ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY OF SAAMI VERBAL DERIVATIVES IN -Š-

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Abstract. This article presents a comparative-historical survey on the Saami verbal derivatives with a suffixal (Proto-Saami) *-š- or *-šš-, based on extensive dictionary data from all Saami languages. The derivatives are divided into several subtypes using structural and functional criteria, and the distribution of each subtype and the derivatives shared between Saami languages are investigated in order to illuminate the background of each subtype and the interrelations between them. It is argued that the essive verbs in *-āšę- (South Saami *vealkasjidh* 'to appear white'), the denominal verbs in *-ušę- (North Saami *jallošit* 'to play the fool') and the diverse *-(ę)šę- verbs in the more peripheral languages all descend from a single Proto-Saami derivational suffix *-šę- with general verbalizer and frequentative functions. The model of this type has probably also contributed to the emergence of the weak-grade *-Všłę- type, which mainly consists of borrowings adapted from Finnic *-icce- verbs, such as North Saami *dárbbašit* (~ Finnish *tarvitse*-) 'to need'.

1. Introduction

The Saami languages are known for their versatile system of verbal derivation, utilizing dozens of simple and complex derivational suffixes with individual but partly overlapping functional repertoires. Descriptions of varying depth on the derivational apparatus of single Saami languages have been published (for some of the most comprehensive accounts, see Ruong 1943; Nielsen 1926: 229–286; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 541–612; Magga & Magga 2012: 93–169), but studies on derivational morphology that address the whole Saami language branch have been lacking until recently. In this vein, the current article presents

a comparative-historical survey on the Saami verbal derivatives with a suffixal *-š- (or *-šš-).[1] The goals of the study are to determine what subtypes these verbs can be divided into based on their structural and functional properties, how the different subtypes are represented in each Saami language and to what extent they descend from a single derivational type or, alternatively, result from an overlap of historically distinct categories.

This study is a continuation of two previous analyses on North Saami verbal derivatives with a suffixal element -š- and their cognate types in other Saami languages (Koponen & Kuokkala 2021; 2022). The previous articles covered the two morphologically and functionally most clearly definable types. The first type comprises the frequentative verbs – such as SaaN *mávssašit* 'to pay several times' ← *máksit* 'to pay' – which, considering the cognates in other Saami languages (e.g. SaaL *mávsatjit*, SaaSk *maausčed*), can be traced back to Proto-Saami *-(e)kčę- : *-(e)hčę-[2] and further to Proto-Uralic *-kśi- (Koponen & Kuokkala 2021; Korhonen 1981: 337–338; Aikio 2022: 20). The second type consists of the censive[3] verbs, such as *guhkášit* 'to consider (too) long' (← *guhkki* 'long'), which through comparative evidence can be reconstructed as Proto-Saami *-kšę- : *-ššę- and ultimately considered a Finnic loan type (Koponen & Kuokkala 2022; Itkonen 1980: 27–28). This analysis aims to address the rest of the lexical material, which is semantically more vague and appears to have historically diverse backgrounds. Prominent subgroups include the predominantly borrowed transitive verbs such as *mearkkašit* 'to notice, remark, mean' ← *mearka* 'mark' (cf. Finnish *merkitse-* 'to mark, mean'), essive verbs such as

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1   Unless otherwise indicated, the linguistic material marked with an asterisk refers to reconstructed Late Proto-Saami forms (cf. Korhonen 1981; Sammallahti 1998).

2   The suffix reconstruction preceding a colon represents Middle Proto-Saami and a secondarily stressed position (quadrisyllabic verbs) in Late Proto-Saami, whereas the reconstruction after a colon represents a Late Proto-Saami unstressed position (trisyllabic verbs). See Section 3 for additional information on the syllabic types.

3   We prefer the term *censive* in this particular form, considering it to be a derivative of Latin *cēnseō* 'assess, judge'. This is in line with *censitiv* by Nielsen (1926 § 309; in Norwegian) and Ruong (1943: 141, 170; in German) and *censiv* by Itkonen (1980: 27; in German); Collinder (1949: 108) uses the term *verba censendi*. More recently, the English variant *sensive* has appeared in the literature (for example, see Sammallahti 1998: 93; cf. Nickel 1990: 292 *sensiv* in Norwegian), which rather becomes associated with Latin *sēntiō* 'sense, feel' and appears less appropriate, as the semantics of the derivative type pertains to (critical) assessment rather than sensing.

SaaN *jaľlošit* 'to play the fool' (← *jaľla* 'crazy') and continuative-essive verbs such as SaaS *vealkasjidh*, N *vielgát* 'to appear, shine white' (← *vielgat* 'white'). In comparison to the previous two studies, the data set is approximately twice as large, while the analysis of the derivatives is somewhat less straightforward due to the less clear-cut functions and more ambiguous derivational patterns of the verb types at hand.

This article is structured as follows: Section 2 presents our research questions and introduces our data sources and analytical principles. Section 3 outlines the division of the *š*-verbs into functional-morphological subtypes as suggested by our analysis. A more specific analysis of each subtype is presented in Section 4 for weak-grade trisyllabic verbs, in Section 5 for strong-grade trisyllabic verbs, and in Section 6 for quadrisyllabic verbs. Section 7 summarizes the results and discusses the conclusions to be drawn on the history of the derivational types in question.

2. Research questions, methodology and data

This study is based on extensive lexical data sourcing from all major dictionaries of the Saami languages (more information on the sources is provided below). Saami verbal derivatives in -*š*- which do not belong to the previously studied frequentative or censive types have been identified and collected from digital(ized) material according to the ending of the headwords, then analyzed and categorized in order to answer the following questions:

1. Which derivational subtypes can be distinguished and what are their (morpho)phonological realizations across the Saami languages? For each subtype, we look specifically for the following properties:
   a) Form and function: What is the semantic and morphological relationship of each derived verb and its base word (or derivational correlates) regarding e.g. word class restrictions and morphophonological changes in the stem?
   b) Distribution: How frequent is each derivational subtype in the different Saami languages? Which derived verbs are widely attested and which languages tend to have shared derivatives?
2) How do the trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic types relate to each other – do some of them constitute suffix pairs that serve a similar function and a sound-historically connectable form so as to be considered (historical) allomorphs of a single suffix?

3) What conclusions can be drawn regarding the history of each derivational subtype and the diachronic interrelations of the types?

The data sources comprise all relevant dictionaries published on the modern Saami languages. This includes scholarly dialect dictionaries beginning from Halász (1896) as well as dictionaries for the standard languages published in the 20th and 21st centuries, which in most cases are also more or less directly based on spoken-language data, but at the same time, reflect varying normative aspirations in their content.[4] In addition, for the otherwise somewhat under-resourced Pite Saami, we consulted the word lists in the dissertation by Ruong (1943) on Pite Saami verbal derivation. While we have used dictionaries of older written Saami from the 18th to 19th century as references, the information from these is not included in the main research data. A complete list of sources and their abbreviations can be found at the end of the article in the section "Data Sources".

Most sources have been processed in digital format and should be covered in their entirety. However, Lagercrantz's *Lappischer Wortschatz* (LW) and Itkonen's *Wörterbuch des Kolta- und Kolalappischen* (KKLS) are, due to their complicated transcription, difficult to process reliably with character recognition software and are therefore probably incompletely represented, even though we have conducted manual searches to find cognates of the derivatives attested in other sources. As the compiling principles and most notably the extent of the dictionaries widely vary (from Ume Saami sources of ca. 6,000 entries to the largest North Saami source SSS2 of ca. 53,000 entries), the numbers of attested derivatives are not directly comparable between the different Saami languages, but should be interpreted as indicative and related to the extent of the base material. The sizes of the main lexical sources for each language are summarized in Table 1. (LW and KKLS are not included in the table because they contain data on several languages and their use is not comprehensive.)

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4   For South Saami, the standard language dictionary, ÅaDB, has been used for practical reasons instead of the extensive dialect dictionary of Hasselbrink (1981–1985). ÅaDB contains virtually the same South Saami lexical material as Hasselbrink supplemented with a few other sources, although some variation may have been levelled for normative purposes. In some cases, Hasselbrink's dictionary has also been consulted for more detailed data.

Table 1. Extent of the main data sources, in approximate number of lexemes (excluding phrases and different variants of a single lexeme given as lemmas). The dictionaries for standard languages are marked with an asterisk (*).

Language	Primary source		2nd source		3rd source	
South Saami	ÅaDB*	19,000				
Ume Saami	Schlachter	6,000	Barruk*	5,000		
Pite Saami	Ruong	5,000[a]	Wilbur*	6,000	Halász	3,000
Lule Saami	Korhonen*	18,000	Kintel*	18,000	LLW	17,000
North Saami	SSS*	35,000	SSS2*	53,000	Nielsen	25,000
Inari Saami	ILW	17,000	ASS*	22,000		
Skolt Saami	SKS*	26,000				
Kildin Saami	SRS*	7,500	Antonova*	5,000		

[a] The monograph of Ruong (1943) lists ca. 5,000 lexemes, of which ca. 4,000 are (derived or underived) verbs.

The most scantily documented varieties, Akkala and Ter Saami, have been omitted from most statistic figures, although the Ter Saami derivatives found in KKLS have been recorded as additional information in our data tables and are referred to when they shed more light on some particular question. For a more detailed description of the Saami lexicological sources, see Kuokkala (in press).

The original data, published at different times in various transcriptions, has been converted to the modern (dictionary) orthographies of each Saami language, with some additional diacritics to show phonological quantity distinctions (such as a vertical line for extra-long quantity, as in SaaN *jaǀǀa* vs standard *jalla*). An exception is the Kildin Saami data, which is provided in a Latin transcription aiming for a practical compromise between the Cyrillic orthography and a phonological transcription.[5] Forms of Kildin and old Swedish Saami that may be phonologically imprecise are given in angle quotes (‹ ›).

The lexical data compiled for the study is available in table format in Zenodo (https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8079408).

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5   Our Kildin Saami practice resembles that of Rießler (2022), apart from the use of *ï* instead of *õ* for the close central vowel ‹ы› and *gk*, *bp*, *dt* instead of *gg*, *dd*, *bb*. Some phonemic ambiguities of the orthography have (partly) been resolved (‹а̄› > (*j*)*ea* / *jaa*; ‹oa›/‹ōā› > *å* / *åå*), and a palatalization mark (ʹ) is used to indicate palatalization before the entire consonant center.

3. Subtypes of -š- verbs

Derived verbs that have an -š- suffix element can be divided into subtypes on the basis of the syllable count, morphophonological alternations in the stem and the possible accompanying vowel that replaces the base stem vowel. The morphological (sub)types can be further divided according to functional criteria.

A central morphophonological phenomenon that characterizes Saami word form realizations is consonant gradation, and another that is relevant for the current study is what we refer to here as marginal weakening.[6] Gradation conditionally affects consonants following a (primary or secondary) stressed syllable, which is normally the 1st, 3rd, etc., but not the final syllable, by lengthening the consonant center before a historically open syllable (e.g. SaaN *dolla* : GEN *dola* < PSaa *tol̀ẹ* : GEN *tol̀ẹn* 'fire'). Marginal weakening, in contrast, unconditionally affects (or has historically affected) geminates and some consonant clusters following an unstressed syllable, that is, the 2nd, 4th, etc., syllable (e.g. PSaa *porẹttā* > *porẹhtā* > SaaN *boraha* '(s/he) feeds'; PSaa *menẹkčîm* > *menẹhčim* > SaaN *manašin* 'I would go'). The trochaic stress structure combined with the above-mentioned phenomena has caused wide-scale morphophonological alternations such that many Saami suffixes have one alternant that occurs after unstressed and another after stressed syllables, or in other terms, after parisyllabic and imparisyllabic stems (see Korhonen 1981: 149–153; Koponen 2022: 105–107). In the division of the material for the current study, we correspondingly refer to the (original) syllable count of the derived stems, using the term **trisyllabic** verb for a derivative whose suffix consonant begins the third syllable (after an unstressed syllable, e.g. SaaN *čurbošit* 'to be clumsy') and **quadrisyllabic** verb for a derivative whose (last)

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6   Consonant margin or marginal consonant(s) refer here to the consonant(s) following the second-syllable (respectively fourth-syllable, etc.) vowel (see the Saami phonological terminology in Sammallahti 1998: 39). – The phenomenon has previously been treated as a part of "suffixal gradation" (for example, see Korhonen 1981: 150) but is better separated from the notion of gradation, which involves historical lengthening in Saami (cf. e.g. Sammallahti 1998: 47). Marginal weakening phenomena have been (fully) completed only after Proto-Saami and have sometimes led to different results in different languages (such as *nt* > SaaN *d*, SaaK *n*).

suffix consonant begins the fourth syllable (after a secondarily stressed one, e.g. SaaN *skihpáruššat* 'to be a comrade').[7]

Marginal weakening has blurred the distinctions in suffixal consonantism during and after Proto-Saami, but the consonant gradation of the base stem can reveal the quantity of the original consonant margin. In other words, the strong grade appears before an originally open syllable, implying a single suffixal consonant, and the weak grade before an originally closed syllable, implying a suffixal geminate or consonant cluster (cf. Korhonen 1981: 135–149; Sammallahti 1998: 47). This criterion obviously applies only to the analysis of trisyllabic derivatives in the Saami languages, with the exception of South Saami, which does not have consonant gradation.

The trisyllabic Saami verbs containing or going back to an *-š-* suffix – disregarding the frequentative **-kčę-* and censive **-kšę-* types – can be divided into two main groups according to stem gradation. The minor group with a weak-grade stem occurs basically only from Lule Saami eastwards and primarily contains Finnic borrowings. This verb type will be discussed in Section 4. The major group with a strong-grade stem can be further divided into subgroups according to the second-syllable vowel that distinguishes three different suffix types: **-āšę-*, **-ušę-* and **-ęšę-*. The first type, and to a lesser extent the second one, appear to be functionally somewhat specialized and exhibit varying productivity in all Saami languages, whereas the last suffix type is virtually attested only in peripheral varieties – South, Ume, Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami – with rather diverse functions. The **-ušę-* verbs are widely used in what can be called the **essive** function, that is, noun or adjective-based verbs meaning 'to be X, to act as X', where X is the denotation of the base word. The **-āšę-* verbs, again, mostly fall into the category we call **continuative-essive**, comprising the meanings 'to be in a posture/state X' or 'to be/move looking like X'.[8]

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7   In principle, derived verbs with five syllables belong to the trisyllabic (imparisyllabic) class and verbs with six syllables to the quadrisyllabic (parisyllabic) class, but these are extremely rare in our data.

8   The term "essive" in reference to these Saami derivative types can be traced back to at least Nielsen (1926: 284) and is used similarly by e.g. Kintel (1991: 54). Sammallahti (1998: 92–93) and Nickel & Sammallahti (2011: 603–604) use the term "essential" for the *-ušę-* verbs and "essive" for the *-āšę-* verbs. Ruong (1943: 138, 140, 285), in contrast, prefers the term "stative" (*Stativa*) for most of the *-āšę-* verbs and includes the more active *-āšę-*/*-ušę-* verbs in the "active cursive" (*active Kursiva*) class in his system.

Quadrisyllabic verbs with an -*(š)š*- element reflect the suffixal form **-(C)ušę-* or **-(C)ęšę-*, with the initial consonantal element representing either the margin consonant of the base stem or an analogical binding consonant. The varying derivational subtypes, including both denominal and deverbal, are analyzed more closely in Section 6.

4. Weak-grade trisyllabic verbs

The weak-grade -*š*- verb type appears mainly in North Saami and the more eastern languages; only a few of these verbs are attested in western Saami. South Saami does not have stem gradation, which means that its words cannot be unambiguously classified. However, as the bulk of this type of verbs that occur elsewhere are Finnic loan verbs, of which only single instances occur in South, Ume and Pite Saami (SaaN *dárbbašit* 'to need' reaches S–Sk and *fuomášit* 'to notice' P–K), it seems justifiable to assume that the verb type in question is originally foreign to the westernmost varieties and only single verbs have secondarily spread there.[9] Some unclear weak-grade cases of Ume Saami, again, are probably loans from South Saami -*š*- verbs that originally belonged to another type (e.g. U *viähkasjit* ~ S *vïehkesjidh* 'to help' ← S *viehkie* 'help'; see Section 5.3).

Table 2 summarizes the frequencies of this type of verbs in the different Saami languages in our data. The column "All" contains the number of distinct verb bases observed across the language area, that is, the formally equal derivatives of one verb base in several languages count as one. The figures for this analysis do not include the few verbs that, by the testimony of their semantics and cognates in neighboring varieties, have secondarily changed their suffix consonant from -*s*- to -*š*-.

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9   For some reason, the South Saami *daarpesjidh* 'to need' is missing in ÅaDB but appears in Hasselbrink 1981–1985 (s.v. *daarbesjidh*) with a wide dialect distribution (ÅaDB only has a correlate in a different suffixal type: *daarpehtidh* id.). Note that there are formally and semantically corresponding nouns which may have affected the formation of *daarpesjidh*, etc. (or vice versa): SaaL *dárba : dárbbaga* 'necessities', SaaN *dárbbaš* (L–Sk) 'necessity, need', SaaSk *darbb* id. (← Fi *tarve : tarpe(h)e*- id.), SaaN *dárbu* (S–N) id. (probably a borrowing from Proto-Scandinavian **þarbō* id.; see Aikio 2006: 21–22).

Table 2. Number of weak-grade trisyllabic -š-verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Loan verbs in *-ęšš-	1–?	1	1	3	13	9	11	4	23
Loan verbs in *-āšš-	(?)	–	1	1	3	9	4	4	14
Non-loan or unclear origin	(?)	4	1	–	2	5	2	3	15
Total	(?)	5	3	4	18	23	17	11	52

The semantics of this verb type is characterized by the presence of an agentive subject, and many of the verbs are transitive. Almost all are borrowings from Finnish/Finnic or formed on the base of a Finnic loanword; if a (possible) base word can be identified in Saami, it is almost unexceptionally a noun. Both a noun and an š-suffixed verb often correspond to a similar Finnic pair of a noun and a denominal verb, for example SaaN *mearkkašit* 'to notice, remark; to mean, matter' and *mearka* 'mark' (cf. Finnish *merkitse-* 'to mark; to mean' and *merkki* 'mark'), in which case it is unclear whether the noun and the verb have been borrowed simultaneously or separately or whether the verb is a derivative of the borrowed noun, coined after the Finnic model. For the sake of simplicity in this analysis, we present a Finnic derivative verb as a primary loan origin for all those Saami verbs for which a suitable synonymous counterpart can be found in Finnic. (For previous descriptions of the type, see Nielsen 1926: 233; Collinder 1949: 109; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 598.)

As for the morphological background of this verb type, the weak grade of the base stem implies that the second syllable has previously been closed by a consonant cluster or a geminate, so we will tentatively reconstruct the suffix as *-ššV-.[10] The suffixes of these verbs represent two distinct vocalic types, one with *-ęššę- (SaaL *dárbahit*, N *dárbbašit*, I *taˈrbâšiđ*, Sk *taarbšed* 'to need', cf. Fi. *tarvitse-* id.) and another with *-āššę- (SaaN *ánssášit*, I *áˈnsášiđ* 'to earn', cf. Fi *ansaitse-* id.). The latter subtype is rather rare in North and Lule Saami, while in eastern Saami, both types appear with similar frequency. It appears that the verbs in *-ęššę- – particularly those attested in more than one language – correspond to Finnic verbs in *-icce-, while the verbs in *-āššę- largely correspond to Finnic verbs in *-aicce- or *-aise- (see Tables 3, 4).

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10 Sammallahti (1998: 237) reconstructs similarly SaaN *dárbbašit* as PSaa *tārʙę́ššę-*.

Table 3. Borrowed or loan-based *-eššę- verbs (the most widely attested and selected other verbs) with their apparent loan sources as represented in Finnish. Unless marked otherwise, the Finnish meanings are identical to Saami.

Saami	Finnish
N *hálddašit* (I) 'to be able to manage'	Fi *halli**tse**-*
N *gávppašit* (I Sk K T) 'to trade', cf. *gávpi* 'trade; goods'	Fi *kaupi**tse**-* ← *kauppa*
N *máinnašit* (I) 'to mention'	Fi *maini**tse**-*
N *mearkkašit* (L I) 'to notice; to matter', cf. *mearka* 'mark'	Fi *merki**tse**-* ← *merkki*
N *návddašit* (L I) 'to enjoy'	Fi *nautti-* ~ *nauti**tse**-*
N *bálkkašit* 'to reward', cf. *bálká* 'pay, reward'	Fi *palki**tse**-* ← *palkka*
Sk *raaskšed* (K) 'to have the heart to do something'	Fi *ra(a)ski-* ~ *raski**tse**-*
N *risttašit* 'to baptize', cf. *rista* 'cross; baptism'	Fi. *risti-* ~ *risti**tse**-*
Sk *taaršed* (N obs.) 'to offer, serve'[a]	Fi *tari**tse**-*
N *dárbbašit* (S U P L I Sk) 'to need'	Fi *tarvi**tse**-*
Sk *vaalšed* (K) 'to choose'	Fi *vali**tse**-*
N *mátkkašit* (I) 'to travel', cf. *mátki* 'journey'	Fi *matk**aa**-*, *matk**usta**-* ← *matka*
Sk *viõršed* (K) 'to stir, whip'	(← N *fierrut*) ?← Fi *hiero-* 'to rub, knead, stir'

[a] Cf. SaaS *daaresjidh* 'to mishandle' in Section 5.3.

Table 4. Borrowed or loan-based *-āššę- verbs with their apparent loan sources as represented in Finnish. The Finnish meanings are identical to Saami, if not marked otherwise.

Saami	Finnish
N *ánssášit* (I) 'to earn'	Fi *ans**aitse**-*
N *fuomášit* (L I Sk K) 'to notice'	Fi *huom**aa**-* ~ (dial., obs.) *huom**aitse**-*
I *soγášiđ* (Sk K) 'to tolerate; to love'	Fi *suv**aitse**-*
Sk *puätkšed* 'to spring, kick'	Fi *potk**aise**-*
I *ráʹŋgášiđ* 'to punish'	Fi *rank**aise**-*
I *ruáʹkášiđ* 'to encourage'	Fi *rohk**aise**-*
I *šuáʹhášiđ* 'to blind'	Fi *sok**aise**-*
I *tivskášiđ* 'to snap (at someone)'	Fi *tiusk**aise**-*
I *váldášiđ* 'to dominate', cf. *väldi* 'power, domination'	Fi *vall**itse**-* ← *valta*

Saami	Finnish
N *árpmášit* 'to feel pity', cf. *árpmu* 'mercy'	Fi *armahta-* 'to have mercy', *armo* 'mercy'
K *maartše* 'to slander; to jeopardize', [a] cf. Sk *mää'rdes* 'ominous haul'	Fi *marrasta-* 'to presage death; to bother; to slander' ← *marras* 'death'
K *keartše* 'to twist (yarn)', cf. *kie'rrt* 'turn; ply'	Fi *kertaa-* ← *kerta*
In *ášášiđ* 'to do business', cf. *ǎšši* 'thing, affair, etc.'	Fi *asioi-* ← *asia*
Sk *räädšed* 'to bear to do something' (cf. K *rǎǎtkše* id.)	? Fi *raatsi-* / *raaski-*

[a] As the original *-šš-* and *-št-* verb types have conflated in Kildin Saami (with a morphophonologically conditioned *št* : *š* alternation), the loan adaptation to this type may reflect the Finnic suffixal *-st-* cluster.

The verb subtypes in question have most likely entered Saami through these types of loan substitutions. Later, they have also been analogically used in other borrowed or loan-based verbs whose Finnic counterpart verb has another type of morphology, for example SaaN *mátkkašit* 'to travel' (← *mátki* 'journey') ← Fi *matkaa-/matkusta-* (← *matka*) id. or SaaK *keartše* ‹кӣртшэ› 'to twist (yarn)' (← *kie'rrt* 'turn; ply') ← Fi *kertaa-* (← *kerta*).[11] In Skolt Saami, there is even an example of a derivative based on a Russian loanword, *koolcšed* 'to wind, twist' ← *kå'lcc* 'ring' ← Ru *кольцо* id. There is still an open question regarding the exact Finnic phonetic form the Saami suffix was borrowed from in the oldest layer of these loan verbs. One could think of originals of the type North Finnic **mainicce-* or (Old) Karelian **mainičče-*, but in purely phonetic terms, a closer match for (past-) Proto-Saami **mājnęššę-* (> SaaN *máinnašit*) would be Western Finnish **mainiϑϑe-* – if the Finnic suffix contained an affricate, why was it not substituted with the Saami affricate *(h)č*? On the other hand, it must be taken into account that the verbalizer suffix *-šę-*, with different vowel variants (see the following sections), was already productive in Proto-Saami and may have affected the nativization pattern of the Finnic loan verbs.

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11 It is apparently due to this kind of productive use of the suffix that Korhonen (1981: 338) lists *-ašV-* (< Fi *-itse-*) among the (North) Saami derivational suffixes. The parallel *-ášV-* suffix, however, is not mentioned.

5. Strong-grade trisyllabic verbs

The trisyllabic -*š*- verbs with a strong grade stem fall into three sub-types according to the second-syllable vowel: verbs in *-āšę̄-*, *-ušę̄-* and *-ę̄šę̄-*. As the distribution and the functions of these subtypes diverge considerably, they are analyzed here in their own subsections. The possible common background of the subtypes is discussed at the end of Section 5.3 and in the Conclusions.

5.1. Verbs in *-āšę̄-*

5.1.1. Continuative-essive verbs in *-āšę̄-*

The verbal derivative type in *-āšę̄-* is used in a rather uniform semantic field in the entire Saami language area, which we call conti-nuative-essive. This encompasses the meanings 'to be in a posture or state X', 'to be/move looking like X', in short, appearing in a state that is described by the base word. The bases are nouns, adjectives and adverb stems; often there are correlates in several of these word classes (e.g. SaaL *roahkkahit* 'to stand bent, crooked' ← *roahkke* 'crook(shaped thing)', *roahko* 'crooked', *roahkkot* (adv.) 'bent, crooked' or SaaN *skuibát* 'to pout, be crooked at the edge' ← *skuibbas* (adj.) 'pouting, funnel-formed', *skuibi* 'funnel; pouting mouth', *skuibbil* (adv.) 'pouting', *skuibut* (adv.) 'pouting (at the moment)'). There seem to be no strict restrictions as to what stem types come into question, although the usual bisyllabic stems illustrated in the previous correlate series are by far the most common. Occasional verbal correlates are usually analyzable as parallel derivatives rather than base words for *-āšę̄-* verbs. (For previous descriptions, see Nielsen 1926: 234–235; Ruong 1943: 138–140; Collinder 1949: 107; Kintel 1991: 54; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 603; Magga & Magga 2012: 153.[12])

As is shown in Table 5, our data contains a total of 530 continuative-essive *-āšę̄-* verbs, of which 134 appear in more than one language. Out of these, 24 have a wide distribution from South or Ume Saami up to at least Western Finnmark North Saami and 14 even up to eastern

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12 Hasselbrink (1981–1985: 181–182) also lists examples of the verbs with the -*sjidh* suffix but does not elaborate on the derivational subtypes or on the formation rules.

Saami. A dozen verbs have occurrences both in South Saami and (more or less scattered) in other western Saami; the most comprehensively attested (S, U, P, L) are S *gæhtsasjidh* ~ L *gahtsahit* and S *gævnjasjidh* ~ L *givnnjahit*, both meaning 'to hang (intr.)'. North Saami shares half a dozen verbs with (Inari,) Skolt and/or Kildin Saami (e.g. N *háhccát*, (In,) Sk *häccšed* 'to stand/sit/lie with one's legs apart' and N *nirvát*, (I, Sk,) K *(š)nïrrvše* 'to appear with wrinkled nose, sneering'). Apart from this, derivatives that are common to more than one language mostly appear only in two neighboring languages. In this regard, particularly Lule and North Saami as well as North and Inari Saami share a score of mutual derivatives each. In addition to verbs common to several languages, there are considerable numbers of language-specific coinages, and the word families in question often show signs of expressivization, that is, affective semantics as well as irregular phonological variation and blending. As a consequence, etymologizing these verbs is not always entirely straightforward.

Table 5. Number of continuative-essive *-*āšę̄*- verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Shared by several languages	29	21	36	76	110	59	25	13	134
Attested in a single language	67	2	8	53	220	32	9	5	396
Total	96	23	44	129	330	91	34	18	530

As mentioned above, typical base stems include adjectives, nouns and adverbs denoting posture, color or other observable features. The color name-based derivatives form the most widely attested and probably a relatively old group, of which SaaN *čáhppát* 'to appear black', *ruodnát* 'to appear green', *ruoksát* 'to appear red' and *vielgát* 'to appear white' are found all the way from South to Skolt Saami (see Table 6). Kildin Saami seems to have gone its own way and generalized another derivative type (*-*htē*-) in the meaning 'to appear, loom in some color', as in *čaapxe* ‹чӓпхэ› 'to appear black', *ruupsxe* ‹рӯпсхэ› 'to appear red', *viilkxe* ‹вӣлкхэ› 'to appear white'. The same type is attested in the easternmost Skolt Saami dialect Nuõʹttjäuʹrr, as in *vῐeʌɣᵃˀ ť̨t̨eɒ* 'to appear white' (KKLS 742).

Table 6. Widely distributed color name-based *-āše̠- verbs in the Saami languages (represented by the North Saami form by default).

Base word (SaaN)	Derived verb	Distribution
čáhppat 'black'	*čáhppát* 'to appear black'	S U P L N I Sk –
čuovjat 'medium blue'	I *čuávʹjáđ* 'to appear med. blue'	– – P – – I – –
fiskat 'yellow'	*fiskát* 'to appear yellow'	– – P – N I Sk –
ruonas 'green'	*ruodnát* 'to appear green'	S – P L N I Sk –
ruoksat 'red'	*ruoksát* 'to appear red'	S U P L N I Sk –
vielgat 'white'	*vielgát* 'to appear white'	S U P L N I Sk –

Another group that has a wide distribution is represented by certain posture verbs meaning 'to stand', 'to sit', 'to crouch', 'to stoop', etc. (see Table 7). Note that in some cases, the apparent base noun has a considerably narrower distribution than the posture verb (for example, *boggi* is known only in North and Lule Saami), which means that they may be more recent coinages based on the stem carried by the derivative verb.

Table 7. Widely distributed posture verbs in *-āše̠- (attestations from southern (S–U) to eastern (I–K) Saami). Example words are from North Saami by default.

Base word(s) or correlate(s)	Derived verb	Distribution
ceakko̠- 'upright; steep', *ceagga* 'obstinacy'	*ceaggát* 'to stand upright, to stick up'	S U P L N I – –
čohkut (adv.) 'sitting'	*čohkkát* 'to sit'	S U P L N I Sk K
P *jallkot* (adv.) 'lying'	*jalkát* 'to lie lazily'	S U P L N I – –
gavri 'crooked'	*gavrát* 'to sit hunched up'	– U P – N I – –
gopmut 'upside down, upturned'	*gobmát* 'to lie upside down'	S – P L N – – K
goaŋki 'one who stoops', *goaŋkkas* 'leaning, bent (forward)'	*goaŋkát* 'to stoop, to lean forward'	S – – – N I – –
?	I *nottáđ* 'to squat, crouch'	S U P L – I Sk K
njahki 'stooping person or thing'	*njahkkát* 'to stoop, droop'	S – – L N – Sk K
boggi 'a short, fat one'	*boggát* 'to lie short and fat'	S – – L N I – K
veallut (adv.) 'lying, in horizontal position'	*vealʹlát* 'to lie'	S U P L N I – –

The previous examples have demonstrated that the suffixal form of *-āšẹ- verbs varies regularly between Saami languages. Table 8 illustrates the formal variation with two verbs that have a wide distribution, *čo(h)kāšẹ-[13] 'to sit' and *vielkāšẹ- 'to appear white'.

Table 8. Cognates of two *-āšẹ- verbs in the different Saami languages.

South	Ume	Pite	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin
tjahkasjidh	tjåhkkásjit, tjåhkkáhit	tjåhkkåhit	tjåhkkåhit	čohkkát	čokkáđ	čåkkšed	čågkše
vealkasjidh	veälggáhit	vällgahit	vielggahit	vielgát	viälgáđ	veâlggjed	–

The change of intervocalic *š > h* after an unstressed syllable is a regular phenomenon in the area stretching from eastern Ume Saami to the Torne dialects of North Saami. The shortening of second-syllable *ā > a* before (*š >*) *h* has occurred in Pite and Lule Saami (as well as Torne Saami) in this verb type and the *-āššẹ- verb N *fuomášit*, P *fuomahit*, L *huomahit ~ huomáhit*. This is an understandable development, as the unstressed sequence *-āš- has not occurred in the other word types of the language, whereas (*-ẹš- >*) *-ah-* also occurs in the noun type *kearmẹš : GEN *kearmẹšẹn > L *germaj* : *gärmmaha* 'snake'. The same reason may have contributed to the development in North and Inari Saami, where the *-āšẹ- verbs have formally merged with the *-ājẹ- ~ *-â- type and become what are known as contracted -*áj*-verbs. Many of the concrete North and Inari Saami -*áj*-verbs in our data have probably never actually contained an *-āšẹ- suffix but have been coined after the merger of the types. Yet in terms of semantics and derivational correlations, the continuative-essive -*áj*- verb type is clearly distinct from other -*áj*-verbs (inchoatives, agentive (loan) verbs and, in Inari

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13 The reconstruction of *čo(h)kāšẹ- 'to sit' is ambiguous, as Lule and Skolt Saami presuppose an original geminate *-kk- > *-hk-, while the possible Kildin Saami cognate and the North Saami adverb *čohkut* 'sitting' point to a single *-k-, the other varieties being indifferent in this respect. It would be tempting to interpret the meaning 'to sit' as a secondary development of Kildin *čågkše* 'to stick out, stick up' (KKLS 675:4), cf. also K *čoogkše* (KKLS 676:1) 'to sit (of canids)' and originally a derivative of the noun *čohkẹ ~ *čohkē 'point, mountain top'. Nonetheless, the phonological correlations inside and between these word families (and their possible relationship to *čohkẹ- 'to sharpen, make pointed') remain partly unexplained.

Saami, momentatives[14]) and corresponds to the *-āšę- verb type found elsewhere in Saami.[15]

Skolt Saami constitutes some sort of border zone in that *-āšę- verbs are reflected partly with -š-, partly with -j-. A single verb can appear in both variants, as in *veʒʒšed ~ veʒʒjed* 'to appear with a grimace'. The data in KKLS reveals that the variants with -j- are attested predominantly in the northernmost dialects Paaččjokk, Peäccam and Neiden and the variants with -š- in other dialects. Thus, it is obvious that the shift of the verb type is an areal phenomenon borrowed from North (and possibly Inari) Saami.

5.1.2. Non-essive verbs in *-āšę-

While the non-essive subtypes of the *-áj*-verbs in North and Inari Saami are obviously of different origin than the continuative-essive verbs, some special cases warrant further discussion. For example, SaaS *vaartasjidh*, N *várdát* 'to gaze, watch, be on the look-out' has a wide distribution from South to Ter Saami and qualifies as a (Proto-)Scandinavian loan (Sammallahti 1998: 129).[16] Despite the formal similarity of the cognate series, we have separated this verb from the continuative-essive verbs due to its agentive semantics. However, it can be considered only as a slight outlier, because the mentioned type contains many verbs that basically mean posture of standing and staring, whereas the 'staring' or 'watching' can be understood as the primary meaning in specific instances. The same applies to U *avváhit* 'to watch', L *avvahit* 'to gape, goggle', which is of unknown origin.

Interestingly, a few verbs with suffixal *-áš*- can be found in North Saami despite the former merger of derivational types: SaaN *vuohppát* (I *vuáp'páđ*, Sk *vuáp'pjeđ*) 'to backwater' has the variant

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14   Examples of these are (inchoatives:) N *muohttát* 'to begin to snow' ← *muohttit* 'to snow', (agentive verbs:) N *hom'mát* 'to do, potter' ← Fi *hommaa-* id., (momentatives:) I *puŋkkáđ* 'to bump, bang'.

15   There has been very little comparative discussion on this verb type. In his list of Saami derivative types, Sammallahti (1998: 93) reconstructs the posture verb *bodnját* 'to be twisted' as PSaa *-āšę-* and the color verb *vielgát* 'to shine white' as PSaa *-āję-*. The latter reconstruction is apparently based on the forms seen in Skolt Saami, but as is presented above, the western Saami languages show that the color name-based essive verbs must be reconstructed with PSaa *-āšę-* as well.

16   The fact that this verb has an *-āję-* stem in all eastern Saami languages suggests a relatively late borrowing from North/Inari Saami eastwards.

vuohppášit (Kautokeino; Nielsen s.v.), *nahkat*, *nagadit* 'to manage
(to)' has the synonym *nahkášit* with apparent cognates in S *nahkasjidh*,
U *nahkkásjit* ~ *nahkkáhit* id., and an etymologically obscure agentive
verb *huigášit* 'to advise not to do something'. The others are probably
late analogical coinages related to the -*oš*- verb type or the frequentative
-*(a)š*- type (see Koponen & Kuokkala 2021), but *nahkášit* could also
possibly be a relict spared from the verb-type merger due to its differing
semantics and association to the more agentive -*š*-verbs. Finally, there is
N *heahppášit* 'to scold, to tell someone to be ashamed of themselves',
which is probably a borrowing from I *hiäᵖpášiđ* 'to bring shame upon',
a verb belonging to the weak-grade verb type (see Section 4) and an
obvious loan from Fi *häpäistä* id.

South and Ume Saami have additional non-essive verbs in **-āšę-*,
which constitute verbs on loan bases, such as S *dåhkasjidh*, U *duhk-
káhit* 'to be good, be fit' ← No./Sw. *duge/duga* id.[17] and more or less
agentive derivations of mostly verbal bases, such as S *kråahkasjidh* 'to
dig, scratch' ← *kroehkedh* id. This closely resembles the use of other
*-Všę- suffixes in South Saami (see 5.2, 5.3), and it is not entirely clear
in single cases, why exactly the vowel variant **-āšę-* has been used,
unless the *ā* is part of the base stem, as in S *gaahkasjidh* 'to stare'
(← *gaehkie* ~ *gaahka* 'eyeball, eye').

5.2. Verbs in **-ušę-*

The trisyllabic verbs reflecting an **-ušę-* suffix are almost exclu-
sively denominal; besides nouns, adjectives are sometimes found as
base words. All bisyllabic stem types, occasionally even trisyllabic
stems, can occur as bases, and the **-ušę-* suffix replaces the stem ending
including the second-syllable vowel. The meanings for these tend to
be more agentive than those of the **-āšę-* continuative-essives. When
an **-ušę-* verb can be characterized as "essive", it usually means 'to
act as X, to act like X', such as in L *gágguhit* 'to act as a servant'
(← *gágge* 'servant') or N *nuskošit*, I *nuos'kušiđ* 'to be slovenly, behave
improperly' (← N *nuoski* 'dirty, sluttish', *nuoská* 'dirty or sluttish per-
son'). Especially in Lule Saami and west thereof, the verbs often express

17   The more northern languages have a synonymous verb **tohkęję-* (P *duhkkit*, L *dåhkkit*,
N *dohkket*, I *tuhhiđ*). Judging from its vocalism and distribution, it appears to be an older
borrowing from the same Scandinavian source.

a less specific relation to the base word, in the lines 'to do X', 'to have X' or 'to do something with X', as in L *skábmuhit* 'to feel ashamed' (← *skábmo* 'shame'), N *vilpošit* 'to play tricks' (← *vilpa* 'prank, trick') or I *njalmušiđ* 'to babble' (← *njälmi* 'mouth'). Finally, there are some *-ušę-* type of verbs based on loan stems, such as S *ryjvesjidh* 'to tear' (← Sw/Nw *riva/rive* id.). (For previous descriptions, see Nielsen 1926: 272; Ruong 1943: 140–141; Collinder 1949: 107; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 602; Magga & Magga 2012: 162.)

Verbs of this type generally occur in lower numbers than the *-āšę-* verbs and the former tend to be restricted to one language (see Table 9); only North and Inari Saami (8) as well as Lule and Pite Saami (6–7) share a notable number of derivatives.

Table 9. Number of (possible) *-ušę-* verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Shared by several languages	4	4	9	8	10	9	1(2)*	3	18
Attested in a single language	47–80	5	4	23	29	1	8*	(8)	117–158
Total	51–84	9	13	31	39	9	9–10*	3–11	135–176

The numbers in certain slots are uncertain because for some languages, the second-syllable vowel cannot unambiguously be determined to decide the belonging to the *-uš-* derivative type. In South Saami, the initial-syllable umlaut differentiates *-uš-*stems from *-ęš-*stems (as in **aa**rnesjidh < *ārnęšę-* 'to build a fireplace' versus båårhkesjidh < *pārhku**šę-* 'to tan (leather)') in other cases than original initial-syllable *u (also < *o / _CV, as in S *norresjidh* 'to wind, coil' < *noδuš-/noδęš-* ← S *nårroe*, PSaa *noδō* 'ball of yarn', although here *-uš-* is probable because of the *-ō base stem). As Kildin Saami has more ascertained cognates with the *-ęšę-* suffix in other languages, mainly Skolt Saami, the ambiguous cases (*-ušę-* ~ *-ęšę-*, in some cases ~ *-āšę-*) have been counted primarily as that type. Finally, Skolt Saami words with a low-series vowel can reflect either second-syllable *ā or *ō < *u. Such Skolt verbs are included here in the *-ušę-* type: even though there are no direct cognate derivatives of either type in other Saami languages, the derivational patterns more closely resemble the *-ušę-* type (as in *rämmšed* 'to rejoice' ← *rämm* 'delight', cf. N *rábmot* 'to boast'), while the *-āšę-* type is almost exclusively continuative-essive in the neighboring languages. However, it is possible that some loan verbs have

been adopted into the low-vowel type due to a low vowel in the source form, as in Sk *neäppšed* 'to snatch' (← Ka/Fi *näppää-* ~ *nappaa-* id.).

Table 10 presents the reflexes of the most widely attested verbs in the *-ušę-* type. These include N *fidnošit* 'to be busy, be doing something' (← *fidnu* 'occupation, undertaking'), L *räjnnuhit* 'to tend, herd (reindeer)' (← *räjnno* 'tending, herding (of reindeer)'), L *duodjuhit* 'to do handicraft' (← *duodje* 'handicraft', cf. also Sk *tuâjj* 'work, task' < *tuojō*) and N *šállošit* 'to have pity (for someone)' (← *šallo* ~ *šállu* 'pity'). The Kildin verb *tuujjše* ‹тӯййшэ› 'to work, to do' might be an independent coinage and alternatively represent the *-ęšę-* type, but the existence of the variant *tuojuję-* in North, Inari and Skolt Saami point to a common starting point in *tuojušę-*, which in N–Sk has gone over to the *-j-* suffix type similarly to the *-āšę-* verbs. As for the "cognates" of N *šállošit*, their phonological details[18] suggest that they are probably independent formations or loan adaptations of each other, based on the Russian borrowing, which in itself may have been adopted several times into Saami varieties, as the forms with *ž-* in the latest Skolt dictionary also indicate (*žaa'll* 'pity' → *ža'll'jed* 'to have pity', which may also be a borrowing from the Russian verb *жалеть* id.).

Table 10. Most widely attested *-ušę-* verbs (in 4 or more languages).

South	Ume	Pite	Lule	North	Inari	Skolt	Kildin
vytnesjidh	*vydnasjit* ~ *vydnahit*	*viddnuhit*	*viddnuhit*	*fidnošit*			
ryöjnesjidh	*ryöjnnasjit* ~ *ryöjdnahit*	*rejdnuhit*	*räjnnuhit*				
	dujasjit (!)[19] ~ *dujjahit*	*dudjuhit*	*duodjuhit*	*ʔduddjot*	*ʔtuoiʼjuđ*	*ʔtuâjjʼjed*	*tuujjše*
				šállošit	(*šallišiđ*)	(*šaallšed*)	*šåålše* (!)

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18 SaaI *šallišiđ* presupposes a second-syllable *i* and Sk *šaallšed* a second-syllable *ę*. SaaK *šåålše* appears to contain a weak-grade stem (-*l*- instead of -*ll*-), but this may stem from a false perception of the consonantal quantity next to the long vowel, since a reviewer of the paper nevertheless reports nominalizations with a geminate in Askold Bazhanov's novella "White reindeer": ‹шоаллшэханна› 'without (having) pity', ‹шоаллшэмушш› 'pity'.

19 Schlachter and Barruk give the apparent weak-grade forms *dujasjit*, *dujahit* for this verb. Axel Calleberg's manuscript records of Ume Saami, however, contain only clear strong grade forms with -*jj*- (ULMA 22480 Folder 11, Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Uppsala).

5.3. Verbs in *-ęšę-

The *-ęšę- derivative type is most prominent in South Saami, also occurring to some extent in Ume, Skolt and Kildin Saami. The derivational bases are predominantly nouns, but verbs and loan stems are not rare either. The denominal *-ęšę- verbs in South Saami tend to have base words with *ę-, *ē-, *ā-stems, while *-ušę- verbs are usually based on *ō-stems (cf. Magga & Magga 2012: 160); the same tendency can also be observed in the other languages, albeit with more variation. In relation to their bases, the function of the denominal verbs can be, for instance, essive, as in S *skïelhkesjidh* 'to be restless, to move around (of reindeer)' (← *skïelhkes* 'restless (of reindeer)'), privative, as in S *åaksesjidh* 'to lop off, cut off branches' (← *åeksie* 'branch'), or express another kind of connection, as in S *vaaljesjidh* 'to walk or drive through an opening in a forest' (← *vaalje* 'opening in a forest'). Deverbal derivatives can have frequentative or conative shades, such as S *tramhkesjidh* 'to keep blinking (one's eyes)' (← *trimhkedh* 'to blink; to close one's eyes') or *voelkesjidh* 'to constantly be going to set off (without success)' (← *vuelkedh* 'to set off'). Borrowed verbs include S *dïenesjidh* 'to serve; to earn' (← Scand., cf. Sw/No *tjäna/tjene* id.) and *foeresjidh* 'to transport, drive somebody somewhere' (← Scand., cf. No *føre* id.). Skolt and Kildin Saami also have onomatopoeic stems in this verb type, some of which may be (partly) borrowed, such as Sk *vinnjšed ~ viŋŋšed* 'to whine, moan' (cf. I *vinnjoođ* id.) or Sk *vuõjʹjšed* 'to moan and groan' (cf. Fi *voivotella* id. and Sk *vuõi*, Fi *voi* (interjection) 'oh'). SaaS *daaresjidh* 'to mishandle, handle carelessly; to tear (without killing, of a wolf)' may be an old Finnic loan from the word family represented by Est *tarima* 'to drag' (on the etymology of this word family, see Koponen 2013: 126–128, 134, 141–142).

The number of occurrences in each language of our data is summarized in Table 11. The South Saami figures are again provided as an interval, excluding and including the ambiguous cases between *-ęšę- and *-ušę-. The parenthesized numbers of Ume Saami include a few verbs which are probably borrowed from South Saami *-ęšę- type verbs and ended up in the weak-grade stem type, thus not formally belonging to the type at hand. Pite and Lule Saami have no clear traces of the original *-ęšę- verb type, as even the few non-essive derivatives in *-ahit* must be, judging from the cognates, rather included in the *-āšę- type.

Nonetheless, we have parenthetically marked here the verb P *dävdnahit*, L *dievnahit* 'to serve', whose Ume counterpart *deävnnasjit* ~ *deävdnahit* id. indisputably represents the *-*ęšę*- type. This verb may have spread into Pite and Lule Saami from the south, where it is a Scandinavian borrowing. Three of the four verbs shared by Skolt and Kildin Saami also have attested cognates in Ter Saami (KKLS).

Table 11. Number of (possible) *-*ęšę*- verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Shared by several languages	1	1(–3)	(1)	(1)	?	?	4	4	10–14
Attested in a single language	116–149	12(–14)	–	–	–	–	6	3–8	137–177
Total	117–150	13(–17)	(1)	(1)	?	?	10	7–12	147–191

The question marks for North and Inari Saami in the table are due to an interesting series of cognates: N *áddet*, I *addiđ*, Sk (Paaččjokk) *a'ddjed*, K *ååndše*, and T *aanššed* 'to understand'. It appears that a (post-)Proto-Saami derivative *-*āntęšę*- developed in North, Inari and western Skolt Saami into *-*āntęję*- ~ *-*āntî*- in a fashion that is analogous to the *-*āšę*- (> *-*āję*- ~ *-*â*-) verbs.[20] Similar correspondences can be found for more than twenty South or Ume Saami *-*ęšę*- verbs with synonymous *-*ęję*- ~ *-*î*- derivatives in other Saami languages, such as SaaS *mïesesjidh* ~ P *mes'sit*, L *mies'sit* 'to kill reindeer calves (of predators)' or U *dïhkkasjit* ~ L *dihkkit*, N *dihkket*, I *tikkiđ* 'to cleanse from lice'. It is possible, though, that these cases are at least partly parallel coinages rather than direct results of a change of suffixal type. In many

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20 On the other hand, it cannot be fully excluded that N *áddet* (I *addiđ*) is actually a morphologically adapted borrowing from the more eastern varieties, as the background of the word is somewhat obscure. Sammallahti (1998: 227) proposes that SaaN *áddet* 'to understand' is a borrowing from Fi *antaa* 'to give'. The semantic connection is, however, far from clear. Grundström (LLW 4: 1589), on the other hand, has connected the verb with SaaL *háddit* 'to imitate, repeat, echo', which is a cognate to S *heeredh*, U *häd'đet*, P *härridit*, N *áđ'đet* and I *ađđiistâllâđ* 'to imitate', and according to Qvigstad (1893: 83), it is a Scandinavian borrowing, cf. Old Norse *hæða* 'to mock'. Formally, a borrowing from Lule into North Saami (and further east) might be plausible, but the semantics is again somewhat incompatible. In addition, the fact that the Lule Saami 'mock' verb does have a cognate (with -*đ*-) in North and Inari Saami makes the borrowing scenario look rather improbable.

instances, the *-eje-* ~ *-î-* variant appears even in South Saami beside an *-eše-* derivative, as in S *loevesjidh* ~ S *löövedh*, U *luevʹvet*, P *luvʹvit*, L *luovʹvit*, N *luvʹvet* 'to loosen'. The mentioned correspondences suggest that the presumed Proto-Saami *-eše-* verb type may have merged into the *-eje-* ~ *-î-* type in the central Saami area (Pite–Inari) and that innovation diffused later further southwards; the absence of an obvious successor of the *-eše-* type in the central languages anyway speaks for the possibility.

6. Quadrisyllabic verbs

This section presents an analysis of the quadrisyllabic verbs with suffixal *-š-* that have not been dealt with previously as censive verbs on the grounds of their form or semantics (in Koponen & Kuokkala 2022). These verbs employ a suffix of the type *-(C)uše-* (or *-(C)eše-*), where the initial consonant may reflect the margin consonant of the base stem or an analogical consonant characteristic of a certain derivational subtype. The central consonant of the suffix, *-šš-* (: *-š-*) in the modern Saami languages, goes back to an original single consonant. Functionally, the derivatives can be divided into three large groups: 1) denominal verbs with essive semantics, 2) denominal non-essive verbs, and 3) deverbal frequentative-like verbs. In addition, some smaller offshoot groups and occasional verbs have been formed directly on a loan stem (cf. Nielsen 1926: 272; Kintel 1991: 54; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011: 603).

Tables 12 and 13 summarize the frequencies the of essive and non-essive quadrisyllabic verbs that occur in our data. According to this data, the essive derivatives occur exclusively in North, Inari and Skolt Saami (with a single occurrence in Kildin). These languages also have a number of common derivatives, in particular North and Inari Saami with each other. The tendency is the same with the non-essive subtypes, although these also have attestations in western Saami. South Saami only has deverbal derivatives, which are not shared with any other language.

Table 12. Number of essive quadrisyllabic *-*Všę*- verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Shared by several languages	–	–	–	–	17	16	5	1	17
Attested in a single language	–	–	–	–	34	17	4	–	55
Total	–	–	–	–	51	33	9	1	72

Table 13. Number of non-censive, non-essive quadrisyllabic *-*Všę*- verbs in the Saami languages.

	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K	All
Noun-based	–	–	1	3	14	19	12	1	42
Verb-based	4	–	1	4	20	24	3	–	50
Borrowed or unclear	–	–	–	2	6	14	1	–	21
Total	4		2	9	40	57	16	1	113

The verbs of the essive subtype have the meaning 'to act as X', 'to be X'. The base words are nouns (sometimes adjectives) with a tri-syllabic stem, and the derivative is formed by adding the -*Všę*- suffix to the consonant stem of the base, as in N *isiduššat* 'to host' (← *isit* : *isid-* 'head of the house, host, master'), *gávváluššat* 'to act cunningly' (← *gávvil* 'cunning, sly').[21] Contracted stems can also occur as bases, as in *rávdejuššat* 'to work as a smith' (← *rávdi* < *rāvδējē 'smith'). A particularly prominent group consists of essive verbs formed from actor nouns in -*ár*, such as N *snihkkáruššat* 'to do carpentry' (← *snihkkár* 'carpenter' ← Scand.) or *soidnáruššat* 'to be slow, dawdle' (← *soidnár* 'slow, dawdling person'). Caritive adjectives are also used as bases, as in *lágahuššat* 'to act unlawfully' (← *lágaheapme* 'unlawful' ← *láhka* 'law').

A similar derivational pattern is usual with non-essive denominal verbs whose base word denotes the target, instrument, etc. of the activity. This subtype seems to be more frequent in Inari and Skolt than in North Saami. Examples include N *sihkkaruššat* 'to assure' (← *sihkkar* 'sure, certain, secure'), Sk *prää'znkõõššâd* 'to celebrate' (← *prää'zneǩ*

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21 In certain derivatives such as *gávváluššat*, the second-syllable *i* of the base stem also undergoes a change into its sound-historically regular counterpart *á* before *ę/u* in the next syllable (cf. Korhonen 1981: 113).

'celebration') and I *uárrvâššâđ* 'to hunt squirrels' (← *uár'ree* < **oarēvē* 'squirrel'). On the other hand, several smaller subtypes can be distinguished that have a suffix extended with an initial consonant (**-lušę-*, **-rušę-*, **-kušę-*, etc.) attached to a bisyllabic base. The **-rušę-* subtype, as in N *gáivaruššat* 'to go flailing one's arms' (← *gáivut* 'to gesticulate with one's arms'), has probably come about through analogy with the derivatives based on *-ár*, *-ar* actor nouns and the like. The denominal **-lušę-* type of North and Inari Saami, as in N *stroaŋgaluššat* 'to be strict and exacting' (← *stroaŋggis* 'tiring, hard; strict'), might derive from analogy with the *-l*-stem-based derivatives such as *gávváluššat* or partly from **-lušę-* deverbals, while the weak-grade derivatives in Pite and Lule Saami, such as L *(h)ármalussjat* 'to feel sorry for something' (← *hármma* 'indignation, annoyance'), may be partly rooted in the adjective type **hármalasj* (cf. Fi *harmillinen* 'vexatious, annoying'). The **-nušę-* and partly **-(ŋ)kušę-* types probably have their analogy models in deverbals, as is argued below.

The quadrisyllabic verbs analyzable as deverbal do not appear to have a marked meaning difference in relation to the base verb, at least as far as the dictionary glosses are concerned. At most, the derivatives appear to have an additional frequentative or diminutive shade. Several **-lušę-* type of verbs have an attestable derivational chain of the type L *gáddet* 'to suspect' → *gáddalit* 'to be suspicious, to have prejudice against someone' → *gáddalussjat* 'to be, to become suspicious, to seem suspicious', from where **-lušę-* could have been abstracted as an independent suffix. At least Inari Saami also displays variation between the *-lVššâ-* and *-lVhčâ-* frequentative suffixes in the very same verbs (e.g. *falâluššâđ* ~ *falâluhčâđ* 'to offer, give every now and then' ← *faallâđ* 'to offer, serve'), which may also point to the **-lękčę-* suffix complex as one source of the subtype in question. Derivatives of **-(ę)nę-* translative verbs again appear to have served as the model for the **-nušę-* subtype, cf. N *čoagganuššat* 'to gather (intr.)' (← *čoagganit* 'to gather (intr.)' ← *čoaggi* 'lump') with N *šliitanuššat* 'to become tired, worn out' (← *šliita* 'toil') and *skollanuššat* 'to be reduced' (← *skollat* id.). The verbs in *-gušša-* (e.g. N *fierraguššat* 'to be damaged from rolling, from careless treatment' ← *fierrat* 'to roll (down)') may have several sources of analogy, including the translative verbs in *-g-* and the denominal **-ušę-* derivatives of **-k*-stems, such as *vádjáguššat* 'to diminish, dwindle' (← *vádjit* : *vádjig-* 'lacking, defective; shortage,

need'). A few translative Lule Saami verbs in -*dussja*- – *agedussjat* 'to get old' (← *ahki* 'age') and *iehkedussjat* 'to become evening' (← *iehket* 'evening') – actually seem to be deverbal derivatives of -*(d)uv*- translatives, cf. SaaN *eahkẹduvvat* id. This type also includes the only (noncensive) quadrisyllabic -š- verb found in old dictionaries (Leem, Friis, LÖ), namely ‹*aimotusjet*› 'to be found, to come into light' in Lindahl & Öhrling's Swedish Saami dictionary (LÖ, 1780; corresponding most closely to Ume Saami), cf. U *ájmuo(j)ne*, N *áimmūin* 'in (safe) keeping, in a known place'.

The vocalism of the quadrisyllabic verbs deserves a brief commentary. The languages from Ume to North Saami have a consistent *-*ušẹ*-suffix form as well as the scanty attestations from Kildin Saami that take -*u*-. In South Saami we see both *-*ušẹ*- and *-*ẹšẹ*- (e.g. *vaajtelossjedh* ~ *vaajtelassjedh* 'to want'). Skolt Saami -*õõššâ*- may in principle go back to either form. The Inari Saami data includes variants with -*uššâ*- and -*âššâ*- in equal proportions, and on closer inspection of ILW, the variation is mostly dependent on the informant rather than on the derivational type or geographical area, but there is also lexeme-to-lexeme variation. Thus, it is possible that in quadrisyllabic verbs, both *-*ušẹ*- and *-*ẹšẹ*-suffix variants were already in use in Proto-Saami, but it is equally plausible that one of them is more original in this morphological type: either *-*ẹšẹ*- was there first but was later mainly displaced by *-*ušẹ*- due to the analogical influence from trisyllabic *-*ušẹ*- verbs (and possibly the derivatives of -*(C)uv*- translatives), or *-*ušẹ*- was the more original form, which later experienced phonetic reduction and/or analogical displacement in the Saami varieties where the *-*ẹšẹ*- suffix form was actively maintained in the trisyllabic verbs. The data does not unequivocally support any single scenario. However, as the Saami "neutral" vowel *ẹ* is principally the most expected filler vowel between consonantal suffix morphemes, and the lateral linguistic areas tend to preserve archaisms, it would seem feasible that at least the South Saami *-*ẹšẹ*- forms were a continuation of the Proto-Saami state of affairs. Nonetheless, the form and semantics of the quadrisyllabic *-*Všẹ*- verbs so closely resemble the trisyllabic *-*ušẹ*-, *-*ẹšẹ*- verbs that they must be regarded as structurally conditioned variants of the same original type as a whole. Finnic loan influence may also have contributed to the emergence or at least the spread of the suffix variant with -*u*-, as many corresponding Finnic verbs contain the labial vowel suffix -*Oi(cce)*-, cf. SaaN *eamiduššat* 'to

keep house; to act as a hostess' ~ Fi *emännöi(tse)-, emannoi(tse)-* id., SaaN *buoskáruššat* 'to play the quack (doctor)' ~ Fi *puoskaroi(tse)-* id., and SaaI *hárávuššâđ* 'to rake' ~ Fi *haravoi(tse)-* id.

7. Conclusions and discussion

Among the verbal derivative types discussed in this article, the trisyllabic weak-grade type N *dárbbašit*, *ánssášit* proves to be the youngest one, representing a type largely borrowed from Finnic after or during the disintegration of Proto-Saami. The innovative adaptation pattern of Finnic **-icce-* verbs to Saami **-ęššę-* verbs must have been motivated by the existing **-šę-* verbal derivative types on the one hand, and by the consonantal quantity of the Finnic source form on the other. The continuative-essive **-āšę-* type was already a relatively established derivational category in Proto-Saami, judging from the widely attested posture verbs and color name-based derivatives. The trisyllabic **-ušę-* type has similar essive-like (among other) functions in different Saami languages, but the lack of widely occurring verbs casts doubt on the assumption of its established status in Proto-Saami. It seems more probable that the independent **-ušę-* type was only beginning to develop at the time of the disintegration of Proto-Saami. As both the **-āšę-* and **-ušę-* types exhibit essive-like semantics (to act, to be, to appear like something) and their morphophonological behavior is similar (both attach to a strong-grade stem), they most probably originate from the simple derivational suffix **-šę-* and have diverged after the model of some concrete derivatives based on **ē*-stems (→ **-āšę-*) and **ō-stems* (→ **-ušę-*), although the development began considerably earlier for the **-āšę-* type. Notably, the **-ušę-* derivatives continue to frequently correlate with **-ō* base stems in the western Saami languages and the **-ęšę-* derivatives with other bases (in South Saami). On the other hand, the wide use of the **-ušę-* derivatives in other kinds of verb-semantic categories (especially in quadrisyllabic verbs) suggests that the function of the **-šę-* suffix may rather have been a general verbalizer. This is supported by the fact that the **-ęšę-* subtype, which is especially frequent in South Saami, displays no special semantic inclinations. The geographically wide distribution of the deverbal (frequentative) **-Všę-* derivatives also suggests that the suffix may have acted deverbally from early on.

The question of the origin of the *-šę-* derivational suffix in itself remains open. The early literature compared this suffix to Finnic verbs in *-icce-* (e.g. Fi *tarvitse-* 'to need'), Finnic continuative verbs in *-ise-*, *-ice-* (Fi *värise-* 'to tremble'), Mordvin frequentative verbs in *-śə-* (Moksha *noĺśəms* ← *nolams* 'to lick') and others (Lehtisalo 1936: 218–222), but later research has discarded these comparisons. According to the current understanding, the Proto-Saami **š* [š] phoneme has an established Pre-Saami background only in the original **ś* (**ć*) + plosive and possibly sibilant + **j* clusters (as in PU **kośki* > PSaa **kuoškę* 'rapids', Pre-Saami **osja* > PSaa **oaššē* 'horsetail (Equisetum)'). In suffixal positions, Proto-Saami **š* is found as a loan substitute for (Pre-) Proto-Finnic **š* (PF **imeš* → PSaa **imęš* 'wonder') as well as Finnic **s* (and **c*) in the proximity of high vowels (e.g. Fi *valmistaa* → SaaN *válmmaštit* 'to prepare'; see Koponen 2022: 105; Korhonen 1981: 163, 175, 178–179, 194, 338–339).

This type of loan substitution has led to the Saami verb suffix *-ęššę-* ~ *-āššę-* in SaaN *máinnašit*, *ánssášit* (see Section 4) and the censive *-kšę-* as in *nuorašit* 'to consider (too) young' (← Finnic *-ksi-*, *-ksU-*; see Koponen & Kuokkala 2022). The *-(V)šę-* suffix type does not have an equally obvious loan origin. It must be emphasized, however, that productive derivational types are under constant renewal, and the older the connection between certain derivational types in two languages, the fewer common items they are expected to have. The *-ęššę-* ~ *-āššę-* type is clearly the youngest among the *š*-verb types in Saami, judging from the limited geographical distribution, and most of its verbs continue to have a transparent source verb in Finnic. The evidently older censive *-kšę-* type is a Finnic loan category on sound-historical grounds, but hardly any materially common verbs can be identified between Finnic and Saami apart from SaaN *ōvddošit* 'to be astonished' ~ Fi *oudoksua* 'to find something strange' (cf. SaaN *oavdu* ← Fi *outo* 'strange'). The case of the *-(V)šę-* type may be similar, except that the less specific semantics and changes in the distribution of the derivational suffixes have made the connection less clearly observable. With this in mind, we call attention to the Finnic continuative verbs in *-ise-*, such as Fi *värise-* 'to tremble' and *helise-* 'to jingle', which are derivationally restricted in modern Finnic to sound-symbolic roots and mostly imply inagentive subjects that cause an audible or visible effect. However, there are also more agentive *-ise-* verbs that are usually used

with human subjects, such as Fi *hälise-* 'to make a noise' and *marise-* 'to whine, grumble' (Koponen 2013: 146), and it is plausible that at one time in the prehistory of Finnic, this frequentative/continuative suffix was also more widely used with different kinds of verbal bases. Tapani Lehtinen (1983; 2006) has convincingly argued that it was exactly this formerly widely used derivative type that was grammaticalized in its preterite paradigm into the Finnic *-isi-* conditional and subsequently became restricted in derivational use to sound-symbolic roots in order to avoid harmful homonymy between the mood and derivative categories.[22] A rare surviving example of the borrowed founder group could be SaaS *daaresjit* 'to mishandle, handle carelessly' (← PF ?**tarise-/ *tarice-* ~ **tari-* > Est *tarima* 'to drag'; see 5.3).[23] Despite the shortage of fully corresponding lexemes and the diverse semantic characteristics of Saami **-(V)šę-* verbs, there are some indicative parallelisms between the Saami and Finnic verb types, which may support the loan assumption: The deverbal **-(V)šę-* verbs are usually frequentative-like, which is in accord with the continuative and former frequentative semantics of the *-ise-* verbs assumed by Lehtinen. Nevertheless, most of the Saami **-(V)šę-* derivatives are denominal, but a denominal derivation pattern can also be assumed for at least part of the Finnic continuative *-ise-* verbs as well as for some of the oldest members of the offshoot type in *-Aise-*, such as Fi *valkaise-* 'to bleach' (← *valkea* 'white'), which has later taken on momentative semantics (see Lehtinen 1993). Besides, frequentative suffixes adopting denominal uses are abundantly attested, for instance, in Finnish dialects (Suihkonen 1994: 257–258, 275–276, 286, 299–301, 325). Finally, the Finnic continuative *-ise-* verbs tend to have sound-symbolic bases, as do the Saami **-āšę-* verbs, and they also usually express a perceptible (audible or visible) activity, which resembles the major function of the **-āšę-* verbs as describing the visual

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22 According to the received view, the Finnic *-ise-* (~ *-ice-*) suffix goes back to Pre-Finnic **-ńśi-*, which is represented in Saami as the potential mood marker (PSaa **-ńčV-* > SaaN *-ž-* ~ *-žž-*) and has no direct reflex as a derivational suffix (Lehtinen 1983: 485–486; Sammallahti 1998: 83).

23 Another similar borrowing might be SaaS *soepesjidh* 'to rummage, search for' ? ← PF **sapi(se/ce)-*, cf. Fi *savita : savitse-*, Veps *sabita : sabitšeb* 'to knead (wool); to scratch (the ground)', although the vowel correspondence would imply a considerably old borrowing. (A phonologically closer but semantically more dubious loan origin would be PF **soopi(se)-*, cf. Est *soovima* 'to wish' with a generalized weak grade, from **soo-pa* 'wishing, allowing'.)

appearance of the subject. The similarities mentioned here, however, may be partly a result of independent developments of derivative types with originally rather general verbalizer semantics.

As the functions of *-š(ę)-* as a verbalizer in many ways resemble those of the *-j(ę)-* suffix (with cognates throughout the Uralic languages, see Korhonen 1981: 331–333; Laakso 1997), it is also not surprising that the formally and functionally resembling *-š(ę)-* and *-j(ę)-* derivative types may have influenced each other in the history of the Saami languages, including the changes in the derivative type that occurred to individual verbs as well as to entire functional or morphological groups of verbs such as the *-āšę-* verbs in North and Inari Saami. A deeper understanding of the interrelations of these verb types would, however, require a more comprehensive study of the *-j(ę)-* derivatives.[24]

Abbreviations

Est = Estonian, Fi = Finnish, No = Norwegian, PF = Proto-Finnic, PSaa = Proto-Saami, PU = Proto-Uralic, Ru = Russian, (Saa)I = Inari Saami, (Saa)K = Kildin Saami, (Saa)L = Lule Saami, (Saa)N = North Saami, (Saa)P = Pite Saami, (Saa)S = South Saami, (Saa)Sk = Skolt Saami, (Saa)U = Ume Saami, (Saa)T = Ter Saami, Scand = Scandinavian, Sw = Swedish

Data sources

The sources for each language are the following: the short abbreviations given in parentheses are used in the appendix tables; the main source for each language, given first in the list, is unmarked in the appendixes.

South Saami: ÅaDB, LW | Ume Saami: Schlachter, Barruk (B) | Pite Saami: Ruong, Wilbur (W), Halász (H), LW | Lule Saami: Korhonen, Kintel (AK), LLW (G), LW | North Saami: SSS, SSS2 (S2), Nielsen (N), LW | Inari Saami: ILW, ASS, IK | Skolt Saami: SKS, KKLS (TI) | Kildin Saami: SRS, Antonova, KKLS (TI) | Reference data from old dictionaries: Friis, Leem, LÖ

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24   See, though, Kuokkala (in press) on the *-(ā)j-* inchoatives.

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Kokkuvõte. Juha Kuokkala, Eino Koponen: Saami -š-verbituletiste esinemisest ja ajaloost. Artiklis esitatakse võrdlev-ajalooline uurimus saami *-š-* või *-šš-* sufiksiga verbituletistest. Uurimus põhineb laialdasel sõnaraamatuainestikul kõigist saami keeltest. Tuletised jaotatakse strukturaalsete ja funktionaalsete kriteeriumide järgi alltüüpideks, ning iga alltüübi esinemist ja mitmele keelele ühiseid tuletisi vaadeldakse alltüüpide tausta ja nende suhete selgitamiseks. Selle põhjal järeldame, et essiivsete *-āšę*-verbide (lõunasaami *vealkasjidh* 'paistma valgena') ja denominaalsete *-šę*-verbide (põhjasaami *jallošit* 'veiderdama') ning perifeersemate keelte erinevate funktsioonidega

*-(e)šę-verbide taust peitub ühes ühises algsaami *-šę-tuletusliites, mis algselt kandnud üldse verbistaja ja frekventatiivsufiksi funktsioone. Selle tüübi eeskuju on tõenäoliselt mõjutanud ka nõrgaastmelise *-Vššę-tüübi tekkimist, mis peamiselt koosneb läänemeresoome *-icce-verbidest mugandatud laenudest, nagu põhjasaami *dárbbašit* (~ soome *tarvitse-*) 'vajama'.

Märksõnad: saami keeled, sõnatuletus, verbituletus, denominaalsed verbid, ajalooline morfoloogia, laensõnad, laensõnade muganemine