

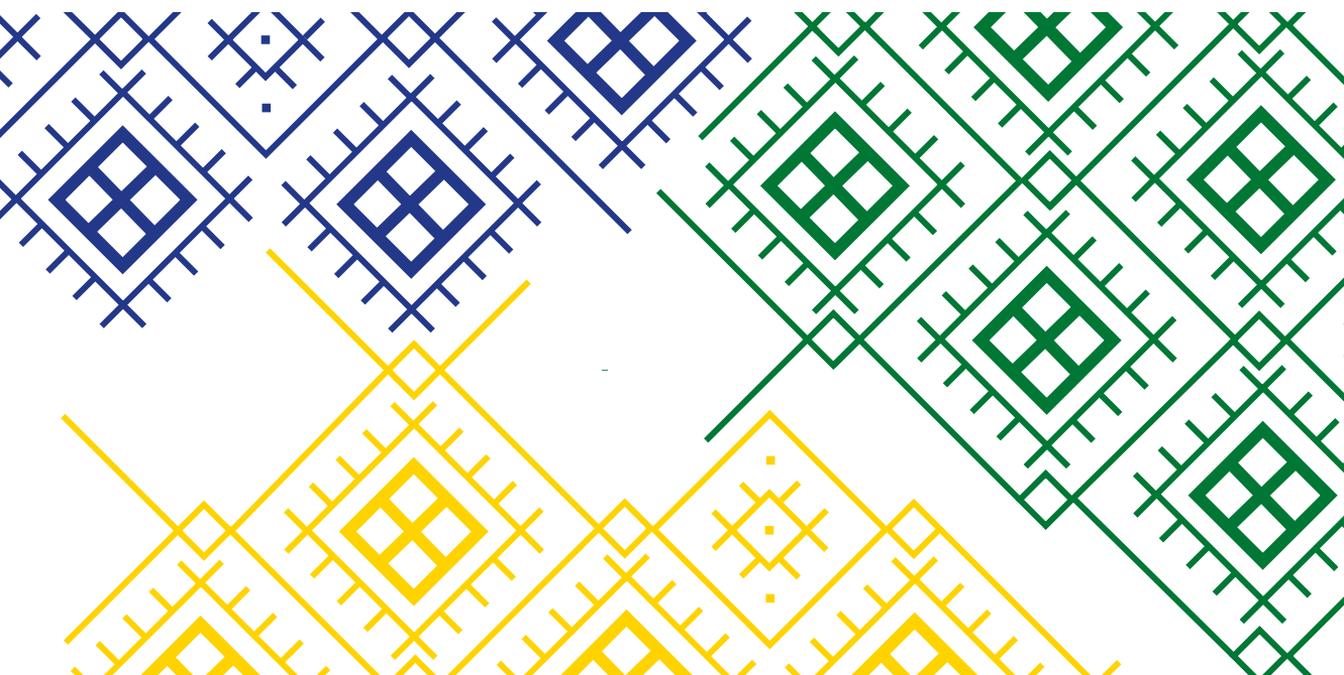
Dutkansearvi diedâlaš áigečála

vol 9 ♦ no 2 ♦ 2025

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tiedâlâš äigičaalâ

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Gender in Saami Knowledge Production

Guest editors
Ilona Kivinen
Marko Jouste

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Sohkabealdutkamuš lea leamaš dehálaš oassi sámedutkamušas (omd. Hirvonen 1999; Kylli 2012). Ollu lea dáhpáhuvván sohkabealdutkamuša suorggis mañimuš logi jagi áigge, go sohkabeliid girjáivuolta lea boahtán eanet ah' eanet ovdan sihke servodagain ja dutkamušain. Dán almmustahttima álgojurdda lei ovdanbuktit ođđa sohkabeali guoskevaš dutkamuša sámedutkama konteavsttas. Jurdda šattai jo juovlamánus 2022 ordnejuvvon Feminist matterings -konferánssa áigge. Nubbi doaimmaheaddji Marko Jouste lágidii konferánsii ovtta bargobáji, man namma lei Gender in Saami Knowledge Production, gos ledje guhitta sáhkavuoru iešguđetlágan fáttáin. Dain sáhkavuoruin guokte leat šaddan artihkalin dán almmustahttimii.

Sosiolingvistihkka lea sámegealdutkamis loktaneamen ja dan áigequovdilis gažaldagaid guoskevaš girji lea gieskat almmustuvvon (Pasanen 2024). **Ilona Kivinen** artihkal "Sohkabeali váikkuhus adjektiiuvvaid geavaheapmái Guovdageainnus 1900-logu álggus – Guovtti idioleavtta veardádallan" guorahallá guovtti guovdageaidnulaš olbmo vuogi geavahit adjektiiuvvaid mángga geahčastagas; semánttalaččat, morfologalaččat ja syntavssalaččat. Artihkal ovdastahtá árbevirolaš sosiolingvisttalaš dutkamuša dan ektui, mo olbmot geavahit giela.

Felix Mäkelä artihkal "Arvedávgetearpmad girju: davvisámegeiela tearpmad giellagáhtten 2000-logus" rahpá áibbas ođđa suorggi, namalassii queer-sátnevuorkká ja dan giellagáhttema dutkamuša. Giellagáldu almmustahttii jagi 2018 sohkabeliid guoskevaš tearbmalisttu, ja Suoma bealde Väestöliitto, Sámediggi ja Nuoraidráđdi ovtasbarggus almmustahte tearbmalisttu 2019. Mäkelä lea dasto suokkardišgohtán áigequovdilis tearbmabarggu ja dutkan artihkkalistis iešguđetlágan arvedávgetearbmaid geavaheami girjjáivuoda ja riev dama ámmátčálliid teavsttain. Dutkamuš čujuha, ahte tearbmalisttuin fuolatkeahhtá arvedávgeterminologiija ain eallá ja riev dá. Ámmátčállit leat ain ohcamin vuogas sániid ja sátnehámiid govvidit seksuálatehta ja sohkabeali girjjáivuoda sámegeilli.

Sohkabeliid guoskevaš dutkamušaid lassin mearrideimme viiddidit dán almmustahttima fáttáid musihkkadutkamuššii. **Marko Jouste, Sierge Rasmus, Jukka Mettovaara** ja **Markus Juutinen** leat veardádallagohtán davvisápmelaš, anáraš ja nuortalaš musihkkaarbevieruid eangalasielad artihkkalisteaset "A Comparative analysis of linguistic characteristics of historical Saami music traditions and storytelling in Finland". Dat vuodduduvvá sešuvdnii, mii ordnejuvvui guđat sámelingvistihka symposias (SAALS

6) Helssega universitehtas skábmamánus 2024. Artihkkalis čállit leat hábmen málle guorahallat ja veardádallat luođi, livde ja leu'dd gielaláš iešvuodaid.

Moai háliidetne giitit Dutkansearvvi vejolašvuodas doaimmahit dán almmustahttima, ja buot čálliid ja eará prosessii searvan olbmuid bargguin, maid sii leat dán almmustahttima ovdii dahkan.

Gáldut

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Editors' foreword

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Gender studies has always had a connection to Saami studies (e.g. Hirvonen 1999; Kylli 2012). In the last decade, a lot has happened in gender studies, since the versatility of genders has become more and more prominent both in society and in research. The starting point for this publication was the workshop Gender in Saami Knowledge Production, which was organised as part of the Feminist Mattering's conference in Oulu, 30 November – 2 December 2022. The other editor, Marko Jouste, was the main organiser of the workshop, and there were six presentations that dealt with gender studies in the Saami context. Two of the presentations have evolved into articles in this publication.

Sociolinguistics is increasingly important in Saami studies (see, e.g., Pasanen's [2024] recent volume on topical questions in Saami sociolinguistics). **Iloa Kivinen's** article "Sohkabeali váikkuhus adjektiivvaid geavaheapmái Guovdageainnus 1900-logu álggus – Guovtti idioleavtta veardádallan" belongs to historical sociolinguistics. It is a comparative examination of how two speakers, a man and a woman, use adjectives in J. K. Qvigstad's folklore material *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*. In this article Kivinen compares the use of adjectives from a semantic, morphological, and syntactic perspective. The article represents traditional sociolinguistics, examining language in use.

Felix Mäkelä's article "Arvedávgetearpmaid girju: davvisámegiela tearpmaid giellagáhtten 2000-logus" opens new research avenues in Saami gender studies, as it concerns queer terminology, its development and use in North Saami. Giellagáldu has published a wordlist concerning the gender terminology in North Saami. In Finland Väestöliitto, Sámediggi ja Nuoraidrađđi (the Saami youth organisation) published a common wordlist concerning gender terminology in 2019. Mäkelä has started to study the contemporary terminological work, and his article concerns the variation and change of queer terminology in professional writers' texts. His study shows that, despite the terminological work, queer terminology is still subject to variation and change. Professional writers are still searching for the best way to describe the diversity of sexuality and gender in Saami.

In addition to gender studies, we decided to widen the topics to music studies. **Marko Jouste, Sierge Rasmus, Jukka Mettovaara** and **Markus Juutinen** compare the North, Inari and Skolt Saami music traditions in their article "A Comparative analysis of linguistic characteristics of historical Saami music traditions and storytelling in Finland". It is based on a session held in The 6th Symposium of Saami Linguistics (SAALS 6) in Helsinki in November 2024. In this article the authors have created a model to compare

the linguistic features between the North Saami *luohti*, Inari Saami *livde* and Skolt Saami *leu'dd*.

We want to thank the Dutkansearvi for the opportunity to publish this thematic issue, all the authors who have offered their papers, and all the others who have made this publication possible.

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Sohkabeali váikkuhus adjektiivvaid geavaheapmái Guovdageainnus 1900-logu álggus: Guovtti idioleavtta veardádallan

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Abstrákta

Dát artihkal giedahallá guovtti guovdageaidnulaš olbmo, Elen Ucce ja Isak Eira, adjektiivvaid geavaheami 1900-logu álggus. Adjektiivvaid geavaheapmi lea analyserejuvvon sihke semánttalaččat, morfologalaččat ja syntávssalaččat. Hálli-guoktá adjektiivvaid geavahanerohusat leat guorahallojuvvon sosiolingvisttalaš geahčastagas. Artihkkalis suokkardallo, mo sohkabealli sáhtta váikkuhit adjektiivvaid geavaheapmái. Ucce ja Eira geavaheaba sullii seamma ollu iešguđet adjektiivvaid, muhto adjektiivvaid geavaheamis lea maid vejolaš áicat erohusaid. Go mii geahččat semánttalaš geahčastagas, de Ucce ja Eira geavaheaba sierra adjektiivvaid olbmuid ja áššiid govvidettiin. Ucce govvida olbmuid olgguldas hámi, Eira fas olbmuid luonddu. Morfologalaččat fas Ucce orru geavaheamen eanet innovatiiva adjektiivahámiid dego suorggádusaid ja Eira geavaha vuoddoadjektiivvaid. Dát guovtti idioleavtta dutkan addá saji viidásut sohkabeliid giellageavahandutkamiidda sámi sosiolingvistihka suorggis.

Čoavddasánit:

historjjálaš sosiolingvistihkka, adjektiivvat, sohkabealli, idiolekta

Láidehus

Ovddit dutkamuš

Dán dutkamuša ulbmil lea dutkat guovtti guovdageaidnulaš olbmo adjektiivvaid geavaheami. Dutkkan sudno geavahan adjektiivvaid semánttalaččat, morfologalaččat ja syntávssalaččat. Veardádalán hálli guoktá adjektiivageavaheami erohusaid ja smiehtan, livččiigo vejolaš árvalit dáid erohusaid laktásit sohkabeallái. Materiálan geavahan J. K. Qvigstada čoaqqin folkloremateriála *Lappiske eventyr og sagn 2* (1928), mas lean váldán guovtti olbmo, Elen Ucce ja Isak Eira, mitalusaid. Dutkkan, mo soai geavaheaba adjektiivvaid ja makkár earuhusat sudno adjektiivvaid geavahanvugiin leat.

Sohkabealli lea sámedutkamis muhtun veardde guorahallojuvvon. Kultuvrra bealde Vuokko Hirvonen (1999) lea dutkan nissongirječálliid ja fas Ritva Kylli (2012) nissoniid oskku. Girjjálašvuodas nissonat leat váldojuvvon álo mielde dutkamuššii, go sii leat leamaš aktiiva čállit. Dan fuomáša maid ođđa girjjálašvuoda dutkamušas (omd. Ahvenjärvi 2015).

Sámegiella lea ain oalle unnán dutkojuvvon sosiolingvisttalaš geahčastagas. Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánde (Ánte Aikio) ja earát (2015) leat govvidan davvisámegiela almmolaš sosiolingvisttalaš dili. Markus Juutinen (2023) lea dutkan nuortalašgiela giellakontávttaid ja Serge Rasmus (2016; 2022) fas davvisámegiela Finnmárkku nuortasuopmana variašuvnna ja kodamolsuma. Sámi adjektiivvaid dutkamušat lea maid leamaš unnán ja guoskan eanemusat adjektiivsystema álgovuđđui (omd. Nielsen 1933; Atányi 1943; Rießler 2016; Rauhala 2018). Sohkabeliid váikkuhus sámegiela geavaheapmái lea ain dutkkakeahtá (gč. goit Rasmus 2024), váikko almmolaš gielladutkamušas das leamaš dehálaš rolla jo 1970-logu rájes.

Sohkabealli ja giella

Sohkabealli váikkuhus giela geavaheapmái lea dávjá ságastallojuvvon sosiolingvistihkas (omd. Lakoff 1973; Eckert 1998; Milroy ja Gordon 2003). Orru, ahte sohkabealli váikkuhus gillii molsašuddá servodagas, áigodagas ja agis nubbái (Milroy ja Gordon 2003, 107–108). Sohkabeliid erohusat sáhttet gávdnot jietnadeamis (omd. Milroy ja Gordon 2003, 100–103), sániid válljemis (Freeman ja McElhinny 2005) ja maid giela válljemis (Milroy ja Gordon 2003, 105–106).

Lakoff (1973) lea navdán ahte nissoniid giella earrána albmáid gielas; sis lea dihtolágan sátnevuorká (dihtolágan govvideaddji sániiguin) ja hállandoaimmat (dego imaštallan) ja eahpesihkkarvuoda čájeheapmi (“dát leage várra buorre, amma nu?”) (Tainio 2001, 31). Lakoffa tesa lea dutkojuvvon iešguđet guovlluin (omd. Hakulinen 1987) ja lea fuomášuvvon, ahte dat ii doala deaivása. Dat lea goit movttiidahtán vuodđudit teoriija nissoniid ja albmáid kultuvrrain ja das ahte giella speadjalastá nissoniid ja albmáid kultuvrralaš earuhusaid (Malz ja Broker 1982), man ovdamearkka dihte Liisa Tainio (2001) lea guorahallan nákkosgirjjistis.

Dán dutkamušas lea leksikologijias dehálaš rolla. Lakoffa (1973, 49, 51) mielas nissoniidda lea mihtilmas govvidit áššiid dihtolágan sániiguin, ja dan vuodul sáhtášii navdit nissoniid geavahit eambo adjektiivvaid go albmáid. Freeman ja McElhinny (2005) leaba dutkan eñgelasgiela leksikologijija ja dan, mo sániid válljen váikkuha sohkabeliide dahje dasto nuppi láhkai, mo nissonat ja albmát lávejit válljet sániid. Dán dutkamušas maid geahčan,

makkár sániid hálli guoktá välljeba ja makkár semánttalaš erohusaid sáhtá daid vuodul hállama birra fuomášit.

Sohkabealli sámegea dahtkamušas lea illá guorahallojuvvon. Varraseamos dahtkamuš lea goit vehážiid mielde váldigoahtán vuhtii maid sohkabealli go Rasmus (2024) lea guorahallan suopmandatkamušastis sohkabealli váikkuhusa dihto hállangiela vearbahámiid dohkkeheapmái.

Dát dahtkamuš joatká sámegea idioleavttaid dutkanárbevieru; Rasmus (2016) lea dutkan Jovn'Ásllaha gea vearbaid pro gradu -barggustis, Markus Juutinen (2019) fas guovtti albmá giellahámi nuortalašgea ja mearrasámegea gaskkas, ja Jouste, Juutinen ja Koponen (2020) nuortalaš Näskk Moshnikoffa leu'ddaid idioleavtta. Ida Toivonen (2007) lea dutkan anárašgea vearbaparadigmaid variašuvnna golmma hálli gaskkas. Dát dahtkamuš lea vuosttas, mii guorahallá adjektiiivaid geavaheami sohkabealli gaskkas, muhto nu mo earát, dutkkan mikrovariašuvnna; idioleavttaid. Dát dasto doaibmáge vuolggasadjn viidásut sohkabealliide guoskevaš dahtkamúšaide.

Dán dahtkamúša ulbmil

Dán artihkkalis dutkkan Ucce ja Eira geavahan adjektiiivaid semánttalaš, morfologalaš ja syntávssalaš geahčastagas. Dutkančuolmmat leat čuovvovaččat:

1. Makkár adjektiiivaid Ucce ja Eira geavaheaba ja mo dat earuhit guhtet guoimmisteaska semánttalaččat?
2. Makkár hámiid ja deadjektivála suorggádusaid soai geavaheaba? Geavahago Eira eanet deadjektivála vearbaid go Ucce?
3. Leatgo adjektiiivat dábálaččabut attribuhttan vai predikatiivan? Leatgo hálliid gaskkas earuhusat?
4. Spiehkastagat: makkár hámit leat välljejuvvon attribuhtta- ja predikatiivasadjái? Mo sáhtá čilget adjektiiivahámiid eahpenjuolggaduslaš geavaheami?

Osiid intuitiivvalaš hypotesat leat, ahte albmát geavahivčče unnit adjektiiivaid go nissonat. Soaittášii árvalit, ahte maid semantihkalaččat adjektiiivaid geavaheamis livčče earuhusat, dego ovddit dutkit leat iešguđet gielain fuomášan.

Dego dutkančuolmmain sáhtá fuomášit, guorahalan maid adjektiiivaid eahpedábálaš geavaheami, mii máksá ahte adjektiiivaid attribuhtta- ja predikatiivahámit leat geavahuvvon eahpedábalaččat. Lean čállán ovdamearkkaid Qvigstada čállinvuogi mielde, muhto teavstta siste geavahan dálá girjegiea hámiid. Glossen ovdamearkkaid Leipzig glossennjuolggadusaid mielde, oanádusaid čilgehusat leat artihkkala loahpas.

Dát dahtkamuš vuodđuduvvá Ucce ja Eira materiálii ja analiisa lea mealgat teoriijafriiddja, mii lea mihtilmas dán lágan kvalitatiiva, materiálii vuodđuduvvi dahtkamúšaide (gč. Luodonpää-Manni ja Ojutkangas 2020). Morfosyntávssalaš spiehkastagaid dutkan vuodđuduvvá dálá girjegiea normerenvugiide, mat bohtet jo Nielsena (1926, 87–95) ja Nickela giellaoahpain (1994). Attribuhtta- ja predikatiivahámit leat maid merkejuvvon sátnegirjiide (omd. satni.org). In goit árvoštala, leatgo hálliid hámit riekta vai boastut, muhto geahččalan áddet, manin dakkár hámit leat välljejuvvon.

Sosiolingvisttalaš dahtkamúšain lea fuomášuvvon, ahte nissonat geavahit sátnehámiid, mat leat lagabus normerejuvvon gea dahje dain lea alit prestiša go albmáid geavahan hámiin (Trudgill 1983a, 161). Rasmus (2024) lea maid dahtkamúšastis fuomášan, ahte nissonat eai

dohkke hámiid mat leat normerejuvvon giela vuostá seamma hearkkit go albmát. Váikko 1900-logu álggus sámegeiella ii lean vel normerejuvvon, ledje hálliid giellaáddejumis sihkkarit muhtun norpmat, mo galggašii sámástit. Dákkár giellačájánasat dego Qvigstad *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* leat leamaš vuodđun maŋit giellaoahpaide, omd. Nielsena *Lærobok i Lappisk* (1926) ja Nickela *Samisk grammatikk* (1994).

Materiála

J. K. Qvigstad *Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn* (1927–29) lea njealjeoasat girjeráidu, mas lea folkloremateriála miehtá davvisámi hállanguovllu; Várjjagis gitta Lyngenie ja julevsámegeiella hállanguvlui Nordlándii. Materiálas leat álbmotmáidnasat, mat leat juhkkajuovvon fáttáid mielde. Vuos bohtet máidnasat, maŋimussan albma eallima dábit ja ipmašat. Materiála lea čoggojuvvon 1800-logu loaipas ja 1900-logu álggus.

Qvigstad materiála lea dutkojuvvon kultursuorggis eanet go gielladutkamušas. Thomas DuBois (2023) lea dutkan ipmašiid ja noaidegoansttaid muitalusain ja son lea geavahan Qvigstad materiála diehtoaddiid ságaid dutkamuša vuodđun. Son čujuha maid Eira ja Ucce muitalan vásáhusaide.

Olles ráiddus leat oktiibuot badjel čuođi diehtoaddi, main dušše 13 nissona (Hirvonen 2018, 71). Dan dihte ii livčče jierbmáid veardáallat olles materiála sohkaelliid dáfus ja danin lean välljen dušše guokte diehtoaddi dán dutkamii. *Lappiske eventyr og Sagn* -girjeráiddu nuppi oasis lea materiála Finnmárkkus ja Romssa guovllus. Dán artiikkalii lean välljen guokte olbmo, geat leaba Guovdageainnus eret ja leaba muitalan eanemusat dán materiálas. Nubbi lea Elen Ucce, guhte lea muitalan 41 muitalusa, ja nubbi fas Isak Eira, guhte lea muitalan 21 muitalusa. Váikko muitalusaid logut earránit, iešguđetlágan adjektiiivvaid lohku lea sullii seammá, badjel guhttalogi. Lean rehkenastán dáidda loguide sihke adjektiiivvaid ja deadjektivála sániid: advearbbaid, vearbbaid ja substantiiivvaid.

Seamma ollu muitalusaid lea Guovdageainnus muitalan maid Per Andersen Bær, muhto dása lean välljen goit Eira. Ucce lassin leat dušše guokte nissona Guovdageainnus, ja soai leaba unnán muitalan. Ucce lea olles ráiddu eanemusat muitalan nissonolmmoš.

Dát materiála ii leat oazžumis eará go čállon hámis ja dan dihte gáldokritihkka livččii dehálaš, muhto sániid albma geavahanvuogi lea veadjemeahttu dárkkistit go báttit váilot. Teakstahámiin mii berret váldit vuhtii vejolašvuodaid, ahte teavsttain leat čállinmeattáhusat dahje dat leat čállojuvvon hámiin, mat leat vurdojuvvon, eaige hállojuvvon. Qvigstad ii leat čállán dáid teavsttaid fonologalaččat dárkilit muhto čuovvu Konrad Nielsena čállinvuogi. Qvigstad lea goit heivehan dan muhtun veardde suopmaniid mielde; ovdamearkka dihte Guovdageainnu suopmanis eai leat â ja a earuhuvvon go fas Kárášjoga ja Várjjaga suopmanis earuhus lea merkejuvvon.

Analysa

Sosiolingvisttalaš duogášfáktorat

”Whenever we speak we cannot avoid giving our listener clues about our origins and the sort of person we are.” (Trudgill 1983b, 14)

Ná dadjá Peter Trudgill girjjistis Sociolinguistics. Dán dutkamuššii lean välljen guokte olbmo, geaid duogázat leat nu lahka nubbi nuppi go vejolaš. Soai goabbáge leaba eallán seamma áigge. Ucce lea riegádan 1902 ja Eira 1891. Soai leaba badjeolbmot ja eallán Guovdageainnu guovllus. Dáiguin dieđuiguin sudno áidna erohus lea sohkabealli.

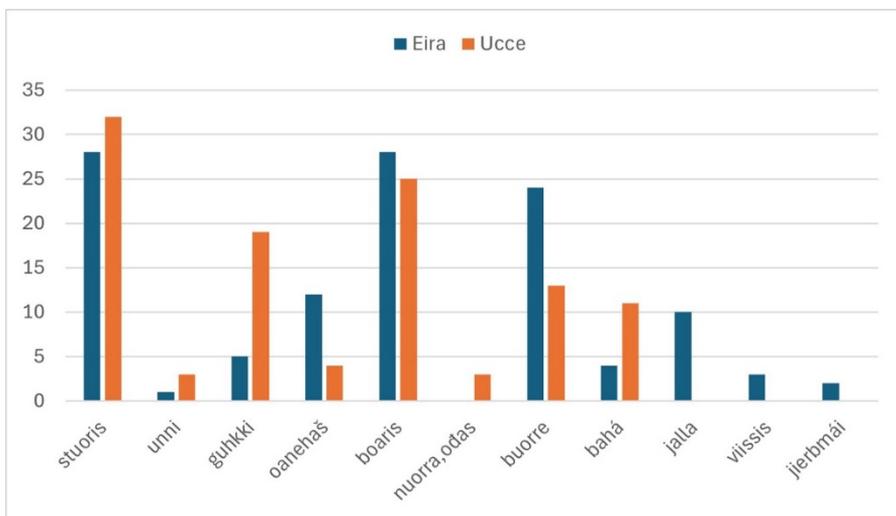
1900-logu álggus sápmelaš nissoniin lea leamaš earálágan sosiála eallinbiras go albmáin, go nissoniid barggut leamaš earáláganat albmáid ektui. Goadis leat leamaš nissoniid sajít ja albmáid sajít, ja maid árbevirolaš osku leamaš earálágan nissoniin go albmáin (Kylli 2012). Nissoniid ja albmáid iešguđet rollat sáhttet váikkuhit sihke giela geavaheapmái (Swann 1992, 33) ja dán dáhpáhusas maid dasa, makkár mitalusaid sii mitalit. Ucce ja Eira dáfus ii leat leamaš álki áicat goit čielga earuhusaid sudno mitalusaid gaskkas.

Elen Jonsdatter Ucce, badjeolmmoš guhte lei riegádan 1902. Son lea mitalan 41 mitalusa: 30,1, 40, 42, 48, 49, 54, 69,1, 85,2, 86, 89,2–4, 95,3–6, 96,3, 99,1, 110,1, 117,1, 121,2, 123, 124,2,3, 126, 134,5, 138,1, 142,2, 145, 147, 148,2, 150,9–11, 152,4, 153,5, 155,2, 157,4, 182,1, 193,2. (Q2)

Isak Isaksen Eira lei badjeolmmái guhte lei riegádan 1891. Son lea mitalan 21 mitalusa: 50, 58, 69,4, 73, 81,1, 88, 95,1,2,7, 120, 121,1, 138,2, 148,1, 150,12, 152,2, 156,4, 191, 192, 193,4,5 (Q2).

Dábáleamos adjektiivat

Ucce dábáleamos adjektiivat leat vuodđoadjektiivat, main leat maid vuostegeažit. Dábáleamos adjektiivat leat *stuoris* (32 geardde), *boaris* (25), *guhkki* (19) ja *buorre* (13). Daid vuostegeažit *unni*, *nuorra/ođas*, *oanehaš* leat unnán geavahuvvon, baicce *bahá*, mii lea geavahuvvon 11 geardde (diagrámma 1).



Diagrámma 1. Dábáleamos Eira ja Ucce geavahan adjektiivat ja daid vuostegeažit. Diagrámma lea dahkan Berit-Ellen Juuso.

Dábálemos adjektiivva lea *stuoris* ja dan vuostegeahči *unni* gávdno dušše 3 geardde. Eanemusat *stuoris* lea geavahuvvon attribuhttan *stuorra*, 27 geardde. Go Ucce hállá unnivuoda birra, son geavaha dábálaččat adjektiivva *unni*, oktii *smávis*, muhto ii oktiige *uhcci*. Lešgo sivva su sohkanamas, mii lea Uhcci dálá čállinvuogi mielde? Lea goit dehálaš fuomášit ahte *unni* lea Guovdageainnus muđuige dábálat, *uhcci* fas lea Finnmárkku nuortasuopmaniin geavahuvvon (Kivinen 2022). Goit Qvigstad materiálas muhtun diehtoaddit geavahit buot golbma sáni mitalusaineaset (Kivinen, *ibid.*).

Isak Eira dábálemos adjektiivvat leat *stuoris* (28 + nama ovddas 30), *boaris* (28), *buorre* (24), *oanehaš* (12) ja *jalla* (10). Daid vuostegeažit leat hárve geavahuvvon. *Unni* lea geavahuvvon dušše oktii, muhto nama oktavuodas (*Unna-Lásseš*) 77 geardde. Sániit *nuorra* ja *odas* eai leat oktiige geavahuvvon. Sáni *bahá* gávdno njelljii. *Guhkki* gávdno vihttii. *Viissis* gávdno golbmii ja *jierbmái* guktii (Diagramma 1).

Dábálaččat adjektiivvat *stuoris*, *guhkki* ja *boaris* leat nu gohčoduvvon dovdomearkkahis, neutrála sániit (Lyons 1977, 276), ja dat leat geavahuvvon omd. gažaldagain, *man stuoris/guhkki/boaris son lea?* Jos mii jerrat *man unni/oanehaš/nuorra* son lea, de mii jo diehtit, ahte son lea unni, oanehaš dahje nuorra. Dán dáfus leage oalle miellagiddevaš, ahte Eira sániin dovdomearkkalaš sáni *oanehaš* lea dábálat go dan vuostegeahči *guhkki*. Fas Ucce mitalusain vuostegeažit čuvvot vuordámušaid; dovdomearkkahis adjektiivvat leat dábálaččabut go daid vuostegeažit.

Ovddalgihtii gádden, ahte albmát geavahivčče unnibut adjektiivvaid go nissonat. Dán guoktása gaskkas ii goit oidno earuhus dan dáfus. Guktot geavaheaba adjektiivvaid sullii seamma veardde. Lean váldán vuhtii, ahte Eira geavaha sániid *stuoris* ja *unni* namaiguin, go son muitala Stuorra-Lásse ja Unna-Lásseža birra. Danin lean váldán materiálastan sierra daid namahusaid vai mii oažžut dárkilut gova Ucce ja Eira geavahan adjektiivvain, daid meriin ja kvalitehtain.

Adjektiivvat ja advearbbat

Adjektiivvain sáhtá hábmet vuohkeadvearbbaid mealgat njuolggaduslaščat, muhto leat goit maid advearbbat, mat eai leat njuolggaduslaščat adjektiivvain suorggiduvvon iige álo sáhte oba dadjatge, leatgo advearbbat hábmejuvvon adjektiivamáddagis vai eai. Dákkár lea ábalaš earenomážit vuodđoadjektiivvain dego *guhkki* ja *buorre*. Sáni *buorre* advearba lea *buress* ja dan Ucce geavaha vihttii ja Eira fas njelljii.

Ucce adjektiivvain lea *guhkki* dábálat go *oanehaš*, muhto Eira adjektiivvain dilli lea nuppegežiid, váikko *guhkki* lea dovdomearkkaheapme ja *oanehaš* dovdomearkkalaš (Lyons 1977, 267, gč. maid Hakanen 1973, 38–39). Adjektiivva *guhkki* lea dainna lágiin earálágan go *boaris* dahje *stuoris*, go das suorggiduvvon advearbbat leat eambo geavahuvvon go ieš adjektiivva. Eira geavaha áigái čujuheaddji advearbbaid *guhká* (guktii) (1) ja komparatiivva *guhkit* (oktii). Ucce fas geavaha sihke áigái ja báikái čujuheaddji advearbbaid *guhká* (8 geardde), *guhkás* (guktii), *guhkin* (golbmii) ja *guhkelii* (guktii) (2–5).

Áigái čujuheaddji advearbbat:

(1) *ja son ozai hui gukka dan gædgi* (Q2: 73, Eira)
ja son ohcat.PST.3SG hui guhkki.ADV dat.ACC geadgi.ACC

(2) *De manaiga soai gukka* (Q2: 42, Ucce)
de mannat.PST.3DU soai guhkki.ADV

Báikái čujuheaddji advearbbat:

(3) *Si orru dar'fegoadis guk'kin eret olbmuin.* (Q2: 42, Ucce)
 sii orrut.PST.3PL darfe-goahti.LOC guhkki.ADV eret olmmoš.PL.LOC

(4) *ja ruottai hui gukkas* (Q2: 42, Ucce)
 ja ruohttat.PST.3SG hui guhkki.ADV

(5) *ja bal'kesti vel miha guk'keli* (Q2: 150, 10 Ucce)
 ja bálkestit.PST.3SG vel miha guhkki.ADV

Dáid lassin Eira lea geavahan adjektiivamáddagis *guhkki* suorggiduvvon vearbba *guhkahit* (6). Vearbbaid guorahalan dárkileappot maŋŋelis.

(6) *Olbmud al'ge gukkahit* (Q2: 58, Eira)
 olmmoš.PL álgit.PST.3PL gukkahit.INF

Semantihkka

Mii fuomášit, ahte dábálemos adjektiivvat leat sullii seammát sihke Ucces ja Eiras (tabealla 1). Fuomášahti goit lea, ahte sátni *jalla* dihtto Eira ságain dávjá go fas Ucce ii geavat dan oktiige. Dat orru laktáseamen dihto earuhussii, mii lea Ucce ja Eira hállanvugiid gaskkas: Ucce govvida olbmuid olgguldas hámiid (7–8), Eira fas sin luonddu (9–11).

(7) *gonagasbar'dni lii'kui dasa sagga, go dat lei nu fiinis*
 gonagas-bárdni liikot.PST.3SG dat.ILL sakka go dat leat.PST.3SG nu fiinnis.NOM
ja čabbat ja sii'vui oaidnit. (Q2: 30,1 Ucce)
 ja čáppat.NOM ja siivui.NOM oaidnit.INF

(8) *ja nub'bi lei vil'ges-varat, suoibma-sojot gavvar-is*
 ja nubbi leat.PST.3SG vielgat.ATTR-varat.NOM suoibmá-sojut.NOM gávvar-ATTR
njunat ja vil'ges-alit čalmit ja alit gak'ti
 njunát.NOM ja vielgat.ATTR-alit.NOM čalbmí.PL.NOM ja alit.NOM gákti.NOM
al'de ja hui gæm'pa (Q2: 124, 2 Ucce)
 alde ja hui geampa.NOM

(9) *De bođi muttom jalla-s bar'dni* (Q2: 73 Eira)
 De boahtit.PST.3SG muhtun jalla-ATTR bárdni.NOM

(10) *son lei nu gávvil ja nu šluogas sar'dnot* (Q2: 50 Eira)
 son leat.PST.3SG nu gávvil.NOM ja nu šluogás.NOM sárdnut.INF

(11) *De li ok'ta boares-lagan viisis, jier'bma-s*
 De leat.PST.3SG okta.NOM boaris.ATTR-lágán.NOM viissis.ATTR jierbmái-ATTR
sabmelaš, mi lei vuoggji-me Bos'so-gop'pai.
 sápmelaš.NOM mii leat.PST.3SG vuodjit-ACT.ESS Bosso-gohppi.ILL
gukke-s raidoin (Q2: 152, 2 Eira)
 guhkki-ATTR ráidu.COM

Lea goit fuomášahti, ahte Ucce ii govvit albmáid, dušše nissoniid. Eirage govvida olgguldas iešvuodaid dalle go hállá nissoniid birra, muhto albmáin son govvida luonddu. Oktii son geavaha albmá birra sáni *fiinnis*, muhto dalle son govvida olbmo sosiála dási eanet go olgguldas hámi, váikko biktasiin ja hámiin son goit fuomáša olbmo fiinnisvuoda (12).

- (12) *dan rægas čok'kai su mielas oalli fina*
 dat.GEN reahka.LOC čohkkát.PST.3SG son.GEN miella.LOC oalle fiinnis.ATTR
hær'ra (Q2: 95, 7 Eira)
 hearrá.NOM

Nissonolbmuid govvidettiin Eira maid geavaha sániid mat čujuhit olgguldas iešvuodaide, ja son geavaha ivdnenamahusaid ja sáni *čáppat* dego Uccege (13).

- (13) *hui čidnjagis nieida, mi lei ieš nai hui*
 hui čáppat.ATTR čiknjagas.ATTR nieida.NOM, mii leat.PST.3SG ieš nai hui
čabbat. (Q2: 120 Eira)
 čáppat.NOM

Oktii Eira govvida maid gálvvu čáppatvuoda (14), go fas Ucce govvida dušše olbmuid čáppatvuodaid. Eira muđuige govvida gálvvuid eanet go Ucce. Seammalágan earuhusa nissoniid ja albmáid muitalanvugiid gaskkas lea fuomášan Barbara Johnston (1992, 72), gii lea dutkan davviamerihkálaš olbmuid muitalanvugiid.

- (14) *son valdi ovta hui čabba čoar've-baste, mi lei*
 son váldit.PST.3SG okta.ACC hui čáppat.ATTR čoarvi-baste.ACC mii leat.PST.3SG
her'vi-juvvum hui fiidnat, ja dat lei hui čabbat
 hervet-PASS.PST.PTCP hui fiinnis.ADV ja dat.NOM leat.PST.3SG hui čáppat.NOM
 (Q2: 150, 12 Eira)

Sohkabeali váikkuhus ivdnenamahusaid geavaheapmái lea dutkojuvvon. Ovdamearkka dihte Lakoff (1973, 49–50) árvala, ahte nissonat geavahit iešguđetlágan ivdnenamahusaid, sámegillii várrage dakkáriid go *oránša* dahje *lilla*, muhto albmát dušše vuoddoivdnenamahusaid dego *vielgat*, *čáhppat* ja *ruoksat*. Ucce geavaha ivnniid *vielgat*, *čáhppat*, *ruoksat*, *ruškat*, *alit* ja *ruoná*. Son geavaha maid goallossániid degovilgesalitja *čáhppesruoksat*. Ucce govvida ivnniiguin sihke olbmuid (nissoniid) (15–16) ja gálvvuid (17).

- (15) *Sus lei suoibma-sojot, gavvar-is njunni,*
 son.LOC leat.PST.3SG suoibma-sojut.NOM gávvar-ATTR njunni.NOM
vil'ges - alit čalmít, ruš'kes, fina vuovtat.
 vielgat.ATTR-alit.NOM čalbmi.PL.NOM ruškat.ATTR fiinnis.ATTR vuokta.PL.NOM
 (Q2: 30, 1 Ucce)

- (16) *Aččešæn-nieidas lei fak'ka-gavvar-is njunni,*
 áhčešean-nieida.LOC leat.PST.3 fáhkka-gávvar-ATTR njunni.NOM
čap'pes-ruk'sis varat, čap'pes čalmmít
 čáhppat.ATTR-ruoksat.ATTR varat.NOM čáhppat.ATTR čalbmi.PL.NOM
ja čap'pes vuovtat (Q2: 30, 1 Ucce)
 ja čáhppat.ATTR vuokta.PL.NOM

- (17) *Dat læt sikke vil'ges gædgit ja čap'pes gædgit.*
 dat.PL leat.3PL sihke vielgat.ATTR geađgi.PL.NOM ja čáhppat.ATTR geađgi.PL.NOM
 (Q2: 182, 1 Ucce)

Eira geavaha dušše ivdnenamahusaid *vielgat* ja *čáhppat*. Son ii geavat ivnniid olbmuid govvidettiin. Son govvida dušše gálvvuidd (18–19) dahje luonddu (20).

(18) *dat læ guok'te unna čap'pes lai'ge-nođuža ovtas*
 Dat leat.3SG guokte.NOM unni.ATTR čáhppat.ATTR láige-nođoš.ACC okta.LOC

sparros (Q2: 148, 1 Eira)
spárru.LOC

(19) *de son huomaši luodda nald iežas ow'dal-is guok'te*
 de son fuomáši.PST.3SG luodda.GEN nalde.PP ieš.GEN.3PX ovda-LOC guokte.ACC

čap'pes *lai'ge-nođo* (Q2: 148, 1 Eira)
čáhppat.ATTR *láige-nođđu*.ACC

(20) *buli viel'gad-in dah gor'ži* (Q2: 152, 2 Eira)
 buollit.PST.3SG vielgat-ESS dat gorži

Oktii Eira geavaha deadjektivála vearbba *čáhpodit* (21), muhto datge lea ruođuid siste biddjon čilgehus, nu ahte ii leat sihkkar, gii lea dan čilgehusa lasihan, Eira vai jearahalli. Mearkkašupmi goit lea abstrákta, ii konkrehta.

(21) *ja son jamalgi (čappudeggje čalmit)* (Q2: 95, 7 Eira)
 ja son jámálgit.PST.3SG (čáhpodit.PST.3PL čalbmi.PL.NOM)

Morfologijja

Adjektiivasuorgádusat

Vuođđoadjektiivvat leat dakkárat, mat eai leat suorggiduvvon eará sániin. Adjektiivvain lávejit goit leat suorggádusat eanet go vearbain dahje substantiivvain (Dixon 2004, 10). Sámeielas leat ollu adjektiivvat mat leat suorggádusat, muhto attribuhttahámit leatge suorggitmeahtumat, dego mánggat *-as*-adjektiivvat: *ođas*, attr. *ođđa* (= suomag. *uusi* 'id.' < VU **wuđe* 'id.')

dahje *garas*, attr. *garra* (Atányi 1943, Rießler 2016). Eanemusat Ucce ja Eira dábáleamos adjektiivvain leat dákkár vuođđoadjektiivvat (gč. Dixon 1977; Croft 1991, 140–142) (tabealla 1). Vuođđoadjektiivvaid ja suorggádusaid gaskkas lea muhtumin váttis dahkat earuhusa, ja omd. suomagiela ivdnenamahusaid dutkan Mauno Koski (1983) atná ivdnenamaid dego *punainen* 'ruoksat' ja *keltainen* 'fiskat' vuođđoivdnenamahussan, váikko dat leat čielga suorggádusat (máddagat *puna-* ja *kelta-*). Dás earuhan vuođđoadjektiivvaid ja suorggádusaid dan mielde, mat leat dálá gielas produktiivvat.

Tabeallat 1 ja 2 čájehit sierra adjektiivatiippaid geavaheami. Tabealla 1 čájeha adjektiivagehčosiid, main eai leat produktiiva suorgásat. Tabealla 2 čájeha produktiiva suorgásiid maid Ucce ja Eira geavaheaba.

adjektiivageažus # attribuhtta	Ucce	Eira
-V # -0 (ii sierra attr. hápmi)	7	3
-i # -a	1	1
-i # -es	7	3
-as # -a	6	2
-a # -as	1	1
-á # -ás	2	1
-as # -as	6	3
-is # -a (kontr.)	5	4
-is # -es, a	3	3
-at # -es	10	5

Tabella 1. Vuoddoadjektiivvaid gehčosat

Produktiiva adjektiivvasuorgásat leat hárvvibut geavahuvvon go vuoddoadjektiivvat. Iešguđetlágan *-laš*-adjektiivvaid Ucce geavaha golbma (*behtolaš, vejolaš, ovdalaš*) ja Eira dušše ovtta (*ovdalaš*). Sullii seammá lea dilli *-ái*-suorgásiin: Ucce geavaha golbma (*skierrái, bovdnái, goanstái*) ja Eira guokte (*dihkkái, jierbmái*). Karitiivasuorgásat *-heapme* ja *-meahtun* leat geavahuvvon. Ucce geavaha njeallje sierra *-heapme* -adjektiivva (*čalmmeheapme, mielkkeheapme, vigiheapme*), Eira dušše ovtta (*árvoheapme*) ja dange substantiivan (22). *-meahtun* suorggádusaid Ucce geavaha guokte ja daidge substantiivan (23–24). Eira ii geavat daid eisege.

(22) *Ale hoaw'ród hubmat arvohemid!* (Q2: 73, Eira)
NEG.IMP.2SG hoavrihit.CONNEG hupmat árvoheapme.PL.ACC

(23) *son lei guodđan vaiga mannjasis dan*
son leat.PST.3SG guodđit.PST.PTCP váiga.ACC mannji.ILL.SG3PX dat.GEN

olmušmæt'tom-vuoda gæžil (Q2: 95,6 Ucce)
olmmošmeahtun-vuohta.GEN geážil.PP

(24) *Dat gal'get oaidnimæt'tos-in vandardit ædnam al'de.*
dat.PL galgat.3PL oaidnemeahttus-ESS vánddardit eana.GEN alde.PP

(Q2: 110, 1 Ucce)

suorggis	Ucce	Eira
-laš	3	1
-heapme	4	1
-meahtun	2	0
-ái	3	2

Tabella 2. Ucce ja Eira geavahan adjektiivvasuorgásat

Vearbbaid partisihppahámit leat maid geavahuvvon adjektiivvaláganin. Partisihpa preseanssaid *buohcci* ja *diehtti* lea Ucce geavahan adjektiivvan (25a), Eira fas lea geavahan guokte partisihpa preseanssa; *duoldi* (25b) ja *buolli* (25c), muhto dat leat sealluhan partisihpa funkšuvnna, váikko leat geavahuvvon attribuhttasajis. In leat lasihan partisihpa preseanssaid tabeallaide go dat eai leat deadjektiválat muhto deverbálat. Guorahalan daid goit maŋnelis.

(25) a. *son lei nu buoc'ci* (Q2: 42 Ucci)

son leat.PST.3SG nu buohcat.PRS.PTCP

b. *dat olmai diđi ovta sajis hui stuora, čiednjál-is*
 dat olmmái diehtit.PST.3SG okta.GEN sadji.LOC hui stuoris.ATTR čieŋjal-ATTR

duol'di addjaga. (Q2: 69, 4)

duoldat.PRS.PTCP ája.ACC

c. *dego hui šel'ges buol'li dolla* (Q2: 95, 7 Eira)

dego hui šealgat.ATTR buollit.PRS.PTCP dolla.NOM

Deadjektivála vearbbat

Okta adjektiivadutkamušas miellagiddevaš bealli lea deadjektivála vearbbaid geavaheapmi. Sámeگیelas adjektiivvain sáhtá hábmet mánggalágan vearbbaid. Leage miellagiddevaš dutkat, man dábálaččat dát leat. Navden, ahte almmái geavahivččii eanet deadjektivála vearbbaid go nisu, muhto Eira ja Ucce gaskkas dilli goit lea nuppegežiid. Ucce geavaha 12 sierra vearbba ja Eira dušše gávccii.¹

Ucce vearbbat:

gielastallat (< *gielis*), *buorránit*, *buorádallat* (< *buorre*), *riggut* (< *rikkis*), *dearvvašnuvvat* (< *dearvvaš*), *čuvvgodit* (< *čuovgat*), *liegганit* (< *liekkas*), *ruobbudit* (< *ruoppas*), *guvvgodit* (< *guovgat*), *suoládit* (< *suola*), *geahput*, *geahppudit* (< *geahpas*)

Eira vearbbat:

čáhpodit (< *čáhppat*), *guhkahit* (< *guhkki*), *buorránit* (< *buorre*), *garrat*, *garrudit*, *garrustit*, *garrudallat* (< *garas*), *čuvvgodit* (< *čuovgat*), *ráhkistit* (< *ráhkis*).

Muhtun deadjektivála sánit leat eanet vearbbat, muhto dat eai leat hirbmat dábálaččat. Adjektiivvas *buorre* suorggiduvvon vearbba *buorránit* Eira geavaha dušše oktii. Ucce geavaha *buori* maid vearban: *buorádallat* oktii ja *buorránit* guktii. Ucces adjektiivva *geahpas* ii gávđno adjektiivvan muhto dušše vearbasuorggádussan *geahput* ja *geahppudit* (26–27). Eira ii dán adjektiivva geavat eisege.

(26) *de gæppoi dat miek'ki* (Q2: 42 Ucce)

de geahpput.PST.3SG dat miehkki

(27) *ja dat gæppodi su gitti* (Q2: 42 Ucce)

ja dat geahppudit.PST.3SG son.GEN giehta.ILL

¹ Diedusge áššit govahaljojuvvojit maid vearbbaiguin, muhto dás lean váldán vuhtii dušše deadjektivála vearbbaid. Dakkár vearbbat go *imaštallat* (< *imaš*) ja *hervet* (< *hearva*) leat vehá váddásat, go sánit *hearva* ja *imaš* leat substantiivvat. *Suola* lea sihke substantiiva ja adjektiivva ja danin vearba *suoládit* lea váldojuvvon mielde.

Syntávssalaš iešvuodat

Earenomáš beroštahti lea, mo adjektiivvat leat geavahuvvon cealkagiin. Sámegealas lea dábálemos adjektiivvain sierra attribuhttahápmi (Sammallahti 1998, 77). Crofta (1991, 142) mielde adjektiivva vuodđodoaibma lea attribuhtta, predikatiiva ii leat seammá dehálaš. Dat oidno maid Ucce ja Eira gielain: Ucce geavaha adjektiivvaid attribuhttan 147 geardde, muhto predikatiivan dušše 59 geardde. Eira geavaha adjektiivvaid attribuhttan 95 geardde ja predikatiivan 40 geardde.² Dát statistihkka ii goit leat olles duohtavuolta. Leat muhtun adjektiivvat mat leat eanet geavahuvvon predikatiivan go attribuhttan. Dakkár adjektiivvat go *stuuris* ja *boaris* leat geavahuvvon measta dušše attribuhttan sihke Ucce ja Eira mitalusain. Predikatiivan fas lea geavahuvvon earenomášit partisihpa perfeakta, dego *váiban* (28).

(28) *gal son læ vai'ban* (Q2: 73 Eira)
gal son leat.3SG váiban.PST.PCPL

Dakkár sánit go *garas* ja *buohcci* gávdnojit eanemusat predikatiivan Ucce gielas. Goit lea fuomášahtti, ahte oktage dábálemos adjektiivvain ii leat geavahuvvon eanet predikatiivan, dan mađe dábálaš attribuhttahápmi goit lea.

Eira geavaha hámi *čuovgat* sihke predikatiivan (29–30) ja árvaluvvon attribuhttasajis (31). Guorahalan predikatiivahámiid geavaheami attribuhttasajis dárkileappot maŋŋelis.

(29) *go læ čuow'gad juokke ækkeda* (Q2: 81, 1 Eira)
go leat.3SG čuovgat.NOM juohke eahket.GEN-ACC

(30) *boatta mađi-raigi su ovdald čuow'ga, mi læ*
boahtit.3SG máđe-ráigi.GEN son.GEN ovddal čuovga.NOM, mii leat.3SG

hui čuow'gad dego hui šel'ges buol'li dolla (Q2: 95, 7 Eira)
hui čuovgat.NOM dego hui šealgat.ATTR buollit.PRS.PTCP dolla.NOM

(31) *goas læ bivval ja čuow'gad bæi'vi* (Q2: 88 Eira)
goas leat.3 bivval.NOM ja čuovgat.NOM beaivi.NOM

Spiehkastagat

Morfologalaš spiehkastagat

Eira ja earenomášit Ucce leaba geavahan dakkár adjektiivahámiid mat eai leat dábálaččat. Dát leage dakkár sániid geavaheapmái vuodđuduvvi dutkamuša dehálemos boadus. Labov (2001, 264) lea fuomášan, ahte Philadelphias nissonat hállet eambo standárdagiela mielde go albmát.

Orru, ahte attribuhttahámiid dábálaš gehčosa *-s* lea álki lasihit čujuhit attribuhta, mii oidno sihke Eira ja Ucce mitalusain. Ucce geavaha partisihpa preseansahámis *diehtti* attribuhttahámi *diehttis* (32–33).

(32) *Dan diet'ti-s addja namma lei Addan.* (Q2: 89, 2 Ucce)
dat.GEN diehtti-ATTR áddjá.GEN namma leat.PST.3SG Attan

(33) *de lei muttin diet'ti-s olmai* (Q2: 89, 2 Ucce)
de leat.PST.3SG muhtin diehtti-ATTR olmmái.NOM

² Dása lean lasihan dušše vuodđoadjektiivvaid, in suorggádusaid dego komparatiiva- ja superlatiivahámiid.

Vearbbaid partisiha preseansa ii láve oažžut sierra attribuhttahámi, muhto Ucce dakkára geavaha. Son geavaha dušše guokte partisiha preseansahámi, *diehtti* ja *buohcci*. Sáni *buohcci* son geavaha dušše predikatiivan (njelljii) ja danin das ii oidno, livččiigo son das maid válljen *-s-*attribuhttahámi. Goit ainjuo Nielsena sátnegirji (LpD 1, 521) dovda attribuhttahámi *diehttis*, mii máksá ahte dat leaš dábálut go dušše Ucce geavahan hápmi. Dákkár attribuhta merken sáhtá máksit, ahte partisiha preseansa *diehtti* livčči leksikalisašuvvamin adjektiivvan. Dábálaččat partisiha preseanssat eai leat čájehuvvon sátnegirjiin daid produktivitehta dihte, muhto leksikalisašuvvan hámit goit gávdnojit. Partisiha preseanssaid leksikaliseren lea omd. suomagielas oalle dábálaš fenomena (Koivisto 1987) ja livčči lunddolaš, ahte sámeagielas leksikalisašuvvan sisttisdoalášii attribuhta merkema *s:*ain dego sánis *diehtti* jo oidno.

Eira ii dákkár hámiid geavat, muhto son gal geavaha sátnehámi *čikŋagis* (34), mii ii gávdno omd. Nielsena sátnegirjii (LpD 1, 389).

(34) *hui čabba čidŋagis nieida* (Q2: 120 Eira)
 hui čáppat.ATTR čikŋagas.ATTR nieida.NOM

Nielsen gal dovda advearbbaid *čikŋagassii* ja *čikŋagasas*, ja árvala, ahte dan vuodđohápmi *čikŋagas* ii gávdno (LpD 1, 389). Orru goit, ahte dát *čikŋagis* livčči attribuhttahápmi adjektiivvas *čikŋagas*, earenomážit jos dát čuovvu adjektiivva *oanehaš*, attr. *oanehis* sojahanmálla: *čikŋagas*, attr. *čikŋagis*. Sáni lea goit dan veardde hárvanaš, ahte in leat gávdnan eará go dán attribuhta Qvigstada materiálas. Dan dihte dákkár attribuhta merken lea earenomážit miellagiddevaš, go dat orru oalle produktiiva málla merket attribuhta. Attribuhta *-s* merkemis orruba sihke Ucce ja Eira innovatiivvalaččat.

Sámeagielas lea vejolaš hábmet adjektiivvaattribuhttahámiid nie, ahte bidjá *-s* sáni lohppii (geahnohis dásis), dego *borga* > adj. *borggas*, *noaidi* > *noaiddeslágáš* (omd. Turi 1910). Soaitá, ahte buot dákkár hámit eai leat gárvvisin olbmuid sátnvuorkkás muhto sii hábmejít daid dárbbu mielde analogalaččat, ja sátnegirjiide leat lasihuvvon hámit, mat leat boares materiálain gávdnon. Leage vejolaš, ahte attribuhta merken *s-*jietnadagain guoská sihke substantiivvaid ja partisiha preseanssaid, dego *diehtti* > *diehttis*.

Syntávssalaš spiehkastagat

Muhtumin teavsttain gávdno adjektiivvaid geavaheapmi, mii orru leamen dálá girjegiela vuostái. Mihtilmasat adjektiivva predikatiivahápmi lea geavahuvvon attribuhta sajis dahje nuppegežiid. Lea vejolaš, ahte hámiid eahpedábálaš geavahemis lea dihto deaddu, muhto čállon teavsttas soaitá váttis áicat dakkára. Lea miellagiddevaš fuobmát, ahte dái diehtoaddiin predikatiivahápmi soaitá muhtumin leat attribuhttan, muhto ii goassige nuppegežiid. Leage vejolaš, ahte buot Ucce ja Eira ovdamearkkat sáhttet leat vásedin geavahuvvon, váikko muhtumin daid lea váttis áicat.

Ucce muitalusain lea oalle álki fuobmát, ahte predikatiivahámit leat diđolaččat geavahuvvon, go son álggaha cealkagiin *dat ledje* ja easkká dasto bohtet adjektiivvat ja daid oaivvit (35).

(35) *Dat legge hui stuor'rat čoarvit ja hui gukkit*
 Dat.PL leat.PST.3PL hui stuoris.PL.NOM čoarvi.PL.NOM ja hui guhkki.PL.NOM.

bælljit. (Q2: 123 Ucce)
 beallji.PL.NOM

Ovdamearkka 35 adjektiivvaid sáhtášii dulkot maid kongruansan, muhto dál lean eanet dakkár mielain, ahte gažaldat dás lea deattus ja das, ahte dan sáhttá dulkot ná: ”Dat ledje hui stuorrát DAT čoarvvit ja hui guhkit DAT bealjit. Go ii leat báddi, de ii sáhte guldalit, livččiigo dákkár dulkon vejolaš, omd. doallágo Ucce bottu adjektiivva ja dan oavvi gaskkas vai ii.

Ucce geavaha predikatiivahámi *bahá* attribuhttan, muhto dat orru diđolaš, go goabbáge ovdamearka (36–37) lea seamma ášši birra.

(36) *ja bijaha nieida ala baha vuor’ jag-id.* (Q2:147 Ucce)
 ja bijahit.3SG nieida.GEN ala.PP bahá.NOM vuorjjat-PL.ACC

(37) *de bas’ tet dat baha vuor’ jag-ad nii’ di*
 de bastit.3PL dat.PL.NOM bahá.NOM vuorjjat-PL.NOM nieida.ILL

dehe-ge james’ guožžat. (Q2:147 Ucce)
 dahje-ge jámes’ guočča.PL.NOM

Ucce geavaha gal maid attribuhttahámi *bahás*, muhto áibbas eará oktavuodas (38).

(38) *muttu baha-s olmuš lei jur’ dilan sud’ nu*
 muhto bahá-ATTR olmmoš.NOM leat.PST.3SG jurdilit.PST.PTCP soai.ACC
spirehabmai (Q2: 42 Ucce)
 spire-hápmi.ILL

Orru, ahte vuorjjagiid oktavuodas lea idiomáhtalaš geavahit hámi *bahá* go *bahás*. Attribuhtat lávejit leksikaliserejuvvot, ja álo dat ii vealttatkeahttá leat albma attribuhttahápmi mii leksikaliserejuvvo.

Adjektiiva *bahá* ii dasto leat álo attribuhttan *bahás* dego váikko ivdnenamahusat nugo *vielgat* (> *vilgesvuovttát*, *vilgesalit*).

Eira mitalusain leat eanet ovdamearkkat predikatiivahámi geavaheamis attribuhta sajis (39–42) ja čilgehus predikatiivahámiid earenoamáš geavahanvuogis ii leat seamma čielgasit oidnosis go Ucces.

(39) *son vælaha boadnji-s ja rakkada hæitot*
 son vealáhít.3SG boadnji.ACC-SG3PX ja ráhkadit.3SG heaittot.NOM
biebmo-id dasa (Q2: 73 Eira)
 biebm-PL.ACC dat.ILL

(40) *goas læ bivval ja čuow’ gad bæi’ vi* (Q2: 88 Eira)
 goas leat.3SG bivval.NOM ja čuovgat.NOM beaivi.NOM

(41) *ja dast lei ovta saji hui sæg’ gi jæg’ gegas’ ka*
 ja dat.LOC leat.PST.3SG okta.GEN sadji.GEN hui seaggi.NOM jeagge-gaska.NOM
 (Q2: 120 Eira)

(42) *Ho, ho, galle bat læ akko-s bakkas viesso* (Q2: 50 Eira)
 INTERJ INTERJ galle PTC leat.3SG áhkku-LOC báhkas.NOM viessu.NOM

Ovdamearkkas (39) lea vejolaš dulkot, ahte predikatiivahápmi *heittot* lea geavahuvvon deattu dihte. Ovdamearkkain 40 ja 41 dákkár dulkon lea ain váddásut. Sáni *bivval* sáhttá

leat sihke adjektiivva ja substantiiva ja soaitá, ahte dat lea geasuhan sáni *čuovgat* predikatiivahápmái, ja hálli lea easkká manjel lasihan cealkaga lohppii sáni *beaivi*.

Deaddu sáhtá dulkojuvvot maid ovdamearkkas 41, jos mii jurddašit, ahte advearba *hui* lasiha deattu adjektiivii. Advearba *hui* gávdno goittotge maid dábálaš ovdal attribuhttahámiid, dasto dat ii goit oro gáibideamen predikatiivahámi (43).

(43) *de bođi hui suk'kis muottâ-bor'gâ* (Q1: 188 Aikio)
de boahit.PST.3SG hui suohkat.ATTR muohta-borga.NOM

Ovdamearka (42) lea eret teavsttas, mas lea báhka viessu ja stuorra dolla uvnnas. Njuolga ii leat oidnosis, manin dán ovdamearkkas lea predikatiivahápmi geavahuvvon. Son goit seamma mitalusa geavaha hámi *báhkas* maid predikatiivan (44).

(44) *Gonagas-nieidas lei hui buorre dolla omman-is,*
gonagas-nieida.LOC leat.PST.3SG hui buorre.NOM dolla.NOM omman-LOC,
ja lei hui bakkas dat viesso (Q2: 50)
ja leat.PST.3SG hui báhkas.NOM dat.NOM viessu.NOM

Ovdamearka 44 mielde sáhtá maid ovdamearka 42 attribuhttan Leahkit predikatiivahápmi, jos mii fas jurddašit, ahte das lea dihto deaddu, muhto dan ii kánske leat seamma álki áicat go omd. Ucce ovdamearkkas 35. Hámi *báhka*³ Eira geavaha oktii, ja dalle dat lea predikatiivan (45).

(45) *Dobbe lei nu bakka sud'nu mielas.* (Q2: 192 Eira)
doppe leat.PST.3SG nu báhkas.ATTR soai.GEN miella.LOC

Sámegielas leat ollu adjektiivvat, main predikatiiva- ja attribuhttahápmi leat ovttaláganat, dego *varas: varrasa*, attr. *varas*. Seamma láhkai maid *báhkas* attribuhtta sáhtášii sirdašuvvat hámis *báhka* hápmái *báhkas*. Systemáhtalaš dát ii oro leamen, muhto várra muhtumin dat sáhtá orrut. Lea maid fuomášahtti, ahte sátni *báhka* lea maid substantiiva (SSS, s.v. *báhka*) ja lunddolaš lea maid hábmet das adjektiivaattribuhta *báhkas* dego *borga* > *borggas*.

Beroškeahhtá das, leago predikatiivahámi geavaheapmi atribuhta sajis diđolaš vai ii, Eira goit lea geavahan predikatiivahámiid atribuhttahámiid sajis dávvjibut go Ucce. Ovdamearkkain ii goit oidno tendeansa geavahit *-s*-hámiid atribuhttan. Áidna ovdamearka lea (42), mas lea geavahuvvon *-s* loahppasaš predikatiiva atribuhttan. Eará ovdamearkkain (39–41) livččii atribuhttahámis leamaš *-s*, dego *čuovgat*, attr. *čuvges*, *seaggi*, attr. *seakkes*, *heittot*, attr. *heittogis*.

Adjektiivva *oanehaš* geavaheapmi lea goappáge hálli gielas miellagiddevaš. Attribuhttan sáhtá goappásge leat atribuhttahápmi *oanehis* dahje nominatiiva *oanehaš*. Ucce geavaha *oanehaš* áigi (46), muhto *oanehis* mátki (47). Leat dušše moadde ovdamearka, muhto son geavaha dáid seamma mitalusa siste. Dasto soaitá leat semánttalaš earuhus duođaid dadjanvugiid duogázis: mátkki birra *oanehis*, muhto áiggi birra *oanehaš*.

(46) *Oanehaš aigi gæžis* (Q2: 42 Ucce)
oanehaš.NOM áigi.GEN geahči.LOC

³ Iešalddes Qvigstada teavsttas dat lea *bakka*, mii livččii dálá čállinvuogi mielde *báhka*. Lea eahpesihkkar, leago dát ollášii čállinfeaila ja galggašii go teavsttas leat *báhkas* vai *báhka*.

(47) *si leggje mannan oanehis maŋki* (Q2: 42 Ucce)
 sii leat.PST.3PL mannat.PST.PTCP oanehaš.ATTR mátki.ACC

Eira ja Ucce geavaheaba hámi *oanehaš* maid advearban (48–50)⁴.

(48) *De son važži oanehaš* (Q2: 50 Eira)
 de son vázzit.PST.3SG oanehaš.ADV

(49) *Soai leiga oanehaš sin lut' te* (Q2: 192 Eira)
 soai leat.PST.3DU oanehaš.ADV sii.GEN luhtte.PP

(50) *Soai leiga manna-n oanehaš* (Q2: 42 Ucce)
 soai leat.PST.3DU mannat-PST.PTCP oanehaš.ADV

Soai eaba geavat hámi *oanehaččat*, mii livččii advearbasuorggádus adjektiivvas *oanehaš*. Guovdageainnus gal dakkárge hápmi lea geavahuvvon (36), váikko hárvu.

(51) *muttu buokdiet' te celki oanehažž-at* (Q2: 66 Guovdageaidnu)
 muhto buot-diehtti.NOM cealkit.PST.3SG oanehaš-ADV

Sáni *oanehaš* geavaheapmi advearban lea oalle dábálaš maid dálá gielas, ovdamearkka dihte Ann-Helen Læstadiusa romána Suoládeapmi jorgaleaddji Laila Susanne Sara Oskarsson lea geavahan maid *oanehaš* advearban (52).

(52) *ja Hanna čuoččui oanehaš dainna gieđas* (Læstadius 2022, 115)
 ja Hanna čuožžut.PST.3SG oanehaš.ADV dat.COM giehta.LOC

Bohtosat

Dán dutkamusa vuođuš sáhtta lohkat, ahte sihke albmát ja nissonat geavahit adjektiivvaid sullii seamma veardde, dahje ainjuo dát informánttat. Sohkahealli ii oro váikkuheamen dasa, muhto dan sadjái idiroleavttalaš váikkuhusat ležžet stuoribut. Semánttalaččat mii goit sáhttit árvalit, ahte albmát govvidit eará áššiid go nissonat, ja dat earuhus oidno Ucce ja Eira hállamis. Eira govvida olbmo luonddu, Ucce fas olgguldas hámiid. Lea goit vejolaš ahte sivva dasa ii leatge hálli sohkahealis muhto baicce govviduvvon olbmo sohkahealis: olbmot govvidit nissona hámi, muhto albmá luonddu. Dát oidno sihke Ucce ja Eira muitalusain.

Fáttát maid soitet váikkuhit adjektiivvaid geavaheapmái. Dán dáhpáhusas goit šládja lea álbmotmáidnasat ja muitalusat, mii ráddje fáttáid. Guktot muitaleaba eanaš olbmuid birra. Fuomášahti lea, ahte Eira govvida eanet gálvvuid go Ucce, mii orru leamen nissoniid ja albmáid gaskkas dábálaš (Johnston 1992, 72).

Giellaoahpalaš spiehkastagat leat muhtin muddui iešguđetláganat hálli guoktá gaskkas. Ucce geavaha innovatiiva adjektiivahámiid dego *diehttis* ja *ruonás*. Eira ii dákkár hámiid geavat. Fuomášahti lea, ahte goappásge attribuhttasajis sáhtta leat predikatiivahápmi, muhto ii goassige nuppegežiid. Oalle miellagiddevaš boađus lea, ahte Ucce adjektiivvaid geavaheapmi lea innovatiiva ja Eira fas konservatiiva; Ucce geavaha eambo produktiiva suorggádusaid go Eira. Ucce vállje innovatiiva -s-attribuhttahámiid, Eira fas geavaha eanet predikatiivahámiid maid attribuhta báikkis.

⁴ Ovdamearkkain 48–50 ja 52 lean glossen sáni *oanehaš* funksiuvnna, in hámi.

Dákkár dutkamuš rahpá uvssaid viidásut sámegeiela sosiolingvisttalaš dutkamušaide iešguđetlágan materiálain. 1900-logu álggu giellamateriála dutkan čájeha, makkár variašuvdna leamaš dalle ja mo giella lea rievdan áiggiid mielde.

Oanádusat

Glossenmerkemat

1 vuosttas peršovdna

2 nubbi peršovdna

3 goalmát peršovdna

ACC akkusatiiva

ADV advearba

ATTR attribuhtta

COM komitatiiva

CONNEG konnegatiiva

DU guvttiidlohku

GEN genetiiva

INF infinitiiva

INTERJ interjekšuvdna

LOC lokatiiva

NOM nominatiiva

PL mánggaidlohku

PP postposišuvdna

PRF perfeakta

PRS preseansa

PST vássán áigi

PTCP partisihppa

SG ovttaidlohku

Materiálagáldut

Q1 = Qvigstad, J. K. 1927. *Lappiske Eventyr Og Sagn: 1, Lappiske Eventyr Og Sagn Fra Varanger*. Oslo.

Q2 = Qvigstad, J. K. 1928. *Lappiske eventyr og sagn: II, Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn fra Troms og Finnmark*. Oslo.

Q3 = Qvigstad J. K. 1929. *Lappiske eventyr og sagn: III, Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn fra Lyngen*. Oslo.

Q4 = Qvigstad, J. K. 1929. *Lappiske eventyr og sagn: IV, Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn fra Lyngen og Nordland*. Oslo.

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Arvedávgetearpmaid girju: davvisámegiela tearpmaid giellagáhtten 2000-logus

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Abstrákta

Dát artihkal lea dutkamuš davvisámegiela seksuála- ja sohkabealvehádagaide guoskevaš tearpmaid birra giellaplánema suorggis. Gieđahalan 2000-logu davvisámegiela nu gohčoduvvon arvedávgetearpmaid guovtti sierra perspektiivvas, mat leat arvedávgetearpmaid “eallináiggi” analysa ja badjetearpmaid geavaheapmi stáhtalaš mediain jagiid 2007–2021. Vuosttas oassi lea odđa dutkamuš ja nubbi vuodđuduvvá magisttarbargui (Mäkelä 2022). Urálalaš vehádatgielaid suorggis gávdnojit moadde seammalágan dutkamuša tearpmaid birra (Olthuis 2007; Moisio ja earát 2020).

Dutkamuša materiálan leat guokte sátnelisttu, guokte guhkes jorgalusa, 15 sátnegirjji ja 118 čállon odđasa jagiin 2007–2021 NRK Sámis, Yle Sámis ja SR Sámerádios. Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 1701. Dutkamuš lea deskriptiivvalaš ja gieđahalan tearpmaid girjju seamma láhkai go Olthuis (2007). Badjetearpmaid geavaheami analysa lea statistihkalaš. Gieđahalan tearbmabarggu Ulrich Ammona (2003) teorijja mielde, man jurdda lea, ahte giellagáhttemii váikkuhit iešguđetlágan sosiálalaš fámut eaige dušše giellaráđdeaddit.

Davvisámegiela arvedávgedoahpágiin gávdno ollu variašuvdna ja ollu synonymat. Jagiin 2007–2021 stáhtalaš mediaid tearpmain (badjetearpmaid logakeahtá) 71 % leat geavahuvvon 1–5 geardde ja 31 % dušše oktii. Dan sáhtášii čilget ovdamearkka dihte dainna, ahte fáttát rivdet áiggi mielde: 2020-logu álggus lea álgán čiekŋalabbo sagastallan sohkabealunnitloguid birra. Stáhtalaš mediaid gaskkas gávdnojit erohusat: Yle Sámis lea eanet variašuvdna go NRK:s. Muđuige SR ja Yle geavahit badjetearpmaid eambo go NRK.

Láidehus

Seksuála- ja sohka-bealvehádagat ja daidda guoskevaš tearpmat, arvedávgetearpmat, ságastahttet sámeservošis. Danin orru leamen ávkkálaš ráhkadit govvdusa das, makkár tearpmaid dilli lea, go geahččat giellabargiid ja ámmátčálliid teavsttaid, sátnegirjiid, sátnelistuid ja jorgalusaid.

Dán artihkkalis gieđahalan arvedávgetearpmaid materiálain, maid lean čohkken mu magistarbarggu várás (Mäkelä 2022). Magistarbarggus gieđahalan sihke davvisámegiela giellagáhttema organiserema ja muđuige arvedávgetearpmaid viidáseappot go dás.

Gieđahalan eanemustá substantiivvaid ja adjektiivvaid. Ulbmilin lea gieđahallat davvisámegiela arvedávgetearpmaid eanas 2000-logus guovtti sierra perspektiivvas:

1. arvedávgetearpmaid “eallináiggi” analysa ja
2. badjeteapmaid geavahepmi stáhtalaš mediai jagiid 2007–2021 dárkilit analysa go magistarbarggus.

Artihkkala ulbmilin ii leat addit ávžžuhusaid dahje árvoštallat gean nu barggu. Jurdda lea addit materiála ámmátčálliide ja giellabargiide mas geahččat, mo arvedávgetearpmat leat ovdánan jagiid mielde. Materiála lea menddo stuooris vai livččii vejolaš gieđahallat buot geahččanguovlluid, ja danin lean välljen guokte geahččanguovllu. Magistarbarggus lean guorahallan maid ovdamearkka dihte sátneluohkáid ja loatnasániid heiveheami sámegillii.

Sámegiela giellagáhttema dutkan

Giellagáhtten lea oassi korpusplánemis, mii fas lea giellaplánema (earj. *language policy and planning*) suorgi. Mánnašuvvon magistarbarggu lea vuosttaš dutkamuš mii gieđahallá sámegiela arvedávgesániid dahje muđuige davvisámegiela tearpmaid giellagáhttema mu kandidáhttabarggu (Mäkelä 2020) lassin, mii maid gieđahalai davvisámegiela arvedávgetearpmaid giellagáhttema.

Marja-Liisa Olthuis (2007) gieđahallá iežas nákkosgirjjis anársámegiela lottiid ja guobbariid terminologijja ráhkadeami ja Kimberli Mäkäräinen (2016) gieđahallá magistarbarggustis *A Glossary of Morphology Terms in Skolt Sámi, Northern Sámi, Finnish, and English* maid terminologijja, muhto dasa lassin eai oro leamen sámegeleaid terminologijjai guoskevaš eará dutkamušat namalassii giellagáhttema geahččanguovllus. Eará urálalaš gielaid surggiin Arto Moisio et al (2020) leat gárten ođđa marigiela tearpmaid 1920–1930-loguin. Dábálaččat terminologijja giellagáhtten lea mánnašuvvon, muhto ii dutkamuša guovddázis (gea omd. Pasanen 2015; Kolehmainen 2014; Raag 1999).

Davvisámegiela giellaplánema leaba dutkan omd. Mari Keränen (2017) ja Jenna Sorjonen (2019), geat leaba čállán namalassii ortografijja ráhkadeami dahje dohkkeheami birra. Davvisámegiela giellagáhttema birra leat čállon muhtun artihkkalat, mat gusket áššái ollislaččat dahje dan dillái: Samuli Aikio (1999; 2005), Káre Vuolab-Lohi (2007; 2010), Ole Henrik Magga (1983; 1987) ja Tove Bull (2002).

Materiála

Ohcen materiála ja materiála čađa muohtaspábbametodain. Materiála sisdoallá dušše čállon ja almmolaččat almmustahtton materiála. Lean ráddjen materiála dego magistarbarggus: adjektiiivvaide ja substantiiivvaide, mat mearkkašit man nu seksuála vehádagá dahje sohkaabealvehádatga omd. *lesba* dahje *transolmmoš*. Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 1701.

Materiálas gávdnojit guokte sátnelisttu: Giellagáldu (GG) jagis 2018 ja Väestöliitto ovttas Sámedikkiin ja Nuoraidráđiin (VN) 2019. Dasa lassin gávdnojit 11 fysalaš ja njeallje elektrovnnalaš sátnegirjji jagiid 1979–2022. Sátnevuorkkát leat ráhkaduvvon muhtumassii seamma materiála vuodul dahje juoba čadnon nuppi nubbái, dego omd. giellatekno.uit.no ja satni.org.

Materiálas leat oktiibuot 118 čállon ođđasa stáhtalaš mediain jagiid 2007–2021. Mediat leat SR Sámerádios (28 deaivama 12 čoahkkáigeasus jagiid 2012–2014 ja 2016–2019), NRK Sámis (200 deaivama 25 artihkkalis jagiid 2007–2008, 2010–2011, 2013–2017 ja 2019) ja Yle Sámis (387 deaivama 81 artihkkalis jagiid 2010–2011 ja 2013–2021). SVT Sámis eai gávdnon davvisámegillii ođđasat main gávdnošedje arvedávgetearpmat, danin SR Sámerádio čoahkkáigeasut leat mielde vai oaččošeimmet journalistaid čállin materiála maid Ruotas.

Jorgalusain okta lea jorgaluvvon ruotagielas davvisámegillii: jearahallančoakkáldat *Queering Sápmi* (Elfrida Bergman ja Sara Lindqvist, 2013), mas ledje 495 deaivama. Nubbi lea suomagielas davvisámegillii jorgaluvvon dutkanraporta *Unnitloguid siskkáldas unnitloguid olmmošvuoigatvuodát ja máhggadáfot vealaheapmi: sápmelaš lámisolbmot ja seksuála- ja sohkaalleunnitlogut* (Laura Olsén et al., 2017), mas ledje 462 deaivama.

Metodat

Dego lea dábálaš giellaplánema ja giellagáhttema dutkama suorggis, mun lean maid ráhkadan iežan metoda vai livččii vejolaš dutkat justa dáid áššiid maid lean plánen (Johnson 2018: 51). Mu metoda lea ovttá vuogi mielde “dušše” čájehit, makkár áššit materiálas gávdnojit. Dasa mun geavahan Ulrich Ammona (2003) teoriija. Buvttán ovdan maid daid áššiid, mat ovdalisge girjjálašvuodas leat buktojuvvon ovdan, omd. vástidan materiálas gávdnon gažaldagaide boahhteáigge birra, masa lassin čálán mu mielas miellagiddevaš áššiid birra. Jáhkán ahte dán vuogi mielde lea álkit oažžut ollislaš gova dilis, go jos dušše čálášin munnje miellagiddevaš áššiid birra. Vuosttas oasi ráhkadan seamma láhkai go Olthuis (2007), dahjege čálán buot tearpmaid deike oidnosii ja dasto analyseren. Nuppi oasi várás geavahan statistihka, vai livččii vejolaš čájehit badjetearpmaid geavaheami molsuma jagiid 2007–2021.

Giellagáhtten sosiála doaimman

Giellagáhttema sáhtta giedahallat máhggá sierra geahččanguovllus. Ulrich Ammona (2003) teoriija mielde gávdnojit vihtta “sosiálalaš fámu” (*social forces*) mat váikkuhit giellagáhttemii:

1. ámmátčállit sin teavsttaid bokte omd. journalisttat, girječállit ja jorgaleaddjit
2. giellaautoritehtat omd. oahpaheaddjit ja giellabargit

3. njuolggadusat omd. sátnegirjjit ja giellaoahppagirjjit
4. giellaáššedovdit geat eai oassálaste ovdal máinnašuvvon doaimmaide ja
5. álbmot.

Málla ii leat doarvái viiddis sámegeielat máilbmái. Vai teoriija doaimmašii maid dán dutkamušá konteavsttas evttohan (Mäkelä 2022: 28–29) vel:

6. olbmot geat leat muhtun eará fága áššedovdit go giela, dahje geain leat vásáhusat das mas lea sáhka ja
7. priváhtaolmmoš.

Sámis ii dieđusge leat eahpedábálaš ahte okta olmmoš bargá sierra fápmun iežas eallima áigge, dahje ovttá áigodaga. Danin lea váttis álo dárkilit dadjat, makkár rollas gii nu lea bargan dahje váikkuhan sámegeillii. Ammon čállá duiskkagielat máilmmi birra, muhto vaikko duiskkagiella lea olu stuorit go sámegeiella, gávdnojit guokte dehálaš oktavuoda: duiskkagiella hállojuvvo maid moatte iešguđet ránnjáriikkas ja suopmanerohusat leat stuorrát.

Teoriija jurdda lea ahte “dábálaš olbmuide” buot sosiála fámut 1–4 (ja 6) leat dakkár giellaautoritehtat maid sii čuvvot go lea sáhka giellaáššiid birra – ii dárbbáš bargat Giellagáldus ráđdeaddin vai oččošii gažaldagaid tearpmaid dahje vaikko riehtačállima birra. Danin buot maid sii, geat leat fámu 1–4 (ja 6) sajádagain čállet, ja earenomážit albmosis, leat ovdamearkkat earáide. “Dábálaš olbmot” gehččet ja čállet dan mielde, mo fámut 1–4 (ja 6) leat čállon. Dieinna lágiin fámut 1–4 (ja 6) gáhttejit giela ovttas iešguđetlágan báikkiin ja dilálašvuodain.

Fápmu 5 dahjege álbmot fas stivre makkár omd. tearpmat loahpa loahpas seilot – jos oktage ii geavat, de báhcá eret geavahusas. Fápmu 7 orru leamen vejolaš earenomážit Sámis danin go gielat eai leat nu stuorrát – jos gii nu lea hutkái, tearbma várra báhcá buohkaid geavahussii álkibut go omd. suomagielas. Dasa lassin olbmot jerret ráđi maid omd. sosiála mediain, dego Ártegis sáгат -joavkkus, gos gii beare sáhhtá vástidit.

Dán dutkamušá materiála lea buvttaduvvon aŋkke joavkkuin 1–3: journalisttat ja jorgaleaddjit (1), giellabargit (2), sátnegirjjit (daid doaimmaheaddjit) (3), ja lea dieđusge vejolaš ahte maid eará giellaáššedovdit (4) leat oassálastan. Ođđasiid jearahallamiid ja *Queering Sápmi* -girjji bokte arvedávgesápmelaččat (6) leat ožžon vejolašvuoda muitalit makkár tearpmat livčče sin mielas buorit ja vuohkkasat, ja dasa lassin sátnelisttuin leat bargan vel Väestöliitto ja Nuoraidráđi (6), mat eai leat namalassii giela áššedovdit.

Arvedávgetearpmaid girju

Materiálas gávdnojit oktiibuot 1701 deaivama, ja 536 (32 %) dain sisdoallá *homo*. Dat vástida maid ođđasiid sisdoalu, dahjege makkár fáttát (olbmuid) birra leat čállon. Deaivamat sisdoallá maid goallossániid, vai livččii vejolaš váldit vuhtii dakkár sániid go *queersámit*, *bonjuolmmoš* ja nu ain. Analysa čájeha ahte materiálas gávdnojit ollu smávva variašuvnnat.

Tearpmat oppalaččat fátmastit riikkaidgaskasaš sániid ja dain heivehuvvon sániid: njuolga loatnasánit, heivehuvvon loatnasánit, jorgaluvvon loatnasánit ja suorggiduvvon loatnasánit. Ođđasiin ja jorgalusain gávdnojit dušše moadde ng. árbesáni, dego omd. *sparronis*, muhto oktage ii geavat daid aktiivvalaččat, vaikko livččiiige sáhka daid tearpmaid birra.

Čuovvovaččat čájehan makkár arvedávgetearpmaid girju lea seammalágan go magistarbarggus (Mäkelä 2022: 47–50), muhtun divvumiiguin. Dan maññil analyseren čuovvovaš kapihttalis journalisttaid tearpmaid eallináiggi, mii lea ođđa geahččanguovlu. Čájehan daid doahpágiid, madda gávdnojit vihtta dahje eambo iešguđet synonyma. Gávdnojit čieža iešguđet doahpaga, main leat oktiibuot 62 tearpma. Dán kapihttalis lea sáhka eará go badjetearpmaid birra. Guorahalan daid mañimužžan.

Lean merken tearpmaid oanádusaiguin seamma jurdagiin go Marja-Liisa Olthuis (2007), vai livččii vejolaš maid čuovvut gos dát tearpmat gávdnojit. Journalisttat lea *jour*, ruotagielas jorgaluvvon lea *jorg.ruot*, suomagielas jorgaluvvon lea *jorg.suom*, Giellagáldu sátnelistu lea *gg*, Väestöliitto ja Nuoraidráđi listu lea *vn* ja sátnegirjjit leat *sátneg*. In giedahala iešguđet ortográfalaš hámiid sierra tearbman, dego *homofiila* ja *homofiilla*.

Lesba (8 tearpma): lesba (*jour/jorg.ruot/gg/sátneg*), lesbiska (*jour*), lesbo (*jour/jorg.suom/vn*), sparronisu (*jour/jorg.suom*), lesboseksuála (*jour*), lesbalaš (*jorg.ruot/sátneg*), oappázagat (*jorg.ruot*), lesbo-olmmoš (*jour/jorg.suom*)

Vaikko *lesba* ja *lesbo* leat measta seamma hápmi, de lea vejolaš oaidnit ahte *lesbo* lea sitáhttaloatna suomagielas ja *lesba* sámegillii heivehuvvon tearbma, mas sáhtta leat maid dássemolsašuddan. *Sparronisu* fas gávdno dušše jearahallon olbmuid sitáhtain main sii muitalit, makkár boares tearpmaid sii dihtet, muhto oktage ii ieš dan geavat.

Homoseksuálavuohhta (5 tearpma): homofiilija (*jour/jorg.ruot/sátneg*), homofiilavuohhta (*jour*), homoseksuálavuohhta (*jour/sátneg/jorg.suom*), homoseksualitehta (*jour/jorg.ruot*), homoseksuálalašvuohhta (*jour*)

Ovdal (Mäkelä 2022: 47) ledjen bidjan *homofilia* ja *homofiilija* sierra danin go jurdda lei, ahte dat leat sierraláhkai heivehuvvon tearpmat. Dán artihkkalis in giedahala loatnasániid heiveheami inge dasto oaivvil, ahte livččii dárbu bidjat dáid sierra. Lea miellagiddevaš ahte dán joavkkus eai gávdno njuolgga sitáhtaloanat ja ahte journalisttat leat geavahan juohke tearpma.

Homoseksuála (11 tearpma): homofiila (*jour/jorg.ruot/gg/sátneg*), homsa (*jour/jorg.ruot*), homosexuealla (*jour/sátneg*), homoseksuála (*jour/jorg.ruot/jorg.suom/gg/sátneg*), homoseksuálalaš (*jour/sátneg/jorg.ruot*), homo (*jour/jorg.ruot/jorg.suom/gg*), gay (*jour/jorg.ruot*), vieljažagat (*jorg.ruot*), homo-olmmoš (*jour/jorg.suom*), njammáš (*sátneg*), homofiilalaš (*sátneg*)

Go 32 % materiálas sisdoallá *homo*, lea áddehahti ahte gávdnojit maid eanemus synonymat.

Eanemustá geavahuvvojit *homo*, *homofiila* ja *homoseksuála*, ja *njammáš* ja *homofiilalaš* gávdnojit dušše sátnegirjjiin. Dán joavkkus gávdnojit maid ollu sitáhttaloanat dego *homo*, *gay* ja *homsa*.

Biseksuála (10 tearpma): bifiila (*jour/jorg.ruot/sátneg*), biseksuealla (*jour*), biseksuálalaš (*jour/jorg.ruot*), guovtteseksuála (*jour*), guovtteseksuálalaš (*jour*), bi (*jour/jorg.ruot*), guovtteráđolaš (*jorg.ruot/sátneg*), biseksuála (*jorg.suom/jorg.ruot/gg/vn/sátneg*), bi-olmmoš (*jour/jorg.suom*), guovtteráđat (*sátneg*), guovttenevvot (*sátneg*)

Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 45, dahjege 2,6 % buot deaivamiin. Dan vuodul 10 iešguđet synonyma leat ollu. Lea maid gelddolaš ahte namalassii sátnegirjjiid doaimmaheaddjit leat leamašan hui aktiivvalaččat dán tearpmain. Máinnašan maid ahte sátnegirjjit čilgejit *guovttenevvot* ja *guovtteráđat* maid androgynan dahje interolmmožin, biseksuála mearkkašupmái lassin.

Transolmmoš (10 tearpma): transkjønnet (jour), transeksuealla (jour), transolmmoš (jour/jorg.suom/jorg.ruot/gg/vn), transseksuálalaš (jour/jorg.ruot), tránsa (jorg.ruot), transvestihta (jour/jorg.ruot/jorg.suom), transsohkabeallái gullelaš olmmoš (jorg.suom), transgender (jorg.suom/gg/vn), transseksuála (jour/jorg.suom), t-olmmoš (ruot.jorg)

Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 114, dahjege 6,7 % deaivamiin. Dáppe gávdnojit mánga sitáhtaloana: *transkjønnet*, *trans* ja *transgender*. Livččii gánske vejolaš kategoriseret *transsohkabeallái gullelaš olbmo* čilgehussan substantiivva sajis, muhto danin go dat geavahuvvo dušše juridihkalaš *Mánggadáfot vealaheapmi* -dutkanmušas, dan sáhtášii dulkot doaŋgges juridihkalaš tearbman. Stuorimus oassi geavahit *transolmmoš*.

Interolmmoš (8 tearpma): inter-olmmoš (jour), intersohkabeallálaš (jour), intersohkabeallái gullelaš olmmoš (jorg.suom), guovttináli (sátneg), hermafrodihtta (sátneg), guovttenevvot (sátneg), guovttebealát (sátneg), guovtterádat (sátneg)

Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 22 dahjege 1,3 % deaivamiin, muhto goittotge gávdnojit olu synonymat. Lean kategoriseren *guovttenevvot* ja *guovtterádat* maid dása danin go dat leat čilgejuvvon, baicce biseksuálan, maid androgynan dahje interolmmožin. Dego biseksuálain, sátnegirjedoaimeheadjit leat bargan hui aktiivvalaččat, aktiivvalaččabut go journalisttat. Lea miellagiddevaž ahte ii oktage oassebealli leat geavahan earáid tearpmaid. Buohkat leat buktán iežaset tearpmaid gillii.

Ii-binára (10 tearpma): ii-binára (jour), earásohkabealát olmmoš (jour), ii-binára olmmoš (jour), earásohkabealát (jour), guovttegeardán (jorg.ruot), eará sohkaheallái gullelaš olmmoš (jorg.suom), goalmmát sohkahealli (gg), sohkahealehis olmmoš (gg), androgynalaš (jorg.ruot), androgyna (jorg.ruot/sátneg/gg)

Maiddáii ii-bináraid birra gávdno ollu variašuvdna. Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 28, mii lea 2,2% materiálas. Lea dieđusge buorre gažaldat, ávkkuhago lohkat *ii-binára* ja *ii-binára olmmoš* ja de *earásohkabealát* ja *earásohkabealát olmmoš* sierra tearbman, muhto háliidin čájehit geavahuvvogo maid *olmmoš* dáin tearpmain. Dás mun lean čohkken olu sierra tearpmaid ovta doahpaga vuollái, vaikko buot tearpmat eai mearkkaš áibbas seamma ášši, omd. *androgynalaš* ja *ii-binára*. Dásge oassebealit eai geavat seamma tearpmaid, earret go *androgyna*. Dasa lassin GG *goalmmát sohkahealli* ja *sohkahealehis olmmoš* leat merkejuvvon juridihkalaš tearbman. Tearbma, dahje measta čilgehus *eará sohkaheallái gullelaš olmmoš*, gávdno juridihkalaš dutkanmušas, man jorgalus suomagielas lea almmuhuvvon ovdal GG listtu.

Journalisttat ja jorgaleaddjit leat buktán stuorámuš girju maiddáii materiála sturrodaga ektui. Dat lea ipmirdahtti, go sii leat olmmošmeari dáfus maid eanemusat dutkanmuša materiálas ja bargu lea dakkár, ahte sii čállet ja jorgalit odđa teavsttaid beaivválaččat. Sátnegirjjiin leat dieđusge logiid duháhiid sánit oktiibuot, muhto dain leat dan vuodus unnit arvedávgetearpmat go ámmátčáliid materiálas.

Arvedávgetearpmaid eallináigi stáhtalaš mediain

Stuorra oassi arvedávgetearpmain gávdnojit dušše ovta sajis – ii dušše ovta sosiála fámu siste, muhto maid omd. okta odđasiin. Dán artihkkalis ii leat vejolaš mannat buot mu materiála čađa, ja danin lean válljen analyseret journalisttaid tearpmaid. Journalisttaid materiálas leat sihke olu deaivamat ja olu synonymat, ja daid leat eará journalisttat čállán 15 jagi áigge. *Queering Sápmi* -girjjiis gávdno maid olu variašuvdna jearahallon olbmuid

dihte, muhto dat ii atte diakronalaš geahččanguovllu. Dasto buoremus vejolašvuohta čiekŋalabbot analyseret tearpmaid eallináiggi lea ovttá ámmátčálliid joavkkus. Oččošeimmet dieđusge buorit gova jos válddášin maid earáid go stáhtaid mediaid vuhtii, dego Ávvira ja eará bláđiid teavsttaid, muhto dál dat báhcá bohteáiggi dutkamuššan.

Journalisttat leat geavahan oktiibuot 42 sierra tearpma oktiibuot 118 artihkkalis, dalle go logan mielde maid doahpagaiid, main leat unnit go vihtta synonyma, muhto in badjedoahpagaidd. Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 617 badjetearpmaiguin ja 277 dieid haga. In loga iešguđetlágan ortográfalaš hámiid sierra tearbman, dego omd. *homofilia* ja *homofiliija*.

13 tearpma, nappo 31 %, leat geavahuvvon dušše ovttá artihkkalis. Dakkár tearpmat gávdnojit olles materiála čađa, jagis 2007 jahkái 2021. Dain ovcci geavahuvvojit dušše oktii, omd. *homsa* (2007), *lesbavuohta* (2011), *lesboseksuála* (2017) ja *earásohkabealátvuohta* (2021). Oppalaččat ovcci tearpma, mii lea 21% tearpmain, geavahuvvojit dušše oktii. Dakkár tearpmat gávdnojit olles materiála čađa, jagis 2007 jahkái 2021.

17 tearpma, 40 %, geavahuvvojit 2–5 geardde, omd. *homoseksuealla*, *guovtteseksuála* ja *homoolmmoš*. Dain njeallje geavahuvvojit dušše ovttá artihkkalis: *transeksuealla*, *biseksuálalaš*, *transseksuálalaš* ja *earásohkabealát*. 2–5 geardde geavahuvvon tearpmat gávdnojit maid olles materiála čađa, jagis 2007 jahkái 2021, dego *transkjønnet* (2007), *homoseksuálalaš* (2011–2021) ja *trans* (2016–2018). Deaivamat leat oktiibuot 61, mii lea sullii 10 % journalisttaid deaivamiin (badjetearpmaiguin). Dain *transkjønnet*, *transeksuealla*, *biseksuealla* ja *homoseksuealla* eai leat heivehuvvon sámegillii nugo dábálaččat lávejit (Aikio 1994; Sámediggi 2019: 42–45). Dat sáhtá váikkuhit dasa, manin dat jávket moadde geardde maŋjel ja *-seksuála* šaddá bastevas hápmin.

Dat mearkkaša, ahte 71 % journalisttaid tearpmain 2007–2021 geavahuvvojit 1–5 geardde. Dat leat oktiibuot dušše 70 deaivama, mii lea 11 % journalisttaid deaivamiin (badjetearpmaiguin).

Čieža tearpma geavahuvvojit 6–11 geardde. Dat gávdnojit jagis 2013–2021 ja leat *homoseksualitehta*, *transseksuála*, *transvestihitta*, *ii-binára* ja *ii-binára olmmoš*. Dain *ii-binára olmmoš* geavahuvvo dušše guovtti iešguđet artihkkalis.

Maŋimuš oassi tearpmain leat *lesba*, *homofiila* ja *homoseksuála*. *Lesba* lea geavahuvvon 25 geardde jagiid 2007–2017, *homoseksuála* 33 geardde jagiid 2010–2019 ja *homofiila* 86 geardde jagiid 2007–2019. Dát golbma deaivama leat 23 % olles journalisttaid deaivamiin (badjetearpmaiguin).

Badjetearpmaid geavaheapmi stáhtalaš mediain

Dasto gieđahalan mo badjetearpmaid geavahit stáhtalaš ođasmediain. Materiálas leat mielde NRK Sápmi, Yle Sápmi ja Ruota Sámeráđio (SR). SR lea ráđioKANála, de danin das leat mielde ráđiosáddagiid čálalaš čeahkkáigeasut. SVT Sámis eai lean deaivamat sámegillii.

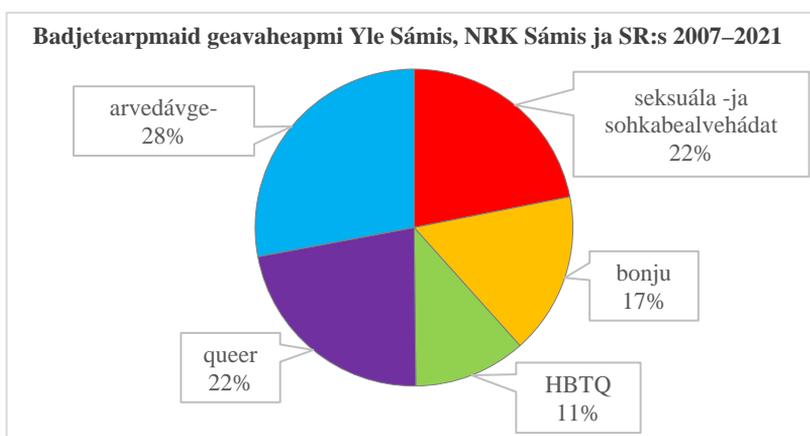
Buot deaivamiin 675 (40 %) leat badjetearpmat dego *queer* ja *bonju* ja goallossánit, mas vuosttas oassi lea badjetearpma, dego *queersámit*, *bonjuolmmoš* ja *HBTQ-áššit*. 300 (18 % buot deaivamiin) dadjanvuogi leat *seksuála-* ja *sohkabealvehádat* ja *seksuála-* ja *sohkabealunnitlogut*. Materiálas ii gávdno badjetearpmat buot jagiin. Journalisttaid materiála lassan gávdnojit maid jorgalusain ja sátnelisttuin. Jorgalusain ja sátnelisttuin

gávdnojit seamma badjeteapmat, go ođđasiin. *Queering Sápmi* -girjjiis gávdnojit miellagiddevaš jurdagat badjeteapmaid geavaheami birra arvedávgesápmelaččaid siste, muhto dat ii atte diakronalaš geahčanguovllu dán dutkamuššii. Danin lea buorit analyseret čieknalabbot teapmaid eallináiggi ovttá ámmátčálliid joavkkus.

Materiála badjeteapmat leat:

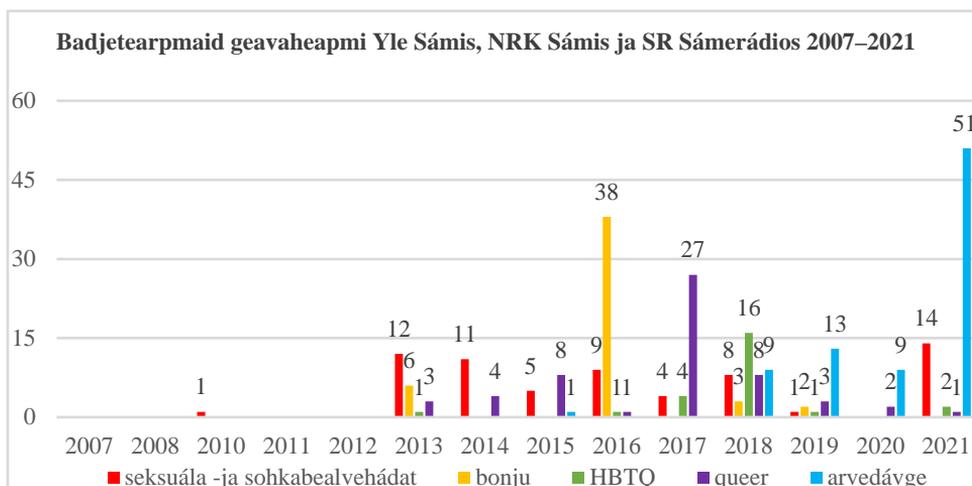
1. *Queer*
2. *Bonju*
3. *HBTQ* ja buohtalas oanádusat
4. *Arvedávge-* (omd. *arvedávgesápmelaš*)
5. *Seksuála- ja sohkabealvehádat* ja buohtalas.

Tabeallas 1 oaidnit ahte journalisttat leat áigodagas 2007–2021 geavahan teapmaid oalle dássedit, muhto oanádusaid goittotge čielgasit uhcimusat.



Tabealla 1: Badjeteapmaid geavaheapmi prosentualalaččat Yle Sámis, NRK Sámis ja SR Sámerádios jagiin 2007–2021.

Áiggi juohkin addá fas nuppelágan gova geavaheamis. Tabeallas 2 oaidnit ahte vuosttas badjeteapma boahotá easka 2010 ja albma geavaheapmi álgá fas 2013, vaikko materiála muđui gávdno jagi 2007 rájes. Lean guođđán guoros jagiid tabeallai 2 vai livččii čielggas, man guhká lea leamašan sáhka arvedávgeáššiid birra badjeteapmaid haga. Journalisttat leat geavahan *seksuála- ja sohkabealvehádat* ja diekkár dadjanvugiid sihke *queer* ovcci jagi. Jagis 2016 teapma *bonju* geavaheapmi lassána hui olu, muhto dan mañjel dat measta jávká. Jagis 2017 fas *queer* lassána ja fas jávká. Jagis 2018 iešguđetlágan badjeteapmaid geavaheapmi lea dássedamos. Jagiid 2019–2021 fas Yle Sápmái boahotá *arvedávge-*. Stuorimus oassi materiálas lea Yles, ja dát rievdadus čájeha cambbo Yle go SR ja NRK barggu.



Tabealla 2: Badjetearpmad geavaheapmi Yle Sámis, NRK Sámis ja SR Sámerádios 2007–2021.

Oassi journalisttaid materiálas leat dieđusge jearahallamiid sitáhtat. Danin journalisttaid materiála soaitá maid čájehit omd. arvedávgesápmelaččaid dadjanvugiid. Dan bokte fámut 6 ja 7 sáhttet maid váikkuhit gillii, ja vel namalassii dalle, go leat njuolggosáddagat omd. rádios eaige journalisttat beasa čállit iežaset sániiguin. Dakkár materiála ii goittotge leat oassi dán dutkamušas.

Váldogielaid váikkuhus arvedávgetearpmaide

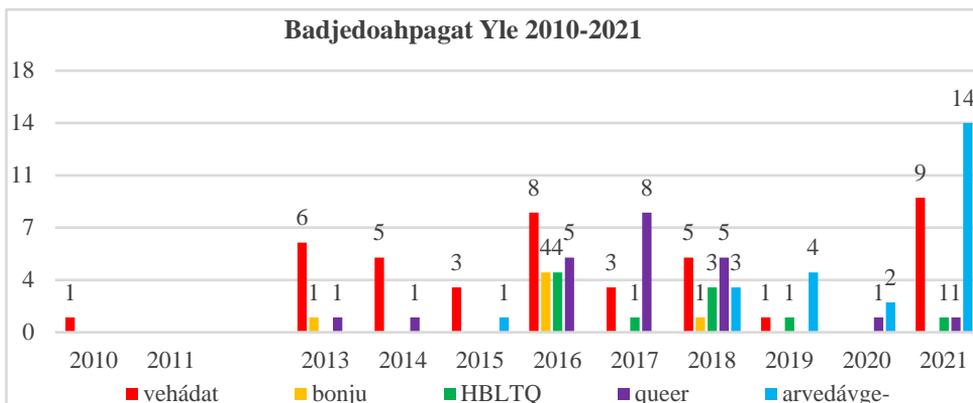
Tabealla 2:s ii leat vejolaš oaidnit váldogielaid váikkuhusa nu čielgasit. Vai livččii vejolaš dutkat váldogielaid váikkuhusa ferte vel sirret Yle, NRK ja SR materiálaid.

Váldogielat sáhttet váikkuhit sámegeallii iešguđetlágan vuogiiguin. Journalisttat omd. jorgalit ođđasiid váldogielas sámegeallii ja obanassiige earágelat gálđuin. Maid materiála jearahallamiin olbmot muitalit, ahte sii geavahit váldogielaid tearpmad, jos eai dieđe sámegeallii sáni. Dan oaidná čielgasit ovddit kapihttaliid tearpmad.

Oppalaččat váldogielat váikkuhit smávva detáljaide. Norgga bealde geavahit eambbo *-fiila* go Ruota ja Suoma bealde eambbo *-seksuála* (omd. *homofiila* vs. *homoseksuála*). Nubbi dábálaš erohus lea *lesba*, mii geavahuvvo Norggas, Ruotas ja Suomas, ja de suomas váldon *lesbo*, mii geavahuvvo dušše Suomas.

Badjetearpmad várás lean fas rahkadan ođđa tabeallaid (3–5) – ovttá guđege mediai. Lean sihkkon eret daid jagiid, goas ii gávdno ollenge materiála dan medias, muhto guođđán daid jagiid, goas gávdnojit eará tearpmat go badjetearpmat. Dalle lea vejolaš oaidnit, man dávjá dahje man hárvve leat badjetearpmat geavahuvvon.

Dain mii sáhttit oaidnit, ahte Yle (tabealla 3) lea áidna, mii lea geavahan buot vihtta badjetearpma, muhto goittotge eanemustá *seksuála- ja sohka-bealvehádat* -hámi (vehádat), *queer* ja *arvedávge*. Jagiid 2016 ja 2018 gávdno eanemus variašuvdna, ja dušše 2018 geavahit buot vihtta badjetearpma. Yle Sámis geavahuvvojit badjetearpmat measta juohke jagi, go gávdno materiála.



Tabealla 3: Badjetearpmat Yle Sámis 2010–2021.

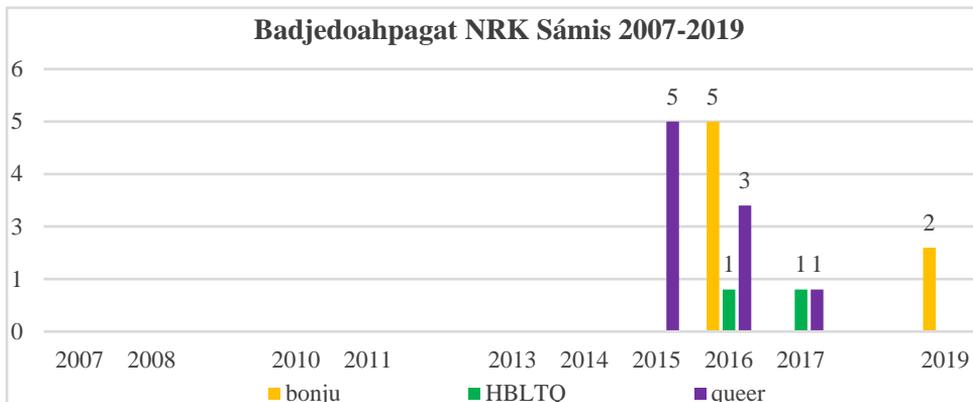
NRK Sámis (tabealla 4) geavahit unnit badjetearpmat ja dušše golbma iešguđet tearpma: *queer*, *bonju* ja oanádušat (*HBTQ* jna.). NRK:s gávdno materiála logi jagi áigodagas, muhto dušše njeallje maŋimuš jagi áigge, 2015–2017 ja 2019, geavahuvvojit badjetearpmat. Buot deaivamat leat goittotge 200 oktiibuot 25 artihkkalis, mii mearkkaša, ahte gaskamearálaččat NRK Sámis gávdnojit gávccii arvedávgetearpma juohke artihkkalis. Yle fas geavaha gaskamearálaččat badjel njeallje arvedávgetearpma. NRK:s geavahit badjetearpmat jagiid 2015–2017 ja 2019. *Bonju* geavahuvvo eambo NRK:s go Yles ja SR:s dan vuodus, man ollu (vehá) obanassiige geavahat badjetearpmat.

Dárogielas gávdno olu geavahuvvon *skeiv*, mii mearkkaša seamma go *bonju*. Dakkár tearbma ii fas gávdno suoma- dahje ruotagielas. Suomagielas gávdnojit *vino* dahje *vinokkaat* (sá. bonjut), muhto dat eai geavahuvvo go moatte sierra báikkis, dego filbmadáhpáhusas Vinokino dahje arvedávgestudeanttaid servoša namas Opiskelijavinokkaat – OVI ry (mii rievdadii nama ja lea dál Qaareva, nappo *queer* + *kaari* mii mearkkaša *dávgi* ja lea sojahuvvon preseanssa partisihpas).

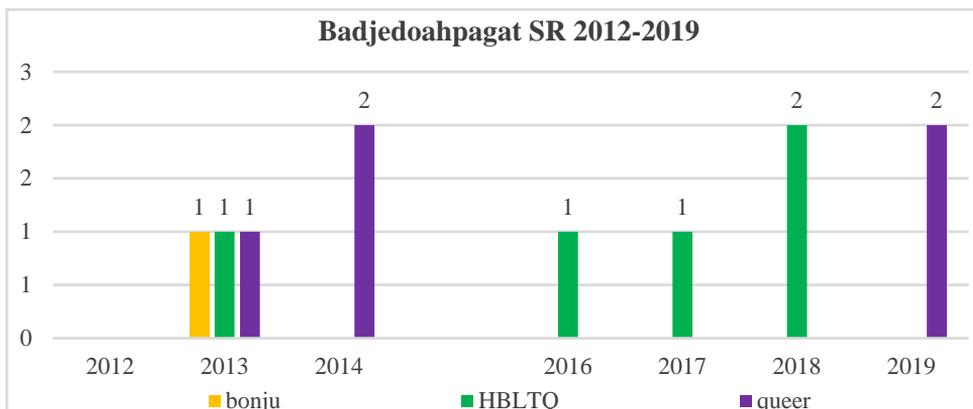
Tearpma *bonju* birra lea leamašan muhtin veardde sáhka maid medias (gea omd. Niskanen 2013). Dalle go dat lei ráhkaduvvon lei dieđusge eahpesihkkar, áigotgo olbmot dan geavahit. Dál lea vejolaš dadjat, ahte materiála vuodul dat lea jávkan Yle Sámis ja SR:s. Lean ieš gullan sámegeiel olbmo oaivila, ahte *bonju* ii oro leamen buorre tearbma, danin go *bonju* orru menddo konkrehtalaš. NRK:s dat geavahuvvo vel 2019, mii lea NRK materiála maŋimuš jahki, muhto jođánis ohcan Yle Sámis, SR Sámerádios ja NRK Sámis čájeha goittotge, ahte dat geavahuvvo maid 2020-logus. Ohcalin maid Ávviris, mas dat gávdno maid 2020-logus. Dat mearkkaša, ahte vaikko materiála vuodul orru leamen nu, ahte *bonju* ii leat šattan bistevaš tearbman go gánske Norgga bealde (Mäkelä 2022), de moadde jagi materiála maŋimuš artihkkala maŋjel leage earálágan dilli. Synonymat elletge bálddalágaid vel 2020-logu gaskamuttus. Muhto man olu *bonju* duodai geavahuvvo ja gávdnogo dat dušše sitáhtain vai ieš teavstain, lea dieđusge váttis dadjat beaiváduvvon materiála haga. Livččii maid dehálaš dutkat eará mediaid, dego Ávvira sisdoalu, ja váldit vuhtii eambo jorgalusaid.

SR Sámerádios (tabealla 5), gos gávnna hirmat unnán materiála, gávdnojit goittotge buot badjetearpmat, baicce *seksuála-* ja *sohkabealvehádat*. Ruotabeale dilis ii leat vejolaš dadjat čiekŋalis bohtosiid, dat gáibidivččii eambo materiála. Lea goittotge vejolaš oaidnit, ahte SR čuovvu ruotagiela čállinvuogi, mas *queer* ja *HBTQ* (ja eará oanádušat) leat dávjá geavahuvvon. Gaskamearálaččat SR:s geavahuvvojit goittotge badjetearpmat jámma,

measta juohke jagi. Jođánis ohcan čájeha, ahte SR:s lea goittotge geavahuvvon *arvedávge*-2020-logus, nugo Yle Sámis. NRK Sámis dat ii fas orru leamen geavahasas.



Tabealla 4: Badjetearpmat NRK Sámis 2007–2019.



Tabealla 5: Badjetearpmat SR Sámerádios 2012–2019.

Jurddabohtosat ja boahttevuotta

Davvisámegielas gávdno ollu variašuvdna ja synonymat arvedávgedoahpangiidda, ja dat lea várra leamašan čielga ášši omd. stáhtalaš mediaid lohkkiide, journalisttaide ja earenomážiid arvedávgesápmelaččaide.

Dát artihkal buktá odđa, dahje aŋkke dárkilis dieđuid tearpmat “eallináiggi” birra: 71% stáhtalaš mediaid journalisttaid arvedávgetearpmat (logakeahhtá badjetearpmat) leat geavahuvvon 1–5 gearde jagiin 2007–2021, ja 31 % dušše oktii. Dakkár tearpmat gávdnojit olles materiálas, eai dušše álggus, vaikko tearpmat girju lea stuorimus juste álggus. Dan sáhtášii čilget omd. dainna, ahte fáddá rievda maid áiggi mielde 2020-logus, gosa dušše Yle Sámi materiála ollá, go čálligohtet eambo go ovdal maid sohka-bealvehádagaidda birra (Mäkelä 2022: 9–12). Dat buktá diekkár tearpmat oddasiidda, mat geavahuvvojit dušše oktii dahje moaddii nammalassii jagiid 2019–2021. Dat ii goittotge mearkaš, ahte ii geavahuvvošedje maid boahtteáiggis.

Nubbi dilli lea goittotge máŋgga eará tearpmat, dego *transkjønnet* ja *biseksuealla*, mat iđistit muhtun gearde ja jávket dan maŋjel. Sivvan sáhtá leat, ahte dat leat eará láhka

heivehuvvon sámegillii go loatnasánit dábálaččat (Aikio 1994; Sámediggi 2019: 42–45). Eará oanehis gussiid birra lea váttis dadjat dutkkakeahhtá.

Lea čielggas, ahte dáro-, ruota-, ja suomagiella váikkuhit davvisámegiela arvedávgetearpmaide, muhto man ollu ja man bastevaččat ii leat vel čielggas. Vaikko ovdal orui leamen nu, ahte *bonju* sáhtá báhcit geavahusas (Mäkelä 2022), de jođánis ohcan dál čájeha, ahte das lei dušše oanehis boddu. Dat sáhtášii mearkkašit, ahte davvisámegielas ellet muhtun láhkai bálddalágaid guokte synonyma, *queer* ja *bonju*, ja dasa lassin vel *arvedávgehámit*, oanádusat dego *HBTQ* ja de vel Yle Sámi miela miel *seksuála- ja sohkabealvehádat*. Dilli lea seammá lágan go váldogielain, main moadde sierra dadjanvuogi ellet bálddalágaid. Nubbi jođánis ohcan čájeha, ahte SR Sámerádios ja Yle Sámis geavahuvvo *arvedávge* maid 2023–2024, muhto ii velge NRK Sámis. Fertešii dieđusge dutkat dárkilit vai livččii vejolaš dadjat, leago dat dušše SR:s gávdnamis, vai leago duođai boahtán geavahussii ja maid báhcán.

Jagi 2023 gullen Sápmi Prides Heahtás geavahuvvon sáni *girjái*, mii lea dieđusge hui miellagiddevaš. Ráidovázimis čuorvvui vuos earjalašgillii “We are still here – we are still queer” ja dan maŋŋá “Mii leat ain dás – mii leat girjái”. Mu materiálas jagiid 1979–2022 dat ii leat ollenge geavahuvvon. Gávdnno *girjjatvuohka* go lea sáhka maŋggabealat olbmuid birra, muhto ii, mu ipmárdusa mielde, áibbas tearbman.

Dutkamuš (ja Sápmi Pride) čájeha ahte davvisámegiela arvedávgetearpmat leat rievdan ja ain rivdet, ja ahte measta 15 jagi ii válddekeahhtá leat álo doarvái vai sáhtášii diehtit, leatgo ođđa tearpmat, dego loatnasánit dahje heivehuvvon loanat, báhcán geavahussii. Muhtumin danin, ahte lea loahpa loahpas hirbmat vehá sáhka muhtin ášši, dego sohkabealvehádagaid ja biseksuálavuođa birra, ja muhtumin orru leamen nu, ahte ee. ámmátčállit ohcet ain vuogas badjetearpmaid. Váldogielaid váikkuhus oidno muhtin tearpmain, dego *lesbo* – *lesba* ja *-seksuála* ja *-fila*, ja de badjetearpmaid geavaheamis, muhto muđui ii leat nu čielggas, ahte livččii vejolaš dadjat jearakeahhtá ee. journalisttain.

Mu dutkamuš lea fokuseren ámmátčálliid tearpmaide, muhto boahhtevuođas sávnamis bohtet eambo vejolašvuoddat dutkat ee. sátnegirjjiid, sosiála mediaid ja čáppagirjjálašvuođa tearpmaid ja daid erohusaid čiekŋalabbot.

Sámi servodagas gávdnno beroštupmi máhttit ságastallat arvedávgeáššiid birra (davvi)sámegillii ja ovddidit terminologiija. Dasa lassin Sápmi Pride lágideami dihte lea šaddan dárbu čállit arvedávgeáššiid birra ođđasiin eambo go ovdal. Boahhteáigi čájeha man birra ságastallan joatkašuvvá, mo váldogielat váikkuhit arvedávgetearpmaide ja mo omd. *bonju* geavaheapmi rievdá, jos rievdá.

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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, *livde* (liut) SaaSk *leu'dd*, SaaK *li'vvd*, and SaaT *lu'vvd*. (Aikio 2023.) (See Figure 1.)

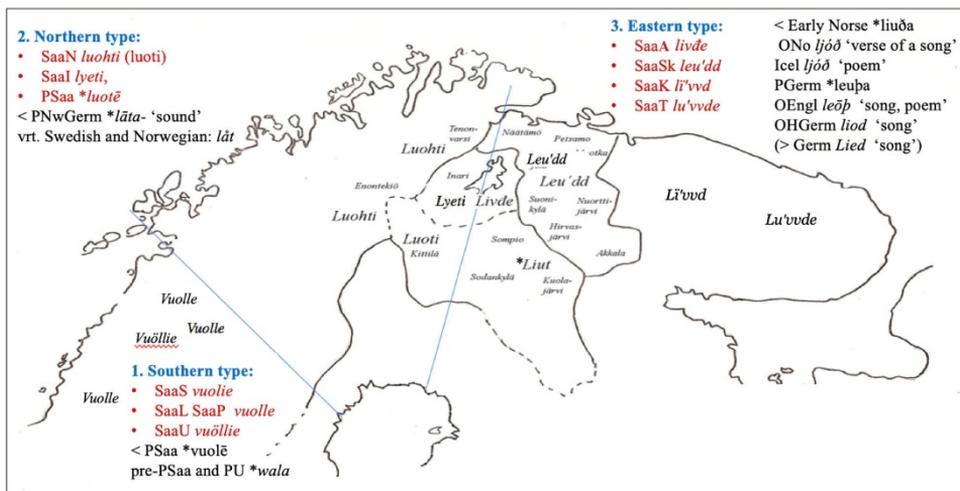


Figure 1. Three main name types for “Saami song”. The names of regional traditions can be seen as subtypes of these main types.³

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 *luohi* tradition

The *luohi* 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 *luohi* 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 *luohi* performance by an anonymous Saami yoiker near Guovdageaidnu, Norway. In the 19th century, most documentation focused on the texts of *luohi*s 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 Anár⁵ regions, recording 147 stories and 37 *luohi*s. Two of the six interviewees, siblings Elli-Marja Jomppanen (b. 1900) and Niila Kitti (b. 1886), performed both *luohi*s 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 *luohi*s and 22 stories, while Kitti performed 12 *luohi*s 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-Ugric 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 luohiti 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 luohiti performance is a communicative, and sometimes auto-communicative, event where the yoiker describes the referent of a specific luohiti musically and verbally. According to a North Saami yoiker Ánte Mihkkal Gaup (1995, 75; 79) in traditional cultural context a luohiti melody can be defined as *luohtenamma* ‘luohiti-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 luohiti* ‘A luohiti of a Skinny Old Reindeer’⁷, a luohiti 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 luohiti melody. *Dákteráiddu luohiti* by Elli Maria Jomppanen 1956 (SKSÄ, A 322/8). Transcribed by Marko Jouste.

The linguistic features of luohiti texts

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

1. Words with lexical meaning⁸, which can form sentences. In the *Dákteráiddu luohiti*, 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. Luohiti syllables, which are words used instead of meaningful language. These syllables often form the majority of luohiti 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 *Dákteráiddu* means literally ‘a queue of bones’.

⁸ Words with lexical meaning have a definable meaning in contrast to luohiti syllables e.g. *lo* or *la*, which occur mainly in the performance of a luohiti.

- 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 čakŋan* ‘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 *Hávga luohti* ‘A *luohti* of a pike’. (See *Figure 3*.)

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

Figure 3. *Hávga 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: *Gihhti-Hánsa* → *Gihhti-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 čoačči, lo-loo-lo loo-lo.

‘From ancient times (already already) big (already) graceful, [luohti syllables].’

Dolin áigin, jo vel stuorra jo čoačči, 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, *Bávllusa 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, *Bávllosa[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 oaččui 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 dárbbášan jo ballat ahte ladvái 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 *Dákteáiddu 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 *Dákteáiddu lei jo go Guovdageidnu vel la* forms a fragmentary sentence meaning: ‘As an old skinny reindeer -- to Guovdageidnu.’ 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: *Dákteáiddu lei [ruohttan? mannan?] jo go Guovdageidnu vel la* ‘As an old skinny reindeer, it had [been pulled? gone?] to Guovdageidnu’.

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. Ikonen even suggested that the most primitive form of poetry was exemplified by the Saami reindeer herder’s cry: “*beautiful cattle, beautiful cattle.*” (T. I. Ikonen 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 livde (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.	<i>Dák-te-</i> <i>lo-lo</i>	<i>rái-(i)-</i> <i>lool-lo</i>	<i>dun lei</i> <i>loo-loo</i>	<i>jo go</i> <i>loo-lo.</i>
2.	<i>Guov-da-</i> <i>lo-lo</i>	<i>geid-nui</i> <i>lool-lo</i>	<i>vel la</i> <i>loo-loo</i>	<i>lol-lol</i> <i>loo-lo.</i>
3.	<i>Dák-te-</i> <i>Guov-da-</i> <i>lol-lol</i>	<i>rá-(id)-</i> <i>geid-nui</i> <i>lool-lo</i>	<i>du gea-</i> <i>vel la-</i> <i>loo-loo-</i>	<i>si-hiï</i> <i>aa jo</i> <i>lo. [-]</i>

Figure 4. The organization of words according to the “*luohti meter*” in *Dákteráiddu luohti* (SKSÄ 322/8).

Figure 5. *Hávga 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 *Hávga luohiti* 'A luohiti 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 luohiti 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 luohiti performances and storytelling. A common feature of both luohiti 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 luohiti 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 suhtán ja noidon dan ala jámežiid, na. Jámežiid noidon dan ala doppe hávddis váldán ja bidjan mulddi ammal Na, ja dette jámešat šaddan dan olbmo ala, dat ii bálle go nohká, delle bohtet ja nu deddet ja čárvot ja dat ii bálle oadđit goasge. Na, ferte dan lihkkat. Ja go dás nohká, delle dat girdit ala ja čárvot. Guokte lea. Na, dat ii bálle oadđit, 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 jámešat' dieđus, deaddithan áiggošedje ja čárvut. Na, de goaivuba duorggaid vuolde. Andaras-boadnjá lea sánja njangán. Ja goaivuba daid duorggaid ere, na: Dot dohppii gitta, snadjestii guktuiguin gieđa, eaba šat sáhttan geaidit, eabage. De, de válddii dat reanjan: ahte jahkebeale galgaba rengot 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 lávka dohko dearpme vuollai. Ammal lea vilges lávka go eai... Olbmot čieras- dan lávki 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 manjis, dalle dat doalvu, dohko ammat hejgii dohko, manai dohko viehka guhkás... Máyga várri ja... De hejgii 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, mü 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 luohiti-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 árraidit.

‘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 luohiti 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 máhtá čierrut go su válddat.

‘He certainly knows how to lament when you take him.’ (SKSÄ A321/16.)

Na, muhto son go njuovvá eambo bohccuid, son dat fidne vel eanet, ahte go son dohko manná varračoavjjiiguin, go sus lea eanet, son dat riggu eambo.

‘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 luohiti texts: *Hávga dat lei jo fierbmái čáknan* ‘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, Njávėžanáhkku ja Háhcešanáhkku.

‘Well, there were two old women, *Njávėžanáhkku 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 didii 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 oidnogoahá 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 noaide, 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; Joste 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 *Tulláčalmaaš kirdáččij*, 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 luhti 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 melodic 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 luhti 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 “Aanaariness” 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.

a Vil - já - žám vil - já - žám koc - cáá jo naa piäi - váš jo vaa - rijd páš - tá
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a² kuud - hah jo muo - rái mielđ rjet - tih lol - lo - lo, loo - loo, lol - loo
 a² kál - láh jo kiä - vui - dis ráh - tih, lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a² káál - guh jo nuo - tij - dis čih - teh, lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a³ kaandah jo táv - gi - pi - soi - guin sic - rá - dch lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a lu - dij ruo - já jo pel - jij - dán vaal - dij, lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a³ kuudhá - miev - tá sis - te lii uád - dám ka - le lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ rááv - hust lii uád - dám ka - le, lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b táäl - vist lii uád - dám ka - le,
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ táäl mun jo muor - jiid po - rá lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ tuot - še jo kus - too koc - cáá, lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.
 a¹ lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa, b lal - la - la, laa - laa, lal - laa.

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

The linguistic features of livđe texts

The linguistic elements of livđe texts¹⁰ share many features with North Saami luohiti 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 pástá. ‘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 luohiti, 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 luohiti 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, čáppa¹¹ 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 luohiti 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 *čáppa* is in North Saami.

Párnážâmmâ vuátum ‘I lull my [little] child.’

Kuávžurâžžâ, kuávžurâžžâ, kuheskáábâš lei ‘[little] trout, trout, long-jawed was’
koccháá juo viiljâžâm - - kudhiih juo kuodduužij miel di 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 kuámuičuávjiáá 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 kummood ‘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 *munná* (pro *mun*) *vuátum* ‘This is how I lull [a child]’

kuálâš, kuálâš vuojâdâmmâ (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 tunná* (pro *tun*) *čičäru* ‘Don’t you cry’

Possessive suffixes: *párnážâmmâ* (pro *párnážâm*) ‘my child’

Verb forms: *Ohtii ko aasâimmâ* (pro *aasâim*) ‘Once upon a time we lived’

Diminutive derivatives: *kállásâžžâ* (pro *kállásâš*) ‘old man’

Other monosyllabic forms: *Pyeidi mun kal jiema* (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 monâdâmâž (pro *monâdâm* ← *moonâm*) ‘so it had gone’

kuusâ (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 koccháá jo naa. ‘My brother, my brother, wake up [yet, well].’

Piävâš jo vaariđ 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...]

Kuudhah jo muorâi miel 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 ráhtih. ‘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)

Čuádgi 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...]
 (Čuádgi 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-kááibáš 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 luohiti 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 toivle ko mun lijim pärni, te mainâstij tain Laurukaisest ko tot čuudijd... maht tot čuudijd tuššâdij talle ko toh čudeh lijii tääbbin Säämist tievâ já... ŋá... já viggii tuššâdiđ sâmmilijd nuuvt ennuv ko áppádii já... te. Lávrukâš lâi ohtâ sâmmilâš... tággáár uáli viijses almai já já já... tot smietâi et maht sun álgáččij ko talle iä lamaš pish sâmmilijn muh ko tävgipish kale lijii... mut tyeinhân lijii pyerebâššááh pish kuittâg já... já toh lijii nuuvt ennuv et tähân sâmmiliih toigijn toid porgâm maiden tävgipisoigijn já... te tot Lávrukâš smietâi et tääl ij äävti muh ko älgid, älgid 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 áigumín... ij jieijâs vanhímáidgin sárnum tom já já ko tot lii valmâšin smiättâm tom et maht sun álgá taid tuššâdiđ taid čuudijd et vuoimijn taid ij áppád tuššâdiđ ko pish iä lah muh ko tävgipish já... Na já te te tego tot valmâšin uázžum puoh tom et maht sun álgá... valmâšin smiättâm tom maht sun álgá taid tuššâdiđ te te sáárnui... eedâi jieijâs vanhímáid sun vuálgá tääl sun vuálgá tääl rengân já já... já tij kolgâvetted eelliđ jieijâd eellim et et sun sáttá kuhe-uv lappud mut kal sun puátá tobbeen kuás kiergân, sun vuálgá rengân já... já nuuvthân tot vuolgij já... já te lâi smiättâm nuuvt et sun... sun váldá ohtâvuodâ... ohtâvuodâ toi... toi čuđijguin já... já sun maka lii toi čuudij čuudij pele já sun lii uápis álgá uápin toid já sun uápin taid tágaráid paihijd kost laa riges sâmmiliih asâmin já ...já já kost ääsih ennuv sâmmiliih já... Na, nuuvthân tot uázui taid čuudijd oskod 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 evvisijđ kepidij jieijâs laavkân já tot nuorâb Aaslâk tot Juhháán-Aaslâk tot eedâi et sun lâi pyeri čuoigâđ et sun váldá váhá keppisub... keppisub laavhá já sust lii šiev pisso ko sust lii maavser já ton nube Aaslâkisthân ij lamas ko taggaar ohtii pächčee luodâpisso 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 pächčee et kalhân toh kuobžah njeejih já na te miibahân tast lâš lamaš te ko rahttâdâin tot lâi eehid jo já vaibâm še lán mut toh smiettâin suoi čuoigâv kuittâg toho aldeláá já orroov iijâ tobbeen já uáiniv maggaar šonjâ puátá piäiván já já te suoi čuoigâin 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, pááhui 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: “Táäl mun te *puhtim moarssijd*.”¹³ **Na**, mun kejâstistim: nubbe čalmepeeli lii já nubbe nuuvt puáris et! Mun [ee]đâm: “O vááiván tuu myersseid et mun kal jem huolá.” **Na, na** nuuvt poođijn tietenki já já toh juvváin käähvi tast já, **na** nubbe iätä, 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.

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

(*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 *livdes*. 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 *livdes* 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'lğge-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-ž-a-m-a viõlggâd-a g-äüldaž-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, tōōzz leežž-a pää'cced-e-de vue'm-e šolkk-â-jeäkk-a-laž.

‘Well, the silky lichen of forest would have been left behind.’

Mâ'te leäk njeežž-a-žam muu g-ouddam-až kōlmm-â g-iiss-â-miârr-â riddu, kâirrav-a kōlmm-â peäzz-a-že-g-e.

‘How have you, my mother, handed me to the cold shore of Arctic Ocean, to a seagulls cold nest.’

Tōōzz le'žze pää'cce-že-d-e viilj-a-žan-i kēähmōs roodd. Kuâđđ-â-je'ked, pää'cced tiōrvân.

‘There would have stayed my brothers and the worst family. Stay, stay in good health.’

Čuežž-e-ti, čuežž-e-ti-i-de čičč-â-rest pää'res jie'rji-d ôōut-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).

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Ofootaž Evvan nijdd leu'dd'. It is divided into three sections: Phrase A, Phrase B, and Phrase C. Each section contains a melody line with notes and stems, and a corresponding line of lyrics in Sami. Below the Sami lyrics is a phonetic transcription of the lyrics. The score is written on a grand staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'O - [g]o-foo-taž, vää - nak Ev-vae(a) nijd - d[ä], ma't le'ž - žem vue'lg - že - d[e] - de ot - stav - nai pää'r - n(s) - že. Mööž-z[ä] leäk muu nječ-š[a] - žam oud - da - ma - ž[ä] kōlm - m[ä] iiss - miä - r[ä] rid - - - - - du? Niek - k[a] - jaž mo'st lij jear - ga - ža - [mu] viölg - gi - d[e] [g]älä - da - ž[a]. A ma't lečžž ve't poo - r[ä] - škuet - ted [doed] ru't - ti zem-ljo - va jeik - k[a] - la - la. De tōōzz lečžž - ž[a] pää'c - ce - d[e] [a] - de vue' - m(e) šolk - k[ä] - jač - k[a] - laž. Ma'-te leäk nječ-š[a] - žam muu [g]oud - da - maž kōlm - m[ä] [g]lä - š[a] - miä - r[ä] rid - d[e], kâir - ra - v[ä] kōlm - m[ä] peäz - ž[a] - že. [a] - ge. Tōōzz le'ž - že pää'c - ce - že - [a] - d[e] viil - j[ä] - ža - n[ä] kēähm - mōs roodd. Kuâđđ - d[ä] - je' - ked, pää'c - ced tiō - rvân čuežž - š[e] - ti, - - čuežž š[e] - ti - [i] de čičč - k[ä] - rest pää' - res jie' - rji ôō - ut - â - peä' - l[e] [g]ââ'lm pee' - v.

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 3 2 (14)	38
-	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 luohi and livde 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
<i>O-g-Ofootaž, vuänak Evvan-a nijd-</i> (9)	<i>d-â, ma't le'žžem vue'lğğed-ed-e</i> (8)	<i>otstavnai päärm-a-že.</i> (6)
<i>Mõõzz-â leäk muu njeežž-a-žam ouddama-</i> (10)	<i>-ž-a kõlmm-â iissmiâr-â rid-</i> (7)	-
<i>du? Niskka-a-jaž mu'st lij jeärgaža-</i> (9)	<i>-ma viõlggâd-a g-äälđaz-a.</i> (7)	<i>A, ma't leežž ve't poor-â-škue'tted-</i> (8)
-	<i>-de-ed ra'htti zemljova jeäkk-a-la-la.</i> (10)	-
-	<i>De, tõõzz leežž-a pää'cced-e-de</i> (8)	-
-	<i>vue'm-e šolkk-â-jeäkk-a-laž.</i> (7)	-
-	-	<i>Mä'te leäk njeežž-a-žam muu g-ouddamaž</i> (10)
-	-	<i>kõlmm-â g-iiss-â-miärr-â rid-</i> (7)
<i>du, käirrav-a kõlmm-â peäzz-a-že-</i> (8)	-	-
<i>-g-e.</i> <i>Tõõzz le'žže pää'cce-že-</i> (7)	<i>-d-e viilj-a-žan-i ķeähnmõs roodd.</i> (8)	<i>Kuäđđ-â-je'ķed, pää'cced tiõr-</i> (7)
<i>vân.</i> <i>Čuežž-e-ti, čuežž-e-ti-</i> (7)	<i>-i de čiođkk-â-rest pää'res jie'r-</i> (8)	<i>ji-d õõut-â peä'l-e g-ââ'lm pee'v.</i> (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’d all melodic 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 luohiti 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 Áhnâs-jo á'lgg-e di Tädjjan Evvan-jo nijdd-â di vuá'mm-e lokk-u-čuá'rvv¹⁶ ääld-a jeärgaž.
 ‘Well, Miklaiaž Áhnâs’ (yo) son and Tädjjan 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'kkmi lij Jáággar jo nijdd-â.
 ‘O'kkmi is Jáággar’s (yo) daughter.’

2. The use of any “leu'dd syllables” equivalent to luohiti’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 luohiti and livđe:

¹⁵ The following analysis is based on the article *Kolttasamelaisen Näskk Moshnikoffin leu'dd-kielen idiolekti* ‘The Idiolect of leu'dd Language of Skolt Saami Näskk Moshnikoff’ (Jouste et. al 2020; Jouste 2022).

¹⁶ *Lokkčuá'rvv*, See T. I. Itkonen 1958, 220.

*A, Väsšk̄k̄ ät ve't-a lij gu gu kue'mm veälain vuâlg-â-jo-go-čik̄.*¹⁷

‘Well, Väsšk̄k̄ 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: *völ* ‘still’, *ju'n* ‘already’, *kâ'l* ‘indeed’, *te'l* ‘then’; *vuänak* ‘see’, *ö'skk̄e* ‘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, *-až*

Mä'rjj → *Määrjaž-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'čkk̄em* ‘eagle’ → *kuä'čkk̄em-e*.
- 6. Retention of language historical verbal suffix (e.g. *-âded*): *ristteed* ‘baptize’ → *risttâ-jo-ded-e*.
- 7. The use of *η*- or *g*-prothesis: *η-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 šööddâ-jo-di-ja. Mäk-a-ri ve't go šööddâ-jo-di-ja.

‘Mäkkri [see] was born [yo-and-jaa]. Mäkkri was born [yo-and-jaa].’

Risttveâr g-ööl-g-â-či vä'ldd-a-jo-d-ed-e.

‘A Christian religion he should ta-[yo]-ke.’

A, Väsšk̄k̄ ät ve't-a lij gu gu kue'mm veälain.

‘Well, Väsšk̄k̄ is a [when when] godfather.’

Mij ve't go η-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-čik̄.

‘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-čik̄.

‘Well, I would take you, if you would choose [yo-when] me.’

Gu ton Ääpp-a-lan-a leäk rä'kk̄-e, kuä'čkk̄em-e viö'l'gges-e völ vuäivaž.

‘[When] you Ääppalan 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 *livde*, 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 kauppjōš reūgast. Na, son reūgai tō'st ja lâ'djj puō'di, salkškuō'te ja ja sä... sa'lkkē ja máttam kuō'dde siákkid ja cie'lkkē što ij tōt tääi'ben nâkam oummu kaunnu että kook ko kuâdd kuōi'ti siákki mutta ceálkk, sä'mmlaž ceálkk što no käunn'je mákam oummu kook škuu'l kue'dde no, kâ'l see'st lie oummu vaa'ldi kuábba kuábba kōnnjâr vuälla škuu'l piijjli ja pâi vâ'zzli sij tiōttlōs a'lğge ôōmtōōššâd, että tōt kâ'l lij mahottoman viōhss no kâ'l vōl see'st käunnai viōusab ooumaž, ko sij nu'bb vuâra pue'dže lâ'djj puō'dež, što kâ'l tōt viōusâs ooumaž su'nne häävai son-ke no ij, mōōni e'pet neä'ttel vee'rd äi'ğg puō'di e'pet lâ'djj de puō'di see'st jōnn viōhss de ceä'lkkē, na, tää'l kâ'l ij sä'mmlaž pi'rğged heibbad että teä sä'mmlast de o.. occkaž heibbamvuâr lij ko ij viōkk vuâl tōn, täin oummin heibbad, kâ'tt ää'n mee'st puō'di

‘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 kauppjōš* 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 Jääffaž Semenoff:

A, mij vet vuōlgg-ō-pâi-lōōttâp teāđast 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'zz-e-že-škuō'dim Feāđat nijdd da Evvan-a nijdd da mij pâi vää'žž-e-gu-tep mij Huâtтар âä'lj nuōrmōs niōde ärra?*

‘Why begin to walk Feāđat’s daughter and Evvan’s daughter and we begin to walk to our Huâtтар’s son’s youngest daughter?’

(*Irškaž Sverloff leu'dd* by Jääffaž 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.

Čuōškk še säärnai: - - Na, čuōškk â'tte ceálkk, što son kâ'l evvanpeiivva puätt, puätt. Vaikka pie'jee'l. Vaikka sue'bbin vaikka pie'jee'l, mutta puätt son evvanpeiivva. Na, tōt evvanpei'vv lij johnōs. Na, son puätt. No, de puätt. De su'st ko ä'lğge, de eidd ko lij puättam, tu'skkääm ko lij, čuōšk ko kâ'dste, kââ'pper tiudd lie'skkai čuōskid šâ'dde nu'tt jiännai. Jiännai, keä'pper tiu'dd lie'skkai, čuōskid lie'skkai. Na, son tōt, son kâ'l

leäi vä'zzed rosttov räija, evvanpeivva pue'di, pue'di mutta rosttov räija leäi vä'zzed.
- - Rosttov räija leäi vä'zzed, mut leäi čuu't, pihttáz le'jje čuu't vuä'nik.

Na, teä mōōni määust, ceäkkk: “*Na, son mu'st eidd kolmm oummu hiävvnne.*”

Tä'lk: “*Puk pue'tte määust, na gu jōōski ķ'rdmen. Puk pue'tte, koumm oummu hiävvnne. Öhtt oumaž hiävvnni ä'kk-keâmna. Ä'kk-keâmna kōōčči. Ä'kk-keâmna kōōčči öhtt oumaž. Nu'bb oumaž ääkk... ääkk ju'sse tōpplōōvi. Kuälmad oumaž niōđ nje'ežž vuälä teädđi.*” (Čuōškk še säärnai by Näsck 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 *Jäakk Sverloff's leu'dd* performed by Va'ss Semenoja in 1961. In the first part, the main characters, Duna Gerasimoff and Ķiurräl 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 Ķiurrulaž-a õ'skķe l'lep-i g-â'lgģ.

‘Duna, Duna is the daughter of Sää'vu and Ķiurräl is the son of l'lep.’

A, kooum-â vuâra neä'tt-a-lest-a pâi Ä'llep-i jeärgaž di luâdu kää'cke õ'skķe pâi-i vuägg-a-škuõ'tted-di Dunuža-ji Säävu niōđ-u ärra.

‘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 Jäakk Sverloff:

A, Sandra emman di Sandra vuäbbam di sij ä'tte pâi-i õ'skķe cie'lķe-sa'stt-a: “Di mâi'd-â-di Dunusaž ton tääjudak-a” di “mää'n jōs-i ton-u jiōk ni vue'rrd-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.

“Säaldat-i mooččäs Jääku-ja-ja di ruōšš-â jännam lij äkkalaž di tōn ve't-i mon-a jiōm ni tie'ttâdââst”,

“A brisk soldier Jääkk and the Russian land is äkkalaž and that I don't know,”

da pâi Dunusaž-i cie'lķ-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'lğges-i pirr-u čeäppat repp-a-ka-ja di pue'rab-i mon-a õ'skķe vue'lğgadam-a pãi pã'rnnu puã'res-i Ķiurrulaž-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 Ķiurrål’.

(*Jääkk Sverloff's leu'dd by Va'ss Semenaja. 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	
	<i>EMJ & NK 1956*</i>		<i>SIKOR 2024</i>	
Word count:	f=16 395	100 %	f=38,94 M	100 %
<i>dat + dathan</i>	920	5,6 %	126 889	0,3 %
<i>de</i>	504	3,1 %	139 879	0,4 %
<i>na</i>	420	2,6 %	1 298	0,0 %
<i>go</i>	354	2,2 %	320 615	0,8 %
<i>vel</i>	119	0,7 %	40 512	0,1 %
<i>juo + jo</i>	54	0,3 %	37 339	0,1 %
	2 371	14,5 %	666 532	1,7 %

Aanaar Saami

	Spoken language		Written language	
	<i>Aanaarikiela čájtuzeh**</i>		<i>SIKOR 2024</i>	
Word count:	f = 42 778	100 %	2,88 M	100 %
<i>tot, ton, tom</i>	1557	3,6 %	26 510	0,9 %
<i>te</i>	1383	3,2 %	10 818	0,4 %
<i>ko</i>	1028	2,4 %	22 737	0,8 %
<i>na ~ naa</i>	635	1,5 %	173	<0,1 %
<i>val ~ vala</i>	208	0,5 %	6448	0,2 %
<i>jo ~ juo</i>	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 luohiti language, which is why we see many similarities between the colloquial language and the singing language, except for the meaningful role of the luohiti syllables. The wordlets complement the texts of luohitis 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 luohiti 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 luohiti is emphasized in favor of luohiti syllables, and luohitis 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 luohiti 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 luohiti, 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 luohiti 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 luohiti 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 luohiti, 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 luohiti 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-luohiti side or the livđe side. This ambiguity, where luohiti 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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