



A WRITING HAND REACHES FURTHER “Čállí giehta ollá guhkás”

Recommendations for the improvement of the Sámi literary field

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Johanna Domokos

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Preface

The report in your hand deals with the situation of the Sámi literary field in the North.

During the Finnish Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers in 2016, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health initiated together with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment a Nordic project entitled “An Open and Innovative Nordic Region with Well-being People in 2020 - Equal Opportunities to Welfare, Education, Culture and Work” (Norden 2020). Welfare, parity and equality, cultural diversity and socially sustainable development are the cross-sectorial themes of the three-year project (2016–2018). The different activities (seminars, conferences and reports) within the Norden 2020 project aim to frame the future development of the Nordic welfare states as well as their challenges and possibilities to secure the progress and success, as assessed by the five member states: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, and by Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland. The Nordic Region is currently undergoing profound structural and demographic changes, as is the rest of the world. The age structure in the Nordic countries and financing of the welfare, the future of working life, and international political turmoil and migration are some of the issues affecting life and politics in the region.

One subtheme of the Norden 2020 project is multilingualism in the Nordic countries. This theme is covered by the project “Multilingualism and diversity as a resource in the cultural field – employment and integration through literature in the Nordic countries” carried out by the Culture for All Service and financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers. The project focuses on the language rights of the authors and readers, and

on intercultural dialogue through literature. It makes visible organizations, projects and practices from different Nordic countries and supports their interaction. The concrete aims of the project include the collection and sharing of data related to multilingual expertise in the Nordic countries, the administration and promotion of the Nordic Multilingual Month (21 February–21 March, annually) and the realization of reports related to language-specific literary fields in the Nordic countries.

The report, *A writing hand reaches further – “Čálligiehta olla guhkás”. Recommendations for the improvement of the Sámi literary field*, is the second language-specific report carried out by the project. It is divided in two parts. Part I is a study conducted by Johanna Domokos. The study aims to map the present state of the multilingual Sámi literary field, to diagnose its greatest challenges and to develop suggestions for improving the efficiency of the field. Part I includes 15 recommendations on how the role of Sámi literature could be strengthened. Part II features individual summaries of South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt and Kildin Sámi literary productions, authored by David Kroik, Joshua Wilbur, Päivi Alanen, Lill Tove Fredriksen, Harald Gaski, Sigbjørn Skåden, Petter Morottaja, and Michael Riessler. Part II also includes an overview written by Irene Piippola of the situation of Sámi materials in Nordic libraries.

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PART I

Report on the situation of Sámi literary field in the Nordic countries

Johanna Domokos

1. Sámi girjjálašvuohta / Sámi literature and cultural vitality

General premises

The literary field is a hierarchically organised social structure with its own rules and its own power structures. However, when the circuit of aesthetic text production, publication, reception events, translations, republications and adaptations is dynamic, it means a literature is alive. If the literary life flourishes, it means that the language is vibrant. If the language is vibrant, a community can articulate its needs in the mother tongue also in any other areas, and secure its place in the global linguistic diversity.

European nation states have built up their collective identity strongly, aided by creating a common written literary language and a strong literary canon. Therefore it is important that a people lacking a state be given the same opportunities. Literature in the 21st century needs to keep its central position in the life of minorities even more than in the case of majorities, who are not threatened by language or culture loss. This report will thus investigate the present situation and possible ways for improving the artistic vitality of indigenous Sámi literature within Northern Europe. Being part of and rooted in the strong literary tradition of Europe, Sámi literature is outstandingly more productive than many of the indigenous literary fields.

If in the coming years the Sámi literary field will be given rapid opportunities for further stabilisation and diversification it can become a success model for the whole indigenous world.

Results from the recent decades

Depending on how Sáminess¹ is defined, one can speak of 40.000–60.000 Sámi¹ people living in Norway,

20.000–25.000 in Sweden, 8.000–12.000 in Finland, and 2000–4000 on the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Due to the dispersion of relatively small groups over large areas, the Sámi languages include several markedly different languages. This diversity complicates – but also enriches – the landscape of Sámi literary production, too².

Since the 1970s, Sámi culture has undergone a renaissance, although its position is far from secure. Sámi artists and intellectuals have canonised a considerable body of literature in their own languages, stabilised institutions promoting language standardisation and revitalisation, propagated a widely taught orthography, nurtured a strong publishing system, and established and considerably improved their educational system all across the Sámi regions, but especially in Norway. This renaissance began in the regions of the North Sámi, where the indigenous population still lives in relatively compact groups compared to the Southern and Eastern Sámi, who represent a much smaller proportion of the overall population of their regions.

In the last few decades, the Sámi themselves have reformed the colonial discipline of “Lappology” to become modern Sámi Studies. Sámi people are well known in the world music scene (including artists such as Marie Boine, Wimme Saari, and Sofía Jannok), their films have been internationally recognised, and their flourishing literature has been translated into many languages (e.g. books by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Rauni Magga Lukkari, Kirste Paltto, Inger-Mari Aikio, and Niillas Holmberg). Several Sámi scholars are well known in the world literary scene (e.g. Harald Gaski, Vuokko Hirvonen, Veli-Pekka Lehtola, and Rauna Kuokkanen). Yet many Sámi still live in less than ideal cultural conditions, and their rights to practice and pass on the culture and language to the

1 The name of the Sámi people is spelled in English literature in three different ways, as Sámi, Saami and Sami. The present report uses the ethnonym Sámi, and the term Sápmi for their historical and present primary area. Stretching over approximately 400.000 km² in four countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia), Sápmi is bordered by the Barents Sea in the North, the Norwegian Sea in the West and the White Sea in the East. The inner parts of Sápmi are also known as Lapland or Lappi.

2 For more information on the historical, cultural and artistic developments, see Lehtola, Veli-Pekka: *Die Sámi. Traditionen im Wandel*, Puntos, 2014 (updated version of *Saamelaiset – historia, yhteiskunta, taide 1997, The Sámi. Traditions in transition*. 2005).

next generation are still not taken seriously enough. The one exception is Norway, who has ratified the ILO Convention No. 169 and has set an example in solving minority issues of the indigenous Sámi since the 1990s³. For this reason, it is no wonder that Norway has now become the centre of Sámi literary activity. In all parts of Sápmi, an enormous amount of work has been done during the last five decades to set up a modern Sámi literary field and to keep its operation growing⁴. This work has involved a lot of enthusiasm and volunteer work as well as institutional support from Nordic state sources. The present-day Sámi literary field is a multilingual and multilocal, transnational field of action. Its literature is written in all Sámi regions, now divided by the borders of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Presently it is published in several Sámi languages: in the severely endangered South, Lule, Inari, Skolt, and Kildin Sámi, in the critically endangered Ume and Pite Sámi and in the definitely endangered North Sámi⁵. Beside the Sámi languages, there are five other languages used by the contemporary authors (Norwegian/Bokmål, Swedish, Finnish, Russian and English).

Historical overview

As the summaries in Part II of this report state, the prerequisites for a historically well developed Sámi literacy and literature were laid many centuries ago. However, the present difference between the Sámi and the Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, or Russian literary practices is huge. Sámi still struggle with the prerequisites for passing on their literary culture – which is broken up over many centuries – most notably with regard to the fragile literary infrastructure. The first printed Sámi-language book, a Pite Sámi ABC and church singing book, was produced as early as in 1616 by the evangelical pastor N. A Rhen (1580–1628). It was followed in 1633 by a catechism written in Ume Sámi. Both Pite Sámi and Ume Sámi are presently highly endangered languages, having managed to become officially recognised by the states of Norway and Sweden only over the last few years! The first published poems were written by the Kemi Sámi

Olaus Sirma (published in 1673), in a language which no longer exists. Kainuu Sámi, or Akkala, as well as Ter Sámi (spoken by two persons) have met with the same fate.

The first attempt to create a South Sámi literary language goes back to 1755, when Pehr Fjellström (1697–1764) made the first translation of The New Testament. In the middle of the 19th century the language was replaced by the Lule-Sámi language used by the popular and also literarily productive Sámi preacher, Lars Levi Laestadius. The present South Sámi and Lule Sámi literary languages date back to 1967 and 1983, respectively.

Starting in 1648 with Johannes Jonæ Tornæus' manual, the creation of a North Sámi literary language has continued up to date. In the 17th and 18th centuries this happened mainly through the work of missionaries. Ever since the 20th century, creating a North Sámi literary language has been the task of linguists, who have also used prolific Sámi informants. After several attempts, and a great degree of discontinuity, North Sámi gained a 'user friendly literary language' in 1979.

Although the earliest known documentation of Sámi languages is a short Ter Sámi vocabulary collected by the British explorer Stephen Burrough in 1557, the Ter language, like Akkala, remained poorly documented. The other East Sámi languages, Inari, Kildin and Skolt Sámi, were first documented in the 19th century. Their present literary languages go back to 1957, 1983 and 1973, respectively.

After the sporadic literary publications of oral literature with high aesthetic quality in various Sámi languages in the 18 and 19th centuries, the first years of the 20th century brought us the first Sámi books written by Sámi authors in various languages and genres (prose, poetry, cultural history). Following another period of very few publications (1914–1970), a strong literary modernisation process has been underway. With the 1970s the first Sámi writer seminars, writers' associations, publishing houses, festivals, newspapers and literary critiques appeared, while revitalising the various forms of Sámi language and culture was also on the agenda. For the first time in its history, Sámi literature authored by Sámi has been able to reach the Sámi people, and now we can celebrate a "Sámi girjjálašvuohta" (Sámi literature⁶) numbering about 1200–

3 Joonas, Tanja: "The Political Recognition and Ratification of ILO Convention No. 169 in Finland, with some comparison to Sweden and Norway", *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 23 (3), 2005, 306–321.

4 For general overviews, see Gaski, Harald: *Skriftbilder. Samisk litteraturhistorie*, Davvi Girji, 1998, Hirvonen, Vuokko: *Voices from Sápmi: Sámi Women's Path to Authorship*, trans. Anttonen, Kaija, DAT, 2008 (the Sámi original and Finnish translation publ. in 1999), Piippola, Irene: "Saamelainen kirjallisuus Suomessa" <http://www.kirjasampo.fi/fi/node/4256#.WeXKCVu0OM8>, 2014, or Coq, Coppelie: "Från muntlighet till intermedialitet i Sápmi". In Petersson, Margareta, Schönström, Rikard (eds.), *Nordens Litteratur. Författarna och Studentlitteratur*, 2017, 457–464, or the entries for Sámi literature in *Store norske leksikon*: https://snl.no/samisk_litteratur, accessed on 12 Feb. 2018. For a North Sámi summary see: <http://www.calliidlagadus.org/web/index.php?sladja=56&vuolitsladja=76>, accessed on 13.02.2018.

5 According to The UNESCO Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (2010), the appropriate number of language users of North Sámi is cc. 30,000, of Lule Sámi 2,000, South Sámi 500, of Pite Sámi 20, of Ume Sámi 20, of Inari Sámi 400, of Skolt Sámi 300, and of Kildin Sámi 800. Akkala Sámi has died out very recently, and Ter Sámi has only two speakers. Unesco categorizes the endangered languages in five categories: 1 vulnerable, 2 definitely endangered, 3 severely endangered, 4 critically endangered and 5 extinct <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>, accessed on 2 Feb. 2018.

6 For the Sámi definition of the term, see the summary on North Sámi literature as well as the study by Harald Gaski in this report.

1500 sources (compare to the 5839 hits the Sámi Library gives when searching for sources about and in Sámi⁷).

Presenting in more detail the historical literary developments of each of the Sámi languages, along with their most urgent current issues, this report includes summaries of literary production in each of the Sámi languages (see part II). Therefore, for more information about the individual developments of South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt and Kildin literary production, the reader is asked to turn to these evaluations.

Conclusion

The importance literature plays within the Sámi culture today is well summarised in a recent article by the North Sámi literary scholar Lill Tove Fredriksen:⁹

The Sámi language is a very central part of Sámi literature. Unlike many indigenous peoples around the world, Sami authors write in their mother tongue. Our language is seen as being our most

important bearer of tradition and knowledge and is also important within Sami literature research... Language is in many ways a source of power and identity and can, according to lyric poet Synnøve Persen, be used by the author as a means of power for touching the innermost in the reader. This gives a feeling of being Sami and a collective feeling of belonging, something which has been a key aspect in the blossoming of Sami literature. (2014, 65)

Moreover, as the literary summaries and the interviews of this report reveal, Sámi literature has reached a level where its literary production preoccupies not only ethnic but also Nordic as well as global reading audiences – an achievement worth being proud of and worth fostering both by the Sámi peoples as well as their Nordic peers.

7 <http://sametinget.mikromarc.se/mikromarc3/search.aspx?ST=Normal&Unit=6465&db=sametinget>

8 Compare these data with the the library stock of the Sámi Library in Kárášjohka: "With its 30,000 volumes, the library houses Norway's largest collection of books and documents concerning the Sami languages and Sami subjects. The library contains books in North Sami and in the eight other Sami languages. It also includes extensive specialist literature on Sami topics in the Scandinavian languages, English, Latin, German and various other languages. Children's books in East Sami and Vulle Vuojáš, Donald Duck, in North Sami are the most readily available, while extensive works in Latin dating from the 1600s are only available upon request. The library is open to everyone." <http://www.nordnorge.com/ost-finnmark/?News=303&artlang=en>, accessed on 03 Nov. 2018.

9 Fredriksen, Lill Tove: Sámi Literature in Motion. In Hauan, Marit Anne (ed.), *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, Tromsø, University of Tromsø, 2014, 57–65.

2. About the report

Present situation of the Sámi literary field

Presently the Sámi literary field possesses a complex inner multilingualism, multiculturalism and multilocality. This makes it absolutely unique in the Nordic and global literary scene. Among the South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Kildin literary productions, the North Sámi literary field is the widest and most balanced developed field. This is due to the initiatives of the most numerous Sámi group, the North Sámi people, and the support of the Norwegian Government. Due to the strong collaboration between North Sámi literary actors across the borders, the field is mapped out at least in Norway with suitable institutional backing in order for a literary life to function. Writing seminars, publishing houses, printed and digital media, writers' unions, and teaching institutions incorporate Sámi literature on all levels, and books are sold online and in some shops. However, much needs to be done in all of the three home countries of the North Sámi literary life towards ensuring its prosperous future. All of the other Sámi languages have literary lives that are even more precarious, and in need of nurturing.

Since the 1970s, all the Sámi languages manifest modern literary ambitions, some of them being realised in the present, some of them trying to survive in very insecure circumstances, and many of them in decline. Some of the major concerns are the economic challenges in Russia, Sweden and Finland, the improvement of transnational and global collaborations, the challenges of the digital age, as well as the raising of a new writer generation. Many Sámi have ended up living outside the core Sámi areas. The aesthetic manifestation of Sámi languages plays a crucial role in strengthening collective identity even in the diaspora, but the multilingual and transnational Sámi literary field has a very vulnerable future.

Clarification of terminology

The present report uses the term "Sámi literary field" for referring to all kinds of related activities (such as publishing, disseminating, receiving and adapting) around its most central activity, namely book production by any

author who is explicitly or implicitly acknowledged by the Sámi people as a Sámi author. While the South, Ume, Pite, Lule, Inari, Skolt and Kildin subfields are referred to as *literary productions*, in case of North Sámi subfield the report uses the term "North Sámi literary field".¹⁰ However, the North Sámi literary field is part of the bigger concept that of the Sámi literary field in general.

According to the Sámi interpretation, "Sámi girjjálašvuohta" (in English Sámi literature), is a wider term than the one used in this article¹¹. While this term then includes both non-fiction and fiction, but consequently also religious, folklore and children's literature, the present report pays attention only to fiction production.

Aim of the present report

This report is a part of the project Multilingualism and diversity as a resource in the cultural field – employment and integration through literature in the Nordic Countries carried out by the Culture for All Service and financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers¹². The project investigates the literary prosperity of the non-dominant languages active in the Nordic countries, and the current report is the second one of the language-specific studies of the project¹³.

In a related comprehensive report prepared for the Culture for All Services and entitled *Wandering words. Comparisons of the position of non-dominant language writers in Nordic organizations*¹⁴ the authors Outi Korhonen and Rita Paqvalén have also examined the acceptability of Sámi authors in Nordic writers' unions and well as the translation and promotion possibilities of Sámi literature.

The present report would like to acknowledge the importance of the recommendations included in *Wandering Words. ...*, namely (1) the right of a writer to be evaluated in his or her own languages, (2) the right to write literature in one's own language, (3) intercultural dialogue between dominant and non-dominant language writers, (4) and special attention to literatures of the transnational Nordic minorities.

The survey was carried out by the literary scholar, translator and publisher of Sámi literature, Johanna

10 'A literary field' refers to a literature with the necessary literary infrastructure, and only North Sámi has it.

11 See Harald Gaski's article in this publication.

12 The project is a part of the three-year-long project An Open and Innovative Nordic Region with Healthy People 2020 – Equal Opportunities for Welfare, Culture, Education and Work (2016–2018). More info on the sub project Multilingualism and diversity as a resource in the cultural field – employment and integration through literature in the Nordic Countries here: <https://multilingualit.org/>.

13 The first report was published in 2016 and focused on the situation of Arabic language writers in the Nordic countries. Al-Nawas, Ahmed, *A View of the Conditions of Arabic Literature in the Nordic Region*, 2016.

14

Domokos, for the further assessment of the multilingual and transnational Sámi literary field. She wrote her MA in 1994 about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and has published about fifty studies¹⁵ and three books¹⁶ on Sámi literary and cultural developments, and translated and contributed to about fifteen translations into Hungarian, German, Russian and English¹⁷. Professor Domokos teaches at the Institute of Arts Studies and General Humanities at the Károli Gáspár University in Budapest, as well as heads a student Translation and Book Production Lab working with Sámi literature at Bielefeld University in Germany¹⁸.

The aim of this study was to map the present state of the 'dozen-lingual' Sámi literary field, to diagnose its greatest challenges in the four different countries, and to develop suggestions for improving the efficiency of the field. Wanting to fully respect the right of the Sámi community to decide on all the levels about the dynamisation of their literary field, the writer of this report has involved Sámi literary actors from every sector of the Sámi literary field, and has discussed its recommendations with several Sámi experts of the field. Due to the tight schedule for preparing the report (between November 2017 and March 2018), it includes several references to aspects that call for more investigation in the future.

Thesis

The aesthetic manifestation of the Sámi language has a long history and plays a crucial role in strengthening collective identity, but has a vulnerable future. The question to be answered in this report is: how to support the artistic vitality of the Sámi literature and writing culture so that its future will be strong and flourishing, and not as vulnerable as its history has been thus far? Since Sámi literary production among the younger generation has declined in recent years, it is important to make rapid changes. Sámi transnational internal literary networking along with intercultural Nordic relations, just as the publication and reception forums need to be rapidly diversified in order to meet the needs of the 21st century generation of readers. Sámi literature is relevant not only to the Sámi community but also to readers of the majority societies in the North.

Sámi literature is based on a borderless Nordic perspective. It is an important testimony of the history of the Nordic region. It is of utmost importance that the Sámi authors themselves are endowed with suitable opportunities to write literature, interpret their history and culture, and contribute with their views to the cultural diversity of the North as well the wider world.

Preparing of the report

The present report is based on the experiences, attitudes and descriptions obtained from the participants of the report through a multi-method approach.

For the report the author has utilised a questionnaire, conducted written and oral interviews (phone calls, Skype talks, meetings), and used observations and document analysis. Different versions of the questionnaire were sent to different sectors of the Sámi literary field. This included a questionnaire for (1) Sámi organisations (like the Sámi parliaments in Norway, Finland and Sweden, the Sámi Council, publishing houses, and literature and writers' centres¹⁹), (2) authors (like the members of the Sámi Writers' Association and the Sámi Non-Fiction Authors' and Translators' Association²⁰), and (3) translators, editors, literary critics and scholars, and other international networkers²¹. The questionnaires were presented besides in English also in North Sámi, Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian and Russian, and placed on the website of the report²².

The report also includes articles in which researchers of Sámi literatures and languages sum up the literary developments of the different Sámi languages. Being conscious of the fact that Erik Fichtelius recently formulated as: "The libraries are the fifth state power, accessibility is a matter of democracy and rights for all. Thus, access to minority language books must also be increased", a special report on the Sámi library situation by Irene Piippola has been included as well. The language-specific literary summaries and the overview of Sámi books in libraries form part III of this report.

The process of producing the report included a preparatory phase, with a phase for evaluating the feedbacks, and a phase for the synthesis of the results in the form of

15 For a more complete list, see <http://www.kre.hu/btk/index.php/domokos-johanna>

16 *Számi (lapp) költészet fordíthatóságáról* (About the translatability of Sámi poetry), Budapest, 2001, *Sámi cultural conjunctions*, Szombathely 2011, *Endangered literature*, Budapest, 2018.

17 For example, Valkeapää, Nils-Aslak: *Nap, Édesapám* (*Beaivi, Áhčážan* in Hung.), Budapest, 1996; Paltto, Kirste: *A csengő* (*Divga* in Hung.), Budapest, 2005; Aikio-Arianaick, Inger-Mari: *Számi ima* (*Suonát* in Hung.), Wien, 2009; Aikio-Arianaick, Inger-Mari: *Lebensrad* (*Suonát* in German, together with Schlosser, Christine), Wien, 2009; Bazhanov, Askold: *Стухи и поэмы о саамском крае / Verses & poems on the Saami land*, Berlin, 2009; Valkeapää, Nils-Aslak: *Grüße aus Lappland* (*Terveisiä Lapista / Greetings from Lapland* in German, transl. by Cafee, Naomi) Freiburg, 2014; Aikio, Inger-Mari: *Cream for the Sun / Sahne für die Sonne* (*Beaivváš čuohká gaba / Aurinko juo kermaa* in German and English, translated together with Gruppe Bie), Berlin 2018.

18 The student Translation and Book Production Lab at Bielefeld University: <http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/fachsprachenzentrum/projects/group-bie.html>, accessed on 12 March 2018.

19 See Appendix 1.

20 See Appendix 2.

21 See Appendix 3.

22 The questionnaires were published on the web pages of the project: <https://multilingualit.org/2017/12/04/sami-report/>

the report. Subsequently, the presentation of the report was carried out. In the preparatory phase the questionnaires were prepared and translated, and the authors of the literary overviews were chosen and consulted with. The official website of the project was launched after the first month of the project. In the middle phase more than 200 e-mails were sent out to people involved with Sámi literature and languages. In the third phase of the project a selection of experts on Sámi literature and language were asked to give feedback on the report and its recommendations. I am deeply indebted to all the people and organisations who have contributed with their valuable feedback and knowledge to this report.

Conducting the survey

As mentioned above, in the middle phase more than 200 e-mails were sent out to literary actors engaged in Sámi literature who are active either as writers, publishers, politicians, teachers, critics, translators, editors, organisers and readers in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia as well as in the US, Germany, Hungary, France, the Middle East, Mexico, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. About 30 informants were asked to respond from the first group (organisations), 100 from the second group (Sámi authors), 50 from the third group (translators, critics, scholars, teachers, students), and 30 from among the general audience. Each of the three main groups had their own detailed questionnaires (see Appendix 1–3), as well an alternative short questionnaire. However, the respondents were given the freedom of skipping questions, or addressing other relevant issues, as the following lines from the questionnaire suggest:

This is a general questionnaire. Please consider only questions relevant to you, and address any further issues. Much of the general information is available online. In certain cases you can simply provide a link.

Evaluation of the responses

The e-mails received 56 written responses, and in addition, the writer consulted 42 further agents via phone, Skype and during several meetings and lectures in and outside Sápmi. Of the 98 respondents 57 were female, and 41 male. 17 were MA or PhD students. The proportion of the personal answers and the answers from institutions is 24 to 74. As to the countries of the respondents, 19 were living outside Scandinavia, 25 in Sweden, 29 in

Norway, 5 in Russia, and 19 in Finland. These responses and discussions in various languages (North Sámi, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, English, German, and Hungarian) form the basis for the report and its recommendations. Since the survey was anonymous, whenever I refer to a piece of information given by a respondent, I am referring to I-IV groups based on the type of the questionnaire, like RI (for a response from an institution), RII (for writers), RIII (promoters), RIV (the general questionnaire in Russian), alongside mentioning the place of residence (e.g. R1/Sweden, or RIII/Russia).

The structure of the report

Part I of the report includes an introductory chapter (general premises, historical overview), as well as a chapter about the aim, thesis, and preparing of the report. Chapter 3 offers a general description of how the Sámi literary field operates and why all its functional areas are vulnerable. Chapter 4 presents the promoters of Sámi literature and Chapter 5 the 15 recommendations this evaluation has come up with. Part I ends with an appendix consisting of the questionnaires in English (Appendix 1–3).²³

Part II features the individual summaries of South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt and Kildin-Sámi literary productions authored by David Kroik, Joshua Wilbur, Päivi Alanen, Lill Tove Fredriksen, Harald Gaski, Sigbjørn Skåden, Petter Morottaja, and Michael Riessler. Part II also includes an overview of the situation of Sámi materials in Nordic libraries written by Irene Piippola.

23 The translations of the questionnaires into North Sámi can be found at: <https://multilingualit.org/2017/12/04/samegielat-girjjalasvuodagiettis/>
In Finnish: <https://multilingualit.org/2017/12/04/kulttuuria-kaikille-palvelu-keraa-tietoa-saamenkielisesta-kirjallisuuskentasta/>
In Russian: <https://multilingualit.org/2018/01/12/sami-questions-in-russian/>
In Swedish: https://multilingualit.org/2017/12/03/rapport_om_samisk-litteratur/

3. The five major domains of the Sámi literary field and their latest transformations

The two backbones of Sámi literature, namely the rich Sámi storytelling and singing traditions, have always been central forms of cultural expression for the Sámi. Be they presented in oral, printed or digital form, they play a crucial role in the articulation of social norms, values, and culture-political aspirations. Literature nurtures imagination, processes individual and collective traumas and tensions, and hosts all the registers of a language. Scientific language, slang, dialects and everyday language, archaisms, multilingualism, translingualism – all these find their home in literary works. They help their communities to learn and communicate valuable knowledge – and come up with a shared understanding.

The sections below describe the five major areas of the Sámi literary field, i.e. writing, printing, distribution, reception, and adaptation. All of them are grounded in the most important segment: the production of writers. Why are Sámi writers in an even more challenging situation than their Nordic majority colleagues, what are some of the urgent issues to rethink in the circuit of the Sámi literature, where should the changes be started, and in what areas does the evaluation of the field need more studies? – These are the key questions addressed below.

Writing

As mentioned above, the present Sámi literary field hosts about 150 people who produce texts in eight Sámi languages and in five other languages (Norwegian/Bokmål, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, and English). None of them can make a living from his or her literary work. Two thirds of them write in one of the existing Sámi languages, of which half are North Sámi languages. The remaining one third write in the official languages of the countries they live in, some even in English. The Sámi literary field includes authors of children books, poetry and novels, drama (performance texts), but also traditional storytellers and writers of screenplays and lyrics. The first novel published by a Sámi writer was *Muitalus sámiiid birra* by Johan Turi, and it was published in North Sámi (alongside Danish) in 1910. Between 1910 and 1915 about 10 books of literary relevance were published in Sámi in the Nordic countries, the same number as between 1915 and 1970. The first big boom of Sámi writers occurred during the Sámi renaissance of the 1970s–80s. At that time the majority of the authors were young or middle-aged, and they took an active role in the cultur-

Sami Authors as members of the Nordic Writers' Unions

Authors who write in Sámi languages are also accepted as members of the main writers' unions in all the Nordic countries except for Finland, where in order to qualify for membership in the main authors' unions, Sámi writers would have to write their work in Finnish or Swedish. After several requests from both media and cultural organisations to change this rule, the Union of Finnish Writers reconsidered the issue, but concluded that no change is needed.

The Sámi Writers' Association (Sámi Girječálliid Searvi, SGS) works transnationally and has members from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The association is open for Sámi authors who write literature in Sámi languages. The impact and financial power of the Sámi Writers' Association in the literary field of each country are much smaller than those of the main national authors' unions. (updated from *Wandering words* (...), Korhonen & Paqvalén 2016

Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, we see that the majority of the Sámi writers belong to the older generations, and that they participate much less in cultural decision-making processes. In our digital era, when visual and performing arts are booming, becoming a Sámi author seems to be more challenging than ever before. As the Sámi writer from Sweden, Anne Wuolab, suggested in one of her talks at the 2018 Staare Sámi Festival²⁴, implementing the Icelandic public support model for literature, instead of trying to catch up with the other Nordic States, would offer better suited and meaningful support for the Sámi. According to a recent evaluation by Rosie Goldsmith, in Iceland every tenth person will publish a book (2013). Looking at the 500 to 1000 new titles produced annually for the Icelandic community of 300.000 inhabitants, we can see how a literature of a nation with a small population can also flourish in our times.

There are three bigger writers' associations for Sámi writers. Two of them are based in Norway, namely the Sámi Writers' Association (Sámi Girječálliid Searvi), estab-

24 Staare Sámi Festival, <http://staare2018.se/en/festival-week/friday/>

lished in 1979, presently with 44 members, and the Sámi Non-fiction Writers' and Translators' Association (Sámi fágagirjjálaš čálliid- ja jorgaleaddjiidsearvi), established in 1992, presently with 54 members. The third one is in Sweden, the recently established Bágo Sámi Writers' Association (Bágo čálliid siebrie), established in 2014, presently with 35 members. All these associations are very active in organising literary events. None of them however has the capacity to offer a multilingual common online platform including basic information for writers on, for instance, income possibilities, literature grants, writer's contracts, copyright royalties and copyright organisations, social security information or taxation. The present website of the Finnish Writers' Union²⁵

or those of the other Nordic authors' unions would provide good examples of how to present information of this kind to a (novice) Sámi author.

It is a huge challenge to coordinate the communication among Sámi authors across languages and state borders – and Sámi organisations are aware of this. The annual Pan-Sámi literary days at the Sámi library of Káráš-johka (Sámij Girjjevuorkká / Sámiid girjerájus Saemiej Gärjahgáetie / Samernas bibliotek / GirjeGilkor) organised by the Sámi parliament in Norway (Sámediggi) together with the Sámi Artist Council (Sámi Dáiddárráđđi) and the Sámi Writers' Association support cooperation among Sámi writers across languages and state borders. Similarly, the conscious endeavour of the umbrella organisation for Sámi organisations in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia and the Sámi Council (Sámiráđđi, an NGO supporting Sámi cultural and political development), to support Sámi writers in getting and staying in touch with indigenous authors as well as any non-Sámi authors and literary worlds will certainly produce positive results. Networking is crucial for an author to feel that he or she has a vibrant context to write for and live in. Bringing Sámi authors closer to their readers not only means useful feedback for the author but it also strengthens the language and cultural identity of the readers and can function as an inspiration for the readers who might want to try out writing one day. With too few events in this regard at present, Nordic reader centres and major book festivals could serve as a platform to help authors reach their Sámi and non-Sámi audiences inside and beyond Sápmi.

In the last decades, we have seen both fiction writing making use of non-fiction literary methods and non-fiction literature striving towards a more aesthetic approach; these two aspects play a crucial role also in Sámi journalism, so that exchange among all Sámi writers, already well organised in these three forums, can promote favourable changes. The Sámi writing culture strongly supports the literary culture, and it is more important to foster their dependent interplay than it is in the case

of Scandinavian national literatures. However, the rapid technological and digital shift poses relevant challenges to those literary cultures as well, and it has become increasingly challenging to inspire the younger generation to read and write literature. As a respondent writes:

We need to teach our children to like literature, and we should read to them from their birth on and tell them stories and yoik to them! (R3, Norway).

Reasonably enough, there is much concern among the Sámi peoples with regard to their own literary production (R3, Sweden), especially over how to raise the new generation. Having a (re)productive indigenous literature, along with a multilingually writing and reading Sámi community, paired with a sector of non-Sámi authors writing about Sámi themes – brings more input and output into the broader circuit of Sámi literature (R3, International). Consciously supporting the growth of each of these spheres is a task that exceeds Sámi resources, and demands more support from the majority societies in the different Nordic countries.

Moreover, literary processes can gain a lot from inspiring dialogue (not based on hegemonial relations, of course) with other cultures. As examples, one can take the relationship between the Kemi Sámi O. Sirma and the German J. Schefferus (in the 17th century), the Sámi informants along Deatnu river studied by the Finn J. Fellman (in the 18th century), the South Sámi A. Fjellner and the Swede G.v. Düben (in the 19th century), the North Sámi J. Turi and the Danish E. Demant (early 20th century), the Kola Sámi O. Voronova and V. Smirnov (mid-20th century), several Sámi authors and their indigenous colleagues (late 20th century), or Sámi writers and other Nordic artist (early 21st century). Their mutual inspiration has contributed to many pearls of Sámi literature, from the first written documents of Sámi yoik and epic poems (Olaus Sirma, Anders Fjellner) to globally well received books like *Muitalus sámiiid birra* (Johan Turi, 1910), *Ruoktu váimmus* (Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, 1985), or *Beaivváš čuohká gaba / Aurinko juo kermaa* (Inger-Mari Aikio, 2014).

Publication

There are about ten active literary publishing institutions for the eight Sámi languages in the four countries, including Dat, Davvi Girji, ČálliidLágádus, Iđut, Skániid girjje, Gollegiela and Bárus SA in Norway, Kieletär in Finland and Bágo (just started) in Sweden. Puntsi in Finland and Sámi Girjji in Sweden have closed down. Davvi Girji is the largest Sámi publishing house, specialising in fiction, dictionaries and textbooks²⁶. All these publishers are small institutions run by Sámi, most of them in Norway. The

25 The Finnish Writers' Union, <http://www.kirjailijaliitto.fi>

26 As Davvi Girji writes: "The publisher has over 300 releases since 1979, with a broad language variety such as: Northern Sámi, Southern Sámi,

Norwegian ones are supported by the Sámi Parliament of Norway. The organisation supports the production of about 25 Sámi books per year, including fiction, non-fiction and translations, covering 100 percent of the costs. The Murmansk Regional Center of Indigenous Peoples of the North publishes annually a few books by Sámi authors in Sámi languages and Russian, but the number of published copies (1,000) is not high enough to meet with all the needs in Russia (R1, Russia). While the Sámi book publishers in Norway are the most active at operating transnationally, the publishing of Sámi literary works in Sweden and Finland needs to be strongly developed. Past publishing initiatives in these countries have all failed in the longer term due to insufficient funding. A respondent from a publishing house in Norway describes their situation in the following words:

It is always a question of capacity. We have to choose carefully and mostly we feel we are rejecting good projects since we do not have the capacity to work the projects... We handle our own distribution to Sámi reseller outlets in Sámi areas. Our books are listed and available for book stores to order in the central databases in Sweden and Norway... The clue is that the buyer has to know beforehand (!) which book they want when they go to the book store... Thus, we would need more support for creating a web store where we can sell. And a marketing firm / network which could inform and market Sámi books, where the interested reader could find them and buy them. (R1, Norway)

With two thirds of the books being children's books, the dozen literary works published in one of the Sámi languages each year come along with a dozen translated and non-fiction books. These numbers cover about half the books written well enough to be published; for the rest there is no funding. There is no literary journal for these books, and only a handful of blogs²⁷ publish literary works or literary news in this context (R2, Finland and R3, Norway). National publishers and literary journals in the four countries do not take on Sámi works, a pattern which has persisted throughout the decades. While in the 1980s–90s the few local Sámi newspapers were still publishing Sámi literary works, presently it is more often than not an exception. There is no transnational multilingual Sámi literary journal, although such a journal would benefit the Sámi as well as other citizens of the North.

Beside traditional means (paper publications), the digital age inspires and enables electronic versions of

Sámi literature as well as self-publishing (R3, Finland, and R4, international). The digital shift has indeed opened new platforms for publishing. For example, students at the Sámi Education Institute have been quite active in publishing online. Niillas Holmberg in turn has created a multilingual platform for Sámi languages: *Say it in Saami (Sano se saameksi – Säg det pås samiska)*²⁸. Writers also publish poetry reading videos online²⁹. Publishers need to be encouraged to produce e-publications, and existing online forums should (re)open literary sections. Their concerns are however expressed in the following quote:

E-books are different with copyright. The borrowing fees of Finnish libraries have only recently reached the Nordic level, but they are now threatened both by an EU directive and by e-books in general. E-book loans do not produce income for writers, illustrators and translators, since e-books are borrowed from licensed libraries. According to the proposed EU directive, loan repayments would also be made to publishers. These two issues should be tackled. With my publishing house I made the decision that if we start making e-books it will also ensure that the writer, illustrator and translator will receive a compensation corresponding to a quotation compensation... (R1, Finland)

As digital presence has become easier through technological development, seminars spreading information and grants to Sámi authors for self-publishing and online publishing, helping them to learn about how to create blogs and other digital contents, would encourage the authors to build up their digital presence.

Responding to the challenges of digital humanities, Giellatekno, the Centre for Saami Language Technology at the University of Tromsø, provides technological updates for Sámi digital literacies. Among the many fruitful programs they have successfully carried out together with Inari-Sámi revivalists is the programme *One hundred writers (Čyeti čälled anarâškielân – Sata kirjoittajaa inarinsaamelle)*³⁰ – encouraging people to write in Inari-Sámi. Similar projects adapted to the special circumstances could be carried out with all the other languages and literatures, in, for example, the form of “One hundred South Sámi literary texts”, “One hundred young North Sámi voices”, or “One hundred poems in Kildin Sámi translations”.

Since oral literature has been richly documented in the last two centuries by non-Sámi and Sámi scholars, a republishing of selected folklore materials in present orthographies with, for example, Norwegian or English

Kildin Sámi, Lule Sámi, Norwegian, Swedish, German, Finnish and English. Davvi Girji is the largest Sámi publishing house, specializing in fiction and text-books. Davvi Girji also stands behind the subtitles of the Sámi news Ođđasat in NRK. Davvi Girji has also engaged in the work of Sámi computer solutions, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Davvi_Girji, accessed on 14 March 2018

27 One example is the blog by the Inari writer Marja-Liisa Olthuis <http://tejablogi> in Finland and <https://samiskbibliotektjeneste> or www.lagadus.org in Norway

28 Sano se saameksi: <http://sanosesaameksi.yle.fi>, accessed on 5 July 2018.

29 Inger-Mari Aikio and Miro Mantere: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKtOvpdkMF8>, accessed on 3 March 2018.

30 Čyeti čälled anarâškielân – Sata kirjoittajaa inarinsaamelle: <http://www oulu.fi/blogs/100called>, accessed 5 July 2018.

translations would also serve as a good impulse not only for the writers and readers but also for a more visible Sámi literary canon. A few books of this kind, like the early Sámi-Finnish bilingual *Skabmatolak/Tulia kaamoksessá* (1974), the 2001 anthology of modern Sámi literature by the Sámi Writers' Association (*Sámi girječálliid searvi antologia*), the anthology of oral literature from 2004 (*Min njálmálaš árbevierru*) or the recent high-school literature text book (*Sániid duohkan*, 2011) are good beginnings, but more systematic and comprehensive series are still needed. Now that the Nordic countries have established and promoted their vast literary canons, it has become well reasoned to reflect on the role of these endeavours, or as literary scholarship does: question it. However, Sámi literatures should not skip the step of building a more visible literary canon for themselves as well as for other readers in the Nordic countries they live in.

Distribution

The audiences of Sámi literature are made up of readers living in Sápmi, in North Europe and all around the world. Sámi books are valued not only at Kola Sámi homes but all around Sápmi. There is a strong interest in them among Sámi parents who live south of the geographical Sámi region and who raise their children to speak one of the Sámi languages. Their situation is markedly more challenging, not only because of their need to nurture their own Sámi literacy but also because of the importance of passing it on to the next generation. Sámi literature moreover has difficulties reaching the non-Sámi readers living in and beyond Scandinavia. For the Sámi literary field it is crucial that literary works and all the other information related to the field travel easily across the country borders dividing Sápmi. Even if the published books are efficiently distributed through public libraries and book buses in the Norwegian and Finnish part of Sápmi, the bookstores and libraries carrying Sámi works outside Sápmi are still low in number. The sharing of Sámi titles among Nordic and global distributors (e.g., Libris, Amazon) improves the visibility of Sámi literature. However, it is still difficult to propagate Sámi literary culture across national borders to bookstores, public and school libraries or homes outside Sápmi. In this light, the previously successful Sámi Book Distribution Project by the Sámi Council would be worth revisiting and starting again (R1, Norway). Presently the ordering of free teaching materials can only be done through the website of the Iđut publishing house³¹.

The recent successes at national and international book fairs (Frankfurt 2014, Turku 2016) suggest that Sámi publishers need to be enabled to regularly participate with their authors in national and international book fairs (e.g. Helsinki, Turku, Stockholm, Göteborg, Lillehammer,

Oslo, Leipzig and Frankfurt) (R3, Finland). Good visibility of Sámi books can change unfavourable attitudes among the majority and quality literature can offer uplifting experiences to those who already appreciate it. However, the distribution of books in the Nordic countries is practically monopolised, for example in Finland by the Kirjavälitys wholesale and logistics company. The bookshops want nearly 50 % of the selling price of the book and hold a monopoly for book orders. In addition, library orders also go through the major Nordic distributors, so the publishers have to adjust the pricing on two levels before receiving any profit from the book (R1, Finland). The same respondent suggests the following:

Sámi literature could be given some form of distribution support, so that the 50% discount for book brokers would somehow be compensated... For example, FILL's (Finnish Literature Exchange) support for translation should be increased in case of books translated into Sámi. The number of readers in the Sámi language is so small that the costs should be covered by grants or subsidies, since they cannot be covered by book sales. (R1, Finland)

Not only books but also other information on Sámi literature needs wider dissemination. Whether it is a question of writers' gatherings, transnational festivals, writing seminars or conferences on literature – literary actors from all parts of Sápmi need to be well-informed. Information on the many scattered initiatives is mainly spread through local and oral communication. Some of the initiatives – far from systematic enough as such – are reviewed by the national Sámi radios and TV companies (like Yle Sápmi, or Sámi radio of NRK). Therefore a Sámi literary exchange center nurturing transnational Sámi literary cooperation as well as the dissemination of information and books on a global level, could do much good to infuse the Sámi literary field with more inspiring communication. As several writers have expressed in their responses:

It would have been helpful if there had been an organisation that could market Sami writers and our product to the world. (R2, Finland, R2 Norway, R2 Sweden)

A Sámi literary institution could also play an important role in reducing financial obstacles to the circulation of Sámi literary works around the world (e.g., by taking on the costs involved with publishing rights, offering support for printing or travel costs to the writers etc.). A Sámi literary exchange centre could then also coordinate the synergy of the individual Sámi literary centres operating in different countries. There is no question that the presently existing Sámi literary centres, such as the Sámi Literary Center in Kárášjohka, Norway (Girjjálašvuoda Guovddáš

31 Iđut publishing house: www.idut.no, accessed 5 July 2018.

/ Samisk Litteratursenter³²), and the recently established Sámi Writing Center in Johkamohkki (Författarcentrum Sápmi³³) in Sweden still need support in various forms. In Finland there is no institution of this kind, although there is much unused potential in this respect. The internationally renowned and very well networked writers, such as Inger-Mari Aikio and Niillas Holmberg, could serve as inspiration for successful operation in this regard.

Not only Sámi people all over Scandinavia but all interested people around the globe can benefit from the very positive transnational initiative, *Sámisk bibliografi/Sámi bibliografia*³⁴. It is a joint project between the National Library of Norway, the Sámi special library at the Rovaniemi City Library in Finland, the Murmansk State Regional Universal Scientific Library, and Ájtte – the Swedish Mountain and Sámi museum. BIBSYS, an institution operating under the Ministry of Education and Research in Norway, is responsible for harvesting the data and the dissemination of the bibliography in the discovery system Oria (made by Ex Libris). The National Library of Norway has also digitised and made public on its website all the Sámi books published in Norway up until 2000³⁵. However, historical materials need adaptations to present orthographies, and in some case adaptations for young readers.

Reception

The reception of Sámi literary works is important on personal, educational and institutional level in Sápmi as well as in Nordic and international contexts. Sámi and Nordic cultural centres, theatres, festivals and museums are important venues for visualising, preserving and developing Sámi literature. They help the symbolic capital of Sámi literature to truly unfold, and it is therefore important to clear the many obstacles in this respect. It is important for the continued vitality of Sámi culture that Sámi literature does not become a museum of texts, or only a “library” that offers a vast exploratory space within its own specific system. Sámi literature needs in the 21st century more than ever to be a distinctive domain of lively interactions between all kinds of actors (writers, readers, scholars, critics etc.). A respondent voices one of the challenges of our age in the following way:

I think that what has a negative effect on both language use and the reading of literature is the new trend among us all, excessive screen usage! It is a challenge and we don't actually know what

it's actual consequences will be for our Sámi languages or the Sámi literary field. (R3, Norway)

An adequate reception of Sámi literature by the young and the old requires a diversification of the literary works that are published. Writers and translators need to be supported to experiment in various genres (from classical to digital and experimental forms). Sámi children's literature and memoir writing are alive and flourishing. The need to produce easy-to-read, audio and digital versions of Sámi literary works has been recognised and these processes need further support. A reader survey carried out by the Sámi Parliament of Norway in 2016 reveals that young readers would like to read all kinds of books, not just ones focussing more explicitly on Sámi culture and traditional Sámi life.

The Sámi Parliament of Norway pays much attention to supporting young writers and the diversification of literary production as well as translations into North Sámi. Several writer courses in Sámi (*Sámegielat girječálli oahppu*) have been organised and realised recently by Sigbjørn Skåden and Inga Ravna Eira. However, Sámi literature is a literature of many languages, and literary processes in all of these languages need to be considered in relation to each other.

A serious deficit in the reception process in all Sámi literatures is a lack of works addressing the teenage generation. The field needs a much higher number of works aimed at young adults, including also fantasy, crime and sci-fi novels. It would inspire young people to develop an interest in reading and perhaps later become active in the literary field. Experimental literature (like flash poetry, video story, Instagram poetry, visual poetry etc.) could effectively serve the global expansion of Sámi literature. Participating in Nordic and International festivals (like poetry film festivals) is also recommended. There might be future Nordic and international literary scholars sitting among the audience at these events.

The role of education in the reception of Sámi literature is crucial. The decline in the intensity and prestige of literature education worldwide affects the vitality of indigenous cultures much more than that of majority cultures. This could be positively influenced with a higher number of visits by Sámi writers, translators and literature promoters (publishers, scholars, journalists, organisers, “obsessed readers”) to schools offering not only Sámi students creative writing or even book making courses, drama/theatre courses or, not the least importantly, literary competitions. The opportunities of Sámi educators and also their Nordic colleagues to promote Sámi literature need to be supported by the respective institutions, be

32 The centre is a mediator and an exhibition and sales platform for Sámi literature in all languages. It was opened in Kárášjohka in September 2014 by the Sámi publisher ČálliidLágádus. The purpose of the centre is to make Sámi literature more familiar among audiences. All the Sámi publishers are represented with their releases and products at the centre. <https://www.facebook.com/girjijt/>, accessed on 14 March 2018.

33 On the Sámi Writing Center in Johkamohkki: <https://postkodstiftelsen.se/en/blog/projekt/forfattarcentrum-sapmi/>, accessed on 12 March 2018.

34 *Sámisk bibliografi/Sámi bibliografia*: https://bibsyst-almaprmo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=SAMISK, accessed on 3 Feb. 2018.

35 The National Library of Norway, <https://www.nb.no/>, accessed 5.7.2018.

Translation support for Sámi literature in the national organizations of literature exchange

In Sweden, Sámi languages (Lule Sámi, North Sámi and South Sámi) are officially included in the translation support scheme of the Swedish Arts Council, the organisation that administrates the state funding for translations. This includes both translations from Sámi into foreign languages and from foreign languages into Sámi. The Swedish Arts Council also has a separate support scheme for minority languages, in which the mentioned Sámi languages are included. These funds can be used both for translations into Sámi and for literature published originally in Sámi.

NORLA – Norwegian Literature Abroad, the organisation promoting the export of Norwegian literature, does not include literature written in Sámi in its regular support scheme. Considering that most publishing companies that publish texts in Sámi languages are located in Norway, this exclusion is a problem for the internationalisation of Sámi literature. Recently there has been a lot of discussion about a policy change at NORLA or, alternatively, founding a separate export organisation for Sámi literature. Even though Sámi languages aren't included in NORLA's regular scheme for translation subsidy yet, the Sámi languages and culture form an integral part of Norway's the national project as Guest of Honour at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2019. NORLA will in this vein allocate project funding for

several Sámi translations and projects, including the translation of an anthology of Sámi poetry into German, sample translations of Sámi literature into English, and travel grants for Sámi publishers to attend the Frankfurt Book Fair. Furthermore, Sámi publishing houses are now welcome to register their titles in NORLA's (foreign rights) portal, Books from Norway, which was introduced in October 2017: http://booksfromnorway.com/rights_holders

In Finland, literature written in Sámi (Skólt, North and Inari Sámi) is officially included in the support scheme of FILI – Finnish Literature Exchange. In 2007 FILI also launched a special support for translations from Sámi into Finnish, but due to the the low amount (max. 1000 euros including both production and translation costs), additional funding would be required for each book production. FILI's support for translations into other languages is officially available only for literature published in Finland. As there is only one small publishing company in Finland that publishes some of its publications in Sámi (Kieletär), the Sámi authors in Finland publish mostly in Norway. This means that including literature in Sámi in FILI's translation support for foreign languages requires exceptions of this rule. Exceptions have been possible. (Updated resume from *Wandering Words* (...), Korhonen & Paqvalén 2016

it through Nordic reading centres, the Sámi Education Council, the Sámi Council or the Sámi parliaments. Literary campaigns, contests, online reading programmes³⁶ or, even more importantly, literary apps and vlogs are among the ways to do this. What is available for Sámi young readers is summed up by a teacher in the following way:

E-skuvla³⁷ is the only Sámi actor actively creating online reading and writing tools, and most of their tools are for younger children. Besides this, there are some interesting resources online but they are also meant for young children and include no reading comprehension materials³⁸. UGGLO has also just recently contacted us about making regular children's books available in Sámi as recordings that can be played simultaneously as parents show the matching pictures to children. We are a group of parents, students and teachers who will be providing the company with our recordings. There are also tools like Quizlet with

which some Sámi teachers have created their own quizzes on books and readings for their own pupils, but nothing is organised under a one and same roof. People are too busy to start working on things that don't make a profit. ... One thing that one could do, for example, with students in the future is to make them first read a bunch of books and then produce quizzes for them that could be used in school. (R3, Sweden)

As the examples of historic writers like Olaus Sirma, Anders Fjellner, Johan Turi, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, or of contemporary authors like Inger-Mari Aikio (b. 1961) and Niillas Holmberg (b. 1990) prove, successful literary works have always strongly promoted the respective culture beyond its borders. Publications in Nordic languages as well as international publications contribute crucially to the spread of Sámi literature and thereby to the status of Sámi culture. Sámi literature is often very well received and has even at times reached interna-

36 For example the German "quizzary" www.antolin.de, accessed 5 July 2018

37 See E-skuvla: <http://www.e-skuvla.no>, accessed 5 July 2018

38 For examples on online resources see e.g. http://zadissa.com/noras_pulka/html5/?lang=sme, accessed 5 July 2018

tional audiences (e.g. Olaus Sirma's yoik poems in the 17th century, Fjellner's epic poems in the 19th century, Johan Turi's book in the early 20th century and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's mythopoetry from the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries). Therefore, translation and printing grants for foreign agents, as well as writing and publication funds for Sámi agents, need to enjoy stable financing.

Beside the mentioned reception modes that support the vitality of this symbolic capital, the feedback at the economic level is also relevant. Sámi Writers' Association and the Sami Parliament in Norway have agreed on an honorary fee for Sámi books. The fees are paid when the publisher has decided to launch the script as a book. The fees are the following: for a novel 100.000 NOK, for a short-story collection 85.000 NOK, and for a children's and youth book 75.000 NOK (R1, Norway). Moreover, the Norwegian North Sámi authors get remuneration through Sámikopiija³⁹, an organisation founded in 1992 for the purpose of attending to the rights of Sámi copyright holders in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. According to a lecture given by Vuokko Hirvonen at the *Literature without borders* seminar held in Helsinki in 2016, Sámikopiija has made agreements with the related Norwegian institutions, but with Finland and Sweden the process is still under negotiation⁴⁰. In Finland and Sweden, Sámi authors apply for remuneration together with other writers from these countries, e.g. at the Sanasto and Kopoisto copyright societies in Finland. The remuneration for Sámi authors is however regulated in different ways by the Nordic Ministries of Culture, which leads to national differences in how they are treated. For example, the system of library compensation grants for authors and translators in Finland (in Finnish kirjastokorvausapurahan, i.e. subsidies for writers, literally 'library grant') is a culturally motivated form of public support for literature, where Sámi authors are not at a disadvantage even though the number of loans of their books may be low.

The question of how to financial ends is central not only for Sámi writers and publishers but also for international literary promoters. Both sides have rarely made any profit from their works although the international "literary events", i.e. translations, usually generate a warm response. Thus far Sámi literature has been published in at least 40 languages, including e.g. Finnish, English, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian, German, French, Chinese, Bulgarian, Arabic, Russian, Icelandic, Hindi, Japanese, and several indigenous languages of Russia and the American continent. Based on feedback, Sámi authors also value translations of their works highly (R2, Norway, R1, Finland).

Many of the Sámi literary actors expressed concerns over the fact that Sámi literature isn't translated into Nordic languages sufficiently, and therefore readers from

the Nordic majorities consider Sámi literature as still in its infancy (R2, Norway, R2, Finland, R2, Sweden, or R1, Finland). Support for the translation and printing costs of Sámi books in their target countries beyond Scandinavia has been a much awaited development. Until recently only the Finnish Literature Exchange (FILI) and Kulturrådet (Swedish Arts Council) have offered translation grants for translating Sámi literature beyond its borders⁴¹. The discriminatory situation where translations of Sámi authors' works are not supported in Norway casts a shadow on Norway's otherwise progressive literary policy. This issue has been addressed recently, and a Sámi forum for supporting all Sámi translations irrespective of their country of origin is under discussion (R3, Finland). Reception is not a one-way process, it extends in multiple directions. Literary works are received by the audience, but the feedback from the readers needs to also reach the author and the publishers. Libraries in Norway and Finland have good statistics on how many times specific Sámi books have been on loan. But statistics on loans are not enough, authors and literatures also need vivid discussion around their works, creative critique and analytical scholarship.

Presently local Sámi and Nordic literary criticism (in magazines like *Ávvir*, *Sápmi*, *Š*) and international literary scholarship offer little feedback to the literary circuit; fortunately the work that is being done in Sámi literary research is of the highest quality. Since it is the North Sámi literary scholars who are acting as subsumers of historical literary pursuits in any Sámi language, it is also their challenge to evaluate the other literary productions beyond North Sámi.

Methodological, theoretical work for a multi-Sámi literary field based on Sámi/indigenous premises is already emerging (see, among many others, the contributions of Harald Gaski, Vuokko Hirvonen, Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Rauna Kuokkanen). This would also for its own part help to decolonise and diversify the established literary scholarship. As a next step in supporting literary scholarship and criticism a respondent suggests:

...that all the institutions working with Sámi literature should be assembled at a meeting to discuss questions concerning the future development of the field. Without such a meeting the problems are difficult to solve, as we have already seen. (R3, Finland)

Literary prizes and shortlisting for prizes are also positive feedbacks to Sámi authors. Beside the Sámi Council's biennial literary prize, which has been awarded 16 times thus far, Sámi books can take part in national and Nordic literary competitions (e.g. Den internasjonale Ibsenprisen, Ernst Orvills legat, Lappi-Kirjallisuuspalkinto). The Nordic

39 Sámikopiija: <http://www.samikopiija.org>

40 The lecture The Sámi literature as an example of transnational literature by Vuokko Hirvonen, Sámi University College can be viewed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSVlr7rnOME>, accessed 3 November 2018.

41 Fili, on the other hand, officially supports only literature published in Finland. This rule excludes most Sámi literature written by Finnish nationals, as it is published in Norway. Exceptions have fortunately been possible.

Council Literature Prize, awarded since 1962, was given in 1991 to the Sámi author Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, and Sámi authors have been shortlisted for it more than a handful of times. However, there is a need for new and varied prizes to recognise the work of the Sámi authors and other literary actors, through which they could be introduced to the field (R3, International). They could include, for example, a debut prize for the best translation from and into Sámi, for the most beautiful Sámi book and for the best adaptation, or a prize given to active young readers. With well-targeted PR, Sámi literary productions could become more visible and receive even more acknowledgement from the Nordic and global audiences. As an author suggests:

Prizes are good, but they rarely help to sell more books and reach more readers. . . . It might be helpful to arrange book launch tours where the author visits schools, libraries and other culture centres with his or her newly published book. I've seen what a difference it makes when people hear the author's story, after that people often buy the book. The poems could also be included in other cultural events like Ijahis Idja⁴², or Skábmagovat⁴³. Not as a separate programme, but as kick-offs with poems. It could spark interest also in those people who don't come there expressly to listen to literature. It could also help deconstruct some of the prejudices related to poems, or literature. (R2, Finland)

Online and published encyclopedia and Wikipedia entries, studies published in international literary journals and magazines and Sámi theme issues in various literary journals around the world are also urgently needed. "It is good to be aware that because of a sudden increase in international broadcasts on Sámi culture, the 'Sámi are in' at a global level! And this wave could be filled with more content." (R1, Norway).

Adaptation

Many of the Sámi literary works (poems, novels, drama, folklore) have been well received by other art forms. The songs of Mari Boine, Niko Valkeapää or Maxida Märak and Sofia Jannok based on various Sámi poems by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Ravdna Carita Eira and other Sámi poets, the composition by Paolo Ugoletti based on the poems of Inger-Mari Aikio (*A Lapland Aria for*

Soprano and String Orchestra, 2010) or the recent successful performance of *Beaivvaš* (Sámi National Theater) based on the life and work of Johan Turi, and the films of Inger-Mari Aikio and Suvi West (*Soajálaččat*, 2013, *Juuret on*, 2017) prove how inspiring Sámi literary works can be. Through these adaptations literature gains a third life (first by its own, secondly through translations, thirdly through adaptations), in a process that for this very reason needs to be nurtured. Bringing together various artists for different projects (shorter and longer ones) fosters many new ideas. As an artist suggests:

All kinds of supportive actions are highly welcome for strengthening the status of art and literature: exhibitions, concerts, symposiums, collaboration with other artists and nations. Funds and travel grants are important, also for the Sámi on the Russian side who are facing many difficulties as writers. Art exchange, art residencies, courses, projects with music, literature, art and dance in schools, kindergartens, universities and even in the streets! All these could be led by some of the better known young artists. A vibrant exchange of literature with all kinds of art would bring a vibrant dynamism into the lives of the communities. (R3, International)

Presently the Sámi Parliament of Norway has an application-based arrangement called Arenaer for kunst- og kulturformidling (Arenas for Arts and Culture Mediation)⁴⁴. The scheme builds up focus on innovative activities by Sami artists that will contribute to the development of Sámi institutions and arenas for the dissemination of art and culture. According to the website, the scheme also supports arenas, networks and cooperation projects that contribute to increased international promotion and export of Sámi art and Sámi artists on international markets as well as to the establishment of grants for young Sami artists. Including Sámi writers in the programme could inspire more inter-artistic projects.

Apart from the adaptations of Sámi literature to other art forms, it is also necessary to take steps regarding the challenges of the digital shift. Digital media sites are significant to the preservation and vitality of languages since they constitute a locus of creativity and renewal. Research has shown that without digital presence languages have very small chances to survive. Supporting the increasing online presence of the ultra-minor and

42 "Ijahis idja is a festival celebrating the music of indigenous peoples, which has been held in Inari since 2004. The event is the only music festival in Finland that concentrates on Sámi music. The Ijahis idja ('Nightless Night') Indigenous Music Festival is held annually in the town of Inari, Finland. The festival venue is the Sámi Cultural Centre Sajos. Audiences can listen to and experience the music of Sámi and other indigenous peoples at the festival events that include concerts, music seminars, workshops and clubs. This year the festival will take place during 17–19 August." <http://www.ijahisidja.fi/en/ijahis-idja.php>, accessed on 4 March 2018.

43 The Indigenous Peoples' Film Festival Skábmagovat / Kaamoksen Kuvia/Reflections of the Endless Night has been arranged since 1998 and takes place in Inari annually for four days in January. Skábmagovat showcases Sámi and other indigenous films and TV programmes. The films are shown in the Northern Lights Theater, which is made entirely of snow, with the sky as the roof. Films are also presented in the auditoriums of Siida and the Sámi Cultural Centre Sajos. For more details see http://skabmagovat.fi/skabmagovat_2014/, accessed on 4 March 2018.

44 Arenaer for kunst- og kulturformidling: <https://www.sametinget.no/Tjenester/Kultur#section-Arenaer-for-samisk-kulturutoevelse>, accessed on 15 March 2018

small Sámi literatures is a humanitarian goal that supports cultural diversity. Including Sámi literature in other digital platforms (like the Giellatekno database) enables the digital Sámi linguistic research not only to improve but to also gain new modes of analysis. This would allow Sámi literary scholarship to keep up with the latest developments in digital humanities and develop methods

of analysing the aesthetic function of Sámi languages throughout various large databases (R3, International, and R1, Norway). For literature and adaptation the digital shift entails not only a new medium, a new audience and a new context but also a new scholarship.

4. Promoters of North Sámi literature

The most important Sámi cultural and political institutions that contribute to the literary discussion are the Sámi Council, the Sámi Artist Council, the Sámi parliaments in Norway, Finland and Sweden, the Sámi Writers' Association, the Sámi non-fiction Authors' and Translators' Association, the Bágo Writers' Association, Saamen kielilautakunta, and the Sámi Library in Kárášjohka. There are several other non-Sámi institutions that are more or less closely connected to the Sámi literary field, like the Nordic parliaments, the Nordic Council, the Norwegian and Swedish writers' associations or the Arts Council of Lapland, Arts Promotion Centre Finland and FILI in Finland. They also offer grants and other types of support for Sámi literary actors sporadically.

Connected to the emancipatory efforts of Sámi peoples, there is a Sámi Parliament in each of The Nordic countries. These organs should always be consulted by the national parliaments when decisions concerning Sámi issues are taken. The seriousness and effectiveness of the Sámi Parliament of Norway (Sámediggi) regarding literary issues constitutes an example worth following by other national and ethnic cultural decision makers in the North. Since the Sámi Cultural Council (based in Norway) was closed down at the beginning of the 2000s, the Sámi Parliament (of Norway) has been the most efficient promoter of North Sámi literature written in Norway and has also done much for the other neighbouring Sámi literatures. It cooperates actively with the Sámi Writers' Association, the Sámi Artist Council and the Sámi Council (an NGO supporting Sámi cultural and political development). But as certain publishing forums are lacking outside the Norwegian side of Sápmi, institutions still need to be established in those countries to coordinate national, transnational and international literary networking. The Sámi Parliament of Norway cannot fund Sámi writers living outside Norway, an issue worth finding a solution to in the future (R1, Norway).

As the 2016 Sámi Council's report on Sámi literature reveals, the Sámi Parliament of Norway grants support to Sámi publishers⁴⁵ annually. The support to the Sámi literary field includes grants for competence development, course activities, distribution and marketing, and it covers 100 percent of a book release in Norway. The parliament acts in cooperation with the Sámi Artist Council (including the Sámi Writers' Association) in offering grants and guidance for writers and further support for literary organ-

isations. On several occasions it has also carried out writer education projects together with the Sámi Artist Council and Sámi Writers' Association, and it endeavours to stimulate more Sámi-language publications of children's fiction. The Sámi Parliament of Norway has its own enterprise development programme specifically for present and incipient carriers of Sámi culture in which authors of literature can also participate. The goal is for more people to be able to earn a living from their cultural production after the completion of the programme. The parliament also supports the Sámi library in Kárášjohka, which has the most comprehensive collection of Sámi literature and other materials in Sámi, including translations from Sámi. The parliament organises annual literature seminars where representatives of the literature industry gather to discuss academic issues. It invests in the operation of book buses in Sámi settlement areas in Finland, Norway and Sweden.

The Sámi Parliaments in Sweden and Finland, where the state budgets for culture have not undergone any significant improvements in the past decades, are still doing their best but are hardly able to meet with the needs of the literary sector. The Sámi Parliament of Sweden has recently revised its strategy for supporting literature and is presently working on improving the library conditions in Sweden. The Sámi Parliament of Finland in turn has supported several translations into all the three Sámi languages in Finland (e.g. the Tatu and Patu book series). Both parliaments support, for example, the Sámi Writers' Association. However, not even one of the North Sámi writers in Norway can afford to live just by writing. In the present situation where Sámi culture is so deeply vulnerable⁴⁶, no Sámi author should be left behind, just as no Sámi book should be left behind. In the same way, special literary strategies need to be developed for Sámi writers and readers living outside their historical areas.

Integration of the Sámi literary field

There is no doubt a constant need to increase the knowledge and awareness of Sámi indigenous literature, among both decision makers and the Sámi and general public. The investigation into the institutional and financial possibilities of Sámi authors in Norway shows that although they have much better circumstances than their colleagues in Sweden, Finland and

45 Høringsnotat. Sametingsrådets redegjørelse om samisk litteratur. Ávjovárgeaidnu 50 N-9730 Karasjok/Kárášjohka, <http://docplayer.me/18592978-Horingsnotat-sametingsradets-redegjorelse-om-samisk-litteratur-avjovargeaidnu-50-n-9730-karasjok-karasjohka-telefon-47-78-47-40-00.html>, accessed on 3 March 2018.

46 See Sköld, Peter, Sami identity in the cross-fire between politics and culture, in Coudenis, W., Komlósi, L. I. (eds.), *Inclusion through education and culture*, Fourth Annual Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture jointly organized with the Compostela Group of Universities, Pécs, UNeECC, 2010, 201–209.

Russia, there is still much room for development even in Norway. It is of utmost importance that the Sámi authors themselves be endowed with suitable opportunities to write literature, interpret their history and culture, and contribute with their views to the cultural diversity of the North and that of the wider world. As a researcher and translator sums it up in her response:

The field would have a lot of potential and could produce many different literary works, but the problems are big. The first thing to say is that people who can speak the Sámi language most often don't know how to write it or are afraid they can't write it correctly. That's why many people don't dare to even begin to write. Second, except for in Norway, there is no systematic support for writing, publishing or translating. The production of Sámi-language literature is not profitable... Many of the works are paid by the writers themselves or by associations. The book deliveries are done alongside main jobs. This makes the writing and publishing processes slow. The same applies to the reception and marketing of works. With scientific texts and teaching materials the situation is slightly better than with literature, but also here the vast majority of academic publishers don't support publishing in Sámi languages. The potential of the entire field is far from fully utilised, many great texts remain in the desk drawer. The development of information technology and paperless / electronic publishing have helped a lot and will in the future help even more. The problem at present is that older generations still want paper books, but Books on Demand type services will help. Thirdly, there is a great need for various concrete actions (like offering language support, language editing, technical assistance with, for example, information technology, working grants and publishing support), but also for efforts to encourage people to experiment with writing in Sámi. Internalising the potential of electronic publishing is important. Young readers can be reached by offering them interesting texts readily available to them and encouraging them to read such texts both at school and home. And last but not least, a general strengthening of the status of Sámi languages and positive language attitudes among the Sámi but also the majority are of paramount importance. (R3, Finland)

An ongoing literary project in Sweden

Recently, a literary initiative has been started on the Swedish side because "[t]he situation of Sámi literature in Sweden is so serious that only a coherent national support and reform package can reverse the negative trend" – as Malin Nord quotes the writers of the Bágo Writers' Union⁴⁷. In 2016 they developed together a ten-

point programme of measures to establish a writing centre, which has recently started to operate. The points of *Tio punkter för den samiska litteraturen*⁴⁸ included:

1. providing advice, opinions and information on national, Nordic and international levels about Sámi literature and authorship;
2. (gaining a clear support scheme for Sámi literature in Sweden);
3. participating in various literature projects to promote literature and its creation in Sápmi;
4. reconsidering how Sámi publishing can be strengthened;
5. working actively to have a writer's work disseminated throughout Sápmi;
6. arranging seminars, readings and author tours of various kinds;
7. reviewing the possibilities for a literature prize in e.g. the categories adult and children literature;
8. informing the public about the importance of membership in the writers' union and Sámi writers' associations;
9. (reviewing the possibility of creating a literary journal for the benefit of Sámi literature, and creating non-fiction and fiction language support features measures; as well as
10. reviewing and suggesting actions for skills development among authors and translators, and encouraging Swedish libraries to offer a wide selection of Sámi literature.

This project under the new organisation of the Sápmi Writing Center⁴⁹ started in November 2017 and will end in November 2019, and its results will definitely show in the coming years.

Sámi literature is relevant not only to the Sámi but also to the majority societies in the North. Strengthening Sámi literature also strengthens the greater Nordic literary community as well as Sámi culture as a whole. Translations from Sámi into the Nordic languages need to be encouraged in order for both Sámi readers, who are unable to read in Sámi, and non-Sámi readers to gain access to Sámi literature. Sámi literature offers the Nordic national literatures a common ground to come together. It is an important testimony of the history and present times of the Nordic region.

Since not even all the Nordic majority literary fields are economically sustainable, the indigenous Sámi need to be given stronger attention so that they can sustain and strengthen the vitality of their literary field. Thus, as is the case of every literary field, the economic capital and symbolic capital must be viewed separately. Also

47 <http://www.skraet.nu/2017/02/28/nya-initiativ-for-samiska-ord/>, accessed on 14 March 2018.

48 *Sámefolket* 7/2016 and <http://www.forfattarforbundet.se/om-oss/litteraturpolitik/satsning-pa-samisk-litteratur/>. The translation into English is made by Johanna Domokos.

49 On the Sápmi Writing Center, see <https://postkodstiftelsen.se/en/blog/projekt/forfattarcentrum-sapmi/>, accessed on 15 March 2018.

with Sámi literature the economic dimensions must be secondary to the symbolic ones. Sámi and Nordic cultural policy makers need to be aware that the symbolic values provided by literature shape the spiritual vitality of a community, and cannot be marginalised.

A recent Pan-Sámi literary assessment

The report on Sámi literature from 2016 produced by the Sámi Council has developed together with the Sámi Parliaments some thorough suggestions for improving their respective literary fields. Implementing these objectives beyond the Norwegian side and coordinating the literary processes on a transnational level would do much good for the literary field. The major objectives include (a more detailed list can be found in the document itself):

1. recruiting more authors, while ensuring that Sámi writers have satisfactory economic conditions and development opportunities;
2. enhancing publishing and ensuring the quality of Sámi literature;
3. supporting translations into and from Sámi literature;
4. creating arenas for distributing and promoting Sámi literature and authors, in forms adapted to any technological platform and through book buses or libraries; and
5. launching reading campaigns and promoting Sámi literature in society and media.

These highly valuable initiatives are sensitive responses striving to reduce the vulnerability of this indigenous literary field. They can contribute the first steps to updating the Sámi literary field to match the Norwegian standard and bringing it to a level where the Sámi literary field meets the needs of the Sámi people, who persistently struggle to keep their culture alive. The latest initiative of the Sámi Council and the Sámi parliaments, namely a Sámi cultural fund across the borders acknowledges that literature is important for both language and cultural policy (R1, Norway). Moreover, these ideas articulate a global common issue as well. They have much to say about the challenges of any literary culture beyond the Sámi or indigenous contexts. These are relevant issues to consider also with regard to highly developed literary fields, and as such a possible platform for joining forces.

5. Recommendations

Institution building and institutional development are the basis for safeguarding and developing Sámi literature, which in turn supports the Sámi community and Sámi democracy. Based on the experiences, attitudes and descriptions obtained from the participants of the report, several literary assessments (by the Sámi Council, the Sámi Parliament of Norway and the Sámi Parliament in Sweden), on scholarly overviews of the Sámi literary production and library work, and as they have been summarised in the chapters of this assessment, the present report on Sámi literature suggests the following issues for consideration. The aim of the recommendations is to have a tool to use when approaching Nordic governments, funding bodies, cultural foundations, or other gatekeepers in the literary field. The financial requirements for realising the recommendations in practice should be covered from an extra budget, and not from the existing budgets of Sámi institutions! Besides the recommendation itself, each suggestion includes some (but not all the) entry points for further consultation. These institutions possess the necessary insight for being consulted by the respective bodies responsible for moral or financial support. Nordic governments should give sufficient priority to Sámi institutions when it comes to financial support and formal regulations.

It is important to strengthen the work in Sámi cultural policy on national and Nordic levels, acknowledging the importance of literature for cultural vitality. It is also important to give the Sámi parliaments in Sweden and Finland the same powers as the Sámi Parliament of Norway has for supporting literary developments in all the Sámi languages of their countries and to steadily implement the suggestions from the 2016 report⁵⁰ of the Sámi Council on Sámi literature. We need to keep developing literature as a political focus area.

- 1) **Strengthening the role of Sámi literature on all levels of education**, e.g. including more Sámi literary texts in the curricula of majority and Sámi children in Nordic schools.
 - Sámi Educational programmes in different levels (e.g. universities and universities of applied science); National Agencies for Education in Norway, Finland and Sweden; Sámi parliaments; Unions of mother language teachers (NO/FI/SWE); Centre for Sámi Language in Education; comprehensive, secondary and high schools
- 2) **Offering more language-specific working, publication and promotion grants for Sámi authors.**

→ Arts administration in Norway, Sweden and Finland, Sámi Parliaments in collaboration with Sámi Council, different Sámi writers' and non-fiction authors' and translators' associations, Sámi Artist Council

- 3) **Introducing new ways of improving the visibility of Sámi literature inside and outside the Sámi community**, such as, for example, declaring March 23rd (the birthday of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, or any other symbolic day the Sámi literary actors prefer) the official national day of Sámi literature in all the Nordic countries.
- 4) **Strengthening the relationship of the young people to Sámi literature as readers and writers.** Special attention should be paid to young Sámi people outside the Sámi regions. E.g. Nomad library busses, library events, tours of writers and translators, creative writing classes and different online initiatives.
 - Sámi parliaments, Sámi special libraries, Nordic reading centres and libraries
- 5) **Establishing a transnational Sámi literature exchange and export institution** (like Norla, FILL, Swedish Literature Exchange) to coordinate Sámi translations, international exchanges and promotion, invitations to festivals etc. This organization could also function as the information centre for Sámi literature that would support the distribution of the books and offer information of new works in the Nordic countries and internationally. As long as such an organization does not exist, it is important to assure the inclusion of Sámi literature in the existing national literary exchange organizations in Norway, Sweden and Finland.
 - Sámi Writers Union (SGS), Sámi Council, Sámi literary centres, Norla, FILL, Swedish Literature Exchange, Norlit
- 6) **Supporting Sámi literary centers in the Nordic region**
 - a) Optimising and stabilising the work of Sámi literary Centres in Sweden and Norway.
 - b) Establishing, apart of the two existing ones, a Sámi literary centre in Finland
 - Nordic Council, Sámi parliaments, Art and culture administration in Norway, Sweden and Finland

- 7) **Establishing regular literary events where Sámi authors and their Nordic readers can meet** (e.g., as part of book fairs, national literary festivals)

→ Sámi publishers and literary organisations, and the organisers of the literary fairs such as Göteborg Book Fair, Helsinki Book Fair, Oslo Book Fair
- 8) **Organising an annual Sámi literary contest with different categories:**
 - a) for a short work in one of the Sámi languages (in any genre)
 - b) for translations into one of the Sámi languages or translations from one of the Sámi languages
 - c) for young writers and/ or books focused for young audience
→ Sámi Council, Nordic and Sámi parliaments, Lásságámmi (The managing foundation of Nils Aslak Valkeapää's Legacy)
- 9) **Strengthening of digital presence and the digital processing of Sámi languages and literature,** e.g. technical updates, apps, vlogs, e-books, websites of associations and individual authors, blogs.

→ Giellatekno, Sámi publishers, Sámi Writers' Association, Nordic Council, Sámi Film Institute, Sámi IT experts, Davvi Girji
- 10) **Supporting printed and open online literary magazines in all Sámi languages.**

→ Sámi literary scholars, Sámi and Nordic parliaments in collaboration with literary scholars and writers, publishers, Nordic and Sámi literary centres
- 11) **Establishing an open access Sámi literary archive containing originals and translations.** This platform could include folklore material, modern literature as well as lyrics and include the original version, the text in present orthography, the historical translation (as they were often bilingually published) and contemporary translations (see for inspiration: <http://www.balticsealibrary.info>)

→ Giellagas Institute at the University of Oulu, Sámi and literary archives in the Nordic countries, Nordic and Sámi councils
- 12) **Strengthening the relations between Sámi and other indigenous authors around the world**

→ Sámi Allaskuvla (Sámi University College), Nordic funding bodies
- 13) **Publishing of canonical literary anthologies for poetry** (from yoik to rap), prose (from story telling to modern fiction) and drama (performative, dramatic texts) in various Sámi languages, and for Sámi literature written in or translated into the Nordic languages

→ Sámi and Nordic literary scholars, translators into and from Sámi, educators and publishers
- 14) **Establishing regular meetings for Sámi literary scholars and Sámi authors with their translators**

→ Universities with Sámi studies, Sámi and Nordic parliaments, Nordic literary exchange centres
- 15) **Providing literary publications both to the local/Nordic promoters and to international promoters of Sámi literature** (e.g. literary journals, libraries, schools, literary centres in the Nordic and other countries, universities, translators). Supporting the work of the promoters.

→ Sámi parliaments, Sámi Council, Nordic literary exchange centres, Nordic and Sámi literary centres

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Havmann Prize

Nordland County Council Culture Prize

Troms County Municipality's Cultural Prize

Finnmark County Municipality's Cultural Award

Appendix 1

Questionnaire for Sámi organizations for improving the conditions of the Sámi literary field

(e.g. Sámi Parliaments, Publishing houses, Literary Societies, Writers' Centers) This is a general questionnaire. Please consider only questions relevant for your institution, and address any further issues. Many of the general information is online available. In certain cases you can simply provide the link. Please send the questionnaire with your responses to Johanna Domokos at the latest February 1st 2018: johanna.domokos@uni-bielefeld.de.

Thank you for your collaboration!

I. General Information about the organization

Please give us information on

- a. *the history of your organization, and its relation to the Sámi literature (specify please which of the Sámi languages and official Nordic languages you are considering)*
- b. *its structure (boards/juries/committees and members)*
- c. *who can become a member, how is the age distribution of your members/people involved, and how many of them use any of the Sámi language in their artistic work? Any change in the last decade?*
- d. *the function of the organization (what is it providing to whom and how), esp. concerning literature*
- e. *the goals of the organization (what are you aiming to achieve)*
- f. *events/results/prizes/grants relevant for Sámi literacy and literature (published books, events etc.)*
- g. *The networking of the organization with other Sámi and non-Sámi institutions.*

II. State or local fundings, subsidies or other kind of support

Do you get support for your institution? Are you satisfied with the amount provided?
Do you offer support for Sámi writers or other literary agents (translators, critics, organizers, schools)
What could be done better?

III. Relation to other cultural processes

How does your organization meet the present needs of the Sámi society/culture?
What kind of support do you offer?
Are you satisfied with its efficiency?
What can be done for better future results?

IV. Digital Age and other media

How do you face the growing relevance of digital media, and the need for stronger digital presence?
How much does your institution cooperate with other media? What are the challenges of the mass media and the digital age for you?

V. Future perspective

How important is your work in the cultural revitalization processes? How could it be more effective?
How would a more successful future of the Sámi literature look like?

Further suggestions on how the Sámi literary field can be improved:

(Any successful example, that could be repeated in the future?)

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for authors for improving the Sámi literary field

This is a general questionnaire. Please consider only questions relevant for you, and address any further issues. Many of the general information is online available. In certain cases you can simply provide the link.

Please send the questionnaire with your responses to Johanna Domokos at the latest February 1st 2018: johanna.domokos@uni-bielefeld.de.
Thank you for your collaboration!

I. General Information

Name, Place and Date of birth, Present address, Occupation(s), familiar Sámi language(s)

II. Literary career

Since when are you publishing and what kind of literary texts (poems, essays, journalism, drama, lyrics, novels, translations etc.)?

Which languages are you using in your work? Why?

Who are your mentors (people who affected your works), and for whom are you playing the role of a mentee?

III. Organizations, networks

What kind of organizations have you been and/or are you still a member?

In which other networks or other groupings do you participate as an author? (e.g. Theater, Film, social media, culture centers and associations)

What kind of experience do you have had with organizations promoting culture/literature (e.g. FILI, Norla, Taike, Sámi Council, Sámi Writer's Union)?

How important is for you to be a member of Sámi, of Nordic and of other international organization networks (e.g. PEN Club)?

Do you see a need of a further literary organization? Or of a change within and among the already existing organizations?

IV. Publishing

Do your manuscripts get published? Do you get eventually editorial help (for composition, style, orthography etc.)?

V. Visibility

Are you satisfied with the marketing and reception of your work? How does it happen? What would you like to do for a more efficient reception?

Do you visit schools and present your work?

Have you participated in creative writ-

ing courses? Are you giving one?

Can you include your literary work in other artistic work (e.g. music, theater, film)

VI. Grants and awards

How do you support yourself? Do you get often enough grants or other kind of subsidies for your work?

What would support your creative work the best?

Do you get enough travel grants for participating in international readings&festivals?

VII. Translations

Do you consider translations to be important for the reception of your work?

To which languages are you translated and would be relevant to make translations?

Do you publish your works in several languages (in selftranslation)?

Do you have others to translate your works in other languages?

Should authors and translators meet in an organized forms (e.g. at festivals, workshop)?

VIII. Perspectives

How do you see the relation between Sámi and other Nordic literatures?

How are your relations to Sámi and to other Nordic authors?

How would a more successful future of Sámi literature look like?

IX. Any successful example, that could be repeated in the future? Further suggestions?

Appendix 3

Questionnaire for translators, editors, literary critics and scholars, and other international networkers

This is a general questionnaire. Please consider only questions relevant for your institution, and address any further issues. Many of the general information is online available. In certain cases you can simply provide the link. Please send the questionnaire with your responses to Johanna Domokos at the latest February 1st 2018: johanna.domokos@uni-bielefeld.de. Thank you for your collaboration!

I. General Information

Name, place and date of birth, present address, occupations, languages used

II. Profile

What have you been translating/writing about/organizing so far?
For whom? How often?
How was its reception?

III. Contacts

How easy is to reach the Sámi source text&authors?
Who has helped you in your work with Sámi literature?
What kind of support would you need in the future?

IV. Promotion, Reception

Why do you consider your work relevant in the promotion of Sámi literature?
How is Sámi literature received in your country?
How did it change in the last few decades?
How do you see its future?
Why do you consider Sámi literature worth to promote outside its local contexts?
What can the world learn from Sámi literature?

V. Future

What kind of impulses would the Sámi literary field need?
How would a more successful future of Sámi literature look like?

VI. Any successful example, that could be repeated in the future?
Further suggestions?

Appendix 4

Linguistic map of Sápmi



By Joshua Wilbur, Wikimedia Commons [CC BY-SA 4.0]

Appendix 5: Glossary of major place names in Sápmi¹

F= Finnish, N= Norwegian R= Russian, S= Swedish

Local Sámi name	Further Sámi variation	Official names
Áŋŋel		Angeli (F)
Álta	Alaheadju	Alta (N)
Anár	(Aanaar)	Inari (F)
Avvil	(Avveel)	Ivalo (F)
Báhaveadji		Paatsjoki (F)
Bálojávri		Palojärvi (F)
Bálojotnjálbmi		Palojoensuu (F)
Beattet		Pättikkä (F)
Biton	(Bihtán)	Piteå (S)
Bossogohppi		Bossekop (N)
Čáhcesuolu		Vadsø (N)
Če`vetjäu`rr	(Čeavetjávri)	Sevettijärvi (F)
Čohkkiras		Jukkasjärvi (S, F)
Čovčjäävri		Syysjärvi (F)
Deatnu		Teno (F), Tana (N)
Divttasvuotna		Tysfjord (N)
Duortnus		Tornio (F), Torneå (S)
Eanodat		Enontekiö (F)
Gáddeluokta		Kandalakša (R)
Gáivuotna		Kåfjord (N)
Gápmas	(Kaamas)	Kaamanen (F)
Gárasavvon		Kaaresuvanto (F), Karesuando (S)
Gáregasnjárga		Karigasniemi (F)
Giehtaruohtas		Käsivarsi (F)
Giepmma		Kemi (F)
Gihttel		Kittilä (F)
Giiggajávri		Kitkajärvi (F)
Gilbbesjávri		Kilpisjärvi (F)
Girjjis		Norrkaitum (S)
Giron		Kiruna (S)
Guoládat		Kola (R)
Guoládatnjárga		Kolskijpoluostrov (R)
Guossan		Kuusamo (F)
Guovdageaidnu		Kautokeino (F, N)
Heahtta		Hetta (F)
Ivgu		Lyngen (N)
Ivgubahta		Skibotn (N)
Ivguvuotna		Lyngenfjord (N)
Jiellevárri		Gällivare (S)
Johkamohkki		Jokkmokk (N)
Karášjohka		Karasjok (N)
Likšu		Lycksele (S)
Lohttu		Lutto (F)
Luja`vrr	(Lujávri)	Lovozero (R)
Luleju		Luleå (S)
Málatvuotna		Malangen (N)
Másealgi		Maanselkä (F)

¹ Based on Veli-Pekka Lehtola The Sámi people – Traditions in transition, Puntos, 2010.

Mátta-Várjjat		Sør-Varanger (N)
Máze		Masi (N)
Njellim, Njeä'llem		Nellim (F)
Njauddâm	(Njávđán)	Neiden (N), Näätamö (F)
Ohcejohka		Utsjoki (F)
Paaččjokk	(Báhčaveadji)	Paatsjoki (F), Pasvikelv (N)
Peäccam	(Beahcán)	Petsamo (F)
Peällbájävi		Pielpajärvi (F)
Porsángu		Porsanger (N)
Romsa	(Tromsa)	Tromsø (N)
Sállivár		Sallivaara (F)
Sirbmá		Sirma (N)
Skiervá		Skjervøy (N)
Skillet		Skelefteå (S)
Soabbat		Sompio (F)
Soadegilli		Sodankylä (F)
Sohppar		Soppero (S)
Suo'nn'jel	(Suonnjel)	Suonikylä (F)
Suorssá		Sorsele (S)
Troandin		Trondheim (N)
Ubmi		Umeå (S)
Umbajávri		Umbozero (R)
Umbbtek		Hiipinä (F), GoryHibinskie Tundra (R)
Unjárga		Nesseby (N)
Várggát		Vardø (N)
Várjavuotna		Varangerfjorden (N)
Várjjat		Varanger (N)
Vuohčču		Vuotso (F)
Vuovdaguoika		Outakoski (F)

PART II

Reports on individual literary fields

Sámi literature in publication

Harald Gaski

The past, present and future of South
and Ume Sámi literary production

David Kroik

Pite Sámi Literary Texts

Joshua Wilbur

Literature in Lule Sámi – lines of de-
velopment to the present day

Päivi Alanen

North Sámi literature in motion

Lill Tove Fredriksen, Harald Gaski and **Sigbjørn Skåden**

Overview of Inari Sámi literature

Petter Morottaja

Skolt Sámi literature

Michael Rießler

Kola Sámi literature (Kildin Sámi, Ter Sámi, Akkala Sámi)

Michael Rießler

Sámegiella gollegiella, girjerádju gollerádju
– the Sámi language in library work in the Nordic countries

Irene Piippola

Sámi literature in publication

Harald Gaski

In this article I would like, above all, to highlight a few of the challenges that Sámi literature is facing, rather than using the space on literary history or on divisions into various sub-categories and other more subject specific sides of the topic, as the purpose of this article is to present a situational description and to suggest some ideas to increase interest in Sámi literature. By way of an introduction, however, it is important to point out some of the features that are peculiar to Sámi literature, from both a national and international perspective, not least as a (successful) example of a written culture that has developed among the many indigenous peoples of the world. In addition to this, it is essential to remind the reader of the breadth of Sámi literary activity throughout the ages, as it is often the case that the discussion on Sámi literature is narrowed down to fiction. This article also briefly concerns another dimension to the literary institution which is often forgotten; i.e. the position of criticism in the interaction between production and reception. The purpose of this is to give a more complete picture of the state of Sámi culture and literature, and also the place and position of literature in society and social debate over the last few decades.

While other nations talk about how readers seek out books, it is often the case in Sámi contexts that the book seeks out the reader. The main challenge has long been how to develop an oral culture so that it values written products. Another aspect to the breadth of Sámi literature concerns opportunities for publication outside of and in addition to what is usually perceived as the medium of literature; that is, the publication of books. Newspapers, magazines, radio, television and documentary films, as well as podcasts, apps and the Internet are, of course, also media through which Sámi literature can be presented, but which have so far been exploited to a very limited extent. There is huge potential for development here, which the Sámi media as well as publishing houses should consider using to a far greater extent than they have done this far. Podcasts provide the opportunity for in-depth conversations on individual works and authorship, enabling these to be put into the context of both national and international trends, and to present and discuss new publications from the perspectives of topicality and subject matter.

The Sámi definition of literature

Sámi has a broader definition of literature than, for example, Norwegian or English. The term "literature" is derived from the Latin "litera", which gives the modern-day English

word letter, or something that is associated with letters. The North Sámi term for literature is "girjjálašvuohta", which comes from "girji"; i.e. something that has a pattern or something that is written (like a letter or a book. For example, Paul's letter in the Bible is referred to as girji in the Sámi translation of the Bible). This gives far greater scope for an inclusive definition of what Sámi literature can encompass and include, and hence it is quite natural for both joiks (chanted tales) and stories to be included as examples of Sámi literature. Generally speaking, there should be a discussion on whether the time has come to break down some of the boundaries to genres and the limitations these impose on Sámi literature. One may use Sámi designations as a basis for definitions rather than attempt to force Sámi forms of representation into rigid literary concepts, which often have their origin in completely different cultural conditions than those from which the Sámi concepts are derived. This is entirely in keeping with the latest tendencies in the research and education of indigenous peoples, as it is precisely the indigenous peoples' own understanding that is currently undergoing a change from the colonial perception, when everything was measured against the yardstick of the majority society and the perspective of western culture.

Sámi literature is in a special position internationally, compared with the situation of other indigenous peoples. It is chiefly in Sápmi and Greenland where most of the literature is produced and published in the indigenous people's own language. This is, of course, due to relatively good support systems nationally, and a conscious investment in language policy by the Sámi cultural institutions themselves as well as the Norwegian and Danish authorities. In other countries, it is the market that rules and which, consequently, means that practically the only opportunity of publicising the texts of indigenous peoples is by writing and publishing them in the majority language. In New Zealand, where the Maoris make up almost 15% of the country's total population, some literature is published in Maori, but it is primarily children's literature, in addition to publications of traditional stories. In other countries, publications by indigenous peoples tend to be supported chiefly by various charitable foundations and research projects. In most cases, this relates to folklore materials.

The revitalisation of Sámi cultural activity from the 1970s onwards

The revitalisation of Sámi literature in the 1970s was influenced by the international trend from the end of the 1960s onwards, when oppressed groups of peoples arose

with renewed dignity and demanded rights on an equal footing with the majority population. Groups of indigenous peoples became politicised the world over. Amongst the indigenous peoples of the USA, the occupation of Alcatraz island in the San Francisco bay (1969–1971), and the seizure of the town of Wounded Knee (1973), where the last great massacre of Native Americans took place in 1890, were key symbols for marking resistance to long periods of oppression. In Greenland, the Aussivik cultural festival represented a revitalisation of traditional cultural expression at the same time as it also became a cultural and political mobilisation of the Greenlandic youth for Greenlandic self-rule, which was achieved in 1979. Indigenous peoples everywhere made their voices heard as they attained power and self-awareness. In Sápmi, the battle for the Alta-Kautokeino waterway in Norway in around 1980 and the resistance to all hydroelectricity constructions in northern Sweden and Finland in the decades prior to this had a strong mobilising effect on both art and politics. Several Sámi artists emerged with a clear ethnic, cultural and political message. This mobilisation also led to the gradual establishment of Sámi cultural and educational institutions, and to popularly elected bodies in all three Nordic countries.

Socially engaged art and knowledge of indigenous peoples

We are currently experiencing a new wave of socially-engaged art and artists, who actively participate in and comment on the development. This has happened in parallel with far greater focus being placed internationally on decolonisation and emphasis on the intrinsic value of the culture of indigenous peoples. For a long time, there were few artists' voices participating in what little debate there was in Sámi society, and the role of culture was under-communicated in what was more or less in the process of becoming an arena for politicians, social scientists and lawyers. Demands for Sámi rights to land, water and self-governance were in the foreground, while the discussion on the content and quality of the culture being fought for had long been pushed aside in the public debate. In recent years we have experienced an engagement that has once again brought Sámi art, film, theatre and music to the forefront as a unifying factor in the fight for greater self-determination. What had long been a search for their roots has developed into an accentuation of the common message of the indigenous peoples that the wisdom and traditions of these cultures should be heeded in order to save humanity. What was long regarded as Utopian nostalgia and clichéd notions that indigenous peoples lived in tune with nature has suddenly become knowledge the whole world aspires to. Western culture is built on the mantra that nature must be conquered, and in the attempt to exploit all resources, the indigenous

peoples got in the way of development and were defined as a part of what had to be suppressed. This is still the situation in many places in the world, and it is against this development that artists are raising their voices - and being joined by larger and larger parts of the population.

The new things that Sámi culture brought to the public 20–30 years ago have in many ways continued on a purely artistic level. Sámi music is perhaps the most important example of international success, not just as the art of indigenous peoples, but also as an accepted part of world music. Sámi film has experienced a very exciting development in recent years, with international viewings and prizes, and Sámi theatre productions have toured nationally as well as internationally. Sámi art is represented both at home and abroad, more recently with very positive recognition during Documenta 14 in Athens and also Kassel in 2017. In this respect, literature has a more difficult starting point in many ways than other forms of art. Before it can reach out into the world, it has to be translated, and there are currently only few translators and even fewer support systems for translation from Sámi languages into Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or other languages. The Sámi Parliaments and Nordic institutions for the promotion of translations have a huge challenge ahead of them, for which it may make sense for them to join forces with higher educational institutions, not least for the purpose of educating more translators of fiction.

The absence of literary criticism

One of the major pitfalls in the cultural activity of small ethnic groups is the absence of internal criticism, or the fact that it is almost non-existent. This may account to some extent for the stagnation in which some people maintain Sámi literature finds itself, because it has not challenged or received criticism in such a way that it might have developed interesting exchanges of opinions in meetings between producers and recipients, between institutions and society. At the same time, the debate could have made it clearer what Sámi readers expect of Sámi literature. Another point that would have been interesting to note – had the empire existed – is whether Sámi criticism would actually have been any different from that of the majority society. Do Sámi readers expect the same of Sámi literature as the majority do? Are there any actual cultural dividing lines in the way the art of indigenous peoples is generally received among their own kind and externally, by the public at large? As far as literature is concerned, the question would have been whether non-Sámi people read Sámi literature differently from the Sámi. It is natural to assume so, but the interesting thing would have been to note what this phenomenon could tell us about expectations, attitudes and, if possible, also about prejudices. At the same time,

it would have been helpful to make comparisons with the literature of other indigenous peoples around the world. The input of materials to do this is too small today, but the problem is just as exciting and challenging.

The key position of language

Language is important for everyone. It is our most vital means of communication, it tells others a lot about who we are and how we want to be understood, it goes a long way in defining our identity, but it also represents a tremendous reservoir of knowledge, values and world views. A great deal of the traditional knowledge that is currently in demand can be found in language, but another – and far broader – approach to language than the current one is required in order to find the partially concealed values. As far as the Sámi languages are concerned, there is far too little interest in means of expression, idioms and forms of communication. The interest is mainly in grammar, syntax, orthography and language technology. Of course, these are key and important areas to take into consideration, and language technology may have a lot of useful solutions to contribute in terms of spelling, and even translations, but seen from a literary perspective, it is nevertheless important to warn against the regulating and standardising implication that all technically controlled language use will inevitably lead to over time. Computers find it difficult to understand metaphors. Humour, plays on words and newly created phrases tend to go over their head. Nor are they particularly good at grasping idioms and set expressions. All of this represents areas that are very important to note in order to understand how the majority languages and cultures affect the Sámi languages to an increasing extent. Traditional Sámi expressions are replaced by loaned phrases. This is also a part of the process of Norwegianising, while, on the other hand, it reflects the general development of how language changes in harmony with culture. Among the Sámi, language has acquired an increasingly important symbolic value as an expression of Sámi identity. This is partly because the Sámi do not have as many other traditions and ceremonies as other indigenous peoples, and hence the joik and language are what have helped to bind us together, and they are also the media we have presented to the outside world as our most important cultural values. This accounts to some extent for the language's key position among the Sámi - something which is also reflected in the Sámi Parliaments' efforts to preserve and develop all of the Sámi languages in the Nordic region. Literature and teaching aids have played a key role in these efforts over recent decades.

The support systems of the Sámi Parliaments for the promotion of literature in a broad definition of the concept should definitely be continued. However you look at it, it cannot be concealed that these systems have worked according to their objective; to contribute to an increased

publication of Sámi literature in the Sámi languages. The Sámi Parliament of Norway has had more resources at its disposal than the Sámi Parliaments of Sweden and Finland. The reason for this cultural and political gamble has not only been to preserve the language, but also to give authors of both sexes from different geographical areas and different age groups the opportunity to get their works published. If the support has not always been based exclusively on qualitative assessments, it has nevertheless helped to maintain a rather impressive frequency of publication of original Sámi-language texts in North, Lule and South Sámi. Care must be taken, however, about giving priority to other than purely literary qualitative assessments, although the question immediately arises, who is going to assess and ensure this quality.

Centenary year 2019 – the need for expanded work on information

2019 marks the 400-year centenary for book publications in Sámi. The first two books in Sámi, an ABC book and a book of Masses, were published in 1619. Both were printed in Sweden, and were in a mixture of Pite Sámi and South Sámi. It would be very fitting, therefore, if the Sámi Parliaments of Norway, Sweden and Finland were to choose to mark this year with a special focus on Sámi literature in all its breadth. In 2019 Norway is the Guest-of-Honour Country at the Frankfurt International Book Fair, one of the largest book fairs in the world, which should provide opportunities to create awareness of Sámi literature.

One important consideration with regard to knowledge of Sámi literature is its dissemination, or perhaps rather its lack of it. For the public to be interested in (buying) Sámi literature, they need to know about it. Unfortunately, the information channels are far too under-developed for this, or the opportunities are not exploited enough. Part of the problem is the lack of profitability of projects related to Sámi literature. Because the potential for sales is so small, no publishing house can rely on making money on Sámi-language publications. Therefore, the support systems of the Sámi Parliaments are so crucial for maintaining at least an acceptable frequency of publication. Nor can it be said, unfortunately, that there is any great desire on the part of the public to buy Sámi literature, and hence public information and awareness campaigns are needed here to generate greater interest in Sámi literary texts. In this respect, the libraries in Sápmi and the relatively newly established Samisk litteratursenter (Centre for Sámi Literature) in Karasjok, Norway, as well as the Centre for Sámi Literature in Jokkmokk should participate in the contribution to increased awareness. An ambulant activity administered by the libraries or the centres for Sámi literature, where Sámi publishing houses are represented, should be an exciting opportunity to try out. This would spread the activities across the entire Sámi set-

tlement area. These should include both book and author presentations, discussions and seminars on topical literary and political relations, and ideally also activities to mark prominent authors and important dates associated with Sámi literature and literary history. I believe more in giving the literature its own arenas for meeting actual readers, rather than trying to include it in other festivals. It is not easy for literature to compete with music and film at their festivals, and the experience of the one attempt that is made to arrange their own Sámi literature festival is mixed. On the other hand, seminars, discussion evenings, writing workshops and more courses will have a positive effect on producing more readers and authors. After all, these are the ones who will be producing the new literature!

Anthologies and translations

Very little of Sámi literature has so far been translated into other languages. Translations and presentations of Sámi literature are key to making the literature more familiar to foreign readers. This also goes for translations into Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish, but for the Frankfurt Book Fair, and internationally, it is first and foremost a matter of reaching out even further. For this reason, translations into English, Spanish, German and French will be more important in this respect. My specific proposal would be to create various types of anthologies of both fiction and non-fiction in different Sámi languages intended for different age levels and focus groups. This can be done in the form of books and magazines in paper format and online. Furthermore, the means for translating and publishing more individual works must be granted in collaboration with national and Nordic authorities, so that a larger part of the breadth of Sámi literature can be shown. There is a great need here for translations of Sámi classics and contemporary prose and lyrical works in Sámi, as well as non-fiction. As far as the classics are concerned, everything from the oldest narrative joiks, such as they were written down in their time by Olaus Sirma, Anders Fjellner and the Finnish priest Jakob Fellman, to Johan Turi, Anders Larsen and Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, they all deserve to be published as both perfect specimens and as edited editions, whereby the books are presented in a cultural context and completed with the necessary information for the modern reader, to make the experience of the books even richer - and to link the past with the present and future

The past, present and future of South and Ume Sámi literary production

David Kroik

Introduction

This summary describes, discusses and offers examples of the development of the South and Ume Sámi literary fields. The literary developments of the recent past, and the more distant past, as well as present developments will be included, with emphasis on the latter. For both South and Ume Sámi, literature needs to be understood in a broad sense, including song lyrics, movie texts and the like.

Early developments

While the Sámi have an oral literary tradition going back to times immemorial, Ume Sámi has been present in written form since the 17th century. The literary development started with religious literature for missionary work amongst the Sámi. During this period, Sweden was dominant in developing literacy among the Sámi. The first two books in Sámi: an ABC book and a songbook for church services, were published in 1619. The vocabulary was mostly in Ume Sámi. During the century to follow, a handful of books were published in Ume Sámi, some of them by pastors at the Skytteanska school in Likssjuo/Lycksele.

A milestone in the literary development was the The Southern Lappish Book Language, developed by Pehr Fjällström during 1719–1738. The established written norm marks the onset of a period where grammars and vocabularies (e.g. *Lexikon Lapponicum*) for teaching at school and literacy were developed in a variety closest to Ume Sámi. The literature available at this point was, with very few exceptions, strictly religious. In 1811, the Holy Bible was published in the Southern Lappish Book Language.

The first representation of South Sámi in written form were handwritings made by the pastor Jonas Nensén in Kraapohke/Dorotea. The Southern (Røros-Härjedalen) and Central (Jämtland-North Trøndelag) South Sámi varieties were never represented in religious literature during the period. Sámi son of the sun by Anders Fjellner, the epic written in a language partly inspired by the South Sámi language spoken in Härjedalen, is an exception. In sum, in early publications of literature, Ume Sámi was the dominant language. But in more recent history, Ume Sámi has been almost completely forgotten in literature, whereas South Sámi literature has continued to develop.

South Sámi in written form

In the early 20th century, stories told by South Sámi native speakers came to be represented in writing. For instance, Björn Collinder's texts from Härjedalen are based on stories from the region. Moreover, Just Qvigstad, Eliel Lagercrantz, Gustav Hasselbrink and Knut Bergsland, and published academic linguistic literature based on stories told by South Sámi native speakers. The first steps towards the production of material to assist South Sámi speakers in acquiring skills in reading and writing in their own language were taken in 1957, when Bergsland and Hasselbrink published the primer *Sámien Lukkeme-gärjá*. The book includes texts as well as a brief grammar. The material from Bergsland's dissertation *Røros-lappisk grammatik: et forsøk på strukturell språkbeskrivning* [Røros-sámi grammar: an attempt at structural language description] from 1946 constitutes the core of his grammar published in 1982 (second edition in 1994). The dissertation was primarily intended for an academic audience, whereas his grammar was written for speakers of South Sámi.

Towards a standard South Sámi language

The pioneering turning point in the work of developing a modern written form of South Sámi was a collaboration between the South Sámi teacher Ella Holm Bull and Knut Bergsland. Their orthography, which is the one in use today, was officially recognised in 1978. Bull was the first principle of the South Sámi school Åarjelsaemiej skuvle established in 1968 in Snåsa, Norway. She published the first modern primer, *Lohkede saemien*, in 1973 and modernised the Hasselbrink/Bergsland's primer from 1957, published in its modern form *Saemien lohkede-gærja* in 1985.

The first modern dictionary in South Sámi was a collaboration between Bergsland and Lajla Mattsson Magga. Mattsson Magga later published a Norwegian-South Sámi dictionary and grammar together with her husband, Ole Henrik Magga. Furthermore, she modernised Qvigstad's texts from Aarporte/Hattfjelldal, originally published in 1924, according to the standard orthography.

A third early pioneer was Jaahkenelkien Aanna/Anna Jacobsson, from Aarborte/Hattfjelldal, Norway, who wrote teaching material and literature in South Sámi. The first books for school use are typical of their genre, but also involve songs, lyrics and poems written by first-lan-

guage speakers. The three mentioned Sámi authors have mainly published in Sámi. The work they carried out together with Bergsland represents the early modern development of South Sámi literature. Bergsland's book, *Gåebrehki soptsesh* [Stories from Gåebrien sįjte], 1st edition from 1943 and 2nd edition in 1987 (adapted to standard orthography), together with the mentioned books in the same genre, are the most important early pieces of literature in standard South Sámi. *Gåebrehki soptsesh* features stories told by a generation born in the second half of the 19th century and living around Plassje/Røros, thus representative of the southernmost dialect.

Spoken literature

There are recordings of the same genre as the text collection by Bergsland and Qvigstad. The recordings were made in the 1940s by Swedish, Norwegian and Sámi scholars. The material can be found in archives in Sweden and Norway and parts of it is digitalised. There are also ongoing projects for transcribing the material into modern orthography. Several parts of these recordings show high literary quality in their narration and expression.

South Sámi school and teaching material

In the South Sámi school setting there has been a significant increase of language and publication activity during the last decade. Schools and language centers (or hybrid forms of both) have been established in Plassje/Røros, Prahke/Brekken, Snåase/Snåasa, Svahken sįjte/Elgå and Aarporte/Hattfjelldal, alongside a national network for teaching material for upper secondary schools. In Sweden, the Sámi Education Board is the main agent behind the new teaching material, with around 30 publications in South Sámi (among them many children's books). However, most of the teaching material available today is produced at and in cooperation with the South Sámi schools Åarjelsaemiej Skuvle in Snåase/Snåasa, Aajege in Plassje/Røros and Gaske-Nöörjen skuvle in Aarporte/Hattfjelldal. These are all located in Norway.

In higher education, South Sámi has gained some ground as an academic language. Undergraduates and master's students have been choosing South Sámi as the main language of their theses. However, most of the students' work on Sámi language and literature is written in other languages than Sámi, primarily Swedish, Norwegian and English. Gaebpien Leena/Lena Kappfjell, however, publishes academic literature in South Sámi. She also makes traditional Sámi literature, such as Anders Fjellner's epic and poems and songs/jojk lyrics from Nils Mattias Andersson and Gaebpien Gåsta/Gustav Kappfjell, available to a new generation Sámis.

Institutions

There is little support for institutions that support literary development in South Sámi in the Swedish part of Saepmie. Gaaltije, located in Staare/Östersund, is the main cultural institution in this part of the area. It is the only institution in Sweden that distributes most of the publications available in South Sámi. Gaaltije is dependent on project grants in financing its activities.

Children's literature and an exemplary library project

In this section, I will briefly describe the development of the literary resources for children, with emphasis on an initiative that has dramatically increased the amount of children's literature available in Sámi languages. The ongoing initiative at the Noerhte-Trööndelaage/Nord-Trøndelag regional library and Gielem nastedh, the language center in the Snåase/Snåasa municipality, is headed by Morten Olsen Haugen. Over the last four years, 75 books have been translated into Sámi, the vast majority of them into South Sámi, resulting in a dramatic increase in children's literature in South Sámi. The initiative's main factors of success are that many South Sámi first language speakers with traditional Sámi language and literary training (i.e. growing up speaking the languages and in contact with the Sámi oral tradition) have contributed to it as translators, proofreaders and mentors. The first-language speakers effectively complement the second-language speakers with formal training in language and translation. It is worth pointing out that there is an overlap among these groups; many of the first-language speakers have formal training in language and literature. 19 translators have taken part in the project. Counting in the proofreaders and mentors, 30–35 persons in total have been involved in the translation processes. The project is successful in rapidly increasing the available amount of literature. A gap in South Sámi children's literature that still needs to be remedied is literature written in South Sámi, i.e. using the language throughout the entire writing process. Few South Sámi speakers are at that stage in their creative writing that they can take on the task of writing in South Sámi. However, the project lays a foundation for further work on developing South Sámi literature. Hopefully, some of the translators, proofreaders and mentors will be inspired to start writing books of their own.

There are also nursery rhymes and songs for children available (*Lyjhkebe laavlodh* [We like to sing], *Tjijhtje tjaebpies* [Seven beautiful] and *Mov voestes gærja* [My first book]). As a concluding remark for this section, it is worth pointing out that children's literature has been a prioritised genre, whereas books for teens are less common and almost nothing is available for adults today. South Sámi hasn't quite developed into a language to be used among the adult audience yet. There is an

urgent need for literature aimed at a young audience to facilitate reading habits among young South Sámi speakers. Furthermore, even if books in South Sámi for adults are few, there is one recent; *Jeatjah vuertiemisnie* [Another kind of waiting] released in 2018 by Anna Sofie Bull Kuhmunen. The book is centered on adoption in Sápmi and it is written in South Sámi while it also contains a full translation into Swedish. Another South Sámi writer is Erik Nilsson Mankok (1903-1998), whose book, *Mitt lassokoppel* [My lasso] depicts life as a reindeer herder. Although Nilsson-Mankok was a South Sámi native speaker, most of his work was written in Swedish.

Bible translations and religious language use

A Christian religious literature did not develop in history for South Sámi similarly to how it did for Ume Sámi, as described above. However, a process in this direction has taken place for South Sámi over the recent decades. The South Sámi pastors Bierna Biente (Norway) and Bo Lundmark (Sweden) have led the work in churches in the respective countries. Lundmark has written numerous texts in Swedish on South Sámi religious matters over the years. Bientie has produced texts in both South Sámi and Norwegian. However, his most notable contribution to South Sámi as a literary language is his work on translating the Holy Bible and as editor of the South Sámi church magazine *Daerpiet Dierie*. Parts of the Holy Bible have thus been translated and made available online.

Extended genres of literature

Recently there have been undertakings in Sweden and Norway to develop a literacy and written and oral use of South Sámi in both traditional media like TV and radio as well as in social media.

South Sámi music

As stated in the opening section of this article, literature in forms other than print is also under focus. For example, yoik and song are used in developing the South Sámi literary language; artists like Marja-Helena Fjellheim Mortensson and Jon-Henrik Fjellgren are promoters of South Sámi who reach audiences beyond the regions of Saepmie. Fjellheim Mortensson uses the language throughout the creative process of songwriting. She grew up in Svahken Sijte speaking South Sámi at school. Fjellgren, who grew up in Mihte/Mittådalen and attended the Swedish school system, produces songs in both Sámi and Swedish. Apart from the mentioned artists, who are the most famous South Sámi persons on the national scene in their respective countries, some other musicians have also been developing South Sámi literacy in its musical form. One

of them is Lars-Jonas Johansson, who was one of the two lead singers of Almejth Tjööngkeme, the first band to produce an album in South Sámi (released in 1991). Johansson released a solo album in South Sámi in 2006. Furthermore, he produces music in his local Swedish dialect.

For children, there are artists who produce records containing children's songs, e.g. Charlotta Kappfjell (the other lead singer of Almejth Tjööngkeme), Elen Kristina Utsi and Anita Dunfjell, to mention the more recent ones.

Film

The most recent landmark for South Sámi in the genre of film is *Sameblod / Sámi blood* by director Amanda Kernell. The movie marks the onset of prominent use for South Sámi dialogue in film. Sámi Blood is in its own class as a South Sámi movie, since considerable parts of the dialogue is in South Sámi and a majority of the actors are South Sámi. The language is also used creatively in the movie, with words traced back to the early 1900s to make the dialogue appear more authentic and representative of the time the movie reflects. The movie has won several national and international prizes and promoted the history of the South Sámi language in an unprecedented way. A parallel on the international scene, which also features an indigenous language as an important part of the movie dialogue is *Dances with wolves* (1990), which like Sámi Blood was awarded numerous prizes.

The film festival Dellie maa also contributes to the development of South Sámi as a literary language in the film genre. The festival aims to encourage the production of Sámi movies and short film.

Radio and TV

In Sweden, the educational public broadcasting company Utbildningsradion is responsible for developing children's TV and radio in South Sámi, along with productions in other Sámi and minority languages in Sweden. Their production in South Sámi has thus increased over the last years. Many of their productions are translated into many languages, South Sámi among them. *Pino*, a TV programme for small children, is one example. *Moderna spökhistorier* [Modern ghost stories] is an example of a radio production for youngsters. In Norway, the national public broadcaster NRK produces children's programmes both for radio and TV in South Sámi, *Laara jih Leisa* [Lars and Lisa] is their best known production in South Sámi.

NRK has since 1973 published a weekly radio show in South Sámi, today under the name *Åarjelsaemien faaroe* [South Sámi travelers]. The first producer of the show was Anna Joma Granefjell. The current producer is Kjell-Roger Appfjell. One of the previous producers, Jaahkenelkien Aanna/Anna Jakobsen, published a series called *Don jih daan bijre* [About this and that] of three books based on the radio shows she made during her time as the producer. The show has played an important part in increasing

the availability of the South Sámi language in media. Two other promoters of South Sámi who use radio as their medium are the sisters IngaMarja and Máret Steinfjell. They launched the radio talk show *Steinfjell and Steinfjell*, significantly increasing the amount of South Sámi heard on national radio in Sweden, Norway and Finland during the year it was broadcasted. The show ended after a year and it is unclear whether it will return on the air in the future.

Modern Ume Sámi literacy

As mentioned in the introduction, Ume Sámi was the most important Sámi language in early attempts towards establishing a Sámi literature. However, for a long time there has been a discussion ongoing on the status of Ume Sámi an official Sámi language or as a South Sámi dialect. In 2016 the Ume Sámi orthography was officially recognised, which signals that Ume Sámi is a language. The teacher Henrik Barruk had written in an unofficial variant of the orthography earlier on, developing teaching material in Ume Sámi. The material is yet unpublished. Literature available in Ume Sámi in the newly recognised orthography is almost nonexistent. The first children's book with parallel texts in South and Ume Sámi was *Moere/Muorra* [The tree], published in 2016. Furthermore, a book about the city of Umeje/Umeå was translated into Ume Sámi by Henrik Barruk before the orthography was revised.

Another example from the Ume Sámi area worth mentioning is the work done by linguist Florian Siegl for creating documentation on the last generation of Ume Sámi first-language speakers in the Aerviesjávre/Arvidsjaur area. Siegl collaborates with now living heritage speakers in the area to publish stories told by the former generation of Ume Sámi speakers in the area. This work parallels the work carried out with South Sámi as mentioned above, where old recordings are made available for a new audience. Another example from academia concerns religious texts in Ume Sámi. One old handwritten translation, the Gospel of Mark, made by Lars Rangius in 1713, has been transcribed by Karin Wilson and published as part of her doctoral dissertation in 2008. Another Ume Sámi parallel to the work centred on South Sámi by e.g. Knut Bergsland, Eliel Lagercrantz and Just Qvigstad is Wolfgang Schlachter's dictionary from the Ume Sámi dialect in Máláge/Malå.

The cultural centre Tráhpie in Umeje/Umeå in the Ume Sámi area supports the literary development of the language. For the work to be carried out more efficiently, the financing of the institution must be secured more strongly than on a year-by-year basis, which is the current situation.

However, if we look at Ume Sámi literature in musical form, there are more examples. Two Ume Sámi artists Katarina Barruk and Sara Ajnnak publish song lyrics and produce music in their language, which means that a tenth of the estimated number of speakers are writing songs in the language. The use of Ume Sámi in

the creative writing process offers hope for the future of the language and its literature. However, there is a long road ahead to produce a vast body of literature in Ume Sámi. Some of the general work to revitalize Lule and South Sámi may possibly also enhance publishing. The endeavours to adapt e.g. children's books translated into the neighboring Sámi languages are probably achievable. Furthermore, a forthcoming Ume Sámi dictionary has recently been publicized, which will significantly facilitate creative use of the language.

Concluding remarks

Based on the projects and initiatives mentioned above one can estimate that there is an increase in the publication of South Sámi literature in both Norway and Sweden. There are some tens on people who have been active as writers during the nearly seven decades that have passed since Ella Holm Bull and Knut Bergsland developed the modern orthography. A comparison with Ume Sámi makes it clear that South Sámi has gained ground as a language of literature since the 1960s. The work of developing South Sámi is mostly done in Norway. Ume Sámi is hopefully at the start of the same process; the language's orthography has been officially recognised and a dictionary is forthcoming. It is worth pointing out that an official orthography is not in itself a prerequisite for creative writing in a language, and literature and creative writing should be supported at any phase of language development.

In this summary I have covered the development of South and Ume Sámi literature up until today. The summary is not exclusive, but it does cover the most important milestones of literary development in this area. Furthermore, I have mentioned some of the advocates of literature in these languages. Funding initiatives of this kind is crucial for further developing South Sámi and Ume Sámi as literary languages and in that sense developing the languages to include more domains. This would help the languages to gain ground as languages that don't need to be supported by neighboring languages, like the dominant Scandinavian languages. Most interaction between South Sámi speakers rely on constant code-switching and instant borrowings, especially among second-language speakers like myself.

I will conclude by articulating a concern over what in my view is the natural next step in developing South Sámi literature. The language needs to be used over the whole creative process of writing, rather than as translations of existing literature in other languages into South Sámi. There are South Sámi people who would like to start writing themselves. Such a wish must be supported in any possible way.

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Pite Sámi Literary Texts

Joshua Wilbur

Introduction

The Pite Sámi language community is one of the smallest among the Sámi groups. The language has historically been used in and around the Arjeplog municipality in Swedish Lapland and adjacent communities around Bodø and south on the Norwegian side (Wilbur 2014: 2–5). Accordingly, there is not a particularly large amount of literary materials available. Basically the only productive Pite Sámi author was Lars Rensund (1901–1993), from Arjeplog. In addition, linguistics researchers have collected narratives in Pite Sámi as early as the late 1800s. Pite Sámi music traditions are also well documented and archived. Although there is no officially recognized writing standard, current efforts to establish one are underway, and this will hopefully help promote literary use of Pite Sámi in the future.

Historical texts

The oldest Pite Sámi texts were written down by the Hungarian linguist Ignác Halász and published in 1893 as a collection of short folktales. The texts are transcribed in the traditional Finno-Ugrian transcription, and each text is translated as a whole into Hungarian. The majority of the texts are traditional narratives, and a few poems and songs are also transcribed and translated. Other early narratives were published by the Norwegian scholar Just Knud Qvigstad in 1929 (with translations in Norwegian), and collected by the Finnish linguist Eliel Lagercrantz in 1921 (published in 1957 and 1963 with translations in German).

Modern literary texts

The main published Pite Sámi author is Lars Rensund (1901–1993). He published five small books during the second half of the 20th century; the texts are mainly in Swedish, but there are also nineteen pages of prose and two poems in Pite Sámi. Rensund

also published a few Pite Sámi texts in various Sámi journals (such as *Samefolket*, cf. Rensund 1952).

In contemporary social media, the Pite Sámi language is discussed in two active Facebook groups. A Pite Sámi blog *Muv árbe*⁵¹ was actively written in 2007 and 2008 by Peter Steggo; the blog mostly presents older Pite Sámi texts from other sources with vocabulary lists and Swedish translations. Steggo currently has an Instagram account⁵² and he writes the majority of his Instagram posts in Pite Sámi.⁵³

Furthermore, a large number of Pite Sámi texts (both in written format and as audio/video recordings) are available in language archives. The Swedish state language archive at Institutet för språk och folkminnen (ISOF) in Uppsala has Pite Sámi materials by a number of collectors, but mainly from Professor Israel Ruong (1903–1986), himself a Pite Sámi.⁵⁴ The written texts were mainly collected during the first half of the 20th century, while the newest audio recordings in the archive are from the late 20th century and lack transcriptions. A number of Pite Sámi musical texts are available as both recordings and transcriptions in the archive and as transcriptions (Lagercrantz 1957). Contemporary Pite Sámi texts were collected starting in 2008 as part of the Pite Sámi Documentation Project, and are archived in the Endangered Languages Archive⁵⁵ at SOAS/University of London (Wilbur 2008–2018).

Genres and Topics

The texts mentioned above cover a number of genres and topics, most of which are relevant to traditional Sámi ways of life (e.g., fishing, reindeer herding, subsistence agriculture, etc.), as well as a number of folktales. The folktales include traditional narratives and oral literature, while most of the other texts are first-person recollections and descriptions of past events. Musical texts (yoiks or “vuolle”) normally serve to celebrate a specific topic mentioned in the lyrics.

51 See the blog *Muv árbe*: <http://arbbe.blogspot.fi/>.

52 Peter Steggo, <https://www.instagram.com/petersteggo/>.

53 See also posts marked by the thread #bidumsámegiella.

54 An exhaustive list of Pite Saami materials at the Uppsala archive can be found here: <http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/ortnamn/ortnamn-pa-minoritetsprak/pitesamiskt-sprakmaterial.html>.

55 Endangered Languages Archive, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/elar/>.

Non-literary texts and resources

In addition to the texts mentioned above, a number of non-literary texts about Pite Sámi are available. These resource materials mainly describe linguistic structures and provide lexicographic information for the language (none of these are written in Pite Sámi). There are six books that deal with grammatical descriptions of Pite Sámi: Halász 1896 (in Hungarian), Lagercrantz 1926 (in German), Ruong 1943 (in German), Lehtiranta 1992 (in Finnish), Wilbur 2014 (in English) and Sjaggo 2015 (in Swedish). A dictionary and set of spelling rules was published in 2016 as *Pitesamisk ordbok samt stavningsregler* (ed. Wilbur 2016a); the dictionary part is based on a wordlist collected by a group of Pite Sámi language activists between 2008 and 2012 (Bengtsson et al 2016).

Digital resources and language technology tools are also available for Pite Sámi⁵⁶, although these currently should mainly be considered works in progress. A dictionary app is currently being developed by Olve Utne for mobile devices using Android. Online language technology tools⁵⁷ (e.g., a text analyser and a word form generator) are available and a spell-checker is under development.

Availability

Printed materials are mainly available in libraries in northern Sweden, and occasionally from used book sellers, and even sometimes in local museum shops or other book stores.⁵⁸ Materials in the Endangered Language Archive can be accessed online, and materials at the Swedish state language archive (ISOF) can be accessed in person in Uppsala.

Challenges and opportunities

Although Pite Sámi does not have a particularly long or varied literary tradition, current trends in language attitudes indicate that the future may bring an increase in Pite Sámi literary works. Probably the most significant step would be to have Pite Sámi officially recognized as an official Sámi language by the Sámi parliaments in Sweden and/or Norway because this would create state funding specifically in support of Pite Sámi literacy (including teaching). Important steps towards this goal are in place (including the existence of lexicographic materials, an orthographic proposal and increased language activism and awareness), but these positive trends must continue into the future in order for the language to continue to exist as a literary language.

56 A lexical database can be found at <http://saami.uni-freiburg.de/psdp/pite-lex/> and spelling rules (orthographic standard) at <http://saami.uni-freiburg.de/psdp/stavningsregler/>.

57 Online language technology tools are available at <http://giellatekno.uit.no/cgi/index.sje.eng.html>.

58 Note that the Pite Saami dictionary (Wilbur 2016a) can still be ordered from the publisher, and PDFs of the grammatical descriptions by Wilbur (2014) and by Sjaggo (2015) can be downloaded for free.

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Literature in Lule Sámi – lines of development to the present day

Päivi Alanen

Early stages and background

As a literary language Lule Sámi is young, having established its own orthography only in 1983. Before that, the oral tradition, stories and narratives of course flourished, and they are still today a good departure point for literature and other arts. The present text uses the *Sámi bibliografija – Sámi bibliography*, maintained by the National Library of Norway, as its starting point.

The oral tradition has been recorded in such works as Just Qvigstad's folk story collection *Lappiske eventyr og sagn fra Lyngen 2 og Fra Nordland*, volume 4 ("Lapp Fairy Tales and Stories from Lyngen 2 and Nordland", 1929). Some Lule Sámi stories have been republished under the title *Subttsasa Nordlánas* ("Stories from Nordland", 2009).

The first written publications were religious literature. The pastor Lars Levi Læstadius wrote four publications between 1839 and 1844 in Lule Sámi, or a closely-related dialect, including the booklet *Hållaittem Ristagasa ja Satte almatja kaskan* ("Conversation between a Christian and a normal everyday person", 1839), as well as *Tåluts supstasah, Jubmela pirra ja Almatji pirra* ("Old tales, of God and man", 1844). The entire Bible appeared in Lule Sámi in 1811 under the title *Dat Ajles Tjalog* ("The Holy Book"). The New Testament was published in Lule Sámi in 1903 and the Swedish Bible Society published a new translation, *Ådå Testamennta*, the result of many years' work, in 2003. Work is underway on a translation of the Old Testament. A hymn book has also been published in Lule Sámi, *Julevsáme sálmmagirje* ("The Lule Sámi Hymn Book", 2005). It also includes a gospel book. The Norwegian hymn book, *Norske salmebok* (2013), also includes Lule Sámi hymns. Both the Laestadian revival movement, since the 19th century, and the Church of Norway, since the 2000s, have preserved the language and developed its written and oral usage.

At the start of the 20th century, the linguist and ethnologist K.B. Wiklund published a great deal of research into Lule Sámi, such as the *Lule-lappisches Wörterbuch* ("Lule Lapp Dictionary", 1890), the textbook *Lärobok i lappiska språket* ("Lapp Language Textbook", 1901), *Lapparnes sång og poesi* ("Songs and Poetry of the Lapps", 1906), and the reader *Låkkåmus sámitta* ("Reading Material for Sámi people", 1907). Harald Grundström's collection *Lulelappisk ordbok* ("Lule Lapp Dictionary", 1946–1954) is the basis for

research and development of the modern language. Grundström's collections *Lapska sånger: texter og melodier fra svenska Lappland* ("Lappish songs: texts and melodies from Swedish Lapland"), and his collections of yoiks from Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur are stored in the archive in Uppsala.

A dictionary of the modern language, *Julevsáme-dárro báhkogirje* ("Lule Sámi–Norwegian Dictionary"), is available online and via the Julevbágo app.⁵⁹ The *Lulesámisk–norsk* (Lule Sámi–Norwegian) and *Norsk–lulesámisk* (Norwegian–Lule Sámi) dictionaries are based on the work of Anders Kintel, but the online versions also use other sources. They are produced by Simon Paulsen of Ntec Media AS.

In 1973 the first book written by a Sámi was published in Lule Sámi, *Jåhttesáme viessom* ("The Life of a Wandering Sámi") by Anta Pirak. In the book he writes about his life as a reindeer herder and other traditions and customs in Jokkmokk a hundred years ago. The book is a Lule Sámi classic and formed the basis for Harald Grundström's and others' lexicographical work. (Kuoljok, 2018.)

Recipients and publishers

The Lule Sámi language area is small. The linguist Bruce Morén-Duollja from Nord University in Bodø estimates that there are fewer than 650 speakers. However, the language does have official status. In the core area, the Drag primary school in Tysfjord, Norway, teaches in Norwegian and Sámi side by side at all grades, while the Árran nursery school operates in Lule Sámi. Many children learn Sámi as a second language in primary school, but few do so in secondary school. In school, Lule Sámi is extremely rare as a first language, and it is more common for the aim to be bilingualism. Árran, the centre for Lule Sámi, is responsible for distance teaching of Lule Sámi in schools around Norway. Children are taught through Sámi in Gällivare and Jokkmokk in Sweden. Lule Sámi is also studied at university, and the foundations are being laid for Lule Sámi-language teacher training.

There are still not enough Lule Sámi textbooks being published. The current text does not discuss teaching materials. However, all possible material is used in teaching. In Norway, the Sámi Parliament of Norway⁶⁰ is responsible for the development of teaching materials, and maintains such resources as *Ovttas – Aktan – Ak-*

59 The dictionary of the modern language is available online and via the Julevbágo app: <http://julev.no>.

60 <https://sametinget.no/>

*tesne: Sámske læremidler på net*⁶¹ (“Sámi teaching materials online”). The website contains Lule Sámi materials from both Norway and Sweden. In Sweden, the Sámi School Administration (Sameskolstyrelsen) produces literature for school use, as well as for children. E-skuvla.no, based in Karasjok, publishes learning materials online and children’s books in print to a certain extent.

Book printing and publishing in Sámi have depended on the “fiery souls” of cultural life. Stig Gælok, who founded the publishing company Bágo in Norway, is one of them. He has been the most prolific Lule Sámi writer to date, and he has translated children’s books and worked as a journalist. He also releases his own works as audiobooks. Bágo ceased operations and production moved to the Árran bookshop, founded in 1994. Árran has mostly published its own works under the Báhko label, and recently illustrated books in cooperation with the North Trøndelag County Library. Gælok’s other publishing company, Baldusine, became part of the publisher Cálliid Lágádus (Forfatternes forlag or “Writers’ Publisher”). Several Norwegian Sámi publishers also publish in Lule Sámi.

In Sweden, very little literature is published in the Sámi language, and especially in Lule Sámi. A project is underway to set up a Sámi writers’ and literature centre (Sámiskt författar- och litteratur centrum) in Jokkmokk. The Bágo čálliid siebrie (Sámi writers’ and authors’ association) has been particularly active in this. The association calculates that 0.2 books are published in the Sámi language in Sweden a year, which means that roughly once every five years a book in Sámi is published in Sweden.

Towards the 21st century

Works of fiction in the true sense were only published for the first time in the 1980s and 1990s. A total of 10 works was published in the 1980s, of which most were original: Sigga Tuolja-Sandström, Stig Gælok, Mikal Urheim, Karin Tuolja and Annukka Aikio. The published works included poetry, children’s books and translated folk stories, but not novels. Sigga Tuolja-Sandström wrote about Arctic life on the fells and in nature in general. Tysfjord native Gælok’s debut, the book of poems *O, Oarjjevuodna* (“O Hellmobotn Fjord”, 1983) was the first real work of fiction after Anta Pirak. Only a couple of Eric Hill’s illustrated children’s books have been translated.

In the 1990s, the number of publications increased somewhat. Twenty-six publications may be counted as works of fiction. The teacher Gun Aira, who lives in Jokkmokk, continues to produce lyric poetry, children’s books and translations of illustrated books for small children (e.g. books by Gunilla Wolde, Keld Hansen). She has also written children’s books in Lule Sámi and translated.

Many books are written in both Norwegian and Sámi, and the newest children’s books contain parallel texts in different Sámi languages.

From the 2000s to today

In the past two decades the range of works being published has become more diverse. Books aimed at other audiences than children, especially at young people have now also been published. Kurt-Tore Andersen, Gøran Andersen and Anders Urheim write their books in Lule Sámi. Their works include storybooks based on their own memories and a mythical tale set in Tysfjord. Inga Karlsen’s children’s books are based on an oral story that is close to folk tradition and which also aims to teach children.

For young people, two youth books have been translated, and they have also been published in North Sámi. There was an interesting anthology for young people published in 2001 in four Sámi languages. A Lule Sámi-language CD of folk tales was released in 2002. A music CD for children, *Lávllaga* (“Songs”), with accompanying lyrics booklet, was released in 2005 and the CD also included a few originally Lule Sámi songs.

In the past decade, more translated children’s books, for the most part picture books, have been published. Three originally Lule Sámi-language children’s books and a small short-story collection have been published, of a total of 40 publications. Some have also been published as audiobooks. Typically, children’s books are published simultaneously in several Sámi languages. The children’s book *Silbbamáno* (“Silver Moon”, 2015), translated by Sissel Horndal, is based on a Sámi tale of a mythical figure, the stallo, which the author illustrated beautifully. It has also been published in Northern and Southern Sámi in addition to Norwegian.

For adult readers, a story book of the author’s experiences of childhood, boarding school, and the environment in which she grew up (*Árddå*, “The Tree Line”, Harriet Nordlund 2016, in Swedish and translated into the Lule Sámi).

Ann-Helen Laestadius has written a series of novels for young people. She writes in Swedish, and her first book published in 2007 was translated into Lule, North and South Sámi year 2010 (*Sms:a Sohpparis*, “Text Messages from Soppero”). The themes of the book are identity, love and the meeting of two cultures. In 2016, Ann-Helen Laestadius received the August prize for her youth novel *Tio över ett* (“Ten Past One”), which was a sequel to another award-winning book.

My investigations show that a total of about 100 works of fiction have been published in Lule Sámi, mostly in Norway. This number does not include non-fiction prose or religious texts, for examples. Not one novel for adults has been published in Lule Sámi. Translation from

61 <http://ovttas.no/smj/>

Lule Sámi into a language of the majority is extremely difficult, as there is no funding for it. The Sámi Parliament primarily funds writing in Sámi or translation into it.

Texts of the younger generation in Lule Sámi

A certain amount of song lyrics has appeared in Lule Sámi. Lars Magne Andreassen has released the CD *Bálg-es/Sti* ("Path", 2008). He describes his music thus: "The song deals with our Sámi identity and what it is to be Sámi, then and now. It deals with what it feels like to be ashamed of being Sámi, but also proud of it."⁶²

The songwriters Mandy Senger and Katarina Rimpi perform in the ethno-pop group Jarnna, which means "the deep or widest part of a river". The songwriter Mandy Senger and Katarina Rimpi perform in the ethno-pop group Jarnna, which means "the deep or widest part of a river". Their music has influences from yoiks. Lovisa Negga (Mio Negga) has released an album in Lule Sámi, *Mihá ja gievrra* ("Proud and Strong", 2008), of which she says: "Mihá ja gievrra' is not only a Sámi dance pop song, it is also a universal tribute to freedom."⁶³

Kalle Urheim's music CD *Ruodjo* ("Wind Soul", 2016) includes tradition hymns and yoiks from the Lule Sámi area interpreted with modern arrangements and tunes. His own lyric compositions are also part of the CD. His work has been performed at several events and festivals.

Humour and irony directed at the self constitute a new genre in Sámi literature. The comic books of Maren Uthaug, who lives in Denmark and is searching for her Sámi roots, have been translated into Lule Sámi. Comics are a popular genre.

In Lule Sámi culture there are politically active people, and music and theatre are ways to have an impact on them. Maxida Mäarak is a yoik singer, hip-hop musician, actress and activist living in Sweden. She writes and performs in English and Swedish.

Nuoraj-TV ("Youth TV") is a Lule Sámi-language YouTube channel⁶⁴. The material appearing on it is varied, including animated films, humour, news, Sámi stories in film form, and songs. The videos are a few minutes long, aimed at children and young people, and subtitled in Norwegian. It is a popular channel and it is used in language teaching. Johnny Andersen from Tysfjord is the journalist behind the channel and it is primarily funded by the Sámi Parliament of Norway.

NRK Sápmi produces news in Lule Sámi for the radio, and, to a certain extent, for television. There is thus the possibility to inform people about literature.

At the same time, a local newspaper has pages in Lule Sámi every week. These channels could be used more effectively to promote literature.

What would increase interest?

Social media, and the lower threshold for online publishing in general, give the language and its literature more visibility and reach the younger generation more easily. For example, the Mijá bágo ("Our word") Facebook page is occasionally a venue for lively discussion on language questions in Lule Sámi.

When language ability is limited, insufficient skills to write in Lule Sámi in general, let alone fiction, are already enough of a barrier to even beginning to write. On the other hand, the need to practise the language, to read and to understand, is large. The Sápmi författarcentrum (Sámi Writers' Centre) being founded in Jokkmokk understands the difficult situation of Sámi-language literature and the need to develop writers' training for Sámi people.

Writers aim to appear at a range of events. For example, at the Staare 2018 festival (Staare 2018 – ett samiskt jubileumsår), the Bágo čalliid siebrie (Sámi Writers' and Authors' Association) was visibly involved. Julevsáme vahkko (Lule Sámi Week) in Tysfjord is an important forum aimed at children and young people and children, as are other summer events in the area.

Various reading challenges, competitions and events are very important for informing schools and getting children and young people excited about reading and writing. The Lule Sámi language, which is extremely endangered, needs readers, writers and other active people. Easy-to-read, fluid text, audiobooks, digital publications, visual media, song lyrics and comics – all these are needed, with libraries in cooperation with other bodies acting as a medium. Translation into Lule Sámi should be given significant support.

An exciting upcoming event is the joint publication of three children's books by Samuel Gælok, Birgit Andersen and Raket-Iren Østnes-Lillehaug Pedersen at the Stormen library in Bodø, Norway. The cross-border library blog *Sámisk bibliotektjeneste/ Sámi girjerádjubálvalus: informasjonstjeneste om nye sámiske utgivelser* (Sámi Library Service)⁶⁵ is a successful information service about literature that is produced and read in many countries.

62 <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/lulesámisk-musikkutgivelse-1.4242445>

63 <https://lovisanegga.bandcamp.com/album/mih-ja-gievrra>

64 The Lule Sámi-language YouTube channel Nuoraj-TV: <https://www.youtube.com/user/NuorajTV>.

65 Sámsk bibliotektjeneste/ Sámi girjerádjubálvalus: informasjonstjeneste om nye sámiske utgivelser (Sámi Library Service), <https://sámiskbibliotektjeneste.wordpress.com/>.

North Sámi literature in motion

Lill Tove Fredriksen, Harald Gaski and Sigbjørn Skåden

The history of Sámi literature can be traced back to the 1600s, and the course of this history can be interpreted in the context of important Sámi national and international political and cultural movements. Sámi literature is literature written by authors who are members of the various groups of Sámi people. There are in total ten Sámi languages, of which eight have a literary language. Of these only North Sámi has an extended literary field, with diverse enough institutions and agents to even be considered autonomous. North Sámi has been an official language in Norway since 1992. North Sámi is also recognised as an official language in some municipalities in Finland. With the largest literary infrastructure, spread through Norway, Sweden and Finland, the North Sámi literary field undertakes the role of acting for the good of all Sámi literary productions in and beyond Sápmi. North Sámi literature absorbs literary pursuits from all parts of Sápmi, from all Sámi languages and from all times, while it allows all other Sámi literary realms to also act independently. It includes also works by Sámi authors written in the official languages, i.e. Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Russian.

Sámi definition of literature

The very definition of literature in Sámi is different than, for example, in Norwegian and English, and not only due to an inherent multilingual nature. The Sámi term for literature is *girjjálašvuohta*, which derives from *girji*, meaning book; i.e. something that has a pattern or something written (like a letter or a book, for example, the Letters of Paul in the Bible are referred to as *girji* in the Sámi translation of The Bible). This gives a much larger space for an inclusive definition of what can be regarded as Sámi literature today, so it is quite natural to bring both yoik and narratives but also fiction and non-fiction under the umbrella term.

Early Sámi literature

The first book written in Sámi was published in the southern Sámi area of Sweden. The development of a (Ume) Sámi written language began in this part of Sápmi in the 1600s, carried out by clergymen and missionaries writing about the Sámi people and translating religious texts into Sámi (Hirvonen 2008: 52). The development of Sámi literature and the Sámi written language was however at that time driven by the political interests of the powers that be. Educational efforts and the development of Sámi literature thus were not launched to meet the needs of

the Sámi people themselves but to serve the goals set by the Christian Church and the power politics of the states (Hirvonen 2008: 56). In 1673 the book *Lapponia*, edited by the German professor Johannes Schefferus, was published at the behest of Queen Christina of Sweden. The Swedes wanted to refute the rumour that Sweden received help from a Sámi shaman to win a number of crucial battles in the Thirty Years' War. The book was a compilation of material collected by clergymen and their assistants from all around Sápmi and it included the two love poems *Guldnasaš njirrosam* (My little reindeer) and *Moarsi fávrrot* (The bride's song), written by a Sámi clerical student, Olaus Sirma, from Kemi. These poems are the first fictional texts published in Sámi. The book was translated into German, English, French and Dutch, and could thereby reach a large European audience. The editor of the English newspaper *The Spectator* expressed in 1711 surprise that a people who live in the dark and cold most of the year were capable of writing love poems at all. The poems are said to have inspired Goethe to write *Nähe des Geliebten* (Gaski 1987: 18).

In the 1800s, pastors working in the Sámi areas wrote down epic yoik lyrics on topics such as Sápmi's first inhabitants and resistance to colonisation (e.g. *Sámieatnama álgo ja maŋit ássiid birra*, 'About the indigenous and other peoples of Sámiiland'). One other beautiful example is the yoik *Suola ja Noaidi* (The Thief and the Shaman), written down by the Finnish pastor Jacob Fellman who worked in the Ohcejohka region of Finland in the 1820s (Gaski, 2004). A fable on the origin of the people telling that the Sámi are children of the Son of the Sun was written down by the South Sámi priest Anders Fjellner in the mid-1800s. The text describes how the Son of the Sun travelled to the land of the giants to woo and marry the daughter of a giant and how their three sons became, after the death of the Son of the Sun, stars in the sky and the Belt of Orion (Gaski 2003). The development of the Sámi written language was restrained from the mid-1800s on by Social Darwinism. In this period, the authorities placed greater emphasis on the assimilation of the Sámi population. In Norway, assimilation was promoted by the policy of Norwegianisation, including the adoption of a resolution stating that starting from 1898 it was no longer permitted to use Sámi in the teaching of Sámi school children. Sámi was only permitted to be used to explain if there were no other alternatives (Hansen 1992, Mákká Regnor 1993: 119–120, Minde 2005).

The end of the 1800s and the start of the 1900s marked a reversal of the trend and the start of an ethnic awakening and ethno-political mobilisation of the Sámi People, which resulted in a marked increase in Sámi literary publications. Historically, the Sámi have

had a rich oral literary tradition, a tradition that still continues today. Oral narrative art and yoik poetry are among the genres that have had and still have a strong position in Sámi literary life today. But it is only in the context of the 20th century that one can speak of a Sámi fictional writing culture in a strict sense.

Sámi literary mobilisation

A Sámi political movement, which included prominent Sámi politicians, arose at the beginning of the 1900s as the National Romantic period in Norway and Finland came to an end (see Mákká Regnor 1993 and Minde 2005). The political mobilisation began in the southernmost areas on the Swedish side of Sápmi. Elsa Laula (1877–1931) was perhaps the most prominent Sámi politician at that time. In 1904 she published the pamphlet *Inför Lif eller Död? Sanningsord i de Lappska förhållandena* in Swedish, and became one of the very first Sámi authors to publish a work. Elsa Laula (later Elsa Laula Renberg) wanted to make the Swedish authorities aware of the difficult conditions the Sámi people were living in and focussed on social problems in particular and the question why the schooling in Sweden was shorter for Sámi children than for Swedish children. Elsa Laula Renberg was a key figure in the ethno-political Sámi movement of the beginning of the 1900s and one of the organisers behind the first national Sámi congress held in Trondheim on 6 February 1917 (Borgen 1997). The event is today celebrated across the whole of Sápmi as the national day of the Sámi people.

Johan Turi (1854–1936) was a Sámi reindeer herder who lived on the Swedish side of Sápmi. In 1910 he published the book *Muitalus sámiiid birra* (An account of the Sámi), the first book by a Sámi author to be published in Sámi. Johan Turi, repeating the themes brought up by Elsa Laula, also wanted to tell the authorities about the Sámi people and Sámi culture, and help people to understand the Sámi way of life (Svonni 2011: 486). In Turi's words:

“I have been thinking that it would be best if there were a book that tells everything about Sámi life and conditions, so that people wouldn't have to ask what kind of conditions we live in, and so that people wouldn't misconstrue things, particularly those who want to lie about the Sámi and claim that only the Sámi are at fault when disputes arise between settlers and the Sámi in Norway and Sweden” (Turi 2012: 11).

A landmark meeting with the Danish ethnographer and artist Emilie Demant, who also assisted and inspired Turi, lead directly to the writing and publication of the book (Svonni 2011). Emilie Demant quickly translated the book into Danish and it was later translated into English. *Muitalus sámiiid birra* has been translated into eleven languages, more languages than any other Sámi book (Gaski 2012:9). In 1912, the short social critical novel *Bæivve-Algo* (Day-

break) was published. It was written by teacher and editor Anders Larsen (1870–1949), who was from Nord-Troms in Norway. This was the first novel written in Sámi, by a Sámi author. Anders Larsen published the Sámi-language newspaper *Sagai Muitalægje* (The news reporter, 1904–1911). He was a champion of the Sámi language and the political situation of the Sámi people. His commitment directly contributed to Isak Saba's becoming the first Sámi representative to be elected into the Norwegian Parliament for the Norwegian Labour Party for two terms, from 1906 to 1909 and from 1909 to 1912. Isak Saba is also the author of the national anthem of the Sámi people, which was first published in *Sagai Muittalægje* in 1906.

These authors are just some examples of the pioneers of Sámi literatures. Only a few Sámi books were published between 1914 and the early 1970s. Of these, well worth mentioning are the first poetry and novel collection in North Sámi, Pedar Jalvi's *Muhtačalmmit* (Snowflake, 1915); Anta Pirak's book *Jáhttesáme viessom* (The nomad and his life), the first Lule Sámi book published in Sweden in 1937; and Hans Aslak Guttorm book *Gohccán spálli* (1940) (Awakened wind). After this period, the Sámi ethno-political movement and the production of Sámi literature both entered a new period of revival.

1970-2000, modern North Sámi literature

A new culture-political Sámi movement arose in the 1970s, originating from the global protest movement. Minorities and indigenous peoples were demanding political, cultural and economic rights (Hirvonen 2008: 24). What is known as the modern wave of Sámi literature, with more frequent releases, was in many ways inspired by the authors Paul Utsi, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Kirsti Paltto. The first seminar in Sámi literature was held in the small Sámi settlement of Sirbmá in Finnmark on 14–16 September 1972, organised by the Committee for the Promotion of Sámi Literature, set up by the Arts Council of Norway in 1971 (Eira 1973: 75). A key question that was raised at the seminar was why there were so few Sámi authors. One reply to this was that while people prefer to write in their mother tongue, there was generally no teaching in Sámi in the schools. The seminar participants agreed that the Sámi would have to start writing about the Sámi themselves, if the existing situation where all the descriptions of the Sámi were being written by non-Sámi authors was to change. One language cannot live through another language (Eira 1973: 77, 79). The letters ČSV were launched in reference to Sámi for the first time at the seminar. ČSV stands for “Show Sámi spirit!” (Guttormsen 1973: 50) and were used by what came to be known as the ČSV movement (Stordahl 1997). The seminar resulted in the publication of the Čállagat series, in which many Sámi authors published their first texts. A number of them wrote poems with words that contained the letters ČSV. Sixteen issues were published of the series.

However, it wasn't until the 1980s that books started to really be published more frequently. This occurred in parallel with the establishment of Sámi publishers, and largely because Arts Council Norway started actively participating in supporting Sámi-language literature. At the same time, Sámi writers began to organise in associations, first in Sámi Girječálliid Searvi (Sámi Writers' Association, founded in 1979), and later also in Sámi fágagirjjálaš čálliid- ja jorgaleddjiidsearvi (Sámi Nonfiction Writers' and Translator' Association, founded in 1992).

What was unique about the 1970s was that many women, of different generations, began to write books. Sámi women were, in this period, given greater opportunities to education beyond primary and secondary school level. Consequently, more Sámi women began to write fiction and memoir-type works, both in Sámi and in the Scandinavian languages. The first North Sámi woman to publish a novel was Annok Sarri Nordrå. She published the novel *Ravnas vinter*, the first book in a trilogy, in 1973. She was from Sweden but lived in Norway with her Norwegian husband, also an author, and she wrote in Norwegian. The transition from an oral tradition of storytelling to a culture of writing is clearly illustrated in the works of many of the authors. One of them is Sara Ranta-Rönnlund (1903-1979), from Årosjokk in the Kiruna area of Sweden. She was in her seventies when she, late in life, published four works written in Swedish based on her life and experiences. The first, *Nådevalper*, was published in 1971. She had a feminist perspective in her work and wasn't afraid to confront those who had power in Sámi society, particularly those who had misused their power with respect to women. Some of the authors who began to write literature in Sámi in the 1970s attended courses to learn how to write in Sámi. One of them was Kirsti Paltto (born 1947) from Ohcejohka/ Utsjoki on the Finnish side of Deanuleahki/ Tanadalen, the first Sámi woman to publish a book in Sámi. The book, *Soagru* (The Courting), a collection of novels, was published in 1971. Paltto used in her work tales from the oral Sámi tradition as a basis for short prose texts, the oral Sámi tradition thereby forming a part of the new written Sámi literature tradition. Paltto is the Sámi author with the most extensive and varied literary production. She has written lyrics, children's books, youth books, novels and radio plays. She was also the first director of the Sámi girječálliid searvi/The Sámi Writer's Association, which was founded in 1979 (Gaski 2006: 44).

The first Sámi children's book was written by Marry A. Somby (born 1953), who was from Sirbmá on the Norwegian side of Tanadalen/ Deanuleahki. The book was published in 1976 under the title *Ámmul ja alit oarbmælle /Ammul og den blå kusinen*. She wrote the book because she couldn't find any books for her children in their mother tongue, Sámi. No children's books had been published in Sámi up until then (Hirvonen 2008: 91). The source for the story told in Somby's book derives from the storytelling tradition. The story is about a boy who meets a girl from the underworld. Among the central

writers of books for children and young people in Sámi during this period were also Ellen Marie Vars, Rauna Paadar-Leivo, Kerttu Vuolab, and Karen Anne Buljo.

In the 1980s and 1990s, many North Sámi authors started to establish themselves through consistent production. In their works lyric was the prevalent genre, prose was rarer. Literature for children and young people published in North Sámi also increased widely in this period, representing a relatively large proportion of the overall production in Sápmi. There were also a number of Sámi writers who wrote in majority languages, like Norwegian, because they hadn't had the chance to learn Sámi at home or school. The diversity of the Sámi peoples became more visible in literature, and together all the authors who established themselves during this period created what one could call the first vibrant community of Sámi authors. Among the important Sámi authors writing in majority languages in this period are e.g. Ailo Gaup, Aagot Vinterbo-Hohr, John Gustavsen, Magnar Mikkelsen, and Roald Wold Karlsen.

One of the leading Sámi authors today is Rauni Magga Lukkari (born 1943) from Ohcejohka in Finland. She is first and foremost a poet and she published her first collection of poems in 1980 under the title *Jienat vulget* (Ice drift). The collection of poems *Losses beavegirji/Mørk dagbok* was nominated for the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 1987. Lukkari is an author who describes the problems associated with the status of women in Sámi society and she hasn't been afraid to tackle topics regarded as taboo. One example is the theatre monologue *En lykkes mann - Lihkkošalmái*, which was published in 2007. The plot draws attention to how badly things can go when a mother abuses the power she has over her children. The monologue is the first dramatic work by a Sámi author, written in Sámi and Norwegian, to be presented at a Norwegian theatre. The play was performed at Nathionalteatret and Det norske teatret in 2007. Most of Lukkari's books have been reproduced in Norwegian and some also in Finnish and English (Fredriksen 2010: 4). Some of Lukkari's poems have been set to music and sung by the globally renowned Sámi artist Mari Boine on the CD *Idjagieđas/In the Hand of the Night*, thereby reaching an even larger audience.

The most well known Sámi author is Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943–2001) from Eanodat/ Enontekiö in Finland. He was a multi-talented artist, poet, composer, and artist. His authorship, with its references to Sámi fables, history and values and his modern and experimental forms of expression connect the past to the present through the cultural revival that began in the 1970s. Valkeapää was awarded the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 1991 for the book *Solen, min far*. The Sámi original, *Beaivi áhčážan*, contains poems and a series of historical photographs of Sámi people throughout Sápmi. A unique aspect of the translated versions is that Valkeapää wanted the culturally important photographs to only be used in the Sámi original version (Gaski 1997). The book was reproduced in English under the title *The Sun My Father* (1997).

Valkeapää and Johan Turi represent the diversity of artistic expression among Sámi authors. Many of the authors are skilled in a number of art forms and use this in their literary production. A number of them also use pictures or illustrations produced by others in their books. The poet Synnøve Persen (born 1951) from Porsáŋgu/ Porsanger in Finnmark, who is trained in fine arts and is a well-known visual artist, is another Sámi author who clearly represents the diverse range of creativity among Sámi authors. She was one of the eight Sámi artists who were invited to Documenta 14 in 2017. Documenta is considered the world's most important series of contemporary art exhibitions.

Jovnna-Ánde Vest, from Roavvesavu/ Karasjok in Ohcejohka /Utsjoki, is today the most prominent Sámi author of novels. He debuted in 1988 with the book *Čáhcegáddái nohká boazobálggis*. The book won the first Sámi novel competition arranged by the publishers Davvi Media and Aschehoug and was translated into Norwegian under the title *Reintråkket ender ved bredden*. Vest was also shortlisted for the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 2006 for the book *Árbbolaččat. Goalmmát oassi* (2005), translated into Swedish under the title *Arvingarne. Tredje delen*. The book is the third part of a series of novels by this title. The plot is set in a small Sámi settlement in Northern Finland. The story takes place after the Second World War and explores modernisation, the challenges placed by the greater society and the different ways citizens tackle these changes. His latest publication is the novel *Astrid og Anton* (Astrid and Anton) (2016).

Another North Sámi author who has published several works is the poet Inger Mari Aikio-Arianaick (born 1961) from Buolbmát/ Polmak on the Finnish side of the Deatnu/ Tana river. The poetry collection *Máilmmis dása/Fra verden og hit* was shortlisted for the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 2004. Aikio-Arianaick has also written children's books, made films and written lyrics for CDs of children's songs.

2000s – A new generation in North Sámi literature

Along with the 2000s a new generation of North Sámi writers has however emerged in all of the mentioned categories. In the younger generation of Sámi authors one finds, among others, Sigbjørn Skåden, Ann-Helén Laestadius, Simon Issát Marainen, Hege Siri, Niillas Holmberg, Rawdna Carita Eira, Jens Martin Mienna, Máret Anne Sara, Saia Stuenng, Magne "domantrener" Skåden, and Helga West. Máret Anne Sara is also a visual artist, and she was invited to present one of her installations at Documenta 14 in 2017.

Many Sámi authors born in the 1960s or later want to find their own way of showing their Sámi identity and cultural heritage. They are a part of a generation that does not bear the burdens of the previous generations, thanks to the socio-political movement that began at the start of the 1900s. They are also part of a generation that has had the opportunity to learn to read and write in Sámi

at an early age. Many of those members of this generation who have not learnt their mother tongue now also want to learn Sámi, and much of this progress is a result of new school legislation, increased teaching in Sámi in schools, a global consciousness among indigenous peoples, and the Sámi political movement. Sigbjørn Skåden (born 1973) from Sør-Troms in Norway is a representative of this generation. His references pertain to world literature and the post-punk movement and he uses the Internet as a platform for creating literature. Skåden has published two collections of poems, a blog novel and a novel. He writes in both Sámi and Norwegian. In 2007 he was shortlisted for the Nordic Council Literature Prize for his first collection of poems *Skuovvadeddjiid gonagas/ Skomakernes konge*. Skåden has presented his poems at a number of poetry festivals around the world. Ann Helen Laestadius (born 1971) from Sweden depicts in her four youth novels (2007–2012) the search for Sámi identity, seen through the eyes of a young girl, Agnes, who grows up in an urban environment in the south of Sweden and has her Sámi roots in the north. Niillas Holmberg (born 1990) from Ohcejohka / Utsjoki in Finland is one of the youngest Sámi authors. He is a musician and a poet and he has published four collections of poems (2009, 2013, 2016). His poetry is rich in images and explores a young man's search in life, with references to the lives of young Sámi people today. He is also a musician and he has often been described as a multi-talented artist. His first book *amas amasmuvvat* was shortlisted for the Nordic Council Literature Prize in 2015. He has also published a poem collection in English, *The Way Back*. Holmberg, too, also presented his poems at poetry festivals around the world.

Today, support is given to North Sámi literature mostly by the Sámi Parliament of Norway. It also fully finances most of the Sámi-language publications. There are several established Sámi publishers engaged in school book production and literary releases. Among the established publishers with regular releases are Davvi Girji, Iđut, Skániid Girjie, DAT, Gollegiella and ČálliidLágádus. The number of book releases in North Sámi is somewhere between ten and twenty per year. Some Sámi books have been translated into Norwegian in recent years, and there have been anthologies with Sámi literature in English, Hungarian, and Finnish.

Sámi languages are a very central part of Sámi literature. Unlike many indigenous peoples around the world, most Sámi authors write in their mother tongue. The Sámi language is seen as the most important bearer of Sámi tradition and knowledge and is also important within Sámi literature research (Gaski 2013: 115). Language is in many ways a source of power and identity and can, according to poet Synnøve Persen, be used by the author as a means of power for touching the innermost in the reader. This produces a feeling of being Sámi and a collective sense of belonging, something that has played a very central part in the blossoming of Sámi literature.

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Overview of Inari Sámi literature

Petter Morottaja

Briefly about Inari Sámi and the history of written Inari Sámi

Inari Sámi is a small language spoken by about 400 speakers around Lake Inari in Northern Finland. Inari Sámi belongs to the group of eastern Sámi languages, and it has close connections to its neighbouring Sámi languages, North Sámi and Skolt Sámi. Even though the languages share a lot of similar vocabulary and have similar traits, Sámi languages are commonly regarded as separate languages and not just dialects, because the speakers of the different Sámi languages don't necessarily understand each other without practise.

Inari Sámi took its first steps as a written language in the 19th century. The first publication was *Anar sämi kiela aabis kirje* - an ABC book - translated by a priest, Edvard Wilhelm Borg, in 1859. Many religious texts have also been translated for the purpose of teaching Christianity to Sámi people, such as *Katkismus* (Catechism, 1902) and *Uccâ salmâkirjâáš* (a small psalm book, 1978). As a response to academic interest in Inari Sámi oral literature, folklorist A. W. Koskimies collected stories told by Inari Sámi people and published them under the title *Inarinlappalaista kansantietoutta* (Inari Sámi folklore, 1918). These stories portray traditional Sámi storytelling in the form of fables, mythological stories and historical stories. Originally Koskimies used phonetical transcription with the Inari Sámi parts; the collection was re-printed with more reader-friendly text later on.

Slowly during the 20th century, the Inari Sámi people themselves started building up the literary field. In 1934, a Sámi magazine called *Sápmelaš* was founded. Even though most of the texts were in Northern Sámi, it published texts written in Inari Sámi as well. The first and one of the most active authors writing in Inari Sámi was Uulá Morottaja (1892–1963). His first half-page long article was published in 1936.

The founding of Anarâškielâ servi (association of Inari Sámi language) in 1986 was an important step to Inari Sámi literature for two reasons: first, it was in a way a declaration that the Inari Sámi people themselves consider their language separate of other Sámi languages and feel that it should not vanish; second, one of the tasks it set to itself was to develop the Inari Sámi language by, for example, publishing books. To this date, Anarâškielâ servi has published almost 30 books on diverse themes, such as memoirs, collections of old stories, translated children's books, and a comprehensive study on Inari Sámi place names. Anarâškielâ servi also publishes the

Anarâš (Engl. The Inari Sámi) magazine. It comes out three times a year on the average, with short stories, articles, and even news. It has offered a medium for members of the community to get their stories published and been a backbone of a developing writing culture.

Genres, topics and authors

Modern printed Inari Sámi fiction consists of publications from the last three decades, with more than 60 works published in that period. Most of them – about two third – are children's books. The common way of providing fiction for children to read has been to translate books from Northern Sámi or Finnish; publishing original children's books has however become more popular recently. The fiction for adults consists of memoirs or folklore and two poetry collections. Popular genres, such as sci-fi, fantasy, detective stories, romantic stories or just plain prose, are almost non-existent. Some short stories written in these genres might occasionally be published in the *Anarâš* magazine. The only genre that stands out as an exception of personal memories or traditional stories is a short story collection *Kyelisieidi maccâm já eres novelleh* (edited by Matti Morottaja and Ilmari Mattus, 2005), which among others has stories with allegories and love stories.

There are no full-time authors. Typically, the authors write only as a hobby or as a side job, possibly with short-term grants or without any compensation whatsoever. For this reason, anyone who has published something in Inari Sámi can be considered an author, even though they might not be actively writing at the moment.

Memoirs and old stories

Probably the most prolific author writing in Inari Sámi is Ilmari Mattus. He worked as the editor of the *Anarâš* magazine, writing a great part of the texts himself, but retired from his longstanding post at the end of 2017. In addition to translating both learning material and fiction into Inari Sámi, he has published several memoirs. The first one, *Vuossâmuš škovlâčohčâ*, was published as an audio book in 1992. This work, same as his next memoir *Čovjävrist Kaamasân – Syysjärveltä Kaamaseen* (1996), depicts the perils he had to encounter when as a little boy when he started living in a residential school. In 2014, Mattus published two memoirs: *Sevnjis vuodâlohán* is a combination of his previous school memoirs, and *Pissoin ráávhu*

turviđ focuses on his life as a UN peacekeeper in Cyprus.

An important contributor to Inari Sámi literature is Matti Morottaja, a co-founder of the *Anarâš* magazine and father of the Inari Sámi revitalisation movement. He has edited two publications containing memoirs and folklore: *Sigá maainâs* (1995) and *Tovlááh mainâseh* (1996). These collections contain many of the stories that have been included in older collections, but in a more modern writing style, intended especially for the Inari Sámi community. Morottaja also translated several children's books in the 1990s and was co-editor, along with Ilmari Mattus, of the short story collection *Kyelisiedi maccâm já eres novelleh*.

Another one of the storytellers of the 1990s is Iisak Mattus, a long-time teacher of the Inari Sámi language. Besides working with learning material, he has translated several books, such as *Uccâ priinsâš* (1995, orig. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le petit prince*), which is the only classical story book translated into Inari Sámi. He has also published his own memoirs, *Eellimpäälgis* (1996).

Original children's fiction

The first children's story published originally in Inari Sámi was *Tuálu fangâ* (1995), written by Aune Kuuva. Her story is illustrated by photos for which Kuuva designed clothing worn by actors in the illustrations. Later, her textile and doll design led to the birth of other sets of photographs, which inspired the publications *Suábi maainâs* (1999) and *Riävskánieidâ* (2000) by Petter Morottaja. *Suábi maainâs* is considered "the first fantasy novel in Inari Sámi", with a fantasy world full of creatures based on Sámi mythology.

In the 2000s–2010s, there have been three prominent children's authors. In the 2000s, Marja-Liisa Olthuis, a lecturer at the Giellagas Institute at the University of Oulu, published a series of books called *Njobžâvääri*. The series consists of four volumes, which tell the story of a bear town and the adventures the residents encounter. The first part of the series, *Njobžâvääri pessijâšmarkkâneh*, has been awarded a place on the honour list of the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY). Her fifth book, *Speeijâl fangâ* (2010), is also an experiment with a thriller story for children.

Another author with several published books is Lee D. Rodgers. He is originally from Manchester, UK, but since he married an Inari Sámi and has children who attended an Inari Sámi language nest, he has observed and studied Lappish nature and culture. He writes in English and the stories are translated into Inari Sámi. The final stories include both English and Inari Sámi versions side by side. His first book, *Muštottes uárree – Forgetful squirrel*, was published in 2011. It was followed by an ongoing series, a prequel of a kind, about a little boy Saammâl and his vivid dreams. The series, called *Saammâl*, or *The Drum*, has five published volumes with three more planned. Each part of the series is based on one of the eight seasons in Sámi culture.

Finally, Riitta Vesala, who participated in a complementary Inari Sámi language education course in 2009, and as such originally is not a native speaker of the language, has been writing materials for language nests. As a result, she has published six books: *Hirškiihâ já myerji mainâseh* – a three-part-series (2014), *Jutteseelgi fiärááneh* (2015), *Tonttu Šievtátulii juovlâkalender* (2017), and *Sämmilij pargoh* (2018). The books consist of short stories, many of them partly designed to help children become accustomed to the language and culture.

Poetry

Even though poetry, not unlike many other genres, is quite scarce in Inari Sámi literature, two collections of poems have been published thus far. The first one is *Uáináh-uv* (1992) from Aune Vesa (a pseudonym for Aune Kuuva), which is a combination of poems and illustrations, and the second one is *Spejâlistem – Heijastus* (2015) from Anni Sarre. Her poems were originally written in Finnish, but Sarre has translated them into Inari Sámi herself.

Writing poems has become more popular in recent years. While not many poems are published in the traditional printed form, blogs and web pages have offered poets a low threshold for publishing. Currently the most active writer of poems is Marja-Liisa Olthuis, who publishes her poems in her blog.

Inari Sámi in art and media

In music, there are a few active artists and composers. In addition to her writing career, Aune Kuuva is also one of the pioneers of songwriting in Inari Sámi. Her publications include the song collections *Äjihkedki* (1994), *Kuurâh kullui* (1998), and *Pálgáh* (2004). Her songs tell us about nature and the Inari Sámi way of life. Among the younger generation of song writers is Heli Aikio, whose style can be described as "dreamy pop", and a rap artist Amoc (Mikkal Morottaja). Amoc's lyrics often entail horror elements and elements from everyday life, and they can be considered very influential in bringing Inari Sámi to the 21st century. In addition to original songwriting, there are also several lyrics translated from other languages. The singer group Koškepuško, established during a year-long complementary Inari Sámi language education course, have translated and often also localized lyrics to fit the Inari Sámi culture in an interesting way.

Traditional singing ("livđe") has been dormant and almost forgotten, but there have been efforts to bring the tradition back through livđe workshops – with some success, as well. The leading livđe artist at the moment is Anna Morottaja.

Inari Sámi is occasionally used in performing arts such as theatrical plays or films. *Anarâškielâ servi* has produced a few documentaries and animations on

various topics, such as instructional films on traditional handicraft and livelihoods. Inari Sámi is also often used in films produced by the Sámi Education Institute located in the town of Inari. In Inari, it is quite common to produce multilingual works in which Inari Sámi, North Sámi, and Skolt Sámi are used side by side.

In media, Inari Sámi is used in several domains. Yle Sápmi, a local branch of a publicly funded news organisation, creates content in Inari Sámi on a regular basis. The content consists of radio programmes, online news on their website, and, recently, also news stories in television news broadcasts. There are also some blogs writing mainly in Inari Sámi, even though many of them are somewhat inactive at the moment. The most active one is *Tejâblogi* maintained by Marja-Liisa Olthuis, who writes poems and short stories which are mostly fictional but sometimes also based on real life situations. Also the blog *Čyeti čälled* dedicated to the easy publishing of short texts has had frequent updates. In social media, there is an active group on Facebook called *Anarâškielâ orroomviste*. The Inari Sámi community has also their own wiki called *Nettisaje* (the net place), where it is possible to write about anything or collect writings from other sources.

Publishers, funders and contacts

The main publisher of Inari Sámi literature is Anarâškielâ servi. The other important publisher is the Sámi Parliament of Finland. Even though their main task is to publish learning material for schools and other learning facilities, they have also published both fiction and nonfiction for general use, i.e. instructional books, children's books and collections of poems and shortstories. Typically, the Sámi Parliament doesn't fund original fiction; instead, it places emphasis on the publishing of translated fiction or occasionally cooperates with Anarâškielâ servi by taking care of the final printing and lay-out work.

There are no commercial publishers of Inari Sámi literature. As the potential customer base is extremely small, it is probable that the situation will not change any time soon. Anarâškielâ servi is a non-profit organisation. A majority of the funding for publishing is applied from foundations like the Finnish Cultural Foundation or the Majaoja-Foundation, or from the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. The publishing activities of Anarâškielâ servi are also in a lesser amount funded by its member subscriptions, sales revenues, and donations.

Topical themes and the future of Inari Sámi literature

The last ten years have been an active period of revitalisation and development of Inari Sámi. It has established itself in some new domains, such as the Internet, news broadcasting, films, science, and technol-

ogy. However, the major weak point hasn't essentially changed, namely the population of the Sámi speaking community itself. The language nests and courses have kept the community vibrant, but the number of speakers is still miniscule, and the number of writers producing texts in Inari Sámi is even smaller.

In order to encourage writing in Inari Sámi, Anarâškielâ servi, in cooperation with Giellatekno, the research group for Sámi language technology (at the Arctic University of Norway), launched a project called *Čyeti čälled* (One hundred writers). The project has aimed to produce more texts in Inari Sámi by helping the native speakers to get accustomed to the orthography of their mother tongue, and by tutoring the secondary speakers in grammar and by proofreading. It seems that during the project there has been an increase in the number of writers. The project has had a positive impact especially on the activation of secondary speakers – and some previously passive native speakers have produced some texts as well.

Considering the nature of Inari Sámi as an extremely small language, the revitalisation efforts have produced some very good results and the language is being used in everyday life. Still, there are challenges that are not likely to go away any time soon. For instance, it is not probable that Inari Sámi will adapt to a market-driven way of publishing literature. Instead, writing and creating in Inari Sámi might be motivated by the idea of offering the Inari Sámi people and the majority culture a different point of view. In order to do that, the Inari Sámi community needs to be open to new ideas and people outside their community, but at the same time it needs to recognise the value of what Inari Sámi culture can offer to the world. Naturally, this also depends on the opinions of the majority – if it does see the value of the Inari Sámi point of view, it will openly welcome and support its development

Skolt Sámi literature

Michael Rießler

Introduction

This short chapter presents a general overview of oral and written Skolt Sámi literary genres as well as other artistic or poetic uses of the language and describes the most important writers and other performers.

Although Skolt Sámi is predominantly spoken in Finland today, historically it belongs to the Kola Sámi languages of Russia. Skolt Sámi speakers still maintain close ties to the Sámi speaker communities in Russia, with whom they share, for instance, Orthodox Christianity, the national costume as well as genres and topics in traditional oral literature. See also Sergejeva (2000), who subsumes the Skolt Sámi and Kola Sámi cultures and languages under the term “Eastern Sámi”. Since the summaries in this report are divided according to the contemporary Sámi written languages, Skolt Sámi is presented separately from Kildin Sámi. However, this chapter and the one on Kola Sámi partly overlap and allow for interesting comparisons.

Skolt Sámi literary practices have thus far not been described comprehensively, but information about writers and other performers is sometimes included in encyclopedic and popular scientific overviews of the Skolt Sámi language, history and culture. Siegl and Rießler (2015) provide a historical description of the planning and writing of Skolt Sámi since the 1880s in comparison to Kildin Sámi (and two native languages of Siberia), but do not include specific information about literary genres and authors; McRobbie-Utasi (1995) describes the rise of Skolt Sámi literary writing in the 1970s as a result of systematic language planning and the creation of a normalised orthography; Moshnikoff (2005) offers another short overview of the recent history of Skolt Sámi literacy, which also only briefly describes the existing literary genres.

The Skolt Sámi language and the first publications

Skolt Sámi is spoken only by a few hundred speakers today. They live predominantly in the municipality of Inari in Finland, especially in Sevettijärvi and Nellim as well as in Ivalo and Inari. Traditionally, Skolt Sámi was spoken on the Kola Peninsula and the adjacent mainland in the borderlands between Russia, Norway and Finland. However, most members of the original *Suõ'nn'jel* (Suonikylä in Finnish), *Paaččjokk* (Pasvik in Norwegian, Paatsjoki in Finnish) and *Peäccam siidas* (Petsamo in Finnish, Petsjenga/Pečenga in Norwegian and Russian) resettled in Finland

after the area was ceded to the Soviet Union in 1945. Only few speakers of Skolt Sámi remained on the Russian side, mostly from *Njuõ'ttjäu'rr siida* (Notozero in Russian), where also speakers from *Mue'tkķ siida* (Motka in Russian) had been forced to resettle earlier on. The traditional dialect of *Njauddâm siida* (Neiden in Norwegian, *Näätämö* in Finnish) in Norway is not spoken any longer, although a few active speakers of Skolt Sámi have moved from Finland to the Norwegian side, where they live permanently today.

Of the Kola Sámi languages Akkala Sámi is the language linguistically and culturally closest to Skolt Sámi and could therefore also be regarded a dialect of Skolt Sámi (rather than of Kildin Sámi). It has been regarded as a moribund language, or perhaps already extinct (Rantala and Sergina 2009; Scheller 2011).

The first written records of Skolt Sámi were folkloristic text samples collected by Norwegian linguists (e.g. Friis 1856; Qvigstad and Sandberg 1887) already in the 18th century. Later, also the Finnish linguists Arvid Genetz, Toivo Itkonen and Eliel Lagercrantz collected and published spoken folklore from different dialect areas (Genetz 1891; Itkonen 1931; Lagercrantz 1961). The first book written partly in Akkala Sámi (although most parts were written in Kildin Sámi) was a translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* published in a Cyrillic script by Genetz, who translated the text from Russian with the help of Akkala Sámi informants in the town of Kandalaksha (Matthew 1878). The publication, printed in Helsinki, was initiated and funded by the Lutheran Church. A Skolt Sámi translation of the same text was published in *Archangelsk* in 1884 (Matthew 1884). The editor, Konstantin Schekoldin, was an Orthodox priest in Petsamo, i.e. in the Skolt Sámi area. Consequently, he worked with Skolt Sámi consultants on the translation. Schekoldin also published Skolt Sámi fairy tales in Russian (Schekoldin 1890).

Other samples of Skolt Sámi oral literature, especially chanting, have later been collected and published (as transcripts and translations) in Finland (cf. e.g. Launis 1908; Väisänen 1943; Widstrand 1961; Laitinen 1977) and (less so) in the Soviet Union (e.g. Senkevich-Gudkova 1959), but the next period of writing in Skolt Sámi started as late as in the 1970s, when the contemporary orthography was created and systematic language planning measures started in Finland. On the Soviet, later Russian, side of the Skolt Sámi territory, the Skolt Sámi written language has not been introduced until very recently when language teaching for children and adults has been occasionally on offer, supported exclusively from outside Russia (for instance by the *Ä'vv* Skolt Sámi Museum in Neiden).

The two most productive Skolt Sámi fiction writers both debuted between the 1970s and the 1980s, although on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. Whereas Askold Bazhanov in the Soviet Union wrote exclusively in Russian, Kati-Claudia Fofonoff in Finland wrote predominantly in Skolt Sámi.

Important writers (and other performers)

In the following section, a few important Skolt Sámi writers and other performers of literary language are briefly introduced, but one should bear in mind that the list is by no means exhaustive.

Askold Bazhanov, 1934–2012 (Аскольд А. Бажанов [even miss-spelled as Basanov in Norway]), published his first book, a collection of poems titled *Солнце над тундрой. Стихи*. ('Sun over the Tundra'), with the renowned Murmansk Book Publisher (Мурманское книжное издательство) already in 1983 (Bazhanov 1983). By then, he had already published several poems in anthologies. Bazhanov must thus be described as the very first Kola Sámi author (rather than the Ter Sámi Oktiabrina Voronova, see the chapter on Kola Sámi literature).

Although he was a native (and proficient) speaker of the Notozero dialect of Skolt Sámi, he wrote exclusively in Russian. In a conversation with the author of this chapter, shortly before Bazhanov passed away, the writer explained his choice of using Russian with the negative attitudes of the Russian Sámi "authorities" towards his native language. But applying the written Kildin Sámi norm would have meant disfiguring his language to the point of being unrecognisable, as Bazhanov found. On the other hand, his native variant of Skolt Sámi could have been written perfectly in the official Skolt Sámi orthography developed across the border in Finland. But this was of course strictly out of question in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, according to a perception of Sámi language(s) among Sámi people in Russia (as well as among Russian researchers working on Sámi languages and literatures) that has prevailed until today, different Sámi languages do not exist and all variants spoken in Russia are roofed by the Kildin Sámi written standard. This clearly goes back to the earliest stage of Kola Sámi language planning in the Soviet Union, when Kildin Sámi was chosen as the main variant for representing all Kola Sámi spoken varieties. Political reasons are likely behind this decision (cf. Siegl and Rießler 2015), which in connection to the regulated centralisation of Sámi culture in the town of Lovozero ultimately led to a strong Russian Sámi identity centring around the Kildin Sámi language and Kildin Sámi cultural expressions in general.

Bazhanov's novella about a young reindeer herder, 'The White Reindeer', appeared as a series in the local weekly *Lovozerskaya Pravda* (Ловозерская Правда) and was also printed and distributed in a private publishing venture as a booklet with illustrations by students of the 10th Middle School in Murmansk (Bazhanov 1996a). In the same year,

it was translated into Kildin Sámi and North Sámi (and not into Bazhanov's mother tongue) and published by Davvi Girji in Norway (Bazhanov 1996b, 1996c). With this book, the international Sámi readership came to know Bazhanov as an important Russian Sámi author, although his Skolt Sámi background seems to have remained unknown in the West. Later, the popular original novella was reprinted in a booklet by the Sever (Север) publishing house in Murmansk 2007 (Bazhanov 2007). In 2009, Bazhanov published a new collection of poems in a series at the Humboldt University of Berlin (Bazhanov 2009). This bilingual publication of the Russian original and a careful English translation were edited by enthusiastic foreign researchers of Kola Sámi culture (the present author among them), who wanted to make the Skolt Sámi author better known both inside and outside Russia. For more references on Bazhanov's life and work, see for instance Domokos (2009) as well as the several Russian-language overviews of Kola Sámi literature (mentioned in that chapter).

Kati-Claudia Fofonoff, 1947–2011, published her first poems, in Finnish, in the nationally renowned literary magazine *Parnasso* in 1982. Her first own book, called *Paatsjoen laulut – Pââšjoogg laulli* ('The songs of Paatsjoki') and printed as a private publishing venture locally in Inari in 1988, includes poetry and narratives in Finnish and a Skolt Sámi parallel text (K.-C. Fofonoff 1988). Another collection of poems in Skolt Sámi *Jânnam muttum nuu'bbioo'ri*, the title translates as ('The Earth Turned Upside Down'), was published by Davvi Girji in Norway (K.-C. Fofonoff 1999). The book was later also translated into several Nordic languages, including North Sámi. Her translation (from Finnish) of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Little Prince* (de Saint-Exupéry 2000) is also significant.

Jaakko Gauriloff, b. 1939, is the first Skolt Sámi musician to become popular outside his home region, both nationally and internationally. He popularised the traditional Skolt Sámi chants (called leu'dd in Skolt Sámi), but produced also other genres of popular music, performed at national and international concerts, and launched several albums with lyrics in Skolt Sámi and other languages. His first album in North Sámi was produced together with Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Åsa Blind in 1976 (Blind, Gauriloff, and Valkeapää 1976). His first album with his lyrics in Skolt Sámi *Kuä' ckkem suäjai vue'Inn* ('Under the Wings of the Eagle') was launched in 1992 (Gauriloff 1992).

Tiina Sanila, b. 1983, (Tiina Sanila-Aikio, Paavvâl Taannâl Tiina) founded a rock band and launched two full-length albums with lyrics in Skolt Sámi, the first one in 2005 (Sanila 2005). Her single release *Uuh!* broke into the Finnish charts in 3rd place in 2006. Later, Tiina Sanila-Aikio became active as a politician and is the current president of the Sámi Parliament of Finland.

Several other persons can be mentioned as important contemporary writers or translators of Skolt Sámi texts or performers of Skolt Sámi music, for instance the married couple Satu and Jouni Moshnikoff (she learned Skolt Sámi as her second language), Katri Fofonoff, Seja Sivertsen,

Mariia Feodoroff, Sinikka Semenoja, and Natalia Sanila-Koskinen. Nadia Fenina (Надя Фенина, by actual name Надежда Г. Ляшенко) is a Skolt Sámi author from the town of Loparskaya in Russia and she has published several prose texts in Russian. Among the famous leu'dd performers are for instance Vassi Semenoja, Helena Semenoff and Domna Fofonoff from Sevettijärvi in Finland and Anfisa Gerasimova and Zoya Nosova from Verkhnetulomsk in Russia.

Genres, major topics and quantity

In addition to the orally performed and transcribed texts for scientific publication (see the references above), samples of folkloristic oral literature have recently been republished in edited versions in contemporary orthography for a more general reading audience (e.g. S. Moshnikoff 1992; Ruppel 2009). The book *Kđ'Umuõrâž. Nuõrttsaa'mi mainnâž* ('Sweetie Pie') (Pacija 2011) also deserves to be mentioned here for several reasons. First of all, it is the only well-documented example of interaction between Skolt Sámi people from both Finland and Russia in the field of literature. The original texts were adapted Russian versions of original Kola Sámi fairy tales published by Jevgenija Pacija in Murmansk (Pacija 1990). The Skolt Sámi culture and language activist Zoya Nosova (b. 1937) proposed the idea of translating and publishing them in the Skolt Sámi language in Finland and asked the Sámi Parliament of Finland for support. Furthermore, this publication is also noteworthy because the translation was done orally and recorded on audio, because Zoya Nosova has never learned to write in her native language. Transcribing and editing Nosova's speech in order to produce a book of fairy tales in the current orthographic standard was the work of a whole team consisting of the mentioned native speakers, Katri Fofonoff, Jouni Moshnikoff, Tiina Sanila-Aikio, and Seija Sivertsen, together with the Finnish linguist Eino Koponen in an advisory role.

Another well-known genre of oral literature production is improvised chanting of so-called leu'dds, a tradition which differs from the less melodic and epic Western Sámi yoiks. Typically, leu'dds describe places or persons (see A. Linkola and M. Linkola 2005 for a brief overview of traditional Skolt Sámi music and further references). The tradition of leu'dd is characteristic of all the Kola Sámi groups, but it has been documented more systematically for Skolt Sámi than, for instance, for Kildin Sámi. Two recent collections of leu'dds have come from Jouste, Moshnikoff, and Sivertsen 2007 (with performers from Finland) and Saastamoinen 2007 (with performers from Russia).

The most important works of contemporary fiction and music have been described above in the section on writers and performers. In addition, a significant number of children's books have been published in Skolt Sámi. It is however interesting that these books first appeared on the market when Kati-Claudia Fofonoff had already published fiction for adults. Furthermore, the bulk of the texts for children consists of translations from Finnish or other Sámi lan-

guages (predominantly North Sámi). Relatively few books for children are originally written in Skolt Sámi, the two very first ones by S. Moshnikoff (1999) and K. Fofonoff (2000). In this Skolt Sámi differs strongly from Kildin Sámi (see the chapter on Kola Sámi in this report), where children's books were the first genre to be written in the language.

Similar to Kildin Sámi, most Skolt Sámi writers are women and several of them are educated teachers. The publishers include the Learning Materials Office of the Sámi Parliament of Finland, the Sámi publisher Davvi Girji from Norway as well as other publishers mostly in Finland. There are probably more than 40 books published in Skolt Sámi entirely and containing literary texts, albeit only very short ones, with no decline in the production of books during recent decades. Unlike their Kildin Sámi counterparts in Russia, these books have normally gone through professional editing and copy-editing and are appealing in their cover design and typesetting.

The availability of literature in the Skolt Sámi language is likely an important resource for language teaching and revitalisation, although its actual reception by students and other learners has not been investigated to my knowledge.

Further relevant issues

This brief overview offers basic information about Skolt Sámi literature, while only touching upon interesting issues regarding the production and distribution of literature in this small and endangered language community. Hopefully, future research will produce more systematic analyses to gain more insight to Sámi literature and other minority literatures in general, and to support culture and language revitalisation through literature.

Although the issue of endangered literatures is sometimes mentioned in scientific investigations on Sámi and other indigenous cultures, languages, and societies, the relevant descriptions of Skolt Sámi have so far been restricted to superficial inventories of texts and biographies of writers. Several very interesting phenomena differentiating Skolt Sámi literature from other Sámi literatures have thus far been completely ignored in research. Especially comparison to literary production in the Kola Sámi languages across the border in Russia – which is different in some respect and similar in others – seems very fruitful for better understanding the mechanisms of literary production and perception in a minority context. Although all Kola Sámi languages share a common linguistic and cultural ancestry as well as popular topics in contemporary literature, it is interesting to see that Kola Sámi writers from Finland and Russia do not seem to take notice of each other. The work of one of the most productive and skilled Skolt Sámi writer, Askold Bazhanov, has largely gone unnoticed among Skolt Sámi in Finland.

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Kola Sámi literature (Kildin Sámi, Ter Sámi, Akkala Sámi)

Michael Rießler

Introduction

This short chapter presents a general overview of oral and written Kola Sámi literary genres as well as other artistic or poetic uses of the language and describes the most important writers and other performers. The focus is on contemporary Kildin Sámi, which is the most vital among the Sámi languages of Russia and the only one in which literary texts are produced in the country today. Since the single chapters of this report are divided according to the contemporary Sámi written languages, Skolt Sámi, which is predominantly spoken in Finland today, is overviewed in a separate chapter. However, the Kola Sámi communities in and outside Russia do not only share linguistic traits but also, for instance, Orthodox Christianity, the national costume as well as genres and topics in traditional oral literature. See also Sergejeva (2000), who subsumes the Skolt Sámi and Kola Sámi cultures and languages under “Eastern Sámi”. Therefore, the two separate chapters partly overlap and allow for useful comparison.

Kola Sámi literature has been a permanent topic in the scientific and popular scientific discourse on the Sámi people of Russia. However, there are no truly reflective and comprehensive overviews available yet, but for comparison one can see, for example, the popular scientific collection of literary text samples and secondary materials about Kola Sámi literature in Большакова and Бакула 2012 and Большакова 2005 or the overviews in Бакула 2011 and Огрызко 2010. The present overview is also very general as it summarises knowledge from these and other sources as well as from my own observations during more than ten years of field research on the Kola Sámi languages. Earlier studies by myself are Rießler 2015, on literature as a part of the Kola Sámi media landscape, and Siegl and Rießler 2015, on the history of Kola Sámi written standards.

The Kola Sámi languages and the first publications

Kola Sámi is the common denominator for the four Sámi groups of northwestern Russia (mostly including but sometimes also excluding the Skolt Sámi in Norway and Finland). The four Kola Sámi languages are Ter Sámi, Kildin Sámi, Akkala Sámi, and Skolt Sámi. Kildin Sámi is spoken by around 500 native speakers, most of whom live in the municipality of Lovozero, where the majority of them were forced to resettle during the 1950s and 1960s. The total number of Skolt Sámi speakers is

roughly similar to that for Kildin Sámi, but basically all Skolt Sámi live in Finland today. The few very last Ter Sámi speakers live scattered in various places on the Kola Peninsula or elsewhere. The fourth Kola Sámi language, Akkala Sámi, is linguistically and culturally closest to Skolt Sámi. It could therefore also be considered a dialect of Skolt Sámi, rather than of Kildin Sámi. It has been regarded as a moribund language, or perhaps already extinct (Rantala and Sergina 2009; Scheller 2011).

The first written record of a Sámi language actually comes from the Kola Peninsula and consists of a short wordlist collected with native Sámi informants by the English sailor Stephen Burrough in 1557. The origin of these words is in a dialect of either Ter Sámi or Kildin Sámi (cf. Abercromby 1895; Genetz 1895). The next known samples of Kola Sámi languages were transcribed and translated folkloristic text samples from speakers of Kildin and Ter Sámi, collected already in the 18th century by the Finnish linguist Daniel Europaeus but published more than 50 years later (Itkonen 1931). The first book written in Kildin Sámi (and partly in Akkala Sámi) was a translation of the Gospel of Matthew published in a Cyrillic script by the Finnish linguist Arvid Genetz (Matthew 1878), who translated the text from Russian with the help of Kildin Sámi informants in the town of Kola. The next period of Kildin Sámi writing started in the early days of the Soviet Union, when textbooks for children and adult education as well as communist propaganda texts were written or translated. Again, the main authors and translators were not of Sámi origin, namely the two linguists Alexander Endiukovskii (Александр Г. Эндюковский, 1901–1938) and Zakharii Cherniakov (Захарий Е. Черняков, 1900–1997), who created the texts with the help of their native speaker Sámi students in Leningrad.

Native Kola Sámi literary writing was documented for the first time in the 1980s, when the current standard for Kildin Sámi was developed by a working group of Sámi teachers and language activists led by the non-Sámi educationalist and linguist Rimma Kuruch (Римма Д. Куруч, b. 1938). The first Kola Sámi writer, and member of this group, was Alexandra Antonova (see below), who included a few small literary texts and poems in her Kildin Sámi primer (Антонова 1982). But it is only since Oktiabrina Voronova (see below) made her debut with the book ‘Snow water’ in 1986 (Воронова 1986) that Kola Sámi literature seems to have become officially “canonised” (cf. “The first Kola Sami writer” by Sergejeva 1995).

Writers (and other performers)

In the following section, a few important Kildin and Ter Sámi writers and their role are briefly introduced. No literary texts have been published in Akkala Sámi. If literary texts are written in Sámi, most of the mentioned authors write in contemporary Standard Kildin Sámi (including Iraida Vinogradova, who was a native speaker of Ter Sámi). The only exception is the Ter Sámi writer Oktiabrina Voronova, who published her Sámi texts in a Kildin Sámi orthographic variant in order to include special Ter Sámi pronunciation features. Writings in Akkala Sámi or contemporary Skolt Sámi texts have not been published in Russia (see the separate chapter on Skolt Sámi; also note that Askold Bazhanov, who was a very prominent Sámi writer from Russia, is included in the chapter on Skolt Sámi).

Alexandra Antonova, 1932–2014 (Александра А. Антонова, Сӓндрэ Антонова, Sandra Antonova) was a native speaker of Kildin Sámi who published her first works in 1982 (Антонова 1982). Her first texts in Sámi were poems for children, later she also wrote poetry and fiction for adults as well as literary translations into Kildin Sámi. She was the most productive writer in Kildin Sámi up until present time, but she wrote also in Russian. Several of her texts were translated into North Sámi. Antonova played also an important role in the production of Kildin Sámi literature as a text editor and corrector for several other authors. She was awarded the Gollegiella Prize (together with Nina Afanasyeva) in 2012.

Oktiabrina Voronova, 1934–1990 (Октябрина В. Воронова), published her first book in 1986 (Воронова 1986). She was a native speaker of Ter Sámi and the sister of Iraida Vinogradova. She wrote predominantly poems and mostly in Russian, except for one booklet published in Sámi. Parts of her production have also been translated into other languages, e.g. Komi-Zyrian and Tundra Nenets. Voronova was a member of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Nina Afanasyeva, b. 1939 (Нина Е. Афанасьева, Ельцэ Нйна Афанасьева), published a book in her native language Kildin Sámi in 2008 (Яковлев 2008). She has also played an important role in the production of Kildin Sámi literature as a mediator and fundraiser, translator and text editor for various published books. Afanasyeva is also active as a Russian Sámi politician. She was awarded the Gollegiella Prize (together with Alexandra Antonova) in 2012.

Iraida Vinogradova, 1937–2004 (Ираида В. Виноградова, Ъришьк Виноградова), published her first book in Kildin Sámi in 1991 (И. В. Виноградова 1991). She was a native speaker of Ter Sámi and the sister of Oktiabrina Voronova. She predominantly wrote poems for children, mostly in Kildin Sámi. Several of Vinogradova's texts were also translated into North Sámi.

Sofia Yakimovich, 1940–2006 (Софья Е. Якимович, Ефемь Софья, Efim Sofia) published her first work (to my knowledge) in a journal in 2003 (Якимович 2003). She was a native speaker of Kildin Sámi, who wrote mostly poems and folk literature in her na-

tive language as well as in Russian. A few of her texts were also translated into North Sámi.

Ekaterina Korkina, b. 1943 (Екатерина Н. Коркина), published her first small booklet with poems for children in 1994 (Коркина 1994). She is a native speaker of Kildin Sámi, who also plays an important role in the production of Kildin Sámi literature as a translator and text editor (see especially Коркина and Галкина 2005; Коркина and Перепелица 2002).

Gennadii Lukin, b. 1949 (Геннадий П. Лукин, Оця Лукин, Л. Пейвин), published his first small text (under a pseudonym) in 2005 (*Пейвин* 2005), and more recently a double audio CD with fiction (Лукин 2016) (the accompanying book is in the works). Lukin has written exclusively in his native language, Kildin Sámi.

Nadezhda Bolshakova, b. 1957 (Надежда П. Большакова, Надешк Большакова), published her first two books, anthologies of texts for children, in 1996 (Большакова 1996a, 1996b). Later she also wrote poems and novels for adults and a few translations of poems by other writers from Sámi into Russian. She herself writes exclusively in Russian, but several of her texts have been translated into Kildin Sámi. Bolshakova is a member of the Union of Russian Writers and she has founded a private museum for Kola Sámi literature in the town of Revda.

Mikhail Filippov, 1960–2007 (Михаил Н. Филиппов), is the author of a book with poems in Russian, which was published (posthumously) in 2015 (Филиппов 2015). His parents were Izhva-Komi and Sámi. In addition to being a writer, Filippov was also a locally well-known artist.

Ivan Matrekhin, b. 1958 (Иван Я. Матрехин), is a popular singer-songwriter of Ter Sámi ethnic background who released a music CD with his own songs (in Russian) in 2005 (Матрехин 2005). His lyrics were later also translated into Kildin Sámi (Матрехин 2007). In addition to being a singer-songwriter, Matrekhin is active as a Russian Sámi politician.

Elvira Galkina, b. 1965 (Эльвира А. Галкина, Эля Галкина), published her first book in 1991 (Галкина 1991). It contains short texts for children. She is a native speaker of Kildin Sámi who writes poems and (less so) fiction in her native language and Russian. Several of her books have been translated into North Sámi. Galkina is also a locally well-known pop singer (and she won the Sámi Grand Prix in 2002).

Genres, major topics and quantity

In addition to writing, Kola Sámi literary texts have also been performed orally, especially by the mentioned (and other) singers as well as by the numerous native speaker informants working for anthropologists, linguists, musicologists, and other scientists (cf. e.g. the collections by Itkonen 1931; Genetz 1891; Szabó 1967, 1968; Керт 1961; Травина 1987; Керт and Зайков 1988). In addition to these orally performed and transcribed

texts and traditional songs in scientific publications, scientists have also published edited Russian versions of Kola Sámi fairy tales (e.g. Пацяя 1980, 1990). These texts and their topics can be characterised as folkloristic oral literature, although the actual performers are only mentioned as “metadata” to these texts (if at all), rather than as literary authors. But even in the truly authored literary production the main topics are overwhelmingly connected to cultural and personal memory.

Most Kola Sámi writers are women and educated teachers. Written literary texts are predominantly targeted at children and consist either of poems or fairy tales (or other folk literature genres). There are only very few poems, fiction texts and novels written for adults. An interesting lyric text to mention is Pushkin’s *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish*, translated into Ter Sámi by Oktiabrina Voronova together with her mother (?) Klavdija Matrëhina and sister Tamara Matrëhina (К. Г. Матрëхина, Воронова, and Т. В. Матрëхина 1971). The translation was not however written in orthography but in phonemic transcription, and it was published as a linguistic text sample in a scientific publication.

Lyric and fiction texts for adults are predominantly written in Russian or translated from Russian into Kildin Sámi. The only novels for adults are written in Russian by Nadezhda Bolshakova (Большакова 2003, 2016). The most substantial literary texts written in Kildin Sámi are all translations from Russian by Alexandra Antonova: a novella by the Skolt Sámi author Askold Bazhanov (Бажанов 1996; see also the chapter on Skolt Sámi), a collection of poems by the Russian poet Esenin (together with Sofia Yakimovich) (Есенин 2008), and Astrind Lindgren’s *Pippi Longstocking* (not translated from the original but from Russian) (Линдгрэн 2013). Perhaps about 30–40 books, magazines or booklets have been published since the 1980s, with no notable decline in the last two decades. However, most of the publications are not very extensive in regard to text quantity.

Promoters and other actors

The two most important publishing houses are the Sámi publisher Davvi Girji from Norway (publishing several books with parallel text in Kildin Sámi and North Sámi) and the renowned local publisher Murmansk Book Publishing House (Мурманское книжное издательство) (publishing predominantly in Russian). However, the bulk of the books published in Kildin Sámi in Russia have not gone through professional editing and copy-editing but have been produced in printing companies or even as private publishing ventures. The latter is also true for the few irregularly appearing magazines, which in-

clude literary texts (e.g. Коркина and Перепелица 2002; Коркина and Галкина 2005; Антонова, Г. А. Виноградова, Данилова, Медведева, and Шаршина 2009).

The most important national promoter and funder for the production and distribution of literature is the Murmansk Center of the Indigenous People of the North under the Murmansk Oblast (ГОбУ “Мурманский центр коренных малочисленных народов Севера”). Other significant funding comes from international Sámi and Nordic sources (e.g. the Sámi Council) as well as from other international organisations and scientific projects. Some interested individuals have also provided funding or other resources.

Distribution

In my own observation, most of the produced literary texts are not sold to readers but distributed free of charge. This is true, for example, for all books produced directly by the Murmansk Center of the Indigenous People of the North, because their editions are not allowed to be sold for legal reasons. Even the books from Davvi Girji, which are sold in Norway, have been distributed free of charge in considerable numbers in Russia. In addition, there are several gray publications, produced by public organisations or private persons in Russia or abroad, which are also typically distributed for free. At the same time, the quality of the printed matter produced in Russia for a Kola Sámi readership is rather low when it comes to the paper, design, and copy-editing.

Many texts and multimedia materials are available online, both through official platforms (e.g. the electronic library portal of the Scientific Library of the Murmansk Oblast⁶⁶, and private websites⁶⁷). It is unclear how copyright issues are handled in the latter case.

Local reception and role in culture and language revitalisation

Curiously, although Kola Sámi literary production has been highlighted as an important resource for revitalisation (e.g. by Scheller 2004, 2013), its actual reception has never been investigated. Based on my own observations, this literature is indeed used as a resource for ethnic identity as it is making Kola Sámi culture, language and identity visible. However, the impact on language revitalisation (especially through teaching or stimulating new readers and writers) is unclear. My personal view (based on impressionistic observation) is that this impact has so far been only very marginal, mostly because Kildin Sámi has not been effectively or sustainably taught anywhere on the Kola Peninsula in at least 15 years.

66 The electronic library portal of the Scientific Library of the Murmansk Oblast: <http://www.kolanord.ru/>

67 Private websites, especially: <http://saami.su/>

One should also note that in the local discourse, Kola Sámi writing is often seen merely as one kind of a “cultural expression” among other expressions of traditional Sámi culture, rather than appreciating the value of reading and literature in itself (like Kola Sámi readers would in fact do with regard to, for instance, Russian or world literature). The reasons for this are unclear to me but they may have to do with the obvious differences compared to Russian or other majority-language literature, especially the special ways of distribution, pricing, and the quality of print and design. In respect to distribution and perception, it is also interesting to mention that there are basically no literary critiques, reviews or other public discussion concerned with Kola Sámi literature, with the few exceptions of “canonised” writers like Oktiabrina Voronova.

Further relevant issues

There are logical reasons for the differences in the quality and quantity of Kola Sámi literary production, compared to the literatures of the majority cultures and even to several other minority literatures. One obvious reason is the small number of ethnic Kola Sámi people (i.e. potential writers and performers) and their marginalised role inside the Russian majority. On the other hand, the rapid establishment of different genres and topics since the 1980s and the ever-growing number of published literary texts is noteworthy. Nevertheless, the role of Russian language texts is rather strong, compared to original or translated Kildin Sámi texts. For comparison see, for example, the chapter on Skolt Sámi, describing a case of literature which is almost exclusively produced in the Skolt Sámi language. One reason for this perhaps is the much better developed and institutionalised system of Sámi language training in Finland, including significant state support. Skolt Sámi writers also make much more extensive use of available texts in other Sámi languages (mostly North Sámi). Translating in between Sámi languages can be an effective means of text production, for instance for teaching materials, because the linguistic distance is rather small and the typical themes are also often related in cultural terms.

Although Kola Sámi literature has frequently been the subject of scientific investigations during the last decades, both in literary studies and in studies about the Kola Sámi culture, languages and society, the investigations have mostly been limited to superficial inventories of texts and biographies of writers. Several very interesting phenomena – differentiating Kola Sámi literature from other literatures – have so far been completely ignored in research.

In this brief overview I could only touch upon some of the key issues. But hopefully, future research will produce more systematic analyses to gain more insight to Sámi and other minority literatures in general, and to support culture and language revitalisation through literature.

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Sámeigiella gollegiella, girjerádju gollerádju – the Sámi language in library work in the Nordic countries

Irene Piippola

Libraries are mediators of culture and reading. They are part of a larger network of memory and public cultural institutions. To paraphrase the writer Hans Aslak Guttorm's poem "Sami language, golden language", we can state: The Sámi language is a golden language, and the library is a vault of gold. The libraries' area is a diverse field of published works in which the library functions as a link and mediator between and with a range of actors. Library work is not just gathering and conserving; it is also active work with language, culture and information.

The position of the Sámi language in library work is recognised in the library legislation of each Nordic country. The support and promotion of Sámi language and culture through library work have been established as a special task of the countries' specialised Sámi libraries. Specialised libraries support local libraries in Sámi-language library work. The national libraries are responsible for the catalogues of published works.

Library laws and the special position of the Sámi language in the Nordic countries

The operations of libraries are regulated at the national level through library legislation. National and international library organisations are important in making an influence in the background. In all the Nordic countries in recent years a wide-ranging discussion about libraries has been carried out and new library acts have been adopted. Common to all countries are free book lending, openness and an emphasis on reading.

In Finland, new legislation⁶⁸, in force since 2017, sets the promotion of the following as the libraries' tasks: 1. the population's equal opportunities for education and culture, 2. availability and use of information, 3. a culture of reading and diverse literacy, 4. possibilities for life-long learning and development of skills and 5. active citizenship, democracy and freedom of speech. In the home region of the Sámi people it must be ensured that the needs of the Sámi-speaking and Finnish-speaking populations are considered on equal terms. In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture has set special tasks, such as the tasks of the

Sámi special Library in Finland based in Rovaniemi. In Sweden, the most recent library act was adopted in 2013. At present, a broad library strategy taking in a discussion of large themes such as digitisation, population shifts, availability, education and democracy is being drawn up. One challenge is the large differences of opportunity between people. The library is given an important role in the work of promoting and implementing the equal opportunities of civic and cultural groups. Libraries are to have a low threshold, and the core of their work is the free transmission of information and self-development. Reading and its new forms occupy a central place in library strategies.

The Sámi language is one of Sweden's five official minority languages and it is not expressly mentioned in the library act: "The library, in the context of the general library sector, shall give special attention to the national minorities and to people who have a mother tongue other than Swedish, including by means of providing literature in 1. the national minority languages, 2. other languages than the national minority languages and Swedish, and 3. easy-to-read Swedish."⁶⁹

The Norwegian library act of 2014 gives equal status to the Sámi and Norwegian languages. The position of the Sámi language is defined by the Sámi act: "The purpose of the Act is to enable the Sami people in Norway to safeguard and develop their language, culture and way of life."⁷⁰ In addition, the Sámi act establishes that "Sámi and Norwegian are languages of equal status". The methods mentioned by the law to secure the position of the Sámi language in libraries are financial support for acquisitions of literature and the reinforcement of the position of the specialised Sámi library in Karasjok: "The specialised Sámi library in Karasjok shall be strengthened so that it may develop its role as an active centre of mediation for Sámi literature and Sámi library services. To strengthen the production of Sámi literature, a Nordic acquisition scheme for Sámi literature may be re-introduced"⁷¹.

The act attaches particular attention to the difficulty of recruiting Sámi-speaking staff, a problem in all Nordic countries. Courses in library studies should be promoted to students of the Sámi language: "There is a need for Sámi-speaking staff in the library sector. For this reason,

68 The Finnish Library Act: <https://www.finlex.fi/sv/laki/ajantasa/2016/20161492?search%5Btype%5D=pika&search%5Bpika%5D=biblioteks>

69 The Swedish Library Act: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/bibliotekslag-2013801_sfs-2013-801.

70 The Sámi Act: <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/the-sami-act-/id449701/>

71 Bibliotekreform 2014 del 2. Norgesbiblioteket – nettverk for kunnskap og kultur, Kulturrådet 2006, p. 203. <https://www.kulturradet.no/documents/10157/fab8d967-a1c1-4d82-8664-b8dca4a4920f>

library studies should be marketed more actively than before to Sámi speakers and students of Sámi in secondary-level vocational education, the Sámi Upper Secondary School in Kautokeino and at the University of Tromsø.⁷²

A joint Nordic Sámi bibliography

It is not an easy task for the ordinary reader, or even for librarians, to establish what is being published in Sámi.

The national libraries of the Nordic countries are responsible for national catalogues of Sámi publications as part of their national bibliographies. The bibliographical work has been assigned to local libraries with Sámi-language competence. In Sweden, Sámi bibliography work is the responsibility of the Ájtte Sámi and fell museum library in Jokkmokk, in Norway, of the Sámi department of the national library branch in Mo i Rana, in Finland, of the specialised Sámi library in the Rovaniemi city library, and in Russia, of the Murmansk State Regional Universal Scientific Library. A common search engine for Sámi collections was launched on the server of the Norwegian national library in 2016.⁷³ In bibliographic work, each country is responsible for registering new publications in that country in the collection data bases, from where data are sent to become part of the common search. The Norwegian national library bears the greatest responsibility, as the majority of Finnish and Swedish Sámi writers have their works published in Norway.

The North Sámi translation of the Lapponica index term list, maintained by the Rovaniemi city library, has been made a part of the national Finto ontology⁷⁴. Sámi-language terminological and ontological work is a large terminological cooperation and development project for the future. The foundations for cooperation have already been laid with the Finnish specialised Sámi library, the Finnish national library and the Sámi Giellagáldu. Giellagáldu is the Nordic Sámi-language professional and resource centre. It is a common body of the Sámi people, and at the same time the highest executive body in matters concerning the Sámi languages. This project takes in South, Lule, North, Inari and Skolt Sámi languages.

Sami-language and Sámi-themed special library work in the Nordic countries

The Nordic countries' special Sámi libraries are responsible for lendable Sámi collections, remote services and general library operations. Special Sámi library work, under the administration of the Sámi parliament (in

Sweden and Norway) or the general libraries (in Finland and Russia), is state-supported, professional librarian work in the promotion of Sámi language and culture. In Finland and in Russia there are no libraries administered by Sámi people or Sámi parliaments. Sámi-themed and Sámi-language work with collections and libraries in the northern regions depends on the population base, language skills and staff levels. Special libraries support the work of municipal libraries with Sámi collections.

In Sweden, the Sámi library (Samernas bibliotek), which works under the aegis of the Sámi parliament, employs a full-time library adviser whose tasks are to inform about and promote the spread of Sámi literature, increase interest in Sámi literature and Sámi identity, and to be responsible for projects in the sector and Nordic cooperation. The adviser is responsible for a Sámi stack library (Swedish: *depåbibliotek*) which delivers Sámi literature.

In Norway, the Sámi library operates in Karasjok under the aegis of the Sámi parliament. Four full-time employees, two librarians, a library clerk and a secretary are responsible for running the library. The library organises annual literary days, lasting two days, where writers and readers can meet. In Finland, the special library employs a full-time, Sámi-speaking librarian and a certain amount (30% of full-time equivalent) of clerical assistance. As in Sweden, the special library has a wide range of tasks. It functions as part of the municipal library network and is also responsible for bibliographic work. The special library, which has operated since 1990, is funded by central government on the basis of annual reports and plans. The library operates at the local, provincial, national and international levels. The Sámi collection has been developed since the 1960s. All materials published in the main languages and in North Sámi in Finland, and most of those published in Norway and Sweden, are added to the collection, as are selected works from further afield in the Sámi area. The collections provide an extensive overview of Sámi-language and Sámi-themed works, both in the original and translation.

Special libraries produce content, such as exhibitions and materials, nationwide throughout the library network, and are also responsible for national information and remote services. In Finnish Lapland, the libraries and museums offer the broad-based Ask about Lapland online service as part of the nationwide library Ask service. The Sámi bodies that answer questions are the Sámi archive, the Sámi museum, the special library and some of the municipal libraries in the Sámi region.

The central libraries have broad job descriptions. The library work can have an important role in the promoting of Sámi languages and cultures.

72 Bibliotekreform 2014 del 2. Norgesbiblioteket – nettverk for kunnskap og kultur, Kulturrådet 2006. <https://www.kulturradet.no/documents/10157/fab8d967-a1c1-4d82-8664-b8dca4a4920f>

73 Sámi Bibliography https://bibsyst-almaprmo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=SAPMI

74 Finto (the Finnish thesaurus and ontology service): www.finto.fi

Mobile library service through Sámi - "It's good that even the mobile library staff pop into the cottage"

In addition to the fixed collections, several mobile libraries operate in the Sámi region, either funded by a single municipality or through cross-border cooperation. In Finland, each municipality in the Sámi region has a mobile library, while in the Sámi region of Norway there are eight mobile libraries. In Utsjoki there is cooperation with the Norwegian municipalities of Porsanger and Karasjok, and in Muonio and Enontekiö with Kautokeino and Pajala. The Inari mobile library operates in an area where three Sámi languages are spoken. In the sparsely populated northern regions the mobile library is an important vehicle serving many functions. The mobile library aims to provide a wide range of services. They are the site of events, meetings with writers, fairy tale readings, and they bring art closer to people's homes. The mobile libraries stop in schoolyards.

Work in a mobile or nomad library is multilingual and multicultural. The mobile libraries overcome linguistic boundaries across distances and in all conditions. They bring the library as close as possible, to library members' yards, even to their cottages. Far away is the same as near. In Marja Alatalo's library member survey of joint Nordic mobile library operations⁷⁵, one may read that the mobile library "is a lifeline for residents of far-flung areas who have lost all other services. The mobile library was considered important for the pastime of reading and for encouraging children to read. The library was felt to be a living room, a common meeting space for all, as well as a fine form of Nordic cultural cooperation." It emerges that the mobile library lends more books in Sámi than it does in Norwegian. The Sámi-language books are read quickly, after which people move on to books in the larger languages. Knowledge of Sámi culture is important if one wishes to offer high-quality mobile library services.

Book greetings from the mobile library route in 2018

I asked my colleagues in two Nordic mobile libraries to share their views on their work in the Sámi region. A central point in their answers was the great significance of the mobile libraries in sparsely populated areas which had lost all other services to the towns. Competence in Sámi is important, and even more so are the staff's cultural sensitivity and knowledge of Sámi culture in this multicultural area. The low supply of Sámi-language materials, particularly for young people, comes to the fore in these letters.

Perdita Fellman, librarian, common Nordic mobile library 1986–2017:

We were not able to satisfy all language demands or wishes in all respects. As a Swedish speaker, I was able to offer the Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish part, but my competence in Sámi was unfortunately rather... if not deficient, then with room for improvement. The conclusion of my language knowledge is that to be able to offer a fully-fledged service for the Sámi-speaking population, the Sámi language must receive more importance in these operations. Language, culture and identity are closely linked with one another. That means it is important to give positive feedback and emphasise the Sámi collections. Give them more visibility, show them. When it comes to minority language and culture, it is not enough to think: 5% minority = 5% of collections. More than 5 metres of shelf space are needed to make the collections visible. Where Sámi collections are concerned, there is definitely more available than what we have in the mobile library. Therefore, it is important for the publishing and distribution channels and the library to meet each other's needs. Apart from traditional library operations, book chats, writers' visits, and other cultural and operational activities (yoik, Sámi Duodji, reindeer-related, debates) should be held in Sámi.

Soile Kokkonen, librarian, Nordic mobile library, Karasjok

In general, Sámi literature, even books for young people, are ready by adults. A lot of books for young people have come out in recent years but the problem is the same as everywhere: how to get young people reading. Nursery schools and families take out illustrated books, certainly, but school-age children borrow considerably fewer books. However, I think a rise in borrowing of Sámi-language books can be seen, and there is more demand than supply, but the writers are quite old and I'm not sure if their world and their readers' world always meet. Even though the traditional things are important I think it would also be important to have fantasy books in Sámi and literature that was centred in more than just the traditional ways of life. In non-fiction, there's big demand for local storytellers, and people are also really interested in the supernatural and folk stories. There's demand for music, too, and the channels for distributing it should be developed. A lot of the time you have to do some detective work to track down artists' CDs in Sámi. Children's music is very popular. Fiction makes up 30% of all books in our collection. Sámi-language books have been borrowed as follows:

⁷⁵ Marja Alatalo, On se hyvä, että ees kirjastoauton väki käy pirtissä. Yhteispohjoismaisen kirjastoauton asiakaskysely ("It is good that at least the mobile library staff will visit the house" - Survey among customers of Nordic mobile library), Oulun ammattikorkeakoulu (Oulu University of Applied Sciences), 2017. http://www.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/132532/Alatalo_Marja.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

48 in 2017, 85 in 2016, 75 in 2015, and 113 in 2014. It's noteworthy that the figures also include children's illustrated books, which are lent the most. The lending statistics also show that in the years when new books have been published, more books are lent.

The current situation in Sámi collection work – in the shade of statistics

Reading and writing in the Sámi language is unestablished as a literary field, particularly in Finland, Sweden and Russian. In addition, the situation varies from one Sámi language to another. There are at present six published Sámi languages: Kildin, Skolt, Inari, North Sámi (the largest), Lule, and South Sámi. Sámi-language publishers mostly operate in Norway. The library statistics for borrowing and reading of Sámi-language material are deficient in all Nordic countries. No country's library statistics offer detailed data on Sámi-language loans and borrowers. Sámi is categorised under "other languages". Emphasis of the question of endangered, native people's languages does not seem to be working in exemplary fashion in all respects.

Sami literature takes many forms and genres and it dares to take up difficult, taboo subjects; however, works which open up new themes remain as lone shooting stars. Writers, new and established, are published rarely. This year the Saami Council is not nominating a novel in Sámi as a candidate for the Nordic Council's fiction prize. The reason given is the small number of novels for adults in Sámi published in the Nordic countries. Numbers also have an effect on the evaluation of literary quality. In music and poetry, the situation is brighter. In Finland, activities in the Inari and Skolt Sámi languages have been brought back to life following intensive efforts, and the languages are experiencing a lively period.

Some statistical examples from the Lapland library database in Finland:

1. Acquisitions in 2000–2017:

The Finnish Sámi specialised library acquired 52 works of poetry and 138 novels in book form. The figures include all age groups. Of these works, 17 were in Inari Sámi, five in Skolt Sámi, and the rest in North Sámi. In addition, 145 children's picture books, of which 13 were in Inari Sámi and 14 in Skolt Sámi, were acquired. Twenty-three Sámi-language CDs and 11 DVDs were acquired.

Publications in Kildin, South and Lule Sámi were mostly children's literature. Twenty-three CDs and 11 DVDs were acquired.

1. Lending in 2017:

Kerttu Vuolab's epic novel *Bárbmoairras* ("The Harbinger of Light" translated into Finnish as *Valon airut* by Riitta

Taipale) won the first Lapland Literary Prize, awarded by the libraries, in 2017. The Finnish translation has been borrowed 85 times, while the original has been borrowed seven times in book form and four times in audio format.

Kaija Anttonen's translation of Ann-Helen Laestadius' book for young people, *Terkkuja Sopperosta* ("Greetings from Soppero"), which was published in autumn 2017, has been borrowed 19 times. Inger-Mari Aikio's novel for young people, *Tropihkka rievssat*, was published in spring 2017 and it has been borrowed 16 times.

Niilo Aikio's story collection *Niga* was published in Finnish and Inari, Skolt and North Sámi in 2015–16. The Finnish translation has been borrowed 21 times and the Sámi-language copies have each been borrowed five times.

Letters in Sámi libraries in February 2018

I asked my colleagues in the Nordic countries and Finland to share their views on their work with Sámi collections. A central feature of their responses is the active borrowing of Sámi-language works by readers, which is made more difficult by the small volume of publications. Soon, avid readers will have to search for reading material in the major languages of the region. There is a shortage of staff, particularly of staff who speak Sámi. In addition, there is a desire for new topics, particularly in youth literature.

Liv Inger Livdi, librarian, Sámi Parliamentary Library, Karasjok:

I have worked in the Sámi Parliamentary Library for 18 years. The work that we do is under-resourced. We organise big literature days every autumn, for which there is a lot of interest. The municipal and mobile libraries in Finnmark organise their own events.

The Sámi Parliament funds the publication of 20–25 works of fiction every year. There is a shortage of books for young people. The Sámi Parliament, in cooperation with the Sámi writers' association and the Sámi artists' council, organises writer education for new writers. It is hoped that this teaching will motivate and challenge people to write books in Sámi that will get young people reading more. I can't say whether reading has declined or increased, as no research has been carried out on that. (From a translation into Finnish by Irene Piippola.)

Birgitta Edeborg, librarian, Ájtte library, Jokkmokk:

Here at Samernas Bibliotek [Sami library at the Sámi parliament] we don't work as an 'ordinary' library as so much of what we lend is to other institutions (schools, libraries, organizations etc.) so we rarely see (or have statistics of) what material is actually used. For example, a library writes and asks me to put together a

box with books in Lule Sámi suitable for ages 5–12. Or, a teacher comes here and borrows 20–30 books to take to the school and use in several classes. Most of what we lend is for children and young people.

We have had not quite adequate funding the preceding years, but the biggest problem is lack of staff. There is quite a lot of books that we buy and make preliminary registrations of that after that unfortunately stays for a long time in the store rooms. We buy most of the books in Sámi languages that are published for children and young people, 1–5 copies of each, and share with Ájtte the purchases of books for adults in various languages.

Tuija Guttorm, head librarian and director of culture, Pedar Jalvi Library, Utsjoki:

Lending rates are steady, with the same readers borrowing books. Sámi-language teachers and the school generally use the library a lot. New topics are needed; the Sámi Parliament gives preference to themes of Sáminess in its grants and this leads to a shortage in fiction. More translations of modern literature into Sámi are needed, such as the *Bamse* and Aino Havukainen's Tatu and Patu children's books, which are well-known and which already have supplementary material to go with them. There is a particular shortage of books for young people, as well as of fiction for adults. Sami parents are active in borrowing books for their children. We have cooperation with Sirma, in Norway – not really with the readers on the Norwegian side, or the other way round, but rather with the library itself. Utsjoki has enough resources to acquire the works that are published in North Sámi.

Tuija Jerndahl, librarian, Inari local library, Inari:

I don't know how many Sámi-language books are read, but for the most part children's books and comics (*Bamse*), non-fiction books and textbooks related to the study and research of the Sámi languages and culture, and a certain amount of adults' fiction and poetry, are borrowed. People borrow a lot of Sámi music. People have been interested in new publications and translations, as well as in fiction and non-fiction. Local publications are very popular. Sami-language families, adults, students (young adults) and researchers borrow material. My impression is that the levels of borrowing have remained the same – they have not declined, at any rate. The lending collections have increased to a certain extent, but there is still not enough. When it comes to acquisitions of Sámi-language material and to acquisitions for Sámi collections, a little help would be appropriate.

Not much young people's literature is read in Sámi; of course, I understand there is not much of it being published. Readers ask for adults' audio books, e-books and films. Here, people read and borrow books in both Inari and North Sámi. In Inari Sámi, in particular, people would like to see new publications and translations. Fiction of all available genres is read. In the Sámi library, Sámi-language periodicals are not read very actively. I imagine that the publications that exist are delivered to people's homes. One exception is *Bamse*, which people read and borrow. In the main library in Ivalo periodicals are read a little more.

To sum up – towards future challenges

In Finland in 2014, central government published an action programme for reviving the Sámi language, and it sets the aim of clearly reviving all three Sámi languages by 2025. The decision of principle lists 25 measures with which this aim shall be achieved. One measure listed is increasing the amount of media content and cross-border media cooperation. The challenges named are the fact that most Sámi children and young people live outside the home region of the Sámi, the insufficient language competency in various professions, and a lack of Sámi-language media content.

Sámi literature is comparable to quality literature with small print runs and hard-to-come-by, local works from small publishers and self-publishers. In Finland, libraries are allocated separate state support via bulk buying lists, for which the specialised library supplies the state literature committee an annual list of Sámi publications in Finland. The Sámi Parliament's learning materials centre provides one free volume of each title it publishes to the specialised library, Sámi-language nurseries, primary school groups, and municipal libraries in the Sámi homeland.

In Norway, the "purchase arrangement" was in place for a few years, but it was not felt to be satisfactory, meaning this form of support is not currently in use. In Sweden, the Sámi library supplies Sámi-language literature in the form of transfer collections to libraries and institutions around the country.

In Finland, a project application has been submitted to the education ministry, and in future a Sámi-language cultural function of a project nature will be set up in the Sámi region. The need for an event organiser became apparent during the Jutaava kirjasto/Johtti girjerádju ("Wandering Library") project in 2012–2016, funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which aimed to increase the presence of the Sámi language in the library field in the Sámi region. The project produced good practices and web content: fairy tale readings, book tips, story-telling moments, a reading diploma, and writers' and artists' visits. The Lapland libraries' joint strategy, *Jokainen lappilainen lukee/Juohke sápmelaš lohká* ("Every person in Lapland reads"), aims to assume responsibility for the promotion of reading and reading skills. The Libraries Act also re-

quires the libraries to promote reading skills. So far, no reading skills campaigns focusing on Sámi language and literature have been organised in Nordic libraries.

There is a clear need and demand for Sámi-language audio books and e-books. Audio books advance and excite those who have lost their mother tongue, and those for whom reading is difficult, about literature. E-books are excellent for use in online book clubs, such as the Sámi-language *Girjevaibmilat*⁷⁶. Audio and e-book publishing serves people living in sparsely populated areas and outside the Sámi region.

In addition to digital books and CD audio books, there are few or none easy-to-read or large print books in Sámi. The Finnish accessible reading centre *Celia*⁷⁷ publishes books in North Sámi for people with reading difficulties, including in cooperation with the corresponding organisations in Sweden⁷⁸ and Norway⁷⁹. In spring 2018, *Celia* will provide more information in North Sámi, in addition to Swedish, and it plans to publish audio books in Inari and Skolt Sámi.

Cooperation between libraries and publishers benefits both parties, as well as readers. Libraries accrue “silent data” about reading that interest publishers. Libraries also know what people want: certain themes and topics, translations from the major languages of the region, e-books, and easy-to-read books.

There are several good examples of cooperation projects. Aino Havukainen’s children’s book, *Tatu ja Patu päiväkodissa* (“Tatu and Patu in the Nursery School”), which is popular in Finland, was translated into all the Sámi languages of Finland in cooperation with the specialised library, the “Wandering Library” project, the Mii Rovaniemi Sámi Association and the Learning Material Centre of the Sámi Parliament in Finland. Libraries also publish Sámi-language materials, particularly for children, as the Trøndelag library does at present in Norway. The library has translated and published several dozen Norwegian-language children’s books in South Sámi as digital editions. This form of publication keeps costs low. As a curiosity, let us mention an example of a writer “taking back” the language: When Ann-Helen Laestadius’ popular book for young people *SMS frå’n Soppero* (“Text Messages from Soppero”) was translated into North, Lule and South Sámi, the author was delighted that she could now practice North Sámi, which she was learning, herself with the aid of her book.

In Finland, Sámi literature and authors are added to

the national literature portal, *Kirjasampo*⁸⁰. Sámi-language pages will be added to *Kirjasampo* and the national libraries’ website⁸¹. The visible equality of the language alongside others is also important in signage and labelling in libraries. Finnish translations of Sámi literature are included in the books competing for the Lapland libraries’ literature prize, which, of itself, promotes knowledge of Sámi literature. Translations to and from major languages to Sámi increases the readership of Sámi-language and Sámi-themed literature and gives Sámi literature a place in national literature and literary activities. The specialised library has edited collections of articles presenting Sámi literature and literary research.

In all the Nordic countries, the resources of the specialised libraries do not correspond to their broad responsibilities. There is a deficit of Sámi-language competency and staff in most of the Sámi region libraries and recruiting Sámi-speaking staff is hard. By the same token, there is a dearth of reading in Sámi, particularly among the young. There is room for improvement in the marketing and availability of publications, and more information about them needs to be disseminated.

In addition to publishing activities, more events need to be organised through Sámi. These include writers’ visits, book tips, and story-telling and fairy-tale workshops. Staff to organise and plan the projects for these events are also needed, without forgetting about the cooperation ideas born of best practices and cross-border cooperation. There is as yet insufficient cross-border cooperation, even between speakers of North Sámi, despite its position as the Nordic countries’ common Sámi language. The administrative burden on cross-border cooperation projects should be lightened and the project bureaucracy should be simplified.

All in all, the work of promoting Sámi language and literature is the central task of Sámi library work, alongside the fundamental work with collections. Library work plays a clear linguistic and cultural policy role. The libraries do not operate on market principles and works are kept on shelves regardless of when they were published. In libraries, books live alongside other books, contexts, writers, and the whole literary field. As e-reading becomes more widespread, physical contact with a book is still important. Mobile libraries are hugely important in the north, but they face many challenges. In the best-case scenario, the mobile library acquires new tasks and can bring books and authors to the places in the Sámi region in which people still live and read.

76 Girjevaibmilat: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/473660519334721/>.

77 www.celia.fi

78 www.mtm.se

79 www.nlb.no

80 www.kirjasampo.fi

81 www.kirjastot.fi

Online resources

Common online search of Sámi bibliographies (Sámi bibliografija – Sámi bibliography):

https://bibsyst-almaprimo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=SAPMI

Virtual Sámi library in Finland (Sámi virtuálagirjerádju):

<https://www.facebook.com/samivirtualagirjeradju/>

Sami Parliamentary Library (Sámedikki girjerádju/Sametingets bibliotek):

https://www.facebook.com/Samiskbibliotek/?fref=pb&hc_location=profile_browser

Sami library service:

<https://samiskbibliotektjeneste.wordpress.com>

Authors

Päivi Alanen, librarian, Tysfjord in Northern Norway. Master in Finnish language 1982 at Turku university, studies in Northern Sámi and Lulesámi. Librarian since 1988- until today. Alanen has mostly been working with library services to Sámi people in different Nordic countries and she has also been working at Árran – Lulesámi center in Tysfjord 2011–2013. At present she is working as librarian at a high school who has also Lulesami students in Hamarøy Nordland County (<http://www.hamsun.vgs.no/>). Her writings on Sámi literature include the thesis "Saamenkielinen kustannustoiminta vuosina 1984–1994 saamelaisen kulttuurin heijastajana" (Sivuinstitutkielma, Tampereen yliopisto 1997), the end report *Samisk bibliografi i Sverige : slutrapport av en förstudie vid Sametinget* (Sametinget 1999) and the article "Sami literature on the world wide web" (In: *Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly* 2002, <http://slq.nu/?article=sami-literature-on-the-world-wide-web>).

Johanna Domokos wrote her MA Thesis in 1994 about the poetry of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, her PhD Thesis on the translatability of Sámi literature (1999), and her 'venia legendi' on Sámi-Nordic intercultural literary developments (2011). Domokos has published more than above fifty studies and three books on Sámi literature, and translated and contributed to about fifteen translations of Sámi literature into Hungarian, German, Russian and English. Thanks to her efforts, Sámi literature was first represented present for the first time at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2014. Professor Domokos teaches at the Institute of Arts Studies and General Humanities, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, in Budapest, as well as heads leads the Student Translation and Book Production Lab working with Sámi literature at University Bielefeld University in Germany. For more information, please visit the websites: <http://www.finlit.fi/fili/johanna-domokos/>, <http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/fachsprachenzentrum/projects/group-bie.html>, and <http://www.kre.hu/btk/index.php/domokos-johanna>.

Lill Tove Fredriksen is from Finnmark county in Northern Norway. She is associate professor of Sámi literature at UiT – The Arctic University of Norway. She finished her master in Sami literature in 1999 with the thesis: *Mearrasámi lávlunárbevierru ja olmmošlaš reaškinkultuvra* (Songs from the Municipality of Porsanger. Seasámi Song Tradition and Popular Laughter Culture). In 2015 she defended her PhD-thesis "...mun boadán sin manis ja joatkán guhkkelebbui...". *Birgenjoansttat Jovvna-Ánde Vesta romántrilogiijas Árbbolaččat* in Sámi literature at UiT – The Arctic University of Norway. The thesis is an investigation of the coping skills in the novel trilogy *Árbbolaččat* ("The heirs", 1997–2005) by the Sami novelist Jovvna-Ánde Vest. Fredriksen publishes scientific and popular articles, and gives speeches and classes in

Sámi, Norwegian and English. She participates in the public debate on matters concerning the Sámi society. Fredriksen is leader of the Sámi Nonfiction Writers and Translators Association and leader of the Culture committee of the Sámi Council. She has previously been working at the University hospital of Northern Norway (UNN) as a consultant and Sámi interpreter and translator.

Harald Gaski is Professor of Sámi Culture and Literature at UiT – the Arctic University of Norway and is the author and editor of several books on Sámi literature and culture. Gaski has been a visiting scholar at several universities internationally. He served for ten years on the International Research Advisory Panel of New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. Gaski's research specializes on indigenous methodologies and Sámi culture and literature. Gaski has been instrumental in establishing Sámi literature as an academic field. In 2006 he was awarded the The Nordic Sámi Language Prize, Gollegiella, and in 2015 Gaski was the recipient of Vaar-toe /Cesam's research award at the University of Umeå. Harald is himself a Sámi, born in Deatnu /Tana in Sápmi.

David Kroik is a Ph.D. Candidate in Language Teaching and Learning at Umeå University. His research focuses on South Sámi as a language in school. He is involved in developing a teacher education programme for Sámi language teachers. Kroik completed a Licentiate degree in Linguistics in 2016 with a thesis on Differential Object Marking in South Saami. He has a broad interest in language, which includes the structure of language as well as language revitalization. Kroik learned South Sámi, his heritage language, as an adult and he is dedicated to making the language available to others.

Petter Morottaja, MA, is an author, a teacher, a translator and a researcher of Inari Sámi. He has published two longer fictional stories, *Suábi maainás* (1999) and *Riävskánieidä* (2000), and several short stories in *Anaråš*-magazine and in a short story collection *Kyelisieiidi maccâm já eres novelleh* (2005). In addition to fictional publications, he has produced learning material for Sámi Parliament of Finland, including an Inari Sámi study book *Kielâkyeimi* (2009), and a reading book *Virkkuvvâäri luu-hâmkirje* (2014). Morottaja teaches as a part-time teacher at the Giellagas Institute at the University of Oulu, specializing in Inari Sámi structure, translating and writing.

Michael Rießler, Ph.D., is Acting Professor in General Linguistics at the University of Bielefeld and Adjunct Professor (Docent) of Finno-Ugrian Studies at the University of Helsinki. His current main field of research are the Eastern Sámi languages. In addition to linguistics, he has several publications on Sámi language

sociology, literature, and media. Since 2014 he is one of the editors of the series *Samica* (together with Thomas Mohnike and Joshua Wilbur) in Freiburg.

Sigbjørn Skåden is a Sámi writer from Skánik/Skånland municipality in Troms county, Norway, who now lives in Tromsø. He writes both in North Sámi language and in Norwegian. He has a master's degree in English literature from the University of York and another master's degree in literary studies from the University of Tromsø. In 2004 he made his debut as a writer with the poetry book *Skuovvadeddjiid gonagas* ("The King of Shoemakers"), which was nominated for the Nordic Council Literary Award. After his debut he has written another book of poetry, two novels and one childrens book, in addition to numerous works for stage and interdisciplinary arts projects. His last book to date, the novel *Våke over dem som sover* ("Watch Over Those Who Are Sleeping") was nominated for the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation's Listeners' Award and was awarded the Havmann award for best North Norwegian book of the year.

Joshua Wilbur studied General Linguistics in Leipzig, Berlin and Kiel, and began working on highly endangered Sámi languages in 2004, starting with Kildin Sámi. In 2008, he began documenting and studying the Pite Sámi language, and has focussed on Pite Sámi ever since. In 2014 he published a description of Pite Sámi grammatical structures. Together with a group of Pite Sámi speakers, he edited and published the first Pite Sámi-Swedish-English dictionary. He is also actively helping develop a written standard for the language, including computer-based tools such as a spell-checker and an automatic grammar analyzer together. His collection of Pite Sámi language documentation materials are archived at the Endangered Languages Archive at the University of London. He has been a Linguistics Researcher at the Freiburg Research Group in Saami Studies at the University of Freiburg since 2013.



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