

## The Essive in North Saami

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### 1. Introduction

North Saami is the most widely spoken language of the Saami branch of the Uralic language family, with approximately 15,000–25,000 speakers traditionally living in the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland. North Saami has had an established status as a literary language since the mid-19th century and is nowadays widely used in all kinds of written media and various yet limited domains of society up to the highest education levels and scholarly discourse. According to the received view, the grammatical structures of the Saami languages belong to the most “Indo-Europeanized” among the Uralic languages; their morphology exhibits a comparatively high degree of fusionality and syntax is in many ways quite similar to that of their Scandinavian neighbors. On the other hand, the Saami languages are in many ways quite ordinary Uralic languages of Europe.

As regards the topic of this paper, Table 1 illustrates the inventory of six morphological cases in North Saami.

|                     | ‘child’       |                  | ‘mother’      |                  | ‘doctor’          |   |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|---|
|                     | singular      | plural           | singular      | plural           | singular          | plural                                  |
| nominative          | <i>mánná</i>  | <i>mánát</i>     | <i>eadni</i>  | <i>eatnit</i>    | <i>doavttir</i>   | <i>doaktárat</i>                        |
| genitive-accusative | <i>máná</i>   | <i>mánáid</i>    | <i>eatni</i>  | <i>etniid</i>    | <i>doaktára</i>   | <i>doaktáriid</i>                       |
| locative            | <i>mánás</i>  | <i>mánáin</i>    | <i>eatnis</i> | <i>etniin</i>    | <i>doaktáris</i>  | <i>doaktáriin</i>                       |
| illative            | <i>mánnái</i> | <i>mánáide</i>   | <i>eadnái</i> | <i>etniide</i>   | <i>doaktárii</i>  | <i>doaktáriidda</i>                     |
| comitative          | <i>mánáin</i> | <i>mánáiguin</i> | <i>etniin</i> | <i>etniiguin</i> | <i>doaktáriin</i> | <i>doaktáriiguin</i>                    |
| essive              |               | <i>mánnán</i>    |               | <i>eadnin</i>    |                   | <i>doavttirin</i> (~ <i>doaktárin</i> ) |

Table 1. The North Saami case system.

As for the essive in North Saami as well as in the rest of the Saami languages, it is notable that the essive is the only case category that does not make a formal distinction between singular and plural forms. It may be only a matter of taste and descriptive economy whether forms such as *mánnán* [child.ESS], *eadnin* [mother.ESS] and *doavttirin* [doctor.ESS] are to be called as plain (singular-cum-plural) essives, or whether *mánnán*, for example, is analyzed as both a singular essive and a homonymous plural essive. In the following, such forms are called merely essives, and as the essive is used identically in singular, dual and plural meanings, this fact will not be repeated in the following sections. Materially, the essive case marker is *-n*, and it is the only case marker that is nearly always attached to the stem identical with the singular nominative instead of the oblique stem undergoing morphophonological changes such as consonant gradation (e.g. *mánná* : *máná-*; *eadni* : *eatni-*) and diphthong simplification (e.g. *eadni* : *eatni-* : *etni-*). In certain stem types, the essive marker is preceded by an epenthetic vowel *-i* (e.g. *doavttir* : *doavttirin*). Some non-standard

oblique stem essives are also present in the contemporary language; along with the more classical *doavttirin* [doctor.ESS], forms such as *doaktárin* also exist.

The form and functions of the essive have been taken into account ever since the first grammatical descriptions of the language (from, e.g., Ganander 1743 and Friis 1856 up to Nickel & Sammallahti 2011, *passim*), and the most systematic and comprehensive accounts of the functions of the essive within the case system as a whole have been presented by Nielsen (1926: 348–353) and (also for Aanaar and Lule Saami) Bartens (1972: 58–67). As all the above-mentioned grammarians, like most other scholars of Saami languages, have been greatly affected by the Finnic (Finnish) grammatical tradition that for centuries has served as a model for the description of Uralic minority languages, the present paper takes into account both the negative and the positive effects of Finnic perspectives on our understanding of the Saami essive.

Despite the traditional and historicizing label “essive”, the use of the North Saami case includes not only the stative “essives” as primary and secondary predicates and semantically equivalent adverbial modifiers, but from a quantitative perspective, it is most often used in sentences that refer to dynamic changes into or even out of a given role. In other words, a more logical label for the case unanimously labeled as “essive” in Saami grammatical tradition would perhaps be “translative-essive” in keeping with the Finnic grammatical tradition. One of the most distinctive phenomena related to the essive case in North Saami is the suffix *-naga* that is used to derive both deadjectival and denominal essive-like formations whose morphological, syntactic and semantic properties suggest that they can, in a way, be regarded as a kind of subspecies of essives, although the most proper characterization is probably as “adverbs”. Deadjectival depictives in *-naga* (e.g. *liekkasnaga* ‘while still warm’) will be discussed in Section 3.2, and denominal *-naga* (e.g. *varranaga* ‘covered/stained with blood’) in Section 7. As for NP-internal agreement, the essive behaves like other cases of North Saami: demonstrative modifiers and numerals usually agree with the head noun, whereas adjectival modifiers do not (see Example 23 below).

The North Saami essive can be combined with nouns and adjectives as well as with numerals and pronouns, although the essive forms of personal pronouns, for example, are very marginal in actual language use (but see Note 5). Although demonstrative and interrogative pronouns *dat* ‘it’ and *mii* ‘what’ have their essive forms *danin* ‘as it’ and *manin* ‘as what’, these formations are overwhelmingly used as lexicalized expressions for ‘therefore’ and ‘why; for what’. Only in some adverbs (mostly based on relational nouns) the element *-n* has retained the original locative function of this Uralic case marker, e.g. *olgu* ‘the outside world’ : *olgun* ‘at/from the outside’, *duohki* ‘behind’ (noun) : *duohken* ~ *duohkin* ‘(from) behind’ (adposition, adverb). Non-finite progressive forms traditionally labeled as “actio essive” (*-min*, *-me(n)*; e.g. *ohcamin* ~ *ohcame(n)* ‘(in the act of) searching’) go back to the same element attached to a verbal noun, but from a synchronic point of view, they are not functionally related to the essive case and will not be discussed further below (cf. Ylikoski 2002: 78–79).

If not otherwise specified, all authentic examples come from a corpus of more than ten million words from the North Saami newspapers *Min Áigi*, *Áššu* and *Ávvir* (1997–2011), provided by the Divvun/Giellatekno Corpus at UiT The Arctic University of Norway (The Divvun/Giellatekno Corpus). All newspapers included in the corpus have been published in Norway, but were written for the North Saami community as a whole, by journalists in Norway, Finland and Sweden. On the basis of my knowledge of the spoken language and other literary genres, the language of the newspapers can be considered as a relatively neutral genre that quite well represents a language system shared by the North Saami community as a whole, although it must be noted that the literary

use of the language does not have nearly as established a status as the neighboring majority languages. Although the data comes from a large corpus, this paper is a mostly qualitative. Occasional references to the frequency or rarity of a given phenomenon are thus usually to be understood as relatively vague characterizations.

## 2. Non-verbal predication

Like its cognates and namesakes in other Saami languages and in the more distant Finnic languages, the North Saami essive is probably best known for its use on a par with the nominative case as predicative nominals and predicative adjectives. For example, Creissels' (2014: 610–611) textbook examples describing the semantic difference between Finnish nominative and essive predicates can be converted verbatim to a corresponding illustration of the identical opposition in North Saami. The nominative predicative expresses more or less permanent identification of the subject referent, whereas the essive depicts the corresponding state as a temporary property:

- (1) a. *Son lea oahpaheaddji.*  
 3SG be.3SG teacher(.NOM)  
 'S/he is a teacher.' (This is his/her profession and is likely to remain so.)
- b. *Son lea oahpaheaddjin.*  
 3SG be.3SG teacher.ESS  
 'S/he is teaching (temporarily).' or 'S/he is (working) as a teacher for the time being.'

However, as soon as one delves into actual language usage, it is possible to encounter sentences in which the nominative, too, refers to a role that must be interpreted as temporary even on a lexical basis. In (2), the role of the person in question as a teacher is marked with the essive, but her role as a project worker is (un)marked with the nominative.

- (2) *Čállli Inga Laila Hætta lea oahpaheaddjin Guovdageainnu*  
 writer I. L. H. be.3SG teacher.ESS Guovdageaidnu.GA  
*nuoraidskuvllas ja lea maidđái prošeaktabargi*  
 junior.high.school.LOC and be.3SG also project.worker  
*Sámi Oahpahusráđis.*  
 Sámi.Educational.Council.LOC  
 'The author I. L. H. is a teacher at Guovdageaidnu Junior High School and she is also a project worker at the Sámi Educational Council.'

However, based on the newspaper corpus, my own intuition, and native speakers' judgments, it does not make a significant difference in actual language use whether the two job titles are coded as essives, nominatives or both (also in the opposite order, i.e. ...*oahpaheaddji* [teacher(.NOM)] but ...*prošeaktabargin* [project.worker.ESS]). As for adjectives in analogous functions, in principle all North Saami adjectives can be inflected as nouns (in case and number) and head NPs, and there are thus no obstacles to inflecting adjectives in the essive and using them as predicative adjectives. Again, essive is used to express temporariness of the given property such as white color in snowy nature (3), whereas the nominative depicts the color of the fur as a more stable property (4):

(3) *Dalle šaddá luondu nu čáppat, go buot lea vielgadin.*  
 then become.3SG nature so beautiful when everything be.3SG white.ESS  
 ‘Nature becomes so beautiful then, when everything is white.’

(4) *Mu dorka lea vielgat dego muohta.*  
 1SG.GA fur be.3SG white as snow  
 ‘My fur is white as snow.’

The verb *šaddat* ‘become’ can often be interpreted as a semi-copula as the dynamic counterpart of the stative copula *leat* ‘be’. Again, the nominative predicative such as *čáppat* in the above Example (3) is inherently more time-stable than its essive counterpart in (5).<sup>1</sup>

(5) *Sii muitaledje mo dološ áiggi ledje giehpanahttán baksamiid ja ámadaju vai šadde čáppisin.*  
 3PL tell.PST.3PL how ancient time.GA be.PST.3PL soot.PST.PTCP lip.PL.GA and  
 face.GA so.that become.PST.3PL beautiful.ESS  
 ‘They told about how in the old days people sooted their lips and face in order to become (= look) beautiful.’

The relation of *šaddat* to dynamic verbs with more lexical meanings occurring with essive will be taken up in Section 8 below.

### 3. Secondary predication

The essive also often occurs as a secondary predicate with semantic functions that may be roughly classified as depictives, circumstantials and resultatives. Resultatives are best described within the general “translative” use of the essive (Section 8), and therefore this section describes the essive (3.1) and related formations (3.2) as markers of depictives and circumstantials (3.3).

#### 3.1. Depictive essive

Most of the depictives can be classified according to the grammatical functions that the controller has in the main clause, and the most common controllers include the agents of transitive verbs (6) and patients of transitive verbs (7).

(6) *Dan ohppen mánnán.*  
 it.GA learn.PST.1SG child.ESS  
 ‘That I have learned as a child.’

<sup>1</sup> The formal distance between the nominative *čáppat* (3) and the essive *čáppisin* (5) is due to a dialect difference: *čáppat* [beautiful(.NOM)]: *čáppahin* (~ *čáppadin*) [beautiful.ESS] and *čáppis* : *čáppisin* are synonyms used in the western and eastern dialects of North Saami, respectively.

- (7) *Áhč[č]is, Juhani Jomppanen, oahpahii su mánnán golli bassat ja*  
 father.3SG J. J. teach.PST.3SG 3SG.GA child.ESS gold.GA rinse.INF and  
*iešge lea gándii dan oahpahan.*  
 REFL.also be.3SG son.ILL it.GA teach.PST.PTCP  
 ‘His father, J. J., taught him to pan off gold as a child, and he himself has also taught that to his son.’

Without context sentences such as (8) are as ambiguous as their English translations.

- (8) *Mus lei lih[k]u dovdat su nuorran, dalle go mii leimmet*  
 1SG.LOC be.PST.3SG luck know.INF 3SG.GA young.ESS then when 1PL be.PST.1PL  
*vel movttegat.*  
 still enthusiastic.PL  
 ‘I<sub>i</sub> was lucky to know him<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> when young<sub>i/j/i&j</sub>, the time we [non-dual plural, not only the two of us<sub>i&j</sub>] were still enthusiastic.’

In addition to the above examples of nominal predicatives, essive forms of adjectives are also widely used as depictives:

- (9) *Áilegas-instituhta fidnuin geahččalit oažžut Ohcejoga boares*  
 Áilegas.Institute.GA activity.COM try.1PL get.INF Ohcejohka.GA old  
*skuvllavisttiide ođđa anu, ovdalgo dat luoskkagit guorusin ja galmmasin.*  
 school.building.PL.ILL new use.GA before they decay.3PL empty.ESS and cold.ESS  
 ‘Within the activity of the Áilegas Institute we attempt to find new functions for the old school buildings of Ohcejohka, before they fall into disrepair empty and cold.’
- (10) *Dan sáhtá borrat láibbiin njuolga burkke siste,*  
 it.GA can.3SG eat.INF bread.COM directly can.GA (from.)inside  
*dasto liekkasin buđehiiguin ja pastain.*  
 then warm.ESS potato.PL.COM and pasta.COM  
 ‘You can eat it (= canned fish) with bread directly from the can, or warm with potatoes and pasta.’

However, the use of essive has some unexpected limitations. The past participle cannot be inflected in case, and therefore also essive forms are absent. Instead, however, the indeclinable participle can be used on a par with nominal and adjectival essives, i.e. in functions where the essive could in principle be expected (11). The adjective *lihkolaš* ‘happy’ must be in the essive; nominative secondary predicates are impossible except for participles such as *bivastuvvan* ‘sweated; in sweat’ (cf. also *hávváduvvon* ‘wounded’ in Example 42).

- (11) *Lih[k]us láven morihit, bivastuvvan, muhto liekkolažžan.*  
 luck.LOC use.to.1SG awake.INF sweat.PST.PTCP but happy.ESS  
 ‘Fortunately, I use to wake up, having sweated but happy.’

Other participles do have essive forms, although they are not frequently used as such. The present participle is homonymous with (but not easily and absolutely distinguishable from) the agent nouns seen in many of the examples in this paper (e.g. *oahpahit* ‘teach’ → *oahpaheaddji* ‘teacher; one who teaches’), as well as related to deverbal adjectives such as *balddihahtti* ‘scary’ (Examples 25–26; ← *balddihit* ‘scare’) (see Ylikoski 2009: 134–135, 142–146). The essive forms of the negative participle/converb *-keahtes/-keahtá* ‘without V-ing; un-V-ed’ are also possible (*ibid.* 172–173), but as for other non-finites, the North Saami converbs and infinitives do not inflect in cases like participles do.

### 3.2. Essive-like depictive in *-naga*

Interestingly, a handful of adjectives have special alternative forms, as they were, that end in the marker *-naga* instead of *-(i)n*:

- (12) *Mii vihkket gorudiid liekkasnaga ja das gessojuvvo de eret*  
 1PL weigh.1PL carcass.PL.GA warm.naga and it.LOC withdraw.PASS.3SG then away  
*automáhtalaččat 4 % (...)*  
 automatic.ADV 4 %  
 ‘We weigh (reindeer) carcasses while they are still warm, and then 4% is automatically deducted (...)’

- (13) *Sushi lea japánalaš sátni borramušas mii borro njuoskkasnaga.*  
 sushi be.3SG Japanese word food.LOC REL eat.PASS.3SG raw.naga  
 ‘Sushi is a Japanese word for food that is eaten raw.’

Formations such as *liekkasnaga* in (12) and *njuoskkasnaga* in (13) could be replaced with the ordinary essives *liekkasin* and *njuoskkasin* without apparent change of meaning. In the same vein, whenever formations like *galmmasnaga* [cold.naga], *ođasnaga* [new.naga] and *varasnaga* [fresh.naga] occur, the case forms *galmmasin* [cold.ESS], *ođasin* [new.ESS] and *varasin* [fresh.ESS] could be used as well. However, *-naga* cannot serve in all of the functions of the essive. As discussed at length by Ylikoski (2014b), there are only eighteen known adjectival *-naga* formations, but they are all the more interesting in that conceptually, they are among those with the most common semantics typical of adjectival depictives cross-linguistically. Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 63) observe that “[t]he secondary predicate most frequently encodes a physical or psychological state or condition (e.g., ‘alive’ – ‘dead’, ‘old’ – ‘young’/‘new’, ‘hungry’, ‘drunk’, ‘raw’ – ‘cooked’, ‘full’ – ‘empty’, ‘hot’ – ‘cold’)”, and it is exactly this kind of adjective the *-naga* forms are based on.

The *-naga* formations have highly specific syntactic and semantic functions: Except for the lexicalized meaning ‘empty-handed’ for *guorosnaga* (← *guoros* ‘empty’), the use of other adjectival *-naga* formations is restricted to patient-controlled depictives; in other words, they serve as secondary predications on transitive clause objects (12) or passive clause subjects (13). Furthermore, *-naga* adds a meaning of transience in comparison to the plain essive referring to a temporary but nevertheless more stable state. Put concretely, the essives in (9) cannot be replaced by *-naga* forms such as *galmmasnaga* ‘while still cold’ because they are secondary predicates on the subject of an intransitive verb, but even in (10), *liekkasin* [warm.ESS] cannot be replaced by

*liekkasnaga* ‘while still warm’ without the unintentional interpretation that the food to be eaten will soon be getting cold. On the other hand, *liekkasnaga* of (12) indeed refers to still warm carcasses that are getting cold immediately after slaughter. Likewise, *njuoskkasnaga* ‘while still raw’ (13) depicts the customarily transient state of ingredients before being prepared for a meal. It is considered evident that the initial element of the suffix goes back to the essive case marker,<sup>2</sup> and therefore the highly specialized depictive use of *-naga* is relevant to our understanding of the Uralic essives.<sup>3</sup> As will be discussed further in Section 7, North Saami has also nominal formations with *-naga* that are related to the use of essive, yet in a quite different manner (Ylikoski 2014a); see also Section 10 for a quick comparison of *-naga* with the suffix *-ńek* in Mari (Ylikoski 2014b).

Regardless of the most accurate analysis of formations such as *muoldanaga* [dirt.*naga*] ‘covered with dirt’ in (14) (see Section 7 below), the following example closes the present discussion on the use of essives as depictive secondary predicates:

- (14) *Seammá mánu guokteloginjealját beivvi israellaččat čoagganedje ja*  
 same month.GA 24th day.GA Israelite.PL gather.PST.3PL and  
*fástudedje, seahkat gárvun ja oaivi muoldanaga.*  
 fast.PST.3PL sack.PL cloth.ESS and head dirt.*naga*  
 ‘On the twenty-fourth day of the same month, the Israelites gathered together and fasted, with sacks as clothes and their heads covered with dirt.’

In (14), both *seahkat gárvun* ‘sacks as clothes’ and *oaivi muoldanaga* ‘head(s) covered with dirt’ are verbless absolute constructions – or one coordinated absolute – that function as secondary predications about the subject of the finite clause. From a construction-internal point of view, however, the essive *gárvun* ‘as clothe(s)’ must be considered a predicative nominal for the subject *seahkat* ‘sacks’. In the absence of nominative absolutes in North Saami, the essive appears to be the only possible case for nominal or adjective predicatives in verbless absolute constructions.

### 3.3. Circumstantial essive

Finally, (15–17) are examples of the less frequent yet fully possible use of the essive as circumstantial secondary predicates; (16) also illustrates the fact that although most essives refer to the subject or the object of the clause, secondary predications about obliques are also possible. As usually identified by their relations to the scope of negation (see, e.g., Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005: 17–18, 22), circumstantials like *easttalažžan* [juridically.incapable.ESS] must be

<sup>2</sup> For example, Sammallahti (1998: 93, 236, 258) describes *-naga* as originating in the essive marker *\*-na* followed by directional (“lative”) case markers *\*-k* and *\*-n*. However, even though the use of *-naga* is widely spread throughout the North Saami area and attested in the first dictionaries ever since the 18th century (Leem 1768), the only known cognate of the morpheme in other Saami languages appears to be the Skolt Saami *đhttna* ‘simultaneously; all at once’ that corresponds to the North Saami *oktanaga* ‘id.’ (cf. the essive forms *đhttán/oktan* of the numeral *đhtt/okta* ‘one’, respectively) (Pekka Sammallahti, p.c.). For more details, see Ylikoski (2014a, 2014b).

<sup>3</sup> As pointed out by Ylikoski (2014), the semantic distinction between adjectival essives and *-naga* formations largely corresponds to the distinction between the essive case and ablative-based adverbs in Finnish (e.g., *lämmín* ‘warm’ : *lämpimä-nä* [warm-ESS] vs. transient depictive adverb *lämpimiltään* ‘while still warm’, or *kylmä* ‘cold’ : *kylmä-nä* [cold-ESS] vs. *kylmiltään* ‘while still cold’). Similar expressions can also be found in other Finnic languages (e.g. Estonian *külm* ‘cold’ : *külma-lt* [cold-ABL] ‘while still cold’).

interpreted as such, as the only intended meaning of (17) is that the subject referent has not taken part in decision-making due to his being juridically incapable.

- (15) *Dán oaivvildan sihke eadnin ja politihkkárin.*  
 this.GA mean.1SG both mother.ESS and politician.ESS  
 ‘I am meaning this both as a mother and as a politician.’
- (16) *Maid dutnje filbmadahkkin mearkkaša dát?*  
 what(.PL).GA 2SG.ILL filmmaker.ESS mean.3SG this  
 ‘What does this mean to you as a filmmaker?’
- (17) *Muhto easttalážžan son ii leat leamaš mielde  
 but juridically.incapable.ESS 3SG NEG.3SG be.CNG be.PST.PTCP along  
 mearrideamen galgágo [S]ápmelaš-bláđđi oažžut doarjaga vai ii  
 decide.PROG must.3SG.Q Sápmelaš-magazine get.INF support.GA or NEG.3SG  
 sámedi[kk]i kulturmearreruđain.  
 Sámi.Parliament.GA cultural.appropriation.PL.LOC  
 ‘But as juridically incapable, he has not taken part in deciding whether the *Sápmelaš*  
 magazine is to receive financial support from the cultural appropriations of the Sámi  
 Parliament.’*

Secondary predicate functions of the essive will also be discussed in most of the following sections.

#### 4. Predicative complements

Some verbs appear to require the essive to the extent that it is reasonable to consider it an obligatory complement of a given verb in a given meaning. However, the set of such verbs is quite limited and analogous to those of other Uralic languages with essives or essive-like cases. The most visible subgroup are verbs such as *báhcit* ‘remain’, *guođđit* ‘leave’, *doallat* ‘keep’ (18), *bissut* ‘remain, stay’ (19) and *válljet* ‘elect, choose’ (20) that inherently refer to possible temporariness of the states in question:

- (18) *Sii geat eai oggon, dolle grilla liekkasin.*<sup>4</sup>  
 3PL REL.PL NEG.3PL fish.PST.PTCP keep.PST.3PL grill.GA warm.ESS  
 ‘Those who did not fish kept the grill warm.’
- (19) *Son vázzá vai bissu dearvvasin.*  
 3SG walk.3SG so.that stay.3SG healthy.ESS  
 ‘She walks in order to stay healthy.’
- (20) *Mun in diehtán mu leat válljen várrelahtun.*  
 1SG NEG.1SG know.PST.PTCP 1SG.GA be.3PL elect.PST.PTCP deputy.member.ESS  
 ‘I didn’t know I was elected as a deputy member.’

<sup>4</sup> The formation *liekkasnaga* ‘while still warm’ seen in (12) would here be at least as ungrammatical as in (10).



- (26) *Muhtimat gohčodedje su beanta rasistan.*  
 some.PL call.PST.3PL 3SG.GA downright racist.ESS  
 ‘Some called him downright racist.’
- (27) *Sámit gohčodedje su “min redaktora”.*  
 Saami.PL call.PST.3SG 3SG.GA 1PL.GA editor(.NOM)  
 ‘The Saami called him “our editor”.’

In (27), the essive *redaktoran* would be possible as well. The use of the nominative is most common among the Norwegian and Swedish Saami and is most likely due to the influence of the Scandinavian languages that lack case distinctions for nouns and adjectives. By contrast, among the Finnish-Saami bilinguals the translative case of the Finnish language serves to maintain the use of the essive-translative case in North Saami.

## 5. Adverbials

Depending on what is meant by adverbials, some functions of the North Saami essive can be characterized as such. Temporal, locative and other comparable adverbial functions of the essive will be discussed in more detail in Section 6 below, but as for the fuzzy border between secondary predicates (essives) and manner adverbials (other cases, adpositions and adverbs), it suffices to say that in North Saami, elements such as the comitative case and the deadjectival adverb marker *-t* ‘-ly’ are mostly used for adverbials of manner (see Examples 12 and 56). As a consequence, the essive is usually unneeded in similar functions, but in some contexts it appears to be a matter of taste whether the happiness of life, for example, is coded as a secondary predication (28) or as an adverbial of manner (29):

- (28) *Bárdni elii lihkolažžan olles eallináiggis das manjel.*  
 son live.PST.3SG happy.ESS entire life.time.GA.3SG it.LOC after  
 ‘After this, the son lived (in a) happy (state) all his life.’
- (29) *Muhtun áiggi manjel náitaleigga soai ja eliiga lihkolaččat.*  
 some time.GA after get.married.PST.3DU 3DU and live.PST.3DU happy.ADV  
 ‘After some time they got married and lived happily.’

## 6. Temporality and location

When discussing the temporal and locative uses of the North Saami essive, it is best to take into account the diachronic development of the essive case. The received view that the Saami essive originates in the Proto-Uralic locative case marker *\*-na* is one of the most compelling tenets of Uralic historical morphology and there is thus no need to question the origin of the locative and temporal functions of essives in the Saami languages; in fact, the plural equivalent of the present-day locative singular case marker *-s* is *-in* /-jn/ that originates in the original plural (*\*-j-*) locative (*\*-na*).

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the element *-n* has retained the original locative function in some adverbial and adpositional formations such as *olgun* ‘at/from the outside’ and

*duohken* ‘(from) behind’. Temporal meanings of such formations can be understood as the universal metaphor of time as space; for example, the adposition *geahčen* (cf. noun *geahči* ‘end’) is used in both a local and a temporal sense; e.g., *kilomehtera geahčen* [kilometer.GA *geahčen*] ‘one kilometer away from (here)’, *jagi geahčen* [year.GA *geahčen*] ‘one year from (now)’.

In addition to fully lexicalized adverbs such as *olgun*, the essive lies behind some semantically natural subgroups such as cardinal directions (*davvi-n* ‘in/from the north’, *nuorta-n* ‘in/from the east’, *máddi-n* ‘in/from the south’, *oarji-n* ‘in/from the west’). The essives in question are semantically analogous to the locative case with both stative ‘in’ and dynamic ‘from’ meanings. Unlike cardinal directions, the essive forms of meteorological nouns such as *arvi-n* ‘during rain’, *muohta-n* ‘during snow time’; *bievla-n* ‘at the time of bare ground’, *seavdnjadi-n* ‘during darkness’ are a somewhat open class, and they may also include adnominal modifiers which makes them appear as ordinary nouns in the essive case:

(30) *Asehis muohtan ii sáhte vácci ealu čohkket.*  
 thin snow.ESS NEG.3SG can.CNG by.foot reindeer.herd.GA gather.INF  
 ‘During thin snow, one cannot gather the herd by foot.’

(31) *Muhto lea gal suddu ná finna dálkin.*  
 but be.3SG DPT pity like.this fine weather.ESS  
 ‘But that’s really a pity in fine weather like this.’

Although some essives such as *seavdnjadin* [dark(ness).ESS] sometimes have a locative reading ‘in the darkness’, the essive does not seem to have productive locative functions, but temporal functions are not limited to meteorological expressions either. Especially in sentence-initial position, essives often serve as temporal adverbial modifiers (32–33), whereas secondary predicates and predicate complements generally follow the verb (33). However, the propositional meaning of sentences such as (33) remains the same even if the thematic focus is altered by change of word order (33’):

(32) *Mánnán lei Fjellheim ángiris Donald Duck bláđi lohkki.*  
 child.ESS be.PST.3SG F. avid D. D. magazine.GA reader  
 ‘As a child, Fjellheim was an avid reader of the Donald Duck magazine.’

(33) *Nuorran son barggai fotomodeallan, ja oppa máilbmi lei*  
 young.ESS 3SG work.PST.3SG photo.model.ESS and whole world be.PST.3SG  
*su bargosadji.*  
 3SG.GA work.place  
 ‘While young, she worked as a photo model, and the whole world was her work place.’

(33’) *Fotomodeallan son barggai nuorran.*  
 photo.model.ESS 3SG work.PST.3SG young.ESS  
 ‘It was while young that she worked as a photo model.’

## 7. Comparative and simile expressions (and related functions of the essive)

As discussed in more detail by Ylikoski (2015), the Saami languages have traditionally kept the main functions of the essive apart from comparatives, and to a large extent from similatives as well. First consider the comparative constructions in the following example:

- (34) *Henning Berg lei ollu stuorát go mun, muhto go čuoččastin*  
 Henning Berg be.PST.3SG much big.CMPV than 1SG but when stand.PST.1SG  
*su gurrii, fuobmájin ahte ii son gal leat*  
 3SG.GA side.ILL notice.PST.3SG COMP NEG.3SG 3SG DPT be.CNG  
*go moadde sentte mu guhkit.*  
 (more.)than couple centimeter.GA 1SG.GA tall.CMPV  
 ‘Henning Berg was much bigger than I, but when I stood by his side, I noticed that actually he is not more than a couple of centimeters taller than I.’

The dominant type of comparative constructions – here to be understood in the sense of comparison of inequality – is the particle comparative, in which a specific comparative particle *go* accompanies the standard noun phrase (*stuorát go mun* [big.CMPV than 1SG] ‘bigger than I’). However, we also find the comparative construction of the type *mu guhkit* [1SG.GA tall.CMPV] (34), and a third, synonymous option is a locative comparative with the standard NP in the locative case (*mus stuorát, mus guhkit* ‘id.’). The particle comparatives highly outnumber the use of genitive-accusative and locative comparatives.

North Saami comparatives are not directly relevant to our understanding of the essive of the language, and the standard expressions for similarity do not use the essive either. As described by Ylikoski (2015), similarity is most often expressed by either the preposition-like particle *dego* ‘as’ or the postposition *láhkai* ‘like’:

- (35) *Lei gaskabeiáigi go áhkku oaidná ahte okta stuora fanas boahdá*  
 be.PST.3SG noon.time when old.woman see.3SG COMP one big boat come.3SG  
*ábis gáddái, ja čuovgá dego silba.*  
 ocean.LOC shore.ILL and shine.3SG like silver  
 ‘It was noon when the old woman saw that a big boat was coming to shore from the ocean, and was shining like silver.’

- (35') (...) *fanás (...) čuovgá silbba láhkai.*  
 boat shine.3SG silver.GA like  
 ‘id.’

As seen in (35'), *dego silba* [like silver] of (35) could be replaced by the postpositional phrase *silbba láhkai* [silver.GA like] without change of meaning (Ylikoski 2015). However, in addition to these two analytical devices one occasionally encounters essives that are best interpreted as similatives:

(36) *Soai vácciiga seavdnjadasasdassáži go olliiga šerres viesu lusa*  
 3DU walk.PST.3DU darkness.LOC until reach.PST.3DU bright house.GA to  
*mii čuovggai gollin ja silban.*  
 REL shine.PST.3SG gold.ESS and silver.ESS  
 ‘They walked in the darkness until they got to a bright house that was shining like gold and silver.’

(37) *Prinseassa stuora čalmmit ganjaldedje láttun ja*  
 princess.GA big eye.PL shed.tears.PST.3PL pool.ESS and  
*gatnjalat golge stáhpin muođuid mielde.*  
 tear.PL run.PST.3PL stripe.ESS face(.PL).GA across  
 ‘The princess’s big eyes were brimming as if they were pools, and tears ran as stripes across her face.’

(38) *Guovdageainnus golggai juhkančáhci visot johkan*  
 Guovdageaidnu.LOC run.PST.3SG drinking.water all river.ESS  
*Álttáluotta ráigge, sotnabeivvi.*  
 Alta.road.GA along Sunday.GA  
 ‘Tap water ran like a river along the Alta road in Guovdageaidnu on Sunday.’

To be sure, the above sentences do not represent the most typical functions of the essive. Although my corpus consists of heterogeneous newspaper texts, the best examples of similitive essives come from fairy tales (36–37) in the corpus, and (38), too, describes the consequences of a burst municipal water pipe in an exaggerated, metaphorical manner. In a more ordinary meaning of similitives, such as that illustrated by Creissels’ (2014: 618) French example (39a) that differs from the “factive” (or “essive”) construction (39b) only by the use of an indefinite article, it is near to impossible to replace the North Saami *dego* ‘like’ (40a) with the essive seen in (40b) without change of meaning:

French (Creissels 2014: 618)

(39) a. *Il parle comme un médecin.*  
 ‘He speaks like a doctor.’

b. *Il parle comme médecin.*  
 ‘He speaks as a doctor.’

North Saami (p.k.)

- (40) a. *Son hállá dego doavttir.*  
 3SG speak.3SG like doctor  
 ‘S/he speaks like a doctor.’

- b. *Son hállá doavttirin.*  
 3SG speak.3SG doctor.ESS  
 ‘S/he speaks as a doctor.’ (But not: ‘S/he speaks like a doctor.’)<sup>5</sup>

However, the above essives (36–38) in more or less poetic simulative functions nevertheless fit in the general picture of a case that is used in various syntactic positions to refer to temporary states of the main participants. Sentences like these are in turn related to even more deliberately exaggerated, depictive-like usage of the essive:

- (41) *Gáhtas oinnii ahte buot lea mollanan ja olbmot vihket,*  
 street.LOC see.PST.3SG COMP all be.3SG shatter.PST.PTCP and human.PL run.3PL  
*huiket ja mánga roasmmohuv[v]an olbmot veallájit varran eatnamis.*  
 yell.3PL and many injure.PST.PTCP human.PL lie.3PL blood.ESS ground.LOC  
 ‘Out on the street she saw that that everything was shattered and people were running and yelling, and many injured were lying all covered with blood on the ground.’

- (42) *Ovddit beaivvi bođii bussá«Pusi» ruoktot hávváduvvon ja visot soalsin.*  
 previous day.GA come.PST.3SG cat Pusi home wound.PST.PTCP and all spit.ESS  
 ‘The day before, the cat named Pusi returned home wounded and all covered with spit.’

Like the hyperbolic essives in (36–38), the essives in (41–42) can be regarded as secondary predicates that describe physical states of subject referents. However, in the latter examples the semantic function of the essive is not ‘(S is) like X’ but rather ‘(S is) like all covered with X’ (people are all covered with blood, the cat is all covered with spit). More often than not, the hyperbolic function of the essive is emphasized by preposed particles *visot* ‘all, entirely’ (38, 42) or

<sup>5</sup> As it turns out, most contemporary North Saami speakers are bilingual in Norwegian or Swedish that behave quite like French (Norwegian *som en lege* ‘comme un médecin’, *som lege* ‘comme médecin’). In North Saami, a language without articles, the formal difference between similitives (40a) and functives (40b) has traditionally been kept quite clear by other means, but the use of *dego* ‘like’ has gained foothold in the latter function as well, and contaminations of *dego* and the essive are possible as well. In other words, *doavttirin* [doctor.ESS] in (40b) could also be replaced by *dego doavttir* [like doctor.(NOM)] or *dego doavttirin* [like doctor.ESS] by many Norwegian and Swedish Saami. (For more examples, see Ylikoski 2015.) On the other hand, the use of the essive has only sporadically branched out to the similitive domains of the Scandinavian *som* ‘as; like’; similitive essives exemplified by (i) from outside my main corpus can occasionally be attested, but most speakers probably consider such use ungrammatical.

- (i) *Jusmon dunin de borašin rahttádagaid juohke beaivvi, galgá dahkat rupmašii*  
 if 1SG 2SG.ESS then eat.COND.1SG vegetable.PL.GA every day.GA must.3SG do.INF body.ILL  
*b[u]riid, Ivvár geahččala.*  
 good.PL.GA Ivvár try.3SG  
 ‘If I ate vegetables daily like you, that ought to be good for my body, Ivvár tries.’

*buot* ‘id.’. Analogous similative or hyperbolic essives are also found in sentences that are syntactically similar to the ordinary essive predicatives in copula clauses (Section 2):

(43) *Go čáskadeaddjit olleje báikái, viessu lei visot dollan.*  
 when extinguisher.PL reach.PST.3PL place.ILL house be.PST.3SG all fire.ESS  
 ‘When the firefighters arrived, the house was all on fire.’

(44) *Olles gilli lei visot muohtan.*  
 whole village be.PST.3SG all snow.ESS  
 ‘The whole village was all covered with snow.’

(45) *Eana lea buot láirin ja láttun.*  
 ground be.3SG all clay.ESS and puddle.ESS  
 ‘The ground was all clay and puddles.’

Unlike in the examples seen in Section 2, the essives in (43–45) do not describe their subject referents as “for the time being, in a role/state X”, but rather, like in (38), as “as if having been transformed into X”. However, most occurrences of this type of essives are semantically analogous to *varran* [blood.ESS] ‘all covered with blood’ (41) and *soalsin* [spit.ESS] ‘all covered with spit’ (42). Moreover, the states described by this type of essives most often carry a flavor of misfortune:

(46) *Várregilga lei visot varran.*  
 mountain.slope be.PST.3SG all blood.ESS  
 ‘The mountain slope was all covered with blood.’

(47) *Go joavdat, de leat ieža visot sáttun.*  
 when arrive.1PL so be.1PL REFL.PL all sand.ESS  
 ‘When we get there, we ourselves are all covered with sand.’

(48) *Kárášjoga vuodđoskuvllas lea garraduodjelatnja buot gavjan*  
*Kárášjohka.GA elementary.school.LOC be.3SG craft.classroom all dust.ESS*  
*m[a]šinna geavaheami dihtii.*  
 machine.GA use.VN.GA because  
 ‘Kárášjohka Elementary School has its craft classroom all covered with dust due to the use of the machine.’

In spite of the semantic distance between the above sentences and the most prototypical functions of the essive in North Saami, the above constructions are a productive part of the language. Expressions such as *varran* [blood.ESS] ‘covered with blood’ are in use in other Saami languages as well (e.g. Skolt Saami *võrrân* id.; see also Bartens 1972: 58–59 for examples from Aanaar, Lule and North Saami).

The above examples take us back to the essive-like formations in *-naga* discussed in Section 3. From a functional perspective, the adjectival *-naga* forms of (12–13) have little to do with the nominal *-naga* already seen in the absolute *oaivi muoldanaga* [head dirt.naga] ‘head(s) covered with dirt’ of (14). Similar occurrences of the latter type can be seen in the following examples:

- (49) *Dan guokte báni leat politiijat manjel gávdnan biillas,*  
 this.GA two tooth.GA be.3PL police.PL later find.PST.PTCP car.LOC  
*ja biila lei vel varranaga.*  
 and car be.PST.3SG still blood.naga  
 ‘The police have found the two teeth later in the car, and the car was still stained with blood.’
- (50) *Lahka mádiid sáhttet beatnagat gužžan ja lahka geainnu leat*  
 near trail.PL.GA may.3PL dog.PL urinate.PST.PTCP and near road.GA be.3PL  
*joŋat nuoskkiduvvon geaidnogavjjain ja sáttovielttis lea*  
 lingonberry.PL contaminate.PASS.PST.PTCP road.dust.COM and sand.slope.LOC be.3SG  
*sáttonaga, čilge Alfred váccedettiin jokŋameahccái.*  
 sand.naga explain.3SG A. walk.CVB lingonberry.wilds.ILL  
 ‘Dogs may have urinated near the trails, and the lingonberries have been contaminated with dust near the road, and in the sand slope they are covered with sand, Alfred explains while walking to where the lingonberry grows.’

Although the above formations are more or less synonymous with the essives *varran* (41, 46) and *sáttun* (47), unlike the adjectival *-naga* formations, nominal *-naga* forms can also have syntactic functions that clearly differentiate them from the true essive. Most importantly, they can occur as adnominal modifiers as in the NPs *varranaga*/\**varran biila* [blood.naga/blood.ESS car] ‘a car stained with blood’ or *sáttonaga*/\**sáttun joŋat* [sand.naga/sand.ESS lingonberry.PL] ‘sandy lingonberries’ (Ylikoski 2014a). On the other hand, the predicative use of *-naga* appears limited to stative, “essive” contexts, whereas the true essive in analogous semantic functions can also be used in sentences referring to entering such states (see Example 56 in the following section on the “translative” functions of the essive).

## 8. Essive versus Translative

The Saami languages have only remnants of what is usually considered a Finno-Saami-Mordvin translative case – the cognate of the Finnic and Mordvin translative. Even though directional adverbs such as *bajás* ‘upward’, *vulos* ‘downward’, *ovddos* ‘forward’, *manjás* ‘backward’, *guhkáš* ‘(going) far’, *olggos* ‘(going) out’ and *davás* ‘northward’ are etymologized as Proto-Saami translative forms in *\*-ksi* (e.g. Sammallahti 1998: 203 *et passim*), they have in practice nothing to do with the concepts of essive and translative as used in traditional Uralistics (but cf. the essives such as *davvin* ‘in/from the north’ and *olgun* ‘at/from the outside’ mentioned in Section 6).<sup>6</sup>

However, the North Saami essive has been described as having also “translative” functions ever since the advent of Saami grammatical tradition (Ganander 1743: 14, 21). In Friis’ (1856: 28) words, the North Saami case simply corresponds to the Finnish essive and translative. This holds by and large true today also, but as the topic of the present paper is on the “essive” functions of various

<sup>6</sup> Since the essive and translative adverbs like *davvin* ‘in/from the north’ and *davás* ‘to the north, northward’ actually replace the virtually non-existent locative and illative case forms such as *davvi* [north.(NOM)] : *\*davis* [north.LOC] : *\*davvái* [north.ILL], some translative adverbs such as *nuorttas* ‘eastward’ are in principle homonymous with the expected locative form with an opposite meaning (for which the *nuortan* [east.ESS] ‘in/from the east’ is usually used instead, but *nuorttas* [east.LOC] can also be attested).

Uralic suffixes, I limit my remarks to the most important and novel observations concerning the “translative” characteristics of the North Saami essive.

To put it briefly, the North Saami essive does cover most of the “translative” functions of the Finnic and Mordvin cases labeled as translatives. Moreover, although the present description is not intended to be either contrastive or quantitative in nature, a quick classification of more than one thousand occurrences of the essive forms of some basic nouns (e.g. agent nouns) and adjectives (e.g. color terms and proadjectives such as *dákkár* ‘like this’, *diekkár* ‘like that’, *dakkár* ‘like it’) in the newspaper corpus along with all essives of Johan Turi’s (1910) classic work *Muitalus sámiiid birra* reveals that about three of four (75%) North Saami essive forms could be best translated into Finnish by the translative case, and only about one of five (20%) corresponds to the Finnish stative essive – despite the common label and origin of the Finnic and Saami “essive” cases. (The remaining 5% consist of minor deviations such as temporal meteorological expressions seen in Section 6.) Therefore, as already mentioned in Section 1, from the perspective of the Finnocentric Uralic grammatical tradition a more accurate label for the case unanimously labeled as “essive” in the Saami grammatical tradition is “translative-essive”.

As described already in Section 2, the verb *šaddat* ‘become’ can be interpreted as a semi-copula that is a dynamic counterpart of the stative copula *leat* ‘be’. Both can be accompanied by both nominative and essive predicates with same kind of semantic differences. The possibility of nominative predicates differentiates the verb *šaddat* from more lexical verbs with which the dynamic “translative” essive can be used; in other words, if the sentences with *šaddat* are analyzed more like ordinary copula sentences, there is no need to entertain the idea of “translative nominatives” in North Saami.

The following examples are more in line with the general picture of the so-called translatives in Finnic and Mordvin, and the essives in other Saami languages. In (51), we can see both a true “essive” *ruonán* [green.ESS] ‘(as) green’ and a “translative” *ránisin* [gray.ESS] ‘(withered, turned to) gray’:

- (51) *Geassit dat leat ruonán muhto dál geasi goikkádagain*  
 in.summer they be.3PL green.ESS but now summer.GA drought.PL.LOC  
*dat leat buot goikan ránisin, ja danin leatge hui rašit ja*  
 they be.3PL all dry.PST.PTCP gray.ESS and therefore be.3PL.DPT very weak.PL and  
*bahá moallanaddat.*  
 bad crumble.INF  
 ‘In the summer they are green, but now in the summer’s drought, they have all withered gray, and therefore they are very weak and apt to crumble away.’

When occurring with nouns, dynamic essives indicate a change of state into another role, such as someone studying with the intention to become a dentist in (52), or in (53) where the essive *eamidin* ‘as a wife’ serves as a secondary predication on the object of the transitive verb *suovvat* ‘grant’:

- (52) *Ja son gárttai Bergenii vuolgit studeret bátnedoavttirin.*  
 and 3SG end.up.PST.3SG Bergen.ILL go.INF study.INF dentist.ESS  
 ‘And he had to go to Bergen to study to be a dentist.’

- (53) *Mávssášin golli juohke kilos sus, jus suovašit nieidda munnje eamidin.*  
 pay.COND.1SG gold.GA every kilo.LOC 3SG.LOC if grant.COND.2SG girl.GA 1SG.ILL  
 wife.ESS  
 ‘I would pay gold for every kilo of her, if you’d grant the girl as a wife for me.’

Like the stative *nuorran* [young.ESS] in (8), the dynamic essive *irgin* [boyfriend.ESS] in (54) is ambiguous in that without context, it may refer to the subject and object referents alike:

- (54) *Muhto mun in hálit su irgin.*  
 but 1SG NEG.1SG want.CNG 3SG.GA boyfriend.ESS  
 ‘But I<sub>i</sub> don’t want him<sub>j</sub> as (my) boyfriend<sub>j</sub>.’  
 Or: ‘But I<sub>i</sub> don’t want to become her<sub>j</sub>/his<sub>j</sub> boyfriend<sub>i</sub>.’

However, in many cases it is difficult to know without context whether the essive ought to be interpreted as an “essive” or as a “translative”. In (55), the person in question may either be a clan leader already – and others start accepting the situation – or she may be in the process of becoming one:<sup>7</sup>

- (55) *Loahpas oidne ahte ii vuollánan, ja dohkkehišgohte su siiddaeamidin.*  
 end.LOC see.PST.3PL COMP NEG.3SG bow.down.PST.PTCP and accept.INCH.PST.3PL 3SG.GA  
 siida.mistress.ESS  
 ‘In the end, they saw that she would not bow down, and started accepting her as the leader of the *siida* (Saami clan).’

Finally, Example (56) illustrates the use of the ‘covered/stained with X’ meaning of the essive (Section 7 above) in a dynamic, resultative meaning accompanying the verb *nájadit* ‘damage by cutting continuously’:

- (56) *Jus mun livččen seamma johtilit barberen de livččen nájadan iežan buot varran!*  
 if 1SG be.COND.1SG same quick.ADV shave.PST.PTCP then be.COND.1SG  
 damage.by.cutting.PST.PTCP refl.GA.1SG all blood.ESS  
 ‘If I had shaved as quickly (as he did), I would have slashed myself all bloody!’

As it turns out, the *-naga* formations such as *varranaga* [blood.*naga*] (49) seem to be possible only in stative functions (such as *varran* [blood.ESS] of 41 and 46), but not as a synonym for *varran* in (56).

<sup>7</sup> The North Saami essive in (55) can be translated into Finnish with either the essive (...*hyväksyivät hänet emäntänä* [accept.PST.3PL 3SG.ACC mistress.ESS] ‘accepted her being the mistress’) or the translative (...*hyväksyivät hänet emännäksi* [accept.PST.3PL 3SG.ACC mistress.TRANSL] ‘accepted her to become the mistress’).

To summarize, the “translative” functions of the North Saami essive largely correspond to the concept of *translative* as used in Finnocentric Uralic linguistics. As such, the essive-cum-translative use of this case is to a large extent comparable to the functions of the translative case in Mordvin.

## 9. Word order

North Saami is predominantly an SVX language, yet without many strict syntactic restrictions whatsoever. Even in adpositional phrases, word order variation is quite acceptable in the sense that many adpositions can be used both as postpositions and prepositions (Antonsen et al. 2012); the internal structure of the NP is quite rigid, though. Like in all Uralic languages, word order is one of the main means to alter the focus of a North Saami sentence, and as for the use of essive, certain interpretations tend to correlate with, but not depend on, a certain word order. As mentioned in Section 6, sentence-initial essives often serve as temporal adverbials, whereas essive predicatives and complements usually follow the verb, but the word order in itself barely creates or changes the propositional meaning. In addition to Examples (33) and (33') discussed above, it is also possible to direct the focus on the predicative verb *barggai* ‘worked’ instead of either of the essives whose mutual order seems not to affect the meaning of the sentence. Focus on the verb gives the sentence a protesting tone:

(33") *Barggai son fotomodeallan nuorran ~ nuorran fotomodeallan.*  
 work.PST.3SG 3SG photo.model.ESS young.ESS young.ESS photo.model.ESS  
 ‘She did work as a photo model while young.’

Specific cleft constructions typical of Germanic languages such as Norwegian and Swedish are a marginal and newly emerged phenomenon in North Saami (and most common in the language of media), which makes essives in such constructions even more marginal and virtually absent in my corpus, yet probably not entirely impossible.

## 10. Conclusions and final remarks

The essive case in North Saami can generally be used in all the syntactic and semantic functions characteristic to the concept of “essive” as defined in **XXXXX** and as understood elsewhere in the descriptions of Saami and other Uralic languages. However, despite its name, the North Saami essive is most often used in functions that are labeled as “translative” in traditional Uralistics (Section 8). In general, the use of the essive cases in Saami languages is quite similar to the functions of the translative cases in Mordvin languages.

In addition to the essive proper, Sections 3.2 and 7 describe the two quite distinct functions of the morpheme *-naga* that is regarded as a kind of extension of the age-old essive marker. Both of the main functions of the morpheme – deadjectival depictives such as *varasnaga* [fresh.*naga*] ‘while still fresh’ and denominal “contaminatives” such as *banánajogurtanaga* [banana.yogurt.*naga*] ‘stained with banana yogurt’ – are semantically and syntactically quite, yet not fully analogous with the corresponding functions of the essive forms. Interestingly, even though these formations seem to be productive only in North Saami but in no other Saami languages, the deadjectival depictives are surprisingly similar to the so-called essive formations in Mari (**XXXXX**). Furthermore, also the etymology of the morpheme *-ńek* has been presented in a manner

very similar to that of North Saami *-naga*, and some *-ńek* forms such as *nočkáńek* [wet.ńek] ‘while still wet, moist’ could even be considered as cognates to North Saami forms such as *njuoskkasnaga* [wet.naga] ‘while still wet, raw’ seen in (13) (for more details, see Ylikoski 2014b).

### Abbreviations

|      |                    |      |                     |        |             |
|------|--------------------|------|---------------------|--------|-------------|
| ACC  | accusative         | ESS  | essive              | PL     | plural      |
| ADV  | adverb             | GA   | genitive-accusative | PROG   | progressive |
| CMPV | comparative        | ILL  | illative            | PST    | past        |
| CNG  | connegative        | INCH | inchoative          | PTCP   | participle  |
| COM  | comitative         | INF  | infinitive          | REFL   | reflexive   |
| COMP | complement         | LOC  | locative            | REL    | relative    |
| COND | conditional        | NEG  | negative verb       | SG     | singular    |
| CVB  | converb            | NOM  | nominative          | TRANSL | translative |
| DPT  | discourse particle | Q    | question            | VN     | verbal noun |
| DU   | dual               | PASS | passive             |        |             |

### Corpus

The Divvun/Giellatekno Corpus. UiT The Arctic University of Norway. Accessible at <http://gtweb.uit.no/korp/>

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