

Partitive or genitive plural? Use and formation of the partitive case in Kildin Saami¹

Elisabeth Scheller

*Tromsø, Norway
scheller.elisabeth@gmail.com*

The paper presents research results on the partitive case in the Kildin Saami language. For this purpose, modern standardized and non-standardized literary texts and example sentences in dictionaries written by authors who are native Kildin Saami speakers have been analysed.

With the help of abundant examples, the use and functions of the partitive case in Kildin Saami are described. The large number of partitive forms found in the analysed material, as well as partitive generation within new loanwords, show that the partitive is still a living and productive case in Kildin Saami.

The present analysis confirms the hypothesis about two different suffixes that generate the Kildin Saami partitive depending on the word stem. In contrast to the opinion of other researchers, who assume that the partitive appears as a single form used to express both singular and plural referents, the present analysis shows that a certain group of nouns and pronouns has different partitive forms for singular and plural referents.

Thereafter follows argumentation against the hypothesis about the replacement of the partitive with the genitive plural due to Rus-

¹ The manuscript of the paper was submitted for publication in November 2023. The article is partly based on materials presented at the *International scholarly conference on “The Saami languages of Russia: Synchrony and diachrony”*, organized and carried out by the Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of the Peoples of the North, Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia in St. Petersburg 11.–12.05.2023. All presentations were live streamed via the Internet; the presentation abstracts were published in advance both digitally and on paper [Gaidamashko 2023; Scheller 2023].

sian interference. Instead, examples are presented showing the replacement of the partitive with the genitive and other cases due to semantic and syntactic reasons.

Keywords: Kildin Saami language; partitive; formation, use and functions of the partitive case; genitive plural; Kildin Saami standardized and non-standardized texts; language revitalization

Acknowledgements: I thank my colleagues Trond Trosterud and Trond Tynnøl for reading, commenting on, and improving the English text of the final manuscript of the article.

For citation: Scheller E. Partitive or genitive plural? Use and formation of the partitive case in Kildin Saami. *Rodnoy yazyk*, 2024, 1: 70–130. DOI: 10.37892/2313-5816-2024-1-70-130

Партитив или генитив множественного числа? Употребление и образование разделительного падежа в кильдинском саамском языке

Элизабет Шеллер

Тромсё, Норвегия
scheller.elisabeth@gmail.com

В данной работе представлены результаты исследований о разделительном падеже (партитиве) в кильдинском саамском языке. Для этого были проанализированы современные стандартизированные и нестандартизированные художественные тексты и примеры предложений в словарях, написанных авторами, которые являются носителями кильдинского саамского языка.

С помощью множества примеров описаны употребление и функции партитива в кильдинском саамском языке. Большое количество найденных в проанализированном материале форм партитива и его образование новыми заимствованными словами показывает, что партитив является живым и продуктивным падежом в кильдинском саамском языке.

Проведенный анализ утверждает гипотезу о двух разных суффиксах, с помощью которых, в зависимости от основы слова, образуется кильдинский саамский партитив. В отличии от мнен-

ния других исследователей, которые предполагают использование одной и той же формы партитива для выражения как единственного, так и множественного числа, настоящий анализ показывает, что определенная группа существительных и местоимений имеет разные формы для выражения партитива единственного и множественного числа.

Затем следует аргументация, которая опровергает гипотезу о замене партитива родительным падежом (генитивом) множественного числа из-за влияния русского языка. Вместо этого представлены примеры для замены партитива генитивом и другими падежами, которая происходит из-за семантических и синтаксических причин.

Ключевые слова: Кильдинский саамский язык; разделительный падеж (партитив), образование, употребление и функции партитива; родительный падеж (генитив); стандартизированные и нестандартизированные тексты на кильдинском саамском языке; языковая ревитализация

Для цитирования: Шеллер Э. Партитив или генитив множественного числа? Употребление и образование разделительного падежа в кильдинском саамском языке. *Родной язык*, 2024, 1: 70–130. DOI: 10.37892/2313-5816-2024-1-70-130

1. Introduction

The partitive case has historically been used in all Saami languages, especially in the eastern Saami varieties [Kont 1967, 1968; Itkonen 1973]. In this paper the focus is upon the partitive case in the Kildin Saami language.

No comprehensive description of the Kildin Saami partitive has been published yet. I. Halász [1883], A. G. Endyukovskiy [1937], R. D. Kuruch [1985] and M. Rießler [2022]² mention the partitive case in their grammar sketches. A superficial description of the Kildin Saami partitive can be found in Koivunen's comparative study of partitive use in different Eastern Saami languages [2022]. More detailed information is presented by

² Rießler has held oral presentations about his ongoing research work on the Kildin Saami partitive, which the author of this paper has not had the possibility to listen to. No scholarly publications from Rießler about this topic are available yet.

G. M. Kert in his Kildin Saami grammar [1971: 141, 162, 167, 171, 244] and grammar sketch [1975: 208, 220–222, 228, 242]. So far, the most comprehensive description of the Kildin Saami partitive can be found in L. Szabó's article from [1984], where the partitive functions and use are discussed. K. Nielsen's [1928], K. Kont's [1967] and E. Itkonen's [1973] publications about the history of the partitive in Finno-Ugric languages are an important complement to Szabó's and Kert's descriptions³.

When it comes to the inclusion of partitive forms in grammatical paradigms, there has been a difference between the Finnish-Hungarian and Soviet-Russian research traditions. Whereas Halász [1883] and Szabó [1968] include the partitive in the paradigms in their grammar sketches and grammatical notes, we do not find partitive forms in the paradigms of nouns, pronouns and numerals in Endyukovskiy's [1937], Kert's [1971] and Kuruch's [1985] grammars and grammar sketches, although they can be found in example sentences in the same publications, and the partitive is included in the table with Kildin Saami case marking suffixes in Kert's grammar [1971]⁴. Sammallahti and Khvorostukhina⁵ [1991] again present the partitive in the paradigms in their dictionary between Kildin Saami and North Saami, as does Rießler in his grammar sketch from [2022].

The mentioned grammatical materials are primarily of interest to linguists. But for Kildin Saami language learners and teachers the available information about the partitive case is not sufficient, because no precise morphological information about the formation of the partitive case is given, and the descriptions of partitive use and functions are fragmented, spread

³ For a more comprehensive description of the history of the partitive, see [Nielsen 1928; Kont 1967, 1968; Itkonen 1973; Korhonen 1981: 214–216; Sammallahti 1998: 70–71].

⁴ In S. N. Tereshkin's Ter Saami grammar [2002] the partitive is not described at all, nor is it included in the paradigms. In P. M. Zaykov's Akkala Saami grammar [1987] the partitive is described and presented in some paradigm tables for nouns.

⁵ Anastasiya Khvorostukhina is a native Kildin Saami speaker living in Norway.

over various publications and presented in at least four languages.

Some of the reasons why the partitive has not been included in most of the prescriptive Kildin Saami language teaching materials (among these also [Sharshina, Scheller 2008]) could be the absence of the partitive in the paradigms of the descriptive grammatical materials available to the Kildin Saami community, incomplete descriptions, as well as the hypotheses about the partitive as a “disappearing case in the Kola Saami languages” [Szabó 1984: 145; Itkonen 1973: 303] and its substitution by the genitive plural, due to influences from the Russian majority language [Kert 1971: 162; Szabó 1984: 145; Kuruch 1985: 545; Rießler 2022: 226]. Apart from studies at the university level, the partitive most probably neither has been taught at Kildin Saami lessons at school nor in language courses.

Kildin Saami is a severely threatened indigenous minority language with fewer than 200 speakers today. Intergenerational language transmission has been interrupted and no domains are left where the language can be learned in a natural way through everyday communication⁶. Therefore Kildin Saami language teaching on courses and at school with the help of analogue and digital teaching materials and learning tools is an important measure within the ongoing language revitalisation process.

In 2021 a *Russian — Kildin Saami and Kildin Saami — Russian dictionary* for language learners, teachers and others who are interested in practical Kildin Saami language revitalisation was published on the internet [Antonova, Scheller 2021]⁷. Although the dictionary is still under development, it provides the most comprehensive grammatical paradigms for Kildin Saami

⁶ For a more detailed description of the language situation see [Scheller 2013, 2015; Scheller f.c.].

⁷ The digitalization of the lexicographical and grammatical materials was carried out by the programmers and computational linguists at *Giellatekno* and *Divvun — Saami language technology at University of Tromsø — The Arctic University of Norway* [<https://sanj.oahpa.no/about/>].

verbs and nouns so far, including partitive forms for most of the nouns and for some pronouns. Both Kildin Saami language learners and the grammatical analyser need to know precisely which word stem gets which suffix and in what positions. This concerns all the grammatical forms, not only the partitive. The grammatical analyser used in the dictionary from 2021 is based on comprehensive research work which resulted in a prescriptive Kildin Saami grammar specially designed for language learners and teachers [Antonova, Scheller: in preparation]. With the help of this grammar, a functioning grammatical transducer could be built within two months⁸.

In this paper I present some of the research results that lie behind the chapter about the partitive in the prescriptive Kildin Saami grammar. The formation and use of partitives in Kildin Saami will be described with the help of abundant examples from the analysed materials. Furthermore, I show that the partitive is a living and productive case in Kildin Saami and argue that the hypothesis about the frequent substitution of the partitive with the genitive plural by younger speakers due to Russian interference is a misinterpretation.

1.1. Research material

The main materials analysed are standardized and non-standardized literary texts and example sentences in dictionaries, written by native first- or second language users of Kildin Saami published in a period from 1985 to 2022. Earlier research

⁸ There have been attempts to develop a Russian-Kildin Saami dictionary and a grammatical analyser (automaton) since 2005, but without success [Rießler 2013: 209–213]. Instead of focusing on basic research on Kildin Saami grammar and vocabulary, it was decided to digitize existing incomplete lexicographic and grammatical materials and to train native Kildin Saami speakers without experience and education in computational linguistics to use complicated database structures and XML technology in the hope that they would do the linguistic part of the work. This has not been a realistic approach and no digital dictionary or analyser have yet been published by the researchers involved.

on the Kildin Saami partitive was mainly based on oral folklore, collected at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, written down, transcribed and analysed by researchers with a limited knowledge of Kildin Saami, often with help from native speakers who did not write in Kildin Saami themselves and who were not schooled in phonetic or phonologic transcription techniques. The use of modern standardized and non-standardized literary texts written by native Kildin Saami speakers may help to get results that can fill some of the gaps left by the earlier research. As a second language learner and speaker of both Kildin Saami and Russian, I have also had the possibility to make my own observations when using Kildin Saami in oral and written communication with Kildin Saami first- and second language users, which has been very helpful for my analysis.

The analysed literary and dictionary texts are written in the three variants of the Kildin Saami orthography that have been used during the last 40 years. Because there have been very few persons with mastery of the official written language, most of the literary texts were written without, or with only partial consideration to the orthography, and have been corrected by the few specialists before publishing. Most of the published Kildin Saami literary texts are written with the alphabet developed by Kildin Saami language teacher and specialist A. A. Antonova, and many of them have been corrected according to the orthography that is based on this alphabet. However, the investigation of the characteristic features of the partitive form is not affected by the differences between the alphabet variants, since the orthography shows the same rules for the generation of partitives independent of the alphabet used⁹.

[TKS 2013] has been edited by E. Scheller in near collaboration with the translator A. A. Antonova, who also approved the

⁹ For more information about the development of the Kildin Saami alphabet and orthography and the differences between the variants see [Agranat 2021; Bakula 2018, 2020; Overland, Berg-Nordlie 2012; Rießler 2013; Siegl, Rießler 2015; Scheller 2004, 2013, 2015; Scheller f.c.].

final version of the manuscript before publication. [MPE 2022] as well as some parts of [TOL 2017] and [ASL 2019] have been corrected by Scheller according to Antonova's orthography before publication. All these texts I had at my disposition both in the uncorrected (unstandardized) original manuscript form and in the corrected (standardized) published form. In my analysis I compared the non-standardized texts with the standardized texts and investigated especially if and how the authors use the partitive case. In the examples published in this paper, the spelling has been taken from the published cited source including possible orthographic mistakes.

Apart from some poetry and a few folklore texts, most of the Kildin Saami literature consists of translations from Russian into Kildin Saami. Before publication, the manuscripts are usually given for proofreading to one of the few specialists with knowledge of the written language. The main reason why the Kildin Saami authors prefer to write their texts in Russian first and translate them into Kildin Saami afterwards is because they are not used to writing in their native language. Translated text materials can be considered as problematic for the analysis of the grammar of a language. Still, for the analysis of endangered minority languages such texts constitute an important source of material. In addition, translations of modern literary texts stimulate the development of the minority language and its modernisation. The Kildin Saami language is today rarely used in spontaneous oral conversations about more complex modern topics, consequently there is only restricted room for development and modernization of the spoken language. Therefore, translations of written modern literary texts, as for example [TKS 2013], represents an important domain in which the modern Kildin Saami language may develop. There is no doubt that the Kildin Saami translations are influenced by the Russian originals, which is primarily noticeable in the vocabulary and in the syntax, and to a lesser extent in the morphology. However, the study of the partitive case has not been especially affected by this.

Kildin Saami language skills, knowledge of the orthography variants used in the text materials, and a critical approach to the

research material have been crucial for my analysis. 20 years of sociolinguistic research in the Kildin Saami language community, a deeper understanding of the language situation, experience from correcting written Kildin Saami literary texts as well as from teaching native speakers about Kildin Saami grammar and orthography, have given me important background information for the analysis: Which writers master the written language and to what extent? What orthographic and grammatical mistakes and errors are usual among Kildin Saami speakers who write in their native language? Which writers are active speakers? Who has passive language knowledge and on which level? And so forth.

Most transcriptions of oral Kildin Saami language materials have been carried out by non-Saami researchers with a limited knowledge of the Kildin Saami language, which is a challenging factor for the analysis of these materials. On the other side, written texts from native speakers who do not have mastery of the written language have also been a challenging factor — both must be checked against observations of the use of partitives in oral speech. Because only a few Kildin Saami speakers use their native language naturally in everyday communication, it is not easy to elicit grammatical forms, for example by asking the native speakers to translate isolated Russian sentences into Kildin Saami. A good solution for this problem was active communication with native speakers in Kildin Saami and observing partitive forms which appear in spontaneous conversations and discussions about more advanced topics.

1.2. Transliteration of Kildin Saami examples

The Kildin Saami examples are given both in the Kildin Saami orthography used in the published texts, and in a Latin transliteration that is based on an adaption of ISO/R 9 1968. For special Kildin Saami letters which are not included in the Russian alphabet, additional signs are used to facilitate understanding for readers familiar with other Saami languages and Finno-Ugric transcription methods.

Transliteration of special Kildin Saami letters

Long vowels	<i>Cursive</i>	Adaptation to ISO/R 9 1968	<i>Cursive</i>
Ā ā	Ā ā	Ā ā	Ā ā
Ī ĩ	Ī ĩ	Ī ĩ	Ī ĩ
Ō ō	Ō ō	Ō ō	Ō ō
Ū ū	Ū ū	Ū ū	Ū ū
Ē ē	Ē ē	Ē ē	Ē ē
Palatalised vowels at the beginning of a word and after a vowel			
Ē ē	Ē ē	Jē jē	Jē jē
Ē ē	Ē ē	Jo jo	Jo jo
Ю ю	Ю ю	Jū jū	Jū jū
Я я	Я я	Ja ja	Ja ja
etc.			
Vowels following palatalised consonants			
Е	е	'e	'e
ē	ē	'ē	'ē
Я	я	'a	'a
я̄	я̄	'ā	'ā
etc.			
Vowels following half-palatalised consonants			
Ä	ä	'a	'a
Э	э	'e	'e
Voiceless consonants			
Л	л	l̥	l̥
М	м	m̥	m̥
Н	н	n̥	n̥
Р	р	r̥	r̥
Nasal consonants			
Н	н	ŋ	ŋ
Dividing sign			
Ъ	ъ	''	''

Palatalisation sign			
Ь		'	'
Half-palatalisation sign			
Ъ		·	·

2. Use and functions of the partitive in Kildin Saami

Kert [1971: 162], Itkonen [1973: 298–300] and Szabó [1984: 145–148] mention four functions of the partitive in Kildin Saami:

- (1) *use with numerals over six,*
- (2) *use with an indefinite quantity,*
- (3) *use with some pre- and postpositions and*
- (4) *use in comparison.* Halász [1883: 13] and Itkonen [1973: 291, 292] also mention the use of the partitive
- (5) *with numeral attributes that determine nouns in the locative.*

The great number of examples for these functions in the modern literary texts, confirmed by my own observations of the active use of the partitive in spontaneous oral speech, shows that the partitive is still a frequently and actively used case in Kildin Saami. In addition to the above-mentioned five functions, I found even more. Below I will show the partitive functions found in my materials and illustrate each of them with at least three examples from several texts.

In the investigated modern literary texts, the partitive is used with:

2.1. Numerals over six

With a few exceptions, the partitive in the analysed material is always used with numerals over six.

- | | | |
|--|---------------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>Кудтэй</i> | <i>лоагкь</i> | <i>минутадтэ.</i> |
| <i>Kūdtej</i> | <i>loagk'</i> | <i>minutadt'e.</i> |
| remain.PST.3SG | ten.NOM | minute.PART.SG |
| 'Ten minutes remained.' | | |
| 'Осталось десять минут.' [TKS 2013: 197] | | |

- (2) (Сõнн) вуэлькэдъ нāхһпа кыджемь сахар кусськэ.
 (Sõnn) vuell'ked' nāhһpa kydž'em' sahar kuss'ke.
 3SG.NOM throw.PST.3SG cup.ILL.SG seven.NOM sugar piece.PART.SG
 '(She) threw seven pieces of sugar in the cup.'
 '(Она) бросила в чашку семь кусков сахара.' [TKS 2013: 82]
- (3) Я коадчесьт кӯхтэмплаогъ õхһнувьедтә Йжесь.
 Ja koadč'es't kūhhtempoagk' õhһnuvv'jedt'e İže's'.
 And call.PST.3SG twelve.NOM disciple.PART.SG REFL.3SG.GEN
 'And (he) called His twelve disciples.'
 'И (он) призвал двенадцать учеников Своих.' [МРЕ 2022: 10, 1]
- (4) Розая танна ляйй кāххц ыҝке.
 Rozaja tanna l'ajj kāhhc ygk'e.
 Roza.ILL.SG then be.PST.3SG eight.NOM year.PART.SG
 'Roza at that time was eight years old.'
 'Розе тогда было восемь лет.' [ASL 2019: 36]
- (5) лāййнэдъ мыннḗ лоагъ мārрҝкэ
 lājned' тунн'е loagk' mārҝ'ke
 lend.IMP.SG 1ILL.SG ten.NOM ruble.PART.SG
 'lend me ten rubles'
 'одолжи мне десять рублей' [SRS 1985: 161]

2.2. Distributive numerals

Both the partitive and the genitive are used with distributive numerals, as for example: **әфтә** *efte* 'one by one, one at a time, one of each', **күтә** *küt'e* 'two by two, two at a time, two of each', **колмә** *kolme* 'three by three, three at a time, three of each' etc.

- (6) Кудә-кыджьме алкнедтә саесът,
 Kude-kydž'm'e alknedt'e sajes't,
 six-seven.DISTR.NUM cub.PART.SG instead of
 'Instead of six or seven cubs'
 'Вместо шести-семи детёнышей' [KL 2003: 138]
- (7) Кудтә рйвьнḗ мйльлтә лөв кудә
 Kudt'e rīv'n'e mill'te lëv kude
 two.DISTR.NUM side.GEN.PL on.POSTP be.NPST.PL six.DISTR.NUM
 кыррҝйнэссә колмә- угглә- нāлла нядтма.
 kyrҝ'jnesse kolme- uggle- nālla n'adtma.
 decoration.PART.SG three.DISTR.NUM corner.PART.SG shaped sew.PTCP.PST

‘There are 6 triangular-shaped decorations sewn on both sides.’

‘По обеим сторонам пришиты по 6 украшений треугольной формы.’ [SU 2011: 69]

(8) сыйй	воа́льтэнь	пувлэ	эл	югкьенч	сйнэнь
syjj	voáll'ten'	puvle	ēl	jugk'jenč	sīnen'
3PL.NOM	take.PST.3PL	knee.GEN.PL	on.POSTP	every	3PL.LOC

күтэ

парна

күтэ

parna

two.DISTR.NUM children.DIM.GEN.SG

‘they took two children each on their knees’

‘они взяли к себе на колени по двое детей каждый’ [TKS 2013: 192]

2.3. Indefinite quantity

In the analysed texts, the partitive, as a rule, is used with an indefinite quantity, which is expressed in many ways, for example: **ённэ** *jēnne* ‘(how) many, (how) much’, **эйй ённэ** *ejj jēnne* ‘not much, not many; some, a few’, **вāнас** *vānas* ‘few’, **ёнамп** *jēnamp* ‘more’, **ёнмушша** *jēnmušša* ‘a little bit more’, **янаш** *jānaš* ‘most, majority’, **тэннверьт** *tennver't* ‘so many, so much’, **мэннверьт** *mennver't* ‘how many, how much’, **мённ-ля́ннч вёрьт** *mēnn-l'ānnč v'er't* ‘a few, some’, **югке** *jugk'e* ‘all sorts of’, **куэммерь** *kuemm'er'* ‘a handful’, **оммп пāххьк** *ōmmp pāhh'k* ‘a whole mountain’, **тйвт** *tīvt* ‘full of’, **нйльм тйвт** *n'all'm tīvt* ‘a mouth full’, **пэль** *p'ēl'* ‘half of something’, **альт** *al't* ‘around, about’ etc.

(9) Ённэ	лоанньтэ	кырьтэ	соннэ	вуэсста.
Jēnne	loann'te	kyr'te	sonn'e	vuessta.
many	bird.PART.SG	fly.3PST.SG	3SG.ILL	against

‘Many birds flew towards him.’

‘Много птиц летело ему навстречу.’ [ASL 2019: 70]

(10) Ённэ	тёнуькэ	онэ	Густав?
Jēnne	tēnū'ke	ōn'e	Gustav?
how much	money.PART.SG	spent.3PST.SG	Gustav.NOM

‘How much money did Gustav spend?’

‘Сколько денег потратил Густав?’ [TKS 2013: 38]

(11) лэйип	суййнэ	ли	ённэ, а	чуххпедтэ	ли	вāнас
l'ējip	sūjine	lī	jēnne, a	čūhhp"jedt'e	lī	vānas
harvest.PART.SG	3NPST.SG	many but	cradler.PART.SG	be.3NPST.SG	few	

‘the harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few’

‘жатвы много, а делателей мало’ [MPE 2022: 9, 37]

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (12) | <i>мэнэ</i> | <i>эйй</i> | <i>әннэ</i> | <i>минутадтэ</i> |
| | <i>mēne</i> | <i>ejj</i> | <i>jēnne</i> | <i>minutadt'e</i> |
| | pass.3PST.SG | NEG.3SG | many | minute.PART.SG |

‘a few minutes passed’

‘прошло несколько (не много) минут’ [TKS 2013: 54]

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (13) | <i>сөнн</i> | <i>пыйель</i> | <i>йджясь</i> | <i>кәррьюэдта</i> | <i>бммп</i> | <i>пākь</i> |
| | <i>sōnn</i> | <i>pyj'el'</i> | <i>idž'as'</i> | <i>kār'r'juedta</i> | <i>ōmmp</i> | <i>pāk'</i> |
| | 3SG.NOM | put.3PST.SG | REFL.3SG.ILL | plate.ILL.SG | whole | mountain.ACC.SG |

нӱлкседтэ

n'alksedt'e

sweets.PART

‘she put a whole mountain of sweets on her plate’

‘она наложила себе на тарелку целую гору сладостей’ [TKS 2013: 82]

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| (14) | <i>Горшкэсьт</i> | <i>түввт</i> | <i>шәннтэ</i> | <i>чӱдзе.</i> |
| | <i>Goršhkest</i> | <i>tivvt</i> | <i>šennte</i> | <i>čädz'e.</i> |
| | pot.LOC.SG | full | be.3PST.SG | water.PART.SG |

‘The pot filled with water.’

‘Горшок заполнился водой.’ [ASL 2019: 134]

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| (15) | <i>Чӱдзе</i> | <i>тамьне</i> | <i>оччтэдэ</i> | <i>роањьк</i> | <i>райя.</i> |
| | <i>Čädz'e</i> | <i>tam'p'e</i> | <i>oččtede</i> | <i>roaŋ'k</i> | <i>rajja.</i> |
| | water.PART.SG | there | turn up.PST.3SG | waist.GEN.SG | to.POSTP |

‘The water there was waist deep.’

‘Воды там оказалось по пояс.’ [TKS 2013: 58]

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| (16) | <i>пэль</i> | <i>кӱссе</i> | <i>мәнэ</i> |
| | <i>p'el'</i> | <i>k'ēss'e</i> | <i>mēne</i> |
| | half | summer.PART.SG | pass.PST.3SG |

‘half of the summer has passed’

‘прошла половина лета’ [SRS 1985: 252]

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (17) | <i>А</i> | <i>пӱррӱедтэ</i> | <i>лӱйй</i> | <i>альт</i> |
| | <i>A</i> | <i>pōrr'jedt'e</i> | <i>l'āj</i> | <i>al't</i> |
| | but | eater.PART.SG | be.PST.3SG | about.PREP |
| | <i>вӱдтэ</i> | <i>тоӱфант</i> | <i>ӱллмэдтэ</i> | |
| | <i>vudte</i> | <i>toāfant</i> | <i>ōllmedt'e</i> | |
| | five.PART.SG | thousand | person.PART | |

‘But there were about five thousand persons eating’

‘А евших было около пяти тысяч человек’ [MPE 2022: 14, 21]

2.4. Together with some prepositions

Most pre- and postpositions are used with nouns in the genitive. However, I found at least nine prepositions which are used with nouns in the partitive:

а) алыт *al't* 'nearby, near' — about place

- (18) *сөнн* *ялл* *алыт* *школэдтэ*
sōnn *jäll* *al't* *školedt'e*
 3SG.NOM live.NPST.3SG near.PREP school.PART
 'he lives near the school'
 'он живёт около школы' [SRS 1985: 24]

- (19) *Алыт* *палаткэдтэ*
All't *palatkedt'e*
 near.PREP tent.PART
 'Near the tent'
 'Около палатки' [TKS 2013: 168]

- (20) *алыт* *рүввьт* *чүххкэ* *станциедтэ*
all't *rūvv't* *čūhhke* *stancijedt'e*
 near.PREP railway.ADJ station.PART.SG
 'near the railway station'
 'у железнодорожной станции' [TKS 2013: 131]

б) алыт *al't* 'around' — about time

- (21) *алыт* *ажян* *ыге*
al't *až'an* *yg'e*
 about.PREP father.GEN.SG.POSS.1 year.PART.PL
 'around my father's age'
 'примерно в возрасте моего отца' [VP 1996: 47]

- (22) *Тэйта* *пассьнийвэ* *алыт* *ый* *аййкэ*
Tejta *pass'rijve* *all't* *uj* *ajjke*
 this.ACC.PL sunday.GEN.PL around.PREP night our.PART.SG
лань, *коашиштэдэ,* *ногкэ*
lanŋ, *koāšštēde,* *nogke*
 city.NOM.SG seem.PST.3SG doze.INF
 'In these Sunday night hours, the city seemed to be dozing'
 'В эти воскресные предночные часы город, казалось, дремал'
 [TKS 2013: 92]

- (23) Я авта выйтэ альт кудант я
 Ja avvta vujte al't kudent ja
 and again leave.PST.3SG around.PREP six.ORD and
 ахцант **чассэ**
 ahhcant **časse**
 nine.ORD clock.PART.SG
 'And (he) again left around six and nine o'clock'
 'И (он) опять вышел около шестого и девятого часа' [MPE 2022: 20, 5]

с) вўсьт *vūs't* 'opposite, against'

- (24) вўйе вўсьт **выррьтэ**
 vuj'e vūs't **vurr'te**
 swim.INF against.PREP flow.PART.SG
 'to swim against the flow'
 'плыть против течения' [SRS 1985: 58]
- (25) Кё элля Мунэнь, тэдт лй
 K'e ellja Munen' tedt li
 who.NOM.SG be.NEG.NPST.3SG 3SG.COM that.NOM.SG be.NPST.3SG
 вўсьт **Муннэ**
 vūs't **Munne**
 against.PREP 3SG.PART
 'Whoever is not with Me is against Me'
 'Кто не со Мною, тот против Меня' [MPE 2022: 12, 30]
- (26) Сөнн ыштэ скамейка эл вўсьт **муннэ**
 Sönn yšte skamejka el vūs't **munne**
 3SG.NOM sit.PST.3SG bench.GEN.SG on.POSTP opposite.PREP 1SG.PART
 'She sat down on the bench opposite me'
 'Она села на скамейку напротив меня' [TKS 2013: 215]

д) вэсьт *ves't* 'near, against, on' — about place

- (27) сўйе вэсьт **стённэ**
 sōj'e ves't **st'enne**
 lean.INF against.PREP wall.PART.SG
 'lean against the wall'
 'прислониться к стене' [SRS 1985: 325]
- (28) мудта вэстэнь Сөн вэсьт **каййнэ**
 mudta vessten' Sönn ves't **kajjpe**
 other.NOM.PL hit.PST.3PL 3SG.ACC on.PREP chin.PART.SG
 'others hit Him on the chin'
 'другие же ударили Его по подбородку' [MPE 2022: 26, 67]

- (29) Чăдзъ мĕлкнесьт ляшкэнът вэсьт **рыннтэ.**
Čādź’ mĕlkn’es’t l’āšken’t ves’t rynn̄te.
 water.NOM.SG quietly.ADV splash.PST.3SG against.PREP shore.PART.SG
 ‘The water quietly splashed against the shore.’
 ‘Вода тихо плескалась о берег.’ [TKS 2013: 171]

е) вэсьт *ves’t* ‘before’ — about time

- (30) Мэйт-ляннч мун роауњък сёрр, зу
Měj̄t-l’ānnč tun roaŋŋ’k sēr̄r gu
 somehow 3SG.GEN body.NOM.SG play.NPST.3SG. like
 вэсьт **туаррэ?**
ves’t tuarre?
 before.PREP fight.PART.SG
 ‘Somehow my body is acting like it’s before a fight?’
 ‘Что-то тело моё играет, будто перед боем?’ [TOL 2017: 39]

- (31) вэсьт **нагъруввэдтэ**
ves’t nag’ruvvedt’e
 before.PREP falling asleep.PART
 ‘before falling asleep’
 ‘перед сном’ [TKS 2013: 186]

ф) маңа *taŋŋa* ‘after’

The preposition *taŋŋa* is usually used with nouns and numerals in the locative:

- (32) сөнн маңа кэбэсьт роавасмэ
sōnn taŋŋa kēbes’t roavasme
 3SG.NOM after.PREP illness.LOC.SG be stronger.PST.3SG
 ‘he got stronger after his illness’
 ‘он окреп после болезни’ [SRS 1985: 293]

However, in the analysed material *taŋŋa* also appears with nouns in the partitive.

- (33) маңа лоссесь кэбнэ сөнэсьт кăссь
taŋŋa lōss’es’ kēbre sōnes’t kăssv
 after.PREP serious.ADJ illness.PART.SG 3SG.LOC face.NOM.SG
ĕm̄m̄neluvē
jēt̄m̄n’eluvē
 be like earth.PST.3SG
 ‘after a serious illness his face became sallow’
 ‘у него после тяжёлой болезни лицо стало землистым’ [SRS 1985: 80]

(34) <i>Нымьп</i>	<i>пэйв,</i>	<i>кү</i>	<i>ёадт</i>	<i>маһуа</i>
<i>Нут'р</i>	<i>р'эјѵ</i>	<i>кӱ</i>	<i>joadt</i>	<i>таһа</i>
next.GEN.SG	day.GEN.SG	which.NOM.SG	come.NPST.3SG	after.PREP
<i>пётнэц</i>	<i>пэййвэ</i>			
<i>р'ётнес</i>	<i>р'эјјѵе</i>			
Friday.ADJ	day.PART.SG			

'The next day, the one following Friday'

'На другой день, который следует за пятницею' [МРЕ 2022: 27, 62]

See also examples (57) and (80).

g) маҗельт *таҗел't* 'behind'

The partitive is also used together with the preposition *таҗел't*.

(35) <i>маҗельт</i>	<i>муннэ</i>	<i>чуэннчель</i>
<i>таҗел't</i>	<i>тинне</i>	<i>џиеннџ'ел'</i>
behind	1SG.PART	stand.IMP.SG
'stand behind me'		
'встань позади меня' [SRS 1985: 183]		

(36) <i>Оаһка</i>	<i>маҗельт</i>	<i>муннэ</i>	<i>вэннэсыт</i>	<i>чунче</i>
<i>Оаһка</i>	<i>таҗел't</i>	<i>тинне</i>	<i>vənnəsət</i>	<i>čunč'e</i>
grandmother.NOM.SG	behind.PREP	1SG.PART	boat.LOC.SG	stand.PST.3SG
'My grandmother was standing behind me in the boat.'				
'Бабушка сзади меня в лодке стояла.' [ЏУ 2017: 35]				

h) окромья *окром'а* 'except, besides, in addition to'

In Antonova's translation of *Pippi Longstocking* [TKS 2013] into Kildin Saami there are 19 examples with the Russian loanword *окром'а*, which also is represented in older texts translated by Antonova from Russian into Kildin Saami.

(37) <i>окромья</i>	<i>Ајлэдтэ</i>	<i>мыннэ</i>	<i>никенн</i>	<i>йбе</i>
<i>окром'а</i>	<i>Ајледт'е</i>	<i>тунн'е</i>	<i>ni-k'enn</i>	<i>ib'e</i>
except	Ajla.PART	1SG.ILL	NEG-who.ACC.SG	need.NEG.NPST.3SG
'I don't need anyone except Ajla'				
'кроме Айлы никого не надо мне' [KL 2003: 119]				

(38) <i>Купасьт</i>	<i>эллиј</i>	<i>нике,</i>
<i>кupas't</i>	<i>ellij</i>	<i>nik'e</i>
compartment.LOC.SG	be.NEG.PST.3SG	NEG-who.NOM.SG
<i>окромья</i>	<i>муннэ</i>	

- окром'а* **тинпе**
 except 1SG.PART
 'nobody was in the compartment except me'
 'в купе не было никого, кроме меня' [TKS 2013: 215]
- (39) *Тампе нике* *эллинче,* *окромя* **пāррнэдтэ**
Tam'p'e nik'e *ellinnče,* *okrom'a* **pārrned'te**
 There NEG-who.NOM.SG be.NEG.FUT.3SG except children.PART
я *эйй* *ённэ* **нызнэдтэ**
ja *ejj* *jenne* **nyzned'te**
 and NEG.3SG many woman.PART
 'Nobody will be there, except the children and some women.'
 'Там никого не будет, кроме детей и нескольких женщин.'
 [TKS 2013: 262]
- (40) *А* *окромя* **тәннэ,** *мунн* *эадтъя*
А *окром'а* **tenne,** *тинп* *éadt'ja*
 and besides this.PART.SG 1SG.NOM ride.NPST.1SG
 школая ябпаш альн.
školaja *jābpaš* *al'n.*
 school.ILL.SG horse.GEN.SG on.POSTP
 'And besides, I will ride to school on horseback.'
 'А кроме того, я поеду в школу верхом.' [TKS 2013: 36]

й) кэскэсьт *keskes't* 'between, among(st)'

The preposition *keskes't* is usually used with the genitive:

- (41) *кэскэсьт* **тōн** *я* **мун**
keskes't **tōn** *ja* **tin**
 between.PREP 2SG.GEN and 1SG.GEN
 'between you and me'
 'между тобой и мной' [TKS 2013: 208]

But, together with numerals over six and in other partitive functions, *keskes't* is used with the partitive:

- (42) *кэскэсьт* *тоāфант* **роāвкэ**
keskes't *toāfant* **roāvuke**
 among.PREP thousand ghost.PART.SG
 'among a thousand ghosts'
 'в окружении тысячи привидений' [TKS 2013: 105]

The preposition *keskes't* is also used with the partitive when it is implied that the text is about an indefinite quantity:

- (43) *Мунн* *вўлхэла* *тўнэнтэ*, *зу* *лэммпсэнтэ*
Munn *vũlkhela* *tīnet'* *gu* *lāmpset'*
 1SG.NOM send.NPST.1SG 2PL.ACC like sheep.ACC.PL
кэскэсыт ***наллтсэдтэ***
keskes't ***palltsedt'e***
 among.PREP wolf.PART
 'I am sending you out like sheep among wolves'
 'Я посылаю вас, как овец среди волков' [MPE 2022: 10, 16]

- (44) *Кэскэсыт* *израильскэ* *нўрр* ***пэррнэдтэ***
keskes't *izrail'ske* *nũrr* ***pārrnedt'e***
 among.PREP Israelite.ADJ young.ADJ children.PART
 'Among the Israelite youth'
 'Между израильскими отроками' [PB Daniil 1:3-20]

2.5. In some stable constructions with the postposition *мўлльтэ mill'te* 'by, according to'

Although the postposition *mill'te*, as a rule, is used with nouns in the genitive, there are some stable constructions where *mill'te* requires nouns in the partitive case.

- (45) *пэррышэнч* *нэммэ* *мўлльтэ* *Момо*
pārr'shenč ***nēmtte*** ***mill'te*** *Motō*
 boy.DIM.NOM.SG name.PART.SG by Momo
 'a boy named Momo'
 'мальчик по имени Момо' [TKS 2013: 251]
- (46) *Сонн* *тоннэ* *мўллэ* *мўлльтэ* *ли?*
Sōnn *tonn'e* ***mille*** ***mill'te*** *li?*
 3SG.NOM 2SG.ILL mind.PART.SG according to be.3NPST.SG
 'Do you like him?'
 'Он тебе нравится?' [KL 2003: 99]
- (47) *Йммьле* *эфт* *лў* *вўгкэ* *мўлльтэ*
Īmm'le *eft* *lī* ***vīgke*** ***mill'te***
 God.SG.ILL one.GEN.SG be.3NPST.SG power.PART.SG by
 'God alone has the power to do this'
 'Богу одному (это) по силам' [MPE 2022: 19, 26]

2.6. In comparison

As a rule, the partitive is used together with the comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs.

(48) <i>сõнн</i>	<i>шэнтэ</i>	<i>суэнä</i>	чäдзe	<i>я</i>
<i>sõnn</i>	<i>šente</i>	<i>suen'a</i>	čädz'e	<i>ja</i>
3SG.NOM	become.PST.3SG	quiet.CPR	water.PART.SG	and
<i>вўльга</i>	рассе			
<i>vull'ga</i>	rass'e			
low.CPR	grass.PART.SG			

'he became quieter than water and lower than grass'

'он стал тише воды, ниже травы' [TKS 2013: 159]

(49) <i>тўн</i>	<i>шалльт</i>	<i>элля</i>	<i>ньюэзя</i>
<i>tñn</i>	<i>šall't</i>	<i>ell'a</i>	<i>n'uez'a</i>
2PL.GEN	floor.NOM.SG	be.NEG.NPST.3SG	bad.CPR
<i>мун</i>	шалльтэ		
<i>mun</i>	šall'te		
1SG.GEN	floor.PART.SG		

'your floor is not worse than my floor'

'ваш пол не хуже моего пола' [KL 2003: 127]

(50) (<i>сõнн</i>)	<i>äйка</i>	<i>муннэ</i>	<i>вўджэмэнь</i>	<i>пудä</i>
(<i>sõnn</i>)	<i>äjka</i>	<i>munne</i>	<i>vidž'men'</i>	<i>puđ'e</i>
(3SG.NOM)	early.CPR	1SG.PART	run.GER	arrive.PST.3SG

'(he) arrived running earlier than me'

'(он) раньше меня прибежал' [SRS 1985: 368]

2.7. Agreement between numerals and nouns in the partitive

Even in modern Kildin Saami texts numerals often agree with nouns in the partitive.

(51) <i>мўнэнь</i>	<i>тэста</i>	<i>луэмэсьт</i>	<i>элля</i>	<i>вāнä</i>
<i>mñen'</i>	<i>testa</i>	<i>luemes't</i>	<i>ell'a</i>	<i>vān'a</i>
1PL.LOC	here	cave.LOC.SG	be.NEG.NPST.3SG	few.CPR
вудтэ-кудтэ	литрэдтэ	кäлльче		
vudte-kudte	litred'te	käll'č'e		
five-six.PART.SG	litre.PART	pearl.PART.SG		

'we have at least five to six litres of pearls here in the cave'

'у нас здесь в пещере не меньше пяти-шести литров жемчужин'
[TKS 2013: 266]

(52) <i>А</i>	<i>пõррөдтэ</i>	<i>ляйй</i>	<i>альт</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>põrr'jedt'e</i>	<i>l'äjj</i>	<i>al't</i>
but	eaters.PART	be.PST.3SG	almost.PREP
вудтэ тоäфант	õллмэдтэ		

*vydte toāfant**öllmedt'e*

five.PART.SG thousand person.PART

'But there were almost five thousand persons eating'

'А веших было около пяти тысяч человек' [MPE 2022: 14, 21]

(53) *альт**кōллмэ**чассэ**al't**kōllme**časse*

around

three.PART.SG

clock.PART.SG

'around three o'clock'

'около трёх часов' [MPE 2022: 20, 3]

2.8. Determination of nouns in the locative

As already mentioned by Halász [1883: 13] and Itkonen [1973: 291, 292, 297], also in modern written Kildin Saami, the partitive is used with numeral attributes that determine nouns in the locative.

(54) *кōллмэ**набпань**күххт**вэсьт**мүррэ**kōllme**nappan'**kühht**ves't**mürre*

three.PART.SG

cup.DIM.LOC.PL

two.NOM

at.PREP

tree.PART

*поабпхэнь**я**мурртъень**poabphen'**ja**murrt'jen'*

hit.PST.3PL

and

break.PST.3PL

'of three cups two hit the tree and broke.'

'из трех чашек две ударились о ствол и разбились.' [TKS 2013: 49]

(55) *лōссэ**лї**пыйнэ,**кōллмэ**каруселесът**lösse**li**rujne,**kōllme**karus'el'es't*

hard.ADV

be.NPST.3SG

decide.INF

three.PART.SG

carousel.LOC.SG

*манътэ**каруселесът**быдт**кадтъедтэ**tan'te**karus'el'es't**bydt**kadt'jedte*

which

carousel.LOC.SG

need

ride.INF

'it's hard to decide which of the three carousels you need to ride'

'трудно решить, на какой из трех каруселей надо кататься'

[TKS 2013: 150]

(56) *маңуа**кōллмэ**пөйвэсьт**ялльа**taŋŋa**kōllme**p'ejves't**jäll'ja*

after

three.PART.SG

day.LOC.SG

revive.NPST.1SG

'after three days I will revive'

'после трех дней воскресну' [MPE 2022: 27, 63]

(57) *маңуа**күдтэ**пөйвэсьт**taŋŋa**kudte**p'ejves't*

after six.PART.SG day.LOC.SG
 ‘after six days’
 ‘по прошествии дней шести’ [МРЕ 2022: 17, 1]

3. The formation of the partitive case in Kildin Saami

So far, no description about the morphological formation of the partitive has been given. Halász [1883: 7, 8] mentions the partitive singular suffixes **-d**, **-etted**, **-eitted** and the partitive plural suffixes **-ijt**, **-it**, **-ij**, **-ij**, **-j** in his grammar sketch. He gives examples from Genetz’s translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* [1883: 7, 8], which was the only source for his analysis¹⁰.

Most of the examples for Kildin Saami partitive forms in Itkonen’s article [1973] are taken from Halász [1883] and Genetz [1878], but Itkonen also presents some examples from Kert and Szabó, as well as from his own Kildin Saami informant who spoke the Shonguy dialect, recorded in 1943–1944 [Itkonen 1973: 307]. All these informants use the partitive suffixes **-e / -je** and **-edt’e / -jedt’e**.

¹⁰ Compared with the partitive suffixes **-e / -je** and **-edt’e / -jedt’e**, used by Kildin Saami speakers from Shonguy, Voron’ye, Lovozero and other places, nearer to the central Kola peninsula, the suffixes **-d**, **-etted**, **-eitted** in Genetz’s and Halász’s publications are more similar to the partitive suffixes used in Skolt Saami, which is spoken in the western part of the peninsula [for examples see Feist 2010: 249, 250]. As already noted by Itkonen [1973: 302], Genetz does not give any information about the place of origin of his informant, who translated the Kildin Saami part of the *Gospel of Matthew* and who also was his Kildin Saami language teacher. Genetz only writes that his informant was “a real Kildin Lapp” (“ein echter Kildinischer Lappe”), who understood the Russian language quite well but was not used to writing in Russian. Because of his low salary as community leader in the town of Kola, the work teaching Genetz and translating the Gospel was quite lucrative for him [Genetz 1891: XVIII]. It is possible that Genetz’s informant spoke a more western dialect of Kildin Saami with some influences from Skolt Saami, or was a speaker of Skolt Saami who also knew the Kildin Saami language.

According to Endyukovskiy [1937: 143] only some Kola Sami nouns can generate the partitive case, other nouns generate genitive plural forms, which fulfil partitive functions but are not partitive forms. Endyukovskiy assumes that the partitive case is generated with the suffix *-eđte* or *-əđte*, whereas the suffixes *-e*, *-ə*, *-ej*, *-əj*, *-aj* mark the genitive plural forms. Genitive plural forms that fulfil partitive functions are considered by Endyukovskiy to be a mixed “genitive-partitive case”. Kert [1971: 162] takes a similar position and denominates nouns that fulfill partitive functions and have the suffixes *-je*, *-e* as genitive nouns, which are mixed up with the partitive.

(58) <i>k'izem</i>	<i>paltseddε</i>	<i>čud' d'</i>	<i>p'ez'e</i>
seven	wolf.PART	hundred	pine.GEN.PL
'seven wolfs'		'hundred pines'	
'семь волков'		'сто сосен' [Kert 1971: 171]	

Both Szabó [1984: 143–146] and Kuruch [1985: 545] assume that the partitive and the genitive plural are used with numerals higher than six:

(59) <i>bıdD</i>	<i>mijje</i>	<i>koppče</i>	<i>čudD</i>	<i>keřsedDe</i>	<i>i</i>
need	1PL.ILL	gather.INF	hundred	sledge.PART	and
<i>čudD</i>	<i>jeřke</i>				
hundred	bull.GEN.PL				
'We need to gather a hundred sledges and a hundred bulls.'					
'Нам нужно собрать сто керёж и сто быков.' [Szabó 1984: 146]					

(60) <i>kāxıı</i>	<i>nalmtcədmə</i>	<i>kydžemь</i>	<i>kүссe</i>
<i>kāhııc</i>	<i>palltsedte</i>	<i>kydž'em'</i>	<i>küss'e</i>
eight	wolf.PART	seven	guest.GEN.PL
'eight wolves'		'seven guests' ¹¹	
'восемь волков'		'семь гостей' [Kuruch 1985: 545]	

Itkonen [1973], on the other hand, interprets the forms with the suffix *-je(d)*, *-e(d)* as partitive forms.

(61) <i>tšıDı-</i>	<i>tšıərvest</i>	<i>leäı - -</i>	<i>jienna</i>	<i>tieıŋGe</i>
Chud	chief.LOC.SG	be.PST.3SG	a lot	money.PART

¹¹ In Kuruch's grammar sketch *kydžemь kүссe* (*kydž'em' küss'e*) 'seven guests' is wrongly translated as 'seven spruces' — *kydžemь kүссe* (*kydž'em' küssse*) and vice versa.

‘the chief of the Chudes had a lot of money’
 ‘у вождя чуди было много денег’ [Itkonen 1973: 305]

Sammallahti and Hvorostuhina [1991: 79–82] as well as Rießler [2022: 225] follow Itkonen’s interpretation and show nouns with the suffix **-je**, **-e** in their grammatical paradigms as partitive forms.

My own studies on the partitive in modern Kildin Saami literature confirm Itkonen’s position about two different partitive suffixes in Kildin Saami and contradict Endyukovskiy’s and Kert’s hypothesis about a “mixed genitive-partitive case”, as well as Szabó’s and Kuruch’s assumption about the use of the genitive plural to fulfil partitive functions.

In the analysed Kildin Saami text material the two partitive suffixes **-edt’e/-edt’e/-edt’e** and **-e/-e/-e** are used depending on the word stem. In earlier research it has been stated that the Kildin Saami partitive appears as a single form that is used to express both singular and plural referents [Kert 1971: 162; Szabó 1984: 143; Koivunen 2022: 84]¹². However, my analysis shows that both singular and plural forms of the partitive are used in modern Kildin Saami.

3.1. The partitive suffix **-e/-e/-e (-э/-э/-э)**

Mono- and disyllabic consonant stems that end with one long consonant or two consonants (either one long + one short or two short consonants) in the nominative singular as a rule take the partitive suffix **-e/-e/-e (-э/-э/-э)** and have different forms for singular and plural referents. The partitive stem that expresses singular referents is identical with the nominative singular stem. The partitive stem that expresses plural referents is identical to the genitive stem (see Table 1).

¹² According to Nielsen [1928: 168] and Kont [1967: 2] the historical eastern Saami partitive plural form became an accusative plural form and is used with accusative plural functions, while the historical partitive singular form is used to express partitive functions for both singular and plural referents. Halász [1883: 7, 8] describes the forms with the suffixes **-ijt**, **-it**, **-ij**, **-ij**, **-j** and partitive functions in Genetz’s translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* [1883] as partitive plural forms. They partly coincide with the accusative plural forms used in the same text.

Table 1. Mono- and Disyllabic nouns ending with one long or two consonants in the nominative singular

Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.	Gen. Pl.	Part. Sg.	Part. Pl.
пѣррт pĕr̥r̥t	пѣрт pĕrt	пѣртѣ pĕr̥tĕ	пѣрртѣ pĕr̥r̥tĕ	пѣртѣ pĕr̥tĕ
ѣгк jogk	ѣг jog	ѣгѣ jogĕ	ѣгкѣ jogkĕ	ѣгѣ jogĕ
ланнѣ lann̄	ланѣ lan̄	лэнѣ len̄ĕ	ланнѣ lann̄ĕ	лэнѣ len̄ĕ
пѣххѣк pāhh̄'k	пѣкѣ pāk̄'	поѣке poāk̄'ĕ	пѣххѣкѣ pāhh̄'kĕ	поѣке poāk̄'ĕ
аджѣ adž'	ажѣ až'	ѣже ež'ĕ	адже adž'ĕ	ѣже ež'ĕ
пѣррмушш pōrrmušš	пѣррмуш pōrrmuž	пѣррмушѣ pōrrmužĕ	пѣррмушшѣ pōrrmuššĕ	пѣррмушѣ pōrrmužĕ
кѣнѣцвудт kān'cvudt	кѣнѣцвуд kān'cvud	кѣнѣцвудѣ kān'cvudĕ	кѣнѣцвудтѣ kān'cvudtĕ	кѣнѣцвудѣ kān'cvudĕ
кѣсс kūss	кѣз kūz	кѣзѣ kūzĕ	кѣссѣ kūssĕ	кѣзѣ kūzĕ
кѣссѣ kūss'	кѣссѣ kūss'	кѣссе kūssĕ	кѣссѣ kūss'ĕ	кѣссе kūssĕ
вѣкѣхѣй vĕk̄'hĕj	вѣкѣхѣй vĕk̄'hĕj	вѣкѣхѣе vĕk̄'hĕjĕ	вѣкѣхѣе vĕk̄'hĕjĕ	вѣкѣхѣе vĕk̄'hĕjĕ
торт tort	торт tort	тортѣ tortĕ	тортѣ, торртѣ tortĕ, torrte	тортѣ tortĕ
комод komod	комод komod	комодѣ komodĕ	комодтѣ komodtĕ	комодѣ komodĕ

Except for some loanwords and other nouns without consonant gradation, the partitive singular form has the strong grade and has no vowel changes. The partitive plural form has the weak grade and can have vowel changes. Both partitive singular and partitive plural forms are used in typical partitive functions (see Table 1).

On the other hand, the genitive plural form, which is morphologically identical to the partitive plural form, serves typical genitive functions.

The suffix *-e/-e/-e* can either be a partitive suffix that generates partitive singular and partitive plural forms, which are used with typical partitive functions (see 62, 63, 64a, 67, 70a, 70b, 71a, 71b, 72a, 72b), or a genitive plural suffix that generates genitive plural forms, which are used with typical genitive functions (see 64b, 70c, 71c, 72c).

The partitive singular form is used exclusively with *numerals over six*, with *distributive numerals* and with *indefinite quantity*:

(62) *вāлльтэ* *лоагкь* *мāррькэ*
vāll'te *loagk'* *māřř'ke*
 take.INF ten.NOM ruble.PART.SG
 'to get ten rubles'
 'получить десять рублей' [SRS 1985: 184]

(63) *Пэре* *ēннэ* *лū* *мугка* *кēддъкэ* *чāрэсьт*
Per'e *jēnne* *lī* *tugka* *k'ēdd'ke* *čāres't*
 very many be.NPST.3SG such stone.PART.SG tundra.LOC.SG
 'There are many such stones in the tundra'
 'Очень много таких камней в тундре' [TOL 2017: 64]

See also examples (6) and (7).

Partitive singular and genitive plural forms are morphologically only identical in some loanwords and derivations which have no consonant and vowel gradation.

(64) a. *ēннэ* *тортэ*
jēnne *torte*
 many cake.PART.SG
 'many cakes'
 'много тортов' [TKS 2013: 190]
 b. *тортэ* *лэгк*
torte *lēgk*
 cake.GEN.PL smell.NOM.SG
 'the smell of the cakes'
 'запах тортов'

Disyllabic nouns ending with *-j (-ǔ)* in the nominative singular and which are derived from derivative verbs that end on a combination of a consonant and a vowel, like *-he*, *-se*, *-ne*, *-še (-xэ, -сэ, -нэ, -шэ)* etc., also take the partitive suffix *-e (-э)*:

(65) <i>вѣкъ-хэ</i>	>	<i>вѣкъ-хэ-й</i>	>	<i>ѣннэ</i>	<i>вѣкъ-хэ-е</i>
<i>vĕk'-he</i>	>	<i>vĕk'-he-j</i>	>	<i>jĕnne</i>	<i>vĕk'-he-j-e</i>
help.INF	>	helper.NOM.SG	>	many	helper.PART
'to help'		'helper'		'many helpers'	
'помогать'		'помощник'		'много помощников'	
(66) <i>вуэнь-сэ</i>	>	<i>вуэнь-сэ-й</i>	>	<i>ѣннэ</i>	<i>вуэнь-сэ-е</i>
<i>vuĕr'-se</i>	>	<i>vuĕr'-se-j</i>	>	<i>jĕnne</i>	<i>vuĕr'-se-j-e</i>
teach.INF	>	teacher.NOM.SG	>	many	teacher.PART
'to teach'		'teacher'		'many teachers'	
'воспитывать'		'воспитатель'		'много воспитателей'	

An example from the texts:

(67) <i>пайла</i>	<i>кырьхэе</i>		<i>я</i>	<i>фарисее</i>
<i>pajjla</i>	<i>kur'jheje</i>		<i>ja</i>	<i>farisee</i>
high.CPR	teacher of the law.PART.PL		and	Pharisee.PART.PL
'higher than the teachers of the law and the Pharisees'				
'выше книжников и фарисеев' [МРЕ 2022: 5, 20]				

Native speakers don't use the partitive suffix *-edt'e/-'edt'e/-'edt'e* with the kind of nouns presented in Table 1.

(68) <i>мунн</i>	<i>сѳн</i>	<i>эссытэ</i>		<i>вэсыт</i>	<i>нэпртэдтэ*</i>
<i>muṅṅ</i>	<i>sōṅ</i>	<i>ĕss'te</i>		<i>ves't</i>	<i>pĕr'tedt'e*</i>
1SG.NOM	3SG.ACC	catch up.PST.1SG		by.PREP	house.PART
'I caught up with him by the house'					
'я догнал его около дома'					
(69) <i>Пэре</i>	<i>ѣннэ</i>	<i>лй</i>	<i>мугка</i>	<i>кѣддькэдтэ*</i>	<i>чэрэсыт</i>
<i>Per'e</i>	<i>jĕnne</i>	<i>lĭ</i>	<i>tugka</i>	<i>k'ĕdd'kĕdt'e*</i>	<i>ĉares't</i>
very	many	be.NPST.3SG	such	stone.PART	tundra.LOC.SG
'There are many such stones in the tundra'					
'Очень много таких камней в тундре'					

If the partitive forms of this kind of noun once had the suffix *-edt'e/-'edt'e/-'edt'e*, and this suffix had been replaced with the genitive plural suffix *-e/-'e/-'e* due to influences from Russian, then we would find relicts of this. But I could not find such relicts either in modern Kildin Saami texts or in transcriptions of older records.

Together with *comparative* as well as with *pre-* and *post-*positions which require the partitive, both partitive singular and partitive plural forms are used.

- (70) а. *Мунн* *кīд* *чүзхэ* *вэсьт* *кēддѣкэ*
Munn *kīd* *čūzhe* *ves't* *k'ēdd'ke*
 1SG.NOM hand.ACC.SG hurt.PST.1SG on.PREP stone.PART.SG
 'I hurt my hand on a stone'
 'я ушиб руку о камень' [SRS 1985: 401]
- б. *Нэмн* *вэсьт* *кūдѣкэ* *мурртсэлленѣ*
netp *ves't* *k'ūd'ke* *murrtsellen'*
 wave.NOM.PL on.PREP rock.PART.PL crash.PST.3PL
 'the waves crashed on the rocks'
 'волны о камни разбивались' [ASL 2019: 314]
- с. *Кырьйнэз* *кūдѣке* *альн*
Kur'jnez *kīd'ke* *al'n*
 painting.NOM.PL stone.GEN.PL on.POSTP
 'The paintings on the stones'
 'Рисунки на камнях' [ASL 2019: 308]
- (71) а. *кэллт* *рэвэ* *вэсьт* *юллькэ*
kēllt *rēve* *ves't* *jūll'ke*
 log.NOM.SG bounce.PST.3SG into.PREP leg.PART.SG
 'the log bounced off onto the leg'
 'полено отскочило в ногу' [SRS 1985: 307]
- б. *коазя* *пуэрхадт* *вэсьт* *юлькэ*
koaz'a *puerhadt* *ves't* *jūl'ke*
 kitten.DIM.NOM.SG rub.NPST.3SG at.PREP leg.PART.PL
 'the kitten is rubbing at the legs'
 'котёнок трётся у ног' [SRS 1985: 274]
- с. *рыһп* *рэвэ* *юлькэ* *вүлленѣ*
ryhp *rēve* *jūl'ke* *vüll'en'*
 partridge.NOM.SG fly.PST.3SG foot.GEN.PL under.PREP.LOC
 'the partridge flew out from under my feet'
 'куропатка взлетела из-под ног' [SRS 1985: 307]
- (72) а. *Пэря* *тэнн* *лоаддвэ* *элля*
Per'a *tenn* *loāddve* *ell'a*
 good.CPR this.GEN.SG medicine.PART.SG be.NEG.NPST.3SG
ними
nimi
 nothing.NOM.SG
 'nothing is better than this medicine'
 'лучше этого лекарства нет' [TKS 2013: 214]
- б. *сөнн* *коашштадт* *пуаррса* *йжесѣ* *ыге*
sōnn *koasštadt* *puarrrsa* *īž'es'* *yg'e*
 3SG.NOM seem.NPST.3SG old.CPR REFL.3SG.GEN year.PART.PL

‘he seems older than his years’
 ‘он кажется старше своих лет’ [SRS 1985: 119]
 с. мэ́ннэв ыгъ ыге мй́лльтэ
 ténnev ug’ yg’e mill’te
 go.NPST.3PL year.NOM.PL year.GEN.PL by.POSTP
 ‘the years go by’
 ‘идёт год за годом’ [SRS 1985: 191]

Comparing the partitive forms with the genitive plural forms in Genetz’s translation of the *Gospel of Matthew*, we can see a clear difference between them:

Partitive forms have the suffix **-d/-t**:

(73) Уэ́псу́ввэй и́лля шу́рямп уэ́нсейед
 Uepsuvvej ill’a šur’amp uers’ejed
 student.NOM.SG be.NEG.NPST.3SG high.CPR teacher.PART.SG
 ‘The student is not above the teacher’
 ‘Ученик не выше учителя’ [Genetz 1878: 10:24]

Genitive plural forms have the suffix **-e/-je** or **-i/-j**:

(74) Ви́лше́ккед а́льм лоньди́й э́лэ
 Vilšhekked al’m lon’dij ele
 look.IMP.PL sky.GEN.SG bird.GEN.PL at.POSTP
 ‘Look at the birds in the sky’
 ‘Взгляните на птиц небесных’ [Genetz 1878: 6:26]

In modern Kildin Saami texts there is no **-d/-t** in the partitive suffix for these types of nouns, therefore it’s not always possible to distinguish the partitive forms from genitive plural forms of this type of noun. The differentiation can only be made by looking at the context and the functions of the different forms:

(75) О́хпнү́ввэй э́лля пай́лла вуэ́ньсэе
 Ohpnuvvej ell’a pajjla uers’seje
 student.NOM.SG be.NEG.NPST.3SG high.CPR teacher.PART.SG
 ‘The student is not above the teacher’
 ‘Ученик не выше учителя’ [MPE 2022: 10, 24]

(76) Вы́льшэ́гке а́лльм лоньтэ́ э́л
 Vyl’shegke all’m lon’te el
 look.IMP.PL sky.ADJ bird.GEN.PL at.POSTP
 ‘Look at the birds in the sky’
 ‘Взгляните на птиц небесных’ [MPE 2022: 6, 26]

There is an interesting example in [TKS 2013] where in the translation process two possible translation variants have been mixed in the same sentence: one with the preposition *al't* which requires the partitive, and one with the postposition *lunn'*, which requires the genitive. When preparing the manuscript for publication, the translator and the editor overlooked this double pre-/postposition, which both match the dependent noun:

Variant with partitive plural:

(77) а.	<i>пэрьмусс</i>	<i>кāvьн</i>	<i>алльт</i>	<i>ōллмэ</i>	<i>ēллей</i>
	<i>per'muss</i>	<i>kāv'n</i>	<i>all't</i>	<i>ōllme</i>	<i>jēll'ej</i>
	good.SUP	thing.NOM.PL	near by.PREP	people.ADJ	living.ADJ
	<i>пэртэ</i>	<i>(луннь)</i>	<i>пай</i>	<i>вальедтэв</i>	
	<i>per'te</i>	<i>(lunn')</i>	<i>raj</i>	<i>val'jedtev</i>	
	house.PART.PL		always	lie.NPST.3PL	
	‘the best things are always lying near houses where people live’				
	‘лучшие вещи всегда валяются вблизи человеческих жилых домов’ [TKS 2013: 21]				

Variant with genitive plural:

в.	<i>пэрьмусс</i>	<i>кāvьн</i>	<i>(алльт)</i>	<i>ōллмэ</i>	<i>ēллей</i>
	<i>per'muss</i>	<i>kāv'n</i>	<i>(all't)</i>	<i>ōllme</i>	<i>jēll'ej</i>
	good.SUP	thing.NOM.PL		people.ADJ	living.ADJ
	<i>пэртэ</i>	<i>луннь</i>	<i>пай</i>	<i>вальедтэв</i>	
	<i>per'te</i>	<i>lunn'</i>	<i>raj</i>	<i>val'jedtev</i>	
	house.GEN.PL	near.POSTP	always	lie.NPST.3PL	
	‘the best things are always lying near houses where people live’				
	‘лучшие вещи всегда валяются около человеческих жилых домов’ [TKS 2013: 21]				

3.2. The partitive suffix *-edt'e/-'edt'e/* *-'edt'e (-эдмэ́/-эдмэ́/-едмэ́)*

Nouns and verbal nouns with disyllabic consonant stems that ending on one short consonant or on a vowel in the nominative singular as a rule take the partitive suffix *-edt'e/-'edt'e/* *-'edt'e (-эдмэ́/-эдмэ́/-едмэ́)*, which is used to express both singular and plural referents. For these nouns the partitive stem is identical to the accusative/genitive stem (see Table 2).

Table 2. Disyllabic nouns ending with one short consonant or on a vowel in the nominative singular

Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.	Gen. Pl.	Part.
олма olma	ōllmэ ōllme	ōllmэе ōllmeje	ōllmэдтэ ōllmedt'e
пāррнэ pārgne	пāррнэ pārgne	пāррнэ(е) pārgnej(e)	пāррнэдтэ pārrnedt'e
лūмь lūm'	луэмман luemman	луэммнэ(е) luemmne(je)	луэммнэдтэ luemmnedt'e
кāллесь kāl'es'	кāллас kāllas	кāллсэ(е) kāllse(je)	кāллсэдтэ kāllsedt'e
нызан nyzan	нызан nyzan	нызнэ(е) nyzne(je)	нызнэдтэ nyznedt'e
пēссэм pēssem	пēссэм pēssem	пēссэмэ pēsseme	пēссэмэдтэ pēssemedt'e
кабпєрь kabp'er'	кабпєрь kabp'er'	кабпєре(е) kabp'r'e(je)	кабпєредтэ kabp'redt'e
ōххпэй ōhhpej	ōххпэй ōhhpej	ōххпєе ōhhp"je	ōххпєедтэ ōhhp"jedt'e
ēллей jell'ej	ēллей jell'ej	ēллєе jell'je	ēллєедтэ jell'jedt'e

- (78) Тамьне нике эллинче, окромья **пāррнэдтэ**
 Tam'ne nik'e ellinnče, okrom'a **pārrnedt'e**
 there nobody.NOM.SG be.NEG.FUT.3SG. except children.PART
 я эй ēннэ **нызнэдтэ.**
 ja ejj jēnne **nyznedt'e.**
 and NEG.3SG many woman.PART
 'Nobody will be there, except the children and some women.'
 'Там никого не будет, кроме детей и нескольких женщин.'
 [TKS 2013: 262]

- (79) элмантэсьт нюэзя **пāррнэдтэ** элля ними
 ēllmantēs't n'uez'a **pārrnedt'e** ell'a nimi
 world.LOC.SG disgusting.CPR children.PART be.NEG.NPST.3SG nothing
 'there is nothing more disgusting in the world than children'
 'на свете нет ничего противнее детей' [TKS 2013: 207]

- (80) *Мауна* *рōстәнейв* *каникуләдтә*
Маһна *rōstep'ejv* *kanikuledt'e*
 after.PREP Christmas.ADJ holiday.PART
 'After the Christmas holidays'
 'После рождественских каникул' [TKS 2013: 42]
- (81) *Пәря* *вухпъедтә,* *мәнн* *мун* *һиййт*
Per'a *vuhhp'jedt'e* *tēnn* *тип* *nijjt*
 good.CPR steersman.PART than 1SG.GEN daughter.NOM.SG
 'A better steersman than my daughter'
 'Лучше рулевого, чем моя дочь' [TKS 2013: 247]

To this group of nouns belong also verbal nouns with the suffix *-m* expressing verbal action.

- (82) *вэсьт* *вәллтәдтмәдтә* *Вавилонна*
ves't *v'alltedmedt'e* *Vavilonna*
 before.PREP taking away.PART Babylon.ILL.SG
 'before taking (them) away to Babylon'
 'перед переселением в Вавилон' [МРЕ 2022: 1, 11]
- (83) *вэсьт* *нагърувмәдтә* *мунн* *кәлсәллә* *иджсан*
ves't *nag'ruvmedt'e* *типн* *kəlsell'e* *idžsan*
 before.PREP falling asleep.PART 1SG.NOM lie.PST.1SG REFL.1SG.ILL
тәлець *Баяс*
tel'ec' *bajas*
 calf.GEN.SG about.POSTP
 'before falling asleep I lied to myself about the calf'
 'перед сном я наврала себе про теленка' [TKS 2013: 186]
- (84) *әммьсә* *вэсьт* *нагерь* *пуәдтмәдтә*
ātm'se *ves't* *nag'er'* *puedt'medt'e*
 yawn.INF before.PREP sleep.NOM.SG coming.PART
 'to yawn before falling asleep'
 'зевать перед сном' [SRS 1985: 25]

Disyllabic nouns ending with *-j* (*-й*) in the nominative singular which are derived from non-derivative verbs that end with *-e/-'e/-'e* (*-ә/-ә/-ә*) also take the partitive suffix *-edt'e* (*-әдтә*).

<i>ōххп-ә</i>	>	<i>ōххп-ә-й</i>	>	<i>әннә</i>	<i>ōххп-ә-едтә</i>
<i>ōһһр-е</i>	>	<i>ōһһр-е-ј</i>	>	<i>әнне</i>	<i>ōһһр-ј-едтә</i>
teach.INF		teacher.NOM.SG		many	teacher.PART
'to teach'		'teacher'		'many teachers'	
'учить'		'учитель'		'многo учителей'	

<i>ёлл-е</i>	>	<i>ёлл-е-й</i>	>	<i>ённэ</i>	<i>ёлль-едтэ</i>
<i>jəll'-e</i>	>	<i>jəll'-e-j</i>	>	<i>əppe</i>	<i>jəll'-j-edt'e</i>
live.INF		resident.NOM.SG		many	resident.PART
'to live'		'resident'		'many residents'	
'жить'		'житель'		'много жителей'	

Example from the texts:

(85) <i>наййла</i>	<i>куэдт</i>	<i>ёлльедтэ</i>
<i>pajjla</i>	<i>kuedt'</i>	<i>jəll'jedt'e</i>
high.CPR	house.ADJ	tenant.PART
'much more than the members of his household'		
'выше домашних жителей' [МРЕ: 2022: 10, 25]		

In the partitive function, native speakers don't use the types of nouns presented in Table 2 with the suffix *-e/-'e/-'e*:

(86) <i>окромя</i>	<i>nāpprɲe*</i>	<i>я</i>	<i>эйй</i>	<i>ённэ</i>	<i>нызнэе*</i>
<i>окром'а</i>	<i>pārrneje*</i>	<i>ја</i>	<i>ejj</i>	<i>jəppe</i>	<i>nyzneje*</i>
except.PREP	children.PART	and	NEG.3SG	many	woman.PART
'except the children and some women'					
'кроме детей и нескольких женщин'					

If, due to the influence from the Russian language, there had been a tendency to replace partitive with genitive plural forms, this would happen with all types of nouns and stems, including those presented in Table 2, and we would find several examples for such forms in the literary texts and in oral speech. However, I could only find two examples, where obviously a partitive plural form is used with this kind of noun, which is quite unusual:

(87) <i>кэрхэллэ</i>	<i>савьхе</i>	<i>альн</i>	<i>мажелът</i>	<i>пүдзэ¹³</i>
<i>kərhelle</i>	<i>sav'h'e</i>	<i>al'n</i>	<i>majel't</i>	<i>pūdze</i>
run.INF	ski.GEN.PL	on	behind	reindeer.PART.PL/GEN.SG

¹³ The designation *kərhelle sav'h'e al'n majel't pūdze* is used eight times in A. A. Antonova's translation of A. A. Bazhanov's novel *Vil'k'es' puaz* (*The white reindeer*) from Russian into Kildin Saami. There are two possible translations of it: (1) 'to ski being towed by reindeer (pl.)' or (2) 'to ski being towed by a reindeer (sg.)'. In (1) *pūdze* could be either a partitive plural or a genitive plural form. In (2) *pūdze* would be a genitive singular form.

‘to ski towed by reindeer’

‘ехать на лыжах буксиром за оленями’ [VP 1996: 30]

- (88) *Господин* я *госпожа* *Сеттергрэн* *пудтэнь*
Gospodin ja *gospoža* *S’ett’ergr’en* *püdt’en’*
 Mr.NOM.SG and Mrs.NOM.SG Settergren come.PST.3PL
моăст *пѣльчасэнь* *ăйка* ***пăррнэ***
moăst *p’el’časen’* *ăjka* ***părgnje***
 back half an hour.ESS *ăjka* children.PART.PL

‘Mr. and Mrs. Settergren came back half an hour earlier than the children.’

‘Господин и госпожа Сеттергрэн приехали домой на полчаса раньше детей.’ [TKS 2013: 178]

3.3. Partitive forms for loanwords

Loanwords borrowed from Russian or other languages and used in partitive functions, as a rule receive a partitive suffix. Mono- and disyllabic loanwords, ending with one long or two consonants in nominative singular, receive the strong grade, also if the infinitive of the loanword has the weak grade, for example:

- (89) a. *тамъне* *чуэннче* *лышшэ* *эххт* ***комод***
tam’p’e *čuennc’e* *lyšše* *ehht* ***komod***
 there stand.PST.3SG only one.NOM dresser.NOM.SG
 ‘there was only one dresser’

‘там стоял только один комод’ [TKS 2013: 100]

- b. *сѳнн* *ыштэ* ***комод*** *луз*
sōpn *yšte* ***komod*** *luz*
 3SG.NOM sit.PST.3SG dresser.GEN.SG near.POSTP
 ‘she sat down near the dresser’

‘она села около комода’ [TKS 2013: 90]

- c. *Тамъне* *окромя* ***комодтэ*** *удць* *ыиштъягуэйм*
Tam’p’e *okrom’a* ***komodte*** *udc’* *yššt’ jaguejtm*
 There except.PREP dresser.PART.SG small drawer.DIM.COM.PL
нимантьтэ *мудта* *мебель* *ев* *лий*
niman’te *mudta* *m’eb’el’* *jev* *lij*
 NEG-what.NOM.SG other furniture.NOM.PL NEG.3PL be.CNG
 ‘There is no other furniture there, except for a dresser with small drawers.’

‘Там, кроме комода с маленькими ящичками, никакой другой мебели нет.’ [TKS 2013: 18]

- (90) а. *Джим* *я* *Бук* *Элькэнъ* *сугкэ*
Džim *ja* *Buk* *ell'ken'* *sugke*
 Jim.NOM.SG and Buk.NOM.SG begin.PST.3PL row.INF
рыннта.
rynnta.
 shore.ILL.SG
 'Jim and Buk began to row to the shore.'
 'Джим и Бук стали грести к берегу.' [TKS 2013: 262]
- б. *сөнн* *ляйй* *тоаввса* *Джиммэ*
sönn *l'äjj* *toavvsa* *Džimme*
 3SG.NOM be.PST.3SG strong.CPR Jim.PART.SG
 'he was stronger than Jim'
 'он был сильнее Джима' [TKS 2013: 267]

New loanwords, which have not been established yet, sometimes are used both with and without consonant gradation.

- (91) а. *ённэ* *тортэ*
jēnne *torte*
ману *cake.PART*
 'many cakes'
 'много тортов' [TKS 2013: 190]
but:
- б. *выдтэмплагкь* *торптэ* *сливкагуэйм*
vydtemploagk' *torrte* *slivkaguejm*
 fifteen.NOM cake.PART cream.COM.PL
 'fifteen cakes with cream'
 'пятнадцать тортов со взбитыми сливками' [TKS 2013: 190]

Often there are several possibilities for adapting loanwords. The same loanword can therefore have different nominative singular forms. For example, the Swedish word *krona* can be adapted as a disyllabic consonant stem, ending with a vowel in the nominative singular and taking the partitive suffix *-edt'e* (*-эдтэ*):

- (92) а. *эххт* *крона*
ēhht *krona*
 one.NOM krona.Nom.SG
 'one krona'
 'одна корона' [TKS 2013: 63]
- б. *вāльт* *тōн* *чūdъ* *кронэдтэ*
vāl't *tōn* *čūd'* *kronedt'e*

take.IMP.SG 2SG.GEN hundred.ACC.SG krona.PART
 ‘take your hundred kronas’
 ‘возьми свои сто крон’ [TKS 2013: 71]

Or the same word can also be adapted as a monosyllabic stem that takes the partitive suffix *-e (-э)*:

- (93) а. *пэрьмусс сайй* — *выдт* **крон,**
per’mjuss sajǰ — *vydt* **крон,**
 good.SUP seat.NOM.SG five.NOM krona.GEN.SG
нымьпн сайй — *кӧллм* **крон,**
путт’р sajǰ — *köllm* **крон,**
 other seat.NOM.SG three.NOM krona.GEN.SG
а чуэннчемсайй — *эхт* *крона*
а џиенн’емсajǰ — *эхт* *крона*
 and standing place.NOM.SG one.NOM krona.NOM.SG
 ‘the best seat (costs) — five kronas, other seat — three kronas,
 and standing room — one krona’
 ‘лучшее место (стоит) — пять крон, другое место — три кроны,
 а стоящее место — одна корона’ [TKS 63 :2013]
- в. *Сӧнн сӧррн,* *го аннт*
Sõnn sārpn *go annt*
 3SG.NOM say.NPST.3SG that give.NPST.3SG
чудь **кроннэ**
џид’ **кронне**
 hundred.ACC.SG krona.PART
 ‘He says he gives hundred kronas’
 ‘Он говорит, что даст сто крон’ [TKS 2013: 68]

3.4. Partitive forms for diminutive nouns

Depending on the dialect, diminutive nouns can be formed with the help of two different suffixes in Kildin Saami. In the Lujavv’r (Lovozero) dialect, traditionally the suffix *-a/-ä/-я* (*-a/-ä/-я*) is used (**нййта *nijta*** ‘little girl’), whereas in the dialects of Koarrdegk (Voron’je), Čudz’javv’r and Tyr’ber’ (Teriberka) the suffix *-енč/-енč’-енč* (*-энч/-энч-енч*) has traditionally been used (**нййтэнч *nijtenč*** ‘little girl’).

After enforced relocations of different Kildin Saami groups to centralized settlements in the last century, several dialect groups live together in the same places and native speakers have started to mix dialects. Consequently, native speakers

usually mix the inflection of different diminutive forms and diminutive partitive forms in spontaneous oral speech and in the written language. It is also usual among Kildin Saami authors to use different dialectal features as stylistic instruments in written literary texts.

a) Diminutive nouns with the suffix *-a/-'a/-'a (-a/-ä/-я)*

Diminutive nouns ending with *-a/-'a/-'a (-a/-ä/-я)* in the nominative singular belong to the group of nouns with disyllabic consonant stems, ending with a vowel and generating the partitive for both singular and plural referents with the suffix *-edt'e/-'edt'e/-'edt'e (-эдтэ/-'эдтэ/-'едтэ)*.

Table 3

	Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.	Gen. Pl.	Part.
‘птичка’ ‘little bird’	цыза cyza	цыза cyza	цызае cyzaje	цызэдтэ cyzedt'e
‘голосок’ ‘small voice’	йнä in'a	инä in'a	инäе in'aje	йнэдтэ in'edt'e
‘котёнок’ ‘little kitten’	коäзя koäz'a	коäзя koäz'a	коäзяе koäz'aje	коäзедтэ koäz'edt'e
‘бутылочка’ ‘little bottle’	сулья sul'ja	сулья sul'ja	сульяе sul'jaje	сульедтэ sul'jedt'e

Examples from the analysed texts:

Онä *On'a* ‘little Andrej; Tommi’, **Цанä** *Cän'a* ‘little Šura; Annika’:

- (94) *нике,* *окромя* *Тарьйнедтэ,* **Онэдтэ** *я*
nik'e *okrot'a* *Tär'jn'edt'e,* **Он'edt'e** *ja*
 NEG-who.NOM.SG except.PREP Pippi.DIM.PART Tommi.DIM.PART and
Цанэдтэ, *альт* *ев* *очтэдта*
Cän'edt'e, *all't* *jev* *oččtedta*
 Annika.DIM.PART nearby.ADV NEG.3.PL be.PTCP.PST
 ‘there was no one nearby, except Pippi, Tommi and Annika’
 ‘никого, кроме Пеппи, Томми и Анники, поблизости не оказалось’
 [TKS 2013: 149]

Сулья *sul'ja* 'little bottle':

(95) <i>сõн</i>	<i>альн</i>	<i>кӯсстэй</i>	<i>пәре</i>	<i>ённэ</i>
<i>sõn</i>	<i>al'n</i>	<i>kūsstej</i>	<i>per'e</i>	<i>jēnne</i>
3SG.GEN	on.POSTP	be visible.PST.3SG	very	many
<i>лимонад</i>	<i>сульедтэ</i>			
<i>limonad</i>	<i>sul'jedt'e</i>			
lemonade.ADJ	bottle.DIM.PART			

'on it one could see many small bottles of lemonade'

'на нём виделось очень много бутылочек лимонада' [TKS 2013: 190]

b) Diminutive nouns with the suffix -енč/-'енč/-'енč (-әнч/-әнч/-енч)

Diminutive nouns ending with **-енč/-'енč/-'енč (-әнч/-әнч/-енч)** in the nominative singular have two possible partitive suffixes, which are synonymly used to express both singular and plural referents: **-edt'e (-эдтэ)** and **-e/ (-э)**.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1) нийт-э-нч | > | нийт-э-нч-эдтэ* | > | нийт-н-едтэ |
| nijt-e-nč | > | nijt-e-nč'-edt'e* | > | nijt-n'-edt'e |
| 2) нийт-э-нч | > | нийт-э-нч-е | | |
| nijt-e-nč | > | nijt-e-nč'-e | | |

Table 4

	Nom. Sg.	Gen. Sg.	Gen. Pl.	Part.
'птичка' 'little bird'	цызәнч cyzenč	цыза cyza	цызае cyzaje	цызнедтэ, цызәнче cyzn'edt'e, cyzenč'e
'голосок' 'small voice'	йнәнч in'enč	инä in'a	инäе in'aje	йнънедтэ, инәнче in'n'edt'e, in'enč'e
'котёнок' 'little kitten'	коāзенч koāz'enč	коāзя koāz'a	коāзяе koāz'aje	коāзьнедтэ, коāзенче koāz'n'edt'e, koāz'enč'e
'бутылочка' 'little bottle'	сульенч sul'jenč	сулья sul'ja	сульяе sul'jaje	сульйнедтэ, сульенче sul'jn'edt'e, sul'jenč'e

Examples from the analysed text corpus:

Тәрьенч *Tār'jenč* 'little Dar'ja; Pippi':

- (96) *нике,* *окромя* *Тәрьйнедтә,*
nik'e *okrom'a* *Tār'jn'edt'e,*
 NEG-who.NOM.SG except.PREP Pippi.DIM.PART
 'no one except Pippi'
 'никто кроме Пеппи' [TKS 2013: 149]

- (97) *пугк,* *окромя* *Тәрьенче*
rugk *okrom'a* *Тәрьjenč'e*
 everyone except.PREP Pippi.DIM.PART
 'everyone except Pippi'
 'все, кроме Пеппи' [TKS 2013: 40]

нййтэнч *nj̄tenc̄* '(little) girl':

- (98) *классэшт* *ли* *әннә* *нййтнедтә*
klasses't *li* *ēnne* *nj̄jtn'edt'e*
 class.LOC.SG be.NPST.3SG many girl.DIM.PART
 'there are many girls in the class'
 'в классе много девочек' [SRS 1985: 212]

пәррьшенч *pār'r's̄enc̄* '(little) boy':

- (99) *классэшт* *лй* *әннә* *пәррьшэнче*
klasses't *li* *ēnne* *pār'r's̄enc̄'e*
 class.LOC.SG be.NPST.3SG many boy.DIM.PART
 'there are many boys in the class'
 'в классе много мальчиков' [SRS 1985: 249]

I found one example of a diminutive noun as a partitive plural form, which probably is a translation error¹⁴.

- (100) *тыйй* *лѣбне* *әннгэдтә* *пэря* *удць* *лоантае*
tyjj *l'ēbp'e* *jēnngedt'e* *per'a* *udc'* *loantaje*
 2PL.NOM be.NPST.2PL much.ADV.PART good.ADJ.CPR little bird.PART.PL

¹⁴ In the Russian version of the *Gospel of Matthew* the word **птица** *ptitsa* 'bird' is not a diminutive form. Without the adjective **удць** *udc'* 'little', it would be translated into **лоанньт** *loann't* 'bird' in Kildin Saami. But the adjective *udc'* requires a diminutive noun, which is why 'bird' has been translated with **лоанта** *loanta* 'little bird'. It is possible that the translator initially thought about the monosyllabic non-diminutive form when giving it the partitive plural form.

‘you are worth (much) more than many small birds’
 ‘вы (гораздо) лучше многих малых птиц’ [МРЕ 2022: 10, 31]

Diminutive nouns ending with *-енĉ/-'енĉ/-'енĉ (-энч/-Энч/-енч)* in the nominative singular also have two illative singular forms and two essive forms. With the illative singular suffix *-e (-э)* the forms **нĳйтне** (nĳjtn'e) and **нĳйтэнче** (nĳjtenč'e) are used. The essive suffix *-en' (-энь)* can build the forms **нĳйтнень** (nĳjtn'en') and **нĳйтэнчень** (nĳjtenč'en').

3.5. Partitive forms for pronouns

Halász [1883] found partitive forms for both personal pronouns as some demonstrative pronouns in Genetz's translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* [1878] and included them in his grammar sketch. Itkonen [1973] refers to some of them in his article. Szabó [1984: 153] notes that pronouns can never take partitive suffixes, probably, because he does not recognize the suffix *-e/-'e/-'e* as a partitive marker. Rießler [2022: 226] considers the elicited forms he had at his disposal as unreliable, states that pronouns in the partitive are rarely found any longer in spontaneous speech, and does not include the partitive in the paradigms for pronouns in his grammar sketch. In the paradigms in Antonova's and Scheller's digital dictionary [2021], partitive forms for personal and other pronouns are included, but not all the forms have been published yet¹⁵.

However, in the Kildin Saami language the partitive is still used at least with personal, demonstrative and determinative pronouns.

3.5.1. Partitive forms for personal pronouns

Like other monosyllabic consonant stems that end with one long consonant in the nominative singular, personal pronouns have different partitive forms for singular and plural (see Table 5).

¹⁵ The dictionary [Antonova, Scheller 2021] is still under development and not all grammatical forms in the paradigms are visible in the digital version of the dictionary yet.

Table 5

Nom. Sg.	Nom. Pl.	Gen. Sg.	Gen. Pl.	Part. Sg.	Part. Pl.
мунн munn	мыйй myjj	мун mun	мйн, мйнэ mīn, mīne	муннэ munne	мыйе, мйнэ myje, mīne
тõнн tõnn	тыйй tyjj	тõн tõn	тйн, тйнэ tīn, tīne	тõннэ tõnne	тыйе, тйнэ tyje, tīne
сõнн sõnn	сыйй syjj	сõн sõn	сйн, сйнэ sīn, sīne	сõннэ sõnne	сыйе, сйнэ syje, sīne

a) Partitive singular forms for personal pronouns

Partitive singular forms of personal pronouns are used in various partitive functions in Kildin Saami, for example:

- (101) *тõнн* *э* *зоабэль* *лях* *тоаввса* *муннэ*
tõnn *e* *zoābel'* *lah* *toavvsa* *munne*
 2SG.NOM and really be.NPST.2SG strong.CPR 1SG.PART
 'and you are really stronger than me'
 'ты и действительно сильнее меня' [TKS 2013: 192]

- (102) *тõн* *вйллй* *маньтэ-ляннч* *нюэзь*
tõn *villj* *man'te-l'annč* *n'uez'*
 2SG.GEN brother.NOM.SG something bad.ACC.SG
юррт *вўсьт* *тõннэ*
jurr *vūs't* *tõnne*
 think.NPST.3PL against.PREP 2SG.PART
 'your brother has something against you'
 'брат твой имеет что-нибудь против тебя' [MPE 2022: 5, 23]

- (103) *ноа* *удцьмусс* *Альм* *Цоāррвудэсьт*
ноа *udč'muss* *All'm* *Coārrvudes't*
 but little.SUP.NOM.SG heaven.ADJ kingdom.LOC.SG
щуря *сõннэ* *лй*
šur'a *sõnne* *li*
 great.CPR 3SG.PART be.NPST.3SG
 'yet whoever is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he'
 'но меньший в Царстве Небесном больше его' [MPE 2022: 11, 11]

See also the examples: (25), (26), (35), (36), (38), (50).

b) Partitive plural forms for personal pronouns

In the analysed material the partitive plural of personal pronouns is expressed with the help of two different forms.

The forms *myj'e*, *tyj'e*, *syj'e* are used together with *numerals* and *indefinite quantity*. They look like illative singular forms, but are used in partitive functions, so they must be considered partitive forms¹⁶.

- (104) **сьйе** *кудтэй* *вāнас*
сьйе *kūd'tej* *vānas*
 3PL.PART remain.PST.3SG few
 'few of them remained'
 'их осталось мало' [PB: Ekk 12:3]
- (105) **мыйе** *ляйй* *лоагкь* *бллмэдтэ*
туье *l'ājj* *loagk'* *ōllmedt'e*
 1PL.PART be.PST.3SG ten.NOM.SG people.PART
 'we were ten people'
 'нас было десять человек' [SRS 1985: 241]
- (106) *Пэре* *ēннэ* **сьйе** *ляйй*
Per'e *jēnne* **сьйе** *l'ājj*
 very many 3PL.PART be.PST.3SG
 'There were a lot of them'
 'Их очень много было' [TOL 2017: 79]
- (107) **сьйе** *эйй* *лйййма* *ēннэ*
сьйе *ejj* *l'ijjma* *jēnne*
 3PL.PART NEG.3SG be.PTCP.PST many
 'there weren't many of them'
 'их не было много' [PK 2015: 14]

Partitive forms of personal pronouns sometimes also appear with numerals under seven.

¹⁶ There is a theoretical difference between the illative plural forms *myj'e*, *tyj'e*, *syj'e* and the partitive forms *myj'e*, *tyj'e*, *syj'e*, because the illative forms have a palatalized stem, while the partitive forms have a non-palatalized stem. However, the difference between the palatalized and the non-palatalized stems isn't visible/hearable because the consonant *j* in the stem is always palatalized in practice. A clearer solution for the Kildin Saami orthography may be to write *мыййэ*, *тыййэ*, *сьййэ* (*myjje*, *tyjje*, *syjje*) instead of *мыйе*, *тыйе*, *сьйе* (*myj'e*, *tyj'e*, *syj'e*). This concerns also other stems with the consonant *j*, like for example: *нэйель*, *райя*, *ныйе* (*pěj'el'*, *raj'a*, *pyj'e*) etc., which could be written *нэййэль*, *раййа*, *ныййэ* (*pějjel'*, *rajja*, *pyjje*) etc.

- (108) **сыйе** *lū* *кōллм*
syje *lī* *kōllm*
 3PL.PART be.NPST.3SG three.NOM
 ‘there are three of them’
 ‘их трое’ [SU 2011: 160, 161]
- (109) *Адт* **сыйе** *лū* *кōллм:* *вūрр,*
Adt **syje** *lī* *kōllm:* *vīrr,*
 now 3PL.PART be.NPST.3SG three.NOM faith.NOM.SG
нāддэй *я* *милса*
nād’ej *ja* *mīlsa*
 hope.NOM.SG and love.NOM.SG
 ‘So now faith, hope, and love abide, these three’
 ‘А теперь пребывают сии три: вера, надежда, любовь’
 [PB: VK 13:4–13]
- (110) **сыйе** *лājйй* *най* 3, 5, 7, 9, 11
syje *l’āj* *paj* 3, 5, 7, 9, 11
 3PL.PART be.PST.3SG always 3, 5, 7, 9, 11
 ‘they have always been 3, 5, 7, 9, 11’
 ‘их всегда было 3, 5, 7, 9, 11’ [SU 2011: 7]
- The forms *mīne*, *tīne*, *sīne* are used together with *comparative* as well as with *pre-* and *postpositions*, which require the partitive.
- (111) *нājтэнч* *кōз* *мōджьта* **сūнэ** *ли*
nājtenč *kōz* *mōdž’ta* **sīne** *lī*
 girl.DIM.NOM.SG what.ILL.SG beautiful.CPR 3PL.PART be.NPST.3SG
 ‘the girl is much more beautiful than them’
 ‘девочка куда прекраснее их [TKS 2013: 250]’
- (112) *сыйй* *ēллев* *тавьвла* **мūнэ**
syj *jell’ev* *tavv’la* **mīne**
 3PL.NOM live.NPST.3PL north.CPR 1PL.PART
 ‘they live further north than we do’
 ‘они живут севернее нас’ [SRS 1985: 341]
- (113) *Тāрьенч* *вūженть* *лāффка* *вўсьт* **сūнэ**
Tār’jenč *vīž’ent’* *lāffka* *vūs’t* **sīne**
 Pippi.NOM.SG run.PST.3SG store.ILL.SG opposite.PREP 3PL.PART
 ‘Pippi ran to the store opposite theirs’
 ‘Пеппи сбегала в магазин напротив их’ [TKS 2013: 118]

The forms *mīne*, *tīne*, *sīne* could also be genitive plural forms, which are usually used together with pre- and postpositions that require the genitive. However, I suppose that these forms are partitive plural forms that have formally merged with the genitive plural forms. Comparing the partitive plural forms with the genitive plural forms in Genetz's translation of the *Gospel of Matthew*, we can see a clear difference between them:

Partitive plural forms have the suffix **-d/-t**:

- (114) *Ienneda* *tīj* *лях* *чевта* *пурямп* **синийт?**
Ieppeda *tij* *lah* *č'evta* *pur'amp* **sinujt?**
 NEG.2PL 2PL.NOM be.CNG much.ADV good.ADJ.CPR 3PL.PART
 'Are you not much more valuable than they?'
 'Вы не гораздо ли лучше их?' [Genetz 1878: 6, 26]

Genitive plural forms have the suffix **-e/-je** or **-i/-j**:

- (115) *сон* *ыштій* **синий** *элэ*
son *yštij* **sinuj** *ele*
 3SG.NOM sit down.PST.3SG 3PL.GEN on.POSTP
 'he sat down on top of them'
 'он сел поверх их' [Genetz 1878: 21, 7]

In modern Kildin Saami texts there is no **-d/-t** in the partitive suffix for these types of nouns, which is why it's not possible to distinguish the partitive plural forms from genitive plural forms. The differentiation can only be made by looking at the context and the functions of the different forms:

- (116) *Тыйй* *ебпе* *лягка* *еннгэдтэ* *пэря* **сйнэ?**
Tujj *jebpe* *l'agka* *jenngedt'e* *per'a* **sīne?**
 2PL.NOM NEG.2PL be.CNG much.ADV.PART good.ADJ.CPR 3PL. PART
 'Are you not much more valuable than they?'
 'Вы не гораздо ли лучше их?' [MPE 2022: 6, 26]

- (117) *Сонн* *ыштэ* **сйнэ** *эл*
Sōnn *yšte* **sīne** *ēl*
 3SG.NOM sit down.PST.3SG 3PL.GEN on.POSTP
 'He sat down on top of them'
 'Он сел поверх их' [MPE 2022: 21, 7]

3.5.2. Partitive forms of other pronouns

A more comprehensive analysis of partitive forms of pronouns is needed. So far I have detected partitive forms for demonstrative pronouns like **тэдт** *tedt* ‘this, that’, **тала** *tala* ‘this’ and for the determinative pronoun **пугк** *puḡk* ‘all, the whole of’ in the modern written Kildin Saami literature:

- (118) *мōджьта* **тәннэ** *элля*
mōdž’ta **tenne** *ell’a*
 beautiful.CPR this.PART.SG be.NEG.NPST.3SG
 ‘nothing is more beautiful than this’
 ‘красивее этого нет’ [TKS 2013: 156]
- (119) *А* *окромья* **тәннэ** *лѐв* *каникула*
A *okrom’a* **tenne** *l’ev* *kanikula*
 And besides.PREP this.PART.SG be.NPST.3PL holiday.NOM.PL
 ‘And besides (this), there are holidays’
 ‘А кроме того, бывают каникулы.’ [TKS 2013: 36]
- (120) *Я* *пугк* **талэдтэ** *ляйй*
Ja *puḡk* **taledt’e** *l’ajj*
 And all.NOM.SG this.PART be.PST.3SG
 ‘And all this took place’
 ‘И всё же сие было’ [MPE 2022: 21, 4]
- (121) *вуэмь* *кәннџи* *пэря* **пукэ** *ōдт*
vietm’ *kānn’c* *per’a* **puke** *ōdt*
 old friend.NOM.SG good.CPR all.PART.PL new
коаньцэ *лї*
коап’се *lī*
 friend.PART.PL be.NPST.3SG
 ‘an old friend is better than all new friends’
 ‘старый друг лучше новых друзей’ [SRS 1985: 62]
- (122) *Енамп* **пукэ** *эллмантэсьт*
Jēnamp **puke** *ellmantest*
 much.CPR all.PART.PL world.LOC.SG
 ‘More than anything in the world’
 ‘Больше всего на свете’ [TKS 2013: 28]
- (123) *(сōнн)* *пляссэй* **пукэ** *удла*
(sōnn) *pl’assej* **puke** *udla*
 (3SG.NOM) dance.PST.3SG all.PART.PL passionately.CPR
 ‘(she) danced more passionately than anyone else’
 ‘(она) танцевала азартнее всех’ [TKS 2013: 192]

3.6. The partitive form with the adverb

ĕННЭ *jĕnne* ‘many, much’

In the analysed texts there are several examples of partitive use with the adverb **ĕННЭ** *jĕnne* ‘many, much’, which takes a partitive form in connection with comparative forms of adverbs or adjectives and behaves like other disyllabic consonant stems, ending with a vowel and taking the partitive suffix **-edt’e/-edt’e/-edt’e** (**-эдтэ/-эдтэ/-едтэ**).

(124) <i>tĕdt</i>	<i>lĭ</i>	ĕННЭдтэ	<i>нюэззя</i>
<i>tedt</i>	<i>lĭ</i>	jĕnngedt’e	<i>n’uez’a</i>
this.NOM.SG	3NPST.SG	much.PART	bad.CPR

‘this is much worse’

‘это на много хуже’ [MPE 2022: 12, 45]

(125) <i>Sĕnn</i>	<i>stuaĭj</i>	[...]	ĕННЭдтэ	<i>вүгкса</i>
<i>Sĕnn</i>	<i>stuaĭj</i>	[...]	jĕnngedt’e	<i>vügksa</i>
3SG.NOM	cost.NPST.3SG	[...]	many.PART	cheap.CPR

‘It costs [...] much less’

‘Она стоит [...] гораздо дешевле’ [TKS 2013: 115]

4. Replacement of the partitive with other cases

In the analysed materials there are various examples where the partitive has been replaced with other cases. Sometimes this happens because the writers are not sure which case is required; at other times, the Russian original affects the Kildin Saami translation. However, most substitutions take place due to syntactic reasons.

4.1. Replacement of the partitive with genitive plural?

Kert [1971: 162], Szabó [1984: 145], Kuruch [1985: 545] and Rießler [2022: 226] state, that (younger) Kildin Saami speakers replace the partitive with the genitive plural due to influence from the Russian language. Yet, no argumentation for this statement has been given. We can only assume the main cause for this is the large amount of weak grade forms with the suffix **-e/-e/-e** (**-э/-э/-е**) and filling partitive functions in the written texts and transcriptions. As discussed in chapter 3, many of these weak grade forms are partitive plural forms, which have

mistakenly been interpreted as genitive plural forms. Some weak grade forms can be categorised as transcription errors, for example, when the transcriber had problems hearing the difference between the weak and the strong grade.

Most of the written Kildin Saami texts contain plenty of orthographic errors, mistakes and misspellings, because almost nobody among Kildin Saami writers has been schooled in orthographic and grammatical rules. Even the few specialists who have mastered the orthography and grammar rules do not write regularly and do not have enough writing practice, which is needed to produce correctly spelled texts. In addition, the number of misspellings and errors even rises within the publishing process, because the editors and publishers usually don't know the Kildin Saami language¹⁷.

Among Kildin Saami writers there is a general tendency to write noun stems with the weak grade, even if they use the strong grade in oral speech, and vice versa. Nominative, genitive and accusative singular forms often are mixed and can be detected only with the help of the context, for example:

(126) <i>Толл</i>	<i>сон</i>	<i>вуанче</i>
<i>Toll</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>vuanc'e</i>
fire.NOM.SG*	3SG.ACC/GEN*	get.PST.3SG
'She made the fire (The fire made her*)'		
'Огонь она добыла (Огонь её добыл*)' [ASL uncorrected manuscript]		

The corrected version:

¹⁷ The number of mistakes is especially large in older publications, when the manuscripts and corrections were written on typewriters or by hand and prepared for printing by editors without Kildin Saami language knowledge. But there are many challenges in modern digital times as well. For example, in the *Al'manah saamskoj lit'eratury* ('Anthology of Saami literature') [ASL 2019] all Kildin Saami texts were digitized with a scanning program for Russian texts, which did not recognize the special Kildin Saami letters. Although the Russian editor manually compared all texts with the originals and corrected them, there were many errors left in the published version, and there was no time to have all texts be corrected by a specialist who knows the Kildin Saami language and orthography.

<i>Тõл</i>	<i>сõнн</i>	<i>вуанче</i>
<i>Тõл</i>	<i>сõпн</i>	<i>вианч'е</i>
fire.ACC.SG	3SG.NOM	get.PST.3SG
'She made the fire'		
'Огонь она добыла' [ASL 2019: 130]		

Such mistakes also occur with partitive forms, as illustrated in the following two examples, where partitive singular forms with the strong grade should have been used instead of partitive plural forms:

(127) <i>шõтткә</i>	<i>оасскәтӕ</i>	<i>вэсьт</i>	<i>кәдӕкә</i>
<i>šõttke</i>	<i>oassket'</i>	<i>ves't</i>	<i>k'ed'ke</i>
rub.INF	laundry.ACC.PL	on.PREP	stone.PART.PL*
'to rub the laundry on a stone'			
'тереть бельё о камень' [SRS 1985: 413]			
(128) <i>луәннтә</i>	<i>сõн</i>	<i>вэсьт</i>	<i>сәлькә</i>
<i>luennnte</i>	<i>sõn</i>	<i>ves't</i>	<i>s'el'ke</i>
whip.INF	3SG.ACC	on.PREP	back.PART.PL*
'to whip her on the back'			
'стегать её по спине' [ТКС 2013: 138]			

In the same publications the same authors sometimes use the grammatically correct spelling forms:

(129) <i>мунн</i>	<i>кõфксувве</i>	<i>вэсьт</i>	<i>кәддӕкә</i>
<i>munn</i>	<i>kõfksuvv'e</i>	<i>ves't</i>	<i>k'edd'ke</i>
1SG.NOM	tripp.INF	over.PREP	stone.PART.SG
'I tripped over a stone'			
'я споткнулся о камень' [SRS 1985: 73]			
(130) <i>тоӕгнә</i>	<i>вэсьт</i>	<i>сәлькәэ</i> ¹⁸	
<i>toagne</i>	<i>ves't</i>	<i>s'ell'ke'e</i>	
pat.INF	on.PREP	back.PART.SG	
'to pat on the back'			
'похлопывать по спине' [ТКС 2013: 196]			

In Russian the partitive is considered part of the genitive case, also called "second genitive" ("второй родительный") or

¹⁸ In example (130) the partitive form is written grammatically correctly, but there is a typing error. Obviously, an orthographic mistake was corrected here, but the incorrect letter has not been removed. The correct form is *сәлькә* (*s'ell'ke*).

“genitive partitive” (“родительный разделительный”) and is used only with some inanimate masculine nouns [Rozenal’, Telenkova 1976: 272, 371; Tyumenceva 2018: 215]. In many positions where the partitive is required in Kildin Saami, the genitive is required in Russian, for example with the comparative, numbers, indefinite quantity and some prepositions [Pekhlivanova, Lebedeva 1987: 80–93]. This could be one reason why the use of the genitive instead of the Kildin Saami partitive has been assumed to be due to influence from the Russian language. However, if such a substitution would take place, it would occur not only with monosyllabic stems but with all types of nouns. And why, then, has the genitive plural form been adopted also with singular referents? If we assume that the genitive substitutes for the partitive in examples (127) and (128) due to the influence of Russian, why are the genitive singular forms **кѐдѣк** *k’ed’k* and **сѐльк** *s’el’k* not used, if we are dealing with singular referents? And there is a much more serious problem: in examples (127) and (128) there are no genitive forms in the Russian translations of **вэсьт кѐдѣкэ** ‘о камень’ (*ves’t k’ed’ke* ‘о kamen’ — ‘on a stone’) and **вэсьт сѐлькэ** ‘по спине’ (*ves’t s’el’ke* ‘po spin’e’ — ‘on the back’), with accusative and prepositional cases used here instead. So why should there be a genitive in the Kildin Saami translations?

However, there are examples in the texts where the expected partitive forms have been replaced by genitive plural forms, not due to Russian influence, but because of semantic and syntactic reasons, for example, when pre- and postpositions which require the genitive override the partitive case:

- (131) *Скрудтѣ,* *эйй* *ѐннэ* *минутае* *байя,*
Skrudt’, *ejj* *jenne* *minutaje* *baj’a,*
suddenly NEG.3SG many minute.GEN.PL within.POSTP
кыр’тэсьт *тйр’месьюэххт*
kyr’tes’t *tir’m’es’vuehht*
come flying.PST.3SG thundercloud.NOM.SG
‘Suddenly, within a few minutes, a thundercloud came’
‘Вдруг, за несколько минут, налетела грозовая туча’ [TKS 2013: 269]

This happens often, but not always:

- (132) *Пэ́йель* эйй ё́ннэ *мину́тадтэ́* Та́рьенч пы́дтэ́
Рэ́јел' ejj jé́ппе *minútadt'e* Та́р'јенч́ *pydt'e*
 after.PREP NEG.3SG many minute.PART Pippi.NOM.SG bring.PST.3SG
 пў́лле ко́фейна́гкь
pǔll'e *koʃ'ejnegk'*
 hot coffee pot.ACC.SG
 'A few minutes later Pippi brought the steaming coffee pot'
 'Через несколько минут Пеппи принесла дымящийся кофейник'
 [TKS 2013: 49]

As we see, the hypothesis about the replacement of the Kil-din Saami partitive by the genitive plural due to influence from Russian can be shown to be false in different ways.

4.2. Replacement of the partitive by the genitive singular and vice versa

Sometimes the partitive is replaced by the genitive singular for numbers over six.

- (133) *Муст* тэ́сьт лэ́в кáххц *су́лья*
Must *tes't* *l'ev* *kāhhc* *sul'ja*
 1SG.LOC here.LOC be.NPST.3PL eight.NOM.SG bottle.DIM.GEN.SG
 'I have eight small bottles here'
 'у меня тут восемь пузырьков' [TKS 2013: 123]
- (134) Та́рьенч, áведь пугк кáххц *су́лья*
 Та́р'јенч́, áv'ed' *pygk* *Kāhhc* *sul'ja*
 Pippi.NOM.SG open.PST.3SG all.NOM.SG eight.NOM.SG bottle.DIM.GEN.SG
 'Pippi opened all eight small bottles'
 'Пеппи, откупила все восемь пузырьков' [TKS 2013: 123]

In examples (133) and (134) numerals over six are treated just as the numerals two through six, which take nouns in the genitive singular and usually override other case markings, like the expected accusative plural, which is required by the transitive verb *áввьдэ́* *ávvd'e* 'to open' in example (134).

Substitution of the genitive singular for the partitive with numbers over six has also been observed for Skolt Saami (see Feist 2010: 249, 235).

On the other hand, prepositions and comparatives, which take the partitive, usually override the genitive singular, which is required by the numerals two through six:

- (135) *мэнэ* *алльт* *выдт* *секундэдтэ*
mēne *all't* *vudt* *s'ekunndedt'e*
 pass.PST.3SG about.PREP five second.PART
 'about five seconds passed'
 'прошло около пяти секунд' [TKS 2013: 243]
- (136) *эйй* *ѐнамп* *нелъе* *ăлкэ*
ejj *jēnamp* *n'el'je* *ăllke*
 NEG.3SG many.CPR four.PART log.PART
 'no more than four logs'
 'не больше четырёх поленьев' [TKS 2013: 96]

Sometimes numerals under seven can take the partitive form:

- (137) *Вайвааш* *сăммьясьт* *ляйй* *выдт* *ниййтэ*
Vājvaš *sāmm'l'as't* *l'āj* *vudt* *nijjte*
 poor Saami.LOC.SG be.PST.3SG five daughter.PART
 'The poor Saami had five daughters'
 'У бедного саама было пять дочек' [KL 2003: 43]

4.3. Replacement of the partitive by the accusative plural or other cases

If the partitive form is an object, transitive verbs can override and take accusative plural instead of the partitive.

- (138) *Тарьенч* [...] *лыгкэ* *эйй* *ѐннэ* *пьяссъемь* *лоăфькэть*
Tār'jenč [...] *lygke* *ejj* *jēnne* *pl'āss'jem'* *loăf'ket'*
 Pippi.NOM.SG [...] do.PST.3SG NEG.3SG many dance.GER step.ACC.PL
 'Pippi did a few dancing steps'
 'Пеппи сделала несколько танцевальных шагов' [TKS 2013: 243]
- (139) *Трифон* *рыстэ* *ѐннэ* *сăмь* *ăллмэть*
Trifon *ryste* *jēnne* *sām'* *ăllmet'*
 Trifon.NOM.SG baptise.PST.3SG many Saami.ADJ people.ACC.PL
 'Trifon baptised many Saami people'
 'Трифон крестил много саамских людей' [ASL 2019: 100]
- (140) *мудта* *пăррнэ* *пыххтлэнь* *пăррьтэ*
mudta *pārre* *pyhhtlen'* *pērꞑ'te*
 (the) other children.NOM.PL bring.PST.3PL home.ILL.SG

<i>эйй</i>	<i>ённэ</i>	<i>тйуькэть,</i>	<i>конфетатъ</i>
<i>ejj</i>	<i>jenne</i>	<i>tij'ket'</i>	<i>konf'etat'</i>
NEG.3SG	much	money.ACC.PL	candy.ACC.PL
<i>я</i>	<i>поаьхк</i>	<i>фуфайкатъ</i>	
<i>ja</i>	<i>poahhk</i>	<i>fufajkat'</i>	
and	warm	sweatshirt.ACC.PL	

‘the other children brought home some money, candy and warm sweatshirts’

‘другие дети приносили домой немного денег, конфеты и тёплые фуфайки’ [TKS 2013: 228]

However, the accusative, required by the transitive verb, does not always override the partitive case:

(141) <i>копч</i>	[...]	<i>ёнмушиа</i>	<i>коашиьк</i>	<i>рысьседтэ</i>
<i>kopč</i>	[...]	<i>enmušša</i>	<i>koašš'k</i>	<i>ryss'jedt'e</i>
collect.IMP.SG		more.ATT	dry.ADJ	branch.DIM.PART
<i>я</i>	<i>коашиьк</i>	<i>пйссетъ</i>		
<i>ja</i>	<i>koašš'k</i>	<i>piss'et'</i>		
and	dry.ADJ	birch bark.ACC.PL		

‘collect [...] more dry branches and dry birch bark’

‘собери [...] побольше хвороста и сухой берёсты’ [TOL 2019: 41]

In the analysed materials, other cases such as locative, illative or comitative can also override the partitive. Even if the partitive is displaced, it can still affect the morphology of the new case form. For example, together with numbers over six or with indefinite quantity, which usually require the partitive singular, the locative and illative cases which replace the partitive also take the singular form, even though a plural form is expected:

(142) <i>авътма</i>	<i>вуэр</i>	<i>ённэ</i>	<i>ыгесът</i>
<i>av'tma</i>	<i>vuer</i>	<i>jenne</i>	<i>yg'es't</i>
first	time.ACC.SG	many	year.LOC.SG

‘for the first time in many years’

‘в первый раз за много лет’ [KL 2003: 32]

(143) <i>быдъсуев</i>	<i>числа</i>	<i>315 югке</i>	<i>кыджемь</i>	<i>сайя</i>
<i>byd'suvv</i>	<i>čisla</i>	<i>315 jügk'e</i>	<i>kudž'em'</i>	<i>saj'a</i>
need.NPST.3SG	number.ACC.SG	315 divide.INF	seven	time.ILL.SG

‘one needs to divide the number 315 by seven’

‘нужно разделить число 315 на семь’ [TKS 2013: 130]

(144) <i>mī</i>	<i>kūdtej</i>	<i>tīŋ'kəŋ'</i>	<i>(sōnn)</i>	— <i>əŋ'tə</i>
<i>mī</i>	<i>kūdtej</i>	<i>tīŋ'ken'</i>	<i>(sōnn)</i>	— <i>en'te</i>
what	leave.PST.3SG	money.LOC.PL	(3SG.NOM)	give.PST.3SG
<i>pəre</i>	<i>ēnnə</i>	<i>syllp</i>	<i>t'ajkaŋuejt.</i>	
<i>pə're</i>	<i>jēnne</i>	<i>syllp</i>	<i>t'ajkaŋuejt.</i>	
very	much	silver	money.COM.PL ¹⁹	
'the change (she) gave — in a lot of silver coins.'				
'сдачу (она) дала — множеством серебрянных монеток.'				
[TKS 2013: 63]				

In this section only a few examples have been presented of other cases being substituted for the partitive. A detailed syntactic analysis of partitive use would be very interesting and useful for researchers as well as language learners and teachers.

Conclusion

We have seen that the partitive is a living and productive case in Kildin Saami, as witnessed by the large number of partitive forms and functions in the analysed written Kildin Saami text materials, observations on the active use of the partitive in spontaneous oral speech, and the use of the partitive in newer loanwords. Earlier research statements about the replacement of partitives by the genitive plural due to Russian interference could not be confirmed, but rather turned out to be misinterpretations of weak grade forms with the suffix *-e/-e/-e (-ə/-ä/-e)*, which often appear in partitive functions and look like genitive plural forms. However, substitution of other cases for the partitive due to syntactic and semantic reasons is normal. A syntactic study has still to be carried out for achieving a better understanding of how partitive and other cases are used in Kildin Saami.

The analysis above confirms the hypothesis about two different partitive suffixes which are used depending on the word stem. In contrast to earlier statements about the Kildin Saami partitive as a single form that is used to express both singular and plural referents, the current analysis shows that both par-

¹⁹ Comitative plural is used here instead of essive or as a plural form of essive.

titive singular and partitive plural forms are used. Whereas disyllabic consonant stems ending with one short consonant or with a vowel in the nominative singular take the partitive suffix *-edt'e/-edt'e/-edt'e* (-ədmä/-ädmä/-edmä), which is used to express both singular and plural referents, mono- and disyllabic consonant stems ending with one long consonant or two consonants in the nominative singular take the partitive suffix *-e/-e/-e* (-ə/-ä/-e) and generate partitive singular forms with the strong grade and partitive plural forms with the weak grade. The Kildin Saami partitive plural and genitive plural forms that are used in modern written literary texts have formally merged. The final consonant *d*, which can be found in older texts, has disappeared from the modern partitive suffix. A differentiation between the partitive plural and the genitive plural can therefore only be carried out by examining the context and function in which the respective form is used.

Although the partitive case seems to stand strong in the written Kildin Saami literature and is actively used in spontaneous oral speech, at least among native speakers who grew up with Kildin Saami as first or second language, its future is uncertain. Today no children are growing up with Kildin Saami as their family's first language or even as a frequently used second language. Only a few Kildin Saami speakers use their native language in everyday communications and there are no public Kildin Saami language domains. Both for community members and outsiders who are not recognized as fluent Kildin Saami speakers it is not easy to get the possibility to participate in more complex conversations, where partitive and other grammatical features, which the majority language does not have, are used.

However, a revitalisation process is going on among Kildin Saami community members. As in other language revitalisation contexts, so also Kildin Saami revitalisers and "new" speakers show a special interest for components of the revitalised minority language which are not found in the dominant majority language. If the partitive will be included in future teaching materials and grammars, and if native speakers and language

teachers choose to transmit it to new speakers, the Kildin Saami partitive has good chances for survival as an actively used and productive case also in the future.

Abbreviations

1	first person	INF	Infinitive
2	second person	LOC	Locative
3	third person	NEG	Negation
ACC	accusative	NOM	Nominative
ADJ	adjective	NPST	non-past
ADV	adverb	NUM	Numeral
ATT	attenuated comparative	ORD	Ordinal
COM	comitative	PART	Partitive
CNG	connegative	PL	Plural
CPR	comparative	POSS	Possessive
DIM	diminutive	POSTP	postposition
DISTR	distributive	PREP	Preposition
ESS	essive	PST	Past
FUT	future	PTCP	Participle
GEN	genitive	REFL	Reflexive
GER	gerund	SG	Singular
ILL	illative	SUP	Superlative
IMP	imperative		

Text resources

ASL 2019 — Balakina D. S. et al. *Al'manakh saamskoy literatury* [Almanac of Saami Literature]. Moscow, 2019.

ČJU 2017 — Mečkina K. Čuvv jurrtē; khudozh.: Jakovleva Ō. (Мечкина К. Чувв юрттэ; худож. Яковлева Ō.) *Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji*, 2017.

KL 2003 — Bol'shakova N. (A. A. Antonova py'e sām' kīle). *Kāje Lājhh'. Kuelnegk soām'e jēm'n'e bajas moājnas*. Мурманск, 2003.

MPE 2022 — *Māhtves't pass' jevang'el'e* [Gospel of Matthew]. Per. A. A. Antonova.; red. E. Scheller & E. Galkina. Stockholm, 2022.

PB — *Pārrne biblija. Py'e rŭšš kiles't Kuelnegk n'oārk soām'e kilt kill'e Sānndra Antonova, Lujavv'r.* Unpublished manuscript (in preparation).

PK 2015 — Yakimovich S. E. *Pejyv kenn'al: saamskiye skazki* [Saami tales]. Moscow, 2015.

SRS 1985 — Antonova A. A. et al. *Saamsko-russkiy slovar'* [Saami-Russian dictionary]. Moscow, 1985.

SU 2011 — Mechkina E. I., Mozolevskaya A. E. *Saaamskiye uzory* [Saami patterns]. Murmansk, 2011.

TKS 2013 — Lindgren A. *Tār'jenč Kuk'es'suhhk.* Per. A. A. Antonova. Red. E. Scheller. Murmansk, 2013.

TOL 2017 — Yuryevy P. P. i M. P. *Bogatyr Lyayne/Toavas olma L'ājne. Kniga na russkom i saamskom yazykakh.* Murmansk, 2017.

VP 1996 — Bazhanov A. *Vill'k'es' puaz.* Per. na saam. yaz. A. Antonovoy; red. N. Afanasyeva. Karashegk, 1996.

References

Agranat 2021 — Agranat T. B. *Pravila orfografii dlya mladopismennogo yazyka: sluchay kil'dinskogo saamskogo* [Orthography development for previously unwritten languages: The case of Kildin Saami]. *Rodnoy yazyk*, 2021, 1: 30–42. (In Russ.)

Antonova, Scheller 2021 — Antonova A. A., Scheller E. *Saamsko-russkiy i Russko-saamskiy slovar' (okolo 16000 slov)* [Saami-Russian and Russian-Saami dictionary (about 1600 words)]. University of Tromsø — The Arctic University of Norway, 2021. URL: <https://sanj.oahpa.no/>. Accessed on 2024-02-01. (In Russ., Saami)

Antonova, Scheller in preparation — Antonova A. A., Scheller E. *Grammatika kil'dinskogo saamskogo yazyka* [Grammar of the Kildin Saami language], in preparation. (In Russ.)

Bakula 2020 — Bakula V. B. *Neskol'ko pis'mennykh traditsiy kil'din-saamskogo yazyka kak osnovnaya problema y ego sokhraneniya i prepodavaniya* [Several written traditions of the Kildin Saami language as the main problem of its preservation and teaching]. *Pedagogicheskiy IMIDZH*, 2020, 2 (47): 146–159. (In Russ.)

Bakula 2018 — Bakula V. B. Problemy formirovaniya literaturnogo yazyka kol'skikh saamov [Problems of formation of the literary language of the Kola Saami]. *Finno-ugorskiy mir*, 2018, 3: 13–22. (In Russ.)

Endyukovskiy 1937 — Endyukovskiy A. G. Saamskiy (loparskiy) yazyk [Saami language]. *Yazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa. 1. Yazyki i pis'mennost' samoyedskikh i finno-ugorskikh narodov*. Red. G. N. Prokof'yev. Leningrad, 1937, 125–162. (In Russ.)

Feist 2010 — Feist T. *A grammar of Skolt Saami. A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities*. School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures. University of Manchester, 2010.

Gaidamashko 2023 — Gaidamashko R. V. Mezhdunarodnaya nauchnaya konferentsiya «Saamskiye yazyki Rossii v sinkhronii i diakhronii» [International scholarly conference on “The Saami languages of Russia: Synchrony and diachrony”]. *Родной язык*, 2023, 1: 180–182. (In Russ.)

Genetz 1891 — Genetz A. *Wörterbuch der Kola-Lappischen Dialekte nebst Sprachproben*. Bidrag till kännedom af Finlands natur och folk 50. Helsingfors, 1891. (In German)

Genetz 1878 — Genetz A. *Makh'tveyest Pas' — Yevangeli. Samas. Yevangelie ot Matvoeya (na russko-loparskom yazykye), izdannoye Obshchestvom Rasprostraneniya Biblii v Veliko-Britanii i v drugikh stranakh* (Махътвеест Пась – Евангели) [Gospel of Matthew]. 1878. (In Saami)

Halász 1883 — Halász I. Orosz-lapp nyelvtani vázlat. — *Nyelvtudományi közlemények* 17, 1883: 1–45. (In Hungarian)

Itkonen 1973 — Itkonen E. Zur Geschichte des Partitivs. *Fin-nisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 40, 1973: 278–339. (In German)

Kert 1975 — Kert G. M. Saamskiy yazyk [Saami language]. *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo yazykoznaniya (pribaltiysko-finskie, saamskiy i mordovskie yazyki)*. V. I. Lytkin, K. E. Maytinskaya, K. Redei (eds.). Moscow, 1975, 203–247. (In Russ.)

Kert 1971 — Kert G. M. *Saamskiy yazyk (kil'dinskiy dialekt). Fonetika, morfologiya, sintaksis* [Saami language (Kildin dialect). Phonetics, morphology, syntax]. Leningrad, 1971. (In Russ.)

Koivunen 2022 — Koivunen T. Itäsaamelaiskielten partitiivi kielioppien mukaan sekä korpushavainnot inarin- ja koltansaa-
mesta. *Folia Uralica Debrececiensia*, 2022, 29: 83–98. (In Finnish)

Kont 1968 — Kont K. Partitiivista kuolanlapin murteissa. *Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum Helsinki-
giae habitus 23.–28. VIII. 1965. Pars 1. Acta linguistica*, Helsinki,
1968, 279–282. (In Finnish)

Kont 1967 — Kont K. O partitive v finno-ugorskikh yazykakh
[About the partitive in Finno-Ugric languages]. *Sovetskoe finno-
ugrovedenie*, 1967, 3 (1): 1–6. (In Russ.)

Korhonen 1981 — Korhonen M. *Johdatus lapin kielen histo-
riaan*. Helsinki, (In Finnish)

Kuruch 1985 — Kuruch R. D. Kratkiy grammaticheskiy
oчерk saamskogo yazyka [Brief grammatical sketch of the
Saami language]. Antonova A. A. et al. *Saamsko-russkiy slovar'*.
Moscow, 1985, 529–567. (In Russ.)

Nielsen 1928 — Nielsen K. Et tredelt bidrag. 2. Partitiv i Fin-
nmark-Lappisk. *Tromsø museums skrifter, Vol. II. Festskrift til
rektor J. Qvigstad, 1853-4. april-1928*. Tromsø, 1928, 169–179. (In
Norwegian)

Overland, Berg-Nordlie 2012 — Overland I., Berg-Nordlie M.
*Bridging Divides: Ethno-Political Leadership among the Russian
Sami*. New York, Oxford, 2012.

Pekhlivanova, Lebedeva 2005 — Pekhlivanova I. K., Lebe-
deva M. N. *Grammatika russkogo yazyka v illyustratsiyah* [Rus-
sian grammar in illustrations]. Moscow, 2005. (In Russ.)

Rießler 2022 — Rießler M. Kildin Saami. *The Oxford guide to
the Uralic languages*. Oxford University Press USA – OSO, 2022,
219–239.

Rießler 2013 — Rießler M. Towards a digital infrastructure
for Kildin Saami. *Sustaining indigenous knowledge: Learning
tools and community initiatives on preserving endangered lan-
guages and local cultural heritage*. E. Kasten, T. de Graaf (eds.).
Exhibitions & Symposia series. Verlag der Kulturstiftung Si-
birien, 2013, 195–218.

Rozental', Telenkova 1976 — Rozental' D. E., Telenkova M. A.
Slovar'-spravochnik lingvisticheskikh terminov [Dictionary of
linguistic terms]. Moscow, 1976. (In Russ.)

Sammallahti 1998 — Sammallahti P. *The Saami Languages: An Introduction*. Davvi Girji, 1998.

Sammallahti, Hvorostukhina 1991 — Sammallahti P., Hvorostukhina A. *Унна/удуць sámī-cā́мь cā́мь-sámi sátnegrjjáš/co-агкнэгка*. Ohcejohka, 1991. (In Saami)

Scheller forthcoming — Scheller E. Aktivizatsiya passivnykh znaniy kildinskogo saamskogo yazyka s pomoshchyu metoda «master-uchenik» i obucheniya grammatike i pismennomu yazyku [Activating passive knowledge of the Kildin Saami language using the “master-student” method and teaching grammar and written language]. *Rodnoy yazyk*, forthcoming. (In Russ.)

Scheller 2023 — *Partitive or genitive plural? An analysis of the use of the partitive case in Kildin Saami*. Abstract of a presentation held in Russian at the International scientific conference “The Saami languages of Russia in synchrony and diachrony in St. Petersburg, Russia, May 11–12 2023, 69–72. URL: <https://nenadict.iling.spb.ru/node/1876>. Accessed on 2024-02-01.

Scheller 2015 — Scheller E. Samisk språkrevitalisering i Rysland: möjligheter och utmaningar. *Sápmi i ord och bild: en antologi*. Västra Frölunda: On Line, 2015, 471–483. (In Swedish)

Scheller 2013 — Scheller E. Kola Sami language revitalisation. Opportunities and challenges. *L'Image du Sápmi II*. Ed. by Kajsa Andersson. Humanistica Oerebroensia. Artes et linguae 17. Örebro, 2013, 392–421.

Scheller 2004 — Scheller E. *Kolasamiska — språkbyte eller språkbevarande? En sociolingvistisk studie av samernas språksituation i Ryssland. D-uppsats*. Umeå universitet, Sámi dutkan/Samiska studier, 2004. (In Swedish)

Siegl, Rießler 2015 — Siegl F., Rießler M. Uneven steps to literacy: The history of Dolgan, Forest Enets and Kola Saami literary languages. *Cultural and Linguistic Minorities in the Russian Federation and the European Union: Comparative Studies on Equality and Diversity*. Marten H. F., Rießler M., Saarikivi J. (eds.) Springer, 2015, 189–229.

Sharshina, Scheller 2008 — Sharshina N. S., Scheller E. (pri sotrudnichestve A. A. Antonovoy). *Sám'kilsyjjt (õhhpnuvvem-tuj)*. 1 Grammatika i 2 Leksika. Lujavv'r. Лужаввьр), 2008. (In Russ., Saami)

Szabó 1968 — Szabó L. *Kolalappische Volksdichtung (aus den Dialekten in Kildin und Ter). Zweiter Teil nebst grammatischen Aufzeichnungen gesammelt und herausgegeben von László Szabó*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 72. Göttingen, 1968. (In German)

Szabó 1984 — Szabó L. The function of the Nominative, Accusative, Genitive and Partitive in Kola-Lappish. *Nordlyd. Tromsø University Working Papers on Language & Linguistics*, 1984, 9: 71–155.

Tereshkin 2002 — Tereshkin S. N. *Yokangskiy dialekt saamskogo yazyka* [Jokang dialect of the Saami language]. Dissertatsiya kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Saint Petersburg, 2002. (In Russ.)

Tyumenceva 2018 — Tyumenceva Yu. V. K voprosu o mestnom i partitivnom padezhakh v russkom yazyke — Tekst: neposredstvennyi [On the issue of local and partitive cases in the Russian language — Text: immediate]. *Molodoj uchenyj*, 2018, 21 (207): 215–218. URL: <https://moluch.ru/archive/207/50734/>. Accessed on 2024-02-01. (In Russ.)

Zaykov 1987 — Zaykov P. M. *Babinskiy dialekt saamskogo yazyka (fonologo-morfologicheskoye issledovaniye)* [Babinsky dialect of the Saami language (phonological and morphological study)]. Petrozavodsk, 1987. (In Russ.)