Some notes on Inari Saami syntax and morphology
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0. Introduction

Inari Saami is one of the Saami languages, and it is spoken by about 350 people in Finland. It is a critically endangered language. However, the number of speakers has remained stable over the past couple of decades, in part due to successful revitalization programs, described in Olthuis et al. (2013). The revitalization efforts have led to the interesting situation where some of the teachers who teach children the language are second language learners themselves. There are therefore presumably interesting differences between the language of the older and the younger generations, but this has to date not been carefully investigated. All speakers are bilingual in Inari Saami and Finnish, and many speakers also speak a third language (typically North Saami).

There are two published dictionaries of Inari Saami, Itkonen's (1986-1991) multivolume dictionary and Sammallahti & Morottaja (1993). Both dictionaries contain extensive lists of morphological paradigms. Giellatekno, the Center for Saami language technology in Arctic University of Norway, also includes a good on-line dictionary with many newer vocabulary items (http://saanih.oahpa.no/) as well as a text corpus containing approximately 150,000 sentences used in various literary contexts (SIKOR 2015). Previous works on Inari Saami syntax include Bartens (1972), Nelson & Toivonen (2003), Nelson (2007) and Toivonen (2007). For work on Saami syntax more generally, see Sammallahti (2005) and the comprehensive bibliography included in Toivonen & Nelson (2007).

Much of the previous work on Inari Saami has focused on phonology and morphophonemics (see, e.g., Äimä 1918, Itkonen 1946, Bye et al. 2009). In the words of Bye (2007) "Inari Saami evinces an extremely intricate and largely unnatural system of entirely regular morphophonemic alternations in the quantity and quality of vowels and consonants in the stem" (53). The spectacular morphophonology is most remarkable in the rich verbal paradigm, but we illustrate here with a (partial) nominal paradigm for *kumppi* `wolf' (adapted from Sammallahti & Morottaja 1993, 126):

	singular	plural
nominative	*kumppi*	*kuumpih*
genitive	*kuumpi*	*kuumpij*
accusative	*kuumpi*	*kuumpijd*
illative	*kuumpin*	*kumppiijd*
locative	*kuumpist*	*kuumpijn*
comitative	*kumppiijn*	*ku'mpijgui'n*
abessive	*ku'mpittáá*	*ku'mpijttáá*

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essive	*kumppin*
partitive	*kumppid*

There are no plural forms for essive and partitive, and those cases are in general not in frequent use. Note also that Inari Saami has a less elaborate system of local cases than Finnish has, as it does not distinguish between inner and outer local cases. Furthermore, the elative/ablative ('from') cases are merged with the locative, so that there is no morphological distinction between 'from/out of' and 'at/in/on'. In general, the morphology is similar to that of Finnish: both languages are highly synthetic and they make many of the same distinctions in their morphology.   However, Finnish morphology is quite agglutinative, whereas Inari Saami is more fusional.

Section 1. Word order and sentence types

1.1. Basic word order in a sentence

1.1.1 The finite verb and its arguments

The word order in Inari Saami is quite flexible, but the unmarked order is subject-verb-object (SVO), as in (1):

(1)   Máárjá   raahti-j   purrâmâš.
        Mary:NOM   prepare-PRT:3SG   meal:ACC
        'Mary prepared a meal.'

1.1.2 The non-finite verb and the object:

Inari Saami has a wide variety of non-finite forms of the verb. The regular infinitive has the ending *-đ,* and is illustrated by *rähtiđ* in (2):

(2)   Máárjá   ij   halijdâ-m   rähti-đ   purrâmâš.
        Mary:NOM   NEG:AUX:3SG   want-PTCP:PRF   prepare-INF   meal:ACC
        'Mary did not want to prepare a meal.'

The word order in non-finite clauses is typically SVO, the same as in finite clauses. Some elderly speakers report that SOV is as natural as SVO in non-finite (but not finite) clauses.

1.1.3 Word order in imperatives:

 The word order in imperatives is SVO, just like in other clauses. The subject is typically omitted. Examples are provided below:

(3)   Räähti   purrâmâš!
        Prepare:IMP:2SG   meal:ACC
        'Prepare a meal!'

(4)   Ele   räähti   purrâmâš!
        NEG:AUX:IMP:2SG prepare:NEG:VERB   meal:ACC
        'Don't prepare a meal!'

1.1.4 Pronominal dependents:

Pronominal dependents are ordered in the same way as full noun phrases:

(5)   Mij   teeivâ-im   su-in.
        we   meet-PRT:1PL   he-COM:SG
        'We met him.'

(6)   Mij   ep   halijdâ-m   teivâ-đ   su-in.
        we   NEG:AUX:1PL   want-PTCP:PRF   meet-INF   he-COM:SG
        'We did not want to meet him.'

1.1.5 Copula sentences

The copula cannot be omitted in Inari Saami. In predicative clauses, the word order is typically subject-verb-predicative. The verb agrees with the subject. Both the subject and the predicative are in nominative case, and predicative agrees with the subject in number.

(7)   Sij   láá   kookah.
        they:NOM   be:3PL   chef:PL:NOM
        'They are chefs.'

Existential clauses and predicative possessives are formed as in (8) and (9):

(8)   Táálu-st   láá   maŋgâ vi'ste.
        House-LOC:SG is:3PL many   room:ACC:SG
        'There are many rooms in the house.'

(9)   Muu   uábi-st   láá   uđđâ kammuu-h.
        I:GEN:SG sister-LOC:SG   is:3PL new   shoe-NOM:PL
         'My sister has new shoes.'

In a typical existential or predicative possession clause, the subject follows the verb and it is in nominative case (9), unless nominative case-marking is overridden by some other

factor, such as *maŋâ* in (8). The verb agrees with the subject, but not necessarily with full agreement (see section 3.1 below).

1.1.6 Location of adverbs

Adverbs can appear freely in any position of the sentence. This is illustrated in (10) (for glosses, see example (2)), where the possible positions for adverbs is marked with #:

(10)   (#) Máárjá (#) ij # halijdâm # rähtiđ # purrâmâš #

The locations marked with parentheses are uncommon. Note that the position of the adverbs might change the emphasis or focus of some words or phrases.

1.1.7 Adpositions

In addition to the rich case marking, Inari Saami has both prepositions and postpositions, with postposition being more common. Usually adpositions require genitive, but there are some exceptions.

The postposition *maŋa* ('after') usually requires its nominal complement to be genitive, but locative is, while unusual, also possible (with the pronoun *tot,* locative is more common than genitive):

(11)   a. kiiđâ   maŋa   b. ta-st   maŋa
            spring:GEN   after   it-LOC   after

The postposition *vuástá* ('against') requires genitive or partitive, but partitive case is no longer frequently used by younger speakers.

(12)   a. piegâ   vuástá   b. táállu-d   vuástá
            wind:GEN   against   house-PART   against

The word *kaskoo* ('in middle') is a preposition that can also in rare cases be used as a postposition. It requires a genitive complement:

(13)   kaskoo   ši'ljo
         in.middle   yard:GEN

1.2. Negation

1.2.1 The negative auxiliary (verb)

Inari Saami has a negative auxiliary, and it agrees in person and number. The negative stem is generally followed by agreement marking, but it is difficult to specify the order of

suffixes, since the morphology is highly synthetic. For example, the negative auxiliary is *jie'm* for first person singular and *ep* for first person plural. The negative auxiliary does not mark tense, but there is a different form for the imperative mood.

1.2.2 Additional auxiliary verbs with negation:

The tense (present or preterite) is marked in a main verb. The perfect and pluperfect need an additional auxiliary verb (*leđe*, 'to be')

Examples:
(14) mun   jie'-m   vyelgi
      I:NOM NEG:AUX-1SG   leave:NEG.PRES
      'I don't leave'

(15) mun   jie'-m   vuál'gá-m
      I:NOM NEG:AUX-1SG   leave-PTCP:PRF
      'I didn't leave'

(16) mun   jie'-m   lah   vuál'gá-m
      I:NOM NEG:AUX-1SG   be:NEG:PRES leave-PTCP:PRF
       'I haven't left'

(17) mun   jie'-m   lamaš   vuál'gá-m
      I:NOM NEG:AUX-1SG   be:PTCP:PRF leave-PTCP:PRF
       'I hadn't left.'

1.2.3. Word order in (finite) negative sentences

The negative auxiliary precedes the main verb:

(18) Mun   jie'-m   puurâ   leeibi.
      I:NOM NEG:AUX-1SG   eat:BEG:PRES bread:ACC
      'I don't eat bread.'

1.2.4. Negation of non-finite clauses

It is not possible to have a negative auxiliary in a non-finite clause. However, there is a non-finite form called verb(al) abessive (–*hánnáá*; see (19)), which means 'without doing something'. The Finnish counterpart would be –*mAttA* (*tekemättä*, *olematta*, etc.):

(19) Sun   keččâli-j   leđe   kose-hánnáá maŋedâ-n.
      she:NOM   try-PRT:3SG   be:INF stay up-MABE late-SG:ILL
      `She tried to not stay up late.'

1.3 **Complex main clauses**

1.3.1 Regular yes/no questions:
An example yes/no question is given below:

(20) Raahti-j-uv   Máárjá   purrâmâš?
      prepare-3PRT:3SG-Q   Mary:NOM   meal:ACC
      'Did Mary prepare a meal?'

1.3.2 The question particle

Yes/no questions are marked with the question particle *–uv* or *–uvks,* a clitic. The particle typically attaches to the verb, which then occurs at the beginning of the clause.

1.3.3 Questioning an NP

The question particle *–uv* or *–uvks* can attach to a word that is emphsized. The particle and its host then occur in the beginning of the sentence.

(21) Määli-uvks   Máárjá   raahti-j?
      soup:ACC-Q   Mary:NOM   prepare-PRT.3SG
      '(Was it) a **soup** (that) Mary prepared?'

It is also possible to attach the particle to the verb and mark emphasis of the noun with intonation.

1.3.4 Content (WH-) questions

Regular wh-questions are formed as follows:

(22) Maid   Máárjá   raahti-j?
      what   Mary:NOM   prepare-PRT:3SG
      'What did Mary prepare?'

1.3.5 Word order in WH-questions

The question word comes first, but otherwise the word order is the same.

1.3.6 Question words

The following is a list of question words in Inari Saami: *kii, kote* 'who', *mii* 'what', *kost* 'where', *kuás* 'when', *maht* 'how, *mane, mondiet* 'why', and *kogo, kuál* 'at what point'. *Kii*

and *mii* conjugate for case and number. *Kote* is a relative pronoun, which also conjugates for case and number.

1.3.7 Location of WH-words

In a neutral wh-question, the question word occurs at the beginning. However, it is possible for it to occur in the end the same way as in English: *You saw what?*

1.3.8 Old and new information:

When an object phrase is new information in the discourse, it most naturally occurs in its unmarked position after the verb:

(23) Mun   luuhi-m   kies'kâd   uá'li   šiev   ki'rje.
      I:NOM   read:PRT-1SG recently   really good:ATTR   book:ACC
      'I recently read <u>a really good book</u>.'

It is possible to use word order to mark old information (as <mark>in (24)),</mark> but it also seems to emphasize the object. <mark>Example (25)</mark> sounds more neutral. Old information is typically marked with a demonstrative pronoun.

(24) To-m   jolâ-s   mainâs   mij   tuođâi   ko'lgâ-čči-jm   vájálditti-đ.
      It-ACC crazy-ATTR story:ACC we:NOM   certainly should-COND-1PL   forget-INF
      '<u>That crazy story,</u> we certainly should forget.'

(25) Mij   tuođâi   ko'lgâ-čči-jm   vájálditti-đ   to-m   jolâ-s   mainâs.
      We:NOM   certainly should-COND-1PL forget-INF   it-ACC crazy-ATTR STORY:ACC
      '<u>That crazy story,</u> we certainly should forget.'

1.3.9. Sentence particles:

In Inari Saami there are a number of particle suffixes, *-ba/-pa, -hân, -gis/-kis, -uv, -gin/-kin,* and *-sun*, which modify the meaning of a sentence in a way that can be difficult to translate.

The particles *-ba/-pa* and *–hân* only occur attached to a noun at the beginning of a sentence, attached to a noun. In addition, *-ba/-pa* usually attaches to a subject, not to words with other syntactic functions. If the sentence does not have a nominal subject, *-ba/-pa* can attach to a finite verb as well. The particles *–ba/-pa* and *–hân* have counterparts in Finnish *(-pa and -hAn*) and they give a sentence certain kind of (argumentative) tone.

(26) Mun-hân   luuhi-m   ki'rje.
      I:NOM-PTCL read-PRT.1SG   book:ACC
      '(As for me,) I read a book.'

(27) Ki'rje-hân   mun   luuhi-m.
      book:ACC-PTCL I:NOM read-PRT.1SG
      '(As it happens,) I read a book.'

(28) Mun-ba   luuhi-m   ki'rje.
      I:NOM-PTCL   read-PRT:1SG book:ACC
      '(As far as I am concerned,) I read a book.'

(29) Luuvâ-ba   ki'rje.
      Read:IMP:2SG-PTCL book:ACC
      '(As for you,) read a book!'

The particle *-gis/-kis* attaches to a noun which occurs mostly at the beginning or the end of a sentence. It has a meaning of 'turn' or 'order'.

(30) Mun-gis luuhim ki'rje.
      'It was my turn to read a book.'

(31) Mun luuhim ki'rje-gis.
      '(after reading (or doing) something else,) I read a book.'

The particles *-uv* and *–gin/-kin* attach quite freely to any kind of word and occur anywhere in a sentence. As attached to a noun, *–uv* is used in positive sentences to describe addition ('too'); *-gin/-kin* is its counterpart for negative sentences ('either, neither'). As attached to a verb, the meaning is something that was unexpected.

(32) a. Mun-**uv** luuhim ki'rje.   'I too read a book.'
      b. Mun luuhim-**uv** ki'rje.   '(surprisingly,) I read a book.'
      c. Mun luuhim ki'rje-**uv**.   'I read a book as well.'
      d. Mun**gin** jie'm luuhâm ki'rje.   'I didn't read a book, me neither.'
      e. Mun jie'm luuhâm**gin** ki'rje.   '(surprisingly,) I didn't read a book.'
      f. Mun jie'm luuhâm ki'rje**gin**.   'I didn't read a book either.'

As described earlier (see 1.3.3), *–uv* (or *–uvks*) can also be used as a marker for questioning NP. In that case, *-uv* is always attached to the first word of a sentence. If that word is a noun, the *-uvks* alternant of the question particle is usually used to signal that it is a question.

(33) a.Luuhim-**uv** mun ki'rje?   'Did I read a book?'
      b. Mun-**uv** luuhim ki'rje.   'I too read a book.' (typically not 'Did I read a book?')
      c. Mun-**uvks** luuhim ki'rje?   'Did I read a book?'

The particle *-sun* attaches to a question word or a clause and therefore occurs always at the beginning of a sentence (if the question word occurs after the verb (see 1.3.7), *-sun* is not possible). It signals uncertainty.

(34)   a. Maid**sun** mun luuhim?   'I wonder, what did I read?'
       b. Mon ki'rje**sun** mun luuhim?   'I wonder, which book did I read?'
       c. Luuhim-**uvsun** mun ki'rje?'   I wonder, did I read a book?'

Note that it is possible for more than one particle to attach to a word, see for example *luuhim-uvsun*. It is unclear whether these particles are suffixes or true clitics. The ending *–uv*, for example, is probably a suffix.

Section 2: Advanced topics

2.1 The structure of the DP

2.1.1 The possessive construction:

The possessive construction is formed with possessor as an attributive. It precedes the main noun. The possessor is in genitive form.

(35)   Joovnâ   lodde
       John:GEN   bird:NOM

The possessive suffixes are still quite common. They have two main uses: A) to express a bound possessor, B) with some well-known entities, typically relatives.

A)

(36)   Mun   poossi-m   vuoptâ-id-<u>ân</u>
       I:NOM wash:PRT-1SG   hair-ACC:PL-1SG:PX
       'I washed my hair.'

(37)   Hendâ   čokáni-j   stoovli-<u>s</u>   oolâ.
       Henry:NOM   sat:PRT-3SG   chair:GEN-3SG:PX   on
       'Henry sat down on his chair.'

The binder of the possessive suffix is the subject of the clause.

B)

(38)   a. my mother = iän'nám…
       b. my father = iäč'čám…

In this second use, it is almost always possible to use a possessive construction instead: *muu enni, muu eeči*.

2.1.2 Attributive adjective

The conjugation of adjectives is quite complex, and there is also some morphological variation in the community. Many adjectives take an *–s* ending when they are used attributively:

(39)　Fi'ski-s　　　lodde　　　čokkáá　　　fi'ski-s　　　peevdi　　　alne.
　　　 yellow-ATTR　bird:NOM　　sit:3SG　　　yellow-ATTR　table:GEN　on:LOC
　　　 'The yellow bird sits on a yellow table.'

2.1.3 Combining a possessor and an adjective

The same *–s* ending is used in combination with a possessor:

(40)　Joovnâ　　　fi'ski-s　　　lodde　　　čokkáá　　　suu　　　　fi'ski-s
　　　 John:GEN　　yellow-ATTR　bird:NOM　　sit:3SG　　　he.GEN　　yellow-ATTR

　　　 peevdi　　　alne.
　　　 Table:GEN　on:LOC
　　　 'John's yellow bird sits on his yellow table.'

2.1.4 Adjectival concord

If an adjective has a special attributive form (commonly ending with -*s*), it does not agree with the head noun. However, some adjectives don't have an attributive form, and they agree in case and number, except for in the singular locative, illative and abessive as well as the plural comitative and abessive, in which cases the attributive adjective occurs in genitive (singular or plural).

There is a variation among speakers if they consider certain adjectives to fall into the attributive category (with no agreement) or category of partial agreement. For example, both *táválâš kammuuh ~ táváliih kammuuh* 'regular shoes' occur.

2.1.5 Quantifiers

The examples below both contain the quantifier DP *maaŋga-h*:

(41)　Maaŋga-h　　Joovnâ　　　fiski-s　　　luudi-jn　　　láá　　　　muččâde-h.
　　　 many-PL:NOM　John:GEN　　yellow-ATTR　bird-PL:LOC　be:PRS:3PL　pretty-PL:NOM
　　　 'Many of John's yellow birds are pretty.'

(42) Maaŋga-h   fiski-s   lode-h   láá   muččâde-h
     many-PL:NOM yellow-ATTR   bird-PL:NOM be.:PRS:3PL   pretty-PL:NOM
     'Many yellow birds are pretty.'

In the first example, *maaŋgah* is a head noun and it is the subject of the clause. In the second example, *maaŋgah* is a determiner of the head noun *lodeh.* Parallel examples with *motomeh* 'some' are given below:

(43) Motome-h   Joovnâ   fiski-s   luudi-jn   láá   muččâde-h.
     some-PL:NOM John:GEN   yellow-ATTR   bird-PL:LOC   be:PRS:3PL   pretty-PL:NOM
      'Some of John's yellow birds are pretty.'

(44) Motome-h   fiski-s   lodeh   láá   muččâde-h
     some-PL:NOM yellow-ATTR   bird-PL:NOM   be.:PRS:3PL   pretty-PL:NOM
     'Some yellow birds are pretty.'

2.1.6 Quantifiers and case

The case of a phrase varies according to the grammatical function of the noun phrase. However, when the NP is a subject or object, the quantifier sometimes determines the case of the head noun. This is illustrated in the following examples. They would all be appropriate as subject NPs:

(45)   a. maŋgâ   lode   b. maaŋga-h   lode-h
          many:SG:NOM   bird:SG:GEN   many-PL:NOM   bird-PL:NOM

(46)   a. mottoom   lode   b. motome-h   lode-h
          some:SG:NOM   bird:SG:GEN   some-PL:NOM   bird-PL:NOM

(47)   muád'di   lode
       few:SG:NOM   bird:SG:GEN

(48)   iänááš   luudi-jn
       most:SG:NOM   bird-PL:LOC

(49)   ennuv   lode-h
       much (ADV)   bird-PL:NOM

2.2 Subordinate (finite) clauses

2.2.1 Finite embedded yes/no questions

Finite embedded clauses can be introduced by *et/it* 'that':

(50) Jovnâ   smietâ-i,   (et) lii-uv   Máárjá   ráhtá-m   purrâmâš.
     John:NOM wonder-PRT:3SG CNJ be:3SG-Q Mary:NOM prepare-(PTCP:PRF) meal:ACC
     'John wondered: had Mary prepared a meal?'

The *et* is optional and more common in the spoken language than the written language.

2.2.2 Finite embedded WH-questions

It is possible for finite WH-questions to be subordinated, as illustrated by (51):

(51) Jovnâ   koijâdi-j,   (et) mondie't   Máárjá
     John:NOM   ask-PRT:3SG   CNJ   why   Mary:NOM

     ij   lamaš   ráhtá-m   purrâmâš.
     NEG:AUX:3SG be.PTCP.PRF   prepare-PTCP.PRF   meal.ACC
     'John asked why Mary had not prepared a meal.'

2.2.3 Finite embedded clauses:

Inari Saami also allows finite embedded declarative clauses, as illustrated here:

(52) Máárjá   eeđâ-i,   et   sun   ij
     Mary:NOM   say-PRT:3SG   that(CNJ) he:NOM   NEG:AUX:3SG

     táválávt   räähti   purrâmâš.
     usually   prepareNEG:PRES   meal:ACC
     'Mary said that she does not usually prepare food.'

The conjunctive (e.g., *et*) is obligatory in an embedded finite clause.

2.3 Non-finite clauses

2.3.1 Non-finite verb forms:

Inari Saami has a rich inventory of non-finite verb forms. There are ten different forms: infinitive, negative present, participle present and perfect, three action forms (nominative, locative and essive), verbal genitive and abessive, and gerund. We list some of the forms below, with examples:

Form 1: infinitive   *rähtiđ, koijâdiđ*

(53) Nuora-h   láá   peessâ-m   rähti-đ   elleekuuvi-jd.
     young-PL.NOM   be.3PL get-PTCP:PRF   make-INF   movie-PL:ACC
     'The young had a chance to make movies.'

(54) Kiä'-st   tun   puávtá-h   koijâdi-đ   to-m?
      who-LOC   you:SG:NOM   can-2SG   ask-INF   it-ACC
      'Who can you ask about it?' (literally: 'From whom can you ask it?')

Form 2: negative present   *räähti, koijâd*

(55) Tot   ij   räähti   pier'vâl.
      it:NOM   NEG:AUX:3SG   make:NEG:PRS   nest:ACC
      'It doesn't make a nest.'

(56) Tij   eppe-đ   koijâd   mu-st   maiden.
      you:2PL:NOM   NEG:AUX-2PL   ask:NEG:PRS   I-LOC   anything:ACC
      'You don't ask me anything.'

Form 3: participle   *ráhtám, koijâdâm* (perfect participle)

(57) Ákku   lii   ráhtá-m   loppimmielhi.
      grandma:NOM   be:PRS:3SG   make-PTCP:PRF   soured.mil:acc
      'Grandma has made some soured milk.'

(58) Matti   lâ-i   koijâdâ-m   su-st   love.
      Matti:NOM   be-PRT:3SG   ask-PTCP:PRF   he-LOC   permission:ACC
      'Matti had asked him a permission.'

Form 4: action infinitives   *rähtimin, koijâdmin* (action essive)

(59) Aune   lii   rähti-mi-n   lavlu-id.
      Aune:NOM   be:PRS:3SG   make-ACTN.ESS   song-PL:ACC
      'Aune is making songs.'

(60) Mun   koolgâ-m   vala   eelli-đ   koijâd-mi-n.
      I:NOM   must-1SG   still (ADV)   visit-INF   ask-ACTN.ESS
      'I still have to go and ask.'

2.3.2 Case on non-finite verb forms

The action infinitive has three possible cases, nominative, locative and essive)
(illustrated below). Otherwise non-finite forms do not carry case.

The action nominative is illustrated below. It is most commonly used with agents (61).
Action nominative is used even when the head noun it modifies would be declined (62):

(61)   ááhu   <u>kuárru-m</u>   kammuu-h
        grandma:GEN sew-ACTN:NOM   shoe-PL:NOM
        'shoes <u>sewn by</u> grandma'

(62)   ááhu   kuárru-m   kammu-in   láá   rääigi-h.
        grandma:GEN sew-ACTN:NOM   shoe-PL:LOC be:PRS:2PL hole-PL:NOM
        'There are holes in the shoes sewn by grandma.'

Action locative is used with some verbs as a verbal complement:

(63)   Jooskâ   <u>kuáru-mi-st</u>!
        stop:IMP:2SG sew-ACTN-LOC
        'Stop <u>sewing</u>!'

The action essive is typically used as a marker of a continuative process:

(64)   ákku   lii   <u>kuáru-mi-n</u>   kammu-id.
        grandma:NOM be:PRS:3SG   sew-ACTN-ESS   shoe-PL:ACC
        'Grandma is <u>sewing</u> shoes.'

2.3.3: <u>Tense, agreement and negation with non-finite forms:</u>

The participle has two forms, the present and the perfect. Otherwise there is no marking mentioned above in non-finite forms. Both participles are used instead of relative subordinate clause (kammuid <u>kuárroo</u> ákku = grandma, <u>who sews</u> shoes). Participle perfect, however, has a role in temporal structures as well (ákku ij kuárrum kammuid. = Grandma didn't sew shoes.). The participle perfect is much more common because of its usage, and participles used instead of relative subordinate clauses are quite rare. Below we proved examples of participles that are used instead of a relative clause.

Present participle:

(65)   kammu-id   kuár'roo   ákku
        shoe-PL:ACC   sew:PTCP:PRS   grandma:NOM
        'grandma, who sews shoes'

Perfect participle:

(66)   kammu-id   kuárru-m   ákku
        shoe-PL:ACC   sew-PTCP:PRF   grandma:NOM
        'grandma, who sewed shoes'

2.3.4. Finite vs. non-finite

Many of the non-finite clauses can be paraphrased as near-equivalent finite clauses. For example, (67) with a plain infinitive is very similar to (68) with a finite verb in the conditional:

(67)   Sun   mana   tohon   kuá'lásti-đ.
           he:NOM   go:PRS:3SG   there   fish-INF
           'He goes there to fish.'

(68)   Sun   mana   tohon, vâi   kuálásti-či-j.
           he:NOM   go:PRS:3SG   there   CNJ   fish-COND-3SG
           'He goes there for fishing.'

Similarly, the non-finite clause in (69) with a perfect participle can be paraphrased as (70):

(69)   Sun   lâ-i   kammu-id   kuárru-m   ákku.
           she:NOM   be-PRT:3SG   shoe-PL:ACC   sew-PTCP:PRF   grandma:NOM
           'She was a grandma, who sewed shoes.'

(70)   Sun   lâi   ákku,   kote   lâ-i
           she:NOM   be-PRT:3SG   grandma:NOM PRON:REF   be-PRT:3SG

           kuárru-m   kammu-id.
           sew-PTCP:PRF   shoe-PL:ACC
           'She was a grandma, who sewed shoes.'

We provide one final pair to exemplify equivalences between finite and non-finite clauses. The action essive can be a complement of a finite verb (as in (72)) or it can appear as the only verbal element in a clause, as in (71). (71) seems to be object-raising (ECM), not object control.

(71)   Mun   oini-m   suu   luhâ-mi-n   taa-m   ki'rje.
           I:NOM   see-PRT:1SG he:ACC   read-ACTN-ESS   this-ACC   book:ACC
           'I saw him reading this book.'

(72)   Mun   oini-m   suu,   ko   sun   lâ-i   luhâ-mi-n
           I:NOM   see-PRT:1SG he:ACC   CNJ   he:NOM be-PRT:3SG   read-ACTN-ESS

           taa-m   ki'rje.
           this-ACC   book:ACC
           'I saw him as he was reading this book.'

2.4 Relative clauses

2.4.1. Non-finite relative clauses

Inari Saami has non-finite relative clauses, as in the example below:

(73) Taa   lii   tuu   jieh't   teivâ-m   a'lmai.
      Here be:PRS:3SG you:SG:GEN   yesterday meet-ACTN-NOM   man:NOM
      'Here is the many who you met yesterday.'

The verbal, non-finite head of the relative clause precedes the noun. If the relative clause is long and complex, finite relative clauses are preferred.

2.4.2. The verb form in a participial relative clause

In non-finite relative clauses, the action nominative form or one of the participle forms is used. These forms do not agree with the head noun that they modify.

2.4.3. Finite relative clauses:

In addition to the non-finite relative clauses listed above, Inari Saami also has finite relative clauses. A finite relative clause follows the noun it modifies, and it is headed by a relative pronoun that is case marked for the grammatical function it bears in its clause.

(74) Taa   lii   a'lmai,   kiä-in   tun   teivi-h   jieh't.
      Here be:PRS:3SG man:NOM   who-COM   you:SG:NOM   meet-PRT:2SG   yesterday
      'Here is the man who you met yesterday.'

2.4.4 Relative pronouns

Kii, kote (human) and *mii* (non-human: animals and inanimates) are used as an relative pronouns. Both *kii* and *mii* are also interrogative pronouns, but *kote* cannot be used as an interrogative. However, the pronoun *kotemuš* 'which one' is the interrogative counterpart of *kote.* As relative pronouns, *kii* and *kote* are very close, with the difference being that *kote* refers to someone among a group ('that one'); also it seems that *kote* is acceptable with animal referents, but not inanimate referents.

2.4.5 Resumptive pronouns

Inari Saami does not allow resumptive pronouns.

2.5 Reflexives and anaphoric binding

2.5.1 Reflexives:

Many verbs have reflexive forms. They are intransitive in the sense that no overt object is allowed, and the reading is reflexive; the understood object is co-referential with the subject:

(75) Máárjá   skađâšu-i.
      Mary:NOM   hurt self-PRT:3SG
      'Mary hurt herself.'

(76) Mij   posâdâđâ-im.
      we:NOM   wash self-PRT:1PL
      'We washed ourselves.'

The transitive counterparts are provided below:

(77) Máárjá   skaađi-j   pennuu.
      Mary:NOM   hurt-PRT:3SG dog:ACC
      'Mary hurt the dog.'

(78) Mij   poosâ-im   pennuu.
      we:NOM   wash-PRT:1PL dog:ACC
      'We washed the dog.'

2.5.2 The reflexive morpheme
The verbs in (75) and (76) above are derivational reflexive verbs, which are formed with the use of affixes such as –(â)ttâđ or -(â)šuđ. There is also a word *jieš* 'self', which is discussed below.

2.5.3 Anaphoric binding

The reflexive *jieš* 'self' usually takes a possessive suffix *–n*, *-d* or *-s*:

(79) Mij   ooini-jm   jieč'čâ-n   spejâli-st.
      We:NOM   see-PRT:1PL   REF:PRON-1SG   mirror-SG:LOC
      'We saw ourselves in the mirror.'

(80) Máárjá   halijdi-j,   et   Jaana   sárgu   jiei'jâ-s.
      Mary:NOM   want-PRT:3SG that(CNJ)   Jane:NOM . draw:PRS:3SG   REF:PRON-3SG
      'Mary wanted Jane to draw herself.' (literally: 'Mary wanted that Jane draws herself.')

Because *jieč'čân / jieč'čâd / jiei'jâs* can also act as a modifier to a noun, an example with the word order of (79) is ambiguous, resulting in an alternative interpretation of 'we saw (something) in our own mirror'. The ambiguity can be avoided by different word order (81) or paraphrasing 'ourselves' as 'our picture' (82).

(81)   Mij   ooini-jm   spejâli-st   jieč'čâ-n.
        We:NOM   see-PRT:1PL   mirror-SG:LOC   REF:PRON-1SG
        'We saw ourselves in the mirror.'

(82)   Mij   ooini-jm   jieč'čâ-n   kove   spejâli-st.
        We:NOM   see-PRT:1PL   REF:PRON-1SG   picture;ACC   mirror-SG:LOC
        'We saw our picture in the mirror.'

The reflexive object form in (80) sounds quite informal. It is more common to use a reflexive as a modifier, as in (83)

(83)   Máárjá   halijdi-j,   et   Jaana   sárgu
        Mary:NOM   want-PRT:3SG that(CNJ)   Jane.NOM draw.3SG

        jiei'jâ-s   kove.
        REF.PRON-3SG   picture.ACC
        'Mary wanted Jane to draw a picture of herself.'

2.5.4 The anaphoric morpheme

The derivational morphology in 2.5.1-2.5.2 can be analyzed as anaphoric morphemes. Another anaphoric morpheme in Inari Saami is the reflexive *jieš*, which inflects for case. It can also combine with a possessive suffix, making it to agree with person, but not number. It can't be used by its own in the examples above, since it can't be an object.

The reflexive *jieš* without possessive suffix doesn't inflect for case, but does inflect for number: *mun jieš, mij jiejah. jieš* combined with possessive suffix does have case inflection as shown below:

gen / (acc)	jieč'čân	jiei'jâd	jiei'jâs
ill	olssân	olssâd	olssis
loc	alnaan / a'lnestân	alnaad / a'lnestâd	alnees / a'lnestis
com	jie'jâinân	jie'jâinâd	jie'jâinis
ess	jie'čânân	jie'čânâd	jie'čânis

The genitive is used as a determiner in possessive clauses, which explains why it doesn't usually occur on its own. Other cases can be used on their own:

(84)   a. Mun ostim olssân purrâmâš.   'I bought myself food.'
       b. Must láá purrâmâšah alnaan.   'I have food on myself.'
       c. Mun vuolgim jieijâinân.   'I went on my own.'
       d. Mun halijdâm aassâđ jiečânân.   'I want to live on my own.'

2.5.5 Binding the anaphor

In example (83) above, the closest noun, *Jane,* is the binder. In other words, Jane draws a picture of Jane. The binding domain in Inari Saami appears to be the minimal finite clause.

2.5.6. The reciprocal construction

There are two different ways to form reciprocals in Inari Saami:

(85)   Mij   teeivâ-im   nubi-jd-ân.
       we:NOM   see-PRT:1PL   each other:PRON-PL:ACC-PSX:1PL
       'We saw each other.'

(86)   Mij   oinâlâđâ-im.
       we:NOM   see_each_other-PRT:1PL
       'We saw each other.'

2.5.7. The reciprocal morpheme:

The pronoun *nubbe* roughly means 'other'. *Nubbe* inflects for case and number. However, when it is used as the reciprocal 'each other', it is always in the plural. Also, in its use as a reciprocal, it always has a possessive suffix.

It is also sometimes possible to form reciprocals with the use of a derivational reciprocal verb. Reciprocal verbs have the ending *–(â)ttâđ*.

Section 3: Optional syntax topics

3.1 Agreement marking and grammatical functions

Grammatical functions in Inari Sami are identified by means of case marking, agreement marking and word order. Consider the following example:

(87) Tun   addeli-h   skeeŋkâ   nieidâ-n.
      you:NOM   give-PRT:2SG   gift:SG:ACC   girl-SG:ILL
      'You gave a gift to the girl.'

In this example, the subject *tun* is in nominative case, the direct object *skeeŋkâ* is in accusative case, and the indirect object *nieidân* is in illative case. This is typical: subjects are marked with nominative case and direct objects are marked with accusative case. If the clause contains more arguments, they are case marked for their semantic role. In the example above, *nieidân* is in illative since it is a recipient/goal. Adjuncts are marked with prepositions or case markers that indicate their meaning: location, accompaniment, time, etc.

The example also has the canonical SVO word order: the subject precedes the verb and the object follows the verb.

Finally, arguments are also distinguished by agreement marking: subjects agree with the verb, but objects do not. In the example above, the verb carries a second person singular agreement suffix because the subject is a second person singular pronoun. The verb agrees in three persons and three numbers, as shown in the table below for the present indicative paradigm of the verb *vyel'giđ* 'to leave':

SG 1	vuálgám
2	vuálgáh
3	vuál'gá
DU 1	vyel'geen
2	vyel'givettee
3	vyel'giv
PL 1	vyel'gip
2	vyel'givetteđ
3	vyel'gih

The pronouns also appear in three persons and numbers, but non-pronominal nouns do not have a dual form. The duality of the subject can then be expressed with two singular nouns or by explicitly adding the number two, or it is expressed by the verb alone. If a noun in plural, for example *almaah* 'men.PL:NOM' is used with the third person dual form of a verb, as in *almaah vyel'giv,* the subject is interpreted as dual, even though there is no dual marking on the subject itself.

 In addition to the full agreement paradigm, there is also partial agreement (Toivonen 2007). The partial agreement paradigm consists of only two forms: the third person singular form occurs with all singular subjects and the third person plural form occurs

with all dual and plural subjects. The full and partial agreement paradigms for the verb *leđe* 'to be' are given in the table below (for alternative pronunciations of various forms in the paradigm, see Sammallahti & Morottaja 1993, 144):

	FULL	PARTIAL
SG 1	lam	lii
2	lah	lii
3	lii	lii
DU 1	láán	láá
2	leppee	láá
3	lává	láá
PL 1	lep	láá
2	leppeđ	láá
3	láá	láá

Inanimate subjects take partial agreement (42). When the subject refers to an animal, either partial or full agreement is possible (43):

(42) Táálu-st   láá   kyehti vi'ste.
      house-SG:LOC be:PRS:3PL   two   room-GEN:SG
      'There are two rooms in the house.'

(43) Meeci-st   lava/láá   puásui   já   peenuv.
      forest-SG:LOC be:3DU/be:3PL rendeer:SG:NOM   and   dog:SG:NOM
      'In the forest were a reindeer and a dog.'

Partial agreement also frequently occurs in existential sentences and also predicative possessive clauses.   This is easier to establish for third than for first and second person subjects, since first and second person subjects are generally uncommon in existential and possessive constructions. However, it is clear that dual agreement sounds unnatural in third person existentials and possessives.

3.2 Comitative coordination[2]

A phrase which conjoins a pronoun and a noun is in Inari Saami naturally expressed as the dual pronoun form and the noun in comitative case. Examples are given below:

(44) Muoi   Ánná-in   lá-im   kirhoo-st.
      we:DU:NOM   Anna-SG:COM   be-PRT:1DU   church:SG:LOC
      'Anna and I were in church.'

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[2] We use the term *comitative coordination* here, but the construction described in this section is actually more like what McNally (1993) and others call the *plural pronoun construction*.

(45) Tuoi   párná-in   lávlo-id.
      you:DU:NOM   child-SG:COM   sing- PRT:2DU
      'You (sg) and the child sang.'

(46) Suoi   nieidá-in   mooná-in   pááiká-n.
      they:DU:NOM   girl-SG:COM   go- PRT:1DU   home-SG:ILL
      'He/she and the girl went home.'

The head pronoun can also be plural:

(47) Mij   Ella-in   já   Ánná-in   moonâ-im   tupá-n.
      we:PL:NOM   Ella-SG:COM   and   Anna- SG:COM   go-PRT:1PL   house-SG:ILL
      'I, Ella and Anna went inside a house .'

The construction is possible in object position as well:

(48) Mun   oini-m   sunnuu   Ella-in.
      I:NOM   see-PRT:1SG   they:DU:ACC   Ella-SG:COM
      'I saw him and Ella.'

The comitative coordination examples can be rephrased with regular conjunction.
Compare example (47) below with example (43) above:

(49) Tun   já   pärni   lávlo-id.
      You:SG:COM   and   child:SG:NOM   sing-PRT:2DU
      'You (sg) and the child sang.'

It is difficult to pinpoint the difference in meaning between the sentences with
comitatives and the sentences with regular coordination. The comitative examples seem
to go with a collective reading. For example, in (43) you and the child sang together,
but in (49) you and the child may or may not have sung together.

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