

What made Proto-Germanic **jah* ‘and’ an infinitive marker in westernmost Uralic? Observations from the Saami- Scandinavian border

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The paper provides an account of a previously neglected infinitive marker in South Saami. Originally recognized by Bergsland (1946), later descriptions of South Saami have disregarded the use of the coordinating conjunction *jih* ‘and’ as what appears to be a largely optional infinitive marker preceding the infinitive in *-dh*. On the basis of actual language data going back to the 1880s, it is shown that *jih* has been used as an infinitive marker in various dialects for over a century. Special attention is given to the unprecedented development of the infinitive marker from a coordinating conjunction. The use of *jih* has been modeled by the Norwegian/Swedish conjunction *og/och* /ɔ/ ‘and’ and the homophonous infinitive marker *â/att* /ɔ/. The paper discusses the development and reception of the infinitive marker from contact-linguistic and typological perspectives. The diachrony and synchrony of the coordinating-cum-infinitival morpheme also provides new perspectives to the corresponding morphemes in Scandinavian.

Keywords: infinitive; infinitive marker; South Saami; coordinating conjunction; Norwegian; Swedish

1 Introduction

Like most Uralic languages, Saami languages have many non-finite verb forms, and one of them stands out as something that can be labeled as an “infinitive” in the Eurocentric sense of the word (Haspelmath 1989; Ylikoski 2003): a specialized non-finite that is quite void of meaning, as its use is usually governed by various desiderative, manipulative and other modal predicates

(e.g., ‘order’, ‘want’, ‘can’, ‘must’), or verbs of thinking, feeling and utterance (‘like’, ‘remember’, ‘seem’, ‘promise’, etc.). Perhaps due to this inherent grammatical nature of infinitives, all Uralic languages have at least one non-finite that is used predominantly for these functions, and most languages manage without more than just one infinitive to complement a variety of verbs and modify adjectives, too (e.g. ‘easy to read’, ‘good to write’). South Saami is no exception in this respect: One of the three or four productive non-finites of the language (Magga & Magga 2012: 28ff; Ylikoski, forthcoming) is the infinitive in *-dh* (e.g., *bâete-dh* [come-INF]) or its southernmost dialectal variant *-jh* (e.g., *bâeti-jh*).

South Saami is the westernmost language of the entire Uralic language family. The language is spoken in a relatively large area in the central regions of Norway and Sweden – the distance between the northernmost settlements in Nordland County of Norway to the South Saami of Dalarna in Sweden is more than 400 kilometers. Estimates of the number of speakers vary as much as from 300 to 1000. As the westernmost Saami vernaculars have been spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Scandinavian languages for centuries, all adult speakers of the language have been bilingual in Norwegian/Swedish for generations. As a result, remarkable interference from the majority languages occurs on all levels of the language, including the use of the infinitive. The present paper describes the outcome of the highly unprecedented development in which a coordinating conjunction has acquired the function of an infinitive marker – evidently due to Scandinavian influence, but nevertheless creatively enough to deserve closer examination.

The structure of the paper is as follows: After a brief introduction to the non-finites in South Saami in Section 2, Section 3 provides new information about the use of the coordinating conjunction *jih* (~ *jih* ~ *jah*) ‘and’ as an optional infinitive marker preceding the infinitive form in *-dh*. Section 3.1 provides an overview of the phenomenon in question by paying special attention to authentic language material from various dialects and time periods. Section 3.2 presents a diachronic perspective to not only the South Saami *jih* infinitive, but also to its mutual relations with the Scandinavian infinitive marker *å*. It is concluded that the development of the coordinating conjunction *jih* into an infinitive marker is typologically exceptional, but fully understandable in light of the homonymy of the Scandinavian coordinating conjunction *og/och* /ɔ/ ‘and’ and the infinitive marker *å/att* /ɔ/. At the same time, the discussion is extended to the treatment of the *jih* infinitive in new editions of earlier language material.

To conclude, Section 4 draws the threads together and provides a general discussion and further remarks on the topic.

The majority of the data and information comes from early language samples such as the earliest authentic stories in what can be termed South Saami (Halász 1887), but data is also drawn from contemporary media texts as well as the multi-genre text corpus of South Saami (nearly 700,000 words) made available by the SIKOR corpus at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. It has not been possible to extend and diversify the topic and methods of the present observational description of written language data to the study of spoken language or a pursuit of grammaticality judgments by native speakers within the confines of this study.¹

2 The infinitive and other non-finite verb forms in South Saami

Like all Saami languages, South Saami is a highly inflectional suffixing language, and the most productive non-finite verb forms are formed using the following suffixes, as exemplified here by the verb *lohkedh* ‘read’:

infinitive	<i>lohke-dh</i>
past participle	<i>lohke-me</i>
progressive	<i>lohke-minie</i>
connegative	<i>lohk-h</i>

Both the past participle (*-me*) and the so-called progressive form (*-minie*) are predominantly used in predicative position with or without the copula as a finite auxiliary (cf. examples (3), (14), (22), (24), (25), (27), (30), (32) and (33) below), and, as such, they are mostly used in tense-aspect combinations that can be termed the perfect and past perfect, and present progressive and past progressive, respectively. As for the so-called connegative form in *-h*, it is fully identical with the second person singular imperative, but from a syntactic perspective, the connegative can be regarded as a non-finite that cannot occur without the negative auxiliary, which in turn can be regarded as finite in the sense of expressing the person and number of the subject as well as the tense (present or past) and mood (indicative or imperative) of the predicate and being capable to occur as predicates on their own (e.g., *im lohkh* [NEG.1SG read.CNG]

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‘I don’t read’ and *idjtiden lohkh* [NEG.PST.2DU read.CNG] ‘you (2) didn’t read’; *idtji* [NEG.PST.3SG] ‘s/he did not’ (for the negation in South Saami, see especially Blokland & Inaba 2015).

The main topic of this paper, the use of the infinitive in *-dh*, has not been described in great detail. While the dialectal variation and etymology of the infinitive marker has been described at length by Korhonen (1974: 122–144) on a pan-Saami level, a synchronic syntactic description of the South Saami infinitive has remained nearly non-existent. As regards the historical morphology, it is a received view that the infinitive goes back to Proto-Saami **-tēk*, a cognate of Proto-Finnic **-tak*, and both of them are regarded as originating from an ancient verbal noun in **-ta* followed by a directional case in **-k*. However, from a synchronic perspective the infinitive must be understood as a fully opaque verb form with no synchronic connections to any of the verbal nouns or cases in the language. The infinitive marker, written as <-dh> in the contemporary orthography, is realized as /-t/ in most dialects and as /-jh/ in the southernmost dialects (see, e.g., Korhonen 1974: 122ff.; Bergsland 1994: 48).

The South Saami infinitive predominantly functions as a complement to various auxiliary-like modal and related verbs such as *edjtjedh* ‘will’, *maehtedh* ‘can’, *galkedh* ‘shall’, *åadtjodh* ‘can, be permitted’, *tjoeveridh* ‘must’, *sijhtedh* ‘want’, *aelkedh* ‘begin’, *lyjhkedh* ‘like’ and *lieredh* ‘learn’ as well as to motion verbs such as *båetedh* ‘come’, *minnedh* ‘go’ and *vuelkedh* ‘leave, go away’ (1).

As such, the South Saami infinitive fits the Standard Average European concept of infinitive to the extent that it must be regarded as the main reason for the scarcity of its description: The only available descriptions of the use of the infinitive are scattered throughout the five major descriptions of the language by Lagercrantz (1923), Bergsland (1946), Hasselbrink (1981–1985), Bergsland (1994) and Magga and Magga (2012), and nothing typologically extraordinary has ever been mentioned.

The commonly accepted etymology of the Saami infinitive is equivalent to that of many Indo-European infinitives that are based either on ancient case forms of earlier verbal nouns or include preposed infinitive markers that are originally directional or purposive prepositions such as English *to*, German *zu*, Norwegian *å*, Swedish *att* and French *à* (see Haspelmath 1989; Ylikoski 2003: 206ff.). However, as will be shown in the following sections, South Saami also has a heretofore poorly known – and apparently always optional – preposed infinitive marker whose origins starkly differ from those of the above-mentioned infinitive markers in Germanic and Romance.

(1)	<i>edtja</i>	
	will.3SG	
	<i>maahta</i>	
	can.3SG	
	<i>galka</i>	
	shall.3SG	
	<i>åådtje</i>	
	be.permitted.3SG	
<i>Aanna</i>	<i>tjoevere</i>	<i>lohkedh.</i>
Aanna	must.3SG	read.INF
<i>Dih̄te lohkehtæjja</i>	<i>sæjhta</i>	<i>tjæledh.</i>
DEF teacher	want.3SG	write.INF
<i>Dih̄te</i>	<i>aalka</i>	<i>leerehtidh.</i>
3SG	begin.3SG	teach.INF
	<i>lyjhkoe</i>	
	like.3SG	
	<i>leara</i>	
	learn.3SG	
	<i>vualka</i>	
	leave.3SG	
	<i>båata</i>	
	come.3SG	
	<i>mænna</i>	
	go.3SG	

‘Aanna/The teacher/She/He shall/can/must/may/.../comes/goes (to) read/write/teach.’

3 South Saami *jih* ‘and’ as an infinitive marker

As mentioned above, the use of the infinitive in South Saami has been described only as part of general descriptions of the language. Its functions do not fundamentally differ from those of the infinitives in other Saami languages such as that of North Saami, described in detail by, among others, Magga (1986), Jomppanen (2009) and Ylikoski (2009). As regards the specific topic of the present paper, there is only one significant exception that has apparently been discussed at length only once, in Bergsland’s (1946) glossematic description of the dialect of Plassje (Røros), Norway (for a passing remark by Endresen 1995: 211, see Section 4). When examining the relative freedom of using the coordinating conjunction *jih* ‘and’ to connect various kinds of constituents within an utterance, he makes the following remark and exemplifies the phenomenon with examples (2–4):²

2. For the purposes of the present paper, the huge variation of earlier scholarly transcriptions

Når det siste ledd er en infinitiv (ev. med bestemmelser), og det første ledd er (eller inneholder) et verbum el. nomen som kan ha en infinitivbestemmelse (se § 281), kan (el. må) *jih* betraktes som ”infinitivsmærke” [...], f. eks. [...] (Bergsland 1946: 294)

‘When the latter part is an infinitive (with possible modifiers) and the former part is (or contains) a verb or a noun that may have an infinitival complement (see § 281), *jih* can (or must) be regarded as an “infinitive marker” [...], e.g. [examples (2–4) below]’

- (2) *Mubpien biejjien aehtjie vööłki jih vaagka-sijjem*
 other day.GEN father leave.PST.3SG *jih* place.where.wolf.has.killed.reindeer.ACC
ohtsedidh gosse dilhkesh biejedh.
 search.INF whither baits(.PL.NOM) put.INF
 ‘The following day my father went away to look for the place where the reindeer had been savaged, to lay out the baits there.’ (Bergsland 1943: 196; 1946: 294)
- (3) *Tjiddjie aahkeste liereme (jih) dâvvodh.*
 mother grandmother.ELA learn.PST.PTCP *jih* cure.INF
 ‘Mother had learned from grandmother how to cure people.’ (Bergsland 1943: 292; 1946: 294)
- (4) *Voestegh dueljide bäärhkesjibie jih die tjåanghkan biejebe jih måasodh.*
 firstly hide.PL.ACC tan.1PL and then together put.1PL *jih* moisten.INF
 ‘First we tan the hides and then put them together to stay moist.’ (Bergsland 1943: 180; 1946: 294)

Following the above examples, Bergsland continues with the following remark that is also worth citing verbatim:

Denne bruk av *jih*, som det finnes eksempler på (om kanskje ikke fullt så utpregede) også fra andre sydlp. dialekter (sml. f. eks. Collinder, Lapp. Sprachproben aus Härjedalen, 5.1-2, 8.15, 24.5), skyldes selvfølgelig ”oversettelseslån” (og homofon med *å*), men av det foregående ser man hvor nær den allikevel ligger de andre tilfeller. (Bergsland 1946: 294)

has been reduced to a minimum by transforming all data to the present-day South Saami orthography, or by using the versions already modernized by others. As for the main topic of the discussion, the morpheme *jih* ~ *jih* ~ *jah* is generally referred to as *jih* (the most common variant in the examples), but when presenting authentic examples, the original spelling or that of later modernized versions is retained. Likewise, some of the dialectal (substandard) word forms are presented in a standardized form.

‘This use of *jih*, for which examples (although perhaps not as distinctive ones) can be found also in other South Saami dialects (cf., e.g., Collinder [(1942: 5, 8, 24)]), is obviously due to loan translation ([Norwegian] *og* [‘and’] being a homophone with [the infinitive marker] *ǎ*), but we see from the preceding how similar it still is to other cases.’

Broadly speaking, it seems that Bergsland was quite right in his analysis, but it appears somewhat artificial to try to relate the above examples to the loose coordinating conjunction as exemplified by only a few disorderly examples such as (5):

- (5) *Miln[j]ieh jih borhki sijse jih doeltehtieh.*
 mince.3PL and can.PL.GEN into and boil.CAUS.3PL
 ‘They mince those, and (put them) in cans and cook them.’ (Bergsland 1943: 228; 1946: 293)

In my opinion and in light of all data to be discussed below, it is barely fruitful or even possible to interpret the relatively systematic nature of the infinitive marker *jih* as a part of what otherwise appear as relatively unsystematic deviations from the universal functions of coordinating conjunctions. Instead, in light of the data to be presented in the following sections, it is easy to agree with Bergsland’s main statement that we are obviously dealing with an infinitive marker that is originally a loan translation. However, the phenomenon is not confined to the southernmost dialects, as Bergsland’s wording could be interpreted, but similar infinitives have been attested even in the northernmost dialects as early as in the first language samples collected in the 1880s, and depending on the definitions of South Saami and its closest neighbor Ume Saami to the north, it could be possible that a similar phenomenon may have belonged to Ume Saami as well (see Section 4). The Scandinavian origins of the use of *jih* as an infinitive marker may be as obvious as Bergsland seems to think, but the phenomenon is nevertheless worthy of a closer examination that adds to our understanding of both Saami and Scandinavian. Further, it is important to observe and acknowledge the contemporary use of the infinitive marker *jih* and, at the same time, to note that many old occurrences of *jih* have been rewritten in newly published editions of earlier language material.

3.1 *The infinitive marker jih: a synchronic description*

Interestingly, the above remarks by Bergsland appear to be the almost complete research history of *jih* (~ *jih* ~ *jah*) as the infinitive marker. Bergsland does not

comment on the possible limitations or specific functions of *jih*, and all other scholars of South Saami seem to have disregarded the entire phenomenon. This does not mean that *jih* infinitives have not been documented, though. In addition to his own examples from Plassje (Sør-Trøndelag, Norway), Bergsland (1946: 294) refers to similar occurrences in Collinder's (1942) material from the neighboring Swedish Hierjedaelie (Härjedalen). However, it is remarkable that in addition to these sources representing the southern dialect as spoken at the time of the Second World War, analogous use of *jih* can also be attested in the material recorded from the northernmost dialects as spoken not only two decades earlier (Lagercrantz 1926, collected in 1921 in Bindal and Aarporte (Hattfjelldal)) but already in 1886 (Halász 1887) and 1887 (Qvigstad 1924) in Aarporte. In other words, the *jih* infinitive has been attested by all well-known scholars of various dialects of South Saami ever since the first text samples were published:

- (6) *Desnie akte stoere ståmhpe; dellie dïsse tjihkeni jih liegkedidh.*
 there INDEF big stump then it.ILL sit.down.PST.3SG *jih* rest.INF
 'There was a big tree stump; then he sat down on it to rest.' (Collinder 1942: 24)
- (7) *Dle Pöövle jeahta, satne galka dellie minnedh pryövedh, men*
 then Pöövle say.3SG 3SG.LOG shall.3SG then go.INF try.INF but
idtji goh Pöövlen aehtjie sijth, edtja vuelkedh jih pryövedh.
 NEG.PST.3SG DPT Pöövle.GEN father want.CNG will.3SG leave.INF *jih* try.INF
 'Then Pöövle told that he was going to go to try, but his father did not want him to go to try.'
 (Halász 1887: 111)
- (8) *Klies Kliemmet vaarri stoerre burrien nille; dïsse tjåådtjiji*
 Klies Kliemmet run.PST.3SG big hilltop.GEN onto it.ILL stand.up.PST.3SG
jih vuertedh, goske doh jeemegh bâetieh dahkoe.
jih wait.INF until that.PL deceased.PL come.3PL thither
 'Klies Kliemmet ran to the top of a big hill; there he stood up to wait until the deceased would arrive.' (Qvigstad 1924: 300)
- (9) *Manne vualkam jih dom meskiem vaaksjodh.*
 1SG leave.1SG *jih* that.ACC inner.part.of.a.closed.valley.ACC survey.INF
 'I'll go to survey that inner part of the valley.' (Lagercrantz 1926: 84)

As regards the functions of the *jih* infinitive, the occurrences seen in (5–9) above are quite uniform examples of the infinitive as a complement-like directional-purposive modifier of motion verbs such as 'leave; go away', 'sit down' and 'stand up' and thus are equivalent to (2) presented by Bergsland (1946). Bergsland's examples (3) and (4) show another side of the main functions of the

infinitive in South Saami and neighboring languages – Saami and Scandinavian languages alike: from a morphosyntactic perspective, complement functions of the infinitive can be roughly divided into two different categories: 1) same-subject infinitives as complements of a wide range of modal and more concrete verbs such as *lieredh* ‘learn (to V)’ in (3), and 2) different-subject infinitives such as the *accusativus cum infinitivo* – accusative-marked subject referent with the verb in the infinitive – headed by *biejedh* ‘put (X to V)’ in (4) above.

The true nature of infinitival complements is certainly far more complicated, but for the purposes of the present discussion it suffices to note that *jih* is likewise widely attested for both types. Examples (10–11) exemplify same-subject complementation for the verbs *aelkedh* ‘begin’ and *biesedh* ‘get (off), manage’, and (12–13) show accusatives and infinitives for *åadtjodh* ‘get, obtain’ and *dåeriedidh* ‘lead; escort’. Further, the *jih* infinitives governed by *viehkiehtidh* ‘help’ (14) and *bööredidh* ‘invite’ (15) serve as examples of different-subject infinitives with covert subjects:

- (10) *Laedtieh dellieveeltin röövrive jih galkin dellie*
 Scandinavian.PL then take.PST.3PL gun.PL.ACC and shall.PST.3PL then
aelkedh jih voetjelidh saemide.
 begin.INF jih shoot.many.INF Saami.PL.ACC
 ‘Then the Scandinavians took their guns and were going to start shooting Saamis.’ (Halász 1887: 12)
- (11) *Så idtjim annje manne biesh jih vuelkedh*
 then NEG.PST.1SG anymore 1SG get.off.CNG jih leave.INF
dyj mubpiej niejtigujmie.
 that.PL.GEN other.PL.GEN girl.PL.COM
 ‘So, I was not able to go with those other girls anymore.’ (Halász 1887: 96)
- (12) *Så åadtjoeji jijtjese aktem baerniem jih riepien minngesne dåatvodh.*
 then get.PST.3SG REFL.GEN.3SG one.ACC son.ACC jih fox.GEN behind chase.INF
 ‘Then he got one of his sons to chase the fox.’ (Halász 1887: 37)
- (13) *Dåeriedidie dijjeih mannem sâemies ræjhkoes laahpen gâajkoe*
 follow.IMP.2PL 2PL 1SG.ACC some rich Saami.GEN to
jih sâangedidh.
 jih woo.INF
 ‘Follow me to some rich Saami to propose a marriage.’ (Halász 1887: 52)

- (14) *Dellie akte rovkije viehkehte jih vaarjoeh sigkedh jih*
 then INDEF non.Saami.woman help.3SG *jih* garment.PL undress.INF and
dah åabpah jih dah saemieh vuejnieminie.
 def.PL sister.PL and DEF Saami.PL look.PROG
 ‘Then a non-Saami woman helps (him) to get his clothes off while his sisters and the Saami
 men are watching.’ (Collinder 1942: 24)
- (15) *Jih dellie galka dovne bööredidh buertien gåajkoe jih maksovh fihkedh.*
 and then must.3SG all invite.INF table.GEN to *jih* food.PL get.INF
 ‘And the she (the bride) must invite everybody to the table to get food.’ (Bergsland 1943:
 286)

In addition to complementing motions verbs and a number of more abstract verbs, the South Saami infinitive may be headed by nouns such as *barkoe* ‘job; task’ and adjectives such as *hijven* ‘good’ as follows:

- (16) *Giengeles jis lopme barre ipmerijhken. Laahpe barre barkoem åadtjoejj*
 deep.ATTR DPT snow just extremely Saami just task.ACC get.PST.3SG
jih biekedh.
jih wade.INF
 ‘There was extremely deep snow. The Saami simply ended up having the task to wade
 through the snow (having broken his skis).’ (Halász 1887: 32)
- (17) *Jih hijven badth aehtjien diere (jih) viellem utmedh.*
 and good DPT father.GEN for *jih* brother.ACC have.INF
 ‘And it was only good for father to have my brother with him.’ (Bergsland 1943: 294)

As suggested by the above examples, as well as the rest of the about thirty similar occurrences of *jih* ‘and’ the infinitive in the approximately two hundred text pages of South Saami in Halász (1887), Qvigstad (1924), Collinder (1942) and Bergsland (1943), *jih* can quite straightforwardly be labeled an infinitive marker analogous to English *to* in the translations of the sentences presented above. The frequency of the *jih* infinitive in relation to the bare infinitive is so low that it is not expedient to calculate the exact number of more than one thousand bare infinitives in the same material. The low frequency of *jih* does not, however, diminish its theoretical importance.

As for the meaning and function of *jih*, it seems safe to state that *jih* does not have a clear function of its own and it rather is an optional element that could, in principle, always be removed without any obvious change in meaning. This view is supported by the fact that many of Bergsland’s (1943) examples – such as (3) and (17) above – contain *jih* only in parentheses, and, as it will be seen in Section 3.2, *jih* has indeed been deleted in many modernized versions

of the oldest texts. However, and despite the absence of the *jih* infinitive in the descriptions of South Saami during the past seventy years (e.g., Bergsland 1994 [1982], Magga & Magga 2012), *jih* as an infinitive marker has not disappeared from the language. The fate of *jih* will be discussed in more detail in Sections 3.2 and 4, but the following examples show that the phenomenon is in use in present-day South Saami as well. The following six sentences are taken from a 22-sentence news article jointly written by the two leading South Saami journalists of the most prominent Saami media outlet, NRK Sápmi of the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation:

- (18) *Plassjen tjieltestávroe latjkes jih saemien maanagiertem*
 Plassje.GEN municipal.council agreeing jih Saami.GEN kindergarten.ACC
tjieltesne tseegkedh.
 municipality.INE set.up.INF
 ‘The Plassje municipal council has decided to set up a Saami kindergarten in the municipality.’
- (19) *Daelie aalka dihte barkoe jih saemien maanagiertem Plassesne*
 now begin.3SG DEF work jih Saami.GEN kindergarten.ACC Plassje.INE
tseegkedh.
 set.up.INF
 ‘The work to set up a Saami kindergarten in Plassje begins now.’
- (20) *Plassjen tjieltenåejvie Hans Vintervold tuhtjie vihkeles jih åarjelsaemien*
 Plassje.GEN mayor Hans Vintervold opine.3SG important jih South.Saami.GEN
gïelem nænnoestidh.
 language.ACC strengthen.INF
 ‘According to the mayor of Plassje, Hans Vintervold, it is important to strengthen South Saami.’
- (21) *Daate vihkeles jih saemien gïelem lutnjestidh, Vintervolde jeahta.*
 this important jih Saami.GEN language.ACC strengthen.INF Vintervold say.3SG
 ‘This is important to strengthen the Saami language.’
- (22) *Mijjien maanah reaktoem utnieh jih sijiem tjielten maanagiertesne*
 1PL.GEN child.PL right have.3PL jih place.ACC municipality.GEN kindergarten.INE
åadtjodh jih dellie mijjeh jeahteme, sijhtebe gaajhkh saemien
 get.INF and now 1PL say.PST.PTCP want.1PL all(.PL) Saami.GEN
maanide akten maanagiertese tjøonghedh.
 child.PL.ACC one.GEN kindergarten.ILL gather.INF
 ‘Our children have the right to get a place in kindergarten, and now we have stated that we want to gather all Saami children into one kindergarten.’

- (23) *Andersene veanhta dihte stooremes barkoe lea jih eensi saemien*
 Andersen think.3SG DEF big.SUP task be.3SG *jih* proper Saami.GEN
aarkebiejjiem maanagiertesne buektiehtidh gusnie dihte saemien gieles jih
 daily.life.ACC kindergarten.INE produce.INF where DEF Saami.GEN language and
kultuvre nannemes.
 culture strong.SUP
 ‘Andersen thinks that the biggest task is to achieve a true Saami daily life in a kindergarten
 where the Saami language and culture prosper.’ (examples 18–23: Persson & Appfjell 2015)

As the above infinitives are mostly headed by adjectives and nouns, two more examples of the *jih* infinitive as complements to verbs like *ussjedidh* ‘think; plan’ and *giehtelidh* ‘strive, struggle’ can be added:

- (24) *Mijjeh guhkciem ussjedamme jihgielebiesiem geerve noeride oornedh.*
 IPL for.long think.PST.PTCP *jih* language.nest.ACC grown.up young.PL.ILL fix.INF
 ‘We have been planning to establish a language nest for young adults for a long time.’
 (Persson 2014)
- (25) *Luhkiegøakte jaepieh dihte Sveerjen/Nøorjen gærhkoen gieles tjierete*
 twelve year.PL DEF Sweden.GEN/Norway.GEN church.GEN language group
giehtelamme jih aejlies gærjam bij[p]elem, årjelsaemien gielese
 struggle.PST.PTCP *jih* holy.ATTR book Bible.ACC South.Saami.GEN language.ILL
jarkoestidh.
 translate.INF
 ‘For twelve years, the language group of the Churches of Sweden and Norway has struggled
 to translate the Holy Scripture, the Bible, into South Saami.’ (Persson 2015)

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the *jih* infinitive is altogether absent in most contemporary texts such as those available in the SIKOR corpus at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. As the South Saami speech community is very small and the number of public writers is diminishingly small, it is often easy to identify those who subscribe to the existence of the *jih* infinitive in spite of opposing forces. In addition to the journalists in charge of examples (18–25), texts and translations by Sakka Nejne can be mentioned; (26) is an example of a purposive infinitive clause modifying a verbless copular clause (*Dihte desnie* ‘He was there’) typical of South Saami:

- (26) *Dihte desnie jih påastem viedtjedh.*
 3SG it.INE *jih* mail.ACC fetch.INF
 ‘He was there [in the harbor] in order to get the mail.’ (Nejne 1991: 19)

- (27) *Maanah utnin dihte eevre luste jih åadtjodh dejtie*
 child.PL consider.PST.3PL it very fun *jih* get.INF DEF.PL.ACC
båeruviedie jih tromhpide buvvedh, dah mah
Hypoderma.tarandi.PL.ACC and *Cephenemyia.trompe*.PL.ACC kill.INF it.PL what.PL
dan nã[a]ke bovtside dorjeme.
 so bad reindeer.PL.ILL do.PST.PTCP
 ‘The children felt that it was fun to get the opportunity to kill reindeer warble flies (*Hypoderma tarandi*) and reindeer nose bot flies (*Cephenemyia trompe*), which have done so much harm to reindeers.’ (Nejne 1998: 60)
- (28) *Tjtidtjie jeahta tjoerh gaahrtjedh jis sijhth vitnedh, mohte ij*
 mother say.3SG must.2SG compete.INF if want.2SG win.INF but NEG.3SG
munnjien vihkeles jih vitnedh, luste barre meatan årrodh.
 1SG.ILL important *jih* win.INF, fun just with be.INF
 ‘Mom says that you must compete if you want to win, but it’s not important for me to win, I just enjoy participating.’ (SIKOR < Fjällström 2007: 33)
- (29) *Dle vuajna guktie luvlene aalka tjuavkedidh, fuahpan sjädta jih*
 then see.3SG how in.the.east begin.3SG brighten.INF hurry.ILL become.3SG *jih*
riejries sjidtedh.
 ready become.INF
 ‘Then she sees how the dawn begins to break in the east, she becomes busy getting ready.’
 (Cappelen 1994: 25)

Although it is not the aim of the present study to provide an exhaustive description of the heretofore almost unknown infinitive marker and its users, it is notable that the phenomenon has existed in the language ever since the 19th century and continues to be used in the present day as well. The reasons for this will be discussed in the following sections.³

3.2 *The infinitive marker jih: diachronic observations*

3.2.1 Origins of the infinitive marker *jih*

As seen at the beginning of this section, Bergsland (1946: 294) regards the use of *jih* as an infinitive marker as an obvious calque from Scandinavian. In his study of the Plassje dialect spoken on the Norwegian side of the border, Bergsland refers to the homophony of the Norwegian coordinating conjunction *og*

3. One of the most striking features of South Saami syntax in its areal context is its basic word order. Although deviations are possible for focusing purposes, SOV (SXV) is the most neutral word order, and it is notable that the infinitive marker *jih* usually precedes the entire infinitive phrase, including both the infinitive and its objects and other complements regardless of their mutual order.

and the infinitive marker *å*, but the same could be said about the Swedish *och* and *att*, respectively. Despite orthographical differences, the phonological form of ⟨og⟩, ⟨å⟩, ⟨och⟩ and ⟨att⟩ is usually /ɔ/, which renders it one of the most prominent topics in writing education and popular purism in Scandinavia. As Endresen (1995: 201) puts it, “[t]he *og/å* distinction is among the last things speakers of Norw[egian] learn to master in Wr[itte]n Norw[egian]”.

According to the received view, the conjunction *og/och* goes back to Proto-Germanic **auk(e)* ‘also, too’ whereas the infinitive marker *å/att* originates in the preposition **at* ‘at; to’, but the words have been more or less homophonous for centuries. However, Endresen (1995) argues for the view that also the infinitive marker *å* goes materially back to **auk(e)* (Old Norse *ok*). In his opinion, spoken Norwegian has only one polysemous word instead of two homophonous words seen in the written standard, and certain functions of /ɔ/ can be arranged on a grammaticalization cline that suggests that even the infinitive-marking /ɔ/ may originate in a word for ‘and’. As for **at*, Endresen claims that it is difficult to account for its development to /ɔ/ (Endresen’s [o]); for more details and a defense of the more traditional view, see also Faarlund (2003: 70–72).

Evaluation of the early origins of the merger(s) in Scandinavian falls outside the scope of the present study, as the first attested misspellings of the Swedish infinitive marker as ⟨och⟩ (“and”) date from as early as 1619 (see example (38) in Section 4) and the topic has been discussed at length by Endresen (1995) and Faarlund (2003); see also, e.g., Dahl (2011) and the subsequent blog discussion as well as Willson (2017: 527–529) for assumed traces of Proto-Germanic **jah* and its replacement by **auk(e)* in North Germanic. However, at this time most of the present-day South Saami areas of Swedish Hierjedaelie/Härjedalen and Jiemtie/Jämtland belonged to the personal union of Denmark and Norway, which is still reflected in the Norwegian-like features of the local Swedish dialects. As the first attested instances of *jih* as an infinitive marker date from the 1880s, it seems safe to assume that the coordinating conjunction and the infinitive marker were mostly homonymous in the Scandinavian vernaculars of South Saami areas in the 19th century. On the other hand, it is notable that in some of the northern vernaculars of so-called Peripheral Swedish, the infinitive marker ⟨att⟩ has a more restricted use than in modern standard Swedish, but the dialects spoken in the South Saami area have apparently not been studied in this respect (Dahl 2015: 220–222). However, the most emphatic variants of *og* /o:(g)/ and *och* /ɔk/ do differ from *å* /ɔ/ and *att* /ɔ/, /at/ even today (see, e.g., Kristoffersen 2000: 346; Dahl 2015: 220). In the

following, the main focus of discussion is on the most common, unstressed form /ɔ/ for both the conjunctions and the infinitives.⁴

Incidentally, not only the Scandinavian conjunctions and infinitive markers but also South Saami *jih* is commonly considered Proto-Germanic in origin. The South Saami word is realized as *jih*, *jīh* (/jih/), *jah*, *ih*, *ja*, etc., and it and its closest cognates such as Ume Saami *jah* as well as Pite, Lule and North Saami *ja* ‘and’ are traditionally characterized as loans from Finnic, which has in turn borrowed the word from Germanic, where the word is preserved most notably in Gothic *jah* ‘and’ (LÄGLOS s.v. *ja*, *jah*; SSA s.v. *ja*; Sammallahti 1998: 249). Although it is not clear why the Saami word should be regarded as a loan from Finnic and not as a direct loan from Proto-Germanic **jah* (see, e.g., LÄGLOS s.v. *ja*, *jah*; Orel 2003 s.v. **ja*; Ringe 2006: 128), the most important thing to note here is that none of the more or less reliable cognates of South Saami *jih* have ever been presented as having functions that would resemble the infinitive marker discussed in this study. Therefore, it is quite easy to sympathize with Bergsland, whose firm and elementary statement about the origins of the infinitive marker *jih* must be understood as follows.

Speakers of South Saami – with a centuries-long tradition of bilingualism in Scandinavian but previously only very limited literacy skills – have regarded the Scandinavian conjunction-cum-infinitive-marker /ɔ/ as a single lexico-grammatical unit. After this, given the overall and ever-growing isomorphism between the endangered minority language and the two grammatically nearly identical majority languages, it has been possible to reanalyze South Saami *jih* by equating it with Scandinavian /ɔ/ in most if not all of its functions. As a result, one of the most radical changes to the original Saami grammar has become visible by way of the extension of an original coordinating conjunction to serve as an infinitive marker, no matter how optional this usage may have always been.

Put concretely, while the development of the polysemous /ɔ/ in Scandinavian can be described in terms of grammaticalization clines and more or less regular sound changes (Endresen 1995), the emergence of the infinitive marker *jih* in South Saami is evidently the outcome of a much more radical – and simple – reanalysis and extension thereof. The following analogical equation depicts the change in a nutshell, in the Norwegian and South Saami sentences for ‘Anne and Andrew begin to read’:

4. In Norwegian, <og> or <òg> is also used as an adverb ‘also’ with highly diverse pronunciation (NO2014 s.v.).

Norwegian			South Saami		
<i>Anna</i>	<i>og (/o/)</i>	<i>Anders</i>	<i>Aanna</i>	<i>jih</i>	<i>Aanta</i>
_____			_____		
<i>begynner</i>	<i>å</i>	<i>lese.</i>	X	X =	<i>aelkiejægan</i>
<i>begin.PRS</i>	<i>/o/</i>	<i>read.INF</i>			<i>begin.3DU</i>
					<i>jih</i>
					<i>lohkedh.</i>
					<i>read.INF</i>

As such, this kind of development ought not to fundamentally differ from innumerable instances like the noun *bieljie* ‘ear (hearing organ)’ (< Proto-Uralic **peljä* id.) that has also acquired the meaning ‘*øre/öre* (the centesimal subdivision of the Norwegian *krone* or Swedish *krona*)’, as Norwegian *øre* (neuter and masculine) stands for ‘*øre*’ while the homonym *øre* (neuter; also *øyra*, *øyre*) stands for ‘ear’. (Swedish has retained the formal difference between the two: *öra* < Proto-Germanic **ausô* vs. *öre* ← Latin *aureus* ‘golden (coin)’.) In the same vein, the homonymy of Scandinavian *lapp* ‘patch; Saami’ has led to a partly jocular self-designation *doengese* ‘Saami’, first and foremostly the word for ‘patch’ (Hasselbrink 1981–1985 s.v. *duøges*, *duøngese*). However, the development of a coordinating conjunction into an infinitive marker belongs clearly to the realm of grammatical changes, and as such leaps in grammaticalization have apparently not been documented for other languages, South Saami *jih* deserves more attention.

Although there should be no doubt about the origin of the phenomenon in question, it may also be added that some variants of South Saami have also borrowed *å /o/* as a conjunction directly from Scandinavian (cf. the well-established conjunctions *men* ‘but’ ← Scandinavian *men* and *mearan* ‘while’ ← *medan*, *mens*), and there is at least one recorded example of the same element serving as an infinitive marker. Example (30)⁵ illustrates both usages:

5. As for the words *å*, *jotovle* and *klejne* in (30), the Halász’s original notation ⟨o⟩, ⟨jutule⟩ and ⟨kleine⟩ has been converted into present-day orthography although these words have not been attested in modern sources.

While it appears that not only Bergsland (1943, 1946) but also Collinder (1942) and probably also Qvigstad (1924) have understood *jih* as a kind of infinitive marker, Ignác Halász from Hungary has obviously been puzzled by the enigmatic “coordinating conjunction”, as evidenced by some of his diligent Hungarian translations such as those for examples (12) and (30) (parentheses original):

- (i) *Ekkor fölszólította, (tkp. kapta) az egyik fiát és a róka után*
 then call.PST.3SG.DEF actually get.PST.3SG.DEF DEF one son.ACC and DEF fox after
 [küldte] *üldözni.*
 [send.PST.3SG.DEF] chase.INF
 ‘Then he called (literally: “got”) one of his sons and sent him [!] to chase the fox.’ (Halász 1887: 38)

- (30) *Die baajtje viaksebe sjđiti goh jotovle á gadtseđh.*
 then boy strong.CMPV become.PST.3SG than *jotovle á* spoon.INF
Goh lin gadtseme á galhkeme, jotovle jeahta,
 when be.PST.3PL spoon.PST.PTCP á (= and) finish.PST.PTCP *jotovle* say.3SG
satne lea gadtseme, gossege klejne sjđiti.
 3SG.LOG be.3SG spoon.PST.PTCP until sick became.PST.3SG
 ‘Then the young man became stronger than *jotovle* (Norwegian *jutul*, mountain troll) in eating. When they had eaten themselves full (literally: “had eaten and were done with that”), *jotovle* says that he ate so much that he became sick.’ (Halász 1887: 83)⁵

3.2.2 Purism against *jih*

It appears that the loan origin of the infinitive marker *jih* has been obvious to South Saami language activists and teachers who have revised and published many of the early texts in modernized formats using the contemporary orthography created by Knut Bergsland and Ella Holm Bull in the 1970s. The primary source of Bergsland’s (1946) examples is his prior text collection *Roros-samiske tekster* (Bergsland 1943), later modernized by Ella Holm Bull and published under the title *Gåebrehki soptsesh (Roros-samiske tekster)* (Bergsland 1987). Just Qvigstad’s (1924) *Lappische Erzählungen aus Hatfjeldalen* were revised by Lajla Mattsson Magga and published as *Aarporten jih Áarjel-Smaaregen soptsesh* (Qvigstad 1996). Mattsson Magga has also published the children’s book *Govne-boetske* (Magga 1984), which is virtually an uncredited copy of a story by Ignác Halász’s – and Qvigstad’s (1924) – informant Ole Samuel Elsvatn (1866–1911) (Halász 1887: 110–115). All these modernized texts show various strategies to cope with the infinitive marker that has obviously been regarded as a Scandinavism somewhat unsuitable for publishing in books also intended for language learning.

As it may be anticipated, many of the infinitive markers have been simply deleted in later versions of the original texts. Compare the most original and modernized versions of examples (3), (17), (2) and (7) discussed above; strikethrough stands for omission of original elements in revised versions:

(ii) *Hát a legény erősebb lett mint az óriás az evésben*
 well DEF lad strong.CMPV become.PST.3SG than DEF giant DEF eating.INE
 (*tkp. és kanállal enni*).
 actually and spoon.INS eat.INF
 ‘Well, then the young man became stronger than the giant in eating (literally: “and to eat with a spoon”).’ (Halász 1887: 87)

- (3) *Tjijtjie aahkeste liereme (~~jih~~) dāvvodh.*
 mother grandmother.ELA learn.PST.PTCP ~~jih~~ cure.INF
 ‘Mother had learned from grandmother how to cure people.’ (Bergsland 1943: 292; 1946: 294 > Bergsland 1987: 78)
- (17) *Jih hijven badth aehtjien diere (~~jih~~) viellem utnedh.*
 and good DPT father.GEN for ~~jih~~ brother.ACC have.INF
 ‘And it was only good for father to have my brother with him.’ (Bergsland 1943: 294 > Bergsland 1987: 79)
- (2) *Mubpien biejjien aehtjie vōōlki jih vaagka-sijjiem*
 other day.GEN father leave.PST.3SG ~~jih~~ place.where.wolf.has.killed.reindeer.ACC
ohsedidh gosse dilhkesh biejedh.
 search.INF whither baits.(PL.NOM) put.INF
 ‘The following day my father went away to look for the place where the reindeer had been savaged, to lay out the baits there.’ (Bergsland 1943: 196; 1946: 294 > Bergsland 1987: 25)
- (7) *Dle Pōövlē jeahta, satne galka dellie minnedh pryōvedh, men*
 then Pōövlē say.3SG 3SG.LOG shall.3SG then go.INF try.INF but
idtji goh Pōövlēn aehtjie sijhth, edtja vuelkedh ~~jih~~ pryōvedh.
 NEG.PST.3SG DPT Pōövlē.GEN father want.CNG will.3SG leave.INF ~~jih~~ try.INF
 ‘Then Pōövlē told that he was going to go to try, but his father did not want him to go to try.’ (Halász 1887: 111 > Magga 1984: 16)

In modernizing (3) and (17), the infinitive marker (*jih*) originally in parentheses has been deleted, but the same has been done to unparenthesized ones in (2) and (7) as well; in (7) there is no *jih* between the infinitives *minnedh* ‘go’ and *pryōvedh* ‘try’ in the original version either. On the other hand, it would not be unthinkable that *vuelkedh jih pryōvedh* in the original could be an instance of coordination (‘go and try’) instead of subordination (‘go to try’). However, I am aware of two occurrences in which *jih* has been preserved:

- (15) *Jih dellie galka dovne bōōredidh buertien gāajkoe jih maksovh fihkedh.*
 and then must.3SG all invite.INF table.GEN to *jih* food.PL get.INF
 ‘And the she (the bride) must invite everybody to the table to get food.’ (Bergsland 1943: 286; 1987: 74)
- (31) *Māedtieh dovne laedtieh jih almetjh tjtjtien gāajkoe bōōtīn*
 many.PL both Scandinavian.PL and Saami.PL mother.GEN to come.PST.3PL
jih raerieh fihkedh.
jih medicine.PL get.INF
 ‘Many both Scandinavians and Saamis came to mom to get medicine.’ (Bergsland 1943: 292; 1987: 78)

The above instances of preserved infinitive markers are an exception, though. Instead, other avoidance strategies can be identified as well. In addition to mere deletion of a seemingly needless *jih*, another alternative has been to treat combinations of *jih* and the infinitive as if they have been elliptical and missed a modal auxiliary that make the construction more appropriate when returned. As seen below, (32a) and (8) have been “repaired” by adding finite auxiliary verbs *galka* ‘shall’ and *edtja* ‘will’ that govern the infinitives *tjoekjedh* ‘ski’ and *vuertedh* ‘wait’ in (32b) and (8’), respectively. At the same time, the new auxiliary-headed verb phrases have become coordinated with the preceding predicates *tsaaka* ‘sticks; inserts’ and *tjåådtjiji* ‘stood up; began to stand’ which, as a consequence, no longer appear as verbs governing the infinitives:

- (32) a. *Juktie treavkam tsaaka jih tjoekjedh, dellie jiehtieh:*
 when ski.ACC insert.3SG *jih* ski.INF then say.3PL
lea joksedeminie.
 be.3SG buckle.PROG
 ‘When one attaches a ski in order to ski, it is called “buckling” (*joksedidh*).’ (Bergsland 1943: 264; 1946: 294)

- b. *Gosse treavkam tsaaka jih (galka) tjoekjedh, dellie jiehtieh:*
 when ski.ACC stick.3SG *jih* shall.3SG ski.INF then say.3PL
lea joksedeminie.
 be.3SG buckle.PROG
 ‘When one attaches a ski in order to ski, it is called “buckling” (*joksedidh*).’ (Bergsland 1987: 67)

- (8) *Klies Kliemmet vaarri stoerre burrien nille; disse tjåådtjiji*
 Klies Kliemmet run.PST.3SG big hilltop.GEN onto it.ILL stand.up.PST.3SG
jih vuertedh, goske doh jeemegh bætieh dahkoe.
jih wait.INF until that.PL deceased.PL come.3PL thither
 ‘Klies Kliemmet ran to the top of a big hill; there he **stood up to wait** until the deceased would arrive.’ (Qvigstad 1924: 300)

- (8’) *Klies Kliemmet vaarri stoerre burrien nille; disse tjåådtjiji*
 Klies Kliemmet run.PST.3SG big hilltop.GEN onto it.ILL stand.up.PST.3SG
jih (edtja) vuertedh, goske doh jeemegh bætieh dahkoe.
jih will.3SG wait.INF until that.PL deceased.PL come.3PL thither
 ‘Klies Kliemmet ran to the top of a big hill; there he **stood up and is going to wait** until the deceased would arrive.’ (Qvigstad 1996: 41)

While the infinitive marker *jih* in (32a) and (8) above has been rewritten as the coordinating conjunction ‘and’ in (32b) and (8’), this seems to have been less acceptable in the following examples, where the subject referents of the

infinitive clauses differ from those of the governing clauses. In the following example, the infinitive marker (33a) has been replaced with the consecutive conjunction *guktie* ‘so that’ (33b), which likewise precedes the infinitive verb.⁶ In addition to this, the intended meaning of the clause has been further explained with the parenthetical clause *edjtjeh deabpodh* ‘they will dampen’.

- (33) a. *Juktie saareme, dellietjaetsien sijse biejebe (soenide)*
 when unravel.PST.PTCP then water.GEN into put.1PL sinew.PL.ACC
jih lovvedh.
jih (stay.)moist.INF
 ‘After unraveling [the reindeer sinews to be used for sinew thread], we put the sinews in water to stay moist.’ (Bergsland 1943: 232)
- b. *Gosse saareme, dellietjaetsien sijse biejebe soenide*
 when unravel.PST.PTCP then water.GEN into put.1PL sinew.PL.ACC
guktie lovvedh (edjtjeh deabpodh).
 so.that (stay.)moist.INF will.3PL dampen
 ‘After unraveling, we put the sinews in water so as to stay moist (so that they will dampen).’ (Bergsland 1987: 232)

Finally, the *jih* infinitive has been edited out from (4) where it originally serves as a different-subject complement to *biejedh* ‘put; place’. Although it ought to be fully possible to use the (*jih*-less) infinitive in contexts like this in all variants of South Saami, the entire infinitive clause has been turned into a finite consecutive clause in (4’).

- (4) *Voestegh dueljide bäärhkesjibie jih die tjäängkan biejebe jih måasodh.*
 firstly hide.PL.ACC tan.1PL and then together put.1PL *jih* moisten.INF
 ‘First we tan the hides and then put them together to stay moist.’ (Bergsland 1943: 180; 1946: 294)

6. Purposive infinitive clauses with preposed elements with the meaning ‘so that; in order that’ are quite common in many European languages (e.g., Norwegian *for å*, English *in order to*, French *pour*, Russian *čtoby*), including other Uralic languages such as Estonian *et* (+V-INF) and occasionally also *vai* + V-INF in North Saami (cf. also Ylikoski 2003: 207–209). The purposive-consecutive construction *guktie* + infinitive is not very common in South Saami, as *guktie* most often stands for ‘how’:

(iii) *Væssj-Bualehke idtji daejrieh guktie vaestiedidh jñh jeahta: [...]*
 Væssj-Bualehke NEG.PST.3SG know.CNG how reply.INF and say.3SG
 ‘Væssj-Bualehke didn’t know how to answer and said: [...]’ (SIKOR)

- (4') *Voestegh dueljide bårhkesjibie jih die tjåanghkan biejebe guktie måsoeh.*
 firstly hide.PL.ACC tan.1PL and then together put.1PL so.that moisten.3PL
 'First we tan the hides and then put them together so that they stay moist.' (Bergsland 1987: 16)

Although the forewords of the revised editions of Bergsland (1987 (1943)) and Qvigstad (1996 (1924)) provide information on some of the cosmetic changes made, they remain silent about grammatical changes such as those seen above. Given the overall direction of such changes and the fact that only two of at least twelve *jih* infinitives in Bergsland (1943) and Qvigstad (1924) have been preserved as such, it is easy to interpret these moves as conscious acts of purism. This picture is further corroborated by the fact that still another influential language activist, Anna Jacobsen (1924–2004), reportedly discouraged students of South Saami from using *jih* in functions interpreted as infinitive markers in the present study (Maja Lisa Kappfjell, p.c.). In a minority language community with less than one thousand speakers, the influence of even a handful of authorities can easily result in a situation where most professional writers avoid using an unwanted grammatical device despite the heretofore ignored fact that it has existed in the language ever since the first published samples of South Saami as spoken in the 19th century – and still exists in the texts produced by at least some writers.

3.2.3 Scandinavian perspectives on *jih*

After discussing the South Saami *jih* infinitive on its own premises, it is instructive to evaluate the nature of the phenomenon from the perspective of the alleged culprit, the Scandinavian infinitive marker /ɔ/ (*å/att*). Space does not allow for a detailed comparison of the two or three devices in three different languages in the present paper, but it may be noted that while many of the attested instances of the *jih* infinitive do correspond to the Scandinavian *å/att* infinitive, not all of them do. Instead, although Bergsland (1943: 293, 295) translates *liereme (jih) dāvvodh* 'learned to cure' (3) as *lært [...] å kurere* and *hijven (jih) viellem utnedh* 'good to have (my) brother' (17) as *godt [...] å ha min bror*, for example, expressions like *bööredidh buertien gåajkoe jih maksovh fihkedh* 'invite to the table to get food' (15) and *böötin jih raerieh fihkedh* 'came to get medicine' (31) have been translated into Norwegian with the prepositional infinitive *for å V-INF* 'in order to V': *be til bords for å få mat* and *kom [...] for*

å få midler (Bergsland 1943: 287, 293). The bare infinitive would be ungrammatical in the latter contexts (**be til bords få mat, *kom få midler*).⁷

Moreover, it is remarkable that many of Bergsland's *jih* infinitives have been translated with various other expressions such as [*vi*] legger [...] *senene i vann til bløt* [1PL put.PRS sinew.PL.DEF in water to soak(N)] for *tjaetsien sijse biejebe* (soenide) *jih lovvedh* 'we put the sinews in water to stay moist' (33a), and the full finite clause *så de skal holde seg fuktige* 'so that they will stay moist' for *jih måasodh* in (4) (Bergsland 1943: 181, 233). In fact, the 1987 revision *guktie måasoeh* 'id.' seen above in (4') is equivalent to the 1943 Norwegian translation of the infinitival *jih måasodh*. Although the South Saami infinitive and the Scandinavian infinitives – both the bare infinitives and the *jih* and *å/att* infinitives – undeniably do resemble each other, they are obviously not interchangeable, and more research is needed on the topic.

Even though the actual language data behind the present study do not lend themselves to wide-ranging generalizations, the existence of the infinitive-marking functions of *jih* – however optional they may be – seems to be signaling the existence of a previously concealed grammatical category, a distinct set of auxiliary verbs in South Saami.

The grammatical traditions of Norwegian, Swedish and other Germanic languages have long made use of the notion of *auxiliary verbs* – closed sets of grammatical verbs that differ from more lexical verbs in both morphosyntax and semantics. For example, Faarlund et al. (1997: 526–528) list the Norwegian verbs *kunne* 'can', *skulle* 'shall', *ville* 'want', *måtte* 'must' and *burde* 'ought' as well as (Nynorsk) *lyte* 'must; may' as auxiliary modal verbs proper. An important feature of these verbs is their ability to take their complements in the bare infinitive and not the *å* infinitive. Further, the verbs *få* 'can, be permitted', *tore* 'dare', *behøve* 'need', *slippe* 'avoid', *trengje* 'need', *gidde* 'bother', *greie* 'manage', *klare* 'manage', *makte* 'be able' and *orke* 'endure; manage to tolerate' are also mentioned (*id.* 528–530) in this connection due to their ability to take not only *å* infinitives but also bare infinitives.

All grammatical descriptions of South Saami are considerably less precise about auxiliary verbs, but the copula *lea-* 'be', the negation verb as well as *sjidtedh* 'become', *edtjedh* 'will', *galkedh* 'shall', *tjoeveridh/tjoeredh* 'must', *tjiehtedh* 'must', *aelkedh* 'begin' and *provhkedh* 'use to' have occasionally been

7. For the sake of completeness, Hasselbrink (1981–1985 s.v. *å, for, vuojjedidh*) refers to an apparent hapax legomenon *staanadidh for å voejngedidh* 'stop to draw breath' ("stehen bleiben um zu Atem kommen") originating from Bergsland's fieldnotes from Plassje (cf. Norwegian *stoppe for å puste* and Swedish *stanna för att pusta ut*).

mentioned as such (Bergsland 1994: 90–91; Magga & Magga 2012: 182–184). However, partly due to the lack of preposed infinitive markers in Saami languages in general, it has proven quite difficult and ineffective to try to operate with a clear-cut notion of auxiliary verbs in Saami linguistics (see, most importantly, Magga 1986; 2004; Svonni 2012 on North Saami). On the other hand, the existence of such an infinitive marker in South Saami seems to suggest that it is also possible to argue for the existence of a separate category of highly grammatical auxiliary verbs that may differ from less grammatical infinitive-taking verbs in that *jih* cannot be used with the most grammatical verbs.

The above line of reasoning is provisionally supported by the fact that none of the attested *jih* infinitives occur with any of the above-listed South Saami verbs in spite of their overwhelming dominance among the verbs with which the infinitive otherwise is used. According to the SIKOR corpus of contemporary literary South Saami, by far the most common verbs governing the same-subject infinitive are *ed tjedh* ‘will’, *maehtedh* ‘can’, *sijhtedh* ‘want’, *tjoeveridh/tjoeredh* ‘must’, *åadtjodh* ‘can, be permitted’ and *galkedh* ‘shall’, with about 5,000 occurrences in the corpus of nearly 700,000 words. None of these sentences have the infinitive marker *jih* (e.g., **Manne tjoeverem jih minnedh* ‘I must to go’). In other words, the possibility or impossibility of the *jih* infinitive could probably serve as a promising indicator of the borders of the most grammatical auxiliary verbs in South Saami. It remains to be resolved as to what extent such borders correlate with those in the Scandinavian languages.

3.2.4 Typological perspectives on *jih*

Finally, it is possible to present some cross-linguistic perspectives on the potential naturalness of the situation in which the South Saami coordinating conjunction *jih* is also used as an infinitive marker, albeit appearing as an optional marker that could be – and often has been – omitted as a superfluous and evidently unwanted element. Although the previous sections have characterized *jih* as an infinitive marker, many of the *jih*-marked infinitive clauses presented above function as purposive clauses instead of complementing modal and other verbs that are cross-linguistically known to take infinitives as their complements. As mentioned above (Section 3.2.1), the Scandinavian infinitive marker *å/att* originates in the preposition **at* ‘at; to’. The origin of the English *to*-infinitive is quite similar, and so are the origins of many other infinitives throughout the globe: infinitives are known to commonly develop from purposive-directional non-finite forms (see, e.g., Haspelmath 1989; Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 172–177).

However, not only are purposives diachronically and synchronically related to infinitival complements, but, as discussed at length by Schmidtke-Bode (2009), references to purposive relations also tend to coalesce with expressions of coordination in many languages. Put concretely, it is quite common to use coordinated sentences like *John got up and closed the window* to refer to states of affairs that could equally well be expressed with explicitly purposive clause combining. As two successive states of affairs such as John getting up and John closing the window are often causally related, “it would not be too surprising if speakers from languages other than English also invited their interlocutors to make purposive inferences from coordinate conjunction or juxtaposition” (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 107). Indeed, Schmidtke-Bode is able to present examples from a number of areally and genetically diverse languages in which various kinds of coordinative clause-linking devices are also used to express purposive relations (*id.* 103–109, 150–151, 195–196). However, he is very cautious about claiming that any of his examples of purposive markers in a typological sample of 80 languages would ultimately originate from a coordinating conjunction for ‘and’. The following passage deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

Given that purposive relations can also commonly be implicated by coordinated ‘and’-constructions (cf. §3.4.3), one may wonder if our sample also contains purposive markers that ultimately derive from a coordinating conjunction ‘and’. Unfortunately, I was not able to discover such a pattern, with one ostensible exception. Evenki has a purposive converb *-dA* [...] and a coordinating enclitic *-dA* ‘and’ [...]

The similarity seemed striking to me, yet I was cautious enough to consult Igor Nedjalkov, who contends (pers. comm.) that there is no convincing evidence for a historical relationship between the two *-dAs*. My conclusion, once more, is that the potential and the actual occurrence of purposive ‘and’-coordination require further investigation, but this necessitates more available data, comprising both historical records or reconstructions and language-specific synchronic corpora which give us an idea of how frequently such coordinate ‘and’-constructions are used with an intended purposive reading. (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 196)

On the other hand, Schmidtke-Bode (2009: 197–198) regards some of the non-conjunctive coordinating devices (affixes, clitics and serial verb constructions) as origins of purpose clause markers and characterizes a process in which, say, combined clauses semantically equivalent to *John got up and closed the window* (*id.* 107) come to mean ‘John got up to close the window’ as “semanticization

of conversational implicature” (cf. also *I’ll try to come tomorrow* and *I’ll try and come tomorrow* mentioned by Endresen 1995: 210). Expectedly, Schmidtke-Bode does not discuss the similarity of Scandinavian coordinating conjunctions and infinitive markers that have only incidentally merged together as described above, but it is revealing that he is willing to discuss a similar example from the less well-known Evenki whose purposive converb in *-dA* and coordinating clitic *=dA* ‘and’ nevertheless seem to be historically unrelated.

However, from a synchronic point of view – for example, that of millions of ordinary Norwegians and Swedes (as well as Danes with *og* and *at*⁸) who must learn to differentiate between *og/och* /ɔ/ ‘and’ and the infinitive marker *å/att* /ɔ/ when learning the written norms of their native languages – it is often irrelevant and difficult if not impossible to know whether two intersecting grammatical categories belong historically together and whether either one of them must be regarded as more original than the other. If the origins of the conjunction /ɔ/ and that of the infinitive marker /ɔ/ were not known on the basis of historical-comparative evidence, it would indeed be easy to presume that they have a common origin, as is even argued by Endresen (1995); I will return to this in the following section.

To return to South Saami, the situation is even more interesting. It has become clear that the infinitive marker *jih* most definitely originates in the coordinating conjunction *jih*, ultimately of Proto-Germanic origin. Like the infinitive marker in Scandinavian, *jih* can be used not only in infinitival complement clauses but also in adverbial purpose clauses such as in *tjåådtjiji jih vuertedh* [stand.up.PST.3SG *jih* wait.INF] ‘stood up to wait’ in example (8) seen above. Hence, South Saami *jih* is quite undoubtedly an instance of a morpheme that is and has been first and foremostly a coordinating conjunction ‘and’ but has later become an infinitive marker that is also used in purpose clauses, although it is not possible to describe the development as following the hypothetical cline COORDINATION > PURPOSIVE > COMPLEMENT/INFINITIVE deducible from earlier studies (Haspelmath 1989; Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 173, 198).

Given the evident Scandinavian impetus without which the *jih* infinitive would most likely have never developed, it may be tempting to dismiss the history of *jih* as an odd language-contact phenomenon, a quirk not worth being taken seriously. On the other hand, when viewed from a global sociological perspective, South Saami as a minority language with less than one thousand

8. The infinitive marker /ɔ/ was spelled ⟨at⟩ also in Norwegian until 1917.

speakers is a much more “normal” language than Norwegian and Swedish, unusually independent nation-state languages with millions of speakers. It would therefore be quite prejudiced to exclude even the most extreme contact-induced phenomena as something of less importance for our understanding of linguistic change in Saami and elsewhere.

4 Discussion and conclusion

To conclude this descriptive study of a small part of South Saami grammar, some aspects of the *jih* infinitive and its background deserve further comments in a broader context. First, consider three more examples:

- (34) a. *Dle d̄ihte vihth p̄aajke v̄öölki, edtja dam ḡankam viehk̄iehtidh*
 then DEF again boy leave.PST.3SG will.3SG DEF.ACC king.ACC help.INF
jah d̄aarodh.
jah fight.INF
 ‘Then the boy left again, in order to help the king to fight.’
- b. *Goh dle iehkede s̄ædta, dle d̄ihte ḡanka s̄ijhti daejredh,*
 as then evening become.3SG then DEF king want.PST.3SG know.INF
mij d̄ihte almetjidie, guhte dan væjkele d̄aarodh jah satnem
 what 3SG person.PL.ACC who so strong fight.INF and 3SG.LOG.ACC
viehk̄ehte.
 help.3SG
 ‘As the evening came, the king wanted to know who was this man who was such a strong fighter (literally: “so strong to fight”) and helped him.’
- c. *Jah dle gaajhkide j̄ijtjese almetjidie t̄jöönḡhki, mah altese*
 and then all.PL.ACC REFL.GEN.3SG person.PL.ACC gather.PST.3SG what.PL 3SG.GEN
r̄ijhkeste jah s̄æjhta daejredh, gie d̄ihte dan væjkele jah d̄aarodh.
 kingdom.ELA and want.3SG know.INF who 3SG so strong *jah* fight.INF
 ‘And then he gathered all the people in his kingdom and wanted to know who was the one who such a strong fighter (literally: “so strong to fight”).’ (Halász 1887: 142)

Examples (34a–c) come from the same fairy-tale and follow each other so closely that only one sentence is omitted from between (34b) and (34c). Example (34c) is one of the first unambiguous recorded instances of *jih* (*jah*) as an infinitive marker: the adjective *væjkele* ‘strong’ takes *jah d̄aarodh* ‘to fight’ as its complement. However, the preceding sentence (34b) shows that *jah* appears to be an optional element; the bare infinitive is enough. When the two infinitives seem to be conjoined with what appears to be the coordinating conjunction, the sequence *viehk̄iehtidh jah d̄aarodh* can be interpreted as two

coordinated complements for the auxiliary verb *edtja* ‘shall’. However, in light of the unambiguous infinitive marker seen in (34c) it appears equally, if not more, natural to interpret *viehkiehtidh jah dâarodh* as consisting of the governing verb *viehkiehtidh* ‘help’ complemented by an infinitive clause *jah dâarodh* ‘to fight’. In Norwegian and Swedish, it is possible to differentiate between the two alternatives in writing, but when pronounced, (35) and (36) are normally homophonous:

- (35) a. *Da dro gutten igjen, for å hjelpe kongen og (/ɔ/) krige.*
 b. *Sedan gick pojken igen, för att hjälpa kungen och (/ɔ/) kriga.*
 then leave.PST boy again in.order.to help.INF king.DEF and fight.INF
 ‘The boy left again, in order to help the king and fight.’ (J.Y., personal knowledge)
- (36) a. *Da dro gutten igjen, for å hjelpe kongen å (/ɔ/) krige.*
 b. *Sedan gick pojken igen, för att hjälpa kungen att (/ɔ/) kriga.*
 then leave.PST boy again in.order.to help.INF king.DEF INF fight.INF
 ‘The boy left again, in order to help the king to fight.’ (J.Y., personal knowledge)

The above examples and their analysis summarize many of the central claims presented in the preceding sections. What is slightly new here is that although examples (34a–c), allegedly recorded in Dearnä (Tärna) by Halász in 1886, are presented in the South Saami orthography, it has been debated whether the Saami idioms spoken in Dearnä are to be regarded as South Saami or as the southernmost representative of Ume Saami. However, it appears possible to identify and locate Halász’s informant as a speaker of Aarporte (Hattfjelldal) Saami instead of that of Dearnä (Ylikoski 2017), and as a result it may also be possible to state that the entire phenomenon in question is limited to South Saami.⁹ On the other hand, the infinitive marker *jih* is widespread in South

9. Traditionally, only the northern parts of Dearnä have been regarded as Ume Saami areas, but in his thorough study of the issue, Larsson (2012) has recently come to conclusion that also the nearby dialects spoken south of the Ume River – in southern Dearnä as well as in Ulliesjæevrie (Ullisjaure) – ought to be classified as Ume Saami instead of South Saami. Unfortunately, Larsson does not discuss the idiolect of Halász’s (1887) informant “Gunnel Oline Olstad” about whose background only little is known. According to a more detailed analysis of this idiolect and the history of concepts like South Saami and Ume Saami it is somewhat impossible to categorically label her idiom as belonging to South Saami and not Ume Saami, but it appears that Halász’s (1887) “Gunnel Oline Olstad” may actually have been Gunhild Oline Olsdatter Børgesfjell (1868–1959) of Aarporte (Ylikoski 2017). Nevertheless, it is more natural to present (34a–c) in South Saami orthography. It is also possible to state that the idiolect in (34a–c) is quite close to that of another one of Halász’s (1887) informants, Ole Samuel Elsvatn from Aarporte (see examples (7), (10–13), (16) and (30)).

Saami, and, at any rate, the Saami dialects of both Aarporte and Dearná have been spoken as far as about 300–350 kilometers from those documented by Collinder (1942) in Hierjedaelie and Bergsland (1943) in Plassje. Irrespective of the question of whether these people regarded – or would have regarded if they ever felt that such questions were relevant and meaningful – themselves as speakers of one single South Saami language, they were both geographically and linguistically very far from each other, and the importance of this fact for the present study is that we can regard the *jih* infinitive as an old and widespread phenomenon in the southernmost variants of the Saami language continuum. It appears that the phenomenon cannot be attested in any of the language materials collected north of Aarporte and Dearná.

As regards the importance of the infinitive marker *jih* (~ *jih* ~ *jah*) in the language system(s) described above, it must be repeated that there are no clear signs of obligatoriness of *jih*. However, even the mere existence of the possibility of using *jih* as an infinitive marker is an interesting part of the grammatical makeup of the language – not least because of its typologically unprecedented origins. The optionality of the South Saami infinitive marker is not significantly different from the optionality of *to* with English *help* (e.g., *I'll help you (to) quit smoking*) or the optionality of Swedish *att* in (37a); it has been pointed out that Norwegian *å* (37b) is more obligatory:

- (37) a. *Jag lovar (att) försöka (att) börja (att) sluta (att) röka.*
 b. *Jeg lover å forsøke å begynne å slutte å røyke.*
 1SG promise.PRS INF try.INF INF begin.INF INF stop.INF INF smoke.INF
 'I promise to try to begin to quit smoking.' (Dahl 2011 and the subsequent blog discussion)

Although the infinitive marker seems to be optional and although its public use seems to have been suppressed by covert and overt purism, it appears that the use of *jih* is relatively common in contexts like *væjkele jah dåarodh* 'strong at fighting' in (34c) – in infinitival modifiers of adjectives. Similar examples were seen in (17), (18), (20), (21), (28), (30) and (34c), and other occurrences I am aware of – from contemporary written South Saami – include expressions like *aelkkie jih barkedh* 'easy to do', *geerve jih gaavnedh* 'difficult to find' and *ovmurredh jih vaedtsedh* 'uncomfortable to walk'. Interestingly, this is quite the opposite of Dahl's (2015: 220–221) observations about the comparatively restricted use of the Swedish infinitive marker *att* with adjectives in the older literary language and dialects.

It appears that further studies on the issue must pay more attention to contemporary spoken South Saami, as it seems that the *jih* infinitive surfaces

in public written South Saami only in texts written by some writers, while a significant part of the most conscious language users are aware of the alleged dangers of what can be considered unnecessary and unwanted interference from the Scandinavian majority languages. The present study does not aim to take a position on the South Saami language planning, but I wish to emphasize that the infinitive marker *jih* has a relatively long history in South Saami in which it is used in ways that differ from the use of Norwegian *å* or Swedish *att*. Most importantly, while it may be worthwhile to try to continue to keep *å/att* apart from the coordinating conjunction *og/och*, South Saami *jih* as an infinitive marker is not in danger of being mistaken for another word but the only straightforward alternative is zero, in other words the bare infinitive in *-dh*.

The above observations about the conjunction-cum-infinitive-marker in South Saami should be of interest to Scandinavists as well. It has not been possible to delve into the details of *å*, *att*, *og* and *och* within the confines of the present paper, but the nature and origins of South Saami *jih* provide an appealing yet largely ignored perspective on an age-old orthographic stumbling block as witnessed by (38) from 1619:

- (38) *Tå kom een af dieknarnar, och badh, honom ther inn*
 then come.PST one of student.PL.DEF and invite.PST him there into
och dricka medh them.
 och drink.INF with them
 ‘Then one of the students came and asked him **to** drink with them.’ (SAOB s.v. *att, och*)

In spite of the immemorial merger of the conjunction and the infinitive marker, Swedish as well as Norwegian (and Danish) have, especially in comparison to South Saami, for long had vigorous literary traditions with established aims to keep the two types apart from each other. Even dictionaries with pronounced aims to describe spoken dialects may succumb to the pressure of literary traditions and stumble with the fact that for a large portion of lay people, difficulties in differentiating the two in writing are due to the virtual oneness of /ɔ/ in spoken language: The authoritative *Norsk Ordbok – Ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet* (NO2014) mentions the use of ⟨å⟩ as a conjunction by quietly referring to the entry for ⟨og⟩ under which no conjunctions in the form ⟨å⟩ are presented, however. On the other hand, the dictionary presents two examples of ⟨og⟩ as an infinitive marker analogous to Swedish *och* in (38) above, but in such contexts ⟨og⟩ is not really interpreted as ⟨og⟩ but rather as “reinterpretations of other (similar) words” (“i bruk som omtolking av andre (nærlike) ord”). In other words, the underlying

presupposition of the allegedly synchronic descriptive dictionary of Norwegian dialects does in no way regard ⟨å⟩ and ⟨og⟩ as graphical, conventional representations of one single word but at best, describes deviations from the orthographical norm as reinterpretations of other words.

It was mentioned above (Section 3.2.1) that Endresen (1995) argues for the view that /ɔ/ is a single morpheme in spoken Norwegian (as well as Swedish and Danish), comprising both the coordinative conjunction and the infinitive marker, the exact borderline of which is difficult to draw. Endresen's language-internal arguments aside, one of the most interesting perspectives on the topic are his brief references to bilingualism as an indicator of the true nature of /ɔ/. However, the two examples he presents are quite different from the South Saami examples seen above – (39) and (40) come from colloquial Finnish as spoken by a child who is bilingual in Swedish and Finnish and living in Sweden:

(39) *Mä oon nähmy yhden joka tulee ja siivoaa meidän koulussa.*
 1SG be.3SG see.PST.PTCP one.GEN who come.3SG ja clean.3SG 1PL.GEN school.INF
 'I have seen one who comes to clean in our school.' (Endresen 1995: 210)

(40) *Se oli lopettanu ja työskentelee siellä.*
 3SG be.PST.3SG finish.PST.PTCP ja work.3SG there
 'He had finished working there.' (Endresen 1995: 210)

According to Endresen, the use of the conjunction *ja* 'and' in the predicates *tulee ja siivoaa* ('comes and cleans') (39) and *oli lopettanu ja työskentelee* ('had finished and works') (40) is due to the use of the polysemous /ɔ/ in Swedish. What is most remarkable, however, is that Endresen – as possibly the only scholar since Bergsland (1946) – mentions South Saami in this connection. Unfortunately, this mention is limited to the brief statement that observations similar to (39–40) above "have been made in Southern Saami [...] by Knut Bergsland (p.c.)" as well as in Scandoromani. As Endresen does not present any examples from South Saami and mentions the language only in connection to the use of Finnish *ja* in non-infinitival clauses, it is not clear what kind of observations he is referring to. However, his comment that "bilingual speakers often transfer the polysemy network of Continental Scandinavian [o] to words meaning 'and' in other languages" (Endresen 1995: 211) seems to fully apply to the main arguments of the present study.

Leaving further discussion on Scandinavian /ɔ/ to the experts of the field, as a modest contribution to Scandinavian linguistics I wish to emphasize that as far as the long-time bilingual communities of southernmost Saami can also

be regarded as legitimate parts of the Norwegian and Swedish speech communities, the South Saami infinitive marker *jih* suggests that at least for these people, the Scandinavian coordinating conjunctions and infinitive markers have, indeed, been one single grammatical element. The continuum-like nature of the two concepts is evident in examples (35) and (36), and the daily difficulties of hundreds of thousands of schoolchildren as well as adults – for at least four centuries as evidenced by example (38) from 1619 – in managing the correct use of ⟨å⟩/⟨att⟩ and ⟨og⟩/⟨och⟩ suggest that the combination of the two allegedly distinct concepts does not belong to the Saami alone.¹⁰ On the other hand, it is notable that in spite of the ever-increasing Scandinavisms in all Saami languages spoken in Norway and Sweden, the pan-Saami coordinating conjunction of ultimately Proto-Germanic origin has apparently developed into an infinitive marker only in the southernmost Saami varieties.¹¹

The complexity of the situation touched here can also be compared to other pairs of homophones in Norwegian and Swedish. For example, the nouns *jul* ‘Christmas’ and *hjul* ‘wheel’ are phonologically identical – /ju:l/ – but although their orthographical history is not without deviations (e.g., SAOB s.v.), it appears that learning to differentiate between the two in writing does not generally pose insurmountable problems: Language users of all ages and backgrounds are able to keep the concepts of Christmas and wheel apart from each other, and no unintuitive grammatical rules need to be learned in order to differentiate between the two homonyms.¹² This stands in stark contrast to the fact – albeit an extreme example – that according to a Google search (6 May 2017), the polysemous /ɔ/ in the Norwegian phrase *vel å merke* [well å note.INF] ‘nota bene’ is “misspelled” *vel og merke* (266,000 hits) more often than spelled “correctly” (152,000 hits) (see also Lønnum 2014). Neither is it unheard to observe hypercorrect /o:g/ as an infinitive marker in emphatic public speech (cf. Endresen 1995: 201; Faarlund 2003: 73). On the other hand, as the concept

10. As mentioned above (Section 3.2.1), Endresen (1995: 201) characterizes the *og/å* distinction as one of the last things that speakers of Norwegian learn to master in the written standard.

11. It may be added that in some varieties of North Saami, the complementizer *ahte* has also been used with the infinitive in *-t*. Although this development may be related to the use of Swedish *att* as an infinitive marker /ɔ/ ~ /at/ (< Proto-Germanic **at* ‘at; to’) and as a complementizer /at/ (< Old Norse *þat* < Proto-Germanic **þat* ‘that’), the history of North Saami *ahte* (← Finnish *että*) is entirely different from that of South Saami *jih*.

12. As it happens, according to Koivulehto (2000) *hjul* (*wheel*) and *jul* (*Yule*), a major landmark of the yearly cycle, do go back to a common source, Proto-Indo-European **k^wek^wlo-* ‘wheel’.

of hypercorrection is usually based on prescriptivism, it is not automatically clear that superstandard phenomena such as /o:g/ for /ɔ/ – when shared by many individual speakers – should be considered fundamentally less natural and less acceptable than ordinary substandard registers.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that the findings of the present paper prove that individual Saami languages must be understood and described on their own premises, and that they are in that way able to provide us with important and novel information about phenomena that are foreign to even their closest sister languages as well as the dominating majority languages even in situations that would most likely not have come to existence without external forces such as long-standing Saami-Scandinavian bilingualism. In his major work on South Saami grammar, Bergsland (1946: XV) recognized and highlighted the pervasive influence of bilingualism on South Saami in the following words:

Ofte kan man høre ”øyeblikklånord” brukt i fleng med selv de alminneligste lappiske ord (f. eks. *kalwə* for *miesie* ‘reinkalv’, *fiskəjh* for *g.öləjh* ‘fiske’) og norske former og setninger (med helt norsk uttale) inne imellom de lappiske, slik at man nesten kunne si at hovedvanskeligheten med å lære språket består i å blande med norsk på den rette måten; betegnende i så måte er at de aller dyktigste (...) faktisk blandet mere enn enkelte av dem for hvem det å snakke lappisk har blitt en mere bevisst sak. (Bergsland 1946: XV)

‘It is often possible to hear “instant loanwords” used randomly with even the most common Saami words (e.g., *kaalve* [← Norwegian *kalv*] for *miesie* ‘reindeer calf’, *fiskedh* [← Norwegian *fiske*] for *gööledh* ‘to fish’), and Norwegian forms and phrases (with an entirely Norwegian pronunciation) in between those in Saami, so that one could almost say that the main difficulty in learning the language consists of mixing it with Norwegian in the right way; it is illustrative in this respect that the most proficient speakers (...) actually mixed the languages more than some of those for whom speaking Saami has become a more conscious issue.’

In other words, it has long belonged to the very nature of South Saami to mix in Norwegian or Swedish “in the right proportion” instead of refraining from doing so. It appears to me that this does not apply only to code-switching, even though Bergsland’s words above were probably meant as a pioneering

characterization of Saami code-switching. However, in his later grammar, Bergsland (1994 [1982]) adopted a less objective pedagogical approach to South Saami and he also allowed Ella Holm Bull to cleanse his text collection (Bergsland 1943) of not only the infinitive marker but of many other grammatical and lexical Scandinavisms as well (Bergsland 1987). Largely the same was done to Halász's (1887) and Qvigstad's (1924) materials by Lajla Mattsson Magga (Magga 1984; Qvigstad 1996), and the most recent South Saami grammar (Magga & Magga 2012) is deliberately at least as conservative as its direct predecessor (Bergsland 1994 [1982]). Nevertheless, a more liberal perspective to the riches of South Saami as the westernmost Uralic language and an independent yet flexible neighbor of Germanic idioms of all ages provides us with invaluable resources that add to our understanding of not only the Saami languages but also Scandinavian, as well as the possibilities of linguistic change in general.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	INE	inessive
ADV	adverb	INF	infinitive
ATTR	attributive	INS	instrumental
CAUS	causative	LOG	logophoric
CMPV	comparative	NEG	negative
CNG	connegative	NOM	nominative
COM	comitative	PL	plural
DEF	definite	PROG	progressive
DPT	discourse particle	PRS	present
DU	dual	PST	past
ELA	elative	PTCP	participle
GEN	genitive	REFL	reflexive
ILL	illative	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SUP	superlative
INDEF	indefinite		

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