Dutkansearvvi diedđalaš áigečála

vol 9 ◆ no 2 ◆ 2025

Tutkâmseervi tiedâlâš äigičaalâ

Tu′tǩǩeemsie′br tiõđlaž äi′ğğpââ′jjlõstt

Dutkansearvi

Dutkansearvvi dieđalaš áigečála
vol 9 ◆ no 2 ◆ 2025

Special issue
Language in Saami Knowledge Production
Gielain dieđu duddjomin

Guest editors
Ilona Kivinen
Marko Jouste

Publisher
Sámi Language and Culture Research Association

ISSN 2489-7930

A Comparative analysis of linguistic characteristics of historical Saami vocal music traditions and storytelling in Finland

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Abstract

There exists a vast collection of historical spoken Saami language material preserved in sound archives in Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Estonia. Two types of performances dominate the historical archive collections: recordings of storytelling and Saami music traditions. In this article, we focus on three Saami languages spoken in Finland: North Saami, Aanaar Saami, and Skolt Saami, and their traditional vocal music respectively. We look more closely at the municipality of Aanaar (Inari), where all the three language groups have existed after the Second World War. We compare the linguistic characteristics of historical Saami storytelling and music across these languages and point out various ways how language and singing intersect. Since these are sung traditions, the linguistic features play a crucial role beside music, and it is evident that analysis of structures of performances require co-operation of both music studies and linguistic research. This approach provides a comprehensive understanding of how words and melodies are constructed in the performance.

Keywords:
linguistics, music research, oral history, archives, Saami music

Introduction

There is a vast collection of historical spoken Saami language material preserved in sound archives across Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Estonia. The earliest audio recordings date back to the early 20th century, and to this day, hundreds of hours of language data have been preserved thanks to extensive scientific fieldwork and the publishing efforts of modern Saami media. Two types of performances dominate the historical archive collections: recordings of storytelling and Saami music traditions. Historically, these materials have significantly influenced linguistic research, such as the development of grammars and normative orthographies for Saami languages. However, the linguistic study of these materials as examples of specific performance types remains relatively limited.[1]

In our paper, we focus on three Saami languages spoken in Finland: North Saami, Skolt Saami, and Aanaar Saami and their traditional vocal music respectively. Our aim is to study these comparatively and point out various ways how language and singing intersect. Furthermore, we look more closely at the municipality of Aanaar (Inari), where all the three language groups have existed after the Second World War. One must remember that especially North Saami is a large language group, and it is spoken in a wide geographical area containing several local dialects and different musical traditions. We have chosen only the North Saami of Inari. Also, we focus only on historical material from the 20th century, and we have chosen mainly examples from interviews, in which the same informants have performed both singing and storytelling.

First, we examine the musical and linguistic characteristics of the vocal music traditions in these language groups, addressing questions such as: What principles guide the construction of musical performances, and how do the musical and linguistic elements interact? Second, we analyze the structural, lexical, and morphological features found in texts used within musical traditions. Finally, we explore the commonalities between the language of Saami music traditions and storytelling in each of the three languages. We conclude by comparing the linguistic characteristics of historical Saami storytelling and music across these languages. Additionally, we propose interpretations of the similarities and differences in how language is used in these two distinct types of linguistic performance.

As a general term, “singing” refers to “the activity of making musical sounds with one’s voice.” [2] However, in all Saami cultures, there are distinct terms for singing in the Saami way versus singing in a non-Saami manner, such as performing “Finnish songs,” “Lutheran psalms,” or “Russian dance songs.” Similarly, there are specific terms for both “Saami songs” and other types of songs. The first set of terms is particularly relevant to our investigation. Overall, three main categories of names exist for “Saami song,” as determined by etymological and historical linguistic analyses. The names of regional traditions can be considered subtypes of these main categories. The southern name type derives from PSaa **vuolē* and pre-PSaa and PU **wala* (Aikio 2006, 26–27). It is used in regional traditions in three variants: SaaS *vuolie*, SaaU *vuöllie*, and SaaP, SaaL *vuolle*. The northern name type derives from PNwGerm **lāta-* sound’ (>Swedish and Norwegian: *låt*). It has been borrowed into Proto-Saami as **luotē* (> SaaN *luohti*, SaaA *lyeti*). The eastern name type derives from

[1] However, one starting point for this research was the analysis presented in Jouste et al. 2020. See also Saastamoinen et al. 2024; Jouste 2006.

[2] https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/singing

Early Norse **liuða* and has a notable number of attestations in historical language forms: ONo *ljóð* ‘verse of a song’; Icel *ljóð* ‘poem’; PGerm **leuþa*; OEngl *leōþ* ‘song, poem’; OHGerm *liod* ‘song’; (>Germ *lied* ‘song’). Its variants are SaaA, *livđe* (liut) SaaSk *leu'dd*, SaaK *lï'vvd*, and SaaT *lu'vvde*. (Aikio 2023.) (See *Figure 1*.)

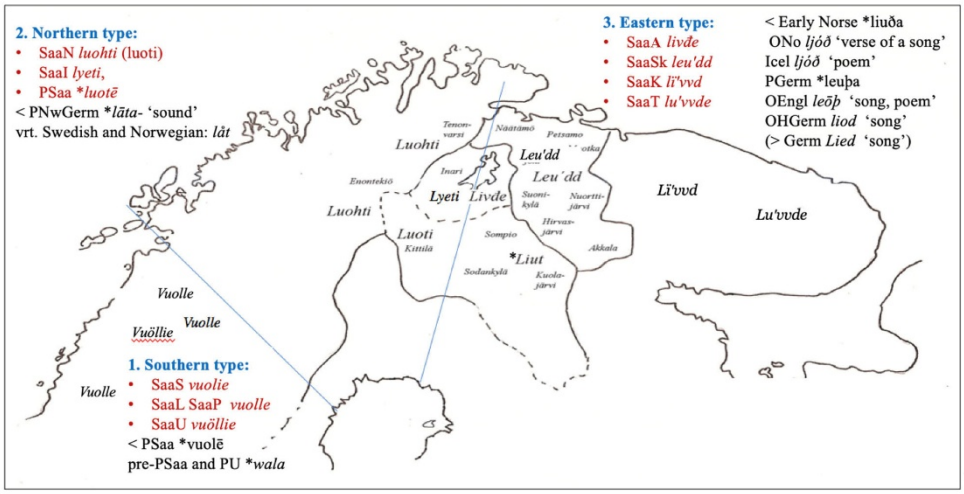

Figure 1. Three main name types for “Saami song”. The names of regional traditions can be seen as subtypes of these main types.[3]

In research on Saami cultures, particularly during the 20th century, it was common to refer to all Saami singing using the term *yoik* meaning “Saami song” (Korhonen 1983, 134; T. I. Itkonen 1948 II, 559; see also Lüderwaldt 2001, 206–208), which comes either directly or via Finnish or Scandinavian languages from the North Saami verb *juoigat* ‘to yoik’. However, as shown above, each Saami group has specific names for its own musical traditions (also mentioned in T. I. Itkonen 1948, 559). Using the correct terminology is crucial for adhering to the ethical principles of Indigenous research, avoiding the imposition of Western concepts on cultural features that have distinct terms within Saami culture. Moreover, these traditions vary significantly, as demonstrated in recent scientific literature, and as further discussed in this paper.

Our hypothesis is that many linguistic features present in music traditions can also be found in colloquial language. Thus, by comparing these different performance types, we gain a better understanding of the linguistic characteristics of musical traditions. We compare the language used in music with the spoken language of the same era, focusing particularly on performance language, which is tied to storytelling and fairytale traditions. Additionally, we examine the stylistic and aesthetic choices made by the performers in the analyzed material, operating under the assumption that they are drawing on traditions passed down to them. For the North and Skolt Saami examples, we were able to analyze both spoken and sung language recorded from the same performers. However, for Aanaar Saami, no such individual was found in the historical archive materials. Instead, we analyzed recordings from the same era performed by different individuals.

In addition to analyzing the material itself, we aim to develop a model for analysis that integrates music and language research. This is particularly important because Saami

[3] Remarks on the language history of the names: See Aikio 2023.

musical traditions are primarily based on singing, where words and melody are produced simultaneously. Both areas require distinct attention, as the words influence the melody and rhythm, and vice versa. Structural analysis of recorded performances enables us to identify their typical characteristics. The primary method for analyzing musical performances is *paradigmatic structural analysis* (Niemi & Jouste 2013), which involves arranging similar structural elements in parallel to examine repetition and variation. This method is especially effective for music based on iterative principles, where the same or similar melody is repeated throughout the performance, while various textual elements are combined with the recurring melody. This characteristic is common to all the musical traditions studied here. It is important to note that the three musical traditions discussed in this study are stylistically diverse and exhibit significant variation, both regionally and individually. This divergence is not only a defining feature of various local Saami musical traditions, but it can be seen also in many other local culture features, e.g. language, clothing, customs of livelihood and manners of living. Naturally, counterexamples to the practices identified in this analysis also exist.

North Saami luohti tradition

The *luohti* tradition holds a central place in the musical culture of North Saami speakers. Historical sources document Saami singing as early as the 17th century, such as Olaus Sirma's texts included in Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* (1673). However, Sirma's tradition represents the now-extinct Kemi Saami music culture, rather than North Saami.[4] The earliest musical transcriptions of luohti date to 1799. Both the Italian traveler Giuseppe Acerbi (1773–1846) and the Swedish military officer Anders Fredrik Skjöldebrand (1757–1834) made competing transcriptions of the same luohti performance by an anonymous Saami yoiker near Guovdageaidnu, Norway. In the 19th century, most documentation focused on the texts of luohtis rather than on the music itself. The earliest audio recordings, made in the early 20th century, captured both North Saami music and storytelling. To this day, hundreds of hours of North Saami language data are preserved in archives in Finland and other countries (Valtonen et al. 2019; Jouste 2011, 21–27. See also Skjöldebrand 1986; Saarenheimo 1989).

For our analysis, we used interviews conducted in 1956. The Finnish Literature Society carried out fieldwork in the Ohcejohka and Anár[5] regions, recording 147 stories and 37 luohtis. Two of the six interviewees, siblings Elli-Marja Jomppanen (b. 1900) and Niila Kitti (b. 1886), performed both luohtis and stories during the interviews. They lived in the Menešjávri region of the Anár municipality. The interviews were conducted by Erkki Itkonen (1913–1992), Professor of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Helsinki, and Jouko Hautala (1910–1983), Professor of Folklore Studies and head of the Finnish Literature Society's folklore archive. Jomppanen performed 25 luohtis and 22 stories, while Kitti performed 12 luohtis and 33 stories.[6]

[4] In earlier research the origins of Olaus Sirma and his language have been defined to be in Sodankylä region which was a part of historical area of Kemi Lapland (Valtonen et al. 2019, 112).

[5] The name Anár is used of Inari when talking about the North Saami tradition. The name Aanaar is used when talking about the Aanaar Saami tradition.

[6] The material is preserved in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society and The Finno-Ugrian Society. Due to recent research project in The Saami Culture Archive in the University of Oulu, the material has been transcribed in standard North Saami orthography and the language data is also structured in XML-format (ELAN Multimedia Annotator environment).

The luohti tradition is the most extensively studied of all Saami music traditions, with descriptions and analyses spanning over a century (Jouste 2014; 2008; Launis 1908). A luohti performance is a communicative, and sometimes auto-communicative, event where the yoiker describes the referent of a specific luohti musically and verbally. According to a North Saami yoiker Ánte Mihkkal Gaup (1995, 75; 79) in traditional cultural context a luohti melody can be defined as *luohtenamma* 'luohti-name', thus a "musical name", of the referent (See also Hirvasvuopio 2008, 44). The melody alone can define the referent, even if the performer chooses not to use words. Changing the melody would alter the meaning, akin to calling a person by the wrong name. As a result, once a yoiker selects a melody, it remains consistent throughout the performance. The words are arranged to fit the pre-existing melody and its metric structure. In the following example of Elli-Marja Jomppanen's *Dákteráiddu luohti* 'A luohti of a Skinny Old Reindeer'[7], a luohti melody consisting of two musical phrases (a and b) is performed with a different set of words each time. (See *Figure 2*.)

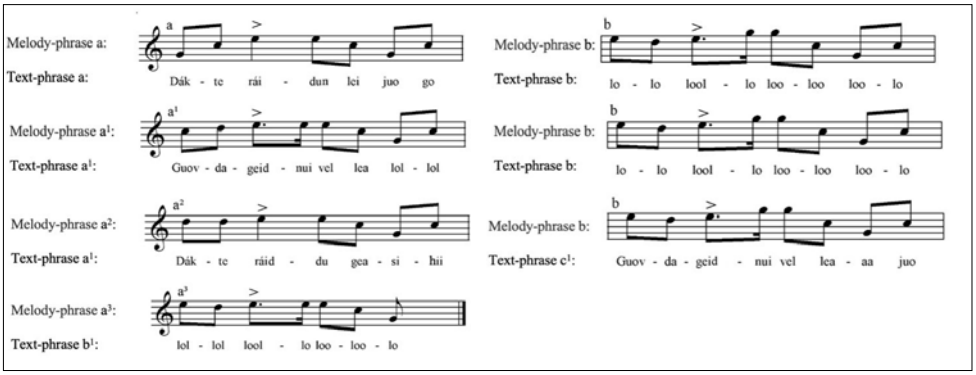

Figure 2. Example of how the words are placed in the luohti melody. *Dákteráiddu luohti* by Elli Maria Jomppanen 1956 (SKSÄ, A 322/8). Transcribed by Marko Jouste.

The linguistic features of luohti texts

In general, luohti texts consist of three categories of linguistic elements:

1. Words with lexical meaning[8], which can form sentences. In the *Dákteráiddu luohti*, these include the following: *Dákteráidun* 'as an old skinny reindeer', *Guovdageidnui* 'to Guovdageaidnu', *Dákteráiddu geasihii Guovdageidnui* 'a skinny old reindeer was pulled to Guovdageaidnu'.
2. Luohti syllables**,** which are words used instead of meaningful language. These syllables often form the majority of luohti texts and contribute to the phonetic aesthetics of the lullaby:

   e.g., *lul-luu, lol-loo, lal-laa*, etc.
3. Little words, whose function is to structure the text so that the stressed syllables of the words align with the stressed parts of the melody. These can belong to various word classes:

   a) Adverbs and particles form the majority: *vel ~ velá* 'still', *jo ~ juo* 'already', *gal* 'indeed', *dalle* 'then', *na* 'well', *go, jo, vel, de* 'when, yes, yet, then'

[7] *Dákteráidu* means literally 'a queue of bones'.
[8] Words with lexical meaning have a definable meaning in contrast to luohti syllables e.g. *lo* or *la*, which occur mainly in the performance of a luohti.

b) Demonstrative pronoun *dat* ‘it’,

c) Conjunctions: *de*, ‘so; then’, *go* ‘as, when; than’

d) Copula verbs: *lea* ~ *la* ‘is’, *lij* id., *lei* ‘was’

This group of little words that we have decided to call wordlets, is particularly interesting because their functions can vary depending on the textual and musical context of the luohti. They can carry meaning as part of a lexical phrase: *Hávga dat lei jo fierbmái čákŋan* ‘A pike, it had already got stuck in a fishing net’; They can replace lexical words or syllables within the same rhythmic units; They are used to fill rhythmic units if the lexical words do not provide enough syllables; They can also have rhythmic significance, forming recurring elements within particular rhythmic units. For example, the *go* syllable appears as the final part of a three-syllable rhythmic unit in Elli-Marja Jomppanen’s *Hávgga luohti* ‘A luohti of a pike’. (See *Figure 3*.)

	2		3	2	2	(+1)
1.	***Buika-***	***leamen***	go	***hávga***	*vel jo.*	
	Lul-luu,	*lul-lul-*	go	*lul-luu,*	*lul-luu.*	
2.	***Hávga***	***dat lei***	jo	***fierbmái***	***čákŋan.***	
	Lul-luu,	*lul-lul-*	go	*lul-luu,*	*lul-luu.*	
3.	***Buika-***	***leamen***	go	***buika-***	***leamen***	go
	fierbmái	***čáŋai***	go	*lul-luu,*	*lul-luu.*	
	Lul-luu,	*lul-lul*	go	*lul-luu,*	*lul-luu.*	
4.	**Hávga**	***dat lei***	go	vel jo,	vel jo.	
	Buika-	***leamen***	go	*nun-nun-*	*nuu.* [-]	

Figure 3. Hávgga luohti by Elli Maria Jomppanen 1961 (Kper, AK/0533/05).[9]

Usually, wordlets appear in luohti texts either individually or in a series of several wordlets. Common idiomatic expressions include e.g. *dat lei juo*, *dat lei go*, and *vel jo vel jo*. Sometimes these elements appear within compound words, for example: *Gihtti-Hánsa → Gihtti-jo-Hánsa; Jávrrášduoddaris → Jávrráš-jo-duoddaris*. Since luohti texts incorporate various linguistic elements, words with lexical meanings are often dispersed throughout the performance, interspersed with wordlets and luohti syllables.

From the material analyzed, we identified three types of sentence structures. Firstly, there are list-like structures: In this type, lexical words refer only to a specific referent by its name (e.g. a person, animal, or place) or include an epithet describing it. These lines do not form complete sentences but instead function as lists of words describing the referent and its attributes. For example, in Elli Maria Jomppanen’s luohti of the Leammi River, the text is constructed from four lines. The first and fourth lines are place names, while the second and third lines are epithets describing the place. The fourth line also includes an epithet.

Leammi-jo-roggi, *lo-loo-lo loo-lo.*
‘Leammi (already) gorge, [luohti syllables]’

[9] The black parts are the text, the green the luohti syllables and red wordlets.

***Dolin áigin**, jo jo **stuorra jo čoalči**, lo-loo-lo loo-lo.*
‘From ancient times (already already) big (already) graceful, [luohti syllables].’

***Dolin áigin**, jo vel **stuorra jo čoalči**, lo-loo-lo loo-lo.*
‘From ancient times (already still) big (already) graceful, [luohti syllables].’

***Leammi-jo-roggi**, jo, **helveha roggi**, lo-loo-lo loo-lo.*
‘Leammi (already) gorge (already), hell’s gorge, [luohti syllables].’ (SKSÄ A322/19.)

Secondly, luohti texts can include complete sentences. These are interspersed with little words and luohti syllables. For example, *Bávllosa luohti* by Niila Kitti is composed of four complete sentences.

1. *Na, **Bávllosa[t] ledge** ve-lá juo go **Soađe-jo-gili riggát** vel jo, lo-lo, lool-lo, lol-lo, lol-lo.*
‘Well, *Bavllosa[t]* were (still already when) *Soađe*-(already)-*gili* rich [people] (still already) [luohti syllables].’
2. ***Dat lei dákkár áddjá** vel jo, **gal dat** jo **lei** gol **niestebohccu váldit** jo, loo-lo, lol-lo, lo.*
‘It was such a man (still already yes already) it had (when) taken a reindeer for a supply (already), [luohti syllables].’
3. Na, ***dál lei** jo **dákkár áddjá, gal dat** jo **oačču váldit niestibohccu** jo.*
‘Well, now was (already) such a man, (yes) it (already) was permitted to take a reindeer for a supply (already).’
4. ***Ij** ja **dárbbašan** jo **ballat ahte ladnái bidjat**, lo-lo-lol, lool-lo, lool-lo, lo.*
‘[He] did not (and) have to fear **that** [he was] put to jail, [luohti syllables].’ (SKSÄ A322/15.)

Thirdly, luohti texts may also contain incomplete or fragmentary sentences, where some words appear to be missing or where only a copula verb is present. Elli-Marja Jomppanen’s *Dákteráiddu luohti* begins with a sentence that can be analyzed in two ways, depending on the interpretation of the wordlets. If the wordlets are excluded, the phrase *Dákteráidun lei jo go Guovdageidnui vel la* forms a fragmentary sentence meaning: ‘As an old skinny reindeer -- to Guovdageaidnu.’ However, if the word *lei* ‘was’ is considered a copula verb, it allows for the inference of a possible main verb in the sentence. For instance: *Dákteráidun lei* [ruohttan? mannan?] *jo go Guovdageidnui vel la* ‘As an old skinny reindeer, it had [been pulled? gone?] to Guovdageaidnu’.

Researchers of Saami music traditions in the beginning of the 20th century suggested that North Saami luohti texts represent the most “archaic” or “undeveloped” form of poetic metric, as they often contain only a few words with lexical meaning. This was contrasted with “advanced” or “developed” poetry, such as the *Kalevala* runic songs, which often consist of tens or hundreds of text lines and are structured according to the distinctive poetic measure known as “Kalevala meter.” Finnish linguist T. I. Itkonen even suggested that the most primitive form of poetry was exemplified by the Saami reindeer herder’s cry: “*beautiful cattle, beautiful cattle*.” (T. I. Itkonen 1948 II, 562; 1921, 214; Kuusi 1963, 135. See Jouste 2001; 2004.) This example was allegedly derived from Armas Launis’ *Lappische Juoigos-Melodien*, which includes a luohti text with this phrase among over 800 examples of North Saami luohti and Aanaar Saami livđe (Launis 1908; Jouste 2011, 56–59).

Such an interpretation may be understandable if one considers only the words with lexical meaning while disregarding the other elements of a luohti performance. However, when all

the elements are analyzed—musically and linguistically—it becomes clear that luohti performances often follow specific recurrent rhythmic patterns. The rhythm of the melody establishes a specific and relatively stable "luohti meter", which the yoiker adheres to throughout the performance. This repeating pattern consists of rhythmic units of two or three beats, which can combine in various ways, such as 2+2, 2+3, 3+2, 3+3, 2+2+2, 2+2+3, or 3+3+2. In *Dákteráiddu luohti*, for example, the meter comprises four beats (a: 2+2 | b: 2+2). The syllables of the words align with this metric model, demonstrating the structured and deliberate nature of the performance. (See *Figure 4*.)

	2	**2**	**2**	**2**
1.	**Dák-te-**	**rái-(i)-**	**dun lei**	**jo go**
	lo-lo	**lool-lo**	**loo-loo**	**loo-lo.**
2.	**Guov-da-**	**geid-nui**	**vel la**	**lol-lol**
	lo-lo	**lool-lo**	**loo-loo**	**loo-lo.**
3.	**Dák-te-**	**rá-(id)-**	**du gea-**	**si-hii**
	Guov-da-	**geid-nui**	**vel la-**	**aa jo**
	lol-lol	**lool-lo**	**loo-loo-**	**lo. [-]**

Figure 4. The organization of words according the "luohti meter" in Dákteráiddu luohti (SKSÄ 322/8).

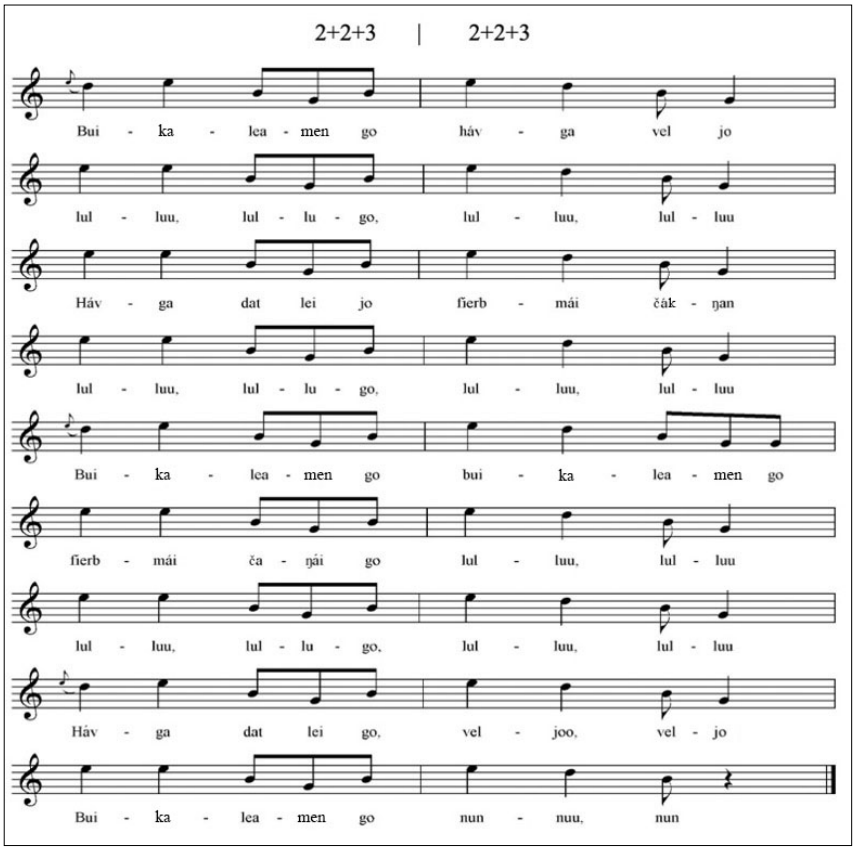

Figure 5. Hávgga luohti by Elli Maria Jomppanen 1956 (AK/0533). Transcribed by Marko Jouste.

However, it is not possible to reconstruct the rhythmic meter of the melody by the text alone. In some cases, there are differences between the amount of the syllables in the text and the beat-structure of the melody. In the next example of Elli Maria Jomppanen's *Hávgga luohti* 'A luohti of a pike', the rhythmical pattern of the text is 2+3+2+2 syllables, but the meter of the melody is 2+2+3 | 2+2+3 beats. (See *Figure 5*.)

Comparing the language of luohti and storytelling

Research on the characteristics of historical narrative language is rather marginal. For this reason, we will apply the observations made by Pauli Saukkonen (1970), a professor of Finnish language, and compare them to the North Saami language found in the recorded material of Elli-Marja Jomppanen and Niila Kitti from 1956. In our analysis, we found notable similarities between the language used in luohti performances and storytelling. A common feature of both luohti and storytelling, or fairy tales, is that sentences are often linked together in such a way that determining sentence completeness can be challenging. This reflects the findings in the analysis of the luohti language. In storytelling, many sentences are connected to one another through conjunctions, pronouns, and adverbs such as *na*, *ja*, *vel*, and *jo*. This can be seen in the following example from Elli-Marja Jomppanen:

Muhtin, *dat lei Andaras-boadnjá, ledje muhtin suhttán ja noidon dan ala* jámežiid, **na.** *Jámež*iid noidon dan ala doppe h*á*vddis v*áldán ja bidjan mulddi* ammal **Na, ja** dette *jámešat* šaddan dan olbmo ala, dat ii b*álle go nohká, delle bohtet ja nu deddet ja čá*rvot ja dat ii b*álle oađđit* goasge. **Na,** ferte dan lihkkat. **Ja** go dás nohká, delle dat girdit ala ja čárvot. Guokte lea. **Na,** dat ii bálle oađđit, ii goasge. Ja jáhkebealle jo jáhkebealle dat givssidedje.

Na. Mo son daiguin galgá láhttet go, muhto, **na. De** johtalii, dat lei goahti gos dál lea. **Na, de** johtaledje dat dál dat goahteolbmot buot, ja dot dan gokče dohko, dan Andaras-boadnjá dohko duorggaid vuollai. **Na,** ahte dat lea jábmán. **Na, de** bohte dat jámežat´ dieđus, deaddithan áiggošedje ja čárvut. **Na, de** goaivuba duorggaid vuolde. Andaras-boadnjá lea sáŋga njaŋgán. **Ja** goaivuba daid duorggaid ere, **na:** Dot dohppii gitta, snadjestii guktuiguin gieđa, eaba šat sáhttán geaidit, eabage. **De, de** válddii dat reaŋgan: ahte jahkebeale galgaba reŋgot su. - -

‘There was one... it was old Andreas... there were some angry people, and... they had bewitched the dead against him, so... they had bewitched the dead to attack him, taken them from the grave and put them..., probably... into the earth, and then the dead came upon that man — he could find no peace... When he fell asleep, then they would come and press and squeeze him so hard, and he could never find rest to sleep. Well, he always had to wake up from time to time. And when he fell asleep again, then they would fly onto him and squeeze him... there were two of them. Well, he couldn’t sleep, never. And half a year already... for half a year they tormented him.

Well, what could one do about them, when... But... well, then they set out... It was a goahti-hut, the one where it is now. So then the people of the goahti-hut moved to another place (with reindeer), and that one... they covered him — old Andreas — under the twigs there. So that he was dead. Well then, of course, the dead came; they were going to press and squeeze him as usual. So they dug under the twigs. Old Andreas was lying there straight and still... They dug the twigs away, and then he grabbed hold, slashed off both their hands, and they could no longer hide, nor... So... Then he took them as his servants: that for half a year they would have to serve him, since for half a year they had tormented him. And so they became his servants. - -’ (SKSÄ A321/18.)

Secondly, there are fragmentary sentences in storytelling. These can remain in unfinished form:

Na, de mánátges čierastedje ovtto ja stállu bidjá lávkka dohko dearpme vuollai. ***Ammal lea vilges lávka go eai…*** *Olbmut čieras- dan lávkii ja buot jávke.*

‘Well, then the children in turn are constantly sliding down the hill [with a sledge], and the *stállu* puts a bag there at the bottom of the hill. I suppose it’s a white bag, since they don’t...[see it on the snow?] The people slide right into that bag, and all of them disappear.’ (SKSÄ A320/34.)

Na suoli manne maŋis, dalle dat doalvu, dohko ammat heŋgii dohko, ***manai dohko viehka guhkás… Máŋga várri ja…*** *De heŋgii beahceoaksái, ieš vuolgohko muhtin vári duohkai.*

‘Well, she secretly follows behind. Then he carries it — now he hung it there. He went quite far off, across many hills and... So he hung it on a pine branch, and he himself went off behind some distant hill.’ (SKSÄ A320/32.)

A fragmentary sentence can end with a copula verb (missing a predicative expression or the main verb). These resemble the sentence structures described earlier.

> ***Na, de lei muhtin áddjá, mii lei...*** *Ja eamit lei mannan márkanii girkui.*
> 'There was once an old man who was... And his wife had gone to the market there at the church place.' (SKSÄ A320/32.)

Thirdly, storytelling employs in general a similar set of wordlets that are used in the luohti-language. For example:

> ***Na, de*** *muhtin nieida oaidná, girkus lea ihkku čuovggat.* ***Na****, mobat* ***dat lea go dál lea juo*** *girkui mannan olbmot? Ahte* ***dat lea juo*** *njuiken árraiđit.*
> 'Then a girl sees that there are lights in the church at night. Well, how can that be, when people have already gone to church? That they must have already risen [jumped up] very early in the morning.' (SKSÄ A321/7.)

When these wordlets are examined closely, many of the same features appear. Thus, the language of luohti has similar features as the language of storytelling.

1. Doubling the subject with the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that'. *Dat* can appear after a noun to which it refers. More often it follows person pronoun *son* 'he' or 'she'. In storytelling, this is commonly found feature:

   > *Son* ***dat*** *gal máhttá čierrut go su válldat.*
   > 'He certainly knows how to lament when you take him.' (SKSÄ A321/16.)

   > *Na, muhto son go njuovvá eambbo bohccuid, son* ***dat*** *fidne vel eanet, ahte go son dohko manná varračoavjjiiguin, go sus lea eanet, son* ***dat*** *riggu eambbo.*
   > 'Well, but when he slaughters several reindeer, he gets even more, because when he goes there with all those blood-stomachs, since he has more of them, he grows all the richer.' (SKSÄ A321/20.)

   Dat manai ***dat*** *áddjá*. 'It went, the grandfather.' (SKSÄ A321/32.)

   One can find it also in luohti texts: *Hávga dat lei jo fierbmái čákŋan* 'A pike, it had already gotten stuck in a fishing net'. According to Saukkonen (1970), the repetition of a sentence with other words is a characteristic of spoken language. E.g. subject can be: noun + pronoun.

   > *Dat dat gal nohká, muhto dot lea guhkes máinnas dat, dat Mikko Mieheläinen dat.*
   > 'That that, yes, comes to an end, but that's a long story that that, Mikko Mieheläinen that.' (SKSÄ A320/31.)

   Ja nu dat manai ***dat*** *gobmi*.
   'And so it went, that ghost.' (SKSÄ A321/35.)

2. Particle *na* 'well' appears in the beginning of a sentence.

   > *Na, de* ***leigga guokte áhku, Njávežanáhkku ja Háhcešanáhkku.***
   > 'Well, there were two old women, *Njávežanáhkku and Háhcešanáhkku.*' (SKSÄ A321/1.)

   > *Na****, delle dat lea*** *goappásge áldu maid dál bahčiba.*
   > 'Well, then they both have the reindeer cow, that they are now milking.' (SKSÄ A321/1.)

***Na,** delles, **de** jugahii ges **dat** oabbá dan vielja. - - **Na jo, gal** son jugaha. De eitto juhk-, na šattai juhkan **ja**. **De** válddiiga dan miehki, das bonjasteigga.*

‘Well then, that sister gives her brother a drink. - - Yes well, she does give him a drink. So then he drinks, becomes drunk, and... Then they took the sword and struck him with it.’ (SKSÄ A321/10.)

***Na** jálobeavri: ”**Gal son juo** diđii ehte du dat fille sorbmái! Sonhan dajai **juo**.” – ”**Na** mo dal galggá?” – **Na gal** son doalvu du mearragáddái dohko **ja. Ja** orru dassái go skiipa oidnogoahtá doppe, de son čuorvu, **na**…*

‘Well, the lion said: “He already knew that she would trick you into the jaws of death – he told you so already.” – “Well, what should he do now?” – “Well, he will take you to the seashore there, and... and you must stay there until a ship begins to appear.” Then he will shout, well…’ (SKSÄ A321/10.)

Aanaar Saami livđe tradition

The earliest sources of the Aanaar Saami musical tradition and storytelling date back to the 19th century. Three texts written by Jacob Fellman (1795–1875) in the 1820s mention Aanaar or a person from Aanaar: *Kuvva, Kuvva, kulukas noaidde*, *Einaran Antti*, and *Anaraš juoiggam*. The singers of these texts are unknown. The first materials explicitly representing the Aanaar Saami *livđe* and song traditions date to 1886, when A. V. Koskimies (1856–1929) traveled to Aanaar to collect Aanaar Saami language material. The earliest recordings of spoken language and musical traditions were made in the 1910s during an exhibition of Saami culture in Hamburg, Germany. In 1913, T. I. Itkonen recorded 20 phonograph cylinders, about 20 minutes in total, containing Aanaar Saami fairy tales and stories. Some of these were published in 1918 in written form in a collection of texts edited by A. V. Koskimies and T. I. Itkonen. A significant portion of livđe material – around 100 recordings – was recorded from a single performer, Anna Briitta Mattus (formerly Morottaja), during the 1910s, 1940s, and 1950s. As a result, the analysis of livđe-texts heavily depends on her personal tradition. However, for unknown reasons, her recordings lack storytelling. (Fellman 1906; Koskimies & T. I. Itkonen 1918, XV; Jouste 2011.) Despite this, a vast collection of Aanaar Saami stories and fairy tales from the same period allows for comparisons between the language used in livđe and storytelling.

Due to significant cultural changes in Aanaar, the livđe tradition began to decline after the 1960s. However, the situation improved in the early 2000s, thanks to efforts to revitalize the language and culture. From the perspective of music research, the discovery and utilization of historical archival materials was particularly significant. Based on these materials, Jouste conducted a doctoral dissertation titled *Tullâčalmaaš kirdâččij*, published in 2011. A distinctive feature of the Aanaar Saami music tradition is the presence of two different "styles" or "principles" governing the relationship between melodies and the referents; *livđe* and *lyeti*. While livđe is a profoundly Aanaar Saami concept, the term *lyeti* refers to a luohti type musical expression. These concepts belong to two distinct types: Northern and Eastern. An interesting characteristic of the livđe tradition is that multiple livđes associated with different referents can share the same basic melodical model, which Jouste has suggested to be called the "Aanaar tune" (Jouste 2011, 86). Although there is often melodic variation depending on the referent, this tradition differs significantly from the North Saami luohti tradition, where a single melody typically refers to only one referent. In this sense, variations of the Aanaar tune describing different referents can be seen as multiple expressions of "Aanaarness" rather than fixed musical identifiers. Below are two examples of the Aanaar tune: *Čuánnjágâš livđe* ('A goose livđe'), and *Kuobžâ livđe* ('A bear livđe'), both performed by Anna Briitta Mattus (1884–1955). (See *Figures 6–7*.)

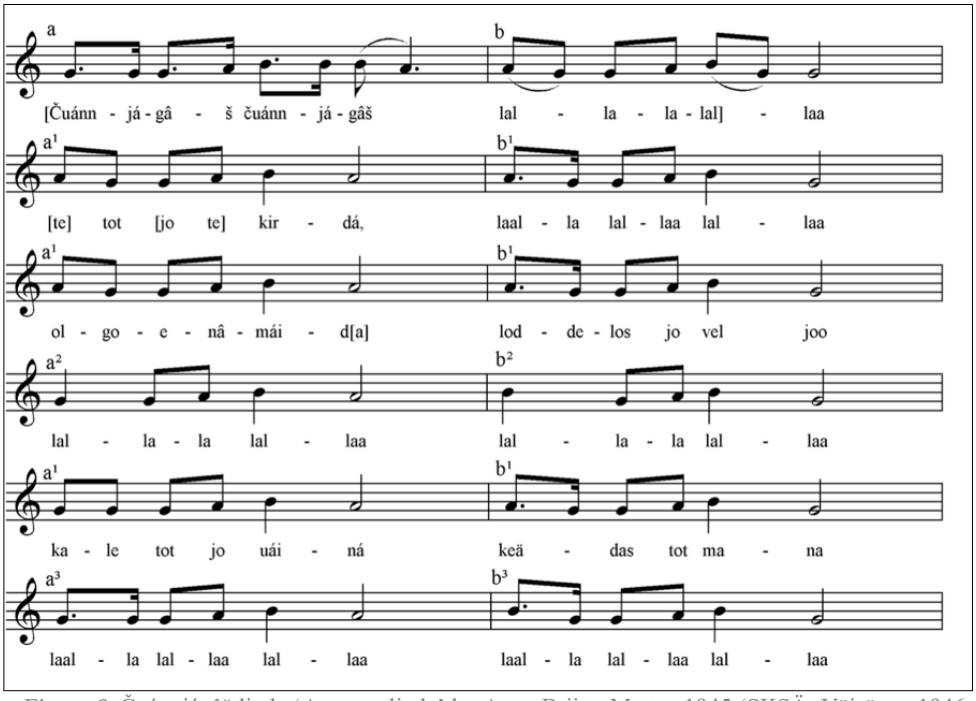

Figure 6. Čuánnjágâš livđe 'A goose livđe' by Anna Briitta Mattus 1945 (SKSÄ, Väisänen 1946, Prl 1e). Transcribed by Marko Jouste.

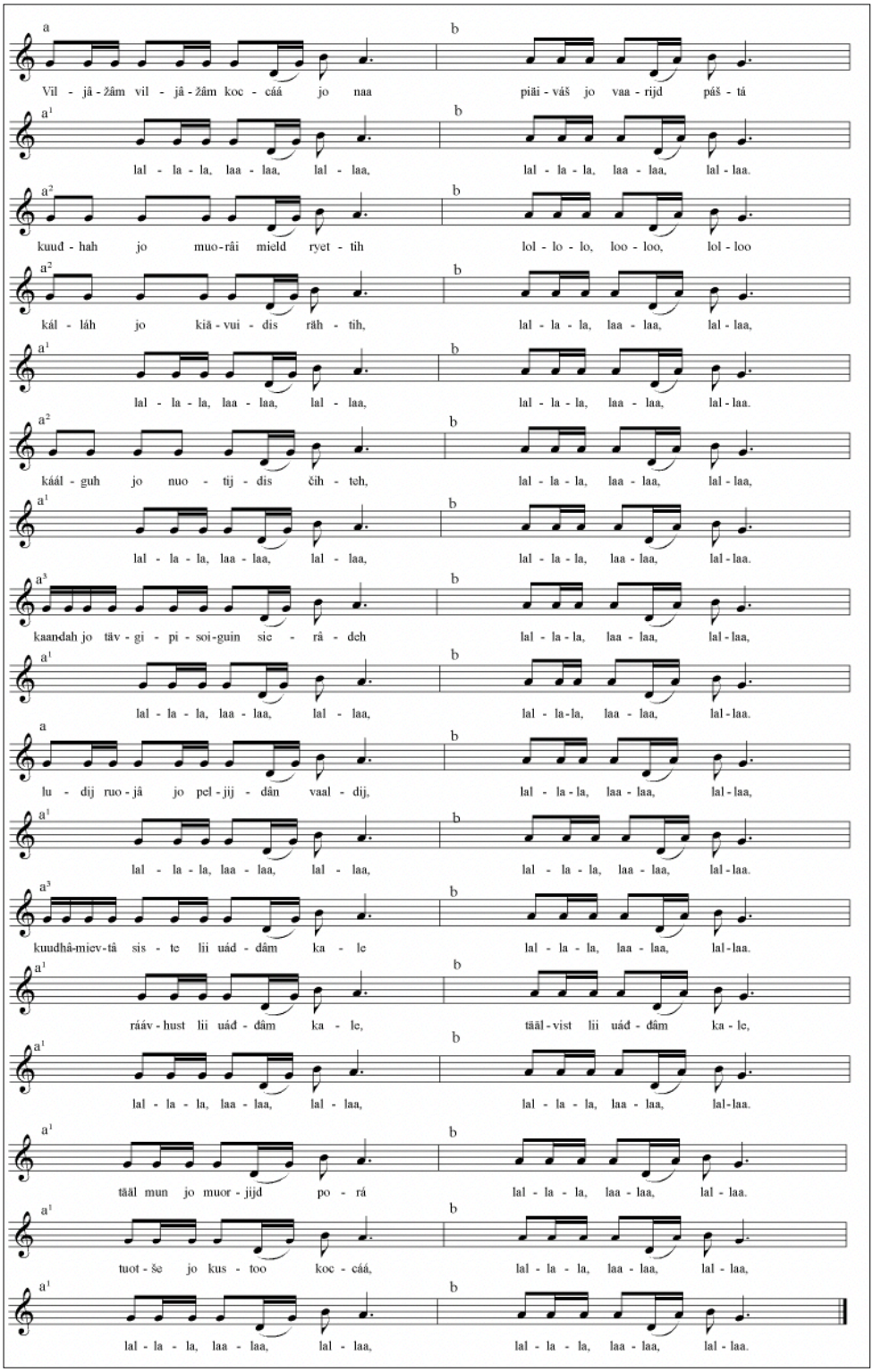

Figure 7. Kuobžâ livđe by Anna Briitta Mattus 1945 (SKSÄ, Väisänen 1946, Prl 1c). Transcribed by Marko Jouste

The linguistic features of livđe texts

The linguistic elements of livđe texts[10] share many features with North Saami luohti texts, but there are also some important differences:

1. Words with lexical meaning can form sentences or refer solely to the referent of the livđe. There can be variation in the length of the phrases, particularly at the beginnings of the text lines. Even though the melodic model is "fixed", it does not constrain the text.

   Viljâžâm, viljâžâm koccáá *jo naa.* 'My brother, my brother, wake up [yet, well].'

   Piäiváš *jo* ***vaarijd páštá.*** 'Sun is [already] shining onto the mountains.'
   Lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo, [livđe-syllables...]
   lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo. [livđe-syllables...]
   (*Kuobžâ livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ, Prl 1c)

   Poccuš, poccuš, poccuš, poccuš*,* 'reindeer, reindeer, reindeer, reindeer'
   naa-na, naa-na, naa-na, naa-na. [livđe-syllables...]
   (*Poccuš livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ Prl 8e)

   Te kumppi *lol-lol-loo,* 'So a wolf' [livđe-syllables...]
   laa-a laa-la, lol-lol-loo. [livđe-syllables...]
   (*Kumppi livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ Prl 1d)

2. The so-called "livđe syllables" are words whose function is not verbal but to carry the melody forward. In general, these syllables are similar to those in luohti, such as *naa-naa*, *loo-loo*, and *laa-laa*.

3. The addition of wordlets increases the number of syllables in the verses. As in the North Saami luohti tradition, the metric structure of a livđe melody is maintained throughout the performance. When new lyrics are incorporated into the melody during the performance, the performer ensures they align with the existing metric structure. These wordlets can come from various grammatical categories.

   a. Adverbs and particles: *vel* ~ *val*(*a*) 'still', *jo* ~ *juo* 'already', *kal* ~ *kale* 'indeed', *talle* 'then'
   b. Conjunctions: *te* 'so; then', *ko* 'as; when; than'
   c. Demonstrative pronoun: *tot* 'it'
   d. Copula verb: *lâi* ~ *lei* 'was'

   In some cases, the wordlets can form almost the whole verse:

   Te tot jo te kirdá 'so it already, so flies'
   Te tot vel jo lei jo, čáppa[11] *kandâ lei jo* '[So it still already was already jo], handsome boy was [already]'.

4. The frequent use of nouns with diminutive suffixes is a feature, which differs from luohti tradition. These are noun derivations expressing smallness or insignificance, e.g. *kandâ* 'boy' → *kaandâš* 'little boy, kid'. The following examples are from livđe texts:

[10] Jukka Mettovaara has checked all the Aanaar Saami transcriptions and transliterated some of them to modern Aanaar Saami orthography.
[11] The word *ćáppa* is in North Saami.

Párnážâmmâ vuátum ‘I lull my [little] child.’
Kuávžurâžžâ, kuávžurâžžâ, kuheskááibâš lei ‘[little] trout, trout, long-jawed was’
koccáá juo viiljâžâm - - kuđhiih juo kuodduužij mieldi ruotâdeh ‘wake up already my [little] brother’ / - - / ‘the ants are already running along the stumps’

Diminutives have also the meaning of showing kindness towards the addressee or referent. In storytelling, they also appear to function as indicators of definiteness or salience:

iätá, addeliđ munjin kuámuičuávjáá toideđ ‘[after butchering the reindeer, the fox] says: give me the rumen to wash’ (Uula Morottaja. Kotus 17561 [00:55])
sun piejâi syele säittsuábbáá toi tuulân kummoođ ‘He secretly put the spear in their fire to heat up’ (Kotus 17557 [02:22])

5. The number of syllables in the inflectional form of a word is increased by adding an additional syllable to the end of the word. Typically, this is used to turn monosyllabic word forms into disyllabic and trisyllabic into quadrisyllabic, i.e. odd-syllable forms into even-syllable ones:

teenna[12] *mun**nâ*** (pro *mun*) *vuátum* ‘This is how I lull [a child]’
*kuálâš, kuálâš vuojâdâm**mâ*** (pro *vuojâdâm*) ‘Little fish, little fish, I swim’

This modification is not restricted to specific words or word forms but can occur in a wide variety of inflectional and derivational forms. It seems to have no effect on the semantics of the word:

Personal pronouns: *Ele tun**nâ*** (pro *tun*) *čiäru* ‘Don’t you cry’
Possessive suffixes: *párnážâm**mâ*** (pro *párnážâm*) ‘my child’
Verb forms: *Ohtii ko aasâim**mâ*** (pro *aasâim*) ‘Once upon a time we lived’
Diminutive derivatives: *kállásâžž**â*** (pro *kállásâš*) ‘old man’
Other monosyllabic forms: *Pyeidi mun kal jiem**a*** (pro *jiem*) *lah* ‘I’m not fat’

Some of the forms can be interpreted as archaic: the additional syllable contains older language material that has been “restored” to the modified forms. These elements are either rare in ordinary colloquial language or have disappeared entirely:

*te tot lâi monâdâm**âž*** (pro *monâdâm* ← *moonnâm*) ‘so it had gone’
*kuus**â*** (pro *kuus*) *irge kalga ištâđ* / - - / *maide* (pro *maid*) *irge kalga puurrâđ* ‘where may the groom sit / - - / what may the groom eat’

The lyrics of livđes are often organized so that the beginning of each “verse” consists of a sentence with a lexical meaning and is followed by livđe-syllables, which “singsong” words or single additional syllables that differ from ordinary word forms or are separate from their colloquial usage contexts:

Viljâžâm, viljâžâm koccáá *jo naa.*	‘My brother, my brother, wake up [yet, well].’
Piäiváš *jo* ***vaarijd páštá.***	‘Sun is [already] shining onto the mountains.’
Lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo,	[livđe-syllables...]
lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo.	[livđe-syllables...]
Kuuđhah jo ***muorâi mield ryettih,***	‘Ants [already] are running along the trees,’
Lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo.	[livđe-syllables...]

[12] Another interpretation could be *te nâ* ‘so well’.

kálláh** jo **kiävuidis rähtih. ‘old men [already] are preparing their [fishing] shuttles.’
Lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo, [livđe-syllables...]
lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo, [livđe-syllables...]
lol-lo-lo, loo-loo, lol-loo. [livđe-*syllables*...]
(*Kuobžâ livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ Prl 1c)

***Čuáđgi** te **kirdá** te* ‘The scaup (so) flies (so).’
***Tuuvijd sun ocá** te,* ‘She searches for rooms (so)’
na-na-na, na-na-na, naa, [livđe-syllables...]
na-na-na, na-na-na, naa. [livđe-syllables...]

***Vuovdâid sun keejâd** kal.* ‘Looks for hollow [trees] (yes).’
***Moonijd sun mannee toh**,* ‘She lays eggs there,’
na-na-na, na-na-na, naa, [livđe-syllables...]
na-na-na, na-na-na, naa. [livđe-syllables...]
(*Čuáđgi livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ Prl 8f)

Livđe texts can include complete sentences. These are interspersed with wordlets and livđe-syllables.

Čuánnjágâš, čuánnjágâš, ‘Goose, goose’
lal-la-la-lal laa …
te tot jo te kirdá, ‘(so) it (already so) flies’
laal-la lal-laa lal-laa …
olgoenâmáid[a] ‘abroad’

loddelos jo vel jo ‘a bird (already still already)’
lal-la-la lal-laa …
lal-la-la lal-laa …
kale tot jo uáiná, ‘yes it (already) sees’
kiädás tot mana ‘to summer it goes’
laal-la lal-laa lal-laa …
laal-la lal-laa lal-laa …
(*Čuánjá livđe* by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKSÄ Prl 1e)

Sometimes livđes are performed with only lexical words:

Riävská, riävská, riävská, riävská. ‘Willow grouse, Willow grouse, ...’
Riävská, riävská, riävská, riävská. ‘Willow grouse, Willow grouse, ...’
Kirdá, kirdá, kirdá, kirdá. ‘flies, flies...’
Kirdá, kirdá, kirdá, kirdá. ‘flies, flies...’
Kielâ mun kal viältám viältám ‘I will avoid the trap.’
Kielâ mun kal viältám viältám ‘I will avoid the trap.’
(*Riävská livđe* bt Anna Briitta Mattus. Transcriptions by Anna Briitta Mattus. SKS A. O. Väisänen Collection, Folder 6)

There are sentence structures, which can be analyzed in various ways: fragmentary, list-like or with a copula verb, which can be noticed in the livđe of a trout:

1. *Kuávžurâžžâ lâi-ja,* ‘Trout was and’
2. *ja-ja, ja-ja, ja-ja,* …
3. *kuhes-kääibáš lâi-ja,* ‘long-jawed was and’
4. *ja-ja, ja-ja, ja-ja,* …
5. *kirječuomâž(ži) lâi-(ja),* ‘mottled-scaled was and’

6. *ja-ja, ja-ja, ja-ja,* …
7. *ruopsis-cuopâž(ži) lâi-ja* ‘red-meated was and’
8. *ja-ja, ja-ja, ja-ja,* …
9. *Tullâčalmaaš kirdâččij* ‘with fire eyes it flew’

(Koskimies & T. I. Itkonen 1917, 251–252; 1978, 7–8.)

A list-like text with livđe syllables:

Hendâ Matti, Hendâ Matti, ‘Hendâ Matti, Hendâ Matti,’
nun-nu, nun-nu, nun-nu, nun-nu. …
Rišša hiärrá, Rišša hiärrá, ‘A branch lord, a branch lord,’
nun-nu, nun-nu, nun-nu, nun-nu. …

(*Hendâ Matti livđe* by Matti Mattus. Launis 1908, nr. 16a.)

Livđe has common linguistic features with both North Saami luohti and Skolt Saami leu′dd. However, it stands out from both in its own way.

Comparing the language of livđe and storytelling

In our analysis, we examined features shared between livđe texts and the language of Aanaar Saami storytelling. A common feature is that sentences are often connected into long sequences using the wordlets *já* and *na*. Often there are series of little words both in storytelling and livđe. In the next examples there are also fragmentary sentences, repetition of particles:

Muu eeči mainâstij tovle ko mun lijjim pärni, te mainâstij tain Laurukaisest ***ko tot*** *čuuđijd... maht* ***tot*** *čuuđijd tuššâdij* ***talle ko toh*** *čuđeh lijjii tääbbin Säämist tievâ* ***já****...* ***ŋá****...* ***já*** *viggii tuššâdiđ sämmilijd nuuvt ennuv ko áppádii* ***já****...* ***te****. Lávrukâš lâi ohtâ sämmilâš... tággáár uáli viijses almai* ***já já já****...* ***tot*** *smietâi et maht sun álgáččij ko talle iä lamaš pisoh sämmilijn muh ko tävgipisoh kale lijjii... mut tyeinhân lijjii pyerebâššááh pisoh kuittâg* ***já****...* ***já toh*** *lijjii nuuvt ennuv et iähân sämmiliih toigijn toid porgâm maiden tävgipisoigijn* ***já****...* ***te tot*** *Lávrukâš smietâi et tääl ij äävti muh ko älgiđ, älgiđ konstâigijn tuššâdiđ taid* ***já já*** *nuuvt tot smietâi ohtuunis tom ääši... tot ii kiässán tom sárnum et maid sun smiättá* ***já****...* ***já*** *maid sun lii áigumin... ij jieijâs vanhimáidgin sárnum tom* ***já já ko tot lii*** *valmâšin smiettâm tom et maht sun álgá taid tuššâdiđ taid čuuđijd et vuoimijn taid ij áppád tuššâdiđ ko pisoh iä lah muh ko tävgipisoh* ***já****...* ***Na já te te tego tot*** *valmâšin uážžum puoh tom et maht sun álgá... valmâšin smiettâm tom maht sun álgá taid tuššâdiđ* ***te te*** *sáárnui... eeđâi jieijâs vanhimáid sun vuálgá tääl sun vuálgá tääl reŋgân* ***já já****...* ***já*** *tij kolgâvetteđ eelliđ jieijâd eellim et et sun sáttá kuhe-uv lappuđ mut kal sun puátá tobbeen kuás kiergân, sun vuálgá reŋgân* ***já****...* ***já*** *nuuvthân tot vuolgij* ***já****...* ***já te*** *lâi smiettâm nuuvt et* ***sun****...* ***sun*** *váldá ohtâvuođâ... ohtâvuođâ toi... toi čuđijguin* ***já****...* ***já*** *sun maka lii toi čuuđij čuuđij pele já sun lii uápis álgá uápisin toid já sun uápist taid tágáráid paihijd kost laa riges sämmiliih asâmin já ...já já kost ääsih ennuv sämmiliih* ***já****...* ***Na****, nuuvthân tot uážui taid čuuđijd oskođ tom - -.*

‘My father told before, when I was a child, he talked about those... about Laurukâš, when he... how he destroyed chudes when Lapland was full of chudes and... and... and they tried to destroy Saamis as much as they could and... so. Laurukâš was a Saami... a very wise man and and and... he thought how he should start, because the Saamis had no guns, other than bows that they did have... but they [chudes] had slightly better guns after all and... and there were so many of them that the Saamis

> could not do anything to them with bows, and... so Laurukâš thought that there is no other choice but to start destroying them with tricks, and and so he thought about it by himself... he did not tell anyone what he is thinking, and... and what he is planning... he did not even tell his own parents, and and when he had finished thinking about how he will start destroying them, the chudes, that they cannot be destroyed by force as there are no other guns but bows and... So and then then when he [had] prepared everything how he will start... finished thinking about how he will start destroying them, so so [he] said... told his parents he is leaving now, he is leaving now [to be] a farmhand and and... and you will have to live your life, that that he may be gone for long, but he will come [back] from there when he has the time, he will be a farmhand and... and so he left and... and he had planned so that he... he will make contact with the chudes and... and he will pretend to be on their side, that he is a guide, he will become a guide for them and guide them to such places where rich Saamis live, and and where there are many Saamis... and so he indeed made the chudes believe it […]'
>
> (*Lávrukâš já čuđeh* by Iisakki Paadar. E. Itkonen 1992, 15. English translation by Jukka Mettovaara.)

Other features include doubling the subject with the demonstrative pronoun *tot* 'that', which can appear after the noun it refers to.

> *Nubbe vaaldij eenâb, nube-uv evvisijd kepidij jieijâs laavkân* ***já tot*** *nuorâb Aaslâk* ***tot*** *Juhháán-Aaslâk* ***tot*** *eeđâi et sun lâi pyeri čuoigâđ et sun váldá váhá keppisub... keppisub laavhâ já sust lii šiev pisso ko sust lii maavser já ton nube Aaslâkisthân ij lamas ko taggaar ohtii päččee luođâpisso* ***já já nubbe Aaslâk tot Jompa Aaslâk lâi kal*** *pyeri kuobžâpivdee* ***já já tot*** *nuorâb Aaslâk ij lamas koddám vala oovtâgin, kuobžâ mut* ***tot*** *luotij et sun lii pyeri čyeigee já pyeri pisso* ***já já*** *pyeri päččee et kalhân toh kuobžah njeejih* ***já na te*** *miibahân tast lâš lamaš* ***te ko rahttâđáin tot lâi eehid jo já*** *vaibâm še láin mut toh smiettáin suoi čuoigâv kuittâg toho aldeláá já orroov iijâ tobbeen já uáiniv maggaar šoŋŋâ puátá piäiván* ***já já te*** *suoi čuoigáin toho - -.*
>
> 'Another one took more provisions from the other [and put them] in his own bag, and the younger Aslak, Juhháán Aslak, he said that he was a good skier, that he will take a slightly lighter bag and he has a good gun as he has a Mauser, and the other Aslak does not have anything else than a single-shot rifle, and and the other Aslak, Jomppa-Aslak was a good bear-hunter and and the younger Aslak had not yet killed any bears but he was confident that he is a good skier and [has] a good gun and [is] a good shooter that surely the bears will tumble. It was evening already, and they were also tired, but they thought: they will ski closer anyway and spend the night there and see what the weather will be like during the day and and then they skied there […]'
>
> (*Juhháán-Aaslâk kuobžâpiivdost* by Iisakki Paadar. E. Itkonen 1992, 45. English translation by Jukka Mettovaara.)

Here is a similar example in a livđe-text:

> ***Aailâ Jussá, tot*** *kievhis kandâ,* '***Aailâ Jussá,* that** poor boy,'
> *ohtâ lii ergi já kuárus pumbá.* 'one is bull [has only one reindeer bull] and an empty chest.'
> (*Aailâ Jussá livđe* by Mikko Aikio (1886). Koskimies & T. I. Itkonen 1978, 46–47.)

Particle *na* ‘well’ appears in the beginning of a sentence.

> -- **Na**, mun paaccim moottorân, sun moonâi tohon kaavpugân nisonijd uuccâđ. **Na**, já mun vuoššim käähvi, pääihui käähvi vuoššâđ. Mun vuoššim käähvi já jurdâččim já vuárdám et tolá-uv tibi te myersseidiskuin te puátá! **Na,** lijjim lijjim lijjim, ama taa suhá, kyehti nissoon puáhtá, uáivist val. **Na**, moonâi toos moottor paaldân já: “Tääl mun te *puhtim moarssijd.*”[13] **Na**, mun kejâstistim: nubbe čalmepeeli lii já nubbe nuuvt puáris et! Mun [ee]đâm: “O vääiván tuu myersseid et mun kal jiem huolâ.” **Na**, **na** nuuvt poođijn tieteŋki já já toh juvváin käähvi tast já, **na** nubbe iätá, et sun kal áigu vyelgiđ kaavpugân.
>
> ‘So, I stayed on the motorboat, he went to the city to look for women. So, I made coffee, he told me to make coffee. I made coffee and I thought and waited for if he would soon be back with his brides! So, I was was was, he is rowing right here, bringing two women, and drunk ewen. So, he moved next to the boat and [said]: “Now I have brought brides!” Well, I took a look: the other one is one-eyed, and the other is very old. I say: “Oh to hell with your brides, I do not care [for them].” So, so they came [in] of course and drank coffee and, so the other one says that she is going to leave for the city.’
>
> (*Srimppe-vuorâs Veerâst* by Jouni Musta. E. Itkonen 1992, 87. English translation by Jukka Mettovaara.)

Similarly, particle *na*, *no* or *vuoi* can begin a sentence in a livđe.

***Na,** Ristin, laa-la, laa-la,*	‘Well, Ristin, …’
la-laa, laa-la, laa-laa.	...
tullâhelmijguin tot lâi jâ	‘with fire skirt hem it was (and)’
vazâččâmâš joo ko,	‘walked (already when)’
la-la, laa-la, laa-aa-la, laa-la,	...
laa-la, laa-la, laa-laa.	...
La-la, laa-la, laa-aa-la, laa-la,	...
laa-la, laa-la, laa-laa.	...
***Vuoi** ja ko Ristina ko vel jo*	‘Oh, (and when) Ristin (when still already)’
noo-no, noo-no-noo-no.	...
***No,** ko Ristinaša vel jo,*	‘Well, when Little-Ristin (still already)’
loo-lo, loo-lo, loo-loo.	...

(*Ristin Morottaja livđe* by A. B. Mattus. SKSÄ, Väisänen 1946, Prl 8o)

Skolt Saami leu’dd tradition

The earliest sources of Skolt Saami music date back to 1857, when Finnish researcher D. E. D. Europaeus gathered material in the Kola Peninsula and transcribed some lyrics and melodies. T. I. Itkonen recorded Skolt Saami music for the first time in Suõ′nn’jel in 1913. Since then, recordings and transcriptions have been made frequently. A significant historical collection was gathered in the Paččjokk region during the 1910s and 1920s by Isak Saba (1875–1921), Armas Launis (1884–1959), and Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969). Finnish research has placed special focus on the tradition of Suõ′nn’jel, as it was

[13] The words “*puhtim moarssijd*” are not either Aanaar Saami or North Saami but most likely the speaker refers to a North Saami speaker and imitates the words in North Saami.

considered the most unique and authentic form of Skolt Saami culture during the 1920s and 1930s. After the forced migration following the Second World War, these efforts shifted to the Če′vetjäu′rr region, where the inhabitants of Suõ′nn'jel were resettled. Two performers from this region, Jääkk Sverloff and Näskk Moshnikoff, were extensively recorded between the 1950s and 1970s. During the Soviet era, Russian and Estonian folklorists gathered Skolt Saami music from the Nuõ′ttjäu′rr region. Most of the following analysis focus on material recorded in 1961 by The Finnish Broadcasting Company [YLE] in Aanaar. (Jouste 2011, 23–24; Jouste et al. 2007, 15.)

Traditional Skolt Saami music consists of various genres. Many of these belong to a group of traditions shared with Karelians and Russians living in the northwestern Russia. At the core of the Skolt Saami musical tradition is the genre of unaccompanied songs known as *leu'dd*. It has equivalents in other Eastern Saami individual song traditions, such as Kildin Saami *luvvjt* and Aanaar Saami livđe. Through leu′dd, singers refer to actual people, their life stories, and historical events, which can be studied within the broader context of local oral tradition. (Jouste 2017, 40–41.)

In historical leu′dds, two types of melody use can be observed. The "traditional model" was likely based on both the referent's musical name and the "local point of view melody," as seen in the Aanaar Saami tradition. These melodies typically feature a special *fragmentary phrase structure*, in which the length of a given text-line can vary notably. This characteristic gives leu′dd a relatively notable freedom to lengthen words by adding syllables, as the melody does not impose any strict metrical pattern. Alongside this, a new "melodic model" emerged during the 1920s and most likely by the influence of men returning from World War I. In "melodic model" leu′dd-texts were often performed with melodies deriving for example from Russian dance songs like *Yablochko* 'Little Apple' (Hoppu 2020, 34–37; (Jouste 2017, 43–48; Zemtsovsky 2001, 9). In this case, the possible concept of the melody aligning with referent's musical name is no longer relevant, at least not in the same way as in older traditions. These newer melodies have a more fixed rhythmic structure, but the typical structural features of leu′dd language still appear, and the tunes can vary significantly.[14]

Next, we shall have a more precise look to an example of first leu′dd type, in which the structures can appear quite complex. It is easy to see, that even as a part of a Saami music, leu′dds form notably different form of tradition than luohtis and livđes. In the following example of *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd* leu′dd performed by Näskk Moshnikoff one can observe these special features. The most obvious notion is that the whole texts consist of complete sentences. Fragmentary or even list-like sentences, which were quite common in both luohtis and livđes are very rare in leu′dds, as can be seen in the following *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff (1961).

> *O-g-Ofootaž, vuänak Evvan-a nijdd-â, ma't le'žžem vue'lğğe-d-ed-e otstavnai päärn-a-že. |*
> 'Ofootaž, look, Evvan's daughter. How would I have gone to a boy, retired from army.'
> *Mõõzz-â leäk muu njeežž-a-žam ouddama-ž-a kõlmm-â iissmiâr-â rid- | du?*
> 'Why have you handed me to the cold shore of Arctic Ocean?'
> *Niskk-a-jaž mu'st lij jeärg-a-ža-m-a viõlggâd-a g-ääldaž-a.*
> 'I have a reindeer calf, [called] Niskkjaž, a little reindeer cow.'
> *A, ma't leežž ve't poor-â-škue'tted-de-ed ra'htti zemljova jeäkk-a-la-la.*

[14] See Jouste 2017, 78–80 for a more detailed description of the *fragmentary phrase structure*.

‘Well, how the reindeer would have eaten lichen of a poor rocky land.’
De, tõõzz leežž-a pää'cced-e-de vue'm-e šolkk-â-jeäkk-a-lež.
‘Well, the silky lichen of forest would have been left behind.’
Mâ'te leäk njeežž-a-žam muu g-ouddam-až kõlmm-â g-iiss-â-miârr-â riddu, käirrav-a kõlmm-â peäzz-a-že-g-e.
‘How have you, my mother, handed me to the cold shore of Arctic Ocean, to a seaguls cold nest.’
Tõõzz le'žže pää'cce-že-d-e viilj-a-žan-i ǩeähnmõs roodd. Kuâđđ-â-je'ǩed, pää'cced tiõrvân.
‘There would have stayed my brothers and the worst family. Stay, stay in good health.’
Čuežž-e-ti, čuežž-e-ti-i de čiõkk-â-rest pää'res jie'rji-d õõut-â peä'l-e g-ââ'lm pee'v.
‘He [the groom] forced the reindeers to stay on their feet for half of a day.’
(The lyrics of *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff in 1961 (AK/0548). Transcribed by Eino Koponen, Markus Juutinen and Marko Jouste (Jouste et al. 2020, Appendix 1)).

Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd consists of three melodic phrases (A, B, C). When the structure of the performance is examined through paradigmatic analysis, it can be observed how the overall phrase structure varies. This is a distinctive feature specifically associated with the older, “traditional” type of leu′dd melodies and a fragmentary phrase structure. During a performance, the phrase structure can be repeated in such a way that, when repeating the iterative melody, the performer does not necessarily repeat all the musical phrases but only some of them. For example, phrase A might be repeated twice in a row, phrase B three times in a row, and phrase C twice in a row. In this case, the overall phrase structure of the performance is: ABC-AB-ABC-B-B-B-C-C-A-ABC-ABC. (See *Figure 9*).

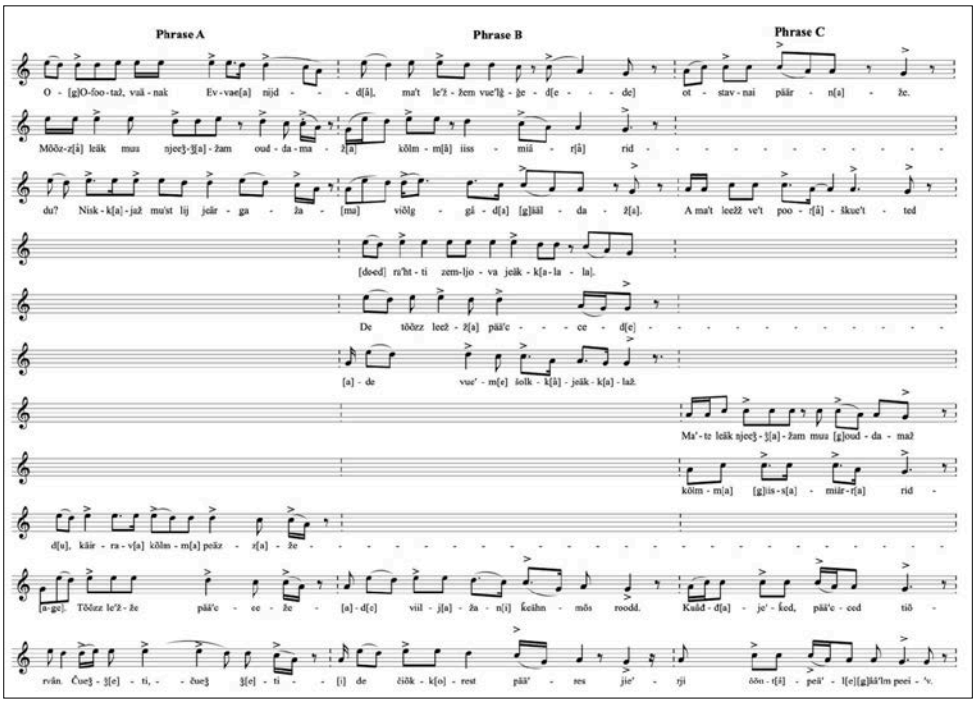

Figure 9. Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu′dd by Näskk Moshnikoff in 1961 (AK/0548). Transcribed by Marko Jouste. (See Valtonen et al. 2019, 138–139.)

There is also melodic and rhythmic variation within the verses. The beat structures vary so much within the verses that in only three out of 19 cases does the same beat structure occur within a single verse. Even in these cases, the melody shows considerable variation. (See *Figure 10*).

Phrase A	**Phrase B**	**Phrase C**	
2 3 3 2 2 2 (14)	3 3 3 3 2 (10)	2 2 3 2 (9) |	33
2 2 2 2 3 (11)	2 2 2 2 2 2 (12)	-	23
2 | 3 2 2 3 (12)	3 2 2 3 2 | (12)	3 2 2 2 3 2 (14)	38
-	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 | (17)	-	17
-	2 3 3 2 (10)	-	10
-	3 3 2 2 2 | (12)	-	12
-	-	2 3 3 2 (10)	10
2 2 2 3 2 2 (13)	-	-	12
3 | 3 2 2 (10)	3 2 2 3 2 (12)	2 2 2 3 (9)	31
2 | 2 2 3 2 (11)	3 2 2 3 2 (12)	3 3 2 2 (10) |	33

Figure 10. The variative beat structure of *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff in 1961.

The manner how words are attached to a melody differs also heavily from luohti and livđe traditions.

Usually in leu′dd-texts the sentences are complete, but there is a special feature, in which the ends and beginnings of sentences do not align with the phrases in the melody or the beat structure. This is shown by mark (|), which can be seen also in the earlier presented *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd* leu′dd. One reason for this might be the practice of breathing and its relation to a text-phrase. It is a common practice to stop the leu′dd and breathe before the last syllable of a sentence. After this the performer begins a new musical phrase with the last syllable of the previous text-phrase. (See *Figure 11*).

Phrase A	**Phrase B**	**Phrase C**
O-g-Ofootaž, vuänak Evvan-a nijd- (9)	*d-â, ma't le'žžem vue'lğğed-ed-e (8)*	*otstavnai päärn-a-že. | (6)*
Mõõzz-â leäk muu njeežž-a-žam ouddama- (10)	*-ž-a kõlmm-â iissmiâr-â rid- (7)*	-
du? | Niskk-a-jaž mu'st lij jeärgaža- (9)	*-ma viõlggâd-a g-ääldaž-a. | (7)*	*A, ma't leežž ve't poor-â-škue'tted- (8)*
-	*-de-ed ra'htti zemljova jeäkk-a-la-la. | (10)*	-
-	*De, tõõzz leežž-a pää'cced-e-de (8)*	-
-	*vue'm-e šolkk-â-jeäkk-a-laž. | (7)*	-
-	-	*Mâ'te leäk njeežž-a-žam muu g-ouddamaž (10)*
-	-	*kõlmm-â g-iiss-â-miârr-â rid- (7)*
du, käirrav-a kõlmm-â peäzz-a-že- (8)	-	-
-g-e. | Tõõzz le'žže pää'cce-že- (7)	*-d-e viilj-a-žan-i ǩeähnmõs roodd. (8)*	*Kuâđđ-â-je'ǩed, pää'cced tiõr- (7)*
vân. | Čuežž-e-ti, čuežž-e-ti- (7)	*-i de čiõkk-â-rest pää'res jie'r- (8)*	*ji-d õõut-â peä'l-e g-ââ'lm pee'v. | (7)*

Figure 11. The syllable structures of *Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff in 1961.

When “traditional model” is compared to the “melodic model”, one can notice, that in the latter musical and textual features are structurally more aligned. For example, in the following Jääkk Sverloff’s and Duna Gerasimoff’s leu′dd all melodical phrases consist of six beats and these phrases align perfectly with verbal sentences. However, there is some variation in the overall phrase structure: AC, ABCC, ABCC, ABCC, ABCCC. (See *Figure 12*.)

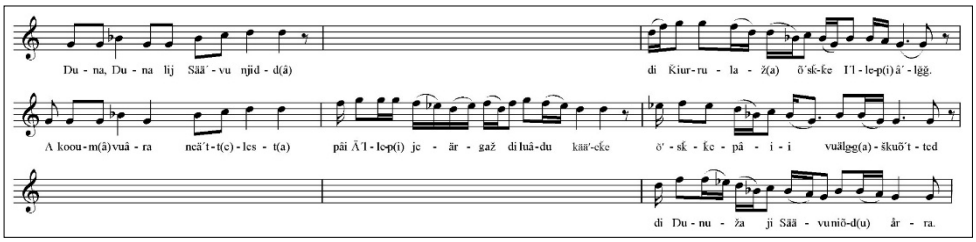

Figure 12. Excerpt of Duna Duna leu′dd by Vass Semenoja 1961 (Kper, AK-0563). Transcription: Marko Jouste.

The linguistic features of leu′dd texts

In this section, we shall examine the linguistic structures of leu′dds. In general, leu′dds are more focused on verbal “storytelling” than the luohti and livđe texts. Usually, leu′dds consist of long sets of complete sentences avoiding the use of non-lexical song-syllables. However, words are often modified to align with the musical expression in ways that differ significantly from spoken Skolt Saami.[15] The main linguistic features of the leu′dd language are:

1. The texts consist of complete sentences with lexical meanings (See *Figure 8*). Sometimes in the beginnings of leu′dds, one can also find a list-like structure, usually referring to the names of people described in the leu′dd. For example:

   A, Miklaiaž Åhnâs-jo â'lǧǧ-e di Täđjjan Evvan-jo nijdd-â di vuä'mm-e lokk-u-čuä'rvv[16] *ääld-a jeärgaž.*
   ‘Well, Miklaiaž Åhnâs’ (yo) son and Täđjjan Evvan’s daughter and an old reindeer cow-bull with inwards-curving-antlers.’

   However, even these lists of names can be presented as full sentences:

   O'ǩǩmi lij Jååggar jo nijdd-â.
   ‘O′ǩǩmi is Jååggar’s (yo) daughter.’

2. The use of any “leu′dd syllables” equivalent to luohti’s and livđe’s are rare at least in the tradition of Suõ′nn’jel. However, these are used sometimes in dance-songs and in laments.

3. The use of wordlets between or after lexical words or inside of lexical words is comparable to that of luohti and livđe:

[15] The following analysis is based on the article *Kolttasaamelaisen Näskk Moshnikoffin leu'dd-kielen idiolekti* ‘The Idiolect of leu′dd Language of Skolt Saami Näskk Moshnikoff’ (Jouste et. al 2020; Jouste 2022).
[16] *Lokkčuä'rvv*, See T. I. Itkonen 1958, 220.

A, Vä'sǩǩ ât ve't-a lij gu gu kue'mm veâlain vuâlg-â-jo-go-čiǩ.[17]
‘Well, Vä′sǩǩ is (when when) a godfather you would (yo-when) go.’ (*Maa'renaž leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff. SKSÄ A503/11.)

These contain words from different grammatical categories.

a) Adverbs and particles: *võl* ‘still’, *ju'n* ‘already’, *kâ'l* ‘indeed’, *te'l* ‘then’; *vuänak* ‘see’, *õ'sǩǩe* ‘as’, *na* ‘well’, *pâi* ‘only; always’, *ve't*

b) Conjunctions: *di* ‘and’, *de* ‘so; then’, *go, gu* ‘as; when; than’

c) Demonstrative pronoun: *tõt* ‘it’

d) Copula verb: *lij* ‘is’

4. The frequent use of nouns with diminutive suffix, -*<u>až</u>*

Mä'rjj → Määrj<u>až</u>-a

5. A notable number of words are modified: Adding additional vowels to second syllables e.g., *nijdd → nijdd-â* ‘girl, daughter’ or third syllables *kuä'cǩǩem* ‘eagle’ → *kuä'cǩǩem-e*.

6. Retention of language historical verbal suffix (e.g. -*<u>âded</u>*): *ristteed* ‘baptize’ → *risttâ-jo-<u>ded</u>-e.*

7. The use of *ŋ-* or *g*-prothesis: *ŋ-aa'ljim* ‘we begun’

All these features are present at the same time as is seen in the following examples. First is an excerpt from a leu′dd performed by Jääkk Sverloff:

Mäkri ***vuänak ve't*** *šõõddâ-**jo**-di-**ja**. Mäk-**a**-ri ve't go šõõddâ-**jo**-di-**ja**.*
‘Mäkkri [see] was born [yo-and-jaa]. Mäkkri was born [yo-and-jaa].’
*Risttveâr **g**-õõlg-**â**-či vä'ldd-**a**-**jo**-**d**-ed-**e**.*
‘A Christian religion he should ta-[yo]-ke.’
***A**, Vä'sǩǩ **ât** ve't-**a** lij **gu gu** kue'mm veâlain.*
‘Well, Vä′sǩǩ is a [when when] godfather.’
*Mij **ve't go ŋ**-aa'ljim **go** risttâ-**jo**-ded-**e**. Mäk-**a**-ri âlgg risttâ-**d**-**jo**-ded-**a**.*
‘We [when] begun [when] to bapti-[yo]-ze him. Mäkkri must be bapti-[yo]-zed.’
(*Mäkri Titoff leu'dd* by Jääkk Sverloff (DAUM SOFI, Bd 1128a). See Jouste 2022, 59–67.)

The second example is an excerpt from a leu′dd performed by Näskk Moshnikoff:

*Määrjaž-**a**, Määrjaž-**a** Meekk-**a** nijdd-**â**, ton go mu'nne vuâlg-**â**-**jo**-**go**-čiǩ.*
‘Little Maa′ren, little Maa′ren, Mekk’s daughter, if you would choose [yo-when] me.’
***De** mon **ve't** tuu-**ja** vääld-**a**-čem ton **go** mu'nne vuâlg-**â**-**jo**-**go**-čiǩ.*
‘Well, I would take you, if you would choose [yo-when] me.’
***Gu** ton Äpp-**a**-lan-**a** leäk råǩǩ-**e**, kuä'cǩǩem-**e** viõ'lǧǧes-**e** **võl** vuäiv**až**.*
‘[When] you Äppalan are pitiful, eagle’s white [still] head.’
(*Maa'renaž leu'dd* by Näskk Moshnikoff (SKSÄ A503/11). Jouste et al. 2020, 41)

It is important to notice that in leu′dd, all modifications on word-structure or the use of extra syllables occur inside a sentence. This is a major difference to luohti and livđe, where these elements are found both inside and outside sentence.

[17] See Jouste et al. 2020, 42–43.

Comparing the language of leu′dd and storytelling

A common feature of leu′dd and storytelling or fairy tales is that sentences are often sequenced to long periods with wordlets *na*, *di* or *ja*.

> *Ouddâl leäi sä'mmlaž kauppjõš reâugast.* ***Na****, son reâugai tõ'st ja lå'đjj puõ'đi, salkškuõ'tte* ***ja ja*** *sä... sa'lǩǩe ja måttam kuõ'dde siâkkid ja cie'lǩǩe što ij tõt tääi'ben nåkam oummu kaunnu että kook ko kuâdd kuõi'ti siâkki mutta ceälkk, sä'mmlaž ceälkk što* ***no*** *käunn'je måkam oummu kook škuu'l kue'dde* ***no****,* ***kâ'l*** *see'st lie oummu vaa'ldi kuäbba kuäbba kõnnjâr vuâlla škuu'l piijjli* ***ja pâi*** *vä'ʒʒli sij tiõttlõs a'lǧǧe õõmtõõššâd,* ***että tõt kâ'l lij*** *mahottoman viõhss* ***no kâ'l võl*** *see'st käunnai viõusab ooumaž, ko sij nu'bb vuâra pue'đže lå'đjj puõ'đež,* ***što kâ'l tõt*** *viõusâs ooumaž su'nne häävai son-ǩe no ij, mõõni e'pet neä'ttel vee'rd äi'ǧǧ puõ'đi e'pet lå'đjj de puõ'đi see'st jõnn viõhss de ceä'lǩǩe,* ***na****,* ***tää'l kâ'l*** *ij sä'mmlaž pi'rǧǧed heibbad että teä sä'mmlast de o.. occkaž heibbamvuârr lij ko ij viõkk vuäl tõn, täin oummin heibbad, kåå'tt åå'n mee'st puõ'đi*
>
> ‘There used to be a Saami merchant working there. Well, he was working, and a barge arrived. They started unloading the cargo — they unloaded it, and some men were carrying sacks and said, “There isn’t a single person around here who can carry two sacks.” But the Saami said, “Well, there are people who can carry a “kuli.” Kuli means a sack of flour. “They do have people like that.” He took a kuli under both arms and started walking. Naturally, they were amazed, saying, “He’s incredibly strong.” “Well, next time the barge comes, they’ll bring someone even stronger, and that strong man will beat him too. About a week later, the barge came again, and they had brought a big strongman with them. They said, “Now the Saami doesn’t stand a chance in wrestling. The Saami’s going to have a tough time wrestling now — he doesn’t have the strength to take on this man we’ve brought.’
>
> (*Sä'mmlaž kauppjõš* by Jääkk Sverloff. Kotus 0631/1bz)

In leu′dds, the most often used conjunctions are *di* ‘and’, *a* ‘well’, *na* ‘so’. One can see this practice in the following leu′dd of Irškaž Sverloff performed by Jååffaž Semenoff:

> ***A,*** *mij vet vuõlgg-õ-pâi-lõõttâp teâđast njeežž-a-žam,* ***na,*** *ristt-â-jeännam lij Evvan nijdd-â.*
> ‘Well, we go, of course mother, well, godsister is Evvan’s daughter.’
>
> *- - Mâid vaa'ʒʒ-e-že-škuõ'đim Feäđat nijdd da Evvan-a niijdd* ***da*** *mij pâi vää'žž-e-gu-tep mij Huâttar ââ'lj nuõrmõs niõđe årra?*
> ‘Why begin to walk Feäđat’s daughter and Evvan’s daughter and we begin to walk to our Huâttar’s son’s youngest daughter?’
> (*Irškaž Sverloff leu'dd* by Jååffaž Semenoff (AK/0566). Jouste & al. 2007, 56.)

Another feature, common to leu′dds and storytelling is the frequent use of various narrative types, e.g. citations, dialogues of several people, and monologues beside the voice of a narrator. In the next fairy tale, a mosquito speaks and explains how she has lost her soldiers. In this example, there are wordlets combining sentences.

> *<u>Čuõškk še säärnai:</u> - -* ***Na****, čuõškk â'tte ceälkk, što son kâ'l evvanpeivva puätt, puätt. Vaikka pie'jjee'l. Vaikka sue'bbin vaikka pie'jjee'l, mutta puätt son evvanpeivva.* ***Na****,* ***tõt*** *evvanpei'vv lij johnõs.* ***Na****, son puätt.* ***No****,* ***de*** *puätt.* ***De*** *su'st ko ä'lǧǧe, de eidd ko lij puättam, tu'šǩǩääm ko lij, čuõšk ko kå'dste, kââ'pper tiudd lie'šǩǩai čuõskid šâ'dde nu'tt jiânnai. Jiânnai, keä'pper tiu'dd lie'šǩǩai, čuõškid lie'šǩǩai.* ***Na****, son tõt, son kâ'l*

leäi vä'ʒʒed rosttov räjja, evvanpeivva pue'đi, pue'đi mutta rosttov räjja leäi vä'ʒʒed. - - Rosttov räjja leäi vä'ʒʒed, mut leäi čuu't, pihttâz le'jje čuu't vuä'nik̆.

Na**, teä mõõni mååust, ceälkk:* "Na**, son mu'st eidd kolmm oummu hiâvvne.*

Tå'lk̆: "Puk pue'tte mååust, na gu jõõski k̆e'rddmen. Puk pue'tte, koumm oummu hiâvvne. Õhtt ooumaž hiâvvni ä'k̆k̆-k̆eâmnna. Ä'k̆k̆-k̆eâmnna kõõčči. Ä'k̆k̆-k̆eâmnna kõõčči õhtt ooumaž. Nu'bb ooumaž ääkk... ääkk ju'sse tõpplõõvi. Kuälmad ooumaž niõđ njee'ǯǯ vuâlla teäddji." (*Čuõškk še säärnai* by Näskk Moshnikoff. Kotus 09843bz [0.26.39])

To understand the fluctuation of dialogues, monologues and narration, here is a broad outline translation:

> 'Mosquito says: - - Well, the mosquito says that he will come by Midsummer. Even if he must lean on a stick or crawl, he will make it by Midsummer. [Narrator:] There are so many mosquitoes that when you kill them, you could fill a hat with their bodies. He would have kept walking until Christmas, even if Midsummer had come and gone. However, his clothes were too short, so he turned back. He [mosquito] says: "Three comrades died because of me. Everyone else returned, but three were lost. One comrade fell into an old woman's cauldron. Another suffocated in an old woman's fart. The third was flattened under a girl's breast."'

Similar narrative and dialogue periods are seen in *Jääkk Sverloff's leu'dd* performed by Va′ss Semenoja in 1961. In the first part, the main characters, Duna Gerasimoff and K̆iurrâl Sverloff and the beginning of the described events are presented by a voice of a narrator. Here too, one can see a lot of wordlets combining sentences.

Duna, Duna lij Sää'vu njidd-â di K̆iurrulaž-a õ'sk̆k̆e I'llep-i g-â'lǧǧ.
'Duna, Duna is the daughter of Sää′vu and K̆iurrâl is the son of I′llep.'

A, kooum-â vuâra neä'tt-a-lest-a pâi Ä'llep-i jeärgaž di luâđu kää'ck̆e õ'sk̆k̆e pâi-i vuägg-a-škuõ'tted-di Dunuža-ji Säävu niõđ-u årra.
'Three times a week only a reindeer bull named "Butterfly" and the one that nature had castrated began to run to see little Duna, the daughter of Sää′vu.'

In the second part, Duna's sister Sandra and aunt Sandra are presented. They ask Duna about her plans of marriage with Jääkk Sverloff:

A, Sandra emman di Sandra vuäbbam di sij â'tte pâi-i õ'sk̆k̆e cie'lk̆e-sa'stt-a: "Di mâi'd-â-di Dunusaž ton tääjudak-a" di "mää'n jõs-i ton-u jiõk ni vue'rdd-a-lââ'st."
'Well, Sandra sister-in-law and Sandra sister, and then they say: "Well, why are you Duna acting aimlessly?" and "Why can't you wait?"'

The third part is Duna's reply to two Sandras. In the middle of the sentence, the narrator refers to Duna.

"Sääldat-i mooččâs Jääkku-ja-ja di ruõšš-â jânnam lij äkkalaž di tõn ve't-i mon-a jiõm ni tie'ttâdââst",
'"A brisk soldier Jääkk and the Russian land is *äkkalaž* and that I don't know,"'

da pâi Dunusaž-i cie'lk̆-a-saast:
'and little Duna says:'

“Hå't su'nne le'žže gu čõnnumaž-ža di ruõ'psses-i pirr-u čeäppat-i reppuka-ja di vi'lğğes-i pirr-u čeäppat repp-a-ka-ja di pue'rab-i mon-a õ'skǩe vue'lğğadam-a pâi pä'rnnu puä'res-i Ǩiurrulaž-e.”

‘Whether there is a red scarf tied around his neck or a white scarf tied around his neck and maybe it is better to go only to old man Ǩiurrâl”.’

(*Jääkk Sverloff's* leu′dd by Va′ss Semenoja. Kper, A-K 0563) [18]

The role of wordlets in Saami music and storytelling versus modern written language

In the examples above, we have described various practices related to these words and their specific uses in three Saami musical traditions. In our analysis, we have emphasized the significance of wordlets, as they play a highly important role in both the musical tradition and storytelling. As the final part of this review, we conducted a comparison between Saami music and storytelling and modern written language to acquire quantitative data on this phenomenon. When spoken narrative language was compared to written language in SIKOR-Saami corpus it was observed that colloquial language contains significantly more wordlets than written language. In North Saami, colloquial language includes 14.5% wordlets, whereas written language contains only 1.7%. In Aanaar Saami storytelling, 12.5% of the words are wordlets, compared to 2.8% in written language. The corresponding percentages in Skolt Saami are 8.3% and 1.4%, respectively (See *Figure 13)*.

North Saami

	Spoken language		Written language	
	*EMJ & NK 1956**		*SIKOR 2024*	
Word count:	**f=16 395**	**100 %**	**f=38,94 M**	**100 %**
dat + dathan	920	5,6 %	126 889	0,3 %
de	504	3,1 %	139 879	0,4 %
na	420	2,6 %	1 298	0,0 %
go	354	2,2 %	320 615	0,8 %
vel	119	0,7 %	40 512	0,1 %
juo + jo	54	0,3 %	37 339	0,1 %
	2 371	**14,5 %**	**666 532**	**1,7 %**

Aanaar Saami

	Spoken language		Written language	
	*Aanaarkiela čájttuzeh***		*SIKOR 2024*	
Word count:	**f = 42 778**	**100 %**	**2,88 M**	**100 %**
tot, ton, tom	1557	3,6 %	26 510	0,9 %
te	1383	3,2 %	10 818	0,4 %
ko	1028	2,4 %	22 737	0,8 %
na ~ naa	635	1,5 %	173	<0,1 %
val ~ vala	208	0,5 %	6448	0,2 %
jo ~ juo	159	0,4 %	5884	0,2 %
	5336	**12,5 %**	**79 217**	**2,8 %**

Figure 13. The amount of wordlets in spoken and written Saami corpora (SIKOR).

[18] Transcription: Elias Moshnikoff, Seija Sivertsen. English translation: Marko Jouste. See: Jouste 2022, 58.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article has been to highlight the unique features of each of the three Saami musical traditions in Aanaar (Inari) region in Finland. Since these are sung traditions, the linguistic features play a crucial role beside the music, and it is evident that analyzing the structures of performances require co-operation of both music studies and linguistic research. This approach provides a comprehensive understanding of how words and melodies are constructed in the performance.

Learning traditional forms of Saami music involve much more than theoretical knowledge. It encompasses understanding of practices, aesthetics, storytelling methods, and cultural norms inherent to the community. Nonetheless, we believe that the analysis presented here offers both to contemporary Saami generations and to the academia valuable insights into understanding and interpreting the traditions found in historical recordings. As Saami music has been evolving over time, it can be challenging to interpret historical traditions through the lens of modern musical culture. Several generations after the performers discussed here have grown up immersed in the influence of Western music. The same applies to language. Contemporary Saami languages are modern, and often shaped by factors such as the development of literary forms and normative language. For instance, some aesthetics and lexical aspects of storytelling from the 1950s may be difficult to understand for people living 70 years later. However, the present time is unique compared to many other periods in history, as archive recordings allow us to familiarize ourselves with the traditions and linguistic practices of previous generations.

All three traditions discussed here have distinctive linguistic variants for singing and they all differ from spoken language respectively. We have examined the relationship of singing language and colloquial language through several phenomena. It is crucial to examine if the words in a tradition are altered in some way while singing. There are hardly any changes in the case of North Saami luohti language, which is why we see many similarities between the colloquial language and the singing language, except for the meaningful role of the luohti syllables. The wordlets complement the texts of luohtis more abundantly than in colloquial speech. wordlets or groups of them are used to complete sentences. There are different stylistic areas that are known for luohti styles in Finland and the surrounding regions. In general, it can be said that in the western styles (Guovdageaidnu, Kárášjohka, Western and Eastern Eanodat), the sound structure of luohti is emphasized in favor of luohti syllables, and luohtis are often performed without words. In more eastern styles, such as Northern Anár (this analysis), Deatnu, Várjjat, and Vuohčču, words historically played a more significant role, at least according to archival material.

On a structural level, there are some common features in Aanaar Saami livđe and North Saami luohti as both share characteristics of how words and phrases are formed into melody. The use of wordlets is one such characteristics, albeit in livđe their role is sometimes more pronounced. A distinctive feature of livđe, compared to luohti, is the abundant use of diminutives and the occasional variation in the syllable structure of words by adding syllables and vowels. These two features connect livđe and Skolt Saami leu′dd. The relationship of livđe with colloquial Aanaar Saami language is similar to the case of North Saami. wordlets appear abundantly in both, completing sentences that would otherwise be too short for the melody.

The leu′dd language is the most peculiar of the three and differs the most from colloquial language. While it shares features with both luohti and livđe, especially in the case of

wordlets (which are mostly the same in all three languages), leu′dd language can be defined as a special song language. It is more complex and richer in linguistic means and structures than the colloquial language of storytelling. While the luohti and livđe languages are similar to spoken language, leu′dd language has its own grammatical features, as already linguist Mikko Korhonen (1983, 146) has noted.

The influence of the elements of musical performance on the language used in singing is crucial. In luohti, the meter of the melody is relatively fixed and referentially linked to its object, and the words must be arranged within this predetermined structure. The "art" of luohti likely lies in choosing appropriate words in a way that this does not disrupt the rhythm of the melody. This is in contrast to livđe, in which sometimes different referents can be sometimes sung with a similar melody, or at least with variations of the same melodic model. This brings us to the question of the difference between livđe and the lyeti, and when the performance emphasizes the lyeti-luohti side or the livđe side. This ambiguity, where luohti and livđe overlap, is perhaps one of the most the fascinating aspects of Aanaar Saami musical tradition and should be examined in the further research.

It is important to consider that all three Saami languages have gone through changes during the past 50 years, particularly as they have been adapted to the modern society. The role of language instruction in schools, both as a written language and a foreign language, has become more significant compared to the early 20th century when most of the language learning took place orally. During that time, oral traditions – especially colloquial language, storytelling, and musical language – were learned as the first language. With this comparison we have sought to demonstrate that there is a connection between the language used in music traditions and the colloquial language. However, as spoken language has developed toward written forms, the gap between contemporary spoken language and language used in traditional music has grown. Korhonen (1983, 149–150) already highlighted this in the case of leu′dd, where the difference is most pronounced, particularly in the 1970s. We have proposed a model for analyzing language features, starting with leu′dd (Jouste et al. 2020) and extending it to include other traditions. In the future, it would be interesting to incorporate other styles and local traditions into similar analyses and broaden our understanding of the role of language features in different Saami musical traditions. There is also room to refine the model itself, for instance, by incorporating prosodic features of storytelling and their potential equivalents in the language of music.

Abbreviations

Icel	Icelandic
OEngl	Old England
OHGerm	Old High German
ONo	Old Norse
PGerm	Proto-Germanic
PNwGerm	Proto-Northwest-Germanic
Pre-PSaa	Pre-Proto-Saami
PSaa	Proto-Saami

PU	Proto-Uralic
SaaA	Aanaar (Inari) Saami
SaaK	Kildin Saami
SaaL	Lule Saami
SaaN	North Saami
SaaP	Pite Saami
SaaS	South Saami
SaaSk	Skolt Saami
SaaT	Ter Saami
SaaU	Ume Saami

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