Some notes on Inari Saami syntax and morphology
DRAFT version, June 10

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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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>kumppi</td>
<td>kuumpi</td>
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<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
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<td>accusative</td>
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<td>illative</td>
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<td>locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>kumppiijn</td>
<td>ku’mpijguln</td>
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<tr>
<td>abessive</td>
<td>ku’mpittáá</td>
<td>ku’mpijttáá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A shorter revised version has been submitted to Anne Tamm and Anne Vainikka, eds., (In preparation) Uralic Syntax. Cambridge University Press.
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 rahti-j purramâš.
    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 râhtiđ in (2):

(2) Máárjá ij halijdâ-m râhtiđ purramâš.
    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:
Prepare: IMP: 2SG meal: ACC
‘Prepare a meal!’

‘Don’t prepare a meal!’

1.1.4 Pronominal dependents:

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

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

(6) Mij ep halijdā-m teivā-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 maŋâ vi-ste.
    House-LOC: SG is: 3PL many room: ACC: SG
    ‘There are many rooms in the house.’

(9) Muu uábi-st láá uddā 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 *maŋǎ* 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)  

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)  

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

(12)  

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)  

### 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 puurā 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 (*–hännää*; see (19)), which means ‘without doing something’. The Finnish counterpart would be *–mAttA (tekemättä, olematta, etc.):

(19) Sun keččåli-j leđe kose-hännää mañedâ-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 Måårjá 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 emphasized. The particle and its host then occur in the beginning of the sentence.

(21) Määli-uvks Måårjá 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 Måårjá 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

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:PRF-1SG recently really good:ATTR book:ACC

‘I recently read a really good book.’

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

(24) To-m jolâ-s mainâs mij tuodâi ko’lgâ-čči-jm vájálditti-d.
    It-ACC crazy-ATTR story:ACC we:NOM certainly should-COND-1PL forget-INF

‘That crazy story, we certainly should forget.’

(25) Mij tuodâi ko’lgâ-čči-jm vájáldtti-d to-m jolâ-s mainâs.
    We:NOM certainly should-COND-1PL forget-INF it-ACC crazy-ATTR STORY:ACC

‘That crazy story, 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-PART read:PRF-1SG book:ACC

‘(As for me,) I 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’.

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.

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.
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. Maidsun mun luuhim? ‘I wonder, what did I read?’  
   b. Mon ki’rjesun 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-ân  
    I:NOM wash:PRT-1SG hair-ACC:PL-1SG:PX  
    ‘I washed my hair.’

(37) Hendâ čokáni-j stoovli-Š 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’nâm…  
    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’ksi-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) Joovná fi’ksi-s lodde čokkáá suu fi’ksi-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 *táváláš kammuuh ~ táváliih kammuuh* ‘regular shoes’ occur.

2.1.5 **Quantifiers**

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

(41) Maanga-h Joovná fiski-s luudi-jn láá muččade-h.

‘Many of John’s yellow birds are pretty.’
In the first example, *maaŋga* is a head noun and it is the subject of the clause. In the second example, *maaŋga* is a determiner of the head noun *lodeh*. Parallel examples with *motomeh* 'some' are given below:

(43) Motome-h Joovnā fiski-s luudi-jn láá muččade-h.
    ‘Some of John’s yellow birds are pretty.’

(44) Motome-h fiski-s lodeh láá muččade-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. maŋgá lode b. maŋga-h lode-h

(46) a. mottoom lode b. motome-h lode-h

(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’:
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) Jovnä koijâdi-j, (et) mondie’t Määrjä
John:NOM ask-PRT:3SG CNJ why Mary:NOM
ij lamaš rähtâ-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) Määrjä eedâ-i, et sun ij
Mary:NOM say-PRT:3SG that(CNJ) he:NOM NEG:AUX:3SG
távalâvt 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

*rähtid, koijâdâd*

(53) Nuora-h láá peessâ-m rähti-d elleekuvi-jd.
young-PL.NOM be.3PL get-PTCP.PRF make-INF movie-PL:ACC
‘The young had a chance to make movies.’
Kiä’-st tun puávtá-h koijádi-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, koijåd

Tot ij räähti pier’vål.
it:NOM NEG:AUX:3SG make:NEG:PRS nest:ACC
‘It doesn’t make a nest.’

Tij eppe-đ koijåd mu-st maiden.
‘You don’t ask me anything.’

Form 3: participle  råhtåm, koijådåm (perfect participle)

Ákku lii råhtå-m loppimielhi.
grandma:NOM be:PRS:3SG make-PTCP:PRF soured.mil:acc
‘Grandma has made some soured milk.’

Matti lâ-i koijådå-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  råhtimå, koijådmin (action essive)

Aune lii råhti-mi-n lavlu-id.
Aune:NOM be:PRS:3SG make-ACTN.ESS song-PL:ACC
‘Aune is making songs.’

Mun koolgå-m vala eelli-đ koijåd-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):
Action locative is used with some verbs as a verbal complement:

(63) Jooskâ kuáru-mi-st! 
    stop:IMP:2SG sew-ACTN-LOC 
    ‘Stop sewing!’

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

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

2.3.3: Tense, agreement and negation with non-finite forms:

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 kuárro ákku = grandma, who sews shoes). Participle perfect, however, has a role in temporal structures as well (ákku i 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 kuáˈlásti-ɗ.
he:NOM go:PRS:3SG there fish-INF
'He goes there to fish.'

(68) Sun mana tohon, vái kuáˈlásti-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 lá-ɬi kammu-id kuá́rru-m ákku.
she:NOM be-PRT:3SG shoe-PL:ACC sew-PTCP:PRF grandma:NOM
‘She was a grandma, who sewed shoes.’

(70) Sun lá-ɬi ákku, kote lá-ɬi
she:NOM be-PRT:3SG grandma:NOM PRON:REF be-PRT:3SG
kuá́rru-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 luhá-mi-n taa-m kiˈrje.
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 lá-ɬi luhá-mi-n
I:NOM see-PRT:1SG he:ACC CNJ he:NOM be-PRT:3SG read-ACTN-ESS
 taa-m kiˈrje.
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 teivå-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 skadâšu-i.
Mary:NOM hurt self-PRT:3SG
‘Mary hurt herself.’

(76) Mij posâdâdâm-im.
we:NOM wash self-PRT:1PL
‘We washed ourselves.’

The transitive counterparts are provided below:

(77) Máárjá skaâdi-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)ttâd 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 oopi-n jiečâ-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 jieįjâ-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 \textit{jieč'ćán} / \textit{jieč'ćâd} / \textit{jieįjâs} 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) \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Mij} & \text{ooini-jm} & \text{spejâli-st} & \text{jieč'ćâ-n.} \\
\text{We:NOM} & \text{see-PRT:1PL} & \text{mirror-SG:LOC} & \text{REF:PRON-1SG} \\
& & & 'We saw ourselves in the mirror.'
\end{array}

(82) \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Mij} & \text{ooini-jm} & \text{jieč'ćâ-n} & \text{kove} & \text{spejâli-st.} \\
\text{We:NOM} & \text{see-PRT:1PL} & \text{REF:PRON-1SG} & \text{picture:ACC} & \text{mirror-SG:LOC} \\
& & & 'We saw our picture in the mirror.'
\end{array}

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

(83) \begin{array}{llll}
\text{Máárjá} & \text{halijdi-j,} & \text{et} & \text{Jaana} & \text{sârgu} \\
\text{Mary:NOM} & \text{want-PRT:3SG} & \text{(CNJ)} & \text{Jane:NOM} & \text{draw.3SG} \\
\text{jieįjâ-s} & \text{kove.} \\
\text{REF:PRON-3SG} & \text{picture:ACC} \\
& & & 'Mary wanted Jane to draw a picture of herself.'
\end{array}

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 \textit{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 \textit{jieš} without possessive suffix doesn’t inflect for case, but does inflect for number: \textit{mun jieš}, \textit{mij jiejiang}. \textit{jieš} combined with possessive suffix does have case inflection as shown below:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lccc}
gen / (acc) & jieč'ćán & jieįjâd & jieįjâs \\
il & olssân & olssâd & olssis \\
loc & alnaan / a'înestân & alnaad / a'înestâd & alnees / a'înestis \\
com & jie'jâinân & jie'jâinât & jie'jâinis \\
es & jieč'cânân & jie'cânât & jie'cânis \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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:
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 teevâ-im nubi-jd-å̌n.
we:NOM see-PRT:1PL each other:PRON-PL:ACC-PSX:1PL
‘We saw each other.’

(86) Mij oinâlâdâ-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)ttâd.

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:
In this example, the subject *tun* is in nominative case, the direct object *skeenkå* 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’gid* ‘to leave’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vuálgám</td>
<td>vyel’geen</td>
<td>vyel’gip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vuálgáh</td>
<td>vyel’givettee</td>
<td>vyel’giv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vuál’gá</td>
<td>vyel’giv</td>
<td>vyel’gih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FULL</th>
<th>PARTIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG 1</td>
<td>lam</td>
<td>lii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lah</td>
<td>lii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lii</td>
<td>lii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU 1</td>
<td>láán</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>leppe</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lává</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL 1</td>
<td>lep</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>leppeđ</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>láá</td>
<td>láá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kyehi vi’ste.
    house-SG:LOC be:PRS:3PL two room-GEN:SG
    ‘There are two rooms in the house.’

(43) Meeci-st laca/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

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.’

---

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*. 
The head pronoun can also be plural:

(47) Mij Ella-in já Ánná-in mooná-im tupá-n.
    ‘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) 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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