

Future time reference in the Kildin Saami translation of the Gospel of Matthew

Sofya Rachinskaya (independent researcher, Moscow), sophya.rach@gmail.com

The Gospel of Matthew, translated by Arvid Genetz and published in a Cyrillic script in 1878, is the first book written in Kildin Saami. As such, it demonstrates peculiar grammatical features that are either completely absent or significantly different from what one can observe in later texts and modern spoken Kildin Saami. One of the notable differences is the strategies used for future time reference.

There are four ways to refer to future events in modern Kildin Saami (Kosheleva 2023). For verbs with telic interpretation, future time reference with perfective viewpoint is expressed with the **nonpast** form of the verb. On the other hand, for atelic verbs, the most common way to refer to the future is the auxiliary verb *al'l'ke* 'to begin' and infinitive of the main verb (*al'l'ke+inf* construction). An alternative strategy, which is also common, but less grammaticalized as a future time reference marker, is to employ the inchoative suffix -*škued'd'*-. Finally, there is a Future Perfect construction which consists of the potential form of the verb *l'ijje* 'to be' and past participle of the main verb (*be-pot+ptcp.pst* construction).

In Genetz's Gospel, two more future time reference constructions are employed, which are not attested in modern Kildin Saami. The first one consists of the potential form of the verb *l'ijje* 'to be' and infinitive of the main verb (*be-pot+inf* construction). In modern Kildin *be-pot+inf* construction is used as an analytic conditional construction. There is also a seemingly identical *be-pot.3sg+inf* construction in various books translated by A. Antonova, but the actual meaning of the construction in those books is prohibitive, which is likely to be a direct calque of Russian *bydem+inf* (*be.fut.3sg+inf*) prohibitive construction briefly described in (Endresen et al 2021).

The second future time reference strategy absent in modern Kildin is using a **potential** form of the verb, which is extinct for the majority of the verbs in the modern language. Neither construction has a clear equivalent in Russian, therefore it's unlikely to be an influence of the source language for the translation.

Furthermore, the constructions that are present both in the Gospel and modern spoken Kildin Saami, demonstrate significant differences in their usage. For example the *be-pot+ptcp.pst* construction in modern Kildin Saami can be used as both subject resultative and object resultative. In the Gospel, in contrast, there are only examples of its object resultative usage. Another difference is that, in contrast to modern Kildin, the usage of both *al'l'ke+inf* construction and forms with -*škued'd'*- for future time reference is rather marginal. In their

place *be-pot+inf* is used in the Gospel, but unlike *al'l'ke* and *-škued'd'* it can be used both in perfective and imperfective contexts. Additionally, potential mood of the main verb is used for future time reference only in conditional clauses, replacing the conditional mood markers that are used for conditionals in past and present tenses.

In my talk I am going to further elaborate upon the differences in future time references between modern Kildin and the language of the Gospel as well as differences between the constructions themselves.

References

- Endresen, A., Janda, L.A., Mordashova, D., Rakhilina, E. & Zhukova, V. (2021, August 18-20). Prohibite constructions in Russian: Families and clusters. *International Conference on Construction Grammar (ICCG11)*, Antwerpen, Belgium & Online.
- Kosheleva, M. I. (2023, May 10-11). Vidovremennaja sistema i glagol'nye klassy v kil'dinskom saamskom jazyke. [Tense-aspect system and verbal classes in Kildin Saami language]. Talk given at the *Saamskie jazyki Rossii v sinxronii i diaxronii*, Saint Petersburg, Russia.
- Mah'tveest Pas'-Evangelii(1878). Samas. Obščestvo Rasprostraneniija Biblii v Veliko-Britanii i v drugih stranach. Translated by Arvid Genetz. Helsinki: British and Foreign BiblSociety
- Rießler, M. (2022). Kildin Saami. In Bakró-Nagy, M., Laakso, J., & Skribnik, E. (Eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages* (pp. 219-239). Oxford University Press.