

# Inchoative verbs in Saami: Derivational types and their variation

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Saami verbal derivation and inchoatives

The Saami languages are known for their rich derivational morphology, especially when it comes to verbal derivation. A considerable share of the system of verbal derivation consists of aspectual derivatives, which refer to deverbal verbs changing the lexical aspect or Aktionsart of the base verb but not (considerably) affecting the actual meaning or valency of the verb. Aspectual derivatives can be classified on semantic grounds based on the modification they apply to the base verb; the following classes have been commonly used in Uralic studies (examples from North Saami, derivational morphemes marked in bold face):

- Frequentative: *láhp**adit*** ‘lose (many objects)’ ← *láhppit* ‘lose’, *báhč**alit*** ‘shoot (many times)’ ← *báhčit* ‘shoot’
- Momentative (punctual): *čol**gadit*** ‘spit once’ ← *čolgat* ‘spit’, *njuiket* ‘jump once’ ↔ *njuik**ut*** ‘jump many times’
- Subitive: *njuik**estit*** ‘jump quickly’ ← *njuiket* ‘jump once’
- Diminutive: *att**estit*** ‘give a little’ ← *addit* ‘give’
- Conative: *bok**talit*** ‘try to wake’ ← *boktit* ‘wake’
- Inchoative: *buol’**lát*** ‘catch fire’ ← *buollit* ‘burn (intr.)’, *loh**kagoah**tit* ‘begin to read’ ← *lohkat* ‘read’

(See Sammallahti 1998: 91–93; Nielsen 1979 [1926]: 229–279, 283–286; as for South Saami, see Magga & Magga 2012: 131–166; Hasselbrink 1981–1985: 177–186; for an extensive study of Pite Saami verbal derivation, see Ruong 1943.)

The term **inchoative** is used here in accordance with its traditional use in Uralic studies, meaning a beginning aspect added to the meaning of a base verb, usually with a derivational suffix, and synonymous with the term **inceptive** in some traditions (also in Feist’s 2015 Skolt Saami grammar). This is in contrast to the use of “inchoative” in Indo-European studies, where it is a somewhat broader concept, also involving denominal state-change verbs such as darken or liquefy. In the present paper, the term **inchoative verb** is thus used synonymously with **inchoative derivative**, so that the concept is bound to a derivational relation to a base verb, not only to the semantics of ‘beginning’.

The Saami languages use a wide array of suffixes to derive inchoative verbs. The suffix most purely dedicated to the inchoative function is SaaN *-(š)goahti-* (with cognates in all Saami languages):

- *lohkat* ‘read’ → *lohkagoahtit* ‘begin to read’

But inchoative verbs can also be formed using suffixes with several aspectual functions (examples from North Saami):

- *-d-*: *šlahtádit* ‘begin to sleet’ ← *šlahttit* ‘sleet’  
cf. *gahčádit* ‘fall repeatedly’ ← *gahččat* ‘fall, tumble down’
- *-al-*: *čuoigalit* ‘set off on skis’ ← *čuoigat* ‘ski’  
cf. *báhčalit* ‘shoot (many times)’ ← *báhčit* ‘shoot’  
or *boktalit* ‘try to wake’ ← *boktit* ‘wake’
- *-á(j)-*: *vuoddját* ‘begin to drive, drive off’ ← *vuodjit* ‘drive’  
cf. *vadnát* ‘lie fully extended’ ← *vatnat* ‘be stretched out, become longer’

As can already be seen in the previous examples above, formally identical derivational suffixes can on different occasions carry (at least partly) different aspectual meanings. The aspectual meaning tends to be lexicalized, fixed with a certain derived lexeme, but may also vary contextually, and several of the possible meanings of a certain suffix may be present simultaneously. This contextual variation and (re)interpretation of the meaning is apparently a key factor in the diachronic change in the functions of the suffixes and, consequently, in the study of these developments.

## 1.2. Goals of the study

Lexical derivation has to some extent been described in most grammatical works on Saami languages, though the scope of such descriptions varies considerably. The goal of the current article is to compose an overall picture of one semantic group of verbal derivations, i.e., inchoatives, throughout the Saami language area, where the frequencies of different derivational suffixes are explicitly reported based on dictionary data. The data will be first analyzed per language (Section 2) and after that, each derivative type is treated briefly from a cross-linguistic perspective (Section 3). Based on these comparative results, an attempt will be made to outline the diachronic development of inchoative derivation in the Saami language group, presenting some general trends as well as some more detailed lines of development.

## 1.3. Data and method

The survey in the following section will be based on lexical data collected from the largest existing dictionaries for each Saami language, which mostly are descriptive dictionaries covering several dialects or dictionaries for standard language made from the data of such dialect dictionaries. For the lowest resourced languages, data has had to be collected from more varying sources. The main sources for each language are the following:

- South Saami: Bergsland & Magga 1993 (ca. 19,000 lexemes) – a general dictionary based on the comprehensive dialect dictionary of Hasselbrink (1981–1985) and some additional dialect records;
- Ume Saami: Schlachter 1958 (ca. 6,000 lexemes) – vocabulary recorded from a single informant of the Máláge/Malå dialect; with a few additions from Barruk (2018);
- Pite Saami: 1) The verbal derivative lists of Ruong (1943), combined with 2) Wilbur 2016 and the somewhat larger online word list (BB; ca. 6,000 lexemes) – a compact general dictionary based on a word list compiled by a group of native Pite Saami speakers – as well as 3) Halász 1896 (ca. 3,000 lexemes) – a dictionary based on the language of a single family;
- Lule Saami: O. Korhonen 2007 (ca. 19,000 lexemes) – a general dictionary based partly on central Lule Saami data from Grundström’s dialect dictionary (1946–1954) and partly the

author's own contemporary notes (a previous, more concise edition with an older orthography was O. Korhonen 1979);<sup>1</sup>

- North Saami: Nielsen 1979 [1932–62] (ca. 25,000 lexemes) with supplementary data from Sammallahti 1989 – Nielsen's dictionary contains vocabulary from three areally distinct dialects (Buolbmat/Polmak, Kárásjohka/Karasjok and Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino), Sammallahti's general dictionary is partly based on Nielsen's work and partly other, more contemporary sources;
- Inari Saami: E. Itkonen 1986–1991 (ca. 17,000 lexemes) – a comprehensive dialect dictionary;
- Skolt Saami: Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991 (ca. 11,000 lexemes) – a general-use dictionary based on Suđ'nn'jel–Če'vetjau'rr (Sevettijärvi) dialect but somewhat complemented with data from other dialects, using Itkonen 1958;<sup>2</sup>
- Kildin Saami: Kuruč 1985 (online version SRS-Kuruč; ca. 7,500 lexemes) and Antonova 2014 (online version SRS-Antonova; ca. 5,000 entries, excluding inflected forms and phrases given as headwords) – the largest general dictionaries of the literary language. The two dictionaries together contain probably about 9,000 different lexemes.<sup>3</sup>

Electronic versions of the dictionaries or their headword lists have been used, where possible (the headword and meaning data of the Ume and North Saami sources, for instance, are available in their entirety in the Álgu database). The scarce Pite Saami lexical resources are complemented with the abundant lists of verbal derivatives in Ruong's monograph (1943). Ter Saami lacks a lexical

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<sup>1</sup> Another modern Lule Saami dictionary with by and large the same scope measured in headword count has been compiled by Anders Kintel (2012). Korhonen's dictionary has been selected as material for the current study because it appears to contain somewhat more derivatives, while Kintel's vocabulary is slightly more inclined towards (neologistic) compounds.

<sup>2</sup> After the data collection of the present study, a more comprehensive Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary was published, whose source code is publicly available (Sámediggi 2020; Giellatekno 2020). That could be used as material in future studies, although it appears that there are not very many additions concerning derivatives in comparison to Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991.

<sup>3</sup> Kuruč's dictionary is better suited for the current study than its followers (Kert 1986; Antonova 2014) not only due to its extent and quality but also because verbal derivatives are abundantly represented (2/3 of the lexemes in the dictionary are verbs!) and because derivatives of the same stem are conveniently arranged under a single dictionary entry. Antonova's material was used as complementary data, however, since it contains a number of verbs not present in Kuruč, most importantly *-(š)kue'dte*-inchoatives, which Kuruč leaves out altogether. – Due to spelling variants and identical words listed with two different wordclass labels (e.g., noun/adjective or adjective/adverb), the number of actual unique lexemes in Antonova's dictionary is considerably lower than the number of entries would indicate.

resource suitable for a comprehensive morphological survey, but Ter data is included when a reference is made to the current author's previous account on the variation of \*-(š)koatē-inchoatives in Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami, which was based on the extensive dialect dictionary of T. I. Itkonen (1958, = KKLS). Lexically poorly documented Akkala Saami is left out of consideration in this survey. The word forms have been converted into the current standard orthographies where the sources use an older spelling (Schlachter 1958; Nielsen 1979 [1932–62]; E. Itkonen 1986–1991), and a Latinized spelling variant is provided for the Kildin words beside the Cyrillic spelling (see details in Section 2.7).

The data was collected as follows: In the first phase, a programmatic search was used to pick out all verbs whose gloss (translation) contains a usual word meaning 'begin' or 'start' in the explanatory language, or a definition as an inchoative verb, such as the

viation "inch." This initial data was then manually checked, and only such verbs were kept that actually have at least a connotation of 'beginning' and that can be interpreted as deverbal derivatives (i.e., they have a verbal correlate that can be seen as their derivational base). In the second phase, supplementary harvesting was carried out by skimming through the words with a suffix previously known to form inchoative verbs in the language in question. This was necessary because, in many cases, the wording of the glosses conveys an inchoative meaning using other means than a "begin" verb, cf. for example SaaN (*girdit* 'fly' → *girdilit* glossed as 'fly away, fly up' or (*oaddit* 'sleep' → *oad'đat* 'fall asleep' in Nielsen 1979 [1932–62]). Finally, tables of cognate derivatives from different languages were compiled for each derivative type, and some checking was done to ensure that apparent gaps in the data were not caused by omissions in data gathering. The data tables are published as an online appendix at Zenodo.org.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1.4. Representativity of the data

As the analysis relies on dictionary data, it should be kept in mind that the results reflect lexical frequencies rather than text (usage) frequencies. There may also be some factors stemming from the varying backgrounds of the dictionaries that affect the representation of different parts of the vocabulary. Possible sources of errors or inaccuracy include, for example, the limited genres of source texts (overrepresentation of folkloristic monologue narratives) or idiolectal language use – in the case of a small number of informants, personal preferences and habits may render the material less

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<sup>4</sup> <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5748180>

representative of the whole language community (cf. Schlachter 1958, which is based on the language of a single informant). The choices made by the dictionary compiler may also affect the result, since dictionaries can have different purposes. Descriptive dialect dictionaries usually aim to cover the vocabulary as exhaustively as the material permits, whereas general dictionaries made for practical use normally involve selection as to which words are essential for the dictionary user (in the current study, this concerns mostly the sources for Kildin, Skolt and Lule Saami). This is also one of the reasons I have used Schlachter 1958 for Ume Saami, and the new general dictionary (Barruk 2018) only as a complementary source: although more representative in terms of its material base, the latter has clearly left out many derivatives and compounds in favor of including more basic vocabulary items, which makes it unsuitable for studying the structure of the lexicon (see Kuokkala 2020). At the same time, it is possible that the abundance of verbal derivatives in Kuruč's Kildin Saami dictionary partly stems from systematic constructing based on the collaborators' native speaker intuition rather than actual language usage.

Although the number of occurrences in the data tells something about the *productivity* of a certain derivative type/suffix, it is not clear without a dedicated field study, to what degree a certain suffix is productive, i.e., can be used to form new lexemes, in the contemporary language. Therefore, I will avoid the term “productivity”, preferring instead to talk only about frequencies in the descriptive section of the paper, and will refer to possible long-term changes in productivity of various suffixes only in the comparative conclusions.

## 2. Inchoative derivatives by language

### 2.1. South Saami

Instead of North Saami, which often serves as a starting point for treatments of Saami languages in general, it might be illuminating to begin with South Saami and explore the inchoative systems of Saami languages in geographical succession. It is also known that South Saami has preserved many archaic linguistic features, and this may to some extent be true of the current subject as well.

The dictionary of Bergsland & Magga (1993) contains the following types of inchoative verbs. After the derivational suffix, the number of derivatives found as well as one or more example words are given. In the examples, the base verb (or a derivational correlate) of the derivative is given in brackets.

Table 1. South Saami inchoative verb types.

<i>-gåetedh</i>	54	e.g., <i>vååjnegåetedh</i> ‘begin to get visible’ [ <i>vååjnedh</i> ‘be visible’]
<i>-(a)htjedh</i>	18	e.g., <i>saejriedahtjedh</i> ‘begin to hurt’ [ <i>saejriedidh</i> ‘hurt, ache’]
<i>-jahtjedh / -jihjedh</i>	42	e.g., <i>laavloejahhtjedh</i> ‘begin to sing’ [ <i>laavlodh</i> ‘sing’], <i>obrijahhtjedh</i> [= <i>obrijidh</i> ] ‘begin to rain’ [ <i>abrodh</i> ~ <i>åbrodh</i> ‘rain’]
<i>-jidh</i>	42	e.g., <i>bualajidh</i> ‘begin to burn (tr.)’ [ <i>bueledh</i> ‘burn’], <i>nyölkijid</i> ‘begin to get hungry’ [ <i>nealkodh</i> ‘be hungry, starve’]
<i>-edh (: -a-)</i>	4	e.g., <i>vuarhkedh</i> ‘begin to rub antlers’ [ <i>vuerhkedh</i> ~ <i>vuetakedh</i> ‘rub antlers’]
<i>-edh (*-î-)</i>	3	e.g., <i>röökedh</i> ~ <i>reekedh</i> ‘start barking’ [ <i>råakodh</i> ‘bark’]
<i>-lidh</i>	12	e.g., <i>tjoekelidh</i> ‘set off on skis’ [ <i>tjoekedh</i> ‘ski’]
<i>-didh</i>	10	e.g., <i>ravkedidh</i> ‘begin to dawn’ [ <i>ravkedh</i> ‘dawn’]
<i>-htidh</i>	8	e.g., <i>miejkiehtidh</i> ‘begin to melt; melt quickly’ [ <i>meajkedh</i> ‘melt, thaw’]
<i>-gidh</i>	1	<i>diektjegidh</i> ‘begin to thaw (of snow)’ [ <i>deatjedh</i> ‘thaw’]
<i>-lgidh</i>	2	e.g., <i>såakelgidh</i> ~ <i>såakalgidh</i> ‘begin to thicken (of milk)’ [ <i>såakodh</i> ‘become thick, viscous’]
<i>-skidh</i>	1	<i>jealaskidh</i> ‘begin to revive’ [ <i>jieledh</i> ‘live’]
<i>-nidh</i>	1	<i>haalanidh</i> ‘fly away’ [ <i>haeliehtidh</i> ‘fly’]
<i>-stidh</i>	9	e.g., <i>biegkestidh</i> ‘begin to blow a little, for a while’ [ <i>biegkedh</i> ‘blow (of wind)’]
<i>-sidh</i>	2	e.g., <i>goerkesidh</i> ‘reach an understanding’ [ <i>guarkedh</i> ‘understand’]
<i>-(l/r)ostedh</i>	2	e.g., <i>gaarhtalostedh</i> ‘begin to be happy in a place’ [ <i>gaerhtedh</i> ‘be fond of’]
<i>-(d)ovvedh</i>	5	e.g., <i>asvedovvedh</i> ‘be seriously frightened’ [ <i>asvedidh</i> ‘be in horror’]

The most common and most neutral inchoative suffixes in South Saami are *-gãetedh* and *-jahtjedh* ~ *-jihhtjedh* (used with parisyllabic stems), *-(a)htjedh* (with imparisyllabic stems) as well as *-jidh* (with parisyllabic stems). The last one is a quite regular continuation of the Proto-Saami *\*-j(e)-* suffix in that the vocalism of the derivative depends on the stem type (original stem vowel) of the base verb (cf. Bergsland 1994: 91–92; Magga & Magga 2012: 131–133):

*bueledh*<sup>1</sup> → *bualajidh* (PSaa *\*puolē-* → *\*puolāje-*) ‘begin to burn, be kindled’  
*nealkodh* → *nyölkijidh* (PSaa *\*nealkō-* → *\*nealkuje-*) ‘begin to be hungry’  
*doeltedh*<sup>IV</sup> → *doeltijidh* (PSaa *\*tuolte-* → *\*tuolteje-*) ‘begin to boil’

Occasionally, though, such derivatives can also be found where the suffix is simply attached to the base stem without applying the usual vowel alternations, e.g., *vaedtsiejidh* (normally *vaedtsajidh*) ‘walk away’ ← *vaedtsedh* ‘go, walk’ (Hasselbrink 1981–1985: 1390). Apparently such irregular forms have purposely been left out of Bergsland & Magga (1993).

The *-edh* : *-a-* type, which is historically a variant of the *-(a)jidh* type, contains a few verbs with inchoative semantics that do not have a morphologically clear base verb, but only complex correlates, such as *sjagkedh* ‘begin to dry’ ↔ *sjegkiehtidh* ‘dry off (quickly)’. The only example with a clear formal base verb is *vuarkkedh* ‘begin to rub antlers’ (← *vuerhkedh* ~ *vuetkedh* ‘rub antlers (of reindeer)’). To some extent, the same applies to verbs in *-didh*, cf. for example *skoejedidh* ‘begin to understand (of infants)’ (↔ *skuajasjidh* ‘understand (quickly)’).

The other suffixes listed above are employed less frequently in an inchoative function, and the derivatives tend to also bear other aspectual connotations, which are more typical of the said suffixes. Such suffixes include *-htidh* (subitive/inchoative), e.g., *miejkiehtidh* ‘begin to melt, melt quickly’ (← *meajkedh* ‘melt, thaw (intr.)’), *-stidh* (diminutive/inchoative), e.g., *biegkestidh* ‘begin to blow a little, for a while’ (← *biegkedh* ‘blow (of wind)’), *-lidh* (usually momentative/subitive/frequentative), e.g., *vaedtsielidh* ‘set off, go away’ (← *vaedtsedh* ‘go, walk’), *-lgidh* (usually passive), e.g., *spuallalgidh* ‘begin to get faded (of shoe-hay)’ (← *spualledh* ‘become faded’), and *-sidh* (usually automative), e.g., *valkesidh* ‘begin to head in one direction; gradually gather speed (of reindeer)’ (← *valkedh* ‘head off (from a gathering place; of a reindeer herd)’). In addition, *-ovvedh* (in southern dialects *-oevedh*; usually automative or translative) can in some cases be analyzed as inchoative, e.g., *nahkerdovvedh* ‘become sleepy’ (← *nahkerdidh* ~ *nihkierdidh* ‘be sleepy’, ↔ *nahkere* ‘drowsiness; dream’). Of these atypical suffixes, only *-stidh* is mentioned as inchoative in Magga & Magga (2012: 134). In his

account on verbal derivation, Hasselbrink (1981–1985: 177–186) mentions the inchoative use for other suffixes presented above except for *-htidh*, *-sidh*, *-stidh* and *-ovvedh*. The suffix *-(a)htjedh* (*-ttj'edh* in Hasselbrink's spelling) is also mentioned only as a diminutive suffix (ibid. 185).

Some other suffixes occurring with verbs denoting 'to begin something' seem to actually form denominal (translative) derivatives, and only very occasionally deverbal ones (mostly a single occurrence in the data). Such suffixes include **-gidh** (*dïektjegidh* 'begin to thaw (of snow)' ↔ *deaktjadidh* 'id.', *deatjkedh* 'thaw (of snow)'), **-nidh** (*haalanidh* 'fly away' ↔ *haeliehtidh* 'fly') and **-skidh** (*jealaskidh* 'begin to revive, to get well' ← *jieledh* 'live'). Here one can also mention the suffix cluster **-(l/r)ostedh** (< *\*-estuj-*), which forms translative or automative-passive verbs (cf. Magga & Magga 2012: 148, 157), but whose isolated derivatives may have inchoative-like meanings as well, such as *gaarhtalostedh* 'begin to be happy in a place' (cf. *gaerhtedh* 'be fond of, attached to').

## 2.2. Ume Saami

The following inchoative verb types can be found in Schlachter's dictionary of the Malå dialect (1958). In addition to the six *-gåhtiet* verbs in the actual dictionary part, seven more are found in the text samples of the same work. Other derivative types of the texts seem to be completely included in the dictionary part. The numbers in square brackets include additional items found in Barruk (2018).<sup>5</sup>

Table 2. Ume Saami inchoative verb types.

<i>-gåhtiet</i>	13 (6+7)	e.g., <i>guarragåhtiet</i> 'begin to follow' [ <i>guarrat</i> 'climb; follow']
<i>-åhtjat</i>	14	e.g., <i>dåjjadåhtjat</i> 'begin to understand' [ <i>dåjjadit</i> 'understand']
<i>-åjit</i>	11	e.g., <i>varddåjit</i> 'begin to bleed' [ <i>varddiet</i> 'bleed']
<i>-ijit (*-uj-)</i>	2	e.g., <i>vyössijit</i> 'revive' [ <i>viässuot</i> 'live']
<i>-ijit (*-ej-)</i>	5	e.g., <i>guvllijit</i> 'begin to hear' [ <i>guvllat</i> 'hear']
<i>-at (*-û-)</i>	1 [2]	e.g., <i>gulddat</i> 'begin to snow' [ <i>gualdduot</i> 'be driving snow']
<i>-lit</i>	5	e.g., <i>rahkkalit</i> inchoative of <i>rahkkat</i> 'be in the rut'

<sup>5</sup> The word forms presented here have been adapted to the current orthography as used in Barruk (2018).

-rit	[1]	<i>sjállarit</i> ‘begin to twitter’ [ <i>sjállat</i> ‘twitter; be glad’]
-dit	3	e.g., <i>tjuhkkedit</i> ‘sit down’ [ <i>tjåhkkáhit</i> ‘sit’]
-sit	[1]	<i>valggasit</i> ‘begin to head in one direction’ [cf. SaaS <i>valkedh</i> ‘head off (from a gathering place)’]
-stit	2	e.g., <i>lájdestit</i> inchoative of <i>lájddet</i> ‘lead’

A couple of derivatives glossed with a meaning ‘allmählich = gradually, little by little’ have also been counted as inchoatives here, e.g., *alddánáhtjat* ‘come gradually closer’ (← *alddánit* ‘come closer’). Those with no apparent aspect difference from the base verb (according to the gloss) have not been included, e.g., *varrasmáhtjat* ‘recover [sich erholen]’ (← *varrasmit* ‘get well [gesund werden]’) or *vuajjájit* ‘drive’ (← *vuojjiet* id.) (cf. SaaN *vuodjit* ‘drive’, *vuoddját* ‘drive off’). Another example of a contracted \*-û- : -uje- stem inchoative in addition to *gulddat* ‘start snowing’ (← *gualdduot* ‘be driving snow’) can be found in Barruk (2018): *tjyörrat* ‘start crying’ (← *tjiärruot* ‘cry’). A peculiar case is the inchoative of *tjuajggat* ‘ski’, which in Schlachter (1958 s.v. *tjuaigat*<sup>1</sup>, *tjuaigat*<sup>2</sup>) has the infinitive and present 1SG forms identical to the base verb, but the present 3SG form (*tjuǞǞ-gijje*) is indicative of an \*-ej-stem. The derivatives in -lit preserve the second syllable vowel of the base verb, with the exception of *tjuödtjielit* ‘stand up’ (← *tjuadttjuot* ‘stand’).

### 2.3. Pite Saami

The combined data from Wilbur (2016; BB), Halász (1896) and the verbal derivative lists of Ruong (1943) contain inchoative verbs of the following types. The examples from Ruong have been converted into the current orthography, with extra-long geminate marks (ː) added to emphasize the changes in the stem.

Table 3. Pite Saami inchoative verb types.

-gåhtet	73	e.g., <i>låhkågåhtet</i> ‘begin to read’ [ <i>låhkåt</i> ‘read’]
-áhtjat (/-atjgåhtet)	55	e.g., <i>vuasstaláhtjat</i> ‘begin to resist, oppose’ [ <i>vuasstatit</i> ‘resist, oppose’]
-á(ji)t	27	e.g., <i>balːlát</i> ‘become scared’ [ <i>ballat</i> ‘be scared’]
-ut	9	e.g., <i>tjerːrut</i> ‘begin to cry’ [ <i>tjierrot</i> ‘cry’]
-álit	3	e.g., <i>ruagːgálit</i> ‘get hungry’ [ <i>ruagːgat</i> ‘be hungry’]

<i>-(a)lit</i>	27	e.g., <i>vuorralit</i> ‘become crazy’ [ <i>vuorrat</i> ‘be crazy’]
<i>-(ldahttet)</i>	11	e.g., <i>sugaldahttet</i> ‘quickly row off shore following smb.’ [ <i>suhkat</i> ‘row’]
<i>-árit</i>	5	e.g., <i>stuvvsárit</i> ‘begin to play’ [ <i>stuvvsit</i> ‘play (with one another)’]
<i>-dit</i>	7	e.g., <i>sjvahtjadit</i> ‘begin moving, move a little bit’ [ <i>sjvahtjat</i> ‘move’]
<i>-ijdit</i>	5	e.g., <i>istijdit</i> ‘get enough time’ [ <i>asstat</i> ‘have time’]
<i>-ánit</i>	2	e.g., <i>hállánit</i> ‘fly away’ [ <i>háledit</i> ‘fly’]
<i>-(a)stit</i>	4	e.g., <i>vádtasstit</i> ‘(quickly rise and) get going’ [ <i>vádtset</i> ‘go, walk’]

In the light of the recorded materials, **-gáhtet** is the most frequent inchoative suffix used with parisyllabic verb stems in Pite Saami. The same applies to **-áhhtjat** with imparisyllabic stems; according to Ruong (1943: 134), the suffix is “strongly productive” and his examples should serve only as a selection, and alongside *-áhhtjat*, the combined suffix **-atjgáhtet** is used just as often.<sup>6</sup>

Contracted verbs in **-á(ji)t** and **-ut** form inchoatives from base verbs with *a/e-* and *o-*stems, respectively (*buahttsát* ‘become sick’ ← *buohtsat* ‘be sick’; *dur’rut* ‘start to argue/fight’ ← *dårrot* ‘fight’). The *-át* verbs appear to be exclusively inchoative, whereas the *-ut* type also has a wide use in passive-like derivatives (cf. Ruong 1943: 102–103, 113–117).<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to North Saami, for instance, the inchoatives in **-(a)lit** do not seem to be especially restricted in terms of the semantics of the base verbs (e.g., *stiehpalit* ‘start raining (locally)’ ← *stiehpat* ‘rain’; *luodjalit* ‘begin to complain’ ← *luodjot* ‘complain’). According to Ruong (1943: 230), they have a more momentative or subitive connotation than the inchoatives in **-gáhtet**. The base verb is usually a bisyllabic *a/â-*stem, only occasionally an *e-* or *o-*

<sup>6</sup> In another section, Ruong (1943: 219) also states that “the suffix *-gøhtet* can always, without a change in the meaning, be replaced with the double suffix *-ãžgøhtet*” (“Das Suffix *-gøhtet* lässt sich immer, ohne Veränderung der Bedeutung, durch das Doppelsuffix *-ãžgøhtet* ersetzen”). This must have been somehow misworded since there is no indication of any actual use of the suffix **-atjgáhtet** with parisyllabic stems in Ruong’s own or other Pite Saami language materials. It is not even clear how the suffix should be attached to such stems.

<sup>7</sup> In the printed dictionary of Wilbur (2016), inchoative verbs in *-á-* and *-u-* seem to have been largely left out. Interestingly, though, one can note that e.g., *ballagáhtet* ‘begin to become afraid’ is included, while *ballát* ‘become scared’ is not. Actually, looking at this verb, it appears that in the dictionary editing phase the inchoative aspect has been erroneously transferred to the base verb *ballat* (‘become scared’ in Wilbur 2016), as in other sources its meaning is the stative ‘be scared’ (BB; Ruong 1943: 102; Halász 1896: 91).

stem, in which case the stem vowel is replaced by *-a-*. In a couple of cases, an inchoative derivative has been formed with the suffix *-álit* (e.g., *vávvalit* ‘begin talking dirty’ ↔ *vávaldit* ‘talk dirty’).

Ruong (1943: 147) classifies the derivatives in *-ldahttet* as “mutativ-inchoativ-subitiv”. Since this suffix cluster also adds a causative function to the meaning of the base verb (e.g., *duoldaldahttet* ‘quickly bring to a boil’ ← *dualldat* ‘boil (intr.)’), it cannot be considered purely inchoative, perhaps with the exception of the single derivative *mujjtáldahttet* ‘suddenly recollect’ ← *mujjtet* ‘remember’ (cf. North Saami *-ldahttit*).

The suffix *-ijdit*, when used to derive verbs denoting a change of state, is, according to Ruong (1943: 227–228), primarily denominal and expresses a gradual change. Still, some of these derivatives are better analyzed as deverbal inchoatives even if they do have a nominal correlate as well, for example *mujtijdit* ‘recall, start remembering better’ (← *mujjtet* ‘remember’ ↔ *mujjto* ‘memory’). Interestingly, Wilbur’s material (BB) also contains a few clearly inchoative derivatives with the suffix *-dit* (e.g., *skellbidit* ‘begin to shake’ ← *skellbit* ‘shake’) – these seem to be generally unknown to Ruong (1943: 188–208), although the inchoative posture verbs *tjuhkidit* ‘sit down’ (← *tjáhkkahit* ‘sit’) and *vel’lidit* ‘lie down’ (← *väl’lahit* ‘lie’) are presented in comparison to *-hit* verbs (ibid. 138–139).

The rarer inchoative types *-árit* and *-ánit* mainly consist of correlative derivatives, such as *bánntsárit* ‘begin to act fiercely, to struggle’ (↔ *bánntsurit* ‘struggle’) and *lámngánit* ‘start chattering’ (↔ *lámngátit* ‘chatter, ramble on’). A few examples of inchoatives in *-(a)stit* can also be found.

### 2.3. Lule Saami

Inchoative verb types found in the dictionary of O. Korhonen (2007) can be summarized as follows:

Table 4. Lule Saami inchoative verb types.

<i>-goahtet</i>	39	e.g., <i>lávlllogoahtet</i> ‘start singing’ [ <i>lávllot</i> ‘sing’]
<i>-sjoahtet</i>	2	e.g., <i>rássjodasjoahtet</i> ‘start raining’ [ <i>rássjodit</i> ‘rain’]
<i>-(a)htjat</i>	21	e.g., <i>liegganahtjat</i> ‘begin to get warm(er)’ [ <i>liegganit</i> ‘get warm(er)’]
<i>-át</i>	45	e.g., <i>lávllát</i> ‘start singing’ [ <i>lávllot</i> ‘sing’]
<i>-ut</i>	8	e.g., <i>guohttut</i> ‘begin to graze’ [ <i>guohtot</i> ‘graze’]
<i>-lit</i>	20	e.g., <i>lahpalit</i> ‘begin to move’ [ <i>lahpat</i> ‘move’]

<i>-(á)rit</i>	10	e.g., <i>giehttárit</i> ‘begin to tell’ [ <i>giehttot</i> ‘tell’, <i>giehtto</i> ‘story; occasion’]
<i>-dit</i>	6	e.g., <i>váđtsádit</i> ‘start off (by foot)’ [ <i>váđtset</i> ‘go, walk’, <i>váđtsát</i> ‘start off’]
<i>-ijdit</i>	14	e.g., <i>gálgijdit</i> ‘begin to flow’ [ <i>gálggát</i> ‘flow’]
<i>-git</i>	2	e.g., <i>muovagit</i> ‘begin to smell sour/musty’ [ <i>muovvat</i> ‘turn a bit sour’, <i>muovas</i> ‘sour, musty (of a smell)’]
<i>-nit</i>	2	e.g., <i>hál’lánit</i> ‘begin to slant’ [ <i>hállit</i> ‘slant, tilt’]
<i>-stit</i>	1	<i>biekkastit</i> ‘begin to blow; rise (of wind)’ [ <i>bieggat</i> ‘blow (of wind)’]

According to this data, *-goahtet* and *-át* are about equally frequent inchoative suffixes used with parisyllabic verb stems. There do not seem to be any semantic or morphosyntactic restrictions or tendencies as to which base verbs can take these suffixes. The suffix *-át* attaches mostly to *e-* or *a-*stems, replacing the stem vowel (e.g., *muohttát* ‘begin to snow’ ← *muohttet* ‘to snow’, *gul’lát* ‘begin to hear, get to hear’ ← *gullat* ‘hear’), and sometimes also to *o-*stems (*lávllát* ‘begin to sing’ ← *lávllot* ‘sing’). A corresponding neutral inchoative suffix used with imparisyllabic base stems is *-(a)htjat* (e.g., *báhtarahjtat* ‘begin to escape’ ← *báhtarit* ‘escape’); a rarer type is *-(a)sjgoahtet* (*dálkkuhasjgoahtet* ‘begin to be bad weather’ ← *dálkkuhit* ‘be bad weather’), also attested as *-(i)sjgoahtet* (Kuokkala 2019: 161). The suffix *-ut* occurs with *o-*stem base verbs. One more type specialized for inchoative verbs is *-(á)rit*. The other suffixes listed are rarer in inchoative function and usually have other aspectual meanings.

In Kintel’s description of Lule Saami verbal derivation (Kintel 1991: 30–49), the general picture of inchoative-building suffixes is more or less the same. Notably, though, Kintel does not include the suffix *-lit*, which often occurs in inchoative verbs denoting motion, and in some cases has subitive or frequentative connotations. On the other hand, Kintel mentions the suffixes *-nit* and *-stit*, which occur only once in our inchoative data, but does not mention *-dit* or *-git*. Kintel presents one inchoative suffix not found in Korhonen’s dictionary, namely *-ahtjtát* (*basádahtjtát* ‘begin to wash oneself’ ← *basádit* ‘wash oneself’; Kintel 1991: 49), which appears to be a combination of two frequent inchoative suffixes, *-(a)htjat* and *-át*.

## 2.4. North Saami

The following types of inchoative verbs are found in Nielsen's dictionary (1979 [1932–62]). The figures include only a few additions from Sammallahti's (1989) data in the most frequent types. Meaning information from both dictionaries has been used.

Table 5. North Saami inchoative verb types.

<i>-goahtit</i>	4	e.g., <i>jápmigoahtit</i> 'be nearly dying' [ <i>jápmi</i> 'die']
<i>-šgoahtit</i>	4	e.g., <i>jurddašišgoahtit</i> 'begin to think, bethink oneself that' [ <i>jurddašit</i> ]
<i>-át</i>	39	e.g., <i>muohtát</i> 'begin to snow' [ <i>muohtit</i> 'snow']
<i>-ot</i>	2	e.g., <i>čir'rot</i> 'begin to cry' [ <i>čierrut</i> 'cry']
<i>-et</i>	4	e.g., <i>duldet</i> 'begin to boil, boil up' [ <i>duoddat</i> 'boil']
<i>-lit</i>	40	e.g., <i>gizzulit</i> 'start, set off, climbing' [ <i>gizzut</i> 'climb']
<i>(-ldahttit)</i>	12	e.g., <i>vuojaldahttit</i> 'swim off after (to overtake); swim off with (taking) smb./smth.' [ <i>vuodjat</i> 'swim']
<i>(-lahttit)</i>	5	e.g., <i>vuodjalahttit</i> '= vuojaaldahttit; cause to swim off' [ <i>vuodjat</i> ]
<i>-(á)dit</i>	6	e.g., <i>šlahtádit</i> 'set in to sleet, begin to sleet' [ <i>šlahttit</i> 'sleet']
<i>-iidit</i>	32	e.g., <i>dovddiidit</i> 'begin to know, feel, etc., (really) get to know' [ <i>dovdat</i> ]
<i>-ihit</i>	4	e.g., <i>cielihit</i> 'suddenly begin to bark' [ <i>ciellat</i> 'bark']
<i>-git</i>	15	e.g., <i>ceakkagit</i> 'begin to stand' [ <i>ceaggát</i> 'stand upright', etc.]
<i>-áskit</i>	15–23	e.g., <i>jodáskit</i> 'start moving, migrating' [ <i>johtit</i> ]
<i>-sit</i>	7	e.g., <i>modjosit</i> 'begin to smile' [ <i>moddját</i> 'be smiling', <i>modji</i> 'smile']
<i>-(a)nit</i>	4	e.g., <i>cahkkanit</i> 'kindle, begin to burn' [ <i>cahkat</i> 'smoulder']
<i>-ánit</i>	24	e.g., <i>vielgánit</i> 'begin to move, set off (of smth. white)' [ <i>vielgut</i> 'appear white (while moving)', <i>vielgat</i> 'white']
<i>-stit</i>	13	e.g., <i>jielastit</i> 'begin to blow gently' [ <i>jiellat</i> , <i>jiella</i> 'gentle breeze']

<i>-(á)stallat</i>	5	e.g., <i>vuoddjállat</i> ‘get ready to drive; drive off, one after another’ [ <i>vuodjit</i> ]
<i>-(i)duvvat</i>	2+?	e.g., <i>ásaiduvvat</i> ‘begin to feel at home’ [ <i>ássat</i> ‘dwell; settle (down)’]
<i>-stuvvat</i>	35	e.g., <i>njamastuvvat</i> ‘(begin to) want to suck’ [ <i>njammat</i> ‘suck’]

The North Saami data yields as many as twenty distinct derivative types with some sort of deverbal inchoative functions, though it must be noted that a number of these represent historically identical suffixes, and not all can be seen as strictly inchoative suffixes according to our definition in the introductory section. Specifically, the derivatives in *-ldahttit* and *-lahttit* are not simple inchoatives with respect to the base verb, but rather transitive modifications that have a causative function ‘to make someone start doing something’ or, especially in the case of the *-ldahttit* suffix, ‘to set off carrying something/someone’ or ‘to set off to overtake someone/something’. Most of these have a *-lit* inchoative as their possible immediate base verb (e.g., *vuojaldahttit* ↔ *vuodjalit* ‘swim off’), so they could also be analyzed as transitive derivatives in *-dahttit/-httit*. The derivatives in *-(á)stallat*, which tend to have a meaning ‘to prepare to do something’, are even more clearly frequentative re-derivations of *-át*-inchoatives (cf. *vuoddjállat* ↔ *vuoddját* ‘drive off’) rather than an independent inchoative type.

Some of the derivative types listed are not unambiguously deverbal, as their members regularly belong to a word family containing both a simple verb and a simple noun analyzable as a derivational base, such as *-áskit*: *soadáskit* ‘go to war, get into a fight’ ↔ *soahti* ‘war, struggle’ ↔ *soahtat* ‘be at war, fight’. Further such types are *-git*, *-nit* and *-sit*, which connect to word families usually consisting of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs denoting some kind of state, posture, etc., where it is often difficult to decide which of the correlates would be the most primary from a derivational standpoint. For example, the verbs *ceakkagit* ‘begin to stand’ and *ceakkanit* ‘rise upright; begin to bristle’ can be correlated with the adjective *ceakko(-)* ‘upright; steep’, the adverb *ceaggut* ‘in an upright position; steep’, the noun *ceagga* ‘obstinacy’ as well as the verbs *ceaggát* ‘stand upright’, *ceaggut* ‘raise up, set up (several things)’, etc. The *-ánit* type especially contains verbs meaning ‘to start off in a certain state, appearing such-and-such’, which connect to families with several wordclasses, but can on formal grounds most closely be associated with the corresponding verbs in *-át*, such as *vielgánit* ‘set off (of something white)’ ↔ *vielgát* ‘look white or light’ (↔ *vielgat* ‘white’) or *barfánit* ‘set off

(being furry, bushy)' ↔ *barfát* 'lie/stand furry, bushy somewhere' (↔ *barffas* 'furry, bushy' ↔ *barfi* 'a furry, bushy one').

Several of the listed derivative types have primarily momentative and/or subitive semantics, which is more or less present also in the derivatives with an inchoative meaning. These types include **-(i)hit** (e.g., *golggihit* 'suddenly run (out) or float away' ← *golgat* 'run (of liquid), float (with the current), leak, etc.'), **-stít** (e.g., *oakkostit* 'fish/troll a little; begin to fish/troll' ← *oaggut* 'fish with a rod, troll'), **-ádit** (e.g., *biškkádit* 'suddenly start screaming' ← *biškut* 'scream, crow, shriek') and **-lit** (e.g., *suhkalit* 'row a little; row away; go for a short row' ← *suhkat* 'row'); the last one is used especially with motion verbs. The verbs in **-adit** are rather frequentative-conative than inchoative in terms of their semantics (cf. *dámadit* 'be about to, try to tame, train; keep taming, training' ← *dápmat* 'tame, train'), and have thus been left out of the listing.

The verbs in **-uvvat** constitute several subtypes, of which almost all consist of denominal derivatives (cf. e.g., *dálüiduvvat* 'get a farm or house; begin to stay at home' ← *dállu* 'farm, house'; *čakčaluvvat* 'begin to be autumnal; be surprised by the autumn' ← *čakča* 'autumn'). There are, nevertheless, a couple of deverbal inchoatives in **-(i)duvvat** (e.g., *ásaiduvvat* 'begin to feel at home' ← *ássat* 'dwell; settle (down)') and the type **-stuvvat**, which operates widely on verb bases (e.g., *barggastuvvat* 'desire, want to work; begin working'). These derivatives often have the meanings of wanting or being close to doing/happening in addition to or rather than inchoativity. The corresponding suffix to **-uvvat** attaching to bisyllabic roots, **-ut**, seems to form only denominal translatives (e.g., *seadđut* 'begin to get a little dark, get dim' ← *seadđi* 'dimness, obscurity' ↔ *seadás* 'dim, unclear'). Another type that has been left out of the table is **-(l/s)mit**, which often does have verbal correlates too, but whose derivatives are rather to be analyzed as denominal translatives, as the intermediate consonant also indicates, cf. for instance *jođálmit* 'become quicker' ← *johtil* 'quick, rapid, which runs easily' ↔ *johtit* 'move, go, travel'.

In addition to **-(š)goahtit** (see below), the most clearly deverbal inchoative suffix in North Saami is **-át**, which in addition to the historically connected **-i**-verbs (cf. *vardát* 'begin to bleed' ← *vardit* 'bleed') currently attaches to other bisyllabic stem types too (*gul'lát* 'begin to hear' ← *gullat* 'hear', *goal'lát* ← *goallut* 'be/feel cold'). Other descendants of the historical **\*-Vj-** suffix show inchoative semantics only sporadically: for instance **-ot** in the verb *čir'rot* 'begin to cry' ← *čierrut* 'cry' and **-et** in *lávlet* '(suddenly) begin singing, sing a little' (← *lávlut* 'sing'); the derivatives in **-et** tend to have momentative or subitive connotations as well. The suffix **-iidit** is somewhat ambivalent in that a number of derivatives (15) can or must be analyzed as

simple verb-based derivatives (e.g., *golggiidit* ‘begin to run (of liquid), to float’ ← *golgat* ‘run (of liquid), float (with the current), leak, etc.’), whereas others (19) have only nominal or complex verbal correlates (e.g., *dilddiidit* ‘begin to quake, tremble’ ← *dilddas* ‘quaking, trembling ↔ *dilddistit* ‘quake, shake, tremble’).

The appearance of *-(š)goahtit* verbs in Nielsen’s dictionary is evidently not representative of their actual use: only a few derivatives with a more lexicalized meaning are included as headwords, and otherwise only the suffix *-goahtit* (s.v. *-goattet*) is given to explain the highly productive derivative type (cf. Nielsen 1979 [1926]: 247–248). According to Nielsen (*ibid.*) and Nickel (1994: 262–263), the inchoative suffix *-(š)goahti-* can attach to (nearly) all verbs regardless of semantics or valency, and the allomorph distribution is based on the syllable count of the base stem: the variant *-goahti-* attaches to parasyllabic and contracted stems, while *-šgoahti-* is used with imparisyllabic stems (in eastern dialects, also with contracted stems). For example:

<i>lohka-t</i> →	<i>lohka-goahti-t</i>	(bisyllabic)
‘read’	‘begin to read’	
<i>liiko-t</i> →	<i>liiko-(š)goahti-t</i>	(contracted)
‘like’	‘begin to like’	
<i>muitali-t</i> →	<i>muitali-šgoahti-t</i>	(trisyllabic)
‘tell’	‘begin to tell’	

As we have seen in the previous sections, a similar distribution is typical of other western Saami languages as well: the cognates of the *-goahti-* suffix are used only with parasyllabic (= bisyllabic and quadrisyllabic) base verbs, and imparisyllabic verbs require a different suffix (e.g., *-ahtja-*, *-áhtja-*) or an “extended” variant of *-goahti-* resembling North Saami *-(i)šgoahti-* (Pite *-atjgáhte-*, Lule *-asjgoahte-* ~ *-isjgoahte-*). I have previously argued that these “extended” variants of *-goahti-* historically represent a combined suffix containing the *-ahtja-* suffix as their initial part (as already suggested by Ruong 1943; see Kuokkala 2019 and the concluding section of this article).

## 2.5. Inari Saami

The inchoative verbs in the Inari Saami dictionary of E. Itkonen (1986–1991) fall into the following derivative types:

Table 6. Inari Saami inchoative verb types.

-gyettid / -guáttid	42	e.g., <i>tuáru gyettid</i> ‘begin to fight’ [ <i>tuárruđ</i> ‘fight’]
-škyettid / -škuáttid	212	bisyll. 98, e.g., <i>vuojáškyettid</i> ‘begin to swim’ [ <i>vuojád</i> ‘swim’]  trisyll. 52, e.g., <i>määlistškyettid</i> ‘begin to cook’ [ <i>määlistid</i> ‘cook’]  quadrisyll. 27, e.g., <i>njurgiištálškyettid</i> ‘begin to whistle’ [ <i>njurgiištállád</i> ‘whistle’]  contracted (-j-) 22, e.g., <i>kulluuškuáttid</i> ‘begin to be audible’ [ <i>kulluđ</i> ‘be audible’]  contracted (-v-) 12, e.g., <i>šišneluuškyettid</i> ‘begin to get hairless’ [ <i>šišneluđ</i> ‘become hairless’]
-áđ (-ađ)	13	e.g., <i>páštáđ</i> ‘begin to shine’ [ <i>páštid</i> ‘shine (of the sun, moon)’]
-id (: -ej-)	5	e.g., <i>kulgid</i> ‘begin to flow’ [ <i>kulgád</i> ‘flow’]
-lid	35	e.g., <i>vuoijalid</i> ‘go swimming, start swimming’ [ <i>vuoijád</i> ‘swim’]
-(á)áhčáđ	2	e.g., <i>roháláhčáđ</i> ‘come into the rut’ [ <i>rohálid</i> ‘be in the rut’]
-ádid	4	e.g., <i>nohádid</i> ‘fall into sleep’ [ <i>nukkád</i> ‘doze’]
-ijdid	5	e.g., <i>ruoškijidid</i> ‘begin to crackle’ [ <i>ryeškíd/ruoškáđ</i> ‘crackle’]
-(á)gid	18	e.g., <i>njuigágid</i> ‘go into a sulk’ [ <i>njuigád</i> ‘sulk’]
-áskid	8	e.g., <i>tuáráskid</i> ‘begin to fight’ [ <i>tuárruđ</i> ‘fight (v.)’, <i>tuáru</i> ‘fight (n.)’]
-nid	3	e.g., <i>čokánid</i> ‘sit down’ [ <i>čokkáđ</i> ‘sit’]
-stid	4	e.g., <i>ruotástid</i> ‘break into a gallop’ [ <i>ruottád</i> ‘run, gallop’]
-(ii)stállád	3	e.g., <i>tuoldiistállád</i> ‘begin to boil any moment’ [ <i>tuoldád</i> ‘boil, bubble’]
-stud	4	e.g., <i>kyedistud</i> ‘begin to calve’ [ <i>kyeddid</i> ‘calve’]

According to this data, by far the most frequent Inari Saami inchoative suffix is *-škyettiđ* (with the phonological variant *-škuáttiđ*)<sup>8</sup>, which attaches to virtually all kinds of verbal stems, even the monosyllabic *leđe* ‘be’ → *leškyettiđ* ‘begin to be’, which is unique to Inari Saami and some of the easternmost subdialects of North Saami (Nielsen 1979 [1932–62] s.v. *læšgoattet* records the derivative from Porsanger). The shorter suffix *-gyettiđ* (~ *-guáttiđ*) appears in a couple of pure inchoative derivatives, such as *tuáru gyettiđ* ‘begin to fight’ (← *tuárruđ* ‘fight’), but it is mainly used in expressive verbs, which usually do not have a clear base verb, and have subitive or momentative as often as inchoative functions (e.g., *kommágyettiđ* ‘to boom (once)’, cf. *komijdiđ* ‘to boom, rumble’; see Kuokkala 2019: 160–161).

The inchoatives in *-áđl-áđ* (contracted *-áj-*stems) comprise a dozen derivatives with more or less lexicalized meanings and mostly corresponding derivatives in other Saami languages, e.g., *muštáđ* ‘recall, start to remember’ (← *mušteđ* ‘remember’), *pallađ* ‘be frightened, get a fright’ (← *poolláđ* ‘be afraid’). The few inchoatives in *-iđ* (contracted *-ej-*stems) make a similar impression, e.g., *tuoldiđ* ‘begin to boil’ ← *tuoldáđ* ‘boil, bubble’ (cf. SaaS *doeltijidh* id.).

A couple of derivatives reminiscent of the western Saami inchoative type *-(a/á)htjat* can be found with the suffix *-(á)áhčáđ*; these, however, correlate to *-áliđ* verbs, which already have more or less inchoative meaning (*roháláhčáđ* ‘begin to come into the rut’ ← *roháliđ* ‘come into the rut’). Usually the *-(á)áhčáđ* derivatives are frequentative(-continuative) in meaning, although they may also have connotations of intention or being about to do something, as in *vuájáláhčáđ* ~ *vuájáluhčáđ* ‘be about to drive off, intend to drive off right away’.

The suffix *-liđ* is quite frequent in verbs denoting the start of a motion, e.g., *suháliđ* ‘start rowing’ ← *suuháđ* ‘row’ (cf. North Saami *suhkalit* id. and others), but there are also inchoatives with other kinds of meanings, e.g., *párguliđ* ‘start bawling’ (← *párguđ* ‘shout, bawl’) and *kuđđáliđ* ‘begin to spawn’ (← *kuuđđáđ* ‘spawn’). Inchoatives in *-áđiđ* are rare, and despite the lack of an obvious base verb, I have included here the verb *suláđiđ* ‘start to row, row off’, which has a cognate in Skolt (*solleed*) and Kildin Saami (*sullede*, KKLS *sulŋe*<sup>δ</sup>, id.) and might be an irregularly shortened derivative of the previously mentioned *suháliđ* or the base verb *suuháđ* (unless it is

<sup>8</sup> The variant *-(š)kuáttiđ* is the regular cognate of North Saami *-(š)goahtit* (< Proto-Saami *\*-koatē-*); in the more frequent variant *-(š)kyettiđ*, the diphthong has gone over to the historical *\*uo* series.

etymologically connected with SaaI *sullâ*, N *sulla* ‘resemblance; direction’ and only secondarily associated with the verb ‘to row’).

The occasional inchoatives in **-ijdiđ** do not always have a formally clear base verb (e.g., *tuvhijdiđ* ‘begin to ache’ ← *tuvhestiđ* ‘ache (frozen hand or foot while warming again)’). The **-(â)giđ** derivatives interpreted here as inchoative most often denote getting into a position or state, while a verbal correlate in **-áđ** means being in the said position (e.g., *kuvrâgiđ* ‘stoop down’ ← *kuvráđ* ‘sit hunched up, squat’). The derivative type **-âskiđ** contains only a few undoubtedly deverbal inchoatives, e.g., *tájâskiđ* ‘go mad, become insane’ ← *táâijud* ‘ramble, rave, fool around’, while denominal translatives are more typical of it (e.g., *kodâskiđ* ‘go wild (in the forest)’ ← *kodde* ‘wild reindeer’).

The derivatives in **-stiđ** are usually diminutive and have inchoative meanings just occasionally, e.g., *kulnâstiđ* ‘wither a little; begin to wither’ (← *kulnâđ* ‘wilt, wither’). Some inchoative-like meanings occur also with **-(ii)stállâđ** derivatives, which otherwise tend to be frequentative or continuative, e.g., *tuoldiistállâđ* ‘begin to boil any moment’, which come semantically close to the conative occurrences of the same type, e.g., *hettiistállâđ* ‘(try to) prevent’ (← *hettiđ* ‘prevent, hold back’). Finally there are inchoative derivatives in **-stud**, such as *čiarustud* ‘feel like crying; begin to cry’ (← *čiarrud* ‘cry’), which also directly connect to a larger group of derivatives bearing a meaning of intention, wanting, or feeling like doing something, e.g., *njomâstud* ‘want to suck’ (← *njommâđ* ‘suck’).

Some inchoative verb types allow further derivations to be based on them; these include causatives based on **-lit** and **-stit** inchoatives, e.g., *ruotâstiđ* ‘break into a gallop’ → *ruotâstittiđ* ‘spur (a reindeer) into a gallop’ and *voijâliđ* ‘swim off’ → *voijâlittiđ* ‘swim off after someone’ (cf. the North Saami *vuodjalahttit*, *vuojaldahttit* types above). Some causative re-derivations of inchoative **-gyettiđ/-guâttiđ** verbs can be found, e.g., *tuârugyettiđ* ‘begin to fight’ → *tuârugyedettiđ* ‘attack, pick a fight with someone’, but more often these are based on non-inchoative **-gyettiđ/-guâttiđ** verbs, such as *skillâgyettiđ* ‘clink (once, intr.)’ → *skillâgyedettiđ* ‘clink, ping (tr.)’; also diminutive re-derivations can be found, e.g., *šuddâgyettiđ* ‘hiss (once/suddenly)’ → *šuddâgyedestiđ* ‘hiss a little’.

## 2.6. Skolt Saami

The following types of inchoative derivatives are found in the Skolt Saami dictionary of Sammallahti & Mosnikoff (1991).

Table 7. Skolt Saami inchoative verb types.

-gue'tted / -vue'tted	1	rämmgue'tted ~ rämmvue'tted 'be delighted; rejoice'
-škue'tted	125	bisyll. 77, e.g., looggškue'tted ~ logškue'tted 'begin to read' [lookkâd 'read']  trisyll. 33, e.g., kaaupšeškue'tted 'begin to sell' [kaaupšed 'sell']  quadrisyll. 10, e.g., vaalmštõlškue'tted 'begin to prepare' [vaalmštõllâd 'prepare']  contracted (-ee-) 5, e.g., tuej'jeeškue'tted 'begin to work' [tuej'jeed 'work']
-jed (*-âj-)	8	e.g., vuäd'djed 'go to sleep; fall asleep' [vue'dded 'sleep']
-jed (*-ij-)	2	e.g., šu'vved 'begin to rustle, hum' [šuvvâd 'rustle, hum']
-led	10	e.g., kē'rdled 'fly off' [kē'rded 'fly']
-lõõččâd	2	e.g., vâ'z̥lõõččâd 'go walking' [vâ'z̥zed 'walk']
-eed	4(?)	e.g., nââkkeed 'fall asleep' [nokkâd 'doze']
-sted	3	e.g., u(u)rčsted ~ u(u)rčsted 'start running' [urččâd ~ u'rččâd 'run']
-(st)õõvvâd	2/3	e.g., poorstõõvvâd 'begin to feel like eating' [poorrâd 'eat', poorsted 'eat (hastily)']

Judging by this data alone, the representative of the simple *\*-koatē-* inchoative suffix (-gue'tted ~ -vue'tted) would seem to be entirely fallen out of deverbial use, occurring only in one rather denominal verb *rämmgue'tted* 'be delighted; rejoice' (cf. *rämm* 'joy'). In KKLS, however, a small number of such deverbial inchoatives can be found, for example *kaalgue'tted* 'begin to follow (of an animal)' ← *kaallâd* 'follow, allow to be led' (KKLS: 84; KoSaS only has *ka(a)lškue'tted* 'id.'). The suffix variant *-škue'tted*, again, appears to be highly frequent in building inchoatives regardless of the stem type of the base verb. The use of the *\*-(š)koatē* suffixes in Skolt Saami and more eastern Saami varieties will be shortly revisited from a comparative perspective in Section 3.2.

The inchoative verbs in **-jed** fall into two groups: *e*-stem base verbs form derivatives with an unpalatalized root and stem vowel *u* (e.g., *kââ'cced* ‘be awake’ → *kâccjed* ‘wake (intr.)’), while *â*-stem base verbs form derivatives with a palatalized root and stem vowel *e* (e.g., *tuõldddâd* ‘boil (intr.)’ → *tuõ'lddjed* ‘boil up’); these correspond to earlier *\*-âj-* and *\*-ij-* (< *\*-ej-*) stems, respectively.<sup>9</sup> A stem-wise exceptionally formed case is (*puõccâd* ‘be ill’ → *puâc* ‘get ill’ (= North Saami *buohccát*).

Skolt Saami inchoatives in **-led** are formed exclusively of verbs denoting motion, and they contain the unaltered stem of the base verb similarly to **-led** subitives, some even have a subitive connotation (e.g., *suukkled* ‘begin to row (quickly)’ ← *suukkâd* ‘row’).<sup>10</sup> Similarly to Inari Saami **-(â)lâhčâđ** verbs, Skolt Saami derivatives in **-lõõččâd** are mainly diminutive-frequentative in semantics, and the few inchoative ones can be seen as extended versions of corresponding inchoatives in **-led**: (*vue'jjed* ~ *vuejjad* ‘drive’ →) *vuej'jled*, *vuej'jlõõččâd* ‘drive off’; (*vâ'zzed* ‘walk’ →) *vâ'zzled*, *vâ'zzlõõččâd* ‘go walking’; according to KKLS (p. 706), the meaning of the last one is actually ‘be about to go visiting’ and thus expresses rather intention than the actual start of action.

The few inchoative-like verbs in **-eed** represent heterogenous derivational types – these include two distinct derivatives of *nokkâd* ‘doze’: *nââkkeed* ‘fall asleep’ and *no'kķeed* ‘id.’. The unclear case *solleed* ~ *sõlleed* ‘begin to row’ has a cognate in Kildin and Inari Saami; see discussion of Saal *sulâdiđ* above. A couple of derivatives with the momentative/subitive suffix **-sted** show inchoative semantics as well, e.g., *vuâgsted* ‘set off at a slow trot; trot for a while’ (← *vuâkkad* ‘jog, trot slowly’). There is also one example with the suffix cluster **-sâstted**: *tiârsâ'stted* ‘gallop a little, start galloping’ (← *tiârrâd* ‘gallop, run’). These derivatives are mainly formed of verbs denoting movement by foot. Another rare inchoative type based on the **-st-** suffix is **-stõðvvat**, corresponding to the North Saami **-stuvvat** type: *vuâ'đstõðvvâd* ‘begin to feel sleepy’ (← *vue'đded* ‘sleep’). Also the variant **-šõðvvâd** occurs in one verb, *põškkšõðvvâd* ‘begin to feel the need to shit’ (← *pâ'šķked* ‘shit’).

<sup>9</sup> The unpalatalized **-jed** verb class is a merger of the Proto-Saami *\*-âj-* and *\*-uj-* verb classes, where the present 3sg stem vowel *a* is a regular reflex of both original classes (*kâccjed* : *kâccai* ‘wake’ < *\*kocâjē-*; *kuâđ'đjed* : *kuâđ'đai* ‘be left’ < *\*kuođujē-*), whereas the imperative 2sg and connegative forms have generalized the stem vowel *\*û* of the *\*-uj-* class (*koccu* ‘(doesn’t) wake’ as *kuõđ'đu* ‘is (not) left’ < *\*kuođûk*) (cf. Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991: 173–175, 201).

<sup>10</sup> Compare for instance the subitive of *mu'rdded* ‘fold’: *mu'rddled* ‘fold (quickly)’ vs. the unpalatalized stem in the frequentative *murddled* ‘keep folding’.

## 2.7. Kildin Saami

The inchoative verb types found in the combined material of Kuruč (1985 / SRS-Kuruč) and Antonova (2014 / SRS-Antonova) are summarized in the table below. To facilitate the presentation and comparison with data from other Saami languages, a Latin transliteration is used in the table.<sup>11</sup> In the text, the Cyrillic orthography forms are also given for reference.

Table 8. Kildin Saami inchoative verb types.

- <i>gue'dte</i> / - <i>kue'dte</i>	33 (-36)	e.g., <i>laavvlgue'dte</i> ‘begin to sing’ [ <i>laavvle</i> ‘sing’]
- <i>škue'dte</i>	42	bisyll. 20, e.g., <i>tiideškue'dte</i> ‘begin to know; recognize’ [ <i>tii'dte</i> ‘know’]  trisyll. 17, e.g., <i>vuellneškue'dte</i> ‘begin to go down’ [ <i>vuellne</i> ‘go down’]  quadrisyll. 5, e.g., <i>lunntnenteškue'dte</i> ‘begin to burst’ [ <i>lunntnente</i> ‘burst’]
- <i>je</i> (*- <i>āj-</i> )	9	e.g., <i>vuadtje</i> ‘go to sleep; fall asleep’ [ <i>vue'dte</i> ‘sleep’]
- <i>je</i> (*- <i>ij-</i> )	7	e.g., <i>tuu'lltje</i> ‘start to boil; boil up’ [ <i>tuullte</i> ‘boil’]
- <i>je</i> (*- <i>uj-</i> )	9	e.g., <i>oorrje</i> ‘sit down; calm down’ [ <i>årre</i> ‘sit; stay’]
- <i>je</i> (anal.)	21	e.g., <i>laaffje</i> ‘begin to rot’ [ <i>laaffe</i> ‘rot’]
- <i>le</i>	18	e.g., <i>kī'rrtle</i> ‘fly off’ [ <i>kī'rrte</i> ‘fly’]
- <i>la'hče</i>	2	e.g., <i>šeeŋla'hče</i> ‘begin to storm’ [ <i>šeeŋne</i> ‘storm, be stormy weather’]
- <i>la'hte</i>	1	<i>poorrkla'hte</i> ‘start snowing heavily’ [ <i>poorrke</i> ‘snow heavily’, <i>poorrk</i> ‘blizzard’]

<sup>11</sup> The transliteration used here approaches a transcription in that some phonemic ambiguities of the orthography have been manually resolved (⟨я⟩ > (j)ea / jaa; ⟨oa⟩/⟨ōā⟩ > ā / āā) and palatalization is indicated with a palatalization mark before the whole consonant center. It closely resembles the practice of Rießler (2022) except for the use of *i* instead of *ō* for the close central vowel ⟨ь⟩ and *gk*, *bp*, *dt* instead of *gg*, *dd*, *bb*. Note that *e*, *ee* ⟨э, ɤ⟩ are primarily central vowels [e ē] (cf. E. Itkonen 1971: 87–89).

-te (*-ijt-)	1	<i>ko'lkte</i> ‘begin to flow, run’ [ <i>koollke</i> ‘flow, run’]
-ne (*-ntē-)	4	e.g., <i>azne</i> ‘start to rise (water, at high tide, quickly)’ [ <i>a'ze</i> ‘rise (of water)’]
-se (*-stē-)	1	<i>tii'dse</i> ‘find out’ [ <i>tii'dte</i> ‘know’]
-selle	2	e.g., <i>piiŋŋkselle</i> ‘begin to blow (of wind)’ [ <i>piiŋŋke</i> ‘blow (of wind)’]
-(l)uvve	24	e.g., <i>vuajjpluvve</i> ‘begin to wrestle’ [ <i>vuajjpe</i> ‘wrestle’]

The *-(š)kue'dte* inchoatives, probably deemed to be a productive morphological category, seem to have been completely left out of Kuruč's material. Antonova's material, by contrast, generally includes quite few verbal derivatives, but *-(š)kue'dte* inchoatives are represented in considerable numbers, possibly as an attempt to compensate for their absence in Kuruč's dictionary. Due to this imbalance in the original data and the selections made in the editing processes, the frequencies of different derivative types in the combined data can only be taken as indicative.

Inchoatives in *-gue'dte/-kue'dte* appear to be rather frequent with (originally) bisyllabic base stems, e.g., *laavvlgue'dte* «лāввлгүэдтэ» ‘begin to sing’ (← *laavvle* «лāввлэ» ‘sing’). A few such derivatives do not have a formal bisyllabic base verb but correlate with noun stems and their verbal derivatives, such as *čuijgue'dte* «чүййгүэдтэ» ‘start ringing’ (↔ *čuij* «чүйй» ‘chime, ringing’, *čuijne* «чүйнэ» ‘ring; start ringing’). The suffix *-škue'dte* is used to derive inchoatives irrespective of the syllable count of the base verb; it may appear alongside a synonymous *-gue'dte/-kue'dte* inchoative, e.g., *luujhkue'dte* «лүйххкүэдтэ» ~ *luujhkeškue'dte* «лүйхкэшкүэдтэ» ‘start crying’ (← *luujhke* «лүйжкэ» ‘cry’).

The Kildin Saami derivatives with the suffix *-je* can, in spite of the reductions and analogies in second syllable vocalism, be divided into distinct stem vowel groups (\*-āj-, \*-ij-, \*-uj-) by examining and comparing the vowel and consonant center qualities to those of the base verb (and to cognates in other Saami languages). All the inchoatives recognizable as \*-āj-stems are derived from \*ē-verbs and largely coincide with the Skolt inchoatives of the same type, e.g., *puell,je* «пуэллье» ‘kindle; go up in flames’ (← *puu'lle* «пүүлле» ‘burn (intr.)’). Most \*-ij-inchoatives derive from \*e-stems (e.g., *poorrkje* «пөрркье» ‘start snowing heavily’ ← *poorke* «пөрркэ» ‘snow heavily’) and \*-uj-inchoatives from \*ō-stems (e.g., *oollvje* «ōллвье» ‘let out a

howl' ← *állve* ⟨оаллвэ⟩ 'howl'), although there are single exceptions with \*-ij- inchoatives from an \*ō-stem (*koobblje* ⟨кōббълье⟩ 'come to the surface' ← *kåbble* ⟨коабблэ⟩ 'float') or \*-uj- inchoatives from an \*ē-stem (*leeffkje* ⟨лэффкъе⟩ 'start coughing' ← *la'ffke* ⟨лаффъкэ⟩ 'cough'). In addition to these groups, which reflect regular Proto-Saami derivational processes, there is a considerable number of inchoative verbs where the suffix *-je* seems to be directly attached to the unchanged Kildin base verb stem, resulting in derivatives that from a historical perspective are irregular, even irreconstructible, such as *luujjhkje* ⟨лӯјјккъе⟩ 'start crying' (← *luujjhke* ⟨лӯјјккэ⟩ 'cry') and *laaffje* ⟨лаффъе⟩ 'begin to rot' (← *laaffe* ⟨лаффэ⟩ 'rot'). In some cases, both a historically regular derivative (*állve* ⟨оаллвэ⟩ 'howl' → *oollvje* ⟨ōллвье⟩ 'let out a howl') and an analogical one (*állvje* ⟨оаллвье⟩ 'start howling') are present; the former seems to carry more momentative connotations whereas the latter are more purely inchoative in meaning.

Inchoatives in *-le* are mostly used with motion verbs and show no sound alternation with respect to the base verb, e.g., *a'zle* ⟨адзълэ⟩ 'begin to rise (of water)' (← *a'ze* ⟨адзе⟩ 'rise (of water)'). Thus, they are phonologically similar to the subitive-diminutive derivatives in *-le* < \*-lē- (*a'nntle* ⟨аннътлэ⟩ 'give (quickly)' ← *a'nnte* ⟨аннътэ⟩ 'give') and differ from the frequentatives in *-le* < \*-elē- (*eenntle* ⟨әннтлэ⟩ 'give (continuously/sometimes)'). The connection is also obvious with derivatives having both subitive/diminutive and inchoative uses, such as *šeenntle* ⟨шәннтлэ⟩ 'grow up (quickly); grow a bit; start to grow' (← *šeennte* ⟨шәннтэ⟩ 'grow, etc.').

The data contains one Kildin inchoative verb in *-te*, which corresponds to North Saami *-iidit*: *ko'lkte* ⟨кольктэ⟩ 'begin to flow, run' (← *koollke* ⟨кōллкэ⟩ 'flow, run'), cf. SaaN *golggiidit* 'id'. The single example of the complex suffix *-la'hte* in *poorrkla'hte* ⟨пōррклаһтэ⟩ 'start snowing heavily' (↔ *poorrke* ⟨пōрркэ⟩ 'snow heavily') may instead be based on the noun *poorrk* 'blizzard', as the suffix is mainly attested in denominal use. One or two verbs with the suffix *-la'hče* can also be analyzed with reservations as inchoatives, e.g., *šeeηla'hče* ⟨шәηулаһчә⟩ 'begin to storm' (↔ *šeeηne* ⟨шәηнә⟩ 'storm, be stormy weather', *šeeηη* ⟨шәηη⟩ 'storm, bad weather').

There are a few inchoative verbs with the suffix *-ne*, for example *azne* ⟨азнэ⟩ 'start to rise (of water, at high tide, quickly)' (← *a'ze* ⟨адзе⟩ 'rise, of water'). The unpalatalized weak-grade consonant centre shows that the suffix goes back to the Proto-Saami frequentative suffix \*-nte- and corresponds to -(á)d- in the more western languages. A single case of *-se* (\*-stē-) can also be found: *tii'dse* ⟨тйдъсэ⟩ 'find out' (← *tii'dte* ⟨тйдтэ⟩ 'know'). The complex suffix *-selle* in *piinñkselle* ⟨пйнñксэллэ⟩ 'begin to blow (of wind)' and *jeallselle* ⟨яллсэллэ⟩ 'be resurrected' (← *jie'lle* ⟨ēллэ⟩ 'live') seems to reflect

\*-sele-, provided that these derivatives are really deverbal and not based on the nouns *piin̄jk* <п̄ӣн̄жк> ‘wind’ and *jeall* <ялл> ‘life’.

The suffix *-uvve* appears as the variants *-luvve* (most frequent), *-juvve*, *-xuvve* and *-šuvve*. For many of the individual derivatives, there exists a corresponding *-le/-je/-xe/-še* derivative, which at least formally can be seen as the immediate base of the *-uvve* verb; compare for instance *saarrnluvve* <с̄ар̄р̄н̄лӯв̄в̄э> ‘begin to talk’ ← *saarrnle* <с̄ар̄р̄н̄лэ> ‘talk (for some time)’, *saarrne* <с̄ар̄р̄н̄э> ‘talk’ and *illšuvve* <ы̄лл̄ш̄ӯв̄в̄э> ‘begin to sting, burn’ ← *illše* <ы̄лл̄ш̄э> ‘sting, burn (of a wound)’.

Table 9. Frequencies of inchoative verb types in Saami languages (based on selected dictionaries).

	nV	S	U	P	L	N	I	Sk	K
*-koatē-	-	54	13	73	39	(4)	42	1	33
*-čkoatē-	-	-	-	(10)	2	(4)	212	125	42
*-ekčē- (-ākčē-)	-	18	14	55	21	-	-	-	-
*-jekčē-	42	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*-lečē-	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
*-j-	151	49	11	36	53	45	18	10	47
*-āje-	80	20	11	27	45	39	13	8	10
*-ejē- > *-ije-	28	19	-	-	-	4	5	2	7
*-ujē-	22	10	-	9	8	2	-	-	9
Analog. -j-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
*-l-	119	12	7	30	20	41	33	11	18
*-ēlē-	13	5	3	2	2	5	4	3	7
*-ōlē-	32	-	1	-	2	16	16	4	5
*-elV-	68	5	3	25	15	20	13	4	6
*-ālV- / *-ilV-	5/1	1/1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-
*-ārV-	13	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-
*-ne-	34	1	-	2	2	28	3	-	1
*-eņē-	4	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-
*-āne-	30	1	-	2	2	24	2	-	1
*-nte-	31	9	3	7	6	5	4	4	5
*-ijtV-	41	-	-	5	14	31	5	-	1
*-(ē)htē-	11	8	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
*-eņkV-	35	1	-	-	2	15	18	-	-
-lg-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*-āske-	27	1	-	-	-	23	8	-	-

*-(e)se-	9	2	1	-	-	7	-	-	-
*-stē-	30	9	2	4	2	14	4	3	1
*-stuve-	41	-	-	-	-	35	6	2	-
*-(j/l)tuve-	3	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
*-(l)uve-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24

### 3. Derivational types across Saami languages

#### 3.1. General figures

In this section, the use of each derivational type or suffix found in inchoative functions in Saami languages is treated from the perspective of the whole language area; areal differences are analyzed and groups of most widespread individual derivatives are pinpointed as possible indications of the early existence of the derivational type in question. Table 9 above summarizes the frequencies of each inchoative verb type in each language as found in the data sources of the current article. It must once again be stressed that due to the variable nature and extent of the sources, the figures for each language are not directly comparable and should rather be taken as indicative of tendencies. The most clearly underrepresented cases, where a highly productive derivational type is represented by just a few examples, are marked in parentheses. Some of the types (\*-j-, \*-l-, \*-n-) are further split into sub-types based on vocalism. The column **nV** indicates the number of individual base verb + suffix variant combinations (an etymologically identical base + suffix in several languages counts as one).

#### 3.2. \*-koatē-, \*-čkoatē-

As inchoative formation with the suffixes continuing Proto-Saami \*-koatē- (or its extended version \*-čkoatē-) is apparently a highly productive, regular morphological process in all Saami languages, there is little point in listing and matching single derivatives across languages. The number of recorded derivatives reflects mainly the general extent of the data available for each language. The proportions in the use of the suffix variants are, however, a matter of interest. The general picture is that \*-koatē- (North Saami -goahhtit, etc.) is used with parasyllabic base verbs and the extended \*-(č/š)koatē- with imparisyllabic base verbs in the northwestern languages (from Pite Saami to North Saami); South and Ume Saami lack the extended suffix and use only the suffix \*-ekčē- (-ahhtjedh) with imparisyllabic verbs, which is also common

alongside \*-(č/š)koatē- in the other western varieties up to Lule Saami and appears to be very productive as well. In the eastern languages, by contrast, the extended suffix \*-škoatē- has taken the place of a general-use inchoative suffix irrespective of the syllable count of the base verb. In Inari, Skolt and Kildin Saami, the simple \*-koatē- is used only in a restricted set of derivatives often having some kind of a lexicalized meaning, in Inari Saami also with subitive/momentative verbs of onomatopoeic stems. In Ter Saami, however, the system resembles that of North Saami, and the extended \*-škoatē- suffix is found with parasyllabic base stems only occasionally. (For a more detailed account, see Kuokkala 2019: 155–163.)

### 3.3. \*-ekčē- (> \*-ehčē-)

In western Saami languages, from South Saami up to Lule Saami, a very common inchoative suffix used with imparisyllabic base verbs is \*-ehčē- (S *-ahtjedh*, L *-ahtjat*, in Ume and Pite Saami a secondarily lengthened *-áhhtjat*). South Saami also has a suffix variant *-jahtjedh* ~ *-jihhtjedh* attaching to parasyllabic stems, which probably contains another common inchoative suffix *-j-* in the beginning. The suffix is without a doubt historically the same as the frequentative suffix \*-ekčē- : \*-ehčē-, which in the modern Saami languages occurs usually only with parasyllabic base verbs (e.g., SaaL *váttsatjit*, N *váččašit* ‘go slowly or to and fro’ ← N *vázzit* ‘walk’; cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 337; Sammallahti 1998: 92). Only in eastern Saami varieties does it have a successor in an imparisyllabic context, namely in the complex frequentative(-inchoative) suffix SaaI *-láhčá-* ~ *-luhčá-* ~ Sk *-lõõččá-* ~ K *-la'hče*. (About the relationship of \*-ekčē- with the extended \*-(č/š)koatē- suffix, see Section 4 and Kuokkala 2019).

### 3.4. \*-j- (\*-āje-, \*-eje-, \*-uje-)

The \*-j- suffix family can be said to be the second most popular inchoative suffix family throughout the Saami languages. The current data contains about 280 individual derivatives of 135 base verbs representing all Saami languages. As regards derivational morphophonology, the expected pattern between the base and the derivative stem vowel, reconstructable to Proto-Saami as \*-ē- → \*-āje- (~ \*-â-), \*-e- → \*-eje- (~ \*-î-), \*-ō- → \*-uje- (~ \*-û-), is quite regularly preserved in South and Ume Saami (cf. Sections 2.1, 2.2). Looking at individual verbs, the same pattern occurs in all widespread \*-j-inchoatives. The following derivatives are known in virtually all Saami languages (example forms from North Saami, language distributions in brackets):

<i>eallit</i> ‘live’	→ <i>eal’lát</i> ‘revive’	[S – P L N I Sk K T] <sup>12</sup>
<i>johtit</i> ‘move, travel’	→ <i>johttát</i> ‘start moving’	[S U P L N I Sk K T]
<i>gohcit</i> ‘be awake’	→ <i>gohccát</i> ‘wake’	[S U P L N I Sk K T]
<i>muitit</i> ‘remember’	→ <i>muitát</i> ‘come to remember’	[S U P L N I Sk K –]
<i>oaddit</i> ‘sleep’	→ <i>oad’đát</i> ‘fall asleep’	[S U P L N I Sk K T]
<i>buollit</i> ‘burn (intr.)’	→ <i>buol’lát</i> ‘catch fire’	[S U P L N I Sk K –]

The following derivatives also have a distribution from South/Ume Saami to eastern Saami:

<i>muohttit</i> ‘snow’	→ <i>muohttát</i> ‘begin to snow’	[– U P L N I – – –]
<i>vardit</i> ‘bleed’	→ <i>vardát</i> ‘begin to bleed’	[S U P L N I – – –]
<i>duoldat</i> ‘boil’	→ <i>duldet</i> ‘begin to boil’	[S – – – N I Sk K T]
<i>orrut</i> ‘be still, stay, dwell’	→ <i>or’rot</i> ‘settle down’	[S – P L N – – K –]

There are also similarly regular *\*-j-*derivatives with wide distributions from North Saami westwards (*vázzát* ‘start walking’, *vuoddját* ‘drive off’, *vuordát* ‘begin to expect’, *čir’rot* ‘begin to cry’) or eastwards (*ahccát* ‘begin to rise (of water)’, *arvát* ‘begin to rain’, *máhttát* ‘begin to know; learn’, *bigget* ‘begin to blow (of wind)’, *borget* ‘start driving snow’). A number of *\*-ō-* → *\*-uje-* inchoatives are attested in the western group of South, Pite and/or Lule Saami (e.g., SaaL *doarrot* ‘fight, quarrel’ → *doar’rut*, P *dur’rut*, S *dåârrijidh* ‘begin to fight’), six of which can be found in more than one language.

The system of *\*-j-*inchoatives has undergone wide-scale analogical developments in two areas. First, the central languages North, Lule and Pite Saami have generalized the *-á(j)-*suffix so that it can also be attached to stems other than *\*ē-*stems, such as SaaN *gullat* ‘hear’ → *gul’lát* ‘begin to hear’ or *doarrut* ‘fight’ → *doar’rát* ‘begin to fight’. Many of the analogical derivatives are common to two or three of these languages (P–L–N: *čuoigát*, *gul’lát*, *bal’lát*, *biv’vát*, *buohccát*, *skihppát*, *dovdát*; L–N: *rahkkát*, *suhkkát*, *doar’rát*; P–L: *tsahkkát*, *duolldát*, *sjnjuv’vát*).<sup>13</sup> Single verbs are also attested in Inari (*pallađ* ‘get a fright’) and Skolt Saami (*puâc’cjed* ‘fall ill’).

Second, Kildin Saami has generalized the suffix *-je* so that a large number of inchoatives have been formed by simply attaching the suffix to the

<sup>12</sup> The distribution figures have been supplemented with Ter Saami data from KKLS. See language abbreviations at the end of the article.

<sup>13</sup> Meanings: P–L–N: *čuoigát* ‘set off on skis’, *gul’lát* ‘begin to hear’, *bal’lát* ‘become scared, get a fright’, *biv’vát* ‘warm up (after being cold)’, *buohccát* ‘become ill’, *skihppát* ‘become unwell, fall ill’, *dovdát* ‘recognize’; L–N: *rahkkát* ‘begin to rut’, *suhkkát* ‘begin to row’, *doar’rát* ‘begin to fight’; P–L: *tsahkkát* ‘begin to glow; ignite’, *duolldát* ‘start boiling’, *sjnjuv’vát* ‘flare up’.

contemporary Kildin base verb stem, without applying the initial-syllable vowel changes that the suffix change would entail from a historical point of view (21 recognizable cases in our data). Notably, though, Kildin Saami also has a group of its own historically regular *\*-ō-* → *\*-ujē-* inchoatives (e.g., *oollvje* <ОЛЛВЪЕ> ‘give a howl’ ← *ǎllve* <ОАЛЛВЭ> = SaaN *holvut* ‘howl’), which might at least partly be remains of an older layer of derivatives that have disappeared from the neighboring languages, considering that Kildin still has a number of regular *\*-ē-* → *\*-ājē-* and *\*-e-* → *\*-ejē-* inchoatives in common with Skolt and Inari (as well as North) Saami but not found elsewhere.

As for the origins of the inchoative type, one should note that verbs with a suffixal *\*-j-* can have several different functions in the Saami languages. Denominal derivatives (with the generalized suffix variant *\*-ejē-* ~ *\*-î-*) can, for instance, mean using or producing the referent of the base word, such as SaaN *murjet*, S *möörjedh* ‘pick berries’ ← SaaN *muorji*, S *muerjie* ‘berry’ (cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 331–333). Deverbal *\*-ujē-* ~ *\*-û-* verbs are mostly automative-passive verbs (e.g., SaaN *gullot* ‘be audible’ ← *gullat* ‘hear’), where the suffix *\*-ujē-* < *\*-ōj(e)-* is apparently identical to Finnic *-u/-y-* (Finnish *kuulua* ‘be audible’ ← *kuule-* ‘hear’) and goes back to *\*-ow(i)-* < stem vowel + *\*-w-* (Sammallahti 1998: 84–85). Deverbal *\*-ejē-* ~ *\*-î-* verbs have a momentative meaning, such as SaaN *njuiket* ‘jump (once)’ (as opposed to frequentative/continuative *njuikut* ‘jump (several times)’). It is thus possible that the inchoative function is ultimately based on (momentative?) aspectual use, as in the case of several other inchoative types. A possibly related derivational suffix going back to *\*-j-* is known in many Uralic branches with a slightly different aspectual meaning, including the frequentative-continuative suffixes in Finnic (Finnish *hyppiä* ‘jump (continuously)’ vs. *hypätä* ‘jump (once)’), Mordvin (Erzya *toštajems* ‘push (repeatedly), jostle’ vs. *toštadems* ‘push, shove’) and Permian (Udmurt *vošjany* ‘keep changing’ vs. *voštyny* ‘change’) (cf. Bartens 1999: 159; 2000: 281).

### 3.5. *\*-lē-*

The inchoative derivatives with an *-l-* suffix are formally identical to the subitive-diminutive derivatives with the *\*-lē-* suffix; the stem shows strong-grade consonantism and no vowel changes with respect to the base verb (cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 333–334). Only a small number of derivatives in western Saami languages show signs of a generalized *-alit* or *-álit* inchoative suffix (e.g., SaaP *luodjalit* ← *luodjot* ‘complain’). The following *-l-* inchoatives occur in at least four Saami languages:

<i>čuoigat</i> ‘ski’	→ <i>čuoigalit</i> ‘set off on skis’	[S --- N I Sk K T]
<i>čuovvut</i> ‘follow’	→ <i>čuovvulit</i> ‘start following’	[- U - L N I Sk - -]
<i>girdit</i> ‘fly’	→ <i>girdilit</i> ‘fly away’	[- - - - N I Sk K -]
<i>oahkut</i> ‘stroll’	→ <i>oahkulit</i> ‘start walking’	[- - - - N - Sk K T]
<i>suhkat</i> ‘row’	→ <i>suhkalit</i> ‘row away’	[S --- N I Sk K T]
<i>vázzit</i> ‘go on foot’	→ <i>vázzilit</i> ‘set off’	[S --- N I Sk K T]
<i>vuodjit</i> ‘drive’	→ <i>vuodjēlit</i> ‘drive off’	[S - P L N I Sk K T]
<i>vuodjat</i> ‘swim’	→ <i>vuodjalit</i> ‘swim off’	[- - - - N I Sk K T]
<i>čuožžut</i> ‘stand’	→ <i>čuožžilit</i> ‘rise, get up’	[S U P L N - - - -]
<i>čuožžut</i> ‘stand’	→ I <i>čuážžuliđ</i> ‘stand up’	[- - - - - I Sk K T]

All the *-l*-inchoatives with a wide distribution (except for *čuožžilit*, about which more below) involve verbs denoting motion, usually active motion of a human being. The same applies to the derivatives found only in North, Inari or Skolt Saami. In Kildin Saami, *-l*-inchoatives may also take verbs of other kinds of semantics, for instance *šeennte* ⟨ШЭННТЭ⟩ ‘grow’ → *šeenntle* ⟨ШЭННТЛЭ⟩ ‘begin to grow’. In Pite and Lule Saami, the derivational type seems instead to favor verbs of somewhat affective semantics, especially those whose meaning involves a prominent sound or being insane (e.g., SaaP *jabmalit*, *klibmalit* ‘start making noise’; P *dárralit*, *dájjsalit*, L *dájssalit* ‘become hysterical, crazy’).

The verb *čuožžilit* ‘rise, get up’ is also exceptional as concerns its phonological relationship to the base verb, *čuožžut* ‘stand’. It is possible that this is a very old coinage based on the original illabial-vowel verb stem *\*čañčá-* (cf. South Estonian *saisa-* ‘stand’) ? > Proto-Saami *\*čuoñčē-*. However, the vocalism of the eastern Saami derivatives SaaI *čuážžuliđ*, Sk *čuęžžled* [tšŷǽđtšǽd], K *čuennčle* ⟨ЧУЭННЧЛЭ⟩, T *čjēñžaled* ‘stand up’ (KKLS: 684:13) points to the proto-form *\*čuoñčōlē-* with a regular correspondence to the contemporary base verb.

### 3.6. *\*-ārV-*

Inchoative verbs in *-árit* (~ *-árít*) are found only in Pite and Lule Saami, including a couple of common verbs (SaaP *stuvvsárit*, L *stuvssárit* ‘begin to play’; SaaP *gájbmárit*, L *gájmmárit*<sup>14</sup> ‘become unstable, insane’). Their logical base verbs represent varying stem types, including the rare *-ur*-verbs such as Pite *gájbmurit* ‘be in an agitated state’. Since *-r-* is not otherwise known as a verb-forming suffix in Saami languages, this inchoative type must

<sup>14</sup> The Lule Saami verb is found only in the dictionaries of Kintell (2012) and Grundström (1946–1954 s.v. *kai’märit*).

have come about through analogy with verbs from other backgrounds, compare for instance SaaL *duhpárit* ‘clog up in wet snow’ (← *duber* ‘wet snow’) or *báhtarit* ‘flee’ (← Proto-Uralic *\*pätäri-*; see Aikio 2013: 162).

### 3.7. *\*-ne-*

The verb-forming suffix *\*-ne-* is usually found in transitive or reflexive/passive verbs and is presumed to ultimately go back to Proto-Uralic *\*-mi-*, cf. SaaN *buorránit* ~ Finnish *parane-* ‘get better’ (M. Korhonen 1981: 335–336). In inchoative function, the suffix mostly appears sporadically in different Saami languages. Only in North Saami has it been more productive in the suffix *-ánit*, corresponding to verbs in *-át* which denote the state of having a definite appearance, such as *barfánit* ‘set off (being furry, bushy)’ ↔ *barfát* ‘lie/stand furry, bushy somewhere’ (↔ *barffas* ‘furry, bushy’ ↔ *barfi* ‘a furry, bushy one’). Two derivatives appear in more than one language, namely (S, P,) L *hállánit* ‘fly off’ (← *háledit* ‘fly’) and N *cahkkánit*, I *cokkániđ* ‘begin to burn’ (← N *cahkat* ‘smoulder’). Kildin Saami *cuagkne* (цyагкнэ) ‘begin to fall (of water level)’ (← *cuagke* цyагкэ ‘fall (of water level)’) belongs to this type as well, judging by its strong-grade stem.

### 3.8. *\*-nte-*

The inchoative verbs with the suffix *-d-* up to Inari Saami, as well as the corresponding *-eed-*verbs in Skolt Saami and *-ne-*inchoatives in Kildin Saami, seem to generally go back to the frequentative suffix *\*-nte-* (cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 330–331). There are few derivatives of this type common to several languages; the most widespread ones are (P, U,) L *tjuottjadit* ‘stand up’ (← *tjuodtjot* ‘stand’), which has an analogical stem vowel, and the two posture verbs SaaN *čohkkedit* ‘sit down’ (← *čohkkát* ‘sit’) and *vel’ledit* ‘lie down’ (← *veal’lát* ‘lie’; both S, U, P, L, N), which are formed with a contracted *\*i-*stem. Other *\*i-*stem derivatives include Skolt *lie’n’njeed* ‘lie down’ (← *lien’njad* ‘lie, rest’) and *no’k’keed* ‘fall asleep’ (← *nokkâd* ‘doze’). Besides these, strong-grade formations are found in Lule *guoddádit* ‘(begin to) support (of snow crust)’ (← *guoddet* ‘carry’) and *váđtsádit* ‘set off (of many)’ (← *váđtset* ‘walk’), which are probably based on *-á(j)-*inchoatives (cf. *váđtsát* ‘set off walking’). Usually, though, *-d-*type inchoatives show a weak-grade stem as expected before the *\*-nte-* suffix, both when the stem vowel is analogical (e.g., SaaL *čiärádiđ* ‘start crying (suddenly)’ ← *čiärruđ* ‘cry, weep’) or regular with respect to the base verb (SaaN *šlahtádit* ‘begin to sleet’ ← *šlahttit* ‘sleet’; SaaK *azne* [ʔecānte-] ‘begin to rise (of water)’ ← *a’ze* [ʔecē-] ‘rise (of water)’).

### 3.9. \*-ijtV-

The derivational suffix \*-ijt- appears in inchoative verbs in Pite, Lule, North and Inari Saami, and individual verbs are found only in one or two languages each. An exception is the verb SaaN *golggiidit* ‘begin to flow, run’ (← *golgat* ‘flow, run’), which has attestations in all four of these languages and also in Kildin Saami (*ko'lkte* «КОЛЬКТЭ» id.). Besides \**e*-stems, base verbs include \**ē*- and \**ō*-stems, but especially in North Saami, many of these inchoatives lack a formal base verb and instead correlate with other complex verbs and possibly also nouns. As regards semantics, many of these verbs denote the beginning of some kind of physical or mental state.

### 3.10. \*-(ē)htē-

Inchoative verbs with suffixal *-ht-* are found in South Saami, with a couple of verbs also occurring in North Saami; there is one possibly common derivative: SaaS *gelkiehtidh* ‘begin to move off in a long line’, N *golggihit* ‘suddenly run (out) or float away’ (← S *galkedh*, N *golgat* ‘run, float’). The suffix brings with it a preceding vowel \**ē* just like the identical subitive-momentative suffix \**-ēhtē-* (cf. SaaS *tjelkiehtidh*, N *čalggihit* ‘suddenly go through (ice, etc.)’ ← S *tjalkedh*, N *čalгат* ‘go through, sink’). Many of the *-ht-* inchoatives also have momentative connotations.

### 3.11. \*-(e)ηkV-

North and Inari Saami have a distinguishable type of inchoative verbs that occur with the suffix *-(a)g-* (< \**-(e)ηk-*) and mostly denote going into a (physical) state or posture. Most have a (semantic) base verb in *-á(j)-*, but they may also have nominal and adverbial correlates, for instance SaaN *hirragit* ‘begin to stick out or sprawl’ ↔ *hir'rát* ‘stand or lie sticking out or sprawling’ ↔ *hirras* ‘(adj.) sticking out; sprawling’ ↔ *hirril* ‘(adv.) id.’. Notably, these 15 North and 18 Inari Saami derivatives include no common verbs. A couple of stray *-g-* inchoatives can be found in South and Lule Saami, too. In general, the *-g-* verbal derivative type appears to be originally denominal and possibly goes back to the Pre-Saami translative suffixes \**-m(i)-* + \**-ka-* > Proto-Saami \**-ηkē-*.

### 3.12. \**-āskē-*

Inchoatives with the suffix *-āsk-* also occur almost exclusively in North and Inari Saami. Some of the derivatives are common to the two languages: SaaN *riiddáskit*, I *riidáskiđ* ‘come into conflict’ (← N *riidalit* ‘quarrel (v.)’, *riidu*

‘quarrel (n.)’); SaaN *doaráskit*, I *tuáráskid̄* ‘begin to fight’ (← N *doarrut* ‘fight’); SaaN *fákkáskit*, I *fágáskid̄* ‘begin to wrestle’ (← N *fággádit* ‘wrestle’, *fággi* ‘wrestling’). One does, however, occur in South Saami as well: SaaS *jealaskidh* ‘begin to recover one’s health’, N *ealáskit*, I *iäláskid̄* ‘come back to life, regain consciousness’ (← N *eallit* ‘live’). Otherwise, the suffix *\*(ā)skē-* is used to form denominal translative verbs (M. Korhonen 1981: 336).

### 3.13. *\*(e)se-*

Inchoatives in *-sit* in North Saami are similar to those in *-iidit* and *-git* in that they correlate with word families denoting states and postures and containing members belonging to several word classes. A few *-s-*inchoatives are also found in South and Ume Saami, but they represent verbs of more general semantics (SaaS *goerkesidh* ‘reach an understanding’; SaaS *valkesidh*, U *valgg(a)sit* ‘begin to go in one direction’). The suffix *\*-se-* is normally used to form reflexive-automotive verbs (M. Korhonen 1981: 336; Magga & Magga 2012: 147).

### 3.14. *\*-stē-*

A few inchoatives with the suffix *\*-stē-* are found in almost all Saami languages, most in South (9) and North Saami (14). Two derivatives are more widely spread: (S, U, P, L,) N *biekkastit* ‘begin to blow (of wind)’ (← *bieggat* ‘blow (of wind)’) and (S, U, P, L,) N, (I) *ruohtastit* ‘begin to gallop’ (← *ruohttat* ‘gallop’). Besides inchoativity, the derivatives often have momentative, subitive or diminutive semantics as well, which are actually the main functions of the deverbal *\*-stē-* suffix (cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 337).

### 3.15. *\*-stuve-*, *\*-uve-* (< *\*-uove-*)

North, Inari and Skolt Saami have a group of verbs with the suffix SaaN *-stuvva-*, I *-stu(v)-*, which bear inchoative connotations. Inchoativity can be seen as a further development of the usual semantics of the verbs with these suffixes, which include feeling the need to, wanting, intending or being close to doing something; consider, for instance, the meanings of SaaI *čiärustud̄* ‘feel like crying; begin to cry’ (← *čiärrud̄* ‘cry’). South, North and Kildin Saami also have a number of other inchoative verbs with the *\*-uve-* ~ *\*-uove-* element, which usually has passive, automotive and translative functions.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The reconstruction *\*-uove-* is mainly based on the southern South Saami variant *-oeve-* and appears to reflect a more archaic form from which the variant *\*-uve-* has been simplified.

#### 4. Conclusions and discussion

The SaaN *-goahtit* (\*-*koatē*-) suffix is the most widely used means of inchoative derivation throughout the Saami language area. In Inari–Skolt–Kildin Saami, the extended variant \*-*č/škoatē*- has taken the place of a general-purpose inchoative suffix. Other widely used suffixes forming purely inchoative derivatives are \*-*j*-, represented by so-called contraction verbs in most Saami languages and generalized as the *-á(j)*- derivational type in North, Lule and Pite Saami, as well as *-ahtja/-áhija*- (\*-*ekčē*-), which is used with imparisyllabic (trisyllabic) base verbs from South Saami up to Lule Saami. The rest of the suffixes tend to have other simultaneous aspectual implications besides inchoativity or special inclinations concerning the base verb semantics, which may be areally more or less restricted. Despite its divergent developments, at least the \*-*lē*- inchoative type (SaaN *vázzilit*) must also already have been established in Proto-Saami, judging by the number of widely known common derivatives (Section 3.5). Actually, the distributional figures show that the \*-*lē*-inchoatives of several motion verbs (N *vázzilit*, *čuoigalit*, *suhkalit*) must have been secondarily replaced with \*-*ā*-inchoatives (SaaN *vázzát*, *čuoigát*, *suhkkát*) in the northwestern Saami languages Pite–Lule(–North). Within North Saami, too, the *-á*-variants are generally known only in the western dialects (Guovdageaidnu; according to Nielsen 1979 [1932–62]).

In several cases, it can be observed that the inchoative function has been reinforced by adding two consecutive suffixes used as inchoatives, such as in SaaI *roohâđ* ‘be in the rut’ → *rohâliđ* ‘come into the rut’ → *rohâlahčâđ* ‘begin to come into the rut’ (*-l*- and *-áhčâ*- also often act as frequentatives). This has led to new productive derivational types, which have been favored by the common Saami inclination towards wordforms consisting of bisyllabic feet, especially in verbal morphology (cf. M. Korhonen 1981: 259–260). Consider the combination of the suffixes *-j*- + *-ahtje*- > SaaS *-jahtje*- when used with a bisyllabic stem: now, for example, the frequent PRS.3SG form *doel.ti|jah.tja* ‘begins to boil’ is prosodically more favorable than that of the plain *-j*-inchoative, *doel.ti.je*. The same factor must also have in part contributed to the amalgamation of the suffixes \*-*(e)kčē*- + \*-*koatē*- > \*-*(e)hčēkoatē*-: PRS.3SG *\*pāh.ken|te.k.čē|koa.tā* ‘begins to warm’ is again more favorable than *\*pāh.ken.te|koa.tā* (the \*-*koatē*- suffix always carries secondary word stress and thus starts a new foot).<sup>16</sup> In this case, though, the prosodic advantage was

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Sammallahti (1998: 84–85, 93) considers the suffix \*-*uovē*- a reflex of the Finno-Saamic passive-reflexive \*-*ov(i)*- < Proto-Uralic (stem vowel +) \*-*w*.

<sup>16</sup> Erroneous reconstructions and their meanings in Kuokkala (2019: 175) should be replaced with these.

later lost when the complex suffix was reduced to \*-(e)čkoatē- (SaaP *-atjgáhtet*) > \*-škoatē- (SaaN *-šgoahtit*, etc.), and the way was open for generalization, leading the new suffix variant to largely replace the old \*-koatē- in all syllable contexts in eastern Saami.

Many of the Saami inchoative suffixes are formally identical to derivational suffixes carrying other aspectual functions, which are partly also present in the corresponding derivatives classified here as inchoative. These include the momentative/subitive/diminutive suffixes \*-lē-, \*-ēhtē-, \*-stē-, frequentative \*-ntē-, \*-ehčē-, reflexive/passive/automotive \*-ne-, \*-se- and translative \*-ne-, \*-(e)ŋk-, \*-(ā)skē-. As the other functions are lexically and geographically more widespread, the obvious conclusion is that the inchoative function is secondary and developed from the other meanings. In one case, however, it appears that an originally inchoative suffix has taken over a momentative function, namely the Inari Saami suffix *-gyettiđ* (see Section 2.5).

The change in function is easy to understand in the case of subitive-momentative derivatives, as especially with onomatopoeic and motion verbs, subitive or momentative aspect, i.e., sudden or brief occurrence, pragmatically also means the beginning of a sound or a movement and can thus develop into a lexicalised inchoative meaning. Frequentative aspect, on the other hand, has a tendency to secondarily denote attempt or intention, which again have a direct implicational link to a briefly beginning action. Connecting links of these semantic chains can be illustrated with contemporary Saami vocabulary; consider for instance SaaN *cielihit* = *cieládit* ‘let out a bark; suddenly begin to bark’ (momentative/inchoative); *viehkaliit* ‘run quickly (to somewhere); run away’ (subitive/inchoative); *beasadiit* ‘get loose (several times); try to escape’ (frequentative/conative); *čuogastuvvat* ‘want to / begin to gobble, lap’ (intentional/inchoative). Finally, the connection of passive/automotive and translative functions with inchoativity has to do with the notion of change of state, expressed either verbally or nominally, which, when focusing on the result, means simply the beginning of a new state. To mention a parallel case, the Karelian reflexive/passive/translative verb suffixes *-utu/-yty-* and *-vu/-vy-* have also acquired an inchoative use (e.g., *elevyö* ‘revive; begin to live’ ← *eleä* ‘live’). The expansion of an originally denominal derivative type, such as translatives, into deverbal use may have happened with the support of such derivatives that have an associatable correlate in both word classes, consider for instance SaaN *ražáskit* ‘begin working hard’ ← *rahča* ‘hard work’, *rahčat* ‘work hard, struggle’.

Thus, nearly all the means of inchoative derivation in Saami languages seem to stem from suffixes with other aspectual functions, and although a few of the derivative types do have a wide distribution and widely known

individual derivatives in the language area, we can hardly assume more than 3–4 of the 14 suffixes listed in Section 3 to have constituted even a liminally established inchoative derivational type in Proto-Saami. One or two old inchoatively used derivatives may have later provoked the expansion of an inchoative type, as in the case of *\*-stē-* and SaaN *biekkastit* ‘begin to blow (of wind)’, *ruohtastit* ‘begin to gallop’; otherwise, we must largely assume parallel developments. The *\*-koatē-* inchoative suffix has in the past been etymologically connected to Veps *-gande-*, *-škande-* and Mordvin *-kadā-*, *-gadā-* inchoatives, but the comparisons are problematic from the perspective of historical phonology, and in view of the fact that the Saami suffix acts prosodically like a compound part, it seems probable that it developed during the Proto-Saami period from an independent lexeme, possibly the verb *\*poatē-* ‘come’ (see Kuokkala 2019). The Mordvin momentative/inchoative suffix *-ž(ə)-*, which has been compared with SaaS–L *-ahtja-/ -āhtja-* (Hallap 2000 [1955]: 138), must also be separated on phonological grounds, as the Inari Saami cognate *-(l)āhčā-* points to original *\*-kč-* and a connection with the Finnic frequentative *-ks(i)-* (e.g., Finnish *pureksia* ‘chew’ ← *pure-* ‘bite’). To conclude, all the derivational means of expressing inchoativity in Saami languages appear to have developed during the separate development of the Saami branch of the Uralic language family, most of them even after the breakup of the common Proto-Saami language.

### Abbreviations

adj. —adjective; adv. —adverb; intr. —intransitive (verb); n. —noun; (Saa)I—Inari Saami(Saa); K—Kildin Saami; (Saa)L—Lule Saami; (Saa)N—North Saami; (Saa)P—Pite Saami; (Saa)S—South Saami; (Saa)Sk—Skolt Saami; (Saa)U—Ume Saami; (Saa)T—Ter Saami; tr. —transitive (verb); v. —verb.

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