing in South Saami (see Chapter 7).

New adjectives can be derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives as well as from an infinite number of numerals, if ordinals like *golme* ‘three’ → *gåalmede* ‘third’ and *luhkie* ‘ten’ → *lâhkede* ‘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 *-hth/-aph/-htadtje* – cognates of the abessive case in some other Saami languages; e.g. *guelie* ‘fish’ → *guelehth* ‘fishless’, *faamoe* ‘power’ → *faamohth* ‘powerless’, and *beetnege* ‘money’ → *beetnegaph* ‘penniless, without money’. The positive counterparts of such adjectives are more variegated and include suffixes like *-ije* (*guelie* ‘fish’ → *gualije* ‘rich in fish’), *-s* (*Jupmele* ‘God’ → *jupmeles* ‘godly’), and *-(l)adtje* (*gånka* ‘king’ → *gånkaladtje* ‘royal’).

Deverbal adjectives usually refer to ability or suitability as regards the events and actions described by the base word and include suffixes such as *-htje*, *-jes*, and *-le*, e.g. *maehete-* ‘be able, know’ → *maehetehtje* ‘skilled; clever’, *lohke-* ‘read’ → *lohkijes* ‘skilled at reading; fond of reading’,

and *beste-* ‘cut well, be sharp’ → *beste* ‘sharp’.

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives were described as inflectional categories (see Section 8.3.1 above), but an alternative view is to regard those as deadjectival adjectives. In any case, the diminutive suffixes *-(e)tjel/-(a)dtje* can also be attached to comparatives, e.g. *guhkie* ‘long; tall’ → *guhkebe* ‘longer; taller’ → *guhkiebadtje* ‘a little longer; a little taller’. In addition to these, the suffix *-laaketje* is used to derive similar deadjectival adjectives, e.g. *båeries* ‘old’ → *båerieslaaketje* ‘oldish’ and *provne* ‘brown’ → *provnelaaketje* ‘brownish’.

The distinction between adjectives and adverbs is somewhat unclear in South Saami, as adjectives often function also as adverbs. However, the adverb suffix *-laakan* can be attached to positives, comparatives, and superlatives alike: for example, *aelhkie* (pred.) : *aelhkies* (attr.) ‘easy’ yields adverbs like *aelhkieslaakan* ‘easily’, *aelhkebelaakan* ‘more easily’, and *aelhkemeslaakan* ‘most easily’. Deverbal adverbs in *-n* express the manner of motion or actions concomitant to motion, e.g. *tjoejke-* ‘ski’ → *tjoejken* ‘(e.g. come) by skiing’ and *tjearo-* ‘cry’ → *tjearoen* ‘(e.g. come) crying’. Cognates of these adverbs are often regarded as non-finite verb forms, so-called verb genitives, in other Saami languages.

As for verbs, deverbal verbs can be roughly divided into those causing changes in aspectual meaning and to those causing changes in argument structure. The former group includes, among others, inchoative verbs in *-gåete-*, e.g. *tjoejke-* ‘ski’ → *tjoejkegåete-* ‘begin to ski’ and *tjearo-* ‘cry’ → *tjearoegåete-* ‘begin to cry’. Momentaneous aspect can be expressed with verbs in *-sti-* and frequentative verbs include those in *-li-*, e.g. *åeste-* ‘buy’ → *åestiesti-* ‘buy quickly’ and *vuetje-* ‘shoot’ → *voetjeli-* ‘shoot repeatedly’. Deverbal derivatives that modify the argument structure of the base verb include causatives in *-hti-/ehte-*, e.g. *jaehke-* ‘believe’ → *jaehkiehti-* ‘cause to believe; assure’ and *jealaji-* ‘recover’ → *jealajehte-* ‘cause to recover; revitalize’. Unlike the rather fusional passive derivations such as *bisse-* ‘roast’ → *bysse-* ‘be roasted’ and *govle-* ‘hear’ → *govle-* ‘be heard’ mentioned in the beginning of this section, among the most productive passive verbs are those in *-sovve-*, e.g. *normeere-* ‘standardize’ → *normeeresovve-* ‘be standardized’ and *prioriteere-* ‘prioritize’ → *prioriteeresovve-* ‘be prioritized’. Furthermore, there are specialized adversative passive verbs in *-htalle-*, referring to events that are unfortunate from the patient’s perspective, e.g. *jakse-* ‘reach’ → *jaksehtalle-* ‘be reached; get caught’.

Denominal verbs include barely productive fusional verbs like *guelie* ‘fish (n.)’ → *gööle-* ‘fish (v.)’ and *muerjie* ‘berry’ → *möörje-* ‘pick berries’ mentioned above, but also more agglutinative and more productive types such as instrumental verbs in *-sti-*, e.g. *saemie* ‘Saami’ → *saemiesti-* ‘speak (South) Saami’ and *gaampe* ‘comb (n.)’ → *gaampesti-* ‘comb (v.)’. Deadjectival verbs include transformative verbs in *-di-*, e.g. *buerie* ‘good’ → *bueriedi-* ‘make better; cure’ and *guhkie* ‘long’ → *guhkiedi-* ‘lengthen’.

In addition to fusional and suffixal derivations described above, South Saami has at least one fairly productive derivational prefix. The prefix *ov-* ‘un-’ is an obvious loan from Scandinavian (*u-/o-*) and it occurs in a number of more or less direct loans such as *ovseekere* ‘unsure, uncertain’ (cf. *seekere* ‘sure, certain’ and Norwegian *sikker* → *usikker* ‘id.’) and *ovbalanse* ‘unbalance’ (cf. Norwegian *ubalanse*). However, *ov-* can also be prefixed to autochthonous words – adjectives, nouns, as well as verbs, e.g. *daerpies* ‘necessary’ → *ovdaerpies* ‘unnecessary’, *raeffie* ‘peace, rest’ → *ovraeffie* ‘disorder, unrest’, and *murriedi-* ‘feel comfortable, feel at home’ → *ovmurriedi-* ‘feel uncomfortable’. Sometimes a derived word form may contain both the prefix *ov-* and derivational suffixes, e.g. *ov-seekere-voete* NEG-certain-ness ‘uncertainty’ and *ov-trygke-sovve-me* NEG-print-PASS-PST.PTCP ‘unprinted, unpublished’; in the latter example, the past participle functions as a deverbal adjective.

8.4 Syntax

Being the westernmost Uralic language with a long history as a neighbour of Scandinavian languages, South Saami is in many respects quite close to the language type known as Standard Average European. Such areal features are most obvious in syntax, and the western European nature of South Saami syntax has already been visible in Examples (1–7) above. In what follows, the main characteristics of South Saami syntax will be presented, paying special attention to features that distinguish the language from other western Uralic languages and other Saami languages in particular.

8.4.1 Word order

One of the most striking features of South Saami syntax in its areal context is its basic word order. As seen in Examples (3–5) above, South Saami is an SOV language. Further, the most neutral position of the adverbial *skåakese* forest.ILL ‘in the forest’ in Examples (1–2) and the position of the auxiliary copula in (4–5) show that in more general terms it is possible to characterize the basic word order as S(Aux)XV. Although deviations are possible for focusing purposes (8b), SOV (SXV) is by far the most neutral word order (8a), and, in this respect, South Saami seems to stand alone among the westernmost (Saami, Finnic and Mordvin) languages of the Uralic family.

- (8) a. *Provresth nyjsenæjjah tjeehpes tjohph utnieh.*
 married woman.PL black cap.PL have.3PL
 ‘Married women wear black caps.’
- b. *Tjeehpes tjohph provresth nyjsenæjjah utnieh.*
 black cap.PL married woman.PL have.3PL
 ‘Married women wear **black** caps.’ (Bergsland 1946: 277)

In a wider perspective, South Saami SXV word order can be seen as a part of the general head-final word order also manifested in head-final NPs and the predominance of postpositional phrases over prepositions (9). On the other hand, the language also has many prepositions, auxiliary verbs precede lexical verbs, and relative clauses follow their heads (see below).

- (9) *Dov bïenje vuesiehtimmien gaavhtan daam orre sjåarhtam*
 [you(SG).GEN dog] [show.NMLZ.GEN for] [this.ACC new shirt.ACC]

gajhkoelamme.
 tear.up.PST.PTCP

‘Your dog has torn up this new shirt, for example.’

The only major exception from the SXV order is seen in polar interrogative clauses in which a Germanic type of inverted word order is occasionally used instead of more common interrogative expressions (see Example 17 below):

- (10) *Átnah datne bæjhpam?*
 have.2SG you(.SG) pipe.ACC
 ‘Have you got a pipe?’ (Magga 1984: 42)

8.4.2 Phrase structure

As seen above, modifiers in South Saami typically precede their heads. On the phrase level, one of the most distinctive features of the language is the highly frequent article-like use of the numeral *akte* ‘one’ and the demonstrative pronoun *dihite* ‘it; that’:

- (11) *Akte baernie aktem nïejtem vöjñi,*
 one(=INDF) boy one(=INDF).ACC girl.ACC see.PST.3SG

men dihite nïejte dam baerniem idtji vuejñieh.
 but it(=DEF) girl it(=DEF) boy.ACC NEG.PST.3SG see.CNG
 ‘A boy saw a girl, but the girl didn’t see the boy.’

A peculiar type of noun phrase is seen in Examples (12a) and (12b), in which the noun *tjïdtjïe* ‘mother’ is, as it seems, inflected in the comparative (*-be*) and superlative (*-mes*) (cf. Table 8.8 above). Likewise, *daktaråbpoe* (12a) is identical to a hypothetical comparative form of *daktere* ‘daughter’. The function of such phrases is to refer to reciprocal relationships such as that of a mother and her daughter(s). The “comparative” alternative is used when referring to a reciprocal relationship between two persons (12a), whereas the “superlative” alternative refers to a mother of more than two (12b). As such, these morphemes – labelled “relation forms” (Norwegian *forholdsform*) – have functions reminiscent of definite articles and possessive suffixes (Ylikoski 2018). Morphologically, nouns in *-be* and *-mes* are derivations that can be inflected for number and case (e.g. *tjïdtjïebe* mother.RF ‘the/his/her mother’ : *tjïdtjïebinië* mother.RF.COM ‘with her/his mother’).

- (12) a. *Daktaråbpoe darjoeji guktie tjïdtjïebe jeehti.*
 daughter.RF do.PST.3SG as mother.RF say.PST.3SG
 ‘The daughter did as her mother said.’ (adapted from Bergsland 1994: 110; Magga & Magga 2012: 50)
- b. *Dakterh darjoejin guktie tjïdtjïemes jeehti.*
 daughter.PL do.PST.3PL as mother.RF say.PST.3SG
 ‘The daughters did as their mother said.’

8.4.3 Clause structure

The syntax of South Saami is characterized by most pan-Saami phenomena described in Chapter 7. However, South Saami has a number of notable syntactic features that are more or less absent in the northernmost Saami languages – with the exception of the adjacent Ume Saami dialects that await more detailed investigation.

One of the most notable specialities in South Saami syntax is the fact that besides the accusative, the nominative plural is also used as a case for the direct object:

- (13) a. *Laara treavkah dorjeme.*
 Laara ski.PL(.NOM) make.PST.PTCP
 ‘Laara has made (a pair of) skis.’ (Bergsland 1994: 60)
- b. *Dejtie treavkide vöojnim.*
 it.PL.ACC ski.PL.ACC saw.PST.1SG
 ‘I saw the skis.’ (Bergsland 1994: 60)

The above examples suggest that indefinite objects bear (zero) nominative coding (13a), while definite objects appear in the accusative (13b). From this perspective, South Saami looks like a rather typical differential object marking language, although the variation illustrated above is traditionally limited to the plural. However, the nominative/accusative objects in South Saami have not been studied thoroughly, and it seems that the contemporary object marking differs from that of the language system depicted by earlier grammarians who have either described the nominative/accusative distinction as an indefinite/definite distinction or at least all instances of accusative plurals as definite objects. In any case, nominative objects have been largely absent from the traditional varieties of other Saami languages, although they are not entirely unknown in the contemporary Saami languages under interference from Finnish.

As for clause types, South Saami sentences are often constructed quite differently from those in the northern sisters of the language. It was seen in Examples (4a) and (5a) that the copula is optional in perfect and progressive predicates. In fact, the present-tense forms of the copula are potentially optional in almost all affirmative contexts:

- (14) *Aanna (lea) lohkehtæjja / noere / Stuehkesne.*
 Aanna (be.3SG) teacher / young / Stockholm.INE
 ‘Aanna is a teacher / young / in Stockholm.’

Although similar instances of zero copula can be found in the easternmost Saami languages under Russian influence, South Saami seems to be the only such language among its sisters and neighbours in Scandinavia. It can be noted that as the article-like demonstrative *dih̄te* is also used as a personal pronoun, words such as *dih̄te lohkehtæjja* may be used as a noun phrase meaning ‘that teacher’ or ‘the teacher’, but also as a full sentence for ‘s/he is a teacher’.

A clause type exclusively characteristic of South Saami is seen in (15), accompanied by its functional equivalent (16) that is also mainly confined to South Saami.

- (15) *Aannan (lea) orre lohkehtæjja.*
 Aanna.GEN (be.3SG) new teacher
 ‘Aanna has a new teacher.’
- (16) *Aanna orre lohkehtæjjam åtna.*
 Aanna new teacher.ACC have.3SG
 ‘Aanna has a new teacher.’

In other words, South Saami expresses predicative possession with an existential clause in which the possessor NP is in the genitive (15), whereas the rest of the Saami languages use local cases (see

Chapter 7). Not unlike *dih̄te lohkehtæjja* mentioned just above, copula-less phrases like *Aannan orre lohkehtæjja* are identical to a noun phrase referring to ‘Aanna’s new teacher’, although in spoken discourse, the intended interpretation can be inferred from prosody and textual context. Further, South Saami also uses a transitive possessive construction with the verb *utne-* ‘have’ as the predicate (16); semantic, stylistic or areal differences between the two types have not been thoroughly studied. As discussed in Chapter 51, both types are foreign to the other westernmost languages of the Uralic family.

To return to polar interrogative clauses, which were mentioned above with reference to inverted word order (10), the default means for expressing polar questions in South Saami are either intonation only or a clause-initial question particle such as *mah* or *dagke*:

- (17) (*Mah/Dagke*) *datne bæjhpam åtnah?*
 Q you(.SG)pipe.ACC have.2SG
 ‘Have you got a pipe?’

8.4.4 Clause combining

Clause combining in South Saami is quite like that of Standard Average European. The predominant strategy is to conjoin finite clauses with coordinating and subordinating conjunctions such as the coordinators *jih* ‘and’, *jallh* ‘or’, *mohte* ‘but’, and *men* ‘but’, the general complementizer *ahte*, and adverbial subordinators like *goh* ‘when, while’, *guktie* ‘as; so that’, *gosse* ‘when, while’, *juktie* ‘in order that’, *jis* ‘if’, *ihke* ‘(in order) that’, and *jalhts* ‘although’. Relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns that are often identical to the corresponding interrogative pronouns (*gie* ‘who’, *mij* ‘what; that’, *guhte* ‘which’) and that are inflected in case and number. Example (18) contains complement, adverbial, and relative clauses at the same time:

- (18) *Jis dov vaejvie, kaanne gieriesvaejvien gaavhtan jallh jeatjebe*
 if you(.SG).GEN suffering maybe love.trouble.GEN because.of or other
- mij tsavtsa, lea vihkeles mujhtedh ahte jis datne daan*
 REL steer.3SG be.3SG important remember.INF COMP if you(.SG) this.GEN
- bijre soptsesth naakeninie dle buerebe sjædta.*
 about speak.2SG someone.COM then good.CPR become.3SG

‘If you are suffering, perhaps because of love troubles or something else that constrains, it is important to remember that if you talk to somebody, it’ll get better then.’ (SIKOR; <http://www.nfk.no/artikkel.aspx?AId=26011>)

As regards non-finite clauses, South Saami might be the Uralic language with the least non-finite clauses. As the past participle and connegative are usually used in periphrastic (finite) predicates and action nominalizations such as *vuesiehtimmie* ‘showing; illustration’ in *vuesiehtimmien gaavhtan* ‘for example, illustration’ (9) are best regarded as deverbal nouns and not verb forms, purposive clauses with infinitives (19) and concomitance clauses with progressives (20) are virtually the only types of non-finite subordinate clauses in the language:

- (19) *Båetieh diekie prihtjegem jovkedh!*
 come.IMP.2SG here coffee.ACC drink.INF
 ‘Come to drink coffee here!’
- (20) *Manne daesnie tjöövkesne tjahkesjeminie prihtjegem jovkeminie.*
 I here kitchen.INE sit.PROG coffee.ACC drink.PROG
 ‘I am sitting here in the kitchen, drinking coffee.’

One of the special features of South Saami clause combining is the existence of anaphoric vs. logophoric distinction in logophoric complement clauses. As mentioned in Section 8.3.1, the original third person pronouns *satne*, *såtnoeh*, and *sijjieh* have been largely replaced by *dihste* and *dah*, but they have remained in use as logophoric third person pronouns (21a), while *dihste* is used as an anaphoric pronoun in corresponding contexts (21b):

- (21) a. *Tjiddtjie jeehti satne edtja vuelkedh.*
 mother_i say.PST.3SG s/he_i will.3SG leave.INF
 ‘Mother_i said that she_i will leave.’ (Magga & Magga 2012: 52)
- b. *Tjiddtjie jeehti dihte edtja vuelkedh.*
 mother_i say.PST.3SG s/he_j will.3SG leave.INF
 ‘Mother_i said that s/he_j will leave.’ (Magga & Magga 2012: 52)

A complementizer such as *ahte* is not needed in complement clauses such as (21a–b) above. Another type of conjunctionless clause combining are coordinated sentences such as (22). In (23b), the periphrastic future construction consisting of the auxiliary *edtje*- ‘will’ (23a) has a specific subordinate purposive meaning.

- (22) *Tjiddtjie tjuedtjele (jih) olkese vualka.*
 mother stand.up.3SG (and) outside leave.3SG
 ‘Mother stands up and goes outside.’
- (23) a. *Tjiddtjie edtja olkese vuelkedh.*
 mother will.3SG outside leave.INF
 ‘Mother will go outside.’
- b. *Tjiddtjie tjuedtjele edtja olkese vuelkedh.*
 mother stand.up.3SG will.3SG outside leave.INF
 ‘Mother stands up to go outside.’

8.5 Glossed text example

Excerpt from a radio causerie *Gijrebijjeh* ‘Spring days’ (Jaahkenelkien Aanna 2000: 78):

Daaroen raedtiem Leah gujht joe naa guhkiem stoerredigkieveeljemen
 Norwegian.GEN side.ACC be.3PL well already quite long.ACC Storting.election.GEN

bijre, plaerine, raadijovesne jih maajehvååjnesisnie TV-esne
 about newspaper.PL.INE radio.INE and television.broadcast.INE TV.INE

digkiedamme.
 debate.PST.PTCP

‘On the Norwegian side, there have been debates related to the Storting (parliamentary) elections in newspapers, on the radio, and on television broadcasts for quite some time.’

Nov sån mahta Saemieraadijovesne aaj aalkeme
 certainly well can.3SG Saami.radio.INE also begin.PST.PTCP

mijjen veeljemen bijre soptsestalledh.
 we.GEN election.GEN about discuss.INF

‘It has certainly become possible to begin to discuss our elections on the Saami radio as well.’

Mohte ibie hov mijjeh åarjelhsaemieh disse jaksh.
 but NEG.1PL DIP we South.Saami.PL it.ILL reach.CNG

‘But that still does not concern us South Saami, of course.’

Ij rijhkeradijovesne jih maajehvååjnesisnie TV-esne jih ij
 NEG.3SG national.radio.INE and television.broadcast.INE TV.INE and NEG.3SG

Saemieraadijovesne/TV-esne mij gænnah mijjen bijre govlh jallh vååjnh.
 Saami.radio.INE/TV.INE anything we.GEN about be.heard.CNG or be.seen.CNG

‘Nothing can be heard or seen about us either on the national radio, television broadcasts or even on the Saami radio or television.’

Jih dihte mij båata, dam dan garmereslaakan gåhtjoeh "saemien",
 and it REL come.3SG it.ACC so proud.ADV call.3PL Saami.GEN

eah gæssie bikhedh mennie saemien gielesne dam.
 NEG.3PL ever explain.CNG what.INE Saami.GEN language.INE it.ACC

‘And that which comes up, it is so proudly called “Saami”, without ever explaining in which Saami language it is.’

Nimhtie jienehke almetje daaroen raedtesne eah gæssie åadtjoeh daejredh,
 thus majority human Norwegian.GEN side.INE NEG.3PL ever get.CNG know.INF

daennie laantesne jienebh saemien gielh.
 this.INE country.INE much.CPR.PL Saami.GEN language.PL

‘As a consequence, most people on the Norwegian side never get to know that there are more Saami languages in this country.’

Dah jis laedtieh, gieh Leah åadtjeme mijjen bijre govledh
 it.PL DIP Norwegian.PL REL.PL be.3PL get.PST.PTCP we.GEN about hear.INF

jih ånnetji mijjen bijre daejrieh, dah jis lukkieh "saemien bijre"
 and little we.GEN about know.3PL it.PL DIP read.3PL Saami.GEN about

- *jih dellie iktesth barre noerhtesaemien!*
 and then constantly only North.Saami.GEN

‘And even for those Norwegians who have had the opportunity to hear about us and know a little about us, they read “about the Saami” – and it is always only about the North Saami!’

8.6 Further reading

The most important classic description of South Saami is Bergsland’s (1946) grammar of the dialect of Plassje (Røros), Norway, although its structuralist (glossematic) method is severely outdated. A more practical, but linguistically important description using the contemporary orthography is his school grammar (Bergsland 1994), further elaborated in Magga and Magga’s (2012) *Sørsamisk grammatikk*, which is the most comprehensive modern description of classical South Saami. In addition to works published in Norwegian, the only relatively recent comprehensive account of the language is the 176-page grammar (phonology and morphology) in the first part of Hasselbrink’s (1981–1985) *Südlappisches Wörterbuch*, which uses an outdated and idiosyncratic phonetic transcription based on both the International Phonetic Alphabet and the Finno-Ugric transcription system. Lagercrantz’s (1923) early description of the northernmost dialects of South Saami is also rather idiosyncratic, but it is an important source of authentic data. Larsson (2012) is a meticulous study in search of the internal variation and the southern border of Ume Saami, the adjacent neighbour of South Saami in the north.