

Lule Saami

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9.1 History and classification of Lule Saami

Lule Saami (*julevsámegiella* or *sámegiella*, spoken by (*julev*) *sáme* ‘(Lule) Saami (PL)’) is geographically and genealogically located between North Saami in the north-east and Pite Saami in the south-west. Lule Saami is spoken in a relatively large area in the central regions of Norway and Sweden—the distance between the westernmost settlements in Nordlándá/Nordland County of Norway to the easternmost Lule Saami of Jiellevárre in Swedish Norrbotten is more than 300 kilometres (Map 9.1). The estimated number of speakers varies, about 700 being perhaps the best educated guess. As the language has been spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Scandinavian languages for centuries, most adult speakers have been bilingual in Norwegian/Swedish for generations. Even though Lule Saami is also being transmitted to new generations, virtually all new speakers grow up in a predominantly Norwegian/Swedish environment. Historically, Finnish (Meänkieli) has also been a significant contact language in the eastern parts of the Lule Saami territory.

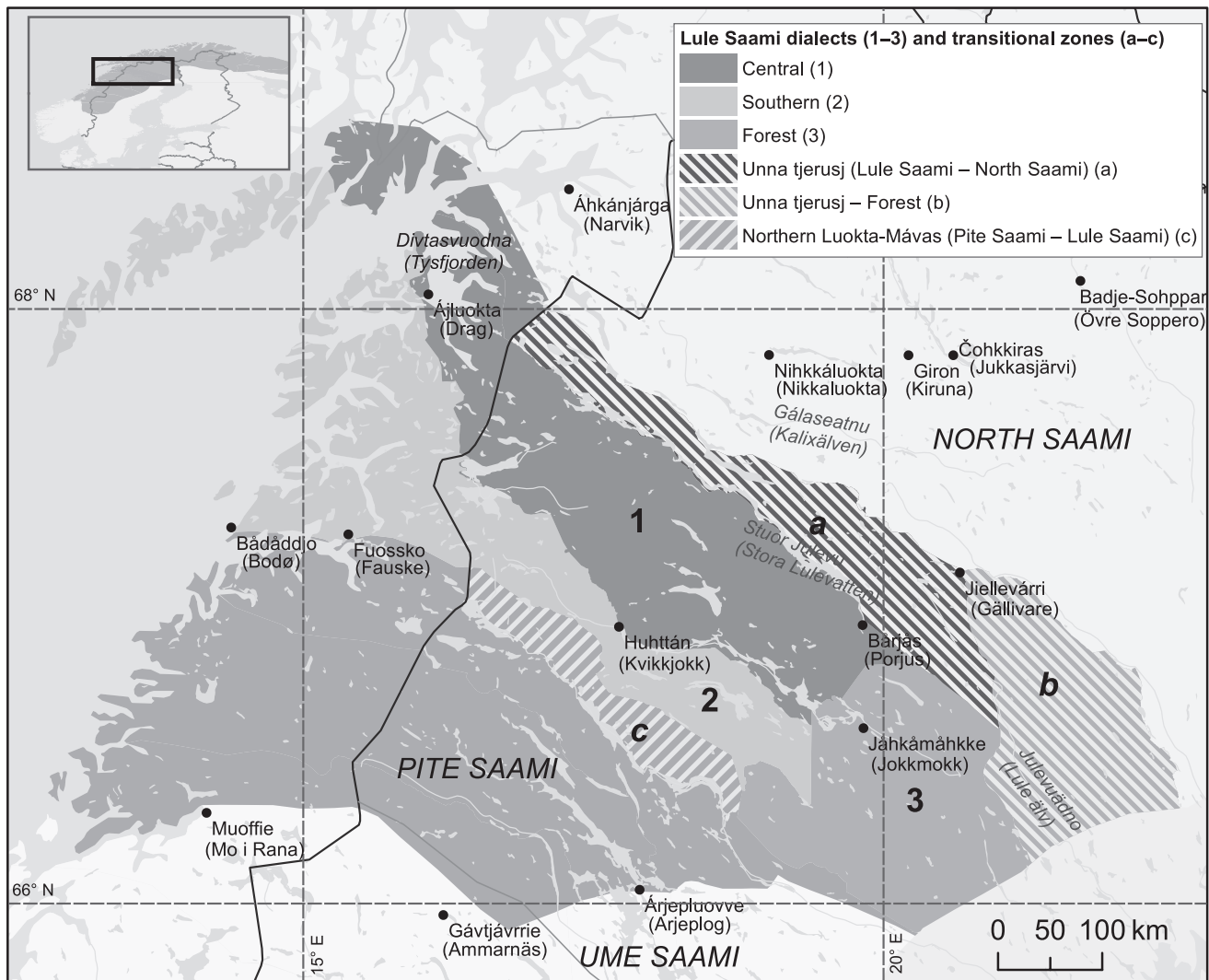
Despite being the second most spoken Saami language, Lule Saami is relatively little known outside Saami linguistics. One of the reasons appears to lie in the closeness between Lule Saami and North Saami, the best known representative of the Saami branch. In fact, the two languages are so close to each other that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, they can be considered the best remaining example of the Saami dialect continuum that has consisted of innumerable traditional vernaculars (dialects, subdialects, idiolects) instead of a limited number of more or less independent links of a language chain represented by present-day literary standards.

Although Lule Saami first acquired its status as an independent literary language as early as the first half of the nineteenth century—and the first publications were followed by the first dictionaries and grammars of Lule Saami (e.g. Halász 1881, 1885, Wiklund 1890, 1891) in the same century—the phonological and morphological make-up of the Lule Saami vernaculars is so similar to that of North Saami that it was not until 1983 that the Lule Saami officially

adopted an orthography that deliberately and substantially deviates from that adopted for North Saami in 1979. From then on, the Lule Saami have experienced a linguistic, cultural, and political awakening, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century their language is one of the officially acknowledged Saami languages in Norway and Sweden. Despite the small number of speakers, the language is used also in higher education and modern media as well as various other, albeit limited, domains of society.

Consisting of various subdialects on the Saami dialect continuum, Lule Saami has been classified in various ways by different scholars. The language is inextricably connected to not only North Saami in the north-east, but also to the critically endangered Pite Saami in the south. However, opinions differ as to whether the three languages form a unified whole known as “Central Saami”, or alternatively, whether the term should be reserved for Lule and Pite Saami only, or possibly for Lule, Pite, and even Ume Saami further south. Owing to the overall closeness and the sociolinguistically marginal position of Pite Saami, many of the most prominent experts on Lule Saami have regarded Pite Saami as a dialect of “Lule Saami in the wide sense” (see Rydving 2013: 41–3, 65–6 for detailed discussion).

This chapter concentrates on Lule Saami as spoken and written by those Saami who regard themselves and their vernaculars as Lule Saami. This means that the northernmost transitional dialects of the Luokta-Mávas reindeer herding district of the Árjepluovve/Arjeplog municipality are better labelled as Pite Saami, and the language spoken in the districts Báste čearru and Girjji in Jiellevárre/Jiellevárri/Gällivare belongs to North Saami (cf. Lehtiranta 1992: 6, Sammallahti 1998a: 19). However, the situation is more ambiguous in Unna tjerusj of Jiellevárre. As the name indicates, the reindeer herding district (*tjerusj*, diminutive of *tjærro*, cognate of North Saami *čearru* in Báste čearru) is officially considered as a part of the Lule Saami territory, but many local Saami have difficulties in identifying themselves as either Lule or North Saami. Furthermore, their vernaculars lack some of the most important features that are considered emblematic to Lule Saami (Omma 2019).



Map 9.1 The traditional territories of Lule Saami and the neighbouring dialects of Pite Saami and North Saami
 Note: The Lule Saami dialect areas as well as transitional dialects are depicted mostly according to Sammallahti (1998a: 21–2).

The undisputedly Lule Saami vernaculars comprise three main dialects: 1) the so-called central dialect spoken in the Jåhkågasska and Sirges districts in Jåhkâmáhkke/Jokkmokk (Sweden), as well as in the municipalities of Hábmer/Hamarøy and Áhkánjárgga/Narvik (Norway), 2) the southern dialect of Duorbun (Jåhkâmáhkke), and 3) the forest dialects of Slåhkká and Udtjá (Jåhkâmáhkke) and Jiellevárre (Sammallahti 1998a: 21–2, Rydving 2013: 42–3, 145–150). In the absence of detailed information on the largely extinct vernaculars of the westernmost areas, the dialect borders within Norway (Map 9.1) are to be understood as somewhat arbitrary. In addition, the northern transitional vernacular of Unna tjerusj is commonly regarded as the fourth main dialect of Lule Saami.

The present-day literary Lule Saami is based on the so-called central dialects spoken in Jåhkâmáhkke, Hábmer, and Áhkánjárgga, and most speakers live in these municipalities. Owing to the similarity of Swedish and Norwegian as well as the mobile lifestyle of the Lule Saami, the state border has not been considered a dialect boundary. However, the two dominant societies and their languages do increasingly influence Lule Saami, especially on a lexical level, resulting in complementary concepts such as *gymnása* (*skåvllå*) (Swedish *gymnasieskola* ‘gymnasium’) and *joark-kaskåvllå* (Norwegian *videregående skole* ‘continuation school’) for ‘secondary school’. The situation is thus analogous to that of South Saami (see 8.1). There are also other words whose usage is often perceived as corresponding to

the state border: e.g. *dåhpe* ‘house; cottage’ (< Old Swedish *stuva*) and *håjmma* ‘home’ (< Swedish *hem*) are favoured on the Swedish side of the border, whereas the native *goahte* ‘house; cottage’ and *sijdda* ‘home’ are more common in Norway. In the same vein, ‘a blue box’ is *lahte låda* in Sweden but *alek kássa* in Norway.

As in any language, words may have different meanings in different varieties, and for example, *vielljabelle* (*viellja* ‘brother’ + *bielle* ‘side; half’) usually denotes ‘half-brother’ in Sweden, but ‘male cousin’ in Norway. However, many of the words and meanings characterized as being used in Norway have cognates in North Saami and are also used by the northernmost speakers of Lule Saami in Sweden.

The vernaculars of Jåhkâmáhkke were also the basis for the religious writings published by the revivalist preacher and botanist Lars Levi Læstadius (1800–61), the first Lule Saami speaker to have published texts written directly in Saami. Likewise, the major dictionary and historical grammar by the great Swedish Lappologist Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868–1934) were also based on his fieldwork conducted in Jåhkâmáhkke in the 1880s (Wiklund 1890, 1891). The orthography recreated by Wiklund fell gradually out of use in the early twentieth century, but the adoption of the present-day orthography has resulted in a renaissance of Lule Saami since the 1980s.

9.2 Phonology

The phonology of Lule Saami is quite similar to that of the westernmost dialects of North Saami (chapter 10). In fact, for this reason the two languages have at times shared a common orthography, and since the adoption of the current Lule Saami orthography in 1980s, one of the most significant differences between the two has been the largely superficial distinctness of principles of the two orthographies. While the phoneme inventory is slightly smaller in Lule Saami, the general morphophonological structure of the language is at least as complex as in North Saami: Lule Saami has not only the consonant gradation typical of the northernmost Saami languages, but its vowel system exhibits more metaphony than North Saami. Within the entire branch of Saami languages, Lule Saami morphophonology could be characterized as a combination of the northern consonant gradation and southern metaphony (cf. South Saami with no consonant gradation but a complex regressive metaphony; see chapter 8).

9.2.1 Vowels and diphthongs

The vowel system consists of short and long monophthongs as well as diphthongs. Table 9.1 presents the first-syllable monophthongs and their orthographical representations.

Table 9.1 First-syllable monophthongs in Lule Saami

	Front		Central	Back	
	Illabial	Labial	Labial	Illabial	Labial
Close	i <i>	(y <y>)	(ʉ <u>)		u <u>
Mid	e <e>	(ø <ø/ö>)			o <å>
Open	(æ: <æ/ä>)			a <a> ɑ: <á>	

As seen in Table 9.1, there are five indisputable monophthongs, /i u e o a/, that occur in the first syllable. Virtually all of them have two distinct lengths, but only /a/ and /ɑ:/ are distinguished in writing: <a> stands for /a/ and <á> for /ɑ:/—also in other syllables, as seen in /manna/ <manná> [REL.INE] ‘in which’, /manna:/ <manná> [go.3SG] ‘goes’, and /ma:nna:/ <mánná> ‘child’. However, other quantity pairs, such as /o/ and /o:/, are not distinguished, as seen in /monno/ <mánná> ‘I’, /oto:/ <áddá> ‘new’, and /ho:llat/ <hállat> [speak.INE].

In addition to /i u e o a/, the graphemes <æ> and <ä> are used (in Norway and Sweden, respectively) to refer to a vowel that is often described as the monophthong /æ(:)/, but especially in the dialects spoken in Sweden, the actual pronunciation is often approximately [iæ] or [eæ]. An alternative analysis for this segment is to regard it as the fourth native diphthong in the rather symmetric diphthong system seen in Table 9.2. On the other hand, if the diphthongs are analysed as single phonemes, there is no need to make a sharp distinction between monophthongs and diphthongs. Especially in the varieties with only one low monophthong, the vowel here presented as the back vowel /ɑ/ may also be realized as a central vowel [ä] and even a front vowel [a].

Table 9.2 Diphthongs in Lule Saami

/ie/		/uo/	
first syllable:	<ie>	first syllable:	<uo>
second syllable:	<e>	second syllable:	<o>
(/æ: ~ eæ ~ iæ/)		/oa/	
first syllable:	<æ/ä>	first syllable:	<oa>

It is notable that the diphthongs /uo/ <uo> and /ie/ <ie> occur in the second syllable also, but there they are written as <o> and <e>, as <á> stands for /o/ and /o:/, and /e/ and /e:/ are found in odd syllables only. Words like <vuodo> and <giesse> thus stand for /vuotuo/ ‘bottom’ and /kiessie/ ‘summer’. The vowels /y/, /ʉ/, and /ø/, shown in brackets in Table 9.1, occur only in fairly new Scandinavian loanwords such as /k^homávnna/ <komuvnna> ‘municipality’ (< Swedish *kommun*), /fyl^hka/ <fylkka> ‘(Norwegian) county’ (< Norwegian *fylke*), and /lø:h^hka/ <løhkka> ‘onion’ (< *løk/lök*). In the same vein, the

adoption of new words like *automáhtta* ‘automat’ through the majority languages may have partly resulted in new diphthongs, but as the autochthonous diphthongs are opening and the phonetic equivalents of closing diphthongs are sequences of vowels and the semivowels /j v/ (see 9.2.2), these new words seem to fit in the old pattern (cf. /savtas/ [savtas] ‘savdas’ ‘misty’). The use of the letters ⟨æ ä ø ö⟩ corresponds to that of the Scandinavian majority languages: ⟨æ⟩ and ⟨ø⟩ are usually used in Norway, and ⟨ä⟩ and ⟨ö⟩ in Sweden.

In addition to the full vowels presented here, Lule Saami is also known for having noticeable epenthetic short vowels in certain heterorganic consonant clusters. As their occurrence is mostly limited to certain morphophonological phenomena, they will be described in more detail in 9.2.5.

9.2.2 Consonants

The consonant system consists of about two dozen consonants, most of which can be geminated, and many have as many as three distinct quantities (marked as /C CC C^c/), as seen in Table 9.3. Table 9.4 presents all Lule Saami consonant phonemes and their orthographical representations.

Table 9.3 The three quantities of consonant length in Lule Saami

<i>maná</i>	/mana:/	go.IMP.2SG	‘go!’	< <i>manna</i> - ‘go’
<i>manná</i>	/manna:/	go.3SG	‘goes’	< <i>manna</i> - ‘go’
<i>manná</i>	/man ⁿ na:/	begin. to.go.3SG	‘begins to go’	< <i>manna</i> - ‘begin to go’

Not unlike the vowel system, the Lule Saami consonant system is quite similar to that of North Saami, but with fewer marginal phonemes. The distinction between voiced and voiceless stops is currently in the process of changing. The original word-initial stops /p t k/ ⟨b d g⟩ lack both voicing and aspiration, as in *bená* /pe:na/ ‘dog’, *dállá* /tollo/ ‘fire’, and *giella* /kiella/ ‘language’. Established loanwords such as *gáffa+bánna* /ka:ffa+pa:nⁿna/ ‘coffee pot’ vary with words like *káffapánna* /k^ha:ffa+p^ha:nⁿna/ that reflect their Scandinavian origins (Swedish *kaffepanna*, Norwegian *kaffepanne*) both in pronunciation and spelling. In more recent loans, there are no true alternatives to aspirated stops, as in *kásus* /k^ha:sus/ ‘case (in linguistics)’ and *kássa* /k^ha:s^ssa/ ‘box’ (< Norwegian *kasse*), which stands in opposition to an older loanword *gássa* /ka:s^ssa/ ‘gas’. On the other hand, ⟨b d g⟩ may also stand for the voiced newcomers /b d g/, even in the initial position: While *gássa* /ka:s^ssa/ ‘gas’ and *gussa* /kussa/ ‘cow’ reflect older phonology, the newer *bussa* ‘bus’ is /bus^ssa/ instead of */pus^ssa/. Therefore, there are now three series of word-initial plosives, although the original series /p t k/ tends to be rather voiced among many of the younger generation. On the other hand, /b d g/ also occur as word-internal geminates in the traditional language.

The phoneme /v/ is realized as a fricative in word-initial position and between vowels, for example, but as a semi-vowel (approximant) at the end of the syllable, e.g. in *vattáv* [vatta:v] /vatta:v/ give.1SG ‘I give’. Likewise, the syllable-final /j/ is a semivowel, and the sequences /Vv/ and /Vj/ thus occupy the phonetic position of the non-existent closing diphthongs.

As seen in Table 9.4, some consonants are written with digraphs reflecting the orthographies of Norwegian and

Table 9.4 Consonants in Lule Saami

	Labial	Dental / alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m ⟨m⟩	n ⟨n⟩		(ŋ ⟨rn⟩)	ɲ ⟨nj⟩	ŋ ⟨ŋ ^a ⟩	
Stop	b ⟨b⟩	d ⟨d⟩		(ɖ ⟨rd⟩)	(ɟ ⟨dj⟩)	g ⟨g⟩	
	p ⟨b, p⟩	t ⟨d, t⟩		(ʈ ⟨rt⟩)		k ⟨g, k⟩	
	(p ^h ⟨p⟩)	(t ^h ⟨t⟩)				(k ^h ⟨k⟩)	
Affricate		ɖʒ ⟨dts⟩	ɖʒ̥ ⟨dtj⟩				
		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⟩		(ɭ ⟨rl⟩)			

^a /ŋ/ is most commonly spelled as ⟨ŋ⟩, but also as ⟨ń⟩ and ⟨ñ⟩.

Marginal phonemes also include the word-internal palatal stop /j̥ j̯/ occurring only as geminates, written as <dj ddj>, but is actually absent in many varieties where the consonant clusters /dj ddj/ are used instead. Finally, the retroflexes /ŋ dʈ tʂ lʃ / <rn rd rt rl> in Table 9.4 occur in recent Scandinavian loanwords such as *journalissta* /œuŋalista/, *artihkal* /aʈihkal/, and *parlamænnta* /paʎamænta/, but unlike the situation in Scandinavian, in which such sounds can be regarded as a regular sandhi phenomenon, the new retroflexes of Lule Saami contrast with the corresponding consonant clusters in more original words such as *tjerda* /t̪œrta/ [species.PL] ‘species; types’, *bierna* /pierna/ [bear.PL] ‘bears’.

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. *málestibme* /'ma:lies.tip.mie/ 'cooking' (action nominalization of *málesti-* 'cook') and *tjiegnalabmusijda* /ʔɛiek.ŋa.lap.mu.sij.ta/ [deep.SUPER.PL.ILL] 'to the deepest ones'. However, many new loanwords, such as *analyseri-* /'a.na.ly.sie.ri-/ 'analyse', have brought new stress patterns to Lule Saami. Some derivational suffixes, as in the inchoative verbs in *-(sj)goahte-* and the abstract nouns in *-vuohta*, seem to have the secondary stress on the first syllable of the suffix, regardless of the number of syllables, e.g. (*málesti-* 'cook' → *málestisjgådij* /'ma:lies.tiɛ.ko:tij/ cook.INCH.PST.3SG '(s/he) began to cook' and (*tjiegnalis* 'deep' → *tjiegnalisvuohta* /ʔɛiek.ŋa.lis.vuoh.ta/ 'depth'.

9.2.4 Word and syllable structure

There are two marginal clitics consisting of single consonants /s/ and /k/. The former is attached to interrogative words and has an attenuative function, e.g. *manna* ‘why?’ → *manna=s* ‘why then?’, and the latter appears to derive from a cliticized variant of the question particle *gus* /kus/: *diedá gus* [know.2SG Q] ~ *diedá=k gus* [know.2SG=Q Q] ~ *diedá=k* [know.2SG=Q] ‘do you know?’. However, by far the most common clitic and one of the twenty most frequent “word forms” in a large corpus of written Lule Saami is *l* /l/, the cliticized variant of the most common form of the copula *la* ~ *le* [be.3SG]. The segment *l* is written separately and treated as a verb form in school grammars, but it is in fact a clitic that is—more or less obligatorily—used when the copula is preceded by a word ending in a vowel: *Váhtjer la Svierigin* [Váhtjer be.3SG Sweden.INE] ‘Váhtjer is in Sweden’, but *Ájluokta l Vuonan* [Ájluokta be.3SG Norway.INE] ‘Ájluokta is in Norway’. The segment /l/ is not a word form of its own, though, and not even a syllable, but the clitic is phonologically attached to the preceding word. Therefore, *Ájluokta l Vuonan* is phonologically /a:ɲ.luok.taɭ.vuo.nan/.

Lule Saami has the three-grade consonant gradation typical of the northernmost Saami languages. Orthographical issues aside, the general features of the consonant gradation in Lule Saami are actually so similar to the consonant gradation in North Saami, and especially its westernmost dialects, that the reader is referred to 7.2 and 10.2 for a brief overview of the principles governing the consonant gradation.

There are only few word types that are not affected by consonant gradation to the same extent as in North Saami, e.g. *gidá* /kita:/ [spring.NOM] : *gidá* /kita:/ [spring.GEN] vs North Saami *giđđá* [spring.NOM] : *giđá* [spring.GENACC].

To focus on the morphophonological features characteristic of Lule Saami in particular, the most prominent phenomena are related to vowels instead of consonants only. In addition to certain other morphophonological changes affecting vowels (cf. 10.2.4 for North Saami as well as examples in 9.3), three specific features can be mentioned: 1) partial labial harmony in the second syllable, 2) vowel lengthening in the second syllable, and 3) epenthetic short vowels in between certain heterorganic consonants in a cluster of Grade III.

As for the first feature, the central and northern dialects, especially, show partial labial harmony, in which both the second syllable short /a/ and the long /a:/ have been labialized to /o/ and /o:/ by the first syllable /o/, e.g. *jáhká* /johko/ 'river' and *jáhtá-* /joh^hto:-/ 'start moving' (cf. North Saami *johka* and *joh^htá-*, respectively). Owing to the vowel lengthening to be discussed shortly, a long /o:/ may also go back to a former short /a/ (e.g. *áđá* /oto:/ 'new' ~ North Saami *odda*). As the historical labialization has resulted in o-stems throughout the paradigms, on a synchronic level we are dealing with a partial phonotactic constraint that also affects the creation of new words and adaptation of loanwords. From the verb *gávvi-* /kov^vvie-/ 'photograph', the agent noun *gávvár* /kov^vvo:r/ 'photographer' is formed (but *guolli-* 'fish' → *guollár* 'fisher' etc.), and foreign words such as Swedish *socker* 'sugar', *ton* 'tone', *elektron* 'electron', and *nation* 'nation' yield *sáhkár*, *távnna*, *nasjávnná*, and *elektrávnna*. However, the adjectival derivational suffix *-lasj* differs from *-ár/-ár* in not being affected by the labial harmony: *nasjávnnálasj* 'national' and *elektrávnna^hlasj* 'electronic' are used instead of **nasjávnnálasj* or **elektrávnna^hlasj*. Further, there are also underived words where a first-syllable /o:/ alternates with /oa/ instead of triggering changes in the second syllable (e.g. *hálav* [speak.1SG] : *hoallá* [speak.3SG]).

As for the second feature mentioned, the second-syllable vowels /a/ and /o/ are regularly lengthened when preceded by a single consonant (Grade I in consonant gradation, cf. 7.2.4 and 10.2.4). Historical results of the lengthening could already be seen in the above-mentioned examples *gidá* /kita:/ 'spring' and *áđá* /oto:/ 'new'. Both stems remain as such in all inflectional forms, though, and for the stem-final /o:/, the vowel length is not reflected in the orthography; compare *jáhká* /johko/ 'river' mentioned earlier. However, the vowel lengthening is indeed a productive process, as shown by *jáhká* /johko/ [river.NOM] (Grade II) : *jággá* /joko:/ [river.GEN] (Grade I), and even in the spelling of a-stem nouns,

such as *gussa* /kussa/ [cow.NOM] : *gusá* /kusa:/ [cow.GEN]. As a morphophonological phenomenon, the vowel lengthening affects verbs just like nouns and adjectives: *gullap* /kullap/ [hear.1PL] 'we hear' : *gulá* /kula:/ [hear.2SG] 'you hear'.

Thirdly, one of the most characteristic, albeit also one of the less understood, traits of the Lule Saami morphophonology is the occurrence of epenthetic short vowels in word forms representing the strongest grade (Grade III) in consonant gradation (Larsson 1990). In spite of not having an obvious phoneme status, the epenthetic vowels are customarily already mentioned in elementary textbooks as a key to the correct pronunciation, and in the preliminary version of the present-day orthography, the so-called gradation mark ' was explicitly defined as a marker of an epenthetic vowel (Spiik 1977: 2), the quality of which is usually identical to that of the preceding vowel. From the 1980s on, the gradation mark ' has been replaced by the notation in which Grade II is expressed with two consonant letters (e.g. <-rg-> in *bargo* /parkuo/ [work.GEN] or [work.PL]), whereas in Grade III the latter member of the consonant cluster is doubled (<-rgg-> in *barggo* work.NOM). However, the crucial difference in the pronunciation lies in the existence or absence of an overly short vowel between the consonants, here presented as /^o/ as in /par^okua/ for *barggo*. In the actual pronunciation of the words, /^o/ is assimilated to the preceding and following syllabic vowels. Table 9.5 on p. 136 presents examples of some of the most salient contexts for epenthetic vowels.

Even though comparable epenthetic vowels are also found in the neighbouring Saami languages, their preconditions and realizations change at both the northern and southern borders of the Lule Saami dialects. The intricacies of the Saami consonant gradation fit poorly into the framework provided by traditional segmental phonology, and ad hoc notations like the grade marker ' or the quasiphonemic /^o/ are often needed. However, the grammatical functions of this prominent feature of Lule Saami suggest that although there may be little reason to assign the epenthetic vowel(s) a full phoneme status, the speakers are fully conscious of the existence of the phenomenon. Moreover, as pointed out by Larsson (1990: 189–90), the emerging tendency to observe analogous vowels even in homorganic consonant clusters may be explained by the functional load and phoneme-like psychological reality of such vowels.

9.3 Morphology

Although none of the Saami languages can be characterized as especially conservative, most morphological categories of Lule Saami are identical to those reconstructed for Proto-Saami—despite the fact that the outward appearance of Lule

Table 9.5 Some of the most salient contexts for epenthetic vowels in Lule Saami

	SG.NOM (Grade III)			PL.NOM/SG.GEN (Grade II)			
/rk/	<i>barggo</i>	/par ^a kuo/	[par ^a kuo]	<i>bargo</i>	/parkuo/	[parkuo] ^a	‘work’
/rp/	<i>dárbbbo</i>	/tar ^a puo/	[tar ^a puo]	<i>dárbo</i>	/tarpuo/	[tarpuo]	‘need’
/rv/	<i>tjoarvve</i>	/t̥o ^a ar ^a vie/	[t̥o ^a ar ^a vie]	<i>tjoarve</i>	/t̥o ^a arvie/	[t̥o ^a arvie]	‘horn’
/rj/	<i>girjje</i>	/kir ^a jie/	[kir ^a jie]	<i>girje</i>	/kirjie/	[kirjie]	‘book’
/lk/	<i>álggo</i>	/a:l ^a kuo/	[a:l ^a kuo]	<i>álgo</i>	/a:lkuo/	[a:lkuo]	‘beginning’
/lp/	<i>galbba</i>	/kal ^a pa/	[kal ^a pa]	<i>galba</i>	/kalpa/	[kalpa]	‘shield’
/lm/	<i>gálmma</i>	/kol ^a mo/	[kol ^a mo]	<i>gálmá</i>	/kolmo/	[kolmo]	‘three’
/lv/	<i>dálvve</i>	/ta:l ^a vie/	[ta:l ^a vie]	<i>dálve</i>	/ta:lvie/	[ta:lvie]	‘winter’
/jp/	<i>nijbbe</i>	/nij ^a pie/	[nij ^a pie]	<i>nijbe</i>	/nijpie/	[nijpie]	‘knife’
/vt/	<i>bievde</i>	/piev ^a tie/	[piev ^a tie]	<i>bievde</i>	/pievtie/	[pievtie]	‘table’

The table shows consonant clusters consisting of sonorants /r l j v/ followed by heterorganic consonants, with approximate phonetic realizations of the epenthetic vowel.

^a In some contexts such as /parkuo/, the unvoiced member of the consonant cluster may also affect the preceding sonorant, resulting in [p̥arkuo].

Saami morphology is, in a way, an innovative mixture of the consonant gradation and various vowel alternations more typical of the southernmost Saami languages.

9.3.1 Nominal inflection

Lule Saami nouns as well as most pronouns and adjectives are inflected for eight cases and two numbers. Some nouns take possessive suffixes, but such forms are rather infrequent.

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 derivations). A sample of noun paradigms is presented in Table 9.6.

The inflectional paradigms of the disyllabic nouns *biejvve* ‘day’ and *idja* ‘night’, as well as that of the so-called trisyllabic *idet* ‘morning’, in Table 9.6 exemplify only a fraction of the fusional and irregularity of Lule Saami noun inflection. There is only one invariant case ending

Table 9.6 Inflectional paradigms of the Lule Saami nouns *biejvve* ‘day’, *idja* ‘night’, *idet* ‘morning’

	‘day’		‘night’		‘morning’	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>biejvve</i>	<i>biejve</i>	<i>idja</i>	<i>ijá</i>	<i>idet</i>	<i>ideda</i>
Genitive	<i>biejve</i>	<i>biejvij</i>	<i>ijá</i>	<i>ijáj</i>	<i>ideda</i>	<i>idedij</i>
Accusative	<i>biejvev</i>	<i>biejvijt</i>	<i>ijáv</i>	<i>ijájt</i>	<i>idedav</i>	<i>idedijt</i>
Illative	<i>bæjvváj</i>	<i>biejvijda</i>	<i>idjaj</i>	<i>ijájda</i>	<i>idedij</i>	<i>idedijda</i>
Inessive	<i>biejven</i>	<i>biejvijn</i>	<i>iján</i>	<i>ijájñ</i>	<i>idedin</i>	<i>idedijn</i>
Elative	<i>biejves</i>	<i>biejvijs</i>	<i>ijás</i>	<i>ijájs</i>	<i>idedis</i>	<i>idedijs</i>
Comitative	<i>biejvijn</i>	<i>biejvij</i>	<i>ijáñ</i>	<i>ijáj</i>	<i>idedijn</i>	<i>idedij</i>
Essive	<i>biejvven</i>		<i>idjan</i>		<i>idedin</i>	

that is almost always attached to an unaltered stem identical to the nominative singular: the essive in *-n*, preceded by an epenthetic *-i-* after a stem-final consonant (*idet* /*itiet* / : *ided-in* /*itiet-in*/). Otherwise, the paradigms show many instances of suffix allomorphy, stem-internal vowel changes, and unclear morpheme boundaries. For example, the homonymous forms for the genitive singular and nominative plural may be created by consonant gradation (*biejvve* : *biejve*), perhaps accompanied by vowel lengthening (*idja* : *ijá*) or otherwise, although *-a* in *idet* /*itiet* / : *ideda* /*itiet-a*/ is not traditionally regarded as a grammatical suffix (genitive singular or nominative plural) per se. For some other words, there is no stem alternation in the entire paradigm (e.g. *gidá* spring : *gidá* spring.SG.GEN/PL.NOM), whereas for others both the first- and the second-syllable vowels as well as the consonants in between may change (e.g. *iepper* (wooden) bucket : *æbbára* bucket.SG.GEN/PL.NOM, *boados* result : *båhtusa* result.SG.GEN/PL.NOM).

In addition to the SG.GEN = PL.NOM syncretism, the comitative singular is identical to the inessive plural. As throughout the Saami branch, it is mainly a matter of taste whether the essive forms are to be called plain (singular-cum-plural) essives or whether they are analysed as both a singular essive and a homonymous plural essive. Moreover, the genitive plural is identical to the comitative plural, which makes Lule Saami one of the few Saami languages without the relatively recent grammaticalization of the new comitative plural from a postposition. The postposition *gum* (cognate with the comitative plural suffixes of North Saami, *-(i)guin*, and South Saami, *-(i)gumie*) only rarely accompanies the plural comitative(-genitive), e.g. *boahhtsujgum* ‘with the reindeer’ < *boahhtsuj gum* [reindeer.PL.COM/PL.GEN with] (cf. 7.3.1.1).

As for the functions of the cases, the labels “nominative”, “genitive”, and “accusative” are mostly self-explanatory. 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 a static, often temporary state. One of the most significant grammatical differences between Lule Saami and North Saami is that the former has retained the distinction between the genitive and the accusative as well as that between the inessive and the elative (cf. 7.3 and 10.3). In addition to the unquestionable cases seen in Table 9.6, the suffix *-rájge*, originally the genitive of *rájgge* ‘hole’, has many semantic as well as syntactic features that make it appear as a case-like category, a “prolative” expressing paths such as in *láhttorájge* ‘along the ski track’ (*láhtto* ‘ski track’; see 44.1). In addition to eight productive cases, Lule Saami is also one of the Saami languages that have best preserved traces of Proto-Saami partitive and prolative as well as the abessive case, e.g. *jahket ávddål* [year.PART before] ‘a year before’ (*jahke* ‘year’), *jávrræk* ‘along the lake’ (“prolative” of *jávrræ*

‘lake’), *loabedagi* [permission.ABE] ‘without permission’ (> degrammaticalized *loabe dagi* [permission.GEN without]).

Lule Saami also has possessive suffixes as a productive morphological category, but in practice, their use is largely confined to kinship terms on one hand, and to a handful of lexicalized adverbial expressions on the other (e.g. *mánná* ‘child’ : *mánájdisá* [child.PL.ACC.POSS.3PL] ‘their children (acc.)’, *gasska* ‘gap; space; interval’ : *gaska-n* [gap-INE] > ‘between’ : *gaskanisá* [between.POSS.3PL] ‘between them’).

Personal pronouns (Table 9.7) differ from nouns and other pronouns in one important respect: unlike nouns but quite like verbs, personal pronouns have distinct dual forms, and the plural personal pronouns thus refer to more than two persons. From the morphological point of view, the dual and plural personal pronouns are “singular” forms of their own, as their case forms usually follow the pattern of singular case forms of nouns (and other pronouns) instead of having plural case markers as seen in Table 9.6. For example, the accusative of *mâj* ‘we two’ does not contain the accusative plural marker *-jt*, but the accusative singular *-v* instead (*munnuv*). Likewise, the accusative of *mij* ‘we (three or more)’ is usually *mijáv*, although *mijájt* also marginally occurs. As often is the case, the inflection of personal pronouns is somewhat irregular. In addition, they have alternative emphatic forms, especially in the nominative.

Table 9.7 Personal pronouns in Lule Saami (inflection exemplified with the nominative and accusative forms)

	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	NOM <i>mân</i> (<i>mánná</i>) ACC <i>muv</i> (<i>muuva</i>)	NOM <i>dân</i> (<i>dádná</i>) ACC <i>duv</i> (<i>duvva</i>)	NOM <i>sân</i> (<i>sádná</i>) ACC <i>suv</i> (<i>suvva</i>)
Dual	NOM <i>mâj</i> (<i>mâdja</i>) ACC <i>munnuv</i>	NOM <i>dâj</i> (<i>dâdja</i>) ACC <i>dunnuv</i>	NOM <i>sâj</i> (<i>sâdja</i>) ACC <i>sunnuv</i>
Plural	NOM <i>mij</i> (<i>midja</i>) ACC <i>mijáv</i> (<i>mijájt</i>)	NOM <i>dij</i> (<i>didja</i>) ACC <i>dijáv</i> (<i>dijájt</i>)	NOM <i>sij</i> (<i>sidja</i>) ACC <i>sijáv</i> (<i>sijájt</i>)

The boundary between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut in Lule Saami, and most adjectives may be used and inflected like nouns, e.g. *vuoras* ‘old (of people); elderly’ : *vuorrasa* old.SG.GEN/old.PL.NOM : *vuorrasijn* old.SG.COM/old.PL.INE. Adjective inflection proper is one of the most complex areas of Lule Saami morphology. Most adjectives have three degrees: the positive, the comparative, and the superlative. In the positive, many native adjectives have distinct forms in predicative and attributive positions (e.g. *Bijla*

l álbbē [car be.3SG cheap] ‘The car is cheap’ but *álbes bijla* ‘a cheap car’). However, the mutual relations of the four categories do not lend themselves easily to generalization. To begin with, many adjectives have identical forms for both predicative and attributive positions (e.g. *vuoras* ‘old’, *nuorra* ‘young’), but many underived adjectives have distinct predicative and attributive forms, and one can seldom automatically derive one from the other. Many adjectives, such as *vuoras* ‘old’, end in -s, but for some, -s occurs in the predicative form only (e.g. predicative *galmas* vs attributive *galmma* ‘cold’), whereas for other adjectives, the situation is reversed (e.g. predicative *álbbē* vs attributive *álbes* ‘cheap’), and for others still, the predicative and the attributive differ otherwise (e.g. predicative *unne* ‘small’ vs attributive *unna*, marginally also *unnes*).

The comparative and superlative markers are -*p/-abbo* and -*mus/-amos* respectively. The former variants are mostly used for stems that are regarded as disyllabic, and the latter for trisyllabic stems. On the other hand, there is also variation such as the two comparative forms for *vuoras* ‘old’: both *vuorrasabbo* and *vuorrasap*, the latter being more often used in an attributive position. Furthermore, as in nearly all parts of Lule Saami morphology, inflection often entails consonant and vowel changes in addition to suffixes.

9.3.2 Verb inflection

To continue comparing Lule Saami with its better-known big sister and other Saami languages, the Lule Saami verb inflection differs from North Saami even more than the noun inflection. The cliticized variant *l* of the copula *la ~ le* was mentioned in section 9.2.4. Other differences include the amalgamated negative forms of the copula (see Table 9.10) as well as the inflection and use of the negative auxiliary in general. As for moods, the conditional is largely missing, and the so-called potential mood carries many signs of a future tense. The so-called imperative includes two distinct categories. In the set of non-finite forms, the purposive converb known as the “supine” is most characteristic of Lule Saami.

Lule Saami verbs are inflected for three persons, three numbers, two (or three) tenses, and two (or three) moods. Not unlike personal pronouns, verbs distinguish between singular, dual, and plural number, and as with personal pronouns, the singular vs dual vs plural distinction usually applies to human referents only, whereas for non-humans, singular or plural forms are used. Like the analogously open word class of nouns, verbs also can be divided into inflectional classes based on the number of syllables and the vowel quality in the second or fourth syllable (for tetrasyllabic stems, usually derived verbs). A sample of three verbs is presented in Table 9.8 in which *oasste-* ‘buy’ represents the most common type, the verbs undergoing consonant gradation (e.g. -*st-* : -*sst-*) and often also vowel alternation

(e.g. *oa-* : *â-*). The second type consists of bisyllabic verb stems (e.g. *tjielggi-* ‘explain’) with no such alternation, and the third type consists of the so-called trisyllabic verbs (e.g. *sámásti-* ‘speak Saami’) with equally little stem-internal alternation, but with quite different inflectional suffixes.

As can be seen in Table 9.8, it is difficult to differentiate between the person, number, and tense, or even mood markers,

Table 9.8 Sample paradigms of the Lule Saami verbs *oasste-* ‘buy’, *tjielggi-* ‘explain’, and *sámásti-* ‘speak (Lule) Saami’

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Potential
1SG	<i>oastáv</i>	<i>oasstiv</i>	<i>ástitjav</i>
2SG	<i>oastá</i>	<i>oassti</i>	<i>ástitja</i>
3SG	<i>oasstá</i>	<i>ástij</i>	<i>ástisj</i>
1DU	<i>oasstin</i>	<i>ástijma</i>	<i>ástitjin</i>
2DU	<i>oasstebihtte</i>	<i>ástijda</i>	<i>ástitjihppe</i>
3DU	<i>oassteba</i>	<i>ástijga</i>	<i>ástitjibá</i>
1PL	<i>oasstep</i>	<i>ástijma</i>	<i>ástitjip</i>
2PL	<i>oasstebihtit</i>	<i>ástijda</i>	<i>ástitjihpit</i>
3PL	<i>oassti</i>	<i>oasstin</i>	<i>ástitji</i>

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Potential
1SG	<i>tjielggiv</i>	<i>tjielggijiv</i>	<i>tjielggitjav</i>
2SG	<i>tjielggi</i>	<i>tjielggiji</i>	<i>tjielggitja</i>
3SG	<i>tjielggi</i>	<i>tjielggij</i>	<i>tjielggisj</i>
1DU	<i>tjielggijin</i>	<i>tjielggijma</i>	<i>tjielggitjin</i>
2DU	<i>tjielggibihhte</i>	<i>tjielggijda</i>	<i>tjielggitjihppe</i>
3DU	<i>tjielggiba</i>	<i>tjielggijga</i>	<i>tjielggitjibá</i>
1PL	<i>tjielggip</i>	<i>tjielggijma</i>	<i>tjielggitjip</i>
2PL	<i>tjielggibihhtit</i>	<i>tjielggijda</i>	<i>tjielggitjihpit</i>
3PL	<i>tjielggiji</i>	<i>tjielggijin</i>	<i>tjielggitji</i>

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Potential
1SG	<i>sámástav</i>	<i>sámástiv</i>	<i>sámástittjav</i>
2SG	<i>sámásta</i>	<i>sámásti</i>	<i>sámástittja</i>
3SG	<i>sámás</i>	<i>sámástij</i>	<i>sámástisj</i>
1DU	<i>sámástin</i>	<i>sámástijma</i>	<i>sámástittjin</i>
2DU	<i>sámástihppe</i>	<i>sámástijda</i>	<i>sámástittjabihhte</i>
3DU	<i>sámástibá</i>	<i>sámástijga</i>	<i>sámástittjaba</i>
1PL	<i>sámástip</i>	<i>sámástijma</i>	<i>sámástittjap</i>
2PL	<i>sámástihpit</i>	<i>sámástijda</i>	<i>sámástittjabihhtit</i>
3PL	<i>sámásti</i>	<i>sámástin</i>	<i>sámástittji</i>

although the element *-i(j)-* is clearly visible in the past-tense forms. For example, some of the most prominent inflectional suffixes occur in PRS.2PL forms such as *oasstebihitit* and *tjielggihitit*, but for *sámásti-* ‘speak Saami’, the corresponding form is *sámástihpit*, whereas for the potential forms like *ásttijihpit*, *tjielggijihpit*, but *sámástittjahiitit*, the marking is partly opposite. For the past tense, forms like *ásttjda* [buy.PST.2PL] are entirely different, and also syncretic with the dual (PST.2DU). Other categories showing systematic syncretism include the fairly opaque forms for PRS.3PL and PST.2SG (e.g. *sámásti*) as well as for PRS.1DU and PST.3PL (e.g. *sámástin*).

Table 9.8 does not include the imperative, although some Lule Saami grammars describe two different imperative paradigms, labelled Imperative I and Imperative II. The difference between the two is reminiscent of that of South Saami (e.g. *boade* [come.IMP1.2SG] ‘come!’ vs *báhtu* [come.IMP2.2SG] ‘please come!’; Spiik 1989: 103; cf. 8.3.2), but in actual usage the two paradigms seem to have been fused together; more research is needed. Traditionally, a conditional mood is also listed as one of the Lule Saami moods, but the inflectional conditional forms such as *nanni-luluj* [strengthen-COND.3SG] ‘would strengthen’ have largely fallen out of use, and a periphrastic conditional consisting of the auxiliary *lulu-* ‘would’ and the infinitive in *-t* (e.g. *luluj nanni-t* [would.3SG strengthen-INF] ‘would strengthen’) is used instead.

The so-called potential mood in Lule Saami is quite different from its cognates and namesakes elsewhere. Not only is it far more frequent and productive in Lule Saami than in any other Saami language, but the label “potential mood” is actually quite misleading, as the so-called potential forms in *-(t)tj-* do not necessarily refer to “potential” states of affairs. A more decisive feature is that these forms almost always refer to future states of affairs, including those that are considered as true and certain as future events may be:

- (1) *Idisj sán, vuojnitja dâ, javlaj.*
appear.POT.3SG 3SG see.POT.2SG DIP say.PST.3SG
‘He’ll appear, you’ll see, he said.’ (G 10)¹
- (2) *Javlajda ællitja moadda bieje vil.*
Christmas.PL.ILL NEG.POT.3PL many day.GEN anymore
‘There won’t be many days left until Christmas.’
(personal knowledge; cf. Ylikoski 2016a: 219)

As the potential is traditionally regarded as a mood without tense distinctions, and the present vs past tense distinction is said to apply to the indicative only, the potential forms are thus in paradigmatic contrast—or in complementary distribution—with the present and past indicative. However,

as the most characteristic semantic feature of the potential is not the “potentiality” as a modal category but rather a mood-free ability to refer to future time, there are good reasons to view the so-called potential forms alternatively as a kind of future tense, a category otherwise almost absent in Uralic (Ylikoski 2016a).

In addition to ordinary lexical verbs, there are two particularly special verbs: the copula and the negation verb. Perhaps the most important difference between Lule Saami and North (and other northernmost) Saami verbs forms lies in the expression of the past negative, as the tense distinction is coded in the negative verb instead of the lexical verb. The entire paradigm of the negative verb is presented in Table 9.9. The negative verb may occur elliptically without the lexical main verb in discourse (e.g. *ittjiv* [NEG.PST.1SG] ‘no, I did not’), 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, a form that is fully identical with the second person singular imperative (e.g. *oaste* for ‘buy’, *tjielggi* ‘explain’, and *sámásta* ‘speak Saami’). In other words, combining the negative auxiliary with the connegative lexical verb yields negative phrases like *iv sámásta* [NEG.1SG speak.Saami.CNG] ‘I don’t speak Saami’ and *ejga sámásta* [NEG.PST.3DU speak.Saami.CNG] ‘they (2) didn’t speak Saami’.

Table 9.9 Inflectional paradigm of the Lule Saami negation verb

	Present indicative	Past indicative	Imperative I	Imperative II
1SG	<i>iv</i>	<i>ittjiv</i>	–	–
2SG	<i>i</i>	<i>ittji</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>allu</i>
3SG	<i>ij</i>	<i>ittjij</i>	<i>allis</i>	<i>allus</i>
1DU	<i>en</i>	<i>ejma</i>	<i>allon</i>	<i>allun</i>
2DU	<i>æhppe</i>	<i>ejda</i>	<i>alle</i>	<i>alluda</i>
3DU	<i>æbá</i>	<i>ejga</i>	<i>alliska</i>	<i>alluska</i>
1PL	<i>ep</i>	<i>ejma</i>	<i>allop</i>	<i>allup</i>
2PL	<i>ehpit</i>	<i>ejda</i>	<i>allit</i>	<i>allut</i>
3PL	<i>e</i>	<i>ettjin</i>	<i>allisa</i>	<i>allusa</i>

As for the copula, or the verb *liehke-* ‘be’, this second most frequent lexeme (after *ja* ‘and’) of the language is highly irregular. In particular, the negation forms differ from ordinary verbs by the use of the extraordinary past-tense connegative *lim*, combined with not only past-tense negative auxiliaries (e.g. *ejga lim* [NEG.PST.3DU be.PST.CNG] ‘they (2) were not’) but also by present forms (*ij lim* [NEG.PRS.3SG be.PST.CNG] ‘s/he was not’). In 2SG and 3PL, the expected predicates have been amalgamated into opaque forms in all

¹ Examples from the following literary texts:

1 Andersen, Gøran (2002). *Stuorládde*. Divtasvuodna: Báhkko (= S)

2 Andersen, Kurt Tore (2002). *Gå skirri sádá*. Divtasvuodna: Báhkko. (= G)

3 Andersen, Kurt Tore (2005). *Sjokoláda ja næjtso*. Divtasvuodna: Báhkko. (= Sj)

tenses, the future-like potential included. Although the past-tense forms of the negative verbs are often described as characteristic of Lule Saami, these forms are mostly lacking in the northeasternmost dialects of the language, and there are also hybrid constructions combining the use of past-tense negative auxiliaries and the past connegative (past participle; cf. 10.3.2.2 and Ylikoski (forthcoming)).

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 and mood of the predicate and are able to occur as predicates on their own. From this perspective, the negative auxiliary must be regarded as finite, and the connegative is non-finite. As for the typologically more common types of non-finite verb forms such as infinitives,

participles, and converbs, Lule Saami has those, too. Table 9.11 shows as many as eleven verb forms that can be described as the non-finites of the language.

The infinitive in *-t* almost always functions as a complement to auxiliary-like modal and related verbs such as *galgga-* ‘shall’, *máhtte-* ‘can’, *ájggo-* ‘intend’, *soajtte-* ‘may’, *viertti-* ‘must’, and *sihta-* ‘want’. The form labelled as the second infinitive here (see also 10.3.2.4.2.2 for North Saami) functions as a complement to still other verbs such as *balla-* ‘fear’ seen in example (6).

The past participle in *-m* is particularly frequent in periphrastic tense-aspect combinations with *liehke-* ‘be’. Along with perfect and past perfect (3a), analogous present and past progressives (3b) are formed with the progressive in

Table 9.10 Inflectional paradigm of the Lule Saami copula in the indicative and potential moods

	Present indicative		Past indicative		Potential (future)	
1SG	<i>lav (lev)</i>	<i>iv la</i>	<i>lidjiv</i>	<i>iv lim</i>	<i>littjav</i>	<i>iv littja</i>
2SG	<i>la (le)</i>	<i>illa</i>	<i>lidji</i>	<i>illim</i>	<i>littja</i>	<i>illittja</i>
3SG	<i>la (l, le)</i>	<i>ij la</i>	<i>lij (lej)</i>	<i>ij lim</i>	<i>lisj</i>	<i>ij littja</i>
1DU	<i>lin (len)</i>	<i>en la</i>	<i>lijma</i>	<i>ejma lim</i>	<i>littjin</i>	<i>en littja</i>
2DU	<i>lihppe (læhppe)</i>	<i>æhppe la</i>	<i>lijda</i>	<i>ejda lim</i>	<i>littjabihhte</i>	<i>æhppe littja</i>
3DU	<i>libá (læbá)</i>	<i>æbá la</i>	<i>lijga</i>	<i>ejga lim</i>	<i>littjaba</i>	<i>æbá littja</i>
1PL	<i>lip (lep)</i>	<i>ep la</i>	<i>lijma</i>	<i>ejma lim</i>	<i>littjap</i>	<i>ep littja</i>
2PL	<i>lihpit (lehpit)</i>	<i>ehpit la</i>	<i>lijda</i>	<i>ejda lim</i>	<i>littjabihhit</i>	<i>ehpit littja</i>
3PL	<i>li (le)</i>	<i>ælla</i>	<i>lidjin</i>	<i>ællim</i>	<i>littji</i>	<i>ællitja</i>

Table 9.11 The non-finite verb forms in Lule Saami

	‘buy’	‘strengthen’	‘speak Saami’
Infinitive	<i>oasstet</i>	<i>nannit</i>	<i>sámástit</i>
Infinitive II	<i>oasstemis</i>	<i>nannimis</i>	<i>sámástimes</i>
Past participle	<i>oasstám</i>	<i>nannim</i>	<i>sámástam</i>
Present participle	<i>oasste</i>	<i>nannijiddje</i>	<i>sámástiddje</i>
Progressive (‘in the act of V-ing’)	<i>oasstemin</i>	<i>nannimin</i>	<i>sámástime</i>
Purposive converb (‘in order to V’)	<i>oastátjit</i>	<i>nannitjit</i>	<i>sámástittjat</i>
Negative converb (‘without V-ing’)	<i>oastek</i>	<i>nannik</i>	<i>sámástik</i>
Converb of manner and concomitance (‘(by) V-ing’)	<i>oaste</i>	<i>nanni</i>	<i>sámásta</i>
Converb of simultaneity (‘while V-ing’)	<i>oastedijn</i>	<i>nannidijn</i>	<i>sámástattijn</i>
Action nominalization	<i>oasstem</i>	<i>nannim</i>	<i>sámástibme</i>
Connegative	<i>oaste</i>	<i>nanni</i>	<i>sámásta</i>

-min/-ime. However, in addition to these pan-Saami forms, Lule Saami also makes use of its purposive converb, traditionally labelled the “supine”, to form a periphrastic prospective as well as its past counterpart (3c). As a result, the language has an unusually large and symmetrical set of aspectual periphrastic forms (Ylikoski 2016a: 227):

(3) (past) perfect

- a. *Mij le (~ lij) så dal munji*
what be.PRS.3SG be.PST.3SG DIP now 1SG.ILL

sjaddam?

happen.PST.PTCP

‘What has (~ had) happened to me now?’

(past) progressive

- b. *Mij le (~ lij) så dal munji*
what be.PRS.3SG be.PST.3SG DIP now 1SG.ILL

sjaddamin?

happen.PROG

‘What is (~ was) happening to me now?’

(past) prospective

- c. *Mij le (~ lij) så dal munji*
what be.PRS.3SG be.PST.3SG DIP now 1SG.ILL

sjattatjit?

happen.SPN

‘What is (~ was) going to happen to me now?’

The purposive converb is characteristic of Lule Saami, with cognates in the adjacent Torne dialect of North Saami as well as marginally in Pite Saami (see, e.g., Lehtiranta 1992: 103); for an example of its converbal functions, see example (17). Another non-finite that deserves mention is the converb of manner and concomitance, traditionally labelled the “verb genitive”. While the cognates of this form in other Saami languages are best understood as lexicalized adverbs, the Lule Saami form is rather productive and shows clear verbal properties in taking accusative objects, for example:

- (4) *Badjegoade Ielli gåjt de váttisj*
Badjegoahte.GEN Ielli in.any.case DIP walk.PST.3SG

Jåvvåv tjuorvo Riebijnjárga
Jåvvå.ACC call.CVB.CONCOM Riebijnjárgga.GEN

bálggáv, mijá návsste guorav.
path.ACC 1PL.GEN boathouse.GEN by

‘In any case, Ielli of Badjegoahte was walking along the path to Riebijnjárgga, by our boathouse, calling for Jåvvå.’ (S 32)

As for the present participle and especially action nominalization, these categories vacillate between inflection and derivation and are discussed under derivation in the next section.

9.3.3 Derivation

Lule Saami has dozens of derivational morphemes, and almost all of them are suffixes. As described with plenty of examples by Kintel (1991) and Kuoljok (1997), Lule Saami derivation is more than mere agglutination of affixes to stems: even many of the most transparent and productive suffixes, such as the momentaneous aspect marker *-st/-asste-* and the frequentative aspect marker *-d/- (d)alla-*, 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 disyllabic 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 stem, as seen in Table 9.12. On the other hand, there are also more uniform and agglutinative derivational suffixes, such as the inchoative aspect marker *-(s)goahte-* and the passive marker *-(d)uvva-*. The causative verbs in *-d/-ahte-* are partly homonymous with the frequentatives.

Table 9.12 Sample of deverbal verb derivation in Lule Saami

	Disyllabic stem		Trisyllabic stem	
Verb stem	<i>gæhttja-</i>	‘look’	<i>viehked-</i>	‘help’
Momentaneous verb	<i>gehtjast-</i>	‘look quickly’	<i>viehkedasste-</i>	‘help quickly’
Frequentative verb	<i>gehtjad-</i>	‘look repeatedly’	<i>væhkádalla-</i>	‘help repeatedly’
Inchoative verb	<i>gæhttjagoahte-</i>	‘begin to look’	<i>viehkedisgoahte-</i>	‘begin to help’
Passive verb	<i>gehtjaduvva-</i>	‘be looked at’	<i>viehkeduvva-</i>	‘be helped’
Causative verb	<i>gehtjad-</i>	‘make look’	<i>viehkedahte-</i>	‘make help’

Some derivational processes affect the stem only, as seen in the inflectional patterns of verbs *gulla-* /*kulla-* ‘hear’ and the inchoative *gullá-* /*kullá-* ‘begin to hear’: *guláv* hear.PRS.1SG : *gulliv* hear.PST.1SG : *gulátjav* hear.POT.1SG vs *gulláv* : *gullájiv* : *gullátjav* for *gullá-*. Fusionality of derivatives tends to correlate with productivity, though: it is possible to turn virtually all verb stems to inchoative verbs in *-(sj)goahte-*, but inchoatives like *gullá-* ‘begin to hear’ are much less productive.

In what follows, some characteristic derivations are described.

Denominal nouns: Diminutives are productively formed with *-(V)sj*, and despite their productivity, they entailed a considerable number of stem-internal changes: *jávrr* ‘lake’ → *jávrásj*, *jáhká* ‘river’ → *jágásj*, *báhtja* ‘boy’ → *báhtjasj*, *næjtso* ‘girl’ → *nejtsusj*, *giergge* ‘stone’ → *gærgásj*, and so on. The suffix *-lasj* is used to derive both nouns and adjectives that refer to persons who are somehow characterized by the referent of the base word, e.g. *jáhkko* ‘faith’ → *jáhkulasj* ‘believer’, *vuorbbe* ‘luck’ → *vuorbálasj* ‘lucky; lucky person’. Interestingly, an analogous suffix *-niehkke* is ultimately a Russian loan (*-nik*) that has become particularly productive in Lule Saami without any direct contacts with Russian: *æll* ‘reindeer herd’ yields *ælloniehkkke* ‘reindeer herder’, *hæsst* ‘horse’ → *hæstaniehkke* ‘horse owner’, *biednik* ‘money’ → *biednikniehkke* ‘wealthy person; moneybags’, *prosjækta* ‘project’ → *prosjæktaniehkke* ‘project manager’ and so on. The morpheme *-guovtes* comes close to an independent noun, or rather an inflectional dual marker with which it is possible to create word forms that refer to two entities, almost always to animates and humans in particular, e.g. *næjtso* ‘girl’ → *næjtsoguovtes* ‘the two girls’ and *studænnta* ‘student’ → *studentaguovtes* ‘the two students’; it may be noted that the *-guovtes* forms are the only type of noun that agree with a dual verb, e.g. *næjtsoguovtes bádjiga* [girl.DU came.PST.3DU ‘the two girls came’].

Deadjectival nouns are most often formed using the suffixes *-vuohta* and *-(u)dahka*, e.g. *gieres* ‘dear, loved’ → *gieresvuohta* ‘love’, *rievtes* ‘right; just’ → *rievtesvuohta* ‘justice’, and *máhttelis* ‘possible’ → *máhttelisvuohta* ‘possibility’, as well as *boanndá* ‘rich’ → *boanndudahka* ‘richness’, *tjiehppe* ‘proficient’ → *tjehpudahka* ‘skill’, and *vijdes* ‘wide’ → *vijddudahka* ‘width’. Both suffixes are also used to make abstract denominal nouns such as *ráddna* ‘friend’ → *ráddnavuohta* ‘friendship’ and *ulmusj* ‘human’ → *ulmusjvuohta* ‘humanity’, or *máhttu* ‘knowledge’ → *máhttudahka* ‘competence’ and *siebrre* ‘company’ → *sebrudahka* ‘society’.

Deverbal nouns include those in *-o*, e.g. *máhtte* ‘can; know’ → *máhtto* ‘knowledge’ and *assta* ‘have time’ → *astto* ‘(spare) time’, and agent nouns in *-ár/-âr*, e.g. *guolli-* ‘fish (v.)’ → *guollár* ‘fisher’ and *gávvi-* ‘photograph (v.)’ → *gávvar* ‘photographer’. However, the most productive deverbal nouns are the action nominalizations in *-m/-ibme*, such as *oahppa-* ‘learn’ → *oahppam* ‘learning’ and *áhpad-* ‘teach’ →

áhpadibme ‘teaching; education’. Likewise, the agent nouns in *-e/-o/-iddje* can be formed from virtually all verbs. These formations are also known as the present participle, but in actual language use most of the forms like *oasste* (see Table 9.11) function as agent nouns (‘buyer’) rather than as participles (‘person buying’); *oahppe* ‘pupil; learner’ and *áhpaddje* ‘teacher’ are also examples of this. On the other hand, the same form has clearly verbal features as the participle that takes accusative objects (5). As for the action nominalizations, its relative form has given rise to a largely independent verb form that can be labelled as an infinitive (6). The progressive form in *-min/-ime* also goes back to action nominalizations:

- (5) *Ij de ábbá muv gullen dagá.*
NEG.3SG DIP at.all 1SG.ACC hear.PRS.PTCP.ESS do.CNG
‘He pretends to not hear me at all.’ (SIKOR)
- (6) *Gå nuppe gielav la oahppamin,*
when another language.ACC be.3SG learn.PROG
de ij galga ballat gielav hállamis.
DIP NEG.3SG shall.CNG fear.INF language.ACC speak.INF2
‘When one is learning a new language, one must not be afraid of speaking the language.’ (SIKOR)

New adjectives can be derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives as well as from an infinite number of numerals, if ordinals like *gálmma* ‘three’ → *goalmát* ‘third’ and *lâgenan-gietjav* ‘seventeen’ → *lâgenangiehttjit* ‘seventeenth’ are regarded as denumeral adjectives. Denominal adjectives usually refer to either absence or presence of the referent of the base noun. Caritive adjectives are usually formed with *-dipme*, and their positive counterparts include adjectives in *-lasj*: e.g. *ráfe* ‘peace’ → *ráfedibme* ‘restless’, *ráfálasj* ‘peaceful’, and *vihke* ‘fault’ → *vigedibme* ‘faultless’, *vigálasj* ‘guilty; faulty’ (this suffix is also used in the adaptation of new loan adjectives, as in *nasjâvnâlasj* ‘national’ and *elektrâvnâlasj* ‘electronic’, mentioned in 9.2.5).

Deverbal adjectives usually refer to ability or suitability as regards the events and actions described by the base word and include suffixes such as *-(d)ahhte*, *-vasj*, and *-l*, e.g. *dádjad-* ‘understand’ → *dádjadahte* ‘understandable’, *jáhkke-* ‘trust; believe’ → *jáhkedahte* ‘trustworthy’, *tjuovvo-* ‘follow’ → *tjuovvovasj* ‘following; next’, and *vissja-* ‘care; bother’ → *vissjal* ‘diligent’. Their negative counterparts may contain the suffix *-(g)ahtes*, e.g. *dádjadahtes* ‘incomprehensible, meaningless; foolish’.

Comparative and superlative forms of adjectives were described as inflectional categories (see 9.3.1), but an alternative view is to regard those as deadjectival adjectives. In any case, the diminutive suffix *-sj* can also be attached to comparatives, e.g. *álbbe* ‘cheap’ → *álbep* ‘cheaper’ → *álbebusj* ‘a little cheaper’. In addition to these, the suffix *-siehke* is

used to derive similar moderative deadjectival adjectives, e.g. *hánes* ‘greedy’ → *hánessiehke* ‘greedyish’ and *visskat* ‘yellow’ → *visskásiehke* ‘yellowish’.

To turn adjectives into adverbs, the suffix *-t* can be attached to positives, comparatives, and superlatives alike: for example, *árta* ‘early’ yields the adverb *árrat* ‘early’, the comparative *árap* ‘earlier’ turns to *árabut* ‘earlier (adverb)’, and the superlatives are *áramus* ‘earliest’ and *áramusát* ‘earliest (adverb)’.

As for verbs, deverbal verbs can be roughly divided into those causing changes in aspectual meaning and those causing changes in argument structure. As already seen in Table 9.12, the former group includes momentaneous, frequentative, and inchoative verbs such as (*gæhtti*- ‘look’ →) *gehtjast*- ‘look quickly’, *gehtjad*- ‘look repeatedly’, and *gæhttiagoahte*- ‘begin to look’. In the passive verb *gehtjaduvva*- ‘be looked’, the argument structure has changed, and actually the verb *gehtjad*- is not necessarily frequentative, but could also be interpreted as a causative verb ‘make look’. For trisyllabic verb stems like *viehked*- ‘help’, there is a clear formal difference between frequentatives (*væhkádalla*- ‘help repeatedly’) and causatives (*viehkedahte*- ‘make help’).

Denominal verbs include barely productive, and hardly semantically transparent fusional verbs such as *guolle* ‘fish’ → *guolli*- ‘fish (v.)’, *káffa* ‘coffee’ → *káffi*- ‘make coffee’, and *sállte* ‘salt’ → *sállti*- ‘salt (v.)’, but also more agglutinative and more productive types such as instrumental verbs in *-st*-, e.g. *sáme* ‘Saami’ → *sámast*- ‘speak Saami’ and *suovva* ‘smoke (n.)’ → *suovast*- ‘smoke (meat, fish; tobacco, v.)’. Deadjectival verbs include evaluative verbs in *-lussja*-, e.g. *guhke* ‘long’ → *guhkalussja*- ‘consider too long (size, distance or time); get bored’ and *divras* ‘expensive’ → *divralussja*- ‘consider too expensive’.

In addition to fusional and suffixal derivations, Lule Saami has at least one fairly productive derivational prefix. The prefix *iehpe*- ‘un-’ occurs mostly in adjectives such as *sihkar* ‘sure, certain’ → *iehpesihkar* ‘unsure, uncertain’ and *tjielgas* ‘clear’ → *iehpetjielgas* ‘unclear’. Sometimes a derived word form may contain both the prefix *iehpe*- and derivational suffixes, e.g. *giellaohppa* ‘grammar’ → *giellaåhpalasj* ‘grammatical’ → *iehpegiellaåhpalasj* ‘ungrammatical’.

9.4 Syntax

From a syntactic perspective, Lule Saami is in many respects quite close to the language type known as Standard Average European. In the following, the main characteristics of Lule Saami syntax will be presented, paying special attention to features that distinguish the language from the neighbouring Saami languages.

9.4.1 Word order

Although many Saami languages, along with the neighbouring Finnic, are generally known as SVO languages, there is considerable variation within the Saami branch: while North Saami is predominantly a SVO language, the basic word order in South Saami is SOV, and Skolt Saami vacillates between SVO and SOV (see chapters 7–11). Lule Saami is quite similar to Skolt Saami in this perspective, thus having an intermediate position between North Saami and South Saami. In more general terms, the neutral word order in Lule Saami can be characterized as S(Aux)XV ~ S(Aux)VX (7a–b). However, even more variation is possible for focusing purposes (7c–d), and the language may therefore be characterized as having a relatively free word order:

- (7) a. *Mån gáhkov båráv.* (SOV)
1SG flatbread.ACC eat.1SG
‘I eat flatbread.’
b. *Mån båráv gáhkov.* (SVO)
1SG eat.1SG flatbread.ACC
‘I eat flatbread.’
c. *Gáhkov mån båráv.* (OSV)
flatbread.ACC 1SG eat.1SG
‘It is flatbread I’m eating.’
d. *Båráv mån gáhkov.* (VSO)
eat.1SG 1SG flatbread.ACC
‘I do eat flatbread.’ (Examples 7a–d Mikkelsen 2011: 10)

In a wider perspective that takes account phrase-internal word order, Lule Saami SXV word order is in accord with head-final NPs and the predominance of postpositional phrases over prepositions, as seen throughout the sentence examples in this chapter. On the other hand, the language also has many prepositions, or ambipositions like *lahka* in *gátte lahka* [shore.GEN near] ~ *lahka gátte* ‘near the shore’. Auxiliary verbs usually precede lexical verbs, and relative clauses follow their heads. However, Lule Saami differs from other Saami languages in that the copula in periphrastic tense-aspect forms quite often follows the lexical verb.

- (8) *Gullam lin jábmám la,*
hear.PST.PTCP be.1DU die.PST.PTCP be.2SG
duoddistiv mån.
add.PST.1SG 1SG
‘We have heard that you have died, I added.’ (Sj 24)
(9) *Juo gus de vádtsátjit lihppe?*
already Q DIP begin.to.walk.SPN be.2DU
‘Are you going to leave already?’ (Sj 14)

9.4.2 Phrase structure

As mentioned, modifiers in Lule Saami typically precede their heads. Adnominal adjectives do not agree with their head in case or number, but the attributive forms are usually different from the predicative forms (see 9.3.1). As in other Saami languages, demonstratives and numerals agree with their heads, but not with forms entirely identical to those in the absolute declension (Table 9.13).

One of the most notable yet poorly described specialities in Lule Saami syntax is that the use of the elative case has many features that can be characterized as “partitive”. In (10), the object nouns *glásav* ‘glass’ and *gâhpâv* ‘cup’ are in the accusative, but they are followed by the elative (partitive) modifiers of substance—*mielkes* ‘(glass) of milk’ and *kâfas* ‘(cup) of coffee’. However, especially uncountable objects like ‘milk’ and other substances tend to be marked with the elative alone, usually referring to indefinite or unspecified quantities as

Table 9.13 Inflection of Lule Saami demonstratives, nouns, and numerals

	‘that’ (SG)	‘those’ (PL)	‘that night’	‘those nights’	‘two’	‘two nights’
Nominative	<i>dat</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dat idja</i>	<i>da ijá</i>	<i>guokta</i>	<i>guokta ijá</i>
Genitive	<i>dan</i>	<i>daj</i>	<i>dan ijá</i>	<i>daj ijáj</i>	<i>guovte</i>	<i>guovte ijá</i>
Accusative	<i>dav</i>	<i>dajt</i>	<i>dav ijáv</i>	<i>dajt ijájt</i>	<i>guovtev</i>	<i>guokta ijá</i>
Illative	<i>dasi</i>	<i>dajda</i>	<i>dan idjaj</i>	<i>dajda ijájda</i>	<i>guoktaj</i>	<i>guovte idjaj</i>
Inessive	<i>danna</i>	<i>dajn</i>	<i>dan iján</i>	<i>dajn ijájn</i>	<i>guovten</i>	<i>guovten iján</i>
Elative	<i>dassta</i>	<i>dajs</i>	<i>dat ijás</i>	<i>dajs ijájs</i>	<i>guovtes</i>	<i>guovtet ijás</i>
Comitative	<i>dajna</i>	<i>daj</i>	<i>dajna ijájn</i>	<i>daj ijáj</i>	<i>guovtijn</i>	<i>guovtijn ijáin</i>

In addition to the traditional Lule Saami noun phrase syntax depicted in Table 9.13, the contemporary language contains variation that indicates that the agreement system is changing: In the elative, the demonstrative *dat* may be replaced with *dan* (*dan ijás*), and in numeral constructions, plural nouns are used beside the more original singular (e.g. accusative *guokta ijájt* ‘two nights’, illative *guokta ~ guovte ijájda* ‘for two nights’). As mentioned in 9.3.1 and 44.1, the case-like prolate in *-rájge* takes modifiers that are analogous to those of true local cases.

As for adpositional phrases, most adpositions take their complements in the genitive, but some ambipositions such as *rastá* ‘across’ may take the genitive when a postposition, but the accusative when a preposition, e.g. *muorkij rastá* [isthmus.PL.GEN across] ‘across the isthmuses’ but *rastá muorkijt* [across isthmus.PL.ACC] ‘across the isthmuses’.

9.4.3 Clause structure

The clause structure of Lule Saami is characterized by most pan-Saami phenomena described in chapters 7–13. For example, the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are used very much like their names suggest. The three local cases express goals and recipients (illative), location, and clausal possessor (inessive) as well as source (elative), the comitative marks concomitance and instruments, and the essive is a secondary predication marker for mostly temporary roles and states (see examples 10 and 12).

seen in (11). Moreover, the elative may also take the place of a nominative subject in existential sentences, when the clause includes a quantifier like *galle* ‘enough’ in (12):

- (10) *Idedisbiebmon sidáv guokta sjijvo, glásav*
breakfast.ESS wish.1SG two slice.GEN glass.ACC

mielkes ja gâhpâv kâfas.
milk.ELA and cup.ACC coffee.ELA
‘For breakfast, I want to have two slices of bread, a glass of milk and a cup of coffee.’ (SIKOR)

- (11) *Mielkes, gabás, biergos, falukorvas,*
milk.ELA cream.ELA meat.ELA sausage.ELA
tjårbieles, bruvsas ja snuvsas dingojma!
rump steak.ELA soft.drink.ELA and snus.ELA order.PST.3PL
‘We ordered milk, cream, meat, sausage, rump steak, a soft drink, and snus!’ (SIKOR)

- (12) *Sáddujs ja smáv gærgátjijs le*
sand.PL.ELA and small stone.DIM.PL.ELA be.3SG
galle bálggá miehtáj, ja
enough path.GEN throughout and
duolloy-dálloj le sáddu ruoppsadin.
now.and.then be.3SG sand red.ESS
‘There are enough sand and small stones all along the path, and occasionally the sand is all red.’ (SIKOR)

Another grammatical function of the elative is to mark the agent in passive clauses—while the patient is promoted to nominative subject:

- (13) *Girjje ájtsaduváj ja moaddásis*
 book notice.PASS.PST.3SG and many.people.ELA
lågåduváj.
 read.PASS.PST.3SG
 ‘The book was noticed and it was read by many.’ (SIKOR)

The position of Lule Saami on the Saami dialect continuum is interestingly reflected in the use of two different constructions to encode predicative possession. The most common way of expressing possession is analogous to the use of the locative in the languages north-east of Lule Saami (as well as the use of the adessive in Finnish; see chapters 14 and 51). As Lule Saami has maintained the distinction between the elative and the inessive, the possessor is in the inessive, and the predicative clause is formally an existential clause with the possessee as the subject (14a). On the other hand, the alternative way to express the same proposition is to use the transitive verb *adnet* ‘have; use; consider’ (14b). As in the neighbouring Scandinavian languages with *ha* ‘have’, the possessor is the subject and the possessee is the object:

- (14) a. *De Stálon ij lim áksjo, valla*
 DIP Ogre.INE NEG.3SG be.PST.CNG axe but
bádde lij.
 ribbon be.PST.3SG
 b. *De ittjij Stállo ane áksjov, valla*
 DIP NEG.PST.3SG Ogre have.CNG axe.ACC but
báttev anij.
 ribbon.ACC have.PST.3SG
 ‘Then, the Ogre did not have an axe, but he had a ribbon.’ (14b from Halász 1885: 88; paraphrase 14a personal knowledge)

As for question clauses, it has already been seen in Section 9.2.4 and example (9) that the language has the question particle *gus* (also cliticized as *=k*) that follows the initial word of a polar interrogative clause. Occasionally, however, the mere inverted word order (15) is enough to make the clause appear as a question—probably due to influence from the neighbouring Scandinavian.

- (15) *Diedá (gus/=k) majt dahkin?*
 know.2SG Q what.PL.ACC do.1DU
 ‘Do you know what we’re going to do?’ (G 67)

9.4.4 Clause combining

Clause combining in Lule Saami is a rich combination of conjoining finite clauses either with coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (see examples 6 and 14) or without

them (see examples 1 and 8), or alternatively by using non-finite clauses headed by one of about ten non-finite verb forms in the language.

The coordinators include *ja* ‘and’, *jali* ‘or’, and *valla* ‘but’, and adverbial subordinators such as *gá* ‘when, while’, *vaj* ‘in order that’, *jus* ‘if’, *desik* ‘until’, and *vájku* ‘although’. Relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns that are often identical to the corresponding interrogative pronouns (*guhti* ‘who’, *mij* ‘what; that’) and inflected in case and number. There is also a general complementizer *ahte*, but it is remarkable that its frequency is significantly low in comparison to its cognates in the neighbouring sister languages (Nystø and Johnsen 2011: 249–50). In addition to (8), see (16), in which the complementizer is simply omitted:

- (16) *Ij lim sádnés sán ittjij*
 NEG.3SG be.PST.CNG true 3SG NEG.PST.3SG
asta.
 have.time.CNG
 ‘It was not true that s/he didn’t have time.’ (Nystø and Johnsen 2011: 250)

As regards non-finite clauses, Lule Saami is relatively rich in non-finite verb forms and in converbs (adverbial non-finites) in particular. As mentioned in 9.3.2, the language differentiates between the infinitive (for complementation) and the so-called supine, a converb of purpose, as seen in (17):

- (17) *Sjiehtadijga mañep biejve vat æjvvalit*
 agree.PST.3DU following day.GEN again meet.INF
plánav dagátjit.
 plan.ACC make.SPN
 ‘They agreed to meet again the following day in order to make a plan.’ (S 11)

It was also mentioned that even the so-called verb genitive (converb of manner and concomitance) is a productive verb form in Lule Saami (see example 4), while its cognates in other Saami languages are rather unproductive deverbal adverbs. In (18), the sole finite verb *ájtsav* ‘I notice’ is accompanied by the converb of simultaneity (‘while walking’), and the complement of noticing is headed by the progressive form *viehkamin* ‘running’ which in itself has an adverbial modifier headed by the converb form *nuola* ‘stripping’, which in turn takes the accusative object *firkkalav* ‘apron’:

- (18) *Váttsedijn ájtsav iednev, firkkalav*
 walk.CVB.SIMULT notice.1SG mother.ACC apron.ACC
nuola fiervváj viehkamin.
 strip.CVB.CONCOM run.PROG shoreline.ILL
 ‘When I am walking, I notice mum running towards the shoreline, taking off her apron.’ (G 48)

Unlike other Saami languages, Lule Saami also makes active use of the past participle not only in the periphrastic

perfect (3a and 8) and as a modifier (e.g. *tsábadum løhkka* [chop.PASS.PST.PTCP onion] ‘chopped onion’), but also as a kind of anterior converb in adverbial non-finite clauses as in (19):

- (19) *Dav javllam, de Ámmá dassta*
 that.ACC say.PST.PTCP DIP Ámmá that.ELA
vádtšáj.
 begin.to.walk.PST.3SG
 ‘Having said that, Ámmá walked away.’ (Sj 59)

9.5 Glossed text example

The opening lines of Anta Pirak’s (1873–1951) classical memoirs *Jáhttee saamee viessoom* (‘The life of a nomad Saami’; Pirak 1937: 1, spelling modernized).

Mánná rieggádiv tjaktjadálve
 1SG.(EMPH) be.born.PST.1SG autumn.winter.GEN

biehtsevuome sinna goaden.

pine.forest.GEN in Saami.tent.INE

‘I was born in a tent in a pine forest, when autumn was turning to winter.’

Ja galggá árrum náv harmmat tjoaskes,
 and shall.3SG be.PST.PTCP so extremely cold

ahte vielggadin sjutjoj
 COMP white.ESS rime.PST.3SG

dägágetijijt riehpéná bajelt.

end.of.tent.pole.PL.ACC smoke.hole.GEN from.above

‘And it has been told to me that it was so extremely cold that the ends of the tent poles above the smoke hole were white with rime.’

Juo lidjin tjaktjasajes jáhtám
 already be.PST.3PL autumn.place.ELA migrate.PST.PTCP

biehtsevuome sisá.

pine.forest.GEN into

‘They had already migrated from the autumn dwelling place to the pine forest.’

Mujtáv mán, muv ieddne giehtoj
 remember.PST.3SG 1SG 1SG.GEN mother tell.PST.3SG

návte.

like.this

‘I remember that my mother told me like this.’

De dalloj boahhtsuskitte, duolje, gábmása,
 DIP then reindeer.GEN.leather.PL fur.PL shoe.PL

gállo ja gissta ja goarodum
 forehead.skin.PL and mitten.PL and sew.PASS.PTS.PTCP

gájkekgábmaga jáhtin buoremusát Bihtám-stádan.

winter.shoe.PL be.sold.PST.3PL best.ADV Bihtám-town.INE

‘At that time, reindeer leather, furs, shoes, reindeer forehead skins and mittens and sewn winter shoes sold best in the town of Bihtám (Swedish: Piteå).’

De muv ieddne vuolgij dan dálve
 DIP 1SG.GEN mother leave.PST.3SG that.GEN winter.GEN

dakkár oasesgálvoj ietjá rádnaj, ma
 that.kind commodity.PL.COM other friend.PL.COM REL.PL

adnin aj sámmálágásj oassásijt,
 have.PST.3PL also similar commodity.PL.ACC

Bihtáma stádaj.

Bihtám.GEN town.ILL

‘Well, that winter my mother left for Bihtám with commodities of that kind, with friends who also had similar things to sell.’

Mán lidjiv guovte máno vuoras ja
 I be.PST.1SG two.GEN month.GEN old and

oadtjuv tjuovvot gierkkama sinna majen.
 get.PST.1SG follow.INF Saami.cradle.GEN in in.company
 ‘I was two months old and got to go with her, in my cradle.’

Áhtte bátsij goahtáj, vaj boahhtsujt
 father stay.PST.3SG home.ILL in.order.that reindeer.PL.ACC

tjuoggá, vaj ájmon árru.
 ski.3PL in.order.that intact remain.3SG

‘Father stayed home in order to herd the reindeer on skis, lest they disperse.’

9.6 Further reading

The most important classic description of Lule Saami is Wiklund’s (1901/1915) school grammar, preceded by his monograph on the historical phonology and morphology (Wiklund 1891) as well as the first dictionary of the language (Wiklund 1890). The only modern grammars are the school grammars by Spiik (1977/1989) and Nystø and Johnsen (2011); Kintel (1991) provides a concise description of the Lule Saami derivation. In addition to the grammars published in Swedish and Norwegian, the only reliable account of the language is the grammatical (morphological) appendix in Grundström’s (1946–54) *Lulelappisches Wörterbuch/Lulelappsk ordbok*, the most comprehensive dictionary of the Lule Saami dialects spoken in Sweden. Kuoljok’s (1997) PhD thesis on the derivatives in *-ahka* provides an unexpectedly comprehensive introduction to the past and present of the language, its speakers, and earlier research as well as to some general issues in Lule Saami phonology and morphology.

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